A SYNTACTICO-SEMANTIC EXPOSITION OF MALAYALAM EXPLICAOTR COMPOUND VERBS

by

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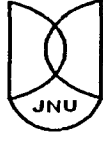partial fulfilment of the
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This dissertation titled "**A Syntactico Semantic Analysis of Malayalam Explicator Compound Verbs**" submitted by me, for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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EXPLICATOR COMPOUND VERBS

Explaining the phenomenon of complex predicate has been a real impediment for the linguistic theory. As everyone is aware the focus of a clause structure is the predicate. The must have of the predicate, the verb, that permits or precludes other sentence elements to complete the predication, takes different forms. One of the many forms that the verb can take is christened Explicator Compound Verb (ECV). In this work I pursue how these verbs in Malayalam are structurally coded and what semantic imports it give.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section unfolds the awful array of complex predicates and narrows it down to the central theme of this dissertation that of ECVs. The next section introduces ECV and discusses the definitional criterion and issues, the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of the construction in general. To tease apart the ECVs from other concatenation of verb there has been many tests proposed in the literature. A short discussion of this leads to some Malayalam specific test which identifies and consolidates the area of this dissertation. In the next section the general facts about Malayalam are given. Discussions with ample examples

introduce the semantics of these construction and opens up the flood gate of questions that drive the next two chapters of this work. The chapter is wrapped up with the combinatorial possibilities of the Malayalam ECVs.

1.1. Complex predicates

Complex predicates are a major feature of the world languages and is a common phenomenon that cuts across language families. 'The term complex predicate is commonly used to designate a construction that involves two or more predicational elements (such as nouns, verbs and adjectives) which predicate as a single element, i.e., their arguments map onto a monoclausal syntactic structure' (Butt, 2003: 1-2). Complex predication, a multi-word expression, is a combination of a light verb and another predicating word that belong to different syntactic categories. This opens up a colossal cauldron of predicate classes. Complex predicates 'in which language can take different forms include a noun verb combination[1] (N- V), an idiomatic V- V sequence (where neither V1 nor V2 is the semantic head), an adverbial V- V

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1 In the example John took a plunge into the pool. That is, one does not actually physically "take" a "plunge" but rather one "plunges". The intuition behind the term "light" in these constructions is that these cannot be said to be predicating fully. The verbs therefore seem to be more of a verbal licenser for nouns. However, the verbs are clearly not entirely devoid of semantic predicative power either: there is a clear difference between take a bath and give a bath. The verbs thus seem to be neither at their full semantic power, nor at a completely depleted stage. Rather, they appear to be semantically light in the sense that they are contributing something to the joint predication. However, exactly what this component is, is relatively difficult to characterize. (Butt, 2003)

sequence (where the V2 is the semantic head and V1 specifies further meaning to V2), a serial verb construction[2] (where both V1 and V2 have their meaning expressed in the sentence), V- V (where V2 is the auxiliary), and V-V(ector) sequence (where V1 is the semantic head).

To illustrate this point further, consider the examples from Malayalam below (1-6). These series of verbs that occur in a sentence have varied function ranging from the main predication of the sentence to giving some aspectual, modal, tense and other markers and still others that function as pre- verbal adjuncts modifying the main verb.

1. Ramane sambhavam oorma vannu (N+ V)

   ram-dat incident memory come-pst

   Ram remembered the incident.

2. Raman naan paranathu cirichu thaLi (idiomatic construction)

   ram I said-noml laugh-prt push-pst

   Ram disliked/discarded what I said.

3. Raaman schoolil ninu nadannu vannu (adverbial construction)

   ram school-loc walk-prt come-pst

   Ram came walking from school.

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2 Serial verb construction refers to a concatenation of V1 and V2 where both are full lexical verbs and can predicate in their own right. The verbs share at least one argument (or all) and that the two verbs are marked as a single unit for tense, aspect, and polarity marking.

4. raman vastram alakki uNakki thechu vech-u (serial verb construction)

    ram cloth wash-prt dry-prt press-prt keep-pst

    Ram washed dried and pressed is clothes.

5. Raaman vannukoNdirikkuka aaNe (auxiliary verb)

    ram come-prog be (eq)-prs

    Ram is coming.

6. Raaman katha ezhuti thannu (V- Vector)

    ram story write-prt give-pst

    Ram wrote a story for me.

As Babu (2008) has argued, the serial verb construction in Malayalam has a series of different interpretations that primarily depend upon the participle that is used in conjunction with the V1. This is also the view that Asher and Kumari (1997) hold. The participle suffix -iTe (7a) states that the E1 occurred before the E2 whereas -uvaan (7b) orders the event reciprocally, that is the E2 occurred before the E1. The third suffix -i (7c) do not clearly order the event as the other two does but rather give simultaneity or overlapping of the events described.

7a. avan paadiyiTu kuLichu

   he sing-PP bath-pst

   He sang and then took a bath.

7b. avan paaduvaan kuLichu

   he sing-PP bah-pst

   He took a bath for singing.

7c. avan paadi kuLichu

   he sing-PP bah-pst

   Singing, he took a bath.

Jesperson (1954) was the first to use the term 'light verb' to refer to a class of verbs that are semantically bleached and that lack the thematic force to function as predicates by themselves. In time, the term grew to cover a variety of constructions- through Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) analysis of Japanesse *suru* 'do' (N+V), Romance periphrastic causatives with 'make' (V+V) analysis of Rosen (1989), the analysis of complex predicates in the south Asian languages by Abbi (1994), Mohanan (1994), Butt (1995) (which later came to be called the V+ Vector combination). However, the basic sense of the term has remained as in Jesperson's original formulation.

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This long history has presented us with different analysis and above all a muddle of nomenclatures. Each of the above mentioned combinations came to be identified with a different name on the basis of who works on what. Bowern (2008) states that among other constructions the term complex predicates came to include abstract finals and bipartite verb stems, of Algonquian (Quinn 2006), Algic (Garrett 2004) and Athapaskan (Rice 2000); verbal classifier constructions (in Signed Languages, cf. Benedicto et al. 2007); and incorporation phenomena, such as noun incorporation, preposition incorporation (Baker 1988, Garrett 1990), particle verbs, and pseudo-incorporation (Massam 2001).

This list makes it clear that complex predicates as described by the aforementioned grammarians are heterogeneous. These studies mentioned above had made many distinctions between these concatenations and group them in very many different ways. All these sequences are formally identical in the sense that the first element is in a non- finite form followed by the second element in a finite form and the predicate structure (or event structure) is determined by more than one element. Formal criteria alone are thus inadequate to make the distinctions and isolate the complex predicates.

Although reasons of space and scope prevent a fuller discussion of the debate about nomenclature of complex predicates in any detail here, it

must be acknowledged that differences in nomenclature signify the kind of syntactic approaches that are taken to complex predicate phenomena. I will begin my discussion of the V-Vector complex predicate by considering various approaches to this phenomenon in Section 1.2. Section 1.3. considers the properties of Malayalam V-vector compounds, in terms of their morphology, semantics and syntax. Section 1.3 concludes the discussion, by identifying the questions that this dissertation seeks to examine, and by providing an outline of the dissertation.

1.2. Explicator Compound Verbs (ECV)
1.2.1. Definitional Criteria and Other Issues

Syntactic typology names the V-Vector construction as an Explicator Compound Verb (ECV), and finds it to be a major areal feature of South Asian languages. According to Abbi (1991) ECV refers to 'a sequence of two verbs V1 and V2, where the first member is the main or predicating verb and the second member, although, homophonous with an independent verb in the language, does not appear in its primary lexical meaning; V2 only occurs in the sequence to mark the main verb for certain 'grammatical' features. Thus an ECV designates two verbs (or more as in Dravidian) acting as one verb.' The second verb is responsible for the aspect, evidence, mood, manner and attitude expressed in the sentence.

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The major characteristic of the ECV construction as enumerated by Abbi and Gopalakrishnan (1992 & 2004) are the following:

1. V1 is morphologically non-finite

2. V1 is the functionally finite verb form (the semantic head of the sentence)

3. V2 (Explicator) is the morphologically finite verb form

4. V2 contribute specific shades of meaning to the main verb that it would not indicate outside these constructions

5. Explicators belong to a closed set of limited members

6. Explicators can always be replaced by the less marked simple verbs

7. Explicators are homophonous with a main verb in the language

As we can see the explicator/vector verb (V2) plays an important role in identifying ECVs. Gopalakrishnan and Abbi (1992) also asserts that the definitional features of ECV makes the explicator the crucial component in the identification of ECVs. As stated earlier, ECV being a defining feature of South Asian Linguistic Area, the explicator and its subclass assume significance in the description of the syntactico-semantic aspects of the area. On the subject of vectors, they assert that "The second, delexicalized verb form is known as 'operator', 'vector', 'explicator'... It is indeed the above noted "non-lexical occurrence"

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(Hook) or "lexical emptying" (Masica) of the second verb form that is specifically seen as a distinguishing trait of ECVs ... although delexicalized, the explicator is not without function for it systematically contributes specific shades of meaning to the main verb.... [3]

1.2.2. Morphology, Syntax and Semantics

Some scholars define explicator/vector verb as a verbal element that is structurally defective in some way. They are defective in such a manner that they may have an empty (Grimshaw and Mester 1988) or reduced (Bowern 2004b, Butt 1995) argument structure; they do not assign theta-roles. They are also semantically deficient or 'light', in that they add shades of semantic interpretation to the clause which are not very specific. The proponents of this add that they are frequently either phonologically null or (if they are overt) as act merely as a host for the phi feature agreement and tense morphology. The first verb in an ECV construction has been variously called the main verb, the polar verb or the principal verb whereas the second verb in the sequence has been called operator, vector, explicator, auxiliary, intensive auxiliary and also light verb. As in this dissertation I am concerned mostly with the second verb or the explicators here after I call them the Light verbs.

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3 Devi Gopalakrishnan and Anvita Abbi. 'The Explicator Compound Verb: some definitional issues and criterion for identification'. Indian Linguistics vol.53 no1 4 1998 p.28

Putting aside the light verbs as a verb form only to mark the main verb for certain 'grammatical' features is to be closely looked at. And in addition the position of a light verb as a 'grammatical' element must be re-examined. However, some scholars have tacitly agreed upon the role they play in the semantics of the whole construction. The analysis of the function of the light verb in the compound is a contentious one. According to Pardeshi (2001) scholars are divided on this issue between ASPECT (Porizka 1967-69, Hook 1974, 1978, 1999, Nespital 1997, among others) and AKTIONSART (Masica 1976, 1991, Pandharipande 1990, 1993, Abbi & Gopalkrishnan 1991, among others). Pardeshi (2001) rejects both these analysis and claims that 'the selection of a particular vector and the semantic contribution that it makes (undesirability in the case of SIT and self-benefaction in the case of TAKE) is both well motivated and guided by the speaker's imaginative and embodied conceptualization of the given event.' The issue here is whether the light verb systematically provides syntactic and semantic interpretation to the complex predicates and if so what it is.

Taking the first characteristic feature that the V1 is morphologically finite, Abbi (2004) adds that Dravidian ECVs falls under core serialisation (as in Crowley's (1987) terms,) in that it is less condensed and each verb retains the morphological marking for subject agreement and the tense and aspect markings. But this is not the case with the Malayalam ECVs. The V1 takes a participle that has a default past

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tense marking (Asher and Kumari, 1997: p.79) and that the tense of the sentence depends upon the markings on the V2. Here I also take that the V1 is in a participle form but the participle construction has past tense marking is debatable. Thus we can have *paranu koduthu* (say gave), *paranu kodukunnu* (say giving), *paranu kodukkum* (say will give).

As far as the meanings indicated by the light verbs are concerned, Abbi and Gopalakrishnan (1991) groups them under three broad categories of aspectual, adverbial and attitudinal. These can be again subdivided into several discreet or sometimes overlapping subtypes. These are represented in Table 1. The aspectual subtype includes perfective, action drawn to the last point or action seen as a complete whole. The attitudinal subtype has the following sub heading of humility, contempt, respect and surprise at unexpectedness, undesirability, anger or disgust. Self benefaction, other benefaction, irreversible, got over with, definite, anticipatory, introvert action, overt action are the ones that fall under the adverbial non-manner heading. Whereas actions' suddenness, without volition, deliberate, done with difficulty or easily, done carelessly, violent, exhaustively done are part of the adverb manner group. The following table, adopted from Gopalakrishnan Abbi (1991), gives a brief sketch of the variety of meanings that different light verbs convey in South Asian languages.

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ADVERBIAL (MANNER)	ADVERBIAL (NON-MANNER)	ATTITUDINAL
Sudden/ abrupt uth 'rise" (Hindi)	Self-benefaction le 'take" (Hindi)	Humility KoLuka 'contain' (Mal)
Without volition par 'fall' (Hindi)	Other-benefaction de 'give' (Hindi)	Contempt le 'take' (Hindi)
Deliberate biDu 'leave' (Kannada)	Irreversible/withou t remedy garshun 'go' (Kashmiri)	Respect arul 'grace' (Tamil)
Done with difficulty biDu 'leave' (Kannada)	Done and completed with daal ' put' (Hindi)	Surprise at unexpectedness kaal 'go' (Kurukh)
Done easily Daal 'put' (Hindi)	Anticipatory action done in advance rekh 'keep' (Hindi)	Regret/ undesirability baiTh 'sit' (Hindi)
Done casually carelessly choR 'leave (Hindi)	Emphatic/ definite tshunun 'wear (Kashmiri)	Anger / disgust/ exasperation caaw 'die (Telugu)
Violent/ decisive/ drastic Daal 'put (Hindi)	Introvert action lai 'take (Punjabi)	Intensively/ exhaustively done Daal 'put (Hindi)
Overt action de 'give (Punjabi)		

Table I Semantics of ECV

Earlier analysis has focussed on the completive property of the light verb and have analysed almost all of them as having their primary function of aspectual.

It is not necessary that all the languages that have ECVs should have all these differential functions – some languages just have two or three of them while others instantiate all. While attempting a cross linguistic analysis the fact that the function of a light verb varies from language to language has to be kept in mind. Sometimes the same light verb may indicate different meanings in different languages while in some other cases to have the same meaning two different light verbs may be employed by the two languages in question. Then again light verbs can be multi- functional in that a light verb in a language can have more than one function. Though languages are not unrestrained they seem to employ more than one explicator to mark the same meaning.

1.2.3. Distribution: Tests for ECVs

Butt (1994) claims that 'Complex Predicates are monoclausal (primary predication): the light verb does not contribute its own separate domain of predication, rather it contributes information which interacts with the predicative power of the main verb.' Based on this central idea that complex predicated combine to predicate as a single element, Butt lists a set of tests to differentiate the complex predicates from the rest of the sequences. They include clitic climbing, passivization and reflexivization originally proposed by Perlmutter for Spanish and later adopted by Rosen primarily for French and Italian,

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negative polarity item given by Choi for Korean and Butt's on tests for Hindi/Urdu of object agreement, anaphora and control.

In the case of French (Rosen, 1989 and reproduced in Butt, 2003) the clitics climb to the higher verb in complex predicates (8b) whereas this is not possible if there is a bi- clausal structure (9b). The following pair of sentences showing the full form and the cliticized examples taken from Rosen illustrates this point.

8a. Jean a fait partir Marie

Jean has made go Marie

Jean made Marie go.

8b. Jean l'a fait partir

Jean her has made go

Jean made her go.

9a. Marie a entendu Pierre reciter las poemes

Marie has listened Pierre recite the poems.

Marie heard Pierre recite the poems.

9b. *Marie les a entendu Pierre reciter

Marie them has listened Pierre recite.

Marie heard Pierre recite them.

As cited in Butt (2003) Korean has a negative polarity item *anwu-to* (nobody) and *an* (not) that is in bold in the sentence (10), which together mean nobody. This must co-occur in the same clause (10b). If they do not the NPI meaning is not licensed and the sentence become ungrammatical (10a) as is shown in the two sentence below.

10a. *Chelswu-nun [anwu-to pam-ul ilk-ess-ta]-ko an

Chelswu-top nobody chestnut-acc eat-pst-decl-comp neg

malha-ess-ta say- pst-decl

Chelswu did not say that nobody ate the chestnut. (Korean)

10b. anwu-to pam-ul   an mek-E chiw-ess-ta

nobody   chestnut-Acc neg eat-E   clean-say-pst-decl

Nobody has eaten up the chestnut. (Korean)

The control operation can be understood form the Marathi examples given below (11), taken from Deoskar (2006). Deoskar argues that in the sentence "with the benefactive light verb *give* and the participial adverb *darvaajaa ughd-un* 'opening the door' only the matrix subject that can control the subject of the adverb i.e. in the example only Anjum and not Saddaf who can do the door-opening. She claims this because participial adverbs in Marathi are subject-controlled, just like they are in Hindi (Davison, 1985). This is in contrast with the bi-clausal

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construction where both the matrix subject and object can be controllers of the participial adverb. Here, the adverbial, which requires a subject controller, can be controlled by the subject PRO of the embedded clause (which in turn can be controlled by the subject or the object of the matrix clause). Since there is no embedded clause in the light verb construction, there is no embedded subject PRO; hence the adverbial can be controlled only by the subject DP and not the object". Below is a set of sentences form Marathi (11) and Hindi (12) which drives this point home.

11a. Anjum-ni_i   Saddaf-la_j [__ i,j darvaajaa ughd-un] saamaan aat the-un_{main} dila_{light}.

Anjum-ERG Saddaf-DAT door open-PRT luggage in keep-PRT give.PST.NEU

Anjum kept the luggage in for Saddaf after opening the door.

(Light Verb with participle adverb) (Deoskar (2006))

11b. Anjum-ni_i Saddaf-la_j [__ i,j darvaajaa ughd-un] saamaan aat thevaay-laa saangitla.

Anjum-ERG Saddaf-DAT door open-PRT   luggage in keep-ACC tell.PST.NEU

Anjum told Saddaf to keep the luggage in, having opened the door.(a bi-clausal construction) (Deoskar (2006))

12a. AnjUm=ne   sAddAf=ko   xAt   lıkh-ne   di-ya

Anjum.F=Erg Saddaf.F=Dat letter.M.Nom write-Inf.Obl

give Perf.M.Sg

Anjum let Saddaf write a letter. (Butt, 2005)

12b. AnjUm=ne   sAddAf=ko   cıtthi   lıkh-ne   d-i

Anjum.F=Erg Saddaf.F=Dat note.F.Nom write-Inf.Obl

give- Perf.F.Sg

Anjum let Saddaf write a note. (Butt, 2005)

In a simple clause when both the subject and the object are case marked and are not available for agreement, the verb looks for the next nearest available noun for control and if one is not present it will have the default masculine singular agreement. The two Hindi examples (12a and 12b) with the light verb 'give' follow the same pattern – the verb agrees with the indirect object so in the example (12a) the verb *diya* gets its masculine singular marker as a result of the agreement with *xat* a masculine singular noun and in (12b) the verb *di* gets feminine singular marking in accordance with the feminine singular noun *chitti*.

The above mentioned tests are purely language specific. Thus, only those languages with clitics can undergo the clitic climbing test and so is the case with control (languages that have agreement phenomenon),

NPI and others. Below, I take a look at the different tests that is applicable in Malayalam in order to establish monoclausality.

In Malayalam, there is a class of negative polarity item which require a clause-bound licensor. The word for nothing *onnum* will occur only with the sentential negation *illa*. The two examples (13a and 13c) give us a picture of how the NPI works fine either in a subordinate clause or in a main clause. The sentence becomes ungrammatical when the two words are distributed between the main clause and the subordinate clause. This is illustrated in example (13b).

13a. Ram **onnum** kazhichilla ennu sita parannu

ram nothing eat-neg   comp sita say-pst

Sita said that ram has not eaten anything.

13b. *ram **onnum** kazhiccu ennu sita parannilla

ram nothing eat-prt   comp sita say-neg-pst

Sita said that ram has not eaten anything.

13c. ram bakshanam kazhiccu ennu **onnum** sita parannilla

ram food   eat-prt   comp nothing sita say-neg-pst

Sita said nothing like ram has eaten food.

Now look at how this NPI behaves in a light verb construction. Data shows that the NPI *onnum* in a sentence with the benefactive light verb *pooyi* along with the main verb *ezhuti* behaves as it is expected in a monoclausal structure. The examples (14a- d) show that the NPI is licensed by negation even though it occupies different positions, which indicates that the two verbs in question are in the same clause.

14a. gita mohane   oru ezhutu ezhuti koduttu

Gita Mohan-acc one letter write-prt give-pst

Gita wrote a letter for Mohan.

14b. gita mohane   **onnum** ezhuti   **koduttilla**

Gita Mohan-acc nothing write-prt give-neg-pst

Gita wrote a letter for Mohan.

14c. gita **onnum** mohane   ezhuti   **koduttilla**

Gita nothing Mòhan-acc write-prt give-neg-pst

Gita wrote a letter for Mohan.

14d. **onnum** gita mohane   ezhuti   **koduttilla**

nothing Gita Mohan-acc write-prt give-neg-pst

Gita wrote a letter for Mohan.

1.2.4. Grammaticalisation

Another topic that has come under the preview of the light verb literature is grammaticalisation. Hook (1991) observes that the frequency with which light verbs occur in languages in the Indian sub-continent vary dramatically. On this basis he established a scale that starts from Kashmiri and Marathi, the languages that have the lowest text frequencies and reaches up to Hindi/Urdu, the language with the highest. He shows that a correlation can be established between the semantic weakening/bleaching of the light verbs in Urdu complex predicates and their greater textual frequency and concludes that light verbs in Hindi/Urdu are grammaticalised to a higher degree than in other closely related languages (like Marathi).

Grammaticalisation is a historical process which entails a stripping off of the lexical content of a word in order to reduce them (into one with grammatical meaning) into the role of functional elements. It not only changes a lexical word into a grammatical item, but may also shift an item "from a less grammatical space to a more grammatical status" (Lehmann, 2002). In a theory of grammaticalisation, the term 'grammaticality' would be needed to mean the degree of grammaticalisation which an element has reached. Thus the theory of Grammaticalisation describes a type of historical change which follows a developmental cline (Hopper and Traugott 1993). Along this gradient

of grammaticalisation, the loss of semantic content goes hand-in-hand with a progressive loss of the material integrity of a lexical item and a loss of its independent status in the syntax. Applied to light verbs, as is in our case, grammaticalisation can be seen as the transition point from full verb to auxiliary. An auxiliary is generally deemed to be more of a functional element than of a lexical element.

"Given that light verbs exhibit a fairly weak and elusive semantics, and given moreover that for each light verb a corresponding full verb variant can be found with a stronger meaning, it is tempting to assume that light verbs are diachronically derived via semantic bleaching of a full verb, and hence are the outcome of a grammaticalisation process. The central point of Hook (1991, 1993) is that he observes a correlation between the distribution of light verbs and their semantics: The more widespread light verbs are in a language, the more their meaning proves to be weak and detached from the lexical meaning of the homophonous full verb. This state of affairs shows that the range of uses is a direct result of the weakness of the lexical meaning, i.e. of the degree of semantic bleaching that they have undergone" (Butt, 2003). The Grammaticalisation Cline thus be like this- full verb > (light verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix. Butt and Lahiri (1998, 2004) further claim that a light verb construction is a type of linguistic 'dead end': that is, that it is highly stable once it arises, and does not participate in subsequent changes.

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Bowern (2007) takes an entirely different to look at the light verb from the point of view of the main predication and states that the 'overtly marked non-finite verb forms with defective argument structure appear not to give rise to serialization, but instead to light verb structures. That is, light verbs arise from structural asymmetries where the embedded item (verb, noun, etc) has argument assigning property and when it cannot satisfy itself. Serialization seems to arise from reduced coordination – either with an omitted conjunction, or from true parataxis (that is, clausal juxtaposition). Auxiliary constructions, however, seem mostly to arise in two situations: from copular constructions and from infinitives or switch-reference marked subordinate clauses (which are not finite in that their argument structure reference is determined by another verb in the clause). Harris and Campbell (1995:173ff) provide extensive discussion of auxiliary development.'

1.3. Malayalam ECVs: Syntax and semantics

1.3.1. The facts

Scholars have argued that the somewhat confined common set of light verbs from which different languages select theirs consists of *go, come, give, take, keep, put, sit* and *fall*. In the case of the Dravidian language

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family Malayalam records the second largest set of light verbs with the number amounting to ten, next only to Tamil. On the contrary Rajarajavarma (1986) has enlisted sixteen roots which function as *bedakaanuprayoogam*[4] or light verbs. As has been said earlier the light verbs are homophonous with a main verb in the language. The meaning of the light verb for interlinear translation in this work will correspond to the meaning of the main verb. Thus, in Malayalam *iduka* (put), *pookuka* (go), *kaLayuka* (discard), *koLLuka* (contain), *taLuka* (push), *kodukkuka* (give), *taruka* (give, self), *edukkuka* (take), *vaikkuka* (keep), *uNdakkuka* (make) act as the light verbs. Now let us look at the shades of meaning they give to a sentence. Following are pairing of sentences the first one (a) with the simple verb and the second the Explicator Compound Verb (b).

15a. Ram viidu paNithu

    ram house build-pst

    Ram build a house.

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4 Rajarajavarma (1986) defines *anuprayoogam* as a verbal element that act as a helping verb to another verb. He further states that it can be divided into three classes:

  1. *bedakaanuprayoogam-* that which gives some additional meaning to the main verb

  2. *kaalaanuprayoogam-* that which locates the event in the three tenses of past, present and future

  3. *puuranaanuprayoogam-* that fills the

15b. Ram viidu paNithu iTu

    ram house build-prt put-pst

    Ram build a house.

Across languages light verb constructions can sometimes be used for expressing the different points of events, as in the initial end point, a state prior to the commencement of the event, the final end point, which describes the entering into a new state and the resultant state arrived at as a result of the event. The Malayalam light verbs that perform these functions are *iTu* (the resultant state), *thudangi* (initial end point), *kazhinnu* (final end point). Sentences 15b, 16 and 17 represent these three functions in the given order.

16. Ram viidu paNithu thudangi

    ram house build-prt begin-pst

    Ram build a house.

17. Ram viidu paNithu kazhinnu

    ram house build-prt finish-pst

    Ram built a house.

Now we look at another meaning expressed by the light verbs that of undesirability or the occurring of an event that is contrary to the

expectations of the speaker. It includes the verbs for go and discard
pooyi and *kaLannu* respectively.

18a. ram peedichu

ram frighten-pst

Ram was frightened.

18b. ram peedichu pooyi

ram frighten-prt go- pst

Ram was frightened.

Here the light verb (18b) gives the meaning that the event of Ram
being frightened was undesirable. Gopalakrishnan and Abbi (1991)
have argued that 'the semantics of light verbs has a significant role to
play at the level of discourse'. Substantiating that line of observation
the frightened event heavily depends on the speaker's expectation on
how Ram should respond in a given situation. So in a situation where
the speaker expects Ram to get frightened then the sentence (18b) will
be infelicitous.

19a. sita paalu kudichu

sita milk drink- pst

Sita drank the milk.

19b. sita paalu kudichu kaLannu

sita milk drink-prt discard- pst

Sita drank the milk. (Sudden undesirable action)

Here again the light verb (19b) gives the interpretation that the event was undesirable according to the speaker. Over and above this there is the meaning of suddenness from the part of the agent in doing the event. So for the light verb discard to occur there should be an agent[5] (20a and 20b).

20a. *Chooru venthu kaLannu

rice   cook-prt discard-pst

The rice is cooked.

20b. raamu chooru veevichu kaLannu

ramu rice   cook-prt discard-pst

Ramu cooked the rice .

21a. Chooru venthu   pooyi

rice   cook-prt go-pst

The rice is cooked.

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21b. raamu chooru veevichu pooyi

    ramu   rice   cook-prt go-pst

    Ramu cooked the rice .

With these light verbs, because of the homophony with a main verb, there is also the possibility of analysing them as denoting two separate events. Thus one may notice two different translations for the same sentence. This can be disambiguated by adding an extra NP (for example a locative phrase) in between the two verbs as we can see from the example in (22). The extra element shatter the meaning of undesirability and so will not give rise to a possible light verb construction.

22a. avan mooLi paaTu Paadi   pooyi

    he hum-pp song sing-prt go pst

    He sang a song unfortunately.

22b. ?avan mooLi paaTu Paadi   pooyi

    he hum-pp song sing-prt go pst

    Humming a song he left.

22c. avan mooLi paaTu Paadi kuLimuriyilekku pooyi

    he hum-pp song sing-prt bathroom-all   go pst

    Humming a song he went to the bathroom. (Asher and Kumari, 1997)

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Earlier grammarians have pointed out that the light verb *koLLuka*
have different semantic functions. Duty, humility, permission are
some of them. The present day usage of the light verb is limited to
that of humility (23b).

23a. naan ningaLe svagatham ceyunnu

    I   he   welcome do-prs

    I welcome you.

23b. Naan ningaLe svagatham cheytu koLunnu

    I   he   welcome do-psrt contain-prs

    I welcome you with all humility.

The function of asking/ granting permission is done with a reduced
form of the same verb -*(k)ooLu*. (24a) grants the permission to write the
exam while (24b) is an instance of somebody asking permission to
write an exam on behalf of Raju.

24a. raju pariiksha ezhuti-kooLu ()

    raju exams   write- per

    Raju can write the exam.

24b. raju pariiksha ezhutikooTe

   raju exams   write- pst

   Can Raju write the exam?

25a. raju pariiksha ezhuti

   raju exams   write- pst

   Raju wrote the exam.

25b. raju pariiksha ezhuti   thaLi

   raju exams   write-prt push- pst

   raju wrote the exams in exess.

Another argument that is being raised in comparison with auxiliary is that the absence of an explicator in a verbal predicate does not entirely rule out the meaning expressed by it, in a way in which the absence of an auxiliary does.

26a. jon billinoode elaam parannu

   John bill-soc   all   tell-pst

   John said to bill everything.

26b. jon billine   elaam parannu koduthu

   John bill-dat all   tell-prt give-pst

   John told bill everything.

26c. *jon billine elaam parannu

　　　John bill-dat all tell-prt

　　　John told bill everything.

The above three examples (26a-c) show that the light verb *koduthu* determines the case marking of the noun phrase Bill. Although this is not a general phenomenon holding true for all Malayalam light verbs enumerated here, *koduthu* clearly exemplifies this. The object Bill is marked for dative only in the light verb construction (26b), and sociative case in the simple verb construction (26a). Here arises the need for a closer look at which all verbs have a direct influence on case assigning.

27. jon enikku katha parannu thannu

　　　john i-dat story tell-prt give-pst

　　　John told the story to me.

There are two verbs in the language corresponding to 'give' in English. 'Give1' *koduthu* is used when the benefactor is either a third person or a second person and 'give2' *thannu* is used only when the self is beneficiary. Below are other constructions involving the light verb.

28. jon paatram kazhuki eduthu

   john plate wash-prt take-pst

   John washed the plate for him.

29. mohan pennine kaNdu vechu

   mohan girl see-prt keep-pst

   Mohan saw the girl for him. (in advance)

30. avan oru katha ezhuthi uNdaaki

   he one story write- prt make-pst

   He somehow managed to write a story.

1.3.2. Malayalam Light Verbs: A Semantic Exposition

Verbs can be seen as lexical items that inherently describe different situation types. State predication includes their reference times, this also accounts for the fact the situations denoted by the stative predications are always temporally extensible. (E.g. the driver was Latvian = the driver still can be/ is.) Every event whether iterated or not has both an anterior state (the state that holds before the state occurs) and posterior state (the state that holds after the event has occurred)6. The difference between event and situation can be made with the help of the 'when' test by Vlach. The situation denoted by the main clause

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6 Laura Michaelis p. 11 & 14

can be construed as overlapping an event denoted by a temporal clause

introduced by 'when it is a state'. This can be divided into different sub

parts:

Verbs

Stative   Dynamic

Processes   Events

Inchoatives   resultatives
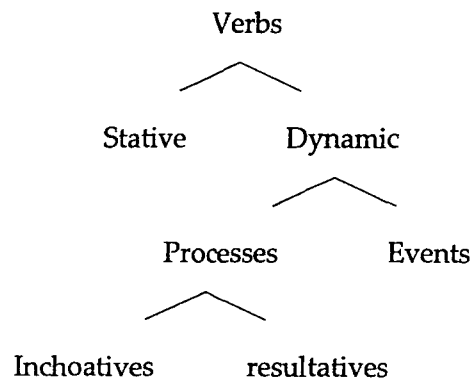
Processes can again be subdivided into durative versus punctual and

telic versus atelic. Following is the analysis of Malayalam vector verbs

based on four semantic features (three of them used by Smith):

Verbs	Stative	Durative	Telic	Inchoatives
Go (pookuka)	-	+	+	+
Discard (kaLayuka)	-	-/+	+	+
Push (thaLuka) '	-	-/+	+	+
Give1 (kodukkuka)	-	-	+	-
Give2 (tharika)	-	-	+	-
Take (edukkuka)	-	-	+	-
Keep (veykkuka)	-	+	+	-
Make (uNdakkuka)	-	-	-	-
Contain (kolluka)	+	-	+	+

Table II Featural analysis of Malayalam vectors

1.3.3. The combinatorial possibilities of ECVs

The combination of the light verb with more than one lexical verb in languages where they occur has led them to be being identified as 'grammatical' elements (Abbi, 1999). The light verbs degree of acceptability with complement across different verb classes is one area to look at. In this section I look at what are the combinatorial possibilities of a light verbs and the different semantic class as distinguished by Levin and Rappaport (1995). This class of intransitive verbs includes verbs of emission (1), verbs of inherently directed motion (2), verbs of manner of motion (3), verbs of existence and appearance (4), verbs of spatial configuration (5), verbs of disappearance (6), externally caused verbs of change of state (7) and internally caused verbs of change of state (8).

ECVs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Go	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Push	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Give1	N	N	N	N	?	N	N/Y	N
Give2	N	N	N	N	?	N	N/Y	N

Take	N	N	N	N	N	N	N/Y	N
Keep	N	N	N	N	N	N	N/Y	N
Make	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Contain	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Discard	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N/Y	N

Table III Combinatorial Possibilities of Light verbs

This table shows that the light verb go is the most productive among the lot.

Summary

So far we have seen what a complex predicate means and how ECVs fit into the schema. Thereafter we have looked at the specific characteristic of the light verbs as well as the ECV constructions. We have seen that monoclausality has emerged as the major class defining characteristic of complex predicates and that of the ECVs. The next section looked at the possible light verbs in Malayalam and defined the meaning that they convey. In the next chapter I take up two properties of the construction namely sensitivity to negation and the modification of the argument structure of the main verb and I look at how light verbs in Malayalam can be classified and implement a unified structure that these verbs enter into.

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Chapter 2

COMPATIBILITY WITH NEGATION AND THE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF ECV

Light verb constructions, or explicator compound verbs as they are called in the typological literature, are argued to have two defining features: sensitivity to negation and the ability to alter the argument structure of the main verb. In this chapter, I examine these two features -- negation in section 2.1, and argument structure in 2.2., and classify the range of light verbs/explicators into different semantic and syntactic classes. After an examination of how the Cinque hierarchy works in Malayalam in section 2.3, I propose a structural analysis of the light verb in Malayalam, in the final section 2.4, that plots light verbs as distributed across modal and aspectual heads.

2.1. Negation in Malayalam

All known human natural languages employ some means to overtly deny the truth of a proposition (Dahl, 1993). Malayalam, according to Asher and Kumari (1997) and Ravindran (2000), takes different sentence final forms for changing an affirmative statement into a

negative one. These authors have shown that sentence negation in Malayalam is differently expressed in copular sentences and verbal sentences. The copular sentences use the negatives *alla* and *illa* corresponding to the two copular verbs *aaNe* and *uNte*[7] respectively.

1a. raaman Doktar aaNe

　　Raman doctor be-prs

　　Raman is a doctor.

1b. raaman Doktar alla

　　Raman is not a doctor. (Asher and Kumari, 1997)

2a. kuTi viiTil uNTe

　　child house-loc be-prs

　　The child is at home.

2b. kuTi viiTil illa '

　　The child is not at home. (Asher and Kumari, 1997)

Now let us turn to the negation of non-copular sentences. In non-

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7 Though both these verb forms and negation element made out of them seem to occur in free variation Mohanan and Mohanan (2000) have conclusively argued that they are completely different forms with aaNe and uNTE expressing equative and existential copulas respectively. *aaNe* signals the meaning of "x is an

copular contexts, negation is effected by suffixing *illa* to the finite verb. Simple past and present tense forms take *illa* as a suffix with the loss of final *-u'*.

3a. avan avaLkku buke koduth-u

   he   she-dat   book give-pst

   He did not give her a book.

3b. avan avaLkku buke koduth-illa

   He did not give her book.

4a. Ram joli chey-unnu

   Ram job do-prs

   Ram is working.

4b. Ram joli chey-unn-illa

   Ram is not working.

Asher and Kumari (1997) also argue that the negative suffix is sensitive to differences in aspect and tense, particularly with future and perfect markings. As they put it (pg no, 152): "the manner of addition somewhat varies with different tense and aspectual forms."

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element/subset of y" and *uNTE* signals the meaning of existence of an abstract or

5a. Avan paThikk-um

he study-fut

He will study.

5b. Avan paThikk-uka-yilla

He will not study.

6a. Avar vann-iTT-uNT-aayirunnu

they come-perf-be.exis -be.eq-pst

They had come.

6b. Avar vann-iTT-ill-aayirunnu

They had not come.

6c. Avar vann-iTT-uNT-aayirunn-illa

They had not come.

I

Constituent negation is arrived at by the use of clefting[8] and attaching *alla* to the constituent that is to be negated. The sentences in (7) exemplifies these observation.

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concrete entity in the fields of location or possession.'

8   Clefting is achieved by nominalising the verb with 'ate' particle and adding the be equative form 'aaNe' at the verb final position. Here in the case of a negative sentence the *aaNe* is replaced by its negative counterpart *alla*.)

7a. avan avaLkku booku koduthu

He   she-dat   book   give-pst

He gave her a book.

7b. avan alla avaLkku booku koduthathu

he neg she-dat book give-nom-prs (subject)

It is not he that gave the book to her. (negating the subject NP)

7c. avan avaLkku alla booku koduthathu

he   she-dat neg   book   give-nom-prs (object)

It is not to her that he gave the book. (negating the DO NP)

7d. avan avaLkku booku alla koduthathu

he   she-dat   book neg   give-nom-prs (theme)

It is not the book that he gave her. (negating the IO NP)

7e. avan avaLkku booku koduthathu alla vittathu aaNu

he   she-dat   book   give-nom-prs neg   sell be-prs(event).

It is not the case that he gave the book to her but he sold it.

(negating the VP)

2.1.1. Negating the VP with a light verb

The sensitivity of a light verb to negation is considered a major class

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defining syntactic constraint on explicators/vectors by many of the scholars who have worked in this field (Hacker 1961, Pray 1970, to name a few). That is to say, sentences with a light verb cannot be negated or in other words, negative sentences use the simple form of the verb when negated. For example, consider the Malayalam examples below. It can be seen from (8b) that as the earlier studies suggested, an ECV construction do not allow negation, and if it is to be negated, then the simple verb counterpart must be used, as in (8c).

8a. Rames marichu pooyi

   Ramesh die   go

   Ramesh died.

8b. *Rames   marichu pooy-illa

   Ramesh die   go- neg

   Ramesh did not die.

   ₁

8c. Rames   marich-illa

   Ramesh did not die.

The light verbs *thaLi*, *kaLannu* in Malayalam also exhibit the same restrictions with respect to negation. However, as Abbi (1994) has pointed out, this does not hold true for all vectors, in both Dravidian as

well as some Indo- Aryan languages.[9] In Malayalam too, there are vectors that co-occur with negation without ungrammaticality. In the following set of sentences (9) the verb *thannu* (give) acts as the vector. If we employ the same strategy of negating as described above that is by deleting the light verb, the sentence will be grammatical yet semantically way apart from the light verb construction. The deletion of the light verb results in the absence of one of the object phrase as we can see form example 9d. If we force the object DP in the sentence, it will become ungrammatical (example 9c) as the verb *ezhuti* (write) subcategorises for only two DPs. (I return to this issue in greater depth in the next section).

9a. avan eni-kku katha ezhuthi thannu

    he i-acc   story write give-pst

    He wrote a story for me.

9b. avan eni-kku kàtha ezhuthi than-illa

    he i-acc   story write give-neg

    He did not write a story for me.

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9 These observations raise questions for considering the ECVs as an areal feature. If the light verb construction is considered to be an areal feature of the languages of the sub-continent, why do language families differ in one particular aspect of the construction? Are there different semantic and syntactic constraints in having the negation in a sentence with an ECV in these two language families?

9c. *avan eni-kku katha ezhuthi-yilla

    he i-acc   story write -neg

    He did not write for me a story.

9d. avan katha ezhuthi-yilla

    he   story write -neg

    He did not write a story.

Similar is the case with *thannu, eduthu* and *koduthu*. This data suggests a typology within the class of ECVs. Following suggestions by Pinker (1989), amongst others, let us assume that certain aspects of verb meaning are relevant to the syntax of the verb, while others are not so important. Then, the basis for this typology is that vectors that are inherently inchoatives are the only ones that exhibit sensitivity to negation.

However, it is not clear whether a semantic argument is adequate for describing the facts. Standardly, inchoatives are processes where the speakers' attention is directed to the beginning of a new state. For example, 'The ice melted.' or 'My hair turned grey.' Even if the event of melting is interrupted, or the hair stops turning grey, the predicates 'melting' and 'turning grey' are still true descriptions of what went on (Saeed; 2003; p. 120- 122). Given this much, it is difficult to explain why being under the scope of negation should semantically block

inchoative vectors, as all inchoatives indicate that the process of entering into a changed state necessarily exists. If indeed a semantic argument could be constructed, then negation should be blocked with inchoative main verbs as well. However, this is clearly not the case, as example 10 in Malayalam, and all the other languages in which inchoative vectors show sensitivity to negation, is perferectly grammatical:

10a. mannu uruk-i

snow melt-pst

The snow melted.

10b. mannu uruki-yilla

The snow did not melt.

Abandoning the quest for a semantic explanation for the distribution, it seems that we need a finer structural analysis of the phenomenon discussed above. In section 2.3. I argue that the different light verbs are base- generated in different structural positions in the functional sequence of Cinque (1999). The light verbs that are base-generated hierarchically higher with respect to the base generated position of negation are the ones that blocks negation. Before I do so, I examine the argument structure properties of light verbs/vectors in order to build further arguments for an analysis of these light verbs as instantiating

the functional sequence.

2.2. Argument structure

Research has tried to assimilate the semantic bleaching of light verbs to the cross-linguistically attested argument structure operations that result in the deletion or addition or modification of arguments. It is claimed that the Light Verbs do not possess a fully specified argument structure of their own because of a 'light' or 'de-lexicalised' form that results in them being unable to independently predicate of arguments.[10] To account for how such bleaching comes about several theories like verb raising (Hans 1988), argument promotion (Jayaseelan 1988, Yoon 1991, O'Grady 1992), unspecified argument structure (Di Sciullo and Rosen 1990), argument fusing (Mohanan 1994, Isoda 1991, Rosen 19989), etc have been proposed.

All these theories concur on one descriptive generalisation -- the light verb is incapable of fully realising its argument structure and that it relies heavily on some other elements (nouns, verbs, etc. - here in this context the main verb) for the argument structure realisation. A strong claim in these analyses is that the light verb lacks the force to contribute to the argument structure of the verbal complex, while a more moderate one is that the light verbs have enough semantic

specification so that they may control the arguments of the main verb (Doostan, 1997).

A stronger claim in the opposite direction is made by Das (2006), who states that the vecto verb plays a crucial role in deciding the thematic role and the valenc of the CV, as indicated by the generalisations in the table below. Thi amounts to a claim that even as the main verb is the semantic head of the complex predicate, the light verb is its syntactic head.

Main verb	Light verb	Complex verb
Intransitive	Intransitive	Intransitive
Transitive	Intransitive	Intransitive
Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive
Transitive	Transitive	Transitive

Table IV- the valency of a complex verb and its components

At an initial appra sal, Malayalam ECV constructions advocate the conclusions made by Das. The examples in 11 contain laugh (intransitive) as the main verb and push (transitive) as the light verb. The combination of these two verbs with the addition of an argument results in a transitiv verb complex. The unacceptability of the sentence 11b is due to the la ck of an overt argument that can take the theme

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10 As has been pointed ut earlier, the light verbs are actually verbs that have been grammaticalised for th

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theta role that is given by the light verb *push*.

11a. avan chirichu

He laugh-pst

He laughed.

11b. ?avan chirichu thaLLi

He laugh   push-pst

He laughed. (With contempt)

11c. avan aa sambavam chirichu thaLLi

He   that event/happening laugh   push-pst

He laughed at the event. (with contempt and suddenness)

Similar is the case when the ditransitive light verbs *koduthu* (give) or *thannu* are added to another transitive verb. In the following sentences (12), when the ditransitive give combines with a transitive main verb sing that takes only two arguments, we can see that the sentence is ungrammatical (12c) without the addition of an argument. The additional argument (12b) gets its accusative case from the light verb.

12a. avan oru paaTu paadi

he   one song sing-pst

He sang a song.

12b. avan ennikku oru paaTu paadi thannu

    he   I-acc   one song sing give-pst

    He sang a song for me.

12c. *avan ennikku oru paaTu paad-i

    he   I-acc   one song sing-pst

    He sang a song for me.

Thus, in the above cases the valency of the light verb decides the valency of the complex verb. However, on closer appraisal, this turns out not to be the case with all ECV constructions in Malayalam. Just as it was with the sensitivity to negation test, here too there is a clearly identifiable set of light verbs that do not impose their own argument structure requirements. Thus, argument structure realisation also becomes an identifiable property that creates the typology. Consider the examples in 13.

13a. naan siita-ykku bukke kodu-thu

    I   she- dat book -acc give-pst

    I gave her a book.

13b. naan siita-ykku bukke koduthu pooyi

    I   she- dat book-acc give-pst go-pst

    That I **gave** her a book was undesirable.

13c. naan koduthu pooyi

I give-pst go-pst

I gave. (Undesirable that I gave)

13d. bukke koduthu pooyi

book-acc give-pst go-pst

Gave the book. (undesirable that the **book** was given)

13e. siita-ykku koduthu pooyi

Sita- dat give-pst go-pst

Gave Sita. (Undesirable that it was given to **her**)

In these examples, the main verb *kodukkuka* (give) takes three argument, whereas the light verb *pookuka* (go) takes only one. If the argument structure specifications of the light verb indeed override those of the main verb, we would expect an intransitive construction. Certainly, examples 13c 13d and 13e appear to initially support this belief. However, on closer inspection, it turns out that the light verb in fact allows all the three arguments of the main verb to appear in the sentence overtly without rendering it ungrammatical. This we can observe from the sentence 13b which is not infelicitous. In 13b the entire event of giving the book was contrary to the speaker's expectation. On the other hand in the other three sentences the speaker evaluates the undesirability in relation to the different arguments.

Thus, in 13c it was undesirable that I gave the book, in 13d the speaker didn't expect that **the book** will be given whereas in 13e there would have been no problem with the speaker if the book was given to somebody else other than **Sita**.

Not only do the Malayalam facts indicate that a hypothesis that the valency of the verbal complex is dictated by the light verb is too strong, they also add a further burden of explanation – how and why does the light verb usage here add the meaning of undesirability in these examples? This phenomenon of an addition of a modal-like meaning correlating with the use of light verbs is a more general phenomenon as well.

It therefore seems that here too, a further typology of vector/light verbs is implicated, yielding two classes of ECVs: one set that dictate the valency of the verb, and others that do not have. In section 2.4., I develop an analysis that claims that those light verbs that are part of the VP shell dictate the terms as to what the valency of the ECV is to be. Light verbs higher on the functional sequence do not meddle with this aspect of the main verb, rather contribute modal meanings. In order to implement this analysis, however, I must first spell out the assumptions about the universal functional sequence and Malayalam clause structure that this analysis will make; this is done in the next section.

2.3. The Universal Functional Sequence and Malayalam clause structure

Cinque (1999) establishes a universal hierarchy of clausal functional heads based on a wide range of cross-linguistic data of head- marking in agglutinative languages. The claim is that the functional architecture of the clause, in all languages, is constituted by the same, richly articulated and rigidly ordered, hierarchy of functional projections.

[Mood speech act [Mood evaluative [Mood evidential [Mod epistemic [T past [T future [Mood irrealis [Mod alethic necessity [Mod alethic possibility [Asp habitual [Asp repetitive(I) [Asp frequentative(I) [Mod volition [Mod obligation [Mod ability/permission [Asp celerative(I) [T anterior [Asp terminative [Asp continuative [Asp perfect [Asp retrospective [Asp proximative [Asp durative [Asp generic/progressive [Asp prospective [Asp sg completive(I) [Asp pl completive(I) [Voice [Asp celerative(II) [Asp repetitive(II) [Asp frequentative(II) [Asp sg completive(II)]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

Cinque adduces support for this universal hierarchy by invoking the behaviour of adverbs, which he argues are distributed in distinct specifier positions of different functional heads of the hierarchy. The adverbs in the specifier position encode the same semantics as the heads to which it is attached– e.g., an Evaluative Mood projection hosts an evaluative mood affix in its head position and/or an evaluative adverb in its specifier.

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In the VP, where there are several cases of the same adverbs occurring in different positions, Cinque argues that the higher positioned adverbs quantify over the event and the lower positioned adverbs quantify over the action/ process the verb describes. Outside the VP, the claim is that the speaker oriented adverbs (including modal evaluative and pragmatic) occur before temporal adverbs anchored to speech time (with free distribution in relation to speaker adverbs). These are in turn is followed by subject oriented adverbs (namely *perhaps*).

2.3.1. Malayalam adverbs[11]

Adverbs according to Cinque occur in the specifier of the corresponding head. A first enquiry into the Malayalam adverbs show that the major categories of the functional hierarchy that of mood, tense, modal, aspect and voice occur in the order that Cinque has claimed to be universal.

14.   Eethaayalum prathamadrishtya apooL avan enthaayalum

       manapoorvam athu veegathil cheytha thaaNu

       in any case apparently then he possibly intentionally that

       quickly do- be. equative

In the above sentence evaluative mood adverb is followed by an evidential mood adverb then a past tense adverb. This is followed by the subject of the sentence. The subject is not a determining factor of the order of adverbs as the position of it can be swapped in between any two adverbs barring the restriction that the object and the verb should be after the subject in the linear order. This is followed by an adverb expressing the alethic possibility which in turn is followed by root modal of volitionality. The adverb that positions before the sentential predication is that of celerative aspect that scopes over the event. The ordering within each category is to some extent flexible.

15a. AnganeyaNenkil mikkavaRum avan varum

   perhaps   possibly he come-fut

   Perhaps possibly he will come.

15b. mikkavaRum AnganeyaNenkil avan varum

   possibly   perhaps   he come-fut

As we see in the Cinque hierarchy, there are two positions, one higher and the other lower, for repetitive, frequentative, celerative and completive aspects. These two different positions, he claims, is as a result of the difference in the scope domain of the respective adverbs.

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would have not surfaced.

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The higher one scopes over the entire event and the lower ones scope over the process.

16a. avan peTennu maanga veegam arinnu

    he   rapidly mango quickly cut-pst

    He quickly cut the mangoes quickly.

Though there are separate adverbs for these two positions in Malayalam some of the adverbs in Malayalam that come under these heads have the same form. But in the case of celerative aspect a stark distinction can be made as the lower ones usually reduplicate. For example

16b. avan veegathil maanga veegam veegam arinnu

    he   quickly   mango quickly quickly cut-pst

    He quickly cut the mangoes quickly.

2.3.2. Functional heads in Malayalam

Malayalam has a cluster of post- verbal elements that has different functions. The semantic functions of many of these elements have been attested in the earlier grammar works of the language. In Babu (2008) another insight into what their functions are is given invoking the

Cinque hierarchy. The starting point of his observation is the multiple occurrences of certain forms just as the adverbs in discussed in the earlier section. He, going hand in hand with Cinque establishes that these multiple occurrences of the same form and other post- verbal elements are instantiation of the different functional heads in the language.

17. Avan var-um aayirikk-um

    he come-mod aux-mod

    He may come. (Babu,2008)

In this the first *-um* is alethic possibility and the second occurrence corresponds to the speaker oriented epistemic modal. Let us look at other examples:

18a. Mini naaT-il-eekku pook-aNam

    Mini home-loc-to go -mod

    Mini must go home.

18b. naaTil mazha peyt-irikk-aNam

    home-loc rain fall.CP-AUX-mod

    It must have been rained back home.

Both the above sentences have the element *aNam*. A deeper look at it

makes one understand that 18a sentence actually gives necessity meaning. However, 18b gives the epistemic mood. The table below is a concise list of the adverbs and functional heads in Malayalam in the Cinque Hierarchy.

Hierarchy structure	Adverbs	Functional Heads
Mood speech act		-oo (interoggative) -uu (imperative)
Mood evaluative	bhaagyavasaal	-aloo (surprise)
Mood evidential	pRadhamadhRishTya	-atre (quotative) -poolum
Mod epistemic	cilapooL	-irikkum -iTT-undak-um
T past	Orikkal, nerathe	-ii, -u
T future	appoL	-um
Mood irrealis	anganeyaNenkil	-aayir, -aakumay
Mod alethic necessity	Entaayalum	-aNam
Mod alethic possibility	mikkavaRum	-um -aam -eekkum -aayirikkum

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			-eekkaam
			-aayirikkaam
Asp habitual	saadharaNayay		-aaRuND
Asp repetitive(I)	veeNDum		-aaRunD
Asp frequentative(I)	idaykku		-aaRunD -um
Mod volition	manapoorvam		Subj+nom....V-aam
Mod obligation			-aNam
Mod ability/permission			Subj+dat....V-aam -ooTe -ooLuu
Asp celerative(I)	vegathil		
T anterior	eppozhe		-aayiri
Asp terminative	iniyorikkalum		
Asp continuative	ippozhum		-aaRunD
Asp perfect	eppozhum		
Asp retrospective	ippoL thane		
Asp proximative	uDane		
Asp durative	curukkathil		
Asp generic/progressive	Pothuve, svaabhavikamayi		
Asp prospective	oru vidham		

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Asp sg completive(I)	muzhuvanayum	
Asp pl completive(I)	nerathe	
Voice		-peTu
Asp celerative(II)		
Asp repetitive(II)	veeNDum veeNDum	
Asp frequentative(II)	iDaykkiDe	
Asp sg completive(II)	pooRNamayum	

Table V adverbs and functional heads

The number of particles and suffixes attached to the main verb seems to be quite large (Babu, 2008). He also adds that there is the possibility of reintroducing the Fseq by introducing one of the two forms of the auxiliary 'be'. Consider the examples below

19.Avan ezht- i- koNt- irikk- unn- unT- aay- irunn- irik- aNam

He write-cp-prog-BE-UNNU-ex -BE(eq).pst- sit- BE-MOD

In the past he must have been writing. (Babu, 2008)

2.4. Malayalam ECVs and the functional sequence

Cinque (2004), analysing the restructuring phenomenon in Italian claims that the verbs that enter the "restructuring" construction (modal, aspectual and motion verbs) appear to correspond to distinct

heads of the functional head sequence, in the sense that each seems to lexicalize the content of one or another functional head in the Fseq. In my attempt to analyse the verb- verb combinations, in Malayalam traditionally called the ECV or light verb constructions, I will follow Cinque's cue. I will argue that the set of light verbs in Malayalam divides into two, with one subset lexicalizing different vP-external functional heads in the Cinque (1999) functional sequence (Fseq), and the other being generated as predicational elements inside the vP. The two classes then have different semantic imports: the former class adds a layer of meaning that is of a functional semantic/pragmatic sort, while the latter induces a modification of the event description in some way.

To see why such an analysis is necessary, consider the examples below, each of which require different contexts for felicity. 20b is felicitous in a context where a friend offers the guest's favourite dish but the guest has already taken food (which the friend is unaware). He wants to eat but is so full that he cannot have more. In a second context the friend offered the guest's favourite dish and the guest relished it. The guest was offered some more but he don't want to and he will respond as in 20c in order to say that he has had enough. In a third situation where the guest relished the favourite dish and went to relax. After some time he was offered some sweets and he wants to take it but he is so full and he cannot, then he can use the sentence in 20d. As is evident the b and

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d sentence give a modal envelop for the event that is contrary to the speaker's expectation whereas a completive aspectual reading is given by the light verb in the c sentence to the event.

20a. naan bakshaNam kazhich-u

    I   food   eat-pst

    I ate the food.

20b. naan bakshaNam kazhich-u pooy-i

    I   food   eat-prt   go-pst

    I ate the food. (the event was undesirable for the speaker)

20c. naan bakshaNam kazhich-u kazhinn-u

    I   food   eat-prt   complete-pst

    I have eaten the food.

20d. naan bakshaNam kazhich-u kazhinnu pooy-i

    I   food   eat-prt   complete-prt go-pst

    I have eaten the food. (And the event was undesirable for the speaker)

In each example, the main verb is *eat*, however, the light verbs differ significantly in their functions. In b and d, the light verb modifies the intention of the speaker that he wants to eat but he cannot because of

some other reason. However, the light verb in c modifies the event of eating that is the event is completed / drawn to the final end point.

The acceptability of these sentences provides insight into the fact that Malayalam light verbs do not vie for the same position in the structure but are lexicalising the different nodes in the Fseq and thereby giving different meanings. As Abbi (1991) has mentioned an ECV designates two verbs (or more as in Dravidian) acting as one verb. Thus we expect more than one light verb to occur in a Malayalam ECV construction. Consider the data below:

21a. naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduthu

    I   he   letter write-prt give-pst

    I wrote a letter and gave it to him.

21b. naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduthu kazhinn-u

    I   he   letter write-prt give-prt complete-pst

    I have written a letter and gave it to him.

21c. naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduth-u kazhinn-u pooy-i

    I he   letter write-prt give-prt complete-prt go-pst

    I have written a letter and gave it to him. (the event was undesirable)

As we can see, the number of light verbs can go up to three, each of them expressing a meaning that is associated with a functional head on the Fseq. The position in the hierarchy, the meaning that the head conveys and the light verb that corresponds to it is enlisted in the table given below.

Category	Meaning	Light verbs
Mood evaluative	Express failure of expectation	pookuka, kaLauka
Asp completive(1)	To signal that a telic process has reached completion	Kazhinnu (final) thuDangi (initial) vechu/ iTu (resultant state)
vP	Event modification	Koduthu, thannu, eduthu, uNdakkuka

Table VI functional heads and light verbs

2.4.1. The Core Proposal

Assuming the structural organisation of the different hierarchical positions that mood, modality, tense, aspect and vP as in (Fig1) below. It is. my proposal that Malayalam light verbs can occur at three different positions in this structure. The different positions are

A. Mood evaluative

B. Aspect completive

C. vP internal

Mood P ⌐‾‾‾⌐

Tense P ⌐‾‾‾⌐

Aspect P ⌐‾‾‾⌐

vP ⌐‾‾‾⌐

VP ⌐‾‾‾⌐
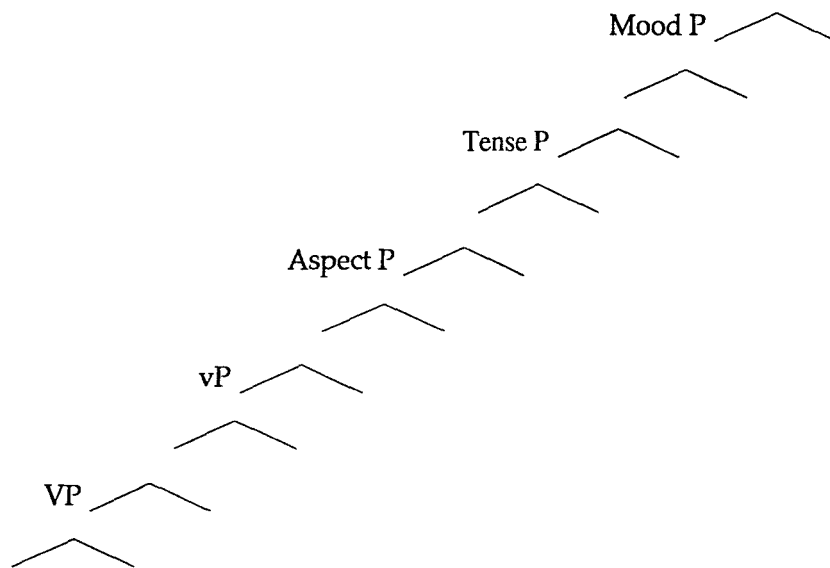
Fig- 1

As I have mentioned, the first of these positions is the speaker-oriented higher mood evaluative. Mood evaluative has been described as the "such modalities that express the speaker's (positive, negative or other) evaluation of the state of affairs described in it. It also expresses the failure of expectation, surprise or disappointment." (Cinque, 1999, 84) Its semantic interpretation will be that the event described by the event was not desirable from the part of the speaker or contrary to the expectation of the speaker. The verb *pooyi* (go) lexicalises this. *kaLayuka*

(discard) in addition to the undesirability meaning conveys the suddenness of the event under question.

The second set of light verbs fall under the aspectual head inception/completion (Butt 1995). This head gives the interpretation "that a telic process has reached completion namely, the natural end point of the process." (Cinque, 1999, 100) The different ECVs in this set focuses on the different stages of a telic event (Mona Sing, 1990). Talking about the Hindi ECVs she argues that they focus on the initial end point, the final end point and the result state. Taking this analysis into account this functional head can be observed as realised by the verbs *thuDanguka* (to start) to focus on the initial end point of the event *kazhiyuka* (to finish) for the final end point of the event, *veykkuka* (keep) focuses on the resultant state whereas *iTuka (drop)* expresses the totality of the even described or the event is viewed as a complete whole.

The next position in the hierarchy that the light verb can occur is inside the verb phrase which is the head of the vP in the Chomskyan model. The verbs *kodukkuka* (give), *thruka* (give), *edukkuka* (take) occur inside the verb phrase. The main function of these verbs is to give the adverbial non-manner interpretation to the main verb.

LIGHT VERB	Event modification
koudukkuka	The event described by the main verb was directed towards the third person
tharuka	The event described by the main verb was directed towards the second and first person
edukkuka	The event described by the main verb was for the self (subject).

Table VII meanings of the vP internal light verb

The analysis of the distribution of Malayalam light verbs developed here accords well with Cinque's own characterisation of restructuring verbs. This corresponds to the observation made by Cinque. "In the previous works ... I had suggested that this striking correspondence rendered the following hypothesis appealing: only those verbs which happen to match semantically the content of a certain functional head admit of two distinct possibilities. They are either regular verbs heading a VP (in which case they take a full-fledged sentential complement or 'functional' verbs, directly inserted in the head position of the corresponding functional projection" (Cinque, 2004)

2.4.2. Argument structure and light verb

Under this analysis, the typology of Malayalam ECVs – by which only a subset of light verbs affect argument structure, follows from the fact that only some LIGHT VERBs are restructuring verbs.   As Cinque (2004) points out: 'one first consequence of the idea that light verbs are "functional" verbs directly inserted under the corresponding functional heads is that, like auxiliaries (cf. Pollock 1989), they should have no thematic roles to assign, hence no arguments of their own.' (Cinque, 2004) The Malayalam data also suggests the light verbs that lexicalise functional heads do not meddle with the argument structure of the main verb whereas the other verbs modify the argument structure of the main verb in significant ways. As this set consists mainly of ditransitive verbs the process is always that of addition of an argument.

2.4.2. Sensitivity to negation is also straightforwardly explained.

Cinque (2004) states that languages differ according to the different positions the negation head takes in the functional hierarchy. This position may vary for reasons of scope relation to other operators. Babu (2008) has argued that the position of the negation in Malayalam is in the T domain of the Fseq. An assertion in this regard was also made by Cinque. His claim is that sentential negation is higher than

past tense in some languages which includes Malayalam and Mangolian. (Cinque, 2006, p.171) Because of this the functional heads that occur above the T head cannot be negated whereas there is no such structural restriction for the lower ordered heads. Thus, in the model proposed the verbs that occur lower in the structure are the ones that allow negation whereas the ones that occur high up in the structure do not allow negation.

2.5. Further Consequences

The examples below show that the light verb *koduthu* 'give' is inseparable from the main verb *ezhuthi, suggesting that* structurally these two are so close that no functional head of the Fseq intervenes. This reiterates the point that the three verbs occur inside the vP because the progressive aspect the occur high up in the structure than the vP node. Whereas the mood evaluative node denoted by the verb *pooyi* (go) occurs still higher than the progressive aspect and it is logical to expect it intervening the mood marker and the lower light verb. 22e confirms that the *pooyi* is higher up as it disallows the lower progressive aspect head to be realized as higher in the structure and rightwards in the linear order.

22a. naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduth-u pooy-i

I   he   letter write-prt give-prt go-pst

I wrote a letter and gave it to him. (the event was undesirable)

22b. naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduth-u koNdirunnu pooy-i

    I   he   letter write-prt give-prt prog go-pst

    I was writing letter and was giving it to him. (the event

    was undesirable)

22c. naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduth-u koNdirunu

    I   he   letter write-prt give-prt prog-pst

    I was writing letters and was giving it to him.

22d. *naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koNdirunu koduth-u

    I   he   letter write-prt prog   give-prt

    I was writing letters and was giving it to him.

22e. *naan avanu ezuthu ezhthi koduth-u pooy-i koNdirunu

    I   he   letter write-prt give-prt go-pst prog

    I was writing letter and was giving it to him. (the event
was undesirable)

Summary

In this chapter I have examined the two most widely attested phenomenon of light verbs- sensitivity to negation and argument structure alteration. This has yielded a typology of light verbs. The set

of Light verbs that is sensitive to negation and does not alter the argument structure of the main verb and a second set that is not sensitive to negation and also alter the argument structure of the main verb. Following Cinque's cue of restructuring verbs I have proposed that these two sets are base generated at different position- one that lexicalises the functional heads in the Cinque's hierarchy above the vP shell and the other inside the vP. With this analysis both the above mentioned characteristics of light verbs can be straightforwardly explained. In the next chapter I look at what implications that this proposal have on the tense of the sentence.

C h a p t e r 3

I.TENSE AND LIGHT VERBS

The morphology of Malayalam verb is a complex affair. The two common inherent inflections on a verb are tense and aspect. Tense is a linguistic device to encode time of the situation described by the verb. A given language may distinguish a number of different tenses (recent time, remote time) or no tense at all (those language that encode time with the help of temporal adverbs). Aspect refers to the manner in which an event unfolds over time. A very common aspectual distinction is that between completed (perfective) and non-completed (imperfective) events. The chapter is organised into two sections. The first section implements a structure of tense on the lines lay down by Stowell and then looks at the tense morphology in Malayalam. The dove-tailing the tense structure and the light verb structure implemented in the second chapter introduces novel areas of inquiries and predictions. How this addition of tense head and the light verb to a main verb alter the interpretation forms the next subsection. A theory of tense cannot be blind to the relative tense interpretation. Stowell's theory account for this phenomenon as well. How the derived tense structure of Malayalam is interpreted is the topic for the next section. The chapter ends with questions stemming out from these discussions.

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3.1. Tense

3.1.1. A Structural implementation of tense

The classical analysis of tense is considered to be that of Reichenbach (1947). He said that a tensed utterance introduces references to three time points- the speech time, the event time and the reference time (S,E and R). Tense is determined by the relation between R and S. Likewise the simultaneous, after and before relations between R and E determines the aspect. The combination would thus give rise to as many as thirteen relations. It is not necessary that languages of the world assimilate all these relations. Thus, English realises only seven out of thirteen. Tense has then been variously analysed as sentential operator, as a referential expression and as a predicate of temporal ordering. But in this section I look at how time is encoded in Malayalam in the framework proposed by Tim Stowell.

According to Stowell (2007a), tense is a two place predicate of temporal ordering taking two time denoting expression as its arguments. Tense orders the Reference Time (RT), the external covert argument of the tense that functions as the reference point of tense, and Event Time (ET), the overt internal argument of the tense containing the VP, in any given sentence. VP defines the descriptive content of the event located

at the ET. The simple structure of the tense phrase without the detailed decomposition of other elements is thus-
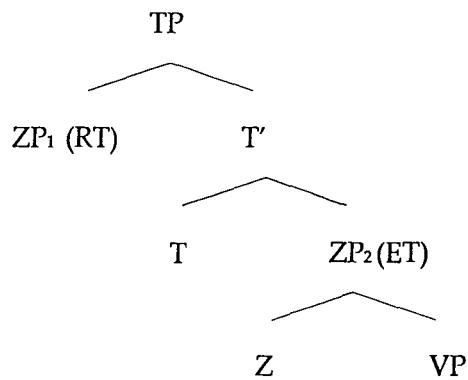
```
              TP
         ╱        ╲
   ZP₁ (RT)        T′
              ╱        ╲
            T           ZP₂(ET)
                    ╱        ╲
                  Z           VP
```

Fig- 2

The external argument of tense, RT, is analogous to PRO. Thus the PRO-ZP should be controlled by an antecedent by the closest c-commanding head. The motivation behind such an articulated structure are 'firstly, the phrase structure of the sentence favours it where logically the eventuality time argument should contain the verb phrase rather than being contained in the reference time. Secondly, the interpretation of tenses in subordinate clause conveying indirect discourse under intentional verbs of speech and thought where the tenses receive a dependent tense interpretation'. (Stowell, 2007b) Part of the Cinque functional sequence that is below mood epistemic occurs in between the tense phrase and the verb phrase. As has been pointed out in the earlier chapter negation also occur in this upper limit. All the mood phrases are above negation and tense.

'The difference between the future and past is directly analogous to the semantic contrast between the prepositions after and before, while present tense expresses simultaneity'. (Stowell, 2007a) Thus, the **present tense** orders the RT simultaneous with the ET. The **past tense** orders RT/UT after the ET while the **future tense** orders the RT/UT before the ET. The oppositeness in description of past as ordering UT after ET is because of the reverse alignment of the arguments of the tense phrase. While the earlier theories treated the ET as external and UT as internal, Stowell's theory disputes this analysis and reiterates that the UT is the external argument and the RT is the internal one.

3.1.2. Tense morphology of Malayalam

Traditional grammarians like A. R. Rajarajavarma (1986) Asher and Kumari (1997) have analysed Malayalam as having three tenses -- present, past and future. Malayalam employs a host of bound morphemes to encode these three tenses. *–unnu* is the present tense marking for stative verbs and (*–kondiri* (= state of continuing) +) *-unnu* for eventive verbs while the language has two past tense markings *–i* and *–Cu* (the consonant in the suffix is selected according to the

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different phonological ending of the verb root)12. However, the suffix *–um* marks the sentence for a future time reference.

Jayaseelan and Amritavalli (2002, 2005) have a different take on the topic. Inspired by the disappearance of tense and agreement in negative sentences in Kannada (2005) they argue that Dravidian languages in general, and Malayalam in particular, also do not have tense, and that the forms earlier analysed as tense morphemes are actually aspect markers: *-unnu* (present tense marker) thus marks the sentence for imperfectivity and perfectivity is the one that is marked by *-Cu* (past tense marker) has inspired him to go for such an analysis.

Jayaseelan and Amritavalli's argument for analysing the so called 'tense morphemes' as aspect markers comes from the homophony of these markers with the aspect markers to start with. They point out that the occurrence of the tense markers in gerunds (i.e. nominalised clauses) where a tense form is infelicitous. Further evidence is taken from the observation that substitution of a non- finite negative form can be marked for temporal aspect without affecting the non- finite status. Similarly in serial verb constructions where the entire verb constellation has the past tense form but only the last verb shows

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12 For further discussion on the topic the reader is referred to Asher and Kumari (1997) book Malayalam. P. 318

evidence of finiteness (agreement in Kannada or mood alternation in Malayalam).

Carrying forward this line of argument Jayaseelan and Amritavalli concludes that the clause structure of Dravidian languages does not project a Tense phrase. Finiteness in these languages is constituted by the presence of a Mood Phrase. To put it in their own words "in all these clause types (affirmative, negative and modal), finiteness is marked, not by tense in the verb but by an element in the MoodP: agreement in the case of affirmative sentences, Neg *illa* in the case of negatives and the modal in sentences with modals."

A third view in this regard is held by Mohanan and Babu (2002). According to this view Malayalam clause structure actually projects Tense Phrase. But the distinction that is made is between past and non-past, so there is no present or future tense in Malayalam. They claim that the past tense marker -*i* has two forms -- that of a conjunctive participle that is a non- finite form, which has an adverbial usage as well as the past tense form. The present tense marker -*unnu* is an imperfect marker, although it has yet another function of marking genericity in the language (claimed to be a recent development).

He describes -*um* as a modal suffix. Babu (2008) suggests that this modal has two instantiations one is that of alethic possibility and the

second occurrence of the suffix is to express speaker oriented epistemic modal (examples from Babu 2002 & 2008).

1. avan maanga chtt-i thinn-u

   he mango cut-CP eat- PST

   He cut and ate the mango.

2a. avan var-**unnu** uNTe

   he come- **imperf** be (existential)

   He is coming.

2b. suuryan kizhakku udikk-**unnu**

   sun east rise- **generic**

   Sun rises in the east.

3. avan var-**um** aayirikk- **um**

   he come- **possibility** aux- **epistemic**

   He may come.

In this chapter, I will not enter into this debate about Malayalam, and keep to a three-tense analysis. My sole motivation in doing so is to capture important morpho-semantic generalisations about Malayalam. Taking tense to be a predicate of temporal ordering, we find that the distribution of morphological forms correlates with the following

semantics: *–unnu* (4b) orders RT simultaneous with the ET, *–i* (4a) orders the RT/UT after the ET,and *–um* (4c) orders RT/UT before the ET. This is exactly what we see in the simple sentences given below

4a. Jon ezhutu ezhut-i

John letter write pst

John wrote a letter.

4b. Jon ezhutu ezhut-unnu /ezhuthi- koNdirikkunnu

John letter write prs

John writes a letter.

4c. Jon ezhutu ezhut-um

John letter write-fut

John will write a letter.

3.1.3. Tense and ECVs [1]

As I have claimed in the second chapter, there are at least three positions in which light verbs in Malayalam can occur. For convenience I will repeat it here. The verbs *pooyi* and *kaLannu* occur high up in the structure above the tense phrase lexicalising the mood evaluative. The next set of verbs vies for the aspect head which gives the completive aspect. The third one which is vP internal functions as

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an element of event modification. In this section I intend to look at how the ECVs behave when different tense morphemes are attached. We expect the lower light verb to be compatible with the three forms but the higher ones (as is the case with negation) may be sensitive to tense. Let us look at each one in turn.

5a. Jon enikku ezhutu ezhut-i thann-u

John i- dat letter write-prt give-pst

John wrote a letter for me.

5b. Jon enikku ezhutu ezhut-i thar-unnu (thannu-kondirikkunnu)

John i- dat letter write-prt give-prs

John is writing a letter for me.

5c. Jon enikku ezhutu ezhut-i thar-um

John i- dat letter write-prt give-fut

John will write a letter for me.

Here as we have expected the tense just orders the event time in relation to the reference time/ utterance time. In these examples the change in tense does not change the event modification that the light verb provides and remains stable.

Now let us look at the light verb that occupies the aspect position.

6a. ramen maanga kazhichu kazhinn-u

ram mango eat-part complete-pst

Ram ate up the mango.

6b. *ramen maanga kazhichu kazhiy- unnu

ram mango eat-part complete-pst

Ram is eating the mango completely.

6c. ramen maanga kazhichu kazhiy- um

ram mango eat-part complete-pst

Ram will eat up the mango.

The interpretation is straightforward. The only exception is the present tense marker. But as the completive aspect is incompatible with the present (simultaneous with the utterance time), the 4b sentence being ungrammatical is logically expected. Rather, it is the interplay between the tense and the higher mood light verb is interesting to note. The following (7) sentences illustrate this.

7a. kutti pediccu pooy-i

child frightened go-pst

Child was frightened. (undesirable)

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7b. *kutti pediccu pook-unnu

child frightened go-pst

Child is being frightened.

7c. kutti pediccu pook-um

child frightened go-pst

Child will be frightened.

Though the past and future tense seems felicitous the present tense marker in ungrammatical. The reason behind this is a mystery. Let us look at more examples.

8a. naan kizhngu kazhicc-u pooy-i

    I potato   eat-prt go-pst

    I ate potatoes. (the event was undesirable)

8b. naan kizhngu kazhicc-u pook-unnu

    I potato   eat-prt go-prs

    I eat potatoes somehow.

8c. avide ninnaal arum kizhngu kazhicc-u pook-um

    there stay/live anyone potato eat-prt go-fut

    Anybody will eat potatoes if they live there. (? the event is undesirable)

8d. *naan aloo kazhicc-u pook-um

    I potato eat-prt go-fut

    I will eat potatoes.

When the light verb is in the past then they express the commonly attested meaning of undesirability. The present tense marker forces a repetitiveness of the event over and above the undesirability of the event. There is no sense of the event time occurring simultaneous with the utterance time whatsoever. When we add the future marker to the light verb construction then we have to introduce a conditional clause, suggesting that this is more of an Irrealis mood head than a future tense marker. Although these examples raise questions about the integrity of the two tenses – present and future—in Malayalam (cf. Babu and Madhavan (2002)), I will have to put these examples aside for future research. At present, moving onto an examination of the derived tense structure in Malayalam.

3.2. Derived Tense Structures (DTS)

Temporal interpretation in a language is complex. It can be interpreted in different ways because of the interaction of several other factors. The issue here is whether tense in subordinate clauses are interpreted as **absolute** (using the actual utterance as the point of reference) or

relative (using a time mentioned elsewhere in the sentence as point of reference).

3.2.1. DTS in Stowell's (2007) framework

Stowell accounts for this by formulating the external argument of tense analogous to PRO as has been noted earlier. Thus the PRO-ZP, the external argument of TP, should be controlled by an antecedent by the closest c- commanding head. In the case of the main clause the PRO-ZP seems to be unbound. Suggesting that one adopts the proposal by Ross (1970) that every declarative sentence has a covert super-ordinate main clause containing an abstract performative speech verb that conveys the actual utterance event can solve the problem. In this view every main clause is really the complement clause of a covert verb of speech. Thus the specifier of VP_1 in the covert higher clause controls the PRO-ZP RT of the complement clause (the apparent main clause).

As a final generalization, the closest c- commander of PRO-ZP of the subordinate clause will be the variable in the specifier of VP_1 in the main clause which in turn is bound by an operator in Z in the main clause ZP_2 (ET). The interpretation of the subordinate clause RT will thus be dependent on the ET argument of the matrix clause.

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```
                    TP
                  /    \
              ZP₁        T'
                       /    \
                     T        ZP₂ (matrix clause ET)
                            /    \
                         Zᵢ        VP₁
                                 /    \
                             [e]ᵢ        VP₂
                                       /    \
                                     V        CP
                                            /    \
                                          C        TP
                                                 /    \
          (Subordinate clause RT) PRO ZP₁              T'
                                                     /    \
                                                   T        ZP₂ (subordinate ET)
```
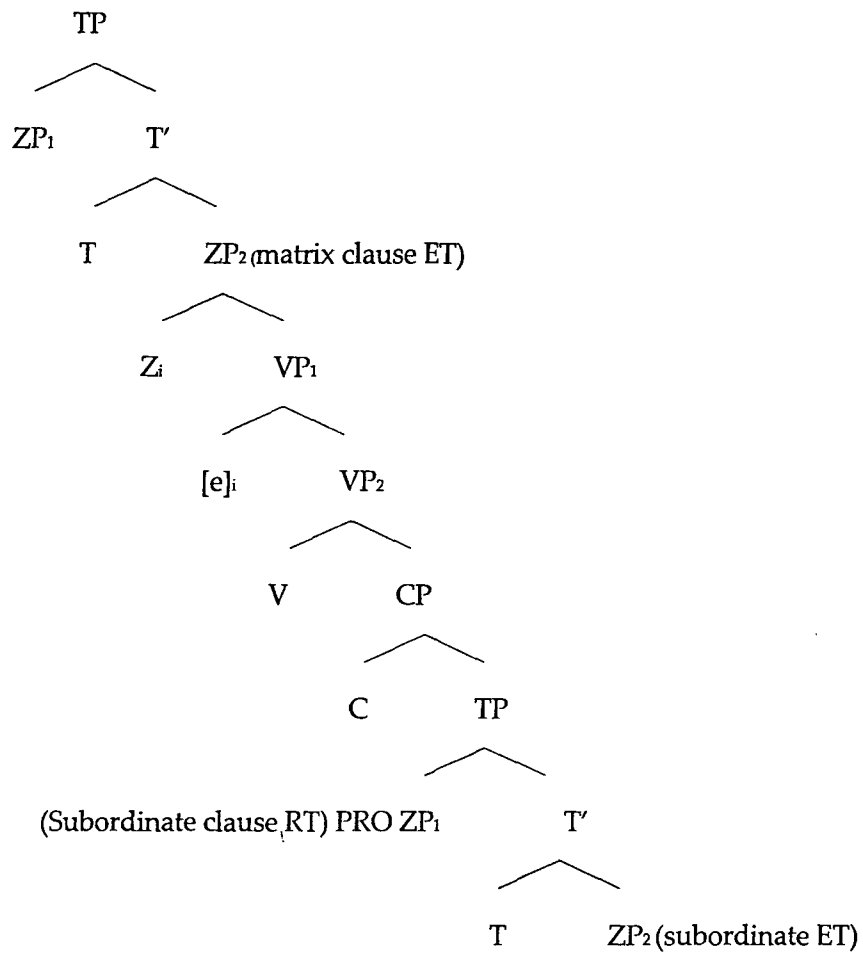
Fig- 3

In the case of a matrix clause, tense is to order the actual utterance time of the sentence and the event time. Thus present tense orders the RT/UT simultaneous with the ET, past orders RT/UT after the ET and future orders RT/UT before ET.

3.2.2. Sequence of Tense (SOT)

Sequence of Tense (SOT) is a phenomenon involving the tense in the subordinate clauses. In a subordinate clause, as said earlier, the RT of the subordinate clause has ET of the main clause as a potential binder. This will give rise to different tense interpretations.

In some cases the subordinate clause event time ET_2 will be before the main clause event time ET_1 which in turn is before the actual utterance time which give a **past- shifted reading**.

In the **simultaneous interpretation** the ET of the subordinate clause is located at or within the interval associated with the ET of the main clause giving rise to a simultaneous interpretation of both the events. Whereas in some cases the time interval of the subordinate clause event will contain the ET of the main clause as well as the actual utterance time giving rise to a **double access reading**.

UT --------- ET_1 -----------ET_2 (Past- shifted reading)

UT --------- ET_1 / ET_2 (Simultaneous interpretation)

(UT --------- ET_1) / ET_2 (double access)

3.2.3. SOT interpretation in Malayalam

Complement clause.

9a. Bil thante ofic-il   irikk-unnu ennu ram para-nnu. DA, REL- SIM

    Bill self   office-loc sit-prs   comp Ram say-pst

    Ram said that bill is sitting in self's office.

9b. Bil paaris-il   pook-um ennu ram para-nnu.   DA, REL- FUT

    Bill Paris-loc go-fut   comp Ram say-pst

    Ram said that Bill will visit Paris.

9c. Bil-ine thante peena nashtape-ttu ennu ram para-nnu

    PST-SHIFTED

    Bill-dat self   pen   lose-pst   comp Ram say-pst

    Ram said that Bill lost his pen.

The above set of sentences has the matrix clause past and the complement clause present, past and future. The following sentences contain a main clause present tense and the subordinate clause shifting the three tenses.

10a. ?Bil thante ofic-il   irikk-unnu ennu ram para-yunnu.

    Ram says that bill is sitting in his office.

10b. Bil thante ofic-il   irikkuke aaNu   ennu ram para-yunnu.

REL-SIM

Bill self   office-loc sit   be-prs   comp Ram say-prs

Ram says that bill is sitting in his office.

10c. raam sita-ye snehikk-unnu ennu bil para-yunnu.   REL- SIM

Ram Sita-dat love-   prs   comp bill say-prs

Bill says that Ram loves Sita.

10d. Bil paaris-il   pook-um ennu   ram   para-yunnu.   REL- FUT

Bill Paris-loc go-fut   comp Ram say-prs

Ram says that Bill will visit Paris.

10e. Bil-ine thante peena nashtape-ttu ennu   ram para-yunnu \

REL- PST

Bill-dat self   pen   lose-pst   comp Ram say-prs

Ram says that Bill'lost his pen.

In the following set of sentences, main clause is in the future tense whereas the subordinate clause is in all the other three tenses.

11a. Bil thante ofic-il irikk-unnu ennu ram para-yum.   REL-SIM

Bill self   office-loc sit-prs   comp Ram say-fut

Ram will say that bill is sitting in his office.

11b. Bil paaris-il   pook-um ennu   ram para-yum.   REL- FUT

   Bill Paris-loc go-fut   comp Ram say-fut

   Ram will say that Bill will visit Paris.

11c. Bil-ine thante peena nashtape-ttu ennu   ram para-yum.

   REL- PST

   Bill-dat self   pen   lose-pst   comp Ram say-fut

   Ram will say that Bill lost his pen.

All these examples suggests that the subordinate clause tenses have a relative reading, that is, a reading in which the temporal ordering predicate takes the main clause even time as its point of reference. Now we turn our attention to relative clauses.

Relative clauses

Malayalam employs a participial construction with verb + -*a* to express the sense associated with relative clause construction in English. The relative clause tense in English are always interpreted independently.

12. Jon-ine   kand-a meri-ye   ram kan-du.   REL- PST

   John-dat see-P Mary-dat Ram see-pst

   Ram Saw Mary who saw John.

The events expressed by the two verbs in the sentence in Malayalam have an ordering as we can see from the above example, the event of Mary seeing John happened before the event of Ram seeing Mary. This is true even in the case where the participial construction is embedded inside the complement clause of the verb say.

13. Kaar mooshticc-a kuTiye taan kand-u ennu ram para-nnu

    Car steal-PART Child self   see-pst comp ram say-pst.

    Ram said that he saw the child who stole the car.

In this example as well, the stealing is before the seeing and the seeing is before the saying. But is the case of a string of participial construction, the tense construal depends upon what is modifying what.

14. Kaar mooshticc-a kuTiye kand-a   aaL   vann-u

    Car steal-PART Child see-PART person come-pst.

    The guy who saw the boy who stole the car came.

If the participials are modifying the nouns immediately after them, then the ordering of the events will be the stealing before the seeing that will be in turn before the coming. But if the two participials are modifying the last noun then the only ordering possible is both

stealing and seeing occurred before the coming. There is no intrinsic ordering of the time of stealing and seeing. This is clear as in the case of the participial modifying a noun it will be adjoined to it. So when the participle is adjoined to the noun of the matrix sentence the tense in the participle will have no c- commanding head except that of the covert super- ordinate performative speech verb. In the other interpretation, the tense in the subordinate clause have their corresponding matrix clause tense to c- command and the tense will be relatively ordered.

When a time adverbial is added to both the verbs in the participial construction, then the order can be reversed as in John who saw Mary yesterday Ram saw today. This makes both a & b sentences felicitous.

15a. Innale Jon-ine kaND-a meri-ye ram innu kaND-u

 Yesterday John saw mary dat   ram today saw pst

15b. innu Jon-ine kaND-a meri-ye ram Innale kaND-u

 Today John saw mary dat   ram yesterday saw pst

Languages employ different strategies for encoding the time at which an event occurred. Languages which do not have special functional categories for encoding the distinctions in a time like past, anterior past, etc uses time adverbials for the same. The above examples are analogous with the observation that languages that do not make

remoteness distinction in the tense system can make the same by adding temporal adverbs. If the second verb has the –*irunnu* particle that is a past remoteness marker then the order becomes rigid. Thus with the time adverbials the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

15c. *Innale Jon-ine kand-a meri-ye ram innu kaND-irunnu

> Yesterday john saw mary dat   ram today saw pst remote

15d. innu Jon-ine   kaND-a meri-ye ram Innale kaND-irunnu

> Today John saw mary dat   ram yesterday saw pst remote

3.2.4. *Light verbs and Sequence of Tense*
Complement clause.

16a. Bil thante ofic-il   **irinnu pook-unnu** ennu ram para-nnu.

> Bill self office-loc sit-prs go-prs   comp Ram say-pst
>
> Ram said that bill is somehow sitting in his office.

Apart from the relative simultaneous and double access reading that is expected, this sentence will be true even when Bill is not sitting in his office at UT and/ or at ET₁. This is the case with the present embedding under all the other tenses be it past present or future. The other two tenses fall into place.

16b. Bil paaris-il   **pooyi kaLay-um** ennu ram para-nnu.   REL- FUT

Bill Paris-loc go   discard-fut   comp Ram say-pst

Ram said that Bill will go to Paris (if something happens).

16c. Bil-ine thante peena **nashtapettu pooyi** ennu   ram para-nnu

REL- PST

Bill-dat self   pen   lose   go–pst comp Ram say-pst

Ram said that Bill lost his pen.

17a. ?Bil thante ofic-il   **irinnu pook-unnu** ennu ram para-yunnu.

Bill self office-loc sit-prs go-prs   comp Ram say-prs

Ram said that bill is somehow sitting in his office.

17b. Bil paaris-il   **pooyi kaLay-um** ennu ram para-yunnu. REL- FUT

Bill Paris-loc go   discard-fut   comp Ram say-prs

Ram says that Bill will visit Paris.

17c. Bil-ine thante peena **nashtapettu pooyi** ennu ram para-yunnu

REL- PST

Bill-dat self   pen   lose   go-pst   comp Ram say-prs

Ram says that Bill lost his pen.

18a. Bil thante ofic-il   irinnu pook-unnu ennu ram para-yum.

Bill self office-loc sit   go-prs   comp Ram say-fut

Ram will say that bill is sitting in his office (somehow).

18b. Bil paaris-il **pooyi pook-um** ennu ram para-yum.   REL- FUT

Bill Paris-loc go go-fut   comp Ram say-fut

Ram will say that Bill will visit Paris.

18c. Bil-ine thante peena **nashtapettu pooyi** ennu   ram para-yum.

REL- PST

Bill-dat self   pen   lose   go-pst   comp Ram say-fut

Ram will say that Bill lost his pen.

These examples asks us to look deeper into what does the *-unnu* in these construction stands for. Now look at what happens in relative clauses.

Relative participles

19a. jonine pariiksha ezhuthi kodukk-unn-a bil vannu

john-dat exam write-prt give-prs-prt bill come-pst

Bill who writes the exams for John came.

19b. jonine pariiksha ezhuthi kodu-th-a bil vannu

john-dat exam write-prt give-pst-prt bill come-pst

Bill who wrote the exams for John came.

19c. *jonin-e thalli pooy-a bil vann-u

john-dat beat-prt go-prt bill come-pst

Bill who beat John came.

19d. paNi kazhinn-a viidu thakarnn-u pooy-i

work complet-prt house collapse-prt go-pst

The house that was completes collapsed.

The above examples open up a new array of questions. The prime and foremost of this is till which head in the fseq will be present in the subordinate clause. As the participle construction is a reduced clause we do not expect the whole fseq to be present. The ungrammaticality of the c sentence stems from this observation. This analysis reiterates the assumption that the *pooyi* light verb is really high up in the structure which thus does not occur in a reduced construction like participles.

Summary

Scholars in this regard stand in two opposite poles with one group claiming that there is no tense and the other group stating that though there is no tripartite distinction of tense in Malayalam, it has a bipartite distinction into past and non- past. In this chapter it was shown that in simple sentences and in derived tense structure the tense morphology actually gives rise to the tripartite distinction of tense into past, present and future. But the light verb construction stands apart in that the present and future tense marker in this construction give rise to aspect and mood interpretation excluding the tense interpretation.

There are two important questions stemming out from this Analysis- what is the nature of the three morphological markers considered as tense, when there is a subordinate clause is the Fseq present and if it is present is it only till the tense domain.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

This study was aimed at exploring the semantic import that a light verb in an Explicator Compound Verb construction gives to the complex predicate in Malayalam and to investigate the structural implications.

4.1. Summary

In order to understand the ECV it is necessary to disambiguate the term and the first chapter introduces the term complex predicates and show how ECVs fit into the schema. A detailed exposition of the specific characteristic of the light verbs in an ECV construction reveals several issues ahead—how one can differentiate the set of V-V constructions, what are the major semantic functions that these light verbs tend to attain and most importantly what is the structure of this complex predicate construction. To facilitate differentiating ECV from other kind of V-V construction we have seen that a test for monoclausality will help. It has emerged as the major class defining characteristic of the ECVs. The most frequently used light verbs in Malayalam are *pooyi, kaLannu, thuDangi, koLLuka, kazhinnu, veychu, iTu,*

koDuthu, thannu, eDuthu. We have seen that the major function of these light verbs include attesting the mood of the speaker, to give different aspectual shades and a third set modifying the event description.

A close look at the two most widely attested phenomenon of light verbs- sensitivity to negation and argument structure alteration has yielded a typology of light verbs. The first set that is sensitive to negation and does not alter the argument structure of the main verb and the second set that is not sensitive to negation and alter the argument structure of the main verb (as all of the verbs in this set are ditransitive the alteration result mainly in addition). Studies by Babu et. all have confirmed that Malayalam clause structure follows the universal structural hierarchy that Cinque proposes. Thus Malayalam adverbs and functional heads have the same universal hierarchical order. Added to this with Cinque's cue of restructuring verbs I have proposed that the two sets of light verbs are base generated at different position- one that lexicalises the functional heads in the Cinque's functional hierarchy that is above the vP shell and the other inside the vP. With this analysis both the characteristics features of light verbs can be straightforwardly explained. Negation in Malayalam comes in the tense domain and the light verbs that lexicalises the heads above negation are sensitive to it and do not meddle with the argument structure. The other set that is the head of the vP alters the argument structure but behaves normally when it comes to negation.

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In the next third chapter I look at what implications that this proposal have on the tense of the sentence. Scholars stand in two opposite poles with regard to tense in Malayalam with one group claiming that there is no tense and the other group stating that though there is no tripartite distinction of tense but rather it has a bipartite distinction into past and non- past. Putting aside this debate I have taken the tripartite distinction into account with different morphological markings that were being variously analysed as aspect and mood marker. In this chapter it was shown that in simple sentences and in derived tense structure the tense morphology actually gives rise to the tripartite distinction of tense into past, present and future. But the light verb construction stands apart in that the present and future tense marker in this construction aspect and mood interpretation excluding the tense interpretation.

4.2. Further research

The argument that different light verbs lexicalize the different functional heads in the Cinque sequence immediately leads to several issues arising from the proposal. First of all if some of these light verbs are indeed realizations of the Fseq, the heads that normally realize the

Fseq should not be compatible with such verbs (for example if the light verb lexicalizes completive for example, then other possible realizations of completive should be disallowed) or should not be available (cause language cannot be so extravagant as to give many options for the same function). Secondly as an extension of the first point, if they actually represent different functional heads then those heads which are semantically compatible should co-occur. But in some cases (1) both the light verb and the functional head co-occurs. Cinque states that the mood evaluative head can give different meanings. The two that he mentions for Menomini suffixes are failure of expectation and surprise or disappointment. In the following example (1) we see two forms that corresponds to the two meanings of failure of expectation and surprise co-occur. Does this suggest that we have to have a fine grained decomposed structure for some of the functional heads in the hierarchy if not all.

1. cooru venthu pooy-alloo

    rice   cooked go mod

    Oh! The rice is over cooked.

Again, if the light verbs do not give a default value to all the heads in the Fseq that intervene between them and the main verb, and then one would expect these functional heads to occur alongside without any ungrammaticality. Then one has to look at the properties of these

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particular light verbs that make them best suited for this functional representation.

In this dissertation I have looked at three sets of light verbs. There is another light verb *koLLuka* that didn't come into the picture because of its rare usage. But look at the following examples

2. nii joli cheytu koLuu

   you job do   contain-imp

   You can do the job. (granting permission)

3. naan joli cheytu koLLaTe

   I   job do   contain-imp

   Can I do the job? (asking permission)

4. naan ningaLe swaagatham cheytu koLL-unnu

   I   you welcome   do   contain-prs

   I welcome you with all humility.

These three instances of the same light verb give entirely different meaning. What will be the base generated position of this light verb? Again the light verb in the (1) and (2) sentence are becoming obsolete. A contracted form of the verb *-ooLu* and *-ooTe* are used respectively. Is

this the flowing of the lexical verb from light verb to auxiliary to affix a reiteration of the grammaticalisation cline.

4a. *naan ningaLe swaagatham cheytu koND-u

    I   you   welcome   do   contain-pst

    I had welcomed you with all humility

4b. *naan ningaLe swaagatham cheytu koLL-um

    I   you   welcome   do   contain-fut

    I will welcome you with all humility

Then again this light verb does not go with past tense marker (4a) and future marker (4b). What will be the reason for this?

Finally, there are two important questions stemming out from this Analysis- what is the nature of the three morphological markers considered as tense, when there is a subordinate clause is the Fseq outside the vP shell present and if it is present is it only till the tense domain in Malayalam.

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