

Tamil Serial Verbs*

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In this paper I analyze serial verbs in Tamil and provide an extension to Baker's (1989) analysis. The main argument rests on two facts:

- a. Tamil serial verbs have a different order from the one proposed by Baker;
- b. Tamil serial verbs differ in that the two verbs get different tense specifications.

I will try to show that these facts can be derived from the same underlying principles of UC that Baker assumes. Unlike Baker, I will assume that Infl and Agr head separate projections. This is important for my analysis, which is to propose a featural relation between Infl and Agr.

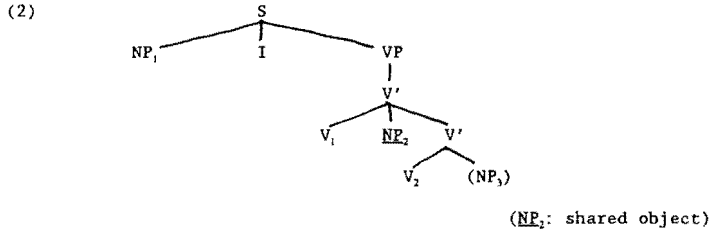
The paper is organized as follows. In section 1 I present very briefly Baker's analysis. In section 2 and 3 I discuss the general properties of serial verbs and apply syntactic tests to the verbs to show that they are indeed serial verbs. I also show that Baker's analysis is inadequate for Tamil. In section 4 I present my modifications and show that it deals with Tamil serial verbs better than Baker's analysis. Section 5 concludes the paper.

1. Baker's analysis of SVCs

Baker (1989) describes SVCs as 'a sequence of verbs (that) appear(s) in what seems to be a single clause. Usually there is only one tense/aspect specification for the whole chain of verbs; the verbs also have a single structural subject and share logical arguments. Consider the following examples from Yoruba. (Baker (1989)).

- (1) a. Ó mú iwé wá.
he take book come
'he brought the book'
- b. Fémi tí Akín subú
Femi push Akín down
'Femi pushed Akín down'

The structure proposed by Baker for SVO languages is as follows:



This structure is licensed by the Head Licensing Condition (HLC) which requires that each head be traced/project up to a single maximal projection. It also allows a single bar to be iteratively dominated by other single bars. The particular order of items is the result of the underlying principles of word order as given in Travis (1984) and Koopman (1984). This structure satisfies the theta criterion as stated in Chomsky (1986b) which allows more than one theta role to be assigned to an argument as long as it is to the same structural position.

Interestingly, the word order facts in SVCs from SOV languages support Baker's proposal. Thus, the following examples (Baker (1989)) from Ijo, an SOV language, show that although SOV languages are head final languages, the word order in SVCs in such languages is similar to the SVO languages. SOV languages are head final languages. Therefore, the structure predicted on the basis of word order should be NP V₂ NP₁ V₁. NP₁ is the shared object and V₁ follows V₂ rather than precede it. But, the actual structure is one that is the opposite: V₁ precedes V₂ similar to SVO languages. The only change is in the order of NPs that precede the respective verbs. NP₁, the shared object precedes V₁ and the unshared object. That is, SVCs in SOV languages have the following structure, NP₁ V₁ NP V₂.

(3) Áràú ingo déri piṭe-mí
 she trap weave set-past

'she wove a trap and set it'

(4) dúma tun-nì a-pìrì
 song sing-0 her-give

'sing a song for her'

In the above examples the underlined NP is the shared NP.

Finally, in Baker's analysis, he assumes that the features of Infl copy onto the head(s) of the VP. Copying of features is sensitive to the notion of head'. Therefore, either both verbs get all the features of Infl or only one verb (V₁) gets it. The following example is from Akan (Baker (1989)), where both verbs get the same agreement and inflection specification.

- (5) me-yee adwuma me-maa Amma
1sS-do work 1sS-give Amma
'I work for Amma'

2. Serial verbs in Tamil

The following are some examples of serial verbs in Tamil.

- (6) avaL bookk-e tukk-i yeriya-r-aaL
she book-ACC pick-PP throw-PR-3PSF

'she threw the book'

- (7) Ramesh yena-kku woru paaTTu co(nn)-11-i kuDu-kka-poo-r-aan
Ramesh me-DAT one song tell-PAST-PP give-INF-go-PR-3PSM

'Ramesh is going to teach me a song'

- (8) avan yena-kku books-e ange ve(kk)-cc-u kuDu-tt-aan
he me-DAT books-ACC there put-PAST-PP give-PAST-3PSM

'he helped me put the books there'

In (6) tukki 'pick' subcategorizes for one object NP while yeri 'throw' also subcategorizes for one object NP. As analyzed by Baker, it is required by the Projection Principle that the two verbs share an argument. The underlined items are the shared objects.

What then is the difference between Tamil SVCs and those analyzed by Baker? The first difference (and the central concern of this paper) is that the two verbs have different tense specifications. The clause final finite verb V_1 , is marked for both tense and person/number/gender and may be marked optionally for aspect too. The other verb V_2 is always the past participle form. It does not show overt agreement. In the languages analyzed by Baker either both verbs were marked for tense, aspect and agreement or only one i.e., the primary verb, was.

The second difference deals with the order of the two verbs. In both, SOV and SVO languages, Baker finds the same order of verbs i.e., V_1 followed by V_2 . The following example is from Ijo, an SOV language.

- (9) Áraú íngo derí píte-mí
she trap weave set-PAST

'she wove a trap and set it'

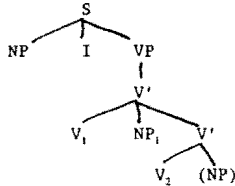
And the following example is from Yoruba, which is a SVO language.

- (10) Ó mú íwé wá
he take book come

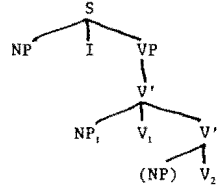
'he brought the book'

The structure proposed by Baker therefore, is as follows.

(11) SVO



SOV



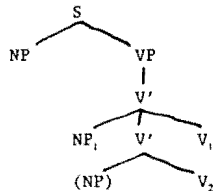
This structure for SOV languages cannot hold for Tamil. In Tamil verbs always appear at the rightmost end of a clause². Thus, in a subordinate construction such as (12),

(12) avan, [PROyenne aDi-kka] paa-tt-aan
 he me hit-INF see-PAST-3PSM

'he tried to hit me'

aDi 'hit' is the final item in the lower clause and paaru 'see' is the final verb in the matrix clause. The lower clause verb must precede V₁ and all the NPs must occur before all verbs. Nevertheless, we can use the same principles that Baker assumes for his analysis to propose a different structure for Tamil. In Tamil, adjacency is not required for Case marking and neither Case marking nor theta assignment is to the right. Therefore, we can have an intervening V' between NP₁ and V₁. These facts lead us to posit the following structure for Tamil. (This structure will be later revised.)

(13)



This structure satisfies the word-order requirements as well as theta and Case assignment since adjacency is not required. Thus, V₁ assigns a direct theta role to NP₁, the shared object, while V₂ assigns an indirect theta role to NP₁. And V₁ follows V₂ and both follow all other elements in the clause.

This structure, however, still does not tell us how the two verbs get different tense specifications. At this point it may be argued that may be this concatenation of verbs is not a serial verb construction but a biclausal construction. In the following section I will show these constructions are indeed SVCs and not biclausal constructions.

3. Arguments for SVCs and against biclausal constructions

Sebba (1987) formulates the following as the main properties of SVCs.

1. Both verbs must be lexical i.e., they must be capable of appearing as a single verb in a simple sentence.
2. If it is possible to conceive of V_1 and V_2 as denoting separate actions at all then both must be interpreted as having the same tense and aspect.
3. Both must be interpreted as being within the same clause.
4. No conjunction should separate the verbs in sequence.

(3) is most important for us to show that the Tamil examples are indeed SVCs and not biclausal constructions.

We will consider first the scope of negation and adverbs in Tamil SVCs. In serial verbs each verb cannot be negated individually. The whole clause falls under the scope of one and only one negation.

(14) naan bookk-e tuukk-i yeri-a-le
I book-ACC pick-PP throw-INF-NEG

'I did not throw the book'

(15) naan bookk-e tuukk-ame yeri-ndz-een
I pick-NEG throw-PAST-IPS

The only possible meaning for (15) is 'I threw (something) without picking the book'. If we have the negative morpheme attached to yeri 'throw' it can only mean that 'I did not throw'. There is no way that we maintain a single clause and negate the two verbs separately.

Similarly, an adverb can take scope over only one verb i.e., the verb it immediately dominates.

(16) Ramesh kuRandaixaL-ukku nanna [paaDam colli kuDu-kkir-aan]
Ramesh children-DAT well lesson tell give-PR-3PSM

'Ramesh is teaching the children (the lessons) well'

(17) *... paaDam colli nanna kuDukkiraan
lesson teach very gives

In its position in (16), the adverb can take scope over the whole VP. (17) is ungrammatical under the interpretation of the verb as a serial verb and the adverb as modifying only kuDu 'give'. This necessitates analyzing the sentence as biclausal. If we don't (as in (17) above), it is ungrammatical.

The other test that Sebba suggests is that if a construction is biclausal or a conjunction of two VPs then we should be able to reverse the order of the VPs.

- (18) naan avan-ukku paaDam coll-i kuDu-kkir-een
I him-DAT lesson tell-PP give-PR-1PS

'I am teaching him a lesson'

- (19) *naan avanukku paaDam kuDukkireen colli

- (20) *naan avanukku paaDam kuDu-tt-u colla-r-een
I him lesson give-PAST-PP tell-PR-1PS

If (18) were a biclausal construction we should not have any trouble reversing the order³. The fact that we do get an ungrammatical result shows that this cannot be a biclausal sentence.

Moreover, any kind of conjunction or subordination would allow intervening elements between the two verbs. In Tamil, since the only condition is that verbs be clause final, we do get intervening NPs in biclausal constructions. But it is difficult to get intervening elements in a SVC without changing the whole meaning. As mentioned before, only in serial constructions in Tamil can we not have other constituents interrupting the adjacency of the two verbs. This, in view of the earlier mentioned fact that verbs can occupy only the clause final position, seems to indicate that both verbs are considered to be the head of a single VP.

That both verbs in a serial construction are treated as heads of a single VP is supported by the fact that each VP may get only one aspect specification. This aspect marker always follows the verbal head. Therefore, adding an aspect morpheme to V_2 in any of the SVCs should produce an ungrammatical (with a SVC reading) sentence, since V_2 is not the primary head and so it cannot take the inflectional specifications of the VP.

- (21) pooliis tiruDan oLi-ndz-indu-iru-nd-a yeDatt-e kaND-u
police thief hide-PAST-PROG-be-PAST-RP place-ACC see-PP

piDi-cc-(vi)TT-aa
catch-PAST-PERF-3PPL

'The police found the place where the thief was hiding'

- (22) *pooliis [tiruDan olindzinrinda yeDatte kaND-(vi)TTu] piDiccaa
see-PAST-PERF

If (22) were a biclausal construction it would not have been ungrammatical.

- (23) naan avan-oDe pees-ittu va-r-een
I he-GEN talk-PERF come-PR-1PS

'I will come after I have talked with him'

In (23), which is biclausal, if the first verb peesu 'talk' gets its own aspect specification, it is perfectly grammatical.

As a final piece of evidence for SVCs as opposed to biclausal constructions, let us look at relativization in Tamil. A typical strategy for relativization is to the

use the relative participle marker a on the embedded verb. Thus, we have the following examples.

- (24) naan avaL-e aDi-cc-eeen
I she-ACC hit-PAST-3PSM

'I hit her'

- (25) Ramesh [naan aDi-cc-a avaL-e] paa-tt-aan
Ramesh I hit-PAST-RP she-ACC see-PAST-3PSM

'Ramesh saw her whom I hit'

In a biclausal sentence, we get

- (26) naan books paa-tt-(vi)TTu inde shelf-le-daan vey-pp-eeen
I books see-PAST-PERF this shelf-LOC-EMPH put-FUT-1PS

'After finishing seeing books I keep them on this shelf only'

- (27) naan [paa-tt-(vi)TT-a books-e] inde shelf-le-daan veppeen
see-PAST-PERF-RP

'I keep the seen books on this shelf only'

- (28) [naan books paattuttu vey-kkir-a shelf] idu daan

'This is the shelf where I put the books after looking at them'

- (29) a. avan inge kaar-le vandaan
he here car-by came

'he came here by car'

- b. inge kaarle vanda avan
here by car came-RP he

'the one who came here by car'

- c. *avan inge vanda kaar
he here came-RP car

'the car by which he came here'

(26-29) show that only those constituents that are subcategorized and theta marked by a verb can be relativized. In SVCs also, only the shared object can undergo this process, because only that NP is theta marked and subcategorized for by both verbs.

- (30) naan avanukku saamaane ange veccu kuDutteen
I for him things there put gave

'I helped him put the things there'

- (31) naan avanukku ange veccu kuDu-tt-a saamaan ...
I for him there put give-PAST-RP things
- (32) *naan saamaan ange veccu kuDu-tt-a avan ...
I things there put give-PAST-RP he'

In (32) avan is not the shared object. It is subcategorized for only by kuDu, 'give' and not by both verbs. If this were a biclausal sentence we will not encounter this problem. Therefore, this also supports a serial verb analysis over a biclausal analysis of such sentences.

We have seen three tests, negation, adverbial scope and relativization, that can be used to show that the constructions being analyzed are indeed serial verbs and not biclausal constructions. In the next section we will present some word order facts that will reinforce a serial verb analysis and provide the basis for the present analysis.

4. Issues

4.1 Tamil word order facts

We will look at the following word order facts: position of finite and nonfinite verbs; negation; and modals.

Tamil allows only one finite verb in a sentence at the surface structure level⁵. And as mentioned earlier all verbs are in the clause final position. Consider (33a & b).

- (33) a. [aattukku pooy-i] [kuLi-cc-u-viTTu] [kondzam naaRi
home go-PP bath-PAST-PP-PERF some time
tuung-i-viTTu] [appramaa phone paNNa-r-een]
sleep-PP-PERF after phone do-PR-IPS

'After going home, after having taken a bath, having
slept for some time, I will give a call'

We have four clauses conjoined together and in each case the verb (though nonfinite) is clause final. There is only one finite verb, phone paNNareen which is the final element.

- b. naan_i [PRO_i avane aDi-kka] paatteen
I him hit-INF saw

'I tried to hit him'

Both the lower clause verb, aDi 'hit', and the matrix verb, paaru, 'see', are in the final position of their respective clauses.

Modals⁶ in Tamil are not marked for inflectional features⁷. They always follow an infinitive verb. Thus, we have the following:

- (34) nii inde veley-e innikk-e paNN-a (ve)num
you this work-ACC today-EMPH do-INF must
'you must do this work today'
- (35) naan naaLikki niccyam-aa var-a muDiyum
I tomorrow definite-ADV come-INF can
'I can definitely come tomorrow'
- (36) avan poo-ka-laam
he go-INF-may
'he may go'

The negative marker always follows the modal⁸.

- (37) nii vele paNN-a muDiy-aadu
you work do-INF can-NEG
'you cannot work'

In verbal sentences⁹, negation is expressed by two forms. One, the negative morpheme which attaches to the infinitive form of the verb. This construction is unmarked for tense/agreement.

- (38) naan uuru-kku poo-ka-le
I village-DAT go-INF-NEG
'I am not going to the village'

This can also mean I did not/will not go to the village. Two, there is a negative morpheme that is inherently marked for future tense. This negative morpheme allows agreement specification, but itself follows the infinitive form of the verb¹⁰.

- (39) avan inde paaTTu paad-a maaTT-aan
he this song sing-INF NEG-3PSM
'He will not sing this song'

On the basis of these facts I will propose the following underlying structure for Tamil:

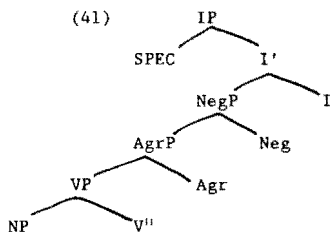
- (40) [_{IP} SPEC [_I I [Modal/Neg [_{AGR} Agr [_{VP} V]]]]]

The facts discussed above are crucial for my analysis. I would like to claim that while there is a close relation between the Infl node and Agr node, Tense may only be a morphological instantiation of a +/-finite feature on Infl. In my analysis I will be dealing with the following questions:

- a. Why is V_2 in SVCs a participle?
- b. Why is V_2 not specified for aspect even though it is for tense?
- c. Is there a V-to-I movement a la Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1988) in Tamil?

4.2 Nature of the Infl and Agr node in Tamil

Following Pollock (1989) I will assume that Infl and Agr head separate maximal projections. I will also assume following Pollock (1989) that IP dominates AgrP. When a NegP is present, it will dominate AgrP and be dominated by IP. The structure that I will assume is as in (41).



I propose that in Tamil the Infl node is filled with a [+/- finite] feature or 0/null features. The nature of the Agr node is dependent on the nature of the Infl node governing it. The definition of government that I am assuming is as proposed by Belletti and Rizzi (1981).

- (42) a governs b in a configuration like [_d...b...a...b]
 where:

1. a - X^o.
2. where Y is a maximal projection, if Y dominates b, then either Y dominates a, or Y is the maximal projection of b.
3. a c-commands b

C-command is defined as

a c-commands b iff a does not dominate b and every maximal projection that dominates a dominates b.

Thus, in a configuration such as (43)

- (43) ...V [_{CP} Spec [_C C IP]]

V can govern CP and therefore, both its Spec and head positions. However, V cannot govern IP. Keeping in mind that in serial verb constructions there are two verbal heads contending for government by a c-commanding head, a slight modification to the above definition is required which can be informally

stated as follows:

A head may govern only a single maximal projection and a single head of that MP.

With this modification in mind, let us look at the featural relationship that I am proposing between Agr and Infl. My claim is that a featural relation explains why Tamil serial verbs are different from the languages analyzed by Baker. In his analysis of the European Portuguese inflected infinitive, Raposo (1987) proposes an Infl parameter. Basically, this parameter tells us if Infl has a +/- value for [Tense]. I will propose that rather than [Tense], this parameter deals with a +/- value for [Finite]. In addition to these two values I will also allow the third possibility of a null Infl. Raposo claims that once Agr is positively specified, Infl will obligatorily be [+Tense]. I will endorse the opposite. That is, if Infl is positively specified for [Finite], Agr must also have the same value for its features. This will be ensured through head to head government as defined earlier. These two specifications together give us the following possibilities^{12/13}.

(44)

Nodes	Possible Feature Values				
Infl	+Finite	+Finite	-Finite	-Finite	∅
Agr	+AGR	-AGR	+AGR	-AGR	∅

[+Finite, +Agr] results in a finite verb. And null features result in an infinitive. Of interest to us is the fourth column, [-Finite, -Agr]. Unlike previous claims, I will propose that it is null features that give us an infinitive verb rather than [-Finite, -Agr]. [-Finite, -Agr] will give us the participle form of the verb. The mechanism for this is as follows: The morphological instantiation of [+Finite] on the verb is [+/-PAST]. [+PAST] covers both the regular past tense and a default value that is the morphological realization of [-Finite, -Agr]. Since [+PAST] also functions as the default tense, it will be treated as a dummy tense. A null Infl, as in the last column, cannot license any feature on Agr. Therefore, Agr will be also null. This results in the infinitive. All three forms - non-finite, finite and participle - are found in Tamil. The second ([+Finite], [-AGR]) and third ([-Finite], [+AGR]) options are possibilities for nominative assignment in infinitives in West Flemish and the inflected infinitive in Portuguese respectively¹⁴.

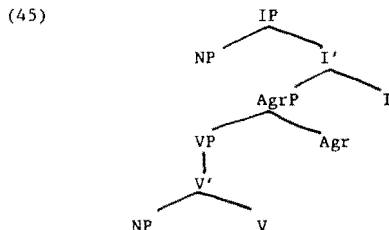
Infl can license the spec of IP position only if Infl is filled. There are two ways a verb can get the default tense/agreement inflection: One, if it is governed by a [-AGR] Agr which is governed in turn by a [-Finite] Infl;

or if it is not governed at all. The second instance allows Tamil to have SVCs in which V_1 is a participle (the dummy inflection for the verb). A featural relation is thus, allowed by head to head government. V_2 in such cases is licensed by the Head Licensing Condition which requires that each head be traced up to a maximal projection. Such featural relations dependent on the notion of government provide support to the modification made to Belletti and Rizzi's definition of government that is, no more than one head can be governed by another head at any one time. In serial verbs, we need to make sure that only V_1 is governed by the c-commanding head, Agr, because only V_1 gets inflectional specifications. V_2 gets the default specifications. This is ensured by the fact that V_1 is structurally the first head.

If we follow Pollock (1989) and Mahajan (1989) who assume V-to-I movement for French and Hindi respectively, we soon run into trouble. The reason is as follows. In a serial verb there are two verbs contending for one set of Infl and Agr features. If we assume movement, we cannot explain why both verbs do not get the same inflectional specifications¹⁵. Also word order facts as outlined in 4.1 cannot allow movement of a verb into Infl position: negatives and modals are not specified for tense and prevent such specification on the verb. Yet the clause is finite.

Syntactic movement of V-to-I has been motivated by word order and morphological facts. If there is only one Infl, but two V-heads and both get a different kinds of inflectional marking, how can we explain it by movement to a single Infl¹⁶? The answer is that there is no movement to either Agr or Infl. These nodes have only features and do not have any morphology. That it is necessary to have the actual morphological instantiation of these features in the morphological component is evidenced by the fact that there are underlying morphological principles common to both inflection and derivation¹⁷.

Does this analysis make the correct predictions given the facts of Tamil word order? Let me repeat the structure that I am assuming for a monoclausal construction.



In (45), there are two possible ways for the verb to be an infinitive (either as in an embedded clause or as in a clause with a modal or negative). One, if Infl is null or, government of Agr by Infl is prevented by an intermediate maximal projection. Agr would then be null and as mentioned earlier a null Agr will result in an infinitive. I propose that Tamil takes this second option in constructions with modals and negatives. Modals and negatives are XPs that appear in a position between IP and AgrP as in (46).

(46) [_{IP} [_I [_{XP} X [_{Agp} Agr [_{vp} [_v NP V]]]]]]¹⁸

This structure also explains why only verbs are specified for both tense and agreement: Only a combination of [+Finite] and [+AGR] features results in inflection on the verb. A modal (when it does appear) is the head that is governed by Infl. But the modal is not governed by Agr and therefore, has no agreement. Modals also, do not have any tense marking. Therefore, it crucial here that only a certain combination of features will result in inflectional specification. Modals are governed only by Infl and never by Agr. Therefore, they can be [+Finite]. But, they will not have specification for tense/agreement. The same argument holds for negatives¹⁹. Since, negatives are governed by a [+Finite] Infl, they must specify some temporal location. At the same time, they can be neutral too, because they don't have an overt manifestation of finiteness in terms of tense not being governed by [+Agr] also.

4.3 Reanalysis of SVCs

Let me reiterate the main problem with Tamil serial verbs. Unlike the SVCs analyzed by Baker (1989) and others, Tamil SVCs are different in that the two verbs get different tense specifications. If we assume copying of features as does Baker, we cannot explain why different features copy down to the two verbs. We also cannot explain why only one verb can get tense, aspect and agreement while the other can get only tense. If we assume V-to-I movement as suggested by Pollock (1989) we still cannot explain why in Tamil serial verbs we get different tense specifications. We also cannot explain why in sentences with modals, negatives and in causative constructions involving serial verbs, the second verb is still always the past participle²⁰.

Let us look at Tamil SVCs again.

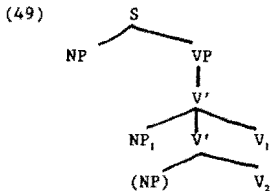
(47) avaL bookk-e tuukk-i yeriya-r-aal.
she book-ACC pick-PP throw-PR-3PSF

'she threw the book'

(48) Ramesh yena-kku woru paaTTu coll-i kuDu-tt-aan
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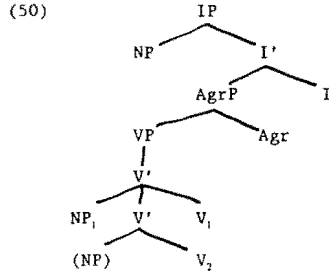
'Ramesh taught me a song'

Reiterating the structure proposed earlier, we get



NP₁ is the shared object that is theta marked by both verbs. If we add the

Infl and Agr nodes we get the following revised structure.



As mentioned in the paper earlier, V_2 gets the past participle features by default since that position is not governed by Infl. In view of this proposal if we look at negation, causativization and embedding involving serial verbs, we see that we can make the right prediction.

Negatives and modals are not marked for tense or agreement. The verb (V_1) in such cases is an infinitive. In a serial verb we would predict that no matter what V_2 will be a participle since it is not governed by Infl. This is exactly what we find.

- (51) naan bookk-e tuukk-i yeriy-a-le
 I book-ACC pick-PP throw-INF-NEG
 'I did not throw the book'

- (52) naan avan-ukku caappaaDu paNN-i kuDu-kka-num
 I he-DAT food make-PP give-INF-must
 'I must make food for him'

In causatives like (53), the causative verb (similar to 'make' in English) always follows the infinitive form of the causativized verb. In causativized serial verbs, the first verb is an infinitive. However, the second verb is still a participle. If tense and agreement were merely the result of copying of features from Infl, or due to movement to Infl we cannot explain this.

- (53) Sita Ramesh-e yena-kku paaTTu coll-i kuDu-kka vey-cc-
 Sita Ramesh-ACC me-DAT song tell-PP give-INF keep-PAST
 aaL
 3PSF
 'Sita made Ramesh teach me (the/a) song'

5. Conclusion

In the analysis of Tamil serial verbs, I have shown that while we can extend Baker's analysis by using the same underlying principles, his

explanation is inadequate in some respects. My analysis crucially differs from Baker's in that I propose to have a featural relation between the Infl and Agr nodes. I have also argued that tense may be only a morphological instantiation of [Finite] but that syntactically [Finite] is the relevant feature. Finally, I propose that there is no V-to-I movement in Tamil. Instead tense/agreement specification is the result of a featural relation existing between the Infl and Agr nodes which in turn determine the form of the verb. With a slight modification to Belletti and Rizzi's definition of government to avoid government of a second head dominated by the same XP, we can get the desired result.

6. Suggested Future Research

Baker (1989) admits that there is no underlying principle that determines whether a language is going to have serial verbs or not. One possible explanation could be that SVCs are possible only in languages that do not allow V-to-I movement. Instead, such languages have a feature relation between Agr and Infl licensed under government.

Notes

*I would like to thank Tom Ernst for his valuable help and discussion and assisting me in developing my idea.

1. In footnote 7, Baker suggests that languages either mark both verbs (assuming that both verbs are treated as primary heads) or mark only V_1 since structurally it is the primary head.
2. The only exception to this are focus constructions.
3. As Sebba (1987) points out, often reversing the ordering may produce a pragmatically unacceptable sentence but never an ungrammatical sentence.
4. In fact if we want to relativize an unshared object, WH items such as yaaru 'who' are used and pronouns are used coreferentially.
5. An exception to this is reported speech.
6. Modals cannot be treated as real verbs because one, they never take agreement or tense specification which is a property of verbs only; two, they do not seem to subcategorize for any NP arguments unlike verbs; and three, they do not seem to participate in relativization as do verbs. Here, I will treat them as having their own maximal projection dominated by IP.
7. Inflectional features here include both tense and agreement features.
8. The modals corresponding to must and may take the suppletive form, kuuD-, when a negative morpheme is added. For example,

appDi pees-a kuuD-aadu
that way talk-INF must/may-NEG

'(you/one) must/may not talk like that'

9. As opposed to copular sentences, which seem to take what has been analyzed as a negative verb, ille 'is not'

10. The other negative form ille typically follows (or cliticizes) the nominalized form of the verb. The verb in such cases can take any tense marking. In such sentences, I will assume that the negative behaves like a verb just as in copular sentences.

naan avan-e paa-tt-adu-ille
I he-ACC see-PAST-NOM-NEG

'I have never seen him'

(more like 'I have not done the act of seeing him')

11. Where Spec position is not crucial, I have omitted to mention it. Also, the debate about VP internal subject is not crucial to my analysis and therefore, I will assume that the subject NP is in the Spec of IP.

12. The idea of [+/-Finite] Infl governing the nature of tense and agreement on the verb is not a new idea. Haegeman (1985) argues for something similar to account for nominative case assignment in Flemish infinitivals.

13. Brian Joseph brought it to my notice (p.c) that in English subjunctive clauses we need to separate finiteness from tensedness. Consider (1).

(1) I require that he be here.

Be is morphologically "nonfinite" since it has the same form as the infinitive to be, but subjunctive complements are syntactically finite in that they are introduced by the complementizer that, allow nominative pronoun subjects. They are different from other complement clauses in that subjunctives complements are untensed and so negate differently.

(2) a. I require that he not be late.

b. I believe that he is not coming.

14. For a different analysis of European Portuguese, please refer to Raposo (1987).

15. The term 'inflectional' is used here as a cover term for both Infl and Agr features.

16. Raposo (1987) argues for the feature TENSE in C. This favors my analysis because in other languages also there is a need to differentiate overt tense from featural tense. Possibly, when featural tense is present in C, it is realized as [+/-TENSE] and when it is in I(nfl) it is realized as [+/-Finite].

17. See Scalise (1984).

18. XP here can either be a modal or a NegP.

19. The only exception to this is the negative morpheme, maaTT-. I will claim that it is an exception because it is inherently specified for tense and agreement. This is supported by the fact that this morpheme is used only in the future tense. The other negatives are temporally neutral.

20. The first verb in such constructions is always in the infinitive. But this is to be expected in my analysis.

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