

COMPLEX PREDICATES IN MAITHILI

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By

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RECOMMENDATION LETTER

We hereby recommend that this dissertation entitled **COMPLEX PREDICATES IN MAITHILI** prepared by **Mr. Binod Kumar Yadav** under our supervision and guidance is accepted by the research committee to the final examination in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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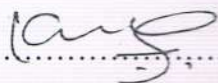

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APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled **Complex Predicates in Mathili** was submitted by **Mr. Binod Kumar Yadav** for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics**. I, hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted for the degree.

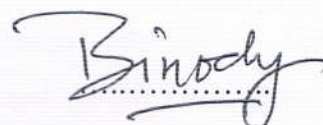
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled **COMPLEX PREDICATES IN MAITHILI** submitted to the office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Tribhuvan University, is an original work prepared under the supervision of my supervisors. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in course of writing this dissertation. The results presented in this dissertation have not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or any other purposes. No part of the contents of this dissertation has been published in any form before. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my dissertation.

Date: 2079/03/05



Binod Kumar Yadav

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of the complex predicates in Maithili within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) developed by Bresnan, Kaplan, Dalrymple, Alsina, Sells and others during the early 1980s as an alternate theory of the generative grammar. The work is based on the data from both sources: primary and secondary. The researcher as himself being a Maithili native speaker was the main source of information. However, three lecturers and one non-teaching staff of J. S. Murarka Multiple Campus Lahan were also the informants for verifying and providing the data. The researcher also collected the data from the written texts and published/unpublished research works of Maithili.

The study has been organized into nine chapters. Chapter one and chapter two present the introduction and background of the work and the basic information about the theoretical framework (Lexical Functional Grammar) respectively. Similarly, the third chapter shows the nominal and verbal systems of Maithili language based on the previous works. The Maithili complex predicates are examined in chapter four. Chapter five analyzes Maithili verbal complex predicates. Complex predicates comprising of two verbs are dealt in the sixth chapter. In the seventh chapter, nominal complex predicates are examined. The second last chapter explores adjectival and adverbial complex predicates and the ninth chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the work.

Complex predicates are the composition of two predicative elements/heads. In the case of morphological constructions, a predicate element/morpheme is suffixed with the main verb. But the syntactic constructions of the complex predicates consist of a verbal or non-verbal element as a host and the other as a verbal delexicalized element which jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause. Maithili, a SOV language, possesses complexity in verbal system, basically called converbs, complex verbs and complex predicates (verbs). The verb constructions functioning as complex predicates are examined within the LFG architecture which shows how four structures: argument, constituent, function and semantics are spread in a parallel form in a syntactic clause rather than in a derived mechanism. In Maithili, CP constructions are both: morphological and syntactic. The morphological causative CPs are formed

by the insertion of morphemes *-a* or *-ba* with the main verbs. Similarly, the combination of two separate predicative words (among which the second *lāga* ‘cause to do sth’ functions as causative marker) also form this construction in syntax, called periphrastic CPs (this is found with the Maithili dialect spoken in the southern part of Saptari). With CPs, there are two events, each with its predicate information at the level of argument structure, but there is only one predicate and one clause at the level of f-structure. Similarly, the permissive construction also consists of one single predicate (at the level of f-structure), even though it includes two verbs that also can be split into two events. In the series of V-V constructions, Maithili CPs consist of two parts: HOST (V1) and LIGHT VERBS (V2) wherein the former precedes the latter, and a given verb V2 occurs in collocation with another verb V1, not to make the predication, but to make a complex predicate jointly with V1 and they behave as a single predicating expression. Semantically, the light verbs are used with the polar verbs to contribute completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought, thoroughness, etc. depending on the items involved and on the circumstances the semantic notions encoded by each light verb. Some grammatical operations as tests; verb agreement, scrambling, adverbial modification, negation and coordination are applied to verify whether the constructions are complex predicates or not. Thus, Maithili language shows the CP constructions of verbal and non-verbal elements, i.e., a verbal element (light) is grouped with noun, adjective or adverb which function as host and verbs as light. The Maithili nominal complex predicate is formed by the combination of a noun as its nominal host and a verb (light verb) but the number of arguments, their case, and their meaning are jointly sanctioned, i.e., both have the quality of predicatehood in their way. Moreover, the Adj + Verb constructions are also found heavily in this language, but the Adv + V construction is used very less.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person	FOC	Focus
2	Second person	FUT	Future
3	Third person	GC	Grammatical category
A	Adjective	GEN	Genitive
ABL	Ablative	GERD	Gerundive participle
ACC	Accusative	GFS	Grammatical function structure
ACP	Aspectual complex predicate	GPSG	Generalized phrase structure
ADJ	Adjectival/Adjective	H	Honorific
ADV	Adverbial/adverb	HH	High honorific
AG	Agent	I	Inflectional
AGR	Agreement	IMP	Imperative
ARG	Argument	INF	Infinitive
AUX	Auxiliary	INFP	Infinitival participle
BEN	Benefactive/Beneficiary	INFV	Infinite verb
C	Consonant/ Constituent	INS	Instrumental
CAUS	Causative	INTR	Intransitive
CBS	Central bureau of statistics	IP	Inflectional phrase
COM	Commitative	IPA	International phonetic alphabet
COMP	Complementizer	IPFV	Imperfective
CONB	Converb	LFG	Lexical functional grammar
CONJP	Conjunctive participle	LIH	Lexical integrity hypothesis
CP	Complex predicate	LMT	Lexical mapping theory
CS	Constituent structure	LV	Light verb
D	Determiner	M	Masculine
DAT	Dative	MH	Mid-honorific
DP	Determiner phrase	N	Nominal, noun
EMPH	Emphatic	NEG	Negative
ET	Event transparent	NF	Non-finite
EXIS	Existential	NH	Non-honorific
F	Feminine/Functional	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
FMT	Functional mapping theory	NOM	Nominative

NP	Noun phrase	TAM	Tense aspect and mood
NPST	Non-past	TR	Transitive
OBJ	Object	TU	Tribhuvan University
OBL	Oblique	UG	Universal grammar
OPT	Optative	UGC	University grants commission
P	Patient-like argument	v	Vowel, verb
PA	Proto-agent	v1	First verb
PART	particle	v2	Second Verb
PASS	Passive	VEV	Vector verb
PCP	Permissive complex predicate	VOC	Vocative
PFV	Perfective	VP	Verb phrase
PL	Plural	VPOL	Polar verb
POSS	Possessive	VV	Verb-verb
PP	Proto-patient		
PRED	Predicate		
PREP	Preposition		
PROX	Proximate		
PRS	Present		
PST	Past		
PT	Patient		
PURP	purposive		
PV	Polar verb		
RECP	Reciprocal anaphora		
REFL	Reflexive		
RELP	Relative pronoun		
S	Sentence		
SAL	South Asian languages		
SEM	Semantic		
SG	Singular		
STR	Structure		
SUB	Subjunctive		
SUBJ	Subject		

LIST OF SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

φ	(phi) (used for showing c-structure to f-structure)
$\uparrow = \downarrow$	Used to indicate head part of a clause
$(\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) = \downarrow$	Used to indicate sub-head part of a clause
(-R)	Unrestricted
(+R)	Restricted
>	Thematic hierarchy
π	Word string to c-structure
α	f-structure to s-structure
δ	f-structure to discourse structure
λ	a-structure to f-structure
f	Function
X'	Bar theory
I^0	Read as inflection
I'	Indicating predicative part
'X > Y'	Thematic role 'X' is hierarchically higher than the thematic role 'Y'
P*	Proto-patient happens to be proto-agent

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

A simple sentence normally consists of two parts: one predicator (verb part) as a central one and another part in the form of its argument(s) functioning as subject, object, etc. depending on the nature of the predicator used. In sentence (1) below *the man* and *the mango* are two arguments (former one functioning as subject and latter as object) of the predicator *eats*.

(1) The man eats the mango.

It can be represented as:

(2) Sentence \longrightarrow Argument (subject) - Predicator - Argument (object)

Predicator (predicate) being a core of a sentence determines the occurrence of all the arguments in that particular structure. This also means that there are restrictions on what words can appear together in the same constructions, and in particular, what can be arguments of what predicates in any natural language. Depending on the nature of languages' structures, the arguments bear different types of markers, such as case marker, word order, preposition, adposition, agreement, number, and honorificity.

In sentence (1), the predicator *eats* is a simple predicate showing what is being eaten and takes two arguments where the argument *the man* refers to what is being talked about, i.e., subject, and the argument *the mango* refers to what is being eaten, i.e., object. In this construction, the verb (predicator) *eats* alone encodes both the arguments fully. However, this is not always the case with all predicators in all constructions. That is to say, one semantic unit represented by one lexical unit is not only the condition inside the predicate structure of a language. It is observed that the interacting association of a set of linguistic physical form (lexical words) with its semantic aspect gives three ways of interpretation:

- a. One semantic unit is realized by one lexical unit, i.e., one to one correspondence.
- b. One semantic unit is realized by more than one lexical unit, i.e., one to many correspondence (inflation of semantic unit).
- c. More than one semantic unit is by one lexical unit, i.e., many to one correspondence (conflation of semantic unit).

Among these types, the inflation of semantic unit (the second one), i.e., one semantic conceptual unit into more than one lexical unit is the domain of complex word formation in different languages, and is the central domain of the complex predicate constructions. In the literature of a predicate composition, the South Indian languages are massively characterized by the fact that two (or more than two) lexical units together form a single semantic unit, and this type of linguistic phenomenon has been interesting for many researchers in linguistic field.

This study explores the inflation of the semantic unit, i.e., how two predicative units are functioning together as a single predicate (complex predicate) for determining the whole morpho-syntactic and semantic mechanics in Maithili syntax and analyze them within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG in short) developed by Bresnan (1978; 1982b; 2001), Bresnan and Kaplan (1982), Alsina, Bresnan and Sells (1997), Kaplan (2001), Dalrymple (2001), and Bresnan, Asudeh, Toivonen and Wechsler (2016).

Maithili is a Neo-Indo Aryan (NIA) language spoken by about 30 million people mainly residing in the southern part of Nepal, Tarai region and in the northern part of Indian State of Bihar. As its name implies, Maithili is the language of residents of Mithila, the prehistoric ancient kingdom, which was ruled by King Janak and was the birthplace of Janaki or Sita (Lord Ram's concubine). This region was also called *ṭairābhukti* (Tairabhukti), the ancient name of Tirhut comprising both Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar, India. Although, modern Maithili is politically split into adjacent parts of two different nations: Nepal and India, it exists as an inalienable cultural entity mainly owing to the proximity and regular interaction between the Maithili speaking community of the two nations. Mithila is now a region located in North Bihar (India) and the south-eastern part Nepal, Tarai where its speakers have been residing since the ancient times. This language has also been alternatively called *Mithila Bhakha*, *Tirhutiya*, *Dehati*, *Theṭhi*, *ṭawāhāṭa* or *ṭapābhṛāmsā* (Yadava, 2001b).

Maithili is also used marginally in some of the adjoining Indian states like West Bengal, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh and the central Nepal, Tarai (Beames, 1878). Besides, the Maithili language is also spoken by many others as a second language in the north-eastern part of the Indian state of Bihar and eastern part of Nepal's Tarai. This language is the mother tongue of 11.67% of the total population of Nepal and has been the second language spoken in terms of the speakers, viz.

3,092,530 (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2011, Government of Nepal), residing in south-eastern plains known as the Tarai, i.e., of about 9 districts namely Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Udayapur, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi and Rautahat. Yadav (2003) states "The 2001 census of Nepal reports that a total of 2,797,382 persons (i.e. twice the number of speakers as of the 1971 census) speak Maithili natively in Nepal." Regarding the role and scope of this language, Yadava (1989) states:

Maithili is one of the major languages of Nepal and the Bihar state of India. In both states; Nepal and India, Maithili is predominantly used in all the contexts of role relationship of home domain within its speech community. He claims that it also functions as a *lingua franca* in communicating activities with non-Maithili speakers such as Hindi, Urdu and Nepali speakers in the Maithili region. Maithili is rich in both oral and written tradition. (pp. 55-68)

Similarly, regarding the writing system of Maithili, Jha (1974) states that Maithili script is called *mithilakchār* (Mithilakshar) or *tirāhuta* (Tirahuta), which is originated from *brahmi* (Brahmi) via the proto-Bengali script and it is similar to the modern Bengali and Oriya writing systems. Besides, the *mithilakchā* (Mithilakshar) script, the *kāithi* (Kaithi) script was also used by *kyāsthās* (Kayasthas). For the sake of ease in learning and printing, they have been gradually replaced by the *debnagri* (Devanagari) script. Yadav (2011) claims "today Maithili language is a highly sophisticated language with an impressive literature" (p. 3).

1.1.1 Verb construction

In the series of verbal constructions, languages are found to have one or more than one verbal item, syntactically placed together if there are more. However, two or more verbs cannot or can be the constituents of the same verb phrase in the constructions of multiple verbs. If multiple verbs mark for multiple actions/states, they do not constitute a single verbal unit. But if multiple verbs mark for a single action, they form a single unit resulting an independent clause. Both constructions are found in the languages. Masica (1976) states that chaining clauses using nonfinite verbal markers is an areal feature of the South Asian languages. It is found that verb chaining languages mark verbs in dependent and independent clauses differently. This is also true with the Maithili language verb formation. From syntactic and functional viewpoints, Maithili verb constructions are two types: basically called converbs and

complex verbs. In the first type, two or more verbs, independent in their own status, concatenate to express separate functions/events, but in the latter, they are tightly unified with each other and express a single certain function/action. Similarly, in the case of converbs, there are special verb forms that mark relative clause, complement clause or adverbial clause such as *-kə*, *-ite* or *-kele/lel* termed as conjunctive particles. The concept of converb and complex verb is briefly introduced here.

A converb is defined as a group of verbs placed together to show separate actions in different manners. It is a serial verb like construction wherein the first verb is in its nonfinite form marked with a conjunctive particle to function as an adverbial subordination. In Maithili, the conjunctive particles such as *-kə*, *-ite* or *-kele/lel* are marked with the first member and they separately serve the distinct events in sentences. Based on the manner of the verbs in a converb, it is grouped into three categories in Maithili. They are sequential converbs, simultaneous converbs, and purposive converbs¹.

Similarly, complex verbs are the verbal constructions having two predicative elements either in lexicon or in syntax and both of them contribute parts of information to form a single verbal unit that predicates the whole mechanism of a clause jointly. Such constructions are functionally named as complex predicates. They are further categorized into two groups; compound verbs that contain a sequence of two verb stems and function as single units, and conjunct verbs that consist of non-verbal elements (noun, adjective or adverb) followed by a small set of verbs (light verbs) in Maithili².

1.1.2 Complex predicates

Defining complex predicate (CP in short) is not straightforward. In an important work on complex predicates, Alsina, Bresnan and Sells (1997) edit some important papers covering a range of complex predicate constructions including resultatives, V-V compounds, preverb + V combinations, noun + light verb constructions, noun

¹ The different types of converbs are described with illustrative examples from Maithili in details in the section 3.3.1 respectively.

² Since the compound and conjunct verbs are treated as complex predicates which are the core descriptions of the work, they are extensively discussed with illustrative examples from Maithili in different chapters later. Similarly, they are also presented within the theoretical concept of Lexical Functional Grammar.

incorporation, and the other ways of construction in English. In a recent collection by Amberber, Baker and Harvey (2010), the term complex predicate is used for a wide variety of constructions including periphrastic causatives such as *Mary made him go to the shop*, verb particle combinations as *the child picked it up*, resultatives as *they hammered the iron flat*, and consider + predicate combinations as *she considers him (to be) intelligent*. Similarly, Poornima (2012) argues that "part of the reason for the diversity of constructions that can make up complex predicates is that they have proven problematic for linguistic theory, particularly for typical distinctions between the lexicon, morphology and syntax" (p. 2). In the verbal complex phenomena, normally a simple predicate has the simple syntactic structure with a single element in its predicate formation. When two or more predicative elements are combined together thereby affecting the argument structure of the simple predicate in terms of number of arguments, case marking or meaning (pragmatic values), it becomes a complex predicate which has a complex structure bearing a single subject and object or may have sometime two subjects (in case of causatives; covert and overt). Bhattra (2017, p. 38) states that there are complex verbal constructions in the South Asian languages which are lexically complex but functionally they are simple, and such constructions are called complex predicates in languages. So, a predicate in complex predicates consists of more than one semantic head but one of them (basically second) being bleached in its meaning. So, complex predicates can be simply understood as the combination of two semantic heads which constitute of a verbal or non-verbal element (noun, adjective and adverb) as a host/head and the other as a verbal element which is delexicalized/grammaticalized being semantically bleached and so called a light verb. Structurally, they (complex predicates) are in the forms of N/ADJ/ADV/V-V where the second V acts as a light verb which contributes the semantic and syntactic features to the clauses. Regarding the semantic roles a light verb bears in a clause interpretation, Masica (1976) states that "the light verb is used to contribute completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought and thoroughness" (p. 143).

In the constructions of complex verbs, two (more sometimes) semantic features of co-occurring two lexical (morphological in causative constructions) items combine together and these two items are termed differently by different researchers. Among these two, the first is acting as the lexical item termed as *polar* (Hook, 1974; 1991) and other item(s) combined with the first one is termed as *explicator* (Masica, 1976)

or *vector* (Hook, 1974; 1991) or *light verb* (Jespersen, 1965; Mohanan, 1994; Butt, 1995, as cited in Butt, 2010) in case of compound verb.³ This is the determining part for behaving a compound verb as a complex predicate or not. However, verbal complexity of having two verbal units is not only the possibility of the CP constructions in the South Asian languages⁴. Another highly productive constructions of CP are the combination of a non-verbal item with a verbal one, wherein the first categorical lexical item⁵ acts as *nominal host*, *adjectival host* or *adverbial host* and other item as *light verb* (Mohanan, 1994; Butt, 1995). These two items are combined together to form a complex predicate. Thus, the constructions having non-verbal with verbal item combination for predicating whole clauses are also called complex predicates which are termed as conjunct verb constructions or conjunct complex predicates. Mohanan (1994) in the construction of complex predicates found:

Hindi has a large number of verbs that serve an auxiliary function. In addition, some of these verbs combine productively with other verbs, adjectives and nouns to form complex predicates. In doing so, the verb may lose to varying degrees the syntactic and semantic structure that is associated with its main counterpart. Such a verb has been called light verb, and the entity it combines with is its host. (p. 9)

In the verbal constructions of Hindi, as Mohanan (1994) found, auxiliary like verbs can be grouped with other verbal or non-verbal items to form complex predicates wherein the second items (auxiliary like verbs) lose their semantic burden and happen to predicate together for whole syntactic mechanics. Similarly, Mohanan (1997) further explained that "a complex predicate construction is one in which two semantically predicative elements jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause" (p. 432).

In the description of the features of the South Asian languages, Mohanan (1994) claimed that "complex predicate formation is pervasive element in South Asian

³ Compound verbs are formed with the combination of two predicative verbal units; however Yadav (2004) defines such constructions as any combination of two verbs simply. The compound constructions which are treated as complex predicates in this dissertation are introduced in detail in chapter 6.

⁴ Asian South languages, viz. Hindi, Urdu, Bangla, Nepali, etc. are characterized by the compound constructions.

⁵ Here, the lexical item is the first predicative head which is not a verbal category (non-verbal) but functioning as a main part of the complex predicate when used with a verbal item called a light verb.

languages, with a wide range of predicate types participating the phenomenon. Nouns, adjectives, and non-finite forms of verbs can all combine with verbs fairly productively to form CPs" (p. 431).

Although Mohanan focuses on the syntactic constructions of complex predicates where she shows the combination of two lexical items determining the clause mechanism together, they are also in the lexicon as Alsina, Bresnan and Sells (1997) describe "complex predicates can be defined as predicates which are multi-headed; they are composed of more than one grammatical element (either morphemes or words), each of which contributes part of the information ordinarily associated with a head" (p. 1).

The definition above also shows that complex predicates are of multi-headed, i.e., having two or more lexical/morphological items. But they add another phenomenon, i.e., not only words, but morpheme too. So, among the two elements, the first one must be lexical or word, but the second is either morpheme or word. The second element contributes the information together with its head, and hence, they both form a single unit for articulating whole mechanism of a clause. Moreover, Mohanan (1997, p. 432) also views that "a complex predicate construction is one in which two semantically predicative elements jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause."

The concepts of complex predicates presented above clarify that they consists of two elements which together architect the whole clause, and their second element called light verb remains light from its head counterpart, but contributes with the first part. Prasain (1999) also treats the construction of a complex predicate having two lexical units to construct the architect of a form for a single function. He finds that in a CP, constituent predicator element jointly determines a single clause structure where two or more semantic heads contribute arguments in the argument structure. Being specific in describing the ideas of complex predicates in relation with Maithili phenomenon, Yadav (1996) found:

A compound verb is a complex verbal unit which consists of a sequence of two verb stems (i.e., $V_1 + V_2$) but functions as a single simple verb. In linear terms, a compound verb consists of a main verb (which may or may not undergo a kind of vowel gradation, traditionally called an absolutive) plus an

appropriately inflected finite form of a second verb. The first verb will be called the polar verb and the second verb the vector or vector verb. (p. 191)

Compound verbs are commonly spoken constructions in Maithili as described above. However, the concept of Maithili complex predicates is not restricted to this construction only, they are of different structures, and how the V_2 contributes to the syntactic structure also determines whether they are CPs or not. That is to say, the concept of compound verbs and complex predicates seem alike, but all the compounds are not said to be complex predicates in this work, and rather those compounds that jointly determine the syntactic and semantic regularities of a sentence are complex predicates (see chapter 6 for detail).

These definitions and discussions about CPs in general show that a complex predicate is a verb phrase that consists of the elements in which the first member is a noun, adjective, adverb or nonfinite verb (in its root form), and the second member is a light verb that has been delexicalised, i.e., has lost its semantic content, and these two predicative units functioning as a single unit defines the roles and functions of the arguments appearing in that construction. The following properties of complex predicates could be listed from the above discussions:

- a. The argument structure is complex (two or more semantic head contribute arguments).
- b. The grammatical functional structure is that of a simple predicate. It is flat. There is only one subject, one object, etc.
- c. The first verbal element, i.e., V_1 must be in the root or a form that remains fixed, and in the case of an inflection, it should not show agreement with the subject or the object in the sentence. Das (2006) has proven this rule in the complex verb construction with examples from more than ten varieties of Hindi and also in some other dominant languages in India such as Marathi, Nepali, and Punjabi.
- d. The light verb determines the agreement and influences the case marking on the arguments of the complex predicate.
- e. Both the host and the light verb determine the valence (number of argument) of the complex predicate.

f. Complex Predicates are formed on both levels: morphological and syntactic (in most of the South-Asian languages).

g. By its construction, it is complex, i.e., involving more than one element, but functionally it is simple.

In this dissertation, the researcher follows what Mohanan (1994; 1997) defines the complex predicate, i.e., a complex predicates is a predicate construction in which two semantically predicative elements (either morpheme or lexeme) jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause and such two elements jointly determine any one, any two or all three phenomena (argument structure, semantic structure and case marker) in a syntactic clause. It does not mean that he ignores the definitions of the complex predicates Butt (1995) and others define.

In a complex predicate unit, the second constituent must be a verbal category called light verb and the first one is either a verbal or non-verbal one. Such a combination is one of the significant features of South Asian languages. In Nepali, non-finite verbs or converbs and finite verbs are combined. Pokharel (1999) shows the sequences of as many as ten main verbs in a verb phrase in which the first nine verbs are converbs, and only the last verb is said to be a vector which inflects for number, person and tense and calls such verb constructions as compound verbs. Similarly, "Indian languages exhibit a complex predicate construction in which the first member is a noun, adjective or a nonfinite verb, and the second member is a "light" verb that has lost part of its semantic content" (Abbi, 2001, p. 187). Here Abbi is talking about the conjunct type of complex predicate in Indian languages. Masica (1976) argues that one of the abundantly present syntactic features of South Asian Linguistic community is the complex predicate construction.

1.1.3 Complex predicates in Maithili

A complex predicate is a predicative unit consisted of two or more verbal elements as in the case of Urdu described in Butt (1995) and Hindi in Poornima (2012) or of two predicative elements jointly contribute the syntactic mechanism of the clause. Maithili, being a South Asian language, too exhibits the construction of complex predicates of different types. Let's analyze the following two constructions in Maithili.

(3) a. *sāntosji ghār gelāith*
 sāntos-ji ghār ge-l-āith
 Santosh-H home go-PST-3H
 'Santosh went home.'

b. *binodji sāntoskə ghār jai delāith*
 binod-ji sāntos-kə ghār ja-i de-l-āith
 Binod-H Santosh-DAT home go-PART give-PST-3H
 'Binod let Santosh go home.'

Here, in the example (3a), the verb *jo-* 'go' takes only two arguments: agent *sāntos* and location *ghār* 'home' but when the light verb *de-* 'give' is inserted in example (3b), the agent argument *sāntos* takes the role of patient and another argument functioning as agent *binod* is added. This shows that the verb *de-* 'give' here is a light verb that influences the argument structure of the intransitive pole verb *jo-* 'go', and they together determine the structure because these two verbs exhibit a certain integrity that cannot be violated and they act like a single predicate. Such a combination of two verbs *jo* (a host) + *de* (a light) 'go + give' is an example of complex predicate in Maithili. Thus, Maithili has such complex predicate constructions in which two semantically predicative elements (either two lexical words or one lexical word and one morpheme)⁶ jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause.

Analysing the Maithili works of Singh (1979), Yadav (1996), Yadav (2004), Jha (2007), Ray (2008) and others as well, CPs in Maithili as having similar features found with other South Asian languages can be described and grouped by considering the following types of constructions: Causative CP Construction, Verbal CP Construction and Non-verbal CP Construction (Nominal complex predicate, Adjectival complex predicate and Adverbial complex predicate). So, complex predicates in Maithili are grouped in the following categories:

- i. Morphological and syntactic causative construction
- ii. Verb and verb constructions (Compound verb)
- iii. Permissive construction
- iv. Non-verbal complex predicates:

⁶ When two lexical words forming a single unit functionally, it becomes a syntactic CP (details in chapters: 5, 6, 7, & 8), and when one lexical word together with one morpheme forms a CP, it becomes a morphological CP.

- a. Nominal (N + V) complex predicate
- b. Adjectival (ADJ + V) complex predicate
- c. Adverbial (ADV+ V) complex predicate

In the Maithili verbal system, the combination of two independent lexical items (also morphological) with their own categorical status functioning as a single unit is pervasive, and this classification is based on whether the complex predicates are formed with the morphological or lexical combination. If the combination is in lexicon, it is the case of morphological CPs, and if it is in syntax, the case becomes that of syntactic/periphrastic CPs. So, a CP construction is composed of more than one predicative element, no matter whether they are morphemes or words. This work studies both types of Maithili complex predicates: morphological and periphrastic.

1.2 Statement of problems

There have been ample research works in the field of Maithili language. However, there has not been any specific and comprehensive study in the area of complex predicates in this language within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar. The main aim of the present study is to analyze the structures of the Maithili complex predicates within the LFG theory, one of the post-modern grammatical paradigms for human language description. The specific problems of this study are as follows:

- a. What are the morphological properties of complex predicate constructions in Maithili and how are they semantically interfaced?
- b. What are their syntactic properties, and how are they semantically interfaced and distinguished from other similar constructions?
- c. How can the conceptual framework of LFG be empirically implemented for the analysis of Maithili CPs?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to describe the complex predicates in Maithili within the framework of LFG, and its specific objectives are as follows:

- a. To explore the morphological properties of Maithili complex predicates along with their semantic interface;
- b. To examine the syntactic properties of Maithili complex predicates together with their semantic interface and some of testing methods; and

- c. To implement the conceptual framework of LFG for analyzing Maithili complex predicates, and suggest its theoretical bearings.

1.4 Review of literature

This section is an attempt to review the theoretical literature available about the linguistic areas related to the complex predicates or verbal complexity of the Maithili language in general. It presents how such a verbal complexity has been studied descriptively to a great extent and within the framework of theoretical base.

In Maithili, there are many works covering different grammatical areas till the date. However, the Maithili complex predicates found with its different varieties spoken in Nepal are not studied well. These works mainly describe some aspects of morphology and syntax of the Maithili verbal systems. This literature review is a survey study about the studies carried out so far by the native/foreign linguists in the area of the verbal complexity, especially about the complex nature of predicates of this language. It, therefore, includes a critical analysis of the published/unpublished works including the overview of the related research papers, dissertations and some grammars as well.

Grierson (1883) is credited as the study in the field of Maithili linguistics in a comprehensive way. The work has presented different areas related to the Bihari languages: Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magadhi and Bengali. There are mainly three divisions in every part wherein the word class description is included in the first one under the heading declension and the second with the heading conjugation is a detail treatment of the verbal system of Maithili. The last chapter discusses the compound forms of the Maithili and other verbal systems giving more focus on their semantics than their structural aspects. He has analyzed the Maithili compound verbs but without explaining its concept and simply has categorized such verbs into two types: (i) those formed with the verbal noun, and (ii) those formed with the participles. His focus is more on the first type as he states that such verbs are more common in this language. He also shows how the first verb gets changed as verbal nouns where he finds that there are three varieties of such nouns: *i*, *əl* and *əb* are applied in the roots of the first verbs to change them as verbal nouns. The examples he has quoted are: *dekh-* 'see' becomes *dekh-i*, 'see-INF', *dekh-əl* 'see-INF' or *dekh-əb* 'see-INF'. He further classifies the compound verbs formed with the verbal nouns into the following types;

- (i) Intensives: For forming the intensive compound verbs, the verbs such as; *deb-* 'to give', *ḍarəb-* 'to pour', *aeb-* 'to come', *jaib-* 'to go', *padəb-* 'to fart', etc. are used as the vectors. Examples are: *bhəri deb* 'to fill for others', *kati leb* 'to cut sth for myself' etc.
- (ii) Potentials: they are formed by adding to the same form of the verbal noun of any verb. The verb *səkəl-* 'to be able' is used to form this type of compound verbs.
- (iii) Completives: they are formed by adding to the same form of the verbal noun of any verb. The verb *cukəl-* 'to be finished' may be conjugated throughout. He finds that this compound denotes the completion of the act denoted by the primary member of the compound.
- (iv) Frequentatives: they are formed by affixing to the direct form of the second variety of the verbal noun of any verb. The verb *kəṛəl-* 'to do' is used.
- (v) Desiratives: they are formed, like frequentatives, with the direct form of the verbal noun in *əl*, substituting the verb *cahəl-* 'to wish'. They denote primarily desire to do the action expressed of the principal member.
- (vi) Inceptives: they are formed by using the inflected form of the first variety of the verbal noun in construction with the verb *lagəl-* 'to be joined', 'to begin' and denote the action of the verbal noun as beginning.
- (vii) Permissives: they are formed by combining the same form of the verbal noun with the verb *del* 'to give' and express permission to do the act denoted by the verbal noun.
- (viii) Acquisitives: they are the exact converse of the preceding, and are formed in the same way, substituting *pawəl* 'to get' for *deb* 'to give'.

The second type of the compound verbs in Maithili is those compounds formed with particles. Under this category, he talks two sub-types;

- (i) Continuatives: they are formed by combining the present or past participle of any verb with the verb *jael-* 'to go' or *rəhəl-* 'to remain'. The particle may be either in direct or oblique form. The present participle has always its oblique form in *te* or *tə*.
- (ii) Staticals: they denote motion in a state of doing anything and are formed by combining a verb of motion with a present or past participle of other verb.

The work is really a pioneer one in Maithili compound verb that leaves a great impact on the researchers in this area. Since it presents the structures of the compound verbs and their semantic influences, it contributes some basic concepts about the CP constructions and their semantics to the present study. The work provides information regarding the combined forms of the Maithili verbs in which the second verb is bleached semantically as it is the case with complex predicates. One additional feature of this work is that it uses both scripts: Roman and Nagari which make the readers easy to understand.

Jha (1946) is a grammar work in the field of Maithili linguistics. This grammar is a comprehensive one wherein different aspects of Maithili language have been discussed with examples. These areas have been described in the Sanskritised way as the concepts of Maithili grammar are presented along with the comparison/concepts of Sanskrit. In the second part, he focuses on the collection of the verbal roots of Maithili and those roots are discussed showing their semantics and actual occurrences in daily life. Regarding the case of complex predicates, he simply describes the concept of causativisation where he finds that the suffix *ab* is found in the causative form of a verb to indicate the causer inspiring the causee to perform the task. For example, *o abait chathi* 'he is coming' and *hunaka anbait chathi* 'he is caused to come'. There are many sentences where he shows that there is an influence in the number of arguments after using the causative marker *ab* (Jha, 1946, pp. 124-125). His list of the roots of Maithili verbs is very helpful for this work. In the second part, there is the list of 1125 root forms of the verbs in Maithili and these are listed with the description of every verb. He also finds how a root form of Maithili goes under the modification on the basis of the situation in which it is being used. These verbs are used in the sense of compound verbs sometimes but such examples are not given directly. This work can be better used for the present purpose by finding out the vectors and light verbs, as many useful verbs are given along with their examples.

Jha (1958) is one of the earliest attempts to describe the morphology of the complex verbal system of Maithili. He finds that the presence of a multiplicity of optional forms in Maithili verb conjugations does not lead to the conclusion, rather more forms are combined together to produce the desired pragmatic values and to express a state attained, as the result of a completed or perfected action, the verb root underwent a special modification in itself and further took on certain other personal terminations

which are in their modified forms themselves. He shows that the predicate structure in Maithili is very complex. He claims that Maithili conjugation has been said to be very very complex. It is due to two reasons; (i) on account of employment of different sets of verbal forms with reference to the subject with the honorific sense associated with them; (ii) an account of such a verb being affected not only by the person of the subject and object but by the person of the instrument, location, relation. Compound verbs are grouped under two heads: (1) the compound verbs formed by the auxiliary verbs used after forms of periphrastic tenses; (2) further extended compound formations obtained with the aid of auxiliary verbs: in the later case the meanings of the verbs get substantially modified. Under (1) come cases like those of the present indicative, of the past perfect, and of other periphrastic tenses. Thus, from *jait chi*, 'I am going' the following are formed: *ja ləgəi chi*, 'I am availing of this opportunity to go'; *gel kərat chi*, *jait rəhəit chi*, 'I am used to go'; *jae ləgəi chi*, 'I begin to go', etc. Under (2) come the cases where compound verbs are extended by employing some other auxiliary verb. Of course, in such cases there takes place the necessary modification of meaning. Thus, from *kaj kəe dəit chi*, 'I am doing (your) work,' are formed *kaj kəe dəit rəhəit chi* and *kaj kəe del kərait chi*, 'I am habituated to do (your) work'.

Jha simply discusses the compound verbs with the combination of verb roots with nouns, adjectives, and adverbs/indeclinables. The examples of such constructions with nouns are: *dəraʃən kərab* 'to see', *svad lebab* 'to taste', *bidəi kərab* 'to bid a farewell', *mətha deb* 'to put on the hand' etc. Similarly the examples with adjectives are: *mədhur lagəb* 'to taste sweet', *sundər lagəb* 'to appear beautiful', *nəst hoeb* 'to be destroyed' etc. Finally he lists some adverbs appearing in such constructions, like *agu bərhəb* 'to advance', *pachu hoeb* 'to get behind', *upər kərab* 'to raise up' etc.

The work describes the compound verbs that give very valuable guidelines to search more about the complex nature of the Maithili verbal constructions for researchers working for the verb formations in this language.

Jha (1979) is another comprehensive work about the Maithili language written in Maithili as a textbook for students and teachers at the university level. The work discusses the different aspects of linguistics: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics. The fifth chapter presents the introduction to the verbs of Maithili and

their different treatments in detail where the compound verbs (*samyuktā kriyapād wa anuprāyog*) are also briefly introduced with some contextual examples.

The study describes the compound verbs under the heading *akhyat bicar* inside the sixteenth subsection having the title *samyuktā-kriyapād wa anuprāyog* (pp: 71-73). He defines that the verb is of two types: simple and compound. If there is only one verb, it is known as simple, and more than one verb are known as compound. When the speakers want to express something more together with the main verb (polar), another verb *anuprāyog* (vector) is used after the first one, i.e., the first is the verb having the main meaning and the next being the verb having supporting meaning, and this combination is a compound verb.

This work has provided the examples for supporting every type of vector verbs which is very helpful to the present research for the purpose of semantic treatments of the compound verbs in Maithili and also described the compound verbs that show the classification of such verbs based on the concepts for which they are being used situationally and modify the first verbs/polars.

Singh (1979) is also another comprehensive study based on the Functional Typology Model and the Relational Grammar Framework describing the syntax and semantic aspects of the Maithili verbs. He treats different aspects of verb formations using comprehensive examples from the Maithili language along with the examples from the Bengali language in most of the cases. In his study, he writes some of the basic problems of identifying the Maithili compounds from the sequences of two or more verbs. He applies both the grounds: formal and functional to identify the vector verbs and discusses what a compound verb does. He describes that:

Compound verb is a misnomer for the construction it refers to because it does not involve any conjunction. Rather meaningless it is simply a modification of what is signified by the polar. That is, when used in compound verbs, the verbs that functions as vectors lose their original meaning. (pp. 266-267)

This description of the vectors also helps to differentiate a true compound verb construction from the similar type of construction such as verbal conjuncts (main verb + main verb combination). He identifies the compound verbs as polar + vectors (or call them aspectual, auxiliaries, or operators). He applies some tests (insertion, interrogation, etc.) to distinguish compounds from other similar constructions in the

language. If the dummy DO in Maithili *kəe* 'do' is inserted between the polar verb and the vector one, the sentence would remain grammatical but the intended meaning gets changed. So, one can test a verb-verb sequence by inserting a *kəe*-element between the verbs to find out whether a particular combination is a compound verb.

Singh also applies another test, i.e., negative expressions which have been found in a number of works on compound verbs. However, he claims that most of the scholars who noticed it tried to show negative expressions as environments which permit a simple verb as opposed to a compound verb. He presents some examples from Hindi and Bengali to prove the compound constructions, not any sentences from Maithili, but tell that this test operation for compound verbs is very much closer to Hindi in Maithili. A compound verb with a negation marker is completely acceptable. He further verifies using another test, i.e., 'until'-test or a *jəb-tək...təb-tək* test in Hindi, and finds Hindi requires that the verb in the first, i.e., *jəb-tək* 'till' clause, be a simple verb as against that in *təb-tək* 'till or up to that' clause which prefers to take a compound verb. This remains true even if the contents are reversed. In this case too, he provides the examples from Hindi and Bengali, and relates the concept with Maithili.

Singh further describes probable compound verb vector in Maithili along with their frequency of occurrences. He uses some more tests, such as Phasal Verb Test, Apprehensive Test, Compound Verb Reduction Test and Incompletion Test. The first test involves the verbs of 'phase', i.e., the verbs that denote the beginning, progression and termination of an event or action. He provides a list of nineteen Maithili Vectors using a sample score-sheet of a multiplex compound verb test which gives a clear picture to identify the vectors in this language and all the tests discussed so far. He intends to show that the combination of such verbs with any polars can result in compound verbs. His list also shows that the most frequent vectors are placed on top and their descending order itself indicates their frequency of occurrences in Maithili.

This study of the Maithili syntax focuses on the complex nature of this language verb which would be very helpful, especially about the different tests of identifying the serial verbs as compound ones or not. It discusses the possibilities of combining the vector with the polars and also presents a list of more frequent vectors along with their frequency rates of the polars.

Bimal (1986) is a comparative morphological study among three languages; English, Maithili, and Hindi. He has compared and also contrasted the different morphological systems in these languages. Although he does not show any morphological elements that tell the complexity of Maithili verbs, he discusses the causative concept where he finds three causative forms in Maithili. In Maithili, the suffix *-ba* is added to the primary root to form causatives, e.g. *kārāba* 'to cause to do', *ghurba* 'to cause to move round' etc. "It is noteworthy that there is a single causative form in Nepali, in Hindi there is a dual causative form, whereas in Maithili there is a triple causative form; *-ai*, *-ba*, and *-bāba*" (pp. 243-244). This work is helpful for understanding the causative constructions morphologically. However, these three forms are not used in the causative treatments in this dissertation.

Yadav (1996) is the study describing the Maithili language on the basis of the traditional approach covering many topics that gives a framework and basic understanding for the interested researchers, teachers and students as well. He has presented a brief history about the linguistic studies on Maithili, claiming "previous studies on Maithili are not lacking" (p. 1). Regarding the complex predicates, he has not used the term directly but discussed the similar concept under 'the verb and the verb phrase'. He has recognized the complex verbal sequences which almost match a few features of complex predicates. He has discussed the concept of the compound verbs under the sub-topic 'compound and conjunct verbs'. He describes the verb complexity by clarifying the concept of compound verb. He defines it as a complex verbal unit consisting of a sequence of two verb stems but functioning as a single simple verb. He further writes that in such constructions the first element or item is polar and the second is vector. Moreover, he also shows the sound modification process when the two items are combined together. Referring to the formula about the stem alteration, he has pointed that the syllabic structure of a polar stem verb crucially determines the nature of the stem alteration: a polar verb stem ending in a consonant and preceded by a vowel other than *e* or *i* undergoes a kind of vowel gradation when it is combined with a vector verb. He has found many types of complex verbal sequences in Maithili but concluded that all are not true compound verbs. The meaning of a compound verb is determined primarily by the meaning of the polar verb to which a vector is attached where the vector verb modifies or adds specific nuances to the meaning of the polar verb. He has applied some testing grounds to

distinguish a true compound verb from other types of complex verbal sequences. No modifier or complement may intervene between polar and vector verbs of a compound verb construction. Similarly there is the movement test for a true compound verb which shows that a polar and a vector as a compound verb expression do not undergo what is generally called movement. He has also discussed negation insertion, adverb insertion and verb interrogation in order to differentiate a true compound verb from other similar expressions. Regarding the vector verbs, he has found the seven most frequently used vectors that have been shown with the adequate examples under the sub-topic of the vector verbs. These vectors are *le-* 'take', *de-* 'give', *jo-* 'go', *a-* 'come', *uṭh-* 'stand up', *bəiṭh-/bəis-* 'sit', and *pəṛ-* 'fall'. He has pointed that not all the vectors may combine with all poles, rather a restriction seems to obtain between them. First, *le-* 'take' occurs with a verb the action of which is self-directed, while *de-* 'give' occurs with the verb the action of which is other directed. So, the verbs of ingestion and perception are usually self-directed and hence accept *le* rather than *de*. However, a few transitive polar verbs when combined with *le* and *de* vector verbs allow a bidirectional interpretation; in other words, whether the beneficiary of the action suggested by the verb is the subject/actor or an individual other than the subject/actor will be determined by contextual and/or pragmatic factors. *de-* 'give' occurs mostly with transitive verbs, but may also occur with a few expressive/communicative intransitive verbs. Similarly *jo-* 'go' occurs mostly with intransitive verbs of motion and other change of state verbs. With transitive verbs it tends to indicate the process/manner in which the action is completed. *a-* 'come' occurs only with intransitive verbs of motion. One interesting point about *a-* and *jo-* is that the meaning of the whole compound verb seems closer to the meaning of the vector verbs than to that of the polar verbs. It also shows that the vector verbs *a* and *jo* differ in the directionality of action suggested by the main verb. So, *a* suggests direction toward a focal point, while *jo-* suggests direction away from the focal point. Regarding *uṭh-* 'stand', *bəiṭh-* 'sit' and *pəṛ-* 'fall/lie', a very short treatment has been done; *uṭh-* occurs with intransitive verbs and suggests suddenness of action, *bəiṭh-* occurs mostly with intransitive verbs, in addition to suddenness of action, usually a sense of impropriety, undesirability, or even irrevocability of action, and *pəṛ-* occurs with intransitive verbs and indicates a sense of suddenness. In connection to the complex nature of the verbal constructions, he has also introduced conjunct verbs where he has discussed, in a brief, conjunct verbs typically consists of nonverbal

elements (mostly noun and adjectives) followed by a rather small set of verbs; usually, these are the verbs *kār-* 'do', *de-* 'give', *ho-* 'become' and *lāg-* 'attach' with some examples: *pāsin kārāb* 'to like', *asirbad deb* 'to bless', *gārām hoeb* 'to boil', and *gor lāgāb* 'to greet'. But there is nothing about the morphosyntactic features and semantic interfaces that such a type of construction holds in Maithili. This study also includes such treatments in detail.

The causative construction in Yadav (1996) also shows the complex nature of verbs where the argument structure is affected in the terms of addition, case marking or pragmatic value. He has listed basically two types of causative verb forms: the first causative which implies the degree of closeness between the cause and effect is immediate or direct and is formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the non-causative verb stem, and the second causative which implies the degree of the closeness between cause and effect is mediated or less direct and is formed by adding the suffix *-ba* to the non-causative verb stem. In Maithili, both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized and an intransitive verb becomes a transitive verb when the causative suffixes are added to the stem. He has also shown that a few intransitive verbs first become transitive with a causative meaning through the process of sound change (where the vowel *ə* become *a* by lowering process, and sometimes high vowels become mid, and mid vowels become low in the intransitive verb forms) and suppletion, and only then are the causative suffixes added onto them.

Yadav (1999) is an attempt analyzing the syntactic properties of the compound verbs in Maithili organizing it into four sections: the syntactic properties in the first section, the grammatical subserviences in the second that he identifies other than the vectors in Maithili, in the third, the non-interruptibility is discussed, and the final section summarizes it. He claims that the compound verbs consist of a pole and a vector that can be either transitive or intransitive and shows their possible combination in the four groups which all exist in the Maithili language. He analyzes the constituents (pole and vector) and shows that which of these two can determine the category (TV/IV) of the compound verbs as a single unit. He finds that the pole verb is more powerful since it determines the category of the compound verbs. It means if the pole is transitive, the whole verb is transitive, and so on. This implies that the vector remains neutral in determining the verbal category of a compound verb in Maithili. He argues that it seems rather untenable to refer to the grammatical categories of a

vector, since when it collocates with the pole, it loses its own category, that is, it becomes grammatically subservient to pole. From his analysis, he finds that there does not exist the phenomenon referred to as transitivity harmony in the structure of Maithili compound verbs. He shows that almost all types of vectors can occur freely with the pole of any category. Their occurrence has certain constraints. He presents the examples using the verbs *leb* 'take', *deb* 'give' and *jaib* 'go' as vectors, which can frequently combine with a transitive or intransitive pole. Similarly he also finds the vector verb like *uṭhāb* 'stand up' though not crucial, can also combine with both transitive and intransitive poles as in *baij uṭhāb* 'to speak up', and *kuid uṭhāb* 'to jump suddenly' he also presents another set of Maithili vectors whose distribution is rather limited and marginal. They include *meṭāb*, *bāisāb* and *phāsāb*, and of them *meṭāb* and *phāsāb* can only occur with intransitive poles. In this way, he briefly sums up his findings presenting the features of the compound verbs of Maithili as a pole and a vector in a Maithili compound verb can be either transitive or an intransitive having the four theoretical possibilities of their occurrence as tabulated above. The vectors like *leb*, *deb* and *jaib* are crucial, where as vectors like *uṭhāb*, *bāiṭhāb*, *bajāb*, *meṭāb* and *phāsāb* are limited and marginal. Vectors like *lia*, *leb*, *deb* and *jaeb* can combine with the transitive as well as intransitive verbs, whereas *bāiṭhāb*, and *bāisāb* occur with intransitive verbs and *meṭāb* and *phāsāb* can combine with intransitive verbs. It is also to be noted that intrinsic properties of the pole determines the choice of the vector which can collocate with the poles. For examples; *leb* can combine with the self-directed poles and *deb* with the other-directed pole. Causative verbs are more or less other directed and can take only *deb*, but never *leb* as *kāna deb* 'cause to weep'. Secondly, the vector is grammatically subservient since it does not govern its complements, but a pole does. Finally the vectors cannot take modifiers of its own, but the second verb in a sequence of poles may take modifiers of its own. The study shows the basic syntactic structures in which the poles and the light verbs in the Maithili language can occur and it remains helpful for the researcher to discuss other possible grammatical structures of the complex predicates in Maithili.

Yadav, D. N. (2004) has also studied the compound verb in the Maithili language. The work has basically studied Verb + Verb system of complex predicates which is called compound verb as well in some cases. In fact, compound verbs are also one of the types of the complex predicates but all the complex predicates are compound

verbs but the reverse condition cannot be true. His attempt shows that the compound verb in a language is a type of verbal sequence consisting of two members, each of which is a verbal stem: V_1 and v_2 where the first verb is called 'pole' and the second one is being 'vector' respectively and the vector in a compound verb always follows a pole in the Maithili language. He presents that all the complex verbal sequences in Maithili exhibit a common morphological property: that is, they consist of at least two verbal stems and can be sub-classified into the aspectual verbs, modal verb, conjunctive verb and compound verb. But he claims only such complex verbal sequences which are composed of two verbal stems, both of which are free morphemes and can occur independently elsewhere are termed as compound verbs. He presents the structure of the Maithili compound verbs where he shows the pole verb as a stem with non-finite inflectional affixes, and the vector verb as a stem with inflectional affixes (finite or non-finite). The pole verb in a Maithili compound verb, he says, is a verbal root attached with or without the bound affixes: *i* or *a*, and such affixes are phonologically conditioned. If a verbal root with a consonant and there is no *i* preceding the final consonant, *-i* is infixes just before the final consonant. For example, the verbal root *sut-* 'sleep' becomes *suit* as the pole verb, *tor-* 'break' becomes *toir* and so on. Similarly he also presents the difference between a true Maithili compound verb and Maithili conjunctive verb. He discusses that two pole verbs are in the conjunctive verbs but the first verb is a pole and the second one is a vector in the compound verbs. A true compound verb in Maithili does not permit *ke-* insertion between its pole and vector whereas the *ke-* can occur between the two pole verbs of a conjunctive verb. So these two types of verbs are distinct on syntactic and semantic grounds. However, a Maithili conjunctive verb morphologically looks precisely like a compound verb but their semantic interpretation would be quite different. Another property of a Maithili pole verb in a compound verb is that it can be used independently as a main verb with all possible inflectional suffixes, finite or non-finite. For example; the root *kha* 'eat' from the compound verb *kha le-b* 'eat take-will' becomes *khaet chi* (imperfective), *kha rāhāl chi* (progressive), *khāene chi* (perfect) etc. Finally he writes that as a pole, v_1 cannot be inflected in any other way; it remains unaffected, irrespective of tense, aspect, mood, person, gender and honorificity. Regarding a vector, it is in a finite form and can take all these verbal inflections. The vectors in the Maithili compound verbs form a finite set of verbs consisting of about eight verbs. The crucial verbs are *le-* and *de-*.

This attempt towards analyzing the Maithili compound verbs is a preliminary work and does not claim to be final and more comprehensive in the verbal complexity. However, the work would give a kind of basic information to identify the complex predicates in the Maithili language.

Jha (2006) is a short study entitled *māithili-pāricayika* 'introduction to Maithili' which aims at making the adult beginners be aware of the basic grammatical information of the Modern Maithili where he describes and illustrates the phonology, morphology, syntax and also the sociolinguistic aspects of this language. Under the heading 'Verb' he has discussed mainly two topics; (i) Compound Verb, and (ii) the Verb *thik* 'correct'. In order to express some kind of special concept/meaning of the main verb, sometimes two verbs are spoken together, in which the first verb is found to be in its indefinite and the second is in its finite form. There are five types of infinite verbs in Maithili. There are two types of compound verbs. In the first type of the compound verb, the meanings of the verbs are reserved in their own base senses, i.e., *ḍans dekhi cālālah* 'saw the dance and went'. In the second type of the verb, the first verb is maintaining its base meaning but the second verb is semantically bleached and used imposing some kind of modification in the meaning of the first verb in the compound one.

Ray (2008) is a study describing the Maithili complex predicates within the framework of the Lexical Functional Grammar. However, the work includes only the basic description of the CPs and their representation within the LFG. In his work, he discusses the Maithili CPs, their types, some ways of identifying such constructions, and presents some examples within the framework of the LFG. This attempt resembles as a guideline for the researchers of this field to investigate the Maithili CPs in depth as it indicates that there are many sub-topics that are awaiting to be explored further in this language.

Asad (2013) is a descriptive study attempting to focus on the process of grammaticalization of the verb *lāg* 'adhere/attach' in the Modern Maithili language. The study, based on both primary and secondary data including a large number of spoken and written Maithili data collected from native speakers and literary books as well, investigates the verb *lāg* as semantically polysemous in nature. He mainly attempts to show the process of grammaticalization of the verb *lāg* in which the verb

retains its natural and grammatical class but gives up its natural semantic meaning and shows a different new meaning in the contexts. He describes not only the verb *lag* that combines with other different grammatical categories (Adj, Noun & verb) to create a new kind of meaning in the sentences but also morph-syntactic information of grammaticalization. This paper also looks at the occurrence of the verb *lag* at two positions: (i) V1 and (ii) V2 positions.

This study is helpful to analyze the uses of different light verbs in the Maithili language as it has shown how the verb *lag* goes under the process of grammaticalization, combining with other grammatical categories (N, V & Adj) and provides a new kind of semantic meaning while it loses its natural semantic meaning that is, desemanticization but it maintains and retains its grammatical category that is, verb and forms a complex predicate/compound or conjunct verb.

This short analysis about different related works remains very significant from many points of view: it provides some basic descriptions about complex predicates in Maithili, shows that the language can be studied in the four levels of structure presented by LFG and provides a theoretical perspective to analyze the complex perspective in Maithili in the way LFG does. Various researches, articles and books have been reported in the field of the Maithili language and linguistics regarding predicates, compound verbs, theta roles, sociolinguistic aspects and other syntactic, morphological and phonological aspects. The present study focuses on the morpho-syntactic along with semantic aspects of complex predicates which is a richly displayed feature in the South Asian linguistic community like Maithili, Nepali and Hindi.

The review made so far shows that there are many works in the Maithili language and linguistics, especially in the area of its verbal complex constructions too, but no work has explored its morpho-syntax and semantic properties under the LFG theory comprehensively. Research works dealing with types of complex predicate, their phonological and morpho-syntactic properties and other treatments in Maithili need to be carried out to display its linguistic complexity like other languages. Therefore, this work tries to enhance the study of the complex predicational area of the Maithili language. In this sense, this research work is supposed to be of a great help in the future study to analyze the morphology and syntax of Maithili in general and its verbal complexity in particular within the LFG architect.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study can be very significant from different points of view. It shows the theoretical analysis of the complex predicates in Maithili which has been keen interest for many researchers working in morpho-syntax field of Linguistics. Regarding the study of complex nature of predicates, there are many studies in Urdu, Hindi, Bangla, to name a few of them, but it is still lacking in Maithili. In this sense as well, the study can be a good attempt. Moreover, the phenomenon of the Maithili complex predicates has been tried to describe in many ways by various scholars but not specially and individually described and analyzed yet with its full description under the theoretical framework named LFG. Similarly, the theoretical framework it is based on is very challenging at present that tell us the language is studied at the four levels of structure within the LFG architecture. Various researches, articles and books have been reported and published in the field of the Maithili language and linguistics. However, none of them addresses the phenomenon of the complex predicates in a comprehensive way as this work does. This study, thus, focuses on the morpho-syntactic aspects of complex predicates and their semantic interfaces which is a richly displayed feature in the South Asian linguistic community like Maithili, Nepali, Hindi and others as well. More interestingly, the work analyses many examples from the Maithili language spoken in the Southern part of Saptari which can be a pioneer attempt. The study enhances the study of grammar of the Maithili language and will be valuable and helpful in the future study, especially for the analysis of the Maithili verbal constructions under the generative theory.

1.6 Research methodology

The study aims at exploring the morphological and syntactic properties of the Maithili complex predicates along with their semantic interfaces within the LFG framework. The methodology applied for the collection of data is presented under the following headings.

i. Database

The researcher used the primary and secondary sources for gathering the data for the study. Basically the published books of the Maithili literature related to the different genres: folk tales, modern stories, essays and the like were primarily used for collecting the construction displaying the complex predicates of Maithili verbs.

Similarly, some of the Maithili magazines, scholarly articles (published and unpublished), previous works in the related field, the Maithili grammars, papers and websites were also used. Moreover, the researcher, as a native speaker of Maithili, formulated most of the desired and contextual examples from his own experiences and also collected the elicited utterances from the four selected Maithili speakers.

The data used in this research are from the secondary sources and the researcher's intuitive knowledge of Maithili as his mother tongue. However, he selected four language consultants whose mother tongue was Maithili and they all belonged to Kayastha and Brahmin families (three were Karnas and one was Jha) having the different dialect (from the researcher) of Maithili in their communication. They were elicited to form some desired utterances and also requested to write their views on different issues and some historical stories on some important personalities. Similarly, their conversations were also recorded in the Oppo Mobile as a data tool which the researcher analyzed. The researcher also focused on the meetings of different levels at Lahan campus, his village and surroundings where the participants were talking in the Maithili language. Besides, the researcher's own intuition was one of the main sources for the data. Thus, the data presented from Maithili literary works, informants and the researcher himself were the main sources for the work.

First the examples were transcribed in the IPA symbols along with the divisions of the words into morphemes, and then, under each morpheme, the internalized gloss using conveniently accessible list of abbreviations and symbols were provided. Finally, each example was provided with free translation in English. So, for the presentation of the data, the three four/lines are used in order to conceptualize every part of the examples, mostly applying the Toolbox programme.

ii. Theoretical framework

As mentioned in the beginning of the work, Lexical-Functional Grammar developed by Bresnan and Kaplan from the late 1970s onwards was the theoretical framework of this research, which the researcher employed to analyze the complex predicates of the Maithili at the levels of its four structures: F (unctional) Structure, C (onstituent) Structure, S (emantic) structure and A (rgument) Structure, and some of its mapping theories. This LFG framework has been discussed in detail in the second chapter.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The study has the following limitations:

- a. The data of the study were largely taken from the Maithili spoken in the Southern part of Saptari (the home area of the researcher), and only the four informants living in Siraha district were selected for the elicitation, especially for verifying the CP constructions (not for other bearings).
- b. The data were largely gathered from the researcher's own intuition.
- c. The work was mostly based on the concept of the complex predicates defined by Mohanan (1994; 1997), under the theoretical framework of LFG only.

1.8 Organization of the study

The study has been organized into nine chapters. Chapter one deals with description of the Maithili region and language, the basic concept of complex predicates, the statements of the problems, objectives of the study, review of literature, research methodology, significance of the study and limitations of the study. Second chapter analyses the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar adopted to analyze the Maithili complex predicates, in which its basic concept, historical background, four level structures and its implication for complex predicate constructions have been included. Third chapter attempts to introduce the Maithili grammar, especially those basic areas which are relevant to the CP analysis. Similarly the next two (fourth & fifth) chapters present the discussion of morphological complex predicates and syntactic causative in Maithili constructions as complex predicates respectively. Verbal complex predicates comprising light verbs, some evidences of complex predicates and permissive constructions have been examined in the sixth chapter. In the seventh chapter, nominal complex predicates showing the formation of light verbs with nominal parts, the properties of Maithili CPs, complex predicatehood, etc. are examined. Eighth chapter incorporates adjectival and adverbial complex predicates. Finally ninth chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the work.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Outline

This study has employed LFG (Lexical Functional Grammar), a grammatical framework basically developed by Bresnan (2001). In this chapter, we deal with the basic assumptions and the major components of the framework, including its implications for the analysis of complex predicates in Maithili language. This chapter consists of seven sections. In section 2.1, we briefly discuss the basic concept of the framework. Section 2.2 deals with its historical background in brief. In section 2.3, we present the conceptual framework of LFG. Section 2.4 briefly deals with the four levels of structures. Similarly, the lexical mapping theory is discussed in the section 2.5. Section 2.6 shows the implications of the framework in the area of complex predicates, and finally the chapter is summarized in the section 2.7.

2.1 Lexical functional grammar

The theoretical framework within which the researcher carried out this study of Maithili complex predicates is Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG in short), developed by John Bresnan and Ronald Kaplan in the late 1970s, and an early version of the formal principles of this grammar was first described in Bresnan (1982b). LFG is a formalism which has evolved from extensive computational, linguistic, and psycholinguistic research. This formalism is also a generative theory but different from the Chomskyan generative transformational architect wherein basic rules do not produce an analysis of all sentences in a language, instead transformations are needed to derive the novel sentences from the basic ones by moving, deleting, inserting, and replacing. It also provides a simple set of devices for describing the common properties of all human languages and the particular properties of individual languages. Falk (2001) describes what it is and how it differs from other previous formalisms as:

Lexical Functional Grammar is an alternative to transformational generative grammar of Noam Chomsky, but it only rejects the assumptions of transformational theory, not its goal. The basic argument for the LFG approach to syntax is simply that certain transformational assumptions are incompatible

with the search for the UG. LFG is, therefore, a variety of generative grammar, an alternative to transformational approach. (p. 2)

Lexical Functional Grammar is a product of Transformational Generative (TG) formalism developed by Noam Chomsky from the 1960s onwards against the structural theories, but LFG rejects the transformational mechanisms for producing different forms from one another. It argues that the transformational process does not work in many cases of syntactic descriptions of languages. Moreover, it advocates that rendering the deep structure to the surface structure is very vague in linguistic description. The description could obviously be based on the perceptible forms of a language which shows all levels simultaneously in the parallel form. In this regard, Bresnan (2001) argues that:

LFG is a theory of grammar which has a powerful, flexible, and mathematically well-defined grammar formalism designed for typologically diverse languages...is closely attuned to the overt perceptible expressions of languages...has a constraint-based, parallel correspondence architecture; it has no serial derivation (unlike transformation grammar); there are no deep structures or initial structures. (p. 1)

The argument about LFG is that it is mathematically well developed theory for analyzing all human languages based on their overt produced forms, and is a parallel correspondence architecture without any serial derivation. Further, Bresnan, Asudeh, Toivonen and Wechsler (2016) claims:

The formal model of LFG is not a syntactic theory in the linguistic sense. Rather, it is architecture for syntactic theory. Within this architecture, there is a wide range of possible syntactic theories and sub-theories, some of which closely resemble syntactic theories within alternative architectures, and others of which differ radically from familiar approaches. (p. 39)

This claim shows how LFG is not only a theory of syntax but architecture for many other syntactic theories. It is general enough to encompass different theories of phrase structure, and they all are working on the parallel form of different structures.¹

¹Semantic roles, syntactic constituents, argument structure, and grammatical functions belong to parallel information structures of very different formal characters. They are inter-related not by the theoretical derivational rules but by the structural correspondences.

Within this framework, the different aspects of linguistic structure are realized by different but related linguistic representations; therefore, transformations do not play any role. Thus, it is a non-transformational theory of linguistic structure which describes and models languages using parallel structural forms by representing different facets of linguistic organization and information, related to one another by means of functional constraints. As LFG is designed for a wide range of both non-configurational and configurational types of languages, it departs from other formalism in one very striking way: it is non-compositional, allowing the content of a constituent to vary depending on the context. This formal model of LFG provides a true alternative perspective on syntactic theory and the nature of universal grammar, Bresnan (2001).

Moreover, LFG views that the syntactic phenomena of a sentence are more informative than could be represented in the phrase structure tree rules because the more abstract relations of grammatical relations and their features cannot be expressed in such trees. Therefore, Wong (1999) argues:

A phrase structure tree alone is insufficient to represent the syntactic information of a sentence because the more abstract relations between grammatical functions and features cannot be conveniently expressed in a phrase structure tree. Thus, the model of syntax proposed in LFG is not purely tree-based. Instead, LFG uses two different structures to represent different aspects of syntax. The external structure of a sentence is represented in the form of a tree structure named constituent structure (c-structure); whereas the internal structure is represented in the form of an acyclic graph structure named functional structure (f-structure). (p. 33)

It is now clear that the LFG is not a tree-based formalism in which the abstract relations are not expressed. It assumes that a sentence could be represented in two structures:² external and internal. The concrete forms are represented in the form of constituent structure and the abstract ones are in the functional structure.

Kaplan (1989) suggested that LFG represents different linguistic levels: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic, in a logical way. These levels are realized in the forms of

² In TG theory of Chomsky, two structures are surface structure and deep structure. It is argued that the surface structure is an outcome of deep structure through the series of derivational rules.

four interacting structures: constituent structure, semantic structure, argument structure and function structure. These different structures in the LFG formalism are related to each other hierarchically by means of structural correspondences.

Thus, LFG presents the basic syntactic and semantic information of a language in four interacting levels which are: Constituent structure (c-structure), Functional structure (f-structure), Argument structure (a-structure) and Semantic structure (s-structure). These four structures deal with the four different aspects of grammar. According to Butt (1995), LFG consists of three major models: the lexicon, the syntax, and the semantics, and word formation takes place in the lexicon, and the lexical items enter into the syntax and form sentences or phrases according to the constraints and principles which hold at the levels of f-structure and c-structure. The semantics of the phrases is represented at s(emantic) structure, which is taken to be projected from the syntax. At the level of lexical representation within the LFG framework, Mohanan, (1994) explains that "the syntactic theory mainly expresses the regularity of lexical distribution in lexical representation along with their regularities of alteration between related pairs of lexical representations" (p. 2).

Regarding the contextual concept of two words: lexical and functional, in LFG, the term 'lexical' refers to the fundamental fact that words, or lexical elements, are as important as syntactic elements in expressing grammatical information, and the term 'functional' refers to the fact that this grammatical information is not identified with particular structural forms of expression, but is viewed as a system of abstract relators of expressions to eventualities, (Bresnan, 2001). Thus, LFG views language as being made up of multiple dimensions of structure working simultaneously. Each of these dimensions is represented as a distinct structure with its own rules, concepts, and forms.

In conclusion, the three terms: *lexical*, *functional* and *grammar* clarify more about what LFG is and how it differs from the transformational generative grammar.

Lexical: It is related to a word or vocabulary of a language, and a lexical theory treats a word as its core focus. "A lexical theory (or lexicalist) is one in which words and lexicon play a major role" (Falk, 2001, p. 3). In TG theory, words are not important as it does not adopt the Principles of Lexical Integrity that states words are the 'atoms' out of which syntactic structure is built. Syntactic rules cannot create words to refer to

the internal structures of words, and each terminal node (or 'leaf' of the tree) is a word. "Lexical Integrity Principle states that morphologically complete words are leaves of the c-structure tree and each leaf corresponds to one and only one c-structure node" (Falk, 2001, p. 26).

Functional: The term 'function' has been defined differently by different linguists. It is grammatical function in the LFG. Grammatical functions (or grammatical relations) ought to be part of the vocabulary of syntactic theory. The LFG claim is that "grammatical functions are elements of syntactic representation, but of a kind of syntactic representation that exists in parallel to c-structure" (Falk, 2001, p. 11). This shows that the functional level of representation is not a tree structure but based on the idea that grammatical functions are like features and the elements that have specific functions are the values of these features like functions. So this representation includes features of a more conventional nature which are called f-structure.

Grammar: Like transformational theory, "LFG is a version of generative grammar, an approach to the study of language that has its origins in the work of Noam Chomsky" (Falk, 2001, p. 27). It is a generative framework that encompasses a different range of syntactic theories for describing different facets of human languages.

2.2 Historical development of LFG

Towards the end of the twentieth century, new formal ideas began to achieve prominence of linguistic theory, making use of parallel rather than serial derivation of syntactic structures. One of the formalisms was Lexical Functional Grammar. So LFG was developed in the mid-to-late 1970s, out of the works two disciples (Bresnan and Kaplan) of Noam Chomsky as an alternative generative syntax to the transformational generative theory. During that period, different ideas about syntax were being explored. Such ideas were describing the different syntactic facets of human languages. Falk (2001) states that Government Binding (GB) theory, Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) and Heade-deriveden Phrasee Stucture Grammar (HPSG) were developed. "This was also the formative period of the theory of the relational grammar (Perlmutter, ed., 1983)" as mentioned in Youl (2001, p. 3).

The term *Lexical Functional Grammar* (LFG) first appeared in print in the early 1980s in *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*, edited by Joan Bresnan. Since

then, the attempts for studying the syntactic phenomena of languages have been made and evaluated. So, the LFG based theories of linguistic descriptions have evolved substantially since that time and continued to evolve. Regarding its developmental trace, Falk (2001) describes:

LFG was developed in this period out of the work of two people. The first was Joan Bresnan, a syntactician and former student of Chomsky, who had become concerned with the psycholinguistic evidence that seemed to show that something was wrong with the concept of the transformations. She started developing an alternative approach which she called a Realistic Transformational Grammar wherein the work was done by transformation in standard approaches (Bresnan, 1978). The second person was Ronald M. Kaplan, a computational linguist/psycholinguist who was working on a parsing model called the Argumented Transition Network. (p. 3)

Thus, Bresnan and Kaplan are the pioneers for the development of LFG. As they were working with Noam Chomsky, they found that the transformational theory was incompatible to capture the different structures of a language, and realized that they were pushing in similar directions. They started working collaboratively and consequently brought a comprehensive formalism in Linguistics. It is out of this collaboration the LFG was born, and a considerable amount of continuous research on improving and extending this formalism has been conducted which makes LFG (when compared with other formalisms) fairly matured and stable for describing the various characteristics of natural languages.

2.3 Conceptual framework of LFG

A clause theoretically consists of a predicate and its dependents. This phenomenon of a clause is represented in different ways in different schools of thoughts and theories to determine its basic function and structure. These theories have their own system of encoding and assigning the relations of the dependents of a predicate. LFG is one of the contemporary linguistic formalisms which is both precisely defined and symbolic. Thus, it is suitable for analyzing different structures of natural languages and embodies the relational design of Universal Grammar. This research work within the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) represents the lexical entries of a predicate in the four levels of representation: Constituent structure (c-

structure), Functional Structure (F-structure), Argument structure (A-structure) and Semantic structure (S-structure), as it defines several structures (i.e., c-structure, f-structure and s-structure) to capture various levels of linguistic information about a clause/sentence. Each structure models a different dimension of grammatical substance: role, function and category, where roles correspond to the grammatically expressible participants, syntactic functions belong to the abstract system of the relators of the roles to expressions, and phrase structure categories belong to the overt structure of the forms of the expressions (modeled by the c-structure). These levels/structures are in the form of parallel structures rather than serial structures and are associated with by the principles of functional correspondence (also called linking or mapping principles). So, LFG theory provides some Mapping theories, Lexical Integrity Hypothesis and others as well for framing the Maithili complex predicates in a well defined way.

The lexical mapping theory (Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989; Wong, 1999) defines how thematic information represented in a-structures can be mapped onto traditional f-structures for enriching their information and expressive power, and Lexical Integrity Hypothesis explains how the lexical items are pragmatically interwoven together to produce the desired meanings from the utterances.

2.4 Levels/bases of structure

LFG views languages having compositional information at different levels/bases which are not transformationally derived from each other but interacting simultaneously as multidimensional representation of a single entity. These bases of language analysis are better discussed in Bresnan (2001), Dalrymple (2001), Falk (2001), Bresnan et al. (2016), Börjars and Vincent (2017) and Börjars et al. (2019). Basically the analysis is centered on three aspects: syntactic structure, lexical structure and semantic structure. The main goal of LFG is to describe these structures together, not in the derivational way. All these structures are modeled by the nature of the predicate used in the clause. This clarifies that "grammarians have recognized that a clause involves a predicate and its dependents. The meaning of the predicate regulates the number of its dependents, and their syntactic properties and relations" (Mohanan, 1994, p. 237). However, the regularities of the distribution in the syntax of the dependents of a predicate are best analyzed using the four levels of the structure which is the focus

point of LFG. They are Semantic structure (s-structure), Argument structure (a-structure), Functional structure (f-structure) and Constituent structure (c-structure). Semantic structure represents those aspects of meaning that are relevant for systematic morphological and syntactic regularities. This includes the meaning associated with the arguments of the predicate. Argument structure encodes the valency (number of the arguments) of the predicate in the term of argument slots; the information in traditional theta role representations is distributed. Grammatical function structure expresses the grammatical functions of the arguments of the predicate in the term of notions like subject, object, etc. and the grammatical features such as case, number, gender, etc. Grammatical category structure/constituent structure represents information about the grammatical categories such as noun, verb, etc. these all levels form a set of interdependent, interacting levels of structure, linked to each other by general principles of grammar. These all levels are simultaneously presented in the parallel form.

2.4.1 Semantic structure

Semantic structure (hereafter s-structure) presents semantic information; not the meaning lexical items denote in the entities, rather the logical interface drawn from the functional structure of a clause. It is the representation of all and only those meanings that can condition syntactic or morphological regularities and built out of atomic semantic constructs. Under this structure, what theta role of an argument is assigned in a clause, such as agent, patient etc. is realized. Wong (1999, p. 41) states that "while the c-structure and the f-structure capture different kinds of syntactic information of sentences, the semantic structure (s-structure) in LFG is responsible for representing the semantics of a sentence." Based on the c-structure and f-structure, s-structure is drawn not for indicating the organization of event structures in the real world, but for showing the logical inference interpreted on the functional structure. Mohanan (1994, p. 18) claims "the entities represented at this grammar-internal level of structure are accessible to principles of grammar that regulate syntactic and morphological structure." The information expressed in the most traditional theta role representations is factored apart and distributed over two levels: Semantic and Argument structures. This structure applies agent (doer), patient (done to), theme (thing done) etc. as representational labels to analyze and associate with other levels of a predicate. That is to say, "the representation of semantic information in an s-

structure does not involve the use of semantic markers for characterizing the semantic properties of each lexical item" (Wong, 1999, p. 41). In conclusion, s-structure does not show the semantic properties of each word, but represents their roles the predicate assigns to. The s-structure uses a linear logic to build semantic representations from a-structure. The semantic forms have argument lists that list the arguments they require.

2.4.2 Argument structure

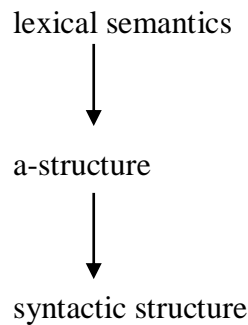
A-structure deals with predicate argument information such as the number and type of arguments of a predicate and the semantic role borne by those arguments in a clause. Introducing a-structure, Bresnan (2001) describes:

Argument structure includes those participants in events and situations that are grammatically expressed and semantic units of predicate argument structure correspond to deep phrase structure units. Thus, the real generalization appears to be that arguments are semantically composed with their predicates in accordance with a hierarchy of semantic roles which reflects the lexical semantics of predicators. (p. 12)

A-structure is related to the phenomenon of participation required by a predicate. Under Argument structure, the information of a predicate is provided by the lexicon that is relevant for determining the syntactic functions that this predicate takes. The information about the syntactic valency of a predicate and the relative prominence of the arguments are contained at this level. Mohanan (1994) states "ARG STR (a) contains information about the syntactic valency of a predicate, (b) represents prominence relations among arguments, and (c) contains no thematic role meaning." Thus, it is clear that a-structure represents valency information in terms of abstract slots, with which elements of S-structure, F-structure and C-structure can be associated. The use of c- and f-structures is inadequate to capture some common aspects of different languages. A higher level of linguistic information, which is more language-independent, is required to capture more of the similarities across languages and to reveal the actual meaning of the words in sentences. This has given rise to the use of argument structure to represent thematic information within sentences.

Bresnan (2001) shows that argument structure has two faces; semantic and syntactic. Semantically, argument structure represents the core participants in events (states, processes) required by a predicator. From the syntactic viewpoint, argument structure

represents the minimal information needed to characterize the syntactic dependents of an argument taking head. Thus, argument structure is an interface between the semantics and syntax of predicates, and this interface concept can be interpreted from the following diagram.



Thus, "argument structure encodes lexical information about the number of arguments, their syntactic type, and their hierarchical organization necessary for the mapping to syntactic structure" (Bresnan, 2001, p. 304). The following representation shows S-structure and A-structure based on the predicate *send* which requires three arguments (Mohanana, 1994, p. 41).

- (1) John sent Joe a gift.

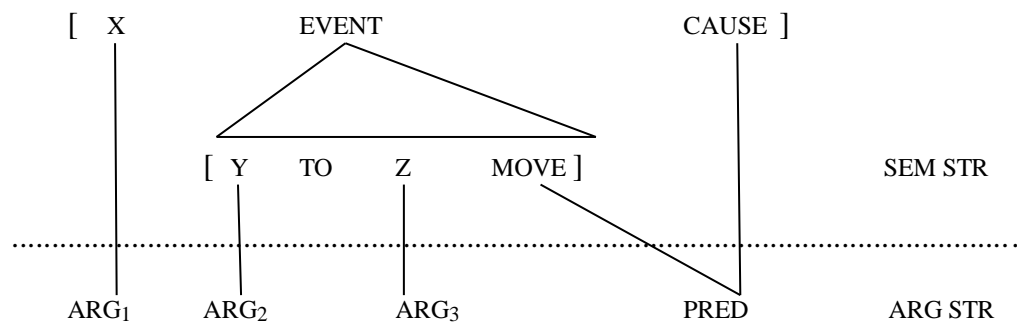
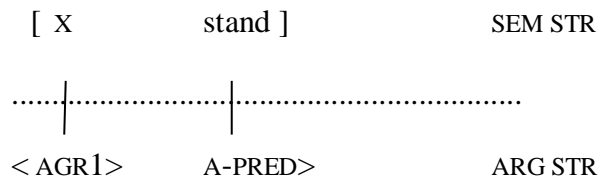


Figure 2.1: Representation of semantic and argument structures of *send*

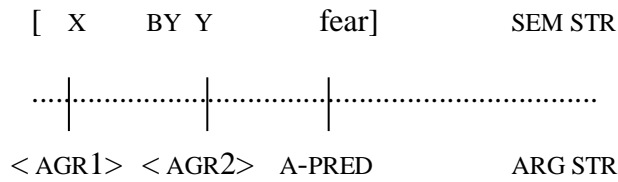
This conceptual frame expressing these two levels of representations can be observed in the Maithili sentences as well. The sequence *ḍar laḡ ch* 'fear adhere be' used as in (2b), has three elements respectively: first being N, second Main V and third Aux where the second has lost its full semantic predicational content, i.e. adhere/attach but contributes in the clause structure of the sentence (its arguments, their meanings and their case) along with the nominal host *ḍar* 'fear'.

- (2) a. *gari ləgəl chəi*
 gari ləg-əl ch-əi
 vehicle stand-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'There is a vehicle (on the stand).'
- b. *sonabatikə kəhanisə dər ləgəl chəi*
 sonabati-kə kəhani-sə dər ləg-əl ch-əi
 Sonabati-DAT story-ABL fear adhere-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'Sonabati feels fear/afraid of the story.' (APPENDIX F-50)

The representation of the verb *ləg* 'adhere' as a full verb in (2a) and nominal element in (2b) is:



The SEM STR and ARG STR of *dər* 'fear' in (2b) is as:



The representation of the predicate *dər ləg* 'fear adhere' as a single predicate/CP in (2b) is:

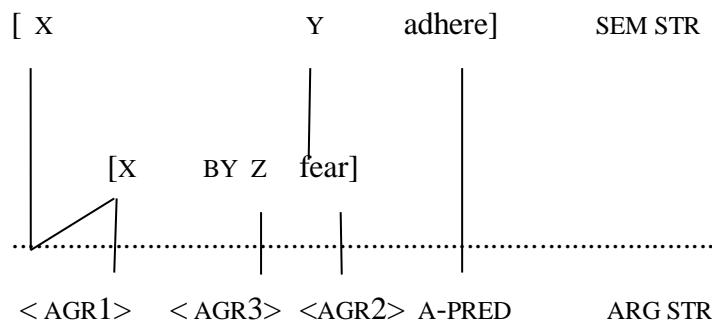


Figure 2.2: Representation of semantic and argument structures of *dər ləg* 'fear adhere'

The figures presented above for the representation of the argument structure of the predicate *send* in English and *dər ləg* 'fear adhere' in Maithili show that the number and type of arguments depends on the nature of the predicates, as in the case of (2a) only two arguments are required, but three are required in the case of (2b).

2.4.3 Constituent structure

The c-structure in LFG is subject to the lexical integrity principle that states minimal c-structure elements are whole words rather than their parts or empty categories. In other words, the c-structure here represents the external structure of a sentence in the form of a phrase structure tree showing the hierarchical grouping of words in that sentence. Regarding the a-structure in LFG, Kaplan and Bresnan (2001) argues:

LFG assumes two different ways of representing syntactic structure, the *constituent structure* or *c-structure* and the *functional structure* or *f-structure*. These two structures constitute two subsystems of the overall system of linguistic structures. Functional structure is the abstract functional syntactic organization of the sentence, familiar from traditional grammatical descriptions, representing syntactic predicate-argument structure and functional relations like subject and object. Constituent structure is the overt, more concrete level of linear and hierarchical organization of words into phrases. (p. 7)

It means in LFG, two levels of syntactic description (constituent and functional) to every sentence of a language are assigned. Phrase structure configurations are represented in a constituent structure; a conventional phrase structure tree, and a well formed labeled bracketing that indicates the superficial arrangement of words and phrases in the sentence. Thus, c-structure is the expression structure that consists of the modes of expression of the language. This is the representation on which phonological interpretation operates to produce phonetic strings. The formal model of external structure in LFG is c-structure which varies across languages. Every sentence and phrase is said to have constituent parts that can be ordered by precedence, dominance and structural type; that is, it has c-structure. This shows that the fully inflected words are the terminal elements of the c-structure of sentences where every word belongs to exactly one node (an injection from words to c-structure nodes), and this restricted relation between c-structure and word structure is often called lexical integrity. It regulates the information about grammatical categories such as N, V, ADJ, etc. as shown in figure 2.4 and elsewhere later.

Darymple (2001, pp. 47-48) states that "the phrase structure (c-structure) in LFG is not treated as it is with other transformational theories; it is the overt,

more concrete level of linear and hierarchical organization of words into phrases in LFG." It is clear that the c-structure is a phrase structure which is actual form of overt expressions. Moreover, Bresnan (2001, p. 44) claims that "since the c-structure consists of the modes of expression of a language, it varies across the languages of the world." Bresnan views that this structure varies from language to language. This variability implies the principle of variability that states external structures vary across languages. Darymple (2001) based on the analysis of English, Warlpiri, Russiali, etc, states that there are some important linguistic features that cause languages vary from one another, such as; intonation, clitic placement, verb-second/scrambling, question formation and distribution of adverbs. Thus, c-structure is direct, overt and surface expression of a sentence (Kaplan and Bresnan 1982, Darymple 2001). From all these description, it is obvious that c-structure is a language phrasal structure. The words/phrases of languages and their organizational structures are different from language to language. Some languages have phrases having their heads but some are without such heads, some have VP but some do not have it (e.g., Warlpiri, an indigenous language of Australia is lacking VP).

The concept of c-structure is based on the phrase structure of X'-bar theory inside GB theory of Chomsky (1981). However, its analysis is different in LFG from the Chomskian theory. Based on Bresnan (2001), Darymple (2001), Falk (2001) and others, there are two categories in the c-structure to analyze the phrase structure in sentences. They are;

- i. Lexical categories, and
- ii. Functional categories

Lexical categories are the fundamental unit of languages which vary from language to language. All the words used to form phrases in sentences are lexical categories and when they are combined logically, they constitute phrases and sentences. In X'-bar theory too, the lexical categories are Noun (N), Adjective (A), Verb (V), Adverb (Adv), Preposition (Prep), etc. and the phrases are Noun phrase (NP), Adjective phrase (AP), Verb phrase (VP), Prepositional phrase (PP), etc. this shows that the heads of the phrases determine their types; i.e., if the head of a phrase is noun, it is named as NP, as in (3).

- (3) a. *lɑḍka* 'boy' → word category (Noun, N)
 b. *nik lɑḍka* 'good boy' → phrase category (Noun phrase, NP)

Here, (3a) *lɑḍka* 'boy' in Maithili is noun that shows the word category and (3b) *nik lɑḍka* 'good boy' is a noun phrase having noun as its head that shows the phrasal category. This phrase category can be presented in the figure 2 below.

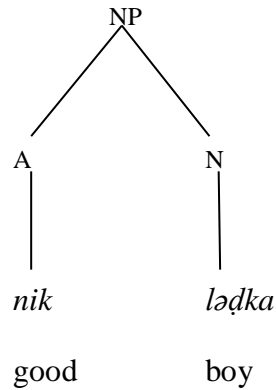


Figure 2.3: Representation of noun phrasal category

Functional categories are also related to the word categories as they are also determined by the heads in the phrasal structure and there are four such categories. An important development in X' theory is the extension of the principle of endocentricity to closed classes of grammatical categories - to minor categories such as complementizer, finite auxiliary verbs, or determiners. "In English, I^0 read as inflection is the category of temporal/aspectual finite auxiliary and modal verbs; C is the category of complementizer; D is a category of determiner, demonstratives and pronouns" (Bresnan, 2001, p. 99). Similarly, K denotes the case category. So, these four I, C, D and K are generally used for the c-structure description in LFG. Each of these is assumed to be the head of endocentric phrasal projections such as IP, CP, DP, I', but not K. This can be projected in the English sentence *we are nearing the meadow* as in figure 2.4.

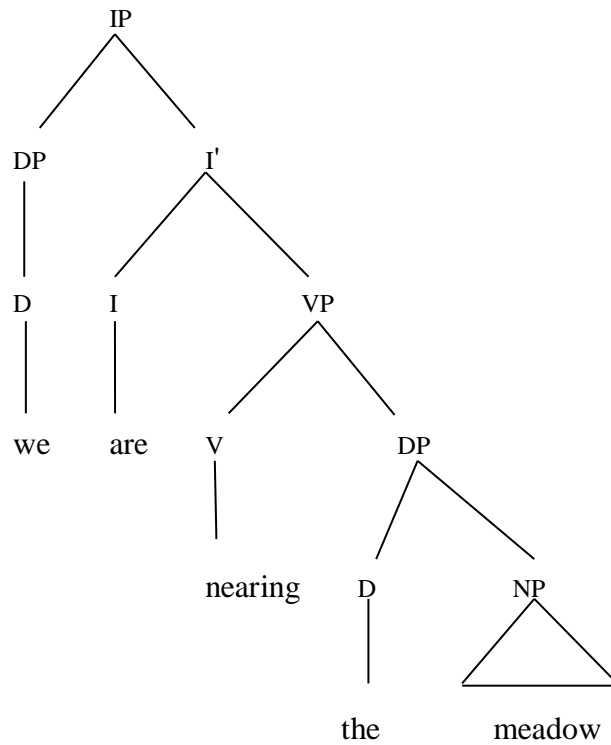


Figure 2.4: Representation of constituent structure

Analyzing this figure, Bresnan (2001, p. 99) argues "in a thoroughly endocentric language the sentence itself can be identified with IP possibly dominated by CP." Thus, it is obvious that c-structure displays information about the part-of-speech of each constituent in a sentence and the syntactic structure of the sentence. As c-structure encodes surface syntactic information like word order and phrasal structure, it is language dependent. It only captures the shallow syntactic information of sentences which makes it insufficient for performing the transfer of sentences from one language to another.

2.4.4 Functional structure

F-structure incorporates functional information such as subject, object, etc. and is sets of paired attributes and values in an attribute-value matrix. That is to say, functional structure (f-structure) provides a precise characterization of such traditional syntactic notions as subject, object, complement and adjunct. This structure in a sentence encodes its meaningful grammatical relations and provides sufficient information for the semantic components to determine the appropriate predicate argument functions. Moreover, it is the system of functions that relate argument and constituent structures and such relation has been modeled mathematically by the f-structures in LFG.

Bresnan (2001, p. 20) states "syntactic functions belong to the abstract system of relators of the roles to expression (modeled by f-structure)." Similarly, the grammatical functions are an appropriate abstraction for expressing predicate argument relations. The level of f-structure is taken to be deep as it reflects cross-linguistically invariant which is underlying principles of syntax. "The semantic arguments of a predicate like *make*, the *maker* and *thing made*, stood in a one-to-one relationship with grammatical functions such as SUBJ and OBJ" (Butt, 1994, p. 29). This shows that the f- structure represents the internal or deep structure of a sentence but the c-structure represents the external or surface structure. "While c-structure captures the external structure of a sentence, f-structure represents the internal structure of a sentence" (Wong, 1999, p. 35). In this design, the grammatical functions subject and object are equivalence classes which serve as the relator or links between two formally different, parallel structures: a-structure and c-structure. In this regard, Bresnan (2001, p. 45) states "in LFG, the formal model of the internal structure is the f-structure. The concept of subject, object, predicator, etc. appears at this level." She adds that "grammatical functions are characterized as 'relators' of c-structure to a-structure" (p. 94).

Structural and lexical information is integrated and unified within functional structure (f-structure), which consists of hierarchically organized attribute-value matrices. A straightforward algorithm for transferring information from c-structure to f-structure is presented in Kaplan and Bresnan (1982). When the lexical items that occupy the terminal nodes of the tree are inserted into f- structure, the information contained in the lexical entry (including relevant equations) is retrieved and included in the f-structure. It is in this way that lexical information is combined with the structural information available from the c-structure tree. Regarding the concept of attribute-value pairs in f-structures, Wong (1999) describes:

The higher syntactic and functional information of a sentence is represented in f-structure as a set of attribute-value pairs. These pairs form the nodes of the acyclic graph structure. In an attribute-value pair of an f-structure, the attribute corresponds to the name of a grammatical symbol (e.g., NUMB, TENSE) or a syntactic function (e.g., SUBJ, OBJ) and the value is the corresponding feature possessed by the concerning constituent. (p. 36)

The functional structure of a syntactic function in the following English sentence (4) is encoded as a subsidiary f-structure in an attribute-value pair.

(4) The child read a story.

The subject of the sentence (4) *the child* is the subject of the predicate *read*. Within the f-structure for (4), the value of the attribute SUBJ will be linked to the value of the same attribute in the f-structure of the complement. Within the same level of an f-structure, the attribute-value pairs can appear in any order.

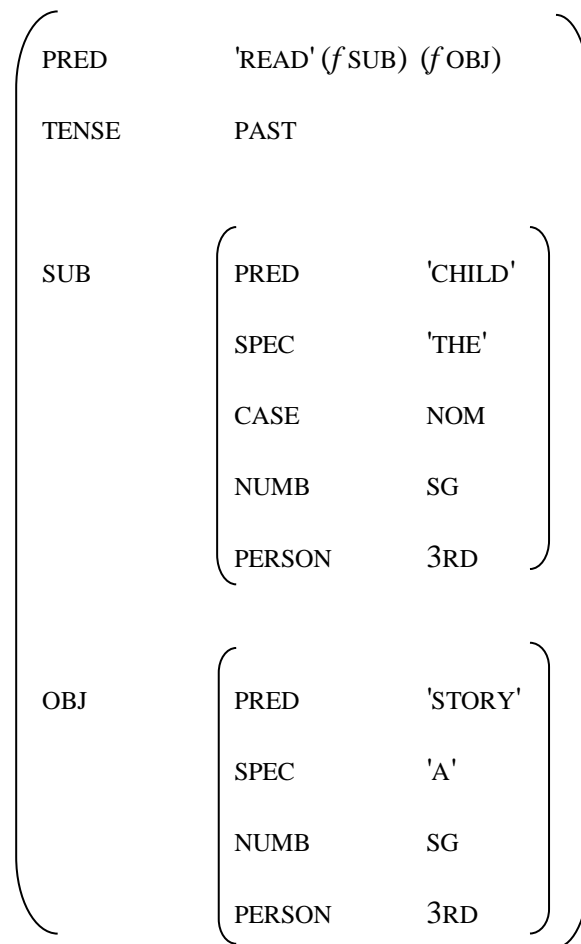


Figure 2.5: F-structure for the sentence *The child read a story*.

From the four structures introduced so far, it is clear that the conceptual framework of LFG is spread over these structures in the parallel formalism which is applied for (2b) in which the complex predicate regulates all the syntactic and semantic bearings. Let's see the representation of the Maithili complex predicate of the example (2b) under the four levels of LFG:

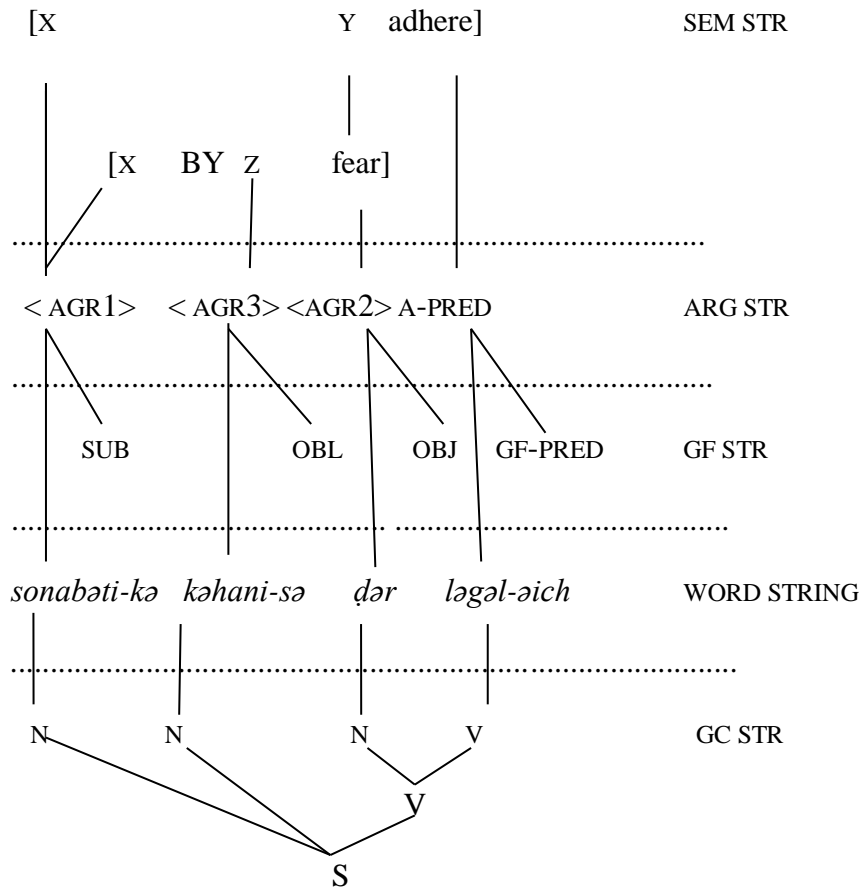


Figure 2.6: Representation of complex predicate under four levels

Figure 2.6 is a complete manifestation of LFG as there are all structures of Linguistic description in the parallel form. This is discussed in the latter section in detail.

2.5 Lexical mapping theory

One of the central concerns of LFG is the concept of mapping principles that relate the several parallel and independent representations of sentences. As LFG is a syntactic theory for a range of several theories, lexical mapping theory (hereafter LMT) is one of them and employed for establishing the integration of lexical items with the grammatical functions. LMT³ is a theory which motivates the assignment of particular arguments to grammatical functions. We see two of the mapping systems are more important in LFG: argument structure to f-structure mapping and c-structure to f-structure mapping. It was developed during the late 1980s and early 1990s with the

³ This theory has been articulated in L. Levin (1986), Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Alsina and Mchombo (1989), Bresnan and Moshi (1990), Alsina (1990), and Bresnan and Zaenen (1990), as cited in Butt (1993, p. 30).

aim of capturing the idea of mapping the argument structure with the grammatical functions. In relation with the LMT, Falk (2001) states:

Argument structure is the locus of the mapping between the thematic roles and grammatical functions. This allows some of the mapping to be done on the line in the syntax without violating the conceptual constraints. Thus the complex predicates can also be incorporated within LMT. (P. 96)

The theory of a-structure and the lexical mapping theory are the fruit of many studies on analyzing and explaining the different linguistic behaviours including complex predicates of various languages. According to Bresnan (1995), the function of a-structure is to act as a link between lexical semantics and syntactic structures. This link is established by mapping the thematic information represented in a-structure to the corresponding syntactic functions within a sentence.

The lexical mapping theory formulates some constraints on how to carry out this mapping. This was done by observing and accounting for the relationship between syntactic and thematic structures. According to Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), the lexical mapping theory consists of four components:

1. hierarchically-ordered thematic structures
2. classification of syntactic functions
3. a set of lexical mapping principles for governing the mapping between each thematic role to the corresponding syntactic function, and
4. two well-formedness conditions on lexical forms

These four components together govern the mapping between the thematic roles in an a-structure and the syntactic functions that appear in a sentence. Following (Bresnan, 2001), the thematic roles specified within a-structure are ordered according to the thematic hierarchy:

agent > beneficiary > recipient/experiencer > instrument > patient/theme > locative

Where the sequence 'X > Y' means the thematic role 'X' is hierarchically higher than the thematic role 'Y'. That is to say, in generalizing the regularities holding across a-structures, abstracting the hierarchical order of thematic roles is more relevant than defining what role an argument plays in an event structure. This is because what role

argument plays in an event structure is dependent on the event. It is impossible to derive a generalization such as the first argument of an event structure must be an agent, because this kind of regularity does not exist across a-structures. The thematic hierarchy reflects the universal hierarchy of thematic roles and it reflects the relative prominence of thematic roles characterized by any given predicator. The thematic role appearing in the left-most position of a-structure is the most prominent role within the a-structure. The prominence of a thematic role decreases from left to right within a-structure (Bresnan, 2001).

In the following sentence, the predicate *cook* regulates <agent beneficiary theme> semantic structure which shows the three different arguments in the a-structure and here the agent is the most prominent role and the theme is the least prominent role. The most prominent argument in a-structure is referred to as the logical subject.

(5) They cooked him food.

The thematic hierarchy is said to be universal across languages. This suggests that if two a-structures in different languages bear the same thematic roles, these thematic roles should appear in the same order. Bresnan (2001, p. 302) shows the mapping representation of a-structure and c-structure into f-structure in simple sentence (6).

(6) They chased a goose.

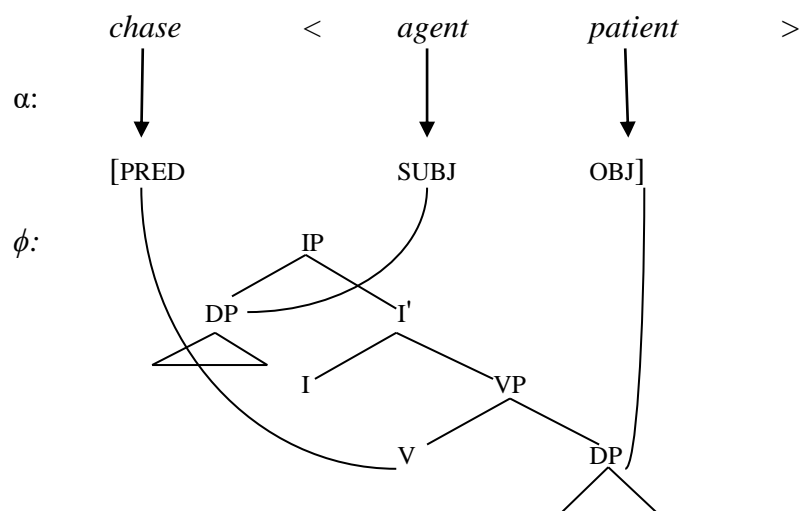


Figure 2.7: Mapping a-structure and c-structure into f-structure

The figure presents the mapping design from argument structure to f-structure and c-structure to f-structure. " $\alpha:$ " in the figure above designates the mapping from a-structure to f-structure, while $\phi:$ designates the mapping from c-structure to f-structure.

The former follows the theory of a-structure to f-structure mapping, also known as the Lexical Mapping Theory" (Bresnan, 2001, p. 302).

Lexical Functional Grammar regulates some theories to establish the processes of interaction among the different levels in a language. This theory provides the information about how different nodes are collapsed or unified into a single level, f-structure. This shows that information from differing nodes is collapsed, or unified, into a single f-structure piece. The mapping procedure is instantiated by annotations on c-structure.

2.6 Implication of LFG in analyzing complex predicate

Alsina makes a formal proposal for handling the formation of complex predicates in the syntax within the framework of LFG, (Alsina et al, 1997, p. 7). Similarly, Butt (in Alsina et al, 1997, p. 108) mentions that within Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), it is possible to show that complex predicates must be simple with respect to grammatical functions (relations), but may be either simple or complex with regard to c-(constituency) structure (phrase structure), as more than one constituent is combined together to perform a single grammatical function. LFG looks into the structures and functions regarding complex predicate at different levels such as a-structure, c-structure and f-structure. Functional mapping theory (FMT) is one of the theoretical implications of LFG into complex predicates. In causativization and permissive complex predicates, FMT comes into operation. It maps the arguments into grammatical function according to its rules. When a non-causative sentence is changed into causative by the addition of a causative morpheme, i.e., a causative predicate, according to the functional mapping theory the subject of non-causative sentence is mapped into the object function because the FMT already finds an external argument to be played as a subject. In this way, FMT and other mapping theories are brought into implication in the study of complex predicate.

Predication composition is another theoretical aspect implied in complex predicate. As a matter of fact, complex predicates are made of two simple predicates whose PRED (predicate) values are composed into a single complex predicatehood. The predicate composition takes place in the lexicon if the causative predicate is a morpheme whereas it takes place into syntax if the causative predicate is a lexical item. The PRED values of the underspecified predicate depend upon any other

argument taking a predicate. Therefore, the underspecified predicate needs to be composed with the other predicate for completing it. The two predicates in the structural sisterhood under a mother node are combined which results into the single predicate. The composition appears at the c-structure where two predicates occupy two different terminal nodes under the mother node. The feature unification does not appear at the predicate level so the composition of PRED values has been proposed which implies the unnecessary of feature unification.

Complex predicate is composed of two different elements. It may be the result of a verbal stem and a morpheme, it may be the combination of two different lexical items or in some languages it may constitute a single lexical item. These all conditions state that a CP formation takes place either in lexicon known as morphological or it may appear in syntax. Though the CP is formed out of two simple lexical items, it behaves like a single lexical or a phrasal category. This feature of CP has extended the notion of a lexical item in grammar.

However, the meaning of a CP is not compositional. The lexical items which constitute a CP look like a single element because of some processes like coordination, separability and agreement whereas they also look like two words by some other processes such as modification and relativization, as will be illustrated later. The two principles viz. *Lexical Integrity Hypothesis* (LIH) and *Direct Syntactic Encoding* are in implication at the moment. The *Lexical Integrity Hypothesis* requires that fully formed lexical items are inserted into the syntax. According to LIH, the CP whose constituents cannot be separated and conjoined is a categorical word. On the other hand *Direct Syntactic Encoding* states that no rule of syntax can replace one grammatical function name by other (Bresnan, 2001). According to this principle CP is a functional word. The two theories in themselves hold the contrastive views. A CP is a categorical word for the former whereas the latter states it as a functional word. However, there is direct correspondence between the two categories in such a way that one categorical word can represent two functional words and vice versa.

2.7 Summary

Lexical Functional Grammar developed in the mid-to-late 1970s by Joan Bresnan and Ronald M. Kaplan, which the present work has adopted for analysis, is a constraint-based generative formalism applying parallel correspondence architecture without

serial derivation and has been designed for a wide range of non-configurational and configurational types of languages. Clearly, LFG is a linguistic formalism which attempts to deal with different levels of linguistic representations, i.e. syntactic, semantic and pragmatic, in a coherent manner, and presents the basic syntactic and semantic information of a language in four interacting levels which are: Constituent structure (c-structure), Functional structure (f-structure), Argument structure (a-structure) and Semantic structure (s-structure) which deal with the four different aspects of grammar. Semantic structure represents those aspects of meaning that are relevant for systematic morphological and syntactic regularities. Grammatical function structure expresses the grammatical functions of the arguments of the predicate in the term of notions like subject, object, etc. and the grammatical features such as case, number, gender, etc. Grammatical category structure/constituent structure represents information about the grammatical categories such as noun, verb, etc. these all levels form a set of interdependent, interacting levels of structure, linked to each other by general principles of grammar. The information about the syntactic valency of a predicate and the relative prominence of the arguments are contained at a-structure.

A theory which motivated the assignment of particular arguments to grammatical functions was developed under the concept of LFG. This theory is called Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) which is one of the theoretical implications of LFG into complex predicate. In causativization and permissive complex predicates, another theory viz. *Functional Mapping Theory* (FMT) comes into operation. It maps the arguments into grammatical function according to its rules. Similarly, the two theories viz. *Lexical Integrity Hypothesis* and *Direct Syntactic Encoding* are also employed simultaneously to represent the four levels of sentence analysis in the parallel form.

CHAPTER THREE

MAITHILI NOMINAL AND VERBAL SYSTEMS

3.0 Outline

This is an introductory section in which some of the related grammatical areas are briefly introduced with the aim of making the present work relevant to the systems that are also simultaneously taking place while discussing the main concern, viz. the Maithili complex predicates, in the chapters later. This chapter consists of eleven sections. In section 3.1, we present the nominal system. Verbal system and verbal complex system in Maithili are discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3 respectively. Similarly, section 3.4 deals with the agreement system in short. Negation is analyzed in section 3.5. Section 3.6 is about Maithili word order. We deal with the classification of the clause in section 3.7. In section 3.8, we discuss two syntactic processes: anaphoric relation and passivization. We talk about Maithili subjecthood in section 3.9. Section 3.10 deals with compounding and coordination. Section 3.11 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

3.1 Nominal system

3.1.1 Cases

Case is a semantic valance system which describes the logical form of a sentence in terms of a predicate and a series of case labeled arguments such as agent, patient, location, source and goal. The logical form in case system must be so designed that arguments are assigned theta roles (e.g., agent, patient, etc.), that is, are assigned the status of terms in a thematic relation. In a sentence, case is described in two terms: internal (deep) and external (surface). The semantic relationship among the different arguments of a predicate in terms of agent, patient, (nominative, dative) etc. is internal case concept and the syntactic relationship assigned to the arguments regulated by the predicate in a sentence in terms of subject, object, etc. is the external case concept.

In recent days, attempts have been made to recognize cases as universal concepts and they have been defined semantically rather than on the basis of morphological forms they take and the grammatical functions they perform in sentences. "The sentence in its basic structure consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with a verb in a particular case relation" (Fillmore, 1968, p. 21). This shows that case

is a relationship phenomenon of every argument in a clause regulated by the predicate used. Similarly, "in Case Grammar, verb is considered to be the most important part of the sentence and has a number of semantic relationships with various noun phrases. And these relationships are called cases" (Richards et al, 1985, p. 35). It is apt to claim that it is the semantic role which is dominant in Case Grammar. For case grammarians, it is the case relations between the constituents of a sentence that specifies the underlying semantic structure of the sentence and it is case relation in terms of which the syntactic organization of a sentence can be explained most satisfactorily.

Many Maithili grammars have defined case in terms of semantic roles. A sentence can have one or more than one noun phrase. "The role of a noun phrase in execution of the action expressed by verb is called case. The things (noun phrases) that help a verb to perform actions are called cases" (Jha, 1979, p. 26). Similar definition has been offered by Jha (2007, p. 95). Most of the traditional Maithili Grammars have maintained that there are eight cases in Maithili, namely nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative. For more details, see Yadava (2004).

i. Nominative

One who performs an action is known as nominative case. The noun in nominative case performs the grammatical function subject. It is zero marked in Maithili. The argument *Mohan* in (1) is in nominative case as it is unmarked and performs the act of reading a book.

- (1) *mohən kitab pəṛhlək*
 mohən kitab pəṛh-l-ək
 Mohan book read-PST-3NH
 'Mohan read a book.'

ii. Accusative

This is the undergoer of an action. This is the case also known as affected. The noun in the accusative case performs the grammatical function of direct object marked by the clitic *-ke/kə* as in the example (2a), but non-human noun in accusative remains unmarked as in (2b).

- (2) a. *sita ram-kə piṭlək*
 sita ram-kə piṭ-l-ək
 Sita Ram-DAT beat-PST-3NH
 ‘Sita bit Ram.’
- b. *o bhat khai chəith*
 o bhat kha-i ch-əith
 3SG rice eat-IPFV be.PRS-3H
 ‘He eats rice.’

iii. Instrumental

It is something used to perform an action, typically inanimate. The instrumental case is marked by the use of clitic *-sə*, and optionally by the suffixation of the case marker *-ə̃/e*. Examples:

- (3) a. *binod pensə likhləith*
 binod pen-sə likh-l-əith
 Binod pen-INS write-PST-3H
 ‘Binod wrote by a pen.’
- b. *həm pære əeləũ*
 həm pære əe-l-əũ
 1SG foot.INS come-PST-1
 ‘I came on foot.’

iv. Dative

The case for which a verb performs the action is in dative. The noun in the place of subject expresses experiencers (receivers) such as liking and disliking, states of health or sickness, happiness etc. However, it can function as indirect object of verbs governing two objects. It can also function as direct object of transitive verbs governing one object when the object is personal. Dative is obligatorily marked by the clitic- *ke/kəlel*. However, in Maithili there does not seem clear contrast between accusative and dative (Yadav, 1996). Dative case rather than accusative is normally used in this work and the dative marker found with the Maithili variety of Saptari is *-kə*. So, wherever the dative marker *-kə* is used, it would be the cases of this particular dialect.

- (4) *binod nokarkə pəisa delək*
 binod nokər-kə pəisa de-l-ək
 Binod servant-DAT money give-PST-3NH
 'The servant has a fever.'

v. Ablative

The ablative case is a *from* case and is used for expressing expulsion, removal, release, fear and similar ideas, (Jha, 1958, p. 594). It may denote separation, source, or agent, and answer the question with *from where*. Ablative case in Maithili is marked by the case marker *-sə* as illustrated in (5) below.

- (5) *o əpən gam-sə ael*
 o əpən gam-sə ae-l
 3SG own village-ABL come-PST.3NH
 'He came from his village.'

vi. Genitive

Genitive case defines the meaning of a noun more closely as it performs a modifying function in a noun phrase. The semantic role played the noun inflected for the genitive case is described in various terms such as genitive of origin and possession. "The case which has relation with the nominative case or any other case in the sentence is called genitive. The proper value of genitive is adjectival; it belongs to and qualifies a noun" (Jha, 1958, p. 596). This case is also called possessive in some cases when it shows ownership/possession. The genitive case in Maithili language is marked by the case marker *-ək/kə* when the noun phrase ends in a consonant and by *-k* when it ends in a vowel. It basically performs adjectival function as in the example (6).

- (6) *o səntosək gamsə ael*
 o səntos-ək gam-sə ae-l
 3SG Santosh-GEN village-ABL come-PST.3NH
 'He came from Santosh's village.'

vii. Locative

The case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action regulated by the predicate in a sentence is in locative case. The locative case in Maithili is marked by the use of the clitic *-me/mə/pər*. The argument *gam-me* 'at village' in (7) expresses the locative case.

- (7) *o əpən gamme bəisləith*
 o əpən gam-me bəis-l-əith
 3SG own village-LOC sit-PST-3H
 'He lived at his own village.'

viii. Vocative

Vocative case is used to draw the attention towards the speaker, especially in the spoken form of a language. It is a word or phrase used to address a reader or listener directly, usually in the form of a personal name or any related title, and is placed initially with a comma. The word *Santosh* in (8) that is addressed in order to help verb action is in vocative case. It is unmarked in Maithili, and is identified on the basis of its semantics and syntax.

- (8) *səntos, əhã ðhikse pərhhu*
 səntos, əhã ðhik-se pərh-hu
 Santosh, 2SG well-INFP read-EMPH
 'Santosh, read well.'

Yadava (2001c) explicitly hints at the fact that characterization of cases in terms of the grammatical functions in the sentence is faulty. In Maithili, as in several other Indo-Aryan languages, there exists no one to one relation between the grammatical relations of nominals and their cases. A nominative nominal, for example, can be the subject of a clause, but it can also function as the object in other construction. On the other hand, the subject is typically coded with nominative subject; however it can also be realized with other case markings. Furthermore, inflectional cases are not deep structure cases but surface structure ones. The cases, therefore, need to be explained on the basis of semantic functions. Semantically, the following cases are to be considered in Maithili regarding the case system this work also goes after.

- i. Agent: It denotes a doer or instigator of an action or event. In other way, the action performer is an agent. In the example (1), *Mohan* is an agent.
- ii. Patient: It defines the entity of the undergoer of an action who is affected by the agent performance. In the example (2a), *Ram* is a patient.
- iii. Experiencer: The living entity that experiences an action or event is experiencer. It is appropriate for perception and psychological involvement, inherently animate. In the example (4), *nokər-kə* 'to servant' is an experiencer.

iv. Instrument: The medium by which the action or event is carried out or something used immediately to perform an action typically animate. *pen-sə* 'by pen' in (3) is an instrument.

v. Source: The location or entity from which something moves or the place from which something moves, the starting point, the earlier state, the start of a time period. *gam-sə* 'from village' in (5) is a source.

vi. Locative: The specification of the place where the action or event is situated. It identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb, e.g., *gam-mə* 'at village' in the (7).

vii. Benefactive: The animate being on whose behalf an activity is carried out. In (9), *Binod* that is in dative marker plays a benefactive role.

- (9) *nokər binodkə pəisa delək*
 nokər binod-kə pəisa de-l-ək
 servant Binod-DAT money give-PST-3NH
 'The servant gave money to Binod.'

viii. Purpose: This refers to the purpose of an activity carried out by the verb, e.g. *dhən* 'wealth' in (10) having the clitic *-ləl* 'for' is in purposive role.

- (10) *həm dhənləl kam kərəi chi*
 həm dhən-ləl kam kər-əi ch-i
 1SG weath-PURP work do-IPFV be-PRS.1
 'I do the work for money.'

ix. Goal/destination: The direction to which something moves is the goal. It is the end point of a movement. In the sentence (11), school is the goal, which is unmarked.

- (11) *o iskul gel*
 o iskul ge-l
 3SG school go-PST.3NH
 'He went to school.'

x. Comitative: This case indicates the notion of togetherness, e.g. 'Binod' in (12) is having the role of comitative.

- (12) *osəb binodsath aib rəhəl chəi*
 o-səb binod-sath a-ib rəhəl ch-əi
 3-PL Binod-COM come-INFP PROG be.PRS-3H
 'They are coming with Binod.'

Similarly, the case system of personal pronouns with their honorificity status is

presented in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Maithili honorific personal pronouns¹

	Nominative	Dative	Genitive
1	<i>həm</i>	<i>həmra</i>	<i>həmər</i>
2nh	<i>tũ</i>	<i>torɑ</i>	<i>tohər</i>
2mh	<i>tõ</i>	<i>torɑ</i>	<i>tohər</i>
2h	<i>əhã</i>	<i>əhãkẽ</i>	<i>əhãkẽ</i>
2hh (indirect)	<i>əpne</i>	<i>əpnekẽ</i>	<i>əpnekẽ</i>
3nh proximate	<i>i</i>	<i>ekrɑ</i>	<i>ekər</i>
3nh remote	<i>u</i>	<i>okrɑ</i>	<i>okər</i>
3h/hh proximate	<i>i</i>	<i>hinkɑ</i>	<i>hinək</i>
3h/hh remote	<i>o</i>	<i>hunkɑ</i>	<i>hunək</i>

Yadava, (1999b, p. 150)

Based on the table 3.1 and also on Yadava (2004), the following pronominal case paradigm is observed in the Southern Maithili.

Table 3.2: Saptarian Southern Maithili honorific personal pronouns²

	Nominative	Dative	Genitive
1	<i>həm</i>	<i>həmra</i>	<i>həmər</i>
2nh	<i>tu</i>	<i>torɑ</i>	<i>tohər</i>
2h	<i>əhã</i>	<i>əhãkə</i>	<i>əhãkə</i>
2hh	<i>əpne</i>	<i>əpneke</i>	<i>əpnekə</i>
3nh proximate	<i>i</i>	<i>ekrɑ</i>	<i>ekər</i>
3nh remote	<i>u</i>	<i>okrɑ</i>	<i>okər</i>
3h/hh proximate	<i>i</i>	<i>hinkɑ</i>	<i>hinək</i>
3h/hh remote	<i>o</i>	<i>hunkɑ</i>	<i>hunək</i>

3.1.2 Person, number, gender and honorificity

In Maithili, number, gender and case are the morphosyntactic categories by which nouns may be classified. There are three persons, two numbers, two genders and four forms of expressing honorificity. However, "Modern Maithili has no grammatical

¹ In this chart, there was *a* for *ə* in its original version, but it has been replaced by *ə*. Similarly, some of the terms have also been modified based on the Maithili spoken in Saptari especially.

² The second and third person honorific forms are mostly used by the Kyasthya and Braminh people of this area in their formal types of conversation. These are not normally the forms used by others, except in formal situations sometimes in this area.

number, and distinction of number into singular and plural therefore mean little in the Maithili nominal system" (Yadav, 1996, p. 69). But there are two periphrastic plurality forms still being used with the nominal system: *səb* 'all' and *lokəin* 'people' which are used after the nouns/pronouns. However, Maithili verbs inflect identically for singular and plural noun/pronoun forms. In the gender system, the classification is human vs. non-human and within human male vs. female, whereas feminine is marked and masculine is unmarked in some cases. Honorificity in Maithili is complex phenomenon. It is realized in both: pronominal forms and verbal inflections. In the former, it is lexical whereas it is inflectional in the latter case. However, the clitic *-ji* is also added with a noun to express honorificity in Maithili. For more details, see Yadava, et al. (1999b).

a. Number and Person

Regarding the person system in Maithili, the pronominal forms of first, second and third persons which are slightly different from Yadava (1999b) are following:

Table 3.3: Honorific pronouns in Maithili

		Singular	Plural
1st person		<i>həm</i>	<i>həm-səb/lokəin</i>
2nd person	High honrofic	<i>əpne</i>	<i>əpne-səb/lokəin</i>
	Honrofic	<i>əhā</i>	<i>əhā-səb/lokəin</i>
	Midhonrofic	<i>tō</i>	<i>tō-səb/lokəin</i>
	Nonhonrofic	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu-səb</i>
3rd person	Honrofic	<i>o</i>	<i>o-səb/lokəin</i>
	Nonhonrofic	<i>u/o</i>	<i>u/o-səb</i>

(13) *o iskul gel*
 o iskul ge-l
 3SG school go-PST.3NH
 'He went to school.'

(14) *osəb iskul gel*
 o-səb iskul ge-l
 3-PL school go-PST.3NH
 'He went to school.'

b. Honorificity

As mentioned, there are three persons in Maithili and the first person is indeterminate

as to honorificity. The second and third persons show this distinction and the specific pronouns require the specific selection of verbal inflections: there is the selection-restriction between pronouns and inflections in verbs for maintaining the honorificity which is presented in verb agreement section.

c. Gender

Modern Maithili has no grammatical gender distinctions of masculine and feminine. They are rather determined solely by the sex of the animate noun. For example: *beṭa* 'son' is masculine and *beṭi* 'daughter' is feminine. The agreement system between gender (animate subject) and verb is of a restricted nature: in present tense, verbs do not show the agreement with their animate subjects as in (15), but in past tense of intransitive verbs mostly in formal style, it occurs as in (16), and with intransitive and transitive verbs in future tense having the formal style as in (17).

- (15) *maṣṭar/maṣṭarṇi pəṛhbəit chəith*
 maṣṭar/maṣṭar-ni pəṛh-bəit ch-əith
 teacher.M/-F teach-IPFV be.PRS-3H
 'The teacher teaches.'

- (16) a. *pəṇḍit əelah*
 pəṇḍit əe-l-ah
 pandit.M come-PST-3H
 'The pandit came.'

- b. *pəṇḍitni əelih*
 pəṇḍit-ni əe-l-ih
 pandit-F come-PST-3H
 'The pandit's wife came.'

- (17) a. *pəṇḍit autah*
 pəṇḍit au-t-ah
 pandit.M come-FUT-3H
 'The pandit will come.'

- b. *pəṇḍitni autih*
 pəṇḍit-ni au-t-ih
 pandit-F come-FUT-3H
 'The pandit's wife will come.'

While changing a masculine noun into a feminine, generally *-in*, *-n-*, *-əin*, and *-ain* are attached with masculine forms in Maithili (for detail, see Yadav, 1996).

3.1.3 Modifiers

The nominals in Maithili can be modified by demonstrative, numeral and adjectives, and verbals can be modified by numerals and adverbs. The order of modifier and the modified is such that the former comes before the latter in common use. Nominals can also be modified by the genitive and can be relativized. The canonical order for genitive and head is like other modifiers. Adjectival modifiers agree with the head in (number) and gender. Let's see some examples.

- (18)
- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| a. | <i>kəriya chāura</i> | ‘black boy’ | (Adj + N) |
| b. | <i>kəryahi chāuri</i> | ‘black girl’ | |
| c. | <i>tinṭa chāura-(səb)</i> | ‘three boy(s)’ | (Num + N) |
| d. | <i>binod-ək kəniya</i> | ‘Binod's wife’ | (Gen + N) |
| e. | <i>kəniya je nik chāi</i> | ‘the bride who is beautiful’ | (N+ Rel) |

3.2 Verbal system in Maithili

This sub-section briefly presents an overview of the Maithili verb structure, verb classification, verb stems, verb 'be' as an auxiliary, and others as well. It analyzes how verbs possess the morphological properties to show different tenses, aspects, mood, gender, person, honorificity and agreement. Regarding the verbal system of Maithili, Jha (1958) claims that "the conjugation of the verb forms is the most complicated INFP of Maithili grammar." Different grammatical realizations are conjugated with the verb stems by the presence of inflectional and derivational morphemes and words. Such items³ are phonetically realized, but some are sometimes implicit as well. For more description, also see Yadava (1980).

All morphological elements normally follow the verb stem (cf. Masica 1991, p. 257). The following rule captures the general structure of Maithili verb forms (cf. Yadav, 1996).

$$V < \text{Stem(-Aspect)}(\text{Aspectual Aux}) (\text{Aux})\text{-Tense-Agr1(-Agr2-Agr3)}$$

(Yadava, 1999)

³ Several grammatical properties with the main verbs are realized such as aspect marker, tense marker, light verb, auxiliary verbs, person marker and honorific marker, and these all are marked in Maithili with distinct markers, but not discussed here in details.

- (19) *u dāurəi chəi*
 u dāur-əi ch-əi
 3SG run-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'S/he runs.'

3.2.1 Auxiliary verbs

There are some verb forms having the meaning of English 'be' verb very frequently used in Maithili verbal system. Such forms occur after the aspect marker, the tense, causative and passive in the verb phrase, and agreement markers are all attached to them. Such forms of Maithili can be listed as follows:

Present tense	<i>əich/ch-</i>
Past tense	<i>ch-</i>
Future tense	<i>rəh-, ho-</i>

It is noted that the auxiliary forms are, by their nature, tense carriers, and their grammatical function is to provide finiteness to the verbal group. Consequently, their forms are in themselves always incomplete until the tense and agreement affixes are added to them.

3.2.2 Tense, aspect and mood (TAM)

Maithili verbs possess tense carrying morphemes which are suffixed to the verb stem, showing a morphological distinction between past and non-past tenses. Here, non-past tense refers to the situation/event of both present and future. And the past tense can further be extended to recent past (same day) and remote past (other previous days). It possesses the morphological properties with verbs to show different tenses, aspects, mood, gender, person, honorificity and agreement. Mostly they are explicit, but they are contextualized as well. The following examples are illustrative:

- (20) a. *o benchpər uṭhlah*
 o bench-pər uṭh-l-ah
 3SG bench-LOC stand-PST-3H
 'He stood on the bench.'
- b. *gari ləgəl chəi*
 gari ləg-əl ch-əi
 vechile stand-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'There is a vehicle (on the stand).'

- c. *o khisiya uṭhət*
 o khisiya uṭh-ət
 3SG anger raise-FUT.3H
 'He will get angry'.

In Maithili language, the aspect along with tense and mood is also highly inflected and realized with its verb forms, i.e. it has also different aspects denoting different temporal structures of a situation in the past and in the non-past tenses: (i) perfective (PFV), (ii) imperfective (IPFV), and (iii) progressive (PROG). The markers denoting these aspects respectively in Maithili are attached with the main verb stems and are as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------|--------------------|
| (i) Perfective | -ne | (for transitive) |
| | -əl | (for intransitive) |
| (ii) Imperfective | -əi(t) | |
| (iii) Progressive | rəhəl | |

- (21) a. *nokər binodkə pəisa dene chəi*
 nokər binod-kə pəisa de-ne ch-əi
 Servant Binod-DAT money give-PFV be.PRS-3NH
 'The servant has given money to Binod.'
- b. *nokər binodkə pəisa deəi chəi*
 nokər binod-kə pəisa de-əi ch-əi
 Servant Binod-DAT money give-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'The servant gives money to Binod.'
- c. *nokər binodkə pəisa də rəhəl chəi*
 nokər binod-kə pəisa de-əi rəhəl ch-əi
 Servant Binod-DAT money give-IPFV PROG be.-3NH
 'The servant is giving money to Binod.'

Regarding the terms mood and modality, they are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinctions among these terms. Simply, mood describes the speakers' attitude towards a situation including their belief in its reality. It defines as a set of syntactic and semantic constraints regulated and evaluated by the nature of predicates used in sentences. Mood denotes one of a set of distinctive forms that are used to signal modality, whereas modality is a facet of illocutionary force signaled by grammatical devices (i.e., moods), that expresses a speaker's degree of commitment to the expressed proposition's believability, obligatoriness, desirability, or reality. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of

the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g., uncertainly, definiteness, vagueness, possibility. These states of the speakers are captured within the mood and modality paradigm. In Maithili, there are five types of moods which can be shown as follows: (i) declarative, (ii) presumptive, (iii) imperative, (iv) optative and (v) conditional.

i. When the speaker gives a piece of information, expresses an opinion or makes a promise or emphasis, declarative mood is used. Declarative sentences normally express statements, but they often have other functions too. In the sentence (22) below, it is a condition of a simple statement, hence is in the declarative mood.

(22) *rohit am kheləith*
 rohit am khe-l-əith
 Rohit mango eat-PST-3H
 'Rohit ate a mango.'

ii. The presumptive mood conveys the meaning of possibility. It is formed by adding future tense markers to auxiliary *ho-* 'be' when the main verb is in the perfective aspect.

(23) *tu ləhan gel hoebe*
 tu ləhan ge-l hoe-b-e
 2SG Lahan go-PST be-FUT-2NH
 'You may have gone to Lahan.'

iii. Imperative mood is expressed by such sentences that express directives, such as orders, instructions, requests, invitations, advices, etc. They typically have a verb with no subject and in the infinitive form. *Don't* is generally put before the verb to form negatives in English imperatives. In Maithili too, the main verbs in the imperative forms are in their infinitive use, i.e., second person singular/plural and non-honorific are unmarked (zero suffix). The expression in (24) indicates imperative mood.

(24) *(tu) dokan khol*
 (tu) dokan khol
 2SG shop open.IMP.2NH
 '(You) open the shop.'

iv. Optative mood indicates a wish or hope regarding a given action. This is closely related the subjunctive mood. However, it is different from the desirative mood in grammars.

- (25) *tu jit jo*
 tu jit jo
 2SG win go.OPT.2NH
 'May you win!'

v. Conditional mood consists of antecedent (or a condition and a consequent). The antecedent represents the event described by the word *jəb/yədi* 'if'. That is to say, it denotes a 'if clause', while the consequent represents the event directly with *təb/təkhən* 'then'. Let's see an example:

- (26) *yədi o jetah, təkhən həmhu jəb*
 yədi o je-t-ah, təkhən həm-hu jə-b
 if 3SG go-FUT-3H then ISG-EMPH go-FUT.1
 'If he goes, then I will go too.'

3.3 Verbal complex system

Verbal system of Maithili, as presented in section 3.2, involves considerations of the underlying phonological form of the verb stem, the aspect, the tense, and other verbal extensions as well. Therefore, even simple verbs are complicated by their structure. In a sentence, verbal part is obligatory and all others are its dependents. That is to say, it is the verb part that articulates the rest of a sentence. From syntactic and functional viewpoints, Maithili verb constructions are two types: basically called converbs and complex verbs. In the first type, two or more verbs, independent in their own status, concatenate to express separate functions/events, but in the latter, they are tightly unified with each other and express a single certain function.

3.3.1 Converb

Converbs are the serial verb like constructions that are represented by the markers *-kə*, *-ite* or *lel* with the first member and they separately serve the distinct events in sentences. For details, see also Yadava, (2005).

a. Sequential converb

The sequential converb also known as serial verb contains two or more than two verbs with their own lexicalized events. They are arranged together by the suffix *-kə* that gives the meaning 'and'. That is to say, converbs are used to form sequential constructions coordinating two verbs occurring one after another to show sequential meaning. The verb construction in (27) decodes two different actions separately, i.e., first action is 'eating' and second one is 'going'.

- (27) *khakə gel*
 kha-kə ge-l
 eat-INFP go-PST.3NH
 '(He) ate and went.'

b. Simultaneous converb

The simultaneous converb as represented by the suffix *-əit/-əite* is used to form simultaneous constructions that coordinate two verbs occurring simultaneously. This phenomenon is presented in the sentence (28) below.

- (28) *khait gel*
 kha-it ge-l
 eat-IPFV go-PST.3NH
 '(He) went while eating.'

c. Purposive

The non-finite verbs that show the purpose of the agent for which the doer performs an action are purposive verbs. *-əilel/əile* is attached to the first verbs for such complex constructions in Maithili. For example:

- (29) *ram sutəile gel*
 ram sut-əile ge-l
 Ram sleep-PURP go-PST.3NH
 'Ram went to sleep.'

3.3.2 Complex predicates

The verbal constructions that have two predicative elements either in lexicon or in syntax and both of them contribute parts of information to form a single predicate are functionally named as complex predicates. This feature is massive in the Indo-Aryan languages, like Maithili. The detail treatments of such constructions are presented in the latter sections.

a. Compound verbs

A compound verb is a complex verbal unit which consists of a sequence of two verb stems (i.e., $v_1 + v_2$) but functions as a single simple verb. The first verb will be called the pole or polar verb and the second verb the vector verb. The structure of the Maithili compound verb is:

$$\text{Compound verb} = V_1 + V_2 + \text{Inflectional affixes}$$

- (30) *binod s̄antosk̄a cithi likh del̄aith*
 binod s̄antos-k̄a cithi likh de-l-̄aith
 Binod Santosh-DAT letter write give-PST-3H
 'Binod wrote Santosh a letter.'

b. Conjunct verbs

In Maithili, conjunct verbs typically consists of non-verbal elements (mostly nouns and adjectives) followed by a rather small set of verbs; usually, these are the verbs *k̄ar* 'do', *de* 'give' etc. and they together determine the clause mechanics.

- (31) *pain ḡar̄am bh̄a r̄ah̄al̄ āich* Yadav (1996, p. 209)
 pain ḡar̄am bh̄a r̄ah̄al̄ āich
 water hot become PROG be.PRS.3NH
 'The water is boiling.'

3.4 Agreement system

Verbal inflection in Maithili agrees with the person, gender and honorificity of the subject and other arguments of a sentence. However, it is found that the gender system influences little in the verb agreement of Maithili. Yadava (1999b) finds "Maithili allows for multiple verb agreement (labeled here as Agr1 through Agr3), and in this respect the language is quite different from most other Indo-Aryan languages." The basic structure with slight changes having multiple auxiliaries is illustrated in the following sentence:

- (32) *h̄ariji d̄aur̄ait̄ r̄ah̄al̄ chela*
 h̄ari-ji d̄aur-̄ait̄ r̄ah̄al̄ che-l-a
 Hari-H run-IPFV PROG be-PST-3H
 'Hari had been running.'

Maithili verb agreement is greatly influenced by person and honorific system, either it is a case of intransitive verbs or transitive ones. This agreement system is presented in table 3 below.

Table 3.4: Intransitive and transitive agreement paradigm

		Nominative			Non-nominative							
		ϕ	1	2h	3nh	3nh	3h/hh	3h/hh	3h/hh foc	3h/hh foc	2nh	2mh
					prox	rem	prox	rem	prox	rem		
ϕ	pres		∂i				$-\partial in(h)$				$-\partial u(k)$	$-\partial(h)$
	past		ϕ	(dummy agreement)			$-\partial in(h)$				$-\partial u(k)$	$-\partial(h)$
	fut		$\partial-t$				$-t-\partial in(h)$				$-\partial u(k)$	$-\partial(h)$
1	pres	$-i$		$-i-\partial i(k)$								
	past	$-\partial n(h)$	$-i$	$-i-\partial i(k)$								
	fut	$-\partial-b$		$-i-\partial i(k)$								
2h	pres	$-i$										
	past	$-\partial n(h)$	$-i$									
	fut											
2nh		$-\partial e$		$-\partial-h(k)$	$-\partial h-h(k)$	$-\partial h-in(h)$	$-\partial h-un(h)$	$-\partial h-in(h)$	$-\partial h-in(h)$			
2mn		$-\partial(h)$										
3 nh	pres	$\partial i-$				$-\partial in(h)$				$-\partial u(k)$	$-\partial(h)$	
	past	$-\partial(k)$				$-\partial k-\partial in(h)$				$-\partial u(k)$	$-\partial k-\partial(h)$	
	fut	$-\partial-t$				$-t-\partial in(h)$				$-\partial u(k)$	$-t-\partial(h)$	
3 h	pres	$-\partial ith$									$-\partial th-un(h)$	
	past	$-\partial ith$									$-\partial th-un(h)$	
	fut	$-t-a(h)$									$-t-\partial th-un(h)$	
3 hh	pres	$-\partial thin(h)$										
	past	$-\partial thin(h)$										
	fut	$-t-\partial thin(h)$										

Yadava (1999b, p. 141)

The table shows that Maithili is rich in its verb agreement based on its pronominal argument system and honorificity. The verbs in this language require agreement inflections with the last elements considering the nature of nominative/non-nominative case of arguments, their persons and honorificity, the phenomenon of their proximity, and the tenses of the stems.

a. Primary agreement inflections

This type of agreement inflections are encoded with a single noun phrase in Maithili language, as in (33).

- (33) *həm jai chi*
 həm ja-i ch-i
 1SG go-IPFV be.PRS-1
 'I go.'

Here, the auxiliary *ch* 'be' is suffixed by t agreement marker *-i* which agrees only with the subject *həm* '1SG'.

b. Secondary agreement inflections

In Maithili, a verb agrees with subject in nominative case, i.e. agreement is regulated by subject only in many cases. This agreement system is termed as primary dimension of agreement. However, there is another condition in which the verb agreement inflections are not only dominated by the subject but also by other argument(s), i.e., object. This phenomenon is called secondary verb agreement. The secondary dimension is usually with the person of the indirect object noun phrase if one is present, or otherwise with the person of a direct object noun phrase. So, in this case both types of agreement: primary and secondary are inflected, i.e., the agreement marker is affected by the person of subject and object as well.

- (34) a. *həm tora kitap dəi ciəu*
 həm tora kitap də-i ci-əu
 1SG 2SG.DAT book give-IPFV be.PRS-1.2NH
 'I give you a book.'

- b. *həm binakə kitap dəi ciəi*
 həm bina-kə kitap də-i ci-əi
 1SG Bina-DAT book give-IPFV be.PRS-1.3NH
 'I give Bina a book.'

In the sentence (34a), there is the agreement of the verb with first person subject and second person object that takes *də-i ci-əu* 'give', but in (34b), it is affected by the third person object that takes *də-i ci-əi* 'give'.

Regarding the verb agreement in Maithili, Yadava (1999b) is a very comprehensive published paper analyzing upto the three fold agreement systems ranging from nominative subject to non-nominative and deictic arguments in sentences.

3.5 Negation

Negation is made simply by adding a negative lexeme *nəi* (*nəhi* in written form) before the main verb in the simple predicate constructions, and either before the polar

(main) or light verb in the complex predicate constructions in Maithili. This is illustrated in the sentences (35a-c) below.

- (35) a. *o nāi khelāith*
 o nāi khe-l-āith
 3SG not eat-PST-3H
 'S/he did not eat.'
- b. *o sitakə nāi khai delāith*
 o sita-kə nāi kha-i de-l-āith
 3SG Sita-DAT not eat-INFP give-PST-3H
 'S/he did not permit Sita to eat.'
- c. *o sitakə khai nāi delāith*
 o sita-kə kha-i nāi de-l-āith
 3SG Sita-DAT eat-INFP not give-PST-3H
 'S/he did not permit Sita to eat.'

3.6 Word order in Maithili syntax

On the basis of placing words in sentences, languages are grouped into two categories: languages of fixed word order (i.e., English) and languages of flexible word order (i.e., Maithili). Word order also implies the grammatical function order in sentences. Maithili permits the words in sentences be scrambled freely. However, mostly in normal speech, people follow SOV order in sentences as in other Indo-Aryan languages. This also implies that the order of the grammatical function is largely free, i.e., scrambling is possible without changing the grammatical functions of the nominals and others as well. For details about the word order in Maithili, see also Yadava (1997). The word order along with their grammatical function in (36a) is normal order in both spoken and written forms. However, this order can be altered in (36b-d) by scrambling process without any change in semantics.

- (36) a. *həm tora kitap dəi ciəu*
 həm tora kitap də-i ci-əu
 1SG 2SG.DAT book give-IPFV be.PRS-1.2NH
 'I give you a book.'
- b. *tora həm kitap dəi ci-əu*
- c. *kitap həm tora dəi ci-əu*
- d. *dəi ci-əu həm tora kitap*

3.7 Clause and clause types

Syntactically and functionally as well, a clause is a sentence having its own predicate that determines and operates all the required mechanics of that construction. Predicative part containing a verb is common in a clause, but there could be some clauses without verbal predicates which are less used. In this regard, Dryer (2007, p. 250) states "clauses with nonverbal predicates constitute the exception and are apparently less frequent in usage than clauses with verbal predicates, in all languages." Clauses with lexical verbs can have one, two, or three core arguments based on the argument structure of a predicate. Regarding the number of arguments, we can have three verbal clauses: transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive (for details, see Yadav, 2014).

3.7.1 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses contain two arguments and transitive subject carries unmarked nominative-accusative case. Both subject and object may not obligatorily present in all transitive clauses.

- (37) *nokər bhat khelək*
nokər bhat khe-l-ək
servant rice eat-PST-3NH
'The servant ate the cooked rice.'

3.7.2 Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause is one that describes a property, state, action or situation involving only one semantic argument having subject function that is usually in the nominative case.

- (38) *kukur bhuklək*
kukur bhuk-l-ək
dog bark-PST-3NH
'The dog barked.'

3.7.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses those that have three core INFPicipants/arguments: agent like subject (Subj), patient like object (Obj), and indirect object (IO). Among these elements, Subj. is the grammatical subject whereas IO and O are grammatical objects.

- (39) *ram hārikā kitāp delāk*
 ram hāri-kā kitāp de-l-āk
 Ram Hari-DAT book give-PST-3NH
 'Ram gave Hari a book.'

3.8. Syntactic process

3.8.1 Anaphoric relation

Anaphora is the use of an expression that depends especially upon an antecedent expression and is contrasted with cataphora which depends upon a postcedent expression. The anaphoric referring term is called an anaphor. For example, *Binod wrote a letter and he posted it*, here, the pronouns 'he' refers to Binod as it's an antecedent for 'he' and 'it' to a letter in similar manner in English. Regarding anaphoric concept in Maithili in details, better see Yadava (2007). In Choamskyan and his followers' theory, anaphor denotes what would normally be called a reflexive and reciprocal pronoun, such as herself, or each other in English, and similar forms in other languages. Similar phenomenon is also used in Maithili that is illustrated in (40) below.

- (40) *binod əpne səb kam kārta*
 binod əpne səb kam kār-t-a
 Binod himself all work do-FUT-3H
 'Binod will do all work himself.'

3.8.2 Passivization

All types of verbs (intransitive and (di)transitive) can be passivized in Maithili through a highly morphological process involving a series of morphological modification in the active verb form. However, there is the use of the periphrastic passive as well in this language. The morphological passive is formed by suffixing *-a* to the nonpassive main verb, and the periphrastic by suffixing the participle *-əl* to the nonpassive form of main verbs followed by a passive auxiliary verb of motion *ja* 'go' and followed by an appropriate desinence. For details, see Yadav (1996, pp. 209-212, 319-330). In the passivization, the number of argument a verb requires is not affected, only it goes under the role change. In the following examples, the (41a) is in its active form, and other two are in the passive forms.

- (41) a. *binod sutəl*
 binod sut-əl
 Binod sleep-PST.3NH
 'Binod slept.'

- b. *binodsə sutail*
 binod-sə sut-a-il
 Binod-ABL sleep-PASS-PST.3NH
 'It was slept by Binod.'
- c. *ramsə hərikə kitab nəi del ge-l-əinh*
 ram-sə həri-kə kitab nəi del ge-l-əinh
 Ram-ABL Hari-DAT book not give.PASS jo-PST-3H.3H
 'The book was not given to Hari by Binod.'

3.9 Maithili subjecthood

Like other South Asian languages, the place of subject in a sentence is in its beginning in a normal speech having nonnominative form of case. However, it can be in other cases as well. As quoted in Lohani (1999), "identification of subject in Nepali is problematic like in all South Asian languages." In different grammars for describing languages, different criteria are applied to identify the subject in different types of constructions. In the surface appearance, the subject in Maithili can be identified with the following case markers:

1. Nominative case
2. Dative/accusative case
3. Genitive case
4. Instrumental case

3.10 Compounding and coordination

In the process of compounding and coordination, two or more expressions are linked by the help of conjunctive linkers: subordinators (*je* 'who', *jəkra* 'whom', *jəb* 'when' etc.) are used for compounding and coordinators (*a/əur* 'and', *muda/lekin* 'but', *ya* 'or' etc.) are used for coordination in Maithili showing that two/more distinct expressions can be joined, not two/more parts of an expression. For details, see Yadav (1996) and Yadav (2014).

- (42) a. *həm binodkə pəisa deb jəb o əuta*
 həm binod-kə pəisa de-b jəb o əu-t-a
 1SG Binod-DAT money give-FUT.1 when 3SG come-FUT-3H
 'I will give money to Binod when he comes.'
- b. *binod sutəl ya pəṛhlək*
 binod sut-əl ya pəṛh-l-ək
 Binod sleep-PST.3NH or read-PST-3NH
 'Binod slept or read.'

3.11 Summary

This section introduces the common but basic areas of Maithili grammar briefly. In the series of discussion of the core concerns of this study, such areas come frequently in use. In the nominal system of this language, most of the traditional Grammars have maintained eight cases in Maithili. However, these eight cases based on syntactic and functional dimensions are not capturing the nominal functions generatively, and, therefore, needs to be explained on the basis of semantic functions, such as: patient, experience, etc. Similarly, there are three persons, two numbers (no grammatical), two genders and four forms of expressing honorificity. Moreover, the nominals can be modified by demonstrative, numeral and adjectives, and verbals by adverbs. There are auxiliaries that possess the morphological properties along with the main verbs to show different tenses, aspects, mood, gender, person, honorificity and agreement, but in the absence of an auxiliary, the verb stems carry such burdens. The aspect along with tense and mood is also highly inflected and realized with the verb forms, i.e. three aspects in the past and non-past tenses and five moods. There are two types of complexhood in Maithili verbal system: basically called converbs and complex verbs. In the first type, two or more verbs, independent in their own status, concatenate to express separate functions/events, but in the latter, they are tightly unified with each other and express a single certain function. With regard to the agreement system, the verbal inflexion in Maithili agrees with the person, gender and honorificity of the subject and other arguments of a sentence. Structurally, people follow SOV order in sentences and negation is made simply by adding a negative lexeme *nai* before the main verb in the simple predicate constructions, and either before the polar (main) or light verb in the complex predicate constructions. Regarding the number of arguments, we can have three verbal clauses: transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive. In Maithili, anaphora is interpreted from a reflexive and reciprocal pronoun, such as herself, or each other like terms. Finally, all types of verbs can be passivized through a morphological process, and by the help of linkers, two or more expressions not two/more parts of an expression are joined.

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGICAL COMPLEX PREDICATES

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the morphological complex predicates in Maithili. It consists of four sections. In section 4.1, we deal with the basic concept of morphological complex predicates. Section 4.2 examines morphophonemics in transitivity/causativization of intransitive/uncausativised verbs. In section 4.3, we discuss causative complex predicate constructions, and finally section 4.4 presents the summary and findings of this chapter.

4.1 Introduction

Morphological complex predicates are formed from the composition of one matrix predicate (root/stem form) and an embedded predicate within that matrix. A base/simple predicate does have a simple a-structure in the syntax, but it becomes complex when another predicative element, which is a bound morpheme, is embedded with that simple one. This embedded one also appears with its own a-structure. It is said to have the causative value and thereafter projects the argument structure, case marking and meaning together. Putting it in other words, a simple predicate has the simple syntactic structure with the single element in its predicate. When two or more predicative elements are combined together thereby affecting the argument structure of the simple predicate in terms of number of arguments, case marking or meaning (pragmatic values), it becomes a complex predicate which has a complex structure bearing a single subject and object or may have sometime two subjects (in case of causatives; covert and overt). Regarding the morphological structure of a complex predicate, Alsina (1997) found that:

The morphological concatenation of a causative morpheme and a verb stem and that the causative morpheme is a predicate that involves not only a relation between a causer and a caused event but also a relation in which the causer affects or acts upon a participant of a caused event; this participant, by virtue of being acted upon by the causer, is said to be the patient of the causative predicate; because it is also an argument of the caused event it bears another thematic role to the predicate of this event. (p. 203)

This shows that there is a combination of a causative morpheme and a base verb and this combination together affects argument, case marking and pragmatic mechanisms of that whole sentence. In the morphological complex predicate constructions, the verb stem or matrix supplies the predicate of the caused event and the causative morpheme attached with it generates the causer event; such complex predicates consist of the combination of the predicate information of both the causative morpheme and the verb stem to which it attaches. It is found that "specifically in polysynthetic head-marking languages, the complex predicate must form a single word and that morphological causatives can only be formed from unaccusative verb roots" (Alsina, Brennan, & Sells, 1997, p. 7). Similarly, a complex predicate is also defined as a single inflectional condition with two or more distinct morphemes each taking at least one argument, resulting causative CP constructions in Nepali, (Lohani, 1999). Moreover, Alsina, Brennan and Sells (1997) argue that complex predicates are multi-headed either of predicative morphemes or of predicative words and each of the two elements must contribute parts of the information in accordance with the head. This clarifies that a predicative morpheme also functions as a contributing element in a morphological complex predicate which is the case of a causative CP in Maithili. In this regard, Mohanan (1997) also defines that a CP contains two semantically predicative elements that jointly regulate all syntactic bearings of a clause. This focuses on the embedded element (morpheme) functioning as a predicative one in a clause. Thus, in the series of causative complex predicates, Butt (2005, p. 31) also finds that "causatives modify the event structure of the basic predication by specifying a causal event."

All these have a common phenomenon about morphological complex predicates, i.e., there are two predicative elements, each contributing part of information associated with their head. Regarding the formation of such predicates, some researchers have made remarkable conclusions. "A large number of Indian languages derive transitive and causative forms of verbs by derivational affixes" (Abbi, 2001, p.159). Indian languages typically have morphologically marked causative verb stems, (Masica, 1976). Abbi (2001, p. 159) further states that "a causative affix increases the valency of the verb under consideration; this may be considered as a valency increasing affix." Applying these ideas in Maithili, it is found that intransitive verbs have the potentiality of becoming transitive and then causative; the structure having two

arguments and three (four also) arguments respectively. "In Maithili, both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized, and an intransitive verb becomes a transitive verb when the causative suffixes are added to the stem" (Yadav, 1996, p. 186). This means the arguments can be added to a verb by a process of derivational affixation applied to that verb. In Maithili, the transitive rendering morphological predicative element and that of causative forming one are same; *-a* 'cause' is commonly applied. However, some verbs of Maithili by nature are transitive and no need of supplying such a causative/transitive morpheme marker to change into other. In this regard, Yadav (1996) concludes that "there are the verbs which are transitive by nature themselves. When the direction of derivation is from intransitive to transitive, the derived transitive is often referred to as causative" (p. 186). In the process of causativization, there are two ways of capturing the concept of Maithili causative; first causative (CAUS 1) or direct causative and second causative (CAUS 2) or indirect causative. Yadav (1996) finds the Maithili causatives are formed through a highly productive morphological way and causativization in this language is only suffixal not syntactic. That is to say, a causative construction as CP in Maithili takes place in the lexicon not in the syntax because two morphemes (one causative morpheme and one verb root/stem) not two syntactic/lexical units, are combined together to result into a causative complex predicate (Ray, 2008). These works show that Maithili has causativization as morphological process which takes place in the lexicon, i.e., it employs causativization process in the lexicon. The causative morpheme *-a* treated as the first causative which implies that the degree of closeness between the cause and effect is immediate or direct and the causative morpheme *-ba* is found in the second causative which implies that the degree of closeness between cause and effect is mediated or less direct. Thus, a total of three contrasting verb forms may be recognized in Maithili; (a) the basic non-causative verb form: *həʈ* 'move' (Intr); (b) the first causative form *həʈ-a* 'remove'; and (c) the second causative form: *həʈ-ba* 'have someone remove'. When the causative element is applied with the uncausative stem, the argument structure gets redefined in a clause. "The intransitive verbs can be derived maximally up to three argument structures and transitive verbs (which already structures with two arguments to begin with) can go maximally up to four argument structure types by adding derivational suffix" (Abbi, 2001, p.159). This is also true with the Maithili language. There are two degrees of causativization in the language according to Yadav (1996, P. 185).

Degree	Type	Causative Morpheme
First	Direct	-a
Second	Indirect	-ba

These two causative markers are combined with the stem verbs wherein both of them (causative marker and stems) have the predicative value of their own. The direct causative predicative element or first degree of causative *-a* adds only one argument as a causer in the event whereas the indirect *-ba* adds two arguments in the event. In the example (1), the first sentence contains a simple predicate which is with its causative formation in the second case.

(1) a. *sonabəti bhat khelthin*
sonabəti bhat khe-l-thin
Sonabati rice eat-PST-3H
'Sonabati ate rice.'

b. *mohən sonabətikə bhat khualthin*
mohən sonabəti-kə bhat khu-a-l-thin
Mohan Sonabati-DAT rice eat-CAUS-PST-3H
'Mohan caused/made Sonabati eat rice.' (APPENDIX F_33)

In the sentence (1a) *kha-* 'eat' functions as a diadic verb and it takes two arguments of agent and patient roles; *sonabəti* and *bhat* 'rice' and is a simple verb construction. In (1b), a bond morpheme *-a* as a causative element having predicative value is combined with the verb (along with morphophonemic alteration), *kha-* 'eat' which influences the argument structure of the clause. Here, *Mohan* causes *Sonabati* to eat the rice. Thus, *khu-a* 'cause to eat' in (1b) takes three arguments; causer *Mohan*, causee *sonabəti* and theme *bhat* 'rice'. There is the influence in case marker of the causee *sonabəti* as well due to the combination of the causative element. This shows that there is the morphological concatenation of a causative morpheme and a verb stem and that the causative morpheme is a predicate that involves not only a relation between a causer and a caused event but also a relation in which the causer affects or acts upon a participant of the caused event. The complex predicate of such constructions is represented by one single verb form in Maithili. The process of causativization adds the causer argument in the a-structure of base predicate and it is also fact to transitivization, but in a subtle different way.

The causative construction shows the complex nature of verbs where the argument structure is affected in the terms of addition, case marking or pragmatic value. Moreover, Yadav (1996) shows the process of sound change in the condition of forming transitive/causative verbs from non-causative verbs (where the vowel ə becomes a: by lowering process, and sometimes high vowels become mid, and mid vowels become low in the intransitive verb forms), and only then are the causative suffixes added onto them as in (3). The following are the illustrative examples of intransitive (2a), transitive (2b) and causativised (2c) predicates:

- (2) a. *tu sut-l-e*
tu sut-l-e
 2SG sleep-PST-2NH
 'You slept.'
- b. *tu okra dekhəlhi*
tu okra dekh-əl-hi
 2SG 3SG.DAT see-PST-2NH
 'You saw him/her (who is here).'
- c. *həm tora kəniya-kə dekh-au-l-iəu*
həm tora kəniya-kə dekh-au-l-iəu
 1SG 2SG.DAT bride-DAT see-CAUS-PST-1.2NH.3H
 'I showed you the bride.'

The above three sentences (2a-c) show the verb agreement system based on Maithili data observed in Siraha where it is found that they (sentences) are different types regarding the number of arguments and case markers they have; it is an intransitive predicate *sut* 'sleep' in the example (2a) that requires a single argument (agent), it is transitive *dekh* 'see' in the example (2b) that requires two arguments: agent and patient, and it is a causative construction of the transitive predicate from the second case *dekh-a* 'cause to see' in the example (2c) wherein the causative morpheme *-a* has been supplied between the stem and auxiliary verbs. In this causative construction, *həm* '1SG' causes *tora* '2SG.DAT' to see *kəniya* 'the bride'. So, the predicate *dekh-a* 'cause to see' takes three arguments; causer *həm*, causee *tora* and theme *kəniya* 'the bride'. The situation shows that when a simple predicate becomes complex due to the morphological concatenation of a causative morpheme and a verb stem, the case marking system also gets influenced. Hence, a causative morpheme has the predicative quality.

4.2 Morphophonemics in transitivization/causativization

Maithili language has a feature of sound modification while an intransitive predicate goes under the process of becoming transitive/causative. Especially certain vowels (somewhere certain consonant too) get changed or affected in this process and this section simply provides the short description of such happening in this language. The focus is on what vowels in particular they are and how they get operated with another predicative forms. The information is based on Yadav (1996) and Ray (2008). In a few monodiadic intransitive verb, the stems of the CVC type are transitivized/causativized by lowering the stem vowel into *a* (as in 3a and 3b), and a few disyllabic intransitive verb stems of the type (C)VCVC also become transitivized by lowering the second vowel into *a* (as in 3c and 3d) (Yadav, 1996, pp. 186-188).

- (3) a. *həm mərəb*
həm mər-əb
1SG die-FUT.1
'I will die.'
- b. *həm tora marəb*
həm tora mar-əb
1SG 2SG.DAT kill-FUT.1
'I will kill you.'
- c. *tu bigərbi*
tu bigər-b-i
2SG damage-FUT-2NH
'You will be damaged.' (APPENDIX E)
- d. *həm tora bigar-b-əu*
həm tora bigar-b-əu
1SG 2SG.DAT damage-FUT-2NH
'I will damage you.' (APPENDIX E)

In the sentences (3a-d), the first case is intransitive, i.e., *mər* 'die' that requires only one argument *həm* 'I' and the second becomes transitive, i.e., *mar* 'kill' requiring two arguments *həm* '1SG' and *tora* '2SG.DAT' respectively. Here, the mid vowel *ə* in (3a) changes into the low vowel *a* in (3b) which is a mono-transitive verb. Moreover, the sentence (3c) has the dyadic intransitive predicate *bigər* 'damage' containing the mid vowel *ə* which becomes *a* in the case of (3c) *bigar* 'cause to damage'. In both

conditions,¹ the verbs are changed into the transitive/causative forms by the lowering process.

Similarly a few irregular intransitive verb stems are transitivized through the process of vowel gradation (high vowels become mid, and mid vowels become low), together with the changes in place and manner of articulation of stem final consonants as in the examples (4a to b) (but with less systematic rules), a limited set of intransitive verb stems and their transitive forms stand in a suppletive relationship as in the examples (4e and g), and a list of a few intransitive verbs (of (C)VC and CVCVC types) which provide only three contrasting forms as in the examples (4i-k) where causative suffixes are attached directly onto the intransitive stems themselves below.

(4) a. *həm bikəb*

həm bik-əb
1SG ell-FUT.1
'I will be sold.'

b. *həm gai becəb*

həm gai bec-əb
1SG cow sell-FUT.1
'I will sell a cow.'

c. *həm gai becaeb*

həm gai bec-a-eb
1SG cow sell-CAUS-FUT.1
'I will get (somebody) to sell the cow.'

d. *həm tora-sə gai bec-ba-eb*

həm tora-sə gai bec-ba-eb
1SG 2SG.DAT-OBL cow sell-CAUS-FUT.1
'I will get you to sell a cow.'

e. *həm aeb*

həm ae-b
1SG come-FUT.1
'I will come.'

f. *həm okəra ənaeb*

həm okəra ən-ae-b
1SG 3SG.DAT bring-CAUS-FUT.1
'I will bring him'.

¹ The conditions of (3a) into (3b) and (3c) into (3d) are rendering the mono-intransitive into mono-transitive and the dyadic intransitive into the dyadic transitive predicates. These transitive predicates are also called causativized ones due to the causativization. Since the first causative marker is *a* which is present in (3b) and (3d), they are treated as causative constructions as well.

- g. *həm okrasə kiṭap ənbaeb*
 həm okra-sə kiṭap ən-bae-b
 1SG 3SG-OBL book bring-CAUS-FUT.1
 'I will get him bring a book.' (Based on APPENDIX E)
- i. *həm bənəb*
 həm bən-əb
 1SG become-FUT.1
 'I will be (somebody).'
- j. *həm bənaeb*
 həm bən-ae-b
 1SG become-CAUS-FUT.1
 'I will cause (somebody) to be (somebody else).' (APPENDIX E)
- k. *həm okrasə bilding bənbaeb*
 həm okra-sə bilding bən-bae-b
 1SG 3SG.DAT-OBL building become-CAUS-FUT.1
 'I will make the house by him.' (Based on APPENDIX E)

Regarding the process of vowel gradation, the sentence (3a) contains high vowel *i* in the predicate *bik* 'sell' which changes into *e* in the predicate *bec* 'sell' of (3b) but still remains as an uncausative construction since *i* is not a causative marker in Maithili. To causativize the (3b), the causative marker *-a* is added in (3c) and *ba* in (3d) in the forms of the first and second causatives respectively. Similarly, the sentence (3e) has low vowel *a* in the predicate *-a* 'come' which changes into *ə* along with the suppletion of the voiced stop nasal, i.e., *n* when the first causative marker *a* is added as in the predicate of (3f) *əna* 'cause to bring' and the second causative marker *ba* in (3g) *ənba* 'cause sb to bring'. However, there is not any influence of such a vowel gradation in (3h-k) for the addition of either the first or second causative markers.

The following tables present the sound modifications in the intransitive/transitive predicates when they go under the process of transitivization/causativization in Maithili language.

Table 4.1: Transitive causativization

Verbs		Causative	
<i>bar</i>	light.IMP	<i>bər-ba</i>	cause to light
<i>pəṭha</i>	send.IMP	<i>pəṭh-ba</i>	cause to send
<i>a</i>	come.IMP	<i>ən-ba</i>	cause to come/bring
<i>pəṭha</i>	teach.IMP	<i>pəṭh-ba</i>	cause to teach

In the verbs listed above *-a* of the root verbs in the transitive verbs is changed to the schwa ‘ə’ which is not the case with intransitive verbs and then the causative morpheme is added. Similarly, table 5 below shows that there is not any sound modification in the verb stems of intransitive types ending in a consonant while changing them into the causative types under the process of either the first causative or second causative dimensions in Maithili.

Table 4.2: Causative morphemes in first and second causatives

Base	Causative (1st Degree)			Causative (2nd Degree)	
		<i>-a</i>		<i>-ba</i>	
<i>lāhər</i>	to lighten	<i>lāhər-a</i>	cause to lighten	<i>lāhər-ba</i>	set sb to cause to lighten
<i>bār</i>	to ignite	<i>bār-a</i>	cause to ignite	<i>bār-ba</i>	set sb to cause to ignite
<i>sukh</i>	to go dry	<i>sukh-a</i>	cause to go dry	<i>sukh-ba</i>	set sb to cause to go dry
<i>jār</i>	to burn	<i>jār-a</i>	cause to burn	<i>jār-ba</i>	set sb to cause to burn
<i>bhij</i>	to get wet	<i>bhij-a</i>	cause to be wet	<i>bhij-ba</i>	set sb to cause to get wet
<i>gir</i>	to fall	<i>gir-a</i>	cause to fall	<i>gir-ba</i>	set sb to cause to fall

(Based on APPENDIX E)

However, there are some verbs that go under the inner vowel sound modification while changing them into the transitive counterparts either through the first causative marker or the second one. In the table below, only the transitivization along with the second causativization is presented.

Table 4.3: Intransitive-transitivization-causativization

Base		Transitive		Causative (2nd Degree)	
<i>phuṭ</i>	break	<i>phor</i>	to break sth	<i>phor-ba</i>	to set sb to cause to break
<i>tuṭ</i>	break	<i>tor</i>	to break sth	<i>tor-ba</i>	to set sb to cause to break
<i>chuṭ</i>	get left	<i>chor</i>	to grind sth	<i>chor-ba</i>	to set sb to cause to grind
<i>usər</i>	end	<i>usar</i>	to end sth	<i>usər-ba</i>	to set sb to cause to end
<i>nikəl</i>	come out	<i>nikal</i>	to take out sth	<i>nikəl-ba</i>	to set sb to cause to takeout
<i>ughər</i>	get uncovered	<i>ughar</i>	to unfold sth	<i>ughər-ba</i>	to set sb to cause to unfold

(Based on APPENDIX E)

From the above presentations, it comes to be obvious that the combination of such two predicates (simple and causative) results into a complex predicate in which the

agent of the verb stem, caused event, plays the double role: an agent and a patient simultaneously due to an affected argument of cause where functional mapping theory of LFG is applied. So, causativization is a process of complex predicate formulation because the process adds an extra argument as causer (as an agent) in the first degree and two arguments in the second degree which makes the simple predicate of either intransitive or transitive verb into a complex predicate by concatenating of *-a* or *-ba* in the verbal stems.

4.3 Causative complex predicate constructions

Complex predicates in Maithili are also the derived predicate forms either through the process of transitivization or through causativization. In both cases, there is the morphological concatenation of a predicative morpheme and a verb stem due to which the argument structure of a clause gets affected. These two processes influence in the complex nature of the predicates that involve two predicative elements but functioning as a single which together determine the syntactic structure of a clause. The complex predicate of such constructions is represented by one single verb form in Maithili. The causative morpheme as already mentioned is a predicate that involves not only a relation between a causer and a caused event but also a relation in which the causer affects or acts upon a participant of the caused event. Simply the process of causativization adds the causer argument in the a-structure of base predicate which is also applicable to transitivization and such resulting constructions are called morphological causative complex predicates in Maithili. Regarding the morphological causative complex constructions, Ray (2008) finds that the two causative markers *a* and *ba* contribute the arguments (causer and causee) in clauses when attached to a simple predicative form. He further argues these predicative elements change the simple predicate into a complex one wherein the agent of the verb stem, i.e., caused event, plays the dual functional role: an agent and a patient simultaneously due to an extra argument with a role of a causer.

4.3.1 Argument structure and syntactic function in CPs

Describing the complex predicates within the theoretical framework of LFG, the proper treatment for the argument structure along with the functional structure is to be taken into consideration. In the CP constructions, the arguments are greatly affected showing their thematic roles, grammatical functions and regularities as well. For the

mechanism of establishing the linkage of argument structure with its syntactic regularities, Alsina (1997) argues:

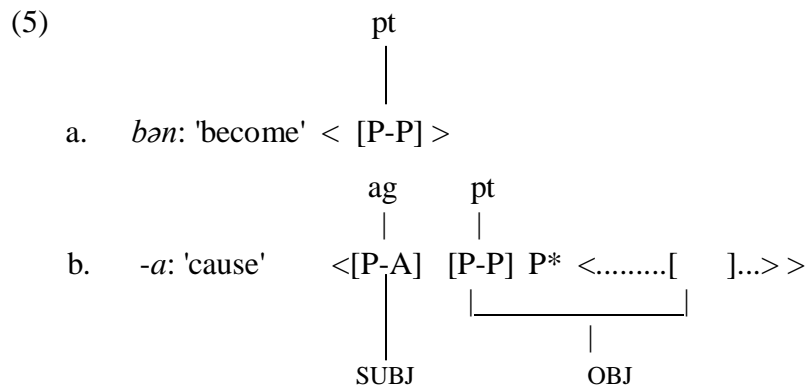
In the argument structure (or a-structure) the correspondence between argument in the argument structure (or a-structure) and constituents in the constituent structure (or c-structure) is established by means by a different set of categories in terms of c-structure and a-structure concepts. These linking categories are referred to as syntactic functions (or grammatical functions) in LFG; they include categories such as SUBJ, OBJ, and OBL, which are represented in the functional structure (or f-structure). (p. 204)

In a clause, the predicate information (a-structure) is given by individual words (lexicon) which are relevant for determining the syntactic functions that this predicate takes. Here, the Functional Mapping Theory comes in application that projects the a-structure and syntactic functions of a predicate into correspondence. In application of the functional mapping dimension, Alsina (1997, p. 205) argues that "syntactic functions and c-structure nodes are put into correspondence by functional equation on the c-structure that are put into correspondence by functional equations on the c-structure that are constrained by principles of function-category associations."

In the LFG framework, argument structures are normally represented in the terms of their thematic roles in a clause and such roles are determined satisfying the universal hierarchy of thematic roles. Under the universal hierarchy paradigm of the thematic roles the arguments perform in clauses. Alsina (1997) explains that one of the major functions of this hierarchy is logical subject which is defined as its most prominent argument articulated by a predicate here, the arguments are classified as Proto-Roles: Proto-Agent (P-A), Proto-Patient (P-P), or neither depending on their semantic properties. Based on the semantic nature of a predicate, the arguments are defined which argument undergoes a change of state, is being an incremental theme, or being actually affected by another participants. So, the argument will have the [P-P] classification and volitional involvement in the event or state, or causing an event or change of state in another participants, the argument will have the [P-A] classification. Similarly if an argument does not involve any property from either side, it is said that such the argument is without Proto-Role classification. This also indicates that arguments are represented/classified by either [P-A] or [P-P] or neither, but not by both

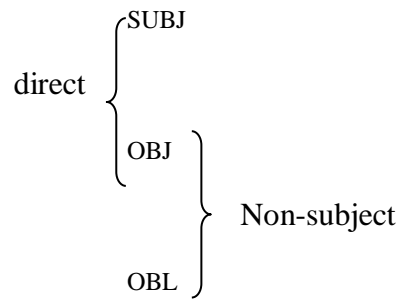
for a single argument in the LFG architect. In the assignment of the thematic roles to the arguments while mapping the argument structure into the syntactic function, the thematic roles can be repeated depending upon the nature of the predicates. In mapping process of argument to function, Alsina (1997, p. 206) argues that "a complex predicate such as a causative may contain more than one argument," and these arguments are mapped with specific thematic roles in the functional paradigm. She further shows that "complex predicates have an internal structure containing a matrix and an embedded predicate; a prominence difference is established between two arguments in the same complex predicates" (p. 206).

In the following representations of the simple predicates and the predicates with causative marker, there is a single argument in the first case having the patientive role; the intransitive predicate, and the argument structure of the causative morpheme/predicate (i.e., incomplete predicate) is underspecified and is represented by P*, which means the position can be filled by any predicate. On composition, a-structure of embedded predicate (basic and complete predicate), which is fully specified, fulfills the vacant position. The a-structure of causative morpheme is represented as (5b).

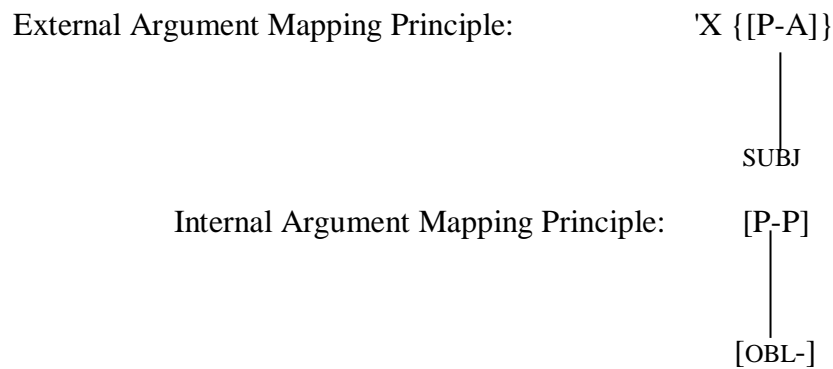


While projecting the argument structure of a predicate, the nature of the arguments also indicates the possibility to identify the syntactic function of the complex predicates. The external argument that is the logical subject of the least embedded predicate, maps onto the subject function as in the second structure above. The internal argument of the predicate is mapped onto the object function which was functioning as the logical subject of the simple predicate. The concept of external and internal arguments is related to the FMT in LFG that establishes correspondences between arguments and syntactic functions based on two principles: the External

Argument Mapping Principles which requires that an external argument map onto a subject function and the Internal Argument Mapping Principle which requires that an internal (P-P) argument map onto a direct function (Alsina, 1997). Under the syntactic mapping theory, a distinction is made among direct functions between subject and non-subject, assuming that all subjects are direct functions (Alsina, 1997) as in the figure below.



Similarly based on the description made above about the external and internal argument mapping, the following figure is drawn.



(Alsina, 1997, p. 207)

The principles claim that when a simple predicate becomes a complex one, an extra argument is added and this extra argument affects the role(s) of the argument(s) which are the internal argument(s) of the simple predicate. The added argument is assigned to the proto-agent role with subjective function and the internal arguments are mapped as proto-patient and others. Alsina (1997) presenting such principles argues:

These two are the interacting principles working on the assumption that External Argument Mapping Principle fully specifies the syntactic function onto which the external argument maps, and Internal Argument Mapping Principle only partially specifies the syntactic function onto which an internal argument maps. So, a subject generally will satisfy the constituent based on

the first principle, but either a subject or an object may satisfy the constituent based on the second principle as both of these functions are direct. (p. 207)

The subject condition requires that every f-structure of a predicative category, such as a verb or an adjective, contains one and only subject. This means a subject is mapped onto an object based on the internal argument mapping principle if there is another function in the same f-structure specified as a subject. It also shows that if there is no other function specified as a subject, that the direct function has to be a subject: otherwise, there would be no subject.

i. Argument and function structures with intransitive predicates

As already mentioned the intransitive predicates have only one argument which can have different thematic roles based on their meanings. The sentences (6a-g) consist of separate intransitive predicates having different roles.

- (6) a. *phukna phuʔəl*
phukna phuʔ-əl
ballon Brust-PST.3NH
'The ballon brust.'
- b. *u khəsəl*
u khəs-əl
3SG fall-PST.3NH
'He fell.'
- c. *həm hãsləũ*
həm hãs-l-əũ
1SG laugh-PST-1
'I laughed.'
- d. *monkey gachisə kudəl*
monkey gachi-sə kud-əl
monkey tree-ABL jump-PST.3NH
'The monkey jumped from the tree.'
- e. *o khetme sutla*
o khet-me sut-l-a
3SG farm-LOC sleep-PST-3H
'He slept on farm.'
- f. *ram iskul pugla*
ram iskul pug-l-a
Ram school reach-PST-3H
'Ram reached the school.'

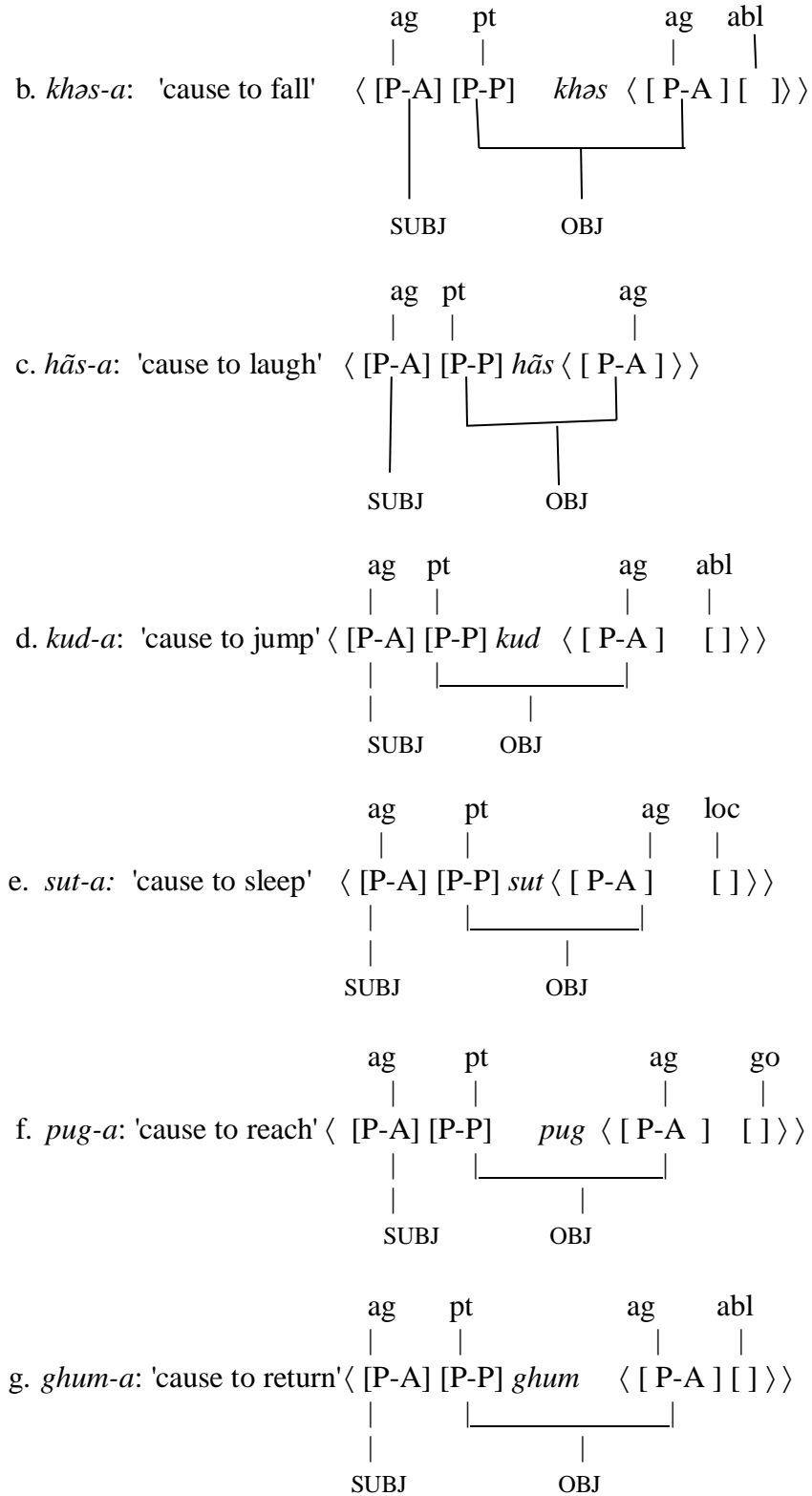
- g. *o laṭhsə ghumla*
 o laṭh-sə ghum-l-a
 3SG stick-INS return-PST-3H
 'He returned by the stick (with the help of stick).'

These intransitive predicates contained from (6a-g) have differing argument structures that have been presented in the following mapping structures.

- (7) a. *phuṭ:* 'burst' $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \langle [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$
- b. *khəs:* 'fall' $\begin{array}{c} \text{pt} \\ | \\ \langle [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$
- c. *hās:* 'laugh' $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] \rangle \end{array}$
- d. *kud:* 'jump' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{abl} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] & [\] \rangle \end{array}$
- e. *sut:* 'sleep' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{loc} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-P}] & [\] \rangle \end{array}$
- f. *pug:* 'reach' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{go} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] & [\] \rangle \end{array}$
- g. *ghum:* 'return' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{ins} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] & [\] \rangle \end{array}$

When these intransitive predicates are embedded with the causative morpheme *-a*, their a-structure gets affected, wherein the number of argument increases. The a-structures after having causativised are as follows.

- (8) a. *phuṭ-a:* 'cause to break' $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{ag} & \text{th} & \text{th} \\ | & | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] & [\text{P-P}] & \text{phuṭ} \langle [\text{P-P}] \rangle \rangle \\ | & \text{---} & | \\ \text{SUBJ} & \text{OBJ} & \end{array}$



Based on these argument structures of Maithili complex predicates mapped onto their syntactic functions where we find the logical subject of intransitive predicate maps onto the internal argument behaving as object, the following sentences (9a-g) are made.

- (9) a. *u phukna phuṭ-ae-l-ək*
u phukna phuṭ-ae-l-ək
 3SG ballon Brust-CAUS-PST-3NH
 'He got the ballon Brust'
- b. *u tora khəsaelək*
u tora khəs-ae-l-ək
 3SG 2SG.DAT fall-CAUS-PST-3NH
 'He made you fall.' (Based on APPENDIX E)
- c. *o həmra hāsauləin*
o həm-ra hās-au-l-əin
 3SG 1SG-DAT laugh-PST-3H.1
 'He made me laugh'. (Based on APPENDIX E)
- d. *həm bādərəkə gachisə kudaeləi*
həm bādər-kə gachi-sə kud-ae-l-əi
 1SG monkey-DAT tree-ABL jump-CAUS-PST-1.3NH
 'I made the monkey jump from the tree.' (APPENDIX E)
- e. *həm okra khetme sutaeləi*
həm okra khet-me sut-ae-l-əi
 1SG 3SG.DAT farm-LOC sleep-CAUS-PST-1.3H
 'I made him sleep on farm.' (Based on APPENDIX E)
- f. *həm ramkə iskul pugaeləi*
həm ram-kə iskul pug-ae-l-əi
 1SG Ram-DAT school reach-CAUS-PST-1.3H
 'I made Ram reach the school.' (ELICITED)
- g. *həm okra laṭhisə ghumaeləi*
həm okr laṭhi-sə ghum-ae-l-əi
 1SG 3SG.DAT stick-INS return-CAUS-PST-1.3NH
 'I made him return by the farm.' (ELICITED)

In the intransitive sentences, the predicates are simple that require only one argument, i.e. subject in the above cases as we see the sentences (7a-e). When these predicates are causativized as in the (8a-e), their argument structure gets modified where the causative element adds its own argument. Due to the causative element, the logical subject of the intransitive cases is mapped onto the object function. This means the process of transitivization requires the internal argument mapping principle since there is another feature in the same f-structure specified as a subject. Here the logical subject loses its status as the subject argument which maps onto object function when the predicate is embedded. This argument semantically identifies with the internal argument of the transitive predicate and maps onto direct function as an object

because another subject has already fulfilled the function of subject. The external argument functioning as a logical subject in the causativized structure becomes a conscious agent or instrumental agent changing the previous subject into the 'causee' that behaves as an object function in the causative construction. This means the causative or transitive construction of the intransitive construction in Maithili always allows the causee to be expressed as an object which is also illustrated down in (10).

ii. A-structure and F-structure with object causee

The Maithili causativized predicates have got their own specified external and internal arguments with different thematic roles and are called Maithili complex predicates. These predicates have their intransitive counterpart wherein the argument structure, case marking system and semantics are represented different from their causative/transitive condition. But when these predicates are causativized, the logical subject changes its role, as in the intransitive, to an object which has the thematic role of cause. "Causative constructions always allow the causee to be expressed as an object," (Alsina, 1997, p. 209). Let's observe the following examples:

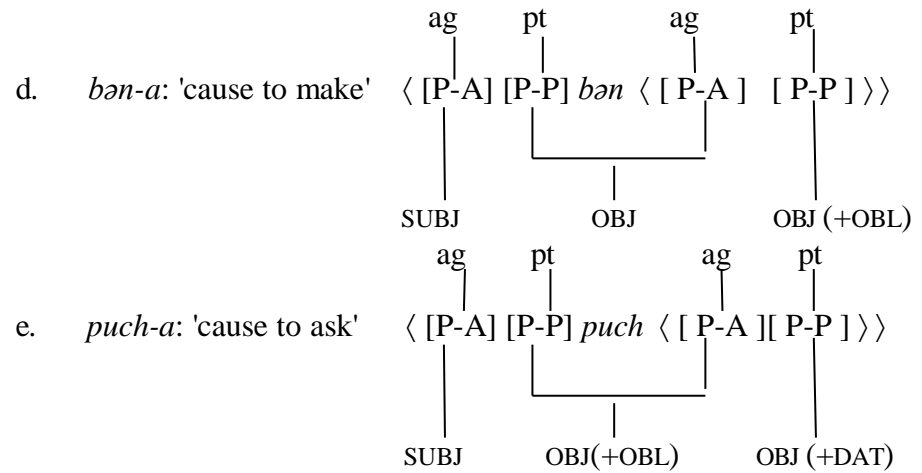
- (10) a. *həm pan khaeb* (Das, 2068: 2)
 həm pan khae-b
 1SG betel eat-FUT.1
 'I will eat the betel.'
- b. *o pain piləith*
 o pain pi-l-əith
 3SG water drink-PST-3H
 'He drank water.'
- c. *dunu gotə bəccake marləith*
 dunu gotə bəcca-ke mar-l-əith
 both person child-DAT kill-PST-3H
 'Both persons killed the child'.
- d. *maji əcar bənelkhin* (Das, 2068: 2)
 ma-ji əcar bən-el-khin
 mother-H pickle prepare-PST-3H
 'The mother prepared the pickle.'
- e. *həm prəsnə puchbəi*
 həm prəsnə puch-b-əi
 1SG question ask-FUT-1
 'I will ask the question.'

Now, let's analyze the argument structure of these sentences.

- (11) a. *kha:* 'eat' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >
- b. *pi:* 'tell' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >
- c. *mar:* 'kill' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{pt} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >
- d. *bən:* 'prepare' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >
- e. *puch:* 'ask' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >

The above structures show the simple status of the transitive predicates, i.e., they are in underived forms and when they are embedded with the causative morpheme, i.e., they are in derived forms, the following argument structures are resulted along with the specified syntactic functions.

- (12) a. *khu-a:* 'cause to eat' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{pt} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ *kha* < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >>
- SUBJ OBJ OBJ (+/-DAT)
- b. *pi-a:* 'cause to drink' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{pt} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ *pi* < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{th} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >>
- SUBJ OBJ OBJ (+/-DAT)
- c. *mər-a:* 'cause to kill' < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{pt} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ *mər* < $\begin{array}{c} \text{ag} \\ | \\ \text{[P-A]} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{pt} \\ | \\ \text{[P-P]} \end{array}$ >>
- SUBJ OBJ OBJ (+/-OBL)



Based on these argument and functional structures of the causativised/derived transitive predicates which are complex predicates, the sentences (13a-e) are formed.

- (13) a. *o həmra pan khuaet*
 o həm-ra pan khu-a-et
 3SG 1SG-DAT betel eat-CAUS-FUT.3NH
 'He will get me eat the betel.'
- b. *həm okəra pain pialəu*
 həm okəra pain pi-ae-l-əu
 1SG 3SG.DAT water drink-CAUS-PST-1.3H
 'I got him drink water.'
- c. *o dunu gotəsə bəccake mərəuləith*
 o dunu gotə-sə bəcca-ke mər-au-l-əith
 3SG both person-OBL child-DAT kill-CAUS-PST-3H
 'He made the both persons kill the child.'
- d. *papa ma-ji-sə əcar bən-au-l-khin*
 papa ma-ji-sə əcar bən-au-l-khin
 father mother-H-OBL pickle prepare-CAUS-PST-3H
 'The father got the mother to prepare the pickle.'
- e. *o həmrasə prəsənə puchauta*
 o həm-ra-sə prəsənə puch-au-t-a
 3SG 1SG-DAT-OBL question ask-CAUS-FUT-3H
 'He will get me to ask the question.'

It is observed from the examples (13a-e) that the argument of the base predicate (10a-e) that is expressed as the subject in the underived form is expressed as an object in the causative form. The noun phrases in underived form (10a-e) *həm* '1SG', *o* '3SG', *dunu gotə* 'both persons', *ma* 'mother' and *həm* '1SG' respectively function as subjects. These arguments trigger subject agreement on the verbs and hold the first position in

the sentences. However, the same arguments bearing the same thematic relations to the base predicates are mapped onto objects in (13a-e) because another arguments occupying subject position already appear and are functioning as subject 'causer'. The underived subjects do not trigger subject agreement and also are expressed by means of an incorporated object pronoun functioning as objects. Based on the framework of LFG, the logical subject of the base predicates is assumed still functioning as a subject both for the underived of the verb and for its causative form but it is mapped onto object function as it behaves like an object, (Alsina, 1997). In the causative constructions, the base predicate and the causative verb each form separate clauses in the syntax, however these predicates determine the argument structure together in a sentence in the way that only one clause may be projected from them containing a single subject as causer.

Regarding the case with subject object alteration of the logical subject of the base predicate, it is assumed that the same argument that is subject in the underived form is an object in the causative form. It means the logical subject of a predicate loses its status as an external argument when the predicate is embedded in another a-structure, that is not mapped onto the subject function, and also that the cause may be semantically identified with an internal argument of the causative predicate.

iii. Structures with oblique causee

The argument structure and the function structure with the oblique causee are different from the structures with the object causee, when the predicates are embedded with the causative morpheme. In this case, the second causative *-ba* is embedded with the stems due to which the causee is expressed as an oblique introduced by the postposition *-sə* 'by'. First let's see the simple construction of the transitive predicates and their argument structure in (14a-e) and (15a-e) respectively.

- (14) a. *həm pan ləga rəhəl chi*
 həm pan ləga rəhəl ch-i
 1SG betal prepare PROG be.PRS-1
 'I am preparing the betal.'
- b. *o didikə piṭləin*
 o didi-kə piṭ-l-əin
 3SG sister-DAT beat-PST-3H
 'He bit his sister.'

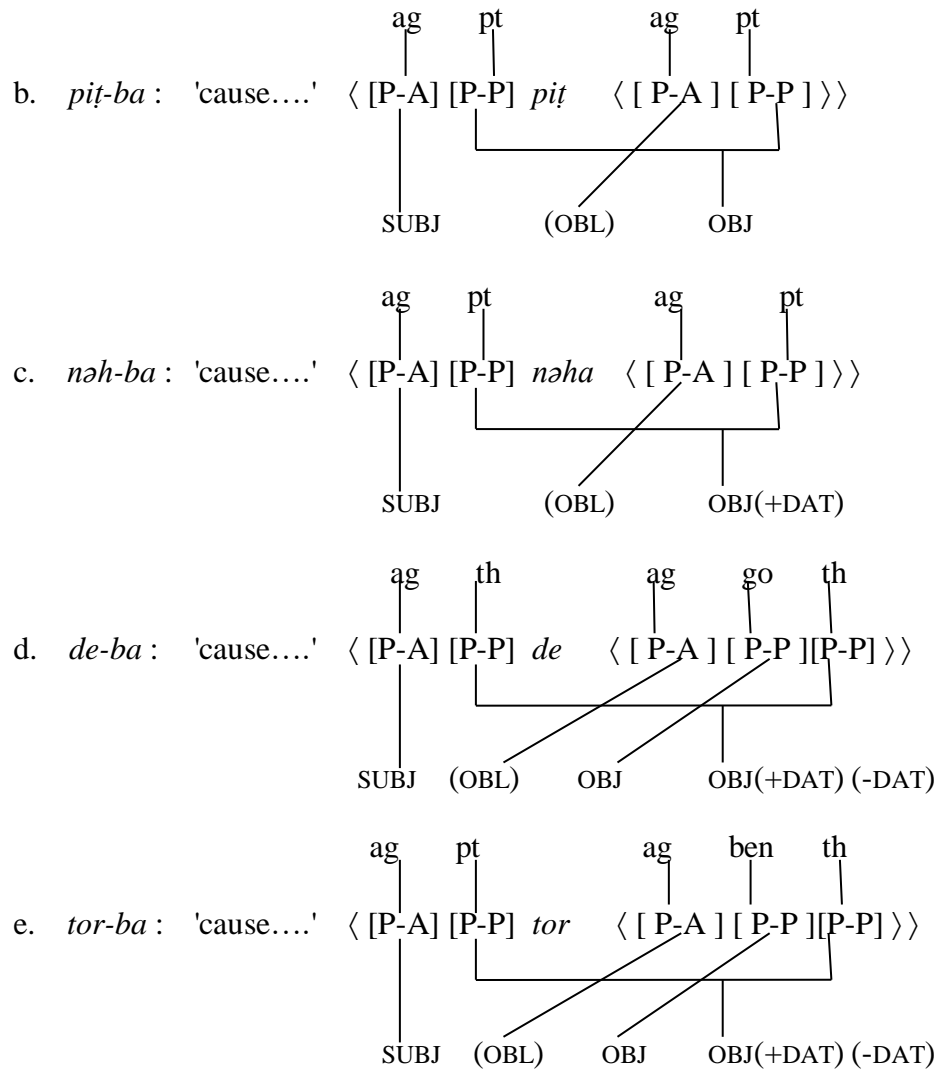
- c. *həm bəccakə nuheləũ*
 həm bəcca-kə nuhe-l-əũ
 1SG child-DAT bathe-PST-1
 'I bathed the child.'
- d. *bhai pəisa deləin*
 bhai pəisa de-l-əin
 brother money give-PST-3H
 'The brother gave money.'
- e. *bacca momkələl am torlək*
 bacca mom-kə-ləl am tor-l-ək
 child mother-DAT-PURP mango pick-PST-3NH
 'The child picked the mango for the mother.'

These sentences have the following argument structures.

- (15) a. *ləga:* 'prepare' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{th} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$
- b. *piṭ:* 'pick up' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{pt} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$
- c. *nuha:* 'bathe' $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ag} & \text{pt} \\ | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$
- d. *de:* 'give' $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{ag} & \text{pt} & \text{th} \\ | & | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$
- e. *tor:* 'pick' $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{ag} & \text{ben} & \text{pt} \\ | & | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] [\text{P-P}] \rangle \end{array}$

There is the alteration in the argument structure along with the function structure when the second causative morpheme is embedded with the base predicates of the transitive verb forms. This can be presented in the following structures.

- (16) a. *ləg-ba:* 'cause sb to prepare' $\begin{array}{cccc} & \text{ag} & \text{th} & & \text{ag} & \text{th} \\ & | & | & & | & | \\ \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] & \text{ləg} & \langle [\text{P-A}] [\text{P-P}] \rangle \rangle \\ | & & / & & | \\ \text{SUBJ} & (\text{OBL}) & & & \text{OBJ} \end{array}$



After the process of embedding the second causative marker in Maithili in the argument and syntactic function structures above, the following sentences can be formed.

- (17) a. *həm dukəndarsə pan ləgba rəhəl chi*
 həm dukəndar-sə pan ləg-ba rəhəl ch-i
 1SG shopkeeper-OBL betal prepare-CAUS PROG be.PRS-1
 'I am getting the betel prepared by the shopkeeper.'
- b. *o mastərsə didikə piṭbauləin*
 o mastər-sə didi-kə piṭ-bau-l-əin
 3SG teacher-OBL sister-DAT beat-CAUS-PST-3H
 'He got his sister beaten by the teacher.'
- c. *həm maisə bəccakə nəhbeləū*
 həm mai-sə bəcca-kə nəhbe-l-əū
 1SG mother-OBL child-DAT bathe-CAUS-PST-1
 'I had the child bathe by the mother.'

- d. *səntos bhaisə pəisa dibauləin*
 səntos bhai-sə pəisa di-bau-l-əin
 Santosh brother-OBL money give-CAUS-PST-3MH
 'Santosh got his brother to give money.'
- e. *sathi bəccasə momkəlel am torbaulək*
 sathi bəcca-sə mom-kə-lel am tor-bau-l-ək
 friend child-OBL mother-DAT-PURP mango pick-caus-PST- 3NH
 'The friend got the child to pick the mango for the mother.'

One thing is very obvious from the above examples that the second causative form indicating indirect/less closeness between causer and cause is applied with the transitive predicate forms in which either the logical subject of the base predicate or an extra argument is mapped onto an oblique function along with the oblique marker -sə in Maithili. In the example (14a), the logical subject *həm* '1SG' neither alters its syntactic function nor does its thematic role even the causative marker is embedded as in (17a), rather there is an addition of an extra argument *dukəndar* 'shopkeeper' bearing the thematic role 'causee' that is functionally mapped onto oblique which is called "a subject/object/oblique-null alteration" (Alsina, 1997, p. 213). It is the same case with 17(b-c). It is also observed that causatives based on any intransitive predicate lack this possibility because the base predicate does not have an affected argument in addition to its logical subject. However, the examples (17d and 17e) show a differing situation wherein the logical subject of the base predicate is expressed as an oblique, i.e., the internal argument of the causative predicate is semantically identified with an oblique and an additional argument as a logical subject is added, i.e., the external argument of the base maps onto oblique function marked by -sə. In the examples (14d and 14e), the logical subjects of the base transitive forms are *bhai* 'brother' and *bəcca* 'child' respectively but the same subjects lose their status of the logical subjects and are mapped onto oblique functions since the causativised predicates already find the external arguments as the logical subject: *Santosh* in (17d) and *sathi* 'friend' in (17e) respectively. These external arguments bear the thematic role as 'agent' and the mapped arguments (*bhai* 'brother' and *bəcca* 'child') bear the thematic role as 'patient' in the Maithili language.

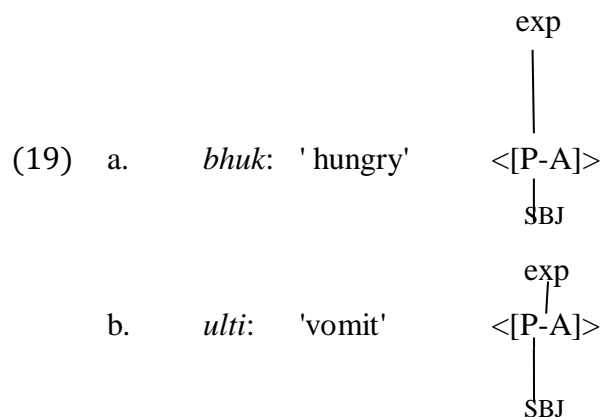
iv. Structure with dative subject

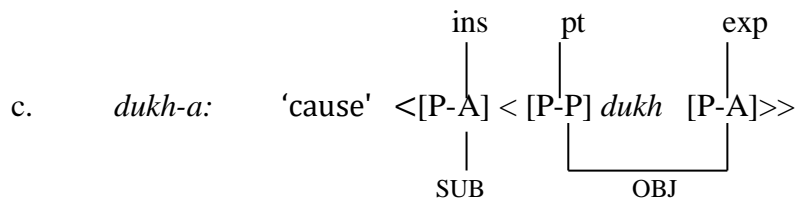
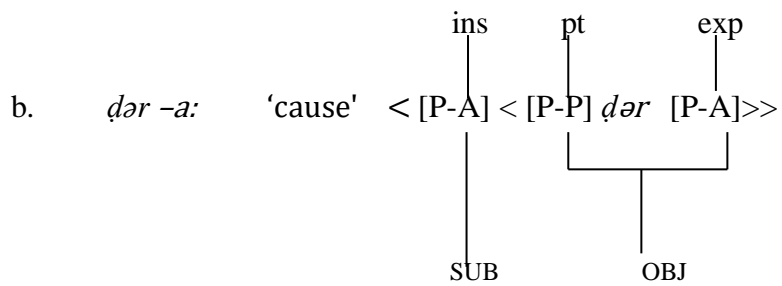
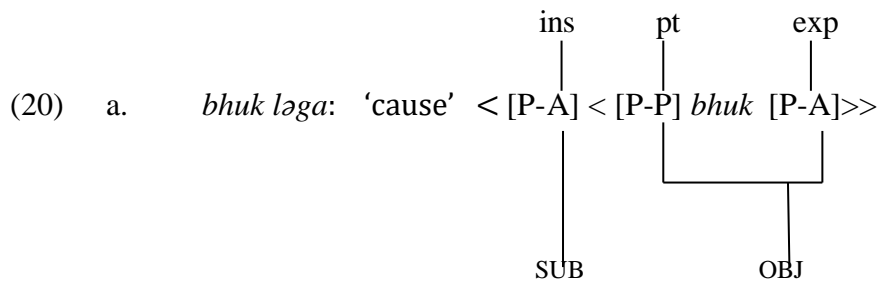
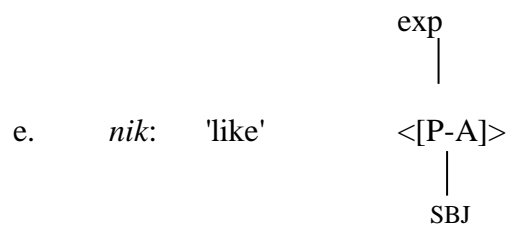
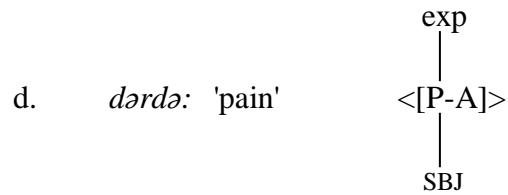
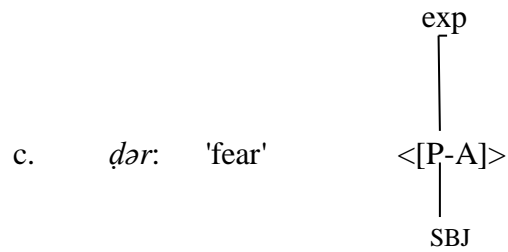
In the process of causativization, a causer is added in the form of force or instrument role making the dative subject functioning as a causee of the causative predicate in the

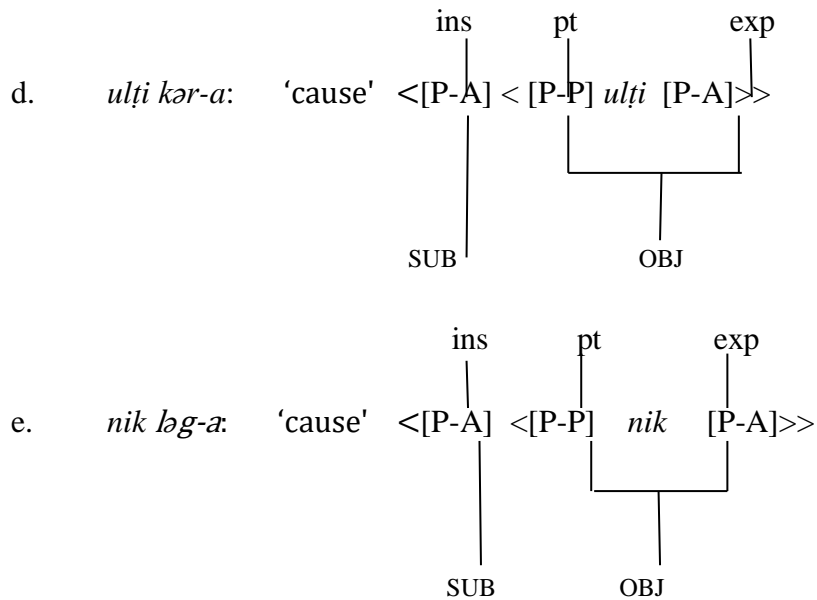
role of patient which simultaneously remains the experiencer of the dative predicate. Hence, the causer of the causative predicate is mapped into the subject function because of an external argument whereas the dative subject of the embedded predicate is mapped onto the object function being an internal argument. Hence, the simple predicate emerges into a complex predicate. The following are the illustrative examples.

- (18) a. *həmra bhukh lagəl chəi*
 həm-ra bhukh lagəl ch-əi
 1SG-DAT hunger feel be.PRS-1
 'I feel hungry.'
- b. *okra bəd dərdə bhə rəhəi əich*
 okra bəd dərdə bhə rəhəl əich
 3SG.DAT much pain be PROG be.PRS.3NH
 'Much pain is being to him/He is suffering from much pain.'
- c. *ənharme tora dər lagəi chəi*
 ənhar-me tora dər lag-əi ch-əi
 dark-LOC 2SG.DAT fear feel-IMPRF be.PRS-2NH
 'Fear comes to you in dark. (You are afraid of darkness.)'
- d. *həmra ulṭi bhel*
 həm-ra ulṭi bhe-l
 1SG-DAT vomit happen-PST.1
 'I happened to do vomiting.'
- e. *hunka nik lagəl*
 hunka nik lagəl-l
 3SG.DAT like adhere-PST.3NH
 'He liked.'

The argument structures with their syntactic function of examples (18a-e) are in (19a-e) and the causativization are shown in (20a-e).







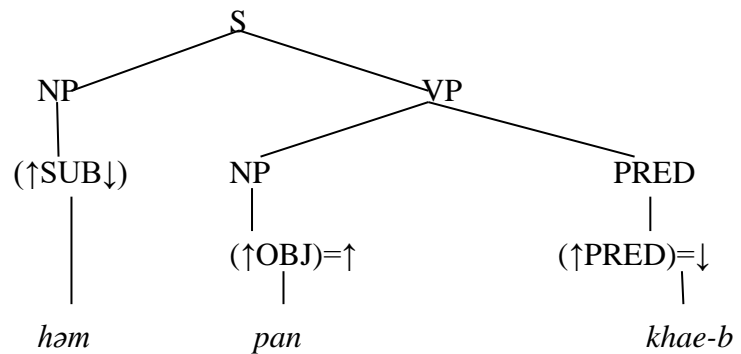
In the examples (19a-e), the verb agrees with the dative subjects. They are controlled by the other argument. When they are changed into causative, an instrument or force is added as an external argument of subject.

- (21) a. *kam həmra bhuk ləgaelək*
 kam həm-ra bhuk ləg-əe-l-ək
 work 1SG-DAT hunger feel-CAUS-PST-3NH
 'The work made me feel hungry.'
- b. *dudh həmra ulṭi kəraulək*
 dudh həm-ra ulṭi kər-au-l-ək
 milk 1SG-DAT vomit happen-CAUS-PST.1
 'Milk caused me vomiting.'
- c. *bhai tora ghau dukhailək*
 bhai tora ghau dukh-ai-l-ək
 brother 2SG-DAT wound pain-CAUS-PST-3NH
 'The brother caused you feel much pain.'
- d. *bilai okra anhar-me ḍəra delkəi*
 bilai okra anhar-me ḍər-a de-l-kəi
 cat 3SG-DAT dark-LOC fear-CAUS give-PST-3NH
 'The cat made him fear in dark.'
- e. *dəbai hunka nik kəraulək*
 dəbai hunka nik kər-au-l-ək
 medicine 3SG-DAT better do-CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Medicine caused him feel better.'

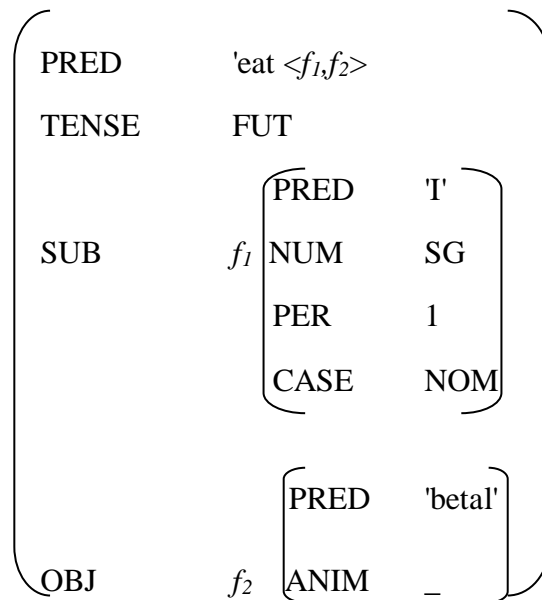
Now the constituent structure and function structure can be presented on the basis of the sentences containing the transitive verbs (10a-e), the causativised verbs of these transitive verbs (13a-e) and the second causativised transitive verb forms (17a-e).

Now, all these transitive (10a-e), causativited forms of intransitive (13a-e) and causativited forms of transitive sentences are presented showing their a-structures and f-structures one by one.

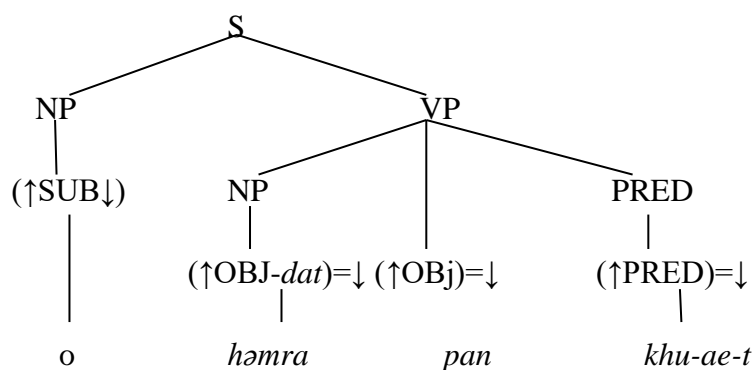
a-structure of (10a):



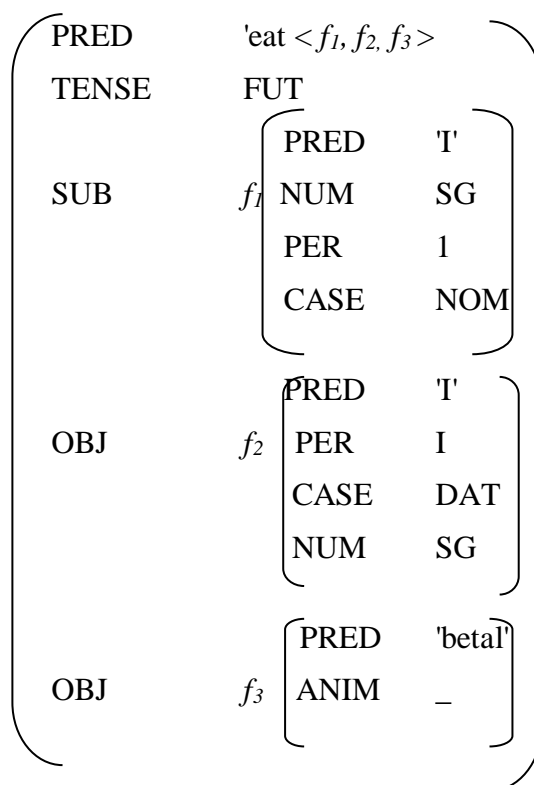
f-structure for (10a):



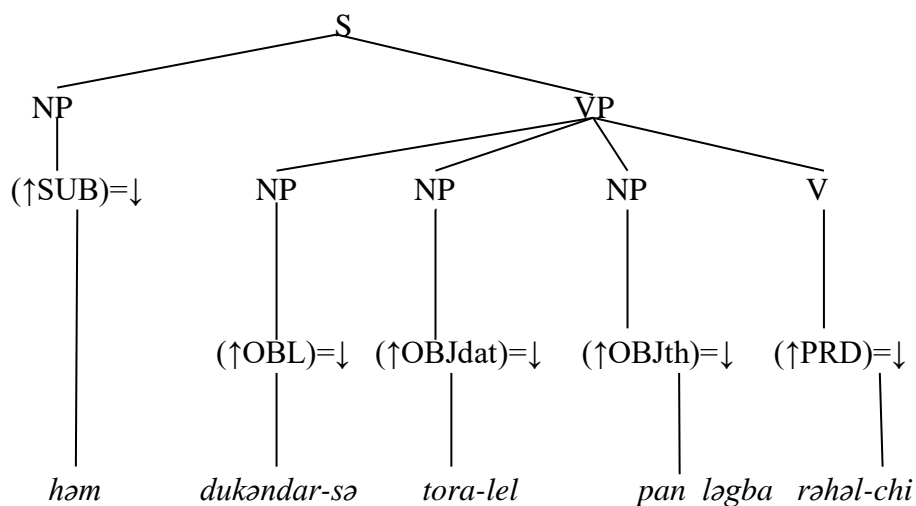
a-structure of the causativised sentence (13a):



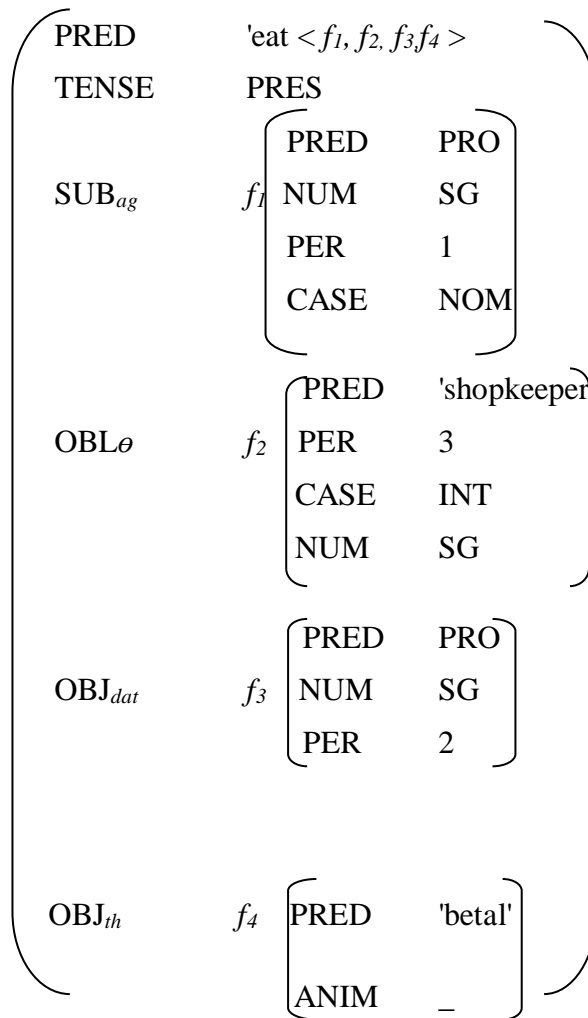
f-structure of this sentence:



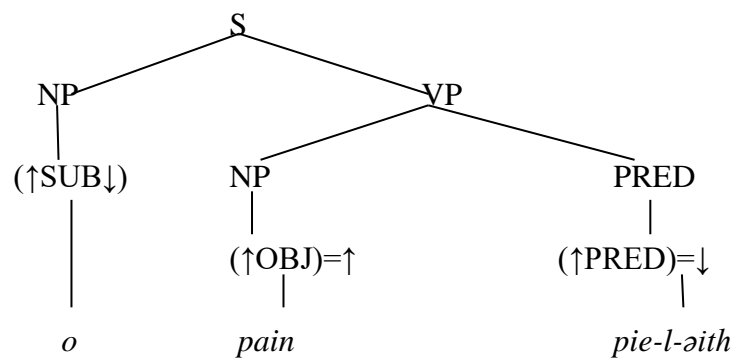
a-structure of 17a:



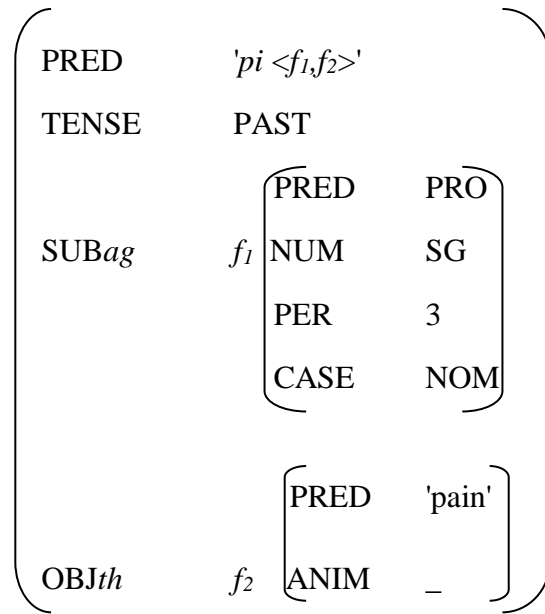
f-structure of this sentence:



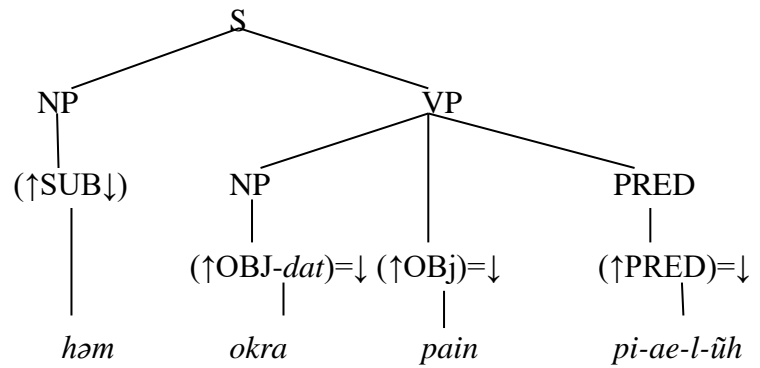
a-structure of 10b:



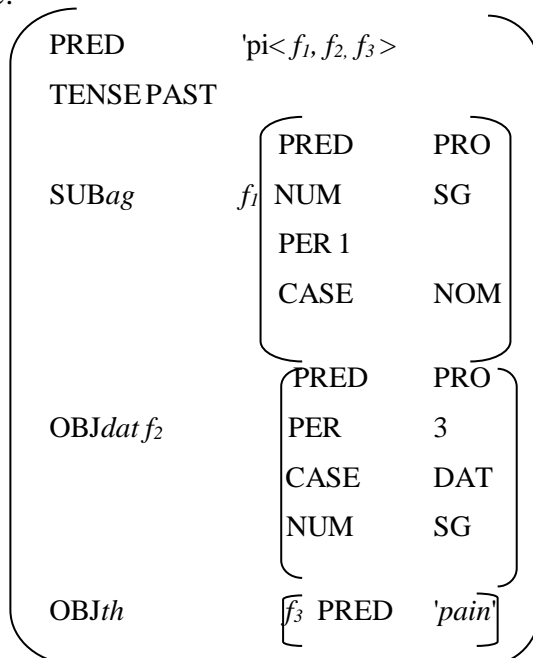
f-structure for this sentence:



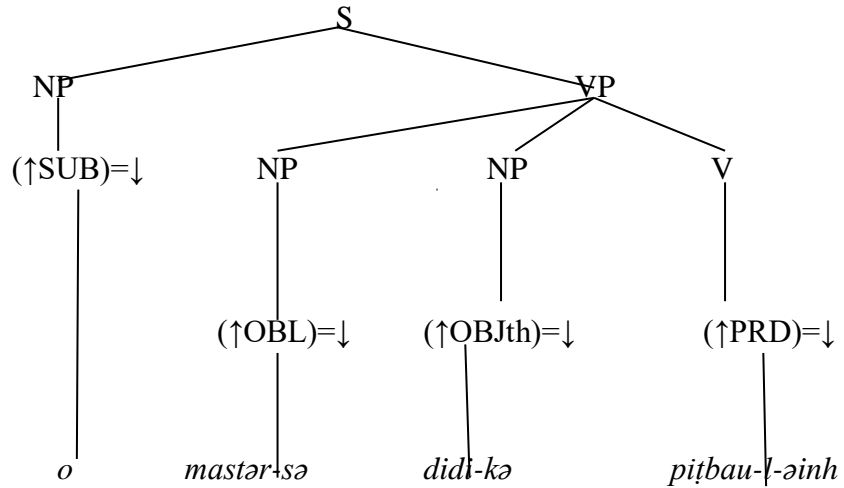
a-structure of the causativised sentence (13b):



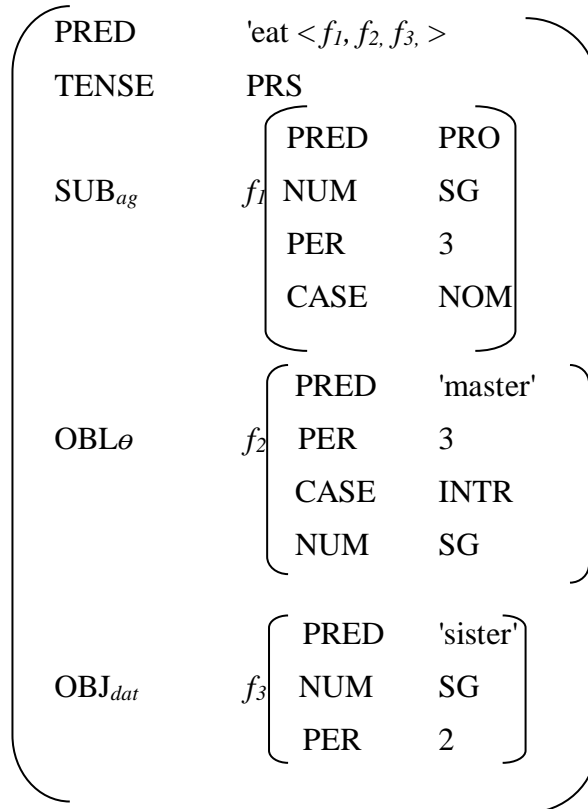
f-structure of this sentence:



a-structure of 17b:



f-structure of this sentence:

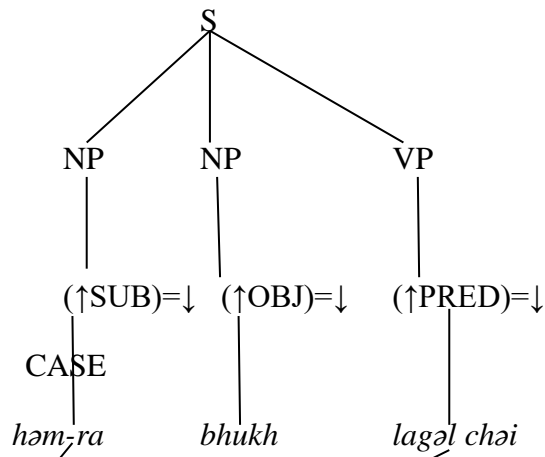


Based on the argument structures of (19a-e) and (20a-e), the constituent structure and their function structure of (18a-e) and (21a-e) sentences are presented simultaneously below.

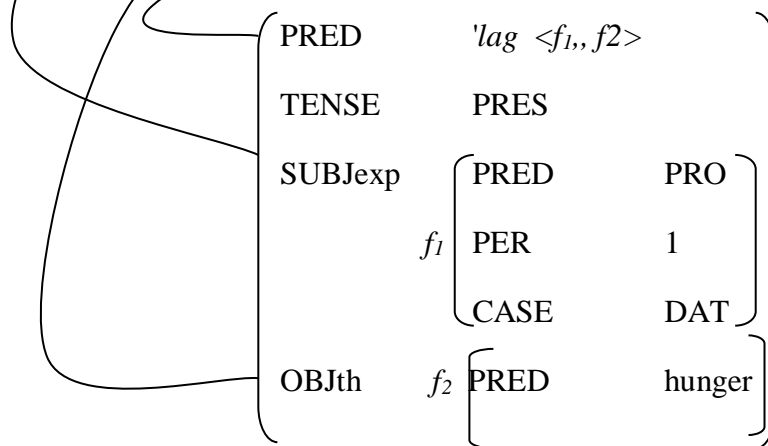
- (18) a. *həm-ra bhukh lagəl ch-əi*
 b. *həm-ra ulṭi bhel*
 c. *okra bəd dərdə ho-eit əich*

- d. *tora dər lag-əi ch-əik*
 e. *hunka nik lagə-l*
 (21) a. *kam həm-ra bhuk ləg-ae-lək*
 b. *dudh həmra ulṭi kər-au-lək*
 c. *bhai tora ghau dukh-ai--lək*
 d. *bilai tora dər ləg-ae-lək*
 e. *dəbai hunka nik kər-au-lək*

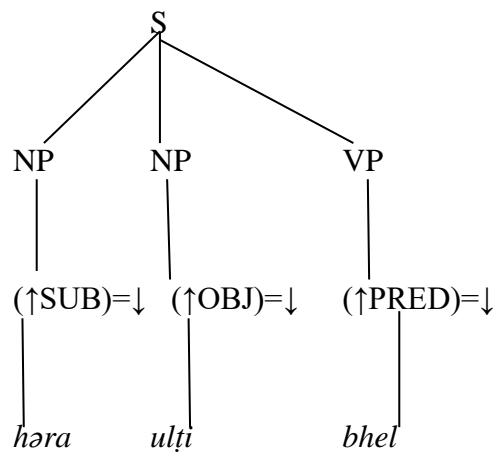
a-structure of 18a:



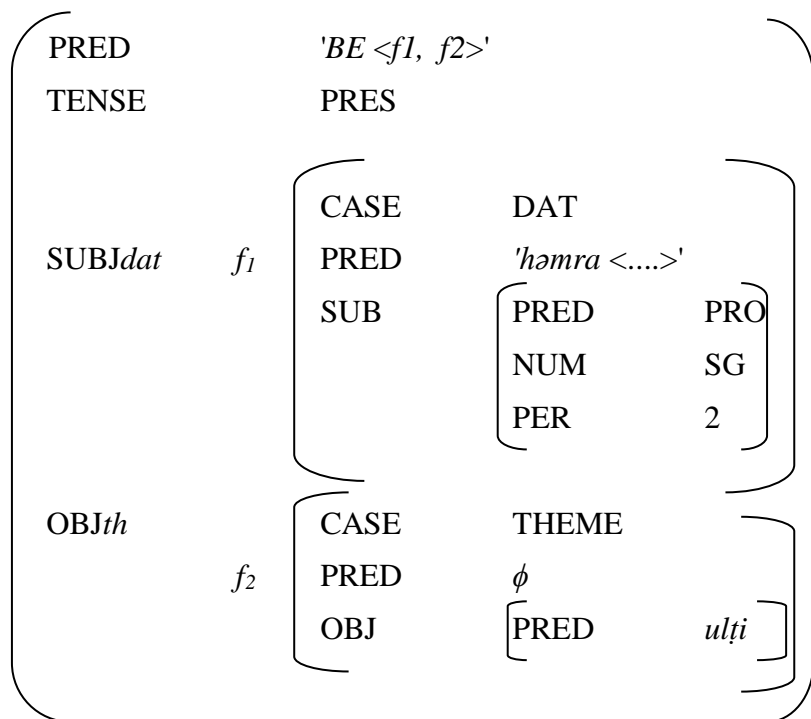
f-structure of 18a:



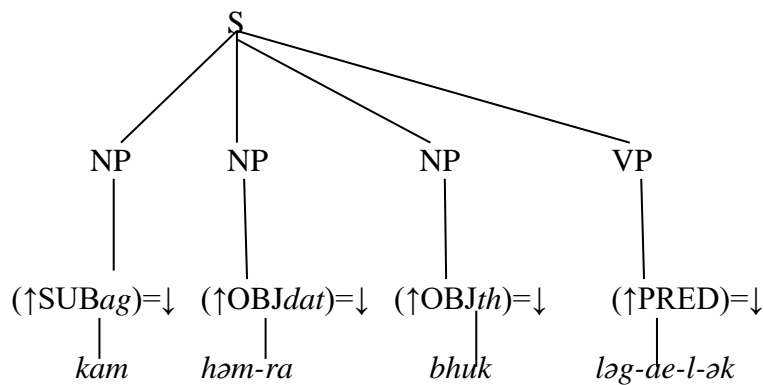
a-structure of 18b:



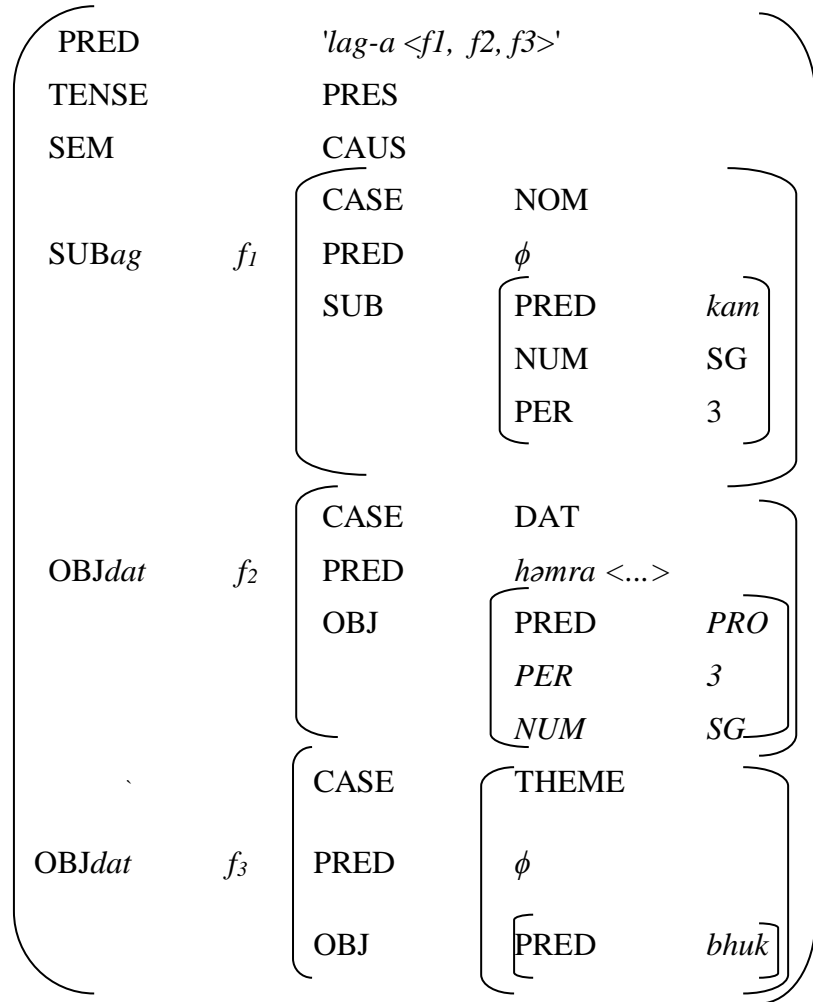
f-structure of 18b:



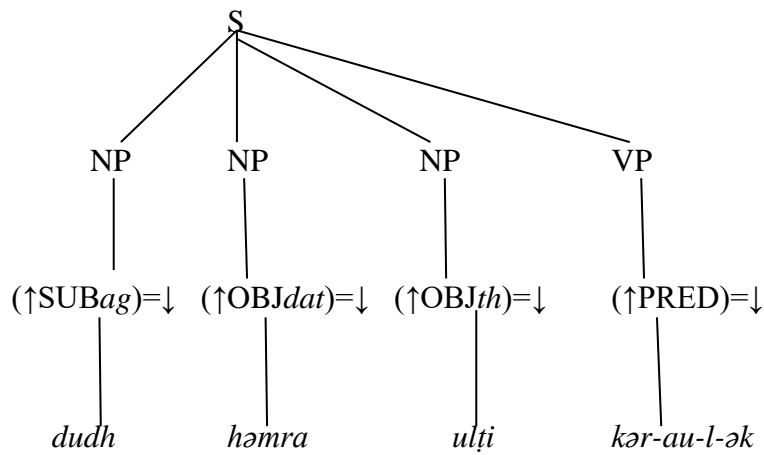
a-structure of 21a:



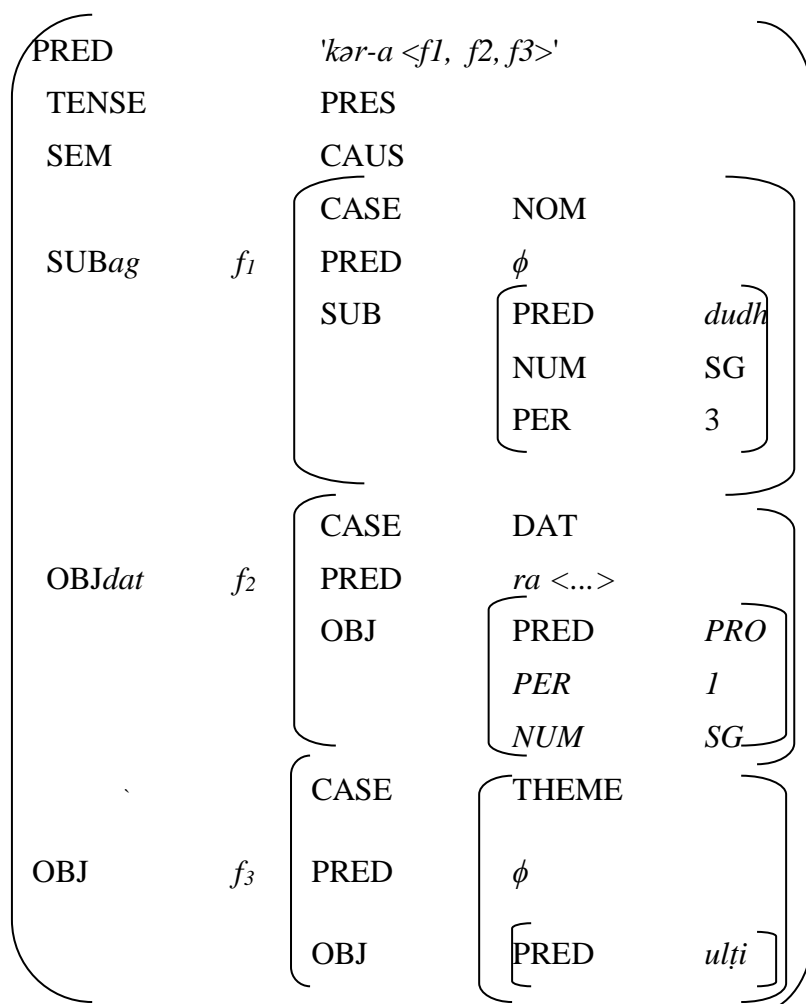
f-structure of 21a:



a-structure of 21b:



f-structure of 21b:



4.4 Summary

In Maithili, the morphological complex predicates are formed from the composition of one matrix predicate (root/stem form) and an embedded predicate. This embedded predicate is said to have the causative value which projects the argument structure, case marking and meaning together within that matrix. In the morphological CPs, the verb stem supplies the predicate of the caused event and the causative morpheme attached with it generates the cause event. In this language, both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized, and an intransitive verb (in most of the cases) becomes a transitive verb surfacially when the causative suffix 'a' is added to the stem. In Maithili, the transitive rendering of morphological predicative element and that of causative forming one are same; a 'cause' is commonly applied. The causative construction shows the complex nature of verbs where the argument structure is

affected in the terms of addition, case marking or pragmatic value. Maithili language shows sound modification by lowering and grading processes when an intransitive predicate goes under the process of becoming transitive/causative. Describing the complex predicates within the theoretical framework of LFG, the arguments are greatly affected showing their thematic roles, grammatical functions and argument structure that can be presented through the Functional Mapping Theory. The internal argument of the predicate is mapped onto the object function which was functioning as the logical subject of the simple predicate. In the FMT, when intransitive predicates are embedded with the causative morpheme *-a*, their a-structure gets affected, wherein the number of argument increases and the logical subject of intransitive predicate maps onto the internal argument behaving as object. The causative or transitive construction of the intransitive construction in Maithili always allows the causee to be expressed as an object.

The argument structure and the function structure with the oblique causee are different from the structures with the object cause. In this case, the second causative *ba* is embedded with the stems due to which the causee is expressed as an oblique introduced by the postposition *-sə* 'by'. Finally, in the process of causativization, a causer is added in the form of force or instrument role making the dative subject functioning as a causee of the causative predicate in the role of patient which remains the experiencer of the dative predicate in the same clause.

CHAPTER FIVE

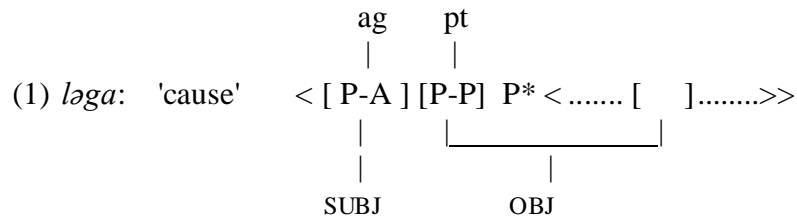
SYNTACTIC CAUSATIVISATION

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the syntactic causativisation in Maithili and is divided into five sections. In section 5.1, we deal with the introduction. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 examine causativization of non-causativized verbs and causativization of second causativized verbs respectively. Status of constituent structure is discussed in section 5.4, and section 5.5 presents the summary of this chapter.

5.1 Introduction

Maithili morphological complex predicates are formed when the causative markers *a* or *-ba* is embedded with the simple predicates. Different studies mainly remained for the description of such constructions only. In this regard, Yadav (1996, p.185) found that “Maithili causative verbs are derived through a highly productive morphological process and causativisation in Maithili is mainly suffixal (suffixes *-a* and *-ba* are supplied for it).” However, among the different Maithili varieties, the Maithili spoken in the southern part of Saptari district of Nepal (alongwith the border areas of Siraha as well) uses syntactic/lexical type of causative constructions too. This is the area the researcher himself belongs to. So, he finds it is a need to show this feature of Maithili under the framework of the LFG. The syntactic /periphrastic causative, as it is the case with the morphological causative, increases the number of the argument structure, influences the case system and alters the semantic structure as well. Hence, this is called a complex predicate construction in this variety of Maithili. That is, there is another type of 'causativization' in Maithili spoken in this specified area which can truly be said causative in the sense of that two-event structure of a situation, viz. causer and caused events. In the chain of the structure of the predicate, the second member carries the causative meaning. Since both of these verbs contribute to the *a*-structure, the composed form is said to have formed complex predicate. The causative vector in syntactic causative of this variety is *laga* 'cause/force somebody'. That is, lexical meaning of *laga* has been bleached and it acts like a causative marker. The argument structure of this predicate is like that of 'causative' morpheme *-a*, and is given in (1).



The verb *jo* 'go' does not take morphological causative marker to be causativized but it is causativized periphrastically. The formation shows that any type of verbs (transitive/intransitive/causativized) can syntactically causativized in this variety of Maithili by adding the infinitive marker *-elā* with the stem verb and another separate causative predicate *lāga* 'adhere' (cause) along with some phonemic alteration somewhere. In such constructions, the stem and the causative word both jointly determine the syntactic and semantic mechanics of a clause. This is illustrated in (2).

(2) a. *tu jo*
 tu jo
 2NH.SG go.IMP.2NH
 'You go.'

b. *u tora jaelā lāgelāk*
 u tora ja-elā lāge-l-āk
 3NH.SG 2NH.SG-DAT go-PART CAUS-PST-3NH.2NH
 'He caused you to go.'

In this variety of Maithili, the verb *jo* 'go' as presented above does not undergo morphological 'causativization' and others having an agent can undergo both morphological and periphrastic processes. Morphologically, *-a* morpheme functioning as a causative marker in the direct causative and *-ba* morpheme in the case of the indirect causative are used. But syntactically, the verb *lāga* is used that shows the state of causing agent to perform a course of action. However, as stated above, if a verb does not go under causativisation, it lacks an agent. Such types of verbs indicate the actions taking place naturally. Some of such verbs are; *bāh* 'blow', *pār* 'befall', *cāl* 'walk', etc.

It is observed in this dialect that the first type (having a morpheme in the finite form of verbs) of causative verbs cannot be syntactically di-causativised, however it could be found usual with the second type (having *-ba* morpheme with the finite verbs) of the causativised verbs can be di-causativised. Thus, in this section, two conditions of the causativisation using the verb *lāga* is briefly discussed.

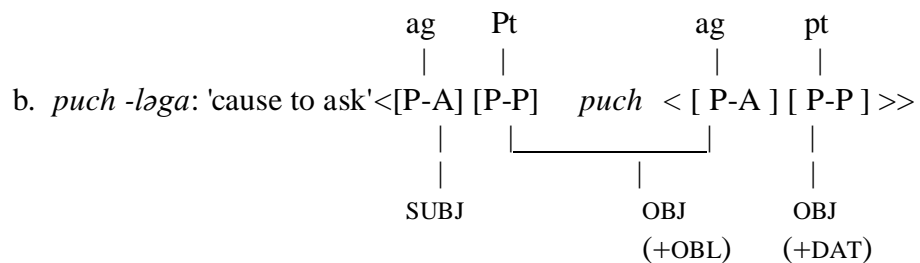
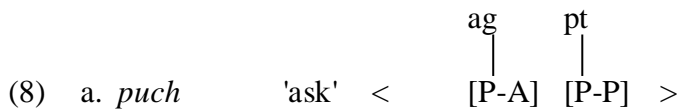
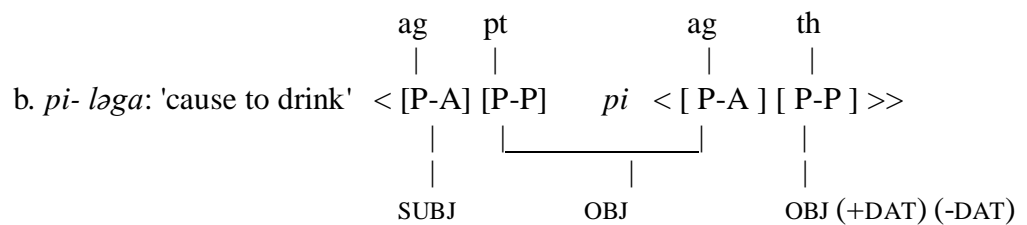
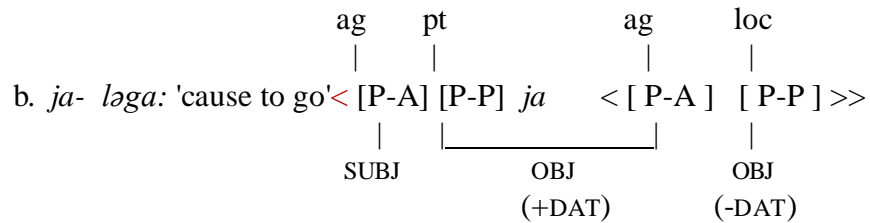
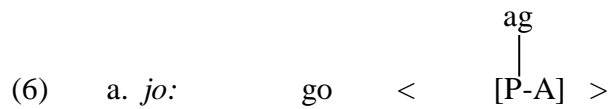
5.2 Causativisation of non-causativised verbs

As stated above, there are some verbs that cannot be causativised syntactically. Here, a brief discussion is presented using the verbs that are causativised using *laga* which requires the indirect agent as it is the case with the second type of morphological causativisation. Let's observe the following examples.

- (3) a. *həm ghər jae-b*
 həm ghər jae-b
 1SG home go-FUT.1
 'I will go home.'
- b. *bhəiya həm-ra ghər jae-lə ləge-l-ək*
 bhəiya həm-ra ghər jae-lə ləge-l-ək
 big brother 1SG-DAT home go-INFP CAUSE-PST-3NH
 'My big brother caused me go home.'
- (4) a. *bəkri pain pi-l-ək*
 bəkri pain pi-l-ək
 she-goat water drink-PST-3NH
 'She-goat drank water.'
- b. *o bərikə pain pielə ləgeləith*
 o bərikə pain pi-elə ləge-l-əith
 3SG she-goat.DAT water drink-INFP caus-PST-3H
 'He caused the he-goat drink water.'
- (5) a. *səntos prəsnə puchlək*
 səntos prəsnə puch-l-ək
 Santosh question ask-PST-3NH
 'Santosh asked the question.'
- b. *gita səntossə prəsnə puchelə ləgelək*
 gita səntos-sə prəsnə puch-elə ləge-l-ək
 Gita Santos-DAT question ask-INFP caus-PST-3NH
 'Gita had Santosh to ask the question.'
- c. *gita səntossə prəsnə puchaelə ləgelək*
 gita səntos-sə prəsnə puch-a-elə ləge-l-ək
 Gita Santosh-DAT question ask-CAUS-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Gita had Sabtosh to ask the question.'

In the sentences (3a, 4a and 5a), the predicates are not causativised and there are two arguments having specified thematic roles in the case of transitive predicates (4a and 5a) and only one in the example (3a) as it contains intransitive verb. But when these predicates are causativized, the arguments are also affected in terms of their number, case and pragmatics as well. What a common fact with all these sentences after being

causativied is that they always allow the causee to be expressed as an object. The last sentence (5c) is unacceptable as it is double causativised with the case of the first type of morphological causative. Now, let's analyze the argument structure of these sentences below.



The above structures show the simple status of the intransitive predicate (3a) and of the transitive predicates (4a and 5a). They are without the causative lexical item. And all the sentences (3b, 4b and 5b) are in the status of having the causative item *ləga*, i.e., they are in syntactic causativized forms. As in the case of the first morphological causativisation wherein the morpheme *a* is applied with the uncausativised verbs, the verbs can also be found to be causativised by adding the causativiser word *ləga* 'cause' following the main verbs that have not been causativised already. The observation

from each set of examples shows that the arguments of the base predicates (3a, 4a and 5a) are the subjects but change their functions as objects in the predicates syntactically causativised (3b, 4b and 5b). Since new arguments occupying subject position already appear and are functioning as subject 'causer', the internal subjects are mapped onto the object functions. This is the fact with the first causative in Maithili. Similarly, the case of the logical subjects also gets changed as they are in nominative form when the predicates are not causativised but dative marker has been used as the predicates are causativised. This shows that the logical subject of a predicate loses its status as an external argument is embedded in the form of another a-structure, and there after the causee may be semantically identified with an internal argument of the causative predicate.

5.3 Causativisation of second causativised verbs

In this particular dialect of Maithili, it is also observed that the second type of Maithili causative which takes place morphologically as well can also be embedded with the causative item in the syntactic level. In this type of syntactic causative complex constructions, the case marker in the arguments is affected, but their number the s-structure do not get changed. In the case of the second type of the causativisation wherein the causative marker *-ba* is used to derive the in/transitive verbs as causativised form, the syntactic causative item *lāga* is applied along with the same particle *elā* with the *-ba* that is already embedded with the main verb. Since the number of arguments and their other features are already determined by the causative marker *-ba*, *lāga* does not require more to influence the structure.

- (9) a. *u didikə piṭlək*
 u didi-kə piṭ-l-ək
 3SG sister-DAT beat-PST-3NH
 'He bit his sister.'
- b. *o mastərsə didikə piṭbaulək*
 o mastər-sə didi-kə piṭ-bau-l-ək
 3SG teacher-OBL sister-DAT beat-CAUS-PST-3NH
 'He got his sister beaten by the teacher.'
- c. *o mastərsə didikə piṭbailə ləgelək*
 o mastər-sə didi-kə piṭ-bai-lə ləge-l-ək
 3SG teacher-OBL sister-DAT beat-CAUS-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'He managed the teacher to get his sister beaten (by sb else).'

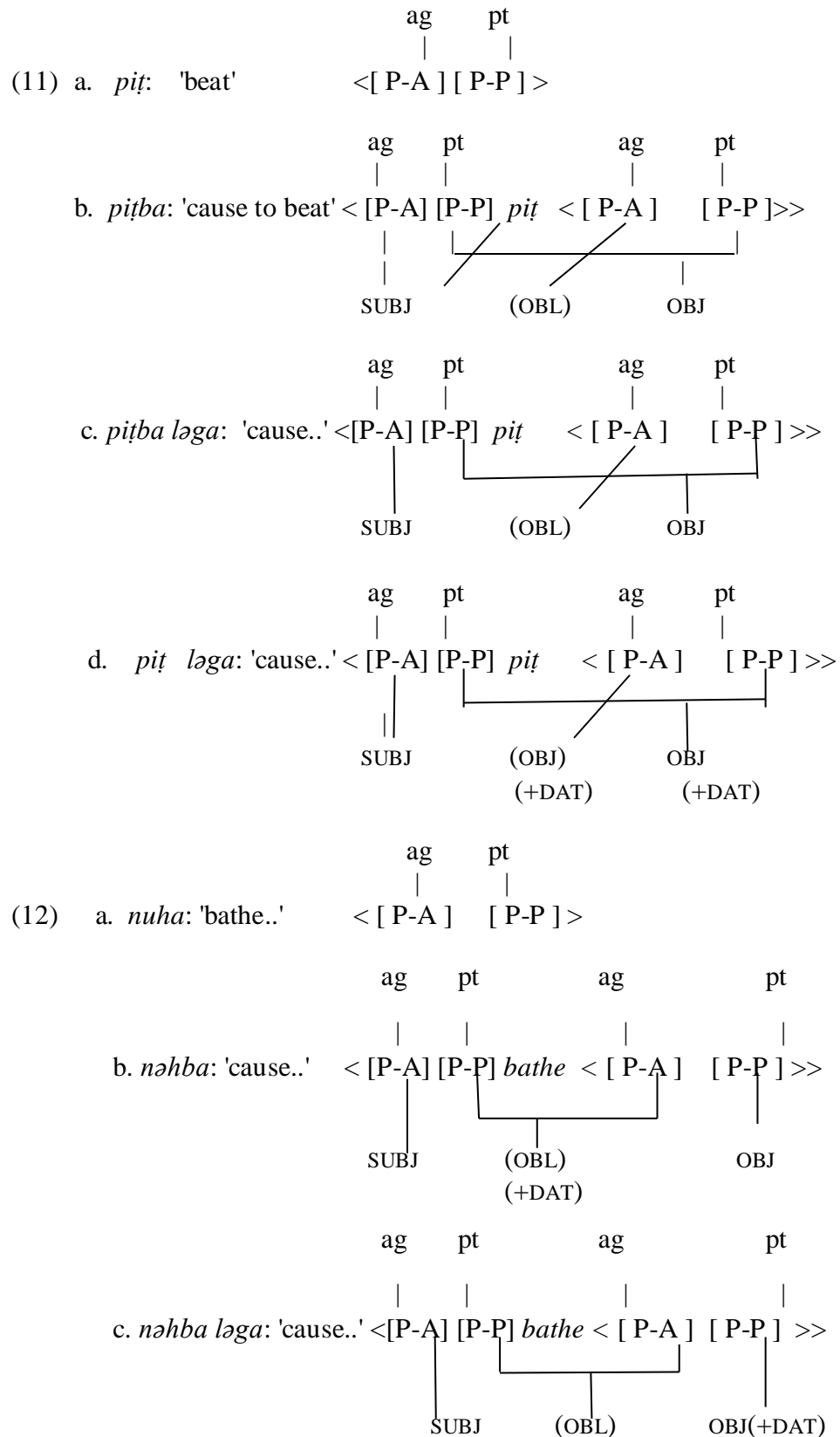
- d. *o mastərka didikə piṭəilə ləgelək*
o mastər-kə didi-kə piṭ-əilə ləge-l-ək
 3SG teacher-DAT sister-DAT beat-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'He got his sister beaten by the teacher.'

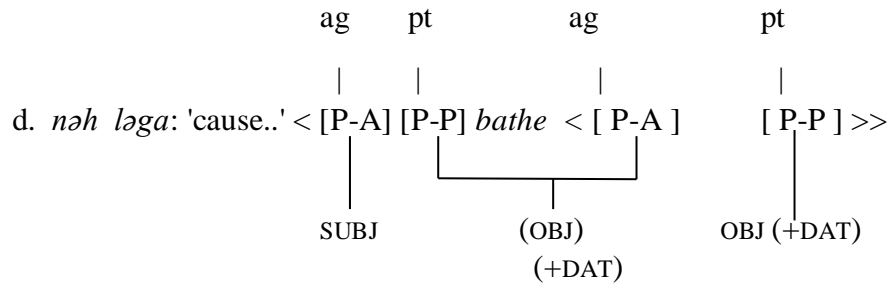
Similarly, the sentences in (10) also show the syntactic causative constructions of the intransitive verb *nəha* 'bathe' from the morphological CPs.

- (10) a. *həm bəccakə nehləũ*
həm bəcca-kə neh-l-əũ
 1SG child-DAT bathe-PST-1
 'I gave a bathe to the child.' (ELICITED)
- b. *həm maisə bəccake nəhbaləũ*
həm mai-sə bəcca-ke nəh-ba-l-əũ
 1SG mother-OBL child-DAT bathe-CAUS-PST-1
 'I caused the mother to bathe the child.' (ELICITED)
- c. *həm maisə bəccake nəhbəilə ləgeləũ*
həm mai-sə bəcca-ke nəh-bəi-lə ləge-l-əũ
 1SG mother-OBL child-DAT bathe-CAUS-INFP CAUS-PST-1
 'I managed the mother to get the child bathe (by sb else).' (ELICITED)
- d. *həm maikə bəcca nəhailə ləgeləũ*
həm mai-kə bəcca nəha-ilə ləge-l-əũ
 1SG mother-DAT child bathe-INFP CAUS-PST-1
 'I caused the mother to bathe the child.' (ELICITED)

The sentences (9a and 10a) are uncausativised and have two arguments mapping them as subject and object, and in (9b and 10b) there are three arguments since they have the second causative marker *ba*. In the sentences of b, the proto agent is mapped into the oblique and a new subject in the form of a causer is added. However, the sentences (9c, 9d, 10c and 10d) are similar by the number of the arguments they have, even though the sentences (9c and 10c) are double causativised, i.e. the second causative marker *-ba* and the syntactic causative item *ləga*. The sentences (9d and 10d) are causativised syntactically only, i.e., using the causative item *ləga*. The difference between the double causativised sentences (9c and 10c) and the syntactic single causativised sentences (9d and 10d) is in the case marking overtly and in the pragmatic value minutely. In the double causativised case, the proto agent *mai* 'mother' is changed having the oblique case form which is jointly contributed by *-ba* and *ləga* : new agent is added and the base agent becomes causee marked by oblique. But in the case of the syntactic single causativised sentences (9d and 10d), the proto

agent is changed having the dative case form which is contributed only by *laga*. The a-structure and f-structure of these sentences can be presented in the following structural figures.





5.4 Status of constituent structure

In this Maithili dialect, the syntactic causative item *ləga* is found to form two phrase nodes together by using conjoining particle after the first part. Now, let's analyse the following examples in separate headings.

5.4.1 Conjoining

(13) a. *didi khelək*

didi khe-l-ək
 sister eat-PST-3NH
 'The sister ate.'

b. *sita didikə khailə ləgelək*

sita didi-kə kha-ilə ləge-l-ək
 Sita sister-DAT eat-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister eat.'

c. *sita didikə bəithəilə əur khailə ləgelək*

sita didi-kə bəith-əilə əur kha-ilə ləge-l-ək
 Sita sister-DAT sit-INFP and eat-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister sit and eat sth.'

d. *sita didikə bəithəilə əur bhaikə khailə ləgelək*

sita didi-kə bəith-əilə əur bhai-kə kha-ilə ləge-l-ək
 Sita sister-DAT sit-INFP and brother-DAT eat-INFP CAUS-PST- 3NH
 'Sita got her sister sit and brother eat sth.'

e. *sita didikə bəithəilə əur rita bhaikə khailə ləgelək*

sita didi-kə bəith-əilə əur rita bhai-kə kha-ilə ləge-l-ək
 Sita sister-DAT sit-INFP and Rita brother-DAT eat-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister to sit and Rita got her brother to eat sth.'

The sentence (13a) is uncausativized and others are syntactically causativized (without using morphological morpheme marker). The predicate used in the sentence (13b) has been causativized in the way analyzed in the previous section. From the sentence (13c), we have differing causativized constructions. In (13c) there are two

embedded predicates (*bəithəilə əur khailə*) having the same causee in the form of the dative case. Moreover, two embedded predicates (13d) with incorporated nouns (causees) are found, and the two embedded predicates with separate causee and causer can be conjoined in the case of (13e). Since the coordination is applied only between syntactic constituents, the incomplete verbal unit in the causativization bears an independent phrase structure node. This is what we say the complexity is formed in syntax rather than in lexicon. Thus, constituent structure includes two sister nodes; one headed by the causative predicate and another by the embedded predicate.

5.4.2 Separability

Interestingly, the syntactic causativised predicates in this dialect can be separated from each other which happen to violate the lexical integrity hypothesis. In such a case, either causee or causer or both can be moved into. This shows that the causativized predicate is composed of two distinct words occupying two nodes on c-structure.

- (14) a. *sita didikə khailə ləgelək*
 sita didi-kə kha-ilə ləge-l-ək
 Sita sister-DAT eat-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister eat.'
- b. *sita khailə didikə ləgelək*
 sita kha-ilə didi-kə ləge-l-ək
 Sita eat-INFP sister-DAT CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister eat.'
- c. *khailə didikə sita ləgelək*
 kha-ilə didi-kə sita ləge-l-ək
 eat-INFP sister-DAT Sita CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister eat.'

Since the causative marker *ləga* 'cause/force' shows a separate node within the single predicate (as embedded with a polar verb), it can be separated from its polar in different ways, as shown above. And this is possible only in the syntax not in the lexicon.

5.4.3 Both predicates as phrasal category

It is clear that only a phrase can be conjoined with another same status in a sentence and it can be freely scrambled as well within that particular sentence. As we just

examined the causativised predicate can be separable and its polar part can be coordinated, these two parts can be treated as two phrases. Moreover, the polar part can be questioned with *ki kəṛailə* (for what), can also be modified. Let's examine the sentences in (15a and b).

(15) a. *sita didikə jorsə khailə ləgelək*
 sita didi-kə jor-sə kha-ilə ləge-l-ək
 Sita sister-DAT fast-PART eat-INFP CAUS-PST-3NH
 'Sita got her sister eat fast.'

b. *ləgelək sita didikə jorsə khailə*
 ləge-l-ək sita didi-kə jor-sə kha-ilə
 CAUS-PST-3NH Sita sister-DAT fast-PART eat-INFP
 'Sita got her sister eat fast.'

The sentence (15a) shows the complex predicate in which the first part (polar verb) has been modified by the modifier *jor-sə* 'fast', and the causative marker item/morpheme *ləga* in (15b) has been topicalized. These two features (modification and topicalization) lead to the fact that both predicates (polar and vector) are phrasal, since only the phrasal category undergoes modification and topicalization.

5.5 Summary

Syntactic causativization has been found in the Maithili especially spoken in the southern part of Saptari. The syntactic /periphrastic causative, when non-causativized predicates are causativized, as it is the case with the morphological causative, increases the number of the argument structure, influences the case system and alters the semantic structure as well. The causative vector in syntactic causative of this variety is *ləga* 'cause/force'. It is discussed that any type of verbs (transitive/intransitive/causativized) can syntactically causativized in this variety of Maithili by adding the infinitive marker *-elə/ailə* with the first verb along with the causative predicate *ləga*. However, there is not more influence over the number of arguments, and their meanings, except their case status, to some extent, if it is already causativised using the second type of morphological causative marker *-ba*. In this Maithili dialect, the syntactic causative item/morpheme *ləga* is found to form two phrasal nodes together by using conjoining particle after the first part. Similarly, the syntactic causativised predicates in this dialect can be separated from each other. The

features such as separability, conjoining, questioning, scrambling and topicalization show that the predicate parts are phrasal category.

CHAPTER SIX

VERBAL COMPLEX PREDICATES

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Maithili verbal complex predicates. It consists of five sections. Section 6.1 introduces the basic information of verbal complex predicates. Section 6.2 examines light verbs in Maithili. We look at the evidences for a complex predicate analysis in section 6.3. Permissive complex predicate is discussed in section 6.4, and finally the summary of this chapter is presented in section 6.5.

6.1 Introduction

Complex verbal system has been one of the interesting phenomena for the researchers in linguistics. Two or more verbal units are grouped together to form complex verbs in languages. Such grouped verbal parts have got different terminologies, i.e., sequential verbs, simultaneous verbs, purposive verbs, compound verbs and complex verbs. Gambhir (1993, p. 77) states that many Indian languages possess different types of complex verbs and many verbal concepts can be expressed through the complex verbs only. He further argues that complex verbal system is a striking feature for the Indian languages.

Every sentence is supposed to have a head verb preserving its core dynamic mechanisms, but the pragmatic value is maintained due to the occurrence of other verbal unit(s) that creates the complexity of the verbal system. We saw in the preceding chapter that the complex predicates are formed in lexicon in Maithili. In this chapter, it is analyzed in phrasal level wherein this construction is composed of two distinct predicative elements; each of them is responsible for contributing the argument structure, case system and semantics in the syntax. In the series of such constructions, Maithili is very rich by its verb and verb construction (henceforth v-v Construction) in which two verbal units functioning as a single predicate determine the syntactic mechanism of a clause called a complex predicate or compound verb. Putting in other words, v-v complex predicates consist of two parts: host (V1) and light verb (V2). The former precedes the latter in Maithili, and a given verb V2, which can occur independently as a predicating verb (independent at their disposal), occurs in collocation with a verb V1 not to make the predication, but to make a

complex predicate jointly with v1. The semantic burden of the predicate in a clause is distributed between them, and they behave as a single predicating expression. This type of v-v construction is also termed as syntactic/periphrastic compound verb. Regarding the structural and pragmatic properties of such constructions, Lohani (1999) found:

This is a verbal unit that is composed of two independent predicates (verbs); these predicates are independent at their disposal. Among these two, the first verb is called polar/host and the second being vector/light wherein the former bears the heavy semantic burden whereas the latter concerns with the pragmatic sides, and also bearing grammatical inflexion for tense, aspect, person and so forth. The semantic burden of the predicate is distributed between the host and the light verb, and this is not symmetrical. (p. 47)

As the semantic burden of this type predicate is shared by both (polar and light), they form a single group with the governing capacity over other elements/constraints in a clause. However, they both do not have equal weightage of semantics and others. Most of them (vectors) provide grammatical flavor to the meaning of the main verb (or pole verb), only some of them (light verbs) interfere in a-structure. The notion 'light verb' itself shows less gravity in this connection, so much so that it has been called verbalizer in some works (Sharma, 1980). The order of these two units in such predicate constructions is 'host-light verb' for Maithili, a v-final language. Similarly, Singh (1979) states that "compound verb does not involve any conjunction. Rather meaningless it is simply a modification of what is signified by the polar. That is, when used in compound verbs, the verbs that function as vectors lose their original meaning" (pp. 266-267).

6.2 Light Verbs

As mentioned in section (1.1.1), a compound verb in Maithili appears in a verbal chain of two (or three) verbs; the first is termed as polar and second as vector and the second verb in this construction is said to be known as light verb. However, all the vectors cannot be treated as light ones. The vectors can also be divided into two groups; that one has no meaning other than the grammatical and other has influence in a-structure/case system/pragmatic meaning (value) of the main verb. The second set

of the vectors deserves the name 'vector' in our sense and called light. The second type of vectors is only the carrier of grammatical meaning albeit there are other morphological means for the same; they provide grammatical flavor to the meaning of the main verb (or pole verb). In this regard, Yadav (1996) describes:

A compound verb is a complex verbal unit which consists of a sequence of two verb stems (i.e., $v_1 + v_2$) but functions as a single simple verb. In linear terms, a compound verb consists of a main verb (which may or may not undergo a kind of vowel gradation, traditionally called an absolutive) plus an appropriately inflected finite form of a second verb. The first verb will be called the polar verb and the second verb the vector or vector verb. (p. 191)

In this type of serial verb of Maithili, a given v_2 which can occur independently as a predicating verb, occurs in collocation with another v_1 not to make a second predication, but to modify or add to the meaning of v_1 which makes the predication or to make a complete predication jointly with v_1 . The two separate events are fused to a single event, hence form a compound verb. "A compound verb (CV) in the Indo-Aryan languages comprises the finite form of one of GO, GIVE, TAKE, THROW, LET GO, STRIKE, SIT, COME, FALL, etc. following a non-finite or stem form of a main or primary verb" (Hook, 1993, p. 97).

Yadav (1996) discusses the verbal structure of Maithili as stem + tense + mood + person/honorificity in the finite simple verb structure and as v_1 (+/- stem alteration) + v_2 + Inflectional affixes in the compound verb structure. "Maithili verbs consist of several elements normally to the right of the verb stem to the various forms of the personal pronouns, the grammatical features of which are encoded in the agreement marking" (Yadava, 1999b). It is noticed from the latter case of Maithili verb structure and as he (Yadav, 1996) describes that there are three parts (functioning as a single unit) in a Maithili compound verb phrase: v_1 which is called polar verb, v_2 called vector verb and the last one is called auxiliary bearing tense, mood, person, etc markers. The first (polar) of these brings semantic burden and the last one (auxiliary) bears grammatical burden. The verb that appears between these two generally called vectors (Hook, 1974) or explicators (Masica, 1976) as the second part of a compound verb or complex predicate that influences the argument structure (a-structure) and the semantic structure (s-structure) of the main/polar verb. This second set of such verbs

are the product of "concomitant lexical emptying or grammaticalization" (Masica, 1976, p. 141) in the lexical meaning of the full verb. The second group of verbs which, when combine with some non-verbal elements, namely nouns, adjectives and adverbs, partially emptying element, they form non-verbal predicates, Prasain (2008) and some verbal elements, they form verbal/compound predicates. Such verbs (second set) are called light verbs (V2s) that influence in the argument structure of the V1s, for which Jespersen, as quoted in Butt (2005), is generally credited with first coining the term, and applied them to English V+NP constructions as in the example below.

- (1) *take* a drive, a walk, a plunge
 give a sigh, a pull, a ring

In these examples, the verbs do not predicate fully although these verbs are predicating as main ones in other constructions, such as 'he takes money from his pocket, he gives me a book' in English. That is, one does not actually physically 'take a drive' but rather one 'drives'. This shows that these verbs are semantically bleached and concatenated with the main verb 'have' and seem to be more of a verbal licenser for nouns. However, the verbs are clearly not entirely devoid of semantic predicative content either: there is a clear difference between *take a bath* and *give a bath*. The verbs thus seem to neither retain their full semantic predicational content, nor are they semantically completely empty. Rather, they appear to be semantically *light* in some manner that is difficult to identify (Butt, 2005). From this condition of the use of the light verbs,¹ the intuition has been that the light form of these verbs developed from the main verb and that the light form lost some of the semantic content as part of historical change. Butt (2005) further claimed "what it is precisely that the light verb contributes to the joint predication and therefore exactly which parts of the predication are supposed to have been lost as part of historical change is difficult to characterize". As Maithili is a complicated verb-form language, the use of explicators is also very productive. However, the number of such verbs is limited, as it is the case of other Indo-Aryan languages.

¹ Light verbs are functioning as more semantic carriers than auxiliaries, and the notion of semantic content must be expressed along with the argument structure. However, they do not have the fully expressed argument structure of their full counter parts, but retain at least one argument. Both arguments (argument of light and arguments of main verbs) are fused semantically to produce a complex predicate, and the fused arguments must agree in terms of semantic information encoded in.

There are some verbal constructions: serial verbs, compound verbs and conjunct verbs that look alike but they are not. In Maithili language, like other South Asian languages, the serial verbs as in the example (2) have two/more main verbs with their primary meanings/events, the compound verbs are constructed by the combination of two main verbs having a single event as in the example (3c) and the conjunct verbs in the examples (4) are the constructions in which two predicational elements (first being noun, adjective or adverb and second being verb having its bleached meaning called light verb) contribute the a-structures in a single clause. Serial verbs can stack several events in a single clause whereas compound and conjunct verbs, in which the second verbs are light verbs, stack only one event in a single clause. Compound and conjunct constructions but not serial verbs can be called complex predicates. In both cases, the second element is the light verb that also has predicational value together with the first one and they together are called complex predicates. The light verb, for example *le* 'take' in (5) merely contributes aspectual like information to the nominal event, while in (2) there are two events: a seeing event *dekh* and a taking event *le*. Thus, in the V-V CP composition, the a-structure or s-structure is complex, for two predicative elements provide information independently. This means that such CP is not lexical category, unlike the morphologicalcausative CP. That is to say, this is a phrasal category of which only one is categorial head but both are functional heads because both of these predicative elements contribute their PRED values to the mother node. The formulation of complex predicate requires both verbs to be an independent PRED of C-structure which jointly make a complex predicate by unifying their values.

- (2) *binod s̄antoss̄ kitab dekhk̄a le-l̄ak*
binod s̄antos-s̄ kitab dekh-k̄a le-l̄ak
 Binod Santosh-ABL book see-INFP take-PST-3NH
 'Binod took the book after seeing it from Santosh.'

The argument structure of the *de-* 'give' as a full predicator consists of three arguments mapping onto subject and others as object functions, one with agentive role (giver), others with recipient (givee) or patientive (given thing) roles that can be represented as (3a). Similarly, the verb *likh* 'write' in (3b) requires two arguments as a full predicator, and these two predicators in the separate constructions (3a and 3b) clearly show the distinct events. However, when these two are combined together in

the form of V-V construction, they form a single unit having a single event as in (3c) but different from both (2a and 2b).

- (3) a. *səntos binodkə cithi deləith*
 səntos binod-kə cithi de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter give-PST-3H
 'Santosh gave Binod a letter.' (ELICITED)
- b. *səntos cithi likhləith*
 səntos cithi likh-l-əith
 Santosh letter write-PST-3H
 'Santosh wrote a letter.' (ELICITED)
- c. *səntos binodkə cithi likh deləith*
 səntos binod-kə cithi likh de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter write give-PST-3H
 'Santosh wrote a letter for Binod.' (ELICITED)

The status of *de-* 'give' in (3c) as a light verb influences the number of a-structures of the polar verb *likh* 'write' of (3b) in which they jointly establish the predicational values as a single predicate and this type of phrasal verb is termed as V-V construction or compound verb. Even that the complexity in a-structure is not transparent at surface structure of an isolated construction, the benefactive flavour can be reckoned in the light of discourse effect. The light verb *de* adds 'benefactive' value to the construction of main verb *likh*. It is difficult to show exactly how the discourse effects the information provided by the predicate. However, the discourse effect has been pulled together to assimilate the additional information due to the compoundhood (or say, complexhood) of the predicate in the compound verb construction. The following two examples also contains complex predicates *maya la/əg* 'love adhere' in (4) and *əbatar le* 'incarnation take' in (5), but with the N-V constructions (topic for another chapter) that also jointly determine the argument structure in the clauses.

- (4) *həmra tohər maya la/əgləi*
 həm-ra tohər maya la/əg-l-əi
 1SG-DAT 2SG.DAT love adhere-PST-1
 'I felt love for you.'
- (5) *bhəgban pəsukə əbtar leləith*
 bhəgban pəsu-kə əbtar le-l-əith
 god animal-DAT incarnation take-PST-3H
 'God incarnated as an animal.'

Regarding the combination of these two verbs (v1 and v2) in a clause, Yadav (1999) analyses the syntactic properties of the compound verbs in Maithili.

Table 6.1: Transitive-intransitive combination in Maithili CVs

Pole	Vector	Examples	Meaning
I.V.	T.V.	<i>hāis leb</i>	'to laugh out'
T.V.	T.V.	<i>lā leb</i>	'to take away'
T.V.	I.V.	<i>bisair jaib</i>	'to forget (entirely)'
I.V.	I.V.	<i>bhaig jaib</i>	'to run away'

Yadav (1999)

Depending upon the nature of the polar we can determine the category (TV/IV) of the compound verbs as a single unit. He finds that the pole verb is more powerful since it determines the category of the compound verbs. It means if the pole is transitive, the whole verb is transitive, and so on. This implies that the vector remains neutral in determining the verbal category of a compound verb in Maithili. He argues that it seems rather untenable to refer to the grammatical categories of a vector, since when it collocates with the pole, it loses its own category, i.e., it becomes grammatically subservient to pole. He shows that almost all types of vectors can occur freely with the pole of any category. Their occurrence has certain constraints. He presents the examples using the verbs *leb*, *deb* and *jaib* as vectors, which can frequently combine with a transitive or intransitive pole (see Yadav, 1999 for detail).

6.2.1 Semantics of Maithili light verbs

The Maithili language is very rich by its verbal complexity including the use of large number of light verbs. However, here only some productive light verbs are treated. In the verbal units of compound structures, most of the second verbs (vectors) provide grammatical flavor to the meaning of the main verbs (or pole verbs), however some of them interfere in a-structure in Maithili which in our sense are light verbs out of which the complex predicates are formed. For Masica (1976, p. 143), the light verb is used to contribute "completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought, thoroughness, etc., depending on the items involved and on the circumstances." In keeping with the goal of this dissertation to explore Maithili complex predicates at the syntax/semantics interface, this chapter identifies the core semantic characteristics of some productive light verbs

of the language. These semantic characteristics can be subdivided into two categories: aspectual and subtle. The aspectual category refers to the so-called notion of perfectivity attributed to the aspectual light verbs and the subtle category refers to various other semantic notions, e.g., volitionality², force, suddenness, benefaction, etc. With respect to the second category, it is described that the semantic notions encoded by each light verb are in fact pragmatic inferences. Here, the light verbs of Maithili are presented along with their lexical and bleached meaning as well.

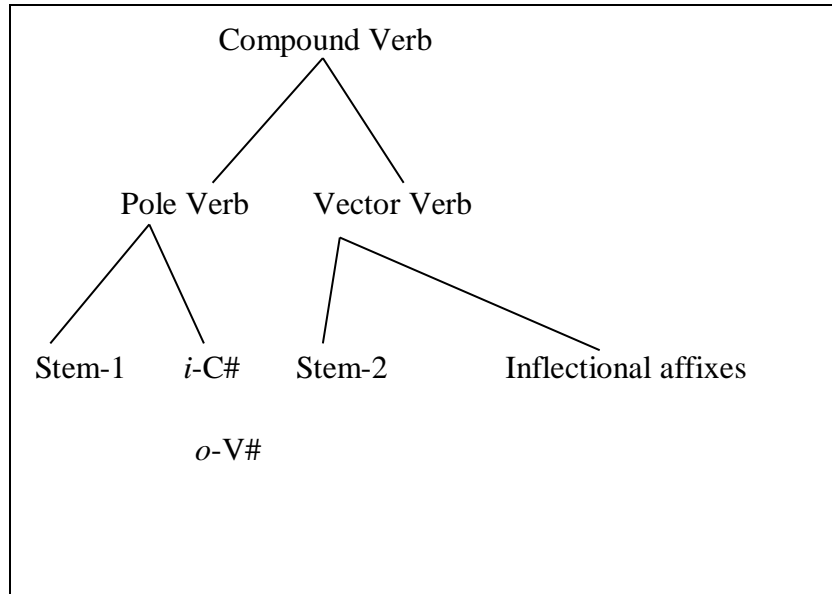
Table 6.2: List of some light verbs with their meanings

light verbs	lexical meanings	bleached meanings
<i>de-</i>	give	allow, benefactive, do for other
<i>le-</i>	take	directed towards the speaker, reflexive
<i>chod-</i>	leave	do sth with thorough determination
<i>rəh-</i>	remain	stay/continuity
<i>a-</i>	come	continue on from the past
<i>kəɾ-</i>	do	habit
<i>khoj</i>	seek	try
<i>pəɾ-</i>	fall	must, obligation, suddenness, accident
<i>ho-</i>	become	be proper
<i>sək-</i>	complete	be able, complete
<i>mag-</i>	beg	request sb to do sth.
<i>hal-</i>	pour, put,	insert immediately, instant
<i>dhəɾ/rakh-</i>	put	continuity, completion
<i>cah-</i>	look	examine, experiment
<i>lag-</i>	benefit, adhere	begin
<i>pa-</i>	get	be allowed to
<i>pug-</i>	reach	result, completion
<i>ləga-</i>	put on	cause sb to do
<i>uʃh</i>	stand up	unwanted
<i>bəiʃh/bəis</i>	sit	completion, regret, stubbornness
<i>kəs</i>	tighten	insist to do sth

² I have used the term ‘volitionality’ in reference to ‘conscious choice’ as the light verb would seem to express the semantics involved more clearly.

While many researchers have noted the variation among light verbs, accurately describing the semantic properties of each light verb remains a daunting task. The following quote is typical: "It seems that the difficulty of giving a notional characterization for the function of light verbs has led researchers to center, in their analyses, on features that are predominantly syntactic in nature" (Butt, 2010, p. 78). Additionally, it has been argued that the subtle semantic notions can neither be systematically characterized nor be cleanly reconciled with the idea of aspectuality. In general, most studies on the semantics of Hindi (Hook, 1974 & 1991; Butt, 1994; Poornima, 2012), light verbs have centered on the aspectual nature of these light verbs. Some studies have discussed one or two additional semantic notions that are encoded by light verbs, such as volitionality or force (Butt, 1994 & 1997). Yet other works point to the semantically bleached status of the light verbs and suggest a type of adverbial event modification (Butt, 2010). In spite of these efforts, scholars agree that the specific contribution of these light verbs is hard to pin down (Poornima, 2012). However, these attempts indicate the interest towards studying the semantic sides of light verbs and their contributions in the syntactic mechanism of Indian languages, in spite of being very hard to reach exactness of the analysis of such verbs in the complex predicate constructions.

The list in table 6.2 does not incorporate all light verbs of Maithili, rather some of the productive ones only. When these verbs are used in the sense of bleached meanings, with transparent event for Butt (1997), there can or cannot be a phonetic modification with the polars. "It appears that the syllabic structure of a polar stem verb crucially determines the nature of the stem alternation" (Yadav, 1996, p. 192). This kind of alteration or gradation is found to be fixed in the language. It can be diagrammatically presented in the following figure.



Source: (Yadav, 1996, p. 194)

Figure 6.1: Structural concept of compound verb in Maithili

C stands for consonant and V for vowel.

- (6) *lok le* → *loik le*
 lok le → loik le
 catch take.IMP.2NH → catch take.IMP.2NH
 'Catch in the air'.
- (7) *dekh rəhəl* → *dekh rəhəl*
dekh rəhə-l → *dekh rəhəl*
 see stay-PST.3NH → see stay-PST.3NH
 'He/she/it remained seeing'.
- (8) *pi le-əith* → *pi leləith*
 pi le-l-əith → pi le-l-əith
 drink take-PST-3H → drink take-PST-3H
 'He drank up'.

In the example (6), the vowel *i* is inserted as the polar *lok* 'catch' ends in the consonant and preceded by the vowel other than *e* or *i*, i.e., *o*, but there is no any alteration in the syllabic structures of the polars; *dekh* 'see' and *pi* 'drink' in the sentences (7) and (8) respectively as the former one ends in the consonant *kh* preceded by the vowel *e*, and in the latter case, the polar *pi-* 'drink' ends in a vowel other than *e*. This kind of alteration is common in Maithili in the cases of complex verb forms, (Yadav, 1996).

There are the verbs functioning as light in the CP constructions wherein the two events are fused into a single event that determines the argument structure of a clause.

The defining characteristic of a complex predicate is the correspondence of a complex argument structure to the syntax of a simple predicate. It means a complex predicate may behave both like a syntactically complex structure with respect to argument structure and like a syntactically simple structure with respect to the function structure (Butt, 1997). Following Butt (1997), complex predicate formation takes place at argument structure; however, the researcher in this work also attempts to capture other semantic information for the CP constructions in Maithili, i.e., the influence of pragmatic values of the verbal complexity. It is also the fact that not only do light verbs compose their argument structure with that of their verbal complement; they also require the selectional restrictions³ of the main verb to be compatible with their own.

6.2.2 The light verb *de* forming complex predicates

The light verb *de* 'give' has two functions (when used as a light form); one as a permissive 'let' and the other aspectual and attitudinal. This section deals with the latter use (esp. attitudinal) of *de* as a light verb. The argument structure of the verb *de*, when it is used as main verb, consists of three arguments, one of which maps onto subject function and the others onto objects. The roles of these arguments are agent (giver), theme (given thing) and recipient or benefactor (givee). It can be said that this last role is kept preserved on compounding as a light verb. Nevertheless, it is not transparent in most of the cases. In some cases new referent is considered the benefactor, in some cases any of the participant of main verb gets the semantic colour of benefit, and in some cases, the compound means the action is done on behalf of, or to please to, someone else specified or unspecified. Even in some cases if the action is unexpected, the compound form is used. Let's see the sentences in (9a-b):

³ Butt (1994, p. 111) examined “the main verb is *dekh* ‘see’. It can form a complex predicate with the light verb *le* ‘take’, but not with the light verb *par* ‘fall’. The ill-formedness is expected if the light verb *par* ‘fall’ is taken to encode a lack of conscious choice, while the main verb *dekh* ‘see’ is specified positively for conscious choice: when the argument structures of the two predicates combine to form a complex predicate, there is a clash in semantic information. A light verb like *par* ‘fall’, which is specified negatively for conscious choice, requires a nominative subject and cannot combine with a main verb that is specified positively for conscious choice. On the other hand, a light verb like *dal* ‘put’, which is specified positively for conscious choice, requires an ergative subject in the perfective and cannot combine with a main verb specified negatively for conscious choice.”

- (9) a. *o kitab pərləith*
 o kitab pərh-l-əith
 3SG book read-PST-3H
 ‘He read a book.’
- b. *o həmra kitab pəirh deləith*
 o həm-ra kitab pəirh de-l-əith
 3SG ISG-DAT book read give-PST-3H
 ‘He read a book for me.’ (ELICITED)

In the example (9), both simple and complex predicates are found. Whereas the (9a) contains a simple predicate *pərh* ‘read’ that takes two arguments: subject as an agent (reader) and object as a theme (book), and (9b) has two verbal units: V1 (*pəirh*) and V2 (*de*)⁴ functioning as a single unit that contributes three arguments; agent, benefiter and theme. What we see in the latter case is the fact that the V2 *de* functions as a light verb which affects the syntactic and semantic mechanics of the clause. It means the light verb clearly increases the number of arguments, i.e., from two to three and adds the pragmatic flavor in the polar that the action (reading) is done for other (other oriented). Thus, when *de* is used as a light verb with a transitive host (here TV+TV), it signifies the beneficiary of the action to be taken for consideration.

The argument structure of the verb *de*, when it is used as main verb, consists of three arguments, one of which maps onto subject function and the others onto objects. The roles of these arguments are agent (giver), theme (given thing) and recipient or benefactor (givee). It can be said that this last role is kept preserved on compounding as a light verb. In (9b), v-v complex construction is formed by a main verb *pərh* and the light verb *de* in which the latter adds benefactive value in the construction as mentioned earlier but the referent that the benefactor varies in different construction due to the semantic roles of the participants.

In the light of Nepali compound verb constructions, Lohani (1999) states that a new referent is considered as a benefactor in some conditions, but any participant of main verb can have the semantic colour of benefit. He further argues, in some cases, the compound means the action is done on behalf of, or to please to, someone else

⁴ In Maithili as well, the light verb *de* ‘give’ is very productive and it is used in both senses: permissive light verb and non-permissive one, especially it shows the benefactive value on the part of the patient (object).

specified or unspecified. Even in some cases if the action is unexpected, the compound form is used.

In the example (10b), the beneficiary *həm* 'I' which is not an added argument but this benefitted argument has already appeared in the a-structure of the simple verb *nikəl* 'come' in (10a). In this case, we see the reflexive benefactive.

- (10) a. *həm khətrasə nikəlləũ*
 həm khətra-sə nikəl-l-əũ
 1SG danger-LOC come-PST-1
 'I came out from the danger.'
- b. *o həmra khətrasə nikail deləin*
 o həm-ra khətra-sə nikail de-l-əin
 3SG 1SG-DAT danger-LOC come give-PST-3H
 'I came out from the danger by him.'

Lohani (1999) discusses that compound verb with *di* in Nepali is expressed to mean the situation against someone specified or unspecified, to please, or something is done 'instead of' someone, etc. This is also true with Maithili as the following examples clarify it.

- (11) a. *beṭa homework ke-l-ək*
 beṭa homework ke-l-ək
 son homework do-PST-3NH
 'The son did his homework.'
- b. *beṭa homework kəir delək*
 beṭa homework kə-ir de-l-ək
 son homework do-INFP give-PST-3NH
 'The son did the homework to please someone (perhaps Mom).'

In both (11a and b), there are only two transparent arguments: doer (*beṭa* and *homework*) in spite of the fact that the (11a) involves simple predicate *kəir* 'do' whereas (11b) is with complex *kəir de* 'do give'. However, they have a different pragmatic flavor. In the first case, the action of doing homework is performed for the doer himself but it is done for somebody else to please him/her in the second situation which is unspecified here. When we compare the sentence (11b) with the sentence (12), it clearly shows that there is difference between these two with respect to pragmatic value. In (12), the light verb *le* 'take' has been used in the place of *de* in (11b) due to which the verb construction in (11b) pragmatically expresses pleasing

other but (12) does for the doer himself. Thus, the beneficiary person (either specified or unspecified) may be clearly stated in the sentence having the v2 *de* as a light verb.

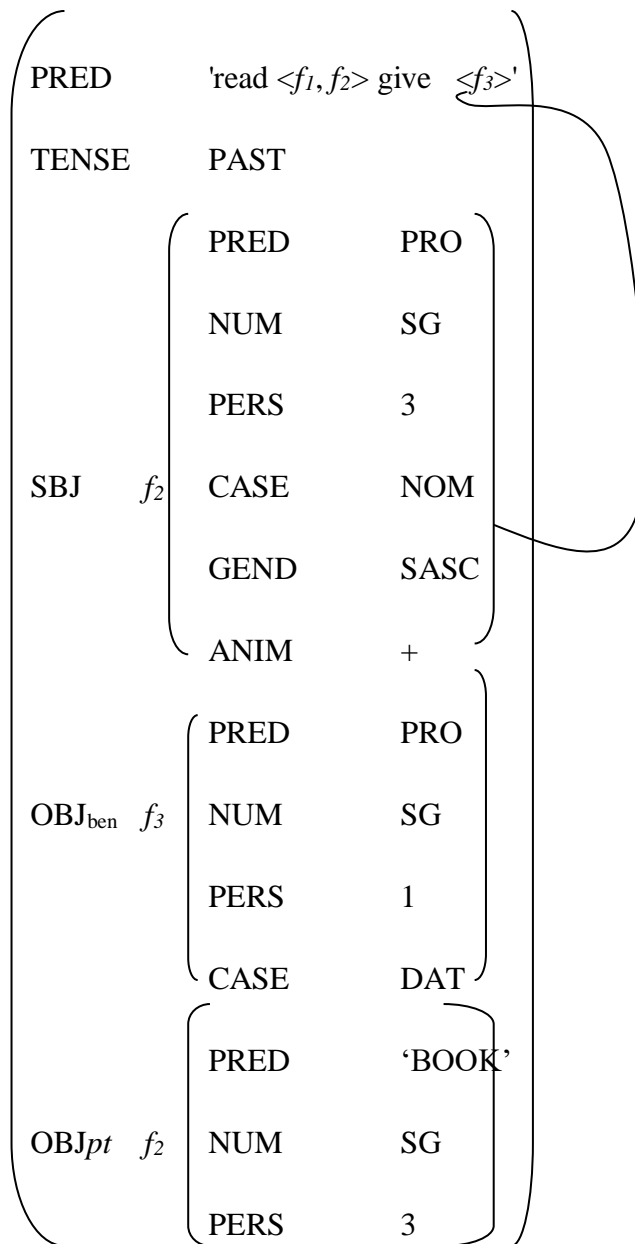
- (12) a. *beṭa homework kəir lelək*
 beṭa homework kə-ir le-l-ək
 son homework do-INFP take-PST-3NH
 'The son did the homework (for his own sake).'

Now we can present f-structure and c-structure of the (9a and b) within the LFG.

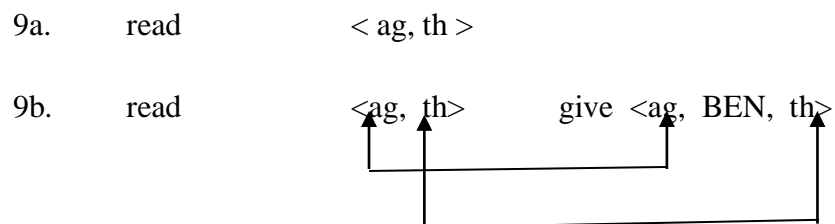
f-structure of (9a):

PRED		'read < f_1, f_2 >'						
TENSE		PAST						
		<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: 0 auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">PRO</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NUM</td> <td>SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PERS</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	PRO	NUM	SG	PERS	3
PRED	PRO							
NUM	SG							
PERS	3							
SBJ	f_2	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: 0 auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">CASE</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">NOM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>GEND</td> <td>SASC</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ANIM</td> <td>+</td> </tr> </table>	CASE	NOM	GEND	SASC	ANIM	+
CASE	NOM							
GEND	SASC							
ANIM	+							
OBJ	f_2	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: 0 auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">'BOOK'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NUM</td> <td>SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PERS</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	'BOOK'	NUM	SG	PERS	3
PRED	'BOOK'							
NUM	SG							
PERS	3							

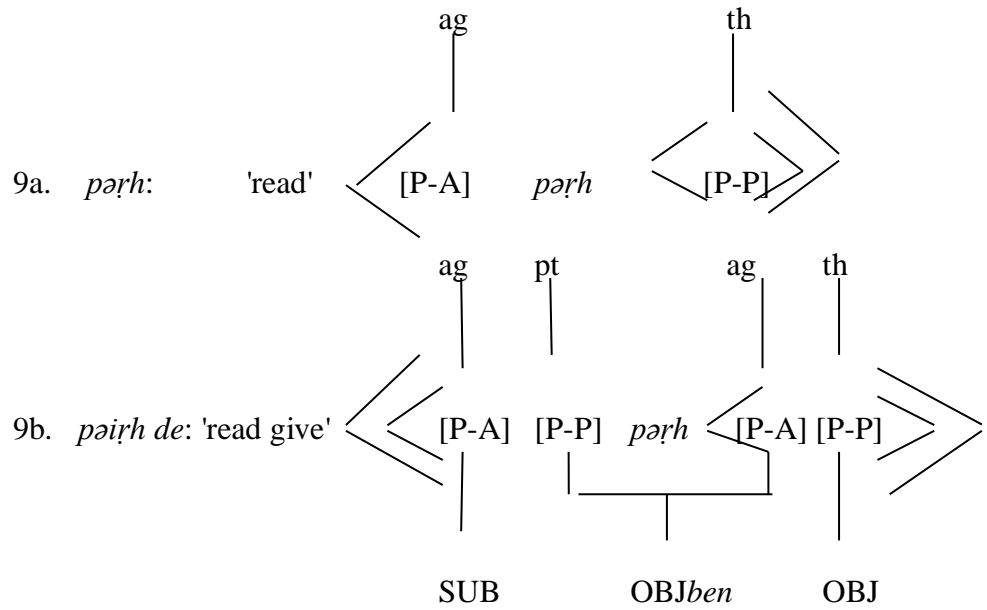
f-structure of (9b):



The a-structure of these two sentences is:

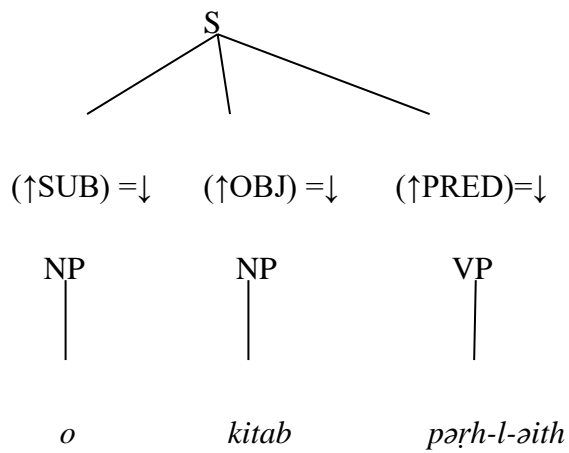


This presentation can also be shown through the P-A and P-P thematic structure in the LFG.

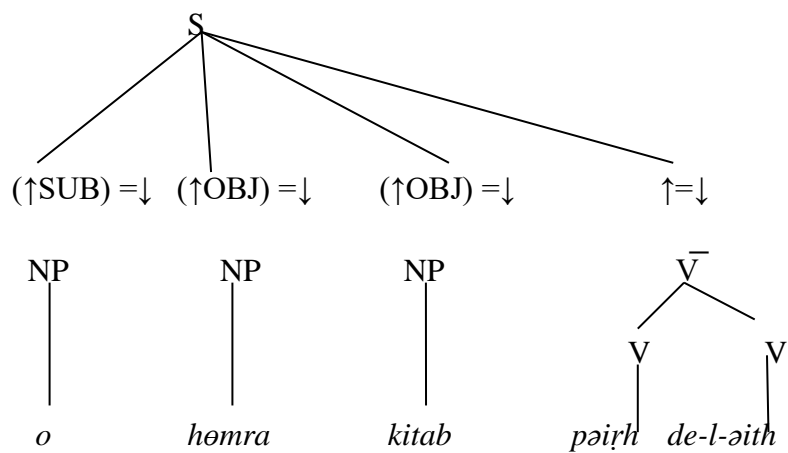


Similarly, the c-structure of these two sentences (9a and b) are:

C-structure of 9a

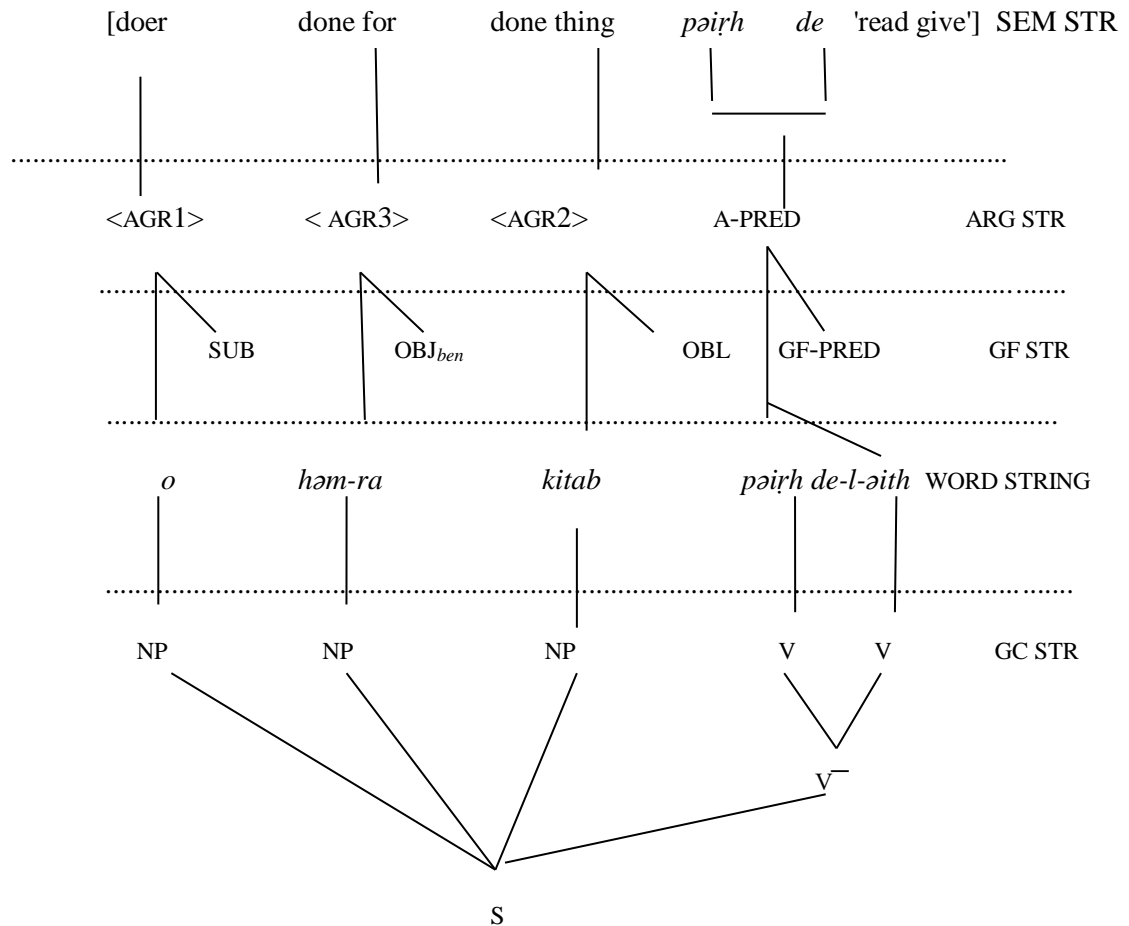


C-structure of 9b:



Finally these two sentences (9a and b) are presented showing their four levels of representation together which the ultimate goal of the LFG.

Four level representation of 9b



6.2.3 The light verb *le* forming complex predicates

Regarding the complex predicate formation with the combination of the light verb *le* 'take' and v1 in its infinitive form, it is observed that the argument structure remains less affected and the semantics of such predicates is really an interesting area of investigation in Indo-Aryan languages. Masica (1976, p. 143):

puts more emphasis on the semantics of explicators and states that there is a strong component of directionality to this lexical specification: away from the speaker (go, run away, give, send, and release), toward the speaker (come, take, and arrive), up (rise, emerge), down (fall, throw, and descend), and perhaps motionless (sit, stand, put).

le 'take' is another productive light verb in Maithili language used in contrast to the light verb *de* 'give' in the term of their pragmatic values in clauses rather than any other structure. Both of them when used as polar/main verbs are transitive taking two to three arguments but as light verbs lose their main calories of both structures: a-structure and s-structure. As discussed earlier, the light verb *de* to make the action directed to other than the subject/speaker on the other hand the light verb *le* makes the action directed to the subject/ actor itself showing the reflexive nature with its polar without affecting the benefactive and the agent argument of the action performed are the same. The examples are:

- (13) a. *didi kəpḍa dhoi lelkhin*
 didi kəpḍa dho le-l-khin
 sister cloth wash take-PST-3H
 'The sister washed the cloth.
- b. *didi kəpḍa dhoi delkhin*
 didi kəpḍa dhoi de-l-khin
 sister cloth wash give-PST-3H
 'The sister washed the cloth.'

The use of the two light verbs with the same polar gives a clear different pragmatic flavor to us. In (13a), the action is supposed to benefit the doer itself whereas it is done for someone else. Since the verb *le* comes under 'towards the speaker', it prefers to occur with the polars that indicate the action done for the favor of the doer itself, and the verb *de* prefers with the polars that show the done action oriented towards others, rather than the doer. In case of (13), the v1 *dho* 'wash' can be used for both senses: self and other directionality, and therefore, *le* and *de* having differing meaning can be attached with it. Let's see another set of examples of these two light verbs in (14).

- (14)a. *o film dekh lelāin*
 o film dekh le-l-āin
 3SG movie watch take-PST-3H
 'He watched the movie.'
- *b. *o film dekh delāin*
 o film dekh de-l-āin
 3SG movie watch take-PST-3H
 'He watched the movie.'

The verb *dekh* 'watch' indicates the doer directed concept and, therefore, demands similar category of a light verb which is *le*, not *de*. Yadav (1996:201) says that “the verb of ingestion and perception is always used with the light verb *le* not with *de* because these verbs are directed to the doer/ subject itself”. Since the (14b) shows the mismatching combination between v1 and v2 pragmatically, it is not acceptable. However, in (15) below, these two light verbs are working well with the same main verb (v1) that indicates self-directed.

(15)a. *həm bat buijh leləũ*
 həm bat buijh le-l-əũ
 1SG matter understand take-PST-1
 ‘I understood the matter.’

b. *həm bat buijh deləũ*
 həm bat buijh de-l-əũ
 1SG matter understand give-PST-1
 ‘I got the matter for someone.’

c. *həm git suin leləũ*
 həm git suin le-l-əũ
 1SG song heard take-PST-3H
 ‘I heard the song (for myself).’

*d. *həm git suin deləũ*
 həm git suin ge-l-əũ
 1SG song heard give-PST-3H
 ‘I heard the song (for other).’

In the examples (15a-d) the verbs of perception are used as host verbs *buijh* 'understand' in (15a and b) and *suin* 'hear' in (15c and d) respectively with *le* and *de* as light verbs. Since there is well combination between v1 and v2 in (15a and c), i.e., the action is directed to subject/ actor themselves, they are well formed and acceptable. However, this is not the case with (15b and d)⁵ and therefore (the beneficiary of the action is the doer itself), (15d) would be unacceptable and ungrammatical but (15b) would be accepted as it gives little bit different pragmatic sense. That is to say, the speaker got a message from somewhere for somebody else, not for himself.

⁵ The light verb *de* 'give' is intuitively other directional verb and is supposed to combine with such polars that could articulate other directionality. But here the polars *buijh* 'understand' and *suin* 'listen' in (15b and d respectively) are used which are supposed to be self-directionality and there seems a mismatching combination between the polars and the light due to which the utterances are treated as unacceptable and not well formed in this context.

Moreover, Yadav (1996, p. 202) finds that verbs which are intrinsically neither self-directed nor other-directed may not combine with *le* and *de*.

Similarly, the meaning of the complex predicates having *le* as a light verb especially with a few intransitive verbs is also expressing attitudinal and modest capacity.

(16) a. *dukh me kain ləit chI* (Yadav, 1996:205)
 dukh me kain lə-it ch-i
 sorrow in weep take-IPFV AUX-PRS.(1)
 'I cry in sorrow.'

b. *həm bāšuri bəja ləit chi* (Yadav, 1996:205)
 həm bāšuri bəja lə-it ch-i
 I.NOM flute play take-IPFV AUX-PRS.(1)
 'I play flute (but probably not so well).'

Here, the sentence (16a) due to the light verb *le* 'take' with the intransitive polar *kain* 'cry' expresses internal feeling of sorrow; while the sentence (16b) expresses a kind of modest capacity on the part of the speaker conveying self-benefactive meaning.

Moreover, the verb *le* as a light verb is also used to show other attitudinal meaning with a few intransitive verbs (Yadav, 1996) such as;

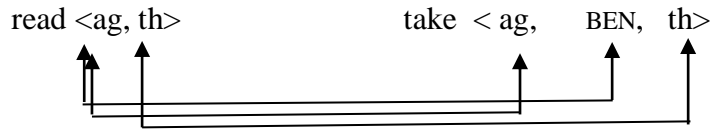
(17) a. *həm pəisa lə leləũ*
 həm pəisa lə le-l-əũ
 1SG money take take-PST-1
 'I already took the money (unwillingly).'

b. *bat suin ləit chi*
 bat suin lə-it ch-i
 matter listen take-IPFV be-PRS.1
 'I listen the matter (due to inability).'

The examples (17a and b) show the attitude of dissatisfaction and helplessness respectively with the use of the verb *le*. Obviously, these examples show the intriguing semantically based restriction on the action and the subject for completion, attitude and beneficiary which makes this effect on the a-structure and heavily on s-structure.

When *le* 'take' is used as a light verb, it directs the action or its effect towards the doer of the action regarding the doer as the assumed beneficiary of the action. So, the agent and theme/patient of the host verb and light verb are unified together. The

person who is benefitted from the action is the doer itself. As in the diagram below the benefactive is merged with the agent of the host verb.



6.2.4 The light verb *ja* forming complex predicates

There is the root *jo* that can be used as a vector indicating the action completed as in the sentence, *mit s̄abta r̄asgula kha gelah* 'the friend has eaten all sweets' (Jha, 1979). Similarly, Yadav (1996) states *jo-* 'go' occurs mostly with intransitive verbs of motion and other change of state verbs. With transitive verbs it tends to indicate the process/manner in which the action is completed. He further finds that one interesting point about *a-* and *jo-* is that the meaning of the whole compound verb seems closer to the meaning of the vector verbs than to that of the polar verbs.

Singh (1979) lists probable compound verb vector in Maithili along with their frequency of occurrences. Based on his findings, the vectors *jo-* 'go', *a-* 'come', *de-* 'give', *le-* 'take', *uṭh-* 'rise' *p̄ar-* 'fall' and *rakh-* 'put' are very frequent, *b̄ais-* 'sit', *c̄al-* 'walk/go', *dh̄ar-* 'put/catch', *p̄atha-* 'send', *nik̄al-* 'emerge', and *nikal-* 'release' are less frequent, the infrequent and rare verbs are *an-* 'bring', *m̄ar-* 'die', *mar-* 'kill', *kh̄as-* 'fall', *dekh-* 'see', *ph̄ek-* 'throw'. In Maithili, the verbs such as *c̄al-*, *ja-*, *p̄ar-*, *m̄ar-*, *dh̄ar-* can be used twice in a compound verb combination with the verbs *de-* and *le-*.

jo- 'go' is an intransitive verb that takes agent 'Binod' and goal '*gh̄ar*' roles in the simple predicative form as in (18a). But the same verb can also be found as a second component of complex predicates in which it causes an effect in the argument structure of the predicative unit as in the case (18b), where the argument is determined together by the two components: *bairh* 'flood' and *gel-* 'go' with the roles of locative *khet* 'farm'.

- (18) a. *binod gh̄ar gel*
 binod gh̄ar ge-l
 Binod house go-PST.3NH
 'Binod went home.'
- b. *khet-m̄ bairh gel*
 khet-m̄ bairh ge-l
 field-LOC flood go-PST.3NH
 'It flooded in the field.'

Pragmatically, the light verb *jo* 'go' like *a* 'come' adds the sequentiality to the action relating its meaning but does not form a complement by embedding the verb, and this light verb stands for the completion and the conscious choice on behalf of the actor. From the aspectual point of view, the two light verbs *a* and *jo* make the sequential contribution in s-structure. So they are treated as complex predicate when they are used with the other host verbs. See the following examples.

- (19) a. *o bat kəhi geləith*
 o bat kəh-i ge-l-əith
 3SG matter say-INFP go-PST-3H
 'He said the matter.'
- b. *o bhat kha geləith*
 o bhat kha ge-l-əith
 3SG rice eat go-PST-2H
 'He ate rice.'

We also find the function of *jo* is to express the request on the INFP of the action performer. It is used in the case of the pronoun *əpne* 'you' (in the place of *əhā*) to whom the speaker wants to pay request or should pay respect under social obligation as in (19c) below.

- (19) c. *əpne bhojən kael jae* (Yadav, 1996: 107)
əpne bhojən ka-el ja-e
 you.HH meal do-PSTPCPL go-IMP.2HH
 'Please eat.'

6.2.5 The light verb *a* forming complex predicates

The verb *a* 'come' is an intransitive verb. It takes an animate theme as an argument and locative destination when it is used as a full lexical verb in (20a). However, as mentioned earlier, *a* is also found as one of the Maithili productive light verbs influencing the syntactic and semantic mechanics of the polar verbs.

- (20) a. *ram ghər eləith*
 ram ghər e-l-əith
 Ram home come-PST-3H
 'Ram came home.'

In the (20a), the subject *Ram* is in the nominative case as a role of agent and the next argument *ghər* 'home' is as a role of location where the verb *a* 'come' is a main verb. When the light verbs *a* and *jo* are used with the main verbs forming compound verbs,

the meaning of the whole compound verb seems closer to them (*a* and *jo*) than to that of the polar verbs. Their difference lies on the directionality of action suggested by the main verb. So *a* suggests direction toward a focal point, while *jo* suggests direction away from a focal point. Similarly, *a* 'come' occurs only with intransitive verbs of motion.

- (21) a. *o kəih aeləin*
 o kəih ae-l-əin
 3SG say come-PST-3H
 'He said.' (Based on APPENDIX B)
- b. *o kəihkə aeləin*
 o kəih-kə ae-l-əin
 3SG say-INFP come-PST-3H
 'He came after saying/Having said, he came.'
- c. *həm kha ailəũ*
 həm kha ai-l-əũ
 1SG eat come-PST-1
 'I ate.' (Based on APPENDIX B)
- d. *həm khakə ailəũ*
 həm kha-kə ai-l-əũ
 1SG eat come-PST-1
 'I came after eating.' (Based on APPENDIX B)

In the examples (21a and c), *a* 'come' is as a light verb and hence shows the sequentiality of the two actions i.e., the two actions happen in a sequence of one after another. But in (21b and d) the verb *a* is a main verb complementing the other verb 'say' and 'eat'.

This light verb *a* has another interpretation; the continuation of an event from past to the present situation where it is not any semantic flavor as in the case of (21a and c). the following examples show that the action started sometimes in the past and it is still going on. What we also see with (22a), there is the imperfective aspect marker -*bəit* embedded with the polar *chup* 'hide' which expresses the action completed at present, but when the light *a* 'come' along with the progressive marker *rəhəl* is combined here, it could be interpreted that the action hiding started long ago and is still going on. There is a clear difference between (22a) and (22b). The former one deserves the quality of being complex verb due to the pragmatic value contributed by the light *a*.

- (22) a. *əhāsəb ekṭa bat chupbait aib rəhəl chi*
 əhā-səb ekṭa bat chup-bait a-ib rəhəl ch-i
 2-PL one matter hide-IPFV come-INFP PROG be.PRS-2MH
 'You have been hiding a matter.'
- b. *əhāsəb ekṭa bat chupa rəhəl chi*
 əhā-səb ekṭa bat chup-a rəhəl ch-i
 2-PL one matter hide-INFP PROG be.PRS-2MH
 'You are hiding a matter.'

In this way, there are other light verbs that are modifying the meaning of polar verbs in different social circumstances. The data show *uth* 'stand' occurs with intransitive verbs and suggests suddenness of action, *bəith* 'sit' occurs mostly with intransitive verbs, in addition to suddenness of action, usually a sense of impropriety, undesirability, or even irrevocability of action, and *pər* 'fall' occurs with intransitive verbs and indicates a sense of suddenness and so forth.

6.3 Evidence for a complex predicate analysis

We can now apply some grammatical operations to verify whether the aforementioned verbal units are complex predicates or not, considering the fact that the two verbs i.e., host verb and light verb which compose a complex predicate via compound verb behave like a simple predicate in f-structure.

6.3.1 Verb agreement

Yadava (1999b) shows "the Maithili verb cross-references not only subjects (nominative NPs), but also objects, other core arguments, and even non-arguments, allowing for a maximum of three participants encoded by the verb desinences." In the Maithili verbal units, the categories reflected in the morphology are person (first, second, third), honorific degree (nonhonorific, mid-honorific, high-honorific) and, in the case of third persons only, spatial distance (proximate vs. remote) and focus (in focus vs. out of focus). Yadava (1999b) claims:

As in other Indo-Aryan languages, the Maithili verb paradigm is polymorphemic and is formed by participles followed by inflected auxiliaries. All morphological elements normally follow the verb stem (cf. Masica 1991: 257). The following rule captures the general

structure of Maithili verb forms.

V < Stem(-Aspect)(Aspectual Aux) (Aux)-Tense-Agr1(-Agr2-Agr3)

The following examples from Yadava (1999b) show single (23a), double (23b), and triple (23c), argument agreement.

(23) a. *tū dāurlæ*

tū dāur-l-æ
2NH run-PST-2NH
'You ran.'

b. *tū okra dekhlahik*

tū okra dekh-l-ah-ik
2SG.NH 3SG.DAT see-PST-2NH/MH-3NH
'You saw him (who is here).'

c. *ham tora kaniya-kedekh-au-l-i-au-nh*

ham tora kaniya-ke dekh-au-l-i-au-nh
1SG 2NH/MH.DAT bride-DAT see-CAUS-PST-1-2NH/MH-3H
'I showed you the bride.'

These examples include only simple predicates and clearly show that the verbs agree with their arguments under person, gender, tense, proximity, honorificity and even case and, additionally, this agreement marking must be the same on all verbs. In the complex predicate constructions, the second verb bears all these and the first verb (polar) is used in the non-finite form. So, if the construction is a complex predicate, only the light verb bears these grammatical properties; if they are distributed with the polar too, it cannot be a complex predicate in Maithili, as in Hindi. It means agreement between the finite verbs and the highest unmarked argument in the clause remains the same for the verb following the non-finite verb.

This agreement is displayed regarding both main verb in simple predicate and light verb in a CP. With respect to agreement, the subject agrees with the light verb not the host verb or both. Hence the host verb is always in its root presentation, i.e., non-finite form. See the agreement condition with (24a and b) below.

(24) a. *o kitab pārlāith*

o kitab pārh-l-āith
3SG book read-PST-3H
'He read a book.'

- b. *o hāmra kitab pəiṛh deləith*
 o hām-ra kitab pəiṛh de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT book read give-PST-3H
 ‘He read a book for me.’

This shows that in (24a) it is simple predicate and the verb *pəiṛh* ‘read’ agrees with the subject *o* ‘he’ that takes *-əith* indicating third person singular mid honorific agreement, but in (24b) these features are embedded with the light verb *de* ‘give’ only, since there is the same subject in latter case too, the polar remains in its non-finite form. If any of such features happens with the polar verb, the resulted sentence would be unacceptable. Thus, the root verb as a host in CPS of V-V constructions remains inactive in terms of agreement: with respect to agreement, the subject agrees with the light verb not the host verb or both. For example:

- *(25) *o hāmra kitab pəṛhləith*
 o hām-ra kitab pəṛh-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT book read-PST-3H
 ‘He read a book for me.’

In (25), the polar verb *pəiṛh* is also marked with the progressive aspect. So the case is ill-formed. However, in some cases, the constructions having two verbs and both of them are bearing some of such grammatical markers could be accepted, not as complex predicates but as clauses having more than one clear event (may be called embedded clauses) as in the example (26a and b) below.

- (26) a. *o kəihkə aeləin*
 o kəih-kə ae-l-əin
 3SG say-INFP come-PST-3H
 ‘He came after saying.’
- b. *o kəihkə aeləin*
 o kən-əit ae-l-əin
 3SG kən-əit come-PST-3H
 ‘He came after crying.’

In both sentences, there is the combination of two verbs as in other complex predicates, but these two verbs are embedded with some kind of grammatical bearers; *-kə* in (26a) and *-əit* in (26b) and *-əin* in the second verb *a* which is not functioning as a light form here, but a main only and shows its own separate event of coming: coming after saying in the first case whereas saying and coming simultaneously in the second.

6.3.2 Scrambling

Scrambling is another test operation to a verbal construction or a compound verb in our sense to show that the main verb and the light verb in a compound type of complex predicate must be re-ordered/moved with other clausal constituents as a unit that determines the syntactic and pragmatic constraints of a clause. The following examples clarify this possibility in Maithili:

(27) a. *o kitab pəṛh-l-əith*
o kitab pəṛh-l-əith
 3SG book read-PST-3H
 ‘He read a book.’

- b. [*kitab*] [o] [*pəṛh-l-əith*]
 c. [o] [*pəṛh-l-əith*] [*kitab*]
 d. [*pəṛh-l-əith*] [o] [*kitab*]
 e. [*kitab*] [*pəṛh-l-əith*] [o]

(28) a. *o həm-ra kitab pəiṛh de-l-əith*
o həm-ra kitab pəiṛh de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT book read give-PST-3H
 ‘He read a book for me.’

- b. [*həm-ra*] [o] [*kitab*] [*pəiṛh de-l-əith*]
 c. [o] [*kitab*] [*həm-ra*] [*pəiṛh de-l-əith*]
 d. [o] [*həm-ra*] [*pəiṛh de-l-əith*] [*kitab*]
 e. [*həm-ra*] [*kitab*] [o] [*pəiṛh de-l-əith*]
 f. [*həm-ra*] [*kitab*] [*pəiṛh de-l-əith*] [o]
 g. [*pəiṛh de-l-əith*] [*həm-ra*] [*kitab*] [o]
 *h. [*həm-ra*] [*kitab*] [*pəiṛh*] [o] [*de-l-əith*]
 *i. [*həm-ra*] [o] [*pəiṛh*] [*kitab*] [*de-l-əith*]

In (27), the scrambling possibilities show that the sentence can be reordered/reorganized in many ways by moving each constituent (grammatical function) anywhere inside it. Nevertheless, the main verb *pəiṛh* ‘read’ cannot be moved away from the light verb *de-* ‘give’ in the examples (28h and i). This clearly shows that these two verbs must be reordered with clausal constituents as a unit and only a unit can be scrambled, not its parts/elements in a clause.

The data indicate that the combination of the main verb and the light verb in Maithili behaves as a single unit with respect to movement/scrambling and forms a complex predicate. Thus, the host verb and light verb, despite being an individual lexical item, is combined so tightly that they form a single constituent and thus behave accordingly at f-structure.

6.3.3 Adverbial modification

Temporal/manner type of adverbial modifiers can appear in various positions in Maithili clauses in order to modify the semantic modality of verbs. Generally, such modifiers are assumed to occur to the left of the verb that is intentionally followed by a light verb, but cannot precede the second verb if it is a complex predicate construction. Let' compare the following examples (Yadav, 1996, p. 198).

- (29) a. *o uiṭh gelah*
 o uiṭh ge-l-ah
 3SG awake go-PST-3H
 'He awoke'.
- b. *o jaldi uiṭh gelah*
 o jaldi uiṭh ge-l-ah
 3SG fast awake go-PST-3H
 'He awoke fast'.
- *c. *o uiṭh jaldi gelah*
 o uiṭh jaldi ge-l-ah
 3SG awake fast go-PST- 3H
 'He awoke fast'.
- d. *o uiṭhkə jaldi gelah*
 o uiṭh-kə jaldi ge-l-ah
 3SG awake-INFP fast go-PST-3H
 'He awoke and went fast'.

From the above examples, it could be sought that an adverb may not intervene between the polar and the light verb of a compound verb. Adverbial modifiers are placed normally before the main verb as in the case of (29b) where the adverb *jaldi* 'fast' is inserted before the main verb *uiṭh* 'awake'. But this adverb happens to intervene between the main verb and the light verb in (29c) which would not be acceptable in Maithili. However, the situation in (29d) varies,

where the intervention of the adverb *jaldi* between these two verbs is acceptable since they don't form a single unit, hence not a compound verb. Rather these two verbs are used here as main verbs, the first being followed by a conjunctive particle, that show two distinct events in a sequence. Thus, an adverbial modifier can appear before the two verbs in a complex predicate construction, but not between them. This evidence also shows that the two verbs in a complex predicate form a single unit.

6.3.4 Coordination

Another piece of evidence that the verbs that form a compound complex predicate form a single constituent derives from coordination facts. Coordination takes place at a constituent level not at the morpheme level. So two verbs can be coordinated but not two verbs forming a compound complex predicate can be coordinated. A constituent can be coordinated and if something cannot be coordinated it is definitely not a constituent (Mohanani, 1994). This proves that compounded verb hence complex predicate is a single unit as a phrase structure.

(30) a. *ram ciṭhi likh le-l-əith əur pəiṛh le-l-əith*
 ram ciṭhi likh le-l-əith əur pəiṛh le-l-əith
 Ram letter write take-PST-3H and read take-PST-3H
 'Ram wrote a letter and read it.'

*b. *ram ciṭhi likh əur pəiṛh le-l-əith*
 ram ciṭhi likh əur pəiṛh le-l-əith
 Ram letter write and read take-PST-3H
 'Ram wrote a letter and read it.'

*c. *ram ciṭhi likh le-l-əith əur pəiṛh de-l-əith*
 ram ciṭhi likh le-l-əith əur pəiṛh de-l-əith
 Ram letter write take-PST-3H and read give-PST-3H
 'Ram wrote a letter and gave it.'

It is obvious that the two main verbs holding separate simple predicate status can be coordinated as in (30a), but neither host verbs having a light verb nor two light verbs having a host can be coordinated as in (30b) and (30c) respectively. However, they are used together in their separate events without the coordinator *əur* 'and' between these two verbs in this dialect.

6.3.5 Negation

Regarding negation process in Maithili, the data show it clearly takes place in the syntactic structure, not in lexicon. Negation is expressed by adding *nai* before main verbs in simple predicates. However, negativization to complex predicates is not normally found in Indo- Aryan languages. As quoted in Poornima (2012), "in general, most lexical items cannot be inserted between the main verb and light verb. In particular, it has been widely noted that it is not possible to negate an aspectual complex predicate (Hook, 1974; Butt, 1994)." Yadav (1996, p. 196) states that, generally speaking "a compound verb may not be negated, the negation particle *nai* 'not' may not precede, or be inserted in a compound verb." In the context of Hindi, Singh (1998, p.196) demonstrates that "while a main verb can be negated, a main verb-light verb combination cannot be negated." Now, let's consider the examples below.

- (31) a. *o kitab nai pəṛhləith*
o kitab nai pəṛh-l-əith
3SG book not read-PST-3H
'He did not read a book.'
- *b. *o kitab nai pəṛh leləith*
o kitab nai pəṛh le-l-əith
3SG book not read take-PST-3H
'He did not read a book (for himself).'
- c. *o kitab nai pəṛhkə leləith*
o kitab nai pəṛh-kə le-l-əith
3SG book not read-INFP take-PST-3H
'He took a book without reading.'
- *d. *o kitab nai pəṛhkə nai leləith*
o kitab nai pəṛh-kə nai le-l-əith
3SG book not read-INFP not take-PST-3H
'He did not take a book without reading.'

In (31a), the main verb *pəṛh* 'read' is negated which is normal negation progress in Maithili, but the same negative marker is applied before the main verb of compound complex verb construction in (31b), it would be ungrammatical; not acceptable, which shows that a compound verb is not negated. However, any one of two main verbs not forming a compound verb may be negated, as in (31c). Both main verbs in a conjunctive verb may not be negated together at the same clause, as in (31d).

However, some data show that a compound verb may be negated, especially when its polar verb is *kər* 'do' in some variants of Maithili. For example:

- (32) *o i kam nəi kəir deləith*
 o i kam nəi kəir de-l-əith
 3SG this work not do give-PST-3H
 'He did not do this work.'

Thus, the syntactic processes scrambling, modification and coordination show that the host and light elements in a complex predicate in the form of a compound verb is a single unit behaving like a simple predicate at f-structure.

6.4 Permissive complex predicate

Permissive complex predicates also consist of two predicative units: a HOST VERB and a LIGHT VERB which are syntactically set, i.e., the former precedes the latter in Maithili and each light verb in its separation has a corresponding full verb. These two units functioning as a single unit together determine the nature of syntactic and semantic mechanism in a clause. This shows that the permissive complex predicate is also formed by the combination of two semantic heads in the syntax (not in lexicon). "In Hindi, these heads are not only semantically distinct, but they also may be syntactically discontinuous" (Butt, 1997, p. 108). Similarly, "the light verb in the permissive is the head of the construction in Hindi" (Poornima, 2012, p. 130). "Interestingly, permission is a semantic notion that clearly increases the number of arguments of host predicates. So, this type of complex predicate takes place at argument structure, and its formation is best analyzed at the level of argument structure" (Butt, 1997, p. 110). In this construction, the predicative situation can also be split into two events. In the first event, some external agent does not do anything but permits the agent of the basic construction to make the whole event into effective and in the second, the proto agent is caused to perform an action. Hence, as Comrie (1989, p. 171) has said, "the permitter has the power to prevent the second event, that is, it may not give any permission to the patient, or it may be said that the former event can prevent the action of the second event." In Maithili, permissive meaning is carried by the light verb *de* 'give/let' as a light verb representing the permission when used with other host verb. The permissive structure is treated as complex predicate because the host verb and the light verb *de* 'give' form a single constitute at the phrase structure and behave like a simple predicate. In this type of CPs, the light verb

de ‘give’ increases the overall valency of the predicate by adding a permitter to the argument structure. As in the example (33a) below, the main verb is *likh* ‘write’, and its agent is ‘Santosh’ and patient is ‘letter’. The presence of the light verb *de* ‘give’ in (33c) coincides with an additional argument⁶, ‘Binod’, and here the agent ‘Santosh’ is understood to be the permitter, allowing Binod to write the letter.

As in the case of the compound verbs, the syntactic structure of a complex predicate having permissive structure can clearly be represented in the terms of several distinct levels within the LFG wherein we see that permissive complex predicate is also simple with respect to the grammatical functions, but may be either simple or complex with regard to constituent structure. This section first discusses the concept and syntactic structure of Maithili permissive complex predicates and then moves to present this construction within the elaborated argument structure based on Butt (1997) under the conceptual framework of the LFG. Let's compare the following examples (33a-d).

- (33) a. *səntos ciṭhi likhləiṭh*
 səntos ciṭhi likh-l-əiṭh
 Santosh letter write-PST-3H
 'Santosh wrote a letter.'
- b. *səntos binodkə ciṭhi likh deləiṭh*
 səntos binod-kə ciṭhi likh de-l-əiṭh
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter write give-PST-3H
 'Santosh wrote a letter for Binod.'
- c. *səntos binodkə ciṭhi likhə deləiṭh*
 səntos binod-kə ciṭhi-ə likh de-l-əiṭh
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter-INFP write give-PST-3H
 'Santosh let Binod wrote a letter.'
- d. *səntos binodkə ciṭhi likhkə deləiṭh*
 səntos binod-kə ciṭhi-kə likh de-l-əiṭh
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter-INFP write give-PST-3H
 'Santosh gave Binod a letter after writing it.'

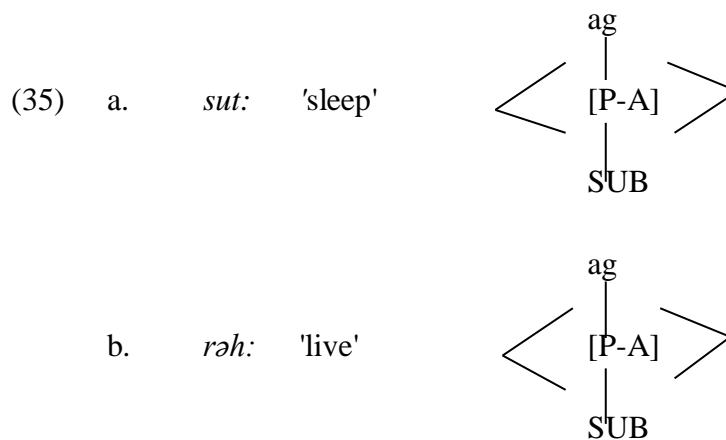
⁶ The permissive light verb *de* ‘give’ does two things in the complex predicate constructions: (a) introduces a new argument which is not argumented by the lexical semantics of the main verb, and (b) coincides with a different linking in which the agent of the main verb is no longer understood as subject, Lovstrand (2020).

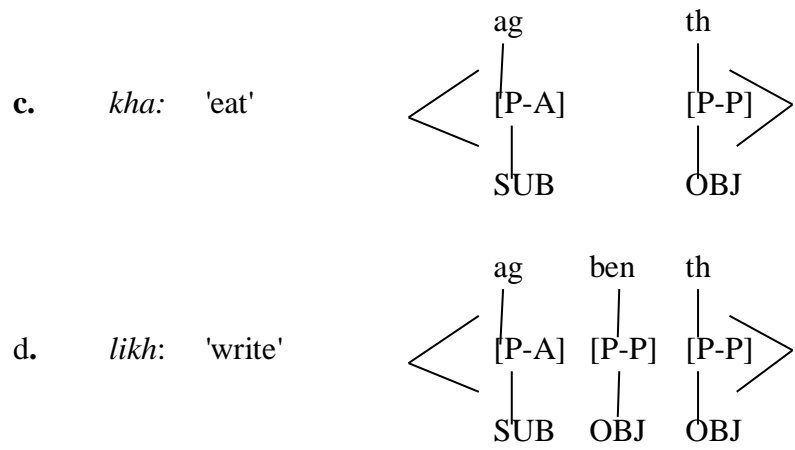
The examples (33a-c) contain a predicate *likh* 'to write' as a simple predicate in (33a) requiring a subject '*səntos* ' and an object *ciṭhi* 'letter', but the rest two (33b-c) are the formation of complex predicates due to the combination of another predicate *de* 'give' as a light verb that influences the number of a-structures of the polar verb *likh* 'write' and among these two, the first construction is a compound verb (V-V construction) having three arguments with the thematic roles: agent, benefactive and theme and the second one is a permissive complex predicate having the same number of arguments but with the different thematic roles. What makes the third example varies from the second one is the fact that there is the presence of an infinitive marker as a clitic *-ə* with the matrix verb *likh* which the (33b) is lacking and due to its embedding, the light verb *de* contributes the permissive sense in (33c). In both cases, *likh* 'write' and *de* 'give' in (33b) and *likh-ə* 'to write' and *de* 'give' behave as if they formed a single predicate/unit which together determines the syntactic and semantic mechanics of the clauses. When a simple predicate is changed into the permissive structure, an extra argument is added which becomes the agent giving permission to carry out the action. Hence the new argument becomes external argument whereas the former subject of the embedded predicate becomes the internal argument. The functional mapping theory thus assigns the external argument as subject function and the former subject as a direct object. The direct object plays the double role in the sentence; patient of the permissive predicate and agent of the embedded predicate. Similarly the verbal structure that is in (32d) does vary from all others because of only the embedded infinitive marker *-ke* with the first verb *likh* 'write' which must be analyzed as a matrix verb with an embedded infinitival complement. There are two complete verbs having two events sequence, i.e., writing is the first and the second being giving in (33d) which cannot form a complex predicate of any type, rather they represent two different clauses sharing same subject and objects. Thus, permissive behaves as if it were a single clause headed by a single predicate; not as if it contained an embedded infinitival complement as in (33d).

Now we can have more examples of simple predicates and their permissive constructions to show how the argument structure of simple constructions get changed, hence thereby grammatical functions are affected but still behaving like simple, as in example (34).

- (34) a. *nəyən sutəi chəith*
 nəyən sut-əi ch-əith
 Nayan sleep-IPFV be.PRS-3H
 'Nayan sleeps.'
- b. *bagh jəngəlme rəhəi chəi*
 bagh jəngəl-me rəh-əi ch-əi
 tiger jungle-LOC live-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'The tiger lives in Jungle.'
- c. *nəyən bhat kheləith*
nəyən bhat khe-l-əith
 Nayah cooked rice eat-PST-3H
 'Nayan ate rice.'
- d. *o nəyən-ke ciṭhi likh-əi ch-əith*
o nəyən-ke ciṭhi likh-əi ch-əith
 3SG Nayan-DAT letter write-IPFV be.PRS-3H
 'He writes a letter for Nayan.'

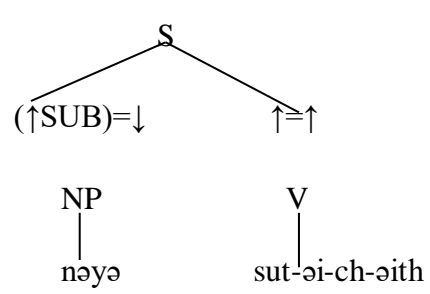
In (34a-d), different types of simple predicate are used; intransitive *sut* 'sleep', intransitive *rəh* 'live', transitive *kha* 'eat' and ditransitive *likh* 'write' in (34a), (34b), (34c) and (34d) respectively. All these sentences are formed with simple predicates because there is only one main verb in each case supported by auxiliary *ch* 'be' except (34c) and whole syntactic and semantic mechanics are determined by the single verb. This means there is not any complexity at all with these sentences. The argument structure and syntactic function of the above simple predicate sentences are shown in (35) below.



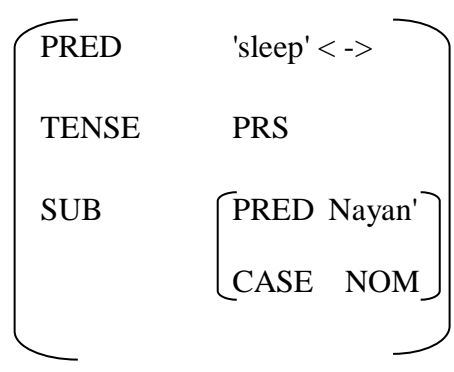


Similarly, the c-structure and f-structure based on these sentences are presented below.

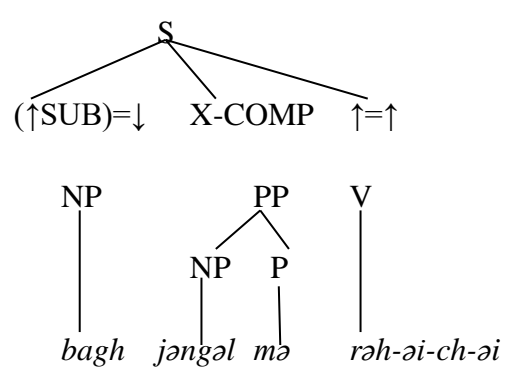
36. a. C-structure



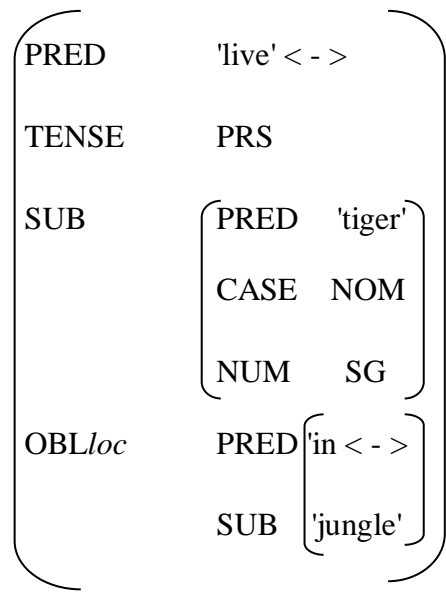
F-structure



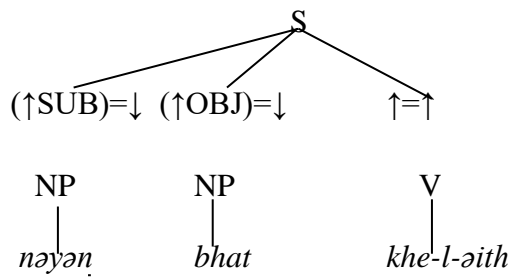
b. C-structure



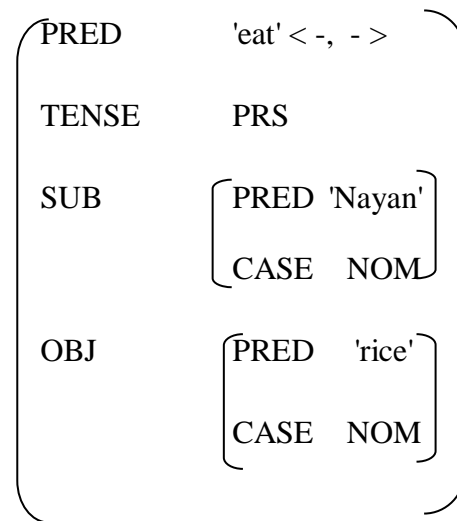
F-structure



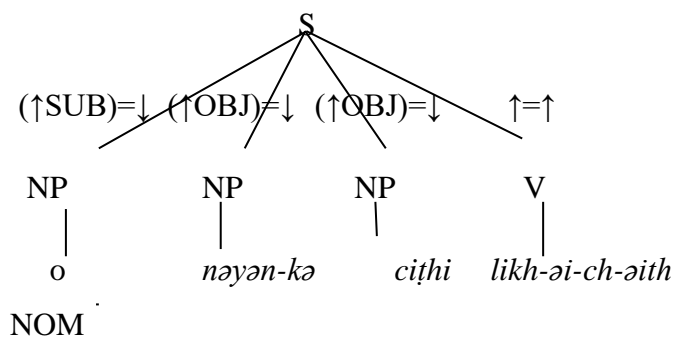
c. C-structure



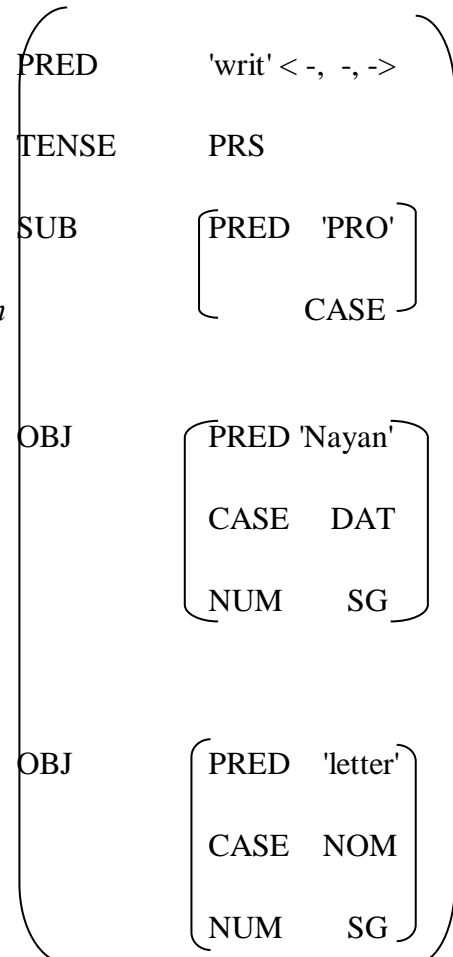
F-structure



d. C-structure



F-structure



All the examples in (36) show the simple predicate constructions but when they are changed in the form of permissive structure, as already mentioned, a new argument functioning as an external argument is added and the agent of the embedded predicate

becomes the internal argument with the patientive role. Let's see the following permissive examples from the above non-permissive structures.

(37) a. *didi nøyənkə sutə dəi chəith*

didi nøyən-kə sut-ə də-i ch-əith
 sister Nayan-DAT sleep-INFP give-IMPRF be.PRS-3H
 'The sister lets Nayan sleep.'

b. *sərkə baghke jəngəlmə rəhə dəi chəi*

sərkə bagh-ke jəngəl-mə rəh-ə də-i ch-əi
 government tiger-DAT jungle-LOC live-INFP give-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'The government lets the tiger live in the jungle.'

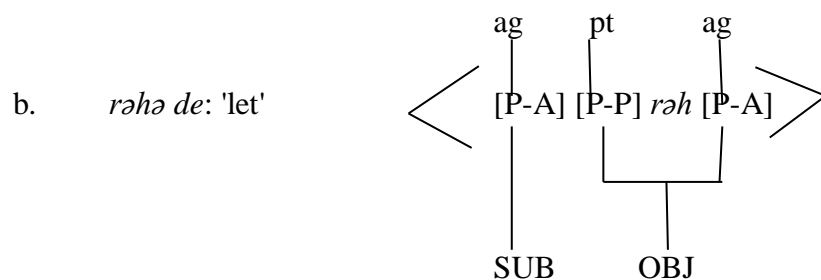
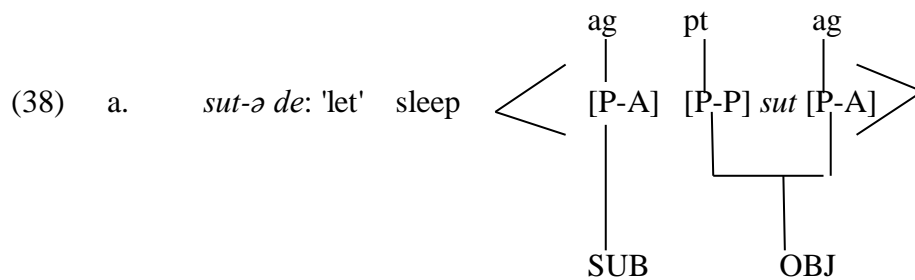
c. *mai nøyənke bhat khai delthin*

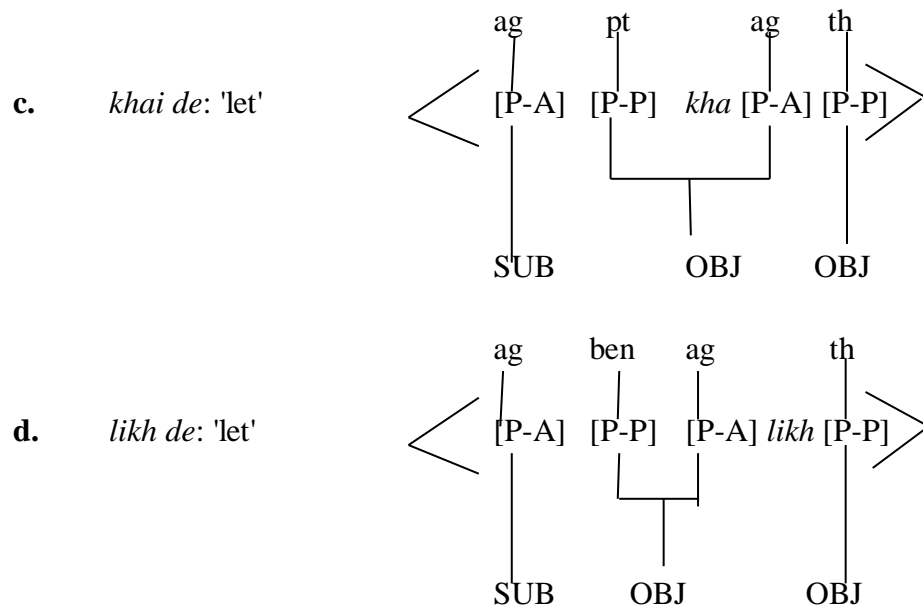
mai nøyən-ke bhat kha-i de-l-thinh
 mother Nayah-DAT cooked rice eat-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Mother let Nayan eat rice.'

d. *o nøyənkə ciṭhi likhə dəi chəith*

o nøyən-kə ciṭhi likh-ə də-i ch-əith
 3SG Nayan-DAT letter write-INFP give-IPFV be.PRS-3H
 'He writes a letter for Nayan.'

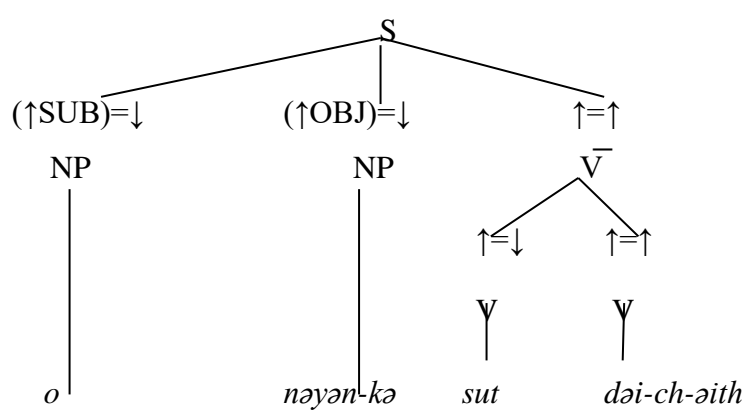
The argument structure and syntactic function of the above permissive complex predicate sentences are shown in (38) below.



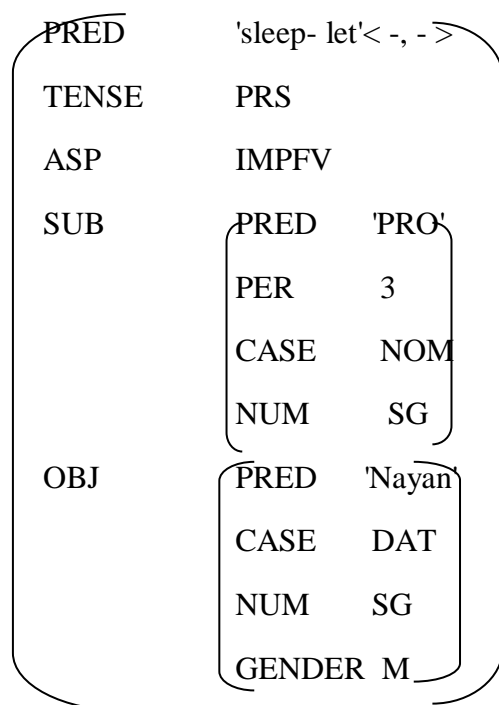


Similarly, the c-structure and f-structure based on these sentences are presented below.

(39) a. C-structure



F-structure



In this way the permissive complex predicates can be represented at their c-structure and f-structure where we can notice clearly that an external argument; *didi* 'sister' in (37a), *sarkar* 'government' in (37b) and *mai* 'mother' in (37c) is added that has changed the proto-agent into the proto-patient. However, the number of argument is not affected in (36d) since the main verb *likh* 'write' has already achieved all required arguments in the simple form only. There is a role shift of the proto-patient 'Nayan' as the proto-agent due to the permissive *de* 'let'.

6.4.1 Evidence for a permissive complex predicate analysis

With regards to some tests applied earlier for compound verbs as well, the behavior of permissive complex predicate exactly parallel to the behavior of a simple clause. That is the two predicates of the permissive jointly determine all the mechanics of a clause. What we observe in Maithili permissive that it is formed by the composition of an infinitive stem and light verb *de*. Though the permissive complex predicate is formed of a verbal infinitive as a host and *de* as a light verb, the two predicates are unified so strictly that they behave as a single unit. To check this, let's apply some evidences on them.

i. Agreement

The system of verb agreement with its arguments in a simple clause is exactly same in the clauses having permissive complex predicate; that is, the verb agrees with subject in the primary verb agreement and object(s) too in the secondary agreement in a simple predicate which is equally applicable in the permissive structure with the light verb *de* 'give'. Compare the simple predicates in (40a-d) with their permissive complex predicate forms in (41a-d).

- (40) a. *nəyən sut-əi ch-əith*
b. *bagh jəngəl-me rəh-əi ch-əi*
c. *nəyən bhat khe-l-əith*
d. *o nəyən-ke ciṭhi likh-əi-ch-əith*
- (41) a. *didi nəyən-kə sut-ə də-i ch-əith*
b. *sərkar bagh-kə jəngəl-mə rəh-ə də-I ch-əi*
c. *mai nəyən-kə bhat kha-i de-l-thinh*
d. *o nəyən-kə ciṭhi likh-ə də-i ch-əith*

Agreement in Maithili is a clause bounded as demonstrated in both sets of examples above. The agreement features that a verb bears in the simple predicate are carried out by the permissive verb *de* in the permissive complex predicates. That is, the light verb *de* 'give' agrees with the subject in the same manner displaying the other grammatical features which simple predicates do in (40).

ii. Modification

As we see in the case of the compound verbs in the previous chapter that the complex constructions cannot be modified by inserting any particle between the polar and the light verb, similar restriction is also with the permissive forms. That is the permissive structure cannot take any particle or modifier between the infinitive host and the light verb *de* except the negative particle *nəi* 'no'. Very interestingly the compound verbs of Maithili are not negated but the negative marker *nəi* can be inserted between or preceded to the main verb in the permissive form. But the other infinitive structure easily uses modifier such as *kə and lel* 'to/for' between the infinitive verb and the main predicate which isn't a light verb because that clearly retains its semantic content and forms an embedded clause inside the main clause. Recall the example (42c and d) again.

(42) a. *səntos binodkə likhə deləith*
 səntos binod-kə likh-ə de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT write-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Santosh let Binod write a letter.'

b. *səntos binodkə likhkə deləith*
 səntos binod-kə likh-kə de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT write-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Santosh gave Binod a letter after writing it.'

In the examples above, there is the combination of the main verb *likh* 'write' and *de* 'give' in both cases. However, the combination in (42c) behaves as a single unit that determines jointly the whole nature of the clause. On the other hand, there is a particle *ke* 'to' with the first verb *likh*, which takes its own object *ciṭhi* 'letter' and shares the same subject of *de* 'give' which is in its full semantic content use and has subject and object: Santosh and Binod respectively. In the permissive case, there is also insertion of a vowel *ə* attached with the polar which could not disturb their unity as being a single unit as *ke* does in (42d). The light verb *de* in the first combination contributes the permissive sense but it is a full verb in the second showing the sequence of the two separate events: writing and giving. Since the two verbal elements could not be modified in (42c), it is a complex predicate construction.

iii. Negation analysis

The permissive complex predicate takes the negative marker *nəi* 'not' either before the polar verb or between the polar and the light *de* 'give', not in both places. On the other hand, non complex predicates having two main verbs together can take this marker in both cases. It means both verbs can be negated if it is not a complex predicate. In Maithili, this negation can be both: phrasal and clausal, the negative appears to the left within a \bar{V} in sentential negation, as in example (43).

(43) a. *səntos binodkə khelə deləith*
 səntos binod-kə khel-ə de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT play-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Santosh let Binod play.'

b. *səntos binodkə khelə nəi deləith*
 səntos binod-kə khel-ə nəi de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT write-INFP not give-PST-3H
 'Santosh did not let Binod play.'

c. *səntos binodkə nəi khelə deləith*
 səntos binod-kə nəi khel-ə de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT not write-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Santosh did not let Binod play.'

*d. *səntos binodkə nəi khelə nəi deləith*
 səntos binod-kə nəi khel-ə nəi de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT not write-INFP not give-PST-3H
 'Santosh did not let Binod not play.'

(44) a. *səntos binodkə khelkə deləith*
 səntos binod-kə khel-kə de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT play-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Santosh gave sth to Binod after playing.'

b. *səntos binodkə khelkə nəi deləith*
 səntos binod-kə khel-kə nəi de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT play-INFP not give-PST-3H
 'Santosh did not give sth to Binod after playing.'

c. *səntos binodkə nəi khelkə deləith*
 səntos binod-kə nəi khel-kə de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT not play-INFP give-PST-3H
 'Santosh gave sth to Binod without playing.'

d. *səntos binodkə nəi khelkə nəi deləith*
 səntos binod-kə nəi khel-kə nəi de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT not play-INFP not give-PST-3H
 'Santosh did not give something to Binod without playing.'

It shows that the infinitive structures with the purposive particle *ke (lel)* 'to/for' are grammatical in the presence of the negative marker *nəi* in either before the first verb or the second or both. But it is not possible with the permissive structure. The permissive (43d) is ill-formed as both the polar and the light are preceded by the negative marker, however, it is well-formed in (44d). Thus, the permissive, unlike other infinitive and instructive structure, is a single unit and hence be treated as complex predicate.

iv. Coordination

In a clause, each main verb forms a constituent with the auxiliaries in simple predicate constructions and with the light (and auxiliaries) in the complex predicate constructions. If there is a possibility to join the main verb and the second verb, it does not result as complex predicate formation rather one being the infinitive form of a predicate as a embedded clause and another being a matrix verb with the finite form of a predicate. Coordination is possible only between two syntactic constituents, but the data show that the polar verb and its light verb form a single constituent syntactically as well that cannot be coordinated with each other. However, this type of coordination, that is, coordinating the first verb with the second verb in the purposive/instructive like clauses can be possible. This can be clear from the example (45) below.

(45) a. *səntos binodkə bolə deləith*

səntos binod-kə bol-ə de-l-əith
Santosh Binod-DAT speak-INFP give-PST-3H
'Santosh let Binod speak.'

*b. *səntos binodkə bolə təkhan deləith*

səntos binod-kə bol-ə təkhan de-l-əith
Santosh Binod-DAT speak-INFP then give-PST-3H
'Santosh let Binod speak then.'

c. *səntos binodkə bolə aur khelə deləith*

səntos binod-kə bol-ə aur khel-ə de-l-əith
Santosh Binod-DAT speak-INFP and play-INFP give-PST-3H
'Santosh let Binod speak and play.'

Here, (45b) is not acceptable since the main verb and the light are conjoined with *təkhan* 'then' which violates the fact that only a constituent can be coordinated, not its elements. But in (45c) two infinitive roots are combined with one light verb, it is still an acceptable sentence. This feature is also acceptable with other infinitive structure or instructive structures where two infinitive stems are coordinated with one another sharing a light verb.

(46) a. *səntos binodkə ciṭhi likhkə deləith*

səntos binod-kə ciṭhi likh-kə de-l-əith
Santosh Binod-DAT letter write- INFP give-PST-3H
'Santosh gave Binod a letter after writing it.'

- b. *səntos binodkə ciṭhi likhkə təkhən deləith*
 səntos binod-kə ciṭhi likh-kə təkhən de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter write- INFP then give-PST-3H
 'Santosh gave Binod a letter after writing it.'
- c. *səntos binodkə ciṭhi likhkləit aur deləith*
 səntos binod-kə ciṭhi likh-l-əit aur de-l-əith
 Santosh Binod-DAT letter write- PST-3H and give-PST-3H
 'Santosh wrote a letter and gave it to Binod.'

Since (46a) is not a permissive complex predicate, it can be coordinated grammatically as in (46b and c). The evidence of coordination is grammatical in both permissive and instructive or other infinitival structure; the nature of coordination differs in these two conditions.

v. Scrambling

Since Maithili is a flexible word ordering language, a permissive complex predicate can be moved inside the clause freely, as it is in the case of the compound verbs. This shows that a constituent can move without unbalancing the semantics of a clause. Undoubtedly, a permissive structure is a single unit/constituent, it could be moved. Let's see the following sentences.

- (47) a. *o kitab pəṛhləith*
 o kitab pəṛh-l-əith
 3SG book read-PST-3H
 'He read a book.'

- b. [*kitab*] [o] [*pəṛh -ləith*]
 c. [o] [*pəṛh-ləith*] [*kitab*]
 d. [*pəṛh -ləith*] [o] [*kitab*]
 e. [*kitab*] [*pəṛh -ləith*] [o]

- (48) a. *o həmra kitab pəṛhə deləith*
 o həm-ra kitab pəṛh-ə de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT book read-INFP give-PST-3H
 'He read a book for me.'

- b. [*həm-ra*] [o] [*kitab*] [*pəṛh-ə de-l-əith*]
 c. [o] [*kitab*] [*həm-ra*] [*pəṛh-ə de-l-əith*]
 d. [o] [*həm-ra*] [*pəṛh de-l-əith*] [*kitab*]
 e. [*həm-ra*] [*kitab*] [o] [*pəṛh-ə de-l-əith*]

- f. [həm-ra] [kitab] [pəṛh-ə de-l-əith] [o]
- g. [pəṛh de-l-əith] [həm-ra] [kitab] [o]
- *h. [həm-ra] [o] [pəṛh -ə] [kitab] [de-l-əith]
- *i. [həm-ra] [o] [de-l-əith] [pəṛh -ə] [kitab]

In (47), the scrambling possibilities are acceptable in the case of simple and complex predicate as well. What we see in (48h and i) that the scrambling takes place within the parts of a constituent which results ungrammatical.

6.5 Summary

This is a syntactic discussion of Maithili CPs wherein two verbal elements having full predicative values at their disposal are combined together to form a single verbal phrase contributing jointly the a-structure, case system and semantics in clauses. In the series of such constructions, Maithili is very rich (henceforth V-V Construction). Putting in other words, V-V constructions consist of two parts: HOST (V1) and LIGHT VERBS (V2) wherein the former precedes the latter in Maithili, and a given verb V2 occurs in collocation with another verb V1 not to make the predication, but to make a complex predicate jointly with V1 and they behave as a single predicating expression. Among these two, the first verb is called polar/host and the second being vector/light. The second group verbs are broadly called vectors that can also be divided into two groups; that one has no meaning other than the grammatical and other has influence in a-structure/case system/pragmatic meaning (value) of the main verb. This second set of the vectors deserves the name 'vector' in our sense and called light verb. Some of more productive light verbs are individually discussed showing their contributions for the construction of Maithili complex predicates. For example, the light verb *di* 'give' adds 'benefactive' value to the construction of main verb *likh* 'write'. Semantically, the light verbs are used with the polar verbs to contribute completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought, thoroughness, etc., depending on the items involved and, on the circumstances, the semantic notions encoded by each light verb. The two events in the V-V constructions are fused into a single event that determines the argument structure of a clause. Although the complex predicate formation takes place at argument structure, the researcher in this work also attempts to capture other semantic information for the CP constructions in Maithili, i.e., the influence of pragmatic values of the verbal complexity. It is also the fact that not only do light verbs compose their

argument structure with that of their verbal complement; they also contribute pragmatic interpretation contextually. Finally, some grammatical operations as tests verb agreement, scrambling, adverbial modification, negation and coordination are applied to verify whether the V-V units are complex predicates or not, considering the fact that the two verbs i.e., host verb and light verb which compose a complex predicate via compound verb behave like a simple predicate in f-structure.

Permissive complex predicate is also a V-V complex predicate consisting of two predicative units: a HOST VERB and a LIGHT VERB, and clearly forms an argument structure. These verbal units functioning as a single unit together determine the nature of syntactic and semantic mechanism in a clause. Interestingly, permission is a semantic notion increasing the number of arguments of a host predicate and therefore best be analyzed at the level of argument structure. In this construction, the predicative situation can also be split into two events. In the first event, some external agent does not do anything but permits the agent of the basic construction to make the whole event into effective and in the second, the proto agent is caused to perform an action. In Maithili, permissive meaning is carried by the light verb *de* 'give/let' as a light verb representing the permission when used with other host verb. The permissive structure is treated as complex predicate because the host verb and the light verb *de* 'give' form a single constituent at the phrase structure and behave like a simple predicate. When a simple predicate is changed into the permissive structure, an extra argument is added which becomes the agent giving permission to carry out the action. Hence the new argument becomes external argument whereas the former subject of the embedded predicate becomes the internal argument. The functional mapping theory thus assigns the external argument as subject function and the former subject as a direct object. The direct object plays the double role in the sentence; patient of the permissive predicate and agent of the embedded predicate. With regards to some tests applied earlier for compound verbs as well, they can also be applied to distinguish the similar constructions from the permissive one. Conclusively, the two predicates of the permissive jointly determine all the mechanics of a clause. What we observe in Maithili permissive CPs that the permissive complex predicate is formed of a verbal infinitive as a host and *de* 'give' as a light verb, and these two predicates are unified so strictly that they behave as a single unit. Agreement, modification, negation

analysis, coordination and scrambling can be useful tests for the verification of a permissive CP in Maithili.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NOMINAL COMPLEX PREDICATES

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Maithili nominal complex predicates and is divided into seven sections. In section 7.1, we deal with the basic concept of nominal complex predicates. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 examine light verbs forming nominal complex predicates and their properties respectively. In section 7.4, we discuss complex predicatehood. Section 7.5 presents formal representation of nominal CPs. We talk about categorical structure of nominal complex predicates in section 6.1, and section 7.7 summarizes the findings.

7.1. Nominal complex predicate

Maithili verbs consist of several elements normally to the right of the verb stem to the various forms of the grammatical features. That is to say, causative, passive, aspect, tense, mood and/or honorific markers are inflected to the verb stems which are solely bearing predicative burdens for syntactic and semantic mechanisms in clauses. The verbal parts are, therefore, only the predicates determining all the structures of the clauses. However, this concept is limited to simple predicates or compound predicates only in Maithili. Defining Maithili compound verb structure, Yadav (1996) states that there are three parts (functioning as a single unit) in a compound verb phrase: v1 which is called polar verb, v2 called vector verb and the last one is also called an auxiliary bearing tense, mood, person, etc. markers. In his structure, the first part (polar) of these brings semantic burden and the last one (auxiliary) bears grammatical burden. This combination which is called a complex predicate in our previous treatment contains only verbal elements. That is, the first and second parts are merely verbs that together form a single unit and determine all operations in a clause. However, there are other types of verbal constructions in Maithili as in other Asian languages in which a verbal element (light) is not grouped with another verbal element but with noun, adjective or adverb and these words function as host and verbs as light. Such constructions are called conjunct complex predicates in which there is the combination of two semantic heads which constitute of a non-verbal element (noun, adjective and adverb) as a host and the other as a verbal element which is semantically bleached and, thus, are in the forms of N/ADJ/ADV + V. In such predicate

constructions, V acts as a light verb which also determines the semantic and some syntactic features of the sentences together with their heads. As mentioned in first and third chapters, the complex predicates formed out of a light verb and a non-verbal category are three types; nominal complex predicate (N + V), adjectival complex predicate (ADJ + V) and adverbial complex predicate (ADV + V). The verbs functioning as light verbs, with low calories thematically (Verma, 1993) which, when combine with some non-verbal elements, namely nouns, adjectives and adverbs, partially emptying element, they form non-verbal predicates (Prasain, 2008) and some verbal elements, they form verbal/compound predicates.

All these make it clear that a complex predicate does not form only due to the combination of two verbal units, but also it is a construction in which the first member is a noun, an adjective or an adverb and the second member is a verb in its light form, called conjunct complex predicates (Abbi, 2001).

The Maithili nominal complex predicate is formed by the combination of the noun as its nominal host and the verb (light verb) as delexicalized element but the number of arguments, their case, and their meaning are jointly sanctioned. Jespersen, as quoted in Butt (2005), is generally credited with first coining the term 'light verbs', and applied them to English V+NP constructions as in the example below.

- (1) *take* a drive, a walk, a plunge
 give a sigh, a pull, a ring

In these examples, the verbs do not predicate fully although these verbs are predicating as main ones in other constructions, such as '*he takes money from his pocket, he gives me a book*' in English. That is, one does not actually physically 'take a drive' but rather one does 'drives'. They are still having their own meanings in these constructions in (1), but not in the way they do in other cases. This shows that these verbs are semantically bleached/delexicalized and gone under the concatenation with the main verb 'have' being more of a verbal licenser for nouns. However, the verbs, as Butt (2005) argues, are clearly not entirely devoid of semantic predicative content either: there is a clear difference between *take a bath* and *give a bath*. The verbs thus seem to neither retain their full semantic predicational content, nor are they semantically completely empty. They are predicating along with their nominal units, and appear to be semantically *light* in some manner.

There are some verbal constructions: serial verbs, compound verbs and conjunct verbs that look alike but they are not. In Maithili language, the serial verbs have two/more main verbs with their primary meanings/events, the compound verbs are constructed by the combination of two main verbs having a single event and the conjunct verbs are the constructions in which two predicational elements (first being noun, adjective or adverb and second being verb having its bleached meaning called light verb¹) contribute the a- structures in a single clause. Serial verbs can stack several events in a single clause whereas compound and conjunct verbs, in which the second verbs are light verbs, stack only one event in a single clause. This section analyzes the Maithili nominal complex predicates in which the first element is noun and the second is semantically bleached verb (light verb) functionally taken as a single predicate, and shows how nominal host also contributes in the argumenthood: its valency, case or semantics. Mohanan (1994, pp. 197-198) claims "the phenomenon of complex predicates is extremely pervasive, and encompasses a wide range of predicate types. Nouns, adjectives, and nonfinite forms of verbs can all combine with verbs fairly productively to form complex predicates." The construction showing the N+V sequence is a case of a nominal complex predicate because the clause structure is determined not by the verb alone, but jointly by the N and the V. That is to say, the argument structure of a clause containing a nominal complex predicate is regulated jointly by the light verb and the nominal host. The following two examples containing the verb *uṭh* 'stand' can be analyzed:

- (2) a. *əhākə mənme səŋka uṭhəl hoet* (Jha, 2006: 5)
 əhā-kə mən-me səŋka uṭh-əl ho-et
 2SG-GEN mind-LOC doubtness rise-PST be-FUT.3H
 'There might be doubtness in your mind'
- b. *o benchpər uṭhla*
 o bench-pər uṭh-l-a
 3SG bench-LOC stand-PST-3H
 'He stood on the bench.'

¹ Regarding the nature of the verb composition in a N-V complex predicates as analysed by T. Mohanan (1990), and their interaction with Aspectual complex predicates, it shows that the light verb in Aspectual complex predicates must be treated as a simple V, and not a core V, Butt (1994).

In (2), there is a verb *uṭh* 'stand' in both sentences. But the same verb is used as its light form in (2a) where it has lost its content meaning and combined with the nominal category *səṅka* 'doubtfulness'. But in (2b) it reserves its lexical dictionary meaning and alone determines the syntactic mechanics of the clause. The argument structure of the verb *uṭh* in (2a) is affected due to the presence of nominal unit *səṅka*. In (2b), only the main verb *uṭh* determines the syntactic structure of the clause where the verb requires altogether two arguments: first being agent with nominative case and second is oblique, an optional argument in locative case. But in (2a) the predicational value is distributed between the nominal and verbal elements, hence a nominal complex predicate is resulted where there are still two arguments only but with different case and role of the first argument *əhā-kə* 'your', i.e., the role of experience with genitive case marker.

Compound and conjunct constructions but not serial verbs can be called complex predicates. In both cases, the second element is the light verb that also has predicational value together with the first one (verb, noun, adjective or adverb) and they together are called complex predicates. The entire syntactic mechanism of a sentence is shaped by the nature of its predicational elements but which element (first or second) contributes in what manner in the case of a complex predicate remains a subject of researchers' interest. The light verb, for example *le* 'take' in (3) merely contributes aspectual like information to the nominal event *əwtar* 'incarnation' wherein the arguments are determined together by both elements: nominal and verbal showing a single event.

- (3) *bhəgwan pəsukə əwtar leləith*
 bhəgwan pəsukə əwtar le-l-əith
 god animal-GEN incarnation take-PST-3H
 'God incarnated as an animal.'

This example arises some interesting questions to be discussed further:

- Do nominal elements in Maithili nominal complex predicates have predicative value to the argument structures of a clause?
- Do they contribute the argument structure and others alone or jointly with the light verbs?

In the response to such questions, the Maithili predicative sequence *ḍar ləg ch* 'fear adhere be' used as in (4b) can be examined. It has three elements respectively: first

being noun, second main verb and third auxiliary where the second has lost its full semantic predicational content, i.e., adhere/attach but contributes in the clause structure of the sentence (its arguments, their meanings and their case) along with the nominal host *ḍar* 'fear'.

- (4) a. *gari ləgəl chəi(k)*
 gari ləg-əl ch-əi(k)
 gari stand-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'There is a vehicle (on the stand).'
- b. *binodkə kəhanikə/sə ḍar ləgəl chəi*
 binod-kə kəhani-kə/sə ḍar ləg-əl ch-əi
 binod-DAT story-ABL fear adhere-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'Binod feels fear of the story.'

In the predicative units of such a conjunct structure, most of the verbs (vectors) provide grammatical flavor to the meaning of the nominal predicative unit or nominal host, and are used as light verbs which contribute with its host. In this structure, *ḍar ləg* 'fear adhere' is a nominal CP where the host is *ḍar* 'fear' which is noun and *ləg* 'adhere' is light verb but the argument structure and case marking of this sentence are affected by the noun *ḍar* rather than the verb sequence *ləg* 'adhere'. This shows that the verb *ləg* 'adhere' functions as a main verb in the example (4a) and takes a single argument in nominative case but there are two arguments in (4b): the first being an experiencer 'Binod' with dative marker and the second *kəhani* 'story' as a theme also with dative/ablative one, contributed jointly by the nominal host *ḍar* 'fear' and the light verb *ləg* 'adhere'. Here, the noun in this CP has the capacity to constrain the number, meaning, and overt expression of the argument in the clause, that is, to participate in the predicatehood.

As it is already mentioned that there are some productive light verbs in Maithili that are also used as a member of nominal complex predicate, they are treated here individually in details.

7.2 Light verb forming nominal complex predicate

i. The verb *a* 'come'

The verb *a*- 'come' is an intransitive verb when it is used as a full lexical/main verb, and takes an animate theme as an argument and locative destination as in (5). Here,

the subject *Ram* is in the nominative case as a role of agent and the next argument *ghar* 'home' is with the locative marker indicating destination thematically.\

- (5) *ram ghar elāith*
 ram ghar e-l-āith
 Ram home come-PST-3H
 'Ram came home.'

This verb is one of the productive light verbs in Maithili that loses its full/content meaning and supports as an auxiliary to fulfill the desired concept of the nominal element, hence forms nominal complex predicates. In the following examples, we see that the light remains same but the nominal part is different and creates the meaning difference along with argument structure of the clauses. Here, this light verb forms a unit with the preceding noun and together influences the argument structure or case markers in the clauses as shown in (6 and 7).

1.1 < experiencer >

- (6) *ramkə banta ael*
 ram-kə banta ae-l
 Ram-DAT vomitting come-PST.3NH
 'Ram vomited.' (APPENDIX F_7)

1.2 <experience, theme>

- (7) *ramkə kəhani yad ael*
 ram-kə kəhani yad a-el
 Ram-DAT story remembrance come-PST.3NH
 'Ram remembered the story.' (APPENDIX F_8)

Here, the same verb *a* 'come' functions as a light verb used with its nominal host term *banta* 'vomitting' affecting the role of *Ram* as an experiencer in the form of dative case in (6), and there are an agent with dative marker '*Ram-kə*' and a theme *kəhani* 'story' in (7) where the light verb *a* is functioning with its nominal host *yad* 'remembrance' and both *yad* and *a* together determine the predicational values in this clause. Thus, nominal complex predicate formation shows that the nominal element bears more burdens in respect with predicational values in a clause.

ii. The verb *uṭh* 'stand up'

uṭh is an intransitive verb that takes one conscious argument as its subject when it is used in its complete form, i.e., as a main verb, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) *həm uṭhlu*
 həm uṭh-l-u
 1SG stand-PST-1
 'I stood (on the bench).'

In (8), the main verb *uṭh* determines the syntactic structure of the clause where the verb requires only one conscious argument *həm* '1SG'. But when the same verb is used as its light form, it loses its content meaning and combined with the nominal category forming nominal complex predicates in Maithili. The argument structure of a clause having N+ light verb *uṭh* is affected due to the presence of nominal unit where the predicational value is distributed between the nominal and verbal elements, hence a nominal complex predicate is resulted. In (9) below, the nominal element *ris* 'anger' and the light verb *uṭh* 'raise' together form a predicative unit as if it is in the case of a simple predicate. In this expression, *uṭh* has not required the subject as an experience, but it is the nominal element *ris* that has contributed this type of argument functioning as subject. This shows that the nominal part in a nominal complex predicate bears more semantic and syntactic burdens than the verbal part. The example in (9a) below illustrates it.

2.1 <experiencer>

- (9) *hunka ris uṭhəl*
 hunka r ris uṭh-əl
 3SG.DAT anger raise-PST.3H
 'He got angry'. (APPENDIX F_11)

Here in (9), the noun *ris* 'anger' is not an argument of the verb *uṭh* 'raise', rather these two jointly constitute a single predicate called nominal complex predicate.

iii. The verb *kəs* 'tighten'

In the form of main verb use, the verb *kəs* 'tighten sth' appears as a transitive verb that takes an agent and a theme as its basic arguments, as it is illustrated in the example below.

- (10) *ram əpən phita kəsləith*
 ram əpən phita kəs-l-əith
 Ram own.POSS belt tighten-PST-3H
 'Ram tightened his belt.'

Here, the main verb *kəs* is a simple predicate contributing two arguments: an agent functioning as subject 'Ram' and a theme functioning as an object *əpən phita* 'his own

belt'. This predicative quality is lost when it forms a complex predicate with a nominal element. The following are its examples having different argument structures.

3.1 <agent, source>

- (11) *bidyarthi iskul-sə ʔap kəs-l-ək*
bidyarthi iskul-sə ʔap kəs-l-ək
 student school-OBL run tighten-PST-3NH
 'The student ran away from school.' (APPENDIX F_13)

3.2 <agent, X-COM >

- (12) *bidyarthi pəṛhai-me sur kəslək*
bidyarthi pəṛhai-me sur kəs-l-ək
 student reading-ABL interest tighten-PST-3NH
 'The student got interest in his study (The student continued his study with interest).'

3.3 < agent, beneficiary>

- (13) *həm pəribarkəlel kəmər kəsləũ*
həm pəribar-kəlel kəmər kəs-l-əũ
 1SG family-PURP wrest tighten-PST-1
 'I decided to contribute for my family.'(APPENDIX F_15)

iv. The verb *kaʔ* 'to cut'

kaʔ 'to cut' is a transitive verb that requires an agent and a patient or a theme in the form of its lexical use. For example:

- (14) *kamdar gach katləith*
kamdar gach kat-l-əith
 labour tree cut-PST-3H
 'The labor cut the tree.'

When the same verb is used in the nominal complex predicate construction, it along with a nominal element contributes different a-structure in a clause.

4.1 <agent, patient >

- (15) *bəcca maikə bat kaʔlək*
bəcca mai-kə bat kaʔ-l-ək
 child mother-DAT talk cut-PST-3NH
 'The child disobeyed his mother.' (APPENDIX F_18)

4.2 <agent >

- (16) *bilai rasta kaṭlāk*
bilai rasta kaṭ-l-ək
cat road cut-PST-3NH
'The cat crossed the road.'

v. The verb *kha* 'eat'

Similarly, *kha*- 'eat' is a diadic verb and it takes two arguments of agent and patient roles 'Binod and *bhat* 'cooked rice' as in (17) when it is used as a simple verb construction.

- (17) *binod bhat khelāith*
binod bhat khe-l-əith
Binod rice eat-PST-3H
'Binod ate rice.'

In the following expressions, *kha* 'eat' is found as a light verb and influences the argument structure. The verb *kha* with the host noun causes the argument structure with the different roles.

5.1 <recipient (NOM), source (INS) >

- (18) *binod mastersə pitai khelāk*
binod master-sə pitai khe-l-ək
Binod teacher-INS beating eat-PST-3NH
'Binod got beating from his teacher.'

5.2 <recipient (NOM), source (LOC) >

- (19) *binod pyarmə dhoka khelāk*
binod pyar-mə dhoka khe-l-ək
Binod love-ABL cheating eat-PST-3NH
'Binod got cheated in his love.'

5.3 <agent>

- (20) *beṭi jagir khelah*
beṭi jagir khe-l-ah
daughter job eat-PST-3H
'The daughter got the job.'

5.4 <theme, X-comp>

- (21) *həm sathikə səhyog kərəike səpəth khelāi*
həm sathi-kə səhyog kərəi-ke səpəth khe-l-əi
1SG friend-DAT help do-INFP oath eat-PST-1
'I took the oath to help my friend.'

Here, the nominal complex predicates have the nominal heads; *pitai* 'beating', *dhoka* 'cheating', *jagir* 'job' and *səpəth* 'oath', and same verbal element *kho* 'eat'. But it is due to the presence of the nominal part in every clause, there is a change in syntactic and semantic structures. The verbal unit *kho* has lost its lexical semantic counterpart in all the clauses.

vi. The verb *khol* 'open'

This is also a transitive verb and takes two arguments: one as an agent and other as a theme. For example:

- (22) *o bakəs kholləith*
o bakəs khol-l-əith
3SG box open-PST-3H
'He opened the box.'

Now, let's see how it influences the argument structure when used with a nominal element forming a nominal complex predicate.

6.1 <agent, theme (DAT)>

- (23) *o səmpətikə pol kholləith*
o səmpəti-kə pol khol-l-əith
3SG property-DAT secrecy open-PST-3H
'He disclosed the secrecy of property.' (APPENDIX F_35)

Here, the verbal part, i.e., *khol* 'open' does not predicate the syntactic status as it does in (22), it contributes to the structure in its bleached form together with the nominal head *pol* 'secrecy'.

vii. The verb *khoj* 'search'

Similarly, the verb *khoj* 'search' is a transitive verb and takes an agent and a theme in its simple predicate construction which is illustrated in (24) below:

- (24) *o kitap khojləith*
o kitap khoj-l-əith
3SG book search-PST-3H
'He searched a book.'

When this verb is used as a light verb, it establishes its predicatehood along with its preceding noun and there after forms a nominal complex predicate, as in (25).

- (25) *netasəb bhau khojlək*
 neta-səb bhau khoj-l-ək
 leader-PL importance search-PST-3NH
 'The leaders gave more priority on themselves.' (APPENDIX F_19)

viii. The verb *ləg* 'adhere/attach'

The verb *ləg*- 'adhere' is in/transitive and has its own natural/basic meaning, that is, 'to be attached' or 'attach' or 'attaching/standing some concrete thing on the surface/other thing' in Maithili language. But it is a very productive lexeme as a light verb in the grammar of Maithili having natural feature of polysemy, that is, it has more than one meaning and usage in the sentences.

- (26) *gari ləgəl chəi(k)*
 gari ləg-əl ch-əi(k)
 vehicle stand-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'There is a vehicle (on the stand).'

Now, let's analyze this verb as a light verb in the combination of different nominal elements separately.

7.1 < theme (LOC) >

- (27) *garime dag ləgəl chəi(k)*
 gari-me dag ləg-əl ch-əi(k)
 vehicle-LOC spot attach-IPFV be-PRS.3NH
 'There is a spot on the vehicle.'

7.2 < experience, theme (LOC)>

- (28) *binodji gərib upər dəya ləgeləthin(h)*
 binod-ji gərib upər dəya ləge-l-əthin(h)
 Binod-H poor upon pity adhere-PST-3H
 'Binod felt pity on poor.'

7.3 < experience (DAT), theme (INS) >

- (29) *binodkə kəhanikə/sə dər ləgəl əichh*
 binod-kə kəhani-kə/sə dər ləg-əl əichh
 Binod-DAT story-INS fear adhere-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'Binod feels fear of the story.'

7.4 <agent>

- (30) *həm cup ləgləũ*
həm cup ləg-l-əũ
1SG quiet adhere-PST-1
'I became silent.'

7.5 <experiencer>

- (31) *hunka khoki ləgləin(h)*
hunka khoki ləg-l-əin(h)
s/he-DAT cough adhere-PST-3H
'He got cough.'

7.6 < experiencer, theme >

- (32) *həmra səmankə kam ləgəl əich*
həm-ra səman-kə kam ləg-əl əich
1SG goods-DAT work adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
'The goods come in use to me.'

7.7 < experience, genitive >

- (33) *həmra əpən cinta ləgəl əich*
həm-ra əpən cinta ləg-əl əich
1SG-DAT own.GEN worry adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
'I worry about myself.'

7.8 < them cause> (DAT) >

- (34) *kitəpkə dher ləgəl əich*
kitəp-kə dher ləg-əl əich
book-DAT pile adhere-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
'The books are piled.'

7.9 < experiencer, Xcomp >

- (35) *hunka pərhəime mən ləgəl chelah*
hunka pəṛ-həi-me mən ləg-əl che-l-ah
3SG.DAT study-INFP-ABL interest adhere-IPFV be-PST-3H
'He got interested in studying.'

7.10 < experiencer, cause>

- (36) *həmra pərhaimə məja ləgəi chəi*
həm-ra pəṛ-hai-mə məja ləg-əi ch-əi
1SG-DAT reading-INFP-ABL happy adhere-IPFV be.PRS-1
'I become happy while reading.'

All these examples show that the light verb *lāg-* 'adhere' is very productive in Maithili. It affects the argument structures in a variety of ways and can be combined with both verbal and non-verbal elements while forming the complex predicates in this language.

ix. The verb *pār* 'befall'

pār- is diadic as it takes two arguments of the thematic roles; locative and theme when used as a main verb. The theme may be understood as something that comes from unspecified source or it may be static existence or something concrete as in (37) where *tərai* 'Terai' is with the locative role and *pain* 'water' with the role of theme.

- (37) *təraimə pain pəral*
 tərai-mə pain pər-əl
 Terai-LOC water befall-PST.3NH
 'Rain befell in Terai.'

The complex predicates (CPS) that this verb makes with certain nominal elements functioning as hosts are illustrated below.

8.1 <patient (LOC)>

- (38) *kəprame dag pəral*
 kəpra-me dag pər-əl
 cloth-LOC spot befall-PST.3NH
 'There was a spot on cloth.'

8.2 <locative>

- (39) *təraime rəuḍi pəral chəi*
 tərai-me rəuḍi pər-əl ch-əi
 Terai-LOC droughtness befall be.PRS-3NH
 'Terai suffers from draughtness.'

8.3 <experience>

- (40) *həmra aphət pəral chel*
 həm-ra aphət pər-əl ch-el
 1SG-DAT problem befall-IMPRF be-PST.1
 'I faced the problem.'

8.4 <patient >

- (41) *bacca behos pəral əich*
 bacca behos pər-əl əich
 child unconscious befall-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'The child became unconscious.'

8.5 <experience, theme (GEN) >

- (42) *həmra ləʃ pərəl əich*
 həm-ra ləʃ pər-əl əich
 1SG-DAT habit befall-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'I am habituated to alcohol.'

8.6 <agent, theme (GEN) >

- (43) *həm bhai-kə bhar pərləũ*
 həm bhai-kə bhar pər-l-əũ
 1SG brother-GEN depend befall-PST-1
 'I happened to depend on my brother.'

8.7 <experiencer, theme >

- (44) *həmra iŋlis mən pərəl əich*
 həm-ra iŋlis mən pər-əl əich
 1SG-DAT English like befall-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'I like English.'

x. The verb *le* 'take'

The verb *le-* takes three arguments; one agent, one source and another patient when it is used as a main verb forming a simple predicate as in (45) below where the arguments 'Binod' occupies an agentive role, 'Santosh' plays a role of source and 'kitab' is in a patientive form.

- (45) *binod səntos-sə kitab le-l-ək*
 binod səntos-sə kitab le-l-ək
 Binod Santosh-DAT book take-PST-3NH
 'Binod took the book from Santosh.'

But when it is used as a light verb forming complex predicates, the a-structures need to be reanalyzed. It is observed in the example (46) and others that the patient '*pəsu*' has been affected in its case marking form due to the light verb '*le*' as in its bleached sense. It means the verb *le* as a single predicate takes the patientive role in the ablative form, but when it is used as a semantic emptying form, it takes the patientive role in the genitive/source form.

9.1 < agent, patient (DAT/GEN) >

- (46) *bhəgwan pəsukə əwtar leləith*
 bhəgwan pəsu-kə əwtar le-l-əith
 god animal-GEN incarnation take-PST-3H
 'God incarnated as an animal.'

9.2 <agent, theme (LOC) >

- (47) *o əpne batme əḍan leləith*
 o əpne bat-me əḍan le-l-əith
 3SG own.POSS matter-LOC insist take-PST-3H
 'He insisted in his matter.'

9.3 <agent, theme/patient >

- (48) *mai bæccakə god lelthin*
 mai bæcca-kə god le-l-thinh
 mother child-DAT lap take-PST-3H
 'The mother adopted the child.'

9.4 <agent, source >

- (49) *pəpa jagirsə əbkas lelthin*
 pəpa jagir-sə əbkas le-l-thinh
 father job-ABL leave take-PST-3H
 'The father resigned from the job.'

xi. The verb *jo* 'go'

jo- 'go' is an intransitive verb that takes agent 'Binod' and goal '*ghər*' roles in the simple predicative form as in (50). But the same verb can also be found as a second component of complex predicates in which it causes an effect in the argument structure of the predicative unit as in the case (51), where the argument is determined together by the two components: *bairh* 'flood' and *gel*- 'go' with the roles of locative *khet* 'farm'.

- (50) *binod ghər gel*
 binod ghər ge-l
 Binod home go-PST.3NH
 'Binod went home.'

10.1 <theme (LOC) >

- (51) *khetmə bairh gel*
 khet-mə bairh ge-l
 field-LOC flood go-PST.3SG
 'It flooded in the field.'

10.2 <agent>

- (52) *ləḍki urhəir gel*
 ləḍki urhəir ge-l
 girl elopement go-PST.3NH
 'The girl eloped.'



In these constructions of the Maithili nominal complex predicates, the thematic roles of functional structure are altered, not due to the verbal unit *jo* 'go', but due to the nominal part functioning as heads.

xii. The verb *par* 'draw'

In the (53), the verb *par*- 'make' has been seen in its complete lexical form taking two arguments: agent *o* '3SG' and theme *photo* 'picture'. But when it is found as a light form, it maintains only the grammatical information with the host component of the complex predicate, and together affects the a-structure as in (54) and (55). Regarding the (54), there is only one argument: agent '*i ləḍki*', and in the case of (55), the change is observed in the case marking of the patient *bhai* 'brother'.

- (53) *o photo parləith*
o photo par-l-əith
 3SG picture make-PST-3H
 'He drew a picture.'

11.1 <agent>

- (54) *i ləḍki nəkəl partəi*
i ləḍki nəkəl par-t-əi
 this girl imitation make-FUT-3NH
 'This girl will do fake acting.'

11.2 <agent, patient (DAT)>

- (55) *ram bhaikə phela parləith*
ram bhai-kə phela par-l-əith
 Ram brother-DAT finding make-PST-3NH
 'Ram succeeded to find the lost brother.'

xiii. The verb *bəis* 'sit'

As a full predicate, its valency is two and it takes one argument as an agent and other to which locative role is assigned as in (56).

- (56) *bəcca nicamə bəisəl*
bəcca nica-mə bəis-əl
 child floor-LOC sit-PST.3NH
 'Child sat on the floor.'

When the verb *bəis*- 'sit' is used as a light verb with nominal component, it is found that the argument structure gets affected, i.e., it is determined together by the host and

the light elements which form a complex predicate that demands only one argument of an agentive role as in (57).

12.1 <agent>

- (57) *ram brəth bəisləith*
 ram brəth bəis-l-əith
 Ram fasting sit-PST-3H
 'Ram did fasting.'

12.2 <agent, theme (GEN) >

- (58) *ram sathikə sakchi bəisləith*
 ram sathi-kə sakchi bəis-l-əith
 Ram friend-GEN witness sit-PST-3H
 'Ram remained his friend's witness.'

xiv. The verb *mar* 'kill'

mar- as a transitive verb, takes agent and patient role arguments in its main verb form, which is in (59). Different types of CP with different argument structure having this verb as a light one are illustrated in (60-63) below.

- (59) *o həmra marləith*
 o həmra mar-l-əith
 3SG 1SG.DAT kill-PST-3H
 'S/he bit me.'

13.1 <agent>

- (60) *o gəp marləith*
 o gəp mar-l-əith
 3SG talk kill-PST-3H
 'S/he embraced me.'

13.2 <agent, patient (DAT) >

- (61) *ram sitasə maya marləith*
 ram sita-sə maya mar-l-əith
 Ram Sita-DAT love kill-PST-3H
 'Ram forgot remembering Sita.'

13.3 <agent, theme (LOC) >

- (62) *ram ghərmə tala marlək*
 ram ghər-mə tala mar-l-ək
 Ram house-LOC luck kill-PST-3NH
 'Ram locked the house.'

13.4 < agent, recipient >

- (63) *o hāmra kənkhi marləith*
 o hām-ra kənkhi mar-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT blinking kill-PST-3H
 'S/he blinked me.'

xv. The verb *de* 'give'

The verb is a di-transitive verb as a full predicate in a simple predicate construction that takes three valency/arguments: one argument with agentive role, another with recipient role and the next with theme role. For example:

- (64) *o hāmra pəisa deləith*
 o hām-ra pəisa de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT money give-PST-3H
 'He gave me money.'

The same verb when used in its light form determines the argument structure of a clause together with the nominal part and forms a nominal complex predicate. Let's see how it supplies the predicational value together with the nominal element in the NCPs.

14.1 < agent, recipient (DAT) >

- (65) *o hāmra səntust̥hi deləith*
 o hām-ra səntust̥hi de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT satisfaction give-PST-3H
 'He satisfied me.'

14.2 < agent, recipient, Xcomp >

- (66) *o hāmra boləilə ənuməti deləith*
 o hām-ra boləi-lə ənuməti de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT speak-INFP permission give-PST-3H
 'He promised me to speak.'

14.3 < agent, patient, theme >

- (67) *o hāmra gai dan deləith*
 o hām-ra gai dan de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT cow donation give-PST-3H
 'He donated me a cow.'

14.4 < agent, patient, theme (GEN) >

- (68) *o hāmra prəsəkə utər deləith*
 o hām-ra prəsəkə utər de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT question-GEN answer give-PST-3H
 'He answered me the questions.'

14.5 < agent, patient >

- (69) *o hāmra choir delāith*
o hām-ra choir de-l-āith
3SG 1SG-DAT leave give-PST-3H
'He left me.'

14.6 < agent, benefactive >

- (70) *o pāribar-kelel yogdan delāith*
o pāribar-kelel yogdan de-l-āith
3SG family-BEN contribution give-PST-3H
'He contributed for his family.'

14.7 < agent, source >

- (71) *o pādsə rajinama delāith*
o pād-sə rajinama de-l-āith
3SG post-ABL resignation give-PST-3H
'He resigned from his post.'

14.8 < agent, theme (GEN) >

- (72) *o bie-kə pārikcha delāith*
o bie-kə pārikcha de-l-āith
3SG BA-GEN exam give-PST-3H
'He appeared in the exam for BA.'

14.9 < agent, theme (LOC) >

- (73) *o biemə dhiyan delāith*
o bie-mə dhiyan de-l-āith
3SG BA-LOC attention give-PST-3H
'He paid his attention on BA.'

xvi. The verb *rakh* 'put'

The verb *rakh* 'put' is a transitive verb that takes an agent, a theme and un/specified destination with the locative marker and its meaning refers something 'to put into' so that the object reaches to a little depth, like (74).

- (74) *hām kitap jhoramə rakhlāũ*
hām kitap jhora-mə rakh-l-āũ
1SG book bag-LOC put-PST-1
'I kept the book into the bag.'

But when it is used as a light verb and grouped with a nominal element in a nominal complex predicate, it cannot predicate as it does in its main verb form. The following are the illustrative examples.

15.1 <agent>

- (75) *həm bicar raxhlāũ*
həm bicar raxh-l-əũ
1SG view put-PST-1
'I expressed my view.'

15.2 <agent, theme (LOC) >

- (76) *həm əi bat-pər bicar raxhlāũ*
həm əi bat-pər bicar raxh-l-əũ
1SG this matter-LOC view put-PST-1
'I expressed my view on this matter.'

15.3 <agent, theme (GEN) >

- (77) *həm binod-kə dhiyan raxhlāũ*
həm binod-kə dhiyan raxh-l-əũ
1SG Binod-DAT care put-PST-1
'I took care of Binod.'

15.4 <agent >

- (78) *həmsəb dhəiryə raxhlāũ*
həm-səb dhəiryə raxh-l-əũ
1-PL patience put-PST-1
'We kept patience.'

xvii. The verb *pher* 'change'

pher 'change' is a transitive verb that takes an agent and a theme in its main verb form, but holds an intransitive nature when combined with a nominal element in nominal complex predicates.

- (79) *ləḍka saikəl pherlək*
ləḍka saikəl pher-l-ək
boy cycle drive-PST-3NH
'The boy drove the cycle (for being trained).'

16.1 <agent >

- (80) *o sās pherlək*
o sās pher-l-ək
3SG breath drive-PST-3NH
'He breathed.'

xviii. The verb *man* 'accept'

This is a transitive verb taking an agent and a theme when used as a main verb. For example:

- (81) *ləḍki pəpəkə bat manlək*
ləḍki pəpa-kə bat man-l-ək
girl father-GEN matter accept-PST-3NH
'The girl accepted her father's matter (what her father told).'

When the same verb is used in the form of a light verb and combined together with a nominal element to form a nominal complex predicate, it loses its content and slightly affects the argument structure of a clause. The following are its illustrative examples.

17.1 < agent, theme (INS) >

- (82) *ləḍki pəpəkə laj manlək*
ləḍki pəpa-kə laj man-l-ək
girl father-GEN shyness accept-PST-3NH
'The girl felt shyness of her father.'

xix. The verb *piṭ* 'beat'

piṭ 'beat' is a transitive verb and it takes an agent and a patient when it predicates a simple clause.

- (83) *ləḍki ləḍkakə piṭlək*
ləḍki ləḍka-kə ləḍka-kə
girl boy-DAT beat-PST-3NH
'The girl bit the boy.'

We now consider the following examples where the verb *piṭ* is behaved as light verb and determines the argument structure together with a nominal element, hence forms a nominal complex predicate.

18.1 <agent>

- (84) *həm tali piṭ-l-əũ*
həm tali piṭ-l-əũ
1SG clap beat-PST-1
'I clapped.'

18.2 < agent, theme (INS) >

- (85) *həm dukh-sə chati piṭləũ*
həm dukh-sə chati piṭ-l-əũ
1SG sorrow-INS chest beat- PST-1
'I expressed my sorrow.'

xx. The verb *kār* 'do'

kār 'do' is the most productive light verb in Indo-Aryan languages, and as quoted in Lohani (1999), it is treated as verbalizer in Sharma (1980) and verb deriving device in Kibre (1994). In CP formation it bears less semantic burden with respect to the other members of the set of light verbs (Lohani, 1999). This verb behaves syntactically like an auxiliary verb in the CP constructions as it bears only grammatical inflexion and derivation. It is not necessary to assume *kār* as an independent transitive verb (Ray, 2008). Let's see the following examples.

- (86) *həm əpən homework keləũ*
həm əpən homework ke-l-əũ
1SG own.POSS homework do-PST-1
'I did my homework.'

But when this verb is used as a light verb, the argument structure along with case marking and pragmatic values of a clause gets affected.

19.1 < agent >

- (87) *nəyən ulṭi keləith*
nəyən ulṭi ke-l-əith
Nayan vomit do-PST-3H
'Nayan vomited.'

19.2 < agent, X-comp >

- (88) *o bagh dekhəikə himət kəene chəith*
o bagh dekhəi-kə himət kəe-ne ch-əith
3SG tiger see-INFP dare do-PRF be.PRS-3H
'He has dared to see the tiger.'

19.3 < agent, commitant >

- (89) *raja ranisə bibah kəeləith*
raja rani-sə bibah kəe-l-əith
king queen-OBL marriage do-PST-3H
'Raja married to Rani.'

19.4 < agent, theme >

- (90) *həm tora khub yad keləũ*
həm tora khub yad ke-l-əũ
1SG 2SG-DAT much remember do-PST-1
'I missed you much.'

19.5 < agent, recipient >

- (91) *okrasə pəricəya kel jau*
 okra-sə pəricəya kel ja-u
 3SG-ABL introduction do go-IMP.3H
 'Please, introduce to him.'

19.6 < agent, X-comp >

- (92) *vidyarthi-səb-kə niyām palən kəreke cahī*
 vidyarthi-səb-kə niyām palən kər-ekē cah-i
 student-PL-DAT rule obey do-INFP want-PRS.3NH
 'The students should obey the rule.'

From the data analysed above it is obvious that there are some verbs (*ləg, kha, de, a,* etc.) used as both: main and light forms as well, and many nouns (*ḍər, banta, yad, zənəm,* etc.) used as nominal hosts in the constructions of nominal complex predicates in Maithili. In all the cases where the constructions are not complex predicates, the single verb governs the valency, their case system and meanings, but when these verbs are used as light verbs, the governance is operated by the nominal hosts together with such verbs. That is to say, when the predicates become complex, they affect the number of valency, their case or meaning or all of them, heavily sanctioned by the nominal elements, rather than the light. It does not mean that the light verbs have nothing to do. They are also equally bearing predicative values along with the nominal elements and these two together form such a tight unit that they become a single unit called nominal complex predicate.

As discussed above for example, the verb *de* 'take' takes three arguments; one agent, one source and another patient when it is used as a main verb forming a simple predicate but when it is used as a semantic emptying form with the nominal host *zənəm* 'birth' takes the agentive role in nominative form and patientive role in the genitive form. Regarding the case of the light verb *a* 'come', as an intransitive verb as a full lexical verb takes an animate theme as an argument and locative destination but the same verb *a* functioning as a light verb used with its nominal host term *yad* 'remembrance' affects the argumentation and others as well. Thus, in this way, the number, meaning and case of the arguments are jointly determined by the noun and the verb, and that this type of constructions is monoclausal as they have only one syntactic predicate. The categorial structure of N+V CPs that emerges from these discussions is:

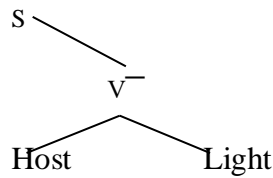


Figure 7.1: Structural concept of syntactic complex predicate in Maithili

Similarly, in the following figure, the categoral concept of adjunct complex predicates is presented:

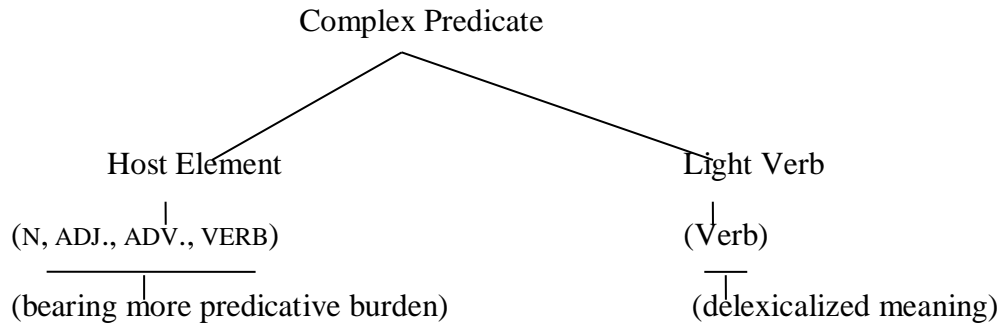


Figure 7.2: Categoral concept of conjunct complex predicate in Maithili

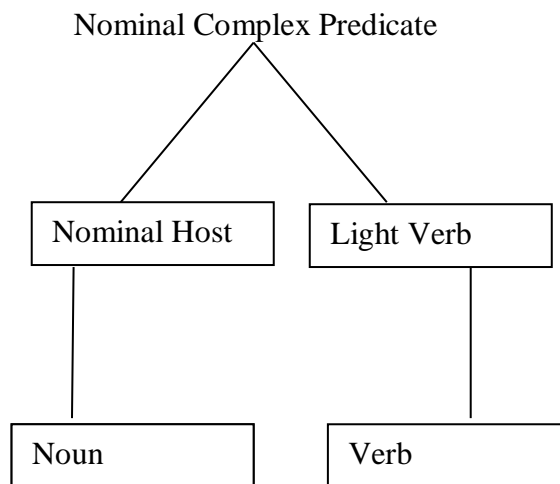


Figure 7.3: Structural concept of nominal complex predicate in Maithili

7.3 Properties of Maithili Nominal CPs

- The argument structure of a clause containing a CP is regulated jointly by the nominal host and the light verb in Maithili.
- The noun in the CPs is a part of the predicate of the clause; along with the light verb.
- Noun can determine the valency of the CP construction, as well as the meanings and cases associated with the arguments of construction.

- N+V sequence as a CP is treated as a single unit in Maithili nominal complex predicate.
- There is the agreement of light verbs with nominal hosts.

Now in the following sections, we examine how the compositionality of the NCPs formally is expressed, i.e., the semantic and syntactic representation of the light verb and its host, together with the structural relation between these two.

7.4 Complex predicatehood

The concept of predicatehood in this context is better described from the functional and notional perspective. That is, a CP is a functional word governing the whole mechanism of a clause in the way a simple predicate does. The discussion made so far shows that different light verbs in the combination with different nominal elements give reanalysed a-structure and s-structure with respect to number, meaning (thematic role) and case marker of arguments. This subsection presents how this unification in regard with argument influence is working, i.e., the contribution of nominal host and light verb together and individually as well.

7.4.1 The Predicatehood of the nominal host

The nominal host in a nominal complex predicate dominates the predicative value of the predicate construction and the light verb supports it to create the desired pragmatics of a clause. We can compare the following examples:

- (94) *sāntos hāmār ghār ael*
sāntos hām-ār ghār a-el
 Santosh 1SG-GEN home come-PST.3NH
 'Santosh came to my home.'

The verb *a* 'come' takes two arguments when it is used as a full verb; the entity that comes, here in (94) *Santosh* and its locative destination ('home' here). But the same verb when functions as a light verb gives different status of its predicatehood as in (95) below, where the nominals are the predicatehood of the CPs.

- (95) a. *sāntoskə hāsi ael*
sāntos-kə hāsi a-el
 Santosh-DAT laughter come-PST.3NH
 'Santosh happened to laugh.'

- b. *səntoskə kəhani yad ael*
 səntos-kə kəhani yad a-el
 Santosh-DAT story remembrance come-PST.3NH
 'Santosh remembered the story.'
- c. *səntoskə bəccakə dhiyan ael*
 səntos-kə bəcca-kə dhiyan a-el
 Santosh-DAT child-GEN thought come-PST.3NH
 'Santosh thought of the child.'
- d. *səntoskə binodpər dya ael*
 səntos-kə binod-pər dya a-el
 Santosh-DAT Binod-LOC pity come-PST.3NH
 'Santosh had sympathy for Binod.'

In (95a), there are two arguments; the entity that comes, laughter, and the destination, Santosh, which is in abstract condition and also taken as an experience that is different from (60). Similarly, regarding the theta role, the entity in (94) is in nominative and the destination shows the location, but the destination in (95a) is a goal.

(94)	<i>a</i>	<	1	2	>	
	COME		COMER	DEST		
(95a)	<i>hasi</i>	<i>a</i>	<	1	2	>
		COME		DEST	COMER	
			LAUGHTER		EXP	

Similarly (95b), (95c) and (95d) also have an abstract destination. In addition, they have an extra argument which is not contributed by the verb *a* 'come', but by the nominal host. Furthermore, the case marking in the additional argument can differ depending on the nominal host: it is nominative in (95b), genitive in (95c) and locative in (95d) respectively.

(95b)	<i>yad</i>	<i>a</i>	<	1	3	2	>
				COME	DEST	COMER	
				REMEMBRANCE	EXP	THEME	

case markers can be attributed to the different light verbs. The conclusion is that the light verb also contributes to organize the a-structure of a construction in a nominal CP.

7.5 Formal representation of nominal CP

Following Mohanan (1997), different types of CP information relevant for syntax are factored apart and represented along different parallel dimensions of structure (argument structure, semantic structure, grammatical function structure and grammatical category structure). These structures form a set of independent, interacting dimension of structure, linked to one another by general principle of grammar. In the NCPs, there is the composition of an incomplete predicate and a complete predicate. The a-structures of matrix predicates are underspecified and on embedding this slot came to be filled with arguments of embedded predicates. The simple mechanism of this composition, we saw earlier, is the sharing of one argument between two a-structures, and this shared argument is mapped onto object function. This is facilitated due to the semantic identification of internal argument of the incomplete predicate with the argument, or one of the arguments (if there are many), of the embedded predicate, irrespective of role in the base structure. The very fact has preserved the argument-function biuniqueness. In the representation of nominal complex predicates, arguments are positions holders in syntax for what they may be called semantic participants that are hierarchically ordered and their prominence is determined by their semantics. Moreover, the information carried by traditional theta roles is factored apart into ARG STR and SEM STR. This theory of formal representation shows that the highest AGR in an AGR STR is the logical subject which is also called grammatical subject.

Recall the sentences having *læg* 'adhere' as a main verb and a light verb here to show their formal representation under the LFG representational design of all four levels simultaneously.

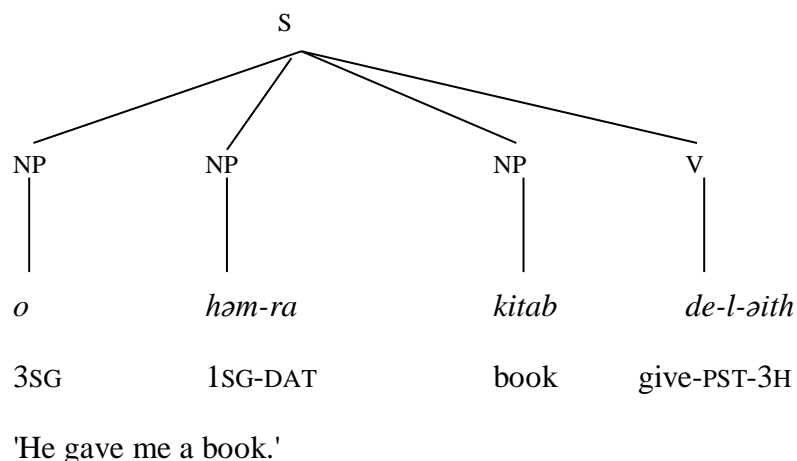
- (98) *gari lægəl chəi* (SP)
 gari læg-əl ch-əi
 vehicle stand-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 'The vehicle stands.'

- (100) a. *o həmra kitab deləith* (SP)
 o həm-ra kitab de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT book give-PST-3H
 'He gave me a book.'
- b. *o kitab həm-ra de-l-əith*
 c. *həm-ra o kitab de-l-əith*
 d. *həm-ra o de-l-əith kitab*
 e. *de-l-əith o həm-ra kitab*
 f. *həm-ra kitab de-l-əith o*
 g. *o de-l-əith həm-ra kitab*

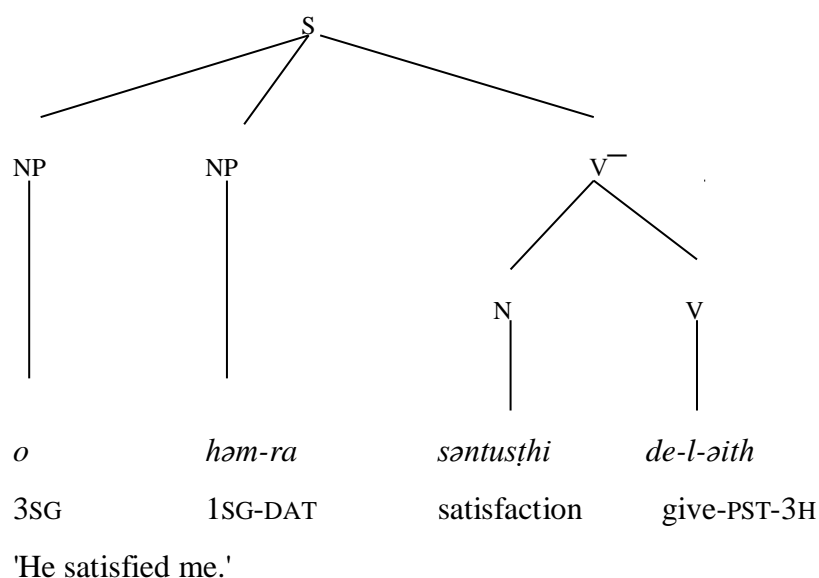
- (101) a. *o həmra səntus̄thi deləith* (SP)
 o həm-ra səntus̄thi de-l-əith
 3SG 1SG-DAT satisfaction give-PST-3H
 'He satisfied me.'
- b. *o səntus̄thi de-l-əith həm-ra*
 c. *həm-ra səntus̄thi de-l-əith o*
 d. *səntus̄thi de-l-əith o həm-ra*
 *e. *o de-l-əith həm-ra səntus̄thi*
 *f. *səntus̄thi o həm-ra de-l-əith*
 *g. *de-l-əith o həm-ra səntus̄thi*
 *h. *o həm-ra de-l-əith səntus̄thi*

The sentence (100) is an example of a simple predicate in which all the ordering possibilities are grammatically acceptable since each element constitutes a separate phrase and the direct nodes of the S. However, in the case of the NCP construction as in (101), the scrambling from (101a) to (101d) is grammatically acceptable since the host and light elements in a CP are not scrambled apart, but in (101e) to (101h), a host is scrambled from a light verb and hence they are grammatically ill-formed. Since the nominal host of a light verb is not a direct daughter in the grammatical categorical structure, but forms a categorical constituent with the light verb, as mentioned earlier, any of these two elements if scrambled from each other produce grammatically unacceptable forms. Thus, an element is a part of another element that makes together a single phrase, scrambling one from another is not possible, this is also true with a CP.

(100a)



(101a)



7.6.2 CP as a phrasal category: topicalization

Topicalization is a process of reordering a constituent of a sentence in which a focused constituent is placed initially in order to leave a pragmatic value on it comparatively, i.e., a topic appears clause initially. Though scrambling is restricted to only the direct daughters of S, the topicalization is not so. However, it does not mean that any part of a constituent (phrase) can easily be topicalized. In the case of a NCP, a nominal host can't be scrambled away from its light verb and its vice versa, but the light verb not the nominal host can be topicalized. As we saw that the light verb cannot be displaced from its nominal host; cannot be a scrambling constituent, but can be topicalized. Mohanan (1997) puts that "by the lexical integrity principle, which disallows subconstituents of a lexical unit from undergoing syntactic reordering, the host and the light verb of a CP cannot constitute a lexical unit (p. 447)." It is observed that only a categorical word can be topicalized even in a CP. Since the nominal host in

a CP cannot be placed clause initially, it is not a categorical word in a CP. But both the nominal host and the light verb form a single phrase, hence a CP is a phrasal category. Let's see the examples.

- (102) *delāith o hāmra s̄antust̄hi*
 de-l-āith o hām-ra s̄antust̄hi
 give-PST-3H 3SG 1SG-DAT satisfaction
 'He satisfied me.'

7.6.3 Nominal host as a lexical category

Since the nominal host cannot be topicalised, it might be said that it is a lexical category, not a maximal projection. From this, it could be assumed that only the maximal projections can be topicalised. How a nominal host is a lexical category can be discussed presenting the evidences from adjectival modification, conjoining, wh-question, and relativization.

a. Adjectival modification

Regarding the modification possibility in the nominal complex predicates, it is like in the nominal phrase structures. Mohanan (1994) finds that "CP internal nominals allow no modification, adjectival or otherwise, unless of course it is adverbial modification of the entire predicate (p. 206)." When a noun is used as an argument of a predicate, it can easily be modified by an adjective. However, if the same noun becomes a nominal host of a light verb, it cannot take adjectival modification. That is, only the maximal projection allows to be modified.

- (103) *s̄antos binodk̄a k̄husyali kh̄ab̄ar del̄ain*
 s̄antos binod-k̄a k̄husyali de-l-āin
 Santosh Binod-DAT good news give-PST-3H.3H
 'Santosh gave Binod a piece of good news.'

- * (104) *s̄antos binodk̄a k̄husyali kh̄ab̄ar kel̄ain*
 s̄antos binod-k̄a k̄husyali ke-l-āin
 Santosh Binod-DAT good news do-PST-3H.3H
 'Santosh did Binod a piece of good news.'

- (105) *s̄antos binodk̄a ek kh̄ab̄ar del̄ain*
 s̄antos binod-k̄a ek de-l-āin
 Santosh Binod-DAT one give-PST-3H.3H
 'Santosh gave Binod a piece of good news.'

- * (106) *sāntos binodkə ek khābār kelāin*
 sāntos binod-kə ek ke-l-āin
 Santosh Binod-DAT one do-PST-3H.3H
 'Santosh did Binod a piece of good news.'

In (103 and 105) the verb *de* 'give' is as a main verb and *khābār* is a maximal projection of the sentences, it can be modified by *khusyali* 'good' or *ek* 'one', but in (104 and 106), *kār* 'do' is a light verb and *khābār* is its nominal host as a lexical category. The restriction that a CP-internal nominal cannot be modified follows from the assumption that it is a lexical category.

b. Conjoining

if a nominal host of a light verb is a lexical category, it would not be conjoined with another nominal host of that light verb. Let's see the following examples.

- (107) a. *hāmra kāhani yad ael*
hām-ra kāhani yad a-el
 1SG-DAT story remembrance come-PST.3NH
 'I remembered the story.'

- b. *hāmra kāhani pāsānd ael*
hām-ra kāhani pāsānd a-el
 1SG-DAT story rlike come-PST.3NH
 'I liked the story.'

- *c. *hāmra kāhani yad aur pāsānd ael*
hām-ra kāhani yad aur pāsānd a-el
 1SG-DAT story remembrance and like come-PST.3NH
 'I remembered and liked the story.'

The (107a and b) involve the different nominal hosts of the same light verb and they are well-formed, but when these two nominal hosts are conjoined in (107c), it becomes an ill-form pragmatically.

However, there are some nominal elements in CPs that can be conjoined with a single light verb, hence become a phrasal category rather than a lexical category. The two CPs *bhukh lāgāl* 'feel hungry' and *pyas lāgāl* 'feel thirst' are conjoined.

- (108) a. *hām-ra bhukh lāgāl āich*
hām-ra bhukh lāg-āl āich
 1SG-DAT hunger adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'I feel hungry.'

- b. *həm-ra pyas ləgəl əich*
həm-ra pyas ləg-əl əich
 1SG-DAT thirst adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'I feel thirsty.'
- c. *həmra bhukh aur pyas ləgəl əich*
həm-ra bhukh aur pyas ləg-əl əich
 1SG-DAT hunger and thirsty adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'I feel hungry and thirsty.'

Similarly, applying the wh-question and relativization to the nominal hosts in Maithili, it is found that they can be questioned with wh-words and also can be relativized, which prove that they are not a lexical category but a phrasal category, assuming that only a phrasal category can be questioned and relativized. In Maithili, *ke* 'who', *ki* 'what', *kiya* 'why', etc. are used to form wh-questions, and *je* 'which' is for relativization.

- (109) a. *həm-ra ki ləgəl əich*
həm-ra ki ləg-əl əich
 1SG-DAT what adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'What is attached on me?.'
- b. *je dər tora ləgəl rəhəl chəu*
je dər tora ləg-əl rəhəl ch-əu
 which-REL_i fear_i 2SG.DAT attach-IPFV PROG be.PRS-3NH
sehei həmra ləgəl əich
sehe.....i həm-ra ləgəl əich
 that 1SG-DAT attach-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'I am afraid in the same way as you are getting afraid of.'

(Lit.) The fear that came to you comes to me too.)

7.7 Summary

Maithili language shows the non-verbal CP constructions, other than the V-V CPs. That is, a verbal element (light) is not grouped with another verbal element but with noun, adjective or adverb which functions as host and verbs as light, together form a complex phrase called a complex predicate or conjunct complex predicates. The Maithili nominal complex predicate is formed by the combination of the noun as its nominal host and the verb (light verb) as delexicalized element but the number of arguments, their case, and their meaning are jointly sanctioned. It is shown that the nominal host also contributes in the argumenthood: its valency, case or semantics.

The entire syntactic mechanism of a sentence is shaped by the nature of its predicational elements which together form such a tight unit that they become a single unit called a nominal complex predicate. Regarding the concept of predicatehood in the nominal CP constructions, both nominal and light elements have the quality of predicatehood in their way. Through the examples, it has been shown that the replacement of the nominal element in the same case brings a change in the syntax, and similar influence is also observed in the case of a light element. In the NCPs, there is the composition of an incomplete predicate and a complete predicate. The structures of matrix predicates are underspecified and on embedding this slot comes to be filled with arguments of embedded predicates. Similarly, the nominal host has been tested for accounting it as a part of predicate, as a phrasal category or a lexical category through the grammatical operations: scrambling, topicalization, adjectival modification, conjoining, wh-question, and relativization.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ADJECTIVAL AND ADVERBAL COMPLEX PREDICATES

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Maithili adjectival and adverbial complex predicates. It consists of seven sections. In section 8.1, we discuss about adjectival complex predicates. Section 8.2 examines the predicatehood of adjectival host. The predicatehood of light verb is explained in section 8.3. We deal with the adjectival host as a part of predicate in section 8.4. Similarly, in section 8.5, we explore the CP as a phrasal category. The second last section looks at the adjectival complex predicates, and finally section 8.7 summarizes this chapter.

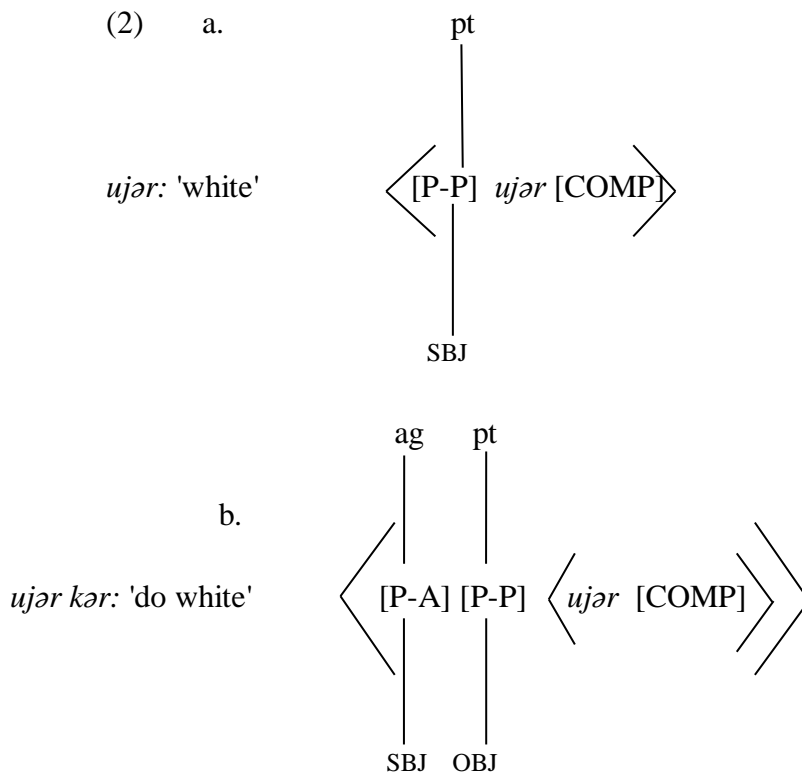
8.1 Adjectival complex predicates

There are some verbs functioning as light verbs that have undergone grammaticalization, that is, more delexicalized, than other verbs. These more emptied verbs are found to verbalize some adjectives and adverbs as well, as nominals. Adjectival complex predicate consists of an adjective as a host combined with such verbalized verbs (the light verbs) forming the structure as ADJ + V which works as a single PRED that contributes argument and syntactic structure of a clause. The verbal elements are fully or partially bleached of its semantic content in such constructions. In Maithili, the construction of ADJ + V as a complex predicate is less common than the construction of N + V (details in chapter 7). The adjective as the structure shows precedes the light verb and determines all the mechanics of a clause jointly. Some of the common light verbs that have adjectives as their hosts are: *lāg* 'adhere', *kār* 'do', *pār* 'befall', *par* 'make', *ho/ch* 'be', *rakh* 'keep' and *rāh* 'remain' frequently used in Maithili. The following are the illustrative examples (1a-b) of two light verbs: *ho/ch* 'be' and *kār* 'do'.

- (1) a. *dābal ujār chāi*
dābal ujār ch-əi
wall white be.PRS-3NH
The wall is white.'

- b. *o dābalkə ujər kene chəi*
 o əbal-kə ujər ke-ne ch-əi
 3SG wall white do-PFV be.PRS-3NH
 'He has made the wall white.'

In the example (1a), there is only one argument as *dābal* 'wall' functioning as a theme articulated jointly by the adjective *ujər* 'white' and the copula *ch* 'be'. However, the theme *dābal* 'wall' is attributed more by the predicative element *ujər* 'white' than by the copula *ch* 'be' in this predicate form of Maithili. When this adjective is used with the verb *kər* 'do' as in (1b), an extra argument having an agentive role is added in the form of the external argument. This external argument is mapped into the subject by Functional Mapping Theory (FMT) which by the same rule maps the former subject into the direct object. So, the argument structure gets affected due to the light verbs in adjectival predicative heads. Besides, when the shift from adjective to verb (adjective being verbalized with light verb) is caused, the subject of (1a) becomes the object in (1b). This feature is presented in examples (2a-b).



This shows that the Maithili language also endorses adjectival complex predicate where an adjective is used as a host and a verb as a light verb in such a construction.

Some light verbs which take adjectives of different kinds to form an adjectival complex predicate are described individually.

8.1.1 The verb *læg* 'adhere'

læg 'adhere' when used as a main verb generally takes an argument which functions as a theme. Similarly, it may also take another argument as a goal in the locative form. It is explained in the following examples.

- (3) *kəpramə dag lægəl əich*
 kəpra-mə ag læg-əl əich
 cloth-LOC spot adhere-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'Spot is attached to the cloth. (There is a spot on the cloth).'

But the verb *læg* is also a very productive light verb taking a noun or an adjective as its host to determine the argument structure of a clause. If it is hosted with a noun, a nominal complex predicate is formed, and with an adjective, an adjectival complex predicate is resulted. The following are also the adjectival CPs with different argument structure(s).

1.1 <goal>

- (4) *həmra gərəm lægəi əich*
 həm-ra gərəm læg-əi əich
 1SG-DAT hot adhere-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'I feel hot.' (Lit. hotness is attached to me.)

There are many adjectival CPs in this form. For example:

- nik læg-* 'feel good'
thənda læg- 'feel cold'
aləs læg- 'feel lazy'
bhari læg- 'feel difficult'
həluk læg- 'feel light'
khərab læg- 'feel bad'

The words preceding the light verb *læg* are all adjectives and they are united with it, hence the adjectival CPs are formed as they increase the number of argument in the sentences. We can compare the following sentences with and without this light verb.

(5) a. *i philim nik əich*
 i philim nik əich
 this film good be.PRS.3NH
 'This film is good.'

b. *i philim hāmra nik ləgəl əich*
 i philim hām-ra nik ləg-əl əich
 this film 1SG-DAT good adhere-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'I find this film interesting.'

Here, in (5a) only one argument *i philim* 'this film' is demanded by the verb *ch* 'be' along with the adjective *nik* 'good' which is not a case of CP construction. But with the example (5b), the light verb *ləg* with its adjectival host *nik* is used affecting the number and case marking of the arguments, hence forms an adjectival CP.

1.2 <goal (experiencer), xcomp>

(6) a. *u bidyarthi əlchi əich*
 u bidyarthi əlchi əich
 3SG student lazy be.PRS.3NH
 'That student is lazy.'

b. *oi bidyarthikə kam kərəime əlchi ləgəi əich*
 oi bidyarthi-kə kam kər-əime əlchi ləg-əi əich
 3SG student-DAT work do-INFP lazy adhere-IPFV be.PRS.3NH
 'That student feels lazy to do the work.'

Similarly, in (6a) there is only one argument *o bidyarthi* 'that student' which is in nominative case and functions as goal or experiencer and this construction is not a CP as it in (5a) because of the use of copula *ch* 'be' and having not any light verb. However, the (6b) has the light verb *ləg* 'adhere' which becomes united with its preceding adjective and then they together affect the number and case marking of the arguments. That is, two arguments have been used when the adjective *əlchi* 'lazy' is used as a host with the light verb *ləg*. In this way the a-structure is affected in terms of both; the number of arguments and case marking which becomes the adjectival CP formation.

8.1.2 The verb *kər* 'do'

kər 'do' is also one of the productive verbs functioning as a light verb by hosting a nominal or adjectival host, and together they contribute the argument structure and

others in a clause. In the construction of CPs having *kār* as a light verb adds an agent as an external argument and affects the case marking in the internal argument. The adjectives used with this light verb to constitute CP are presented down.

(7) a. *ghār saph bhel*

ghār saph bhe-l
house clean be-PST.3NH
'The house became clean.'

b. *mai ghārkā saph kelāin*

mai ghār-kā saph ke-l-əin
mother house-DAT clean do-PST-3H
'The mother cleaned the house.'

c. *dārji jāmakā choṭ kelāin*

dārji jāma-kā choṭ ke-l-əin
tailor man shirt-DAT short do-PST-3H
'The tailor man shortened the short.'

When the verb *ho/bhe* 'be' in (7a) is replaced by the light verb *kār/ke* 'do' as in (7b and c), an extra argument is added (*mai* 'mother' and *dārji* 'tailor man' respectively) and proto-patients, i.e. *ghār* 'house' in (7b) and *jāma* 'shirt' are marked with dative case marker *-kār/ke*. Thus, the light verb *kār/ke* contributes the number of argument and affects their case system; hence they form an adjectival CPs in (7b and c). Similarly, some commonly useful adjectival hosts with the light verb *kār* 'do' in Maithili can be:

<i>himmət kār</i>	'are'
<i>as kār</i>	'hope'
<i>rosən kār</i>	'popularize'
<i>ijot kār</i>	'make light/lighten'
<i>ənhār kār</i>	'make dark/darken'
<i>əlāg kār</i>	'separate'
<i>asthir kār</i>	'slow down'
<i>choṭ kār</i>	'shorten'
<i>nāmhār kār</i>	'enlarge'

The CP hence formed by the light verb *kār/kā* 'do' with an adjective host adds an agent as an external argument or subject in the sentences. Moreover, *kār* as a light verb can

also alter the subject into the object without adding an agent as an external argument where an agent remains implicit, as in example (8).

(8) a. *kes choṭ əich*
 kes choṭ əich
 hair short be.PRS.3NH
 'The hair is short.'

b. *keskə choṭ keləin*
kes-kə choṭ ke-l-əin
 hair-DAT short do-PST-3H
 'The hair was shortened/trimmed.'

(9) a. *jimdar sahebke nam khub rosən əich*
 jimdar saheb-ke nam khub rosən əich
 landlord 3SG.H-POSS name too much popular be.PRS.3H
 'The landlord's name is too popular.'

b. *jimdar sahebke nam khub rosən kər-iəu*
 jimdar saheb-ke nam khub rosən kər-iəu
 landlord 3SG.H-POSS name too much popular do-IMP.(2H)
 '(You) popularize the landlord's name much.'

8.1.3 The verb *ho* 'be/become'

This verb does not behave like other light verbs in the sense that it can not be used as a main verb that can have its own predicational value in isolation. It always comes in the combination with a noun or an an adjective and functions as a light verb. The following examples show that the sentences contain the verb *ho* 'be' as a copula, an auxiliary and complement verb that makes sometimes CP identification problematic. The main intuition in this is whether the adjectival element modifies or complements the subjects, or becomes the part of the CP. So, the following three examples containing *ho* are the adjectival complex constructions of Maithili to some extent.

(10) a. *o bimar bhel*
 o bimar bhe-l
 3SG ill be-PST.3H
 'He became ill.'

- b. *ghər saph bhel*
 ghər saph bhe-l
 house clean be-PST.3NH
 'The house became clean.'
- c. *bhai bhiḍmə bepəta bhel*
 bhai bhiḍ-mə bepəta bhe-l
 brother crowd-LOC disappear become-PST.3NH
 'Brother lost (himself) in the crowd.'

In this way, the adjectival complex predicate is formed with the verb *ho* 'become' in Maithili. The verb *lag/ləg* 'adhere', *kər/ke* 'do' and *ho* 'become' are the frequently used light verbs to form adjectival complex predicates. Beside these three verbs, there are some other verbs in Maithili used less commonly with few adjectives to constitute adjectival complex predicates.

8.1.4 The verb *pər* 'befall'

How this verb behaves as a main verb and light verb too is presented in the description of the nominal CPS earlier in chapter 7 where a nominal element was its host. However, it can also take an adjective as its host and forms adjectival CPS in Maithili. Now let's see it as a light verb with adjectives as its host in example (11).

- (11) a. *o bichaunmə pərəl chel*
 o bichaun-mə pər-əl ch-el
 3SG bed-LOC befall-IPFV be-PST.3NH
 'He was on the bed.' (Lit: He befell on the bed.)
- b. *o həmrəsə thik pərəl* (CP)
 o həm-ra-sə thik pər-əl
 3SG 1SG-DAT-OBL correct befall-PST.3H
 'He was corrected by me (He was behaved well due to me.)'
- c. *həmra ləhan payək pərəi əich* (CP)
 həm-ra ləhan payək pər-əi əich
 1SG-DAT Lahan near befall-IPFV be.PRS.1
 'Lahan is near place to me.'
- d. *o behos pərəl* (CP)
 o behos pər-əl
 3SG unconscious befall-PST-3NH
 'He became unconscious.'

<i>dikə pərn-ai</i>	'to get fed up'
<i>birami pərn-ai</i>	'to be ill'
<i>ascəryə pərn-ai</i>	'to be surprised'

In the example (11a), the verb *pər* 'befall' functions as a main verb predicating the whole clause alone, i.e., it in its full meaning. So, the structure of the clause remains simple. However, this verb is used in the combination of different adjectives in (11b-d) where it is delexicalized and functions as a light verb. Since the light verb *pər* 'befall' predicates the clauses along with the adjectives, i.e., *thik* 'correct' in (11b), *payək* 'near' in (11c) and *behos* 'unconscious' in (11d), they are called adjectival complex predicates.

8.1.5 The verb *par* 'prepare'

Similarly the verb *par* 'prepare' functions as a main verb and a light verb as well, and a noun or an adjective can be its host when used as a light one, determining the argument structure and case marking of a clause together, as in example (12).

- (12) a. *həm photo parləũ*
 həm photo par-l-əũ
 1SG photo prepare-PST-1
 'I prepared a photo.'
- b. *ghərbəla ghərbalikə thik parələin*
 ghərbəla ghərbali-kə thik par-əl-əin
 husband wife-DAT correct make-PST-3H
 'The husband got his wife in track.'
- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>niras par-nai</i> | 'to make hopeless' |
| <i>khusi par-nai</i> | 'to make happy' |
| <i>ujər par-nai</i> | 'to make white' |
| <i>səntusʈ par-nai</i> | 'to satisfy' |

In example (12a), the verb *par* 'prepare' functions as a main verb predicating the whole clause alone, i.e., it is in its full meaning. This condition of the clause is a simple predicate. But the same verb is delexicalized and functions as a light verb in (12b), which jointly predicates the clause, i.e., with the adjective *thik* 'correct'. Since the light

verb *par* 'prepare' and the adjective *thik* 'correct' form a single predicate unit in (12b), it is the example of an adjectival complex predicate in Maithili.

8.1.6 The verb *rakh* 'keep'

In Maithili, the verb *rakh* 'keep' functions as both: main and light as well. When it is used as a main verb, it takes two arguments at least. However, it changes its status of governing the argument structure in a clause in the form of a light verb. Here, it predicates a clause jointly with some adjectives; hence the formation becomes adjectival complex predicates, as in example (13).

- (13) a. *həm pəisa rakhləũ*
 həm pəisa rakh-l-əũ
 1SG money keep-PST-1
 'I kept money.'
- b. *ghər seho cikən rakhəit chələũ*
 ghər seho cikən rakh-əit chə-l-əũ
 house EMPH clean keep-IPFV be-PST-1
 'I used to keep the house clean even.'
- c. *dukəndar dukan bənd rakh-əl-əik*
 dukəndar dukan bənd rakh-əl-əik
 shopkeeper shop closed keep-PST-3NH
 'Shopkeeper kept the shop closed.'

In the first example (13a), the verb *rakh* 'keep' is used as a transitive verb governing two arguments; *həm* '1SG' and *pəisa* 'money', hence, it a main verb. But in examples (13b and c), this verb is combined with the adjectives: *cikən* 'clean' and *bənd* 'closed' respectively. That is to say, it is not the verb *rakh* 'keep' that governs all the arguments, but more governing elements are adjectives. So, they (13b and c) are adjectival complex predicates.

8.2 The predicatehood of adjectival host

As we examined the predicatehood of nominal hosts in nominal complex predicates in the chapter 7, here the adjectival hosts can be tested whether such hosts add any argument(s) or contribute in clauses or not. Let's see the examples below.

(14) a. *həm behos pərələü*
 həm behos pər-əl-əü
 1SG unconscious befall-PST-1
 'I became unconscious.'

b. *həm okrasə dikə*
 həm okra-sə dik pər-əl-əü
 1SG 3SG.DAT-OBL fed up befall-PST-1
 'I got fed up of him.'

In these two sentences of (14), we see there is the verb *pər* 'befall' as a light verb, but its host varies in all these cases. Due to its host, there affects the argument structure in the clauses. In (14a), the CP *behos pər* 'become unconscious' takes a single argument *1SG* 'I' in nominative case, but there are two arguments *həm* '1SG' and *okra-sə* '3SG.DAT-OBL' in the second sentence (14b) having dative and nominative markers respectively. Here, the second argument *okra-sə* having dative and oblique markers is not licensed by the intransitive verb *pər*. The only plausible account for this additional argument is that it is licensed by the adjective *dikə* 'fed up'. It means the adjective *dikə* contributes to the number of arguments along with case system in the clause, and therefore participates in predicatehood. Similarly the following case can also be accounted for regarding the capacity of the adjective to contribute in the clause.

(15) a. *o həmrasə thik pərəl*
 o həm-ra-sə thik pər-əl
 3SG 1SG-DAT-OBL correct befall-PST.3H
 'I corrected him. (He was behaved well due to me.)'

b. *həmra ləhan payək pərəi əich*
 həm-ra ləhan payək pər-əi əich
 1SG-DAT Lahan near befall-IPFV be.PER.1
 'Lahan is appropriate/near place to me.'

The way the sentence (14a) differs from the sentence (14b) is also in the case of (15a) and (15b), i.e., valency and case marking can be accounted for. If we assume that replacing the adjective brings the variations in the clause structure, this shows that the adjective in a CP has the capacity to constrain the number, meaning, and overt expression of the arguments in the clauses, that is, to participate in the predicatehood.

8.3 The predicatehood of light verb

In the adjectival complex predicates of Maithili, light verbs also bear the predicative value, as it is in the case of nominal complex predicates. The examples of (16) and (17) illustrate this phenomenon of the light verbs *ho* 'be', *kər* 'do', *par* 'make' and *ləg* 'adhere' respectively.

- (16) a. *ghər saph bhel*
ghər saph bhe-l
house clean be-PST.3NH
'The house became clean.'
- b. *mai ghərkə saph keləin*
mai ghər-kə saph ke-l-əin
mother house-DAT clean do-PST-3H
'The mother cleaned the house.'

Very remarkably, these two sentences contain the same adjective which is the host of *ho* 'be' in (16a) and of *kər* 'do' in (16b). There is a single argument in the first sentence which is in nominative and thematically as theme. But the number of the argument and their case markers along with their thematic roles are also affected. This influence takes place in the clause (16b) because of the light verb *kər*, not the host *saph*. In the former case, the argument *ghər* 'house' is in the nominative case, but when the light verb *ho* replaces *kər*, the argument *ghər* becomes a patient role with the dative case marker, and also a new argument is added, that is, *mai* 'mother'.

Similarly, in (17a and b), there are two different light verbs having the same adjectival host, where in the former the roles: agent and patient with nominative and dative case markers, and in the latter the roles: theme and experiencer with the case markers of nominative and dative are realized due to the light verbs, i.e., *par* 'make' in (17a) and *ləg* 'adhere' in (17b). This shows that the light verbs can be assigned to have the predicative value.

- (17) a. *həm bhaikə thik parləü*
həm bhai-kə thik par-l-əü
1SG brother-DAT correct make-PST-1
'I corrected my brother., (Lit: I brought my brother in proper track)

- b. *hunkər bat həmra thik lagəl*
 hunkər bat həm-ra thik lag-əl
 3SG.POSS matter 1SG-DAT correct adhere-PST.3H.1
 'The matter he told appeared right to me.'

8.4 The adjectival host as a part of predicate: Scrambling

As already analyzed that the direct daughter of S (sentence) can only be scrambled or moved freely in flexible word order languages including Maithili where the relative word order of the verb and its arguments in a clause is not fixed either. It means if a constituent which is itself a part of another constituent in a clause cannot be an immediate constituent of that clause; hence, such part(s) must be used together with its head. Let's see the following unscrambled and scrambled cases of the adjectival CPs.

- (18) a. *o həmrasə thik pərəl*
 o həm-ra-sə thik pər-əl
 3SG 1SG-DAT-OBL correct befall-PST.3H
 'I correct him.' (Lit: He was behaved well due to me.)

- b. *həmra-sə o thik pər-əl*
 c. *thik pər-əl o həmra-sə*
 d. *həm-ra-sə thik pər-əl o*
 e. **o thik həm-ra-sə pər-əl*
 f. **o pər-əl həm-ra-sə thik*
 g. **thik o həm-ra-sə pər-əl*

A predicate of a sentence is moved easily in any place but its part(s) cannot. As a complex predicate is composed of two semantic heads, they form a single predicate and must be moved together. In (18a-d), both of the elements of the adjectival CP are displaced, therefore, they are grammatically still well-formed, but in (18e-g), the adjectival host is separated from its verbal form, hence they all become unacceptable grammatically. This reminds of the assumption that the host and light elements in a CP are not scrambled. Since the adjectival host of a light verb is not a direct daughter in the grammatical categorial structure (c-structure), but forms a categorial constituent with the light verb, as mentioned earlier, any of these two elements if scrambled from each other produce grammatically unacceptable forms. These all prove that the CP is a categorial constituent (a single constituent at c-structure).

8.5 The CP as a Phrasal Category

There was a mismatching whether a nominal CP is a lexical category or a phrasal category and concluded that it could be both. It means with respect to scrambling and conjoining, it appeared as a lexical category, but applying modification, wh-question and relativization it proved as a phrasal category. In the following example (19), we see that the light verb can be topicalised but the adjectival host cannot be topicalized.

i. Topicalization

- (19) a. *həm bhai-kə thik parləũ*
 həm bhai-kə thik par-l-əũ
 1SG brother-DAT correct make-PST-1
 'I corrected my brother.'

- *b. *thik həm bhai-kə par-l-əũ*
 c. *par-əl-əunh həm bhai-kə thik*

ii. Modification

- (20) a. *həm bhai-kə khub thik parləũ*
 həm bhai-kə khub thik par-l-əũ
 1SG brother-DAT *too much* correct make-PST-1
 'I made my brother right.'
- b. *həm mərəijəka behos pərələũ*
 həm mərəi-jəka behos pər-əl-əũ
 1SG death-like unconscious befall-PST-1
 'I got fainted.'

In (20), the adjectival hosts *thik* 'correct' in (20a) and *behos* 'unconscious' in (20b) are modified by the adverbs *khub* 'too much' and *mərəi-jəka* 'death-like' respectively. With respect to these two phenomena, namely topicalization of light verb and modification of host by some other elements, it shows that both of the constituents of adjectival complex predicates are not lexical category but maximal projection. Lexical integrity hypothesis also prohibits syntactic reordering of constituent elements of a phrasal category. Hence adjectival CP is not a lexical category, but a phrasal, which in turn is headed by two non-terminal categories. The relevant notion for wordhood of adjectival CP is functional word, not categorial word. The two categorial words correspond to a single functional word.

8.6 The adverbial complex predicates

The structure of an adverbial complex predicate is ADV + V in which an adverb retains the basic semantic content while the verb contains the grammatical context as light verbs. This type of CP constructions is not productive in Maithili. However, there are a few verbs used as light verbs with the adverbial hosts to form such complex predicates. Frequently used light verbs with the adverbials are *lag* 'adhere', *kār* 'do' and *ho* 'become'. They generally denote the manner of doing action or happening event or existing state as stated in its introduction in the third chapter of this work. In this type of constructions too, grammaticalized verbs are the repertoire of light verbs and the composition is not at argument structure (can be sometimes) but at semantic structure projecting a single a-structure.

When a light verb is combined with an adverbial host to make a complex predicate, it affects s-structure and sometimes a-structure in a clause. The example in (21) clarifies this.

- (21) a. *gai əgari əich* (SP)
gai əgari əich
cow ahead be.PRS.3NH
'The cow is ahead.'
- b. *adəmi gai-ke əgari ke-l-əith* (CP)
adəmi gai-ke əgari ke-l-əith
man cow-DAT ahead do-PST-3H
'The man took the cow ahead.'

Let's see the individual treatment of some light verbs forming adverbial CPs in Maithili.

8.6.1 The verb *lag* 'adhere'

The verb *lag* 'adhere' is very productive in Maithili as it is found as a light verb that can be combined with a noun, an adjective or an adverb as its head, and hence, forms complex predicates. In the example (22), it is treated in its light form only.

- (22) a. *həmra chətpəṭi laig gel*
həm-ra chətpəṭi laig ge-l
1SG-DAT embarrassed adhere go-PST.1
'I got myself embarrassed.'

- b. *həm risa ləgli*
 həm risa ləg-l-i
 1SG angry adhere-PST-1
 'I came to be angry.'

kuckuci ləg- 'feel uncomfortable on throat'
thərthrai ləg- 'start trembling'
chəkkə ləg- 'get surprised'

Here, in the example (22a and b), the adverbs *chətpəti* 'embarrassed' and *risa* 'angrily' are used as heads which are followed by the light verb *lag* 'adhere', and these elements together hold the predicative value in the clauses.

8.6.2 The verb *kər* 'do'

kər 'do' is a transitive verb when it is used as a main verb that takes two arguments; an agent and a theme. But it helps some adverbs to attribute the predicationhood in clauses when it is delexicalized in its core meaning and functions just like an auxiliary, as in example (23).

- (23) a. *o kho-kho kərlək*
 o kho-kho kər-l-ək
 3SG coughingly do-PST-3NH
 'He coughed.'
- b. *o ai khəm-khəm kərlək*
 o ai khəm-khəm kər-əl-ək
 3SG today angrily act do-PST-3NH
 'He acted angrily today.'

Here, *kho-kho* 'coughingly' and *khəm-khəm* 'angrily act' are adverbs in (23a) and (23b) respectively. They are supported by the light verb *kər* 'do', and together they (adverbs and light) licenses for the syntactic clauses.

8.6.3 The verb *par* 'prepare'

- (24) *o həmra pəchari parlək*
 o həm-ra pəchari par-l-ək
 3SG 1SG-DAT back prepare-PST-3NH
 'He left me back.'

8.6.4 The verb *pər* 'befall'

(25) a. *həm pəchari pərləũ*

həm pəchari pər-l-əũ
1SG back make-PST-1
'I became back.'

b. *u ghərmə dekha pərəl*

u ghər-mə dekha pər-əl
3SG house-LOC seen befall-PST.3.NH
'He happened to be seen at home.'

In examples (24) and (25), the verbs *par* 'prepare' and *pər* 'befall' are used in their light structure in the combination of *pəchari* 'back' in (24) and (25a) respectively. Since the combined units are regulating all the syntactic mechanics of the clauses, they are called adverbial complex predicates. Similarly, in (25b), the light verb *pər* 'befall' is combined with the adverbial form *dekha* 'seen', and forms *dekha pər* as an adverbial complex predicate.

8.7 Summary

Maithili language shows the CP constructions other than the V-V CPs. That is, a verbal element (light) is not grouped with another verbal element but with adjective or adverb which functions as host and verbs as light. They together form a complex phrase called a complex predicate or conjunct complex predicates. In the cases of Adjectival complex predicates and adverbial ones too, the light verbs are combined with some adjectives and adverbs, and then they jointly contribute for the predicatehood in such structures in Maithili. However, they are not as productive as nominal complex predicates in this language. Finally, the Adv + Verb construction is treated in the way the ADJ + V is, but the ADV + V construction is used comparatively less in Maithili.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Summary

A single lexical predicate bearing a complete predicative value determines the syntax and semantics of a clause. However, this is not always the condition with many Indo-Aryan languages. A predicate can consist of more than one predicative unit either morphologically or syntactically and together they form a single predicative unit, called complex predicate, which has been an interesting phenomenon of an enquiry for many researchers in linguistics.

In South Asian languages, complex predicates are found for their versatility and frequency of usages that consist of two semantic heads (either morphemes or lexical items). When two morphemes form a complex predicate, it is termed as morphological construction and when two lexical items construct it, syntactic complex predicate is resulted. With the former type, a bound morpheme is adjusted with a free morpheme, and then they together regulate whole mechanism of a clause. On the other hand, in the latter case, a verbal or non-verbal element (noun, adjective or adverb) as a host is grouped with another verbal element which is delexicalized, grammaticalized or semantically bleached called a light verb. This is the phenomenon of syntactic complex predicate wherein both are jointly responsible for licensing all the regularizes of a clause. Along with the head of a complex predicate, what semantic information a light verb does retain and how this (together with its host/head) affects the overt manifestation of such a construction in terms of valency, case marking and pragmatic value of a clause is explored. Each light verb has a corresponding full verb; predicating a clause independently when it is used as a single verbal phrase. Thus, a complex predicate consists of at least two predicative elements for producing a single semantic unit, i.e., the inflation of semantic unit: one semantic conceptual unit into more than one lexical unit is the domain of complex word formation in different languages, and is the central domain of such constructions.

Complex predicate has been defined in differing ways, and in this dissertation, the researcher has followed Mohanan (1994), Butt (1994), Alsina (1997) and Mohanan (1997) that it is a predicate construction in which two semantically predicative elements jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause; together

regulating argument structure, case system and semantic structure of a clause. This study, thus, is an attempt to explore the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of morphological and syntactic complex predicates in Maithili analyzing them within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) developed by Bresnan (1978; 1982b; 2001), Bresnan and Kaplan (1982), Alsina, Bresnan and Sells (1997), Kaplan (2001), Dalrymple (2001), and Bresnan, Asudeh, Toivonen and Wechsler (2016) during the early 1980s as an alternate theory of the generative grammar of Noam Chomsky.

Maithili is a Neo-Indo Aryan (NIA) language spoken in the south-eastern part of Nepal, Terai region and in the northern part of Indian State of Bihar. It is the mother tongue of 11.67% of the total population of Nepal and has been the second widely spoken language used by 3,092,530 people. This language has also been alternatively called *Mithila Bhakha*, *Tirhutiya*, *Dehati*, *ṭheṭhi*, *əwəhta* or *əpəbhrəmsə*.

The literature related to the complex verbal constructions in Maithili reviewed in this attempt includes a critical analysis of the published/unpublished works, research papers and dissertations. The works carried out by Grierson (1883), Jha (1946), Jha (1958), Jha (1979), Singh (1979), Bimal (1986), Yadav (1996), Yadava (1999), Yadav (1999), Yadav (2004), Jha (2006), Ray (2008) and Asad (2013) have been reviewed to show how they have treated the complex nature of Maithili verbal units.

The study was based on the data from both sources: primary and secondary. The researcher, a Maithili native speaker, has been the main source of information. However, three lecturers and one non-teaching staff (who belong to Kyasthya and Brahmin families) from the Maithili community working at Lahan Campus and Siraha Campus were the informants for eliciting/verifying/adding the data. The researcher also collected the data from the written texts and the published/unpublished research works of Maithili.

The theoretical framework within which the Maithili complex predicates are analyzed in this study is Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG in short) that views syntax is not expressible explicitly with the representation of phrase structure tree, an architect of TG theory which is insufficient to account for the syntactic information of a sentence since the more abstract relations between grammatical functions and features cannot be conveniently expressed in such a tree. That is to say, the transforming deep to

surface structure does accommodate all level information a clause contains. As an alternative theory, LFG advocates that the model of syntax is not purely tree-based. The two different structures in LFG represent different aspects of syntax in a parallel form. The external structure of a sentence is represented in the form of a tree structure named constituent structure; whereas the internal structure is represented in the form of an acyclic graph structure named functional structure. In addition to representing syntactic information by means of c- and f-structures, LFG uses two other structures, i.e., the predicate argument structure (a-structure) and the f-structure look-alike semantic structure (s-structure) to express the thematic and semantic information of a sentence. The different structures in the LFG formalism are related to each other (one another) hierarchically by means of structural correspondences. Thus, LFG presents the basic syntactic and semantic information of a language in four interacting levels which are: constituent structure (c-structure), functional structure (f-structure), argument structure (a-structure) and semantic structure (s-structure). These four structures deal with the four different aspects of grammar. A theory which motivated the assignment of particular arguments to grammatical functions was developed under the concept of LFG called Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) which is one of the theoretical implications of LFG into complex predicates. Similarly, in causativization and permissive complex predicates, another theory called Functional Mapping Theory (FMT) maps the arguments into grammatical function according to its rules. Other two principles viz. Lexical Integrity Hypothesis (LIH) and Direct Syntactic Encoding (DSE) are also implacable for analyzing the complex predicate constructions.

In the series of analyzing the complex predicate of Maithili, some common grammatical properties such as nominal and verbal are applied. So, such properties based on the previous works and some of their notable variations in Saptarian Maithili have also been presented briefly. Regarding the nominal system of this language, most of the traditional grammars have maintained eight cases in Maithili. However, these eight cases based on syntactic and functional dimensions are not capturing the nominal functions generatively, and, therefore, needs to be explained on the basis of semantic functions, such as: patient, experience, etc. Similarly, there are three persons, two numbers (no grammatical), two genders and four forms of expressing honorificity. But honorificity in the Saptarian Maithili is of two natures only: honorific and non-honorific. Moreover, the nominals can be modified by

demonstrative, numeral and adjectives, and verbals by adverbs. There are auxiliaries that possess the morphological properties along with the main verbs to show different tenses, aspects, mood, (number, gender), person, honorificity and agreement, but in the absence of an auxiliary, the verb stems carry such burdens. The three aspects in the past and non-past tenses and five moods are observed. There are two types of complexhood in Maithili verbal system: basically called converbs and complex verbs. In the first type, two or more verbs, independent in their own status, concatenate to express separate functions/events, but in the latter, they are tightly unified with each other and express a single certain function called complex predicates. With regard to the agreement system, the verbal inflexion in Maithili agrees with the person, (gender) and honorificity of the subject and other arguments of a sentence. Structurally, people follow SOV order in common sentences and negation is made simply by adding a negative lexeme *nāi* before the main verb in the simple predicate constructions, and either before the polar (main) or light verb in the complex predicate constructions. Regarding the number of arguments, we can have three verbal clauses: transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive.

In Maithili, CP constructions are both: morphological and syntactic. Causative construction takes place in lexicon, i.e., morphological, and the combination of two separate predicative words takes place in syntax, also called periphrastic CPs. By morphological, here, is meant that due to derivation; the composition of a CP is out of one matrix predicate and next embedded predicate in the lexicon), wherein a bond morpheme *-a* or *-ba* as a causative element is combined with the verb (along with morphophonemic alteration), influencing the argument structure, case system and semantics of the clause. In the morphological CPs, the verb stem supplies the predicate of the caused event and the causative morpheme attached with it generates the causer event. In this language, both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized, and an intransitive verb (in most of the cases) becomes a transitive verb structurally when the causative suffix *-a* is added to its stem. In Maithili, the transitive rendering morphological predicative element and that of causative forming one are same; *-a* 'cause' is commonly applied. Similarly, the syntactic causative item *laga* 'cause/force' is also used in the certain part of Saptari and Siraha.

Describing the causativized complex predicates within the theoretical framework of LFG, the arguments are affected showing their thematic roles, grammatical functions

and pragmatic values that can be presented through the Functional Mapping Theory. The internal argument of the complex predicate is mapped onto the object function which was functioning as the logical subject of the simple predicate. In the FMT, when intransitive predicates are embedded with the causative morpheme *-a*, their a-structure gets affected, wherein the number of argument increases and the logical subject of intransitive predicate maps onto the internal argument behaving as an object. The causative or transitive construction of the intransitive construction in Maithili always allows the causee to be expressed as an object. The argument structure and the function structure with the oblique causee are different from the structures with the object causee. In this case, the second causative *-ba* is embedded with the stems due to which the causee is expressed as an oblique introduced by the postpositional marker *-sə* 'by'. Finally, in the process of causativization, a causer is added in the form of force or instrument role making the dative subject functioning as a causee of the causativized predicate in the role of patient which simultaneously remains the experiencer of the dative predicate.

Similarly, the syntactic causativized complex predicates of Maithili spoken in the southern part of Saptari contain one verbal stem and the causative marking item *lāga* 'cause/force to perform' and any type of verbs (transitive/intransitive/causativized) can syntactically causativized in this variety by adding the infinitive marker *-elə/əilə* with the first verb along with the causative predicate *lāga*. The syntactic /periphrastic causative, when non-causativized predicates are causativized, as it is the case with the morphological causative, increases the number of the argument structure, influences the case system and alters the semantic structure as well. However, there is not more influence over the number of arguments, and their meanings, except their case status, to some extent, if it is already causativised using the second type of morphological causative marker *-ba*. Similarly, the syntactic causativised predicates in this dialect can be separated from each other. The features such as separability, conjoining, questioning, scrambling and topicalisation show that the predicate parts are phrasal category.

In the series of V-V constructions (non-causativized complex predicates), Maithili CPS consist of two parts: host (V1) and light verb (V2) wherein the former precedes the latter, and a given verb V2 occurs in collocation with another verb V1 not to make the predication, but to make a complex predicate jointly with V1. They behave as a single

predicating expression. Among these two, the first verb is called polar/host and the second being vector/light. The second group verbs (V2s) are broadly called vectors that can also be divided into two groups; that one has no meaning other than the grammatical and other has influence in a-structure/case system/pragmatic meaning (value) of the main verb. This second set of the vectors deserves the name 'vector' in our sense and called light verb. Some of more productive light verbs are individually discussed showing their contributions for the construction of Maithili complex predicates. For example, the light verb *de* 'give' adds 'benefactive' value to the construction of main verb *likh* 'write'. Semantically, the light verbs are used with the polar verbs to contribute completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought, thoroughness, etc., depending on the items involved and on the circumstances the semantic notions encoded by each light verb. The two events in the V-V constructions are fused into a single event that determines the argument structure of a clause. Although the complex predicate formation takes place at syntactic structure, the researcher in this work also attempts to capture other semantic information for the CP constructions in Maithili, i.e., the influence of pragmatic values of the verbal complexity. It is also the fact that not only do light verbs compose their argument structure with that of their verbal complement; they also contribute pragmatic interpretation contextually. Finally, some grammatical operations as tests; verb agreement, scrambling, adverbial modification, negation and coordination are applied to verify whether the V-V units are complex predicates or not, considering the fact that the two verbs, i.e., host verb and light verb which compose a complex predicate via compound verb behave like a simple predicate in f-structure. Similarly, permissive complex predicate is also a V-V complex predicate that forms at argument structure. Interestingly, permission is a semantic notion increasing the number of argument of a host predicate and therefore best be analyzed at the level of argument structure. In this construction, the predicative situation can also be split into two events. In the first event, an external agent does not do anything but permits the agent of the basic construction to make the whole event into effect and in the second, the proto agent is caused to perform an action. In Maithili, permissive meaning is carried by the light verb *de* 'give/let' as a light verb representing the permission when used with other host verbs. The permissive structure is treated as complex predicate because the host verb and the

light verb *de* 'give' form a single constituent at the phrase structure and behave like a simple predicate. When a simple predicate is changed into the permissive structure, an extra argument is added which becomes the agent giving permission to carry out the action. Hence the new argument becomes an external argument whereas the former subject of the embedded predicate becomes an internal argument. The functional mapping theory thus assigns the external argument as the subject function and the former subject as the direct object. Agreement, modification, negation analysis, coordination and scrambling have been applied as useful tests for the verification of a permissive CP in Maithili. It is observed from the syntactic causative complex predicates that the two predicates inform separate events but in the fused manner, i.e., a transparent event fuses with the event of another predicate so that the two fused events behave as one for mapping onto syntax (f-structure): thus, while there are two events, each with its predicate information, at the level of argument structure, there is only one predicate and one clause at the level of f-structure. Similarly, the permissive construction also consists of one single predicate (at the level of f-structure), even though it includes two verbs, that also can be split into two events.

In Maithili CP constructions of non-verbal and elements verbal, a verbal element (light) is grouped with noun, adjective or adverb which functions as host and verb as light, together form a complex phrase called a complex predicate or a conjunct predicate. Among three types of conjunct predicates, the nominal complex predicate is the combination of a noun as its nominal host and a verb (light verb) as a delexicalized element, and the number of arguments, their case, and their meaning in a clause are jointly sanctioned. That is to say, the nominal host also contributes in the argumenthood: its valency, case or semantics. The entire syntactic mechanism of a sentence is shaped by the nature of its predicational elements which together form such a tight unit that they become a single unit called complex predicate. Regarding the concept of predicatehood in the nominal CP constructions, both nominal and light elements have the quality of predicatehood in their way. In the NCPS, there is the composition of an incomplete predicate and a complete predicate. The a-structures of matrix predicates are underspecified and on embedding this slot comes to be filled with arguments of embedded predicates. In English, *he takes money from his pocket*, and *he gives me a book* are two sentences containing two predicates; *take* and *give* in their full lexicality. But these verbs lose their such quality in the forms *take a drive*

and *give a sigh*. That is, one does not actually physically 'take a drive' but rather one 'drives'. However, they are still having their own meanings in these constructions, but not in the way they do in the previous cases. This shows that these verbs are semantically bleached/delexicalized and gone under the concatenation with the main verb 'have' being more of a verbal licenser for nouns. However, the verbs, as Butt (2005) argues, are clearly not entirely devoid of semantic predicative content either: there is a clear difference between *take a bath* and *give a bath*. The verbs thus seem to neither retain their full semantic predicational content, nor are they semantically completely empty. They are predicating along with their nominal units, and appear to be semantically *light* in some manner. Several light verbs have been combined with the nominal heads for analyzing the N+V construction in this work. For example, the structure, *ḍar ləg* 'fear adhere' is a nominal CP as in (where the host is *ḍar* 'fear' which is noun and *ləg* 'adhere' is light verb but the argument structure and case marking of this sentence are affected by the noun *ḍar* rather than the verb sequence *ləg* 'adhere'. This shows that the verb *ləg* 'adhere' functions as a main verb in the example (4a) of chapter 6 and takes a single argument in nominative case but there are two arguments in (4b): the first being an experiencer 'Binod' with dative marker and the second *kəhani* 'story' as a theme also with dative/ablative one, contributed jointly by the nominal host *ḍar* 'fear' and the light verb *ləg* 'adhere'. Here, the noun in this CP has the capacity to constrain the number, meaning, and overt expression of the argument in the clause, that is, to participate in the predicatehood. Similarly, in the example (46) of chapter 6, the patient '*pəsu*' has been affected in its case marking form due to the light verb '*le*' as in its bleached sense. It means the verb *le* as a single predicate takes the patientive role in the ablative form, but when it is used as a semantic emptying form, it takes the patientive role in the genitive/source form. Thus, the desired pragmatics of a clause containing a nominal complex predicate is determined jointly by the nominal head and the light verb. Similarly, the nominal host has been tested for accounting it as a part of predicate, as a phrasal category or a lexical category through the grammatical operations: scrambling, topicalization, adjectival modification, conjoining, wh-question, and relativization for the conformation of finding the status of the nominal head.

Another type of conjunct verb constructions in Maithili is is adjectival complex predicates having the structure ADJ+V. There are some verbs functioning as light verbs that undergo more grammaticalization, that is, more emptied, than other verbs and are found to verbalize some adjectives as it is in the case of nominal complex predicates. Adjectival complex predicate consists of an adjective as host combined with such verbalized verbs (the light verbs) and work as a single PRED that contributes argument and syntactic structure of a clause. The adjective as the structure shows precedes the light verb and determines all the mechanics of a clause jointly. Some of the common light verbs that have adjectives as their hosts are: *lāg* 'adhere', *kār* 'do', *pār* 'befall', *par* 'make', *ho/ch* 'be', *rakh* 'keep' and *rəh* 'remain' frequently used in Maithili. In the example (1a) of chapter 8, presented down too, there is only one argument as *dəbal* 'wall' functioning as a patient/theme articulated jointly by the adjective *ujər* 'white' and the copula *ch* 'be'. However, the patient *dəbal* 'wall' is attributed more by the predicative element *ujər* 'white' than by the copula *ch* 'be' in predicate of Maithili. When this adjective is used with the verb *kār* 'do' as in (1b), an extra argument having an agentive role is added in the form of the external argument. This external argument is mapped into subject by FMT which by the same rule maps the former subject into the direct object. So, the argument structure gets affected due to the light verbs in adjectival predicative heads. Besides, when the shift from adjective to verb (adjective being verbalized with light verb) is caused, the subject of (1a) becomes an object in (1b). This is presented in the following examples.

- (1) a. *dəbal ujər chəi*
 dəbal ujər ch-əi
 wall white be.PRS-3NH
 The wall is white.'
- b. *o dəbalkə ujər kene chəin*
 o dəbal-kə ujər ke-ne ch-əin
 3SG wall white do-PFV be.PRS-3H
 'He has made the wall white.'

Finally, the adverbial complex predicates under the conjunct verb constructions in Maithili are also found with the structure of ADV+V in which an adverb retains the basic semantic content while the verb contains the grammatical context as light verbs. This type of CP constructions is not productive in Maithili. However, there are a few verbs used as light verbs with the adverbial hosts to form such complex predicates.

Frequently used light verbs with the adverbials are *lag* 'adhere', *kər* 'do' and *ho* 'become'. They generally denote the manner of doing action or happening event or existing state as stated in its introduction in the third chapter of this work. In this type of constructions, the composition is not at argument structure (can be sometimes) but is at semantic structure projecting a single a-structure of a clause. The illustrative example in (21) of chapter 8 is as follows.

- (21) a. *gai əgari əich* (SP)
 gai əgari əich
 cow ahead be.PRS.3NH
 'The cow is ahead.'
- b. *adəmi gai-ke əgari ke-l-əith* (CP)
 adəmi gai-ke əgari ke-l-əith
 man cow-DAT ahead do-PST-3H
 'The man took the cow ahead.'

Thus, Maithili language has morphological and syntactic complex predicate constructions wherein transitivized/causativized predicates take place in lexicon, hence morphological CPS, and syntactic causative CPs, V-V CPs and Nonverbal-Verbal CPs are in syntax, hence syntactic/periphrastic CPs. Whether a predicative composition is a CP or not, the syntactic operation tests; agreement, modification, scrambling, coordination, etc. can be applied well, and all these CP constructions can best be analysed within the sub-theories of the theory LFG.

9.2 Conclusion

Complex predicates in Maithili are grouped as morphological (causative) and syntactic (both causative and non-causative) constructions. Under the latter category, verb and verb construction (compound verb), permissive construction, and non-verbal construction (N + V, ADJ + V and ADV+ V complex predicates) are found. The morphological complex predicates are formed from the composition of one matrix predicate (root/stem form) and an embedded predicate. This embedded predicate is said to have the causative value which projects the argument structure, case marking and meaning as well together within that matrix. In this language, both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized, and an intransitive verb (in most of the cases) becomes a transitive verb when the causative suffix 'a' (the first causative) is added to the stem. The second causative *-ba* is embedded with the stems due to which the

causee is expressed as an oblique introduced by the postposition *-sə* 'by'. Yadav (1996) and Ray (2008) found that Maithili does have suffixal causative formation. However, among the different Maithili varieties, the Maithili spoken in the southern part of Saptari does have the lexical/syntactic type of causative constructions. It also increases the number of the argument structure, influences the case system and alters the semantic structure as well. The causative vector in the syntactic causative of this variety is *ləga*. That is, lexical meaning of *ləga* has been bleached and it acts like a causative marker. The argument structure of this predicate is like that of 'causative' morpheme *-a*. The formation shows that any type of verbs (transitive/intransitive/causativized) can syntactically causativized in this variety of Maithili, simply by adding the infinitive marker *-elə* with the first verb, somewhere with more phonemic alteration. Similarly, the syntactic causativised predicates in this dialect can be separated from each other using separability, conjoining, questioning, scrambling and topicalisation which show that the predicate parts are phrasal category.

Maithili is very rich in V-V Construction that consists of two parts: host and light verb. Semantically, the light verbs are used with the polar verbs to contribute different pragmatic values depending on the items involved and on the circumstances the semantic notions encoded by each light verb. Grammatical operations such as verb agreement, scrambling, adverbial modification, negation and coordination are applied to verify whether the two units are complex predicates or not. The permissive structure with the light verb *de* 'give' forms a single constitute at the phrase structure and behaves like a simple predicate. The Maithili nominal complex predicate is formed by the combination of the noun as its nominal host and the verb (light verb). It is shown that the nominal host also contributes in the argumenthood: its valency, case or semantics, both nominal and light elements have the quality of predicatehood in their way. Similarly, the nominal host has been tested for accounting it as a part of predicate, as a phrasal category or a lexical category through the grammatical operations: scrambling, topicalization, adjectival modification, conjoining, wh-question, and relativization for the conformation of finding the status of the complex predicates. Adjectival complex predicate consists of an adjective as host combined with such verbalized verbs (the light verbs) forming a single PRED that contributes argument and syntactic structure of a clause. In Maithili, the construction ADJ + V is

less common. Some of the common light verbs that have adjectives as their hosts are: *lāg* 'adhere', *kār* 'do', *pār* 'befall', *par* 'make', *ho* 'be', *rakh* 'keep' and *rāh* 'remain'. Similarly, there are a few verbs used as light verbs with the adverbial host to form a complex predicate. Frequently used light verbs with the adverbials are *lāg* 'adhere', *kār* 'do' and *ho* 'become'. They generally denote the manner of doing action or happening event or existing state.

Dependents of complex predicates are presented within the theoretical framework of LFG that looks into their structures and functions at different levels such as a-structure, c-structure, s-structure and f-structure. In causativization and permissive complex predicates, FMT comes into operation. It maps the arguments into grammatical function according to its rules. How these levels are interacting within this framework can be seen from the representation of the complex predicate in the sentence *binod-kā kāhani-sā ḍār lāgāl-āich* (Binod was frightened of the story) below. In this expression *ḍār lāgāl* 'fear adhere' is an nominal complex predicate that can be presented under the four structures in the parallel form.

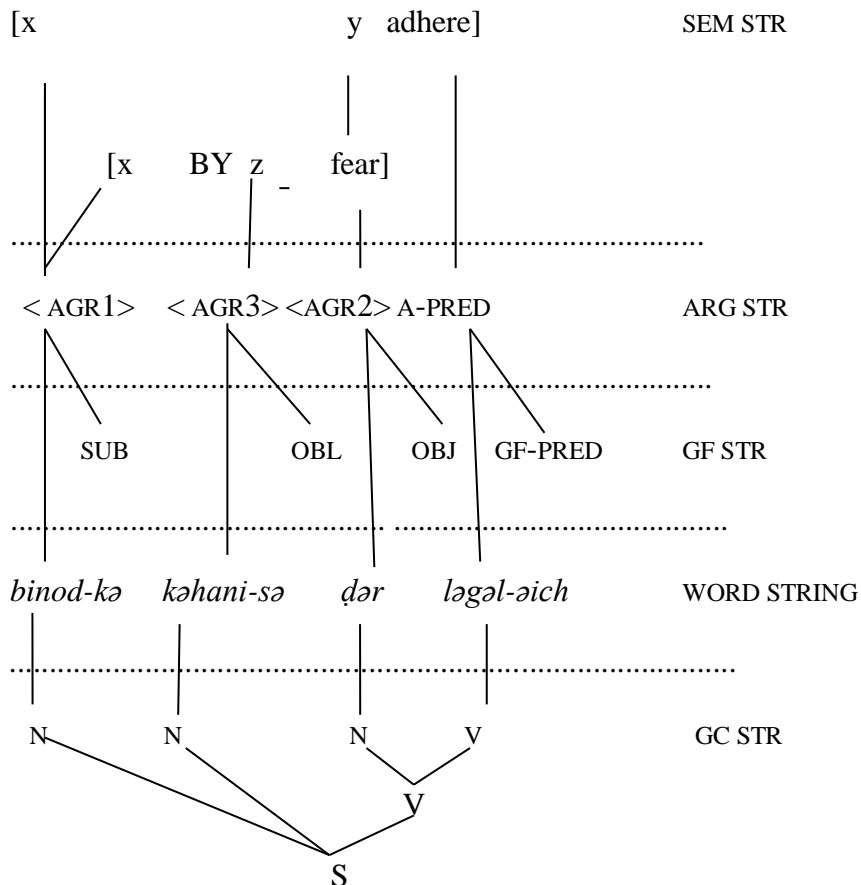


Figure 2.6: Representation of complex predicate under four levels

This figure represents linguistic information of different levels in the parallel form. That is to say, the verb *lāg* 'adhere' as in its main form requires only one argument having the role of theme which is the simple verb construction. But the same verb *lāg* used as a light verb in the complex predicate construction *ḍār lāg* 'fear adhere' needs to be reanalyzed. Here, two arguments are added having different thematic roles: the first being an experiencer *Binod* with dative marker and the second *kāhani* 'story' as a theme also with dative one, contributed by jointly the nominal host *ḍār* 'fear' and the light verb *lāg* 'adhere'. Here, the nominal predicate item *ḍār* regulates the argument structure more than the light verb *lāg*. In the syntactic structure, *ḍār* itself seems as an argument but has the predicative value, i.e., having verbal license along with the verb *lāg*. So, functionally, there are only two functions; subject with dative case and object with oblique governed by the predicative unit *ḍār lāg*. This shows the phenomenon of the grammatical functional structure. Similarly, the constituent structure mapping the word string into the different word categories is represented at the bottom of the figure. Thus, LFG spreads the syntactic and functional structures together explicitly.

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APPENDIX: A

Research Tool Model Used for Data Analysis

Type	Examples	Source
NV		
Adjv		
AdvV		
VV		
Compound		
NV		
Compound		
Causative 1st		
Causative2nd		

APPENDIX: B

Analyzed Data Showing Argument Structure of Complex Predicates

Verb	Vector	Complex Structure	Argument Structure	Examples
<i>uṭhi</i>	<i>gel</i>	<i>uṭhi gelah</i>	agent	<i>mohən uṭhi gelah</i> Jha (2006, p. 45)
<i>khæ</i>	<i>lel</i>	<i>khæ lelhun</i>	agent, theme	<i>khæ lelhun</i> Jha (2006, p. 45)
<i>cihunki</i>	<i>uṭh</i>	<i>cinuki uṭhæet</i>	agent	<i>paṭhək cihunki uṭhæet achi</i> Bimal in Jha (2069, p. ii)
<i>phərək kæ</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>phərək kæ dæet</i>	agent, patient	<i>ənyə kəthakarsə phərək kæ dæet achi</i> Bimal in Jha (2069, p. ii)
<i>əntə bhə</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>əntə bhə jəi</i>	theme /patient	<i>kəṭhakə əntə bhə jəi chæ</i> Bimal in Jha (2069, p. 5)
<i>rakhi</i>	<i>lel</i>	<i>rakhi lel gel</i>	agent, theme	<i>nəyika əgəniken sakchi rakhi lel gel</i> Bimal in Jha (2069, p. 6)
<i>kapi</i>	<i>uṭh</i>	<i>kapi uṭhəl</i>	agent	<i>o kapi uṭhəit chəṭhi</i> Bimal in Jha (2069, p. 7)
<i>kər</i>	<i>ləgəl</i>	<i>kərə ləgəli</i>	agent, theme	<i>həm sor kərə ləgəli</i> Bimal in Jha (2069, p. 7)
<i>choḍi</i>	<i>dəit</i>	<i>choḍi dəit</i>	agent, theme	<i>beta tə nrityə choḍi dəit aich</i> Jha (2069, p. 10)
<i>bən</i>	<i>cukəl</i>	<i>bəna cukəl</i>	agent, theme	<i>sujit əpən phərək pəhichan bəna cukəl chəṭhi</i> Jha (2069, p. 12)
<i>cəl</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>cəli delək</i>	agent	<i>əmən iskul cəli delək</i> Jha (2069, p. 19)
<i>pəta</i>	<i>cəl</i>	<i>pəta cəli</i>	agent, patient	<i>həmərə i pəta cəli gel</i> Jha (2069, p. 20)
<i>dekh</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>dekhəi də</i>	agent, theme	<i>babuji khusi dekhəi də rəhəl chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 20)
<i>khəs</i>	<i>pəd</i>	<i>khəsi pədəl</i>	theme, location	<i>pen gojisə khəsi pədəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 20)
<i>uḍ</i>	<i>ləgəl</i>	<i>uḍə ləgəl</i>	agent, location	<i>ciḍəi əkasme uḍə ləgəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 21)
<i>pəta</i>	<i>cəli</i>	<i>pəta cəli</i>	agent, theme	<i>əhəkə səbh sətyə pəta cəli jaet</i> Jha (2069, p. 23)
<i>cəl</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>cəli jaib</i>	agent	<i>həm gəḍisə cəli jaib</i> Jha (2069, p. 25)
<i>cəli</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>cəli ael</i>	agent	<i>sonu soho cəli ael</i> Jha (2069, p. 27)
<i>rəhi</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>rəhi gel</i>	agent	<i>rəhi gel chəl jitendrə a neha</i> Jha (2069, p. 28)
<i>baj</i>	<i>uṭh</i>	<i>baji uṭhəl</i>	theme	<i>kəlbəl baji uṭhəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 33)
<i>kər</i>	<i>pəd</i>	<i>kərə pədəl</i>	theme, patient, location	<i>bibah həmrə birgunjsə kərə pədəl chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 34)

<i>lāg</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>lāgi gel</i>	patient, theme	<i>beṭakā nokāri lagi gel</i> Jha (2069, p. 34)
<i>pas</i>	<i>cukāl</i>	<i>paskā cukāl</i>	agent, theme	<i>nitū bie paskā cukāl achi</i> Jha (2069, p. 35)
<i>bisār</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>bisār del</i>	theme, agent	<i>i hāmra chān bhārimē nāhi bisār del jāit chāl</i> Jha (2069, p. 35)
<i>lāgā</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>lāgā lāgāl</i>	agent, theme	<i>okāra charie dinme fofāri lāgā lāgālāik</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>an</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ani lene</i>	agent, theme	<i>kitab ani lele chālhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>dhā</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>dhālene</i>	patient, theme	<i>gal gulabi akār dhā lene chāl</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>ṭuṭ</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>ṭuṭā lāgāl</i>	theme	<i>okār mān ṭuṭā lāgāl chāl</i> Jha (2069, pp. 36-37)
<i>nikāl</i>	<i>sāk</i>	<i>nikāl sākāl</i>	agent, patient	<i>o sāb hāmrame kono khot nāhi nikāli sākālāiṭhi</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>mun</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>muni lāit</i>	agent, theme	<i>hām ākh muni lāit chālhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>kuhār</i>	<i>rāh</i>	<i>kuhārikā rāhi</i>	agent	<i>hām mānemān kuhārikā rāhi gelāhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>tak</i>	<i>sākāl</i>	<i>taki sākāl</i>	agent, patient	<i>hām jāichāndrā dis taki nāhi sākāl chālhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 36)
<i>ṭuṭ</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>ṭuṭā</i>	theme	<i>jāichāndrā byābharāk karān mon ṭuṭā lāgāl chāl</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>nikāl</i>	<i>sāk</i>	<i>nikāl sākāl</i>	agent, patient	<i>o sāb hāmrame kono khot nāhi nikāli sākālāiṭhi</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>kār</i>	<i>dekh</i>	<i>kārāit dekhāit</i>	agent, patient, theme	<i>maji biṭṭuke dekhbhal kārāit dekhāit chālhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>mun</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>muni lāit</i>	agent, theme	<i>hām ākh muni lāit chālhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>kāhi</i>	<i>dāit</i>	<i>kāhi dāit</i>	agent	<i>jāichāndrā soho kāhi dāit chālā</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>bāis</i>	<i>jau</i>	<i>bāisāl jau</i>	agent	<i>bāisāl jau</i> Yadav (1996, p. 50)
<i>cāil</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>cāil a</i>	agent	<i>āhā cāil ael-āhu</i> Yadav (1996, p. 51)
<i>pākār /pākāir</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>pākāir le</i>	agent, patient	<i>o pākāir lelāiṭh</i> Yadav(1996, p. 59)
<i>uṭhi</i>	<i>jai</i>	<i>uṭh jai</i>	agent	<i>hām uṭh jāit chi</i> Yadav (1996, p. 59)
<i>cārḥ</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>cāir jāetah</i>	agent	<i>o cāirḥ jāetah</i> Yadav (1996, p. 59)
<i>mār</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>māir</i>	agent	<i>o māir gelah</i>

		<i>gelah</i>		Yadav (1996, p. 59)
<i>a</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>aib jel</i>	agent	<i>pəndit lokəin aib gelah</i> Yadav (1996, p.70)
<i>kha</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>khail gel</i>	agent	<i>mehəman sə khael nai geləinh</i> Yadav (1996, p. 86)
<i>bəs</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>bəis jo</i>	agent	<i>əpne bəisəl ja-e</i> Yadav (1996, p.107)
<i>kər</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>kər jo</i>	agent, patient	<i>əpne bhəjən kel jae</i> Yadav (1996, p.107)
<i>a</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>a jo</i>	agent	<i>o lokəin aib gelah</i> Yadav (1996, p.110)
<i>bech</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>bech de</i>	agent	<i>əi gai kə ab bech diə</i> Yadav (1996, p. 112)
<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de de</i>	agent, patient	<i>jinka sə lələhu, tinka dādīəunh</i> Yadav (1996, p. 119)
<i>a</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>aib gel</i>	agent	<i>nəbki bhəuji aib gelih</i> Yadav (1996, p. 127)
<i>lə</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lə le</i>	agent, patient	<i>kehno bhəṭə tə lə leb</i> Yadav (1996, p.137)
<i>di</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>də de</i>	agent , theme	<i>kicho də diə</i> Yadav (1996, p.157)
<i>mər</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>məir jo</i>	vocative, patient	<i>he bhəgban o raitme məir jae</i> Yadav (1996, p. 166)
<i>ruis</i>	<i>bəis</i>	<i>ruis bəis</i>	agent	<i>o ruis bəis lah</i> Yadav (1996, p. 208)
<i>mair</i>	<i>bəis</i>	<i>məir bəis</i>	agent, patient	<i>o pətni-kə mair bəis əl khinh</i> (regretion) Yadav (1996, p. 208)
<i>khəis</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>khəis pər</i>	agent	<i>o khəis pərlah</i> (suddenly) Yadav (1996, p. 208)
<i>buijh</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>buijh pər</i>	agent	<i>həmra buijh pər əl</i> (suddenly) Yadav (1996, p. 208)
<i>bhag</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>bhag pər</i>	agent	<i>bhag pər</i> Yadav (1996, p. 208)
<i>phətkari</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>phətkari dət</i>	agent, patient	<i>səus okəra phətkari dət chəlih</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>sunə</i>	<i>pədəl</i>	<i>sunə pədət</i>	patient, theme	<i>həmər majikə bhasən sunə pədət chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 37)
<i>əsmrən</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>əsmrən aib</i>	patient, theme	<i>kətekə geet həmra əsmrən aib gel chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>bitə</i>	<i>ləg</i>	<i>bitə ləg</i>	locative, theme	<i>səhərme həmər səməi bitə ləgəl chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>le</i>	<i>cəl</i>	<i>lə cəl</i>	agent, patient	<i>daikə seho lə cələb</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>ṭhani</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ṭhani le</i>	agent,	<i>həm bie kə pədhəi kərəb seho</i>

			x-com	<i>thani lelhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>uṭh</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>uṭhə le</i>	agent, theme	<i>maji pure ghər math pər uṭhə lelih</i> Jha (2069, pp. 37-38)
<i>pəidh</i>	<i>le kər</i>	<i>pəidh lel kər</i>	agent, theme	<i>khali sāməyəme ptrika pəidh lel kəru</i> Jha (2069, pp. 38-39)
<i>buijh</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>buijh le</i>	theme, experiencer	<i>həmra səbh ghərke nokrəni</i> <i>buijh lene əchi</i> Jha (2069, pp. 38-39)
<i>bərdast</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>bərdast kər</i>	experiencer, theme	<i>həm bəccake əpekcha bərdast</i> <i>nəhi kə səkəb</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>kər</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kər de</i>	agent, patient, theme	<i>maji həmra ghərke kaj kər del</i> <i>jait əchi</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>ja</i>	<i>ləg</i>	<i>ja ləg</i>	agent, location	<i>bittu pher iskul ja ləgəl chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>man</i>	<i>ja ləg</i>	<i>manəl ja ləg</i>	agent, theme	<i>həm majikə prəti upekcha mənəl</i> <i>jael ləgəlhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 38)
<i>ləga</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ləga le</i>	agent, patient	<i>kam kərəibali ləga lene chəlhun</i> Jha (2069, p. 40)
<i>khōji</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>khōji le</i>	agent, theme	<i>jaichəndrə kononə kono bat khoij</i> <i>ləiṭhi</i> Jha (2069, p. 40)
<i>buijh</i>	<i>pəbəi</i>	<i>buijh pəbəi</i>	experiencer, theme	<i>bitəl jibən ke dekhəi chi tə hə</i> <i>buijh nəhi pəbəit chi</i> Jha (2069, p. 43)
<i>bəna</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>bəna le</i>	agent /benefactive	<i>əpna lel duita roti bəna li</i> Jha (2069, p. 44)
<i>kha</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>kha le</i>	agent, theme	<i>həm okro tin ber kha ləit chi</i> Jha (2069, p. 44)
<i>ghəngħən</i>	<i>uṭhəl</i>	<i>ghəngħəna uṭhəl</i>	theme	<i>kəl bell ghəngħəna uṭhəl</i>
<i>kə</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kə de</i>	agent, theme	<i>həm əhəkə kaj kəe de-ləuh</i> Yadav (2004, p. 2)
<i>mər</i>	<i>miṭ</i>	<i>məir miṭəb</i>	agent /patient	<i>həm məir miṭəb</i> Yadav (2004, p. 24)
<i>kaiṭ</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kaiṭ de</i>	agent, patient, theme	<i>həm əhə kə gach kaiṭ deb</i> Yadav (2004, p. 29)
<i>pəkər /pəkəir</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>pəkdi le</i>	agent, theme	<i>o bhore bəs pəkdi lenechələṭhi</i> Jha (2069, p. 79)
<i>sətabə</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>sətab ləgəl</i>	experiencer, theme	<i>hunka cinta sətəbə ləgəl chəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 79)
<i>a</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>a ləg</i>	patient, theme	<i>hunkər mənme khərab bat səb</i> <i>abə ləgəl</i> Jha (2069, p. 79)
<i>nikəl</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>nikəl de</i>	agent, patient,	<i>hunka nokərisə nikali del jait</i> Jha (2069, p. 80)

			theme	
<i>khoji</i>	<i>pədət</i>	<i>khojhe pədət</i>	agent, theme	<i>həmra ənyə upayə khojhe pədət</i> Jha (2069, p. 80)
<i>təng</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>təng kər</i>	agent, patient	<i>hunka həm khub təng kərəb</i> Jha (2069, p. 81)
<i>gher</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>gher le</i>	patient, theme	<i>hunka kono əgæt bhəyə gher lelək</i> (Jha, 2069, p. 81)
<i>luṭ</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>luṭ le</i>	patient, x-com	<i>hunka phəsakə səbkichu luiṭ lene hoet</i> Jha (2069, p. 82)
<i>təghər</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>təghəri a</i>	theme, location	<i>norək bundə hunkər galpər</i> <i>təghəri ael huə</i> Jha (2069, p. 82)
<i>juṭa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>juṭa pab</i>	agent, theme	<i>həm jebakə himət nəhi juṭa</i> <i>pab rəhəl chi</i> Jha (2069, p. 87)
<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ləle</i>	agent, theme	<i>renu kono məhəga sabunkə</i> <i>nam lə lelhi</i> Jha (2069, p. 59)

APPENDIX: C
MORPHOLOGICAL CPS IN MAITHILI
(INTERLINEARIZED SENTENCES)

- (1) *to hām-ra pan khu-e-b* Das (2068, p. 2)
 2SG 1SG-DAT betel eat-CAUS-FUT.2NH
 'You will get me to have the betel.'
- (2) *pan hām lāg-ba rāhəl ch-i* Das (2068, p. 2)
 betel 1SG prepare-CAUS PROG be.PRS-1
 'I have the betel being prepared.'
- (3) *tu hām-ra biskuṭ seho khu-e-ne rāh-i* Das (2068, p. 2)
 2SG 1SG-DAT biscuit EMPH eat-CAUS-PFV be-PST.2NH.1
 'You had had me eat the biscuit.'
- (4) *budhiya okāra bat sun-a-be lāg-əl* Das (2068, p. 3)
 old women 3SG.DAT message listen-CAUS-PFV start-PST.3NH
 'The old woman started telling him a message.'
- (5) *hām okāra khel-a-eb*
 1SG 3SG.DAT play-CAUS-FUT.1
 'I will get him play.'
- (6) *hām sikh-e-l-əunh* Das (2068, p. 3)
 1SG learn-CAUS-PST-1
 'I made (him) learn.'
- (7) *bacca-ke uṭh-a-eb* Das (2068, p. 2)
 child-DAT rise-CAUS-FUT.1
 '(I) will have the child get up.'
- (8) *bacca dunu goṭə-sə mar-əl gel ch-əl*
 child two men-OBL kill-PASS go be-PST.3NH
 'The child was killed by both of them.'
- (9) *rāja jānək jānəkpur səhər bās-a-ne əich*
 king Janak Janakpur city sit-CAUS-PFV be.PRS.3H
 'The king Janak has established the Janakpur city.'
- (10) *jānəkpur səhər bās-əl ch-əi*
 Janakpur city sit-IPFV be-PRS.3NH
 'The king Janak has established the Janakpur city.'

- (11) *o ram-sə ekata ghər bən-a rəhəl əich*
 3SG Ram-OBL one house make-CAUS PROG be.PRS.3NH
 ‘S/he is causing Ram make a house.’
- (12) *jəicəndrə əpən mitrə-sə jəmai-kə*
 Jaychandra own.POSS friend-DAT son-in-law-DAT
pəricəyə kər-a rəhəl chə-l-ah
 introduction do-CAUS PROG AUX-PST-3H
 ‘Jaychandra was getting his friend introduce with his son-in-law.’
- (13) *ma-ji əcar bən-ba le-l-əinh*
 mother-H pickle prepare-CAUS take-PST-3H
 ‘Mother had the pickle prepared (by someone).’
- (14) *o dai-ke həbaijəhaj-pər ghum-a-it*
 3SG big brother-DAT aeroplane-LOC travel-CAUS-FUT.3NH
 ‘His big brother will be travelled in the aeroplane by him.’
- (15) *kono dokan khol-ba l-eb*
 any shop open-CAUS take-FUT.2H
 ‘Let any shop be opened.’
- (16) *o din bite-l-ək*
 3SG day spend-PST-3NH
 ‘He spent the day.’
- (18) *u okəra nəc-el-ək*
 3SG 3SG.DAT dance-CAUS-PST-3NH
 ‘He made him dance.’
- (19) *həm okəra pərh-au-b-əi*
 1SG 3SG.DAT teach-CAUS-FUT-S1
 ‘I will get him teach.’
- (20) *gai nuka ge-l*
 cow hide go-PST.3NH
 ‘The cow hid.’

APPENDIX: D

SYNTACTIC CPS OF MAITHILI (DATA BASED)

- (1) *panbali* *budhiya-kə* *maya* Das (2068, p. 1)
 betel seller.F old woman-DAT love
laig *ge-l-əi*
 adhere go-PST-3NH
 ‘The betel selling old woman got pity (over him).’
- (2) *mai* *pāc* *satta* *pan* *lāg-o* Das (2068, p. 2)
 mother five seven betel prepare-PRS.3.NH
 ‘Mother, prepare five-seven betels.’
- (3) *həm* *pan* *lāga* *də-it* *ch-i* Das (2068, p. 2)
 1SG betel prepare give-PROG be.PRS-1
 ‘I am preparing the betel.’
- (4) *dines* *okəra* *prənam* *ke-l-ək* Das (2068, p. 2)
 Dinesh 2SG.DAT greet do-PST-3NH
 ‘Dinesh greeted him.’
- (5) *o* *bəhut* *budha* *ge-l* *chə-l* Das (2068, p. 2)
 3SG much old go-PERF be-PST.3NH
 ‘He had been much old.’
- (6) *panbali* *budhiya* *ascryə-me* *pəid* *ge-l* Das (2068, p. 2)
 betel-selling ole woman surprise-LOC lay go-PST.3NH
 ‘Betel selling old woman got surprised.’
- (7) *dunu* *gotə* *kane* *lag-əl* Das (2068, p. 2)
 both men weep adhere-PST.3NH
 ‘Both men started weeping.’
- (8) *ahā-kə* *həm-ra* *ghər* *jai* *pəḍ-ət* Das (2068, p. 2)
 2SG-DAT 1SG-DAT home go lay-FUT.1
 ‘You should let me go home.’
- (9) *dines* *mai-kə* *əsuwasən* *de-l-ək* Das, (2068, p. 2)
 Dinesh mother-DAT promise give-PST-3NH
 ‘Dinesh promised his mother.’
- (10) *həm* *əhā-kə* *rupaiya* *ləuta* *de-b* Das (2068, p. 3)
 1SG 2SG-POSS money return give-FUT.3NH
 ‘I will return your money.’

- (11) *həm bəḍka bən-əb* Das (2068, p. 3)
 1SG big make-FUT.1
 ‘I will be bigger.’
- (12) *budhiya dines-kə ek byəkti səṅə* Das (2068, p. 3)
 old woman Dinesh-DAT one person with
səṅ ləga de-l-ək
 together adhere give-PST-3NH
 ‘Old woman managed Dinesh with a person to go.’
- (13) *beṭa dinbhərikə hisab khoj-l-ək* Das (2068, p. 3)
 son whole day calculation search-PST-3NH
 ‘The son searched the whole day calculation.’
- (14) *to əhina upkar kər-əit rəh* Das (2068, p. 3)
 2SG like this help do-PROG be.PRS.2NH
 ‘(You) keep on helping like this.’
- (15) *dan punya kər* Das (2068, p. 3)
 donation good work do.PRS.2NH
 ‘Do donation and good work.’
- (16) *həm tora mair di* Das (2068, p. 3)
 1SG 2SG.DAT kill give.PRS.1
 ‘I kill you.’
- (17) *budhiya-sə beṭa səbh*
 old woman-OBL son all
hisab lə-it chə-l Das (2068, p. 3)
 calculation take-PROG be-PST
 ‘The son was taking all the calculation from the old woman’.
- (18) *dines agu bəḍh-əit ge-l* Das (2068, p. 3)
 Dinesh ahead grow-PROG go-PST.3NH
 ‘Dinesh kept going ahead.’
- (19) *khəe le-l-hun* Jha (2006, p. 45)
 eat take-PST-1
 ‘(I) ate.’
- (20) *paṭhək cihūk uṭh-əit əich* Jha (2069, p. ii)
 reader surprise stand-PROG be.PRS.3H
 ‘Reader is getting surprise.’
- (21) *ənyə kəthakar-sə phərək* Jha (2069, p. ii)
 other story writer-OBL different
kə də-it əich

do give-PROG be.PRS.3NH
 ‘(He) keeps making different from other story writer.’

- (22) *kātha-kā antā bhā jai ch-ai* Jha (2069, p. 5)
 story-DAT end happen go be.PRS.3NH
 ‘The story happens to get ending.’
- (23) *o āgni-ke sakchi raikh lel ge-l* Jha (2069, p. 5)
 3SG fire-DAT witness keep take go-PST.3H
 ‘He took the witness of the fire.’
- (24) *o kaip uṭh-ait ch-ait* Jha (2069, p. 7)
 3SG tremble stand-PROG be.PRS-3H
 ‘He gets tremble sometimes.’
- (25) *kākāḍbich āncoke-me* Jha (2069, p. 8)
 scorpio sudden-OBL
dāṅk mair de-ne ho-it
 bite kill give-PRF be-FUT.3H
 ‘The scorpio might have bitten suddenly.’
- (26) *beta tā nrityā choiḍ dā-it āich* Jha (2069, p.10)
 son particle dance leave take-PROG be.3NH
 ‘The son leaves dancing.’
- (27) *sujit āpān fārək*
 Sujit own change-ADJ
pāhican bāna cuk-āl ch-āith Jha (2069, p. 12)
 identify-N make finish-PRF be.PRS-3H
 ‘Sujit has established his own identification.’
- (28) *pen goji-sā khāis pāḍ-āl* Jha (2069, p. 20)
 pen pocket-OBL fall lay-PST.3NH
 ‘The pen happened to fall down from the pocket.’
- (29) *hām gāḍi-sā cāil ja-eb* Jha (2069, p. 25)
 1SG vehicle-OBL walk go-FUT.1
 ‘I will go by vehicle.’
- (30) *bibah birgunj-sā* Jha (2069, p. 34)
 marriage birgung-OBL
kār-ā pādāl chā-l
 do-EMPH lay be-PST.1
 ‘I had to marry from Birgung.’
- (31) *nitū bie pas-kā cukāl āich* Jha (2069, p. 35)
 Nitū B.A. pass-PRF finish be.3H
 ‘Nitu has passed B.A.’

- (32) *okəra carie din-me*
 3SG.DAT four day-OBL
phophəri lagə-l-əik
 dryness-N adhere-PST-3NH
 ‘He happened to get dryness within four days.’ Jha (2069, p. 36)
- (33) *okər mən tuṭə lagəl chə-l*
 3SG.DAT wish break adhere be-PST.3NH
 ‘His wish started breaking down.’ Jha (2069, p. 36)
- (34) *o-səb həm-ra-me kono khoṭ*
 3-PL 1-DAT-OBL any doubt
nəi nikalə səkə-l-əith
 not take out could-PST-3H
 ‘They could not take out any doubt with me.’ Jha (2069, p. 36)
- (35) *ai gai-kə ab bec diə*
 today cow-DAT now sell give.PRS.2NH
 ‘Today, sell the cow now.’ Yadav (1996, p. 112)
- (36) *o ruis bəis l-ah*
 3SG unsatisfaction sit.PRF PST-3H
 ‘He has happened to get unsatisfaction.’ Yadav (1996, p. 208)
- (37) *o pət̄ni-kə mair bəis-əl-khinh*
 3SG wife-DAT beat sit-PST-3H
 ‘He happened to beat his wife.’ (regretion) Yadav (1996, p. 208)
- (38) *o khəis pər-l-ah*
 3SG fall lay-PST-3H
 ‘He happened to fall down suddenly.’ (suddenly) Yadav (1996, p. 208)
- (39) *həm-ra buijh pər əl (suddenly)*
 1-DAT realization lay-PST.1
 ‘I happened to realize.’ Yadav (1996, p. 208)
- (40) *həm-ər ma-ji-kə bhasən sunə*
 1SG-POSS mother-H-DAT speech listen
pəḍ-əit chə-l
 lay-IPFV be-PST.1
 ‘I had to listen to my mother’s speech time and again.’ Jha (2069, p. 37)
- (41) *kəte-kə geet həm-ra*
 some-DAT song 1SG-DAT
əsmrən aib ge-l chə-l
 remembrance come go-PERF be-PST.1
 ‘Some songs had come in my memory.’ Jha (2069, p. 38)

- (42) *ma-ji* *pure* *ghar* Jha (2069, p. 38)
mother-H whole house
math-pər *uṭha le-l-ih*
head-LOC lift take-PST-3H
‘The mother took all the burden of her house.’
- (43) *khali* *səmyə-me* *pətrika* Jha (2069, p. 38)
leisure time-LOC newspaper
pəiḍh *lel* *kəru*
read take do.PRS.3NH
‘Read the newspaper at leisure time.’
- (44) *həm* *bəcca-ke* *əpekcha* Jha (2069, p. 38)
1SG child-DAT expectation
bərdast *nəi kə* *sək-əb*
tolerate not do can-FUT.1
‘I can’t tolerate the child’ expectation.’
- (45) *ma-ji* *həmərə* *ghər-ke* Jha (2069, p. 38)
mother-H 1SG.DAT house-POSS
kaj *kəir del* *ja-it* *əich*
work do give go-IPFV be.PRS.3H
‘The mother does my household work.’
- (46) *kam kərəibali* *ləga le-ne* *chə-l-hun* Jha (2069, p. 40)
house maid adhere take-PFV be-PST-1
‘(I) had set the house maid.’
- (47) *həm* *məir* *miṭ-əb*
1SG die finish-FUT.1
‘I will try all my best.’
- (48) *həm* *əhā-kə* *gach* *kaiṭ* *de-b*
1SG 2-DAT tree cut give-FUT.1
‘I will cut your tree (for you).’
- (49) *o* *bhor-e* *bəs pəkəiḍ* *le-ne* *chə-l-əith*
3SG morning-EMP bus catch take-PFV be-PST-3H
‘He had caught the bus only in the morning.’
- (50) *hunka* *cinta* *sətabə* *lagəl* *ch-əl*
3SG worry effect adhere be-PST.3H
‘He gets worried.’

APPENDIX: E
Argument Structure

V_root	Gloss	Type	Basic_ A_ structure	1st_ causative	1st_ A_ structure	2nd_ causative	2nd_ A_ structure
<i>baj</i>	speak	iv	[P-A]	<i>baj,</i> <i>bāja</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bājba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bāis</i>	sit	iv	[P-A]	<i>bāisa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bāisba</i>	[P-A] [P-P] [P-I]
<i>bhag</i>	run away	iv	[P-A]	<i>bhāga</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bhagba</i>	
<i>bhij</i>	be wet	iv	[P-A]	<i>bhija</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bhijba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bhuk</i>	bark	iv	[P-A]	<i>bhuka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bhukba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bhutāl</i>	betray	iv	[P-A]	<i>bhutla</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bhutālba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>biau</i>	give birth	iv	[P-A]	<i>biau</i>	[P-A] [P-P]		
<i>bigār</i>	damage	iv	[P-A]	<i>bigar,</i> <i>bigra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bigārba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bisār</i>	forget	iv	[P-A]	<i>bisra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bisārba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bokār</i>	vomit	iv	[P-A]	<i>bokra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bokārba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bol</i>	speak	iv	[P-A]	<i>bola</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bolba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bujh</i>	understand	iv	[P-A]	<i>bijha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bujhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bujh</i>	feel	iv	[P-A]	<i>bujha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bujhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bul</i>	walk	iv	[P-A]	<i>bula</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bulba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cah</i>	want	iv	[P-A]	<i>caha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cahba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cāl</i>	walk	iv	[P-A]	<i>cāla</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cālba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cār</i>	graze	iv	[P-A]	<i>cāra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cārba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cārḥ</i>	climb	iv	[P-A]	<i>cārha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cārba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>chārəp</i>	climb by jumping	iv	[P-A]	<i>chārpa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>chārəpba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>chətpəṭ</i>	embarrass	iv	[P-A]	<i>chətpṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>chətpəṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>choḍ</i>	leave	iv	[P-A]	<i>choḍa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>choḍba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cuk</i>	fail	iv	[P-A]	<i>chuka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>chukba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>chuṭ</i>	separate	iv	[P-A]	<i>chuṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>chuṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cihək</i>	hiccup	iv	[P-A]	<i>cihka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cihəkba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cikār</i>	cry out	iv	[P-A]	<i>cikra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cikārba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>cuk</i>	fail	iv	[P-A]	<i>cuka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>cukba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ḍəh</i>	burn	iv	[P-T]	<i>ḍah,</i> <i>ḍəha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ḍəhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ḍər</i>	fear	iv	[P-A]	<i>ḍəra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ḍərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>dəur</i>	run	iv	[P-A]	<i>dəura</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>dəurba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]

<i>dhekər</i>	tobelch	iv	[P-A]	<i>dhekra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>dhekərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ḍum</i>		iv	[P-A]	<i>ḍuma</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ḍumba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>əgh</i>	fed up/did much	iv	[P-A]	<i>əgha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]		
<i>ghūm</i>	turn	iv	[P-A]	<i>ghuma</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ghumba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ghusək</i>	move	iv	[P-A]	<i>ghuska</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ghusəkba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>gir</i>	fall	iv	[P-A]	<i>gira</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>girba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>har</i>	defeat	iv	[P-P]	<i>həra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>harba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>hās</i>	laugh	iv	[P-A]	<i>həsa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>hāsba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>həg</i>	defecate	iv	[P-A]	<i>həga</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>həgba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>hel</i>	swim	iv	[P-A]	<i>hela</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>helba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>həra</i>	ought of sight	iv	[P-A]		[P-A] [P-P]	<i>hərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>həṭ</i>	move	iv	[P-A]	<i>həṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>həṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>jan</i>	know	iv	[P-A]	<i>jəna</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>jənba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>jənəm</i>	give birth	iv	[P-P]	<i>jənma</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>jənəmba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>jhuk</i>	bend down	iv	[P-A]	<i>jhuka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>jhukba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>jīt</i>	win	iv	[P-A]	<i>jīta</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>jītba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>kāp</i>	tremble	iv	[P-A]	<i>kəpa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>kapba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>kəṭ</i>	cut	iv	[P-T]	<i>kaṭ, kəṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>kəṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>khel</i>	play	iv	[P-A]	<i>khela</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>khelba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>khəs</i>	fall	iv	[P-A]	<i>khəsa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>khəsba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>kud</i>	jump	iv	[P-A]	<i>kuda</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>kudba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ləg</i>	feel	iv	[P-P]	<i>ləga</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ləgba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ləpəṭ</i>	hug, attach around	iv	[P-A]	<i>ləpṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ləpəṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ləṛh</i>	play in dust	iv	[P-A]	<i>ləṛha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ləṛhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ləṭək</i>	hang	iv	[P-A]	<i>ləṭka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ləṭəkba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>man</i>	accept	iv	[P-A]	<i>məna</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>manba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>mər</i>	die	iv	[P-P]	<i>mar, məra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>mərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>mut</i>	urine	iv	[P-A]	<i>muta</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>mutba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>nəc</i>	dance	iv	[P-A]	<i>nəca</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>nacba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>nuha</i>	bathe	iv	[P-A]		[P-A] [P-P]	<i>nəhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ojhər</i>	get stuck	iv	[P-P]	<i>ojhra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ojhərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>pad</i>	fart	iv	[P-A]	<i>pəda</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pədba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>pəhūc</i>	reach	iv	[P-A]	<i>pəhuca</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pəhucba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>pələṭ</i>	come back	iv	[P-A]	<i>pəlṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pələṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>pər</i>	fall	iv	[P-A]	<i>pəra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>pəs</i>	enter	iv	[P-A]	<i>pəsa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pəsba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>pəṭ</i>	convince	iv	[P-P]	<i>pəṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pəṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]

<i>pug</i>	reach	iv	[P-A]	<i>puga</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pugba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>rəh</i>	stay	iv	[P-A]	<i>rəha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>rəhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ris</i>	be angry	iv	[P-A]	<i>risa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>risba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ruk</i>	stop	iv	[P-A]	<i>rok,</i> <i>roka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>rokba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>rus</i>	unsatisfy	iv	[P-A]	<i>rusa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>rusba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>səh</i>	tolerate	iv	[P-A]	<i>səha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>səhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>səj</i>	decorate	iv	[P-P]	<i>səja</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>səjba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>səməjh</i>	assume/think	iv	[P-A]	<i>səmjha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>səməjhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>səmhər</i>	manage sth/sb	iv	[P-P]	<i>səmhar</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>səmhərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>sihər</i>	shrug	iv	[P-P]	<i>sihra</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>sihərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-T]
<i>sikh</i>	learn	iv	[P-A]	<i>sikha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>sikhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>soch</i>	think	iv	[P-A]	<i>socha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>sochba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>sudhər</i>	improve	iv	[P-A]	<i>sudhar</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>sudhərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>sujh</i>	see	iv	[P-A]	<i>sujha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>sujhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>sun</i>	hear	iv	[P-A]	<i>sunā</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>sunba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>sut</i>	sleep	iv	[P-A]	<i>suṭa</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>suṭba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ṭəhəl</i>	walk	iv	[P-A]	<i>ṭəhla</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ṭəhəlba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>thak</i>	tire	iv	[P-A]	<i>thəka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>thakba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ṭhan</i>	promise	iv	[P-A]	<i>ṭhəna</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ṭhanba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ug</i>	come out/rise	iv	[P-A]	<i>uga</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>ugba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>ur</i>	fly	iv	[P-A]	<i>ura</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>urba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>utər</i>	get off	iv	[P-P]	<i>utar</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>utərba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>uṭh</i>	rise	iv	[P-A]	<i>uṭha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>uṭhba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>jo</i>	go	iv	[P-A]	<i>pəṭha</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>pəṭha-ba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]
<i>bhuk</i>	bark	iv	[P-A]	<i>bhuka</i>	[P-A] [P-P]	<i>bhuk-ba</i>	[P-A] [P-I] [P-P]

APPENDIX: F
DATA BASED EXAMPLES FOR N V COMPLEX PREDICATES

- (1) *əpna-səb-ək səmaj-me beṭi bəhut məhətwa*
 1-PL-DAT memory-LOC daughter much importance
dekha pər-əi ch-əi
 see lay-IPFV be.PRS-1
 ‘In our society, the daughter seems to have much importance.’
- (2) *pəriwar-me kono bəcca bucci nəi*
 family-LOC any child kid not
jənm le-ne ch-əl
 born take-PFV be-PST.3NH
 ‘In our family, no any child had taken the birth.’
- (3) *mai əur bbabu-ji dono bəhut*
 mother and father-H both much
as rəkh-ne ch-el-ah
 hope keep-PFV be-PST-3H
 ‘Mother and father both had kept much hope.’
- (4) *bəhut din-kə bad mai ekṭa*
 many day-ABL after mother one
bucci-kə jənm de-l-khin
 child-DAT birth give-PST.3H
 ‘After many days, mother gave birth of a child.’
- (5) *i khəbər gam-ke lel bəhut*
 this news village-DAT for much
bəḍka khəbər dekha pər-əl
 big news see lay-PST.3NH
 ‘This news was much important news for the village.’
- (6) *bucci biram bhə ge-l*
 child sick become go-PST.3NH
 ‘The child became sick.’
- (7) *okəra bənta ab-ə ləgə-l*
 3.DAT vomit come-INFP adhere-PST.3NH
 ‘He happened to get vomiting.’
- (8) *mai-ke ekṭa bat yad ae-l*
 mother- one matter remember come-PST.3NH
 DAT
 ‘The mother remembered a message.’
- (9) *to pure deh malis kər-iəh*
 2SG whole body massage do-FUT.2NH
 ‘You will massage whole body.’

- (10) *mohən əi bat-pər bəhut jorsə hāis uṭh-əl*
Mohan this matter-LOC much more laugh stand-PST.3NH
‘Mohan laughed at this matter much more.’
- (11) *hunka ris uṭh-əl*
3SG.DAT anger stand-PST.3H
‘He became angry.’
- (12) *abək din-me i bat nāi kər-ə pəḍət*
now day-LOC this matter not do-INFP lay.PRS
‘Now onwards, this should not be done.’
- (13) *dono hoṣpiṭəl-ke lel ṭap kəis de-l-ək*
both hospital-DAT for determined tie give-PST-3NH
‘Both went to hospital.’
- (14) *baṭ-me ekṭa bilai rasta kait de-l-ək*
way-LOC one cat road cut give-PST-3NH
‘On the way, a cat crossed the road.’
- (15) *o-səbh-ke dimag-me cinta pəis ge-l*
3-PL-DAT mind-LOC worry enter go-PST.3NH
‘They became worried.’
- (16) *i subh səmacar nāi dekha pərāi əich*
this good news not see lay be.PRS.3NH
‘This does not seem to be good news.’
- (17) *təkhno mohən hoṣpiṭəl jeba-kə-lel*
then Mohan hospital go-INFP-PURP
kəmər kəs-ne rəih ge-l
wrest tight-PFV stay go-PST.3NH
‘Even then, he insisted to go to hospital.’
- (18) *mohan əpən sonabəti-kə bat*
Mohan own Sonabati-DAT matter
kaṭ-əit əgadi bəḍ-həl
cut-PROG ahead move-PST.3NH
‘He went ahead ignoring Sonabati’s saying.’
- (19) *daktər o-səbh-ke biswas de-l-ək*
doctor 3-PL-DAT belief give-PST-3NH
‘The doctor gave them belief.’
- (20) *bucci pəkəi nik ho-et*
child guarantee well be-FUT.3H
‘The child will surely be well.’
- (21) *əpne-səbh cinta nāi lel jau*
2-PL worry not take go.PRS.2H

‘You do not need to be worried.’

- (22) *əpne-səbh bəhut nik ke-l-əũ*
2-PL much better do-PST-2H
‘You did much better.’
- (23) *səməy-me bucci-kə upcar kər-aula-sə ekər*
time-OBL child-DAT treatment do-CAUS-INFP 3NH
jan khətra-sə bəhar dekha pərəi əich
life danger-OBL out see lay be.PRS.3NH
‘The child seems to be out of danger due to the timely treatment.’
- (24) *dakṭər bucci-kə upcar suru kəir de-l-ək*
doctor child-DAT treatment start do give-PST-3NH
‘The doctor started treatment to the child.’
- (25) *mai-ke batcit seho sunai dəi che-l*
mother-DAT talking that listening give be-PST.3NH
‘Even the mother also happened to listen to their talking.’
- (26) *bat-sə mai-ke cit bujh-əl*
talking-OBL mother-DAT satisfy understand-PST.3H
‘The mother was satisfied with the talking.’
- (27) *həm-səbh soni-kə bəcca le-b*
1-PL Soni-DAT save take-FUT.1
‘We will save the child.’
- (28) *soni əpən āikh khol-l-ək*
Soni own eye open-PST-3NH
‘Soni opened her eyes.’
- (29) *əi karən-sə dono hais uṭh-əl*
this cause-OBL both laugh stand-PST.3H
‘Due to this, both started laughing.’
- (30) *o-səbh bucci-kə seba-susar kər-ə lag-əl*
3-PL child-DAT care do-INFP adhere-PST.3H
‘They started caring her.’
- (31) *hospiṭəl ən-la-sə həm-ra-səbh-kə bhag khul-əl*
hospital bring-PFV-ABL 1-POSS-PL-DAT luck open-PST.1
‘We became lucky after bringing to the hospital.’
- (32) *mohən boil uṭh-əl*
Mohan speak stand-PST.3H
‘Mohan spoke out.’
- (33) *mohən sonabəti-ke bhat khu-a-l-thin*
Mohan Sonabati-DAT rice eat-CAUS-PST.3H

‘Mohan caused/made Sonabati eat rice.’

- (34) *i bucci pəriwar-me khusi dekha de-l-ək*
this child family-OBL happy show give-PST-3NH
‘This child showed happiness in the family.’
- (35) *gam-me əcanək ekta pol khuj-əl*
village-LOC sudden one secret open-PST.3H
‘In the village, a secrecy was disclosed.’
- (36) *i bat mohə-ke jiwən-me tuphan ain de-l-ək*
this matter mohan-DAT life-OBL storm bring give-PST-3NH
‘This matter brought a storm in Mohan’s life.’
- (37) *sonabəti həm-ra dhoka de-l-ək*
Sonabati 1-DAT cheat give-PST-3NH
‘Sonabati cheated me.’
- (38) *həm səpəth khai ch-i*
1SG together eat-INFP be-PRS.1
‘I eat together.’
- (39) *sonabəti həm-ra ghər-me nəi rəih sək-ət*
Sonabati 1-DAT house-LOC not stay can-FUT.3NH
‘Sonabati cannot stay in my house.’
- (40) *o ekta pap ke-l-ək*
3SG one sin do-PST-3NH
‘She did a sin.’
- (41) *mohən okər abes dekhe-l-ək*
Mohan 3SG.DAT anger show-PST-3NH
‘Mohan showed his anger to her.’
- (42) *əhā həm-ra-sə kiya jhəgda khojəi ci-e*
2SG 1-DAT-ABL why fight search be-PRS.2H.1
‘Why do you take fight with me?’
- (43) *əhə həm-re kiya gari bat də-I ci-e*
2SG 1-EMPH why rebuke word give-IPFV be-PRS.2H
‘Why do you rebuke me only.’
- (44) *həm kon khərab kam ke-l-əũ*
1 which bad work do-PST-1
‘Which bad work did I do?’
- (45) *həm əhā-sə ənuroḍh kər-əi ch-i*
1SG 2SG-ABL request-N do-IPFV be-PRS.1
‘I request you.’

- (46) *əhã bat saph saph khol-u*
 2SG matter clear clear disclose-IMP.2H
 ‘You better disclose the matter clearly.’
- (47) *əhã həm-ra əpman kər-əit abəi ch-i*
 2SG 1SG-DAT insult do-PROG come be-PRS.2MH
 ‘You are dishonoring me.’
- (48) *həm əhã-kə bəhut maya kər-əit abəi ch-i*
 1SG 2SG-DAT much love do-PROG come be-PRS.1
 ‘I have been loving you much.’
- (49) *əhã həm-ra-pər nəjər cərh-əl kiya əich*
 2 1-DAT-ABL eye anger-IPFV why be.PRS.2MH
 ‘Why are you angry on me?’
- (50) *sonabəti səŋka kər-l-əik*
 Sonabati doubt do-PST-3NH
 ‘Sonabati doubted.’
- (51) *sonabəti kə kəhanisə dər ləgəl chəi*
 Sonabati-DAT story-ABL fear adhere-IPFV be.PRS-3NH
 ‘Sonabati feels fear/afraid of the story.’

APPENDIX: G

Elicited Maithili Text (An essay on An Experience)

- (1) *asthaniyā tāh pāk-āi suḍhar ho-it ab hām-sāb*
 local level sure-EMPH improve be-FUT now 1-PL
as rakh-nā chi
 hope keep-PRF be.PRS.1
 ‘We have kept the hope of the improvement of the local level.’
- (2) *sāb kamkaj nājik ṭham-me bina lāphra-se*
 all work near place-LOC without careless-ABL
bhā ja-it, sārkar prātibādhāta de-l-āk
 be go-FUT.3NH government promise give-PST-3NH
 ‘All the works will be done without any carelessness.’
- (3) *muda asthaniyā sārkar bān-la ṭhikā ek wārsā*
 but local government form-PFV exact one year
bh-el chuk-āl, kam kajprānali āur muskil bānā ja-rāhāl
 be-PRF finish-PST.3NH work system more difficult make go-PROG
āich
 be.PRS.3NH
 ‘But it has been exactly one year of the local government; the work is being more difficult.’
- (4) *kuch din hām-ra āpān gam-me bitab-ā pād-āl*
 some day 1SG-DAT own village-LOC spend-INFP lay-PST.1
 ‘I had to spend some day in my village.’
- (5) *kiyaki hām-ra gārib jānta-ke yad ae lagāl ch-el*
 because 1-DAT poor people-DAT remembrance come adhere be-PST.1
 ‘Because I started remembering the poor people.’
- (6) *wāi sāmāj-ke hām-ra bāhut yad ab-ā*
 that society-LOC 1SG-DAT much remembrance come-INFP
āich ek ānubhāb jāka
 be.PRS.1 one memory as
 ‘I remember that society much as a memory.’
- (7) *chunab-ke sāmāyā-me neta bāhut lobh de-ne che-l,*
 election-DAT time-LOC leader more greed give-PFV be-PST.3NH
bāhut asa dekhe-ne ch-el, wada ke-ne ch-el
 more hope show-PRF be-PST.3SG, promise do-PRF be-PST.3NH
muda i-sāb jānta-ke ek sāpna matrā rāih ge-l
 but 3PL people-DAT one dream only stay go-PST
 ‘During the time of election, the leader had given more greed, hope and promise but all these remained only as dream for the common people.’
- (8) *jāna sāmāyā agu bādh-āit āich, tāhina gārib-ke*
 as time ahead spend-PROG be-3SG that way poor-DAT

mən-me nirasa ae-l cukəl əich
 desire-OBL despair come-PST finish be.3NH

‘As time passes, in the same way there grew despair in the poor people.’

- (9) *ek din sādharən sābha-ke āsthan-me țhar ch-el-ũ, bat-sāb*
 one day general assembly-DAT place-LOC stand be-PST-1 matter-PL
sun-ait ch-el-ũ, bāhut dukh lag-əl
 listen-PROG be-PST-1 much worry adhere-PST.3NH
 ‘One day I was standing in the general meeting, listening to their message,
 I was much worried.’

- (10) *ek wada-ke wada-ādhyākch ram sundər yadāb ‘həm əi wada-ke-*
 one wada-POSS chairman Ram Sundar Yadav 1 this wada-DAT
lel əpən jiwən dan de-b, həm pəriwärtən li-ab, həm sāb-ke
 for own life donate give-FUT 1SG change bring-FUT 1SG all-DAT
lel pəriwärtən-ke lel kāmər kās-ne chi’ o baij uțh-əl
 for change-DAT for wrest tie-PRF be-1 3sg speak stand-PST.3NH
 ‘The chairman of a ward Ram Sundar Yadav spoke’ I will bring change in this
 ward, I have decided for this change.’

- (11) *əi batpər khub tali wərśa de-l-ək upəsthit bhādrə*
 this matter-OBL much clap rain give-PST-3NH present noble
bhāladmi-sāb
 people-PL
 ‘The noble people present there clapped much on this matter.’

- (12) *muda ek birodhi parti-kə adāmi ram babu māndəl-kə*
 but one opposition part-DAT man Ram Babu Mandal-DAT
ris uțh-əl
 anger stand-PST.3NH
 ‘But a man from the opposition party named Ram Babu Mandal got angry.’

- (13) *o kəh-əi əich ‘to-sāb əpən pərtibādhəta-ke sāmjhəna*
kər,
 3SG tell-IMPRF be-PRS.3NH 2-PL own promise-DAT remembrance
 do.IMP
ki kəh-ne che-l-hi, to-sāb i țham-se țap kəis chuk-əl ch-i
 what tell-PRF be-PST-2 2-PL this place-ABL run tie finish-PST be-2NH
 ‘He says’ You remember your own promise what you told, you ran away from
 your own place.’

- (14) *ek əur adāmi oi wada-kə wadaādhyākch-ke bat*
 one more man that wada-POSS chairman-DAT matter
kat-l-ək ‘je-sāb jit-əl ch-i o-sāb əpən bat-ke ādan
 cut-PST-3NH whoever-PL win-PST be-3 those own promise-OBL stand
kās-ne rəh, naitə i sāmaj tora-sāb-ke sāmānə nāi kərət
 tie-PFV be-pres.IMP otherwise this society 2-PL-DAT honor not do-
 IMPRF
 ‘One more man interrupted the chairman’s point and said ‘whoever won, take
 your promise seriously; otherwise this society does not honor you.’

- (15) *əpən kam kaj-me kəmər kəs-ne rəhu' o adəmi*
 own work-ABL wrest tie-PFV be-PRS.3H 3SG man
risme baij uth-əl
 anger-ABL speak stand-PST.3NH
 'Pay your attention on your work/duty, he spoke out.'
- (16) *həmra mən-me ekta ənəuθo bhəwna a-el lagəl*
 1-DAT desire-ABL one strange feeling come-IPFV adhere.PST.1SG
ki birođhi adəmi-səb əi səmaj-me mair kha-it
 that opposition man-PL this society-LOC beat eat-FUT
kiyaki wəi-səb-kə mən-se aig nikləi ch-el je əur
 because 3-PL-DAT mind-ABL fire come out be-PST.3PL that more
gota-ke wənta abə lagəl ch-el
 man-DAT vomit come adhere be-PST.3NH
 'There was a strange feeling in my mind that opposition people will get beating
 in this society because they talked fiercely which other people happened to
 vomit.'
- (17) *jena bat agu bərhəl, ek pər ek pol khul-əl*
 as matter ahead grow-PST, one after one secrecy open-PST
 'As the matter went ahead, more and more secrecy came out.'
- (18) *i neta-səb bəhut napha khe-l-ək, ab həm-səb-ke*
 these leader-PL more profit eat-PST-3NH now 1-PL-DAT
sətərkə rəhəil-ə pərət
 alert stay-INFP lay.PRS.1SG
 'These leaders got much benefit, now we have to be alert.'
- (19) *jitlake bad i-səb bhau khoj-əi ch-əi, muda ultəe*
 win-ABL after 3-PL value search-IPFV be-PRS.3NH but oppositely
kəhəi chəi ki həm-səb jhəgda khoj-əi chi.
 say be-3NH that 1PL quarrel search-PFV be.PRS.1
 'After winning, they become valuable and say that we are being quarrelsome.'
- (20) *ek wərsə jənta dhəiryə ke-l-ək, ab jənta-kə əha-səb hisab*
 one year people patience do-PST-3NH now people-DAT 3-PL calculation
di-əu, nəi tə gali kər-ət
 give-IMP otherwise rebuke do-FUT
 'The people waited for a year, now they need calculation otherwise they will
 rebuke.'
- (21) *əhā-səb jəntasə bəhut ətyacar kər-əi chi, jənta*
 2-PL people-OBL much tyranny do-IPFV be-PRS people
səb-ke maya ke-l-ək, ab jənta-ke mədət kər-u,
 all-DAT love do-PST-3NH no people-DAT help do-IMP
dəya kəru, ehan həm-ər əhā-ke lel binti rəhəl
 pity do-IMP this 1-DAT 2-DAT for request stay-IPFV

‘You are doing tyranny with the people, they loved you, now you help them, love them, this is our request for you.’

- (22) *je des-me neta-kə chinta jānta prāti nāi rāh-ət*
 which country-LOC leader-DAT worry people towards not stay-FUT
o des-kə neta-səb-kə inkar kār-ət āur jānta
 that country-POSS leader-PL-DAT ignore do-FUT and people
wākra āpman kār-ət
 3.DAT insult do-FUT.3NH

‘The country in which the leader will not be worried towards the people, such country leaders will be ignored, and the people will insult them.’

- (23) *āhā-səb sāmghan-ke tālas kār-u, hām-səb sath de-b*
 2-PL solution-DAT search do-IMP 1-pl together give-FUT.1+3
ek yubək jānta bhasən de-l-ək
 one young man speech give-PST.3NH
 ‘You better search for the solution, we will help you.’

- (24) *wāi sāmgha-me ek āsthaniyā sikchək neta seho nājār*
 that assembly-LOC one local teacher leader EMPH appear
ae-l jākār bat nik lag-əl hām-āro
 come-PST whose matter good adhere-PST.1-EMPH
 ‘In that assembly a local teacher also came whose saying was also impressive even for me.’

- (25) *muda o sālāh rup-me kāh-l-āik hām-səb jānta ālchi*
 but 3SG suggestion form-ABL say-PST-3SG 1-PL people lazy
nāi kār-u, jiwān cāle-nai bhir pār-ət
 not do-IMP life move-INFP difficult lay-FUT
 ‘But he told in the form of suggestion that we do not need to be lazy, it will be difficult to lead our life.’

- (26) *āsthaniyā sārkar jānta-ke sārkar āich, i jānta-se*
 local government people-DAT government be.PRS.3NH 3.SG people-ABL
kam kār-ba-it, jānta-ke suich de-t, jānta-ke seho thik pār-ət
 work do-CAUS-FUT people-DAT think give-fut people-DAT EMP correct lay-FUT
 ‘The local government is the government of people, it will cause people to work, think for them, and also penalize them as well.’

- (27) *koi kātbāu āsthanniyā sārkar-kā alocna kār-āb*
 anyone even much local government-DAT criticize-N do-FUT
kuchō phāl nāi bhet-ət.
 any benefit not find-FUT.3NH
 ‘Anyone doing even much criticism of the local government, nobody will get any benefit.’

- (28) *sāmbidhan āspāṣṭ pār-ne ch-āi ki jānta*

constitution	clear	make-PERF	be-PRS	that	people
<i>mehāntā</i>	<i>kār-āt</i>	<i>tā jānta</i>	<i>sukh</i>	<i>ānubhāb</i>	<i>kār-āt</i>
labour	do-FUT	then	people happy	feel	do-FUT.3NH

'It is clear in the constitution that if people do labour then they will be happy.'

(29) *i bat o sikchāk neta bhasān-me*
 this matter 3.SG teacher leader speech-ALB
khulasa ke-l-āk
 disclose do-PST-3NH
 'That matter, the teacher leader disclosed in the speech.'

(30) *hunkār bat-se mān-me khulduli pās-əl ki o neta*
 3.POSS matter-ABL mind-OBL embarrass enter-PST that 3.SG leader
sārkar-ke pākch-me ya ki birodh-me t̥ap̥aik uth-əl-a
 government-POSS side-ABL or against-ABL speak stand-PST-3H
 'Listening to him, I was embarrassed whether he belonged to the government or was against it.'