

Contents

Preface — VII

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 The broad questions — 1
- 1.2 Background on the verbal domain — 2
 - 1.2.1 Tense — 6
 - 1.2.2 Aspect — 10
 - 1.2.3 Interim summary — 12
 - 1.2.4 Perfect — 14
 - 1.2.5 Voice/little v — 21
 - 1.2.6 Putting it all together — 25
- 1.3 Cross-linguistic variation in the verbal domain — 32
- 1.4 A snapshot of Malayalam verbs — 35

2 The Puzzle of Tense in Malayalam: A Cross-linguistic Perspective — 41

- 2.1 The questions & main claims — 41
- 2.2 The tense debate in Malayalam — 43
- 2.3 What is a tenseless language? — 48
 - 2.3.1 ‘No overt morphology’ camp — 49
 - 2.3.2 ‘No Tense Phrase’ camp — 59
- 2.4 Malayalam is a tensed language — 60
 - 2.4.1 Malayalam has tense morphology: Evidence from lack of unmarked matrix verbs, adverb & contexts tests — 61
 - 2.4.2 Malayalam has a Tense Phrase: Arguments from auxiliaries & copulas — 71
- 2.5 Conclusion — 78

3 Tense in Malayalam: Debunking Potential Arguments from Non-finite Forms — 81

- 3.1 The questions & main claims — 81
- 3.2 The Conjunctive/Adverbial Participle puzzle — 81
 - 3.2.1 Tense & the controversial status of the Conjunctive/Adverbial Participle in Malayalam — 83
 - 3.2.2 Properties of Conjunctive Participle Constructions — 86
 - 3.2.3 Conjunctive Participles as modified Stump (1985)-style adjuncts — 94

3.2.4	Interim summary —	103
3.3	The nominalization puzzle —	104
3.3.1	Properties of English ‘poss-ing’ gerunds & Malayalam <i>-ata</i> nominalizations —	104
3.3.2	Tense & the controversial status of <i>-ata</i> nominalizations in Malayalam —	107
3.3.3	<i>-ata</i> nominalizations as Complementizer Phrase-level nominalizations —	108
3.4	Conclusion —	118
3.4.1	Open issue: ‘Finite’ & ‘non-finite’ negation —	120
4	Viewpoint Aspect in Malayalam —	131
4.1	The questions & main claims —	131
4.2	<i>-uka</i> is a progressive morpheme —	134
4.3	Against an imperfective account for <i>-unnu</i> —	137
4.4	<i>-unnu</i> is an iterative pluractional morpheme —	139
4.4.1	Diagnosing <i>-unnu</i> as an iterative pluractional —	141
4.4.2	Formalizing the diagnosis —	144
4.5	A progressive viewpoint aspectual iterative pluractional semantics for <i>-unnu</i> —	149
4.5.1	Bundling iterative pluractionality & viewpoint aspect —	150
4.5.2	Formalizing the semantics —	154
4.5.3	The pragmatics of <i>-unnu</i> & <i>-uka</i> —	155
4.6	Conclusion —	161
5	Cross-linguistic variation in the perfect —	163
5.1	The questions & main claims —	163
5.2	The role of aspect morphology in Universal perfect formation —	165
5.2.1	Motivating the role of aspect cross-linguistically —	165
5.2.2	Aspectual components of the Malayalam Universal perfects —	169
5.2.3	Confirming Iatridou et al.’s prediction: four ways to express a Universal perfect in Malayalam —	174
5.2.4	Interim summary —	182
5.3	Variation with respect to the perfect morpheme —	183
5.3.1	Malayalam lacks an overt perfect morpheme —	186
5.3.2	The perfect Principle of Compositionality puzzle —	189
5.4	Conclusion —	200
5.4.1	Open Issue: Additional functional uses of <i>irikk-</i> —	202

6	The Syntax and Semantics of Copulas in Malayalam — 213
6.1	The questions & main claims — 213
6.2	An overview of Malayalam copulas — 215
6.3	A Freeze (1992)-style account for the copulas — 217
6.3.1	Overview of Freeze (1992) — 218
6.3.2	Extending & adapting Freeze (1992) to Malayalam — 221
6.4	Meaning shifts & the distribution of the copulas — 228
6.4.1	The new meaning shifts data — 228
6.4.2	What a pragmatic account might look like — 237
6.5	Implications for the copulas when used as auxiliaries — 242
6.6	Conclusion — 245
7	Conclusion — 247
	References — 253
	Author index — 263
	Language index — 267
	Subject index — 269

