A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions

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Abstract

Syntactically and semantically, the double verb construction has always been a matter of controversy in South Asian languages. This paper is an attempt to draw a distinction between complex predicates and serial verb constructions in Gojri. It has been noted that these terms are intermingled in many ways and therefore raise different questions regarding the nature of these structures. The double verb construction in Gojri has an edge over other regional languages as they represent different categories of sentence formation.

1. Introduction

The double verb construction is a common phenomenon in South Asian languages and has been studied since long. However, there has been always controversy over the status of these constructions. The south Asian languages belong to four different families namely; Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic. Masica (1991, 1976) reports that these families share certain syntactic-semantic features, though they show their own individualities. The Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages have received more attention regarding this issue than their counterparts. Among other Indo-Aryan languages, Hindi-Urdu (Nespital 1997, Butt 1997 &1995, Arora 1979, Hook 1974), Bengali (Singh 1998, Ramchand 1990, Dasgupta 1977), Punjabi (Akhtar 2000 &1998, Bhatia 1993) and Marathi (Panndharipande 1990) were frequently reported.

Gojri is one of the Indo-Aryan languages which has not yet been studied from this perspective. Most of its sister languages, such as Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, have been restricted to the complex predicate formation that is one of the forms of VV construction. However, Gojri displays another very common and well studied formation

of verb complexes that is commonly known as the serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions are a hall-mark of many African languages and creoles. Jayaseelan (2004) claims that the serial verb construction is very common in Dravidian languages including Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. It seems that this construction is more common in Dravidian than the Indo-Aryan Languages of South Asia.

However, it is strange that no clear cut distinction has yet been made between complex predicates and the serial verb construction. The V-V construction is so complicated that no single definition has been put forward to capture the nature of these constructions. Unfortunately, some linguists interchange these terms and take one for the other, especially in South Asian languages as well as some other serial African languages.

Without going into the details of the history of these constructions, I will put forward different arguments that would draw a distinction between the V-V complex Predicates and V-V serial verb constructions. Consider the following examples:

1   Serial verb construction
      a.   kaloo-nɛ   seb   chillii   khayo
            kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM peel.PF.F   eat.PF.M
            'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

      Complex predicate
      b.   kaloo-nɛ   seb   chil   diyo
            kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM peel   give.PF.M
            'Kaloo peeled the apple (for someone else).

The above examples illustrate the difference between the serial verb construction and complex predicates in Gojri. (1a) is one of the structures for the serial verb construction (SVCs) that indicates that there are two different events described by two serial verbs which come together in a sequence. It means that two different events have their own individuality in the course of action. However, (1b) describes just one action. The second verb *diyo* 'give' in the sequence is a light verb. The light verb does not have its full lexicall meaning but contributes some aspectual meanings of 'completiveness' and

Language in India www.languageinindia.com
9 :1 January 2009
A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions
Nadeem Bukhari   28

beneficiary meaning to the meanings of the first verb *chil* 'peel' in sentence. It indicates that the agent performed the action for someone else. Akhtar (2000) and Butt (1995) reports that there is a general agreement that V_2 in a complex predicate is the bleached forms of verb and therefore lose some of its semantic content. However it can be used as a main verb, in which case it has its lexical meanings. The only preferred position for the main verb in complex predicates is V_1 in V+V sequences.

Another sharp difference can be noted between the above examples. In SVC construction, the non-final verbs display the *–ii* inflection which I label as Serial Verb Inflection (SVI). The last verb agrees with the highest nominative case in gender and number. On the other hand, in complex predicates, V_1 appears either in the root or infinitive form. But here too, V_2 shows agreement with the highest nominative case in gender and number.

It is also very important to note that neither SVCs nor complex predicate structure permits any embedding structures. They are mono-clausal in nature and share a single tense /aspect. If the verbs are treated as predicates of different clauses, they lose the status of double verb construction. It is quite significant to note that the complex predicates never allow more than two verbs (main verb and the light verb) in a clause. On the other hand, the serial verb construction may have more than two verbs. Consider the example:

2.   a.   kaloo-nɛ   seb   kepii   khayo
          kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM.Mcut.SVI   eat-PF.M
          'Kaloo cut and ate the apple.'

     b.   kaloo-nɛ   seb   chillii   kepii   khayo
          kaloo-ERG apple-NOM.M   peel.SVI   cut.SVI   eat-PF.M
          'Kaloo peeled, cut and ate the apple.'

     c.   kaloo-nɛ   gajer   xariidii   chillii   kutterii   khaii
          kaloo-ERG carrot-NOM.F   bought.SVI   peel.SVI   cut.SVI   eat-PF.F
          'Kaloo bought, peeled, cut and ate the carrot.'

(2a) shows that there are only two verbs involved in the structure. On the other hand, (2b) displays three and (2c) four verbs respectively which show different individual

actions. These examples also confirm the fact that it is the final verb that is always inflected for tense and agrees with the highest nominative case in person, number and gender. The non-final verbs have nothing to do with any type of agreement. This is a general phenomenon in Gojri. Consider the following examples:

3.   a.   kaloo-nɛ   ka   kəppii   bədyo   (SVCs)
           kaloo-ERG   grass-NOM   cut-SVI   tie-PF.M
           'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.'

    b.   kaloo-nɛ   macchi   pakkaii   wertii
           kaloo-ERG   fish-NOM   cut-SVI   tie-PF.F
           'Kaloo cooked the fish and served it.'

4.   a.   kaloo-nɛ   ka   kəp   liyo   (CPs)
           kaloo-ERG   grass-NOM.M   cut   take-PF.M
           'Kaloo cut the grass.'

    b.   kaloo-nɛ   macchi   xariid lii
           kaloo-ERG   fish-NOM.F   buy   take-PF.F
           'Kaloo bought fish.'

Examples (3-4) clearly illustrate that the agreement pattern is not affected by different types of V-V constructions in Gojri.

Malayalam is a well studied Dravidian language. Jayaseelan (2004:67) presents the following example:

5.   naan oru   maanga   poTTiccu   kazhuki   muRiccu
     I   a   mango   pluck   wash   cut
     upp-il-iTTu   kaDiccu   cavaccu   tinn-u
     salt-in-put   bite   chew   eat-Past
     'I plucked, washed, cut, pickled, bit, chewed and ate a mango.'

Consider the following Gojri example:

6.   kiren-nɛ   saag   kəppi tottii kuttri pakaii   khayo
     kiren-ERG   spinach. M-NOM   cut   wash   cut   cook   eat-PF.M
     'Kiren cut, washed, chopped, cooked and ate the spinach.'

Language in India www.languageinindia.com
9 :1 January 2009
A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions
Nadeem Bukhari   30

Like Malayalam, there are no conjunctions involved in this type of construction and it is the last verb that is marked for Tense and aspect. It is also important to note that all the verbs preceding the last verb are invariant and identical in Gojri with the –ii inflection. This form is known as "the frozen" past tense in Malayalam (Jayaseelan 2004:68). However, these frozen verbs do not affect the status of the final finite verb in the construction both in Gojri and Malayalam.

2. The structure of SVCs

The pattern of serialization or serial verbs has been the focus of much research yet no definition has won authenticity and prestige in literature. It was Westermann (1930:26) who first introduced the term verb serialisation as "a row of verbs one after another….[in which] the verbs stand next to each other without being connected." Collins (1993:91) defines serialisation in more detailed way. However, more recently, Collins (1997:462) refines it as: "A serial verb construction is a succession of verbs and their complements (if any) with one subject and one tense value that are not separated by any overt marker of coordination or subordination."

2.1 Scrambling

The constituents of the serial verb construction or the complex predicate cannot be scrambled in any way. The following sentence shows the phenomenon:

7.   A simple Gojri sentence

    a.   kaloo-nɛ   səntro   [khayo   ɛ]
           kaloo-ERG   orange-M.NOM   eat-PF.M.Sg   be.PRES.3.Sg
           'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

    b.   kaloo-nɛ   [khayo   ɛ]   səntro
           kaloo-ERG   eat-PF.M.Sg   be.PRES.3.Sg   orange.M-NOM
           'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

    c.   *kaloo-nɛ   səntro   ɛ   khayo
           kaloo-ERG   orange-M.NOM   be.PRES.3.Sg   eat-PF.M.Sg
           'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

d. *kaloo-nɛ   ɛ   səntro   khayo
    kaloo-ERG   be.PRES.3.Sg orange-M.NOM   eat-PF.M.Sg
    'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

It is clear from the above example that Gojri does not allow verb combinations to be separated. Any attempt to separate the verbs in these constructions results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Both SVCs and CPs behave the same way in this respect. Consider the following examples:

8. Serial verb construction

    a. kaloo-nɛ   səntro   [kəppii   khayo]
        kaloo-ERG   orange-M.NOM   cut   eat-PF.M
        'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

    b. *kaloo-nɛ   kəppii   səntro   khayo
        kaloo-ERG   cut   orange-M.NOM eat-PF.M
        'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

    c. *kaloo-nɛ   khayo   səntro   kəppii
        kaloo-ERG   eat-PF.M   orange-M.NOM   cut
        'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

9. Complex Predicates

    a. kaloo-nɛ   səntro   [kəp   diyo]
        kaloo-ERG   orange-M.NOM   cut   give-PF.M
        'Kaloo cut an orange.'

    b. *kaloo-nɛ   kəp   səntro   diyo
        kaloo-ERG   cut   orange-M.NOM give-PF.M
        'Kaloo cut an orange.'

    c. *kaloo-nɛ   diyo   səntro   kəp
        kaloo-ERG   give-PF.M orange-M.NOM   cut
        'Kaloo cut an orange.'

The examples in (8) and (9) show that the double verbs in both the constructions cannot be separated. (8a) and (9a) both are fine because there is no violation of rule. However, (8b-c) as well as (9b-c) are ill-formed structure because of the violation of the general rule. Unlike the simple sentences and complex predicates, the verbs in serial verb construction cannot be scrambled even as a unit. Consider the following examples:

10.   a. Serial verb construction
       *kaloo-nɛ   [kəppii   khayo]   səntro
       kaloo-ERG   cut   eat-PF.M   orange-M.NOM
       'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'
       b. Complex Predicates
       kaloo-nɛ   [kəp   diyo]   səntro
       kaloo-ERG   cut   give-PF.M   orange-M.NOM
       'Kaloo cut an orange.'

The serial verb constructions in Gojri always follow the canonical SOV word order. The above example illustrates clearly that the scrambling of two or more verbs in serial verb construction in Gojri is not allowed. Their position is fixed in the structure. On the other hand, (10b) shows that this type of scrambling is allowed in complex predicates. I assume that this phenomenon is allowed in complex predicates because they describe only one event while the serial verb constructions involve more than one action in a sentence. It may be concluded from this that the serial verb construction behaves differently with respect to scrambling. Contrary to this, complex predicates follow the same pattern of simple sentences in Gojri. This is one of the evidences that the serial verb construction is different from complex predicates which are interchangeably used in many languages.

2.2   Coordination

Coordination is another test that makes a clear distinction between serial verb constructions and complex predicates in Gojri. The following examples illustrate that the two verbs in a serial verb construction in Gojri cannot be coordinated by inserting any conjunction. On the other hand, two actions in the complex predicate formation can only be described by introducing two complex predicates.

11.   a.   serial verb construction
               *kaloo-nɛ   səntro   kəppii   hor   khayo
               kaloo-ERG   orange-M.NOM   cut   and   eat-PF.M
               'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

       b.   Complex Predicates
               kaloo-nɛ   səntro [kəp   diyo]   hor   [bənd☐   choryo]

kaloo-ERG   orange   cut   give-PF.M and distribute   leave-PF
'Kaloo cut an orange and distributed it.'

c.   *kaloo-nɛ   səntro   [kəp hor bənd☐]   chor☐ yo
kaloo-ERG   orange   cut   and distribute leave-PF
'Kaloo cut an orange and distributed it.'

The examples above again confirm that the serial verb construction behaves in sharp contrast to complex predicates. It is interesting to note that any attempt to separate the two verbs in complex predicates results in poor grammatical structure. The series of actions which are described with different complex predicates can easily be shown in one serial verb structure in Gojri:

12.   kaloo-nɛ   səntro [kəppii bənd☐ ii   khayo]
kaloo-ERG   orange   cut   distribute eat-PF
'Kaloo cut an orange, distributed and ate it.'

This means that a serial verb construction accommodates a wide range of events in Gojri. The example above also illustrates that there is no need to insert any conjunction in the Gojri SVCs. This rules out the possibility of the coordination analysis presented by Larsen (1991) for serial verb construction if applied to the serial verb construction in Gojri.

3.   V2 is Head

Gojri is a head final language. In both the serial verb construction and complex predicates, one of the verbs selects a VP headed by the other verb. I assume that V_2 functions as a head in Gojri complex verb formations for a number of reasons. There have been introduced different tests for different languages. Dechaine (1993) argues that V_1 in Yoruba SVCs is the head because it can be repeated in the structure. Similarly, Baker and Stewart (2002) and George (1975) claim the same for Nupe. On the other hand, Nishiyama (1996:12) claims that V_2 is head in Japanese and Korean SVCs because it is repeated in these structures. It is noteworthy that in many languages this verb doubling has some semantic effects:

13.   a.   musa   le   le   kata   o
                Musa   sleep   sleep   house   LOC
                'Musa actually slept in the house.'(Nupe, Baker & Stewart 2002:12)

      b.   john-wa bill-o   osi-taosi-ta   koto-wa   osi-taosi-ta   kedo
                john-TOP bill-ACC   push-topple-PF fact-TOP   push-topple-PF   but
                'John did push and toppled Bill, but...'(Japanese, Nishiyama 1996:12)

This is not the case for Gojri. No verb can be repeated in one clause at any level. So this test does not work in Gojri. However, there are some other tests available in Gojri that may help to establish that the V_2 is head in these structures. Consider the following example:

14.   kaloo-nɛ   xat   likhii   pejyo
       kaloo-ERG   letter-NOM   write   send-PF.M
       'Kaloo wrote a letter and sent (it).'

(14) illustrates that it is V_2 that is marked for tense and agreement. The verb *pej* 'send' agrees with the highest nominative argument which is *xat* 'letter' in the structure. V_1 plays no role in this regard because it has invariant inflection. The same is true for complex predicate formations as they display either root form or infinitive form in the V_1 position.

15.   a.   kaloo-nɛ   xat   likh   liyo
                kaloo-ERG   letter-NOM   write   take-PF.M
                'Kaloo wrote a letter.' (self-beneficiary)

      b.   kaloo-nɛ   xat   likha~R   diyo
                kaloo-ERG   letter-NOM   write.INF   give-PF.M
                'Kaloo let the letter be written.'(Permissive)

In Gojri complex predicates, the non-final verb either takes the root form of the verb or it appears in the infinitive form. The use of the different forms of the main verbs in the Gojri complex predicates depend upon the meaning of the sentence as illustrated in (15) above. So it can be concluded that neither the root form nor the infinitive form contributes any significant role in agreement. This also supports the idea that it is the V_2 that is the head in such formations.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com
9 :1 January 2009
A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions
Nadeem Bukhari   35

There is another test available for the serial verb constructions that suggests the claim that the V_2 is the head in these constructions in Gojri. If the negation marker or an adverb in Gojri serial verb constructions is placed before the first verb, it affects both the verbs. On the other hand, if any of these elements precedes V_2 only, its effect is restricted to the second verb. This means that the second verb is always influenced by these insertions whether it is placed before the first or the second verb. This suggests that V_2 in Gojri serial verb constructions stands as the head.

As discussed before, there has been disagreement in the literature concerning what a serial verb actually is and what sort of unified phenomenon it represents. Many attempts have been made to define serial verbs but nothing has successfully captured the status and grammatical nature of the category. It seems that this is because of different characteristics of serial verbs present in different languages. Recently, Aikhenvald (2003:1) has tried to summarise the defining properties of the serial verbs and their construction as: ' a serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verbs describe what can be conceptualised as a single event. They are mono-clausal; their intonational properties are those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value.' However, it seems that there are different components in her definition that are controversial for the linguists who are working on serial verb constructions. For example the notions like 'conceptualising a single event, or 'acting as a single predicate', etc are vague and cannot help in differentiating serial verbs from other categories of verbs. The literature review of the serial verb construction brings some very conflicting and contrasting views about their properties cross-linguistically. Seuren (1990:29) argues that the vast majority of serializing languages have basic SVO order. On the other hand, Crowley (2002:11) claims that OV is the order of most serializing languages.

Collins (1997) argues that it the argument sharing that distinguishes a serial verb from non serial verb formations. He supports his claim with the following examples from Ewe:

16. a.   me   fo   kadɛgbɛ   gba
           I   hit   lamp   break
           'I hit the lamp and broke its glass.'

     b.   me   fo   kadɛgbɛ   gba   (yɛme)   tsimini
           I   hit   lamp   break   its   glass
           'I hit the lamp and broke its glass.'

Collins claims that (16a) is an example of a serial verb construction while (16b) is not. He justifies his argument by putting both the above examples into the future. He argues that the true serial verb construction allows only one future marker as shown in (17a) below while the coordination in (17b) demands that both the verbs should bear their own future marking:

17. a.   me   a   fo   kadɛgbɛ   gba
           I   FUT   hit   lamp   break
           'I will hit the lamp and break its glass.'

     b.   me   a   fo   kadɛgbɛ   a   gba   (yɛme)   tsimini
           I   FUT   hit   lamp   FUT   break   its   glass
           'I will hit the lamp and break its glass.'

Aikhenvald (2003) argues that serial verb constructions are "a prototype construction, where in an individual language what is called a 'serial verb' would be expected to have most, but not necessarily all, of the defining properties." On the other hand, scholars like Delpanque (1998:248) argues that there is nothing that can be found in what is called the serial verb construction that does not turn up in non-serializing languages. He calls it nothing but a 'myth' because of their variant nature.

5. Functional and formal properties of serial verb constructions

Different question are frequently raised regarding the functional and formal principles of the serial verb constructions. For example, why do we have serial verbs constructions in a very small number of languages and what different functions do these constructions perform?

Language in India www.languageinindia.com
9 :1 January 2009
A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions
Nadeem Bukhari   37

Newmeyer (2004:5) presents that there are economy – and iconicity based reasons for the existence of the SVCs. This means that in serial verb constructions, conceptual dependencies exist and the chances of different propositions are reduced. Similarly, these constructions are helpful in generating meanings such as comparison and preference, which are not possible with other structures. For example Byrne (1987:225) quotes the following example from Saramaccan to express comparison:

18. a   bigi   pasa di   mii
     3sg   tall   surpass the   child
     'He is taller than the child.'

Contrary to functional principles, formal principles apply to abstract structures. Baker (2001:142) argues that serial verb constructions are only available in those languages which have no tense marking or which express tense as an independent word. This is not true. There exist some languages that have serial verbs that bear tense markers. Foley and Olson (1985:21) introduce the following example from Yimas that refutes Baker's claim.

19. namarawt   tikir-gat   ya-na-pay-pu-tˇ
     man   chair-pl   3plO-3sgS-lie-go-perf
     'The man carried the chair away.'

Similarly, Baker denies the possibility of serial verb constructions in VSO languages. Consider the example from Ravua by Schiller (1990) that rejects Baker's claim:

20. ti   me   ho   taw   lik   me   pin   ke-en
     take you   go   send letter you   accompany   to-here
     'Go, take the letter and come back.'

Baker (1989) further argues that verb serialization is not possible in cases where two verbs follow each other directly. According to his claim, 'V-V adjacency is impossible in the serial verb construction.' He supports his claim by introducing example from Sranan:

21. kofi   naki   amba kiri

Kofi   hit   Amba kill
                'Kofi struck Amba dead.'

This can be disconfirmed here by showing that there are several serial languages which allow V-V adjacency. Gojri is one of those languages. Consider the following examples from different languages:

22.   a.   kaloo-nɛ   ka   kəppii   bədyo
                Kaloo-ERG   grass.NOM   cut-SVI   tie-PF.M
                'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.'

        b.   naan   oru   maanga   poTTiccu   tinn-u
                I   a   mango   pluck   eat-Past
                'I plucked and ate a mango.'(Malayalam, Jayaseelan 2004: 67)

        c.   john-i   sakwa-lul   kkakke   mek-ess-ta
                john-N   apple-ACC   peel   eat-Pst-Dec
                'John peeled an apple and ate it.'   (Korean, Chung 1993:24)

The above examples from three different languages confirm the fact that there is no restriction on the serial verbs preventing them from immediately following each other. It seems that Baker and Collins have just focused on the African languages which allow the object to intervene between the serial verbs. The whole discussion suggests that it is hard to fix a criterion for SVCs because of the variant nature of the languages in which they exist.

6. Argument Sharing

Since the emergence of the study of serial verb construction cross-linguistically, the phenomenon of object sharing has been a focal point. Baker (1989), Lefebvre (1991), Collins (1993, 1994, 1997), Baker and Stewart (2002), Stewart (2001) Carstens (2002), Choi (2003) are leading figures among others.

Unlike the majority of languages which have a serial verb construction, the object is not sandwiched between the two verbs in Gojri. Consider the following examples:

23. a. kaloo-nɛ   seb   chilii   khayo
       kaloo-ERG   apple   peeled   ate
       'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

    b. wo   à   fufu   ù
       they   cooked   fufu   eat
       'They cooked fufu and ate it.'(Ewe, Collins 1993: 91)

    c. di   uman   kuk   rɛs   sɛl
        The   woman   cook   rice   sell
       'The woman cooked some rice and sold it.'   (Krio, Johnson 2002: 41)

    d. bola   se   dran   ta
       bola   cooked   meat   sell
       'Bola cooked some meat and sold it.' (Yoruba, Lord 1974)

    e. mi   fringi a batra   broko
       i   throw   the bottle   break
       'I threw the bottle and broke it.'   (Sranan, Crowley 2002:10)

(23a) confirms the fact that the Gojri object in serial verb construction does not occur between the two verbs but instead always precedes the first verb. In all other examples (23b-e), it appears between the two serial verbs.

In many languages, it can be hard to distinguish serial verb construction from coordination structures. However, the following sections will clearly illustrate that the Gojri serial constructions are real SVCs.

6.1 The shared tense marker test

Collin (1997) observes that only one tense marker is allowed in serial verb constructions. This is also the case in the Gojri serial verb construction. Consider the following examples:

24. a. kaloo-nɛ   seb   chillii   khayo
       kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   peel- SVI   eat-PF.M
       'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

    b. *kaloo-nɛ   seb   chillyo   khayo
       kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   peel-PF   eat-PF.M
       'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

c. kaloo-nɛ   seb   chillyo   fer   khayo
    kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   peel-PF   then   eat-PF.M
    'Kaloo peeled the apple first and then (he) ate it.'

Sharing of a single tense marker in (24a) confirms that Gojri displays the genuine serial verb construction. The non-final verb as shown in (24a) is inflected for the serial verb inflection viz –ii which has nothing to do with tense and is the same for all numbers and gender in Gojri. (24b) is ungrammatical because it violates the single tense marker condition on serial verb constructions. On the other hand, (24c) is fine because it has been split into two clauses and each verb in its respective clause needs its own tense marker.

6.2   The shared adverb test

Like many other Indo-Aryan, adverbs in Gojri generally follow the serial verbs. When an adverb is placed before the serial verbs, it affects both the verbs as shown in (25a) below.

25.   a.   kaloo-nɛ   seb   tawli tawli   chillii   khayo
            kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   quickly   peel- SVI   eat-PF.M
            'Kaloo peeled and ate the apple quickly.'

      b.   kaloo-nɛ   seb   chillii   tawli tawli   khayo
            kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   peel- SVI   quickly   eat-PF.M
            'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it quickly.'

This evidence confirms that the Gojri serial verbs share an adverb in general. Sometimes, however there is a need to focus the second verb only in such constructions. In such cases, where the adverb is inserted between the serial verbs, it will only affect the following verb. This does not change the status of the serial verb construction in Gojri.

6.3   The shared negation marker

Like adverbs, the negation marker is also shared by the serial verbs when it precedes the two serial verbs in Gojri. Again if it is inserted between the two verbs, it affects the

second verb only without changing the status of the serial verb construction. It is quite obvious from these tests that the morphological structure of both verbs does not change if we insert either the negation marker or an adverb between them. This confirms that Gojri display genuine serial verb construction:

26. a. kaloo-nɛ   seb   ni~   chillii   khayo
        kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   NEG   peel- SVI   eat-PF.M
        'Kaloo didn't peel and eat the apple.'

    b. kaloo-nɛ   seb   chilli   ni~   khayo
        kaloo-ERG   apple-NOM   peel- SVI   NEG   eat-PF.M
        'After peeling the apple, Kaloo didn't eat it.'

6.4 The empty category test

The empty category test is also important evidence that justifies the claim that serial verbs in Gojri share an object and never allow any pronoun to occupy that position. Consider the following example:

27. a. kaloo-nɛ   ka   kəppii   bədyo
        kaloo-ERG   grass-NOM   cut.SVI   tie-PF.M
        'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.'

    b. *kaloo-nɛ   ka   kəppii   issa~   bədyo
        kaloo-ERG   grass-NOM   cut.SVI   it   tie-PF.M
        'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.'

The ungrammaticality of (27b) suggests that Gojri does not allow any pronoun to be inserted between the two serial verbs. This means that both the serial verbs share the same object, which always precedes the first serial verb in Gojri.

7. PRO vs. pro

A difference between the status of empty categories is remarkable in serial verb constructions cross-linguistically. Collin (1994:47, 1997:474) assumes it *pro* for Ewe while Nishiyama (1996:12) views it as PRO for Japanese. Other linguists favour the notion that these empty categories are either A-trace or A'-trace. So, in all we have four

different possibilities for these empty categories. I assume that the empty category cannot be either A-trace or A'-trace. It cannot be an A-trace because of Chomsky and Lasnik's (1993) Chain Condition which says that the tail of an A-chain cannot be assigned Case. Also, as its antecedent is in a θ-position, hence violates the θ- criterion on one hand and the Projection Principle of Chomsky (1981) on the other hand. Similarly, it can not be A'-trace as it is not in a position of Case assignment.

This leaves two strong candidates for these categories. As indicated above, Collins (1994, 1997) argues that the empty category is pro in Ewe because it can be assigned a Case by the postposition *yi*. I assume that the empty category in Gojri serial verb constructions is PRO. This is the same phenomenon that exists in Japanese and Korean. Consider the following examples again for illustration:

28.　　a.　　　kaloo-nɛ　　　sentro　　　　chillii　　khayo
　　　　　　　kaloo-ERG　　orange. NOM　peel.SVI　eat-PF.M
　　　　　　　'Kaloo peeled the orange and eat it.'
　　　b.
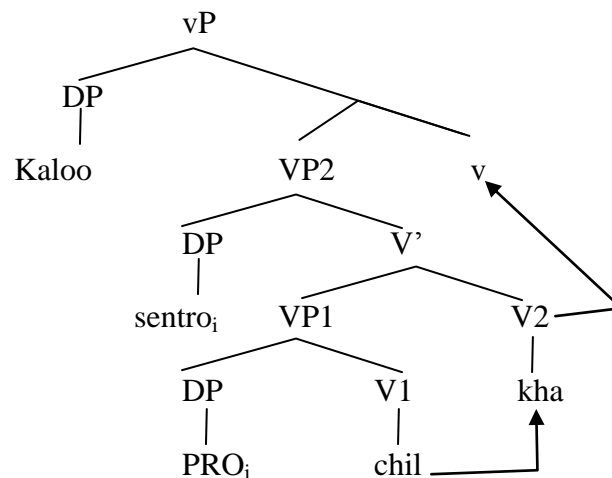
At first glance, the structure (28b) raises a very general question about the position of the PRO. In other words, the question arises as to how PRO can occur in a position which is governed by V and assigned Case under government of V. Following Nishiyama (1996:9) and Bouchard (1993), I argue that the notion of government discarded in Chomsky (1995), Chomsky's (1981) PRO theorem should be modified in

terms of Case rather than government. He illustrates the distribution of PRO in the following way:

29. PRO appears in a non-Case position.

Referring to Burzio's generalization, I argue that the verb governing PRO has no external argument in (28b), therefore the position of PRO is not assigned case.

7.1 Internal argument sharing

Internal argument sharing (object sharing) has been recognized as one of the main features of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically. This property of SVCs plays a significant role in distinguishing them from other similar structures. Collins (1993: 93) argues that in a serial verb construction, V_1 and V_2 must share an internal argument. Baker (1989:517) argues that "object sharing" can be well described in syntax and to support his claim he gives the following Sranan example and its underlying structure.

30.   a.   kofi   naki   amba kiri
            kofi   hit   amba kill
            'Kofi struck Amba dead.'
b.
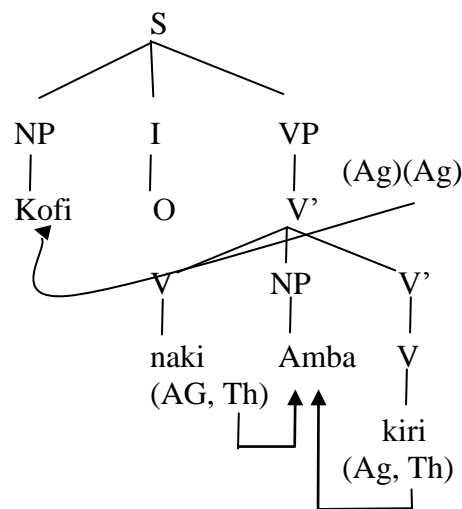
Baker is of the opinion that SVCs are dual headed. He assumes that the V and V' count as heads and are dominated by upper V'; therefore they jointly constitute a single predicate. As shown in the structure, there are two competing candidates for the head i.e. [v naki] and [v'kiri]. Both these two verbs assign a Θ-role to Amba and share the direct object.

Collins (1994:31) points out some problems with the Baker's analysis. He argues that Baker's analysis does not account for any empty category within the VP headed by V_2. Secondly, the proposed structure by Baker does not satisfy the binary branching constraint (Kayne 1984 and Larson 1988). More importantly, it clashes with Collins structure (1993, 1994, 1997) of SVCs which offers two separate heads byV_1 and V_2 where V_1 is a head selecting VP_2 as its complement. Consider the following examples from Gojri:

31.   a.   kiren-nɛ   looter   pakkaii   werteyo
          kiren-ERG   curry-NOM   cook-PF   serve-PF
          'Kiren cooked the curry and served it.'

      b.   kaloo-nɛ   kiren-na~   soTii chaaii kuTTyo
          kaloo-ERG   kiren-NOM   stick   pick-PF beat-PF
          'Kaloo picked a stick and beat Kiren with it.'

      c.   kaloo- nɛ   piilo   məllii   maaryo
          kaloo-ERG   antNOM   grind-PF   kill-PF.M
          'Kaloo killed the ant by grinding it.'

Unlike in Ewe, the Gojri example (31a) illustrates that there is an internal argument that is overtly shared by both the serial verbs *pak* 'cook' and *wert* 'serve'. However, the instrument of V_2 in (31b) is considered as the direct object of V_1. Ewe displays the same in such structures. This shows that there are some similarities as well as differences in SVCs across the languages that display this formation.

32.   kaloo-nɛ   sentro   chillii   khayo
       kaloo-ERG   orange. NOM peel.SVI eat-PF.M
       'Kaloo peeled the orange and eat it.'

Language in India www.languageinindia.com
9 :1 January 2009
A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions
Nadeem Bukhari   45

The above example shows that the two verbs behave as separate transitive verbs as both the arguments are involved in the events described by the verbs *chil* 'peel' and *kha* 'eat' respectively. So it may be concluded here that both the verbs are sharing the arguments. Apparently there arise two questions: a) how can the missing arguments in situation be handled? And b) what is the underlying structure for a single clause with two separate transitive verb?

Regarding the first question, most of the discussions have focused on the shared /missing internal arguments. The external argument has not received much place in the discussions because it is thought that it has nothing to do with the sharing phenomenon. Chomsky (1995) assumes that the external argument is introduced by the little *v* which is above the VP level, but below TP. The little *v* here performs two functions. First it assigns the Agent theta role and secondly, it licenses the transitive verb form to check the Accusative case. Kratzer (1996) has a parallel idea regarding the external argument, however she introduces Voice instead of Chomsky's little *v* with same structural position in the structure. So far as the second question is concerned, Baker and Stewart (2002) propose an articulated clause structure with an adjunction structure.

Following Collins (1993, 1994, 1997), I claim that V2 is head in the Gojri serial verb constructions and repeat (28b) as the underlying structure for the Gojri serial verbs:

33. a. kaloo-nɛ   sentro   chillii   khayo
         kaloo-ERG   orange. NOM peel.SVI   eat-PF.M
         'Kaloo peeled the orange and eat it.'

b.

PRO_i   chil
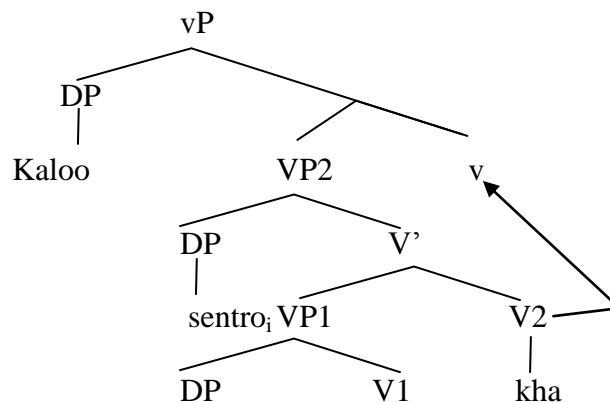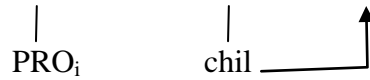
The structure of object sharing in Gojri serial verb is straightforward for many reasons. Firstly, the object does not intervene between the two verbs in Gojri serial verb construction contrary to the most other languages that display this phenomenon. Secondly, the verbs are generally adjacent to each other. Furthermore, the direct object always precedes the serial verbs in Gojri to satisfy head final parameter. Hence, the proposed structure fulfils the requirement within the minimalist theory of Chomsky (2005) for the Gojri serial verb constructions.

8. Conclusion

The comparative study of different double verb formations in Gojri clearly indicates that they belong to different categories of structure. Though there are some superficial similarities, their semantics and syntax displays significant differences. I have also pointed out that Gojri does not allow *pro* in these constructions where as it is a hallmark of these constructions in African languages.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com
9 :1 January 2009
A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions
Nadeem Bukhari   47

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