

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Predicate in grammar of language is obligatory. Normally simple predicate has the simple syntactic structure with the single element in its predicate. When two or more predicative elements are combined together whereby affecting the argument structure of the simple predicate in terms of number of arguments, case marking or meaning, it becomes a complex predicate having complex structure bearing single subject, verb and object or may have sometime two subjects (in case of causatives a covert and overt). The predicate in the complex predicates consists of more than one semantic heads. Complex predicates can be defined in the following ways:

- a. As Alsina et al (1997) writes
“Complex predicates can be defined as predicates which are multi-headed; they are composed of more than one grammatical elements (either morphemes or words), each of which contributes part of the information ordinarily associated with a head.” (p. 1)
- b. According to Butt (1993)
“The argument structure is complex (two or more semantic heads contribute arguments).

The grammatical function structure is that of a simple predicate. It's flat: there's only one subject, one object etc.

The phrase structure may be either simple or complex predicate.” (p. 108)

- c. As Mohanan (1997) writes “A complex predicate construction is one in which two semantically predicative elements jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause.” (p. 432)

Complex predicate can be simply defined as the combination of two semantic heads which constitute of a verbal or non-verbal element (noun, adjective and adverb) as a host

and the other as a verbal element which is delexicalized /grammaticalized being semantically bleached and so called light verb. So complex predicates are in the forms of N/ADJ/ADV + V where the V acts as a light verb which determines the semantic and some syntactic features of the sentences. The complex predicate has following properties:

- a. Case-marking/Agreement: The light verb determines the agreement and influences the case marking on the arguments of the complex predicate.
- b. Valence: Both the host and light verb determine the valence (number of argument) of the complex predicate.

One of the abundantly present syntactic features of South Asian Linguistic community is the complex predicate construction. Being an SA Language, Maithili too inherits the construction of complex predicates of different types. Complex predicate in Maithili can be grouped in the following types:

1. Causative construction
2. Compound verb
3. Permissive construction
4. Conjunct verb:
 - a. Nominalized (N + V)
 - b. Adjectivized (ADJ + V)
 - c. Adverblized verb (ADV+ V)

Some examples of complex predicates are presented.

[1].

- a. ram-ke khet khən-a de-hu.
 Ram-POSS farm.ACC dig-CAUS have-IMP.H
 (You) make (someone) dig Ram's field'
- b. ram-ke khet khən-hu.
 Ram-POSS farm.ACC dig-IMP.H
 Dig Ram's farm.

[2].

a. tu həri-ke ghər bən-ba de-hi
you.NOM hari-POSS house-ACC build-CAUS give-IMP.NH
You get someone to build Hari's house.

b. tu həri-ke ghər bən a de-hi
you.NOM hari-POSS house-ACC build give-IMP.NH
(You) build hari's house.

[3].

həm-ra bəd dərəd ho-it aich.
I-DAT too much pain-NOM be-PROG be.PRS.3SG
I'm feeling too much pain.

[4].

to-ra dek^h-ke bəhut nik l ag-əl.
you-ACC see-INF very good become-PST
I have become very happy to see you.

[5]. pita -ji b^hai-ke pEnt kin-e de-l-thin
father-H brother-DAT pant buy-INF let-PST-3SG.H
Father let the brother buy a pant.

[6].

a. həm pandi-ji-ke gai dan de-l-iəi.
I.NOM priest-H-DAT cow donation give-PST-1SG
I donated a cow to priest.

b. həm pandi-ji-ke gai de-l-iəi.
I.NOM priest-H-DAT cow give-PST-1SG
I gave a cow to priest.

1.2 Review of literature

In the field of complex predicates, there is not enough work, study or research carried out in Maithili language. While talking about the verbal complexity of Maithili, Kellogg (1893) states it as

The Maithili (dialect of Hindi) is distinguished from all the dialects exhibited in this grammar, by the extraordinary exuberance of its verbal forms. Although only a part of the tenses are exhibited in full in the tables, it possesses all the tenses which are found in High Hindi, and in each of these uses a bewildering variety of diverse forms, equaled in no other dialect. (p. 332)

The predicate structure in Maithili is “very very complex” (Jha, 1958). Jha has also studied compound verbs in Maithili. She has described the various light verbs used in Maithili compound formation. In fact, compound verbs, according to her, are formed by three or four verbal roots (p. 561). Grierson (1990) calls the verbal morphology as “the most complicated part of Maithili Grammar”.

However, Yadav (1996) has recognized the complex verbal sequences which almost match a few features of complex predicates. According to Yadav (1996);

“The complex verb phrases can consist of infinitival and conjunctive where infinitival is formed by verb with infinitival ending and verb with inflectional ending. Similarly, the conjunctive verb comprises of noun/ADJ/ADV + a verb with the inflectional ending”. (p. 200)

While explaining the verbal complexity of Maithili in terms of agreement, Yadava (1999) states that the verbs in Maithili agree with the one to three referents which may yield some composite function on verbal inflection. Likewise, Yadav (2004) has also studied the compound verb in Maithili language. The work has basically studied Verb + Verb system of complex predicates which is called compound verb as well. In fact, compound verbs are also one of the types of the complex predicates.

Whatever the earlier work is concerned, they all deal with the verbal aspect and its structure. Those works are related with the compound verbs, conjunct verbs, complex

verb formation and other predicate formation. But there hasn't been any specific work or research carried out in complex predicatehood under any theoretical consideration. The present research tries to study the complex predicates in Maithili using the LFG model.

1.3 Statement of problem

A grammar is incomplete without the study of complex predicate of the language. Therefore, the research will study “what are the various types of complex predicates in Maithili? And how are they formed?”

1.4 Objective of the research

The main objective of the research is to study and analyze complex predicates and its various types in Maithili.

1.5 Methodology

Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) has been adopted as the theoretical framework of this research, which has been studied and analyzed under the four structures of LFG such as F (unctional) Structure, C (onstituent) Structure, S (emantic) structure and A (rgument) Structure. The LFG model is assumed to suffice to describe and analyze the various forms and structures of complex predicates in Maithili.

Data for the study and analysis are collected from both primary and secondary sources and materials like various books, internet sites and library as well. The primary data used in the research are from my own native intuition as myself being the native speaker of Maithili.

1.6 Rationale of the research

Various researches, articles and books have been reported in the field of Maithili language and linguistics regarding predicates, compound verbs, theta roles, sociolinguistic aspects, and other syntactic, morphological and phonological aspects. This research focuses over the morpho-syntactic aspects: complex predicates which is a richly displayed feature in the South Asian linguistic community like Maithili, Nepali and Hindi. It has been tried to touch in many works of various scholars but not specially and individually described and analyzed.

Considering complex predicate an extensive feature of South Asian linguistic community, a research work dealing with types of complex predicate in Maithili needs to be carried out to display its linguistic repertoire like other languages. Therefore, the present study has tried to complete and enhance the study of grammar of Maithili language. In this sense, this work is supposed to be of a great help in the syntactic study and to some extent morphology of Maithili.

1.7 Limitations of the research

The research has been basically limited to the theoretical framework of LFG. It doesn't concern with any other theoretical concept for the studies. Thereafter, the data of the studies are connected with Thenthi Dialect of Maithili spoken in the mid and western Mahottari, and mid and eastern Sarlahi. However, the data are from the standard Maithili too. The presented data have been from my native intuition as well as from the field also to maintain the reliability.

1.8 Organization of the research

The research has been organized into four chapters which are as follows;

- i. Introduction
- ii. Conceptual Framework
- iii. Complex Predicates in Maithili
- iv. Summary and Conclusions

The first chapter has dealt with the introductory background of the research. Theoretical concept and framework is the major focus of chapter two. The analysis of various types of complex predicates has been mentioned in the third chapter. Finally, the last chapter has summarized and concluded the research. The bibliography of reference materials and works cited follows the last chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

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 the basic function and structure of a sentence. These theories have their own system of encoding and assigning the relations of the dependents of a predicate. 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 (Mohan, 1994:2). This thesis is molded according to the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), developed by Joan Bresnan, which represents the lexical entries of a predicate in the four levels of representation. LFG views language as being made up of multiple dimensions of structure. Each of these dimensions is represented as a distinct structure with its own rules, concepts, and form.

2.2 LFG and four levels of representation

According to Dalrymple (2001:1)

“Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) is a non-transformational theory of linguistic structure which assumes that language is best described and modeled by parallel structures representing different facets of linguistic organization and information, related to one another by means of functional constraints.”

LFG presents the basic syntactic and semantic information of a language in four 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 which are described in the subsequent subsections.

2.2.1 C-structure

Constituent structure presents the phrase structure configuration. It encodes linear order, hierarchical groupings, and syntactic categories of constituents. The information about grammatical category of words is represented in this structure. The superficial arrangements of words and phrases are indicated by the well-formed labeled bracketing.

Examples of phrase structure rules for English:

S \longrightarrow NP VP VP \longrightarrow V NP

2.2.2 Functional Structure (F-structure)

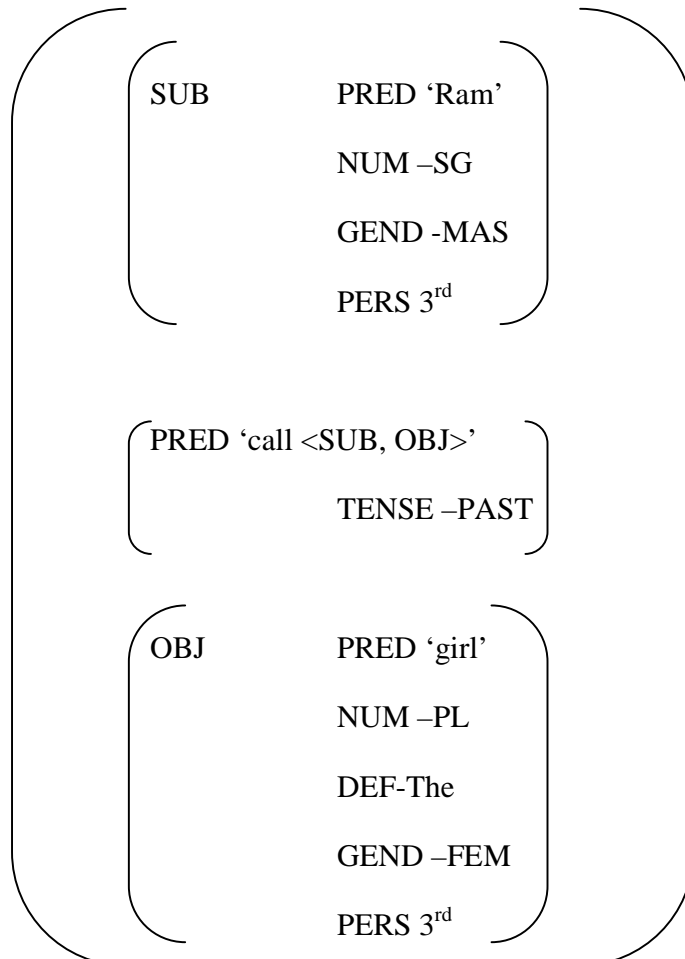
F-structure presents the surface syntactic (grammatical) functions played by the lexical items. The traditional grammatical functions such as subject, object and complement are characterized in this structure. Structural and lexical information is integrated and unified within functional structure (F-structure), which consists of hierarchically organized attribute-value matrices. An example of F-structure of the sentence 'Ram cut a tree' is as follows;

SUB [PRED 'Ram']
PRED 'cut <SUB, OBJ >'
OBJ [PRED 'a tree']

The validity of the f-structure representation is ensured by a number of well-formedness conditions like coherence, concreteness, consistency and semantic coherence. The functional structure determines the grammatical relations and provides the basis for determining the semantic component of the sentence. Grammatical function also determines the thematic role of a lexical entry. While relating function with the arguments, the principle of argument-function biuniqueness comes into play which states that each argument can be assigned only one function in a sentence. As a converse to this principle comes that no grammatical function can occur more than once with a predicate in a sentence.

An example of F-structure and C-structure is below.

Ram called the girls.



F-structure is required because it decides whether the lexical entries used in the sentence have all the properties or not. The grammatical functions are analytically decomposed into two binary features: $[\pm r]$ (\pm thematically unrestricted) and $[\pm o]$ (\pm objective), associated with arguments according to universal mapping principles. So, grammatical functions are grouped into these natural classes.

2.2.3 Argument structure (A-structure)

Argument structure (a-structure) is a level which represents the number of arguments for a predicate and some aspects of the lexical semantics of these arguments. The argument

structure defines a clear mapping between the thematic roles and the grammatical functions in f-structure of a predicate. The arguments appear in a-structures ordered according to their relative role prominence, according to the following thematic hierarchy:

agent < beneficiary < experience /goal < instrument < patient/theme < locative

This hierarchy is known as the universal thematic hierarchy. The most prominent argument of predicate becomes the logical subject of that predicate. A-structure doesn't only contain the information about thematic roles but it also presents the syntactic valence of a predicate along with the prominence of arguments. The thematic roles according to Dowty (1991) are also classified as the proto-roles such as Proto-Agent (P-A) and Proto-Patient (P-P) depending on the features specified in the predicate. The argument which has key features of an agent such as volitional involvement in any action or causes any change in any action becomes proto-agent. Similarly, the argument which functions as the role going under any change of the action or being affected from the action is proto-patient [P-P].

2.2.4 Semantic structure (S-structure)

Semantic structure (s-structure) represents the meaning of phrases and sentences. It includes the information about the meaning of the lexical item, its arguments and grammatical functions associated with it. However, it doesn't represent the meaning in the real world. According to Lohani (1999) the semantic structure has three properties: the first, syntactic and morphological conditioned meanings, determined by s-structure; secondly it is represented in terms of semantic primitive features and finally its meaning is not identical to the real word.

2.3 Implication of LFG in complex predicate

2.3.1 Functional mapping theory

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 predicate. 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 is brought into implication in complex predicate.

2.3.2 Predicate composition

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 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 any other argument taking 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 doesn't appear at the predicate level so the composition of PRED values has been proposed which implies the unnecessary of feature unification.

2.3.3 Lexicality in complex predicate

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 of 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 a grammar.

Lexical items are obviously words which are the minimal unit of syntax as well. The lexical items or the words are drawn from the lexicon of the language. The lexicon in any

language consists of phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic information. Therefore, we derive the meaning of a phrase by deriving the meaning of the words which make up the phrase. Unlike these states of the lexical items, the words which make a CP, despite behaving like a single element, don't show these features. The CP doesn't mean what its words make together. Hence, the meaning of a CP isn't compositional. The words retain their individual existence even if used like a single predicate. These behaviors of CP try to redraw the notion of lexical item in a grammar. The CP sometimes behaves as two words as well. 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. The two principles viz. *Lexical Integrity Hypothesis* 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. A rule like Affix-hopping would be disallowed. Syntactic rules are prohibited from moving any element into or out of lexical categories. Accordingly this hypothesis, the CP whose constituents can't be separated and conjoined is a categorial word. On the other hand *Direct Syntactic Encoding* states that "no rule of syntax can replace one grammatical function name by other". This principle sharpens the distinction between two classes of rules: rules that change relations are lexical and range over a finite set; whereas syntactic rules that are projected over an infinite set of sentences preserve grammatical relations. According to this principle CP is a functional word. The two theories in themselves hold the contrastive views. A CP is a categorial word for the former whereas the latter states it as a functional word. However, there's direct correspondence between the two categories in such a way that one categorial word can represent two functional words and vice versa.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPLEX PREDICATES IN MAITHILI

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the various types of complex predicates and their structures in Maithili. Section 3.1 discusses the causative as a complex predicate. Section 3.2 deals with compound verb as a complex predicate. Likewise, permissive complex predicates are focused on in the section 3.3. In section 3.4, the non-verbal complex predicates are dealt. Section 3.5 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Causative as a complex predicate

Causativization is an extensively used linguistic feature in South Asian languages like Maithili. Maithili has causativization as morphological process which takes place in the lexicon i.e. it employs causativization process in the lexicon. Lexical and syntactic causativization are absent in the language. This section attempts to analyze causative as a type of complex predicates.

Causative in Maithili is yielded by the concatenation of a verb stem and a causative morpheme in which the latter is also a predicate. The causative predicate, hence establishes the relationship between the causer and causee by composing the two predicates. In this process, the causee happens to play the double role in the structure; the patient of the cause predicate because of being acted upon by the cause and the agent of the caused event owing to its ignition.

3.1.1 Causative formation in Maithili

Causative construction in Maithili outlined in Yadav (1996) is possible in case of all types of verbs such as intransitive, transitive and ditransitive. There are two degrees of causativization in the language according to Yadav (1996:185).

| Degree | Type | Causative Morpheme |
|--------|--------|--------------------|
| First | Direct | -a |

Second

Indirect

-ba

These causative morphemes are attached to the root verbs as a suffix, with or without the minor modifications in the root. The direct causative morpheme or first degree adds only one argument as a causer in the event whereas the indirect adds two arguments in the event. In the following paragraphs causativization with respect to intransitive and transitive verbs is discussed.

In case of intransitive (monadic verb) the causativization becomes a transitivization process because of the addition of an extra argument in the a-structure making it complex. Some examples from Maithili are as follows.

[7].

- a. sāp mər ge-l.
 snake die go-PST
 ‘The snake died.’
- b. lōirka sāp-ke mar-l-ək.
 boy.3SG snake-ACC kill-PST-3SG
 ‘The boy killed the snake (caused the snake die).’

[8].

- a. bahər nikəl.
 outside come.IMP
 ‘Come out.’
- b. bahər nik-a-l
 outside come-CAUS-IMP
 ‘Get/cause sb to come out.’

[9].

- a. həm sudhər-əb nəi
 I get improved-FUT NEG
 ‘I won’t get improved.’
- b. mastər-ji həm-ra sudhar-l-əin
 teacher-H I-ACC improve-PST-3SG.H
 ‘The teacher improved me. (The teacher made me improve.)’

[10].

- a. bəuwa cəl-e lag-əl.
 baby walk-INF start-PST

- ‘Baby started to walk.’
- b. hun bəuwa-ke cəl-a-be lag-əl-thin
he.3SG.H baby-ACC walk-CAUS-INF start-PST-3SG.H
‘He started to make the baby walk.’
- [11].
- a. jokər jorse həs-l-əi
joker loudly laugh-PST-3SG
‘The joker laughed loudly.’
- b. jokər səb-ke jorse həs-əe-l-ək
joker all-ACC loudly laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG
‘The joker made all laugh loudly.’
- [12].
- a. mae uTh ge-l
mother get up go-PST
Mother got up.
- b. mae-ke uTh-a de-l-iəi
mother-ACC getup-CAUS give-PST-1SG
‘I made mother get up.’
- [13].
- a. matha ghurm-e lag-əl
head spin-INF start-PST.3SG
‘The head started to spin. (I was feeling dizzy.)’
- b. goli həm-ər math ghurm-a-be lag-əl
tablet I-POSS head spin-CAUS-INF start-PST.3SG
‘The tablet started making my head spin.’
(The tablet started to make me feel dizzy.)
- [14].
- a. tu ehiTham rəh
you.NH here stay/remain.IMP.NH
‘Stay here/ you remain here.’
- b. phupha to-ra ehiTham rakh-l-ək
uncle you-ACC here stay.CAUS-PST-3SG
‘Uncle made you stay here.’
- [15].

- a. Dhol Phuit ge-l
 dhol crack go-PST
 ‘Dhol cracked.’
- b. bəzəniya Dhol phor de-l-ək
 dhol player dhol-ACC crack.CAUS give-PST-3SG
 ‘The dhol player made the dhol crack.’

Causativization in case of intransitive verbs is also in the second degree by the addition of *-ba* in the verb stem. In this case, two arguments are added in the sentence.

Causativization is also applied in the transitive verb. Maithili is a nominative accusative language type. So it does not display any case on the subject/agent, however, it uses *-ke* as an accusative case (optional) for theme/ patient and *-se* ‘by’ in the oblique. Like the intransitive verbs, the transitive verb also takes *-a* for the first degree causative and *-ba* for second. Some examples are present below.

[16].

- a. bhai kitab pərh-əit əich.
 brother book read-PROG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Brother is reading a book.’
- b. guru-ji bhai-ke kitab pərh-a-bəit əich
 teacher-H brother-ACC book read-CAUS-PROG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Teacher is making brother read a book.’

[17].

- a. raju bhat khəe-ne chəl
 Raju.M rice eat-PRF be.PST.3SG
 ‘Raju had eaten rice.’
- b. raju nehman-səb-ke bhat khi-əe-ne chəl
 Raju.M guest-PL-ACC rice eat-CAUS-PRF be.PST.3SG
 ‘Raju had made the guest eat rice.’

[18].

- a. nəbin cae bəna le-l-ək
 Nabin.M tea make take.PRF-PST-3SG
 ‘Nabin had made the tea.’
- b. hari nabin-se cae bən-ba le-l-ək
 Hari nabin-OBL tea make-CAUS take.PRF-PST-3SG

- ‘Hari had got tea made (by Nabin).’
- c. hari cae bən-bəe-l-ək
 hari tea make-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Hari had the tea made.’

[19].

- a. u agi bar-it chəi
 he fire light.CAUS-PROG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘He is lightening the fire.’
- c. u agi bər-ba rəhəl əich
 he fire light-CAUS remain be.PRS.3SG
 ‘He is getting the fire lit.’

Though the causativization simply takes *-a* and *-ba* for the first and second degree of causative respectively, examples [18] and [19] are some what a different case. Some verbs in the root form such as *bəna* ‘make/ build’, *bar* ‘light’ *peTha* ‘send’ and some more generally having an *-a* ending/root take *-ba* for the first degree causative as well as second degree causative. The causative morpheme goes under the process of lowering when it is exposed in the perfective aspect i.e. the *-a* is lowered down to ə in such cases because of the compensatory lengthening. Besides, some verbs are intransitive in the root form which become transitive one with the addition of *-a* and so they have *-ba* for causative of the second degree. These two processes are tabulated below.

a. Verbs ending in/with the root *-a* (or *-a* as stressed vowel)

| Verbs | Causative |
|---------------|-----------|
| bar (light) | bər-ba |
| pəTha (send) | pəTh-ba |
| a (come) | ən-ba |
| pərha (teach) | pərh-ba |

In the verb listed above *-a* of the root verb is lowered to schwa ‘ə’.

b. The case with intransitive verb

| Causative (1 st Degree) | (2 nd Degree) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>-a</i> | <i>-ba</i> |

| Intransitive verb | Transitive | causative |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| ləhər (lighten) | ləhər -a | ləhər -ba |
| bər (ignite) | bər-a | bər-ba |
| sukh (go dry) | sukh-a | sukh-ba |
| jər (burn) | jər-a | jər-ba |
| bhij (get wet) | bhij-a | bhij-ba |
| gir (fall) | gir-a | gir-ba |

ii. **Some verbs modify the inner vowels to transitivize themselves.**

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|
| phuT (break) | phor | phor-ba |
| TuT (break) | tor | tor-ba |
| chuT (get left) | chor | chor-ba |
| usər (end) | usar | usər-ba |
| nikəl (come out) | nikal | nikəl-ba |
| ughər (get uncovered) | ughar | ughər-ba |

iii. **Some verbs raise their first vowel -a and -e to -i before adding the causative morpheme.**

| Verb stem | Derived root | causative |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| kha-b (eat) | khi... | khi-a-eb |
| le-b (take) | li | li-a-eb |
| de-b(give) | di | di-a-eb |
| la-eb (bring) | li | li-a-eb |

iv. **Some verbs besides lowering the vowel -a to -ə adds b before adding causative morpheme.**

| Root Verbs | Derived Verb | Causative |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| ga-eb (sing) | gə-b | gəb-a-eb |

| | | |
|----------------------|------|----------|
| ba-eb (open mouth) | bə-b | bəb-a-eb |
| pa-eb (reach/ touch) | pə-b | pəb-a-eb |

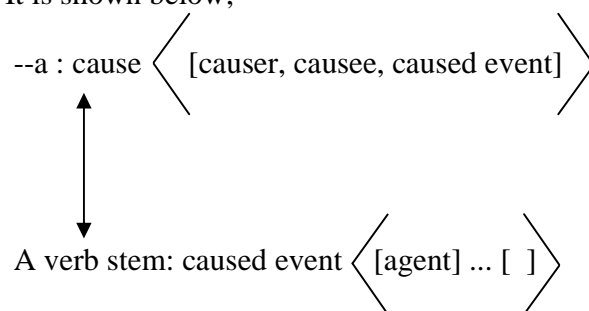
3.1.2 Complex predicate formation in causative

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 stem .

Causativization arises

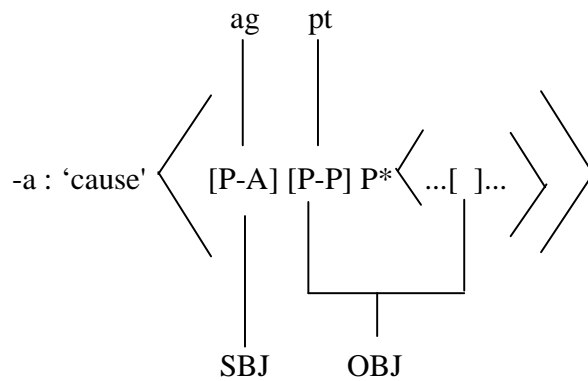
“through the morphological concatenation of a causative morpheme and a verb stem and that causative morpheme is a predicate that involves not only a relation between a causer and a caused event but also a relation in which the causer affects or acts upon a participant of the caused event; this participation by virtue of being acted upon by the causer is said to be the patient of causative predicate because it is also an argument of the caused event it bears another thematic role to the predicate of this event, the verb stem to which the causative morpheme attaches supplies the predicate of the caused event." Thus a complex predicate...emerges through this concatenation.” (Alsina, 1997:204)

According to the above statement, a causative morpheme such as *-a* or *-ba* acts as a causative predicate having two arguments a causer and a causee. It's then attached to any other verb stem of simple predicate. When both of these predicates are composed it 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. It is shown below;



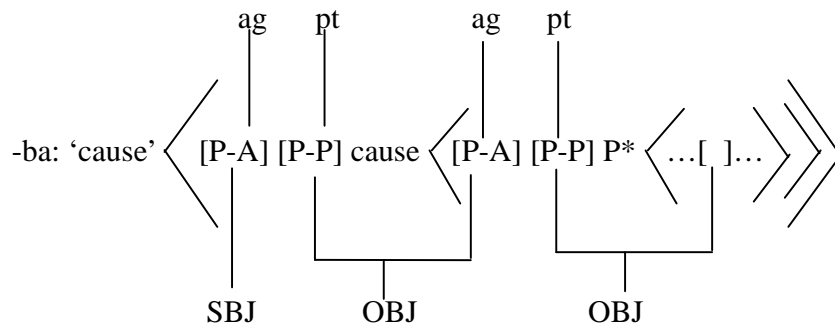
In this unification, functional mapping theory is applied. Accordingly, the role which has shown the volitional involvement in an event is assigned the proto-agent and one which undergoes a change of state is assigned proto-patient of the main or causative predicate. Besides, there is agent of the caused event. The functional mapping theory maps it into the grammatical function of object via argument structure.

[20].



In the example [20], P* is an underspecified predicate i.e. caused event and the empty slot is the arguments required by the event. Both the [p-p] and agent /subject of the P* is the same argument. P* is any simple predicate as a caused event.

[21].



The example [21] is the case of indirect causative where two embedded clauses are adjoined in the main causative clause. In the above two cases of causatives [20] and [21], P* represents the caused event where the empty slot shows the number of arguments to be determined by the predicate. However the unified arguments are played by a single element.

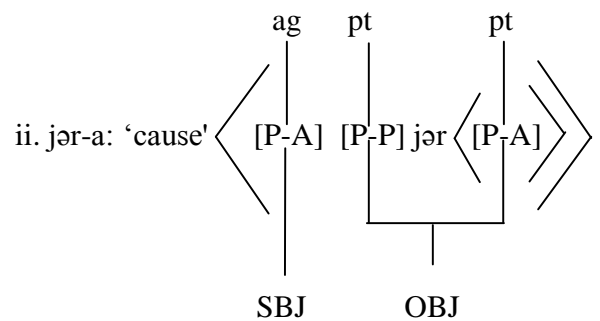
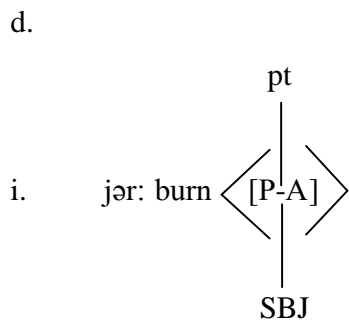
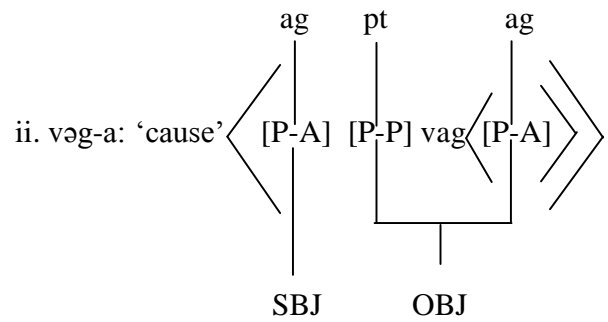
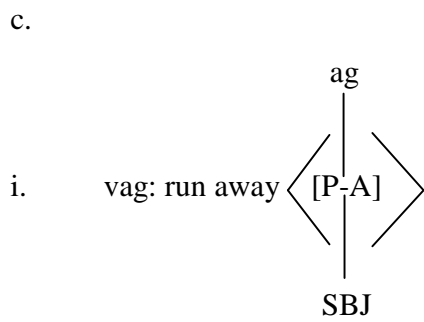
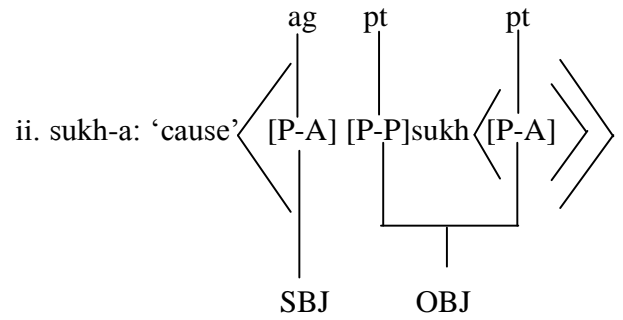
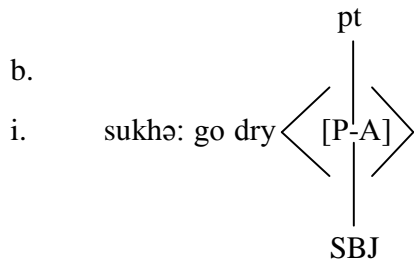
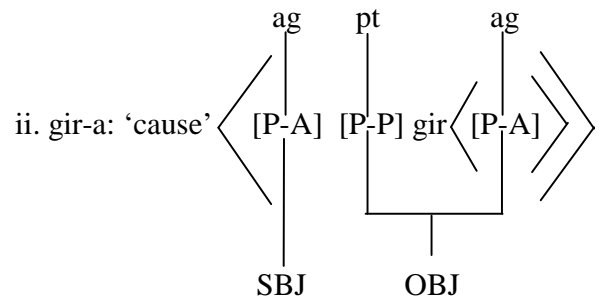
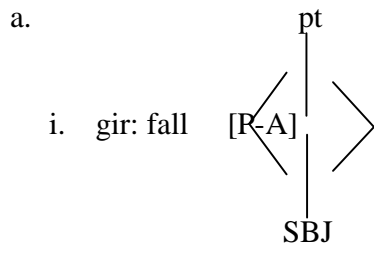
3.1.3 Structure with intransitive verbs

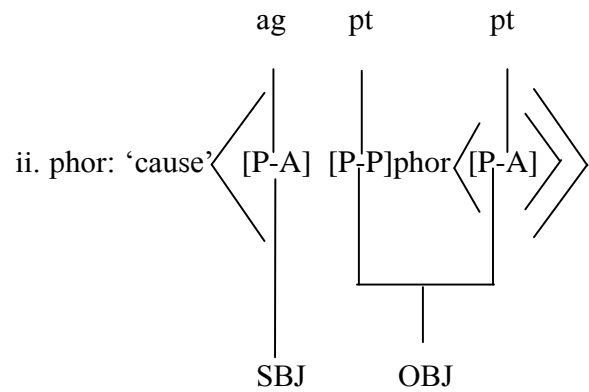
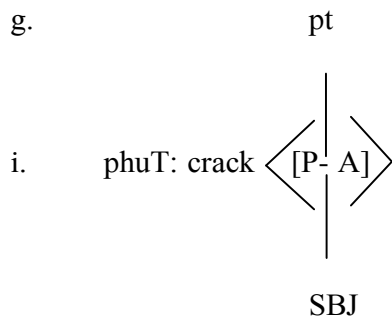
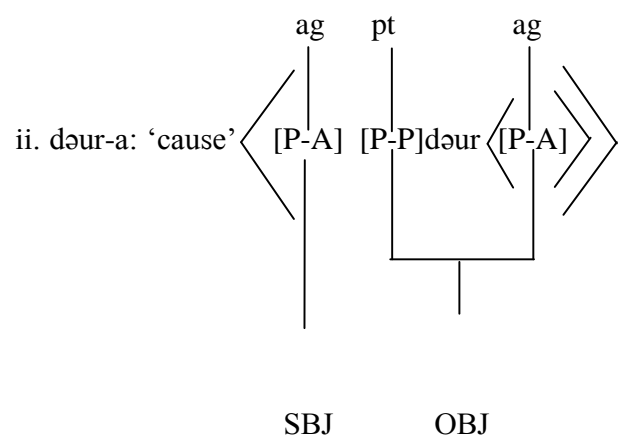
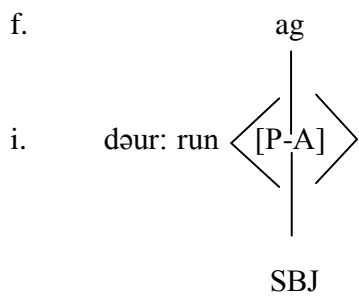
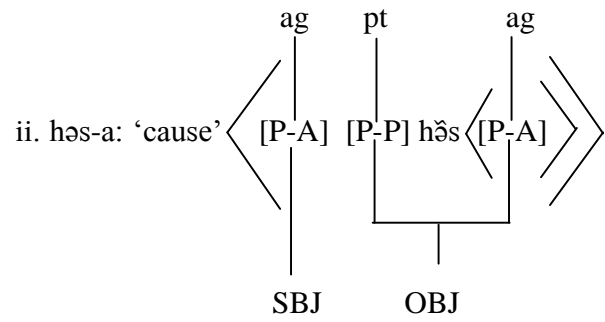
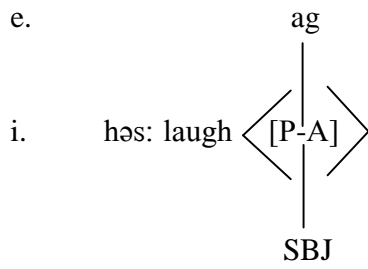
[22].

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| a. | mobail | | gir | pər- əl |
| | mobile.N | | fall | fall-PST.3SG |
| | ‘Mobile fell down.’ | | | |
| b. | ghas | | sukhə (a) | ge-l |
| | grass | | go dry | go-PST |
| | ‘The grass went dry (dried).’ | | | |
| c. | kəpəra | jər | rəhəl | əich |
| | cloth | burn | remain | be.PRS.3SG |
| | ‘The cloth is burning.’ | | | |
| d. | gai | vag-ne | | chəl |
| | cow | run away- PRF | | be.PST.3SG |
| | ‘The cow had run away.’ | | | |
| e. | dai | | həs-l-ək | |
| | grandmother | | laugh-PST-3SG | |
| | ‘Grandmother laughed.’ | | | |
| f. | bhəiya | | dəur-əl-thin | |
| | brother (elder).H | | run-PST-3SG.H | |
| | ‘The elder brother ran.’ | | | |
| g. | culhi | phuT | | ge-l |
| | hearth (cooking) | crack | | go-PST |
| | ‘The health cracked.’ | | | |

These intransitive verbs are transitivized or causativized by the addition of *-a* with/without modification in the verb root. Their embedded structures are shown in the examples [23 a-g] with the syntactic function and argument structure of intransitive in (i) and those of causatives in (ii).

[23].





The resultant causativized/ transitive forms of the intransitive verbs are below presented.

[24].

- | | | | | |
|----|--|--------|-----------|--------------|
| a. | nEnsi | mobail | gir-a | de-l-ək |
| | Nancy.F | mobile | fall-CAUS | give-PST-3SG |
| | 'Nancy made the mobile fall. (Nancy felled the mobile.)' | | | |

- b. nøkər ghas sukh-a-əl-kəi
 servant grass dry-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The servant made the grass dry.’
- c. u kəpəra jər-əe-ne əich
 he cloth burn-CAUS-PRF be.PRS.3SG
 ‘He has caused the cloth to burn.’
- d. cərbəha gai bhəg-a rəhəl ho-et
 grazer cow run away-CAUS remain be-FUT.3SG
 ‘The grazer (servant) will be making the cow runaway.’
- e. dai-ke həs-əi-l-əhu (həs-a-iləhu)
 grandmother-DAT/ACC laugh-CAUS-PST-2SG.H
 ‘You made grandmother laugh.’
- f. cor bhəiya-ke dəur-ə-əl-kəi (dəur-a-l kai)
 thief elder brother –DAT run- CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The thief made elder brother run.’
- g. didi culhi phor-l-əin
 elder sister hearth break.CAUS-PST-3SG.H
 ‘The elder sister made the heart break. (The elder sister broke the hearth.)’

In each of the above examples of transitivity/ causativization, there is the an extra argument added to the sentences as the agent of the causative predicate in the form of causative morpheme attached as a suffix to the verb root. In each example the [p-p] of the causative predicate is identified with the logical subject of the embedded clause. In case of intransitive verbs,

“The same argument that is subject in the underived from is an object in the causative form. This alternation arises thanks to two properties of the theories: first, the assumption that the logical subject of a predicate loses its status as an external argument when the predicate is embedded in another a- structure, accounting for the fact that it is not mapped onto subject function and second the assumption that the cause may be semantically identified with an internal argument of the causative predicate, accounting for the fact that it behaves syntactically like an internal argument" hence the cause is mapped onto the direct function of object.” (Alsina, 1997:212)

3.1.4 Structures with transitive predicate

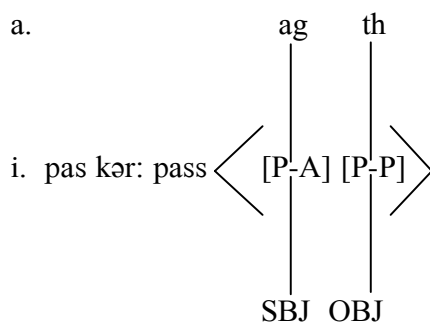
3.1.4.1 Structure with causee object

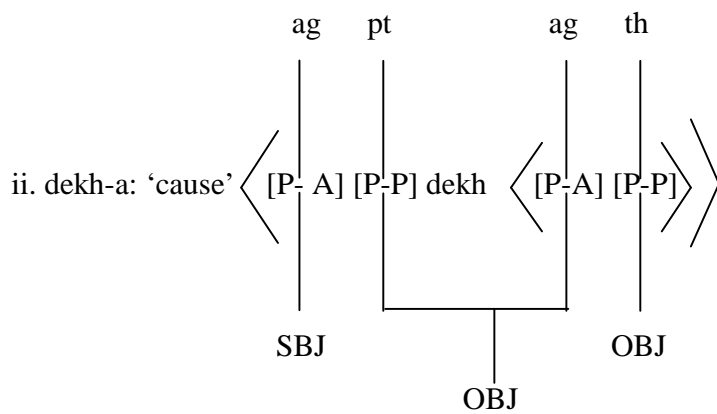
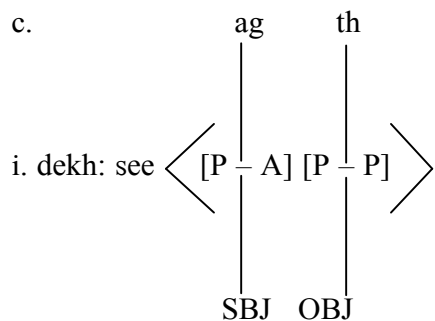
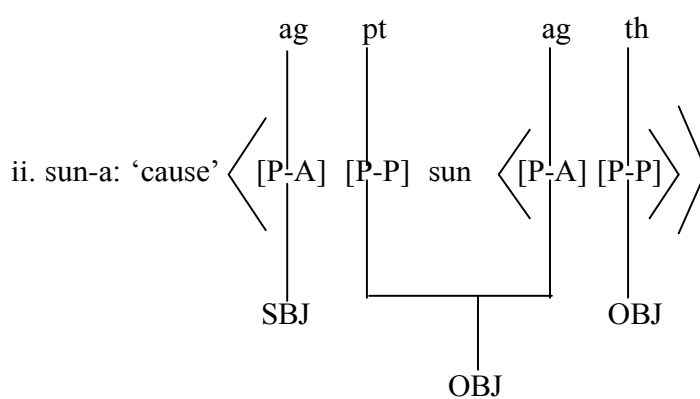
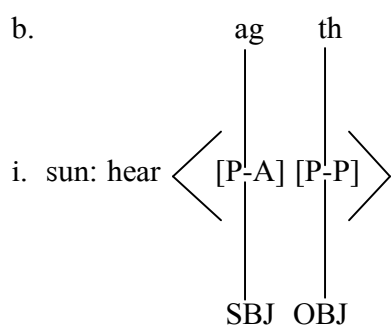
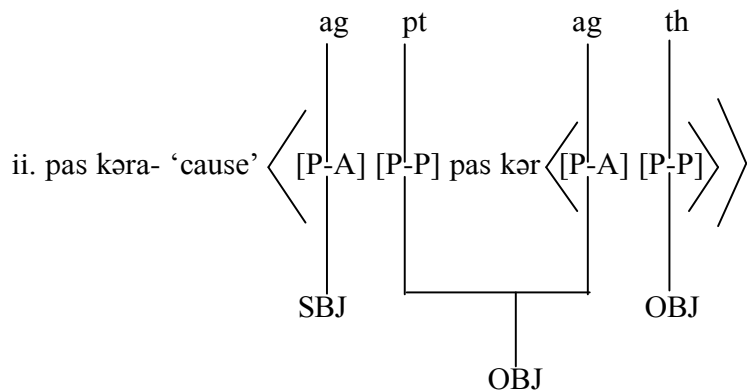
[25].

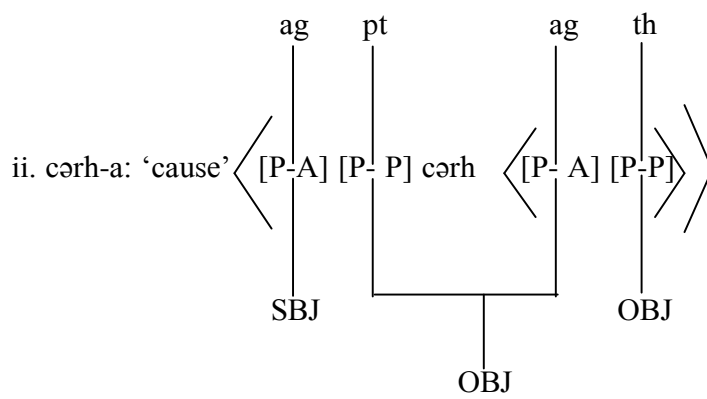
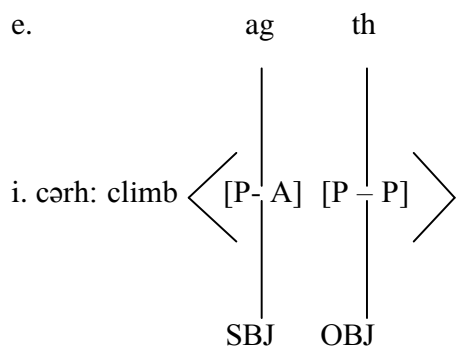
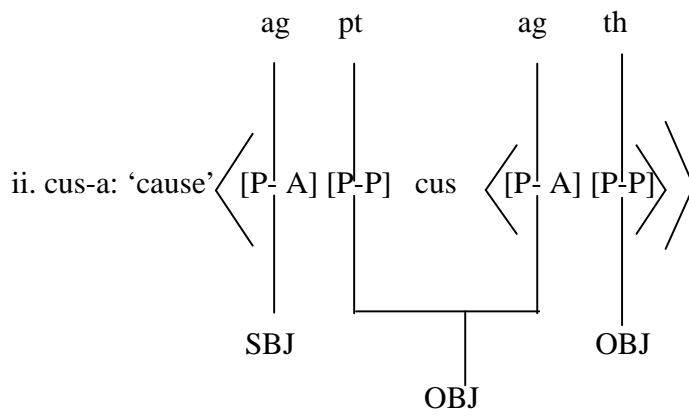
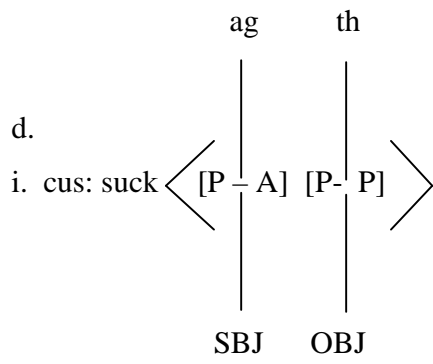
- a. ram pəricha pas kəe-l-ak
 Ram.N exam pass do-PST-3SG
 ‘Ram passed the exam.’
- b. chaura kəhani sun-ləi hə
 boy story hear-PRF.EMP be.PRS.3SG
 ‘The boy has heard the story.’
- c. bhəiya nac dekh-l-əin
 elder brother dance see-PST-3SG.H
 ‘The elder brother saw dance.’
- d. pari dudh cus rəhəl aich
 she- calf (buffalo) milk suck remain be.PRS.3SG
 ‘The calf is sucking the milk.’
- e. həm Tal cərh-le chiəi
 I.NOM bale climb-PRF be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I have climbed the bale (hay).’

The syntactic function and their argument structures of non-causative examples of [25 a-e] are presented in (i) and causatives in (ii) in the following examples of [26].

[26].







The resultant causatives are exemplified below in examples [27].

[27].

- a. bhəgban ram-ke pəricha pas kər-a dē-l-thin
 god ram-ACC exam pass do-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘God made Ram pass exam.’
- b. əhā bəTa-ke kəhani sun-əi-l-i
 you son-DAT story listen-CAUS-PST-2SG.H
 ‘You made the son hear a story.’
- c. bhəuji bhəiya-ke nāc dekh-əe-l-ək
 sister-in-law elder brother-DAT dance see-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Sister-in-law made the elder brother see the dance.’
 (Sister-in-law showed the elder brother dance.)
- d. vəisi pari-ke dudh cus- əe-l-ək
 buffalo she-calf-ACC milk suck-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The buffalo made the she-calf (buffalo) suck the milk.’
- e. bədri həm-ra Tal-pər cərh-əe-ne rəh-əl
 badri me bale(over) climb-CAUS-PRF remain-PST
 ‘Badri had made me climb the bale.’

In the examples [27 a-e], the external argument of the transitive verb is mapped onto the function of a direct object because the functional mapping theory already finds an external argument and thus maps that into the subject of the causative predicate in the sentence. The causee of the causative predicate and the agent of the caused event is the same argument. When this process takes place it affects the argument structure of the original non-causative transitive predicate by adding the external argument as a subject and demoting the previous subject into the object thereby making the simple predicate into a complex one.

3.1.4.2 Structure with oblique

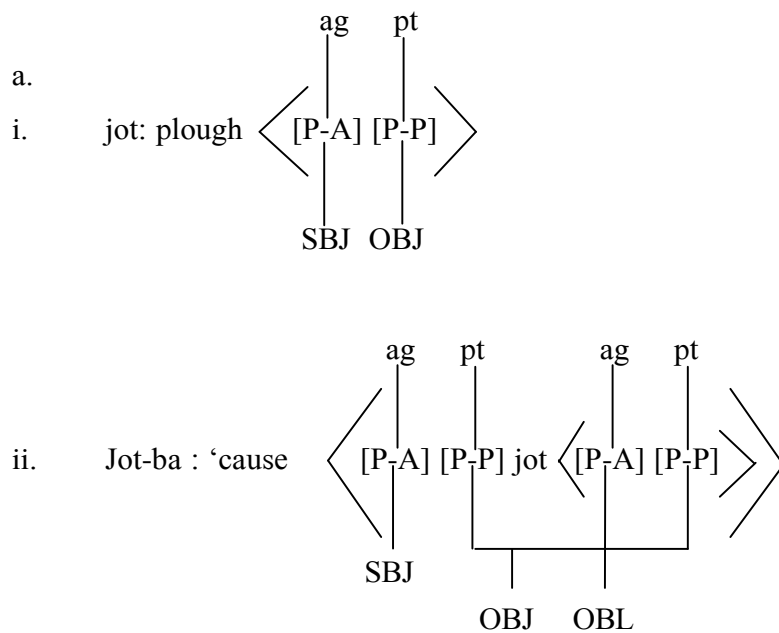
[28].

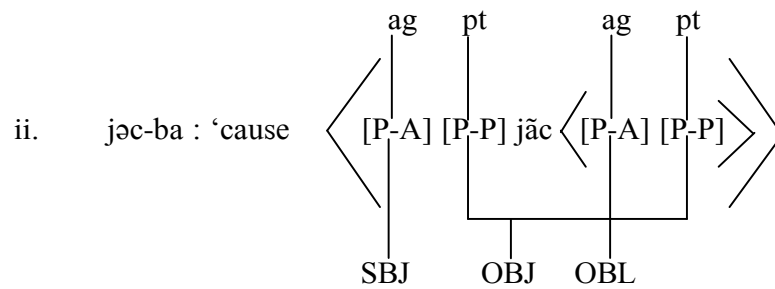
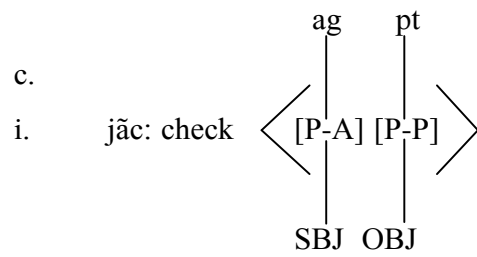
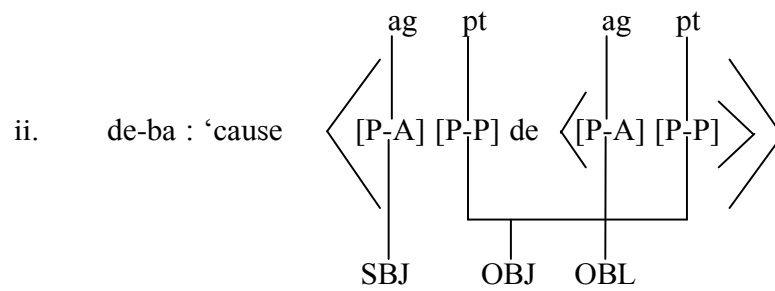
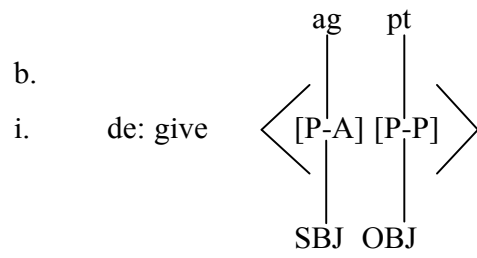
- a. girhəs khet jot-əit əich
 farmer field plough-PROG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘The farmer is ploughing the field.’

- b. vidyarthi pərīcha de-l-ək
 student exam take-PST-3SG
 ‘Student took exam.’
- c. hēm kāpi jāc-li hə
 I.NOM paper check-PRF be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I have checked the papers.’
- d. nokər khədiya khənəe-ne rəh-ət
 servant ditch dig-PRF remain-FUT.3SG
 ‘The servant will have dug a ditch.’
- e. kumhar ghər char-le chəl
 porter house tile-PRF be.PST.3SG
 ‘The porter had tiled the house.’
- f. bəniyā səman bec-əit chəl.
 shopkeeper goods sell-PROG be.PST.3SG
 ‘The shopkeeper sold the goods.’
- g. mistiri məkan bəna de-l-kəi
 mason building make give-PST-3SG
 ‘The mason made the building.’

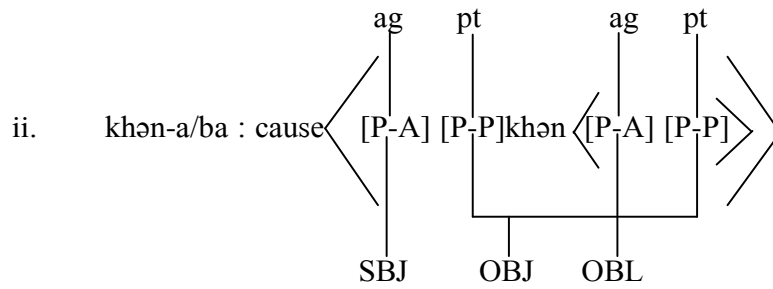
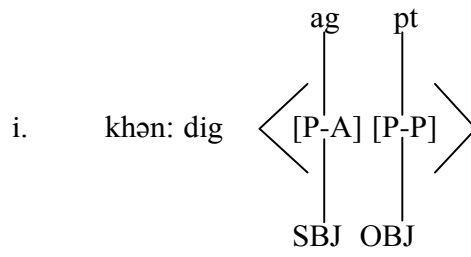
The argument structures with their syntactic functions and their causative outcomes are as follows:

[29].

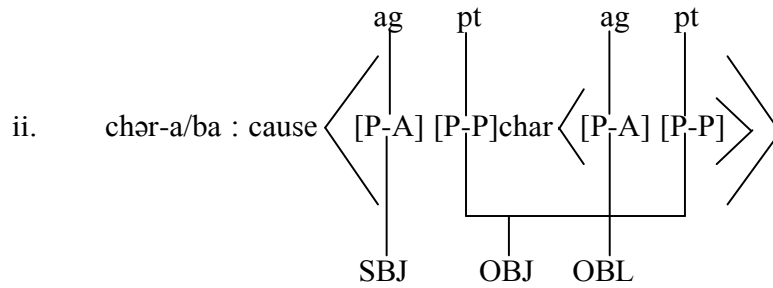
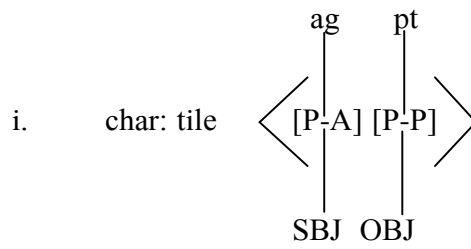




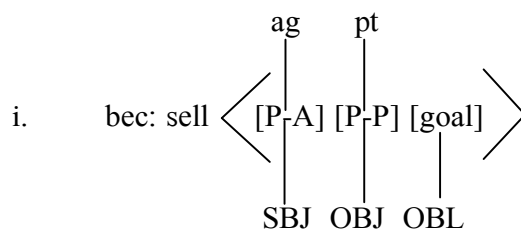
d.

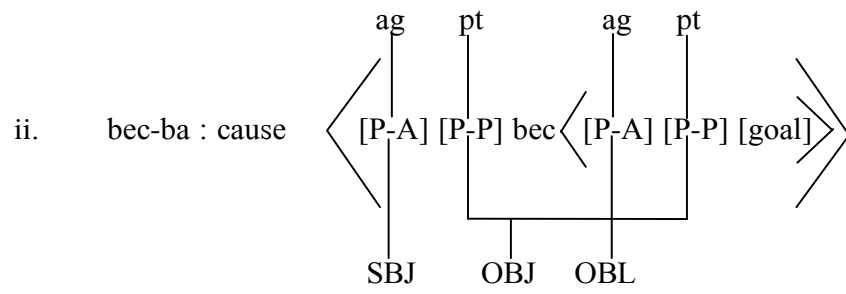


e.

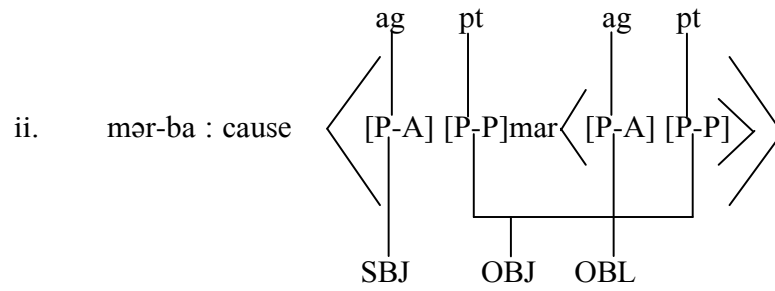
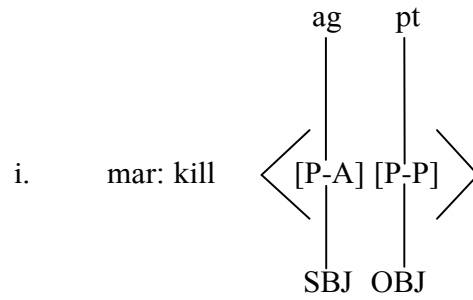


f.

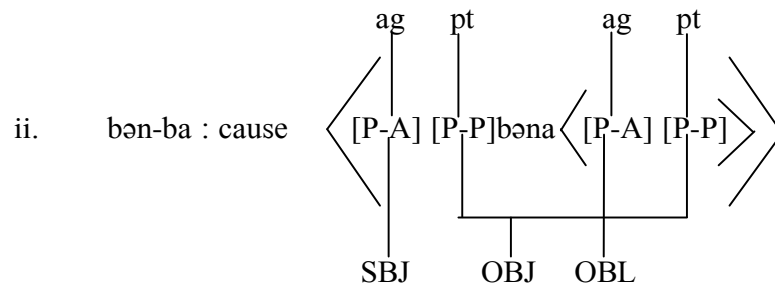
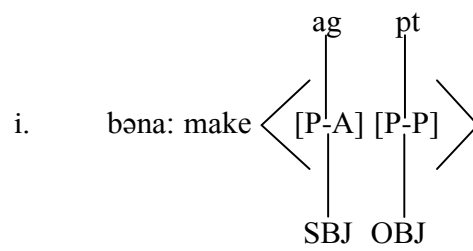




g.



h.



The causatives are illustrated below in examples [30 a-h].

[30].

- a. babu-ji girhəs-se khet jot-ba-bit chə-thin
 father-H farmer-OBL farm plough-CAUS-PROG be.PRS-3SG.H
 ‘Father is having the farm ploughed (by farmer).’
- b. guru-ji (bidyarthi-se) pəricha de-bəe-l-ək
 teacher-H (student-OBL) exam take-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The teacher got the exam taken (by students).’
- c. pəricha niyəntrək karyaləyə (master-səb-se) slc-ke
 examination controller office teacher-PL-OBL SLC-POSS
 kāpi jəc-bae-le hæ
 copy check-CAUS-PRF be. PRS .3SG
 ‘The office of controller of examination has had the SLC copies checked. (by the teacher).’
- d. choTəka kaka (nokər-se) khədiya khən-bae-ne rəh-ət
 younger uncle (servant-OBL) ditch dig-CAUS-PRF remain-FUT.3SG
 ‘The younger uncle will have had the ditch dug (by servant).’
- e. pita-ji kumhar-se ghər char-bae-le (chərbəele) chəl
 father-H potter-OBL house tile-CAUS-PRF be.PST.3SG
 ‘Father had got the house tiled (by potter).’
- f. ghərbəiya (bəniya-se) səman bec-ba-əit (bec-bit) chəl
 land lord (shopkeeper-OBL) goods sell-CAUS-PROG be.PST.3SG
 ‘The landlord had the goods sold (by shopkeeper).’
- g. maobadi (sena-se) gəuwa-ke mər-ba de-le
 maoist (militia-OBL) villager-DAT kill-CAUS give-PRF
 hæ
 be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Maoist has had the villagers killed (by militia).’
- h. hin (bəniya mistiri-se) məkan bən-bəe-l-ən
 he.H (very good mason-OBL) building make-CAUS-PST-3SG.H
 ‘He had the building made (by very good mason).’

The examples in [30] clarify that in the presence of oblique case in the sentence the direct object is mapped into the internal argument of the causative predicate thereby

making the oblique case unnecessary which can be removed from the sentence as well. That is why the oblique case in the examples are parenthesized.

3.1.4.3 Structure with dative subject

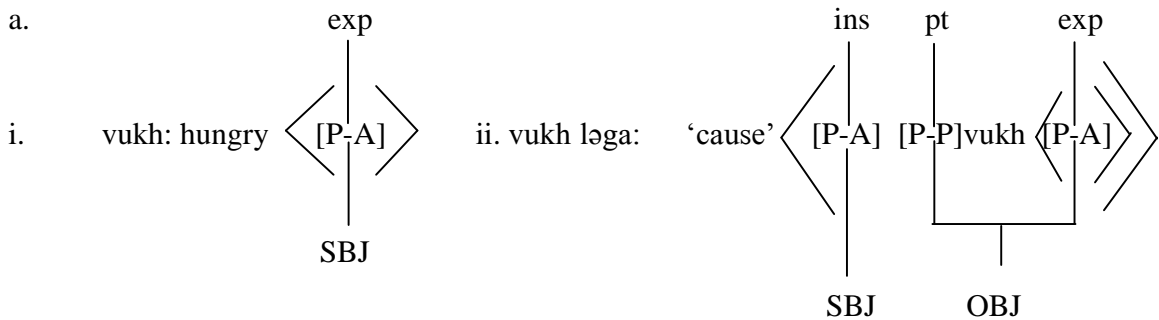
In the Maithili language, causativization adds a causer in the form of force or instrument role making the dative subject a causee of the causative predicate in the role of patient which simultaneously remains the experiencer of the dative predicate. Hence, the causer of the causative predicate is mapped 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. Henceforth the simple predicate emerges into a complex predicate. The process is illustrated in the following examples.

[31].

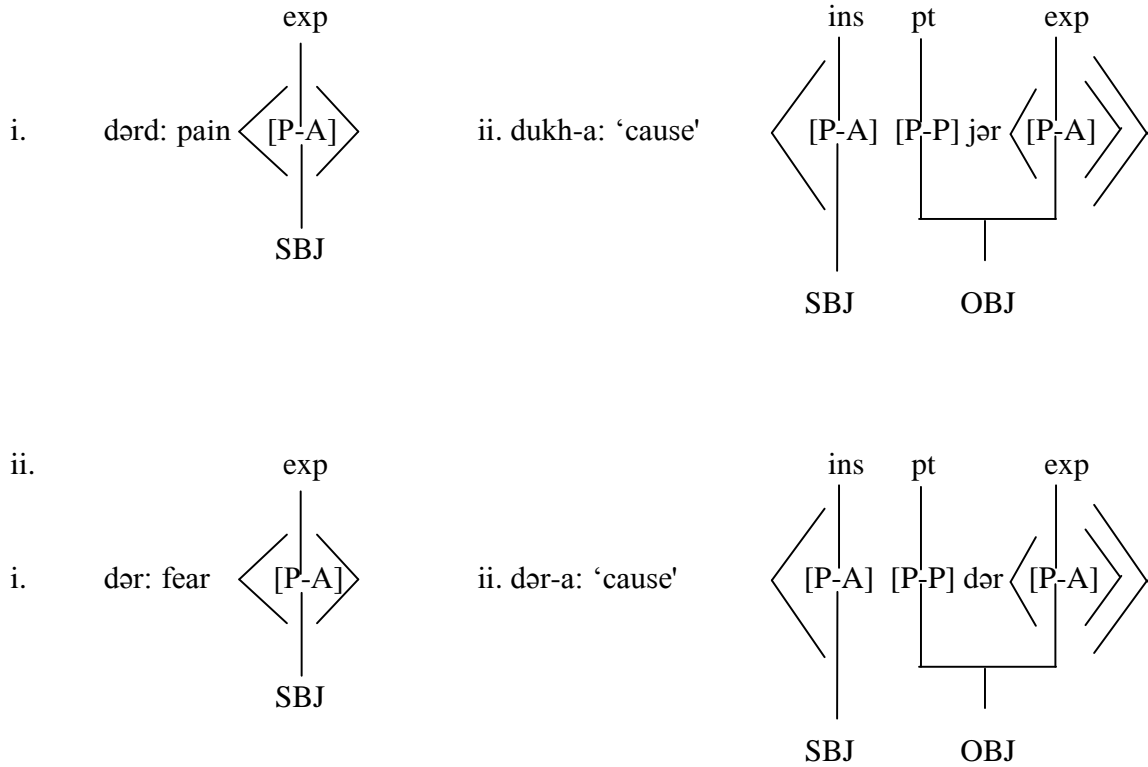
- | | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|---------|------------|------------|
| a. | həm-ra | bhukh | lagəl | həe | |
| | I-DAT | hunger | feel | be.PRS.3SG | |
| | ‘I feel hungry.’ | | | | |
| b. | ok-ra | bəd dərd | ho-it | chəi | |
| | he-DAT | much pain | be-PROG | be.PRS.3SG | |
| | (Lit.)‘Much pain is being to him’ | | | | |
| | ‘He feels much pain.’ | | | | |
| c. | ənhar-me | to-ra | dər | lag-əit | chəu |
| | dark-LOC | you- DAT | fear | feel-PROG | be.PRS.3SG |
| | ‘Fear comes to you in dark. (You are afraid of darkness.)’ | | | | |

The argument structures with their syntactic function of examples [31a-c] are in [32 a-b (i)] and the causativization are shown in [32 a-b (ii)].

[32].



b.



In the examples [32 a-c], 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.

[33].

- a. kam həm-ra bhukh ləg-əe-le həi
 work I-DAT hunger feel-CAUS-PRF be.PRS.3SG
 'The work has made me feel hungry.'
- b. bilai ok-ra anhar-me dər-a de-l-kəi
 cat he- DAT dark-LOC fear give-PST-3SG
 'Cat made him fear in dark.'
- c. ghau to-ra khub dukh-a-it cho
 wound you- DAT much pain-CAUS-PROG be.PRS.3SG
 'The wound is making you feel much pain.'

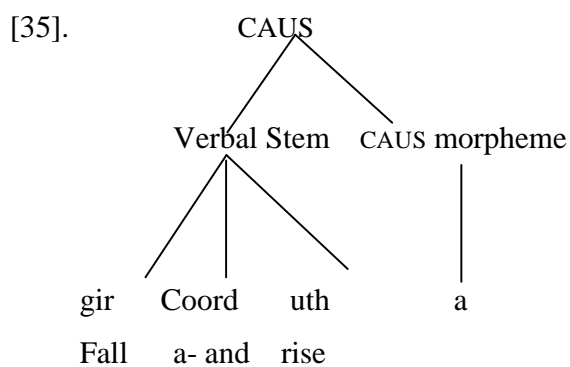
3.1.5 Predicate composition

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 units, are combined together to result into a causative complex predicate. Therefore the two morphemes are always integral not separable no two verb stems can be coordinated by a causative morpheme.

- [34]. * həm bəuwa-ke {gir a uTh}-ə- il-iəi
 I.NOM baby-DAT {fall and rise}-CAUS-PST-1SG
 ‘I made the baby fall and get up.’

The respective tree diagram is;

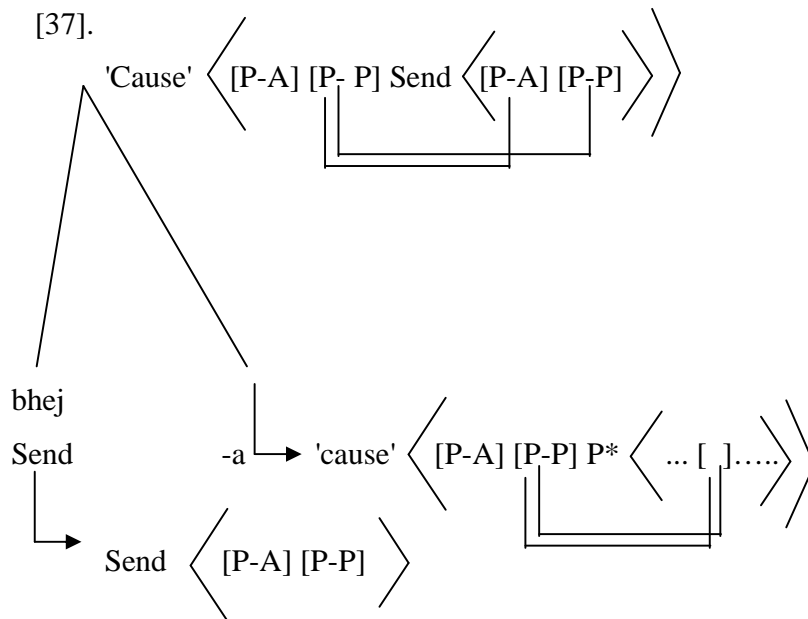


Similarly, the causative morpheme and the verbal stem can not be separated with any other external element as well.

- [36]. *bhunti mobail bəj- yo-a de-l-kəi
 Bhunti.F mobile ring-EMP-CAUS give-PST-3SG
 ‘Bhunti caused mobile to ring too.’

Thus, only a syntactic element can be coordinated with other syntactic element. Two syntactic elements can only be separable by any external element. Since causativization takes place in the lexicon, it is neither coordinated nor separated by any external element.

As Lohani (1999) has argued morphological complex predicate is hierarchical because of the structural sisterhood relation of predicates immediately dominated by a more embedded non-terminal node. There are two predicates in such a relation which need to be composed because one of them is incomplete indicated by P*. Such incomplete predicate is made complete by another predicate by fulfilling its argument taking abilities. This features composition of two predicates is represented in the tree diagram below where dotted line refers to a-structure of the morpheme.



As the example shows the PRED value of the entire clause i.e. causative is composed of that of its daughter nodes. This hierarchical is in order lest it will not reflect the causativization.

3.2 Compound verb

While defining compound verb,

“compound verbs are the concatenations or sequences of two verbal forms. Of these two the first member is the main or predicating verb [*called principal or host verb*] and in most languages is in stem or some non-finite form. The second member, although homophonous with an independent verb in the language, doesn’t appear in its primary lexical meaning [*hence called light verb*]. The latter is morphologically finite verb that is marked for relevant grammatical categories such as person, number, gender, tense, aspect, and modality.” (Abbi, 2001:188)
 [The words in italics are mine]

Compound verb is the combination of two verbs together each being an independent lexical entry. Simply compound verb is V + V combination where both Vs are of similar/ same status when being used alone, like that of an independent verb. Auxiliary verbs such as copula are not under consideration for this purpose i.e. V+V not V+ AUX V. when two verbs are combined to form a compound verb one of them bears the completely

semantic burden while the other being bleached of its semantic content bears the grammatical burden. The former is called host verb and the latter is called light verb. In the verb ending language, the order of host and light verb is host-light verb.

3.2.1 Compound verb as a complex predicate

All the compound verb constructions do not make a CP. But only those compound verbs are considered to form a complex predicate which have/make any contribution to a-structure in terms of arguments or case marking or discourse function. Taking these three contributions under consideration, all categories of compound verb may not be liable to form a complex predicate in the LFG model.

The other feature of specification is that the light verb should not embed or subcategorize the host verb representing itself as a dominant verb of mother node. It will not be able to be called a compound verb, henceforth not a complex predicate, if it complementizes the other predicates. 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.

In South Asian languages, there are wide ranges of verb compounding process. An extensive list of verb are listed under light verbs most of which are only inflected for the syntactic or grammatical features. But only a few of them have some sort of contribution, either surface or deep, in the a-structure. They affect the s-structure as well. For Masica (1976:143) the light verb is used to contribute “completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought and thoroughness.” In Maithili for Yadav (1996:201) there are seven verbs used as light verbs, they are

le: take

de: give

ja : go

a :come

uTh: rise

bəiTh/ bais : sit

pər: fall / lie

All of these seven verbs have different syntactic and discursive notion while used with the other host verbs. These verbs by Yadav (1996) and Yadav (2004) have been referred as vectors but I have used them as light verbs not only for my purpose but also for vectors have been used in different sense.

3.2.1.1 The light verbs forming complex predicates

The major use as a light verb is played by the verbs like *de*, *le*, *a*, and *ja*. I am dealing with these light verbs individually to show how they contribute to the a-structure.

a. The light verb *de* 'give'

The light verb *de* 'give' has two functions; one as a permissive 'let' and the other aspectual and attitudinal. This section deals with the latter use of *de* as a light verb. Some examples are:

[38].

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|--------|----------|--------------|---------------|
| a. | həm | ciTThi | pərh-li | hə | |
| | I | letter | read-PRF | be.PRS.1SG | |
| | 'I have read the letter.' | | | | |
| b. | u | həm-ər | ciTThi | pərh-l-ək | |
| | he | I-POSS | letter | read-PST-3SG | |
| | 'He read my letter.' | | | | |
| c. | u | həm-ər | ciTThi | pərh | de-l-ək |
| | he | I-POSS | letter | read | give-PST-3SG |
| | 'He read letter (for me)' | | | | |
| d. | u | həm-ra | ciTThi | pərh | de-t |
| | he | I-DAT | letter | read | give -FUT.3SG |
| | 'He will read my letter (for me).' | | | | |

There are four examples in [38]. The first two (a-b) are without light verb *de* whereas the last two (c-d) are with light verb *de*. In examples (a-b), there is no any argument mentioned or assumed to be benefitted by the action except the subject. But the examples

[38 b-c] clearly assumes a beneficiary person though not clearly stated in sentence *pərh de-lək* 'read' means the reading letter has been done by 'him' for someone may be 'me' because of the possessive 'my'. That is why when *de* is used as a light verb with a transitive host, it signifies the beneficiary of the action to be taken for consideration.

Similarly, besides a beneficiary person *de* also predicts about the attitude of help and hope of the action to be carried out in case of future as in [39 a]. Though, it also presumes the action directed to other as a beneficiary of doing work, it shows that the action of reading is hoped to be done by him. Let us consider some more examples.

[39].

- a. tu kam kər di-əhu
 You work do give-IMP.H
 'you, please , do the work.'
- b. tu kam kər li-ha
 You work do take-IMP.H
 'You please complete/ do the work.'

In example [39 b] the light verb *li* 'take' shows just the request for completion but in [39 a] with the light verb *de* together with the request for completion a hope is attached for the action to be done for other or the speaker.

The beneficiary person may be clearly stated in the sentence in case of *de* light verb

- [40]. tu həm-ra -ləl chiTThi pərh da
 you I-DAT-for letter read give.IMP.H
 'You please read the letter for me.'

The light verb *de* also triggers the change in the actors/ subject.

[41].

- a. həm nihai-li hə (nihəi-li-hə)
 I bath-PRF be. PRS.1SG
 'I have taken bath.'
- b. u həm-ra nihā de-l-kəi
 he I-ACC bath give-PST-3SG
 'He bathed me.'

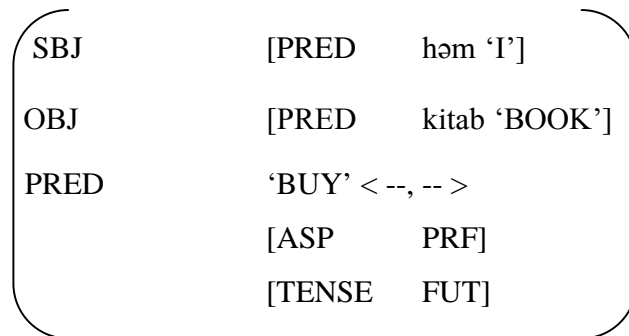
In [41a], the action is done by the subject 'I' but in [41b] it is done by the subject 'he' where 'I (me)' is used as an object. In these examples, *de* as a light verb occurs with a verb the action of which is directed to/ done for other's (Yadav, 1996). Hence this light verb affects the argument structure by the addition or presupposition of a beneficiary person, other than the subject/actor, that may be sometimes clearly stated as well. While presenting it in LFG, the diagrams are below.

[42].

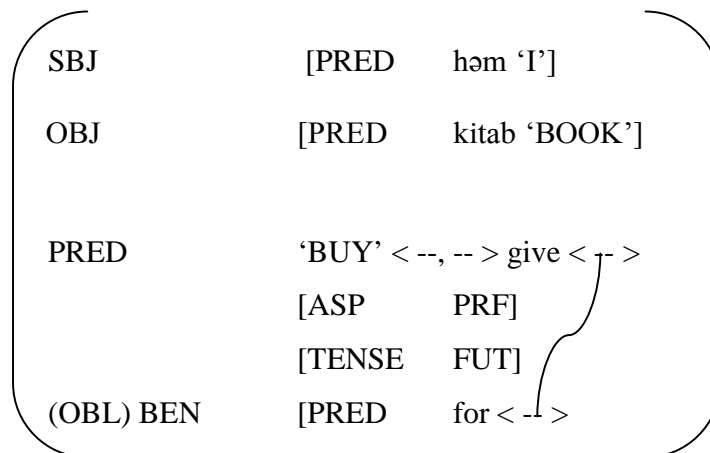
- a. həm kitab kin-le rəh-əb
 I book buy-PRF remain-FUT.1SG
 'I will have bought the book.'
- b. həm kitab kin de-le rəh-əb
 I book buy give-PRF remain-FUT.1SG
 'I will have bought the book (for someone).'

[43].

a.



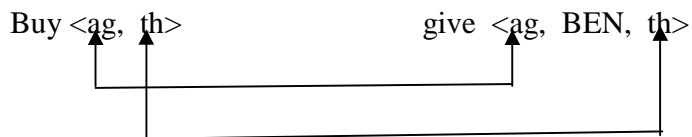
b.



In the example [42 a] there is no use of compound verb. So the action is assumed to be done for the doer itself until it is not clearly stated. But, in [42 b], the use of a compound verb with the light verb *de* the action is assumed to be done for other. This relation is also shown in the LFG framework in [43 b].

The process of unifying values happens as; ‘buy’ as a main verb has only two arguments but when it is used as a host verb with the light verb ‘give’, its argument is increased by the addition of a covert or overt beneficiary. This is as;

Buy < ag, th >



When *de* is used as a light verb with a verbal host, it adds a beneficiary argument in sentence either overtly or covertly. When it is used with the transitive host, the number of arguments in the sentence becomes three instead of two. An extra argument is added as a *BEN* in the dative case which appears along with the two which the host requires.

b. The light verb *le* ‘take’

le ‘take’ is another light verb in the Maithili language. It is used in contrast to the light verb *de* ‘give’. The light verb *de* makes the action directed to other than the subject on the other hand *le* makes the action directed to the subject/ actor itself. The benefactive and the agent argument of the action are the same. The examples are:

[44]. raju bhat kha le-le əich
 Raju.M rice eat take-PRF be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Raju has eaten rice.’

The beneficiary of the action *kha* ‘eat’ is the doer itself. That’s why 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” such as in [44]. Let us see [45].

[45].

- a. həm bat bujh le-l-iəi
 I matter understand take-PST-1SG
 ‘I understood the matter.’
- b. bəuwa git sun le-l-kəi
 baby song heard take-PST-3SG
 ‘Baby heard the song.’
- c. tu-səb nac dekh le-le ?
 you-PL dance see take –PST
 ‘Did you all see the dance?’

In the examples [45a-c] the verbs of perception are used as host verb with *le* as light verb because the action is directed to subject/ actor themselves. If they are used with the light verb *de* it would be ungrammatical.

- [46]. *həm bat bujh de- l-iəi
 I matter understand give-PST-1SG
 ‘I gave the matter understand.’

Moreover, the other function of *le* is aspectual as a perfective aspect. It can not be used as a progressive or an imperfective aspect. Being used as a perfective aspect, it shows the completion rather than inception or duration.

- [47].
- a. dokandar pɛtrika læ le-le rɛh-ət
 shopkeeper newspaper bring take-PRF remain-FUT.3SG
 ‘The shopkeeper will have brought the newspaper.’
- b. ləirki homwərk kər le-le chəl
 girl homework do take-PRF be.PST.3SG
 ‘The girl had done the homework.’
- c. *rakes bhat bəna le-le rɛhɛl aich
 Rakesh.M rice cook take-PRF remain be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Rakesh has been cooking rice.’

The examples [47a-b] are acceptable because *le* occurs with the perfective aspect but [47c] is ill formed because of the presence of progressive auxiliary *rəhəl*. Therefore, the light verb *le* shows completion not the inception or duration of an action.

le as a light verb is also used to show modest capacity with a few intransitive verb (Yadav,1996) as an attitudinal use of this light verb such as;

[48].

- a. həm dəbai kha le-l-əuh
 I medicine eat take-PST-1SG
 ‘I already took the medicine.’
- b. dukh me kain le-it chi
 sorrow in weep take –IPFV be. PRS.1SG
 ‘I cry in sorrow.’

The examples [48 a-b] show the attitude of dissatisfaction and helplessness respectively with the use of the verb *le*. Obviously, the examples in [48] 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. Hence it is treated as a CP.

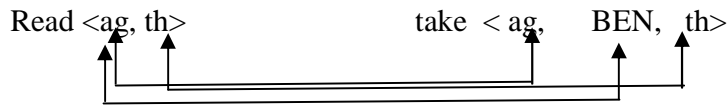
Furthermore, the light verb *le* also presupposes the ability on behalf of the doer to perform the action like.

[49].

- a. həm bhat kha le-b
 I rice eat take –FUT.1SG
 ‘I shall manage to eat rice.’
- b. ram kitab pəirh le-t
 Ram book read take-FUT.3SG
 ‘Ram will be able to read the book.’

In the example [49] the use of *le* as light verb addresses the ability of the doers that they can perform the action.

When ‘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.



c. **The light verbs *ja* 'go' and *a* 'come'**

These two light verbs add the sequentiality to the action relating their meaning but they do not form a complement by embedding the verb. The examples are

[50].

- a. u kəh əe-l
 He say come-PST
 'He said and come. (You said.)'
- b. u kəh-ke əe-l
 he say- by come-PST
 'He came by saying.'
- c. tu kha əe-le
 you eat come-PST
 'You ate and came. (You ate.)'
- d. tu kha-ke əe-le
 you eat-by come-PST
 'You came by/ after eating.'

In the examples [50 a-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 immediately after one another. But in [50 b-d] the verb *a* is a main verb complementing the other verb 'say' and 'eat'. Similarly, *ja* 'go' is also used in the same condition. But unlike *a*, *ja* stands for the completion and the conscious choice on behalf of the actor.

[51].

- a. u bat kəh ge-l
 he things say go-PST.3SG
 'He said things and went.' (He said the things.)
- b. tu bhat kha ge-le
 you rice eat go-PST.2SG.NH
 'You ate rice and went. (You ate rice.)'

- c. sājḥ bhə ge-l
 eveing happen go-PST
 ‘Evening happened.’(The sun set.)

From the aspectual point of view, the two light verbs *a* and *ja* make the sequential contribution in s-structure. Besides, *ja* also stands for the completion of the events and conscious choice on behalf of the actor. So they are treated as complex predicate when they are used with the other host verbs.

3.2.1.2 Grammatical function structure

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. Therefore these types of complex predicates do not vary in terms of agreement and anaphora.

a. Agreement

In Maithili, the verb agrees in terms of grammatical features (person, honorificity, gender, and even case) of one to three referents (Yadava, 1999:38). 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 has always root presentation.

[52].

- a. u bhat khæ-l-ək
 he rice eat-PST-3SG
 ‘He ate rice.’
- b. u bhat kha ge-l-ək
 he rice eat go-PST- 3SG
 ‘He ate rice.’

The examples in [52] show that the subject in (a) agrees with the verb *khælək* and the light verb in (b) while the root verb as a host remains inactive in terms of agreement.

b. Anaphora

Regarding anaphora the compound verb as well as the simple verb displays the same behavior such as;

[53].

- a. həri əpən kitab həm-ra de-l-ək
 Hari.M own.POSS.M book I-DAT give-PST-3SG
 ‘Hari gave his book to me.’
- b. həri əpən kitab həm-ra de de-l-ək
 Hari.M own.POSS.M book I-DAT give give-PST-3SG
 ‘He gave his book to me.’

In both of these examples in [53] the anaphora *əpən* with simple predicate in (a) and complex predicate in (b) direct to subject. It shows that the complex predicate as compound verb also behaves like a simple predicate.

3.2.1.3 Phrase Structure

In a compound verb the light verb is so tightly unified with the host verb that in spite of each being an independent lexical item, they combine into a complex predicate in syntax hereby contributing to the syntax and semantics of the complex predicate. This section shows how host verb and light verb are two different lexical items and after combined behave as a single phrase structure (Butt, 1993).

a. Syntactic composition

According to Butt (1993):

“The two verbs in an aspectual complex predicate [*here compound verb*] do form a light constituent as phrase structure as they can’t be scrambled away from one another, a modifier can’t appear between the two verbs, and the coordination facts are easily parallel to those of simple predicates containing auxiliary markers.” (94) [The words in italics are mine.]

In Maithili the emphatic marker *ye/yo* can be attached to any independent lexical item. While applying this emphatic marker in the examples [54] it appears as;

[54].

- a. bhəiya Dhəuwa lei-ye jae-t
 elder brother money take-EMP go-FUT.3SG
 ‘The elder brother will, too, take money.’

- b. bhāiya Dhāuwa le jə-to
elder brother money take go-FUT.3SG.EMP
‘The elder brother will, too, take money.’
- c. bhāiyo Dhāuwa le jae-t
elder brother.EMP money take go-FUT.3SG
‘The elder brother, too will take money.’
- d. bhāiya Dhāuw-o le jae-t
elder brother money-EMP take go-FUT.3SG
‘The elder brother will take money too.’

In the examples [54 a-d], *le*, *ja*, *bhāiya* and *Dhāuwa* are all added the emphatic marker.

The emphatic marker loses *y* in some conditions. So it shows that host verb and light verb are two different lexical items.

b. Scrambling

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. So these two verbs can not be scrambled away from one another as in [55b]. It is grammatically ill formed resulted from scrambling the light verb from host verb.

[55].

- a. əhā Tivi dekh le-li
you-H tv watch take-PST.2H
‘You watched TV.’
- b. *le-li əhā Tivi dekh
take-PST.2H you-H tv watch
‘*Watched you TV.’

c. Modification

No modifier can be inserted between the light verb and host verb to separate them such as in [56].

- [56]. * nəvin ghər-e cəl kail ge-l-əi
Naveen house-LOC walk yesterday go-PST-3SG
‘Naveen went to house yesterday.’

Though the verb is attached with the emphatic marker, the emphatic marker does not have an existence as a modifier. Rather it is used in the discourse function. So the two verbs can not be modified by any modifier either of the host or of the light verb.

d. Coordination

Coordination takes place at a constituent level not at the morpheme level. So two compound verbs can be coordinated but not two host verbs bearing a light verb nor a host verb bearing two light verbs can be coordinated. This proves that compounded verb hence complex predicate is a single unit as a phrase structure.

[57].

- a. didi khana bəna le-l-kəi a
 elder sister food cook take-PST-3SG and
 kha le-l-kai
 eat take-PST-3SG
 ‘The elder sister cooked food and ate it.’
- b. *didi khana (bəna a kha) le-l-kəi
 elder sister food (cook and eat) take-PST-3SG
 ‘The elder sister cooked and ate food.’
- c. *didi khana bəna (le-l-kəi a de-l-kəi)
 elder sister food cook (take-PST-3SG and give-PST-3SG)
 ‘The elder sister cooked and ate food.’

In example [57 a], the two compound verbs are coordinated and hence the sentence is yet well-formed but in [57 b] two host verbs are coordinated with a light verb and in [57 c], a host verb is coordinated with two light verbs which are obviously ill formed.

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.

3.3 Permissive complex predicates

3.3.1 Permissive CPs formation

The Maithili language has permissive structure as a complex predicate which takes place in syntax unlike the causative which, I have already discussed in 3.1, takes place in the lexicon. The permissive is formed by the verb *de* ‘give’ as 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. Some examples are;

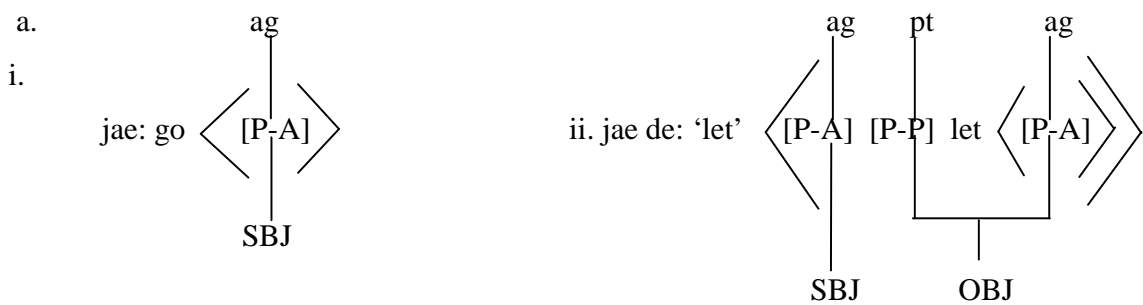
[58].

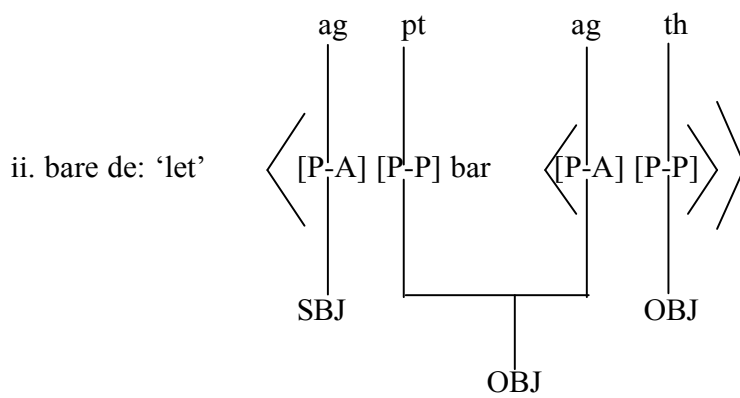
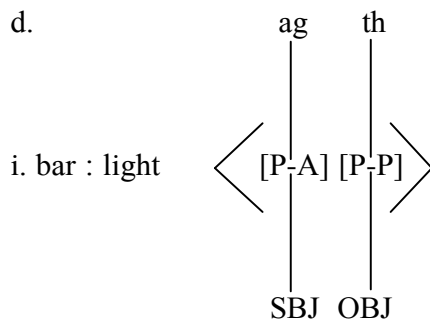
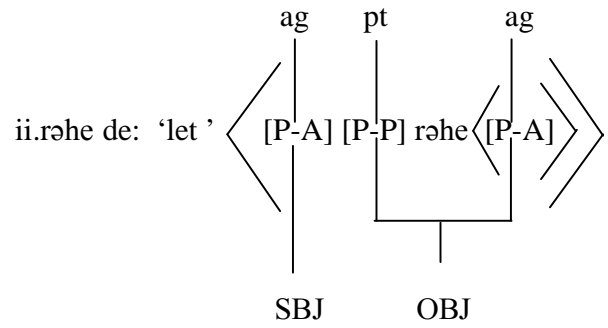
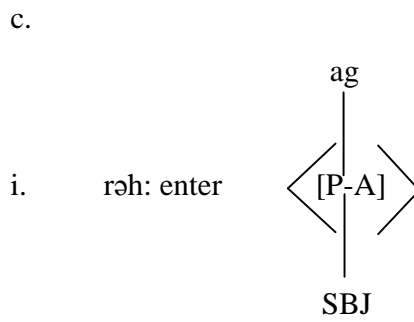
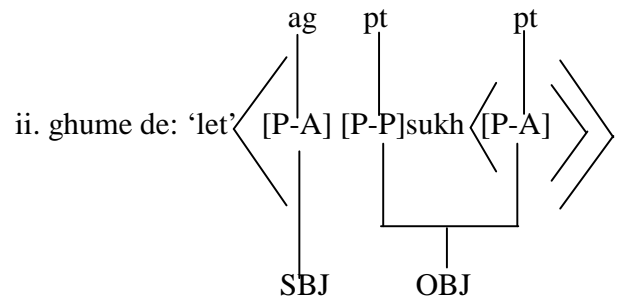
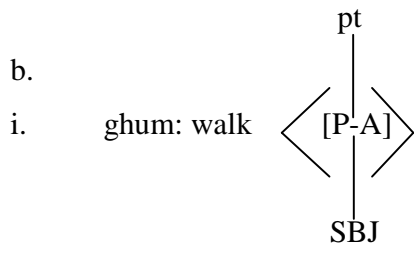
- | | | | | | |
|----|---|-------------|----------|-------------------|--|
| a. | tu | oitham | | jə-ihe | |
| | you.NH | there | | go-FUT.2SG.NH | |
| | ‘You will go there.’ | | | | |
| b. | həm | səhər | ghum-e | ja-ich-i | |
| | I | town | walk-INF | go-IPFV.PRS-1SG | |
| | ‘I go to walk (see) to town.’ | | | | |
| c. | bagh | jəngəl-me | | rəh-ich-əi | |
| | tiger | jungle-LOC | | live-IPFV.PRS-3SG | |
| | ‘The tiger lives in Jungle.’ | | | | |
| d. | rupesh | mombətti | | bar-əl-kəi | |
| | Rupesh. N | candle | | light-PST-3SG | |
| | ‘Rupesh lit the candle.’ | | | | |
| e. | sə★gila | biskut | kin | le-l-kəi | |
| | Sangila.F. | biscuit | buy | take-PST-3SG | |
| | ‘Sangila bought biscuit.’ | | | | |
| f. | kaki | tərkari | | ropə-l-khin | |
| | aunti | vegetable | | plant-PST-3SG.H | |
| | ‘Aunti planted vegetable.’ | | | | |
| g. | bərati | gāo-me | pəis | ge-l | |
| | wedding party | village-LOC | enter | go-PST.3 | |
| | ‘The wedding entered into the village.’ | | | | |

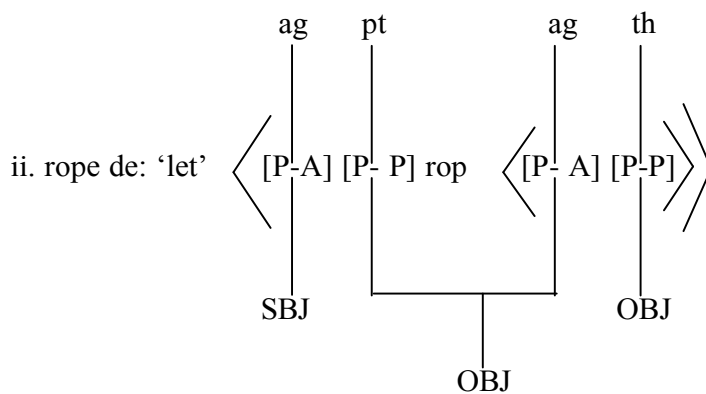
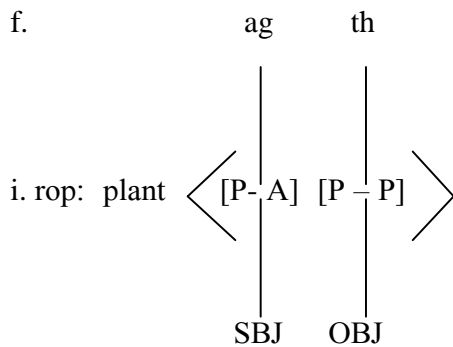
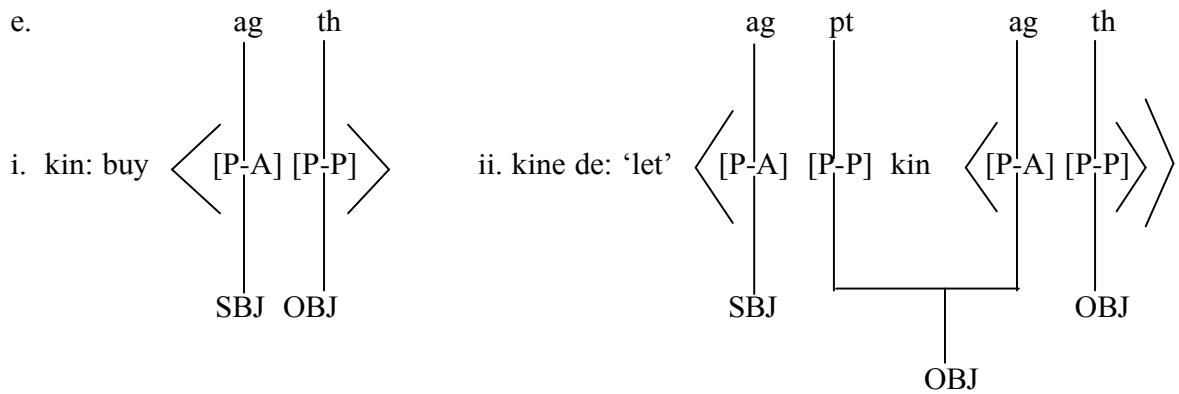
- h. gopal kaka bās kat-le rəhələi ha
 gopal. M. uncle bamboo cut-PRF remain PST.3SG
 ‘Gopal Uncle had cut the bamboo.’
- i. dinesh bhəiya nehman-ke bolə-l-kai
 dines.M brother guest-ACC call-PST-3SG
 ‘Dinesh brother called the guest.’

All the examples in [58 a-i] are made up of a simple predicate and auxiliary verb somewhere. When they are changed in the permissive structure an 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. Permissive structure consists of an infinitive verb and the light verb *de* ‘give/ let’ for various grammatical meanings. The argument structure and syntactic function of the above simple predicate sentences as well as those of permissive structures are presented below in [59 a-f].

[59].







The resultant permissive structures are shown in the example [60 a-h].

[60].

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------|--------|--------|--------------|
| a. | həm | to-ra | oitham | ja-e | de-b-əu |
| | I | you-ACC | there | go-INF | give-FUT-1SG |
| | 'I will let you go there.' | | | | |

- b. babu-ji həm-ra səhər ghum-e ja-e
 father-H I-ACC town walk-INF go-INF
 de-ichə-thin
 give-IPFV.PRS-3SG.H
 ‘Father lets me go to see (walk to) town.’
- c. ser bagh-ke jəngəl-me rəh-e de-ich-əi
 lion tiger-ACC jungle-LOC live-INF give –IPFV.PRS-3SG
 ‘The lion lets the tiger live in jungle.’
- d. rakes rupes-ke mombətti bar-e de-l-kəi
 Rakesh.M Rubesh.M-ACC candle light-INF give-PST-3SG
 ‘Rakesh let Rupesh light the candle.’
- e. bina sə★gila-ke biskut kin-e de-l-kəi
 Bina.F Sangila.F-ACC biscuit buy-INF give-PST-3SG
 ‘Bina let sangila buy biscuit.’
- f. kaka kaki-ke təkari rop-e de-l-khin
 uncle əunit-ACC vegetable plant –INF give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Uncle let aunty plant vegetable.’
- g. gəuwa-səb bəratī-ke gau-me pəis-e de-le
 villager-PL wedding party-ACC Village-LOC enter-INF give-PRF
 rəhə-l-əi hə
 remain-PST.3 be.3
 ‘The villagers had let the wedding party enter in village.’
- h. kisundev gopal kaka-ke bās kat-e de-t-əi
 Kishundev.M Gopal.M uncle-ACC bamboo cut-INF give-FUT-3SG
 ‘Kishundev will let gopal uncle cut bamboo.’

3.3.2 Evidences for permissive complex predicate

Permissive complex predicate as shown in the examples from [60 a-h] 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 there are some evidences applied on them.

a. Agreement

In Maithili, the verb agrees with subject in the simple predicate and so does it in the permissive structure with the light verb *de* 'give'

[61].

- a. həm ok-ra bhat kha-e de-l-iai
I he-ACC rice eat-INF give-PST-1SG
'I let him eat rice.'
- b. tu didi-ke ja-e de-l-əhu
you.H elder sister -ACC go-INF give-PST-2SG.H
'You let the elder sister go.'
- c. tu bəuwa-ke khel-e de-l-əhi
you.NH baby-ACC play-INF give-PST-2SG.NH
'You let the baby play.'
- d. hin caca- ke dəur-e de-l-thin
he.SG.H. uncle-ACC run- INF give-PST-3SG.H
'He let uncle run.'

In all of the examples [61 a-d], the light verb *de* 'give' agrees with the subject. Moreover, the light verb also displays the other grammatical features which a simple predicate does.

b. Modification

The permissive structure can not take any particle or modifier between the infinitive host and the light verb *de* except the negative particle *nəi* 'no'. But the other infinitive structure easily uses modifier such as *ke, ke lel* 'to/for' between the infinitive verb and the main predicate which isn't a light verb because that clearly retains its semantic content. The examples are.

[62].

- a. həm subodh-ke ab-e de-l-iai
I Subodh.M-ACC come-INF give-PST-1SG
'I let subodh to come.'

- b. *həm subodh-ke ab-e ke de-l-iəi
 I Subodh.M-ACC come-INF to give-PST-1SG
 ‘* I let Subodh to come.’
- c. həm subodh-ke ab-e ke (ləl) kəhə-l-iəi
 I Subodh.M-ACC come-INF to say-PST-1SG
 ‘I told Subodh to come.’
- d. subodh likh-e ge-l
 Subodh.M write-INF go-PST.3SG
 ‘Subodh went to write.’
- e. subodh likh-e ke ləl ge-l
 Subodh.M write-INF to go-PST.3SG
 ‘Subodh went to write.’

While analyzing these examples, [62 a] is the well formed sentence of permissive structure without any particle inserted between the infinitive and light verb. But when a particle is inserted in [62 b] it becomes ill formed. Likewise the instructive sentence in [62 c] is well formed with the particle between the infinitive and main verb (not light verb). Again [62 d] and [62 e] clearly show that the infinitive structures with or without the purposive particle *ke (ləl)* ‘to/for’ are grammatical. The examples thus, make it clear that the permissive, unlike other infinitive and instructive structure, is a single unit and hence be treated as complex predicate.

c. Coordination

Coordination is possible only between two syntactic constituents. So the permissive complex predicate, being a constituent can be coordinated with a single light verb *de*. These two facts are shown in the example [63].

[63].

- a. mami həm-ra kha-e de-l-thin a sut-e
 aunti.H I-ACC eat-INF give-PST-3SG.H and sleep-INF
 de-l-thin
 give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Auntie let me eat and sleep.’

- b. həm to-ra ja-hu de-b-əu a
 I you-ACC go-INF.EMP give-FUT-1SG and
 rəh-u de-b-əu
 live/stay-INF.EMP give –FUT-1SG
 ‘I will let you go and stay as well.’
- c. tu ek-ra {rəh-e a kha-e} de-hi
 you.NH he-DAT {stay-INF and eat-INF} give-PRS.2SG.NH
 ‘You let him stay and eat.’

In the examples [63 a] and [63 b] two different permissive predicates are conjoined and hence are grammatically correct. But in [63 c] 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. The two infinitive predicates can be conjoined with one main verb such as;

[64].

- a. həm ok-ra {kha-e ke a ja-e ke} kɛh-əl-iəi
 I he-ACC {eat-INF to and go-INF to} say-PST-1SG
 ‘I told him to eat and go.’

The evidence of coordination is grammatical in both permissive and instructive or other infinitival structure. But the other features are enough to support permissive as a single constituent.

In this way the formation of a permissive structure adds an extra argument in the sentence as an external argument which is mapped into the function of subject by FMT. Hence the complex predicate is emerged out of a simple predicator after combined with a light verb *de*. This process occurs at the level of syntax because two different predicates are unified together to form a complex predicate.

3.4 Non-verbal complex predicates

Non-verbal complex predicate consists of the non-verbal category as a host used with the light verb. Noun, adjective and adverb are among the non-verbal categories used as host and the verb they are combined with is known as a conjunct verb. The complex predicate

formed hereof is called non-verbal complex predicates since the host is a non-verbal category. This section discusses the formation of nominal, adjectival and adverbial complex predicates in the subsequent three subsections respectively.

3.4.1 Nominal complex predicates

3.4.1.1 Nominal CPs Formation

In a-structure when the host is a nominal category used with a light verb, the complex predicate formed in this way is called nominal complex predicate. Its form is N+V. in such a construction the clausal structure is jointly determined by the nominal (host) and the light verb. The predicate becomes complex with the presence of a nominal element as host because it affects the case marking, the number of arguments and the meaning of the sentence.

[65].

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|--------|--------------|--------------|
| a. | u | həm-ra | mar-l-ək. | |
| | he | I-ACC | beat-PST-3SG | |
| | ‘He beat me.’ | | | |
| b. | u | khali | gəp | mar-l-ək |
| | He | only | guff | beat-PST-3SG |
| | ‘He made guff only.’ | | | |

In example [65 a] the verb ‘beat’ is used as a main verb having its two arguments agent ‘he’ and patient ‘me’. But in [65 b] the verb *mar* ‘beat’, being used as a light verb with the nominal element *gəp* ‘guff’ has also only one argument; one obviously agent but the other argument required by the verb is removed. Moreover, the meaning of the sentence is jointly determined by the noun ‘guff’ and the light verb *mar*. The grammatical meaning is carried by the light verb. Because of all these effects in the a-structure and also at c-structure, example [65 b] is a complex predicate.

There are many verbs used as light verb with the noun to make a complex predicate.

They are *kha* ‘eat’, *le* ‘take’ *de* ‘give’, *kər* ‘do’, *lag* ‘be attach to’, *a* ‘come’ *ja* ‘go’ and *lag* ‘be attached to’.

These verbs are illustrated individually in the following subsections.

1. *kha* ‘eat’ <[agent] [patient]>

Normally *kha* ‘eat’ requires two arguments agent and patient when used as a simple predicate /full verb because it’s a dyadic (transitive) verb e.g.

[66]. həm khana khəi-li hə
 I food eat-PRF be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I have eaten food.’

But it affects the a-structure in various ways when used as a light verb with different nouns.

1.a. CP <[agent]>

[67]. bhai kəsəm khə-l-kəi
 brother foot eat-PST-3SG
 (Lit.) ‘Brother ate promise./ Brother promised.’

1.b. CP <[recipient]>

[68]. chəura mar/pitai khəe-l-ək
 boy beating eat-PST-3SG
 ‘The boy got beaten.’

The oblique role can also be added with the case *-se* ‘by’.

1.c. CP [agent, X comp]

[69]. cor cori nə kər-e ke kəsəm khəe-ne chəl
 Thief theft no do-INF to promise eat-PRF be.PST.3SG
 ‘The thief had sworn not to stolen.’

2. *de* ‘give’ <[agent] [theme] [benefactive]>

de ‘give’ as a full verb is a triadic (di-transitive) verb which requires three arguments i.e. agent, theme and benefactive. Such as

[70]. mama-ji bhai-ke cəkleT de-l-khin
 uncle-H brother-DAT chocolate give-PST-3SG.H

‘Uncle gave brother a chocolate.’

When a CP is formed with the light verb *de* ‘give’ used with the nominal host, the effects which occur on a-structure are illustrated in the following examples.

2.a. CP <[agent], [recipient], [theme]>

[71].

- a. həm pəndit-ji-ke gai dan de-l-iəi
I priest-H-DAT cow donation give-PST-1SG
‘I donated a cow to priest.’
- b. dokandar gəhiki-ke səman udhar de-it chəl
shopkeeper customer-DAT goods credit give-IPFV be.PST.3SG
‘A shopkeeper gave the customer goods on credit.’

The example in [71 a] is a complex predicate in the sense that though the number of arguments used in the sentence is the same as those of the verb ‘give’ used as a full verb, the s-structure is different in this sentence. Both the noun *dan* and *de* make a single predicate and must come together to mean ‘donate’. Hence, the complex predicate here is at s-structure.

2.b. CP <[agent], [recipient], [x comp]>

- [72]. guru-ji cela-ke ghəre ja-e ke aJya
teacher-H disciple-ACC home go-INF to order
de-l-thin
give-PST-3SG.H
‘The teacher ordered the disciple to go home.’

2.c. CP <[agent], [patient]>

[73].

- a. həri ram-ke dhoka de-t-əi
Hari ram-DAT cheat give-FUR.3SG
‘Hari cheated Ram.’
- b. bhəgwan bhəkt-ke dərsən de-l-thin
god devotee-DAT appearance give-PRS.3SG.H

‘God appears in front of devotee.’
 (Lit. God gives appearance to devotee.)

2.d. CP <[agent], [source]>

[74]. pərdhan pəntʃ əpəna pəd-se rajnəma
 president own-POSS post-from resignation
 de-l-kəi
 give-PST-3SG
 ‘The president resigned from the post.’

2.e. CP <[agent] [theme] [genitive]>

[75]. rakes pharmesi-ke pərikcha de-t-əi
 Rakesh.N pharmacy-POSS exam give-FUT-3SG
 ‘Rakesh will take the exam of pharmacy.’

2.f. CP <[agent] [locative]>

[76]. bəuwa-ke kəni dhyan di-əu
 baby- LOC a bit attention give-IMP.H
 ‘Please, give a bit attention to baby.’

3. *le* ‘take’

Two arguments, agent and patient / theme, are needed for the dyadic verb *le* ‘take’ to use it as a full verbs. Besides the two arguments, a third as a source can also be added.

[77]. liles bina-se pen le-l-kəi
 Lilesh.M Bina.F-from pen take-PST-3SG
 ‘Lilesh took a pen from Bina.’

As a light verb, it forms the following types of complex predicate.

3.a. CP <[agent] [patient (genitive)]>

[78].
 sures əpna bap-ke ag le-le rəh-əl-əi
 Suresh.M own.POSS father-GEN fire take-PRF remain-PST-3SG

(Lit.) ‘Suresh had taken the fire of his father.’

3.b. CP <[agent] [source]>

[79]. suman sər-se chuTTi le-t-əi
Suman.M sir-from leave take-FUT-3SG
‘Suman will take leave from sir.’

3.c. CP <[agent] [x comp]>

[80]. mukes pul bərab-e ke Thikka le-le
Mukesh bridge make-INF to contract take-PRF
həi
be.PRS.3SG
‘Mukesh has contracted to construct a bridge.’

3.d. CP <[agent] [theme]>

[81]. ənu bəcca-ke god le-l-kəi
Anu.F child-DAT lap take-PST-3SG
‘Anu adopted the child.’

4. kə/kər ‘do’

kə/kər ‘do’ is generally used with other word to be a complete predicate. It takes an agent argument. The other argument is determined by the other word it is associated with.

kə/kər is also called a verbalizer since it verbalizes the words with which it’s used.

According to Lohani (1999:120) *kər* itself is in the process of grammaticalization, it is not necessary to assume *kər* as an independent transitive verb.

4.a. CP < [agent]>

[82]. nəvin ucchal kə-l-kəi
Naveen.M vomit do-PST-3SG
‘Naveen vomited.’

4.b. CP <[agent] [x comp]>

[83]. u bagh pəkr-e ke himmət kəe-ne həi
 he tiger catch-INF to dare do-PRF be.PRS.3SG
 ‘He has dared to catch the tiger.’

4.c. CP <[agent] [commitant]>

[84]. raja rani-se biyah kəe-l-ək
 Raja.M Rani.F-with marriage do-PST-3SG
 ‘Raja married to/ with rani.’

4.d. CP <[agent] [theme]>

[85]. həm to-ra khub yad kəi-l-i
 I you-ACC a lot remember do-PST-1SG
 ‘I missed you a lot.’

4.e. CP < [agent] [recipient]>

[86]. ok-ra-se pəricəya kəel ja-o
 he-ACC-with introduction do go-IMP.H
 ‘Please, introduce to him.’

4.f. CP <[agent] [x comp]>

[87]. vidyarthi-səb-ke niyəm palən kər-e ke cahi
 student-PL-DAT rule obey do-INF to want.3SG
 ‘The students should obey the rule.’

5. *mar* ‘beat/kill’

Both of the verbs mean *mar* in Maithili. As a full verb they need three arguments to be a complete predicate. The arguments are agent, patient (exp.) and instrument. For example;

[88]. sənkhwa kutta-ke pəena-se mar-le həi
 mad.NH dog-ACC stick-INS beat-PRF be.PRS.3SG
 ‘A mad has beaten/killed a dog with a stick.’

When it is used as a light verb, the way it affects the a-structure is as follows.

5. a. CP <[Agent] [patient]>

[89]. guru-ji ok-ra ek jhapər mar-l-əin
teacher-H he-DAT one slap beat-PST-3SG.H
'The teacher slapped him.'

6. lag 'be attached to'

The verb *lag* takes a theme and a locative role to be a complete predicate. As an example

[90]. TaTi-pər thal lag-əl əich
bamboo wall-LOC mud be attached-IPFV be.PRS.3SG
'There is mud on the bamboo wall.'
(Lit.) Mud is attached on the bamboo wall.

As a light verb, it has following contribution.

6.a. CP <[Experiencer] >

[92]. həm-ra coT lag-əl həe
I-DAT hurt be attached-IPFV be.PRS.3SG
'I am hurt.' (Lit. hurt is attached to me.)

6.b. CP <[DAT] [XCOMP]>

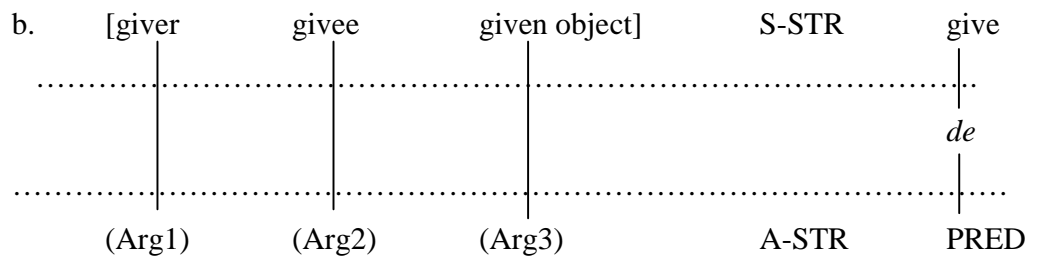
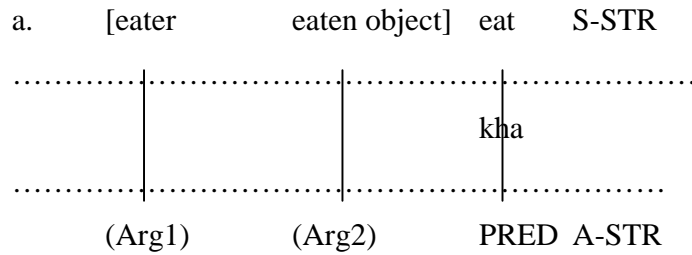
[93]. mədən-ke Tivi dekh-e ke səukh
Madan.M-DAT Tv see-INF to hobby
lag-əl chəi
be attached-IPFV be.PRS.3SG
'Madan is fond of watching Tv.'

3.4.1.2 Predicate composition

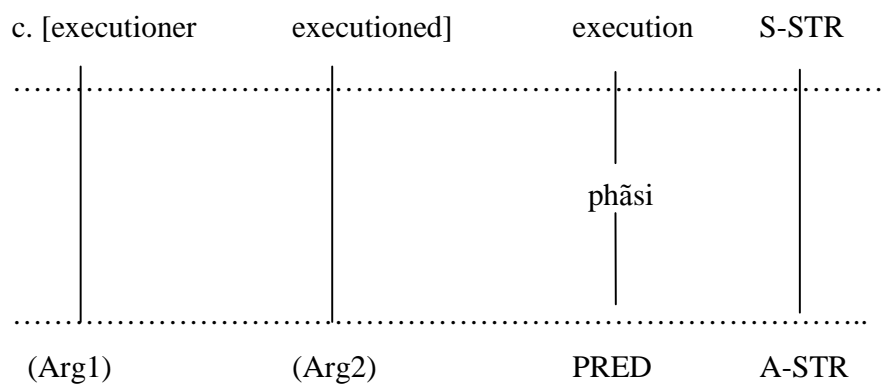
Predicate composition is quite easy in the verbal complex predicate formation. But it is complex in the non-verbal complex predicate formation because the nominal host is not an independent verb. Hence it does not bear the clear argument structure of its own. It has to depend on the light verb. So the arguments are determined by assuming meaning on the basis of valence determination (Mohanani, 1997:442). To determine the semantic gravitation of light verbs, they determine it according to their use with a host and so they

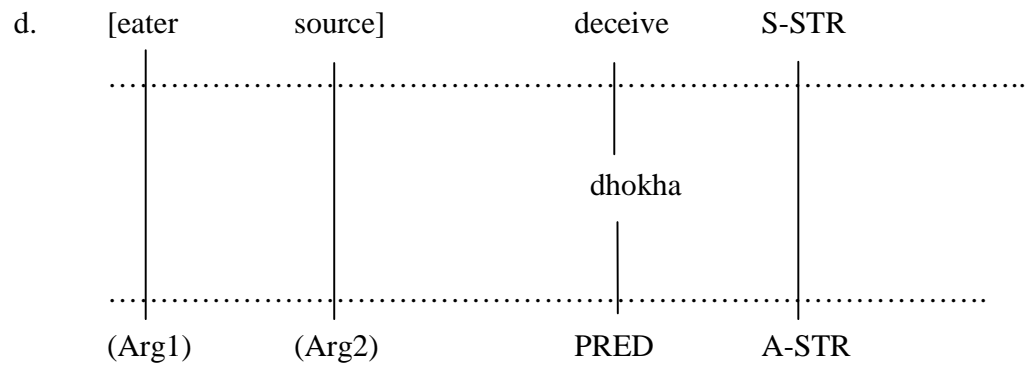
are represented on s-structure (semantic structure). The example of *de* ‘give’ and *kha* ‘eat’ as a light verb is illustrated.

[94].

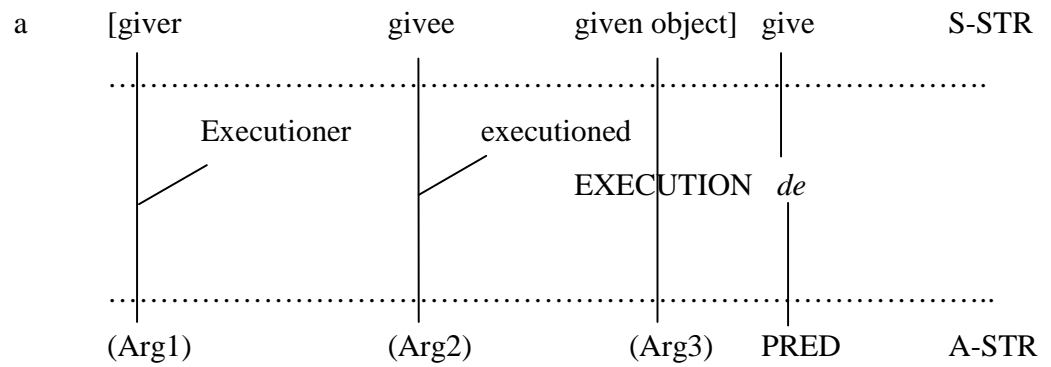


When they are used as light verb to form a nominal complex predicate, the a-structure and s-structure are as follows:

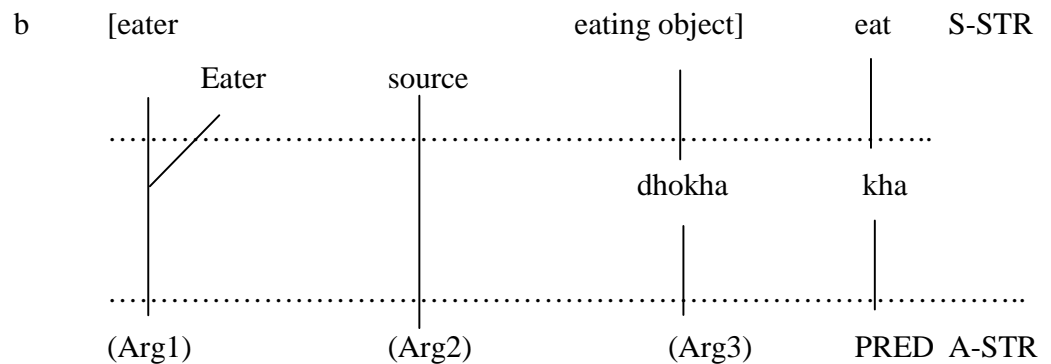




[95 a] is the composition of [94 a] and [94 c] whereas [95 b] is that of [94 d] and [94 b].
[95].



95.



Like the causative and permissive complex predicates, no two subjects of two different predicates appear in the a-structure. The a-structure is contributed jointly by both nominal host and light verb both of which merge together to give a mono-clausal structure.

3.4.1.3 C-structure of complex predicate

C-structure of CP shows that the nominal host is concatenated phrasally to the light verb. They do not form a categorical word. According to the lexical integrity hypothesis a nominal host in a CP can not be a lexical unit.

a. The nominal host as a part of predicate: Scrambling

The nominal host in a CP is not the direct daughter of S but a daughter node of ∇ . That is why the nominal host can not be scrambled from the light verb. The example in [96] clarifies this feature.

[96].

- a. u həmra samne **kiriya khælək**
- b. **kiriya khælək** u həmra samne
- c. həmra samne u **kiriya khælək**
- d. ***kiriya** u həmra samne **khælək**
- e. ***khælək** u həmra samne **kiriya**

In the example [96 a-c] the host and light elements in a CP are not scrambled so they are grammatically correct. But in [96 d-e] a host is scrambled from a light verb and hence they are grammatically ill-formed.

b. CP as a phrasal category: Topicalization

A topic appears clause initially. Though scrambling is restricted to only the direct daughters of S, topicalization is not so. Though in a CP a nominal host can't be scrambled away from its light verb, the light verb can be topicalized. The topicalization proves that the host it is not a categorical word in a CP. Accordingly topicalization, the light verb can occur clause initially.

[97].

- a. **khælək** u **kiriya** səb-ke samne
- b. **de-lək** kanun gunda-ke **phāsi**

However, all light verbs can not appear clause initially.

3.4.1.4 Nominal host as a phrasal category

This section attempts to analyze that the nominal host in a CP is a phrasal category and so is the subject of maximal projection. The evidences which support this are adjectival modification, conjoining, gapping and relativization.

a. Adjectival modification

The nominal host in the CP construction can be modified by an adjective in the same way a noun phrase is modified by adj. + NP.

[98]. sumən sər-se ləm̩ba chuTTi le-l-kəi
 Suman sir-From long leave take-PST-3SG
 ‘Suman took a long leave from sir.’

b. Gapping

According to gapping strategy, the syntactic predicate of a clause, an argument of predicate or the head of an argument (Mohanan, 1994:220) can be gapped.

[99].

a. ram ok-ra-se dhokha khæ-l-ək
 Ram.M he-ACC-INS betray eat-PST-3SG
 (lit.) ‘Ram ate deceive from him./ Ram was deceived by him.’

b. ram ok-ra dhokha nə de-l-ək
 Ram.M he-ACC betray NEG give-PST-3SG
 ‘Ram didn’t deceive him.’

While joining the two, a gap of the nominal as a trace remains when it is expressed by two light verbs.

[100].

ram ok-ra-se dhokha_i khæ-l-ək mægər
 Ram.M he-ACC-INS betrayal eat.PST-3SG but
 ok-ra _i de-l-ək na
 he-ACC..... give.PST-3SG NEG
 ‘Ram was betrayed by him but didn’t betray him.’

In the example [100], the gap of light verb *dhokha* ‘deceive’ is assumed.

c. Conjoining

The two nominal elements of two different CPs can be conjoined with a single light verb. The two CPs *bhukh lagəl* ‘feel hungry and *pyas lagəl* ‘feel thirsty’ are conjoined.

[101].

- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|------------|-------|-------------|-------|------------|
| a. | həm-ra | bhukh | lagəl | həe | | |
| | I-DAT | hunger | feel | be. PRS.3SG | | |
| | ‘I feel hungry.’ | | | | | |
| b. | həm-ra | pyas | lagəl | həe | | |
| | I-DAT | thirst | feel | be.PRS.3SG | | |
| | ‘I feel thirsty.’ | | | | | |
| c. | həm-ra | bhukh..... | a | pyas | lagəl | həe |
| | I-DAT | hunger | and | thirst | feel | be.PRS.3SG |
| | ‘I feel hungry and thirsty.’ | | | | | |

d. Relativization

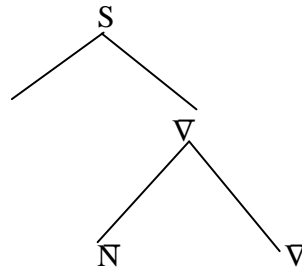
The nominal element in CPs being a phrasal category can also be relativized.

[102].

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|--------|--------|
| je | Dər | to-ra | lagəl | rəhəlo | hə |
| which-REL _i | fear _i | you-DAT | be attached | remain | be.PRS |
| ohe | _i | həm-ra | lagəl | həe | |
| that | I-DAT | be attached | be.PRS.3 | | |
| ‘I am afraid the way you were.’ | | | | | |

(Lit.) The fear that came to you comes to me too.)

In the example [102], the nominal host *dər* ‘fear’ is relativized so it is certainly a phrase rather than a lexical item. Because of the evidences such as adjectival modification, conjoining and gapping, nominal host in CP is a phrasal category which is maximally projected. Hence, the clause structure of the sentence is determined not by the verb alone, but jointly by the N and the V (Mohanani, 1994:197). So a CP can be represented as



But in the nominal complex predicate, the host noun can be an argument because in spite of being a phrasal category V, the nominal element can be the subject of passive structure. Accordingly the rule of passivization, only an argument can be the subject of passive. Hence the nominal host is an argument and hence a lexical category.

3.4.2 Adjectival complex predicates

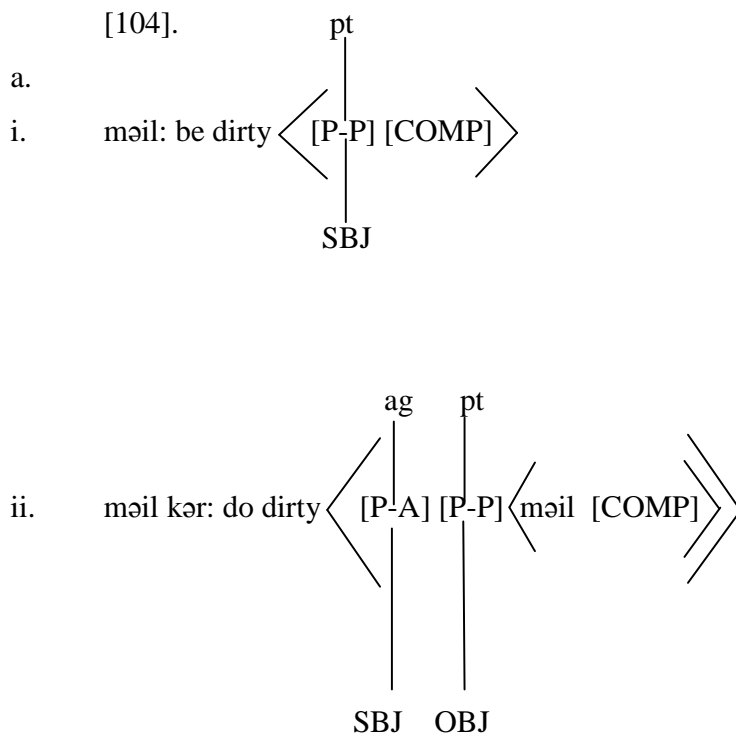
3.4.2.1 Adjectival CPs formation

Adjectival complex predicate consists of an adjective as host combined with the light verb. Its form is ADJ + V. The verbal element can be fully or partially bleached of its semantic content. An example of this type of CP is illustrated in [103].

[103].

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>jəmma</i> | <i>məil</i> | <i>həi</i> | | |
| | shirt | dirty | be.PRS.3SG | | |
| | ‘The shirt is dirty.’ | | | | |
| b. | <i>ek-ər</i> | <i>bəTa</i> | <i>jəmma</i> | <i>məil</i> | <i>kəe-l-ək</i> |
| | he-POSS | son | shirt | dirty | do-PST-3SG |
| | ‘His son made the shirt dirty.’ | | | | |

In this example [103 a] there is only one argument as *jəmma* ‘shirt’ because of the copula ‘be’. The patient of the adjective *məil* ‘dirty’ is ‘shirt’. When this adjective is used with the verb *kə* ‘do’ an extra argument as an agent is added as the external argument. This external argument is mapped into subject by FMT which by the same rule maps the former subject into direct object. So the argument structure gets affected. Besides when the shift from adjective to verb is caused the subject of [103a] becomes an object in [103 b]. This feature is presented in example [104 a (i). and (ii)].



This shows that the Maithili language also endorses adjectival complex predicate when an adjective is used as a host with a light verb. Some light verbs which take adjectives of different kind to form a complex predicate are described individually.

1. lag ‘be attached to’/‘adhere’

lag ‘be attached to’/ ‘adhere’ generally takes an argument which functions as a theme. The location as a goal may also be used.

[105]. TaTi-me maTi lag-əl əich
 bamboo wall-LOC soil be attached to be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Soil is attached to the bamboo wall.’

The different form of complex predicate it forms is as follows.

1.a. CP <[goal]>

[106].

a. həm-ra gərəm ləg-əit həe
 I-DAT hot be attached to-PROG be.PRS.3SG

‘[Lit. hotness is attached to me.] I feel hot.’

Likewise some CPs in this form are;

- *nik lag-* ‘feel good’
- *ThənDa lag-* ‘feel cold’
- *aləs lag-* ‘feel lazy’
- *bhirah lag-* ‘feel difficult’
- *həluk lag-* ‘feel light’
- *khərab lag-* ‘feel bad’
- *khətəm lag-* ‘feel boring’
- *jurrhə lag-* ‘feel awful’

When these CPs are used they increase the number of argument in the sentence. The difference between with and without this light verb is presented in [107].

[107].

- a. *yi* *filim* *khəttəm* *əich*
 this film boring be.PRS.3SG
 ‘This film is boring.’
- b. *yi* *filim* *həm-ra* *khətəm* *lag-əl*
 this film I-DAT boring adhere-PST
 ‘I found this film boring.’
- c. *toh-ər* *bhənsiya* *bəD* *alsi* *həo*
 you-POSS wife much lazy be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Your wife is too lazy.’
- d. *toh-ər* *bhənsiya-ke* *kam* *kər-e* *me* *bəD* *aləsi*
 you-POSS wife-DAT work do-INF in much lazy
 ləgi *chəo*
 adhere.IPFV be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Your wife feels too lazy to do work.’

In example [107 a] and [107 c], because of the use of copula only one argument is used. But in [107 b] an argument ‘I’ and in (d) two arguments have been used when the adjectives *khətəm* ‘boring’ and *alsi* ‘lazy’ are used as host with the light verb *lag*. In this

way the a-structure is affected in terms of both the number of arguments and case marking.

2. *kər/kə* ‘do’

The adjectives used with *kə/kər* ‘do’ to constitute CP are listed below.

- *himmət kər* ‘dare’
- *as kər* ‘hope’
- *rosən kər* ‘popularize’
- *ijot kə* ‘make light’
- *ənhər kə* ‘make dark’
- *ələg kə* ‘separate’
- *əsthir kə* ‘slow’
- *chot kər* ‘shorten’
- *nəmhər kə* ‘enlarge, elongate’

The CP hence formed by the light verb *kər/kə* ‘do’ with an adjective host adds an agent as an external argument or subject in the sentence. It also demotes the subject into object.

The examples are shown in [108-109].

[108].

- a. *pəena* *choT* *həi*
 stick short be.PRS.3SG
 ‘The stick is short.’
- b. *pəena-ke* *choT* *kər-hu*
 stick- ACC short do-IMP.H
 ‘(You) please make the stick short.’
 (Please make the stick short)

[109].

- a. *jimdar-saheb-ke* *nam* *khub* *rosən* *əich*
 landlord-H-POSS name too popular be.PRS.3SG
 ‘The landlord’s name is too popular.’
- b. *jimdar-saheb-ke* *nam* *khub* *rosən* *kər-iəu*
 landlord-H-POSS name too popular do-IMP.2H
 ‘You please make the landlord’s name is too popular.’

3. *ho* ‘be/become’

When the adjective used with this light verb forms a complex predicate, it triggers in the function of the noun used as subject in copula or some examples are as follows.

- *cit honai*: ‘lie’
- *pəT honai*: ‘lie on back’
- *sojh honai*: ‘be straight’
- *Terh honai*: ‘be curve’
- *dubər honai*: ‘be thin/lean’

[110].

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----------|--------------|
| a. | tu | sojh | cha |
| | you | straight | be.PRS.2SG.H |
| | ‘You are straight.’ | | |
| b. | tu | sojh | ho-a |
| | you | straight | be-IMP.H |
| | ‘(You) please be straight.’ | | |

In this way, the adjectival complex predicate is formed in Maithili. The verb *lag* ‘adhere’, *kər* ‘do’ and *ho* ‘become’ are the frequently used light verbs to form adjectival complex predicate. Besides these three verbs, there are some other verbs in Maithili used rarely with one or few adjectives to constitute a complex predicate. I am not going to deal about those verbs in any detail because of the similar feature I have dealt in this section.

3.4.2.2 Adjective as a part of complex predicate: Scrambling

In an adjectival complex predicate, the adjective host is an integral part of the verb phrase. Hence it’s not a direct daughter of S. So it can not be scrambled away from the light verb. This condition is illustrated in example [111].

[111].

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a. | u | dura | saph | kə-l-kəi |
| | he | yard | clean.ADJ | do-PST-3SG |
| | He cleaned the yard. | | | |
| b. | saph | kəlkəi | u | dura |
| c. | dura | saph | kəlkəi | u |
| d. | u | saph | kəlkəi | dura |

- e. **saph** u dura **kəlkəi**
 f. dura **saph** u **kəlkəi**
 g. u **saph** dura **kəlkəi**

In the example [111 a-d], only the direct daughter nodes such as SBJ, OBJ and PRED are scrambled and therefore they are grammatical. But in [111 e-g], except the mother nodes of S, others are also scrambled which are ill-formed. This evidence of scrambling states that adjective host can not be scrambled away from its light verb. So it is not a separate element. Therefore, the adjective in a CP is unified with the light verb in such a way that the adjective host and the light verb can not be treated as a separate unit.

3.4.2.3 Adjectival complex predicate as a phrasal category

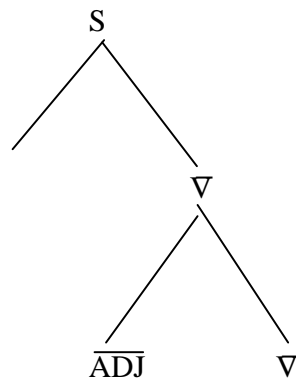
Some evidence such as topicalization, modification of adjective host, and conjoining make the adjective host in adjectival CP treated as a phrasal category. These evidences are exemplified in [112].

[112].

- a. **kə-l-kəi** u dura **saph**
 Do-PST-3SG he yard clean.ADJ
 ‘He cleaned the yard.’
- b. u dura *purre* **saph** **kə-l-kəi**
 he yard entirely.ADV₁ clean.ADJ₁ do-PST.3SG
 ‘He entirely cleaned the yard.’
- c. ram-ke gərəm..... a ThənDa dunu
 Ram-DAT hot....._i and cold both
 lag-əl həi
 adhere-PRF₁ be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Ram has felt both hot and cold.’

The example [112 a] shows the topicalization of the light verb in the clause initial position, [112 b] is about the modification of the adjective *saph* ‘clean’ by an adverb *purre* ‘entirely’ and [112 c] is about the conjoining of adjective hosts with a light verb in CPs. These evidences prove the adjective host in an adjectival CP is a phrasal category not as a lexical category. So the host in this type of CP is of maximal projection. Its schematic presentation is in [113].

[113].



3.4.3 Adverbial complex predicates

Adverbs are used with a few light verbs to form adverbial complex predicate. Its structure is ADV + V in which adverb retains the basic semantic content while the verb contains the grammatical context as light verb does.

Few verbs are used as light verbs with the adverbial host to form a complex predicate. Most of them have just few examples. Basically, the verbs which are frequently used are *lag* ‘adhere’, *kər* ‘do’ and *ho* ‘become’. They generally denote the manner of doing action or happening event or existing state. So it does not have a vivid effect in a-structure. Rather it affects the semantic aspect of the predicate.

1. *kər/kə* ‘do’

When the light verb, *kər/kə* ‘do’ is used with an adverbial host to make a complex predicate, it adds an agent in the sentence. The example in [114] clarifies this.

[114].

- a. gai əgari həi
 cow ahead be.PRS.3SG
 ‘The cow is ahead.’
- b. adəmi gai-ke əgari kəe-l-ək
 man cow-ACC ahead do-PST-3SG
 ‘A man took the cow ahead.’

Some adverbial complex predicates of this type are as follows:

- *pəchari kər:* make backward

- *nica kər:* lower

[115].

- a. u ləbləb kər-i. chəi
 he mischievous do-IPFV be.PRS.3SG
 ‘He does mischievous activities.’
- b. kəNTh khəskhəs kər-iə
 neck sticky do-IPFV
 ‘The neck seems to be sticky.’

2. *lag* ‘be attached to’

lag ‘be attached to’ is yet another light verb used with an adverbial host to make a CP. Generally, a dative subject is added in the sentence when the light verb is appeared with the adverb.

In this way, the adverbial complex predicates are formed which affect the s-structure and somehow case marking and argument of the a-structure.

3.5 Summary

To sum up this chapter, the causative construction forms a CP in Maithili by the concatenation of a causative predicate in the verbal stem which adds an extra argument in the sentences as a causer in the form of an agent. Likewise, compound verbs formed by the light verb *a*, *ja*, *de*, and *le* are also treated as CPs because they affect either the a-structure or the s-structure. Permissive CPs are also dealt which are formed by the addition of *de* as a light verb to an infinitival element. Eventually, the non-verbal CPs are formed in Maithili by the unified use of a non-verbal category such as noun, adjective and adverb and a light verb because of their obvious impacts on a-structure, f-structure, s-structure and sometime on c-structure as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Complex predicates are a widely used predicate structure in the Maithili language. They are of various types such as causativization, compound verb, permissive construction and conjunct verb. Complex predicates have been studied with respect to lexical functional grammar. The union of two simple lexical items where the first is known as the host and can be played by a lexical category such as verb, noun, adjective or adverb whereas the second element known as the light verb which is played by a lexical category such as a verb and a morphological element like a morpheme (in a causative). In this union the host verb bears the semantic burden and the light verb, being bleached of its semantic content bears the grammatical meanings. But for such a union to be a complex predicate according to the theoretical concept of LFG, either the argument structure or the case marking or the discourse of the host should be affected by the use/addition of a light verb. Therefore, the meaning of a CP is not determined by any one element but jointly by the host and the light verb.

Such behaviors in Maithili are demonstrated by the causative, permissive, verb compounding, and conjunct verb. Causative is the concatenation of a verbal stem with a causative morpheme *-a/ba* where the latter is predicate and hence adds a causer in the argument structure. So causativization in Maithili takes place in the lexicon. Like causativization, permissive is also a complex predicate which takes place in syntax because an infinitive verbal element is combined with the light verb *de*. The addition of this permissive element with the host adds an extra argument in the argument structure.

Verb compounding is yet another complex predicate in Maithili. The predicates such as *le*, *de*, *ja*, and *a* are used as the light verbs. When used as a light verb, they affect the argument structure in terms of case marking and discourse and somewhere the number of arguments as well. Finally the last type of complex predicate is non-verbal complex predicates. When the non-verbal elements like noun, adjective and adverb are used as the host with the light verb, they also make the simple predicate into a complex one by

affecting the argument structure, semantic structure and constituent structure in the way causative and compounding do.

So far as the structural configuration is concerned, complex predicate formation is evidenced to be formed in the a-structure. In the light of LFG framework, the status of a host (nominal, adjectival and adverbial) happens to be of both as a functional head and a categorial head. However, the CP formed with the combination of a non-verbal element and a verbal element takes place in the syntax and so the host in this case is not a lexical unit but a phrasal unit whereas that formed in the morphology is a lexical unit.

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