

Development of verb-verb complexes in Indo-Aryan

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1 Verb-verb compounds in Indo-Aryan

One feature of modern Indo-Aryan [IA] languages – and South Asian languages more generally – is the employment of VERB-VERB COMPOUNDS, which involve collocations of two verbs, where one (the “light” or “vector” verb) acts as a grammaticalised version of its full verb counterpart. Thus, the verb GO¹ in many IA languages can appear as a light verb in verb-verb [VV] compounds, contributing various more functional semantic components including completion.

- (1) a. us-ne khānā (nahī) khāy-ā
he/she.SG-AGT food.SG.MSC (NEG) eat.PERF_PTCP-SG.MSC
“He/she (didn’t eat)²/ate the food.” [Hindi]
- b. vah khānā khā gay-ā
he/she.SG.NOM food.SG.MSC eat.ABS go.PERF_PTCP-SG.MSC
“He gobbled up the food.” [Hindi]

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¹ALLCAPS signals the light verb use of a verb, the gloss in caps is the English sense of the verb when it occurs as a full/main verb. As discussed herein, the light verb senses are sometimes related transparently to their main verb meanings, e.g. Hindi GIVE, often signalling other-benefaction and/or outward-directed beneficiality; but sometimes are related rather opaquely, as in Hindi SIT, signalling regret.

Historically, the morphological form of the main or polar verb of the CV is an absolutive, a fixed, indeclinable form also used in earlier converb constructions, which also survive in to the modern IA languages, sometimes (as in Hindi) with in extended forms distinguishing them from the absolutive used in CVs, compare (1) with (2), where the latter show the sequential ordering of events use of the converb in (2-a) or the co-eventual (Raina 2011) use of the converb in (2-b).³

- (2) a. vah khānā khā-ke ghar gayā
 he/she-NOM food.SG.MSC eat-CONV home go.PERF_PTCP-SG.MSC
 “(After) having eaten food, he went home.” [Hindi]
- b. vah haṁs-ke bol-ī ‘hām’
 he/she laugh-CONV say.PERF_PTCP-SG.FEM ‘yes’
 “Laughing(ly) she said ‘yes’.” [Hindi]

Although VV compounds are a clear areal feature of South Asia (Masica 1976; Abbi 1991/1992), at lower levels of analysis we find obvious and substantial differences in the structure, interpretation, and frequency of use of VVs across South Asia, including significant differences even between closely related languages. Hindi VVs occur in a more restricted range of contexts (see Hook 1988, 1991, 1993, this volume), while VVs in Nepali and Marathi are less restricted (see Section 4.4). The strength of restrictions on licensed environments for VVs appears to co-vary with the frequency of occur of VVs overall. Thus Hindi VVs appear to display an overall greater frequency of occurrence than do Nepali VVs.

In this chapter, I discuss the historical development and properties of VV compounds in IA, with reference to VVs in Dravidian. For an overview of studies of VVs in IA, see Slade (2016); for an overview of studies of VVs in Dravidian, see Annamalai (2016); and for an overview of studies of VVs in Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia, see Hock (2016).

In Section 2 I review the history of modern IA VVs, including precursors of modern IA VVs in Section 2.1, VVs in Middle Indo-Aryan languages of Sri Lanka in Section 2.2, and VVs in early modern IA in Section 2.3. Section 3 examines later developments in modern IA VVs, including further grammaticalisation into auxiliary elements of various types (including tense/aspect-related auxiliaries). Section 4 focusses on the range of variation of morphosyntactic properties of IA VVs found even in closely

²In Hindi VV constructions are very common in perfective contexts with only special environments, like negation, triggering the use of simplex forms in non-marked uses (Hook 1974).

³On ‘non-past’ readings of Sanskrit gerunds, see Hock (1992).

related languages like Hindi and Nepali. Finally, Section 5 discusses the similarly-varying inventories of light verbs used in VV constructions, not only in IA but also in neighbouring Dravidian languages, and suggests that the culmination of the facts regarding variation in VV constructions throughout South Asia points to potential independently developed VV systems, with subsequent partial convergence.

2 Historical Development of Indo-Aryan VVs

2.1 Prehistory of Indo-Aryan VVs

The morphological form of the main or polar verb in many modern IA VV constructions derives from the so-called Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) past gerund of prefixed verbs in *-(t)ya/(t)yā* (Chatterjee 1926; Hendriksen 1944; Tikkanen 1987), an element which has the “virtual value of an indeclinable participle” (Whitney 1879/1889: §989), which in general functions as a converb, meaning something like “having X-ed” (though it does not always have a past tense value; as in modern IA, converbs in OIA can have the co-eventual type readings discussed by Raina 2011).⁴ Modern IA VV compounding ultimately derives from a reanalysis of structures involving a gerund combined with another verb (which, for ease of reference I will refer to as V_2 , as it usually occurs following the gerund), so that the Sanskrit example in (3) can in a certain sense be seen as the formal precursor of Hindi (1-b), repeated below as (4).⁵

- (3) annam sam-khād-ya gataḥ asti
 food.ACC together-eat-GER go.TA_PTCP.NOM.SG be.PRES.3SG
 “He ate up the food and left” (Lit., “Having eaten up the food, (he) left.”)
 [Sanskrit]

- (4) vah khānā khā gay-ā
 he/she food.MSC.SG eat.ABS go.PERF_PTCP-SG.MSC
 “He gobbled up the food.” [Hindi]

The change from (3) to the VV construction of the type exemplified by (4) took place via the reanalysis of gerund + V_2 as a single predicate, in which the semantic contribution of the gerund was taken to be primary, and the V_2 as a modifying element (i.e. a vector or light verb). This only happened with a subset of verbs occupying the V_2

⁴Peter Hook (p.c.) notes that in some IA languages (e.g. Marathi, Kashmiri) the form of the conjunctive participle is something other than a reflex of the OIA past gerund of prefixed verbs.

⁵Example (3) and all subsequent examples from Sanskrit are shown in unsandhied form.

position, specifically with verbs with broad semantic values, e.g. verbs meaning “go”, “give”, “take”, etc. Further, converb constructions did not disappear from modern IA; rather a sort of morphosyntactic split took place, with some gerund + V₂ constructions being reinterpretable/reinterpreted as VVs.

Clear examples of VV constructions of the modern IA type in (4), (5), and (6) do not appear until the modern period (see Masica 1991: 325 and Slade 2013), with the exception of Sinhala (discussed in Section 2.2 below). Throughout the remainder of this chapter, whenever VVs are referred to, these are to be understood as full-verb+light-verb compound verb combinations of the prototypical modern IA-type.

(5) Hindi

- a. maim̄ yah bāt bilkul bhūl
 I this matter completely forget.ABS
 cukā thā
 used.up.PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG PAST.MSC.SG
 “I had completely forgotten about this matter.”
- b. gusse meṁ us-ne merā reḍyo tor
 anger in he/she.OBLQ-AGT my.MSC.SG radio break.ABS
 ḍālā
 throw.PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG
 “In anger, he broke my radio.”

(6) Nepali

- a. āṭh baj-i-sakyo
 eight strike.ABS-finish.PAST.3SG
 “It’s already eight o’clock!”
- b. anju-le bibek-lāi gupta kurā bhan-i-hālyo
 Anju-AGT Bibek-OBLQ secret thing speak-ABS-throw.PAST.3SG
 “Anju told Bibek the secret.”

While Butt (2010); Butt & Lahiri (2002, 2013) argue that the modern IA system of VVs does not represent an innovation but rather continues a system of light verb constructions found throughout all stages of IA, and that examples like (7), taken from Rgvedic Sanskrit (the earliest attested form of IA), represent VV structures comparable to those found in modern IA, the historical developments in IA examined in this section make it clear that this is not the case, and that *contra* Butt (2010); Butt & Lahiri (2013) VVs

are just as susceptible to historical change as other verbal elements (see also Slade 2013; Hook & Pardeshi 2005; Coelho 2018 for additional evidence of the susceptibility of South Asian VVs to historical changes of various sorts).

- (7) imé te indra té vayám puruṣṭuta
 here yours Indra.VOC REL_PRON we.NOM praised-by-many.VOC
 yé tvā+ārābhya cárāmasi prabhūvaso
 REL_PRON you.ACC+grasp.GER move.1PL.PRES rich-one.VOC
- a. “We here, O Indra, are yours, O one praised by many, [we] who **keep holding on to you**, O rich one.” (complex predicate reading following Graßmann 1873: 437)
- b. “We here, O Indra, are yours, O one praised by many, [we] who **having taken hold of you, move** (around), O rich one.” (literal converb reading)
- (Ṛgveda I.57.4 (Bandhu 1963–1966); cf. Graßmann 1873: 437, Delbrück 1888: 406, Tikkanen 1987: 175)⁶ [Vedic Sanskrit]

While, as Delbrück (1888: 406–7) observes, *car-* “move” does seem to be able to bear an idiomatic sense when used with a gerund in examples like (7)⁷, there are several differences between modern IA VVs and light verb constructions in Sanskrit like (7). Firstly, unlike modern IA VVs, the use of *car-* in (7) represents a grammatically peripheral construction, in the sense that it is not part of the central tense/aspect system of Vedic or Classical Sanskrit. Secondly, unlike modern IA VVs, which overwhelmingly impart a perfective sense, (7) and similar examples in Vedic where a combination of a gerund with another verbal form bears a non-compositional interpretation all involve a durative/continuative sense.

Rather, examples like (7) are actually similar to more grammatically-peripheral constructions found in modern IA languages involving combinations of present participles with a small set of light verbs:

- (8) a. vah din bhar so-tā gay-ā
 he/she day full sleep.IMPF_PTCP.MSC.SG go.PERF_PTCP-MSC.SG
 “He kept on sleeping all day.” [Hindi]

⁶Example (7) is shown in unsandhied form.

⁷See Hock (2008) and Slade (2013: 540–1) for further examples of VVs in Sanskrit like (7) which bear idiomatic interpretations.

b. vah din bhar so-tā
 he/she day full sleep.IMPV_PTCP.MSC.SG
 rah-ā
 continue.PERF_PTCP-MSC.SG
 “He kept on sleeping all day.” [Hindi]

(9) a. ma bhan-dai jān-chu, tam lekh-tai
 I.NOM speak-IMPV_PTCP go.PRES-1SG, YOU.NOM write-IMPV_PTCP
 jā
 go.IMP
 “I will keep dictating, and you keep writing.” (Pokharel 1991: 194)
 [Nepali]

b. āun-dai garnu
 come-IMPV_PTCP do.INF
 “Keep on coming (from time to time).” (Pokharel 1991: 194) [Nepali]

Butt & Lahiri (2002: 23) point out the apparent similarity of Hindi constructions like (10) to a construction from in classical Sanskrit, (11).

(10) makkhī uṛ gayī
 fly.FEM.SG.NOM fly.ABS go.PERF_PTCP.FEM.SG
 “The fly flew off.” [Hindi]

(11) tataḥ maḥṣikā+ uḍḍīya gatā
 then fly fly-up.GER go.TA_PTCP.FEM.SG
 “Then the fly, having flown up, left.” (literal converb reading)
 (*Pañcatantra* 1.22, Tikkanen 1987: 176) [Classical Sanskrit]⁸

Notice that (11), however, can be interpreted naturally as a co-eventual use of the converb *uḍḍīya*, i.e. “the fly left ‘flyingly’”, and does not require assuming a modern IA VV analysis.

In the next section I examine further potential early examples of IA VVs, including indubitable cases from early Sinhala.

⁸Example (11) is shown in unsandhied form.

2.2 Middle Indo-Aryan VVs in Sri Lanka

More convincing examples of early VV of the modern IA VV variety are found in Middle IA, in Pali texts from Sri Lanka; the most persuasive of these is given below in (12) (Hook 1993 also discusses these examples).

- (12) so tassā saddaṃ sutvā ... assamapadaṃ ānetvā aggim
 he her cry.ACC hear.GER ... hermitage.ACC bring.GER fire.ACC
katvā adāsi
make.GER give.PAST.3SG
 a. “He, having heard her cry, having brought her to his hermitage, made a fire (for her).” (complex predicate reading)
 b. “He, having heard her cry, having brought her to his hermitage, having made a fire, offered it (to her).” (literal converb reading)
 (Jātaka I,296,10; between 300 B.C.E. and 400 C.E.; cited Hendriksen 1944: 134) [Pali]

- (13) ath’ assa sathā udakasāṭakaṃ khipitvā adāsi
 then him master water-cloak **throw.GER give.PAST.3SG**
 a. “Then the master threw a bathrobe to him.” (complex predicate reading)
 b. “Then the master gave him a bathrobe, throwing (it).” (literal converb reading)
 (Dhammapad-Aṭṭhakathā II,61,10; post 5th-c. C.E., cited Hendriksen 1944: 134) [Pali]

Example (12) is reminiscent of Hindi constructions like:

- (14) rām-ne sītā-ke liye āg jalā diyā
 Ram-AGT Sita-for fire burn(vol).ABS give.PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG
 “Ram made a fire for Sita.” [Hindi]

It is significant that these are found in Sri Lankan texts, as the earliest examples of undoubtable IA VVs occur in Old Sinhala, many centuries before the earliest clear examples of VVs in mainland IA.

In Old Sinhala (ca. 8th–10th c. C.E.) are found light verb uses of GO (*ya*), TAKE (*gan*), PLACE (*la*), and SHOW (*pa*);⁹ examples of each are given below in (15)–(18).

⁹The auxiliary verbs *ya* (past tense, *giya*) ‘to go’ and *gan* ‘to take’ emphasize the reflexive character of

- (15) Suka topa vi divi giya
 Happiness.NOM your.GEN become.PAST.3SG run.ABS go.PAST
 “Your pleasure vanished.” (Lit. “Your pleasure having run went.”) [*Sigiri Graffito* 498; 750–800 C.E.] [Old Sinhala]
- (16) Næga gan Sihigiri
 rise.ABS take.IMPV Sihigiri
 “Ascend Sihigiri!” (Lit. “Having risen take Sihigiri!”) [*Sigiri Graffito* 169; 850–900 C.E.] [Old Sinhala]
- (17) Mitalu kiya lu gī
 Mitalu speak.ABS place.PAST song.FEM.NOM
 “The song which has been recited by Mitalu.” (Lit. “The song which having been spoken was placed by Mitalu.”) [*Sigiri Graffito* 498; 750–800 C.E.] [Old Sinhala]
- (18) Heḷa-divi a Jabu-duvu datimi pataka
 Ceylon come.PAST.PTCP Indian know.PAST.1SG letter.ACC.SG.INDEF
 di kese lami
 give.ABS how place.PRES.1SG
 “To Sri Lanka has come an Indian; I know how to give (him) a letter.” (Lit. “...I knew how to, having given a letter (to him), place (it).”) [*Sigiri Graffito* 293; 700–800 C.E.] [Old Sinhala]

Like the mainland IA VVs, Sinhala VVs also derive from a reanalysis of a combination of a verb in absolutive/gerund form with another verb, and such collocations are in fact in Old Sinhala still form identical with VV collocation; see the example of a converb below in (19).

- (19) Mahamet-himiyā abu Nāl himiyabuyun ga liyu me gī
 Lord Mahamet.GEN wife Nāl Lady sing.CONV written this song
 “This song was sung and written down by Lady Nāl, wife of Lord Mahamet.” [*Sigiri Graffito* 543; 800–900 C.E.] [Old Sinhala]

Since clear examples of modern IA-type VVs are found in the colloquial language very early on, it is not surprising to find Sri Lankan Pali examples early on as well.

the preceding absolutive. The auxiliary verbs *la* ‘to place’, ‘to put’ and *pa* ‘to show’ either emphasize the transitive character of the principal verb or are merely periphrastic.” (Paranavithana 1956: §501)

Modern Sinhala still employs VVs (Paolillo 1989), though the set of light verbs is partially different from those of Old Sinhala, and includes TAKE (*gannawa*), GIVE (*denawa*), GO (*yanawa*), COME (*enawa*), and OPEN (*arinawa* [volitive]; *ærenawa* [involitive]).

- (20) a. *gunəpālə kəmak hadā¹⁰ gatta*
 Gunapala meal.INDEF **make.ØABS take.PAST**
 “Gunapala made a meal (for himself)” (Paolillo 1989) [Modern Colloquial Sinhala]
- b. *gunəpālə mahatteəṭə kəmak hadə.la dunna*
 Gunapala gentleman.DAT meal.INDEF **make.ABS give.PAST**
 “Gunapala made a meal for the boss.” (*Ibid.*) [Modern Colloquial Sinhala]
- c. *gewal pol atu-wəliṅ hewili kərə-la ē uḍəṭə*
 houses coconut branches.PL.INSTR roofing do.ABS that above.DAT
piduru ihirō-la arinawa
 straw **sprinkle.ABS open(vol).PAST_PTCP**
 “Having roofed the houses with coconut branches, on top of that (they) cover it (up) with straw [i.e. sprinkle it completely with straw].” (*Ibid.*) [Modern Colloquial Sinhala]

Notably absent from modern Sinhala are either SHOW or PLACE, which occurred as light verbs in Old Sinhala VV constructions (as shown above). SHOW (*la*) and PLACE (*pa*) as light verbs evolved to serve other functions at some point during the period in-between Old Sinhala and the modern language:

“The absolutive form of the verb *la* used as an auxiliary has ... become the mark of the absolutive [in modern Sinhala]; similarly the imperative form of the auxiliary verb *pa* (e.g. *ela pan*) has in the modern language been reduced to the character of a suffix indicating the imperative mood.” (Paranavitana 1956: §501)

Sinhala is thus interesting both in having developed VVs very earlier, and in that some of these early light verbs subsequently underwent further grammaticalising developments.

¹⁰Interestingly, VVs with *gannawa*, unlike the others, use the (fossilised) old Sinhala absolutive form without *la* for the main/polar verb, glossed here and below as ØABS. See above quote from Paranavitana on the evolution of the old light verb *la* to a marker of the absolutive.

The next section examines the earliest uncontroversial examples of VVs in mainland IA languages.

2.3 Early modern Indo-Aryan VVs

The first unequivocal examples of VV constructions in mainland IA languages do not appear until the early modern IA period (16th–18th c.).¹¹ See the examples from early Braj Bhāṣā (a close relative of the ancestor of modern Hindi) in (21), (22), and the “Old Shah” Nepali examples in (24), (25).

- (21) nātaru jau vacchā mari jāi, tau gāi
 otherwise if calf.NOM die.ABS go.PRES.3SG, then cow.NOM
 cchimḍāi jāi
 take_away.PERF_PTCP.FEM.SG go.PRES.3SG
 a. “Otherwise, if the calf dies, then the cow is taken away.” (complex predicate reading)
 b. #“Otherwise, if the calf having died goes, then the cow is taken away.” (literal converb reading)
 (ca. 1600 C.E., Indrajit of Orchā’s commentary on the *Nīṭisataka* of Bhartr̥hari, f.18b4; McGregor 1968: 57)
- (22) bhayabhīta hvai-kari samudra kau mathivau na cchāḍ-i
 without fear be-CONV ocean of churning not leave-ABS
 dayau
 give.PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG
 a. “Having become fearless, (he) did not leave off the churning of the ocean.” (complex predicate reading)
 b. #“Having become fearless, (he), having not left the churning of the ocean, gave.” (literal converb reading)
 (ca. 1600 C.E., Indrajit of Orchā’s commentary on the *Nīṭisataka* of Bhartr̥hari, f.17a; McGregor 1968: 54)
- (23) 2 ālā motipur-kā 2 ālā vaks-i
 2 field.MSC.PL Motipur.GEN 2 field.MSC.PL bestow.ABS
 diyā chāu
 give.PERF_PTCP.MSC.PL be.PRES.1PL

¹¹Masica (1991: 326ff) concurs on this point. It has been suggested that modern IA-type VV constructions are to be found in Apabhraṃśa (see discussion in Hook 1977; Bubenik 1998). Given the uncertainties around the interpretation of Apabhraṃśa (see Slade 2013: §3.4), I exclude it from consideration here.

“We have given two fields of Motipur.” [Old Shah Nepali, 1529 C.E.; Wallace 1982: 164]

- (24) tahām kājikana vujhāi samjhāi ñahā
 there Kazi.INSTR understanding understand.CAUS.CONV here
paṭhā-i- dinu havas
send-ABS- give.IMPV
 a. “Persuade the Kazi there, and send him here.” (complex predicate reading)
 b. #“Persuade the Kazi there, and having sent him here, give (him).” (literal converb reading)
 (Old Shah Nepali, 1755/6 C.E. ~ 1812 V.S., Prithvinarayan Shah, letter to Paṇḍit Rājivalocana; Pokharel B.S. 2020 [=1963C.E.]: 196)
- (25) tyo cāmḍo māgera paṭhā-i- deu
 that(thing) quickly request.CONV **send-ABS- give.IMP**
 a. “Quickly request that thing and send it (to me).” (complex predicate reading)
 b. #“Quickly request that thing and having sent it, give (it) (to me).” (literal converb reading)
 (1767/7 C.E. ~ 1824 V.S., Prithvinarayan Shah, letter to Haripaṇḍit, Pokharel B.S. 2020 [=1963C.E.]: 211)
- (26) pachillā ciṭhi-ko javāph hāmi-le leṣ-i-
 last.OBLQ letter.GEN.MSC.SG answer we.AGT **write.ABS**
rākhyā-thyāu
place.PERF_PTCP.MSC.PL-be.PAST.1PL
 “We wrote our answer to the last letter.” [Old Shah Nepali, 1792 C.E.; Wallace 1982: 191]
- (27) timiheru-le aneka prakār-kā pāp gar-i
 you.PL-AGT many way.GEN.MSC.PL sin **do.ABS**
rāṣyā-chau
place.PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG be.2PL
 “You have committed sins in many ways.” (? Or, “You kept committing sins in various ways.”) [Old Shah Nepali, 1798 C.E.; Wallace 1982: 191]

Lahiri 2013), the light verbs which participate in modern IA-type VVs can thus undergo independent change – including both phonological change which does not affect the full verb counterpart, as well as undergoing additional grammaticalisation leading to functions more typical of elements we would call auxiliaries rather than light verb. Further, not all light verbs do in fact possess full verb counterparts.

3.1 Independent phonological change of light verbs

The Nepali light verb *baksinu* provides an example of change affecting a light verb independently of its full verb counterpart. Nepali *baksinu* is a light verb employed in VV constructions as an honorific when referring to Nepali royalty and other persons due great respect, e.g.:

- (29) mausuph-le yo kuro ghosaṇā gar-i- **baksi-yo**
 His Majesty-AGT this thing proclamation **do**-ABS- **bestow**.PAST.PTCP-3SG
 “His Majesty made this proclamation.” (Sharma 1980: 131) [Nepali]

Both *baksinu* and a phonologically-reduced form are also employed in upper-class Kathmandu families (e.g. by children to parents, wife to husband etc.), as discussed in Sharma (1980: 130–2). An example of the reduced form of *baksinu* is given in example (30).

- (30) buwā-le bhujā **khā-i- s-yo**
 dad-AGT rice **eat**-ABS- HON-3SG
 “Dad ate rice.” (Sharma 1980: 132) [Nepali]

While *baksinu* is employed as a main verb (31), *-s-* is not (32).

- (31) mahārāni-le ma-lāi takmā **baksi-yo**
 queen-AGT I-OBLQ medal **bestow**-PAST.3SG
 “The queen bestowed a medal upon me.” (*Ibid.*) [Nepali]

- (32) *mahārāni-le ma-lāi takmā **s-yo**
 queen-AGT I-OBLQ medal **hon**-PAST.3SG
 [Nepali]

Thus while *baksinu* as a light verb can occur in both a reduced and an unreduced phonological form, the full verb form can occur only in unreduced form.¹⁴

¹⁴Nepali *baksinu* is ultimately a loanword from Persian *bakhš* “to give”, and obviously was borrowed as

3.2 Light verbs lacking full verb counterparts

Though there seems to be some tendency for light verbs to continue to have full verb counterparts, this is not always the case. Nepali, for example, employs *ṭopalnu* as a light verb indicating pretense, as in example (33) below, but *ṭopalnu* does not exist as a full verb.¹⁵

- (33) u gā-i- ṭopal-dai- cha
he/she sing-ABS- pretend-IMPF_PTCP- be.PRES.3SG
“He is pretending to sing.” (Pokharel 1991: 195) [Nepali]

Turner (1931: 247) suggests that a full verb counterpart may have once existed, possibly meaning “to cover” (cf. Nepali *ṭopi* “helmet”, cf. Hindi *ṭopī* “hat”, Hindi *ṭopnā* “to cover”), cf. (34).

- (34) *u ṭopal-dai- cha
he/she pretend-IMPF_PTCP- be.PRES.3SG
“He is pretending.” [Nepali]

Likewise, Hindi *saknā* “to be able to” behaves syntactically like a light verb, and also lacks a non-light/non-auxiliary full verb counterpart (see Slade 2013: §4.2.3 for further discussion).

3.3 Further grammaticalisation of light verbs

As discussed in section 2.2, the Old Sinhala light verb uses of SHOW (*pa*) and PLACE (*la*) underwent further grammaticalisation, ending up in the modern language as markers of the imperative mood and absolutive form, respectively. In this section I consider two further instances of vector-type light verbs developing into tense/aspectual auxiliaries in Hindi and Nepali.

3.4 The development of the Hindi auxiliary *rahnā*

The Hindi continuative auxiliary use of *rahnā* also originated as a light verb before being further grammaticalised as part of the core grammar of aspect in Hindi.

a full verb, not as a light verb, since, as shown by example (31), it can still be used as a full verb. See above section 2.3 for earlier examples of full verb *baksinu*.

¹⁵another instance of a light verb lacking its full verb counterpart observed by Hendriksen and noted a hundred years ago in Grierson: In Kotgarhi [aka, *kotguru*] the main verb GO is *DeuNau *while the corresponding (?) vector is *jaaNau. *See *LSI*, vol. 9, part 4, p. 657. —PE Hook

Though in Modern Hindi, the simple present and the present continuous are clearly distinguished, as shown in (35).

- (35) Present-Day Hindi
- a. mair̄n skūl jātā hūm̄
 I school go.IMPV_PTCP.MSC.SG be.PRES.1SG
 “I (habitually) go to school.”
- b. mair̄n skūl jā rahā hūm̄
 I school go.ABS remain.PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG be.PRES.1SG
 “I am going to school (just now).”

However, Kellogg (1893: §404) cites forms like *mair̄n jātā hūm̄* as meaning either “I go” or “I am going”.¹⁶ Further, he categorises *rahnā* as a light verb (Kellogg 1893: §428) rather than an auxiliary, suggesting that—as in the case of Modern Nepali *rahanu*—the use of *rahnā* as indicating continuous action in 19th c. Hindi was more peripheral and not yet integrated as part of the core grammar as a clear aspectual auxiliary; see (36) and (37), taken from Kellogg (1893: §404), retaining his translations.

- (36) 19th-century Hindi
- a. donom̄ laṛke khelte the
 both boy.PL play.IMPV_PTCP.MSC.PL be.PAST.3PL
 “The two children were playing.”
- b. donom̄ laṛke khel rahe the
 both boy.PL play.ABS remain.PERF_PTCP.MSC.PL be.PAST.3PL
 “The two children were engaged in play.”
- (37) 19th-century Hindi
- a. vah suntā hai
 he hear.IMPV_PTCP.MSC.SG be.3SG
 “He hears.” / “He is hearing.”
- b. vah sun rahā hai
 he hear.ABS remain.PERF_PTCP.MSC.PL be.3SG
 “He is occupied in hearing.”

The later auxiliary nature of Hindi *rahnā* represents a reanalysis which is part of larger

¹⁶A situation which persists marginally in modern Hindi, in much the same way as the modern English simple present can be employed with a progressive sense in certain contexts, e.g. “I am attaching a document to this email...” vs. “I attach a document to this email...”.

reconstructing of the Hindi verbal system (see further Slade 2013: §5.3).

3.5 Nepali *rahanu*: light verb > aspectual auxiliary

Nepali *rahanu* “remain, stay” behaves morphologically like other light verbs, selecting for an absolutive participle in *-i*. *Rahanu* is also identical to other light verbs with respect to restrictions on recursion and construction-specific restrictions (on which see below Section 4.5).

However, unlike other Nepali VV constructions, VVs involving *rahanu* (or *rākhnu* “keep”) never require agentive-marking on the subject, regardless of the transitivity of the main verb. In this, the construction including *rahanu* in its light verb function appears to be a periphrastic counterpart of the Nepali synthetic imperfect construction, verb-stem + *dai* + inflected form of BE. In other words, *rahanu* as a light verb, (38) – with respect to agentive case-marking assignment – patterns with the synthetic imperfect in *-dai*, (39), not with other VVs (such as the light verb *di-* as shown in (40)).

(38) Nepali

- a. **ma** mandir-mā ga-i- rah-eko chu
I temple-LOC go-ABS- remain-PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG be.1P.PRES
“I am going to the temple.” / “I have been going to the temple.”
- b. **ma** yo kām gar-i- rah-eko chu
I this work do-ABS- remain-PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG be.1P.PRES
“I am doing this work.” / “I have been doing this work.”

(39) Nepali

- a. **ma** mandir-mā jāṁ-dai chu
I temple-LOC go-IMPF_PTCP be.1P.PRES
“I am going to the temple.”
- b. **ma** yo kām gar-dai chu
I this work do-IMPF_PTCP be.1P.PRES
“I am doing this work.”

(40) Nepali

- a. **ma** mandir-mā ga-i- di-eko chu
I temple-LOC go-ABS- give-PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG be.1P.PRES
“I have gone to the temple (for someone).”
- b. **mai-le** yo kām gar-i- di-eko chu
I-AGT this work do-ABS- give-PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG be.1P.PRES
“I have done this work (for someone).”

In contrast to normal VV constructions (like those in (40)), constructions in which *rahanu* functions as a light verb do not require agentive marking on the subject (even when the main verb is transitive); see (38). In this, the VV construction with *rahanu* closely resembles the synthetic imperfect construction, as in (39).

The Nepali light verb *rahanu* appears thus to be in the process of becoming an auxiliary like Hindi *rahnā*. Both *rahanu* and *rākhnu* are further interesting in that sometimes they maintain a more contentful light verb sense¹⁷ – e.g. as in (41) and (42), respectively – another indication of their intermediate status in present-day Nepali.

(41) bas na-āe-samma ma yahim **basi-rahan**-chu
bus not-came-until I here sit.ABS-remain-be.1SG
“I’ll keep sitting here until the bus comes.” (Matthews 1998: 236)[Nepali]

(42) dākṭar-le ma-lāi auṣadhi **khā-i-rākhnu** bhanekā
doctor-AGT I-OBLQ medicine eat-ABS-keep-INF say.PERF_PTCP.PL
thie
be.PAST.MSC.PL.H
“The doctor had told me to keep taking the medicine.”(*Ibid.*) [Nepali]

In the following section, using data from a close examination of VVs in Hindi and Nepali, I outline various morphosyntactic parameters along which VV constructions may vary in different IA languages, some of which suggest differing degrees (or paths) of grammaticalisation.

4 Variation in morphosyntactic properties of IA VVs

The VV constructions of South Asia show considerable variation in their morphosyntactic attributes, and even within IA there are significant differences between the VV

¹⁷See also above Old Shah Nepali examples of *rākh-* as a light verb in (26)–(28).

systems of different languages.

4.1 Interruptibility

Hindi VVs are interruptible; that is, other words may occur in between the main verb and the light verb components of the VV, as shown in (43).¹⁸

- (43) mai-ne khānā **khā** to **liy-ā**, lekin phir ultī
 I-AGT food eat.ABS EMPH take.PAST.PTCP-SG.MSC but then vomit
 bhī ā-ī
 also come.PAST.PTCP-SG.FEM
 “I did eat food, but then I also vomited.” [Hindi]

Nepali VVs are not interruptible, even by particles like *ta* (equivalent to Hindi *to*):

- (44) *mai-le bhāt **khā-i-** ta **sak-em**, ...
 I-AGT food eat-ABS- EMPH finish-PAST.SG.MSC
 “I did eat food, ...” [Nepali]

This difference is possibly reflected in writing, as Hindi VVs are written as separate words, but Nepali VVs usually as a single word.¹⁹ The inseparability of Nepali VVs suggests that they are either formed in the lexicon, or else composed at a much lower level of syntax than Hindi VVs. In other words, Nepali light verbs appear to be more affixal in nature than are Hindi light verbs.

¹⁸All Hindi speakers consulted allowed for particles like *to* to intervene between main verb and light verb, as in (43); most speakers also allow pronouns to intervene, as in (i-a); some also allow for full NPs, as in (i-b), (i-c).

- (i) a. ā to vah gay-ā hai, lekin sabzi nahīn
 come.ABS EMPH he go.PAST.PTCP-SG.MSC be.3P.SG.PRES but vegetables not
 lāy-ā
 bring.PAST.PTCP-SG.MSC
 “He has indeed come, but he didn’t bring the vegetables.” [Hindi]
- b. %**khā** to *khānā* **liy-ā**
 eat.ABS EMPH food take.PAST.PTCP-SG.MSC
 “(I/he/she) did eat food.” [Hindi]
- c. %**liy-ā** to *khānā* **khā**
 take.PAST.PTCP-SG.MSC EMPH food eat.ABS
 “(I/he/she) did (in fact) have food.” [Hindi]

¹⁹This is unlikely to be just an artifact of the script, as both languages employ the same writing system (*devanāgarī*).

4.2 Recursion

Hindi allows for only one light verb per main verb, as shown in (45).²⁰

- (45) a. us-ne kican sāf kar dī
 he/she-AGT kitchen clean do.ABS give.PAST.PTCP.SG.FEM
 “He/she cleaned the kitchen for me.” [Hindi]
- b. us-ne kican sāf kar ḍāl-ī
 he/she-AGT kitchen clean do.ABS put.PAST.PTCP-SG.FEM
 “He/she cleaned the kitchen straightaway.” [Hindi]
- c. *us-ne kican sāf kar de ḍāl-ī
 he/she-AGT kitchen clean do.ABS give.ABS put.PAST.PTCP-SG.FEM
 “He/she cleaned the kitchen for me straightaway.” [Hindi]

In Nepali, on the other hand, VVs may involve up to two light verbs²¹, as in (46), where the main verb, *gari*, is modified by both *dii* (itself in absolutive form) and *hālin*.

- (46) un-le kican saphā gar-i- di-i- hāl-in
 he/she.MIDHON-AGT kitchen clean do-ABS- give-ABS- put-PAST.3SG.FEM
 “She cleaned the kitchen for me straightaway.” (Peterson (2002: 107))
 [Nepali]

In certain respects this makes Nepali VV appear more “affixal” in nature, given that main verb + light verb behaves like a simplex verb for purposes of additional operations (including the addition of other light verbs).

Sinhala also allows multiple light verbs to collocate with the same main verb, as shown by example (47).

²⁰Peter Hook (p.c.) points out that there are instances in Hindi which morphosyntactically involve a converb, but semantically behave not dissimilarly to the Nepali type illustrated in (46), including *V-kar rakh de-* “(lit.) having V’ed, keep give” and *V-kar chor de-* “(lit.) having V’ed, leave give”; and example of the former type is given in (i).

- (i) lekin kharc kī mār unke man ko mārkar rakh detī
 but expenditure of strike his/her mind/heart DAT kill.CONV keep give.PRES_PTCP.FEM.SG
 hai
 be.PRES.3SG
 “But the blow of the expenditure struck his/her heart.” [from <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=8189859951>]

²¹Pokharel (1991) suggests up to three light verbs may be used in some cases in Nepali, but my primary consultant did not accept any examples involving more than two light verbs collocated with the same main verb.

- (47) meyāge baⁿdinā wayəsə dæŋ pahu wē -gənə
 his/her marrying age now past become.ØABS -take.ØABS
 -enəwa
 -come.PAST
 “Her marrying age is approaching (coming past) now.” (Paolillo 1989,
 cited in Herring 1993) [Sinhala]

4.3 Morphosyntactic form restrictions on light verbs

Nepali VVs can occur in conjunctive participles. Thus, for example, a converb in Nepali may be composed from a VV, as in (48).

- (48) bhāt khā-i- sak-era u sut-na gay-o
 food eat-ABS- finish-CONV he/she sleep-INF.OBLQ go.PAST-3SG
 “Having finished dinner, he went to sleep.” (Peterson (2002: 108)) [Nepali]

In contrast, Hindi converbs can only be formed from simplex verbs. Therefore while (49-b) is grammatical, (49-a) is not.²²

- (49) a. *khānā khā le kar vah gay-ā
 food eat.ABS take CONV he/she go.PAST_PTCP-SG.MSC
 “Having eaten up the food, he left.” [Hindi]
 b. khānā khā kar vah gay-ā
 food eat.ABS CONV he/she go.PAST_PTCP-SG.MSC
 “Having eaten the food, he left.” [Hindi]

Hindi appears to have innovated: what is now the overt converb marker in Hindi, *kar* or *ke*, derives ultimately from the pleonastic addition of a converb form of *kar* “do”, pointing to the possibility of forming converbs of VV collocations in earlier Hindi, and suggesting that with respect to this property Nepali is conservative.

4.4 Construction-specific restrictions

IA languages vary with respect to the set of syntactic environments in which VV constructions are permitted or required. For example, Hindi VVs are fairly infrequent in negative contexts and “semi-negative” contexts like *sirf... hī* “only”, *śāyad hī* “hardly” (Hook 1974, 1988), while the same constraint is not as strong in other languages; e.g. in

²²Examples like (49-a) are possible in Dakkhini Hindi (spoken in Hyderabad), which has undergone convergence with Dravidian Telugu; see Arora (2004).

Marathi certain VV combinations can be easily negated (Hook 1988; Pardeshi 2001). Similarly, in Hindi, VVs are nearly obligatory whenever an event/action is perfective/completive (Hook 1974), while the same requirement is not found in other IA languages like Marathi (Hook 1988) or Nepali (Slade 2013). Hook (1988, 1993) points out also that certain contexts in Hindi strongly prefer or disprefer the use of VVs; in Hindi strongly VV-preferring environments include clauses dependent on a verb expressing fear, as in:

- (50) mujhe ḍar thā ki kahīm tum use ciṭṭhī nā de
 me.DAT fear be.PAST.MSC.SG that lest you he.DAT letter NEG give.ABS
 do
 give.IMP
 “I was afraid that you might give him the letter.” (Hook 1993: 100) [Hindi]

Hook (1988, 1993) points out that other IA languages display such preferences more weakly or not at all. Thus in Marathi and Nepali, verbs of fear do not trigger use of VVs:

- (51) ciṭhī ta dienas holā tai-le bhanera ma-lāi
 letter PART give.PAST.2SG.NEG be.FUT.3SG you-AGT QUOT me-OBLQ
 ḍar lāgethyo
 fear apply.PAST.1SG
 “I was afraid that you might give him the letter.” [Nepali]

The strength of restrictions of requirement/disallowing of VVs in particular environments seem to correlate with the overall frequency of use of VVs in a language, presumably both properties reflecting level of integration of VVs into the core grammar of tense/aspect in the language.

4.5 Dominance and transitivity issues

In both Hindi and Nepali, the question arises of how to reconcile clashes in transitivity between main verb and light verb in VV combinations.²³ Before going into detail, it is important to understand the basic patterns of case-marking morphology in these two languages. Both Hindi and Nepali (more or less)²⁴ employ a special marking for agents of transitive verbs in perfective tenses, *-ne* in Hindi, *-le* in Nepali. In Hindi,

²³Cp. Hock (1985) on issues of transitivity and case-marking in Indo-Aryan more generally.

²⁴Nepali also sometimes displays agentive case-marking in non-perfective contexts; the exact conditions on the use of *-le* in such cases is not entirely clear: see Poudel (2006) and Li (2007) for discussion.

the marking of agents correlates with verbal agreement: agentive case-marked nouns do not control predicate agreement.²⁵ In Nepali, (non-experiencer) subjects control predicate agreement regardless of whether they are agentive case-marked or not.

More relevant for the purposes of VVs is the fact that in Hindi it is the light verb member of the VV which determines whether the entire VV is treated as transitive or intransitive (and thus whether the subject receives agentive casemarking)—except in the case of intransitive main verb combined with transitive light verb (where we find variation in the assignment of transitivity to the compound for the purposes of case-assignment);²⁶ in Nepali, it is always the main verb which determines the transitivity of the entire verbal compound. This is shown in the examples in (52) and (53).

²⁵The unmarked object usually controls verb agreement; if this is blocked by the oblique postposition *ko*, the verb takes default masculine, singular, third-person agreement.

²⁶Combinations of intransitive main verb and transitive light verb are very rare in Hindi, apparently largely avoided by Hindi speakers. I have found only two examples from Nespital (1997: 1108-1109) where the case-assignment is clear (i.e. where the finite verb appears as a perfect participle).

- (i) śatru senā acānak hī hamāri senā par ā li
 enemy army suddenly EMPH our army on come.ABS take.PERF_PTCP.FEM.SG
 “The enemy army suddenly pounced on our army.”
- (ii) jab satīś apne ghar se nikl-ā to uskā kuttā bhī uske pīche
 when Satish his_own house from exit-PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG then his dog also his behind
 ho liy-ā
 be.ABS take-PERF_PTCP.MSC.SG
 “When Satish left his house, then his dog also followed him.”

In both cases, the subject is not marked with an agentive marker, despite the light verb member being transitive. Remarkably, in both (i) and (ii), not only is the light verb transitive, but the VV itself appears to be semantically transitive (in the sense that both *pounce* and *follow* require complements). However, more generally combinations of intransitive main verb and transitive light verb seems to result in variation in Hindi (probably as a result of the rarity of such combinations). That is, some speakers prefer (iii), others prefer (iv) (yet others prefer to avoid such combinations altogether).

- (iii) vah baiṭh liy-ā
 he sit.ABS take.PAST_PTCP-MSC.SG
 “He sat down.”
- (iv) us-ne baiṭh liy-ā
 he-AGT sit.ABS take.PAST_PTCP-MSC.SG
 “He sat down.”

Speakers show similar variation with respect to other combinations, such as *dikh diyā* “appeared”, and *ghum liyā* “roamed”.

(52) HINDI VVs

a. Intransitive main verb + intransitive light verb = Intransitive:

vah ā gay-ā
he come.ABS go.PAST.PTCP-MSG.SG
“He came.”

b. Transitive main verb + intransitive light verb = Intransitive:

vah khānā khā gay-ā
he food eat.ABS go.PAST.PTCP-MSG.SG
“He ate up the food.”

c. Transitive main verb + transitive light verb = Transitive:

us-ne khānā khā liy-ā
he-AGT food eat.ABS take.PAST.PTCP-MSG.SG
“He ate up the food.”

d. Intransitive main verb + transitive light verb = (variation) (see fn. 26)

vah/us-ne baith liy-ā
he.NOM/he-.AGT sit.ABS take.PERF_PTCP-MSG.SG
“He sat down.”

(53) NEPALI VVs

a. Intransitive main verb + intransitive light verb = Intransitive:

u mandir-mā ga-i- ā-eko cha
he temple-LOC go-ABS- come-PERF.PTCP.MSG.SG be.PRES.3SG
“He kept going to the temple.”

b. Transitive main verb + intransitive light verb = Transitive:

us-le yo kām gar-i- ā-eko cha
he-AGT this work do-ABS- come-PERF.PTCP.MSG.SG be.PRES.3SG
“He has continued to do this work.”

c. Transitive main verb + transitive light verb = Transitive:

us-le bhāt khā-i- di-yo
he-AGT food eat-ABS- give-PAST.MSG.3SG
“He ate up the food.”

d. Intransitive main verb + transitive light verb = Intransitive:

u rām ko-lāgi bajār ga-i- diy-o
he Ram for-sake-of market go-ABS- give-PAST.MSC.3SG
“He went to the market for Ram’s sake/in place of Ram.”

Thus, in Hindi the light verb usually determines the transitivity of the entire compound, for purposes of assignment (or non-assignment) of agentive marking to the subject. In Nepali, it is the main verb which determines the transitivity. Again, though it is unclear which of these represents the more conservative system, it is clear that change has taken place in the VV system of one or both languages. The uncertainty stems from the absence of extant Proto-Modern-Indo-Aryan, and the fact that for the predecessor gerund construction in earlier IA such issues did not arise: we do not find an ergative/absolute-type system in Sanskrit or Pali.

In the following and final section, I examine the inventories of light verbs which participate in VV constructions more broadly, considering both various IA languages – including not only Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Oriya, but also Nepali, Shina and Sinhala – as well a range of Dravidian languages, and speculate on the implications of the great amount of variation in both lexical inventories and morphosyntactic properties of VVs not only between language families but also within them means for our understanding of the historical development of VVs in South Asia.

5 Reflections on light verb inventories across South Asia

Examining VV constructions in Dravidian languages, Annamalai (2016: 556) observes that “there are cognate and non-cognate light verbs across the languages; the meanings of the light verbs are a shared set, though not always expressed by cognate light verbs”. Indeed, Table 1 represents a rough approximation of range of the full verb meanings (I have not space here to examine the different functions of Dravidian light verbs in depth) across a selection of Dravidian languages.²⁷

The range of Dravidian light verbs that occur in VVs can be compared with those found in a selection of Indo-Aryan languages, as given in Table 2.²⁸

²⁷Tamil data is taken from Annamalai (1985, 2016); Steever (2005); Malayalam data from Nayar (1979); Betta Kurumba data from Coelho (2018); Kannada data from Bhat (1979); and Telugu data from Subbarao (1979).

²⁸Compiled from Vale (1948); Singh et al. (1986); Abbi & Gopalakrishnan (1991); Pokharel (1991); Schmidt (2004) and my own data collection. Blanks indicate a lack of evidence for the existence of the form as a

	Tamil	Malayalam	Betta Kurumba	Kannada	Telugu
GO	<i>pō</i>	<i>pō</i>	<i>pōg</i>	<i>hōgu</i>	<i>pō</i>
SEE	<i>par</i>	<i>kāṇ, nōkku</i>	<i>nōḍ</i>	<i>nōḍu</i>	<i>cūs</i>
GIVE	<i>koṭu</i>	<i>koṭu, tar</i>	<i>koḍ, ṭār</i>	<i>koḍu</i>	
RELEASE/CAST/LEAVE	<i>viṭu</i>	<i>kaḷay</i>	<i>kāl</i>	<i>biḍu</i>	
PLACE/PUT	<i>vai</i>	<i>vay</i>		<i>hāku</i>	<i>wēs</i>
HOLD/CONTAIN	<i>koḷ</i>	<i>koḷ</i>			
TAKE	<i>eṭu</i>	<i>eṭu</i>			
BE	<i>iru</i>		<i>ir</i>		
BECOME	<i>āku</i>				
DROP	<i>pōṭu</i>				
SHOW	<i>kāṭṭu</i>				
LOSE	<i>tolai</i>				
TEAR-UP	<i>kizi</i>				
PUSH	<i>taḷḷu</i>				
DESTROY		<i>tulay</i>			
STAND		<i>nil</i>			
SIT		<i>iri</i>			
ACT SUITABLY		<i>aruḷ</i>			
BE-FINISHED		<i>kazi</i>			
JOIN		<i>ēku</i>			
PLAY				<i>āḍu</i>	
KEEP					<i>peṭṭ</i>
BUY					<i>kon</i>
FALL					<i>paḍ</i>
DIE					<i>caw</i>

Table 1: Light verbs that occur in VVs from selected Dravidian languages

Table 2 might even suggest more homogeneity than is in fact present in IA VV systems, for not only do these vary along various morphosyntactic parameters (as per Section 4 above), but even the semantics of the light verb uses of verbs with similar full semantics, and even cognate verbs, varies somewhat between IA languages, which Table 3 gives a small sampling of. Thus, sometimes the same light verb function is expressed using verbs with the same full verb meaning, e.g. Hindi *ḍāl-* and Nepali *hāl*. Sometimes the forms are even cognates, as is the case for Hindi *de-* and Nepali *di-*. But sometimes light verb functions are expressed using verbs with distinct full verb

light verb, many of these may in fact occur; ‘—’ indicates a stronger belief in the actual absence of the form as a light verb.

²⁹The Shina varieties in Gilgit and Skardu do not appear to exhibit use of VVs (Petter Hook, p.c.).

³⁰Pokharel (1991: 191) lists *par-* as a light verb which can form a typical IA VV in Nepali, but without examples, and neither online searches nor consultation with my Nepali informant have revealed convincing instances.

	Bengali	Hindi	Marathi	Nepali	Oriya	Kohistani ²⁹ Shina	Sinhala
GIVE	<i>deo-</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>di-</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>doón</i>	<i>denəwa</i>
GO	<i>jāo-</i>	<i>jā-</i>	<i>jā-</i>	<i>jā-</i>	<i>jā-</i>	<i>bójoón</i>	<i>yanəwa</i>
COME	<i>āsi-</i>	<i>ā-</i>	<i>ye-</i>	<i>āu-</i>	<i>ās-</i>		<i>enəwa</i>
FALL	<i>paṛ-</i>	<i>paṛ-</i>	<i>paḍ-</i>	<i>(paṛ-)</i> ³⁰	<i>paṛ-</i>	<i>dijoón</i>	—
SIT	<i>bas-</i>	<i>baiṭh-</i>	<i>bas-</i>		<i>bas-</i>	<i>byoón</i>	—
TAKE	<i>ne-</i>	<i>le-</i>	<i>ghe-</i>	—	<i>ne-</i>	—	<i>gannəwa</i>
KEEP	<i>rak-</i>	<i>rakh-</i>	<i>ṭhev-</i>	<i>rākh-</i>	<i>rakh-</i>		—
THROW	<i>phel-</i>	<i>ḍāl-</i>	<i>ṭāk-</i>	<i>hāl-</i>			—
RISE	<i>oṭh-</i>	<i>uṭh-</i>	<i>uṭh-</i>		<i>uṭh-</i>		—
MOVE	<i>cal-</i>	<i>cal-</i>	<i>cal-</i>		<i>cāl-</i>		—
DIE		<i>mar-</i>			<i>mar-</i>		—
KILL		<i>mār-</i>			<i>mār-</i>		—
SEND				<i>paṭhāu-</i>			—
OPEN							<i>arinəwa, ærenəwa</i>
LEAVE						<i>phátoon</i>	—
RELEASE						<i>mojoón</i>	—
TAKE OUT			<i>kāḍh-</i>				
COME OUT			<i>nigh-</i>				

Table 2: Light verbs that occur in VVs from selected Indo-Aryan languages

senses, e.g. Hindi *baiṭh-* and Nepali *paṭhau-*, and in some cases a light verb sense is expressible in some languages but not in others, e.g. Nepali lacks an equivalent to the light verb function of Hindi *le-*.

HINDI STEM	HINDI FULL VERB MEANING	LIGHT VERB SENSE	NEPALI FULL VERB MEANING	NEPALI STEM
<i>ḍāl</i>	throw	immediacy	throw	<i>hāl</i>
<i>de</i>	give	other-directed	give	<i>di</i>
<i>le</i>	take	self-directed		—
<i>cuk</i>	be used up	completive	complete / be able to	<i>sak</i>
<i>baiṭh</i>	sit	regret	send	<i>paṭhāu</i>

Table 3: Selected Hindi and Nepali light verbs compared

Considering the range of variation in morphosyntactic proprieties and particular inventories of light verbs, we might wonder if these really do represent even small significant pockets of common inheritance. One of the most common light verbs in IA, and one of the ones to make clear early appearances, is GIVE. But though GIVE is present in modern Sinhala, it is not found in Old Sinhala.³¹ That leaves only GO. And

³¹Of the light verbs found in Modern Colloquial Sinhala, only two of these were also found in Old Sinhala: TAKE and GO. Old Sinhala also possesses PLACE and SHOW, which have subsequently undergone further

forms of GO are frequently found undergoing various types of grammaticalisation, being present, for instance, in the formation of passives and futures in Hindi.³²

Annamalai (2016: 556) notes that “[t]he use of non-cognate light verbs for a shared meaning is not surprising because this is noticed between dialects of the same language as well. This raises a problem for comparative reconstruction: Can a grammatical phenomenon be reconstructed for the proto stage while the forms of particular light verbs that cannot be?” While the lack of cognates for a shared meaning between related languages is not itself necessarily an insurmountable problem,³³ the overall differences between even closely related Dravidian languages in terms of substantial differences in light verb inventories may weigh against positing VVs in Proto-Dravidian.

Turning back to Indo-Aryan, given the significantly earlier appearance of VVs in Sinhala, and the substantial and prolonged contact Sinhala has had with South Dravidian languages, it is tempting to suggest that VVs might find their origin in Dravidian and the late and varied appearance of VVs in IA represents Dravidian influence. However, while it would be tempting to attribute the strikingly early Sinhala development of VVs to Dravidian influence, VVs in Old Tamil are in fact apparently vanishingly rare: Annamalai (2016: 556) points out that “[g]iven the paucity of light verbs in Old Tamil texts before the Common Era, one may speculate that ‘delexicalisation’ of full verbs into light verbs is a development that is shared, but its time and instantiation are specific to individual languages”.

So one possibility this suggests is that VVs in modern South Asia languages had somewhat independent paths of development – even probably in many cases including also languages within the same language family – with some amount of later convergent development. This would also be one potential explanation for the fact that the semantic similarities between the root meanings of light verbs seem to be largely restricted to those we might independently expect to liable to grammaticalisation (e.g. GO, COME).

grammaticalisation, see above.

³²And compare, outside of South Asia, the grammaticalisation of GO in the English future construction “be going to” V.

³³See Watkins (1995) on the notion of “renewal” of components of inherited formulaic phrases – essentially the phenomenon of a form within an idiomatic chunk being replaced by another form which bears the same/similar meaning – as well as Matasović (1996) and Slade (2008[2010]) who explore additional examples of preservation of formulae involving “renewal” or lexical replacements.

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