Dialect Continuum in the Bhil Tribal Belt

Grammatical Aspects

Maxwell P. Phillips

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Department of Linguistics
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Declaration by the Candidate

The content of this thesis, entitled **"Dialect Continuum in the Bhil Tribal Belt: Grammatical Aspects",** which I submit here for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is my original work, and it is on the basis of its content that I expect to be examined. No part of this work has, until now, been submitted in part or full for any other University degree or diploma.

Signature:

Date: 18 June 2012

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine the dialect continuum in the Bhil tribal belt of western India, using it as the basis for a comparative grammatical study of the Indo-Aryan language family. The 'Bhili language' refers to a group of up to fifty identified dialects with differing degrees of mutual intelligibility, and contains a great deal of fluctuation in terms of case marking on core arguments.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: Chapter II provides an overview of Bhili in the context of Indo-Aryan, as well as basic sociolinguistic information including the degree of stability vs. endangerment of the different dialects, and also government policy toward – and the official status of – Bhili and other tribal languages in India. This chapter also defines key grammatical terms to be used in the description, and reviews some of the currently debated topics regarding split ergativity and its origin in New Indo-Aryan (NIA). Chapter III gives a basic sketch grammar of Wagdi – a Bhili dialect spoken in the state of Rajasthan. In addition to illustrating the salient morphosyntactic characteristics of Wagdi, this chapter describes some of the fluctuation of these characteristics in the greater Bhili-speaking region. Chapter IV is an analysis of the implications of certain findings of split ergativity in Bhili as well as some other neighbouring Central Indo-Aryan varieties. Here I address theoretical questions regarding the primary function of case marking (e.g. the discriminatory vs. indexing approach), historical innovation and re-analysis of case morphology, and the question of argument vs. adjunct in instances where the verb agrees with the latter.

I conclude that grammatical variations found within this small area reveal core argument marking patterns that are extremely diverse, and which address a number of theoretical questions regarding case marking in natural language. Finally, I suggest some questions that should be of interest for future research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	INTR	intransitive
ABS	absolutive	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
AGR STR	argument structure	MP	masculine plural
AUX	auxiliary	MS	masculine singular
CAUS	causative	N	neuter
CIA	Central Indo-Aryan	NEG	negation
CLASS	classifier	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
COM	commitative	NOM	nominative
COMPL	complementiser	NS	neuter singular
CONJ	conjunctive	OBJ	objective
CONT	continuous	OBL	oblique
DAT	dative	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
DEF	definite	PASS	passive
DEM	demonstrative	PF	perfective
DET	determiner	PL	plural
DIR	direct	PP	postposition
DOM	Differential Object Marking	PRO	pronoun
DSM	Differential Subject Marking	PROG	progressive
DU	dual	PRS	present
EMPH	emphatic	PST	past
ERG	ergative	PTCP	participle
F	feminine	PtPpl	past participle
FP	feminine plural	REFL	reflexive
FS	feminine singular	RH	Referential Hierarchy
FUT	future	SAP	Speech Act Participant
GEN	genitive	SBJV	subjunctive
GF STR	grammatical function structure	SEM STR	semantic structure
IND	indicative	SG	singular
INDIR	indirect	TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood
IMP	imperative	TR	transitive
IMPF	imperfective	VOC	vocative
INSTR	instrumental		

THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis is a comparative investigation of the typology of split ergativity in New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages. It introduces the Bhil tribal belt of Western India as a dialect continuum of fluctuating case features, and analyses particular findings within the context of the region. The layout of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter I briefly retraces the historical context in which Western linguists developed an interest in Indo-Aryan, and the difficulties they encountered given the limitations of their conceptual framework. Though the debate on the nature and scope of split ergativity goes back more than two centuries, material for analysis is far from exhausted. This will therefore be the occasion to state and outline the aim of this thesis.

Chapter II provides an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in the Bhili-speaking region, and proceeds to examine the development of the theoretical and historical debate regarding ergativity in Indo-Aryan. Section 2.1. gives a summary of theories regarding the history of Indo-Aryan, the classification of Bhili within this family, a basic description of the Bhili speaking region in terms of dialect continua, and finally of sociolinguistic features in the area, such as the degrees of stability of Bhili dialects within the speech community. Section 2.2. addresses a problem of terminology specific to the Indian context, namely that facing the scholar when using the term 'tribe' or 'tribal' to refer to the people or to their language; it therefore also addresses the related issue of the legal status of 'tribal languages' in India.

Section 2.3. qualifies preliminary concepts that will be used throughout, such as 'ergativity', 'alignment', and 'case'; this is followed by an overview of the different manifestations of ergativity in Indo-Aryan. Sections 2.3.6. and 2.3.7. review the different hypotheses on the origin of ergative alignment, and the case markers associated with it in Indo-Aryan.

Chapter III gives a sketch grammar of Wagdi – the Bhili dialect from which the majority of the firsthand data for this study was collected – with frequent reference to features in the linguistic context, i.e. in the Bhili-speaking region and Indo-Aryan in general. This includes a layout of the basic phonemic inventory in section 3.1., followed by sentence structures and constituent orders in 3.2., noun phrase morphology in 3.3., and case postpositions in 3.4. Section 3.5. deals with subject and object case alternation and agreement. Section 3.6. presents the basic

verb morphology and its interaction with Tense/Aspect/Mood, while 3.7. looks at verb morphology that changes valency.

Chapter IV forms the core of this thesis. It examines those particular findings within the data that have theoretical implications within the study of Indo-Aryan case typology. Some of the main topics addressed are:

- *The primary function of case marking.* While Dixon (1979, 1994) and Comrie (1978, 1989) regarded case marking primarily as a means to distinguish grammatical functions, semantic factors were acknowledged as one determining factor for its occurrence. Most New Indo-Aryan languages have Differential Object/Subject Marking, and the alternation of case on these core arguments is governed by factors that are fairly consensually agreed to be closely related to semantic factors, such as *indexing* (based on the properties of animacy and definiteness inherent to the NP) and the overall transitivity of the clause (see Mohanan 1994; Næss 2007). However case marking tends to simultaneously serve to distinguish grammatical functions of the arguments, as A and O markers tend to be distinct in form. Sections 4.1. and 4.2. review different theories on case function, specifically in New Indo-Aryan, and examine data from some languages of the Central Indo-Aryan subfamily – of which Bhili is a member – in which distinguishability may be violated by homophonous A-O marking.

- *Patterns of ergative attrition.* This section (4.3.) looks in depth at the different types of NP-splits in NIA, in view of the implications of Silverstein's (1976) Referential Hierarchy. Here I present one particular subvariety of the Bhili dialect called Wagdi, specifically that spoken in the town of Kherwada, in which ergative case marking on the subject does not fully conform to the expectations of the RH. I argue that Kherwada Wagdi is at an intermediary stage in the attrition of ergative marking, and as the sister language to the neighbouring varieties of Rajasthani and Gujarati, it is following a similar pattern of loss, and thus represents an intermediate stage between the two.

- *Historical innovation of ergative markers.* One Bhili dialect, known as Dehwali, marks ergative subjects with a highly unique form in the typology of Indo-Aryan, and one that appears to inflect to agree in gender and number with the ergative subject. Based on available data, I speculate on the origin of this form, looking to the possible sources of origin and applying the semantic theory of case innovations to judge the plausibility of each scenario.

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- *Verb agreement with instrumental adjuncts.* Bohra Wagdi, a Wagdi dialect spoken by the Bohra Muslim community, exhibits the incredibly rare feature of verb agreement with an oblique instrumental-NP. Such agreement patterns are only found with verbs that denote a type of action requiring an instrument e.g. 'hitting', 'killing', 'burning', and even then instrumental agreement is optional. Following Kœnig and Davis (2006), I hypothesise that the instrumental agreement focuses on the manner of the activity denoted by the verb ('stick-killing' or 'stone-killing', as opposed to 'killing', etc.). This corroborates native speaker judgements that the agreeing instrumental is brought to the fore in the description of the action. Kœnig and Davis discuss alternations in event profiling, such as *poke X with a stick* and *use a stick to poke X*, with the instrument made prominent in the latter. As instrumental agreement in Wagdi only appears when other controllers of agreement are unavailable, I assume that the instrument-prominent semantic form   is generally available, but can only be marked as such in certain circumstances.

In conclusion, **Chapter V** summarises the study in general terms, and states the impact it is intended to have on future research in the region. This is followed by brief summaries of the principal findings of chapter IV in sections 5.1., 5.2., 5.3. and 5.4. Finally, I also suggest areas that should be of interest for future research.

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

1.1. Historical background

When, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, awareness of the Indo-Aryan languages began to grow among early modern grammarians of Europe, the dominant framework for analysing grammar was based on the Aristotelian principles of logic and rhetoric. Under these principles, it was assumed that a sentence, as a proposition with a logical structure, was formed of two main parts – 'subject' or 'principal substantive', and 'predicate'. The premise was adopted by Harris (1751:279-80) when he identified the 'principal substantive' as the noun in a sentence that is the logical subject of the proposition. Harris stated that "When a Sentence is regular and orderly, *Nature's Substance*, the *Logician's Subject*, and the *Grammarian's Substantive* are all denoted by that case, which we call NOMINATIVE" (cf. Steadman-Jones 2007:153). Aristotelian syllogistics served to justify the 'naturalness' of the alignment of *subject* and *object* with nominative-accusative case – as in Latin and Greek, the very languages in which these ideas were originally conceived and developed. The late eighteenth century witnessed the appearance of Sanskrit (the ancestral idiom of Indo-Aryan) on the European academic scene – a language which, with its highly intricate inventory of morphological inflectional suffixes that comprises a system of eight distinct case forms, provided the grammarians for the first time with a non-Western classical language that was comparable, and some even argued 'superior' (Jones 1993:34), to Greek and Latin. Indeed, having a greater number of case realisations, it was assumed that Sanskrit was a more suitable vehicle for clear expression (cf. Steadman-Jones 2007:137).

Although European grammarians must have felt that they were on relatively familiar ground with Sanskrit, as sufficient parallels could be drawn between its inflectional case system and the traditional notions of 'case' as conceived in Greek and Latin, the spoken varieties of New Indo-Aryan, in particular 'Hindoostani' – or Hindustani, a spoken vernacular and unofficial *lingua franca* of northern India (otherwise known as Hindi/Urdu, with which it will be used here interchangeably) – challenged many of the analytical modes in use at the time. This would lead some grammarians to stigmatise these vernaculars as 'chaotic' and 'disorderly', while others sought to reform the traditional modes in order to establish a new framework by which to approach the study of grammar (Steadman-Jones 2007:137).

In the intellectual environment of that period, 'case' as a category was not considered to be obligatory in human language. It was generally accepted that the prepositional inventory in languages like English and French, though functioning as indicators of grammatical relations, did not constitute a 'case system' (see Vorlat 1975:146-70). Many of the early modern grammarians would retain the traditional case terminology as a metalanguage for analysing the spoken vernaculars of the newly colonised Indian world, although this proved limited as a means to describe certain features hitherto unseen in human language (Steadman-Jones 2007:135). Indeed, Hindustani did not seem to fit clearly into the category of a 'case' language as idealised by Greek and Latin, nor could it be considered an adpositional language, on the lines of English and French. Grammatical relations in Hindustani and, as it would turn out, in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, are indicated through three morphological slots – which Masica (1991:231) refers to as 'layers' – and are occupied by case affixes, adpositional clitics, and independent lexical items. While the increasingly popular typological approach to language had effectively relieved the early modern grammarians from the incessant expectation of finding direct correspondents for semantic cases – e.g. *dative*, *genitive*, *ablative* – the necessity of grammatical case categories – e.g. *nominative*, *accusative* – was not so easily dismissed, nor were the notions of their corresponding grammatical functions of *subject* and *object* (Steadman-Jones 2007:136).

Perhaps the most perplexing feature of all, for those attempting to make sense of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and one that would challenge the rigid assumptions prevalent in the approach to the study of grammar, was what would later be referred to as ergativity. The ergative construction in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars tends to use a unique morpheme to mark subjects of transitive clauses in the perfective aspect, and is often accompanied by a verb-object agreement pattern. This is illustrated in the Hindi example below:

1) *admi-**ne**   kɪtab   le+l-**i***
   man-ERG   book.F   take-PF.F
   'The man took a book.'   [Hindi]

Based on traditional grammar one would assume the *logical subject* of the clause in (1) to be *admi* 'man', as it is semantically the *agent* of the clause. However, it does not fit certain criteria assumed in traditional grammar to be inseparable from subjecthood. Clearly it is not nominative, being marked with the postposition *-ne*, nor does the verb agree with it. Even more bizarrely, these two criteria apply instead to *kɪtab* 'book', which is the *logical object* of the proposition as it carries the semantic

role of *patient*. John Gilchrist, an early nineteenth century western scholar of the Indian vernaculars, ascribed the motivation for marking ergative subjects as being due to the 'promiscuous' use of nominative case referring to examples of unmarked direct objects, as in example (1). He ignores, however, the obvious question of why this construction would only occur in the perfect aspect (Gilchrist 1800: lxviin., cf. Steadman-Jones 2007:156).

While much of the early research on ergativity in the Indian subcontinent concentrated on Hindustani, the immense variation in the typology of this structure within the Indo-Aryan family soon became apparent. William Carey published a grammar of Marathi in 1805, and another one for Panjabi in 1812. Both of these languages use an ergative case marker derived from the Hindi form *-ne*, and these were described as marking instrumental case in passive structures. With the steady publication of grammars of different Indo-Aryan varieties during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, comparative analysis of the ergative pattern could begin (ibid). This would lead to speculation and debate as to the origin of the ergative pattern and its various markers – as it would turn out, the heterogeneity of this feature provided inexhaustible material for analysis of the pattern.

1.2. Summary of thesis objectives

As synchronic language change tends to occur incrementally in South Asia, novel patterns of case marking and agreement can be found within a relatively narrow geographic area. While many of the major regional languages, as well as a number of minority languages, have been analysed in terms of their case marking and agreement patterns, much remains to be gained from data collected in 'grey areas' where transition occurs between neighbouring varieties. The region of focus in this thesis is the Bhil tribal belt in Western India, which extends across the state borders of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.

The aim of this thesis is to re-examine the Bhil region as a 'dialect continuum' within the context of the greater Indo-Aryan language family. In addition to providing a sketch grammar of one of the major Bhili dialects, Wagdi, I examine some of the salient syntactic characteristics of Bhili in general, focusing in particular on the fluctuation of subject-object marking and verb-NP agreement patterns in the region. This study has proved particularly interesting in Bhili due to the morphologically split-ergative construction found in New Indo-Aryan, as any new sample of data has the potential to reveal novel case marking and agreement patterns.

The Bhili speaking region is one that has thus far been overlooked in theoretical and descriptive scholarship on Indo-Aryan languages. This is perhaps due to the fact that Bhili is often considered a dialect of Rajasthani, Gujarati, or Marathi, as all three are languages with which it shares features and gradually merges (see section 2.1.2.). I hope to convince the reader that areas of dialect continuum – a phenomenon that is particularly prevalent in South Asia – may, as in the case of Wagdi, contain unique combinations of case and agreement patterns, since multiple varieties merge with one another.

1.3. Data collection

The majority of firsthand data provided in both the sketch grammar and analysis is based on field data collected in 2009-2010 in southern Rajasthan and parts of eastern Gujarat. This involved extensive travel in small towns and remote rural areas, mainly in and around the districts of Banswada and Dungarpur (see maps II and III, pp. 24-25), where Wagdi Bhili predominates as the spoken language. I frequently relied on my hosts – whom I usually met through a growing network of contacts – to introduce me to respondents and at times to participate in elicitation either by asking the questions directly to the respondents, or by holding the microphone and engaging them in conversation. Several of these hosts were part of the local academic community connected with the S. B. P. College of Dungarpur or Shri Govind Guru Government College, Banswada. They were themselves native speakers of the Wagdi language and had regular interaction with rural tribal groups in the region. Such connections were essential in order to gain access to speakers of the more isolated varieties of Wagdi. Many such individuals also provided indispensable help in the processing of data, including transcribing, translating, answering questions regarding grammatical features, and judging the acceptability of certain constructions. When the scope of data began to extend to more southern varieties of Bhili, much of the elicitation was carried out at the Adivasi Academy in the village of Tezgarh, in Chhota Udaipur district, Gujarat. This academy, situated in eastern rural Gujarat, hosts students from a number of tribal communities in neighbouring districts. This enabled me to collect samples from a wide varieties of Bhili dialects, several of which – Dehwali, Mawchi, Gamit – proved to be of particular interest to the topic of this thesis.

Elicitation methods included both audio recording of speakers as well as direct questioning of sentence types. The former resulted in roughly five hours of recorded conversations and monologues capturing a wide variety of registers and

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speech situations. In some cases speakers were requested to tell stories or to sing songs in their mother tongue, while at other times they simply conversed with someone else present (usually my host or assistant), who would engage them in conversation. I have since acquired a partial degree of comprehension of Bhili, and in particular Wagdi Bhili which is the focus of this thesis; I have therefore been able to use these recordings as a means to estimate the authenticity of the examples obtained through other methods such as direct elicitation, as it was only through this latter method that I was able to carry out focussed tests on certain grammatical phenomena. Direct elicitation usually involved presenting the respondent with a sentence, which (s)he would be asked to express in his/her mother tongue. One obvious problem with relying on this approach alone is the possible interference of the contact language on the data – especially when using Hindi or Gujarati, both of which bear a close lexical and structural resemblance to Bhili. While this remained a concern of mine throughout, I am confident that through comparison of a large corpus of samples, as well as transcribed texts and elicited speakers' attitudes and perceptions to certain constructions, I have been able to isolate with reasonable accuracy those features that are characteristic of Bhili from those that occur in the data due to code-switching with more dominant varieties.

Another potential weakness with direct elicitation in the case of Bhili was being limited to respondents who have a reasonable competence in the contact language (usually Hindi, but occasionally English or Gujarati), which suggests a higher level of education, or of cultural exposure beyond the local level. This limitation was at least partially overcome through the assistance of educated native speakers who, understanding the type of data I was looking for, would accompany me when eliciting among the more isolated tribal communities where knowledge of Hindi or Gujarati was comparably limited. These individuals could engage the local tribals in their own language and could also judge to what extent the latter were adjusting their register and incorporating more foreign features into their speech.

It should be understood, however, that while certain samples of data were undoubtedly influenced by the different contact languages – as well as the unwelcome tendency for elicitation situations to take on an atmosphere of formality – that influence has also become embedded in the spoken language to the extent that some degree of code-mixing is to be expected to some extent, even in the most isolated varieties (see section 2.1.4. for a discussion of dialect continuum and the difficulty of isolating features).

Directly elicited constructions were initially written down in field notebooks using Devanagiri script. This Sanskrit-based script is used to write Modern Hindi and

among other New Indo-Aryan language and is therefore is capable of accommodating the sounds of Bhili languages. These were later transliterated with the help of accompanying audio-recordings into IPA. As the functions of different morphemes became apparent, the samples were glossed following Leipzig Glossing Rules[1] and categorised based on the salient grammatical features that they demonstrate. This resulted in the gradual compilation of a rough sketch grammar that would later provide the basis for Chapter 3 of this thesis.

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[1] (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php)

CHAPTER II – BHILI AND INDO-ARYAN: A REGIONAL OVERVIEW

The word *bhili* applies generically to the various forms of speech associated with the *Bhil* tribal population and its diaspora. While communities self-identified as 'Bhil' can be found in other parts of the Indian subcontinent, they are thought to have originated in the Aravalli hill region of southern Rajasthan, in Western India.

Considering the linguistic heterogeneity that the term Bhili encompasses, as well as the degree of convergence with neighbouring languages, its utility is as much in identifying the ethnicity of the speakers as in linguistic description. As discussed above, perhaps due to its transitional nature Bhili – along with its sister language Khandeśi – has often been classified as a 'dialect' of one neighbouring language or another, and therefore overlooked in terms of its importance to typological as well as historical linguistic research. To this day, Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (1907: Vol. 9-III) is still the most comprehensive linguistic study of the Bhil tribal belt. This comprises basic grammatical descriptions along with sample texts of forty-eight Bhili dialects, thereby providing a reasonably accurate, if dated, overview of the salient phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of the region.

2.1. Overview of Bhili in the context of Indo-Aryan

2.1.1. The classification of Indo-Aryan

Indo-Iranian forms a branch of the Indo-European language family of which Indo-Aryan (IA) is one sub-branch. IA languages are spoken as the majority language group over a geographical area inhabited by an estimated 491 million persons in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Maldive Islands (Masica 1991; Ishtiaq 1999:27). 574 distinct mother tongues have been identified within this family (Ishtiaq 1999:27).

Zograph (1982:21) gives three different criteria by which languages may be classified: genealogical; structural/typological; and functional. In this section, I intend to classify IA by its genetic descent from a common ancestry. The main analysis of this thesis compares structural features within the family, and hence deals with typological classification. The criterion of functionality refers to the sociolinguistic function of a language. Zograph gives the example of Urdu, which he states must be considered a variant of Hindi – or vice versa– as the difference

between the two is mainly a matter of literary style. However, in terms of sociolinguistic function the two languages now appear as distinct, and legislatively have independent status in the Indian Constitution (Zograph 1982:21). This third type of classification will be relevant in section 2.2.3. when looking at the criterion that defines a 'tribal language'. For the moment I will briefly review the genetic justification for Indo-Aryan.

The earliest records of an Indo-Aryan language are found in Vedic texts dating back to the mid-second century BCE (Asher 2008:35). This is also estimated to be roughly the date at which the Aryans – Indo-European-speaking invaders – began to occupy the Indian subcontinent, which up to that point had been inhabited primarily by populations speaking Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic languages (King 2008:314). The Indo-Aryans brought with them the Vedic language, which became the main religious, literary, and administrative language of northern India (Burrow 1965; Cardona 1987, cf. King 2008:314) and which, together with its descendent Sanskrit, covers the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period from roughly 1500 BCE to 600 BCE (Kachru 2008:81). Scholars have divided the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period into three subphases starting with early MIA (600-200 BCE), followed by a transitional period (200 BCE-200 CE), and then second MIA (200-600 CE), and late MIA (600-1000 CE). As the spoken vernaculars continued to develop and branch out independently, the MIA varieties, known as 'Prakrits', formed an intermediary stage between Sanskrit and the more diverse linguistic situation found today in the Indian subcontinent. Scholars regard the final phase of this transition – between 1000-1200/1300 CE – as the Old New Indo-Aryan period. This stage witnessed the culmination of developments that began with the Prakrits and lead to the formation of the basic Indo-Aryan subfamilies, from which emerged the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages found today (Kachru 2008:81-82). The map in (I) shows some of the major varieties of New Indo-Aryan:

Map (I)

New Indo-Aryan Language Map[2]
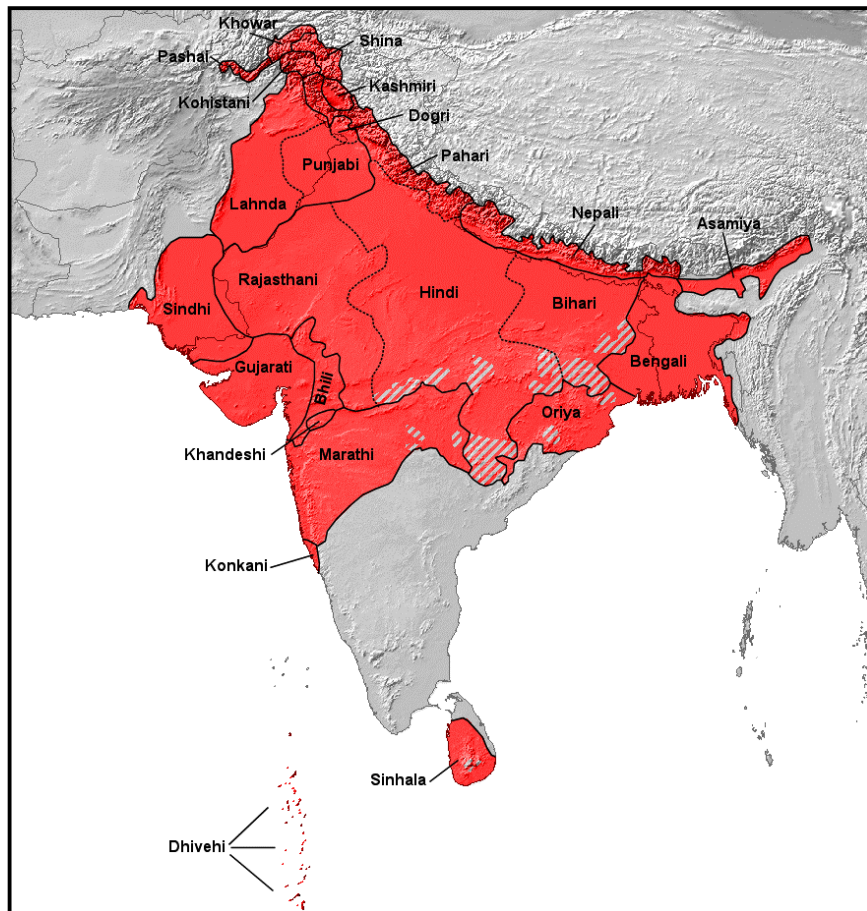
There has been much speculation regarding the characteristics that seem to divide certain NIA languages into affiliated groups, and the potential utility of such groupings in indicating genetic linguistic suborigins within the contentious Indo-Aryan, and even greater Indo-European, common origin. Hoernle (1880) undertook the first substantial attempt to subclassify NIA, in which he speculated that the common OIA vernacular had first split into the northwestern 'Sauraseni dialect' and the southeastern 'Magadhi dialect'. While the former developed into the modern northern languages of Nepali, Kumauni, and Garhwali, and the western languages of Sindhi, Punjabi, Gujarati, and Western Hindi, the southeastern dialect developed into

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[2] Source: *Language families and branches, languages and dialects* in *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, Oxford University Press. New York 1992. (cf. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Indoarische_Sprachen.png) (last accessed on 15/05/2012).

Marathi in the south and the eastern languages of East Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya (Hoernle 1880, cf. Masica 1991:446-47).

Together, the present day Indian states of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, and the Union Territory of Delhi form what is commonly known as the 'Hindi Belt'. Here standard Hindi, along with English, functions as the language of administration and medium of education. While the number of Hindi speakers might be estimated by adding together the total state populations (Masica 1991:337, 272, 114, cf. Asher 2008), this number would be greatly reduced if speakers of the more than fifty other minority languages within these states were taken into consideration (Asher 2008:36). In the state of Rajasthan, for example, Marwari and the 'Eastern Rajputani' dialects – which include Bhili and Khandeśi – were classified by Hoernle (1880) as subvarieties of Western Hindi. While dialects that constitute the language known today as Rajasthani share an amalgam of features with neighbouring languages, their closest affiliations seem to be with Hindi and Gujarati, leading Cardona (1974) to describe the region of Rajasthan as a "massive transition zone" (cf. Magier 1983:10) between these two well-defined varieties.

2.1.2. Classification of Bhili

For certain NIA languages one may cautiously attempt to trace the historical evolution based on centuries of recorded literary tradition. However, little can be known of Bhili prior to Grierson's sparse grammatical descriptions and limited corpus of sample texts. No record remains of the original language of the Bhil tribes, and the current language is one that has been 'superimposed' on the region through the influence of neighbouring languages such as Gujarati, Rajasthani, and Hindi (Naik 1969:23). As a result, the language today displays an amalgam of features incorporated from its surrounding linguistic environment. Having assumed the non-Indo-Aryan ethnic origin of the Bhils, Grierson describes the Bhil dialects as being 'mixed' in character, similar to other tribal languages that have gradually adopted the speech of neighbouring NIA languages (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III). While he acknowledges the lack of conclusive evidence as to their ancestry, Grierson does list a handful of Bhili words that appear to be derived from Munda and/or to have Dravidian origins. Regardless of such speculation however, modern day Bhili is unmistakably Indo-Aryan in terms of grammar and lexicon.

Among the recognised mother tongues within Indo-Aryan, three languages – Bhili, Khandeśi, and Halabi – are designated as 'tribal' – i.e. spoken by communities

of 'Scheduled Tribes' (see Abbi 2008:153). Of these, Bhili is the most dominant in terms of numbers, claiming 4.5 million speakers (Ishtiaq 1999:27).

While Hoernle had classified Marwari and 'Eastern Rajputani' as dialects of Western Hindi, which alongside Gujarati, Panjabi, and Sindhi came under the label of 'Western dialect' (cf. Masica 1991:447), Grierson was the first to acknowledge a distinct Rajasthani language, indeed making the point that it is "entitled to the dignity of being considered a separate language" (Grierson 1907: Vol. 1-I, 178). Grierson followed up on Hoernle's (1880) hypothesis that Aryan migration to the subcontinent occurred in two main stages – an initial wave of immigrants that occupied North India, and who were later pushed to the east, south, and extreme northwest by a second invasion. Based on analysis of data compiled in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (1907-1928), Grierson proposed the "*Inner-Outer* model" as a way of classifying IA subfamilies. The "Inner sub-branch" comprises several languages from Hoernle's Western and Northern groups. Part of the Inner sub-branch is the Central group, which will be referred to here as Central Indo-Aryan (CIA), and includes Pahari, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, and Western Hindi.[3]

Although the above map suggests that Bhili is a separate language, in Grierson's (1931) revised subclassification of NIA, Bhili and Khandeśi were considered to be 'dialects' of Gujarati and Rajasthani respectively. However Masica (1991:453) makes the sharp comment that, "Mixed or transitional forms of speech present obvious problems for this type of classification. One way of 'solving' – actually of hiding – them is to decree that such a language is a 'dialect' of an already safely classified language. Khandeśi has suffered that fate of being regarded as a dialect of Marathi, of Gujarati, of Bhili, of Rajasthani, and as an independent language." Masica's comment supports the claim of my thesis that dialect continua tend to be overlooked in their importance to typological and historical linguistic research.

Zograph (1982:65) classifies Bhili as a dialect of Gujarati, though he acknowledges that others consider it to have the status of a separate language. He notes as well that the Bhili dialects bordering the Khandeśi-speaking region[4] are "structurally an intermediate stage between Gujarati and Rajasthani" (Zograph 1982:66). To the south, Gujarati influence increases, and in the extreme southern dialects of "'Varli of Thana and the Dangi of Dangs District (in southeast Gujarat)",

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[3] Ever since Grierson (1931) there has been disagreement as to whether Pahari and Panjabi belong in fact to the Northwestern group, and if Gujarati belongs to the Southwestern group (see Chatterji 1926; Katre 1965, 1968; Nigam 1972; Cardona 1974, cf. Masica 1991). For the purpose of this thesis I shall consider Bhili, Rajasthani, and Western Hindi to be part of Central Indo-Aryan.
[4] Khandeśi is a sister variety of Bhili, which according to Masica (1991:17), links features of Gujarati and Marathi.

Marathi becomes the major external influence (Masica 1991:17). However, Kulkarni (1976) who published a grammar on Bhili spoken in the Dangs district of southern Gujarat, comments on Grierson's observation that "[Gujarati] is, however, everywhere the original base, and the gradual approaching … of Marathi in structures and inflexional system seems to be due to a secondary development" (Kulkarni 1976:8). Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III, 1) also describes the geographical extension of the Bhil 'tribal belt' as resembling an "irregularly shaped triangle" that extends at its northernmost extreme to the interior of the Aravalli mountain range, then south along the border that divides the states of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, and reaching as far south as Thana District, Maharashtra, just north of Bombay (currently Mumbai) (Masica 1993:17).

The Bhili of southern Rajasthan, known as Wagdi, begins to merge with Rajasthani and is often considered as a dialect of the same. As mentioned above, Rajasthani was originally categorised as a dialect of western Hindi, and Hindi still functions as the official state language of Rajasthan. Early Indo-Aryan scholars such as Kellogg (1892) claimed that standard Hindi has no native speakers and that the Hindi spoken in the home is always of a regional variety, however this is no longer exclusively the case (Masica 1991:9). Speakers within the Hindi belt often make use of standard Hindi – or a mixture of the standard form with a regional variety – in informal speech, and many could be considered native speakers of the same. This is particularly true in urban settings, where speakers on average enjoy greater access to education and multimedia, for which Standard Hindi and increasingly English serve as the most common medium. For the linguistic researcher interested in constructing the archetypical form of a regional variety, the encroachment of the standard language – whether Hindi or another regional language – has made it difficult to find a 'pure' sample of any spoken form; hence the necessity to approach respondents from increasingly remote and underdeveloped areas, where exposure to external linguistic influences may be minimised (Masica 1991:9).

2.1.3. Dialectical variation within Bhili

Zograph (op cit:65) identifies more than twenty subdialects of Bhili spread over more than fifty districts in the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra. Ishtiaq (1999) goes even further, listing thirty-six of them. Of these Wagdi has by far the largest number of speakers and is the most resistant to language shift.

With this incremental transition of features, the Bhili-speaking area can be said to bridge the major regional languages of Rajasthani, Gujarati, and Marathi. This shift is apparent in the fluctuation of case suffixes. For instance, one salient example of the geographical distinction between the northern and the southern varieties of Bhili is the changing form of the dative/accusative case marker. In the north, accusative direct objects as well as dative 'goal' and 'experiencer' roles are marked by the suffix root *-n-*, which is common to Rajasthani and Gujarati, i.e. *-ne*. As the influence of Marathi increases in the southeast, *-n-* is gradually phased out by *-l-*, and in many intermediary dialects the two appear in complementary distribution to agree in number with the marked NP (i.e. singular direct objects are marked with *-l-* and plural with *-n-*).

It should be acknowledged here that there is no definite criterion to define what constitutes a dialect in this context. The Bhili dialect of Wagdi, for example, varies considerably within the Dungarpur and Banswada districts where it is the spoken language of the majority. The degree of external influence varies geographically as its characteristics merge depending on the proximity with neighbouring languages. Therefore, present-day Wagdi incorporates features of Gujarati, southern Rajasthani dialects such as Mewari and Malvi, as well as Hindi. The dialect of Banswada and Dungarpur districts in southern Rajasthan is said to have four subdialects: Kherwada, Sagwada, Rewadi, and Adiwasi Wagdi.[5] The last presumably refers to the speech of the illiterate tribal population – the term *adiwasi* literally means 'aboriginal' – of more remote rural regions and is far less influenced phonologically, syntactically, and lexically by dominant regional languages, such as Hindi and Gujarati. This dialectical distinction is apparent in areas surrounding the towns of Sajjangarh and Kushalgarh in Banswada district. Here the relatively more urbanised inhabitants speak a variety of Wagdi that may be considered more 'standard', while the tribal villagers residing less than one kilometre outside of the urban centres speak a variety that is noticeably distinct from the former. Locally, this rural speech would be referred to as the true 'Bhil Bhasha' i.e. the speech of the illiterate Bhil tribal population.

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[5] Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: **http://www.ethnologue.com/** (last accessed on 6/9/2011).

Map (II)

Banswada District, Southern Rajasthan[6]

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6 Source: *India Netzone City* (http://www.indianetzone.com/5/banswara.htm (last accessed on 6/9/2011).

Map (III)

Dungarpur District, Southern Rajasthan[7]
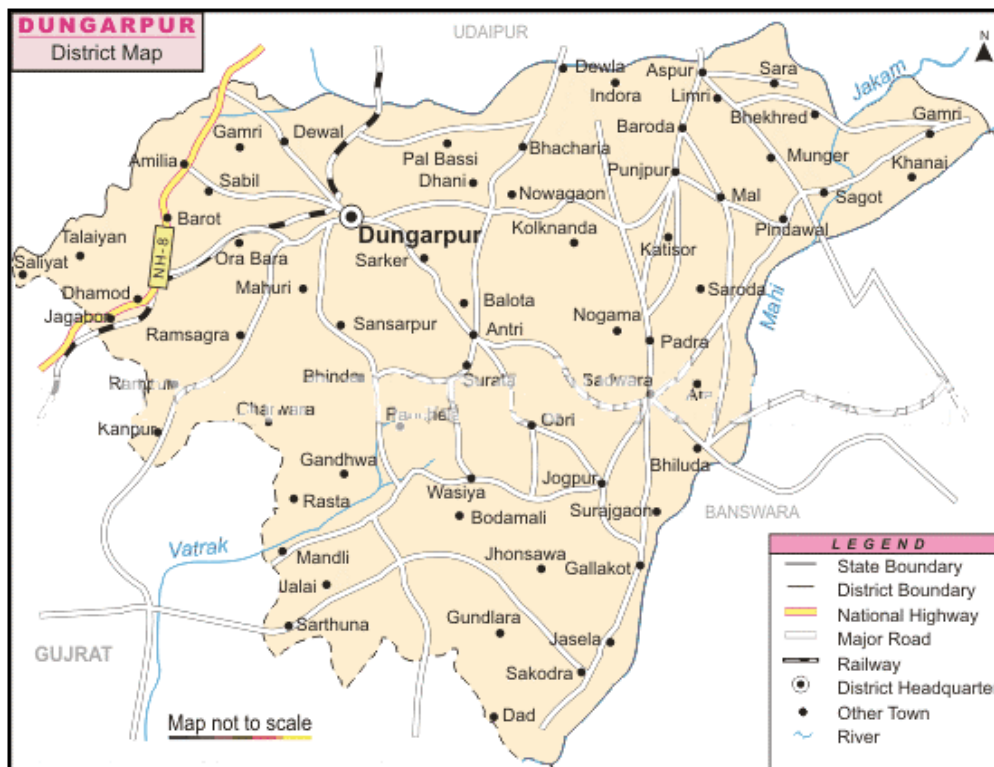
Several salient grammatical shifts are noticeable within the Banswada and Dungarpur districts. For instance, in and around the city of Banswada, perfective transitive verbs always agree with the direct object regardless of whether the direct object is nominative, i.e. unmarked, or accusative-marked. This contrasts with Dungarpur where accusative marking tends to – but does not always – block verb agreement (for more details see section 3.5.). In Kherwada, on the northwesternmost fringe of the Wagdi-speaking region – not represented on Map (III) – marking patterns on ergative subjects vary considerably in form as well as in their distribution (for analysis, see section 4.3). Whereas in the north, towards Udaipur district, Wagdi gradually merges with the Rajasthani dialect of Mewari, in the south, somewhere between the cities of Banswada and Sajjangarh (approaching the border of Gujarat), the future tense morphology of the verb changes from the *-g-* rooted suffix – more common to northern NIA languages – to the *-h-* root derived from Gujarati *-ʃ-* and common to many southern Bhili varieties (3.6.5.1). Such fluctuation of morphosyntactic features within a small area has resulted in a rich variety of verb-NP agreement patterns and argument marking, and the examples provide for the main analysis of this thesis.

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[7] Source website: *Map of India* http://www.indiaonmap.com/2011/05/dungarpurmap.html (last accessed on 6/9/2011).

One other variety of Wagdi that is significant is that of the Muslim community. The majority of Muslims in this region are of an Ismaili Shi'a sect known as *Bohra*, and for whom the tomb of Babjee Moula Fakhruddin in the town of Galiakot, in Dungarpur district, is a central place of pilgrimage. The Bohras of Dungarpur district consider Wagdi to be their mother-tongue, though Bohra Wagdi, as I will refer to it, seems to incorporate more features of Gujarati and to display some distinct features of its own. I shall demonstrate this in section 4.6. by analysing one particular agreement feature of the Bohra Wagdi spoken in the city of Dungarpur.

2.1.4. The Bhili region as a dialect continuum

Determining definite, geographical language borders is an impossible task in most parts of the Indian subcontinent. Demarcations are often based more on nomenclature associated with historical communal identities than with actual linguistic distinctiveness. Even around the state borders of India that were originally drawn on linguistic lines to demarcate major regional languages, the shift is rarely abrupt. This can be observed between the states of Rajasthan and Gujarat where two official languages, Hindi and Gujarati respectively, converge via a number of local dialects (e.g. Wagdi, Girasi, Sirohi etc.) along the border, which incorporate features of both languages.

Furthermore, dimensions other than geography contribute to the linguistic currency of Rajasthani society. The so-called 'real' or 'primary' language of an individual is often impossible to determine due to the multilingual nature of social interaction in South Asian society. Magier (1983:4) observes that "each of the numerous codes [a speaker] controls will be appropriate to a different set of contexts that arise routinely in daily life". The Wagdi-speaking regions of Banswada and Dungarpur are no exception to this phenomenon – even there, illiterate villagers will at times insert Hindi, Gujarati, or English words and phrases into their speech. In the urban centres of the region, and particularly among the educated classes, the consistency tilts much more in favour of Hindi and English, and informants, when conscious of being recorded, would often revert to Hindi. In his anthropological survey of education in several Bhil villages in the Malva region of western Madhya-Pradesh, which borders the Wagdi-speaking Banswada district of Rajasthan, Naik (1969:23) observes of the speech of the Bhils that, "the influence of Gujarati is extensively felt, while Rajasthani influences are discernible towards the north…" He also notes that in some villages the inhabitants show a reasonable level of competence in Hindi, and in others that they are even quite fluent in the same. He

further discerns an increasingly common use of Hindi due to "urban influences" and the "spread of education", with the result that even the 'purest' samples of the language show strong similarities – both lexical and grammatical – to neighbouring Gujarati and Mewari, with words and phrases often substituted by Hindi (Naik 1969:24).

This tendency for a speaker to code-switch or code-mix, often unconsciously, presents a major difficulty for language elicitation, and raises questions about how a dialect should be approached as existing within both social and geographical space. Canut's (2002) article "Perceptions of language in the Mandingo Region of Mali" addresses the issue of the "spatial delimitation" of language. Canut points out that the traditional idealised, pure image of languages as "abstract entities" isolated by "spatial delimitation" seems to have little currency among the non-linguistic speech community. She concludes that spatial delimitation "cannot be an efficient parameter in the study of dynamic linguistics", and that "the linguist's interest will be, on the one hand, to understand the fluctuation of use in relation to extralinguistic parameters (social, but above all subjective across discourse) and, on the other hand, as a result of these observations, to show how regulation of variation between the subsystems operates" (Canut 2002:39). Therefore, the idea that languages do not coexist as "abstract entities" that can be compartmentalised into "homogenous linguistic areas" could be quite relevant when attempting to distinguish language barriers (Canut 2002:39).

According to Canut the differentiation between defined speech varieties in urban Mali is futile, partly due to the increasing interaction of rural and urban populations, as well as to extralinguistic factors by which a speaker's choice of dialect is consciously or unconsciously influenced, and adjusted according to the speech situation (Canut 2002:35). Similarly, the multilayered and situational nature of spoken language in North India can often obscure a speaker's native dialect, as speakers are often accustomed from childhood to code-switching between multiple varieties in their daily life. This tendency to mix freely with other regional languages often tempts the researcher to seek clarification from speakers as to which grammatical structures or lexical items they consider to be indigenous to Wagdi, and what was borrowed from Hindi, Gujarati, etc. – and, if borrowing had indeed taken place, whether there was an alternative form specific to Wagdi.

Another complicated and potentially misleading dimension to distinguishing linguistic barriers in India is that linguistic nomenclatures in South Asia in general are often multilayered and community specific. Masica (1991) gives several examples in which a given language or dialect may have an "official name (Hariyanvi), a popular

name (Laria for Chattisgarhi), its former name (Bangaru for Hariyanvi), a newly emerged name (Siraiki, Angika), a nickname bestowed by an other (Chhikacchiki Boli, Jangli, Hakkipikki), or a name with no popular currency bestowed by a researcher (Lahnda, Central Eastern Rajasthani)" (Masica 1991:30). Furthermore, migrant communities residing outside the territory where their mother tongue predominates will often hold onto a more narrow identity based on their status or occupation within the former society. For example, the Gujarati speakers of Mysore have often referred to themselves as *kshatriya*. *Kshatri* is a variety of Hindi spoken in Andhra Pradesh and *khatri* is another name for Saurashtri in Tamil Nadu. All three languages' names are derived from the same root, *kshatriya*, a word for the Hindu warrior caste, yet referring to entirely different languages (Masica 1991:31).

Magier (1983:3) observes, specifically about Rajasthani society – the state in which the Wagdi dialect of Bhili is spoken – that spoken languages are often identified by historical regions – i.e. Marwari, Mewari Shekhawati, Harauti, Malvi, etc. – that correspond more or less to historical kingdoms of – i.e. Marwar, Mewar, Shekhawat, Haraut, Malva, etc. However, as these regions have been subdivided at different times into smaller principalities with their own distinct identity, the name of the latter may be preferred over the name corresponding to the greater region. Furthermore, some dialects derive their name from the caste title of a particular ruler and hence may be avoided by those of a different caste. Also, popular stigma of a particular group may come into play in determining how speakers refer to their language. Hence, the complex social factors of group identity based on "caste, religion, tribe, region, subregion, education level, etc." create tremendous complications in interpreting linguistic census data (Magier 1983:3).

It can be concluded that the phenomenon of dialect continuum in South Asia in general, and more specifically in the Bhil region, is multi-dimensional, as it spans both geographical and societal space. For the purpose of this thesis, suffice to say that the identification of linguistic boundaries and use of linguistic nomenclature in what follows must be taken as provisional, as it does not necessarily correspond to the perceptions of the community as a whole, nor is it always accurately descriptive insofar as the degree of mutual intelligibility is concerned.

2.1.5. Stability vs. language shift

The general trend of tribal, and more generally of minority languages in India has been one of assimilation in favour of more dominant local languages (Bhatt and Mahboob 2008:146). Breton (1997:30-31) argues that this process of attrition forms

a continuum between those who have adopted the dominant language while maintaining their tribal language as an L2, and those who have lost the latter entirely to become monolingual speakers of the former (cf. Bhatt and Mahboob 2008:146). U.N. Singh (2001a:66) observes that only 4 of the 7.8 percent of the Indian population that is classified as 'tribal', are speakers of a so called 'tribal language' (cf. Bhatt and Mahboob 2008:146). Despite this evidence of movement toward linguistic assimilation, it is worth noting the existence of countertrends. Abbi (1995:177) writes of the "fierce language loyalty" of "minority ethnolinguistic groups such as Khasis, Nagas, Santals, and Khonds" (cf. Bhatt and Mahboob 2008:148).

Different varieties of Bhili are at greater or lesser degrees of endangerment and the general picture is a rather blurred one. The 2001 Census of India put the number of proclaimed speakers of varieties classified as Bhili dialects at 9,582,957, however, there is much asymmetry among these dialects in terms of their degree of stability. In his analysis of language shift among Scheduled Tribe communities, Ishtiaq (1999) found that in no less than 32 out of 53 districts inhabited by Bhils, virtually the entire ethnic Bhil population had declared a mother tongue other than the traditional language of the tribe. In 16 out of the remaining 21 districts, more than 50 percent have adopted a new language, leaving four districts with moderate or low degrees of shift (Ishtiaq 1999:146). This last group includes Dungarpur and Banswada districts, which have proven, by comparison, highly resistant to language shift. Ishtiaq used recorded data to examine the household use of Bhili[8] in Banswada city as well as the nearby villages of Wanera Para, Umedgarhi, Nai Abadi, and Regania (Bagidora Tehsil), and found Bhili (i.e. Wagdi) to be spoken by close to cent per cent of the population, and this in spite of the relatively high degree of exposure to Hindi (Ishtiaq 1999:146-47). These results correspond to my own firsthand experience in this region. I rarely detected any resistance by speakers to declare themselves speakers of Wagdi, and this lack of perceived inferiority may contribute to its relative stability.

Concerning the tribal population's attitude toward the official recognition of their language, Ishtiaq (1999) found that Bhils living in urban Banswada in general would support Bhili having community language status, while the rural community was relatively unconcerned with the question. Neither of these groups was in favour of Bhili becoming the medium of education in the schools, an attitude which Ishtiaq attributed to the social and economic advantages associated with access to mainstream national culture (Ishtiaq 1999:137-38). When asked informally about this, most respondents in this region seemed unconcerned about the effect of the

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[8] Ishtiaq (1999) used 'Bhili' to refer to Wagdi, which is the name of the specific variety of this region.

Hindi educational medium on their mother tongue, in the belief that their children would go on learning to speak Wagdi at home.

2.2. Definition and recognition of tribal communities in India

An important caveat is necessary here. Up until this point, terms such as 'tribal population', 'tribal language' and 'Scheduled Tribe' have been used repeatedly. These three terms however require qualification, as they carry specific connotations in the Indian political and social context, and their use therein is not always accurately descriptive of the population to whom they are meant to refer.

2.2.1. Definition of tribalism

A 'tribal' population is generally thought to have been 'indigenous' to the particular territory in which they have since lost their dominant status to colonising forces, and yet have remained relatively autonomous in terms of their "social, economic and cultural customs and traditions" as opposed to conforming to the "national, social and cultural categories" as defined by the current state institutions (Singh, K.S. 1997:37). While these anthropological connotations are perhaps influenced by the use of the term 'tribe' in the context of the Americas and Australia, 'tribalism' in India can be more accurately understood as a system of kinship and exclusive cross-generational loyalty, existing potentially within the confines of a larger, more open society.

The tribal population of India forms a highly heterogeneous "sociocultural category" with varying degrees of convergence with non-tribal society. Therefore, 'tribal culture' in India simply refers to the "distinct way of life" maintained by a community outside the social hierarchy of the caste or *jati* system (Abbi 2008:153).

The 1981 Census put the population of Scheduled Tribes in India at 51.63 million, corresponding at the time to 8% of the total population of India. In terms of state populations however, the distribution is far from even. In some states, such as Nagaland in the North-East, Scheduled Tribes make up 85% of the population, while the vast central state of Madhya-Pradesh was – before losing a portion of its eastern territory with the founding of the state of Jharkhand in 2000 – home to one-fourth of the total tribal population of India (Abbi 1997:6).

The Bhil communities form one of the largest of the Scheduled Tribes in India. The term 'tribe' as a label came into use under the British Raj to single out so-called 'criminal' tribes resulting in the Criminal Tribes Act (Act. XXVII), 1872. This act

was repealed in 1952, yet the communities, now officially called 'Denotified Tribes' (DNT), still bear the stigma of lawlessness (Abbi 2008; also see Devy 2006). The Anthropological Survey of India (1985) identified 461 tribal communities within India. 174 of these form subgroups within larger communities.

2.2.2. Language policy in India and the status of tribal communities

The criteria that define a "major regional language" were established as part of the post-independence attempts by the Indian government to deal with India's religious and linguistic diversity (Bhatia 2008). Article 344 of the Constitution of India currently recognises twenty-two 'scheduled' or 'national' languages, among which Hindi holds the status of 'official' language despite being spoken by less than 40 percent of India's population – in fact, even its function as a lingua franca is mainly limited to the northern states (Bhatia 2008).

The State Reorganization Act, passed by Parliament in November 1956, resulted in the establishment of 14 states with boundaries coinciding with major linguistic areas. Most but not all of the state names correspond to a national language – i.e. the majority language of that state. The State Reorganization Commission, set up by the Nehru government, took further steps to protect and acknowledge the rights of all linguistic minority communities with article 29(1) of the Indian Constitution (1950), which states: "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same" (cf. Bhatt and Mahboob 2008).

Despite this seemingly admirable attempt to accommodate linguistic plurality while maintaining a degree of cohesion at both the state and national level, this also led 'Unscheduled' languages to progressively receive less acknowledgment in the decades that followed. This may be reflected in the dramatic decease in the number of reported languages between the 1961 and 2001 censuses. While the census of 1961 reported 1,652 distinct languages, the number was reduced to a mere 122 in 2001 (cf. Abbi 2009:302). The result is the classification of numerous languages as a subvariety of a 'scheduled' language. The artificiality of such subclassification can been seen in the case of Hindi, which in the 2001 census includes no less than forty-seven languages under its title. Moreover, many of these languages are in features quite distinct as well as mutually nonintelligible (Abbi 2009:303).

Similarly, the term 'tribal language' is in no way helpful as a guide to linguistic categorisation, whether genetic or typological. There are 632 communities designated under Article 342 of the Indian Constitution as "Scheduled Tribes", more

than half of whom speak a 'non-tribal' mother tongue (Singh and Manoharan 1993, cf. Abbi 2008). Of the roughly 200 mother-tongues claimed by tribal communities, around half are of the Tibeto-Burman family, fifty-four Indo-Aryan, twenty-nine Dravidian, twenty Austro-Asiatic, and four of the Andaman language family (Singh, K.S. 1996:40).

Below is a list of the five families of languages spoken within the borders of India. Each of these families is host to tribal languages that often converge greatly with neighbouring scheduled languages or their dialects of the same family. Andamanese is the only language family whose use is limited entirely to Scheduled Tribes:

Indo-Aryan	(scheduled languages 15)	
Dravidian	(scheduled languages 4)	
Austro-Asiatic	(scheduled languages 1)	
Tibeto-Burman	(scheduled languages 2)	
Andamanese	(scheduled languages 0)	(Abbi 2008:154)

Based on this list, it can be concluded that tribal languages are no less diverse linguistically than scheduled languages. The term therefore refers only to the original mother tongue of a community that is "historically, geographically, politically, socially and culturally differentiated from other people" (Annamalai 1997:22).

This description applies to Bhili language and culture. Bhili dialects are unmistakably Indo-Aryan in character, and converge greatly with neighbouring Indo-Aryan scheduled languages such as Gujarati, Marathi, Rajasthani, and Hindi.

2.3. Grammatical concepts and ergative patterns within Indo-Aryan

In the previous section I have reviewed the sociolinguistic situation in the Bhil region and the place of Bhili within the Indo-Aryan language family. The remainder of the thesis will focus on various grammatical characteristics of Bhili and other CIA languages, in particular those related to core argument marking, the split-ergative pattern, and significant theoretical implications that can be drawn from these. This section defines the use of certain key concepts that will be used throughout. These include ergativity, alignment, and case. In section 2.3.5. I describe some salient characteristics of split ergativity in NIA, and review the theories as to its origin.

Ergativity typically refers to the identical treatment of subjects of intransitive verbs (S) and objects of transitive verbs (O), from subjects of transitive verbs (A), which are treated distinctly – e.g. in terms of case marking, agreement and/or word order. The following is a classical structural definition of the distinction between ergative and accusative alignment:

2)

a) A grammatical pattern or process shows ergative alignment if it identifies intransitive subjects (S_i) and transitive direct objects (dO) as opposed to transitive subjects (S_t). It shows accusative alignment if it identifies S_i and S_t as opposed to dO.

b) It shows accusative alignment if it identifies S_i and S_t as opposed to dO.

(Plank 1979:4)

The first known identification of this alignment was in West Greenlandic (Paul Egede 1760, cf. Butt 2006b:159) where transitive subjects are marked distinctly from intransitive subjects:

3) *Oli-p   neqi   neri-vaa*
Oli-ERG   meat.ABS eat-IND.TR.3SG.3SG
'Oli eats meat.'   [West Greenlandic]

4) *Oli   sinippoq*
Oli.ABS   sleep.IND.INTR.3SG   [West Greenlandic]
'Oli sleeps.'   (Manning 1996:3)

In (2) the A argument is marked ergative by a -*p* suffix, while the O in (2) and the S in (3) are both unmarked and glossed as *absolutive*. It should be noted that the term *absolutive* came into use to refer to the case of the unmarked core arguments (i.e. O and S) in languages with ergative alignment, as opposed to *nominative,* which typically identified with S and A arguments in non-ergative languages.

Dixon (1979, 1994) created the diagram in (2.1.) to illustrate the differing distinction of A, S, and O in NOM-ACC versus ERG alignment:

Diagram 2.1. ERG vs. ACC alignment

(Dixon 1994:9)
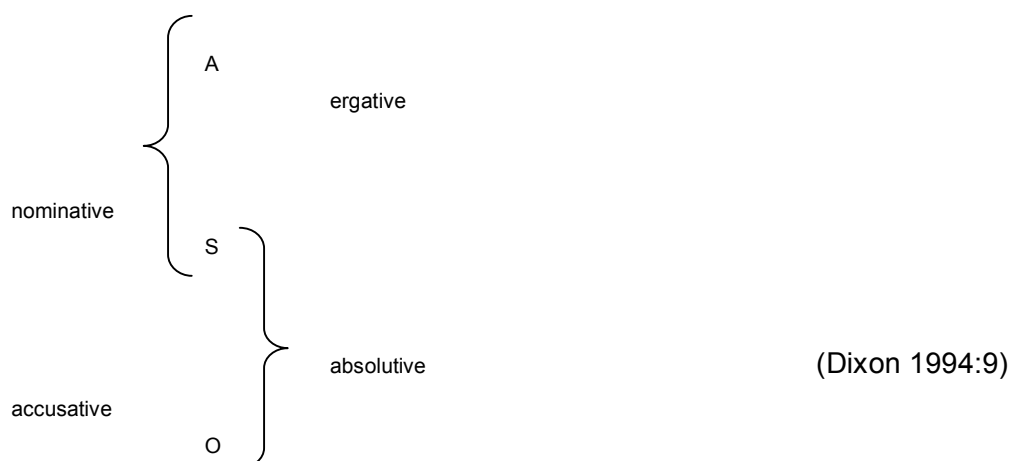
Dixon (1979:65) distinguishes several "distinct grammatical layers" at which the ergative 'phenomenon' can occur. More generally he identifies two types of ergativity: morphological and syntactic. Of the latter, the only agreed upon example is in the Dyirbal language of Australia, where the syntactic properties of S and O align as distinct from A when tested through coordination. All other claims of ergativity in languages such as West Greenlandic, Georgian, Basque, most NIA languages, etc., refer to a morphological alignment of O and S through marking, yet do not include the same syntactic alignment, which remains NOM-ACC i.e. A/S-O type (Butt 2006b:161-64). From now on, all usage of the term ergative will refer to the morphological.

2.3.2. Alignment

Alignment in this context refers to the grouping together of core arguments. The vast majority of world languages exhibit some variation of these two basic alignments given in diagram 2.1. – i.e. S/A vs. O (NOM-ACC) or S/O vs. A (ERG-ABS). Though these alignment patterns can be formed by different means, the two main strategies to be dealt with here are case marking and verb-NP agreement (cf. Bickel and Nichols 2009:305). Dixon (1994) refers to agreement-based alignment as cross-referencing or head-marking, while Klimov (1973) (cf. Tournadre 1996:17) uses the term 'verbal ergativity' to refer to agreement with the O or S arguments, as opposed to 'nominal ergativity', the latter being indicated by case marking on the argument NPs (cf. Verbeke 2010:37).

While ergativity typically refers to ergative casemarking on the A, alignment in NIA is generally accomplished through a combination of case marking and verb-NP agreement. While acknowledging the differing approaches among Indo-Aryanists

as to whether or not agreement should be considered as a form of head-dependent marking, I adopt here the approach of Nichols (1986) in considering case marking and agreement as parts of a complex system, both functioning as strategies for marking head-dependent relations (cf. Darlymple and Nikolaeva 2011). In fact, Verbeke (2009:37) observes that in Rajasthani "ergative agreement" – i.e. agreement of the verb with the O and S – is a far more reliable indicator of grammatical relations, as argument-marking patterns tend to be complicated and seem to serve a purpose other than indicating alignment.

Comrie (1989:118) identifies five "logically possible" case alignment systems. In addition to the widespread NOM-ACC and ERG-ABS systems described above, there is the "neutral system" which marks the three primitives A-S-O with the same form, the result being a lack of case marking (Comrie 1989). These languages rely on other means – e.g. word order, verb-NP agreement – to distinguish grammatical function. The fourth type – the tripartite systems – marks all three primitives with separate case markers, and is extremely rare. Comrie cites only one language, Wanggumara, which has such a system for all types of NPs.

The fifth type aligns A/O vs. S. Comrie notes that this last type appears to be as rare as the tripartite system, being only attested in certain Iranian languages, and there too limited to certain classes of NPs (Comrie 1989:118). The logical reason he gives for its rarity is that in the intransitive constructions the question of distinguishability does not arise, as there is only a single argument S. In a transitive construction there is an A and O, and in the absence of another means of distinguishing them (e.g. word order, agreement), case marking is required to avoid ambiguity. Functionally, therefore, the A/O-S case marking system is "singularly inefficient, failing to make the most useful distinction" – i.e. A and O – while making the "useless" distinctions of A-S and O-S (Comrie 1989:119).

This fifth alignment types (A/O-S) will be examined in section 4.2. with regard to the theoretical question of case function. As is acknowledged by Comrie, the presence of such alignment types in natural language poses a challenge to the argument that case marking functions primarily as a means of distinguishing grammatical functions. As mentioned, Comrie states that certain Iranian languages do in fact possess these features. Among these, he is most likely referring to Vafsi and Saarwaari Balochi, both of which have a double oblique marking system that can result in A and O being marked identically. In section 4.2. I will give examples of these as well as some NIA languages with relatively complex case marking systems that have a similar type of alignment.

A case system, as defined by Blake (1994:1), is a "system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads." In traditional grammar this generally refers to inflectional markers on the noun stem, and signals the type of relationship an NP has to a verb at the clause level, or a noun to an adposition at the phrase level (Blake 1994). Specific case morphemes, however, do not always correspond to a single case property (e.g. nominative, accusative, genitive), nor do case properties necessarily correspond to a particular grammatical relation (e.g. subject, direct object, indirect object) (Blake 1994:2). Comrie (1986) therefore makes a distinction between 'case forms' – i.e. case marking – and 'case' as the function of an NP in a given clause (cf. Spencer 2008).

In NIA, this apparent disconnection between the abstract grammatical functions and their surface manifestation in the morphology of natural language - i.e. case marking – has proven to be tantalising when trying to isolate 'case morphemes'. Mohanan (1994) points out that in Hindi grammatical function and case rarely correspond in a one-to-one relationship, as almost all of the grammatical functions may take a variety of case markings. Besides Hindi, this applies to most NIA languages, including Bhili. Like Comrie (1986), Mohanan (1994) makes a distinction between 'case features' (case) and 'case marking' (case forms) in order to approach the problem of identifying case properties, the goal of the theoretical study of case being to identify the properties associated with abstract notions such as 'nominative', 'accusative', 'dative', etc. through their interaction with the morphology of an individual language. Therefore, 'case marking', which refers to morphological elements unique to particular languages, is assumed to be linked with abstract case features, the latter being universal and characterised independently from natural language.

NIA has only two inflectional cases: *direct* (nominative) and *indirect* (oblique). These are the outcome of a historical breakdown of a more elaborate system through the merger of forms. A system of postpositions emerged to mark the oblique inflected NPs, thereby forming a second morphological layer of case information (see section 2.3.7. and 3.3.2. for a detailed description of case layers).

2.3.4. Characteristics of ergativity in NIA and its origin

Most languages that are claimed to have ergative alignment are in fact *split-ergative*. This means that NOM-ACC and ERG-ABS alignments will alternate based on certain

conditions. Peterson (1998:78) identifies the three most common types of governing factors for this alternation:

5)
   a) Alignment varies on the basis of tense, aspect, or mood.
   b) Alignment varies on the basis of the position of A or position of A relative to P on the Relational Hierarchy (RH) (see (1.2) below).
   c) Alignment varies on the basis of the predicate's semantic features – e.g. the ERG-NOM pattern is more likely with verbs of volition than with verbs lacking in volitional.

While all three types are relevant to the current study, special attention will be given in the following sections to types (5.a) and (5.b).

2.3.4.1. Tense / aspect splits

Type (4.a) split ergativity is common in NIA where transitive perfective verbs assign ergative case to the A while transitive imperfect verbs do not. This aspectual split can be see in the Wagdi sentences in (6) and (7):

6) *ram   keri   toḍi ryo   hɛ*
   Ram.MS.NOM   mango.FS   pick CONT.MS AUX.PRS
   'Ram is picking the mango.'   [Wagdi]

7) *ram-e   keri   toḍ-i*
   Ram-ERG   mango.FS   pick-F
   'Ram picked the mango.'   [Wagdi]

In (6) the verb *toḍi* 'pick' is transitive and imperfective. The subject is unmarked – i.e. nominative – and the verb agrees with it and not with the direct object. In (7) the same transitive verb is now perfective, the subject is marked ergative, and the verb agrees with the unmarked direct object. Therefore, Wagdi, like most NIA languages, has an aspectually based split-ergative alignment.

2.3.4.2. NP-splits

Ergative splits of type (4.b) above are generally referred to as NP-splits and are also commonly found in NIA languages where ergative marking is determined by semantic/pragmatic factors inherent in the NP, such as animacy and definiteness,

and is usually consistent with Silverstein's (1976) Referential Hierarchy (RH), shown in (2.2.):

2.2. Silverstein's Referential Hierachy

1> 2> 3> proper> common> human> animate> inanimate		
Nom/Acc →	← Erg/Abs	

<div align="right">(Silverstein 1976)</div>

The RH predicts that the farther an NP is to the left on the scale – thereby higher in terms of definiteness and animacy – the more typical it is of the grammatical function of subject and thereby less likely to take ergative marking. Therefore, by implication, if a language marks a particular type of NP ergative, then every other type of NP to the right of it on the hierarchy will also be marked ergative.[9] The reverse applies to accusative vs. nominative marking on objects.

Most NIA languages have some kind of ergative NP-split. This can be seen in the Marathi examples below:

8) *mi*　　　　　*pʊstak*　　　*vac-l-i*
    I.M.NOM　　　　book.F　　　　read-PF-F　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Marathi]
    'I read the book.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Wali 2005:44)

9) *tya-ne*　　　*pani*　　　*an-l-e*　　　　　*ahe*
    3PRO.MS-ERG　　water　　　bring-PF-3MS　　　AUX.PRS.3MS　[Marathi]
    'He has brought water.'　　　　　　　　　　(Raeside and Nemade 1990:148)

In (8) the first-person subject of the perfective transitive construction is unmarked – i.e. in nominative form – while the third-person pronominal subject of another perfective transitive predicate in example (9) is marked ergative. It is apparent from (8) and (9) that there is a split between first-person pronouns, which are invariant, and third-person pronouns, which take ergative marking as subjects of perfective transitive clauses. Based on the RH above, it can be predicted that any other third-person nominal would also be marked ergative. Examples (10) and (11) support this prediction:

10) *kaʃi-ne*　　　*pʊstak*　　　*vac-l-i*
    Kashi.M-ERG　　book.F　　　read-PF-F
    'Kashi read the book.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Marathi]

---

[9] This will be examined more closely in Chapter 4, where we will see that de Hoop and Narasimhan (2008) argue that ergative NPs tend to be more, rather than less, typical subjects. The same would apply to most other NIA languages that are split-ergative.

11) *varya-ne*   *kac*   *pʰoḍ-l-a*
    wind-ERG/INSTR   glass-3MS   break-PF-3MS
    'The wind broke the glass.' or   [Marathi]
    'The glass broke due to the wind.'   (Wali 2005:44-45)

In (10) and (11) the ergative subject is a proper name and inanimate noun respectively. Both occur to the right of the third-person pronouns on the RH, and both take ergative case marking.

This phenomenon will be further examined from a historical point of view in section 4.3., when analysing examples from the Wagdi dialect of Kherwada, in which ergative marking is obligatory on pronouns and optional on other types of nouns, thereby going against the RH in (2.2.).

2.3.5. Interaction of marking and agreement

In this section I will give an overview of some typical ergative marking and agreement patterns in NIA. I shall start with Hindi, which has the expected aspect based split, but lacks the NP-split as virtually all types of NPs are marked ergative in the same way when functioning as the subject of the perfective transitive clause. Hindi may therefore be considered to be archetypical of the NIA aspectually split-ergative pattern. Next I present examples from Marathi, which has both types of splits – aspectual and NP. Also, certain Marathi constructions show dual agreement, where the verb agrees with both the unmarked direct object and the ergative subject when the latter is a second pronoun. This will be followed by examples from Nepali, which has ergative marking but no temporal split, Kashmiri, which uses co-referential case clitics on the verb stem to agree with multiple arguments in the clause, and finally Marwari, in which ergative marking has all but disappeared and the verb in an ergative construction agrees with the direct object regardless of overt accusative marking.

2.3.5.1. Ergative constructions in Hindi

Hindi is one language that had initially lost its ergative morphology, and then revived it by introducing the *-ne* postposition – not to be confused with the DAT/ACC *-ne* of Gujarati, Rajasthani, Wagdi, etc. With few exceptions, all transitive agents in Hindi are marked with *-ne* and transitive, perfective verbs agree with all direct objects in person, number, and gender provided that the direct object is nominative – i.e. unmarked by the accusative marker *-ko*:

12) *həm-ne*   *kɪtab*   *padʰ-i*
    we-ERG   book.F   read-PERF.FS
    'We read the book.'   [Hindi]

13) *mɛ̃-ne*   *sare*   *deʃ*   *dekʰ-e*   *hɛ̃*
    I-ERG   every country.M see-PF.MP   AUX.PL
    'I have seen every country.'   [Hindi]

14) *həm-ne*   *ɪn*   *ləɖkõː-ko*   *dekʰ-a*   *hɛ*
    we-ERG 3ʳᵈPL.OBL boys.OBL-ACC see-PF.MS   AUX.MS
    'We have seen those boys.'   [Hindi]

15) *həm-ne*   *ʊs* *ləɖki-ko*   *dekʰ-a*
    we-ERG   that girl-ACC   see-PERF.MS
    'We saw that girl.'   [Hindi]

In (12) and (13) the subject is marked ergative and the main verb and auxiliary agree with the unmarked direct object. In both (14) and (15) the direct object is animate and therefore *-ko* marked. The result is that the main verb and auxiliary default to third-person masculine singular – essentially agreeing with neither NP.

2.3.5.2. Ergative constructions in Marathi

Ergative marking in Marathi is limited to third-person agents. As in Hindi, the verb takes concord primarily with the unmarked object, and not with the perfect transitive subject as in (16):

16) *kaʃi-ne*   *pʊstak*   *vac-l-i*
    kashi-M.ERG   book.**FS**.ACC read-PF-**3FS**
    'Kashi read the book.'   [Marathi]

However, if both NPs are overtly marked, the verb takes a default neuter form as in (17):

17) *lili-ne*   *rəvi-la*   *mər-l-a*
    Lili-ERG   ravi-DAT   beat-PF-NS   [Marathi]
    'Lili beat Babu.'   (Wali 2005:46)

One exception to this blocking rule occurs when the ergative subject is the second-person singular pronoun. The verb then takes a cliticised *-s* particle, which is the generally associated with second-person. If the object is also unmarked, as in (18), the result is a dual agreement with both subject and object:

18) *tu*   *pʊstak*   *vac-l-**i-s***
     you.M.ERG   book.F.NOM   read-PF-**3FS-2ND.AGR-S**   [Marathi]
     'You read the book.'   (Wali 2005:46)

If the sentence has both a main verb and an auxiliary, then the -*s* clitic will attach to the auxiliary as in (19):

19) *tu*   *pʊstak*   *vac-l-**i***   *ahe-**s***
     you.M.ERG book.F.NOM read-PF-**3FS**   AUX.PRS-**2nd.AGR-S**   [Marathi]
     'You read the book.'   (Wali 2005:46)

Marathi, therefore, could be considered to have a less typical ergative system than Hindi, as it does not mark all types of NPs ergative. Also, as the ergative marking pattern is generally accompanied by 'ergative agreement' – i.e. verb agreement with the direct object – in NIA, instances of dual agreement could be seen as a weakening of the ergative pattern (Magier 1983:322).

2.3.5.3. Ergative construction in Nepali

Like Hindi, Nepali has a highly robust system of ergative marking. Subjects of perfective, transitive clauses are invariably marked ergative by the cliticised *ie,* regardless of person and number. However, unlike Standard Hindi, Nepali verbs always agree with the subject whether it is ergative or nominative, as shown in (20) and (21):

20) *ma*   *bəs-ẽ*
     I.NOM   sit-PF.1SG
     'I sat.'   [Nepali]

21) *mɛ-le* *mero*   *luga*   *dʰo-ẽ*
     I-ERG   my   clothes.NOM wash-PF.1SG   [Nepali]
     'I washed my clothes.'   (Deo and Sharma 2006:9)

The verb agrees with the nominative S argument in (20) and the A argument in (21), which is marked ergative.

2.3.5.4. Ergative constructions in Kashmiri

Kashmiri differs from the above examples as it employs an elaborate system of co-referential pronominal clitics. The rules determining the ordering of these clitics on the verb stem, as well as verbs agreement with these clitics, is highly complex and

not entirely relevant to the topic of this thesis. I will explain, however, several interesting similarities that these clitic patterns have with other NIA languages.

Similar to Marathi, the second-person singular pronoun appears to be an exception to the general rule that ergative subjects are blocked from any kind of encoding of properties on the verb stem. Notice the contrast in agreement pattern between (22) and (23):

22) *mirayi*   *vɔc-ʊ-kʰ*   *tsi*
    Mira.FS.ERG   saw-MS-2PS   you.MS.NOM
    'Mira saw you.'   [Kashmiri]

23) *tse*   *kʰ-ey-atʰ*   *tseri*
    you.ERG   ate-FP-2PS   apricots.FP   [Kashmiri]
    'You ate apricots.'   (Koul and Wali 1997:222)

As with other oblique arguments, the second-person ergative marked pronoun always takes a co-referential pronominal clitic on the finite verb, despite being overtly marked. Interestingly, in (23) the gender-number features inflected on the verb stem – which precedes the subject clitic – are controlled by the nominative direct object.

Furthermore, if the object is also encoded onto the verb – whether it gets encoded or not is determined by the pronominal hierarchy – along with the ergative subject, its clitic will appear following the subject clitic. Nevertheless it is this argument, and not the second-person singular pronoun functioning as subject, that controls gender-number agreement on the verb stem as in (24):

24) *tse*   *vɪc-ɪ-tʰ-**əs***   *bɪ*
    you.ERG   saw-**FS**-2PS-**1PS**   me.FS.NOM   [Kashmiri]
    'You saw me (feminine).'   (Koul and Wali 1997:222)

In (24), the first-person singular feminine object appears cliticised, and is simultaneously controlling gender and number inflection on the verb stem. The subject clitic appears in the position between these two morphemes.

2.3.5.5. Ergative constructions in Marwari

Marwari is a western Rajasthani dialect that bears many lexical as well as grammatical similarities to Bhili dialects, in particular Wagdi. The only remaining trace of ergative marking in Marwari is found on third-person pronouns, which may optionally take an oblique form when they are subjects of transitive perfective clauses. All other subjects take the unmarked 'direct' form regardless of aspect or

valence (Magier 1983:310). However, the agreement pattern remains distinctly ergative as the object controls verb agreement as in (25) and (26):

25) *ram*   *lapsi*   *jɪml-i*
     Ram.MS   wheat-gruel.F   ate-F
     'Ram ate wheat gruel.'   [Marwari]

26) *ram*   *gʰani* *lapsi*   *jɪml-i* *hi*
     Ram.MS   lots   wheat-gruel.F   ate-F   was.F   [Marwari]
     'Ram had eaten lots of wheat gruel.'   (Magier 1983:318-19)

A deviation from the ergative agreement pattern occurs in the present perfective construction, where the past participle of the verb agrees with the object, while the auxiliary agrees with the subject, resulting in dual subject/object agreement:

27) *mʰai sita-ne*   *dekʰ-i*   *hũ*
     I   Sita-ACC   saw-F   AUX.1S.PRS
     'I have seen Sita.'   [Marwari]

28) *ap*   *sita-ne*   *dekʰ-i*   *ho*
     you.PL Sita-ACC   saw-F   AUX.2P.PRS   [Marwari]
     'You have seen Sita.'   (Magier 1983:322)

The constructions in (27) and (28) demonstrate several distinct irregularities in Marwari's ergative agreement pattern: first, the dual agreement of subject and object in the present perfective aspect, regardless of the pronoun (recall that Marathi and Kashmiri have dual agreement restricted to certain subject pronouns); and second, the fact that this dual agreement occurs only with the present auxiliary. To the best of my knowledge, Marwari is the only IA language in which agreement of the subject or object with the verb is dependent on the tense of the auxiliary.

     Another point to note from examples (27) and (28) is that the verb continues to agree with the direct object in spite of it being overtly marked by the dative/accusative -*ne* postposition (note that -*ne* is equivalent to Marathi -*la* and Hindi -*ko*). The same agreement pattern applies to *ne*-marked passive subjects. Notice that while in Hindi, as in (29), the accusative marking that is preserved on the patient in the passive blocks agreement with the verb resulting in the verb defaulting to third-person masculine singular (symbolised by ∅), the Marwari verb agrees in gender with the accusative marked promoted object, as in (30):

29) *ləɖki-ko*   *pəkɖ-a*   *gəya*
     girl-ACC   captured-MS go.MS
     'The girl was captured.'   [Hindi]

44

30) *cori-ne*   *jʰal-i*   *gai*
     girl-ACC   captured-F   go.F   [Marwari]
     'The girl was captured.'   (Magier 1990)

Magier (1983:320) considers Marwari to have "ergativity more firmly entrenched in its verbal agreement paradigms" since it lacks the "surface morphological rule in Hindi which blocks <u>any</u> verbal agreement with case marked NPs". According to Magier, Marwari shares this agreement characteristic with Gujarati, some Pahari and Rajasthani dialects, while Panjabi, Sindhi, Siraiki, Marathi, and others exhibit a pattern similar to Hindi, where agreement with any accusatively marked patient is blocked (Magier 1983:321).

     While Marathi and Kashmiri show limited signs of mixed agreement patterns, the feature seems to be most salient in Marwari. Magier (1983) provides the examples of Mewari (a southern Rajasthani dialect that borders the Wagdi region) and Gujarati, neither of which employ the accusative blocking rule, thereby allowing the main verb to take gender/number concord with marked objects, while the auxiliary reverts to a default third-person (zero-agreement) form as in the following examples:

31) *mʰũ ap-ne*   *mariya*   *hɛ*
     I   you.PL-ACC   struck.MP   AUX.3rdPRS
     'I have struck you.'   [Mewari]

32) *mɛ təm-ne*   *marya*   *ce*
     I.ERG you.PL-ACC   struck.MP   AUX.3rdPRS   [Gujarati]
     'I have struck you.'   (Magier 1983:324)

Magier does, however, acknowledge one factor that reduces the characterisation of Marwari as "strictly ergative": the distribution of agreement features between A and O in the present perfective construction. In examples (25)-(28), the "parameter of concord" is limited to gender/number, which is controlled by O, as is characteristic of a strongly ergative system. Person concord is with the subject, and person features are only encoded on the present tense auxiliary. In Hindi, as well as most other NIA languages, the possibility of detecting such a dual agreement is prevented by the accusative blocking rule, and the fact that any animate objects must be marked accusative. The result is that the auxiliary either agrees in number with an unmarked object, or in person if the object is animate and therefore obligatorily marked (Magier 1983:323).

2.3.5.6. Other agreement patterns

Besides the examples of split-agreement in languages such as Marathi and Marwari where the main verb agrees in number and gender with the O and the auxiliary agrees in person with the A, other types of complex agreement patterns have been attested. One is found in Braj, in which both the main verb and auxiliary agree with the O, the former in gender and number and the latter in person:

```
33) te-nẽ       tin    jəgəhe  mẽ kəl  [pe se]  bəcayo      u
    you-ERG    three  place    I  death  from    save.PF.MS  AUX.PRS.1SG
    'You have saved me from death on three occasions.'          [Braj]
                                        (Liperovskij 1988) (cf. Stronski 2010:243)
```

In the above examples the main verb is presumably agreeing with the masculine singular first-person pronoun direct object. The auxiliary takes the first-person form, also in agreement with the direct object. Normally, in ergative constructions the auxiliary can only agree in third-person, as it is only third-person NPs that can be unmarked in the function of direct object, thereby allowing it to be controller of agreement. Recall that even in Gujarati, where the main verb can agree with accusative marked direct objects, the auxiliary remains in a default third-person form.

Summary

While certain core characteristics remain fairly consistent in the ergative marking and agreement typology of NIA, the patterns vary tremendously in scope, extending from highly salient – as in Hindi where all types of nouns and pronouns are marked ergative – to being an entirely NOM-ACC pattern – as in Bengali and several other eastern NIA languages (Masica 1991). As an explanation for this regional heterogeneity, Comrie (1978) suggests that the ergative construction in NIA is in the process of dying out and shifting back toward NOM-ACC alignment, and that the different NIA languages are at various stages of ergative attrition. Comrie sees this as a gradual shift of "'subject properties' away from patients and back toward agents" (Comrie 1978), with Bengali and Eastern Hindi representing the culmination of this transition. Evidence for this shift is found in the fact that, whereas perfective transitive constructions in old Bengali followed an ergative alignment, modern Bengali has an entirely NOM/ACC system (Deo and Sharma 2006:12). This question will be examined more closely in section 2.3.6 below.

2.3.6. Origins of the ergative pattern and markers in NIA

In early research on languages such as Basque, Greenlandic, and Polynesian, ergative alignment was often looked upon as a type of passive, since the agent argument in both types of constructions is linked to a non-nominative NP (Schuchardt 1896; Uhlenbeck 1916, cf. Butt 2006a:76). This notion was further supported by the observation that, cross-linguistically, ergative and instrumental case markers tend to resemble one-another in form, in languages such as Classical Tibetan, Dyirbal, and Avar (Lehman 2002:98). Yet it has since been established quite decisively that ergative constructions are inherently *active* rather than passive in voice, and therefore must be treated independently. Anderson (1976) shows that in most morphologically ergative languages the grammatical subject aligns to A and S roles when examined through a series of syntactic tests (also see Dixon 1979). While few still hold on to the notion that ergatives are a type of passive, there remains a widely held theory that ergative systems tend to be the diachronic result of passives, and Indo-Aryan is commonly seen as the classic example of such a development (e.g. Comrie 1978:371; Dik 1978:157ff; Dixon 1994:190; Garrett 1990; Bubenik 1989).

In the following section I will review some of the main theories pertaining to the origin of ergativity in NIA.

2.3.6.1. Passive to ergative hypothesis

Dixon (1994:189) lays out the following syntactic changes that much take place to result in a shift from passive to ergative. First, the A must become normal or obligatory with its oblique marking. The passive becomes normal with transitive verbs in that particular syntactic environment, and the original active construction fades from use. The original passive is then no longer treated as a derivation but as the basic, unmarked construction. The oblique marking on the A is reinterpreted as ergative and the originally derived verb form becomes the basic active form. Dixon sees the fact that in split-ergative languages ergativity occurs in perfective aspect or past tense as supporting this lineage, as he quotes Anderson (1977:336): "passive constructions are semantically close to perfect in that they generally present a state resulting from a complete action". This view is also supported by Comrie (1976:85-86) and Hopper and Thompson (1980:271).

In Sanskrit, one means – which later became the only means – of expressing the perfective aspect was by an apparently analytic passive construction in which the verb took a non-finite, participle form, characterised by the suffix *-ta*, while the agent was marked instrumental (Dixon 1994:190). This construction began to be reinterpreted as active in the MIA period, as in the sequence from (33a) to (33b):

34) *ahi-r   indr-ena   ha-ta-h*
  a) serpent-NOM.SG Indra-INST.SG   kill-PTcPL-NOM.SG
   'the serpent has been killed by Indra.'   [Sanskrit]

  b) serpent-ABS.SG Indra-ERG.SG kill-PF-NOM.SG   [Sanskrit]
   'Indra has killed the serpent.'   (Garrett 1990:263)

The passively interpreted construction in (34a) is reinterpreted as active perfect in (34b). This is accompanied by a reinterpretation of case forms as the logical subject is no longer an oblique instrumental agent, but an ergatively marked grammatical subject. The unmarked patient has gone from being nominative, the case typically associated with promoted objects, to absolutive, indicating it is the O argument.

A new type of periphrastic passive construction with *jana* 'to go', functioning as a tensed auxiliary, began to appear in early MIA and existed simultaneously with the participle passive of (34) (Bubenik 1998:134). The latter would become the standard passive and the former the ergative in NIA, with the two constructions using different case markers for the agent. This is demonstrated in the equivalent Hindi sentences in (35a) and (35b):

35) a. *ʊs-ne   kɪya*
    3rdPRO-ERG   do.PF
    'He made (it).'   [Hindi]

  b. *ʊs-ke   dvara   kɪya gəya*
    3rdPRO-GEN INSTR   do.PF go.PST   [Hindi]
    '(it) was made by him.'   (Bubenik 1998:134)

Bubenik presents the Hindi construction in (35a) as representing the outcome of the old analytic passive that used a past participle and an instrumental agent. Example (35b) represents the periphrastic passive that arose to take the place of the former.

According to Bubenik (1998:134), late MIA still had no active past perfective construction, as the participle construction "followed the rules applied to the non-finite passives of OIA" – i.e. verb agreement with the patient subject, an optionally overt agent, and in general the syntactic properties associated with subjects being mapped onto the 'goal' and not the 'agent' phrase. However, as there was no longer any active counterpart for this purpose, Bubenik suggests that there would have

been pressure to reinterpret the oblique agent as a subject and the goal as an object (Bubenik 1998). Therefore, consistent with the role-oriented nature of ergative languages, subject properties (i.e. topic position, reflexive control, etc.) may have shifted to the agent from the passivised patient (Hock 1986:21-24; Hook 1992, cf. Khokhlova 2001:172). Furthermore, similar to other ergative languages of Australia (Dixon 1994:218) and the Caucasus (Kibrik 1992), the ergative agent in late MIA and early NIA could be freely omitted from the clause (cf. Khokhlova 2001:172).

In OIA both finite passive and participle clauses could have an overt instrumentally marked agent, while only the latter could have a genitive agent. The choice of agent marking in the participle construction was determined by the semantics of the verb: instrumental with active, and genitive with ingestive verbs (Bubenik 1998:137). Moreover, the genitive was restricted to animate subjects while the instrumental was not (Butt 2006a:79). This construction remained in MIA after the disappearance of the OIA passive as shown in examples (36) and (37) from the early MIA Aśokan Prakrits:

36) *ɪyəm   dʰəmmәlɪpi   devanəmpɪyena*
    this   dhamma-inscription.NOM   devananpiya.INSTR

    pɪyədesɪna   lajɪna   lɪkʰapɪta
    piyadasina.INSTR   king.INSTR   write.CAUS.PASS.PART   [Aśokan Prakrits]

    'This dhamma-inscription was caused to be written by king Devananpiya.'

37) *әtʰi pi cu   ekәtɪya   sәmaja   sadʰumәta*
    is=also=and   certain   meetings   good-considered

    devanәmpɪyәsa   pɪyәdәsine   lajɪne
    D.+GEN   P.+GEN   king+GEN

    'But there are also certain festival meetings (which are) considered meritorious by king Devananpiya Piyadasin.'   [Aśokan Prakrits]

(Bubenik 1998:138)

The use of this adjectival participle construction became increasingly frequent towards the late MIA stage, and simultaneously overt use of the agent in the phrase became more frequent (Gonda 1951:107–08), until this construction became the common means of expressing the perfective aspect (cf. Verbeke and De Cuypere 2009:14). Late MIA also saw a general syncretisation of the inflectional case morphology where INSTR, DAT, GEN, ABL, LOC became a generic *oblique* form (Bubenik 1996:69) (see section 2.3.7.). This can be seen in (38) where the direct object of the first clause, and the instrumental agent of the participle verb in the

second main clause, are both second-person pronouns that take the same oblique form:

38) *həũː   pəĩː   puccʰɪmi…*
    I   you.OBL ask.1SG

    dɪttʰi   pɪa   pəĩː   sanmuha jənti
    seen.F beloved.F you.OBL   in front   passing

    'I ask you… have you seen [my] beloved, while passing in front [of you]?'
                                           [Apabhramsa]
                                 (Kalidasa) (cf. Bubenik 1998:90)

Bubenik (1998:142) argues that emergence of a truly ergative pattern began only with the appearance of absolutive case as a result of NOM/ACC syncretisation into a single *direct* (i.e. *non-oblique*) form in the late MIA Apabhramsa. Example (38) shows that while in OIA the O is nominative and the S accusative, in the Apabhramsa pair in (39) and (40), both O and S are in direct, absolutive case:

39) *nərəm əhənəm*   *vs.*   *nərəH   cərəti*
    man.ACC kill.PF.1SG   man.NOM walk.3SG
    'I killed the man.'   'The man walks'   [OIA]

40) *mae   nəru   mari(y)a(u)*   *vs.*   *nəru   cəlai*
    I.INSTR man.ABS killed.MS   man.ABS walk.3SG
    'I killed the man.'   'The man walks.'   [Apabhramsa]
                                             (Bubenik 1998:142)

The shift of subject properties from patient to back to agent – as suggested by Comrie (1978) – assumes that the original participle construction had all the characteristics of a passive. However, Peterson (1998:189) observes in Pali that only in rare cases – one out of fifty-nine – is the agent of a finite passive construction explicitly known, while the agent of the participle construction is explicit in 68% of cases. Furthermore, when applying control operations commonly used to test for subjecthood properties, such as the ability for an NP to be fronted to clause-initial position, Peterson maintains that "there does not appear to be any reason to assume that this has changed in the development from OIA to MIA" (Peterson 1998:189). He also points out that if the NIA ergative had in fact developed from a passive construction, one would expect the O to still control a number of these subjecthood tests, which it does not (see Peterson (1998) for detailed analysis). This suggests that the instrumental agent of a finite passive may have been an adjunct, while the agent of an adjectival participle construction may in fact have functioned as an

argument of the non-finite verb, the latter to become the modern transitive perfective morphology (Butt 2006a:79).

Khokhlova (2001:173-74) conversely argues that "A-deletion" in OIA was essentially a pragmatic function (cf. Wallace 1984:167-87), and that like all omitted constituents, the A could be interpreted from the discourse. However, by the late MIA and early NIA period, *ta*-participle constructions without an overt A were no longer a case of ellipsis, as the events were truly agentless. Such impersonal clauses could only have a passive interpretation as shown in the following examples from Apabhramsa in (41) and seventeenth-century Panjabi in (42):

41) *cəngau jəm sihoyəru dʰərɪyau*
    nice   that   Simhodara.NOM   hold.PF   [Apabhramsa]
    'It is nice that Simhodara was apprehended.'   (Bubenik 1998:128)

42) *tʊsã̀ː mai nũ̀ː kɪtʰe bʰejia hɛ*
    you.OBL   I.OBL   ACC   where   send.PF.MS   AUX.PS.3SG

    mere kəpḍe hahi lite hɛ̃
    my   clothes   [tear off]   take.PF.MP   AUX.PS.3PL

    əte mere taiĩ̀ː bəhalia hɛ
    and I.GEN.OBL   ACC   imprision.PF.MS   AUX.PS.3SG

               'Where did you send me? My cloths are torn off and I am imprisoned.'
                                     [seventeenth-century Punjabi]
                             (PPV 34) (cf. Khokhlova 2001:173)

However, constructions with an overt agent could have either active or passive interpretation as in (43) (Khokhlova 2001:175):

43) *hau jayau jənanie kəha*
    I.NOM   born   mother.INSTR   how
    'How was I born of the mother?'   [Apabhramsa]
  or 'How did mother give birth to me.'   (Singh 1980:42) (cf. Khokhlova 2001:175)

Khokhlova (2001:174) observes that agent omission has almost entirely disappeared in modern NIA, and only appears in certain styles of narrative. However, it is still acceptable in Wagdi as shown in (44) and (45):

44) a. *dəkʃɪn bʰarət mɛ sokə kʰa-i*
      south   India   in   rice   eat-IMPR   [Wagdi]

b. *dəkʃɪn bʰarət mẽː cavəl kʰa-ya jata hɛ*
south India in rice eat-PF go-PS.HAB AUX.PS [Hindi]

    'Rice is eaten in south India.'

45) a. *rəjiv gandʰi-ne bom-ũː mari did-u*
   Rajiv Gandhi-ACC bomb-INSTR kill.TR give-PF.N

                                  [Kherwada Wagdi]

b. *rəjiv gandʰi-Ø bom-se *mar dɪya / mər gəya*
   Rajiv Gandhi-NOM bomb-INSTR die.TR give.PF / die.INTR go.PF [Hindi]

    'Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb.'

The sentence in (44a) is impersonal, since the verb is in its active form, yet the interpretation in English is passive. The equivalent in Hindi, as in (44b), requires a passive form of the verb. The same contrast is shown in (45a) and (45b).

2.3.7. Ergative marking

As was mentioned above, the OIA case inventory of fusional suffixes underwent syncretisation during the late MIA and early NIA periods. This simplification resulted in a general distinction of *direct* vs. *oblique* case, as can be seen from the table below:

Table 2.3. Apabhramsa case inventory

	SG	PL
NOM	-u	-a
ACC	-u	-a
INSTR	-ẽ	-ahĩ/ehĩ
DAT	-aho/-ahu	-ahā̃
GEN	-aho/ahu	-ahā̃
ABL	-ahe/ahu	-ahũ/ahā̃
LOC	-i,-e	-ahĩ

                                            (Hewson and Bubenik 2006:112)

Nominative and accusative – i.e. direct case – had merged together and were distinct in form from instrumental, dative genitive, ablative, and locative – i.e. oblique case. This direct vs. oblique distinction remains the only remnant of the old case system in NIA (see section 3.3).

It was during this period of case syncretisation that the modern system of clitics emerged to replace these fusional suffixes as the primary means of case marking. By this time the ergative construction was fully formed and ergative subjects were marked by the oblique form of the NP as shown in (38) above

(Hewson and Bubenik 2006:112). With the gradual attrition of A/S distinction which occurred later among the western NIA languages, Khokhlova (2001:180-81) identifies the emergence of two main case marking patterns: accusative S=A; S≠O; A≠O (common to NPs in Western Rajasthani, as well as to personal pronouns in Panjabi and Marathi); and tripartite S≠O≠A (e.g. Gujarati).

While some NIA languages continued to undergo attrition of distinct A/S marking, others, such as Hindi, reinforced it by introducing case clitics.

Table (2.4.) shows the general consistency of form for core argument markers in NIA:

Table 2.4. Core argument markers in NIA

	Dative (subjects and objects)	**Ergative** (subjects only)
Hindi/Urdu	ko	Ne
Panjabi	nũ	ne
Sindhi	kʰe	OBLIQUE INFLECTION
Gujarati	ne/nẽ	-e (old -nẽ)
Marathi	la	ne/ni
Bengali	ke	NONE
Oriya	kʊ	NONE
Assamese	ko/no	-e
Nepali	lɛ	le

(Butt 2006a:81)

Different theories have emerged to explain the etymological origin of these clitics – often tracing them back to a lexical root. For example, the Hindi dative marker -*ko* has been thought by some to be derived from the Sanskrit past participle *krta*- 'done' (Montaut 2004:64) as well as the Sanskrit noun *kakua* 'sides, armpit' (Beames 1872–1879:257, cf. Verbeke and De Cuypere 2009:6). As for the ergative -*ne* marker, the three most common hypotheses are a) that it originated as the Sanskrit instrumental marker -*ena;* b) or that it was originally a lexical item; c) or finally that -*ne* was borrowed from a neighbouring case system (see Butt and King 2004). In the following section I review each of these theories.

2.3.7.1. -ne *from Sanskrit instrumental* -ena

The similarity in form of the Sanskrit instrumental and the modern Hindi ergative marker lead many early scholars of Indo-Aryan to assume a historical connection between the two. A widely assumed historical scenario (Dixon 1994; Harris and Campbell 1995, et al) is that the Sanskrit instrumental -*ena* (shown in example (34) above repeated in (46)) was the marker for agents of the passive construction

involving verbs with the adjectival participle suffix -ta. With the realignment of this passive participle into an active one, the instrument became associated with the agents of active verbs (see Butt 2001 for detailed discussion):

46) *ahi-r*   *indr-ena*   *ha-ta-h*
 a) serpent-NOM.SG Indra-INST.SG   kill-PTcPL-NoM.SG   [Sanskrit]
    'the serpent has been killed by Indra.'

 b) serpent-ABS.SG Indra-ERG.SG   kill-PF-NOM.SG   [Sanskrit]
    'Indra has killed the serpent.'   (Garrett 1990:263)

This hypothesis has continued to be justified in grammatisation literature (e.g. Anderson 1977; Dixon 1994). According to Lehman's (2002) 'grammatisation channels' theory, cases are ranked hierarchically according to their grammaticality – i.e. between those associated with the verb of the clause, and semantic cases that are relatively independent of the verb (Lehman 2002:96). With regard to instrumental and ergative cases, the former is semantic and the latter grammatical case (Lehman 2002:96). Therefore, with the process of grammatisation, instrumental could, in theory, have a 'path' by which to become ergative. Lehman (2002) describes a scenario similar to Bubenik (1998) to explain the development of ergative case – i.e. as the ergative marked passive agent becomes increasingly common and the presence of the agent increasingly obligatory, the construction is reinterpreted as transitive and the instrumental agent as the subject (Lehman 2002:98). Although Lehman does not address the question of the Hindi ergative, he does note the similarity in form of instrumental and ergative markers in Classical Tibetan, Dyirbal, and Avar (Lehman 2002:98).

Early IA researchers such as Beames (1872) and Kellogg (1893, 1938) had dismissed the notion that the modern Hindi ergative marker -*ne* could have been an innovation from the Sanskrit instrumental marker, pointing out that the development of -*ena* or -*ina* to -*ne* entails the vowel change *e > a* – which remains unattested in the historical phonology of IA – and that the preservation of /*n*/ would be surprising in spite of these changes (cf. Verbeke and De Cuypere 2009:7). More importantly though, by the late MIA period (600–1000 CE) the Sanskrit suffix -*ena* had merged with the other non-nominative markers into a general oblique suffix, while the first appearance of the Hindi -*ne* was in the sventeenth century. Furthermore, Butt (2006:77) observes that -*ena* was an inflectional suffix in Sanskrit while the Hindi ergative -*ne* has the features of a case clitic, and the evolution from the former to the latter is an unlike diachronic progression.

As seen in Old Hindi literature, there was no specific ergative marker as late as the early NIA period, though the ergative construction did exist. Ergative subjects took a simple oblique form as in (47) and (48) (Butt and King 2004):

47) *jɪhɪ rəc-e sʊrəga bʰu sətta patalə*
    who.OBL create-PF.MP heaven.M.NOM earth.NOM seven.NOM hell.M.NOM
    'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.'   [Old Hindi]
    [He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]
                    (Chand, Prithiraja-Rasau i.11; Beames 1872:267)

48) *məsi kaḡəd cʰu-yo nəhɪ kələm gəhɪ nəhi hatʰ*
    ink.NOM paper.M.NOM touch-PF.MS not pen.FS take.PF.FS not hand

   jaro jʊga mahatm̄ə jehi kəbir
    four.PL age.PL glory.NOM who.SG.ACC Kabir.(OBL)

   jən-yo natʰ
    know-CAUS.PF.MS lord.NOM

    'Kabir touched not ink nor paper, he took not pen in hand; He made known the lord to whom is glory in the four ages.'   [Old Hindi]
                    (Kabir, Sakhi 183; Beames 1872:269) (cf. Butt and King 2004:13)

In (47) the relative pronoun is in oblique form and the verb agrees with the masculine plural direct object. In (48) the subject 'Kabir' is a proper name without an *-a-* ending. In modern Hindi it would take a *-ne* clitic as an ergative suffix, yet in Old Hindi it is invariant between direct and oblique form. In the first line of the verse it is clear that the verb is agreeing with the feminine direct object *kələm.*

Examples (47) and (48) show that an ergative construction did exist just prior to the emergence of the Modern NIA languages. In this construction, ergative subjects were marked oblique and the verb agreed with the direct object, yet the modern method of ergative marking in Hindi which uses the case clitic *-ne* had yet to emerge.

2.3.7.2. Lexical origin of *-ne*

Beames (1872:267), Tessitori (1913; 1914), Kellogg (1938:131), Chatterji (1926:968), Butt (2001:116; 2006:83), Butt and Ahmed (2011), and Montaut (2003; 2006; 2009) have all acknowledged the possibility that *-ne* could have been derived from a lexical source. Beames (1872:267) suggests that the adjective *lagi* 'attached to' could have developed into *lɛ* and *nɛ* and later *le* and *ne*). Chatterji (1926:968)

gives *karṇena* 'by the ear, side agency' as a possible source, though this essentially assumes the continuity of the instrumental -*ena*, which is doubtful, as argued above.

One explanation for the relatively recent emergence of the ergative -*ne* in Hindi/Urdu is that it was adopted through contact with other local languages. This was first suggested by Beames (1872:270) who proposed that -*ne* in Urdu may have developed from the nasalised -*nẽ*, which was originally a dative marker in the vernacular spoken by Hindu administrators in the court of the sventeenth- century Moghul Emperor Shah Jahan. Hoernle (1880:224-5) further suggested the connection between this marker and the -*ne* or -*nɛ* DAT/ACC marker in the neighbouring Rajasthani dialects. In fact, most modern Rajasthani, Gujarati, and northern Bhili dialects still use -*ne* as a dative/accusative marker as can be seen in table (2.4.). The question then is why an originally dative/accusative marker would be adopted into another language to take on an agentive function.

Tessitori (1913) offers an explanation by tracing the Rajasthani -*n*- to the older locative form *kanhai* 'near' - derived from the Sanskrit noun 'ear' *karne* - which in Old Western Rajasthani would later take on simultaneously ablative and dative functions. He supports this derivation by pointing to two phonological changes common to the Apabhramsa period – the loss of the initial syllable in postpositions beginning with -*k*-*,* and the loss of the murmured consonant *nh > n*-, as an explanation of how *kanhai* may have developed into *kanai* and *nai*, both of which he claims are used in contrastive distribution in Modern (i.e. early twentieth century) Marwari and 'Jaipuri' (Tessitori 1913:558). In short, Tessitori concludes that the locative postposition developed into a multifunctional dative/accusative and ablative marker (*ka*)*n*(*h*)*ai*, the latter function being the more likely channel for the development of the agentive -*ne* (Tessitori 1913:559). This derivation is illustrated in diagram (2.5.) below:

Diagram 2.5.

> Ablative 'from'   > Agentive

Sanskrit noun 'ear' > locative 'near'

> Dative

 (include Accusative)

   (cf. Butt and Ahmed 2011)
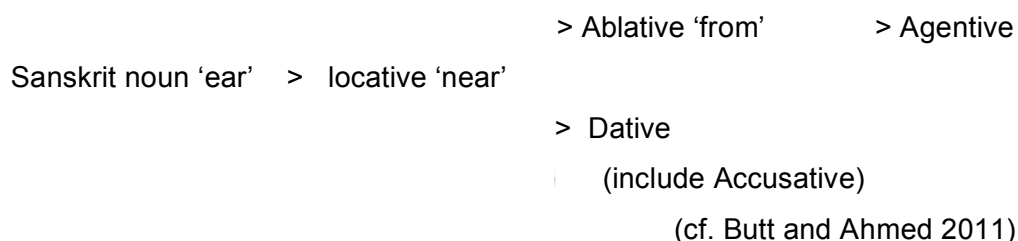
The above diagram indicates that the originally locative postposition derived from the noun *karne* 'ear' later extended its function in Old Rajasthani ablative NPs (which would later be further extended to agentive use) and dative (also extended to certain types of accusatives) (cf. Butt and Ahmed 2011). It should be noted that this

multifunctional use of -*ne* is still present in many Rajasthani dialects including Wagdi. For example, in Hindi/Urdu, the postposition -*se* is used to mark the object of verbs that involve obtaining *something* from a source (Butt and Ahmed 2011), as well as second agents in double causative constructions (see section 4.4.3.). In Wagdi, however, the dative/accusative -*ne* is used to mark the object of many such verbs despite having a separate postposition specific to ablative function (see section 3.5.4. for examples and discussion). Considering that South Asian languages maintain a close connection between ablative and dative case, and verbs of 'asking', 'speaking' (Khan 2009:81, cf. Butt and Ahmed 2011), Butt and Ahmed consider the path from ablative to agentive meaning "via an agent as source metaphor" to be a plausible explanation. The agentive properties inherent to ablative case can be seen in the following German sentence in which the preposition *von* 'from' is marking an oblique agent in a passive construction:

49) *Das   Gesetz   wurde   von   ihm   umgesetzt*
 the.NS.NOM law.NS.NOM was   from   he.MS.DAT   realised   [German]
 'The law was brought into force by him.'   (Butt and Ahmed 2011)

Tessitori's explanation of a renalysis of an ablative form could potentially explain the current situation in Gujarati, Rajasthani, and certain western Hindi dialects, where one case marker - in this case -*ne*, or some derivative thereof - functions as an ergative as well as dative/accusative marker (for further analysis of this type of case homophony and its theoretical implications see section 4.2.).

 Hindi/Urdu also uses -*ne* as an ergative marker, yet has the separate accusative/dative marker -*ko*. The latter is a much older development, the earliest forms of which appeared in the thirteenth century. This can be seen in the writings of Baba Farid of Multan, as shown in (50)-(52) where -*ko* alternates with the archaic form *kũ* / *ko* (cf. Butt and Ahmed 2011):

50) *jɪndu   kũ   səmjʰai*
 life   DAT/ACC teaches   [Old Urdu/Panjabi]
 '(it) teaches to life'   (Verse 1, from Khan 2001, 142)

51) *farid   mɛ janja dʊkʰ   mʊjʰ   ko*
 Farid   I   know grief/pain I.OBL DAT/ACC
 'Farid, I know I have grief … (lit. grief is to/at me)'   [Old Urdu/Panjabi]
                                         (Verse 81, from Khan 2001, 226)

52) *dʰʊnḍen   dɪye sʊhag   kũ*
 seek   give husband DAT/ACC   [Old Urdu/Panjabi]
 '(you) are seeking a husband …'   (Verse 114, from Khan 2001, 263)

The functions of *-kū* demonstrated above parallel those of modern Hindi/Urdu *-ko*, i.e. as dative in (50), dative experiencer in (51), and accusative in (52) (Butt and Ahmed 2011). Following the assumption that both *-ne* and *-ko* have their origins as postpositions marking space - 'near' and 'from' in the case of the former and the later as a marker of goals and recipients - Butt and Ahmed (2011) support the position that new case markers may be adopted by a language to re-enforce semantic contrasts. Hind/Urdu originally innovated *-ko* to mark 'goal', and "unattained or abstract endpoints" (Butt and Ahmed 2011). Neighbouring languages, such as Rajasthani, Gujarati and Haryani, used *-ne* for ergative, dative/accusative, as well as certain ablative functions. It is logical then that *-ne* might have been adopted to mark volitional subjects due to its agentive/ablative properties, and since its 'objective' properties would have been redundant as this role was already filled by *-ko.*

   Butt and Ahmed (2011) cite the examples in (53) and (54) to demonstrate the alternating use of *-ne* and *-ko* as reinforcers of semantic contrasts:

53) *nadya-ne   zu   ja-na   hɛ*
    Nadya.FS-ERG   zoo.MS.LOC   go-INF.MS   AUX.PRS.3.SG
    'Nadya wants to go to the zoo.'   [Urdu]

54) *nadya-ko   zu   ja-na   hɛ*
    Nadya.FS-DAT   zoo.MS.LOC   go-INF.MS   AUX.PRS.3.SG
    'Nadya has/wants to go to the zoo.'   [Urdu]

Butt and Ahmed (2011) explain that in modal infinitival constructions such as those in (53) and (54), an event is "placed in relationship with the subject ('Nadya') via the copula *hɛ*", resulting in the literal interpretation of (53) and (54) that "'zoo going' is 'to' or 'at' Nadya". The subject of an infinitival clause that takes ergative case makes clear that the relationship with the 'something' is desired (e.g. *got a present* vs. *got a cold*) (Butt and Ahmed 2011).

   It should be noted however that this usage of *-ne* on subjects as a means of indicating greater volition than the alternative *-ko* is particular to the spoken varieties of Urdu around Delhi and Lahore – areas where Panjabi influence is strong (Butt and King 1991, 2004:6; Bashir 1999, cf. Verbeke 2011). While this alternation may indicate the continuum of agentive versus goal/recipient properties of the two respective case markers in Hindi/Urdu, it may also be due to the influence of western Hindi dialects such as Bangru - spoken in rural areas of Haryana state, adjacent to Delhi (Singh, J.D. 1970). In Bangru, the same *nɛ̃* form (presumably derived from *-ne*) is used as a dative marker as well as a marker for ergative subject as in (55) and (56):

55) *ram-nɛ   kaʈya   sɛ*
   Ram-ERG cut.PF AUX.PRS
   'Ram has cut.'   [Bangru]

56) *ram-nɛ   kaʈna   sɛ*
   Ram-DAT cut.INF AUX.PRS   [Bangru]
   'Ram has to cut.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:80)

One might suspect that the Urdu example provided by Butt and Ahmed in (53) in which *-ne* appears in the place normal occupied by *-ko* providing subtle modal differences of meaning, may simply be due to the influence of local languages such as Bangru. The *-ne* in (56) may, therefore, be simply a dative marker that was adopted by this varieties of Urdu and happens to have a form that is homophonous with the ergative marker. Masica (1991:335) notes as well that in Panjabi, the *-ne* ACC/DAT marker, when used to mark experiencer subjects, expresses only "weak compulsion", and can only mark third-person subjects (1991:335) (cf. Verbeke 2011). In order to express "strong compulsion" the subject must be marked by the ACC/DAT postposition *-nũ.* However Verbeke (2011) points out that while Masica uses the above as evidence against the borrowing of *-ne* from Panjabi into Urdu, it in fact strengthens Butt's (2006a) proposition that ERG vs. ACC/DAT marking on experiencer subjects can be used to signal subtle modal differences, such as greater or lesser degrees of "control" on the part of the subject.

To summarise, original function of *-ko* was*,* according to Beames (1872:56) and Kellogg (1893), to mark goal arguments; it later came to be used in its current function with goal, and alternatively, patient/theme roles. The dative *-ne* originally served the same function, but instead of expanding to mark patient/theme arguments it became the agentive marker, as in modern Hindi/Urdu. Assuming that Beames's (1872) assertion is accurate, the problem remains that such a shift would require a single case marker to be expanded or "pressed into service" to mark two cases that arguably represent two semantic polarities, i.e. agent and patient (cf. Butt 2006a:80).

In order to explain the necessity for alternation, Butt (2006a) proposes the two-dimensional concept of space and agency as consistent features present in any case. Cases vary based on the degree to which they carry these semantic properties. While most theories have focussed on either spatial metaphors or animacy / control in analysing case as well as argument linking, Butt's analysis attempts to deal with the two simultaneously.

Butt (2006a:84) uses the concepts of *place* and *path,* as conceived by Jackendoff (1990), to create the hierarchy in table (2.6.). Table (2.6.) arranges case marking into a hierarchy based on greater or lesser control. The highest case will be

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the marker for agents in a language. Therefore, if a language does not have ergative marking, the next most suitable non-nominative agentive marker will be genitive, followed by instrumental and then dative:

Table 2.6.

MORE CONTROL	PLACE	PATH
Ergative	X	
Genitive	X	
Instrumental	X	X
Dative	X	
Accusative		X
LESS CONTROL		

(Butt (2006a:84)

Table (2.6.) offers a potential formula for predicting synchronic as well as diachronic language variation. Based on these two dimensions, Butt proposes a route by which the case systems of languages may incorporate new markers over time and slot these into use according to the spatial dimensions most closely identified with them, and presents them as a potential explanation for the dative-accusative homophony in Urdu. It is possible that when *-ko* was adopted into Urdu expressing low control and spatial dimension of both place and path, it then became the generalised marker for both cases.

With a plausible formula for integrating space and agency/control, Butt presents an example of ergative-dative alternation in Urdu:

57) *nadya-ne   zu   ja-na   hɛ*
    Nadya.FS-ERG   zoo.MS. LOC   go-INF.MS   AUX.PRS.3.SG
    'Nadya wants to go to the zoo.'   [Urdu]

58) *nadya-ko   zu   ja-na   hɛ*
    Nadya.FS-DAT   zoo.MS. LOC   go-INF.MS   AUX.PRS.3.SG   [Urdu]
    'Nadya has/wants to go to the zoo.'   (Butt 2006a:81)

The copular 'be' establishes the relationship between the subject (Nadya) and the event (zoo going), yet the nature of this relationship is still undetermined. The dative marked subject in (57) can be interpreted as either the 'goal' marked "receiver" of the event, or as the controller/agent, since dative is compatible with both. The ergative marker *-ne* is at the top of the agency hierarchy, and therefore allows only a control reading of (58).

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The table in (2.6.) will be re-used in section 4.5.3., when examining historical case change in the Bhili dialect of Dehwali.

Summary of Chapter II

This chapter began by a presentation of the Bhil tribal region, placing it in its social and linguistic context. Section 2.1. provided the reader with an overview of the Indo-Aryan language family, the place of Bhili in this family, the degrees of regional convergence, as well as diachronic shift taking place today in the region. As the focus of the thesis is on languages commonly defined as 'tribal', section 2.2. reviewed the meanings underlying the definition of this term, and showed how the understanding of tribal languages and people must be understood within the context of Indian social and political culture. It also stressed that the term 'tribal language' has no special descriptive value in terms of classification of linguistic or genetic features. In section 2.3. I defined grammatical concepts relevant to the thesis, such as ergativity, alignment, and case. This was followed in 2.3.4. by an overview of the different characteristics of the split-ergative pattern in NIA, particularly tense/aspect splits (2.3.4.1.), and NP-splits (2.3.4.2.). In section 2.3.5. I gave examples of the different marking and agreement patterns and commented on the interaction between the two giving examples from Hindi, Marathi, Nepali, Kashmiri, Marwari, and others. Sections 2.3.6. and 2.3.7. reviewed the debated theories on the origin of the split-ergative alignment and marking respectively. These theories will be relevant to much of the analysis in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III – WAGDI SKETCH GRAMMAR

The dialectical heterogeneity of Bhili was briefly described in section 1.1. It was also mentioned that Wagdi – the Bhili dialect of southeastern Rajasthan – has the largest population of speakers, and perhaps the greatest degree of stability of any Bhili variety. As the majority of firsthand data collected for this thesis was of the Wagdi variety, in this chapter I will examine some of its more salient grammatical characteristics. In section 3.1. I will give the basic phonemic inventory and mention some of the phonological characteristics of Wagdi. In section 3.2. I will cover syntactic characteristics, including basic constituent orders and sentence types (3.2.1.), and subordinate clauses (3.2.2.). In section 3.3. I examine the noun phrase and nominal morphology in Wagdi, including agreement properties of gender and number, as well as the more complex question of case layers. In section 3.4. I review the question of subjecthood in NIA, before looking at the distribution of case clitics in 3.5. Section 3.6. examines verb morphology and the means of encoding Tense/Aspect/Mood, and in 3.7. the morphological derivations that change valency.

3.1. Wagdi Phonology

While this thesis is not primarily concerned with documenting or analysing phonological characteristics, an overview of the basic phonemes and sound patterns should help the reader to understand the phonetic symbols used for glossing examples, and may prove useful to those interested in sound changes in Indo-Aryan.

3.1.1. Vowels

Consistent with other languages of the Indian subcontinent, and similar to Gujarati (see Masica 1991:110; Cardona 2003:662), Wagdi has an inventory of eight vowels:

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e	ə	o
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open	(æ)	ɑ	

3.1.2. Consonants

In general, the inventory of consonants in Wagdi resembles that which is commonly found in Indo-Aryan, and in particular displays some characteristics common to Rasthani and Gujarati. There are five distinct places/types of articulation common to the region: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal, and velar, as in the following stop positions: /p, t, ṭ, c, k/ (Masica 1991:94). It should be noted, however, that the affricated stop [c] is often lost in 'pure' Wagdi. As in other Bhili dialects, [c] - pronounced as [ts] - has undergone shift to the fricative [s], and progressively to [h]. Therefore, the word *ca* 'tea', is often pronounced as *sa* or *ha*, and likewise *so* 'hundred' as *ho*. This characteristic is also found in the southern Rajasthani dialect of Mewari, which borders the Wagdi-speaking region (Masica 1991:95). Wagdi, therefore, must be considered to have a consonant inventory of four-stop position: unvoiced /p, t, ṭ, k/, and voiced /b, d, ḍ, g/.

3.1.3. Aspiration of stops

The apirated contrast for stops results in the complementary distribution of four morphemes for each place of articulation: /p, p^h, b, b^h, t, t^h, ṭ, $ṭ^h$, d, d^h, k, k^h, g, g^h/.

3.1.4. Nasals

Characteristic of western NIA, Wagdi has three nasal consonants: labial, dental, and retroflex i.e. /m, n, ṇ /. Similar to Gujarati [m] and [n] can occur initially, finally, and intervocalically, yet [ṇ] cannot be initial (Cardona 2003:665).

3.1.5. Fricatives

The two main fricative consonants in Wagdi are [*s*] and [*h*]. As a result of a fricative weakening *s>h* pattern the occurrence of [*h*] is frequent in Wagdi. Some words originally had [*h*] as in *hav* 'yes'. For others it is clearly due to a [*s*] to [*h*] shift as in *hatʰe* 'with', *hʊkʰai* 'drought', *homwar* 'Monday', *hamzota* 'compromise' (Hindi: *satʰ, sʊkʰai, somwər, səmjota*). The voiceless silibant [ʃ] is common in loan words from Persian and Hindi, as in *ʃeran* 'city', *ʃɔq* 'interested'. In some loan words, [ʃ] is derived from the palatal stop [*c*]. For examples, the Hindi word *car* 'four', in Wagdi is pronounced *ʃar.*

We have also seen the voiceless palatal stop [*c*] shift to become one of the two voiceless fricatives [*s*] or [ʃ]. Similarly, the voiced palatal stop [*ɟ*] frequently becomes a voiceless alveolar [*z*], as with the derived word from Hindi *səmjota* 'compromise', which becomes *həmzoto* in Wagdi. Also, the Wagdi relative pronoun *je* is often pronounced as *ze.*

3.1.6. Laterals, taps, and semi-vowels

Wagdi has both an alveolar [*l*] and retroflex lateral [*ɭ*], though the latter is often replaced by the former. Both can occur word-interior and word-final, but the retroflex cannot be word initial (Cardona 2003:666). The alveolar lateral frequently becomes a tap, as words like *gəla* 'throat' and *mɛla* 'fair' in Hindi have the derived pronuniation of *gəro*, and *mɛra* in Wagdi.

In Wagdi, and in other NIA languages such as Hindi, the labiodental fricative [*v*] and bilabial approximant [*w*] are allophonic.

3.2. Syntactic characteristics

3.2.1.1. Order of constituents

Word order can vary considerably in Wagdi. Despite the lack of fixedness due to scrambling, the unmarked constituent order is as follows: Subject-Adverb-Direct Object-Verb, as in (59) and (60):

59) *peli   bɛri   kərek   soka   kʰa-e*
   DEM.F   woman   sometimes   rice   go-HAB.F
   'That woman sometimes eats rice.'   [Wagdi]

60) *pela   dari   sa   pi-rya   hɛ*
    DEM.MP always tea drink-HAB.MP AUX.3rd
    'They always are drinking tea.'   [Wagdi]

3.2.1.2. Declarative sentences

Wagdi has both verbal as well as copular sentences. There are two types of copulas in Wagdi: firstly, the present tense and past tense auxiliaries *hai and ta,* as shown in examples (61) and (62); and secondly, *tʰai zavu* 'to happen' or 'to become', as in (63) and (64). Both types of copula take person, number, and gender agreement with the nominative subject. The first copula 'to be' will be glossed as an auxiliary as in the examples below:

61) *maro nam   joʃi   hɛ*
    my   name.MS Joshi   AUX.PRS.MS
    'My name is Joshi.'   [Wagdi]

62) *vari   hʊkʰ-i   t-i*
    garden.F   dry-F   AUX.PST-F
    'The garden was dry.'   [Wagdi]

63) *tʊmar-i ʊmər   ketər-i   tʰai   gi*
    your-F   age.F   [how much-F] become go.PF.F
    'How old are you?'   [Wagdi]

64) *gʊruji: nã   dərʃən   tʰai ja- ẽnga*
    guru   GEN.MP darshan.MP   be   go-FUT.MP
    'Guruji will be giving darshan (lit. Guruji's darshan will be happen).'   [Wagdi]

Lexical verbs occur sentence-final in unmarked constructions and take person, number, and gender agreement with the controlling NP:

65) *pel-o   dɔri-y-o*
    this-MS   run-PF-MS
    'He ran.'   [Wagdi]

66) *pel-i   nɪkaɖ-i*
    this-F   [set out]-PST.F
    'She set out.'   [Wagdi]

67) *mhũ mã:ng-u   hũ*
    I.MS ask-IMPF.MS   AUX.1SG.PRS
    'I am asking.'   [Wagdi]

In (65)-(67) the verb is agreeing in number and gender with the subject. In (67) the auxiliary is also present and takes person and number agreement with subject.

3.2.1.3. Imperatives

While the imperative verb in many NIA languages has both a formal and informal form, Wagdi does not make this distinction. In Wagdi the imperative is formed by the verb-stem + -*o*, as shown in (68) and (69):

68) *əna ṭuṭa ləkḍə-ne vai do*
    DEM broken wood-ACC throw give.IMP
    'Throw that piece of broken wood.'   [Wagdi]

69) *mɛ ave jao*
    in come go.IMP
    'Come inside.'   [Wagdi]

3.2.1.4. Interrogatives

Interrogative words

> *kəyu* - where
> *hɪtəre/hərte*- how
> *hũ* - what
> *karek* - sometime
> *kare* - when
> *keṭlo* - how much
> *kem* - why
> *keṭla* - how many
> *ki* - where
> *kun* - who

In an unmarked interrogative clause, the interrogative pronoun immediately precedes the verb, as in (70)-(78), or the noun phrase that it modifies, as in (79)-(81):

70) *təmaro nam hũ hɛ*
    you.GEN name what AUX.PRS
     'What is your name?'   [Wagdi]

71) *təmɛ ki rəh-o*
    you where live-HAB.2nd
    'Where do you live?'   [Wagdi]

72) *təmɛ hɪtəre ho*
    you how AUX.PR.2nd
     'How are you?'   [Wagdi]

73) *təmɛ gʰəre kədi zai ryo*
    you home when go CONT.MS
    'When are you going home?'   [Wagdi]

74) *təmɛ dɪlli kem zai ry-a ho*
   you Delhi why go CONT-MP AUX.PRS.2nd
   'Why are you going to Delhi?'   [Wagdi]

75) *kətəro məli-yo*
   [how much] receive-PF.MS
   'How much did you get?'   [Wagdi]

76) *təmɛ gʰare kəre jai rya ho*
   you house when go CONT AUX
   'When are you going home?'   [Wagdi]

77) *təmɛ dɪlli kem jai rya ho*
   you Delhi why go CONT AUX
   'Why are you going to Delhi?'   [Wagdi]

78) *keʈlo məli-yo*
   [how much] receive-PF
   'How much did you get?'   [Wagdi]

79) *həni nokri hɛ*
   [what type] job AUX.PRS
   'What type of job is it?'   [Wagdi]

80) *kaiyu kam kər-o*
   how work do-PRS.HAB
   'What work do you do?'   [Wagdi]

81) *əmara vɪcar məlẽ enũ mətləb*
   our ideas receive what meaning   [Wagdi]
   'What do you mean by getting our ideas?'   (Singh, M.P. 2007)

Often, questions are formed simply through intonation, as in (82) and (83):

82) *təmɛ kʰado*
   you eat.PF.MS
   'Have you eaten?'

83) *kəle av-ugə*
   tomorrow come-FUT.1st
   'Shall I come tomorrow?'

3.2.2. Subordinate clauses

3.2.2.1. Complementiser clauses

In the finite subordinate construction, the matrix clause generally occurs before the subordinate clause, and the latter is headed by the complementiser *-ke* as shown below. This can be used for reported facts as in (84), or reported speech as in (85) and (86):

84) *evũ   man-e   ke   ave kʰari*
      such   mean-IMPF COMP   here on

    astʰiye   pədrə-ba   tʰəki   mokʃ   məl-e
     ashes   immersing-INF.OBL INSTR   liberation   receive-IMPF

    'This means that by immersing the ashes here [in the river] they receive liberation.'   [Wagdi]

85) *eɳe   ʃilə-ne   kid-u   ke   sita-ne   jəgaɖi   de*
     3rdPRO.ERG Sheela-ACC say.PF COMP Sita-ACC rise.CAUS give.IMP
    'He told Sheela "get Sita up".'   [Wagdi]

86) *eɳe   mastər-ne kidu   ke   tu   sor-ne bʰəɳaw*
     3rdPRO.ERG teacher-ACC say-PF.N COMP 2ndPRO boy-ACC study.IMP
    'He told the teacher "make the boy study".'   [Wagdi]

Example (84) is composed of first a matrix clause, followed by the complementiser -*ke* which introduces a subordinate finite clause. In (85) and (86) -*ke* is used to introduce a quotation.

3.2.2.2. Relative Clauses

Wagdi relative clauses are often headed by a relative pronoun *j-* and matrix clauses by *t-* (unless if one or both is dropped as demonstrated below), and both agree with the head noun in gender and number (see Wali (2005:56) for the same in Marathi). They both have a direct as well as an oblique forms:

87) *pelo soro*[10] *je-ne   tab avto   to   məri gy-o*
     DEM boy   REL-DAT fever come-HAB AUX.PST die go-PF-MS
    'That boy who had a fever died.'   [Wagdi]

88) *jya tək   mənhe   i   ni   kʰəbər hɛ*
    [until when] 1PRO.OBL 3PRO GEN.F   news.F   AUX

    tyar tək   mha-ne   vaydo   nəkʰe kər-av
    [until then] 1PRO-ACC promise   NEG   do-CAUS

    'Don't make me promise anything until I have got some information.' [Wagdi]

                                                (Singh, M.P. 2007:8)

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[10] The difference in spelling between *soro* here and *sor* in (86) above is most likely due to dialectical variation.

89) *ta-ne*   *i-j*   *kam* *kər-vu*   *juve*
    2ndPRO.OBL-DAT 3PRO-EMPH work do-INF   need

    je   *ta-ne*   *kyu* *ja-y*   *hɛ*
    REL   2ndPRO.OBL-ACC   say go-HAB   AUX

'You should only do that which you have been told (to do).'   [Wagdi]
(Singh, M.P. 2007:10)

3.3. The Wagdi noun phrase

The noun phrase in Wagdi can take as its head a common noun or a pronoun. Canonically, modifiers precede the head in the following order: genitive phrase; demonstratives; numeral; and descriptive adjective. With no articles, (in)definiteness can optionally be specified by preceding the noun with either the numeral *ek* ('one') or the demonstrative pronoun for definiteness – see Magier (1983:61) for equivalent in Marwari.

3.3.1 Nominal morphology

3.3.1.1. Pronouns

The pronominal system in Wagdi bears a strong resemblance to that of Gujarati and Rajasthani. All pronouns have a separate oblique form characterised by the root vowel *-a-*, as can be seen in table (3.2.a). Table (3.2.b)-(3.2.d) give the other pronominal forms: possessive, demonstrative and ergative:

3.2.a. Direct and oblique pronouns

Person	Case	Number	
		Sg.	**Pl.**
First	Direct Oblique	*mhũ* 'I' *ma*	*əme* 'we' (two or four) *əma*
Second	Direct Oblique	*tu* 'you' *tə*	*təmai* 'you' *təmɛ*
Third (Proximate)	Direct Oblique	*a* 'he' *e*	*i* 'these' *e*
Third Remote	Direct Oblique	*i* *e*	*i* *e*

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3.2.b. Possessive pronouns

</div>

Person	Case	Number	
		Sg.	**Pl.**
First	Direct	*maro* 'my'	*əmaro* 'our'
Second	Direct	*taro* 'your'	*təmaro* 'your'
Third (Proximate)	Direct	*e-nu* 'his'	*ena-nu* 'their'
Interrogative	Direct	*ho-nu*	*hara-nu* 'whose?'

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3.2.c. Demonstrative pronouns

</div>

Gender	Number	
	Sg.	**Pl.**
Masculine	*pelo*	*pela*
Feminine	*peli*	*peli*

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3.2.d. NOM vs. ERG pronominal forms

</div>

Person	Case	Number	
		Sg.	**Pl.**
First	NOM	*mhũ*	*ame*
	ERG	*me*	*ame*
Second	NOM	*tu*	*təmɛ*
	ERG	*te*	*təmɛ*
Third	NOM	*a*	*i*
	ERG	*e-ṇe*	*e-ne*

3.3.1.2. Noun inflection

3.3.1.2.1. Gender and number

Masica (1991:218) observes that gender as a noun class category in NIA has both syntactic as well as morphological characteristics. It manifests itself through the formal agreement of words, thereby creating syntactic coherence. This section will cover the morphological features of gender and number.

As one of the northern most Bhili dialects, Wagdi straddles an areal border dividing NIA languages in the north that have only masculine and feminine genders – i.e. Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, and Rajasthani – from languages in the south that have a third neuter gender – i.e. Gujarati, Marathi, and Konkani (Masica 1991:220). All varieties of Wagdi that I have encountered have three gender classes: masculine, feminine, and neuter.

In his work on Marwari, Magier (1983) distinguishes between masculine variant and masculine invariant nouns; the former inflect according to number and case while the latter do not. Marwari feminine nouns are always invariant (Magier 1983:63). The same paradigm applies to Wagdi. The final vowel of masculine variant

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nouns is *-o* in its direct singular form, *-a* in oblique and direct plural forms, and *-ãː* when oblique plural. Masculine invariant nouns may end in any other vowel or consonant in their direct form, and they remain unaffected by changes in number and case. Feminine nouns can often be distinguished as ending in *-i*, especially in the case of animates that have masculine counterparts such as *soro* 'son' vs. *sori* 'daughter'; or *ḍokro* 'old man', and *ḍokri* 'old woman'. The vowel *-i* can thus be regarded as the feminine marker, yet, similar to Marwari, in Wagdi "not all feminines end in *-i*, and not all nouns in *-i* are feminine" (Magier 1983:63). Feminine is however distinguishable from masculine variant and invariant, as there is no morphological distinction between the direct and indirect/oblique in either the singular or plural. This can be seen in the following tables adapted from Mohanan (1994:61):

3.3.a. Masculine variant noun inflection

(*soro* 'boy')

	Sg.	Pl.
NOM	*soro*	*sora*
OBL	*sora*	*sorãː*

The table in (3.3.a) shows the noun form similar to what Magier (1983) termed as 'masculine variant', since it ends in the vowel *-o* in its direct form. Masculine nouns that end in a consonant are usually 'invariant' with the exception of masculine plural forms (Magier:63), as shown in table (3.3.b):

3.3.b. Masculine invariant noun inflection

(*beləd* 'bull')

	Sg.	Pl.
NOM	*beləd*	*beləd*
OBL	*beləd*	*belədãː*

Feminine nouns, however, do not seem to have variant forms between either number or case as shown in diagram (3.3.c):

3.3.c. Feminine invariant noun inflection

(*keri* 'mango')

	Sg.	**Pl.**
NOM	*keri*	-
OBL	-	-

It should be noted that this is different from other NIA languages, such as Hindi, which have a plural and oblique suffix for feminine nouns ending in *-i-*.

3.3.2. Case

Section 3.3.1. above discussed one type of case marking, as it was unavoidable when talking about gender and number inflection on nouns. This is seen in the simple *direct* vs. *oblique* distinction that is encoded in the Wagdi suffixes, and which overlaps with these other grammatical properties (see section 2.3.7. for a historical perspective).

Case systems in NIA tend to be fluid, overlapping, and multilayered, in such a way that any attempt to isolate morphological forms as being exclusively connected with a particular case property is likely to fail. Due to the frequent homophony of case clitics, syntactic context is needed to correctly interpret the grammatical function of an NP. In this section I will review the different types of case markers and their distribution in Wagdi, with special attention to those markers that appear on direct arguments – i.e. SUBJ - OBJ.

Masca (1991:231) refers to three "layers of forms with case-like functions" that are common to NIA and are "typically made up of inherited synthetic, new agglutinative, and quasi-analytic elements". These layers more or less correspond to what Mohanan (1994:59) refers to as the three types of case markers in Hindi, which are 'stem forms', 'clitics', and 'postpositions'. Layer I stem forms are the historical culmination of a general simplification of the highly inflectional case systems that existed in OIA (see section 1.3.7. for detailed description). In most NIA languages these stem forms carry information related to gender and number on nouns and agreeing adjectives. With regard to case information, they serve to distinguish between direct – i.e. nominative – and indirect – i.e. non-nominative case (refer back to tables (2.3.a)-(2.3.c)). In its direct, uninflected form, a nominal can only be nominative and this is generally the form of the subject of an imperfective or intransitive verb or of a direct object without accusative marking. When a nominal is oblique it can never be nominative.

A non-nominative, oblique NP is necessarily followed by a case clitic, as shown in (90) and (91):

90) *pel(o)** / *pel(a)-tʰəki*
    someone(DIR.MS)   someone(OBL.MS)-INSTR/ABL
    'by/from someone'   [Wagdi]

91) *sor(ã:)-e*   *sori-ne*   *kʊṭṭ-i*
    child(OBL.MP)-ERG   girl/girls-ACC   hit-PF.F
    'The children hit the girl/girls.'   [Wagdi]

A variant, masculine noun such as *pelo* in (90) and *soro* in (91) must be oblique when followed by a case clitic. The stem form of a feminine noun remains invariant regardless of number and case.

Modifiers also agree with the oblique form as with adjectival past participles in (92)-(94). These examples are from different dialects of Wagdi, and assign different genders to the word 'wood':

92) *əna ṭuṭa*   *lakḍa-ne*   *vai*   *do*
    DEM broken.MS.OBL   wood.MS.OBL-ACC   throw give.IMP
    'Throw that piece of broken wood.'   [Wagdi dialect A]

93) *ṭʊṭelʊ*   *ḍalu* *vahi* *do*
    broken.N wood.N throw give.IMP
    'Throw out the broken wood.'   [Wagdi dialect B]

94) *ṭuṭi*   *lakḍi* *pʰeki* *do*
    broken.F wood.F throw give.IMP
    'Throw out the broken piece of wood.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

In example (92) *lakḍa* 'wood' is a masculine noun in singular oblique form, in (93) *ḍalu* 'wood' it is neuter singular, and in (94) *lakḍi* is feminine singular. In each example, the adjective 'broken' agrees with the modified noun in terms of gender, and in (92) it agrees in case and number as well.

It is worth noting, however, that the Wagdi ergative clitic -*e* in some dialects appears to be fused to the stem, and thereby incorporated into Layer I. This fusion has shown up in the dialect spoken in the town of Kherwada, situated on the westernmost fringe of the Wagdi-speaking region. This variation is shown in (95) and (96) below:

95) *sor(a)-e*   *cəkku tʰəki keri*   *kap-i*
    boy(OBL.MS)-ERG knife INSTR mango.F cut-PF.F
    'The boy cut the mango with a knife.'   [Standard Wagdi]

96) *sor(e)   cəkku-ũ   keri   kap-i*
    boy(ERG)   knife-INSTR mango.F cut-PF.F
    'The boy cut the mango with the knife.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

In (95) the ergative marker appears to be situated in Layer II as a case clitic, causing the inflectional element in Layer I to be oblique. In (96) the two Layers appear to have merged.

3.4. Case marking postpositions

While inflectional affixes are generally accepted as being purely a means for marking grammatical case information in NIA, postpositions are at least partially semantic in their function. Postpositions that are more closely associated with core arguments are generally thought to be more connected to grammatical function. Spencer (2005) argues within the framework of LFG that the only 'genuine' case system in Hindi is the inflection in Layer I, and that postpositional markers such as ergative *-ne* and dative *-ko* lack true case features, as they cannot project a phrase. This question of grammatical vs. semantic case function will be taken up in more depth in sections 4.1. and 4.2., when examining some Central Indo-Aryan languages that show differing tendencies in the need to use postpositional marking to distinguish core arguments. About these, I argue that the relative strength of these completing influences is language specific.

　　Although a more in-depth analysis of properties associated with particular markers will be given in section 4, the basic inventory of Wagdi case clitics appears to be as given in the (3.4.) below:

3.4. Wagdi case inventory

Case	Marker	
	Sg.	**Pl.**
NOM		
ERG	(n)e	-
ACC	ne	-
INSTR	tʰaki	-
DAT	ne	-
ABL	tʰaki	-
GEN	no/ni/nu	na
LOC	mate/me	-
VOC	ai	

While I assume, following the general consensus in NIA research (Butt and King 2003; Mohanan 1994a; Payne 1995, cf. Spencer 2005), that these postpositions function as clitics and not as affixes, Spencer (2005:5) points out that in Hindi, pronouns have an alternative form by which the same 'pronoun + dative' can be achieved without using the Hindi -*ko*, equivalent to Wagdi -*ne*:

3.5. Hindi pronominal forms

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.		1 pl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
Direct	mãɪ̃	tʊ	yah		həm	tʊm	ye
Oblique	mʊjʰ	tʊjʰ	ʊs		həm	tʊm	ɪn
Dative / Accusative	mʊjʰe	tʊjʰe	ʊse		həmẽ	tʊmhẽ	inhẽ

(Spence 2005:5)

This alternative paradigm of inflectional dative marking for pronouns is in contrastive distribution with the -*ko* marked alternative. It should be noted that no such alternative exists for Wagdi pronouns, as they simply take the oblique form shown in table (3.2) (3.3.1.1.), followed by the PP -*ne*.

3.4.1. Properties of subject in NIA

Cross-linguistic properties commonly associated with the notion of subject in English and other European languages – whether syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic – rarely align in NIA to mark subjecthood in one NP (see Masica 1991:339-64).

Subjects in most NIA languages can take just about any case marker. Besides the alternation between nominative, dative, and ergative case, subjects frequently occur as genitive, instrumental, and locative as shown in the Wagdi examples in (97):

97) a. *ram-ø   keri toḍi ryo   hɛ*
      Ram-NOM mango pick CONT AUX.PRS
      'Ram is picking the mango.'   [Wagdi]

   b. *ram-e   ker-i   toḍ-i*
      Ram-ERG   mango-F   pick-F
      'Ram picked the mango.'   [Wagdi]

   c. *ram-ne keri   toḍ-vu   hɛ*
      Ram-DAT mango pick-INF AUX.PRS
      'Ram must pick the mango.'   [Wagdi]

    d. *ram-tʰəki*[11] *utavər mẽ*   *kʰavanu ni kʰa-va-e*
       Ram-INSTR   fast   in   food NEG pick-PASS-IMPF
       'Ram cannot eat the food quickly.'   [Wagdi]

    e. *ram-ne*   *ve veta həta*
       Ram-GEN two sons AUX.PS
       'Ram had two sons.'   [Wagdi]

The markers that are most commonly associated with the grammatical role of subject are: 1) *-ø* or direct case, which appears on nominative subjects and direct objects as in (97.a); 2) The ergative *-(n)e* which marks perfective transitive subjects as in (97.b) ; and 3) *-ne*, which appears on animate, definite direct objects, indirect objects, and experiencer subjects as in (97.c). The remaining two in (97.d) and (97.e) are perhaps more marked in their usage. Instrumental subjects are generally limited to the construction known as the inabilative passive, and genitive to marked possession with regard to kinship.

      Wagdi also allows transitive impersonal constructions that have a passive reading. NIA languages tend to be heavily pro-drop with regard to subjects and the subject of a perfective clause in Wagdi may be omitted without any apparent change to the valency of the clause. The Wagdi sentences below have no overt subject, and accusative marking on the direct object is unaffected as the verb is formally active. The equivalent sentences in Hindi show that passives in that language require the perfective form of the main verb followed by the light verb *'jana'* as in (98)-(102) (Khokhlova 2006:5):

98) *dəkʃɪn bʰarət mɛ soka kʰa-i*
    south   India in rice eat-IMPR   [Wagdi]

99) *dəkʃɪn bʰarət mẽ cavəl kʰa-ya   jata   hɛ*
    south India in   rice   eat-PF   go-PS.HAB AUX.PS   [Hindi]

   'Rice is eaten in south India.'

100) *kale   ratre sori-ne ɪzzət   luṭi   nak-i*
    yesterday night girl-ACC honour plunder throw-PF.F   [Wagdi]

101) *kəl   rat ləḍki   ki   ɪzzət luṭ-i   gəy-i*
    yesterday night   girl   GEN honour plunder   go.PF-F   [Hindi]

   'A girl was raped last night.'

---

[11] The construction in example (39.d) was referred to by traditional grammarians as a Capability Passive (CP) (Rossen and Wali 1989). Here I concur with Mohanan's (1994) analysis that the instrumentally marked agent is functioning as a grammatical subject, as opposed to Rossen and Wali's (1989) assertion based on a RG analysis that the agents of CPs are chomeur making (39.d) an impersonal construction.

102) *rəjiv gandhi-ne   bomb-ū: mari   did-u*
      Rajiv Gandhi-ACC   bomb-INSTR   kill.TR   give-PF.N
                                                                        [Kherwada Wagdi]

103) *rəjiv gandhi-Ø   bomb-se   *mar diya   / mər   gəya*
      Rajiv Gandhi-NOM   bomb-INSTR   die.TR give.PF / die.INTR go.PF
                                                                        [Hindi]
      'Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb.'

Agent omission was highly permissible in late MIA and early NIA (see Khokhlova 2001:173) as shown in example (104) from Apabhramsa and (105) seventeenth-century Panjabi:

104) *cəngau   jəm   sɪhoyəru   dʰəriyɔ*
      nice   that Simhodara.NOM hold.PF   [Apabhramsa]
      'It is nice that Simhodara was apprehended.'   (Bubenik 1998:128)

105) *tʊsã: mɛ   nũ: kɪtʰe bʰejia   hɛ*
      you.OBL I.OBL ACC   where send.PF.MS AUX.PS.3SG

     mere kəpɖe hahi   lite   hɛ̃
      my   cloths [tear off] take.PF.MP AUX.PS.3PL

     əte mere   taĩ: bəhalia   hɛ
      and I.GEN.OBL ACC   imprision.PF.MS AUX.PS.3SG

     'Where did you send me? My cloths are torn off and I am imprisoned.'
                                                    [sventeenth-century Panjabi]
                                                    (PPV 34) (cf. Khokhlova 2001:173)

Considering that Wagdi allows impersonal constructions that essentially function as passives, the interpretation of the sentence in (106) may also be problematic:

106) *a-ne   keri   al-i*
      3ʳᵈPRO-NE   mango.F   give-PF.F
      'He gave (someone) the mango / He was given the mango (by someone).'
                                                                        [Kherwada Wagdi]

Example (106) has two possible readings. *a-ne* could be an ergative agent in which case the presence of a dative marked, beneficiary argument, although not overt, is implied. Alternatively, if the agent has been omitted as in (102), *a-ne* may be the dative beneficiary. In other languages that allow impersonal constructions, such as Marwari (Khokhlova 2006:5), grammatical function would be known from the case marking, since Marwari has no overt ergative case marker. In Wagdi, however, the correct reading can only be interpreted by context.

In the following section I will look at ergative, nominative, and dative subject marking, as these seem to alternate due to fine semantic distinctions.

3.5. Case alternation and agreement

3.5.1. Wagdi ergative

In perfective constructions where the object is unmarked (nominative), the Wagdi ergative agreement pattern resembles that of Hindi as in (107) and (108):

107) *mohəmməd-e   ker-i   kʰa   d-i*
   Mohammad-ERG   mango-F   eat   give-PF.F
   'Mohammad ate the mango.'   [Wagdi]

108) *sori-e   [kʰava-nu kʰai]   lid-u   t-u*
   girl-ERG   meal-N   take.PF-N   AUX.PS-N
   'The girl had taken her meal.'   [Wagdi]

In both (107) and (108) the agent is marked ergative, and the verb agrees with the unmarked object.

Unlike in Hindi yet similar to Gujarati and Marwari (see section 2.3.5.), when the object is marked accusative in a perfect construction, agreement is unaffected:

109) *soran-e   sori-ne   kʊṭṭ-i*
   child.PL-ERG   girl-ACC   hit-PF.F
   'The children hit the girl.'   [Wagdi]

110) *ma-e   sora-ne   dʰəvaḍ-y-o*
   mother-ERG   boy.OBL-ACC nurse-PF-MS
   'The mother nursed the boy.'   [Wagdi]

In (109) and (110), the animate direct object requires accusative case marking and therefore takes the accusative/dative *-ne* postposition. The verb continues to agree with the direct object despite overt marking. This is not uniform throughout the Wagdi-speaking region, however. For instance, respondents in the Western region, around Dungarpur, would often give constructions where the accusative blocking rule applied, and in some cases it seemed to be optional.

The following examples in (111)-(114) were given by a native of Dungarpur:

111) *eṇe   admiy-ne   jo-y-u*
   3rdPRO.PL.ERG   men-ACC   see-PF-N
   'They saw the men.'   [Wagdi]

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112) *eṇa sora-ne hado je-ṇe sori-ne mar-y-u t-u*
   DEM   boy-ACC   call.IMPR   REL-ERG   girl-ACC   hit-PF-N   AUX.PF-N
   'Call the boy who hit the girl.'   [Wagdi]

113) *darji-ne mari nakʰ-y-õː*
   tailor-ACC   kill   do-PF-MS
   'Someone killed the tailor.'   [Wagdi]

114) *mənəkʰ-e sori-ne pəkḍi lid-i*
   men-ERG   girl-ACC   catch   take-F
   'The men captured the girl.'   [Wagdi]

In (111) and (114) the objects of the perfective transitive clauses are masculine and feminine respectively, and both are marked accusative. The verb in (111) is neuter, which indicates that agreement is blocked. By contrast, the verbs in (113) and (114) do seem to agree with the accusative marked objects.

Similar to the Gujarati and Mewari constructions from the examples in section 1.3.5.5., Wagdi present tense auxiliaries in present perfect constructions agree with neither object nor subject, but take a default third-person singular form as in (115) and (116):

115) *me təma-ne toki lid-i hɛ / *ho*
   I.M.ERG   you.F-ACC   lift   take-PF.F   AUX.PRS.3rd/AUX.PRS.2nd
   'I have lifted you.'   [Wagdi]

116) *te ma-ne toki lid-o hɛ / *hũ*
   you.F.ERG   I.M-ACC   lift   take-PF.MS   AUX.PRS.3rd/AUX.PRS.1st
   'You have lifted me.'   [Wagdi]

However, similar to Marwari, the past tense auxiliary does agree in gender and number with the direct object as in (117)-(120):

117) *me təma-ne kʊʈʈi-y-a t-a*
   I.ERG   you.MP-ACC   hit-PF-MP   AUX.PST-MP
   'I had hit you.'   [Wagdi]

118) *me kɪtab lei lid-i t-i*
   I.ERG   book.F   read   take-PF.F   AUX.PST-F
   'I had read the book.'   [Wagdi]

119) *me sora-ne toki lid-o t-o*
   I.ERG   boy-ACC   lift   take-PF.M   AUX.PST-MS
   'I had lifted the boy.'   [Wagdi]

120) *sori-e [kʰəva-nu kʰai] lid-u t-u*
   girl-ERG   meal.N   take-PF.N   AUX.PST-N
   'The girl had taken her meal.'   [Wagdi]

At first glance, examples (117)-(120) suggest a temporal as well as aspectual split in the agreement pattern – aspectual as only perfective main verbs take agreement with the object, and temporal as only past auxiliaries occurring within these perfective constructions may also take agreement. However, it is also possible that the root cause of the above split is entirely independent of tense, and instead occurs as a result of a split in the distribution of features between person and gender/number, where the past auxiliary encodes only number and gender, while the present auxiliary encodes only-person feature. This is however, extremely difficult to test as Wagdi present auxiliaries are invariant, and languages that do encode person features, such as Hindi, tend to employ an accusative blocking rule.

3.5.2. Zero marking

As was discussed in section 3.2.2., -$\varnothing$ or zero marking generally corresponds to direct – i.e. non-oblique – case and usually occurs with nominative subjects, but zero marking can also occur simultaneously with direct objects that are not overtly marked. Such unmarked direct objects will be considered nominative – for more on the NOM-ACC distinction with regard to objects see Mohanan (1994:79). In imperfective transitive constructions where the direct object is inanimate and indefinite, core arguments can be unmarked and nominative, as in (121):

121) *ram   keri   kap-e*
     ram   mango   pick-IMPF.3MS
     'Ram picks a mango.'   [Wagdi]

This parameters of object case alternation with covered in more detail in section 4.1.1.

3.5.3. Dative subjects

Dative subjects are often referred to as 'experiencer subjects', since they generally require the participant to undergo a mental process or state (Verma and Mohanan 1990). Mohanan points out the apparent disjunction between dative case and the experiencer role on subjects as "the semantic basis for DAT case cannot be reduced to the notion of experiencer" (Mohanan 1994:142), citing the following Hindi counter-examples:

122) *tʊʃar-ko   kɪtab   mɪl-i*
      Tushar-KO   book.NOM   see/become visible-PF
      'Tushar received a book.'   [Hindi]

123) a. *tʊʃar-ne   cand   dekʰ-a*
      Tushar-ERG   moon.NOM   see/look at-PF
      'Tushar saw the moon.'   [Hindi]

      b. *tʊʃar-ne   vah   kəhani   yad   ki*
         Tushar-ERG   that.NOM   story.NOM   memory.NOM do.PF
         'Tushar remembered that story.'   [Hindi]

      c. *tʊʃar   kʰʊsh   hua*
         Tushar.NOM   happy   become.PF
         'Tushar became happy.'   [Hindi]

      d. *tʊʃar   cʊhe-se   dər-ta   hɛ*
         Tushar.NOM   mouse-INSTR fear-IMPF   be-PRS   [Hindi]
         'Tushar fears mice.'   (Mohanan 1994:142)

While in (122) the subject is marked dative, it is not an 'experiencer' since it does not undergo a psychological change in state, while all of the nominative and ergative subjects in (123) have the meaning – but not 'theta role' – of 'experiencer' (Mohanan 1994:142).

3.5.4. Other uses of Wagdi -ne

In Wagdi, -*ne* as the dative-accusative postposition has a similar distribution to the Hindi -*ko* (see 4.1.), and the same form is common to Gujarati and Rajasthani dialects. A general characteristic of NIA is for the dative and accusative markers to be phonologically identical, yet the two rarely occur simultaneously on direct and indirect objects within the same ditransitive clause. However, in Wagdi and Gujarati -*ne* appears to be slightly more robust in its distribution than its -*ko* equivalent in Hindi.

      A subset of Hindi predicates assign -*se* (primarily the instrumental, ablative marker) to direct objects in the place of -*ko*. With some verbs such as *kɛhna* 'to say', -*ko* and -*se* alternate depending on the thematic role of the object. Mohanan (1994:67) refers to it by the descriptive term "comitative", but does not go on to suggest any semantic or structural factors that might determine its occurrence. Wagdi, like Gujarati and unlike Hindi, uses the -*ne* form with the same distribution as -*ko* and -*se* in Hindi:

124) *mɛ̃-ne   tʊm-se   kʊcʰ   kɛh-a*
     I-ERG   3ʳᵈPRO-COM   something say-PF.MS
     'I said something to you.'   [Hindi]

125) *nɔkər-se   pʊcʰ lo   ki   voh admi kəhan gəya*
     servant-COM ask take.IMP REL DEM man   where go.PF-M
     'Ask the servant where the man went. '   [Hindi]

126) *ʊs-ne   mʊjʰ-se   mɪl-a*
     3ʳᵈPRO-ERG   I.OBL-COM   meet-PF.MS
     'He met me.'   [Hindi]

In (124)-(126) above, the object of the verb 'to say' assigns the comitative marker -*se* to its 'goal' object in (124). In (125) and (126) the object of 'to ask' and 'to meet' also take -*se*. Below, the equivalent verbs are used in Wagdi sentences:

127) *e-ne   ma-ne kid-u   yo gam   soɖ-va   walo hɛ*
     he.ERG I.M-NE say-PF.N he village leave-INF   about AUX.PRS
     'He told me that he was going to leave the village soon.'   [Wagdi]

128) *yo ma-ne   pus-he   t   unh akʰi vat   vətaɖ-he*
     he I-NE   ask-FUT   EMPH I   every matter tell-FUT
     'If he asks me I will tell him everything.'   [Wagdi]

129) *səmir   ram tʰəki nɛ   məli səkyo*
     Sameer Ram COM NEG meet able
     'Sameer was not able to meet Ram.'   [Wagdi]

Note that none of the internal arguments in the above sentences are 'patient' or 'theme' roles. The Hindi verb 'to say (to someone)' takes an 'experiencer' or 'goal' object, and the object of 'to ask' is in the role of 'source'. The parallel sentences of (127)-(129) in Wagdi continue to take the accusative-dative marker. In (129) the Wagdi verb *məlvu* 'meet', equivalent to *mɪlna* in Hindi, assigns *tʰəki* to mark the direct object. *tʰəki* is the instrumental/ablative marker in Wagdi; I therefore assume that in (129) it is functioning in the same way as the comitative -*se* in Hindi. Notice, however, that while normally in Wagdi -*ne* does not block verb-direct object agreement in ergative constructions, in (129) the verb appears to default to neuter, though the object is masculine.

3.5.4.1. Regional variation in object marking

Several NIA languages mark dative/accusative case using a -*kV* based suffix, which presumably has a common origin with the Hindi/Urdu -*ko*. There is, however, no attested case of a -*kV* suffix marking ergative case. The two suffix roots that seem to

alternate cross-linguistically between the two functions are *l-* and *n-,* as shown in the table below:

3.6. DAT vs. ERG markers in NIA

	Dative (subjects and objects)	Ergative (subjects only)
Hindi/Urdu	ko	ne
Panjabi	nũ	ne
Sindhi	kʰe	OBLIQUE INFLECTION
Gujarati	ne/nẽ	-e (old -nẽ)
Marathi	la	ne/ni
Bengali	ke	NONE
Oriya	kʊ	NONE
Assamese	ko/no	-e
Nepali	lai	le

(Butt 2006a:81)

Notice that Gujarati and Marathi mirror one another in terms of the ERG-DAT marker *-ne* that marks ERG case in Marathi, and DAT/ACC in Gujarati, while the DAT/ACC *-le* is only used in Marathi. One might suspect that the *-ne* is a borrowed suffix for one of these two languages as they do share a geographical border, thereby providing an opportunity to examine through synchronic and diachronic evidence how case markers may be re-analysed or "pressed into service" (Butt 2006a:81) to take a different function in the variety with which there is some kind of contact.

As is characteristic of other geographical linguistic borders in India, the shift between Gujarati and Marathi is a gradual continuum. It is necessary therefore to look at 'linking languages' – i.e. those spoken within the geographical transition zone, as these blend features of the two 'major languages' to varying degrees. The region that separates the Gujarati and Marathi speaking region is home to numerous varieties of Bhili. Depending on proximity, a Bhili dialect can be expected to incorporate characteristics of regional varieties. As one moves south, Marathi begins to overtake Gujarati as the main external influence, and thus we see a gradual shift from *-ne* to *-le* as the accusative marker. Notice the contrast between the neighbouring varieties of Gamit and Mawchi in (130) and (131):

130) *mɛ   nɪcqi-n   dekʰi   h-i*
    I.ERG   girl-ACC   see   AUX.PST-F
    'I had seen the girl.'   [Gamit]

131) *nɔkorũ-hũ   tʰeyi-le   ʈok-i*
    servant-ERG   woman-ACC beat-F
    'The servant beat the woman.'   [Dehwali]

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In (130) we see that the root of the DAT/ACC suffix in Gamit is *-n-* as in Gujarati and in Dehwali in (131) it is *-l-*, as in Marathi. For some varieties speakers have reported that both suffixes are acceptable and appear to alternate freely, as in Mawchi in (132):

132) *ekta-yã   dogḍa-ki   maha-n   mai   ṭək-y-o*
    someone-ERG stone-INSTR man-ACC kill throw-PF-MS
    'Someone killed the man with a stone.'   [Mawchi]

133) *maha-yã   nɪcka-l   doi   led-o*
    man-ERG   girl-ACC catch take-MS
    'A man captured the girl.'   [Mawchi]

In both Mawchi examples in (132) and (133), the objects are animate and human, yet in (36) the accusative marker is *-n* and in (133) it is *-l*. Based on available data no syntactic or semantic factors seem to condition this alternation.

According to Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III: 91-92), Naikḍi of Panch Mahals, in western Gujarat, is one example of a Bhili dialect that uses both Gujarati and Marathi suffixes *-ne/-na* and *-la*. Grierson states that *-la* is a borrowed suffix that is alternatively used as the ergative marker in addition to the normal *-e* marker. This results in a potentially confusing case inventory, as shown in (134)-(136):

134) *tih-**ne**   pɛsa   həsta-t ho yas-**la**   wanṭi   ap-la*
    3ʳᵈPRO.SG-ERG money hand-in is 3ʳᵈPRO.PL-ACC having-divided give-PF
    'He took the money in hand and having divided it gave it to them.'
                        [Panch Mahal Naikḍi]

135) *koi-**e**   ti-**ne**   nəhɪ̃   əpe-l*
    someone-ERG   3ʳᵈPRO-ACC NEG give-PF
    'No one gave him anything.'   [Panch Mahal Naikḍi]

136) *pʊtəs-**la** tih-ṇe   akʰ-ya ke…*
    son-ERG 3ʳᵈPRO-ACC say COMPL   [Panch Mahal Naikḍi]
    'The son said to him that…'   (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III:91)

Example (134) shows the third-person pronoun ergative marker *-ne* (normally *-e* for other pronouns and common nouns) and the DAT/ACC marker *-la*. In (135) the subject is marked by the ergative *-e* and the object by *-ne*. In (136), *-la* appears in the reverse function, marking the ergative subject, while the accusative object is marked by a retroflex *-ṇe.* My hypothesis is that these apparent inconsistencies in case marking are the result of converging case features. As nothing can be concluded on the basis of one example within a limited corpus, I plan to test it through further field research.

3.5.5. Oblique marking

Although it has been shown that *tʰəki* in Wagdi does not have the same distribution as a the commitative marker -*se* in Hindi, it does function, on its own, as the instrumental/ablative marker:

137) *dəhi   dudʰ   tʰəki   bəɳe*
    curd milk ABL   make.PASS.IMPF
    'Curd is made from milk.'   [Wagdi]

138) *sora-e   caku   tʰəki   keri   kap-i*
    boy-ERG   knife INSTR   mango.F   cut-F
    'The boy cut the mango with a knife.'   [Wagdi]

In (137) *tʰəki* is marking the semantic role of source and in (138) it is marking the instrumental adjunct.

3.5.5.1. Regional variation in oblique marking

Within the Wagdi-speaking region several variations to *tʰəki* can be found. Among the Bohras, *tʰəki* is often replaced by the Gujarati *tʰi* to mark commitative, ablative, and instrumental:

139) *soro   bol   tʰi   rəmi   rəhyo   hɛ*
    boy   ball INSTR play   CONT.MS AUX.PRS
    'The boy is playing with the ball.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

140) *a   dʊdʰ   tʰi   dai   bənavi   do*
    DEM   milk ABL curd make   give.IMP
    'Make curd from this milk.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

141) *ram   tʰi   ravəɳ   ləḍ-y-o*
    Ram   COM Ravan fight-PF-MS
    'Ravan fought with Ram.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

3.6. Verb inflection

Masica (1991) gives the following formula representing the archetype NIA finite verb (with *c* referring to an "element of concord"):

V + Asp + *(c)* + T/M + *(c)*

Or,

VERB STEM + Aspect Marker + (CONCORD) + Tense/Mood Marker + (CONCORD)

(Masica 1991:258)

Although some NIA languages do deviate from this model, the above formula provides a standard archetype against which exceptional cases may be tested (Masica 1991:258). NIA verbs commonly take a suffix, the form of which encodes aspect as well as gender and number properties of the controlling NP. The main verb may be followed by an auxiliary, the form of which carries tense information.

3.6.1. Non-finite

Wagdi infinitive verbs are formed by adding *-vu* to the verb stem. Participle verb forms are frequently used in adjectival functions, as in (142)-(144):

142) *ṭuṭ-elu   ḍalu   vəhi   do*
     break-PTCP branch throw do.IMP
     'Throw away the broken branch.'   [Wagdi]

143) *ṭəng-elo   kəp   pəḍi   gyu*
     hang-PTCP cup   fall   go.PF
     'The hanging cup fell.'   [Wagdi]

144) *ṭuṭi   lakḍi   pʰeki   do*
     broken.PTCP.F   branch throw give.IMP
     'Throw away the broken branch.'   [Wagdi]

3.6.2. Aspect and tense

I will cover tense and aspect together, though as a morphosyntactic category in NIA tense is more closely linked to mood in terms of "mutual substitutability" (Masica 1991:279). As shown in the verb formula in (vi), tense and mood share a slot in the verb morphology, yet the two cannot coexist there simultaneously. In this section, tense will be covered in terms of its relationship to aspect, since in structural terms the two may occur simultaneously yet stay independent from one another morphologically. While all past, present, and future tenses may be implied through the aspectual forms alone, only future tense is encoded by a suffix on the main verb

stem. Grammatised past and present tenses are marked by an auxiliary following the main verb.

3.6.3. Imperfective forms

NIA languages can be divided between those that make a grammatical distinction between the habitual and progressive aspects – e.g. Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Eastern Rajasthani, Lamani, Gojri, Braj, Bundeli, Panjabi, some dialects of West Pahari, and Sindhi – and those that do not make this distinction, such as Kashmiri, most of West Pahari, Garhwali, Kumauni, Marwari, Gujarati, Sinhalese, and Awadhi (Masica 1991:269). Wagdi falls into the former group.

3.6.3.1. Habitual

In Wagdi, the imperfective/habitual suffix is *-u* for masculine singular, *-a* for masculine plural, and *-e* for feminine singular and feminine plural. Tense is specified by an optional auxiliary that follows the main verb. The absence of the auxiliary implies present tense. Wagdi main verbs agree in number and gender with the controlling NP, but not in person. The present auxiliary inflects for person and number, while the past tense form carries number and gender, but again not person information, as shown in (145)-(147):

145) *mhũ mang-u   hũ   /   həto*
     I   ask-PRS.HAB.MSG   AUX.PRS.1SG /   AUX.PST.MS
     'I am/was asking (at this moment).'   [Wagdi]

146) *peli   bɛri   dari za-e   hɛ   /   həti*
     DEM-F woman   always go-HAB.FSG   AUX.PRS.3SG /   AUX.PST.F
     'That woman always goes/used to go.'   [Wagdi]

147) *pela   həngra dari   za-e   hɛ̃   /   həta*
     DEM.MPL all   always go-HAB.PL AUX.PRS.3RD.PL /   AUX.PST.MP
     'They (all) always go/used to go.'   [Wagdi]

3.6.3.2. Progressive

The progressive form in Wagdi closely resembles that of Hindi, where *ry-* or *rəh-* respectively form the root of a compound verb that follows the stem of the main verb and takes number and gender agreement. In Hindi, this construction is always followed by an auxiliary, while in Wagdi the auxiliary is optional. If the auxiliary is

absent, then present tense is assumed by default, though it may be added either to specify past tense or avoid tense ambiguity in the present:

148) *wərka   avi   r-i   hɛ   /   hət-i*
     rains.FS   come CONT-FS   AUX.PRS.3ʳᵈSG   /   AUX.PST-FS
     'The rains are/were coming.'   [Wagdi]

149) *mhũ   zai-ry-o   hũ   /   hət-o*
     I   go-CONT-MS   AUXPRS.1SG   /   AUX.PST-MS
     'I am/were going.'   [Wagdi]

150) (*aj   kale*) *hũ   kəri ry-a   ho   /   hət-a*
     these days   what do CONT-MP   AUX.PRS.2ⁿᵈ   /   AUX.PST-MP
     'What are/were you doing these days?'   [Wagdi]

In (148) the subject 'rains' is feminine singular, and controls agreement on both the continuous aspect marker *r-* and the past auxiliary, both of which take the feminine *-i* suffix. In (149) the subject is first-person masculine and the main verb and past auxiliary agree with it. In (150) the subject is second-person masculine singular yet controls masculine, honourific plural agreement on the verb. As expected, the present auxiliary in each sentence takes person and number, but not gender agreement.

3.6.4. Perfective

The following are examples of perfective, intransitive constructions:

151) *pel-o   ave-y-o*
     this-MS   come-PF- MS
     'He came.'   [Wagdi]

152) *pel-a   gy-a*
     they-MP   go.PF-MP
     'They went.'   [Wagdi]

153) *pel-i   nɪkəḍ-i*
     this-F   set out-PF.FS
     'She set out.'   [Wagdi]

As shown in (151)-(153), the perfective masculine suffix in Wagdi is made up of the root phoneme *-y-* followed by the vowel *-o* for masculine singular, or *-a* for masculine plural. Similar to other Rajasthani dialects such as Marwari, the feminine ending merges with the *-y-* perfective root suffix, resulting simply in *-i* as (Magier 1983:121). This is illustrated in the paradigm in (vii):

The suffix -y- as a perfective marker is common to Rajasthani dialects (other than Marwari), Hindi, and Gujarati. Gujarati employs an alternative perfective suffix -el, most likely derived from the southern IA languages such as Marathi and Konkani, which use -l- to mark the perfect and future tense (Masica 1991).

3.8. Perfective main verb stem

Person	Gender	Number	
		Sg.	Pl.
First	Masculine	-yo	-ya
	Feminine	-i	-i
Second	Masculine	-yo	-ya
	Feminine	-i	-i
Third	Masculine	-yo	-ya
	Feminine	-i	-i

Wagdi perfective suffixes are phonologically identical to those of Marwari and Gujarati, and can be generalised as follows: -o is the marker of masculine singular; -a of masculine plural; and -i of feminine singular and plural (see Magier 1983:121; Cardona and Suthar 2003:682-83).

3.6.5. The Tense/Mood slot

In this section I will look at the morphological slot that both tense and mood elements occupy seemingly in complementary distribution (Masica 1991:279). As we saw in 4.2., aspect markers in Wagdi attach to – or, as in the continuous, immediately follow – the finite verb stem. This may be followed by a tensed auxiliary, or, as we will see in this section, a light verb. The future tense ending, however, attaches directly onto the main verb stem. The past and present auxiliary paradigm is given in tables (3.9.a.) and (3.9.b.).

3.9.a. Present tense

Person	Number	
	Sg.	Pl.
First	hũ	hã
Second	ho	ho
Third	hɛ	hɛ̃

3.9.b. Past tense

Person	Number	
	Sg.	Pl.
First	həto	həta
Second	həti	həti
Third	hətu	həta

3.6.5.1. Future tense

Future tense in most NIA, including Wagdi, can be implied through "Imperfective forms that function as Past Habituals-cum-Contrafactives" as in the Hindi phrase "*agar v[o]h ata…* 'if he had come/came/were to come'" (Masica 1991:288). Here I will look at grammatical future tense only. As mentioned in 4.2., future is the only tense that can also be encoded morphologically onto the stem of the finite verb.

The two basic forms of future tense marking that predominate in NIA are the suffix roots *-g-* and *-l-*, with the additional requirement of feature concord encoded in the surrounding vowels, as with the perfective morpheme. Masica (1983) traces the origin of *-g-* to the evolution of the "old present" into the future contingent or simple subjunctive. This is generally formed by the verb in the future, minus the final *-g-* as in the Hindi example in (154):

154) *mɛ ja- ũː(ga)*
    I   go-SUBJ (FUT)
    'I might (will) go.'   [Hindi]

In certain northwestern languages like Kashmiri, this original form came to be used to express the definite future, while other languages like Hindi, Punjabi (and several dialects of eastern Rajasthani) require the *-g-* element (Masica 1983:288). Most dialects of Rajasthani, Marathi, Konkani, Nepali, and most West and Central Pahari, express the future using the *-l-* suffix.

Suffice here to note that Wagdi is dialectically split between the *-g-* and *-ʃ-* future tense forms. The root form *-g-*, as in examples (155)-(158), has the most widespread use in the region:

155) *mhũ za-ũ-g-a*
    I   go-1stSG-FUT-M
    'I will go.'   [Wagdi]

156) *təmɛ   kər-oga*
    you   do-FUT.2ndMS
    'You will do.'   [Wagdi]

157) (kədak)   əme z-ã-ga,   to   əccʰo   ra-e-g-a
     sometime we   go-1ˢᵗPL-FUT-M   then good   remain-SG-FUT.3ʳᵈM
     'It would be good if we go.'   [Wagdi]

158) guruji nã   dərʃən   tʰai ja-ẽ-g-a
     guru   GEN darshan be   go-PL-FUT-M
     'Guruji will be giving darshan (lit. Guruji's darshan will be happen).' [Wagdi]

The root of the future form changes to -h- as one approaches the border of Gujarat, as in examples (159)-(161), collected in the vicinity of Sajjangarh, south of Banswada:

159) unh kale   tan za-h-e   ne   peli-ne   ke-h-e
     I   tomorrow   there go-FUT-1MS and him-DAT   tell-FUT-1MS
     'I will go there tomorrow and tell him this.'   [Wagdi]

160) təmu   kər-h-o
     you.PL do-FUT-2PL
     'You will do (it).'   [Wagdi]

161) guruji nã   dərʃən   tʰai za-h-ẽ
     guruji GEN.MP blessings be go-FUT-MP
     'Guruji will be giving darshan (lit. Guruji's darshan will happen).' [Wagdi]

This -h- root is most likely the regional pronunciation of -ʃ- and -s-, which marks future tense in Gujarati and some dialects of Rajasthani. Masica (1991) traces this -s- element to the "OIA sigmatic Future itself (in -sya, isya)" and claims that it has survived as -s- in Gujarati, and Eastern Rajasthani – particularly in Dhundari, the variety spoken around Jaipur. Magier (1983) claims that Marwari is in the process of shifting its future tense marker from the old -s- to -h- and that in many varieties the two are used interchangeably.

Bellow is the paradigm for both dialectical variations of the grammatical future in Wagdi:

3.10. Future Tense

Person	Gender	Number	
		Sg.	**Pl.**
First	Masculine	- ũga	-ãga
	Feminine	-he	-he
Second	Masculine	-oga	-oga
	Feminine	-he	-ho
Third	Masculine	-ega	- ẽga
	Feminine	-he	-hẽ

3.6.5.2. Conditional

Usually the conditional in Indo-Aryan parallels the 'if…then' construction as in Hindi with *agar…to*. Similarly, Wagdi uses an emphatic *-t-* word to head the protasis clause, however apodosis clauses do not tend to be headed by an 'if' word:

162) *yo ma-ne   pus-he   t   unh akʰi   vat   vətaḍ-he*
he I-ACC   ask-FUT EMPH   I   every matter   tell-FUT
'If he asks me I will tell him everything.'   [Wagdi]

163) (*kadak*)   *ame   z-anga, to   accho   ra-ega*
sometime we   go-FUT then good   remain-FUT
'It would be good if we go.'   [Wagdi]

164) *yo avi   sək-e   t   av-e*
he come can-HAB EMPH   come-HAB
'If he can come then he should.'   [Wagdi]

165) *kɛ̃nek   ka taqət   ove dʰən ove*
someone ACC strength is.CON money is.CON

ʃɔqin   ove   to   kər-e
interested is.CON   then do-CON   [Wagdi]

'If some would have the energy, money, interest, then they may do it.'

3.6.5.3. Potential

166) *tə-ne   za-vo   hɛ*
you-ACC   go-INF   AUX.PRS
'You have to go.'   [Wagdi]

167) *ina-ne   za-vo   hət-o*
they-ACC   go-INF   AUX.PF-MSG
'He/she/they had to go.'   [Wagdi]

168) *əma-ne   za-vo   zʊe*
we-ACC   go-INF   should
'We should go.'   [Wagdi]

169) *əma-ne   za-vo   zʊtu   tu*
we-ACC   go-INF   should AUX.PST
'We should have gone.'   [Wagdi]

170) *əma-ne   a-vo   zʊve*
we-ACC   come-INF   should
'We should come.'   [Wagdi]

3.7. Derivational morphology and valency

In section 3.6. I have given the different verb stem inflections that encode Tense/Aspect/Mood. In this section I will focus on stem derivation as well as periphrastic constructions that change valency. Magier (1983:223) argues for the importance of distinguishing *voice* from *valence.* For example passivisation, though it 'demotes' agents – and in NIA mostly drops them entirely from the phrase – does not necessarily correspond to a change in valence, since passive clauses "still invoke a frame that includes an agent" (Magier 1983:223). This he contrasts with valence-changing processes such as causativisation which alters the number participants already valued in the lexical item. Masica (1991:316), however, points out that "in practice… the distinction between the two is blurred", that NIA passives have developed functions that alter the original meaning (presumably incapacity passives – see below), and also that, due to the influence of English in much mainstream media, their typical function has been obscured.

Section 3.7.1. will cover causative morphology, and 3.7.2. methods of passivisation in Wagdi.

3.7.1. Causative of Intransitives

In Wagdi, morphological derivations that change valency can happen via verb stem alternation of vowels and consonants or adding a verbal suffix. Stem change patterns can be seen with the group of verbs in examples a-b below:

3.11.a. Intransitive-Transitive verb stem morphology

Intransitive	Transitive
kəpvu 'to be cut'	*kapvu* 'to cut'
tuʈvu 'to be broken'	*toɖvu* 'to break'

The alternations are fairly consistent, and can be predicted based on the phonology and morphology of the stem. These types of stem internal changes happen in most regional NIA languages (see Raeside and Nemade 1991:121 for Marathi examples) and most likely carry over from Apabhramsa (Cardona and Suthar 2003). Wagdi, like its neighbours that have partially retained this feature, has also adopted the more modern NIA method of causitivisation by adding the suffix *-v-* or *-av-, aɖ* etc. to the verb stem:

3.11.b. Intransitive-Transitive verb stem morphology

Intransitive	Transitive
bʰəɳvu, 'to study'	*bʰəɳavu,* 'to cause to learn, to teach'
ʊtʰvu, 'to get up'	*ʊtʰavu,* 'to lift'
jagvu 'to awaken'	*jəgaḍvu* 'to wake (someone)'

This new method of transitivisation is productive, and the -*a* or -*av* suffix can be used to form a causative out of any verb (Raeside and Nemade 1991):

171) *mhũ   uʈʰ-u*
     I   get up-IMPF.MS
     'I get up.'   [Wagdi]

172) *mhũ   sori-ne   uʈʰ-a-u*
     I   girl-ACC lift-CAUS-IMPF.MS
     'I lift the girl.'   [Wagdi]

173) *cʰoro   dʰəv-y-o*
     boy   nurse.INTRS-PF-MS
     'The boy was nursed.'   [Wagdi]

174) *ai-e   cʰora-ne   dʰəva-y-o*
     mother-ERG boy.OBL-ACC nurse.TRS-PF-MS
     'The mother nursed the boy.'   [Wagdi]

175) *məḍvsab-e   sora-ne   bʰəɳ-av-y-o*
     teacher-ERG   child-ACC   study-CAUS-PF-MS
     'The teacher made the child study.'   [Wagdi]

176) *mãː-e   sora-ne   kʰəvḍ-av-yo / kʰəv-aḍ-yo*
     mother-ERG child-ACC   feed-CAUS-PF
     'Mother fed the child.'   [Wagdi]

177) *ben   nana   bʰai-ne   hʊv-aḍi   ri   hɛ*
     sister small   brother-ACC sleep-CAUS CONT-F AUX.PRS
     'The sister put her little bother to sleep.'   [Wagdi]

178) *ʃila-e   rətna-ne   sita-ne   ʊʈʰ-aḍva-nu   ked-u*
     Sheela-ERG Ratna-COM Sita-ACC   get up-TRS.INF-N say.PF-N
     'Sheela asked Ratna to make Sita rise.'   [Wagdi]

3.7.2. Causatives of Transitives

The same suffix can be added to the stem of a naturally transitive verb to form a double causative, as in (179) and (180):

179) *sori kamwaʃi tʰəki bərando saph kər-wavi   r-i   hɛ*
    girl servant   INSTR   veranda clean do-CAUS CONT-F AUX.PS
    'The girl is having the veranda cleaned by the servant.'   [Wagdi]

180) *mã̄-e   kamwaʃi tʰəki sora-ne   kʰəv-aḍ-yo*
    mother-ERG servant INSTR   child-ACC feed-CAUS-PF.MS
    'Mother had the servant feed the child.'   [Wagdi]

3.7.3. Passives

3.7.3.1. Derivational passive

Though the derivational passive is common in NIA, it is not found in languages such as Hindi, Panjabi, and eastern Rajasthani, which require the periphrastic method to express the passive voice. Based on my own corpus of Wagdi data it seems that, as with the causative, the passive morphology is heavily influenced by Gujarati, which is formed by the verb stem + -a- as in (123) and (124):

181) *a   trɪveni   nũ   səngəm   kev-a-e*
    this three-way   GEN confluence say-PASS-IMPF
    'This is called the "three-way confluence".'   [Wagdi]

182) *aẽ   kʰəri pʰul pəḍ-a-ye*
    here on   ashes lay-PASS-IMPF
    'Here the ashes are placed.'   [Wagdi]

The agent of a passive is not normally maintained in an oblique instrumental by-phrase as in English. One exception, however, is if the passive phrase is negated, in which case it is meant to express incapacity on the part of the overt agent:

183) *ṭʰənḍ-ũ̄ː, mare-ũ̄ː   ləkʰ-a-e   ni*
    cold-ABL I.GEN-INSTR   write-PASS-PF NEG
    'Because of the cold, I could not write.   [Wagdi]

In (125) the instrumentally marked agent is overt, yet the function of the passive is to express inability of action on the part of the doer.

3.7.3.2. Periphrastic

Wagdi personal passives are not formed by unique morphological alternation to the verb, but through compound verbs and other structural adjustments to the sentence.

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In the periphrastic personal passive construction, the logical subject is either dropped or demoted to an oblique by-phrase marked by the instrumental postposition *tʰəki* or *tʰĩ*. The animate patient usually remains unmarked/nominative and controls verb agreement.

The lexical verb appears in its perfective form, followed by the inflected form of the verb *zavu* 'to go'. Both verbs agree in gender, number, and person with the inanimate, nominative direct object:

184) *rəjiv gandʰi bam tʰəki məri gyo*
Rajiv Gandhi bomb INSTR die go.PF.MS
'Rajiv Gandhi was died/was killed by a bomb.' [Wagdi]

Demoted agents are commonly dropped in Wagdi passives as in (185) and (186):

185) *tokḍ-a kəp-ai zai-rya hɛ*
tree-PL cut-CAUS go-IMPF.MP AUX.PRS
'The trees are being cut.' [Wagdi]

186) *boʈəl ʈuʈi g-i*
bottle.F break go-F
'The bottle broke.' [Wagdi]

The above are all examples of the *za* passive (*gy-* is the perfective form). However, if the agent of an active sentence in the past tense is omitted, the result is a kind of pseudo passive (for Marathi equivalent, see Raeside and Nemade 1991:148):

187) *ram-e ənil-ne* [*gəra-no har*] *mokl-y-õ*
Ram-ERG Anil-ACC necklace.MS send-PF-MS
'Ram sent the necklace to Anil.' [Wagdi]

188) *ənil-ne* [*gəra-no har*] *mokl-y-õ*
Anil-ACC necklace.MS send-PF-MS
'Anil was sent the necklace.' [Wagdi]

189) *cʰɔrã̃-e cʰori-ne kʊʈʈ-i*
children-ERG girl-ACC beat-PF.F
'The children beat the girl.' [Wagdi]

190) [12]*cʰɔrai-ne kʊʈʈ-i*
girl-ACC beat-PF.F
'The girl was beaten.' [Wagdi]

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[12] In 3.1.5. it was mentioned that voiceless palatal stop [*c*] frequently becomes a voiceless fricative - [*s*] or [ʃ] - in Wagdi. In (190)-(193) this alternation appears in a series of sentences given by the same respondent. The factors governing this phonological alternation are beyond the scope of this thesis.

191) *mənəkʰ-e sori-ne pəkəɖi lidi*
    men-ERG girl-ACC catch take.PF.F
    'The men caught the girl.' [Wagdi]

192) *suri pəkəɖɛ gi*
    girl catch.TRS go.PF.F
    'The girl was caught.' [Wagdi]

193) *suri-ne pəkəɖi lidu*
    girl-ACC catch take.PF.N
    'The girl was caught.' [Wagdi]

The sentence in (187) is an ergative, ditransitive construction. In (188) the agent has been dropped and the verb remains active and masculine singular in agreement with the 'necklace'. The same seems to be the case with (189) and (190). When asked to translate a passive sentences from either English or Hindi into Wagdi, many Wagdi speakers would give impersonal constructions like (192) and (193), which essentially achieves the same effect of obscuring the agent as with the passive.

Summary

Chapter III provided a general grammatical description of one Bhili dialect, Wagdi, as well as an overview of other salient grammatical features in the region. While the approach thus far has been mostly a descriptive one, this chapter addresses the theoretical implications of certain findings with regard to the marking of core arguments, particularly related to the ergative construction. I have given a general description of ergativity in NIA in chapter II and also defined the use of certain concepts. As stated at the outset, at a general level the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate the heterogeneity of this structure in the region, not simply within the greater NIA language family, but also within a relatively narrow linguistic area, such as among the closely related and somewhat mutually comprehensible dialects of Bhili. However, data from other CIA languages that share a close affiliation to Bhili will be drawn upon, particularly in examining the question of case function.

CHAPTER IV – THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Chapter III provided a general grammatical description of one Bhili dialect, Wagdi, as well as an overview of some salient grammatical features in the region. While the approach thus far has been mostly a descriptive one, this chapter addresses the theoretical implications of certain findings with regards to the marking of core arguments, particularly related to the ergative construction. I have given a general description of ergativity in NIA in chapter II and also defined the use of certain conceptual terms. As stated at the outset, at a general level this thesis aims to demonstrate the heterogeneity of split ergativity in the region as it may be found, not simply within the greater NIA language family, but also within a relatively narrow linguistic area, such as among the closely related and somewhat mutually intelligible dialects of Bhili. However, data from other CIA languages that share a close affiliation to Bhili will be drawn upon, particularly in examining the question of case function.

This chapter is structured as follows: in section 4.1. I look at the distribution of object marking in NIA, as well as semantic factors that determine its occurrence. These factors include indexing at the word level, and transitivity at the clause level. Section 4.2. examines instances in CIA of identical A/O vs. S marking (briefly described in section 1.3.2.), and their implications with regard to case function. Section 4.3. takes on a historical dimension by examining the subject marking NP-split in the Wagdi dialect of Kherwada. As this NP-split contradicts the implications of the Referential Hierarchy as established by Silverstein (1976), I hypothesise that it is an instance of ergative marking attrition, and compare it with historically related languages such as Marwari and Gujarati. Section 4.4. introduces Dehwali, a dialect of Bhili that has ergative markers that seem to inflect to agree in number and gender with the subject. Here I examine the possible historical origins of this morpheme. In section 4.5. I present data from a variety of Wagdi spoken within the Bohra community of Dungarpur, which shows a rare occurrence of verb agreement with an instrumental adjunct.

4.1. Case Function

NIA languages in general have a variety of case marking and agreement patterns that have been the focus of much theoretical work. What has perhaps been of most interest is the apparent disjunction between the former and the latter. Hence, specific

case systems do not imply particular agreement patterns and vice-versa. Furthermore, the rich typology of case alternation on core arguments has provided extensive data for testing notions related to the association of thematic roles with the grammatical functions of subject and object, and how the mapping of these two levels of abstract representation manifests itself in the surface structure – i.e. the case morphology of individual languages.

While cross-linguistic DSM/DOM has long been observed and its parameters are widely known (see Dixon 1994; Aikhenvald, Dixon and Onishi 2001; cf. Hoop and Swart 2008), it is only more recently that some attempt has been made to formalise its governing constraints.

In NIA, alternation of nominative, ergative, and dative case on subject roles, and nominative-accusative case on object roles, is of particular interest as their occurrence is determined by overlapping syntactic and semantic influence, with much cross-linguistic variation. It is generally understood that factors such as volitionality or agentivity have a part in determining this case distribution (Hoop and Swart 2008:1). This may be based on the inherent semantic properties of the predicate, or of the individual NPs. The former is commonly found in NIA where the degree of transitivity inherent in the verb is generally assumed to be a conditioning factor for assigning ergative case to agent roles, and dative case to less volitional, so-called 'experiencer subjects' (see Verma, M. K. and K.P. Mohanan 1990; Butt 2006a). Animacy and definiteness of the NP arguments are commonly cited as features that determine the volitionality and prototypicality of agent vs. patient roles (see Comrie 1989). As different types of NPs vary in the degree to which they carry these features, it is not uncommon for languages to differentiate subject marking based on an NP-split where certain NPs are more likely to be marked than others, if in the grammatical function of subject or object.

Aissen, in her OT analysis (1999, 2003), refers to argument prominence as the determining factor for DOM. The seemingly polarised nature of A and P arguments is here explained in terms of a "harmonic alignment" and "markedness reversal", in which the relative prominence of the subject and object arguments mirror one another (Aissen 2003:440). The semantic and pragmatic parameters for NOM~ACC alternation on objects then are animacy and definiteness respectively, and illustrated in the hierarchies in 4.1:

4.1. Hierarchies of animacy and definitness

i) Animacy scale: Human > Animate > Inanimate
ii) Definiteness scale: Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific
NP > Non-specific NP   (Aissen 2003:437)

Comrie (1989:121) states that "the most natural kind of transitive construction is one where the A is high in animacy and definiteness, and the P is lower in animacy and definiteness; and any deviation from this pattern leads to a more marked construction". It would follow that direct objects that rank high (i.e. to the left) on the scales in 4.1. are less typical of their grammatical object role (i.e. more subject like) and therefore more likely to require accusative marking. According to the *harmonic alignment* – the term was originally used by Prince and Smolensky (1993) in their phonological OT analysis – the mirror opposite of what applies to objects, applies to subjects. Aissen (2003), however, acknowledges that disambiguation of core arguments cannot account for all instances of DOM/DSM, since it frequently occurs in constructions where marking is not required to avoid ambiguity. Rather, she explains it as a product of the competing constrains of *iconicity* and *economy*, stating that hers is "a conception of DOM which is fundamentally iconic: nominals which are marked *qua* objects are morphologically more complex than ones which are unmarked *qua* objects. Functionally, the overt marking of atypical objects facilitates comprehension where it is most needed, but not elsewhere. DOM systems are thus relatively economical" (Aissen 2003:437-38). As will be shown in 4.1.1. this theory seems to be supported by evidence from NOM~ACC alternation on direct objects in most NIA, as there are instances in many NIA languages where ergative case is marked on nominals, and third but not first- and second-person pronouns, since these are less prominent and hence less prototypical subjects (Hoop and Narasimhan 2008:63).

However, the theory that case marking systems function primarily as means of distinguishing the core arguments of a transitive clause, while semantic parameters play a secondary role (see Comrie 1978, 1989; Dixon 1979, 1994), is one that is been increasing refuted. Comrie (1989) acknowledges the many instances where semantic parameters come into play in determining certain case functions, yet states that in many instances "this functional approach is necessary in order to guarantee a full understanding of the role of case marking" (Comrie 1989:120). While Aissen (2003) attempts to explain these alternations as the outcome of the competing constraints of *iconicity* and *economy*, split-ergative languages such as Hindi present a problem to this theory of argument prominence as the primary factor in determining case marking. De Hoop and Narasimhan (2008) observe that ergative subjects in Hindi follow a pattern opposite to that which would be predicted by Aissen's harmonic alignment. In Hindi, "more transitive" predicates, such as 'tear' and 'break', will assign ergative case to subjects, while those that are "less transitive", such as 'receive', do not. The semantic properties of transitivity –

implying greater volition – make ergative subjects in Hindi less marked in the function of subject, thereby reducing the need for disambiguation (De Hoop and Narasimhan 2008:65). Furthermore, the main trigger for ergative subject marking in Hindi – apart from transitivity – is the perfective aspect, which in no way implies less subjecthood strength than the imperfective (De Hoop and Narasimhan 2008:66). De Hoop and Narasimhan further argue against disambiguation as the main motivation for ergative marking in Hindi, pointing to the fact that, in Hindi, both subject and object marking would not be required to distinguish the two terms. The need could be fulfilled simply by marking the animate or specific object, making subject marking redundant. The fact that disambiguation only requires the marking of one core argument rather than both is supported by Siewierska and Bakker (2008), who state that "in terms of discrimination no preference is assigned to which argument should receive overt case marking" as A marking, or P marking, are "functionally equivalent" (Siewierska and Bakker 2008:291-92).

While Hindi – along with other New Indo-Aryan (NIA) sister languages in which subjects and objects may be differentially marked by distinct case morphemes – presents problems to the notion of case as primarily a means of distinguishing grammatical functions, little attention has yet been paid to lesser-known, yet related languages in the region in which subject and object markers are phonologically identical. Such multifunctionality of form no longer serves as a means of disambiguation and violates Aissen's *economy* constraint, leaving only the value of *iconicity* (see Aissen 2003).

Using data from several languages within the CIA subfamily in which subjects as well as objects can be identically marked simultaneously within the same finite clause, I argue that disambiguation of GFs is one among other constraints that can determine case marking (cf. Comrie 1978, 1989; Dixon 1979, 1994) and that semantic/pragmatic factors are a major consideration in determining its occurrence. Furthermore, I argue based on data from CIA as well as other language families that the relative strength of these constraints is specific to each language, as different languages may be more or less resistant to the occurrence of identical A/O marking.

4.1.1. DAT-ACC marking

A common characteristic of NIA languages is that they lack a unique accusative marker. The canonical direct object takes nominative (unmarked) case, making it indistinguishable from unmarked subjects. Depending on certain semantic and pragmatic features associated with it, the direct object may take the marker which is

generally referred to as the dative or dative/accusative marker, as it appears on all indirect objects, some direct objects, and frequently on 'experiencer' subjects (Masica 1991:365). These different usages are illustrated in the Wagdi examples below:

194) *mhũ   təma-**ne**   kʊʈʈi   ry-o   hũ*
    I.NOM   you-ACC   hit   CONT-MS   AUX.PRS1st
    'I am hitting you.'   [Wagdi]

195) *ram-e   e-ni   mã-**ne**   kagəz lak-y-u*
    Ram-ERG   3rdPRO-GEN mother-DAT letter   write-PF-N
    'Ram wrote a letter to his mother.'   [Wagdi]

196) *ram-e   police-**ne** ek   sora   al-y-o*
    Ram-ERG   police-DAT one child.M give-PF-MS
    'Ram gave one child to the police.'   [Wagdi]

197) *ram-**ne**   dʊkʰi   hɛ*
    Ram-DAT   pain   AUX.PRS
    'Ram is in pain.'   [Wagdi]

198) *tazu kʰəvanu ke-**ne**   nahĩ   gəm-t-u*
    good eat-INF who-DAT NEG   like-IMPF-N
    'Who doesn't like eating fresh food?'   [Wagdi]

In sentence (194), the transitive verb *kʊʈʈ-* 'hit' takes a direct object marked by the -*ne* PP. As this direct object is semantically more closely associated with role of 'patient' than 'goal' or 'experiencer', we will assume that this -*ne* is functioning as an accusative, rather than dative, marker. Sentences (195) and (196) have the ditransitive verbs *lak-* 'write' and *al-* 'give'. In both these sentences the dative marker appears on the 'goal' argument, while the 'patient' – direct object – remains unmarked. As will be discussed below, the main semantic factors determining nominative-accusative alternation on direct objects in a transitive construction are animacy and definiteness. In (195) the direct object is inanimate as well as indefinite, and in (196) it is animate and definite, yet in both clauses they are unmarked, i.e. nominative. Hence, in an unmarked ditransitive construction the DAT/ACC marker goes to the indirect object, leaving the direct object unmarked regardless of animacy and definiteness. In both (197) and (198) the -*ne* marker appears on the subject. Here we will assume that -*ne* is functioning as a dative marker as these subjects are thematically 'experiencers' – rather than 'agents', as in (194) and (195).

       The distribution of this dative/accusative postposition in IA has caused much speculation as to its original function. In Hindi, for example, it has often been assumed that -*ko* – equivalent to Wagdi -*ne* – has dual association with accusative

and dative case since it appears on all indirect objects, some direct objects, and on the so called 'dative subjects' (Kachru 1980:27).

As we saw in example (196), in ditransitive constructions, only the IO may take the DAT/ACC marker. However, the DO of transitive constructions can only be marked ACC if it fulfils certain semantic criteria.

4.1.2. Indexing analysis

The indexing function of case assumes that case marking on core arguments is not simply a tool for disambiguation, but is also connected to semantic properties of participants in a transitive clause (Næss 2007:159). In this section I will give examples from Mohanan's analysis of DOM (1994) as an indexing function in Hindi.

Mohanan suggests that uninflected objects are nominative, *-ko* marked objects are accusative, and that the "most salient conditioning factors of the ACC~NOM case alternation on objects are animacy and definiteness…" (Mohanan 1994:79). She illustrates this with the following examples in Hindi:

199) *ɪla-ne*   *ek*   *bəcce-ko*   *ʊtʰ-aya*
     Ila-ERG   one   child-ACC   lift/carry-PF (=rise-CAUS-PF)
     'Ila lifted a child.'   [Hindi]

200) **ɪla-ne*   *ek*   *bəcca*   *ʊtʰ-aya*
     Ila-ERG   one   child-NOM   lift-PF   [Hindi]

201) *ɪla-ne*   *ek*   *har*   *ʊtʰ-aya*
     Ila-ERG   one   necklace-NOM   lift-PF
     'Ila lifted a necklace.'   [Hindi]

202) **ɪla-ne*   *ek*   *har-ko*   *ʊtʰ-aya*
     Ila-ERG   one   necklace-ACC lift-PF   [Hindi]
                                                                          (Mohanan 1994:79)

All of the objects in examples (199)-(202) are indefinite, making animacy the apparent deciding factor of grammaticality between nominative and accusative object case marking. Furthermore, the verb *ʊtʰ-* 'lift' takes only two arguments. Recall that if the verb takes an indirect object, then the latter will always take dative marking rather than the direct object. Mohanan (1994) has given the following levels of structural conditions that determine the assignment of accusative case in these sentences. As almost all of the grammatical functions may take a variety of case markings, in order to identify the case of an NP in Hindi, the grammatical function structure must be combined with an additional semantic level of representation, and the later can take priority over the former. The terminology – argument structure

(AGR STR), grammatical function structure (GF STR), and semantic structure (SEM STR) – is specific to Lexical Functional Grammar. Mohanan adopts this approach for her analysis as shown in diagrams (4.2.a) and (4.2.b):

Diagram 4.2.a. NOM-OBJ association: Canonical in South Asian

arg   AGR STR

       obj   GF STR

nom

Diagram 4.2.b. ACC association: South Asian

[+anim]   SEM STR

arg   AGR STR

       obj   GF STR

acc

(Mohanan 1994:82)

Diagram (4.2.a) is a representation of the unmarked "canonical" object case in Hindi, in which no semantic specification is required, concluding that nominative objects are an instance of direct, non-semantic case assigned by GF information. Diagram (4.2.b) shows that accusative is also direct case, since it refers to GF information. It is also restricted to animate objects and thereby links its properties to SEM STR (Mohanan 1994:82).

The following examples bring into account the additional factor of definiteness:

203) *ɪla-ne*   *bəcce-ko/*bəcca*   *ʊtʰa-ya*
     Ila-ERG   child-ACC/child.NOM   lift-PF
     'Ila lifted the/a child.'   [Hindi]

204) *ɪla-ne*   *har*   *ʊtʰa-ya*
     Ila-ERG   necklace.NOM lift-PF
     'Ila lifted a/the necklace.'   [Hindi]

205) *ɪla-ne*   *har-ko*   *ʊtʰa-ya*
     Ila-ERG   necklace-ACC   lift-PF   [Hindi]
     'Ila lifted the/*a necklace.'   (Mohanan 1994:80)

Examples (203) and (204) demonstrate the canonical association of accusative for animate objects and nominative for inanimate objects. While the nominative object in (204) could be read as either definite or indefinite, only a definite reading is possible

in the equivalent sentence of (205), in which the object is marked accusative. This results in the added discourse restriction, as shown in diagram (4.2.c):

Diagram 4.2.c. ACC inanimate OBJ interpretation: Hindi

```
[-anim]              SEM STR
  |
arg                  AGR STR
  |
acc                  GF STR
  ¦
  ¦
[+definite]          DISCOURSE              (Mohanan 1994:83)
```
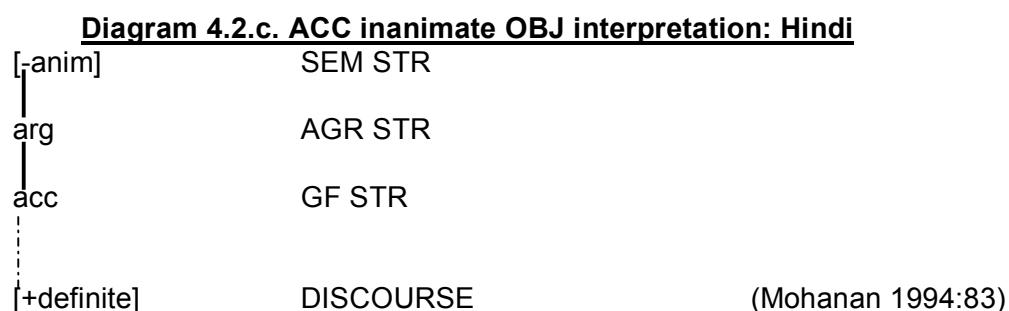
Mohanan addresses the potential confusion with regard to the case of direct objects in Hindi (referred to until now as NOM~ACC), as they appear to have two different morphological forms (either zero marked or -*ko* marked, the same as dative indirect objects). Both forms could be argued to be the same abstract ACC case. However, Mohanan makes the distinction of NOM (zero marked) vs. ACC (-*ko* marked) case, rather than an instance of simple *case marking* – i.e. different markings for the same (ACC) case for direct objects. Through tests involving modifier agreement, verb agreement, and coordination, she concludes that object inflection is determined by syntactic and semantic conditioning, and is not simply morphological marking (Mohanan 1994:79-90). The ACC vs. DAT properties of the internal arguments (i.e. DO and IO) will be examined further in 4.1.3., where I will present examples of case preservation in passive constructions.

4.1.3. Passivisation and object case preservation

In section 4.1.1. and 4.1.2. I reviewed the distribution of the ACC~DAT marker in NIA, and some of the semantic theories that predict its occurrence on the internal argument. Until now, I have assumed that any occurrence of the ACC~DAT marker on direct objects is ACC marking and on indirect objects is DAT. In this section I will test this assumption by observing which case properties are linked to the -*ko* marker depending on the argument it is assigned to.

Recall from section 2.3.3. that Mohanan (1994) makes an important distinction between 'case features' and 'case marking' in approaching the problem of identifying case properties. The goal of the theoretical study of case is to identify the universal properties associated with abstract notions such as nominative, accusative, dative, etc., through their interaction with the morphology of a specific language. Case marking, referring to morphological elements unique to individual languages, must be linked with abstract case features, which are universal and

characterised independently from natural language. In order to link case features with arguments (ARG) at the level of argument structure (ARG STR), Mohanan proposes the two overlapping dimensions of DIRECT vs. INDIRECT, and SEMANTIC vs. NON-SEMANTIC cases. A case feature has direct case association if it makes reference to grammatical function structure (GF STR), and conversely indirect associations if there is no reference to GF STR.

As mentioned in 4.1.1., as accusative and dative in most NIA languages are marked by the same case morpheme, the distinction between the properties of the two cases is problematic, as in (206):

206) *sʊ   kər-i-y   tse   me   həvali*
     he.NOM   do.FUT-3MS-2SG you.DAT   me.DAT   handove
     'He will hand you over to me.'   [Kashmiri]
                                                    (Wali and Koul 1997)

In their sketch grammar of Kashmiri, Wali and Koul (1997) chose to label both the direct and indirect objects in the ditransitive construction in (206) as dative. In what follows, I will present evidence from instances of case preservation supporting the argument that the direct object of a ditransitive construction in Kashmiri may only be considered accusative if overtly marked ACC~DAT and nominative if unmarked – but never dative.

Based on Mohanan's (1994) conceptual framework, the properties of dative case are linked to SEM STR, as it is commonly associated with a particular meaning and is thus an instance of indirect case. It then follows that the dative case would have to be preserved when the active sentence is passivised and GFs are realigned. Mahajan (1994) and Bhatt (2003) claim that when passivisation takes place in standard Hindi, the object is promoted to the position of grammatical subject – SUBJ – while the logical subject – LSUBJ – is either dropped or demoted to an oblique by-phrase (cf. Richa 2008:102). Despite these shifts in which the arguments of the predicate are assigned different grammatical functions at GF STR, the AGR STR itself remains unchanged. (207) below is the same sentence as (206), in which both objects were labelled dative. In (207) I have chosen instead to label the direct object accusative for reasons that I will explain below. (208) is the passivised version of (207):

207) *sʊ   kər-i-y   tse   me   həvali*
     he.NOM   do.FUT-3MS-2SG you-ACC   me-DAT   handover
     'He will hand you over to me.'   [Kashmiri]

208) *tsɪ*   *yɪkʰ*   *me*   *həvali*   *kərni*
you-NOM   come.FUT-2SG-PASS   me-DAT   handover   do-INF.ABL

     təm'sɪndi   *des'*
     he-GEN   by

                                      [Kashmiri]

'You will be handed over to me by him.'   (Wali and Koul 1997:208)

The argument structure for (207) and (208) is broken down in (3.3.a) and (3.3.b) respectively. The purpose of (3.3.a) and (3.3.b) is to represent how case markings are mapped onto particular arguments. The top level represents the thematic role associated with each argument of the predicate. In the second level from the top, these thematic roles are linked with a set of grammatical functions, each of them having their own person, number, and gender features represented in the line below. The last level shows the surface case marking which is mapped onto the argument. Diagrams like (4.3.a) and (4.3.b) below allow us to observe the alternations that occur when GFs are realigned, and how these changes are encoded on the verb forms:

Diagram 4.3.a. Verb: 'handover', tense: Future

Agr   <agent, patient, recipient>

Voice   S   O   IO   active

Features   3MS   2SG   1SG

Case   NOM   ACC   DAT

Verb Forms:
     kər-i-y   *həvali*
     do-3MS-2SG   handover

Diagram 4.3.b. Verb: 'handover', tense: Future

Agr   <agent, patient, recipient>

Voice   ADJ   S   IO   passive

Features   3MS   2SG   1SG

Case   OBL   NOM   DAT

Verb Forms:
     yɪkʰ   *həvali*   *kərni*
     come.FUT.2SG-PASS   handover   do-.NF

When the accusative direct object from (4.3.a) takes the role of subject in the passive in (4.3.b), it loses its case marking and becomes nominative. An explanation for the non-preservation of case in example (207) and (208) could be that accusative is a direct case in Kashmiri, i.e. that its properties are linked to GF STR, and therefore subject to change when GFs alternate in the passive.

This assumption can be further tested by examining the effect of passivisation on dative indirect objects when promoted, as in (209)-(213):

209) *ba   chəs   lədk-əs   kəmiz   dıvan*
     I.NOM   AUX.PS.FS   boy-DAT   shirt.NOM.FS   give.NOM.PF
     'I gave a shirt to the boy.'   [Kashmiri]

210) *lədk-əs   cha   kəmiz   dinl   yıvan*
     boy-DAT   AUX.PS.FS   shirt-NOM.FS   give.PASS   come-PF
     'The boy is being given a shirt.'   [Kashmiri]

211) *kəmiz   cha   lədk-əs   dınl   yıvan*
     shirt-NOM.FS   AUX.PS.FS   boy-DAT   give.PASS   come.PF   [Kashmiri]
     'The shirt is being given to the boy.'   (Bhatt 1999:226)

212) *aslaman   dits   mohnəs   kəmiz*
     Aslam.ERG   gave.FS   Mohan.DAT   shirt.NOM
     'Aslam gave a shirt to Mohan.'   [Kashmiri]

213) **mohni   av   aslamni   zərıyi*
     Mohan.NOM   come.MS   Aslam.GEN.ABL   INSTR

     kəmiz   dıni
     shirt   give.INF.ABL
                                      [Kashmiri]
     'Mohan was given a shirt (by Aslam).'   (Wali and Koul 1997:209)

When (209) becomes passive in (210), the dative indirect object moves to subject position, yet maintains its original case marking. In (210), it is the nominative direct object that is promoted to subject position. As the direct object is already uninflected, no change in marking is required for it to take on the role of grammatical subject. In (213) however, when the dative indirect object is passivised and drops its case marking to become nominative, the result is an ungrammatical construction. This is to be expected if we assume that dative is an indirect case assigned to 'goal' arguments regardless of GF.

In order to test the same phenomenon in Wagdi, I asked informants for the same sentence, and the result was as follows in (214) and (215):

214) *mhũ   ta-ne   e-ne   sõpi   dunga*
     I   you-ACC   3rdPRO-DAT handove   give.FUT.1stMS
     'I will hand you over to him.'   [Wagdi]

215) *ta-ne   e-ne   sɔ̃pi   did-o   jaega*
you-ACC 3rdPRO-DAT handover give-PF.M   go.FUT.3rdMS
'You will be handed over to him.'   [Wagdi]

In (214) and (215), accusative case is preserved on the passivised direct object, indicating a semantic link of properties for the accusative case in Wagdi. It is furthermore interesting to note that the two object NPs of this ditransitive clause can be simultaneously marked -*ne* in both voices. Adjacency as a constraint on homophonous case will be further examined in section 4.2.2.3.

However in Wagdi, as in Kashmiri and in Hindi, dative case is preserved on indirect objects in the passive, as shown in (216) and (217):

216) *ram-e   anil-ne   [gəra-no har] mokl-y-õ*
Ram-ERG Anil-ACC   necklace   send-PF-MS
'Ram sent the necklace to Anil.'   [Wagdi]

217) *anil-ne / -ø**   [gəra-no har] moklai   gy-o*
Anil-ACC   necklace   send   go.PF-MS
'Anil was sent he necklace.'   [Wagdi]

Accusative case preservation on passivised direct objects presents an interesting dilemma: according to Mohanan's (1994) analysis, accusative is regarded as a direct case, and therefore would be expected to become redundant in a GF realignment where the object is supposed to assume the role of SUBJ. The active Marathi sentence in (218) below is passivised in (219), as in the standard variety spoken in Pune (Deo and Sharma 2006). (220) is the passivised form in a Marathi dialect:[13]

218) *mɪni   rəvi-la   k^holi-t   damb-te*
Mini   Ravi-ACC   room-LOC   dump-IMPF
'Mini dumped Ravi in the room.'   [Standard Marathi]

219) *rəvi   mɪni-kədun   k^holi-t   damb-la   jat-o*
ravi.NOM Mini-INSTR   Room-LOC   dump-PF   AUX-3MS
                                             [Standard Marathi]

220) *rəvi-la   mɪni-kədun   k^holit   damb-la   jat-a*
ravi-ACC   mini-INSTR   room-LOC   dump-PF   AUX-PRS-NS
'Ravi was dumped in the room by Mini.'   [Marathi Dialect]

                                                    (Wali 2004)

---

[13] Wali (2004) did not specify the particular dialect.

In (219) the L-OBJ is passivised and the verb agrees with it, while the L-SUBJ is demoted to an oblique by-phrase. In (220) however, the case marking is retained on the L-OBJ and verb agreement with either the subject or object is blocked.

As was shown above in section 3.7.2.2., Wagdi has impersonal constructions that appear to function as passives, since it seems to only require that the agent be dropped as in (221). The verb may remain in its active form, and accusative marking is not affected, as shown in the comparison between the active sentence in (29) and (223). (222) is an active, transitive construction that in (30) is passivised in an impersonal construction. (224) is the equivalent of (223) as a periphrastic passive:

221) *dəkʃɪn bʰarət mɛ sokə kʰa-i*
south India in rice eat.IMPR
'In south India rice is eaten.' [Wagdi]

222) *atənkwadi-e rəjiv gandʰi-ne bam tʰəki mari nak-y-o*
terrorists-ERG Rajiv Gandhi-ACC bomb INSTR kill give-PF-MS
'Terrorists killed Rajiv Gandhi with a bomb.' [Wagdi]

223) *rəjiv gandʰi-ne bam tʰəki mari nak-y-o*
Rajiv Gandhi-ACC bomb INSTR kill give-PF-MS

224) *rəjiv gandʰi bam tʰəki məri gyo*
Rajiv Gandhi bomb INSTR kill go.PF.MS
'Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb.' [Wagdi]

225) *cʰɔ̃ran-e cʰori-nɛ kuʈ-i*
children-ERG girl-ACC beat-PF.F
'The children beat the girl.' [Wagdi]

226) *cʰɔ̃ri-nɛ kuʈ-i*
girl-ACC beat-PF.F
'The girl was beaten.' [Wagdi]

In sentence (221) the verb is active, the patient argument is unmarked nominative, and agent has been dropped. The interpretation of the sentence, though, is passive. Notice that the construction in (223) retains the accusative marking on the direct object, while it is dropped in (224). The ergative construction in (225) takes on a passive interpretation in (226) when the agent is dropped, and the verb retains the active form.

However, when the verb takes on a passive form, as in the paraphrastic passive in (228), accusative marking is generally dropped:

227) *mənəkʰ-e sori-ne pəkəɖi liɖi*
men-ERG girl-ACC catch take.PF.F
'The men caught the girl.' [Wagdi]

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228) *suri   pəkḍai   gi*
    girl   catch.TRS   go.PF.F
    'The girl was caught.'   [Wagdi]

Mohanan (1994) examines the same phenomenon in Hindi by contrasting two dialects, the behaviour of which parallels the above Marathi dialects in regard to accusative case preservation. In one dialect – more commonly regarded by speakers as standard Hindi – only promoted indirect objects may retain their *-ko* marking, as in (229b):

229) a. *ram-ne*   *anil-ko*   *har*   *bʰeja*
       Ram-ERG   Anil-DAT   necklace.NOM   send.PF
       'Ram sent a/the necklace.'   [Hindi Dialect A]

     b. *anil-ko*   *har*   *bʰeja*   *gəya*
       Anil-DAT   necklace.NOM send.PF   go.PST
       'Anil was sent a/the necklace.'   [Hindi Dialect A]

     c. *har*   *anil-ko*   *bʰeja*   *gəya*
       necklace.NOM   Anil-DAT   send.PF   go.PST [Hindi Dialect A]
       'The necklace was sent to Anil.'   (Mohanan 1994:93)

In another dialect, accusative case is preserved on the passive subject as in (230):

230) a. *ram*   *anil-ko*   *ʊtʰa-ega*
       Ram.NOM   Anil-ACC   lift/carry-FUT
       'Ram will carry Anil.'   [Hindi Dialect B]

     b. *anil-ko*   *(ram-se)*   *ʊtʰa-ya*   *ja-ega*
       Anil-ACC Ram-INSTR   carry-PF   go-FUT   [Hindi Dialect B]
       'Anil will be carried (by Ram).'   (Mohanan 1994:94)

The reason for this difference in behaviour, Mohanan argues, is that accusative in the "ACC preserving dialect" (Hindi Dialect B) associates its properties with the logical object, independently of GF information. In the primary dialect however (Hindi Dialect A), accusative case is an instance of direct case and is thus "associated with the grammatical object" (Mohanan 1994). In this dialect, the promoted object drops its *-ko* marking, yet the dative indirect object – as expected, based on the above analysis – maintains its marking. These observations lead Mohanan conclude with the generalisation that "[i]ndirect case is preserved under GF alternations" (Mohanan 1994:93).

      The examination of case alternation and preservation on objects as described above supports the notion that "Indirect case association with an ARG takes place prior to the association of the ARG with its GF. It is therefore not

sensitive to the GF of the ARG. Nor can association once established be altered" (Mohanan 1994:93).

4.1.4. Clause level factors

Despite the semantic parameters that seem to determine DOM, there are instances where case marking is neither discriminatory nor determined by properties of the NPs themselves but related to semantics properties on the clausal level. Næss (2007:153) argues that, as case marking functions to encode the relationship of a verb to its dependent arguments, it cannot be easily separated from the notion of transitivity.

This connection can be seen in the following Marwari examples of (231) and (232) (an NIA language and dialect of Rajasthani):

231) *dərji   bʊla-vo*
     tailor   call-IMPR
     'Call a tailor.'   [Marwari]

232) *dərji-ne   bʊla-vo*
     tailor-NE   call-IMPR   [Marwari]
      'Call the tailor.'   (Magier 1990)

Magier (1990) argues that the overt markers on direct objects in Hindi and Marwari – and perhaps other NIA languages – are essentially 'transitivity' rather than accusative markers, and that these markers "follow a semantic hierarchy of specificity and animacy that contributes to the overall salience of the marked object noun" (Magier 1990).

Although Magier used the term 'salience' as the main requirement for the *-ne* marker on objects, example (232) seems to align with Mohanan's criteria, since the noun *darji* is both animate and definite. According to Mohanan's criteria illustrated in diagrams (4.2.a) and (4.2.b), example (231) would not be acceptable in standard Hindi.

Having established the parameter of *salience* as the conditioning factor for accusative *-ne* marking, Magier (1987) observes that this cannot be applied to objects that are promoted in the passive. These promoted NPs retain their *-ne* marking, as they are already understood to be the most salient participant in the construction. Instead, he argues that, in Marwari, *-ne* provides relational information about the demoted agent since the "… passive subject *-ne* marking is triggered when the action carried out by the unspecified agent was an *intentional* action" (Magier 1990). He illustrates this with the following examples:

233) *dərji   mar-iyo   gɪyo*
    tailor.NOM   kill-PF   go.PF
    'The tailor was killed.'   [Marwari]

234) *dərji-ne   mar-iyo   gɪyo*
    tailor-ACC   kill-PF   go.PF
    'The tailor was killed.' (i.e. murdered)   [Marwari]

235) *səmər   dekʰ-iyo   gɪyo*
    Samar.NOM   see-PF   go.PF
    'Samar was seen.'   [Marwari]

236) *səmər-ne   dekʰ-iyo   gɪyo*
    Samar-ACC   see-PF   go.PF   [Marwari]
    'Samar was seen/looked at.'   (e.g. examined by a doctor)   (Magier 1990)

The agent is not specified in any of the sentences, however (233) conveys the sense that the tailor may have died accidentally, while (234) connotes deliberate action. In the same way (235) indicates that Samar was seen by chance encounter, while in (236) he most likely needed an appointment. Case alternation for the purpose of modality has been acknowledged as a common occurrence in IA languages. Magier (1990) has referred to "*intentional* action" as the main conditioning factor for nominative-accusative alternation on objects.[14]

The same criterion seems to apply to the Hindi -*ko*:

237) ???*ram   dwara ənjane   mẽ hətʰi-ko   məra   gəya*
    Ram   INSTR ignorance in elephant-ACC   kill.PF go.PF
    'The elephant was killed by Ram in ignorance.'   [Hindi]

238) *ram dwara ənjane   mẽ   hətʰi   məra   gəya*
    Ram INSTR ignorance in   elephant   kill.PF go.PF   [Hindi]
    'The elephant was killed by Ram in ignorance.'   (Richa 2008:102)

Examples (237) and (238) show that the acceptability of the -*ko* marker on the passive subject is questionable when the action is unintentional.

Næss (2007:161) makes several observations about examples such as (233)-(238). One is that ACC marking patient-subjects is not determined by semantic properties of the marked NP. At the same time, it does not serve the discriminatory

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[14] Another possibility that must be addressed is that, rather than the promoted object taking on the syntactic role of subject, the constructions in (41) and (43) are in fact impersonal passives. To answer this question would require a series of tests for syntactic properties for which I do not have sufficient data, and to the best of my knowledge no such tests have been published for Marwari. However, one piece of evidence indicating that the promoted object does acquire some grammatical subjecthood properties is that, despite being marked with the accusative postposition -*ne*, the verb agrees with it. In other IA languages, including Hindi and Marathi, tests such as reflexive binding or control of co-referential subject deletion in conjunctive participle formation have had mixed results. Therefore nothing can be assumed in the case of Marwari.

function, the question being one that does not even arise in passive constructions since there is only a single argument. Næss also notes that the semantic properties – e.g. volitionality – that do play a part in determining the ACC marking on the patient are those of the demoted agent, and this agent is often not overtly expressed (Næss 2007). Since these languages assign ACC case to the patient only when the agent is "acting volitionally", it could be said that case marking on core arguments is dependent on the clause being "fully semantically transitive" (Næss 2007:166).

By taking into account the semantics of the predicate – i.e. transitivity – Næss seeks to integrate both *discrimination* and *indexing* as factors that determine case marking. While acknowledging the factor of indexing, Næss claims that the 'canonical' function of core-case marking is to distinguish not between GFs (i.e. subject, object, etc.), but between participants (i.e. agent, patient) "in maximal semantic distinction" (Næss 2007:166). Næss observes that ergative marking on a volitional agent often requires that the object be a proper patient, just as a patient can only be accusative marked if the subject has properties of an agent.

As case marking becomes redundant when participants are no longer in "maximal semantic distinction", the natural conclusion is that case marking is determined by both discriminatory and indexing factors, but "as integrated parts of their overall function" at the clause level rather than as autonomous units (Næss 2007). Therefore, ergative and accusative markers function to discriminate between semantic roles of agent and patient, rather than between syntactic functions of subject and object.

This point is further supported by the cross-linguistic phenomenon of dative subjects. It has been observed that, in both ergative and accusative languages, stative predicates often result in a dative, experiencer subject and nominative, stimulus object (Shibatani 1982, cf. Næss 2007:167). This is a common phenomenon in NIA, as can be seen in Hindi example in (239):

239) *ram-**ko*** *dʊkʰ* *ləg-ta* *hɛ*
     Ram-DAT pain feel.IMPF AUX.PST
     'Ram is in pain.'   [Hindi]

According to Shibatani, it is the decline of transitivity, resulting in the loss of this contrast between participants, that leads languages to deviate from both the ergative and accusative pattern (Shibatani 1982:108, cf. Næss 2007:167).

Having assumed that the 'canonical' function of core case marking is to "discriminate between the participants [i.e. agent vs. patient] in a fully transitive clause", which involves factors of both indexing and discrimination, Næss (2007:167)

approaches cross-linguistic variations as "extensions" to either of these factors. One argument against the involvement of semantic factors in determining case marking is made by Comrie (1978), who cited examples in which ergative case could extend to non-agent participants. This he asserted as evidence that ergative case is not primarily a marker of control and agentivity (cf. Næss 2007:171).

Two of the points are particularly relevant to NIA. First, Comrie observes that many languages assign ergative case to non-agent arguments – e.g. inanimate NPs as in the Marathi example in (240):

240) *varya-ne*   *kac*   *pʰoḍ-l-a*
      wind-ERG/INSTR   glass-3MS   break-PF-3MS
      'The wind broke the glass.' Or   [Marathi]
      'The glass broke due to the wind.'   (Wali 2005:44-45)

Secondly, split-ergative systems are commonly found to be tense/aspect based, as in NIA; yet, as Comrie (1978) argues, this has no effect on the degree of agentivity of the predicate (cf. Næss 2007:171).

Næss however argues with regard to the first point that the core semantic function of agentivity associated with ergative is not invalidated by its extension to inanimates such as natural forces, as in (240). As for the second point, Næss remarks that the framing of an event in the imperfective aspect "does not include the effect on the object". Therefore, as these objects are not patients in the strict sense, the degree of transitivity of the clause is reduced, and ergative pattern cannot be applied (Næss 2007:172).

Some languages do appear to use case-marking almost entirely for discriminatory purposes. One such language is Malayalam – a Southern Dravidian language with accusative alignment – which generally marks animate objects accusative and leaves inanimate objects unmarked, as shown in (241) and (242) (de Swart 2003, cf. Næss 2007:174):

241) *əvən kuʈʈiye*   *əʈɪccu*
      he   child.ACC beat.PST
      'He beat the child.'   [Malayalam]

242) *əvən pustakəm vayɪccu*
      he   book   read.PST   [Malayalam]
      'He read the book.'   (Asher and Kumari 1997:203) (cf. Næss 2007:174)

In cases where both subject and object are inanimate, the inanimate object may take accusative marking, although this generally only occurs when there is a possibility

that the participant roles cannot be logically interpreted (de Swart 2003, cf. Næss 2007:174):

243) *tiiyya kuʈɪl nəʃɪppɪccu*
fire   hut   destroy.PST
'The fire destroyed the hut.'   [Malayalam]

244) *kəppəl tɪrəmaləkəʃe bʰidɪccu*
ship   wave.PL.ACC   split.PST
'The ship broke through the waves.'   [Malayalam]

245) *tɪrəmaləkəʃ kəppəlɪne bʰilɪccu*
wave.PL   ship.ACC   split.PST   [Malayalam]
'The waves split the ship.'
(Asher and Kumari 1997:203) (cf. Næss 2007:174)

The sentence in (243) is transitive with two inanimate participants. Accusative marking on the object is not required, as the identity of the participant that carried out the destruction can be logically understood. Both (244) and (245), however, are not interpretable with the context and therefore the inanimate object is optionally marked.

Næss (2007) also addresses the issue of NP-splits (see section 1.3.4.2.) in ergative constructions, pointing out that the factors determining the split between ergative and accusative marking differ slightly. Accusative marking splits tend to be based on semantic properties such as humanness or animacy (Goddard 1982, cf. Næss 2007:179) while ergative marking "tends to refer to formal rather than semantic classes of nominals" (Næss 2007:179). Thus, an NP-split ergative marking system will often favour nouns over pronouns, or third-person pronouns and nouns over first or second-person pronouns (Næss 2007:179-80).

Næss concludes that case markers in systems with NP-splits "reflect **inherent** properties of argument NPs rather than the **relational** properties" (Næss 2007:180). These inherent properties (e.g. agency and patienthood) particular to the participants then restrict their ability to show certain types of relational properties.

4.1.5. Information structure

The above analyses (e.g. Mohanan 1994; Aissen 2003; and Næss 2007) seek to explain the phenomenon of DOM according to semantic features of the NP, and while features such as animacy and definiteness are undoubtedly factors affecting the requirements of object marking in Hindi, some instances remain unpredictable based on this criterion alone. Darlrymple and Nikolaeva (2011) point out, for

example, that optionality exists for -ko marking on inanimate/definite objects in Hindi as shown in the examples (246)-(248):

246) *ɪla-ne*   *bəcce-ko/*bəcca*   *ʊtʰa-ya*
     Ila-ERG   child-ACC/child.NOM   lift-PF
     'Ila lifted the/a child.'   [Hindi]

247) *ɪla-ne*   *har*   *ʊtʰa-ya*
     Ila-ERG   necklace.NOM   lift-PF
     'Ila lifted a/the necklace.'   [Hindi]

248) *ɪla-ne*   *har-ko*   *ʊtʰa-ya*
     Ila-ERG   necklace-ACC   lift-PF   [Hindi]
     'Ila lifted the/*a necklace.'   (Mohanan 1994:80)

It has already been shown in examples (199)-(202) above that human/animate definite objects require -ko marking as in (246). However, examples (247) and (248) demonstrate the apparent optionality of -ko marking for nonhuman/inanimate definite objects, while nonhuman/inanimate indefinite are always unmarked as shown in the unacceptably of the indefinite reading of (248).

     Furthermore, Darlrymple and Nikolaeva (2011) demonstrate that -ko marking on human/animate definite objects is obligatory regardless of information structure:

249) *hassan*   *kɪs-ko / *kaun*   *marega*
     Hassan   who-OBJ / who   kill.FUT.3MS
     'Whom will Hassan kill?'   [Hindi]

250) *hassan*   *kɪsi-ko / *koi*   *marega*
     Hassan   someone-OBJ / someone   kill.FUT.3MS   [Hindi]
     'Hassan will kill someone.'
                 (Darlrymple and Nikolaeva 2011) (cf. Deo and Sharma PC)

In (249) the object is the focussed element in the sentence and in (250) it is the topic. Both require -ko marking. However, with regard to the optionality of marking on inanimate/nonhuman definite objects Darlrymple and Nikolaeva (2011:160-64) argue for the importance of contextual factors in predicting its occurence. They demonstrate that in instances where -ko is optional, it is 'strongly dispreferred' on focussed objects. Sentences (251) and (252) are responses to the general question '*What happened?*' and are therefore examples of 'wide focus'. In both, -ko marking is the less-preferable option:

251) a. What happened?
     b. *həssən-ne*   *mera kələm / ?mere*   *kələm-ko toḍ*   *dɪya*
     Hassan-ERG my   pen   / my.OBL pen-OBJ break gave.PF.3MS
     'Hassan broke my pen.'   [Hindi]

252) a. What happened?

     b. [*jɪs   kələm ke-bare-me   ap bat kər rəhe tʰe*]
       REL pen GEN-about-LOC   you talk do PROG AUX.PST.MP

    [*voh kələm / ?ʊs   kələm-ko mɛ̃-ne kʰərid lɪya*]
    that pen / that.OBL pen-OBJ I-ERG buy take.PST.3MS
    'I bought that pen you were taling about.'   [Hindi]
                                   (cf. Darlrymple and Nikolaeva 2011:161)

When the object is in narrow focus as in (253) and (254), the result is the same:

253) a. What did Hassan sell?
     b. *həssən-ne   voh kələm / ?ʊs   kələm-ko bec dɪya*
       Hassan-ERG that pen / that.OBL pen-OBJ   sell give.PF.3MS
     'Hassan sold that pen.
     c. *həssən-ne   voh kələm / *ʊs   kələm-ko bec dɪya*
       Hassan-ERG that pen   / that.OBL pen-OBJ   sell give.PF.3MS
     jo   dʊkan mɛ̃   tʰi
     REL shop LOC AUX.PST.FS
     'Hassan sold that pen that was in the shop.'   [Hindi]
                                (Darlrymple and Nikolaeva 2011:161)

254) a. What is Anu doing?
     b. *anu kɪtab pəḍʰ   rəhi   hɛ*
     Anu book read PROG AUX.PRES.3SG   [Hindi]
     'Anu is reading the book.'   (Dayal 2003:84)

Accusative marking is also optional on specific non-focussed objects, and while Butt and King (1996) point to its tendency to correlate with telic constructions, Darlrymple and Nikolaeva (2011:162) find this to be secondary, emphasising instead the importance of 'contextual factors'. For example, in constructions where the "object is salient and the utterance updates the addressee's knowledge about the relation that holds between the subject and the object referents" -*ko* marking is not optional, as in (255) (Darlrymple and Nikolaeva 2011:162):

255) a. What did Hassan do to the pen?
     b. *ʊs   kələm-ko / ʊs-ko   / *voh kələm bec dɪya*
     that.OBL pen-OBJ / that.OBL-OBJ / that pen   sell gave.PF.3MS
     'He sold it/that pen.'   [Hindi]
        (Darlrymple and Nikolaeva 2011:162) (cf. Deo and Sharma p.c.)

The acceptability of (255) depends on there being a "pragmatically established relationship between the referent of 'Hassan' and the referent of 'pen'", with the utterance functioning to "update the information about this relationship" (Darlrymple and Nikolaeva 2011:162). The difference in object marking in (253.b) compared to (255b) - a clause with the same verb and same tense/aspect – demonstrates that

the role of information structure, as in the former -*ko* marking is optional on the focussed object, while in the latter it is no longer optional as the object is a topic.

Summary of 4.1.

In section 4.1. I have briefly summarised certain themes of the debate over case function, mainly revolving around the question of whether case markers are determined more by 'indexing' – i.e. properties inherent to the NP – or by 'relational' factors such as disambiguation. The remainder of this section focussed on DOM in NIA. Section 4.1.1. presented the distribution of the DAT/ACC marker. In 4.1.2. I presented Mohanan's argument (1994) for the semantic factors of animacy and definiteness as the conditioning factor for accusative -*ko* in Hindi, and how these affect case preservation on the patient in passive constructions in 4.1.3. Section 4.1.4. examined clause level factors such as transitivity in determining object case marking, while 4.1.5. looked at the influence of information structure.

4.2. Homophony of case marking in NIA

4.2.1. Examples of case homophony

Two of the most common types of case homophonies in NIA are:
  i) Accusative & Dative
  ii) Ergative & Instrumental   (Butt 2007:4)

Type (i) applies to almost all NIA languages where one phonological form is used to mark DOs in transitive and IOs in ditransitive clauses. However, the two can never co-occur on both objects in a ditransitive clause. This is illustrated in the Hindi examples given below in (256) and (257):

256) *mɛ   tʊm-**ko**   mar   rəh-a   hũ*
    I.NOM   you-ACC   hit   CONT-MS   AUX.PRS.1SG
    'I am hitting you.'   [Hindi]

257) *ram-ne   əpni   ma-**ko**   ek   kʰət   bʰej-a*
    Ram-ERG   REF.GEN   mother-DAT   one letter write-PF
    'Ram sent a letter to his mother.'   [Hindi]

Example (256) has a transitive clause where the DO is marked accusative by the PP *-ne*. In example (257) however the clause is ditransitive, and the *-ne* is marking the IO, while the DO remains unmarked.

Ergative and instrumental homophony of type (ii), though considerably less common than that of DAT/ACC, is found in languages such as Nepali and Pahari (Kumauni):

258) *hami-le   phɪlɪm   henyaũː*
     we-ERG   film   seen
     'We watched a film.'   [Nepali]

259) *hami   kan-le   sʊnchaũː*
     we   ear-INSTR hear
     'We hear with (our) ears.'   [Nepali]

260) *ḍanju-l   bʰat   kʰa*
     Danju-ERG   rice   eaten
     'Danju has eaten rice.'   [Kumauni]

261) *mɛ̃   caʃmɛ-l   caɳɔcĩː*
     I   glasses-INSTR   was seeing
     'I was seeing through the glasses.'   [Kumauni]

262) *didi-l   hate-l   dɪyo*
     Didi-ERG   hand-INSTR   given   [Kumauni]
     'The elder sister has given [it] with [her] hand.'   (cf. Sigorskiy 2006:44)

In the Nepali examples of (258) and (259) the ergative subject *hami* 'we' is marked ergative by the form *-le*, while the instrumental NP is marked by the same form. In the Kumauni examples, we again see *-l* marking ergative case as in (259) and instrumental case as in (261) and (262). Finally, it should be also noted that in (262) the two uses of *-l* occur simultaneously within the clause.

A third type of homophony that has received far less attention, despite being found in certain NIA languages, is that of ergative and accusative/dative. Butt (2007) states that such a dative/accusative-ergative homophony "seems like a distinct possibility" (Butt 2007:18), citing one example from Haryani "reported" by Shirani (1987):

263) *ma-ne   sahab-ne   mar-a*
     I-ACC/DAT   sahib.MS-ERG   hit-PF.MS   [Haryani]
     'The Sahib hit me.'   (Shirani 1987) (cf. Butt 2007:18)

The other example given by Butt is Saarwaari Balochi, a language that has a case morphology limited to direct and oblique nominal forms, as shown in (264):

264) *təfsir-əra jəmil-əra kɪtab də-t-a*
  tafseer.MS-OBL jameel.MS-OBL book.NOM give-IMPF-MS [Saarwaari Balochi]
  'Tafseer gave the book to Jameel.'   (Butt 2007:18)

Stronski (2010) cites examples of homophonous A/O marking in Bangru and Ahirwat, both classified as dialects of eastern Rajasthani[15]:

265) *babbu-nɛ̃ tʃʰore-nɛ̃ gʰəŋa piṭṭ-a*
  father-ERG son-ACC very much beat-PF.MS   [Bangru]
  'The father beat the son very much.'
       (Khaṇḍelval 1980:220) (cf. Stronski 2010)

266) *mən-nɛ̃ sab-nɛ̃ marjɔ*
  I-nɛ̃ master-nɛ̃ beat.PF.MS   [Ahirvati]
  'I beat the master.'   (Yadav n.d.:208) (cf. Stronski 2010)

In the Bangru sentence in (265) – as in Haryani in (266) – the ergative *-nɛ̃* marked subject is an animate noun, whereas in Ahirvati (266) it is a first-person pronoun. In both sentences the direct object is marked with the same *-nɛ̃* clitic.

   In this section I have shown that identical A/O marking does exist in some NIA varieties. In section 4.2.2. I review other crosslinguistic parallels and how they have influenced theories of case function. In 4.2.2.2. I shall re-examine NIA examples in light of these theories.

4.2.2. Theoretical implications

4.2.2.1. Function of case marking

Considering the examples of DAT/ACC-ERG homophony in NIA, this section addresses some relevant theories regarding the primary function of such markers (see Comrie 1978, 1989; Aissen 1999, 2003; Butt 2002, 2007; de Hoop and Narasimhan 2005; de Hoop and Lamers 2006; Arkadiev 2008).

   Comrie (1978:334) presents the apparent non-existence of A/P vs. S alignment in overt marking as evidence to support distinguishability as an approach to ergative case-marking systems, since the most important distinction of A and P is not maintained while making the "functionally unnecessary" distinction of S. He later (1989:118) acknowledges such alignments for "certain classes of noun phrases in certain Iranian languages", and attributes their existence to the intermediate phase in the "breakdown" of the ergative-absolutive system, in its transit back to a nominative-accusative system.

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[15] For a classification of Rajasthani, see Masica 1991:451-56.

With the discriminatory utility of different markers considerably weakened, their alternating occurrence is often determined by semantic contrasts related to both of the argument NPs (i.e. animacy, specificity) and the predicate (i.e. transitivity, tense-aspect, etc.). Butt (2007) speculates that "[w]hile the primary function of case is to help identify grammatical relations, this job seems to be too 'easy' (and other parts of the grammar tend to help anyway: e.g., agreement, position)", and therefore, case marking is also useful in "expressing (sometimes subtle) semantic contrasts" (Butt 2007:2).

Arkadiev (2008) goes further in rejecting the assumption that distinguishability of argument roles is primary with identification of semantic or pragmatic contrasts playing secondary roles. He argues that the occurrence of "'nondiscriminative' coding strategies" (i.e. case marking patterns that do not serve to distinguish A from O roles) is determined by the lexical features of the NPs they are marking rather than by the "relational structure of the clause" (Arkadiev 2008:151).

As evidence, he presents examples from Vafsi, an Iranian language that has a "Two-term Case System" (i.e. direct vs. oblique) in which arguments are marked according to "'local' 'indexing' rules and constraints" rather than grammatical relations. Therefore, "discriminatory function" is one – but not the only – constraint in argument marking (Arkadiev 2008:151). Arkadiev also makes a comparison between Vafsi and Hindi, the two languages having the same semantic constraints around argument marking – DSM tense/aspect split and DOM animacy/definiteness split governed by exactly the same semantic conditions as in Hindi – while the latter does not allow "'non discriminative' coding", as A and O take non-homophonous markers. This fact he considers as arbitrary, attributing it to the comparably rich case inventory in Hindi. Therefore, Hindi and Vafsi are examples of languages in which the "functional-semantic factors" determining case marking are the same, yet contrast in terms of how these markings manifest in the respective surface structures (Arkadiev 2008).

The following are examples of two imperfective transitive Vafsi sentences. Both S and A in (267) and (268) are unmarked – i.e. direct, while O is oblique:

267) *tæ   æten bæ-ssæ   in kelj-i   palu*
     you(DIR) now   PF-go   this girl-OBL to   [Vafsi]
     'Now you go to this girl.'

268) *tæ   in   xær-i   næ-ruʃ-i?*
     you(DIR) this   donkey-OBL NEG-sell-2SG   [Vafsi]
     'Won't you sell this donkey?'   (Stilo 2004:231, 243) (cf. Arkadiev 2008:155)

As in the examples from NIA, all animate, specific objects must be marked oblique as in (267) and (268), otherwise they remain unmarked as in (269):

269) *bæ-ss-e   yey xær   ha-gir-e*
     PF-went-3SG one donkey(DIR) PVB-take-3SG   [Vafsi]
     'He went to buy a donkey.'   (Stilo 2004:243) (cf. Arkadiev 2008:155)

However, in perfective clauses A is marked oblique and S is direct as in (270) and (271):

270) *in   luti-an   yey xær=esan   æ-ruttæ*
     this wise.guy-OBL.PL one donkey(DIR)=3PL DUR-sell.PST
     'These wise guys were selling a donkey.'   [Vafsi]

271) *qondaq   bidara   næ-væ?*
     swaddled(DIR)   wake.up   NEG-become   [Vafsi]
     'Didn't the infant wake up?'   (Stilo 2004:244, 226) (cf. Arkadiev 2008:155)

In (270) the O argument is animate/indefinite. However, when the O fulfils the criteria of both animacy and definiteness, the result is the A/O "'nondistinctive'" construction in (272):

272) *luas-i   kærg-e=s   bæ-værdæ*
     fox-OBL chicken-OBL=3SG PFV-take.PST   [Vafsi]
     'The fox took the chicken.'   (Stilo 2004:244) (cf. Arkadiev 2008:156)

According to Arkadiev, the acceptability of this apparently dysfunctional structure, as shown in (272), is evidence of the fact that syntactic distinguishability is not the main motivation for case marking; conversely, it points to the importance of the semantic/pragmatic properties of individual arguments – i.e. animacy/definiteness for the O and aspect for the A (Arkadiev 2008:156). Hindi/Urdu, as mentioned above, is an NIA language with a rich inventory of postpositional case markers, which follows the same kind of split-ergative DSM based on tense/aspect and DOM based on animacy/definiteness. Arkadiev concludes that "both the 'nondistinctive' quasi-neutral pattern of Vafsi" and the "'over-distinctive' tripartite pattern of Hindi-Urdu" follow the same "functional-semantic" conditioning factors. These surface differences he assumes to be the result of the "more or less arbitrary factor" that Hindi has a greater number of core case markers at its disposal (Arkadiev 2008:158).

4.2.2.2. Indo-Aryan revisited

As we have already seen in examples from NIA languages including Western Hindi dialects such as Bangru, Ahirvati, and Haryani (cf. Masica 1991), ACC/DAT-ERG

case homophony is an attested phenomenon, and this may result in identical A/O marking. Furthermore these varieties, similar to Hindi, have rich case marking inventories. Bangru, for example, allows identical A/O marking (see (265) repeated in (273)) yet has other options for O marking as shown in (274):

273) *babbu-nɛ̃*   *tʃʰore-nɛ̃*   *gʰəŋa*   *piʈʈ-a*
     father-ERG   SON-ACC   very much   beat-PF.MS
     'The father beat the son very much.'   [Bangru]
                                   (Khaṇḍelval 1980:220) (cf. Stronski 2010)

274) *ram*   *kʊte-kæ* *maræ* *sæ*
     Ram(NOM)   dog-OBJ strike.IMPF AUX.PRS   [Bangru]
     'Ram strikes the dog.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:125)

Both Bangru sentences in (273) and (274) have predicates that are semantically highly transitive. In (273) the A and O are both marked with the postposition *-nɛ,* while in (274), being imperfective and therefore NOM-ACC alignment, the A is unmarked nominative and the O is marked by a separate postposition *-kæ*.[16]

       Examples (273)-(274) show that Bangru has two multifunctional case clitics: *-næ*, which marks ergative subjects as well as accusative objects; and *-kæ*, which marks objects as well as instrumental adjuncts. If this is true, it seems strange that examples such as (273) can occur where only one of the two is used to mark both A and O. It is possible that the verb 'beat' in (273) subcategorises for *-næ*, while 'strike' subcategorises for *-kæ*, yet if the constraint of distinguishability were really a primary factor in determining case marking, in constructions like (273) it might be expected to dominate and assign a distinctive marker to the object. If one were to assume the discriminatory function of case marking, examples (273) and (274) would be highly problematic, since one would not expect to find constructions such as (273), in which the GFs are ambiguously marked despite the existence of a separate marker capable of being used for marking direct objects, as shown in (274).

       However, while a number of NIA languages use the same phonological form to mark ERG as well as DAT/ACC, it is sometimes the case that the language will not license simultaneous occurrences of both forms within the same minimal clause. This can been seen in the Harauti examples in (275) and (276):

275) *tʃhoro*   *sãp̃-nɛ*   *mar-j-o*
     boy   snake.MS-nɛ kill-PF-MS
     'A boy hit the snake.'   [Harauti]

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[16] Note that as (273) and (274) come from different sources, we might suspect a dialectical difference between the two.

276) *tʃhora-nɛ   sap̃   i   mar-j-o*
     boy.OBL-nɛ   snake.MS   EMPH   hit-PF-MS   [Harauti]
     'A boy hit the snake.'   (Śarma 1991:161) (cf. Stronski 2010)

In (275) the A argument is unmarked and the P takes the *-nɛ* accusative marker. Example (276) has the same meaning as (275), yet the *-nɛ* clitic functions as an ergative marker on the A while the P is unmarked, i.e. nominative.

  In a perfective ditransitive clause the ergative subject takes a *-nai(m)* clitic, while the DO remains unmarked and the IO takes a locative PP. The direct object can only take the accusative marker *-nai(m)* in the absence of an ergative subject, as shown in (278) and (279). Ambiguity is thereby avoided, as the *-nai(m)* can only occur once in a clause, preferably on the ergative subject (Allen 1960:10, cf. Verbeke 2010):

277) *ek   mərd-nai ḍəlevər-pɛ   hukəm   cʰəladeyo   ḍəlvevər sab!*
     one   man-ERG   driver-on   order.NOM.MS   go-give.PF.MS driver   sir
     'a man ordered the driver: driver sab!'   [Harauti]

278) *mhaiṃ=nai(ṃ) həṃk-a☐   paṛ-yã̃*
     I[F]=ERG   scream-[M]P   scream-PST.MP
      'I screamed.'   [Harauti]

279) *dekʰ-o   IM   ḍokərI-nai(m)*
     see-IMP   this   old woman-ACC   [Harauti]
     'Look at this old woman!'   (Prem 1984) (cf. Verbeke 2010)

In example (277), it is the ergative subject that gets marked with *-nai,* while the indirect object, for which overt goal/beneficiary marking is almost without exception obligatory in NIA, is marked with a locative postposition. In (279) we see that *-nai(ṃ)* can also mark direct objects, and therefore can be considered to have both ACC as well as ERG properties. Yet in spite of having an identical form to mark these cases, Harauti manages to avoid the repetitive use of this morpheme by utilising other postpositions in its inventory when necessary, as in (277).

  A similar rule seems to apply in some dialects of Balochi. As shown in example (265), Saarwaari Balochi is an Iranian language with a 'two-term' system, which like Vafsi allows nondiscriminative, double-oblique constructions. However, Farrell (1995) gives examples from western and southern Balochi dialects where, similar to Harauti, there appears to be a rule against identical A/O marking in ergative constructions.

  Balochi follows a split-ergative pattern on the same semantic parameters as Vafsi, Hindi, and the other NIA languages mentioned so far:

280) *jɪnɪk-Ø   ʃ - Ø*
     girl-DIR   go.PST-3SG
     'The girl went.'   [Balochi]

281) *ɪʃ-an   bəha kən-an goɾa pəs-Ø   gɪr-an*
     these-OBL   sell do-1SG then goat-DIR   buy.PRS-1SG
     'I will sell these and buy goats.'   [Balochi]

282) *jɪnɪk-a   bəcɪk-Ø   ja-Ø*
     girl-OBL boy-DIR   hit-PST-3SG   [Balochi]
     'The girl hit the boy.'   (Farrell 1995:220-21)

In (280) the S is in direct i.e. nominative case. In (281) the O in the first clause, being the demonstrative pronoun, is definite and therefore oblique, yet in the second clause it is animate and indefinite and therefore direct, i.e. unmarked nominative. In the ergative construction in (282) however, the O is an affected patient, as well as definite and animate, and yet is unmarked direct, while the A takes oblique marking. Farrell (1995) states that patients in perfective constructions are normally in direct case, unless if emphasised, in which case they are marked dative as in (283):

283) *k ck-a   həm-a   jɪnɪk-əra dɪst-Ø*
     dog-OBL EMPH-that   girl-DAT   see.PST-Ø   [Balochi]
     'The dog saw that girl.'   (Farrell 1995:220)

However, it is not possible to have an oblique patient in the perfective, as in (284):

284) **ə-ya   ə-ya   dɪst-Ø*
     he-OBL   him-OBL see.PST-Ø   [Balochi]
     'He saw him.'   (Farrell 1995:222)

While the semantic criteria for both oblique marking on the subject and object are fulfilled in (284), the double-oblique, nondiscriminative construction that was in Vafsi – example (272) – and Saarwaari Balochi – example (264) – is not allowed in this Balochi dialect.

It should also be noted that while Bangru seems to allow nondiscriminative case marking, as in the example from Khaṇḍelval (1980) (cf. Stronski 2010) in (273), Bangru from other sources, such as the following examples from J.D. Singh (1970), do not.[17] This difference in distribution can be seen in (285) and (286):

285) *ram kʊte-næ   pəkɖæ   sæ*
     Ram dog-ACC catch.IMPF AUX.PRS
     'Ram catches the dog.'   [Bangru]

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[17] The difference between the two varieties of Bangru are assumed to be dialectical.

286) *ram-næ   kʊta pəkdya*
     Ram-ERG dog catch.PF   [Bangru]
     'Ram caught the dog.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:115)

In (285) the sentence is transitive and imperfective and therefore follows a
nominative/accusative alignment, with the A unmarked nominative. The O is animate
and definite, and as such marked accusative. In (286) the same sentence is now
perfective, the A 'Ram' is marked ergative and the O, though still animate, definite, is
unmarked, i.e. nominative.

In this way, Bangru also seems to restrict nondiscriminative constructions,
similar to Balochi and Harauti. What is interesting in the case of Bangru is not only
that it does have a rich inventory of case markers, which like Harauti could be used if
necessary to replace a redundant O marker, but also that it has another case clitic
that is frequently used for the purpose, yet is left out in (286). These two options for
O marking can be seen in (287) and (288). J.D. Singh (1970:69) describes -*næ* as
the "subject and also object" marker in Bangru, while -*kæ* "indicates object or
instrument". The following examples show the complementary distribution of the
latter:

287) *kʊte-**kæ** məry*
     dog-kæ   strike.IMP
     'Strike the dog.'   [Bangru]

288) *kʊte-næ ḍənḍe-**kæ** məry*
     dog-næ   stick-kæ   strike.IMP   [Bangru]
     'Strike the dog with a stick.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:69)

The sentence in (287) is a transitive, imperative clause, and the O is marked with -
kæ. (288) is the same sentence as (287) with the addition of an instrumental adjunct
'stick'. The -*kæ* clitic is now marking the instrumental adjunct and the postposition -
næ is marking the accusative object.[18]

De Hoop and de Swart (2008:15) conclude that while the distinguishability
constraint can still be a triggering factor for DSM – and therefore by extension for

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[18] It is worth noting that examples (84) and (85) show a type of homophony not attested above – i.e.
ACC and INSTR. While the Hindi postposition -*se* can be used to mark O arguments of less transitive
verbs like *kəh-* 'say', as opposed to more transitive verbs like *bəta-* 'tell', as in (a) and (b) below:

(a) *mɛ̃-ne   ʊs-se   kəha   ke …*
    I-ERG   3PRO-se say.PF COMPL
       'I say to him that…'   [Hindi]

(b) *mɛ̃-ne   ʊs-ko   bətaya   ke …*
    I-ERG   3PRO-ko tell.PF COMPL
       'I told him that…'   [Hindi]

DOM – "it definitely differs in strength across languages" and is left to compete with "faithfulness" and "economy" constraints. These constraints, the strength of which appears to be language specific, may explain the differences between Harauti – where the distinguishability factor is relatively strong – and languages like Haryani, Ahirvati, Vafsi, and some varieties of Bangru – where distinguishability is overruled by other iconic factors, such as NP prominence.

4.2.2.3. Word order constraints

Up until now, the theories examined were about the constraints of A/O marking. However, the Bangru examples in (84) and (85) indicate that the problem may extend to other types of constituents. As of yet, no Bangru data is available in which the object and instrument are adjacent in the clause and both marked by -kæ. While such a construction may well be grammatical in theory, its acceptability among speakers may vary, thereby motivating alternative structures as a way of avoiding its usage.

Mohanan (1994b) analyses a similar constraint in Hindi, which prohibits nouns with identical case marking from occurring adjacent to one another. One place where this problem arises in Hindi is in modal constructions that require dative subjects as in (289) and (290):

289) *ram-ko   kʰət   lɪkʰ-na   pəɖa*
 Ram-DAT letter(NOM) write-INF   fall.PF
 'Ram had to write a letter.'   [Hindi]

290) *??**ram-ko   bəccõ-ko   səmhal-na   pəɖa***
 Ram-DAT   children-ACC   take care-INF   fall.PF   [Hindi]
 'Ram had to take care of the children.'   (Mohanan 1994b:186)

In both (289) and (290) the subject is marked DAT by -ko, however in (290) the direct object, being animate and definite, is ACC marked. Since DAT and ACC case in Hindi are identical i.e. -ko marked, the result is a construction with two adjacent, identically marked nouns and is "partially or completely unacceptable" to many native speakers (Mohanan 1994b:186).

Mohanan provides the following examples in (291)-(293) – all of which are modifications of (290) – as proof that the unacceptability of (290) is the result of the adjacency of two identically marked nouns:

291) ***ram-ko***   *kəl*   ***bəccõ-ko***   *səmhal-na*   *pəḍa*
    Ram-DAT yesterday children-ACC take care.INF fall.PF
    'Ram had to take care of the children yesterday.'   [Hindi]

292) ***ram-ko***   *əpni bəhin-ke*   ***bəccõ-ko***   *səmhal-na*   *pəḍa*
    Ram-DAT   self's sister-GEN children-ACC take care.INF fall.PF
    'Ram had to take care of his sister's children.'   [Hindi]

293) ***ram-ko*** *[pause]* ***bəccõ-ko***   *səmhal-na*   *pəḍa*
    Ram-DAT   children-ACC   take care.INF   fall.PF   [Hindi]
    'Ram [pause] had to take care of the children.'   (Mohanan 1994b:187)

Examples (291)-(293) above demonstrate that two *-ko* marked core arguments are acceptable in the same finite phrase in Hindi, provided they are separated by an adjunct as in (291), a modifying second noun as in (292), or a pause as in (293) (Mohanan 1994b:187). Although Mohanan acknowledges that the degree of acceptability varies greatly among speakers, evidence is sufficient to ascertain existence of an asymmetry between (290) and (291)-(293) (Mohanan 1994b:187).

      Mohanan then gives the contrasting examples of (294) and (295), demonstrating that the same constraint shown above with regard to *-ko* marked nouns, also applies to *-se*, which in Hindi functions as an instrumental and ablative marker, and also marks demoted agents in passive and causative constructions (see Ahmed 2007):

294) *??rəvi*   ***ram-se*** ***cʰəḍi-se***   *piṭa*   *gəya*
    Rav(NOM)   Ram-INSTR cane-INSTR   beat.PF go.PST
    'Ravi was beaten with a cane by Ram.'   [Hindi]

295) ***ram-se***   *rəvi*   *bəhʊt bar*   ***cʰəḍi-se***   *piṭa*   *gəya*
    Ram-INSTR Rav(NOM) many times   cane-INSTR beat.PF go.PST   [Hindi]
    'Ravi was beaten many times by Ram with a cane.' (Mohanan 1994b:188)

The intuitive preference for (294) over (295) appears to be due to the adjacency and identical case marking on the demoted agent and the instrument.

      This constraint on *-se* seems to extend beyond the passive, as shown with the following examples in (296) of the same basic sentence with six different variations to the constituent order:

296) a. *ram-ne*   ***cʰəḍi-se***   *cʊhe-ko* ***kəmre-se*** *bʰəgaya*
    Ram-ERG   cane-INSTR mouse-ACC room-ABL run.CAUS.PF
    'Ram drove the mouse out of the room with a cane.'   [Hindi]

    b. ***cʰəḍi-se***   *ram-ne cʊhe-ko* ***kəmre-se*** *bʰəgaya*

    c. ***kəmre-se*** *ram-ne cʊhe-ko* ***cʰəḍi-se*** *bʰəgaya*

d. *ram-ne **kəmre-se** cʊhe-ko   cʰəḍi-se bʰəgaya*

e. *?? ram-ne **kəmre-se cʰəḍi-se** cʊhe-ko bʰəgaya*

f. *?? ram-ne **cʰəḍi-se kəmre-se** cʊhe-ko bʰəgaya*   (Mohanan 1994b:189)

Among these various constituent orders in (296.a-f)*,* in which instrumental as well as ablative nouns are marked by *-se*, the only two judged unacceptable by speakers are (296.e) and (296.f), and these are the two in which the *-se* marked nouns are adjacent (Mohanan 1994b:189).

While it would seem intuitive to explain this asymmetry in acceptability in terms of a rule that no two identically marked nouns can appear adjacent to one another, Mohanan gives several examples to show that this is not exclusively the case:

297) *pʰəl   bʰucal-ki   **vəjəh-se   peḍ-se**   gɪrne ləge*
fruit-NOM earthquake-GEN reason-INSTR tree-ABL   fall.NF bestruck.PF
'Fruit started falling from the tree because of the earthquake.'   [Hindi]
(Mohanan 1994b:199)

In (297), two *-se* marked nouns – one instrumental and the other locative/ablative – are adjacent and the result is acceptable. Mohanan points out that in previous examples (291)-(293) the nouns in question were participants subcategorised in the lexical semantics of the predicate. The verb 'beat' implies the presence of an agent and an instrumental, while 'fall' has no specified 'reason' as a part of its semantic structure (Mohanan 1994b:199). For this she identifies the rule that "[a]djacent nouns with identical case endings, associated with participants of the same predicate, are disallowed in Hindi", although notes that this is not absolute (Mohanan 1994b:200).

This can be seen to apply to non-participants such as adjuncts of time, as well as participants of different predicates in (298) and (299):

298) *ram-ko   rat-ko   rəvi   mɪla*
Ram-DAT night-at Ravi(NOM) meet.PF
'Ram met Ravi at night.'   [Hindi]

299) *ɪla   ram-ko   bəccõ-ko   bʊlane bʰejegi*
Ila(NOM) Ram-ACC children-ACC call.INF send.FUT   [Hindi]
'Ila will send Ram to call the children.'   (Mohanan 1994b:200)

In (298) the dative participant is adjacent to the *-ko* marked adjunct of time. In (299) the *-ko* marked accusative object 'Ram' is an argument of the predicate of the matrix clause and next to the *-ko* marked accusative 'child' of the embedded predicate. Both results are acceptable to native speakers.

Though Mohanan (1994b) attempts to explain the constraints in the above Hindi examples by a language specific modification of the Obligatory Contour Principle, originally formulated to explain the prohibition of identical tonal sequences (see Leben 1973; Goldsmith 1976, cf. Mohanan 1994b), it suffices here to conclude that Hindi is resistant to the adjacent occurrence of identically marked arguments of the same predicate (Mohanan 1994b:213).

The Bangru examples (287) and (288) (repeated in (300) and (301)), are a minimal pair that seems to demonstrate a similar constraint to that suggested by Mohanan:

300) *kʊte-**kæ** mary*
    dog-kæ   strike.IMP
    'Strike the dog.'   [Bangru]

301) *kʊte-næ ḍənḍe-**kæ** mary*
    dog- næ stick-kæ   strike.IMP   [Bangru]
    'Strike the dog with a stick.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:69)

Although data is insufficient to test this hypothesis, it may be that the direct object is marked by the clitic *-kæ* so long as *-kæ* is not needed to mark an instrument. When the *-kæ* marked instrumental is added, and appears adjacent to the direct object as in (301), the direct object takes the other optional case marker *-næ*.

4.2.3. Homophonous case in other varieties of Bhili

So far in this section I have given several examples from CIA languages in which homophonous case patterns with the potential to become grammatically redundant. While I did not come across such patterns in my own data of Bhili dialects, I strongly suspect that homophonous ERG-ACC-DAT case does occur frequently within Bhili and related Khandeśi dialects. Below I will go through a number of examples taken from Grierson's (1907) sample texts of Bhili and Khandeśi. Due to the small size and dated nature of the corpus, the existence of these constructions needs to be verified. Nevertheless, this should be of interest for future data collection to scholars interested in this phenomenon.

4.2.3.1. Wagdi of Mahikantha

The only Wagdi dialect for which Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III, 38) has a sample text is that spoken in the northeastern corner of the historical region of Mahikantha, which is significantly different from the Wagdi of Dungarpur and Banswada:

302) *cʰoʈəkya-na   bap-na   kɪyo*
     younger-ERG   father-DAT   say.PF.MS   [Wagdi]
     'The younger one said to his father…'   (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III, 38)

4.2.3.2. Khandeśi

Based on Grierson's (1907: Vol. 9-III) documentation of the Bhil languages, it seems that the dialect continuum that links Rajasthani to the south with Gujarati, and to the southwest with Marathi, contains a fluctuating inventory of postpositions. One significant shift within this region is that the dative-accusative *-n-* rooted marker used in the Rajasthani and Gujarati-speaking region changes to *-l-* as one approaches the Marathi-speaking region. In Marathi, *-l-* marks singular objects while *-n-* marks plural object, yet some Khandeśi dialects use variations of the two - i.e. *-le, -la, -ne, -na* seemingly interchangeably. Simultaneously, ergative subjects may take *-na, -ni,* and *-ne* (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III, 205). The following sentences are taken from a passage specimen in Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III:216):

303) *ek cor-na   dəgəḍ mar-na, to   mə-ni   gal-na   lag-a*
     one thief-ERG stone throw-PF that 1stPRO-GEN cheek-ACC   hit.PF.MS
     'One thief threw a stone which hit me on the cheek.'   [Khandeśi]

304) *ek cor-na   mə-la   bʰala   ʈocʰ-na*
     one thief-ERG 1stPRO-ACC spear   pierce-PF   [Khandeśi]
     'One of the thieves pricked me with a spear.' (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III:216)

In (303), ergative and accusative NPs are both marked by *-na*, yet occur in separate clauses. In (304), the ergative subject again is marked *-na* yet the direct object is marked by the other optional accusative marker *-la*. Due to the extremely limited corpus of Khandeśi data, it cannot be ascertained whether or not, due to the danger of ambiguity, subject and object can be identically marked within the same minimal clause, or if there are other semantic factors governing this alternation of object marking. I suspect, however, supporting Verbeke's (n.d.) claim with Harauti, that the language optionally uses other case markers in its inventory to avoid ambiguity.

4.2.3.3. Labhani of Berar

Labhani of Berar, a dialect of the Banjara tribes around Akola district, Maharashtra, shows tendencies of homophonous ergative-accusative-dative marking. The only available data is again from Grierson, in which it is described as a "rough kind of

Western Rajasthani much mixed with Gujarati" (Grierson 1907: 9-III, 261). The accusative-dative post-position can be *-ne* or *-na,* as well as *-re* or *-ra* (presumably a dialectical difference). The agent can also be marked *-ne* but is "often weakened to *-na*". However Grierson notes that the "agentive" i.e. ergative case is usually dropped in favour of the nominative with the perfective agent controlling verb agreement (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III). In the text provided, however, several instances of simultaneous ERG-ACC/DAT marking do occur:

305) *tare   bape-ne   ləṭa   kɛlḍu-na   kaṭ-o   cʰa*
     your   father-ERG fattened calf-ACC   slaughtered-MS   AUX.3ʳᵈ.PRS
     'Your father has slaughtered a fattened calf.'   [Labhani of Berar]

306) *je-na   taro   mal-məta   kəcʰni-ne   wəraḍ   dɪn-o*
     REL-ERG your   property   harlots-DAT squander give-MS
     'He who squandered the property on harlots…'   [Labhani of Berar]

(Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III, 266)

In (305) the perfective agent is marked *-ne* while the direct object takes *-na*. In (306) it is the *-na* that goes to the agent and *-ne* to the dative indirect object. With only two examples available, we cannot determine the factors – semantic, agreement, or otherwise – that govern the alternation between *-ne* and *-na*, or whether one of the two may appear simultaneously on subject and direct/indirect object.

4.2.3.4. Rangari Khandeśi

The subdialect of Khandeśi spoken by the Rangari cast of Akola district uses *-no, -na* to marked dative/accusative and *-ne, -na, -n* to mark ergative subjects with the exception of first-person pronouns with which the nominative *mi* becomes *mya* (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III:229). The following are taken from another short passage specimen in Grierson:

307) *bap-na   apna   cʰakəro-hã-na   sang-i*
     father-ERG REFL   servant-PL-ACC   say-PF.F
     'Father said to his servants…'   [Khandeśi; Rangari Dialect]

308) *tɛ-na   bap-na   ʋttər dedʰ-u*
     him-ERG father-ACC reply   give-PF.N
     'He replied to him that…'   [Khandeśi; Rangari Dialect]

309) *tɛ-na   tehū-na pɛso waṭi   dɪdʰ-o*
     him-ERG   them-DAT wealth divide.PTCP give-PF.MS
     'He divided the wealth and gave it do them.'   [Khandeśi; Rangari Dialect]

310) *tɛ-**na*** *ədcən* *pəḍwa* *ləg-i*
him-DAT difficulty fall.INF begin-PF.F
'He began running into difficulty.' (lit. Because of that, to him difficulties
began to occur.)   [Khandeśi; Rangari Dialect]

311) *mə-**na*** *tu-**na*** *kədi* *sɛli-nu* *pɪlu* *dedʰ-u* *nəhi*
me-DAT   you-ERG   even she-goat-GEN young-one give-PF.N   NEG
'You have not even given me a young she-goat.' [Khandeśi; Rangari Dialect]

(Grierson 1907: 9-III, 232-33)

One could predict that homophonous SUBJ-OBJ case would occur more frequently
in Rangari Khandeśi, since (311) shows that second-person pronouns are marked
ergative (recall from 4.2. that first- and second-person pronouns are highest on the
animacy scale and therefore least likely to take overt ergative marking) and human
nouns may take the same ergative marker *-na*.

Summary of 4.2.

While identical marking of core arguments has been attested in languages, such as
Vafsi in Iran, the reason for these "'nondiscriminative' coding strategies" is assumed
to be rooted in the lexical features of the NPs they are marking rather than the
"relational structure of the clause" (Arkadiev 2008). Arkadiev points to Hindi as an
example of a language in which the "functional-semantic factors" determining case
marking are the same, yet contrast in terms of how these markings surface. Hindi,
unlike Vafsi, has a separate marker for A and O. Arkadiev attributes the difference in
"surface realisation" to the "more or less arbitrary" fact that Hindi has a larger
inventory of case morphemes and not to the function of the case markers
themselves. Harauti and Bangru have case systems that closely resemble that of
Hindi, and in both the same form may be used to mark A as well as O, yet Harauti
(and perhaps Bangru as well) finds ways to avoid repetitive use in the same clause
by utilising other markers in its case inventory. By examining these and other
regional languages, it may be possible to better understand the function these case
markers.

4.3. Referential hierarchy and ergative marking

Up until this point, split ergativity in NIA has been shown to be a highly
heterogeneous areal feature despite certain consistent characteristics, e.g. that
certain types of agent NPs of perfective transitive clauses tend to be marked

ergative, and that perfective transitive verbs agree with unmarked or all direct objects. Also in section 1.3.4.2., I briefly reviewed the topic of NP-split, showing that most NIA languages have overt ergative marking for all types of NPs, and this split in marking distribution does not appear to be at random.

Cross-linguistically certain types of NPs, such as nominals and common names, tend to be less marked than others, such as pronouns, in the semantic role of agent – with which ergativity is commonly associated. Therefore, by implication, a language that has overt ergative marking for the latter will also have it for the former (see Siewierska 2008). Furthermore, within the pronominal system, first- and second-person pronouns are less likely to be marked ergative than third-person pronouns. The reason for this subsplit can be explained by the inherent semantic differences related to the grammatical category of PERSON (Siewierska 2008). It is generally acknowledged that factors of volitionality or agentivity of the core arguments in a clause can be decisive in determining their case marking (de Hoop and de Swart 2008:1). Animacy and definiteness of the NP arguments are commonly cited as features that determine volitionality and prototypicality of agent vs. patient roles. As different types of NPs vary in the degree to which they carry these features, it is not uncommon for a language to differentiate subject marking based on an NP-split where certain NPs are more likely than others to take ergative or accusative marking when in the grammatical function of subject or object (see Silverstein 1976; Comrie 1989; Siewierska 2004, 2008). This Referential Hierarchy (RH), illustrated in figure 4.4. (repeat from 2.2. in section 2.3.4.2.), in many ways complements the notion of volitionality, since in general, the more prominent an NP is on the hierarchy, the more likely it is to be animate and definite. Its properties are thereby more prototypical of the role of agent:

4.4. Silverstein's Referential Hierarchy

1> 2> 3> proper> common> human> animate> inanimate
Nom/Acc ⟶   ⟵   Erg/Abs

(Silverstein 1976)

The diagram in 4.4. suggests that NP types that are highest in the person/animacy hierarchy are least likely to be marked ergative when in the role of subject. Silverstein (1976) argues that split case marking systems are not 'random' but are determined by a hierarchy of "inherent lexical content". The farther to the left an NP ranks on the hierarchy in 4.4., the more is its "naturalness" to "function as an agent," making it less marked in the role of subject (Silverstein 1976:113). Comrie's (1989)

states that "the most natural kind of transitive construction is one where the A is high in animacy and definiteness, and the P is lower in animacy and definiteness" and "we would expect languages to have some special device to indicate that the A is low in animacy or definiteness or that the P is high in animacy or definiteness" (Comrie 1989:121).

While the vast majority of Indo-Aryan languages follow a pattern consistent with that implied by the RH, several languages have NP-splits that go against it. In this section I will present data from Kherwada Wagdi, a variety of Wagdi that has obligatory ergative marking on pronouns, but only optional marking on nominals. I hypothesise that this more general split between pronominal and nominal NPs is related to diachronic shift (de Hoop and de Swart 2008:1), in line with Comrie's acknowledgement that the ergative system may be more likely to survive in pronouns that are "conservative morphologically", and therefore more resistant to change (Comrie 1995:203).

4.3.1. REVERSE NP-SPLITS

Although the vast majority of cross-linguistic data supports the predictions of RH, it is not a universal. Filimonova (2005) cites examples from a wide variety of languages, yet acknowledges a concentration in the Indo-Iranian and Australian language families, the former being the more relevant for the current study as it includes languages related to Kherwada Wagdi. Indo-Aryan languages such as Rajasthani (cf. Magier 1983; Khokhlova 1995) and Tirahi, as well as the Iranian languages Parachi, Yazgulami, Upper Wakhi, all display morphologically split-ergative alignment in perfective constructions, yet overt ergative marking only appears on pronouns. In Tirahi, for examples, Filimonova (2005:88) states that "the ergative construction can be completely displaced by the nominative one" on human nouns, as in (312) and (313):

312) *məla   gəna   pʊtr-əsi jəwab dɪta*
     father.NOM elder   son-PP   answer gave
     'Father gave an answer to the elder son.'   [Tirahi]

313) *sʊre   pʊtər   tanu   mal   jəma kere*
     little.M son.NOM his   property.OBL   gathered   [Tirahi]
     'The young son gathered his goods and chattels.'
                                              (Grierson 1925:410; Edel'man 1965:114)
                                                               (cf. Filimonova 2005:88)

First- and second-person pronouns, however, take oblique case as the subject of a perfective, transitive construction as in (314) and (315):[19]

314) *mɛ   dɪta   wa*
    I.OBL give. PtPpl   AUX.PST.3MS   [Tirahi]
    'I beat (him).'   (Edel'man 1965:115)

315) *te   le bana kama ədəm-əsi əcʰɪta   ti*
    2SG.OBL DEM thing.NOM who man-PP buy. PtPpl AUX.PRS.3MS
    'From which man have you bought this thing?'   [Tirahi]
    (Edel'man 1965:117-18) (cf. Filimonova 2005:88)

Filimonova (2005) observes that all known cross-linguistic RH violations involve pronominal NPs, and she attributes this phenomenon to diachronic case attrition. Despite lack of diachronic evidence to support this assumption, Filimonova observes (cf. Èdel'man 1965), while most Dardic languages have an ergative pattern which marks all agents of past tensed clauses oblique, in certain Dardic languages such as Bashkarik, this marking has become optional on both pronouns and nominals. Tirahi is supposedly then a case where ergative attrition on nominals is complete, yet pronouns have lagged behind is the process of realignment.[20] This assumes that if the NIA languages examined are in the process of ergative to accusative realignment, the first NPs to lose their morphological marking are nominals, while "[p]ronouns being deictic words, belong to the most archaic parts of the lexicon, and can be considered to be more stable and resistant to phonological, morphological, and syntactic change" (Filimonova 2005:98). Based on this assumption, Filimonova predicts that in any realignment from one case system to another, change will begin at the low end of the RH, i.e. with inanimate nouns, on to animate nouns, and finally to first- and second-person pronouns (Filimonova 2005:98).[21] However, while Haig (2008:183) acknowledges the plausibility this historical scenario, with regard specifically to Iranian languages, he states that there are no significant occurrences of it. In Iranian languages that have undergone ergative case attrition on third-person NPs, such as Abyanei, the result is that ergative marking is simultaneously abandoned on SAP-pronouns.

      Bickel (2008:203) states that the etymological origin and 'paradigm' of the case morphology may be relevant in understanding these rare counterexamples to

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[19] Filimonova (2005:89) states that third person pronouns are the same forms as demonstratives and are invariant, although she does not provide any examples.
[20] Filimonova (2005:89) also observes that (cf. Grierson 1925) that oblique marking seems to have extended to first person S pronouns, a phenomenon that has occurred at other points in the development of Indo-Aryan (see section 4).
[21] Based on this analysis, it remains unclear why inanimate nouns would necessarily change before animates, rather than simply nominal NPs in any order before pronominals – if the argument is based on the assumption that the relative stability of pronouns is due to their deictic nature, which sets them in a class of their own.

the RH. Garrett (1990:286) observes that "while NP ergative splits crosslinguistically can occur at any point" in the hierarchy, it is usually the common nouns that take the ergative marking while pronouns appear nominative. Supporting the premise that the historical origins of morphological ergativity are due to reanalysis of the instrumental marker, he points out that while the adoption of "an originally inanimate case marker to animate nouns" is a plausible historic innovation, the "extension of the same form into the pronominal system is less likely to occur" (Garrett 1990:286). This seems to have been the case in Indo-Aryan. As will be shown in section 4 below, late Middle Indo-Aryan and early New Indo-Aryan had an ergative construction in which ergative subjects, nominal or pronominal, were marked oblique.

Bickel (2008) makes the following hypothesis in (316) that he tests against typological data:

316) *The Marking-based RH Hypothesis:*
a. For A arguments, the odds for zero case-marking correlate positively with the rank of the argument on the referential hierarchy.   (Bickel 2008:191)

Using Comrie's (2005) sample of case marking in 170 languages, Bickel found 20 languages "in line with the Marking-based Hypothesis" and two "in conflict with it" (Comrie 2005:202). One of the conflicting languages is Iraqw, a Cushitic language where nouns take accusative, and pronouns 'neutral' alignment. The other is the Austronesian language Chamorro, where nouns take neutral and pronouns ergative alignment (Comrie 2005:202). Based on this relatively limited sample, Chamorro is the only language in which the ergative marking distribution could be said to parallel that of Kherwada Wagdi (see section 3.2.). Bickel acknowledges that a larger sample would be needed to "postulate robust universals" and that, as Comrie (2005) also notes, four out of the twenty languages are from Australia, which forces us to consider areal/genealogical factors that may come into play (cf. Bickel 1999).

4.3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF AGENT MARKING IN NIA

4.3.2.1. NIA in general

Stronski (2010) asserts that "all possible alignments [of A, S, and O] are traceable" in NIA, and that the tendencies in the continuum of ergative morphology range from total 'disappearance' as in the Eastern Hindi and Bihari dialects as well as Western Rajasthani, to its reinforcement as can be observed in Pahari dialects.

Hindi has a highly robust system of ergative marking as any agent of a perfective/transitive clause, whether nominal or pronominal, must be marked by the ergative *-ne* postposition. The verb then agrees in person, number, and gender with the direct object as in examples (317) and (318), provided it has no accusative *-ko* postposition as in (319) and (320):

317) *həm-ne   kɪtab   pədʰ-i*
    we-ERG   book.**F**   read-PERF.**FS**
    'We read the book.'   [Hindi]

318) *tʊm-ne   sare   deʃ   dekʰ-e   h ɛ̃*
    you-ERG   every country.**MP** see-PF.**MP**   AUX.**PL**
    'You have seen every country.'   [Hindi]

319) *admi-ne   ɪn   ləɖkõː-ko   dekʰ-a   h ɛ*
    man-ERG   3ʳᵈPL.OBL boys.OBL.MP-ACC   see-PF.**MS**   AUX.**MS**
    'The man has seen those boys.'   [Hindi]

320) *həm-ne   ʊs   ləɖki-ko   dekʰ-a*
    we-ERG   that   girl.FS-ACC   see-PERF.**MS**
    'We saw that girl.'   [Hindi]

Marathi differs from Hindi in that third-person pronouns and nominals take ergative marking while first- and second-person pronouns remain unmarked, as in examples (321), (322) and (323):

321) *kaʃi-ne   pʊstak   vac-l-i*
    Kashi.M-ERG   book.**FS**.   read-PF-**3FS**   [Marathi]
    'Kashi read the book.'   (Wali 2005:46)

322) *tyã-ni   amha-la   həs-av-l-e*
    they-ERG   we-ACC   laugh-CAUS-PF-**N**
    'They made us laugh.'   [Marathi]

323) *mi sərv kam   sənp-le   ahe*
    I   all   work.**N**   finish-PF.**N**   AUX.PRS   [Marathi]
    'I have finished all the work.'   (Raeside and Nemade 1991)

In examples (321) and (322) the ergative subjects are respectively a proper name and a third pronoun, and both are overtly marked. In (323) the subject is the first-person singular pronoun, and though the verb agrees in gender with the unmarked direct object as in Hindi, the subject is in the same invariant form with no overt ergative marker.

    Similar to Marathi where third pronouns and not first- or second-person pronouns are A/S variant (i.e. subjects of transitive and intransitive clauses are marked differently), most NIA languages have some kind of ergative marking split.

Panjabi, for example, follows the same pattern as Marathi. In other languages such as Gujarati and some varieties of Wagdi, third-person pronouns and NPs are overtly marked ergative by means of a postpositioned clitic, while singular first- and second-person pronouns take an oblique form, and first- and second-person plurals are invariant. In Assamese, ergative marking occurs only on common nouns.[22] Hindi, therefore, is an exceptional case in which all types of ergative subjects take the same *-ne* clitic as a marker. With the above examples as a representative overview, it would appear that NIA languages in general tend to be in line with the universal tendency that animate, definite referring subjects are least likely to be marked as agents (Aissen 2003:473), and therefore are consistent with the person/animacy hierarchy suggested by Silverstein (1976).

4.3.2.2. Ergative marking in Kherwada Wagdi

In Kherwada Wagdi common nouns are frequently invariant between nominative and ergative functions, while pronouns are obligatorily marked for ergative case based on the paradigm in (324)

324)   **Kherwada Wagdi NOM-ERG: Pronoun paradigm**

		Number	
Case	**Person**	**Sg.**	**Pl.**
NOM	1	*mu*	*hami* / *ame*
ERG	1	*mi*	*hami* / *ame*
NOM	2	*tu*	*tamai*
ERG	2	*ti*	*tamai*
NOM	3 PROX	*yo*	*yo*
ERG	3 PROX	*a-ne*	*a-ne*
NOM	3 REM	*vo*	*vo*
ERG	3 REM	*va-ne*	*va-ne*

Note that in Kherwada Wagdi first- and second-person singular pronouns take an oblique form in which the *-u* vowel is replaced by *-i* while the plural form is invariant.

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[22] Note that all of the languages mentioned thus far follow some type of ergative-nominative agreement pattern, regardless of marking.

Third person pronouns take the ergative clitic -ne or -ɳe which also attaches to an oblique form. This morphological asymmetry of first- and second- from third-person pronouns is not uncommon crosslinguistically, and is particularly common in Indo-Aryan and Iranian where first- and second-person pronouns tend to be derived through slow evolution from pronominal forms, while third-person pronouns are often newer borrowings from the demonstrative inventory (see Grierson 1895a:345-47). Similarly, Haig (2008:135)observes a similar course taken by Iranian languages where Speech Act Participants (SAP), i.e. first- and second-person pronouns, tend to differ from the "rest of the nominal lexicon" in terms of both "type, and number, of case-distinctions", and that most languages concerned lack a third-person pronoun that is unique to that function. Forms that are otherwise demonstrative in function "correspond to English *he, she, it* etc" (Haig 2008:135).

Since pronouns of all PERSONS take ergative marking it would follow, based on Silverstein's person/animacy hierarchy in (3.4), that proper names and human/animate nouns would also be overtly ergative, as these are lower on the scale and therefore less marked in the role of subject (Aissen 2003). Non-pronoun agents, however, are not required to take ergative marking as shown in examples (325)-(327):

325) a. *papa-Ø   hetta kagəj   nɔkər   həti pʰekwa   did-a*
      father.MS(ERG) all   paper.**MP** servant INSTR throw.CAUS give-PF.**MP**
      'Father had the servant throw away all the papers.'

    b. *ti   hetta kagəj   nɔkər   həti pʰek-wa   did-a*
      you.ERG all   paper.**MP** servant INSTR throw.CAUS give-PF.**MP**
      'You had the servant throw away all the papers.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

326) a. *sori   kʰava   kʰai   did-u*
      girl-Ø   food.NOM.**N** eat   give-**N**
      'The girl ate the food.'

    b. *mi   kʰava kʰadu*
      I.ERG food take.PF.N
      'I take food.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

327) a. *ʃila   rətna-ne   sita-ne   ʊʈʰava   bəlle kyũ*
      Sheela-ERG Ratna-COM Sita-ACC get up-TRANS.INF for say.PF.N
      'Sheela asked Ratna to make Sita rise.'

    b. *aɳe   / vaɳe   rətna-ne sita-ne   ʊʈʰava   bəlle kyũ*
    3rdPROX.ERG / 3rdREM.ERG Ratna-COM Sita-ACC get up-TRANS.INF for say.PF.N
      'He/They asked Ratna to make Sita rise.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

One could infer from the above examples that both proper names [as in (327.a)] as well as human nominals [as in (325.a) and (326.a)][23] do not require overt ergative marking, unlike pronouns [as in (325.b) - (327.b)]. This is futher supported by examples (328)-(334) all of which have non-pronoun perfective agents that are unmarked:

328) *sita-Ø gaḍi   mai keri   kʰad-i*
    Sita.FS car   in mango.F eat-PF.F
    'Sita ate a mango in the car.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

329) *salma-Ø sube   mai keri   kʰad-i*
    Salma.FS morning   in mango.F eat-PF.F
    'Salma ate a mango in the morning.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

330) *ram-Ø   keri   kap-i*
    Ram.MS   mango.**F**   cut-PF.**F**
    'Ram cut the mango.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

331) *ram-Ø   ε-ni   ai-ne   kale   cɪṭṭʰi ləkʰ-i*
    Ram.MS 3rdPRO-GEN.F mother-DAT yesterday letter write-PF.F
    'Yesterday, Ram wrote a letter to his mother.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

332) *gʊruji-Ø   vəṇa   sor-a-ne   [bʰənva bəlle²⁴]   ky-ũ*
    teacher.MS   DEM.OBL.MS   child-OBL-ACC   study   say-PF.**N**
    'The teacher told the child to study.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

333) *atankwadi-Ø rajiv gandʰi-ne   bam   ũ   mari   did-u / nak-y-u*
    terrorist.MP   Rajiv Gandhi-ACC bomb INSTR kill   give-PF.N / EMPH-PF-N
    'Terrorists killed Rajiv Gandhi with a bomb.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

334) *hanuman-Ø veni   pucʰ ũ   lanka bari did-i   / nak-yi*
    Hanuman 3rdPRO.GEN.F tail INSTR Lanka burn give-PF.F / EMPH-PF.F
    'Hanuman burned Lanka with his tail.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

In both (328) and (329) the subject is a feminine name and in (330) and (331) it is a masculine name. All are unmarked despite being the subject of a perfective transitive verb. In (332)-(334) the perfect transitive subjects are human nominals and again are unmarked.

    In examples (335)-(338) however the nominal subjects do appear to be marked ergative:

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[23] Examples (325.a-b) and (326.a) contain *light verb* constructions, where the main verb carrying the content appears in stem form and is followed by a second verb that is identical in form to a main verb which is inflected for tense/aspect information. Different light verbs are used to modify the main verb, contributing a semantic sense of benefaction (as in *did-* 'give' above), completion (*g-* 'go'), or forcefulness (e.g. *nak-* 'throw', see below). These forms of complex predication are a common areal feature in South Asian languages (see Hook 1974; Butt 1995; Butt 2003; Butt and Lahiri 2011).
[24] The function of the form is as yet unclear to the author, but the phrase appears to be infinitival.

335) *sor-ɛ   cəkku ũ   keri   kap-i*
   boy-ERG knife INSTR   mango.**F** cut-PF.**F**
   'The boy cut the mango with a knife.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

336) *sor-ɛ   kʰad-u   aur tʰənḍu pani   pid-u*
   children.MP-ERG   eat.PF-N and cold.N water.N drink.PF-N
   'The children ate and drank cold water.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

337) *ai-ɛ   puri   kahani hamravi ded-i*
   mother-ERG whole.F story.F tell   give-PF.F
   'The mother told the whole story.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

338) *ram-ɛ   keri   kap-te   tʰəke   angəri   kapi nak-i*
   Ram-ERG mango.FS   cut-PTCP be.PTCP   finger.**F**   cut EMPH-PF.**F**
   'Ram cut his finger while cutting the mango.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

In examples (335) and (336) the ergative marked subjects are masculine singular and masculine plural human nominals respectively, while in (337) and (338) it is *ai* 'mother' and the masculine name 'Ram' – the latter already seen unmarked in (330) and (331) above.[25]

Based on available data, the alternation of ERG/NON-ERG does not appear to be determined by any change in the semantics of the predicate. One might expect, for example, that an increase in transitivity signaled by the presence of a light verb such as the emphatic *nak-* or *did-* might result in ergative marking on the agent. The above examples, however, fail to demonstrate this as such complex predicates appear with both marked and unmarked agents.

It is possible to ascribe this apparent inconsistency in ergative marking to a general diachronic weakening of the ergative rule, similar to what took place in Old Rajasthani (see section 4 below). When asked directly about this phenomenon with regard to particular examples, speakers generally acknowledged the optionality of the ergative marker *-ɛ* and considered the effect to be there regardless of the whether the clitic was pronounced or not. While such speakers' perceptions cannot in any way pass for evidence for covert ergative case, it is worth considering that, especially if the marker is in the process of being phased out in ordinary speech, the ergativity status of the NP may not be dependent on its phonological realisation of this clitic.

If the agent of a perfective transitive clause remains ergative regardless of overt marking, we might consider other factors that can also serve as indicators of grammatical alignment. While ergativity typically refers to ergative case marking on the A argument, alignment in NIA is generally accomplished through a combination

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[25] The ergative clitic *-ɛ* is the same form that is used in other Wagdi dialects.

of case marking and verb-NP agreement patterns. Verbeke (2010:37) observes that in certain Rajasthani dialects "ergative agreement" – i.e. agreement of the verb with the O and S – is a far more reliable indicator of grammatical relations, as argument-marking patterns tend to be complicated and seem to serve a purpose other than indicating alignment. In Kherwada Wagdi, perfective transitive verbs agree with the unmarked object, take a default neuter suffix when the object is marked accusative as in (331) above, and can never agree with the subject. This ergative agreement pattern appears to be unaffected by the presence or absence of the ergative clitic on the subject.

It should be noted as well that, even when unmarked by the ergative clitic, the perfective A appears to be oblique. This is indicated by the oblique form of the dependents in the noun phrase such as the modifying demonstrative in (340) and (341) which are required to agree in case with the head:

339) *vo   soro je-ne   bʊkʰar avi   ryo   tʰo,*
     DEM.DIR boy REL.ACC   fever   come CONT.MS AUX.PST.MS

    vo   kale   məri gyo   [Kherwada Wagdi]
    DEM.DIR   yesterday   die go.PF.MS

    'That boy who had a fever, he died yesterday.'

340) *vaṇe   admi-Ø mə-ne mar-y-u*
     DEM.OBL man   I-ACC   hit-PF-N
     'That man hit me.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

341) *vaṇe   admi-ɛ   kɪsan-ne mari dedu*
     DEM.OBL man-ERG farmer-ACC kill give.PF-N
     'That man killed the farmer.'   [Kherwada Wagdi]

The subject of both clauses in (329) is the third-person pronoun, which in Kherwada Wagdi – and most other NIA languages – is the same form as the demostrative pronoun, and here it appears in its direct (i.e. nominative) form *vo.* In both (340) and (341) the subject NP is composed of an obique demonstrative modifying the head noun *admi,* which in the latter is followed by the ergative clitic. Although *admi* in (340) is not overtly marked, its oblique status is marked in agreement on the demonstrative.

From examples (339)-(341) it appears that alternation of ergative marking on subject NPs is not an instance of ERG/NOM case alternation, and that even when unmarked, perfective A arguments should be considered ergative. Here it is worth noting that Old Hindi, prior to the innovation of the ergative *-ne* clitic around the sventeenth century (see Beames 1874:270), is generally agreed to have had an

ergative construction yet no specific ergative marker. Ergative subjects took a simple oblique form as shown in (342) and (343):

342) *jɪhɪ   rəc-e   sʊrəga   bʰu   sətta   patalə*
    who.OBL create-PF.MP heaven.M.NOM earth.NOM seven.NOM hell.M.NOM
    'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.'   [Old Hindi]
    [He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]
             (Chand, Prithiraja-Rasau i.11) (cf. Beames 1874:267)

343) *mɛ royo   sab jagat-ko   mo-ko rovɛ   na koi*
    I.OBL cry.PF.MS all world-ACC I-ACC cry.IMPF NEG someone

    mo-ko rovɛ   so   jana jo sabd   viveki   hoi
    I-ACC cry.IMPF so   ??? REL word contemplation happen.PF.F

    'I have wept for the whole world, no one weeps for me,
    That man weeps for me who contemplates the word.'
             (Kabir, Sakhi) (cf. Beames 1874:269)

344) *məsi   kagēd   cʰu-yo   nəhɪ kələm   gəhɪ   nəhi hatʰ*
    ink.NOM paper.M.NOM touch-PF.MS not   pen.FS take.PF.FS not   hand

    jaro   jʊga   mahatm̄ə   jehi   kəbir   jən-yo   natʰ
    four.PL age.PL glory.NOM who.SG.ACC Kabir.(OBL) know-CAUS.PF.MS lord.NOM

    'Kabir touched not ink nor paper, he took not pen in hand; He made known
    the lord to whom is glory in the four ages.'   [Old Hindi]
             (Kabir, Sakhi 183, cf. Beames 1874:269)

In (342) the relative pronoun is oblique and the verb agrees with the masculine plural direct object. In (343) the ergative subject is an oblique first-person pronoun. The subject in (344), 'Kabir', is a proper name, and ending in a consonant cannot show oblique marking. However, while in modern Hindi it would take a -*ne* clitic as an ergative suffix, in Old Hindi it is invariant between direct and oblique form. In the first line of the verse it is clear that the verb is agreeing with the feminine direct object *kələm.*

      In this section I have given an overview of ergative subject marking in NIA and shown that while in most cases ergative marking follows the Silverstein (1976) RH, Kherwada Wagdi goes against it. I propose that agents of perfective transitive clauses in Kherwada Wagdi are ergative regardless of whether or not they take the ergative clitic, and that the alternation of marking is due to a general weakening of the ergative rule in this variety to the point that it has become frequently dedundant in common speech. This is likely due to a process of ergative attrition and bears similarities to the diachronic changes in Old Rajasthani of the sxteenth century. In Section 4 I will examine the historical linguistic context of Kherwada Wagdi and diachronic change in the sister languages of Gujarati and Rajasthani.

4.3.3. ERGATIVE ATTRITION

As Kherwada Wagdi does not allow us any substantial scope to trace diachronic change, the only option is to attempt to reconstruct a plausible scenario based on trends in neighbouring languages that share similar origin. The historical development that is relevant to the current study begins during the fifteenth century, around the time that Old Western Gujarati-Rajasthani split into two languages that would develop separately into modern Gujarati in the south and Marwari in the north (Khokhlova 2001:160). These two varieties are connected geographically via a dialect chain of which Kherwada Wagdi is included.

The ergative pattern that had developed in Apabhramsa (late MIA period), and lasted into the early NIA period, began to erode in Old Rajasthani with the loss of the instrumental marker (Khokhlova 2001). Tracing the history of Rajasthani, Khokhlova (1995, 2001) finds that while the case system in Old Rajasthani was strongly ergative, by the fifteenth-sixteenth-century ergative marking - which was formally identical with the instrument suffix - had become optional on nominals and yet remained obligatory on pronouns. The examples below are taken from a sixteenth-century Rajasthani text (Bhanaavat 1973) (cf. Khokhlova 2001:161). Here it can be seen that A/S opposition had by that time become optional on consonant final masculine agents, as well as feminine -*i* ending agents (Khokhlova 2001:161). The former is shown in the contrast between (345) and (346), and the latter between (347) and (348):

345) *kʊmar   tətkal   te   pʰul   sungʰarya*
     prince.NOM.MS immediately these flowers.NOM.**MP** smell.CAUS.PtPpl.**MP**
     'The prince immediately caused [her] to smell these flowers.'
                                                                    [Old Rajasthani]

346) *kʊmar-i   kəhɪu*
     prince.MS-INSTR   say.PtPpl.**N**
     'The prince said.'   [Old Rajasthani]

347) *kuttɪni   pucʰɪu*
     bawd.NOM.FS   ask.PtPpl.**N**
     'The bawd asked.'   [Old Rajasthani]

348) *kʊttɪni-i   vəyərsena   apna   gʰari   anyɔ*
     bawd.FS-INSTR Vayarsena.NOM.**MS**   self.LOC   house.LOC   bring.PtPpl.**MS**
     'The bawd brought Vayasena to her house.'   [Old Rajasthani]

(cf. Khokhlova 2001:161)

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Ergative marking in Old Rajasthani did however remain obligatory on pronouns as shown in examples (349)-(351) below:

349) *hũː … te matʰa   raja-n dekʰarsʊn*
     I.NOM those heads king-to show.FUT.1SG
     'I shall show those heads to the king.'   [Old Rajasthani]

350) *mai   pʊra-pʊrvi e   yogi-nũː ves   pəhɪrɪun nəthi*
      I.INSTR previously this yogin-GEN appearance put on.PtPpl NEG
     'I have never before worn the attire of an ascetic.'   [Old Rajasthani]

351) *sʊmɪtra nami   məntri tɪ-ni   hũː tʊmh kənhɛ mokəliu*
      Sumitra [by name] minister he-INSTR I.NOM you   to   send.PtPpl.MS
     'There is a minister, Sumitra by name, by him I am sent to you/ …he sent me to you.'
                                                                 [Old Rajasthani]
                                                             (Khokhlova 2001:163)

In (349) the first-person subject is nominative, while in (350) the form is instrumental and marked as such by the *-i* suffix fused to an oblique form of the pronoun. Example (351) shows that third-pronoun ergative subjects were marked by a separate *-ni* suffix.

Based on examples (345)-(351), it appears that Old Rajasthani by the fifteenth-sixteenth century followed an ergative marking pattern matching that of Kherwada Wagdi. This would continue to evolve until, in modern Rajasthani, first and second-person pronouns "have similar A and S marking" while all other pronouns and singular nouns "are showing attrition of the A/S opposition" (Khokhlova 2006:1). Magier (1983) claims that the last remaining vestige of ergative marking in Marwari (the most widely spread Rajasthani dialect) is on third pronouns, which may optionally take the oblique form in perfective transitive clauses such as (354) below. Examples (352) and (353) show that nominals as well as first- and second-person pronouns remain invariant:

352) *mʰɛ̃   kaĩː   kəri-y-o*
     I.DIR   what   do-PF-MS
     'What did I do?'   [Marwari]

353) *mʰaro   beʈo   kaĩː   kəri-y-o*
     my.DIR   son.DIR   what   do-PF-MS
     'What did my son do?'   [Marwari]

354) *vo ~ ũː   kaĩː   kəri-y-o*
     he.DIR ~ he.OBL what   do-PF-MS   [Marwari]
     'What did he do?'   (Magier 1983:311-12)

The constructions in (352)-(354) are all perfective and transitive. In (352) and (353) the subject is a first pronoun and a common noun respectively, and both take direct,

i.e. unmarked, nominative forms. In (354) the transitive subject is a third pronoun and it may optionally take either the direct or oblique form to mark ergative case.

Filimonova (2005:87) observes of Marwari that the direct first-person singular pronoun *mʰɛ̃*, as shown in (352), is derived from the oblique form in Old Rajasthani *mai* as in (350), showing that the original ergative form lost it exclusivity to A arguments having been extended to mark S arguments (a similar pheonomenon can be seen in Hindi and Marathi). Furthermore, the older *hũ* form still shows up in contrastive distribution with the newer form (Verbeke 2011):

355) *mʰɛ̃   bəḍa babu-ri   ṭebəl-rai-samaim   ubʰo   ho*
    I.NOM big   boss-GEN table-GEN-in front standing AUX-PST.MS   [Marwari]
    'I was standing in front of the table of the big boss.'   (Hamsa 1984)

356) *larla   dɪnam   səgəl-a   pətəmg   ʊḍavai ha   mɛ̃*
    passed days   all-NOM.MP kite.FS fly.IMPF AUX.PSTMP I

    məmma-naim   kə-yo
    ma-OBJ   say-PST.MS   [Marwari]
    'In the past days, everyone was flying a kite – I said to mamma.'
                         (Barhat 1984)

357) *mʰũ pəppu-nɛ̃   pucʰ-yo   tum ma't sahɪb-naim*
    I.NOM pappu-naim ask-PST.MS you.NOM master sir=OBJ

    kyʊm   koni   bʊla-yo
    why   not   invite.PST.MS   [Marwari]
    'I asked Pappu – Why did you not invite master?'   (Barhat 1984)

358) *mʰũ   məmmi=nɛ̃   kəi-yo,   pəṇ məmmi ɪsai kam-mem*
    I.NOM ma=OBJ   tell-PST.MS but ma.NOM such work=LOC

    pʰəmsər-i h-i   ke məmmi-nɛ̃   yad   koni rai-yo
    sunk-FS   AUX-PST.FS that ma=OBJ   memory[M]S not   stay.PST.MS

    maim papa-naim   kə-yo   pəṇ papa   bʰi   meri   bat
    I.NOM pa=OBJ   tell-PST.MS but pa.NOM also I.OBL=GEN word[F]S

    koni   sʊn-i
    not   hear-PST.FS

    'I told mamma, but mamma was sunk in so much work that mamma did not
    remember, I told papa – but papa also did not listen to my words.' [Marwari]
                          (Barhat 1984)

                          (cf. Verbeke 2011:214)

In example (355) the traditionally oblique form *mʰɛ̃* is used as an S, and in (356) it is an A. In (357) both *mʰũː* and *tum* are used as A, though both are historically direct

forms. Examples (358) shows both *m^{h}ũ* and *m^{h}ɛ̃* functioning as A arguments of the same perfective verb (cf. Verbeke 2011:214).

Examples (352)-(354) showed that Marwari's ergative marking favours pronouns over nominals, as the only possible ergative marked subject is the third pronoun which is higher on the animacy/definiteness hierarchy than animate nominals. This results in a split that goes against the Silverstein RH in diagram (a), which does distinguish first- and second- from third-person pronouns, as the former being 'speech act participants' (see DeLancey 1981) are necessarily animate and definite, and therefore less marked than third pronouns in the role of agent.[26]

It was mention in section 3 that third-person pronouns tend to be taken from newer demonstrative forms. Comparing examples (351) and (354) it can be observed that the form of the Old Rajasthani third pronoun seems to have been replaced by an entirely different form in modern Marwari. One possible explanation for the current asymmetry in the Marwari pronominal paradigm is that while the first- and second-person pronouns followed a gradual course of ergative erosion and realignment toward A/S invariance, the language innovated an entirely new third-person pronoun.

A similar innovation could have taken place in Kherwada Wagdi as well, but without the corresponding realignment of SAPs. Here it might be asked as to why a language that is in the process of shifting from A/S variant to A/S invariant alignment would innovate a new ergative clitic, as appears to have happened in the case of the -*ne* in Kherwada Wagdi. The question, however, assumes that ergative attrition necessarily occurs as a linear process without the possibility of countertrends. In other NIA languages ergative marking has often been reinforced through the introduction of new markers. Recall from section 2 that the modern Hindi ergative -*ne* marker is a more recent innovation for which no evidence exists prior to the seventeenth century (see Beames 1874:270). Examples (342)-(344) above showed that Old Hindi had an ergative construction though no specific ergative marker, as perfective transitive A arguments were marked oblique. The possibility must be considered then that Kherwada Wagdi may be on a similar course as sventeenth-century Hindi in adopting a presumably novel ergative marker, which, in the case of the former, has remain thus far restricted to third-person pronouns.

While Marwari, as well as other Rajasthani dialects, have undergone varying degrees of ergative marking attrition, Gujarati, another direct descendant of Old

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[26] It will be noted in both Old Rajasthani and Kherwada Wagdi that while all pronouns take ergative marking, third pronouns are marked differently i.e. by means of a -*n*- rooted suffix rather than an oblique form of the pronoun.

Rajasthani, continued to use instrumental case to mark ergative subjects as in (359) below from a sixteenth-century text:

359) *kidi-e   cɪlatipʊtra nɔ deha*
     ant-INSTR.FP [Chilati's son] of   body.NOM.MS

     calani ni pərin   kidʰɔ
     sieve of manner.INSTR.FS   do.PtPpl.MS

     'The body of the son of Chilati was made like a sieve by the ants.'
                                                   [Old Gujarati]
                                    (Dave 1935:66) (cf. Khokhlova 2001:164)

While Old Rajasthani began to lose its ergative marking on nominals soon after the two languages split, Modern Gujarati has retained much the same ergative marking pattern as the ancestral language. In modern Gujarati *-e* has been retained as the ergative marker on nominals, although this suffix has been almost entirely replaced in its original role as the instrumental marker. First- and second-person singular pronouns in Gujarati are also marked ergative by an oblique form while third pronouns take a cliticised *-ɳe* marker, resembling of Old Rajasthani and Kherwada Wagdi. First- and second-person plural, however, remain A/S invariant:

360) *hũ   kale   gʰɛr bəhu mɔdetʰi   pəhɔnci həti*
     I.NOM yesterday home very   late   arrive.PF AUX.PST.F
     'I arrived home very late yesterday.'   [Gujarati]

361) *mɛ̃   / tɛɳe   kale   akʰo divəs əbʰyas   kəryo   həto*
     I.ERG / 3rdPRO.ERG yesterday all   day study   do.PF.MS AUX.PST.MS
         'Yesterday I studied all day long.'   [Gujarati]
                                                         (Lambert 1971)

362) *sita-e   raj-ne   pajav-yo*
     Sita.F-ERG Raj.M-ACC   harass-PF.MS   [Gujarati]
     'Sita harassed Raj.'   (Deo and Sharma 2006:11)

Situated in a kind of geographical no-man's land between modern Gujarati and Marwari, Kherwada Wagdi seems to be diachronically at a medial stage between these two languages in terms of realignment from A/S variance toward A/S invariance. Based on the above examples, Kherwada Wagdi follows an ergative marking pattern similar to that of sixteenth-century Rajasthani in terms of the NP-split at a time when the latter was in the initial stages of ergative attrition. Both languages mark pronouns obligatorily and nominals optionally, and have the same ergative morphology for pronouns (oblique first- and second-person singular pronouns and postpositioned clitics for nominals).

Summary of 4.3.

Similar to other NIA languages, Kherwada Wagdi has ergative marking for some, but not all types of NPs. This NP-split, however, runs contrary to that implied by the Relational Hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976), as ergative marking is obligatory on all singular pronouns as well as on third-person plural, and is at most optional on nominals and common names. I propose that this 'reverse split' is due to diachronic attrition of ergative morphology, and is following a similar course as that taken by Old Rajasthani.

In this section I gave examples of the more common ergative marking patterns in NIA, demonstrating the heterogeneity of this areal feature, and compared these with the atypical case of Kherwada Wagdi. In 4.3.2. I compared Kherwada Wagdi with two languages with which it shares a common ancestry, Gujarati and Rajasthani, showing that these three varieties vastly differ in regard to loss – as in Rajasthani – and preservation – as in Gujarati – of their ergative morphology. Kherwada Wagdi provides an interesting parallel, as its ergative marking pattern seems to be at a stage of attrition similar to that of Old Rajasthani in the sixteenth century, soon after it split with Gujarati. In 4.3.3., the scope was broadened to include languages of all families that have some kind of reverse NP-split, and different theories were considered to explain the cause of these splits.

4.4. Historical case innovation

In this section I will address the historical origin of the NIA case system, and its relevance to theories regarding the diachronic change in function of case morphemes. The origin of the NIA split-ergative construction – an issue that was touched upon in section 2.3.7. – is one that remains contentious. Here I present examples from Dehwali, a Bhili dialect spoken by the Vasava Bhil community primarily in Narmada district of Gujarat (Choksi 2009:64). I will demonstrate how the Dehwali ergative marker has inflectional features that make it unique in NIA and how the historical origin and development of these features are potentially revealing of how a language may reemploy certain case clitics in its inventory – or those borrowed from a proximate language – and reanalyse them in different grammatical roles.

As in most NIA languages, morphological ergativity in Dehwali is limited to perfective, transitive clauses, as in (363)-(365) below:

363) *maha-h   poyranh-ne   hue-y-a*
     man-ERG   boys-ACC   see-PF-MP
     'The man saw the boys.'   [Dehwali]

364) *yaki-h   poyra-l   kʰəvav-y-o*
     mother-ERG   son-ACC   feed-PF-MS
     'Mother fed (her) son.'   [Dehwali]

365) *nɔkorũ-hũː   tʰeyi-le   ṭok-i*
     servant.N-ERG   woman-ACC   beat-PF.F
     'The servant beat the woman.'   [Dehwali]

In examples (363)-(365), the subject is marked as ergative and the verb agrees in gender and number with the direct object.[27] To this extent it is in line with the archetypical parameters of NIA typology. Where it does differ is in the form of the ergative marker itself, which inflects to agree in number and gender with the NP it modifies. Compare (363)-(365) above, where the form of the ergative marker differentiates between neuter and masculine/feminine agreement with the NP that it modifies, with the plural counterparts in (366)-(368), where the plural form is inflected to agree with the three corresponding genders:

366) *maha-hãː   poyranh-ne   hue-y-a*
     men-ERG   boys-ACC   see-PF-MP
     'The men saw the boys.'   [Dehwali]

367) *yaki-hĩː   poyra-l   kʰəvav-y-o*
     mothers-ERG   son-ACC   feed-PF-MS
     'Mothers fed the boy.'   [Dehwali]

368) *nɔkorũ-hũː   tʰeyi-le   ṭok-i*
     servants.N-ERG   woman-ACC   beat-PF.F
     'The servants beat the woman.'   [Dehwali]

Notice that, in the plural, the suffix attached to *maha* 'man' in (366) changes to *-hãː* and the suffix attached to *yaki* 'mothers' in (367) to *-hĩː*, while *nɔkorũ* 'servants' in

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[27] It should be noted that in Dehwali, similar to Gujarati and Rajasthani but unlike most other NIA languages, including Hindi, accusative marking on the direct object does not block verb agreement in the ergative construction. There also appears to be two different accusative suffixes, one with the root consonant -n- and the other with -l-. I will assume that these two function interchangeably, and that while the former is more common in Bhili dialects, the latter is due to Marathi influence (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III: 3/158).

(365) and (368) takes the same invariant neuter form *-hũː* for both singular and plural. A further indication that the properties of gender are controlling this inflection is the fact that in Dehwali, as in most Bhili dialects and in Gujarati, the vowel endings *-a-, -i-,* and *-u-* are common to masculine, feminine, and neuter genders respectively.[28] To the best of my knowledge, no other NIA language has an ergative marker that takes any kind of agreement inflection.

4.4.2. Historical origin of Dehwali ergative

The historical genesis of ergative marking was discussed in section 2.3.7., particularly with regard to the Urdu/Hindi marker *-ne*. Recall that while it is evident that such a construction did exist in Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), separate ergative subject markers seem to have appeared only in NIA (see Bubenik 1998). As late as the medieval period, Hindi used the general oblique nominal form to mark its ergative subjects (Butt 2006a:77-78). The earliest account of the present day Hindi/Urdu ergative *-ne* marker is in the seventeenth century. Beames (1872) suggests that this *-ne* clitic might have been introduced into the Urdu language of the Moghul royal court as a result of contact with a provincial dialect of Hindi using *-nɛ̃ː* as the dative marker[29] (Beames 1872:267–71, cf. Butt 2006a:77). On the basis of Beames's theory, Butt (2006a) considers the plausible scenario that the dative *-nɛ̃ː*, instead of replacing the already existent dative marker *-ko*, became a non-nominative subject marker that signalled greater control (i.e. agency). She argues for the consistency of this change in function in view of the semantic properties commonly associated with both dative and ergative cases (Butt 2006a:80-86). Considering such an analysis, in which the semantic properties of case may determine their changing grammatical function, the Dehwali ergative marker may provide a useful parallel story in testing this theory.

Recall also that early Hindi had an ergative construction without a distinct ergative case marker. The language appears to have functioned for centuries marking ergative subjects by a simple oblique, similar to modern Rajasthani dialects, such as Marwari where overt ergative marking has all but entirely disappeared (see Bubenik 1998). However, by the seventeenth century Hindi had introduced the *-ne* clitic, supporting Dixon's (1994) argument that 'ideal' ergative constructions "ask for an overt ergative marker" (cf. Verbeke 2010:18). This raises the question of whether

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[28] Waswa (2010:p.c.) confirms that there are dialectical differences in the Dehwali gender systems. The examples used here are of the Mevasi dialect, which is closer to the Gujarati speaking region. The Kholchi dialect, which is closer in geographical proximity to Marathi, uses one form, *-hã̃ː*, for masculine and neuter, and *-hĩ̃ː* for feminine.

[29] Modern Gujarati and Rajasthani still use *-nɛ̃ː* as a dative marker.

the Dehwali ergative construction, similar to Hindi, was reinforced through the introduction of a new case marker, and if so, through what channel did it enter the language?

I present two possible accounts of the origin of this marker in Dehwali. In 4.4.2.1., I consider that it may be a relic of the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) oblique inflectional system that was reanalysed to serve the function of marking ergative subjects. In 4.4.2.2. I suggest, alternatively, that it may be a morpheme that was recently introduced in the language from contact with neighbouring varieties that use similar forms as an ablative case clitic. I argue the latter to be the more likely scenario.

4.4.2.1. Apabhramsa descent

Dehwali being, until recently, an entirely oral medium without recorded literature, determining its historical development remains a matter of speculation. The first documentation of Dehwali was most likely by Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III). Prior to that, it can only be said that Dehwali – along with Gujarati and Rajasthani, as well as other Bhili dialects – is descended from Western Apabhramsa (Grierson: Vol. 1-I), a vernacular that emerged during that late Middle Indo-Aryan period around 300 A.D. and later served as a literary medium for the Jain poets of the area that now constitutes Rajasthan and Gujarat, between 500-1200 A.D. Apabhramsa is significant as it marks one of the last major stages of MIA prior to the appearance of the early NIA (see Tagare 1948:1-4; Bubenik 1996:16-17).

Recall from section 2.3.7.1. that one morphological shift which characterises the final stages of the MIA period is the syncretisation of the case inflectional system – already greatly simplified from OIA – into the general dichotomy of *direct* (NOM, ACC) vs. *oblique* (INSTR, DAT, GEN, ABL, LOC) (Bubenik 1996:69). Of the latter, we find forms that resemble those of the modern Dehwali ergative marker, as shown in (4.8):

Table 4.8. Apabhramsa case inventory

	SG	PL
NOM	-u	-a
ACC	-u	-a
INSTR	-ẽ	-ahĭ/ehĭ
DAT	-aho/-ahu	-ahā̃
GEN	-aho/ahu	-ahā̃
ABL	-ahe/ahu	-ahũ/ahā̃
LOC	-i/-e	-ahĭ

(Hewson and Bubenik 2006:112)

Based on the paradigm in 4.8., one could easily suspect a connection between the *-h-* rooted Dehwali ergative marker and that of the oblique cases in Apabhramsa, in which the basic root *-h-* remained preserved with a final nasalisation in the plural, and adopted the current pattern of gender agreement – possibly a case of vowel copying. Several important facts, however, must be considered before drawing any such conclusions.

It is important, first of all, to consider whether the Dehwali ergative marker is an inflectional suffix or a case clitic, as is the case with most NIA. The Apabhramsa case markers given in 3.8. were fusional suffixes and were the latest stage in the progressive breakdown that had taken place in the inflectional case system between OIA and MIA. This system would later be collapsed into the simple distinction of *direct* vs. *oblique* (i.e. NOM vs. NON-NOM) found in modern NIA, and in the development of case clitics to replace them as the primary means for distinguishing grammatical function.

Based on available examples, *-h*(*VN*) in Dehwali appears to be a clitic following an oblique nominal suffix. For example the word *poyro*, 'boy', which when marked ergative becomes, by all appearances, an oblique NP as in *poyra-h.* If this is true, the argument for an Apabhramsa-derived ergative marker in Dehwali is somewhat weakened, as it implies not only a shift in the grammatical function of a morpheme, but also in its status, i.e. that of an affixed clitic.[30]

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[30] One argument Butt (2006) makes against the theory that *-ne* is derived from the OIA instrumental suffix *-ina* is the unlikelihood of an affix becoming a clitic.

4.4.2.2. Regional ablative

A possible alternative explanation for the Dehwali ergative -*h*(*VN*) form is that it is a more recent innovation. This is supported by the fact that in Grierson's (1907: Vol. 9. 158-65) sketch of Dehwali, ergative subjects are marked by the oblique nominal form with no postposed clitic, similar to old Hindi. Considering that Grierson's data corpus is limited to a few transliterated passages and does not take into account dialect variation, it cannot be asserted whether or not the ergative -*h*(*VN*) existed prior to that time. Nevertheless it is possible, given the increasing exposure of tribal languages to the influence of major regional languages, that such changes would have accelerated as the language was progressively becoming less isolated.

However, based on Grierson's data, similar forms appear in other Bhili and Khandeśi dialects. The one that most closely resembles the Dehwali ergative markers is in the Rangari variety of Khandeśi, as spoken in Akola District of present-day Maharashtra state (Grierson 1907: Vol.9, 229-33).

In Rangari Khandeśi, -*hã̄ː* or -*hũ* is added as a suffix to certain plural nouns and pronouns:

369) *mɔləkəri-hũ-na*
    labourers-hũ-DAT`
    'to the labourers'   [Khandeśi; Rangari dialect]

370) *gəḍi-hũ̄ː-na-sənga*
    friends-hũ̄ː-GEN-with
     'with friends'   [Khandeśi; Rangari dialect]

371) *cakərɔ-hã̄ː-na*
    servants-hã̄ː-DAT
    'to the servants'   [Khandeśi; Rangari dialect]

372) *te-hũ-na*
    3rdPRO-hũ-DAT   [Khandeśi; Rangari dialect]
    'to them'   (Grierson 1907: Vol.9, 229-33)

In examples (369)-(372), -*h(V)N* appears to mark a kind of oblique form on plural nominals – and third-person pronouns as in (372) – that occurs with the postposition -*na*. It seems, however, that this form does not occur with other postpositions, as shown in (373) and (374):

373) *cakər-ma-tin*
    servants-in-from
    'from among the servants'   [Khandeśi; Rangari dialect]

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374) *kɪ̣jəbən-səng*   [Khandeśi; Rangari dialect]
  'with harlots'   (Grierson 1907: Vol.9, 233)

In (373) the plural noun *cakər* is marked with a locative postposition, and in contrast with (371) above it appears without the *-h(V)N* suffix or the stem vowel ending *-o-*. In (374) the nominal *kɪ̣jəbən* is marked with the sociative postposition and takes no *-h(V)N* suffix.

  Due to the lack of essential synchronic as well as diachronic evidence, no argument can be made at this point for a connection between this Rangari Khandeśi oblique form and the Dehwali ergative marker. It is, however, not uncommon in NIA for oblique inflection to be used to mark ergativity. It must be acknowledged, however, that the two morphemes appear to have different functions. As was shown 4.4.2.1 above, the *-h(V)N* suffix in Dehwali has the characteristics of a clitic, while the same in Rangari Khandeśi above appears to be an inflectional suffix, therefore to propose a connection between the two is to assume not only a shift in function, but also in morphological status.

  The *-h-* rooted marker appears in other Bhil dialects, such as that spoken in the former kingdom of Mahikantha (Thompson 1885, cf. Grierson: Vol. 9-III: 11-28). Mahikantha Bhili used a fricative *-h-* as the ablative marker, and inflected to agree adjectivally with the proceeding NP, as in (375)-(377):

375) *gɛr-hū̃*
  house-ABL.NS
  'from the house'   [Mahikantha Bhili]

376) *gɛr-hɔ*   *həro*
  house-ABL.MS   liquor.MS
  'liquor from the shop'   [Mahikantha Bhili]

377) *gɛr-ha*   *mabap*
  house-ABL.MS   parents   [Mahikantha Bhili]
  'parents from the house'   (Grierson: 1907 Vol. 9-III, 15-19)

The fricative *-h-* is a local variation of *-s-* in borrowed words (Grierson: 1907 Vol. 9-III, 2), indicating that the *-hV(N)* demonstrated above in Mahikantha Bhili may correspond to the Gujarati ablative/sociative marker *-s(y)ū* (Turner:13310, cf. Wright p.c.). There is some indication in Grierson that the Gujarati [s] becomes an ordinary [h] in Dehwali (Turner:2/158). If so, it seems possible that the Dehwali ergative marker had its origin in the Gujarati ablative/sociative. Another possibility is that it adopted the Marathi *-hū̃*, which is again an ablative marker. If we suppose that *-h(VN)* is found only in a contemporary form of Dehwali, the most plausible

explanation for its emergence would be, by way of the ablative, borrowed from the regional context.

4.4.3. Semantic case and historical change

Assuming that the ergative construction predates the current ergative subject marker – which, based on Grierson's sketch of Dehwali, was most likely preceded by the oblique form – this ablative may have followed a path comparable to that of the Hindi/Urdu *-ne*. Based on its semantic properties, we must consider the likelihood of an ablative case marker being reanalysed in an ergative function.

In section 2.3.7.3 I presented a table from Butt (2006) that creates a case hierarchy based on the semantic properties of space and agency. Therefore, the higher the case is on the hierarchy, the more its control/volition, thereby making it more suitable as an agent marker. This was illustrated by table 2.6. in section 2.3.7.2., repeated below in 4.9.:

Table 4.9.

MORE CONTROL	PLACE	PATH
Ergative	X	
Genitive	X	
Instrumental	X	X
Dative	X	
Accusative		X
LESS CONTROL		

(Butt 2006a:84)

Table (4.9) offers a potential formula for predicting diachronic language variation. Butt (2006a) argues that case systems of languages may incorporate new markings over time, and may slot these markings into use according to the spatial dimensions most closely identified with them (Butt 2006a:83-85).

Although not specified in (4.9), ablative case has been known to show agentive properties that allow it to compete with the ergative in NIA. However, the table puts genitive case as the next most suitable agentive case to ergative. According to Lehman's (2002:99) grammaticalisation channels, ablative bears a close relation to – and indeed is frequently the origin of – genitive case, as in the case of the romance attributor *de*, which evolved from the Latin *dɛ* '(down) from' (Lehman 2002:99).

Ahmed (2007) demonstrates that in Urdu, in a construction with a "base (transitive) verb" (i.e. a transitive verb that has not been made causative by stem alternation), the agent is marked ergative, as in (378):

378) *məzdurõ-ne   gʰər   bən-a-y-a*
   laborers-ERG   house.MS make-TR-PF-MS   [Urdu]
   'The laborers built the house.'   (Ahmed 2007:12)

However, when the verb is causativised it requires a second agent, resulting in "two sources of action" (Ahmed 2007:13). The third-person pronoun has been added as the *causer*, which accomplishes the action by mean of the *causee*, i.e. 'the laborers' as in (379):

379) *ʊs-ne   məzdurõ-se   gʰər   bən-a-y-a*
   3rdPRO-ERG laborers-ABL house.MS make-CAUS-PF-MS   [Urdu]
   'He caused the laborers to build the house.'   (Ahmed 2007:13)

In (379) the initial agent from the transitive clause is now demoted as the second agent, and marked ablative. Regarding the causer and causee, Ahmed (2007) observes that "[b]oth of these arguments have sentience and volition", yet as "the causer has initiation and control" and is therefore more volitional, it takes "the more agentive ergative marker, while the intermediate agent is marked by the other available source of action maker i.e. ablative" (Ahmed 2007:13).

Ahmed's analysis, however, assumes that the *-se* marker in (379) is marking ablative case, while – as he himself makes clear earlier in the same paper – it is a marker that is used in several different functions, notably instrumental. NIA does, in fact, tend to synchronise instrumental/sociative/ablative, as well as ergative case markers (Masica 1991:246), not to mention the fact that the distinction between features such as instrument and source is often blurred, which raises the question of whether INSTR and ABL should be collapsed into a "single case feature" (Mohanan 1994:67).

Some cross-linguistic examples attest to the potential of both ABL and INSTR functioning as agent markers, as in the Japanese sentence in (380) and (381):

380) *John-kara Mary-ni   kekka-o   osie-ta.*
   John-from Mary-DAT   result-ACC teach-PST
   'John told the results to Mary.'   [Japanese]

381) *kodomo-tati-de   ason-da.*
   child-PL-with   play-PST   [Japanese]
   'The children played.'   (Kishimoto 2010:649)

According to Kishimoto (2010), the subject marker -*kara*, in (380), is "possible, because John is thematically construed as a source (as well as an agent)", while in (381) 'children' may be considered an instrumental subject because -*de* "most typically" functions as a marker of instrument (Kishimoto 2010:649).

Richa (2008:162-65), however, argues for a distinction between -*se* marked causees and -*se* marked instrumentals in Hindi/Urdu, the latter being possible with any verb form while the former requires a base transitive verb with causative morphology, as shown in (382)-(385):

382) *ram-ne*   (*caku-se*) *mina-ko*   *mar-a*
     Ram-ERG knife-INSTR   Mina-ACC kill-PF.MS
     'Ram killed Mina (with a knife).'   [Hindi]

383) **ram-ne* (*mohan se*)   *mina-ko*   *mar-a*
      Ram-ERG mohan INSTR   mina-ACC kill-PF.MS
     'Ram killed Mina (through Mohan).'   [Hindi]

384) *ram-ne*   (*mohan se*)   *mina ko*   *mər-wa-y-a*
     Ram-ERG (Mohan-INSTR)   Mina-ACC kill-CAUS-PF-MS
     'Ram made Mohan kill Mina.'   [Hindi]

385) *ram-ne*   (*mohan-se*) (*caku-se*)   *mina-ko*   *mər-wa-y-a*
      Ram-ERG Mohan-INSTR knife-INSTR Mina-ACC kill-CAUS-PF-MS   [Hindi]
     'Ram made Mohan kill Mina with a knife.'   (Richa 2008:163)

Example (382) is a regular transitive clause with a subject, object, and inanimate -*se* NP. Example (383) is the same clause, except that now it contains an animate -*se* marked NP, and is as a result ungrammatical. In (384) and (385) the verb stem has been causativised, with the result that both with the animate causee and instrumental adjunct are optional.

Richa shows that the difference in distribution of the -*se* marked instrumental which is unrestricted with verb forms, and the -*se* marked cause which requires causative morphology on the verb, cannot be reduced to the factor of animacy, but of argument structure as shown in (386)-(389):

386) *tʊm-ne   kəmpjutər se   əpni ãkʰẽ   pʰʊɖwa   li*
     you-ERG computar INSTR   REFL eyes   break.CAUS take.PF
     'You spoiled your eyes through the computer.'   [Hindi]

387) *tʊm-ne   ram se   əpni ãkʰẽ   pʰʊɖwa   li*
     you-ERG Ram INSTR   REFL eyes   break.CAUS take.PF
     'You spoiled your eyes through Ram.'   [Hindi]

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388) *tʊm-ne kampjutar se əpni ãkʰẽ pʰoɖ li
you-ERG computar INSTR REFL eyes break.TR take.PF
'You spoiled your eyes through the computer.' [Hindi]

389) *tʊm-ne ram se əpni ãkʰẽ pʰoɖ li
you-ERG Ram INSTR REFL eyes break.TR take.PF [Hindi]
'You spoiled your eyes through Ram. (Richa 2008:163-64)

It appears that the *-se* marked causee and *-se* marked instrumental have a different interpretive as well as syntactic status (Richa 2008:164). This prediction holds up when tested with reflexive binding:

390) zubi-ne ram se mɪlkər əpni kɪtab li
Zoobi-ERG ram INSTR meet.CONJ.PTCP REFL book take.PF
'Zoobi took her/*his book after she met Ram.' [Hindi]

391) ram$_i$ ne moni$_j$ se əpni$_{i/j}$ man ko pɪʈ -waya
Ram-ERG Moni INSTR REFL mother ACC beat-CAUS.PF [Hindi]
'Ram made Moni hit his/her mother.' (Richa 2008:164)

In (390) it is the subject of the transitive verb and not the *-se* marked NP, which Richa identifies as instrumental,[31] that can bind the reflexive. However, in (391) with a causitivised transitive verb, the *-se* marked causee can bind the reflexive, indicating that the causee is in fact part of the argument structure of the verb, while the instrumental functions as an adjunct.

Such considerations attest to the agentive potentiality of ablative case, further adding to the possibility that the Dehwali ergative marker was a borrowed innovation of an originally ablative case clitic.

Summary of 4.4.

The ergative marker in Dehwali is unique among its counterparts in NIA. In section 2 it was shown that this case marker inflects to agree in number and gender with the ergative subject that it modifies. In section 4.4.2., two possible explanations were given as to the origin of this inflecting morpheme: in 4.4.2.1. I suggested that it may have been a relic of the oblique case in Apabhramsa, re-analysed in a different role, and in 4.4.2.2., that it may have been borrowed from the ablative, genitive, or oblique form used in neighbouring varieties. I asserted that the latter was the more likely

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[31] Although Richa chooses to gloss this, the *-se* NP, 'Ram' as instrumental, I have thus far considered this function of Hindi *-se* and Wagdi *-ne* as 'commitative' marking, following Mohanan (1994:67) (see section 3.5.4.).

scenario. In section 4.4.3. I presented an analysis of semantic case properties and their role in determining the likelihood of a particular case morpheme being re-used as an ergative marker, based on its inherent agentivity. I then demonstrated that such properties are inherent in ablative case and have cross-linguistic parallels. This supports my hypothesis that, rather than replacing the ablative/instrumental marker already in use in Dehwali, the -*h*(*VN*) clitic was reanalysed to mark ergative subjects.

4.5. Instrumental agreement

In this section I will present examples from Bohra Wagdi, a subdialect of Wagdi that is spoken within the Bohra community in city of Dungarpur. Bohra Wagdi, as I will call it, in many ways parallels its NIA neighbours in terms of split-ergative marking and the corresponding verb-NP agreement pattern. It is, however, unique in that the verb of a perfective, transitive construction may optionally agree with an instrumental oblique adjunct.

In Section 4.5.1. I summarise the different agreement possibilities in Bohra Wagdi with particular focus on instrumental agreement, and compare it to a similar construction in Nepali. In Section 4.5.2. I discuss possible theories that may explain the factors motivating this agreement pattern. These include the grammatical status of the NPs in 4.5.2.1., where I look at Smith Stark's (1994) analysis of Pocomam, a language in which cross-referencing with an instrumental-NP may correspond to a general grammatical realignment. In 4.5.2.2. on the other hand, I consider cases of agreement alternation based on factors of information structure and the notion of secondary topic, as discussed in Nikolaeva's (2001) analysis of North Ostyak. Finally in 4.5.2.3., I hypothesise that agreement alternation in Bohra Wagdi is primarily due to lexical entailment, and present Kœnig and Davis's (2006) analysis as a possible explanation.

4.5.1. Split ergativity in Bohra Wagdi

Similar to its NIA neighbours, Bohra Wagdi exhibits morphologically ergative alignment in perfective, transitive constructions, and accusative alignment in all other aspects. This is demonstrated in the difference between examples (392) and (393)-(394) below:

392) *sora   keri   kapi-ry-o   hɛ*
      boy.NOM mango.F cut-CONT-MS AUX.PRS.3rd
      'The boy is cutting the mango.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

393) *sora-e   keri   kap-i*
    boy-ERG   mango.F cut-PF.F
    'The boy cut the mango.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

394) *sori-e   e-nu   kʰavanu   kʰad-u*
    girl-ERG   3ʳᵈPRO-GEN.N   meal.N   eat-PF.N
    'The girl had taken her meal.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

In (392) the transitive verb is in the present continuous and agrees with the nominative subject. In the perfective constructions of (393) and (394), the subject is marked ergative and the verb agrees with the unmarked object.

When the direct object is marked accusative, agreement is sometimes blocked, in which case the verb defaults to neuter, in this case neutral agreement, as in (395)-(397):

395) *mɛ̃   bairi-ne   dekʰ-y-u   hɛ*
    I.ERG   woman-ACC   see-PF-N AUX.PRS.3ʳᵈ
    'I have seen the woman.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

396) *ame   əna-ne   dekʰ-y-u   hɛ*
    we   3ʳᵈPRO-ACC   see-PF-N   AUX.PRS.3ʳᵈ
    'We have seen him.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

397) *mɛ̃ː   suri-ne   ʊʈʰav-y-u*
    I.ERG   girl-ACC   lift-PF-N
    'I lifted the girl.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

Agreement with the accusative marked object, however, seems to be optional with some verbs, as in (398)[32]:

398) *sora-e   bʰega   tʰai-ne   sura-ne dʰəmor-y-o   / dʰəmor-y-u*
    children-ERG   together become-PTCP boy-ACC beat-PF-MS / beat-PF-N
    'The children got together and beat the boy.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

While agreement/marking patterns in (392)-(398) all fall within the accepted typological parameters of Indo-Aryan, far more unusual are instances where – provided the direct object is marked accusative – the verb may optionally agree with an instrumental oblique as demonstrated in (399)-(403):

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[32] The reason for this inconsistency in the agreement-marking pattern is for the moment unclear testing the conditions for its alternation will require more extensive data. I suspect that it is related to the semantics of the predicate as 'beat' implies a greater amount of volition on the part of the agent, and affectedness on the part of the patient than do verbs like 'lift' or 'see', which cannot agree with an accusative object.

399) *mɛ̃*   *telwar-tʰi*   *e-nu*   *matʰu*   *kapi* *didʰ-u*
    I.ERG   sword.F-INSTR 3ʳᵈPRO-GEN head. **N**.NOM   cut   give-**N**
    'I cut off his head with a sword.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

400) *mɛ̃*   *telwar-tʰi*   *e-nu*   *mar-i*
    I.ERG   sword.**F**-INSTR   3ʳᵈPRO.M-ACC kill-**F**
    'I killed him using a sword.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

401) *pela-e*   *bənduq-tʰi*   *kutəra-ne* *mari*   *didʰ-i*
    someone-ERG gun.**F**-INSTR dog.M-ACC kill   give-**F**
    'Someone killed the dog with a gun.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

402) *pela-e*   *kutəra-ne* *mari*   *didʰ-u*
    someone-ERG dog.M-ACC   kill   give-PF.**N**
    'Someone killed the dog.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

403) *hərumən-e*   *e-ni*   *pusɪri-tʰi* *lənka-ne*   *bari didʰ-i*
    Hanunman.M-ERG 3ʳᵈPRO-GEN.F   tail.**F**-INSTR Lank.F-ACC burn give-**F**
    'Hanuman burned Lanka with his tail.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

Sentence (399) has an ergative subject, a nominative object, and an oblique instrumental. The verb, as expected, agrees with the direct object. The construction in (400) is structurally parallel to (399), with the exception that the animate/human direct object is obligatorily marked accusative. This results in the verb taking agreement with the oblique instrumental. The two **core arguments** are again overtly marked in (401), and the verb appears to agree with the instrumental oblique *telwar* 'sword'. In (403) the instrumental is omitted and the verb defaults to neuter agreement. In (403), the verb *bari* 'burn' agrees with the feminine instrumental *pusɪri* 'tail'.

This agreement pattern, however, appears to be optional since the verb alternates between agreeing with the direct object and the instrumental. It also seems that the verb takes the *-i* suffix – commonly associated with feminine gender – to agree with any non-masculine i.e. feminine or neuter instrumental-NP, as in (404)-(406)[33]:

404) *lakɖi-tʰi*   *kʊtra-ne* *mar-y-o / mar-i*
    stick.F-INSTR   dog.M-ACC kill-PF-MS / kill-PF.F
     '(Someone) killed the dog with a stick.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

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[33] It is possible that the *-i* suffix on the verb is a kind of default form agreeing with both feminine and neuter instrumental-NPs. This example of partial mismatch in agreement, where two values are cross-referenced by one feature, has several cross-linguistic parallels outside of NIA (see Corbett 2006:151-54). One is Jingulu, a non-Pama-Nyungan language, spoken in the Northern Territory of Australia (Pensalfini 2003, cf. Corbett 2006:151). The *-i* suffix may as well be a synchronised form of the two non-masculine suffixes, but based with available data nothing can be ascertained.

405) *pətʰər-thi   kʊtra-ne   mar-y-o / mar-i*
    stone.N-INSTR dog.M-ACC kill-PF-MS / kill-PF.F
    '(Someone) killed the dog with a stone.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

406) *bom-tʰi   kʊtra-ne   mar-y-o / *mar-i*
    bomb.M-INSTR dog.M-INSTR kill-PF-MS / kill-PF.F
    '(Someone) killed the dog with a bomb.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

While the respondent had initially given the apparently feminine option for the construction in (404), in which the verb appears to agree in gender with the instrumental *lakɖi* 'stick', on inquiry she admitted that both masculine and feminine suffixes on the verb were acceptable. Example (405), however, shows that the verb may use a feminine suffix to agree with a neuter instrumental-NP. Presumably, in (404) and (405) the verb is alternating between agreeing with the direct object and the non-masculine instrumental respectively. In (406) the two possible controllers of agreement are masculine, and the verb can only take a masculine suffix.

This agreement pattern seems only to be possible with a small subset of verbs – in the available data only *mar-* 'kill' and *bari* 'burn'. The constructions in (407)-(410) have verbs that denote the use of an instrumental, yet the instrumental-NP is not available as an agreement controller:

407) *malɪk   i   səri-tʰi   admi-ne   kaʈ-y-o   / * kaʈ-i*
    Malik.M. DEM knife.F-INSTR   man-ACC   cut-PF-MS / cut-F
    'Malik cut the man with this knife.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

408) *taher-ye   cabi-tʰi   a dərvaza-ne   kʰol-y-o / *kʰol-i*
    Ta:her.M-ERG   key.F-INSTR DEM door.M-ACC   open-PF-M / open-PF.F
    'Taher opened the door with a key.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

409) *i   səri-tʰi   divar-pər   ləkʰ-y-u   /   *ləkʰ-i*
    3ᴿᴰPRO.   knife.F-INSTR wall.M-LOC   write-PF-N /   write-PF.F
    'He wrote on the wall with a knife.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

410) *pela-e   cəʃma-tʰəki   mənəkʰa-ne dekʰ-y-u*
    DEM.M-ERG   spectacles.MP-INSTR   man-ACC   see-PF-N
    'Someone saw the man through glasses.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

In (407) and (408) the verb can only agree with the object. In (409) there is an instrumental and no object, and the verb defaults to neuter i.e. non-agreement. In (410) the verb *dekʰ-* 'see' cannot agree with either the object or the instrumental.

Examples (175)-(193) demonstrate the three possible patterns of agreement in Bohra Wagdi perfective, transitive constructions in the presence of an instrumental-NP listed in 4.10.:

- Agreement with the object
- Agreement with the instrumental
- Default neuter non-agreement

To the best of my knowledge, such an agreement pattern that includes verb agreement with an instrumental-NP is unattested in NIA, or in any other language family. The only other comparable examples of constructions in other languages about which it has been claimed that the verb is agreeing with an instrumental are found in Nepali (Poudel p.c.), and Pocaman (Smith Stark 1994) – the latter being an indigenous language of Guatemala. Note however that in the case of Nepali, this agreement may only occur when the agent has been dropped:

411) *sita-le   yo   lɔra-le   sat-wəṭa   sərpa   mar-i*
      sita.F-ERG   DEM   stick.M-INST 7-CLASS   snakes   kill.TR-PF.3SG.F
      'Sita killed seven snakes with this stick.'   [Nepali]

412) *yo   lɔra-le   sat-wəṭa   sərpa   mar-yo*
      DEM   stick.M-INST   7-CLASS   snakes   kill.TR-PF.3SG.MASC
      'This stick killed seven snakes.'   [Nepali]

413) *yo   lɔra-le   sat-wəṭa   sərpa   mar-e*
      DEM   stick.M-INST   7-CLASS   snakes die.INTR-PF.3PL   [Nepali]
      'Seven snakes died by this stick.'   (Poudel p.c.)

In Nepali, perfective agents take ergative marking yet continue to control verb agreement. In (411) the verb agrees with the feminine agent '*Sita*'. In (412) the A argument from (411) is missing and the verb agrees with *lɔra* 'stick'. In (413), the verb takes an intransitive morphology and agreement shifts to *sərpa* 'snakes', which is now the S argument. In (413) *lɔra* 'stick' becomes truly optional, as an adjunct rather than a kind of agentive instrumental argument, as could be analysed in (412). It must be pointed out, however, that unlike in Wagdi, ergative and instrumental NPs are both marked by the same form (-*le*). It is not uncommon in NIA for ERG/INSTR markers to have homophonous forms (see Butt 2007) and therefore the possibility must be considered that the A in (412) has not simply been omitted phonologically, but has had its function taken over by the instrumental-NP. It is possible for *lɔra* 'stick' in (412) to be analysed as an ergative subject, rather than an instrumental oblique as in (411)[34]. Furthermore, unlike in the Nepali examples where a shift in

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[34]Ahmed also notes a general tendency towards syncretism of instrumental/sociative/ablative, as well as ergative case markers (see Masica 1991:246; Ahmed 2007).

verb agreement from instrument to the direct object corresponds to a loss of transitivity, in Bohra Wagdi, as shown in examples (404)-(406), agreement alternation does not correspond to any change in the valence of the predicate. I will therefore assume that agreement with *lɔra* 'stick' in (412) is due to it becoming an argument linked to the grammatical function (GF) of subject. In Bohra Wagdi there is no evidence of such a promotion.

4.5.2. Governing factors of instrumental agreement

4.5.2.1. Grammatical function alternation

Smith-Stark (1994) describes what he refers to as "instrumental voice" in Pocomam, in which a morphological change on the verb stem appears to signal the promotion of instrumental-NPs to direct object status, as shown in (414) and (415):

414) *hin ?ih-Ø-nu-sir*   *ma? xu:t*   *pech*   *r-i:j*   *?ak'ach*
 I   COM-B3-A1-paint   the water.jug   with   A3-feather   chicken
 'I painted the water jug with a chicken feather.'   [Pocamam]

415) *?-ih-Ø-nu-k'ol-?-ie-h*   *pach ma? chie? ma q'ehis*
    COM-B3-A1-gather-INST-V-THEM with the wood   the rubbish   [Pocamam]
 'I gathered the rubbish into a pile with the stick.'   (Smith-Stark 1994:241)

In example (415), and not in (414), the instrumental-NP is cross-referenced on the verb by the instrumental crossreferencing particle *-?-*. Smith-Stark also points out that in (414) the instrument follows the direct object while in (415) it precedes it, indicating that the grammatical status of the NPs is different between the two (Smith-Stark 1994:241).

He speculates that the function of such a promotion is to focus on the instrumental-NP as being a more prominent participant in the event, similar to the promotion of objects in passive constructions and agents in anti-passives (Smith-Stark 1994:251). Smith-Stark explains this as being due to a rather mobile "cline" of grammatical relations, where an instrumental and a direct object may compete to be encoded on the verb. The instrumental, he argues, becomes more object-like when it loses its case marking and controls verb agreement, while the direct object, no longer controlling verb agreement, resembles more an oblique NP. He concedes however that evidence such as verb agreement and case marking can be "ambiguous and conflicting" (Smith-Stark 1994:257).

In her RG analysis of the passive construction, Siewierska (1984) gives examples of languages such as Palauan, Kapampangan, and Kota, where the verb

continues to agree with the passivised agent (i.e. chômeur), the latter being obligatry in the sentence. In the case of Kota, the verb maintains the same morphological form as in the active, and the agent is demoted to an instrumental by-phrase in second position following the promoted object (Siewierska 1984:35):

416) *an   pʊj - (n)   təvɪrcpɛ-n*
    I.NOM tiger-ACC   killed - 1SG
    'I killed the tiger.'   [Kota]

417) *pʊj-ø   en-al təvɪrcpɛ-n*
    tiger-NOM I-INSTR killed-1SG   [Kota]
    'The tiger was killed by me.'   (Subbiah 1972) (cf. Siewierska 1984:35)

Note that in (417) the verb agrees with the instrumental agent and not with the nominative object. Unlike in the Nepali examples above, based on the examples of (416) and (417), the verb in Kota is undoubtedly agreeing with an instrumental-NP. It differs as well from Bohra Wagdi in that the instrumental is clearly a demoted agent, rather than instrumental 'means' or 'effector', and the patient is promoted and loses its accusative case. There is no evidence that any such grammatical realignment of the arguments has taken place in Bohra Wagdi.

Achenese also has instrumental agreement, which appears to correspond to a change in voice:

418) *an+? agam   nyan ji-nging   uring   agam   nyan*
    child male   that 3 (younger)-see person male   that
    'The child saw the man.'   [Achenese]

419) *ur+ing agam   nyan ji-nging   le an+?   agam   nyan*
    person male   that 3 (younger)-see by person   male   that
    'The man was seen by the child.'   [Achenese]
                              (Lawler 1977) (cf. Siewierska 1984)

Similar to Kota, the passive realignment in Achenese does not correspond to any morphological change on the verb. In the active, transitive sentence in (418) both NPs are unmarked, with the subject appearing in first position before the verb and the object following the verb. In the passive counterpart in (419), the demoted subject appears post-verbally and is oblique, and the object appears unmarked pre-verbally. The verb in both sentences agrees with the logical subject, i.e. *nging* 'the child', despite it being in the apparent role of an instrumental in (419).[35]

Based both on Smith-Stark's (1994) suggestion that a feature continuum exists in which NPs may be more or less subject-like or object-like based on their

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[35] It should be noted that Durie (1983, cf. Siewierska 1984) has questioned whether such an alignment of GFs has really taken place in the construction in (202).

inherent semantics and relationship to the predicate, and on the data from Kota and Achenese in which GFs appear to play a role in instrumental agreement, it may be speculated that agreement choice between the direct object and the instrumental could be governed by competing levels of grammatical prominence. I see however no further evidence to support this in Bohra Wagdi.

Following the assumption that a prototypical P argument is low in the relational hierarchy of animacy and definiteness - as was shown in 4.1. (repeated below in 4.11.) - and is therefore less likely to take accusative case, it follows that accusative marking on a direct object is an indicator of grammatical demotion (see Silverstein 1976; Hopper and Thompson 1980; DeLancey 1981; Comrie 1989; Aissen 2003):

4.11. Hierarchies of animacy and definitness

i)   Animacy scale: Human > Animate > Inanimate
ii) Definiteness scale: Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

(Aissen 2003:437)

Bohra Wagdi examples (399) and (400) showed that the verb in an ergative construction must agree with an unmarked direct object, regardless of the presence of an instrumental-NP. Instrumental agreement is only an option when the animacy/definiteness criterion requires the object to be marked with -*ne*. Drawing a parallel between Pocamam and Bohra Wagdi, we might assume that the accusative marked direct object is demoted and therefore loses verbal concord, resulting in the possibility of verb agreement with the now promoted instrumental-NP. While this explanation is not entirely implausible, in the absence of other major changes to the clause, e.g. word order or loss of case marking on the instrumental, such a realignment of GFs seems unlikely. The argument is further weakened by the fact that the pattern is optional, as it was shown in (404)-(406) that either the accusative marked direct object or the instrumental are acceptable as controller of agreement.

4.5.2.2. Information Structure

The effect of information structure on object marking was discussed in section (4.1.5). Similarly, in certain languages information structure has been known to supersede grammatical function as the primary factor controlling verb-NP agreement alternation. Though it is used to refer to a wide range of properties related to discourse, information structure is used here only to refer to topic and focus. Generally, an NP with topic properties is more likely to control verb agreement than

the focussed element, which may correlate to the fact that subjects make natural topics and objects tend to be the focussed information. As a result, NPs that become focussed tend to lose verb agreement (see Corbett 2006:197-204). There are instances, as in the Northern Ostyak language of Western Siberia, when NPs with the same grammatical properties may or may not control verb agreement depending on their discourse function. In (420)-(423), verb agreement with the object in a transitive clause appears to be optional (Nikolaeva 2001):

420) *mə təm kəlang   wɛl-s-əm*
     I   this reindeer kill-PST-1SG
     'I killed this reindeer.'   [Northern Ostyak]

421) *mə təm kəlang   wɛl-s-Ø-ɛm*
     I   this reindeer kill-PST-SG.OBJ-1SG
     'I killed this reindeer.'   [Northern Ostyak]

422) *mə təm kəlang   wɛl-s-l-am*
     I   this reindeer kill-PST-PL.OBJ-1SG
     'I killed these reindeer.'   [Northern Ostyak]

423) *mə təm kəlang   wɛl-s-ngil-əm*
     I   this reindeer kill-PST-DU.OBJ-1SG   [Northern Ostyak]
     'I killed these (two) reindeer.'   (Nikolaeva 2001)

In (420) the verb agrees only with the subject, while (421)-(423) display dual agreement of subject and object. Object agreement, however, is not entirely optional. Nikolaeva establishes that the un-agreeing object is the focussed element in the sentence, while the agreeing object has topic properties, and functions as a kind of secondary topic to the subject. A focussed object cannot take verb agreement, and one that can requires a degree of topicalisation (Nikolaeva 2001).

4.5.2.3. Lexical entailment

While it is not implausible that agreement alternation in Bohra Wagdi corresponds to a change in grammatical or information based status of the NPs, evidence based on data is, as of yet, insufficient to support such a claim. A third possible explanation, and one that may apply regardless of realignments of grammatical function or information structure, is that the instrumental agreement option reflects a shift in prominence, and occurs when the emphasis of the clause, as intended by the speaker, is primarily on the means by which the event occurs, and less on the participant core arguments. I emphasise, however, that such a pattern would only 'reflect' this shift in prominence, as agreement is dependent on focus and not vice-

versa. Recall in example (399) that when an ergative construction has an unmarked direct object, the verb will agree with the object irrespective of whether an instrumental-NP is present. I assume that the underlying semantic form is available to native speaker intuition, whether or not agreement is an option in the surface syntax.

Kœnig and Davis (2006) analyse instances where the same semantic event may be realised differently in the surface syntax, using the following pairs of sentences:

424)
    a) They poked the body with a stick.
    b) They eat ice-cream with a knife.

425)
    a) They used a stick to poke the body.
    b) They use a knife to eat ice-cream.　　　　　(Kœnig and Davis 2006:78)

The sentences in (424) and (425) describe the same event with the syntactic difference that in (424) the instrument is the object of the preposition 'with', while in (425) it is the direct object of the verb. In (424), prominence is given to the action, i.e. 'poking' and 'eating', while in (425) it is the means by which the event is carried out, i.e. "the stick" and "a knife" in (a) and (b) respectively. These instruments function as adjuncts (424) but become arguments of the verb 'use' in (425). As the ARG STR of a single semantic predicate describing a particular event links to a different GF STR between (424) and (425), it would follow that the realisation of the surface syntax is determined by factors others than just lexical stipulation.

Kœnig and Davis (2006) acknowledge the difficulty of formulating a common lexical semantic representation for both 'poke' and 'eat', as the former "entails the presence of an instrument participant" while the latter does not (Kœnig and Davis 2006:79). They question the assumption that lexical entries are made up of a "single semantic unit", as this would not allow for the variation in the linking of the arguments of a semantic predicate to GFs. It would, therefore, fail to account for the difference between constructions of (424) and (425) where the descriptions of events are synonymous, while at the same time "respecting the differences in entailment between *poke* and *eat*" (Kœnig and Davis 2006:79). They offer, as an alternative, the *semantic set hypothesis,* which suggests that a single lexical entry may consist of a "set of semantic units", among which they make a distinction between the set of relational components that relate the different participants to one another, and the modal component set, which "evaluates those relations at different worlds" (Kœnig and Davis 2006:73). They conclude that only *one* of the set relational components

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would be relevant in linking ARG STR to GF STR. As a result, the surface structure of the clause may alternate, as in (424) and (425), depending on which relational component is selected by the constraints that in turn link it to GF STR (Kœnig and Davis 2006:73). This linking selection is illustrated in the diagram in 4.12.:

Diagram 4.12.
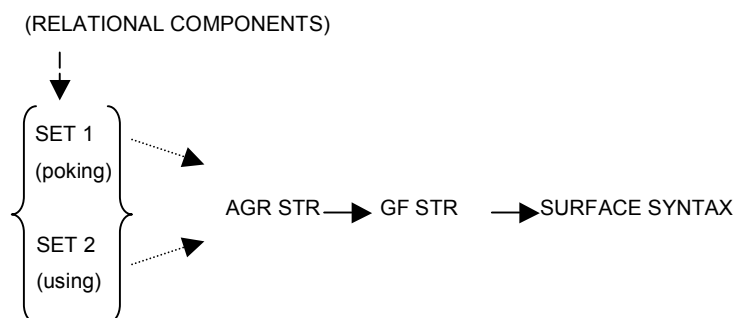
Assuming that Kœnig and Davis's (2006) hypothesis accurately describes a universal feature of lexical composition, one would expect different possibilities for syntactic manifestation of this phenomenon. The same underlying factors – i.e. the constraints that select one semantic unit over another – might govern what in English surfaces as a reordering of constituents and addition or subtraction of a finite verb, as in (424) and (425), and in Bohra Wagdi as an alternation in verb-NP agreement patterning. In the sentences in (424) the events described are exactly those of (425). However, in (424) the speaker's intent is to specify the action, while in (425) the important information is the means by which that action was carried out. In Bohra Wagdi, which has a more elaborate inflectional system than English, agreement alternation may be the surface manifestation of a similar shift of focus. If this assumption is true, then the difference in semantic distinction might be captured by the two interpretations of (426), which differ depending on which NP controls verb agreement:

426) *lakḍi-tʰi   kʊtra-ne   mar-y-o / mar-i*
     stick.F-INSTR dog.M-ACC kill-PF-MS / kill-PF.F
     'Someone killed the dog with the stick.' / 'Someone stick-killed the dog.'
                                                              [Bohra Wagdi]

Although the explanation for this alternation may be due to the factors specified in Kœnig and Davis (2006) and summarised above, I do not claim that the shift in focus is parallel to the English examples of (424) and (425), where the different syntactic surface forms cause the focal point of the sentence to shift between the predicate and the instrument. Rather, the instrument becomes prominent by specifying the

nature of the action along with the verb. Instrumental agreement is one possible outcome of the speaker's intention to put emphasis on the type of action, in (426) 'stick-killing' rather than 'killing'. I see this as the syntactic reflection of a shift to an instrumentally prominent construction, and perhaps one method at the disposal of the speaker to help convey this sense. Recall that this pattern is only possible given specific conditions, such as the blocking of other controllers of agreement, i.e. the subject must be ergative and the object accusative, an instrumental the gender of which is in contrast to other possible agreement controllers, and a verb of a particular lexical stipulation. Agreement would be highly unreliable as the sole means to convey the instrument-prominent sense. I hypothesise, therefore, that the underlying semantic form is always available and capable of being expressed by different means, regardless of whether it is syntactically visible via agreement.

Recall that most verbs in Bohra Wagdi do not allow this agreement pattern, including those that denote the use of an instrument, as was seen in (407)-(409). See below in (427)-(429) for further examples:

427) *malɪk   i   səri-tʰi   admi-ne   kaṭ-y-o / * kaṭ-i*
Malik.M.(ERG) DEM knife.F-INSTR   man-ACC   cut-PF-MS   cut-PF.F
'Malik cut the man with this knife.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

428) *taher-ye   cabi-tʰi   a   dərvaza-ne   kʰol-y-o   / *kʰol-i*
Taher.M-ERG   key.F-INSTR DEM door.M-ACC   open-PF-MS   open-PF.F
'Taher opened the door with a key.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

429) *i   səri-tʰi   divar-pər   ləkʰ-y-u   / *ləkʰ-i*
3ᴿᴰPRO.(ERG) knife.F-INSTR wall.M-LOC   write-PF-N   write-PF.F
'He wrote on the wall with a knife.'   [Bohra Wagdi]

Based on available examples, Bohra Wagdi verbs that take instrumental agreement entail some kind of violent action, and tend to agree with an instrument which functions as some kind of weapon. Hence, the semantic similarity of the events *kill X with a stick, sword, gun,* etc., *plunder X with a stick, shove X with a chair,* and *burn X with a tail*. Whether these semantic properties of the predicate underlying (non)-agreement is a subject for further research.

Summary of 4.5.

Bohra Wagdi exhibits a pattern of verb agreement with instrumental-NPs that is unique within the Indo-Aryan family and has few parallels in any language. Having presented examples of its occurrence, I compared these constructions with examples from other languages such as Nepali, Pocomam, and North Ostyak, all of

which show a similar type of agreement alternation. In Section 4.5.2. I examined several theoretical analyses of grammatical function hierarchy (Smith-Stark 1994), information structure (Nikolaeva 2001), and lexical semantic composition (Kœnig and Davis 2006), and discussed their potential relevance to instrumental agreement in Bohra Wagdi.

While factors related to GF STR, and information structure cannot be entirely excluded without further elicitation, I hypothesise that the most probable explanation for this verb agreement alternation between the instrumental-NP and the direct object in Bohra Wagdi is that it follows a general shift in emphasis in which a particular NP is brought to the forefront of prominence in the sentence. The work of Kœnig and Davis (2006) on the semantic representation of lexical entries provides a framework that is potentially useful in understanding its occurrence.

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CHAPTER V – CONCLUSIONS

Before giving my final observations in 5.5., I will briefly summarise the four main topics that were addressed in chapter IV: homophonous case marking and case function; ergative attrition and the Referential Hierarchy; inflecting ergative case clitics; and finally, instrumental agreement.

5.1. Homophonous case marking: Its function

Although homophonous A/O case marking almost certainly exists in Bhili dialects, particularly those within the greater Marathi speaking area – in the south of the region – and adjoining Khandeśi, it is not a robust feature in Wagdi. Nor does it manifest itself strongly in other dialects of which I possess first hand data. Section 4.2.3. presented a number of examples from Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III) that clearly show such constructions, in which the same -n- derived case form would be used to mark both A and O arguments. While I argued that this is a feature of Bhili that deserves attention, most of the analysis in 4.2. drew examples from other CIA languages, which also appear to have this feature. However, the same analysis could be applied to Bhili and Khandeśi and should provide motivations for eliciting data from varieties corresponding to those referred to by Grierson as 'Wagdi of Mahikantha', 'Labhani of Berar', and 'Rangari Khandeśi', about which Gierson's data indicates clear homophony of A and O markers (Grierson 1907: Vol. 9-III, 38, 216, 232-33, 266). While acknowledging the almost certain presence of this phenomenon in Bhili and Khandeśi, the remainder of the analysis in 4.2. focussed on second-hand data of other CIA languages, as well as some Iranian languages.

I earlier demonstrated, in section 2.3.7.2., that the most likely explanation for the emergence of the -ne ergative marker in Hindi as well as other NIA varieties is that it shares a common origin with the -ne or -nɛ form (which is an object marker in many CIA language such as Gujarati, some Bhili dialects, and Rajasthani in general), and was most likely adopted into Hindi during the seventeenth century. Since Hindi already had a marker (-ko) for its dative and accusative functions, -ne got re-analysed as an alternative subject marker to re-enforce semantic distinctions; this included greater 'control' or 'agency' than the alternative dative -ko marked subject (Butt 2006a:80-83). As a result, Hindi would have a distinct subject and object marker – both of which would alternated with the unmarked, direct alternative, based on parameters of animacy and definiteness (see section 4.1.). However, other

languages appear to have adopted the -*ne* (or similar) as an ergative marker, in spite of already marking objects with the same. This is true of certain CIA languages, and in particular of those dialects that border the eastern Rajasthani / western Hindi speaking regions. Section 4.2. presented examples from Haryani, Bangru, and Ahirwati in which the A and O are marked by the same phonological form, i.e. some derivation of -*ne*. A and O are, therefore, overtly marked, yet the case marking in no way serves the function of distinguishing grammatical function, leaving the motivation of semantic factors such as indexing as the main explanation for their continued use. Hence, the constraint of *iconicity* trumps that of *economy* (see Aissen 2003:446).

On closer examination, however, some of these constructions, though possible, do not always appear to be preferred. Although the Bangru example cited from Khaṇḍelval (1980:230, cf. Stronski 2010) does show 'non-distinctive' A/O marking, other examples gathered from J.D. Singh's (1970) *A Descriptive Grammar of Bangru* give the impression that the language only licenses the use of the ERG/DAT/ACC marker once in a finite clause, as was shown in examples (285) and (286) (from section 4.2.2.2.). These are repeated in (430) and (431) below:

430) *ram   kʊte-**næ**   pəkḍæ   sæ*
     Ram dog-ACC catch.IMPF AUX.PRS
     'Ram catches the dog.'   [Bangru]

431) *ram-**næ**   kʊta pəkḍya*
     Ram-ERG   dog catch.PF   [Bangru]
     'Ram caught the dog.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:115)

Another way in which language seems to be able to avoid ambiguity of GFs is by finding alternatives in its case inventory to mark accusative objects, as was shown in examples (287) and (288) of 4.2.2.2.. See (432) and (433) for a reminder:

432) *kʊte-**kæ** məry*
     dog-kæ   strike.IMP
     'Strike the dog.'   [Bangru]

433) *kʊte-næ ḍənḍe-**kæ** məry*
     dog-næ   stick-kæ   strike.IMP   [Bangru]
     'Strike the dog with a stick.'   (Singh, J.D. 1970:69)

In Bangru, the form -**kæ** can function both as a marker of instrumental obliques, as in (432), as well as of accusative objects, as in (433).

A similar observation was made by Verbeke (2009) regarding Harauti, another eastern Rajasthani variety. In Harauti, -*nɛ* can only be licensed once in a finite

clause, either on the ergative subject, direct object, or indirect object (see examples (277)-(279) in section 4.2.2.2.). It is therefore highly probable that languages that have identifiable markers that alternate on A and O could still confront the constraint of *economy*, but the strength of the latter is language specific.

Section (4.2.) of the current study relied on second-hand data for examples, and therefore the conclusions are for the moment tentative. However, based on the few available examples from nonstandardised speech varieties such as Bangru, Harauti, Haryani, and Ahirwati, one would surmise that this feature is not uncommon in the region in which western Hindi and eastern Rajasthani overlap – i.e. regions immediately to the south and southeast of Delhi. This should be of interest to field linguists interested in new varieties of core argument marking in NIA, and more specifically to those interested in addressing the topic of case function.

5.2. Patterns of ergative attrition

One way of studying the historical changes that took and are taking place on the ergative construction in Indo-Aryan is to examine isolated varieties that have evolved separately from the more standardised regional languages. Gujarati and Marwari are both descendents of Old Rajasthani, a language that had ergative marking for pronouns as well as common nouns. Gujarati, which began to develop independently by the fifteenth century, has retained a robust ergative marking system, since pronouns (with the exception of first and second plural) and nominals are both A/S variant. By contrast, sixteenth century Old Rajasthani began to lose its ergative marking on common nouns (which became optional) while retaining it on pronouns. In contemporary Marwari all types of NPs are A/S invariant.

Kherwada Wagdi is a dialect of Wagdi with an ergative construction that resembles that of Old Rajasthani of the fifteenth century, both in terms of form as well as distribution. In Kherwada Wagdi ergative marking is obligatory on subjects, yet remains optional on all other types of nominals. Therefore, it can be argued that the three aforementioned languages represent three different courses of ergative evolution from a common origin – e.g. total attrition (as in Marwari), partial attrition (as in Kherwada Wagdi), and complete, or near complete retention (as in Gujarati).

The analysis of 4.3. took into account the reverse NP-split in Kherwada Wagdi, since according to Silverstein's (1976) Referential Hierarchy, the presences of ergative marked pronouns implies ergative marking for nominals as well. Instances where ergative marking appears on pronouns, but not on nominals, may be an indication that the language is in the process of ergative attition (see Comrie

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1995:203; de Hoop and de Swart 2008:1). Such was the case in Old Rajasthani. We may never know for certain when Kherwada Wagdi split from Old Rajasthani, but one can suspect that it represents an isolated variety that, after splitting, retained the inherited ergative system, even as the latter evolved towards an accusative marking pattern – i.e. A/S invariant.

5.3. Inflectional ergative markers

Perhaps the most 'exotic' finding in the Bhil area, and the one that was least expected, is that, in a variety known as Dehwali, ergative markers inflect to agree in number and gender with the ergative subject. Although all of the variables cannot be ascertained based on the available corpus and more elicitation would be necessary, there is no doubt that this clitic – the form of which is *-h(VN)* – does in fact agree with properties of the subject that it marks. The presence of some inconsistencies however indicates that controlling factors are more complicated than they appear to be at first glance. Furthermore, adding to the confusion, different speakers have given different variations – possibly due to subdialectical difference. This is, of course, a common problem of researching a nonstandardised language.

The question that I set out to address in 4.4. is that of the possible origin of this form. In general, NIA case markers tend to be consistent with a few basic forms – i.e. *-ne* from which Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Panjabi, etc. derive their ergative marker; *-le* common to Nepali and Pahari dialects; or the oblique marker as in Sindhi. The Dehwali form *-h(VN)* resembles the oblique suffix in late MIA Apabhramsa, of which it could a remnant. It also resembles a few other forms that are currently in use in neighbouring varieties, such as the oblique plural *-hã:* or *-hũ* suffixes in Rangari Khandeśi, the Marathi ablative *-hũ:*, and the genitive *-hV(N)* in the Wagdi of Mahikantha.

5.4. Instrumental agreement

The variety of Wagdi spoken within the Bohra community of Dungarpur – which I chose to label 'Bohra Wagdi' – allows a construction where, under certain conditions – the verb can agree with an instrumental NP in a transitive perfective clause. I must add the caveat that this was only found to be acceptable among Bohras in Dungarpur itself, and not elsewhere in Dungarpur or Banswada district. This is perhaps due to the fact that this agreement pattern only occurs when agreement with the direct object is blocked as a result of accusative marking. As one travels

east from Dungarpur, even as far as Sagwada (see map III of section 2.1.3), the accusative blocking rule becomes weaker, and therefore, a transitive, perfective verb will always agree with the direct object rather than with the instrumental NP.

Since instrumental agreement only occurs optionally in Bohra Wagdi and with a certain subset of verbs, section 4.5.2. examined the possible factors that might govern this agreement pattern. Section 4.5.2.1. considered the possibility that grammatical function is the main factor, and that agreement takes place depending on the grammatical status of the NP in relation to the direct object. In 4.5.2.2. I addressed the question of information structure, drawing possible parallels with Northern Ostyak, a Siberian language in which verb agreement with the object indicates greater topic properties, rather than the focussed object, which does not take verb agreement. The last possibility that I considered, in 4.5.2.3., is that instrumental agreement is the result of a general shift in emphasis to the means by which an action is carried out. I made it clear, however, that this shift in emphasis is not dependent on instrumental agreement, which is just one possible outcome occurring under certain limited conditions. Therefore, INSTR AGR implies emphasis shift, *but* emphasis does not necessitate INSTR AGR.

5.5. Final observations

This study has used firsthand data elicited in specific areas of the Bhil tribal belt as a basis to address both synchronic and diachronic issues regarding split ergativity in NIA. Its intended effect is to draw attention to the Bhili dialect continuum, and to demonstrate the fertility of its unique features, which should be of interest to Indo-Aryan linguists. Furthermore, dialect continua in other regions should not be disregarded either. For example, Deo and Sharma (2006) argue against the general approach that assumes homogeneity of the ergative construction in NIA and ignores the morphological diversity found not only in different standardised languages, but also within dialectical variation of these languages. Having given an overview of the general typological parameters of ergative marking and agreement in NIA in five different NIA languages (Hindi, Nepali, Gujarati, Marathi, and Bengali), they proceed to focus on six different Marathi dialects. In the analysis they demonstrate that dialect variation in Marathi dialects 'mirrors' typological variation in NIA (Deo and Sharma 2006:40).

In the same way, I have demonstrated in this thesis that even within a relatively narrow geographical area, which 'Indo-Aryanists' have traditionally labelled as 'Bhili' speaking, the variation in scope of the split-ergative construction was great

enough to produce patterns that are rare, and in some cases, even unattested in the typology of NIA. Since Grierson (1907: Vol. 9-III) however, Bhili has received little attention from theoretical linguists. In terms of the ergative construction, however, this area displays an extra-ordinary heterogeneity; I hope through the present thesis to have made a strong case for the necessity of a broader research agenda on Bhili.

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