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# THE COMPOUND VERB IN MARATHI: DEFINITIONAL ISSUES AND CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFICATION\*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The compound verb is one of the hallmarks of the South Asian linguistic area (Cf. Masica 1976) and has been a topic of debate in traditional as well as modern linguistic descriptions. It has been variously referred to by different scholars as modified verbal expression (Porízka 1967-69), compound verb (Hook 1974, Singh, Subbarao & Bandyopadhyay 1986, Singh 1998), explicator compound verb (Masica 1976, Abbi & Gopalkrishnan 1991, Gopalkrishnan & Abbi 1992), serial or compound verb (Kachru 1979, Kachru and Pandharipande 1980, Fedson 1985, Pandharipande 1990), and verbal expression (Nespital 1997). Although we find the term “explicator compound verb” to be the most fitting for the category under discussion, we will refer to them as compound verbs (hereafter CV) since it’s a established term—used by all Marathi traditional grammarians.

The South Asian linguistic area is a home for languages belonging to four different language families viz. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic. Cutting across their genetic affiliations they all share certain syntactico-semantic phenomena among which is the CV (Masica 1976: 141-158). This phenomenon has been extensively studied in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, while relatively less attention has been paid to their counterparts in Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic. Among Indo-Aryan languages, CVs have been studied most extensively in Hindi-Urdu (Burton-Page 1957, Porízka 1967-69, Hook 1974, Nespital 1997, among other) followed by Kashmiri (Koul 1985, Hook & Koul 1992), Bengali (Zbavittel 1970, Dasgupta 1977, Singh 1998) and Marathi (Damle 1911, Vale 1948, Pandharipande 1990).

In Indo-Aryan languages the CV is a true innovation. It is almost absent in Sanskrit, starts showing up in the Pali writings from the early centuries of the Common Era and then gradually expands in Modern Indo-Aryan languages (Cf. Masica 1991, Hook 1991). CV is a concatenation of two verbs—the *primary* verb (also called as

*main*, or *polar* verb) and a *secondary* verb (also called as *explicator*, *intensifier*, *operator*, *vector*). We will refer to them hereafter as *main* and *vector* verb respectively. The main verb is in the conjunctive participle form while the vector verb bears desinential affixes. The vector verb is homophonous with a basic lexical verb and belongs to a small closed set. The most typical vectors are: GO, COME, GIVE, TAKE, THROW, LEAVE, KEEP, SIT, TAKE OUT, GO OUT, DROP etc. Note the following examples: <sup>i</sup>

- (1) raam-na      aambaa      **khaa-ll-aa**  
 Ram-ERG      mango.M      eat-PF-M  
 Ram **ate** the mango.
- (2) raam-na      aambaa      **khaa-un**      **Taak-l-aa**  
 Ram-ERG      mango.M      eat-CP      throw-PF-M  
 Ram **ate up** the mango.

The category of CV in South Asian languages raises many interesting questions. A few are listed below:

- a) Can any concatenation of two verbs be called a CV? In other words, is it possible to identify the class of CVs strictly in terms of formal criteria? If not, what are the supplementary criteria to isolate CVs from Non-CVs?
- b) What does the vector verb do? In other words what is/are the function/s of CV?
- c) Is it possible to explain why a particular vector is recruited to express the meaning that it does?
- d) Can the order of the verbs in a CV sequence be reversed? If yes, under what circumstances? Does the reversal alter the meaning of the CV in question? If yes, what does the reversed sequence mean?
- e) Are all vectors equally productive or are only a selected few much more frequent than the others? If so, why?
- f) For a given vector is it possible to define the class of verbs with which it can combine to form a CV?
- g) What are the pragmatic factors that condition the use of a CV rather than a simple verb?
- h) Is the usage of CV conditioned by stylistic factors?
- i) Where does the CV come from and how have they developed to reach the present stage?

It should be noted that the above-mentioned issues are not discrete but are rather interlinked. The fundamental issue viz. defining and identifying what could be called a CV has been a contentious issue in South Asian Languages—including Hindi which is the most thoroughly studied Indo-Aryan language with regards to CV (Cf. Hook 1974: 19-20). In the case of Marathi the picture is not much different. In this paper we will confine ourselves to the issue of defining the CV in Marathi and set forth explicit criteria for their identification. To establish some background a brief *resumé* of past studies is in order.

## 2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE CV IN MARATHI: AN OVERVIEW

The compound verb in Marathi is a matter of long-standing dispute among Marathi grammarians. *Ad hoc* criteria are often invoked in defining the CV and scholars have taken extreme positions—some dismiss the category altogether while others strongly argue for it.

The school of thought that dismisses the category of CV includes grammarians like Mangrulkar (1968), Dikshit (1975), and Arjunwadkar (1987) among others. They argue that the scope of a grammatical theory should be strictly confined to “form” and various relations between/among “formal” units while the domain of “meaning” should be divorced from grammar. According to these grammarians, it is not incumbent on a grammatical theory to account for CVs since they bring “meaning” into play (or render a meaning for the CV which is not the sum of the meanings of its constituents). Dikshit (op. cit.: 159) analyses the so-called CV as consisting of a single verb—in some cases the finite one (vector) is to be treated as a verb *per se* while in others it’s the non-finite one. In either case the other member of the constellation is treated as an adverb. The choice of the one or the other as a verb/pivot is made on an *ad hoc* basis. Such a treatment hardly reveals anything about the CV as a category. We do not subscribe to such a view and rather believe that a grammatical theory must explore form-meaning/function correlations and account for them in a principled way.

The school of thought that recognizes the category of CV is divided on the issue of its class membership. Some encompass {[Noun/Adjective/Adverb]+[Verb]} constellations (*nominal* compounds; N-V for short) in addition to concatenations of two verbs (*verbal* compounds; abbreviated as V-V) under the rubric of CV while others embrace only the latter. Further, there is no consensus on what items should be included in the list of *vector* verbs. Thus the membership of the set of vector verbs varies from around 20 to as high as 72 (Vale 1948: 197).

Tarkhadkar (1836), Kher (1899), Joshi (1900) encompass both nominal (N-V) and verbal (V-V) compound verbs. Although the nominal compounds are described in formal terms, the true motivation behind setting up such a category, as rightly pointed out by Damle (1911), is purely notional—based on their English equivalents. The logic goes as follows: the verb *to love* in English is rendered in Marathi in the form of a N-V compound viz. *priti karNe* (love do) and assuming that the English and the Marathi expressions should have one-to-one correspondence, the Marathi counterpart, being complex (i.e. consisting of two elements) should therefore be called a compound verb. This criterion of translatability into English or for that matter any other language is totally irrelevant in the formulation of grammar of a language.

Turning to verbal compounds one enters the area of massive terminological confusion and grammarians are equally divided here as well. Among Marathi traditional grammarians Damle (1911) is the most systematic and comprehensive in all respects. Given the time when it was written and the insights it offers one would have nothing but admiration. Damle advances a formal definition of the CV as a concatenation of two verbs i.e. a V-V sequence—the first or primary/main verb in a participle/non-finite form followed by the secondary/vector verb in the finite form.<sup>ii</sup> Damle refers to secondary verbs as *sahaaya dhaatu* i.e. helping/auxiliary verbs and classifies them into two groups

on the basis of whether they make a semantic contribution to the preceding verb or not viz. *arthahvaan* (meaningful) and *arthahin* (meaningless) This roughly corresponds to the *Operator* vs. *Auxiliary* distinction made by Burton-Page (op. cit: 471) for Hindi.<sup>iii</sup> Damle sub-classifies the *arthahin* (meaningless) or *Auxiliary* group into three groups [*Affirmative* (*as* ‘be’, *ho* ‘become’), *Negative* (*nas* ‘not to be’, *naho* ‘not become’), and *Voice markers* (*dzaa* ‘go’, *ye* ‘come’, *ho* ‘become’)] and the *arthahvaan* (meaningful) or *Operator* group into eight groups—on the basis of the meaning they add—as tabulated below.

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Operator (V2)</b>
Habitual	<i>as</i> ‘be’
Frequentative	<i>ye</i> ‘come’, <i>dzaa</i> ‘go’, <i>caal</i> ‘walk’, <i>bas</i> ‘sit’, <i>raah</i> ‘stay’
Potential	<i>ye</i> ‘come’, <i>shak</i> ‘be able’, <i>paaw</i> ‘be able’
Obligational	<i>paahije</i> ‘need’, <i>laag</i> ‘be struck’, <i>paD</i> ‘fall’
Desiderative	<i>paah</i> ‘want to’, <i>caah</i> ‘want to’, <i>ichhi</i> ‘want to’
Permissive	<i>de</i> ‘give’
Help/Beginning	<i>ghaal</i> ‘put on’, <i>laag</i> ‘be struck’
Intensives	<i>thev</i> ‘to keep’, <i>de</i> ‘give’, <i>ghe</i> ‘take’, <i>bas</i> ‘sit’, <i>dzaa</i> ‘go’ <i>soD</i> ‘leave’, <i>kaaDh</i> ‘take out’

In distinguishing CVs from formally congruent serial or conjunct verbs Damle offers an important insight. In the case of the former, the V2 is grammaticalized i.e. bleached of its lexical meaning while in the latter case it is not. Damle clarifies this by citing the following example (op. cit.: 569):

#### Compound Verb:

(3) tyaa-na	he	sabandh	pustak	<b>lih-un</b>	<b>kaaDh-l-a</b>
he-ERG	this	complete	book.N	write-CP	take out-PF-N
He wrote up this complete book.					

#### Serial or Conjunct Verb

(4) tyaa-na	he	aambe	dzhaaDaa-var	<b>tsaDh-un</b>	<b>kaaDh-l-e</b>
he-ERG	these	mangoes.M.PL	tree-on	climb-CP	take out-PF-M.PL
He climbed on the tree and plucked these mangoes.					

Almost all traditional Marathi grammarians have followed a scheme similar to Damle’s for classification of verbal compounds and for totting up the number of secondary verbs (auxiliaries and operators put together) the figure given by them is around 40. The sole exception is Vale (1948) who goes a step further and enlists all possible combinations of two or more verbs in the alphabetical order of their final member. This brings the total to 72 which is sub-divided in sixteen notional categories such as: 1)Abilitives, 2)Acquisitives, 3)Adverbatives, 4)Causatives, 5)Compleatives, 6)Compulsives, 7)Continuatives and Progressives, 8)Desideratives & Purposives, 9)Desubstantives and Syntactives, 10)Inceptives, 11)Intensives, 12)Negatives & Prohibitives, 13)Passives, 14)Permissives, 15)Probabilitives, and 16)Tentatives.

Raeseide (1958) advances a purely formal definition—the main verb in participle form followed by an auxiliary or operator in the finite form—and goes on to state (op. cit.: 237-8) that:

*Such a formal approach, which strives to ignore meaning when dealing with a text at the syntactical level, scarcely needs any justification at the present stage in the development of descriptive linguistics....*

Raeseide provides the following list of concatenations that should be treated as CV.

- (5) List of CV types (Raeseide, op. cit. 244-6 where V, A and O respectively stand for Verb, Auxiliary and Operator)

V A	<i>aahe</i> ‘be’, <i>naahi</i> ‘not to be’, <i>navhtaa</i> ‘was not’, <i>hoi</i> ‘used to become’, <i>hoil</i> ‘will become’, <i>ho</i> ‘to become’ .....
V-t O	<i>ye</i> ‘come’, <i>dzaa</i> ‘go’, <i>paD</i> ‘fall’, <i>thev</i> ‘keep’, etc.
V-taa O	<i>ye</i> ‘be able to’
V-laa O	<i>as</i> ‘be’, <i>dzaa</i> ‘in order to V’
V-va O	<i>laag</i> ‘strike’, <i>nlage</i> ‘not required’
V-aaytsa O	<i>raah</i> ‘stay’, <i>samp</i> ‘finish’, etc.
V-aaylaa O	<i>dzaa</i> ‘go’, <i>bas</i> ‘sit’, <i>visar</i> ‘forget’, <i>nigh</i> ‘come off’ etc.
V-un O	<i>ye</i> ‘come’, <i>bas</i> ‘sit’, <i>Taak</i> ‘throw’, <i>Thev</i> ‘put’, <i>paah</i> ‘see’ etc.
V-Nyaat O	<i>ye</i> ‘come’
V O	<i>dzaa</i> ‘go’

Note **V-un O** slot which corresponds to the *intensive* category in the traditional grammar and is also homophonous with the serial or conjunct verb [Cf. (3) and (4)]. Raeseide (op. cit.: 247) makes the following comment on these combinations:

*Doubts may remain about the V-un O class. Grammarians have constructed examples which, though appearing to fall into this class formally, yet from the commonsense view of their meaning one feels that they ought to be taken as two successive main verbs. Such a pair is Navalkar’s ‘gaay bandhun Thev’ and ‘pothi peTit bandhun Thev’ and Damle’s ‘tyaana he pustak lihun kaaDhle’ and ‘tyaana he aambe dzhaaDaavar caDhun kaaDhle’.*<sup>iv</sup> *They resolve these appealing to meaning. A Servile (Operator), says NAVALKAR, cannot have an independent meaning but only modifies the meaning of the main Verb itself (307 note. P. 165). DAMLE, after attempting a formal solution, is reduced to finally recommending an empirical judgment of what is or what isn’t a compound verb in each case, depending on the meaning of the whole sentence.... Since by our terms of reference we cannot resort to meaning as a criterion, is it necessary to distinguish two different structures in these examples, and if so, how do we set about it. It seems to me that it is not necessary. As long as one is thinking of Cv as a lexical category one feels that there ought to be some connection of meaning between V and O which could be written in a lump in a dictionary entry: “baandhun thev-, Cv, to tie up, to tie thoroughly, etc.” But the implications of V-un O group may be, and often are, purely sequential, as in ‘mi dzaaun aalo’. This is just as good a relation as any other, though it is difficult to express as a dictionary entry without implying two verbs: ‘to go and come’. However as long as one is talking of only formal verbal syntagms, I see no difficulty in accepting ‘caDhun kaaDh-‘to climb and take’*

and 'baandhun Thev-'to tie and put' within them. 'baandhun Thev-' 2 is merely an extension of 'baandhun Thev-' 1. The **meaning** of the whole must be different simply because a structure with two *N* places must mean something different from a structure with only one. [Emphasis original; transcription modified to maintain consistency.]

Raeseide's treatment is reminiscent of the structural linguistic approach. Southworth (1961) also analyses {V1-un+ V2} concatenations as the basic or kernal sentences at par with those containing of V1 alone. As a matter of fact CV semantically differ from serial or conjunct verbs on the one hand and from corresponding simple verbs on the other. This distinction is legitimate and should be made (Cf. Section 3 for more details).

From the foregoing overview of past research it is clear that the category of compound verb as described by the aforementioned grammarians is totally heterogeneous. It includes forms containing one verb (N-V sequences; nominal compounds) as well as those containing two verbs (V-V sequences, verbal compounds). The latter includes constellations of (a) two lexical verbs (V+V), (b) main verb and tense, aspect, mood, voice marker auxiliary (V+Aux.) and (c) main verb and a vector (V+Vector). Past studies do not make any distinction between these concatenations and group them together. All these sequences are formally identical: the first verb in a non-finite form followed by the second verb in a finite form. Constellations of two lexical verbs can be homophonous with those containing main verb and a vector. Formal criteria alone are thus inadequate to make these distinctions and isolate compound verb.<sup>v</sup> The category of compound verb as envisaged by afore-mentioned grammarians is clearly a case of over inclusion and it is necessary to set out precise criteria to determine thresholds for the class of compound verb.

In the Modern linguistic context, Pandharipande (1990) and Hook (1988, 1991) rightly treat only {V1+operator/vector} combinations as CVs in Marathi. Pandharipande (1990) briefly dwells on the definitional issues pertaining to CVs in Marathi.<sup>vi</sup> In what follows we will explore them in detail and set out explicit criteria for defining and identifying the class of CVs in Marathi.

### 3. COMPOUND VERB IN MARATHI: DEFINITIONAL CRITERIA

Research in the past few decades on CVs in New Indo-Aryan languages has yielded a consensus on identifying the class of compound verbs [Hook (1974, 1988, 1991, 1999), Masica (1976, 1991), Dasgupta (1977), Kachru (1979), Bhat (1979), Subbarao (1979), Nespital (1989, 1997), Pandharipande (1990), Gopalkrishnan & Abbi (1992), Singh (1998) among others]. Drawing upon insights from these studies we will discuss the criteria for identification of the category of CV in Marathi.

#### 3.1 Nominal (N-V) Compounds vs. Verbal (V-V) Compounds

Modern linguists confine the term CV to verbal compounds i.e. V-V constellations only. In CV the primary or main verb takes a non-finite form—to be more precise a conjunctive participle form—and is followed by a finite secondary or vector verb. Thus a CV takes the form: {V1-un+V2-desinence}. The so-called nominal compounds are

nothing but morphologically complex simple verbs (SV). They are not CVs in that they do not fulfill the first prerequisite for membership in the category viz. concatenation of two verbs. Further, compound verbs are formally, functionally as well as distributionally marked members *vis-à-vis* simple verbs—irrespective of their morphological complexity (Cf. 3.3-3.5). Note the following examples.

### Nominal Compound

- (6) a. raam-na                      **gruhapaaTh**                      **ke-l-aa**  
       Ram-ERG                      homework.M                      do-PF-M  
       Ram did his homework.
- b. raam-na                      tyaa-tsaa                      **apmaan**                      **ke-l-aa**  
       Ram-ERG                      he-GEN                      insult.M                      do-PF-M  
       Ram insulted him.

### Verbal Compound

- (7) a. raam-ne                      **gruhapaaTh**                      **kar-un**                      **Taak-l-aa**  
       Ram-ERG                      homework.M                      do-CP                      throw-PF-M  
       Ram did his homework and got rid of it. [Get rid of something]
- b. raam                      tyaa-tsaa                      **apmaan**                      **kar-un**                      **bas-l-aa**  
       Ram                      he-GEN                      insult.M                      do-CP                      sit-PF-M  
       Ram insulted him. [Undesirability]

Let us now turn to verbal or V-V compounds.

### 3.2 Verbal (V-V) Compounds

A concatenation of two verbs (V1+V2) gives rise to the following four logical possibilities.

- (a) Both V1 and V2 function as semantic heads
- (b) Neither V1 nor V2 serve as semantic head i.e. the meaning expressed by the combination is idiosyncratic
- (c) V2 functions as a semantic head and V1 modifies the meaning expressed by V2
- (d) V1 functions as a semantic head and V2 modifies the meaning expressed by V1

In Marathi, all these are expressed using identical form: {**V1-un** (conjunctive participle)+**V2-desinence** (finite)}. The possibility stated in (d) includes {V+Aux.} combinations in addition to {V1-un+V2-desinence} sequences or CVs. Let us first isolate sequences in (d) from those in (a), (b) and (c).

#### 3.2.1 Both V1 and V2 as Semantic Heads: Serial or Conjunct Verbs

As demonstrated by Damle (op. cit.) concatenations involving two lexical heads i.e. serial or conjoined verbs can be easily distinguished from CVs even though they are formally congruent. In the case of the former, V2s carry their lexical meaning while in their CV counterparts the V2s are “bleached” of their lexical meaning or lexically emptied [Cf. (3) and (4)]. Note the following example.



- (8) raam-na      Topi      **kaaDh-un**      **dhut-l-i**  
 Ram-ERG      cap.F      take out-CP      wash-PF-F  
 Ram took out his cap and washed it.

- (9) raam-na      Topi      **dhu-un**      **kaaDh-l-i**  
 Ram-ERG      cap.F      wash-CP      take out-PF-F  
 Ram washed his cap thoroughly.

Note that the V1 *kaaDh* in example (8) retains its lexical meaning while that in (9) does not. The latter rather conveys a grammaticalized meaning, viz. to do the action expressed by V1 thoroughly or to draw it to its extreme limit. However, this distinction is not clear always and sometimes it is difficult to draw a line between CVs and Serial verbs. In such a case of overlap the expression is ambiguous between a serial verb and a compound verb reading.

- (10) nidaan      baadli      **bhar-un** tari      **Thev-aayci**      parat  
 at least      bucket.F      fill-CP      emphatic marker      keep-modal      again  
 a. At least (you) should have refilled the bucket and kept it ready for future use.  
 [CV reading: Anticipatory action]  
 b. At least you should have refilled the bucket and put it. [Serial Verb reading:  
 Temporally Sequential Actions] (Gokhle 1979:64)

Let us turn to other formally congruent sequences, viz. those cases where neither V1 nor V2 serve as a semantic head.

### 3.2.2 Neither V1 nor V2 as Semantic Head: Idiomatic Sequences

In Marathi there are a few idiomatic verbal sequences that are homophonous with CV sequences. A distinction between the two, however, should be made. Idiomatic sequences are idiosyncratic i.e. their meaning is non-compositional. They are irregular and non-productive. In other words they are frozen expressions or phrasal chunks. CVs, on the other hand, are regular and productive to a certain extent, albeit not as open a set as {Verb+Auxiliaries} sequences. Another important difference between the idiomatic sequences and CVs is that the former do not permit deletion of V2 without substantial alternation in meaning while the latter do.<sup>vii</sup> Note the following examples.

#### Idiomatic Sequences

- (11) a. udyog      naslele      lekhak      daadaasahebaan-var      **tuT-un**      **paD-l-e**  
 business without      writers      Dadasaheb-on      break-CP      drop-PF-N  
 Idle authors came down heavily on Dadasaheb/criticized Dadasaheb violently.  
 (Khandekar 1961:121)  
 \*b. udyog      naslele      lekhak      daadaasahebaan-var      **tuT-l-e**  
 business without writers      Dadasaheb-on      break-PF-N

Idle authors came down heavily on Dadasaheb/criticized Dadasaheb violently.

- (12) a. hina      **di-l-i**              asel      khushaal              **taaN-un**  
          she      give-PF-F              may      with out any worry              stretch-CP  
          She might have just slept without worrying about anything.  
          (Khandekar 1961:174)
- \*b. hina      asel      khushaal              **taaN-l-i**  
          she      may      with out any worry              stretch-PF-F  
          She might have just slept without worrying about anything.

- (13) a. to              naahi      **ho-un**              **paD-l-aa**  
          he              no              become-CP              drop-PF-M  
          He bluntly refused it.
- \*b. to              naahi      **zaa-l-aa**  
          he              no              become-PF-M  
          ‘He bluntly refused it.’

### CV Sequences

- (14) a. tighi-hi                              **baavar-un**                              **ge-l-yaa**                              hotyaa  
          three of them-EMPH              be.bewildered-CP              go-PF-F.PL              were  
          ‘All three of them were totally bewildered.’ (Gokhle 1979:124)
- b. tighi-hi                              **baavar-l-ya**                              hotyaa  
          three of them-EMPH              be bewildered-PF-F              were  
          ‘All three of them were bewildered.’
- (15) a. tyaa-na      donhi      haataani              tonD      **zaak-un**              **ghet-l-a**  
          he-ERG      both      hands.ERG.PL      face.N      cover-CP              take-PF-N  
          ‘He covered his face with both hands.’ [Self-benefactive] (Gokhle 1979:297)
- b. tyaa-ne      donhi      haataani              tonD      **zaak-l-a**  
          he-ERG      both      hands.ERG.PL      face.N      cover-PF-N  
          ‘He covered his face with both hands.’

Having made a distinction between the idiomatic sequences and CV sequences let us move onto the next concatenation formally identical with CVs.

### 3.2.3 V2 as Semantic Head and V1 as Modifier: Adverbial Sequences

In Marathi there are what we call adverbial V-V sequences which are homophonous with CVs but differ from them significantly. In CVs the semantic center of gravity is V1 and V2 functions as a modifier. In sharp contrast to this, in the case of adverbial V-V sequences, it is exactly the opposite—V2 is the semantic pivot while V1 serves as an adverbial or modifier element. Absence of V1 signifies absence of adverbial meaning expressed by it. Note the following examples.

- (16) a. vahinisaahab                      ti-*laa*      **Taak-un**                      **bol-l-yaa**  
 elder brother's wife-D/A      she      throw-CP                      speak-PF-F  
 'Elder brother's wife scolded her contemptuously.' (Khandekar 1961:194)
- b. vahinisaahab                      ti-*laa*      **bol-l-yaa**  
 elder brother's wife-D/A      she      speak-PF-F  
 'Elder brother's wife scolded her.'
- (17) a. tyaa-na      baaL-aa-laa      poTaa-shi                      **kawTaaL-un**      **dhar-l-a**  
 he-ERG      child-OBL-D/A      stomach-to                      hug-CP                      hold-PF-N  
 'He held the child to his stomach firmly.' (Gokhle 1979:208)
- b. tyaa-na      baaL-aa-laa      poTaa-shi                      **dhar-l-a**  
 he-ERG      child-OBL-D/A      stomach-to                      hold-PF-N  
 'He held the child to his stomach.'
- (18) a. mi                      phaT-i-tun                      **tsor-un**                      **paahi-l-a**  
 I                      gap-OBL-through                      steal-CP                      see-PF-N  
 'I peeped through the gap stealthily.'
- b. mi                      phaT-i-tun                      **paahi-l-a**  
 I                      gap-OBL-through                      see-PF-N  
 I peeped through the gap.

Adverbial V-V sequences thus should be distinguished from CV sequences. Let us now turn to the last candidate, viz. V-V sequences involving V1 as semantic head and V2 as modifier.

### 3.2.4 V1 as Semantic Head and V2 as Modifier: Vector and Auxiliary Sequences

Under this category fall two types of concatenations viz. [V1+Vector] and [V1+Auxiliary]. In both of them the first verb i.e. V1 is in participle form and the following verb i.e. vector or auxiliary are in finite form. Further, in either of them the semantic head is V1. In this section we will compare these sequences and show that the two should be distinguished from each other. Before going into details a few examples are in order.

#### Auxiliaries

- (19) to      bhaat                      **khaa-t**                      {**aahe/naahi**}  
 he      rice                      eat-PTCPL                      {be.PRESENT/not to be.PRESENT}  
 'He {is/is not} eating rice.'
- (20) to      shaaL-e-t                      **dzaa-t**                      {**hotaa/navhtaa**}  
 he      school-OBL-in      go-PTCPL                      be.PAST/not to be.PAST  
 'He {was/was not} going to school.'

- (21) tu            bhaat    **khaa-t**            **dzaa**  
 you                    rice    eat-PTCPL            go.IMPF  
 'You should make it a habit to eat rice henceforth.'
- (22) to    **raD-at**            **bas-l-aa**  
 he cry-PTCPL            sit-PF-M  
 'He kept crying.'
- (23) raam            **zhop-laa**            **as-aavaa**  
 Ram            sleep-PTCPL            be-possibilitative  
 'Ram must have slept.'
- (24) te    kaam            **kar-aaytsa**            **raahi-l-a**  
 that work.N            do-PTCPL            stay-PF-N  
 'I have not yet done that work.'
- (25) raam            mumbai-laa            **dz-aaylaa**            **nighaa-l-aa**  
 Ram            Bombay-to            go-PTCPL            come off-PF-M  
 'Ram started for Bombay.'
- (26) raam-laa    japaani            bhaaShaa            **bol-taa**            **ye-t-e**  
 Ram-D/A    Japanese            language.F            speak-PTCPL            come-IMPF-F  
 'Ram can speak Japanese.'
- (27) raam-na    shaam-laa            bhaat    **khaay-laa**            **laav-l-aa**  
 Ram-ERG    Sham-D/A            rice.M    eat-DAT            attach-PF-M  
 'Ram made Sham eat the rice.'
- (28) raam-laa    shikshaa            **ke-l-i**            **ge-l-i**  
 Ram-D/A    punishment.F            do-PF-F            go-PF-F  
 'Ram was punished.'
- (29) raam-laa    kaam-aa-var-un            **kaaDh-Nyaat**    **aa-l-a**  
 Ram-D/A    work-OBL-on-from            remove-PTCPL    come-PF-N  
 'Ram was sacked form the job.'

### Vectors

- (30) shaam            phaar            **thak-un**            **ge-l-aa**            hota  
 Ram            extremely            be tired-CP            GO-PF-M            was  
 'Sham was extremely tired.' [Dynamic depiction of the event/Completion]  
 (Khandekar 1961:272)
- (31) titsa    man            **utsanbaL-un**            **aa-l-a**  
 her    mind.N            well up-CP            COME-PF-N

‘Her mind welled up dramatically.’ [Dynamic depiction of change of state]  
(Gokhle 1979:191)

- (32) mi aaNkhi oLakh                      **kar-un di-l-i**  
I more introduction.F do-CP GIVE-PF-F  
‘I elaborated further on my self-introduction.’ [Other-benefactive]  
(Khandekar 1961:142)

- (33) doghaan-ni                      bharbhar                      **je-un ghet-l-a**  
both of them-ERG hurriedly eat-CP TAKE-PF-N  
‘Both of them had meal hurriedly.’ [Self-benefactive] (Gokhle 1979:52)

- (34) tyaan-ni                      te                      **phaaD-un Taak-l-a**                      asel  
they-ERG that.N tear-CP THROW-PF-N be.FUT  
‘They might have torn it off.’ [Dynamic depiction of the event]  
(Khandekar 1961:250)

Vectors and auxiliaries share striking similarities. Both are closed sets with few class members. Etymologically, both arise out of a common source (viz. lexical verb) through grammaticalization and do not retain their original lexical meanings. Such similarities perhaps might have led traditional Marathi grammarians to treat them alike. They, however, differ from each other significantly.

Auxiliaries and Vectors can be distinguished on the basis of their distributional properties. Auxiliaries are the outermost members of a verb phrase while vectors are not. Thus a V-Aux concatenation is a closed one while a V-Vector sequence can be extended further by an auxiliary as exemplified below. [Also Cf. (30) and (34)].

- (35) ti naaTkaaa-ci                      tikiTa                      miLaali                      tar                      **kaaDh-un Thev-Naar hoti**  
She drama-GEN tickets get if draw-CP KEEP-FUT be.PST  
‘If available, she planned to buy the tickets of drama in advance.’  
[Anticipatory action] (Gokhle 1979:268)

Among auxiliaries voice auxiliaries come right after the vector or main verb and may be followed by modal and/or tense/aspect marker auxiliaries in that order.

- (36) patra                      **phaaD-un Taak-l-a ge-l-a**                      {asaava/hota}  
letter.N tear-CP THROW-PF-N GO-PERF-N may/was  
‘The letter {might have been/was} tore off.’

Auxiliaries and Vectors show striking differences in their syntactic behaviour as well. In Hindi, CVs are less commonly negated than simple verbs (non-CVs) while auxiliary sequences can be easily negated [Cf. Hook 1974]. While this criterion may be useful for discriminating CVs from auxiliary sequences in Hindi it does not work the same way in Marathi. The class of CV in Marathi gets divided into two groups—some (especially those involving GIVE, TAKE, etc.) can be negated while others (those involving GO, COME, THROW, SIT etc) cannot. The same holds true for

co-occurrence with phasal verbs (such as START, CONTINUE and STOP). There seems to be a close correlation between sensitivity to negation and non-co-occurrence with phasal verbs—the CVs that can be negated permit co-occurrence with phasal verbs and vice versa. Note the following examples.

- (37) a. chandraa-na      DoLe      **miT-un**              **ghet-l-e**  
 Chandra-ERG      eyes.N      close-CP              take-PF-N  
 ‘Chandra closed her eyes.’ [Self-benefactive] (Gokhle 1979:176)
- b. chandraa-na      DoLe      **miT-un**              **ghet-l-e**              **naahit**  
 Chandra-ERG      eyes.N      close-CP              take-PF-N              not  
 ‘Chandra did not close her eyes.’
- c. chandraa      DoLe      **miT-un**              **ghe-u**              **laag-l-i**  
 Chandra      eyes.N      close-CP              take-PTCPL              begin-PF-N  
 ‘Chandra started closing her eyes.’
- (38) a. mi      tyaa      mulaa-laa              navin      koT              **kar-un**      **di-l-aa**  
 I      that      boy-D/A              new      coat.M      do-CP      give-PF-M  
 ‘I gave the boy a new coat.’ [Other-benefactive] (Khandeker 1961:102)
- b. mi      tyaa      mulaa-laa      navin      koT              **kar-un**      **di-l-aa**              **naahi**  
 I      that      boy-D/A      new      coat.M      do-CP      give-PF-M              not  
 ‘I did not give the boy a new coat.’
- c. mi      tyaa      mulaa-laa      navin      koT              **kar-un**      **de-t**              **raahi-l-o**  
 I      that      boy-D/A      new      coat.M      do-CP      give-PTCPL      stay-PF-M  
 ‘I kept on giving the boy a new coat.’
- (39) a. ti              aadhikats              **ghaabr-un**              **ge-l-i**  
 she              all the more              be frightened-CP              go-PF-F  
 She got all the more frightened. [Dynamic depiction of change of state]  
 (Khandekar 1961:234)
- \*b. ti              aadhikats              **ghaabr-un**              **ge-l-i**              **naahi**  
 she              all the more              be frightened-CP              go-PF-F              not  
 ‘She did not get all the more frightened.’
- \*c. ti              aadhikats              **ghaabr-un**              **dzaa-u**              **laag-l-i**  
 she              all the more              be frightened-CP              go-PTCPL              begin-PF-F  
 ‘She started getting all the more frightened.’
- (40) a. titse              DoLe              **bhar-un**      **aa-l-e**  
 her              eyes.M.PL              fill-CP              come-PF-M.PL  
 ‘Tears welled up in her eyes.’ [Dynamic depiction of change of state]  
 (Gokhle 1979:68)
- \*b. titse              DoLe              **bhar-un**      **aa-l-e**              **naahi**  
 her              eyes.M.PL              fill-CP              come-PF-M.PL              not  
 ‘Tears did not well up in her eyes.’
- \*c. titse              DoLe              **bhar-un**      **ye-u**              **laag-l-e**  
 her              eyes.M.PL              fill-CP              come-PTCPL              begin-PF-M.PL

‘Tears started welling up in her eyes.’

Hook (1974) provides an insightful explanation. He claims that one of the functions of CV in Hindi is to express “relative completion”. Negation of a CV implies non-completion of the action and thus presents a contradiction. Accordingly, negated CVs are less common. This seems to hold for those CVs in Marathi that cannot be negated.

The most discriminative criterion perhaps is the function that auxiliaries and vectors perform. Auxiliaries are employed to express grammatical meanings such as tense, mood and aspect. Vectors, in contrast, do not express grammatical meanings. Abbi & Gopalkrishnan (1991) in their attempt to develop a semantic typology of compound verbs in South Asian languages classify the meanings expressed by vector sequences under three broad headings viz. ASPECTUAL, ADVERBIAL and ATTITUDINAL which are further divided into several discrete or sometimes partially overlapping sub-types. Without any commitment to our acceptance or rejection of these categories we will just mention that the ASPECTUAL class equivocally resists both negation and co-occurrence with phasal verbs. The ATTITUDINAL generally permit both negation and occurrence with phasal verbs. The ADVERBIAL class shows a split—some members positively respond to negation and phasal verb addition while others reject both. We will not go into details here since that is not an issue that we pursue here.

The foregoing argument is based on the assumption that auxiliaries express grammatical meanings like tense, aspect and mood while the vectors do not convey such meanings. One may argue that this argument does not go through fully since the class of vectors itself is divided and some do express quasi-aspectual meaning. There is, however, a crucial difference between auxiliaries and vectors. Masica (1976) rightly points out that vector sequences are “lexically selective”. For combining a given V2 with V1 it is necessary that V1 should be compatible with or have semantic potential to combine with V2 since the function of V2, as Masica (op. cit: 143) put it: “*greater specification of features of the action already latent in the main verb itself or those that are compatible with it but have not yet been specified*”. Verb-Vector sequences are thus lexico-semantically constrained and are not a part of a regular contrast or paradigm. They should be listed in the dictionary as separate lexical entries. In contrast to this, auxiliary sequences—expressing tense/aspect, mood and voice—are in regular paradigmatic relation with the verb with which they co-occur. The combination of a verb plus auxiliary is so to say an open set. Almost any verb can co-occur with an auxiliary as long as it does not present what Pandharipande (1990: 181) calls ontological incompatibility. For example, in Marathi the verb like *mar-Ne* ‘to die’ cannot be paired with a progressive marker auxiliary like *as-Ne* ‘to be’. Consequently, auxiliary sequences need not be given in a dictionary as separate lexical entries.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the class of CV is divided. Some CVs (especially those involving vectors such as GO, COME, THROW, SIT etc.) behave like auxiliaries while others (especially involving GIVE, TAKE, KEEP, etc.) differ from the auxiliaries significantly. In other words the dividing line between auxiliaries and vectors is blurred. Further, as noted earlier, it is hard to make a distinction between serial verbs and compound verbs in some cases. These facts indicate





- cow                      tie-CP                      keep.imperative  
Tie the cow. (in anticipation of something). We do not agree with the translation of the V-V sequence given by Reaside viz. “tie thoroughly”.
- (b) pothi                      peTi-t                      baandh-un                      Thev  
holy book                      trunk-in                      tie-CP                      keep.imperative  
Tie the holy book (with a piece of cloth) and keep it in the trunk.

<sup>v</sup> Cf. Hook 1973 for a detailed discussion pertaining to this point for Hindi. Hook claims that they are even unnecessary.

<sup>vi</sup> It should be noted that what has been referred to as compound verb construction [Cf. (3)] and serial verb construction [Cf. (4)] in this paper have been termed as “serial verb construction” and “conjunctive participial construction” respectively in Pandharipande (1990).

<sup>vii</sup> CVs alternate with corresponding simple verbs with no apparent change in what Abbi & Gopalkrishnan (1991) call *cognitive meaning* of the predicate, i.e. there is no change in the truth value of the predication in either case. It does not mean that there is no meaning loss or gain by the absence vs. presence of the vector verb.

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