

## COMPOUND VERBS IN NEPALI

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### 1. Introduction

Compound Verb (CV) is an areal feature of South Asia, the highlands of the Altai, and the Kirghiz, China, Korea, Japan, Turkey, Central Iran and major parts of East Asia (Masica 1976). From the Indo-European angle the languages of this macro area are not rich in inflections, specifically the verbal inflections. The languages spoken originally in South Asia are Dravidian, Austroasiatic and Sino-Tibetan which are agglutinative in character. Indo-European was richer in Aspect than in Tense-system. Hence to give various minute aspectual shades of meanings morphological complex was used in Sanskrit, Greek (Banerjee 1983) and Latin (Buck 1937). Agglutination or serialization is the only process predominant in East and South-East Asia for the same aspectual and modal functions which are accomplished by Indo-European verbal affixes (Chatterji 1926:1050). When speakers of Indo-European came in contact with the speakers of Dravidian, Austroasiatic and Sino-Tibetan the process of serialization may have diffused into Sanskrit as a substratum. CV's are not found in Ancient Greek, Latin, Ancient Iranian (Caldwell *et al* 1961: 448) and Rgveda (Sen 1968). Writers like Sen (1968), Sen-Gupta (1974) and Katre (1976) give the evidence of gradual increase in such constructions (Fig. 1) in Indo-Aryan from the *Rgveda* along *Atharvaveda*, *SatapathabrAhmaNa*, *Raghuvamsa*, *PAlI*, *Prakrt*, *AvahaTTha* and New Indo-Aryan languages like Gujarati, Bangali and Marathi. An early trace of CV is attested in Nepali in the 14th century inscriptions (Pokharel 1985).

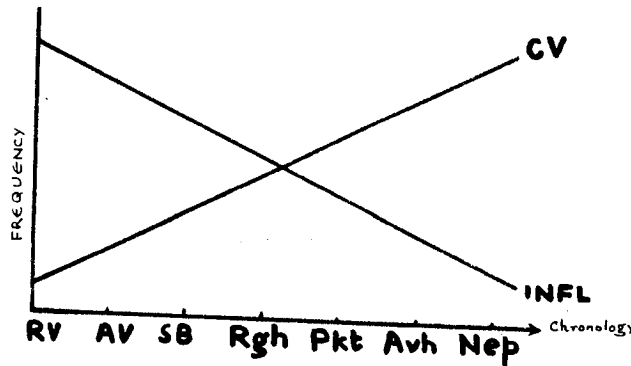


Fig. 1. Gradual decrease in inflections and corresponding increase in CV in Indo-Aryan

CV's are found in all the language families in South Asia like Dravidian (Emeneau 1956, Caldwell *et al* 1961, Krishnamurti 1968, Masica 1976, 1991 and Zograph 1982), Austroasiatic (Zide 1966), Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Aryan

The first trace of CV's in Indo-Aryan was found in North-West among the languages which are 'associated with the *PisAca* group' (Katre 1976). In this light scholars are of the view that "CV in Indo-Aryan originated as a result of an areal pressure exerted by other language families in the Asian region" (Singh *et al* 1986). But Hook (1977) changes his own hypothesis (Hook 1974) and thinks CV's to be completely independent innovation of Indo-Aryan on the basis of statistical observation where he finds the following scale:

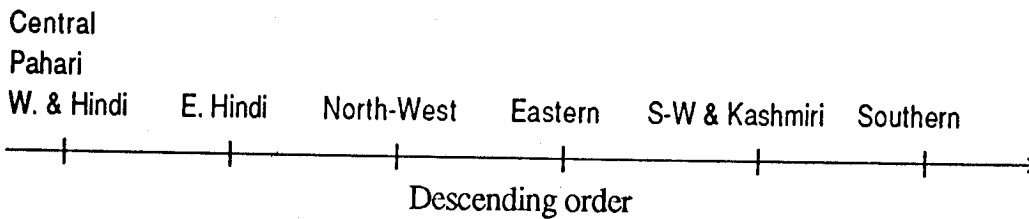


Fig. 2. Frequency of CV in IA

But in any case the motivation for this innovation seems to be the structure and models of pan-Indic and East-Asian phenomenon, because Masica (1976) notes similar inventories of Vectors across languages of the mentioned large area. His observation may lead us to think of Universals in the semantic transparency of Vectors (Provided that a language has CV).

In the light of this perspective we are motivated to guess the gradual loss of affixes in the verbal spectrum of Indo-Aryan compensated by the gradual increase in the serialization of non-finite verbal stems to denote the same and similar functions and CV's seem to be a result of that process.

## 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF CV

### 2.1. Structure

#### 2.1.1. Polarity of Semantics & Grammaticality

Compound Verb is a constellation of a single VP where more than one 'non-finite verbal participles' (Hock 1988) followed by AUX are dominated by a single V-node; usually the first participle of which (Pole) is the semantic head and AUX, the ultimate verbal element of the string is the grammatical head, viz.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 1. \text{ CV} & \rightarrow & V_1 & + & V_2 & + & \dots & + & V_{n-2} & + & V_{n-1} & + & V_n \\
 & & \text{[Pole]} & & & & \leftarrow \text{Vectors} & & & & \rightarrow & & \text{[AUX]} \\
 & & \text{Semantic Head} & & & & & & & & & & \text{Grammatical Head}
 \end{array}$$

The string of CV shows a grammatical hierarchy from left to right and semantic hierarchy from right to left. The items  $V_2 + V_3 + \dots + V_{n-1}$  which fall between  $V_1$  and AUX are each called Vectors (Bahl 1967, Hook 1974; Dasgupta 1977, Bhat 1979). Various names are given to Vectors, viz. 'Operators' (Burton-Page 1957), 'Auxiliary Verbs' (Agesthalingom 1972, Sharma 1980), 'Compound Verbs' (Hook 1974, Southworth 1974), 'Secondary Verbs' (Subbarao 1979), 'Extended Verbs' (Annamalai 1982), etc. Dasgupta (1977a) calls  $V_1$  Pole.

This definition of a CV presupposes a Vector to be less meaningful than  $V_1$  and more meaningful than AUX on the one hand and less grammatical than AUX and more grammatical than  $V_1$  on the other, Such a generalization about CV comes under our proposal (Pokharel 1989) that Nepali is a Head-right language. The structure of CV's leads us to modify this proposal as: "Nepali is a grammatically Head-right and semantically Head-left language" (cf. Masica 1976: 13-39). This motivates us to conclude that the suffix of the AUX is the ultimate grammatical Head and the root its complement. Hence there is found successive left-ward complementation. Such an idea implies the structure of a CV to be a sequence of full lexical meaning of  $V_1$  on the left to the progressively leaching of the lexical meaning of Vectors followed by complete leaching of the lexical meaning of the suffix of AUX (see Porizka 1967, 1977, 1979; Sarkar 1976, Dasgupta 1977 (a,b), Annamalai 1979, 1982; Subbarao 1979, Subrahmanyam 1979, Dasgupta *et al* 1981, and Hasson 1985).

#### 2.1.2. Permutation of Pole and Vector

In Hindi permutation of Pole and Vector (Hook 1974) is possible:

2	A.	mAr	diyA	B.	ɖe	mArA
		Pole	Vector		Vector	Pole

Such a permutation in Nepali cannot bring the Vector to the initial position

3 A. di-i chAdyo  
(Pole + Vector)

B. chAD-i di-yo  
(Pole + Vector)

In each case the Pole-Vector sequence is maintained; simply Polehood and Vectorhood of Verbs are reversed.

### 2.1.3 Permutation of Vectors

The sequence of Vectors ( $V_2 + V_3 + \dots + V_{n-1}$ ) in Nepali can undergo permutation:

4. khAi - dii - saki - hAlne - gamu -  
 1            2            3            4            5  
 (Pole)
- pari - raheko - huna - sak - cha  
 6            7            8            9            10 (Aux)
5. khai - saki - dii - hAlne - cha  
 (Pole)            3            2            4
6. A. khAi - dii - saki - hAl - yo  
 (Pole)            2            3            4            (Aux)
- B. khAi - saki - dii - hAl - yo  
 (Pole)            3            2            4            (Aux)
- C. khAi - hAli - dii - sak - yo  
 (Pole)            4            2            3            (Aux)
- D. khAi - hAli - saki - di - yo  
 (Pole)            4            3            2            (Aux)

Such permutations result in different shades of meaning comparable to the change in meaning due to Topicalization and stylistic permutation in that each consecutive item modifies the meaning of the preceding stem.

### 2.1.4 Number of Vectors in a String

Example (4) shows that in a Nepali idealized S-bar the maximum number of verbs dominated by V and governed by [NP,S] is ten out of which V1 is the Pole,  $V_n$  is the AUX and  $V_2 + V_3 + \dots + V_{n-1}$  is a sequence of Vectors. Figs. (3 and 4) show that Tamil, Marathi (Dasgupta *et al* 1981), Hindi (Arora 1979) and Kannada (Bhat 1979) have two-member compounding, Bangla has three-member compounding; Loloish, a Sino-Tibetan language has five-member compounding of verbs (Matisoff 1985):

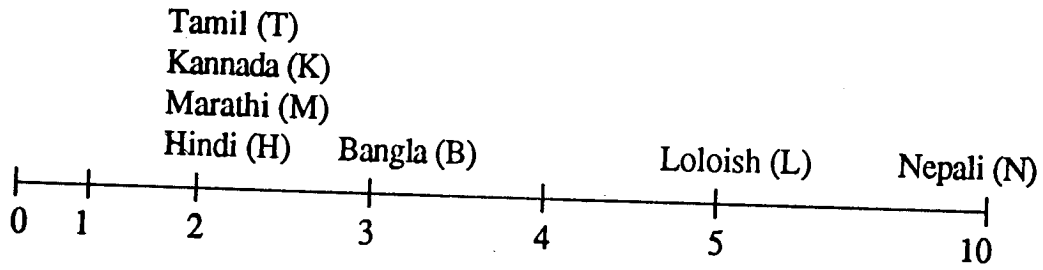


Fig. 3. Number of Participles in CV

This scale shows that the valency of Vectors increases towards East.

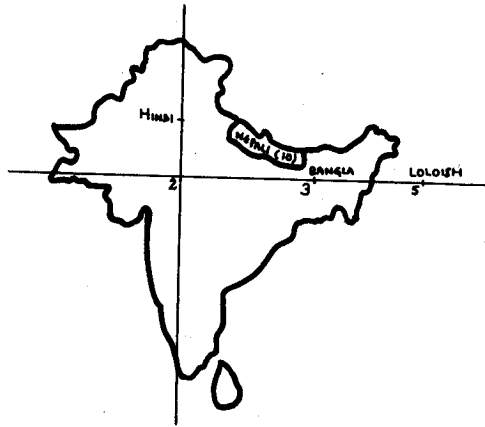


Fig. 4. Number of Roots in CV

Since Nepali sentence is idealized a wider statistical observation is necessary before coming to conclusion. Even within Nepal the number of roots in a single string in Newari is only four (Malla: Personal communication).

### 2.1.5 Leaching of Meaning

The more a verb moves towards right from its initial position  $V_1$  the more there is leaching in the original lexical meaning (of Hasson 1985), and the more abstract meaning is superimposed on the preceding stem. Even in case of Copula this rule holds good.

7. A. keTo                      ghar-mA                      thi-yo  
       1                              1 1                              1  
       boy                              home-in                              was  
       The boy was at home.
- B. keTo                      ghar-mA                      bas-thi-yo  
       1                              1 1                              1 1 1  
       boy                              home-im                              sit-be-past  
       'The boy used to be at home'

It sounds that the movement of a verb from its Pole-position towards right (i.e. towards AUX) is a process of leaching in the lexical meaning and re-colouring with some characteristic metaphorical meaning. Thus *Double Meaning Test* is also one of the characteristic tests of a Vector (cf Annamalai 1979).

**Table 1. Double Meaning of Vectors**

	ROOT	LEXICAL MEANING	VECTOR MEANING
A.	de	GIVE	'benefactive', 'permissive', 'intensive'
B.	LAg	TOUCH	'help', 'assistance', 'inception'
C.	par	FALL	'obligation', 'chance'
D.	mAg	BEG	'request'
E.	khoj	SEARCH	'attempt', 'desire'
F.	Au	COME	'result', 'reflection' 'perfect continuous'
G.	hAl	PUT	'immediately', 'carelessly putting'
H.	raha	REMAIN	'continuity'
I.	rAkh	KEEP	'continuity' 'carefully putting'
J.	lyAu	BRING	'perfect continuous' (volitional)
K.	gar	DO	'habituality', 'iteration'
L.	pug	REACH	'result', 'completion'
M.	chAD	LEAVE	'determination'
N.	pAr	MAKE	'causativity'
O.	pAu	GET	'opportunity', 'acquisition'
P.	ho	BE	'honorific passive'
Q.	meT	ERASE	'strong determination'

In the above inventory of Vectors there is *Topal* 'pretend' (as a Vector) which has completely lost its original lexical meaning and there are four such Vectors, viz. *sidhyAu* 'finish', *sak* 'finish'/'probability', *A<sup>n</sup>* 'inchoative' and *thAl* 'start' which have retained their lexical meaning and still behave syntactically as Vectors (see also Grierson 1916, Turner 1981, Krishnamurti 1968, Dahal 1974, Kachru 1980, Sharma 1980, Hasson 1985 and Verma 1985).

As noted above, Vectors with similar meanings are found being used across language boundaries within and outside South Asia.

### 2.1.6. Participial Constructions

Five types of participles are used in CV constructions. They are as follows:

- A. Gerundive (nu- type)
- B. Infinitive (na- type)
- C. Durative (dai- type)
- D. Absolutive (i- type)
- E. Prospective (ne- type)

Among these five types of participles the Absolutive (i-type) is most productive. This type is found in Telugu (Krishnamurti 1968, Subbarao 1979), Oriya (Dash 1971), late Sanskrit (Katre 1976), Tamil (Annamalai 1979), Kannada (Bhat 1979) and Hindi (Hook 1974, Shapiro 1974, Arora 1979, Bahuguna 1986) and is most common among languages which have a CV construction. In Nepali this is the only type where four-member concatenation of the same type is permitted and thus has maximum valency. Other types hence do not usually allow more than one specific Vector. This type in Nepali is noted by Turnbull (1887), Grierson (1916), Turner (1931), Clark (1963), Dahal (1974) and Sharma (1980) whereas the Gerundive type is noted only by Turner (1831) and the Infinitive, Prospective and Durative types are mentioned by Turnbull (1887) and Grierson (1916). The Infinitive type is found also in Telugu (Krishnamurti 1968) and Tamil (Annamalai 1979). The Durative type is attested in Telugu (Krishnamurti 1968) and late Sanskrit (Katre 1976) the Gerundive type is noted in Sanskrit (Sen-Gupta 1974; Katre 1976).

### 2.1.7 Selectional Restrictions

(i) The combination of any one of these five types of participles followed by a Vector is not free. One Vector chooses a specific participle type, while the other one chooses a particular root (see Dahal 1974: 610-4). For example, the Gerundive Participle chooses only *par* and *ho* as Vectors. If Vector *par* is preceded by the Absolutive type the roots of the verb, that is, Pole should be either *Au* or *lAg*. Vector *pug* is usually preceded by the Infinitive type. If it is preceded by the Absolutive type, the root of the verb is always *Au*. Similarly, Vector *meT* is always preceded by *mari* (*mar + i*). The following table will give a clear picture of such types of selectional restrictions:

**Table 1: Selectional Restrictions of Pole and Vector**

Aspectual Vectors (cf. Ekka 1979)						Modal Vectors					
Vectors	Participial types					Vector	Participial types				
	nu	ne	na	i	dai		nu	ne	na	i	dai
hAl				+		de			+	+	
sak				+		Au			+	+	
raha				+	+	chAD				+	
rAkh				+		lAg				+	
Au			+	+	+	Topal				+	
lyAu				+	+	par	+			+	
gar		+			+	meT				+	
jA				+	+	mAg					
lAg			+	+		pAr		+			
thAl				+		pAu				+	
A~T				+		lAu				+	
pug			+	+		ho/bha	+				
						sak				+	
						khoj				+	
						jA				+	
Total	0	1	5	9	5		2	1	7	8	0

(ii) **Transitivity Harmony- jA** is a Vector in Nepali which is always preceded by the intransitive Pole:

8. **Intransitive Pole + jA**

tyo	{mari,	hiDi,	uDi,	laDi}	gayo
1	1	1	1	1	1
he	die	walk	fly	fall	jA

9. **Transitive Pole + jA**

tyas-le	*{khAi,	gari,	dek <sup>hi</sup> }	gayo
1	1	1	1	1
he-ERG	eat	do	see	jA

Therefore (8) is grammatical, but (9) is ungrammatical.

Dasgupta (1977b) observes *Transitivity Harmony* with Bangla data in that a transitive Pole is followed by only a transitive Vector and an intransitive



Pole is followed by an intransitive Vector. Thus in (8,9) the selectional restriction of *jA* shows Transitivity Harmony in Nepali. This Vector does not have any other competitor in this respect.

(iii) **Volitionality**: Only the following Vectors co-occur with Volitional Poles:

- |     |                    |                     |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|
| 10. | 1. rAkh (KEEP)     | 2. chAD (LEAVE)     |
|     | 3. lyAu (BRING)    | 4. sak (CAPABILITY) |
|     | 5. de (GIVE)       | 6. mAg (BEG)        |
|     | 7. lAg (TOUCH)     | 8. Au (COME)        |
|     | 9. Topal (PRETEND) |                     |
- 
- |     |                   |                    |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------|
| 11. | [+ VOLITION]      | [- VOLITION]       |
|     | A. (i) gari rAkh  | (ii) * nidAi rAkh  |
|     | B. (ii) gari chAD | (ii) * nidAi chAD  |
|     | C. (i) gari lyAu  | (ii) * nidAi lyAu  |
|     | D. (i) gari de    | (ii) * nidAi de    |
|     | E. (i) gari mAg   | (ii) * nidAi mAg   |
|     | F. (i) gari lAg   | (ii) * nidAi lAg   |
|     | G. (i) gari Au    | (ii) * nidAi Au    |
|     | H. (i) gari Topal | (ii) * nidAi Topal |

Vector **sak** gives both capability and possibility meaning if it is preceded by a volitional verb, however, if it is preceded by a non-volitional verb, it can only give possibility meaning after the Infinitive participle.

- |     |    |      |         |        |                  |
|-----|----|------|---------|--------|------------------|
| 12. | A. | usle | garna   | sakcha | 'he can do'      |
|     |    | 1    | 1       | 1      |                  |
|     |    | he   | do      | sak    |                  |
|     | B. | u    | nidauna | sakcha | 'he might sleep' |
|     |    | 1    | 1       | 1      |                  |
|     |    | he   | sleep   | sak    |                  |

(iv) **Progressive Aspect**: Following Porizka (1967-9) Dasgupta (1977b), Verma and Hill (1979) and Bahuguna (1986) are of the view that CV's are essentially perfective. The majority of the Nepali data conform to their observations, however, compound verbs in the following sentences show imperfective-progressive aspect, where suffix *-dai* is a progressive marker:

- |     |                     |    |      |                   |
|-----|---------------------|----|------|-------------------|
| 13. | Au <sup>n</sup> dai | -  | gamu | 'Keep on coming!' |
|     | 1                   | 1  |      |                   |
|     | coming              | do |      |                   |

14. ahile - samma ma paDhAu~ - dai Aeko chu  
 1 1 1 1 1 1  
 now - till I teach - ing come am  
 'I have been teaching till now'.
15. ma bhan - dai jAnchu,ta~ lekh - tai jA  
 1 1 1 1 1 1  
 I say - ing go you writing go  
 'I will dictate and you will write'.
16. u Ai - pugdai cha 'He is just coming'  
 1 1 1 1  
 he come - reaching is
17. u ciThi lekhi - mAgdai cha  
 1 1 1 1 1  
 he letter write - begging is  
 'He is requesting to write a letter'
18. ma ciyA khai - di~dai chu  
 1 1 1 1 1  
 I tea eat - giving am  
 'I am doing a favour by drinking tea'
19. pAs huna u mari - meTtai cha  
 1 1 1 1 1 1  
 pass to-be he die - erasing is  
 'He is trying his best to pass'
20. u jAna - pau~dai cha  
 1 1 1 1  
 he to-go getting is  
 'He is getting an opportunity to go'
21. u gAi - Topaldai cha  
 1 1 1 1  
 he sing pretending is  
 'He is pretending to sing'
22. u khAna - khojdai cha  
 1 1 1 1  
 he to-eat searching is  
 'He is trying to eat'.

23. u khAna A~Ttai cha  
 1 1 1 1  
 he to-eat tending is  
 'He is about to eat'

In 13, 14, 15 the progressive marker *dai* is suffixed to the Pole and in the rest of the examples from 16 to 23 we have it suffixed to the Vector. The examples also show clearly the progressive meaning. But:

- (a) *chAD*, *hAl*, *raha*, *Au*, *jA* and *lyAu* are not suffixed by *dai* in CV.  
 (e) perfect forms of Vector *raha*, *Au*, and *lyAu* (*raheko*, *Aeko*, *lyAeko*) give continuous meaning in CV.

(v) **Restructuring of the Ergative Marker**

Ergative marker *-le* is postposed to the Subject, roughly, if the verb is transitive and is in the perfective aspect:

24. us - le kam gar - yo  
 1 1 1 1 1  
 he ERG work do - perfective  
 'He worked'.

25. u laD - yo 'He fell.'  
 1 1 1  
 he fall - perfective

26. cAmal bhA~DA - mA par - yo  
 1 1 1 1 1  
 rice pot in fall - perfective  
 'Rice fell into the pot'.

But in CV the specification of *le* is not determined by the transitivity of either Pole or Vector.

27. u- A - yo  
 1 1 1  
 he come - perfective  
 'He came'.

28. us - le Aunu - par - yo  
 1 1 1 1 1  
 he - ERG come - fall - perfective  
 'He had to come' (cf Hook 1985)

As a Pole neither (27) *Au* 'come' nor (26) *par* 'fall' choose the ergative marker *le*, but when these two are compounded with *par* as a Vector (28), they mutually take the ergative marker. Hence, there is restructuring in the selection of the ergative marker in CV's (cf Arora 1979: 64).

(vi) **Inventory of Vectors:** All the roots of the verb in the verbal string except for the one in the Pole position make closed sets. The more one proceeds from left to right towards AUX-position, there is a gradual decrease in the membership of the consecutive set.

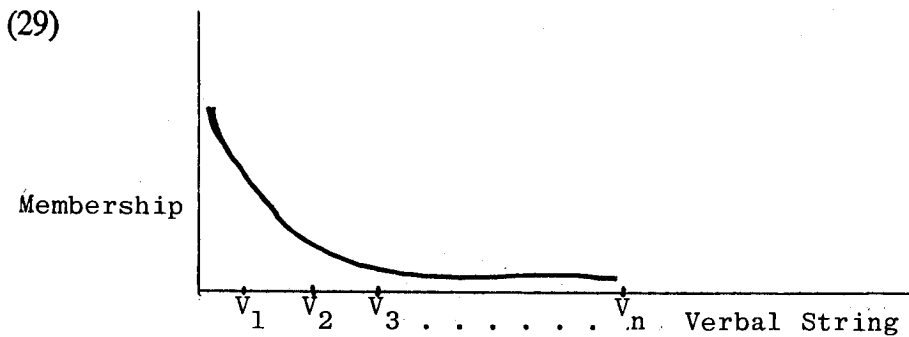


Fig. 5. Set membership of roots

V1 is a Universal Set but each consecutive set is a closed set until we reach Vn (AUX) whose membership in Nepali is two.

The number of Vectors in the South Asian (Indo-Aryan and Dravidion) languages can be represented on a scale where Nepali is on top and Magahi is at the bottom:

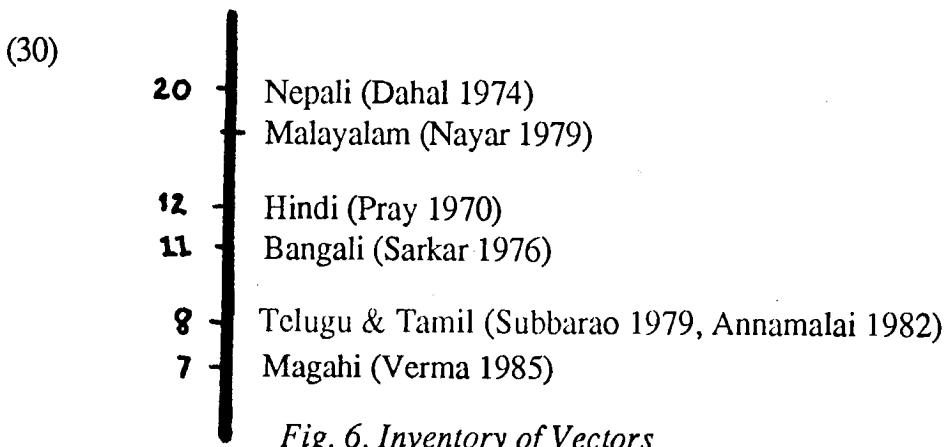


Fig. 6. Inventory of Vectors

The exact number of Vectors in a particular language may vary, but this shows that the number of Vectors in a language is not found to exceed twenty.

### 2.1.8. Phrase Structure

Dasgupta (1977a)'s and Subbarao (1979)'s structural definition of CV, viz.  $V_1 V_2$  AUX is insufficient for Nepali data. We propose the following PS rules: (cf. Arora 1986)

- (31) (A)  $V \rightarrow \text{Pole} + \text{AUX}$   
 (B)  $\text{AUX} \rightarrow \text{Aspect} + \text{Copula}$   
 (C)  $\text{Aspect} \rightarrow \text{Vector} + \text{Aspectualizer}$   
 (D)  $\text{Vector} \rightarrow V_2 + V_3 + \dots + V_{n-2}$   
 (E)  $\text{Aspectualizer} \rightarrow V_{n-1}$   
 (F)  $\text{Copula} \rightarrow \text{Root} + \text{Infl}$   
 (G)  $\text{Infl} \rightarrow \{\text{Tense, Gender, Number, Person}\}$

### 2.2. Verbhood

Verb is a grammatical category of words where morphemes showing contrasts of Tense, Aspect, Voice and Mood are attached. It is the minimal unit in a sentence. Nepali verbs also have husband and wife relation with surface Subject to show agreements of Number, Gender and Person.

32. us - le kAm gari - saki - dii - rAkheko - thiyo  
 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1  
 he - ERG work do finish give keep was  
 'He had already got the work finished for some one else.'

#### 2.2.1 Pole

With the above definitions, Pole ( $V_1$ ) is not independently a verb, since there is not any tense-aspect-mood marking morpheme attached to it, but it is the minimal semantic unit of the verbal string.

#### 2.2.2 Vector

Similarly Vectors alone can not be independently considered as verbs, firstly, because they do not have the basic minimal semantic function, secondly because tense-mood-voice-marking morphemes are not directly attached to them. Only to the ultimate Vector the aspect-marking morpheme (*eko*) is attached (32). In this respect the ultimate Vector, is more verb than the Pole. Even within the string of Vectors the initial and medial Vectors contribute to modality. Therefore the initial and medial Vectors are more verbs than the Pole and the ultimate Vector is more verb than the initial and medial Vectors. In order to express modality (shades of meaning) since Vectors lose their basic lexical meaning and are more grammatical than the Pole (see Annamalai 1982), Annamalai (1979) calls these Vectors syntactic Auxiliaries.

### 2.2.3. AUX

The same definition of verb will make AUX at the top of verbhood, since it expresses the contrasts of tense (Subrahmanyam 1979), mood, voice, number and gender. It also carries the suffix which agrees with the Surface Subject (see Masica 1974 and Steele 1978).

To sum up, the characteristics of Pole, Vector and AUX show that they are complementary to each other and they jointly function as a single verb in an Indo-European language like Sanskrit and Slavic (See Comrie 1976). Thus the following hierarchy of Verbhood:

$$\text{Pole} < \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{Initial \&} \\ \text{Medial} \\ \text{Vectors} \end{array} \right) < \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{Ultimate} \\ \text{Vector} \end{array} \right) < \text{AUX}$$

### 2.3. Compound Verbs

#### (i) (A) era-Substitution Test

As defined above, the basic characteristic of a CV is that it should be dominated by a single S-bar or clause (cf Bruce 1988). Therefore a CV can not be split up into as many simple sentences as there are verbal roots.

33. us - le ciThi lekhi - diyo  
       1    1    1    1    1

he - ERG letter write gave

(A) 'He wrote and handed over the letter'

(B) 'He did a favour of writing the letter'

Thus if (33) is interpreted as (A), then the construction is not a CV, but if it is interpreted as (B) it is a CV. Hook (1974) gives *kar Insertion and kar-Deletion Tests* to characterize one of the five types of CV's. If the suffix *-i* of the first verb can be replaced by *era* (cf 33 and 34) to give the same meaning, the construction is not a CV, and *vice versa*.

34. us-le ciThi lekhera diyo

But these tests are not sufficient criteria to differentiate a CV of a simple sentence and a verbal sequence of complex and compound sentences in Nepali, because they are suited only for the Absolutive construction of a Pole.

The following tests we propose here in addition to *era-Insertion test* to characterize CV's in Nepali.

#### (B) Not Only - But Also-test

This test is suited for the Durative (*dai*) type of Pole followed by a Vector. If 35 (A) can be paraphrased as 35 (B), then it is not a CV, and if it is

paraphrased as 35(C), it is a CV.

35. A. u nidAu - dai gayo  
           1      1      1  
           he sleeping went  
 B. 'He was *not only* sleeping, *but also* going.  
 C. 'He went on sleeping'

### (C) Gerundive (nu) type

If 36(A) is paraphrased as 36(B), then it is not a CV, but if it is paraphrased as 36(C), it is a CV.

36. A. keTi nAcnu huncha  
           girl dance becomes  
 B. 'Dancing of a girl is justified'  
 C. 'The girl dances (Honorific)'

### (D) Infinitive Type

If the penultimate verb is an answer to 'WHAT?' or 'WHY?', for the ultimate verb, then the verbal sequence is not a CV, and *vice versa*. With this test the majority of the verbs listed as Vectors by Dahal (1974 : 610-4) turn out to be an embedding of two simple sentences except for *pug* and *JA*.

37. A. u marna pugyo  
           1      1      1  
           he die reached  
 B. 'He reached to die'  
 C. 'Accidentally he died'
38. A. u mama gayo  
           1      1      1  
           he die reached  
 B. 'He went to die'  
 C. 'He happened to die'

If 37A and 38A are interpreted as corresponding B's the constructions are not CV's, but if they are interpreted as C's, they are CV's.

### (E) Root - Duplication Test

Only this test is suited for the Prospective type. Except for *Topal* which cannot occur as a Pole, Vectors have a characteristic of being preceded by the same root as a Pole.

39. A. parnu paryo  
       C. garne garcha  
       E. hAli hAlyo  
       B. lAgnalAgyo  
       D. gardai garchu  
       F. hunu huncha

With this criterion 39(C) is also a CV where *gar* is used both as a Pole and a Vector.

### (F) Double Negation Test

To prove a CV to be dominated by a single S-bar Dasgupta (1977a) proposes this test (Double X Test). According to Dasgupta (1977a) if a verbal sequence undergoes double negation, it is not a CV, because simultaneous negation of both Pole and Vector is not possible probably because a CV denotes a single idea (Bruce 1988) hence it needs a single negation (see also Annamalai 1979).

40	A.	us	-	le	ciThi	lekhi	diyo
		1		1	1	1	1
		he	-	ERG	letter	write	gave
	B.	us	-	le	ciThi	nalekhi	diena
					1	1	
					NEG	NEG	
	C.	us	-	le	ciThi	lekhi	diena
	D.	*us	-	le	cithi	nalekhi	- diena
					1	1	
					NEG	NEG	

As a CV (40A) does not tolerate double negation (40D), but as a conjunctive participle it may undergo double negation (40B).

### (G) Different Subject Test

The proposal of Annamalai (1982) that the constituent verbal units in a CV can not be construed with different Subjects also presumes the fact that a CV is always dominated by single S-bar.

### (ii) Operator Deletion Rule

This characteristic rule for CV was proposed by Burton-Page (1957) and was supported by Hacker (1961), Hook (1974), Arora (1979, 1986), Bhatia (1979), Subbarao (1979) and Bahuguna (1986). According to Hacker (1961) "Negative sentences are as a rule construed without explicative operators, since negation normally precludes the idea of definiteness". This test postulates that there is an absorption of Vectors if a CV undergoes negation. But this test fails to characterize CV's in Nepali, because negative CV's are not ungrammatical in Nepali. Dasgupta (1977b) also gives counterexamples from Bangla. It is a general character of negation in South Asian language that there is copula deletion (Bhatia 1979):



41. A. ma bhat khAn - chu 'I eat rice'  
 1 1 1 1  
 I rice eat - copula
- B. ma bhat khAn - na  
 1 1 1 1  
 I rice eat - NEG  
 'I don't eat rice'

Pragmatically speakers may not chose CV's in negative sentences, but negative CV's are not ungrammatical and are thus available in the data:

42. ma gari - dii - saki - hAl - chu  
 1 1 1 1 1 1  
 I do - give - finish - put - am  
 'I will do .....
43. ma gari - dii - saki - hAldi - na
44. ma gari - dii - sakti - na
45. ma gardi - na

It means various contexts may chose any of the negative counterparts (43-46) for the same affirmative sentence (42). They are determined stylistically and pragmatically.

### (iii) Adverb - Insertion Test

This test is proposed by Dasgupta (1977a) according to which adverb insertion is not possible between a Pole and a vector. Thus, if there is an insertion, the construction results in a non-compound verb, but this test does not hold good in Nepali:

47. u mari - jA - os!  
 1 1 1 1  
 he die - go - optative  
 'May he die!'
48. u mari - na - jA - os  
 1 1 1 1 1  
 he die - NEG - go - optative  
 'May he not die!'

However, if the adverbial particle *na* precedes the Pole the resultant is a sequence of two verbs:

49.    u   na - mari jA - os.  
        1   1       1   1       1  
        he NEG - die go - optative  
        'I wish that he might go without being dead!'

In addition to the noted characteristics there are following claims about the nature of CV's in the literature:

(a) Caustivization of CV's is constrained (Annamalai 1982). This claim does not hold good in Nepali.

50.    maile bhAt khAi - dii - hAl - e  
                   1       1       1       1       1  
        I-ERB rice eat - give - put  
        'I ate rice .....

51.    us - le malai bhAt kwAi - dii - hAl - yo  
        1       1       1       1       1       1       1  
        he - ERG me rice feed - give - put  
        'He fed me rice .....

(b) Change of Voice in CV in not possible (Bahuguna 1986 : 75-8). This claim does not fit into Nepali data:

52. (A) mai - le bhAt khAi - hal - e-  
           1       1       1       1  
           I       rice eat - put  
           'I ate rice immediately'  
        (B) bhAt khAi - hAl - i - yo  
               1       1       1       1  
               rice eat - put -PASSIVISER  
               'Rice is already eaten up'

(c) The above examples (4-6) are sufficient counterexamples to Arora (1979)'s claim that a CV cannot be followed by another Vector.

(d) Arora (1979)'s claim that a Vector is always marked for tense is wrong for Nepali. We can only say the ultimate Vector is always marked for aspect and AUX is always marked for tense. His and Subbarao (1979)'s similar claim that a Vector inflects for Number, Gender and Tense also might be true if there is no AUX in the string.

(e) Annamalai (1979)'s claim that 'verbs of the same status do not co-occur with themselves except in reduplication' has counterexamples from

Nepali data, because the string of verbs between the Pole and AUX is made up of verbs of the same status.

(iv) The constellation of verbs in the CV expresses the idea of a single unit (Bruce 1988).

#### 2.4. Functions of Vectors

(a) According to Chatterji (1926) Vectors supply the want of modal and aspectual affixes of Sanskrit in New Indo-Aryan languages. In other words, Vectors 'carry the functions of inflectional suffixes in other languages' (Annamalai 1982)

To support Chatterji's hypotheses Verma and Hill (1979) say that the languages of South Asia like Nepali have morphological devices to derive intransitive - transitive opposition (e.g. *phuTnu* - *phoDnu*; *cyAtnu* - *cyAtinu*). Where there is a gap in the morphological device, these languages use CV's, e.g.

53. (A) chorA - le      nuhA - yo  
          1                    1  
          son      bathed

(B) AmA - le      chorA - lAi      nuhAi - dii  
          1                    1 •                    1  
          mother      son - Acc      bathe - give  
          'Mother bathed her son'.

The verb *nuhAunu* 'to bathe' in Nepali does not have any morphological device to derive its transitive counterpart. Hence, according to Verma and Hill (1979) CV - construction is devised and used. Following Verma and Hill we can also deduce why Hindi uses CV in passivization in order to fill the gap. In Nepali there is a passivizing morpheme *-i*, but Hindi lacks such a device. Therefore the passive counterpart (55) of a Nepali active sentence (54) does not use a CV while Hindi passive needs the verb-compounding device (57) to be derived from its active counterpart (56):

54. keTi - le    bhAt khAi  
          1      1      1      1  
          girl - ERG    rice    ate  
          'The girl ate rice'

55. bhAt khA -      i      -    yo  
          1      1            1            1  
          rice    eat - PASSIVISER - PAST  
          'Rice was eaten'

56. laDki - ne bhAt khA - yA  
1 1 1 1 1  
girl - ERG rice ate  
'The girl ate rice'

57. bhAt khAyA - gayA  
1 1 1  
rice eat - go  
'Rice was eaten'

For the same reason according to Verma and Hill (1979) the use of CV in morphologically richer languages like Nepali, Sindhi, Gujarati and Marwari is less frequent than in the languages like Hindi where there is found a gap in such a morphological device.

(b) Sen (1968) thinks that CV's are highly polished and more appropriate for ceremonial use.

(c) According to Kachru (1980) Vector aids specific meaning to the Pole.

(d) Vectors also show the opposition of transitivity (Dasgupta 1977b, Verma 1985).

(e) All CV's indicate modality (Verma 1983).

(f) CV's are one of the devices of South Asian languages to mark stativity (Verma 1976, 1979 and 1986).

(g) CV's denote the speaker's emotion (Bahuguna 1996).

(h) CV's also show the polarity of Volitionality.

(i) The same Vector can express difference in modality depending upon the aspects of the Pole, e.g.:

58. mai - le tero kAm gari - die  
1 1 1 1  
I your work do - give  
'I have done your work (beneficial)'

59. mai - le tero miTh-Ai khAi - die  
1 1 1  
I your sweets eat - give  
'I ate up your sweets' (emphatic completion)

(j) Nepali uses CV's to mark honorific (*khanu-hun - cha, khAi - baksyo*)

(k) Perfective - Imperfective polarity of aspect in Nepali is signalled by verb - compounding. Without serialization of Verbs 'imperfective aspect' (Comrie 1976) in Nepali cannot be expressed.

60. keto laD - yo  
 1 1 1  
 boy fall - PAST  
 'The boy fell down' (Perfective)

61. keto laD - thi - yo  
 1 1 1 1  
 boy fall - was - PAST  
 'The boy used to fall down'  
 (Imperfective Habitual Past)

### 3. THEORETICAL ISSUE

(a) CV is not taken care by Chomsky's universals of Government and Binding (Dasgupta *et al* 1981).

(b) Dasgupta (1977a), Subbarao (1979) and Dasgupta *et al* (1981) can not account for four-member - compounding of verbs in Nepali.

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