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**The Pragmatics of Tense and Aspect in Narratives: A Linguistic Analysis
of Indo-Aryan Texts**

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Abstract

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This dissertation investigates the role of tense and tense and aspect in the creation and reception of structure and meaning of a narrative discourse. It does so by proposing an analytical framework to explain the grammatical principles underlying various pragmatic and textual functions attributed to tense and aspect that create various narrative effects. The proposed linguistic framework, founded on the Reichenbachian temporal primitives of Event Time (E), Reference Time (R) and Speech Time (S) and relations among these primitives, originates from the sentence-internal grammar of tense and aspect.

This dissertation investigates several questions associated with tense and aspect combinations in narratives: How tenses are embedded in narratives? What is the narrative function of historical present tense? How does grammatical aspect contribute to explain narrator's perspective on events? What is the contribution of tense- aspect in foregrounding-backgrounding of narrative events? It attempts to explain larger discourse structure with sentence-level grammatical principles by developing linguistic tools that explain pragmatic

elements such as speaker's attitude, distance and viewpoint when describing an event. The syntactic, semantic and pragmatic interface of this dissertation intersects the boundaries of linguistic analysis and literary analysis to show that there is a single grammatical system underlying both the narrative and non-narrative use of language. By so doing, it significantly advances the understanding of narrative structure, meaning and interpretation by providing grammatically meaningful explanation of the so-called "metaphorical" use of tense and aspect and their "shift." A consequence of this approach is that it eliminates the need to postulate two separate rule systems governing the sentence level and discourse level structures as proposed in the narratological analyses.

The unification of the grammatical principles underlying the non-narrative and narrative temporal structures is proposed here by borrowing theoretical insights from neo-Reichenbachian approaches to tense and aspect. The linguistic framework founded on the inherent properties of tense and aspect categories develops analytical devices to explain the specimen Indo-Aryan narrative texts and strongly predicts that similar issues in narratives across languages can be explained with the framework developed here.

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List of Abbreviations

3	Third person
Aor	Aorist Tense (in Sanskrit)
ERG	Ergative Case
FEM	Feminine Gender
Fut	Future Tense
HAB	Habitual Aspect
IMP	Imperfect Tense (in Sanskrit)
Imperf	Imperfective Aspect
Masc	Masculine Gender
Neg	Negation
Nom	Nominative case
Past	Past Tense
PCT	Perfect Aspect
Perf	Perfective aspect
PF	Perfect Tense (in Sanskrit)
POSS	Possesive
PRE	Present Tense
PRS	Presumptive
SG	Singular
SubJ	Subjunctive

Transliteration Schemes

I have kept the transliteration to minimum to facilitate readers with ease in understanding the passages from specimen languages Urdu and Sanskrit.

A Scheme of Transliteration for Urdu

In transliterating Urdu words, I maintain the distinction between short and long vowels for example: *a* (short) and *ā* (long). I do not maintain the distinction between different characters of the same class for example: sibilants *se*, *sīn* and *svād* are transcribed with *s*. The retroflex is marked with a dot below as in *ḍ* for *ḍāl*. The nasalization is marked on vowels as in *māī* 'I'

ا *a/i/u*, ب *b*, پ *p*, ت *t*,

ٹ *t*, ث *s*, ج *j*, چ *c*,

ح *h*, خ *kh*, د *d*, ڈ *ḍ*,

ذ *ḏ*, ر *r*, ڑ *r*, ز *z*,

ژ *zh*, س *s*, ش *ś*, ص *s*,

ض *j*, ط *t*, ظ *z*, ع *e*,

غ *g*, ق *q*, ک *k*, گ *g*,

ل *l*, م *m*, ن *n*,

و *v*, *ū*, *o*, *au*

h (aspiration) ه

ی *y*, *i*, *e*, *ē*, *ai*.

Izāfet: -e

Exceptions: I have transliterated *Umra'o Jān Adā* as *Umrao Jan Ada*, based on various English translations of this popular literary work.

A Scheme of Transliteration for Sanskrit

Vowels:

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *r̥*, ए *e*, ऐ *ai*, ओ *o* औ *au*, अं *m̐*

Consonants:

क *k*, ख *kh*, ग *g*, घ *gh*, ङ *ṅ*,
च *c*, छ *ch*, ज *j*, झ *jh*, ञ *ñ*,
ट *t*, ठ *th*, ड *d*, ढ *ḍ*, ण *ṇ*,
त *ta*, थ *th*, द *d*, ध *dh*, न *n*
प *p*, फ *ph*, ब *b*, भ *bh*, म *m*
य *y*, र *r*, ल *l*, व *v*, श *ś*, ष *ṣ*,
स *s*, ह *h*

Avagraha (deleted vowel *a*) - ' अतोऽहम् is transcribed as *ato'ham̐*
visarga (voiceless aspiration)- ः देवः is transcribed as *devaḥ*

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1 Introduction

This is a dissertation that deals with narratives and narration. Although both these terms “narrative” and “narration” co-exist in a single semantic universe, their meanings are distinct. For the purpose of this dissertation, I understand “narrative” as referring to constituted large-scale aggregates of language, primarily in the form of written texts. These texts are constructed by the “weaving together”¹ of incidents so as to constitute connected stories. “Narration” is understood here as referring to the process by which this weaving takes place. A narrative is primarily considered to be a “literary” text and narration a “literary” process by which this text is composed or “constituted.” But narration can also be understood in a purely linguistic sense whereby discourses are constituted out of linguistic entities such as words, phrases, clauses and sentences. The terms “narrative” and “narration” thus can have both literary and linguistic dimensions. And it is the intersection between literary and linguistic aspects of narratives and narration that is the primary focus of this dissertation.

For most of my life, I have been a student of languages, literature and linguistics. My interest in these fields goes back to my undergraduate days when I was a student of Sanskrit. As a student of Sanskrit, I became fully engaged with study of Sanskrit grammar and literature in a wide variety of genres, both in verse and in prose. This interest was deepened and pushed further when I did my Masters in applied linguistics at central university in Hyderabad. When I continued my graduate studies at the University of Washington, my interests extended into Old and New Indo Aryan languages and literatures such as Sanskrit,

¹ The word “text” is derived from the past participle of the Latin verb *texere* ‘to weave.’

Marathi and Urdu-Hindi. More specifically, I became interested in the role played by language both in the formation and production of literary prose narrative discourses. This dissertation is the result of my attempts to understand the linguistic foundations of both literary narratives and spoken discourses. No doubt, this is a vast subject, requiring more than a single dissertation to be treated fully. In this dissertation therefore, I deal with a limited portion of this general topic, namely, the use of the linguistic categories of tense and aspect. I analyze the role of tense and aspect in stringing together segments of language so as to produce coherent stories, whether in written texts or in spoken language. My analysis is focused on explaining grammatical principles underlying the structure, meaning and interpretation of narrative discourses. More specifically, I formulate the linguistic principles governing the use of tense and aspect to create specific narrative effects.

I am hardly the only person to explore the areas sitting at the boundaries of both the literary and linguistic analyses. Narratives sit at the intersection between linguistics and literary theory. Therefore, the analysis of narrative text can fall under the purview of literary critics, rhetoricians and linguists. The connection between literature and linguistics has been a central focus of a particular branch of literary discourse analysis namely, narratology. The field of narratology, concerned with the analysis of written narrative discourses, considers linguistics as a methodological tool² and borrows terminology and theoretical frameworks from it. One of the first linguistic approaches to narratology was developed by the Prague

² The founder of narratological analysis of discourse, Roland Barthes proposed that discourse must be studied from a linguistic vantage point (Barthes, 1975).

School³ of linguistics. Pioneering analyses were carried out in the framework developed by Prague School by such literary scholars as Roland Barthes (1975), Gerard Genette (1980), Seymour Chatman (1990) and Mieke Bal (1985). These narratological analyses were essentially literary in nature, only showing traces of borrowed linguistic terminology. Narratological analyses that focused on linguistic categories were carried out by scholars such as Emile Benveniste (1971), Harald Weinrich (1964), Monika Fludernik (1996) and Suzanne Fleischman (1990). These linguistic analyses of narratives tried to connect literature and linguistics by focusing on the phenomenon of “tense shift”⁴ in addition to the use of other linguistic entities.

Although important contributions to the study of narrative have been made by both linguists and literary specialists, the contributions of these two types of scholars have tended to exist in separate domains. To a great degree, literary specialists have approached the analysis of narrative texts in a way that has paid only modest attention to the formal grammatical means by which narratives are “sutured” together. Linguists, by contrast, have studied specific grammatical categories in discourses, but have tended to focus on narrative functions of linguistic categories. Clearly, there is no fertile area of intersection between the two approaches. It is one such point of intersection, namely the ways in which the grammatical categories of tense and aspect are employed and manipulated by authors in the

³ The Prague School of linguistics was founded by Roman Jakobson, Nicolai Trubstzkoy and their colleagues. Jakobson’s theory of *markedness* has been instrumental in theorizing the narrological approach to discourse analysis.

⁴ The phenomenon of “tense shift” characterizes the shift from default narrative past tense to present tense or vice-versa. Tense shift has been primarily analyzed within the framework of *markedness* theory.

formation of prose narratives, that lies at the heart of this dissertation. It is my contention that to the extent that many prior studies of narrative literature have discussed linguistic features of narration, the treatments of grammatical aspects of narrative have been superficial. With regard to tense and aspect, these analyses have tended to associate a particular tense or aspect with a specific discourse meaning or function. In this dissertation, I hope to show that such a view is overly simplistic and that there exists a much more fluid system at play with regard to the use of grammatical forms marked with tense and aspect. I will show how previously noted shifts in tense and aspect from their expected meanings and/or functions can be explained by an approach that unites insights from formal linguists with insights and practices from the study of literary narrative. More specifically, I attempt to answer three particular questions that are best answered by such an integrated approach. These questions are (1) what are the grammatical principles underlying the meanings, functions, and interpretation associated with tense and aspect in narrative?; (2) is the grammatical system of ordinary spoken language different from that of written narration or of extended spoken discourse?; and (3) what are the roles played by the categories of tense and aspect in structuring a discourse?

Although the techniques I bring to bear in answering these three questions draw from both linguistic and literary traditions of analyzing narration and/or discourse, it must be admitted that the formal model I propose in this dissertation for treating tense and aspect, as well as shifting with regard to those categories, draw more heavily from linguistics than they do from literary analysis. I demonstrate that there is a fertile connection between sentence level structure and narrative/discourse structure with regard to the formal properties of tense and aspect. I show that sentence level grammatical rules can be extended and modified so as

to explain the particularities of tense and/or aspect at the level of narrations or discourses. More importantly, I show that there can be postulated a single grammatical rule system underlying the use of tense and aspect at the sentential level and at the narrative/discourse level.

During the course of this dissertation, I analyze three specimen narrative texts, of which, two are written in Classical Sanskrit, an Old Indo-Aryan language. The third is in Urdu, a New Indo-Aryan language. The two Sanskrit narratives are *Pañcatantra* ascribed to Viṣṇuśarmā and *Hitopadeśa* ascribed to *Narāyaṇa*. These texts are collections of parables structured with a complex frame narration. The Urdu narrative, *Umrao Jan Ada* is a first person narrative fiction written at the end of the nineteenth century.

Given my focus on the two different types of prose narratives in Indic languages from two different stages of the same language family, one might postulate the existence of one or more Indian traditions of prose discourse analysis. In the Sanskritic intellectual history, the closest theory that deals with some portions of what is considered as Rhetoric in the western tradition of literary analysis is the Indian theory of figures of speech (*alaṃkāraśāstra*). But *alaṃkāraśāstra* is primarily concerned with the analysis of poetry (*padya*) as opposed to that of prose literature (*gadya*). However, traces of rhetoric or more specifically narrative analysis can be found in the portions of Sanskrit literary tradition of commentaries. The commentaries, particularly those on Sanskrit dramas, deal with prose narratives to explain meaning, structure and interpretations of these discourses. As far as the Urdu or Persio-Arabic side of the literature is concerned, there is no attested tradition of discourse analysis to the best of my knowledge. However, it is also important to note that the specimen Urdu narrative in my analysis displays well-attested influences from western tradition of realistic

novels. In the absence of any other tradition of discourse analysis that could provide a paradigm to define and answer the central questions of my dissertation, I use the western tradition of discourse analysis, particularly narratology as a point of reference. The structure, meaning and interpretation of narrative discourse have been a concern throughout the western intellectual history, particularly the structuralist branch of discourse analysis in the twentieth century. My analysis of the meanings and interpretations associated with tense and aspect in narratives borrows the western paradigm of linguistic discourse analysis. However, my analysis is significantly different from that of previous approaches.

My approach of analysis in this dissertation makes a significant advance in understanding the structure of a narrative discourse because it applies sentence-internal syntactic principles to larger discourse structure. The semantic principles inherent to tense and aspect categories in general and their parametric variations in the specimen languages explain how we construe meaning from a large temporally complex discourse. My extension of sentence-level grammar to discourse level explains the grammatical principles underlying the pragmatic and textual interpretations associated with tense and aspect in narratives. I establish a systematic correlation between the sentence-level and discourse-level use of language through grammar of tense and aspect categories. This correlation is based on the linguistic principles shared by sentences and larger discourse structures. My analysis is founded on the principles of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. These linguistic foundations bestow my framework with a sustainable explanatory power that was lacking in the previous approaches⁵. My analysis through its syntactic, semantic and pragmatic interface implies that the models for the

⁵ The previous approaches such as *markedness* opposition or “discourse representation theories” do not explain the “association” between a pragmatic function and tense and aspect.

analysis of sentences and larger discourse structures can be unified based on the shared linguistic principles. It also strongly predicts that there is a possibility of a universal explanation of tense and aspect related phenomena in narrative discourses across languages⁶.

My goals in writing this dissertation are not purely descriptive. I have theoretical points to make. The most important of those is that there is a systematic correlation between sentence-level grammar and discourse level grammar. In addition, a unified approach can be developed to explain the semantics of sentences and that of larger discourse structures through analyzing some specific pragmatic and textual functions associated with tense and aspect combinations. In treating pragmatic functions, I focus on the interpretations associated between certain tense and aspect combinations and narrator's perspective on narrated events. For example, a close, subjective and vivid perspective is associated with narrator's use of present tense. In addition, I also explain how and why narrator's distance from narrated event is associated with tense and aspect combinations. In textual functions of tense and aspect, I focus on the association of narrator's use of present tense and foregrounding of narrative event through focus. I also touch upon the association of tense and aspect with backgrounding in narrative discourses. In order to demonstrate my analysis I use narrative passages from specimen texts mentioned above.

The linguistic framework that I develop in this dissertation is designed using the semantic properties of tense and aspect as reflected in a theory of temporal primitives, the event time,

⁶ My approach of tense and aspect analysis in narratives is based on the basic semantic properties of these linguistic categories which are found across languages. Thus the framework based on temporal relations can be extended across languages to explain the grammatical principles underlying pragmatic functions of tense and aspect.

reference time and the speech time⁷ in describing the temporal properties of complex narratives. The syntactic element of my approach rests on how these primitives are ordered relative to one-another when an event is described in a course of narration. The dependency relations among these primitives underlie my analysis of narrative embedding of events. I borrow from Norbert Hornstein's framework for analysis of embedded clauses (1990) in developing my approach for analysis. In explaining the pragmatic and textual functions mentioned above I build upon Hamida Demirdache and M. Uribe-Etxebarria's framework of "Primitives of Temporal Relations" (2000). I extend the sentence-level temporal relations to discourse by mapping the temporal primitives on the properties of narrative discourses. This allows me to explain the association between narrators's perspective and tense and aspect categories. The theoretical linguistic frameworks that I build upon share a single set of terminology that revolves around the concept of time and how it is represented in a language. The "temporal" focus of the frameworks underlying my approach allow me to develop linguistic principles and tools that I can use to explain larger discourse structures and the roles of tense and aspect in them at syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels.

By way of its formal structure, this dissertation is divided into nine chapters. Of these, Chapter One constitutes an introduction to the dissertation as a whole. In Chapters Two and Three, I provide a background on the linguistic and literary aspects of my analysis. In Chapter Two, I define such basic concepts as "tense", "aspect" and "narrative." I also describe the tense and aspect systems of specimen languages to facilitate the understanding

⁷ These three times are proposed by Hans Reichenbach. They refer to the time of the occurrence of an event, the time of observation of that event by a speaker and the time of description of that event by a speaker respectively. These concepts have been discussed in detail in Chapter Four and Five.

of my analysis in later chapters. Descriptions of the place of specimen narrative texts in the Indian literary history are presented in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four, I present a review of previous analyses of tense and aspect in narratological tradition of discourse analysis. I describe how tense and aspect categories have been viewed in literary and in linguistic analytical approaches. Building upon the previous chapters, I introduce my new approach of “Expanded Linguistic Framework” (ELF) in Chapter Five. I explain the modified theoretical frameworks along with my application of them in order to answer the central questions of my dissertation. The following three Chapters (Six, Seven and Eight) demonstrate my application of ELF to specimen narrative texts. In Chapter Six, I explain the temporal embedding in narratives with my analysis of historical present tense in *Umrao Jan Ada*. In Chapter Seven, I derive and explain the pragmatic and textual functions of tense and aspect. I analyze specimen examples from *Umrao Jan Ada* to explain narrator’s perspective and distance from narrated events. *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśā* are analyzed in Chapter Eight to show how textual functions of foregrounding and backgrounding can be explained through my approach of analysis. In Chapter Nine, I summarize the main points made in the dissertation and point to additional questions for further investigation that arise as a result of the investigation I have carried out.

2 Theoretical Background

The goal of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical details of some of the basic concepts underlying my analysis of tense and aspect in narrative discourses. I begin with theoretical aspects of expression of time in a language. More specifically, I describe how the expression of time is encoded in the grammatical category of tense in 2.1. In this section, I provide definition of tense and discuss various perspectives that explain this concept and its basic properties. In 2.2, I turn to define the category of aspect and show how it is closely related to but different from tense. Aspect is defined and explained in the light of different analytical approaches. The discussion in 2.1 and 2.2 underlines how tense and aspect interact with one another so as to express various temporal properties of verbal actions. In 2.3, I define the concept of narrative with respect to its linguistic properties. The conventions of use of tense and aspect in narratives across languages are summarized in 2.4. The general discussion of the basic concepts is further developed with regard to the specimen Indo-Aryan languages: Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu in 2.5. I elaborate on the tense and aspect of Sanskrit in 2.6 and Hindi-Urdu in 2.8. I highlight the structural components of verbal system of these languages. The language specific narrative conventions are discussed in case of Sanskrit in 2.7 and that of Hindi-Urdu in 2.9. A summary of this chapter is provided in 2.10.

2.1 Linguistic Representation of Time of an Event--Tense

In this section, I focus on the morpho-syntactic category of tense, which is crucial in my analysis of narratives. I discuss the relationship between the non-linguistic notion of ‘time’ and its linguistic expression in the grammatical/ linguistic category of ‘tense’. The concept of time is understood as linear with a tri-part division into present, past and future. This tri-

part division of time is linguistically encoded in morphological tense markers. The basic categories of tense share the names of temporal divisions present, past and future. The expression of time formally encoded in tense then performs many functions in a system of a language. It is considered that tense has deictic and relational functions. The deictic function stands for the property of tense to point out the temporal location of an event. The relational property of tense on the other hand stands for its role in relating different temporal coordinates of a situation.

The term deictic in ‘deictic function’ comes from the word deixis. A dictionary definition of deixis (David Crystal, 1966) states that it contains those features of language that point out or refer directly to particular characteristics of a situation. The deictic pronouns such as ‘this’, ‘that’ point backwards and forwards in discourse with relation to a particular situation. Similarly, tense which is morphologically marked in the form of an inflection or otherwise on a verb, has a function of pointing out to some particular factors of a situation. Tense is associated with the locational reference of a situation by pointing out its spatial coordinates in a given temporal frame. The morphology of tense encodes locational and temporal deixis of a situation. This function of tense is highlighted in the referential approach by Bernard Comrie (1985). He defines tense as “grammaticalized expression of location in time.” We can understand Comrie’s definition with reference to the following example sentence:

- a) Mary ate broccoli.

This sentence is used to describe a situation that occurred at a time previous to the time of the utterance of the sentence. This priority of time is encoded linguistically by the use of past tense on the verb ‘to eat’. This example also highlights the difference between past time- the

time of the situation and past tense-the formal linguistic way of expressing that time. The deictic function of past tense is to point out to the past-ness of an event. Such deictic function can be served by other morphological tenses. In the future tense, the deictic function of tense is combined with the modal expression of future time encoded in the modal auxiliary verb 'will' as shown in the following example sentence:

b) Mary will eat broccoli.

The modal auxiliary describes Mary's intention to carry out the action of eating broccoli in the future. It restricts the locational reference of this situation to future time. The above two examples show how tense is fundamentally referential in the process of encoding expressions of time. This referential function of tense is an intrinsic function that underlies numerous approaches of tense analysis. The most prominent approaches can be classified based on their syntactic and semantic treatment. Of the semantic approaches, the fundamental approach is that by Hans Reichenbach (1947).

Reichenbach focuses equally on the deictic and relational properties of tense. It is achieved in his analysis through the concept of temporal primitives. The temporal primitives are speech time, the time at which the act of speaking occurs (S), reference time, the time at which an event is observed for utterance (R) and the event time, the time at which an event takes place (E). Tense establishes a relative ordering between these temporal primitives. For example: present tense denotes that the event predicated by a verb is occurring simultaneously with the time of utterance. Thus it establishes a simultaneous relation

between speech, event and reference time.⁸ The three primitives proposed by Reichenbach and temporal relations between them have been studied from the point of view of syntactic representation. The event time is represented in a verb marked with tense. The speech time is determined through the evaluation time (M. Enç, 1987)⁹. The mapping of temporal primitives in a syntactic representation of a sentence has been a focus of syntactic approaches to tense. A syntactic binary approach to tense holds that tense is a relation between the event time and the speech time. These two times are grammatically represented in a syntactic structure. In another syntactic approach, tense has been viewed as a dyadic predicate of spatio-temporal ordering. In this approach, tense has a set of primitives which include the two time denoting arguments: speech time and the assertion time¹⁰. Tense establishes a mapping relation between these two arguments (Hamida Demirdache and M. Uribe-Extbarria, 2000)¹¹. In both the syntactic and semantic approaches, it can be understood that the grammatical category of tense serves to localize an event in time. The process of localizing involves establishing a connection between the time of a predicated situation and

⁸ A detailed explanation of the Reichenbachian framework of tense is given in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

⁹ Evaluation time is that time which provides a frame for tense to be meaningfully interpreted. For tense, the evaluation is temporal. Tense specifies a relation of a situation to an external evaluation time. In most cases that external evaluation time is speech time. In embedded clauses the evaluation time is provided by the matrix clause event. In narratives, the evaluation time is provided by antecedent events (i.e. preceding in order) (Karen Zagona, 2013).

¹⁰ Assertion time is the time for which an assertion is made or to which the assertion is confined, for which a speaker makes a statement. The term assertion time is an extension of Reichenbach's reference time, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

¹¹ For detailed account of the theory of temporal relations established by tense and aspect refer to Chapters Four through Seven.

the time of utterance describing that situation. Thus tense is understood as a grammatical device to mark the temporal orientation of an utterance by establishing its temporal coordinates.

2.2 Linguistic Representation of Structure of an Event-- Aspect

The second morpho-syntactic category which plays a crucial role in my analysis is that of “aspect.” The grammatical category of aspect reveals the internal structure of a situation. The description of a situation by speaker at the time of speech is conditioned by factors such as the status of action whether complete, incomplete or in progression. These internal constitutive factors of a situation are grouped together under the grammatical category of ‘aspect’. According to Comrie (1976:3), aspect is defined as “... different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” An aspect provides information about the beginning, middle and an end of a situation. It is further explained that the difference between tense and aspect is related to their role in establishing a relation between different times. Both tense and aspect are concerned with time in different ways. The category of aspect does not have a relational property as that of tense. Tense locates situations in time by relating them to the moment of speech. Aspect on the contrary, does not relate any two points in time since it describes the internal constituency of a situation (Comrie, 1976). However, Comrie’s semantic approach to aspect is not the only analysis that explains the complex nature of this grammatical category.

Another semantic approach divides the notion of aspect into a two component theory: grammatical aspect and situation aspect. In this analysis, formulated by Carlota Smith (1991), the situation aspect stands for situation type of predicated verb. The grammatical

aspect is a speaker's viewpoint on a situation. The grammatical aspect provides one with a viewpoint/ visibility of the event described by a verb. The concept of visibility refers to the part of the event described by the grammatical aspect. For example the perfective aspect provides the visibility of a complete event. In Smith's approach, the concept of viewpoint or visibility has a pragmatic function of providing a vantage point to view and describe the way in which an event is carried out.

The category of aspect has also been analyzed in a syntactic approach by Demirdache and Uribe- Extebarria, (2000). According to them, aspect has a relational property like that of tense. Aspect is a dyadic predicate, which establishes a relation between two times. These two times are event time and reference time. The aspect reveals how an event is observed by a speaker at the time R for its description at the time of speech. The R time is called assertion time in this syntactic approach. This approach is elaborated in the review of previous analyses in Chapter Four and later in the analysis of Urdu narrative in Chapter Seven.

The definitions and explanations provided by above approaches to tense and aspect highlight that they are closely associated grammatical categories in a language. Tense has a function of referentially explaining the relation between the action denoted by a verb and its timeframe, while aspect has a more abstract function of describing the relation between a predicated action and its status in time. The linguistic approaches to tense and aspect reviewed above describe and explain how time expressions are encoded at the sentence level constructions. Now moving to narrative discourses from sentence level grammar, I first define the concept of narrative and then turn to describe how time is expressed in narratives. The definitions of narrative in this chapter particularly focus on the role of tense and aspect

in structuring a discourse. The narrative encoding of time involves some specific tense and aspect categories and conventions of their use which are elaborated in the following sections.

2.3 Narrative

As the subject of this dissertation is analysis of tense and aspect shift in Indo-Aryan narratives, I now define the concept of narrative and highlight its inherent properties. A ‘narrative’ is a communicative act, which involves some subject describing some experience in a form of events using linguistic or non-linguistic tools. I use the term ‘narrative’ to refer to a written and verbal act of communication. A ‘narrative’ can be defined as any minimal linguistic written or verbal act. It is a subset of a semiotic system of language which has a specific denotative function. The denotative function of a narrative is to initiate an utterance to relate something to someone. A narrative then is a linguistic construct in which a narrator makes his own experience known to others by arranging it in particular events. Thus it involves a set of events arranged in a particular sequential order. The basic properties of a narrative can be summarized as following: it is a ‘communicative act’ initiated by a ‘narrator’, involving a ‘narration’ of ‘experience’ in the form of ‘events’ arranged in a particular ‘order’. Based on these inherent properties, many formal definitions of narrative have been proposed. I choose to elaborate a few of them below.

As generally understood in narrative theory, a communicative act involves an addresser and an addressee, who carry out the communication by sharing some message. A narrative is thus “someone telling someone else that something happened” (Barbara Smith: 1980, 232). Smith’s definition emphasizes the function of narrative as a part of a social transaction. As stipulated by Roman Jakobson, a narrative involves sharing of a message by means of

linguistic symbols (1960, 353). Jakobson describes the six constitutive factors of a verbal discourse as:

“The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to (“referent” in another, somewhat ambiguous nomenclature), seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalized, a CODE fully or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee (or in other words to the encoder and the decoder of the message); and, finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication.”

Jakobson’s enumeration of these components is related to his approach to establish a relationship between discourse, language and poetic composition. The information about these six factors of language is encoded in a linguistic unit. This linguistic unit appears in a particular morphological shape and position in a syntactic structure. In order to analyze and interpret such linguistically loaded discourse, each of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules of language come into play.

Another scholar who treats narrative discourse as a communicative act is Gerard Genette. He gives three meanings of the term narrative - “A first meaning - ...*narrative* refer[s] to the narrative statement, the oral or written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or a series of events...” (1980, 25). In the second definition of narrative, Genette focuses on the act of narration- “*narrative* refer[s] once more to an event: not however the event that is recounted, but the event that consists of someone recounting something: the act of narration taken in itself” (ibid., 26). A narration carried out by a narrator involves description of an experience in the form of ‘events’. As the process of recollecting underlies the act of narration, a

narrative is characterized as a collection of events happened in the past told by the narrator by way of recollection or retrospection of an experience either real or fictive. The process of recollection involves arrangement of events in a particular order. Thus the events encoding the experience and their arrangement in a particular order are focused in the third definition by Genette (ibid., 27): “...*narrative* refer[s] to the succession of events, real or fictitious, that are the subject of this discourse, and to their several relations of linking, opposition, repetition etc.”

The order of constitutive events is determined by the time boundaries of events as narration involves arrangement of events along a finite time line. The process of narration is carried out by adhering to a particular temporal order to establish a relation among the events that have already happened. The temporal ordering is achieved through the category of tense. The tense markings inflected on verbs help in matching the temporal order of actual events and the recollection of those events. Thus narrative has also been defined as “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred” (Labov, 1967). This definition presupposes a narrator’s past experience in the form of events, which is later arranged into a particular structure.

The basic properties of a narrative discourse can now be understood as following: a narrative discourse includes a series of events arranged mostly in a chronological order. In this series of successive events, the events are referentially connected to each other. These sequentially connected events are viewed by a narrator from a vantage point in the past time. A narrative possessed of all these defining features is said to have the property of “narrativity.” The previously mentioned definitions of narrative were general definition

with no specific focus on the categories of tense and aspect. In the scope of my dissertation, I now turn to the definitions that particularly illustrate the role is played by tense and aspect in structuring a narrative discourse.

In order to highlight the role of tense-aspect in arranging a narrative discourse, Östen Dahl (1985, 112) has proposed two concepts that of narrative and that of narrative context. “A narrative is that in which a speaker relates a series of real or fictive events in the order they are supposed to have taken place” (ibid, 112). The concept of narrative context hints at the conditioning of narrative events by temporal reference. “A sentence occurs in a narrative context if the temporal point of reference (in Reichenbach’s sense) is determined by the point in time at which the last event related in the preceding context took place” (ibid.). The definition of narrative context entails that in a pure narrative discourse, every sentence except the first one is in a narrative context. The first sentence of a discourse sets the temporal reference point. Each following sentence derives its reference from the preceding sentence. This causal and temporal relation between sentences is linguistically displayed by the categories of tense and aspect. The semantic properties of tense and aspect provides a crucial link to bind narrative sentences together. An array of tense and aspect categories in a given language provides the mechanism to exhibit the simple temporal relation of linearity as well as complex linking relations such as opposition, prolepsis and analepsis¹². The chronological order of sequential narrative events and the importance of tense and aspect categories in ordering are also emphasized by Comrie. He states that tense and aspect markers play a key role in working out the possible chronological order of events.

¹² Prolepses and analepsis are the terms used by Genette for the narrative techniques of flash-forward and flash-back.

The definitions and description of narrative discourse and its inherent properties suggest that the shaping factors of a narrative are time, event, order and narration. The linguistic manifestation of these shaping factors is achieved through a skillful use of tense and aspect. There are some general rules and conventions of tense and aspect use that come into play in making a narrative discourse across languages.

2.4 General Conventions of Tense and Aspect Use in Narratives

In holding together the constitutive events of a narrative, specific tense and aspect combinations and verbal formations are chosen by narrators. The choice of these categories underlies temporally complex structures that put together large narrative discourses. The following conventions have been compiled together based on the general rules followed to construct narrative discourses across languages. The past time of narrative events is expressed by past tense, which occurs frequently in combination with the perfective or perfect aspect to express different degrees of past (Dahl *ibid.*, 116). The perfective aspect is usually employed to convey the meaning of sequentiality for successive narrative events. It functions to move things forward (Smith 1991, 130). Smith further explains why perfective aspect is used to denote the meaning of sequentiality in narratives- by using the perfective aspect a speaker emphasizes the final or endpoint of a situation. This emphasis is called the final emphasis force. The perfective aspect with final emphasis force is used frequently in narratives because narrative events are related to each other in a chain like structure in which the final point of one event is followed by the initial point of the next event. The use of perfective emphasizes each event as a complete whole to convey the sequential relation. Thus it becomes clear that the past tense in combination with perfective or perfect aspect is the

most commonly found tense and aspect combination in narratives. It occurs in almost all the languages of the world with few exceptions (see Dahl, *ibid.*, 116-7). The selection of particular tense and aspect categories is dictated by the defining characteristic of a narrative that it is a timed sequence of past events.

Although the combination of past tense and perfective aspect is considered to be a default combination of narratives, there are other tense and aspect combinations too that are employed in building complex narrative structures. One such frequently found combination is that of present tense with imperfective aspect, which is generally labeled as narrative/historical present. Other narrative combinations include past imperfective, past neutral (see Dahl *ibid.*, 118-9). Narratives sometimes display combinations of various tense and aspect used interchangeably with the default tense and aspect combination of past perfective. The change in use of tense and aspect in the process of default past tense narration is called ‘tense shift’ in narratology. The common example of tense shift found across languages is the shift to present tense or narrative present tense from the past perfective narration. The notion of tense shift and its narratological analyses are elaborated in the succeeding chapter.

The language independent properties of narratives have been described above in this chapter. However it is important to note that in particular languages these properties have different linguistic representations. In this dissertation, I analyze some specific narrative properties and issues in the narratives of two specimen Indo-Aryan languages Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu. To show how general narrative conventions of use of tense and aspect differ largely in the context of different grammatical systems of these Indo-Aryan languages, I describe the morphology of tense and aspect in Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu below followed by the language specific narrative conventions of use of these two categories.

2.5 Tense and Aspect in Indo-Aryan Languages: Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu

The specimen languages of my analysis; Sanskrit, Urdu belong to the Indo-Aryan (IA) language family. The languages in this family are conventionally divided in three stages: Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) and New Indo-Aryan (NIA). These divisions are not strictly chronologically sequential but they represent the various stages of development of languages in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax reflected in rich literature dealing with different branches of knowledge. Of the two specimen languages above Sanskrit belongs to the OIA stage, Hindi and Urdu belong to the NIA stage. As documented in the history, there are profound differences between these three stages with regard to phonology and morphology. In the context of my dissertation, I focus on the differences between verbal morphology of the classical stage of Sanskrit (OIA) and the NIA languages Hindi-Urdu. In the MIA stage the complex tense system appears to be replaced largely by the aspectual system. The OIA displays a verbal system primarily dominated by the category of tense along with some influences from aspectual MIA stage. In the MIA distinct perfective and the imperfective aspects replace the complex tense expressions along with simplified phonology and morphology. The NIA stage displays a richer aspectual system along with distinct tense forms. The phonology and morphology is largely derived from the previous two stages. On one hand the syntax is loaded with complex structures such as ergative and participial constructions, on the other hand, the case system is reduced to only a few cases. Though these three stages of languages differ significantly in regard to the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic features, I present a brief overview of only the tense and aspect system of these languages reflected in the verbal morphology. This

overview facilitates the understanding of the use of tense and aspect in narrative discourses of these languages.

2.6 Tense and Aspect in Sanskrit

Sanskrit as an OIA language has a highly complex grammatical system of inflectional type involving an interaction between the categories of tense, aspect, voice, person, number and gender. Of these, with regard to this dissertation, two are of particular importance- tense and aspect. As traditionally analyzed by native grammarians, verbal morphology is understood centering on a verbal root called *dhātu*. In creating various tense and aspect forms not only verbal conjugation markers but also other categories such as person, number, gender, voice and other grammatical processes come into play. There are various approaches in which the tense categories have been classified by Indian and western grammarians of Sanskrit. In general, there are four tenses; present, imperfect, aorist and perfect. Of these, the imperfect, perfect and aorist represent past tense. The highly tense based system of Sanskrit also shows leaning towards aspectual shift with the influence from MIA languages. To accommodate the aspectual tenses, W.D. Whitney (1913, 200-203) calls them tense systems in which the boundaries of tense and aspect are not strict. According to him, the basic tenses are present, aorist, imperfect or preterit and perfect. In present tense system, present tense along with its modes such as subjunctive and optative are included. The perfect tense system includes the preterit and perfect tense along with its participial forms. The aorist system includes simple and reduplicated forms of aorist tense. The future tense system is comprised of the sibilant future tense along with future participial forms. It is clear from the classification and descriptions of tenses above that in effect there is a range of categories

which enter in the boundary of tense and aspect but their categorization is not as strict in Sanskrit as it is in other Indo-European languages like Latin or Greek. In this dissertation, I follow generalizations for tense and aspect system of Sanskrit (OIA-Vedic) as summarized in Ashwini Deo (2006, 103), which are also applicable to the classical Sanskrit. The following table displays third person singular tense endings with the verb *gam-* ‘to go’.

The Generalizations for the Tense and Aspect in Sanskrit

TENSE	ASPECT			
	NEUTRAL	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	PERFECT
PRESENT	-	gaccha-ti ‘he/she goes/going’ Present	-	ja-gā-ma ‘he/she had gone’ Perfect
PAST	a-gaccha-t ‘he/she went’ Imperfect	-	a-gā-t ‘he/she went ¹³ ’ Aorist	

The present tense imperfective form is used to describe both the progressive and the non-progressive stative verbal actions. The present tense affix is either added to a root as in the aorist form or to a base/ stem as in the case of imperfect and the present. Among the three major past tenses¹⁴; aorist is the general past tense¹⁵. The imperfect is used to denote the past excluding the day on which the speaker uses the utterance¹⁶. The imperfect inflection consists

¹³ Aorist is a kind of past tense that is used to denote action just completed.

¹⁴ Pāṇini in his grammar called *Aṣṭādhyāyī* describes past tenses as *luṅ* (aorist), *laṅ* (the imperfect or preterit) and *liṭ* (Perfect).

¹⁵ *luṅ bhūte* (past tense) (3.2.110) The numbers in parenthesis refer to the book, chapter and aphorism respectively in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇinī (R.N. Sharma, 1987).

¹⁶ *anadyatane (bhūte) laṅ* (3.2.111). *anadyatane* ‘excluding today’.

of an augment *a-*, which is stem formative in the past tense as in *a-gaccha-t* above. This tense is not distinctly marked for any aspect. It usually expresses perfective aspect by showing that the action described by a verb is complete. It may be used to denote stative interpretations as well as habitual interpretations. The perfect is used to denote the past events which the speaker has not witnessed. These events are those which have happened on the day excluding today¹⁷. The perfect is either formed by reduplication of the stem or by a periphrastic construction. The example of perfect tense in the above paradigm *ja-gā-ma* is that of a reduplicated perfect. Thus, the aorist is the past tense used to describe the events that happened on the day of the utterance. The imperfect is the tense used to describe the events that happened in the recent past excluding the day of its occurrence. The perfect and the aorist are aspectually marked tenses, which are used to describe complete events. The future is formed in two ways using two different suffixes. The *-sya/-isyā* suffix of the sibilant future is used to describe the event that is going to take place in the near future. For example: *gam-isyati* ‘will go’. It is used to describe the event in the proximate future. The second type of future tense formation is parallel to the imperfect tense. It is used to describe an act that will be performed in the future excluding the day of the utterance.

The tense system of Sanskrit described above shows that tenses have an aspectual dimension. The verbal markers show a tight connection between what might otherwise be thought to be tense and aspect markers. As in case of the many languages of inflectional type, single overt grammatical marker often serves more than one grammatical function. For example the verbal form *gacchati* ‘goes’ in which, the overt grammatical marker *-ti*

¹⁷ *parokṣe liṭ* (3.2.115).

functions as an indicator of present tense, indicative mood, third person singular verbal form to convey that the action of “going” is simultaneous with the speech time resulting in an imperfective aspectual interpretation. The formal grammatical and linguistic analyses of Sanskrit describe tense and aspect as interwoven by using modern linguistic terminology as in Deo (ibid.) or calling them ‘tense systems’ as in Whitney (ibid.). These analyses hint at the ‘aspectual tense system’ in transition in case of classical Sanskrit. Of the tenses and aspects described above the categories that are used to express past tense meaning are significant in the scope of my dissertation as these tense and aspect categories are predominantly used in narrative discourses. In the following section on narrative conventions of tense and aspect use in Sanskrit narratives, I mainly describe the general observations on how the main categories of perfect, aorist, imperfect and present are used in narrative discourses to encode various expressions of time and establish an order between the narrative events.

2.7 Use of Tense and Aspect in Sanskrit Narratives

Narratives are constituted of linked sequences of events described by using clauses and sentences marked with tense and aspect. As stated above, Sanskrit being an inflectional language does not clearly demarcate between the tense and aspect categories. The meanings of tense and aspect are encoded in a single grammatical marker that is overtly inflected on verbs. Such inherently complex relation between tense and aspect in Sanskrit grammar reflects in narratives of this language. The tenses used in Sanskrit narratives generally perform both tense and aspectual functions in denoting the sequence, internal structure, and temporal location of events. Narratives generally display imperfect, perfect and aorist constructions. The imperfect tense is used to place a chain of events in a linear sequence.

The verb marked with imperfect tense may be interpreted as describing either a state or an event located in the past time in relation to the a speech time. The perfect is the aspectually marked past tense used to report the events in the remote past. Though the clear distinction between the perfect and the imperfect is maintained in the Vedic period of the OIA stage, it begins to disappear in the later stages of OIA dialects as reflected in the epic and classical Sanskrit literature. According to W. D. Whitney (1892], 5) “in the classical Sanskrit as is well known, imperfect and perfect and aorist are virtually equivalent tenses freely coordinated in narration.” On the other hand in the Vedic narratives the aorist is used to describe the events in the proximate past. Whitney also adds that the aorist loses its sense of proximate past in the later usage as it is also used in narratives interchangeably with the imperfect. In the epic narrative literature a new perfective participial form becomes available to denote events in the past. This form is aspectually perfective and is used to express sequential narrative events. The perfective is also used to denote resultative meanings. It is considered as an influence of the MIA vernacular dialects which is characterized by the single aspectual category of perfective to denote the past tense meanings. Whitney’s analysis of narrative tenses is not the only one that summarizes the conventions of tense and aspect use in Sanskrit narrative discourse. Paul Kiparsky (1998, 33) states that perfect along with imperfect is used for narrating sequences of past events, and picks out a specific, localized past time of the historical or remote past.

The above mentioned grammatical conventions of tense and aspect use in Sanskrit narratives do not touch upon the use of present tense. However, in the later MIA stage the present tense form which is marked with imperfective aspect is used in contrast to the perfective aspect. It has been argued by scholars that such present tense forms refer to past

tense events in later MIA narratives. Due to the fact that the present imperfective can sometimes refer to the past, it has sometimes been classified as ‘historical present’ in MIA narratives.¹⁸

Based upon all the observations and analyses from previous studies, it is evident that classical Sanskrit offers a range of options concerning which verbal construction can be used in the formation of narrative discourse. In general, the default tenses of Sanskrit narratives are perfect, imperfect and aorist as they are interchangeable. Among these three, the perfect and the imperfect varieties of the past tense are commonly used to narrate the events that have already happened. The perfective aspect as a result of the influence of the MIA aspectual system is later found to be used for narrating sequential narrative events. Thus it can be said that the conventions of tense usage in Sanskrit narratives do not differ much from the general conventions found across languages. In Sanskrit too, the predominant use of varieties of past tense is dictated by the basic property of a narrative discourse that it is a ‘sequence of events that have already happened in the past time’. The linguistic manifestations of the above mentioned conventions are demonstrated in specimen narrative examples in the succeeding chapter

2.8 Tense and Aspect in Hindi-Urdu

Urdu and Hindi are two major new Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia, spoken mainly in northern India, Pakistan, in parts of southern India and by diaspora communities throughout the world. Urdu shares a core of its phonology, morphology and syntax with

¹⁸ Refer to Deo (2006, 117-24) for a detailed discussion on the function of present imperfective as ‘historical present’.

Hindi to the point that some linguists consider Hindi and Urdu to be distinct registers of a single language often referred to as Hindi-Urdu¹⁹. These languages represent the modern stage by displaying a sharpest transition from rich tense system in OIA Sanskrit to complex aspectual tense system through vast influences from the MIA languages. In an aspectual tense system the tense information is carried by an auxiliary verb while the main verb is marked for aspect. Various interactions between the two morphosyntactic categories, tense and aspect, initiated by the aspectual tense constructions, result in a rich network of verbal forms. The intricate dependency of these two grammatical categories becomes explicit in case of the verbal system of this language, which is based on two formally distinguished tenses; present and past. The third category of future, held to be a basic category of tense in general is a problematic category in Hindi. In Hindi, future time can be expressed with variety of grammatical means which are illustrated later in this section. There are two main aspects, the perfective and the imperfective with its sub-types. The perfective aspect expresses completion of an action. The imperfective aspect on the contrary expresses incompleteness of an action. The incompleteness of an action is marked either as non-progressive or as an ongoing or continuous process. The habitual meaning is also denoted by imperfective aspect. The progressive or continuous meaning is indicated by the progressive – imperfective aspect. The perfect aspectual meaning is also available in Hindi-Urdu, which

¹⁹ In this dissertation, Hindi and Urdu are considered as two different registers of the same language. In the areas of phonology and morphology, Hindi shows influences from Sanskrit while Urdu is influenced more by Persian and Arabic. Apart from the differences in lexicon, these two registers of a same language share the grammatical system with regard to tense and aspect, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. However in educational, social, literary and cultural context they are considered as separate languages.

is expressed through periphrastic construction involving perfective participle and supporting auxiliary verb marked for tense. First I illustrate the three tenses with the help of the verb *honā* ‘to be’.

	Present	Past	Future		Present	Past	Future
	MASC/FEM	MASC/FEM	MASC/FEM		MASC/FEM	MASC/FEM	MASC/FEM
1 sg	hũ	thā/thī	hũgā/-gī	1 pl	Hāĩ	the/thĩ	hōge/-gī
2 sg	hai	thā/thī	hogā/hogī	2 pl	Ho	the/thĩ	hoge/hogī
3 sg	hai	thā/thī	hogā/hogī	3 pl	Hāĩ	the/thĩ	hōge/-gī

The verb *honā* ‘to be’ is used as an auxiliary verb in tensed constructions to carry the tense information. The verbs other than auxiliary verbs are not marked for tense by inflection; they are inflected with aspect markers alongside the auxiliary verbs. The following examples illustrate how aspectual verbal forms are used in combination with tensed auxiliary verbs to indicate simple as well as complex tense structures.

1. Present Indicative (Simple Present)

rām javān hai
 Ram.NOM.3sg young be.PRES.3sg
 ‘Ram is young.’

The verb *honā* ‘to be’ in (1) is used to describe a state that persists at the present time of utterance.

2. Present Habitual

rām khat likh-tā hai
 Ram.NOM.3sg letter.MASC.sg write-IMPERF.MASC.sg be.PRES.3sg
 ‘Ram writes a letter.’

The example in (2) can be used to express non-habitual non progressive action. In such cases the habitual aspect marker expresses present indicative use.

3. Present progressive

rām likh rah-ā hai
 Rām.NOM.3sg write stay-MASC.3sg be.PRES.3sg
 ‘Ram is writing.’

The progressive aspectual formation involves an additional verbal element to indicate that the action is on-going or progressive. The verb *rahnā* ‘to stay/remain’ is added to the main verbal stem. It then serves as a progressive aspect marker agreeing with the agent of the action denoted by main verb in person number and gender. The tense information is carried by the auxiliary verb ‘to be’.

4. Simple Perfective

rām- ne khat likhā
 Rām-ERG-sg letter.MASC.sg write.PERF.MASC.sg
 ‘Ram wrote a letter.’

The perfective participle is used in different types of constructions in combination with tense and mood markers. The simple perfective construction as in (4) is unspecified for tense. The verb is only marked for perfective aspect with no tensed auxiliary verb. The simple perfective by default conveys that the action denoted is complete and was carried out at some unspecified time in the past. Thus this aspectual marker is used to denote the simple past tense.

The perfective participle is combined with present past and future tense to encode different temporal expressions in Hindi-Urdu. For the purpose of this dissertation I separate simple perfective construction from the combined perfective participle constructions. The combined perfective participle constructions are marked for perfect aspect. Although in

Hindi-Urdu there is no morphological and terminological²⁰ distinction maintained between the perfect and perfective aspect, I choose to maintain it to facilitate the analysis of temporal relations in narratives later in this dissertation.

5. Present perfect

rām -ne	<u>khat</u>	likhā	hai
Ram-ERG.sg	letter.MASC.sg	write.PERF.MASC.sg	be.PRES.3sg
'Ram has written a letter.'			

6. Past perfect

rām- ne	<u>khat</u>	likhā	thā
Ram-ERG.sg	letter.MASC.sg	write.PERF.MASC.sg	be.PAST.3sg
'Ram had written a letter'			

7. rām	javān	ho	cukā
Ram.NOM.MASC.sg	young	become	complete.PERF.MASC.sg
thā			
be.PAST.MASC.sg			
'Ram had (already) become young/ Ram had already reached adolescence.'			

The sentences in (5 and 6) display complex constructions marked with perfect aspect. On the syntactic level, present perfect and past perfect is expressed through the perfective participle in combination with present and past auxiliary respectively. The present perfect in (5) has a stative interpretation. The action of 'writing letter' is complete and the completion is now an existing state. In (6) by contrast, the action was completed in the past and has no effect with regard to the present. Sentence in (7) exhibits a resultative perfect construction, in which the modal verb *cuknā* is coupled with the past tense auxiliary 'thā'. This combination indicates that the action was already complete at the time of utterance. Thus perfect aspect in Hindi-Urdu is expressed through a periphrastic construction involving perfective participle

²⁰ The present perfect construction according to my description in (5) above is commonly designated as the present-perfective in Hindi-Urdu grammar.

and an auxiliary verb marked for a specific tense. So far, I have described constructions in which the aspect is combined with tense. In the core verbal morphology of Hindi-Urdu there is a category of mood which closely interacts with that of tense. The close interaction between tense and mood can be seen in case of the future tense.

The future tense is constituted by adding the suffix *-g-* to a verbal stem followed by the person number and gender marker in agreement of the subject of a sentence as shown in (8). The tense formation in (8) is not the only way to express future time in Hindi-Urdu. The future time can be expressed by present continuous²¹ and even the simple perfective²² usually in conjunction with the adverb *abhī* ‘right now.’ There are other non-aspectual constructions which express future time with the category of mood. Future tense is organically linked to the subjunctive and presumptive moods²³. Future tense and subjunctive mood are in free variation in many contexts. The subjunctive construction is shown in (10) can be used as a variation of the simple future tense sentence in (8).

8. Simple future tense

rām	ghar	jā-egā
Ram.NOM.3sg	home	go-FUT.MASC.3sg
‘Ram will go home.’		

9. Presumptive

rām	likh	rahā	ho-gā
Ram.NOM.3sg	write	stay.MASC.3sg	be.PRS.MASC.3sg
‘Ram must be writing.’			

²¹ *rām sinemā dekhne jā rahā hai* ‘Ram is going to watch cinema’

²² *abhī āyā* ‘here I come’

²³ In the above example of presumptive in (9) the future time is expressed by the form of the copula verb *honā* ‘to be’ marked for mood.

10. Subjunctive

rām	śāyad	ghar	jāe
Ram.NOM.3sg	probably	house.MASC.3sg	go.SUBJ.MASC.3sg
'Perhaps Ram might go home.'			

After providing a general outline of the tense and aspect system of Hindi and Urdu²⁴ through above examples, I now turn to describe the narrative conventions of the uses of these categories. The observations on the narrative conventions summarized below are compiled from descriptive grammars of Hindi and Urdu since unlike Sanskrit, comprehensive account of the use of temporal categories in narratives does not exist in these languages. In Hindi-Urdu narratives too, the default tense of narration is past tense expressed through simple perfective and perfect aspect constructions. The predominant use of these past tense constructions reflects the defining property of a narrative discourse to describe the events already happened in the past time. The use of present tense in combination with imperfective aspect called as narrative present tense is also in accordance with the use of narrative present attested across languages.

2.9 Narrative Conventions in Hindi-Urdu Grammar

In my analysis of the specimen Urdu narrative, the simple perfective and periphrastic perfect aspectual constructions described above receive particular attention as they are the default tense and aspect of narrative constructions. To narrate the events already happened in

²⁴ My approach in presenting an overview of the Hindi-Urdu tense and aspect system is hardly the only approach to do this. Tej Bhatia (1987) describes the history of grammatical tradition in Hindi-Urdu in detail highlighting various approaches to the tense and aspect in these languages.

some unspecified past time, perfective aspect is found to be a natural choice in discourses. The perfect aspectual constructions is another type of tense and aspect combination used frequently in narratives to indicate that the narrated events have already happened in the past time and they are viewed by the narrator as complete in nature. In addition to the default use of perfective and perfect aspects, the imperfective aspect with present tense is frequently encountered in Hindi-Urdu narratives. I first describe the various uses of imperfective aspect and present tense in Hindi and Urdu grammar.

The imperfective aspect as stated earlier is used to describe the events that do not have any definite endpoint. An imperfective event can be non-progressive, habitual or progressive in nature. The temporal orientation of such imperfective events is specified by the tensed auxiliary in Hindi-Urdu. The imperfective aspect can either occur in combination with present tense or past tense in narratives. The present imperfective combination is mostly found in direct discourse narration in which the spoken words, thoughts, feelings etc. are quoted directly, retaining the present tense of the direct speech. For example; *rām ne kahā ki vah bīmār hai* ‘Ram said that he is sick’ instead of saying ‘Ram said that he was sick’ in languages such as English. This convention of using direct discourse for quotations imposes use of present tense on most occasions in narratives in addition to historical present tense used for realistic and simultaneous narrative effect.

The combination of past tense with imperfective aspect is a peculiar syntactic and semantic construction in which the main verb is marked with imperfective aspect with no overt auxiliary verb marked for tense. Although there is no overt tensed auxiliary, the temporal orientation of such imperfective sentences is derived through the narrative context as described in the following example:

11. dīpak roz subah uṭhtā thā,
 Dīpak every-day morning wake-IMPERF-MASC-3sgbe-PAST-MASC-3sg
 usake bād vo khat likhtā, skūl jātā...
 that after he letter write- IMPERF-MASC-3sg school go- IMPERF-MASC-3sg
 ‘Deepak used to wake up every morning, after that he would write a letter (and)
 would go to school....’

In examples such as (12) the past tense auxiliary verb is often dropped while the imperfective participle is interpreted as denoting an action that occurred habitually in the past time. This use of imperfective aspect is labeled as ‘narrative imperfective’. Narrative imperfective is often used in continuous narration after the context of past time has been set by the first sentence as in ‘dīpak roz subah uṭhtā thā’. This variety of imperfective is also used to express contrary to fact situations.

12. dīpak tālā lagā-tā...
 Deepak.NOM.MASC.3sg lock put-IMPERF.MASC.3sg
 ‘Had Deepak put on the lock...’

This example displays a contrary to fact statement which generally has a an elided conditional in the beginning such as *agar* ‘if’ followed by the subsequent clause preceded by *to* ‘then’. The example in (13) as a contra-factual statement is given in (12).

13. agar dīpak tālā lagā-tā to
 if Deepak.NOM.MASC.3sg lock put-IMPERF.MASC.3sg
 then

 corī na ho-tī
 theft.FEM.sg NEG be-IMPERF-FEM.sg
 ‘If Deepak had locked (the door) then the theft would not have occurred.’

These general conventions of tense and aspect use in Hindi-Urdu narratives can be attested in most of the modern narrative texts including the specimen Urdu narrative in this dissertation. In the succeeding chapter I describe how these grammatical conventions in Hindi-Urdu reflect in the specimen narrative text. The Urdu specimen narrative, which is

mostly narrated in the default past perfective combination, shifts frequently to the narration in present tense and imperfective aspect displaying the phenomenon of ‘tense shift’.

However, the examples and analysis in the later chapters will reveal that the tense shift encountered in Hindi – Urdu is much extensive than it is in Sanskrit.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed two grammatical concepts- tense and aspect and one literary concept, namely narrative. In so doing, I have focused on the role of these grammatical categories in structuring a literary discourse of narrative. Tense with the underlying notion of time binds events in a narrative discourse in order to present it as a meaningful whole. Aspect with the underlying notion of viewpoint provides a perspective to view events in a narrative. By bringing together these fundamental linguistic and literary concepts used in my analysis, I highlight the linguistic interface of a narrative discourse. The general discussion of basic concepts is further developed with respect to specimen languages Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu by describing language specific tense and aspect systems. The accounts of tense and aspect system display sentence-level conventions of use of them. The narrative conventions of their use are described in separate sections on each of the specimen languages. These elaborations highlight that use of various past tenses and its combination with various aspects is a default combination employed in narratives across languages. However, they also point out that language specific tense and aspect may have different manifestations in narrative discourses. This leads to the following chapter on specimen narratives in which language specific manifestations of tense and aspect are illustrated

through examples. These examples also demonstrate how non-grammatical notion of time is grammatically encoded in tense and aspect to create complex narrative structures.

3 Specimen Narratives for Analysis

In this chapter, I introduce specimen written narrative texts from Sanskrit and Urdu-Hindi and focus on their place within the overall history of South Asian literature. I provide information about the titles and authors as well as provide descriptions of the genres in which they were composed and the structures in which the narratives are framed. I also provide a general outline of the internal structure of these narratives in order to show how these structures reflect implicit narrative strategies employed by their authors. The examination of internal narrative structure is carried out particularly with reference to the categories of tense and aspect. My discussion of the broad level structure of these texts and the roles that tense and aspect play in these structures is illustrated with some examples from the specimen narratives. First I describe in 3.1 the narratives I have chosen from Sanskrit. The specimen narrative from Urdu is described in 3.2. I conclude this chapter by summarizing my focus and goals in analyzing these narrative texts.

3.1 Sanskrit Specimen Narratives: *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*

With regard to Sanskrit, I discuss two texts belonging to the so-called *nīti* genre. These are the *Pañcatantra* ascribed to Viṣṇuśarman and the *Hitopadeśa* ascribed to Nārāyaṇa. Before going into their literary historical details, it is important to note that both these narratives have shared characteristics. First, these narratives contain narration in both prose and poetry. The main idea of each story is encoded in a verse, which is later elaborated with prose narration. Each story has a narrative culminating in a moral in a verse, a *śloka* that embodies the gist of it. Second, these narratives at least on the surface contain fables with various animal characters. Third, these narratives although chronologically assigned to two

different dates and considered two different compositions, draw from a common source. Now moving into the literary historical details of these narrative compositions, I discuss their authors, chronological order and date, place of origin, genre and general outline of both external/surface and internal structure.

The authorship of *Pañcatantra* is a point of debate as the original text of this narrative has been lost. Based on the textual and other evidences, the work is attributed to Viṣṇuśarman, who also serves as the narrator of these stories. Patrick Olivelle (2006) mentions that Vasubhaga has been identified as *Pañcatantra*'s author in some southern recensions of the text (ibid., 20). The uncertainty about the authorship of *Hitopadeśa* is evident in Nārāyaṇa's statement that the four books of *Hitopadeśa*; "[were] written drawing (stories) from Pañcatantra and other sources" (...*pañcatantrāttathā anyasmād granthāt ākṛṣya likhyate*) (2007:57). Historians of Sanskrit literature such as M. Winernitz (1971, III, 291), view *Hitopadeśa* as a reworking of *Pañcatantra*, whereas S. N. Dasgupta and S.N De (1947, I, 90), consider *Hitopadeśa* to be an independent work. According to Ludwik Sternbach (1960, 1), "...three quarters of *Hitopadeśa* are based on the *Pañcatantra*, while the remaining tales are either original or drawn on sources unknown to us..." Sternbach's views on the sources of *Hitopadeśa* appear to be influenced by those of F. Max Müller, who stated that "... the best known of these collections of fables in Sanskrit is the Pañkatantra, literally the Pentateuch, or Pentamerone. From it and from other sources another collection was made, well known to all Sanskrit scholars by the name of *Hitopadeśa*, i.e., Salutory Advice" (1881: 141). In absence of any definitive evidence pointing to the originality of Nārāyaṇa's *Hitopadeśa* being a work of independent creation, it can be considered partly as a work of

compilation. The role of Viṣṇuśarman and Nārāyaṇa in the creation of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* respectively remains uncertain.

It is not possible to say much with certainty concerning the biographical details of the purported authors of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. Hertel (1915) thinks that Viṣṇuśarman was a pandit from Kaśmir, in northern India and was patronized by a king called Amarśakti. In case of Nārāyaṇa, the concluding verses of *Hitopadeśa* provide some clue, as to the identity of purported author, who was patronized by a king called Dhavalacandra. However, this king has not been traced in any other sources. According to Törzsök (2007:27), it is likely that Nārāyaṇa was a learned scholar and wrote the stories of *Hitopadeśa* under Dhavalacandra's patronage, but these stories were narrated by a narrator named Viṣṇuśarman.

Nārāyaṇa's mention of *Pañcatantra* as a source for *Hitopadeśa* places *Pañcatantra* chronologically before *Hitopadeśa*. Although chronological ordering can be established by the textual evidence, the date and place of origin of these narrative texts remains contested. According to Johannes Hertel (1915: x) in his edition of *Pañcatantra* based on a Kaśmirian recension called *Tantrākhyāyikā*, a date for *Pañcatantra* can be assigned between 300 -570 C.E.. Burzoe sets an upper limit of the date in 531-570 C.E. based on his Pahlavi translation of *Pañcatantra*. Patrick Olivelle (2006), in his translation of *Pañcatantra* based on the reconstructed edition of F. Edgerton (1924), assigns a date of 300 C.E.. for the work. As in case of the *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeśa* too has been assigned to different time periods by different scholars. According to Judit Törzsök (2007) Nārāyaṇa cites two works from the eighth century C.E.: *Nītisāra* by Kāmandakī and *Veṅṅisaṃhāra* by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa. Thus it is suggested that *Hitopadeśa* was composed between 800 and 950 C.E. K. Ayyappa Paniker

(2003:79) notes that the date of composition of *Hitopadeśa* is assigned to ninth or tenth century C.E.

With regard to the place of origin of these narratives, there is no agreement among scholars. Olivelle (ibid, 21) notes that Edgerton, based on incidents in the *Pañcatantra*, thinks that the geographical provenance of this work is south-western India, but Olivelle concludes that the land of *Pañcatantra* is north India. The original place of composition of *Hitopadeśa* is controversial as well because the contenders include the eastern, southern and northern regions of India based on the literary history of the work. Despite surrounded by the uncertainties regarding date, authorship, place of origin, and others it is certain that the language of the original *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* was Sanskrit. However the history of translation of both texts shows that the language of these texts has never been limited to Sanskrit. *Pañcatantra* was recreated in various languages across the world through its translations. Below are some widely studied and quoted translations and recensions:

- a. Pahalavi translation of *Pañcatantra* (5th century C.E.)
- b. Hertel's Kaśmirian recension based on the *Tantrākyaīkā* (1915)
- c. Edgerton's reconstructed recension of *Pañcatantra* (1924)
- d. Pūrṇabhadra's recension of *Pañcatantra* (11th century C.E.)

Similarly, *Hitopadeśa* has also been translated in many native Indian languages. Frederic Pincott (1880: iii-iv) notes in the preface of his translation of *Hitopadeśa* edited by F. Johnson, that he has had access to the manuscript in Urdu along with translations in Bengali, Braj Bhākhā, Hindi and the "Gwālearī" (i.e. Gwālīor) dialect.

In addition to the shared features such as a mixture of prose and verse narration, fables with morals and other historical and literary facts, the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* have

some another features in common, namely their genre, purpose and internal structure. They represent a genre in which parables are woven into a complex pattern using a technique by which stories are subsumed under an overarching frame story and in which stories are embedded within other stories. In what follows, I first discuss the technique of embedded narratives and then turn to the internal structure of these two specific narrative texts.

The technique of embedding narratives²⁵ within other narratives has been studied in the narratological theory focusing on its defining characteristics. An embedded narrative by definition displays stories within one-another. The process of embedding one story inside another story imparts an implicit hierarchy to a text. Mieke Bal and Eve Tavor (1981, 43) define the phenomenon of embedding and the term “embedded narratives”, focusing on commonly found features of frame narratives. They state that “a phenomenon is embedded when there is:

1. *insertion*: the transition must be assured;
2. *subordination*: the two units must be ordered hierarchically;
3. *homogeneity*: the two units must belong to the same class.”

These three criteria are the defining characteristics of embedded narratives. The process of inserting one story within the other or moving from one story to other is called narrative transition. Narrative transition is achieved by a narrator through the use of some formal linguistic device or devices. The second and the third criteria above, namely subordination and homogeneity, pertain to the sections of the narrative that are enclosed within a common frame. Bal’s analysis asserts that the basic property of an embedded narrative is a narrative

²⁵Many works in different literary genres in the Indo-Aryan languages show the technique of embedding in prose narratives. The *Brāhmaṇa* texts, as well as some epics show narrative embedding. The study of embedded narratives in *Brāhmaṇa* literature has been carried out by M. Witzel (1987).

transition. Based on who initiates the transition in narratives, following two types of narrative embedding are enumerated in Bal's analysis:

- a. Focalizer's Embedding: The narrator hands over the focalization to one of the actors in discourse and that character carries the narrative forward by transitioning into another story, in which case the narrator keeps changing.
- b. Narrator's Embedding: The narrator remains unchanged and the transitions are initiated by one and the same narrator.

In order to see how these general characteristics of embedded narratives reflect in both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, I now describe the internal structure of these narrative texts. This description shows how narratives are embedded and how transitions are marked across key junctures within these texts.

Pañcatantra and *Hitopadeśa* display internal structures that are by large similar to one another. The structure on the text level is directly related to the purpose of these works namely, to train a king to exercise good judgment. These narratives contain parables designed for training a king in *nīti* 'statecraft, governance' *artha* 'politics and economics' *dharma* 'proper conduct', with focus on breaking and making alliances, war and peace. On the broader level, both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* have different books containing a collection of parables that elaborate on the principles to be taught. Each book has a title dictated by principle that is taught by stories in it. The *Pañcatantra* has five (*Pañca*) books:

1. *Mitra-bheda* 'on dissension between friends'
2. *Mitra-prāpti* 'on securing friends'
3. *Kākolūkīyaṃ: saṃdhi-vigraha saṃbandham* 'on war and peace: the story of the crows and the owls'

4. *Labdha-nāśam* ‘on losing what you have gained’
5. *Aparīkṣita-kāritvam* ‘on hasty actions’

The overall structure of the *Hitopadeśa* is similar to that of the *Pañcatantra* with a primary difference that *Hitopadeśa* has only four books:

1. *Mitra-lābha* ‘How to win friends’
2. *Suhṛd-bheda* ‘Dissension between friends’
3. *Vigraha* ‘Dissension’ (literally ‘pulling apart’)
4. *Samdhi* ‘Concord’ (literally ‘placing together’)

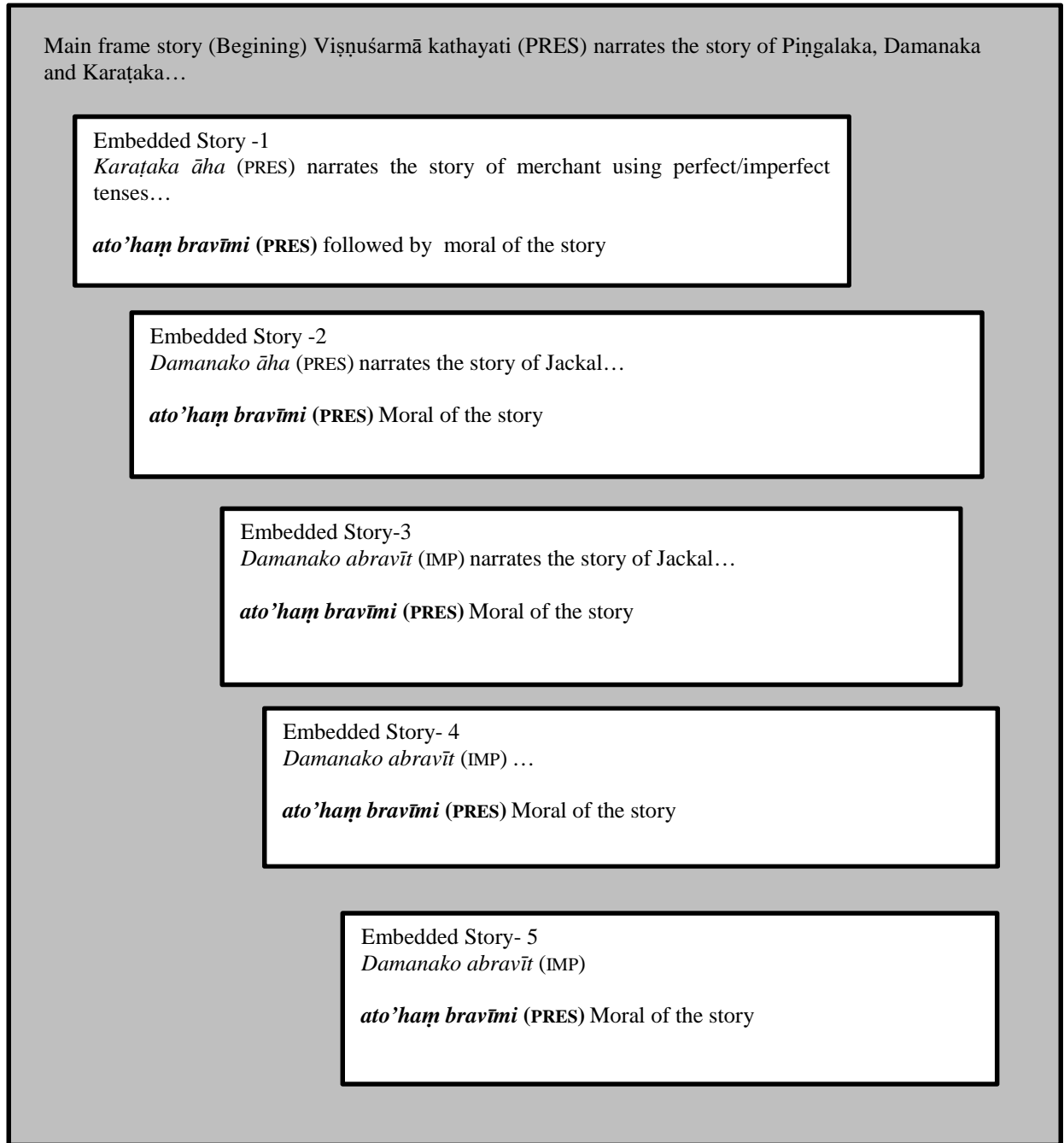
Each of these books begins with a frame story and the individual stories are placed within the frame of a main story. Although the degree of structural complexity differs in each book, frames and emboxments are found in all of them. Generally, a story is introduced by a verse containing a proverb or a hint to the moral of the story. After listening to the verse the listener in the story replies in question “how did that happen?” This question gives way to the narration of a further story, which is embedded in the first story. The first story in this case becomes a frame story. Each story ends with a moral, generally a form of a couplet *śloka* of a verse. Thus the verses mark both the beginning and end of the story to highlight the main idea and moral of that story. The prose narration in the middle involves parables that elaborate the main idea with the help of many characters and actions. The characters and situation of each parable is understood in relation to policy decisions facing a king. The characters of each narrative present a situation in question with multiple perspectives to a king. A king then has to use discernment (*viveka*) to choose the right course of action. If a king chooses a wrong option, it can lead to catastrophic consequences. With the mechanism of parables to be interpreted in the context of governance, politics and power, these stories

teach important principles of king's statecraft by differentiating the conduct of a ruler from that of ordinary people. For example; the first book on *Mitra-bheda* teaches the importance of sowing dissention among allies in order to prevent a king from having to rely on a single trusted friend as a source of advice and also to avoid concentration of power in the hands of a single counselor. These principles can be seen clearly in the over-arching frame story for the first book as a whole. The main frame story involves Piṅgalaka 'golden lion' the king, and king's trusted ministers, two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka. The story goes like this: Piṅgalaka reigns in the jungle with his circle of ministers. Once he hears a loud roaring sound and thinks that an enemy has entered in his territory. Piṅgalaka confines himself to a place secured and protected by the circle of ministers and continues to be frightened. Damanaka, the jackal asks Piṅgalaka about the cause of his fear. Upon hearing that it is a loud roaring sound coming from the jungle, Damanaka volunteers to examine what is the source of that sound. Damanaka finds that the sound is made by a large bull, namely Sañjīvaka and tells this to Piṅgalaka, who invites Sañjīvaka to meet with him. Piṅgalaka and Sañjīvaka become good allies. In a very short time, Sañjīvaka becomes Piṅgalaka's trusted minister and holds many of his secret policies. The advisor, Damanaka becomes envious seeing this concentration of power to Sañjīvaka and plays a strategic game to break the alliance of Piṅgalaka and Sañjīvaka. Damanaka pits Piṅgalaka and Sañjīvaka against each other by attributing false intentions to them. This causes Sañjīvaka to be killed by Piṅgalaka. This dissention among lion and the bull through provocations is narrated with the help of many short stories with different set of parables inserted within the main frame story. Towards the end of this book the narrative returns full circle to the main frame story, in which Piṅgalaka is devastated by the death of his best friend Sañjīvaka. Damanaka, who causes king

Piṅgalaka's separation from his trusted ally out of envy for power, concludes by saying that a king should not grieve after killing his rival as it does not suite the king's conduct. A king sometimes has to break friendly alliances in the interest of his own kingdom. Piṅgalaka is surrounded here by both good and evil allies. The evil minister Damanaka is greedy and has foul intentions against king, by contrast, the bull is a minister with good intentions. The king has fallen prey and in the end has had to endure the bad consequences adhering to bad ministers' advice. This main frame story is filled with embedded stories each with a moral teaching a principle of king's conduct. It is also important to note that the parables in both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* not only have wisdom for kings but they also teach general moral principles of ordinary human life discussed below. The type of structure of the first book of *Pañcatantra* summarized above is reflected by the complex structures of the work. These complex structures are realized by using tools such as the embedding narratives. In this dissertation, I do not go into more details of all of these observations and description on the literary level as it is out of the scope of my dissertation. However, I do treat in some detail the ways in which particular structural devices are connected to the use of overt grammatical devices. I establish a connection between the broad literary level and the innermost grammatical level. In establishing the connection between these two levels, I focus on the grammatical categories of tense and aspect. I show how narrative layering, transitions and highlighting of morals is designed using particular tense and aspect categories below, with the help of diagram of the embedded stories of the first book, *Mitra-bheda* of *Pañcatantra* described above. This diagram is intended to illustrate the board structure of books in *Pañcatantra* by showing narrative embedding and layers through specific tense and aspect categories. For the examples from *Pañcatantra* throughout this dissertation, I use

Patrick Olivelle (2006), which is based on the reconstructed edition of *Pañcatantra* by Franklin Edgerton.

Example One: *Pañcatantra*: Book I



Key:

- Grey colored box contains main frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā.
- Emboxed numbered stories are embedded within main frame story.
- The indented boxes indicate the hierarchy of embedded stories.

The above diagram, displays the broad level structure and embedding in the first book of *Pañcatantra*, namely *Mitra-bheda*. The book begins with the main frame story, narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā, about Piṅgalaka, Damanaka and Karaṭaka. The main frame story displays a mixture of imperfect and perfect tenses, which are understood to be interchangeable in Sanskrit narratives. The outer frame story contains multiple embedded stories, of which the structure of the first five stories is outlined above. Each of the embedded stories is also narrated using a mixture of perfect-imperfect tenses as well as perfective-imperfective participles. The first embedded story begins with *damanako āha* ‘Damanaka says’, containing the verb form *āha*, a third person singular form of *brū-* ‘to speak’ of the present tense²⁶. The sentences with which Damanaka narrates the story display a variety of past tense forms. Towards the end of the story, Damanaka says *ato’haṃ bravāmi* ‘therefore I say’ and the moral of the story is narrated. The use of present tense *bravāmi*, (first person singular form of *brū-*) just before narrating the moral is worth noting for several reasons. First, it represents a tense shift from the imperfect-perfect combination used in the immediately preceding text. Second, it immediately precedes the text used to convey the moral of the story. The use of present tense form, in the sentence *ato’haṃ bravāmi* occurs before moral of each embedded story. The purpose of this arrangement in the structure of frame narratives is pragmatically relevant as it serves as a tool to foreground the moral. The use of present tense at the beginning and end of the embedded story also has a purpose of marking a narrative transition from frame story to embedded story and vice versa. In my analysis of *Pañcatantra*

²⁶ *āha* is conventionally considered as a form of perfect tense, thus generally translated as ‘said’. I discuss the grammatical rule that describes *āha* as a form of present tense in Chapter Eight. I discuss how *āhā* as a form of present tense has a particular role in the structure of specimen frame narratives.

and *Hitopadeśa* I explain why the present tense is used at narrative transitions and why it is associated with the pragmatic function of foregrounding the moral.

Now, I turn my attention to the specimen example from *Hitopadeśa*. The use of present tense in *Hitopadeśa* underscores the narrative facts and their pragmatic interpretations discussed in the example from *Pañcatantra* above. For *Hitopadeśa*, I use the text incorporating various editions as presented in Judit Torzsok (2007).

Example Two: Hitopadeśa: Book II

The main frame story (beginning) Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati (PRES) narrates the story of Piṅgalaka, Damanaka and Karaṭaka...

Embedded Story -1

Karaṭakaḥ kathayati (PRES) narrates the story of merchant using perfect/imperfect tenses...

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) followed by moral of the story

Embedded Story -2

Karaṭako brūte (PRES) narrates the story of merchant using perfect/imperfect tenses

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) followed by moral of the story

Embedded Story -3

Damanako brūte (PRES) narrates the story of merchant using perfect/imperfect tenses...

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) followed by moral of the story

Embedded Story -4

Damanakaḥ kathayati (PRES) narrates the story of merchant using perfect/imperfect tenses...

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) followed by moral of the story

Embedded Story -5

Damanakaḥ kathayati (PRES) narrates the story of merchant using perfect/imperfect tenses...

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) followed by moral of the story

Key:

- Grey colored box contains main frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā.
- Emboxed numbered stories are embedded within main frame story.
- The indented boxes indicate hierarchy of embedded stories.

Hitopadeśa, which draws heavily on *Pañcatantra*, has a similar purpose and structure as that of its source text. Broadly speaking, *Hitopadeśa* is designed to teach principles of government and statecraft by way of stories concerning a king, surrounded by both good and bad ministers. The king who receives both bad and good advice from his minister has to choose a right path by using his power of discrimination (*viveka*). The process of teaching future rulers how to use their discernment to make effective choice in a specific context is narrated through parables in which animal characters represent the king and his counselors. On the internal level, like *Pañcatantra*, each book of *Hitopadeśa* has a frame story. Each frame story contains multiple embedded stories with morals that teach the principles of policy making, concord and dissension with friends etc. The above diagram displays the internal structure of the second book of *Hitopadeśa*. Similar to the embedded stories in *Pañcatantra*, each embedded story ends with a moral that is introduced by a sentence with a verb of speaking in present tense *ato'haṃ bravāmi* 'therefore I say'. Unlike the example from *Pañcatantra*, in which there were only two instances of present tense at the beginning of embedded stories (1 and 2), *Hitopadeśa* displays a consistent use present tense at the beginning of embedded stories. The consistency in use of present tense for marking narrative transitions and for highlighting narrative morals underscores the use of tense and aspect in these frame narratives. Although, such type of use of tense and aspect has been described in foregrounding and backgrounding, the question that needs to be answered is; why present tense is attributed the narrative function of foregrounding? What are the grammatical principles underlying the role of tense and aspect in grounding in discourse? I answer these questions with my analysis of these two frame narratives in Chapter Eight.

3.2 Urdu Specimen Narrative: *Umrao Jan Ada*

Umrao Jan Ada, considered by many to be the first significant modern novel in Urdu, is one of the most important works in the canon of Urdu prose literature. Written by Mirzā Muhammad Hādī ‘Rusvā’²⁷ in 1899, the work, at least on the surface, contains a fictional account of the life of an upper-class woman from the Avadh region in North India who is abducted and finds herself raised in a bordello in Lucknow. The work is largely in the form of a first person narrative by the protagonist Umrao Jan, along with dialogues between her and the narrator of the story Mirzā Rusvā himself. The work has a long and complex publication history of which some details remain unknown. The earliest surviving edition dates from 1899²⁸. The novel was frequently reprinted and has remained popular to the present day through its translations in various languages such as English, German, French, Italian and others. The novel has been a subject to various media representations in in Pakistan and India by way of TV serial and commercial movies. The work was both revolutionary and controversial when it was first published. Without doubt, the work exerted a powerful influence on the development of the modern Urdu novel. It served a major role in the development of Urdu prose from the period of prose romances in genres such as *dāstān*

²⁷ ‘Rusvā’ is Muhammad Hādī’s literary name, which literally means ‘disgraced’

²⁸ It was published by the Mushī Gulāb Singh and Sons Press in Lucknow. Columbia Universities Digital Online Library
http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6299825_000/pages/ldpd_6299825_000_00000001.html

or *qissā*²⁹ to the prose style exhibited by early twentieth century prose writers such as Ratan Nath Sarshar³⁰ and others.

Umrao Jan Ada has a specific premise in which it depicts the society of upper class Lucknow after the mutiny of 1857-58. The novel casts the socially condemned profession of prostitution in a sympathetic light. It records the pathos of courtesan Umrao's life as representing the isolated life of courtesans in general. Ruswā offers a peek into the mentality of courtesans and how they perceive their profession of prostitution through realistic representation of Umrao's biography. The plot of the novel constitutes of Ruswa's imagined conversation with Umrao, in which Umrao narrates about her own life as a courtesan. Even though this novel is considered a work of fiction, it contains numerous realistic depictions of courtesan culture and life.

The novel begins with a foreword by the author, in which he states how he was motivated to write about the life story of a courtesan called Umrao. The author relates how Munshi Hussein, a friend of Rusvā from Delhi, was very fond of Lucknow. He came to Lucknow often and would arrange informal meetings (*mushāirā*)³¹ with his friends, where guests would recite their verses. He continues that an elderly courtesan lived in the house next door. Once when Rusvā was present at the Mushāirā, loud exclamations of appreciation for Rusvā's

²⁹ The terms *dāstān* or *qissā* in Persian refer to a tale or a story. In a literary use it denotes the lengthy cycles of medieval romances consisting of heroic and adventurous tales of courage and valour with supernatural machinery, magic, enchantment. They constituted a significant segment of oral tradition.

³⁰ Sarshar (1846-1902), is best known for *Fasānā-i-Azād*, a four volume work largely influenced by the *dāstān* tradition, which displays extended episodic narration with fantastic characters and events.

³¹ Mushāirā stands for an informal gathering at which the guests turn by turn recite their verses.

verse could be heard from other side of the partition. Rusvā and his friends invited the unseen speaker to participate in the Mushāirā, but there was no response. A few minutes later a maid servant came and asked for Rusvā. Rusvā followed her to meet her mistress and recognized her as Umrao Jan. On account of his familiarity with Umrao and her poetic skills, Rusvā insisted she join in the Mushāirā. Umrao agreed and participated in the recitation of verses. After this session, Rusvā and his friend, impressed by the intense and skillfully composed verses of Umrao, urge her to relate her life story. At first, Umrao doesn't want to do so, but Rusvā persists about this and Umrao agrees to narrate her life story.

After the description of the Mushāirā, the formal narration of Umrao's story begins. Umrao narrates her story to the author in a series of successive meetings. She begins from her childhood and her blissful days at her parents' house until her abduction at the age of seven. She tells that she was kidnapped by her father's rival and was sold into a bordello (*kothā*) in Lucknow. Then she proceeds to describe her life after becoming a courtesan. The narration covers her love affairs, social conditions after the 1857 mutiny and her life as a retired courtesan. Towards the end of this narrative Umrao states that she has spurned marriage and the security that marriage would have brought her. She feels no self-pity and accepts her life as a matter of fact.

The plot of *Umrao Jan Ada* outlined above is constructed carefully with deliberate development of events. It has an intricate narrative structure resulting from choices made by its author. These choices have been made on two levels; on the external level and on the internal level. On the external level, they reflected in the narrative strategies on the part of the author namely, embedding of Umrao's narrative within Rusvā's narrative and Rusvā being present in the narrative as a character. These two literary strategies can be explained through

the concept of “metafiction.” Metafiction involves simultaneous creation of fiction and the making of a statement about the creation of that fiction. This concept directly applies to *Umrao Jan Ada*, in that Rusvā both creates Umrao’s novel and makes a statement about it. Rusvā begins his first person narrative in the preface, which forms a part of the main narrative. After the preface, Rusvā starts rendering the first person narration by Umrao, in which he is present as a character. Rusvā is the author as well as a fictive character of this narrative. The realistic nature of Umrao’s story is underlined by the structure of this novel, in which Rusvā tries to endorse the reality in the form of a fictive character that is given the same name as the author Rusvā. The preface by Rusvā can be considered as his statement about the creation of his novel. Rusvā tries to back up his statement of creating a realistic novel by confirming that what has been written in this narrative is as it was narrated to him by Umrao. The semi-autobiographical and realistic feel of Rusvā’s novel is created by author’s assertion in the foreword that he is an old acquaintance of Umrao.

The choices made by the author in arranging narrative events and employing various narrative strategies are reflected in specific grammatical aspects that collectively construct a narrative. The specific grammatical choices are the subject that I now turn my attention to. I particularly focus on the use of tense and aspect categories by Rusvā. The following example from *Umrao Jan Ada* display how this specimen narrative text consists of a discourse of situations that have already happened in the life of the protagonist Umrao. Each narrative situation contains a large set of actions that are arranged in a particular time and space. The locating of these actions in a particular time and space in the process of narration is carried out by tense and aspect. In the following two examples I show how the process of presenting narrative events in a particular space and time works in this narrative. For all

examples from *Umrao Jan Ada* in this dissertation, I use the Maqtaba Jamiya edition published in 1987. In the following example (ibid., 39) Umrao tells Mirzā Rusvā about what used to happen when her father returned home from office every evening.

abbā jab sām ko naukrī par se āte the (PAST) us vaqt kī khuśī ham bhāī behnō kī kuch na pūchie (IMPARATIVE). mām kamar se lipat gāī (PERF). bhāī abbā abbā³² karke dauṛā (PERF). dāman se cimāt gayā (PERF). abbā kī bāchē māre khuśī ke khilī jātī hāī (PRE, HAB). mujhko cumkārā pīṭh par hāt pherā (PERF). bhaiyā ko god mē uṭhā liyā (PERF). pyār karne lage (PERF). mujhe khūb yād hai kabhī khālī hāth na āte the (PAST). kabhī do katāre hāth mē hāī, kabhī batāshō kā donā hāth mē hai (PRES), kabhī til ke laḍḍuō kā donā hāth mē hai (PRES). ab uske hisse lagāe jā rahe hāī (PRE, PROG). us vakt bhāī bahanō mē kis maze ki laṛāiya hotī thī (PAST). vah katrā chīne liye jātā hai (PRE, PROG). mām miṭhāī kā donā hāthiyāye letī hū (PRE, PROG) ammā sāmne khaprail mē baiṭhī khānā pakā rahī hai (PRE, PROG).

I can't describe the happiness of us (brother and sister) when father used to come from work. I clung to his waist. Brother ran saying father. He clung to his skirt. Father smiles with happiness. He caressed me and rubbed my back. He took brother in his lap. He started caressing. I vividly remember he never used to come with empty hands. Sometimes he has two sticks of sugarcane in his hands, sometimes sugar sweet or a cup of leaves filled with sesame candy. Now that is being divided. That time, what a delightful fights brother and sister used to have. He (brother) grabs that sugarcane stick. That is being divided now. I grab the cup of sweets in my hand. In front, mother is sitting in the kitchen and cooking food.

The narrative discourse in example (1) above is made up of a large set of independent sentences. Each of these sentences presents a narrative action in particular manner or locates a specific narrative action in time. There is a variety of constructions that link these sentences such as imperative, simple perfective and present progressive. A close observation of these sentences reveals that the narrative passage begins with a sentence in habitual past tense action indicating that 'father's coming home' is situated in the past temporal space by

³² *abbā abbā karke* 'calling out' to his father. This construction involves reduplication of the own father followed by the absolutive of *karnā* 'to do' meaning 'having done father father.'

narrator. The second verbal form in imperative mood *pūchie* ‘don’t ask’ presents a sentence as a rhetorical question, i.e.- ‘don’t ask how happy we used to be when my father used to come home from office.’ In the succeeding sentences, we can see a number of actions described using perfective aspect, a simple past tense construction in Urdu. A perfective presents an event as already having happened in the past. However, these actions located in the past time through use of perfective show abrupt change in time when the combination of present tense and progressive aspect interrupts. The sentences with present tense and imperfective-habitual and progressive aspect present narrative events as incomplete, ongoing and occurring in front of the narrator’s eyes. For example, the actions of Umrao’s mother sitting front in the kitchen and cooking are narrated using present tense and progressive aspect. The observation of these actions in the present space and time by narrator create an effect of vividness, which enhances the realistic account of these actions. Such use of present tense in narratives has been traditionally associated with pragmatic interpretations such as subjective and close perception, simultaneous performance of narration. In my analysis, I explain why such interpretations are associated with present tense and progressive aspect particularly along with functions of other tense and aspect combinations.

There is a specific architecture to *Umrao Jan Ada* in which its realistic, embedded, and semi-autobiographical appearance on the external level is deeply rooted into its internal construction and presentation of events shaped by tense and aspect. I establish the interrelation between external and internal level of this narrative discourse by working from inside out. I analyze the grammatical structure of each narrative event arranged in this discourse in a particular manner by focusing on the tense and aspect endings they display. The linguistic analysis of tense and aspect in specimen examples is then used to explain the

functions these categories serve on the external level. The goal of my analysis in case of both the Sanskrit and Urdu narratives is to demonstrate that there is a systematic correlation between the surface-level literary structure and the deeper level grammatical structure. To achieve this goal, I have three narrative texts chosen deliberately from two different narrative genres and two different languages. These specimen narratives display a commonly found narrative fact of ‘tense shift’. This fact surfaces in these narratives in the form of interchange between the use of past and present tense. With respect to aspect, the shift surfaces in the interchange between perfective and imperfective.

In this chapter I have only a cursory presentation of the specimen narrative texts and the facts to be analyzed. With regard to *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, I analyze the underlying grammatical rules of the broad level structure of narrative embedding, narrative transitions and the role of present tense in these texts in Chapter Eight. With my Analysis of tense and aspect use in *Umrao Jan Ada* on the other hand I will explain the grammatical principles underlying narrative functions and narrative effects associated with these categories. I analyze *Umrao Jan Ada* in two chapters, focusing on the referential connection between narrative events (Chapter Six) and narrator’s perspective and location (Chapter Seven). However, before I can propose my analysis with a theoretical linguistic approach in the coming chapters, I first review the analyses of tense and aspect in narratives that have been carried out in the past. I particularly focus on the analysis of tense shift in narratives by Suzanne Fleischman. The review of previous analyses in Chapter Four gives way to propose my new approach for analysis that builds upon the theoretical linguistic frameworks by going beyond previous analyses.

4 Previous Analyses of Tense and Aspect: Narrative ‘Shift’ and Linguistic Relations

In the previous chapter, I provided examples from specimen narratives in Urdu and Sanskrit. These examples display exceptional and peculiar use of tense and aspect. In particular, these examples display a type of tense and aspect shift that is of central concern in my dissertation. Concern with tense and aspect shift and with the functions they serve in narrative discourses is not unique to me. Such concerns have been examined and analyzed by scholars from different perspectives using different theoretical frameworks. In this chapter, I review some previous analyses that have focused on the categories of tense and aspect, tense and aspect shift and functions associated with this shift in narrative discourses. I have divided these analyses in two groups based on their focus. The first group consists of analyses that employ narratological principles to analyze the structure of narrative discourses. These narratological analyses are mainly carried out by literary theorists using ‘narratological framework’ (NF). The second group consists of narrative analyses that are mainly carried out by linguists, who are primarily concerned with the linguistic categories of tense and aspect. These analyses are carried out using ‘linguistic narratological framework’ (LNF). Although the primary focus of analyses in NF and LNF was different, from one another they both were concerned with the structure and functions of narrative discourses. I begin my review of the analyses in NF by first introducing in brief the broad field of narratology. In 4.1 I discuss some of the basic concepts and principles on which the science of narratology is founded. A review of some of the prominent analyses highlights narratological views on narrative language, grammar and particularly tenses by associating various contextual functions to

specific tense and aspect combinations. In 4.2, I discuss ‘non-deictic tenses’ and explain how the postulation that tenses are non-deictic is one of the primary assertions in NF. Most of the influences on NF analyses originate in the Prague School of structural linguistics. One of the fundamental influences is the theory of *markedness* opposition, in which NF analyses were formalized. *Markedness* theory is introduced in 4.3. My description of *markedness* theory leads me to discuss in 4.4 how *markedness* opposition has been applied in the analysis of Suzanne Fleischman (1990). Fleischman’s study of tense- aspect shift, which belongs to LNF, describes pragmatic functions of these linguistic categories in a narrative context. A summary of Fleischman’s analysis, claims and conclusions is given in 4.4. I raise some important questions about the LNF and highlight its limitations. In 4.5, I criticize the theory of *markedness* and Fleischman’s analysis in order to highlight the need for an alternative approach. I propose such an alternative approach, one derived from theoretical linguistic frameworks which are developed for sentence level grammatical analysis of tense and aspect categories. These linguistic frameworks provide insights to explain what tense shift is and why it occurs in narratives. These frameworks provide a methodology to explain the contextual functions of tense and aspect in narratives. I summarize the basic concepts and principles of these frameworks in 4.6. In this section, I mainly focus on two neo-Reichenbachian frameworks: first, I explain in 4.6.1 Norbert Hornstein’s framework for tense in embedded clauses (1990). In 4.6.2 I explain Hamida Demirdache and M. Uribe-Etxebarria’s framework for temporal relations (2000). I conclude this chapter in 4.7 by highlighting the premise in which my new approach of analysis is shaped.

4.1 Narratological Frameworks (NF)

On Narratology

The term *narratology*, which was first introduced by Tzvetan Todorov in 1969³³ originated in the context of French structuralist, literary and cultural theory. Broadly speaking, in narratology, an attempt was being made to apply Saussurean linguistic principles to the study of the structure of narratives. In the process of adapting Ferdinand De Saussure's twofold distinction between *langue* (system/faculty/ rules of language) and *parole* (the act of speaking, language behavior), the symbolic nature of an integrated system of a language and that of a narrative discourse was highlighted. The notion of structure became fundamental to narratology when it was investigated to reveal the relation between the semiotic systems. The concept of 'structure' that I refer to here is one that was first introduced into linguistics by three Russian linguists, Roman Jakobson, Sergej I. Karcevski and Nicolai Trubetskoy, in their studies of phonemic systems of French and other languages. These three linguists, who later formed the nucleus of the Prague School of linguists, appropriated the notion of structure, which was implicit in the writings of their predecessor Ferdinand de Saussure. In the linguistic analysis by Jakobson and Trubetskoy, the concept of structure was closely related to that of the 'relationship' within a system. The 'relationship' was primarily explained by Saussure in the context of signifier and signified. Saussure's twofold distinction between *langue* and *parole* asserted that language is a closed integrated system that has a particular structure. The inherent opposition between *langue* and *parole* was instrumental in

³³ Todorov proposes this term in his structural analysis of *Decameron*. He defines narratology (*narratologie* in French) as science of narrative and separates it from literary studies (ibid.,10).

Jakobson's and Trubetskoy's analysis that was carried out by introducing the concepts of binary opposition 'marked' and 'unmarked'. The idea of 'structure' that became relevant in linguistics was adopted by other branches such as critical theory, literary studies, anthropology etc. along with the methodologies and principles stated by Saussure and developed by Prague linguists. A new approach of study centered on the concepts of sign and structure came into existence citing Ferdinand de Saussure as its precursor. This new structuralist approach practiced by Russian and French scholars asserted a formal link between linguistics and literary analysis and initiated the adaptation of linguistic theories for critical analysis of narrative discourse. This link, which was thought to be an implicit in early structuralist approach, was asserted to be explicit by Roland Barthes, who defined "structuralism" as "a mode of analysis of cultural artefacts which originates in the methods of contemporary linguistics." Barthes also highlighted the shared interests of the linguistic and narratological analyses with this definition. The narratological analysis based on the structuralist approach seeks to understand what sources or devices make the effects of a literary text possible. Similarly, formal linguistic analyses too, attempt to identify the rules and conventions that enable a sentence to have a meaning for its speakers.

Barthes' overall approach was summarized in his "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives" (1975). In this article, he explained how linguistics can be used to analyze the form and structure of narratives by describing following basic tenets upon which narratology is to be founded. There is a difference between the language that is analyzed by linguist using linguistic analytical methods and the language of a narrative discourse that is analyzed by a literary analyst. The non-narrative language has its own grammar and rules. For a linguist, a sentence in a language is a largest unit that can be analyzed in the scope of

linguistic principles. In narratology, by contrast, a narrative discourse is considered as a largest analyzable unit which has its own grammar and rules beyond the sentence level grammar of a language. Barthes suggested that there is a distinction between the grammar of non-narrative and narrative language. This distinction was later developed by narratologists such as Fleischman, who embedded narrative analysis in a linguistic paradigm. The underlying assumption for this binary distinction between narrative and non-narrative language was that the grammar of discourse is beyond the scope of the grammar of a language of speech.

The narratological framework designed on the postulated binary distinctions reflected in the layered approach of its analysis. The binary layers of story and discourse were postulated to unravel the structure and hierarchy in narratives. Vladimir Propp³⁴, a Russian formalist and a structuralist, proposed to work on the levels of story and discourse by classifying the narrative components in these two layers. According to him, the layer of story consists of the logical order of actions and the order of characters in narratives. The layer of discourse on the other hand comprises of tenses, aspects and modes of narration. Mieke Bal (1997 [1985], 3), who defined narratology as a theory of narrative texts, explained that the layer of story is a sequence of events whereas the layer of discourse is about the manner in which the events in a story are presented. Bal's definition confined narratology to written narrative texts with linguistic signs and substantiated Barthes's proposal of linguistics as a founding model for analysis.

³⁴ V. Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1968) presents a structural analysis of Russian folktales displaying primitives of narratological principles such as the dichotomy of story and discourse.

The structuralist narratological analyses are carried out with two broad perspectives; the textual perspective and the viewpoint perspective. Of these, the textual perspective deals with the analysis of tense shift employed for textual arrangement and grounding strategies in discourse. The grounding strategies consist of the dichotomy of foreground and background. The association between tense shift and textual arrangement is examined and analyzed later in Chapter 8 with respect to the specimen frame narratives in Sanskrit.

The viewpoint perspective is centered on the concepts such as focalization, point of view, consonant and dissonant narration. Focalization has been asserted by Genette (1988) to be of two types; internal and external. Internal focalization can be characterized as narrator's subjective perception of the experience of the past events. The narrator observes past events from within. The external focalization on the contrary, involves objective observation of narrative events from the vantage point outside of events. According to Chatman (1990), the idea of subjective and objective observation implies narrator's point of view. The point of view is also explained through the distance and proximity between the narrator and events, determined through the tense markers. For example, present tense due to its immediate and simultaneous interpretation indicates that narrator is closely observing the events as it happens in the internal focalization. The concepts of consonant and dissonant narration proposed by Dorrit Cohn (1978) explain the viewpoint of narrator by describing the relation between the narrator and the character/protagonist of the story. If the narrator views the protagonist from close distance, it's called consonant narration. In case of dissonant narration, the narrator views events from a distance. Cohn's approach was psychological as she tried to determine the degree of narrator's consciousness involved in the process of

narration. She did so by examining the language and particularly the tense and aspect morphology of narratives.

The above review of the scholarly literature on narratology, particularly with reference to analysis of viewpoint of narrator, highlights two important points. One, narratological tradition views narratives in terms of binary oppositions such as internal-external focalization, consonant-dissonant narration and subjective-objective observation. Two, narratological analyses describe contextual interpretations attributed to the tense and aspect categories used in narratives. The tense and aspect categories are attributed with many contextual pragmatic functions in narratological analyses for two main reasons; first the postulation that there is a difference between the temporal system of narrative and non-narrative language. The second reason is viewing of narrative tenses as non-deictic as opposed to a deictic category. The following points that differentiate between the tenses of narrative and non-narrative language are necessary to understand the underlying principles of previous narratological analyses.

4.2 Non- Deictic Tenses in Narratives

As explained previously in (2.1), in an ordinary, non-narrative language, tense is understood as a 'deictic' category. It locates an action in a temporal space by relating the event time and speech time of that action. With this relational property, tense points out to a location of an event in time by referring to its special and temporal co-ordinates. This referential function of tense is considered as its basic 'deictic' function. In a deictic tense system, generally the present moment is same for both speaker and listener. Tense, in a narrative language by contrast, is not understood as performing its basic referential function.

Narrative tenses do not relate the time of event to time of speech as the events are perceived as already happened in the past before the time of speech. The basic function of locating an event in time in relation to the speech time is lacking in narrative tenses. Thus, these tenses are viewed as non-deictic. In written narratives, the present moment of speech is never same for the speaker and the hearer. A narrator's present time is not the present time of the reader or listener³⁵.

These basic differences between a deictic and non-deictic tense systems substantiated the position of structuralist narratologists such as Benveniste (1971), Weinrich (1985[1964]) and Banfield (1982) to posit two distinct temporal systems for ordinary speech and narrative discourse respectively. This position was explained by noting the use of different set of tenses found in narrative discourses versus in communicative speech (Weinrich's *erzählte Welt* 'narrated world' and *besprochene Welt* 'spoken world'). The exceptional and peculiar uses of tense in narratives were further observed by Weinrich in the concept of tense metaphor (ibid., 192), which initially highlighted the phenomenon of tense shift. Tense metaphor defined the semantic metaphorical functions carried out by tense when tense shift occurs in the process of narrative. Tense shift occurs when a series of occurrences of tense is interrupted by the occurrence of another tense. For example, the use of historical present tense, which marks the shift from narrative past tense to present tense, provides reference to past events. This according to Weinrich is a metaphorical use of present tense which is non-deictic in nature because it does not point to the speech time 'now'. By noting that tense shift

³⁵ Oral narratives, however, are exceptions to this generalization, in that a narrator directly narrates a story to a narratee.

is crucial to determine what narrative functions are carried out by the category of tense, Weinrich highlighted his narratological approach to discourse analysis.

The non-deictic functions of tense and aspect categories in narratives were further studied and theorized using the framework of *markedness* oppositions, which provided a binary approach of analysis within an overall linguistic paradigm. In the following section I introduce the theory of *markedness* opposition as the primary narratological framework for analysis. The *markedness* approach with its inherent binary opposition of *marked* and *unmarked* elements provides perfect theorizing tools for a set of narratological binaries. The most developed analysis of non-deictic functions of tense and aspect in narratives using theory of *markedness* opposition is that of Suzanne Fleischman (1990). Fleischman's approach, which I refer to as Linguistic Narratological Framework (LNF), takes into consideration the previously proposed textual and viewpoint perspectives and builds upon them by focusing on the linguistic categories of tense and aspect and particularly tense shift. Fleischman's LNF provides insights for the central questions raised and addressed in this dissertation later. In the following section, I continue my review of previous analyses by first describing the theory of *markedness*.

4.3 Theory of *Markedness*

The concept of *markedness* attributed to Roman Jakobson³⁶ was initially introduced in the domain of phonology. As '*markedness*' came to be used at the grammatical level, it came to be associated with the morphology and semantics of the categories of tense and aspect. The

³⁶ According to Edna Andrews (1990, 2012), the formal concept of *markedness* was first proposed by Roman Jakobson in 1921 and the theory of *markedness* was later developed by Prague School linguists listed above.

concept of *markedness*, introduced to explain the oppositions at phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic levels of a language involved two terms; *marked* and *unmarked*. The *marked* contained a distinctive mark or property. On the contrary, *unmarked* was an absence of that distinctive mark. In the morphological and semantic contexts, the *unmarked* came to be associated with statement of a different property that the marked member lacked. The theory of *markedness* is founded on the notion of opposition that is assumed to be a part of every language. The opposition is a principle of the structure of a language, which exists at the level of grammatical categories. This opposition brings together two distinct elements; *marked* and *unmarked*. The *marked* category is differentiated from the *unmarked* one on the basis of meaning and statistical frequency. Statistical frequency is a controversial criterion to determine the *marked* status but it has been used and applied when the theory of *markedness* is applied to specific contexts on the morphological and semantic levels. This point is crucial in the scope of my dissertation as it relates to the application of *markedness* to understand the properties of meaning of tense and aspect in narrative discourses. Another controversial aspect which has had a significant impact on the application of *markedness* theory is that of reversal. It is considered that the *marked* and *unmarked* values assigned to grammatical categories may reverse when extended to other semiotic systems. H. Anderson (1972, 45) explains the idea of *markedness* reversal as "...the normally marked value for the feature is evaluated as unmarked, while the normally unmarked value is evaluated as marked-..." This type of reversal according to Anderson happens in a *marked* context. A *marked* context here stands for a specific context. Although Anderson defines the reversal and *marked* context on phonological grounds, these two concepts have been extended to narrative discourses. In such extension a narrative discourse

is considered a *marked* context with *markedness* reversal presumed in the categories of tense and aspect (Fleischman, 1990). In the following section, I summarize how *markedness* theory has been applied in Fleischman's linguistic narratological framework of analysis.

4.4 Fleischman's Application of *Markedness* Theory

Suzanne Fleischman in her *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction* (1990), presents a structural analysis of narrative discourses by focusing on the categories of tense-aspect and the phenomenon of tense shift. Fleischman's analysis is inherently narratological because it is founded on the postulation of the binary opposition between narrative and ordinary language. This postulation is developed on the basis of three principles of the *markedness* theory; first statistical frequency of an element either *marked* or *unmarked*. Second, inherent opposition between the *marked* and the *unmarked* and third, the reversal of *markedness* values in a marked context of narrative. The statistical frequency of variety of past tense in narrative contexts allows her to define it as the unmarked tense of narratives. The inherent opposition of *marked* with the *unmarked* defines all other tenses as *marked*, particularly the present tense and future tense. The reversal of *markedness* is at the crux of Fleischman's argument. It is translated at two levels: The first reversal is understood at the narrative and non-narrative context. The non-narrative/ ordinary language is considered *unmarked* while the narrative language is considered *marked* context. The second level of reversal is within tense and aspect categories of these oppositional varieties of a language. The *unmarked* present tense of ordinary language becomes *marked* in the narrative context. On the contrary the *marked* past tense of ordinary language becomes *unmarked* in narratives. Fleischman states that "The theory of tense in narrative...is founded on the proposition that

the PFV P (=PRET) is the (pragmatically) unmarked tense of narrative language and that this tense interpreted here as a cluster concept, carries a positive mark for each of a set of constituent properties operative at different levels of a linguistic system” (1990:55). Tense as a cluster concept presupposes that each tense has a different set of properties which provide various interpretations of that tense in different contexts. These properties are explained in the *markedness* theory as having oppositional values. The present tense in a narrative for example, has three interpretations; plus, minus and zero. The zero interpretation indicates an atemporal or timeless meaning of present tense³⁷ as in case of universal truths. The minus interpretation indicates that the utterance in a present tense is cotemporal or simultaneous with the speech time. On the contrary, the plus interpretation indicates that present tense has some additional interpretation attached to it along with its inherent interpretation. The meaning of historical present tense is decoded under the plus interpretation of present tense because it also has past tense meaning in narrative contexts. Multiple interpretations are available for other tenses too. Fleischman proposes that the present tense in narratives though primarily considered as historical present tense with past tense meaning, sometimes derives its meaning from the context signaling the simultaneous occurrence of situation and speech time. In such a case, the present tense denotes property of simultaneity³⁸. Tense as a cluster concept involves a number of *markedness* oppositions indicating either a presence or absence of a particular interpretation. Based on this postulation of tense as a cluster of oppositional

³⁷ An example of a statement containing atemporal present tense would be ‘the earth is round.’

³⁸ For the description of *markedness* oppositions carried by different tenses in narrative and ordinary language see (Fleischman, 1990) Chapter Two.

values, various meanings are attributed to tense. These meanings are oppositional in nature and are described by examining the morphological phenomenon of tense shift by Fleischman. All the contextual and pragmatic meanings associated with narrative tense and aspects are labeled as ‘functions of tense shift in narratives’. These functions are classified by Fleischman as follows.

The *referential* function is denotative of the basic inherent meaning of tense which is to locate a predicated action in time. The *metalinguistic* function of tense contributes to signal a particular type or genre of language, which is operative in identifying a type of discourse. The two types of pragmatic functions described are the crux of her argument about the language of narratives and the use of tense and aspect in it. They are *textual* and the *expressive* functions. *Textual* functions involve the use of tense and aspect in arrangement and hierarchy of a narrative text. The tense and aspect is primarily used for marking the grounding distinctions in a text as mentioned in textual perspective of NF above. The *expressive* functions in Fleischman’s analysis correspond to the viewpoint perspective of NF mentioned above, which primarily involve a narrator’s viewing of events from a particular distance.

Fleischman presents a most developed overview of textual and viewpoint perspectives of NF in her analysis. Based on the analysis of tense and aspect shift in a number of Romance language narratives, she contends that the shift from default narrative past tense to present tense (narrative present/ historical present) has some peculiar pragmatic functions. The pragmatic functions of narrative present tense include vividness and simultaneity of the narrated events, co-temporality with the narrator’s speech time, lack of distance between narrator and the events and lack of objectivity on the part of the narrator. Fleischman

describes the tense and aspect combination of past perfective with functions to indicate distanced narration and narrator's objective retrospection of past events. The verbs marked with perfective aspect signal that the narrated events are being perceived as complete by the narrator. The perfect aspect adds distance to the perception of completed events. By contrast, the imperfective aspect signals simultaneous, incomplete and close perception of events by a narrator. In the list of pragmatic functions above there are roughly two types. One of the types is 'narrator's location' under which fall the functions reflecting on the distance between the narrator and the events. The second type is 'narrator's perspective' under which fall the functions reflecting on narrator's view/ perception of events.

Fleischman also describes the primary textual pragmatic function of tense and aspect as grounding. The narrative strategy of grounding refers to the highlighting and subordination of narrative content in the process of narration. If the past perfective is used to describe the background events, the shift to present tense is employed to highlight or foreground an important event. The shift in tense and aspect functions to provide an arrangement of a narrative into backgrounded and foregrounded events.

This summary of Fleischman's analysis highlights how the theory of *markedness* opposition is applied by her in defining *marked* and *unmarked* tenses in narratives and attributing oppositional values to these elements in a narrative context. The theory of *markedness* opposition with the principle of reversal of values allows Fleischman to make one of the fundamental claims of her analysis. Fleischman states "...that narrative constitutes a special category of linguistic performance whose grammar differs in certain significant respects from the grammar of nonnarrative language" (1990, 313). The values tense and aspect carry in a category of ordinary language are reversed in the category of narrative as a

result of which they differ in meaning and function. This claim also implies that there are differences in the rules and the functions of the grammar of these two varieties of language. It is this fundamental claim of Fleischman's analysis that provides the impetus for my alternative approach to analysis of tense shift in narratives. In my alternative approach, I overcome the limitations of theory of *markedness* opposition and refute Fleischman's claim of different grammar of narrative and non-narrative use of a language. I describe some of the limitations of *markedness* theory and Fleischman's analysis below by highlighting the unanswered questions.

4.5 Criticism of *Markedness* Theory and Fleischman's Analysis

According to some critics, the theory of *markedness* opposition based on the inherent binary opposition in linguistic categories does not explain why tense and aspect categories perform some specific functions in a narrative context. It is not clear through the application of *markedness* theory what properties of tense and aspect allow scholars like Fleischman and others to attribute some specific pragmatic functions to them in a narrative context. In my opinion, the *markedness* theory fails to answer this question primarily because the notion of *markedness* is a linguistic construct operative on the sentence external level. This linguistic construct is based on the connection between a tense/aspect morpheme and a particular semantic properties attributed to it. This connection does not explain why a particular tense or aspect has a specific semantic interpretation or function in a narrative context. The *markedness* phenomenon also does not appear to be supported by any component of grammar of a language. The theory of *markedness* is grounded on the presumed binary opposition and the functions associated with it. It is based on the frequency of occurrence of

a particular tense and aspect marker. The more frequently occurring tense (or aspect) form is the ‘unmarked’ value contrary to the less frequently occurring ‘marked’ value. The distinction of marked and unmarked is superficial as it is not drawn by taking into consideration the inherent multi-dimensional nature of tense and aspect categories.

According to Robert I. Binnick (1991, 168) the problem of *markedness* theory is that it lacks inherent explanatory power as to how the relevant forms are actually used in a language. Binnick also hints at an alternative approach to tense and aspect based on the semantics of a language, “we also intuit that there are substantive universals of aspect, even if weak, implicational ones and that the systems of various languages are not merely contingent,...but rather reflect deep principles of meaning and use of language” (*ibid.*, 169). The criticism of *markedness* theory in this section highlights the main idea that *markedness* is not an explanation of the phenomenon of tense shift but it is an indicator. The *markedness* phenomenon indicates when the frequent occurrence of a particular tense marker is interrupted by that of an exceptional one. If *markedness* of tense and aspect is only an indicator of tense shift in narratives but not the explanation of it, then the following question remains unanswered: What are the principles underlying the viewpoint and textual functions attributed to tense and aspect in a narratives?

The above limitations of *markedness* theory underscore some the possible flaws in Fleischman’s analysis, which is primarily based on the linguistic construct of *markedness* opposition. Fleischman’s analysis of tense shift, particularly in Romance languages, lacks focus on the inherent meaning of tense and aspect categories. Fleischman does not take into consideration a connection between the morphological form of tense and aspect, basic meaning of that form and the function of that form in a narrative clause. Although

Fleischman briefly touches on the basic meanings of tense and aspect categories (Chapter One), her analysis is particularly focused on the morphology of tense and aspect and the interpretations assigned to them through the notion of tense as a ‘cluster concept’.

Fleischman’s analysis of pragmatic/ contextual functions of tense and aspect in narratives fails to reveal the underlying mechanisms of these functions. The central questions raised by Fleischman’s narratological analysis based on systemic binary oppositions are: Are the grammars of narrative and non-narrative language different? Do we need different analytical methodologies to explain these two varieties of a language use? Can sentence level analysis of tense and aspect explain functions of these categories in a narrative context?

In my attempt to answer these questions, I have to do the following: I have to eliminate the difference maintained between the narrative versus non-narrative language, find a grammatical alternative to *markedness* opposition and determine the principles underlying narrative functions of tense and aspect shift. In order to do all of the above, I have to show that sentence level grammatical analysis of tense and aspect can explain the narrative functions of these categories. I develop my grammatical approach by borrowing basic concepts and rules from the following linguistic frameworks (LF).

4.6 Linguistic Frameworks (LF) Underlying My Approach

I borrow from two theoretical linguistic frameworks; Norbert Hornstein’s framework for tenses in embedded clauses (1990) and H. Demirdache and M. Uribe-Etxebarria’s framework for temporal relations established by tense and aspect. These frameworks deal with syntactic and semantic properties of tense and aspect. By syntactic properties, I mean the role played by tense and aspect in conveying the relations between components of a sentence. By semantic

properties, I mean the role of tense and aspect in conveying the meaning of a sentence as a whole. These two frameworks are developed by using a shared set of concepts which are borrowed from the theory of tense proposed by Hans Reichenbach (1947). The set of shared concepts includes three temporal primitives; speech time (S), event time (E) and reference time (R) and the relations between these three primitives. According to Reichenbach, the speech time corresponds to the time at which an act of speaking occurred. The event time corresponds to the time at which an event took place. The reference time, which is an abstract time, corresponds to a time at which the event is observed for description. The speech time (S) is a crucial factor in interpretation of sentences because the event (E) is always interpreted in relation to its S point. S point serves as a deictic anchor to evaluate an event relative to the time of utterance. The three temporal primitives S, E and R are located on a horizontal timeline possessing an ordering relation of either precedence or simultaneity. In the symbolic representation of tense formulas the precedence relation is represented with “—” and that of simultaneity is represented with a comma “,.” The Reichenbachian typology of tenses is designed on the fixed number of times and that of relations between these times. The simple tenses such as present, past and future are described mainly through the relation between the S and E as the R holds a simultaneous relation with the event time. I explain the relations displayed by the simple tense formulas below with the help of examples:

- a) Present tense – Mary eats broccoli- S, R, E³⁹

³⁹ The order of the primitives does not play any significant role as S, R, E equals with R, E, S or E, S, R. The Reichenbachian system of tense representation involves redundancy as S, R, E = E, R, S = R, E, S. This redundancy implies that the relation of simultaneity and within/ contained are displayed with the same symbol. This becomes problematic when the imperfective and progressive grammatical aspects are analyzed in combination with the

Present tense consists of a simultaneous relation between the three primitives because the moment of speech at which the event of Mary's eating broccoli is described is contemporaneous with the action of eating and the observing of action at R for description. The other two simple tense formulas below can be understood similarly.

- b) Simple past tense - Mary ate broccoli- R, E—S.
- c) Simple Future Tense – Mary will eat broccoli- S— R, E.

These symbolic representations of simple tenses in Reichenbachian theory show how each tense is conceived as having three temporal constituents arranged in a particular order. The R point, which is simultaneous with E is superfluous in the semantic interpretation of simple tenses above. A crucial role of R is made clear in case of the complex tenses, in which R of an event has different ordering relations with the other two primitives. The symbolic representation of these complex tenses is illustrated through following examples:

- d) Mary has eaten broccoli- present perfect- E—R, S
- e) Mary had eaten broccoli before noon- past perfect- E—R—S
- f) Mary will have eaten by 3 p.m. tonight- future Perfect-S—E—R

The above tense formulas⁴⁰ display how the two primary properties of Reichenbachian theory; temporal primitives and relations are used to represent the basic meanings of tenses in

present tense. The present imperfective, and progressive involve both a simultaneous and within relation of E and R in which the R is contained within E as the event is continuously in progression. This point is dealt with and elaborated later in the framework of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria.

⁴⁰ I do not intend to go into details of the Reichenbachian analysis of complex tenses and the controversial role of R in it as it is out of the scope of this chapter. The examples here are intended to highlight the primary properties of Reichenbach's theory on which the linguistic

a language. Hornstein and Demirdache, Uribe-Etxebarria's theories have both been proposed by modifying these primary properties of Reichenbachian theory.

4.6.1 Underlying Linguistic Framework-I

N. Hornstein's framework is developed by modifying the role of speech time (S) in conveying the meaning of a temporal structure. By developing the role of S further, Hornstein address the limitation of Reischnbach's theory to explain sentences with only a single clause. Hornstein's framework for embedded tense structures expands the role of the S point beyond its deictic function of relating a time of speech act to an event described in that speech act. The role of S to temporally evaluate the event relative to its speech time is carried out in simple, non-narrative sentences such as the example of simple past tense above in (b). In this example, the event is temporally interpreted as complete relative to the speech time. The second and expanded role of S is to specify the temporal interpretation of an event with no specific reference to its moment of speech, which is found in embedded clause structures. To explain this expanded deictic role of S, Hornstein develops a rule for interpretation of the embedded clause constructions. In an embedded clause, when a (subordinate) event is embedded under the scope of a matrix event, the temporal interpretation of the subordinate event is dependent on the matrix event. To explain the temporal relation between events in an embedded clause Hornstein develops a formula. This formula is explained in the context of sequence of tense (SOT) phenomenon in reported speech clauses. In the SOT structures, the tense of an embedded event is morphologically

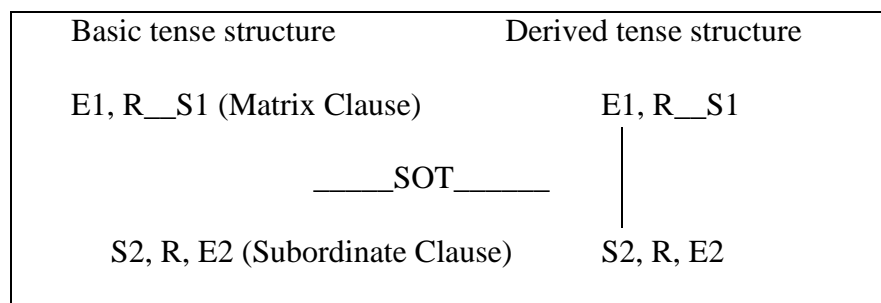
frameworks for my analysis are designed. For more details on Reichebachian analysis of tenses, refer to T. Stowell (2012).

matched with that of the matrix event. The SOT phenomenon can be understood with the following reported speech example in English in which there are two clauses; the matrix clause in past tense and the subordinate clause in the present tense.

- a) Quoted Speech- John said, “Mary is sick.”
- b) Reported Speech- John said that Mary was sick.

As seen in the reported speech, the tense of the embedded event ‘Mary is sick’ is shifted to past tense in order to match it with that of the matrix event ‘John said’⁴¹. Hornstein proposes that the temporal interpretation of the embedded present tense subordinate clause in SOT constructions is derived through the association between the S of the subordinate clause and the E of the matrix clause. This means that the temporal interpretation of the S, R and E of the embedded clause is dependent on the E of the matrix clause. E here stands for the matrix clause verb, which governs its arguments in the subordinate clause. In such temporal interpretation the subordinate S does not refer to the speech time of the subordinate event. However it is referentially connected to the event in the main clause. Since the event in the main clause is in past tense in the above example (b), the embedded S is also understood as located in the past time resulting in the past temporal interpretation of the embedded present tense event. This referential connection between matrix clause and embedded clause is described by Hornstein in the following formula:

⁴¹ I discuss more details of SOT phenomenon including its definition, examples and analysis in Chapter Six.



The connection between S of the embedded event (E2) in present tense and the main clause event (E1) yields that events E1 and E2 share a temporal frame of past time. The event of Mary's being sick holds in the past at the time John described it⁴². This shared temporal frame of two events; one in past and the other in present tense provides insights to understand how embedding takes place in narrative discourses. I borrow Hornstein's formula to derive temporal relations in embedded events of narrative. This formula is applied to narrative embedded events with some modifications to explain referential connection between them. The referential connection between events is examined and analyzed to derive temporal interpretation of historical present tense in particular. In the succeeding chapter on my approach I describe how I modify and apply Hornstein's theory in my analysis of narratives.

4.6.2 Underlying Linguistic Framework-II

The second LF that underlies my approach is designed for the analysis of temporal relations established by tense and aspect between components of a sentence. Demisrdache,

⁴² A detailed description of Hornstein's treatment of SOT phenomenon with its types and language specific variations is given in Chapter Six. In this Chapter, I analyze the narrative present tense in Urdu specimen narrative. I define the SOT phenomenon with examples in English and then describe it in the context of Urdu. Hornstrin's framework is applied to Urdu narrative passages to explain the temporal interpretation of narrative present tense in them.

and Uribe-Etxebarria's "The Primitives of Temporal Relations" (2000), is proposed to overcome the limitation of Reichenbachian theory to deal exclusively with tense. They propose to derive the interaction of tense and aspect uniformly through a single grammar of tense and aspect for all languages. Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria present a restrictive theory of tense and aspect, in which they propose that tense and aspect have the same set of primitives⁴³. The basic assumption of this theory is that tense and aspect are dyadic predicates of spatio-temporal ordering. Tense and aspect establish a topographical relation between two time denoting arguments. The theory of temporal relations is proposed by modifying the Reichenbachian primitive of R to determine relations established by grammatical aspect. The modification of R is designed on Carlota Smith's theory of aspect (1991). The basic components of the theory are summarized below with examples.

Times in Demirdache, Uribe-Etxebarria's Framework

- a. Utterance Time (UT-T) – This component is derived from Reichenbach's concept of speech time (S). Speech time corresponds to that time at which the speech act is produced.
- b. Event Time (EV-T) - This component is derived from Reichenbach's concept of event time (E). The event time is the time of state of affairs.
- c. Assertion Time (AST-T): This concept is derivative of Reichenbach's concept of reference time (R) but it is slightly different from the (R). In Reichenbach's theory, the R is an abstract time which provides a temporal reference point, with respect to which the event is described, and it may precede, follow or coincide with the E. In addition to these properties of the R, the AST-T marks the subinterval of an event that is focused by a speaker. The assertion of an

⁴³ This proposal by D, U-E is based on Zagana's (1990) proposal that both tense and aspect relate two time denoting arguments.

event is determined by how much of an event is visible to the speaker. The ability of AST-T to refer to a subpart of the event time stems from its realization of the grammatical aspect endowed with 'visibility' (Smith, 1993). The 'visibility' of an event refers to the assertion of a portion of the event as expressed by grammatical aspect. The AST-T is that time to which an assertion of event is confined. The assertion is described by a speaker in a statement at the time of utterance.

Relations between Times

Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria believe that tense and aspect share properties with prepositions. Like prepositions, tense and aspect establish relations within a clause. The three types of temporal relations are described using the following three prepositions:

- a. Before;
- b. After;
- c. Within.

I illustrate these semantic relations between the time denoting arguments established by tense and aspect in the following morphological examples:

The ordering relations established by tense:

1. John likes Mary (Present Tense) UT-T **WITHIN** AST-T
2. John left (Perfective Tense) UT-T **AFTER** AST-T
3. John will leave (Future Tense) UT-T **BEFORE** AST-T

The ordering relations established by aspect:

4. To be singing (Imperfective Aspect) AST-T **WITHIN** EV-T
5. To have sung (already) (Perfect Aspect) AST-T **AFTER** EV-T
6. To be about to leave (Prospective Aspect) AST-T **BEFORE** EV-T

D and U-E explain the uniform grammar of tense and aspect by explaining the nature of the ordering relation between the temporal primitives. The grammatical category of tense establishes a temporal relation between UT-T and the AST-T. The category of aspect on the other hand establishes a relation between the Event time and AST-T. There is no direct relation between the UT-T and the EV-T as it exists in the corresponding S and E times in Reichenbachian theory. The relation between UT-T and EV-T is always mediated by the AST-T, a revised version of the R. Demirdache, Uribe-Etxebarria deconstruct the semantic properties of tense and aspect representing them in similar symbolic formations. They derive phrase structures underlying sentences displaying of various tense and aspect combinations based on symbolic formulas designed by using the temporal primitives and relations between them⁴⁴. I borrow these symbolic formulas representing syntactic and semantic properties of tense and aspect categories in my analysis. I also adopt the revised terminology of the temporal primitives. In the succeeding chapter, I describe how the above theory of temporal relations is applied to sentential clauses and how I modify the temporal primitives in my approach in order to apply them to narrative discourse. The extended version of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria's theory is particularly used to explain discourse functions of tense and aspect associated with narrator's location and perspective.

⁴⁴ I do not intend to go into details of the syntactic representation of these symbolic formulas as it is out of the scope of this chapter. For detailed analysis and syntactic tree structures representing these tense and aspect formulas refer to Demirdache, Uribe-Etxebarria (2000).

4.7 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, I summarize the premise in which the central questions addressed in my dissertation are shaped. A narrative discourse, traditionally been defined as a sequentially ordered set of events happened already in the past, is inherently a linguistic construction that is founded on the concept of 'time'. The 'time' of narrative events is linguistically expressed in the grammatical category of tense along with aspect that highlights the temporal structure of those events. The categories of tense and aspect as an integral part of narrative discourse have been a subject of study for a long period. Historically, the structuralist narratological analyses have treated narratives and tense and aspect in them as 'special' with their own grammar and functions. These special functions of tense and aspect have been described as pragmatic functions of these categories that create various contextual effects. These effects of tense and aspect have been theorized by using a concept of 'tense and aspect shift' within the general theory of *markedness* oppositions. Suzanne Fleischman's study, which presents a most developed version of narratological linguistic analysis of tense-aspect shift, claims that the contextual functions of tense and aspect in narratives result from the differences between the grammar of narrative and non-narrative language. The grammars of narrative and non-narrative languages have a different set of rules. This claim by Fleischman questions the possibility that sentence level grammar can explain the principles underlying contextual functions of tense shift in narratives. Taking this as a starting point for my dissertation, I borrow from some specific linguistic frameworks in order to explain how sentence level frameworks for tense and aspect analysis can explain the rules underlying some specific narrative functions of tense-aspect shift. In the chapter that follows, I introduce a new approach that is based in the sentence level grammar of tense and aspect to explain and

analyze the narrative effects of tense and aspect shift. In providing a synopsis of my new approach, I focus on the concepts borrowed from linguistic frameworks and the extension of these concepts in my framework. I show how some specific effects of tense-aspect shift in narratives can be grammatically derived and explained with the help of my framework, to which I assign the name Extended Linguistic Framework (ELF).

5 Synopsis of New Approach

The goal of this chapter is to present the basic tenets of my approach which I refer to as “Expanded Linguistic Framework” (ELF) to account for the functions of tense and aspect in narratives. In this new approach, I develop a framework that is derived by modifying two theoretical linguistic frameworks. The first framework is by Norbert Hornstein (1990) and the second is by Hamida Demirdache and M. Uribe- Etxebarria (2000), which were discussed previously in Chapter Four. With regard to this new approach, first the need for new approach and second the contribution of new approach need to be discussed.

The need for new approach is underscored by the limitations of the *markedness* framework and narratological analyses, including Flesichman’s, that are based on oppositional binaries. As stated in the previous chapter, the traditional narratological analyses do not go beyond making an association between tense and aspect categories and certain pragmatic interpretations. This association is based on the morphology of tense and aspect and its value whether marked or unmarked in a narrative context. In the attempt to analyze tense and aspect shift in narrative discourse, narratological analyses describe pragmatic functions of tense and aspect by focusing on the phenomenon of ‘tense shift’, however these analyses do not explain the linguistic principles⁴⁵ and specific grammatical rules⁴⁶ underlying these pragmatic functions.

⁴⁵ A linguistic principle is a general linguistic rule, an abstract rule of grammar that is applicable across languages. For example, in embedded clause structures, a subordinate clause depends on the main clause for its interpretation is a linguistic principle.

⁴⁶ A specific grammatical rule stands for any language-specific grammatical rule that represents a variation of general rule in accordance with the system of a specific language. For example, the general rule of temporal dependency of embedded clauses is realized differently in

The contribution of my new approach lies in explaining the pragmatic interpretations/ functions of tense and aspect shift in narratives by applying independently motivated sentence-internal principles to narratives, an extension that has not been developed systematically in previous studies. The ELF framework is designed to explain broadly three narrative facts. Of these, the first fact has to do with the embedding of tenses in narratives. I focus on the embedding of historical/ narrative present tense in discourse to explain the mechanism underlying its past tense meaning. The second fact has to do with the functions attributed to tense and aspect regarding narrator's perspective and distance from reported events. The third and last fact that I explain with my analysis is the textual functions attributed to tense and aspect such as backgrounding and foregrounding of narrative content. The following example analyzed by Fleischman, demonstrates some the functions of narrative tense and aspect. This example is cited in Fleischman (1990, 204) is from *Roland*, an old French narrative.

- a) Li quens Rollant el champ EST repairét [PC] TIENT [NP] Durendal, cume vassal I FIERT [NP]...
 Count Roland has returned [PC]⁴⁷ to the battlefield, He WIELDS [NP] Durendal, he STRIKES [NP] like a warrior...

In example (a) there are two narrative events which are described using narrative present tense. According to Fleischman, the use of narrative present tense to describe these events signals that the narrator is simultaneously viewing the event at the time of narration. The actions

every language; in English it is signaled by morphological sequence of tenses and in Hindi, it is signaled only by temporal dependencies of clauses.

⁴⁷ The Passé Composé (PC) in French has been explained by Fleischman as compound past tense that is an unmarked tense used for narratives in French. It has both past and present interpretations.

in narrative present tense are viewed very closely and as ongoing. The present tense also indicates narrator's focus on the events marking them as foregrounded events.

In order to derive the linguistic foundations of the narrative facts mentioned above, I propose modifications of previously proposed linguistic frameworks so that they apply not only to embedded clauses within sentences, but also to inter-sentential embedding—in other words, to the embedding of whole sentences in narratives. In what follows, first in 5.1, I describe the modifications I make to the basic properties of Hornstein's framework in order to apply it to narrative discourse. In 5.2, I focus on the basic properties of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria's framework and redefine them for narrative analysis. The modification of each of the above linguistic frameworks provides me with linguistic tools to explain certain pragmatic functions of tense and aspect in narratives. The newly defined linguistic principles to derive the pragmatic functions of tense and aspect employing the ELF are summarized in 5.3. This chapter is concluded in 5.4 by summarizing the contribution of my new approach.

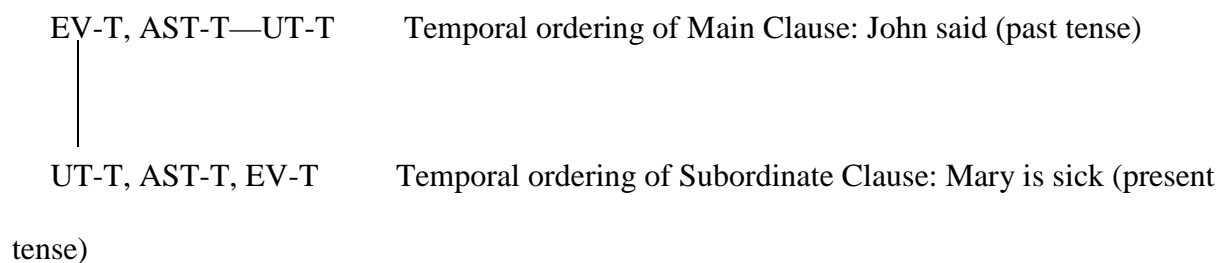
5.1 Modification of Hornstein's Framework

Hornstein's framework is designed for analysis of embedded clauses, particularly reported speech clauses at sentence level grammar. In structures involving embedding, there are at least two separate clauses; a "matrix clause" and a "subordinate clause" that is embedded in a matrix clause. The subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause for its temporal interpretation. The meaning of the subordinate clause is fixed based on the meaning of the main clause. To explain this relation of temporal dependence between two clauses, Hornstein breaks each clause into three temporal primitives and derives the connection between them. All of this is explained

by Hornstein with the help of a specific type of embedding in reported speech, in which the main clause is in past tense and the subordinate clause is in the present tense.

b) John said that Mary was (is) sick⁴⁸.

Hornstein explained how the two events in this clause are interrelated in the following rule⁴⁹.



In forming the rule, Hornstein breaks each clause into its temporal primitives. In order to explain the simultaneous interpretation, in which the event of ‘Mary is sick’ is understood as going on at the time John describes it in the past time, Hornstein derives a rule of temporal shifting. According to this rule, the utterance time of ‘Mary is sick’ does not draw its reference from its source event but it is interpreted in connection with the main event in the past tense⁵⁰.

The temporal dependence between subordinate and main clause is crucial to explain how

⁴⁸ The sequence of tense rule in English forces ‘is’ of subordinate clause into past tense. However I retain present tense of subordinate clause here to show the dependence relation and temporal interpretation. The detail discussion of sequence of tense rule in English in comparison with that in Urdu-Hindi follows in Chapter Six.

⁴⁹ Hornstein’s original rule is rewritten using the modified temporal primitives of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria’s framework for temporal relations. In order to be consistent with the terminology used for temporal primitives, I use the modified terms in my analysis using both theoretical linguistic frameworks in the following chapters.

⁵⁰ Hornstein establishes this connection by interpreting the subordinate utterance time as not referring to ‘speech time ‘now’’. The utterance time in its expanded deictic role, depends on the matrix event time to for temporal reference for the event in subordinate clause to be interpreted. This has been discussed previously (Chapter Four).

embedding of events works in narrative discourses. However, it is necessary to understand that there are some basic differences between reported speech embedding at sentence level and that in a narrative discourse. At sentence level, the embedded events are connected to each other with a linguistic connector called complementizer such as ‘that’ in English. In narratives the embedded events are not connected with a morphological connector. They are presented as separate sentences. Each sentence in a narrative represents an individual event. To account for these differences, and to explain the large scale embedding in narratives, I make use of some alternative terminology. I replace main clause with ‘temporal anchor’ (TA)⁵¹. A temporal anchor in my analysis stands for the main narrative event in past tense, on which the embedded events are dependent for temporal interpretation. The ‘subordinate clause’ is replaced with ‘embedded event’ (EE) because, in a narrative discourse, there are multiple events which are embedded together to create a specific narrative situation or context.

In addition to the new terminology mentioned above, I use the term ‘temporal interval’⁵² to account for a crucial difference between narrative embedding and sentence level embedding. In a reported speech sentence above, the embedded present tense event ‘Mary is sick’ shares past time reference of the main event ‘John said’. This sharing of reference (assertion time) takes place through a dependence relation. In this example, there is only one embedded event that is dependent for its interpretation on the main clause event. In a narrative discourse by contrast,

⁵¹ The term temporal anchor is influenced from the concept of “topic” (Klein 2009). The concept of topic stands for ‘reference of something (an event)’ in Klein’s analysis. Topic time is the time at which something is obtained / referred to/ asserted for description.

⁵² The “temporal interval” is based on Klein’s “topic interval”. Topic interval is a temporal boundary in which topic prevails. In the example *Eva’s cat was dead*; the event of cat being dead is the topic. This topic prevails in the interval of that topic/ reference.

there are multiple embedded events that are dependent on the main narrative event (temporal anchor) for interpretation. To explain the connection between multiple embedded events and the temporal anchor, I use the term ‘temporal interval’. The temporal anchor is connected to embedded events through its frame of reference, the assertion time. A temporal interval is that frame that contains the assertion (reference) time of a temporal anchor. The reference of a main narrative event is contained in the temporal interval. To summarize, I use following terminology to apply Hornstein’s framework to analysis of narrative discourse:

- a. **Temporal Anchor (TA):** A Temporal anchor is the main narrative event. It is the narrator’s event of narration.
- b. **Embedded Event (EE):** Embedded event is that narrative event which is dependent on temporal anchor for its interpretation.
- c. **Temporal Interval (TI):** Temporal interval is that frame, in which the assertion time of the temporal anchor is contained. The reference of the main narrative event applies to all narrative events connected in the temporal interval.

Hornstein’s original rule for interpreting the reported speech embedding can be modified as follows employing the new terminology given above:

Hornstein’s Original Rule:

EV-T, AST-T—UT-T Main Clause: past tense

UT-T, AST-T, EV-T Subordinate Clause: present tense

(All primitives simultaneous)

Modified Rule for Narratives in Expanded Linguistic Approach

TA (EV-T), TI (AST-T) — UT-T (Past Tense)

UT-T, AST-T, EE_n (Historical Present tense)

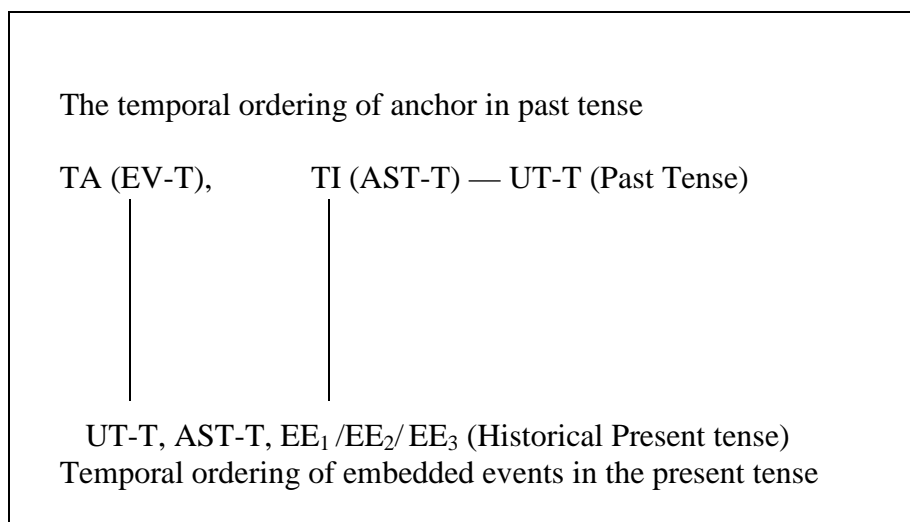
In the original rule, there is only one connection, which relates the speech time of the subordinate clause with the event time of the main clause providing the interpretation that both these times are simultaneous. This connection of simultaneity implies that the subordinate event and the main event are co-temporal. Thus subordinate event receives past temporal interpretation.

In the modified rule, there are two connections. In addition to Hornstein's original connection, there is a derived connection, which relates multiple embedded events with the temporal interval of the temporal anchor. The following example demonstrates how the modified version of Hornstein's rule is derived to explain the temporal embedding and meaning of historical present tense in narrative discourse.

- c) It was 1812, just before the battle of Borodino (Temporal Anchor in Past Tense). The anticipation of the coming struggle *is* palpable (EE1). Napoleon *has* just woken (EE2). He *is*

getting ready to inspect the troops and see that they *are* ready for the battle that will determine the fate of Europe (EE3). (Hornstein: 1990, 11) (Italics mine).

In the above example from an English narrative there is a series of events narrated using the historical present tense, which occurs after the first event narrated in the past tense. The time frame for all of the events in this example is set by the first narrative clause in past tense ‘it was 1812...’. Each of the following events in narrative present tense is understood as having happened in this time frame. This past tense event is a temporal anchor. The temporal interval (AST-T) of this anchor contains reference of past time for all the embedded events that are dependent on the anchor for interpretation. Each of the embedded events in present tense gets connected to the temporal interval through the principle of temporal shifting in embedded structures. This derived connection with the temporal interval provides embedded events with the past time reference. The present tense events share the temporal interval of 1812 that provides a reference for their interpretation. The events in present tense are temporally embedded in time frame of 1812. This notion of temporal embedding plays a key role in deriving the temporal reference of narrative present tense and explaining the referential connection between narrative events. The modified rule of Hornstein can be applied to the above example as follows:



All of the embedded present tense events have same temporal ordering in which all of the three primitives have a simultaneous relation. Each of the embedded events draws its temporal reference from the temporal anchor through its connection to the reference of the main event in temporal interval at AST-T.

The embedded events are connected to the assertion time of the temporal anchor. The assertion time is contained within a temporal interval. Thus it is derived that the embedded present tense events have past time reference. The derived interpretation of narrative present tense is deduced from the following three temporal relations: one, there is a simultaneous relation between the embedded event time (EE) and its utterance time. Second, the utterance time of EE is originally connected to the temporal anchor. Third, the temporal anchor (EV-T) holds a simultaneous relation with its assertion time. These three relations imply that the EEs draw their temporal reference from the assertion time of temporal anchor. Thus embedded events are referentially connected to the main narrative event.

Hornstein defines the linguistic principle of temporal shifting that comes into play in interpreting reported speech clauses in any language. The principle of temporal shifting and the

dependence relation between the main and the subordinate event allows me to derive the extended principle of temporal shifting in narrative discourse. This principle establishes a connection between an embedded event and the assertion time of the temporal anchor. However, there is a difference between the applicability of the original and the modified rules. Hornstein's original rule of temporal shifting is applicable to all clauses that display various tense and aspect combinations⁵³. The expanded rule to connect embedded present tense event with the assertion time of the main narrative event applies only to a narrative context in which the main narrative event (temporal anchor) is in past tense and the embedded events are in present tense. In the following chapter on narrative embedding and the interpretation of the historical present tense, I show how this universal principle of temporal shifting works in Hindi-Urdu reported speech clauses, in order to apply it to the Urdu specimen narrative *Umrao Jan Ada*. With the analysis of *Umrao Jan Ada*, I derive and explain the past tense interpretation of historical present tense events. In what follows, I now summarize the modified framework of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria in order to apply their theory to tense and aspect shift in narratives.

5.2 Modification of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria's Framework

Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria's framework based on three times and three temporal relations, is designed for analysis of temporal relations established by tense and aspect categories at sentence level. In order to apply this framework to narrative discourses I redefine the temporal primitives by mapping them on narrative.

⁵³ According to Hornstein, the rule of temporal shifting with or without the morphological sequence of tense rule applies to embedded clauses in future tense, present tense or even those that involve modals. This is explained in Hornstein (1990, 129-132).

Three times in Original Framework:

Utterance Time (UT-T) – This is a speech time at which an event is verbally described.

Assertion Time (AST-T) – The term “assertion time” combines two ideas- first, the speaker’s viewpoint or focus on the event and second, speaker’s claim/assertion about that focused interval of an event. As stated earlier in Chapter 4, the grammatical aspect provides speaker with a viewpoint of an event. With the given viewpoint speaker focuses on the event. The interval (part or whole) focused by speaker (through aspectual viewpoint) is asserted in a statement. Thus, the assertion time is the interval of the speaker’s “viewpoint” on the reported event. It reveals how much of the event is focused and reported by a speaker.

Event Time (EV-T) – This is the time at which an event takes place.

Tense and aspect marked on a predicated verb, establish particular relations between the above three primitives within a sentence. Two relations are established by each tense and aspect. In order to show, how these temporal primitives work in discourse to establish relations within a narrative clause, I redefine them by mapping them on various properties of narrative discourses as follows:

Three Temporal Primitives in Expanded Linguistic Framework:

Utterance Time (UT-T) – In narrative discourse, UT-T is the time of narration. The narrator is participant of the event of narration.

Assertion Time (AST-T) –The assertion time is the time of narrator’s perception of the reported event. It defines the way in which an event is viewed by a narrator through the grammatical aspect.

Event Time (EV-T) – The primitive of EV-T is not modified in my framework. The EV-T is the time of the reported event.

In the original framework, the three temporal primitives are considered the building blocks of any sentential clause confined by a boundary of tense and aspect. The extension of these primitives to narrative discourse allows me to define the building blocks of any narrative clause that is bound by tense and aspect categories. The building blocks of any narrative clause are; the act of narration, narrator, event and perception. In establishing a parallel between sentential clause and a narrative clause, the concept of “perception” parallel to “assertion” is crucial for my analysis.

In understanding the concept of “perception” as it is employed in the approach of ELF, it is important to note the motivation behind the choice of the word “perception.” The inherent property of narrative that it involves a report of events that have happened in the past as perceived by the narrator underscores the act of narrator’s perception of past events. I choose the word “perception” to highlight this property of narratives. In the process of mapping “perception” onto “assertion”, I highlight the association between category of grammatical aspect and “perception.” The paraphrase of “time of assertion” with “time of perception” in ELF is intended to show that “perception” is similar to “assertion.” The “perception” like “assertion” involves two processes; first, the narrator’s perception of the interval (part or whole) of the reported event and second, assertion or statement of the focused part of the event through the use of a particular grammatical aspect. Thus, the “time of perception” reveals- how much of an event is perceived and in what way it is perceived by a narrator.

The temporal primitives redefined in the context of narrative discourse are related to each other through tense and aspect. The ordering relations⁵⁴, particularly “within” and “after” established by tense and aspect provide a tool to derive and explain the grammatical principles underlying narrator’s perception of narrated event and distance between narrator and narrated event. The analysis of narrator’s distance from event and perception of event implies narrator’s focus and location on the narrative time line. The modified temporal primitives and the relations between them can be understood with the help of the above example © in English, repeated below in (d).

- d) It was 1812, just before the battle of Borodino (Temporal Anchor in Past Tense). The anticipation of the coming struggle *is* palpable (EE1). Napoleon *has* just woken (EE2). He *is* getting ready to inspect the troops and see that they *are* ready for the battle that will determine the fate of Europe (EE3). (Hornstein: 1990, 11) (Italics mine)

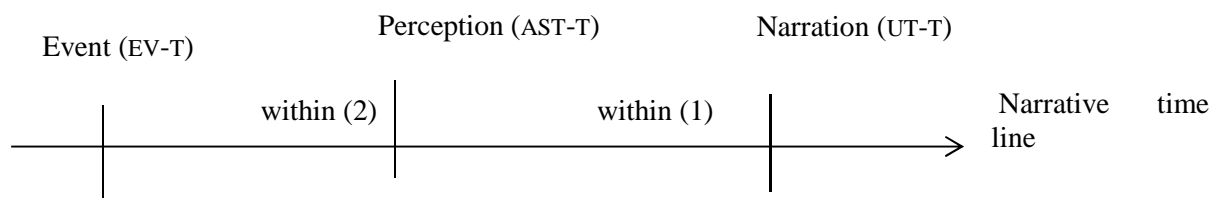
⁵⁴ There are three temporal ordering relations in the original framework: “within”, “after” and “before.” Of these three relations, “within” and “after” play a crucial role in explaining use of tense and aspect in narratives. Narratives display a frequent use of tense and aspect combinations displaying these two relations. Thus, relation “before”, which is defines ordering of prospective aspect is not applicable to narrative discourses. Thus I do not make use of “before” relations in my analysis. For the discussion of “before” relation refer to Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000).

Temporal Relations Expanded from Sentences to Narratives

Examples of tense + aspect combinations	Original Framework for Sentence Level	Expanded Framework for Narrative level
1) Present tense + progressive aspect: Napoleon is getting ready to inspect the troops.	UT-T within AST-T within EV-T	Narration within Perception within Event
2) Present tense + perfect aspect: Napoleon has just woken	EV-T after AST-T within UT-T	Narration within Perception after Event
3) Past tense + perfect aspect: Napoleon had woken.	EV-T after AST-T after UT-T	Narration after Perception after Event

In the above table, there are three columns. In the first column, I have noted tense and aspect combinations and morphological examples displaying those tense and aspect categories. In the second column the temporal relations established by particular tense and aspect combination are shown with the original temporal primitives. The ordering relations between these temporal primitives differ in case of each tense and aspect combination. In the third column I have used the modified temporal primitives to show how particular tense and aspect combinations establish relations between the narration, perception and event at the level of discourse. The ordering relations established by tense and aspect among three narrative properties reveal the principles underlying various pragmatic interpretations associated with these categories. I describe how the temporal relations of “within” and “after” provide a linguistic tool to derive some specific pragmatic interpretations.

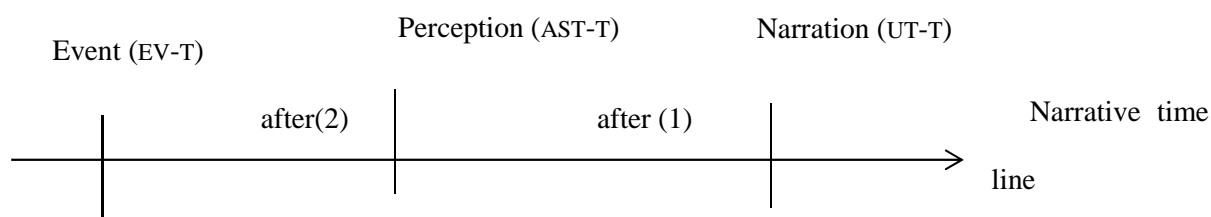
- 1) **“Within”** - A single “within” relation between two primitives of a clause means there is no distance between them. The two related primitives are proximate. Two “within” relations indicate greater degree of proximity between primitives resulting in the co-temporal interpretation. For example: Present progressive -



The combination of present tense and progressive aspect is represented in the above diagram. In case of narratives, the ordering begins from right to left as the narrator chooses to view a particular event in the past and narrate it. Going from right to left, the utterance time signifies time of narration, the assertion time signifies time of perception and the event time is the time of narrated event. The first relation (within 1) between narration and perception means that there is no distance between them. This relation established by tense shows that narration and perception are simultaneous. This simultaneity implies that the narrator, who is a participant in the act of narration, views the event at the time describing it. The second relation (within 2) between perception and event explains how the event is being perceived because it is established by aspect. In the above example, the perception is within the boundary of an event indicating that it is still in progress. The culmination of these two relations established by tense and aspect respectively define the distance between narrator at the time of narration and the narrated event mediated through the assertion time. Two “within” relations indicate that narrator is continuously viewing the event at the time of narration. There is no distance between

the event and narrator as the two within relations place narrator within a boundary of the event. Thus the present progressive combination results in simultaneity between narrator's perception and narration of an event. The event of Napoleon's getting ready is perceived by the narrator as ongoing (progressive aspect) simultaneously at the time of narration (present tense). The lack of distance between narration, perception and the reported event reveal the principles underlying pragmatic functions attributed to present progressive namely, narrator's subjective attitude, simultaneous perception, performance of the narrated event and internal focalization.

- 2) **“After”** - A single “after” relation means there is a distance between the two related primitives. If the “after” relation is between narration and perception, then it means that the narration occurred after the perception of event is complete. If there is an “after” relation between the perception and event, it shows that the perception of event is complete as it happens after the event is complete. The narrator at the time of narration perceives a completed event from a distance. The culmination of two “after” relations implies a greater distance between narrator and event. For example: the combination of past tense and perfect aspect displays two after relations.



In the example above, ‘Napoleon had woken’, the first after relation established by past tense means that narration occurred after the event of Napoleon's waking up is perceived completely. The second after relation means that the event is complete at the

time of perception with both the initial and final boundary visible to the narrator. The culmination of two after relations implies that the narrator distantly views an event in the past from the farthest vantage point at the present time of narration. The discussion of the temporal relations established by past perfect explains the principles underlying pragmatic interpretations namely, narrator's distant observation, objective perception, external vantage point of focalization etc.

Now, based on the temporal relations established by particular tense and aspect combination discussed above and others that are not discussed above, I define following principles to derive pragmatic interpretations attributed to tense and aspect categories in discourse.

5.3 Principles for Deriving Pragmatic Interpretations of Tense and Aspect

Narrator's Location: Narrator's location is implied by the ordering of narration relative to perception and event. Since the narrator is a participant in the act of narration, narrator's location = the place of UT-T (narration) on the narrative time line.

Narrator's Perspective on Event: Narrator's perspective = the relation between AST-T (Perception) and Event (EV-T). The way in which an event is viewed is signaled by the grammatical aspect which dictates the relation between perception and event.

Distance between Narrator and Event: Distance between narrator and event = Relation between narration and perception + relation between perception and event

Narrator's Focus: Narrator's Focus = proximity between narration (UT-T) and observation (AST-T).

Narrator's focus on event is defined in the terms of foreground and background. The principles underlying the association between tense- aspect and foreground- background are revealed through narrator's focus. The foregrounding and backgrounding of events can be derived through following rules.

Foregrounding: Foregrounding of event = narrator's focusing on an event through proximity in observation/ perception and location

Backgrounding: Backgrounding of event = narrator's unfocusing on event through distance in both observation and location

The diagrams of temporal relations established by particular tense and aspect categories above provide a glimpse into how each narrative clause with a specific tense and aspect combination is going to be analyzed later in order to derive the pragmatic functions through grammatical analysis of tense and aspect. In the following chapters, I show how these general principles based on the temporal relations established by tense and aspect explain the specific pragmatic effects in specimen narrative texts. The Urdu narrative text *Umrao Jan Ada* is the source of selected examples I use to explain the grammatical principles underlying narrator's location, perspective and distance attributed to tense and aspect. The Sanskrit narratives of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśā* are used to explain the grammatical principles underlying the textual functions of foregrounding and backgrounding attributed to tense and aspect.

5.4 Conclusion

In concluding the synopsis of my new approach, designed on the theoretical linguistic frameworks for analysis of temporal relations, it is necessary to highlight the importance of the concept of assertion time. The modification of linguistic frameworks to analyze functions of

tense and aspect in narrative discourse revolves around the versatile role of assertion time in the temporal interpretation of events. Defining various facets of the assertion time in order to use them in explaining the temporal interpretation of narrative events is one of the primary contributions of my analysis.

The assertion time is a more developed counterpart of the Reichenbachian temporal primitive-reference time. A reference time is an abstract time at which an event is observed for description. The temporal primitive of assertion time holds reference of an event pertaining to which an event is described. Assertion time binds together all those narrative events whose reference time it hosts. I demonstrate and analyze the role of assertion time as a provider of reference time to temporally dependent events in my analysis of historical present tense.

The assertion time plays some other roles due to its realization in the grammatical aspect. The grammatical aspect fortifies assertion time with viewpoint, a lens that provides a narrator with a certain perspective of narrative events. Assertion time holds narrator's viewpoint on events. Narrator views narrative events again at the time of narration as they have already happened in the past. In this process of re-viewing past events, the assertion time holds a narrator's evaluation of events. At the time of viewing, narrator re-experiences some of those events and narrates the mental re-experience. The assertion time in that case holds narrator's experience of the events for narration. Thus assertion time becomes a multifaceted primitive in the context of narrative discourse by holding narrator's viewpoint, evaluation and experience of an event. With the help of these extended properties of assertion time, I explain narrator's focus, perspective and distance in relation to narrated event.

In addition, I have defined some principles derived from the temporal relations established by tense and aspect to explain some specific pragmatic functions attributed to these categories.

These principles are applied to the specimen narratives in the following chapters to underscore the systematic co-relation between the sentence-level and narrative use of tense and aspect. I have summarized how my framework is going to explain the contextual interpretations attributed to tense and aspect in narratives through a grammatically meaningful analysis. My framework founded in the grammar of tense and aspect is based on the linguistic principles of temporal primitives and relations between them. What remains to be shown in the following chapters is how these principles explain narrative use of tense and aspect categories to convey various pragmatic meanings in the grammatical systems of specimen languages.

6 Temporal Embedding and Narrative Present Tense in *Umrao Jan Ada*

In this chapter, I apply the Expanded Linguistic Framework (ELF), to the analysis of specimen narrative examples from *Umrao Jan Ada*. More specifically, I explain the temporal embedding of narrative events by focusing on the interpretation of historical present tense. In 6.1, I begin with a discussion of sentence-internal embedding in reported speech clauses in Urdu. In this discussion, I pay particular attention to the embedding of present tense subordinate clauses within past tense matrix clauses in order to illustrate how Hornstein’s principle of temporal dependency and the sequence of tense phenomenon (SOT) are realized in Urdu. The discussion in 6.1 is also intended to show how sentence level embedding is exemplified in narrative embedding of present tense in examples from *Umrao Jan Ada*. In 6.2, I apply my modified framework in the “Expanded Linguistic Approach” (ELF) to specimen examples to demonstrate how the modified sentence level grammatical principles can explain both the referential connection between embedded narrative events and the past time reference of the historical or narrative present tense. In 6.3, I conclude this chapter by discussing the connection between sentence level-and narrative embedded structures.

6.1 Temporal Embedding and SOT in Urdu Sentence-Level Grammar

In keeping with the focus of this chapter on temporal embedding of present tense in narratives, I first discuss an example of sentence-internal temporal emending in Urdu consisting of present tense subordinate clause under the past tense matrix clause. This example is intended to demonstrate how the phenomenon of sequence of tense and the principle of temporal

dependency are realized in Urdu reported speech clauses and to facilitate the understanding of the embedding of narrative present tense in the narrative of *Umrao Jan Ada*.

In the following example of sentence-internal embedding of reported speech clause, I show how the subordinate clause is syntactically connected to the matrix clause and how these two clauses are interpreted in relation to each other.

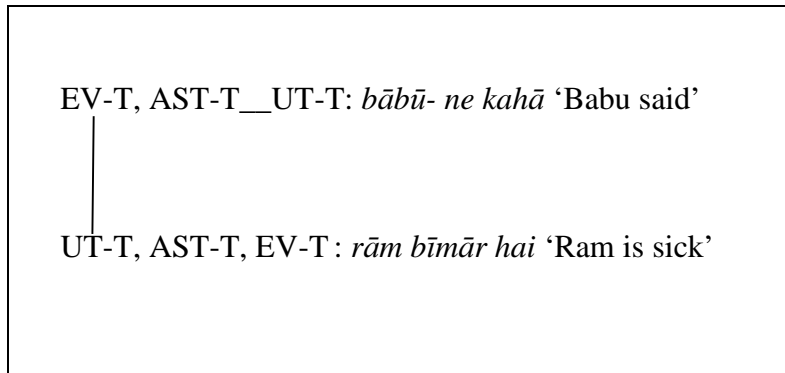
1. bābū- ne kahā ki rām bīmār hai
 Babu-ERG say-PERF that Ram sick be-PRES-3SG
 ‘Babu said that Ram was sick’

In the above example there are two clauses:

- bābū- ne kahā ‘Babu said’ – main clause/ matrix clause (past tense)
 rām bīmār hai ‘ Ram is sick’- subordinate clause (present tense)

It is seen in the above example that two clauses are linked through the relationship of subordination introduced by *ki* ‘that’. The subordinate clause is temporally embedded under the main clause. There is no morphological tense agreement between these two clauses. The reported clauses in Urdu do not display morphological sequence of tense phenomenon. However, the principle of temporal embedding is realized through temporal shifting (as opposed to morphological tense shifting), in which the subordinate clause is interpreted relative to the temporal frame provided by the matrix clause. In the above example, the event of ‘Ram is sick’ is interpreted as ongoing in the past at which time it is described by Babu. In this process, the original present tense of the subordinate clause is retained. The state of affair signified by ‘Ram is sick’ is interpreted as contemporaneous to Babu’s past reporting of it. There is a simultaneous relation between the two events as Ram is sick at the time of Babu’s speaking of it in the past.

Hornstein’s original rule of temporal shifting applies to the above example as follows:



The condition of Ram being sick receives past time evaluation as a result of its connection to matrix past tense event of ‘Babu’s reporting’ through the utterance time of the subordinate event. This past time evaluation conveys that the present tense event of Ram’s being sick persists at the time of its reporting. There are two factors that together derive this result; first the temporal dependency relation between subordinate UT-T and the matrix event time and second, the ‘within’ relationships in the subordinate clause. These ‘within’ relations provide that the two events are co-temporal, i.e. share the time frame. This time frame is established by the matrix event of the clause. Now, in the following section, I apply these sentence-internal rules of temporal embedding specific to Urdu, to the narrative discourse of *Umaro Jan Ada*, in expanded linguistic framework with the modified version of Hornstein’s rule.

6.2 Analysis of Specimen Examples

Specimen Example I: *Umaro Jan Ada* (1987: 39)

abbā jab śām ko naukrī par se āte the (PAST) us vaqt kī khuśī ham bhāī behnō kī kuch na pūchie (IMPARATIVE). māī kamar se lipat gaī (PERF). bhāī abbā abbā karke dauṛā (PERF). dāman se cimāt gayā (PERF). abbā kī bāchē māre khuśī ke khilī jātī hāī (PRES, HAB). mujhko cumkārā pīṭh par hāt pherā (PERF). bhaiyā ko god mẽ uṭhā liyā (PERF). pyār karne lage (PERF). mujhe khūb yād hai kabhī khālī hāth na āte the (PAST). kabhī do katāre hāth mẽ hāī, kabhī batāśō kā donā hāth mẽ hai (PRES), kabhī til ke laḍḍuō kā donā hāth mẽ hai

(PRES). ab uske hisse lagāe jā rahe hāĩ (PRES, PROG). us vakt bhāĩ bahanō mẽ kis maze ki laṛāiya hotī thī (PAST). vah katrā chīne liye jātā hai (PRES, HAB). ab uske hisse lagāe jā rahe hāĩ (PRES, PROG). māĩ miṭhāĩ kā donā hāthiyāye letī hũ (PRES, PROG) ammā sāmne khaprail mẽ baiṭhī khānā pakā rahī hai (PRES, PROG).

I can't describe the happiness of us (brother and sister) when father used to come from work. I clung to his waist. Brother ran saying father. He clung to his skirt. Father smiles with happiness. He caressed me and rubbed my back. He took brother in his lap. He started caressing. I vividly remember that he never used to come empty handed. Sometimes he has two sticks of sugarcane in his hands, sometimes sugar sweet or a cup of leaves filled with sesame candy. That sugarcane stick is being grabbed. Now that is being divided. That time, what a delightful fights brother and sister used to have. He (brother) grabs that sugarcane stick. That is being divided now. I grab the cup of sweets in my hand. In front, mother is sitting in the kitchen and cooking food.

In the above example, there are multiple embedded events marked with various tense and aspect combinations. In order to explain how present tense events are interpreted, I separate the narrative present tense events that are embedded under the main narrative temporal anchor below. Each embedded event is also labeled as a 'dependent event' as it depends on the temporal anchor for its interpretation.

abbā jab sām ko naukrī par se āte the (PAST) – **Temporal Anchor/** Matrix narrative event
'when father used to come from work.'

kabhī do katāre hāth mẽ hāĩ,- Embedded Event- **EE1- Dependent 1**
'Sometimes he has two sticks of sugarcane in his hands.'

kabhī batāsō kā donā hāth mẽ hai (PRES)- **EE2- Dependent 2**
'Sometimes he has sweets in his hands.'

kabhī til ke laḍḍuō kā donā hāth mẽ hai (PRES)- **EE3 - Dependent 3**
'Sometimes has a cup of leaves filled with sesame candy in his hands.'

vah katrā chīne liye jātā hai (PRES, HAB)- **EE4- Dependent 4**
'That sugarcane stick is being grabbed.'

ab uske hisse lagāe jā rahe hāĩ (PRES, PROG)- **EE5- Dependent 5**
'Now that is being divided.'

māĩ miṭhāĩ kā donā hāthiyāye letī hũ (PRES, PROG)- **EE6- Dependent 6**

‘I grab the cup of sweets in my hand.’

ammā sāmne khaprail mẽ baiṭhī khānā pakā rahī hai (PRES, PROG)- **EE7**
 ‘In front, mother is sitting in the kitchen and cooking food.’ **Dependent-7**

In the above specimen passage, the narrator Umrao describes a situation in her childhood. The events described in this situation used to occur daily in the evening when Umrao’s father used to come home from office. In this series of individual events, Umrao describes the main narrative event of father’s coming home with the help of multiple embedded/ subordinate narrative events. The main narrative event in the past tense serves as a temporal anchor for all embedded events as they are understood in relation with the temporal anchor. The temporal structure of these events is as follows:

EV-T, AST-T__UT-T: *abbā jab sām ko naukrī par se āte the*
 ‘when father used to come from work’ ...

UT-T, AST-T, EV-T: Embedded events

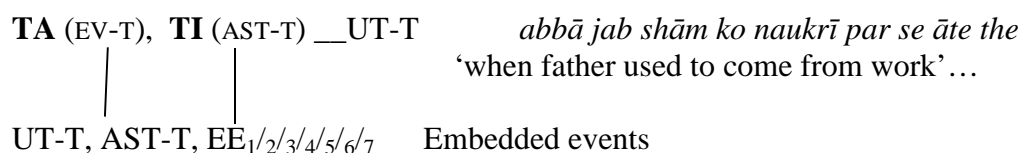
The temporal representation of the first sentence in the cited passage indicates that the main narrative event has already happened in the past, and therefore it precedes the utterance time, i.e. the time at which the event is narrated. The event and its reference in the assertion time are simultaneous. The embedded events (E1-E7) by contrast, are narrated by using the clauses with present tense forms combined with the habitual or progressive aspect. The temporal representation of the present-progressive embedded events is given in the second formula above.

The temporal ordering of the matrix narrative event and the embedded narrative events shows that there is a clear parallel between the embedding seen at the sentence level grammar

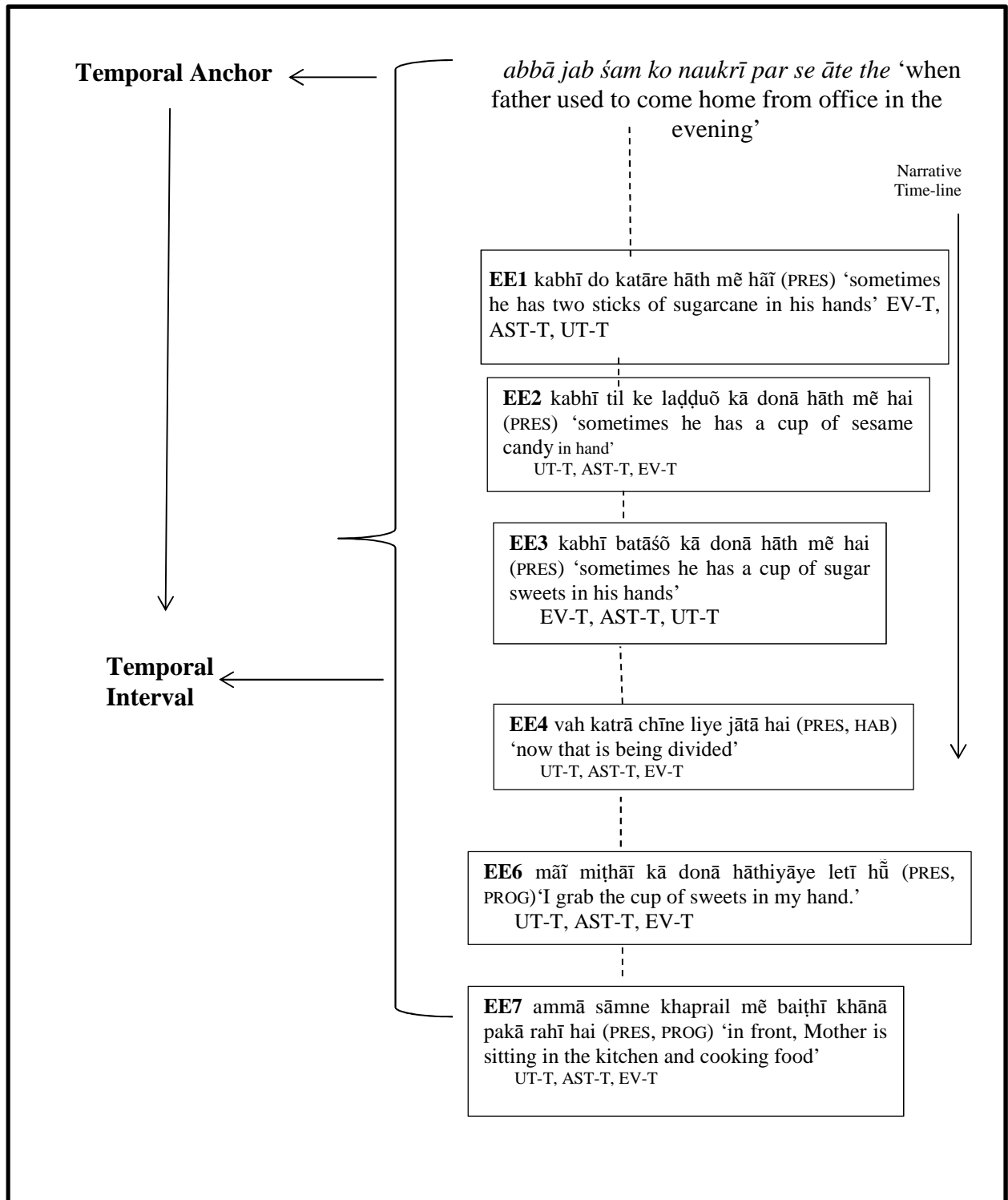
reference for all the embedded events. Father's coming home in the evening is a central narrative situation that is elaborated through a series of individual events. The first narrative present tense event, *kabhī do katāre hāth mē hāī* 'sometimes he has two sugarcane sticks in his hands' is happening at the time of father's coming home. Similarly, the other embedded events such as *ammā sāmne khaprail mē baiṭhī khānā pakā rahī hai* 'mother is sitting in front in the kitchen and is cooking food' or *kabhī til ke laḍḍuō kā donā hāth mē hai* 'sometimes he has sesame seeds in his hands' are happening at the time when father used to come in the evening. All of these events are sequentially ordered one after the other. However the ordering occurs in the frame of reference provided by the temporal anchor. The embedded events are technically connected to their respective UT-Ts, but according to the rule of temporal dependence, the UT-T is connected to the temporal anchor (EV-T). As a result of this temporal dependence, each embedded event is interpreted in connection with the temporal anchor. In the sequence of embedded events, each event has the same antecedent. Each event borrows a temporal reference from this antecedent for interpretation. Thus the sequence is understood as contained within the past tense interval of the anchor. All of these facts, which are properties of a narrative discourse by definition⁵⁵ are not explained when Hornstein's original rule of applied to the above example. In order to show that the embedded events are sequentially connected to the temporal anchor by sharing the reference as opposed to the sharing of event time, the following modification in ELF is applied to the specimen example.

⁵⁵ Chronological sequencing of events is a defining property of a narrative discourse, which is highlighted by many definitions quoted in Chapter 2.3.

In this application, I use the previously defined (Chapter 5) new terms; Temporal Anchor (TA) for matrix narrative event, Temporal Interval (TI) for frame of reference (AST-T) of TA and Embedded Events (EE), for events temporally dependent on TA.



By modifying the original framework of Hornstein in ELF, I establish an additional temporal connection between the embedded events and the temporal interval of the anchor. The additional temporal connection is derived from three temporal relations: first, the simultaneity between embedded event and its utterance time, second, the simultaneity between embedded utterance time and temporal anchor and third, simultaneity between temporal anchor and temporal interval (AST-T). These three simultaneous relations allow me to connect the embedded event to the reference time (AST-T) of the anchor in TI. This derived connection explains how embedded events in narratives are directly connected to the temporal interval of the temporal anchor. The temporal interval hosts the reference of the temporal anchor; the main narrative event of ‘father’s coming home’ in this case. This reference applies to all the embedded events that are sequenced inside in the temporal interval. The temporal dependency of embedded narrative present tense events on the temporal anchor is illustrated below:



In the above diagram, the box outlines the temporal frame of the anchor, which is the main narrative event. The anchor is connected to its assertion time in the temporal frame by a simultaneous relation established by present tense. Each embedded event has a temporal structure in which all three primitives hold a simultaneous relation. Technically, the UT-T of each embedded event is connected to the temporal anchor through the original principle of temporal dependency. The derived connection relates each embedded event with the temporal interval of the anchor event. This diagram represents the temporal embedding in the given example of *Umrao Jan Ada*, in which the events narrated using historical present tense are sequentially ordered in the temporal interval provided by the temporal anchor. Due to the referential connection of each present tense event with the temporal anchor the event is temporally interpreted as having past time reference. This modified version of Hornstein's theory in the Expanded Linguistic Framework, explains the semantic interpretation of historical/narrative present tense in which the morphological present tense has past time reference. With this diagram, I also show how narrative events are referentially connected to each other in the time frame provided by the main narrative event. Each dependent embedded event shares the reference provided by anchor event with each other. This sharing of reference by dependents (Dep) can be illustrated as in the diagram below:

Temporal Interval [Anchor...Dep₁.... Dep₂.... Dep₃.... Dep₄.... Dep₅.... Dep₆...]

The anchor narrative event is contained within the temporal interval along with other dependent events. The dependents share the interval with the anchor through their referential connection with each other.

In what follows, I present some other examples from *Umrao Jan Ada* to reiterate my revised version of the Hornstein's theory in ELF and my analysis to highlight the underlying grammatical principles of temporal embedding of narrative present tense in narratives.

Example II: *Umrao Jan Ada* (ibid., 53-54)

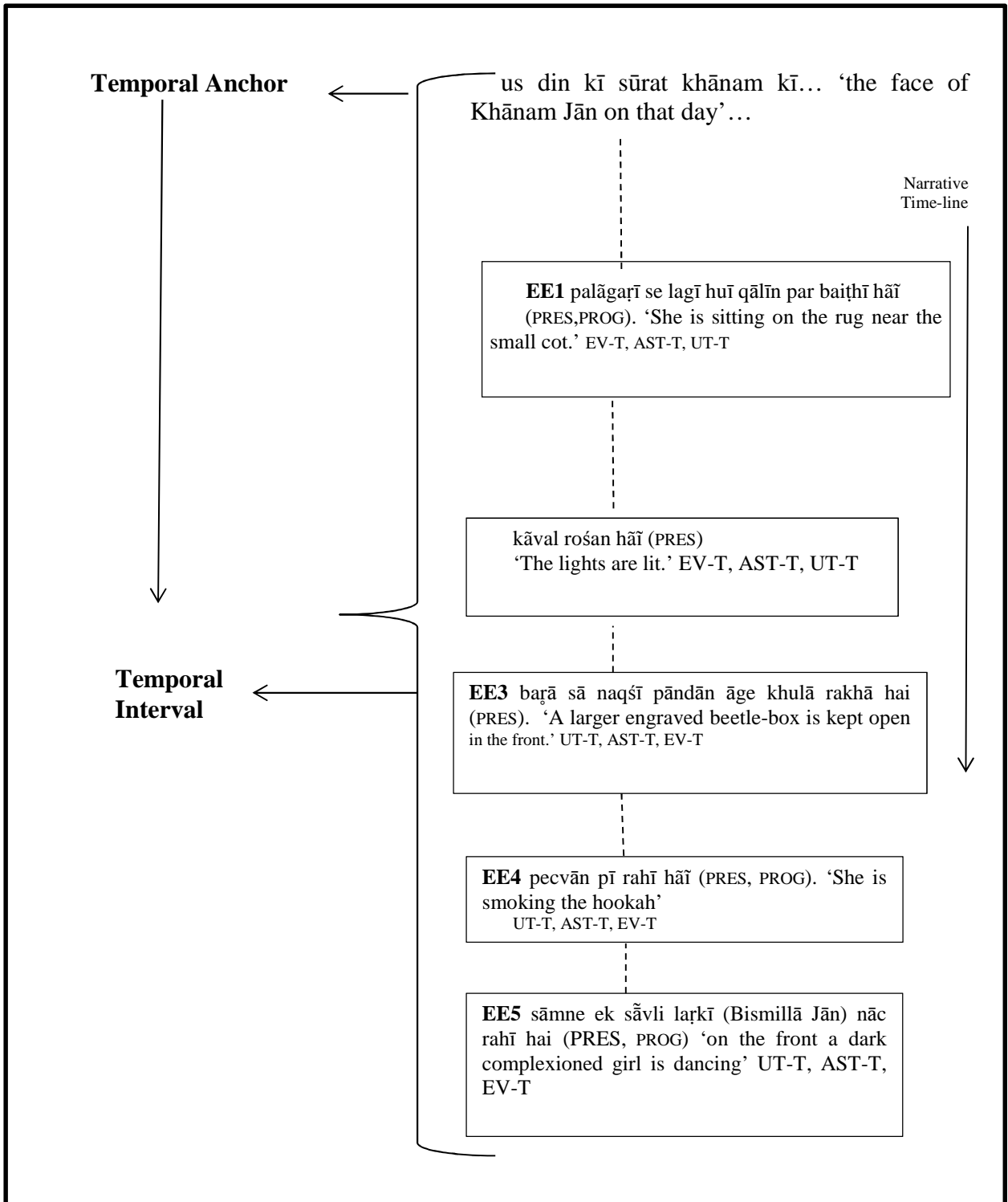
khānam jān ko āpne dekhā hogā (PRESUMPTIVE), us jamāne mẽ unkā sin qarīb pacās baras kā thā (PAST). kyā sāndār buṛiyā thī (PAST)...kānō mẽ sādī do antiyā lākh lākh banāo detī thī (PAST)...

us din kī sūrat khānam kī mujhe āj tak yād hai (PRES), palāgarī se lagī huī qālīn par baiṭhī hāī (PRES,PROG) kāval rośan hāī (PRES), baṛā sā naqśī pāndān āge khulā rakhā hai (PRES) pecvān pī rahī hāī (PRES, PROG), sāmne ek sāvli laṛkī (Bismillā Jān) nāc rahī hai (PRES, PROG), hamāre jāne ke bād nāc mauqūf huā (PERF), sab log kamre se cale gae (PERF),

You must have seen Khanam Jan, in that era, she was nearly fifty years of age. What a wonderful old lady was she! ...two simple earrings used to decorate her so much... I remember till date the face of Khanam Jan on that day. She is sitting on the rug near the small cot. The lights are lit. A larger engraved beetle-box is kept open in the front. She is smoking a hookah, in front a dark complexioned girl (Bismilla Jan) is dancing. The dance stopped when we reached there. Everyone left the room.

In this narrative passage, Umrao is narrating the situation when she was brought to the owner of the bordello (*koṭhā*), where she is to be sold to khānam Jān. She begins describing how Khānam Jān was an old but beautiful lady. After this general introduction, Umrao begins to narrate the events that happened on the particular day when she first met Khānam. Umrao states the scene in the past using the historical present tense. She describes that Khāman Jān was sitting beside a cot, smoking a hookah and that a girl named Bisamilla Jan was dancing in the front. Each of these events in narrative present tense is interpreted as occurring in the past time frame provided by the temporal anchor *us din kī*... 'that day (in the past).' Although the sentence containing temporal anchor ends with a present tense verb ...*yād hai* '...I remember', this sentence serves to provide a temporal frame which sets the narrator's past perspective of that

day. In addition the past tense events in the beginning of this passage provide a temporal frame in which all the embedded events are located. This example displays how in some cases an entire narrative context becomes the temporal anchor for temporal reference of embedded events unlike a single narrative event in the first example. The temporal dependence of embedded narrative events on the anchor in case of above example is illustrated below:



In the above illustration, I have shown how each embedded event in the narrative present tense is dependent for its temporal interpretation on the assertion time of anchor contained in the temporal interval. The temporal interval provides a reference time for each connected embedded event and plays a crucial role in creating a discourse of referentially connected events. The referential connection between each embedded present tense event and the temporal interval reveal how historical present tense is semantically a past tense with present tense morphology.

There are multiple examples in which similar embedding of historical present tense is employed in the narration of *Umrao Jan Ada*. The following example consists of a single past tense narrative event as the temporal anchor that provides a reference for the interpretation of dependent narrative events in the present tense.

Specimen Example III: *Umrao Jan Ada* (ibid., 81)

ek śāgīrd cor dil merā curākar le gayā (PAST)... Temporal Anchor

bijalī camak rahī hai (PRES, PROG), bādāl garaj rahe hāī (PRES, PROG). māī buā husainī kī koṭhrī mē akelī paṛī hū (PRES, PROG). buā husainī khānam ke sāth haidarī ke ghar gaī huī hāī (PRES, PCT)⁵⁶ ... aur kamrō mē jaśan ho rahe hāī (PRES, PROG).

Stealing my heart a scholar thief went away...The lightning is flashing and clouds are thundering. I find myself alone in Buwa Hussaini's room. Buwa Hussaini has gone to Haidari's house with Khanam. The light has burned out... In the other rooms celebrations are going on...

In this example too, the embedded events in the historical present tense are located in the past time at which a 'thief stole narrator Umrao's heart'. Umrao, who is narrating these events at the time of narration (UT-T), temporally locates these at the time of stealing in the past. Thus the

⁵⁶ I analyze the narrative events in present perfect and the interpretations associated with it in Chapter Seven.

embedded events are referentially connected to the anchor in the temporal frame provided by that anchor.

6.3 Conclusions and Questions

In concluding this chapter, I justify the central claim of my dissertation that there is a systematic co-relation between the use of grammar at sentence level and at the narrative level. In my analysis of the specimen narrative examples from *Umrao Jan Ada*, carried out in the expanded linguistic framework, I demonstrated that there is a parallel between how reported events are embedded and interpreted in sentences and in narratives. I began with sentence level embedding of reported speech clauses particularly, the embedding of present tense under a past tense matrix event. This embedding is structurally parallel to narrative embedding in which the present tense events are embedded under the temporal anchor in past tense. Then I discussed the principles underlying interpretation of such embedded events and showed how principle of temporal dependency at sentence level can be extended to the narrative level by modifying Horntsein's original principle.

In the modified principle of temporal dependency I focused on the referential embedding in narratives. Based on the temporal relations between the primitives of embedded events I derived a connection between the reference (assertion time) of temporal anchor and the embedded event. The connection of embedded event to the reference of main narrative event as opposed to the event itself accounts for the referential connection between embedded events. This modified connection also underlies the past time reference of the narrative present tense event. Thus by extending the theoretical linguistic framework for embedded clauses to the narrative discourse, I demonstrated that sentence level grammatical principles hold explanation to the use of

grammatical principles in narratives. However, my analysis also raises some important questions discussed below.

In my analysis of temporal embedding of narrative present tense in *Umrao Jan Ada* above, I have only focused on the embedding of narrative events in present tense under the narrative events in past tense. I have not addressed the temporal embedding in which both the temporal anchor and the embedded narrative events display a variety of past tenses. The grammatical principles underlying the embedding of two past tense events at both the sentence level and the narrative level need to be examined. This examination in order to see if the sentence level interpretation of such embedded events can be used to establish a parallel with the interpretation of such events in narrative discourses. A brief comparison between past tense embedded clauses in these two levels reveal that the sentence level facts are in contrast with the narrative facts.

Here is an example in which both the matrix and subordinate events are in past tense.

bābū-	ne	kahā	ki	rām	ro	rahā	thā
Babu.ERG	say.	PERF	that	ram	cry-	remain.PROG	be.PAST 3SG
'Babu said that Ram was crying'							

In this example the subordinate event of 'Ram's crying in the past time' is interpreted as preceding the main event of 'Babu's report of it in the past time'. If this sentence level interpretation of past under past embedded structure in Urdu is extended to the similar embedding of narrative events in the examples in *Umrao Jan Ada*, the resulting interpretation is problematic. The past tense embedded narrative event will be interpreted as occurring before the past tense matrix event/ temporal anchor. This interpretation then fails to explain the fact that in narratives, the embedded events whether in past or present tense are always understood as occurring sequentially after the matrix past tense event. The application of the sentence level interpretation of past under past embedded events in narratives yields results that challenge the

central claim of my thesis that there is a single underlying grammatical system for both sentence level and discourse level use of language. I do not intend to address this challenge in this chapter as it is out of the scope. However, my contention is that the embedding rules applied in case of adjunct clauses may hold answer to this challenge. The clauses linked together by temporal adverbs have tense agreement and they contextually have the interpretation of sequentiality. I illustrate this with following examples both in English and Urdu below:

a) John came after Harry arrived

In this English example, tenses of both the clauses adjoined by the temporal adverb ‘after’ need to be in morphological agreement. The past tense matrix event cannot have a present tense subordinate event linked to it as in * John came after Harry arrives.

b) jab rām gayā to bābū āyā
 when rām-dir-M-sg go-perf then bābū-nom-M-sg come-perf-M-sg
 ‘when Ram went then Babu came’

Similarly in Hindi-Urdu, the adjoined clauses require to be in morphological tense agreement. The subordinate clause adjoined by *to* ‘then’ cannot have present tense. In this example, the subordinate event adjoined by *to* ‘then’ is interpreted as occurring sequentially after the matrix event. I postulate that the narrative past tense events embedded under the matrix past tense events have similar semantic structure in which the subordinate past tense event is temporally adjoined to the matrix event having sequential interpretation. For details on the adjunct embedding and sequence of tense requirement in such embedding refer to (Hornstein: 1990, 2.2).

After deriving the semantic meaning of the narrative present tense by explaining its past time reference through analysis of temporal relations in narrative clauses, I now turn to derive the pragmatic effects of tense and aspect such as proximity, distance, simultaneity, objectivity etc. in the next chapter.

7 Narrator's Perspective and Location in *Umrao Jan Ada*

In this chapter, I continue the analysis of tense and aspect use in *Umrao Jan Ada* begun in the previous chapter. In that chapter I explained the grammatical principles underlying semantic interpretation and embedding of narrative present tense. I now shift my focus to the pragmatic interpretations of narrative present tense and other tense-aspect categories in narratives. I demonstrate that there is a formal system to the narrative effects attributed to various tense and aspect categories. The narrative effects of tense and aspect have been generally classified as contextual pragmatic effects in previous analyses, thereby denying any grammatical explanation of them. In this chapter, I choose some specific pragmatic effects associated with particular tense and aspect categories and derive the grammatical principles underlying them by utilizing the Expanded Linguistic Framework (ELF). In so doing, I employ the modified framework of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria that deals with the temporal relations established by tense and aspect. In what follows, in 7.1, I first define the pragmatic effects of tense and aspect in narratives that I am going to analyze. I describe them as they have been discussed in Fleischman's analysis. In 7.2, I reiterate the theoretical principles that I have previously defined in Chapter Five to derive the pragmatic effects in question. In 7.3, I apply my principles of ELF to the specimen examples of *Umrao Jan Ada* and demonstrate that pragmatic effects of tense and aspect in narratives can be explained by the sentence-level grammatical principles. In 7.4, I summarize the generalizations derived from my analysis to explain the grammatical principles underlying specific pragmatic functions of tense and aspect. I conclude this chapter in 7.5, by highlighting the systematic co-relations between sentence level grammar of tense and aspect categories and their interpretation in narrative discourses.

7.1 Pragmatic Interpretations assigned to Narrative Tense and Aspect

In narratological literature, common tense and aspect combinations such as present tense- progressive aspect, past tense- perfective aspect and past tense- perfect aspect are associated with specific functions. These pragmatic functions are particularly related to the narrator, narrator's perspective (the way in which narrator is viewing the narrated events), and the distance between narrator and the event. These pragmatic interpretations following Fleischman (1990, 62) can be described as follows:

A narrator's use of present tense marks a mimetic mode of reporting in which a narrator performs events at the time of narration. A performance conveys narrator's close perception of events and marks proximity with events. The past tense with perfective aspect marks narrator's distant observation and complete view of past events. The perfect aspect is attributed with a retrieval of events far from memory indicating narrator's very distant vantage point. The imperfective aspect by contrast marks pictorial mode of reporting indicating that the narrator is simultaneously painting a picture at the time of narration.

In relation to the above enumerated pragmatic functions, a narrator is assigned roles such as painter (imperfective aspect), historian (perfective aspect), and performer (present tense) that provide information about narrator's perspective and distance from narrated event. However, in her treatment of this subject, Fleischman does not discuss the mechanisms underlying these functions associated with tense and aspect. In what follows, I derive these pragmatic functions by employing the ELF and reveal the underlying grammatical principles through my analysis of examples in *Umrao Jan Ada*. In ELF, by modifying the theoretical linguistic framework of Demisrdache and Uribe-Etxebarria, I have already defined the principles underlying certain

pragmatic functions of tense and aspect that I repeat below to facilitate the understanding of my analysis.

7.2 Principles Underlying Pragmatic Functions of Tense-Aspect

In formulating the ELF, I build on the “Primitives of Temporal Relations” (2000) by Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria, which elaborates on the three temporal primitives of Event time, Assertion time, Utterance time and how they are related to one another by the grammatical categories of tense and aspect. The UT-T is the literal time of utterance. The EV-T is the time at which the event occurs. The AST-T is a complex and abstract concept that combines the reference time of event and the observing of that event for the purpose of narration. These original temporal primitives of UT-T and AST-T are redefined for narrative discourses in ELF. The utterance time stands for the time of narration, in which the narrator participates. The assertion time on the other hand stands for the time of narrator’s perception of the narrated event. The event time stands for the time of the described event. The category of tense establishes a relation between utterance time (narration) and assertion time (perception). The category of aspect establishes a temporal relation between assertion time (perception) and event time⁵⁷. I summarize my modification of the sentence internal temporal relations for narrative analysis proposed and discussed before (Chapter 5.2) with the following example in Urdu.

⁵⁷ For a comparative overview of sentence-internal and narrative-internal temporal relations and the details of the modified framework of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria see Chapter 5.2.

defined previously in Chapter Five to facilitate the understanding of my analysis. Each pragmatic function has been explained with a derived formula that is based on the temporal relations established by tense and aspect among the primitives of narrative clause.

Principles for Deriving Pragmatic Interpretations of Tense and Aspect

Narrator's Location: Narrator's location is implied by the ordering of narration relative to perception and event. Since the narrator is a participant in the act of narration, narrator's location = the place of UT-T (narration) on the narrative time line.

Narrator's Perspective on Event: Narrator's perspective = the relation between AST-T (Perception) and Event (EV-T). The way in which an event is viewed is signaled by the grammatical aspect which dictates the relation between perception and event.

Distance between Narrator and Event: Distance between narrator and event =
Relation between narration and perception + relation between perception and event

7.3 Analysis of Specimen Examples

In this section I apply the above defined formulas to the specimen narrative passages from *Umrao Jan Ada* by examining the tense and aspect combinations employed to narrate specific sequences of events. To illustrate my analysis of each narrative clause and the temporal relations within that clause I first present the examples by separating each narrative event. In the first example below, narrator Umrao is describing a situation in the past, in which a thief entered in her room on stormy dark night and stole her heart. Umrao narrates the situation using present progressive, present perfect and perfective aspect as seen below:

Example 1 *Umrao Jan Ada* (1987, 81)

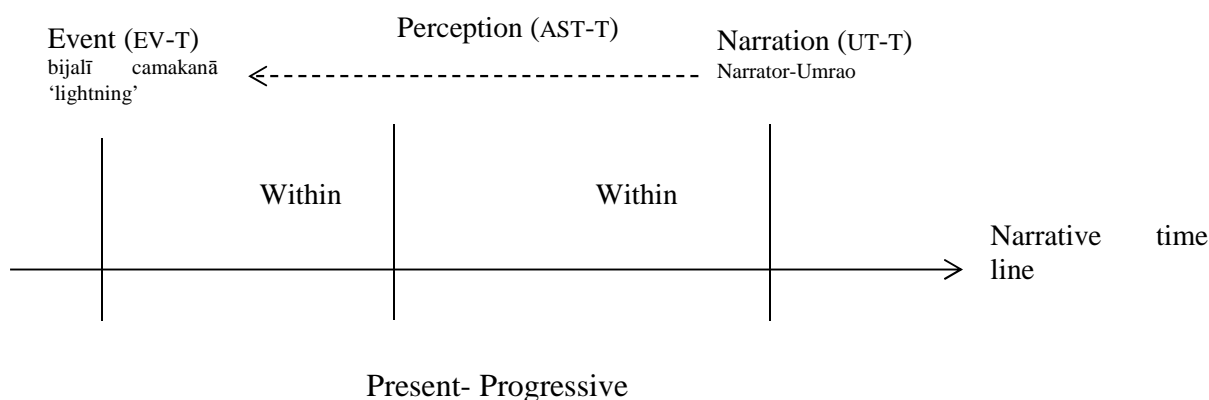
1. bijalī camak rahī hai (PR,PROG),
The lightning is flashing.
2. bādāl garaj rahe hāĩ (PR,PROG).
Clouds are thundering.
3. māĩ buā husainī kī koṭhrī mẽ akelī paṛī hũ (PR,PCT).
I find myself alone in Buwa Hussaini's room.
4. buā husainī khānam ke sāth haidarī ke ghar gaī huī hāĩ (PR,PCT).
Buwa Hussaini has gone to Haidari's house with Khanam.
5. cirāḡ gul ho gayā hai (PR,PCT).
The light has burned out
6. aur andherī vo ki hāth ko hāth nahĩ sũjhtā (PERF)
And it's so dark that one hand cannot even discern the other hand.
7. aur kamrō mẽ jaśan ho rahe hāĩ (PR,PROG)
In the other rooms celebrations are going on.
...
8. itne mẽ yah mālūm huā ki jaise kisī ne merā hāth pakaṛ liyā (PERF)
All at once, I became aware that (as if) someone got hold of my hand

In the above passage, *Umrao* begins with a report on weather conditions at the time of narrated events (1, 2). From providing a broader picture of external conditions *Umrao* moves into the details of her whereabouts on the stormy night (3, 4). *Umrao* describes that she was alone in the room of aunt Hussaini. After describing the dark room, *Umrao* highlights the contrast between her feeling of loneliness and the celebrations in other rooms (5). After such detailed description of her surroundings, *Umrao* narrates the event in which somebody enters her room in the dark. This event moves the narrative time line forward by taking the reader from the background description to the topic event. The topic event is narrated using simple perfective.

Now I move to analyze the above passage by focusing on the tense and aspect combinations in each narrative clause to derive Umrao's perspective on and her distance from each narrated event.

Narrative Event 1: Present Progressive

bijalī	camak	rahī	hai
lightning.FEM.SG	to shine.PART	stay.FEM.SG	BE.PRE.3.SG
'The lightning is flashing.'			



This diagram represents the temporal ordering relations established by present progressive in the narrative clause in (1). When the relations established by present tense at the sentence internal level are extended to the narrative clause, it relates the time of narration to the time of perception by a “within” relation. This “within” relation implies that the times of narration and perception are simultaneous. Umrao, who is narrating the event of lightning, is present at the time of narration. The time of narration is simultaneous with the perception of the event by Umrao that she is viewing and narrating at the same time. The “within” relation established by the progressive aspect connects the time of perception to the time of event. The aspectual “within” relation implies that the event is viewed as ongoing at the time of Umrao's perception

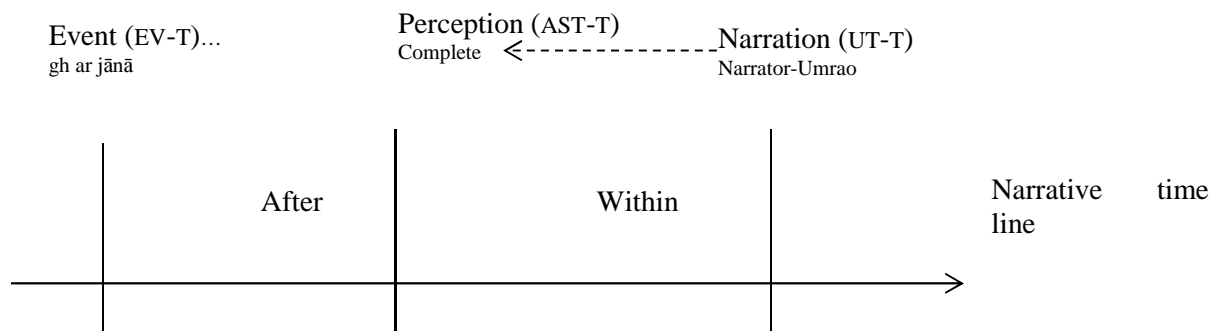
of it. Thus there are two temporal relations that intervene between the occurrence of the event in the past and the location of narrator at the time of narration. The culmination of two “within” relations results in the interpretation of simultaneity of three the event, perception of that event, and the narration of that event. Umrao’s perception of the lightning is co-temporal with her mental re-experiencing of it at the time of narration. The co-temporality of narration, perception and experience of event explain Umrao’s movement on the narrative time line, in which she moves closer to the experience of the event through two “within” relations shown above with the dotted line. Thus, at the time of narrating Umrao is observing the event from within the boundary of that event. This proximity of narrator and event produced by the temporal relations established by present tense and progressive aspect underlies the pragmatic effect of close, simultaneous narration that is interpreted as the “performance” of narration by a narrator.

Narrative Events 2 and 3: Present Perfect

māĩ ...	akelī	paṛī	hũ
I.FEM.SG... alone.ADJ.FEM	lay.PERF.FEM.SG		be.PRE.SG
‘I find myself alone...’			

buvā hussaini	...haidari ke	ghar	gaĩ
Aunt Hussaini.FEM.SG	...haidari of.PP.OBL	house.MASC.SG	go.PERF.FEM.P

huĩ	hãĩ
be.PERF.FEM.PL	be.PRE.PL-pl
‘Buwa Hussaini has gone to Haidari’s house...’	



Present-Perfect

I first describe the temporal relations established by present perfect in order to show how Umrao views the narrated event of Hussaini going to Haidari's house. The temporal relations also reveal the place of Umrao on the time line at the time of narration. Then I turn to explain the grammatical foundations of 'perfect of state/ result' interpretation assigned to the perfect aspect particularly in these two narrative events. My discussion involves grammatical analysis of the above present perfect constructions focusing on the morphology and situation type of verbs used in them. The ordering relations established by the present tense and perfect aspect involve a "within" and an "after" relation. The "within" relation established by present tense orders the time of narration within the time of perception implies that Umrao is viewing the events simultaneously at the time of narration. The "after" relation established by progressive aspect reveals the way in which Umrao views these two narrated events. Umrao views the events of 'her being alone in the room' and Buwa's going to Haidari's house' as complete in action. She perceives them from outside the boundary of these events. Umrao's location at the time of narration can be derived based on the place of UT-T on the narrative timeline. In this narrated

clause, it is outside and far away from the event. Umrao's movement on the narrative time line can be mapped through the simultaneous relation between the times of narration and perception (shown above by dotted line). Despite Umrao's movement through the temporal relation, her vantage point is distant from the event as she narrates after viewing the event (the experience of the event in the past) completely. Thus, the temporal relations established by present perfect reveal the grammatical principles underlying narrator's distant, objective and complete perception of the event. The narrator's complete view of the narrated event and the distance between narrator (Umrao) and the narrated event are translated into the imposed pragmatic role of a narrator a historian or a memorialist. In addition to the narrative effects regarding narrator's perspective and distance, the present perfective constructions, the above two narrative events also create the effects of 'lingering state', in which the events of 'Umrao's being alone in the room' and 'Buwa Hussini's going to Haidari's place are understood as persisting states. In order to explain the underlying grammatical principle of these effects associated with the combination of present tense and perfect aspect, I analyze the main verbs in these narrative events below according to their situation type. The concept of "situation type" of a verb refers to whether the meaning of a verb explains an activity, accomplishment, achievement or a state. The categorization of verbs into these semantic categories depends on whether a verb in question is telic, punctual or durative⁵⁹. In (2), the main verb is *paṛnā* 'to lie' (literally 'to fall') is a stative verb marked with the perfective aspect indicating that the action of lying/ remaining is complete. The form *hū̃*, literally the first person singular present tense form of the copula verb *honā* 'to be', is a stative indicating that the action denoted by *honā* is holds at the time of narration (UT-T).

⁵⁹ For definitions of these terms refer to Smith (1991) and Bernard Comrie (1976, 1985).

When these two verbs are combined together along with the meanings provided by their respective tense and aspect markers, they indicate that the action of lying holds/ persists at the time of narration. Umrao perceives the state of lying down in Hussaini's room as ongoing at the time of narrating it. The perfective participles, *parī* 'lying' and *gayī* 'gone' combined with the auxiliary verb *honā* 'to be' constitute a so – called “stative” construction, used to represent the state resulting from the completion of the main action of the verb. This is a resultative perfect, which conveys that the persisting state of Umrao's lying down in the room results when the main action of lying is complete. The combination of two stative verbs in (2) underlies the pragmatic effect of persisting or lingering narrative state/ event. The present perfect in (3) is different from the one in (2) as it involves two different types of verbs. The main verb *jānā* 'to go' is an activity type of verb as it denotes a durative action carried out by an agent. The perfective participle of *jānā*, namely *gayī* expresses that the action of 'going' is complete. This verb occurs in a compound participial construction, in which it is combined with perfective participle of *honā* 'to be' marked with perfective aspect *huī*. This completed action persists at the time of narration (UT-T) as indicated by the present tense auxiliary form of '*honā* 'to be''. The present tense provides the meaning of stativity resulting from the completed action.

The present perfect used immediately after the use of present imperfective in this narrative passage is peculiar because it highlights the difference between a persisting/ continuous activity and a persisting state denoted by the grammatical category of aspect. The narrative event in (1) described using the present progressive tense highlights that the progression of the activity denoted by the verb *camaknā* 'to shine' is experienced by Umrao at the time of narration. The present perfect in (2 and 3) on the contrary indicates that the actions marked by perfective participle are experienced by Umrao as persisting states. The analysis of present progressive in

(1) and present perfect in case of events in (2) and (3) also represent other examples in this chapter having similar tense and aspect combinations. In what follows, I now turn to the pragmatic interpretations associated with the past perfective/ simple perfective and the past perfect in narratives with the help of second specimen example.

In the following example (2), I analyze a narrative situation in which Umrao narrates about the day on which she was sold into a bordello (*kothā*). She describes how she met Khanam Jan, the mistress of that bordello for the first time. Umrao describes the scene at the *kothā* using various tense and aspect combinations. Of these, I particularly focus on the past tense in combination with both the perfective and perfect aspects as I have already analyzed the combinations involving present tense in the previous example.

Example 2

(Ibid., 53-54)

1. *khānam jān ko āpne dekhā hogā* (Presumptive), *us jamāne mẽ unkā sin qarīb pacās baras kā thā* (PAST) *kyā sāndār buḥiyā thī* (PAST)... *kanō mẽ sādī do antiyā lākh lākh banāo detī thī* (PAST)...
You must have seen Khanam Jan. In that era her age was of nearly fifty years. What a wonderful old lady was she!... Two simple earrings used to decorate her so much...
2. *us din kī sūrat khānam kī mujhe āj tak yād hai* (PRE, PCT), *palāgaṛī se lagī huī qālīn par baiṭhī hāī* (PRE, PCT) *kāval roshan hāī* (PRES), *baṛā sā naqshī pāndān āge khulā rakhā hai* (PRE, PCT) *pecvān pī rahī hāī* (PRE, PROG), *sāmne ek sāvlī laṛkī* (Bismillā Jān) *nāc rahī hai* (PRE, PROG),

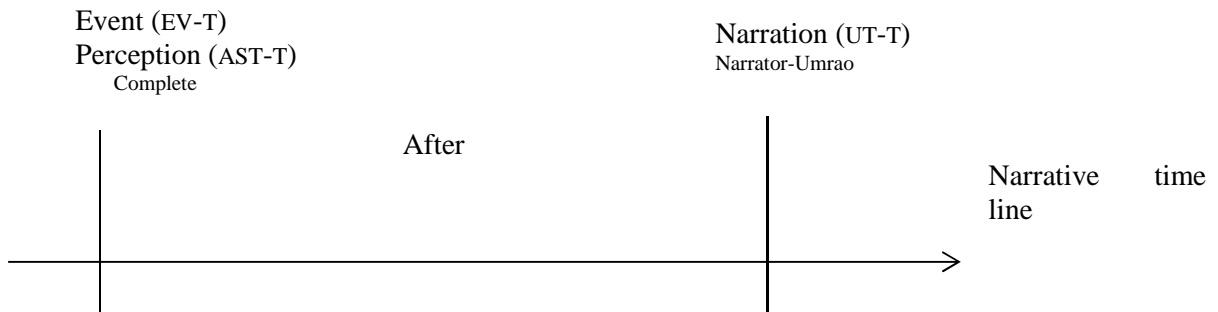
I still remember the face of Khānam Jān on that day. She is sitting on the rug near the small cot. The lights are lit. A larger engraved betel-leaf container is kept open in the front. She is smoking a hookah, in the front (of us) a dark complexioned girl (Bismilla Jan) is dancing.

3. *hamāre jāne ke bād nāc mauqūf huā* (PERF) *sab log kamre se cale gae* (PERF).
The dance stopped when we entered the room; everyone left the room.
4. *māmlā to pahale hī tay ho cukā thā* (PAST, PCT).
The deal had already been finalized

Narrative Event (3) Perfective/ Simple Perfective

(3) hamāre jāne ke bād nāc mauqūf huā
 we.POSS.OBL go.GER.OBL PP after dance. MASC.SG stop be.PERF.MASC.SG.
 ‘The dance stopped when (after) we went there’.

sab log kamre se cale gae
 everyone people.MASC.PL room.OBL PP leave.PERF.MASC.PL go.PERF.MASC.PL
 ‘ Everyone (all people) left the room’.



Simple-Perfective

Both of the narrative events in (3) are expressed using the simple perfective. This diagram illustrates the temporal relation established by perfective aspect between the time of event (EV-T) and the time of narration (UT-T). However, before I can explain Umrao’s perspective and location as revealed by the temporal relation established by perfective aspect, it is necessary to first understand that in Urdu-Hindi, the simple perfective is only marked for grammatical aspect because it is not indicative of any temporal orientation. Because it is expressed by means of the perfective aspect, the action is understood as complete by the time of utterance. An action that is

represented as being complete prior to the time of being reported by way of an utterance is understood as having taken place in the past⁶⁰. Thus, in Urdu-Hindi, such perfective aspectual construction is used to denote the simple past time, as would be expressed by the past tense in English. The perfective aspect exclusively establishes only a single “after” relation between the UT-T and the AST-T because there is no morphological tense marker involved in these perfective constructions. The EV-T and the AST-T are co-temporal as they share both the initial and the final boundaries. The temporal relations established by simple (past) perfective show that the UT-T is ordered after the EV-T and the AST-T as they share both their initial and final boundaries. Based on the temporal relation established by the use of perfective aspect it becomes clear that Umrao perceives the events at the time of narration from a distance. The “after” relation underlies the distance between Umrao and the narrated event.

Now I turn to analyze the combination of past tense and perfect aspect by showing the temporal relations established by these categories below:

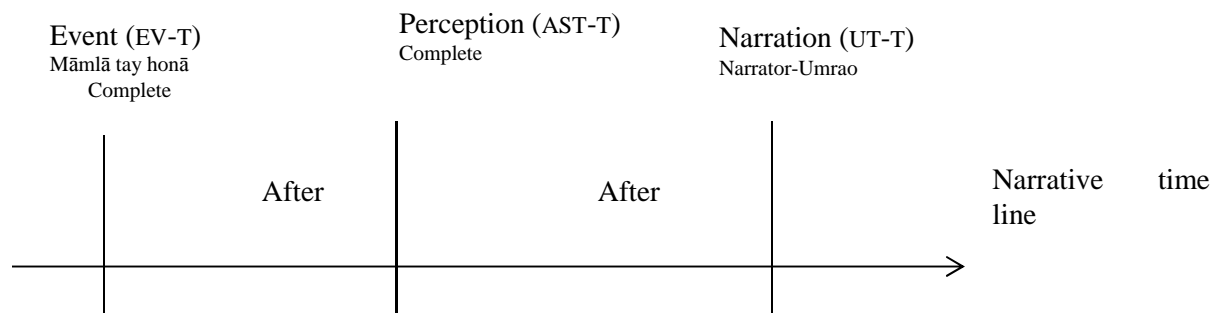
Narrative Event (4) Past Perfect

(4) māmlā	to	pahle	hī	tay	ho	cukā
matter.MASC.SG		INTERJ	before	EMPH	decided	be
thā						already.MASC.SG
be.PAST.MASC.SG						
‘The matter had already been finalized’.						

⁶⁰ There is an exception to this statement in case when the simple perfective occurs in conjunction with the temporal adverb *abhī* ‘right now’ as shown in the following example:

abhī	āyā
right now	arrive.PERF. MASC.SG
‘here I come.’ (coming right now)	

This construction displays a special use of simple perfective, in which the verbal form, though marked with perfective aspect denotes the action of ‘coming’ that is not yet complete. The action is pragmatically understood as that is ongoing or that is going to happen immediately after the utterance.



Past-Perfect

In the above diagram, there are two “after” relations. The first “after” relation is established by past tense that places the time of narration after the time of perception. This means that Umrao narrates the event of the ‘deal as being already finalized’ after she completely observes the event as having taken place in the past. The second “after” relation, established by perfect aspect, implies that the event is perceived as complete. Umrao, who is located at the time of narration, first views the event completely and then narrates it as happened in the past. The culmination of two “after” relations results in a greater degree of distance between Umrao and the narrated event when compared to the use of perfective with only one “after” relation illustrated above in the analysis of narrative event (3). The temporal relations established by past perfect explain the grammatical principles underlying pragmatic interpretations associated with it, such as narrator’s distant and objective narration from farthest vantage point. The distance between narrator and narrated event which is linguistically manifest in the two “after” relations underlies the narratologically attributed pragmatic role of historian or memorialist to narrator when using the past perfect.

The three sections examined above display different tense and aspect combinations. Based on the interpretations of the temporal relations established by these tense and aspect combinations, Umrao's movement on the narrative timeline can be tracked. In section (1) of the example in (2), Umrao describes Khanam Jan using past tense verbal forms, thus underscoring the distance between her and the narrated events. The past tense orders the time of narration after observation indicating that Umrao first completely observes the events in the past and then narrates them as having been seen.

The use of present progressive and present perfect in describing the events in the Khanam's room is indicative of the change in Umrao's perception of events. When Umrao says *us din kī sūrat khānam kī mujhe āj tak yād hai* 'I still remember the face of Khanam' *palāgarī se lagī huī qālīn par baiṭhī hāī* 'she is sitting on a rug beside a cot', or *kāval roshan hāī* 'the lights are lit' etc. her use of present tense to narrate these events is crucial. The present tense establishes a "within" relation between the time of perception and the time of narration. The co-temporality of narration and perception underlies the effect of simultaneity of the two time frames. The progressive aspect establishes a "within" relation between perception and event, implying that the event is perceived as ongoing. Thus the present progressive moves Umrao, the narrator very close to the narrated event. This close proximity of between narrator and event is pragmatically interpreted as performance of narration.

The present perfect, with an after relation established by perfect aspect between the time of perception and time of event indicates that the event is perceived as complete. Thus narrator moves a step away from the event. When Umrao uses past perfect for narration in (4) with two after relations, she moves two steps away from the event conveying there is a great distance the two. Thus the analysis of temporal relations established by tense and aspect combinations allow

us to map how the time of narration is ordered relative to other times. By tracking the time of narration, narrator who participates in that narration is also tracked. The position of time of narration (UT-T), becomes a tool in tracking the Umrao's position (narrator's position in general) on the narrative time line and mapping her movement along that time line.

In the specimen narrative passages analyzed above, I have illustrated the temporal relations established by specific tense and aspect combinations that are used recurrently in narratives in general and in Umrao's narration in particular. Each time a narrator uses a particular tense and aspect combination, it relates the narration, perception and narrated event in a same way as shown in above examples. Therefore, once the temporal ordering relations established by each tense and aspect are understood, it is possible to grammatically explain a narrator's perspective and distance from narrated event by merely examining the verbal forms marked with tense and aspect. In the following two examples, Umrao employs verbal forms marked with particular tense and aspect morphology, which reveal Umrao's perception of narrated events, her distance from those events and her movement on the narrative timeline.

Example 3 (Ibid., 39)

- 1) abbā jab sām ko naukrī par se āte the (PAST) us vaqt kī khuśī ham bhāī behnō kī kuch na pūchie (IMPERATIVE). māī kamar se līpat gaī (PERF). bhāī abbā abbā karke dauṛā (PERF). dāman se cimāt gayā (PERF). abbā kī bāchē māre khushī ke khilī jātī hāī (PRE, HAB). mujhko cumkārā pīṭh par hāt pherā (PERF). bhaiyā ko god mẽ uṭhā liyā (PERF). pyār karne lage (PERF). mujhe khūb yād hai kabhī khālī hāth na āte the (PAST).

I can't describe the happiness of us (brother and sister) when father used to come from work. I clung to his waist. Brother ran saying father. He clung to his skirt. Father smiles with happiness. He caressed me and rubbed my back. He took brother in his lap. He started caressing him. I vividly remember he never used to come empty handed.

- 2) kabhī do katāre hāth me hāī, kabhī batāsō kā donā hāth mẽ hai (PRES), kabhī til ke laḍḍuō kā donā hāth mẽ hai (PRES). ab uske hisse lagāe jā rahe hāī (PRES, PROG). us

vakt bhāi bahanō mẽ kis maze ki laṛāiyā hotī thī (PAST). vah katrā chīne liye jātā hai (PRES). ab uske hisse lagāe jā rahe hāī (PRES, PROG). māī miṭhāī kā donā hāthiyāye letī hū (PRES, HAB) ammā sāmne khaprail mẽ baiṭhī khānā pakā rahī hai (PRES, PROG).

Sometimes he has two sticks of sugarcane in his hands, sometimes sugar sweet or a cup of leaves filled with sesame candy. Now that is being divided. That time, what a delightful fights brother and sister used to have. He (brother) grabs that sugarcane stick. That is being divided now. I grab the cup of sweets in my hand. In front, mother is sitting in the kitchen and cooking food.

In this example (3), Umrao begins her description of the events that used to take place when her father would come home from work every day. I have divided the example in two sections based on the tense and aspect combination used for narration. In the first section, Umrao predominantly uses the past tense and simple perfective verbal forms. In the past tense the time of narration is “after” the time of perception. In the perfective aspect too, the time of perception is “after” the narrated event indicating that Umrao perceives the perfective events as complete at the time of narration from a distance. In section two of this example, Umrao shifts to the verbal forms marked with present tense and progressive aspect implying a change in her perspective as well as her position on the time line. The present tense relates the time of narration “within” (simultaneous) the time of perception. The progressive aspect similarly orders the perception “within” narrated event implying that all the three timeframes coincide. Umrao’s use of present tense and progressive aspect reveals that she views the narrated events as ongoing and re-experiences them at the time of narration imparting no distance between her and the event.

Similarly, the three sections of the narrative passage in (4) can be described. In the following passage, Umrao is describing her fellow dancer namely, Amir Jan. In describing the pomp and beauty of Amir Jan, Umrao uses a mixture of tense and aspect combinations implying her movement on the narrative timeline. The shift from past tense and perfective or perfect aspect to present tense and progressive aspect reveals Umrao’s varying distance from the narrated event.

By employing present progressive in section 2, she moves closest to event and observes it very closely. By employing past tense and perfective aspect in sections 1 and 3 she distances herself from the events.

Example 4 (Ibid., 67-8)

- 1) khūb jāntī hū (PRES) yahī amīrjān us jamāne mẽ aisī thī (PAST) ki log unko ek nazar dekhne kī ārjū rakhte the... (PAST) ṭhāṭhā bhī aise hī the (PAST).
I know very well, this very Amīr Jān' was such at that time, that people had a desire to catch a glance of her...Her pomp was also like that.

- 2) cār cār mahriyā sāth, ek gudgudī liye hai (PRES), ek ke hāth mẽ pākhā, ek luṭiyā liye, ek ke pās khāsdān hai(PRES), khidmatgār vardiyā pahne savārī ke sāth dauṛte jāte hāi (PRES, PROG).
There are four maids with her; one has a hookah in her hand; one holds a fan; one with a brass pot, one has a betel-box; and servants wearing a uniform go running carrying her sedan.

- 3) amīrjān Gauhar Mirzā ke gāne par gash thī (PAST).
Amir Jan was enamored of Gauhar Mirzā's singing.

Based on the tense and aspect categories and the temporal relations established by them among the three primitives of each narrative clause, I can summarize the general principles governing narrator's position on narrative time line, narrator's perspective on narrated event and the distance between the narrator and the narrated event. These generalizations reveal the grammatical principles underlying the pragmatic interpretations of tense and aspect categories in narratives. In the first column of the following table, I note the specific tense and aspect combinations along with one example from the narrative passages analyzed above. These examples represent all the narrative events that display the tense and aspect combination in question. In the second column, I show how the three times in narrative discourse; time of event

(EV-T), time of perception (AST-T) and time of narration (UT-T) are related by particular tense and aspect combination. In this I highlight that Umrao (narrator) is at the time of narration by being a participant of that event of narration. In the third column, I define narrator's position relative to the narrated event. In the fourth, I measure the distance between narrator and narrated event based on the temporal relations that intervene between them. In the last column, I define narrator's perspective on the narrated event.

7.4 Generalizations based on Temporal Relations in Narrative Discourse

	Tense and Aspect Combination	Temporal Relations Among times in Narrative Discourse	Narrator's Location relative to Event	Distance between Narrator and narrated Event	Narrators' Perception of narrated Event
1.	Present Progressive sāmne ek sāv̄lī laṛkī nāc rahī hai 'a girl with dark complexion is dancing in front of the people'	Umrao/ Narration Within Perception Within Event	Inside Event	Closest	Continuous, Ongoing, progressive
2.	Present Perfect māī kamare mẽ akelī paṛī hū ' I am lying (find myself) alone in the room.'	Umrao/ Narration Within Perception After Event	Outside Event	Closer	Persisting state resulting from a complete event
3.	Simple Perfective māī kamar se lipat gaī ' I clang to his (father's) waist.'	Umrao/ Narration After Perception and Event	Outside Event	Farther	Event is perceived as completed
4.	Past Perfect māmlā to pahle hī tay ho cukā thā ' The matter had already been finalized.'	Umrao/ Narration After Perception After Event	Outside Event	Farthest	Complete

7.5 Conclusion

My analysis of clause internal temporal relations in narrative discourse shows that there are particular underlying mechanisms that accomplish the pragmatic contextual functions attributed to tense and aspect categories in narratives. These underlying mechanisms are the relations between the temporal primitives established by the inherent properties of tense and aspect. The temporal primitives are defined in the form of three times that operate at the sentence internal level to establish connections between clausal arguments. These three time frames are Utterance

Time (UT-T), Assertion Time (AST-T) and Event Time (EV-T). The aspect establishes a temporal relation between the AST-T and the EV-T. The tense establishes a relation between the AST-T and the UT-T. The AST-T is crucial to determine the ordering of other two times.

In the process of extending these theoretical underpinnings to the analysis of use of tense and aspect in narrative discourse, the analysis is carried out at the narrative clause level. In a narrative clause, the three times refer to particular narrative properties. The UT-T refers to the time of narration, the AST-T refers to the time of narrator's experience/ perception of events and the EV-T refers to the time of narrated events. These modifications proposed in the process of extension of sentence internal principles of temporal relations two the narrative discourse are tested by applying them to the specimen Urdu narrative examples. With my analysis of these examples above, I explain the underlying grammatical principles of pragmatic interpretations of tense and aspect categories. By explaining these narrative pragmatic functions through the sentence-level grammatical principles, I demonstrate that there is a systematic correlation between the grammar of sentence-level and the use of it at the narrative level.

The mapping of Demiradache and Uribe-Etxebarria's theory of temporal relations onto the narrative discourse shows that their theory is not restricted to the sentence level grammar. The extension of this theoretical linguistic framework to narrative structure provides tools to explain the phenomenon of tense shift in narratives. The temporal relations highlight contrasts between the tense and aspect categories; present vs past, perfective vs imperfective. This contrast also surfaces in the mechanism of tense shift in narratives. Tense shift, which is visible at the surface level of a clause, keeps changing the temporal relations clause internally. The primary motivation behind shifting tense and aspect is to deploy narrator's movement in narrative time.

This movement results in change in narrator's distance from events, also bringing in change in narrator's perception of events.

The summary of my analysis presented in the table above underscores that the temporal relations that tense and aspect categories establish at sentence internal level do not change when the same categories are used at narrative level. Based on the shared grammatical principles of both narrative and non-narrative use of language, I conclude that a single analytical framework can be used to analyze both of these uses of a language. There are no two sets of grammars for these two varieties of language as it is postulated in previous narratological analyses. I justify the central claim of my dissertation that there is a grammatical system that underlies the contextual and pragmatic interpretations in narratives. This underlying grammatical system explains the pragmatic contextual interpretations attributed to tense and aspect in narratives, particularly regarding narrator's perspective, location and distance from narrated event.

8 Foregrounding and Narrative Transitions in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*

In this chapter, I continue my analysis of narrative discourses employing the Expanded Linguistic Framework (ELF) in order to explain the grammatical principles underlying contextual effects associated with tense and aspect categories. However, this chapter marks a transition from the pragmatic functions associated with “narrator,” which I analyzed in the previous chapter, to textual functions of tense and aspect. My focus in this chapter is “narrative text and its arrangement.” More specifically, I analyze the textual function of foregrounding associated with present tense in narratives. This chapter also marks a transition with regard to the specimen language and narrative texts. I use two frame narratives in Sanskrit to demonstrate how tense and aspect play a role in textual arrangement of narrative content. The framed structure of embedded stories is constructed with ‘narrative transitions’ which are linguistically marked by peculiar use of tense and aspect. I focus on the role of present tense in marking narrative transitions in the specimen examples of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. In what follows, I begin with a brief introduction to the narrative textual arrangement as viewed in previous narratological analyses. This involves the description of grounding strategies with the focus on definitions of foreground and background in 8.1. The role of tense and aspect in marking foreground and background is discussed in this section. After this theoretical background, in 8.2, I reiterate some general facts about the literary technique of frame narratives. In particular, I discuss the facts about *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, to facilitate the understanding of the analysis of examples. In 8.3, I present examples for analysis in box diagrams to highlight the embedded structure of the specific books of both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. The examples from *Pañcatantra* are illustrated in 8.3:1 and those from *Hitopadeśa* in 8.3:2. In 8.4 I analyze

the illustrated examples by focusing on the present tense and its functions in them. In 8.4.1 I analyze the grammatical principles underlying the use of present tense for foregrounding. In 8.4.2 I discuss the use of present tense for embedding a new narrator. The role of present tense in marking narrative transitions is analyzed in 8.4.3 by focusing on the verbs of speaking used at such transitions. My analysis of present tense verb forms in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* raises questions regarding the present tense value of a particular verbal form *āha* ‘[he/she]says’, which is conventionally considered as a form of perfect tense. I briefly discuss this verbal form and my grammatical analysis of it in 8.4.3. In 8.5, I conclude this chapter by highlighting the grammatical principles that allow narrators to employ present tense to carry out specific textual functions of marking narrator’s focus and that of foregrounding narrative content.

8.1 Textual Arrangement and Grounding in Narratives

The textual arrangement of narrative texts and the ordering of narrated events have been previously described with the concepts such as foreground, background and narrative subordination. These concepts primarily describe structure of discourse and define discourse divisions. The divisions of narrative discourse are defined in the dichotomy of foreground and background by narratologists such as Paul Hopper ((1979: 213-17), Stephen Wallace (1982), Suzanne Fleischman (1985, 1990). However, these narratologists have included different ideas in the concept of foregrounding and backgrounding while defining them. Hopper’s idea of foregrounding is associated with advancing the narrative plot by moving the narrative time line forward. Hopper states that in a narrative, foregrounded clauses actually narrate by moving the story forward. The back-grounded clauses do not narrate but rather they amplify or comment on the main events of the narrative. Stephen Wallace, in agreement with Hopper, describes the

foreground as consisting of more important narrative events as opposed to the less important events in the background. Hopper and Wallace associate foreground background distinction with tense and aspect combinations. A foreground consists of an ordered set of events narrated using perfective morphology with action verbs describing accomplishments and achievements. The perfective aspect allows termination of an event boundary as well as narrator's viewpoint. The element of termination inherent in perfective aspect allows sequencing of events. On the contrary, the imperfective aspect is used to narrate background information involving stative and descriptive predicates. The description of ongoing narrative events is conveyed through imperfective aspect. Hopper's distinction between the functions served by imperfective and perfective aspect are directly associated with present and past tense respectively. In Hopper's analysis, the tense and aspect categories directly underline old and new information in the form of background and foreground respectively.

Another idea that is included in the concept of narrative grounding is that of "subordination". The "subordination" of events is achieved by a narrator through focus on narrative events. Fleischman who gives importance to narrator's focus in "subordination," defines foreground as "humanly important narrative content." The term "focus" here corresponds with narrator's perspective or viewpoint. The association between narrator's focus and foregrounding allows Fleischman to conclude that present tense owing to its basic property of denoting direct and simultaneous meaning which is usually interpreted as "vivid" in narratives. Fleischman's observation is substantiated through French and Romance narratives which mostly use present tense for foregrounding. In addition, Fleischman notes the use of tense morphology for narrative boundary marking in which tense switching highlights narrative scenes and episodes (ibid: 200). The use of tense to mark narrative boundaries is specifically relevant in the analysis of frame

stories as the transition from one frame story to the other happens at the boundary of each embedded narrative. The narrative functions associated with present tense such as marking a narrative foreground, highlighting a narrative boundary are discussed on the pragmatic level in Fleischman's analysis by describing them as contextual narrative functions.

In this chapter, I explain the grammatical principles underlying Fleischman's characterization of foreground as "humanly important narrative content", which she bases on narrator's focus and viewpoint irrespective of the movement of the narrative plot. I do not discuss the grammatical principles underlying the ideas of foreground as defined by Hopper and Wallace. They associate grounding with narrative plot and movement.

In what follows, I specifically explain the narrator's "focus" on the narrated event. I explain it through the examining the association of present tense with "focus" and "foregrounding." I demonstrate with my analysis of specimen examples how narrator's "focus" is translated into "foreground" and what is the role of present tense in it. In addition I also explain the association of narrative functions such as marking narrative boundaries/ transitions and introducing a new character associated with present tense. In order to present the specimen examples and my analysis of them, I first note some theoretical facts about the technique of embedded narratives with reference to *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, focusing on the convention of tense and aspect use in these frame narratives.

8.2 Structure and Language in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*

As discussed in Chapter 3, *Pañcatantra* of Viṣṇuśarmā (5th century C.E.) and *Hitopadeśa* of Nārāyaṇa (8th Century C.E.) were composed in Sanskrit, an Old Indo-Aryan language. With regard to genre, these narratives can be considered oral narratives consisting of fables designed

for didactic purpose. The *Pañcatantra* fables are ascribed to Viṣṇuśarmā, who is also the narrator of these stories being told to three foolish and ignorant sons of Viṣṇuśarmā's patrons. The *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* show frame narrative structures in which the stories are inserted within each other with clearly marked transitions. The narrative procedures of insertion and transition bring together a vast number of stories keeping the homogeneity of the entire narrative intact. Both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* have a similar structure in which the embedded narratives are divided into books. *Pañcatantra* contains five books on related topics 'on dissension of friends, on securing friends, on dissension and concord, on losing what is gained and on hasty actions.' *Hitopadeśa*, which is ascribed to Nārāyaṇ, only has four books on 'dissentation between friends, winning friends, dissension, and concord.' *Hitopadeśa* is attributed to Nārāyaṇa. As the following examples will display, both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* display similar patterns of embedding within narratives however they differ in their degree of complexity. One of the striking similarities between these two specimen frame narratives lies in the use of language including some peculiar linguistic expressions and tense and aspect to embed stories within one another. Narrative embedding in general shows two types; in the first type the narrator remains same through all the transitions. In the second type, the narrator keeps changing and each changing narrator initiates a transition. Both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* display the second type of embedding with frequently changing narrators.

From the point of view of language and grammar, both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* are composed in what is generally referred to as classical Sanskrit. These narratives are composed by employing a variety of past tense forms, including the aorist, perfect and imperfect. The variety of past tenses are used interchangeably adereing to the general narrative convestions of tense and aspect use described previously in 2.7. In addition to the interchangeability of perfect, imperfect

and aorist, these narratives also contain narration in present tense. The present tense in Sanskrit, realizes either perfective or imperfective aspect. This means that the present tense verbal form, although lacks an overt morphological marking of aspect, can be semantically interpreted as having perfective⁶¹ or imperfective- progressive⁶² interpretation. In my analysis, I show that some specific uses of present tense in both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* have imperfective- progressive interpretation. I justify my interpretation of imperfective- progressive aspect with the help of analysis of temporal relations by deriving narrator's focus for foregrounding. My analysis of specimen examples from *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* below is focused on the use of present at specific narrative occasions.

8.3 Examples from *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*

In this section I illustrate the examples from the frame narratives in box diagrams to highlight how each narrative transition is marked with narrator's use of present tense. The box diagrams illustrating the structures of different books are intended to underline the systematic, frequent and structurally meaningful use of present tense in the arrangement of the specimen narrative

⁶¹ The perfect interpretation of present tense in Sanskrit narrative is similar to the phenomenon of "historical present tense" found in narratives across languages. For specific examples from Sanskrit literature in which the present tense has perfective interpretation refer to Chapter Four, Deo (2003).

⁶² The imperfective- progressive interpretation assigned to the simple present tense (lacking any overt aspectual marking) is also a well attested phenomenon in languages. The tense-aspect generalization established based on the three stages of Indo-Aryan languages (2.6) also show that simple present tense is unmarked for imperfective aspect. The association between these tense and aspect categories underlies the temporal properties of present tense. The null aspect in the simple present tense is generally understood as imperfective due to its property "inclusion". It includes the time of speech into the states (events). This temporal property of "inclusion" signifies indefiniteness, which there is no specific end to the event under description. Thus, the imperfective aspect is naturally compatible with the present tense. This has been discussed in detail by Zagana (2013) and Smith (1991).

texts. The following examples underscore that present tense is employed at specific junctures in these texts; first at the transition from and within an embedded story and second, before the narration of the moral.

8.3.1 Examples from *Pañcatantra*

In this section, I first illustrate specific examples of shift from past to present tense. The examples, translation and the page numbers that I cite in this paper are from F. Edgerton's recension of *Pañcatantra* as reprinted in Patrick Olivelle (2007). The first example is from the fifth book entitled *Aparīkṣitakāritvam* 'on hasty actions'. This book contains two stories embedded inside the main frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā. The main characters of this book are a brahmin and his wife (*brāhmaṇī*). The brahmin's wife is the narrator of all the embedded stories, and it she who explains to her husband how he lost everything due to hasty actions. The book ends with the end of the second embedded story narrated by the brahmin's wife.

The fifth book begins with a prelude in which the gist is summarized and the name of the book is described in a verse: *yo'rthatattavam avijñāya vaśam krodhasya gacchati, so'cirad bhraśyate mitrād brāhmaṇo nakulādīva* 'one who acts without finding the out the true facts and comes under the control of anger, is parted from his friend immediately like the brahmin from the mongoose.' Listening to this verse narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā, the three princes, ask "how did that (parting of brahmin and mongoose) happen?" To answer this question, Viṣṇuśarmā narrates the story of a brahmin and his pregnant wife *brāhmaṇī*. He narrates that the brahmin was dreaming about his future offspring. Hearing the dreams of her husband, the wife tells him that it is not good to dream about future things, and recites the verse: "One who wants to dream about future things will lie flat on the ground covered in white, like Somaśarman's father." Listening to this verse, the brahmin responds by saying: "how did that happen?" The brahmin's wife

answers with the story of Somaśarman's father, whom she mentioned in the verse. Then begins the first emboxed story of Somaśarman's father narrated by the brahmin's wife. In this case the first story narrated by Vīṣṇuśarmā is the frame story. Towards the end of the story about Somaśarman's father the wife says *ato'haṃ bravīmi* "therefore I say" using the verb form *bravīmi* derived from the verbal stem *brū-* 'to speak' with present tense first person singular ending. She then proceeds to narrate the moral of the story namely: "One who wants to dream about future things will lie flat on the ground covered in white like Somasarman's father." She continues, "you should worry about the things at hand. You can't paint a picture unless you have a canvas." After the moral is concluded, the frame story continues. The brahmin's son is born and one day the brahmin leaves his son alone at home to be looked after by his pet mongoose. Meanwhile, the mongoose kills a snake that tries to approach the brahmin's son. When the brahmin comes home, seeing the mongoose with a bloody mouth, he kills the mongoose, thinking that it has eaten his new born son. Later the brahmin realizes that his killing of the mongoose was hasty and regrets the act. Hearing this, the brahmin's wife becomes very sad and says to her husband (...*brahmaṇam āha* (PRES)⁶³): "No person should ever do anything he has not properly seen, nor properly understood; that he has not properly heard, nor properly examined; one should never do what the barber did." Listening to this verse the brahmin asks, "how did that happen?" The wife answers with the second emboxed story of the barber who hastily kills three mendicants to obtain wealth. The wife narrates the story of the barber with verb forms in the perfect and imperfect tenses. However, towards the end of the story, she says *ato'haṃ bravīmi*

⁶³ Though the verbal form *āha* is grammatically described as form of present tense, it is conventionally considered as a form of perfect tense with present tense function. The grammatical rule, interpretations and commentaries regarding this verbal form are discussed in 8.3.4.

“therefore I say”, reflecting a shift from the perfect tense to present tense. The brahmin’s wife repeats the moral of the story that “no person should ever do anything...” and referring to the story of mongoose says to the brahmin *tasmāt tvam api tadṛśa eva mūrkhah*: ‘so you see, you are also a fool just like the barber.’

The embedded stories in the fifth book are narrated using a variety of past tense forms, predominantly the perfect and imperfect in conjunction along with perfective participial forms. The narrative transitions are marked with verbs of speaking in either imperfect or present tense. The moral of each embedded story is introduced by a set phrase *ato’haṃ bravīmi* (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ across all the books of both in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. The structure of embedded stories in the fifth book is illustrated below by focusing on the present tense verbal forms occurring at the beginning and end of each story.

Example One: *Pañcatantra* Book V

Viṣṇuśarmā abravīt (IMP) ‘Viṣṇuśarmā said’

Frame story of brahmin begins: *asti* (PRES) kaśyacid vidyābhyāsī brāhmaṇsunuḥ. Tasya kasmiṃścid vaniggṛhe naityakam bhojanam **vartate** (PRES)

1. *Brāhmaṇī āha* (PRES) kaśyacid vidyābhyāsī brāhmaṇsunuḥ...
‘brahmin’s wife says ...

Exit from embedded story (1): *ato’haṃ bravāmi* (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the story**

Frame story of Brahmin continues...

2. *sā āha* (PRES)
brahmin’s wife tells the story of a merchant and a barber.

Exit from embedded story (2): *ato’haṃ bravāmi* (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the story**

Return to the first story narrated by Brāhmaṇī as she says, *tasmāt tvamapi tadṛśa eva mūrkhah* ... “Therefore you are also a fool like that (barber).” The fifth book ends.

Key:

- The Grey colored box contains main frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā.
- The numbered boxes within main frame story contain embedded stories.
- The Moral of the story appears after the bold faced present tense verb form in *ato’haṃ bravāmi*.
- The indented boxes indicate hierarchy of embedded stories.

I have summarized the transitions from the above example in the following box, in order to highlight that each narrative transition is marked by narrator's use of present tense except for the first transition, which is marked by the use of imperfect tense.

<p>Prelude</p> <p>Transition (1): End of prelude to frame story <i>Viṣṇuśarmā abravīt</i> (IMP) (p-504)</p> <p>Frame story begins: <i>asti</i> (PRES) (p-504)</p> <p>Transition (2): From frame story to embedded story (1) (<i>Brāhamaṇī</i>) <i>sā āha</i> (PRES) (p-506)</p> <p>Transition (3): Exit from embedded story (1) <i>ato'ham bravīmi</i> (PRES) (p-508)</p> <p>Moral of the story</p> <p>Transition (4): From frame story to embedded story (2) <i>sā āha</i> (PRES) (p-514)</p> <p>Transition (5): Exit from embedded story (2) <i>ato'ham bravīmi</i> (PRES) (P-516)</p>

The second example below is from the second book of *Pañcatantra* entitled *mitraprāpti* “On Securing Allies,” which displays a more complex pattern of narrative embedding than seen in the first example. The second book is structurally complex as there are more embedded narratives. However, the transitions are clearly marked as the reader/ listener frequently returns to the frame story and the book ends with the frame story initiated by *Viṣṇuśarmā* at the beginning.

Example Two: *Pañcatantra* Book II

Viṣṇuśarmā **kathayati** (PRES)
Viṣṇuśarman narrates the story of Hiranyaka and Mantharaka

1. *Hiranyako akathayat* (IMP)
Hiranyaka narrates the story of Cūḍākarṇa and Bṛhatsphic

2. (Bṛhatsphic) *sa āha* (PRES)
Bṛhatsphic narrates story of brahmin and his wife

3. (Brāhmaṇa) *sa āha* (PRES)
Brahmin narrates the story

Bṛhatsphic says *ato'ham bravīmi* (PRES) **Moral of the story**

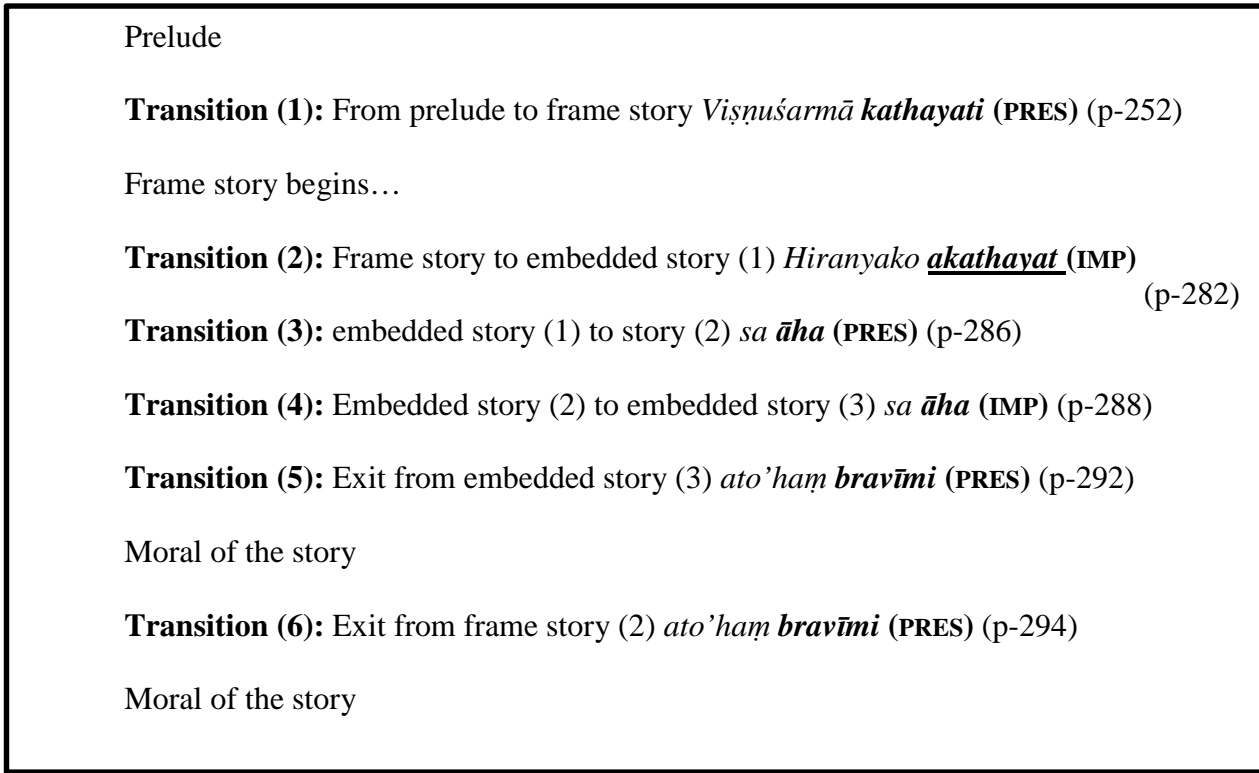
Story narrated by Hiranyaka ends.

Frame story of Viṣṇuśarmā continues with other embedded stories and ends towards the end of the book.

Key:

- The Grey Color contains Main Frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā.
- The numbered boxes within the within main frame story contain embedded stories.
- The Moral of the story appears after the bold faced present tense verb form in *ato'ham bravīmi*.
- The indented boxes indicate hierarchy of embedded stories.

Narrative Transitions: *Pañcatantra* Book II



In both of the examples from *Pañcatantra*, in the boxed diagrams, the outer box (in grey) contains the main frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā. The white boxes stand for embedded stories that are inserted within the main frame story. The bold faced verbal forms both in the present and the imperfect tense highlight the narrative transitions indicating either an entry into or an exit from the embedded story. The moral of each story in bold face appears after a verb in present tense that occurs in the fixed phrase *ato'haṃ bravīmi* 'therefore I say.'

The second example from the second book displays complex structure in which the first embedded in the main frame contains two other embedded stories. The first embedded story becomes a frame for the stories embedded inside it (2 and 3). The fifth book illustrated in the first example displays a comparatively simple structure in which the main frame story provides a

background to the two embedded stories, both of which are narrated by brahmin's wife. But in the second example, the narrator keeps changing.

In both these examples, narrative transitions are marked with both the imperfect and the present tense forms. The imperfect occurs at beginning of the main frame story or at the beginning of an embedded story. The present tense forms by contrast, are employed at all types of transitions. The exit from an embedded story is always marked by use of a present tense form, which highlights the moral of the story. The narrator's employment of present tense before the moral of each embedded story provides a cue to listeners and readers that narrator's perception of the narrated content has changed. The morals of these embedded stories are perceived to be important as they contain the principle to be taught through these stories. Such important narrative content is pragmatically understood as narrative foreground which is linguistically marked through a shift to present tense from the default past tenses of narration. The use of the mechanism of 'tense shift' and specifically the shift to present tense for foregrounding in these examples is analyzed below in 8.4.

8.3.2 Examples from *Hitopadeśa*

Now, I turn to illustrate the examples from *Hitopadeśa* to highlight the textual similarities it shares with the text of *Pañcatantra*. I present two examples from two different books of *Hitopadeśa* by illustrating the textual structure in emboxed diagrams. In these diagrams too, I use the same coloring and marking scheme as previous examples in this chapter. The first example is taken from the third book entitled *Vigraha* 'dissension' (literally, 'pulling apart'). This book has a similar structure to the examples from *Pañcatantra* above except for the greater number of embeddings and transitions. This example shows that the narrative discourse

Hitopadeśa displays the phenomenon of tense shift like *Pañcatantra*. In *Hitopadeśa* too, the linguistic device of tense shift is employed to insert similar narrative strategies such as embedding and transitions as well to arrange the text hierarchically in two levels defined in terms of narrative foreground and background. The embeddings and the narrative transitions in the third book are summarized below. The page numbers refer to Törzsök (2007).

Example Three: *Hitopadeśa* Book III

Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati (PRES)

Viṣṇuśarman narrates the story of Hiraṇyagarbha and Dīrghamukha

1. *Dīrghamukhaḥ kathayati* (PRES)

Dīrghamukha narrates the story of monkey and birds

2. *rājā kathayati* (PRES)

king narrates the story of foolish donkey concealed as a tiger

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) **Moral of the story**

Dīrghamukhaḥ brūte (PRES)

Dīrghamukha narrates the story of angry birds

3. *pakṣiṇaḥ kathayanti* (PRES)

Birds narrate the story of rabbit and elephant

(one bird says) *ato'haṃ bravīmi* (PRES) **Moral of the story**

Story of rabbit and elephant ends

Story of Dīrghamukha continues

4. *śukaḥ kathayati* (PRES)

Parrot narrates the story of crow and goose

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) **Moral of the story**

... *kathāmapī kathayāmi* (PRES)

Parrot narrates another story...

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) **Moral of the story**

5. *śukaḥ kathayati* (PRES)

Parrot narrates the story of a fool and his wife

ato'haṃ bravīmi (PRES) **Moral of the story**

Return to the story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā

Main frame includes multiple embedded stories narrated by multiple narrators with transitions marked by shift to the PRES.

In the above example, the main frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā contains the first embedded story narrated by Dīrghamukha. The first embedded story then serves as a frame for stories represented by three boxes in white. Towards the end the book returns to the main frame story. In the following box I have summarized the narrative transitions from the above example.

Narrative Transitions - *Hitopadeśa* Book III

Prelude

Transition (1): frame story begins *Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati* (PRES) (p-336) *asti* (PRES) (p-336)

Transition (2): Frame story to embedded story (1) *Dīrghamukhaḥ kathayati* (PRES) (p-340)

Transition (3): Embedded story (1) to Embedded story (2) *rājā kathayati* (PRES) (p-342)

Transition (4): Exit from embedded story (2) to embedded story (1) *ato'haṃ bravāmi* (PRES) (p-344)

Moral of the story

Transition (5): From embedded story (1) to embedded story (3) *pakṣiṇaḥ kathayanti* (PRES)

Transition (6): Exit from embedded story (3) to story (1) *ato'haṃ bravāmi* (PRES) (p-350)

Moral of the story

Transition (7): From story (1) to embedded story (4) *śukaḥ kathayati* (PRES) (p-356)

Transition (8): Exit from embedded story (4) *ato'haṃ bravāmi* (PRES) (p-358)

Moral of the story...

Similarly more than five transitions occur after (8) in this book of *Hitopadeśa*.

The second example from *Hitopadeśa* is taken from book II, entitled *Mitrabheda* 'dissension between friends.' I illustrate this example below to emphasize the structure and arrangement in *Hitopadeśa* by focusing on the role of present tense.

Example Four: *Hitopadeśa*: Book II

The main frame story begins: *Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati* (PRES)
 ‘Vishnusharma narrates’ the story of Piṅgalaka, Damanaka and Karaṭaka

1. *Karaṭakah kathayati* (PRES)
 Karataka narrates the story of monkey and wedge
ato’haṃ bravīmī (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the Story**

2. *Karaṭako brūte* (PRES)
 Karataka narrates the story of washerman, donkey and dog...
ato’haṃ bravīmi (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the story**

3. *Damanakah kathayati* (PRES)
 Damanaka narrates’ the story of lion and mouse
ato’haṃ bravīmi (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the story**

4. *Damanakah kathayati* (PRES)
 Damanaka narrates’ the story of bell demon
ato’haṃ bravīmi (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the story**

5. *Damanakah kathayati* (PRES)
 Damanaka narrates the story of king Vīravikrama
ato’haṃ bravīmi (PRES) ‘therefore I say’ **Moral of the story**

Return to frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā.

The narrative transitions in the above example are summarized below:

Example Two: Narrative Transitions – Hitopadeśa Book II

Prelude

Transition (1): Prelude to frame story (1) *Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati* (PRES) (p-212)

Frame story begins: *asti* (PRES) (p-212)

Transition (2): Frame story to embedded story (1) *Karaṭakaḥ kathayati* (PRES) (p-226)

Transition (3): Exit from embedded story (1) *Damanakaḥ pṛcchati* (PRES) (p-228)

Transition (4): Embedded story (2) *karaṭakaḥ brūte* (PRES) (p-228)

Transition (5): Exit from embedded story (2) to embedded story (3) *Damanakaḥ kathayati* (PRES) (p-258)

Transition (6): From embedded story (3) to embedded story (4) *Damanakaḥ kathayati* (PRES) (p-264)

Transition (7): Exit from embedded story (4) to embedded story (5) *Damanakaḥ kathayati* (PRES) (p-276)

Four additional embedded stories.

Return to frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā.

The examples taken from the *Hitopadeśa* show that transitions (from one story either a frame story or an embedded story) are consistently narrated using the present tense. In the *Hitopadeśa*, the imperfect tense does not occur at narrative transitions. The verbal form *āha* (from *brū* ‘to speak’), which is ambiguous due to its both perfect and present tense interpretations, is replaced by the present tense verbal forms such as *brūte* (3rd person singular present tense of *brū*). This

data presented from *Hitopadeśa* supports my contention that *āha* can be interpreted as form of present tense in these frame narratives, which I discuss later. The fixed phrase *ato'haṃ bravāmi* 'therefore I say' in present tense consistently appears before the moral of each story and continues to pragmatically mark the morals as narrative foreground. At this point, it is important to note that the use of present tense in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* and that of in *Umrao Jan Ada* has different functions. In *Umrao Jan Ada*, it is a historical present tense in its strict sense as shown in Chapter Six. In *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* by contrast, it has textual functions such as marking narrative transitions and foreground. The use of present tense at narrative transitions can be considered as historical present tense because, the verbal forms of speaking in present tense refer to the past time frame set and narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā in which the denoted action takes place. For example, transition 2 in book II of *Hitopadeśa* above, *Karaṭakaḥ kathayati* (PRES) 'Karaṭaka narrates' is understood as happening in past time frame set by Viṣṇuśarmā. The present tense in '*bravāmi*' by contrast, is the present tense of the narrator of each embedded story as this narrator (the first person singular *aham* 'I') is returning back to the frame story in which, he was introduced by Viṣṇuśarmā. Therefore, the present tense in the set phrase *ato'haṃ bravāmi* 'therefore I say' is understood here as the present progressive, as the narrator is saying this at the present time of his narration. In my analysis below, I particularly analyze the present-progressive interpretation of the set phrase *ato'haṃ bravāmi* 'therefore I say', in order to explain the narrator's focus and foregrounding of morals. I do not analyze the phenomenon of historical present tense in Sanskrit in this chapter.

In what follows, it needs to be seen how these functions of marking a narrative transition and that of foregrounding a moral can be explained grammatically. First, I explain how verbal forms marked with present tense serve to arrange the contents of these frame narratives in the

dichotomy of foreground and background. Then, I derive the underlying grammatical principles that define narrator's focus on narrated events to explain the pragmatic association between present tense and foreground.

8.4 Analysis of Examples

8.4.1 Present Tense and Foregrounding

A foreground in a narrative is by definition an important narrative event that is highlighted in the course of narration. In the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, it is the moral of each embedded narrative that draws the attention of the readers and listeners. The morals of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* appear in a specific linguistic pattern. The narrative shifts to present tense and the occurrence of every moral is preceded by present tense in a fixed phrase *ato'haṃ bravimi* 'therefore I say'. This shift has the effects of pushing the moral that follows this phrase into the foreground and the previous story is pushed into the background. The foreground is demarcated not only by a shift to present tense but also by the importance of morals. The present tense verb in question, a verb of speaking *brū* is always marked with a first person ending referring to a singular number that agrees with the narrator. This narrator, however continuously changes in the context of each of the books. This present tense set phrase is in the imperfective aspect⁶⁴ indicating that the action of speaking is not yet complete but it is in process. Taking into consideration the incompleteness of the action, this phrase can also be translated as 'therefore I

⁶⁴ In the Sanskrit grammatical system is heavily based on the category of tense with no overt morphological category of aspect. But in my analysis, I build on the semantic association between present tense and imperfective aspect (refer to footnote 2 above.) in order to demonstrate the proximity between narrator and the event through narrator's close perception of event. The analysis of temporal relations established by present tense and imperfective aspect allows me to show why present tense is used by narrators to focus on the narrated event to

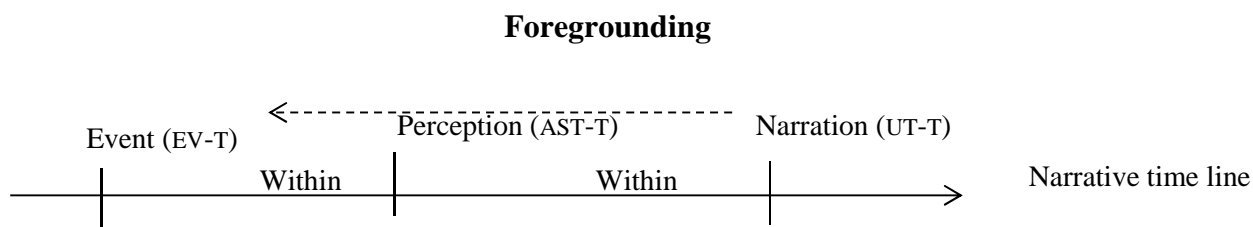
am saying' indicating the simultaneity and progression of the action at the time speaking. The use of present tense and imperfective aspect to mark narrative foreground can be explained through the temporal relations established by present tense within the sentential clause *ato'ham bravimi* 'therefore I say'. In order to explain the grammatical principles underlying the connection between present tense and foregrounding of narrative content through the temporal relations, I use following three principles defined previously in ELF:

Narrator's Focus: Narrator's Focus = proximity between narration (UT-T) and perception (AST-T).

Foregrounding: Foregrounding of event = narrator's focusing on an event through proximity in observation/ perception and location

Backgrounding: Backgrounding of event = narrator's unfocusing on event through distance in both observation and location.

The temporal relations established by present tense and imperfective aspect within a narrative clause *ato'ham bravimi* are illustrated in the following diagram:



Present Tense- Imperfective- Progressive Aspect

The UT-T is the time of narration in which a narrator is a participant. The AST-T is the time of narrator's perception of the event and EV-T is the time of narrated event. The category of

tense relates UT-T to AST-T and the category of aspect relates AST-T to EV-T. The narrator is located at the UT-T as a participant in the event of the narration. Based on these basic principles, the temporal ordering in the above diagram can be explained.

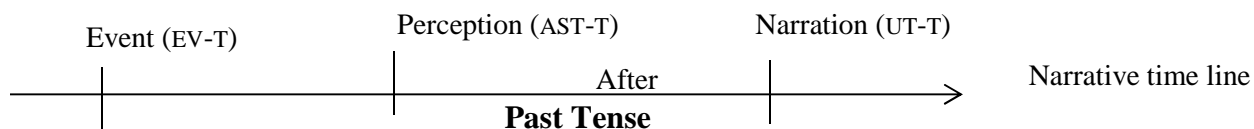
The present tense orders the time of narration “within” the time of perception implying that the narrator is viewing the event at the time of narration. The “within” relation establishes co-temporality of the time of narration and perception implying narrator’s focus on the narrated event. Narrator’s focus on the event through close perception is intensified through narrator’s proximity to the narrated event. The imperfective- progressive aspect orders the time of perception “within” the time of event indicating that the narrator is viewing the event as ongoing. There is no distance between the narrator and narrated event through the culmination of two “within” relations. These two relations bring narrator very close to the event shown above through a dotted arrow. The proximity of narrator to event through close perception and location defines a narrative content as focused, i.e. foregrounded by a narrator.

The temporal relations established by present tense explain narrator’s focus on the event through proximity in location not just in case of foregrounding the moral of each story but also foregrounding each new embedded story at the time of transition. The present tense, when used at the beginning of each new embedded story as in the examples above, the new story is highlighted against the backdrop of the previously completed story. In such cases, the newly initiated story is a “narrative foreground” whereas the previously finished story is a “narrative background.” This can be understood with the help of example II from *Hitopadeśa* above: The frame story of Pingalaka, Damanaka and Karataka begins with *viṣṇuśarmā kathayati* ‘Viṣṇuśarmā narrates’ (present tense third person singular form of *kath-* ‘to narrate’). This story is narrated using the conventional perfect and imperfect varieties of past tenses in Sanskrit. The

first story embedded inside this frame story begins with a present tense in *karatakah kathayati* ‘Karataka narrates’. This use of present tense at the beginning of the first embedded story foregrounds the embedded story pushing the frame story into background. Similarly, the second embedded story is initiated by a verb in present tense implying narrator’s focus on the new story. The focus is provided by temporal relations established by present tense between narrator’s time of narration and time of perception. The proximity between these two times, which is established by present tense, results in defining a narrative content as foreground. The foregrounding and backgrounding of narrative content is an effect of narrator’s focus on event defined through the temporal relations.

The backgrounding, which is generally associated with the variety of past tenses, is expressed through either perfect or imperfect or aorist tenses. The association between past tenses and backgrounding is founded on the temporal relations established by past tense. The past tense establishes an “after” relation between the time of narration and the time of perception. This relation implies that the narrator, who is participating in the narration, is describing the event after completely viewing it. The narrator is not focusing on the event from a proximate location. The narrator is located far at the time of description.

Backgrounding



The UT-T is the time of narration in which a narrator is a participant. The AST-T is the time of narrator's perception of the event and EV-T is the time of narrated event. The category of tense relates UT-T to AST-T and the category of aspect relates AST-T to EV-T. Based on these basic principles, the temporal ordering by past tense in the above diagram can be explained. The past tense establishes an "after" relation between UT-T and the AST-T implying that the description of an event occurs after the observation of that event by the narrator. The "after" relation implies distance from which a narrator observes the event to be narrated. The event is unfocused through the non-proximity between narrator and event and narrator's distanced observation, both of which push an event into a narrative background.

After analyzing the use of present tense for foregrounding and that of past tense for backgrounding of narrative content by explaining the underlying grammatical principles of such use, I now turn to another peculiar use of present tense in these frame narratives. The present tense occurs at every narrative transition including the ones that introduce a new narrator. The constantly changing narrators in the *Hitopadeśa* show that it is an embedded narrative that involves narrator's embedding. The use of present tense for introducing a new narrator is illustrated in the following section

8.4.2 Present Tense for Introducing a New Narrator

In addition to marking foreground and narrative transitions the present tense shift is also used to mark the change in narrator as shown in the example from *Hitopadeśa* below. In some stories the tense shift occurs in the course of narration of frame story or embedded story which is of the form of 'X says' followed by X's short narration. This shift to present tense is followed by 'X narrates' in the following transition. In such cases the first shift in tense marked by 'X says'

serves to introduce a new narrative character and ultimately the narrator of the next embedded story. This kind of narrative shift becomes clear if we apply it to the following example. In the first frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā, the minister (mantrī) interrupts the narration. This interruption is marked by a change in tense. The present tense marked on the verb *brū-* ‘to speak’ introduces a new narrator, the minister “mantrī”, who narrates the next embedded story beginning with *mantri kathayati* ‘the minister narrates’. This shows how present tense is used to strategically introduce a new narrative character and eventually a narrator in *Hitopadeśa*. Similarly the character of tortoise (kūrma) is introduced just before the third transition below, who becomes the narrator of the next embedded story. *Hitopadeśa* contains multiple examples of present tense shift used for introducing a new narrative character⁶⁵ and a narrator.

⁶⁵ Some other examples of use of present tense to introduce a new character can be seen in *Hitopadeśa* (2007: 352, 354).

Example Five: *Hitopadeśa* - Book IV

Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati (PRES)

Viṣṇuśarmā narrates the story of gṛdhra and cakra

Mantri brūte (PRES)

1. *Mantrī kathayati* (PRES)

mantrī narrates the story of stupid tortoise (*kūrma*) and two ganders

kūrmaḥ brūte (PRES)

2. *kūrmaḥ kathayati* (PRES)

The tortoise narrated the story of fishermen

Mantrī continues to narrate the story of tortoise and ganders

ato'haṃ bravāmi (PRES) **Moral of the Story**

Return to frame story

Prelude

Transition (1): Prelude to frame story (1) *Viṣṇuśarmā kathayati* (PRES) (p-444)

Within the frame story (1) *mantrī brūte* (PRES) (p-444)

Transition (2): Frame story (1) to frame story (2) *mantrī kathayati* (PRES) (p-446)

Within the Frame story (2) *kūrmah brūte* (PRES) (p-446)

Transition (3): from Frame Story (2) to frame story (3) *kūrmah kathayati* (PRES) (p-446)

...

Return to Frame Story (1)

In all the examples from *Hitopadeśa* analyzed above, each narrative transition is marked by a present tense form. The transition that signals entry into an embedded story from the frame story is highlighted by a verb of speaking either *brū-* ‘to speak’ or *kath-* ‘to narrate’ in present tense. The imperfect –present tense variation that occurs in *Pañcatantra* transitions (seen before in the first example from *Pañcatantra* above) does not occur in the *Hitopadeśa* making the use of present tense consistent.

Above, I analyzed the role of tense on the broader level in arranging the narrative text in foreground and background and particularly the role of present tense in defining narrator’s focus in highlighting events. I now turn to the internal grammatical level of verbal forms associated with present tense and show how verbs of speaking play a crucial role in the specimen frame narratives.

8.4.3 Present Tense Verbs of Speaking at Narrative Transitions

In the narrative transitions in both *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, the verbs of speaking play a crucial role in marking key transitions in the narrative discourse. I am not the first person to highlight the peculiar role of verbs of speaking in the composition of frame narratives. Such a role was pointed out previously by Michael Witzel (1987, 380-414) in his analysis of frame narratives in the *Brāhmaṇa* stratum of Vedic literature. Witzel observed that in the frame narrative of *Brāhmaṇa* texts, a narrative transition is marked by both a shift in tense and the use of a verb of speaking. He also observed that both the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* inherited their structure from frame narratives in *Brahmaṇa* texts. Although Witzel, did not focus on tense shift in these narratives, his work is useful for my analysis of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.

With reference to verbs of speaking at narrative transitions in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, it is noteworthy that these forms can occur in either the imperfect or the present tense. I what follows, I first discuss the verbs of speaking in *Pañcatantra* that are in imperfect tense. I then turn to discuss the verbal form *āha*, the third person singular form of *brū* ‘to speak’, which is conventionally interpreted as a form of perfect tense, but is also considered to have present tense function. The verb *āha* occurs frequently at narrative transitions in *Pañcatantra*, but is avoided in *Hitopadeśa*.

The imperfect-present tense variation found in *Pañcatantra* brings forth interesting possibility of interchangeability of these two tenses in Sanskrit narratives. In the first specimen example from Book V, the frame story narrated by Viṣṇuśarmā, begins with *viṣṇuśarmā abravīt* ‘Viṣṇuśarmā said’ (imperfect tense third person singular form of *brū* ‘to speak’). In the second example from book II, the first embedded story begins with *hiranyako akathayat* ‘Hiranyaka

narrated'. These occurrences of imperfect forms mark narrative transitions in the same way that the present tense does. The present and imperfect are interchangeable in that narrative context. Whether imperfect and present were interchangeable in Sanskrit narratives in general is a question that is out of the scope of this dissertation. However the examples from *Hitopadeśa* display positive evidence that present tense can replace all of the imperfect verbs of speaking that mark narrative transitions. *Hitopadeśa* consistently displays use of present tense for every narrative transition. This evidence also supports the observation that imperfect and present tense verbs of speaking have a similar function to perform hence they are not just formally, but functionally interchangeable. The verbal form of *āha* that frequently occurs in *Pañcatantra* needs some explanation regarding its grammatical value as a form of present tense and its conventional value as a form of perfect tense. In my analysis, I treat *āha* as a third person singular form of *brū-* in present tense. I justify my treatment by noting the grammatical and literary evidence below. The grammatical evidence is provided by a *sūtra* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇinī. According to the grammatical rule (3.4.84)⁶⁶, *āha* substitutes for the third person singular form of *brū* in the present tense. The literary evidences about the present tense value of *āha* are provided in the *Kāvyaśāstrakārasutravṛtti* of Vāmana (5.2.44)⁶⁷ a treatise on literary

⁶⁶ *bruvaḥ pañcānāmāditaḥ āho bruvaḥ* 'ṅal, etc. parasmaipada affixes occur optionally as respectively, after verbal root *brū* 'to speak', in place of the first five replacements of *laṭ* (present tense), with the additional provision that *āha* replaces *brū*'.

⁶⁷ To explain the conventional literary use of *āha* in the perfect tense, Vāmana says, *bruvaḥ pañcānām ityādinā āheti laṭ vyutpāditaḥ* 'by the rule *bruvaḥ pañcānām*... the form *āha* is generated in the present tense.' He further adds that it is employed in the sense of perfect with the word *sma* indicating perfect tense. *manye smaśabdaḥ kavinā prayuktau lekhakaistu pramādana likhitaḥ* ' [I] think that the composer must have used the form *āha* with the word *sma* indicating perfect tense, but the writer may have forgotten to copy it from the original work.'

metaphors, and in the commentary of Mallinatha on the Sanskrit epic *Kumarasāmbhava* II. 31⁶⁸. Vāmana states that the aphorism by Pāṇini (3.4.84) explained above allows the substitute form *āha* in the present tense, in place of forms of *brū-*. However, *āha* is observed to be used in the sense of perfect tense, which is inappropriate because *āha* is grammatically not the form of perfect tense. In his comments on *āha*, Mallinatha states that in case of speaker's proximity to present (perception of ongoing event), the perfective (non-present) may also be treated as though it is a present tense form. The form *āha* implies (*upalakṣaṇam*) the meaning of its grammatical form that is of the present tense. Thus, *āha* can clearly be shown to function as a form of present tense in the the specimen examples from the frame narratives.

This evidence justifies my treatment of *āha* as the form of present tense and substantiates my analysis of the structural pattern in which present tense is employed to mark narrative transitions and to foreground narrative content

8.5 Conclusion

By analyzing the examples of tense shift, particularly the shift to present tense on both the textual level in this chapter and on pragmatic level in previous chapters, I have shown that occurrences of tense and aspect shift is seldom a random event in *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. Such shifting is employed by authors of these texts as part of a complex strategy creating an intricate narrative discourse. On the textual level, tense shift reveals hierarchical arrangement

⁶⁸ Mallinatha comments *āha iti upalakṣaṇam*, which can be understood as '*āha* has an implied meaning of present tense. *Tadeva satyam* 'what *āha* implies is indeed the implication i.e. present tense' (*Kumarasāmbhava* II 31:1888, 49-50).

and divisions of narrative discourse through backgrounding and foregrounding of narrative content.

My analysis of narrative foregrounding associated with present tense is significant for two reasons; first, it supports Suzanne Fleischman's definition of foreground by explaining the grammatical principles underlying it. Second, my analysis provides tools to examine if a setting of narrative texts serves to function as a foreground or background through temporal relations established by tense and aspect.

I have explained Suzanne Fleischman's definition of narrative foreground as "humanly important narrative content" through "narrator's focus" in my analysis. Narrator's focus is defined through narrator's close perception and proximity to the event. The application of ELF to explain foregrounding allows me to generalize the pragmatic idea of foregrounding into a formal grammatical principle founded on temporal relations. I define the grammatical principle underlying foreground based on the proximity between the UT-T and the AST-T established by present tense. The general principle is defined as below:

Foregrounding of event = narrator's focusing on an event through proximity in observation/ perception and location

Similarly, the pragmatic idea of narrative backgrounding associated with past tenses is also formalized through the analysis of temporal relations. The narrative background is grammatically explained through the distance between the UT-T and the AST-T indicating the distanced observation of an event. The backgrounding of narrative content is formally defined as below:

Backgrounding of event = narrator's unfocusing on event through distance in both observation and location.

My analysis in this chapter using the framework of temporal relations in discourse to derive the textual function of foreground and background substantiates the thesis of my dissertation that narrative use of language can be explained through grammatical rules. It also demonstrates that the contextual effects in narratives both on the pragmatic and textual levels can be derived through sentence-level grammatical analysis focusing on the tense and aspect categories.

9 Conclusions and Further Questions

In this dissertation, I investigate the role of tense and tense and aspect in the creation and reception of structure and meaning of a narrative discourse. The central questions that I have addressed in this investigation are defined on the background of some basic narrative facts, the analyses of these facts in a long standing tradition of narratology and the methodological framework used for such analyses. It is highlighted in the general narrative conventions of the use of tense and aspect summarized in 2.4, that stories are generally narrated using the past tense in combination with perfective or perfect aspect. Thus, narrative by definition is constituted of sequentially ordered events that have already happened in the past time. However, in order to describe past time events, tense and aspect categories are used in an exceptional way in the process of narration. Particularly, the use of present tense and imperfective aspect to narrate past time events has been treated as exceptional as it triggers “tense shift” and creates various narrative effects as discussed in (2.4, 4.1, and 7.1). The general conventions of tense and aspect use have been analyzed from the point of view of the functions they serve in structuring a discourse and in various pragmatic interpretations. Conventionally, the use of past tense and perfective/ perfect aspect has been linked to narrator’s objective and complete observation of events in the past narrated from a distant vantage point. The use of present tense and progressive aspect by contrast has been linked to narrator’s subjective, close and incomplete viewpoint on the narrated events. These interpretations associated with tense and aspect in narratives have been analyzed and asserted by narratological tradition of discourse analysis through a functional approach that relies heavily on creating oppositions within a system. The fundamental

oppositions that were postulated to describe the functions of tense and aspect in the narratives were defined by pioneering narratologist Roland Barthes and were followed and developed by later narratologists. These oppositions included a contrast between-- narrative and non-narrative language and the grammar of ordinary speech and that of a narrative discourse. It is at this juncture that the narrative use of tense and aspect was treated as non-deictic and was analyzed in terms of “metaphorical tense- aspect shift” as shown in (4.2). The functions of tense and aspect shift were examined in the framework of *markedness* that provided a contrast of *marked* and *unmarked* values to “associate” various contextual interpretations with the tense and aspect categories (4.3-4). My dissertation deals with these underpinnings of the narratological tradition by questioning them. I have criticized the narratological framework and theory of *markedness* in (4.5) in order to point out how it fails to grammatically explain the use of tense and aspect in narratives. Based on the limitations of previous narratological analyses, I have raised some fundamental questions in this dissertation that I have addressed through my new approach applied here to Indo-Aryan narrative texts. The primary question that I have raised is- whether there are separate rules of grammar for narrative and non-narrative use of language. Do these two uses of a language have contrastive properties? Is there any relation between the sentence level structures and discourse level structures? If there is no relation as proclaimed in the previous narratological analyses, can a correlation between narrative and non-narrative uses of tense and aspect be established through grammar? All of these questions define the overarching theme of my dissertation: unification of the sentence-level and discourse-level systems of a language by establishing a grammatical correlation between the two levels. This unification allows extension of sentence-internal grammatical principles to explain the larger temporal structure of discourses through the syntactic semantic and pragmatic interface of a language.

I have addressed the above questions through the linguistic analysis of some specific pragmatic functions and the grammatical principles underlying them. My demonstration of the proposed unification of the grammar rules for sentence-level and discourse-level structures began in Chapter Six, in which I have focused on the embedding of tenses. I have examined the embedding of tenses in narratives by way of explaining the function of narrative present tense in discourse structures. I have used the principle of temporal dependency underlying sentence internal sequence of tenses in embedded clauses to explain the past time reference of historical present tense events(5.1, 6.1-2). In my extension of the sentence-level principle of temporal dependency in embedded clauses to larger discourse embedding, I have introduced terms such as temporal anchor and temporal interval (5.1) that account for the sequentially ordered and referentially connected narrative events. I have showed how these events are temporally embedded within a particular narrative context set by the main narrative event (6.2). The temporal relations among narrative clauses and within a narrative clause are described through the inherent elements of a temporal structure: the three temporal primitives-- the event time, the assertion time (a semantically fortified version of reference time) and the utterance time are discussed in (4.6). The extension of these primitives particularly that of assertion time (5.4) is central in the contribution of my analysis in answering above questions.

The analysis of temporal relations continues through Chapters Seven and Eight. The pragmatic interpretations of specific tense and aspect combinations are analyzed in Chapter Seven. I have extended the temporal primitives in order to map them into the properties of discourse. In this extension (5.2-3, 7.2), I link narrative properties to the temporal primitives: The event time corresponds to the time of narrated event, the utterance time corresponds to the time of narration and the assertion time corresponds to the time of narrator's perception of an

event. My linking of the pragmatic property of narrator's perspective to assertion time involves the most complex interaction between the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of tense and aspect categories as discussed in (5.2). The principles that I have defined in (5.3) become tools to derive narrator's perspective, focus on the narrated event. In the analysis of *Umrao Jan Ada*, the link between assertion time and narrator's time of perception becomes central in explaining the grammatical principles underlying narrator's viewpoint on events determined and analyzed through the grammar of specific tense and aspect categories. The link between utterance time and the time of narration contributes to measure a distance between narrator and narrated event through temporal ordering properties of specific tense and aspect combinations as demonstrated in the analysis of examples (7.3). The placement of utterance time on the narrative time line conveys narrator's location at the time of narration by explaining the temporal relations underlying it. Chapter Six and Seven demonstrate through the analysis of specimen narrative examples from *Umrao Jan Ada*, that the inherent properties of tense and aspect categories, the temporal relations they establish among the elements of a clause can explain why certain pragmatic interpretations are associated with specific tense and aspect categories. My analysis in these chapters is rooted in sentence level linguistic principles but it systematically reveals grammar underlying semantics and pragmatics of the large temporal structures at discourse level.

I have analyzed a new set of functions namely, textual functions associated with tense and aspect in narratives in Chapter Eight. My analysis of the frame narratives of *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, explain why present tense is associated with the textual function of foregrounding (8.4). A narrative shift to present tense in both these narratives to foreground the moral of the frame narratives is explained through the temporal relations established by present tense and imperfective aspect among three times of event, perception of event and narration of event. The

role of grammatical aspect in revealing narrator's focus on the narrated event holds explanation to why tense and aspect shift is associated with foregrounding of morals and backgrounding of narrative events. I have also explained the role of tense and aspect in arranging a narrative in hierarchy and marking narrative transitions through my analysis of temporal relations.

I have answered all the questions raised at the beginning of this dissertation by demonstrating that there is a single underlying grammatical system that can explain the meaning and interpretations of the tense and aspect use at both sentence and discourse levels. However, in investigating how sentence internal grammatical rules play a role in structuring large discourse structure and in identifying the grammatical rules underlying specific discourse structures and interpretations, my analysis raises following questions on the linguistic level. These questions require further investigation on how and in what type of linguistic interaction the two systems- sentence level and discourse level- have engaged so that they can be unified based on a governing grammatical principle.

The principle of temporal dependency that exists at the sentence-level embedded clauses explains the embedding of historical present tense events that have past time reference. However, if the same principle of temporal dependency is applied to embedded past tense events, it cannot explain the sequential interpretation in which past tense events are understood to be following one another. The questions that arise are: Can any sentence level grammatical principle explain the temporal embedding of past tense events in narratives? What is the grammatical principle underlying sequential relation between two past tense events? My contention is that the embedding of past tense events in narratives undergoes a syntactic function of adjoining in which each embedded past tense event is understood as ordered sequentially later

than the previous. The possible explanation of past tense embedded events through the grammatical principles of adjunction is briefly discussed in (6.3).

In addition to the question that are raised on the linguistic side, my analysis of the specimen narrative texts in Indo-Aryan languages Hindi-Urdu and Sanskrit, raise some questions on the literary side. Some of the literary questions that need further investigation are: Can my approach of analysis be extended to all types of narrative discourses? Can my analysis explain textual and pragmatic functions of tense and aspect in different languages? Can my approach of analysis be applied universally? In trying to find answers to these questions it is necessary to highlight that my approach of analysis is based on the basic, inherent syntactic and semantic properties of tense and aspect categories in general. There may be parametric variation as the language of discourse changes but varying language is not the focus here. The focus is common grammatical principles that form syntactic and semantic foundation of a linguistic structure, namely narrative discourse. Thus, due to its inherent properties, my Expanded Linguistic Framework (ELF) makes strong predictions about explaining the pragmatic and textual functions associated with tense and aspect categories as shown above across languages and literary genres.

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