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New Indo-Aryan associative plural markers derived from Old Indo-Aryan *apara* ‘other’ and their further grammaticalization

Evgeniya Renkovskaya

Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences
jennyrenk@gmail.com

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The paper deals with associative plurals in New Indo-Aryan languages, which are derived from the Old Indo-Aryan *apara* ‘other’. These markers are found in a large number of NIA languages, but in many of these languages they underwent further grammaticalization into other grammatical units, such as honorific particle, standard plural marker, definiteness marker, marker of inalienable possession etc. Among the factors which underlie this grammatical development, contacts with non-Indo-Aryan languages play a significant role.

Keywords: associative plural, honorific particle, grammaticalization, contact influence, New Indo-Aryan languages

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1. Introduction

The paper discusses the New Indo-Aryan mutual cognates derived from the Old Indo-Aryan *apara* ‘other’ and the grammaticalization of such cognates as associative plural markers with further development into other grammatical units in different languages. Associative plurals in the New Indo-Aryan languages have not been studied in detail, except for several works on Bengali (Biswas 2014; Dayal 2014) etc. Plural inflection inherited from the Middle Indo-Aryan state can express only additive plurality in the New Indo-Aryan languages, while associative plurals can be marked by affixes or analytical morphemes.

Associative plurals are one of two most widespread types of representative (heterogeneous) plurals, which exist along with additive (homogeneous) plurals. As a typological phenomenon, they have been most thoroughly studied in (Corbett, Mithun 1996;

Corbett 2000; Daniel 2000; Moravcsik 2003; Daniel & Moravcsik 2005; 2013; Mauri & Sansò 2018 et al.). *Additive* plurals consist of homogeneous elements, so the additive plural form of X is a set of elements, each of which is a referent of X, like X + X + X..., e.g. *dogs, tables* etc. On the contrary, *representative* plurals are heterogeneous and the representative plural form of X designates a set of elements one of which is the referent of X, while the others are somehow determined by X. There are two most widespread cases of representative plural reference, namely associative and simulative plurals. *Simulative* plurals “designate a class of objects whose prototypical member is the referent of the stem” (Daniel 2005: 11), e.g. Dumi *dza:-mil* (rice-PL) ‘rice and similar foods’ (van Driem 1993: 61). *Associative* plural forms represent a set of elements including the referent of the noun X and other elements associated with it. In most cases this type of plural form designate a group of people which can be described as ‘X and his/her associate(s)’ (Moravcsik 2004; Daniel & Moravcsik 2005), e.g. Turkish *Ahmetler* (Ahmet-PL) ‘Ahmet and his family / friend(s) / companion(s) etc.’

The descendants of Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) *apara* ‘other’ being used as associative plural markers in New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) are studied in this paper for the first time. In all known cases, they occur after nouns and are homonymous or have a formal resemblance to the pronouns with the meaning ‘other’ existing in languages. In many languages, such markers coincide with the plural form of the pronoun ‘other’ (modern or archaic), if the singular and plural forms of the pronoun are different in the language. Presumably, at a certain historical moment, there was the associative plural form ‘X OTHERS’ in New Indo-Aryan, while neither in Old Indo-Aryan nor in Middle Indo-Aryan such use of *apara* and its cognates was attested. In a number of New Indo-Aryan, the pronoun ‘other’, derived from OIA *apara*, is homonymous or has a formal similarity to the conjunction ‘and’, derived from the same stem (but possibly from another form). However, due to the formal match of affixes with plural forms of the pronoun in some languages, it is the pronoun that should be considered the possible source of grammaticalization (see pp. 2.4, 2.6). Within this work, I do not aim to trace the path of grammaticalization of associative plural markers directly from Old Indo-Aryan; my assumptions are based on the homonymy of these markers with the pronouns ‘other’ in many New Indo-Aryan languages. At the same time, the fact that OIA *apara* became a source for the pronouns ‘other’ in many New Indo-Aryan languages, as well as the historical-phonetic processes of this development, were thoroughly investigated throughout the 20th century, see (Woolner 1928: 14; Gonda 1954: 184; Bloch 1965: 70, 186; Turner 1962-1985: 20, No. 434; Masica 1991: 190 et al.). The main task of this work is to find in New Indo-Aryan languages reflexes of OIA *apara* which are or presumably were used as associative plural markers, as well as to trace and, if possible, explain the paths of grammaticalization of these markers into other grammatical units. If the sources of the associative plural markers in the world’s languages have been studied in detail in recent years, then the development of these markers themselves into other grammatical units, as far as I know, remains an unexplored area. And the New Indo-Aryan languages provide interesting research material in this regard. The associative plural markers derived from Old Indo-Aryan *apara* as well as their derivatives are attested in a large number of NIA such as Pahari (Garhwali, Kumaoni, Nepali), Himachali (Kullui, Bhadarwahi),

Punjabi, Lahnda and its dialects, Chhattisgarhi and its dialects, Sadri, Rajasthani (Malwi) and Kannauji. The paper is based on my fieldwork data as well as data from grammatical descriptions. However, the descriptions of some languages are rather fragmentary and only allow making some conclusions regarding the markers studied in the work, but not getting an exhaustive analysis.

2. The associative plural markers (< OIA *apara*) in New Indo-Aryan languages

2.1. *Garhwali*

The reflexes of OIA *apara* which have or supposedly originally had an associative plural function are found in all three languages of the Pahari group. Thus, the Garhwali grammar (Bhatt 2007: 46) mentions the markers *ɔr* and *ɟɔr*, which are used postpositively with kinship terms. Judging by the examples and their translation in the work, these markers are associative plural markers, cf. *bābā ɔr* ‘father and others’, *kākī ɔr* ‘aunt and others’, *sasur ɟɔr* ‘father-in-law and others’. The marker *ɔr* is homonymous with the pronoun *ɔr* ‘other, more’ and the coordinating conjunction *ɔr* ‘and’ (both go back to the OIA *apara* ‘other’). The *ɟɔr* variant is a combination of the honorific particle *jī* (< OIA *jīva* ‘living’), which is mandatory for certain kinship terms in Pahari, and the following associative plural marker *ɔr*. It is interesting that according to the brief description of these markers given in the grammar they denote not only the sense of plurality, but also have honorific semantics. However, there is no detailed description of how exactly respect is expressed.

2.2. *Kumaoni*

A grammatical sketch of Kumaoni (Upreti 1976: 105-106), which is based on the Soryali dialect (spoken on the border of Nepal), mentions the affix, which is used with kinship terms as a non-standard plural marker, cf. *dādā-hor* ‘elder brothers’, *kākā-hor* ‘uncles’, *kākhi-hor* ‘aunts’. This affix is homonymous with the pronoun *ɔr* ~ *hor*¹ ‘other, more’ and the coordinating conjunction *ɔr* ‘and’ (both go back to the OIA *apara* ‘other’). There is no other information about this marker, besides that given here, in this grammatical description, so it is difficult to draw conclusions about its real functions. However, the presence of the reflex of OIA *apara* in Kumaoni with a sense close to associative plural can be stated.

¹ The appearance of the prothetic *h*, according to (Bloch 1965: 70), is characteristic of some NIA words (among which there is a large number of function words, and, in particular, descendants of OIA *apara*). The difference of vowels *ɔ* ~ *o* can be explained by phonetic development during grammaticalization, as well as by the fact that in most grammatical descriptions in Hindi the phonetic representation system is not developed, and both Devanagari signs *au* and *o* can be used for the phoneme *ɔ* in Kumaoni.

2.3. Nepali

If in Garhwali and Kumaoni the reflexes of OIA *apara* are used in the associative plural function or that close to it only with kinship terms, then in Nepali the grammatical development of such a marker goes much further. Starting from the end of the 19th century, Indologists have been interested in the etymology of the plural affix *-harū* in Nepali, and various hypotheses have been expressed regarding it, cf.:

< Apabhraṃśa GEN.SG *he~ha* < OIA *sya* + NIA GEN *keru* < Prakrit *kerako* (Kellogg 1955 (1876): 128, п.192);

< OIA *sarva* ‘whole’ + *rūpa* ‘shape’ (Srivastava 1962: 90);

< OIA *sarva* ‘whole’ (Masica 1991: 229) etc.

However, for Nepali the phonetic development *s > h* is not typical, and the reflex of *sarva* is the pronoun *sab* ‘all’. The hypothesis in Kellogg’s work is also unconvincing: such a combination of two genitive markers is not attested in Indo-Aryan, and it is not clear how it could be transformed into a plural affix.

In my opinion the hypothesis of (Thurnbull 1992: 27), according to which *-harū* is derived from the pronoun *arū* ‘other’ (< OIA *apara*) seems to be the most plausible. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that *-harū* is a marker not only of additive, but also of representative plurality, cf. (Schmidt 1993: 796; Genetti 1994: 14):

- additive plurals: *kalam-harū* ‘pens’, *mānche-harū* ‘people’;
- associative plurals: *Rām-harū* ‘Ram and his associate(s)’, *āmā-harū* ‘mother and people in her house’;
- similitive plurals: *kalam-harū* ‘pens, pensils and similar things’, *phalphul-harū* ‘fruits and things like fruits’.

If we compare Nepali with the material of the Garhwali and Kumaoni languages, which are genetically closest to Nepali, we can assume that the original marker of associative plurality in Nepali has developed into a standard plural marker. Moreover, I believe that this grammatical development took place under the influence of the numerous neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages. The Nepali language is genetically most closely related to Kumaoni and Garhwali. At the same time, being in a constant contact with the Tibeto-Burman languages, Nepali has acquired a number of grammatical features that bring it closer to the languages of the eastern NIA group (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya) with greater agglutination. Nepali is characterized by some features which are absent in both Kumaoni and Garhwali as well as in western NIA (Zograf 1976). These are attenuated gender, numeral classifiers, quasi-ergative construction as well as the agglutinative plural marker instead of an inflectional one. The contact influence of Tibeto-Burman on the grammar of Nepali is mentioned in (Grierson 1916: 26), specific grammatical phenomena occurred in Nepali under the influence of Tibeto-Burman are discussed in (Bendix 1974; Bickel 2001; Allasonnière-Tang & Kilarski 2020 et al.). The origin of agglutinative markers in Nepali is of particular interest: as far as we can judge, they are not mainly borrowed from the Tibeto-Burman languages, but arose under their influence by the grammaticalization of native lexical elements. According to my hypothesis, the contact influence of the Tibeto-Burman languages could cause, firstly, the practical loss of the inherited inflectional plural in Nepali and, secondly, the development of the former

hypothetical marker of associative plural into a plural affix. Theoretically, such a development could occur in a language on its own, but nothing similar was attested in other NIA. In Garhwali and Kumaoni the reflexes of OIA *aparā* are used as associative plural markers only with kinship terms and are apparently not widespread (e.g. of all the works on the Kumaoni, the marker *hor* is mentioned only in the work of (Upreti 1976) on the Soryali dialect), which is incomparable to the widespread use and the great importance of their cognate in Nepali. On the other hand, the loss of plural inflection and the emergence of a new agglutinative plural marker is attested not only in Nepali, but also in other NIA in Nepal. Thus, in Danuvar the plural affix is originated from the noun *lok* ‘people’ (Bhandari & Banjade & Yadav 2011: 293), and in Tharu and Darai from the pronoun *səb* ‘all’ (Bhandari & Chaudhary 2011: 312; Dhakal & Yadav 2011: 301). It is highly likely that plural affixes in these languages also mark representative plurality, since in many other NIA there are analytical markers of both types of plurality going back to the same nouns (see Section 3). At the same time, in a large number of Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal, the associative plural marker is also used to express additive plurals (Daniel 2000: 36-37). This is true for languages such as Newari, Magar, Limbu, Chantyal, Hayu, Kulung, Belhare, Dumi (Daniel 2000; WALS²) as well as for Chintang (Schikowski 2013: 25) and Yakha (Schakow 2015: 124-125).

2.4. *Kullui*

In the northwestern NIA (Kullui, Bhadarwahi, Punjabi and Lahnda), the reflexes of OIA *aparā* are also present, but have different grammatical meaning and are used as honorific particles with almost complete loss of the plural semantics. Former associative plural form can be traced by verbal agreement. In the case of a noun with such an honorific particle, the verbal agreement is masculine plural with both masculine and feminine reference. If in case of masculine nouns the masculine plural form of a verb can be honorific plural, then in case of feminine nouns this cannot be explained this way, since in this case the feminine plural form of a verb would be expected. By comparison, another honorific particle derived from OIA *jīva* (Punjabi *jī*, Kullui *dzi*) does not affect verb agreement.

In Kullui the honorific particle *hora* is the same as the form OBL.SG *hora*, but also the archaic plural form *hora* of the pronoun *hor* ‘other, more’ (synonymous with the coordinating conjunction ‘and’) and has the forms DIR=OBL *hora* and ERG *hore*, cf.

Kullui (my field data)

- (1) *rajiv gandhi hora bomb-a senge mar-u-e*
 Rajiv Gandhi HON.DIR bomb-OBL INS kill-PASS-PFV.M.PL
 Rajiv Gandhi has been killed by a bomb

² <https://wals.info/feature/36A#8/28.019/87.322>

- (2) *mer-i bobo dzi hore kits bol-u mume*
 my-F elder_sister HON HON.ERG something say-PFV.M I.DAT
 My elder sister said something to me

As can be seen from the given examples, there is no sense of plurality in constructions with the particle *hora*. Here it is worth remembering that in Garhwali, areally close to the Himachali languages, associative plurals have an honorific sense. It can be assumed that the honorific particle *hora* in Kullui was originally an associative plural marker. Both associative plurals and honorific particles are mostly used with proper nouns and kinship terms, which also makes the grammaticalization from one unit into another possible.

2.5. Bhadarwahi

The honorific particle, similar to that presented in Kullui, is also found in Bhadarwahi, another language of the Himachali group. In the brief grammatical sketch of Bhadarwahi (Dwivedi 2015: 128, 142) an example (see (3)) shows the honorific particle *ho:ri* (ERG), which is formally close to the coordinating conjunction *horo* ‘and’ and the pronoun *ho:ro* ‘another’.

Bhadarwahi (Dwivedi 2015: 142)

- (3) *šarma: ho:r-i suref-e əpn-i kuj-ero het^h diŋto*
 Sharma HON-ERG Suresh-OBL own-F daughter-GEN hand give.PST
 Mr. Sharma married his daughter to Suresh

Unfortunately, more detailed information about the honorific particle is not provided in this work.

2.6. Punjabi

A similar honorific particle *hori* (OBL *horā*) is noted in Punjabi (Bailey & Cummings 1994 [1925]: 292, Bahl 1975: 102), cf.

Punjabi (my field data)

- (4) *sureś jī hori farīdābād ā-e han*
 Suresh HON HON.DIR Faridabad come-PFV.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL
 Mr. Suresh has come to Faridabad
- (5) *pitā jī horā ne saver dī gaḍḍī jā-nā*
 father HON HON.OBL ERG morning GEN.F train(F) go-INF
hai
 COP.PRS.3SG
 (My) father is going to take the morning train

In the Punjabi dictionary (Singh 1895) word forms *horĩ* and *horã* are defined as DIR.PL and OBL.PL from *hor* ‘other’ and have the following translation: “Others. This word is a suffix of respect, following both nouns and pronouns, meaning something like, His Excellency, Your Honour”. In modern Punjabi the pronoun ‘other’ has the form *hor* (DIR.SG and DIR.PL), but in the texts of the Adi Granth (15th-18th centuries), the variant *hori* (DIR.PL) ‘others’ is also often found (cf. *hori avahi javahi* ‘others come and go’, Adi Granth³, page 950, line 12). Therefore, in the case of Punjabi, it also makes sense to say that the honorific particle *hori* goes back to OIA *apara* and was initially used as a associative plural marker.

In this connection, I would also like to cite an interesting remark made by the authors of the grammatical description of Punjabi (Bailey & Cummings 1994 [1925]: 349): “Sometimes *hori* has the effect suggesting someone’s family instead of merely the person himself. This is especially the case if the word is used with a junior member of the family. Thus *Kutbe horã dī jhoĩ* may mean, and if Qutba is a junior member of the family, probably will mean, not Qutba’s buffalo calf, but one belonging to Qutba’s family”. This observation directly indicates that in Punjabi the particle *hori* has retained its original function as a associative plural marker. The speakers I consulted also confirmed that in modern Punjabi *hori* can be used both as an honorific particle and in the sense ‘somebody and people associated with him or her’.

2.7. *Lahnda*

The honorific particle *hōrī* ~ *ōrī* (OBL *hōrã* ~ *ōrã*) is also attested in dialects of Lahnda (Pakistan), such as the southern dialects Shahpuri (spoken in the Sargodha district, the previous district of Shahpur-Doab) (6) and Hindki (spoken in the Dera Ghazi Khan district), as well as the north-eastern dialect of Salt range (7) (Grierson 1919: 440). The particle is formally close to the pronoun ‘other’ in both Shahpuri (*hōr*) and the dialect of Salt range (*hōr*, OBL *hōrī*).

Lahnda dialect of Shahpur (Grierson 1919: 275)

- (6) *chārē* *kāzī* *hōrã* *kōl* *gā-ē*
 all_four judge HON.OBL APUD go-PST.PL
 All four went to His Honour the judge

Lahnda dialect of the Salt range (Grierson 1919: 444)

- (7) *nahĩ-tã* *kāzī* *sāhib* *ōrã* *kōl* *jullō*
 otherwise judge sahib HON.OBL APUD go.IMP.PL
 Otherwise let us go to His Honour the judge

³ The source of the example <http://www.srigranth.org/servlet/gurbani.dictionary?Param=%E0%A8%B9%E0%A9%8B%E0%A8%B0%E0%A8%BF>

In Hindki of Dera Ghazi Khan the particle is found only as a part of the honorific second-person pronoun *āp-hōṛī* ‘Your Honour’ (Grierson 1919: 342).

So, it can be assumed that in the northwestern NIA (Kullui, Bhadarwahi, Punjabi and Lahnda), the associative plural markers going back to OIA *apara* developed into honorific particles.

2.8. Chhattisgarhi

Presumptive original associative markers (< OIA *apara*) are also found in the New Indo-Aryan languages of the Eastern zone. For example, an interesting grammatical development of the pronoun ‘other’ has occurred in Chhattisgarhi. According to (Bloch 1965: 186), “in Chhattisgarhi *har* (< *apara*) ‘other’, suffixed to a noun, means ‘others’, etc.: but this meaning is expunged in *omāmke ek har* ‘one of them’; there are also *ohar* ‘he’, *inhar* ‘they’; and it ends by being used as an article in *ceriyā har* ‘the maid’, *sūā har* ‘the parrot’, *gar har* ‘the neck’”. The author of the Chhattisgarhi grammar (Kavyopadhyaya 1921: 37-38, 41) describes the marker *har* only as a definiteness marker and assumes that it is originated from the Prakritic pleonastic suffix *r ~ ar*, but at the same time he makes an interesting remark: in the Hindi dialects of the Jabalpur district (the territory of the state of Madhya Pradesh, bordering on the state of Chhattisgarh, where Chhattisgarhi is spoken) *harē* is a marker of the honorific plural and it is also used in the sense ‘and others’, cf. (8). In addition, in the Sambalpur district of Orissa, in the mixed dialect of Chhattisgarhi and Oriya, the word *haran* is used to mean ‘and others’, cf. (9). The affix *-har(an)* is also mentioned in (Masica 1991: 226) as one of the plural markers in Chhattisgarhi without further description.

Chhattisgarhi dialects (Kavyopadhyaya 1921: 41)

(8) *dīdī harē āī-īī*
 elder_sister ASS come.PFV-PST.PL
 Elder sisters and others came

(9) *baṛ'kā dadā haran*
 elder brother ASS
 Elder brother and others

The marker *-har* in Chhattisgarhi can be attached to a wide range of nouns, including proper nouns and pronouns, in particular, personal pronouns of all persons and numbers, but only to those used in the nominative, cf.

Chhattisgarhi (adapted from the website *Bible for children*⁴)

(10) *svargdūt-har mariyam lā kah-is ki tor bahinī ke*
 angel-DEF Mary DAT tell-PST CONJ your sister GEN

⁴ https://bibleforchildren.org/PDFs/chhattisgarhi/The_Birth_of_Jesus_Chhattisgarhi.pdf.

laikā-har *buṛhāpā* *mā* *hoy* *rah-is* *o-hu-har*
 son-DEF old_age LOC be COP.PST that-also-DEF
ek *camatkār* *rah-is*
 one miracle COP.PST

The angel told Mary: “Your sister has had a son in her old age, it also was a miracle”

Definiteness is marked in many eastern NIA languages (Bengali, Oriya, Assamese etc.). According to (Masica 1986: 136; Peterson 2010: 64; Biswas 2012: 19-20) the markers of definiteness in these languages came from numeral classifiers, attaching to the noun itself, and the numeral classifiers, in turn, appeared in NIA under the influence of the neighbouring non-Indo-Aryan languages⁵. There is no special definiteness marker in most of NIA, but it is found in many Munda languages which are spoken in the same area as some eastern NIA, including Chhattisgarhi. Thus, Chhattisgarhi is surrounded by languages (Munda and Indo-Aryan), having a separate definiteness marker, which creates conditions for the appearance of a similar marker in this language. However, numeral classifiers have not been fully developed in Chhattisgarhi, therefore there must be another source of grammaticalization. And such a source, as I assume, can be former associative plural marker.

It remains to be explained why the associative plural marker has become the source of such grammaticalization. According to typological works on associative plural (Moravcsik 2003: 472; Vassilieva 2005: 7-9; Mauri & Sansò 2019: 1-2), the focal referent in associative plurals is crosslinguistically interpreted as definite. Associative plural forms represent a set of elements including the focal referent and other elements associated with it. Non-focal referents are determined by the focal referent, so the latter is assumed to be known to the addressee. The way of grammaticalization, thus, becomes obvious.

2.9. *Sadri*

The affix *-har* is also found in Sadri: Grierson refers to this marker as a marker of definiteness, having been borrowed from Chhattisgarhi (Grierson 1903: 280). In the text samples of the Sadri dialect of the former state of Jashpur (now the Raigarh district of the Chhattisgarh state) *-har*, in contrast to Chhattisgarhi, occurs with much less frequency, in the nominative as well as in other cases and only with kinship terms (Grierson 1903: 293-298). However, according to a more detailed analysis of *-har* in modern Sadri carried out in (Peterson 2010: 62-64), it has different functions and usage. As per Peterson, *-har* is a marker of inalienable possession, which may only refer to a third-person possessor and is restricted to body parts, kinship terms and a few other terms denoting people, such as *saṅgi* ‘friend’, cf. (11).

⁵ Numeral classifiers are not typical of Indo-Aryan, but it is a prominent feature of mainland Southeast Asian languages (Masica 1991: 250).

Sadri (Peterson 2010: 63)

- (11) *bhauji-har-man*
sister-in-law-3POSS-PL
His/her sisters-in-law

All these factors indicate that *-har* in Sadri most likely has not been borrowed from Chhattisgarhi, but it could be the result of an independent development. It is used mostly with kinship terms and is formally similar to the definiteness marker in Chhattisgarhi, so both markers can have a possible common source and be former associative plural markers going back to OIA *apara*. The associative plural marker in Sadri could develop first into a marker of family possession, and then, more broadly, into a marker of inalienable possession. Thus, it becomes clear why the marker of inalienable possession in Sadri has only third-person form and the rest of the possessive paradigm is not developed in the language.

In (Peterson 2010: 63) it is assumed that “the category of inalienable possession in Sadri has been “imported” from Munda, but making use of morphology which was already found in Sadri”. It seems reasonable since inalienable possession as a grammatical category is not typical of NIA, but is attested in many Munda languages.

2.10. *Malwi and Kannauji*

Presumptive reflexes of OIA *apara* with associative function are also found in western NIA. In (Grierson 1908: 55; 1916: 85) and then in (Masica 1991: 229; Thurnbull 1992: 27) the authors draw attention to the similarity of plural markers in Nepali with some nonstandard plural markers in Malwi, one of the Rajasthani languages (*hōr*, *hōrō*, cf. *bāp-hōr* ‘fathers’, *bēī-hōrō* ‘daughters’) and Kannauji belonging to the Western Hindi group (*hwār*, *hwāru*, cf. *ham-hwār* ‘we’). However, more detailed information about such markers is not provided in the works. It can only be noticed that in Malwi the nouns in the examples are kinship terms.

3. Other ways of associative plural marking in NIA

The data above show that the form ‘X OTHERS (< *apara*)’ exists in many New Indo-Aryan languages of different areas and it can be assumed that this form was originally an associative plural form. Moreover, this form is far from the only one possible for the marking of associative and, more broadly, representative plurality in NIA. So, in Hindi, where additive plural is inflectional, the form with the noun *log* ‘people’ coming after nouns and pronouns, is widespread and can mark all types of plurality. For example, *rājā log* can mean ‘rajas (more than one)’ (additive plural), ‘raja and his family’ (associative plural) and ‘raja and similar rulers’ (simulative plural), and *Pūjā log* can mean ‘several girls named Pooja’, ‘Pooja and his family/friends’ and ‘Pooja and those like her’. Representative plural is marked in the same way in Bhojpuri, cf. *Rām log* ‘Ram and his

associates' as well as, possibly, in other NIA, in which, along with inflection, the analytical plural marker *log ~ lok* from the noun 'people' is widespread, such as Awadhi, Banjari, Magahi etc. (Zograf & Oranskaya 2011: 100; Krasa 2011: 153; Zograf 2011: 319; Verma 2011: 342; Singh & Kumar & Atreya 2014: 106).

Associative plural has been studied in detail in Bengali (Biswas 2014; David 2015). The plural affix *-ra* used only with human nouns also marks associative plurals (14). According to (Bloch 1965: 154) this affix comes from previous genitive marker *-rā* used with the pronoun *sab* 'all' in Middle Bengali, and later the pronoun was omitted. From a diachronic typology viewpoint, genitive markers are one of the common sources of associative plurals (Mauri & Sansò 2019: 9-10; 2020: 13-14).

Bengali (David 2015: 266)

- (12) *ram-ra aś-b-e*
 Ram-PL come-FUT-HON.3
 Ram and his people will come

Of particular interest is the associative plural in the Marwari dialect of the city of Jaisalmer. The associative plural marker in this dialect is grammaticalized from the pronoun *bijo* 'other' which does not go back to OIA *apara*, but to another stem – OIA *dviṭīya* 'second'. The pronoun *bijo* is used in masculine plural form *bija*, there is no agreement with the noun. The associative plural marker *bija* being used with kinship terms can become an honorific particle and thus lose the plural semantics, cf. (13)-(14).

Marwari dialect of Jaisalmer (my field data)

- (13) *bua bij-a a-yara*
 aunt other-M.PL come-PFV.M.PL
 (My) aunt and her people have come / (My respected) aunt has come
- (14) *Lallu bij-a a-yara*
 Lallu other-M.PL come-PFV.M.PL
 Lallu and his people have come / * (Respected) Lallu has come

Due to the fact that the reflexes of OIA *apara* originally marking associative plural have been attested in a large number of NIA in different areas (in particular, in the Lahnda dialects geographically close to Marwari) and reflexes of OIA *dviṭīya* with a similar function have been found so far only in Marwari, it cannot be ruled out that the latter might have arisen as a grammatical calque. In addition, unlike the reflexes of *apara*, the pronoun *bijo* in such constructions in the Marwari of Jaisalmer has not yet been fully grammaticalized.

4. Associative plural markers (< OIA *apara*) in typological perspective and some conclusions

Based on the data studied, it can be concluded that the form 'X OTHERS (< *apara*)' is found in many New Indo-Aryan languages and its original function is marking associative plurals. Moreover, in many languages there was a further grammatical development of the associative plural markers derived from OIA *apara* into other grammatical units.

The grammaticalization of the pronoun 'others' into an associative plural marker at first glance seems typologically common. In particular, it is the word 'others' that is often used to translate associative forms into languages in which there is no separate associative marker, cf. 'X and others'. However, according to recent works on the diachronic development of associative plural markers in the world's languages (Mauri & Sansò 2019; 2020), the pronoun 'other, others' has not been attested as a frequent source of such grammaticalization.

At the same time, for the New Indo-Aryan associative form 'X OTHERS', one can indicate at least one typological parallel: plural forms of personal pronouns in Romance languages. Since the old plural forms of pronouns in many languages often begin to be used in relation to one person (in particular, to denote respect), new plural pronouns are formed in the pronominal paradigm to fill the resulting gaps. In many modern Romance languages, the plural forms of personal pronouns have the component 'others', cf. Spanish *vosotros*, Catalan *vosaltres*, Galician *vosoutros*, and *vous autres* in Quebec French for the pronoun 'you', so the forms of these pronouns consist of two words 'you + others'. By adding special nouns, second-person plural pronouns are formed in other European languages, cf. English *you guys* and *y'all*, Dutch *jullie* (<*gij lieden* 'you + guys') etc. (Babaev 2009: 124). Such grammaticalization strategies are similar to those noted for associative plural forms, and this is understandable. According to (Daniel 2000), the first and second person plural pronouns are in fact representative plural forms.

Despite the fact that associative plural markers derived from OIA *apara* are attested in many New Indo-Aryan languages, only in a small number of these languages they preserved their original function. From the languages mentioned in the work only in Garhwali and some Chhattisgarhi dialects reflexes of OIA *apara* still function as associative plural markers. In Punjabi the reflex of OIA *apara* can have associative plural semantics only in certain contexts. In other languages, the original associative plural markers have been developed into other grammatical units. In some cases, it can be assumed that such a development took place under the influence of neighbouring non-Indo-Aryan languages. Table 1 shows the associative plural markers (< OIA *apara*) and the grammatical units developed from them along with the NIA languages in which they are attested as well as the groups of non-Indo-Aryan languages, which presumably have influenced the development strategy.

Table 1: Grammatical development of the associative plural markers (< OIA *apara*) in NIA

	Grammatical development	Presumptive contact influence
Associative plural marker (<i>Garhwali, Chhattisgarhi dialects, Punjabi</i>)	Non-standard plural affix of kinship terms (<i>Kumaoni, Malwi?</i>)	
	Honorific particle (<i>Kullui, Bhadarwahi, Punjabi, Lahnda</i>)	
	Plural affix marking both additive and representative plural (<i>Nepali</i>)	Tibeto-Burman languages
	Definiteness marker (<i>Chhattisgarhi</i>)	Munda languages
	Inalienable possession marker (<i>Sadri</i>)	Munda languages

Among the development strategies of the associative plural markers (< OIA *apara*), listed in the work, only the formation of an honorific particle and a non-standard plural affix of kinship terms can be explained by the intralingual factors. The use of various plural forms for expressing honorificity is a typologically widespread phenomenon. A similar development of honorific forms is noted in the Turkic languages. In Turkish, according to (Görgülü 2011: 72-73), the affixes *lar* (*-ler*), which mark both associative and additive plural, should be considered different homonymous affixes, since they differ in both semantics and the order of morphemes: the additive plural affix precedes the possessive marker (15), while the associative plural affix follows it (16).

Turkish (Görgülü 2011: 72-73)

- (15) *teyze-ler-im* (16) *teyze-m-ler*
 aunt-PL-1SG.POSS aunt-1SG.POSS-APL
 My aunts My aunt and her family / friends

A similar phenomenon exists in the Uzbek language: a plural affix can precede and follow a possessive marker. When the affix follows the possessive marker, it is used as an honorific marker with kinship terms (Kononov 1960: 79; Türker 2019: 13-14)

Uzbek (Türker 2019: 13-14)

- (17) *opa-lar-im* (18) *opa-m-lar*
 sister-PL-1SG.POSS sister-1SG.POSS-PL=HON
 My sisters My (respected) sister

On the base of difference in the morpheme order, it is also indicated in (Türker 2019: 13-14) that the additive plural and honorific markers *-lar* should be considered different morphemes. Moreover, the associative plural use of *-lar* in Uzbek is also possible: *Shar-*

if-lar ‘Sharif and his family’ (Kononov 1960: 79). It is interesting that, in both Uzbek and Marwari, the associative plural marker is developed into an honorific marker only being used with kinship terms, but with proper nouns such a development does not occur.

The development of honorific particles from associative plural markers is also attested in the Bantu languages. The prefix of noun class 2a in these languages is used as a plural marker with nouns without noun class, which include, first of all, proper nouns and kinship terms. Therefore, usually such a prefix marks associative plural (Eton, Mongo, etc.), but sometimes it functions as an honorific particle (Venda, Bemba) (van de Velde 2006: 1, 9; Irvine 1992: 254). So, it can be assumed that the development of associative plural markers into honorific markers is typologically quite widespread.

In Nepali, Chhattisgarhi and Sadri, the development of associative plural markers into other grammatical units has been most likely influenced by the neighbouring non-Indo-Aryan languages. All three languages are located in the area of constant contacts with the Tibeto-Burman and Munda languages. The transformation of an associative plural marker into a standard plural affix, marking all types of plurality, from a typological point of view, is not an exceptional phenomenon, although in Nepali such grammatical development should be considered the result of contact influence. More interesting in this respect are the definiteness marker and the inalienable possession marker that arose in Chhattisgarhi and Sadri respectively. The possibility of such development indicates that associative plural occupies, in a sense, an intermediate position between singular and additive plural, and during further grammaticalization associative form may completely lose its plural semantics.

Numerous cases of development into other grammatical units show that the associative form with reflexes of OIA *apara* in NIA is rather unstable. However it is interesting that in many languages it is not completely lost, but grammatically reinterpreted

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Abbreviations

3 – 3 person, APUD – apudessive marker, ASS – associative marker, CONJ – conjunction, COP – copula, DAT – dative postposition, DEF – definite marker, DIR – direct case, ERG – ergative marker, F – feminine gender, GEN – genitive marker, HON – honorific particle, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental postposition, M – masculine gender, NIA – New Indo-Aryan languages, OBL – oblique case, OIA – Old Indo-Aryan language, PASS – passive voice, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, POSS – possessive marker, PRS – present tense, PST – past tense, SG – singular.