DOUBLE OBJECTS IN MALAYALAM
A MINIMALIST ANALYSIS

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the award of degree of

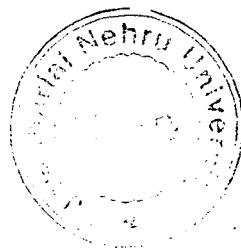## MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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India

2003

School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies
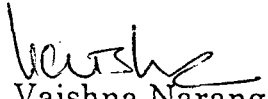
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Double Objects in Malayalam A Minimalist Analysis", submitted by Rosmin Mathew, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of the University, is to the best of my knowledge an original work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.
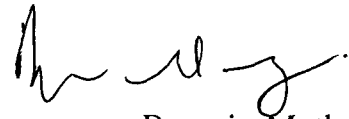
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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This dissertation entitled *'Double Objects In Malayalam A Minimalist Analysis'* submitted for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any university.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

NOTATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ə -- schwa

k -- velar voiceless

kʰ -- velar voiceless aspirated

g -- velar voiced

gʰ – velar voiced aspirated

ŋ – velar nasal

c – palatal voiceless

cʰ – palatal voiceless aspirated

j – palatal voiced

jʰ – palatal voiced aspirated

ñ – palatal nasal

ṭ – retroflex voiceless

ṭʰ -- retroflex voiceless aspirated

ḍ -- retroflex voiced

ḍʰ -- retroflex voiced aspirated

ṇ – retroflex nasal

T – dental voiceless

Tʰ -- dental voiceless aspirated

D -- dental voiced

Dʰ -- dental voiced aspirated

N – dental nasal

p – labial voiceless

pʰ – labial voiceless aspirated

b – labial voiced

bʰ – labial voiced aspirated

m – labial nasal

y - palatal glide

я - alveolar trill

l- alveolar flap

w - labial glide

ɭ - retroflex flap

§ - retroflex approximant

r - palatal trill

ş - palatal fricative

š - retroflex fricative

s – dental fricative

h – glottal fricative

ACC	Accusative Case
Comp	comparative
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
CAUS	Causative morphology
DAT	Dative Case
FP	Future Participle
MOD	Modal
NF	Non-Finite
nom	Nominaliser
NOM	Nominative Case
PERF	Perfective
Prt	Participial
SOC	Sociative case
QP	Question Particle

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The intuition that some of the phrasal constituents in a sentence like (1) given below are 'more essential to the sentence than others'[1] had been around in the study of language through various schools.

1. Rosmin went to Daryaganj early in the morning to buy books

In the sentence, as far as conventional analysis goes, all the prepositional phrases after the verb, i.e., the part 'to Daryaganj early in the morning to buy books' can be omitted without compromising on the grammaticality of the sentence. In traditional literature on parsing, there kind of optional phrases are called *adjuncts*. Most of the APs and PPs fall into this category. In the same sentence, however, the NP 'Rosmin' is not optional. These obligatory phrases needed for a predicate are called *arguments*.

Traditional analyses argue that only transitive verbs and prepositions are the structural-case assigners and arguments are dependant on the selecting head for case – if the verb does not have a case-assigning feature no arguments are possible. It is argued that adjuncts do not have this requirement. Another difference between

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[1] Haegeman (1991)

arguments and adjuncts is that while an argument is affected by the argument structure changing morphological operations like passivisation, adjuncts are immune from them. In sentence (2), the internal argument can be passivised, but not the adjunct phrase.

2.   Madhu ate an orange at night

3 a.   An orange was eaten by Madhu at night

  b.   *Night was eaten an orange by Madhu

In fact, the distinction is not as clearcut as it appears to be from the above description. Standard literature on the topic would the AP in sentence (4) as an adjunct, but as we can observe the AP is not optional in contrast to the definition of adjunct as an optional extension of meaning.

4.   He behaved well

Even without the AP, a sentence like *he is behaving* always means that *he is behaving well*. This indicates that the manner adverbial must be in the verb's lexical entry as it is in the denotation of the verb.

However the inclusion in the lexical entry does not entail other properties of argumenthood for the manner adverbial, as no case dependency is established between it and the verb, and there is no argument changing morphology that can be applied like passive. As

argument structure changing morphology is linked up with case properties, the definitional property of argumenthood then turns out to be a case dependency with the lexical head that subcategorises for it.

Evidence from the argument structure changing morphology also shows that the case dependency between the internal argument and the selecting head is quite different from the one with an external argument, as argument structure changing morphology absorbs the case-dependency establishing property of a head vis-à-vis its internal argument rather than the EA. In fact, the EA does not appear to establish a case-dependency on the verb, but on the Tense, a functional head as shown from the incapability of licensing an EA in a non-finite sentence.

5 a. *I prefer very much [him to go now]

b. I prefer very much that he should go now   (Haegeman 1991)

This removes the grounds for considering the EA as distinct from an adjunct in terms of case, given that the definition of argument depends on whether or not the verb assigns case to the phrase and the verb does not assign case to the EA even though an EA is s-selected. This leaves the difference between argument and adjunct as phrases to which case is assigned by a lexical projection or a functional projection.

3

Now, with the proposal that the case of internal arguments may also be mediated through a functional projection (AGR-O/v) the distinction between argument and adjunct disappears and the only difference is in terms of θ- roles or s-selection. The picture gets even muddier with the successive revisions in models as happened with the Hale and Kayser approach to θ- roles as configuration. In this approach there is no lexical s-selection left anymore. Hale and Kayser also argues that the EA is an argument of the vP, thereby removing EA from the argument structure configuration of the verb i.e., the lexical VP, completely. The theoretical basis for this was the Single Complement Hypothesis (SCH) which agues that a verb can permit only one* complement as a natural fallout of the binary branching representations. These suggestions then pose two interesting problems: -

(a) How is the second object in a ditransitive licensed?

(b) What is the difference between arguments and adjuncts?

The issue is made more complicated by the proposals in Chomsky (2001), whereby it is suggested that the structures yielded by merge are of two types, namely, set-merge and pair-merge. Set merge involves an agree relation whereas pair merge does not. The former creates an ordered pair as opposed to pair merge, which is adjoined to a syntactic object from a different plain. Predicate composition corresponds to pair

merge rather than set merge. Chomsky also proposes that argument structure configurations are constructed solely by instances of external merge. This entails the following:

(a) A lexical VP consists of entities which are set merged i.e., XPs that Agree with some feature of V. It may also contain elements which are pair merged – that which do not enter into an Agree relation. All theses involve external merge.

(b) A functional v projection that contains EA is formed by external merge (EA Agree with v). Elements that do not Agree can be pair merged between v and VP (before EA is merged).

(c) A vP (i.e., after EA is merged) can only be targeted by internal merge and as internal merge involves Agree, the only kind of merge that is involved is set merge.

This suggests that the configuration where lexically determined elements (based on the verb's Predicate Argument Structure) can enter the SO is until v – only internal merge is possible after EA is merged.

Now given a ditransitive, it should be explained as to how the Goal argument enters the structure given the fact that SCH imposes a restriction on the structure. Although the standard assumption suggests that Indirect Object (IO) is merged as a spec of [V DO] configuration, there is no theoretical compulsion for this. Nor is there any robust

evidence for the existence of an Agree relation between the IO and a label V (of V-DO). If this set merge just look at the label V and does not pay attention to whether the DO is in its projection, then the structure should be perfectly grammatical first creating the structure V-IO and then merging the DO. In fact this is what the Larsonian account of double object/double complement constructions entail. However, given that IOs in the complement of V position are realised as PPs, and differ in syntactic properties from that of the DOC IO, this cannot be the correct story.

Furthermore, as noted above, the SCH forces particular configurational restrictions on EXT merge, (often carried out through set-merge) so as to give an unambiguous representation that can be used for θ- role implications. Double object constructions seem to violate this requirement of unambiguous projection and hence call for detailed study. It thus appears that set merging the IO in the Larsonian analysis of double object construction is punctured with problems.

Similar problems also arise with adjuncts – while it is true that they do not involve an Agree relation based on Φ-set matching like an argument, they are nevertheless elements that are subcategorised for in the case of many a verbs. Take the example of inherently directed paths of motion verbs like *go, come* etc. These verbs have the Path/Goal as part

of their Aktionsart. Therefore, in the current theoretical framework these Path/Goal phrases are set merged elements since they satisfy a feature of the selector. Yet, the standard assumptions label them as adjuncts and hence would represent them in a pair-merged structure.

These contradictions arise out of simplistic assumptions about the implementation of the lexical entry by the merge operation – in a way that the specifications of the lexical entry have to be implemented by 'choosing' the right Merge operation. However, as Reinhart has argues, the Lexicon interfaces with the Conceptual System (CS) and C_{HL} interfaces with CS through the lexical entry. The Lexical Entry, thus, is not part of the C_{HL} and hence slippages are bound to happen – C_{HL}'s restrictions on Merge force a particular syntactic configuration onto the way a lexical entry is projected in a syntactic derivation. The SCH is one such restriction that forces the information in a lexical entry of a ditransitive to be projected in the binary branching configuration.

The minimal requirements on the interface between LEX and the C_{HL} should be that the information in LEX should be given a full syntactic representation (SATISFY) – the restriction cannot be of a nature which stipulates that X should be set-merged or pair-merged. The option of set/pair merge is exercised by the convergence conditions on the Narrow Syntax/C_{HL}.

This would then mean that the LEX of a predicate can be satisfied just by ensuing that Merge makes sure all its information is inserted into the structure by the time v is merged. However, it may be that, as Reinhart has suggested, the Lexicon/NS is a better instructor as it marks DO as ACC as an instruction for the first set-merge. Other elements must get into the derivation for SATISFY, but it is up to the syntax to impose conditions on whether they must be pair or set Merged.

This dissertation makes an attempt to illustrate the relative autonomy of the information in LEX and its syntactic realisation, insofar as this study shows that NS, by its conditions on Merge and checking relations, forces choices of pair merge to realise certain argument-of-relations like the Dative.

Organisation of Chapters

Chapter 2 looks at the various major anlyses on ditransitive constructions like Larson (1988), and Harley (2001). Chapter 3 gives a detailed description of Dative marking in Malayalam in an attempt to determine the commonalities among them. Chapter 4 provides an analysis to the observed phenomena, Dative constructions in general as well as ditransitives. A summary of the analysis as well as the theoretical implications of it is given in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 2
DITRANSITIVES IN MALAYALAM

In this chapter, a brief summary of the various attempts to explain the double object construction in a binary branching generative framework is given. Section 2.1 summarises Larson (1998), 2.2 is an account of the analysis put forward by Harley (2001), and section 2.3 outlines Svenonius (2003) and Jayaseelan (1995).

2.1   Larson (1988)

Larson (1998) discusses the double object/dative[2] constructions and introduces a novel analysis based on a VP-shell structure. Larson's fundamental assumption is that the Dative structure 'derives from an underlying form in which the verb and its indirect object make up a constituent that excludes the direct object'. This underlying form, for Larson, is the double complement structure as in (1) below.

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[2] Also called double complement constructions in ditransitive literature.

1. Samar gave a letter to Ashish

```
                    VP
              _____/_____
            NP            V'
            |        ____/\____
         Samar  V          VP
                |     ____/\____
              gaveᵢ  NP        V'
                     |     ____/\____
                 a letter V        PP
                          |        ▽
                          tᵢ      to Ashish
```
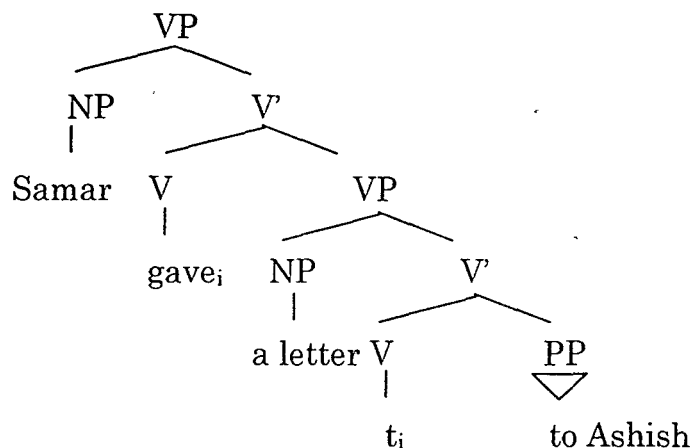
Larson subscribes to the Uniformity of θ-Assignment Hypothesis, first proposed by Baker (1985), to substantiate his argument that the dative and the dative shift form has the same D-structure representation. The hypothesis says that 'identical thematic relationships are represented by identical structural relationships between the items at the level of D-structure'. The dative shift constructions are analyzed as an instance of VP-passives by Larson. Standardly, the derivation of passives involves two processes: (i) withdrawal of case from the object position, and (ii) suppression of thematic role assignment to a subject position. The internal argument moves to the subject position and the external argument is realized as an adjunct. In a vP, Larson assumes that when a subject θ-role is suppressed, it is assigned in an adjunct configuration. Larson introduces

the concept of Argument Demotion which says "If α is a θ-role assigned by X^i, then α may be assigned (up to optionally) to an adjunct of X^i". In clausal passives, the θ-role is received by the participial morphology. As opposed to this, dative has to have the internal argument and cannot be suppressed, as it is base generated in a subcategorized position unlike the clausal subject which originates at a nonsubcategorised position namely [spec IP].

A dative sentence like 2 can be analysed as:

2.   Samar gave Ashish a letter

Larson considers the preposition 'to' as the dative case marker. When the vP is passivised, the direct object 'a letter' is demoted to an adjunct and is assigned the θ-role of the theme. An 'empty subcategorized position' is created at [spec, vP] by this 'dethematisation of a thematic position'. The case assigned to the indirect object 'to Ashish' is withdrawn, which materializes as the absorption of the dative case marker 'to'. Now, the direct object which is caseless moves to the vP-subject position. Finally, the verb rises to the higher V-head position. The relevant structure for a sentence like (3) would be:

3.   Samar sent Richa a letter

```
                    VP
              _____
            NP           V'
            |        _____
        Samar   V         · VP
                |       _____
              sentⱼ   NP         V'
                      |       _____
                   Richaᵢ   V           PP
                          _____       ▽
                         V      NPᵢ    a letter
                         |
                         tⱼ
```
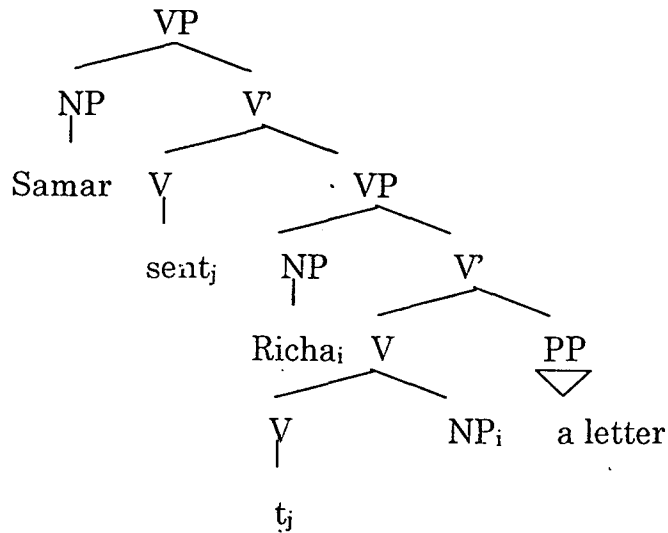
Malayalam ditransitives have the word order S IO DO V as can be seen in the following example.

4.   Marti n   Santhosh-inu   pu:cca-ye   kođuTTu

      Martin   Santhosh-DAT   Cat-ACC   Give-PST

      Martin   gave   Santhosh   a cat.

Under Larson's analysis, the Malayalam ditransitive .constructions, by virtue of the surface structure S-NOM IO-DAT DO-ACC V, could be analysed as double object constructions with a structure similar to the English Dative shift. Consequently, one would expect the empirical facts of English double object construction to be replicated in Malayalam. The primary implication of positing a double object structure for Malayalam would demand evidence for a base D-structure representation similar to

the configuration in (1). Since no sentence that corresponds to such a structure is available, we have to look for indirect evidence for the same.

As per Larson's analysis, the passive form *Mary was sent a letter* is directly derived from the shared D-structure representation, where the indirect object is a sister of V^0. However, in Malayalam the passivisation of indirect object is completely ungrammatical as shown in (5) thereby furnishing robust evidence that the ditransitive structure in Malayalam is not a derived one, at least not from a structure similar to that in (1)

5.   *Santhosh   pu:cca-ye   koɖukkappettu

      S – NOM   cat – ACC   give-CAUS-PST

This leads us to the question whether the base-generated/derived structure of ditransitives in Malayalam is indeed one of English double object construction, as the word order and case marking might suggest. The empirical facts of the language indicate, contrary Larson's claims, that it is the direct object and the verb that are in a head-complement configuration as any scrambling from the base word order S-NOM IO-DAT DO-ACC V results in a marked construction. The direct object can be passivised also as in e.g. 6 below

6.   pu:cca   Sanu-vinə   koɖukkappettu

      cat-NOM   Sanu-DAT   give-CAUS-PST

      A cat was given to Sanu.

The structure that Larson gives for a double object construction projects the direct object as a dethematised adjunct. Thus, in any double object structure, the prediction would be that the direct object behaves as an adjunct; a prediction that is defied in the Malayalam ditransitive constructions. Rather, it is the indirect object that behaves as an adjunct – an empirical fact which is unaccountable in the Larsonian system.

Larson's analysis of ditransitives is confronted with other theory internal problems also. The premise on which Larson builds up his analysis based on the proposal for a common D-structure representation is Relativised UTAH, as articulated in Larson (1990).

7.   *Relativised UTAH*

Identical thematic relationships are represented by identical relative hierarchical relations between items at D-structure.

A series of English constructions pose problems for the validity of this hypothesis as the meaning and the corresponding theta roles undergo a change in the double object/dative alternation. For example, Oehrle (1976) noted that, in the following pais of sentences, the first has the interpretation that in the first example the students learnt French.

8 a. John taught the students French

   b. John taught French to the students

14

These meaning/theta role alterations also raise questions about the reliability on an account of dative/double object alternation, which treats both the constructions as derived from a common D-structure representation. This has paved way for analyses like Pesetsky (1995) which tried to resolve the problem by suggesting that both the constructions are base generated.

A similar analysis for Japanese was put forward by Watanabe (1995) and Miyagawa (1997). Harley (2001) goes through the various arguments and concludes that both the double object constructions and dative constructions are, in fact, base generated.

2.2 Harley (2002)

Giving a critique of the derivational treatment of the double object/double complement alteration, Harley examines a number of constructions which are not adaptable to the Larsonian analysis. In a pair of sentences like 9a and 9b below, as Jackendoff (1990) points out, the appearance and disappearance of particular prepositions is inexplicable in a derivational approach.

9 a. John blamed the accident on Max

   b. John blamed Max for the accident

Larson (1990) justifies the derivational approach by arguing that the theta roles assigned in the two configurations are different because of the animacy constraint (illustrated in 10); and hence the constructions have different D-structure representations (Larson terms these as *Alternative Projections*) by the Relativised UTAH.

10 a. John blamed his bad luck on the weather

   b. ??John blamed the weather for his bad luck

Harley makes use of the same argument to dispute the Larsonian derivational approach by bringing the 'essentially identical contrast' between the double object/double complement alternations as noted by Green (1974) and Oehrle (1974) which instantiates similar animacy requirements.

11 a. The editor sent the article to Sue

   b. The editor sent Sue the article

   c. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia

   d. ??The editor sent Philadelphia the article

Jackendoff (1990) points out that the range of Goal arguments in double complement constructions is much broader than that in double object constructions. Moreover, as Larson himself has noted, the 'possessor'

account of double object constructions also exhibits a wide array of contrasts which were discussed by Kayne (1975), Oehrle (1976) etc.

12 a. I knitted this sweater for our baby

    b. I knitted our baby this sweater   (Kayne 1975)

Kayne demonstrated that in (12a), the speaker may not actually have a child at the time of speaking, but (12b) the double object structure implicates the existence of a child who can receive a possessor theta role.

13 a. John taught the students French

    b. John taught French to the students   (Oehrle 1976)

The two sentences differ in their implication in that the e.g.12a could mean the students actually learnt some French who can be paraphrased as the possessor of knowledge of French.

Larson (1998) discusses 'discontinuous idioms' like *sent* something *to the showers, take* one *to task* etc to provide evidence for the argument that the verb and the indirect object make a constituent. Discussing these idiom chunks, Harley shows that none of the idioms that Larson examines can have a double object structure.

14 a. Mary *took* Felix *to task*

    b. *Mary took task Felix

15 a. I sent the salesman to the devil

b. *I sent the devil the salesman   (Harley 2001)

Harley employs Larson's own argument for alternative projections for verbs like *blame* to make a case for a non-derivational approach. Given the possessor interpretation of double object constructions (which is unavailable in double complement structures) and the 'unshiftability of the V-PP idiom chunks', it is argued that these constructions actually encode different thematic relations. This in turn would ensure, (following Relativised UTAH itself) that an approach where one is derived from the other is untenable. Both the double object construction and double complement construction have to be treated as base generated structures. In her analysis Harley makes an attempt to base generate the two alternating structures.

Harley's work starts from the premise that all languages represent *have* underlyingly as *be+preposition*. Harley calls this preposition P_{HAVE}. In addition, Harley argues "*to* does not head the PP complement to V in the double complement structure, but rather that an abstract locative preposition P_{LOC} does." Thus, the two corresponding structures are:

```
                vP
        _____/‾‾‾_____
      ...              v'
               _____/‾‾‾_____
              v                 PP
              |          _____/‾‾‾_____
            CAUSE      DP                 P'
                       ▽          _____/‾‾‾_____
                    a letter     P                 PP
                                 |                 ▽
                               P_LOC            to Mary
```

16 a. Double Complement Structure

```
                vP
        _____/‾‾‾_____
      ...              v'
               _____/‾‾‾_____
              v                 PP
              |          _____/‾‾‾_____
            CAUSE      DP                 P'
                       ▽          _____/‾‾‾_____
                     Mary        P                 PP
                                 |                 ▽
                               P_HAVE           a letter
```
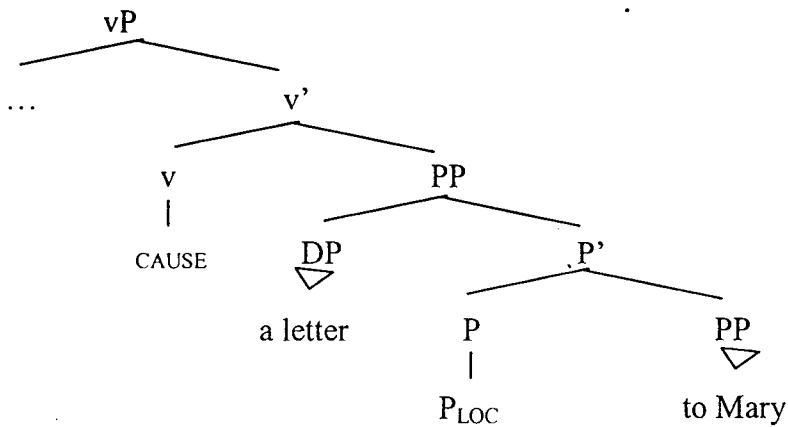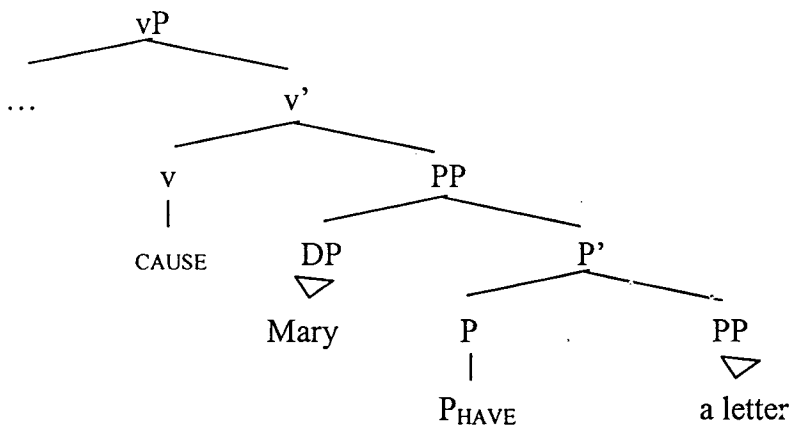
16 b. Double Object Structure.

The conceptualization of *have* as *be+prep* leads to a two-way distinction of languages where possession can be expressed either through a verb or through the combination of a preposition and a copula. English belongs to the first category with a verb *have* to express possession. Harley predicts that there should be a third category of languages also which lack the preposition necessary to encode the *have* relation at all. She further makes a correlation between 'the availability

of *have* in a language with the availability of a double object construction in that language' such that languages which lack *have* would not produce double object constructions.

In Malayalam, apart from Genitives, the possessor – possessee relation can be captured by the *uɳdə* constructions with a Dative marked possessor.

17.　Shiju-vinə　oʀu　peːna/peɳɳaɭ　uɳdə

　　　Shiju-DAT　one　pen/sister　　　copula-PRE

　　　Shiju has a pen/sister.

At first sight this looks like a *have* construction though the possessor is marked Dative. However, it is not only possession that is encoded through the Dative-uɳdə constructions.

18.　Shiju-winu　wiʂappə　　uɳdə

　　　Shiju-DAT　hunger　　copula-PRE

　　　Shiju is hungry

In fact, *uɳdə* is the stage level BE in Malayalam whereas *aːŋə* is the individual level BE as can be seen from the following[3]: (Refer chapter 3 for a detailed discussion on this)

---

[3] Mohanan and Mohanan (1999) argue that *aːŋ* and *uɳd* are respectively equative and existential copulas.

19. Martin   matiyan   a:ŋə

    Martin-NOM   lazy fellow copula-PRE

    Martin is a lazy fellow.

20. Martinə   buDʰi   uŋdə

    Martin-DAT   intelligence copula-PRE

    Martin has intelligence.

Consequently, it can be argued that Malayalam does not have the verb *have* to express possession. This in Harley's framework, then, entails that Malayalam can not produce double object constructions; a prediction which is in concurrence with the discrepancies noted earlier[4] like the ungrammaticality of passivisation of the Indirect Object shown in (5).

Also, it should be noted that the Dative in Malayalam marks a variety of thematic relations and appears in a number of constructions

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[4] Malayalam also shows that Harley's claim is not very well-founded since a certain class of verbs in Malayalam like *fill* behaves like their English counterpart which is inexplicable in Harley's analysis since Malayalam does not have either P_{HAVE} or P_{LOC}. The assumption here is that Harley has to utilize the same P_{HAVE} / P_{LOC} structure to explain the spray-load type alternations also.
1.   Binuja   kuppi-yil   maDʸam niraccu
     B-NOM   bottle-LOC liquor fill-PST
     Binuja filled liquor in the bottle
2.   Binuja   kuppi   maDʸam koŋd   niraccu
     B-NOM   bottle   liquor with   fill-PST
     Binuja filled the bottle with liquor
This charecteristic of the verb is carried on to the unaccusative form of the verb also.
3.   hrdayam   sne:ham koŋd   niraññu
     heart   love   with   fill-PST
Heart filled with love
4.   hrdaya-ttil   sne:ham   niraññu
     heart-LOC   love   fill-PST
Love filled in heart

P, 32; 38

P3

21   *TH - 112.02*
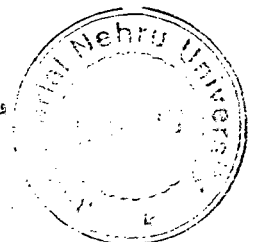
which does not fit into any of current analyses. At least in ditransitive constructions and verbs of change of locations Dative shows up on the Goal argument, and marks delimitation[5]. There had been some attempts like Kiparsky (2001), Svenonius (2002) where attempts have been made to correlate case and aspect. In the particular case of Malayalam ditransitives, Jayaseelan (1995) has attempted to provide an analysis based completely on the Larsonian framework.

2.3   Other Analyses

Jayaseelan (1995) attempted to integrate the empirically different Malayalam facts into the Larsonian framework by employing Kayne (1994). He argued that the Larsonian analysis 'is consistent only with Kayne's claim that V takes its complement to the right universally'. Jayaseelan tried to derive the Malayalam word order by making use of a series of nested movements to various AGR phrases like AGR$_{CBLIQUE}$, AGR$_{IO}$, AGR$_{DO}$, and AGR$_{S}$.

First of all, Jayaseelan's work concerns itself only with the word order variation between a SVO language and a SOV language and not he meaning differences or differences in the argument structure. Moreover, in the current framework, where Agree can happen *in situ*, any proposal for mandatory movements for case as well as a profusion of functional

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[5] This is discussed in chapter 3, section 3.1.4

projections whose sole function is to assign case/achieve agreement are questionable. Another big change in the current theoretical framework used in this study is that case is no longer a motivation for movement and consequently, the derivation of a particular word order cannot be contingent on the need for case.

Probing the case paradigms in Icelandic, Svenonius (2001) examined the relation between Structural, Semantic, and Idiosyncratic cases. He argues that all the three categories can be treated together based on the interpretable features of Inner Aspect or Aktionsart. The features he adheres to in the analysis, it was maintained, are not interpretable on the noun phrase as such. He discusses dative case in spray-load alternations[6] and analyses it as an instance of Structural case.

21. Hun spreyjar bilinn   me malningu

    she sprays   the car-ACC with paint

    She sprays the car with paint

22. Hun spreyjar malningu a bilinn

    she sprays   paint-DAT on the car

    She sprays paint on the car.   (Svenonius 2002)

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[6] Svenonius explains the famous spray-load alternation through a small clause analysis.

The argument put forward is that Dative case appears in spray-load alternations because of the particular Aktionsart instantiated in the examples. Svenonius argues that 'the activity denoted by the verb and the motion which is expressed in the small clause constitutes separate sub events in a larger event' in the example 21, unlike the example 20. Thus, 'it is the separation of the subevents which leads to the assignment of Dative case' in e.g.21.

Kiparsky (2001) discusses the separation between Morphological case and abstract case in some detail and, through Finnish data, tries to show that abstract cases are predictable from thematic structure to a much greater extent. Attempting to bring out the intricacies of the case system of Finnish in the framework of an OT-based syntax, Kiparsky argues that the case on Finnish objects is affected by the aspectual properties of the verb phrase in which they appear.

The analysis I present here is similar to those latter approaches in outlook but not in its essentials. In Malayalam it is not just the ditransitive construction that licenses Dative case. It is licensed in various other constructions also like verbs of motion, purpose adjuncts, subject experiences, and adjuncts of time. Evidently, all these different constructions involve different aspectual properties and thematic

relations which none of the works outlined above had been able to capture, thereby forcing an alternative analysis.

CHAPTER 3

DATIVES IN MALAYALAM

This chapter discusses the constructions in which Dative case is licensed and an attempt is made to determine the characteristic that may be considered common to these different constructions. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Dative marks Goal arguments in ditransitive constructions whereas, in an *uṇḍə* construction the Dative marked NP could be interpreted as a possessor. More interestingly, even within the class of ditransitives, the function of Dative changes when it comes to a location verb like *put* where Dative is an optional marking to show delimitation effects. In modal constructions Dative is used to mark volition. The following sections trace the nature and behaviour of Dative case in various constructions. The argument put forward is that Dative marked NPs do not behave like canonical arguments even if they are not optional with regard to the argument structure of the verb.

3.1 Datives and Event Structure

This section interrogates the relation between Datives and event structure mainly through verbs of spatial configuration, goal of motion verbs, and purpose/time adjuncts. On the first glance it would seem that

for many verbs which indicate a (change of) location in Malayalam, Locative is compatible with Dative giving rise to a LOC-DAT structure.

1a.   Rashmi   school-il   po:yi

R-NOM   school-LOC   go-PSt

Rashmi went to school

1b.   Rashmi   school-il-e:kkə   po:yi

R-NOM   school-LOC-DAT   go-PST

Rashmi went to the school

A close examination of these verbs, however, reveals that though Dative is seemingly capable of being superimposed in most of the cases on a Locative to form the LOC-DAT marking, there are nuanced constraints operating on the distribution of Dative with a Locative.

3.1.1 Verbs of Spatial Configuration

Datives realise the Goal argument in what Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1993) (henceforth L&R) terms as verbs of spatial configuration. Discussing these verbs, L&R classifies them into four: one type of causative meaning and three types of noncausative meanings. In Malayalam the causative meaning is brought about by causative morphology on the verb. The three non-causative classes are given below which brings to the fore the fact that LOC-DAT is not licensed freely.

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3.1.1.1 Maintain Position

This meaning describes the maintenance of a particular spatial configuration by an animate being.

2.   Archana   aяa maɲikku:r   kase:яa-yil (*e:kk∂)   iяunnu

    A-NOM   half hour   chair-LOC-(*DAT)   sit-PST

    Archana sat on the chair for two hours.

3.   Rachana   JNU-il-(*ekk∂)   ta:masikkunnu.

    R-nom   JNU-LOC-(*DAT)   stay-PRE

    Rachana stays in JNU

In these constructions it is ungrammatical to have a LOC-DAT marking on the NP.

3.1.1.2 Assume Position

This describes an animate being coming to be in a particular position under her control.

4a.   (ti:ccar-e kaɲɖappo:ɭ) kuttikaɭ wa§iyo:яa-TT-e:kk∂ ma:ri NiNNu

    (teacher-ACC   see-PST-then)   children-NOM   roadside-LOC-DAT

    changed stood

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The children moved to the roadside (when they saw the teacher) *meaning, the children were on the roadside, and they moved from the somewhere else to the roadside, presumably from the road.*

4b. *(ti:ccar-e kaŋdappo:ɭ) kuttikaɭ wa§iyo:ɻa-TT∂ ma:ri NiNNu

Going back to the *stay* example above, we have a contrast between *stay* and *shift* which could be treated at par with a denotation of assumed position.

5a. Sheeba Saket-il-e:kk∂ Ta:masam ma:tti

     S-NOM Saket-LOC-DAT stay$_{noun}$ changed

     Sheeba shifted to Saket

5b. *Sheeba Saket-il Ta:masam ma:tti

Thus, to get a reading of assumed position, the overlay of Dative is inevitable.

3.1.1.3 Simple Position

In this nonagentive meaning, the verb is typically predicated of nonanimates (or animates viewed as nonanimates). The locative phrase is obligatory in this type of construction.

6a. pustakam kattil-il kidappuŋd∂

     book cot-LOC lay-PERF

     Book is lying on the cot

6b.   *pustakam   kaṭṭil-il-e:kkə   kiḍappuṇḍə

From the examples shown above, it turns out that there is a difference in the meaning of plain Locative constructions and LOC-DAT constructions inasmuch as LOC-DAT is licensed only with assume position interpretations.

3.1.2 Verbs of Motion

These verbs which denote motion/change of location make a distinction in the use of Locative and LOC-DAT where LOC-DAT clearly marks the Goal of the verb.

7.   Sarosh   park-il   a:ŋə   o:ḍi-yatə

S-NOM   park-LOC   be-cleft   run-PST-it

It is in the park that Sarosh ran. (Sarosh ran in the park)

8.   Sarosh   park-il-e:kkə   a:ŋə   o:ḍi-yatə

S-NOM   park-LOC-DAT   be-cleft   run-PST-it

It is to the park that Sarosh ran (Sarosh ran to the park)

Evidently, LOC-DAT marks Goal, while Locative alone marks the location where the event takes place. This is all the more evident in the following example where (9) means that the subject was in that particular location at some point of time (10) has the location as a Goal.

9.   Asha   Delhi-yil   po:yittuɳd∂

A-NOM   Delhi-LOC   go-PST-PERF

Asha has been to Delhi

10.   Asha   Delhi-yil-e:kk∂   po:yittuɳd∂

A-NOM   Delhi-LOC-DAT   go-PST-PERF

Asha has left for Delhi.

3.1.3 Purpose/Time Adjuncts

Dative can be licensed in certain purpose, and time adjuncts in Malayalam. Though in case of time adjunct Dative generally indicates the approximate time span rather than the exact period, these constructions could be analysed as adjuncts that delimit the events that the verb denotes, in lines with Tenny (1989).

11.   ña:n   BA-kk∂   patʰikkunnʋ

I-NOM   BA-DAT   study-PRE

I study for BA

Here, the event of studying is delimited by the notion of a degree, the reception of which will designate an endpoint to that event.

12a.   ña:n   oяa:§catte:kk∂   wi:tt-il   po:yi

I-NOM   one week-DAT   home-LOC   go-PST

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I went home for a week.

12b. *ña:n   oяa:§ca   wi:tt-il   po:yi

I-NOM one week home-LOC go-PST

Similarly as above, in these sentences also, the subevent of 'being at

home' is delimited by the time span of one week.

In the next section briefly summary of the main concepts of Tenny

(1989) is given in order to facilitate a better understanding of the

problem.

3.1.4   Datives Signal Delimitedness

Section 3.1.4.1 summarises the main arguments of Tenny (1989).

In section 3.1.4.2, an analysis of Malayalam Datives in the light of the

observations of Tenny (1989) is attempted.

3.1.4.1 Tenny (1989)

Tenny (1989) seeks to establish a correlation between the

arguments of a verb and the aspectual properties of the verb. She

classifies events into delimited and non-delimited and attempts to

illustrate the correlation between these two types of events and their

argument by addressing the following English data:

13 a. destroy the city (in an hour/*for an hour)

b. climb a tree (in an hour/*for an hour)

14 a. like jazz (*in an hour/for an hour)

    b. push the car (*in an hour/for an hour)   (Tenny 1989)

The examples in 13 are delimited events whereas those in 14 are non-delimited events. Tenny proposes the grammaticality of temporal adverbial expressions like *in an hour* and *for an hour* as test to determine the delimitedness of an event. Another test that Tenny employs is the use of expressions like *halfway* where in the following pairs of example, a can be paraphrased as b.

15 a. perform a play halfway

    b. perform half a play   (Tenny 1989)

Confining her analysis to simple transitive and ditransitive verbs, Tenny claims that the internal argument of a verb 'measures out' the event denoted by the verb regardless of the fact whether the event is delimited or non-delimited as demonstrated below:

16 a. push a cart (*in an hour/for an hour)

    b. push a cart to New York (in an hour/?for an hour)   (Tenny 1989)

In this example, the verb and its direct argument represent a non-delimited event. Nevertheless, the addition of a Goal phrase delimits the event. Tenny argues that the direct internal argument of a verb

'measures out' the event whereas the indirect internal argument of the verb delimits the event. She proposes the Aspectual Interface Hypothesis to capture these correspondences.

17.   *Aspectual Interface Hypothesis:*

The mapping between thematic structure and syntactic argument structure is governed by aspectual properties. A universal aspectual structure associated with internal (direct), external, and oblique arguments in syntactic structure constrain the kinds of event participants that can occupy these positions. Only the aspectual part of thematic structure is visible to the syntax.

Tenny (1989) addresses only simple non-stative verbs, though she claims that (17) holds true for statives as well. Verbs with argument structure like propositional-argument-taking verbs also are left out.

3.1.4.2 Malayalam Facts

As Tenny's observations on delimitation of events seems to explain some of the constructions in Malayalam. This calls for a closer analysis of the constructions described earlier in the light of Tenny (1989), as all these constructions concern Dative marking exemplifying the Goal argument.

Among the three types of noncausative manifestations of verbs of spatial configurations that has been described earlier in section 3.1.1, only the *assume position* type license a Dative overlay. This suggests that both *maintain position* and *simple position* verbs are inherently non-delimited, and the Goal marking is semantically incongruous. As far as verbs of motion in section 3.1.2 are concerned the Dative marks Goal and acts as delimitation of the event. The examples are reproduced below:

4a.   (ti:ccar-e kaɳɖappo:l̪) kuttikal̪ wa§iyo:ɲa-TT-e:kk∂ ma:ri ninnu

      (teacher-ACC   see-PST-then)   children-NOM   roadside-LOC-DAT

      changed stood

      The children moved to the roadside (when they saw the teacher)

In this sentence, the end-point of the event is the moment the children reach the space 'roadside', thus this Dative marked NP provides delimitation

18.   Sarosh park-il   a:ŋ∂   o:ɖi-yat∂

      S-NOM   park-LOC   be-cleft   run-PST-it

      It is in the park that Sarosh ran. (Sarosh ran in the park)

19.   Sarosh park-il̪-e:kk∂   a:ŋ∂   o:ɖi-yat∂

      S-NOM   park-LOC-DAT   be-cleft   run-PST-it

      It is to the park that Sarosh ran (Sarosh ran to the park)

In the above examples, (18) is non-delimited; whereas the Dative marked NP in(19) makes it a delimited event.

Thus, Tenny's claim that the Goal argument delimits the event appears to be sustainable. However, one generalisation that Tenny (1989) seems to have overlooked is that a Goal phrase need not necessarily be an argument to delimit an event; by virtue of the fact that a Goal denotes an end point, all Goal phrases will delimit the event that it modifies. This is evident from section 3.1.3, where it is an adjunct that delimits the event. Conversely, not all indirect arguments delimit the verb.

20. Beig pulled the car from the garage

21. Beig received the book from Roy

22. Beig   pusTakam sañci-yil   waccu

    B-NOM book   bag-LOC   put-PST

Beig put the book in the bag. (*The location of the book changed from its initial location to inside the bag; the sentence actually refers more to the resultant changed location of the book than the event of changing the location of the book*)

In these sentences where the indirect argument is present, they do not contribute at all to delimiting the predicate. Thus, the Aspectual Interface Hypothesis as stated in 17 does not really hold.

Coming back to the case at hand, a close examination of the Malayalam sentences suggest that there is some connection between at least the delimitation of the event and Dative marked NPs, regardless of whether these NPs are counted as arguments or adjuncts. However, a broader search into the plethora of Dative licensing constructions in Malayalam indicates otherwise. Some of these constructions like so called Dative Subject Experiencer constructions are discussed in the following section.

3.2 Datives as Subject Experiencers

There are three strategies to form the rather broad category of subject experiencer predicates. The first is a small class of verbal roots like *wiʂ-* (✓hunger), *pani-* (✓fever) etc. which licenses a Dative marked NP. The second involves nominal predications with the verb *be* in its *uŋdə* form, and the third involves the *become* sense of be, *a·ŋə*. In the sections that follow, I discuss each in turn, indicating the direction that an analysis of these constructions will take[7].

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[7] There is a fourth way of expressing a state using the non-finite form of the verb/noun and the copula *a:ŋ* .

Non-finite Verb+ a:ŋ :-

a.	awan	ciʂikkuka	a:ŋ		b.	ku ikk	panikkuka	a:ŋ
	he-NOM	laugh-ND	be-PRE			child-DAT	fever-ND	be-PRE
	He is laughing					The child is having a fever		

Noun + a:ŋ :-

c.	awan	eppo:ʂum	ciʂi	a:ɳ		d.	awan	eppo:ʂum	pani	a:ɳ
	he-DAT	always	smile	be-PRE			he-DAT	always	fever	be-PRE
	He is always smiling						He is always having a fever.			

3.2.1 Class I: √hunger

Malayalam has a small class of predicates, mainly biological, that can be used as verbs and these take Dative as experiencer arguments.

23. Pramod-inu wiṣakkuNNu

   Pramod-DAT hunger-PRE

   Pramod is hungry

24. Pramod-inə panikkuNNu

   Pramod-DAT fever-PRE

   Pramod is having a fever

However, these sentences can be analysed as reduced clefts (Mohanan and Mohanan 1999) and can be expanded into full clefts as following:

a'. awan ciṛikkuka a:ŋ ceyyuNNaT
ceyyuNNaT
   he-NOM laugh-ND be-PRE do-PRE-it
PRE-it
   It is laughing that he does

b'. ku ikk panikkuka a:ŋ
   child-DAT fever-ND be-PRE do-PRE-it
   It is a fever that the child has.

c'. awan eppo:§um ciṛi a:ṇ uḷḷaT
uḷḷaT
   he-DAT always smile be-PRE be-PRE-it
be-PRE-it

d'. awan eppo:§um pani a:ṇ
   he-DAT always fever be-PRE

Non-clefted Sentences:-

a'. awan ciṛikkuNNu
   he-NOM laugh-PRE
   He laughs

b'. ku ikk panikkuNNu
   child-DAT fever-PRE
   The child has a fever

c'. awan eppo:§um ciṛi uŋd
   he-DAT always smile be-PRE
   He always has a smile

d'. awan pani uŋd
   he-DAT fever be-PRE
   He has fever.

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These Dative marked phrases are, however, not the subject of the sentence. This can be illustrated by their behaviour in the following contexts.

3.2.1.1 *Causativisation*

In Malayalam the subject can always participate in the causativisation process and turn into the Patient argument.

25 a. Binuja   ciṛiccu

B-NOM   laugh-PST

Binuja laughed

b. Meera   Binuja-ye ciṛippiccu

M-NOM B-ACC   laugh-CAUS-PST

Meera made Binuja laugh.

26 a. kuppi   potti

bottle-NOM   break-PST

Bottle broke.

b. Aniyan   kuppi   potticcu

A-NOM   bottle   break-CAUS-PST

Aniyan broke the bottle.

27 a. Gopan   kutti-ye   Talli

G-NOM   child-ACC beat-PST

Gopan beat the child

b. Rajan   Gopan-e-kkoṇḍə   kutti-ye   Talliccu

R-NOM   G-ACC-by   ·   child-ACC beat-CAUS-PST

Rajan made Gopan beat the child.

On the other hand, Dative experiencers are not able to undergo this process unlike their Nominative Subject counterparts[8].

28.   * Ranjith/kari-yuḍe maṇam   Pramod-ine   wiṣappiccu

R-NOM/curry-GEN fragrance P-ACC   hunger-CAUS-PST

Ranjith/fragrance of the curry made Pramod hungry

3.2.1.2   *Emphatic Reflexive*

The emphatic reflexive *swayam* in Malayalam exhibits strictly subject oriented properties in its behaviour.

29.   George$_i$ kutti$_j$-ye   swayam$_{i/*j}$ NaḍaTTi

---

[8] One apparent exception is the following:
   a. enikk we:DanikkuNNU   Vs. b. awan   enne   we:DanippikkuNNu
      I-DAT hurt-PRE   he-NOM I-ACC hurt-CAUS-PRE
However, it should be noted that *we:Dana* in Malayalam can denote both physical and mental pain and is a loan word from Sanskrit. Thus a NOM version of the word also is available in the lexicon:
   c. ña:n [awane o:rTT   ] we:Daniccu
      I-NOM he-ACC remember-PRT ached
Thus it could be argued that b is actually related to c and not a.
Another interesting fact from Malayalam related to word denoting pain is that the Malayalam word for pain *No:wuka* takes only DAT NP and behaves like other Class I verbs.
Note: enikk Tala we:DanikkuNNU   Vs. * awan   enne   Tala we:DanippikkuNNu
      I-Dat head hurt-PRE   he-NOM I-ACC head hurt-Caus-PRE
      I am having a headache   He is causing me a headache.

G-NOM   child-ACC   self   walk-CAUS-PST

George himself made the child walk.

30.   George   swayam   ciṛiccu

G-NOM   self   laugh-PST

George laughed himself

31.   kappal   swayam   muŋŋi

ship   self   sink-PST

Ship sank itself.

Dative experiencers, however, cannot bind the reflexive *swayam* in these kinds of constructions.

32.   *Deepa-kkə   swayam   wiṣaNNu

D-DAT   self   hunger-PST

Deepa herself became hungry.

Thus, it turns out that the Dative experiencers do not actually behave like the internal or external argument of the verb as can be seen from their contrasting behaviour vis-à-vis the subjects of unergative, unaccusative , and transitive verbs.

3.2.2 Class II: The Noun + BE/waя- Construction

3.2.2.1 Copula in Malayalam

In literature, *uɳɖə* and *a:ŋə* are usually held to be two forms of the verb BE. Mohanan and Mohanan (1999) has argued that these are actually the existential and equative copula. The analysis outlines environments of the copular constructions as follows:

Form	Meaning	Neutral	Non-neutral
(A) NP-NOM cop NP-NOM	x is an element/subset of y	a:ŋə	---
(B) NP-DAT cop NP-NOM	possession, experience	uɳɖə	a:ŋə
(C) NP-NOM cop NP-LOC	location	uɳɖə	a:ŋə

Their proposition is that *uɳɖə* is an existential copula with the meaning of [x EXIST (LOC y)]' where y is an abstract or concrete entity in the semantic fields of experience, location or possession. It occurs in environments (B) and (C). a:ŋə is assumed to have a dual funtion: (i) It is a plain eqative copula with the meaning of [x BE y], occuring in environment (A). (ii) It is also a cleft-marker occuring in environments (B) and (C), yielding a reduced cleft of existential clauses whose full version contains the existential verb *uɳɖə*. In other words, when the copula in (B) and (C) is *a:ŋə*, it is a cleft of the corresponding *uɳɖə* class.

However, on a closer examination it appears that though the argument for reduced clefts are empirically well-motivated, the claim

about the nature of the two copulas are not well founded as, for example, the following use of *a·ŋə* cannot be explained by positing it to be the equative copula:

33 a. Reshmita-kkə sanTošam a·yi

       R-DAT happiness BE-PST

       Reshmita became happy

  b. Reshmita-kkə MA degree a·yi

       R-DAT MA degree BE-PST

       Reshmita got MA degree

In fact, the *a·ŋə/uŋdə* distinction could be explained in tandem with more general theories of predication. The relevant distinction seems to be one of stage level vs. individual level predication as introduced by Carlson (1977). Stage level (SL) predicates are predicated of stages, and represent a temporary or transitory quality while individual-level (IL) predicates are predicated of individuals, and represent more permanent qualities. These descriptions fit well enough to the *a·ŋə* and *uŋdə* in Malayalam.

34. Biju buDʰima·n a·ŋə (*uŋdə)

     B-NOM intelligent man be-PRE

     Biju is an intelligent man.

35.   Biju-win∂   buDʰI   uɳd∂ (*aːŋ∂)

      B-DAT   intelligence be-PRE

      Biju has intelligence

Thus the correlation is that *uɳd∂* is a stage level predicate while *aːŋ∂* is an individual level copula.

Kratzer (1995) has suggested that one of the differences between a stage level and an individual level predicate is that a stage level has an extra event argument in their representation. Diesing (1988) has argued that subjects of stage level predicates are generated at spec VP. If this is correct, then it correlates with Larson's observation on ditransitives where the theme argument is merged at [Spec VP]. These observations about the two levels of predicates will be dealt with later.

Apart from the Stage level and the individual level, the verb BE in Malayalam seems to function also as the predicate to denote a change of state as in the English verb *become*. Including this, then, we have a three-way typology of the verbs; (i) BE as the individual level copula *aːŋ∂*, (ii) BE functioning as BECOME/COME INTO BEING as the verb *aːkuNNu*, and (iii) BE as the stage level predicate *uɳd∂*. The distinction is very clear from the tense inflections, negation etc., though at the first instance the individual level copula and BECOME are often pattern together.

36.   Raman   яa:ja:w∂   a:ŋ∂ (IL)/a:kuNNu (BECOME)

R-NOM   king-?   be-PRE

Raman is the king

37 a.   Raman   яa:ja:w∂   a:yiяuNNU

R-NOM   king-?   be-PST

Raman was the king   (Individual Level Copula)

b. Raman   яa:ja:w∂   a:yi

R-NOM   king-?   become-PST

Raman became the king

The Tense inflection brings about the change in the meaning as in (37a)

it is -iяuNNu whereas in (37b) it is –i. Generally, in Malayalam, -iяuNNu

is used to impart a sense of perfective.

c. Raman∂   bʰa:яʸa   a:yi

R-DAT   wife   BE-PST

A wife came into being for Raman (→ Ram got a wife)

Similar difference between BE (IL) and BECOME is distinguishable in

negative sentences also.

38.   Raman   яa:ja:w∂   alla:yiяuNNu

R-NOM   king-?   NEG-be-PST

Raman was not the king   (Individual Level Copula)

39 a. Raman   яa:ja:w∂   a:yilla

R-NOM   king-?   become-PST-NEG

Raman did not become the king

b. Raman∂   jo:li   oNNum   a:yilla

R-DAT   job   one-CONJ   BE-PST-NEG

No job has materialised for Ram (→ Ram did not get any job)

The causative a:kki also is possible where the verb become is concerned, which is impossible with the IL copula.

40.   Ra:waŋan   Raman-e   яa:ja:w∂   a:kki

Ravana-NOM   Ram-ACC   king   become-CAUS

Ravana made Ram a king

On the other hand, clefting is possible only with the IL Copula, and not with the become verb.

41.   Raman   a:yiяuNNu   Rawaŋane   koNNaT∂

R-NOM   be-PST   R-ACC   kill-PST-it

It was Ram who killed Ravana

In contrast, e.g.40 is ill-formed.

42.   * Raman   a:yi   Rawaŋane   koNNaT∂

R-NOM   become-PST   R-ACC   kill-PST-it

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Thus there exists a clearcut three-way distinction in the interpretation of the copular verbs in Malayalam[9].

3.2.2.2 Noun + uŋdə/waя- Construction

Among this three-way distinction, it is the stage level predicate *uŋdə* that is examined in this section as it consistently licenses Dative case with different interpretations like possessor, and experiencer.

43. Martin-*ə*   яaŋd*ə*pu:ccakał   uŋd*ə*

Martin-DAT two   cats-NOM   be-PRE

Martin has two cats.

44. Martin*ə*   pani uŋd*ə*

Martin-DAT fever be-PRE

Martin has fever.

45. Martin*ə*   яaŋd*ə* kuttikał   uŋd*ə*

Martin-DAT two   children-NOM   be-PRE

Martin has two kids.

In the above sentences also, the Dative marked NP does not behave like a Subject, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of the following constructions. (46) shows that the subject *Martin* does not license the reflexive *swaym*.

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[9] The reference here concerns only with the interpretations of the functional v in configuration with the copular verbs. This is not to be confused with any claims/analysis to the effect of Tense differentiations, number of copular verbs etc.

46. *Martin∂   swayam   pani/kuttikał   uŋd∂

Martin-DAT self   fever/kids   be-PRE

Martin himself has fever/kids.

If the transformation of an argument's thematic role into Patient during

causativisation (as we saw in 40 and 41) can be accepted as an indication

of subjecthood, then it is the possessee ·· which is traditionally taken to

be the object ·· that fills in as the subject in the above constructions.

47. Martin   яaŋd∂ kuttikałe   uŋda·kki

M-NOM two   kids-ACC be-CAUS-PST

Martin fathered two kids [lit: Martin made two kids (come into

being)]

48. manušyan   Deywaŋŋałe   uŋda·kki

man-NOM   gods-ACC   be-CAUS-PST

Man made Gods

However, causativisation is not possible with sentences like 39.

49. * Martin∂   pani   uŋda·kki

Martin-DAT fever be-CAUS-PST

Martin has made fever (happen??).

Interestingly, the acceptable structure is 48

48

50.　Martin∂　　pani　waяuTTi

　　　　Martin-DAT　fever　come-CAUS-PST

　　　　Martin has made fever (happen??).

This type of constructions with noun + waя⁻ is discussed in a following section.

3.2.2.3 BE and Dative Case

It appears at first blush that Dative case is restricted to uɳd∂ alone. However, this is not entirely true, as a·ɳ∂ (become) does take a so called Dative 'experiencer subject' in the following constructions[10].

51.　George-in∂　bʰa·яya　　a·yi

　　　　George-DAT　wife　become-PST

　　　　George got a wife

As can be observed, this use of a·ɳ∂ is quite different from the regular use of a·ɳ∂ (become), in which the subject is an experiencer that undergoes the change of state. But in this case, the subject is the experiencer of an achieved state that it has not undergone. This can be verified by the ungrammaticality of a causative construction as well as the use of *swayam*.

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[10] This can be determined, among other characteristics, the use of a·yi -- the past tense for a·ɳ (become).

49

52. *George-inð swayam   bʰaːяya   aːyi

George-DAT self   wife   become-PST

George himself got a wife

53. *George-(inð)   bʰaːяya-ye aːkki

George-(DAT) wife-ACC   become-CAUS-PST

George made a wife become???

This would therefore suggest the generalisation for the licensing of

Dative is that, as examples (42), (43), (48) etc. Dative case is licensed on

entities that do not undergo a change of state. However, this cannot be

correct as the following example, to an extent, denotes a change in the

mental state of the experiencer.

54. George-inð sanToːšam   aːyi

George-DAT happiness   become-PST

George became happy

Moreover, the above generalisation makes the wrong prediction that all

be-in-a-state predicates should appear with Dative subjects, but on the

contrary, unergatives license Nominative subjects.

55. George uraɲɲuNNu

G-NOM   sleep-PRE

George sleeps

50

These verbs in their nominal form license Dative case with an unaccusative light verb like *come*.

56. George-in∂   urakkam   waяuNNu

     George-DAT   sleep   come-PRE

     George is sleepy (To-George sleep comes)

Interestingly, unaccusatives behave in a similar manner.

57. kuppi   wiŋɖu

     bottle   crack-PST

     The bottle cracked

58. kuppikk∂   wiɬɬal   wi:ŋu/waNNu

     bottle-DAT   crack   fall-PST/come-PST

     The bottle became cracked

Chandra (2000) has argued that in such constructions as 53 and 54 above, Dative is licensed at the specifier of the light verb by the complex predicate produced by the movement of the denominal to the light verb.   Chandra, adopting the arguments of Harley and Noyer (1998), suggests the semantics of the functional head to be *BECOME*.

The interpretation of the functional v has been the object of study for quite some time like Harley (1996), and Kidwai (2001). Harley (1996) argues that the domain of l-syntax is the domain of Narrow Syntax

below TP and CP. She puts forward the hypothesis that eventive verbs are represented in a double-layered VP shell, analogous to vP and VP, i.e., the functional and lexical layers. Translated, the vP involves projections by the event, and the VP involves the resultant state. These layers are referred to as EventP and BaseP respectively. EventP is responsible for the 'change of state' interpretation, while BaseP exhibits no reference at all to the eventiveness of the verb. The thematic roles agent/cause or experiencer is determined by the structural fact whether it is specifier of the EventP or the BaseP that is filled. Thus if the specifier of vP is filled, the phrase is attributed a causative reading. If the spec vP is absent, it leads to a non-causative *become/happen* reading.

Kidwai (2001) has made following generalisations about the different interpretations of functional v:

(a) v is interpreted as CAUSE if it is +EA and is merged with a VP headed by an externally caused verb of change of state

(b) v is interpreted as BECOME if it is −EA and is merged with a VP headed by an externally caused verb of change of state

(c) v is interpreted as BE if it is −EA and is merged with a VP headed by an inherently delimited predicate.

Kidwai derives these generalisations through the following mechanism:

(i)   a head is Φ-complete (H$_{COMP}$) iff it bears a complete set of uninterpretable features for each of its arguments, otherwise it is Φ-incomplete (H$_{INCOMP}$).

(ii)   v$_{COMP}$ selects V$_{COMP}$

(iii)   only v$_{COMP}$ may select for an external argument.

(iv)   v is interpreted as CAUSE if it is v$_{COMP}$, and as BE/BECOME if it is v$_{INCOMP}$.

Malayalam seems amenable to the above suggestions and extends that *happen, be,* and *become* are distinct interpretations of v and is contingent upon its inability to assign Accusative case (i.e., in the modal proposed by Kidwai, it is v$_{INCOMP}$). This fact is illustrated by the predicates that can directly license a Dative case (like the *hunger* class of verbs) or the noun+uṇḍ∂/waя⁻ complex predicates.

59.   Binduwin∂   ciяi   waNNu

Bindu-DAT   laughter   come-PST

Bindu felt like laughing.

In the above sentence, the interpretation of the EventP is that of *happen.*

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3.3 Conclusion

The traditional analysis of Dative has been that it is structural or inherent case assigned to an argument, either directly by the verb or mediated by a proposition. In the case of ditransitives Dative had been argued as inherent case assigned by the verb. Only location verbs were described as strictly adhering to the classical style argument structure V [-- NP PP][11]. Yet, in Malayalam these arguments show up with Dative marking.

Malayalam also queries the standard assumption that Case signifies a relation between an assigner head and its argument, as in Malayalam, adjuncts are licensed with Dative case (as in examples 11 and 12a).

As (53) shows, Dative case is licensed if v has the interpretation *happen*. Functional v has the interpretation *become/happen* if its complement does not contain an Accusative case. This is exemplified in (55). Furthermore, Dative marked entities are neither external nor internal arguments. This fact is evident from the failure of the causativisation tests described above in (44) and (49). Nor is a Dative experiencer the subject of the sentence as shown by the incompatibility of Dative experiencers with the subject oriented reflexive *swayam* as in

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[11] An interesting fact to note here is that the location/locatum verbs, which take strictly [-- NP PP] structure and do not undergo Dative shift, are the ones that can incorporate the N into the V to produce denominal verbs to form sentences like *Sanu boxed the apples*.

(45) and (50). Thus, the Datives in copular/light verb constructions also behave identical to the hunger class of verbs and in none of these constructions, the Dative marked NP is an external/internal argument or a subject of the sentence.

In Chapter 4, I will try to imbue these generalisations with explanatory depth.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF DITRANSITIVES

In this chapter I will develop the argument that the 'case-marker' Dative actually marks the existence of a pair-merge operation. Crucial to this proposal are the observations in chapter 3 that (a) Dative marked arguments do not behave like "arguments" in general, and (b) in Malayalam Dative marks non-arguments.

To build these proposals, the chapter is organised as follows: Section 4.1 puts into place the theoretical preliminaries about the framework that is assumed in this analysis. Section 4.2 discusses some aspects of Malayalam syntax that will be used as arguments for shaping the proposal. The licensing of the Dative on Subject Experiencers is examined in Section 4.3, and that on locative constructions is examined in section 4.4. Section 4.5 extends the argument developed here to ditransitives in Malayalam.

4.1   Theoretical Framework

The discussion here is a programmatic summary highlighting those aspects that are essential for the analysis developed in this dissertation. This contains brief synopsis of the paradigms espoused by

Chomsky (1998, 1999, 2001), Hale and Kayser (1993), and Reinhart (2000, 2001).

4.1.1 Chomsky (1998, 1999, 2001)

In the three papers *Minimalist Inquiries* (MI), *Derivation by Phase* (DbP), and *Beyond Explanatory Adequacy* (BEA) Chomsky outlines a framework for a derivational model for the study of language.

4.1.1.1 The Model

Chomsky assumes a Faculty of Language (FL), 'a component of human mind/brain dedicated to language'. FL has a 'genetically-determined initial state S_0 ... which maps primary linguistic data (PLD) to L'. Now, S_0 is the Universal Grammar and L is the particular grammar in the attained state. For the externalisation of language, interaction of the FL with other systems like the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) system and the Sensory Motor (SM) system is inevitable. This imposes certain conditions on FL which materialize as the principled elements of S_0. The language L generates a set of derivations resulting in the pair <PHON, SEM> with PHON being accessed by SM and SEM by C-I systems.

L has three components: Narrow Syntax (NS) the one-time selection of elements of LEX, the Lexical Array (LA), to a derivation D_{NS};

the phonological component Φ maps D_{NS} to PHON; the semantic component Σ maps D_{NS} to SEM. Σ is aasumed to be uniform for all L. The operation TRANSFER hands D_{NS} over to Φ and Σ, and Spell Out (S-O) is the mapping to Φ. The operation SIMPL, which is a part of the operation TRANSFER, converts the ordered pair $<\alpha, \beta>$ into the set $\{\alpha, \beta\}$.

4.1.1.2 The Derivation

Derivations proceed phase by phase, and CP and vP are considered to be phases, such that the interpretation/evaluation for PH_1 is at the next relevant phase PH_2. Phases can be strong or weak, a CP with force indicators is strong; so is a vP with full argument structure. The head of a phase PH is inert after the phase is completed, however, it may be assigned an EPP- and P-feature. The Phase Impenetrability Condition forbids the domain of the head H of phase α from being accessible to any operations outside α. Only the edge of α is available to outside operations.

Within the derivation, the language-specific operation Agree establishes a relation (case-checking, agreement) between an LI α and and a feature F in some restricted search space of the derivation. Agree can be explained through the mechanism of a *probe-goal* relation. The probe has an unvalued Φ-set which renders it *active*. The local relation

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of Agree is the process where the features of the probe is valued by a matching goal, and as a consequence, erased, making it *inactive.*

4.1.1.3 Order and Structure

The basic structure building operation in this framework is Merge. The free symmetrical operation set-merge takes two syntactic objects α and β and constructs the binary set {α, β}. However, set-merge has an inherent asymmetry in that when α, β merge, it is to satisfy the selectional requirement of one (the selector), not both. Also set-merge displays some properties of Agree as a feature F of one of the merged element must be satisfied for the operation to take place. The asymmetric operation of adjunction, pair-merge, constructs the ordered pair <α, β>, α adjoined to β, from α and β, the intuition being that α is adjoined to β in a separate plane. The adjoined element α leaves the category type of β unchanged. More over, it is pair-merge that actually contributes to the predicate composition.

During TRANSFER, the ordered pair <α, β> is converted into {α, β} by the operation SIMPL. In the structure <α, β>, α is integrated into the linearly ordered structure at the stage of derivation where β is spelt out such that the following generalisation is possible: 'α is spelt out where β is'.

Narrow Syntax operates through Merge. Now, Merge can be either internal or external. α and β are seperate syntactic objects for external merge while α is a part of β under internal merge. Internal merge results in the property of displacement and leaves a "copy" in place. Chomsky proposes that argument structure is associated with external merge (base structure); everything else with internal merge (derived structure).

4.1.2 Hale and Kayser (1994)

In their influential paper Hale and Kayser (1994) (H&K hereafter) argues for a 'syntactic view of lexical argument structure'. Thus, argument structure is to be identified with syntactic structures projected by lexical heads constrained by the established principles of syntax.

In the H&K framework, for instance, the head-complement relation between the functional v and lexical V, which is syntactic in nature, yields the semantic interpretation of *implication* $e_1 \rightarrow e_2$ where the matrix verb e_1 (v) implicates the subevent e_2 in a causal construction. The thematic roles Agent, Theme, Patient etc. can all be represented syntactically in similar way.

Still in the essentially representational framework, H&K assumes that it is only in certain contexts that the [Spec VP] can be projected; the verb alone does not have the ability to project [Spec VP]. This claim is

adherence to the Single Complement Hypothesis, which prohibits a head

form taking more than one complement in a binary branching structure.

According to H&K, it is only through predication, like say for instance,

the presence of an adjective as the complement, which can force a [Spec

VP].

4.1.3 Reinhart (2000, 2001)

Reinhart (2001) makes a novel attempt to capture the interaction

between the θ-system and the computational system. θ- System, in her

view, consists of at least

a. Lexical entries, with formal feature defining the θ- relations of

verb-entries

b. A set of arity operations on lexical entries

c. Marking procedures, which 'prepare' a verb-entry for syntactic

derivations: assign accusative case to the verb in the relevant

cases, and determine merging properties of arguments.

Reinhart takes recourse to eight feature clusters as the tools to

describe the θ- system-CS interface. These clusters are derived from the

basic +c and +m features. A +c feature is associated with a role perceived

as a sufficient condition, a +m feature is associated with some sort of a

mental state of the participant. In Reinhart (2000) this mental state is initially defined as 'properties of volition and intention'.

Now, 'the central feature enabling the interface between the θ-system and the Computational System (CS) is the accusative case (ACC)... two-place verbs also bring with them from the θ- system the ACC case on the verb and the specification that one of the DPs in the numeration must carry this feature as well.' Lexical entries demonstrate the relation between the clusters and ACC through the concept of 'Lexicon Marking'.

Lexicon Marking: Given an n-place verb-entry, n > 1,

    a. Mark a [-] cluster with index 2^{12}

    b. Mark a [+] cluster with index 1

    c. If the entry includes both a [+] cluster and a fully specified cluster [/α, /-c] mark the verb with the ACC feature.

As for the arity operations on the θ- grid, Reinhart illustrates three operations: (i) saturation, (ii) reduction, and (iii) expansion. Saturation applies in passive formation and middle constructions. Reduction reduces the verb's arity by one (reflexivisation and unaccusatives) whereas expansion includes causativisation. Reinhart gives two generalisations on these lexical operations

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[12] Reinhart follows the notation adopted by Williams (1981) where mapping of the θ- role is an integral part of the lexical entry. In this scheme, θ1 stands for the external argument and θ2, for the internal argument.

a. Saturation and reduction apply only to the marked entry (i.e. after the marking)

   b. Reduction eliminates the ACC feature of the verb (fully or partially)

In this system, it is the lexical marking and lexical operations that ultimately determine the order of merge. There are two instructions for merge:

   a. When nothing rules this out, merge externally

   b. An argument realising a cluster marked 2 merges internally; an argument realising a cluster marked 1 merges externally.

Reinhart notes that 'the marking system does not impose any further merging order among the internal [-] roles which are all marked with the same index 2, regardless pf how many of them the verb has... In the present system, the unary [-] clusters require inherent case: preposition or dative. This entails then that in a given set of internal arguments of a given verb, only one with a fully specified cluster [/α /β] is able to check the ACC case. So this may dictate the merging position of this argument.'

   The insight that will be adopted in the present analysis is that 'the central feature enabling the interface between the θ-system and the CS is the accusative case (ACC)'. According to Reinhart, though this feature

may not be legible even to the θ-system itself, it is legible to the CS. It is the ACC feature that enables the CS to determine the order of merge. Reinhart argues that the ACC feature is not legible to the inference systems and hence erased in the derivation though a phonological reflex of the operation is carried over to the PHON.

In fact, a closer look at this proposal renders it adaptable to the basic H&K template for a verb. As discussed in the previous section, H&K suggests that the lexical verb in itself is incapable of projecting a specifier and a verb can take only one complement. Now, it is possible to draw from Reinhart's analysis and try to integrate l-syntax into Narrow Syntax. The verbs adhere to the Single Complement Hypothesis because it is the presence or absence of the ACC feature that determines the characteristics of the verb. Since there is only one feature that is crucial for the verb in determining its relation with its arguments, it can satisfy only one complement. This actually dilutes down the need to posit an l-syntax level since the verb comes with a ±ACC feature the merge with the complement that bears an ACC case happens in the NS itself and the derivation continues.

4.2 Aspects of Malayalam Syntax

Before embarking on an analysis of ditransitives in Malayalam, some relevant general facts about Malayalam syntax are presented here, mainly pertaining to the nature of the lexical categories and the behaviour of T, v, and V.

4.2.1 Lexical Categories

Of the four categories N, A, V, and P, Malayalam does not have the category A[13]. The noun-verb distinction in Malayalam also is very blurred to the extent to posit that there exists only roots which manifest as nouns or verbs as per the environment in the structure they appear. For example, from the root √wiṣ- wiṣakkuka (verb, non-finite) and wiṣapp∂ (noun) can be formed.

The class of adpositions is rather amorphous, most of them being classifiers or simple words or grammaticalised frozen forms of verbs.

1. Rajan   ka:t∂   wa§i   sañcaяiccu

    R-NOM   forest   way   travel-PST

    Rajan travelled through the forest.   (Asher and Kumari 1996)

wa§i, which plays the role of adposition in the above sentence can be turned into the object of a participialised clause as below:

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[13] Except for a small class for size, quality etc. like waliya, ceriya, ci:TTa. Asher and Kumari (1996) states that all adjectives are derived through a relativisation process.

2. Rajan   sañcaяicca   wa§i

    R-NOM   travel-Prt   way

    The way through which Rajan traveled

3. kutti   ammaye   ku:ta:Te   po:yi

    child-NOM   mother-ACC   without   go-PST

    The child went without his mother   (Asher and Kumari 1996)

In the above example, the roots of the 'adposition' *ku:ta:Te* can be traced to the transitive verb/noun root √*ku:tt-* which means 'to take along, include etc.'.

4. Go:pan-e   kalikka:n   ku:ttaɳda

    G-ACC   play-INF   include-NEG

    Do not include Gopan while playing

√*ku:t-* is the unaccusative form of √*ku:tt-*

5. Gopan   kalikka:n   ku:ti

    G-NOM   play-INF   join-PST

    Gopan joined playing.

ku:ta:Te can, thus, be described as the Negative grammaticalised form of √*ku:t-*. The genealogy of most of the so called adpositions in Malayalam can be traced back to a verb/noun root or to a simple word like this.

4.2.2 Tense, and Negation

The assumption adopted in this study is that Malayalam has a Tense Phrase (TP), contrary to the claims of Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2002). The assumption is sustained by the *do*-support facts of Malayalam in co-ordinated constructions.

6 a. Madhu waʐikayum   Rahul poːwukayum ceyTu.

M-NOM come-NF-CONJ R-DAT go-INF-CONJ   do-PST

Madhu came and Rahul went

It is obvious from the above example that a TP exists, which has to get a *do*- support as in English at the instance of the absence of lexical verb morphology to be materialised. This is also parallel to the Bobaljik (1994) proposal that adjacency is a sufficient condition for an affix to be associated with an appropriate stem, even if the two elements remain structurally distinct in the syntax. In the non-coordinated sentences, the adjacency of T^0 and v^0 is manifested in such a way that the tense inflection appears affixed to the verb.

6 b. Madhu waNNu

M-NOM come-PST

Madhu came.

A further assumption drawn here is that the lexical verb rises to the functional v while T lowers to v. These claims receive corroboration from ECV constructions where the light verb displays the tense morphology. Though the main verbs consistently exhibit past tense morphology, I follow Hany Babu and Madhavan (2002) claim it to be an infinite form.

7 a.   Noor   data e§uTi

N-NOM data   write -PST

Noor wrote the data

[vP[VP data [tᵢ]] e§uTiᵢ]

b.   Noor   Rosmin-∂ data e§uTikkoɖuTTu

N-NOM R-DAT   data   write-INF give-PST

Noor wrote down the data for Rosmin.   (ECV)

[vP[VP data [e§uTi]] koɖuTTu]

As far as Negation is concerned, similar morphological manifestations leads us to claiming that Negation lowers onto T and then, together with T, to the verb.

8.   Noor   paяi:kša e§uTi

N-NOM exam   write-PST

Noor wrote the exam

9.   Noor   paяi:kša   e§uTi-yilla

N-NOM   exam   write-PST-NEG

Noor did not write the exam

4.3   LOC/LOC-DAT Alternation

Verbs of change of location in Malayalam alternatively licenses locative and locative-dative structures.

10 a. Arti   market-il   po:yi

A-NOM   market-LOC   go-PST

b. Arti   market-il-ekk∂   po:yi

A-NOM   market-LOC-DAT   go-PST

Arti went to the market

In Chapter 3, it has been observed that the Dative marked NPs do not behave like arguments of the verb. Given that the semantics of the functional v is derived from the compositional predication facts of the lexical VP, it is relevant to note the argument put forward in Chandra (2000) that Dative marked NPs are merged at the level of the functional v. It was also noted in the last chapter that with regard to change of location verbs, the generalisations of Tenny (1989) about Goal arguments is sustained to the extent that the Goal arguments are marked by Dative case in Malayalam and they do delimit the event described by the verb.

However, as pointed out earlier, it is not just the so called Goal argument that is licensed by Dative, but any delimiting phrase can show up with a Dative marking.

In order to explain this distribution, I wish to explore the suggestions of Chomsky (2001) in *BEA* about the Merge operation. It should be recalled from the previous section that Chomsky suggests that there are two types of structure building operations – set and pair merge, the latter involving concatenation of structures in n-dimensions. Chomsky further specifies that at the point of Spell-Out/TRANSFER, a pair-merged structure is SIMPL-ified into a set i.e., after TRANSFER, a pair-merged structure is homologous to a set-merged one. This entails that the structural distinction between arguments and adjuncts (set vs. pair merge) is actually elided by the time the interface is reached and the primary device of distinguishing arguments from adjuncts is purely semantics. However, the given difficulty in describing "pure semantics" in a theory where semantics is best read off structure, it could well be that the argument vs. adjunct distinction is an artifact of the theory, specially given that it is well known that many 'adjuncts' have an obligatory status e.g. the verb *behave* has an obligatory manner component that must be expressed.

Suppose then, we abandon the argument/adjunct distinction as it is formulated and seek to capture the distinction in terms of set vs. pair merge. Any category that checks a feature of the selector would, by definition, have to be set-merged with pair-merge being restricted to instances of predicate composition (broadly construed).

With this in mind, let us consider the instances in which the LOC/LOC-DAT are licensed. In (11), the Locative is not subcategorised for by the verb *BE,* which in fact takes no location arguments, so the relation must be one of pair-merge. In (12), as *stay* requires a location argument, the LOC[14] should be set-merged. In both the instances, the merger should be at the level of the lexical VP.

11. Madhu   Jhansi-yil   ti:ccar   a:ŋə

    M-NOM   J-LOC   teacher   be-PRE

    Madhu is a teacher in Jhansi

12. Shiju   Julie-ye   amma:wante wi:ttil   Ta:masippiccu

    S-NOM   J-ACC   uncle-GEN   house-LOC stay-CAUS-PST

    Shiju arranged for Julie's stay at uncle's house.

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[14] The locative marking can be argued to be a classifier-like mechanism that marks a pair-merged location rather than a case marking. For example, the verb *BE* does not assign any case, but in Malayalam *uŋd* can license a LOC marked location as shown in the following example:
a. Madhu   Jhansi-yil   uŋd
   M-NOM   J-LOC   be-PRE
   Madhu is in Jhansi.

Note that the Locative marked NP appears in the unmarked

construction in a position between the ACC marked complement and the

verb gives enough indication that the Locative is, in fact, merged at the

lexical VP level.

There are interpretive facts also which corroborates an analysis of

Locatives as merged at the lexical level – what Harley calls as a BaseP in

contrast to the EventP where the eventive interpretation of the phrase is

located.

13.　Dean　　kutti-ye　　murikkakaTT∂　　Nokki

　　　　D-NOM　child-ACC　room-inside-LOC　look-PST

　　　　Dean looked for the child inside the room

Here, the LOC XP is an adjunct, i.e., i is pair-merged. The interpretation

suggests that Dean can be inside the room and looking for the child

inside the same room. The Locative circumscribes the position/location of

the child rather than the event of looking, and this interpretation would

be available iff the Locative is merged at the BaseP i.e., the lexical VP

level.

Turning now to the LOC-DAT category, first note that (13) is

incompatible with a LOC-DAT XP as is shown in (14). 15 is the only

grammatical variant, (where the verb does not have the interpretation

look for). Under this interpretation, then, the LOC-DAT is also pair-merged but at a position higher than the BaseP, in the EventP domain[15].

14.   *Dean   kuttiye   murikkakaTTe:kk∂   Nokki

      D-NOM   child-ACC   room-inside-LOC-DAT   look-PST

      Dean looked the child into the room

15.   Dean   murikkakaTTe:kk∂   Nokki

      D-NOM   room-inside-LOC-DAT   look-PST

      Dean looked into the room

In (14b), the LOC-DAT clearly relates to the event of looking and hence, has to be merged at the EventP level i.e., the functional vP. After the operation SIMPL, the pair merged structures are converted into sets.

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[15] It is interesting to note that in sentences like (1a) and (1b) where an element performs the traditional role of an adjunct which simply extends the meaning, and is neither predicated of by the verb nor delimits the event, it materialises in the derivation as a different probe-goal system which is pair-merged in the derivation.

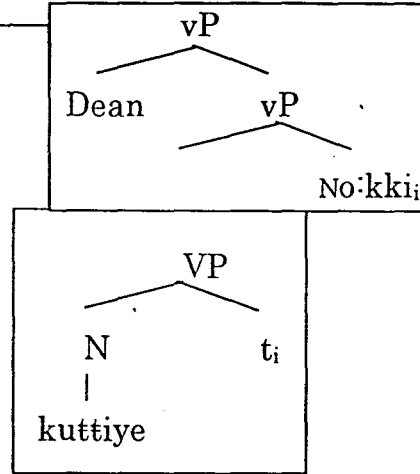1a.   Dean   London-il NiNN   CD   wa   i
           D-NOM   London-LOC stand-PRT   CD   buy-PST
           Dean bought a CD from London

1b.   Shinie Delhi-yil wacc   pusTakam   wa:yiccu
           S-NOM Delhi-LOC put-PRT   book   read-PST
           Shinie read the book in Delhi.

Thus in a sentence where the location is not predicated of by the verb, but appears as a modifier to it, Dative is not licensed. Sentence (1b) means that Shinie did the event of [reading the book] in Delhi. This, then, cannot be set-merged in the VP, it has to be merged after the VP is complete.
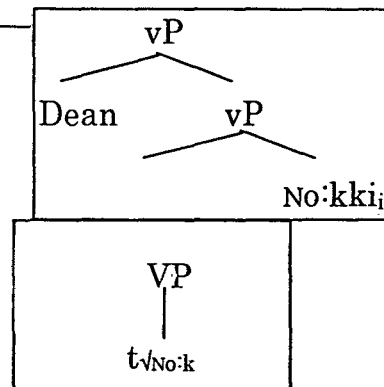
13'.   murikkakaTT∂ ◄————————

$$\begin{array}{c} vP \\ \diagup\;\diagdown \\ \text{Dean} \quad\; vP \\ \qquad \diagup\;\diagdown \\ \qquad\qquad \text{No:kki}_i \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} VP \\ \diagup\;\diagdown \\ N \qquad\quad t_i \\ | \\ \text{kuttiye} \end{array}$$

15'.

murikkakaTTE:KK∂ ◄————————

$$\begin{array}{c} vP \\ \diagup\;\diagdown \\ \text{Dean} \quad\; vP \\ \qquad \diagup\;\diagdown \\ \qquad\qquad \text{No:kki}_i \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} VP \\ | \\ t\sqrt{\text{No:k}} \end{array}$$

4.4   Experiencer Subjects

In the *BEA* system, an EA is an argument of the functional v. The distribution of this argument is determined by the Φ-completeness of the lexical VP. As per Kidwai (2003), this means that if the lexical verb has a +ACC feature, the functional v becomes v_{COMP} and can take an EA. In

Malayalam, Dative subjects do not occur with an Accusative complement which suggests that Dative is not the EA. This is confirmed by the facts discussed before – Datives do not behave like arguments or subjects.

As shown in Chapter 3, Dative case is licensed in configurations where the v-V complex attains the interpretation *become/happen*. This interpretation, as discussed by Kidwai (2003) is dependant on the features of the lexical V. To be precise, the interpretation of functional v as *become/happen* is determined by the inability of the lexical verb to license Accusative case. It was also shown in the previous chapter that the Dative marked NPs are neither internal nor external arguments in the traditional sense of arguments of a verb, nor do they behave like the subjects of a sentence. In this section an attempt is made to derive these constructions.
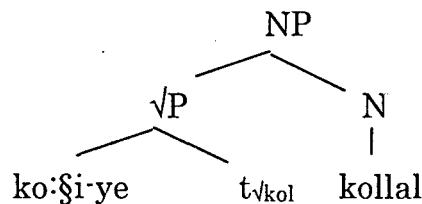
4.4.1   √hunger class

As described earlier, the noun/verb distinction is virtually non-existent in Malayalam; every verb can be construed as the materialization of a root. As shown in section 4.2.2, the lexical verb raises to the functional v. Now, in *BEA*, it is argued that if a syntactic object is constructed through the operation set-merge and if one of the objects is a root, then, it is the next Merge that should define what kind of element the root is going to be: the verb or the noun. For example in

the case of {see, OBJ} where *see* is a root, the next Merge should yield 16

(20 in *BEA*) where α is the verbaliser v or the nominaliser n.

16.   {α, {see, OBJ}}

Thus, in Malayalam it is possible to derive the deverbal nouns with their

objects set-merged to them:

17.   ko:§i-ye kollal   ente   jo:li   a:ŋə

       hen-ACC kill$_{NOUN}$ I-GEN work be-PRE

       Killing chicken is my job

```
                        NP
                      /    \
                  √P          N
                /    \        |
        ko:§i-ye    t√kol   kollal
```

It is posited in this study that the √*hunger* class of roots represent

states as opposed to unergative/unaccusative activity verbs like *laugh,*

sleep, break etc. Now, we can modify the suggestion in Kidwai (2001)

that 'a head is Φ-complete (H$_{COMP}$) iff it bears a complete set of

uninterpretable features for each of its arguments, otherwise it is Φ-

incomplete (H$_{INCOMP}$)' to a more precise definition of Φ-completeness as

follows:

In an amended Reinhart system, direct object complement can be

taken as bearing an ACC feature which determines the order of

merge among the entities that are predicated of the verb. Now, if a verb has a complement that is to be set-merged at the first instance, but does not have an ACC feature (e.g. the unaccusatives), then the V can be understood as V_{INCOMP}. V_{INCOMP} is selected by a v_{INCOMP} and hence cannot license an EA.

In the case of √*hunger* class of verbs, there is neither an external nor an internal argument as the data shows. Hence, the above hypothesis about the Φ-completeness of a verb can apply vacuously and consequently, the functional v can be argued to be v_{INCOMP}, thus deriving an interpretation of *happen* and is unable to license an EA. Hence, the only way an entity to which the state 'happens' can enter into the derivation to fulfill predicate requirements is through a pair-merge. Thus, consistent with the earlier position that Dative marked NPs are pair-merged structures, in the √hunger class also we get a pair-merged structure for a Dative marked NP. The derivation till vP level of e.g. 14 is as shown below.

18.   Shinie-kk∂ ◄——————┐


```
              vP
            /    \
        VP          v
        |           |
      t√wiş       wişakk
```
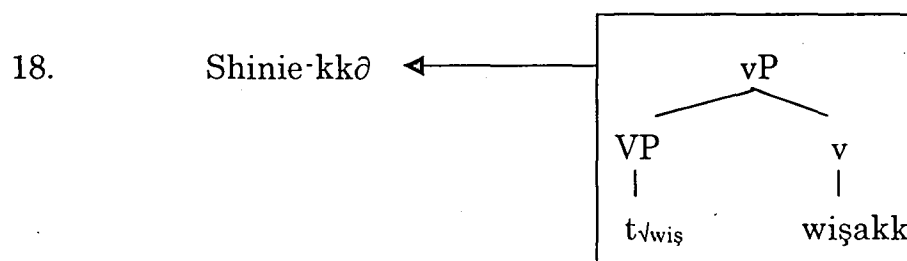
19. Shinie-kk∂   wişakkuNNu

   S-DAT   hunger-PRE

   Shinie is hungry

## 4.4.2 Noun + uŋɗ / waя-

In the case of Noun + uŋɗ∂/waя- construction, the relevant part of

the derivation (upto vP level) can be given as below.

20. enikk∂ kaяaccil waяuNNu

   I-DAT   cryNOUN   come-PRE

   I feel like crying (To-me crying comes)

In this type of constructions, the root materialises as a noun which can

be interpreted as performing the role of argument of the verb uŋɗ∂/waя-.

This leaves the entity that is predicated of the root to enter the

derivation as a pair-merged structure. For example, in the above

example, the argument of the root √kaя has no other option but to be

realised in a pair-merged structure. Consistent with the point made

earlier, the functional vP in the war- construction gets an interpretation

of *happen*.

enikk∂◄————————[vP / waя˙ᵢ]

[VP / N   t√waя / | / √kaя (kaяaccil)]
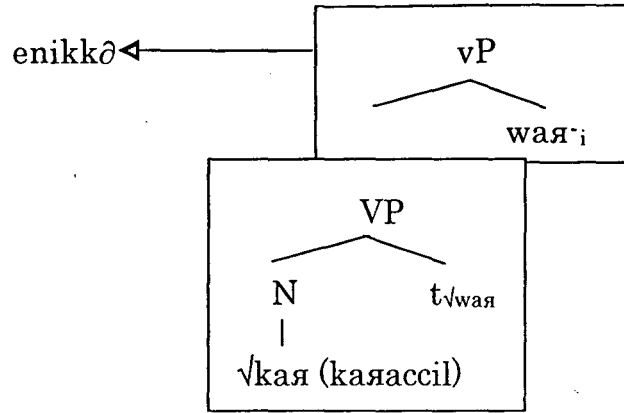
In case of the nominalised form of √hunger class of verbs, the rules of the derivation are the same.

21.   enikk∂   wiṣapp∂   uɳd∂

I-DAT   hunger-NOUN   be-PRE

I feel hungry

enikk∂ ◄————————[vP / uɳd∂ᵢ]

[VP / N   tᵢ / | / √wiṣ (wiṣapp∂)]
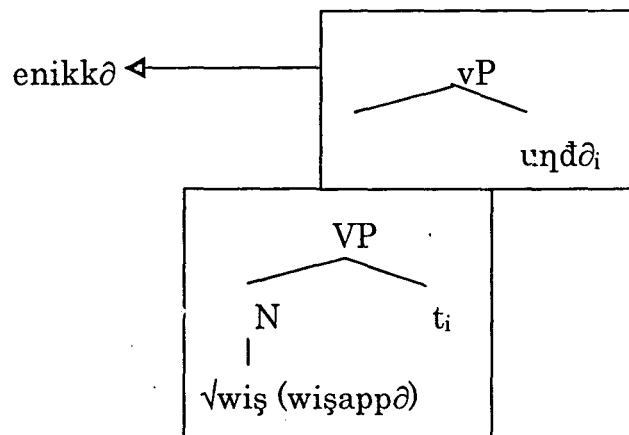
4.4.3 Noun + a:ɳ

The analysis for this type of construction is the same as described above. Recall the discussion in chapter 3 that one set of interpretations for the functional v in Malayalam in configuration with BE is

become/come into being. Apart from the interpretive differences, one important distinction between these two forms of BE is that when used as *become*, it functions as a two-place predicate, and when used as *come into being*, it functions as a one-place predicate. This difference is carried over to the functional v in that in its use as *become* an EA can be licensed; but *come into being* use cannot license an EA. Let us therefore consider the *come into being* as an instance of *BE* that is a lexical passive – i.e., it does not take an EA[16].

22.   Aniyan∂   kutti   a:yi

      A-DAT   child   BE-PST

   A child came into being for Aniyan (→ Aniyan got a child)

The derivation for this construction is the same as that for the SL copula, as the two have similar syntactic properties. The BE verb undergoes a set-merge with the object *kutti*. The verb then moves to functional v and imparts the interpretation *come into being* and values the feature of v as –EA. Now, when the element *Aniyan* comes into the derivation, it has no place for a set-merge though the element is relevant for the predicate composition. Thus this element is pair-merged at the vP level.

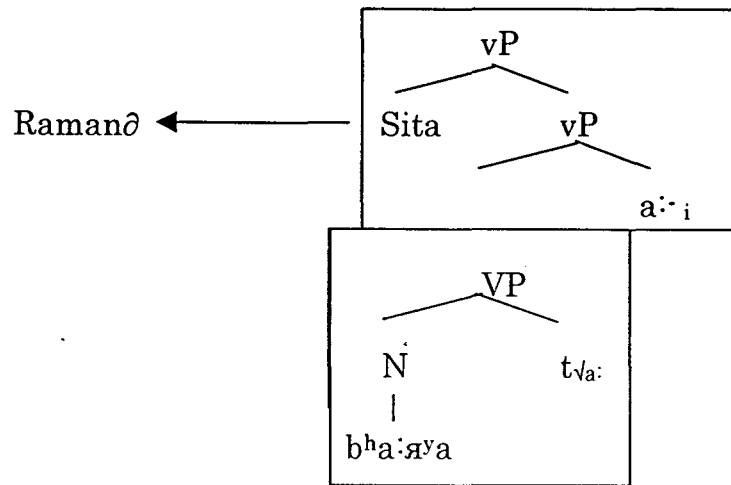[16] Note that *BE/come into being* are not unaccusatives

Aniyan∂ ◄─────── [vP
                    a:·ᵢ
   [VP
      N   t√a:
      |
      kutti]
   ]
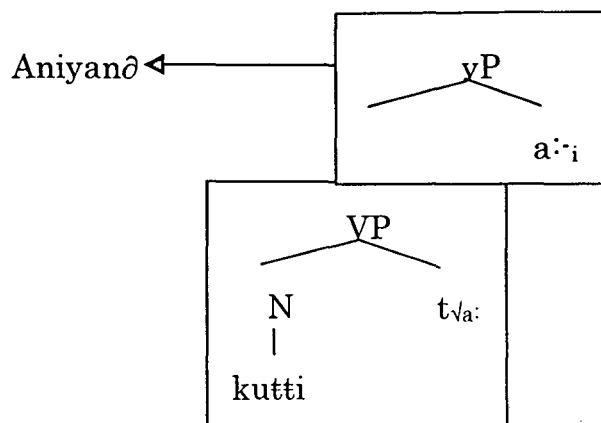
Dative is licensed in constructions were the copula is interpreted as be/become also.

23 a. Sita   Ramante bʰa:ʁʸa a:yiʁuNNu / a:yi

      S-NOM   R-GEN   wife   be-PST   /become-PST

      Sita was/bacame Raman's wife

   b. Sita   Raman∂   bʰa:ʁʸa a:yiʁuNNu / a:yi

      S-NOM   R-DAT   wife   be-PST   /become-PST

      Sita was/became a wife to Raman

As in the case of the other constructions, (18a) also can be derived as *Raman∂* pair-merged at the vP level for reasons of predicate composition, i.e., to introduce the element that is predicated of the event of Sita attaining wifehood as wifehood is a relationship that has to be predicated of another entity.

Raman∂ ◄───────

[tree diagram:]

vP
  Sita   vP
            a:ˑᵢ

VP
  N   t√a:
  |
  bʰa:ɽʸa

4.5 Ditransitives

As seen in the previous sections, Dative marked NPs in all other constructions are pair-merged structures. Not surprisingly, Dative marked NPs in ditransitives also share the properties described as that of Datives in the earlier sections. By analogy, then, Dative in ditransitives are pair-merged to the functional v level. For example, a process like passivisation makes the fact evident that in ditransitive also the Dative marked NP is not a conventional argument.

24 a. Gopan Reshmita-kk∂ oɽu pu:cca-ye koɖuTTu

G-NOM R-DAT one cat-ACC give-PST

Gopan gave a cat to Reshmita.

b. *Reshmita oɽu pu:cca-ye koɖukkappettu

R-NOM one cat-ACC give-CAUS-PST

Reshmita was given a cat

The use of the reflexive *Ta:n* also confirms to the status of Indirect

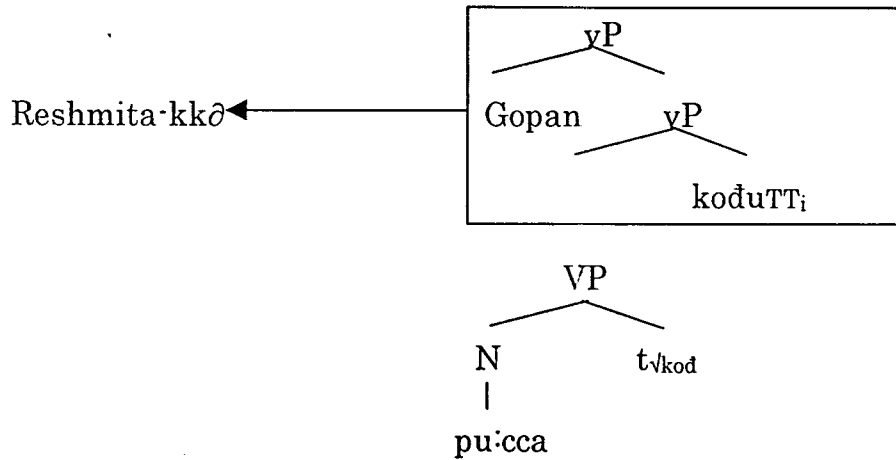Objects in Malayalam as different from the Direct Objects.

25.   Aniyan$_i$ Meera$_j$-ye Tante$_{i/j}$ wi:ttile:kk∂ ayaccu

A-NOM   M-ACC   self-GEN house-LOC-DAT send-PST

Aniyan sent Meera to self's house.

26.   Sarosh$_i$ Sheeba$_j$-kk∂ Tante$_{i/*j}$ pu:ccaye ayaccu

S-NOM   S-DAT   self-GEN cat-ACC send-PST

Sarosh sent self's cat to sheeba

The derivation of 17a can explained as: the root √kod has an ACC

feature specified and hence set-merges with pu:cca, the object. It is the

next merge that decide whether √kod is a noun or a verb. The verbaliser

v merges with it and the √kod, which is now defined as a verb rises to v.

The EA is merged to the vP. Now, the predicate composition needs the

end-point of the change of location to be present in the derivation.

However, there is no position where this can be set-merged as the Single

Complement Hypothesis maintains that a verb can have only one

complement, and according to Reinhart, this is marked out by the ACC

feature. Now, the Goal is not marked out as having an ACC feature, and

hence any chance of it being set-merged with the lexical verb is out of

question. Thus, the only option that remains is to pair-merge it in the derivation. As shown in the previous chapter, this pair merge happens at the vP level.

Reshmita-kk∂ ◄—————————
```
            vP
          /    \
    Gopan       vP
              /    \
            koɖuTTᵢ
```

```
        VP
      /    \
    N       t√kod
    |
  pu:cca
```

The analysis that Dative is pair-merged at the vP level in contrast to the Locative which is pair-merged at the lexical VP level works well with the LOC/LOC-DAT alternation in Ditransitives also.

27. Tina   Mills&Boon   sañci-yil   waccu

     T-NOM   MB   bag-LOC   put-PST

     Tina put the MB in the bag

28. Tina   Mills&Boon   sañci-yil-ekk∂   waccu

     T-NOM   MB   bag-LOC-DAT   put-PST

     Tina put the MB into the bag

In 18, the interpretation revolves around the MB in that the sentence can be taken to mean that the MB did change its location to the bag, in consistent with the analysis that the pair-merge of Locative must be at

the VP level. In sentence 19, the interpretation is that the end-point of the event of putting the MB is the bag, an eventive reading which is available only if the pair-merge is at the vP level.

Until now, we have examined ditransitives which takes a noun phrases as complement. The second class of ditransitives is those which usually take a proposition as the complement. Ditransitives like tell, promise etc. belong to this class. In Malayalam, these verbs generally license Sociative case.

29.　Reshmita　Rosmin-o:d∂ miŋḍa:n　paraññu

　　　R-NOM　　R-SOC　　　　speak-INF say-PST

　　　Reshmita told Rosmin to speak.

Like Datives, Sociative marked NPs also behave like adjuncts since Sociatives do not undergo passivisation or act as antecedents to the reflexive *TaNNe*.

30.　*Rosmin miŋḍa:n　parayappettu

　　　R-NOM　speak-INF say-CAUS-PST

　　　Rosmin was told to speak

31.　Sheeba_i Saroh_j-ino:d∂ Tante_{i/*j} kutti-ye-kkuricc∂ paraññu

　　　S-NOM　S-SOC　　　　self-GEN-about　　　　　say-PST

　　　Sheeba told Sarosh about self's child

With no evidence to the contrary, it can be posited, in analogy with Datives, that Sociatives are pair-merged at the functional vP level and the derivation is like that has been proposed for Dative structures.

4.6   Conclusion

The analysis outlined here has theoretical implications on the so-called argument structure relations in the grammar. As the analysis implies, one of the fallouts of a binary branching structure to represent Narrow syntactic derivation is that it a head can afford to have only one complement. The Single Complement Hypothesis thus bears upon the behaviour of the verb, dictating that it can have only one complement. This relation is explicated in the NS by the ACC feature on the verb[17] which set-merges with its object. Now, this kind of an analysis does not leave room for any conventional type of argument. And as per the model expounded in *BEA*, the typology of arguments and adjuncts do not serve any purpose whatsoever.

This forces us to recast our notions about the argument structure of verbs as well as case marking. Argument structure because, it is only the ACC marked NP that can be the argument of the verb. Rest of it is for predicate composition. This concept allows us to build a more restrictive theory of syntactic selection that is distinct from semantic

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[17] At least in this study, an ACC feature is not to be confused with an ACC case marking. ACC feature is perceived here as some indication on the verb that it can license a set-merged object.

roles. The SCH+ACC feature approach permits just one argument – the ACC feature-bearing element to be set-merged with lexical V and the EA to be merged with functional vP.

Case marking because, hitherto notions of Case have argued that case marking is the manifestation of a relation between a probe and a goal. For a probe and goal to enter into relation, they have to Agree. However, as shown in the Malayalam examples, Dative case marking appears on the pair-merged structures which undergo no process of Agree by any means. Similarly the Locative marking, which has been hitherto analysed as a case-marking, also shows up on a pair-merged structure. This leads to a concept of case marking as the morphological manifestation of the basic structure building operations like set/pair merge rather than a reflex of Agree, especially so given the fact that case-markings like Dative or Sociative show up in configuration where there is no probe-goal relation existing between these case-marked elements and any other syntactic objects in the derivation. In any event, after the operation SIMPL, there should be some mechanism to distinguish between the set-merged structures and the pair-merged structures. It can be posited that the only two externally set-merged elements are marked out as Accusative and Nominative, and markings like Sociative, Dative etc. are PF strategies to differentiate the

remaining structures. In the event of the pair merge of a separate probe-goal (somewhat closed) system, as in a PP[18], there is no need for the PF component to mark it out as not set-merged since it is self-evident[19].

Another interesting fallout of the consequences of the proposed analysis above is that it has repercussions in the realm of the SEM(H) concept put forward in *BEA*. SEM(H) is the semantic properties of the head (label). It is argued in *BEA* that argument structure can never be failed because the theta-theoretic properties of a head depends on the configuration and SEM(H). SEM(H) is an abstract quality, and like any quality, it is difficult to bring it into the domain of structure. However, if we propose that during the operation SIMPL, where all pair-merged structures would necessarily be converted into sets, some meaning is mandatorily assigned to the pair-merged structure and thus the derivation can never undergo a crash just because a wrong element was merged in the derivation.

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[18] Kayne (2001) has argued that prepositions can act as probes.
[19] Note that this eliminates the old argument that the verb can assign lexical case mediated by a preposition.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The analysis of ditransitives presented in this dissertation is intended to bring to the fore the relation between the free operations of Merge and argument structure. In concordance with the Single Complement Hypothesis, the Hale and Kayser argument that the verb in itself is incapable of projecting a [Spec VP], and the claim of Reinhart that it is the ACC feature that acts as a link between the CS and C_{HL} through its inclusion in the Lexical Entry, it has been argued in this dissertation that a verb takes only one argument with which it undergo the relation Agree, and consequently set-merge. Any other phrases that is mandatory for the predicate composition is to be pair-merged during the derivation as shown in the case of various Dative constructions. There are three points which I would like to highlight concerning the future research potential of this proposal.

5.1 English Ditransitives

Among English ditransitives, we have four broad categories of verbs: (i) *give* type of verbs (ii) *put* type of verbs (iii) *spray/load* alternation (iv) *take* class of verbs.

(i)   *Give* Class of Verbs

These are verbs which show the standard Dative vs. Double Object

alternation. These verbs involve a Theme and a Goal thematic role.

1.   Rachna gave a book to Lisa

2.   Rachna gave Lisa a book

(ii)   *Put* Class of Verbs

These are verbs which do not undergo Dative alternation, but

exhibits denominal verb formation. These involve Theme and Location

thematic roles.

3.   Arvind put the book on the table

4.   Arvind tabled the book

(iii)   *Load* Alternation

These are verbs, which exhibits alternating structures with

respect to the prepositions used. These verbs, as described by Tenny

(1989), involve two arguments either of which can be assumed to be

measuring out the event. Nevertheless, we can label the two arguments

as Theme and Goal.

5.   Ashish loaded the books on the truck

6.   Ashish loaded the truck with books

(iv) *Take* Class of Verbs

These verbs also do not undergo Dative alternation. However, they differ syntactically from the *put* class in that these verbs do not exhibit the process of denominal verb formation. Semantically, it is Theme and Source theta roles that are involved.

7.   Sanjay took a pen from Bindu

If the SCH holds for languages like English, we would expect the one of the 'arguments' of the verb to display the properties that are traditionally attributed to adjuncts like inability to be affected by passivisation. In fact, this turns out to be true, as in the above sentences, the PP/Dative-marked NP cannot be passivised.

1'.   *Lisa was given a book to

2'.   *A book was given Lisa

3'.   *The table was put a book on by Arti

5'.   *The truck was loaded the books on

6'.   *Books were loaded the truck with

7'.   *Bindu was taken a pen from

The property of English type languages, then, seems to be that the *give* and *load* class of ditransitive verbs are able to take either the Theme or the Goal as the complement, and the second NP is realised through either a PP or a Dative. Interestingly, the *put* class of verbs do not have

this property and they are the only constructions from which a denominal verb can be formed. *Take* class of verbs also do not show Dative alternation. The common factor for the compatibility of either argument as the complement thus seems to be that a Goal can act as a complement in English.

In case of Malayalam, it appears that only the Theme argument can be the complement of the lexical VP except for the *spray* class of verbs. The Goal argument is realised as a Dative marked NP, the source is realised as a PP and the location is marked b a Locative. In the case of PP, however, recall that the adpositions in Malayalam are rather participialised verbal phrases.

8.   Rajkishan   bag-il   poocca-ye   vaccu

      R-NOM   bag-LOC   cat-ACC   put-PST

      Rajkishan   put   the cat   in the bag.   (*put* class)

9.   Binuja   kuppi-yil   -maDʸam   niraccu

      B-NOM   bottle-LOC   liquor-ACC   fill-PST

      Binuja filled liquor in the bottle

10.   Binuja   kuppi   maDʸam koɳɖə   niraccu

      B-NOM   bottle-ACC   liquor   with   fill-PST

      Binuja filled the bottle with liquor   (*load* class)

11.　Biju　　Abhi-yude aduttu ninnu kutti-ye　　va:ɳɳi

　　　B-NOM A-GEN　　　near from　　child-ACC　buy-PST

　　　Biju bought a child from Abhi.　　　　　　　　　(*take* class)

In all these sentences, there is only one complement for the verb, namely, the ACC marked NP. As seen above, this is true for English also.

5.2　Realisations of Grammatical Functions

　　　In the theories of Case, the phenomenon is described as a reflex of a relation Agree between the selector (probe) and its goal. However, in Malayalam, Dative case marking is realised in pair-merged structures where there is no Agree relation between the syntactic objects involved. Also, it is intriguing to note that, in Malayalam, Dative or Locative marking shows up with constituents of derivation to define the grammatical relations in places where languages like English chose to express the same relation through a PP i.e., a different probe-goal system altogether.

Also, Arad (1998) points out that many languages express he

subject experiencers as locative structures, again a relation which is

realised through a case marking in Malayalam[20].

12.   There is in me a great admiration for painters

13.   yesh   bi paxad   (mi xatulim)

      there is in me fear (of cats)

      I am afraid of cats   (Hebrew/Arad 1998)

14.   Il y a   en Pierre un profond mepris de l'argent

      there is   in Pierre a   deep contempt of money

      Pierre has a deep contempt for money   (French/Arad 1998)

These facts raise questions about the possible reflexes of grammatical

relations between syntactic objects as in some languages case marking is

used while in other languages a PP is used as a manifestation of the

same relation. This, actually, leads us to believe that other than

Accusative case, there is some connection between case and PPs in that

both are strategies used by languages to indicate the same grammatical

relations.

---

[20] Note in these languages where the subject experiencer is expressed through a Locative, the compliment of the verb is a noun. In English, on the contrary, the subject experiencer can appear in Nominative as in *I am hungry*. This actually correlates with the SCH and the proposal by Hale and Kayser that a verb in itself cannot project a [Spec VP], but if it takes an adjective as compliment, the predicational requirement of the resultant VP can license [Spec VP].

5.3 Modal Constructions

The modal constructions in Malayalam pose some interesting problems with respect to the licensing of Dative case. The use of Dative in modals is dependant on an ability/volitionality interpretation.

15. awan   po:kaɳam

    he-NOM go-MOD-PRE

    He must go

16. awan∂   po:kaɳam   .

    he-DAT go-MOD-PRE

    He has to go

A closer examination of the Modal system is needed to decipher the syntactic restrictions on the distribution of Dative in these constructions.

I leave these observations as it is at this point. However, these will make a part of any further research on the problem as it raises relevant questions about the way various grammatical functions are manifested in language.

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