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# A diachronic study of locative postpositions in Hindi

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## Abstract

Language evolves over the passage of time, and this is also true of locative expressions – their present forms are a result of a series of systematic linguistic changes. The study traces their historical development in the Hindi language. The paper diachronically investigates the course of evolution and varied forms of locative expressions in Modern Standard Hindi (MSH). For that, a diachronic account of locative postpositions, starting from the Hindi of the 16th century till Modern Standard Hindi (MSH), has been compiled to highlight the gradual change in distinct forms of locatives in select Hindi texts. Locative expressions are determined as closed-class items in the Hindi language, which identify the spatial and temporal relationship between two or more entities within the clause structure. The paper traces the syntactic as well as semantic changes that have occurred over a period of time in the locative expressions, specifically /me/ ‘in’ and /pər/ ‘on’.

## Key words

postposition; locative expression; grammatical markers; Hindi language; case marker; phonological erosion

## 1. Introduction

Locative expressions have not been explicitly studied but are rather highlighted as the product of studying “structurally coherent categories” such as adposition and case markers in languages. The adpositions are members of a small class of formatives which are difficult to define. The paper studies the nominal source such as nouns, adverbs or case markers, etc, of locative expressions in Modern Standard Hindi. In Hindi grammar, the locatives are considered part of the categories /pərsərg/ ‘postposition’ and /vibʰəkəti/ ‘case’ but not as a semantic category themselves. This particular semantic domain holds various means of expression, ranging from grammatical, closed-class items, i.e. adposition (postposition/preposition) and morphological case markers, to open-class items such as nouns and adverbs. The locative expressions such as /mē/ ‘in’ and /ke samne mē/ ‘in front of’ have evolved in a specific way following a predictable path, going from concrete and specific to abstract and general in both semantic and morphological domains. Nouns referring to concrete entities have evolved to become adposition and bound affixes with no referential ability, by gradually losing structural autonomy and meaning specificities and by undergoing concomitant phonological erosion. For instance, it is difficult to distinguish between /gʰər mē/ ‘in home’ and /gʰər pər/ ‘at home’ due to the polysemous nature of postpositions used in both the cases, such as /me/ in /radʰa gʰər mē hē/ ‘Radha is in home’ or ‘Radha is home’; and /pər/ in /radʰa gʰər pər hē/ ‘Radha is at home’ or ‘Radha is home’ in this syntactic structure implies the same meaning i.e. ‘at home’. Similarly, it is interesting to study the gradual evolution of locatives from certain morphological items to highly polysemous semantic domains. Moreover, these changes occur over a passage of time involving various linguistic processes such as grammaticalization, “semantic bleaching”<sup>2</sup> and “phonological erosion”.

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<sup>2</sup> In semantics and historical linguistics, semantic bleaching is the loss or reduction of meaning in a word as result of semantic change, also known as semantic loss, semantic reduction, and desemanticization.

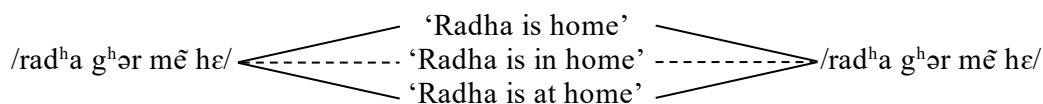


Figure 1. Polysemy in /mē/ 'in' and /pəɾ/ 'on'

In the Hindi language, there is visible systematic change in the forms of locative expressions. This study deals with the linguistic categorization of locative postpositions in Hindi. Postpositions are viewed as linguistic representations of spatial objects which are unique in the structure of a given language community. The speakers of the same language are in agreement about the visual components of the object world. The listener is immediately cued by the speaker to select one set of components for attention from a vast array of possibilities. Postpositions represent a cognitive mapping<sup>3</sup> of a culturally contingent set of visual percepts. There are a number of instances in the study of the grammatical structure of the Hindi language where locative expressions are certainly discussed as a product or a part of the postpositions but with little prominence as a semantic category as a whole.

There are a number of distinct representations of postpositions in Hindi. However, the present paper diachronically investigates the varied forms that have undergone the process of evolution of locative expressions in MSH. During the process of evolution, the elements have undergone various structural transformations which in turn mark a distinction in the form of language at its synchronic stage from how it was before. The reason for this structural diversity in grammatical categories of any language or within language is simplification in the means of expression. These different means of expression reflect distinct evolutionary stages of that particular language. For instance, there are certain grammatical forms such as complex postposition specifically in the Hindi language that develop out of lexical items (noun, verb) via a gradual process of language fusion and phonological erosion along with semantic generalization. Thus, the present paper traces the varied stages of transformations of synchronic form of locatives expression in MSH.

## 2. Research objectives of the study

The research objectives of the study are: to present the linguistic evolution of the present form of locatives in MSH; to find out the diachronic changes in the lexical form of locative postpositions from the Hindi language of the 16th century to MSH; to provide a linguistic categorization of locative postpositions on the basis of their semantic use in the syntactic structure of language. Further, the research hypothesises that the diachronic study of postpositions in Hindi depicts a morphological change with semantic alteration and polysemous nature in their form in MSH. It raises some questions about the evolution of /me/ 'in' and /pəɾ/ 'on', which are: what kind of lexical and semantic transformation does a locative expression go through? What are the various processes involved in the morphological evolution of locative expressions in MSH?

The remainder of the paper is organized into various headings, namely: the first section of the paper deals with the introduction of the study, titled "Introduction"; the second part of the paper, titled "Representation of Locatives in Hindi Grammar", talks about the methodology adopted for the linguistic study of locative expressions in the Hindi language; the third section of the paper, titled "Data and Interpretation", includes the data to be analysed with their linguistic analysis and interpretation at large; this section is further divided into various sub-sections discussing the aspect with respect to the language considered, diachronically; the last section, titled "Conclusion and findings", provides the results following from the analysis conducted in the previous section and thus verifies the proposed hypothesis of the paper.

## 3. Representation of postpositions in Hindi grammar

The locative expressions are discussed variably as per the framework of the study in various contemporary works on Hindi grammar. Dwivedi (2011) has discussed locative types on the basis of function of postposition /me/ 'in' and /pəɾ/ 'on' in an elaborate manner. His work reflects upon the semanticity of locative postpositions. Guru states that both the locative /me/ 'in' and /pəɾ/ 'on' are

<sup>3</sup> Cognitive mapping is any visual representation of a person's or group's mental model for a given process or concept.

the main locative expressions in Hindi and reflect different meaning with respect to their usage. On the other hand, Kachru states that postpositions signal a relationship between two entities. For instance, they signal a relationship of possession between two nouns, as in /raju ki kitab/ ‘Raju’s book’, or the location of an entity in space, as in /raju ki kitab mez pərhe/ ‘raju’s book is on the table’. Agnihotri provides a brief description of the nature and structure of Hindi postpositions. He presents a basic idea about the role of postpositions in the grammatical construction of Hindi sentences. The postpositions are characterized on the basis of the role in the grammaticality of a sentence as temporal postpositions and location or spatial postpositions. Koul (2009) defines postpositions as a grammatical category with specific semantic functions. He claims that postpositions express the semantic dimensions of a noun such as manner, benefaction, or location.

The /pərsərg/ ‘postposition’ is considered to be derived from the English word “preposition” which is identified as a marker that reflects a relationship between various elements present in the construction and plays a crucial semantic role in the grammatical organization of a language. Most of the Indo-Aryan languages are postpositional, unlike English which constitutes prepositions in the structure of its sentences. Postposition basically falls under the functional category (Cooper, 1968) of words which does not have any lexical prominence but plays a grammatical role in the conceptualization of utterances in most subject-object-verb (S-O-V) constructions, such as in the Hindi language. In Old Hindi the word used in place of /pərsərg/ ‘postposition’ was /vibhəkəti/ ‘case’. In other words, /pərsərg/ ‘postposition’ is a borrowed concept from the English “preposition” and is a modified form of /vibhəkəti/ ‘case’ (in Sanskrit) or /karək/ ‘case’ (in Hindi). The Hindi language incorporates varied forms of /vibhəkəti/ which in turn constitute the amalgamation of various forms into three: 1. /rɪdʒu rup/ ‘direct form’; 2. /tɪrjək rup/ ‘oblique form’; and 3. /səmbodh rup/ ‘vocative form’ (Dwivedi, 2011). There is a three-way distinction that is made to distinguish /rɪdʒu rup/ ‘direct’, /tɪrjək rup/ ‘oblique’ and /səmbodh rup/ ‘vocative’ case forms. The other /karək/ ‘cases’ are indicated by /pərsərg/ ‘postpositions’, as they are indicated by preposition in English (Kachru, 2006).

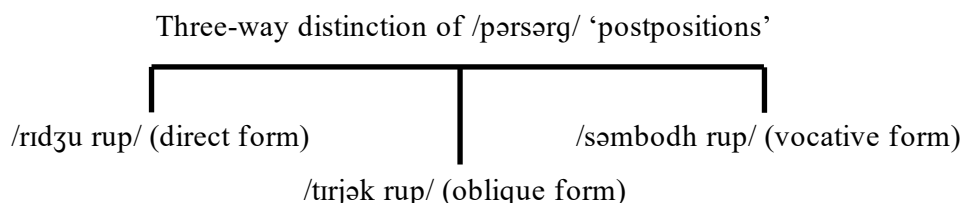


Figure 2. Three-way distinction of Hindi postpositions

The term /pərsərg/ ‘postposition’ has been adapted and incorporated into the syntactic organization of the Hindi language,<sup>4</sup> but there are certain blurred demarcations between prefixes and postpositions that further lead to complexities about the term /pərsərg/ ‘postposition’. This word is derived from the English term ‘postposition’ used for the explanation of the grammar of Indian languages; and moreover, postposition is an equivalent of “preposition” of English.

#### 4. Theoretical background

Diachronic and cross-linguistic studies show that there are a number of sources for locative expressions in any language including nouns, verbs and adverbs. Thus, the focus of this research paper is to identify the sources of locative expressions in the Hindi language. For that matter, use of locative adpositions in written as well as oral discourses is linguistically analysed. The method applied in the paper is the descriptive method by which the instances of locative expression in Hindi are highlighted, and the semantic changes that have occurred among the syntactic forms of locatives are described. Moreover, this diachronic study highlights the instances of use of locatives in Hindi in the late 16th century in texts

<sup>4</sup> Later, after varied assertions made by Pandit Ramavatar Sharma, an Indian Sanskrit scholar and academician who noted the /vibhəkəti/ cases as /əvjə/ ‘invariable’, a number of opposing arguments were put forward which did not support the term /əvjə/ ‘invariable’. Language researchers then felt the need for further investigation of words in the Hindi language which are used as invariables but don’t fall under one category of grammatical elements, and those words were later recognized as /pərsərg/ ‘postpositions’.

such as Sursagar,<sup>5</sup> Padmavat and Ramcharitmanas,<sup>6</sup> gradually moving towards Modern Standard Hindi. As mentioned, the paper is a diachronic study which incorporates previous studies that have been conducted on the grammatical structure of the language. However, the paper also brings out particularly the locatives /me/ ‘in’ and /pær/ ‘on’ and their gradual evolution over time.

The sources that were helpful in conducting the study were papers on the Hindi language; varied grammars of Hindi and specifically the chapters talking about the locatives or adpositions such as: *Hindi Vayakaran*, *Hindi Bhasha ka Vrihit Etihāsik Vyakaran*, *Hindi Bhasha ka Udgamaur Vikas*, *Modern Hindi grammar*, *Hindi*, and *Hindi: An Essential Grammar*, and research papers on the study of locatives such as “A semantic analysis of locatives expressions: the problem of intransitivity in prepositions”, “On the evolutionary paths of locatives expressions”, “Semantics and Pragmatics of Locative Expressions”, and “On the Semantics of Locatives”.

## 5. Data and analysis

The locative expressions in Hindi are grammatical elements that describe temporal and spatial relationships between entities in a clause or phrase. Locative postpositions such as /upəri/ ‘top’/‘above’, /mədjə/ ‘between’, /mədhjakər/ ‘in between’, /pasī/ ‘nearby’, etc, are modified forms of relatives. In Sanskrit these words were used to define location, and later the tradition was followed in Apabhramsha. In Modern Standard Hindi, the words mentioned above are used as /mē/ ‘in’, /pæ/ ‘on’, /pær/ ‘on’ or ‘at’, namely locatives.

The locative /mē/ ‘in’ originated from /mañ/, /māñ<sup>h</sup>/, /məñ/, /məhijā/. Similarly, /pæ/ ‘on’ was formed out of /pasī/, /pañ/, /pəñī/, /pæ/ and is now included in the category of third and seventh postpositions, i.e. a locative. /pær/ is derived from /pəri/ which itself is formed out of /upəri/. These words are functional or grammatical items which cannot stand alone or be used independently, therefore such items are called postpositions.

<b>pasi</b>	<b>pañ</b>	<b>pəñī</b>	<b>pæ</b>	<b>pe</b>
Nearby; Adverb	on/at	on/at	at	on, at (locative adposition)

Figure 3. Variation in the locative /pæ/ ‘on’

The abovementioned sequence depicts the morphological transformation of the current locative /pæ/ ‘on’. The gradual change in morphological form is observed in the use of such locatives in different Hindi texts. Examples highlighting the use of locatives in Hindi are discussed ahead.

### 5.1 Hindi locative expression /pær/ ‘on’

The evolution of locative expressions does not only involve morphological changes in the word but also draws some syntactic and semantic distinctions which further leads to complexities. In the case of the Hindi locative /pær/ ‘on’ there are distinct forms of the unit which are used in different semantic contexts and each with different morphological forms. But, the present form /pær/ ‘on’ is used in MSH as a single unit with varied function and context as is discussed below with instances from Hindi texts.

- (1) *donagiri*      *pær*              *ahī*                      *səñjivani*.  
 Dunagiri.N      on.LOC              is.AUX.PRES      magical herb.N  
 ‘The magical herb is on Dunagiri Mountain.’  
 (Surdas 16th century: 9/149)

Example (1) mentioned above includes the use of postposition /pær/ ‘on’ indicating the locational relation of the object /səñjivani/ ‘magical herb’ with the subject /donagiri/ ‘Dunagiri Mountain’. There

<sup>5</sup> Sursagar is a beautiful compilation of kirtan-verses composed by the great poet Surdas, which is appropriate and credible from the point of view of semantics.

<sup>6</sup> Ramcharitmanas is an epic poem in the Awadhi language, composed by the 16th-century Hindi Bhakti poet Tulsidas. The word *Ramcharitmanas* literally means ‘Lake of the deeds of Lord Rama’.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramcharitmanas>

is a figure-ground relationship between the object and the subject of the sentence, such that the object /sənjivəni/ ‘magical herb’ performs the function of figure here whereas this figure is located on the other entity within the sentence, i.e. the subject of the sentence. The subject is thus providing the physical ground, viz /donagiri/ ‘Dunagiri Mountain’, for the figure /sənjivəni/ ‘magical herb’.

- (2) *bɛtʰejo dʒaji ek tərʊvər pər.*  
 sit.ADV go.V.PST one.NUM tree.N on.LOC  
 ‘Went and sat there on a tree.’  
 (Sursagar 16th century: 9/75)

In example (2), here again the postposition /pər/ ‘on’ identifies the location where the action /bɛtʰejo dʒaji/ ‘went and sat’ is being performed and that is the other entity, viz, /tərʊvər/ ‘tree’. Again, as in the previous example, there is an action-location relationship where one entity is performing the action and the other provides the ground for that action to be done. The postposition /pər/ ‘on’ specifies the location of the action.

- (3) *sukʰasən kãdʰe pər gəhyə.*  
 comfort-mat.N.S shoulder.N on.LOC carry.P.IND  
 ‘Carrying comfort-mat on shoulder.’  
 (Sursagar 16th century: 5/4)

Here, in sentence (3), the postposition /pər/ ‘on’ reflects the location of the subject in the sentence, which is /sukʰasən/ ‘comfort-mat’. Further, the ground for the object is provided by another entity in the sentence, which is /kãdʰe/ ‘shoulder’. The phrase /kãdʰepər/ ‘on shoulders’ is a postpositional phrase wherein the postposition /pər/ ‘on’ along with the noun /kãdʰe/ ‘shoulder’ gives the location of the subject, which, further, is in contact with the surface. That is to say, the subject is movable and is in contact with the surface of the location.

- (4) *mrig-cchala pər bethə kabir.*  
 deer’s skin.N.S on.LOC sit.V.P.CONT kabir.N  
 ‘Kabir sitting on deer’s skin.’  
 (Kabirdas 2010: 24/6)

In example (4), /mrigcchala pər bethə kabir/ ‘Kabir sitting on the deer’s skin’, Kabir is contiguous with the ground, which is /mrigcchala/ ‘deer’s skin’ and is directly in contact with the surface of the ground. According to Herkovits (1985), that relation centrally expressed is one of attachment, and attachment co-occurs with contiguity and support. In the example, Kabir is contiguous with the ‘deer’s skin’.

- (5) *tehi pər puri dharæ dʒō mōti.*  
 him/her.3P.PRO on.LOC complete.ADJ keep.IND.V that pearl.N.S  
 ‘That who put entire pearls on her.’  
 (Jayasi 1750: 100/6)

In the abovementioned examples (1) to (5), the Hindi postposition /pər/ ‘on’ is used, which specifies the location of entities within the construction of these Hindi clauses. Further, there is a specificity of location that the postposition provides. In other words, the use of /pər/ indicates a “surface-ground” relationship between the object and the other entities.

## 5.2 Hindi locative expression /pæ/ ‘on’

The locative /pæ/ ‘on’ as an entity of location indicating a locational relationship within the sentence or clause is used in texts such as *Sursagar*, but upon analysis it is quite evident that the use of /pæ/ ‘on’ is not as simple or similar but is more contextual, wherein the object is not literally in contact with the location. The postposition /pæ/ ‘on’ is further discussed ahead with examples such as:

- (6) *mandāv dhārām-radʒ pæ aajo.*  
 sage Mandav.N.M.S Dharamraj.N.M on.Loc.PP come.2P.IND  
 ‘Mandav came on dharamraj.’  
 (Sursagar 16th century: 3/5)

Now, if the locative expression is considered the one entity that is similar to its prototype /pæ/ ‘on’ it may or may not be appropriate as is shown in example (6) where the locative expression /pæ/ does not literally reflect the location of an object but is more of an entity showing the contextual relation of the object with the other units in a sentence. Moreover, /pæ/ ‘on’ here and also in the following examples is not describing a figure-ground relation but a contextual spatial relation.

- (7) *ohi ka singar ohi pæ shadʒa.*  
 His/her ’s.POSS ornament.P.N his/her on.LOC.PP suit.ADV.P  
 ‘The ornaments suit on the one supposed to it.’  
 (Jayasi 1750: 99/1)

Unlike example (6), the usage of /pæ/ ‘on’ in (7) is indicating the spatial relation of /singar/ ‘ornaments’ with the other entities. There is no exact description of the location that this expression is showing. Moreover, it is reflecting a connotative meaning. There is a naive representation of the relation between the locative expression and the object which is not clear.

- (8) *d<sup>h</sup>arti pæ d<sup>h</sup>arti nə a:va:.*  
 earth.N.F on.LOC.PP earth.N.F no.NEG come.V.IND  
 ‘Earth does not come on earth.’  
 (Agraval 2018: 571/3)

The use of /pæ/ ‘on’ in example (8) is connotative, similar to the examples discussed above. The semantic sense of the sentence is analytic, i.e. the sentence is true in its sense. Here, again the on is not referring to any figure-ground relation as object and the location is the same here, which is /d<sup>h</sup>arti/ ‘earth’ as in /d<sup>h</sup>arti pæ d<sup>h</sup>arti/ ‘earth on earth’. If the sentence is ‘moon on earth’ or ‘sun on earth’ the semantic sense is the same, that is, it does not literally mean ‘on’ but ‘over’ or ‘above’. This distinction is not clear as there is one locative /pæ/ ‘on’ which is polysemous because of its multiple semantic function.

- (9) *puni səb sur brāhma pæ jayi.*  
*jayi* all.QUANT.P god.N.M Brahma.N.M on.LOC.PP go.3V.PST.F  
 ‘Then all the gods went to Brahma.’  
 (Surdas 16th century: 6/5)

In example (9), there is a vague attribution of the locative term /pæ/ ‘on’/‘to’ which unlike /pe/ is more contextual and not specific about the meaning in use. The sense and reference here in this example, following previous ones, should be ‘on’ indicating position of action, but it is not the case. The postposition /pæ/ is ‘to’ here; in example (9) /brāhma pæ jayi/ means ‘went to brahma’.

There is another factor that emerges while talking about the semanticity of locative expressions, which is the “encoding and decoding” of the meaning being perceived and conveyed, and this further leads to another concept of “contextualization” of the objects that are modified by the use of spatial/locative expressions. In the abovementioned examples, there is capriciousness in the use of the locative terms /pæ/ ‘on’ similar to the term /pe/ used in previously discussed examples. However, here there is a change in the behaviour of the locative in a way that does not provide any predictive geometric setup. Moreover, it defies the relation between “sense and reference” but is more contextual and not related to the object from the outside world.

“Geometric conceptualization” intercedes between the naïve representation of the object in the physical world and the application of locative terms. A number of contextual factors bear on the choice and interpretation of a locative expression, such as relevance, salience, tolerance and typicality. There

are pragmatic principles relating to these that explain many characteristics of the situation of use. Here in all the sentences from (6) to (9), one thing in common is that the locative expressions do not indicate any specific meaning. Moreover, the meaning is connotative and not providing any geometric representation of the object on any specified location.

### 5.3 Hindi locative expression /pəh̃/ 'on'

The postposition /pəh̃/ 'on' is another form of locative postposition similar to the locative /pər/ or /pæ/. But, the semantic use of /pəh̃/ 'on' is somewhat distinct to /pæ/; as discussed above, its semantic usage is not contextual and not specific, whereas /pəh̃/ 'on' is more specific about the location of the entities within the sentence structure. There is a relationship of contiguity or specificity in the semantics of /pəh̃/ 'on' unlike the previously discussed /pæ/. Although both are forms of the modern locative /pər/, there is a change in the meaning of its usage with respect to context. The semantics of the locative postposition /pəh̃/ 'on' are discussed below with an example from Hindi texts.

- (10) *mānhū kəpəl pəh̃ kokil kudzət.*  
 suppose tree.N.M.S on.LOC.P cuckoo.N chirp.PROG.V  
 'Like cuckoo is chirping on the tree.'  
 (Surdas 16th century: 10/1805)

In example (10), /pəh̃/ 'on' provides a geometric location for action to happen, whereas in the following example the meaning and sense is more contextual and does not provide any physical space but gives an undefined location of effects of an action. In this sentence /mānhū kəpəl pəh̃ kokil kudzət/ 'Like cuckoo is chirping on the tree', the subject /kokil/ 'cuckoo' is doing the action of /kudzət/ 'chirping' on the location /kəpəl/ 'tree' where the subject is in physical contact with the location 'tree'.

- (11) *jiyu bəsət teh̃ pəh̃.*  
 to live.V.INF survive.V you.N.2P on.LOC.P  
 'To live and survive is on you.'  
 (Agarwal 2018: 404/8)

In example (11), /pəh̃/ 'on' provides a geometric location for the action to happen, whereas in following example the meaning and sense is more contextual and does not provide any physical space but rather gives an undefined location of effects of an action. The use of /pəh̃/ is not constant, which is to say that sometimes it provides a specific location, i.e. that there is a surface-ground relation. On the other hand, in some examples the use of /pəh̃/ is contextual.

- (12) *səti səmit məhes pəh̃ tʃəli.*  
 Sati.N.F.S quietly.ADV Mahesh.N.M.S on.LOC.P go.V.PST  
 'The Sati(Goddess) quietly went to the Mahesh(God).'  
 (Ramcharitmanas 16th century: 1/53)

Another important property of the locative expressions under discussion with regard to their semantics is their ambiguous nature, which is more contextual in use and highlights the complexities in conveying their literal sense and adaptive meaning. The lexical transition of the locative expression /pər/ 'on'/'at' is presented below in figure (4).

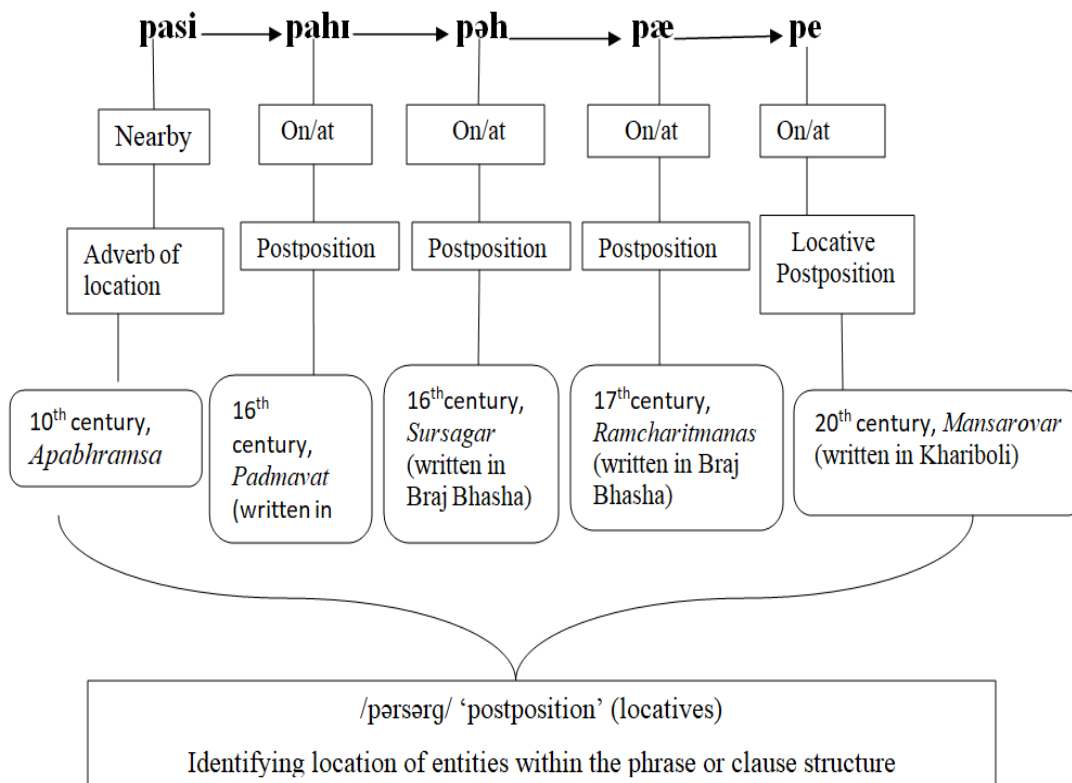


Figure 4. Transition of /pe/ ‘on’

#### 5.4 Hindi locative expression /mē/ ‘in’

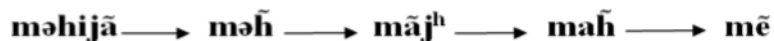


Figure 5. Variation in locative /mē/ ‘in’

Similar to the evolution of /pət/ in Modern Standard Hindi, a change in the locative /mē/ ‘in’ can be observed which is not just morphological but semantic as well. The evolution of /mē/ ‘in’ (see below) was out of the postposition /məhijā/ and the other following derived forms, which is clearly the result of various semantic processes like semantic bleaching and other morphological processes. Moreover, a semantic change is also observed in the use of locatives in Hindi as discussed below.

- (13) *pani*            *mē*            *ki*            *macchhari*.  
 water.N.M    in.LOC        of            fish.N  
 ‘The fish is in the water.’  
 (Kabir Granthavali: 16/44/1)

Again, here the spatial relation between /macchhari/ ‘fish’ and /pani/ ‘water’ is not clear, as /macchhari/ ‘fish’ is occupying a space in the water but is not part of the water. Its geometric description is not exactly like its literal or “ideal” meaning which is represented by the locative expression /mē/ ‘in’. There is semantic divergence in the meaning when used in context or in a real situation.

- (14) *səmjho*        *bhujo*        *apne*        *mən*        *mē*.  
 understand.V    guess.V      own.POSS    mind.N.S    in.LOC  
 ‘Understand in your own mind.’  
 (Kabirdas 2010: 16/44/1)



In example (14) the relation between the process of ‘to understand and guess’ and ‘mind’ is not something geometric but again a contextual and conceptual relation, as the locative expression does not define the geometric boundary of the process /səmjho bhujo/ ‘understand and guess’. Similar is the case in the next sentence (15) where the object is not bound to any specific geometric boundary, but the spatial representation is conceptual.

- (15) *na is tən mē dhəng.*  
 no.NEG this.DET body.N in.LOC etiquette.ADJ  
 ‘No etiquette in this body.’  
 (Kabirdas 2010: 6/9/1)

The phrase /tən mē dhəng/ ‘etiquette in this body’ refers to an abstract idea, as the object here is an abstract noun /dhəng/ ‘etiquette’. The usage of /mē/ ‘in’ is not about the relationship of any physical entity but is more abstract and is not about containment or contiguity. The semantic relationship between the entities in this sentence is purely connotative.

- (16) *ati a:nənd angan mē tʰadʰi.*  
 extreme.ADJ happiness.N.M.S courtyard.N in.LOC situated.V  
 ‘Extreme happiness is situated in courtyard.’  
 (Surdas 16th century: 10/78)

The semantic interpretation of the use of /mē/ ‘in’ is polysemous in nature as example (13)-(16) show a varied semantic function of locative i.e., that /mē/ is used in some places to indicate the location of the object such as in example (13) /macchari/ ‘fish’ is an entity occupying a space in another geometrical form which is water, and the location of the fish is indicated by the locative expression /mē/ ‘in’ because of the form of the ground. On the other hand, the same postposition /mē/ ‘in’ indicates the contextual relationship between the ground and non-geometric situations such as the feelings /a:nənd/ ‘joyous’ as in example (16); the non-specific location /mən mē/ ‘in mind’ in (14); and characteristics such as the object /mē dhəng/ ‘etiquette in’ in (15). In all the examples the semantic use of locatives is highly contextual and geometrically conceptual and capricious. Furthermore, predicting the ideal meaning of the locative expression is dependent on the relationship of the object and the ground. For instance, the location of the object /macchari/ ‘fish’ is in the water, specified by the locative expression /mē/, but the geometric boundaries are not clear about the space in which the object is contained.

### 5.5 Hindi locative expression /mədʰjə/ ‘in, between’

The locative expression /mədʰjə/ ‘in’/‘between’ indicates the presence of something between two objects. So, semantically it may depict the relationship of surroundedness or containment. It clearly indicates the location of the action or object in the middle of something or surrounded by two or more objects as discussed below:

- (17) *səgʰən kūj mədhjə tʃdən.*  
 dense.ADJ bower.N.M.S mid.LOC.POSTP sandal.N.M.S  
 ‘Dense bower in the middle of sandal.’  
 (Agarwal 2018: 645)

In this sentence the location of the entity /kūj/ ‘bower’ is clearly specified by the word /mədʰjə/ ‘middle’ which also reflects that the bower is surrounded by the sandal or in the middle of the sandal. The semantic relationship of surroundedness between the objects in the sentence is reflected by the locative expression /mədʰjə/ ‘middle’.

- (18) *ambər mədʰe disə tara.*  
 sky.N.M between.LOC.POSTP seen.V.INF star.M  
 ‘Star to be seen in the sky.’  
 (Agrawal 2018: 125/3)

The locative postposition /*mē*/ performs multiple functions in Modern Standard Hindi that are performed by the other forms of the locative, separately. That means to show the location of an object between two entities the postposition /*mədʰjə*/ ‘between’ and /*məhiġā*/ ‘in’/‘between’/‘among’ in old Hindi texts are used, whereas the same spatial and locational relations are indicated by the single locative expression /*mē*/ ‘in’/‘between’/‘among’ alone. For instance, examples (17)-(18) depict the use of the locative /*mədʰjə*/ ‘between’ to show the position/location of the object within the physical boundaries or the object which surrounded by a geometric arrangement. Similarly, the other forms like /*māh*/ ‘in’ and /*māhī*/ ‘in’ are different forms of the same locative indicating the location of the object.

### 5.6 Hindi locative expression /*məhiġā*/ ‘in’ and /*māh*/ ‘in’

The other forms of the /*mē*/ ‘in’ locative are /*məhiġā*/ ‘in’ and /*māh*/ ‘in’, but there is a semantic difference in these forms as /*mē*/ ‘in’ is a generalized locative expression which is used in every semantic context whether the relationship is of containment, surroundedness or a figure-ground locational relation. But, on the other hand, /*məhiġā*/ ‘in’ and /*māh*/ ‘in’ indicate only a relationship of surroundedness where the location of the entity is not clearly reflected as discussed in the examples below.

- (19) *din*            *dəs*                    *raho ju*    *gokul*            *məhiġā*.  
 day.N.S    ten.QUANT.N    stay.V    Gokul.N.M.S    in.LOC.POSTP  
 ‘Stay in Gokul for ten days.’  
 (Surdas 16th century: 10/3620)

In sentence (19) the locative expression /*məhiġā*/ ‘in’ specifies the location relationship between the action /*raho*/ ‘stay’ and the postpositional phrase /*gokul məhiġā*/ ‘in the Gokul village’. There is again an element of surroundedness that is reflected in the postpositional phrase, as ‘Gokul’ is a location, but where specifically in Gokul is not clear. Therefore, it is not just the locative postposition on which this relationship is dependent but the locational noun or noun of places also contributes to the semantics of locative expressions.

- (20) *binu*            *həri*                    *bhəġən*    *nərək*.            *māh*            *dʒai*.  
 without    Hari.N.S    song.N.S    hell.N.M.S    in.LOC.P    go.V.IND  
 ‘One goes to hell without Hari’s Bhajan.’  
 (Surdas 16th century: 7/2)

The examples (19) and (20) thus show the use of two different locative forms /*məhiġā*/ ‘in’ and /*māh*/ ‘in’ for indicating the spatial relationship between the entities. In these sentences, the locative expression does not specify the location of the object by providing clear boundaries of the object such as /*gokul məhiġā*/ ‘in gokul village’ and /*nərək māh*/ ‘in hell’ whereas there is no specified surface-ground relation and the idea of the geometric space is conceptual without marked boundaries. Further the lexical evolution of locative /*mē*/ ‘in’ is shown below in figure (6).

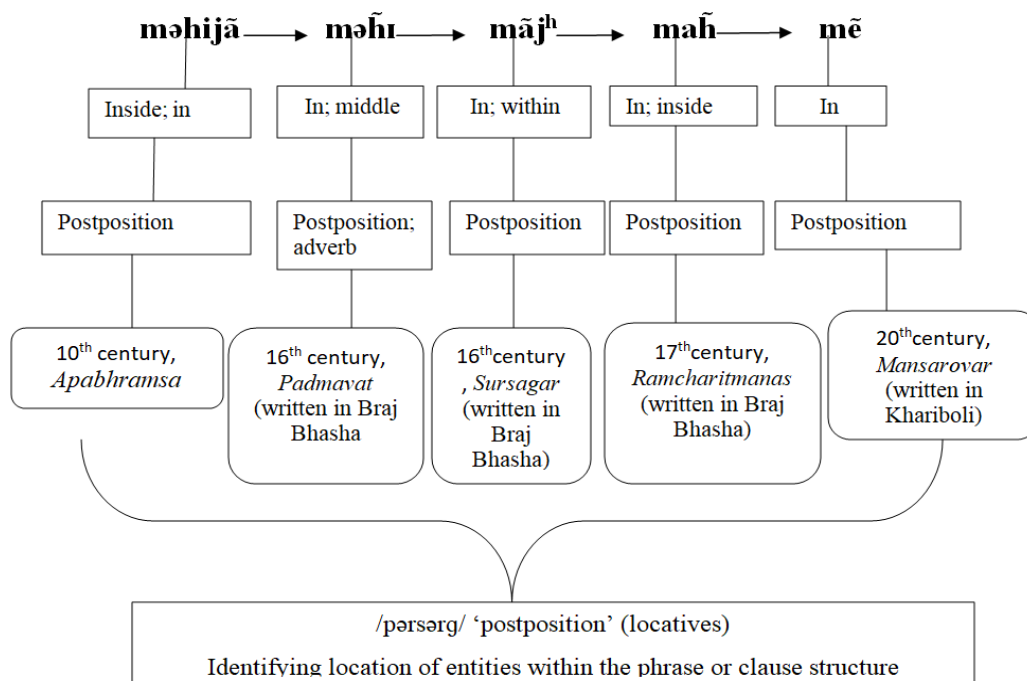


Figure 6. Transition of locative /mē/ 'in'

### 6. Conclusion and findings

The study concludes that the interpretation of the analysed data on the evolution of locatives from the Hindi of the 16th century till Modern Standard Hindi (MSH) verifies the hypothesis that the postposition has evolved over the passage of time with alteration in the syntax as well as semantics of postpositions. In figure (6) above, there is a form of the postposition /pər/ that is used for different purposes and contexts. On the other hand, the modern form of the locative /pər/ indicates and performs functions on various grounds, i.e. /pər/ has attained a quality of being polysemous as it is used to indicate contextual information as well as the specific locator of the object. Likewise, in the case of /mē/ 'in' the same results are observed, i.e. that /mē/ indicates properties which add more complexities to the use of locatives.

In the above analysis and discussion, the evolution of locatives is highlighted with the help of examples wherein along with syntactic or morphological change in the form, major semantic change is also observed. For instance, the forms of the modern locatives /pər/ and /mē/ have been used as substitutions of all other forms. There are processes such as semantic bleaching and grammaticalization that are involved in this evolution process which further add the property of polysemy in the use of locative expressions. A lexical form which refers to a concrete set of words are transformed into a grammatical word exhibiting semantic properties in its use such as contextualization, encoding and decoding, sense and reference, etc. In this process of evolution, lexical forms such as /mōdḥjə/ 'between'; /mōhijā/ 'inside'; /pəh/ 'on' etc depicting concrete and ideal meanings are transformed into the grammatical forms /mē/ 'in'/'inside'/'between'/'among' and /pər/ 'at'/'on'/'above,' which are geometrically conceptual and polysemous.

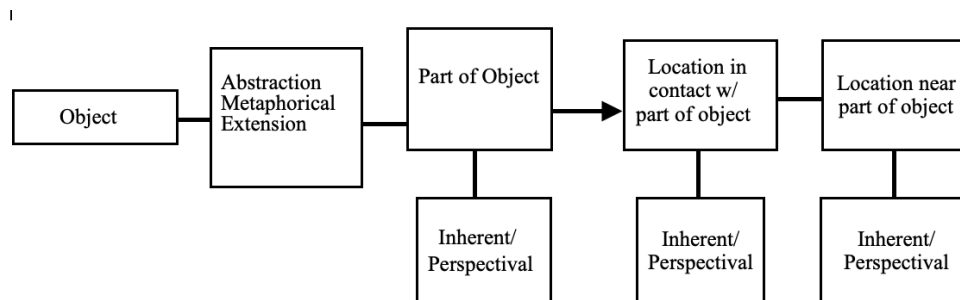


Figure 7. Semantic evolution of locative expressions as adapted from Svorou<sup>7</sup>

The paper analyses the semantic evolution of the Hindi locative expressions /pər/ ‘on’ and /mē/ ‘in’ with the help of instances of their usage in the Hindi of the 16 century till Modern Standard Hindi(MSH). The study concludes that the locative expressions in Hindi have evolved with the passage of time and with the phonological alteration the usage of locatives in Modern Standard Hindi has become more polysemous and complex. In other words, the locatives /pər/ ‘on’ and /mē/ ‘in’ are used in varied contexts, that is they impart meanings which are context dependant and include the location of the subject/object not just occupying geometrical boundaries but are also used in metaphorical situations. The data included 20 instances of the usage of /pər/ ‘on’ and /mē/ ‘in’ in Hindi, highlighting that these locative expressions have evolved and within that evolution the meanings have also contextualized.

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<sup>7</sup> Soteria Svorou, “On the Evolutionary Paths Of Locative Expressions,” *Berkely Linguistics Society*, (1986): 515-527.