Control structures in Kokborok:
A case of syntactic convergence

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This paper presents a descriptive study of the control structures in Kokborok, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Tripura (one of the North-Eastern states in India) and demonstrates the contact-induced changes in the phenomenon of control in Kokborok which resulted due to the long-term contact with Bangla (Indo-Aryan), a genetically different language spoken in the state. The instances of genitive subject and the phenomenon of overt controllee in the embedded subject position in Kokborok are the cases in point. The instance of overt controllee described in this paper points to the deviation from the classic concept of PRO thereby demonstrating a property unique to the study of South Asian languages.

Keywords: control, copy, convergence, PRO

1. Introduction

This paper primarily draws the phenomenon of language contact in Tripura in it shows the changing patterns of Kokborok control structures which resulted due to the influence of Bangla. The phenomenon of language contact between Kokborok and Bangla is not recent as it is several centuries old. The contact situation dates back to the 16th century when the *Manikya* kings would promote Bangla in the higher social circle of the royal court and continued even during the era of Rabindranath Tagore as Tagore had often remained one of the favourite royal guests of the then king of Tripura. It became more intense in the aftermath of the Bangladeshi War of Independence in 1971. During the war, there was a huge influx of the Bengali population from Bangladesh to settle mainly

in the north-eastern parts of India such as Tripura and Assam and in some parts of West Bengal too. Kokborok and Bangla[1] are the two official languages of Tripura, although Bangla is the dominant language of the state. The study considers one variety of Bangla i.e., Agartala Bangla spoken in Agartala, the capital city of Tripura and provides evidence to show structural import in Kokborok control structures due to the influence of Agartala Bangla.

The literature on language contact is diverse which suggests language change in the form of code-switching, code-mixing, borrowings (phonological, lexical, structural, semantic, etc.), pidgins and creoles, etc. (see Thomason (2001), Appel & Muysken (2005), Matras (2009), and many others for details). Nadkarni (1975), Karttunen (1976), and Subbārāo (2012a; 2012b) demonstrate structural changes in several syntactic structures such as relative clauses, control, complementation, anaphoric device, etc. Nadkarni provides evidence of gradual change in the indigenous strategy of relativization in Kannada-type Konkani (Indo-Aryan) due to contact with Kannada (Dravidian). This variety of Konkani adopts the question strategy borrowed from Kannada (Dravidian) in the relative clause formation. Karttunen shows use of question word or a conjunction in the formation of a relative clause in Nahautl (spoken in Mexico by the Aztecs) which resulted due to the influence of Spanish. The relative clause in Nahautl is originally embedded without any particle or pronoun. Subbārāo (2012b) observes relative co-relative strategy – typical of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages – in Bodo and Rabha, the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Assam which is due to intense contact with Assamese (an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Assam, the largest North-Eastern state of India). In addition, Subbārāo (2012b) provides evidence of change in the indigenous pattern of control and complementizer clauses in Dakkhini (a variety of Hindi-Urdu spoken in Hyderabad) due to contact with Telugu (Dravidian). The use of Backward Control construction in Dakkhini (not permitted in Hindi-Urdu) and the strategy of Final Complementizer clause (FC) with the complementizer *bol-ke* 'say-cpm' in the clause final position in Dakkhini are cases of syntactic convergence resulted due to contact with Telugu. Subbārāo (2012a) draws on the preferred strategy of nominal anaphoric expressions than the indigenous verbal device in the Munda group of languages as in Santhali, Mundari, and Ho due to the contact with Bangla (Indo-Aryan) spoken in the proximity.

In this paper, we provide an elaborate description of control structures in Kokborok (Tibeto-Burman) to examine the contact-induced changes in the control phenomenon in Kokborok (Tibeto-Burman) resulted due to contact with Agartala Bangla. The development of genitive subject in the colloquial speech of Kokborok (as it is generally not found in the literary texts) and its syntactic implication in the formation of control structures and the instance of overt controllee in Kokborok are considered to be borrowed from Agartala

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[1] Officially the regional varieties of a language are subsumed under one single variety i.e., the standard variety and are less recognized as different entities. Similarly, the standard variety of Bangla which is labelled here as Bangla, is recognized as the official language of Tripura. However, in speech, Kokborok is in constant interaction with all the varieties of Bangla spoken in Tripura, if not the standard variety. One amongst the varieties under study is Agartala Bangla. Therefore, Bangla being the dominant language suggests that all the varieties of Bangla spoken in Tripura are dominant and we attempt to capture the contact-induced changes in Kokborok control structures resulted due to intense contact with Agartala Bangla.

Bangla eventually leading to syntactic convergence in Kokborok. This, in turn, points to the fact that the classic concept of PRO (both uncase marked PRO as in Chomsky (1981), Chomsky and Lasnik (1995), etc. and case-marked PRO as in Icelandic in Sigurdsson (1991), in Hebrew as shown in Landau (2004) and in several South Asian languages (henceforth, SALs) as in T. Lalitha Murthy (1994), Subbarao et al. (2007), Fukuda (2008), Subbārāo (2012a) and others) is not the only property of control. Thus, this paper is divided mainly into two sections. Section 2 presents the types of control structures in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla to set the tone for the next section which deals with the features of syntactic convergence. Section 3 captures the phenomenon of language contact and convergence and discusses the cases of syntactic changes in Kokborok control structures resulted due to contact with Agartala Bangla. In addition, this section demonstrates a unique property of control in Kokborok which resulted due to the contact with Agartala Bangla.

2. A descriptive account of control structures in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla

Control refers to a type of syntactic subordination in which the overt subject in one clause is co-indexed with the null subject (i.e., PRO) of the other clause. In the phenomenon of control, the subjects generally occur in the c-commanding domain. Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla is observed in the infinitival clauses (the *to*-infinitives) and in conjunctive participial clauses. Unlike Bangla, Agartala Bangla exhibits optional infinitival agreement (only person agreement). Kokborok has no agreement manifestation at all. Thus, the infinitive is devoid of agreement inflection. Example (1) represents infinitival clause in Kokborok where the infinitive -*nani* is devoid of inflection. However, examples (2) and (3) show optional manifestation of infinitival agreement in Agartala Bangla. (2) shows the uninflected[2] form of the infinitive and (3) illustrates the inflected form which in this case is 3rd person agreement marker.

Infinitival clause in Kokborok:
(1) *khumti*$_i$　　　[PRO$_i$　*aŋ-bai*　*kɔk*　*sa-nani*]　*nai-ɔ*
　　Khumti　　　　　　I-with　talk　tell-INF　want-PRES
　　'Khumti wants to talk to me.'

Uninflected infinitive in Agartala Bangla:
(2) *robi*$_k$　　　　[PRO$_k$　*khai-te*]　*sa-y*$_k$
　　Ravi　　　　　　eat-INF　want-PRES.1
　　'Ravi wants to eat.'

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[2] Bangla has only uninflected infinitive as in (i) below.
Uninflected infinitive in Bangla:
(i)　*robi*$_i$　　[PRO$_i$　*khe-te*]　*ca-y*$_i$
　　Ravi　　　　eat-INF　want-3
　　'Ravi wants to eat.'

Inflected infinitive in Agartala Bangla:

(3) *robi*$_k$ [PRO$_k$ *khai-t-ɔ*]   *sa-y*$_k$
    Ravi   eat-INF-3   want-PRES.1
    'Ravi wants to eat.'

Examples (4) and (5) illustrate control in the conjunctive participial clauses. (4) exhibits Forward Control in Kokborok where the PRO in the embedded subject position is c-commanded by the overt controller *khumti* 'Khumti'. (5) exhibits the phenomenon of Copy Control in Agartala Bangla where the null element PRO is replaced by the lexical copy in the embedded subject position. In copy Control, the controller and the controllee do not generally occur in the c-commanding relation as it violates Linear Axiom Correspondence (LCA). (We discuss the phenomenon of Copy Control in the later section).

(4) Kokborok
    khumti$_i$ [PRO$_i$ *joli-jag-ii*]   *nɔg-ɔ*   *thaŋ-kha*
    Khumti   anger-EM PRED-CPM   house-to   go-PST
    'Having become angry, Khumti went home.'

(5) Agartala Bangla
    [*mala*$_i$ *khai-ya*] (*mala*$_i$)   *gumai-s-e*
    Mala   eat-CPM   Mala   sleep-PRES.PERF-3
    'Having had food, Mala slept.'

2.1 Types of Control Structures in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla

Most of the SALs exhibit two types of control: Forward Control and Backward Control. However, there is another type of control known as Copy Control observed in Assamese (Indo-Aryan) and Telugu (Dravidian), Marathi (Indo-Aryan), etc. (see Haddad 2007, 2011). Subbārāo (2017) further describes the contexts where Copy Control is obligatory in Telugu (Dravidian).

Forward Control in schematic representation:
[[PRO$_k$…Verb $_{[+/-fin]}$…]$_{embedded}$ [NP$_k$… Verb $_{[+fin]}$…]$_{matrix}$]

Backward Control in schematic representation:
[[NP$_k$… Verb $_{[+/-fin]}$…]$_{embedded}$ [PRO$_k$…Verb $_{[+fin]}$…]$_{matrix}$]

Copy Control in schematic representation:
[[NP$_k$… Verb $_{[+/-fin]}$…]$_{embedded}$ [NP$_k$…Verb $_{[+fin]}$….]$_{matrix}$]

A rigorous fieldwork[3] in Tripura has unravelled the facts of control phenomenon in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. Amongst the three control structures, Copy Control[4] is widespread amongst the speakers of Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. Backward Control and Forward Control in both occur restrictively.

[3] All the Kokborok and Agartala Bangla data presented in this paper are collected during the fieldwork conducted in Tripura for nearly three months. The first fieldwork was conducted for one month in September 2018 and the second was in 2019 in the months of July and August. The data on Kokborok are elicited from the three populous communities of Kokborok – Debbarma, Jamatia, and Koloi residing in the city of Agartala, the capital of Tripura and the suburbs of the state such as Lalshing Murha (Shipahijala district), Belonia, Pilak, Champaknagar. The Debbarma variety is the standard variety of Kokborok. We have consulted the speakers of various age-groups such as young, middle-aged and olds to check the impact of contact across the communities. The data for Agartala Bangla was easier as I, myself, am an Agartala Bangla speaker. All the Kokborok consultants were born and brought up in Tripura. The Bangla speakers of the older generation are mostly migrants from the neighbouring country, Bangladesh as there was a huge influx of the Bengali community from Bangladesh to India during the Bangaldeshi War of Independence in 1971 to settle mostly in the north-eastern parts of India such as Tripura and Assam and some parts of West Bengal. Kokborok speakers are mostly bilinguals as they speak both Kokborok and Bangla, however, the Bangla speakers are not. Kokborok and Bangla are the two official languages of the state, although Bangla is the dominant language. Due to the intense contact over the years, Kokborok (Tibeto-Burman) shares certain Indo-Aryan features of Agartala Bangla (here Agartala Bangla variety is discussed as the fieldwork has been done with the Kokborok and Bangla speakers residing in Agartala) which are not commonly observed in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Kokborok had been in intense contact with Bangla (all the different varieties) for nearly four centuries. Thus, this long-term contact has resulted into syntactic convergence which is linguistically reflected through certain structural configurations.

This paper focuses on Kokborok control structures to capture the structural import in the phenomenon of Control in Kokborok. Besides control, there are other structures being influenced by the Indo-Aryan patterns available in Agartala Bangla. For example, the co-relative strategy in Kokborok (see Roy et.al (2020) for further details) is an instance of syntactic convergence as relative co-relative clause is not indigenous to the Tibeto-Burman language family. Nevertheless, this strategy is observed in some Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam such as Rabha, Bodo, etc. which are in contact with Assamese, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Assam (See Subbārāo 2012b). Due to syntactic convergence, the co-relative clause structure is widespread amongst the various age-groups of Kokborok speakers and is the most preferred strategy of relativization as compared to the other indigenous gap strategies (Externally Headed relative clause and Internally Headed relative clause). The co-relative strategy in Kokborok is shown in (ii). As Kokborok does not have a relative pronoun, the lexical item *je* is borrowed from Agartala Bangla to form a co-relative structure identical to the structure in Agartala Bangla as in (iii).

(ii)
[*je*	*biɾii*	*mia*	*ani*	*nɔg-ɔ*
who	girl	yesterday	I.GEN	house-to
phai-kha]	*bɔ*	*ani*	*bukhuk*	
come-PST	she	I.GEN	sister	

The girl who came to my house yesterday is my sister.'

Co-relative strategy in Agartala Bangla:

(iii)
[*ze/je*	*maiya-Da*	*kalka*	*amar*	*bari-t*
who	girl-CL	yesterday	I.GEN	house-to
ais-l-ɔ]	*tai*	*amar*	*boin*	
come-PST-3	she	I.GEN	sister	

The girl who came to my house yesterday is my sister.'

[4] During elicitation of data from different speakers of Kokborok, it is observed that a few Kokborok speakers do not use Copy Control structure at all as (iv) tends to be ungrammatical for them. However, this variation is not observed amongst the Agartala Bangla speakers as far as the present field study is concerned.

Examples (6)-(7) represent Forward Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla wherein the nominative case-marked NPI in the matrix clause co-indexes the null subject of the matrix clause. Bangla exhibits only the Forward Control structure which is illustrated in (8). The strategy of Backward Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla is observed when the embedded subject occurs as an NPI (Negative Polarity Item) quantifier (distributive and universal quantifiers). (9)-(12) are illustrative. In this case, the subject NPI occurs overtly in the embedded clause and is co-indexed with the null subject in the matrix clause. In (9) and (11), the NPI in the subject position is a distributive quantifier and in (10) and (12), it functions as a universal quantifier. The phenomenon of Copy Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla are represented in (11)-(12). In these examples, it is observed that both the controller and the controllee occur overtly in the respective clauses. In contrast, Bangla has no such feature as the ungrammaticality in (13) suggests. Note that in (11) and (12) the copy in the embedded subject position is optional as it can be dropped. This is due to the pro-drop nature of SALs. The speakers confirmed that it could be dropped as it is redundant. In that case, we are not to be mistaken in considering the dropped subject to be null element PRO as the subject slot is filled with an overt lexical item. However, in Forward and Backward Control structures (cf. (6)-(12), the null subject cannot be replaced by an overt subject as the overt lexical item in the respective subject slots would lead to ungrammaticality. In contrast, Copy Control is widespread in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. It is restricted only in the specific contexts of negation and NPI as mentioned below. Copy Control, in these contexts, is not permitted in both the languages.

Forward Control in Kokborok:

(6) $kebɔ_i$-nɔ   [PRO$_i$ si-ya-ii]   ca-ya
    anybody-EMPH   know-NEG-CPM   eat-NEG
    'Nobody has eaten without knowing.'

Forward Control in Agartala Bangla:

(7) keu_i-oi   [PRO$_i$ na zainn-a]   khai-s-e   na
    nobody-EMPH   NEG   know-CPM   eat-PRES.PERF-3   NEG
    'Nobody has eaten without knowing.'

Forward Control in Bangla:

(iv)   *[$khumti_i$ joli-jag-ii] $khumti_i$ nɔg-ɔ   thaŋ-kha
         Khumti   anger-EM PRED-CPM   Khumti   house-to   go-PST
         'Having become angry, Khumti went home.'

For these speakers, Backward Control, in addition to the NPI contexts, occurs in the presence of predicates expressing physical ailment where the embedded subject is obligatorily genitive case-marked as in (v).

(v)   [$khumti_i$-ni   kulum   iŋ-ii]   Ø$_i$ thui-kha
         Khumti-GEN   heat   be-CPM   die-PST
         'Having had a fever, Khumti died.'

(8)   *keu*_i*-i*   [PRO_i   *na*   *jen-e*]   *kha-y*   *ni*
      nobody-EMPH   NEG   know-CPM   eat-PRES.PERF-3   NEG
      'Nobody has eaten without knowing.'

NPI as distributive quantifier in Backward Control in Kokborok:

(9)   [*khɔrɔk-sa*_i   *phanɔ*   *si-ya-ii-nɔ*]   PRO_i   *nɔg-ɔ*   *thaŋ-bai-kha*
      CL-one   NPI   know-NEG-CPM-EMPH   house-to   go-everybody-PST
      Literally: 'Not even one person went home without knowing.'
      Intended: Everybody went home without knowing.'

NPI as universal quantifier in Backward Control in Kokborok:

(10) [*kebɔ*_i   *si-ya-ii-nɔ*]   PRO_i *ca-kha*
      anybody (NPI)   know-NEG-CPM-EMPH   eat-PST
      'Everybody ate without knowing.'

NPI as distributive quantifier in Backward Control in Agartala Bangla:

(11) [*keu*_i*-oi*   *na*   *zainn-a*]   PRO_i   *khai-ya*   *lai-s-æ*
      nobody-EMPH   NEG   know-CPM   eat-CPM   finish-PRES.PERF-3
      'Everybody has eaten without knowing.'

NPI as universal quantifier in Backward Control in Agartala Bangla:

(12) [*æk-zɔn*_i*-ɔ*   *na*   *zainn-a*]   PRO_i
      one-CL-EMPH (not even one)   NEG   know-CPM
      bari-t   *gæ-s-e*   *ga*
      house-LOC   go-PERF-3 go
      Literally: 'Not even one person went home without knowing.'
      Intended: 'Everybody went home without knowing.'

Copy Control in Kokborok:

(13) [*khumti*_i   *joli-jag-ii*]   (*khumti*_i)   *nɔg-ɔ*   *thaŋ-kha*
      Khumti   anger-EM PRED-CPM   Khumti   house-to   go-PST
      'Having become angry, Khumti went home.'

Copy Control in Agartala Bangla:

(14) [*mala*_i   *bat*   *khai-ya*]   (*mala*_i)   *iskul-ɔ*   *gæ-s-e*   *ga*
      Mala   rice   eat-CPM   Mala   school-LOC   go-PRES.PERF-3   go
      'Having had food, Mala has gone to school.'

Copy Control not permitted in Bangla:

(15)   *[*mala*_i   *bhat*   *khe-ye*]   *mala*_i   *skul-e*   *col-e*   *gæ-ch-e*

         Mala   rice   eat-CPM   Mala   school-LOC   go-CPM   go-PRES.PERF-3

         'Having had food, Mala has gone to school.'

2.2 The analysis

Control in Kokborok is explained in a generalized approach of movement and copy theory. Following Hornstein (1999), Nunes (2001, 2004) and Haddad (2007, 2011), we adopt the approach of movement and copy theory in describing control in this paper. The literature on control is replete with the concept of the null subject PRO which is instrumental in providing the structures of Forward and Backward Control – PRO occurs in the embedded clause in Forward Control and it occurs in the matrix clause in Backward Control. Although Potsdam (2006), as mentioned in Fukuda (2008), suggests that the analysis of control via movement theory poses a problem in describing Forward Control in the presence of Backward Control where the Japanese *tokoro*-clauses allow only Backward Control construction, Haddad (2007, 2011) paves a newer possibility to look at Control via movement wherein not only Forward or Backward Control but also the third type i.e., Copy Control are fairly accommodated in this framework. We describe these three types of control in the light of copy theory a little later in this section. Prior to that, we present below a schematic representation of control abstracted from Hornstein (1999).

English:
[_{IP} Bill [_{VP} ~~Bill~~ wants [_{IP} ~~Bill~~ to [_{VP} ~~Bill~~ go]]]]

According to this view, the overt subject of the matrix clause *Bill* moves from spec vP of the embedded clause to spec IP for EPP feature checking. The verb is [-finite] and therefore it rises upwards to reach spec vP of the matrix clause and then moves further to spec IP of the matrix clause to check the EPP feature where it checks its nominative case feature. This is the only position where *Bill* checks case throughout its journey from the embedded spec vP to spec of matrix IP. In this process of movement, *Bill* leaves a copy at each landing site and the lower copy gets deleted eventually in order to linearize the structure (see Nunes 2001, 2004, 2011 for the details of copy theory). Thus, control in the infinitival clause in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla as in (1) and (2) can be explained in this approach where the subject finds its way to the matrix IP for checking its nominative feature.

Talking about the conjunctive participial clauses as in (4)-(12), these adjunct clauses are base-generated in matrix vP. We show this in a couple of diagrams below. Along the lines of Haddad (2007, 2011), this section presents the phenomenon of Copy Control in adjunct clauses providing examples from Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. Haddad studies Copy Control mainly in two SALs – Telugu (Dravidian) and Assamese (Indo-

Aryan), which obligatorily calls for movement approach in its purview. This section presents two more SALs – Kokborok (Tibeto-Burman) and Agartala Bangla (Indo-Aryan) which too exhibit the option of Copy Control.

Haddad (2011) presents examples from Assamese and Telugu to demonstrate movement in control. We illustrate the Assamese data in (16) and (17).

Forward Control in Assamese:

(16)   *ram$_i$-e*   [*ram$_i$-e*   *lɔTari*   *jik-i*]   *notun*   *ghɔr*   *kinil-e*
        Ram-NOM   Ram-NOM   lottery   win-CPM   new   house   bought-3
        'Having won the lottery, Ram bought a new house.' (Haddad 2011: 88)

Backward Control in Assamese:

(17)   [*ram$_i$-ɔr*   *khub*   *bhok*   *lag-i*]   *ram$_i$-e*   *pɔsa*   *bhat*   *khal-e*
        Ram-GEN   very   hunger   feel-CPM   Ram-NOM   stale   rice   ate-3
        'Having felt very hungry, Ram ate stale rice.' (Haddad 2011: 88)

Haddad suggests that in Forward and Backward Control, the conjunctive participial clause in Assamese and Telugu is base-generated at vP of the matrix clause. The subject of the participial clause copies out to merge with the matrix clause accompanied by adjunction of the participial clause at matrix vP via the mechanism of *sideward movement* (cf. Nunes 2001, 2004). The subject in spec vP of the matrix clause copies out to occupy the spec IP of the matrix clause to check the EPP feature. As a result, the subject in the matrix IP occurs in the c-commanding relation with the copies in the subject position of the conjunctive participial clause and the spec vP thus forming a non-trivial chain with each copy. Note Figure 1 which shows *ram-e* and *ram-e* being c-commanded by the subject *ram-e* in the matrix spec IP. Thus, Chain Reduction[5] (see Nunes (2004) for the details) obligatorily applies in the process to delete the lower copies for the sake of linearization of the structure (see Kaynes' (1994) Linear Corresponding Axiom (LCA)). Deletion of the lower copies (*ram-e* and *ram-e*) obtains Forward Control (cf Figure 1) and deletion of the higher copies (*ram-e*) obtains Backward Control (cf. Figure 2). In Figure 2, the copy *ram-ɔr* escapes deletion resulting into Backward Control in Assamese.

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[5] Chain Reduction is a syntactic mechanism due to which the copies formed during movement get deleted in the chain. Deletion of the copies is mandatory as in accordance with Kayne (1994), the copies formed in the chain induce violations of the irreflexivity and asymmetry conditions on the linear order. In the process, only one copy is retained for the sake of linearization of the structure.
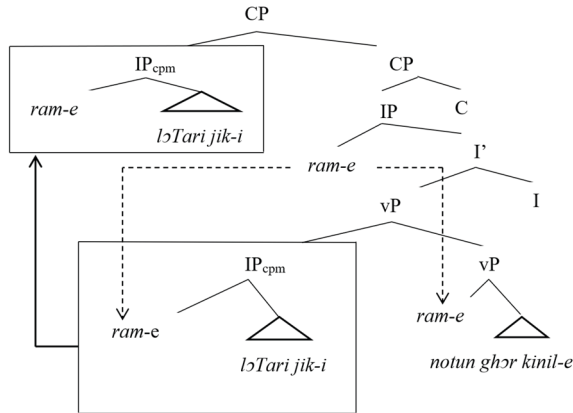
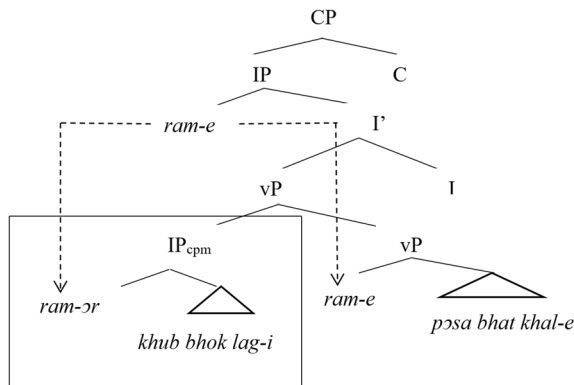Figure 1. Forward Control in Assamese (Adapted from Haddad 2011: 90)

Figure 2. Backward Control in Assamese (Adapted from Haddad 2011: 110)

Figures 3 and 4 represent the tree structure for Forward and Backward Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla respectively. The sentences for Forward and Backward Control are repeated below.

Forward Control in Kokborok:

(18) kebɔ$_i$-nɔ   [k̶e̶b̶ɔ̶$_i$-̶n̶ɔ̶   si-ya-ii]   ca-ya
      anybody-EMPH   anybody-EMPH   know-NEG-CPM   eat-NEG
      'Nobody has eaten without knowing.'

Backward Control in Kokborok:

(19) [*kebɔ*_i   *si-ya-ii-nɔ*]   *kebɔ*_i   *ca-kha*
     anybody (NPI)   know-NEG-CPM-EMPH   anybody (NPI)   eat-PST
     'Everybody ate without knowing.'

Forward Control in Agartala Bangla:

(20) *keu*_i-*oi*   [*keu*_i-*oi*   *na*   *zainn-a*]   *khai-s-e*   *na*
     nobody-EMPH   nobody-EMPH   NEG   know-CPM   eat-PRES.PERF-3   NEG
     'Nobody has eaten without knowing.'

Backward Control in Agartala Bangla:

(21) [*æk-zɔn*_i-*ɔ*   *na*   *zainn-a*]   *æk-zɔn*_i-*ɔ*
     one-CL-EMPH (not even one)   NEG   know-CPM   one-CL-EMPH

     bari-t   *gæ-s-e*   *ga*
     house-LOC   go-PERF-3   go
     Literally: 'Not even one person went home without knowing.'
     Intended: 'Everybody went home without knowing.'

The subject NPI of the participial clause *kebɔ* in Kokborok and *keu* in Agartala Bangla copies out to merge with vP of the matrix clause. Then, the participial clause merges with matrix vP via *sideward movement*. The matrix subject in both, as shown in Figure 3, copies out from spec vP to move to spec IP for feature checking. As a result, the copy in the spec IP of the matrix clause c-commands the copies in the participial clause and the matrix clause, thus forms two separate chains with each copy. The dotted lines represent the c-commanding domain. Chain Reduction applies to delete either the lower copy or the higher copy. Deletion of the lower copy obtains Forward Control as in (18) and (20) and the higher copy deletion results into Backward Control as illustrated in (19)-(21).
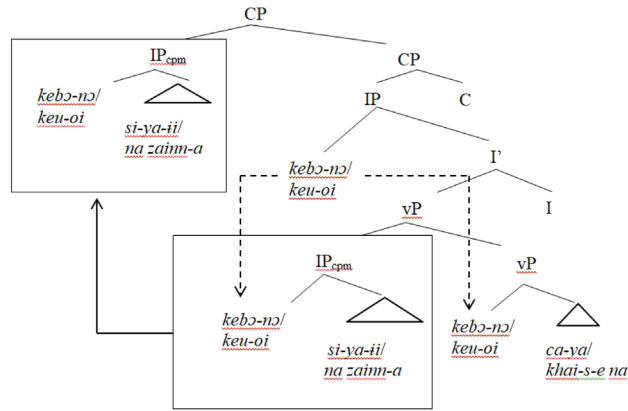
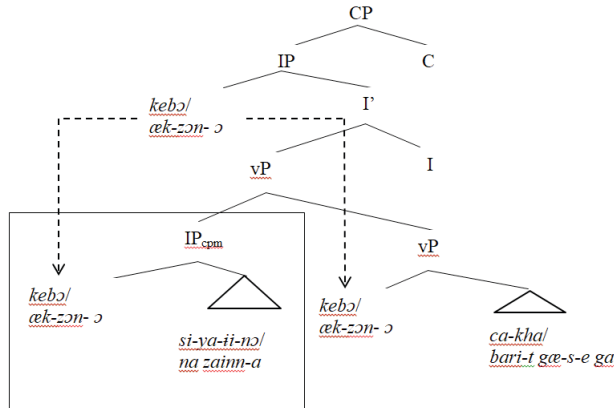Figure 3. Forward Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla

Figure 4. Backward Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla

Copy Control[6] in SALs remained unnoticed till Haddad (2007, 2011) studied control in Assamese (Indo-Aryan) and Telugu (Dravidian). Contrary to the other strategies of control, the conjunctive participial clause in Copy Control is base-generated sentence-externally at matrix CP as illustrated in Figure 5. Thus, the subject in the adjunct clause

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[6] Haddad (2011) mentions about a couple of other SALs such as Marathi (Indo-Aryan), Konkani (Indo-Aryan), Bangla (Indo-Aryan) which exhibit the option of Copy Control although Haddad suggests that an in-depth investigation is necessary to study Copy Control in these languages. As far as this research is conducted, Copy Control in Bangla is considered ungrammatical as many Bangla speakers confirmed that Copy Control is odd. However, there are a few Bangla speakers who confirmed the existence of Copy Control where the copy is a pronoun as in (vi).

cannot c-command the constituents of the matrix clause. Note Figure 5 which is illustrative of formation of copies in respective clauses. The subjects in the spec vP of both the clauses copy out to move to spec IP for the EPP feature. As a result, Chain Reduction applies which leads to deletion of the lower copies in each clause. The remaining subjects *ram-ɔr* and *ram-e* appear in their respective clauses as in (22). The copies occur in different c-commanding domain and thus they escape deletion.

(22) [*ram-ɔr*   *bhok*   *lag-i*]   *ram-e*   *bhat*   *khal-e*

      Ram-GEN   hunger   feel-CPM   Ram-NOM   rice   ate-3

      'Having felt hungry, Ram ate rice.' (Haddad 2007: 157)
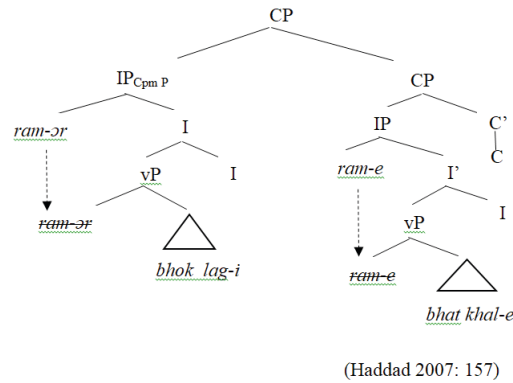
(Haddad 2007: 157)

Figure 5. Copy Control in Assamese (Haddad 2007: 157)

In this section, we present two more SALs (Kokborok and Agartala Bangla) which exhibit Copy Control. (23) and (24) are illustrative.

Copy Control in Kokborok:

(23) *cirai_i-nɔ*   *mai*   *ca-ii*   *cirai_i-nɔ*   *thu-kha*

      child-CL   rice   eat-CPM   child-CL   sleep-PST

      'Having had food, the child slept.'

(vi) [*mili_k*   *bhat*   *khe-ye*]   *še_k/*mili_k*   *poR-te boše-ch-e*

      Mili.NOM   rice   eat-CPM   she/Mili-NOM   study-INF sit-PERF PRES.3

      'Having had food, Mili sat to study.'

    This group of speakers have their origin in Bangladesh. It could be the fact that the speakers of Bangladesh have retained the use of Copy Control despite the influence of Bangla spoken in West Bengal.

Copy Control in Agartala Bangla:

(24)   *baicca-Da*   *bat*   *khai-ya*   *baicca-Da*   *gumai-s-e*

      child-CL   rice   eat-CPM   child-CL   sleep-PRES. PERF-3

      'Having had food, the child slept.'

Figure 6 illustrates the structure of Copy Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. The adjunct clause is merged sentence-externally at CP. The copies are formed in the separate c-commanding domains and eventually escape deletion. The copies *cirai*$_i$*-nɔ* and *baicca-Da* in Figure 6 are generated at spec vP of either clause and copy out to move to spec IP for EPP feature checking. Thus, the subject NPs leave a copy at the base-generated position and undergo deletion for the sake of linearization.
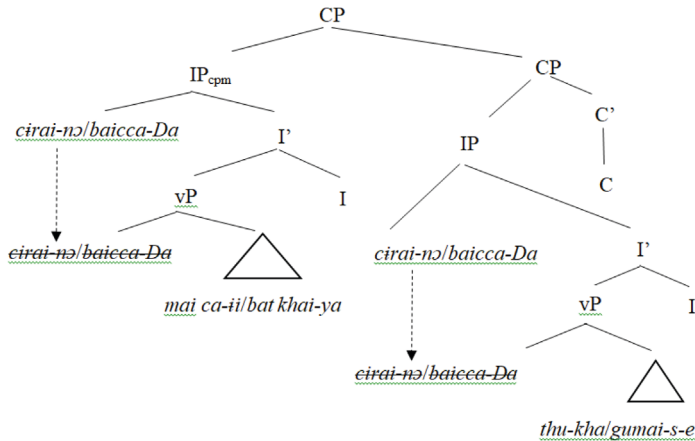
Figure 6. Copy Control in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla

3. Syntactic Convergence in Kokborok Control Structures

There are several instances of contact-induced changes in the control structures of SALs. As documented in Subbārāo (2012b), Dakkhini (Indo-Aryan), Bhalavali Bhasha (Indo-Aryan), Silchar Bangla (Indo-Aryan) exhibit Backward Control as an alternative strategy of Control. Due to the influence of the neighbouring languages, the strategy of Backward Control is has become the part of the verbal repertoire of the speech community. For example, Dakkhini is a variety of Hindi spoken in Hyderabad, the capital of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh (the two South Indian states) primarily a Telugu-speaking area. Hindi-Urdu (Indo-Aryan) has no instance of Backward Control, whereas Dakkhini invariably exhibits Backward Control the reason being that Telugu exhibits both Forward and Backward Control. As a result, due to syntactic convergence, the phenomenon of Backward Control has become an available option for the Dakkhini speakers. Similarly,

due to prolonged contact with Kannada (Dravidian), Bhalavali Bhasha (Indo-Aryan) exhibits Backward Control construction. This option is the only available strategy of control in Bhalavali Bhasha. Silchar Bangla spoken in Assam exhibits Backward Control which results due to contact with Assamese as Assamese has both Forward and Backward Control. Bangla, on the other hand, has only Forward Control.

Here, we demonstrate two instances of contact-induced changes in the phenomenon of control in Kokborok. Section 3.1 shows that although Copy Control is widespread in Kokborok, there are yet certain contexts wherein Copy Control in Kokborok occurs as a consequence of language contact. Section 3.2 demonstrates a form of Copy Control in the infinitival clauses in Kokborok which is considered a result of language contact with Agartala Bangla. Unlike the examples of Copy Control in Section 2.2 which illustrates Copy Control in adjunct or participial clauses, Section 3.2 is illustrative of Copy Control in complement clauses with infinitival embedding in Kokborok.

3.1 Genitive subject and Copy Control –
an instance of syntactic convergence in Kokborok

There are certain predicates such as psychological or emotional predicates and physical ailment predicates which generally take non-nominative subject. Such subjects express a feeling of sadness, anger, happiness or a kind of suffering from any ailment. Therefore, these subject NPs are labelled as experiencer subjects. Bhaskararao and Subbarao (2004) suggest that such predicates in some Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi take dative, genitive or locative subject, whereas other Indo-Aryan languages such as Bangla and Assamese allow genitive case-marked subject and some Dravidian languages such as Telugu, Malayalam, Tamil, and Kannada exhibit only dative subject. Contrary to the fact, most of the Tibeto-Burman languages such as Konyak, Angami, Sema, etc. take only nominative subject (Subbarao et al. 2007). The Angami data in (25) is illustrative.

Experiencer subjects in Angami (Tibeto-Burman):

(25)   *a-e*   *a-tsɨ*   *chɨ*   *ba*
       I-NOM   1.SG-head   pain   is
       'I have a headache.'

(From Prof. K.V. Subbārāo and Prof. Mimi Kevichusa's field notes)

However, there are some Tibeto-Burman languages in which experiencer subject NPs are case-marked genitive. Rabha and Bodo (Tibeto-Burman) are the languages which had been in contact with Assamese for a long time. This could be plausibly due to contact with some Indo-Aryan languages spoken in proximity. In Rabha, the experiencer subject occurs in both genitive and dative case. In (26), the experiencer subject occurs in the genitive case and in (27), it occurs in the dative case.

Genitive case-marked subject in Rabha (Tibeto-Burman):

(26)   *parmai-ni*   *kusii*   cang-a

Parmai-GEN   happy   become-PRES

'Parmai feels happy.' (Subbarao et al. 2007: 298)

Dative case-marked subject in Rabha (Tibeto-Burman):

(27)   parmai- na   rasɔng   cang-eta

Parmai-DAT   proud   become-PRES.PROG

'Parmai is feeling proud.' (Subbarao et al. 2007: 298)

Subbarao et al. (2007) suggest that Rabha speakers use Assamese in day-today interactions. In fact, the use of genitive case on the experiencer subject is a recent phenomenon. In the case of Bodo, the genitive case-marking of the experiencer subject is minimal. It is acceptable only in the presence of physical ailment predicates (cf. 29), whereas it tends to be ungrammatical in the case of psychological predicates (cf. (31)). The subject instead occurs in the nominative case as (28) and (30) illustrate. Our language consultants confirm that the use of the genitive subject in Bodo is mostly manifested amongst the speakers who speak Bangla and Nepali (Indo-Aryan languages) as their first language/s. Thus, the genitive subject in Rabha and Bodo is plausibly borrowed from Assamese spoken in proximity.

Experiencer subject in nominative case in Bodo:

(28)   *kamala-ya*   *ləmza*   *dəŋ-mən*

Kamala-NOM   fever   perf-PST

'Kamala had fever.'

Experiencer subject in genitive case in Bodo:

(29)   ?*kamala-ni*   *ləmza*   *dəŋ-mən*

Kamala-GEN   fever   PERF-PST

'Kamala had fever.'

Experiencer subject in nominative case in Bodo:

(30)   *kamala-ya*   *raga*   *zəŋ-dəŋ*

Kamala-NOM   anger   burn-PERF

'Kamala is angry.'

Experiencer subject in genitive case not permitted in Bodo:

(31)   **kamala-ni*   *raga*   *zəŋ-dəŋ*

Kamala-GEN   anger   burn-PERF

'Kamala is angry.'

In Kokborok, the subject is either nominative or genitive case-marked. There are two contexts where the subject occurs in both genitive and nominative. In all other cases, the

subject appears in the nominative case alone. In (32) and (34), the subject is nominative case-marked and in (33) and (35), it is case-marked genitive.

(32)   *aŋ   bisici   iŋ-kha*
       I.NOM   ten   be-PST
       'I am ten years old.'

(33)   *ani   bisici   iŋ-kha*
       I.GEN   ten   be-PST
       'I am ten years old.'

(34)   *khumti   kulum   iŋ-kha*
       Khumti-NOM   heat   be-PST
       'Khumti had a fever.'

(35)   *khumti-ni   kulum   iŋ-kha*
       Khumti-GEN   heat   be-PST
       'Khumti had a fever.'

Like Rabha and Bodo, the genitive subject in Kokborok is a kind of recent entry in the verbal repertoire and is mostly used in the colloquial speech. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to argue that the genitive case in Kokborok is borrowed from Bangla/Agartala Bangla due to intense contact for centuries. Bangla and Agartala Bangla invariably exhibit genitive subject in the presence of experiencer predicates as shown in (36) and (37).

(36) Bangla
     kɔmola-r   jɔr   ho-ye-ch-e
     Kamala-GEN   fever   be-CPM-PERF.PRES-3
     'Kamala had a fever.'

(37) Agartala Bangla
     kɔmola-r   zɔr   oi-s-e
     Kamala-GEN   fever   be-PERF.PRES-3
     'Kamala had a fever.'

The borrowed genitive subject in Kokborok has significant syntactic implications in the phenomenon of control. The experiencer subject with genitive case marker leads to the Copy Control formation in Kokborok. Although Copy Control, as suggested above, is widespread amongst Kokborok speakers, the instance of Copy Control in the presence of experiencer predicates deserves mention. The genitive subject, in such a case, is significant as it triggers the possibility of Copy Control in Kokborok as illustrated in

(38). Nominative case-marking of the experiencer subject in Copy Control leads to ungrammaticality in Kokborok as represented in (39). In such a case, the construction in the absence of the genitive subject remains as Forward Control as shown in (39b).

(38) Kokborok

[*khumti$_i$-ni*	*kulum*	*iŋ-ii*]	*khumti$_i$*	*thui-kha*
Khumti-GEN	heat	be-CPM	Khumti.NOM	die-PST

'Having had fever, Khumti died.'

(39) Kokborok

a.

*[*khumti$_i$*	*kulum*	*iŋ-ii*]	*khumti$_i$*	*thui-kha*
Khumti-NOM	heat	be-CPM	Khumti.NOM	die-PST

'Having had fever, Khumti died.'

b.

[PRO$_i$	*kulum*	*iŋ-ii*]	*khumti$_i$*	*thui-kha*
Khumti-NOM	heat	be-CPM	Khumti.NOM	die-PST

'Having had fever, Khumti died.'

Examples (40) and (41) suggest that Copy Control is available in both Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. However, it is not an option in Bangla as the ungrammaticality in (42) suggests. Thus, it implicates that Copy Control in the presence of experiencer predicates in Kokborok is the result of long-term contact with Agartala Bangla.

Copy Control in Agartala Bangla:

(40)

[*kɔmɔla$_i$-r*	*zɔr*	*oi-ya*]	*kɔmɔla$_i$*	*mara*	*gæ-s-e*
Kamala-GEN	fever	be-CPM		die	go-PRES.PERF.3

'Having had fever, Kamala died.'

Copy Control in Kokborok:

(41)

[*khumti$_i$-ni*	*kulum*	*iŋ-ii*]	*khumti$_i$*	*thui-kha*
Khumti-GEN	heat	be-CPM		die-PST

'Having had a fever, Khumti died.'

Copy Control in Bangla not permitted:

(42)

*[*kɔmola$_i$-r*	*jɔr*	*ho-ye*]	*kɔmola$_i$*	*mara*	*gæ-ch-e*
Kamala-GEN	fever	be-CPM		die	go-PERF.3

'Having had fever, Kamala died.'

3.2 Overt controllee in Kokborok – an instance of syntactic convergence

The property of control has thus far been largely grounded in the two opposing concepts of PRO vs movement (movement observed in Copy Control in the previous sections). Modesto (2007) strikes a balance between the two where movement in Brazilian Portuguese applies only to object control. Subject control exhibits no trace of movement. The literature on PRO as the concept of control more often than not discusses PRO either as uncase-marked or case-marked entity. Chomsky (1981), Chomsky and Lasnik (1991), etc. demonstrate the classic concept of uncase-marked PRO, whereas studies such as Sigurdsson (1991; 2008), Lalitha Murthy (1994), Landau (2004), Subbarao et al. (2007), Subbārāo (2012a) etc. provide crosslinguistic evidence of case-marked PRO. Spyropoulos (2007) and Lee (2009) demonstrate controlled overt pronouns in Greek and Korean respectively which eventually leads to the existence of null pro instead of PRO.

Spyropoulos demonstrates licensing of an overt pronominal subject which is being controlled by an NP in Greek. Example (43) illustrates a strong nominative pronoun *aftos* 'he' in the embedded subject position. Note the co-indexation which indicates the pronoun *aftos* being strictly controlled by the subject NP *o janis* in the matrix clause.

(43) Greek

o	*janis*$_i$	*prospaθuse*	*fiγi*
the	John-NOM	try-PST.3s	leave-3s
aftos$_{i/*k}$	*apo*	*to*	*xorio*
he.NOM	from	the	village

'John was trying to leave the village.' (Spyropoulos 2007: 169)

Assuming the subject of the indicative complements to be a pronoun, Spyropoulos proposes the controlled null subject in the complement clauses to be pro instead of PRO. Perception and knowledge verbs as well as beginning or continuing verbs exhibit a null pro in the embedded subject position (see Spyropoulos 2007 for further details). (44) and (45) are illustrative. The null subject in the embedded complement clause is pro and in (44), it is co-referent with the matrix object *jani* 'John' and in (45), it co-refers with the matrix subject *janis* 'John'.

(44) Greek

akusa	*to*	*jani*$_i$	[*ke*	*anevene*
hear.PST.1s	the	John.ACC	COMP	climb.IMPERF.PST.3s
pro$_{i/*j}$	*tis*	*skales*		
	the	stairs		

'I heard John climbing the stairs.' (Spyropoulos 2007: 175)

(45) Greek

o	*janis*$_i$	*kseri*	[*ke*	*xorevi*
the	John-NOM	know.3SG	COMP	dance.3SG
pro$_{i/*j}$	*kala*	*to*	*tsamiko*]	
	well	the	tsamiko.ACC	

'John knows how to dance tsamiko (Greek folk dance) well.'
(Spyropoulos 2007: 175)

Lee (2009) too demonstrates licensing of controlled overt pronominals in Korean and claims the null subject to be pro. The examples (46) and (47) are illustrative. As the co-indexation suggests, in (46), the overt pronominal *kunye* is controlled by the matrix subject *mina* 'Mina' and in (47) it is controlled by the matrix object *pata* 'Pata'.

(46) Korean

mina$_i$-ka	*pata$_j$-eykey*	[*senmwul-un*
Mina-NOM	Pata-DAT	present-TOP
kunye$_{i/*j/*k}$-ka	*sacwu-keyss-ta*]-*ko*	*yaksokha-yess-ta*
she-NOM	buy.give-VOL-DC-COMP	promise-PST-DC

'Mina promised Pata that she (Mina) would buy a present.' (Lee 2009: 158)

(47) Korean

mina$_i$-ka	*pata$_j$-eykey*	[*con-man*
Mina-NOM	Pata-DAT	John-only
kunye$_{*i/j/*k}$-ka	*manna*]-*tolok*	*seltukha-yess-ta*
she-NOM	meet-COMP	persuade-PST-DC

'Mina persuaded Pata that she (Pata) would meet only John.' (Lee 2009: 158)

As a result, the null subject exhibited in (48) and (49) substantiates the claim that in Korean, the null element in the embedded subject is pro. The claim is further strengthened when it is observed that the same referent *nay* 'I.nom' and *ney* 'you.nom' in (50) and (51) respectively can stand alone as independent clauses. This establishes the fact that controlled null subject in Korean is pro and not PRO.

(48) Korean

nay$_i$-ka	*ne$_j$-eykey*	[pro$_{i/*j/*k}$	*ttena-keyss-ta*]-*ko*	*malha-yess-ta*
I-NOM	you-DAT		leave-VOL-DC-COMP	tell-PST-DC

'I told you that I would leave.' (Lee 2009: 160)

(49) Korean

nay$_i$-ka	*ney$_j$-eykey*	[pro$_{*i/j/*k}$	*ttena-la*]-*ko*	*malha-yess-ta*
I-NOM	you-DAT		leave-IMPERF-COMP	tell-PST-DC

'I told you that you would leave.' (Lee 2009: 160)

(50) Korean

    nay   ttena-keyss-ta

    I.nom   leave-vol-dc

    'I will leave.' (Lee 2009: 161)

(51) Korean

    ney   *ttena-la*

    you.NOM   leave-CONJ-DC

    'You leave!' (Lee 2009: 161)

Drawing on the pieces of evidence of controlled null pro in Greek and Korean, we propose its existence in Kokborok too which has not been thus far documented in any SALs. In this section, we demonstrate that the instance of controlled null pro in Kokborok is the result of contact with Agartala Bangla. It is observed that Agartala Bangla exhibits the phenomenon in the Initial complementizer clause (IC) (IC being typical of Indo-Aryan language family as suggested in Subbārāo (2012a: 193); so is in Kokborok.

Recall the examples in (1)-(3) which are repeated here as (52)-(54) show the instance of PRO in the infinitival clause.

Infinitival clause in Kokborok:

(52)   *khumti*$_i$ [PRO$_i$ *aŋ-bai*   *kɔk*   *sa-nani*]   *nai-ɔ*

     Khumti   I-with   talk   tell-INF   want-PRES

     'Khumti wants to talk to me.'

Uninflected infinitive in Agartala Bangla:

(53)   *robi*$_k$ [PRO$_k$ *khai-te*]   *sa-y*$_k$

     Ravi   eat-INF   want-PRES.1

     'Ravi wants to eat.'

Inflected infinitive in Agartala Bangla:

(54)   *robi*$_k$ [PRO$_k$ *khai-t-ɔ*]   *sa-y*$_k$

     Ravi   eat-INF-3   want-PRES.1

     'Ravi wants to eat.'

However, unlike PRO, the overt subject as the controllee in both Kokborok and Agartala Bangla occurs in the infinitival subject position only when the infinitival clause is embedded within a CP clause with *je* or *ze* as the initial complementizer. The examples (55)-(58) are illustrative of an overt controllee in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. As the co-indexation suggests, in (55), the overt controllee is strictly restricted to the subject NP of the matrix clause *khumti* and in (57) it is restricted to the object NP of the matrix clause *mala*. Many Kokborok speakers have confirmed that (56) is acceptable though not ungrammatical.

Overt controllee in Kokborok:

(55) khumti$_k$ phiyɔgnai$_l$-nɔ sa-kha je
    Khumti.NOM Phiyognai-ACC tell-PST COMP (IC)

    khumti$_k$/bɔ$_{k/*l/*m}$ bazar-ɔ thaŋ-nani
    Khumti/she market-LOC go-INF

    'Khumti said to Phiyognai that she would go to the market.'

(56) ʔaŋ$_i$ nai-ɔ je aŋ$_i$ ca-nani
    I want-PRES.1 COMP (IC) I eat-INF

    'I want to eat.'

Overt Controllee in presence of infinitival agreement in Agartala Bangla:

(57) kɔmɔla$_k$ mala$_l$-re koi-s-e (je)
    Kamala Mala-ACC tell-PRES.PERF-3 COMP (IC)

    mala$_l$/tai$_{*k/l/*m}$ bazar-ɔ zai-t-ɔ$_l$
    Mala/she market-LOC go-INF-3

    'Kamala asked Mala to go to the market.'

(58) ami$_k$ sa-i ze ami$_k$ khai-t-am
    I want-PRES.1 COMP (IC) I eat-INF-1

    'I want to eat.'

Note that in (59) overt controllee is not permitted in the absence of infinitival agreement in Agartala Bangla. Thus, the controllee in this case is null and it is PRO as (60) illustrates.

Overt controllee not permitted in the absence of infinitival agreement in Agartala Bangla:

(59) *kɔmɔla$_k$ mala$_l$-re koi-s-e (je)
    Kamala Mala-ACC tell-PRES.PERF-3 COMP (IC)

    mala$_l$/tai$_{*k/l/*m}$ bazar-ɔ zai-te
    Mala/she market-LOC go-INF
    'Kamala asked Mala to go to the market.'

(60) kɔmɔla$_k$ mala$_l$-re koi-s-e -
    Kamala Mala-ACC tell-PRES.PERF-3 -

    PRO$_l$ bazar-ɔ zai-te -
    Mala/she market-LOC go-INF -
    'Kamala asked Mala to go to the market.'

In Kokborok, the use of *je* is a borrowed construct which exhibits syntactic implications of Initial Complementizer (IC) as it is in Agartala Bangla. The typology of complementation

structure in SALs, as suggested in Subbārāo (2012a: 193), shows that Indo-Aryan languages exhibit both Initial and Final Complementizer clauses (IC and FC), Munda languages (except Mundari and Khasi (Mon-Khmer)) exhibit the Initial Complementizer (IC) clause, and all Tibeto-Burman languages and most of the Dravidian languages have the Final Complementizer (FC) clause. Thus, the FC-clause in Kokborok, a Tibeto-Burman language is characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman family. The FC in Kokborok is *hinii* and in Agartala Bangla it is *boilla*. The IC in both is *je*. The examples (61)-(64) are illustrative.

FC-clause in Kokborok:

(61) *akuŋ*   [*khumti*   *naithɔk*   **h*inii***]   *sa-kha*
      Akung.NOM   Khumti.NOM   beautiful   that (FC)   tell-PST
      'Akung said that Khumti is beautiful.' (Subbārāo 2012a: 194)

IC-clause in Kokborok:

(62) *khumti*   *sa-kha*   [*je*   *khumpui*   *lum-kha*]
      Khumti.NOM   tell-PST   that (IC)   Khumpui.NOM   heat-PST
      'Khumti said that Khumpui had a fever.'

IC-clause in Agartala Bangla:

(63) *kɔmɔla*   *koi-l-ɔ*   [*je*   *mala-r*   *zɔr*   *ai-s-e*]
      Kamala.NOM   tell-PST   that (IC)   Mala-GEN   fever   come-PERF.PRES.3
      'Kamala said that Mala had a fever.'

FC-Clause in Agartala Bangla:

(64) *kɔmɔla*   [*mala-r*   *zɔr*   *ai-s-e*   *boilla*]   *koi-l-ɔ*
      Kamala.NOM   Mala-GEN   that (IC)   come-PST.3   that (FC)   tell-PST
      'Kamala said that Mala had a fever.'

The instance of overt controllee is available only in the IC clauses in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. It is absent in Bangla as the ungrammaticality in (65) suggests. Example (66) shows that the infinitival clause is not embedded within the IC-clause and it is devoid of the overt controllee in the embedded subject position. Instead, the embedded subject manifests as PRO.

Overt controllee not permitted in Bangla:

(65) **kɔmola*   *mala-ke*   *bol-l-o*   *je*   *mala*   *bajar-e*   *je-te*]
      Kamala.NOM   Mala-ACC   say-PST-3   that (IC)   Mala.NOM   market-LOC   go-INF
      'Kamala asked Mala to go to the market.'

Overt controllee replaced by PRO in the infinitival clause in Bangla:

(66) kɔmola   mala-ke   bol-lo   [PRO   bajar-e   je-te]
       Kamala.NOM   Mala-ACC   say-PST-3   market-LOC   go-INF
       'Kamala asked Mala to go to the market.'

3.2.1 pro (not PRO) as null controllee

The manifestation of the overt subject in the infinitival clause leads to the phenomenon of null pro in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla as it is in Greek and Korean. The perception and knowledge verbs such as *know* and the beginning or continuing verbs such as *start*, *stop*, etc. do not allow manifestation of the overt controllee in the embedded subject position in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla as shown in Greek as (45) illustrates. In concurrence with the overt controlled subject in the embedded subject position in Agartala Bangla as in (55)-(58), the null subject in the infinitival clause in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla is argued to be pro if not PRO as illustrated in (67)-(70). There is no SAL studied so far (except these two), which provides evidence of null pro in the control structures. Note that the controllee in the overt form in Agartala Bangla occurs only in the presence of the infinitival agreement provided the infinitival clause is embedded within an IC-clause with *je* as the initial complementizer. Elsewhere, the null subject is PRO as in (71).

Null pro in Kokborok:

(67) $khumpui_i$ si-ɔ   [pro_i masa-nani]
       Khumpui   know-PRES   dance-INF
       'Khumpui knows how to dance.'

(68) *khum- si-ɔ   [khum-   masa-nani]
       pui   pui
       Khum-   know-PRES   Khum-   dance-INF
       pui   pui
       'Khumpui knows how to dance.'

Null pro in presence of infinitival agreement in Agartala Bangla:

(69) $mala_i$ zan-e   [pro_i nas-t-ɔ]
       Mala.NOM   know-PRES.3   dance-INF-3
       'Mala knows how to dance.'

(70) *$mala_i$ zan-e   [$mala_i$ nas-t-ɔ]
       Mala.NOM   know.PRES-3   Mala.NOM   dance-INF-3
       'Mala knows how to dance.'

PRO in absence of infinitival agreement in Agartala Bangla:

(71)   *mala*ᵢ   *zan-e*   [PROᵢ   *nas-te*]

      Mala.NOM   know-PRES.3   dance-INF

      'Mala knows how to dance.'

The infinitival INFL in both Kokborok and Agartala Bangla exhibits a strong nominative case feature and is thus capable of checking the nominative feature of the overt controllee in the embedded subject position. Therefore, when it comes to specific category of verbs such as perception verbs and beginning or continuing verbs, the null element is obligatorily a pro. The lexical controllee in the embedded subject position occurs only in the IC clause and thus the null element in certain cases occurs as pro. When the infinitival clause occurs within an FC clause, the controllee is null. No overt controllee is permissible in the subject position of the FC clause. Thus, the null subject, in this case, is PRO if not pro. Examples (72) and (73) are illustrative. In addition, PRO in both the languages occurs even when the infinitival clause occurs *in situ*. In this case, the controller and the controllee occur adjacently which is why an overt leads to ungrammaticality. Therefore, the infinitival subject is null i.e., PRO as (74) and (75) suggest.

Overt controllee not permitted when infinitival clause is embedded within an FC clause:

(72) Kokborok

    *khumti*ₖ   [**khumti*ₖ/*bɔ*ₖ/*l*/*ₘ/PROₖ   *bazar-ɔ*   *thaŋ-nani*

    Khumti   Khumti/she   market-LOC   go-INF

    hinii]   *phiyɔgnai*ᵢ-*nɔ*   *sa-kha*

    COMP (FC)   Phiyognai-ACC   tell-PST

    'Khumti said to Phiyognai that she would go to the market.'

(73) Agartala Bangla

    *kɔmɔla*ₖ   *mala*ᵢ-*re*   [**mala*ᵢ/*tai*ₖ/*l*/*ₘ/PROₗ   *bazar-ɔ*   *zai-t-ɔ*

    Kamala   Mala-ACC   Mala/she   market-LOC   go-INF-3

    boil-la]   *koi-s-e*

    COMP (FC)   tell-PRES.PERF-3

    'Kamala asked Mala to go to the market.'

PRO in Infinitival clause occurring *in situ*:

(74) Kokborok

    *khumti*ᵢ   [PROᵢ   *aŋ-bai*   *kɔk*   *sa-nani*]   *nai-ɔ*

    Khumti   I-with   talk   tell-INF   want-PRES

    'Khumti wants to talk to me.'

(75) Agartala Bangla

mala$_i$	[PRO$_i$	*amar*	*lɔge*	*kɔta*	*koi-te*]	*sa-y*$_i$
Khumti		I-GEN	with	talk	tell-INF	want-PRES.3

'Khumti wants to talk to me.'

3.3 Overt controllee and Binding principles

The previous section has drawn the picture of overt controllee in the embedded infinitival clause which demonstrates non-distinct copies in the same c-commanding domain. This, as a result, leads to the violation of Linear Axiom Correspondence (LCA) – a case not observed in any SALs so far studied except these two languages. Roy and Kumar (in press) mention the instance of overt controllee in Agartala Bangla to draw the distinction between Bangla and Agartala Bangla as Bangla does not have overt controllee as in (77). (76) and (77) show the distinction in the two varieties of Bangla. Kokborok too like Agartala Bangla exhibits overt controllee as (78) illustrates.

(76) Agartala Bangla

kɔmɔla$_i$	*sa-y*	*kɔmɔla/tai*$_i$	*bat*	*khai-t-ɔ*
Kamala	want-PRES.3	Kamala/she	rice	eat-INF-3

'Kamala wants to eat rice.'

(77) Bangla

kɔmola$_i$	*ca-y*	PRO$_i$	*bhat*	*khe-te*
Kamala	want-PRES.3	Kamala/she	rice	eat-INF

'Kamala wants to eat rice.'

(78) Kokborok

khumpui$_i$	*nai-ɔ*	*khumpui$_i$/bɔ*$_i$	*mai*	*ca-nani*
Khumpui	want-PRES.3	Khumpui/she	rice	eat-INF

'Khumpui wants to eat rice.'

A similar case of Copy Control is pointed out in Polinsky & Potsdam (2006) wherein San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec allows two non-distinct copies in the same c-commanding domain as in (79) which apparently leads to LCA violation.

(79) San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec

[*r-càà'z*   *Gye'eihlly*]   *g-auh*

hab-want   Mike   IRREALIS-eat

Gye'eihlly   *bxaady*

Mike   grasshopper

'Mike wants to eat grasshopper.' (Polinsky & Potsdam 2006: 11)

Lee (2003) notes that San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec (henceforth, Zapotec) and Thai apparently violate binding principles in allowing bound pronouns and bound R-expressions in the local domain as such instances lead to clear violation of Principle B and Principle C of the binding theory (cf. Chomsky 1981). The examples (80)-(82) are as follows. Zapotec shows violation of Principle B and C as the pronoun *la'anng* and the R-expression *Gye'eihlly* are bound within the local domain and Thai shows violation of Principle C as the R-expression *John* gets bound by its antecedent *John* within the local domain.

(80) San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec

R-yu'laaa'z   *Gye'eihlly*   *Gye'eihlly*

HAB-like   Mike   Mike

'Mike likes himself.' (Lee 2003: 84)

(81) San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec

R-yu'laaa'z-eng   *la'anng*

HAB-like-3S.PROX   3S.PROX

'He/she likes himself/herself.' (Lee 2003: 84)

(82) Thai

John   *koonnuat*   *John*

John   shaved   John

'John shaved himself.' (Lee 2003: 84)

A similar case is observed in Agartala Bangla where Principle B is violated. In (83a), the pronoun *hæ* 'he' is bound in the local domain which suggests Principle B violation. There is no bound R-expression in Agartala Bangla (84b). In (84a), the R-expression *ram* expresses a different entity as the co-indexation suggests. Bangla does not permit any such violation as (85a,b) and (86a,b) illustrate. Kokborok too does not exhibit any instance of bound pronoun or bound R-expression as in (87a,b) and (88a,b). We have consulted with several Kokborok speakers during our field trip. No such instance could be traced in Kokborok.

(83) Agartala Bangla

a. $hæ_i$ $hæ_i$-$ræ$ bala fa-y
he-NOM he-ACC likes.PRES.3
'He loves himself.'

b. $hæ_i$ $hæ_k$-$ræ$ bala fa-y
he-NOM he-ACC likes.PRES.3
'He$_i$ loves him$_k$.'

(84) Agartala Bangla

a. ram_i ram_k-$ræ$ bala fa-y
Ram-NOM Ram-ACC likes.PRES.3
'Ram$_i$ loves Ram$_k$.'

b. *ram_i ram_i-$ræ$ bala fa-y
Ram-NOM Ram-ACC likes.PRES.3
'Ram$_i$ loves Ram$_i$.'

(85) Bangla

a. *o_i o_i-ke bhalo ba-še
he/she-NOM he/she-ACC likes.PRES.3
'He/she loves himself/herself.'

b. o_i o_k-ke bhalo ba-še
he/she-NOM he/she-ACC likes.PRES.3
'He/she$_i$ loves him/her$_k$.'

(86) Bangla

a. ram_i ram_k-ke bhalo ba-še
Ram-NOM Ram-ACC likes.PRES.3
'Ram$_i$ loves Ram$_k$.'

b. *ram_i ram_i-ke bhalo ba-še
Ram-NOM Ram-ACC likes.PRES.3
'Ram$_i$ loves Ram$_i$.'

(87) Kokborok

a. *$bɔ_i$ $bɔ_i$-nɔ ham-jag-ɔ
he.NOM he-ACC love-EM PRED-PRES
He loves himself.'

b. *bɔ*ᵢ   *bɔ*ₖ*-nɔ*   *ham-jag-ɔ*

    he/she.NOM   he/she-ACC   love-EM PRED-PRES

    He/sheᵢ loves him/herₖ.'

(88) Kokborok

a. *khumpui*ᵢ   *khumpui*ₖ/*ᵢ*-nɔ*   *ham-jag-ɔ*

    he/she.NOM   he/she-ACC   love-EM PRED-PRES

    Khumpuiᵢ loves Khumpuiₖ.'

b. **khumpui*ᵢ   *khumpui*ᵢ*-nɔ*   *ham-jag-ɔ*

    he/she.NOM   he/she-ACC   love-EM PRED-PRES

    Khumpuiᵢ loves Khumpuiᵢ.'

3.3.1 The analysis

Boeckx et al. (2007) explain overt controllee in the light of movement. It is shown that the overt controllee in the embedded subject position which leads to the apparent violation of LCA, actually takes the shape of a reflexive in Zapotec. As a result, although it apparently seems to violate LCA, the overt controllee imposes no barrier to the linearization of the structure as the overt controllee no longer exists as a non-distinct copy in the c-commanding domain. It takes the form of a different lexical entity. The lower copy copies out of the embedded subject position and merges with the matrix clause. Later at PF, the lower copy adjoins to a covert head which is a reflexive (a self-reflexive). Thus, the lower copy takes a different form of word and escapes deletion as linearization cannot see into the word structure. Lee (2003) and Boeckx et al. (2007) take the context of VP ellipsis to show that the bound pronoun in the direct object position actually exhibits the form of a reflexive by suggesting a sloppy reading. Examples (89) and (90) suggest nothing other than a sloppy reading.

(89) San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec

    R-yu'làaa'z-ëng   *la'anng*   *chiru'*   *zë'cy cahgza'*   *Gye'eihlly*

    HAB-like-3S.PROX   3S.PROX   also   likewise   Mike

    'S/he likes her/him-self, and Mike does too (like himself/*her/*him)'

(Boeckx et al. 2007: 2)

(90) San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec

    B-gwi'ih   *Gye'eihlly*   *lohoh*   *Gye'eihlly*   *zë'cy cahgza'*   *Li'eb*

    PERF-look   Mike   at   Mike   likewise   Felipe

    'Mike looked at himself and Felipe did too (look at himself/*Mike)'

(Boeckx et al. 2007: 2)

Here, we do not go into the detailed account of the movement theory of the overt controllee and the theoretical approaches of ellipsis in Zapotec as we are yet to understand the mechanism of the non-distinct copy of the overt controllee in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla. Unlike Zapotec, the pronoun in Agartala Bangla exhibits only strict reading in the context of ellipsis. Example (91) is illustrative. The sloppy reading is available only in the presence of reflexive, as (92) suggests.

Example of VP-ellipsis in Agartala Bangla:

(91)   *tai*$_i$ *tai*$_i$-*re*   *bala fa-y*   *kɔmɔl-ɔ*
       she   she-ACC   love-PRES.3   Kamal-EMPH
       'She$_i$ loves herself$_i$, and Kamal$_k$ too loves her$_i$/*himself$_k$.'

(92)   *tai*$_i$ *nize*$_i$-*re*   *bala fa-y*   *kɔmɔl-ɔ*
       she   self-ACC   love-PRES.3   Kamal-EMPH
       'She$_i$ loves herself$_i$, and Kamal$_k$ too loves himself$_k$/*her$_i$.'

As illustrated in (87a,b)-(88a,b), Kokborok does not exhibit any bound pronoun and bound R-expressions which is why the above explanation does not apply to Kokborok. In Agartala Bangla too, the analysis does not pave the way towards explaining the nature of the overt controllee to be a reflexive as the bound pronoun retains its shape and the sloppy reading of the object reflexive is never attained. Thus, further investigation is necessary to provide an explanation for the Principle B violation in Agartala Bangla and the LCA violation in both Kokborok and Agartala Bangla in order to provide a clear picture of the phenomenon of Copy Control in both the languages. This phenomenon of LCA violation in the phenomenon of Copy Control in the infinitival clauses in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla is, thus, unique to the SALs studied so far. We need more data from the field to further investigate on the phenomenon.

Conclusion

This paper has described the distribution of the three types of control in Kokborok: Forward Control, Backward Control, and Copy Control and has examined the cases of syntactic changes in the control structures in Kokborok resulted due to the contact with a genetically different language – Agartala Bangla spoken in its proximity for a prolonged time. The genitive case-marked experiencer subject in Kokborok is an instance of borrowed phenomenon which finds implications in forming the strategy of Copy Control in the presence of experiencer predicates. In addition, the instance of overt controllee and the violation of LCA in Kokborok and Agartala Bangla – an instance unique to SALs, is too a borrowed construct leading to syntactic convergence in Kokborok. Thus, this paper, in addition to drawing upon the phenomenon of language contact and convergence in Kokborok control structures, projects a control phenomenon which all the more deviates from the classic concept of PRO. This, in turn, brings out a unique property of control

not so far documented in any SALs except Kokborok and Agartala Bangla – the two SALs under study.

Abbreviations

1 – 1ˢᵗ person; 3 – 3ʳᵈ person; ACC – accusative; CL – classifier; COMP – complementizer; CONJ – conjunction; CPM – conjunctive participle marker; DAT – dative; EMPH – emphatic; EM PRED–emotional predicate; FC – Final Complementizer; FIN – finite; GEN – genitive; HAB – habitual aspect; IC – Initial Complementizer; IMPERF – imperfective aspect; INF – infinitive; LOC – locative case; NEG – negative; NOM – nominative; NPI – Negative Polarity Item; PERF – perfective aspect; PERF PPL – perfect participle; PRES – present tense; PROX – proximate; PST – past tense; S – singular; SUBJ – subjunctive; VOL – volition.

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