

Chapter 1

Introduction

A. Background

Although Bajjika language is not famous as much as it should be, it carries a very long history of its evolution and development. According to Shatpatha Brahmins (1990:1), there was a river named 'Sadanira' to the east of Koshal. In the eastern bank of the river Sadanira, Aryans came and established the monarchy system. It is found that twenty one kings ruled over the monarchy system of the state from Nabhadist to Tribindu. The bank of the Sadanira River was peopled by Vishal, the son of Tribindu. Due to the contribution of Vishal the place was named 'Vaishali' later. The names like Hemchandra, Suchandra, Dhrumashwa, Srijay, Sahadev, Kushashwa, Somadatta, Kakutsya and Sumati are found from the dynasty of Vishal king in the history. It is also found that the time of Sumati's reign was equal to the time of Dasarath, the king of Ayodhya, and Sirdhwaj Janak, the king of Videh. No history is found after Sumati king regarding Vishal dynasty. The historians called it the Dark Age.

After the Dark Age there existed eight tribes in the area such as Brijji, Lichhavi, Bideh, Bhog, Gyatrik, Ugra, Ikshwaku and Kuru. Among them Brijji and Lichhavi were more powerful than others. Perhaps due to this supremacy the state of Vaishali was called Bajjika organization at that time. The public language of ancient Brijji organization or modern Bajjika organization is called Bajjika language. It is also called the language of Vaishali area. The attribution for naming it Bajjika goes to a non-native speaker Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan. He mentioned the term 'Bajjika' for the first time in one of the articles entitled 'Matribhashaonke Samasya' of his own book 'Puratatwa Nibandhawali' in 26th position in the list of public languages under Hindi speaking area. Since then the term 'Bajjika' became more appropriate, prevalent and scientific.

The Bajjika language belongs to Indo-Aryan group of Indo-European language family. In Nepal it was mentioned in the census report of 2001 AD for the first time. Now, according to the census report-2011, there are altogether 127 languages in our country Nepal which are grouped into four major language families viz. Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. Bajjika is an eastern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language spoken in the two adjoining south Asian countries i.e. Nepal and India by about 20 million people.

In the past, Bajjika language was regarded as the dialect of its neighboring languages Bhojpuri and Maithili because it shares some linguistic features with these languages. Although Bajjika is linguistically nearer to Bhojpuri and Maithili, it deserves many linguistic features which distinguish it from them. It has its own identity and existence. It has its own phonological features, lexical words and usages and syntactic constructions. There are various linguistic peculiarities and variations in Bajjika language. Thus, the 2001 census registered Bajjika as a separate and independent living language. According to the Interim Constitution of Nepal-2063, now Bajjika is one of the national languages of the country, Nepal. It is spoken in Rautahat district, western part of Sarlahi district and western regions of Bara district. However, the core area of Bajjika speakers in Nepal is Garuda VDC of Rautahat district (source: Field report in Bajjika language, 2010AD under Central Department of Linguistics, Kirtipur). According to the latest census report 2011, the total number of Bajjika speakers in Nepal is 7, 93,418 which is 3% of the total population of Nepal. Bajjika language is rich in ethnicity as it is spoken by a number of castes such as Sah, Yadav, Koiri/Kurmi/Mahato, Muslim and Tharu and others. According to Singh (1999), 'Bajjika is an eastern Indo-Aryan language spoken by about 20 million people in the northern regions of the Bihar state of India and at the border area of the Terai'. Especially the areas such as Mujaffarpur, Sitamari, Shivhar, Samastipur sub-division in Darbhanga district, Ghorasahan, Dhaka, Patahi, Madhuwan, Pipra and Keshariya Thana in Champaran district, Mirjapur, Dighbara and Parsa in Chhapra district and the joining areas of the Terai in Nepal are Bajjika speaking areas (Tiwari, 1964:2). Similarly according to Arun and Sharma (2008), the area of Nepal which is attached to the districts such as Sitamarhi, Shivhar and eastern and western Champaran are the areas of the Bajjika speakers.

In fact predicate is obligatory in the grammar of a language. It is a major part of a sentence. Traditionally, a sentence is divided into subject and predicate. For example 'The dog' is the subject and 'chased a rat' is the predicate in the sentence 'The dog chased a rat'. This subject-predicate chain was termed as NP and VP respectively in the traditional generative grammar and became a rule for a simple assertive sentence as given below:

Sentence → Noun Phrase (NP) + Verb Phrase (VP)

This type of rule is applicable for a language that has fixed word order like English. But it is not fit for languages like Nepali, Maithili, Bajjika, Bhojpuri, etc because these languages have relatively free word order as subject and direct object are interchanged without affecting the

meaning in these languages. Thus to address this problem, a new concept is proposed that the sentence consists of a predicator and its necessary arguments. The above example consists of a predicator 'chase' and two arguments 'the dog' and 'a rat'. Notionally, on the other hand, subject is 'what is being talked about' and predicate is 'what is said about the subject' in a sentence. The predicate can be simple or complex depending upon its structure. If a predicate does not have any type of affixation and combination, it is simple predicate whereas a predicate having any type of affixation and combination is complex predicate (henceforth CP). Normally simple predicate has the simple syntactic structure with the single element in its predicate. When two or more predicative elements are combined together thereby affecting the argument structure of the simple predicate in terms of number of arguments, case marking or meaning, it becomes a complex predicate. Complex predicates are defined in different ways. However, some definitions of complex predicates given by some linguists are as follows:

- i. 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. (Alsina et al, 1997:1)
- ii. A complex predicate construction is one in which two semantically predicative elements jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause. (Mohan, 1997:432)
- iii. Complex predicates may be formed by syntactically independent elements whose argument structures are brought together by a predicate complementation (it is more a kind of co-complementation). (Alsina and Butt 1996)
- iv.
 - 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. (Butt, 1993:108)

In this way, Complex predicate can be 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 which has complex structure bearing a single subject, verb and object or may have sometime two subjects (in case of causatives a covert and overt). In other words, a predicate is said to be complex if it takes more than one morpheme or word. It can be morphological or syntactic depending upon its structure. If the constituents of a complex predicate form a single word then the complex predicate is morphological and if the constituents are independent words, then the complex predicate is syntactic or periphrastic. The syntactic or periphrastic complex predicates appear as the amalgamation of a verbal element with a noun or an adjective or a verb or an adverb. In this case, the amalgamated noun, adjective, verb or adverb is called ‘host’ and the next verbal element is called ‘light verb’. As such, complex predicates can be verbal (i.e. verb +verb) and non-verbal (i.e. verb +N/Adj/Adv). For example, in Bajjika language,

[1]

a) ram bhari uTha-bəit hə-i [simple predicate]
 ram load lift.PROG BE-3SG. PRES.NH
 ‘Ram is lifting load.’

b) ram bhari uTh-ba-bəit hə-i [complex predicate]
 ram load lift.CAUS.PROG BE-3SG. PRES.NH
 ‘Ram is making someone to lift the load.’

[2]

a) i kitab kin [simple predicate]
 this book buy.IMP.NH
 ‘Buy this book.’

b) i kitab kin-ba [complex predicate]
 this book buy-CAUS.NH
 ‘Cause someone buy this book (for you).’

[3]

a) e(k)-go ciThi likh [simple predicate]
 one-CLF letter write.IMP.NH
 ‘Write a letter.’

- b) e(k)-go ciThi likh de-h-u [complex predicate]
 one-CLF letter write give-IMP-H
 ‘Please write a letter (for him/her).’

One of the noticeable syntactic features of South Asian (hereafter SA) languages is complex predicate construction. So is the case in Bajjika too because it also possesses the construction of complex predicates of different types. Complex predicates in Bajjika can be grouped in the following types:

1. Causative construction
2. Compound verb
3. Permissive construction
4. Non-verbal complex predicate /Conjunct verb:
 - a. Nominal (N + V)
 - b. Adjectival (ADJ + V)
 - c. Adverbial (ADV+ V)

B. Literature review

There is no work done in Bajjika under the title of complex predicates. There have not been done many works on other topics too. However, some works like a field report (2066 BS) on sociolinguistic context of Bajjika and wordlist, Verb Morphology in Bajjika(2009 AD) by Ram Rekha Roy, Passivization in English and Bajjika: A comparative linguistic study(2005 AD) by Mukesh Prasad Patel, Negative and Interrogative Transformations in English and Bajjika: A comparative linguistic study (2006 AD) by Sitaram Raut, Pluralization of Nouns in English and Bajjika: A comparative study(2007 AD) by Devendra Sah have been done in Bajjika language.

While talking about complex predicates in Bajjika Arun (1972) has talked about causativization as a type of complex predicates in brief. But he has not adopted any theoretical framework for the study. His work is a brief comparison between Bajjika, Hindi and Bhojpuri in terms of number, person, gender and verb. Since causativization is one of the types of CPs, this work helps a lot in dealing with causativization as a CP formation in my study.

Arun and Sharma (2008) have prepared a bilingual dictionary Bajjika to Hindi. The dictionary deals with lexical meaning surfacely. It has left many words so it can be said to be a mini dictionary. However, it helps for extraction of words required for study.

Lohani (1999) ,in his dissertation of Master's degree entitled 'Complex Predicates in Nepali', has cast light on complex predicates and their types along with their various structures that are found in Nepali language in detail in the framework of LFG (i.e. Lexical Functional Grammar). He has treated each light verb in nominal CP, adjectival CP and adverbial CP individually with sufficient examples that helps me to grasp the theory and to proceed the work successfully.

Singh (1967) has briefly talked about compound verb and causativization in different sections. He has discussed compound verb construction and causative construction as the types of complex predicates in Bajjika that adds a brick in my study especially in the part of compound verb as the CP.

Singh (1999) is an outline grammar of Bajjika language in which he has discussed phonology and grammar of the Bajjika language. He has touched some of the types of complex predicates such as compound verb indirectly and briefly. This work is useful for my study mainly in syntactic portion and non-verbal CPs.

Tiwari (1964) presents the history of the evolution of Bajjika language. It is a very good introduction on the history and development Bajjika. This work helps me to give some basic introduction about Bajjika.

Yadav (2010) ,in his thesis of Master's degree entitled 'Complex Predicates in Maithili', has done a thorough study of complex predicates and their various types that are found in Maithili language, a neighboring language of Bajjika. The framework he adopted is Lexical Functional Grammar. Since Maithili and Bajjika are neighbouring languages this work provides me with some useful insights for my better research.

Although these works are crucial, they do not talk about complex predicates in relation to Bajjika specifically. In addition, the works that have been done in Bajjika do not follow any theory for analysis. But my study follows Lexical Functional Grammar as the theoretical framework to analyze ‘Complex Predicates in Bajjika’ in detail with sufficient relevant examples.

C. Statement of problem/ research question

Bajjika language exhibits a variety of complex predicates in their structure. Thus, the specific problems for this study are as follows:

- i. What are the various types of complex predicates in Bajjika language?
- ii. What is their lexical status or wordhood?
- iii. How are they represented or realized?

D. Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to study and analyze the complex predicates in Bajjika language within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (henceforth LFG). The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- i. To identify the various types of complex predicates in Bajjika language.
- ii. To find out their lexical status or wordhood; and
- iii. To analyze their realizations.

E. Research methodology

The theoretical framework to explain the phenomena will be Lexical Functional Grammar. The data required for the study and analysis will be collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data will be from my own native intuition as myself being a native speaker of Bajjika and also from some other native speakers of the language in the field. The secondary data will be taken from print media such as books, journals, newspaper articles and other related periodicals along with electronic media such as internet sites. The central library and the departmental library of linguistics will be the main sources for the secondary data.

F. Rationale/significance of the study

The study will help to recognize, describe, analyze and comprehend Bajjika complex predicates. It is also useful for forthcoming researchers for their better studies and analyses in the related field in Bajjika in future since it tries to capture the nature and types of complex predicates in

Bajjika, how they are structured and what properties they share. This study will certainly contribute for the promotion and preservation of Bajjika language. Moreover, this study is supposed to be a great help from typological point of view as well. The most noticeable significances of this study are as follows:

- i. This is the first study on complex predicates in Bajjika language
- ii. This study serves as an input and reinforcement for the researchers of Bajjika language.
- iii. It is useful in teaching and learning Bajjika language.
- iv. It is also theoretical contribution to the study area.

G. Limitations of the study

The study will be basically confined within the framework of LFG. Similarly, due to the limitation of time and resources, this research will be more descriptive and less explanatory. Moreover, it might be dominated by particular dialect. It may not capture all light verbs that contribute in the CP formation.

H. Organization of the study

The study is organized into four chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction of the language and the topic being studied, its objectives and methodology. The second chapter introduces Lexical-Functional Grammar as the theoretical frame work for the study being carried out. The third chapter discusses about complex predicates and their various types found in Bajjika language. And the fourth chapter provides the summary and conclusions of the findings of the study.

Chapter 2

Outline

A. Introduction

Lexical-functional Grammar (hereafter LFG) is one of the generative models of grammar initiated by Joan Bresnan and Ronald M. Kaplan in the late 1970s. It is a non-transformational generative grammar in which the role of lexicon is central and grammatical functions are deemed as primitive. Unlike Chomskyan model of grammar which recognizes four levels of representation: D-Structure, S-Structure, PF and LF, the Lexical- Functional Grammar does not assume any abstract underlying structure rather operates on surface sentence, which is equivalent to PF in GB theory. That is to say that Chomskyan model of generative grammar is multistratal whereas LFG is monostratal. The Lexical functional grammar eliminates the need of multilevel for syntactic representation.

B. Four levels of representation

Within the LFG Framework, linguistic information are divided into four dimensions viz Argument structure (A-structure), Functional Structure (F-structure), Constituent structure (C-structure) and Semantic structure (S-structure). These four levels of representations are separate but interdependent. Certain mechanism of the grammar brings them together in the LFG framework. They are discussed below:

a. Argument structure (A-structure)

Argument structure is one of the four levels of representation in LFG framework which represents the number of arguments and their semantic features. The arguments in a-structure are ordered in accordance with their relative role prominence as per the following universal thematic hierarchy:

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

The most prominent argument of predicate becomes the logical subject of the given predicate. a-structure contains not only the information about thematic roles but also presents the syntactic valence of a predicate along with relative prominence of arguments involved. Additionally, Dowty (1991) has further classified the thematic roles as proto-agent (P-A) and proto-patient (P-

P) depending on the properties specified in the predicate. According to this classification the argument which carries the key properties of an agent i.e. volitional involvement in an action or that causes any change in the action is proto-agent whereas the argument which undergoes any change of the action or becomes affected by the action is proto-patient. A-structure organizes information in an attribute-value structure. For example, the a-structure of the sentence ‘Ram sent a book in Kathmandu’ can be shown as follows:

Agent [_{PRED} ‘Ram’]
PRED ‘send< AGENT, THEME, GOAL>’
THEME [_{PRED} ‘a book’]

b. Functional structure (F-structure)

The functional structure expresses information about the grammatical functions of expressions such as Subject (SUBJ), Object (OBJ), Oblique (OBL), etc in a sentence. The F-structure is the sole input to the semantic component because an F-structure for a sentence encodes its meaningful grammatical relations and provides sufficient information for the semantic component to determine the appropriate predicate-argument formulas. The functional structure of a predicate is also expressed by an ‘attribute value’ structure. For example, the f-structure of the predicate ‘send’ in the above sentence ‘Ramesh broke the glass’ can be shown as follows where PRED is the attribute and break is the value:

SUB [_{PRED} ‘Ram’]
PRED ‘cut < SUB, OBJ >’
OBJ [_{PRED} ‘the glass’]

The f-structure for a sentence possesses two well-formedness conditions viz completeness condition and coherence condition where the completeness condition requires an f-structure to be complete i.e. all of its grammatical functions must be satisfied and the coherence condition requires that each subcategorizable grammatical function in an f-structure must be subcategorized for by one of the predicates. Regarding function determination, the principle of argument-function biuniqueness states that every expressed argument in the lexical represent of a predicate must be associated with one and only one (non-adjunct) grammatical function and every (non-adjunct) grammatical function with one and only one expressed argument.

c. Constituent structure (C-structure)

The constituent structure expresses the phrase structure configuration i.e. how words and phrases are arranged in a surface sentence. The c-structure is a conventional phrase structure tree, a well-formed labeled bracketing that indicates the superficial arrangement of words and phrases in the sentence. It uses grammatical categories i.e. syntactic categories like noun(N),verb(V), determiner(DET), preposition(P), etc and phrasal categories like noun phrase(NP), verb phrase(VP), prepositional phrase(PP), etc for the terminal strings of a sentence. The c-structure is defined in terms of syntactic categories, terminal strings and their dominance and precedence relationships (i.e. linear order & hierarchical groupings). In addition, it shows the possible surface structures of a language. The c-structure of Bajjika sentences is:

S → NP VP
 VP → NP V
 NP → DET N

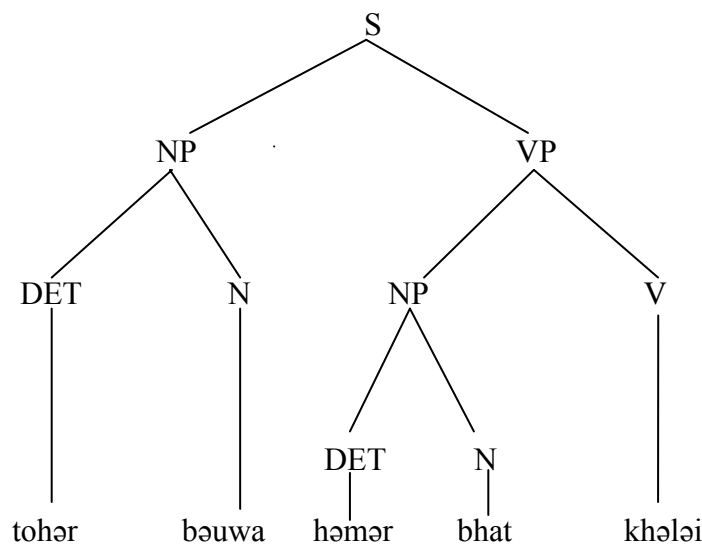
For example, the sentence *tohər bəuwa həməər bhat khələi* ‘Your baby ate my rice’ can be shown in labeled bracketing and tree diagram as given below [4]:

[4]

a) Labeled Bracketing:

[S [NP[DET tohər] [N bəuwa]] [NP [DET həməər][N bhat]] [VP[V khələi]]]

b) Tree Diagram:



d. Semantic structure (S-structure)

The semantic structure is another level of representation. It represents the aspects of meaning which are grammatically relevant in a sentence. In other words, this structure contains all the elements of lexical meaning that are linguistically relevant. However, it does not 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 world (Ray, 2010:10).

e. Co- presence of the levels of structure

As mentioned above, a predicate is associated with four levels of representation- a-structure, f-structure, c-structure and s-structure. These levels are interlinked and interdependent. They are associated by the lexical mapping theory. Unlike the TG grammar, these levels are not transformationally derived from each other. Instead, all of them co-exist as structures at four levels and are, therefore, co-present.

C. Implication of the theory in CP formation

a. Functional mapping theory

As a matter of fact, lexical-functional grammar looks into the structures and functions of complex predicates at different levels such as a-structure, c-structure, s-structure and f-structure. The functional mapping theory (hereafter FMT) maps the arguments into grammatical function according to its rules. It comes into operation in causativization and permissive constructions in Bajjika language. When a non-causative sentence is changed into causative one by the addition of a causative morpheme, according to FMT the subject of the non-causative sentence is mapped onto patient being demoted to the object function in causative sentence. Similarly an extra argument that is inserted in the subject position while changing a non-causative sentence into the causative sentence is mapped onto agent.

b. Predicate composition

The predicate composition in a language takes place either in the lexicon or in the syntax of the language. In fact a complex predicate is composed of two simple predicates whose PRED values are composed into a single predicatehood. When the predicate is a bound morpheme, it takes

place in the lexicon whereas the predicate takes place in the syntax when it is a free morpheme. It means whether a predicate composition takes place in the lexicon or syntax entirely depends on the status of the predicates. If the predicates have independent lexical status, the composition takes place in syntax otherwise it occurs in the lexicon. As such predicate composition appears to be of two types namely morphological and syntactic or periphrastic. Both of the types of predicate composition obey the binary composition in tree diagram. That is to say that two predicates in structural sisterhood under a mother node combine and becomes a single output. The output of the composition in the lexicon is a single word which, therefore, appears as a single node in c-structure, but that of syntactic composition is two words that occupy two terminal nodes in c-structure.

c. Lexicality in complex predicate

Complex predicates are the amalgamation of two elements. They can be a verbal stem and a nominal host or a verbal stem and a causative morpheme or two different verbal elements corresponding to a single output i.e. a complex predicate. From this fact it is apparent that a complex predicate can consist of an independent element with a dependent element or two independent lexical items. It means 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 unit. This feature of CP has extended the notion of a 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.

According to Ray (2010), 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 where a rule like affix-hopping would not be allowed. Similarly syntactic rules are prohibited from moving any element into or out of lexical categories. In accordance with this hypothesis, the CP whose constituents cannot 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”. It means to say that syntactic rules that are projected over an infinite set of sentences preserve the grammatical

function. Thus, for this principle a CP is a functional word whereas it is a categorial word for Lexical Integrity Hypothesis. In this way these two principles contrast each other. However, there is direct correspondence between the two categories in such a way that one categorial word can represent two functional words and vice versa.

CHAPTER 3

COMPLEX PREDICATES

A. Outline

This chapter deals with various sections and sub-sections of various types of complex predicates in Bajjika. Section 3.1 presents the overall outline of the third chapter. 3.2 deals with the causative as a complex predicate. Likewise, section 3.3 discusses the compound verb as a complex predicate. Similarly, section 3.4 deals with permissive construction as a complex predicate. The non- verbal complex predicates are discussed in section 3.5 and section 3.6 presents the summary of the findings of the chapters.

B. Causative as a complex predicate

Causativization in Bajjika is morphological only. That is to say that Bajjika does not have lexical and syntactic causatives, however, is able to express the function of causativization easily through morphological causatives only. This section analyzes causativization as a type of complex predicate. Causative in Bajjika is composed by the concatenation of a verb stem and a causative morpheme. The causative predicate, hence establishes the relationship between the causer and causee by composing the two predicates. In this process, the causee plays double roles 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.

a. Causative formation in Bajjika

Causative formation in Bajjika is possible in all types of verb such as intransitive, transitive and di-transitive. There are two types of causatives of two degrees in Bajjika as given below:

Types	Degrees	Causative Morphemes
Direct	First	-a
Indirect	Second	-ba

These causative morphemes are attached to the root verbs as a suffix with or without some minor modifications in them. The causative of first degree or the direct causative morpheme requires only one extra argument as a causer whereas the causative of second degree or the indirect causative morpheme requires two extra arguments.

In case of intransitive verbs, the causativization takes place with the addition of the causative morphemes ‘-a’ and ‘-ba’ to the root verb in order to make it complex. The causativization of intransitive verbs is somewhat like transitivization. For examples,

[5].

- a. tu sut
 you sleep
 ‘(You) sleep.’
- b. bəuwa sut- a
 baby sleep-CAUS
 ‘(You) cause the baby sleep.’
- c. mai-se bəuwa sut- ba
 mother-INST baby sleep-CAUS
 ‘(You) ask mother to make the baby sleep.’

[6].

- a. ghənti bəz-ge- l
 bell ring-go-3SG. PST .NH
 ‘The bell rang.’
- b. həm ghənti bəz-a de- l- i
 i bell ring-CAUS give-PST-1SG
 ‘I rang the bell (myself).’
- c. həm ghənti bəz-ba de- l- i
 i bell ring-CAUS give-PST-1SG
 ‘I made (someone) ring the bell.’

[7].

- a. gachi gir ge- l- əi
 tree fall go-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The tree fell down.’
- b. zəna-səb gachi gir-a de- l- əi
 labour-PL tree fall-CAUS give-PST-3PL.NH
 ‘The labours fell down the tree.’

- c. babu-ji zəna-səb-se gachi gir-ba de- l- thin
 father-H labour-PL-INST tree fall-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Father made (someone) fell down the tree.’

[8].

- a. kitab phat ge-l
 book tear go-3SG.PST
 ‘The book was torn.’
- b. bəuwa kitab phar de- l
 child book tear give-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘The child tore the book.’
- c. bəu-e-se kagaz phər-ba
 child-EMPH-INST paper tear-CAUS
 ‘(You) make the child tear the paper.’

[9].

- a. phuləuna phut ge-l
 balloon burst go-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘The balloon got burst.’
- b. i chəora phuləuna phor de- l
 this boy balloon burst give-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘This boy burst the balloon.’
- c. bhəiya həm-ra-se siu- se phuləona phor- ba
 brother i-DAT-INST needle-INST balloon burst-CAUS
 de- l- ən
 give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Brother made me burst the balloon with a needle.’

[10].

- a. bahər nikəl
 outside come.IMP
 ‘Come out.’

- b. bahər nik- a- l
 outside come-CAUS-IMP
 ‘Cause someone to come out.’
- c. bahər nikəl- ba
 outside come-CAUS.IMP
 ‘Ask someone to cause someone else to come out.’

[11].

- a. u sut-əit hə- i
 he sleep-PROG BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘He is sleeping.’
- b. u bəuwa-ke sut- a- bəit hə- i
 he baby-ACC sleep-CAUS-PROG BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘He is causing the baby sleep.’
- c. u mai-se bəuwa sut- ba- bəit hə- i
 he mother-INST baby sleep-CAUS-PROG BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘He is causing the baby sleep by mother.’

Similarly, in the case of transitive verbs also, both direct and indirect causativizations take place by the addition of causative morphemes ‘-a’ and ‘-ba’ to the root verb as a suffix with or without some minor modification in them. Bajjika is a nominative-accusative Indo-Aryan language so it does not display any case marking on the subject/agent. However, it uses ‘-ke’ and ‘-ra’ as an accusative (sometimes as a genitive case in the subject position) case on theme/patient and ‘-se’ as an instrumental case in the oblique. Some examples are presented below:

[12].

- a. u kitab pərh- l- ək
 he book read-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘He read a book.’
- b. həm okra kitab pərh- əi- l- i
 i him/her book read-CAUS-PST-1SG
 ‘I taught him/her a book.’

- c. guru-ji raju-ke ram-se kitab pərh- bæ- l- ən
 teacher-H raju-ACC ram-INST book read-CAUS-PST-3SG.H
 ‘The teacher made Ram teach Raju a book.’

[13].

- a. raju cithi likh le- l- ək
 raju letter write take-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Raju wrote a letter.’
- b. raju cithi likh-ba le- l- ək
 raju letter write-CAUS take-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Raju got a letter written.’

[14].

- a. həm əpən kes kat le- l- i
 i my hair cut take-PST-1SG
 ‘I cut my hair.’
- b. həm əpən kes kat-(b)a le- l- i
 i my hair cut-CAUS take-PST-1SG
 ‘I had/got my hair cut.’

[15].

- a. bhəiya ghari bəna le- l- ən
 brother watch repair take-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Brother repaired the watch.’
- b. bhəiya ghari bən-ba le- l- ən
 brother watch repair-CAUS take-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Brother got the watch repaired.’

[16].

- a. tu kitab kin
 you book buy.IMP
 ‘Buy the book.’

b. tu kitab kin- a de
 you book buy-CAUS give.IMP
 ‘Help me buy the book.’

c. tu həm-ər babu- se kitab kin- ba de
 you i- POSS father-INST book buy-CAUS give.IMP
 ‘Make my father buy the book for me.’

In causativization, ditransitive verbs are also appeared in the same way as the transitive ones. For example,

[17].

a. sər-ji həm-ra ego chata de- l- ən
 sir-H i-DAT one umbrella give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Sir gave me an umbrella.’

b. sər-ji piun-se həm-ra ego chata
 sir-H peon-INST i-DAT one umbrella
 de - ba de- l- ən / de- bæ- l- ən
 give-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H / give-CAUS-PST- 3SG.H
 ‘Sir made the peon give me an umbrella.’

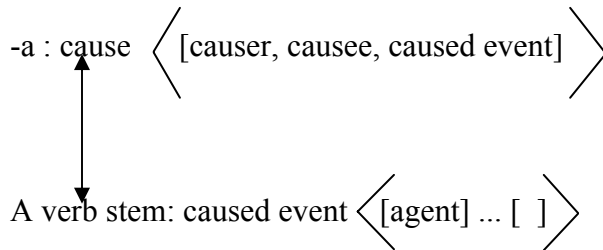
b. Causativization as the complex predicate formation in Bajjika

Causativization in Bajjika makes a change in the form of verb of a simple sentence. That is to say that causativization in Bajjika is a process of complex predicate formation because it adds an extra argument as causer (i.e. an agent) in direct causativization and two arguments in indirect causativization 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.

"Through morphological concatenation of a causative morpheme and a verb stem and that the causative morpheme is a predicate that involves not only a relation between a causer and a caused event but also a relation in which the causer affects or acts upon a participant of the caused event: this participant, by virtue of being acted upon by the causer, is said to be the

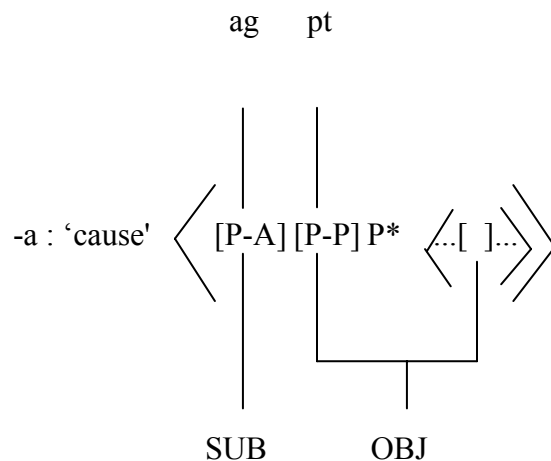
patient of the causative predicate; because it is also an argument of the caused event it bears another thematic role to the predicate of the event." (Alsina, 1995:204).

As Alsina said, a causative morpheme such as *-a* or *-ba* acts as a causative predicate having two arguments a causer and a causee. Then it is 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:

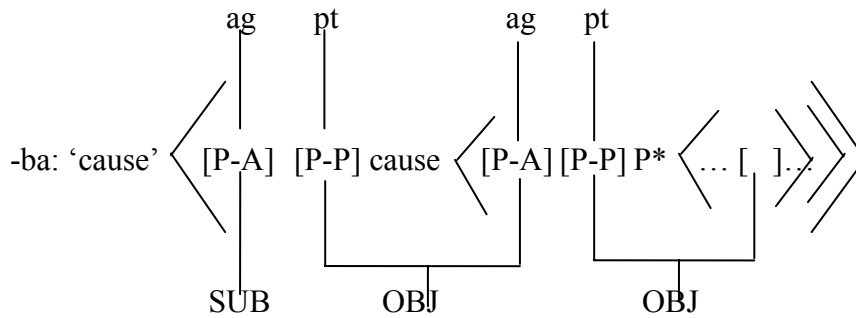


This structure reveals P-roles of the arguments. The role that shows volitional involvement in an event is assigned proto-agent and one which undergoes a change of state is assigned proto-patient of the main or causative predicate. Besides, there is an agent of the caused event. The functional mapping theory maps it onto the grammatical function of object via argument structure. The argument structure of the causative morpheme (i.e. incomplete predicate) is underspecified and is represented by P*, meaning the position can be filled by any predicate. On composition, a-structure of embedded predicate (basic and complete predicate), which is fully specified, fulfils the vacant position. The a-structures of causative morphemes are given in [18] & [19] below:

[18].



[19].



In the example [18], 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. Similarly the example [19] is the case of indirect causative where two embedded clauses are adjoined in the main causative clause. In the above two cases of causatives [18] and [19], 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.

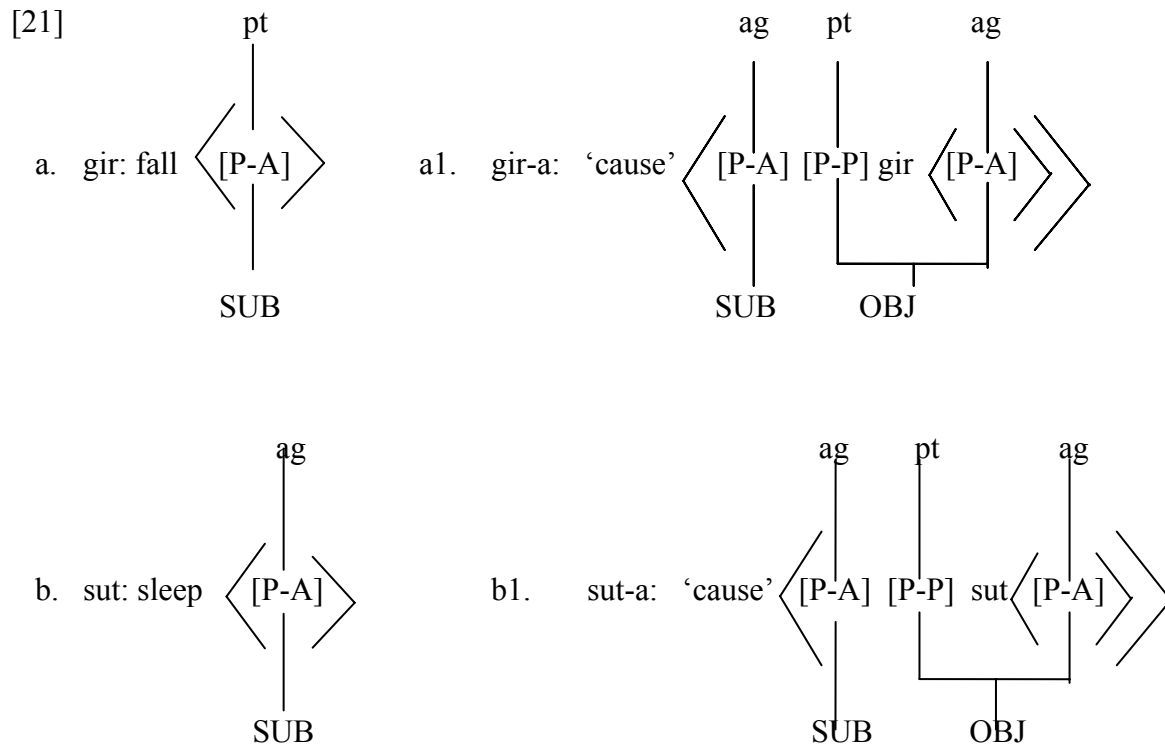
I. Structure with intransitive verbs

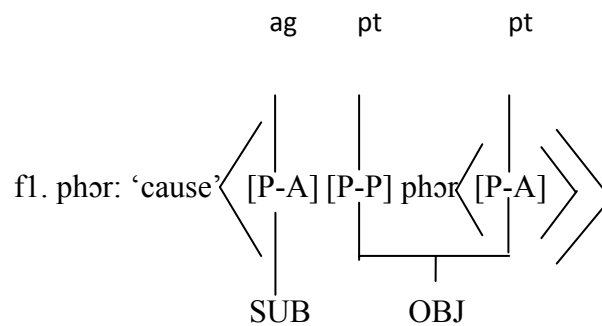
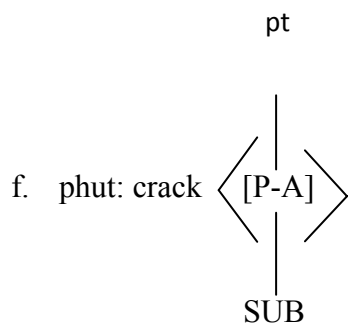
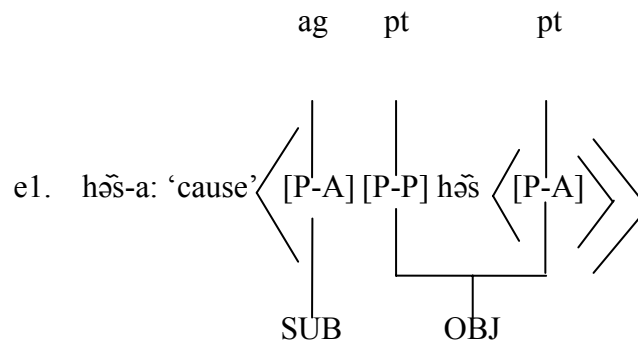
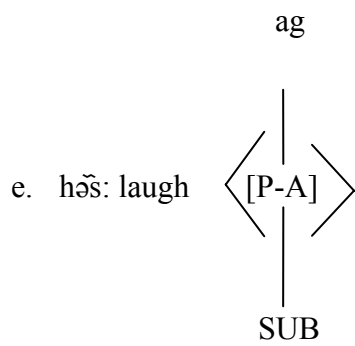
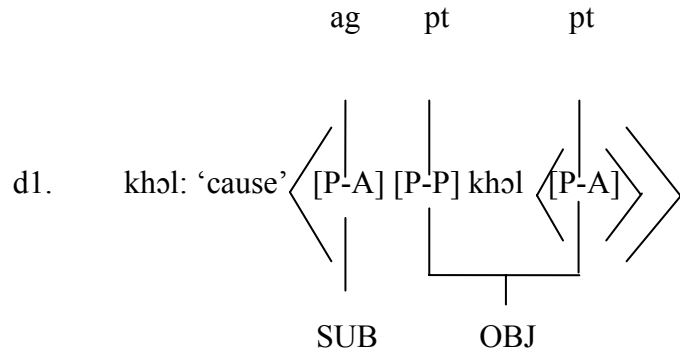
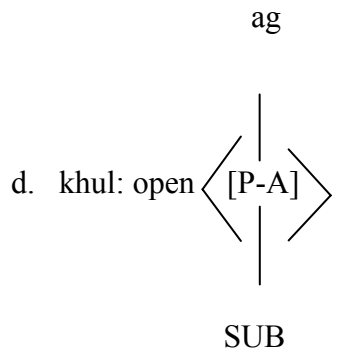
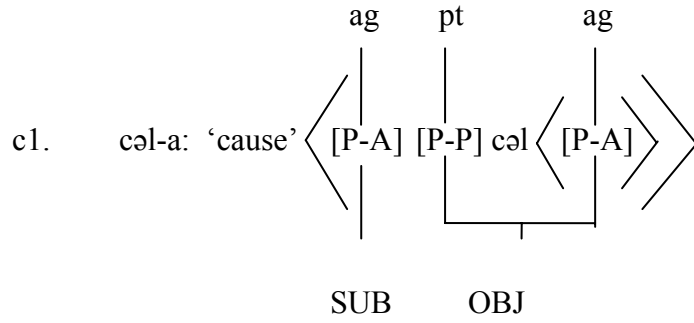
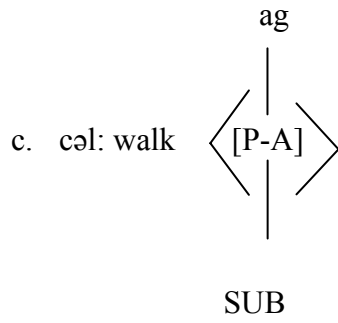
[20].

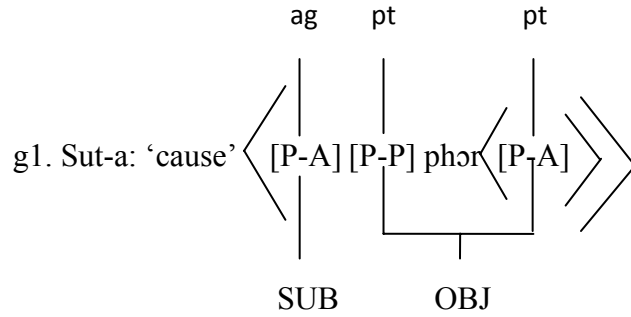
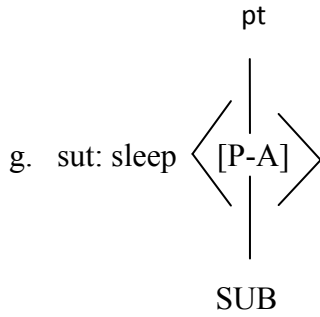
- a. ghəri gir ge-l
 watch fall go-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘The watch fell down.’
- b. bəuwa sut ge-l
 child sleep go-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘The child slept.’
- c. mehman cəl ge- l- ən
 guest walk go-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Guest went.’
- d. bəkri khul ge-l
 goat open go-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘Goat opened (i.e. rope of the goat became open).’

- e. mai hǎ̃- l- ən
 mother laugh-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Mother laughed.’
- f. læmp-ke sisa phuT-əl hǎ-e
 lamp-DAT glass crack-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘Glass of the lamp has been cracked.’
- g. chotka bəuwa sut-əl rǎh- l- əi
 Small baby sleep-PRF remain-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Small baby had slept.’

All the sentences above mentioned have intransitive verbs which are transitivized or causativized by the addition of –a with or without some minor modification in the root verb. Their embedded structures are shown in the examples [21a-h] below with the syntactic function and argument structure in (a) and those of causatives in their corresponding numbers (i.e. a1, b1, c1, etc).







The resulting causativized/ transitivity forms of the above mentioned intransitive verbs are given below.

[22].

- a. gautam ghari gir-a de- l- ək
 gautamwatch fall-CAUS give-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Gautam fell down the watch.’
- b. mai bəuwa-ke sut-a de- l- ən
 mother baby-ACC sleep-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Mother made the baby sleep.’
- c. bhəiya mehman-ke cəl- a- ke le- ge- l- ən
 brother guest-ACC walk-CAUS-PRES PRT take-go-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Brother made guest go by walking (with him).’
- d. rima bəkri khəl de- l- ək
 rima goat open-CAUS give-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Rima opened the goat.’
- e. bəhin mai- ke həṣ- a de- l- ən
 elder sister mother-ACC laugh-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Elder sister made mother laugh.’
- f. bilai læmp-ke sisa for de- le hə-e
 cat lamp-POSS glass break give-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘The cat has broken the glass of the lamp.’
- g. vavi chot-ka bəuwa-ke sut- əe- le rəh- əl- thin
 sister-in-law small-EMPH baby-ACC sleep-CAUS-PRF remain-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Sister-in-law had made the small baby sleep.’

II. Structures with transitive verbs

Although transitive verbs require two arguments, these verbs are not causative in themselves rather they need an extra agentive argument to be causativized. In addition, so called base agent no more remains agent and becomes patient. In other words, the base agent in a transitive sentence can not preserve its agentive features when it is causativized and undergoes an action or event. Some examples of non-causative transitive verbs are shown as follows in [23].

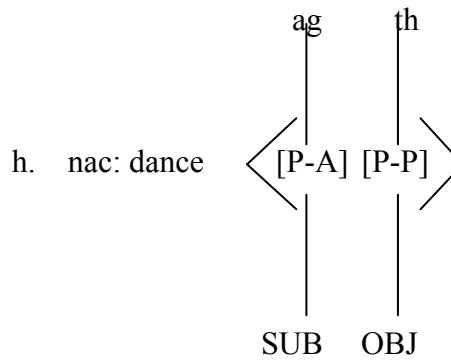
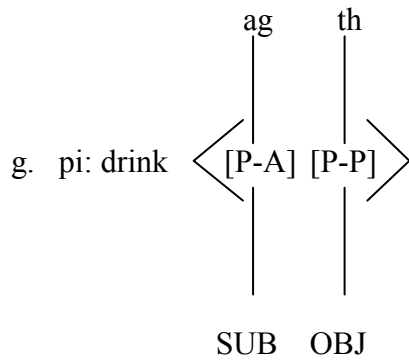
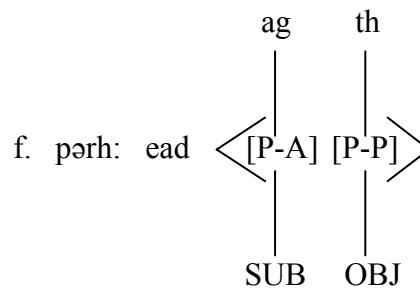
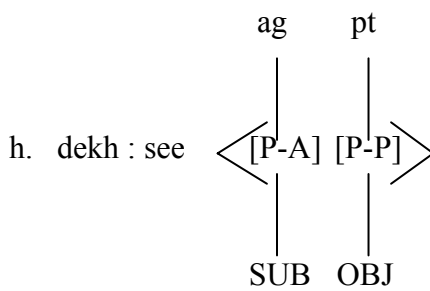
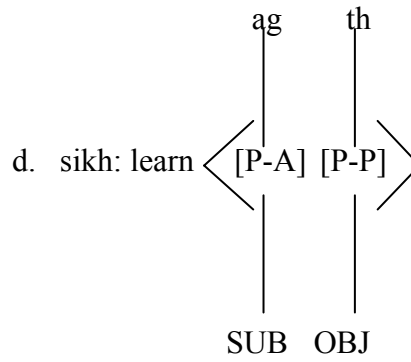
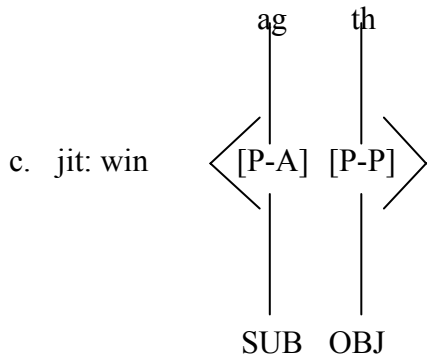
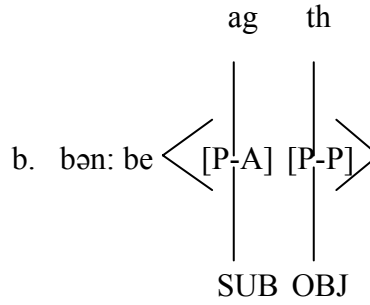
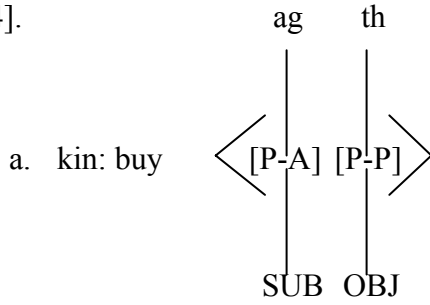
[23].

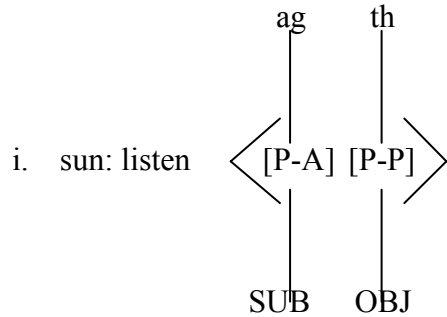
- a. kalhu ram kitab kin- l- əi
yesterday Ram book buy-PST-3SG
'Yesterday Ram bought a book.'
- b. həri neta bən ge- l- ək
həri leader be go-PST-3SG.NH
'Hari became a leader.'
- c. rəmes fuTbəl khel jit ge- l- ək
rəmes football game win go-PST-3SG.NH
'Ramesh won the football match.'
- d. həm gari sikh- le ch- i
i driving learn-PRF BE-1SG.PRES
'I have learnt driving.'
- e. kuTum-sə(b) ghər dekh-le hə - i/e
guest-PL house see-PRF BE-3PL.PRES.NH
'Guests have seen the house.'
- f. bidharthi-sə(b) kitab pərh-əit hə - i/e
student-PL book read-PROG BE-3PL.PRES.NH
'Students are reading a book.'
- g. bəuwa dudh pi le- l- əi
child milk drink take-PST-3SG.NH
'The child drank milk.'
- h. nəcəniya nac kər-əit rəh- əi
dancer dance do-PROG remain-3SG.PST.NH
'The dancer was dancing.'

- i. Həm i kəθa sun- le ch- i
 I this story listen-PRF BE-3SG.PRS
 ‘I have listened this story.’

The syntactic function and their argument structures of non-causative examples of [23a-i] are presented below in [24].

[24].





The causative sentences of above mentioned non-causative ones are made by the addition of ‘-a/ba’ to the root verb with or without some modification to it. They are given as follows in [25].

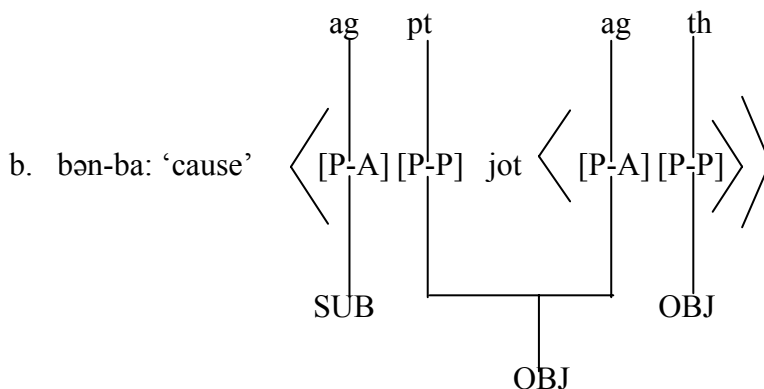
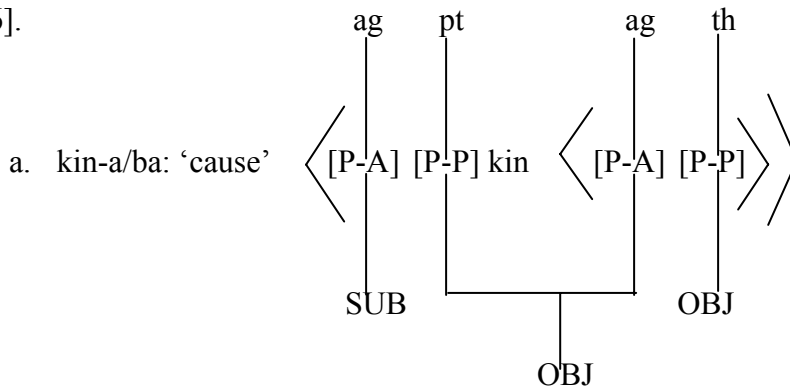
[25].

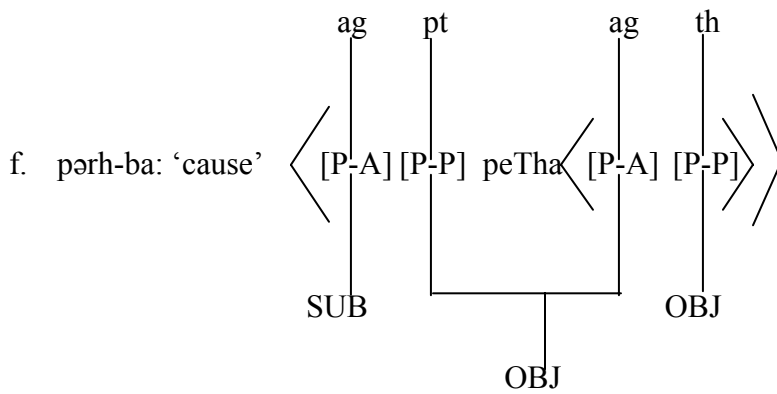
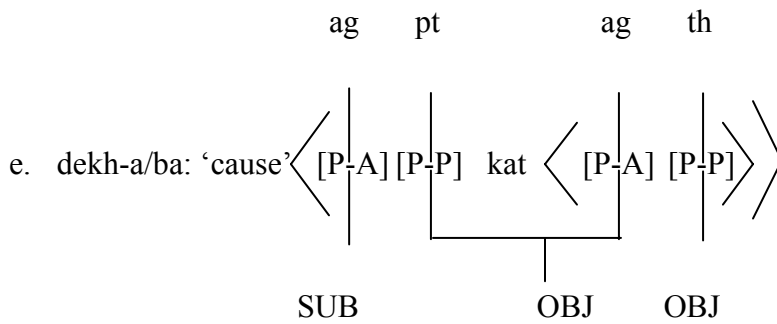
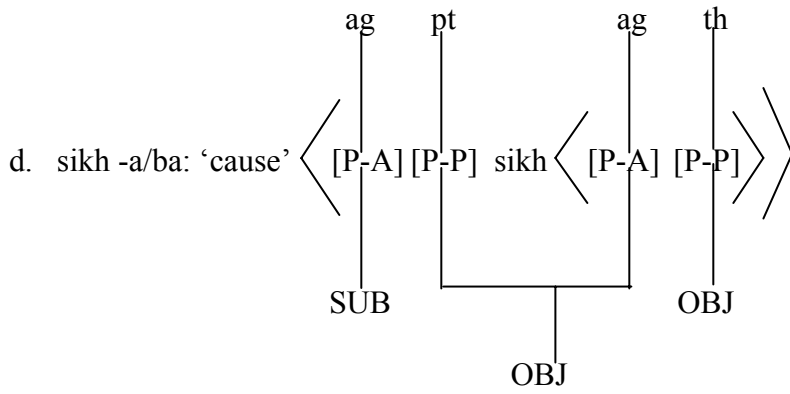
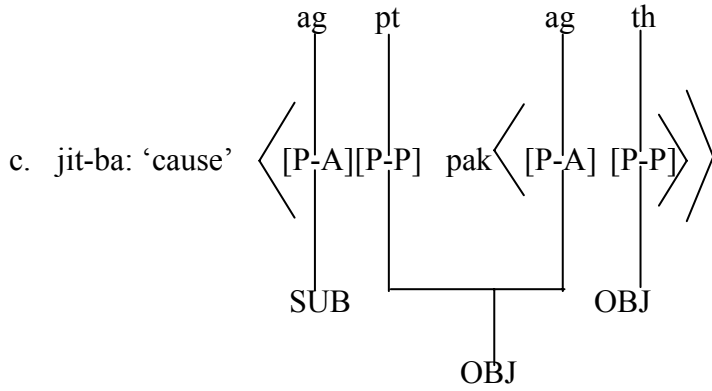
- a. kalhu hām ram-ke kitab kin- a de- l- iāi
 yesterday i ram-POSS book buy-CAUS give-PST-1SG.NH
 ‘Yesterday I made Ram buy a book.’
- b. caca- ji hāri-ke neta bān- a de- l- ān
 uncle-H hāri-ACC leader make-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Uncle made Hari a leader.’
- c. kheladi-sā(b) rāmes-ke fuTbāl khel jit- a de- l- āk
 player-PL rāmes-ACC football game win-CAUS give-PST-3PL.NH
 ‘Players made Ramesh win the football match.’
- d. hām-ār dos hām-ra gari sikh- āe- le
 i-POSS friend i-ACC driving learn-CAUS-PRF
 hā- e
 BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘My friend has taught me driving.’
- e. bicbāniya kuTum-sā(b)-ke ghār dekh-āe- le hā- i
 mediator guest-PL-ACC house see-CAUS-PRF BE-3PL.PRS.NH
 ‘The mediator has shown the guests the house.’
- f. masTār-ji bidharthi-sā(b)-ke kitab pār- a- bāit chā-thin
 teacher-H student- PL- ACC book read-CAUS-PROG BE-3SG.PRES.H
 ‘The teacher is teaching a book to the students.’

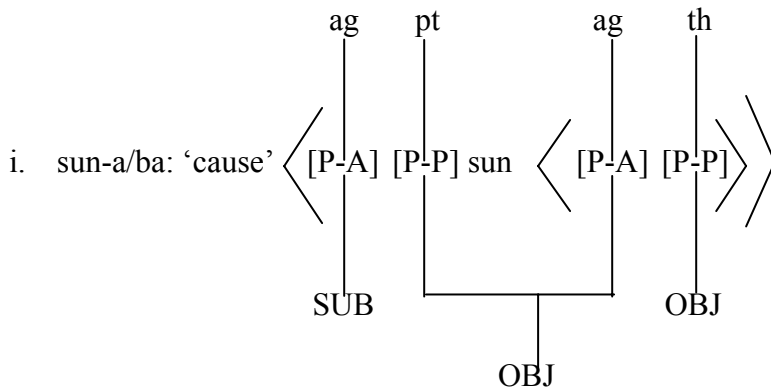
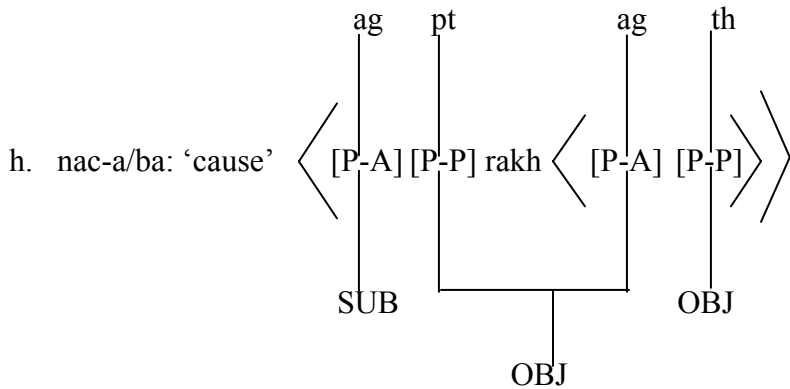
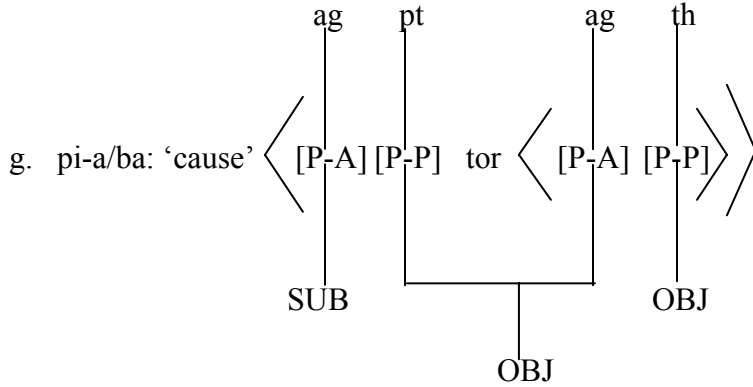
- g. vavi bəuwa-ke dudh pi- a de- l- thin
 sister-in-law child-ACC milk drink-CAUS give-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Sister-in-law made the child drink milk.’
- h. log- sə(b) nəcəniya-ke nac kər- a- bəit rəh- əi
 people-PL dancer-ACC dance do-CAUS-PROG remain-3PL.PST
 ‘People were making the dancer dance.’
- i. mai həm-ra i kətha sun- əe- le chə-thin
 mother i-ACC this story listen-CAUS-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.H
 ‘Mother has made me listen this story.’

In the examples [25 a-h], 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. The syntactic function and argument structure of above mentioned causative sentences are shown below in [26] respectively.

[26].

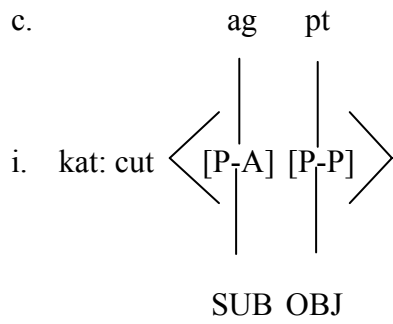
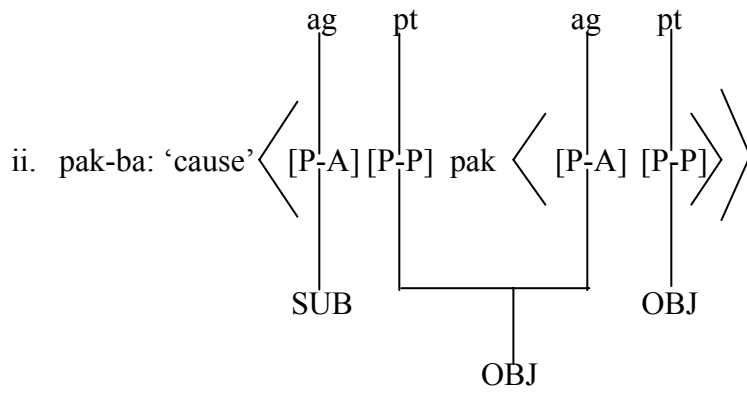
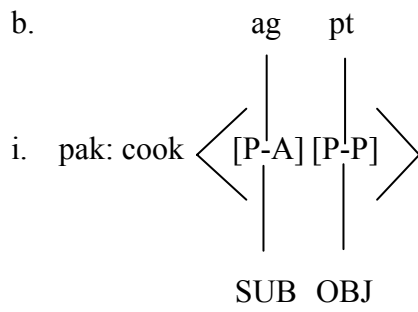
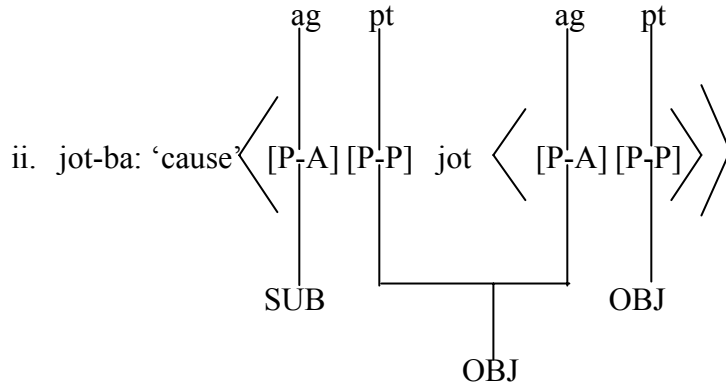


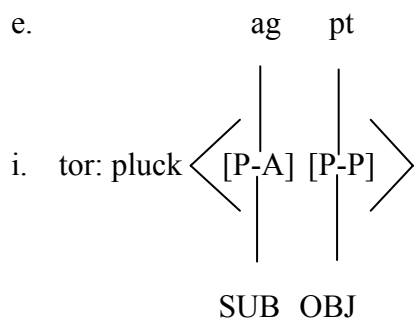
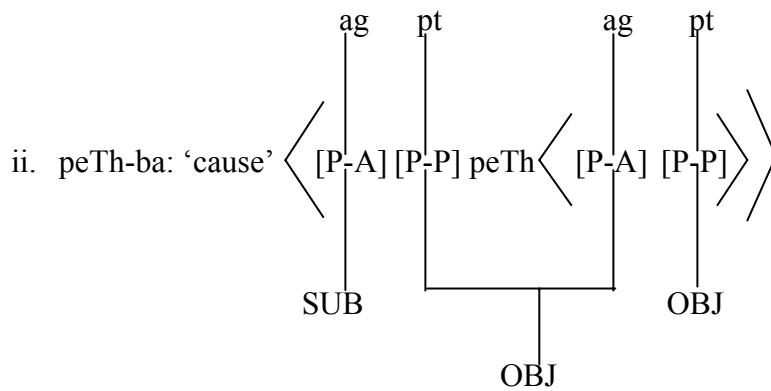
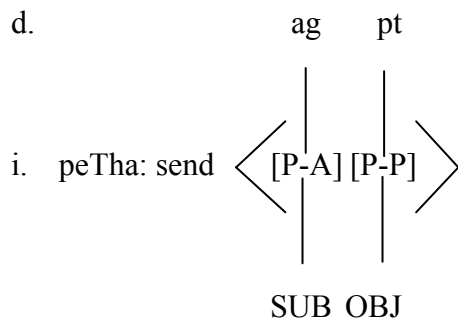
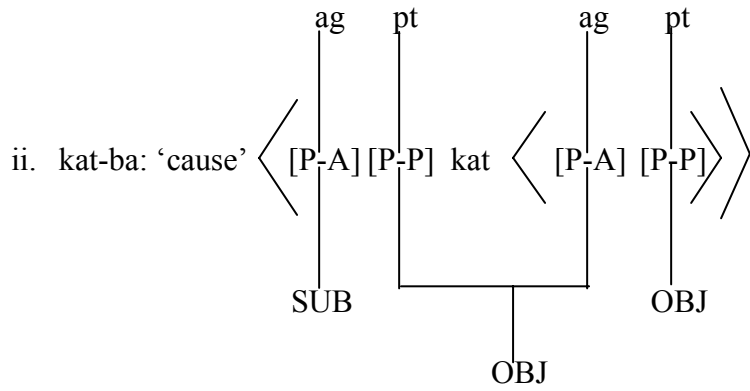


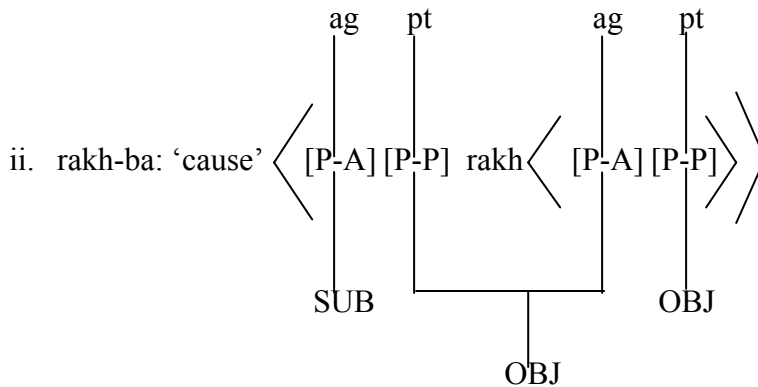
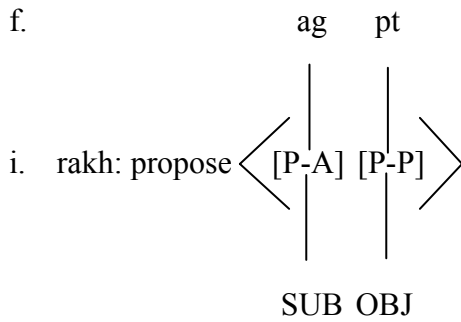
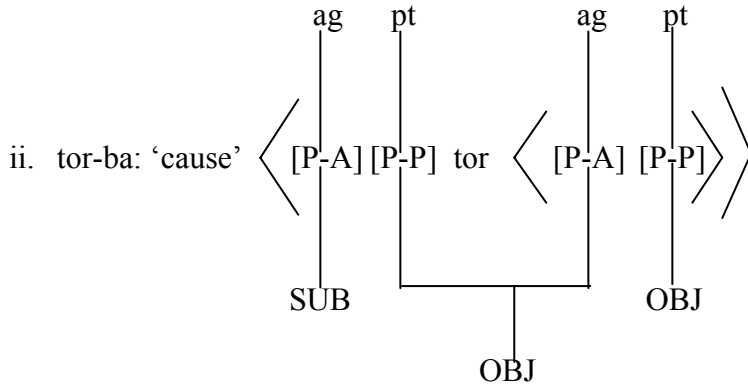


III. Structure with oblique

In the absence of an oblique case in a non-causative sentence, generally the first argument plays an important role functioning as an agent/doer since the verbal responsibility is completed under the control of the first agent, but when the verb is causativized with an oblique case, the so called agent no longer remains important because even if it is deleted, the sentence is complete and meaningful. Some examples without an oblique case are shown in [27] below.







The resultant causatives are illustrated below in the examples [29 a-f].

[29].

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------|--------|-----------------|---------|------------------|
| a. | babu- ji | (jəna- se) | khet | jot- | bəe- le | chə-thin/hə-thin |
| | father-H | labour-INST | farm | plough-CAUS-PRF | | BE-3SG.PRS.H |
| | ‘Father has made a servant plough the farm.’ | | | | | |
| b. | caca- ji | bhəiya- se | ciThi | likh- | bəe- le | rəh- t- ən |
| | uncle-H | brother-INST | letter | write-CAUS-PRF | | remain-FUT-3SG.H |
| | ‘Uncle will have made the cook cook rice.’ | | | | | |

- c. Thikdar (jəna-sə(b)-se) gachi kat- ba- bəit hə- i
 contractor labour-PL-INST tree cut-CAUS-PROG BE-3SG.PRES
 ‘The contractor is making labours cut tree.’
- d. mādən gopal-se ciThi peTh- bə- t- əi
 madan gopal-INST letter send-CAUS-FUT- 3SG.NH
 ‘Madan will cause Gopal to send a letter.’
- e. binod (ləika-sə(b)-se) am tor- bəe- le rəh- əi
 binod child-PL-INST mango pluck-CAUS-PRF remain-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘Binod had caused children to pluck mango.’
- f. səmiti (hedsər-se) miTing rakh- ba- bəit
 committee principal-INST meeting propose-CAUS-PROG
 rəh- əi
 remain-3SG.PST.NH
 ‘Committee was causing the principal to propose a meeting.’

The examples in [29] clarify that in the presence of oblique case in the sentence the direct object is mapped onto the internal argument of the causative predicate thereby making the oblique case unnecessary which can be removed from the sentence as well. Therefore, the oblique case in the examples are mentioned in brackets

IV. Structure with dative subject

In the Bajjika 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.

[30].

- a. həm-ra bhukh lagəl hə- e
 i- DAT hunger feel BE-3SG. PRS.NH
 ‘I feel hungry.’

- b. to- ra rat- me Dər ləgə-ləu
 you-DAT night-PREP(at) fear feel-2PRES.NH
 ‘You feel fear at night.’
- c. ok-ra bəra pyas ləgə-ləi
 he-DAT a lot thirst feel-3SG.NH
 ‘He feels thirsty a lot.’

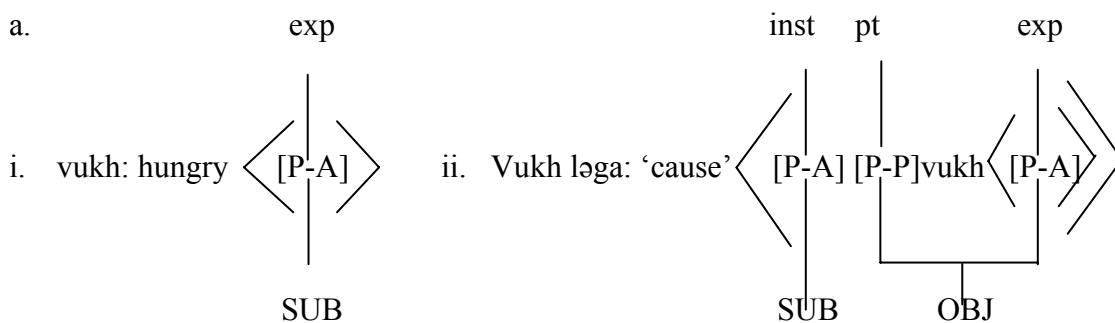
The causative forms of the above sentences of dative subjects are shown below in [31].

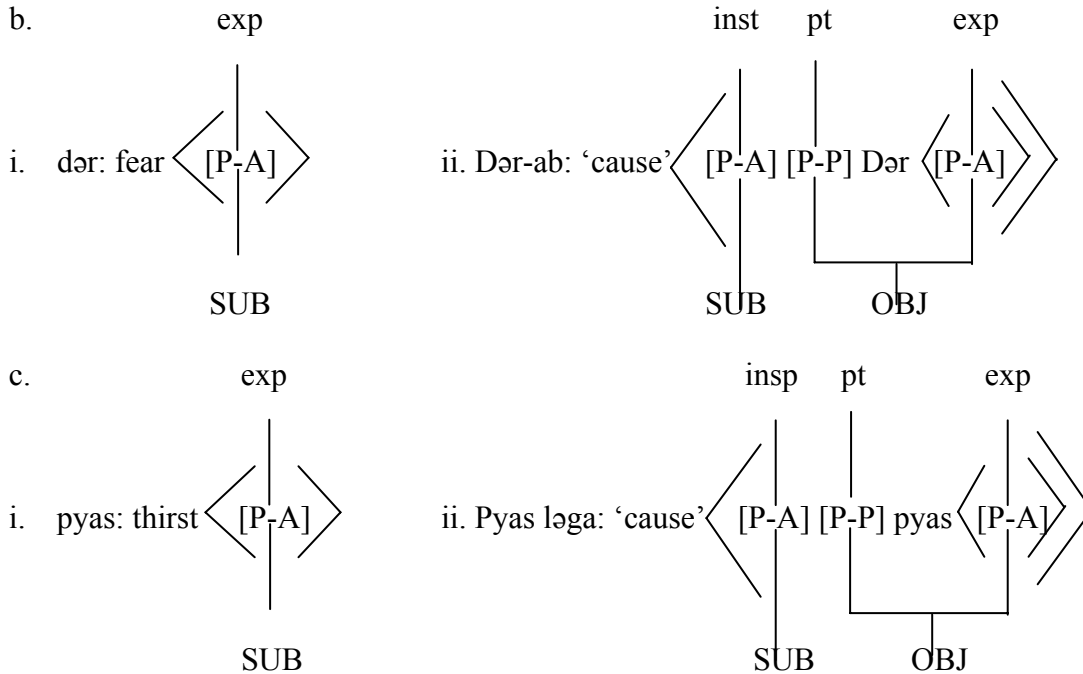
[31].

- a. aju dinvər- ke mehnət həm-ra vukh ləg- ə- le
 today whole-day-PREP labour i- DAT hunger feel-CAUS-PRF
 hə- e
 BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘The labour of today’s whole day has made me feel hungry.’
- b. to- ra rat- me kuta Dər- a- bələu
 you-DAT night-PREP(at) dog fear-CAUS-3SG.NH
 ‘A dog makes you feel fear at night.’ (A dog makes you afraid at night)
- c. Kərhi ok-ra bəra pyas ləg- a- bələi
 fried why he-DAT a lot thirst feel-CAUS-3SG.NH
 ‘Fried why makes him feel thirsty a lot.’

The argument structures and the syntactic functions of the above mentioned sentences of dative subjects of [30] are presented in [32 a-c (i)] and that of their causative sentences of [31] in [32 a-c (ii)].

[32].





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.

V. Predicate Composition

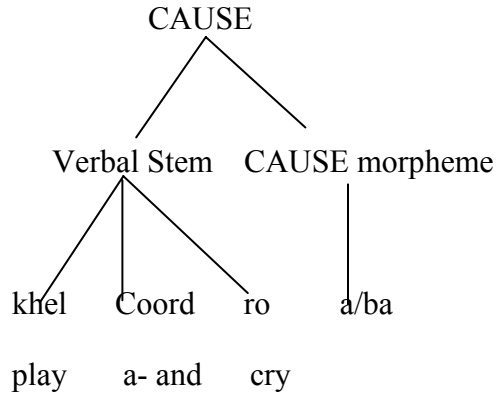
Causative construction as CP in Bajjika takes place in the lexicon not in the syntax because two morphemes (one causative morpheme and one verb root/stem) not two syntactic units, are combined together to result into a causative complex predicate. Therefore the two morphemes are always integral not separable. No two verb stems can be coordinated by a causative morpheme.

[33].

* həm	bəuwa-ke	{khel a ro}- a/ba	le- li(əi)
I	baby-ACC	{play and cry}-CAUS	take-1sg.pst
‘I made the baby play and cry.’			

It can be shown in tree diagram as follows:

[34].



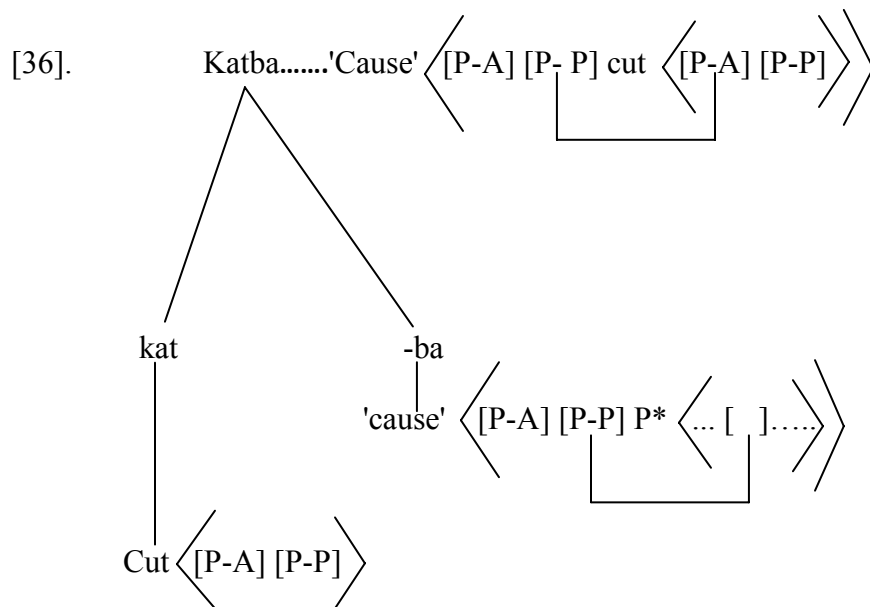
Similarly, the causative morpheme and the verbal stem can not be separated by any other external element as well.

[35].

- *a. jana khet jot- a- ba de- l- əi
 servant farm plough-COORD-CAUS give-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The servant made someone plough the field.’ (The servant got the farm ploughed.)
- *b. gita mina-ke pit- a- ba de- t- əi
 gita mina-ACC beat-COORD-CAUS give-FUT-3SG.NH
 ‘Gita will make someone beat Mina.’ (Gita will get Mina beaten.)

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 feature 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 complex predicate is formed in the lexicon by combining a causative affix and a verb stem. This composition is hierarchical in the sense that the predicates are in structural sisterhood relations which are immediately dominated by the more embedded non-terminal node. The PRED value of the entire clause i.e. causative is composed of the PRED values of its daughter nodes.

C. 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, Yadav: 2010)

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. (Yadav, 2012:38)

In fact, compound verb refers to the amalgamation of two independent lexical words. In general compound verb is the combination of V+V where both Vs belong to similar status, but auxiliary verbs do not come under this consideration. In a series of a V+V combination of a compound verb the former is called host verb and the latter is called light verb because the latter one agrees with the number and person of the subject in a sentence in a language of SOV word order.

a. Compound verb as a complex predicate

Compound verb is one of the constructions that makes a complex predicate (or CP) in Bajjika language. However, all the compound verb constructions do not make a CP rather 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 parameters under consideration, all categories of compound verb may not be liable to form a complex predicate in the LFG model of theoretical framework.

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 no longer remains as a compound verb, henceforth not a complex predicate when 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.

Compound verb construction is pervasive in South Asian languages of SOV word order type. An extensive list of verbs is 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. “The light verb is used to contribute completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought and thoroughness.” (Masica 1976:143).

b. Light verbs forming CP in compounds

In Bajjika there are mainly four verbs that function as light verbs contributing to the a-structure. They are *de* ‘give’, *le* ‘take’, *a* ‘come’ and *ja* ‘go’. They are separately illustrated with examples below.

I. The light verb *de* ‘give’

[37].

- a. u am tor- l- əi
he mango pluck-PST-3SG.NH
‘He plucked mango.’
- b. raju kam kər- l- əi
raju work do-PST-3SG.NH
‘Raju worked.’ (or Raju did the work.)
- c. u am tor de- l- ək
he mango pluck give-PST-3SG.NH
‘He plucked mango (for me).’
- d. raju kam kər de- l- əi
raju work do give-PST-3SG.NH
‘Raju did the work (for someone).’

In [37] there are four examples where 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 (c-d) clearly assume a beneficiary though not clearly stated in the sentences ‘*am tor de-l-ək*’ and ‘*kam kər de-l-əi*’ means the action of plucking mango and doing work has been done by so called agent for someone else. 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. Likewise, besides a beneficiary person *de* also shows attitude of hope, request and help of the action to be carried out in case of present and future. It can be shown in the following examples given below in [38].

[38].

- a. tu kəbita likh di- əhu
you poem write give-IMP.FUT.h
‘You, please, write a poem (later in future).’
- b. tu kəbita likh da
you poem write give.2PRES.H
‘You, please, write a poem (now).’
- c. tu həməɾ Topi liya de
you my cap bring give.2PRES.NH
‘(You) bring my cap (for me).’

The light verb *de* may or may not trigger the change in the role of the subject/agent and the tense of a sentence. It can be clarified as follows:

[39].

- a. həm dəhi khəi-li hə
 I dəhi eat-PRF BE.1SG.PRES
 ‘I have (just) eaten curd.’
- b. u həm-ra dəhi khiya de- l- ək
 he i-ACC dəhi eat give-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘He fed me curd.’
- c. rija e(k)-go sari kin- l- əi
 rija one-CLF sari buy-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Rija bought a sari.’
- d. rija e(k)-go sari kina de- l- əi
 rija one-CLF sari buy give-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Rija helped (someone) buy a sari.’

In [39a] above, the action is done by the subject ‘I’ but it is done by the subject ‘he’ in [39b] where ‘I’ 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. Some other compound complex predicates with the light verb *de* ‘give’ are:

bhej de ‘to send something’

kəh de ‘to say something’

dekh de ‘to see something’

kə(r) de ‘to do something’

khol de ‘to open something’

nikal de ‘to drive out something’

cəl de ‘to walk’

meTa de ‘to erase something’

II. The light verb *le* ‘take’

Another light verb in Bajjika is *le* ‘take’. It is used in contrast to the light verb *de* ‘give’. The light verb *de* makes the action directed to other than the subject/agent on the contrary the light verb *le* makes the action directed to the subject/ agent itself. “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 (Yadav, 1996: 201).” It can be clarified in the following examples:

[40].

- a. bəuwa dudh pi le- le hə- i
 child milk drink take-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH

‘The child has drunk milk.’

- b. həm hisab kə(ɾ) le- l- i(əi)
 i problem do take-PST-1SG

‘I solved the problem.’

- c. u e(k)-go ghəri kin le- l- əi
 he one-CLF watch buy take-PST-3SG.NH

‘He (already) bought a watch.’

- d. okni-sə(b) pəriksha pas kə(ɾ) le- l- əi
 they-PL exam pass do take -PST-3PL.NH

‘They passed the exam.’

Besides the role of a light verb ‘*le*’ also depicts aspectual function i.e. perfective aspect in a sentence. It can not be used in progressive or imperfective aspect. Additionally, being used as a perfective aspect, it shows the completion of an action rather than inception or duration in a sentence. It has been shown above in [40 a]. However, we can see some more examples as given below:

[41].

- a. həm bhat kha le- le ch-i
 i rice eat take-PRF BE-1SG.PRES

‘I have eaten rice.’

- b. məlah məchri pəkər le- le rəh- t- əi
 fisherman fish catch take-PRF remain-FUT-3SG.NH

‘The fisherman will have caught fish.’

- c. bidyarthi-sə(b) foto bəna le- le rəh- əi
 student-PL picture make take-PRF remain-3PL.PST.NH

‘Students had made the picture.’

III. The light verb ja ‘go’ and a (come)

The light verbs ja ‘go’ and a ‘come’ show the sequentiality of the actions and closeness of direction when they appear with other verbs in the form of a compound verb in a sentence, but they do not function as a complement by embedding the verb. This fact can be observed in the following examples:

[42].

- a. u khəbər kəh ə- l- əi
he message say come-PST-3SG.NH
‘He said the message and came.’
- b. jija- ji kha əe- l- ən
brother in-law-H eat come-PST-3SG.H
‘Brother-in-law ate and came.’
- c. u kəh ge- l- əi
he say go-PST-3SG.NH
‘He said and went.’
- d. tu sut ge- l- e
you sleep go-PST-2SG
‘You slept and went.’ (You slept)
- e. u kəh-ke ə- l- əi
he say-by come-PST-3SG.NH
‘He came by/after saying.’
- f. jija-ji kha-ke əe - l - ən
brother in-law eat-by come-PST-3SG.H
‘Brother-in-law came by/after eating.’ (Having had meal Brother-in-law came.)
- g. u kəh-ke ge- l- əi
he say-by go-PST-3SG.NH
‘He went by/after saying.’
- h. tu sut-ke ge- l- e
you sleep-by go-PST-2SG
‘You went by/after sleeping.’
- i. gai bhag ə- l- əi
cow run come-PST-3SG.NH
‘The cow ran away here.’ [lit. The cow came here by running away.]

In the above mentioned examples [42 a-b], *a* ‘come’ is a light verb and, thus, shows the sequentiality of the two actions in the sense that the two actions happen in a sequence of immediately after one another. But in [42 e-f] the verb *a* is a main verb that complements the verbs ‘say’ and ‘eat’ respectively. Similarly in [42 c-d], *ja* ‘go’ is also a light verb and shows the sequentiality of two actions. But in [42 g-h], it functions as a main verb complementing the verbs ‘say’ and ‘sleep’ respectively. In [42 e-h] it is ‘-ke’ that determines the verbs *a* ‘come’ and *ja* ‘go’ as not being a light verb. Here the term ‘-ke’ stands for the preposition ‘by/after’ in Bajjika. From the aspectual point of view, the two light verbs *a* and *ja* make the sequential contribution in s-structure. So they are treated as complex predicates when they are used with the other host verbs. Additionally, the light verbs *de* ‘give’, *le* ‘take’, *a* ‘come’ and *ja* ‘go’ are used with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

c. Grammatical function structure

In fact both the host verb and the light verb that compose a compound verb as a complex predicate behave like a simple predicate in f-structure. Therefore these types of complex predicates do not vary in terms of agreement and anaphora in Bajjika language.

I. Agreement

In Bajjika language, agreement takes place between the verb and the subject of a sentence. The verb agrees with the subject in a sentence in terms of its specific grammatical features i.e. person, honorificity and case regardless of gender and number. This agreement is displayed regarding both main verb in simple predicate and light verb in a CP. In a case of compound verb as a complex predicate the subject agrees with the light verb not the host verb.

[43].

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>həm</i> | <i>dəhi</i> | <i>khəi-</i> | <i>l-</i> | <i>i</i> |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>curd</i> | <i>eat-</i> | <i>PST-</i> | <i>1SG</i> |
| | ‘I ate curd.’ | | | | |
| b. | <i>həm</i> | <i>dəhi</i> | <i>kha</i> | <i>le-</i> | <i>l-</i> |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>curd</i> | <i>eat</i> | <i>take-</i> | <i>PST-</i> |
| | ‘I ate curd.’ | | | | |

In the examples above mentioned the subject agrees with the verb *khəili* in [43 a] but with the light verb in [43 b]. In [43 b] the root verb as a host remains inactive in terms of agreement.

II. Anaphora

Like Maithili, the compound verb (as a complex predicate) as well as the simple verb displays the same effect in the meaning of a sentence in Bajjika. It is exemplified below.

[44].

- a. bepari u- əpən saman ok-ra bec- l- əi
businessman he-GEN goods he-DAT sell-PST-3SG.NH
'The businessman sold his goods to him.'
- b. bepari u- əpən saman ok-ra bec de- l- əi
businessman he-GEN goods he-DAT sell give-PST-3SG.NH
'The businessman sold his goods to him.'

In these two examples in [44], the anaphora (*u)əpən* is a matter of concern with subject both with simple predicate in (a) and complex predicate in (b). It shows that the complex predicate as compound verb also behaves like a simple predicate.

d. Phrase Structure

Compound verb is the result or output of the concatenation of a host verb and a light verb. In the formation of a compound verb the host verb and the light verb are two different independent lexical items. However, these two lexical items behave as a single element in a sentence after their amalgamation. The given below criteria and parameters will show how a compound verb behaves as a single unit in a sentence.

I. Scrambling

“The two verbs in an aspectual complex predicate 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.” (Butt, 1993).

In Bajjika language a host verb and a light verb are inextricably related in a compound verb. It means in a compound verb in Bajjika a host verb and a light verb are combined so tightly that separation is impossible. Moreover, if we forcefully separate them from each other, it becomes a grammatically ill-formed sentence. It is illustrated below.

[45]

a. həm kəθa pərh le- l- i
I story read take-PST-1SG
'I read a story.'

- a. *le-li həm kəθa pərh
- b. *həm le-li kəθa pərh
- c. *həm kəθa le-l-i pərh
- d. *həm pərh kəθa le-l-i

II. Insertion of modifier

No modifier can be inserted in between a compound verb. That is to say that no modifier can be inserted between the light verb and the host verb to separate them in a sentence without violating the grammatical accuracy. It is shown below as follows:

[46].

- a. sunil dudh halihali pi ge- l- əi
sunil milk quickly drink go-PST-3SG.NH
'Sunil drank milk quickly.'
- b. *sunil dudh pi halihali ge-l-əi

In the examples, [46 a] is a well formed sentence, but the sentence in [46 b] is ill formed because the modifier '*halihali*' has been inserted between the host verb and the light verb that is not meaningful and acceptable. Thus, no modifier can be inserted between the host verb and the light verb in Bajjika.

III. Coordination

Coordination can be best defined as "Syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements" (Haspelmath: 2000, Abbi: 2001). "The units in coordinate constructions may be words, phrases, subordinate clauses or full sentences. All languages possess coordinate constructions and there may be several linkers or coordinators that serve as links between the two or more units" (Abbi: 2001). However, here it only deals with phrase and clause/sentence level. In Bajjika, the common coordinators are *a*, *ya*, *cahe/i*, *ki*, *kaheki*, *ehise*, *ohise*, *lekin* etc. Like Maithili, coordination takes place at the constituent level not at the morpheme level in

Bajjika. So two compound verbs can be coordinated but not two host verbs bearing a light verb or a host verb bearing two light verbs can be coordinated. Thus, a compound verb, in Bajjika, as a complex predicate functions as a single element in a sentence. It is shown below as follows:

[47].

- a. bhəiya nəha le- l- thin a kha le- l- thin
 elder brother bath take-PST-3SG.H and eat take-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Elder brother took a bath and ate.’
- b. *bhəiya (nəha a kha) le- l- thin
 elder brother (bath and eat) take-PST-3SG.H
 ‘Elder brother took a bath and ate.’
- c. *mama- ji ghəri kin (le- l- thin a de- l- thin)
 maternal uncle-H watch buy (take-PST-3SG.H and give-PST-3SG.H)
 ‘Maternal uncle bought watch and gave (to someone).’

In the given examples, [47 a] is a well formed sentence because two compound verbs are coordinated in this sentence and it is acceptable in Bajjika. But in [47 b] two host verbs are coordinated with a light verb and in [47 c], a host verb is coordinated with two light verbs and these types of sentences are not acceptable in Bajjika. Therefore, [47 b] and [47 c] are ill formed sentences.

D. Permissive complex predicates

a. Introduction

In fact permission, like causation, is a semantic notion. However, they are not similar in their location of construction in the sense that permission takes place in syntax, but causation takes place in lexicon. Moreover, they also vary in terms of readiness of the base/internal agent. “In the permissive, the agent seems to be ready and looks for permission from some other source. But in causation, readiness of base agent is considered neutral and some sort of force or persuasion is needed on its parts” (Lohani: 1999). Thus, the permission and causation differ from each other on the basis of control or force of the external agent.

In Bajjika, the permissive construction is formed by the verb *de* ‘let’ as the light verb showing permission when used with other host verbs. The predicate in permissive constructions is treated as complex predicate because the host verb and the light verb *de* ‘let’ form a single constituent at

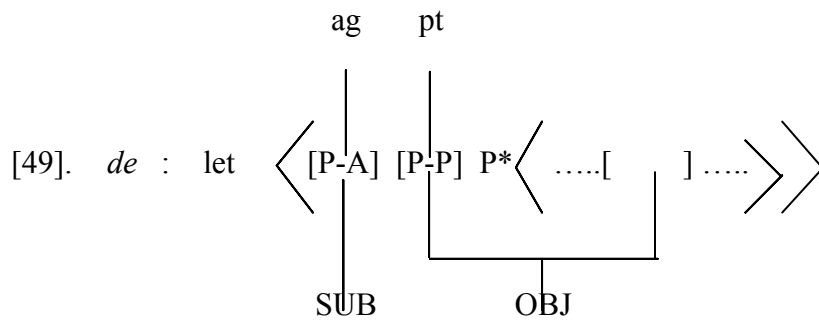
the phrase structure and behave like a simple predicate. In addition, in this construction the verb *de* ‘let’ does not bear its lexical meaning but acts as the permissive vector as a light verb and the verb that precedes this light verb is infinitival. In the permissive, the permitter has the power to prevent the action from being effective. For this purpose when a simple predicate is changed into permissive predicate, an argument is added that functions as an agentive subject giving permission to perform the action. Thus, the newly introduced argument becomes an external argument and the prototypical or former subject of the embedded predicate becomes an internal argument as a patient/theme. It is shown below as follows:

[48].

- a. həm filim dekhe jə- bəi (non-permissive sentence)
 i film watch go-3SG.FUT
 ‘I shall go to watch film/movie.’
- b. babu-ji həm-ra filim dekhe ja- e de-thin (permissive sentence)
 father-H I- DAT film watch go-INF let-3SG.FUT.H
 ‘Father will let me go to watch film/movie.’

b. Argument structure and syntactic function

As the theory says, the permissive predicate, in Bajjika, *de* ‘let’ has specific argument structure (a-structure). The external argument of the complex structure of permissive construction maps onto subject function whereas the internal argument maps onto the function of object. The object of permissive predicate plays two roles: one as the patient of permissive predicate and the other as the agent of embedded predicate. The schematic representation of a-structure of permissive predicate is shown below in [49]. Here P* shows the specified a-structure of base constructions.



The empty slot is filled by the a-structure of base construction. Some examples of non-permissive sentences are shown first in [50].

[50].

- a. cor bhag ge- l- əi
thief flee go-PST-3SG.NH
'The thief fled/ran away.'
- b. gai bəiTh ge- l- əi
cow sit go-PST-3SG.NH
'The cow sat down.'
- c. bhəiya tibi kin- thin
elder brother TV buy-3SG.FUT.H
'Elder brother will buy TV.'
- d. həm mas kha-ichi
i meat eat-1SG.PRES
'I eat meat.'
- e. bəkri dhan cəɾ ge- l- əi
goat paddy graze go-PST-3SG.NH
'Goat grazed paddy.'
- f. həməɾ bhətija skul ja- it hə-e
my nephew school go- PROG BE-3SG.PRES..NH
'My nephew is going to school.'
- g. həm-ni səb kəbhikəbhi tas khel-əichi
i-PL all sometimes card play-1PL.PRES
'We sometimes play card.'

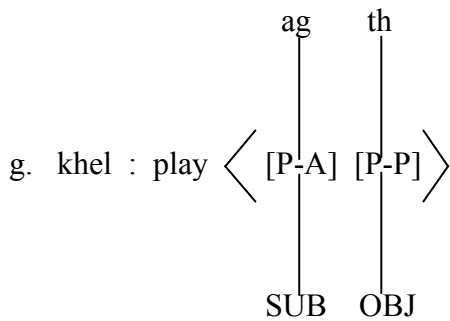
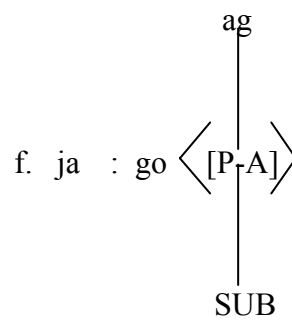
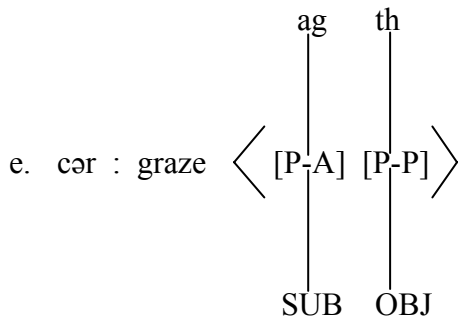
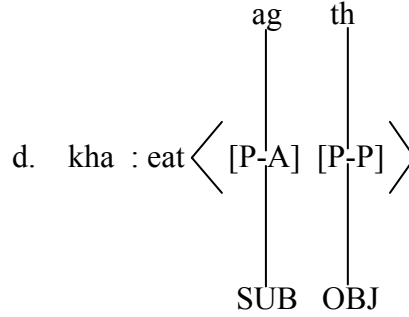
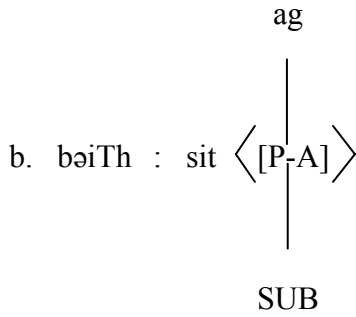
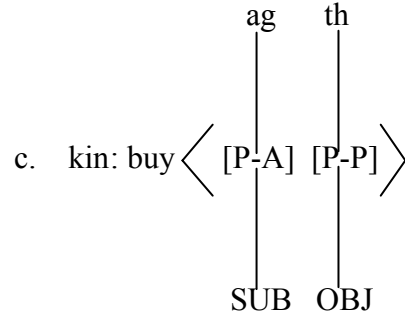
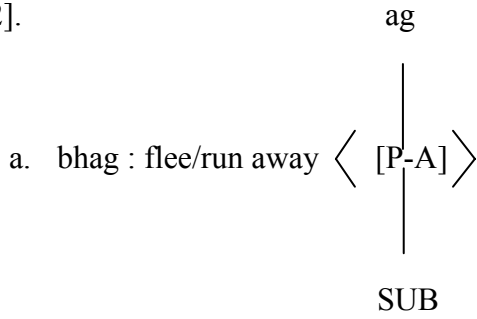
In Bajjika a non permissive sentence is changed into permissive one by the addition of the permissive marker *'-de'* to the infinitive stem. Additionally, the verb of the non-permissive sentence is changed into infinitive and placed before the permissive marker *'-de'* to be a permissive sentence. Further more, the base agent of the non-permissive construction is demoted into patient/theme. For example, the permissive constructions of the above mentioned non-permissive ones are given below in [51].

[51].

- a. *dusmən* *cor- ke* *bhag-e* *de- l- əi*
enemy thief-ACC flee-INF let-PST-3SG.NH
‘Enemy let the thief flee/run away.’
- b. *girhəs* *gai-ke* *bəiTh-e* *de- l- əi*
farmer cow- ACC sit-INF let-PST-3SG.NH
‘A farmer let the cow sit.’
- c. *babu- ji* *bhəiya-* *ke* *tibi* *kin-e* *de-thin*
father-H elder brother- ACC TV buy-INF let-3SG.FUT.H
‘Father will let elder brother buy TV.’
- d. *mai* *həm-ra* *mas* *kha-e* *de-i* *chə-thin*
mother I- ACC meat eat-INF let-PERMS BE-3SG.PRES.H
‘Mother lets me eat meat.’
- e. *bəkərbaha* *bəkri-ke* *dhan* *cər- e* *de- l- əi*
caretaker of goat goat- ACC paddy graze- INF go-PST-3SG.NH
‘The caretaker of goat let the goat graze paddy.’
- f. *bhabhi* *həmər* *bhətija-* *ke* *skul* *ja-e*
sister-in-law my nephew-ACC school go-INF
de-i *chə-thin*
let- PERMS *BE-3SG.PRES.H*
‘Sister-in-law lets my nephew go to school.’
- g. *babu- ji* *həm-ni* *səb-ke* *kəbhikəbhi* *tas* *khel-e*
father-H i- PL all- ACC sometimes card play-INF
de- i *chə-thin*
let- PERMS *BE-3SG.PRES.H*
‘Father lets we all play card sometimes.’

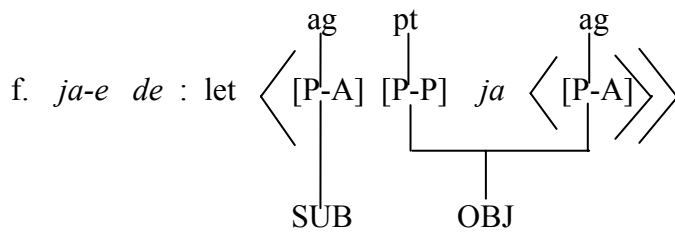
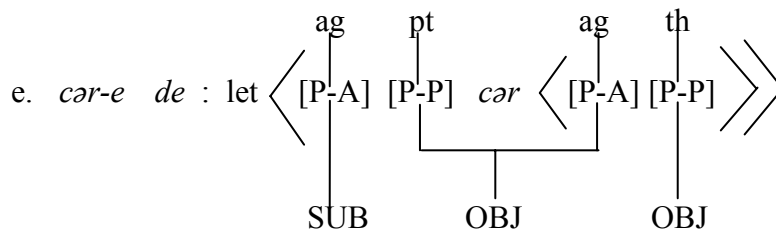
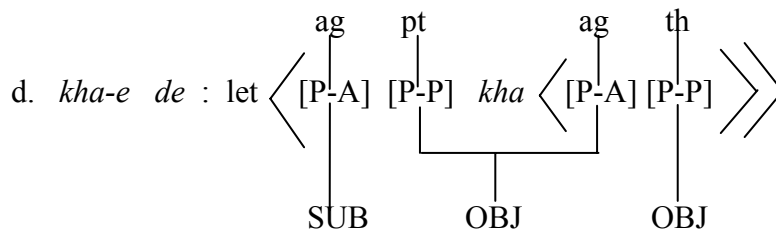
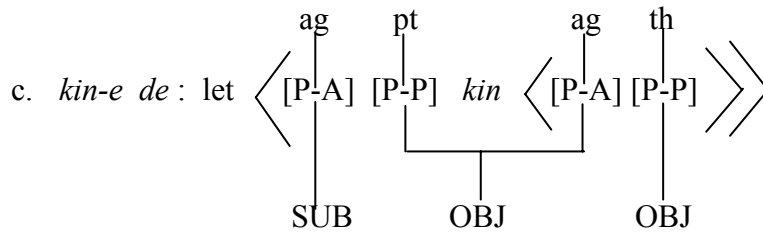
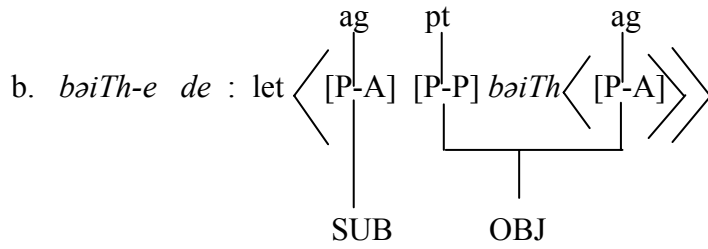
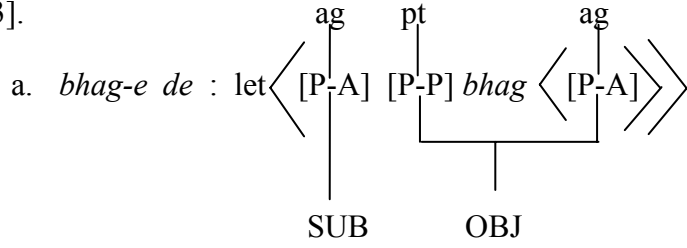
The a-structures of the constructions of [51 a-g] are presented below in [52].

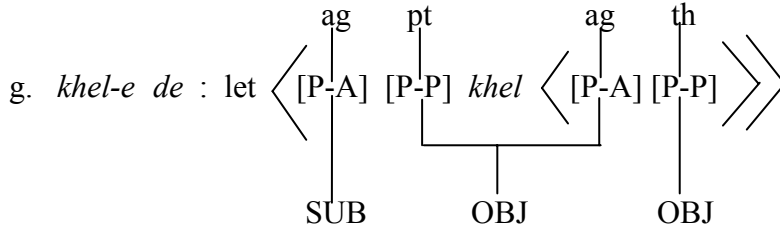
[52].



Similarly, the a-structures of constructions of [52 a-g] are presented in [53] below.

[53].





c. Conclusion

Permissive complex predicates in Bajjika as shown in the examples in [51] are composed by the concatenation of an infinitive stem as a host and *de* ‘give’ as a light verb. The infinitive stem in a permissive complex predicate in Bajjika is always a verbal infinitive which is unified with the light verb *de* behaving as a single element. Additionally, a permissive complex predicate agrees with external subject in a sentence. That is to say that permissive complex predicate construction in Bajjika is with respect to agreement.

E. Non-verbal complex predicates

Unlike verbal complex predicate, non-verbal complex predicate consists of a non-verbal element as a host which is joined together with a light verb in a sentence in Bajjika. The verb with which non-verbal elements are combined to form a CP is known as conjunct verb. Similarly, the non-verbal elements that appear with a light verb in complex predicate constructions in Bajjika are noun, adjective and adverb. Accordingly, Bajjika language depicts three types of non-verbal complex predicates viz nominal (N+V), adjectival (Adj+V) and adverbial (Adv+V). They are discussed in the following three sub-sections respectively.

a. Nominal complex predicates

I. Nominal CPs formation

When an element of nominal category is used as host with a light verb in a sentence, this type of construction is known as nominal complex predicate. The nominal complex predicate appears in the form of N+V where the verb is bleached semantically in the sense that the verb does not give its lexical meaning in this construction. Thus, the predicate is complex. Moreover the predicate is complex because it affects the case marking and valency as well. For example,

[54].

- a. daktər-sahəbhəm-ra ek- go dəbai de- l- ən
doctor-H i-DAT one-CLF medicine give-PST-3SG.H
'The doctor gave me a medicine.'
- b. pəndi(t)-ji həm-ra asirbad de- l- ən
priest- H i-DAT bless give-PST-3SG.H
'The priest blessed me.'

In the examples above mentioned, [54 a] consists of a simple predicate because the verb *de* 'give' presents its lexical meaning with its required arguments i.e. three arguments <agent, benefactive, theme>. But [54 b] consists of a complex predicate since the predicate in it is semantically bleached and does not give its lexical meaning rather the meaning of the sentence is jointly determined by the noun *asirbad* 'bless' and the light verb *de* 'give'.

In Bajjika, there are many other verbs that are used as light verb with noun in order to form nominal complex predicates. They are *de* 'give', *le* 'take', *kər* 'do', *kha* 'eat', *a* 'come', *ja* 'go', *bəiTh* 'sit', *lag* 'be attached to'.

II. Individual treatment of light verbs in nominal CP

These light verbs are individually treated in the following parts. Symbols within the angular brackets represent the thematic roles of the arguments involved in the sentences.

➤ The light verb *de* 'give'

The verb *de* 'give', as a full predicate, requires three arguments as its valency assigning the roles of agent, benefactive/recipient and theme because it is a triadic verb. It is shown in [55].

- [55]. bəuwa həm-ra ek- go cəklet de- l- ək
child i- DAT one-CLF chocolate give-PST-3SG
'The child gave me a chocolate.'

But its a-structure varies in various ways when it is used as a light verb with various nouns.

i. CP <agent, recipient, theme>

- [56]. ram ok-ra u-əpən sadi-ke neota de- l- əi
ram he-DAT his-GEN marriage-POSS invitation give-PST-3SG
'Ram invited him on his marriage.' [lit. Ram gave him invitation on his marriage.]

[57]. pətrəkar bagməti nədi-me du-go ləika Dubəl
 journalist bagmati river-LOC two-CLF child submersion
 jankari de- le hə-e
 information give-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH

‘Journalist has informed that two children drowned/submerged in the Bagmati river.’

[58]. sər- ji shiksha- ke pəribhasha di- hən
 teacher-H education-POSS definition give-3SG.FUT.H

‘The teacher will define education.’ [lit. The teacher will give the definition of education.]

ii. CP < agent, recipient, Xcomp >

[59]. mənøj dines-ke bol- e ke ənuməti de- l- əi
 manoj dines-ACC speak-INF to permission give-PST-3SG.NH

‘Manoj permitted Dinesh to speak.’ [lit. Manoj gave permission to Dinesh to speak.]

[60]. sadhu u cor- ke anhər ho- e ke sərəp de- l- əi
 hermit that thief- ACC blind be-INF to curse give-PST-3SG.NH

‘The hermit cursed that thief to be blind.’ [lit. The hermit gave curse to that thief to be blind.’]

[61]. mira mina-ke skul təp ho-e ke cunəuti de- le
 mira mina-ACC school top be-INF to challenge give-PRF
 hə- e
 BE-3SG.PRES.NH

‘Mira has challenged Mina to be school top.’ [lit. Mira has given challenge to Mina to be school top.’]

iii. CP < agent, theme, (genitive) >

[62]. həm ədhikrit-ke pəriksha de- le ch- i
 i officer-POSS exam give-PRF BE-1SG.PRES

‘I have taken the exam of officer.’ [lit. I have given the exam of officer.]

iv. CP < agent, benefactive, theme, genitive >

[63]. səhid- sə(b) des- ke- lel pran de- le hə-e
 martyr-PL country-POSS-BEN life give-PRF BE-3PL

‘Martyrs have sacrificed their lives(immolated) for the country.’ [lit. Martyrs have given their lives for the country.]

v. CP < agent, theme, locative>

[64]. mai puja-me dhyan de- le chə-thin
 mother worship-LOC concentration give-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.H

‘Mother has concentrated on worship.’

vi. CP < agent, source >

[65]. səchib-saheb pəd-se rajnama de- thin
 secretary-H post-INST resignation give-3SG.FUT.H

‘The secretary will resign from the post.’

vii. CP < agent, recipient, reason >

[66]. həm əpne-ke jənəmdin-ke upləksh-me subhkamna de- be ke
 I you-POSS birthday-POSS occasion-LOC congratulation give-INF to
 cah- əi ch- i
 want-INF BE-1SG.PRES

‘I want to congratulate you on the occasion of your birthday.’

➤ **The light verb *le* ‘take’**

Like the light verb *de* ‘give’, the light verb *le* ‘take’, as a full verb, also takes three arguments one agnt, one source and one theme/patient as its valency. It is illustrated in [68].

[67]. gopal həri-se pəisa le- l- əi
 gopal hari-INST money take-PST-3SG.NH

‘Gopal took money from Hari.’

But as a light verb it constructs the following types of nominal complex predicates.

i. CP < agent, theme >

[68]. caca- ji ek- go ənath bəca-ke god le- it
 uncle-H one-CLF orphan child-ACC lap take-PROG
 chə-thin
 BE-3SG.PRES.H

‘Uncle is going to adopt an orphan child. [lit. Uncle is taking an orphan child as adoption.]

ii. CP < agent, source >

- [69]. u bidarthi hedsər-se chuTi le- l- əi
that student head sir-INST leave take-PST-3SG.NH
'That student took leave from head sir.'

iii. CP < agent, patient, (genitive) >

- [70]. minu gita-ke kitab le- le rəh- l- ək
minu gita-POSS book take-PRF remain-PST-3SG.NH
'Minu had taken Gita's book.'

iv. CP < agent, Xcomp >

- [71]. binita hisab bəna-be ke jima le- t- əi
binita math make-INF to responsibility take-FUT-3SG.NH
'Binita will take the responsibility to do math.' [lit. Binita will take responsibility to make math.]

➤ **The light verb *Kər* 'do'**

As Lohani (1999) said, it is problematic to determine the number of arguments for the verb *kər* 'do' because this verb is generally used with other word to be a complete predicate. This verb has only one fixed argument (i.e. agent) and other arguments are determined by other words it is associated with in a sentence. The verb *kər* 'do' is called verbalizer since it verbalizes the words with which it is used. Since *kər* itself is in the process of grammaticalization, it is not necessary to assume *kər* as an independent transitive verb (Lohani, 1999:80).

i. CP < agent >

- [72]. u jəni kəye kə(r)-l- əi
that woman vomit do-PST-3SG.NH
'That woman vomited.'

ii. CP < agent, recipient >

- [73]. səb mai u-əpən beta-ke bərai kər-ələi
all mother she-GEN son-ACC praise do-3SG/PL.PRES.H
'All/every mother praises her son.' [lit. All/every mother does praise of her son.]

iii. CP < agent, committant >

- [74]. həm rakes- se dosti kər-əm
i rakesh-COMT friendship do-1SG.PRES
'I make friendship with Rakesh.' [lit. I do friendship with Rakesh.]

iv. CP < agent, patient, Xcomp >

[75]. cəkudar daku-ke picha kər-e ke himət kər-le
 guard robber-ACC follow do-INF to dare do-PRF
 rəh- əi
 remain- 3SG.PST.NH

‘The guard had dared to follow the robber.’

v. CP < agent, Xcomp >

[76]. səb admi- ke niyəm palən kər-e ke cah - i
 all people-DAT rule obey do-INF to want-3PL

‘All people should obey the rule.’

vi. CP < agent, patient >

[77]. bijəy mehman-ke bejət kə(r)- l- əi
 bijay guest- ACC insult do-PST-3SG.NH

‘Bijay insulted the guest.’

vii. CP < agent, patient, locative >

[78]. umes rakes-ke bic bəjar- me bejət kə(r)- l- əi
 umes rakes-ACC middle market-LOC insult do- PST-3SG.NH

‘Umesh insulted Rakesh in the middle of the market.’

viii. CP < agent, patient, locative >

[79]. luterə-sə(b) bəjar- me jhəgra kə(r)- l- əi
 looter-PL market-LOC quarrel do- PST-3PL.NH

‘Looters quarreled in the market.’ [lit. Looters did/made quarrel in the market.]

➤ **The light verb *kha* ‘eat’**

As a simple predicate, *kha* ‘eat’ is a diadic verb since it requires two arguments; one agent and the other patient in a sentence as [80].

[80]. həm am kha le- l- i
 i mango eat take-PST-1SG
 ‘I ate mango.’

But when it appears as a light verb in a complex predicate, it affects the a-structure in various ways. It is shown below with various examples.

i. CP < agent >

- [81]. u cor kiriya khə- l- əi
that thief oath eat-PST-3SG.NH
'That thief swore/took oath.' [lit. That thief ate oath.]

ii. CP < patient >

- [82]. raju pitai kha-it rəh- əi
raju beaten eat-PROG remain-3SG.PST.NH
'Raju was getting beaten.' [lit. Raju was eating beating.]

iii. CP < recipient/patient, source >

- [83]. u chəora həm-ra-se pitai khə- t- əi
that boy i- DAT-INST beating eat-FUT-3SG.NH
'That boy will get beaten from me.'

iv. CP < agent, (genitive), Xcomp >

- [84]. həm babu-ke səpna pura kər-e ke kəsəm khə-ele
i father-POSS dream fulfill do-INF to promise eat-PRF
ch- i
BE-1SG.PRES
'I have promised to fulfill father's dream.'

v. CP < agent, Xcomp >

- [85]. rita aju dinbhər nə bol-e ke kəsəm khə-ele
rita today wholeday no speak-INF to promise eat-PRF
hə - i
BE-3SG.PRES.NH
'Rita has promised not to speak the whole day today.'

vi. CP < agent, committant, Xcomp >

- [86]. rupes həmra-se nə bol-e ke kəsəm khə-ele
rupes i-COMT no speak-INF to promise eat-PRF
hə - i
BE-3SG.PRES.NH
'Rupesh has promised not to speak with me.'

➤ **The light verb *a* ‘come’**

According to Lohani (1999), *a* ‘come’ is an unaccusative verb. It takes an animate theme as an argument. It, as a light verb in nominal CP, appears in the following ways.

i. CP < theme >

- [87]. həm-ra to- hər yad ə- t- əi
 i- DAT you-POSS memory come-FUT-3SG
 ‘I shall remember you.’ [lit. Your memory/remembrance will come to me.]

ii. CP < Xcomp >

- [88]. ok-ra gunDi bəna-be ə- l- əi ?
 he-DAT kite make-INF come-PST-3SG ?
 ‘Did s/he know to make a kite?’

iii. CP < patient (locative), theme >

- [89]. utrakhənd-me dahər a- el hə- i
 utrakhand-LOC flood come-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘Flood has reached/entered in Utrakhand.’

➤ **The light verb *ja* ‘go’**

Normally, the verb *ja* ‘go’ requires two arguments; one agent and the other goal as in [90].

- [90]. jija- ji saudi ge- l chə-thin
 brother-in-law-H saudi go-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.H
 ‘Brother –in-law has gone to Saudi.’

But, as a light verb in nominal CP, it appears in the following ways.

i. CP < patient (locative), theme >

- [91]. utrakhənd-me dahər ge- l hə- i
 utrakhand-LOC flood come-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.MH
 ‘Flood has reached/entered in Utrakhand.’ [lit. Flood has gone in Utrakhand.]

ii. CP < agent >

- [92]. chəuri bhag ge- l- əi
 girl elopement go-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The girl eloped/ran away.’

iii. CP < agent, commitant >

- [93]. chəuri ram-jəure bhag ge- l- əi
 girl ram-COMT elopement go-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The girl eloped/ran away with Ram.’

➤ **The light verb *bəiTh* ‘sit’**

Normally, the verb *bəiTh* ‘sit’ takes two arguments; one as agent and the other as locative [94].

- [94]. *cirəi* *gachi-pər* *bəiTh* *ge- l- əi*
 bird tree-LOC sit go-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The bird sat on the tree.’

But, when this verb is used as a light verb in nominal CP, it appears in the following ways.

i. CP < patient >

- [95]. *kəlhu-* *ki/e* *rat* *bəitri* *bəiTh* *ge- l- əi*
 yesterday-POSS night battery sit go-PST-3SG
 ‘The battery stopped working yesterday’s night.’

ii. CP < agent, locative >

- [96]. *kərəmcari-sə(b)* *hərtal-me* *bəiTh-əl* *hə- i*
 personnel-PL strike-LOC sit- PRF BE-3PL.PRES.NH
 ‘Personnels have striked.’ [lit. Personnels have sat in strike.]

iii. CP < agent, theme (locative) >

- [97]. *həm* *kəmpyutər-pər* *bəiTh-əl* *ch- i*
 i computer-LOC sit- PRF BE-1SG.PRES
 ‘I am working on computer.’ [lit. I have sit on/over a computer.]

➤ **The light verb *lag* ‘be attached to’**

The verb *lag* in Bajjika refers to the meaning of something being attached to/on something. In this sense, this verb takes two arguments; one serving the role of theme and the other of locative [98].

- [98]. *debal-pər* *kado* *lag-* *əl* *hə- i*
 wall-LOC mud be attached-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘There is mud on the wall.’

But, in the form of a light verb in a nominal CP, this verb gives various contributions in the following ways.

i. CP < experiencer >

- [99]. *bəkri-ke* *cot* *lag-* *əl* *hə- i*
 goat-DAT hurt be attached- PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘The goat is hurt.’

[100]. bhabhi- ke nin(d) lag- əl rəh- l- əi
 sister-in-law-DAT sleepy be attached- PRF remain-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Sister-in-law was sleepy.’

ii. CP < dative, Xcomp >

[101]. həu burhiya- ke iŋlis git sune-ke səukh lag- əl
 that old lady-DAT English song listen-INF hobby be attached-PRF
 hə- i
 BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘That old lady is fond of listening English song.’

[102]. ok-ra daru pi- eke adət lag- el hə- i
 he-DAT wine drink-INF habit be attached-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘Habit of drinking wine has befallen to him.’ (He is in the habit of drinking wine.)

iii. CP < experiencer, reason >

[103]. bəuwa-ke kəriya kuta dekh-ke Dər lag- el- əi
 child-DAT black dog see-reason fear be attached-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The child was frightened due to a black dog.’

iv. CP < agent >

[104]. bidarthei gor lag- l- əi
 student foot be attached-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The student greeted.’

v. CP < agent, accusative >

[105]. bidarthei sər-ke gor lag- l- əi
 student sir-ACCfoot be attached- PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Student greeted the teacher.’

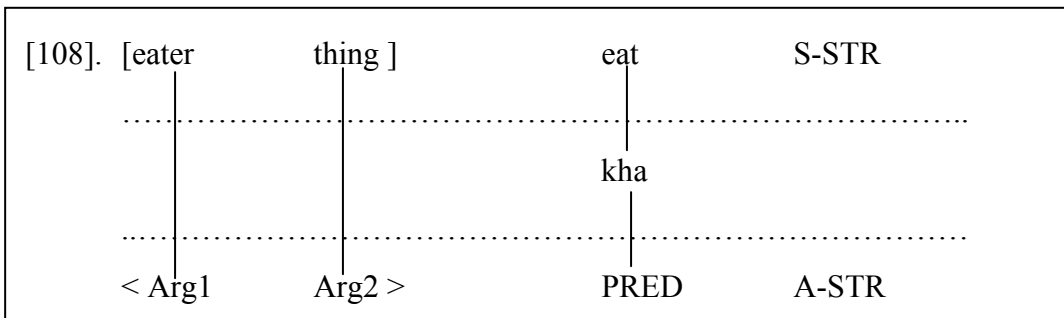
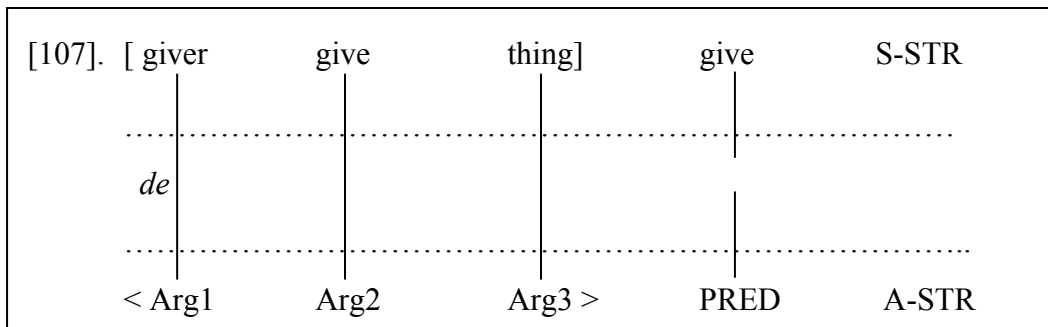
[106]. həm bhəgbān-ji-ke gor lag- (le)- li
 i god- H- ACC foot be attached-(take)-1SG.PST
 ‘I worshipped god.’

III. Predicate composition

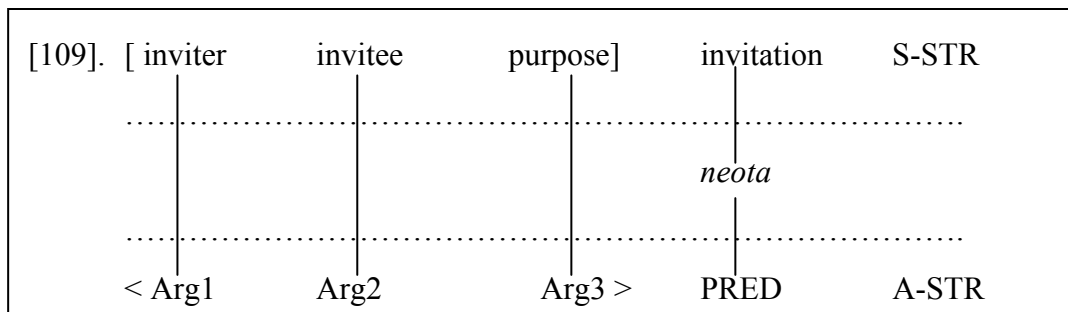
The nominal complex predicate formation is a bit more complex than that of verbal complex predicate. Both the predicates involved here in nominal CP do not provide clearly specified a-structures in the sense that nominal host is not independent and it has to depend upon the light verb it is used with. ‘The nominals are not free predicates and the light verbs contribute

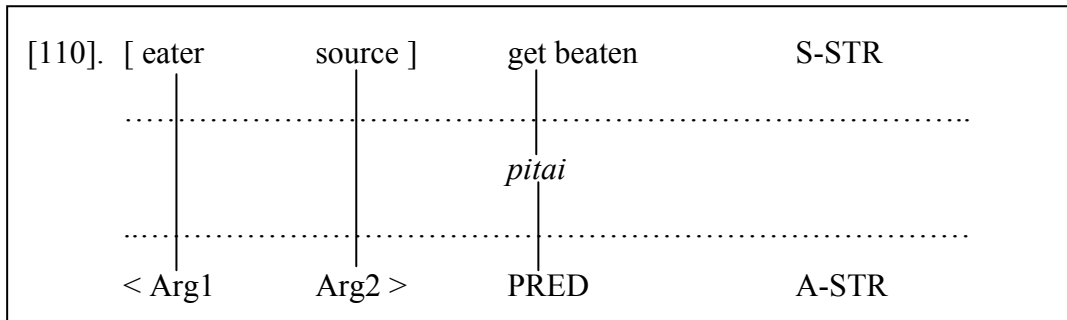
varyingly while combining with different nominals” (Lohani, 1999: 95). So the arguments are determined by assuming meaning on the basis of valence determination (Mohanani, 1997:442, Yadav, 2010:65). “The nominal CP construction involves combination of two s-structure information. The nominal complex predicates are composed in s-structure combining two s-predicate values to project one a-PRED (Lohani, 1999: 95).” In a nominal CP, light verbs form CP with a host verb. Thus, they are represented in s-structure.

The example of *de* ‘give’ and *kha* ‘eat’ as light verbs is illustrated below.

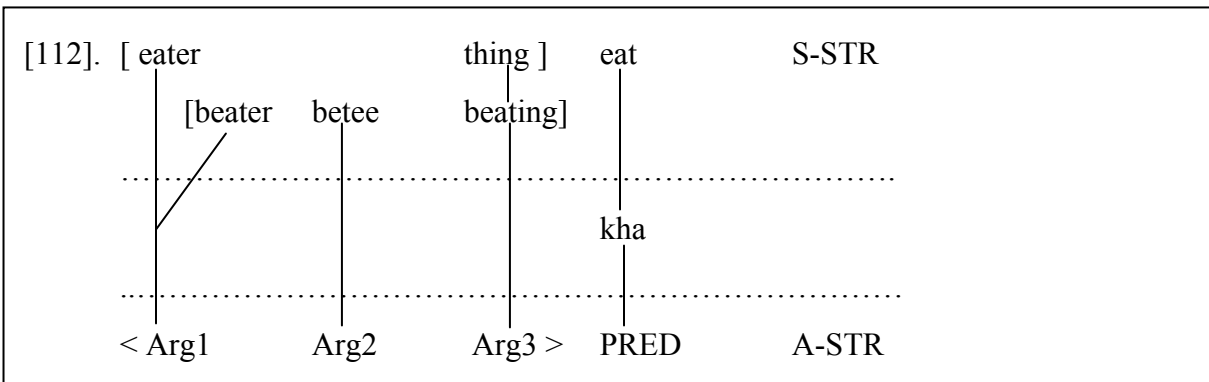
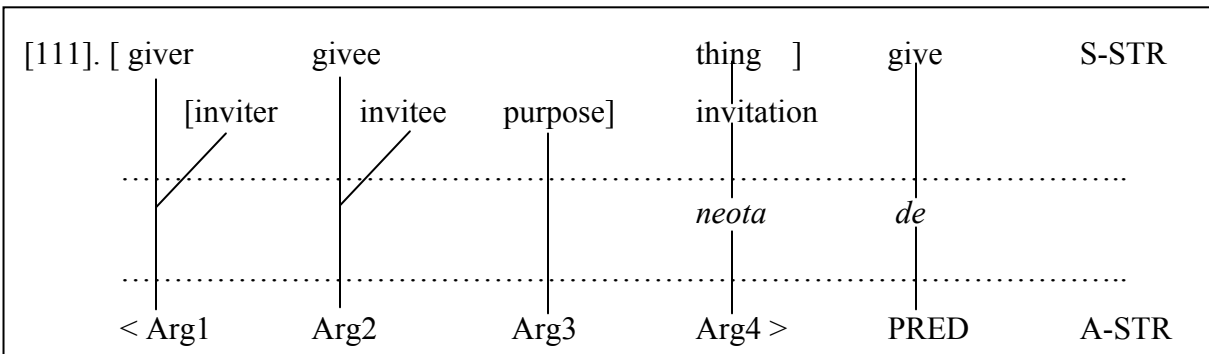


When they are appeared as light verbs in order to construct nominal CP, their a-structure and s-structure are as follows (see [57] and [84]):





When we compose [107] and [109], we get [111] in one hand whereas when we compose [108] and [110], we get [112] on the other hand.



In nominal CP, like causative and permissive CPs, no two subjects of two different predicates appear in the a-structure rather one of the two predicates gets the status of argument in the a-structure. Both s-PREDS i.e. nominal host and light verb jointly contribute to give a single a-PRED which is a mono-clausal structure.

IV. Constituent structure (C-structure) of complex predicate

C-structure of complex predicate shows its categorial status. In a nominal CP, a nominal host is concatenated with a light verb. Hence, they do not form a categorial word obeying lexical

integrity hypothesis, which says that a nominal host in a CP can not be a lexical unit. Findings show that the nominal CP in Bajjika is not a categorial word.

V. The nominal host as a part of complex predicate: scrambling

In a nominal CP in Bajjika, the nominal host is not the direct daughter of S, but a daughter node of V. Thus, in a sentence the nominal host can not be scrambled from the light verb in Bajjika [113].

- i. u həmra samne **gari deləi**
- ii. **gari deləi** u həmra samne
- iii. həmra samne u **gari deləi**
- iv. ***gari** u həmra samne **deləi**
- v. ***deləi** u həmra samne **gari**

The above examples show that the sentences in [113 i-iii] are grammatically correct because elements in the nominal CP in these sentences are not scrambled. But, on the other hand, those in [113 iv-v] are grammatically ill formed, hence are not acceptable, since the nominal hosts of the CPs in these sentences are scrambled from the light verbs.

VI. The CP as a phrasal category: topicalization

Though scrambling of constituent of CP makes sentences ungrammatical, topicalization is found in Bajjika as in [114].

[114].

- i. **deləi** u həmra samne **gari**
- ii. **khələi** u həmra samne **kiriya**
- iii. **kələi** u ramke **mədət**

In IA languages, displacement of object to the leftward (topic) position is 'a kind of deemphasis', 'involving concomitant (emphasis) of another constituent' (Masica, 1991:394, Lohani, 1999: 97).

Though in a CP, a nominal host can't be scrambled away from its light verb, the light verb can be topicalized. A topic appears clause initially. Thus, the light verb of a nominal CP through topicalization occurs clause initially. However, all light verbs may not appear clause initially.

VII. Nominal host as a phrasal category

Nominal host can undergo some sort of displacement to emphasize some argument. This itself proves that the nominal host does not belong to lexical category. The evidences that prove this fact are adjectival modification, conjoining, gapping and relativization. They are discussed below:

❖ Adjectival modification

The nominal host in a CP construction can be modified by an adjective as given below.

[115]. caca-ji ok-ra bən^hiya raye de- l- thin
uncle-H he-DAT nice advice give-PST-3SG.H

‘Uncle advised him nicely.’ [lit. Uncle gave him nice advice.]

[116]. malik u-əpən nokər-ke ek jhapər de- l- əi
owner he-GEN servant-ACC one slap give-PST-3SG.NH

‘Owner slapped his servant once.’ [lit. Owner gave his servant one slap.]

❖ Conjoining

The two nominal elements of two different CPs can be conjoined with a single light verb.

[117]. həm-ra bhukh a piyas lag- əl rəh- e
i- DAT hunger and thirst feel-PRF remain-1SG.PST

‘I was feeling both hunger and thirst.’

[118]. toh- ra badme thəkai a əũghi ləg- t- əu
you-DAT later tiredness and slumber be attached-FUT-3SG

‘You will feel tiredness and slumber later.’

In the examples given, two nominal hosts ‘**bhukh**’ and ‘**piyas**’ in [117] and ‘**thəkai**’ and ‘**əũghi**’ in [118] are conjoined with a single light verb.

❖ Gapping

Obeying gapping strategy, the syntactic predicate of a clause, an argument of predicate or the head of an argument can be gapped (Mohanani, 1994:220, Yadav, 2010: 69). In other words, the sharing argument of two different CPs is mentioned only once when they are joined in a single sentence by two light verbs and a gap of the nominal as a trace remains there in. For example,

[119]. həm-ra səman kin- e a- bəle
 i- DAT thing buy-INF come-1SG.PRES
 ‘I know how to buy things.’

[120]. həm-ra səman bec-e a- bəle
 i- DAT thing sell-INF come-1SG.PRES
 ‘I know how to sell things.’

When we combine these two sentences together, the resultant sentence becomes like [121]:

[121]. həm-ra səman kin- e a bec-e a- bəle
 i-DAT thing buy-INF and sell-INF come-1SG.PRES
 ‘I know how to buy and sell things.’

In [121], the trace or empty slot means the same argument i.e. *səman* ‘thing’ by the both light verbs *kin* and *sell*.

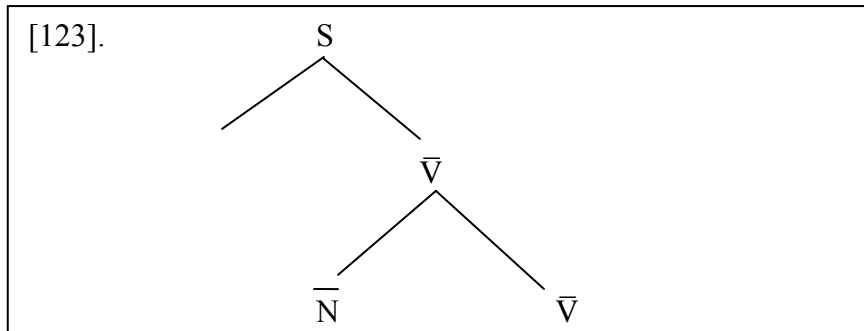
❖ **Relativization**

The nominal host in a CP construction can also be relativized[122].

[122]. jəon ghəri tu ram-ke kin de- l- hi uhe *i*
 which-REL_i watch you Ram-ACC buy give-PST-2SG.NH that
 həm kin- l- i
 i buy-PST-1SG

‘I bought the same watch that you bought for Ram.’

It is found that a nominal host is relativized. Thus, it is not a lexical category, but a maximal projection. Besides relativization, other evidences like adjectival modification, conjoining and gapping showed that the light verb is a maximal projection and nominal host is also a maximal projection. Therefore, the CP is a phrasal category. The category structure of nominal CP can be represented as [123].



VIII. Nominal host as an argument

As in Maithili and Nepali, the nominal host can be an argument because in spite of being a phrasal category V, the nominal element can be the subject of passive structure. According to the rule of passivization, only an argument can be the subject of passive construction. Hence the nominal host is an argument and hence a lexical category. For example,

[124].

- i. ram kəske mehnət kə-ele hə- e [active]
ram hard labour do-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
“Ram has labored hard.”
- ii. (ram-se) kəske mehnət kə-el ge- l hə- e [passive]
ram-INST hard labour do-PRF go-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
“Labor has been done hard (by Ram).”

[125].

- i. babu- ji gai dan de- le / kə-ele ch-ət [active]
father-H cow donation give-PRF/do-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.H
“Father has donated (someone) a cow.”
- ii. (babu- ji- se) gai dan de- həl/ kə- el (ge-l)
(father-H-INST) cow donation give-PRF/do-PRF go-PRF
hə- e [passive]
BE-3SG.PRES.H
“Donation of cow has been done by my father.”

In the examples above, the nominal hosts *mehnət* ‘labor’ in [124 ii] and *dan* ‘donation’ in [125 ii] occupy the position of subject in passive sentences, hence, are arguments.

IX. Conclusion

As the above discussion showed, in a nominal CP construction two predicative elements have their own thematic role information at s-structure. But due to the composition of these two informations, a single a-structure is projected. Thus, one unit of a-structure may correspond with more than one semantic value at s-structure. Similarly, at c-structure two phrase structure nodes contribute their value for a single function. That is to say that the elements of a nominal CP belong to two different categorial status at a-structure but they refer to a single unit at f-structure.

That is why, the CP here is not a categorial word, but a functional word since two categorial words correspond to a single functional word. Hence, the category status of the host and the light verb in a nominal CP is phrasal category typologically.

b. Adjectival complex predicates

I. Adjectival CPs formation

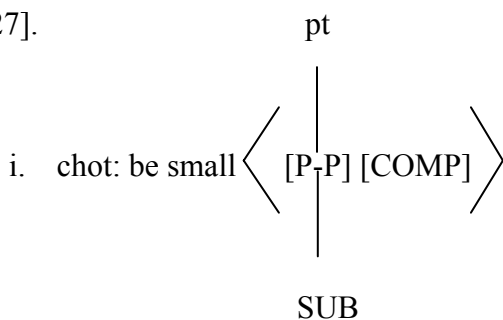
In Bajjika, adjectival complex predicate is the result of the concatenation of an adjective host and a light verb. So its construction appears in the form of ADJ+V. In this CP the verbal element can fully or partially be bleached of its semantic content. It is illustrated in [126].

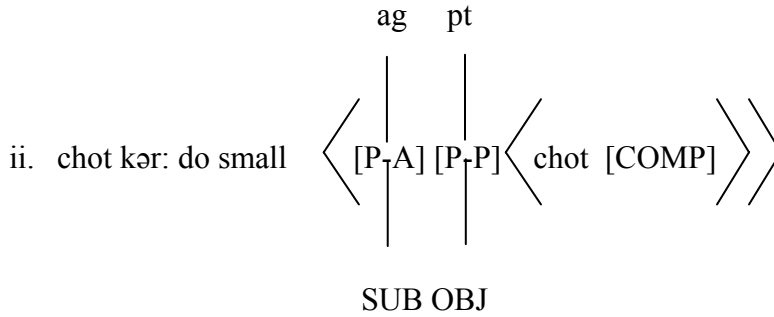
[126].

- i. okər pǽt chot hə- i
 his paint small BE-3SG.PRES.NH
 ‘His paint is small.’
- ii. dərji okər pǽt chot kə- l- əi
 tailor man his paint small do-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘The tailor man made his paint small.’

In the examples above given, there is only one argument in [126 i] but two arguments in [126 ii] because the adjective as a host is combined with the light verb *ho* ‘be/become’. It clarifies that when an adjectival host is combined with a light verb, an extra argument as an agent is added as the external argument. This external argument is mapped onto subject function by FMT of LFG and the former subject occupies the position of direct object. So the argument structure gets affected. It can be shown in figure as follows in [127]:

[127].





In Bajjika, the light verbs that form CP with adjectives is *kər* ‘do’, *lag* ‘be attached to/adhere’, *ho* ‘be/become’ and *bəna* ‘make’. These light verbs are treated individually below.

- ***kər* ‘do’**

[128].

- i. lodseting ghər- ke ən^har kə- l- əi [complx predicate]
 load shedding house-ACC dark do-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Load shedding/outage darkened the house.’
- ii. mohən ram-ke əlge kə- l- əi
 mohan ram-ACC separate do-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘Mohan made Ram separate/Mohan separated Ram.’

Some other adjectival hosts that form adjectival CP in combination with the light verb *kər* ‘do’ are as follows:

[129].

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>bənd kər</i> ‘to close’ | <i>nimən/acha/bən^hiya kər</i> ‘to do nice’ |
| <i>calu kər</i> ‘to start’ | <i>khərap kər</i> ‘to make bad’ |
| <i>dhənik kər</i> ‘to enrich’ | <i>jəore kər</i> ‘to do together’ |
| <i>gərib kər</i> ‘to make poor’ | <i>mot kər</i> ‘to make fat’ |
| <i>ijot kər</i> ‘to enlight’ | <i>patər kər</i> ‘to make thin’ |
| <i>chot kər</i> ‘to shorten’ | <i>dubər kər</i> ‘to make weak’ |
| <i>ləmhər kər</i> ‘to enlarge’ | <i>bəriyar kər</i> ‘to make strong’ |

- ***lag* ‘be attached to/adhere’**

[130].

- i. u bhat bəsiya lag- əl
 that rice stale adhere-PST.1SG
 ‘I found the rice stale.’

ii. ok-ra lərki-se bat kər-ela dikət lag- l- əi
 he-DAT girl-INST saying do-INF difficulty adhere-PST-3SG.NH
 ‘He felt odd/difficulty to talk to a girl.’

iii. toh-ra i filim kehən lag- l- əu
 you-DAT this film how adhere-PST-2SG.NH
 ‘How did you find this film?’

Some other adjectival hosts that form adjectival CP in combination with the light verb *lag* ‘be attached to/adhere’ are as follows:

[131].

<i>gərəm ləg</i>	‘feel hot’	<i>gərib lag</i>	‘to find poor’
<i>ThənDha ləg</i>	‘feel cold’	<i>ijot lag</i>	‘to feel lighted’
<i>bhirah lag</i>	‘feel difficult’	<i>chot lag</i>	‘to find small’
<i>həluka lag</i>	‘feel light’	<i>ləmhər lag</i>	‘to find big/long’
<i>nimən/acha</i>		<i>khərap lag</i>	‘to feel bad’
<i>/bən^hiya lag</i>	‘feel good’	<i>mot lag</i>	‘to find thick’
<i>ThənDha lag</i>	‘feel cold’	<i>patər lag</i>	‘to find thin’
<i>aləs lag</i>	‘feel sleepy’	<i>dubər lag</i>	‘to find weak’
<i>khətəm lag</i>	‘feel boring’	<i>bəriyar lag</i>	‘to find strong’

• **ho** ‘be/become’

[132].

i. bhəiya dhənik ho- t- əi
 elder brother rich BE-FUT-3SG.NH
 ‘Elder brother will be rich.’

ii. tu ghəmənDi nə ho-a
 you boastful no BE-IMP.H
 ‘(You) please don’t be boastful.’

iii. əb həməɾ kam həluka bhe-l
 now my work light BE-3SG.PST
 ‘Now my work became light.’

iv. səb am khərap ho ge- l
 all mango bad become go-3PL.PST

‘All mango worsened.’ [lit. All mangoes became bad.]

Some other adjectival hosts that form adjectival CP in combination with the light verb *ho* ‘be/become’ are as follows:

[133].

<i>gəram ho</i>	‘to become hot’	<i>gərib ho</i>	‘to become poor’
<i>Thəndha ho</i>	‘to become cold’	<i>ijot ho</i>	‘to become lighted’
<i>bhirah ho</i>	‘to become difficult’	<i>chot ho</i>	‘to become small’
<i>həluka ho</i>	‘to become light’	<i>ləmhər ho</i>	‘to become big/long’
<i>nimən/acha/</i>		<i>bədmaş ho</i>	‘to become naughty’
<i>bənh^hiya ho</i>	‘to become good’	<i>mot ho</i>	‘to become thick’
<i>Thəndha ho</i>	‘to become cold’	<i>patər ho</i>	‘to become thin’
<i>dubər ho</i>	‘to become weak’	<i>bəriyar ho</i>	‘to become strong’
<i>khətəm ho</i>	‘to become boring’	<i>khərap ho</i>	‘to become bad’

• ***bəna* ‘make’**

[134].

i. i- he dokan ok-ra dhənik bənə- l- əi
 this-EMP shop he-DAT rich make-PST-3SG.NH

‘This shop enriched him.’ [lit. This shop made him rich.]

Although the light verbs *rakh* ‘keep’ and *bəna* ‘make’ can form CPs in Bajjika, they appear rarely only. The light verbs that are most frequently used to construct adjectival CPs are *kər* ‘do’, *lag* ‘be attached to/adhere’ and *ho* ‘be/become’.

II. Constituent structure

■ Adjective as a part of complex predicate: scrambling

In an adjectival CP in Bajjika, the adjective host is not the direct daughter of S, but a daughter node of V. That is to say that in an adjectival complex predicate, the adjective host is an integral part of the verb phrase. Thus, in a sentence the adjectival host can not be scrambled from the light verb in Bajjika. It is shown in [135].

[135].

- i. rani hāmər kəbita **yad** **kəe-le** **hə-e**
rani my poem remember do-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
'Rani has remembered my poem.'
- ii. rani **yad** **kəe-le** **hə-e** hāmər kəbita
iii. hāmər kəbita rani **yad** **kəe-le** **hə-e**
iv. **yad** **kəe-le** **hə-e** rani hāmər kəbita
v. hāmər kəbita **yad** **kəe-le** **hə-e** rani
vi. kəbita hāmər rani **yad** **kəe-le** **hə-e**
vii. *rani **yad** **kəe-le** hāmər kəbita **hə-e**
viii. *rani **yad** hāmər kəbita **kəe-le** **hə-e**

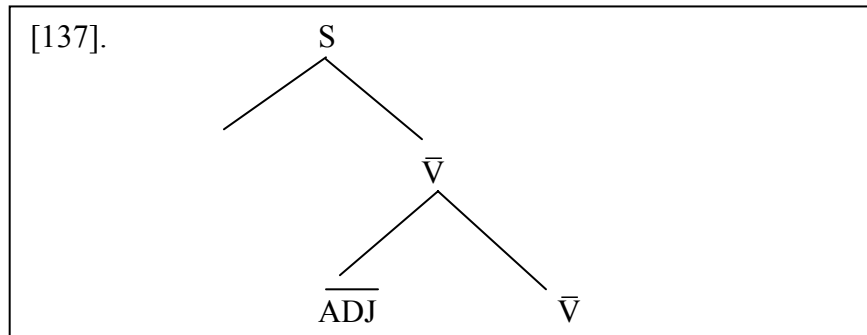
in the examples mentioned above, sentences of [135 i-vi] are grammatically correct and acceptable, but those of [135 vii-viii] are grammatically ill-formed and unacceptable sentences because in [135 i-vi] only daughter nodes such as SUB, OBJ and PRED are scrambled whereas it is not the case in [135 vii-viii] since other nodes, besides daughter nodes, are also scrambled. This proves that in Bajjika, only the direct daughters of S node of an adjectival CP can be scrambled in one hand and the adjectival CP is a categorial constituent on the other hand.

■ The CP as a phrasal category

Let's see some examples in order to find out whether the adjectival CP in Bajjika is a phrasal category on the basis of topicalization, adjectival modification and conjoining respectively [136].

- i. kə- l- əi ram ghər ən^har (topicalization)
do-PST-3SG ram house dark
'Ram darkened the house.'
- ii. ram səb ghər ən^har kə- l- əi (adjectival modification)
ram all house dark do-PST-3SG
'Ram darkened the whole house.'
- iii. caci-ke bhukh a piyas dunu lag- əl hə- i (conjoining)
aunt-DAT hunger and thirst both adhere-PRF BE-3SG.PRES.NH
'Aunt has felt both hunger and thirst.'

The three linguistic tools namely topicalization, adjectival modification and conjoining prove in the above examples that both the adjectival host and the light verb are not lexical categories but the maximal projections. Therefore, the CP is a phrasal category not a lexical category. The category structure of adjectival CP can be represented as in [137].



c. Adverbial complex predicates

I. Adverbial CP formation

Besides nominal CP and adjectival CP, Bajjika also possesses adverbial CP. It is formed by the use of a light verb with an adverb. Hence, its structure is ADV+V. However, the adverbial CP does not contain as clear a-structure as that of nominal CP and adjectival CP. An adverbial host forms CP with very limited light verbs. However, some most frequently used light verbs that form CP with adverbs in Bajjika are *kər* ‘do’, *ləga* ‘attach’, *rakh* ‘put’ and *ho* ‘become’. These light verbs are treated individually.

▲ *kər* ‘do’

[138].

- i. muna u-əpna babu- ke nica kə(ɾ) de- l- əi
 muna he-GEN father-ACC low do give-PST-3SG.NH

‘Muna showed his father low to (someone).’

- ii. bəhəlman tayer pəchari kə- l- əi
 cart driver cart backward do-PST- 3SG.NH

‘The cart driver brought the cart back.’

- iii. u jhəbjhəb kam kər-əit hə- i
 he fast work do-PROG BE-3SG.PRES.NH

‘He is doing the work fast.’

In the case of the light verb *kər* ‘do’, it takes an adverb of place or manner to compose a CP. In a sentence with this CP, a conscious agent is required. Some other adverbial complex predicates of this type are as follows:

[139].

əgari kər ‘to do foreward’

upər kər ‘to do upward’

ləbləb kər ‘to do/show mischievous activities’

kəbkəb kər ‘to suffer from cold’

dhəmdhəm kər ‘to jump heavily (on something)’

bhitər kər ‘to do inside’

bahər kər ‘to do outside’

▲ ***ləga* ‘attach’**

ləga ‘attach’ is also an adverbial host in Bajjika to compose a CP. It behaves in the same way as the light verb *kər* ‘do’ behaves. So it also requires an agent like subject to be complete and meaningful in a sentence. For example,

[140].

i. *həm bəol bahər ləg- əili*

i bulb outside attach-1SG.PST

‘I hanged the bulb outside.’

ii. *u ok- ra muh- me rəŋ ləga- de- l- əi*

he s/he-DAT mouth-LOC colour attach-give-PST-1SG.NH

‘I coloured his/her face.’ [lit. I applied colour on his/her face.]

▲ ***rakh* ‘put’**

[141].

i. *həm dheua jemi- me rəkh- li*

i money pocket-LOC put- 1SG.PST

‘I put money in the pocket.’

ii. *caci kəpra almari- me rəkh- l- əthin*

auntie cloth cupboard- LOC put-PST-3SG.H

‘Auntie put the cloth inside the cupboard.’

▲ *ho* ‘become’

[142].

- i. *bəhin* *bhitər* *hə- i*
elder sister inside BE-3SG.PRES.NH
‘Elder sister is inside.’
- ii. *kitab* *upər* *hə- i*
book upward BE-3SG.PRES.NH
‘The book is upward.’

Some other adverbial complex predicates of this type are as follows:

əgari ho ‘to be in front’

pəchari ho ‘to be backward’

bhitər ho ‘to be in/inside’

bahər ho ‘to be outside’

F. Summary

This chapter is the heart of this thesis since it deals with the main work of research concerned. This chapter comprises almost all types of various complex predicates dividing into two main categories viz verbal complex predicates and non-verbal complex predicates. For the sake of verbal CP, this chapter discusses causative construction, compound verb construction and permissive construction. Similarly for the sake of non-verbal CP, this chapter discusses nominal CP, adjectival CP and adverbial CP. The causative construction in Bajjika is morphological because it is composed by the concatenation of a causative morpheme in the verbal stem that adds an extra argument in the sentence as a causer in the form of an agent like subject. Therefore, causative construction as CP in Bajjika takes place in the lexicon. Similarly compound verb as a CP is the amalgamation of a host verb with any one of the light verbs *de* ‘give’, *le* ‘take’, *a* ‘come’ and *ja* ‘go’ affecting either a-structure or s-structure. Likewise, permissive complex predicate is composed of an infinitive stem as a host and *de* ‘give’ as a light verb. Non-verbal CPs, on the other hand, are composed of a non-verbal categorial element especially noun, adjective and adverb with a light verb casting effects on a-structure, f-structure, s-structure and occasionally on c-structure too.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Being a South Asian Indo-Aryan language of SOV word order, Bajjika also possesses complex predicates prevalently. Hence, Bajjika exhibits a variety of complex predicates linguistically. However, the most prevalent complex predicates of various types in Bajjika are causative constructions, compound verb and permissive construction. In this dissertation complex predicates have been studied with respect to LFG (i.e. Lexical Functional Grammar) as the theory of analysis. 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 a light verb of the complex predicate in a sentence. Complex predicate is composed of two predicative elements, where the wordhood of the CP may or may not be categorial. However, the host (the first element) is a lexical word such as noun, adjective, verb and adverb whereas the light verb (the second element) may be lexical item such as verb or may not be such as morpheme in causative construction. In a complex predicate, the host carries semantic meaning but the light verb carries grammatical meaning. Thus, the complete meaning of a complex predicate is not determined by any one/single element but jointly by the host and the light verb.

The study for this dissertation showed that complex predicates in Bajjika are of two broad types viz morphological and syntactic or periphrastic CP although they are not accounted for separately giving the name/title as morphological CP and syntactic or periphrastic CP. The morphological CPs take place in the lexicon whereas those of syntactic nature take place in the syntax. The morphological CPs include causativization, but the syntactic or periphrastic CPs comprise other types of CPs of Bajjika i.e. compound verb, permissive construction and non-verbal CPs. These both types of complex predicats can be easily accounted for in the four structural levels of LFG framework.

Causativization in Bajjika takes place by the use of the causative morpheme *-a/ba* with a verb stem. Here the causative morpheme adds an axtra agent like argument in the causative construction that maps onto subject function and the proto agent is demoted to patient. Likewise, compounding/compound verb is an another CP in Bajjika in which any one of the light verbs *de* 'give', *le* 'take', *a* 'come' and *ja* 'go' is combined with a independent lexical verb. As a result

the CP triggers change in the s-structure and sometimes in the a-structure. Similarly in the non-verbal complex predicate, a non-verbal categorial word such as noun, adjective and adverb is combined as a host with a light verb such as *de* ‘give’, *le* ‘take’, *kər* ‘do’, *kha* ‘eat’, *a* ‘come’, *ja* ‘go’, *bəiTh* ‘sit’, *lag* ‘be attached to/adhere’, *ho* ‘be/become’, *bəna* ‘make’, etc. affecting either a-structure or s-structure or f-structure or c-structure or more than one or all. However, the host in non-verbal CP is always a phrasal category but not a lexical one since it is formed in the syntax by the combination of a non-verbal element and a verbal element.

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