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Complex Predicate in Liangmai¹

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Abstract

The paper proposes to study the morphological and semantic features of the complex predicates in Liangmai, a Tibeto-Burman language. The used of complex predicate is widespread in the language and this paper intends to study and to understand the types of complex predicate that occur in the language. The grammatical constructions such as compound verb or conjunct verb will all be expressed under the term 'complex predicate' in this work. In Liangmai, complex predicates occur in the form of Verb1 + Verb2 or Verb + Adjective or Noun + Verb. In complex predicates V2 or the vector is combined with main verb or V1 of the sentence either to modify or to add something more to the meaning or to make the predication of intended action possible. In compound verb, the central meaning of the predicate is obtained from the first verb, i.e., V1, which is in the root form, whereas the second verb (V2) is semantically delexicalized or grammaticalized. The paper also looks into the degree of grammaticalization of different vectors in the language.

Keywords: Liangmai, Tibeto-Burman, Complex Predicate, Compound Verb, Conjunct Verb, Grammaticalization.

1. Introduction

In this study I describe the different characteristics of complex predicates in Liangmai, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in some parts of Manipur and Nagaland in the Northeastern region of India. The concern is to understand the types of complex predicates that occur in the language. The work also seeks to analyze the structure and component of Liangmai complex predicates and explain its morphological and semantic properties. The verbal category is one of the major word classes in the language. The verbal system of Liangmai can be divided into two

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types: simple verbs and complex verbs. As in other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region, complex verbs are abundant in the language. The main objective of the study is to analyze the structure of different complex verb forms that occur in the language which is expressed under the term 'complex predicate' in this word. Liangmai is not a well-documented language and not many linguistic works are done on it. No previous study on complex predicate in the language is available. The present paper proposes theory of complex predicate as a framework of the study for revealing different forms of complex verbs in Liangmai. It investigates how a combination of two lexical elements becomes a complex predicate and what type it belongs. The study also investigates the common characteristic of complex predicate construction, i.e. the process of delexicalization or grammaticalization of V2. The paper also attempts to recognize the verbs that can occur in V2 position in the language and see the degree of grammaticalization it went through.

2. Theoretical Background

The term complex predicate is used to designate a notion whereby two or more morphological entities merged to form an expression with a single complex argument structure (Butt 1995, Das 2006, etc.). The term generally refers to constructions whose grammatical constituents can occur independently in phrase structure. Complex predicate consists of a host and vector or light verb. They occur in the form V1 + V2, known as compound verb, and Adj. + V or N + V, which is called conjunct verb. In the construction of compound verbs, a sequence of at least two verbs, V1 and V2 form the complex structure. The first member is the main verb, also known as 'polar' (Hook 1974, 1993), and the second member is known as 'explicator' (Masica 1976, Abbi and Gopalakhrishnan 1991) or 'vector' (Hook 1974, 1993) or 'light verb' (Jesperson 1965, Mohanan 1994, Butt 1995). The second verb (V2) occurs in the sequence to mark the main verb (V1) for certain grammatical features (Abbi and Gopalakhrishnan 1991). In the case of conjunct verb construction, one of the lexical items acts as 'nominal host' or 'adjectival host' and the other item acts as 'light verb' (Jesperson 1965, Mohanan 1994, Butt 1995). In compound verbs, V1 occur in root form followed by a V2 which bears tense, aspect, mood and agreement morphology. In conjunct verbs, the combination of noun or adjective with a verb functions as lexical equivalent of single verb (Masica 1993). The two forms can be illustrated as follows:

Compound verb

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Hindi

1. vo aa gəya
he come GO-PST
'He came'
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(Abbi & Gopalakhrishnan 1991: 162)

Meiteilon

2. məhak kao -thok-le thebek-to he-3PS work-DDET forgetV1-exitV2-PERF-ASP 'He has forgotten the work' (Singh 2016: 51)

In the above example (1) and (2), aa 'come' and kao 'forget' are the main verbs, while gaya 'go' and -thok 'exit', both marked for tense and aspect respectively, are vectors that functioned as grammatical marker for 'perfectivity'.

Conjunct Verb

Hindi

3. sangita-ne kamal-par bharosa kiya sangita-3FS-Erg kamal-3MS-Loc reliance N(m) do-Perf-MS 'Sangita relied on Kamal' (Das 2009: 4)

Meiteilon

soni ne -ta-re soni-3MS position-N -lay/fall-V-PERF 'Soni has settled' (Singh 2016: 49)

In example (3) and (4) we see that the N + V combination functions as a single unit or a single predicate. The helping verb also bears inflection.

It is a well-known fact that complex predicates are common in many South Asian languages and various studies have been done on it. The common characteristics for identification of complex predicate cross linguistically include the following:

- I. the argument structure is complex, two or more semantic heads contribute to it
- II. the grammatical function of the structure is that of a simple predicate, there is only a single subject and no embedding
- III. the second verb is de-lexicalized or grammaticalized to certain degree and adds some shades of meaning like aspectual, adverbial, attitudinal, etc
- IV. they are mono-clausal, i.e., no clause linkage marker in the sequence.

3. Complex Predicate in Liangmai

Complex predicates are widely used in the language. They occur in the form V1 + V2, also known as compound verbs and V + Adj. or N + V combinations, which is referred to as conjunct verbs. Different verbs can occur independently as simple verb, main verb or vector in Liangmai. However, when the verb occurs as a vector, they often lose their inherent meanings and add different shade of meaning to the constituent. As mentioned earlier, the verbal system of

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Liangmai is divided into simple and complex verbs. The complex verb can be further subdivided into compound verb and conjunct verb. This classification of verb is presented in the table below:

Table 1. Verbal system of Liangmai

| Liangmai Verb | Subtype | Components of verb | Example |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------|---|
| Simple Verb | - | 1 | tiu 'eat' tad 'go' ken 'read' kəti 'teach' |
| Complex Verb | Compound verb | V1 + V2 | sui-khai 'to agree upon' agree-put tad-pad 'to go' go-exit lu-waŋ 'to bring take-come |
| | Conjunct verb | N + V $V + Adj.$ | tsəluŋ-gut 'to pay attention' heart-enter kam-masan 'to clean' do-clean |

3.1 **Compound Verbs in Liangmai**

Two verbs occur adjacent to each other and express a single event in Liangmai compound verb. In V-V sequence, the first verb (V1) occurs in the root form and provides the main semantic information. The semantic and morphological function of second verb (V2) is quite important and takes crucial role in Liangmai compound verb. V2 is semantically bleached and bears all grammatical inflections such as tense, aspect or mood. The examples below illustrate the difference between a simple verb and a compound in Liangmai.

5a. ben-niu tsəgan lan-e (Simple Verb) ben-3FS-ERG curry cook-DECL 'Ben cooks the curry'. laŋ-khai-e (Compound Verb) b. ben-niu tsəgan ben-3FS-ERG curry cook V1-put V2-DECL 'Ben cooked the curry' wagapiu pə-mao din-mide (Simple Verb) 6a.

3P-wrong tell-PERF

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thief

- 'The thief has confessed his crime'
- b. wagapiu pə-mao din-pad-mide (Compound Verb) thief 3P-wrong tell V1-exit V2-PERF 'The thief has confessed his crime'

In (5a) and (6a), the information given by the simple verb is not clear whether the action of cooking (in the case of 5a) and confessing (in the case 6a) is completed or not. The addition of vectors **-k**^hai 'put' and **-pad** 'exit' in the compound verb indicate that the action is completed by adding telicity to the predicates as seen in (5b) and (6b). The vector verbs lose its inherent meanings as 'put' and 'exit'; it instead specifies a perfective role and thus expresses completion of the action.

The verbs that are commonly recognized as vectors are the full lexical verbs that express a change in location or posture, or an action that entails go, give, take, throw, let go, let up, come, strike, sit, fall, etc. (Hook 1993). These second verbs are used to contribute the meaning of completion, suddenness, directionality, benefaction, intensity, violence, stubbornness, reluctance, regret, forethought, thoroughness, etc. (Masica 1976). Compound verbs are very common phenomena in Liangmai speech. I have listed twelve verbs that can occur as vectors in Liangmai and all these verbs indicate change of state. Some vectors can have multiple functions. For example, the vector **-khai** 'put' indicates the meaning of completion, or sense of regret or as an honorific when it occurs in imperative construction. In addition, there are some that mark initiation, ongoing, etc. The following table lays out which verb in V2 position imparts which type of meaning.

Table 2. Set of possible V2 in Liangmai

| V2 | Original Meaning | New Meaning as V2 | |
|-------|------------------|---|--|
| -tad | go | completion, action directed away from beneficiary | |
| -kʰai | keep or put | completion, sense of regret, honorific | |
| -su | rise or start | commencement of event | |
| -pad | exit | completion | |
| -lu | take | completion, physical displacement | |
| -kum | down | completion, suddenness | |
| -wəŋ | come | completion, action directed towards beneficiary | |
| -gut | enter | completion | |
| -tao | hit or strike | accomplishment of event | |
| -duak | slip | suddenness | |
| -kai | fall | suddenness | |
| -loi | over or finish | terminative | |

Hook (1974) and others have claimed that vector verbs of Indo-Aryan languages are semantically empty and have undergone a process of grammaticalization. There are lots of works that have been done for the explanation of grammaticalization of vector verbs. In this study I used the term to refer to the lexical items that occur in V2 position and have undergone change from its inherent meaning into items that serve only as a grammatical function in the language. In example (5) and (6) above, the vectors -khai 'put' and -pad 'exit' underwent grammaticalization and loses its inherent meaning as 'put' and 'exit' and function as grammatical items which marks completion of event or perfectivity.

Abbi and Gopalakhrishnan (1991) also claim that vectors are multi-functional and have functions such as aspectual, adverbial and attitudinal. This multi-function of vectors is evident in Liangmai vectors as well.

- t^hikna 7a. lem-tad-mide bird flyV1-goV2-PERF 'The bird flew away' (Perfective)
- b. kəbanki-gəsu pak-duak-mide tom tom-3MS prison-ABL runV1-slipV2-PERF 'Tom has escaped from prison' (Perfective)
- 8a. i məri thin-kai-mide 1S axe holdV1-fallV2-PERF 'I have dropped an axe' (Suddenness)
- kao-kum-mide b. pa s/he-3S fallV1-downV2-PERF 'S/he has fallen' (Suddenness)
- 9. prozek thin-su-mide ə-gu 1S-GEN project holdV1-startV2-PERF 'I have started my project' (Commencement of event)
- 10. ben amereka tad-tao-mide goV1-hitV2-PERF ben-3FS America (Accomplishment) 'Ben has been to America'
- 11. tiu-khai-lo eatV1-putV2-IMP 'Please eat' (Honorific)

In the above examples, vectors such as **-tad** 'go' and **-duak** 'slip' have an aspectual function where it only affect the aktionsart, vectors such as **-kai** 'fall', **-kum** 'down', **-su** 'start' and **-tao** 'hit' have an adverbial function that mark suddenness, commencement of event and accomplishment, while vectors like **-k**hai 'put' has attitudinal function that mark humility.

In Liangmai, a single vector can be multi-functional as well, as illustrated in the following examples.

```
12a.
       ben-niu
                      tətiu
                               təliu-khai-mide
       ben.3FS-EGR necklace makeV1-putV2-PERF
       'Ben has made the necklace (completely)'
                                                  (Perfective)
                           zon-khai-mide
b.
       pa-niu
                     əpal
       s/he.3S-ERG apple sellV1-putV2-PERF
       'S/he has sold the apple (mistakenly)'
                                                  (Sense of regret)
       taó-khai-lo
c.
       sitV1-putV2-IMP
       'Please sit'
                                                  (Honorific)
```

In (12a), -khai 'put' gives the reading of putting emphasis on the completion of the event, whereas (12b) -khai 'put' implies that the act of selling the apple has been done mistakenly and in (12c) -khai 'put' implies respect. Other vectors listed in table-2 can also have one or more functions.

3.2 Conjunct Verb in Liangmai

In Liangmai conjunct verb construction, a light verb can take a host which could be a noun or adjective. Conjunct verb are not as common as compound verb in the language. One common conjunct verb structure in the language is N+do or do+Adj. sequence. In the following are some conjunct verb examples where a light verb takes a nominal host.

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13a. harry pə-ŋam-ga pəluŋ-gut-mək-e harry 3S-work-LOC 3S-heart N-enter V-NEG-DECL 'Harry does not pay attention to his work'
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- b. pa tsəlu-ga tsəŋam-kam-e s/he-3S field-LOC work N-do V-DECL 'S/he works in the field'
- c. ə-pui naimətsan ə-len kəkhen-kam-e 1S-mother everyday 1S-DAT prayer N-do V-DECL 'My mother prays for me every day'

In N + V conjunct verb, the noun gives the semantic content of the conjunct and the light verb turn the constituent into a verbal predicate. In example (13a), the noun -lun 'heart' combines with the verb -gut 'enter' to express the sense of 'to pay attention' or 'put his heart on'. In (13b) and (13c), the nouns tsənam 'work' and kəkhen 'prayer' is followed by a light verb **-kam** 'do' which bears inflection and turn the N + V construction into a verb.

Some conjunct verbs also have a third element, occurring after the noun and the light verb, forming a N + do + V structure. This third element alters the aktions at of the complex verb as illustrated below:

- 14a. zon-niu tsənam-kam-khai-e john-3MS-ERG work N-do V1-put V2-DECL 'John did the work'
- b. ə-pui-niu ə-leŋ kəkheη-kam-khai-e 1S-mother-ERG 1S-DAT prayer N- do V1- put V2-DECL 'My mother prayed for me'

The addition of -khai 'put' in the examples above provide the aspectual meaning of completion. This kind of verb has been referred to as vector verb (Dasgupta 1977, Ramchand 1990), or it has been treated as part of the class of light verbs (Butt 2003).

In conjunct verb where adjective co-occur with 'do' verb in Liangmai, the 'do' verb precedes the adjective, do + Adj., unlike the N + do conjunct verb. This structure is different from conjuncts of languages like Hindi, Bangla, etc. where the structures is Adj. + do.

- 15a. ben-niu tsəpian kam-məsan-e ben-3FS-ERG cup do V-clean Adj.-DECL 'Ben cleans the cup'
- nəmai-duη-niu tsəki kam-tənia-e b. child-PL-ERG house do V-dirty Adj.-DECL 'The children dirties the house'
- kəren kam-di-e c. pa-niu s/he-3S-ERG garden doV-big Adj.-DECL 'S/he expands the garden'

In the above examples, the adjectives **-məsan** 'clean', **-tənia** 'dirty' and **-di** 'big' gives the semantic content to the constituents while the 'do' verb kam turn the constituent V + Adj. into a predicate.

This V + Adj. constituent can also have a third element like the aforementioned conjunct, forming a V + Adj. + V and changing the aktions art of the complex predicate.

16. ben-niu tsəpian kam-məsan-khai-e ben-3FS-ERG cup do V-clean Adj.-put V-DECL 'Ben cleaned the cup'

4. The Case of the Verb –pi 'give'

Matisoff (1989:40-45) reports that the verb 'give' undergoes a common grammaticalization process in Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Lahu, to form a benefactive or causative marker. There is much evidence that the TB languages like Burmese, Lahu, Meiteilon/Manipuri, Rongmei, etc., has a highly developed morphological process of forming causatives from simple verbs by addition of 'give' verb to form causative verbs. Liangmai follows similar strategy for forming causatives from all kinds of non-causative verbs. Most verbs, intransitive and transitive, form their corresponding morphological causatives by prefixing **pi-**, which is also a verb meaning 'give', directly to the root verb.

[pi 'give' + root verb + ASP]

17a. i-niu pi-tiu-e pə-tu tei 1PS-ERG s/he-3PS-ACC rice giveV1-eatV2-DECL 'I cause/make him to eat food'

b. nəŋ-niu namai-dun-tu əriak pi-rao-e you.2S-ERG child-PL-ACC book giveV1-writeV2-DECL 'You cause/make the children to write letter'

18a. i-niu ben-tu pi-nui-e 1PS-ERG ben.3FS-ACC giveV1-laughV2-DECL 'I make Ben laugh'

namai-duŋ-tu pi-pak-e b. nən-niu you.2S-ERG child-PL-ACC giveV1-runV2-DECL 'You make the children to run'

We can see from the above examples that the verb pi 'give' can be added to both transitive and intransitive verbal base. The resulting complex predicate function as a single unit and the argument structure is the same as that of the simple predicate. Different aspect markers can be used with the causative verb and it gives the meaning of different internal structure of the event or situation. In Liangmai, the verb pi 'give' undergoes a common grammaticalization process to form a causative marker. It is to be noted that pi occurs at V1 position in Liangmai unlike Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla where 'give' occur as vector to form benefactive.

Vector verbs of Liangmai can be analyzed in term of mechanism of grammaticalization. Firstly, vectors in Liangmai show signs of de-semanticization, i.e. loss of meaning. We have seen in example (5b) and (6b) that when -khai 'put or keep' and -pad 'exit' occur as vector, it does not put any meaning of 'keeping or exiting' to the compound verb. It only acts as a grammatical item which carries inflections and affects the aktionsart of the construction. It has undergone semantic loss. But when it occurs as a simple verb it retains its full meaning. We can also refer to table 2 for more examples. The causative marker pi behaves in a similar way however it is to be noted that it occurs in V1 position unlike other vectors, which occur at V2 position. The verb pi 'give' maintains its inherent meaning while occurring as a simple verb and pole verb. However, the meaning of 'giving' is totally absent in the examples (17) and (18). Vectors like -khai 'put, keep', -pad 'exit', etc. also show a complete loss of semantic content. But there are also vectors in Liangmai that do not show complete loss of meaning as shown below:

- 19. luan-tad-mide tətu stone rollV1-goV2-PERF 'The stone has rolled away.'
- 20. suannai deli tad-su-lo nən you-2S tomorrow Delhi goV1-startV2-IMP 'You go to Delhi tomorrow / you start going for Delhi tomorrow'

The vector in (19) -tad 'go' gives a meaning of action directed away from beneficiary. The meaning of 'going' is somehow captured in the compound verb luantad 'roll away'. In example (20) the vector -su 'start' implies commencement of an event and this meaning is represented in tadsu 'go or start to go'.

Vector verbs in Liangmai show different functions; some shows aspectual function whereas some vectors have adverbial function. The vector verbs in the language also exhibit different degree of grammaticalization. Vectors like -khai 'put' and the causative verb pi 'give' are more grammaticalized than other vectors verbs like -tad 'go', -su 'start', etc.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I described the form and structure of complex predicates in Liangmai. Complex predicates can be divided into compound verb and conjunct verb. In compound verb, the combination of V1 and V2 express single event. Vectors add more shades of meaning like aspectual, adverbial and attitudinal to the complex construction. It also bears inflection for tense and aspect. Vector verbs are also multi-functional. In conjunct verb, there are two structures, N + V and V + Adj. where N and Adj. give the semantic meaning and V turns the constituent into a

predicate. In conjunct verb with adjective host, the verb precedes adjective unlike Hindi, Bangla, etc. A third element, which is a verb, can be added to conjunct structure and it affects the aktionsart of the complex predicate. Vector verbs lose their inherent meaning when they are attached to a main verb. There are vectors such as **-khai** 'put', **-tao** 'hit', **-pad** 'exit', etc. and causative verb **pi** 'give' that completely loss its semantic meaning, while some vectors retain its meaning even when attached to a main verb. Based on this we can say that Liangmai vectors as one unit is being grammaticalized, but different vectors are at different stages of grammaticalization.

Abbreviation

1P - First Person F - Feminine
2P - Second Person GEN - Genitive
3P - Third Person IMP - Imperative
ABL - Ablative LOC- Locative
ACC - Accusative M - Masculine
Adj - Adjective N - Noun

ASP - Aspect

DAT- Dative

DDet - Distal Determiner

DECL- Declarative

NEG - Negation

PERF- Perfective

S - Singular

Pl- Plural

ERG/Erg - Ergative

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