Issues in the syntax of Marathi : a minimalist approach

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ISSUES IN THE SYNTAX OF MARATHI – A MINIMALIST APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the syntax of Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language spoken predominantly in India. The main aim of the thesis is to provide a thorough description and analysis of core sentential structures in Marathi, with special focus on word order, case, agreement, and negation. Following Kayne (1994) the thesis establishes that Marathi has underlying SVO order and that the surface SOV order is derived via leftward movement. Thus, head-initial structure is assumed for all phrases in this thesis. Movement is assumed to be triggered by generalised [EPP] features which certain heads have.

The case and agreement facts of the language are discussed in detail and a theoretical analysis is provided for the same within the framework of the Minimalist Program, as articulated in the recent work by Noam Chomsky (1995, 1998, 2000) and other scholars. The agreement facts and their analysis clearly indicate that nominative case is not independent of agreement, a fact that has been well established in many languages. Additionally Marathi shows special dual agreement (both subject and object) in second person constructions. This is accounted for by arguing for a second set of phi-features on T. The case of the object is a problematic aspect of the syntax of many Indo-Aryan languages, including Marathi. The object can be assigned accusative, dative or nominative, according to certain rules. This is explained in part by assuming a difference between NP and DP: Accusative case is assigned only to DPs, whereas nominative case can be assigned to both. The thesis also argues that ergativity in Marathi is an instance of morphological ergativity and that ergative case is inherent.

A polarity phrase based account is provided to accommodate the negation data. Traditionally a distinction is made between constituent negation (CN) and sentential negation (SN) in Marathi. The thesis argues for an analysis that unifies the two types of negation, in Marathi. The basic idea is (a) that a Pol(arity) head can be realized as negative or affirmative, and (b) the scope of Pol is the Spec PolP position. Thus, for any phrase to be in the scope of negation, it has to move to the Spec PolP. This movement is

triggered by the [EPP] feature on the Pol head. In CN, the Pol has an additional [u FOC] feature which ensures the movement of the focused item into SpecPolP.

Written Marathi is not a pro-drop language, but in spoken Marathi pro-drop is common. Marathi has null generic (indefinite) pronoun and definite null pronouns are allowed only when they have an antecedent in a higher clause or one in the immediate discourse. Thus both agreement and discourse contribute in some way towards the licensing of the null subjects. The thesis will demonstrate that Marathi is not an instance of a classical agreement-based pro-drop language, and also cannot be classified as a discourse pro-drop language. I present data that show that Marathi is a partial pro-drop language, in the sense of Holmberg (2005).

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I have not mentioned these names in any particular order. All errors remain mine, of course. This thesis is dedicated to my parents : Hema and Rohit Nayudu.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL = Ablative case
ABS = Absolutive case
ACC= Accusative case
AFF = Affirmative
CONJ.PART = Conjunctive Participle
DAT= Dative case
DEF= Definite
EMPH= Emphatic particle
ERG= Ergative case
FUT= Future Tense
GER= Gerund
HUM= Human
IMPF= Imperfective Aspect
IMPR= Imperative
INF= Infinite
M = Masculine
N = Neuter
NEC= Necissive
NEG = Negative
NOM= Nominative
PART= Participle
PAST= Past tense
PERF= Perfective Aspect
PERF.PART = Perfect Participle
POL = Polarity
PRES= Present Tense
PL = Plural
S = Singular
SUBJ= Subjunctive

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is twofold (i) to provide a formal description of the syntax of Marathi, thereby highlighting the issues that are identified in doing so and (ii) to try and account for these issues within the current minimalist program (Chomsky 1995 onwards). This will be achieved by discussing the clause structure of Marathi in detail. The central goal of linguistics as a discipline is to understand how language and the brain interact. The big questions are, how does a child acquire a language, and how is it possible to speak and understand a system as complex as a language? This thesis is not an attempt to provide a direct answer to these questions instead I hope to provide a description or a deeper understanding of the Marathi clause structure, which in turn will contribute in a small way towards solving the main puzzle. The analysis developed in this thesis is compatible with the current acquisition theories. In this thesis, I will be mainly concerned with the sentence structure in Marathi and how it affects other syntactic phenomena like agreement, case, scrambling, negation etc.

Marathi is considered to be a canonical SOV language. It is one of the 18 official languages mentioned in the constitution of India. The language is spoken predominantly in the state of Maharashtra, however small groups of Marathi speaking communities can be found in other parts of the country and the world. It belongs to the gigantic Indo-European (henceforth IE) language family specifically the Indo-Aryan branch of the IE family. It is estimated that there are about 60 million speakers of Marathi across the world, but the majority of them are in India, of course.

The lack of a formal account of the syntax of the language prompted me to take this up as a project that provided a sound theoretical description of the syntax of the language in the current theory of the generative grammar. To me it seems puzzling that a language with a large speech community, like Marathi, seems to have missed the keen eyes of the linguists. For some reason it has not quite attracted linguists in the same way as Hindi[1] has. Apart from the prescriptive grammars written both in Marathi and English (Berntsen and Nimbkar 1975, Bhagwat 2003, Huddleston 1988, Joshi 2003, Phythian 1980) there has been very little work on the core linguistic aspects of the language. Pandharipande (1997) and Wali (2005) grammars of Marathi come closest to a detailed linguistic description in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax. Since these are descriptive grammars they just mention the facts without any analysis to account for the facts. As far as I am aware most of the work on Marathi syntax (Wali (2005), Joshi (1993), Gair and Wali (1989), Dalrymple (1993), Deo (2001) are sketched either within the GB (Government and Binding) framework (precursor to the Minimalist Program) or the Lexical Functional Grammar model. The analysis that I present in this thesis is developed within the framework of the Minimalist Program developed by Chomsky (1995,1998,2001) over the years. In section three of this chapter, I will give an introduction to Chomskyan Minimalist theory.

Description of the clause structure of any language is incomplete without a detailed analysis of certain core syntactic concepts like the mapping between argument structure and word order. How are clauses with different word order derived? Does the language have a rich case system? What are the agreement facts like in the language? How is negation expressed in the language? I will be discussing these and other basic concepts as and when they are relevant in the thesis. Following Kayne (1994) I will argue that Marathi is underlyingly an SVO language and that the surface SOV order is the derived via obligatory leftward movement of the object to the preverbal position.

I will begin by showing that SVO is the base order in chapter three. Once this is argued for, I will go on to argue that structural case and agreement are dependent on each other. I will draw attention to the fact that nominative case assignment and accusative

[1] Hindi is the one of the two official languages of India. It has gained considerable amount of attention from linguists like Mahajan (1989,1990), Mohanan (1994), Davison (2002,2003), Kidwai (2000) ,

case assignment function differently from each other. My analysis would also account for the special double agreement found in the language where both the subject and the object agree with the verb.

The next section is a brief introduction on the Universal Grammar a notion that is mentioned at various points throughout the thesis.

2 UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR (UG)

The generative grammar of a particular language, as defined by Chomsky (1986:3), is " a theory that is concerned with the form and meaning of expressions of this language". The aspects of form and meaning of a particular language are determined by the language faculty, the component of the brain that deals with linguistic abilities. Chomsky (1986:3) says that

"UG may be regarded as a characterization of the genetically determined language faculty. One may think of this faculty as a "Language Acquisition Device", an innate component of the human mind that yields a particular language through interaction with presented experience, a device that converts experience into a system of knowledge attained: knowledge of one or another language".

In our quest to understand language acquisition we are essentially trying to understand the nature of the I-languages. I-language is an individual's internalized knowledge of linguistic structures. Grammar can thus be defined as a theory of I-language (Chomsky 1986).

Chomsky (1986:32) defines UG as "a theory of human I-language, a system of conditions deriving from the human biological endowment that identifies the I-languages

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Vashishth (1997), Kumar (2006) etc

that are humanly accessible under normal conditions". In other words, UG is a collection of principles that occur universally across the languages. And it is assumed to be innate.

Chomsky (1995; chapter 3) defines UG as the theory of generative grammar, and the expressions they generate. It is an initial state[2] of the relevant component of the language faculty. UG is a system with a fixed set of principles and a finite set of parameters, which are valued. Cross linguistic variation across languages is a result of the language specific values of these parameters. All syntactic rules of a language are then understood in terms of interaction between the principles and these valued parameters.

UG does not claim that all languages have the same grammar rather it is a theory that is trying to explain how children acquire languages.

3 THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

I will start by quoting Hornstein (2001: 1) on the Minimalist Program.

"Minimalism is not a theory but a program animated by certain kinds of methodological and substantive regulative ideals. These ideals are reflected in more concrete principles which are in turn used in minimalist models to analyze specific empirical phenomena."

The Minimalist Program (MP) is Chomsky's recent approach to the study of Universal Grammar. The previous section explained what was meant by Universal Grammar.

The minimalist program does not abandon all the assumptions of the Principles and Parameter (henceforth P&P) theory. So how does Minimalist Program differ from the GB (government and binding) model of the P & P theory? To begin with, GB has four

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[2] This is a genetically determined state, and it passes through normal development of early childhood and reaches stability. It appears to be uniform across the species. (Chomsky 1995:chapter 1)

levels of representation in the grammar—DS, SS, PF and LF. Of these PF and LF are interface representations, interfacing with the systems which provide the sound and the meaning to sentences. The Minimalist Program has the ambition to include only such categories, operations, and representations which are conceptually necessary, therefore it endorses only two levels for grammar: PF and LF. It gets rid of the two structural levels DS and SS, which are only required for theory-internal reasons. Abandoning these two levels means that Minimalist Program has to find ways to account for the various syntactic processes that occur at these two levels. Things like Case theory and Theta theory have to be re-accommodated in the new model. Within the GB model Case theory applied at SS and theta theory at DS. The structure of the UG (adapted from Adger 2003) is something like this:

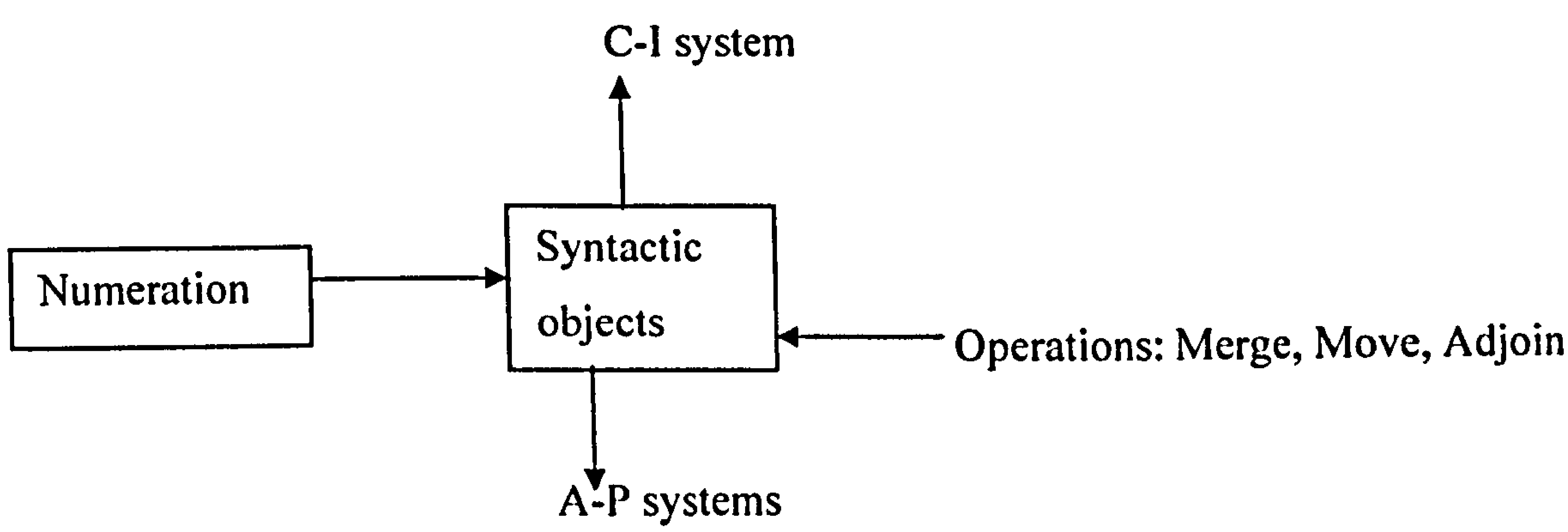

Figure 1

I will now explain some key terminology used within the MP most of which will be used in various chapters while discussing the data. The first notion is that of a derivation. An important difference between minimalist program, as developed by Chomsky (1995) and subsequent works, and its predecessors is that minimalist theory is strictly derivational. A derivation as defined by Adger (2003:142) "...can be thought of as the result of successively applying syntactic operations (...of move plus merge and adjoin) to syntactic objects to form successively larger syntactic objects". The derivation is subject to certain principles like Procrastinate which says delay movement for as long as possible, and the principle of economy which states (a) that among competing derivations the most economical one is always preferred, and (b) that a derivation is more economical if it has fewer steps.

The input for a derivation is a collection of lexical items, the smallest units with phonetic, semantic and syntactic features drawn from the lexicon. This collection of lexical items is referred to as the 'numeration'. The syntactic operation 'Merge' applies to the items in the numeration. Merge is an operation which selects two items A and B from the numeration, and combines them together to form a larger syntactic unit C. The operation Merge then occurs successively, adding one item at a time building larger and larger units. Move is the other syntactic operation that applies to items (constituents) in the derivation. Move allows using an item which is already merged in the structure and merging a copy of it in a higher position within the derivation. At some stage the derivation would have used all the items from the numeration at that point the derivation undergoes Spell Out.

Spell Out is a stage where structure (of the syntactic object taken from the derivation) required for the phonetic interpretation is separated from the structure required for the semantic interpretation. These separate structures move simultaneously to the PF and LF interfaces where the former takes care of the phonetic interpretation and the latter of the semantic interpretation.

Before moving on to the sample derivation, I will discuss the rationale for moving (i.e. copying and re-merging) items that are already merged. For a constituent to get re-merged in a different position there has to be some motivation. Chomsky argues that movement is required in order to get rid of a certain feature on a category. Thus he introduced the notion of feature checking into the derivation. The basic idea is that lexical items enter the derivation with certain features marked on them, and some of these need to be checked and deleted during the course of a derivation. In the early days of the MP, Chomsky argued that the features came in two flavours – strong and weak. Weak features could remain unchecked in the derivation until after Spell Out, while strong features had to be checked and deleted in the derivation before it proceeded to the PF interface. A strong feature [F] would be deleted via moving a constituent X which is also marked for the same feature X[F] from its original position, and re-merging it with a category (in a higher position) that hosts the strong feature [F], and doing so before Spell Out. A weak feature would be deleted in the same way, but only after Spell Out, which means that the movement did not have an éffect on PF. Cross linguistic variation in word order then could be captured by the fact that a feature [F] could be strong in one language but weak in the other. A typical example of strong and weak feature can be seen in the [WH] clauses. In English, the [WH] feature on the C head is a strong feature and hence it triggers the movement of the questioned NP into the spec of the CP as shown below in (1).

1. a. what did Kim buy?
   b. what did Kim buy *what*?

(1)a is derived from (1)b by merging a copy of the questioned object NP at spec CP before Spell Out. The original copy of the NP is then deleted in the derivation of PF. Compare this with the Marathi data in (2), we find that the wh object NP remains in its original position. This suggests that the [WH] feature on the C head in Marathi is a weak feature. And hence, it can remain unchecked until after Spell Out. After the Spell Out, copying and re-merging of the wh- object will have no effect on the PF thereby making the movement covert.

2. Kim-ni kaay ghetla?
   Kim-ERG what take-PAST.3.S.N
   'What did Kim buy?'

In the more recent developments in the MP, Chomsky still maintains the idea that movement is triggered by some feature. However he abandons the notion of strong versus weak features and instead argues that features are either interpretable or uninterpretable. Interpretable features have some semantic content whereas the uninterpretable features lack semantic content. In Chomsky (2001) and subsequent works interpretable features are seen as inherently valued features, while uninterpretable ones are unvalued. Uninterpretable features have to be valued and subsequently deleted in the narrow syntax else the derivation crashes at the LF/PF interfaces. There are two ways of deleting the uninterpretable features; (i) through feature checking by movement (copying and remerging), and (ii) through the Agree relation. Deletion through movement was already exemplified by the wh-movement example mentioned earlier in (1) and (2). I will briefly discuss the second option here. Features are valued and subsequently deleted when they enter into an Agree relation with a category that hosts the corresponding interpretable features. Thus Agree is essentially a matching relation that holds between what is called a Probe (a head with an uninterpretable/unvalued feature) and a Goal (a category with the corresponding interpretable/valued feature), where the Probe and the Goal stand in a c-command relation to each other. An example of the Agree relation will be pointed out in the sample derivation. I will come back to the Agree relation in chapter Three when discussing the Marathi data on case and agreement.

3.1 Case and Agreement within minimalist theory

In many languages morphological case seems to interact with agreement. In this section I will discuss how these two syntactic notions are accounted for within minimalist theory following Chomsky (2000 and subsequent works). In the pre-MP theory as well as in early minimalist theory, agreement was thought of as a relation that holds between a head and its specifier. To be precise, agreement was considered to be a functional category projecting its own phrase, the AGRP, and the constituent bearing the agreement morphology had to move into the specifier of this AGRP to enter into a spec-head relation with the AGR head. To account for languages like Hindi, Pashto, Marathi and others, which show both subject and object agreement, it was argued that there are two AGRPs in the structure, namely, AGRSP and AGROP dealing with subject and object agreement respectively. According to this theory, then subject agreement in English would be accounted for by moving the subject NP into the spec AGRSP. This would establish the required spec-head relation, and the agreement would be reflected morphologically on the auxiliary that occupies the T-head

3. a. The boy was intelligent.
   The boys were intelligent.

b. mulga hoshiyaar aahe (Marathi)
   boy-3.S.M intelligent be-PRES-3.S.M
   'The boy is intelligent.'

   mulə hoshiyaar aahet
   Boys-3.PL.M intelligent be-pres-3.PL.M
   'The boys are intelligent.'

In early-Minimalist theory Case was also assigned (or checked) in a spec-head relation. Nominative Case was assigned (or checked) by AGRS on the NP which moved to Spec AGRS, while Accusative Case was assigned (or checked) by AGRO on the NP which moved to Spec AGRO (Bobaljik 1996).

The current version of the MP abandons the spec-head relation approach for agreement and Case (at least for structural Case). Instead, Case and agreement are thought of as effects of the relation AGREE that holds between an NP which has interpretable phi-features (number, gender, and person) and a head which has uninterpretable/unvalued phi-features. In the case of subject agreement the head is T. This head is then a probe, looking for a goal in its c-command domain (the subject NP) to assign values to its phi-features. The phi-features thus valued will remain in the derivation to PF and be pronounced as inflections on the finite verb or auxiliary, but will be deleted in the derivation of LF after Spell Out. In the case of object agreement, the head with the unvalued features is *v* (see below). This head probes its c-command domain for an NP (an object NP) which can value its phi- features.

Case is an uninterpretable/unvalued feature on NP, which gets valued in the Agree process. When T probes and gets assigned phi-feature values by the subject NP, that NP gets assigned Nominative. When v probes and gets assigned phi-feature values by the object NP, it gets assigned Accusative Case. The case feature value affects PF (in some languages), but is deleted after Spell Out in the derivation of LF.

3.2 Sample Derivation

The derivation of the simple transitive clause in English given in (4) would proceed roughly in the following manner in Chomskyan minimalist theory

4. John cleared the garden

The numeration for the derivation of this sentence would include: [*John, cleared, the, garden, v,* T_{past}]. From this numeration, the operation Merge first applies to *the* and *garden* to generate the NP *the garden.* Then the verb *clear* is merged next with the NP to form the VP *clear the garden.* This is shown schematically below:

5. VP
2
V NP
cleared5
the garden

The functional category of little v merges next with the VP to project vP. It is argued that little v is the head that encodes transitivity and hence it assigns its external theta role to the subject, considered to be generated in the Spec vP position (Chomsky 1995). The verb then obligatorily moves from the V head to the little v. This movement is triggered by the presence of an unvalued [V] feature on the v head. This feature is valued by remerging V with v. Additionally the affixal nature of v also contributes to this remerging.

As mentioned in the previous section, v has a set of uninterpretable/unvalued phi-features. It probes the tree for an NP, and finds the object NP. This NP values the phi-features of v, and has its unvalued Case feature valued Accusative in return (where neither the Case nor the agreement shows in PF, in English).

T(ense) is the next category to merge with the vP. T is a purely functional category as it does not assign any theta role unlike lexical categories and v. As described in the previous section, T has a set of unvalued phi-features, and therefore probes the structure for an NP. The closest one is the subject NP, which values the phi-features of T and gets assigned Nominative Case in return. But the subject also moves from Spec vP to Spec TP (i.e. a copy of it merges with T'). This is the effect of an additional feature of T, the EPP feature. It will be argued for Marathi, this [EPP] feature attracts the vP.

6. TP
2
John T'
2
T vP
[EPP] 2
<John> v'
2
cleared VP
2
< cleared> the garden

I am assuming that the [EPP] feature can be hosted by any head in the derivation. The [EPP] feature is an uninterpretable feature whose sole responsibility is to ensure that the specifier position of the head hosting the feature is filled. This is achieved via movement (copying and remerging). Word order variations found cross linguistically can in part be accounted for by assuming an [EPP] feature on a certain head.

The fact that morphologically the tense of a clause shows up on the verb has to be accounted for in the theory. It is assumed that there is a [T] feature on the verb and this has to match with the [T] feature on the T head (which is interpretable). For example if the T head has a [PAST] feature then the verb would also have a [PAST] feature on it. The [T] feature on the verb is uninterpretable hence it has to be deleted. One way of deleting this uninterpretable feature on the little v would be to assume an Agree relation (due to matching features) between the T head and the little v. As mentioned earlier, within the recent version of minimalist theory, the deletion of the uinterpretable [T] feature on the little v head is achieved via feature valuing. This entails the assumption that the uninterpretable [T] feature on the little v is not specified as either past or present in the numeration. Instead this feature has to be valued by the corresponding interpretable [T] feature on the T head. The interpretable [T] feature on the T head is [PAST] for the derivation in question. Thus, the [PAST] feature values the uninterpretable [T] feature of the little v as [PAST]. After Spell Out the feature gets deleted in the derivation of LF, but is preserved in the derivation of PF, where it determines the inflection of the verb. With this the derivation of the transitive clause (in question) is complete.

It will be argued in this thesis that Indic languages like Hindi, Punjabi, and Gujarati which are often categorized as SOV languages are derived from an underlying SVO order. However these are not strictly SOV languages. Many other orders like SVO, OSV can also be found in these languages. The SOV order is however the most unmarked order for these languages. Since these languages have a relatively rich case system, the variations in the word order do not come as a surprise.

4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have introduced the topic of this thesis, and have pointed out the reason for undertaking this research. Assuming that the general reader of this thesis is not familiar with the current Chomskyan theory of the Minimalist Program, the chapter presents a brief introduction to the MP, and introduces the relevant terminology that will be used through out this thesis. For a more detailed explanation of the theory readers are directed to the works of Hornstein et al 2005, Adger 2003, Radford 2004 etc.

The layout of the thesis is as follows: the next chapter (Chapter two) discusses some salient properties of the language and provides some analysis of the word order. Agreement and case matters are taken up in great details in chapter three. Chapter four discusses negation within the language and presents an analysis that accounts for the various types of negation. The phenomenon of Pro drop is taken up in Chapter five. The chapter tries to outline conditions under which pro-drop occurs. However it will be seen that Marathi shows a certain amount of discrepancy in permitting null subjects in some cases and not in others. The final Chapter six gives the conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

MARATHI: SOME PROPERTIES, THE PHRASE STRUCTURE, AND THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this chapter is to shed some light on the phrase structure in Marathi. All syntactic studies or theories begin at the level of phrases hence it is only appropriate to include a discussion on the different phrases found in the language. First I will discuss some typological properties of Marathi to familiarize the reader with the language. The material presented in the first half of this chapter should be treated as a mere description of the facts. Hence there is no analysis provided in section two. In section three, I will discuss the phrase structure of Marathi by looking at the various phrases like NP, VP AdjP etc. in greater details.

Like mentioned earlier on, descriptively, Marathi is considered to be a SOV word order type language (Pandharipande 1997, Bhagwat 2003, Joshi, S.1993, Joshi,C. 2003, Wali 2005). However, on a closer inspection one finds that Marathi is not *strictly* a SOV word order type language. Apart from the standard and most commonly used SOV order the language also shows SVO order in finite complement clauses. The OSV order is also available but it is a rather marked order (used for emphasis or focusing or topicalization) and is not very common. The analysis presented in this thesis for both the phrase and the clause structure is sketched within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995, 2000).

2. SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF MARATHI

I begin this chapter with discussing some very distinctive features or properties of Marathi to familiarize the reader before getting into any detailed syntactic analysis. There will be a detailed discussion of some features (which I think are important and relevant to this thesis) of the language presented in the various sub-sections within this section. These features will then provide the necessary background for the discussions on the case, agreement, negation and pro-drop all of which will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

2.1 Articles: Definiteness and Indefiniteness

The first distinctive feature that I will like to start with is the category of articles. Unlike English, the Marathi language does not have any articles (Pandharipande 1997, Wali 2005). That is to say that there are no Marathi equivalents for the English words *a, an, the* etc. This leads to the question - How then is definiteness and indefiniteness expressed in this language? When a NP/DP within a sentence has no overt marking, it can be interpreted as definite as long as the discourse context makes it clear that both the speaker and the hearer know the exact referent or the object as in examples (1) and (2) below.

1. mi   mulga   pahila
   1.S   boy-3.S.M   see.PAST.3.S.M
   'I saw the/ a boy.'

2. tyaa-ne   pustak   vaachali
   3.S.M-ERG   book-3.S.F   read-PAST.3.S.F
   'He read the / a book.'

Definiteness is also expressed through some overt marking on the DP. These could be case ending or postpositions on the NP/DP. See the example in (3) where the object NP/DP has a postposition on it, therefore it is interpreted as definite whereas in (4) below the subject NP/DP is cased marked as accusative/ dative. Thus it is interpreted as definite.

3. Tini dzaada-var chadhali
T.3.S.F tree-on climb-PAST.3.S
'Tini climbed the/ *a tree.'

4. dzaada-la phulə aali
tree-ACC flowers-PL come-PAST.PL
'The /*a tree blossomed.'

Use of demonstratives also results in a definite reading as can be seen in the following example where the subject NP/DP has a demonstrative modifying the head noun *book* and is getting interpreted as a definite NP:

5. [ti pustak] madzi aawadti aahe
that book.3.S.F my favorite is.3.S.F
'That book is my favorite.'

Indefiniteness on the other hand is expressed by using the numeral '*ek*' meaning *one* and the indefinite pronoun '*koni*' the examples (6) and (7) below will illustrate this.

6. Ram-ne ek pustak vaachli
R-ERG one book.3.S.F read-PAST-3.S.F
'Ram read a /*the book.'

7. koni bai aali aahe
some lady come.3.S.F be
'Some /*the lady has come.'

With this short introduction on definiteness versus indefiniteness I now move to the next property.

2.2 *Auxiliary verbs in Marathi*

In this section I will briefly discuss auxiliary verbs found in Marathi. Like many other natural languages Marathi also has a list of auxiliary verbs. Marathi has two sets of auxiliaries. They can be categorized into what I call (i) the general auxiliaries and (ii) the negative auxiliaries. The general auxiliaries are used in affirmative constructions and the negative auxiliaries are always used in negative constructions. Following is the list of some auxiliary verbs in Marathi. 8(a) lists general (affirmative) auxiliaries and 8(b) lists the negative auxiliaries. Marathi allows for a main verb like *to need/want, to attach, to happen* to be used as a auxiliary verb in sentences. Some of these are already listed in 8(a).

8. a List of General Auxiliary verbs

as	'be'
karne	'do'
hawa	'need/ want'
lag	'to be attached'

b List of Negative auxiliary verbs

nahi	'is not'
nako	'do not'
naye	'should not'

Like main verbs, these auxiliaries are also inflected for tense, person, number and gender agreement. The following tables show the conjugation of the auxiliary verb *as* 'be' in Marathi.

Table 2: Conjugation for *as* 'be' Present Tense

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	Aahe	Aahe	--
	Pl	Aahot		
2nd	Sg	aahes	Aahes	--
	Pl	Aahat		
3rd	Sg	aahe	Aahe	aahe
	Pl	Aahet		

Table 3: Conjugation for *as* 'be' Past Tense

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	hoto	Hoti	--
	Pl	Hoto		
2nd	Sg	hota	Hoti	--
	Pl	Hota		
3rd	Sg	hota	Hoti	hote
	Pl	Hote		

Table 4: Conjugation for *as* 'be' Future Tense

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	asel	Asel	asel
	Pl	Aso		
2nd	Sg	ashil	Ashil	--
	Pl	Asaal		
3rd	Sg	asel	Asel	asel
	Pl	Astil		

A similar paradigm is also available for the negative auxiliaries in Marathi. I will not show the full paradigm here for the negative auxiliary *nasne* 'not to be' but just the conjugation of the negative auxiliary in present tense.

Table 5: Conjugation for *nas* ‘not to be’ Present Tense

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	Nahi		
	Pl	Nahi		
2nd	Sg	Nahis		
	Pl	Nahi		
3rd	Sg	Nahi		
	Pl	Nahit		

Having said this much it is only appropriate to mention here the position of auxiliaries in a sentence. As it has been cited in previous works and prescriptive grammars, (Pandharipande 1997, Dhongade 1984, Laddu 1978, Berntsen & Nimbkar 1982) that auxiliaries in Marathi are *always* clause final, there is no exception to this rule. Following are a few examples with auxiliaries

9. a Ram dzopla **aahe**
R-NOM sleep-PROG be-PRES
‘Ram is sleeping.’

b Ram shalyaat gela **hota**
R-NOM school-to go be-PAST
‘Ram had been to the school.’

c Ram-la ghari dzaila **hawa**
R-ACC/DAT house go need-PRES
‘Ram needs to go home.’

d dal-la shijwaila **lagel**
Lentils cook will
‘Lentils will have to be cooked.’

I think at this point this much information on auxiliaries is enough. I will return to these in the later chapters.

2.3 Postpositions and Case

I now move to the next typological property of Marathi. Marathi like many other Indo-Aryan languages (Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi to name a few)[1] has postpositions unlike English or French which have prepositions. The following examples will illustrate this.

10. pustak	khurachi-varati	aahe
book	chair- **on**	is

'The book is on the table.'

11. dal	dav-shi	vaadh
Lentils	ladle-**with**	serve

'Serve the lentils with the ladle.'

You can see that there is no gloss for the articles *a, the* in the above (10 and 11) Marathi sentences as mentioned in the earlier section. All the other postpositions like *saathi* 'for', *madhe* 'in' , *khalti* 'below' , *-la* 'to' etc. etc. occur similarly. Apart from these, nouns often have other particles attached as suffixes, for example the case marking on the nouns or the possessive marker *–tsa*. Following is the table which lists all case endings found in Marathi.[2]

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[1] Readers are referred to the works of Mahajan (1990), Kumar (2006), Davison (2004) etc.

[2] This table has been adopted from Pandharipande (1997) with some additions.

Table 6: Marathi Case Markers on *parwat* 'mountain'

CASE	MARKER	EXAMPLE
Nominative	Φ	parwat
Accusative	-la	parwatala
Instrumental	-ne	parwatane
Dative	-la	parwatala
Ablative	-hun	parwatahun
Possessive/genitive	-tsa/tsi/tse	parwatatsa
Locative	-t	parwatat
Vocative	-a	parwata
Agentive/Ergative	-ne	parwatne

Joshi (1993) points out that in Marathi case marking and postpositions should be differentiated. According to her, case markings cannot be separated from their hosts, but postpositions can. She gives the following example to illustrate her point.

12. a sumaa-tsa-kade "Suma-EMPH-with"
    b *suma-tsa-laa "Suma-EMPH-ACC/DAT"
    c suma-tsya-hi-kade "Suma-Gen-INCL-with
    d *suma-(tsya)-hi-laa "Suma-(Gen)-INCL-ACC/DAT"

In the above example '*hi*' and '*tsa*' are both particles for INCLusion and EMPHasis respectively. One can see that if a particle is inserted between the noun and the case marking the resulting phrase is ungrammatical as in (12) b & d. On the other hand particle insertion is perfectly legitimate between a host and a postposition as in (12) a & c.

2.4 Tense

Any description of language will seem incomplete without an introduction of tenses. Thus I will briefly talk about tenses in this section. Marathi distinguishes between three tenses formally. These are the familiar present tense, past tense and future tense. Based on the tense the verb forms are inflected for number, person and gender features. In what follows is the discussion of the three tenses individually with verbs forms.

2.4.1 Present Tense

The marker for simple present tense is *–t*. This marker is followed by a vowel which encodes the person, number and gender features. The following is the full paradigm for the present tense for the verb *khane* 'to eat'.

Table 7: Present tense forms for the verb *eat*

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	khato	khate	
	Pl	khato		
2nd	Sg	khatos	khates	
	Pl	khata		
3rd	Sg	khato	khate	
	Pl	khatat		

2.4.2 Past Tense

The simple past tense marker in Marathi is *–l*. This marker is homophonous with the perfective aspect marker (as will be shown below). Like in the present tense, this marker also gets suffixed to the verb stem and is followed by the person, number and gender feature suffix. The following is the paradigm for the past tense forms of the verb *khane* 'to eat'

Table 8: Past tense forms for the verb *eat*

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	khala	khali	khala
	Pl	khale	khalya	khali
2nd	Sg	khalas	khalis	khales
	Pl	Khalyat		
3rd	Sg	khala	khali	khala
	Pl	khale	khalya	khali

2.4.3 Future Tense

The marker for the future tense is a vowel plus the suffix -l/n. The distribution of the future tense marker is not as uniform as the other markers in the two tenses.

Table 9: Future tense forms for the verb *eat*

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1st	Sg	khain		
	Pl	khau		
2nd	Sg	khashil		
	Pl	khal		
3rd	Sg	khail		
	Pl	khatil		

From the above table, it appears that *–n* is the marker for future tense in first person singular and *–u* is the marker for first person plural. The rest of the forms have the marker *-l*. There is also no gender distinction across the persons.

It has been pointed out in Joshi (2003) that in intransitive verbs like *adkalne* 'to block', *phutane* 'to break', *hasne* 'to laugh', *phasne* 'to get into trouble' etc. the future marker for first person singular is *–en* (and not *–in*) and similarly the third person singular suffix is *–el* (not *–il*).

2.5 *Aspect*

Aspect as a category is associated with the verbs. Marathi has a moderately complex aspectual system. Bhagwat (2003) and Joshi (2003) discuss three major types of aspects in their Marathi grammars whereas Pandharipande (1997) on the other hand provides a rather elaborate discussion on aspects, positing twelve types of aspects in Marathi. Not all of the aspects are marked with a unique form. Rather there seems to be an overlap amongst them. Thus, for me the major aspects in the language are perfective, and imperfective. However for the purpose of complete discussion I will introduce all of them.

2.5.1 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect indicates completion of an activity. It is marked by the suffix *–l* which immediately follows the verbal stem[3]. The main verb with the aspect marker is always followed by an auxiliary. In the absence of an auxiliary, the verb does not get the perfective aspectual reading. Perfective aspect is expressed in all the three tenses. The examples below will illustrate this. The verbal forms with the perfective aspect marker are boldfaced in the following examples.

13. Rima-ni	swaipak	**kela**	**aahe**	(Present perfective)
R-ERG	dinner.3.S.M	do-PERF[4].3.S.M	be-PRES	
'Rima has made the dinner.'				

14. Rima-ni	swaipak	**kela**	**hota**	(Past perfective)
R-ERG	dinner.3.S.M	do-PERF.3.S.M	be-PAST	
'Rima had made the dinner.'				

[3] Perfective aspect marker is homophonous with the past tense marker.

[4] Perf and Imp are abbreviated for Perfect and Imperfect aspects respectively.

15. Rima-ni swaipak **kela** **asel** (Future perfective)
R-ERG dinner.3.S.M do-PERF.3.S.M be-FUT
'Rima would have made the dinner.'

Note that the participle form of the main verb plus the auxiliary can also be used to express the perfective aspect in all the three tenses as indicated by the example below:

16. Ram-ni gadi **dhut-le-li hoti** (Past perfective)
R-ERG car wash-PERFPART-3.S be-PAST-3.S.F
'Ram had washed the car.'

2.5.2 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect is marked by the *–t* marker plus the auxiliary, which is inflected for the tense. This imperfective aspect marker is homophonous with the present tense marker. The imperfective aspect signifies that the action is still ongoing at the point in time denoted by the tense.

17. Rima geet **gaat** **aahe** (Present imperfective)
R song sing-IMP be-PRES.3.S.F
'Rima is singing a song.'

18. Rima geet **gaat** **hoti** (Past imperfective)
R song sing-IMP be-PAST.3.S.F
'Rima was singing a song.'

19. Rima geet **gaat** **asel** (Future imperfective)
R song sing.IMP be-FUT.3.S.F
'Rima must be singing a song.'

Note that unlike the simple past, where the tense morpheme is followed by the person, number, gender features, in the imperfective aspect the auxiliary is inflected for the person, number, gender features.

2.5.3 Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect is used when the activity represented by the main verb is performed repeatedly as a *habit*. Note that there is no special marker for habitual aspect. The imperfective form along with a different form of the auxiliary 'be' *asne* is used to express this aspect. The following are the examples of the habitual aspect in the three tenses.

20. Rima geet gaat aste (Present habitual)
    R song sing-IMP be-PRES.3.S.F
    'Rima sings a song (habitually).'

21. Rima geet gaat ase (Past habitual)
    R song sing-IMP be-PAST .3.S.F
    'Rima used to sing a song.'[5]

22. Rima geet gaaat asel (Future habitual)
    R song sing-IMP be-FUT.3.S.F
    'Rima will be singing a song.'

Apart from these three major aspects, Pandharipande (1997:420-430)) discusses some other aspects which will be discussed in the section below.

[5] These are not literal translations.

2.5.4 Other Aspects

2.5.4.1. Continuous and Progressive aspects

These are expressed by using the copula 'to be' and the main verb in the imperfective form (*-t* marking) in Standard Marathi. The bold-faced form in the examples below shows the type of verb form (imperfective or perfective) used. For me, semantically or syntactically, there is no difference between this and the imperfective aspect.

23. Anu anghol **karat** aahe
A bath.3.S.F do-PROG[6] be-PRES
'Anu is taking a bath.'

Pandharipande (1997:425) further shows that Marathi spoken in Northeast of the state of Maharashtra and the dialect spoken in the city of Nagpur uses the perfective form (*-l* marking) of the verb to show progressive aspect. The example below illustrates the point.

24. mula shaletsya maidanat khelun **rahili** ahet
children.3PLN school-POSS ground-LOC play-CONJPART PROG.PERF.3PLN be-PRES3PL[7]
'The children were playing in the ground.'

2.5.4.2. Ingressive aspect

This aspect is marked by using the auxiliary verb *lag* 'to begin' and the dative-infinitive form of the main verb. The phi features are marked on the auxiliary.

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[6] PROG is abbreviated for Progressive.

[7] Following are the abbreviations used in the example; CONJ.PART=conjunctive Participle, POSS=Possessive

25. Nirmala gayla lagli

N.3.S.F sing-INF-DAT begin-PAST-3.S.F

'Nirmala began to sing.'

2.5.4.3. Terminative aspect

The use of auxiliary *tsuk* 'to complete' with the conjunctive participle form (*-u(n)*) of the main verb expresses the terminative aspect.

26. mi sagla tula sangun tsukle aahe

I everything you-DAT tell-CONJ.PART complete-PAST.3.S.F be-PRES.3.S

'I have finished telling you everything.'

With this the discussion of the aspects in Marathi is complete.

2.6 Focus marking in Marathi

Focus is the next property that will be looked at. In Marathi there is no special morphological marker to express focus. Elements or constituents that are focused are often in the sentence initial position. However, this is not the only way of focusing items. Focus can be achieved via other strategies as well like stressing the constituent, clefting or repetition which I will discuss below.

According to Pandharipande (1997) focus in yes-no questions in Marathi can be obtained with one of the following strategies.

a By Stressing the focused constituent [8]

[8] All the examples given below in this section are my own. These are not the examples used by Pandharipande (1997) while discussing focus.

Any constituent can be focused by stressing it. This is one of the most commonly used method to express focus.

27. a. tu MANDIRA-LA yetes ka?
you temple-DAT come-PRES Q[9]
'Are you coming to the **temple?**'

b. ram-ni KAL gharya-sathi sahi keli
R-ERG yesterday house-for sign do-PAST-3.S.F
'**Yesterday** Ram signed for the house'

The stressed or focused item is bold faced in the English translation and in capitals in Marathi. In the unmarked SOV order, the whole clause bears the same stress.

b By movement

This is the other most commonly used method for focusing. The constituent to be focused is moved from its original position to the sentence initial position as in the following example.

28. a. [MANDIRA-LA $_{NP}$] tu t_{NP} yetes ka?
temple-DAT you.S come-PRES-2.S Q
'Are you coming to the **temple?**'

b. [GHARYACH KAMA-SATHI] Ram kal t_{PP} Mumbai-la gela
house work-for R yesterday Mumbai-ACC/DAT go-PAST-3S.M

---

[9] Q is abbreviated for Question marker.

'Ram yesterday went to Mumbai **for the house work.**'

In the above example the object NP has moved from its original position, that is, between the subject and the verb, to the sentence initial position leaving a trace t behind.

c By using the emphasis particle *–tsh*

29. tula TI-TSH pustak haawe ka?
    you-ACC that-EMPH[10] book.S want-PRES-3.S Q
    'Do you want that book?'

The same methods are also used in WH questions for focusing. The following example will illustrate this point. These three strategies can be used to focus any constituent within a sentence. It might be worthwhile to point out here that Pandharpande (1997; 246-247) gives examples where a focused item or constituent is in sentence final position. I will just give one of her examples here.

30. sagla kam sampawla, madzya bahinine
    entire work-3.S.N finish-CAUS-PAST-3.S.N I-POSS sister-ERG
    'My sisters finished all the work.'

In this example the subject is plural in sentence final position for focus reasons. With this I will end the discussion on focus in Marathi.

2.7 Topic Marking

Topics in Marathi are not marked with any special marking. The language resorts to other strategies to mark the topic. In the case of the canonical SOV order, the subject is

[10] EMPH is abbreviated for Emphatic particle

considered as the default topic. Pandharipande (1997) mentions three strategies used in marking the topic which will be discussed below.

a. Movement

As was seen in the earlier section, leftward movement of a constituent to the sentence initial position results in topicalization as well. The following example is taken from Pandharipande (1997).

31. [tya-chi bahin] he bara dzala ki amerikala geli nahi
his sister this good happen-PAST-3.S.N that America go-PAST-3.S.F NEG AUX
'His sister, it was good that she did not go to America.'

32. [tudzi pustak] mi dzapvun thevli
your book I careful keep-PAST-3.S.F
'Your book, I have kept it carefully.'

In both the examples, the object NP in the square brackets is moved to the sentence initial position to mark them as the topic. Note that movement is used as a strategy to mark focus as well as the topic. However, recall that focus could allow movement to the sentence final position (30), topicalization allows movement only to sentence initial position.

b. Using particle *mhandze* 'means' and the emphatic particle '*tar*'[11]

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[11] Pandharipande treats these as two separate strategies, but for me they can be combined under one strategy where other particles are used to function as the topic marker.

The particle *mhandze* is used after the constituent that is being topicalized, as shown in the example below (33) where the topic is the phrase *ghar gena* and it is clearly marked so with the *mhandze* particle.

33. [ghar gena mhandze] mothi dzwabdari
    house buy means big responsibility
    'As for buying a house, it means a big responsibility.'

34. [Ram tar] kehvah-cha ghari gela
    R- EMPH long ago house go-PAST-3.S.M
    'As for Ram, he went home long ago.'

In example (34) the topic is *Ram* and that is marked by the emphatic particle *tar* that immediately follows it. Note that both of these particles can be used with non topic constituents. They function as topic markers only when they follow a constituent in the sentence initial position.

2.8 Pronouns

The focus of this section will be pronouns in Marathi. I will list all the different types of pronouns that are found in the language. This discussion begins with the personal pronouns.

2.8.1 Personal Pronouns

The following are the personal pronouns in the language.

SG	PL	INCL	EXCL[12]

[12] Incl and Excl stand for inclusive and exclusive pronouns.

1st	mi	amhi	apan	--
2nd	tu	tumhi	--	apan[13]
3rd M	to	te		
F	ti	tya		
N	te	ti		

It will be worthwhile to note that Marathi in third person differentiates between the proximate pronouns and remote pronouns. The ones mentioned in the list above are the proximate pronouns. Their respective remote counterparts are given below;

	GEN	SG	PL
3rd	M	ha	he
	F	hi	hya
	N	he	hi

The distribution of these pronouns is very free. They can function grammatically as a subject, direct object, indirect object or object of the postposition etc.

2.8.2 Reflexive Pronouns

There are two main reflexive pronouns found in Marathi. They are *swatha* and *aapan*. Both of these reflexive pronouns have to co-occur with an antecedent. These reflexive pronouns also take the different case suffixes just like as the personal pronouns do.

35. Seema-ni **swatahun** dara-la rang lavle
S-ERG self-ABL door-ACC paint apply-PAST-3.S.N
'Seema painted the door herself.'

[13] This form is used to show politeness or respect towards elders.

36. Ram-la$_i$ vatt ki **aapan$_i$** hoshiyaar aahot

R-ACC think-PRES-3.S.N that self intelligent be-PRES-3.PL

'Ram thinks that he himself is intelligent.'

2.8.3 Possessive Pronouns

There are not any special possessive pronouns in the language. When personal pronouns are marked with the possessive or genitive case (*-ch*) they result in possessive pronoun reading. Note that in the first and second person singular the case marking is different from the standard possessive/ genitive case marker.. The following is the table of possessive pronouns.

37.

	SG	PL
1st	madza (M)	amcha
	madzi (F)	
2nd	tudza (M)	tumcha
	tudzi (F)	
3rd	tya-ch (M)	tyan-che
	ti-ch (F)	tyan-chi

Note that the possessive pronouns in Marathi agree in gender and number with the noun they modify.

2.8.4 Demonstrative Pronouns

The third person personal pronouns function as the demonstrative pronouns (see section 2.8.1). These are of two types as discussed earlier in section 2.8.1; remote and proximate pronouns.

2.8.5 Interrogative Pronouns

There are two types of interrogative pronouns; general and specific. The distribution of these two types of pronouns is discourse based. The general pronouns are used without any prior knowledge of the referent. They are used to obtain basic information about the referent.[14] Specific pronouns on the other hand are used when the speaker seeks more or additional information about the known referent. Some examples of the general interrogative pronouns are *kon* 'who', *kay* 'what'. The examples of the specific interrogative pronouns are *kontsa* 'which he', *kontsi* 'which she', *konte* 'which they(M.PL)', *kontya* 'which they(F.PL)' etc. As one can see these are inflected for person, number and gender features. These pronouns have to co-occur with a noun as shown below.

38. tu kontya *(mulin) vishay vichaat hotis?
    you which girls about ask-IMPF be-PAST-3.S.F-2.S
    'Which girls were you asking about?'

Like nouns and personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, the specific pronouns can also take the case markers.

2.8.6 Relative Pronouns

The last types of pronouns to be discussed are the relative pronouns. Marathi has its fair share of relative pronouns. These are used to introduce relative clauses within the main clause. They agree with the gender and number features of the head noun just like the specific interrogative pronouns in the earlier section. The following are examples of the relative pronouns;

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[14] Readers are directed to Pandharipande 1997 for a more detailed description of these.

39. dzemwa 'when'
dwewdha 'as much'
dzithe 'where'
dze/dzi 'that'
dzitka 'as many as'

With these I end my expose of the salient properties of Marathi. For more detailed description of these and other characteristics, readers are referred to Pandharipande (1997) and Wali (2005) works on Marathi. The next section will introduce the phrases and their structure in the language.

3. PHRASES AND THEIR STRUCTURE

The syntactic study of the structure of any natural language begins with the details of the phrases. This section will deal with the description of phrases, and a brief account of their structure. The description in the following sub sections includes a discussion of both the lexical and functional categories present in the language. I will start by discussing the Noun phrase (NP).

3.1 Determiner Phrases and Noun Phrases

The determiner phrase (DP) is a syntactic unit that is headed by a Determiner (D) that takes a noun phrase (NP) as its complement. Demonstratives like *this that, personal pronouns* can all occupy the D position in the DP. I am assuming that a DP can be headed by a covert D in Marathi. A noun phrase is a syntactic constituent headed by a noun when it functions as an argument. The smallest DP/NP that is possible in any language consists of a single pronoun or a noun that heads the phrase without any other modifying element. The head noun in a NP can be modified with a number of other optional elements. These optional elements can occupy either the specifier position or the complement position. These modifiers in a NP provide additional information about the head noun that they modify. There can be more than one modifier in a NP. A typical NP is the one with a noun and a modifier (cf 43). Following are some examples of DPs and NPs where the heads of the DPs/NPs are bold faced. .

40. DP with a null indefinite D and a NP complement

    [pustak $_{np}$]
    book
    ' a book'

41. DP without a complement

    [tya-la]
    he-ACC/DAT
    'him'

42. DP with one modifier and a null D

    [lal [pustak $_{np}$]
    red book
    'a red book'

43. DP with more than one modifier

    [te [linguistic- che] vidyarthi $_{np}$]]
    those linguistics-of students
    'those students of linguistics'

DPs/ NPs in Marathi , like all the other languages, can function as the arguments of a verb. They can syntactically function as the subject, direct object, indirect object of a clause. In addition to these DPs/NPs are also complements to a postposition in a Postpostional Phrase. Below are some more examples of DPs/NPs within the clauses.

44. DP functioning as subject

    [te pustak] madza aahe
    that book my is

'That book is mine.'

45. DP functioning as direct object

ma-la [gani] aawadtat

I-ACC songs like

'I like songs.'

46. DP functioning as indirect object

tu [ti-la] pustak de

you she-ACC book give

'You give the book to her.'

47. DP functioning as object to a Postposition

hi gadi [[Delhi]- hun]$_{PP}$ shuru hote

this train Delhi from start be

'This train starts from Delhi.'

A NP can be modified by a number of other constituents. The following are the different types of modifiers found in Marathi. I will begin with cases where a clause modifies the head noun in the NP.

48. [$_{NP}$hi **batami** [$_{CP}$*ki rajya mantri apramanik ahe*]] khotti aafva aahe

this news that chief minister dishonest be false rumor be-PRES

'The news that the chief minister is dishonest is a false rumor.'

In the above example the head of the NP is bold-faced and the subordinate *ki* clause which is the modifier is italicized.

Additionally nouns can also be modified either by adjectives or quantifiers or numerals as indicated by the examples below.

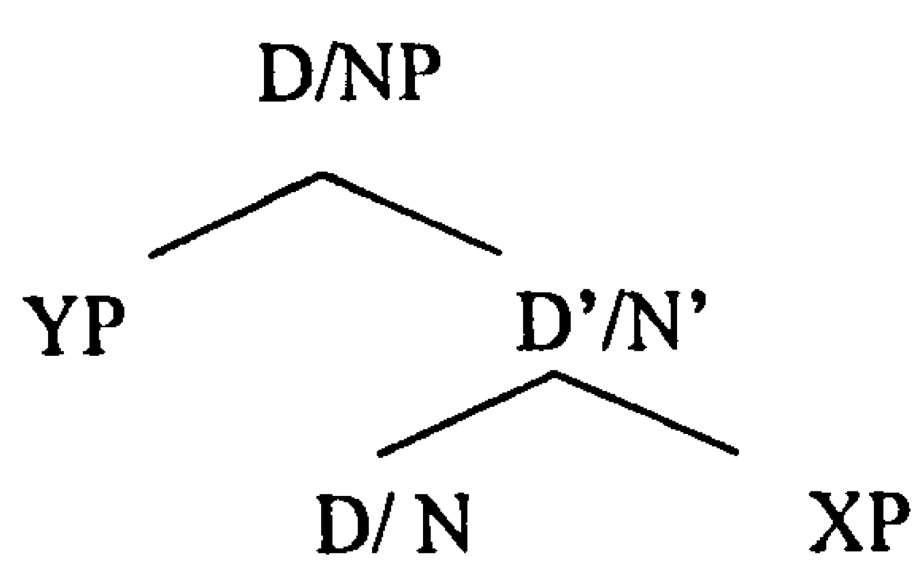
49. sunder mulgi
    beautiful girl
    'a beautiful girl'

50. daha ambe
    ten mangoes
    'ten mangoes'

51. [thoda mheeth] waad
    some salt serve
    '...serve some salt'

I am arguing for a universal head initial phrase structure in this thesis following Kayne (1994). Following the X- bar notation, a DP and NP in Marathi, looks like the diagram shown in (52).

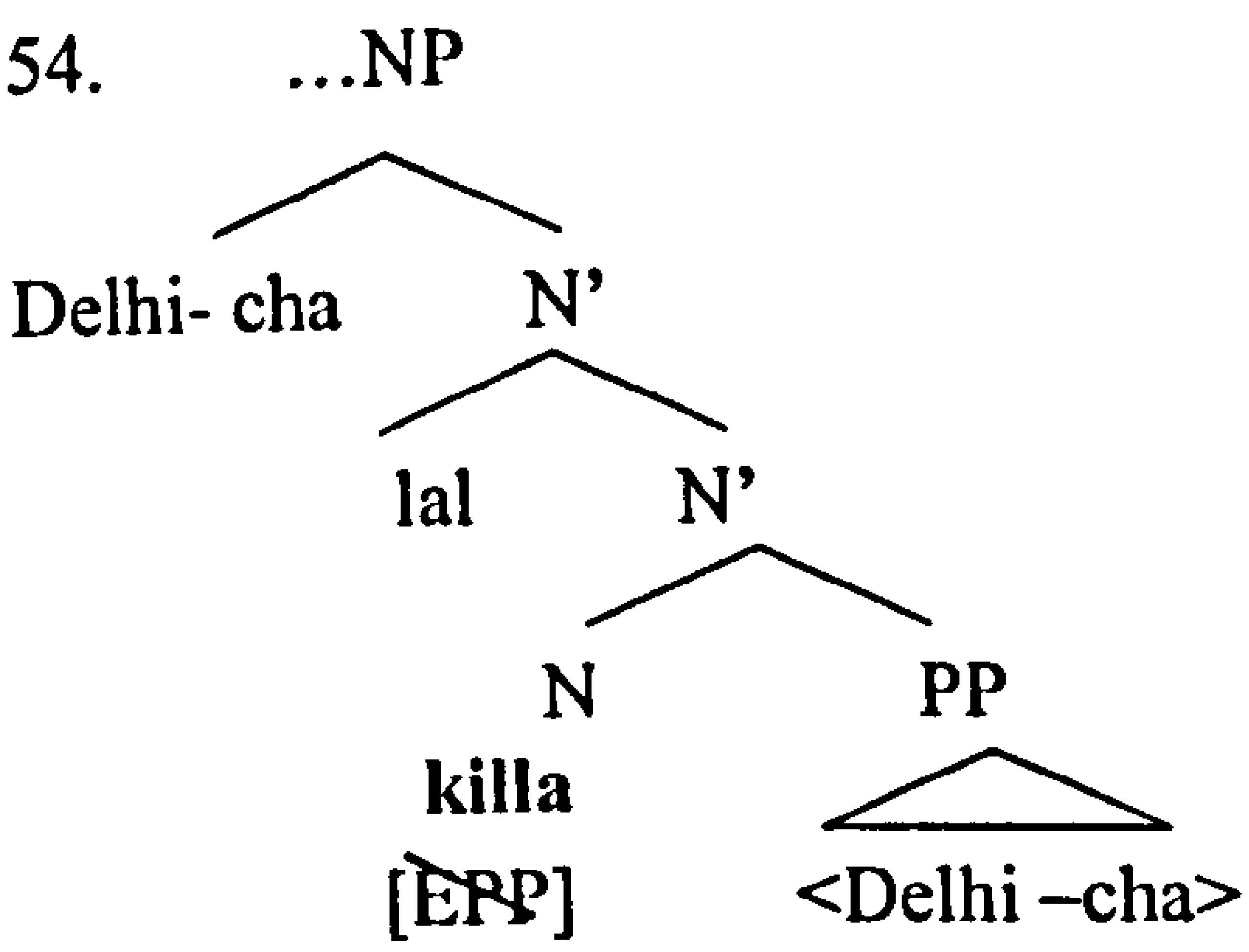
52.



In the above structure, XP and YP are other phrases. The YP occupies the specifier position of the DP/NP. Similarly the XP is occupying the complement position of the DP/NP. Note that the complement of the D is NP hence in a DP, XP=NP. However, a careful look at the phrases show that most Marathi phrases surface as head final. My analysis accounts for this by assuming that in the head initial structure as a result of the operation Move, the XP in the complement position moves to the specifier position. The [EPP] feature on the head of the noun phrase triggers this movement. Thus resulting in the head-final phrase. The example in (53) with its structure in (54) below illustrates the point.

53. dili-cha lal killa
    Delhi of red fort
    'the red fort of Delhi'

54.



Notice that I assume a multiple specifier version of the theory. This is required in order to accommodate more than one modifiers, if present, in the phrase. However with this line of analysis, the questions that remain open and unanswered are (i) why will a head take its complement and then re-merge it as its specifier?, and (ii) why cannot the PP be just merged as the specifier in the derivation? The head noun has to take the PP as its complement due to its selectional properties.

3.2 Postpositional Phrases

Like many other Indian languages (Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi) Marathi also has its fair share of postpositions. Pandharipande (1997: 270) defines it as a bound morpheme that follows the noun phrase which it governs. Their complement nouns or noun phrases are generally marked with the possessive case. Some examples of the postpositions are *war* 'on' , *pudhẹ* 'ahead', *madhe* 'inside', *jawad* 'near', *saathi* 'for' , *-ts* 'of', *barober* 'with' , *-la* 'to'. Postpositions can be individual lexical items as mentioned in the above list. They can also be derived by adding case markers on the nouns, for example;

55. dal [daaw-ne] haləv

lentils ladle-INST mix

'Mix the lentils with a ladle.'

Postpostional phrases consist of a postposition and a noun phrase.[15] The noun phrase can be considered as an argument hence can also be referred to as an object or complement of the postposition. Following are some examples of Postpositional phrases in Marathi.

56. PP with a postposition only

tu **aat** jaa

you inside go-IMPER

'You go inside'

57. PP with noun phrase

pani **barober**

water with

'With water'

khurchi **war**

chair on

'On the chair'

swaipagharaat

kitchen-in

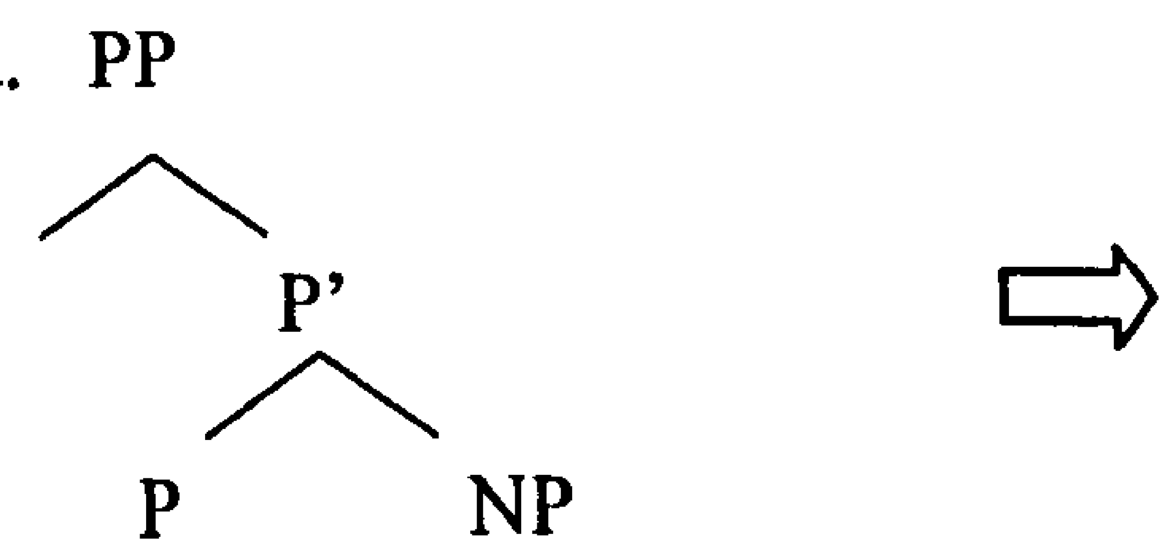
'In the kitchen'

---

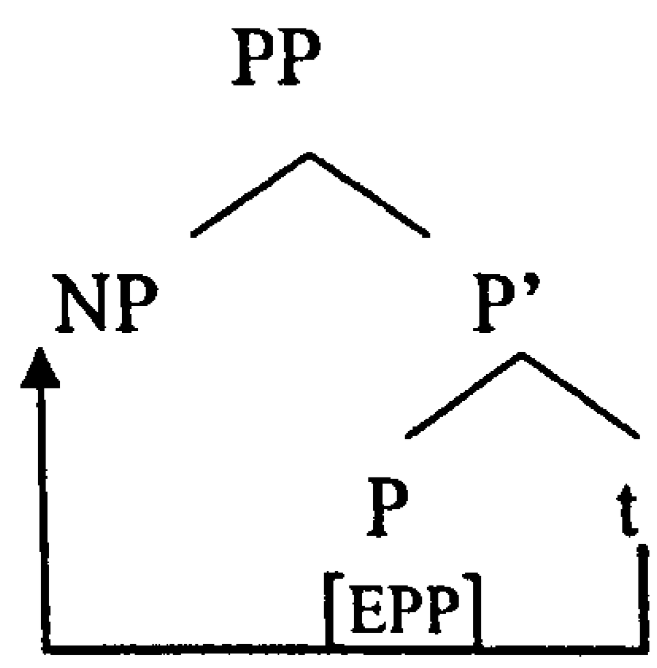
[15] Pandharipande (1997:148) gives examples of PPs with relative participle, infinitive and gerundive phrases arguments of postpositions.

According to the universal head initial hypothesis, the postpositonal phrase is also head initial. The postposition final order is achieved via moving the complement (NP) to the specifier of the PP. The following is the standard PP structure that I adopt in this thesis.

58. a.



b.



In the figure 58(a) above the NP is complement to the head postposition and in 58(b) the NP undergoes a movement and lands in the spec of PP. I assume that this movement of the complement NP is due to a [EPP] feature on the P head.

3.3 Adverbial phrases

Adverbs are those words which modify an adjective or a verb. Like many other languages, Marathi also has (i) Place Adverbs; *ithe* 'here' , *tithe* 'there', *baher* 'outside' etc. (ii) Manner Adverbs; *halu* 'slowly', *dzorane* 'loudly', *aaramaat* 'comfortably'. (iii) Time Adverbs; *udya* 'tomorrow' , *kal* 'yesterday', *sandyakali* 'in the evening' are some examples.

Adverbial phrases can consist of an adverb alone, or a PP that functions as an adverb, or an adjective that functions as an adverb. Following are the examples of such adverbial phrases.

59. AdvP with an adverb

ti **halu** chalte

she slowly walk-PRES-3.S.F

'She walks slowly.'

60. AdvP with a PP

Ram **dupari** aala

R afternoon.in come-PAST-3.S.M

'Ram came in the afternoon.'

61. AdvP with adjective functioning as a adverb

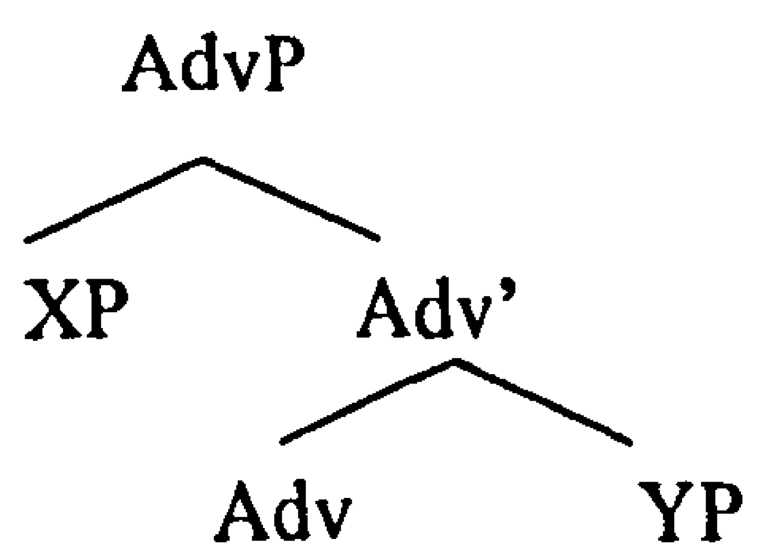
Seema **tsangla** gaate

S good sing-PRES-3.S.M

'Seema sings well.'

Turning now to the structure, adverbial phrases are also head initial like other phrases. Hence an adverbial phrase will have the following structure

62.



where XP and YP are separate phrases. Other adverbs can modify the head adverb in an adverbial phrase. For example in the following example;

63. Ram [far halu] chalto

R very slowly walk-PRES-3.S.M

'Ram walks very slowly.'

In terms of the above structure, the adverb '*far*' originates in the complement position, and then moves to the spec AdvP due to the [EPP] on the head. The adverb '*halu*' is the head of the phrase.

3.4 Adjective Phrase

Adjective phrases can consist of a root adjective, or a derived adjective. Adjectives are derived from nouns by adding adjectival suffixes like *–wan* 'have', *-la* , *-t*. Syntactically adjectives are used to modify a noun. Adjective phrases can be of two types; attributive and predicative. In case of the attributive the adjective phrase precedes the noun it modifies, as in the example that follows;

64. [[sunder] mulgi]
    beautiful girl
    'A beautiful girl'

In this example the adjective *sunder* precedes the noun *mulgi* which it modifies. Also in attributive adjective phrases the head adjective can be modified by using adverbs. The following are the examples. In both the examples the adjective is bold-faced and the modifier is italicized.

65. Adverbs as a modifier in Adj P
    khup **motha**
    very big
    'very big'

    thode **umbat**
    little sour
    'a little sour'

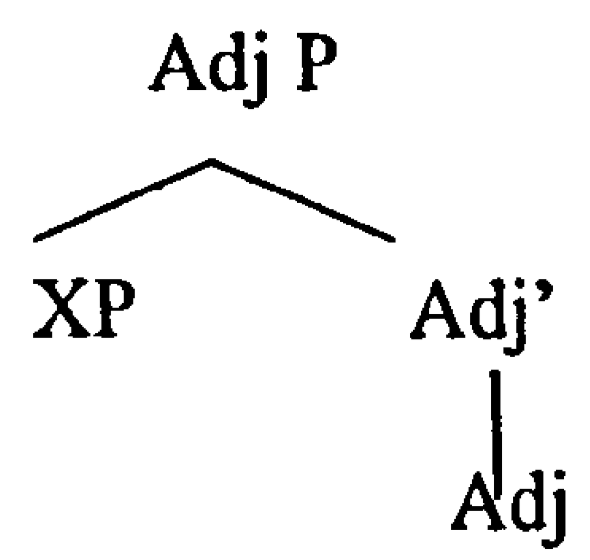
On the other hand, predicative adjectives follow the noun or the DP they modify, as they are in subject-predicate relation. The following example illustrates the point.

66. mulgi [hoshiyaar] aahe
    girl intelligent be-PRES-3.S.F

'Girl is intelligent.'

For adjective phrases, I assume the head initial structure as well. Hence the structure for adjective phrase will be something like this.

67.



The adverbs modifying the adjectival phrases in the earlier examples will occupy the specifier position in this structure.

3.5 Verb Phrase (VP) and light verb phrase (vP)

In Marathi finite verbs usually occur in the clause final position. Just like other languages, the verb phrase in Marathi must also consist of a verb (main or auxiliary) minimally, and one or more of its arguments. Marathi has the familiar intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs are divided into two categories; unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. These are verbs that take only one argument. Examples of intrasitives verbs are *dzopne* 'to sleep', *basne* 'to sit', *pardne* 'to fall' etc. Transitive verbs are those verbs, which have a subject and a object argument. The meaning of such a verb is incomplete without its arguments. Some examples of the transitive verbs in Marathi are *nesne* 'to wear', *lihine* 'to write', *karne* 'to do', *khane* 'to eat' etc. Ditransitive verbs are those that take two obligatory object arguments in addition to the subject. One argument functions as the direct object and the other functions as the indirect object. Examples of ditrasitives verbs are *dene* 'to give', *sagane* 'to tell', *shikavne* 'to teach', *vicharne* 'to ask'.

Following are some examples of the different types of the verb phrases found in Marathi. VPs are bold faced in the examples.

68. VP with intransitive verb

Ram **[gela]** (unaccusative verb)
R-NOM go-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram went.'

Ram **[dhavala]** (unergative verb)
R-NOM ran-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram ran.'

69. VP with transitive verb

[samosa khalla]
samosa eat-PAST
'...ate a samosa.'

70. VP with ditransitive verb

[Seema-la putak deil]
S-ACC/DAT book give-FUT
'...will give a book to Seema.'

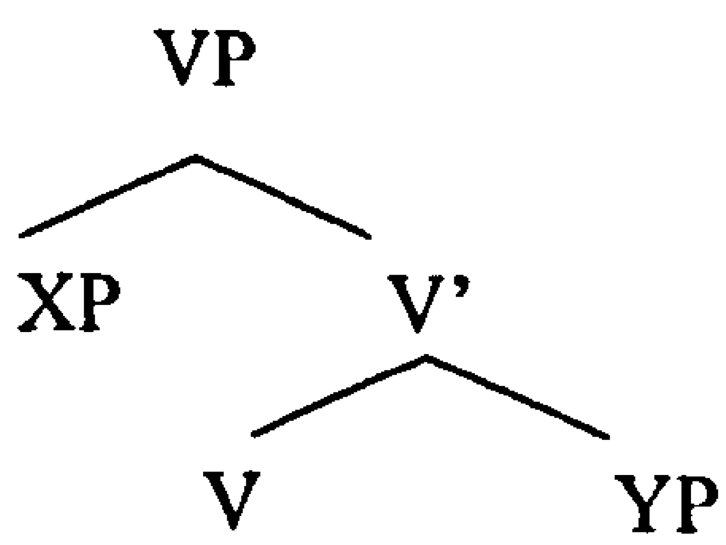
Apart from these, verb phrases can also consist of a verb and a clause that functions as its complement. In this case the verb precedes its complement clause. Some typical examples of such verbs are *to say, to tell, to convince, to think, to believe* etc..

71. Ram-la **[waatla [ki aaj mangalwar aahe]]**
R-ACC/DAT think-PAST COMP today tuesday be-PRES
'Ram thought that it was Tuesday today.'

Like other phrases, a VP is also a head initial phrase that contains a head, a specifier and a complement (of which the specifier and the complement can be optional). If a phrase contains the verb alone as in the example (68) above then the verb occupies the head position. This would be the minimal VP. From the examples above it is clear that a verb can take either a DP/NP or PP or a combination of both or a CP as its complement.

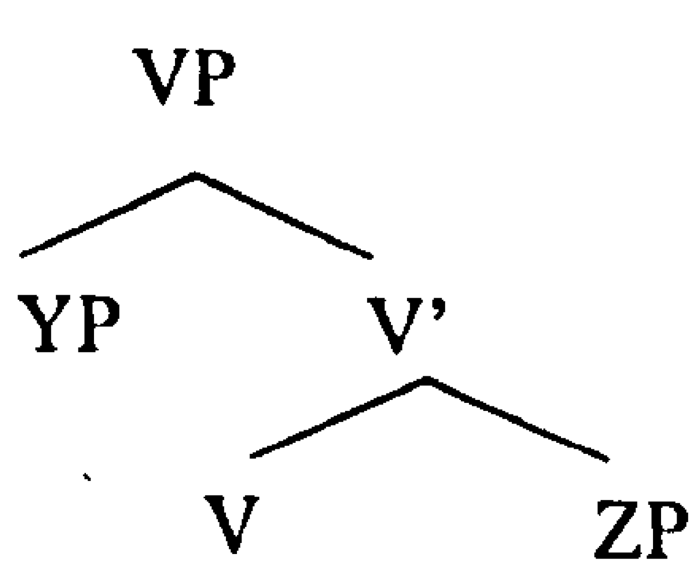
I now turn to the structure of the verb phrases. Since I am arguing for head initial structures in this thesis, the VP will also be head initial consequently. The verb final order in VP is obtained by the movement of the complement argument to the preverbal position that is to the specifier of the VP. In (72) below the structure of VP is illustrated.

72.



In (72) above the XP is in the spec position and the YP occupies the complement position, where both XP and YP are maximal phrases. I also advocate for the multiple spec theory. Hence, a VP can have more than one specifier position. It will become clearer in the later discussions (on word order) why a multiple specifier approach is helpful here. In case of a ditrasitive verb the direct object will immediately follow the verb and the indirect object will be in the lower spec of the VP. Thus, in the following structure for the ditransitive verb, YP= Indirect object and ZP= direct object.

73.

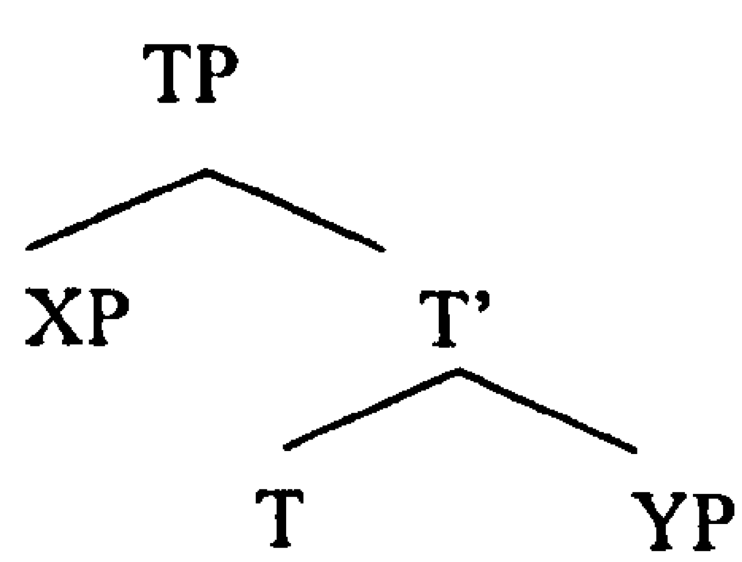


It seems worthwhile to mention that I am also using the vP hypothesis which argues that there is a functional category of little v that heads its own projection referred to as the vP and takes VP as its complement. The structure of vP is same as that of the VP.I assume multiple specifiers for the little vP as well. Little vP was introduced as a category to account for the Agent theta role assignment and Accusative Case assignment in the derivation. Additionally I propose that light verbs in Marathi merge at v.

3.6 Complementizer Phrase and Tense Phrase

It would only seem reasonable to mention at this point briefly about these functional phrases. Keeping in line with our earlier phrase structures, both TP and CP also are head initial. Under the clause structure that I assume for Marathi, the T head hosts the auxiliary verb and the tense morphology. Below is the structure of a TP.

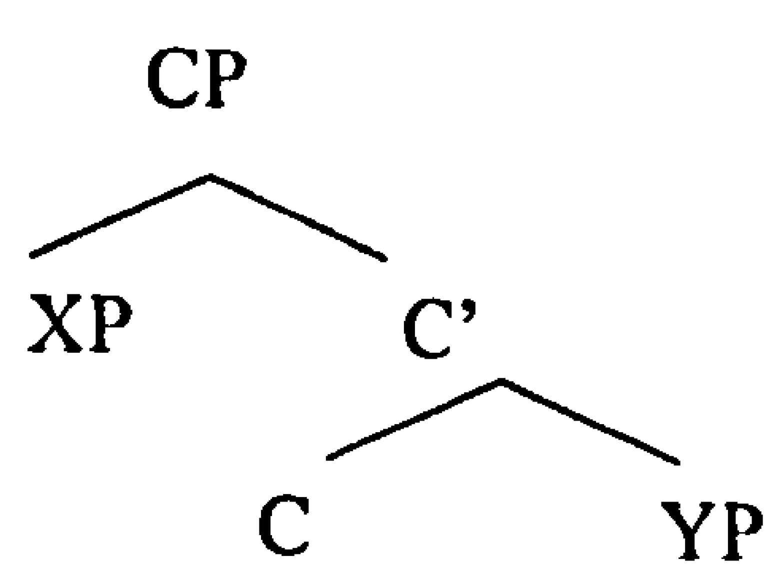
74.



The complement of the T head is the vP. And the spec position of the TP can be occupied by any phrase. It does not have to be the grammatical subject.

The C head hosts complementizers like *ki* 'that', *dzari* 'even if', *dzar* 'whether'. I consider the CP to be the highest phrase in the clause I will argue in chapter 4 on negation that there is at least one more functional projection (namely polarity) between the CP and the TP. The following is the basic structure of a CP.

75.



With all the phrases I assume multiple specifiers thus both TP and the CP can have multiple specifier positions. For introduction purposes this discussion on phrase structure is enough. We can conclude from this section in the thesis that Marathi phrases are considered to be head initial, and can allow movement within the phrase to result in the correct surface order. Any movement within the phrase will be due to a [EPP] feature on the relevant head.

4. WORD ORDER

The last typological property that I will like to mention here is the word order. Any study on syntax will be incomplete if there is no discussion on the word order. It is widely assumed that Marathi is a SOV language (Pandharipande 1997, Dhongade 1984, Laddu 1978, Wali 2005) as this is most common and robust word order found within the clauses. Various clauses in the following example clearly show that SOV is the predominant order with nominal objects, adjectival predicates, non-finite clauses:

S O V

76. a. Seema amba khate (NP-object)
S. F mango.S eat-PRES-IMP.F
'Seema eats a mango.'

b. karyalay varche malla-var aahe (PP-object)
office up floor-on be-PRES-3.N
'Office is on the top floor.'

c. ti hoshiyaar mugli aahe (NP object)
she-S intelligent girl be-PRES-3.S
'She is an intelligent girl.'

d. mi [thya nile kapade ghatlelya muli-la] orkhte (non-finite CP)
I-S that blue dress wear-INF girl-ACC know-PRES-S
'I know the girl who is wearing the blue dress.'

e. Ram-ni [Arun-la Dili-t bhet-nya-cha] pratyn kela (non-finite CP)
R-ERG A-ACC/DAT Delhi-in meet-INF-GEN try do- PAST-3.S.N
'Ram tried to meet Arun in Delhi.'

f. Ram [udya sandhyakali yeil asa] mhanala (Quotative CP)
R tomorrow evening come-FUT QM say-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram said "he will come tomorrow.'

In all of the above examples in (76) the complement is always occurring between the subject and the verb. However, Marathi cannot be strictly categorized as a verb final language (like Japanese) because interestingly finite complement clauses require the SVO order as shown in the examples in (77) below, where the main verb takes a finite clause as its complement

S V O
77. a. tyane mhantlə [ki Rohit gadi tsalavto]
he-ERG say-PAST-3.S.N that Rohit car drive-PRES-3.S.M
'He said that Rohit drives a car.'

S V O
b. Raj aasha karto [ki Sudha doktar banel]
Raj hope do-PRES-3.S.M that Sudha doctor become-FUT
'Ram hopes that Sudha will become a doctor.'

S V O
c. polis-ni ghoshana keli [ki chor pakadla gela]
Police-ERG announce do-PAST-3.S.F that thief catch happen-PAST-3.S.M

'Police announced that thief was caught.'

The object of the main verb in these cases is an embedded finite clause introduced by the complementizer *ki.* This ki-clause follows the main verb resulting in the non-canonical SVO order. The order of constituents within the subordinate clause is strictly SOV. This pattern holds true for many of the Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi and Bengali.

Apart from these, occasionally there are also clauses that have sentence final adverbs as in (78) below;

78. Tini badzarat geli kaal
T.S.F market-LOC go-PAST-3.S.F yesterday
'Tini went to the market yesterday.'

The order between the various argument NPs and some adverbials is not very strict. The constituent order can be interchanged without changing the meaning of the sentence. This flexibility of order is because of the case markings on the NPs.

79. a. Rohan-ne Tini-la phula dili
R-ERG T-ACC flowers give-PAST-3.PL.N
'Rohan gave the flowers to Tini. '

b. Tini-la Rohan -ne phula dili
T- ACC R-ERG flowers give-PAST-3.PL.N
'Rohan gave the flowers to Tini.'

c. Tini-la phula Rohan-ne dili
T- ACC flowers R-ERG give-PAST-3.PL.N
'Rohan gave the flowers to Tini.'

d. phula Tini-la Rohan-ne dili
flowers T-ACC R-ERG give-PAST-3.PL.N
'Rohan gave the flowers to Tini.'

In the above sentences (79a) corresponds to the canonical order of S-IO-DO-V, (79b) has IO-S- DO-V, (79c) has IO-DO-S-V and (79d) has DO-IO-S-V. These variations within the constituent order are marked orders and occur for focus reasons or marking the topic as shown in the sections 2.6 and 2.7..

What is so interesting about these different word orders? Many natural languages exhibit this phenomenon (using different word orders). So what makes Marathi a special case? The fact that the SVO order is fairly restricted in its occurrence in comparison to the unmarked canonical SOV order makes it interesting to study. The obvious fact about these postverbal SVO ki-clauses is that they are finite. The question is what is special about 'finiteness' that triggers a different order?

4.1 Clause structure: an analysis

Assuming that all languages are underlyingly SVO (Kayne 1994), in this thesis I argue that the basic structure for Marathi is SVO contrary to the common belief that it is SOV language (Pandharipande (1997), Wali (2005)). This implies that the finite complement clause in the SVO order is in-situ in Marathi. Simpson and Bhattacharya (2003) have argued for the same in Bengali, claiming that the object moves to a preverbal position for case reasons in the SOV clause. The idea is that finite complement clauses do not require case therefore they do not have to move into a case position. This line of analysis can be seen as the reminiscent of Stowell's (1981) principle of Case Resistance as pointed out by Bhatt (2003)

80. Phrases which cannot receive case, are evacuated from the position where case is assigned. (after Stowell 1981)

The one issue that is noticed with this analysis where objects move for case reasons does not explain why non-finite clauses or the quotative clauses should move? It appears that it has to do with finiteness and not Case. I will come back to this when I discuss the SVO order with relation to negation in chapter 4.

First I will show why I dismiss the possibility of considering SOV as the basic order on empirical grounds in the following discussion. There are two options to account for the word order facts mentioned above if we work with the hypothesis that SOV is the base order. These two possible options can be hypothesized as follows:

Option 1 – SVO is derived via the leftward movement of the verb.
Option 2—SVO is derived by the rightward movement of the object.

The appeal to rightward heavy object shift to derive the SVO pattern as in the option 2 above is unavailable. If the surface order is the result of rightward movement, then this movement could possibly be triggered by the weight of the constituent (finite CP acting as the object). If this is true, then, we will expect to find examples where other heavy constituent that function as a complement to the main verb are also extraposed at the end of the sentence or in a post-verbal position. Interestingly, we do not get this rightward movement as we expect with heavy NP complements. The sentences in (81) illustrate the point.

	S		**O** NP		**V**
81. a.	mi	[sagale	linguistics-che	chattran-la]	orkhte.
	I-S.F	all	linguistics- of	students-ACC	know-PRES-1.S.F

'I know all the students of Linguistics.'

b. ?/*	mi	t_i orkhte	**[sagale**	**linguistics-che**	**chattran-la]$_i$**
	I-S.F	know	all	linguistics- of	students-ACC

'I know all the students of Linguistics.'

By moving the object NP to the right of the verb, we get an ungrammatical sentence as shown in (81b). The object NP here is a complex NP with a quantifier *all* and a PP *of linguistics* modifying the head noun *student* in the phrase. Thus it could be considered equally heavy as the complement clause in (77a) for example. However, there is no such movement occurring here. Hence, this suggests that the weight of the constituent has no bearing, whatsoever, on the movement and the position of the constituents within a given sentence. Besides, leftward movement seems to be more favored over rightward movement in the generative grammar tradition. Larson (1987) has pointed out that the notion of rightward heavy object shift is very controversial. This is the case even prior to Kayne's (1994) LCA, which rules out rightward movement altogether.

A quick look at the relative clause modifying the object of the verb (which could possibly make the object heavy) also confirms the dismissal of rightward movement. The sentences in (82) will illustrate this point.

	S		**O**			**V**		
82. a.	mi	**[tya**	**muli-la**	**jhinhi**	**nile**	**kapade**	**ghatlet** $_{RC}$**]**orkhte	
	I	that	girl-ACC	who	blue	dress	worn	know

'I know the girl who has worn the blue dress.'

	S	**V**		**O**				
b.	* mi	orkhte	**[tya**	**mulli-la**	**jhini**	**nile**	**kapade**	**ghatlet** $_{RC}$**]**
	I	know	that	girl-ACC	who	blue	dress	worn

'I know that girl who is wearing the blue dress.'

The relative clause, which is modifying the head noun *mulila* in the object NP in the example in (82) does not move to the right of the main verb. If we move it from its original position the result is an ungrammatical sentence (82b[16]. This confirms that the rightward movement of the object does not work as the option. This conclusion also seems to be in tune with the observation that syntax tends to favor leftward movement more than rightward movement in languages (Kayne 1994).

The second possibility mentioned in the option 1 where the SVO order is derived from the SOV order by moving the verb leftwards fares no better. If we assume that the verb raises out of the VP then we will have to postulate another head between T and VP where moved verb can land. One possible site will be the little v (the head that assigns the external theta role). If the verb moves to the little v and the sentence also contains an auxiliary then the verb has to be moved from the little v to a position higher than the T head (recall that auxiliaries originate in the T head) otherwise it will result in wrong surface order. See the example below:

83. mi mhanat hoti [ki tu Baba-barober ja.]
I say-PROG was COMP 2.S.F father-with go-IMPR
'I was saying that you go with your father.'

I abandon the possibility that SOV is the base order. However, this is not to say that considering SOV order as the starting point is not available to SOV languages in general. There are theories that are centered around SOV being the base order (Haider 2001, Taraldsen 2000).

Based on data from Hindi, Mahajan in his paper in (2003) argues against head movement. He also starts with the SVO as the base order for both SOV and SVO type languages. He argues for the leftward movement of the object over the verb, within the

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[16] This sentence is acceptable to some speakers but for me it is totally unacceptable.

VP. Case requirements trigger this movement. Furthermore he also argues that in both SOV and SVO type languages VP moves to the left of its original position. According to his analysis, in SVO type languages the object first moves to the left of the VP leaving an object trace in the VP. Then this remnant VP moves to the left of I (spec IP). For SOV languages he assumes that the object does not move out of VP (it does move from its post verbal to preverbal position within the VP) prior to the movement of the whole VP. Thus, what moves is the complete VP to the left of I (spec IP). Thus, in his analysis he gets rid of V to I movement. The following is the schematic representation of his analysis (Mahajan 2003: 224)

84.	SUB $[_{VP}\ t_{OBJ}'\ V\ \ t_{OBJ}]$ OBJ $[_{PredP}\ t_{SUB}\ \ t_{VP}]$	SVO languages
	SUB $[_{VP}$ OBJ $\ V\ \ t_{OBJ}]\ [_{PredP}\ t_{SUB}\ \ t_{VP}]$	SOV languages

Following Kayne (1994), I assume that the underlying order for Marathi is SVO contrary to the claimed SOV order (Pandharipande 1997). I argue that SOV order is a result of obligatory movement of the object due to the [EPP] feature on the little v. Note the Marathi facts of the object shift do not parallel the Scandinavian facts illustrated by Holmberg (1986). However the finite complement clauses are a clear exception to this. The finite clausal complements do not undergo this object shift. They remain in-situ (Simpson & Bhattacharya 2003)[17]. This raises the question of what is so special about finite clauses? One possible answer lies in the presence of the overt complementizer 'ki' in these cases.[18] The following example demonstrates this:

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[17] Simpson and Bhattacharya (2003) claim the same for Bengali finite CP complements.

[18] It could also be argued that 'finiteness' is responsible for this order. But this can be ruled out as finite quotative clauses surface in preverbal position.

S V O

85. [Ram-ni mhantlə [ki Seema sunder aahe]]

R-ERG say-PAST-3.S.N COMP S-3.S.F pretty be-PRES-3.S.F

'Ram said that Seema is pretty.'

I propose that the presence of a clause initial complementizer 'ki' bars the movement of these finite embedded complement clauses into the pre-verbal position. As I have mentioned earlier that there is a [EPP] feature on little v that triggers the object to move to Spec vP. Following Chomsky's derivation by Phase (2001), one can assume that in finite CP, the [C +TP] does not move because CP is a phase. Therefore when v (the next phase up) is merged, CP (more precisely the TP, since Spec CP and C the edge of the phase still remain) gets spelled out. In quotative clauses (that function as objects), C has an [EPP] feature that triggers the movement of TP to Spec CP. The TP and C will not get spelled out as they are the edge of the phase when little v is merged. So when the [EPP] on little v will trigger the movement of the CP, to Spec vP, the TP and the C get spelled out at the moved position (when the vP phase is spelled out)

Obligatory object shift, as seen in the following example (86a), affects nominal objects, non-finite CPs, and PPs.

S O V

86. a. Ram-ni kapade dhutle t

R-ERG cloth-PL.M wash-PAST-3. PL.M

'Ram washed the clothes.'

b. * Ram-ni dhutle kapade

R-ERG wash-PAST-3.PL.M cloth-PL.M

'Ram washed the clothes.'

Nominal object in situ yields ungrammatical order as seen in (86b). I argue that the nominal and all the other objects move to the specifier of the little v for checking the [EPP] feature on the little v.

To summarize the derivation basically involves the verb movement (from V to v) followed by the object movement due to the [EPP] on v. The subject originates in the highest specifier of the vP[19]. The lower spec of the little vP acts as the landing site for the moved object. The vP then moves out to the Spec TP to check the [EPP] feature on the T-head. This results in the derived SOV order[20]. Detailed derivations will be discussed in the following chapters on case and agreement and negation.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed some salient properties of the language. The purpose of this chapter was to familiarize the reader with what I think are some basic characteristics of the language before I proceed with the various analyses. This discussion will provide the necessary background for the analyses on case, agreement, negation and pro-drop in the language in the following chapters. I assume that all the phrases (functional and lexical) in Marathi are head initial. And that all the heads have an [EPP] feature that attracts some other category below to move into its specifier position. The only analysis provided in this chapter is for the clause structure of the language. Contra

[19] I adopt the multiple spec theory used within the Minimalist Program.

[20] This is a very simplified version. The complete structure will have more functional projections above TP. And the subject could potentially move to a higher position. However, I will not go into any more details.

Pandharipande(1997), Wali (2005), I have argued here that Marathi is underlyingly a SVO language and that the SOV and other orders are the derived orders. This does clash with the fact SOV is the unmarked order and SVO and others are the marked order If anything at all, one could argue that the unmarked (most frequently) occurring SOV order must be the base order. With this clause structure, I now move on to discuss the details of the case and agreement in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

ON CASE AND AGREEMENT IN MARATHI

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with mainly verbal agreement and the case system. The main question that is being addressed in this chapter is whether case and agreement are dependent on each other or are they best accounted for as separate syntactic operations? There are some interesting observations about the way Marathi agreement works. These will be pointed out with the relevant data in the appropriate sections. Like other neighbouring Indian languages (Gujarati, Hindi), verbs in Marathi also show agreement with an NP that is not overtly case marked or has any postposition. In other words, it shows agreement with nominative NPs. The observation that Nominative Case has a privileged connection with the agreement has been well established in other well studied languages like Icelandic by many (Sigurdsson 1996). In addition to the subject agreement, Marathi also has object agreement. And in some cases it shows both subject and object agreement.

In a nutshell, I argue in this thesis that structural case and agreement are closely related, and that the case assignee and the case assignor share a two way relationship. To illustrate this relationship, I postulate some generalizations on case assignment outlined within the current minimalist theory (Chomsky 1995 onwards). As a consequence of these stipulations, verbal agreement is obtained in the clauses.

The first half of the chapter deals with case and the latter half discusses agreement. The overall discussion in chapter is as follows: I begin with an extensive discussion on ergative case in section 2. The sub section 2.1 (in this section) introduces the ergative data in Marathi, and in 2.2 I present some previous analyses proposed for ergative case in other languages. In section 3, I present an analysis to account for the ergativity facts in Marathi, where I argue that ergative is an inherent case. There is also a discussion on how it is assigned in section 3.2. All other morphological cases are discussed in the section 4 with a brief introduction on how case was assigned in the GB framework and the recent minimalist program. This is followed by a small section on the agreement facts of Marathi and a small discussion of some previous analyses in section 5. Section 6 presents the analysis with the relevant data and its discussion. The dual agreement cases and their analysis is given in the Section 7. The chapter ends with the conclusion in section 8.

2 ERGATIVITY

Languages (most of them) can be broadly classified into two major grammatical systems either Nominative-Accusative type or Ergative – Absolutive type[1]. In Nominative – Accusative type of languages, the subject of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb are treated separately from the object (O) argument of the verb. Latin is an example of this type of grammatical system. The following Latin example is taken from Dixon (1994:9)

1 a domin-**us** veni-t 'the master comes'

b. domin-**us** serv-**um** audi-t 'the master hears the slave'

As can be seen in the examples above the subject of the intransitive verb 'come' in (1) and the subject of the transitive verb 'hear' in 1b have the same Nominative Case marking *-us*. Whereas the object of the transitive verb 'hear' in 1b has a separate Accusative Case marker *-um*.

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[1] Please note this is not to say that all world languages can be clearly divided into these two categories. Some languages can have a complex system involving elements from both nominative-accusative system and ergative-absolutive system.

On the other hand, the term ergativity refers to the grammatical pattern where the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb are considered different from the subject of a transitive verb. Hence in ergative languages the syntactic categories of Subject (S) and Object (O) are grouped together and the category Agent (A) is separate. Ergative is considered as a case marking on the A argument of the verb. Absolutive is a term given to the case marker on the S and O arguments of the verb. Dyirbal (Australian language) is often cited in ergative literature as a good example of ergative-absolutive type of system. Chukchi is also an example of such a system, for example[2];

2	γəm-nan	γət	tə- ɬ?u- γət
	I-ERG	you-S(ABS)	1S.SUB-see-2S.OBJ
	'I saw you'		

Ergativity is further divided into two types; syntactic ergativity and morphological ergativity[3] (Dixon 1994, Bittner & Hale 1996). I will briefly explain here what these two types of ergative systems mean. Syntactic or deep ergativity is seen when certain syntactic constraints or grammatical rules treat the subject of intransitive verb (S) and the object (O) separately from the subject of transitive verb (A). Under such a system, the case system also parallels the same pattern, i.e. S and O have the same case markings and A has a different marking. Dyirbal is an example of syntactic ergativity. For example, Absolutive marked NPs (that is subject of the intransitive verb and the object) both allow relativization. On the other hand, as defined by Dixon (1994) morphological or surface ergativity is a phenomena whereby a language marks the core syntactic relations of A, S

[2] This Chukchi example is taken from Bobaljik and Branigan (2003). Chukchi is spoken in the far northeast of Russia.

and O with case inflections (Latin), particles or adpositons (Tongan) or verbal co-referencing affixes (Abaza, Swahili) within a single clause[4]. In other words, in morphological ergativity a language treats the A- argument (in terms of case) separately from the S and O arguments. However, while considering the application of syntactic or grammatical rules, the pairing of arguments differs, more Specifically, A and S are grouped together and O is kept separate. Walpiri , Chukchi (Bobaljik and Branigan 2003) are some more examples of morphological ergativity where case inflections are used to mark A,S and O respectively. Most of the Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, Gujarati) show morphological ergativity. Marathi is also an example of morphological ergativity[5]. Often languages like English which are not ergative or which do not have a rich case system use constituent order to distinguish these syntactic relations within the clause.

Not all languages can be classified as either accusative or ergative type. There can be a degree of overlap between the two systems. There are à number of languages that use a combination of both the systems. Such systems are referred to as split-system. These split-systems can be conditioned by a number of things, like the semantic nature of the verb, the semantic nature of the NP, person, tense/aspect/mood, or clause type (that is subordinate vs main clause). Of all the different types of split-systems, the split-system conditioned by Tense/Aspect/Mood is of relevance to this thesis. Hence I will discuss this type in some detail.[6] When a language uses ergative case *only* in a certain tense or a certain aspect or a certain mood, and not in other tenses or moods or aspects then the split

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[3] Sometimes it is also referred to as intra-clausal ergativity.

[4] Readers are directed to Dixon (1994: chapter 3 and 6) for a detailed description.

[5] Kachru and Pandharipande (1979) have proposed in the RG framework that Hindi, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Marathi are not truly ergative languages. They have argued that ergative subjects in Indic languages obey the same grammatical rules as nominative subjects do.

[6] For a discussion of the other types, see Dixon (1994: chapter 4).

is said to be conditioned by Tense/ASpect/Mood. Marathi is an example of such a split-system.

3	Ram-ni	sui	uchal-l-i	hoti	*past perfective*
	R-ERG	needle	pick-PERF	be PAST-3.S.F	

'Ram had picked up a needle.'

4	Ram	sui	uchal-t-o	*present*
	R-NOM	needle	pick-PRES-3.S.M	

'Ram picks up a needle.'

5	*Ram-ni	sui	uchal-t-o	*present*
	R-ERG	needle	pick-PRES-3.S.M	

'Ram picks up a needle.'

6	Seema-ni	bhaji	chir-l-i	*past*
	S-ERG	vegetable	cut-PAST-3.S.F	

'Seema cut vegetables.'

7	Ajay-ni	dudhwalya-la	pahilə	hotə	*past perfective*
	A-ERG	milkman	see-PERF	be-PAST-3.S.N	

'Ajay had seen the milkman.'

Examples (3), (6), (7) are instances of ergative constructions in the past tense, more specifically in the perfective aspect. I am assuming here that every sentence has an aspect whether or not it is morphologically marked on the verb. If a sentence has no overt aspect marking on the verb then that sentence has default aspect marking, which is null (that is with a zero marking on the verb). Thus, the sentence in (6) is in perfective aspect. The example in (4) is a non-ergative construction in the present tense. The construction in (5) is an ungrammatical one because the subject has an ergative marker in the present tense. This example clearly shows that the distribution of ergative marking in Marathi is very restricted and narrow. Many other Indo-Aryan languages show this tense/aspect/mood type of split. Some examples of this type of splits are seen in Hindi (Mahajan 1989), Kashmiri (Hook 1985 as cited in Dixon 1994), Gujarati (Mistry 1997),. Burushaski (Dixon 1994)[7].

8	Kishor-e	kaagal	vaach-y-o
	K-ERG	letter-M.S	read-PAST-M.S

'Kishor read the letter.'

[Gujarati, Mistry 1997]

9	Ram-ne	rotii	khaayii	thii
	R-ERG	bread-F	eat-PERF-F	be-PAST-F

'Ram had eaten bread.'

[Hindi, Mahajan 1989]

In languages with this type of split, the ergative marking *mostly* occurs in either past tense or perfective aspect. But again this cannot be generalized for all languages there are exceptions to this generalization as pointed out by Dixon (1994:99 in footnote 25). The language Carina allows ergative marking in future based tenses as opposed to Marathi or Hindi. An example of mood based split system is the language Kuiku ro (Carib family), where ergative marking is optional if the clause is in either 'imperative', 'hortative' or 'intentional' mood. However, in 'descriptive' mood ergative marking becomes obligatory (Dixon 1994:101).

[7] Hindi, Gujarati, Kashmiri are all Indo-European languages whereas Burushaski is an language isolate.

2.1 *Marathi as an instance of Morphological Ergativity*

The aim of this section is to establish that Marathi is a clear case of morphological ergativity, and not syntactic ergativity. I will provide some data here that reflects that the subject of the transitive verb (A) and the subject of the intransitive verb (S) despite of bearing different case ending behave similarly under certain syntactic rules. The first set of evidence comes from control data, and the second set comes from the reflexives.

2.1.1 Control

As can be seen from the examples that follow, both the ergative and the nominative subjects can control an embedded subject. The examples in (10) and (11) are the cases of the typical control of an embedded non-finite subject (PRO) with the subject of the higher clause. Both the subjects fare equally in such constructions.

10 Ram-ni $_{I}$ [PRO $_{I}$ ingrezi bolnyacha] vachan dilə
R-ERG ec English speak -INF promise give-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram promised to speak in English.'

11 Ram $_{I}$ [PRO $_{I}$ ingrezi bolnyacha] vachan deto
R-NOM ec English speak-INF promise give-PRES-3.S.M
'Ram promises to speak in English.'

Similarly in (12) and (13) the ergative and the nominative subjects respectively control an embedded subject in the finite clause.

12 Ram-ni $_{I}$ mhantla ki (to) $_{I}$ udya yeil
R-ERG said that he tomorrow come-FUT
'Ram said that he will come tomorrow.'

13 Ram $_I$ mhanto ki (to)$_I$ udya yeil
R-NOM say that he tomorrow come-FUT
'Ram says that he will come tomorrow.'

This indicates that both ergative marked NPs and nominative marked NPs behave exactly the same in a syntactic environment. This provides empirical evidence to argue that ergativity in Marathi is purely morphological.

2.1.2 Reflexives

Subjects binding with reflexives will provide more empirical data that strengthens the argument that Marathi has morphological ergativity and not syntactic. The examples in (14) and (15) show that both ergative and nominative subjects can bind a reflexive.

14 Seema-ni $_I$ swatah-la $_I$ vicharlə
S-ERG self-ACC ask-PAST-3.S.N
'Seema asked herself.'

15 Seema $_I$ swatah-la $_I$ vicharte
S-NOM herself-ACC ask-PRES-3.S.F
'Seema asks herself.'

With this, I now move to discuss different accounts found in the literature to explain ergativity.

2.2 Some analysis of Ergativity

I will now discuss some analyses proposed within the minimalist program framework to describe ergative case assignment. Linguists seem to fall into two broad categories when discussing ergative case assignment. One set of linguists assume that ergative is a lexical or inherent case (Nevins & Anand 2002, 2003, *Nash 1995, Woolford 1997, Massam 2002) whereas others treat ergative case as an instance of structural case (Bobaljik 1993, Bobaljik & Branigan 2003, Davison 2004, Mahajan 1997[8], Bittner & Hale 1996). In many analyses, it is also widely assumed that ergative case is related to the Agent theta role (Anand & Nevins 2002, Holmer 2001). But this cannot be generalized as a golden rule for all languages that show ergativity (Otsuka 2002). Some counterexamples to this generalization are languages like Tongan and Chukchi. The following analyses are summarized in a chronological order.

2.2.1 Bobaljik (1993)

Bobaljik (1993) argues that ergative case is essentially a structural case corresponding to Nominative Case, and absolutive case corresponds to Accusative Case within the realm of the case theory. In this paper he accounts for ergativity via parameterization. The UG parameter that he uses to distinguish nominative-accusative from ergative-absolutive is

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[8] Mahajan (1997)argues for the following generalizations about ergativity and word order.

1 a Ergative case marking patterns are found only in verb peripheral languages and (within SOV and VSO languages). Verb medial languages are never ergative (cf Schwartz 1972, Trask 1979).

b A lexically distinct form of verb 'have' is generally missing in verb peripheral languages. That is, verb 'have' is generally confined to SVO languages.

According to him the presence of ergative case and the presence of the verb 'have' are surface manifestations of the same underlying phenomena. Furthermore, languages do not choose between these two options randomly. The choice is based on the word order of the particular language. Only verb peripheral languages (Celtic, Hindi, Marathi etc.) can have ergative case marking and verb medial languages (English) have the verb 'have' choice. However, as pointed out by Anders Holmberg (p.c.) this does not hold true for Basque as it is a clear counterexample to his generalizations. It could be purely coincidental fact that ergative case is present in the absence of auxiliary 'have'.

referred to as the Obligatory Case Parameter (OCP). It is this single parameter that decides which case is to be assigned to the sole argument of the intransitive verb. Under this proposal, case and agreement proceed in the same manner for both language types (nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive) in transitive clauses. The higher structural case is assigned to the higher A-argument and the lower structural case is assigned to the lower O-argument of the transitive verb. However, it is in the intransitive verbs where the parametric variation becomes active. Basically the OCP decides which structural case (nominative or absolutive) gets assigned to the sole argument of the intransitive verb

16 OCP

a in N/A languages, CASE X is NOMINATIVE (= ERG)

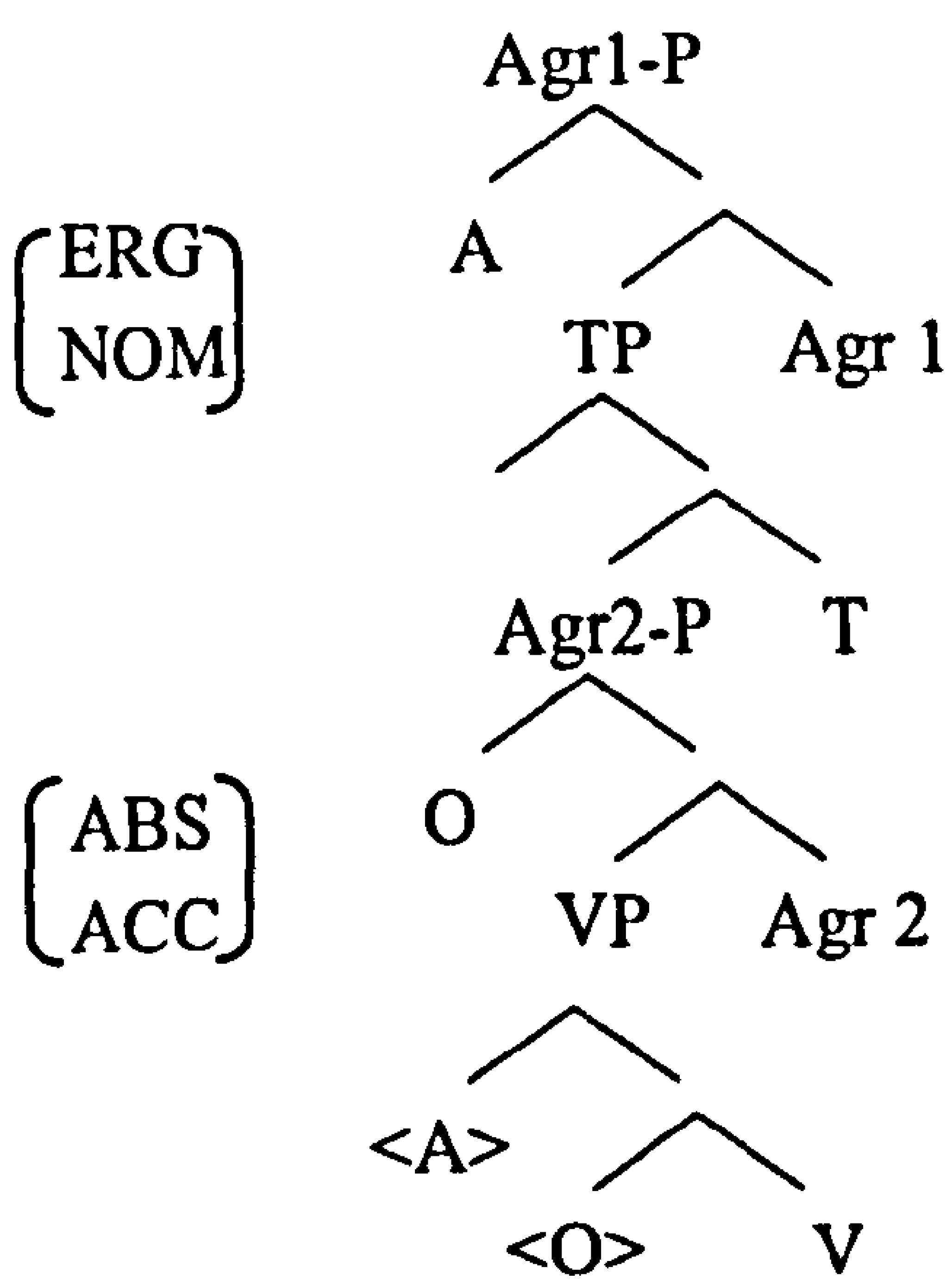
b In E/A languages ,CASE X is ABSOLUTIVE (= ACC)

Where CASE X is some abstract structural case that needs to be obligatorily assigned or checked.

Within the case theory in the early versions of the minimalist theory, structural case is assigned in Spec-head relationship in functional projections of AGR S and AGR O. Bobaljik labels these as AGR1 and AGR2 respectively. The OCP in (16) essentially parameterizes which AGR phrase is active in intransitive constructions, and consequently assigns the obligatory structural case (CASE X). In N/A type languages, AGR1 is active resulting in Nominative Case assignment on the S argument whereas in E/A type languages, AGR2 is active and assigns absolutive (=accusative) case to the O argument. He further points out that the zero morphological marking could account for the obligatory status of these two structural cases (that is nominative and absolutive).

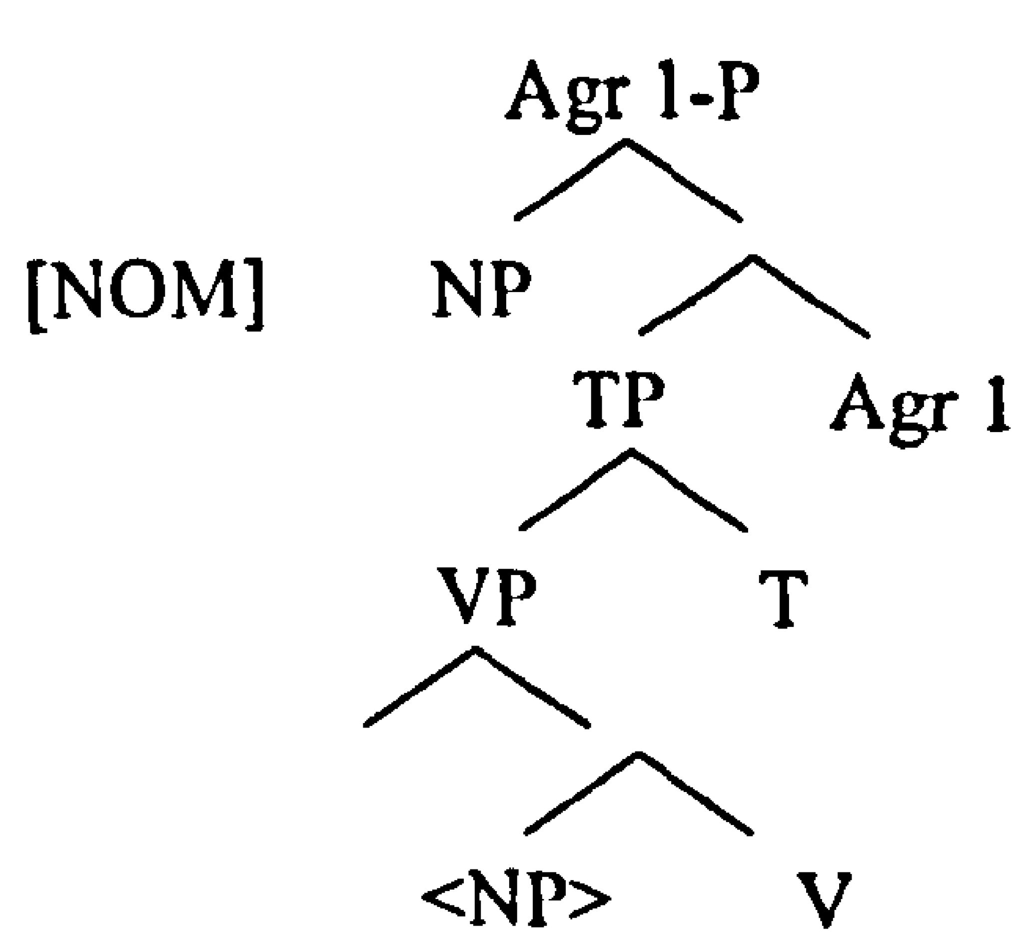
Under his analysis the structure of transitive clause in both N/A and E/A languages is the same. He shows that binding theory data supports this prediction. The following is the tree diagram (17) that illustrates the structural representation of a transitive clause in both the types of languages. He assumes that all the arguments are base generated in the VP. Recall that it is the AGR heads that are assigning case here.

17 Transitive clause (Bobaljik 1993;52)

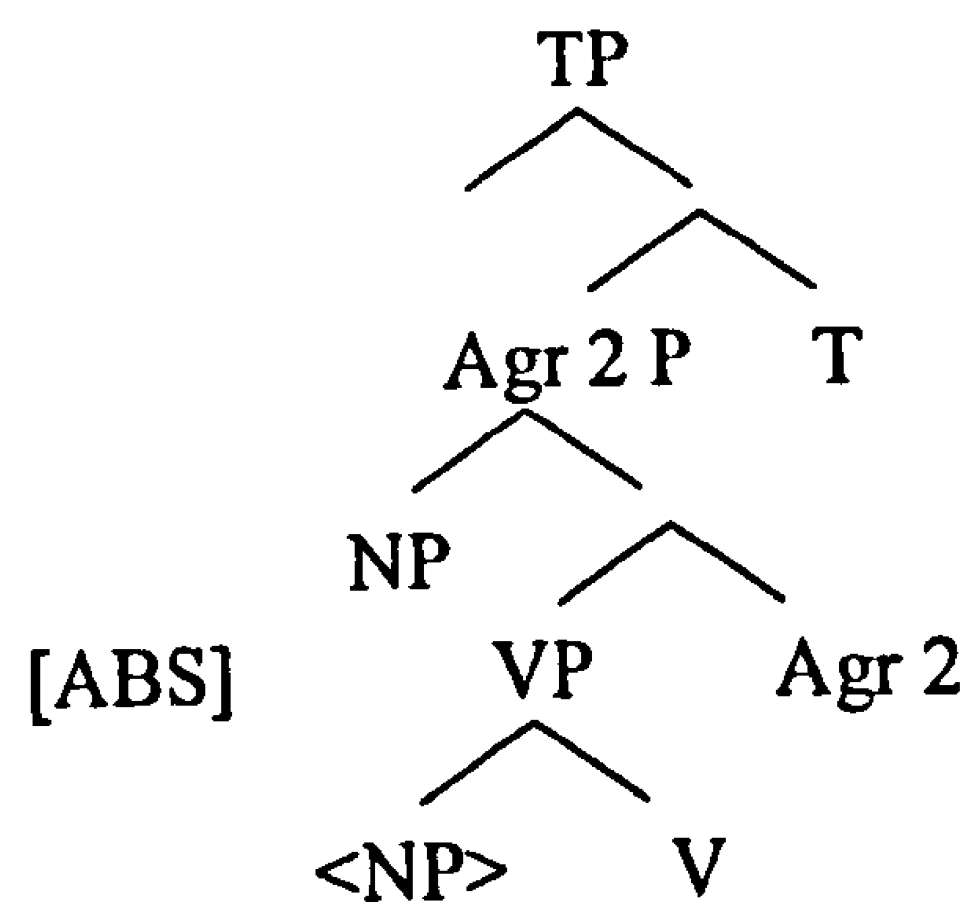


The major difference lies in the structure of the intransitive clauses in the two language systems. He provides data on case and agreement in non-finite clauses in Eskimo languages as evidence to support this assumption.

18 Intransitive clause: NOM /ACC



19 Intransitive : ERG/ABS



In (18) the higher AGR (agr1) head is assigning Nominative Case to the subject of the intransitive verb in the nominative-accusative system, whereas in (19) the lower AGR (agr2) head is assigning absolutive case to the subject of the intransitive verb in an ergative-absolutive system. An OCP based account of Marathi ergativity would imply that Marathi is a language which makes use of both the systems. This in turn would imply that Marathi has different parameter values depending on the tense, which is obviously not a tenable position.

2.2.2 Woolford (1999)

Woolford (1999) shows that case and agreement cannot be treated independently of each other. She argues that languages, which are like Hindi in their ergative system (that is show agreement with absolutive NP's), have Ergative case as well. The general agreement rule for Hindi is (similar to that of Marathi) that the verb agrees with a nominative (covertly marked) NP and if there is no such NP then the verb gets default agreement of 3M. Examples given below reflect the agreement patterns.

20 Niinaa bacce- ko uthaayegii
Nina (NOM) child-DAT lift (FUT, FEM)
'Nina will pick up the child.'

21 Siitaa-ne larkii-ko dekhaa
Sita(FEM)-ERG girl-DAT see (PERF,3S.MASC)
'Sita saw the girl.'

22 Ram-ne rotii khaii thii
R-ERG bread(NOM,FEM) eat(PERF,FEM) be (PAST,FEM)
'Ram had eaten the bread.'

She advocates the position that ergative case is lexical or inherent. Combining this assumption with the feature checking mechanism in the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995) that allows the Nominative Case feature of the argument to raise to the appropriate functional head (Agr or T) to get checked, she argues that there is a mismatch in the nominative [CASE] feature on T and the ergative case on the subject. This mismatch blocks the checking with the subject NP. However the [CASE] feature on T has to be in a checking relation with the next closest argument bearing the matching Nominative Case feature, which is the object in this case (21-22). She takes the agreement facts to indicate that ergative agreement in a language is dependent on the obligatory presence of morphological ergative case. Marathi data where covertly marked ergative subjects (1st and 2nd person pronouns) should in principle not block the agreement with the subject are shown below.

23 *mi pustak vaachli
1SM book read-past-1.S.M
'I read a book.'

24 *tu pustak vaachlat
2PL book read-past-2.PL
'You (PL) read a book.'

However the data shows that these covertly marked subject NPs are not entering into agreement with the verb. Later she modifies the conclusion reached earlier. The correct conclusion that she then arrives at is that there are no languages that have abstract ergative case without having any overt ergative morphology.

The two reasons for discussing this theory are firstly that it argues ergative case to be inherent or lexical, which is what I argue for Marathi in this thesis, and secondly it also points to the much attested fact that case and agreement are related. Again something that I will be arguing for in this chapter.

2.2.3 Massam (2002)

Massam (2002) too argues that ergative case is an instance of inherent or lexical case associated with the Agent argument checked in the Spec vP position. She uses data from Niuean (an Oceanic language from the Tongic subgroup). She has shown that Niuean cannot be classified as either syntactically or morphologically ergative with the relevant empirical data from the language

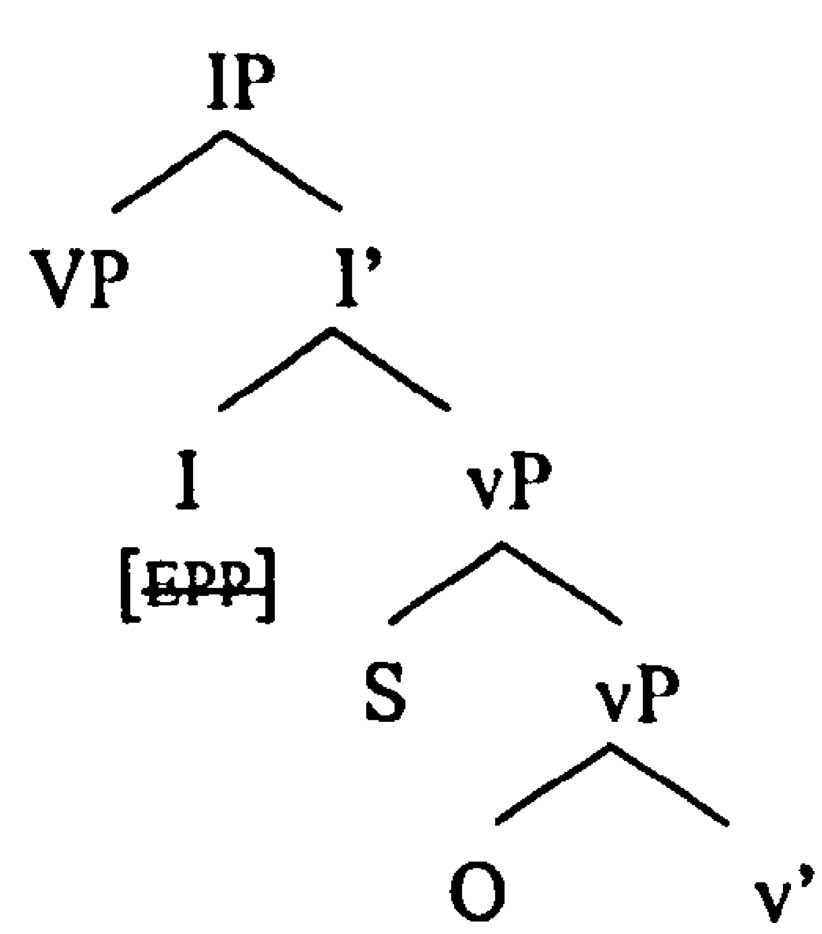
25	Ne	paoaoa	e	au	a	Tomu	(Massam 2002; 186)
	PST	strike	ERG	I	ABS	Tom	
	'I struck Tom'						

26	Ne	kai	he[9]	pussi	ia	e	moa
	PST	eat	ERG	cat	that	ABS	bird

'That cat ate the chicken'

Her analysis of Niuean (VSO order) transitive clause is one where the object DP merges with the verb to form the VP. This VP is then merged with a light verb v to form the vP. This light verb v in Niuean has an [ABSOLUTIVE] and an [ERGATIVE] case feature. The ergative feature can only be checked by an Agent DP. She assumes the multiple specifier version of phrase structure for the light vP. The subject DP (agent) is merged in the higher Spec of vP where it checks the [ERG] feature on the light v, and the object DP moves out of the VP to the lower specifier of the vP to check the [ABS] feature on the v. This vP then merges with the INFL to project IP. The predicate [EPP] feature on I triggers the movement of VP (with the Verb and the Object trace) to Spec IP.

27



[9] Notice that Niuean has two different markers for ergative and absolutive case dependent on the type of noun. The following paradigm taken from Massam (2002 ; 186) summarizes the two forms

	ERG	ABS
Proper/Pronoun	e	a
Common	he	e

v <VP>

~~[ERG]~~

~~[ABS]~~ V t_o

For intransitive clauses she assumes the same structure, with the difference being that in intransitive clauses the light verb as no Agent role to assign, and consequently it has no ergative feature on the little v.

She concludes that a language can have an ergative system as a consequence of an obligatory structural case feature [ABS] on the little v. In addition to this, such languages also have a second case feature [ERG] associated with Agent DPs on the same little v head in transitive clauses. Again the common point between her analysis and mine is that ergative case is dependent on the Agent argument in Nuinea and Marathi.

2.2.4 Otsuka (2002)

Otsuka draws facts from the Bobaljik (1993) active case theory, and incorporates them with in the feature based approach of the Minimalist Program to account for the ergativity in Tongan, a Polynesian language.

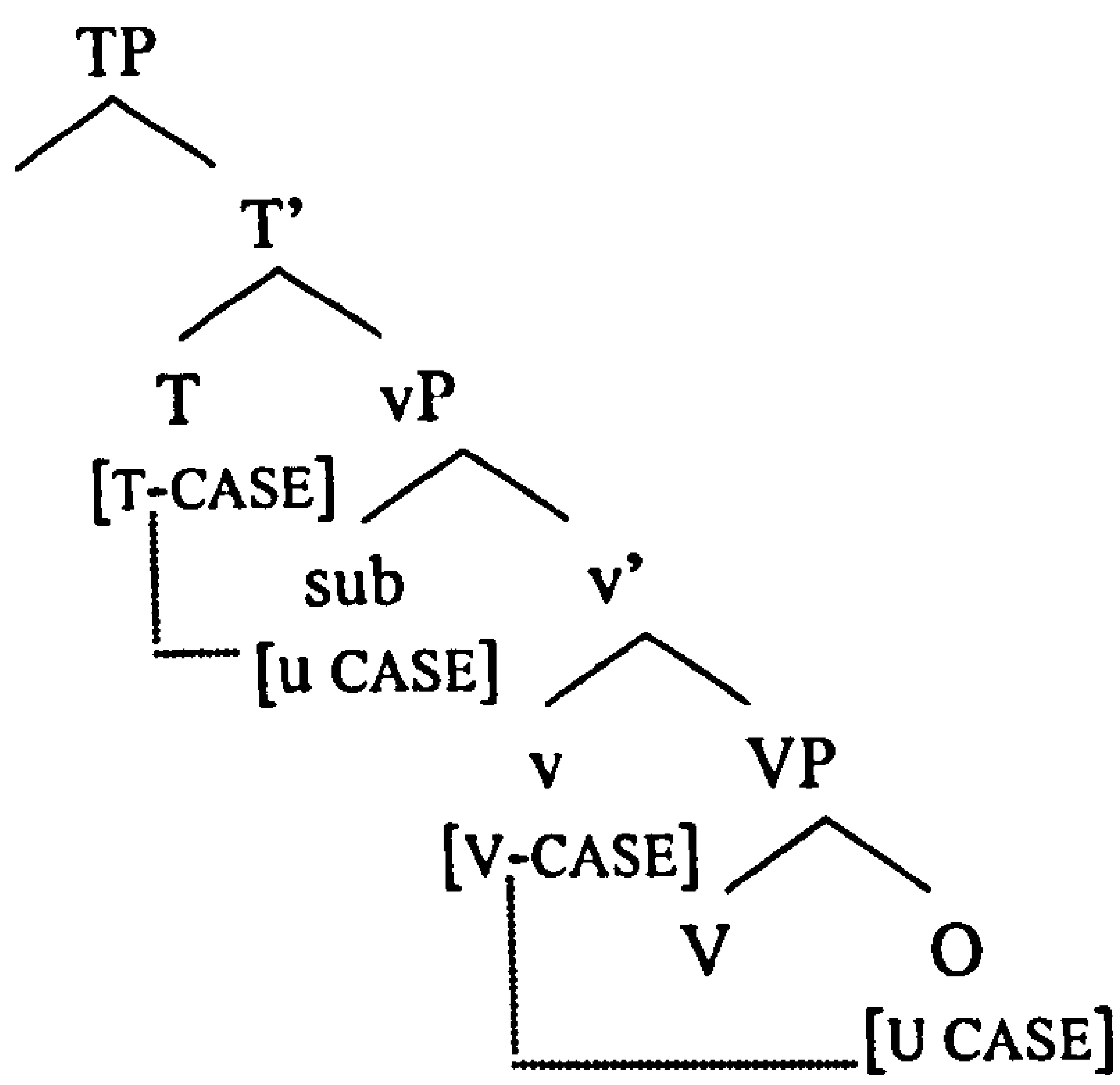
28 Na'e taa'i 'e sione 'a Mele.
Past hit erg sione ABS Mele
'Sione hit Mele'.

Within the MP in the 1990s, case is considered as a feature that needs to be checked before the derivation proceeds to the LF/PF interfaces to converge. In transitive clauses in both type of language (nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive), there are two [CASE] features; one on the T head and the other on the v head. The [CASE] feature on the head can be checked via moving an argument with the matching [CASE] feature into the specifier of the phrase (TP or vP) containing the head with the [CASE] feature. Thus for nominative-accusative language, the [CASE] feature of the subject NP and the object NP are Specified at the numeration for nominative and accusative respectively. These features are checked with the matching nominative [CASE] feature on T and the matching accusative [CASE] feature on the v- head. She points out that in a similar way for ergative-absolutive languages one could argue that the [CASE] feature of the Agent argument is specified as ergative, and the object NP [CASE] feature is specified as absolutive, and they are both checked with the matching ergative [CASE] feature on T and absolutive [CASE] feature on the v head respectively.

Recall from section 2.2.1 that the active Agr theory assumes two cases universally for all transitive verbs. Under this theory, ergative case is equivalent to the Nominative Case and absolutive is equal to the Accusative Case. And these cases are checked by moving the argument to the Agr1P or Agr2P. The difference in the languages is reduced to which AgrP is active to assign a case in the intransitive clauses. Within the active agr theory, with intransitive verbs, one of the [CASE] features becomes inert. Hence only one case is available. Extending the same idea to the ergative-absolutive type languages then, the [T-CASE] is inert, resulting in the little v assigning its [V-CASE] to the sole argument of the intransitive verb. On the other hand, in nominative-accusative type languages, it is the little v's [V-CASE] that becomes inert. Consequently, T's [T-CASE] is assigned to the intransitive argument.

Following Laka (1994), and making a slight modification in the active agr theory, Otsuka (2002) proposes that the basic difference between the ergative and accusative type languages lies in the choice of active [CASE] feature and not the active Agr. Accordingly in nominative-accusative type languages the T-CASE (corresponding to the case checked in the Spec Agrs P) is the active case in the intransitive clause. While in ergative-absolutive languages it is the V-CASE (corresponding to the case checked in the Spec AgroP) that is the active case. Schematically, this is shown below:

29



For the ergative system then one needs to show that somehow T's [CASE] feature is not getting assigned, and it is the little v's [CASE] feature that gets assigned to the subject NP. This definitely leaves the question open as to what happens to the [CASE] feature on T? But this is no longer a problem if one assumes that T's [CASE] feature is a [TENSE], which is an interpretable feature as argued by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001)[10]. Since interpretable features do not have to be checked this will not be of any consequence at all.

Otsuka suggests that within the Active case theory, modifications will have to be made in order to get around this problem. She also adopts Chomsky's (1995) argument that unergative verbs are underlyingly transitive with a covert object and this covert object checks the little v's [CASE] feature. And the subject checks the [CASE] feature of T

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[10] Pesetsky amd Torrego (2001) argue that structural case is an instance of [uT] on D.

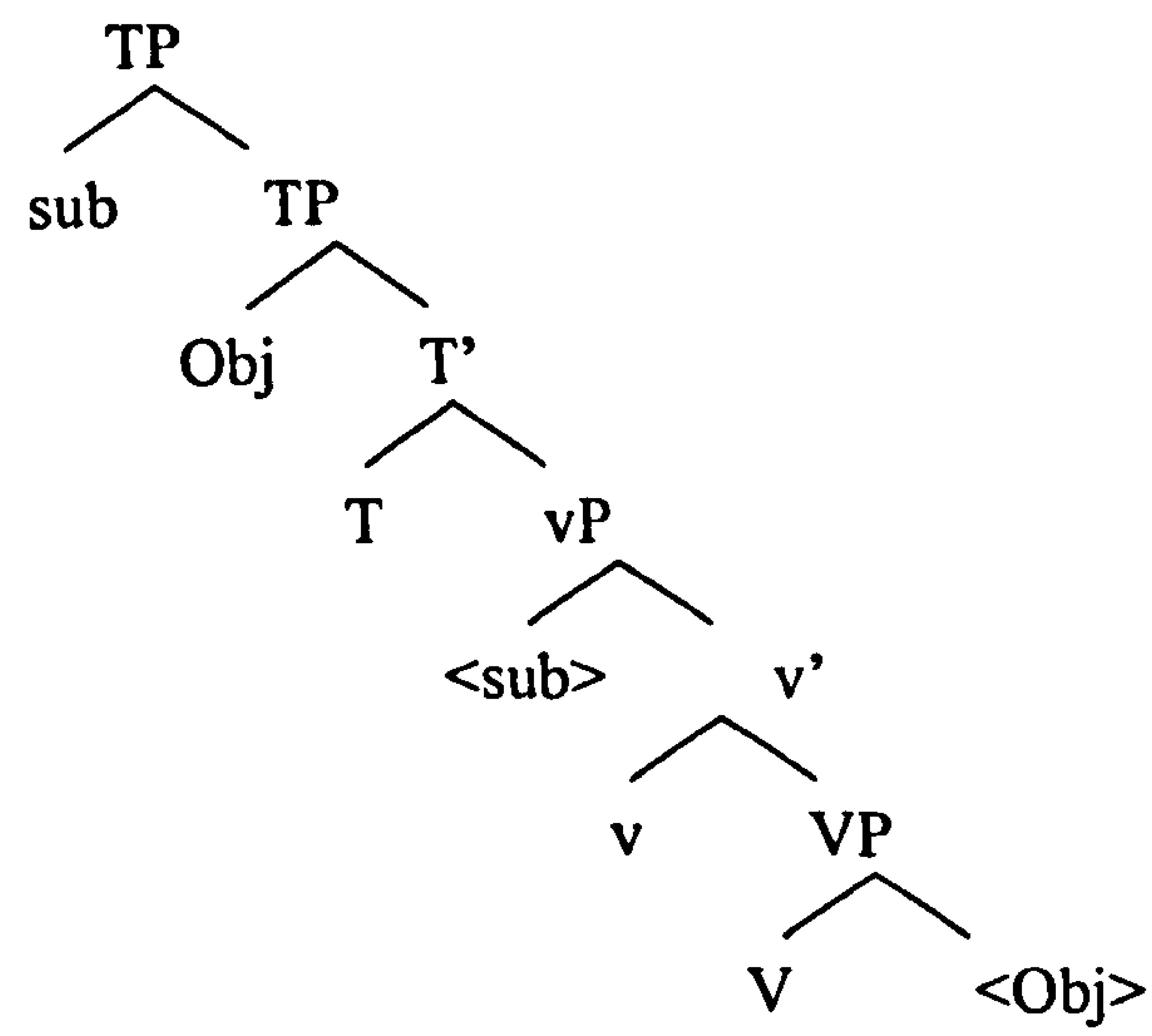
under the Agree relation. Consequently, the subject of the unergative verb and the subject of the transitive verb are in the same case. In the light of this argument for unergative constructions then one would have to assume in the active case theory that (i) T lacks a [CASE] feature in the intransitive clause and (ii) that the covert object of the VP fails to check the little v' [CASE] feature. Hence the only other available NP (the subject) checks little v's[V-CASE] feature. Thus her basic claims are that (i) in ergative type languages, little v is present in both transitive and intransitive constructions unlike nominative-accusative type languages (ii) there are two types of T, one with a [T-CASE] feature and other with no [CASE] feature. The former is selected by transitive v and the latter is selected by intransitive verbs.

Otsuka (2002) also shows for Tongan that subjects of unergative verbs which are Agents do not have an ergative case. Hence the claim that ergative case is associated with the Agent theta role argued for other languages does not hold true for Tongan and possibly certain other ergative languages. Consequently, she dismisses the assumption that ergative is an inherent or lexical case. This is in contrast with the Marathi data.

2.2.5 Bobaljik and Branigan (2003)

Bobaljik and Branigan (2003) also argue for the position that ergative is a structural case. They start with the familiar nominative-Accusative Case assignment as discussed by Chomsky (1995) where T assigns nominative to subject, and little v assigns accusative to the object along with assigning the external theta role to the subject in a transitive construction. According to them there is a minute difference in this transitive structure in case of ergative-absolutive type languages like Chukchi. The difference being that little v cannot assign Accusative Case to the object NP. As a result in transitive clauses the object will have to be raised higher to check its [CASE] feature. Since T is the only other case assigner in the clause, the object moves to Spec TP and receives case from T. This explains why in ergative systems the object bears the same case as the sole argument of the intransitive clauses. They are both checked by the same head, namely T. Since under their analysis ergative is not an inherent case, the question is where does the subject NP get its case from then? To account for the subject case assignment they assume a multiple-case-checking system for the ergative case, whereby a single head can check multiple case features. The following structure illustrates their analysis:

30 Ergative – absolutive case system



They point out that this cannot be so straightforward as transitive subject also checks its case against the same head, that is T could just as well assign nominative instead of ergative. However, the above structure does not result in two nominative NPs. To capture this fact (that the subject receives ergative case) in the structure in (30) they propose that UG allows a single head to check distinct cases (nominative and ergative in this case) on multiple arguments (subject and object) only as a marked option when necessary for the convergence of the derivation at the LF/PF interfaces.

They also assume that the first case to get checked within the multiple-case-checking theory is more marked then the others, but it may not be visible on surface always. They seem to be on the right track with the assumption that ergative is structural case in Chukchi because it is sensitive to transitivity and not thematic roles. This idea that ergative-absolutive case systems are the result of the inability of the little v to assign

Accusative Case to explain or describe ergativity can also be seen in the works of other linguists like (Nash 1995, Nevins and Anand 2003).

My analysis of the agreement facts in Marathi has some resemblance to this analysis as in I also argue that in ergative constructions with nominative objects, the nominative object receives case from T. However, the crucial difference being that I treat ergative as inherent case and not structural. This will be taken up in section 6 of the chapter.

3 MARATHI ERGATIVITY FACTS

Marathi ergative constructions are part of a split case system used by the language. In this section I will be focusing on the split system. Languages like Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi all display a split ergative system, a very common characteristic in the Indic languages. The split in these languages is mostly tense / aspect based. As illustrated in section 2 the Marathi ergative marking *–ni* appears on the agent NPs in the simple past tense and in perfective aspect in all the tenses (Pardeshi 2000, Pandharipande 1997, Wali 2004). Following are some more examples;

31	Ram-ni	sui	uchal-l-i
	R-ERG	needle (F)	pick-PAST-3.S.F
	'Ram picked up a needle.'		

simple past

32	Ajay-ni	dudhwalya-la	pahilə hotə
	A-ERG	milkman-ACC	see-PERF be-PAST-3.S.N
	'Ajay had seen the milkman.'		

past perfective

33	Seema-ni	ti	putak	vaachli	aahe
	S-ERG	that	book (F)	read-PERF	be-PRES-3.S.F

'Seema has read the book.'

present perfective

34	Alok-ni	ghar	swaachh	kela	aasel
	A-ERG	house(M)	clean	do-PERF	be-FUT-3SM

'Alok must have cleaned the house.'

future perfective

As mentioned earlier in chapter 2 in this thesis there are three major aspects in Marathi-- Perfective, Imperfective and Habitual. The examples below clearly illustrate that within past tense, ergative marking is absent in both imperfective and habitual aspects.

35	*Ajay-ni	paudyan-la	pani	taakat	aasel
	A-ERG	plants- ACC	water	put-IMPERF	be-FUT-3.S.M

'Ajay must be (habitually) watering the plants.'

36	Ajay	paudyan-la	pani	taakat	aasel
	A-NOM	plants- ACC	water	put-IMPERF	be-FUT-3.S.M

'Ajay must be (habitually) watering the plants.'

37	*Ajay-ni	paudyan-la	pani	taakat	hota
	A-ERG	plants-ACC	water	put-IMPERF	be-PAST-3.S.M

'Ajay was watering the plants.'

38	Ajay	paudyan-la	pani	taakat	hota
	A-NOM	plants-ACC	water	put-IMPERF	be-PAST-3.S.M

'Ajay was watering the plants.'

Notice that Marathi does not have a separate marker for habitual aspect. The imperfective aspect marker *-t* along with the copula *as* 'to be' is used to express habitual aspect. Hence (35) shows that presence of the ergative marker on the agent subject in habitual aspect results in ungrammatical sentence,(36) is the grammatical counterpart of (35). Similarly, (37) shows that the ergative-marked subject NP with imperfective aspect also yields an ungrammatical sentence. Again, the grammatical counterpart of (37) is given in (38). However this is not true for sentences in the perfective aspect as seen in examples (31-34). Although there is no auxiliary or the overt marking for perfective aspect in (31) the subject still receives ergative case. I take the presence of ergative case in such cases to mean that simple past tense clauses are interpreted with a perfective reading and hence have a covert perfective aspect marking on the verb. These examples then support and show that ergativity is unique to perfective aspect in the past tense in Marathi.

Following are some more examples of ergative constructions from other Indic languages like Hindi and Gujarati, respectively.

39	Ram-ne	kitab	parhi	hai	*Hindi; Mahajan 1990*
	R-ERG	book	read	be-PRES-3.S.M	
	'Ram has read the book.'				

40	Seema-e	shak	banavi	hati	*Gujarati*
	S-ERG	vegetables	make	be-PAST-3.S.M	
	'Seema had cooked some vegetables.'				

Interestingly, in Marathi, first and second personal pronouns have no overt *–ni* marking for the ergative case. The overt *–ni* marking surfaces only on the third personal pronouns and proper nouns.

41	mi	dagad	uccha-l-ə
	I	stone (3.S.N)	pick-PAST- 3.S.N
	'I picked up the stone.'		

42	tu	dagad	uccha-l-ə-s
	You	stone (3.S.N)	pick-PAST-3.S.N
	'You picked up the stone.'		

43	tya-ni	dagad	uccha-l-ə
	He-ERG	stone (3.S.N)	pick-PAST-3.S.N
	'He picked up the stone.'		

If this is the case then how do we know for sure that the subjects in (41) and 42) are ergative, and not nominative? The answer to this lies in the fact that in all of the above examples (41 - 43) the verb *does not* agree with the subject NP. Instead it agrees with the object. This suggests that these are covertly ergative marked NPs. If they were nominative NPs then one would expect them to trigger agreement on the verb, which is clearly not the case. Examples in (44- 45) below illustrate the point. These are the ungrammatical counterparts of the sentences (41-42).

44	*mi	dagad	uccha-l-i
	1.S.F	stone (3.S.N)	pick-PAST- 1.S.F
	'I picked up the stone.'		

45	*tu	dagad	uccha-l-a-s
	2.S.M	stone (3.S.N)	pick-PAST-2.S.M
	'You picked up the stone.'		

Wali (2004) has shown that ergative marking can also occur with subjunctives in Marathi. Subjunctives can also take nominative subjects as in (46). The verb is marked with *-av* for subjunctive in Marathi. The following is an example of the ergative subject with subjunctive (47), taken from Wali (2004);

46 Nominative subject with subjunctive

Ti	dhaava-av-i.
she-NOM	run-SBJ-3FSG

'She may run./May she run.'

47 Ergative subject with subjunctive

ti-ne	dhaava-av-e.
she-ERG	run-SBJ-NEUT

'She must run.'

The question with such data is how to account for these ergative subjects. Wali (2004) attempts by saying that "Ergative subjects denote obligation or necessity. The nominative is used in the epistemic, or optative sense". In the above example (47) there seems to be some kind of necessity or obligation associated with the subject in the ergative case. In a similar way, Finnish has genitive subjects in constructions that have necessive modal verbs as pointed out by Anders Holmberg. At this stage, I will not say anything about how ergative is assigned to subjects in subjunctives, I will take this up in the next section.

Moving on to a different language, Sunwar (a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal) , at a glance the ergative facts of this language resemble those of Marathi. More specifically, like Marathi, the ergative marking in Sunwar surfaces on the lexical nouns and 3rd person pronouns only (DeLancey 1990)[11]. See the examples below

48 a. méko ?àl hí-t-a
DEM child come.down-PAST-3SG
'The child came down.'

b. méko ?àl-am tà-t-i
DEM child-ERG see-PAST-3sg1sg
'The child saw me.'

c. méko hí-t-a
DEM come.down-PAST-3sg
'He came down.'

d. méko-m tà-t-i
DEM-ERG see-PAST-3sg1sg
'He saw me.'

e. go hí-t-i
I come-down-PAST-1sgINTR
'I came down.'

---

[11] These examples are taken from the following URL: http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~delancey/sb/LECT7-8.htm)

f. go méko ?àl tá-t-a
I DEM child see-PAST-1sgTR
'I saw the child.'

However, a closer look at the facts reveal that there is a major difference between these two look alike ergative systems. The difference lies in the type of split. The language Sunwar shows person type split. By this I mean, a system where ergative marking separates 1^{st} and 2^{nd} person pronouns from 3^{rd} person pronouns and lexical nouns. Marathi on the other hand shows Tense / Aspect type split as discussed earlier. The reason I present this data from Sunwar is to draw attention to the question- Does this resemblance suggest that Marathi has a complex split system, that is, a combination of both tense-aspect and number type split? Or is this resemblance just a mere coincidence of no consequence? To my mind, at this stage, this seems to be coincidental. This must be a result of some historical change. I am assuming that sometime during the course of development of Marathi, 1^{st} and 2^{nd} person lost their ergative marking, while for some unknown reason 3^{rd} person and lexical nouns retained the ergative marking. The fact that other Indic- languages like present day Hindi still retain ergative marking on all the three persons makes it a reasonable assumption -- perhaps Old Marathi had ergative marking on all the three persons. This brings us to the next section where I argue that Marathi ergative case is inherent or lexical not structural.

3.1 Marathi ergative case as Inherent case

In this section, I will present some arguments that support my argument that ergative case is inherent and not a structural case in Marathi. As we have seen in the examples above that ergative marking appearing only on agent NPs is a starting point to argue for inherent case, for Marathi. This can be formulated as a strict rule for Marathi, non-agent NPs are never marked for the ergative case. No animate (+ human) subjects which are experiencer subjects can *ever* have ergative marking irrespective of the tense or aspect as indicated by the examples given below. The experiencer subjects are marked with the *–la* ending, which is used for both accusative and dative cases. The example in (49) has a non-agent NP as the subject which takes the dative case marking. The example in (50) is its counterpart with an ergative marking which results in an ungrammatical construction. Similarly (52) and (53) show that non- agent NPs do not bear ergative case.

49 Tini-la thandi vaajte
T-DAT cold-3.S.F feel-PRES-3.S.F
'Tini feels cold.'

50 *Tini-ni thandi vaajte
T-ERG cold-3.S.F feel-PRES-3.S.F
'Tini feels cold.'

51 Tini-la poli aawadli hoti
T-ACC bread-3.S.F like-PERF-3.S.F be-PAST-3.S.F
'Tini had liked the bread.'

52 *Tini-ni poli aawadli hoti
T-ERG bread-3.S.F like-PERF-3.S.Fbe-PAST-3.S.F
'Tini had liked the bread.'

53 Ram-la/*ni Kishor bhetla
R-ACC/*ERG K-3.S.M meet-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram met Kishor.'

Examples (49) - (53) above show that ergative marking with non-agentive human subjects results in ungrammatical sentences. This definitely points in a direction where the possibility of (at least for Marathi and possibly Hindi) ergative as inherent or lexical case cannot be ruled out.

The observation that ergative case marking is sensitive to animate versus inanimate distinction provides us with the second bit of empirical evidence to argue for ergative case as inherent case. In Marathi the inanimate subject NPs can never take the ergative marking on them. Wali (2004) also points this out. See the hypothetical examples below;

54	*Khurchi-ni	mansa-la	oradalə
	chair-ERG	man-ACC	scold-PAST-3.S.N
	'The chair scolded the man.'		

It will be worthwhile to mention at this point that the instrumental case marking *–ni* (see table 1 on the following page) in Marathi is homophonous to the ergative marking. Hence a sentence like (55) is grammatical even with an inanimate subject because the subject NP (in this instance) is in instrumental case and *not* ergative.

55	Vaarya-**ni**	daar	ughadlə
	Wind-INS	door	open-PAST-3.S.N
	'The door opened due to wind.'		

Marathi unergative verbs like to *sing, dance, cough* also take ergative marking.

It is tempting to assume that ergative case in Marathi is actually structural case as argued by Bobaljik (1993) and many others due to its dependency on the perfective aSpect. But a careful look at the data makes it clear that aside from the semantic facts discussed above this approach interferes with the agreement and the other case assignment in the derivation. One would need to seek for additional mechanisms to resolve the issues in agreement caused by assuming ergative to be a structural case. This will become clearer when I discuss the details of case assignment and agreement in the section (6).

In conclusion, Marathi facts of ergativity presented in the data in this section, strongly support the generalization that ergative case is inherent in Marathi in spite of its structural dependency on the perfective aspect.

3.2 Ergative Case assignment

As discussed above I argue in this thesis that ergative is an inherent case associated with the agent theta-role. The subject NP enters the derivation with an uninterpretable [CASE] feature that needs to be valued else the derivation will crash at the LF interface. And this feature will be assigned a value by the appropriate head as will be shown below. The ergative case assignment happens at the point in the derivation when the agent theta-role is being assigned by the little v head to its external argument. Thus, the two operations occur simultaneously. This section discusses how ergative case is assigned.

Since Marathi has a prominent aspectual system, as discussed in chapter two, it is only logical to argue that aspect is a feature [ASP] on the little v[12]. Thus this feature can be realized as [PERF] for perfective aspect, [IMPF] for imperfective, and [PROG] for progressive aspect. The assumption that aspect is a feature of the little v is strengthened by the fact that the aspect morphology always occurs on the verbs including the light verbs such as *saaf karne* 'to clean' as is shown below by the examples

[12] Alternatively it is possible to assume instead that ASpect is a head and projects its own phrase the AspP. In order for the aSpect morphology to surface on the main verb, one could assume that the AspP is sandwiched between the vP and VP. This would ensure that when the verb moves from the V head to the little v, it moves via the Asp head. This in turn would result in the aSpectual morphology surfacing on the verb.

56 Ram kholi saaf karat aahe

R room-S.F clean do-IMPF be-PRES-3.S.M

'Ram is cleaning the room.'

This suggests that aspect as a category is associated with the verbs, and it thus seem logical then to assume that it is a feature on the little v.

The data clearly indicates that the ergative case surfaces only in sentences that have a perfect reading. And within such sentences, only Agent subjects can take the ergative case. Additionally, ergative case also appears on Agent subjects with verbs in the subjunctive form that express some sort of necessity as in example (47) repeated below.

57 ti-ne dhaava-av-e.

she-ERG run-SBJ-NEUT

'She must run.'

The analysis developed in this thesis argues that both ergative case assignment and the Agent theta role assignment occur simultaneously. This can be achieved without any problem as it is the little v that assigns the Agent role to its external argument and it also values the uninterpretable [CASE] feature of the external argument. Thus the ergative case assignment can then be formalized as given below:

58 Ergative case assignment: Assign ergative case to a subject when the little v is marked for

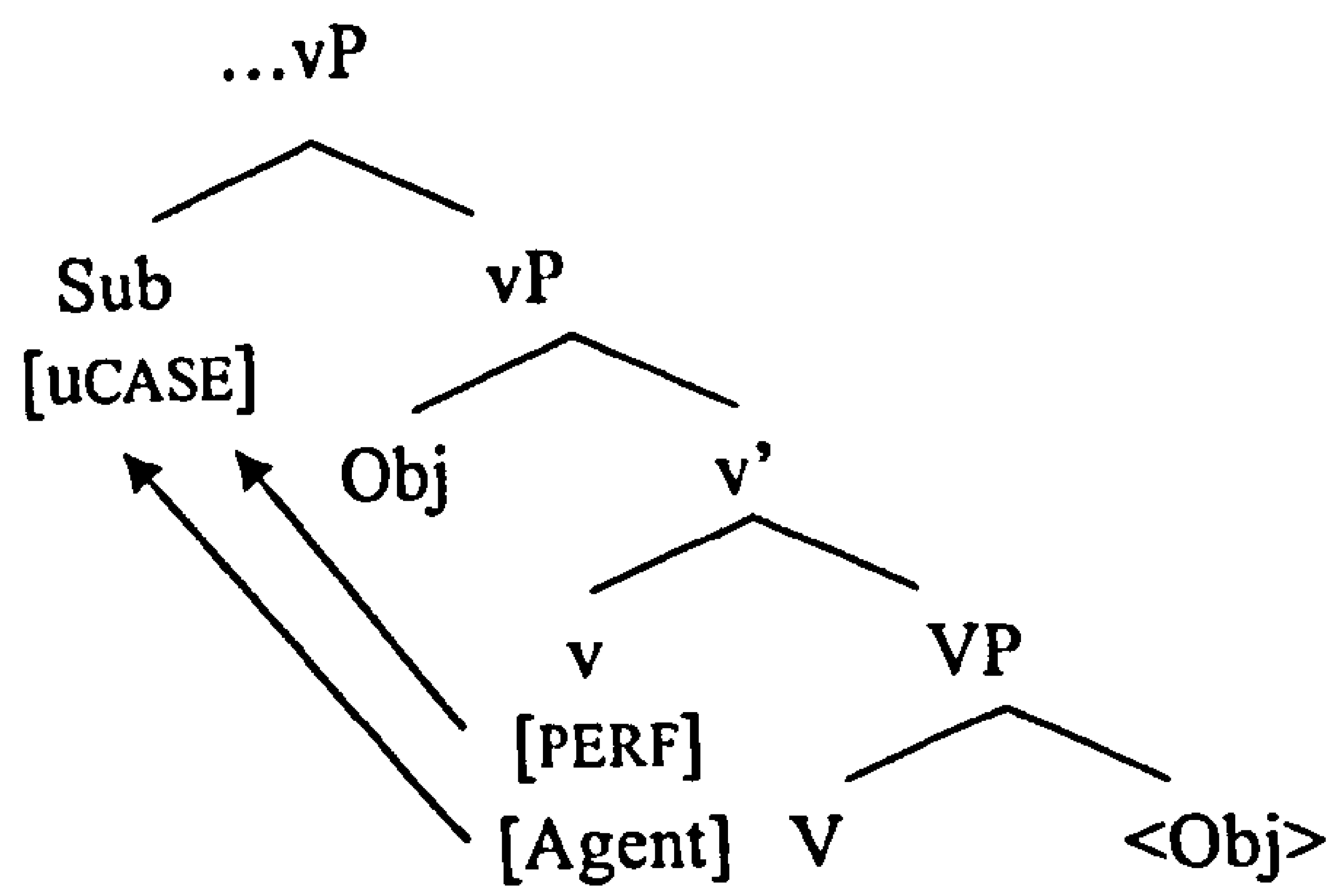
(a) [v, +PERF, Agent]

(b) [v, NEC, Agent]

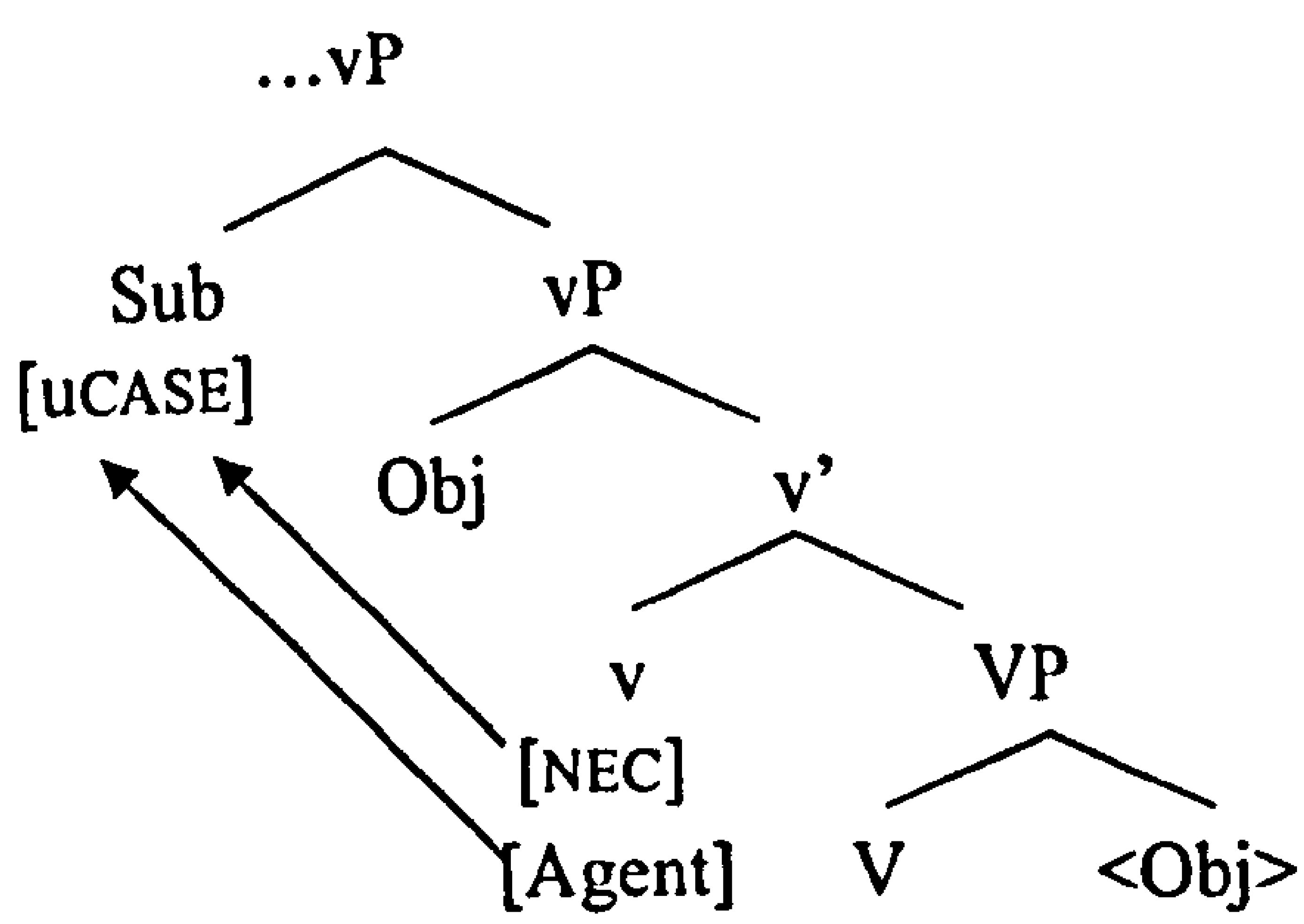
Where [PERF] and [NEC] are abbreviated for perfective and necessive respectively.

The generalization in (58) a will account for the data presented in (31-34) where the little v is marked with the features [+PERF] and it also assigns the Agent role to its external argument the subject. The cases like (57) are accounted for by the generalization in (58)b where the little v is not marked as perfective instead they have a [NEC] feature which implies necessity. The following structures illustrate the ergative case assignment. The structure in (59) corresponds to the generalization in (58)a and the structure in (60) corresponds to (58)b.

59



60



All the following transitive clauses ((61) – (63) below) are examples with perfective aspect, therefore the subject NP is assigned the ergative case. This operation happens at the same time as the little v is assigning the agent theta role to the subject NP.

61	Rahul-ni	bhandi	ddhut-l-i	aahet
	R-ERG	dishes-3.PL.F	wash-PERF-3.PL.F	be-PRES-3.PL.F
	'Rahul has washed dishes.'			

Present Perfective

62	Rahul-ni	bhandi	ddhut-l-i	hoti
	R-ERG	dishes-3.PL.F	wash-PERF-3.PL.F	be-PAST-3.PL.F

'Rahul had washed dishes.'

Past Perfective

63	Rahul-ni	bhandi	ddhut-l-i	aastil
	R-ERG	dishes-3.PL.F	wash-PERF-3.PL.F	be-FUT-3.PL.F

'Rahul would have washed dishes.'

Future Perfective

I will now present a derivation of ergative clauses. Following are the basic steps involved in the derivation of these sentences. From the numeration first the verb merges with the object to form the VP. The little v is then merged with this VP to form the vP. There is a [ASP] feature on the little v head, and it also has the Agent theta role to assign to its external argument. At this point, the verb moves from the V head to little v. As mentioned in chapter two, all objects other than the finite CP complements must undergo the obligatory leftward movement. Accordingly the object (which is nominal) also moves and is re-merged as the lower specifier of the little v (I am using the multiple specifiers version in this thesis). I assume that the little v has a [EPP] feature which is deleted via the object movement. The subject originates in the higher Spec of the vP. The reason for assuming that the subject is merged higher than the object will become clear when I discuss the data on negation (in chapter four) that shows that the subject does not have to move out of the vP. Since the [ASP] feature on the little v is realized as perfective, in these cases, the subject gets its uninterpretable [CASE] feature valued as ergative as per the generalization given in (58)a. At the same point, the little v also assigns its external theta role (Agent) to the subject NP. The object in such cases can either have Accusative Case or Nominative Case assigned to it. Next the T head is merged with the vP resulting in the TP projection. This T head has a set of uninterpretable pi-features, a [CASE] feature and an [EPP] feature. Note that I have not gone into the details of how agreement and other cases work in this derivation. These will be discussed in details in sections 6 and 5.

The following discussion accounts for the instances of simple past tense constructions that have ergative subjects, but no overt perfective morphology that triggers ergativity. Below are some more examples of the kind;

64	Seema-ni	gani	gai-l-i
	S-ERG	song-PL.F	sing-PAST-PL.F
	'Seema sang songs.'		

65	Ravi-ni	pustak	vacha-l-i
	R-ERG	book-S.F	read-PAST-3.S.F
	'Ravi read a book.'		

66	Tya-ni	doktaran-la	bolav-l-ə
	He-ERG	doctor-ACC/DAT	call-PAST-3.S.N
	'He called the doctor.'		

67	Brahmanan-ni	puja	kel-l-i
	Brahmins-ERG	prayer-S.F	do-PAST-S.F
	'The brahmins prayed.'		

68	Mulin-ni	phulə	uchal-l-i
	Girls-ERG	flower-PL.M	pick up-PAST-PL.M
	'The girls picked up flowers.'		

In these cases, I argue that the aspect is marked as Perfective but there is no overt marker. This means that perfective aspect has a zero or null form in addition to its overt *–l* form. However, the distribution of this form is restricted to simple past-tense constructions only. The semantics of these sentences or the propositions also suggest that the action is complete (under all circumstances) in these cases which goes on to support the argument that the aspect in these cases is covertly marked as Perfective. This explains why the subject surfaces with the ergative case even though there is not overt perfect marking on the verb. Like the earlier cases (61 - 63), even in these instances the ergative case is assigned along with the Agent theta-role assignment (in the derivation). This analysis of overt and covert aspect forms implicitly implies that other aspects can also have overt/ covert forms. However, I will not discuss the details or consequences of how this influences the others aspects here, as it is beyond the scope of this topic.

To conclude and reiterate the main point of this section that the ergative case feature on the subject NP is checked only if the [ASP] feature on the little v in the derivation is realized as overt or covert for the perfective aspect, and in some cases if the verb is marked with the feature [NEC] as discussed earlier in this section.

4 CASE : AN OVERVIEW OF CASE SYSTEM IN MARATHI

Having dealt with the ergative case in the earlier sections I focus on the other cases in Marathi in this section. I lay out the facts about them first and then move on to some discussions of how case is dealt with in the generative grammar. The following is the table that summarizes all the cases in Marathi.

CASE	MARKER	EXAMPLE
Nominative	Ø	parwat
Accusative	-la	parwatala
Instrumental	-ni	parwatane
Dative	-la	parwatala
Ablative	-hun	parwatahun
Possessive-genitive	-tsa/tsi/tse	parwatatsa
Locative	-t	parwatat
Vocative	-a	parwata
Agentive/Ergative	-ni	parwatne

Table 1: Marathi: Case Markers

Note that the accusative and dative cases have homophonous *–la* marking, and so does the ergative and instrumental cases with the *–ni* marking. The concept of markedness seems to be of certain import within the case system. Dixon (1994; 57) mentions the markedness universal for case system taken from Greenberg (1963), according to which, the case on the subject NP of an intransitive verb is considered as the unmarked case for that particular language case system. So what is meant by unmarked case? Unmarked case is often described in terms of 'form' and 'function'. In terms of form, unmarked case is one, which has no overt marker, and by function, it is the case, which is associated with the obligatory NP with in a clause (Dixon 1994). Judging by these two criteria, we find that for Marathi, Nominative Case seems to be the unmarked case—(i) it has no overt marking, (ii) nominative NPs have to agree with the verb hence they appear to be the obligatory NP in a clause, and (iii) Nominative Case is also used as a default case for NPs that have no case assigned (lexical or structural). As a consequence, ergative case, in Marathi, then becomes the marked case, which is in accord with Greenberg's generalisation. This claim is further supported by two other facts. Firstly, ergative markings appear only on Agents (A) NPs in Marathi making it highly marked, and secondly ergative NPs do not enter into agreement at all.

Out of the list of cases, nominative and ergative cases are of special interest, as it is these cases that are crucial to the agreement facts in Marathi, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.1 Case Assignment in GB

Prior to the Minimalist Program, within the GB framework, the Case Theory module dealt with the case assignment. Structural case was assigned at the S-structure by the appropriate head and Lexical case was inherently specified at the D-structure (Hornstein et al 2005, Haegeman 1991). In brief, according to the case theory, INFL or (T)ense assigned Nominative Case under the Spec-head configuration, whereas the

Accusative Case was assigned either by the (V)erb or a (P)reposition to their complements (head-complement configuration) under government as defined in (69) below.

69 **Government** (taken from Haegeman (1991 ; 160)

A governs B if and only if

a. A is a governor;

b. A m-commands B;

c. No barrier intervenes between A and B.

where

d. governors are the lexical heads (V, N, P, A) and tensed I;

e. maximal projections are barriers.

There is also the Case Filter, which ensures that all DPs/NPs are assigned abstract case in a derivation before moving on to the LF/PF interfaces[13].

I present this short account of case assignment in GB to facilitate the understanding of case assignment mechanism within the Minimalist Program better, which is discussed in the next section below.

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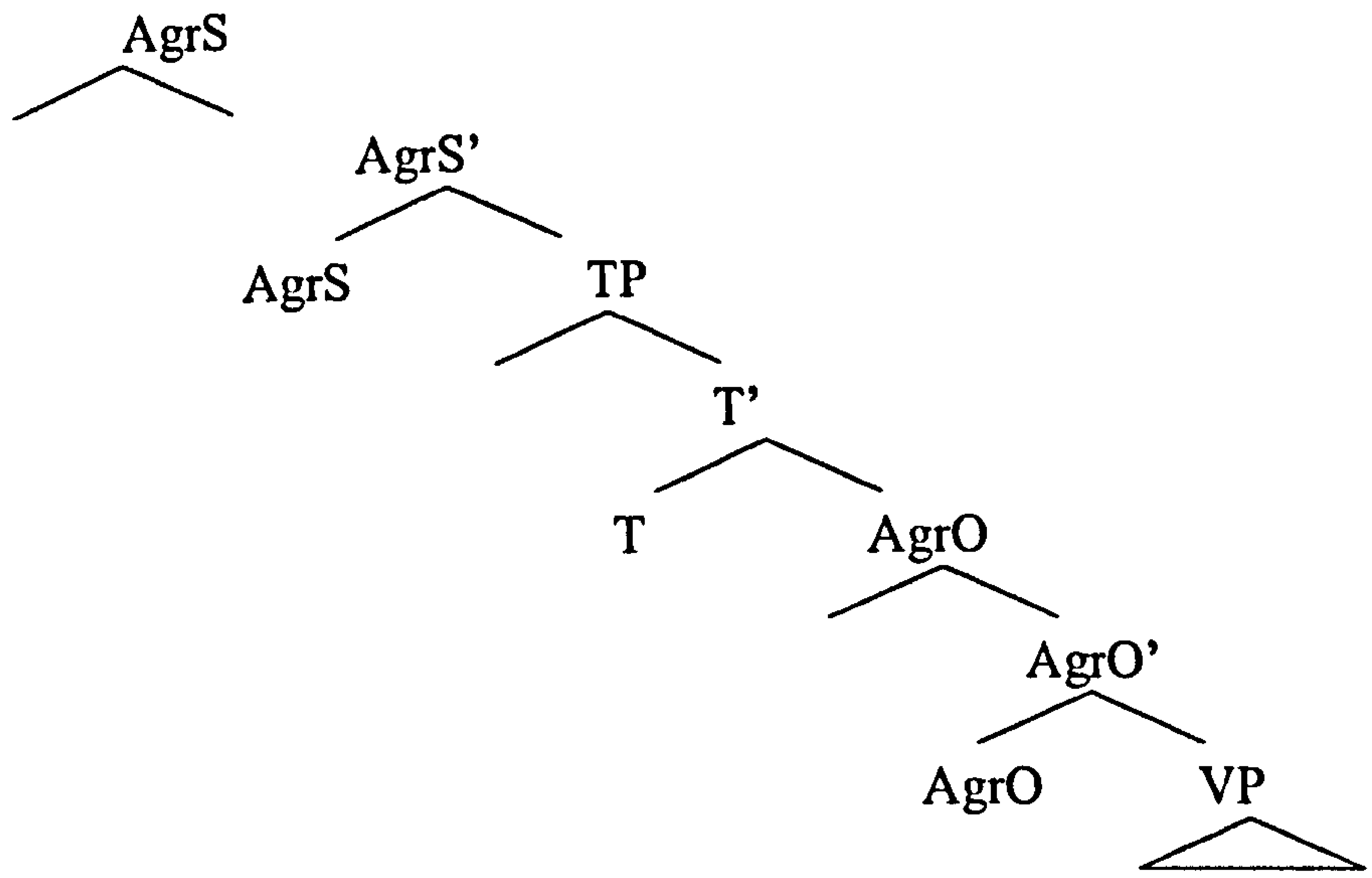
[13] Readers are directed to the work of Haegeman (1991) and the references therein for a detailed account of case assignment in the GB framework.

4.2 *Case Assignment in the Minimalist Program*

Since this thesis is written within the framework of the Minimalist Program model, it is only appropriate to discuss how case assignment proceeds within this model in details. One of the major features of the Minimalist Program is the lack of both DS and SS representations. This implied that the case theory had to be reformulated or accounted for in the absence of a two level representation. Consequently, the Minimalist Program implements case theory in terms of feature-checking mechanism. In the earliest version of Minimalism, case was checked under the Spec-head configuration only, whereby all structural cases were checked in a similar fashion, essentially. This resulted in Accusative Case assignment becoming parallel to the Nominative Case assignment—both presuppose moving a DP/NP into the specifier of a functional head. This could be achieved by reforming the clause structure by adding some more functional heads. Following Pollock's (1989) seminal work on French and the split-INFL hypothesis, Chomsky (1995: chapter 2) presented the new clause structure with a split -INFL as in (70)[14]

[14] This tree is taken from Hornstein et al (2005; 119)

70



With this modified version of the clause structure, both nominative and Accusative Cases could be checked in the Spec-head configuration. Case in the minimalist program is formally thought of as a feature on the NP and as a feature on the functional head that will check against the matching [CASE] feature of the NP. Thus, the subject and the object NPs enter the derivation with a case feature each, [NOM] for the subject and [ACC] for the object. In both the instances, the relevant DP/NP would move out of its original position (VP internal) into the Spec of the relevant AgrP. For Nominative Case, the subject will move into the Spec AgrSP, and for accusative, the object would move into the Spec AgrOP. This renders the checking of structural cases in a similar way.

It is these formal features like [CASE] that trigger the movement of a category hosting such a feature. With features came the notion of strong vs weak features. Strong features are checked by overt movement in the syntax, whereas weak features are checked covertly, that is, checking after Spell-out in the LF interface. The most commonly cited example of strong vs weak feature in the literature comes from the English language. The [D] feature on AgrS is considered to be a strong feature because it results in the overt movement of the subject DP/NP (that hosts a [CASE] feature) to the

Spec of AgrSP for the Nominative Case checking. On the other hand, the [D] feature on the AgrOP is a weak feature because it does not trigger the overt movement of the object DP/NP into the specifier of the AgrOP for Accusative Case checking. A derivation can crash at PF/LF interfaces if a strong feature remains unchecked and/or undeleted.

Chomsky in the later versions of the minimalist program (1998, 2000) dispenses with the notion of strong versus weak features, and replaces them with interpretable (i) and uninterpretable (u) features. Interpretable features are those which contribute towards the semantic interpretation of the lexical item. Uninterpretable features are those which do not play any role in the semantic interpretation of the lexical item. Hence, interpretable features enter the derivation as already valued, whereas uninterpretable features need values. Interpretable features can enter into multiple checking because they are not checked and/or deleted. It is the uninterpretable features that need to be valued in syntax as its value determines how it is pronounced when the derivation gets to the PF interface. Subsequently the valued uninterpretable feature can get deleted when the derivation proceeds to the LF interface to converge. If an uninterpretable feature remains unvalued at the LF interface then it causes violation of the Full Interpretation. Thus, within the structure, a functional head with an uninterpretable feature looks for an appropriate phrase which hosts the compatible interpretable feature that can assign a value to the uninterpretable feature. There are two options for valuing these uninterpretable features. The first option is valuing through movement which is in accordance with the Last Resort principle in (71) of the Minimalist Program.

71 **Last Resort** (Hornstein et al 2005)

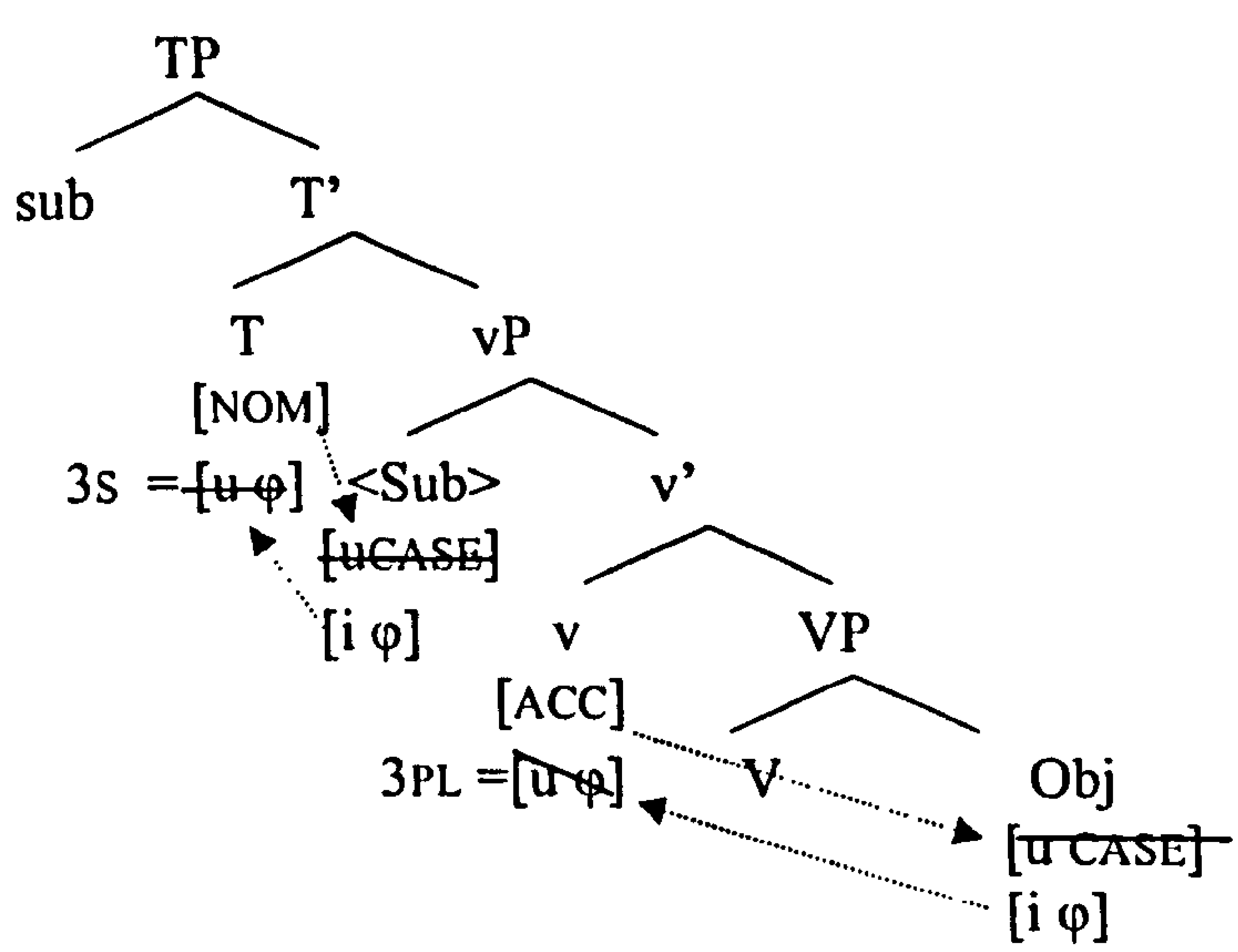
A movement operation is licensed only if it allows the elimination of the [-interpretable] formal features.

This movement creates the required Spec-head relation for the feature checking or valuing. Once these features are valued they are deleted from the syntax, and the derivation proceeds to the LF and PF interfaces for convergence. The second option for valuing the uninterpretable features is via the Agree relation. The Agree relation holds between a Probe (a head that has an uninterpretable feature) and a Goal (a constituent that has the corresponding interpretable feature). The probe looks for a goal in its c-command domain to get its uninterpretable features valued and deleted for the LF interface and for morphological things like case. The goal can enter into a Agree relation with probe only if (i) it has at least one uninterpretable feature, and (ii) it does not violate the relativized minimality (Rizzi 1990) that is, there is no other intervening category with the matching interpretable features between the probe and the goal.

Under the Agree approach morphological case on the NPs is seen as a trade off where the interpretable phi-features of the NP value the uninterpretable phi- features of the case assigner. And the case assigner values the uninterpretable [CASE] feature of that NP. For example, in the following sentence the subject NP is in nominative and the object NP is in the Accusative Case. I will now show how these cases are assigned under the Agree approach schematically in (73).

72 He likes them

73



Starting with the Accusative Case, the little v has a set of uninterpretable [φ] features, thus it is a probe searching for a goal with the matching interpretable [φ] features in its c-commanding domain. The object NP is an appropriate goal as it has the matching interpretable [φ] features and it also has an uninterpretable [case] feature that needs to be valued. Thus the requirements mentioned in the earlier discussion for the Agree relation are satisfied, and the little v and the object NP enter into Agree. This matching results in the valuing (3PL) and deletion of the uninterpretable [φ] features on the little v. And the uninterpretable [CASE] feature on the object is valued (and deleted for the LF) as the morphological Accusative Case.

Similarly, the T head carries a set of uninterpretable [φ] features that have to be valued and deleted for the LF interface. The T head acting as a probe looks for a matching goal in its c-commanding domain. The subject NP is the only accessible goal with the matching interpretable [φ] features. The subject NP additionally has an uninterpretable [CASE] feature that needs to be valued and deleted. Thus the two enter into an Agree relation. Due to this matching of features under Agree, the uninterpretable [φ] features of the T head are valued (3S) and subsequently deleted. Morphologically this surfaces on the verb. The uninterpretable [CASE] feature on the subject NP also gets valued as the morphological Nominative Case, and is later deleted for the LF interface.

With this brief background in the case assignment within the minimalist program, I will now show how case assignment and agreement work in Marathi.

5 AGREEMENT IN MARATHI

Marathi agreement facts are in tune with the agreement facts from other Indic languages like Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, and Dravidian languages like Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. There are two general characteristics of agreement in the Indic languages. The first one is that the verb agrees with an NP/DP, which bears no overt case marking or any postposition however in Gujarati a lexically case marked object can trigger agreement unlike Marathi or Hindi-Urdu (Mistry 1997). The second characteristic of these languages is that agreement is not restricted to subject NP/DPs alone. Direct objects and adjectives can also enter into verbal agreement (Butt 2001, Joshi 1993, Gair and Wali 1988, Mahajan 1990, Mistry 1997, Pandharipande 1997, Subbarao 2001, Wali 2004, 2005). Butt (2001) also mentions some other important features of South Asian languages, which are crucial to any theory that discusses agreement. I will mention two of them here; (i) South Asian languages allow non-nominative subjects, (ii) some of the South Asian languages show split-ergativity. These facts are true of Marathi as already discussed in the previous sections.

5.1 Some previous analysis on agreement in South Asian languages

5.1.1 Gair and Wali (1989)

In this short paper Gair and Wali argue that the agreement facts in the South Asian languages call into question the AGR in INFL based account of the verbal agreement. They look at Hindi, Marathi and Colloquial Sinhala. They argue for the following things in this paper: (i) that verbal agreement cannot be universally accounted for by the AGR element in the INFL because object agreement found in Indo-Aryan languages becomes problematic (ii)to account for the verbal agreement found in these languages they propose another type of agreement which they refer to as the anaphoric agreement *agr* in addition to the AGR, (iii) that languages can either have one or both or neither of these agreements, and (iv) the existence of AGR is not necessarily associated with the surface verbal agreement.

According to Gair and Wali this anaphoric *agr* element accompanies verbal inflections like aSpect and tense in Hindi and Marathi. It is co-indexed with a c-commanding antecedent in the IP=S. This co-indexing takes place after surface case is realized at S-structure. They present the following conditions for verbal agreement in Hindi and Marathi:

a. Agreement element is always with a direct case nominal within the minimal IP.
b. The agreement-controlling nominal will be an argument of the verb included in its

theta grid.

c. The agreement- controlling NP always C commands the verbal forms that show agreement.

d. If there is more than one C commanding NP within IP, agreement is with the one highest in the tree, which we refer to as the maximally c-commanding NP.

Within their system *agr* is different from AGR as it does not have any case assigning properties. According to them Marathi makes use of both AGR and *agr*. I will come back to this in section 7.

5.1.2 Mahajan (1990) on Hindi

Following Pollock (1989) and the pre-minimalist theory, Mahajan in this work argues that structural case and agreement are linked in a particular way. He is assuming a head final structure for the Hindi clause with the functional projections of AgrSP above the TP and the AgrOP above the VP. The basic idea is that the structural case is assigned to NPs in Spec AgrS and Spec AgrO. Thus the NPs move from their base positions to these positions for the case requirement. For subject agreement as in (74) where the auxiliary (based generated in T) is also agreeing with the subject, the main verb is in imperfective form in such cases. He argues that the main verb assigns a structural case to the object (*rotii*) in the VP internal position. Therefore it does not need to move outside of the VP to receive any structural case. The subject NP has to move to Spec TP and then further to Spec AgrSP where it receives the structural case in the Spec-head relationship.

74 Raam rotii khaataa thaa
R-M bread-F eat-IMP.M be-PAST-M
'Ram (habitually) ate bread.'

According to him both nominative, assigned to the subject, and accusative, assigned to the object, in Hindi are unmarked as can be seen in (74) above. The auxiliary which he assumes is based generated in T also moves to the AgrS head. This would explain the auxiliary agreeing with the subject. As for the subject agreeing with the main verb, he assumes that the subject moves to Spec TP via Spec AgrOP, and just by moving through this position, the subject shows agreement with the main verb. Notice that trace of the subject in the Spec AgrOP is not assigned any structural case by the AgrO head. It is assigned to the head of the chain which is the Spec AgrSP position where the subject finally surfaces.

Like Marathi, Hindi also shows object agreement as indicated by the example given below.

75	Raam-ne	rotii	khaayii
	R-M-ERG	bread-F	eat-PERF.F
	'Ram ate bread.'		

He assumes the same head final structure for the object agreement cases as well. The main difference between this and subject agreement is that the main verb is in perfect participle form when there is object agreement. He argues that the perfect participle form is a non-case assigner therefore this blocks the verb from assigning any structural case to the object. Consequently, the object has to move to get case from somewhere. It moves into Spec AgrOP to receive case from the AgrO head. With regards to the case on the subject that is not a issue as he is assuming that subjects in such cases are inherently case marked, and thus do not have to move out of the VP to receive any structural case.. In this particular example the subject is inherently case marked as ergative. The subject which is inherently case marked in such clauses has an option of moving out of VP to Spec TP as in (75) above or alternatively remain in-situ in clauses like (76).

76	rotii	Raam-ne	khaayii
	bread-F	R-M-ERG	eat-PERF.F
	'Ram ate bread.'		

The essence of his analysis is that the structural case assignment results in the movement of the relevant argument into a Spec AgrP position. He presents empirical evidence from adverbial interpretations that support this analysis. Readers are directed to the chapter-2 of his thesis for a detailed discussion of this. The analysis does explain the Hindi facts in a very neat manner. However, I will not be extending this analysis to Marathi as I argue for an AgrP less structure in this thesis. The analysis I present will have some similarities to Mahajan's analysis. It will become clearer that in my analysis objects move to a higher position but not to get case. This will be discussed in details in section 6.

5.1.3 Subbarao (2001)

The main focus of this paper is agreement in South Asian languages. In the paper he presents data from many languages and mentions their agreement facts. Since this thesis deals with an Indo-Aryan language, I will mention the data he provides from Indo-Aryan languages in the following example,

77 a. Ram ne larkii ko dekha (Hindi-Urdu)
R-ERG girl SPECIFICITY see-PAST-MS
'Ram saw the girl.'

b. kumaar- kku raajaav –aip piTikk um (Tamil)
Kumar DAT Raja ACC like NEUTER
'Kumar likes Raja.'

He points out that an Agree based account of the default verbal agreement found in these languages is problematic. In a nut shell, adopting the MP, in this paper, he shows that clauses with default agreement are problematic for an Agree based account, where an Agree relation is established between an active Goal and a Probe. In other words there are no NPs entering into agreement with the tensed verb in such clauses. Clearly when the subject and the object are both overtly case marked, there is no other available active goal (with an uninterpretable feature) that the probe can seek, and subsequently move it into the specifier position (of the probe). In such cases, then Agree relation cannot hold. He argues that default agreement is checked with a null Goal. The operation Agree with the null Goal deletes the phi-features of T under this approach. In my approach, default agreement is considered as a default rule that gets activated when both the NPs are cased marked. It values the phi-features on T. This will become clearer when the analysis is discussed with the relevant data in the following section.

6 MY ANALYSIS OF CASE AND AGREEMENT IN MARATHI

It has been shown that Nominative Case has a privileged relation to agreement in many languages. For example, Marathi (Gair & Wali 1989, Joshi 1993), Hindi/Urdu (Davison 2003, Mahajan 1990, Subbarao 2001) & Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1996). In this section I will present data that shows different combinations of case marked NPs with different grammatical function in a clause

The analysis that is being developed in this thesis is based on certain conditions or rules under which case assignment and agreement occurs in Marathi. Following Chomsky, I assume that functional heads assigns structural case. Accordingly Nominative Case is assigned by T, and Accusative Case is assigned by the light verb v in Marathi. The rules are stated below in (78). This is followed by a discussion of these rules with the relevant data.

78 The rules on case assignment and agreement

(1) Nominative case is assigned to a NP/DP that values the phi- features of T. If no such NP/DP is available then they are valued by the default agreement(3sn)

(2) *Accusative case is assigned by the little v to object DPs, which are marked [+human] and/or [+definite].*

(3) *Default case generalization: If a NP/DP in a clause does not get any case from T or little v or does not even have any inherent case like Ergative or Dative then that NP/DP gets the default value of Nominative case.*

(4) *If there is more than one Nominative NP within a clause then the verb agrees with the subject NP.*

(5) *In the absence of a nominative NP the verb takes the default agreement marking of 3sn.*

Notice that these generalizations are very descriptive, but they are structured within the theoretical framework of the Minimalist Program. These generalizations become more transparent when we take a look at the data reflecting agreement facts of Marathi. There seems to be a two-way relationship between the NP/DP and the relevant functional head. The data suggests that case and agreement cannot be treated independent of each other in Marathi.

In the following subsections I will present some data to illustrate the functioning of these case generalizations mentioned in the earlier paragraph. I have divided the clauses into various types depending on the case endings on the subject and object NPs. These are not grammatical divisions or formal clause types in the language. This is done for two reasons. Firstly, it simply facilitates the understanding of how these generalizations work in the derivation, and secondly it is an attempt to make the data holistic by capturing the possible combinations of constructions found in the language. I will start with nominative-nominative type of constructions first.

6.1 Nominative- Nominative constructions

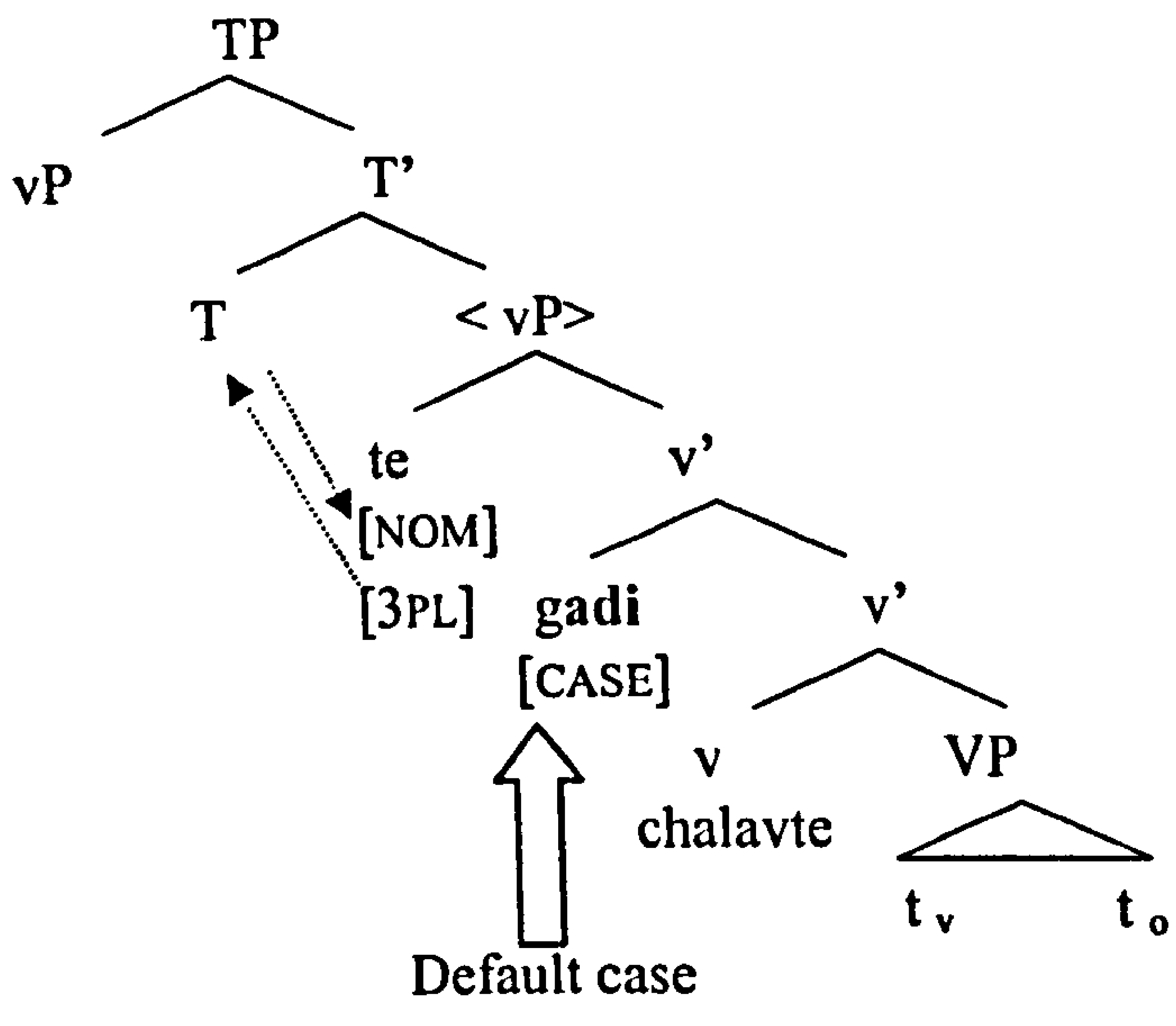
In this type of construction (79), (80) and (81) both the subject and the object are case marked for nominative. As mentioned in section 4, Nominative Case has zero marking in Marathi. The highlighted bits in the sentence show the agreement.

79	**to**	patr	**lih-t-o**
	3.S.M-NOM	letter-NOM	write-PRES-3.S.M
	'He writes a letter.'		
80	**ti**	patr	**lih-t-e**
	3.S.F-NOM	letter-NOM	write-PRES-3.S.F
	'She writes a letter.'		
81	**Te**	gadi	**chalav-t-at**
	3.PL- NOM	car-NOM	drive-PRES-3.PL
	'They drive the car.'		

In all the three instances above, the subject NP is agreeing with the verb. This exemplifies the fact mentioned in the earlier section that verbs agree with the morphologically unmarked NPs, a common feature in the Indic languages. However, what is important to note here is that in this particular case there are two unmarked NPs available (the subject and the object), both of which can technically enter into agreement with the verb. Clearly, it is the subject NP that wins over the object and enters into the agreement with the verb. This is no longer a problem for my analysis here as the application of the rule in 78(4) of the proposed rules takes care of it.

I will now illustrate how the subject NP in the examples above receives Nominative Case through the application of the rules in (78). Take the sentence in (81), whose structure is given in the following tree diagram (82)

82



Prior to the Nominative Case assignment and subsequent agreement the following movements have occurred in the derivation of this clause. The object is merged with the main verb V to project the VP. Little v is the next category to be merged with the subject merged in the higher Spec of little vP. The object moves from VP into the lower Spec of vP due to the [EPP] on the little v. After T is merged and the TP is formed, the subject NP in the structure is the closest NP available with interpretable phi-features therefore it values the uninterpretable phi-features of T thus checking the [uΦ] on the T head. By entering into an agree relation with the T head, the subject NP gets its [CASE] feature valued as nominative from T, as per the generalization for Nominative Case in (78). This Agree relation is spelled out as the morphological agreement present on the verb at PF. Thus we notice the two way relationship between case assignee and the assigner.

However, the object NP also needs to get its [CASE] feature valued else the derivation would crash at the LF/PF interfaces. As indicated the object NP in this case is also assigned Nominative Case. However it cannot receive its case from T as there are no more uninterpretable phi-features on the T that need to be checked. And there is no other Nominative Case assigner left in the clause. Therefore the derivation resorts to the default case generalization in (78). It assigns Nominative Case to the object NP as mentioned earlier. Finally the vP moves to Spec TP due to the [EPP] on the T.

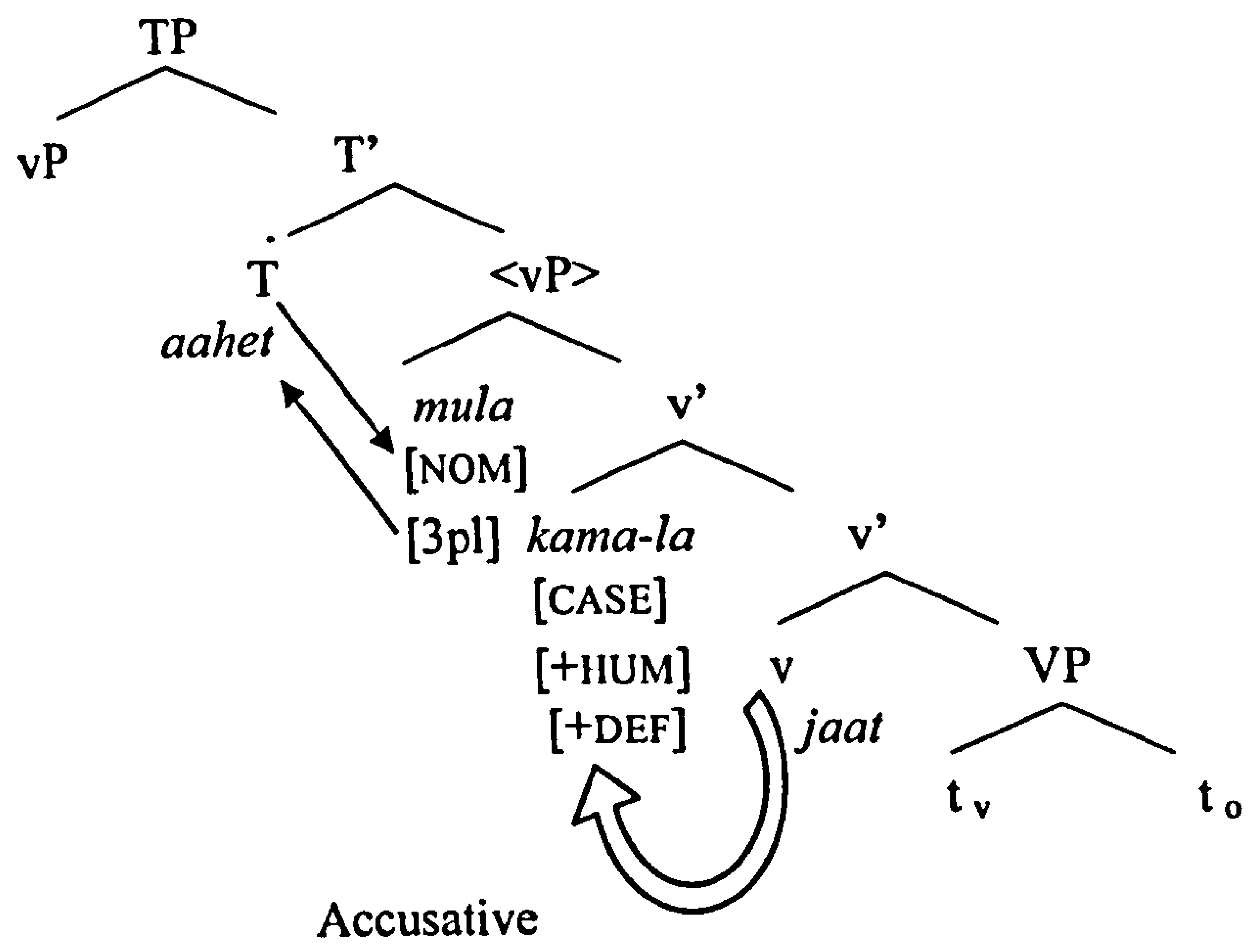
6.2 Nominative – Accusative constructions

Next I look at cases where the subject is marked for Nominative Case and the object is marked for the Accusative Case. Some examples are given below

83	**to**	dzad-la	kaap-t-o	
	3.S.M-NOM	tree-ACC	cut-PRES-3.S.M	
	'He cuts the tree.'			
84	**ti**	kama-la	ge-l-i	
	3.S.F-NOM	work-ACC	go-PAST-3.S.F	
	'She went to work.'			
85	**Mula**	kama-la	jaat	**aahet**
	Boys-NOM	work-ACC	go-IMPF	be-PRES-3.PL
	'Boys are going to work.'			

The nominative NP, which is the unmarked subject, is entering into agreement with the verb. This means that as per our generalization, it is this NP that is valuing the phi-features on the T head. And consequently, getting its [CASE] feature valued as nominative in the same manner as described for the nominative- nominative type clauses above. This valuing of the phi-features of the T head result in morphological agreement appearing on the main verb in (83) and (84). However in (85) the morphological agreement shows up on the auxiliary occupying the T head. Following is the tree diagram for this example.

86



In the above example, the verb is marked for imperfective aspect, hence little v has a [ASP] feature which is spelled out as imperfective at the PF. Once the Accusative Case is assigned the vP will then move into the lower Spec of TP due to the [EPP] on the T and this would result in deriving the right word order.

Before discussing how Accusative Case is assigned in such cases, some discussion of the difference assumed between NP and DP in this thesis is in order. The readers would have noticed that the generalization for Accusative Case assignment mentions DPs and not NPs suggesting that this difference is crucial to the Accusative Case assignment. The sentences below (87) to (90) are of particular interest as they show that definiteness and/or humanness are very crucial features for NPs in Marathi. In (87) the subject NP is lexically case marked for ergative so that does not require any additional computation in terms of case assignment. It is the object NP that is valuing the phi-features of T thus agreeing with the verb, hence is assigned Nominative Case as per the generalization. However, notice that with the same verb in (88) the object NP is getting Accusative Case assigned contrary to (87). The only difference here is in terms of the interpretation. The Accusative Case is rendering the object in (88) definiteness whereas the object in (87) is understood as a non-definite item.

87 Ram-ni palang sarkva-l-a
R-ERG bed-NOM-3.S.M move-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram moved a bed.'

88 Ram-ni palang-la sarkva-l-ə
R-ERG bed-ACC/DAT move-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram moved the bed.'

Similarly the examples in (89) and (90) illustrate that the feature humanness is also sensitive to case assignment. In both (89) and (90) the verb has to assign accusative to its object otherwise the derivation fails to converge (or fails the Full Interpretation) at the LF and PF interfaces. The example in (90) is ungrammatical because the object NP is not Accusative Case marked.

89 Anu-ni Ram-la orkha-l-ə
A-ERG R-ACC/DAT recognize-PAST-3.S.N
'Anu recognized Ram.'

90 *Anu-ni Ram orkha-l-ə
A-ERG . R recognize-PAST-3.S.N
'Anu recognized Ram.'

The obvious question is –why is it the case that the same verb can assign accusative to some objects and not to others? Nevin and Anand (2003) attempt to answer this by postulating that perfective little v is defective, incapable of assigning the Accusative Case. However if this is the case, then one needs to explain why the little v is defective in cases like (87) but not in (88). I abandon the defective v theory, and based on the facts from the data in (87)-(90), I argue that the Accusative Case assignment is sensitive to one or both of these semantic features: [+/- HUMAN] and/or [+/-DEFINITE]. This is captured in the Accusative Case generalization in 78(2) mentioned in the beginning of this section. According to the data, I define DPs as nominal phrases that are either marked [+/- DEFINITE], [+/- HUMAN] or both. On the other hand all other nominal phrases that lack either definite or human feature are regarded as NPs. Thus, the contrast in (87) and (88) is explained smoothly if we were to assume this definition of DPs

Finally coming back to the Accusative Case assignment in the original example in (85) the object is inherently marked with the feature [+DEF], and this feature establishes the object as a DP. Once this is done, little v assigns the Accusative Case to the object in accordance with the Accusative Case generalization in (78).

6.3 Ergative –Nominative constructions

The third type of construction that I present here is ergative-nominative type. These are the interesting cases as the subject NP is in the ergative case and the object NP is in the Nominative Case.

91	tyani	**nadi**	pahi-l-i
	he-ERG	river-NOM	see-PAST-3.S.F
	'He saw a river.'		

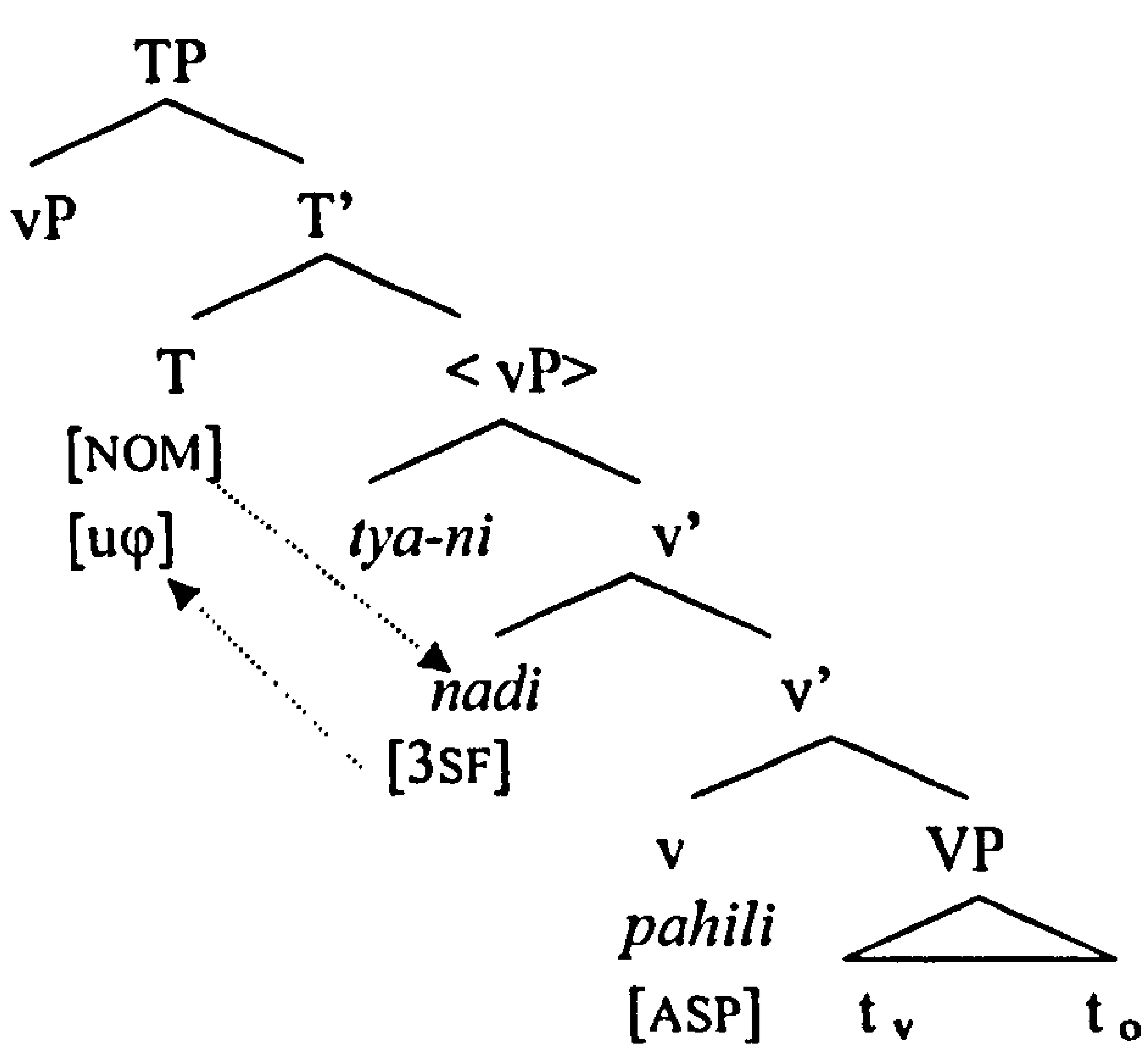
92	Ram-ni	**kapade**	dhut-l-e
	R-ERG	cloth-3.PL.M	wash-PAST-3.PL.M
	'Ram washed clothes.'		

93	Tini-ni	**gadi**	chalav-l-i
	T-ERG	car-NOM-3.S.F	drive-PAST-3.S.F
	'Tini drove a car.'		

As mentioned in section 2 in the chapter, Marathi shows ergativity in past tense/perfective aspect only. Recall no overtly case marked NPs can enter into agreement with the verb in Marathi. Therefore the ergative subjects in the above examples cannot agree with the verb. However, it is clear that the objects are agreeing with the verbs in all of the three examples (as is the case in ergative constructions). This implies that the objects must be assigned Nominative Case. With the help of a derivation, I will show that this Nominative Case is not assigned via the default case generalization. At the same time, this also raises the question as to why these are not getting Accusative Case from the main verb ? The reason being that the object is not a DP marked for either [+HUMAN] or [+DEFINITE] or both features in these examples. Hence they do not fulfil the requirements for the Accusative Case assignment.

The derivation of such clauses is discussed next with a tree diagram for the example given in (91). The subject NP in this case is inherently marked for ergative case and it will be assigned the ergative case as discussed in section 3.2 on the ergative case assignment.

94



From the numeration, the object NP *nadi* first merges with the V head *pahili* to form the VP. Next the little v is merged in the structure which projects the vP. Recall this vP has multiple specifiers, the higher Spec position hosts the subject NP *tyan-ni*. This little v has a [ASP] feature which is realized as perfective in this case. The object NP which has interpretable [φ] features and an uninterpretable [CASE] feature then moves from VP internal position to the lower Spec vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v, and additionally it values the uninterpretable [φ] features on the little v. Thereby deleting those uninterpretable features for the LF. Notice that the uninterpretable [CASE] feature of the object NP is still not valued. It has to be assigned a value and deleted else the derivation crashes at the LF interface. Next the T head is merged in the derivation projecting the TP. There is a set of uninterpretable [φ] features and a [NOM] case feature on the T head. The T- head acting as a probe looks for a goal with matching interpretable [φ] features in the c-commanding domain to enter into an Agree relation. The subject cannot enter into Agree as there are no uninterpretable features on the subject to be valued. However the object NP still has its unvalued [CASE] feature, thus it enters into Agree with the T –head and vales the uninterpretable [φ] features on the T-head as [3SF]. As a consequence of the Agree relation, the object is assigned Nominative Case, and the valuing of the phi-features on the T-head result in the agreement showing morphologically on the main verb. Notice that in this case the interpretable phi-features of the object NP are valuing the two sets of the uninterpretable phi-features. I am assuming that this is possible as the interpretable features are never deleted.

6.4 Ergative- Accusative type

The fourth type of construction that is presented below is the type where the subject is in the ergative case and the object is in the Accusative Case. The following are some examples of the Ergative-Accusative type;

95 tya-ni nadi-la pahi-l-ə
3.S.M-ERG the river-ACC see-PAST-3.S.N
'He saw the river.'

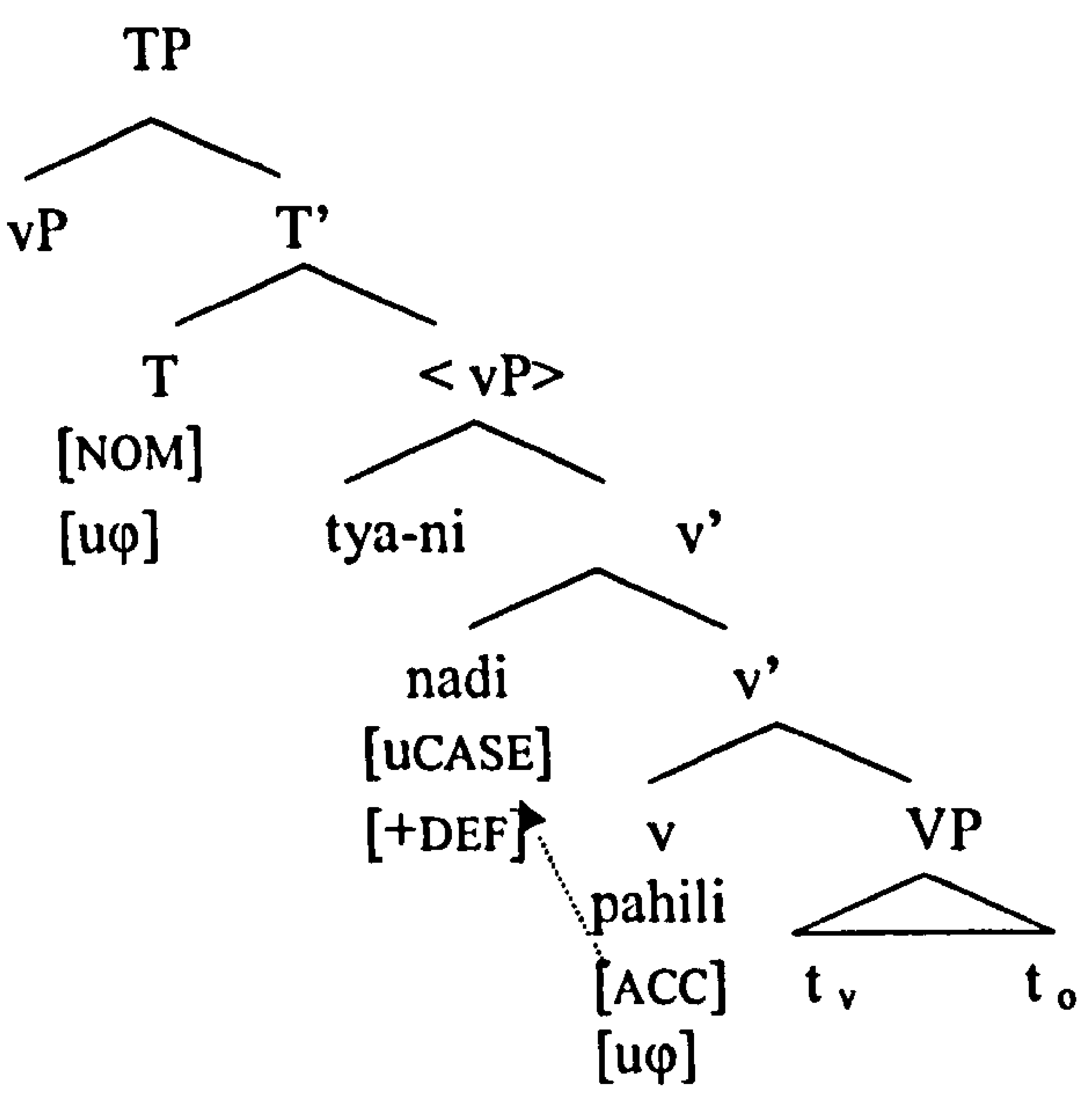
96 Ram-ni pustakan-la jhaget thev-l-ə
R-ERG books-ACC place-in keep-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram kept the books in place.'

97 mi patr-la vaccha-l-ə
1.S-ERG letter read-PAST-3.S.N
'I read the letter.'

In the example in (97) the subject is covertly marked for ergative. Recall this is not a nominative marked NP as it is not agreeing with the verb as indicated by the glosses. In fact in all of the above examples both the subject NP and the object NP are overtly/ covertly case marked, and hence they are blocked from agreeing with the main verb. The verb is getting a default value of 3SN in such cases.

With the help of the following tree diagram for the sentence in (95), I will illustrate how the derivation proceeds and its interaction with the generalizations given in (78) for such cases.

98



From the numeration the verb and the object NP are merged to project the VP. Little v is the next category to be merged and resulting in the vP projection with multiple specifiers. The subject NP inherently marked for the ergative case is originating in the higher Spec vP and is assigned the ergative case as discussed in section 3.2 of the chapter. The object moves to the lower Spec vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v head. Since the object here is specified for [+DEF] it can be assigned Accusative Case by the verb in the little v as per the generalization in (78). Thus, the uninterpretable [CASE] feature on the object DP is valued and consequently deleted. However, the uninterpretable [φ] features on the little v are still unvalued and therefore they are still visible at LF. Next T is merged with the structure projecting the TP. The [NOM] case feature is not getting assigned to any NP in this case. Since the subject NP is already case marked as ergative. There are no more NPs remaining with an uninterpretable [CASE] feature to be valued. However, the subject NP moves from the vP internal position to the Spec TP to check the [EPP] feature on the T. The major question is how are the uninterpretable [φ] features on the T head, and the little v are getting valued? They have to be deleted otherwise the derivation will not converge at the LF/PF interfaces. I argue that these features are getting a value from the default agreement rule that assigns 3sn to all the unvalued [φ] features in the derivation before it proceeds to the interfaces. As for the [NOM] feature on the T-head that can remain unassigned. This is similar to the suggestion made by Davison (2003) for Hindi-Urdu where T's [NOM] feature can remain unchecked and in Wali (2004) for Marathi.

6.5 Intransitive verbs

All the cases discussed so far are instances of transitive verbs. The familiar pattern of verbal agreement with unmarked NPs seen in the transitive verbs holds true for intransitive verbs (both unaccusative and unergative) as well. If the sole argument of the verb is unmarked (that is in Nominative Case or has no postpositions) then it enters into agreement with the verb otherwise it cannot agree with the verb. I discuss such cases in this section. The following are some examples.

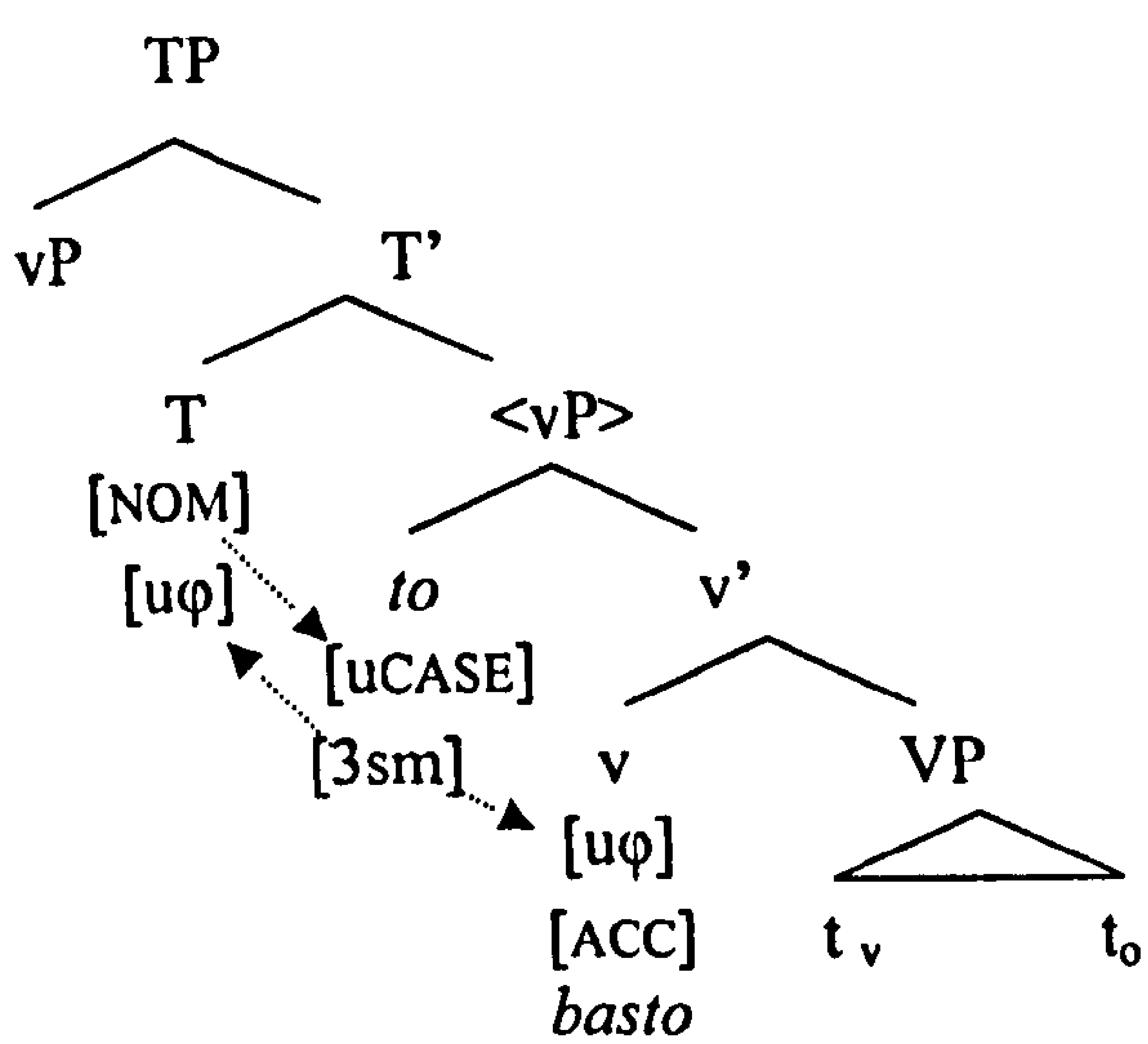
99	to	bas-t-o
	3.S.M-NOM	sit-PRES-3.S.M
	'He sits.'	

100 te dzop-t-at
3.PL sleep-PRES-3.PL
'They sleep.'

101 tu nacch-l-as
2.S dance-PAST-2.S
'You danced.'

The derivation of the sentence in (99) is shown in the corresponding tree diagram in (102) below.

102



In the above derivation, the intransitive verb projects the VP by merging with the sole argument. The little v is the next category to get merged with the VP. Recall this little v is intransitive hence it has no external theta role to assign. However it has a set of uninterpretable [φ] features, [EPP] and an [ACC] case feature. Thus, it acts as a probe and looks for a matching goal to delete its uninterpretable features. The NP complement of the main verb with the matching interpretable [φ] features is the only available active goal, and thus it enters into an Agree relation with the little v to value and subsequently delete the uninterpretable [φ] features. Additionally it moves into the specifier of the little vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v. Note that the uninterpretable [CASE] feature on the NP argument is still unvalued, and has to be deleted before the derivation proceeds to the LF interface. It cannot be assigned Accusative Case by little v as the object is not a DP. The main verb undergoes the obligatory movement from V position to the little v. Note the [ACC] feature of the little v remains unassigned but that is not a problem as it is not an uninterpretable feature that is requires to be deleted. Tense is the next category to be merged and is projected as the TP. The T head also has a set of uninterpretable [φ] features and a [NOM] case feature. To value its uninterpretable [φ] features, the T head probes for an appropriate goal in its c-commanding domain. Again the NP argument in the Spec vP is the only available active goal. Thus, the T-head and the NP argument establish an Agree relation. And T head in return values and deletes the uninterpretable [CASE] of the NP argument as nominative. Finally the vP moves into the Spec TP to check the [EPP] on the T-head resulting in the right surface order as seen in the tree diagram in (102) above.

In the absence of a nominative NP/DP that values and deletes the uninterpretable [φ] features on the T head, the default agreement generalization becomes active and values the feature as 3SN as illustrated below.

103 tya-ne dhaava-av-e (Wali 2004:ex 39)
he-ERG run-SUBJ-3SN
'He should run.'

The ergative on the subject NP here comes from the fact that the little v in this case as the feature [NEC] which ensures the assignment of the inherent ergative case, as per the generalization in section 3.2. This completes the discussion of my analysis on the case and agreement in the major clauses in Marathi. In the next section I discuss a special case of double agreement found in the language.

7 SECOND PERSON AGREEMENT: A SPECIAL CASE

Unlike other neighbouring Indic languages like Gujarati and Hindi, Marathi shows a special agreement with second person subjects. As mentioned in the previous section, Marathi shows both the subject agreement and the object agreement. Typically in the present tense, the subjects in Nominative Case agree with the verb. In the following sentences the subject NP agrees with the verb, which is marked for present tense. Notice that these facts have already been exemplified before however I repeat them again so that the special second person agreement facts can be viewed in light of the regular agreement facts.

104	Rajiv	ushira	dzopto
	R-NOM-3.S.M	late	sleep-PRES-3.S.M
	'Rajiv sleeps late.'		

105	Seema	aabhyas	karte
	S-NOM-3.S.F	study	do-PRES-3.S.F
	'Seema is studying.'		

106	muli	bhaji	chirtat
	girl-PL.F	vegetable	chop-PRES-3.PL.F
	'The girls chop a vegetable.'		

107	mi	pustak	vaachte
	1.S.F	book	read-PRES-1.S.F
	'I read a book.'		

In transitive clauses, the object enters into agreement with the verb when the subject is marked with an overt case marker or a postposition. The object agreement can be seen in both present and past tenses. For example:

108 Arun-ni sitar vaajavlə
A-ERG sitar-S.N play-PAST-S.N
'Arun played the sitar.'

109 Ajay-la chapati aawadte
A-ACC bread-S.F like-PRES-S.F
'Ajay likes chappati.'

110 Ram-chya-ni tela-chi barni phutli
R-EMPH-INS oil-of bottle-S.F break-PAST-S.F
'The bottle of oil was broken by Ram.'

111 Ti-chya-kadun paishe haravle
Her-EMPH-FROM money-PL.M loose-PAST-PL.M
'The money was lost from her.'

In the example (108) above the subject NP *Arun* is overtly case marked as ergative, and hence cannot get into agreement with the verb. Therefore the object *sitar* enters into agreement with the verb. With the example (109) the subject *ajay* is marked for Accusative Case whereas the object is covertly marked for nominative. Hence it agrees with the verb. For the sentence in (110) the subject *Ram* is overtly marked with possessive marker *–chya* in addition to the ergative case that bars it from entering into agreement with the verb. Consequently, the object *barni* enters into agreement with the verb. The final example (111) is where the subject is again overtly marked with the possessive and *–kadun* postpositions. Hence, the object agrees with the verb.

Apart from these familiar cases repeated above, Marathi shows Special agreement with second person. If we take a look at the present tense and past tense verbal paradigms below, we notice that 2nd person is the only person that has unique forms in both singular and plural number.

112 *aawadne 'to like'* Present tense conjugations

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st person		
Masculine	mi aawadto	amhi aawadto
Feminine	mi aawadte	,,
Neutral	mi aawadte	,,
2nd person		
Masculine	tu aawadtos	tumhi aawadta
Feminine	tu aawadtes	,,
Neutral	tu aawadtes	,,
3rd person		
Masculine	to aawadto	te aawadtat
Feminine	ti aawadte	,,
Neutral	te aawadtə	,,

113 *aawadne* 'to like' Past tense conjugations

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st person		
Masculine	mi aawadla	amhi aawadlo
Feminine	mi aawadli	,,
Neutral	mi aawadlə	,,
2nd person		
Masculine	tu aawadlas	tumhi aawadlat
Feminine	tu aawadlis	,,
Neutral	tu aawadləs	,,
3rd person		
Masculine	to aawadla	te aawadlat
Feminine	ti aawadli	,,
Neutral	te aawadlə	,,

From these two tables we can see that second person has an unique *–s* ending in singular This makes it marked in the paradigm. When a transitive verb is inflected for past tense, it is the object that typically enters into the agreement with the verb as seen above. However when the subject of a transitive verb, inflected for the past tense, is second person (singular) the verb in addition to object agreement also shows subject agreement. The verb agrees with the object in terms of person, number and gender, and additionally subject agreement is restricted to person and number alone in these instances.

These dual agreement constructions (see more examples below) have some interesting properties that are of a certain consequence to case assignment and agreement. The first property is that neither the subject nor the object NPs has an overt case ending. This leaves the possibility open that both NPs are nominative. Recall that it is the nominative NP that enters into agreement with the verb. The second observation is that the verb is inflected for the past tense, a condition that triggers object agreement with possibly ergative subjects.[15]

114	tu	poli	khal-l-i-s
	2.S	bread.S.F	eat-PAST-S.F-2.S
	'You ate a bread.'		

115	**tu	poli	khal-l-i-t
	2.S	bread.S.F	eat-PAST-S.F-2.PL
	'You ate a bread.'		

116	tu	polya	khal-l-e-s
	2.S	bread.PL.F	eat-PAST-PL.F-2.S
	'You ate breads.'		

[15] I use the word 'possibly' here as there could be non-ergative subjects in past tense with object agreement like;

Tini-la	mungli	chaav-l-i
T-ACC	ant-F.S	bite-PAST-F.S
Tini was bit by an ant'		

117	tumhi	poli	khal-l-i-t
	2.PL	bread.S.F	eat-PAST-S.F-2.PL
	'You (pl) ate a bread.'		

118	tumhi	polya	khal-l-e-t
	2.PL	bread.PL.F	eat- PAST-PL.F-2.PL
	'You (pl)ate breads.'		

119	**tumhi	polya	khal-l-e-s
	2.PL	bread.S.PL	eat-PAST-S.PL-2.S
	'You (pl) ate breads.'		

The second observation suggests that it is the object NP that is entering into agreement, within the analysis presented here, the object NP is valuing T's phi-features and the T head, in return, is valuing the object NP's [CASE] feature as nominative. This is indeed the case. If you look and compare the sentences (114), (116), (117), (118) you will notice that the verb form is changing according to the person-number-gender features of the object NP and not the subject NP. Therefore I conclude that in the dual agreement constructions, the object is assigned the Nominative Case as per the generalization discussed in section 6.

The fact that the subject NP has no overt case marking can imply that it is in Nominative Case, but I will show that these are not nominative subjects. By comparing the sentences in (116) with (118) and the sentence in (114) with (117) one can see that a change in the number of the subject NP does not affect the person-number-gender features bearing vowel (sandwiched between the past tense marker *–l* and the subject marking) in the verb form. However, the suffix marking the subject number changes in each case. This clearly indicates that these subjects are non-nominative NPs. There is also a second possibility that the subjects in this case are getting Nominative Case assigned by the default case generalization given in section 6. But this cannot be true as the verb in this case is marked for past tense and is interpreted with a perfective aspect reading conditions under which the ergative case assignment occurs, again strongly suggesting that these are in fact ergative pronouns but with a covert marking. The examples below in (120) and (121) each have a subject NP that is a lexical item with the overt *–ni* ergative marking. Compare this with the sentences in (114) and (116) where the subject NPs are pronouns with no overt marking. However, both the sets illustrate the same agreement pattern.

120	Ram-ni	poli	khal-l-i
	R-ERG	bread-S.F	eat-PAST-S.F
	'Ram ate bread.'		

121	Ram-ni	polya	khal-l-e
	R-ERG	bread-PL.F	eat-PAST-PL.F
	'Ram ate bread.'		

In the light of these facts, I argue that the subject NPs in these cases are ergative though covertly marked.

To account for these double agreement cases I argue that the T head has two set of uninterpretable phi-features on it. I will refer to them as the primary and the secondary phi-features. Of the two, it is the primary phi-features that are the crucial ones. These need to be valued and deleted in order for the derivation to converge at LF and PF interfaces. As has been shown in the earlier section, the primary uninterpretable phi-features are valued and subsequently deleted by the NP that has the corresponding interpretable phi-features by establishing an Agree relation. This results in the Nominative Case being assigned to that NP. Morphologically this is reflected as subject or object agreement on the main verb depending on the grammatical function of the NP.

It is the second or secondary set of uninterpretable phi-features that is the focus of this section. I argue in this thesis that these are valued and subsequently deleted only by

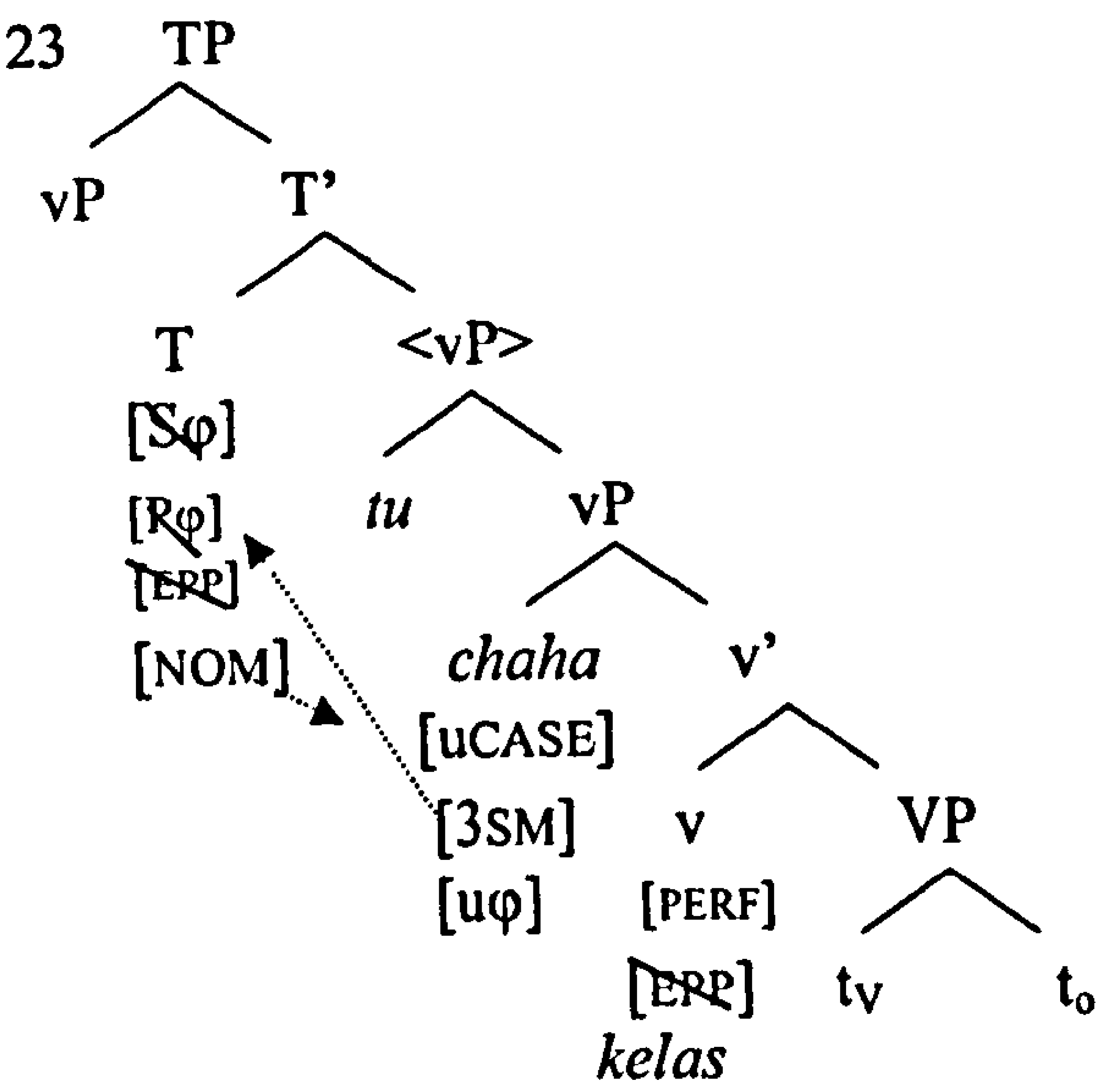
NPs that are second person and case marked as ergative. I will now show how the derivation of a sentence like (122) proceeds in the analysis presented here.

122	tu	chaha	kelas
	2.S	tea.S.M	do-PAST-3.S.M-2.S
	'You made tea.'		

The object *chaha* first merges with the verbal root *karne* to form the VP. The little v is the next functional category that merges with the VP to form a vP that has multiple specifiers. This little v has an [ASP] feature which is realized as perfective. The subject NP originates in the higher specifier of the vP. The Agent theta-role is assigned to the subject NP by the little v in this position. The object then moves from VP to the lower Spec of vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v as indicated in the tree diagram below. The verb at this stage moves from the V head to the little v. The little v head has a set of uninterpretable phi-features that need to be valued and subsequently deleted. Thus, it probes a goal with the matching interpretable phi-features in its c-commanding domain. The object is the only active goal to enter into an Agree with the little v and hence it values the uninterpretable features as [3SM]. The uninterpretable [CASE] feature of the object is not assigned any value at this stage. The object NP then moves into the Spec vP due to the [EPP] feature on the little v.. The Accusative Case of the little v remains unassigned as in some other cases discussed in section 6.1-6.5. The subject NP in the higher Spec vP is marked as [2P] and is in ergative case (covertly marked here).

The T head is the next functional category to get merged with the rest of the structure. This results in a TP projection.

123



The T-head has its primary and secondary sets of phi-features and a [EPP] features that need to be valued and subsequently deleted for the LF interface. Additionally it also has a [NOM] feature that will be assigned to a NP that enters into an Agree with the T head. The T head acts as a probe looking for an active goal with matching phi-features to value and delete its uninterpretable primary phi-features. The closest subject NP with the interpretable phi-features cannot be the goal as it does not have any uninterpretable features on it. The subject is inherently marked as ergative (though with a covert marking) thus it does not have any [uCASE] feature to be valued. The only active goal available is the object NP. The unvalued [uCASE] on the object NP makes it possible to enter into an Agree relation with the T head. As a consequence of the Agree the object NP receives Nominative Case from the T head and gets its [u CASE] feature valued. This takes care of the object agreement in these cases.

As for the uninterpretable secondary phi-features on the T head, I have supposed earlier that they can only be valued by an [2P] ergative NP. The subject NP in this case is in 2nd person and is covertly marked for the ergative case. Hence it can value and delete the uninterpretable secondary phi-features on the T head. If the second person is singular, this checking is realized as *–s* on the verb. The subject initial word order in the sentence is achieved via moving the vP in to the Spec TP to check the [EPP] on the T head.

The one question that arises with this theory of two sets of phi-features is-- what happens to these secondary set of phi-features in the sentences that do not have an ergative second person subject to check these features? See the examples below:

124	Raj-la	sardi	dza-l-i
	R-ACC/DAT	cold-S.F	happen-PAST-S.F
	'Raj had cold.'		

Before accounting for the secondary phi-features in such cases, let me go back to the primary phi features or the standard nominative agreement pattern. The rule for agreement is that nominative NPs enter into agreement with the verb, and any overt marking (case ending or postpositions) on the NP blocks agreement with the verb. See the example below:

125	Seema-ni	putakan-la	wika-l-ə
	S-ERG	book-ACC/DAT	sell-PAST-3.S.N
	'Seema sold the books.'		

In the above sentence, the subject NP is case marked for ergative. Similarly the object NP is also case marked for the accusative/dative case. Consequently, the default agreement, which is the 3SN, shows up on the verb. Within the theory developed in this thesis this is captured by assuming that the T's primary set of uninterpretable phi-features are valued by the default agreement value of 3SN that surfaces as the suffix *-ə* on the verb. It should be noted that this is a randomly selected value as there is no NP corresponding to the 3SN present in the actual sentence.

In line with this fact, it appears logical to argue that there is a default agreement for the secondary set of phi-features also. And it is this default value that checks the secondary set of phi-features on the T head in absence of an appropriate NP. So what is the value of this default agreement? I argue that there is a zero value hence it is not spelled out. This will value the secondary set of uninterpretable phi-features on the T head in cases like (124), (125) and in all the other instances where the subject NP is not second person ergative. Thus, we can conclude that there are two morphological rules that can be referred to as default rules that value and consequently delete the uninterpetable phi-features on the T head. These are formally generalized below.

126 *Primary Default Agreement*: When there is no nominative NP available within a sentence to check T's primary uninterpretable phi-features set, the primary default agreement values them with 3SN, which overtly surfaces as –ə suffix on the verb.

127 *Secondary Default Agreement:* When there is no second person ergative subject available within the sentence to value the T's secondary set of uninterpretable phi-features, the secondary default agreement values them with a zero or covert or null marking.

The option of resorting to the notion of default rules in a language is not just restricted to the syntax component of the UG but can also be seen in the phonology of a language. One phonological phenomenon where default rules are used extensively is that of vowel harmony. In simple words, vowel harmony is a process where all the vowels within a word become fully or partially similar due to an affix being added to a root, and the vowel of the affix spreads its features onto the vowels of the root, thereby making them similar. Some commonly cited examples of vowel harmony are in Turkish, Hungarian, Akan (Carr 1993). However, when a vowel in the root is not getting one of its features valued by feature-sharing then the value for that feature is provided by a default rule to avoid the derivation from crashing at the PF interface.

One drawback of pursuing this argument of positing two sets of phi-features on the T head and their corresponding default rules is that it does not make the derivation very economical, thus going against the principle of economy in the Minimalist Program.

The only other possibility of accounting for this would be to somehow show that these are Special cases and as a result their computation is completely different from the other constructions. That would make the second option more expensive one as it would involve learning an additional structure. Given that my analysis can be considered less expensive as it does not involve two different structures. The derivation proceeds in the same way for both dual agreement and non-dual agreement cases.

In the light of these arguments, I conclude that dual agreement constructions are not Special type of constructions. The only difference between these and the other constructions is that the valuing and subsequent deletion of the secondary phi-features of T surfaces overtly only in clauses with a second person as the subject.

8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have presented data that is concerned with the case system and its interaction with agreement. The presentation of the ergative facts in Marathi have revealed that ergativity in Marathi is an instance of morphological ergativity. I have also argued that ergative is an inherent case related to the agent theta role. The other major conclusion that emerged from the case facts is that Nominative Case assignment is linked with the agreement facts, and that these two cannot be treated as separate processes. This answers the question that was posed in the introduction of the chapter, that is, whether Nominative Case and agreement are related or not.

Following Kayne (1994) I assume that the basic word order for Marathi is SVO, I show the derivation of different clause types with stipulations regarding case and agreement. The basic analysis presented in the minimalist program to account for agreement is extended to Marathi in this thesis. Basically a functional head with uninterpretable features looks for a category in its c-commanding domain with matching interpretable features to establish an Agree relation to value the uninterpretable features.

I have also concluded that Accusative Case assignment under my analysis is sensitive to the difference between NPs and DPs in the language. A DP is a NP that is marked for either [+DEF] and/or [+HUM]. This captures the fact that the same verb can assign Accusative Case in some cases and not in others.

The last section in the chapter discusses the Special case where both the subject and the object enter into agreement in second person constructions. I refer to these as the dual agreement cases. My analysis concludes that even though the subject NP is not overtly cased marked, thése second person subjects are covertly marked ergative subjects. The subject agreement in these cases is accounted for by arguing for a second set of uninterpretable phi-features on the T head in addition to the regular uninterpretable phi-features on T (I have referred to these as primary phi-features). In the next chapter, I will discuss the syntax of negation in the language.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEGATION IN MARATHI

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with a detailed account of the syntax of negation in Marathi. I will compare the negation in Marathi with that of some other Indic-languages. What is meant by negation? Negation is a universal phenomenon that occurs in all natural languages. It is a simple syntactic operation by which speakers negate (or deny) a certain proposition expressed by the sentence. This can be done in a number of ways, in different languages. Most of the languages employ 'negative words' to express negation. In the following section, the basics facts concerning negation in Marathi will be discussed in details.

The category of negation has been one of the most widely studied linguistic aspects of language (Bhatt 2003, Haegeman 1994, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Holmberg 2003, Laka 1994, Mahajan 1990, Ouhalla 1990, Pollock 1989, Ramchand 2004, Zanuttini 1997 are a few of them). A lot of researchers have argued that negation should be treated like a functional projection as opposed to adjunction. If negation is considered as a functional category then its placement within the clause is the next issue that needs to be addressed. Linguists like (Zanuttini1997) argue that the position of the NegP within a clause is subject to parametric variation.

In a nutshell, I argue for a polarity phrase based account of negation , in this thesis, where polarity is a functional head that hosts the negation and projects is own phrase, PolP. The Marathi facts can be accounted for by postulating different varieties of the Pol head. Many other researchers have claimed that negation is a functional head that projects a NegP (Laka 1994, Zanuttini 1997, Bhatt 2003). According to the analysis developed here, negated items are raised to the Spec of this polarity phrase. This movement of the negated item is overt and is triggered by an [EPP] feature on the POL head. The details of the analysis will be discussed in the sections 6 and 7 of the chapter.

The advantage of this analysis is that it gets rid of labels like Constituent Negation (CN) and Sentential Negation (SN) by treating them as a 'single' phenomenon, consequently, making negation a very economical operation, which ties in well with the economy principle of the Minimalist Program

The organization of the chapter is as follows; section 2 describes the negation facts of Marathi in both finite and non-finite clauses. In section 3 there will be data presented from other Indic languages for a comparison. Constituent and sentential negation will be discussed in the section 4. Some previous analysis on negation will be discussed in section 5. The position of the negation marker within the clause will be discussed in section 6. Sections 7 and 8 will present my analysis. Negative polarity items and how they fit within the analysis developed here will be addressed in section 9. Section 10 gives a brief introduction on inherently negative words. The chapter ends with section 11 which is the conclusion.

2 BASIC FACTS ABOUT NEGATION IN MARATHI

Marathi makes use of two main strategies for negation (i) use of the negative particles and (ii) use of the negative auxiliary verbs. The following table gives examples of the two types of the negative words.

Table 1: negative markers in Marathi

Negative Particles	**Negative auxiliaries**
nahi 'no'	nahi 'do not do X'
na 'no'	naye 'should not do X'
nako 'no'	nawhe 'is not X'
	nako 'do not want X'

Note that both *nako* and *nahi*, the negative particles are homophonous with the negative auxiliaries *nako* and *nahi*. Even though, on surface there seems to be a striking resemblance between the negation facts in Hindi and of those in Marathi, there is still a crucial difference between the two: Hindi does not have negative auxiliaries like Marathi[1]. The relevant data from Hindi will be discussed again in section 3.3.

The so called negative auxiliaries are true auxiliaries as these can be inflected for person, number, and gender just like ordinary auxiliaries. The tables below shows the verbal paradigm for the negative auxiliary *nahi* 'not to be' in the present tense and the past tense. These paradigms make it clear that these are auxiliaries.

Table 2: *nahi* 'not to be' Present tense

	Singular	Plural
1st person	mi nahi	amhi nahi
2nd person	tu nahis	tumhi nahit
3rd person	to nahi	te nahit
	ti nahi	tya nahit
	te nahi	te nahit

Table 3: *nawhto* 'not to be' Past tense

	Singular	Plural
1st person	mi nawhto	amhi nawhto
2nd person	tu nawhtas	tumhi nahwtat
3rd person	to nawhta	te nahwte
	ti nawhati	tya nawhtya
	te nawhate	ti nawhtat

[1] It is very interesting to note that Marathi has these auxiliaries and Hindi does not. The two languages otherwise are very similar syntactically.

The other piece of evidence that supports the assumption that these are auxiliaries is the fact that these cannot co-occur with the ordinary auxiliary within a sentence, as illustrated by the following example:

1. *muli mandirat jaat aahet nahit
   girls temple-in go-IMPF be-PRES-3.PL NEG.AUX-3.PL
   'The girls are not going to the temple.'

In both traditional and modern descriptions (Bloch 1914, Bhatia 1995) it has been suggested both for Marathi and other Indic languages like Hindi and Sanskrit that the negative marker is a complex particle made by the combination of the negative particle *na* plus the auxiliary 'to be'. This could be true to some extent for the negative marker *nahi* which one can say is an amalgamation of *na* 'no' + *aahe* 'to be' = *nahi* in Marathi which is accompanied with some phonological process that changes the vowel 'e' to 'i'. However this generalization does not capture the fact that there is number, person, gender agreement showing on *nahi* (as can be seen in the paradigms above) if it is considered to be a complex particle. If these are treated as complex particles then one would have to claim that these are not 'auxiliaries' rather they behave like 'auxiliaries' for some unclear reason. Contra this assumption I argue that these are 'negative auxiliaries' that are stored as lexical items in the mental lexicon. The empirical evidence in support for this argument comes from the fact that Marathi has other negative auxiliaries in addition to '*nahi*' (see the list in the Table 1 above) and they all show person/number/gender agreement. Besides, not all of these can be easily divided into the 'na + aux' formula. Unlike '*nahi*' there are no corresponding 'affirmative' auxiliaries for '*nako*' or '*nahwe*' or '*naye*' auxiliaries. This is not ground breaking data nonetheless it does point in the direction that these are best treated as auxiliaries than as particles syntactically combined with an auxiliary.

Marathi also distinguishes between two types of negation; constituent negation and sentential negation. The details of these will be discussed in section 4. For now, it is enough to mention that sentential negation uses the negative auxiliaries whereas for constituent negation both negative particles and the negative auxiliaries can be used.

2.1 Negation in finite clauses

Marathi allows negation in all the three tenses; present, past and future. Following are some examples;

2. Ram | criket | khelat | nahi
   R | cricket | play-IMPF | NEG.AUX
   'Ram does not play cricket.'

3. Ram-ni | kriket | khel-la | nahi
   R-ERG | cricket | play-PERF | NEG.AUX
   'Ram did not play cricket.'

4. Ram | kriket | khelnaar | nahi
   R | cricket | play-FUT | NEG.AUX
   'Ram will not play cricket.'

The example (2) is an instance of negation in present tense, (3) is negation in past tense and the example in (4) is an instance of negation in future tense.

As mentioned in the earlier section, in finite sentences, Marathi can either use the negative particles or the negative auxiliaries for negating a sentence. The negative particles are typically used as answers to questions. The examples below illustrate this point[2].

---

[2] Recall that both the negative auxiliary *nahi* and the negative particle *nahi* are homophonous.

5. Tini shaly-at geli ka?
   T school-in go-PAST-3SF Q[3]
   'Did Tini go to school?'

   nahi /*nako
   NEG (PART)
   'no'

6. tu kapade dhutles ka?
   you cloths wash-PAST Q
   'Did you wash the clothes?'

   nahi / *nako
   NEG(PART)
   'No'

Of the two negative particles (*nahi* and *nako) nahi* is the more commonly used. It is clear from the examples in (5) and (6) above that the usage of *nako* is more restricted. The meaning of *nako* can be translated as 'do not want X'. In the following example (7) both *nako* and *nahi* can be used. However *nako* is the preferred one over *nahi.*

7. Q Raj-la nawe kapade paije?
   R-ACC/DAT new clothes want
   'Does Raj want new clothes?'

   A nako or nahi
   NEG (PART)
   'No'

[3] In this example, Q= Question particle and PART= Particle.

If the negative auxiliary is being used for sentential negation then it should always be in the sentence final position. The details of these would be discussed in the section 4 . For the moment, following are some examples;

8.	arun	amerika-la	gela	nahi
	A-S.M	america-ACC/DAT	go-PAST-S.M	NEG.AUX-S.M

'Arun did not go to America.'

9.	te	sadya wikat		nahit
	3.PL.M	sari-PL sell-PERF		NEG.AUX-3.PL.M

'They do not sell saris.'

10.	muli	dhamal	karu	naka
	girl-PL.F	chaos	do-IMPER	NEG.AUX-3.PL.F

'Girls do not create a chaos.'

11.	ram	dhamal	karu	nako
	R-S.M	chaos	do-IMPER	NEG.AUX-3.S.M

'Ram does not create a chaos.'

12.	te	gharat	nastil
	3.PL	home-in	NEG.AUX-3.PL

'They will not be at home.'

13.	ti	gharat	nasel
	3.S.F	home-in	NEG.AUX-3.S.F

'She will not be at home.'

The immediate question that comes the mind is - how do we know that these negative words are not particles but auxiliaries considering that some of them are homophonous with the negative particles? From the data presented above it is very clear that these are auxiliaries as they are inflected for Person-Number-Gender (PNG) features just like ordinary auxiliaries. By comparing (8) and (9) we see that the same negative auxiliary (*nahi*) changes its form with the change in PNG features of the subject. Similarly in (10) and (11) you can see the change in the form of the negative auxiliary *nako*. The examples in (12) and (13) show the change in the negative auxiliary *nasel*. Secondly, they also occur in the same position as the ordinary auxiliaries, that is, the sentence final position. See the example below;

14. arun banket gel-l-a aahe
    A-NOM bank-in go-PERF-3.S.M be-PRES-3.S.M
    'Arun has gone to the bank.'

The following sections will discuss the distribution of the negative particles and the negative auxiliaries across the different aspects in Marathi.

2.1.1 Negation and Perfective aspect

This sections deals with the interaction between negation and the perfective aspect in the language. The perfective aspect on the verb is marked by using the suffix *–l* followed by the auxiliary *aahe* 'to be' (see chapter 2). The following is an example of the perfective aspect in Marathi.

15. Ram-ni gadi dhut-l-i aahe
    R-ERG car wash-PERF-S.F be-PRES
    'Ram has washed the car.'

Both the negative auxiliaries and the negative particles can be used in order to negate the sentences with the perfect aspect. However the choice of the negation marker depends upon whether it is an instance of constituent negation or sentential negation.

16. Ram-ni gadi dhut-l-i nahi
R-ERG car wash-PERF-S.F NEG.AUX
'Ram has not washed the car.'

This is an example for sentential negation hence a negative auxiliary is used.

2.1.2 Negation and Imperfective and Progressive aspects

In this section, I will show the interaction of negation and the progressive aspect in Marathi. As mentioned in the chapter (2) there is no independent marker for the progressive aspect. The imperfect aspect marker *–t* along with the auxiliary *asne* 'to be' is used to express progressive aspect. Again, in the sentences with progressive and/or imperfect aspects that express sentential negation, the negative auxiliary *nahi* is used. Use of the other negative particles is prohibited as can be seen in examples (20) to (22).

17. ram pustak vaachat hota
R-NOM book-NOM read-IMPF be-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram was reading a book.'

18. ram pustak vaachat nahwta
R-NOM book-NOM read-IMPF NEG.AUX-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram was not reading a book.'

19. te pustak vaachat nahwte
3.PL-NOM book-NOM read-IMPF NEG.AUX-PAST-3.PL
'they were not reading a book.'

20. te pustak vaachat *nako
21. te pustak vaachat *na
22. te pustak vaachat *nahi

As pointed out by Pandharipande (1997) the conjunctive participle form of the verb, which is the verbal root plus the suffix *–un*, along with the auxiliary verb *rahne* 'to stay' can also be used to indicate progressive aspect. See the examples below (23);

23. arun gana ga-un rahila
    A-NOM song-NOM sing-CONJPART stay-PAST
    'Arun is singing a song.'

24. tini shalyaat nahi jaun rahile
    T-NOM school-NOM NEG go-CONJPART stay-PAST
    'It was not to school that Tini was going.'

25. *tini shalyaat jaun rahile nahi
    T-NOM school-NOM go-CONJPART stay-PAST NEG.AUX
    '*Tini is not going to school.'

26. *tini shalyaat jaun nahi
    T-NOM school-NOM go-CONJPART NEG.AUX
    '*Tini is not going to school.'

The contrast in (24), (25) and (26) suggests that sentential negation is not possible with cases where the auxiliary *rahne* 'to live' is used for the progressive aspect in Marathi. The case in (25) is ungrammatical because both affirmative and negative auxiliaries are present in the sentence, and they both occupy the same position, that is, T. A single head cannot host two categories thus rendering the sentence as ungrammatical. On the other hand, if the affirmative auxiliary is simply replaced with a negative auxiliary (as is the case in (26) the result is an ungrammatical sentence. The offending element in this case is the conjunctive participle form of the verb. The only way to have sentential negation with this sentence is to use the regular imperfective form of the verb with the negative auxiliary, as shown below in (27).

27. Tini shalyaat jaat nahi

T-NOM school-NOM go-IMPF NEG.AUX

'Tini is not going to school.'

2.1.3 Negation and Imperatives

The imperative marker for Marathi is the bare verb form or the root like *khaa* 'eat', *dzop* 'sleep', *daab* 'press', *ughard* 'open' etc. The following are some examples of Marathi affirmative imperatives.

28. seema daar ughad

S door open

'Seema answer the door.'

29. tu sheera4 kar

you dessert make

'You make dessert.'

30. arun gadi-la dhu

A car-ACC wash

'Arun wash the car.'

When negating an affirmative imperative, the verb takes an additional suffix-*u*. The interesting fact about negation and imperative is that negative imperative sentences allow the usage of negative auxiliary verbs *nako* and *naye* and the negative particle *nako* only. Usage of any other negative particle or auxiliary renders the sentence ungrammatical, as the examples below show.

---

[4] *sheera* is a particular dessert made with flour and milk. But for easy translation, I have glossed it as dessert.

31. tumhi gadi naka/*nahi/*na/*nawhti chalavu
2.PL car NEG.AUX-2.PL drive-IMPERV
'You (pl) do not drive a car (drive something else).'

32. tumhi gadi chalavu naka/*nahi/*na/*nawhti
2.PL car drive-IMPERV NEG.AUX-2.PL
'You do not drive the car. '

33. tu gadi nako/*nahi/*na/*nawhti chalavu
2.S car NEG.AUX-2.S drive-IMPERV
'You do not drive a car (drive something else).'

34. tu gadi chalavu nako/*nahi/*na/*nawhti
2.S car drive-IMPERV NEG.AUX-2.S
'You do not drive a car.'

In (31) and (33) above the negative auxiliary is not in its usual place, that is, the sentence final position, rather it is preceding the main verb. The effect is that the negation does not negate the whole sentence, but only the part preceding it as indicated by the translation. These are examples of constituent negation that will be discussed in details in the section 4. We know these are negative auxiliaries rather than negative particles because they show number agreement with the subject. This shows that the negative auxiliary can either precede the verb or follow it, as seen in the above examples. The position of the negative particle renders different meaning to the sentences.

Zanuttini has shown (for Italian) that there is a correlation between the NegP and the TP. Using imperatives as evidence she argues that Italian imperatives have an impoverished structure, that is they lack a TP. Since the NegP according to Zanuttini is licensed by the TP if there is no TP consequently there is no NegP in the structure. This explains the ungrammaticality of the following imperatives[5].

35. Prendilo
    'Take IMP-it'

36. *non prendilo
    'not take IMP-it'

37. non lo prendere
    'not it take-INF'

38. non prenderlo
    'not take- INF it'

This correlation does not hold true for Marathi though. As we have seen above that Marathi makes use of the negative auxiliaries (*nako* and *naye*) to negate imperatives, we cannot argue that Marathi imperatives lack a TP. Besides, I assume that these negative auxiliaries originate in T and then move higher to the Pol head in the PolP[6].

2.2 Negation in non-finite clauses

Negation in the non-finite clauses functions in a slightly different manner than negation in the finite clauses. Firstly, non-finite negation is expressed only by using the *na* particle. Secondly, this particle must immediately precede the negated item See the following examples from Pandharipande (1997:182).

---

[5] These examples are taken from Haegeman (1995;121-2)

[6] Even though I have argued that these negative auxiliaries are lexical items they still originate at T. There is also the possibility that these are just regular auxiliaries that originate at T and have a [+neg] feature that renders negation to the sentence.

39. [kam	na	karnara]	mulga
work	NEG	do-PART-3.S.M	boy

'The boy who does not work.'

40. [[kal	ratrabhar	na	dzoplyane]	aadz	madza	doka
yesterday	night-all	NEG	sleep-GER	today	I –POSS	head
dukhat	aahe]					
ache-PROG	be-PRES					

'Because I did not sleep yesterday night at all, my head is aching.'

41. [mi [$_{cp}$dukhi	na	disnachya]	praytn	ke-l-□]
1.S.F sad	NEG	see-INF	try	do-PAST-3.S.N

'I tried not to look sad.'

In all of the above examples, use of the negative particle *na* can be seen in all the non-finite clauses. The negative particle *na* is immediately preceding the non-finite form (participle or gerundive) of the verb that is getting negated. To see more examples of the non-finite negative clauses readers are directed to Pandharipande (1997). Note that no other category can intervene between the negative particle and the non-finite verb. The following example shows that an adverb cannot intervene between the negation and the non-finite verb in the subordinate clause;

42. *Ram [na lavkar bolnyacha] praytn karto
R-S.M NEG fast speak-INF-GEN try do-PRES-3.S.N
'Ram tries not to speak fast.'

The analysis for these facts would be provided in the section 8 of the chapter.

3 NEGATION IN OTHER INDIC LANGUAGES

In this section, I will present data from other Indic languages that are comparable with the Marathi negation.

3.1 Gujarati (cf. Mistry 1997:428)

As seen below the negative marker in the following Gujarati finite clause is occurring in a preverbal position. Note this is a case of sentential negation in Gujarati. However, the corresponding Marathi sentence would not express sentential negation instead it will be a case of constituent negation where only the object will be in the scope of the negation.

43. Kishor-thi kaagal naa vach-aa-y-o
K-INS letter (MS) not read-PAS-P-MS
'Kishor could not read the letter.'

3.2 Punjabi (cf. Bhat 2003b)

Bhatia's (1995) work on negation in South Asian languages has shown that the sentential negation in Punjabi is preverbal, just like Hindi and Gujarati (the data will be discussed in the next section). There are two negative particles in Punjabi.

Na	Non-finite clauses, imperatives
Nai	Other clauses

Following are some examples taken from Bhatia (1995).

44. tu na ja (Bhatia 1995; 13)
you neg go
'You do not go.'

45. O kar nai gia
he home neg went
'He did not go home.'

Cases of negation in conjunct verbs strengthen the claim that the position of the negation in Punjabi is preverbal (Bhatia 1995). He defines conjunct verb as "... composed of two elements, the first element is a noun, adjective or adverb and the second is a verb" (1995:18). He provides the following example where the negative particle occurs between the noun element and the verbal element of the conjunct verb.

46. one kamm **nai** kitta
he work neg did
'He did not work.'

For constituent negation, the negative particle can follow the item it is negating in a clause, for example,

47. one xat **nai,** kittab pari
he letter neg book read
'He did not read a letter but a book.'

Notice that this is similar to constituent negation in Marathi which will be taken up in the section 4 of the chapter.

3.3 Hindi

As mentioned earlier, Hindi negation is preverbal (Bhatia 1995, Bhatt 2003b, Kumar 2006). The following is an example of sentential negation.

48. Ram	bazaar	**nahi**	gaya	tha
R	market	NOT	go-PERF-M.S	be-PAST-M.S

'Ram did not go to the market.'

However, there are two main differences between sentential negation in Marathi and Hindi. The first difference lies in the position of the negation within the clause. For Hindi the negative word precedes the verbal complex (that is the main verb plus the auxiliary). For Marathi, on the other hand, in sentential negation, the negative word comes at the end of the sentence, after the main verb. The second difference is that Marathi makes use of negative auxiliaries to express sentential negation whereas Hindi uses a negative particle. In fact there are no negative auxiliaries in Hindi.

As for the constituent negation, the Hindi facts parallel those of Marathi and Punjabi. For constituent negation, the negative particle must immediately follow the negated item (Pandharipande 1997, Bhat 2003, Bhatia 1995).The following is an example of constituent negation in Hindi where the subject is getting negated.

49. arun	nahi	aspatal	gaya	tha
A	NEG	hospital	go-PERF-M.S	be-PAST-M.S

'It was not Arun who went to the hospital.'

Interestingly when the object alone is negated, the negative word follows the verb phrase as in

50. arun	aspatal	gaya	nahi
A	hospital	go-PERF-M.S	NEG

'It was not to the hospital that Arun went.'

Notice that in this case the auxiliary verb is absent. Bhatia (1995) treats this as an instance of auxiliary deletion under negation. He argues that negation obligatorily induces auxiliary deletion in the sentence. This example also indicates an interpretation difference between Marathi and Hindi. The corresponding Marathi example with no Special intonation on the object will result in a sentential negation interpretation.

3.4 Bengali

In Bengali the negation follows the finite verb. Sentential negation is post-verbal in the embedded clauses similar to sentential negation in the finite clauses in Marathi (Ramchand 2004).

51. ami	sunechi	[je	Ram	aste	parbe	**na]**
I	heard	that	R	to come	will-be-able	NEG

'I heard that Ram will not be able to come.'

Bengali also uses negative auxiliaries like Marathi example below,

52. mi	aaiklə	[ki	Ram	yeu	shaknaar	**nahi]**
I	heard	that	R	come	able-FUT	NEG.AUX

'I heard that Ram will not be able to come.'

The conclusion to draw from this data is that Indic languages seem to show a degree of similarity when looking at constituent negation however these seem to be differences in the positioning of the negation and the form of negation while expressing sentential negation.

4 CONSTITUENT NEGATION VS SENTENTIAL NEGATION

4.1 Constituent negation

Like many other languages, Marathi also appears to exhibit two types of negation; constituent negation (CN) and sentential negation (SN). In this section, I will elaborate on these terms with examples from various languages. Constituent negation is a phenomenon where by only one constituent within a clause is negated. This constituent could be any phrase like NP/DP or Adv P, or AdjP etc. with any grammatical function. Thus only part of the proposition expressed by a clause is in the scope of negation. Different languages use different ways to express CN, for example in Basque CN is expressed by placing the negation before the constituent it has scope over (Laka 1994).

There are two main methods used in Marathi for expressing constituent negation. The first and the most common method is where the negative marker immediately follows the constituent it is negating. The following examples illustrate different constituents of the affirmative sentence in (53) getting negated. The negative particle *nahi* is used in the examples below.

53. Ram-ni kal kala ghoda pahila
Ram-ERG yesterday black horse S.M -see-PAST-3.S.M
'Ram saw a black horse yesterday.'

The following (54) is an example where the subject *Ram* is getting negated hence the negative particle follows it.

54. Ram-ni **nahi** kal kala ghoda pahila
Ram-ERG NEG yesterday black horse S.M see-PAST- S.M
'It was not Ram who saw a black horse yesterday.' (Someone else did.)

55. Ram-ni kal **nahi** kala ghoda pahila
Ram-ERG yesterday NEG black horse S.M see-PAST-S.M
'It was not yesterday that Ram saw a black horse.' (He saw it on some other day.)

In the example in (55) above the adverb *kal* (functioning as an adjunct) alone is within the scope of negation, hence the negative particle follows the adverb. The clause in (56) below is an instance of negation of the object *ghoda*. Consequently the negative particle follows the object.

56. Ram-ni kal kala ghoda **nahi** pahila
Ram-ERG yesterday black horse SM NEG see-PAST-3SM
'It was not a black horse that Ram saw yesterday.'(He saw something else.)

Constituent negation can be expressed by using either the negative particles. (*nahi,nako*) as indicated by the examples above or the negative auxiliaries (*nahi, nako, nahwte*) that show person, number, gender agreement. The examples (57) and (58) show constituent negation of the subject where the negative auxiliary *nahwte 'X is not present'* is immediately following the subject NP.

57. Ram nahwata thithe
R-S.M NEG.AUX-3.S.Mthere
'It was not Ram who was there.'

58. Seema nahwati thithe
S-S.F NEG.AUX-3.S.F there
'It was not Seema who was there.'

The examples in (59) and (60) illustrate the subject constituent negation with the negative auxiliary *nako* ' does not want'.

59. ram-la nako chaha
R-ACC/DAT NEG.AUX-S tea S
'It is not Ram who wants tea.'

60. tyan-la nakot satranjya
they-ACC/DAT NEG.AUX-PL blanket-PL
'It is not they who want blankets.'

Notice if the object was to be in the constituent negation then the preferred word order would be the marked O NEG AUX S as in (61) below;

61. chaha nako Ram-la
tea-S NEG.AUX-S R-ACC/DAT
'It is not tea that Ram wants.'

This order ensures that there is no ambiguity in the interpretation of the clause. If the sentence were in its usual S O NEG.AUX order without any Special intonation on the object then it be misinterpreted as sentential negation. This will become clearer when I discuss sentential negation in the next section.

The second method used for expressing constituent negation is by stressing the constituent that has to be negated. The negative markers in such cases are the negative auxiliary that occurs in the sentence final position. This can be seen in the examples below:

62. **Ram** angrezi bolat nahi
R English speak-PRES NEG. AUX-3.S.M
'It is not Ram who speaks English.'

63. mulin-ni **kamə** keli nahit
girls-ERG work-PL do-PAST-3.PL NEG.AUX-3.Pl
'It was not the work that girls did.'

Kumar (2006) in his work on Hindi negation claims that for Hindi constituent negation is achieved by placing the negative particle in a post-verbal position and presumably by stressing the focussed constituent. The negative particle in Hindi is the same as the Marathi one namely '*nahi*' Notice this is different from Marathi where negation immediately follows the negated constituent.

4.2 Sentential Negation

Sentential negation on the other hand targets the whole proposition expressed by a clause. Thus, it involves negation of all the constituents within the clause. In other words, the negative word has scope over the entire clause. Marathi uses negative auxiliaries for sentential negation consequently, the negation occurs in clause final position. The distribution of these negative auxiliaries is discussed in the section 2.

64. gadi	taima-war	aali	nahi
train S.F	time-on	come-PAST-S.F	NEG. AUX- S.F

'The train did not come on time.'

65. raj-la	aaushadhə	aawarat	nahit
R-ACC/DAT	medicine-PL	like-PRES	NEG .AUX- PL

'Raj does not like medicines.'

66. Seema	tudzi	aatya	nahwe
S-S.F	your	aunt	NEG. AUX- S.F

'Seema is not your aunt.'

According to Bhatia (1995) these negative auxiliaries are in fact negative particles. He argues that sentential negation induces obligatory deletion of the auxiliary. Thus for him, a sentence like (66) above will have an underlying structure like that in (67a) with an overt auxiliary. This auxiliary then undergoes deletion due to the presence of sentential negation (67b).

67. a	Seema	tudzi	aatya	nahi	aahe
	S	your	aunt	NEG	BE-PRES

'Seema is not your aunt.'

b Seema tudzi aatya nahwe

S your aunt NEG

'Seema is not your aunt.'

If the negation in such cases was a negative particle then his analysis fails to explain the presence of the number agreement on the negative word. One would then have to assume that all these negative particles (that show agreement) are lexical items. With this introduction of the two types of negation, I move on to discuss some previous analysis of negation.

5 PREVIOUS ANALYSIS OF NEGATION

5.1 Ouhalla (1990)

While analysing negation, the crucial thing is to establish the position of the negation in the structure. Following Pollock (1989) many researchers have argued that negation projects its own phrase, and that languages vary with respect to the positioning of the NEGP. In this paper, Ouhalla argues that this cross linguistic variation is due to the different selectional properties of the negation (that is the NEG head). Accordingly he proposes the NEG parameter. He shows that for Turkish NEGP lies between the TP and the VP whereas for Berber it is above the TP. Unlike Pollock and Chomsky, Ouhalla does not have an AgrSP preceding the VP in the structure.

68. The NEG parameter

NEG selects VP

NEG selects TNSP

69. John elmalar-i ser-me-di-() (Turkish)

John apples-ACC like-NEG-past (TNS)-3s (AGR)

'John does not like apples'.

70. Ur-ad-y-xdel Mohand dudsha (Berber)

NEG-will (TNS)-3SM(AGR)-arrive Mohand tomorrow

'Mohand will not arrive tomorrow'.

. English and Turkish are (a) type language and French and Berber are (b) type.

Ouhalla makes use of Rizzi's (1990) notion of the relativized minimality extensively to account for the position of negation.

71. Relativised Minimality (RM) (page 196)

X antecedent governs Y only if there is no Z such that

(i) Z is a typical potential antecedent-governor for Y, and

(ii) Z m-commands Y and does not m-command X.

X antecedent governs Y iff

(i) X and Y are co-indexed

(ii) X m-commands Y

(iii) no barriers intervene

(iv) Relativised mininality is reSpected.

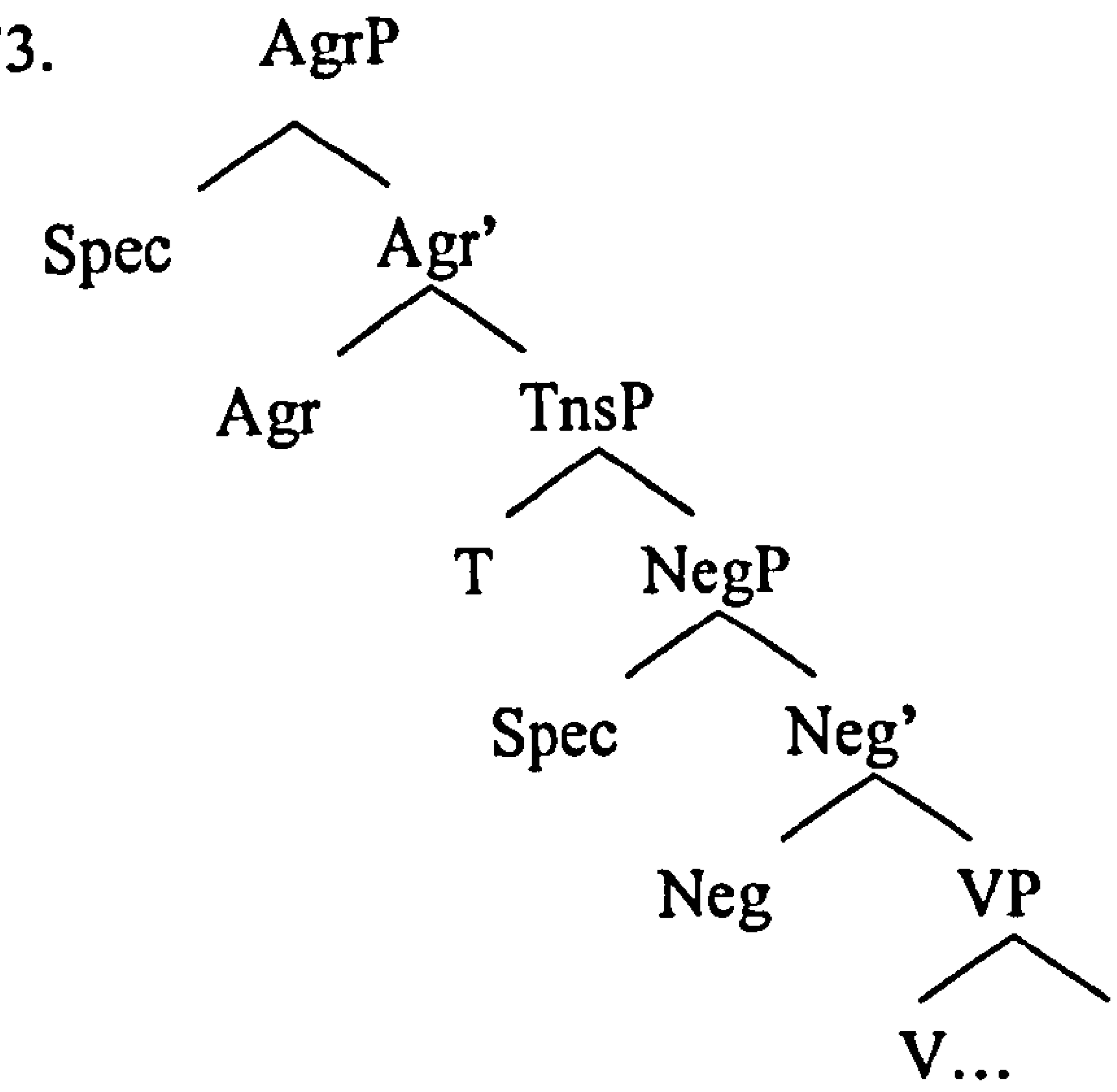
Basically RM ensures that movement is cyclic. A head can only ever move to the next c-commanding head.

Ouhalla's analysis is based on the assumptions that a head can only move to another head position that is either empty or has an affix, and that such a head movement should be motivated. Therefore, a non-affixal head movement to another non-affxal head is blocked. However, movement of an affixal head to a non-affixal head (and presumably a non-affixal to an affixal head) is considered licit. Unlike Pollock, he assumes that there is no movement that involves lowering of a constituent in the derivation at any stage.

Based on this he argues for a structure given in (73) for an English sentence presented below in (72)

72. *John likes not Paul.

73.



Notice that in this case AgrS is higher than both TP and the NegP (in contrast with the structure proposed by Pollock). This ensures that Agr is outside of the tense and negation in the derived verb. There is a RM violation as the V moves to the Tns head across the NEG head in the structure presented above. Movement via the NEG head is not allowed also because it is not motivated, as the NEG head in English is non- affixal. Therefore the verb cannot ever move to the NEG head. Therefore the sentence is ungrammatical.

The other possibility to get the agreement and tense morphology on the verb would be to assume lowering of the AGR/TNS heads. However this is excluded on the ground that there is an ECP violation. To avoid this English resorts to Do- support.

74. a. *John not likes Paul.

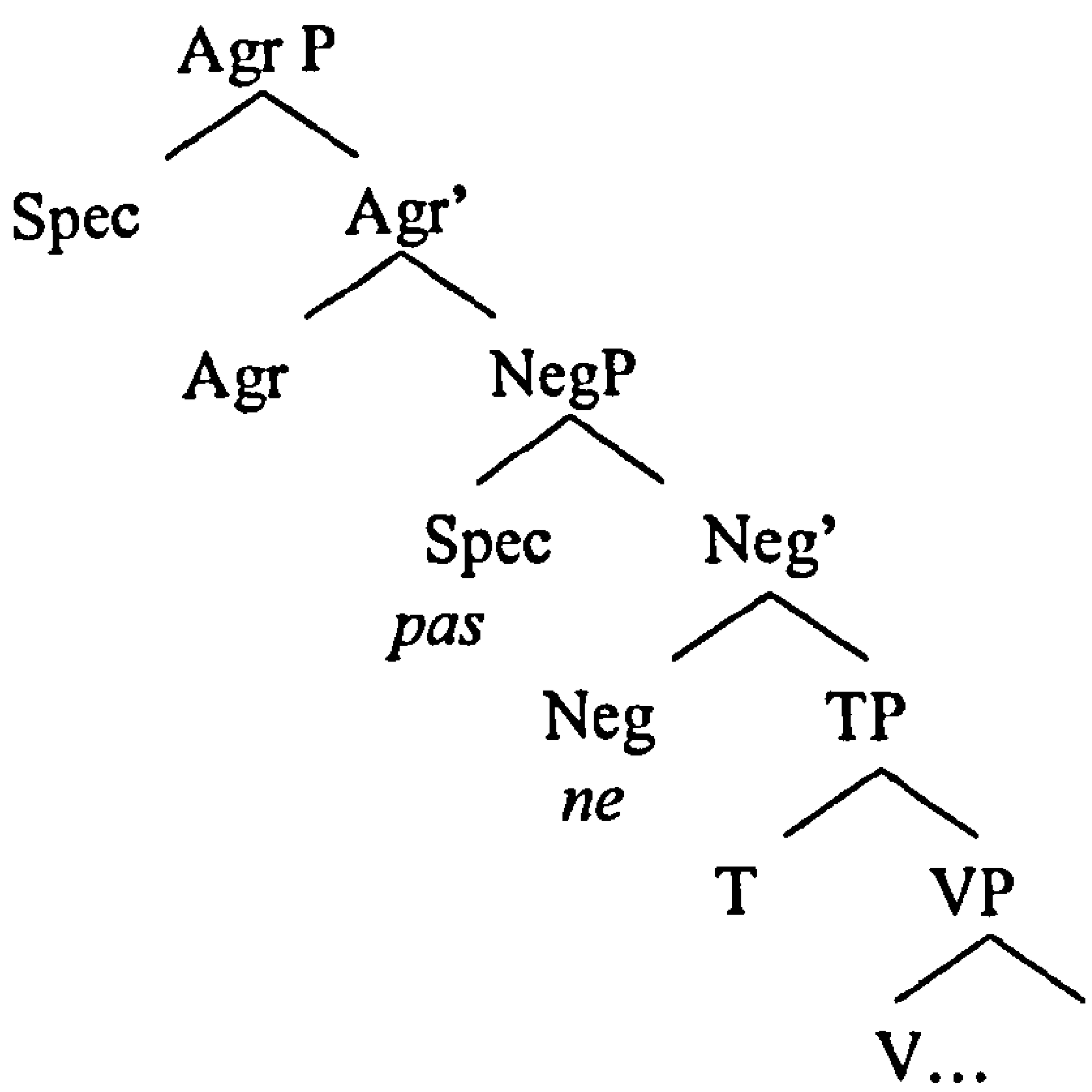
b. John does not like Paul.

Contrasting the English data with Swedish he shows that the NEG head does not block the V to C movement. This he takes as evidence to suggest that the Swedish NEG head is an abstract affixal morpheme, and *inte* is occupying the Spec NEGP.

75. Jan kopte inte boken.
Jan bought not books

For French, he argues that *ne* is affixal (thus similar to Swedish abstract morpheme and Turkish *–me-*) and thus occupies the NEG head position, and *pas* occupies the Spec NEGP, as seen in the following structure for French.

76.



77. Marie n'aime pas Jean

The clause in (77) above is derived via cyclic movement of the V to the Agr head via the T and NEG heads. Notice that the NEG head does not block the V movement as it is affixal in nature.

According to the NEG parameter, it would appear that Marathi negation would take the TP as its complement. However his analysis cannot directly be transferred to Marathi data for the following reason: the negation surfaces in the sentence final position in Marathi suggesting that the verb has moved to a position higher than the NEG head. Within Ouhalla's theory, this amounts to saying that the NEG head is affixal in nature and that the verb must move via the NEG head to a higher position. However in Marathi the NEG head is not affixal (like in French), shown by the fact that the negative auxiliaries can occur on their own in the absence of a main verb, for instance in a sentence like this:

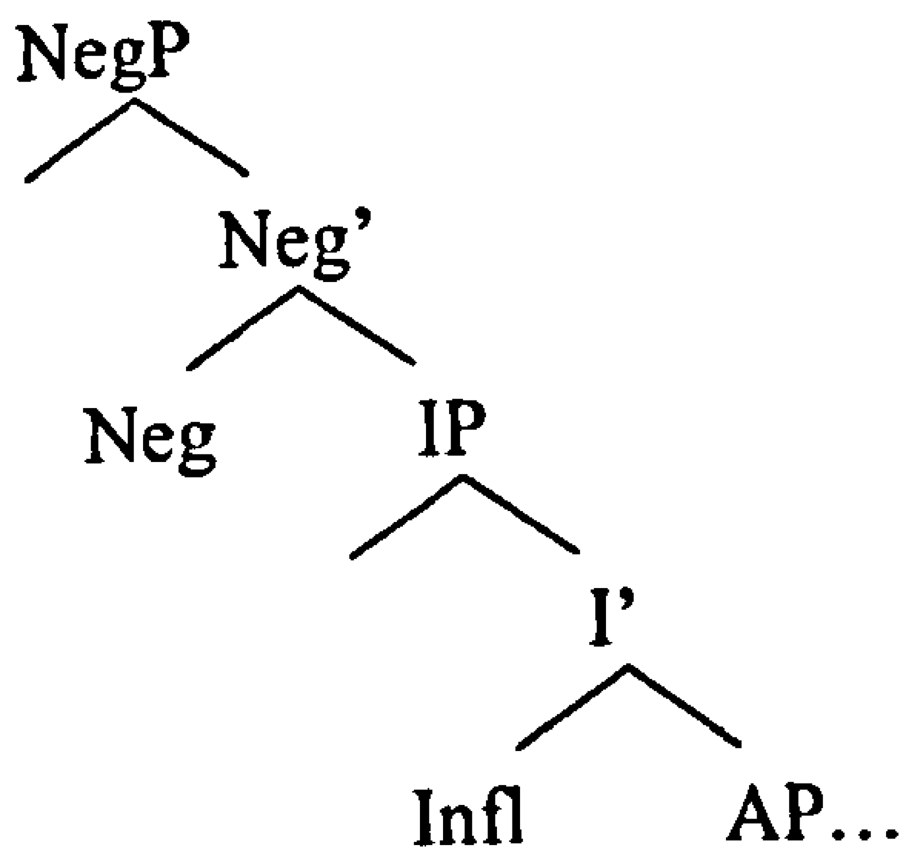
78. Ram-la chaha nako
R-ACC tea.S NEG. AUX-S
'Ram does not want tea.'

If negation was affixal then such cases should be ungrammatical as the NEG head would not be able to stand on its own. Besides, it is not clear how will this analysis account for the negative auxiliaries in general. Presumably the negative auxiliary like the negative particle would originate under the NEG head, or alternatively, it could also be the case that the NEG head is empty for Marathi and the auxiliary moves from the T head into this position.

5.2 Laka (1994)

In this work, Laka presents an analysis of negation for Basque. Basque is an SOV order language. She first argues for the Tense C-command Condition (TCC) according to which Tense has to c-command all the functional heads within the sentence. She then argues that negation is a functional head projecting its own phrase, see (79) below. This phrase dominates TP (INFL) and the negation c-commands it in Basque, unlike English or French where the NegP is c-commanded by the T (Pollock 1989). However this structure is not compatible with the TCC. To get around this, she argues that INFL must raise to the NEG head.

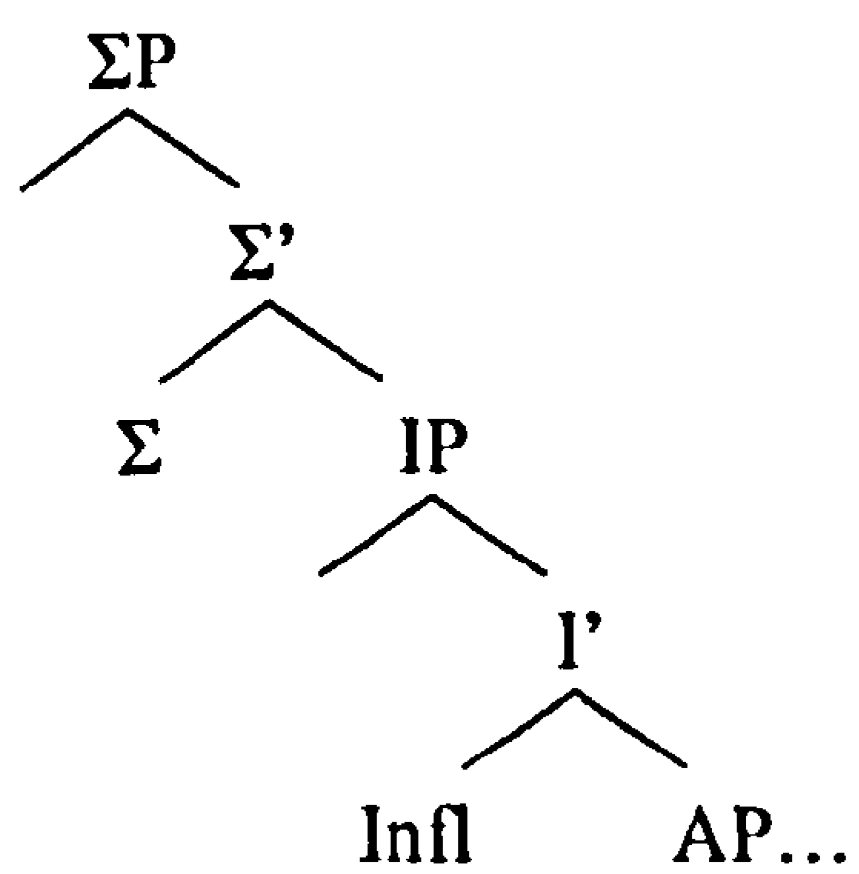
79. Basque



She further argues that languages have different functional heads for both affirmation and negation which she labels as AFF and NEG, respectively. These AFF and NEG are two different values of the same head Σ that projects its own phrase namely ΣP. These values are in complementary distribution, understandably. And it is the position of the ΣP within a clause that is sensitive to the parametric variation.

By positing a ΣP, she is rejecting the traditional idea that negation is a XP that does not project its own phrase. Just like negation, affirmative is also a head, and projects its own phrase AffP. The Tense C-command Condition is also satisfied in the affirmative clauses by raising the INFL to the AFF= Σ head, just like in negative clauses. The revised structure now for Basque is in (80) below;

80. Basque



where Σ = NEG or AFF

In constituent negation, the negative morpheme does not head the NEG phrase according to Laka. To support this argument she shows that constituent negation can never have wide scope in Basque. She illustrates this with the following example where the object *sweater* is negated.

81. Nik diot Mariari trikota ez eman
I have to-Mary sweater-the not given
'I have not given the sweater to Mary'

If this example (81) was an instance of sentential negation then given the Basque facts we would expect the negation to have scope over the IP. This can be tested with negative polarity items. NPIs can be licensed in any argument position under sentential negation in Basque. But the following examples show that the negative morpheme in these cases is not licensing the NPI.

82. *Mariri dio inork trikota ez eman
To-Mary has anybody sweater not given
'Nobody has given the sweater to Mary'

83. *nik diot inori trikota ez eman
I have anybody-to sweater not given
'I have not given the sweater to anybody'

This clearly suggests that the above example (81) is an instance of constituent negation (where the object is negated) and not sentential negation. Also, if the Σ= AFF head argument is to hold then for cases like (81) it would seem that the auxiliary in the INFL will be raised to the Σ=AFF head which is empty in the ΣP (in accordance with the TCC). The assumption that AFF head and the NEG head occur in complementary distribution would then predict for (81) that negative morpheme is not in the head of ΣP, but in some other position. Thereby supporting the argument that (81) is not an instance of sentential negation. This implicitly suggests that there must be a different structure for constituent negation.

My analysis has some elements of Laka's analysis of Basque. In particular, I argue that PolP is above the TP in Marathi. Nonetheless my analysis departs from Laka's in a crucial way. I argue that both sentential negation and constituent negation are instances of raising to the Spec PolP. Thus both types of negation involve similar structure. Laka on the other hand assumes that constituent negation and sentential negation have different structures as we have seen above.

5.3 Haegeman (1995)

Haegeman (1995) has looked at negation in the West Flemish (SOV language with V2). Word order facts in West Flemish are similar to Dutch and German. In embedded sentences the finite verb occupies the sentence final position. The following are some examples that illustrate this.

84. da Valère gisteren dienen boek kocht
    that Valère yesterday this book bought
    'that Valère bought this book yesterday'

85. Valère kocht gisteren dienen boek
    Valère bought yesterday this book
    'Valère bought this book yesterday'

In the first example (84), the verb is in the sentence final position, as this is an instance of an embedded sentence. In (85) on the other hand the verb is in V2 position because this is a matrix clause. She maintains that West Flemish has the standard V to C movement for the V2 analysis.

West Flemish uses a bipartite system for negation just like French (*ne...pas*). The West Flemish negation words are *nie...en*. Following are some examples;

86. da	Valere	woarschijnlijk	**nie**	nor	us	**(en)**-goat
	thatValere	probably	NEG	to	house	en-goes

'that Valere probably does not go home'.

Note that the negative word *Nie* occurs in a fixed position, that is, between the subject and the verb.

To account for the sentential negation she argues for the negation criterion presented below in (87).

87. The NEG-criterion (134)

A A NEG-operator must be in a Spec head configuration with X^0 [NEG].

B An X^0 [NEG] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a NEG-operator.

The following definitions were used:

88. A NEG-operator: a NEG-phrase in a scope position.

B Scope position: left-peripheral A'-position (an XP-adjoined position or a Specifier position).

This neg-criterion is a LF condition but can be applied at S-structure in some languages. Thus the neg-criterion is subject to parametric variation.

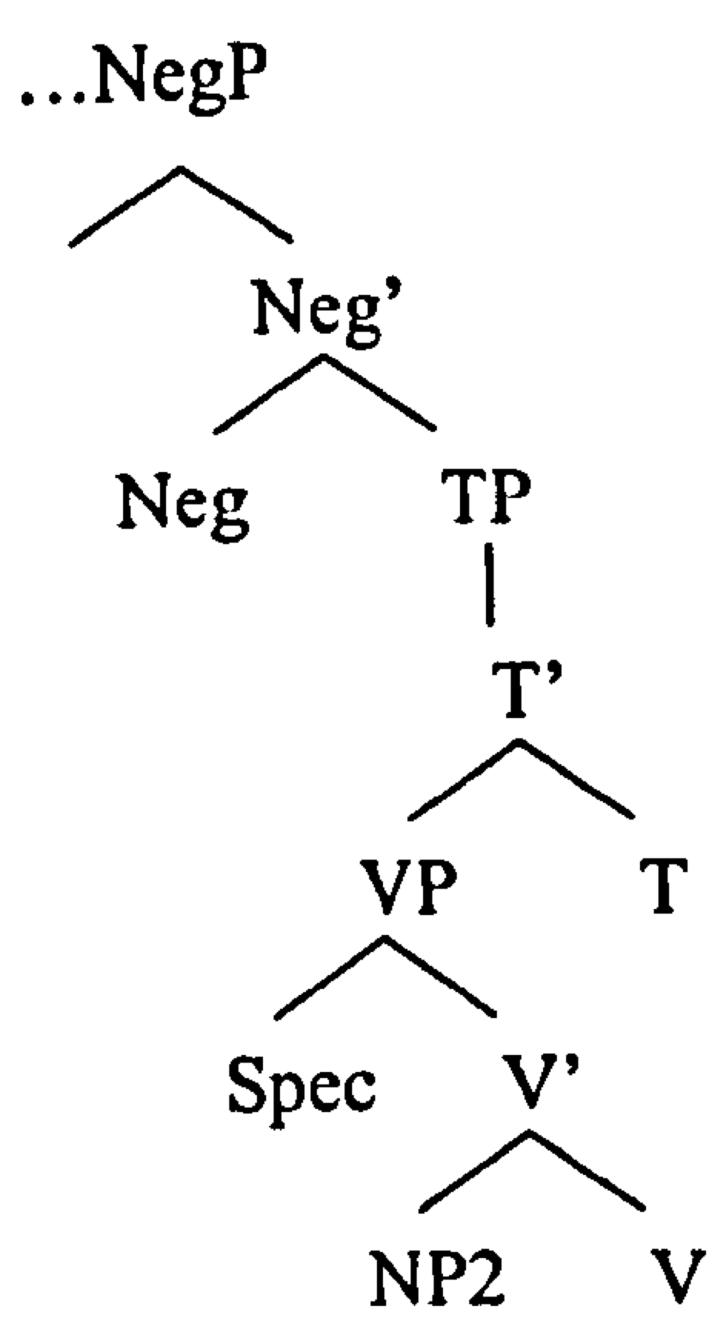
She argues that *en-* is the head of the NegP and this *en* has to co-occur with a negative constituent in order to be licensed. For this reason, *nie* the other negative constituent occupies the Spec NegP position. The fact that the *en* clitic moves along with the finite verb to C provides the necessary support to argue that *en* is the head of the NegP.

89. Valere en-eet nie s'oavends
Valere en-eats NEG evenings
'Valere does not eat in the evening.'

90. en-eet Valere nie s'oavends?
en-eats Valere NEG evenings
'Does Valere eat in the evenings?'

She argues that the Neg P is higher than the TP in West Flemish (pg 115) and because 'en' is a prefix she argues that NegP is head initial.

91.



A neg-criterion based account implies that negation is a relation only between items in the Spec (Neg-operator) and the head of the NegP. I will show that the Spec-head relation is crucial for negation in Marathi, too. However, the relation is not between a negative operator and the Neg head rather it is between the Pol=NEG head and the negated constituent (which is in the scope of negation).

6 WHERE IS NEGATION LOCATED WITHIN THE CLAUSE?

Various linguists have shown that there are many positions available within the clause to place the negation in a language (Haegeman 1995, Laka 1994, Ouhalla 1990, Kumar 2006, Zanuttini 1997). However the important question is – whether the placement of negation within a clause is part of the universal grammar or is subject to parametric variation across languages? Given the different strategies used for negation cross linguistically, it is logical to argue for the position that it is a case of parametric variation.

It has been argued that there are two main positions for negation to occur in a clause in the modern Indo Aryan languages (Bhatt 2003b, Bhatia 1995, Kumar 2006, Mahajan 1990). These two positions are (a) negation occurring before the main verb or auxiliary verb, and (b) negation occurring after the main or the auxiliary verbs. In section 3 of this chapter, I showed data from different Indic languages that illustrated the two positions.

For Marathi, as indicated above in section 2, sentential negation is post-verbal. Based on this fact, I argue that for Marathi, negation (hosted by Pol head) is located immediately above the TP. Given that the negation is higher than the TP, a unified analysis of sentential negation and constituent negation can be assumed where the rule is that the negated constituent (which is the scope of negation) occurs in the Spec of PolP. The fact that PolP is not dominated by the TP is also supported by the cases of constituent negation. Consider (92) below where the subject alone is negated, that is only the subject is within the scope of negation (and not the whole TP).

92. Tini-ni	nahi	pustak	vaachli
T-ERG	NEG	book-NOM	read-PAST-3.S.F

'It was not Tini who read the book.'

Under the (unified) analysis here where Pol (Neg) is higher than T, one can say that the subject is in the Spec PolP, moved there from the Spec TP. On the other hand if

Pol (Neg) was lower than T, the subject would have to raise from Spec PolP to Spec TP. Then one would not be able to maintain that the negated constituent, the subject here, is in the Spec PolP. This would imply that the subject NP in the example above is no longer in the scope of negation. Clearly, that is not the case. Therefore, I maintain that the Pol (Neg) is higher than T.

The assumption that negation is higher than T is also compatible with instances of constituent negation. Following is an instance of constituent negation where only the object is in the scope of negation as shown in (93) below.

93. tu gadi nako chalavu
2.S car NEG.AUX-2.S drive-IMPER
'You do not drive a car (drive something else).'

Under the analysis presented here, the object NP must move into the Spec of PolP. The subject in such cases is assumed to move to a position higher than the PolP.

6.1 Evidence from Negative Polarity Items

Empirical evidence in favour of the argument that NegP precedes the TP in Marathi comes from the Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). NPIs are licensed in the presence of an overt negation in the clause It is a well-studied fact that NPIs in the subject position cannot be licensed by the negative head in English (Kato 2000). But they can be licensed in the object position as indicated by the following examples.

94. *Anyone did not sing a song.
95. John did not sing anything.

This contrast is neatly explained on the assumption that the English NPIs in the subject position are not in the scope of NegP as NegP is merged lower than TP in English. Thus *not* is not c-commanding the NPI hence it cannot license them in such cases.

Compare the English data with the Marathi NPIs, which are basically a combination of the wh-pronouns plus the emphatic marker *hi*. This constituent is then licensed by a negative auxiliary present in the sentence.

96. Ram-ni kahi-hi sangitlə nahi
R-ERG what-EMPH tell-PAST-3.S.N NEG.AUX
'Ram didn't tell anything.'

In the above example (96), the object (a wh- pronoun plus the emphatic marker) is getting interpreted as a NPI due to the presence of the negative auxiliary. The sentence is interpreted as sentential negation. In (97) below the NPI is in the subject position getting licensed by the negative auxiliary *nahi*, which yields a grammatical sentence unlike the English example.

97. koni-hi gana gailə nahi
who-EMPH song sing-PAST-3.S.N NEG.AUX
'No one sang a song.'

If the subject is in Spec TP, and PolP is below TP then clearly sentences like (97) should be ungrammatical as the subject will not be in the scope of PolP (just like the English case). This gives the additional support in favour of the argument presented here that negation c-commands the TP.

In the following sections I will propose a detailed analysis of negation in finite and non-finite clauses.

7 MY ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATION IN FINITE CLAUSES

It is widely assumed that sentential negation is associated with a NegP projection in the structure, and that cross- linguistically languages vary according to the realization of the Neg head or the specifier position of the NegP or both (Haegeman 1995, Ouhalla 1990, Laka 1994, Zanuttini 1997). Languages like Brazilian Portuguese, Afrikaans,West Flemish overtly realize both the specifier and the head of the NegP[7].

98. O Jose **não** tem comido o bolo **não**
    The Jose NEG has eaten the cake NEG
    'Jose has not eaten the cake.'
    (*Brazilian Portuguese*)

99. Hulle was **nie** betrokke **nie**
    they were NEG involved NEG
    'They were not involved.'
    (*Afrikaans*)

100. Da Valerere die boeken **nie** an zen voader getoogd **(en)**-oat
     that Valere those books NOT to his father shown en-had
     'That Valere had not shown these books to his father.'
     (*West Flemish*)

It appears that the negation is doubled in both BP and West Flemish, however both negative markers are absorbed into one negation.

On the other hand, Indic languages like Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi make use of the Neg head alone. The following are some examples;

---

[7] Examples (100) and (101) are taken from Nayudu and Sheehan (2005), and example (100) is taken from Haegeman (1995;116).

101. Ram mandirat jaat nahi
R temple-in go-IMPF NEG AUX
'Ram doesn't go to the temple.'
(*Marathi*)

102. Anannya chhithi nahi likhti
A letter NEG write
'Anannya does not write a letter.'
(*Hindi*)

103. Chirag pani bharato nathi
C drinking water fill-up-PAST NEG
'Chirag is not filling up drinking water.'
(*Gujarati*)

All of the above languages use only one negative word to express negation. I argue in this thesis that this negative word (negative auxiliary or negative particle) occupies the Pol(arity) head. This analysis has reminiscent from Haegeman's (1995) neg-criterion where sentential negation was licensed under the Spec –head relationship in the NegP.

I present here an analysis of negation in terms of a generalized Polarity Phrase (PolP) hypothesis. I will also show that there are four varieties of this PolP in the language that account for all the negation. These are as follows:

104. Varieties of Pol

Pol head with [u POL, EPP] --- For sentential negation
Pol head with [u FOC,EPP] --- For constituent negation with negative auxiliaries
Pol head with [NEG, u FOC, EPP] --- For constituent negation with negative particles
Pol head with [NEG, EPP].- For negation in non-finite clauses

The details of each of these will be discussed with the appropriate data in the following sections.

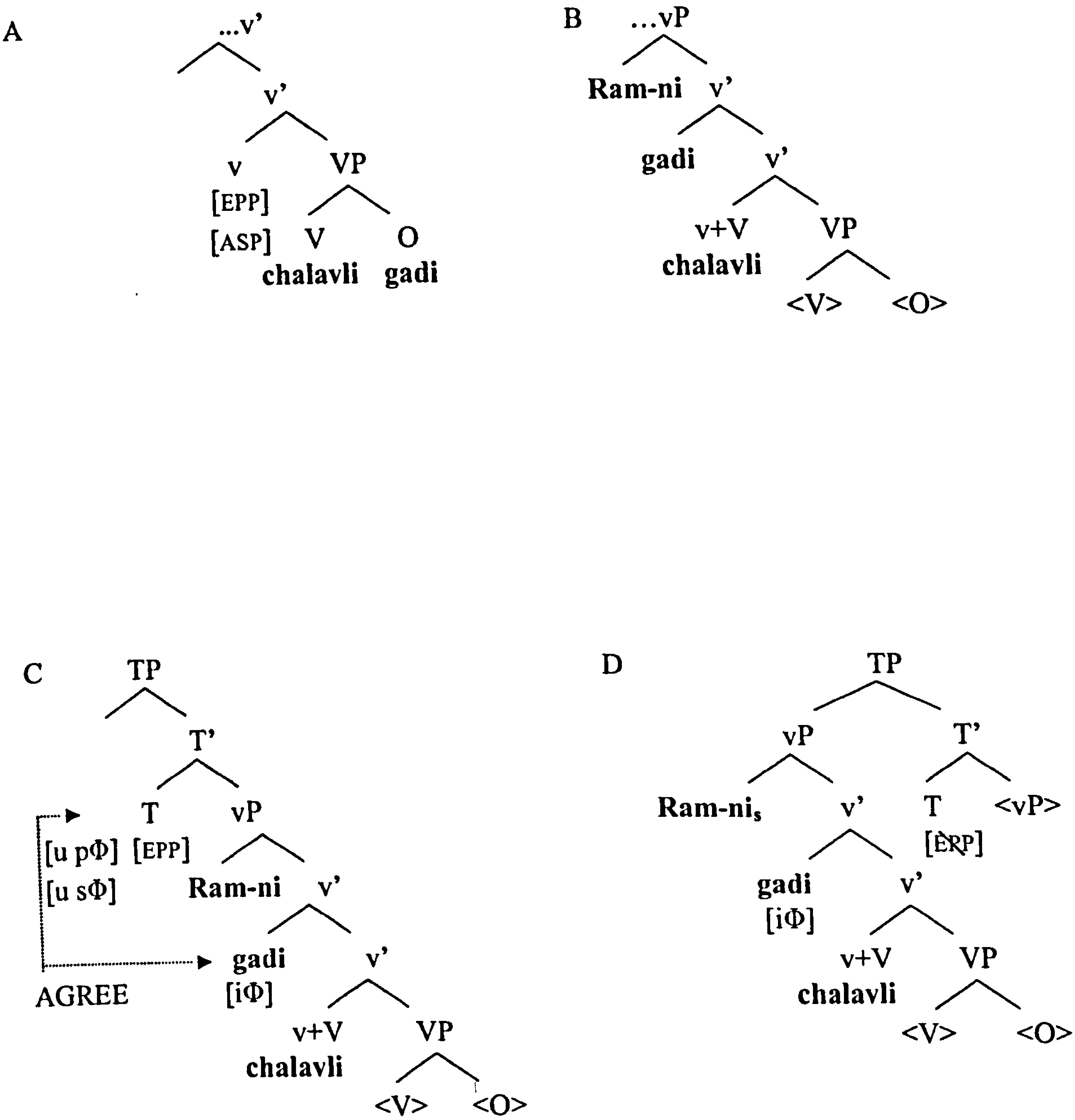
The basic line of argument is that each clause (negative or affirmative) has a Polarity head (Pol). And this head projects its own phrase, namely PolP. Polarity head based accounts of negation can also be seen in the works of Laka (1994) where her Σ is similar to the Pol head in my analysis, and Holmberg (2005). This Pol head has either the value Affirmative, which is realized as a null morpheme (AFF) in affirmative clauses, and Negative (NEG), which is realized either as a negative particle or a negative auxiliary. I argue in this thesis that the Pol head has an [EPP] feature that triggers the movement of any phrase into Spec PolP. I also propose in this analysis that the in both, the affirmative clauses and sentential negation clauses, the vP must move into Spec PolP, and that the scope of the Pol head lies in its specifier position. The fact that in both affirmative and sentential negation clauses, the same category (vP) checks the [EPP] feature on the Pol head makes this analysis an attractive option. Note that the derivation of clauses assumed in this chapter is a modified version of the one presented in the chapter 3 (on case and agreement). The derivations discussed in chapter 3 did not discuss the structure beyond the TP.

I will now discuss derivations of the various finite clauses (both simplex and complex) within the Polarity Phrase analysis developed here. I will begin with an affirmative sentence where the object agrees with the verb.

105.	Ram-ni	gadi	chalav-l-i
	R-ERG	car-S.F	drive-PAST-S.F
	'Ram drove a car.'		

The following (106) is the schematic representation of the derivation in stages for the above sentence (105). The derivation has been divided into smaller tree diagrams in order to make it easier to see all the different movements occurring in the course of the derivation.

106.

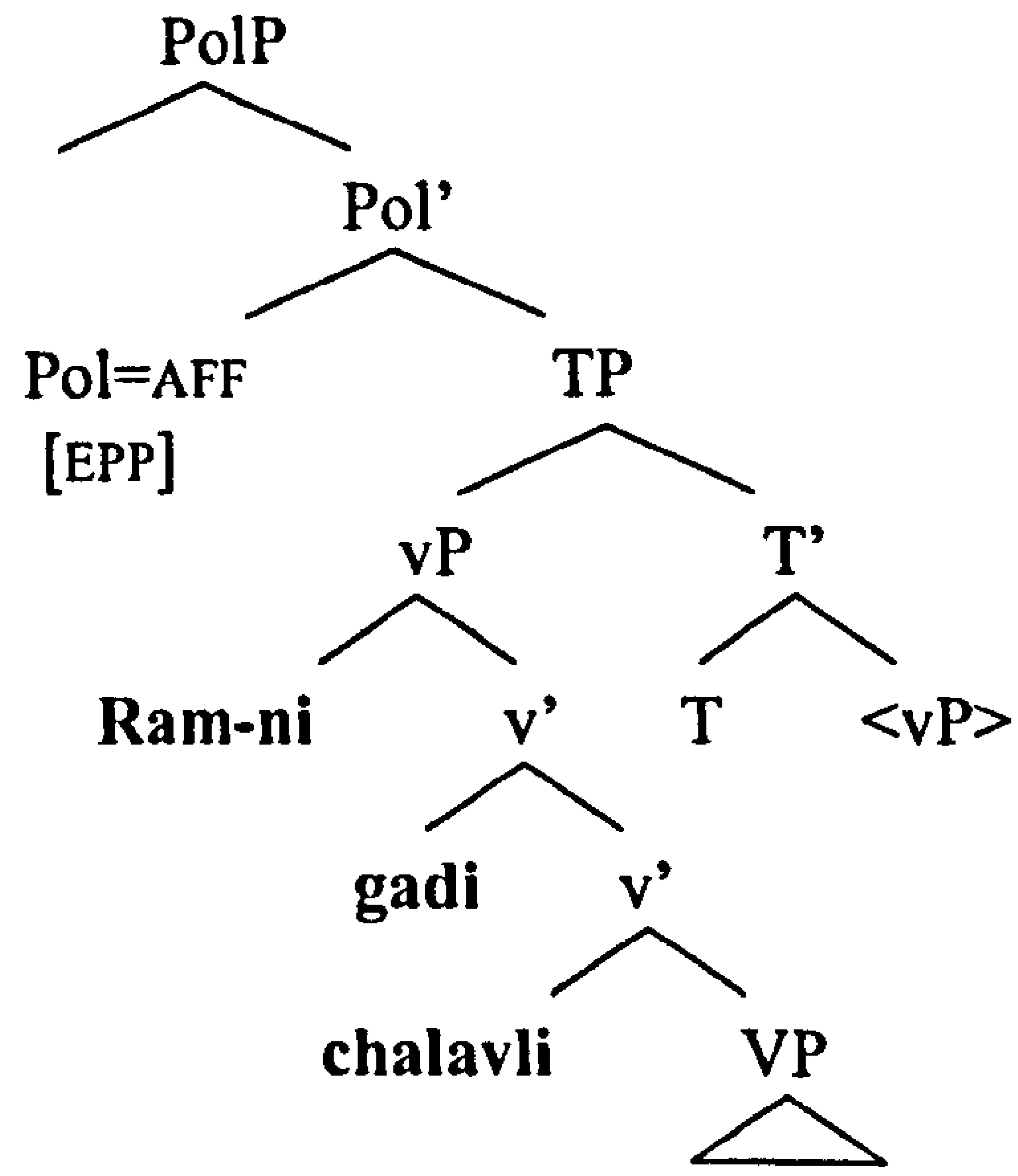


The following movements occur in the derivation of the above example. In 106(A) the verb *chalavne* combines with the object NP *gadi* to form the VP. Next little v is merged with the VP to form vP. This vP has multiple specifiers. The little v has an [EPP] and an [ASP] features on it. The [ASP] feature is valued as perfective with a covert marker in this case. The tree diagram in 106 (B) above displays the obligatory movement of the verb from the V head to the little v. Next, the object NP moves from the complement position of the V (in the VP) to the lower Spec vP. This is the obligatory leftward movement of the (nominal) object in the language. I have argued in chapter two that this is done to check the [EPP] feature on the little v. As always the subject originates in the higher Spec of the vP. The subject in this case is assigned ergative case along with the Agent theta role assigned by little v.

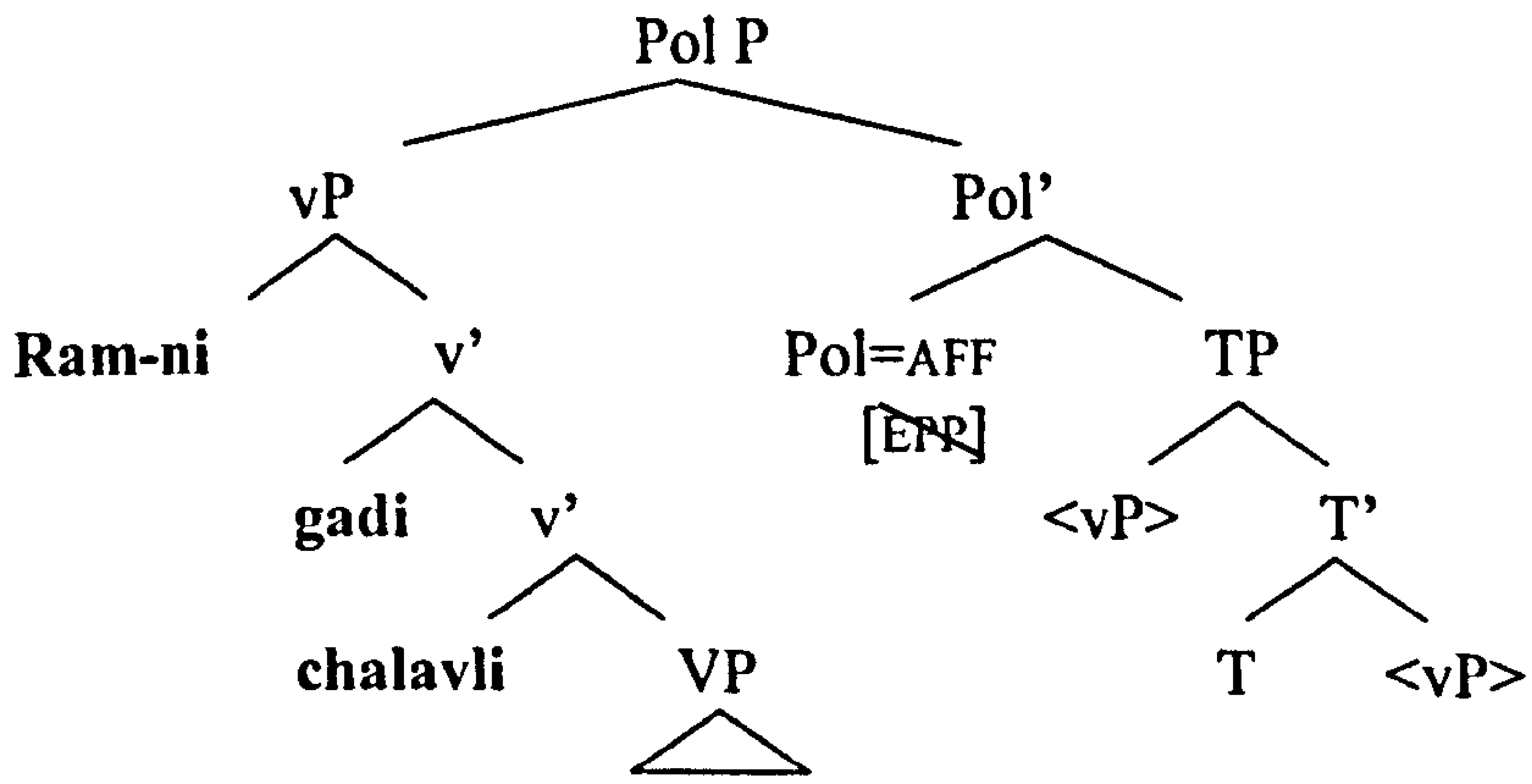
In the tree diagram in 106(C) above T head (with the uninterpretable primary and secondary phi-features, [CASE] and an [EPP] features is merged with the vP (in 106 (B)). The T head (a probe) looks for a goal in its c-command domain to check its uninterpretable primary phi-features. The subject NP is not an accessible goal as it does not have any unvalued uninterpretable feature. The only other available NP is the object that has an uninterpretable [CASE] feature that needs to be valued. Therefore it can act as the goal and enters into an Agree relation with the T head. As a result of the Agree the uninterpretable primary phi-features on the T head get valued and subsequently deleted. The agreement morphology shows up either on the auxiliary (if present) or on the main verb, as in this case. The T head assigns nominative case, in return, to the object NP as per the nominative case generalization discussed in the previous chapter. Following Biberauer and Roberts (2005) I argue that the little vP moves to Spec TP to check the [EPP] on the T head as shown in the tree diagram in 106(D). The uninterpretable secondary phi-features on T are valued by the default agreement (c.f. chapter three) which in this case is null or zero.

In 106(E) below the next functional category to merge with this TP is the polarity head Pol and as a result, PolP gets projected above the TP. The Pol head has an [EPP] feature that needs to be checked. Since this is an instance of an affirmative clause, the Pol head has the value AFF, which is zero marked in Marathi. I argue that for any XP to be in the scope of Pol head it has to move into the specifier position of the PolP. I propose that the [EPP] on the Pol head triggers the movement of the little vP (with the subject, object and the verb) into the Spec PolP. Note that there seems to be no empirical evidence in the affirmative sentences that show that the vP moves to Spec PolP via Spec TP. However negation facts provide the essential empirical evidence to make this movement of vP into Spec PolP via Spec TP licit. This will be taken up in the discussions to follow.

E



F



For now, I will maintain that the movement of the vP happens across the board. Irrespective of whether the Pol head is realized as AFF or NEG (sentential negation), it is the vP that moves into the Spec PolP and checks the [EPP] on the Pol head.

In 106 (F) above, the derivation is reaching its final stages in the syntax. The [EPP] on the Pol=AFF head triggers the movement of the vP from Spec TP to Spec PolP. There can be more structure projected above this PolP to account for cases with fronted constituents, but I will not be discussing those in the derivations presented here. For my analysis the highest projection in any derivation is the CP. Thus a C head is merged with the PolP and the CP is projected. With this the derivation is complete in the syntax and is ready to move to the LF and PF interfaces for the full interpretation.

Before moving on to negative sentences, I will present some empirical data that supports the idea that Pol head can have the value AFF in the non-negative sentences even though there is no independent marker for AFF corresponding to negation. Often emphasis is used as a marker for affirmation in the language. And the emphatic particles *–ch, -hi, -tar* etc. are added to the modifying constituent to express emphasis. Consider the following sentences where the emphatic marker is used;

107.	Arun	chaha-**ch**	piit	aahe
	A	tea-EMPH	drink-IMPF	be-PRES
	'Arun is drinking **tea** only'.			
	Ganesh-**ch**	gadi	dhuto	
	G-EMPH	car	was-PRES-3SM	
	'**Ganesh** only washes the car'.			

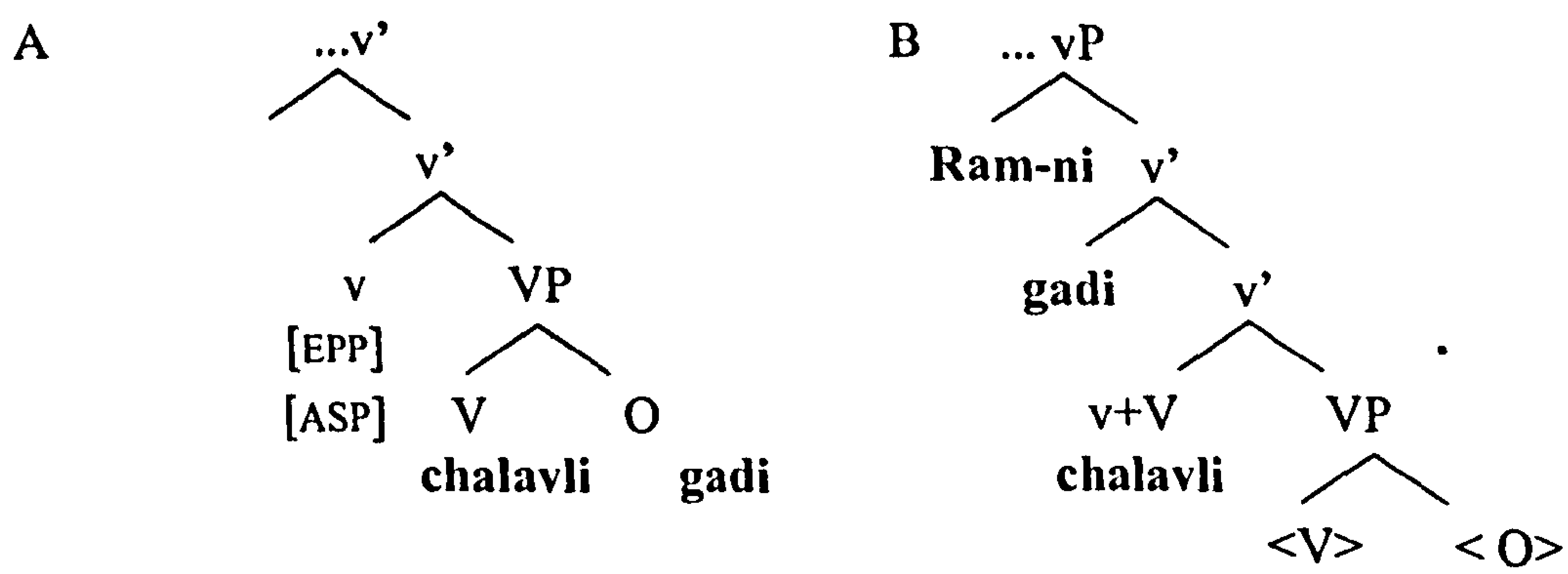
In my analysis these emphatic markers would originate in the Pol head when it is realized as AFF. And just like in the case of negation, the item that is emphasized moves into the Spec PolP. In the above case, only the object NP *chaha* is in the scope of the emphatic particle. Thus, only the object NP (not the vP) moves into the Spec PolP. This would imply that the subject has to move to a position higher than the Spec PolP. I will show that the subject does move to a higher position when I discuss the constituent negation examples in section 7.1.

Having discussed the derivation of affirmative clauses, I now return to the negative sentences, the focus of this chapter. Below 108(a) is the derivation of the negative counterpart of the above mentioned affirmative clause repeated below for convenience in 108(b). This example is an instance of sentential negation (as the negation marker (negative auxiliary) is in the sentence final position).

108.	a	Ram-ni	gadi	chalav-l-i	nahi
		R-ERG	car-S.F	drive-PAST-S.F	NEG .AUX
		'Ram did not drive a car.'			
	b.	Ram-ni	gadi	chalav-l-i	
		R-ERG	car-S.F	drive-PAST-S.F	
		'Ram drove a car.'			

The following are the tree diagrams (corresponding to the negative clause above) illustrating the derivation step by step. The tree diagram in 109 (A) shows the formation of the little vP. From the numeration, first the verb and the object NP merge together to form the VP. Next the little v merges with the VP and projects the vP with multiple specifiers. Little v has an aspect feature [ASP] and an [EPP][8]. Aspect in this case is zero marked for the perfective aspect as was the case in the affirmative counterpart of the sentence.

109.

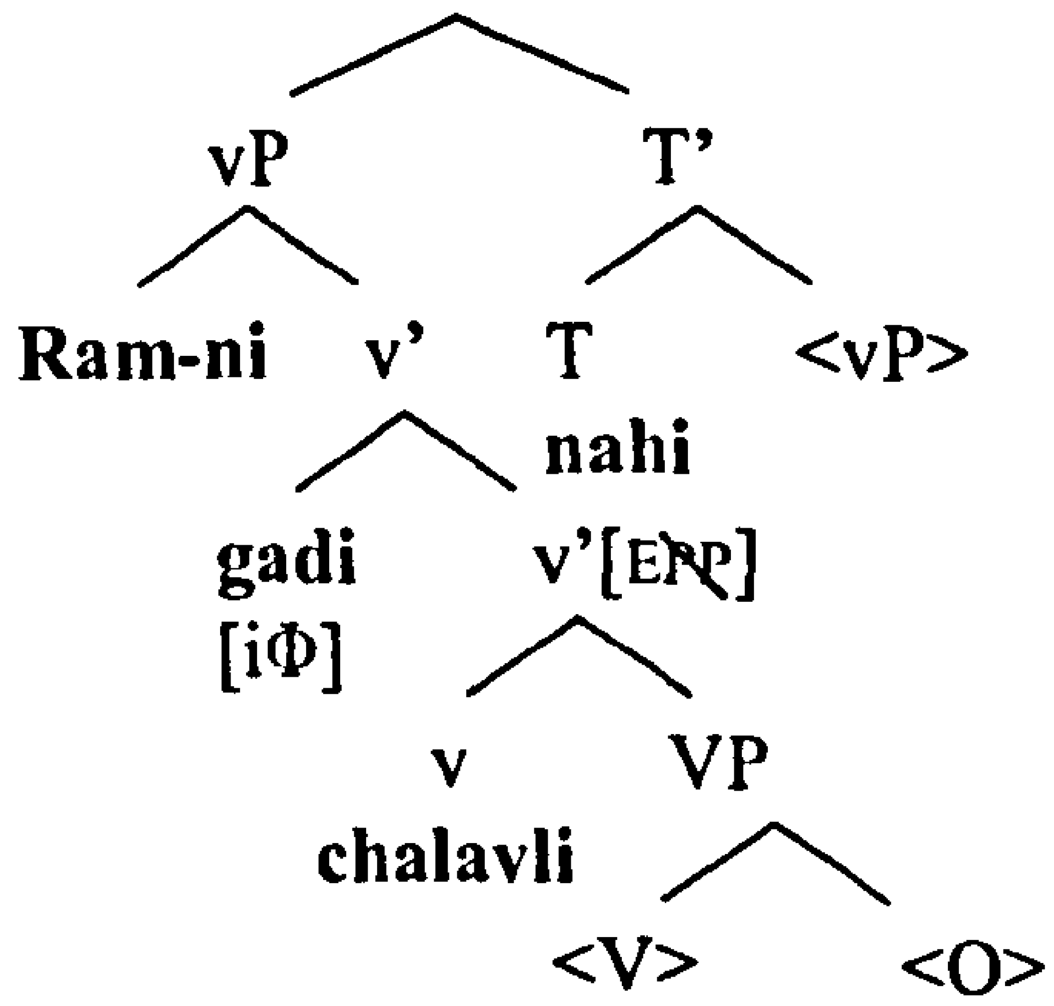


[8] Little v has a [CASE] feature, but I am not mentioning it here since it is not important for this discussion.

In 109(B) above the derivation proceeds a little further with the movements within the vP. As indicated in the tree in (B) the verb first moves from V to the little v. The second movement is that of the object. The object NP in the VP moves to the lower specifier of the vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v head. Recall this movement is obligatory[9]. Finally, the subject originates in the higher Spec of the vP. The aspect is realized covertly as perfective in this case. Little v assign ergative case and Agent theta role to the subject NP.

Tense is the next category to get merged with the vP. Accordingly in 109(C) below the T head is merged with the vP and subsequently the TP is projected. Like in the affirmative counterpart, the T head has both primary and secondary uninterpretable phi-feature,[EPP], and an [CASE] feature. To get the primary uninterpretable phi-features valued and deleted T probes for a goal in its c-commanding domain. The subject is the closest but it is not available as an active goal. Consequently it establishes an Agree relation with the object NP because it has the corresponding interpretable phi-features and an unvalued uninterpretable [CASE] feature. As a result of the Agree nominative case is assigned to the object NP. The little vP then moves into the Spec TP to delete the [EPP] on the T head.

C.

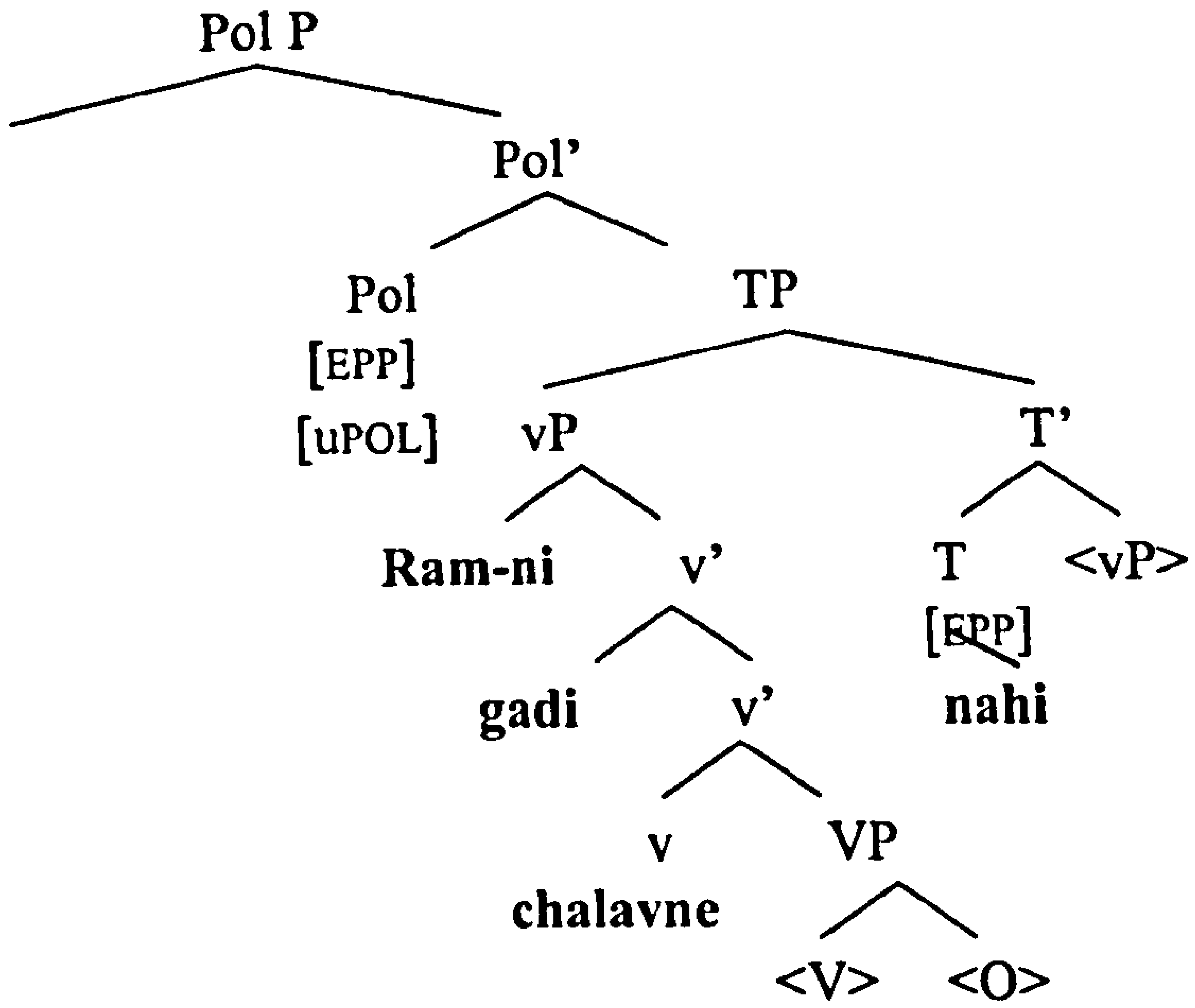


9 Remember only finite CP complements do not undergo this movement.

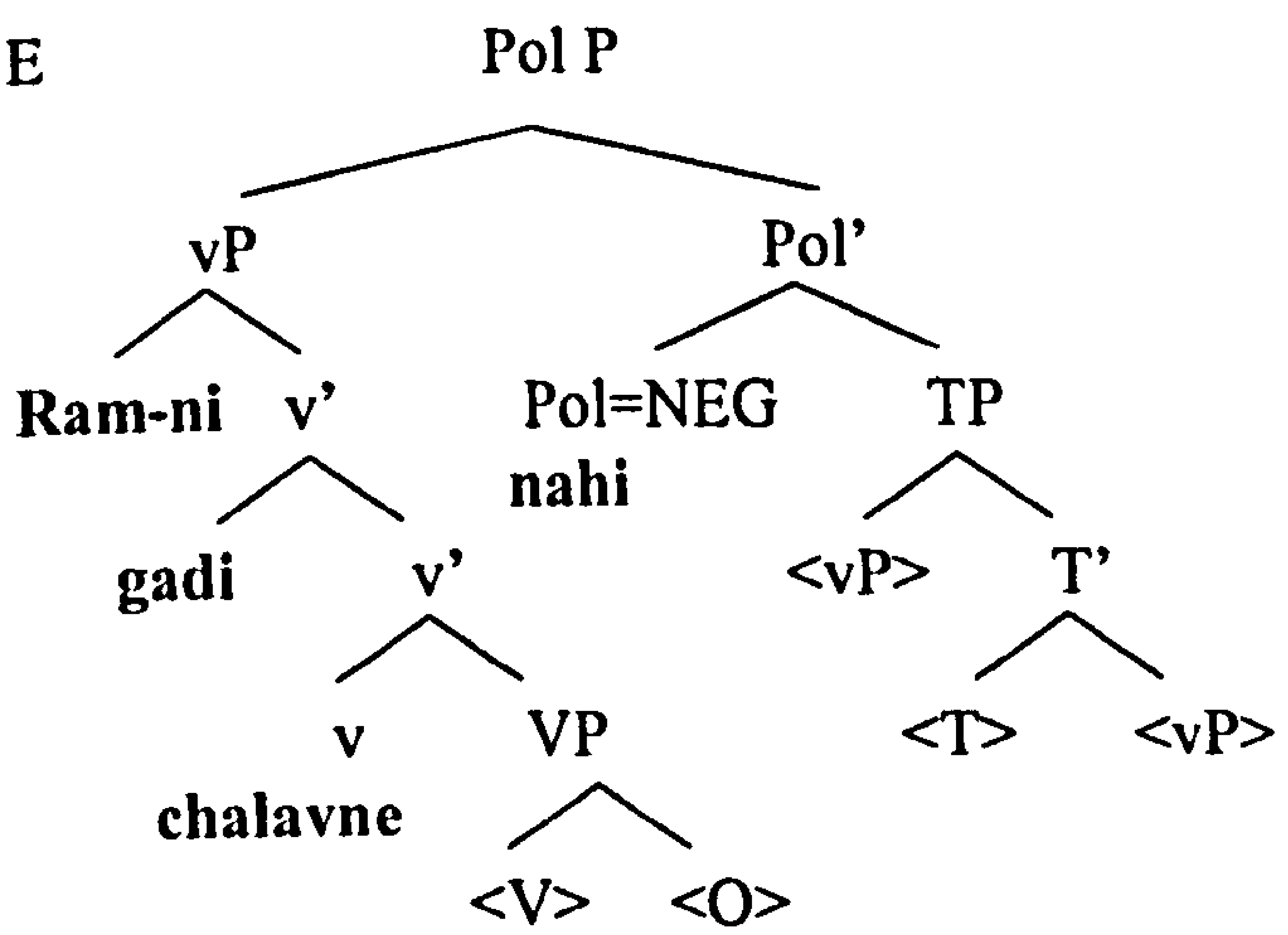
One of the crucial claims of the PolP hypothesis presented here is that all negative particles originate in the Pol=NEG head, and all the negative auxiliaries originate in the T head for the negative clauses just as the auxiliaries in affirmative clauses originate in T. Hence the lexical items *nahi* or *na* or *nako* 'not' originates in the Pol=NEG head where as the negative auxiliary *nahi* 'do not X', *nako* 'do not want X', *nahwe* 'X is not Y' etc originate in the T head, and later raise to Pol =NEG head providing it with negative value in the course of the derivation. Since the negative word in this example of sentential negation is a negative auxiliary, it originates in the T head in this case.

In 109(D) below the Pol head is merged with the TP next. The Pol head has an uninterpretable [uPOL] feature that needs to be valued and deleted. Therefore it probes for a T (auxiliary) with an interpretable feature which will value its [uPOL]. Since the clause in question is an instance of sentential negation, the negative auxiliary in T values Pol's [uPOL] as [NEG] as seen in the tree in (E) below. Along with valuing [uPOL] T also raises to Pol. Again this raising of T to Pol=NEG head seems to be an obligatory movement (analogous to the movement of the verb from V to little v) in sentential negation without much empirical evidence. Recall that the scope of negation lies in the Spec of PolP. Since this is a case of sentential negation, the vP must be in the scope of Pol=NEG. Hence at this stage the little vP must move from Spec TP into the Spec PolP. This movement is due to the [EPP] on the Pol=NEG head. Also notice that in this case the vP is not remnant, that is the verb and its arguments remain within the vP.

D



E



Some empirical evidence that supports the argument that in sentential negation vP is in the scope of negation and not the TP comes from the ungrammaticality of the sentences that have an overt T (auxiliary) and negation in the sentence final position.

110. *Ram naukri karaat aahe nahi
R job do-IMPERF be-PRES NEG.AUX
'Ram is not doing any job.'

*tyan-ni pustak aanli assel nasel/nahi[10]
They-ERG book bring be-FUT NEG.AUX
'They would not have brought the book.'

For the sentential negation cases the derivation is almost complete when it is in the stage (E) and it is ready to proceed to the LF and PF interfaces. We will see in the following discussions that the subject cannot move into the Spec PolP if it is not in the scope of negation. These would be cases of constituent negation of the direct object, indirect object or adverbs etc. Thus more structure needs to be projected above the PolP to account for the constituent negation cases, and also to make sure that the structure results in a subject initial sentence. I will be returning to this in section 7.1 below.

In the next sub-section, I will apply this PolP analysis to the cases of constituent negation. Up till now the derivations discussed above were all instances of sentential negation. The major conclusion that we draw from this section is that in sentential negation in finite clauses the negative auxiliaries are used and that these auxiliaries originate at T. Due to the uninterpretable [POL] feature on the Pol head, T raises to the Pol head to value the [uPOL] as negative. Also the [EPP] on the Pol head (AFF or NEG) is checked by moving the vP (remnant or non-remnant) into the Spec PolP, which is the scope position for the Pol head.

7.1 Constituent Negation and the Pol P hypothesis

Constituent negation involves negation of only one of the constituents within a clause as opposed to negation of the whole proposition expressed by the clause. Following are some examples. In (111) the object is getting negated with a negative particle. The negation marker in this case is not the negative auxiliary because the sentence contains the overt auxiliary *hone 'to be'* that is entering into agreement with the subject.

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[10] This sentence is grammatical if there is a pause between *aasel* and *nasel*, however the sentence then is interpreted as ' they would or would not have brought the book'. Thus, the meaning expresses some sort of 'doubt'.

111. Ram sad-ya **nahi** wikat hota

Ram	sad-ya	**nahi**	wikat	hota
R-NOM	saree-PL	NEG	sell	be-PAST-SM

'It was not sarees that Ram sold'.

In (112) below the adjunct is getting negated by a negative auxiliary as the negative auxiliary is agreeing with the nominative subject *muli.* Notice that this is a case where a negative auxiliary is being used to express constituent negation and not sentential negation. However if an overt auxiliary is present as in (113) then the negative particle will be used and the overt auxiliary will show the subject agreement -- *hotya.* Notice that a negative auxiliary cannot be used when an affirmative auxiliary is present in the clause.

112.

kal	**nahit**	muli	badzar-aat	ge-l-ya
yesterday	NEG. AUX	girl-PL.F	market-in	go-PAST-PL.F

'It was not yesterday that the girls went to the market.'

113.

kal	nahi/ *nahit	muli	badzar-aat	ge-l-ya	hotya
y'day	NEG /*NEG .AUX	girl-PL.F	market-in	go-PAST-PL.F	be-PAST-3.PL.F

'It was not yesterday that the girls had been to the market.'

The example in (114) below shows constituent negation of the subject by the negative auxiliary. This is a clear case, as there is no other verb present here. Thus, the negative auxiliary is acting as the main verb in this case. Here the negative auxiliary is agreeing with the object NP *tyache paishe.*

114.

mala	**nakot**	tyache	paishe
I-ACC/DAT	NEG. AUX	he-GEN	money

'I do not want his money, someone else wants it.'

Constituent negation is often used as a strategy to focus or emphasize a certain constituent within the clause.

The forthcoming discussion will show how the derivation proceeds for constituent negation. Recall that in constituent negation the negated constituent immediately precedes the negation where as in sentential negation the entire sentence precedes the negation. This suggests the generalization (mentioned informally in section 4.1) given below that

115. The scope of negation lies in the Spec PolP.

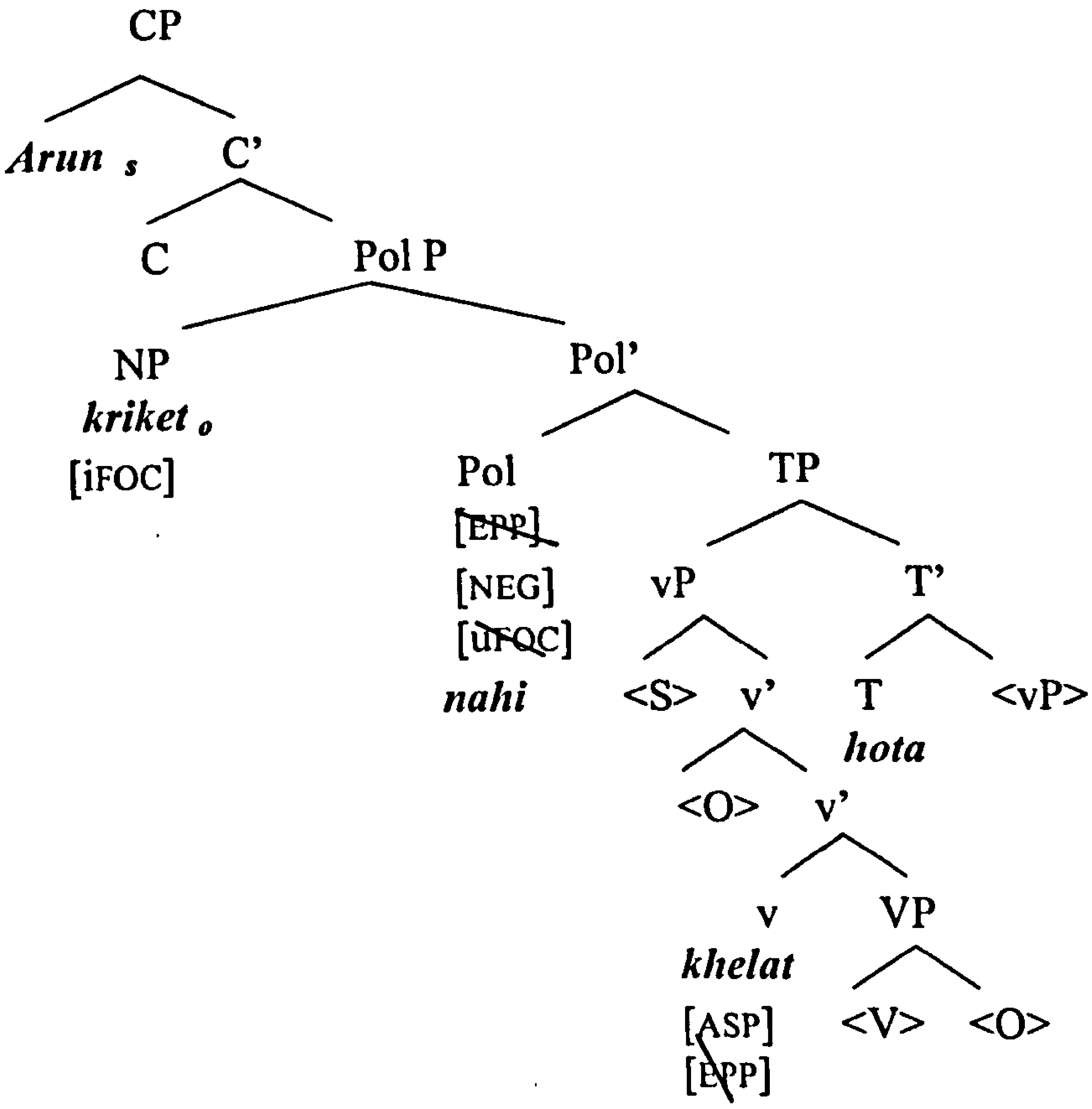
The derivation for the following clause in (116), where the object is getting negated by a negative particle, will be discussed first.

116.	Arun	kriket	**nahi**	khelat	hota
	A-NOM	cricket-NOM	NEG	play-IMPERF	be-PAST-3.S.M

'Arun was not playing cricket. He was playing something else.'

The tree diagram below (117) illustrates the derivation (with all the relevant movements) of the clause where the object *kriket* is getting negated. From the numeration, the verb *khelne* combines with the object NP *kriket* to form the VP.

117.



Little v with its [EPP] and [ASP] features is the next category to be merged with the VP to project the vP with multiple specifiers. The verb moves from the V head to the little v head. Aspect in this case is overtly realized as imperfective on the main verb in little v with the suffix *-t*. The object NP follows this verb movement and moves into the lower Spec of vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v head. And finally the subject originates in the highest specifier of the vP.

At this stage, the T head is merged with the vP. T is overtly realized here with the auxiliary *hota*. The primary uninterpretable [ϕ] features on the T head are looking for a goal with the matching interpretable phi-features to be valued. The subject NP *Arun* has the matching interpretable phi-features and an unvalued [uCASE] feature and hence an Agree relation is established between the subject NP and T. In return, the T-head assigns nominative case to the subject in accordance with the nominative case generalization discussed in chapter three. The secondary phi-features on the T head are valued by the default agreement which is realized as null for the secondary phi-features. The object NP in this case is also assigned the nominative case and it receives this case from the default case generalization as argued in the previous chapter. The [EPP] on T is checked by moving the vP into the Spec TP. Note that I have not mentioned all of these features in the tree above. This is only to make the tree 'readable'.

Pol head is the next category to merge with the TP. Constituent negation in this case is achieved by using the negative particle *nahi 'not'*. Therefore, I argue that it originates in the Pol head and values it as NEG. Pol head does not probe T for a value in in this case (that is, constituent negation by negative particles). According to the analysis developed in this thesis for sentential negation, it is the vP that moves into the Spec PolP to check the [EPP] on the Pol head. This is where the analysis is slightly modified in order to account for the constituent negation. Recall, that the scope of the Pol head lies in the Spec of the PolP according to the generalization given in (115). This is very crucial for the constituent negation in particular. Under constituent negation, whichever constituent of the vP moves to Spec PolP, that constituent will be the scope of negation. In this case, only the object NP is getting negated hence only the object NP must be in the scope of the negation, that is, the object NP must have moved into the Spec PolP according to the analysis developed here. And that is undeniably the case as I will show below.

Essentially this analysis means that both the constituent negation and sentential negation are a result of the same type of movement that is, moving to the Spec PolP. So the obvious question is – what marks a particular category (e.g. YP) available for constituent negation? or in other words what stops the vP from moving into the Spec PolP in constituent negation? I argue that constituent negation marks the negated constituent as a focused element. Hence, the Pol head in addition to its [EPP] feature also has a [uFOCUS] feature for constituent negation. The idea is that categories can be marked for focus with an [iFOCUS] feature when the derivation enters the syntax. This is based on the observation that constituent negation is often used as a strategy to focus on an element. Thus, the Pol head in constituent negation acts as a probe searching for a goal with the [FOCUS] feature. If there is a [FOCUS] marked category (YP) in the c-commanding domain of the Pol=NEG head then that category (YP) will be attracted to the Spec PolP. In the example in the derivation, the object NP is the category bearing the [FOCUS] feature, and consequently it moves into the Spec PolP from the fronted vP (in Spec TP) rendering itself into the scope of negation. This movement is facilitated by the [EPP] feature on Pol.

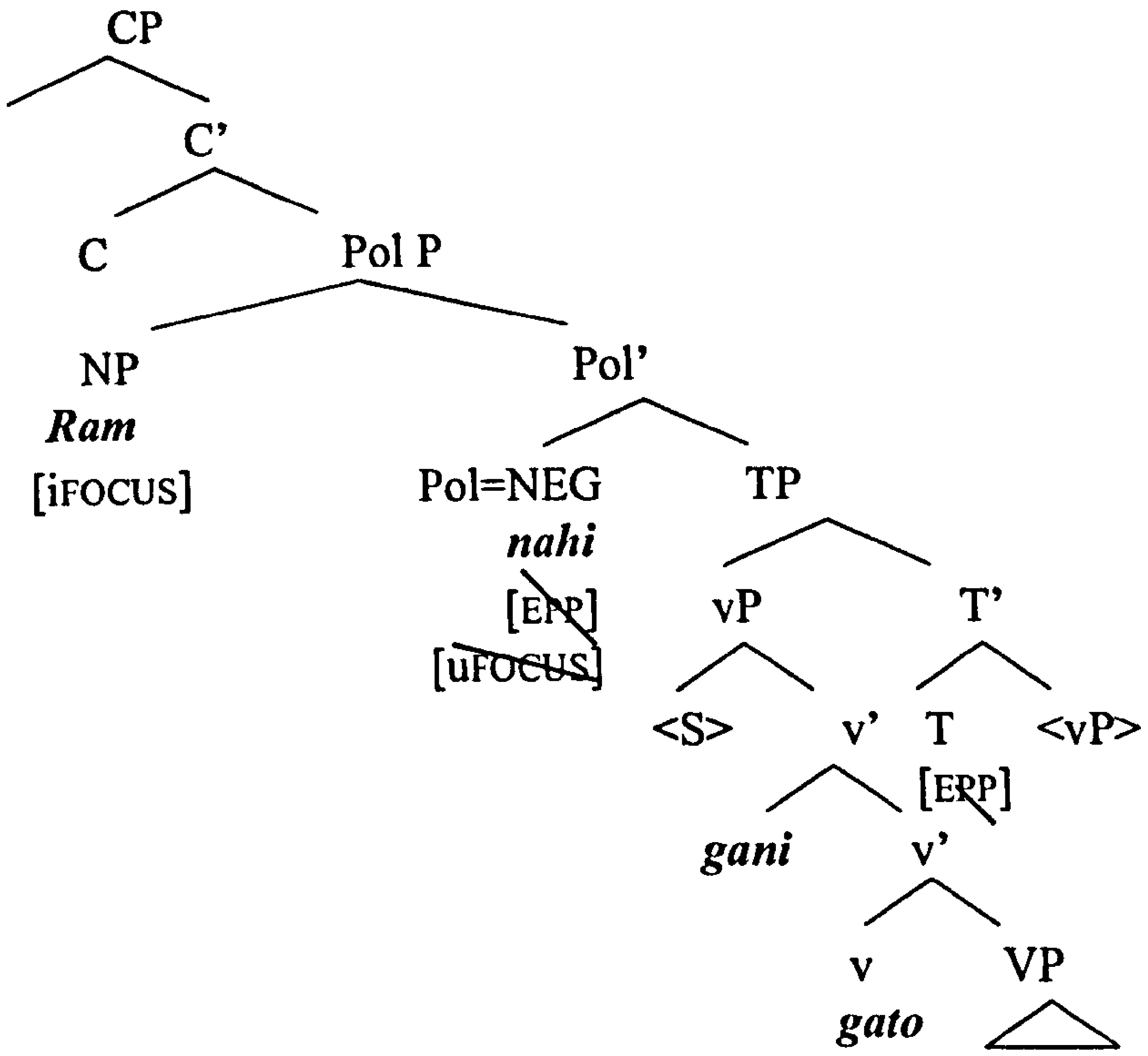
Since Marathi favours subject initial sentences, the subject NP must moves from the fronted vP to a position higher than that of the Spec PolP. I argue that Spec CP is the position where the subject moves to checks the [EPP] on the C head. The subject seems to have a Special status in Marathi as there is a strong tendency to place it in the sentence initial position. The only case when the subject does not have to move to this higher position (Spec CP) is when the subject itself is in the scope of Pol= NEG. There are two instances of this; (a) sentential negation and (b) constituent negation of the subject. See the examples below where (118) corresponds to sentential negation and (119) corresponds to the constituent negation of the subject;

118. Ram gani gaat nahi
R-NOM songs sing-IMPERF NEG.AUX-S
'Ram does not sing songs.'

119. Ram nahi gani gato
R-NOM NEG songs sing-PRES-3.S.M
'It is not Ram who sings songs.'

In the derivation of (119) shown below the subject *Ram* does not move to the Spec CP as the subject NP is within the scope of negation (Pol).

120.



I argue that the subject NP moves from the Spec vP (in SpecTP) into the Spec PolP to check both the [EPP] and [uFOCUS] feature on the Pol=NEG head in constituent negation as mentioned earlier. In this example it is the subject NP that is [iFOCUS] marked, and therefore the subject NP moves into the Spec PolP from the fronted vP in Spec TP. The negative marker in this example is a negative particle and not an auxiliary (as the subject NP is agreeing with the verb and not the negative marker). Therefore, the negative marker must originate in the Pol=NEG head. The [EPP] on the T-head is checked by moving the vP into Spec TP. Since the subject is entering into agreement with the main verb, prior to the vP movement, the T head must be entering into an Agree relation with the subject NP to value its primary uninterpretable phi-features, and value the uninterpretable [CASE] feature on the subject NP as nominative in return. Morphologically this agreement is realized on the main verb. The secondary phi-features on the T head are checked by the default value which is null. Since the subject in this case, is within the scope of Pol=NEG therefore it cannot raise to the higher position of Spec CP.

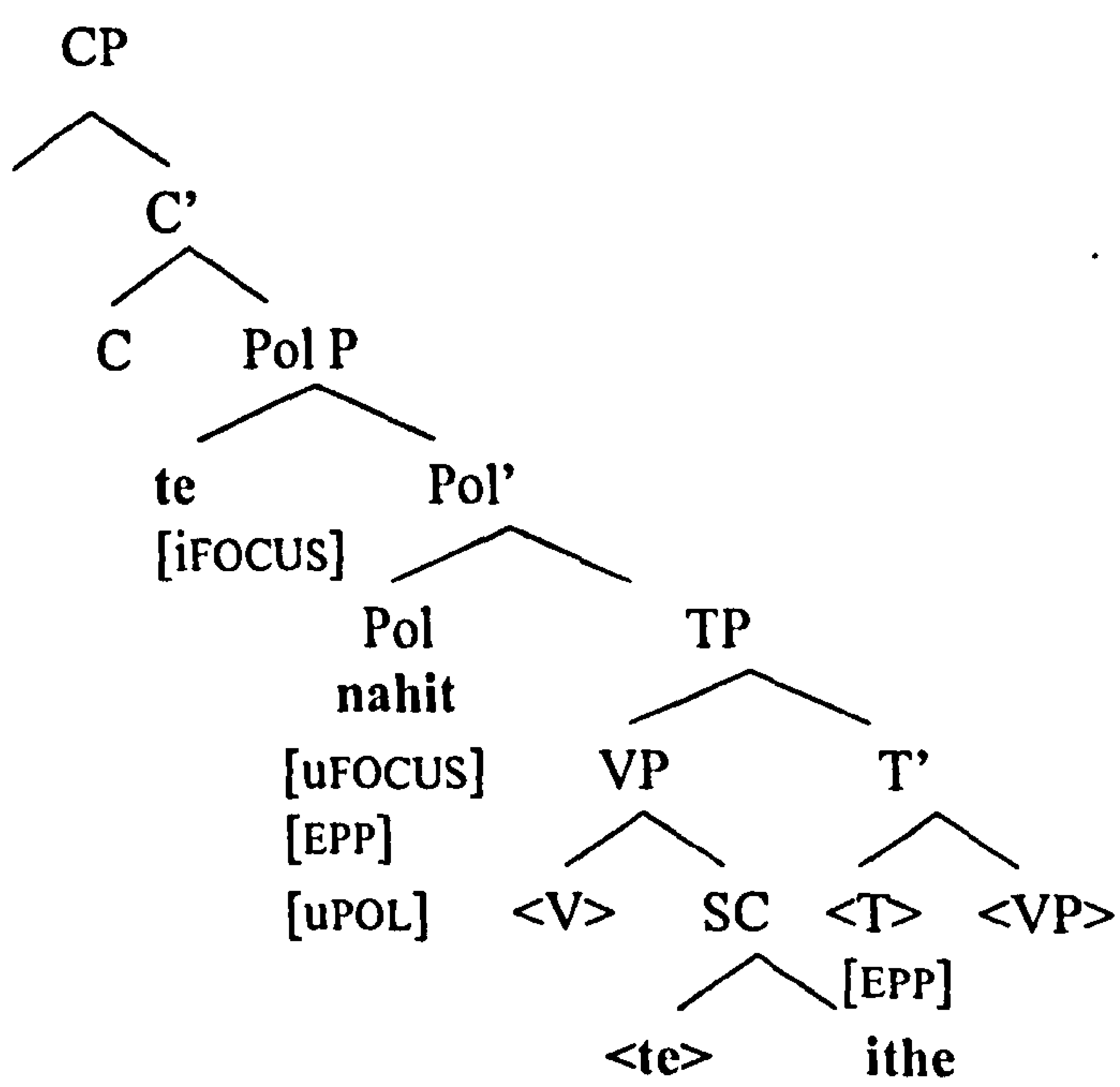
Before moving on to the next section, I will discuss one last derivation where a negative auxiliary has been used for constituent negation of the subject NP. See the example below,

121. te nahit ithe
they NEG.AUX-PL here
'They are not here, someone else is.'

The number agreement on the negative marker in this case shows that it is a negative auxiliary and not a negative particle. This is again an instance of constituent negation of the subject NP *te*.

The following (122) is the derivation for the clause.

122.



This case is particularly interesting as there seems to be no main verb present here. However, the agreement shows up on the negative marker. Under this PolP analysis negative markers bearing agreement morphology are treated as auxiliaries and are argued to originate in the T head from where, they are raised to the Pol head. However in the absence of a main verb like in this case, I propose that these negative auxiliaries function as main verbs. From the numeration, *te* first merges with *ithe* to form a kind of small clause (SC). V is the next category to merge with the SC. Since there is no main verb here, I propose that the negative auxiliary merges at V. T is the next category to merge with the VP. The negative auxiliary then raises to T from V. An Agree relation is established between the subject NP and T which results in valuing of the primary uninterpretable phi-features of the T. In return T assigns nominative case to the subject NP. Since there is no main verb present in this case, the negative auxiliary takes the agreement morphology. The [EPP] on T attracts the VP since this is the closest category with V-features in the absence of a vP. Pol head is the next category that merges with the TP. The [uPOL] feature on the Pol head probes T for a value and attracts it. The [EPP] on the Pol head attracts the category probed by the [uFOCUS], in this case, the subject NP. The subject does not move out of PolP to the higher Spec CP position.

I have discussed the derivations of various instances of constituent negation in this section. These derivations (discussed above) shows two types of Pol heads used in constituent negation, one where a negative particle was used for constituent negation and the other where a negative auxiliary was used. The Pol head in the former case does not need to probe T for a value, and has the following features:[NEG], [EPP], [uFOCUS] whereas the latter Pol head needs to probe T for valuing its uninterpretable [POL] feature, and it has the following features: [uPOL], [EPP], [uFOCUS].

The important conclusions to be drawn from the analysis regarding constituent negation are (a) the scope of the Pol head is in its specifier position, hence [IFOCUS] marked constituent of the vP that is getting negated moves into Spec PolP (b) that negative particles originate in the Pol head whereas the negative auxiliary originate in T and raises to the Pol head.

8 MY ANALYSIS OF NEGATION IN NON-FINITE CLAUSES

As mentioned earlier in section 2.2 negation in non-finite clauses in Marathi differs from the negation in finite negation. The following is an example (123)

123.	a.Ram-ni	[pustak	na	vaccha-nya-ch]prayatn		kelə
	R-ERG	book	NEG	read-INF-DAT	try	do-PAST

'Ram tried not to read a book.'

b. Ram-ni	Seema-la	[bazaarat	na	dza-ya-la]	sangitl□
R-ERG	S-ACC	[market-to	NEG	go-INF-DAT	tell-PAST-3.S.N

'Ram told Seema not to go to the market.'

The negative particle in such embedded clauses takes scope over the non-finite clause alone. There are two options for placing the negation in PolP; (a) PolP above TP and (b) PolP below TP, see the structures in (124) and (125) below

124. PolP

Pol'

Pol TP

125. TP

T'

T PolP

I will argue in this thesis that PolP in non-finite clauses c-commands the TP just like in the finite clauses. I reject the second possibility on the grounds that if the PolP (hosting the negative particle) was below the TP, and above the vP then the vP will not be in the scope of negation as it will have to move higher into the Spec TP to check the [EPP] on T. If we were still to assume that the vP movement happens to Spec TP via Spec PolP in these cases (where the PolP is lower than the TP) then as a consequence the verb raises higher than negation. This clearly results in the wrong surface order as shown below.

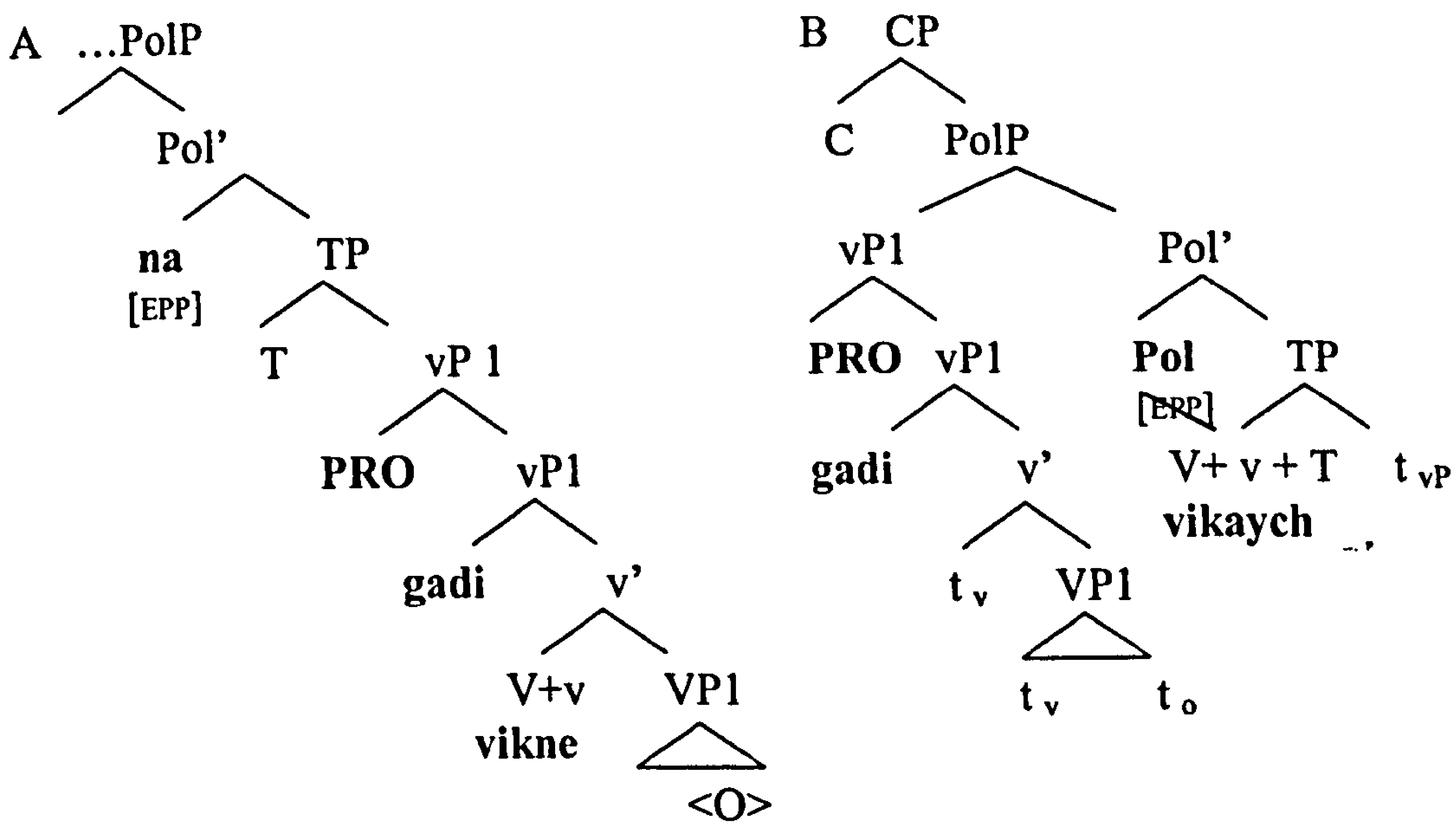
126. *Ram-ni [pustak vaccha-nya-ch na]prayatn kelə
Ran-ERG book read-INF-DAT NEG try do-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram tried not to read a book.'

In this section, I propose an account for negation in non-finite clauses in terms of the polarity phrase analysis developed for the negation in finite clauses in the previous section. I will now show how this analysis can be applied to the non-finite clauses. The following (127) is another example of a non-finite negative clause;

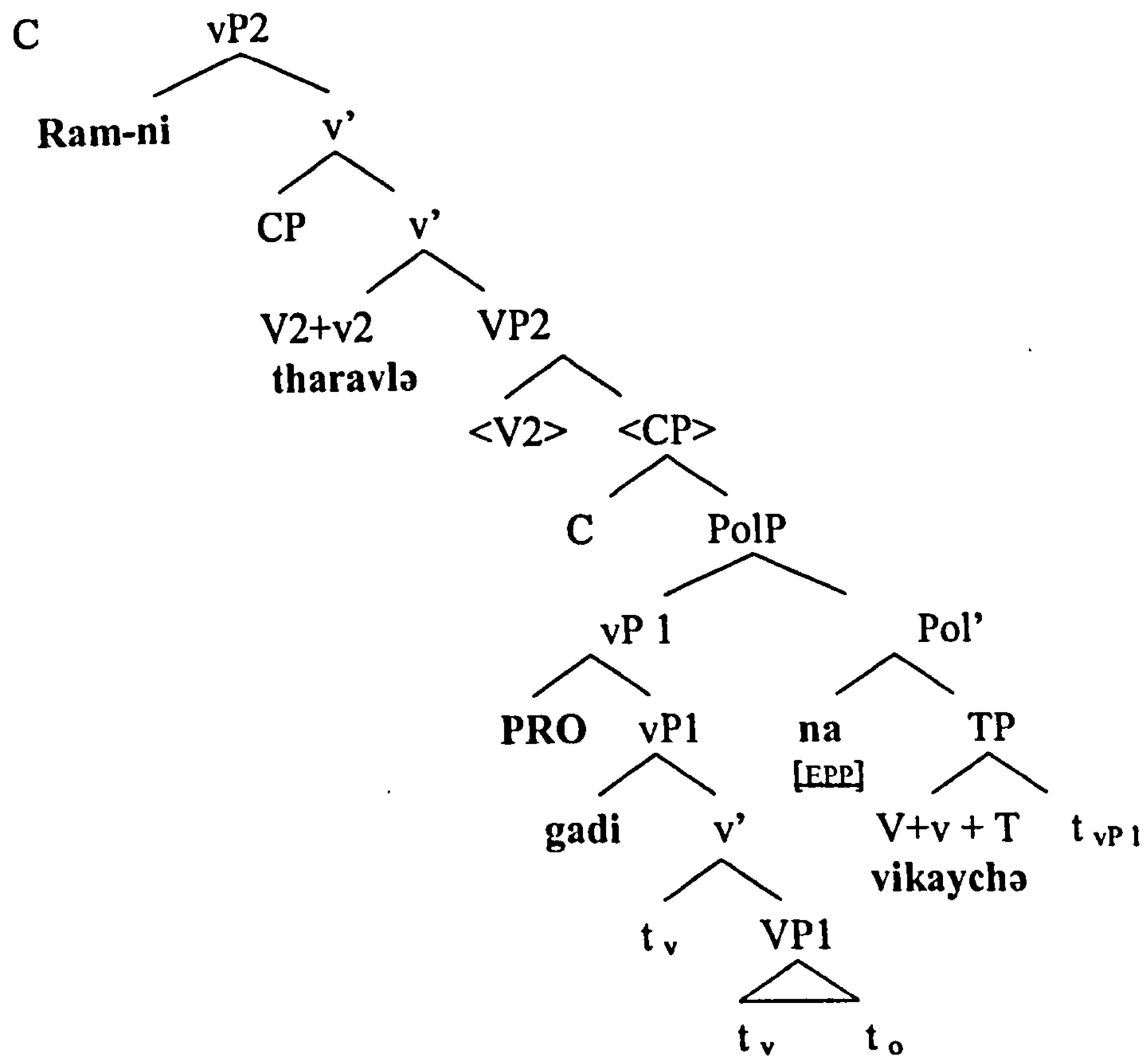
127. Ram-ni [gadya **na** vik-ay-ch] tharavlə
R-ERG car NEG sell-INF-GEN decide-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram decided not to sell cars.'

As mentioned in the section (2.2) the negation marker in non-finite clauses always immediately precedes the non-finite verb. Thus, in the above example, the negative particle *na* occurs in a preverbal position as opposed to the post verbal position in the finite clauses for sentential negation. The embedded verb is in the infinitive form with the genitive case suffix- *ch*. The derivation for this clause comprises the following movements as illustrated in the tree diagrams below. The sentence above has two parts (embedded clause and the matrix clause). The derivation of the embedded clause with the negation will be discussed first.

128.



From the numeration, in 128(A) above the verb (of the embedded clause) *vikne* merges with the object *gadi* to form the VP1. Next the little v is merged with the VP1 to project vP with multiple specifiers. According to the analysis developed here the object must move from VP1 to the lower specifier of the vP1 to check the [EPP] feature on the v head. Consequently, the object NP *gadi* moves from the VP1 (post verbal position) to the lower Spec vP1 to check the [EPP] feature on the little v. The subject (PRO) merges in the higher specifier of the vP1. Tense is the next category to merge with this vP1 projecting the TP. The T-head in this case is non-finite and hosts the relevant non-finite morphology. At this point, little v raises to T in the absence of an auxiliary. The vP then moves to Spec TP due to the [EPP] on T. After this, the Pol head is merged with the TP. This Pol head in non-finite clauses is inherently valued as negative hence it does not have to probe T for a value. The Pol head hosts the negative particle *na*. Recall that the Pol-head also has an [EPP] feature that needs to be checked else the derivation will crash at the two interfaces (LF and PF). In 128 (B) above the [EPP] on the Pol head is checked by moving the vP further into the Spec PolP. The preverbal position of the negation in these clauses can be seen as the consequence of the absence of an auxiliary,which triggers the movement of the V+v complex to T. Next, C head is merged with this PolP and the whole structure is projected as a CP completing the derivation of the non-finite embedded clause. This non-finite embedded CP is the complement of the matrix verb V2. This brings us to the derivation of the matrix clause.



The same steps as described above for the embedded clause are involved in the derivation of the vP2, for the matrix clause as shown in the tree diagram in 128(C) above. The vP2 has multiple specifiers similar to vP1 in the embedded clause. The subject *Ram-ni* of the matrix clause originates in the higher specifier of vP2. The matrix verb *tharavlə* moves from theVP2 to little v2.

The fact that the non-finite complement CP surfaces in the pre-verbal position reflects the similarity between these and the regular nominal objects which also occur in the pre-verbal position. For the nominal objects I have argued that they move from the VP to the Spec vP to check the [EPP] feature on the little v. Based on the surface order, it is reasonable to assume that the non-finite CP also moves into this position (Spec vP) from the post verbal position in the VP. The absence of an overt complementizer in C allows the non-finite TP to move. I argue that the non-finite CP functioning as the object of the matrix verb V2 moves into the lower Spec vP2 to check the [EPP] feature on the little v. The question that immediately comes up as a result of this movement is - why can a non-finite CP check the [EPP] feature on the little v but not a finite CP? The non-finiteness of the clause has something to do with this, but the question is still open. I will return to this shortly.

I argue that this movement is analogous to the movement of the object NP/DP into the lower specifier of vP (in the SOV order) in finite clauses, despite the fact that the object in this case is a CP[11]. In finite clauses the [EPP] feature on little v is checked (in the canonical SOV affirmative clauses) via moving the object NP into the lower specifier of the vP. See the example below where the object is in preverbal position in a finite clause;

129.	Ram	dane	nivRat	aahe
	R-NOM	peanuts	sort-IMPF	be-PRES-3S

'Ram is sorting out the peanuts.'

Coming back to the question of how non-finite CPs check the [EPP] on v. I advocate for the position that these non-finite CPs are nominal in nature[12]. The empirical evidence that supports this argument comes from the fact that the non-finite forms of the verb can take case markers or post-positions, a characteristic that is considered unique to

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[11] Recall Marathi is predominantly a SOV language but it also shows SVO order with finite embedded clauses. See the examples repeated below.

Ram	kriket	khelto
R-	cricket	plays

'Ram plays cricket'.

Ram	Arun-la	mhanala	ki	to	udya	gavi	jail
R	A-acc/dat	said	that	he	tomorrow	village	go-will

'Ram told Arun that he will go to the village'.

[12] As pointed out by Anders Holmbeg one could Speculate that non-finite T has some nominal morphology. Chomsky (2005, 2006) has claimed that features of T originate in C and that they are transferred to T. This is just a possibility however a more detailed explanation needs to be sought.

the category of 'nouns' in a language. See the paradigm below in (a) for the verb *vaachne* 'to read'. The forms of the verb in (a (i) to (iii)) are non-finite with case suffixes, and the instances in (b (iv) and (v)) are non-finite forms of the verb with postpositions.

a.	i	Vaah-nya-cha	read-INF-GEN
	ii	Vaach-ay-la	read-INF-ACC/DAT
	iii	Vaach-nya-hun	read-INF-ABL
b.	iv	Vaach-nya-at	read-INF-in
	v	Vaach-nya-saathi	read-INF-for

Finnish also allows non-finite forms of the verb to take a case ending as indicated by the examples below (pc Anders Holmberg).

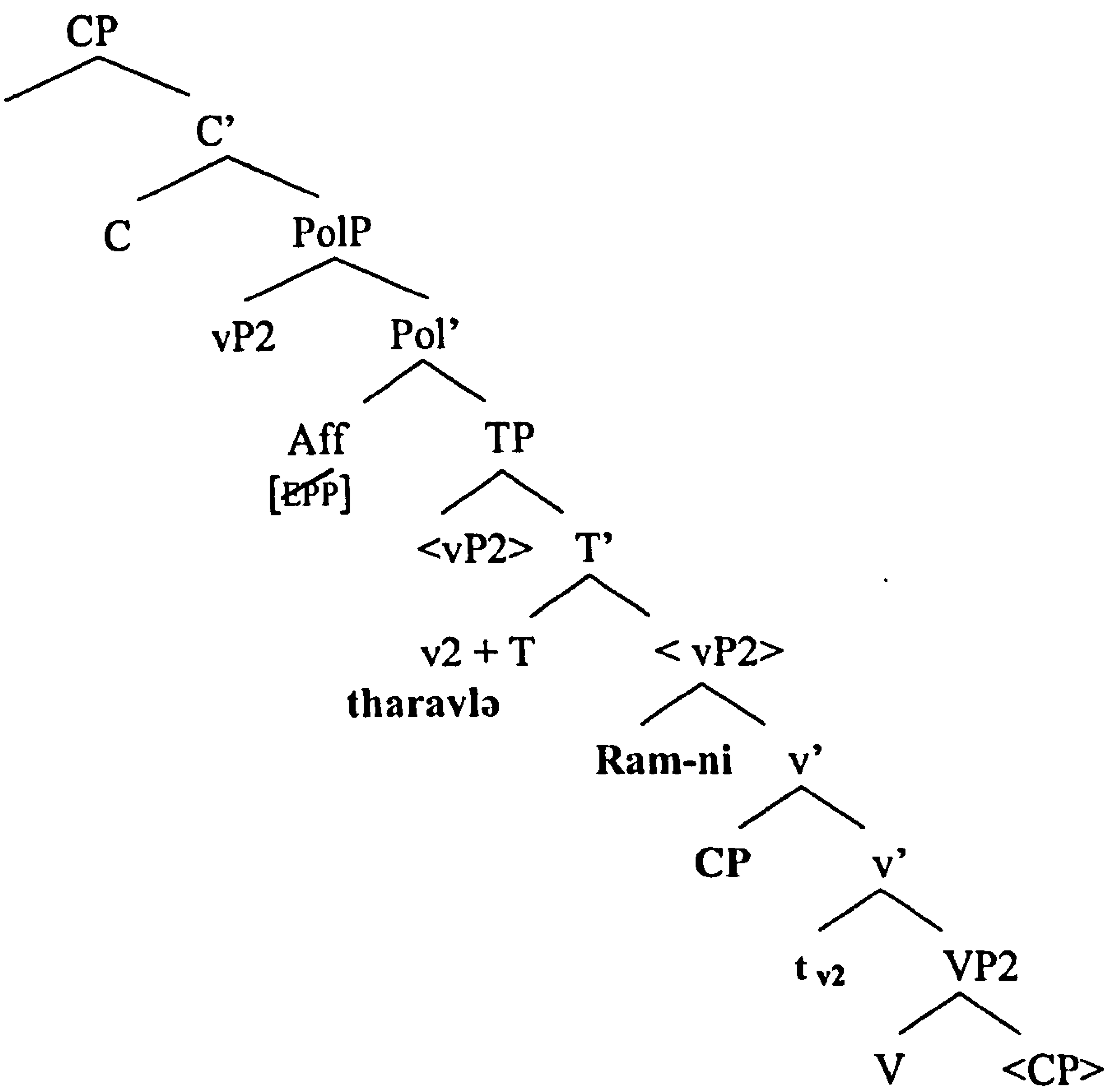
130. Mina estin Jaria **tule-ma-sta**
I prevented Jari come-INF-ABLATIVE
'I prevent Jari from coming.'

Mina pyysin Jaria **tule-ma-an**
I asked Jari come-INF-ILLATIVE
'I asked Jari to come.'

Hence, these can move into the preverbal position, and are capable of checking the [EPP] feature on the little v. The SOV surface order in embedded non-finite clauses (that is preverbal position) then follows neatly from this argument.

Returning to the derivation of the non-finite clauses in (128) the tree diagram in (D) below outlines the final movements in the derivation. The next functional head to get merged with the vP2 is T as seen below.

D



However, there is a crucial difference between this (matrix) TP and the embedded TP. The matrix T- head is finite as opposed to the non-finite embedded T. Consequently, the matrix T has both primary and secondary uninterpretable [φ] features in addition to the familiar [EPP]. The subject NP cannot establish an Agree relation with the T head as it has no uninterpretable [CASE] feature to be valued. Notice the subject NP is assigned ergative case by v[13].There is no other NP available to enter into an Agree relation with the T head to value its primary uninterpretable features. In such cases, both the primary and the secondary uninterpretable phi-features of the T are valued by the default agreements of 3SN and the null agreement. The [EPP] feature on the T head is checked by moving the vP2 into Spec TP. As in the embedded clause, the matrix verb raises from little v to T in order to get the tense and agreement morphology.

[13] See the previous chapter for a discussion on ergative as inherent case in Marathi.

PolP is the next phrase to be projected in the structure (matrix TP) in the above tree diagram (D). From the example, it is clear that the matrix clause is an affirmative cluase. Therefore, the Pol head for the matrix clause is valued as Affirmative (AFF). The AFF particle is realized as null in Marathi. The Pol=AFF head in this case also has an [EPP] feature similar to its negative counterpart in the embedded non-finite clause. This is checked by moving the complete vP2 (including the negative non-finite complement clause) into the Spec of PolP, analogous to the movement in the embedded PolP. With this final movement the subject ends up in the sentence initial position. I have argued in the section 7.1 while discussing constituent negation that the subject can move into a position higher than the PolP. That will be the Spec CP position. With this last movement the derivation moves out of the syntax and proceeds to the PF and LF interfaces for full interpretation.

It is interesting to note that the negation in the non-finite clause in Marathi is similar to the negation in finite clauses in Hindi. The examples below illustrate the similarity between the two languages,(131) shows that the negative marker in a non-finite clause in Marathi is preverbal. Similarly the Hindi examples in (132) and (133) show that the negative marker in the finite clauses is preverbal.

131.	Arun	dukan	na	viknyacha	mhanto	(Marathi)
	A-NOM	shop-NOM	NEG	sell-INF-GEN	say-PRES-3.S.M	

'Arun says not to sell the shop.'

132.	Arun-ne	aam	nahi	khayaa	(Hindi)
	A-ERG	mango-M.S	NEG	eat-PAST-3.M.S	

'Arun did not eat the mango.'

133.	Arun-ne	aam	nahi	khaye	(Hindi)
	A-ERG	mango-PL	NEG	eat-PAST-3.PL	

'Arun did not eat the mangoes.'

I argue that the negative markers in the above Hindi examples are also negative particles, and not negative auxiliaries. Clearly in the Hindi examples, the negative marker does not agree with the object in number, as expected if it were an auxiliary. In other words, the Marathi *na* in non-finite clauses and the negative particle *nahi* of the finite clause in Hindi are negative particles and therefore they are exponents of the Pol=NEG head. Notice that this is an important difference between the finite and non-finite negation in Marathi. In the post verbal negation, negative auxiliaries are used and these I argue merge at T. The main verb in such cases, then stays within the vP, and moves along when the vP moves to Spec PolP via Spec TP. This renders the negative auxiliary in clause final position in sentential negation. From these fact one can generalize that as a by product of this analysis developed here it appears that preverbal negation involves negative particles like *nahi, na* and others whereas the post verbal negation involves negative auxiliaries. The Hindi facts also add to the empirical evidence to support the above generalization.

From this discussion I conclude that the negation marker in the non-finite clauses in Marathi is merged at the Pol=NEG head whereas the negation marker in finite clauses is generated at the T head and later raised to the Pol=NEG head. This section showed the final variety of the Pol head, that is, the non-finite Pol has [NEG] and [EPP] features.

9 NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS

This section discusses negative polarity items and how they fit into the polarity head hypothesis discussed in this chapter. Marathi patterns with the other modern Indo-Aryan languages like Punjabi, Hindi, Gujarati in that there are no NPIs in these languages that correspond to the English NPIs like *anyone, anything, no one* etc.

The NPI effect is achieved by combing the Wh pronoun with the emphatic particle *-hi* in the presence of the negative particle/ auxiliary. Following is the table that lists some of these in Marathi

Table : Negative Polarity Items in Marathi[14]

no one	koni hi ... nahi
anything	kahi hi ... nahi
even a little	zara hi ... nahi
yet	adzun paryant ...nahi
never	kadhich...nahi
nowhere	kuthe...nahi
until	jo paryant...nahi

In Marathi as mentioned in section 6 negative polarity items are a combination of wh pronouns, quantifiers and the emphatic particle 'hi' as can be seen from the above list. And these can be licensed only by a negation.

The universal condition for the licensing of the NPI in any language is that the NPI has to be c-commanded by the negation in the structure. This is precisely the reason why languages like English do not license NPIs in the subject position, but do license them in the object position as indicated by the example below:

134. a. *Anyone did not see.
     b. Sam did not see anyone.

Since negation occurs structurally below the TP in English, it cannot c-command the NPI *anyone* in the subject position. On the other hand the negation is c-commanding the NPI in the object position, hence the sentence is grammatical.

Unlike English, Marathi allows NPIs in the subject as well as the object position.

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[14] Some of these negative polarity items are taken from Bhatia 1995.

135. a. koni-hi chora-la pahilə nahi
who- EMP thief-ACC/DAT see-PAST-3.S.N NEG AUX
'Anyone saw the thief' (lit)
'No one saw the thief.'

b. Ram-ni kona-la-hi pahilə nahi
R-ERG who-ACC/DAT-EMPH see-PAST-3.S.N NEG AUX
'Ram did not see anyone.'

In the light of the universal licensing condition, this would imply that the negation in Marathi is c-commanding the NPIs in both the subject and the object positions.

Marathi facts are similar to the Hindi NPI facts. Mahajan (1990) in this paper argues that the NPI licensing condition in Hindi applies at the LF whereas for English it applies at both the S-structure and the LF. He assumes a head final structure for the Hindi clause where negation is adjoined to the VP. Given this structure clearly NPI in the subject position in the Hindi example given in (136) is not getting licensed by the negation as the NPI is in a structurally higher position (possibly Spec AgrP)

136. koi bhiii larkaa sabzii nahiin khaataa thaa
Any-EMPH boy vegetables-F NEG eat-IMP-M be-PAST-M
'No one used to eat vegetables.'

He argues that the grammaticality of such sentences clearly suggests that the NPI is getting c-commanded by the negation at some level in the derivation. He argues that this licensing happens at LF. The idea is that the sentential negation is raised from its original (VP adjoined) position and is adjoined to the IP at LF. This LF movement ensures that the licensing condition is fulfilled. He then moves on to show that simply c-command is not enough for the licensing condition. In Hindi NPIs cannot be licensed if there is a scrambled object adjoined lower than I head as in the following example where the object *sabzii* is right adjoined:

137. */???koi bhii nahiin khaataa sabzii thaa

Anyone NEG eat-IMP vegetables be-PAST

'No one used to eat vegetables.'

However when the sentence is grammatical when the scrambled object is adjoined higher than I head as seen in the example below:

138. koi bhii nahiin khaataa thaa sabzii

Anyone NEG eat-IMP be-PAST vegetables

'No one used to eat vegetables.'

This contrasts he argues implies that the moved object is acting as a barrier to the LF raising of the negation in (137) above. He thus modifies the licensing condition on the NPIs as:

139. A negative polarity item X must be c-commanded by a negative polarity licenser Y and there must not be any intervening barriers between the X and Y.

On the other hand, Vashisth (1997) has argued for a Neg-criterion based account of the Hindi NPI licensing. Comparing NPI data in English and Hindi, he argues that the subject NPIs in Hindi participate in a Spec-head relationship with the negation whereas in English subject NPIs are unable to participate in such a relationship. To account for this he argues that the two languages have different structures for the NegP. He argues that *nahii* occurs as the head of the NegP shown by the fact that it has a tense feature on it.[15] The following are the NegP structures in the two languages according to him;

a. Hindi NegP : $[_{negp}$ Spec $[_{neg'}$ XP $[_{neg}$ nahii]]]

b. English NEgP: $[_{negp}$ $[_{Spec}$not] $[_{neg'}$ $[_{neg}$ OP $_{NEG}]$ XP]]

[15] The claim that *nahii* has a tense feature is based on the fact that it appears only in tensed clauses whereas *naa* appears in the tenseless clauses.

Like Mahajan, Vashisth also assumes that the NegP occurs below the TP and above the VP. Based on these structures he argues that the subject NPI can move via Spec NegP in Hindi on its way to the Spec TP. The movement of the NPI into Spec NegP is facilitated by the [NEG] feature. The trace of the NPI in Spec NegP participates in the Spec-head relation. This movement is possible in Hindi as Spec NegP is a vacant position however this movement is not possible in the English as Spec NegP is already occupied. With inner island effects he shows that Spec NegP in Hindi is an A-position whereas in English it is an A' position.

Under the analysis I present here for negation, the subject is part of the vP, and it is c-commanded by Neg before it moves to Spec PolP. However, once the vP moves from Spec TP to Spec PolP it no longer c-commands the subject. Hence some modification needs to be made in the universal condition of licensing to account for the Marathi data (Specifically the subject NPI). In light of the generalization presented that Spec PolP is the scope of negation, one would have to assume that scope of negation is dependent on m-command and not c-command. Thus the condition for NPI licensing in Marathi could be postulated as follows:

140. A negative polarity item X must be m-commanded by neg.

Thus, the subject NPI is licensed in Marathi because it is m-commanded by the Pol=NEG head. The same has also been suggested by (Benmamoun 1997) in his work on Moroccan Arabic.

I would like to mention that the PolP analysis presented here is similar to the Neg-criterion (Haegeman 1995) where the licensor and the licensee have to be in a Spec-Head relationship. The similarity being that the vP hosting the NPI has to move into the Spec PolP in the PolP analysis discussed above.

10 INHERENTLY NEGATIVE WORDS

In addition to the various negative auxiliaries and the negative particles, Marathi also has inherently negative verbs which under the PolP analysis would entail the cyclic movement of the V to the Pol=NEG head via little v, and T.

141. Ram-ni kam karae-la **nakarala**
R-ERG work do-INF-DAT refuse-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram refused to work.'

Then there are also the negative adverbs in the language. These would just have an inherent feature [NEG] on them.

142. Seema-chyni **nakaltch** he kam dzale
S-POSS-ERG unconsciously this work happen-PAST
'Seema did this work unconsciously.'

I mention these only to make the discussion on negation complete.

11 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have presented a detailed description plus an analysis of negation. The first conclusion to draw is the fact that negation works differently in finite clause and non-finite clauses within the language.

I have argued in this thesis that negation is a functional category realized as the Polarity head in a clause. And this Pol head projects its own projection labelled as the PolP. This Pol head can either be valued as Aff (affirmative) or Neg (negative).There are four main variants of the Pol head in the analysis developed here. They are repeated below:

Pol head with [u POL, EPP] --- For sentential negation
Pol head with [u FOC,EPP] --- For constituent negation with negative auxiliaries
Pol head with [NEG, u FOC, EPP] --- For constituent negation with negative particles
Pol head with [NEG, EPP]--- For negation in non-finite clauses

It has been also proposed in this analysis that the scope of negation lies in the Spec PolP alone. The [EPP] on the Pol head is checked by moving the vP in both finite and non-finite clauses in sentential negation whereas in constituent negation the category within the vP marked [iFOUCS] moves into the Spec PolP.

I have also shown that the preverbal negation in the non-finite clauses uses negative particles, which are exponents of negative Pol. Negative auxiliaries on the other hand are exponents of T and later raise to the Pol head in post verbal negation.

Finally both constituent negation and sentential negation are instances of raising to the Pol head in analysis presented here.

CHAPTER FIVE

ON PRO-DROP IN MARATHI

1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to look at the pro-drop in Marathi. It will become clearer when the data is discussed that Marathi facts cannot be captured neatly. The distribution of the null pronouns and their licensing is not so clear. I have attempted to present a generalization here. However I maintain that Holmberg (2005) comes closest in accounting for the Marathi pro-drop facts. This chapter can be viewed as an informative one that shows when null pronouns are allowed and when they are not.

1.1 What is pro-drop?

Empty categories have been extensively studied by syntacticians. Chomsky (1982) work discusses the different empty categories that can be found in different languages. He divides the empty categories in four major types based on the two features; (a) +/-anaphor, and (b) +/-pronominal[1].

1. Chomskyan typology of NPs

	Overt	Empty
[+anaphor, -pronominal]	lexical anaphor	NP-trace
[-anaphor, +pronominal]	pronoun	*pro*
[+anaphor, +pronominal]	--	PRO
[-anaphor, -pronominal]	name	*wh*-trace

[1] Table taken from Huang (2000:17)

The pro-drop parameter has received much attention in the generative traditions (Chomsky (1981), Gilligan (1987), Cole (2000), Holmberg (2005), Huang (2000), Jaeggli and Safir (1989), Taraldsen (1978), Rizzi (1982, 1986)). Most of the accounts mentioned in this chapter are either in the traditional GB framework or sketched within the minimalist program in case of the recent work. However there are others (Grimshaw & Samek-Lodovici 1998) who have tried to account for the same in different theory or framework, such as Prince and Smolensky's (1993) Optimality Theory. Pro-drop can be loosely viewed as a cover term used for the different empty/null categories found in a language. There are many languages that show pro-drop; Romance languages, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Polish, Hebrew to name a few.

Huang (2000) defines pro-drop or null subject languages as languages which allow a subject pronoun in a finite clause to be empty or null. Huang (2000) also divides pro-drop languages into three main kinds- (i) full null subject languages that allow all the three types of null subjects, e.g. Belorussian, Gothic and Yukaghir, (ii) non-null subject languages, that do not allow any kind of null subject, e.g. English and (iii) restricted or semi-null subject languages. He further divides the third type into (a) languages that allow only expletive null subjects like Dutch and German, (b) languages that allow both expletive and quasi-argumental null subjects like Malagasy, Icelandic, and Faroese, (c) languages that allow expletive, quasi-argumental, and/or referential null subjects in restricted syntactic environments, Finnish, Bavarian German.

From the examples presented in (2)- (5), it is clear that subjects of the finite clauses can be dropped, whereas in (6) the English data reflects the opposite pattern, dropping of the finite subject renders the sentence ungrammatical.

2. *Italian*

Pavarotti dice che Ø mangia gli spaghetti
Pavarotti says that eat-3sg the spaghetti
'Pavarotti says that (he) eats spaghetti.'

3. *Spanish*[2]

Juan/ Ø vio ese film

Juan/he saw that film

'Juan/he saw that film.'

4. *Greek*

emís/Ø milúsame me óla ta peðjá

we talk/1PL.IMPF with all-the-children/ACC.PL

'We were talking with all the children.'

5. *Hebrew* *(taken from Shlonsky 2006)*

Himlacti le-Gill$_1$ še ec$_{1/*2}$ yerašem la- xug le-balšanut.

I-recommend to-Gill that ec will-register.3sm to-the-department to-linguistics

'I recommended to Gill to register to the linguistics department.'

6. *English*

John went to the party.

* ec went to the party

Within the generative framework, the empty category or *pro* in the above examples is generally considered to be analogous to the overt lexical pronoun. If this is true then *pro* has to comply with the Principle B of the Binding theory just as overt pronouns have to. Principle B is stated below:

7. Principle B: *a pronominal is free in its local domain*

Null subjects in the past have been divided into three main kinds based on referentiality and argumenthood; (i) referential/argumental/thematic (ii) non-referential argumental or quasi-argumental (iii) non-referential non-argumental or

[2] Both Spanish and Greek examples taken from Brian D Joseph (Ohio State University) paper titled 'On weak subjects and prodrop in Greek' available online at the following link: http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~bjoseph/publications/1993onwe.pdf#search=%22Greek%20Pro-drop%20examples%22

expletive null subjects and (iv) generic null subjects. The following example from Italian (Huang 2000) shows all the three different kinds of the null subjects:

8. a. Pavarotti dice che Ø mangia gli spaghetti
Pavarotti says that eat-3sg the spaghetti
'Pavarotti says that (he) eats spaghetti.'

b. Ø piove
rain-3sg
'(It) is raining.'

c. Ø sembra che Pavarotti mangi gli spaghetti
seem-3sg that Pavarotti eat-subj the spaghetti
'(It) seems that Pavarotti eats spaghetti.'

In (8a) the empty category is a referential null subject, in (8b) it is a quasi-argumental null subject and in (8c) it is expletive null subject. Quasi-argumental nulls subjects are often found in impersonal statements like the weather predicates. However, this is not a complete list, in addition to these, there are two more possible null subjects (1) the generic null subject and (2) the controlled null subjects with the antecedent in a different clause.

Having discussed what is meant by pro-drop earlier in this section, I now discuss what other properties are often associated with a pro-drop language. Within the GB framework, it is argued that the pro-drop is correlated with other syntactic phenomena such as the free subject inversion, and the *that*-trace effect in a language. Thus if a language has pro-drop then it also shows free inversion and the *that*-trace effects. Consistent pro drop languages like Spanish, allow this. We will look at each of these properties in section 6 where the Marathi null subject facts will be discussed.

2 PRO-DROP PARAMETER

The pro-drop parameter was proposed to capture the cross linguistic variation noted with regards to a language's flexibility to use covert pronouns. Why is it that languages like Italian or Spanish allow for a null subject where as English does not allow a null pronoun in the same context as shown in the example below where *ec* stands for empty category?

9. *ec* verra
   **ec* will come
   Chi $_i$ credi che *ec*$_i$ verra?
   *Who $_i$ do you think that *ec* $_i$ will come?

Then there are also languages like Marathi that seem to permit both covert and overt pronouns in contexts where Italian or Spanish want a covert pronoun. What follows is the discussion of some of the influential work done on the pro-drop parameter.

2.1 Rizzi (1982)

In this paper, Rizzi presents a theory for the null subjects within the GB framework. Rizzi shows that Italian clauses with null subjects appear to violate the ECP. Despite these violations these clauses are rendered grammatical. To account for this apparent violation he adopts the idea that languages differ in governing abilities of the verbal inflection. Thus, in Italian, the INFL can properly govern the subject NP via co-indexation.

This argument is based on the fact that a definite null subject is not allowed in certain uninflected clauses like gerundives and infinitives, whereas their corresponding inflected clauses allow for null subjects. The following pair (10 and 11) illustrates the contrast.

10. A proposito di Mario$_i$, ritengo [poter lui $_i$/ *ec$_i$ disporre di fondi considerevoli].
'As for Mario$_i$, I believe [to-be-allowed he$_i$/ *ec$_i$ to dispose of considerable funds].'

11. A proposito di Mario$_i$, ritengo che lui $_i$/ ec$_i$ possa disporre di fondi considerevoli.

'As for Mario$_i$, I believe that he$_i$/ ec$_i$ can dispose of considerable funds.'

However, in weather verb constructions, null subjects are often found even in the uninflected gerund clauses (c.f. 10). The crucial point about these null subjects is that they are *not* interpreted as definite pronouns. Rather, they get a 'dummy' interpretation corresponding to the English expletives '*it*' and '*there*'[3].

12. Ritengo [esser nevicato anche sotto I mille metri]
'I believe [to have snowed even below 1000 meters].'

He tries to account for the following two descriptions of the Italian null subjects with the null subject parameter.

13. (i) A phonetically null subject with 'dummy' interpretation can be found in the local context of a nominative assigner (tensed inflection or an Aux in the COMP).

(ii) A phonetically null subject with a definite pronominal interpretation can be found in the local context of a tensed inflection.

The data above clearly indicates that there is a link between the verbal inflection and the presence of a null subject. He proposes that the verbal inflection in the null subject languages has clitic-like pronominal properties. This can be expressed formally by assuming that the INFL in null subject languages have a feature [+pronoun] which

[3] Null subjects with this dummy interpretation are not found in all inflected clauses. It is not permitted in the control and raising infinitives.

entails features like person and number specified on them, thereby rendering the INFL clitic-like. And this [+pronoun] feature is to be interpreted as a definite pronoun, which also absorbs the nominative case.

Following Kayne (1981) Rizzi shows that null subjects show ECP violations at LF in Italian. Kayne has successfully shown that the negative quantifier *personne* has to co-occur with the negative particle *ne*. If the negative quantifier is in the object position of an embedded clause then the negative particle *ne* can be cliticised to the embedded verb or marginally to the main verb, as shown below;

14. J'ai exige qu'ils n'arretent personne.
'I have required that they neg arrest nobody.'

15. ?Je n'ai exige qu'ils arretent personne
I neg have required that they arrest nobody.'

However this is not the case, when the negative quantifier is in the subject position of the embedded clause. In such cases, only the clause with *ne* cliticised to the embedded verb is allowed.

16. J'ai exige que personne ne soit arête.
'I have required that nobody neg be arrested.'

17. *Je n'ai exige que personne soit arête.
'I neg have required that nobody be arrested.'

Kayne assumes that the negative quantifier is acting as an overt scope marker. In (14) the negative quantifier has narrow scope whereas in (15) it has wide scope. The LF representations of these clauses is as follows:

18. [s'[s j'ai exige [s' que personne$_i$ [s ils arretent e$_i$]]]]
19. [s' personne$_i$ [s j'ai exige [s' qui [s ils arretent e$_i$]]]]

Based on the notion of scope, the contrast in (16) and (17) can be easily accounted for given their LF representations.

20. [s'[s j'ai exige[s' que personne$_i$ [s ei soit arrete]]]]

21. [s' personne$_i$ [s j'ai exige [s' que [s ei soit arrete]]]]

In (21) the trace in the embedded clause is violating the ECP as the trace is not properly governed. On the other hand, (20) is allowed as there are no ECP violations. The trace in the embedded clause is properly governed (antecedent governed) through co-indexation with the negative quantifier. The contrast with respect to the wide scope interpretation of the quantifier in French, a non null subject language, as observed by Kayne holds true for Italian (a null subject language) as well.

For him the null subject parameter is reduced to INFL being specified with an [+pronoun] feature.

2.2 Rizzi (1986)

In this paper Rizzi has shown that the agreement based accounts of null subjects run into trouble if one considers a language like Italian where null pronouns are allowed in the object position. If null elements are to be analyzed in terms of agreement then languages like Italian that do not have any object agreement should not be allowing any null elements in the object position. However, Italian does have null elements in the object position.

22. Questo conduce __ a [PRO concludere quanto segue].
'This leads _ to conclude what follows.'

The null pronouns in the object position in Italian have arbitrary reading.

23. Un generale può costringere__ a [PRO obbedire ai suoi ordini].
'A general can force__ to obey his orders'.

The counterparts of these examples in English result in ungrammaticality as indicated below.

24. *This leads Ø to conclude what follows.
    *A general can force Ø to obey his orders.

He has successfully established in this paper that the Italian arbitrary null element in the object position is similar to *pro*, i.e. it has the features [-anaphor] and [+pronominal]. In the standard approaches to pro-drop, both licensing and identification or recovery of the *pro* has been unified, and they are assumed to be satisfied by strong agreement subject to government. Rizzi is first to point out that the identification/ recovery of its content and licensing of the null pronouns should be treated as two separate conditions.

Accordingly he suggests a modification in the *pro*-module which is given below, and this is subject to parametric variation.

25. *pro* Module

Licensing schema
pro is governed (and case marked) by $X^{o}{}_{y}$

He says "this means that *pro* is licensed by a governing head of type y, where the class of licensing heads can vary from language to language (page 519)". With this modification, the null objects can be explained as instantiation of the licensing schema in (25) where V head can license the null object. In English the V head cannot license the null objects. Therefore, null objects are not allowed in English.

With regards to the identification requirement of the null object or *pro*, Rizzi proposes the following schema.

26. Recovery schema

> Let X be the licensing head of an occurrence of *pro*: then *pro* has the grammatical specification of the features on X co-indexed with it.

For null subjects, the recovery schema works in a straightforward manner, INFL the governing head has agreement phi–features which get co-indexed with the null subject in accordance with (26). This co-indexing with phi-features makes the null subject definite, but there are instances of null subject where they are interpreted as arbitrary. See the following example from the Italian impersonal *si-* sentence:

27. *pro* $_{arb}$ si $_{arb}$ dorme troppo.
    'People sleep too much'.

Some null subjects may have the arb interpretation however the null objects obligatorily have arb interpretation (see examples (22-23) above). To account for this Rizzi adds another option in the recovery schema given in (26). The additional option is given below;

28. Assign *arb* interpretation to the direct theta-role.

Under this theory, the differences between English and Italian sentences (mentioned earlier on in this section) follow from the fact that in English the V head can not act as a licensing head where as in Italian it can. Hence Italian satisfies the conditions on pro-drop, unlike English. As for the cases with *pro*$_{arb}$ they are seen in both English and Italian, as in (29)

29. a. This leads to the following conclusion.
    b. Questo conduce __ alla seguente conclusione

These are taken care of by the recovery schema in (28) which is present in both the language as a rule. This rule can be applied in either in the lexicon or in the syntax.

Occasionally in Marathi one does come across cases of null objects with pro_{arb} interpretation. Here the object of the embedded non-finite clause is null. However Marathi is not so free in allowing null objects[4].

30. Ram [(lokan-la) madad karay-la] hamesha taiyar asto
R people-ACC help do-INF-ACC always ready be-PRES-3SM
'Ram is always ready to help (people).'

In this module *pro* is underspecified for the phi-features. He also makes a clear distinction between licensing of the null pronouns and their recoverability. Both the components of the module are parameterized, thereby accounting for the cross linguistic variation.

2.3 Jaeggli and Safir (1989)

Jaeggli and Safir in this work try to address the question -- what is the relationship between agreement and the null subjects in a language? They present us with the following pro-drop parameter

31. *The null subject parameter*
Null subjects are permitted in all and only languages with morphologically uniform inflectional paradigms.

32. *Morphological Uniformity*
An inflectional paradigm P in a language L is morphologically uniform iff P has either only underived inflectional forms or only derived inflectional forms.

According to this notion of morphological uniformity, languages like English and French do not have a morphologically uniform inflectional paradigm as some of the

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[4] In this thesis, I will not be discussing null objects in Marathi as the facts do not provide any conclusive results. Their distribution appears to be more complex. I have discussed data with null subjects in this chapter.

forms in the paradigm are the same as the stem of the verb. Thus, there is a mixture of forms with bare stems and forms with a stem plus affix combination within a single paradigm. Therefore according to the parameter in (31) these languages cannot be null subject languages. On the other hand, languages like Japanese, Chinese, Spanish, have morphologically uniform paradigms, that is, all the forms within a single paradigm are a combination of stem plus an affix.

The phenomenon of null pronouns relies on two things; (i) identification and (ii) licensing requirements in a language. On this account the distinction between null subjects languages like Italian (which allows both thematic and expletive pro drop)versus German (which allows only expletive drop) is based on the identification strategy of the null pronoun. Within their theory,

a thematic null subject must be identified. (pg 32)

And this identification can be done in different ways. In languages with agreement the identification is possible by matching the phi-features on the INFL node. In languages with no agreement, identification can be done through a c-commanding NP or by inheritance of agreement features by a lower INFL from the higher INFL. This co-relation between rich agreement and the identification of null pronouns does not seem to hold true of languages like Icelandic where the verbal paradigm is fairly uniform. They define the identification by agreement condition as follows;

33. Identification by Agreement

AGR can identify an empty category as thematic *pro* iff the category containing AGR Case governs the empty category.

For topic drop type null subject languages, their analysis supposes that there is some sort of control of *pro* in addition to the wh movement of a null operator leaving a wh trace. In Chinese the AGR node is empty and hence cannot identify *pro* unless it gets values from somewhere else. They assume that this empty AGR gets feature values from a c-commanding NP which is usually the subject of the higher clause. And with this value the AGR can then identify the null subject in the complement clause.

3 TYPES OF PRO-DROP LANGUAGES

The pro-drop languages can be broadly divided into two main kinds; (1) Classical pro-drop language and (2) Semi pro-drop language. Classical pro-drop languages are those that show consistent pro-drop in all the persons, correlates with subject inversion, and the *that*-trace effect, and allow all the different types of the empty categories. Languages like Italian, Greek are the typical examples. On the other hand semi pro-drop languages are those which seem to have a split, that is, only certain person pronouns can be dropped or null subjects are allowed in only certain tenses (Hebrew). Holmberg (2005) identifies a third type of pro-drop language which he refers to as partial pro-drop languages. In these languages, pro-drop is allowed in only certain contexts, and not in others. He gives Finnish, Brazilian Portuguese and Marathi as examples of this kind. In this thesis, I will present more data from Marathi that indicates that it is a partial pro-drop language in the Holmberg (2005) sense.

Pro-drop languages can also be divided in terms of conditions that result in pro-drop. Accordingly, there are two main types of pro-drop languages: (1) syntax based pro-drop languages where all instances of the missing pronouns are recoverable through agreement, for example, Italian and (2) discourse based pro-drop languages where the missing pronoun is recovered through the context of the discourse (Huang 1989). Chinese is major example of this type of pro-drop language. Marathi, as we will see when the data is presented, does not fit well into either of the two types, but rather seems to be somewhere in between.

4 TOPIC PRO-DROP

4.1 Huang 1984

The agreement based accounts of the pro-drop phenomenon (Taraldsen1978, Rizzi 1986 etc.) clearly do not hold true for languages like Chinese, Korean and Japanese that lack agreement, and still allow null pronouns. Huang's work is considered as one of the best account of the null subjects in languages with no agreement. He argues for a topic-variable account of the null subjects in such languages. Huang shows that in Chinese pronouns can be dropped in both subject and the object positions.

34. a. ta kanjian ta le
He see he LE
'He saw him.'

b. *e* kanjian ta le
'(He) saw him.'

c. ta kanjian *e* le.
'He saw (him).'

d. *e* kanjian *e* le
'(He) saw (him).'

He shows that there is similarity between the reference of an overt pronoun in English, and its null counterpart in Chinese. The following is an example that demonstrates the point.

35.

English		Chinese
a. He came	a'.	*e* lai- le
b. Bill saw him	b'.	Lisi hen xihuan *e*.
c. John said that he knew Bill	c'.	Zhangsan shuo [*e* bu renshi Lisi].
d. John said that Bill knew him	d'.	Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi *e*].

In (35a') the reference of the missing pronoun (in Chinese) is someone who is understood within the discourse, similar to the pronoun *he* in (35a). For both (35b) and (35b'), the reference of the overt pronoun and the missing pronoun is understood outside of the discourse. In (35c) and (35c') the reference of the overt pronoun and that of the missing pronoun in the subject position of the embedded clause can either be the matrix clause subject or someone else outside of the sentence. However, in (35d and d') there is a major difference between the reference of an overt pronoun in

English, and that of the missing pronoun in Chinese. The empty embedded object pronoun in Chinese can only refer to someone outside of the sentence. It cannot refer to the subject of the main clause[5]. This data shows that there is clear asymmetry between the subject and the object empty categories. The subject empty category is less restricted than the object. Huang claims that in such cases it is the antecedent that is crucial, and not simply its referent. There are instance where the empty category in the object position can refer to the main clause subject, but in these cases, he claims that the antecedent is *not* the subject of the main clause, it simply happens to be coreferent, as in the following example;

36. Speaker A: shei kanjian-le Zhangsan?
Who see-LE Zhangsan
'Who saw Zhangsan?'
Speker B: Zhangsan shuo Lisi kanjian-le *e*
Zhangsan say Lisi see-LE
'Zhangsan said Lisi saw him.'

This asymmetry is attested in other languages like Portuguese, Korean, and Japanese. Huang claims that the antecedent of these embedded empty category objects is a discourse topic. The empirical evidence for this comes from the fact that in presence of an overt topic, the embedded empty category object never refers back to the main clause subject. It always refers to the overt topic, as indicated below;

37. neige ren$_i$, Zhangsan xiwang [Lisi keyi kanjian e_i]
that man, Zhangsan hope Lisi can see
'That man$_i$, Zhangsan hopes that Lisi will be able to see e_i.'

[5] Presence of an overt pronoun in the Chinese example can either mean the subject of the main clause or it can refer to someone outside of the sentence, thus making the sentence ambiguous. The same is true for Marathi, however in Marathi such ambiguity arises only in case of overt pronoun in the embedded subject position. This will be taken up in section 4.

In absence of an overt topic as in (35d') Huang argues based on examples like (37) that there is a null topic that binds the empty category in the embedded clause. The structure of such clauses is then something like this;

38. $[_{Top}\ e_i]$ [Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi e_i]].
Zhangsan say Lisi not know
'Zhangsan said that Lisi didn't know him.'

To account for the pro-drop he first distinguishes between two types of languages; (a) discourse-oriented languages and (b) sentence-oriented languages. Some of the characteristics of discourse-oriented language that he mentions are: (i) discourse oriented languages have a topic NP deletion rule, (ii) discourse-oriented languages are topic prominent whereas sentence-oriented languages are subject prominent, therefore in these type of languages every sentence should start with a subject. This rule applies cyclically across the discourse and deletes a topic under identity resulting in the formation of a topic chain. He argues that empty categories specifically objects are variables bound to a zero topic in Chinese (discourse oriented language). For sentence oriented languages like English he argues that empty categories (see the examples below) are pronominal.

39. a *e* came
b John saw *e*
c *e* saw *e*
d John said that *e* saw Bill.
e John said that Bill saw *e*.
f John tried *e* to come.
g *e* to come.

Based on Chomsky's (1981) work on the empty categories, Huang shows that the empty category in the embedded object position in examples such as (37) and (38) are not pronominal. Instead they are variables as they are A'-bound by a topic.

As will become apparent, the pro-drop system in Marathi seems to be a combination of antecedent-controlled null subjects like in Finnish and topic-controlled null subjects of the Chinese type. This combined system employed by the language makes it a bit difficult to establish its status as a null subject language. However, there is a difference between the Marathi pro-drop and the Chinese pro-drop. Whereas Chinese allows pro-drop of both the subject and the object within the same clause (see the example in (34) d), Marathi does not allow both the arguments to be null within the same clause.

40. a. e kanjian e le (Chinese)
(he) saw (him)

b. *(tyan-ni) (tyala) pahilə (Marathi)
he him saw
'He saw him.'

Huang assumes that multiple topics can bind with the corresponding null pronoun within a single clause. Example (40a) repeated above shows that the Chinese sentence is grammatical but its Marathi counterpart is ungrammatical even given a context providing an antecedent for both the null arguments.

Huang in this paper has successfully concluded that Chinese null subjects are pronominal however the null objects are A' bound variables with null operator (topic).

4.2 Huang 1989

In this paper Huang first shows that Chinese has both PRO and the pro. He then goes on to argue that all instances of *pro* and the big PRO can be accounted for by a single rule which he refers to as the Generalized Control Rule (GCR). Note this approach is different from his earlier topic- variable analysis where he argued that Chinese null objects unlike (null subjects) are not pronominal in nature rather they are A' bound variables with null operators (topic). According to him the embedded null subject (as in the following examples) can either be ungoverned PRO or a governed *pro*.

41. Zhangsan shuo [(ta) lai le].
Zhangsan say he come ASP
'Zhangsan said that he came'.

42. Zhangsan xiangxin [(ta) hui lai].
Zhangsan believe he will come
'Zhangsan believes that he will come.'

He argues that it is PRO in such situations. It cannot be a *pro* as the subject position will have to be associated with an INFL or AUX. The supporting evidence for this comes from the fact that Chinese finite verbs have no marking for tense.

Essentially the GCR implies that *pro* and the PRO are different instantiations of the same empty category. Huang reformulate the GCR presented in the earlier section to the following;

43. Generalized control rule (GCR)
An empty category is controlled in its control domain (if it has one)
Control Domain:
α is control domain for β iff it is the minimal category that satisfies both (a) and (b):
a. α is the lowest S or NP that contains (i) β or (ii) the minimal maximal category containing β (henceforth, MMC (β)).
b. α contains a subject accessible to β.

The GCR informally states that coindex an empty pronominal with the closest nominal In the absence of a control domain the *pro* and PRO can have long distance or split-antecedents or it may have an arbitrary reference conditioned by the pragmatics.

According to (43) a *pro*/PRO has two possible control domains, (i) the lowest NP or S containing the empty category and (ii) the lowest NP/S containing the MMC. If one of these has a subject then that is the control domain, if both have a subject then the lower one is the control domain. In the absence of a subject there is no control domain.

He then goes on to show this can be applied to the data in English, Italian and Chinese. The *pro* in the object positions are the first cases to be discussed. He gives the following examples from Chinese and English:

44. a. ...*[$_S$ John saw pro].

b. ...*(for) [s John to see *pro*].

c. ...*[Zhangsan kanjian *pro* le]

Zhangsan see asp

'...zhangsan saw pro.'

In all of the above examples the minimal clause that contains *pro* is S and they all contain an accessible subject. Thus they are in accordance with the GCR., and have a control domain. This suggests that the *pro* must be controlled if it has a control domain. However, all of them disallow the *pro* in the object position In (44)a the accessible subject is either the Agr or the subject 'John' itself. In the non-finite (44)b it is the subject 'John' itself and in (44)c again the subject 'Zhangsan' is the only accessible subject. The reason that *pro* is not licensed in the object position is reduced to the fact that the *pro* is [+ pronominal] and the control via the accessible subject will result in the violation of Principle B (pronouns must be free in their governing domain) of the Binding Theory.[6]

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[6] The application of the GCR to object *pro* can be seen in Marathi though in a very limited environment where the *pro* occurs in the object position of an embedded clause. This will be taken up again in section 6.2.9 where adjunct clauses are discussed.

1. dehwa vakil John-la bhetli [$_S$ temhwa tyala *pro* aawadli].

When lawyer J-acc meet-past-3sf [then he-acc pro like-past-3sf

'When the lawyer met John then he liked her'.

One could say that in this case the object *pro* has a control domain (the minimal clause containing the *pro* is S) and it has an accessible subject that is the Agr and the subject 'he' itself. In this case the *pro* is

Next he looked at the *pro* in the subject position in the three languages. The following is the example that he discusses.

45. a. ...*[$_S$ pro will come]

b. ...[$_S$ *pro* verra] (Italian)

...he will come

c. ...[$_S$ *pro* lai le] (Chinese)

come asp

...'he will come'.

S is the minimal clause containing the *pro* in all the above example and two of them have an accessible subject (finite Agr). Thus the *pro* in the two cases has a control domain and hence should be controlled. In (45a) the only accessible subject is the Agr and it is too meagre to control the *pro*, this results in ungrammaticality. On the other hand in Italian example in (45b) the Agr is rich enough to control the *pro* therefore the sentence is acceptable. However for the Chinese example in (45) c the *pro* has no control domain because the minimal clause containing the *pro* (S) does not have any accessible subject either as Agr or an overt subject NP. Thus the occurrence of the subject *pro* in Chinese is equivalent to big PRO in English. For such cases he argues that the higher clause is the control domain for the subject *pro* in Chinese and for the big PRO in English. The higher clause in both the cases has an accessible c-commanding argument that controls the *pro*/PRO. Readers are directed to the paper to see the detailed analysis and its applications on the various occurrences of the pro/PRO. Some of the Marathi data (when discussed in section 6.2) suggests that a control based analysis could partially capture the facts.

4.3 Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici 1998

In this paper, Grimshaw (G) and Samek-Lodovici (SL) use Optimality Theory (OT) (Prince and Smolensky 1993) to discuss pro-drop in Italian and English. This

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controlled via the Agr (due to the object agreement) through co-indexation. This entails no violations of the binding theory and hence the object *pro* is rendered acceptable.

approach is very different to the earlier GB based accounts of the pro-drop phenomenon. I mention this analysis here to show how the same facts (pro-drop) can be accounted for in a non-minimalist (non-Chomskyan) approach. No formal comparisons are being made between this OT analysis and earlier accounts mentioned above in this thesis.

OT works with a set of constraints, and their ranking. These constraints are universal, and can be violated. Different re-rankings give rise to the different grammars, thus, capturing the cross-linguistic variation. Re-ranking can also result in conflict between the constraints.

Extending OT to account for pro-drop, Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici look at the following constraints, in particular, which are defined as;

SUBJECT :	The highest A-specifier in an extended projection must be filled (Grimshaw 1997). Failed by clauses without a subject in the canonical position.
FULL- INT :	(FULL INTERPRETATION) Parse lexical conceptual structure (Grimshaw 1997). Failed by expletives and auxiliary *do*.
DROPTOPIC :	Leave arguments coreferent with the topic structurally unrealized. Failed by overt constituents which are coreferential with the topic.
ALIGNFOCUS :	align the left edge of the focus constituents with the right edge of a maximal projection. Failed by non-aligned foci.
PARSE :	Parse input constituents. Failed by unparsed elements in the input.

They say that there is enough evidence that even in the so-called pro-drop languages, null subjects are permitted only if they are licensed by an antecedent with a topic discourse status (page 195). Based on this assumption, pro-drop for them then, is reduced to the ranking and violation of the constraint DROPTOPIC mentioned above. Cross-linguistic variation then will follow straightway from the re-ranking of this constraint with the constraints SUBJECT and PARSE respectively. To be more precise, languages that rank the DROPTOPIC constraint higher than SUBJECT and PARSE would favour null subjects. Italian is such a language. Languages like English on the other hand, rank SUBJECT and PARSE constraints higher than the DROPTOPIC constraint, resulting in the overt realization of the subject in the structure. Following Reinhart (1981) they assume "topichood is equivalent to the *pragmatic aboutness*: a constituent XP has topic status if it expresses what the sentence is about." (Page 196).

Based on OT, they come up with the following ranking of the constraints, presented in the following tableau, to account for the null subjects;

46. Input: <cantare (x), x = topic, x = lui>

Candidates	DROPTOPIC	PARSE	FULL-INT	SUBJECT
a.♣ha cantato has sung		*		*
b.		**!		
c.lui ha cantato	*!			
d. ha cantato lui	*!			*

From the above tableau, the candidate (a) is violating the constraints PARSE and SUBJECT as there is the subject argument missing from the clause. It also violates PARSE for the same reason. The second option violates PARSE twice as there is no verb or its argument to parse. Since PARSE is relatively higher ranked the violation of this constraint proves fatal. Options (c) and (d) both violate the highest ranked DROPTOPIC because the topic marked subject is overtly realized. Additionally, (d) also violates the lower ranked SUBJECT constraint. Thus, the most optimal candidate in this computation is the option (a). The violation of the higher ranked constraints proves to be fatal in this theory.

Comparing the tableau in (46) with the one below for English, one notices the different re-ranking of the same universal constraints for the non-null subject language;

47. Input: <sing (x), x = topic, x = he>

Candidates	PARSE	DROPTOPIC	SUBJECT	FULL-INT
a. has sung	*!		*	
b.	*!*			
c. ♣ he has sung		*		
d. has sung he		*	*!	

The candidate in (a) is violating two constraints; PARSE and SUBJECT. Out of these PARSE is higher ranked than SUBJECT therefore its violation proves to be fatal. The output in (b) is out as it violates the highest ranked constraint PARSE twice. Both options (c) and (d) are potential winners as both violate the DROPTOPIC constraint, however the conflict is resolved in favour of (c) as it does not violate any other remaining constraints, whereas, (d) in addition violates the lower ranked SUBJECT constraint.

Additionally they show that in spite of having different rankings of the constriants, the two languages do not differ when the subject is not connected to the topic. Both languages in such cases select an output with overt subject.

Thus, G &S-L conclude and generalize (based on such data) that languages which allow referential null subjects will have the following ranking with regards to the above constraints which are universal;

48. DROPTOPIC >> PARSE >> SUBJECT

Linguistic variation is accounted for by different re-ranking of these universal constraints. For further details of this analysis and its implications readers are directed to the paper.

5 HOLMBERG 2005 ON PARTIAL PRO-DROP LANGUAGES

In this paper, Holmberg comes up with a third category of pro-drop languages, which he refers to as the partial pro-drop languages. Holmberg refers to Finnish as a partial null subject language. Finnish allows null subjects in 1st and 2nd person in matrix clauses as seen in the examples below:

49. (minä) puhun englantia
I speak-1sg English

50. (sinä) puhut englantia
You speak-2sg English

But 3rd person matrix subjects are never null. They have to be overt as shown below.

51. *(hän) puhuu englantia
He/she speak-3sg English

52. *(he) puhuvat englantia.
They speak-3pl English

However, 3rd person subjects can be null in an embedded clause when it is controlled by an antecedent in the next higher clause. The conditions of this control are not very clear. Following are some examples (for an exhaustive list, see the data discussed under (9) in Holmberg (2005)).

53. Pekka$_i$ väittää [että hän$_{i,j}$/ $Ø_{i,*j}$ puhuu englantia hyvin].
Pekka claims that he speaks English well.

54. Poikien mielestä oli noloa kun he$_{i,j}$/ $Ø_{i,*j}$ jäivät kilpailussa viimeiseksi.
Boys-gen opinion-abl was embarrassing when they came race-ins last
'The boys found it embarrassing when they came last in the race'.

In addition to these, Finnish also allows generic null subjects, as in:

55. Täällä ei saa polttaa.
here not may smoke
'One cannot smoke here.'

Based on Finnish null subject facts, he proposes that the bound embedded null pronouns in (53-54) and the generic null pronoun (55) are the same category. He refers to them as ϕP. This phrase has inherently valued (interpretable) phi-features and these features value the uninterpretable phi-features on the Agr head. However this ϕP phrase lacks a D feature therefore it cannot refer to an individual or a group or any definite entity or be co-referenced with an independent DP. This pronoun can only get a bound variable reading with either an QP or a DP in a higher clause. This would account for the cases of embedded null subjects taking matrix subject (other constituent) as its antecedent. If it fails to get this bound variable interpretation then it gets the generic interpretation.

He generalizes that the ϕP in the embedded subject position has to move into spec IP/TP in order to be bound by the higher DP. If it remains in situ (spec vP) then it is not accessible to the higher DP(in the matrix clause) rendering it the generic interpretation. The reason suggested for the fact that the ϕP is accessible from the Spec IP/TP position is because it is structurally closer to its antecedent in this position.

He cites data from Brazilian Portuguese that is in tune with the above mentioned analysis.

56. a. Ele /* Ø ganhou na loto
He won on-the lottery.

b. Pedro $_i$ disse que ele $_i$ / Ø $_{i,*j}$ ganhou na loto
Pedro said that he won on-the lottery
'Pedro said that he won the lottery.'

c. Aqui não pode nadar

Here not can swim

'One cannot swim here'.

The data in (56) above parallels the Finnish data. 3rd person subjects in the matrix clause cannot be null (56a). In (56b) the embedded subject can be null as long as it is co-referenced with an antecedent in the higher clause up. Finally (56c) shows that BP also allows generic pro in matrix clauses.

Under this analysis the presence versus absence of a D feature on the I or T is parameterized thus capturing the cross linguistic variation with regards to the pro drop phenomenon. Accordingly consistent null subject languages like Spanish, Italian, Greek have a [D] feature on T and partial null subject languages like Finnish and BP do not have a [D] feature on T. The presence of a [D] feature on the T in the consistent null subject languages implies that the ϕP can enter into an Agree relation with the T thereby resulting in an definite interpretation. This implies that the ϕP need to have a [d] feature. However it requires a [D] feature, in addition to its inherently specified phi-features, for a definite reading by referring to a person or a group. This can achieved if the ϕP moves from its in situ position (Spec vP) into the spec TP whose head (T) has a [D] feature. This overt movement also results in valuing of the uninterpretable phi-features features on the T head by the inherently valued phi-features of the ϕP. The subject agreement is a reflection of this feature valuing.

On the other hand , in the partial null subject languages, that have a finite T but without an [D] feature, the ϕP that is present cannot enter into an Agree relation with the T head and hence cannot be referential in its interpretation. This lack of [D] feature results in the ϕP entering into a bound reading with an antecedent in the higher clause up, or an obligatory generic interpretation for the ϕP. In this theory of pro-drop, it is the [D] feature that decides whether a ϕP pronoun gets a referential or bound or generic interpretation. This account ties in neatly with the fact that in non-finite clauses in all these languages (consistent and partial pro drop) the null embedded subject has to be controlled by an antecedent in the higher clause up. This can again be attributed to the fact that non-finite T lacks a [D] feature implying that null embedded bound or generic ϕP is similar to big PRO. So how do non null subject languages like English fit in this analysis? The fact that English does not allow for deletion of referential 3rd person pronouns just like partial prodrop languages predicts that under this theory, non-null subject languages also lack a [D] feature on the T head. The difference then lies in the fact that in non null subject languages there is a strong phonological EPP condition on the T head that requires that the Spec TP be not only overtly occupied but also be pronounced.

The conclusion drawn then is that for partial pro drop languages like Finnish and BP the relevant parametric setting is that they lack a [D] feature on the T head. Holmberg has discussed some Marathi data in this paper which support his analysis of Marathi as a partial pro-drop language. The following section will discuss Marathi data where pro-drop occurs. Holmberg's analysis is compatible with the Marathi facts presented below. This data shows that Holmberg's analysis is perhaps the way forward to account for the Marathi pro-drop facts.

6 MARATHI PRO-DROP

It has been shown that South Asian languages have the pro-drop phenomenon (Butt 2001). She gives examples from Urdu/Hindi. The following is her example from Hindi/Urdu. Note however this is not a clear example of a null subject, but rather this could be treated as the deletion of IP including the subject in the answer to the question; see Holmberg, Nayudu & Sheehan (to appear)[7].

[7] Marathi allows for null subjects in answers to questions typically the yes/no questions or wh questions The following are some example;

tara-ni I pustak vachali?
T-ERG book read-PAST-3.S.F
'Has Tara read the book?'

ho, (tini)i vachali
yes, she read
*ho, tila vachali.'

These cases cannot be treated as the same as pro-drop. These are more like the ellipsis cases that need to be separated and accounted for in a different analysis

57. Tumne Nadiyako khana diya?
you-ERG N-DAT food-NOM give-PERF-MS
'Did you give food to Nadya'?

Ji diya
Yes gave
'Yes, gave.'

In addition, Hindi also shows topic pro-drop as he has shown with examples from the data elicited from Hindi films.

This chapter is an attempt to try and answer certain questions related to the pro-drop in the language. The questions which are to be discussed are listed below:

58. a. Is Marathi a pro-drop language? If yes then what type of pro-drop language (consistent or partial)?
b. Does it show the characteristics of a consistent pro-drop language?
c. When does the language use pro drop?
d. Are there any special conditions under which pro- drop occurs?
e. What is/ are, if any, the structural relation between the antecedent and the null pronoun?

Moving on to the first question in (58a), the phenomenon of pro-drop is visible in Marathi as well. The crucial aspect about the Marathi pro-drop is that it occurs predominantly in the spoken variety of the language. The only instances of pro-drop in the written language are found typically in narratives or quoted speech. See the following example taken from a Marathi newspaper (*Lok Satta* dated 16th Feb 06) where the article was written about a certain woman who went missing, and the narrator is asking questions, in the middle of the text:

59. ...**(ti-chə)** kaay dzalə aasel? **(ti)** kuthe geli aasel?
she-GEN what happen-3.S.N be-FUT? (she) where go-PAST-3.S.F be-FUT?
(ti) kaay karat aasel? **(ti)** kashi jagat aasel?...
(she) what do-IMPF be-FUT ? (she) how live-IMPF be-FUT?

'...what would have happened to her? Where would have she gone? What must she be doing? How must she be living? ...'

All the NPs in bold face are the ones that have been deleted in the actual example. And this is permitted as the missing (object or the subject) pronoun (*she*) can be traced back to the woman whose name was mentioned in the earlier part of the article. In section 6, I will present more examples of pro-drop in the spoken language.

In all other instances of writings, the language shows a very strong preference for the overt pronouns.[8]

As shown in the earlier sections, the occurrence of a null pronoun is often related to the agreement paradigm of the language. Below are the agreement paradigms for the transitive verb *todne* 'to cut' in the present, past and future tenses.

60. cut-PRES

	Sg		Pl
	M	F	
(1p)	tod-t-o	tod-t-e	tod-t-o
(2p)	tod-t-os	tod-t-es	tod-t-at
(3p)	tod-t-o	tod-t-e	tod-t-at
	tod-t-ə (N)		

61. cut-PAST

	Sg			Pl
	M	F	N	M / F / N
(1p)	tod-l-a	tod-l-i	tod-l-ə	tod-l-e/ tod-l-ya / tod-l-i
(2p)	tod-l-as	tod-l-is	tod-l-əs	tod-l-et/ tod-l-yat /tod-l-it

[8] I have not come across any particular corpus of written Marathi. I have been looking at Marathi newspapers, and some books. And they all seem to favor overt pronouns. It would be interesting to look at some corpus and run some statistics to see to what extent is Marathi permissive of using the different null subjects (instead of the overt pronoun).

(3p)	tod-l-a	tod-l-i	tod-l-ə	tod-l-e/ tod-l-ya/ tod-l-i

62. cut- FUTURE

	Sg		Pl
	M	F	
(1p)	tod-en	tod-en	tod-u
(2p)	tod-shil	tod-shil	tod-al
(3p)	tod-el	tod-el	tod-til

From the above paradigms, there are only three unique forms, 2SM, 2SF, 3SN in the present tense paradigm given in (60). All the other present tense forms are shared with other persons. Moving on to the past tense paradigm in (61) only 2nd Person seems to have unique forms. Recall in the past tense the verb agrees with the objects and not the subjects. The future tense paradigm in (62) shows that only the plural forms in all the three persons are unique.

Given these paradigms, the generalization (as suggested by the earlier theories) that rich agreement licenses and recovers the null subjects does not strike as straightforward option for Marathi. The fact that different persons use the same form, for example in the past tense paradigm, both 1st and 3rd persons have the same verbal form, in itself is a problem for identifying a null subject via agreement. As the agreement morphemes can lead to a potential ambiguity for the reference of the null pronoun. Thus something more needs to be added to the agreement based accounts to avoid such ambiguity if one were to pursue it. This is not to say that agreement plays no role whatsoever in recovering null subjects in Marathi. There will be some data presented in the forthcoming sections where the null subject is clearly recovered by the agreement. Careful observation of the different instances of the null pronouns in the language (these will be presented in the following sections) reveals that there may be other factors in addition to agreement that are involved.

Moving on to the second question in (58b), it is only appropriate to mention how Marathi fares with the other two properties associated with a classical null subject language discussed in section 2 namely (i) the free subject inversion and (ii) the that-trace effects. Each of these properties will be discussed briefly now. Free subject inversion means that a subject can occur in a post verbal position. See the following Spanish example:

63. a. Juan viene a casa
    b. viene Juan a casa.
    'John comes to the house.'

The standard analysis assumed for such cases is that both the subject and the object have not moved out of the vP, but the verb has raised to a higher position. This results in the inversion. To validate whether a language is a null subject language based on the presence of free subject inversion becomes a bit problematic with languages like Marathi that have the SOV order. The closest word order in Marathi comparable to the inversion case could be the OSV which is a very marked word order. Again one has to show that the object and the subject have moved out of the vP into a higher position if this were to be treated on par with the inversion case. The positioning of certain adverbials will indicate that the object has moved to a higher position than the subject. See the following example:

64. Dili-la Ram nakki jail
    Delhi-ACC/DAT R-NOM certainly go-FUT
    'To Delhi, Ram will certainly go.'

Here one can see that the object is not surfacing in its canonical place (immediately preceeding the verb). However these are not inversion cases. The Marathi equivalent of the Spanish sentences shows that the option (b) is not acceptable. In fact, speakers do avoid to use verb initial constructions. SOV order is always the most preferred option.

65. a. John ghari yeto
    b. *yeto John ghari
    'John comes to the house.'

Judging by this property, Marathi cannot be considered as a classical null subject language on par with languages like Spanish or Italian. Given the variation in Marathi word order, I do not consider free variation as a likely measure for establishing that Marathi is a null subject language.

The other syntactic property associated with the classical null subject languages like Italian is the absence of the *that*-trace effects. Languages that show that-trace effect are those where a trace is not permitted immediately after an overt complementizer like *that.* English, a non-null subject language shows the *that*-trace effects.

66. *Whoi said John [that ti went to the party]?

67. Who do you think went to the party?

Marathi does not show a that-trace effect. That is, it permits extraction of an embedded subject over an overt complementizer *ki* as indicated in the example (68) below.

68. Kon$_i$ Ram mhanala ki t$_i$ raje-var gela.
Who R say-PAST-3.S.M that holiday-on go-PAST-3.S.M
'Who did Ram say that went on a holiday?'

This indicates that Marathi is a null subject language of a consistent type. On the other hand there are non-null subject languages that do not show any that trace effect. A third syntactic characteristic associated with the null subject languages is the absence of expletives (Holmberg 2005). Marathi like classical null subjects languages, does not have any expletives. This again suggests that Marathi could be a null subject language.

The properties mentioned above clearly give us contradictory results in order to establish whether Marathi is a classical null subject language or not. Keeping aside the free subject inversion property, I argue that Marathi is a partial pro-drop language in the sense of Holmberg (2005) and not a classical null subject language like Spanish, Greek or Italian.

In the following sub-sections I will present the relevant data that shows the contexts in which null pronouns are allowed and when they are not. First, I will begin with the most clear cases where null pronouns are not allowed. I will be adopting Holmberg (2005) account of null subjects to account for the Marathi data.

6.1 A possible analysis

Based on the all the data that will be discussed in the forthcoming sections, it is clear that Marathi is a null subject language but not on par with the classical null subject languages. Marathi permits null subjects in finite embedded clauses when they are controlled, and not otherwise. I propose that the distribution of the null subjects facts can be captured by the following generalization about the antecedent controlled null subjects.

69. Null subjects can be controlled by the closest NP/DP that has matching phi features.

Where 'closest' NP is understood as :

a. A c-commanding NP/DP with matching phi-features.

b. In the absence of an NP/DP as in (a) above, the topic is chosen as the antecedent.

The 'closest NP/DP' in the above generalization is not to be understood in terms of linear order as shown above (6.2.9). The notion of c-command does seem to be involved in most cases but not in all as will be shown in the data.

I adopt Holmberg (2005) analysis (presented in the section 5 above) for the partial pro-drop languages. It will be shown with the discussion of the relevant data that his analysis is compatible with the Marathi facts. The general analysis presented in Holmberg (2005) can be summarized as follows; the null subject is a pronoun although phonetically empty. It projects its own phrase (ϕP). In case of embedded null subjects controlled by the closest NP with matching phi-features, the ϕP has to move from the embedded vP internal position to the Spec TP of the embedded clause where it can enter into a control relation with its antecedent. On the other hand, if the ϕP does not move from its base generated position (vP internal) then it gets interpreted as generic subject which exactly points to the data discussed in the section (6.2.4) below. Thus his analysis captures both the antecedent controlled null subjects and the generic null subjects. In the coming sections, I present Marathi data and show how the generalization mentioned in (69) follows from it, and how does the data interact with the Holmberg's (2005) analysis.

Holmberg (2005) reformulates the pro-drop parameter given in (70) below to account for the facts about pro- drop languages.

70. There is or is not a [D] feature on the T head in the finite clauses.

This [D] feature on the T head can be seen as an extension of Rizzi's (1982) work on null subjects where he assumes that INFL has a [+pronominal] feature and this feature is interpreted as definite.

Recall that Holmberg treats the null subjects as a pronoun but without any phonetic form. He refers to this as the ϕP with inherent phi-features. This ϕP must combine with a category that has a [D] feature to get a definite referential reading. In consistent pro-drop languages this is achieved via merging the subject ϕP with the T head containing the [D] feature. Thus the ϕP values the unvalued phi-features on the T head. This shows up as the morphological agreement on the main verb.

Having a [D] feature on the T head is subject to parametric variation, thus if a languages does not have a [D] feature on the T head then it should not permit any referential null subjects by the virtue of merging a ϕP with a T head. This is exactly the case with the Marathi data. It will be shown that Marathi does not allow definite referential null subjects in the matrix clauses. Holmberg shows that is also the case in Finnish and BP. However both Finnish and BP allow a referential null subject in an embedded clause as shown in section 5. And it will be shown that Marathi also licenses referential null subjects in the embedded clause with the relevant data in section 6.2.3. Holmberg argues that in these cases the null ϕP subject cannot have a referential interpretation by merging with a [D] less T. Instead it gets this referential interpretation via co-indexing or control with an antecedent DP in a higher clause. Again this is what the Marathi data illustrates. This will be discussed in section 6.2.3.

This control via an antecedent in the higher clause for a null referential subject in finite clauses parallels the PRO in the non-finite clauses. In both the cases embedded null ϕP subject in a finite clause and the PRO in a non-finite, there is no [D] feature on the T head. Therefore the embedded null ϕP subject has to be controlled either via an antecedent in the higher clause or it gets the generic arbitrary reading. Essentially this implies that the ϕP and the PRO are the same category in his analysis[9].

Thus with this background I will know discuss the relevant data and show how Holmberg's (2005) analysis of the null subjects account for the Marathi data.

6.2 The data - What it tells us?

6.2.1 Null subjects with discourse antecedent

I will begin with cases of main clause where null arguments are allowed. Null pronouns are allowed in main clauses when they have a clear discourse antecedent, which could be the topic (71) in the higher clause. For example, imagine a situation where people are talking about someone called 'John'. Once the NP 'John' is established as the topic of the conversation then it is possible to use a null pronoun in all the subsequent utterances, as long as 'John' acts as the antecedent to the null pronoun in the clauses. This chain with a bound topic in all the successive clauses that follow is broken only if a new topic is introduced in the conversation.

71.	Speaker A:	John $_i$	mala	kal	bhetla.
		John	I	yesterday	meet-PAST-3.S.M
		'I met John yesterday.'			

[9] Recall Huang 1989 has also argued that pro and PRO are instantiations of the same empty category, in a language with his Generalized Control Rule

pro ᵢ mhanat hota ki pro ᵢ ek mahinya sathi aala aahe
speaking was that one month for come-PAST-3S.M be-PRES-3S.M
'He was saying that he is here for one month.'

In such cases, the discourse antecedent is recovering the missing pronoun. This example also indicates that the language does not seem to have very strict restrictions on where the antecedent can occur. In this case the antecedent is in a different clause. The antecedent does not have to be just one clause up. It can control various null subjects present in two or three clauses down as long as there is no other NP that interferes between the two. Following is another example (taken from Pandharipande (1997)) that illustrates the point.

72. kahi warshanni **arun i** bharatat parat ala
Some years-after Arun-3.S.M India-LOC back come-PAST-3.S.M

$\emptyset_i$ nokri ghetli $\emptyset_i$ ek mulgi awadli mhanun
(he) job-S.F take- PAST-3.S.F (he) one girl like-PAST-3.S.F therefore

$\emptyset_i$ lagna kela ani $\emptyset_i$ amravatila
(he) marriage-3.S.N do-PAST-3.S.N and (he) Amravati-LOC

sthayaik dzala
settle become-PAST-3.S.M

'After some years Arun returned to India, took a job, (he) liked a girl and got married and (he) settled down in Amravati.'

In the above example, the subject of the first clause acts as the antecedent for all the null pronouns in the subsequent clauses. In light of the generalization given in (69) the subject of the first clause 'Arun' acts as the antecedent to control the null subject in the following clauses because it is the closest NP. Recall closest NP is either the first c-commanding NP with matching phi-features in the higher clause or it is the topic. Given the fact that the antecedent is in a different clause the notion of c-command cannot be applied here. Thus the null subject will have to be controlled by an antecedent that is a topic in such cases as per the generalization in (69). Recall in the absence of a marked topic the subject of the highest clause is considered as the default topic. Thus the antecedent 'Arun' in addition to being the subject of the first clause is also the topic controlling the null subjects in this example. This is a clear example of topic controlled null subjects. Note that with discourse null subjects the agreement on the verb does not restrict the possible antecedent especially if it is agreeing with the object instead, in such cases. Thus the discourse based null subjects show that agreement cannot always be used as a tool for the identification or recovering of the null subject.

This type of topic drop cannot be treated on par with the one discussed by Huang for Chinese. Recall that Huang has argued for Chinese that there can be multiple topics such that each binds with the different null pronouns within the same clause. So there can be more than one topic- null pronoun chains. His analysis cannot be extended to Marathi as the language does not allow for more than one argument to be null in a given clause. Also, in an example like (72), if a new topic were introduced later in the conversation than the first topic-null subject chain is broken. There cannot be two topic-null subject chains co-occurring within then the same narration.

That topics can be antecedents to null subjects is also shown in Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici in their previous work (1995). They have shown that left dislocation and its interaction with the null subjects are in line with the topic constraint on pro-drop. In this paper they show more evidence from passive by-phrases in the favour of the argument that null subjects are licensed by antecedents that are topics. The first example is cited from Italian[10].

73. a. Questa mattina, la mostra è stat vistata da **Gianni** i.
this morning, the exhibition was visited by John.
'This morning, the exhibition was visited by John.'

[10] Their work shows that this data is that even in classical pro-drop languages like Italian where traditionally pro is identified by agreement can have third person null pronoun identified by a discourse antecedent.

b. Più tardi, ***e$_i$ / egli$_i$ / lui$_i$** ha visitato l'università.
More late, (he)/he has visited the university
'Later on, he visited the university.'

In (73b) one can see that the antecedent for the null subject is in the *by-* phrase in the (73a). The ungrammaticality of the null subject is easily accounted for by the fact that the NP in the by-phrase is not a topic, therefore, it cannot license the null subject in the following sentence. This implies that the opposite situation should be grammatical, meaning where the antecedent is a topic then it should license the null subject in the following sentence. This is true for Italian as shown by the sentence pair in the following example:

74. a. Questa mattina, **Gianni$_i$** ha vistato la mostra.
this morning, John has visited the exhibition.
'This morning, John visited the exhibition.'

b. Più tardi, **e$_i$ / $^?$egli$_i$ / $^{??}$lui$_i$** ha visitato l'università.
More late, (he)/he has visited the university
'Later on, he visited the university.'

Due to the topic status of the antecedent (the subject) in (74a) the null subject in the following sentence (74b) is licensed and therefore the sentence is licit. G and S-L provide more examples that show the contrast as in (73) and (74) from different languages like Greek, Hebrew, Chinese.

The following example from Marathi demonstrates that a NP within the by phrase cannot license a null subject in the next clause because it is not the topic.

75. a. shalya-cha utghatan **pradhan mantrin$_i$** -kadun dzala.
school-of inauguration prime minister-by happen-PAST-3.S.N
'The school was inaugurated by the Prime Minister.'

b. nanter, ***e$_i$ / tyan-ni$_i$** chhatran ani shikshakan-shi goshta keli.
after, he-ERG students and teachers- with speak do-PAST-3.S.F

'Afterwards, he spoke with the students and the teachers.'

This is *not* to be wrongly understood as NP in a by-phrase *cannot* license null subjects. If a NP in a by-phrase is a topic then it can also license a null subject as shown by question answer pair like one in (76).

76. Q: quali mostre sono state visitate da-[**l padre di Gianni**]$_i$?
which exhibitions are been visited by the father of John.
'Which exhibitions were visited by John's father?'

A: recentemente **e**$_i$ / $^?$**egli**$_i$ / ***lui**$_i$ ha visitato la mostra di Klee e di Miro.
Recently,(he)/he has visited the exhibition of Klee and Miro
'Recently, he visited Klee's and Miro's exhibition.'

In conclusion Marathi does allow topics to be antecedents for the occurrences of null subjects in following clauses as long as there is no new topic introduced to break the topic-null subject chain.

6.2.2 Non-Null subjects and Main clauses

In discourse-initial finite main clauses (declaratives) Marathi does not allow null referential subjects in any person as indicated by the examples below

77. a. *(mi) patr lih-to
I letter write-PRES-1.S.M
'I write a letter.'

b. *(tu) patr lih-t-es
you letter write-PRES-2.S
'You write a letter.'

c. *(ti) patr lih-te
she letter write-PRES-3.S.F
'She writes a letter.'

In such cases, Marathi needs a spelled out subject even if there is a salient antecedent in the context. Notice that this is similar to the Finnish data in section 5. The subject needs to be spelled out even if there is a salient antecedent in the context. The two exceptions to this are cases (i) when the matrix null subject is bound by a discourse topic. These were discussed in the earlier section, and (ii) questions with 2nd person subjects, as shown below in (78):

78. (tu)/ Ø yetes (ka)?
You come-PRES-2.S.F QM
'Are you coming?'

(tumhi)/ Ø dzuni pustak ghetat?
You.PL old books take-PRES-2.PL
'Do you take old books?'

Butt (2001) has shown that indirect object in the matrix can also be dropped as long as it is in first person. She gives the following example from Joshi (1993):

79. Suma-ni Ø ladu dila
S-ERG sweet give-PART-S.M
'Suma gave me a sweet.'

Null subjects in the embedded subject position are not tolerated either in the language even when there seems to be a possible salient non- linguistic antecedent, see the following example taken from (Holmberg, Sheehan and Nayudu to appear). This holds true for BP and Finnish as shown in the example.

80. Mr. A comes back home from the doctor. Mrs. A says: 'Tell me what he said.'

Marathi: mala sang ki *(te) kaay mhanale
I-ACC/DAT tell comp 3.PL what say-PAST-3.PL
(note in this example, the polite (third person plural) form of the pronoun is used.)

'Tell me what he said.'

BP: Me diz o que *(ele) falou!

Me say the what he said

'Tell me what he said!'

Finnish: Kerro mitä *(hän) sanoi.

tell what he say-PST-3SG

Classical null subject languages on the other hand seem to allow a null subject in such cases, as indicated;

81. Spanish: ¡Dime qué te ha dicho!

Tell-me what you has said

'Tell me what he said to you.'

Greek: Ti (sou) ipe ?

What (you-cl) said-3.S?

This would imply that Marathi is a non null subject language. But we have already seen that Marathi is not a non null subject language as it has instances of null subjects as seen above especially in the spoken language. However, it does not behave like a classical null subject language. Following is some more data that points in the direction that Marathi is a null subject language only it is of a different type from the classical null subject languages.

6.2.3 Null subjects in Embedded Clauses

6.2.3.1 Null subjects with linguistic antecedent

Marathi allows null subjects in the finite embedded clause as long as it is controlled by a linguistic antecedent in a higher clause.

82. a. Ram$_{i}$ mhanala ki (tyani)$_{i}$ ghar ghetla
R say-PAST-3.S.M that (he) house buy-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram said that he bought a house.'

b. mulan-la$_{i}$ khushi dzali dzewha
children happy happen-PAST-S.F when
(tyan-la)$_{i}$ shalyat-hun radza milali
them school-from off get-PAST-S.F
'The children were happy when they got a off from school.'

c. Seema$_{i}$ kabul karte ki (ti)$_{i}$ chukli
S agree do-PRES-S.F that (she) mistake-PAST-3.S.F
'Seema admits that (she) made a mistake.'

d. aine mulala$_{i}$ sangitlə ki tyane$_{i}$ / Ø$_{i}$ amerikala dzau naye
mother son tell-PAST-3.S.N that he America go not
'Mother told her son that he should not go to America.'[11]

In all the four sentences given in (82) the subject in the finite embedded clause can be null if it is controlled by the subject of the matrix clause. Again similar facts were noted for Finnish and BP by Holmberg (2005). Examples repeated below:

83. Pekka$_{i}$ väittää [että hän$_{i,j}$/ Ø$_{i,*j}$ puhuu englantia hyvin]. (Finnish)
Pekka claims that he speaks English well.

84. O João disse que tinha comprado uma casa (BP)
The João said that had bought a house
'João said that he had bought a house.'

---

[11] Example taken from Pandharipande (1997:202)

I will discuss some more examples of null subjects in different types of the embedded clauses. In the following example the subject in the embedded adjunct clause can be null as long as it is controlled by an antecedent (either c-commanding NP with matching phi-features or the topic) in a higher position, in this case, the subject of the higher clause.

85. John $_{I}$ khush hota dzehwa **(to)** $_{I}$ ekta hota
J happy be-PAST-3.S.M when (he) alone be-PAST-.3.S.M
'John was happy, when he was left alone.'

Next I take an example of a null subject in an embedded question. Similar to the earlier cases, the null subject is allowed as long as it is controlled by an antecedent in a higher clause.

86. John-ni vicharle ki **(to)** ratri rahu shakto ka?
J-ERG ask-PAST-3.S.N that (he) night stay happen-PRES-3.S.M
'John asked whether he could stay the night.'

The conditions under which embedded null subjects in finite clauses can be controlled in this manner (via an antecedent in a higher clause) are problematic to establish for Marathi due to the varied nature of data. In the following examples, both of which contain some type of embedded clause, null subjects are not allowed despite the fact that there is a possible c-commanding antecedent in the higher clause.

87. a. John-la $_{I}$ mahit nahwta dzar ***(tyan-ni)** $_{I}$ tila dukhavilelə
J–ACC/DAT know not whether he-ERG she-ACC/DAT offend-PERF-PART-3.S.N
'John didn't know whether he had offended her.'

b. John $_{I}$ khush hota dzari **?(tya-cha)** $_{I}$ hata-la laglelə.
J happy be-PAST-3.S.M even though (he-GEN) hand-to hurt-PERF.PART-3.S.N
'John was happy even though he had hurt his hand.'

The sentences in the above example seem ungrammatical to some speakers without an overt pronoun in the embedded clause. For me, the sentence (87b) is acceptable with a null pronoun. This variation in judgement leads us to believe that the data might be subject to some idiosyncrasies.

6.2.4 Generic null subjects

The other very clear case where Marathi allows for null subjects are clauses which have generic null subjects as can be seen in the following examples:

88. a.

unahlyat	lavkar	utthavla	jato
Summer-in	early	wake	go-PRES-3.S.M

'In summer one wakes up early.'

b.

asa	lokan	kade	baut	dakhavayla
like this	people	towards	finger	show-INF-ACC/DAT
paidze	nahi			
should	NEG AUX			

'One should not point at people.'

c.

mulan-chya	vicharan-cha	aadar	kar-ay-la	paidze
children-of	views-of	respect	do-INF-ACC/DAT	should

'One should respect the views of young people.'

In all the three examples there is a generic pro. Interestingly, this sharply contrasts with the fact that Marathi does not allow definite 3rd person subjects in main clauses to be null. Holmberg (2005) accounts for the generic pro in these cases by arguing that the subject ϕP has not moved out of the vP to the Spec T where it gets the definite referential interpretation. Therefore the ϕP gets a generic 'one' meaning. He further assumes that the [EPP] on the T head in such cases is actually checked by the fronted object. However extending this analysis to the Marathi case is not very straightforward as the SOV order makes it difficult to show that the object is moving out of the vP and checking the [EPP] on the T head. Thus if classical null subject languages do not have generic *pro*, they resort to other strategies to get the generic interpretation. This suggests that Marathi type null subject language is different from a classical null subject language.

6.2.5 PRO

Most languages allow non-finite clauses as complements to the matrix verb. The subjects of such non-finite embedded clauses are typically null and are referred to as big PRO. Under the Chomsky (1981) system, big PRO has the following feature specification: [+pronominal] and [+anaphoric]. This implies that the PRO has to conform to the contradictory Principles A and B of the binding theory within the GB framework suggesting that PRO is a anaphor and a pronoun at the same time. According to the 'PRO theorem' this is possible only if PRO is not governed (caseless), which is why it is restricted to the subject position of the non-finite clauses.

The interpretation of the PRO is often accounted for under the control theory. The control theory essentially states that a PRO has to be co-indexed or controlled with an antecedent (controller) in a higher clause to get its reference. There is no movement involved in the control theory. When PRO is controlled with the subject of a higher clause, it is said to be subject control (89)a and when the PRO is controlled by an object of the higher clause then it is a case of object control (89)b.

89. a. Jean $_{i}$ is reluctant PRO $_{i}$ to leave.
    b. Jean persuaded Robert $_{i}$ not PRO $_{i}$ to leave.

The control theory differentiates between three types of control- (i) obligatory control, (ii) non-obligatory control and (iii) arbitrary control. Obligatory control involves the PRO to be controlled by a c-commanding antecedent. The PRO in such cases cannot refer to anyone else can seen in below

90. Sam $_{i}$ tried to PRO $_{i,*j}$ dance.

In non-obligatory control, the PRO may or may not be controlled by an antecedent in the higher clause, as demonstrated by the following example (taken from Carnie 2002).

91. Robert $_{I}$ knows that it is essential PRO $_{I,J}$ to be well–behaved.

Arbitrary control is the case where the PRO is not controlled by an antecedent, and its reference lies outside of the higher clause. PRO in such cases means 'one'.

92. It is important PRO to respect other's views.

I now give some examples of PRO in Marathi.

93. Ram-ni $_{I}$ [PRO $_{I}$ ghar viknya saathi] ho mhantlə
R-ERG [PRO house sell-INF for] yes say-PAST-3.S.N
'Ram agreed to sell the house.'

94. Ram $_{I}$ [PRO $_{I}$ jinknyachi] asha karto
R [PRO win-INF-POSS] hope do-PRES-3.S.M
'Ram hopes to win.'

95. Seema-ni Arun-la $_{I}$ [PRO $_{I}$ badzarat dzayla] sangitlə
S-ERG A-ACC/DAT [PRO market-in go-INF-DAT] tell-PAST-3.S.N
'Seema told Arun to go to the market.'

In (93) and (94) above, the embedded null subject is a PRO co-indexed with the matrix subject, where as in (95) the PRO in embedded subject position is co-indexed with the object of the matrix clause.

As an alternative to the control theory, Hornstein (1999) has successfully argued that occurrence of PRO can be accounted for with a movement based analysis. This would imply that PRO is similar to the NP trace. He makes the following assumptions for his analysis:

96. a. Theta roles are features on verbs.

b. Greed is enlightened self interest.

c. A DP/NP receives a theta role by checking a theta feature of a verbal/predicative phrase that it merges with.

d. There is no upper bound on the number of theta roles a chain can have.

Given these assumptions, consider the following derivation of obligatory controlled PRO in the embedded subject position, the antecedent has to be c-commanding the PRO and this is achieved in a straightforward manner if one considers PRO to be a result of movement analogous to the NP trace.

97. John hopes to leave.

[ip John [vp John [hopes[ip John to [vp John leave]]]]]

'John' is merged with the lower verb leave first to check the theta feature on the embedded verb. The subject (John) then raises to the SpecIP of the embedded clause to check the [D] feature on the I head. Raising here means copying and re-merging the NP 'John' in the higher position. Note that this is not a case assigning position. The NP 'John' then raises even higher to the SpecVP of the matrix clause to check the theta feature on the matrix verb. Thus 'John' has two theta roles now as a result of (96)c.. Finally the subject 'John' raises from there to the Spec IP of the matrix clause to check the [D] feature where it gets nominative case assigned. In this derivation, the copy in the SpecIP of embedded clause is equivalent to PRO. He also shows that the movement account of the obligatory control shows some properties – (i) the antecedent has to be immediately c-commanding, (ii) pro cannot take split antecedents, (iii) pro has a sloppy reading, (iv) bound reading with *only* and (v) gets a *de se* reading.

I present this section to show that the occurrences of the control in the non-finite clauses in Marathi namely the PRO parallel the controlled null subjects found in the embedded finite clauses. However, the control in the finite clauses does not have properties of movement. Hence the Hornstein's movement based account cannot be applied to the control in finite clauses in Marathi. This implies that there is some link between the finite embedded null subject (pro) and the PRO. An observation that was already mentioned by Holmberg (2005) and Huang (1989). With this brief section on PRO, I move on to some more cases of pro-drop in the language.

6.2.6 Null subjects and Quantifier Phrases- Montalbetti's generalization

It has been claimed that classical null subject languages do not allow an embedded overt pronoun to be a variable bound by a quantifier in the matrix clauses if it permits a null subject in that position. Negrao (1997) cites Motalbetti (1984) work on null pronouns, where he argues for a LF principle that accounts for the contrast found in the overt and null pronouns binding with variables in classical null subject languages. Montalbetti refers to the principle as the Overt Pronoun Constraint.

98. Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC)
    Overt pronouns cannot link to formal variables (quantifier phrase- traces or WH-traces) if and only if the alternation overt/empty obtains.

The following example illustrates this:

99. *[Nadie]$_I$ [t]$_I$ cree que [él]$_I$ es inteligente
    'Nobody believes that he is intelligent.'
100. *[quién]$_I$ [t]$_I$ cree que [él]$_I$ es inteligente?
    'Who believes that he is intelligent?'

However, for him an overt pronoun in a DP and the complement position of a proposition can bind with a variable.

So how does the Marathi data behave with respect to the Montalbetti's generalization? The following data show some interesting facts about this. Quantified subjects cannot control a null embedded subject as can be seen in (101) below. Despite the relevant agreement morphology on the embedded verb (3SM) a null pronoun is still not licit in these contexts.

101. [pratyek mula-la]$_I$ watlə ki *(to)$_I$ parikshet
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that he exam-in
pas dzala
pass happen- PAST-3.S.M
'Every boy thought that he passed the exam.'

[sarve lokə]$_I$ mhanali ki *(tyan-la)$_I$ ghar aawadlə
all people say-PAST-3.S.N that they house like-PAST-3.S.N
'All the people said that they liked the house.'

Clearly this ungrammaticality implies that the embedded pronoun must be present in such contexts. The example in (102) has an overt pronoun in the embedded sentence. The presence of this overt pronoun makes the sentence ambiguous, that is, the overt pronoun can either refer back to the quantified subject or can refer to some other person as indicated by the gloss.

102. [pratyek mula-la]$_I$ watlə ki to$_{I,J}$ parikshet
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that he exam-in
pas dzala
pass happen- PAST-3.S.M
'Every boy thought that he passed the exam.'

The ambiguity in (102) can (a) be resolved by discourse, meaning that both the hearer and the speaker know which set of people makes 'every boy', and (b) with the help of the reflexive 'self'. The reflexive shows unambiguously that the referent of the overt pronoun in the embedded clause is the quantified subject in the higher clause.

103. [pratyek mula-la]$_I$ watlə ki [to swatah]$_I$ parikshet
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that he self exam-in
pas dzala
pass happen- PAST-3.S.M
'Every boy thought that he (himself) passed the exam.'

This contrasts with the fact that in consistent null subject languages, the ambiguity seen in (102) is resolved via null versus overt pronoun.

Quantified phrases cannot control null pronouns in the object position of an embedded clause either. The example in (104) shows this clearly[12].

104. [pratyek mula-la] $_I$ watlə ki Ram-ni $_J$ *(tya-la) $_I$
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that R-ERG him
baghitlə
see- PAST-3.S.N
'Every boy thought that Ram saw him.'

The presence of an overt pronoun results in ambiguity as well, see (105) below.

105. [pratyek mula-la] $_I$ watlə ki Ram-ni $_J$ tya-la $_{I,K}$
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that R-ERG him
baghitlə
see- PAST-3.S.N
'Every boy thought that Ram saw him.'

However, there is a crucial difference between this sentence and the one in (102). The use of reflexive does not serve as a strategy for disambiguation. Instead it changes the meaning completely. The overt pronoun plus the reflexive will refer to the subject of the embedded sentence, and not to the quantified subject of the higher clause.

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[12] It is possible to drop the object pronoun in this case, but that alters the meaning of the sentence.
[pratyek mula-la] watla ki Ram-ni baghitla
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that R-ERG see- PAST-3.S.N
'Every boy thought that Ram saw (it)'.
*'Every boy thought that Ram saw him.'

106. [pratyek mula-la]$_I$ watlə ki Ram-ni$_J$ [tya-la swatah-la]$_{J,*I,*K}$
every boy-ACC think-PAST-3.S.N that R-ERG him
baghitlə
see- PAST-3.S.N
'Every boy thought that Ram saw himself.'

Therefore, discourse is the only option. And it is through the (shared) knowledge between the hearer and the speaker that such sentences are disambiguated.

The same facts hold true for a null pronoun in the indirect object position controlled by a quantified subject in the higher clause as well. The following is an example.

107. [pratyek mula-la]$_I$ wattə ki Ram-ni pustak *(tyala)$_I$ dili.
every boy-ACC think-PRES-3.S.N that R-ERG book him give-PAST-3.S.F
'Every boy thinks that Ram gave a book to himself'.

The data below demonstrates what happens if the quantifier phrase is in the object position of the matrix clause, and how it relates to the embedded null subject.

108. Ram-ni$_I$ [pratyek mula-la]$_J$ bollə ki *Ø$_{I,J}$ / to$_{I,*J}$ hoshiyar aahe.
R-ERG every boy-ACC say-PAST-3.S.N that he intelligent be-PRES-3.S.M
'Ram said to every boy that he is intelligent.'

Interestingly, in the above example, a null subject in the embedded position controlled by *Ram* (subject of the higher clause) is not acceptable. The subject has to be an overt pronoun. This could be possibly due to the intervening quantified object in the matrix clause. However we will notice that data in section 6.2.8 shows that objects do not always block the control of an embedded null subject from the matrix subject in the finite clause. To get the bound reading of the embedded subject with the quantified object of the higher clause, the embedded pronoun needs to be changed to 3PL.

109. Ram-ni$_{I}$ [pratyek mula-la]$_{J}$ bollə ki te$_{J}$ hoshiyar aahe.
R-ERG every boy-ACC/DAT tell-PAST-3.S.N that he intelligent be-PRES-3.S.M
'Ran told every boy that he is intelligent.'

The major generalization that one can conclude from this data is that quantified subjects cannot control null pronouns in any grammatical position (subject, direct object, indirect object). There by indicating that Marathi shows opposite effects to the Montalbetti's generalization. This is a very interesting observation as this contrasts sharply with other partial pro drop languages like Brazilian Portuguese and Finnish discussed in Holmberg (2005) that allow null pronouns. It has been shown that in BP embedded subjects must be null if bound by a quantifier or a wh word in the matrix clause (Negrao 1997, Sheehan 2006).

110. a. Quem$_{I}$/ninguém t$_{I}$ acha que (*ele$_{I}$)) é inteligente?
Who/nobody thinks that he is intelligent
'Who/nobody thinks that he/she is intelligent.'

b. *Quem$_{I}$/ninguém t_{I} disse que *pro* acha que ele$_{I}$ é inteligente ?
'Who/nobody said that (he) thinks that he is intelligent?'

On the other hand for Finnish, Holmberg, Sheehan & Nayudu (to appear) have shown that Montalbetti's effects are not obeyed. As seen from the example below embedded subject can be optional even when they are controlled by wh- words and quantified subjects in the higher clause.

111. a. Kuka kertoi että (hän) oli ostanut talon?
who told that (he) had bought house?

b. Kukaan ei osaa sanoa onko ?(hän) todella älykäs.
anyone not can say is-Q (he) truly intelligent
'No-one can say whether he is actually intelligent.'

I now move on to discuss the null pronouns with wh antecedents in the higher clause in the next section.

6.2.7 Null pronouns and wh- phrases

In this section, I will present some data that illustrates the interaction between the wh-words and the null pronouns in the embedded clause. Even though, Marathi is argued to be a partial pro drop language in this thesis on par with BP or Finnish, Marathi wh-words controlling the null embedded subjects in finite clause facts do not parallel those of the quantified antecedents discussed in the previous section. Therefore, these are discussed separately from the quantified antecedent data. Interestingly, Marathi exhibits asymmetry with regards to wh-words controlling finite embedded null pronouns. Wh-words in the subject position in the higher clause cannot control the null subject in the embedded clause. See the examples in below (112);

112. a. kon-ni $_J$ John–la $_I$ kalavi-l-ə ki *Ø $_J$ / to$_J$
who-ERG J-ACC inform-PAST-3.S.N that (he)
parikset pas dzala ?
exam-in pass happen-PAST-3.S.M
'Who informed John that he passed the exam?'

b. kon mhanto ki *Ø$_J$ / to $_J$ yeil
who say-PRES-3.S.M that ec/he come-FUT
'Who says that he will come?'

Compare the examples given in (112) with the following one in (113) where the wh-word is in the object position of the matrix clause, and the embedded subject is null.

113. J-ni kona-la$_I$ kalavi-l-ə ki Ø $_I$ / to $_{I,J}$ parikset
J-ERG who-ACC inform-PAST-3.S.N that (he) exam-in
pas dzala ?
pass happen-PAST-3.S.M
'Who did John inform that he passed the test?'

As indicated by the gloss, the in-situ wh-object of the matrix clause is controlling the embedded null subject. Notice that this is in contrast with the data where quantified objects in the higher clause do not control null embedded subject (108). This is not to say that wh-objects will always control an embedded null subject. This is evident when the matrix wh-object (in-situ) is scrambled out from the vP and is fronted as in (114). In such cases, the fronted wh-object no longer controls the embedded null subject. The subject NP of the matrix clause controls the embedded null subject as long as the phi-features of the embedded verb match with those of the subject, rendering it as a possible antecedent.

114. kona-la$_I$	John-ni	kalavi-l-ə	ki	Ø $_I$ / to $_I$
who-ACC	J-ERG	inform-PAST-3.S.N	that	

parikset pas dzala ?
exam-in pass happen-PAST-3.S.M
'To whom had John $_I$ informed that ec $_I$ /he passed the test?'

In this case, the features on the embedded verb are 3SM, and are matching with that of the matrix subject (*John*). Hence the null subject is controlled by the matrix subject.

However, when the phi-features of the matrix subject are not matching with those on the embedded verb, as can be seen in (115) below, and the phi-features of the fronted wh-object match, then it can act as the antecedent for the null embedded subject.

115. kona-la $_I$	John-ni	kalavi-l-ə	ki	Ø $_I$ / ti $_I$
who-ACC	J-ERG	inform-PAST-3.S.N	that	

parikset pas dzali?
exam-in pass happen-PAST-3.S.F
'To whom$_I$ had John informed that ec $_I$ /she passed the test?'

In the light of the data presented the pattern that emerges clearly is that the closest NP with the matching phi-features is always chosen as the possible antecedent for the embedded null subject. And for some unclear reason wh-subjects in the matrix clause cannot license finite embedded null subjects, but scrambled wh- objects can.

6.2.8 Agreement and null pronouns

The data presented in this section will link pro-drop to the verbal agreement in Marathi. The data clearly suggests that agreement can play some role in identifying null pronouns in Marathi in some instances but it cannot be taken as a sole identifier of the null pronoun as was the case in section (6.2.1). The verbal paradigm for Marathi in the various tenses was discussed in section 6 above. Based on those paradigms, I will show the data below where the missing pronoun is recovered purely through the agreement.

116.	John-ni $_{I}$	Mary-la		kalav-lə	ki	Ø $_{I}$ / to $_{I,J}$
	J-ERG	M-ACC/DAT		inform-PAST-3.S.N	that	he
	parikshet	pas	dza-l-a			
	exam-in	pass	happen-PAST-3.S.M			

'John informed Mary that (he) passed the test.'

In the above example, a null subject can be used in the embedded clause. The null subject can only refer back to 'John' in this case. There is no other possible antecedent. The agreement morphology on the embedded verb 'to happen' makes it possible for the antecedent to be only 3SM. Therefore, the object NP of the main verb (Mary) cannot control the null subject. That would result in a mismatch of phi-features. Notice just like the cases in the quantified antecedents, the use of reflexive can resolve the ambiguity in (116).

What happens when both the subject and the object NPs have matching phi-features with the embedded verb? Is there a preference for subject over object in such cases? See the example (117) below, where both the subject and the object of the main clause are 3 feminine singular. The null subject is getting controlled by the object NP. Thus, the mull subject refers to Mary and not Lucy.

117.	Lucy-ni $_I$	Mary-la $_J$	kalav-l-ə	ki	Ø$_J$/
	L-ERG	M-ACC/DAT	inform-PAST-3.S.N	that	
	ti $_{I,J}$	parikshet	pas	dza-l-i	
	she	exam-in	pass	happen-PAST-3.S.M	

'Lucy informed Mary that she passed the exam.'

If the embedded subject is overt then it can mean Mary or Lucy. To disambiguate, reflexives are used just as in the quantifier subjects (118).

118.	Lucy-ni $_I$	Mary-la $_J$	kalav-l-ə	ki	
	L-ERG	M-ACC/DAT	inform-PAST-3.S.N	that	
	ti $_{I,}$	swatah	parikshet	pas	dza-l-i
	she	self	exam-in	pass	happen-PAST-3.S.M

'Lucy $_I$ informed Mary that she $_I$ herself passed the exam.'

When there are more than two possible antecedents like in the following example (119) agreement can help identify the antecedent for the null subject.

119.	[J-chya$_I$	aai-ni]	Mary-la	kalav-l-ə	ki
	J-POSS	mother-ERG	M-ACC/DAT	inform-PAST-3.S.N	that
	Ø $_I$ / to $_{I,J}$	parikshet	pas	dza-l-a	
	he	exam-in	pass	happen-PAST-3.S.M	

'John's mother informed Mary that ec passed the test.'

In this case, the null subject can only be controlled by a 3.S.M NP. It is recovered through the agreement on the embedded verb 'to happen'. There is no other NP, other than *John*, available within the clause with the matching phi-features. The overt pronoun could either mean *John* or any other masculine singular referent.

Contrast this with the following example where all the NPs have matching phi-features.

120. [Lucy-chya$_{I}$ aai-ni$_{K}$] Mary-la$_{J}$ kalav-l-ə ki
L-POSS mother-ERG M-ACC/DAT inform-PAST-3.S.N that
Ø$_{J}$ / ti$_{I,J}$ parikshet pas dza-l-i
he exam-in pass happen-PAST-3.S.F
'Lucy's mother informed Mary that ec/she passed the test.'

Here the null subject is controlled by the object and not the subject of the matrix clause. Again the agreement morphology on the embedded verb makes only a 3SF NP as the possible antecedent. In the example here *Mary* (object) is the nearest available NP with the matching phi-features, therefore it controls the null subject.

The conclusion to make from this data is that agreement can identify the referent of a null pronoun in *certain* cases. However it cannot be treated as the sole identifier of the null pronouns in the language. Notice that this conclusion contradicts our previous conclusion in the section 4.1.

6.2.9 Null subjects in Adjunct clauses

This section will provide some more insights in trying to the answer the question in (58e) about the relation between the antecedent and the null subject. In the data presented so far, the most striking feature (for certain) is that the closest NP with the matching phi-features acts as the antecedent and controls the embedded null subject. The question then is how to define 'closest'? Does it mean that a XP (antecedent) has to be structurally close to the null subject or is it defined in terms of the linear order? Syntactically structural closeness of an NP can be defined in terms of the c-command relation. And to this effect, we have seen that c-command does help in choosing the antecedent as seen in the section (6.2.3.1).

In this section, I will show that c-command cannot be used as the only criterion to define 'closest' in all the different instances of pro-drop found in Marathi. The examples below indicate that c-command does not seem to play a major role, as the null pronoun can be co-referenced with a NP in a higher adjunct clause. In all the examples given here, the adjunct clause is assumed to be adjoined to CP containing the main clause.

In the case of example (121), the subject of the adjunct clause is controlling the null subject and not the object *doctor* which possibly has compatible phi-features, even though the object in the adjunct clause appears to be closer to the null pronoun.

121. [dzewha Ram$_I$ doktar kade gela] temwha
When R doctor to go-PAST-3.S.M then
Ø$_I$/(tyala)$_I$ bara watlə.
he-ACC better feel-PAST-3.S.N
'When Ram went to the doctor, he felt better.'

This control by a non c-commanding antecedent indicates that the antecedent is chosen on some other grounds. I argue that in cases like these discourse context becomes active and the topic is chosen as the antecedent. Marathi does not have a special marker for 'topic' as mentioned in chapter two. In the absence of a clearly marked topic, either via moving them in sentence initial position or by stressing the relevant XP, the subject is considered as the default topic. Thus the subject in (121) which is also the topic acts as the antecedent. In addition to excluding the c-command relation, this example also helps to eliminate the option that it is the linear order of the constituents that defines 'closeness'. The example (121) is in contrast with (122) where the null subject is controlled by the object of the adjunct clause.

122. [dzewha Ram aaji-la$_I$ bheto] temwha
When R granny-ACC meet-PRES-3.S.M then
Ø$_I$ / (ti)$_I$ tya-la kalvet ghete
she him hug take-PRES-3.S.F
'When Ram meets his granny, she hugs him.'

In this example, the null subject first looks for an antecedent which may or may not c-command it but has compatible phi-features. Again both the subject and the object of the adverbial clause can be possible antecedents. However, it is the object in the adverbial clause that has the matching phi features, and therefore it is chosen as the antecedent.

There are also cases where the verb of the main clause shows (*aawdla*) agreement with the object (*him*). Despite this, the sentence can optionally have a null subject. The antecedent of the null or the overt subject is the subject of the adjunct clause as illustrated by the following example.

123. [dzewha vakila-ni$_I$ Ram-la pratekhsat pahilə] temwha
When lawyer R-ACC in person see-PAST-3.S.N then
Ø$_I$ / (tyan-la)$_I$ to aawadla
he him like-PAST-3.S.M
'When the lawyer saw Ram then he liked him.'

I propose that in such cases, there seems to be a default rule that picks subject over objects as antecedents. Note that this default rule cannot be applied across the board for all the Marathi data. As this would interfere with the finite embedded null subjects and the agreement data. This default rule would wrongly predict that null subjects in cases like (117) to be controlled by the subjects of the higher clause if there are more than one possible antecedent with the matching agreement features on the embedded verb, and the null subject.

6.2.10 Multiple embeddings

The following data show a case of null subject in multiple embeddings. We will see how null pronouns fare in a multiple embedded clause. In Marathi the antecedent does not have to be in the next clause up, unlike Finnish (Holmberg 2005) where the next clause up is a rigid requirement. The antecedent can be a topic co-referenced to a null subject in a deeply embedded clause. See the example below

124. ?Ram-la$_I$ watto ki Mary mhanali ki he
R-ACC think-PRES-3.S.M that M say-PAST-3.S.F that this
changlə dzalə ki (to)$_I$ doktaran-kade gela.

good happen-PAST-3.S.N that he doctor-to go-PAST-3.S.M

'Ram thinks that Mary said that it was good that (he) went to the doctor.'

For some speakers this sentence is not acceptable with a covert pronoun in the deeply embedded clause even in the spoken variety that permits null subjects. Having said this, in cases of multiple embeddings where there is a topic intervening between the subject of the main clause and the deeply embedded null subject, then the topic can control the embedded null subject as long as it has the matching phi-features.

125. Ram-la$_I$	watto	ki	Mary$_J$	sathi	he-ch
R-ACC	think-PRES-3.S.M	that	M	for	this-EMPH
changlə	aahe	ki	(ti)$_{J,*I}$	Mumbai-la	dzaave
good	be-PRES	that	she	Bombay-to	go-SUBJ

'Ram thinks that for Mary, it is best that she goes to Bombay.'

Again the data robustly shows that the nearest antecedent with the matching phi features controls the embedded null subject.

7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have focussed on the null subject parameter and its interaction with the Marathi data. The classical null-subject language characteristics free inversion, the *that*-trace effect, and presence/absence of expletives fail to establish Marathi as a null subject language as I have shown. This means that the null subject parameter has a negative value for Marathi. However there is there is enough empirical evidence in the spoken variety of the language to challenge the conclusion that Marathi is not a null subject language. In fact the data presented in section 6.2 does suggest that there is some degree of pro-drop in the language. However it is not a classical pro-drop language. Note also the important fact that pro-drop it is not permitted in the written language.

Following Holmberg (2005) I argue that Marathi is a partial pro-drop language, and the relevant data are discussed in section (6.2). The Marathi facts show that

Holmberg's (2005) analysis is the way forward to account for such languages. The major conclusions to be drawn from the data then are that Marathi is a partial pro-drop language which shows both discourse and non- discourse related pro drop. The implication of this conclusion is that agreement is not the only syntactic category that can control the null subjects in the embedded contexts. The discourse pro-drop in Marathi is not to be understood as to the same thing as the topic pro-drop found in Chinese (Huang 1984, 1989). In case of the non-discourse related pro-drop the exact conditions under which the embedded null pronouns can occur in the finite clauses are not clear. However the following generalization can be inferred from the data:

128. a. The antecedent has to be the closest c-commanding NP with matching phi-features.

b. In absence of a c-commanding NP with matching phi-features, the closest topic controls the null subject.

A more careful and detailed investigation of the facts is needed to account for the pro-drop in Marathi accurately.

Another interesting fact that emerges from the data concerns Montalbetti's generalization. Marathi seems to show the opposite of Montalbetti's generalization as illustrated in section 6.2.6. There is no clear reason why this is the case, but again this forces us to assume that Marathi pro-drop is not a case of classical pro-drop. The one thing that is clear from this discussion is that languages cannot be divided neatly into pro-drop languages or non-pro-drop languages, and that even the finer classification into classical pro-drop, semi-pro-drop, and partial-pro-drop does not quite capture all the variation that is actually found.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the beginning of chapter One, the major goal of this thesis was to draw attention to the some of the basic properties of the syntax of Marathi. In doing so, a number of issues have emerged, some of which need even more careful and detailed investigation. There is very little in depth research done on this language and hence this thesis can be seen as a starting point for any further research on the syntax of the language. The nature of this thesis has been descriptive as well as theoretical. As the thesis does not focus on or address *one* single issue, there is no corresponding single conclusion reached. However, as various aspects of the language are presented and analyzed, there are a number of conclusions drawn in the different chapters. The various basic aspects of syntax taken up in this thesis are discussed in the framework of the Minimalist Program, the current theory of generative grammar articulated in recent work by Chomsky and other scholars.

I will go over the major conclusions drawn in each of the preceding chapters and by doing so point out the places that require more research. The main aims of chapter One are: (i) to familiarize the reader with the notions of generative grammar assumed in the thesis, and (ii) to introduce some core notions of the minimalist theory that are relevant to the analyses developed in the other chapters. The chapter provides a theoretical foundation for the analyses to be presented for the various syntactic phenomena taken up in the thesis.

Chapter Two begins with a brief introduction of some typological properties of the language which are relevant to this thesis. In addition to this the chapter focuses on the phrasal and clausal structure and the word order of the language. I have argued in this thesis that all the phrases (lexical and functional) are head initial in the language. The head final orders in the VP and the PP are derived via movement of the complement to a higher position. This movement is a consequence of the [EPP] feature on the head targeted by the movement. With regards to the clause structure, following Kayne (1994), I have argued that Marathi is underlyingly a SVO language, contra

Pandharipande (1997) and Wali (2005). The frequently used SOV order is derived via obligatory leftward movement of the object to the preverbal position, due to the [EPP] feature on little v. All objects (including NP/DP, PP, AdjP, non-finite CP complements) undergo this movement except finite CP complements, which remain in-situ. Following the derivation by phase theory of Chomsky (2001), I have argued that this happens due to the presence of the clause initial *ki* complementizer in the embedded C. Since CP is a phase, moving the TP out of this embedded CP to a higher position is not possible. Hence they remain in situ. Note that this object movement is not exactly similar to Holmberg's (1986) object shift where the object that undergoes movement has to be definite. In Marathi, definiteness has no impact whatsoever on the movement of the object. Instead, what is crucial, is the presence or absence of the *ki* complementizer.

With the basic clause structure established, chapter Three discussed the core operations of case and agreement in the language. The chapter highlights some interesting data. It has been well documented in many languages (including other Indo-Aryan languages) that the Nominative Case has a privileged relationship with agreement. Marathi is no different in this regard. The language has both subject and object agreement. Nominative NP always enters into agreement with the main verb and the auxiliary, if present. In the absence of a nominative NP, the verb takes the default agreement of 3SN. This pattern clearly indicates that Nominative Case and agreement cannot be accounted for independently. Any analysis of the agreement facts then would have to involve Nominative Case assignment. Under the analysis sketched in chapter Three, Nominative Case and agreement are seen as a 'give and take' relation. I have argued that the T head in Marathi has two sets of uninterpretable phi-features -- primary and secondary. Both of these have to be valued and deleted before the derivation proceeds to the LF interface. Nominative Case is assigned by the T head to a NP that values the primary uninterpretable phi- features on the T head. This is achieved via establishing an Agree relation between the T head (a Probe) and the appropriate NP that acts as a Goal. This neatly accounts for the agreement facts.

The secondary set of phi-features on the T deals with the special second person agreement, where both the second person subject and the object agree with the verb. The implicit effect of such an analysis is that one has to assume a default value for these secondary set of phi-features in all the other cases. Accordingly, I have assumed that the default value for this set of phi-features is null. There could be a more elegant way of accounting for these facts, but for now, this seems like the most straightforward analysis. Clearly, the Marathi facts support the generalization that Nominative Case assignment and agreement cannot be accounted for independently.

There was also a discussion on Ergative Case in this chapter where I have concluded that. Marathi shows morphological ergativity, like Hindi, and that Ergative Case in Marathi is an inherent case. It is assigned when the verb is marked [+ PERF, + AGENT]. One of the issues that is highlighted in the chapter is that of Accusative Case assignment. A certain verb X can assign Accusative in one instance but not in other. The observation to be made from the data is that Accusative Case is assigned only to objects that are either definite or refer to humans. I have accounted for this observation by postulating that indefinite, non-human objects are NPs whereas definite, human objects are DPs. Thus, I have argued that Accusative Case is assigned to DPs, where DP is a noun phrase that has either [+HUM] or [+DEF] or both features This suggests that that Accusative Case marking is sensitive to semantic categories like 'humanness' and 'definiteness' unlike Nominative Case. Some questions still remain open about the case and agreement facts in the language, some of them are – why is Accusative Case alone sensitive to this difference between a NP and a DP? Is there any other difference between a NP and a DP? What is special about second person that triggers both subject and object agreement? These are some points where more thorough investigation is required.

The Chapter Four deals with negation. It looks like Marathi makes a syntactic distinction between constituent negation (CN) and sentential negation (SN). In sentential negation the negative marker occurs in the sentence final position, whereas in constituent negation, the negative marker always follows the constituent it negates. These negative markers are either negative auxiliaries or negative particles as discussed in the chapter. In this thesis, I have attempted to account for sentential negation and constituent negation with a single analysis. I have referred to it as the Polarity Phrase hypothesis. The basic assumption is that all clauses have a Polarity head (Pol) which can host either a negative marker (neg) or an affirmative marker (aff). This head projects its own phrase, the PolP. The scope of negation lies in the spec of this PolP. There are four varieties of this Pol head, together they account for all the negation facts of the language. These are:

- Pol with [uPOL, EPP] --- probes and gets a value from T (neg or aff). T also moves to the Pol head. And the vP is attracted by the [EPP]. This is the case of SN.

- Pol with [uPOL, u FOC, EPP] --- Probes T for a value and attracts it. This is the case where negative auxiliaries are used for CN. The feature [u FOC] probes for a goal with the corresponding [FOC] feature and the [EPP] attracts the category probed by [u FOC].

- Pol with [NEG, u FOC, EPP] --- These are cases of CN where the negative particles are used. These do not need a value from T, and the vP remains in spec TP. The negative particle originates as a Pol head. However, the [u FOC] probes for a goal marked for focus, and the [EPP] attracts that category.

- Pol with [NEG, EPP] --- The case of negation in non-finite clauses. The [EPP] here attracts the vP.

By adopting this analysis based on the Polarity Phrase hypothesis, one no longer needs to differentiate between constituent negation and sentential negation in terms of computation.

The final issue that is taken up in this thesis is that of pro-drop. The chapter on pro-drop is basically descriptive. The initial aim of the chapter was to address the issue of pro-drop in the language. However, the data provided are not clearly pointing to a generalization about pro-drop. Holmberg's (2005) analysis comes closest to accounting for the Marathi facts. I have extended his analysis to the Marathi data, suggesting that Marathi is a partial pro-drop language. The chapter introduces the phenomenon of pro-drop, discusses some prominent studies, and shows data from Marathi where pro-drop occurs. I have attempted to come up with a generalization that captures the distribution of null subjects, but clearly there remains a grey area.

One gets discrepancies with different speakers about the usage of null subjects, though most speakers agree that pro-drop is predominantly a feature of the spoken variety of the language, hardly tolerated in the written language. Pro-drop in Marathi cannot be equated with pro-drop found in the classical null subject languages. Marathi cannot be classified as a discourse pro-drop language either because, although null subjects can be controlled by discourse antecedents, there are cases where agreement helps in recovering the missing pronoun. As of now the chapter only gives a fair idea of when null subjects are permitted, but a principled and formal account of their distribution is yet to be provided.

In this thesis, I have tried show how certain assumptions of the minimalist theory (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent) can be applied to the Marathi data, and which additional assumptions and hypotheses are required to account for the facts. The one topic discussed in the thesis that clearly needs more research and attention is 'pro-drop'. Finally, I would like to stress that this thesis should be viewed as a stepping stone for a more detailed investigation of the language.

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