

Marathi Light Verbs*

TEJASWINI DEOSKAR
Cornell University

0. Introduction

Light verb constructions¹ consisting of verb-verb combinations are an areal feature of South Asian languages, found in all four language families in South Asia – Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman (Kachru and Pandharipande 1980). While the exact semantic contribution of light verbs has been difficult to pin down, they contribute several meanings such as completion, benefaction, undesirability, suddenness, etc. to the main verb. An example of a typical light verb construction in Marathi, a Southern Indo-Aryan language, is shown in (1); here, the light verb *drop* contributes a sense of undesirability to the action.

- (1) Gita-ni pustak waach-un_{main} taakla_{light}.
Gita-ERG book read-PRT drop.NEU.PST
'Gita read the book (anyhow, to finish it off).'

In this paper, I examine the syntactic structure of the Marathi light verb complex. The main and light verbs in Marathi exhibit much more freedom in word order than those in other South Asian languages – I examine the implications of this for the structure of the light verb complex. I propose that the Marathi light verb construction has a monoclausal VP complementation structure (as posited for Urdu by Butt (2003)) and not a bi-clausal structure (as proposed for Malayalam by Jayaseelan (2004)). Within a right-headed monoclausal structure, I provide an account of the different word orders of the verbs using

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¹ A note on terminology: Light verbs in South Asian languages have been variously referred to in the literature as vector verbs (Hook 1993), compound verbs (Pandharipande 1997), serial verbs (Pandharipande 1997), Explicator compound verbs (Abbi and Gopalakrishnan 1991), Complex Predicates (Butt 1995) and light verbs (Butt 2003).

remnant movement of VPs to the right to adjoin to IP. I show that a left-headed structure with leftward movement cannot capture word order facts. I also compare properties of the permissive construction with the light verb construction, and conclude that the permissive in Marathi (unlike Urdu) does not have the definitive properties of light verbs.

1. Properties of the Marathi Light Verb

The light verb construction in Marathi consists of a main and a light verb, as was seen in (1). The main verb is in an invariant participial form and consists of the verb stem and the suffix *-un* (glossed as PRT). The light verb takes all markers of tense and ϕ -feature agreement. It can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive; it is also possible, although rarer, for more than one light verb to occur in a sentence, as shown in (2).

- (2) Gita-ni baasri waadzw-un_{main} taak-un_{light} dili_{light}
 Gita-ERG flute play-PRT drop-PRT give.PST.FEM.
 ‘Gita played a flute (to get it over with).’

The word order of the main and light verb in Marathi is flexible (this has been noted before in Pandharipande (1997)). Example (3-a) shows a sentence in which the main and light verb have a reverse order. In (3-b) the light and main verbs are separated by the direct object, while (3-c) shows the direct object and the main verb to the right of the light verb. The only disallowed word order is when the DO is between the main and light verbs as shown in (4). Here the verb *drop* does not have a light interpretation.

- (3) a. Gita-ni pustak taakla_{light} waach-un_{main}
 Gita-ERG book drop.NEU.PST read-PRT
 b. Gita-ni taakla_{light} pustak waach-un_{main}
 Gita-ERG drop.NEU.PST book read-PRT
 c. Gita-ni taakla_{light} waach-un_{main} pustak
 Gita-ERG drop.NEU.PST read-PRT book
 ‘Gita read the book (anyhow, to finish it off).’

- (4) a. Gita-ni waach-un_{main} pustak taakla_{light}.
 Gita-ERG read-PRT book drop.NEU.PST
 ‘*Gita read the book (anyhow)/ Gita dropped the book after reading it’

Light verbs in many other South Asian languages such as Hindi/Urdu, Bengali, Malayalam, etc. do not allow the relative order of the main and light verb to be changed. Hindi sentences corresponding to (3) are ungrammatical, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. *Gita-ne kitaab lii_{light} padh_{main}
 Gita-ERG book take.FEM.PST read

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- b. *Gita-ne lii_{light} kitaab padh_{main}
Gita-ERG take.FEM.PST book read
- c. *Gita-ne lii_{light} padh_{main} kitaab
Gita-ERG take.FEM.PST read book
'*Gita read the book (completely).'

Due to this difference in syntactic behavior, it is not clear if Marathi light verbs are similar to light verbs in languages like Hindi/Urdu - the two verbs in Marathi appear not to be as tightly bound together in the syntax. Butt and Geuder (2001) have claimed that Urdu light verbs are semi-lexical elements that fall neither into the fully functional nor fully lexical category; they are neither auxiliaries nor do they have a full predicate structure of their own. They give a number of arguments (syntactic, semantic and phonological) for Urdu light verbs being different from auxiliaries. Butt (2003) also gives evidence based on agreement, control and binding that Urdu light verbs are monoclausal. In the following sections, I discuss arguments for the monoclausality of this construction in Marathi before providing an account of the word orders in (3) and (4) within a monoclausal analysis.

1.1 Light verbs are not auxiliaries

Pandharipande (1997) gives evidence that Marathi light verbs are not functional elements like auxiliaries. In addition, most of Butt and Geuder's (2001) arguments for Urdu light verbs being unlike auxiliaries (such as selectional restrictions between main and light verb, reduplication of light verbs but not auxiliaries, etc.) hold for Marathi as well. Here, I briefly illustrate some core differences between Marathi light verbs and auxiliaries.

Negation

In the canonical word order, the negation marker can occur to the right of a light verb (shown in (6)), but not to the right of an auxiliary (shown in (7)), indicating that the two are in different structural positions.²

- (6) Gita-ni pustak waach-un_{main} taakla_{light} naahi.
Gita-ERG book read-PRT drop.NEU.PST NEG
'Gita did not read the book (anyhow, to finish it off).'
- (7) *Gita-ni pustak waachle aahe naahi
Gita-ERG book read.NEU.PST be.PRES NEG
'*Gita has not read the book'

² There had been claims that light verbs could not be negated (for example, Hook (1974)). Negation is allowed in Marathi, although some speakers do seem to prefer negative sentences without a light verb, at least for some light verbs.

Argument licensing

Light verbs can introduce arguments while auxiliaries cannot – the benefactive light verb *give* in (8) licenses an obligatory goal argument.

- (8) a. Gita-ni Raju-la tyaacha homework kar-un dila
Gita-ERG Raju-DAT his homework do-PRT give.PST.NEU
b. *Gita-ni Raju-la tyaacha homework kela
Gita-ERG Raju-DAT his homework do.PST.NEU
'Gita did his homework for Raju.'

Case licensing

For perfective tenses, case marking on the subject (Nominative or Ergative) is determined by the transitivity of the light verb. This is seen in (9), where the transitive light verb *drop* requires ergative case on the subject (marked as *-ni*). Example (10) shows that the intransitive light verb *sit* (which adds a meaning of inadvertency) requires the null nominative case on the subject. In sentences with auxiliaries, on the other hand, the case marking is determined by the main verb and not the auxiliary. Thus in (11), it is the transitive main verb *read* that determines that the case on the subject be ergative, irrespective of the auxiliary used.

- (9) a. Raju-ni pustak waach-un taakla
Raju-ERG book read-PRT drop.PST.NEU
b. *Raju pustak waach-un taakla/taaklaa
Raju book read-PRT drop.PST.NEU/drop.PST.MAS
'Raju read a book (to finish it off).'
- (10)a. Raju chukicha pustak waach-un baslaa
Raju wrong book read-PRT sit.PST.MAS
b. *Raju-ni chukicha pustak waach-un basla/baslaa
Raju-ERG wrong book read-PRT sit.PST.NEU/sit.PST.MAS
'Raju read the wrong book (inadvertently).'
- (11)a. Raju-ni pustak waachla hota
Raju-ERG book read.PST.NEU be.PST.NEU
'Raju had read a book.'
b. *Raju pustak waachla hota/hotaa
Raju book read.PST.NEU be.PST.NEU/be.PST.MAS

1.2 Mono-clausality

In this section, we see three different arguments for the monoclausality of the light verb construction in Marathi. First, I show that NPI licensing in Marathi indicates a monoclausal

structure and then adapt two tests developed by Butt (1994) for Urdu to further support the monoclausal analysis.

NPIs with light verbs

There is a class of negative polarity items in Marathi which require a clause-bound licenser. These are formed by addition of the emphatic suffix *ch* to *wh*-words. Examples of such NPIs are *konich* ‘anybody-NOM’, *konaalaach* ‘anybody-ACC’, *kaahich* ‘anything’, etc. Example (12) shows that the NPI *kaahich* requires a licenser in the same clause.

- (12)a. Gita-ni Mohan-la mhantle ki Raju-ni kaahich naahi khaalle.
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT said CMP Raju-ERG anything NEG eat.PST.NEU.
‘Gita said to Mohan that Raju did not eat anything.’
b. *Gita-ni Mohan-la naahi mhantle ki Raju-ni kaahich khaalle.
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT NEG said CMP Raju-ERG anything eat.PST.NEU.
‘*Gita did not say to Mohan that Raju ate anything.’

Example (13-a) shows sentences with the benefactive light verb *give* and the NPI *kaahich*. Examples (b), (c), and (d) show that the NPI is licensed by negation in different positions, which indicates that the two verbs are in the same clause.

- (13)a. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-un dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PRT give.PST.NEU
‘Gita wrote a letter for Mohan’
b. Gita-ni Mohan-la kaahich lih-un dile naahi
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT anything write-PRT give.PST.NEU NEG
c. Gita-ni Mohan-la naahi kaahich lih-un dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT NEG anything write-PRT give.PST.NEU
d. Gita-ni naahi Mohan-la kaahich lih-un dile
Gita-ERG NEG Mohan-DAT anything write-PRT give.PST.NEU
e. Gita-ni Mohan-la kaahich lih-un naahi dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT anything write-PRT NEG give.PST.NEU
‘Gita did not write anything for Mohan’

Control

Butt (1994) argues for the monoclausality of the light verb in Urdu. Her argument is based on the difference in control possibilities of participial adverbs, between a light verb construction and a typical bi-clausal construction using the verb *tell*. The same argument can be used as evidence for monoclausality of the Marathi light verb.

Example (14) is a Marathi sentence corresponding to Butt (1994)’s Urdu example, with the benefactive light verb *give* and the participial adverb *darvaajaa ughd-un* ‘opening the door’. Here, only the matrix subject (and not the object) can control the subject of the

adverb i.e. only *Anjum* but not *Saddaf* can do the door-opening. This is because participial adverbs in Marathi are subject-controlled ((Davison 1985) for Hindi). Contrast this with the bi-clausal construction in (15), where both the matrix subject and object can be controllers of the participial adverb. In (15), the adverbial, which requires a subject controller, can be controlled by the subject PRO of the embedded clause (which in turn can be controlled by the subject or the object of the matrix clause). Since there is no embedded clause in the light verb construction, there is no embedded subject PRO; hence the adverbial can be controlled only by the subject DP and not the object.

- (14) Anjum-ni Saddaf-la darvaajaa ughd-un saamaan aat the-un_{main} dila_{light}.
 Anjum-ERG Saddaf-DAT door open-PRT luggage in keep-PRT give.PST.NEU
 ‘Anjum kept the luggage in for Saddaf after opening the door.’
- (15) Anjum-ni Saddaf-la darvaajaa ughd-un saamaan aat thevaay-laa saangitla.
 Anjum-ERG Saddaf-DAT door open-PRT luggage in keep-ACC tell.PST.NEU
 ‘Anjum told Saddaf to keep the luggage in, having opened the door.’

Agreement

More evidence for the monoclausality of the light verb construction is seen in agreement patterns. The light verb has to obligatorily agree with a non-casemarked subject or object DP as in (16). In contrast, the verb *tell* does not have to agree with a nominal in the matrix clause, as seen in (17-b). Agreement being obligatory with the light verb is another indication that the structure is monoclausal (Examples (16) and (17) are adopted from Butt’s (1994) Urdu examples).³

- (16)a. Gita-ni Mohan-la **chitthi** lih-un **dili**
 Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter.FEM write-PRT give.PST.FEM
 b. *Gita-ni Mohan-la chitthi lih-un dile
 Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter.FEM write-PRT give.PST.NEU
 ‘Gita wrote a letter for Mohan’
- (17)a. Gita-ni Mohan-la **chitthi** lihay-la **sangitli**
 Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter.FEM write.OBL-DAT told.PST.FEM
 b. Gita-ni Mohan-la chitthi lihay-la sangitle
 Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter.FEM write.OBL-DAT told.PST.NEU
 ‘Gita told Mohan to write a letter.’

2. Structure of the light verb phrase

2.1 Rightward Remnant movement fed by head movement

³ However, there is a subtle difference between agreement patterns in Urdu and Marathi - according to Butt (1994)’s examples, the Urdu equivalent of (17-a) is ungrammatical.

As seen above, the Marathi light verb construction is monoclausal. In this section, I propose a right-headed monoclausal structure with rightward movement to account for the alternate word orders. In the subsequent sections, I discuss the unsuitability of alternatives such as a left-headed structure with leftward movement.

(18) and (19) are sentences with a main, light and auxiliary verb. In (18), the main and light verbs are in the canonical order, while in (19) the relative order of the two is reversed; these are the orders which must be accounted for by any proposal.

- (18)a. Gita-ni pustak waach-un taakla asel.
Gita-ERG book read-PRT drop.NEU.PST must
- b. Gita-ni waach-un taakla asel pustak.
Gita-ERG read-PRT drop.NEU.PST must book
- c. *Gita-ni waach-un pustak taakla asel.
Gita-ERG read-PRT book drop.NEU.PST must
'Gita must have read the book (anyhow, to get it over with).'
- (19)a. Gita-ni pustak taakla asel waach-un.
Gita-ERG book drop.MAS.PST must read-PRT
- b. Gita-ni taakla asel waach-un pustak.
Gita-ERG drop.MAS.PST must read-PRT book
- c. Gita-ni taakla asel pustak waach-un.
Gita-ERG drop.MAS.PST must book read-PRT
'Gita must have read the book (anyhow, to get it over with).'

The tree in (20) shows the structure and movements used to derive these orders. The canonical order of [DO V_{main} V_{light} Aux] as in (18-a) is the base order in the tree in (20). The light verb takes the main VP as a complement. Following Chomsky (1995), I assume that the light verb always moves to v . The presence of negation between the main and the light verb (shown previously in Example (13-e)) makes it likely that the light verb further moves up to Infl across a negation head. Since negation has scope over both verbs, the negation head must c-command the entire VP containing both verbs in their base position. Movement of the verb to Infl across a negation head is claimed for clausal negation in Hindi in Kumar (2003).

The basic idea is that DPs and verbs which occur to the right of the auxiliary (if it is present) or to the right of the light verb (if the auxiliary is not present) are both the result of the movement of the verb phrase to the right of IP. This movement takes place in two steps – first, the light verb moves out of the verb phrase to a higher head (such as v). The remnant VP then moves to the right to adjoin to IP.

The order [V_{main} V_{light} Aux DO] is obtained by head movement of the main verb to the light verb head, and then movement of the complex head out of the VP. The remnant VP then moves to the right to adjoin to IP. Dayal and Bhatt (to appear) have recently proposed

similar rightward movement to derive postverbal positions of DPs. They offer rightward remnant movement as an explanation of the cross-over and binding asymmetries between pre and post verbal scrambling of DPs, arguing against the need for leftward movement to explain the same (Mahajan 1997). Remnant movement of VPs has been known to be associated with obligatory reconstruction effects (Huang 1993). Due to obligatory reconstruction, the binding possibilities of the DP's are determined by their base positions, not by their surface positions. Thus, the lack of weak cross-over cancellation can be explained by rightward movement of VPs.

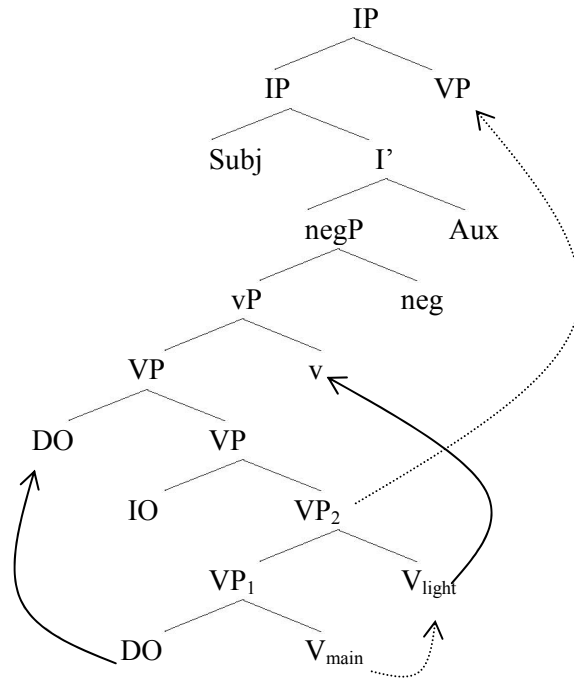
In the present case of a complex VP, the orders in which the main verb appears to the right of the light verb (as in (19)) are obtained essentially in the same fashion:

[DO V_{light} Aux V_{main}] is obtained by head movement of the light verb alone out of the VP. The DO moves to the specifier, following Dayal and Bhatt (to appear). The remnant VP₂, which contains only the main verb, then moves to the right to adjoin to IP.

[V_{light} Aux DO V_{main}]: The light verb moves out of the VP to v. The remnant VP containing the DO and main verb then moves rightward to adjoin to IP.

[V_{light} Aux V_{main} DO]: Since the order of the adjoined elements to the right of the auxiliary is [V_{main} DO], two remnant movements are required to get this order. First the light verb moves out of the VP and the DO moves to the specifier of the higher VP. The lower VP containing only the main verb then moves to the right to adjoin to IP. There is a second remnant movement to the right of the higher VP, containing the DO, to adjoin to IP.

(20)



The ungrammaticality of the [V_{main} DO V_{light} aux] order (as in (18-c)) follows from the structure. Rightward adjunction of the DO to a position below the v head is ruled out since it is a complement position (Chomsky 1986). One possible way to obtain this word order could be by topicalization of the lower VP to the left after the DO moves. In fact, it is possible to topicalize the main verb by adding a topic marker *tar* (21), which makes this word order of [V_{main} TOP DO V_{light}] acceptable.

- (21) Gita-ni waach-un tar pustak taakla asel.
 Gita-ERG read-PRT TOP book drop.NEU.PST must
 ‘*Gita must have read a book (to get it over with).’

Thus, all word orders in (18) and (19) can be accounted for by only two kinds of movement - head movement of either or both verbs out of the VP and rightward movement of the remnant VP.

2.2 Negation

The above structure also captures the fact that the following positions of negation are disallowed, as shown in (22) (a) and (b), while (c) is allowed.

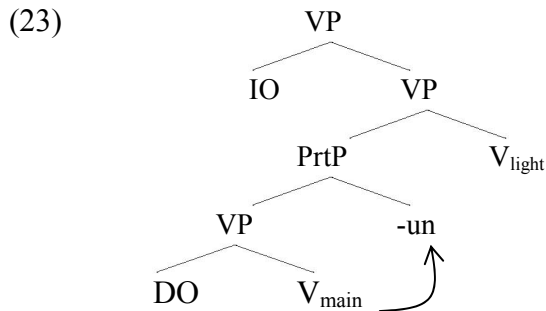
- (22)a. *Gita-ni taakle_{light} gaana naahi mhan-un_{main}
 Gita-ERG drop song NEG say-PRT
 b. *Gita-ni taakle_{light} mhan-un_{main} gaana naahi
 Gita-ERG drop say-PRT song NEG
 c. Gita-ni taakle_{light} naahi gaana mhan-un_{main}
 Gita-ERG drop NEG song say-PRT
 ‘Gita did not sing a song (anyhow).’

Positions of the main verb to the right of the light verb can only be obtained by the rightward remnant movement described above. The ungrammaticality of the word order [V_{light} DO neg V_{main}] (as in (22-a)) is predicted since this order cannot be generated by remnant movement of VP to the right of IP. Note that remnant VP movement would give the grammatical order [V_{light} neg DO V_{main}] (as in (22-c)). Similarly, in order to get [V_{light} V_{main} DO neg] (as in (22-b)), the remnant VP containing V_{main} and DO would have to adjoin to a position below the *neg* head. If post-verbal positions are obtained only by adjunction to IP, then this word order is predicted to be ungrammatical.

2.3 Difference between Hindi and Marathi

Since the same mechanism of rightward remnant movement is used to obtain post-verbal positions of DPs in both Marathi and in Hindi/Urdu, the difference between the Hindi/Urdu light verb and the Marathi light verb has to be explained. It could be that for the Hindi/Urdu case, the main verb obligatorily rises to adjoin to the light verb head while in Marathi this

movement is optional. This would be the case if the Hindi light verb had a feature that needed to be checked by the main verb, and would result in the rigid word order in the Hindi/Urdu verbal complex. However, the Hindi/Urdu main verb does not always appear near the light verb – it is possible for the Hindi/Urdu main verb to be topicalized to the left away from the light verb (Butt and Geuder 2001). Another way of capturing the difference then is to posit that the Marathi light verb selects for a participial phrase headed by *-un*, instead of selecting for a VP, as shown in (23). Assuming that participial phrases bear a nominal (D) feature, rightward movement of the PrtP in Marathi could then be explained by extending the rightward DP movement approach developed by Dayal and Bhatt. Hindi lacks PrtP in the corresponding constructions, and thus disallows rightward movement of the projection containing the main verb.



3. Comparison with Left-headed Analyses

3.1 Light Verb higher than Main Verb

Recently, there have been proposals that the base word order in Hindi is SVO (Mahajan 1997, Simpson and Bhattacharya 2003). Mahajan (1997) has proposed an antisymmetric structure for Hindi, based on the asymmetry in weak-cross over and binding effects of leftward versus rightward scrambling. In his analysis, post-verbal positions of DPs are obtained by two leftward movements in a left-headed structure.

- leftward movement of a DP out of the vP to the specifier of a higher head
- movement of the remnant vP without the DP to the specifier of IP, as is standard in Kaynean frameworks, stranding the DP in a post-auxiliary position.

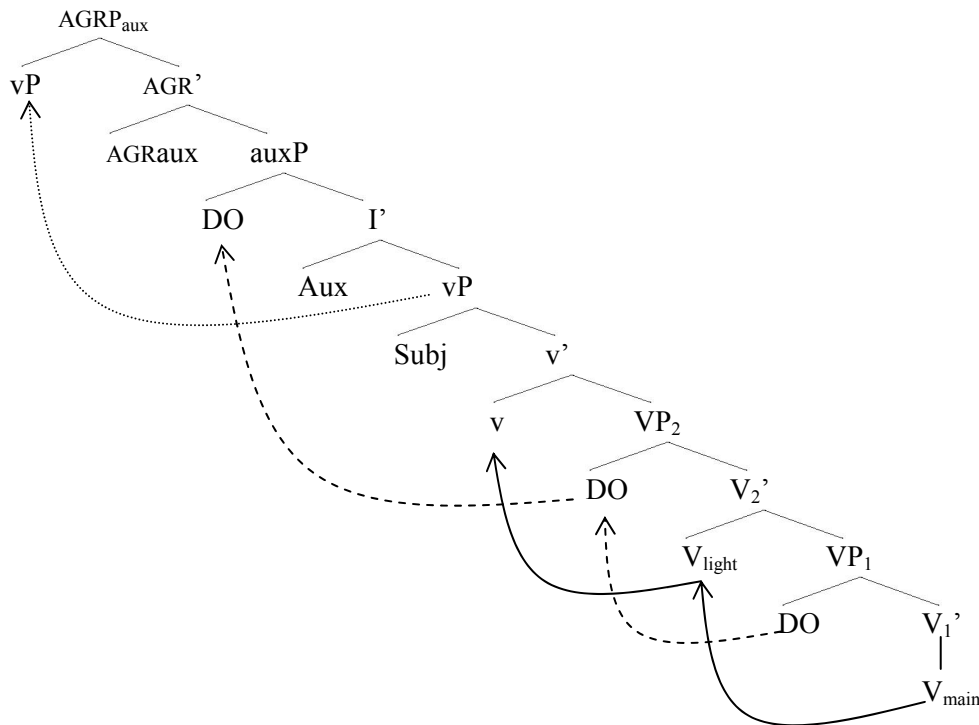
(24) shows an adaptation of Mahajan's left headed structure for the light verb construction⁴. In (24), the canonical word order of [DO V_{main} V_{light} Aux] would be obtained by head movement of the main verb to the light verb, and then fronting of the vP to the specifier of IP as is standard in Kaynean approaches. The word orders in which the main verb is before the light verb like [V_{main} V_{light} Aux DO] (as in (18)) can be obtained using the same approach of DP stranding as Mahajan's. However, the orders in which the light verb is before the main verb (as in (19)) cannot be obtained straightforwardly. For example, in order to get [V_{light} Aux V_{main}], there are two options. One is to strand the main verb in a post

⁴ He has more agreement projections and does not show a vP internal subject.

auxiliary position in a manner similar to the stranding of DPs. However, the problem is that the main verb has to move over the light verb - this violates shortest move (Chomsky 1993). The other option is to keep the verbs and the vP in-situ. However, this makes it difficult to account for the Subject, DO and IO to appear in a position to the left of Infl.

Thus, the leftward movement approach has difficulties in the word orders in which the main verb follows the light verb. It appears that an account in which post-verbal positions of DPs are obtained by stranding cannot be generalized to getting post-verbal positions of the main verb.

(24)



3.2 Light Verb lower than Main Verb

Another possibility for a left headed structure is that the main verb is higher in the structure than the light verb. Such a proposal has been made by Carstens (2002) for serial and light verbs in languages like Yoruba and Ijo. She makes this proposal to account for the cross-linguistic fact that the order of verbs in verb-verb constructions in OV languages is not the mirror image of their order in VO languages (Muysken 1988). In Carstens' (2002) analysis, in both OV and VO languages, the first verb is higher in the structure than the second and selects the second vP. Word order differences between OV and VO are obtained simply by V to v movement of both verbs in the case of VO languages.

However, in Marathi, it is clear that the light verb is the higher verb. Firstly, it is the light verb and not the main verb scrambles along with the auxiliary (as shown in (25)). Secondly, the case of the subject is determined by the light verb and not the main verb, as discussed in detail in §1.1. In addition, this approach also runs into problems of minimality when deriving all word orders in (18) and (19).

- (25)a. *mhan-un_{main} hote Gita-ni gaana taakle_{light}
 say-PRT be.PST.3S Gita-ERG song drop.3S.PST.NEU
 b. taakle_{light} hote Gita-ni gaana mhan-un_{main}
 drop.3S.NEU be.PST.3S Gita-ERG song say-PRT
 ‘Gita had sung a song (anyhow).’

Thus, neither of the left-headed approaches can account for the word orders in (18) and (19).⁵

4. Permissive and Benefactive Light Verbs

Previous research on Urdu (Butt 1994) has treated the permissive and other light verbs as essentially similar. Butt (2003) proposes that the difference between the permissive and non-permissive light verbs is that the permissive is merged in *v* while the non-permissives are merged in the VP. This position of the permissive follows naturally from Chomsky’s idea of *v* as a causative head. In this section, I compare the permissive and benefactive light verbs on the basis of scope of negation, and control of participial adverbs. It is seen that the permissive in Marathi has different properties than other light verbs.

The permissive construction is illustrated in (26). The permissive light verb is *dile* ‘give’ which takes the permissive suffix *-u*, glossed as PERM. For the benefactive construction shown in (27), the light verb is *give*, but the main verb has the suffix *-un*.

- (26) Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-u dile
 Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PERM give.PST.NEU
 ‘Gita let Mohan write a letter’
 (27) Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-un dile
 Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PRT give.PST.NEU
 ‘Gita wrote a letter for Mohan.’

⁵ There have been other proposals for obtaining final positions of DPs by leftward movement. For example, Whitman (2000) has proposed an analysis of Right Dislocation in Japanese and English using a bi-clausal analysis of adjunction of S and truncation of the VP in the second S. However, in the Marathi data that we have seen, in both light verb constructions and in simple predicates, post-verbal DPs do not appear to be cases of Right Dislocation. One reason is that, unlike Japanese which allows a null element or an overt pronoun in place of the dislocated DP, Marathi does not allow an overt pronoun. Secondly, Marathi does not show any of the subjacency effects seen with Right Dislocation in both English and Japanese, such as movement being disallowed out of an embedded clause (Ross’s Right Roof Condition) or out of a complex DP.

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Example (28) shows the permissive with negation in different positions, while (29) shows the benefactive. Note that the permissive (28-a) and (28-b) are ambiguous, but the benefactive is not. It is possible to embed negation within the permissive so that negation acts only on the main verb and not the permissive light verb. This is an indication that the structure of the permissive light verb is different from other light verbs in which the two verbs cannot be negated independently.

- (28)a. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-u naahi dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PERM NEG give.PST.NEU
'Gita did not let Mohan write a letter / ?Gita let Mohan not write a letter'
- b. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra naahi lih-u dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter NEG write-PERM give.PST.NEU
'Gita did not let Mohan write a letter / Gita let Mohan not write a letter'
- c. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-u dile naahi
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PERM give.PST.NEU NEG
'Gita did not let Mohan write a letter /*Gita let Mohan not write a letter'
- (29)a. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-un naahi dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PRT NEG give.PST.NEU
- b. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra naahi lih-un dile
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter NEG write-PRT give.PST.NEU
- c. Gita-ni Mohan-la patra lih-un dile naahi
Gita-ERG Mohan-DAT letter write-PRT give.PST.NEU NEG
'Gita did not write a letter for Mohan.'
'*Gita did Mohan the favor of not writing a letter.'

Control of participial adverbs

The control of participial adverbs with the permissive is different from other light verbs. Recall that control of participial adverbials was used as a diagnostic for monoclausality in the present paper and in Butt (1995) and (1994). Example (30) is a sentence with a participial adverb and a permissive (adapted from Butt (1994)). Here, both matrix subject and object can be controllers of the participial adverb. Recall from (14) that in the case of the benefactive light verb, only the subject but not the object could be the controller of the participial adverb.

- (30) Anjum-ni Saddaf-la darvaaza ughd-un saamaan aat the-u dila.
Anjum-ERG Saddaf-DAT door open-PRT luggage in keep-PERM give.PST.NEU
'Anjum let Saddaf keep the luggage in after opening the door.'

From the negation and the control data above, it seems that the permissive verb selects as a complement, a bigger projection than other light verbs do. The fact that the main verb can be negated separately from the permissive verb could be explained by having a negation head above the main VP in the structure in (20), but the control data indicate a larger projection, such as a vP or IP, which could have a PRO subject controlled by the matrix object.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have presented new data and introduced new generalizations about the structure of the Marathi light verb construction. While the Marathi light verb is monoclausal, I have suggested that it contains more structure than the Urdu light verb. Permissives in Marathi are seen to fall into a category distinct from light verbs. I also gave explicit evidence for the light verb in Marathi being higher in the structure than the main verb, contra Carstens' (2002) proposal. All possible word orders of the verbs in the light verb construction were uniformly accounted for by using head movement followed by remnant movement of VPs to the right. That the rightward remnant movement analysis of Dayal and Bhatt (to appear) can be extended to complex VPs supports the idea that post-auxiliary positions are obtained by this kind of movement.

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Tejaswini Deoskar
203 Morrill Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14850 U.S.A.

td72@cornell.edu