

# DECOMPOSING THE VERBALIZER *peTuka* IN MALAYALAM<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

The verbalizer *peTuka* is argued, in this paper, to derive its role from its deployment as an independent verb in Malayalam. It results from STATIVE nominals incorporating into the verb *peTuka*. Sentences with the verbalizer *peTuka* result in two kinds of structures: one, conforming to ‘change of location’ and the other, conforming to ‘change of possession’. On transitivity, these Structures result in ‘caused change of state’, with the latter giving rise to double object ditransitives.

Keywords:[ Denominals, *peTuka*, noun incorporation, verbalizer, change of state, location, possession]

## 1.0 Introduction

In this paper we shall be presenting an account of the verbalizer *peTuka* in Malayalam, arguing for a common underlying structure for it, despite surface differences in appearance.<sup>1</sup> This is accomplished by adopting an approach permitting nominals to incorporate into the verbalizer, from its PP complement, mimicking the structure it would have appeared in had it assumed its role as an independent verb.<sup>2</sup> And the incorporation of nominals thus, appears to produce intransitive counterparts of the transitive locatives and

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\*Some of the special symbols employed for transcription in this paper, include the following:

A - Shwa; t̥ - Voiceless Alveolar Stop ; r – alveolar Tap; R – Alveolar Trill; T – Retroflex stop; L- Retroflex Lateral; N – Retroflex Nasal. The abbreviations employed in this paper include the following: acc.: Accusative; dat.: Dative; loc.: Locative; gen.: Genitive; soc.: Sociative; Instr.: Instrumental; inf.: infinitive; pres.: present tense; pl.: plural; agr.: agreement; rel. prt.: Relative participle.

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary sketch of the role of *peTuka* as a verbalizer adopting an LCS based approach appears in Srikumar(1994). Another account of *peTuka* as involving a grammaticalization of its verbal counterpart has been

attempted in a paper by Madhavan, P. entitled ‘Grammaticalization of *peT*’.

<sup>2</sup> *peTuka* may be used as an independent verb, a verbalizer or a passive formative in Malayalam.

locatum verbs. Further, our nominal incorporation account confirms the necessity for recognizing head movement for incorporation purposes as argued for in Baker (2009), besides being in line with the Haugen's (2009:cf. Mateu, 2011) proposal that denominalization with an argument structure source involves incorporation and not conflation. We shall also be assuming the idea that syntactic structure manifests argument structure following the works of Hale and Keyser (2002), Baker (1996) and others, keeping to perhaps a coarser grained theory of theta roles as proposed in Baker(1996).

### **2.1 *peTuka*, as an Independent verb and the verbalizer:**

*peTuka* as an independent verb may carry the meanings 'to get into', 'to fall into', occurring with a theme argument as subject and a locational goal argument as its complement, keeping within the VP.<sup>3</sup> The second argument we designate as locational goal argument here to take care of the 'terminal coincidence relation'- borrowing Hale and Keyser's (2002) terminology- that the verb *peTuka* imputes on the theme with respect to the locational argument: i.e. the theme is drawn into a coterminous relation with the state expressed by the locational argument. In other words, we may assume *peTuka* to have a PATH component framed into the verb, following the lexicalization patterns proposed by Talmy(1991, 2000).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> We shall be uniformly glossing *peTuka* as 'become' and its transitive alternant *peTuttuka* as 'make' in this paper.

<sup>4</sup> In Talmian sense, *peTuka* could be a spell out of the Path denoting case inflection conflating with the verb 'to fall'

1. a. raaman moḷamaaya kuuTTukeTT- peTTu  
 il  
 Raman bad company-loc. become-past  
 ‘Raman got into bad company’
- b. avarA raamane moḷamaaya kuuTTukeTT- peTutti  
 il  
 they Raman-acc. bad company-loc. make-  
 past  
 ‘They got Raman into a bad company’
- c. avarA maṭṭuLLavaruTe keNiy-il peTTu  
 they other-gen. trap-loc. become-past  
 ‘They got into other’s trap’
- d. raaman avare keNiy-il peTutti  
 Raman he-acc. trap-loc. make-past  
 ‘Raman got them into a trap’
- e. niṅṅaL avaruTe kaNN-il peTTu  
 you they-gen eyes-loc. become-past.  
 ‘You got into their notice’
- f. raaman niṅṅaLe avaruTe kaNN-il peTutti  
 Raman you-pl.-acc. they-gen eye-loc. make-  
 past  
 ‘Raman got you into their notice’

- d.      vaLLam   koTumkaat't-il      peTTu  
          boat        storm                              become-past  
          'The boat got into a storm'
- avarA      vaLLattine              koTumkaat't-il      peTutti  
          they        boat-acc.                      storm-loc.              make-past  
          'They got the boat into a storm'

Further, both its intransitive and transitive variants show the usual correspondence in argument structure found with verbs participating in transitivity alternations: i.e. while its intransitive takes a Theme and a Locational Goal as its arguments, the corresponding transitive differs only in taking a causer in addition, as may be observed by comparing the sentence (1. b) with the rest in (1).

In fact, the sentences containing *peTuka* as verbalizer, have parallels with the independent verbal use of *peTuka*, for, as Srikumar (2003) observes, they too can be shown to have near paraphrases with the same argument structure wherein the nominal to be denominalized occurs as a locational goal argument of the verb *peTuka*, as exemplified in the contrasts shown by the sentences (a) and (b) in (2-3).<sup>5</sup>

2. a.      kuTTi      ot'tappeTTu  
          child      alone-become-past  
          'The child became isolated'

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<sup>5</sup> The idea that sentences with nouns denominalized by *peTuka* have paraphrases with the nominals appearing as locative argument goes back to Rajaraja Verma (1896).

- b. kuTTi otʔayil peTTu  
 child alone-loc. become-past  
 ‘The child got into isolation’
3. a. kuTTi niraafappeTTu  
 child disappoint-become-past.  
 ‘The child became disappointed’
- b. kuTTi niraafayil peTTu  
 child disappointment-loc. become-past  
 ‘The child got into disappointment’

In other words, the denominalized instances obtained with the verbalizer *peTuka* have paraphrases wherein the nominal concerned occur independently of the verbalizer as an argument of the verb; interpretively, the former gives the reading ‘to become in a STATE (i.e. named by the Nominal)’, while the latter gives the reading ‘to get into a STATE (named by the Nominal)’. Hence, it looks plausible to suppose, in the now familiar Bakerian(1988) fashion, that sentences containing *peTuka* as verbalizer may derive from underlying structure with *peTuka* as an independent verb. Given then, it would be interesting to ascertain if the verb *peTuka* may verbalize any nominal, in principle. However, as it turns out, the nominals it verbalizes have to permit a reading whereby it denotes ‘a STATE’, as may be observed from the instances of verbalization in (4).

4. a. abhimaanam + peTuka abhimaanappeTuka  
pride become 'to become in pride'
- b. deeyam + peTuka > deeyappeTuka  
anger become 'to become in anger'
- c. niraafa + peTuka > niraafappeTuka  
disappointment become 'to become in disappointment'
- d. cumatala + peTuka > cumatalappeTuka  
responsibility become 'to become in responsibility'
- g. ot'ta + peTuka > ot'tappeTuka  
single become 'to become in isolation'
- h. kaḷSTam + peTuka > kaḷTappeTuka  
trouble become 'to struggle'
- i. akam + peTuka > akappeTuka  
inside become 'to become in trap'
- j. iTa + peTuka > iTappeTuka  
middle become 'to interfere'
- k. uLLA + peTuka > uLLppeTuka  
in become 'to include'
- l. kiiZ + peTuka > kiiZppeTuka  
under become 'to surrender or become in

submissiveness’

m.	ƒraddha	+	peTuka	>	*ƒraddhappeTuka
	attention		become		‘to become in attention’
n.	kaNNu	+	peTuka	>	*kaNNuppeTuka
	eye		become		‘to become in notice’

Thus a nominal like *kaNNA* ‘eye’, though permitting occurrence with the verb *peTuka* as its locational Goal, is not a potential form for verbalizing with *peTuka*; whereas a nominal like *deeyam* ‘anger’ or *ot’ta* ‘alone’ being denotative of a ‘STATE’ may be subjected to verbalizing with *peTuka*. It may be noted that while constructions such as *ƒraddha-yil peTuka* ‘to become in notice’ or *cati-yil peTuka* ‘to become in deceit’ are quite common, their verbalized counterparts such as *ƒraddhappeTuka* and *catippeTuka* are unattested and sound ill-formed. This may be attributed to blocking effects due to the availability of their verbalized forms with the other verbalizer *-ikk*, yielding forms such as *ƒraddhikkuka* ‘to notice’ and *catikkuka* ‘to deceive’ respectively and also, their passive forms *ƒraddhikkappeTuka* ‘to get noticed’ and *catikkappeTuka* ‘to get deceived’ being their semantic equivalents and their more pervasive presence in the language.

## 2.2 The verbalizers *peTuka* and *-(i)kk*, and transitivizers

The verbalizer *peTuka* may be shown to contrast with the other regular verbalizer *-(i)kk-*, glossable as ‘do’, (discussed in Madhavan, 1984 and 2006; and Srikumar, 2010) - in Malayalam, as illustrated in the following:

5. a. vicaaram + ikk(uka) > vicaarikkuka

thought do 'to think'

b. ciri + ikk(uka) > cirikkuka

laugh do 'to laugh'

c. kura + ikk(uka) > kuraykkuka

bark do 'to bark'

d. vara + ikk(uka) > varaykkuka

scribble do 'to draw'

e. maTi + ikk(uka) > maTikkuka

hesitation do > 'to hesitate'

f. poTi + ikk(uka) > poTikkuka

powder do 'to powder'

g. veedana + ikk(uka) > veedaniykkuka

pain do 'to pain'

The affixing of the verbalizer *-ikk-* to nominals tends to introduce an Agent in most cases, deriving a transitive verb or Unergative verb (6.b –d); or else, it leads to an experiencer verb (6 a., e. and g), as shown in the sentences below.

6. a. ñaan avan varum enna vicaariccu

I he come-fut. COMP thought-do-past.

‘I thought he would come’

b. kuTTi ciriccu

child laugh-do.past

‘The child laughed’

c. paTTi vallaatte kuraccu

dog a lot bark-do-past

‘The dog barked a lot’

d. raaman paTam varaccu

picture line-do-past

; ‘Raman drew the picture’

e. avan akattu varaan maTiccu

he inside come-inf. hesitation-do-past

‘He hesitated to come inside’

f.    avan    jiirakam    poTiccu  
       he        cuminseeds    powder-do-past  
       ‘He crushed cuminseeds’;

g.    avanA    kaalu        veedanikkunnu  
       he-dat.   leg        pain-do-pres.  
       ‘His legs are aching’

The verbalizer *peTuka*, on the other hand, appears to produce inchoative verbs out of STATIVE nominals, expressing a ‘change of STATE’, as exemplified in the sentences below. Here the verbalizer may be construed as an inchoative predicate expressing the idea that the Theme or Experiencer argument comes into the ‘STATE’ denoted by the nominals it verbalizes:

7. a.    veNu           \*(manappuuRvam)   swantam    samayam   kaNTettaan  
                           deliberately        own        time        find-inf.  
       kaṭTappeTTu  
       trouble-become-past  
       ‘Venu struggled to find time for himself \*(deliberately)’

- b. raaman \*(manappuuRvam) innu aaL-ttirakkil  
deliberately today crowd-loc.

akappeTTu

inside-become-past

‘Raman got trapped in a crowd today \*(deliberately)’

- c. raaman avaRkkA kiiZppeTTu  
they-dat. below-become-past

‘Raman surrendered to them \*(deliberately)’

- d. raaman \*(manappuuRvam) aviTe ofʔappeTTu  
There alone-become-past

‘Raman got isolated there \*(deliberately)’

Needless to say, these sentences occur with non-agentive subjects, as exemplified by the fact that these do not appear to permit agentive adverbs carrying meanings such as ‘deliberately’ to occur in them. Moreover, when an agent needs to be added, the denominals formed with *peTuka* need to obligatorily affix the causative morph *-tt-* onto them.

8. a. veNu manuvine valare kaḷTappeTu-tt-i  
Venu Manu-acc a lot trouble-make-past

‘Venu troubled Manu a lot’

b. raaman innu kuTTikale oru kaLLakkeesil akappeTu-tt-i  
 Raman today children- a fraudulent case- inside-make-  
 acc. loc. past

‘Raman trapped children in a fraudulent case today’

c. jatrukkal raajavint’e sainyaṅṅale kiiZppeTu-tt-i  
 enemies king-gen. army-acc. under-make-past

‘The enemies captured the king’s army’

d. raaman avane oṭṭappeTu-tt-i  
 Raman he-acc. alone-make-past

‘Raman isolated him’

It may be noted that the transitivizer morph *-tt-*, found with the verbalizer *peTuka*, is generally the transitivizer for certain verbs in Malayalam participating in verbal alternations, i.e., the transitive/intransitive pairs. In fact, the transitivizing morph *-tt-* is a phonologically restricted allomorph of the more regular transitivizer morph *-(i)kk* in Malayalam.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> As pointed out in Rajarajavarma (1986: 232), it is found with certain verbal stems ending with approximants (including laterals, taps and fricative approximant) and back vowel [a].

9. a. vaLaruka/vaLaRttuka  
‘to grow/to nourish’
- b. paTaruka/paTaRttuka  
‘to spread/to make to spread’
- c. viTaruka/viTaRttuka  
‘to bloom/to make bloom’
- d. varuka/varuttuka  
‘to come/ to make to come’
- e. naTakkuka/naTattuka  
‘to walk/ to make to walk’

Moreover, when some of the nominals tend to appear with both verbalizers, i.e. *peTuka* and also the regular transitivizer suffix *-ikk*, they are seen to differ semantically.<sup>7</sup>

- |        |                   |    |               |
|--------|-------------------|----|---------------|
| 10. a. | rakḷa-ppeTuka     | b. | rakḷ-ikk-uka  |
|        | protection-become |    | protection-do |
|        | ‘to escape’       |    | ‘to rescue’   |
| 11. a. | ooRma-ppeTuttuka  | b. | ooRm-ikk-uka  |
|        | memory-make       |    | memory-do     |
|        | ‘to remind’       |    | ‘to remember’ |

<sup>7</sup> Another nominal like *rakḷa* in (10) is *bahumaanam* ‘respect’, yielding the forms

- |     |                         |  |
|-----|-------------------------|--|
| i.  | bahumaana-ppeTT-a       | ‘one who is respected( i.e. held in respect) |
|     | respect-become-rel.prt. |  |
| ii. | bahumaan-ikk-uka        | ‘to respect’                                 |
|     | respect-do              |  |

12. a. raaman aviTe ninnaA rakḷappeTTu

Raman there from rescue-become-past

‘Raman escaped from there’

b. raaman avane rakḷiccu

Raman he-acc. rescue-do-past

‘Raman rescued him’

c. raaman avane oru kaaryam ooRmappeTutti

Raman he-acc a matter memory-make-past

‘Raman reminded him a matter’

d. raaman avane ooRmiccu

Raman he-acc. memory-do-past

‘Raman remembered him’

In (10.a), for instance, the noun *rakSa* ‘protection’ is verbalized by *peTuka*, producing the verb *rakḷappeTuka* ‘to escape’, while the same noun with the regular transitivizer *-ikk-* produces *rakḷikkuka* ‘to rescue’, which is an agentive verb. The nominal *ooRma* ‘memory’ in (11), on the other hand, can only take the transitivized form of the verbalizer *peTuka* besides the regular transitive suffix *-ikk-*, but they are again different

semantically: suffixation of *peTuttuka* with *ooRma* results in the meaning ‘cause to be in memory (to remind)’, whereas suffixation of the regular transitive suffix *-ikk-* on the same yields the meaning ‘to remember’, which may of course, be causativized yet again, deriving the form *ooRm-ipp-ikkuka* ‘to remind’.

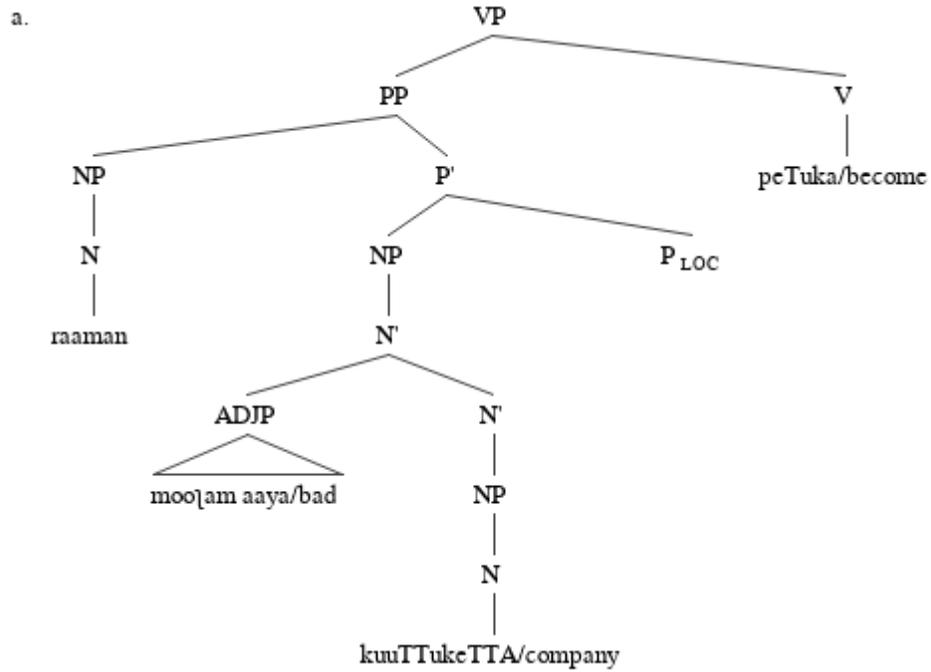
### **3 The analysis**

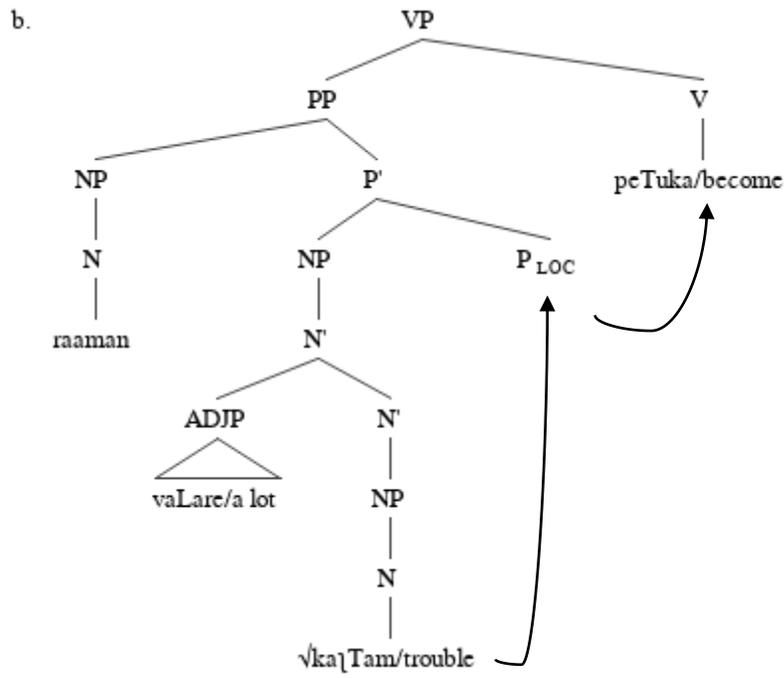
#### **3.1 Structure of verbalization involving *peTuka***

As *peTuka* is found to occur in constructions with non-agentive subjects which participate in transitivity alternations, we may assume it to be an unaccusative verb taking a small clausal complement PP expressing a predicative relation holding between a Theme and a Locational Goal argument bound by the relation P signifying LOC, as shown by the structures in (13) and (14) respectively for their intransitive and transitive variants. To account for the verbalizing role of *peTuka*, we may assume that if the complement of P in its small clausal complement is a STATIVE nominal, it may incorporate into the verb *peTuka*, unless blocked by other considerations, passing via the P head, being subject to Head Movement Constraint (Travis, 1984). Here, incorporation may be assumed to involve copying of the phonetic material from the nominal head and left adjoining it to the Verb *peTuka*, leaving a similarly adjoined copy on the intervening P too en route. Or else the Locational Goal argument may survive with locative case as an inherent case by virtue of the head complement configuration it is in with respect to the P governing it. In other words, the verbalizing role of *peTuka* is an upshot of the process of STATIVE Nominals incorporating into the V node holding it. The Theme argument hosted by the spec of PP

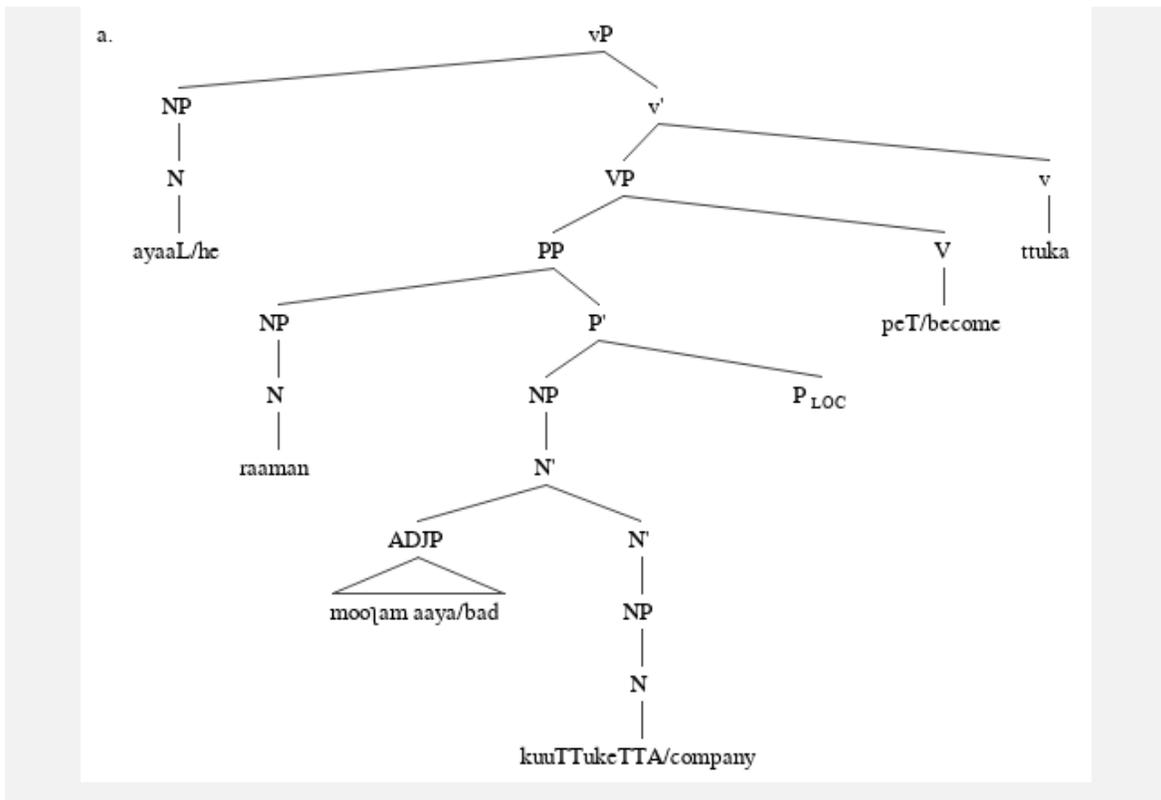
will raise later to Spec,TP, having agreed with its head for Nominative case, to satisfy the EPP requirement of the Tense Inflectional head.

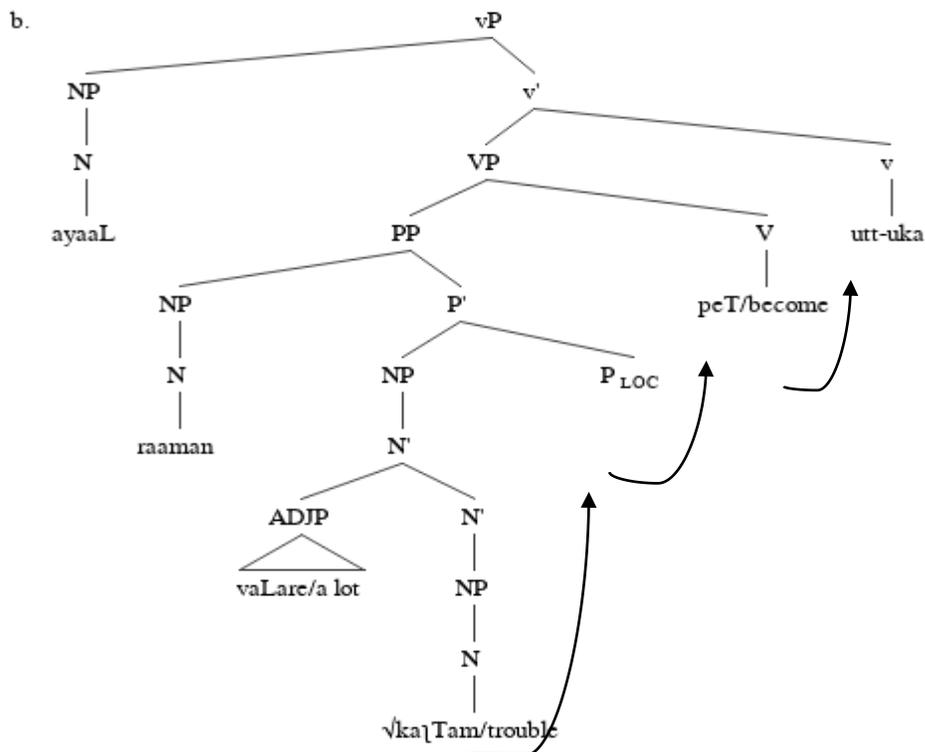
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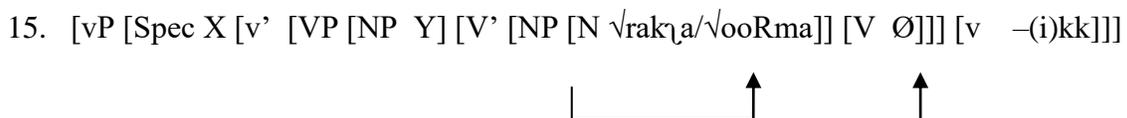




In other words, the theme or experiencer argument of these intransitive denominal verbs may be said to be underlyingly projected as the specifier of the small clausal complement of the verb *peTuka*, whose VP may be embedded under a light *v* projection with or without an external agent argument. If the light *v* lacks an external argument, the raising of the complex verb, formed by the Nominals incorporating into the *V peTuka*, to the light *v*, would yield the inchoative; or else the complex verb raises and adjoins instead to a light *v*, holding the transitivity affix, namely *-tt-*, which has an external argument, giving rise to the transitive variant.

To account for the plausible direct verbalizations of certain nominals by both *peTuka* and the regular transitivity affix *-ikk*, pointed out in section 1.1 earlier, we may conjecture as follows. As the regular transitivity affix *-ikk* is found with both transitives and unergatives in

general, we may assume it to be the light verb signifying agentivity, and hence posit it as *v* with the external argument in its specifier (cf. Srikumar 2010; 2017).<sup>8</sup> Then, the nominals apparently verbalized by *-ikk*, such as the unergatives like *ciri* ‘laugh’, may be taken to be verbalized, in fact, by a null *V* in place of the overt verbalizing *V* *ceyyuka* ‘do’ found in expressions like *nrittam ceyyuka* ‘dance do’, taking the nominal root as its complement, essentially following Hale and Keyserian assumptions.<sup>9</sup> The verbalization may then be assumed to involve incorporation, i.e. the copying of the phonetic material from the nominal head to the Verbal node, leaving a copy at the intervening head *P* too, in the case of verbalizations with *peTuka*, to obey the HMC. Given then, for the nominals like *rakṣa* ‘protection or escape’ and *ooRma* ‘memory’, their experiencer argument or the *SM* argument, as the case may be, could be assumed to project as the specifier of the *V* with a null verbalizer whose complement is the *STATIVE* nominal root in question; and consequent upon the light verbal projection headed by *-ikk* with an Agent/Experiencer in *Spec* being added onto the structures formed thereby, the incorporations of the *STATIVE* nominal root, at first, into the null verbalizer, and then of the complex so formed into the transitivizer *-(i)kk* results in sentences of the form ‘X saved Y’ and ‘X remembered Y’.



<sup>8</sup> Here we differ from Madhavan (2006), wherein the *-(i)kk* is said to occupy the *V* node sometimes and sometimes, the *v* node.

<sup>9</sup> Here, we entertain the possibility that there could be a null morph alternant for the transitive light verb *(i)kk*. This distinction between transitive light verbs, we assume, corresponds to the traditional dichotomy assumed for verbal morphology in Malayalam in terms of *karita/akarita*, i.e. those that do or do not end with *(i)kk* before suffixing with *-uka* in their citation forms. eg. *ceyy-uka* ‘to do’ vs *cirikk-uka* ‘to laugh’

If the verbalizer is *peTuka*, on the other hand, the STATIVE nominal root *rakḷa* gets embedded as the complement of its complement PP, while its experiencer argument is projected as the [specifier, PP], forming the underlying structure with the interpretation ‘get X into protection’; and, upon incorporation of the STATIVE nominal into the superordinate verb *peTuka* ‘get into’ it yields the structure relevant for deriving a Subject Experiencer sentence with the interpretation ‘X get in protection i.e. escape’. But when the STATIVE nominal root *ooRma* ‘memory’ gets denominalized by *peTuka*, it cannot just project its experiencer argument like in the case of *rakḷa*, for instance: for any argument realized as the Spec, PP in this case, would only be recognizable as the ‘Theme’ giving rise to the reading ‘X gets into memory’, which does not, however, form a plausible construction, for it raises the question ‘whose’ memory it is? Hence it needs to realize its experiencer too in addition, within the VP, behaving somewhat like a dyadic predicate. Building its structure, we may assume that as the theme needs to be ‘located in memory’ it should naturally get projected as the specifier of the PP, while the experiencer could be assumed to end up projecting as the possessor of the psych nominal, as depicted in (16 a), which naturally derives a well formed intransitive sentence, without involving noun incorporation, to yield the interpretation ‘a matter got into his memory’ (cf. 16 c). In other words, the experiencer here appears not as a direct argument of the verb *peTuka*, but of the STATIVE nominal denoting an ‘experience’.

16. a. [VP [PP [NP *oru kaaryam/a matter*][P’[NP [NP *avant’e/His*] [N  $\sqrt{ooRma/}$  memory][P<sub>LOC</sub> *il*]]] [V *peTuka/to get into*] ]
- b. [vP [NP *raaman*] [v’[VP [PP [NP *oru kaaryam/a matter*][P’[NP [NP *navant’e/His*] [N  $\sqrt{ooRma/}$  memory][P<sub>LOC</sub> *il*]]] [V *peTu/to get into*] ][v –tt-]]]

c. oru kaaryam    avant'e ooRmayil    peTTu

a    matter    he-gen    memory    become-past

'A matter got into is knowledge'

d. raaman            oru kaaryam            avant'e ooRmayil            peTutti

Raman            a    matter            he-gen    memory-loc.    make-past

'Raman got a matter into his knowledge'

e. raaman            avane                    oru kaaryam            ooRmappeTutti

                          he-acc.                    a    matter                    memory-make-past

'Raman reminded him a matter'

But if nominal incorporation to the verbalizer were to be permitted with this structure, it does not result in convergence; because the resultant clause of the form [a matter [get into memory] him] does not lend itself to a plausible interpretation. If, however, a transitivizer layer is added upon it as in (16 b) with an External Argument, an agent, the option choosing the nominal incorporation into the verbalizer coupled with transitivization could give rise to a sentence with a plausible reading 'Raman get/put into his memory a matter' i.e. 'to remind him a matter', as in (16 e), and if the *STATIVE* nominal remains unincorporated(16 d), the interpretation being 'Raman get/put a matter into his memory' i.e. 'into his knowledge', let us say. In the nominal incorporated structure, the experiencer argument that gets left behind appears to allow for raising to realize as the second object with an overt accusative marker, a pattern somewhat resembling the causativization of of

ingestive and consumption verbs in Malayalam. This could perhaps be explained to follow from the probe in the light verb seeking multiple Goals simultaneously and agreeing with them for accusative case (as in Hiraiwa, 2001). This is however permitted only when the primary object is inanimate and the indirect object, animate ensuring thereby that both objects do not surface with overt accusative markers, which perhaps violates a language particular constraint barring sequences of two NPs with overt accusative case markings.

However, the ditransitive Double Object construction resulting from the denominalization of *ooRma* by the transitivized form of the verb *peTuka* raises questions for our analysis of denominalization process by *peTuka* assumed thus far, because under our assumptions, the verb *peTuka* underlyingly requires its THEME argument to be targeted in a Locational Goal relation with respect to the STATIVE nominal argument within its complement PP. To make it precise, the theme ought to have terminated in a STATE named by the STATIVE nominals, justifying our decision to consider it as a verb of ‘terminal coincidence’, i.e. involving a change of location: and this implication is predicted to fall out from a PATH component ingrained in the verb *peTuka*. The PATH being Locational, under our assumptions, as exemplified, for instance, by change of locational verbs like the English verb *put*, cannot, however, predict the double object ditransitive verb resulting from transitivized denominalization of *ooRma*. Hence something else must be involved in it.

Other instances of denominalizations with *peTuka* resulting in double object ditransitives when transitivized include those with nominals like *bodhyam* ‘understanding’, *anubhavam* ‘experience’, etc., which take dative subjects when not transitivized and are

also dyadics taking a THEME in addition like *ooRma*, as in (17 a. and 18 a.). The variants of these without undergoing transitivization, are, in fact, akin to the class III psych predicates with a dative experiencer (cf. Belletti and Rizzi, 1988; and Pesetsky, 1995). Denominals involving these nominals also could be demonstrated to have paraphrases identical in structure to the one found with the nominal *ooRma* wherein the experiencer gets embedded as the possessor of the STATIVE nominal (cf. the b instances in (17-18).

17. a. raamanA                      aswastata                      anubhavappeTTu  
Raaman-dat.                      uneasiness                      experience-become-past.  
‘Raman felt uneasiness’
- b. aswastata                      raamanṭe                      anubhavattil                      peTTu  
uneasiness                      Raman-gen                      experience-loc.                      become-past  
‘Uneasiness got into Raman’s experience’
- c. ñaan                      raamane                      aswastata                      anubhavappeTutti  
I                      Raman-acc.                      uneasiness                      experience-make-  
past  
‘I got Raman to experience uneasiness’
- d. ayaaL                      enne koNTA                      raamane                      aswastata  
he                      I-acc. Instr.                      Raman-acc.                      uneasiness  
anubhavappeTiiccu  
‘He made me to get Raman experience uneasiness’
18. a. raamanA                      Kaaryaṅṅa Lokke                      boodhyappeTTu  
Raaman-dat.                      thing-pl.-all                      cognition-become-past  
‘Raman understood everything’



THEME argument surfaces with overt accusative case and two, when causativized, the Dative experiencer subjects get expressed in oblique instrumental case (cf. the d. instances in (17-18) which is characteristic of causativization of transitives in Malayalam. To ensure these results to follow, we may assume the PATH ingrained in the verb *peTuka* in these to be a Possessive rather than Locative, i.e. signifying a Central coincidence relation under Hale and Keyserian (2002) assumptions, and the VP with this verb to be licensed by an Applicative Phrase projecting an external argument with inherent dative case. Consequent upon nominal incorporation, the stranded experiencer argument may be assumed to reinstate itself as the external argument in the Spec of Applicative Phrase, and realize the inherent Dative case licensed by the Applicative head (as in Pylkkaanen, (2002), Cuervo(2010) and McGinnis, (2000)). However when the VPs are subjected to transitivity, the experiencer argument too gets raised besides the direct object to the vP adjoined positions from its base position whereby the indirect object gets an overt accusative case while the Direct object NP tucked inside it is marked by a non-overt accusative case, as discussed earlier. In other words, *peTuka* as a verbalizer has a P conflated in it which denotes either LOC or POSS recalling Pesetsky's (1995) and Harley's (2002) analyses for the verbs *give*, *get* etc. in English which are said to take a PP, headed by either a Locational or a possessive head, as its complement.<sup>11</sup> That is, , *peTuka* may said to be pattern somewhat like the verb *get* which has been claimed to be perhaps an unaccusative corresponding to the transitive verb *give* in Pesetsky (1995).

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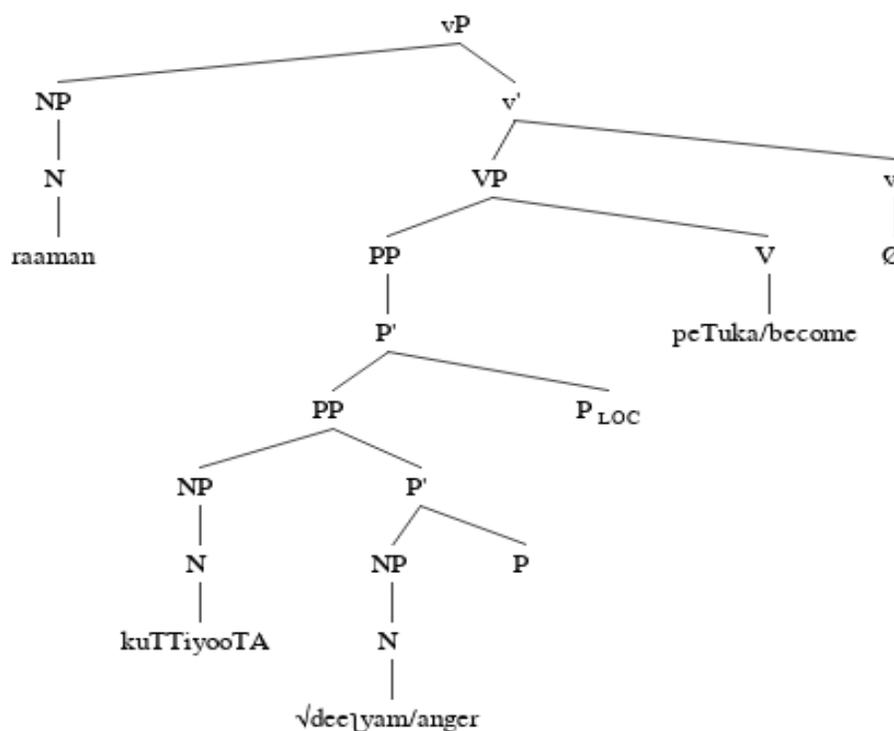
<sup>11</sup> The possessional GOAL and the locational GOAL, unlike our assumptions, are considered to be the Spec and the complement of the P head in Pesetsky and Harley respectively. Our assumptions seem to support Larson's(1988) position.





- b. raaman kuTTiyooTA deeyattil peTTu  
 child-soc. anger-loc. become-past  
 ‘Raman got into anger with the child’
- c. \*ayaaL raamane kuTTiyooTA deeyappeTutti  
 he Raman-acc. child-soc. anger-made-past  
 ‘He got Raman to be in anger with the child’
- d. ayaaL raamane deeyappeTutti  
 he Raman-acc. anger-made-past  
 ‘He got Raman in anger’
- e. ayaaL raamane koNTA kuTTiyooTA deeyappeTiiccu  
 he Raman-acc. instr. child-soc. anger-made-cause  
 ‘He made Raman to be in anger at the child’

21.



They are perhaps composed from a paraphrase involving a STATIVE predication embedded within the basic STATIVE predication headed by P<sub>LOC</sub> (cf. Jayaseelan, 2007). The embedded STATIVE's P takes the STATIVE nominal, in question, as complement and an NP as its spec to be assigned an inherent Sociative case, and this STATIVE in turn is embedded as the complement of the P<sub>LOC</sub>, giving rise to the paraphrase (20 b). We shall assume the Experiencer to get projected as an external argument to a transitive light verb shared by Subject experiencer constructions involving dyadic configuration, with the interpretation 'X gets into anger towards Y'. We shall also assume there to be a monadic counterpart to these denominals, i.e. a VP with the experiencer located within the experience, which could be transitivized to produce the Object experiencer counterpart to

these, for otherwise they would invite the familiar T/SM restriction(cf. 20 c), due to Pesetsky(1995). The Target Matter of emotion may be included only if the vP gets causativized.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

Significantly, the underlying structure we proposed for the denominalizations of STATIVE nominals with *peTuka* in Malayalam could be seen to correspond to the one proposed for the lexical structure of locational verbs in English like *put* and also the locational and locatum denominals like *shelve*, *saddle* etc., in Hale and Keyser (2002).<sup>13</sup> We assumed there to be a GOAL P conflated with the verb *peTuka*. However, when the STATIVE nominals happen to be dyadic, they differ with regard to the type of GOAL framed into the verb *peTuka* - LOCATIVE and POSSESSIVE- giving rise to two different kinds of structures consequent upon denominalization: one with the experiencer as Nominative Subject, while the other, with the experiencer as Dative Subject, both of which however begin as possessors of the STATIVE nominals underlyingly. Both of these constructions are characterized by Subjects realized as external arguments: one, being realized within a

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<sup>13</sup> It is no wonder, then, that in Telugu, another Dravidian Language, the transitivization of *peTuka* denominals

involves replacing the cognate for *peTuka* with the verb meaning ‘put’, when incorporated. And the cognate for

*peTuka* is *paDu* ‘to fall’.

- i. raamu caalaa kaṭṭabaDDaDu  
lot difficulty-fell-past.agr.  
‘Ramu struggled a lot’
- ii. mohan raamuni caalaa kaṭṭapeTTaaDu  
Ram-acc. lot difficulty-put-agr.  
‘Mohan troubled Ramu a lot’

The verbal replacement for the transitivized form of the denominal in this particular instance perhaps owes to the

absence of any cognate form for the transitivizing allomorph *-tt-*, particularly applicable in this case, in Telugu

due to historical loss of the same.

transitive light verbal projection, while the other the external argument realized as the Spec of an Applicative Phrase. On transitivity too, the denominalization with *peTuka* result in correspondingly two structures: one, a change of location verb like *put* in English and two, a change of possession verb like *give*. Thus we may propose that denominalizations with *peTuka* in Malayalam represent the overt instantiation of the zero derived denominalizations found with change of locational and change of possessional constructions in English, albeit as an intransitive unaccusative as Pesetsky(1995) claims for *get* in English. The concepts of location and possession for GOAL are however contributions from the PATH component framed in the verb *peTuka*.

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