NON-NOMINATIVE SUBJECTS IN RAJASTHANI AND CENTRAL PAHARI. THE STATUS OF THE ERGATIVE AND OBLIGATORY CONSTRUCTIONS[1]

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It was noted very early (KELLOG 1972 [1875]; GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV: 103–107) that Rajastahani and Pahari dialects displayed many morphological affinities. However languages belonging to both groups show different treatment of non-nominative subjects in ergative and obligatory constructions. Western Rajasthani is an example of constant drift towards nominativity and disappearance of the oblique subject marking in the ergative domain (cf. KHOKHLOVA 2001; 2006). Eastern Rajasthani reinforces the A and O contrast by introducing the *ne* postposition which serves as a dative marker as well. Pahari dialects on the other hand consistently mark A of the transitive sentence with the *le* postposition which is also employed as an instrumental marker. Those dative and instrumental markers are also used in the obligatory constructions. Both types of markers are of recent origin but the ergative and obligatory patterns can be observed throughout the history of the IA languages. In Rajasthani and Pahari one can see two divergent morphological developments which have resulted in attrition and reinforcement of ergativity respectively. The situation seems to be more complex if we take into consideration specific developments in verbal agreement in Rajasthani and the maintenance of unmarked pronominal O in Kumauni (cf. SHARMA 1987) in ergative construction and the reinterpretation of the obligatory construction as future tense in Kumauni and Garhwali.

The present paper argues that despite the recent origin of case marking in IA languages they do share certain structural properties which are traceable historically. Introduction of new markers has served only to maintain structural pattern continuum. The employment of the ergative postposition with intransitive verbs (e.g. cough, laugh) (cf. MONTAUT 2004) and its implementation in the obligatory construction can be perceived as an attempt to rebuild the system which goes back neither to the ergative nor to accusative (cf. KLIMOV 1983; LEHMANN 1995; BAUER 2000).

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INTRODUCTION

It was noted very early (KELLOG 1893 [1875]; GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV: 103–107) that Rajasthani and Pahari dialects (see map) displayed certain affinities at the morphological level in both the nominal and the verbal system. These convergences might have resulted from long-lasting contact between the languages. The dialects spoken on the plains by Rajputs had once ousted the speech of the Himalayan dwellers, i.e. Khaśas, who finally adopted the speech of the conquerors (GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV:108–109). After centuries, however, we can see that despite morphological similarities which have been preserved in Rajasthani and Central Pahari, the outcome of the syntactic developments is considerably different.

In the present paper I would like to focus on two phenomena, namely on the ergative and obligatory constructions in both dialectal groups, which indicate an interesting evolution of what are generally assumed to be non-nominative subjects.

$$
\begin{array}{r l}
& \text{Obl} \\
& \qquad\qquad \} \text{ erg.} \\
& \text{A} \\
\text{nom. } \{ & \\
& \text{S} \\
& \qquad\qquad \} \text{ abs.} \\
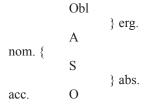\text{acc.} & \text{O}
\end{array}
$$

Fig. 1. Ergative alignment according to KLIMOV (1983: 112)

For the purpose of the present paper I will use the extended Dixonian (DIXON 1979; 1994) scheme proposed by KLIMOV (1983: 112–113) in which the same marking of A and Obl is perceived as one of the implications of ergativity (Figure 1).

'ERGATIVE SUBJECTS' IN RAJASTHANI – LOSS OF ERGATIVE PATTERN

Thanks to access to the oldest written records reaching back almost to the 14th century AD, the historical development of ergativity can be best reconstructed in Marwari. There have been a considerable number of synchronic descriptions of Rajasthani dialects written by vernacular (e.g. BAHL 1989; LĀḶAS 1994) and Western authors (MAGIER 1983), but historical research occupies an important place, to mention only the earliest works by TESSITORI (1913; 1979 [1914–1916]) and some seminal papers by KHOKHLOVA (1974; 1992; 1995; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2006).

Old Marwari texts show clear evidence of the ergative alignment – in the perfective tenses, S and O (Nom. case) were grouped together and A (Instr.) was marked separately (see ex. (1) and (2)). Employment of the Instr. agent in the participial tenses based on the -ta participle, inherited from the MIA period, conforms to the general tendencies observable in early NIA languages (KHOKHLOVA 1992: 73–74). Unlike in the modern IA tongues, even animate or definite objects remain unmarked (3).

Such treatment of S, O and A is, however, not consistent – only pl. nouns and sg. stems ending in -o had separate Instr. while the other nouns unified the Instr. and Nom. endings at a very early stage. Already in Old Rajasthani prose texts one can observe co-occurrence of Instr. and Nom. forms in the A function ((3) and (4)), which is obviously a sign of the

disappearance of ergativity in Rajasthani (cf. Tessitori 1979 [1914–1916]: 155; Khokhlova 2006: 160–162):

(1) isauṁ   bhaṇī kari   haṁsu rājā   ādhau cāliyau
     like   talk   do.abs. H.   king.Nom. far   go.PPP.masc.sg.
     Having said this king Hansu (**S**) went further. 15th c AD (R.G. 7)

(2) ghaṇī vāri mātaṅgiṁ   vidyā   kahī
     many times outcaste.Instr. knowledge.fem.sg. say.PPP.fem.sg.
     Many times the outcaste (**A**) taught (him). 15th c AD (R.G. 15)

(3) rāi   na   grahau   narasiṁha
     king.Instr. not   catch.PPP.masc.sg. N.masc.sg.
     King did not catch Narasingh (**O**). 15th c AD (R.G. 27)

(4) ehavau prabhāv sāmbhaḷī   kumār   kahiu
     Such   power   hear.adv.part. prince.Nom.sg. say.PPP.masc.sg.
     Having heard about such power prince (**A**) said. 16th c AD (R.G. 36)

One of the implications of ergativity, namely the equal treatment of A and Obl. arguments (cf Figure 1) has been attested in Old Rajasthani as well – in texts from the 15th century AD both A and Obl. are marked with Instr. (cf. Khokhlova 1992: 75; 1995: 122). This, nevertheless, was a short-lived phenomenon due to attrition of the Instr. marking of A.

(5) tīṇaiṁ   mātaṁgiṁ   avanāminī vidyā-naiṁ   baliṁ   sabartuk
     this.Instr.   outcast.**Instr**. bending   knowledge.Gen.   power.**Instr**. all.season
     van-nā
     forest.Post.Gen
     āmbā –nī   ḍāḷ   namārī   āmbā   leī   ḍohalu
     mango.pl.Gen. branch   bend.abs.   mango.pl   take.abs. craving.masc.sg.
     pūriyu
     fulfill.PPP.masc.sg.
     This outcast with a power of knowledge of bending, having bent the branch of the all season forest mangoes, fulfilled his craving. 15th c AD (RG. 15)

In perfective tenses at the stage of early Marwari (15th c AD) pronouns in the A function were marked by the Instr. while those in the O function remained unmarked (see (6) and (7); cf. Khokhlova 1993: 80; 1995: 23). There is evidence of the earlier opposition agentive vs. non-agentive 1st pers. pron. *hauṃ – maiṃ*. The oblique pronominal O marking which had initially occurred in the non-perfective domain spread to the perfective one, preserving the OV number agreement. This process had started at a relatively early stage, but was completed probably around the beginning of the 18th century (Marwari texts from that period still show unmarked pronouns in the O function).

(6) kumār lakuṭai   te   tim haṇyā   jim
     prince wood.Instr.sg. they.Nom. so   beat.PPP.Nom.pl.masc.   That
     Prince beat them so that... (R.G. 39)

(7)   taiṁ   amhe   ihāṁ   chatā   jāṇiyā
        you.Inst. we.Nom.   here   being.PPresA.masc.sg.   recognize.PPP.Nom.pl.masc.
        You recognized us who were here. (R.G. 11)

The opposition A/S existing in the perfective aspect in Old Rajasthani in the whole plural paradigm became restricted to masc. nouns in -*o* and to plural nouns terminating in consonants. Therefore only these classes of nouns have preserved the ergative (or tripartite A≠S≠O) marking pattern in the majority of the contemporary dialects of Rajasthan. However despite the fact that standard grammars of Marwari prescribe employment of the agentive case for nouns terminating in -*o* (LĀḶAS 1997: 45; but MAGIER (1983: 311–312) maintains that only 3rd pers. pronouns constitute an ergative residue in the Marwari case marking), the practice is not even followed by writers (cf. KHOKHLOVA 1995: 20–21), not to mention ordinary speakers.

The same pertains to the other varieties of Rajasthani which have not employed the ergative postposition, thus not following the standard Hindi template, e.g. Shekawati (8):

(8)   tʃʰoro/ tʃʰorɑ   kelɑ   mol   lɪjɑ
        boy.Dir./Obl.   banana.pl   price take.PPP.masc.sg
        A boy bought bananas. (Shekawati; author's field notes)

GRIERSON 2005 [1908], vol. IX, part II: 45, 52, 55) remarked that only Malwi and Mewati used the *nai* postposition as an agentive marker, although in both dialects it could serve as Dat./Acc. postposition as well (though rarely in Malwi).

The employment of the *ne* postposition marking A in Rajasthani seems to be a recent development which took place under the influence of the neighboring Western Hindi dialects, but it has been consistently noted in the most recent grammars of the dialects such as Marwari, Shekawati, Mewati (GUSAIN 2004; 2001; 2003), Harauti (SHARMĀ 1991). Among them Marwari and Shekawati, which are said not to possess the ergative postposition at all (cf. AGRAVĀL 1964: 82; LĀḶAS 1994: 40–41; 1997: 44), seem to have inconsistently employed the new agent marking (my Shekhawati and Marwari respondents[2] occasionally produced sentences with the ergative postposition, but when confronted with such sentences produced by the present author they would judge them ill-formed). DAS (2006: 141, 150) however gives all the examples from his own fieldwork on Marwari OV agreement with the agentive postposition which at the same time functions as a Dat. marker (9):[3]

(9)   həɽɪ   ne   məlɪk   ne   pɑsɑ   pɛ   dɪjɑ
        servant Post.Erg. master Post.Dat. money.masc. pl. find.part.adv. give.PPP.masc.pl.
        The servant returned money to the master. (DAS 2006: 141)

Undoubtedly the labile status of the agent marking indicates a transitional stage in the development of the ergative pattern in Rajasthani dialects. One of the most interesting phenomena can be observed in Harauti, where employment of the agentive postposition seems

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    [2] My Shekhawati informers were inhabitants of Mahensar and Mandawa, while for Marwari I interrogated speakers from Pokharan and Jodhpur.
    [3] The examples given by Das should be treated with considerable caution, since they contradict all the rules mentioned in the vernacular grammars of Marwari (cf. LĀḶAS 1994; 1997). It seems to me that Das' respondents were influenced by the questionnaires written in Hindi.

to be in complementary distribution with the standard Acc./Dat. usage (see ex. (10) and (11) from Harauti, cf. also ALLEN 1960: 10; SHARMA 1991: 191).

(10)   tʃʰoro   sãp   nɛ   marjo
          boy   snake.masc.   Post.Dat./Acc.   hit.PPP.masc.sg.
          A boy hit the snake. (Harauti) (SHARMĀ 1991: 161)

(11)   tʃʰora   nɛ   sãp   i   marjo
          boy.Obl. Post.Dat.   Snake.masc.   emph.   hit.PPP.masc.sg.
          A boy hit the snake. (Harauti) (SHARMĀ 1991: 161)

What is more, some of the speakers of Harauti allow the parallel oblique marking, i.e. simultaneous A and O marking by the postposition *ne*. According to my informants, however, this usage (12) is accepted only marginally. In fact in the languages of the world the same A and O marking is considered either impossible (cf. COMRIE 1978: 329–335) or very rare, i.e attested in Pamir languages and in Kashmiri (cf. BUBENIK 1989a: 182; PAYNE 1980; SKALMOWSKI 1974). Such double oblique marking can be traced in selected contemporary dialects belonging to Western Hindi, namely Haryanvi, Ahirvati.

(12)   tʃʰori   nɛ   tʃʰora   nɛ   ḍekʰjo
          girl   Post.Erg.   boy.Obl.   Post.Dat.   hit.PPP.masc.sg.
          A girl saw the boy. (author's field notes)

All the contemporary Rajasthani dialects have lost the A/S distinction in the 1st pers. pron. and have maintained it in the 2nd and 3rd or only 3rd pers. pron. In standard Marwari even the use of the 3rd pers. pron. appears to be optional – cf. examples (13) and (14) taken from the monthly *Māṇak*.

(13)   ʊnɛ   apre   susrɛ   nɛ   ɪn   baṭ   ri   sikajəṭ
          she.Erg.   own.Obl.   father-in-law.Obl.   Post.Dat.   Dem.Obl.   matter   Post.Gen.   complaint
          kəri
          Do.PPP.fem.sg.
          She complained to her father-in-law about this matter. (Marwari) (*Māṇak* 2008, Jan. 49)

(14)   vɔ   uṇã   sũ   putʃʰijɔ
          he   they.Obl.   Post.Abl.   Post.Dat.
          He (king) asked him (Brahman). (Marwari) (*Māṇak* 2008, Jan. 50)

Contrary to Western Hindi dialects, Marwari preserved OV agreement despite introducing O marking (cf. (15)). This has been perceived by some scholars as a residue of ergativity at the syntactic level (cf. KHOKHLOVA 1995: 31–32). Much more intricate, however, is the formation of the so-called 'split agreement' (16) – the simultaneous development of the AV agreement (A agrees with the auxiliary) and maintenance of the OV agreement (O agrees with the participial from of the verb).[4]

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[4]   There has been considerable discussion regarding this phenomenon (cf. MAGIER 1983: 321–323; BAHL 1989: 157–158). ALLEN (1960) found this pattern only with the 1st person, but according to BAHL (1972: 15) this

(15)   sundarī-nai   bharathai   rākhī
         beautiful woman-Post.Acc.   Bh.Instr.   keep.PPP.fem.sg.
         Bharath kept the beautiful woman.
         (Old Marwari from TESSITORI 1979 [1914–1916]: 155)

(16)   mhẽ   ɛɽi   ḍukɑnã   ḍekʰi   hũ
         I   such   shop.fem.pl.   see.PPP.fem.   be.aux.1st.sg.
         I have seen also this kind of shops. (*Māṇak* 2008, Jan. 44)

Although Rajasthani dialects both old and contemporary can be interpreted only as syntactically accusative (and partly morphologically ergative), there are several tendencies which indicate a general drift towards nominativity at the syntactic level as well. Among them the transition from pivotless towards A/S pivot language will be dealt here briefly.

The transition from pivotless towards A/S pivot language indicates that ergativity had once penetrated the syntax of MIA and early NIA to such an extent that the language lost the stability of the syntactic pivot, or in other words became close to the 'pivotless' language type in which the basic syntactic operations are not consistently controlled either by the A/S pivot (accusative type) or by the S/O pivot (ergative type) (cf DIXON 1994: 143).

In the early Marwari texts there are attestations of conjunction reduction which indicate the existence of two types of pivot, namely A/S and S/O pivots ((17) and (18)). The S/O pivot, which is a characteristic of an extremely small number of syntactically ergative languages, is absent in the contemporary IA languages, but relics of it can still be found in early Western Hindi and even early Eastern Hindi texts. What is more, in texts from the 18th century one can still find instances indicating pivot instability – in ex. (19) the pronoun is co-referential not with the leftmost Nom. A but with the Acc. object. Ex. (20), on the other hand, conforms to the general pattern of modern IA languages where pron. is co-referential with the Erg. A. It is not the purpose of this paper to question the relevance of the category of subject in the early stages of the NIA languages, but its status is not obvious.

(17)   ti   sarve tiṇi   jitā   rājpurī āpṇī karī   baiṭhau
         They all   he.Obl. defeat.PPP.masc.pl. Rajpuri own   make.abs. sit.PPP.masc.sg.
         He (**A**) defeated all of them and having appropriated Rajpuri (**S**) sat (on the throne).
         (R.G. 6)
         or
         They are all defeated by him, having appropriated Rajpuri, (he) sat (on the throne). (KHOKHLOVA 2001: 177)

(18)   ghaṇī vārī mātãgĩ   vidyā   kahī   puṇ āvai   nahĩ
         many   times outcaste.Instr. knowledge.fem.sg. say.PPP.fem.sg. but   come.pres.3sg. not
         Many times the outcaste taught (him) the knowledge (**O**) but it (**S**) does not come (i.e. it is not remembered). (R.G. 15) (KHOKHLOVA 2001: 177)

agreement pattern has been attested in all three persons in the contemporary Marwari spoken outside of Jodhpur. KHOKHLOVA (2001: 168), on the other hand, has found again only examples with 1st person, and GUSSAIN (2004) has not mentioned this pattern at all. Although my respondents from Jodhpur did not accept the sentences with split agreement (conforming thus to Bahl's statement), one can still find similar attestations (18) in the press which is supposed to be produced in standard Rajasthani (i.e. Marwari from the Jodhpur area).

(19)   eka sewaka malakasāha-nūṁ   sapanai-maiṁ dīṭho   so
          one servant malikshah-Post.Dat.\Acc. dream-Post.Loc. See.PPP.masc.sg. he
          kahī
          say.PPP.fem.sg.
          One servant saw Malik shah in his dream and he (Malik shah) said. (Marwari 18 c AD (R.G. 74))

(20)   kiṇī   gunāha kiyo   tho,   so bhāga gayo
          who.Obl. sin   do.PPP.masc.sg. be.Past.masc.sg. that run away go.PPP.masc.sg.
          Somone who committed sin, ran away. (Marwari 18 c AD (R.G. 74))

'ERGATIVE SUBJECTS' IN CENTRAL PAHARI – REINFORCEMENT OF ERGATIVITY

Several attempts to reconstruct the possible path of development of the grammatical system of Central Pahari languages have already been made by SHARMA (1985; 1987) for Kumauni; an extensive etymological survey has been made as well, but again only for Kumauni (RUVĀLĪ 1983).

Old Kumauni (19th century) shows consistently different Nom. and Obl. marking only for *-o* stems (the other stems maintained Nom. vs. Obl. opposition only in the plural). There is no separate synthetic agent case (Instr.) as can be observed in Rajasthani stems in *-o* and in earlier stages also in other stems, but cases are formed by means of postpositions which are attached to the noun in oblique case. GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV: 109) noted that only standard dialect (spoken in the vicinity of Almora) and dialects of Kali Kumaun, i.e. Kumaian, had fully preserved terminations of nouns and verbs, while the Khasparjiya dialect did not.

The majority of the modern dialects of Kumaon (except the Eastern dialects) continue the process which was initiated in Khasparjiya, i.e. they have lost oblique case ending in the *-o* stems in singular, marking oblique only by umlaut (cf. SHARMA 1987: 32–33). By analogy the nominative form has been leveled to the oblique one.

In the western dialects the former postpositions have actually become case endings (SHARMA 1987: 43–44). On the other hand the eastern dialects appear to be more conservative and they have preserved the opposition Nom. vs. Obl. in the *-o* stems and the postpositions in their full forms.

In the perfective domain already in Old Kumauni one can observe separate agent marking by the *-le* postposition, which at the same time was employed as the Instr. marker.

The ergative construction with unmarked O has exactly the same pattern as in standard Hindi – there is OV agreement (see ex. (21)), S is always in the direct case (22). It is however interesting that even animate objects remain unmarked, which actually conforms to the general tendency observed in Rajasthani that the object markers are introduced into the perfective domain after they have been well established in the imperfective one.

(21)   pr̥thvī-mẽ lag yo pahāṛ hamarī thātī   racī   dev-le
          earth-Post.Loc. too this mountain our.fem. place to live make.PPP.fem. god.Post.Erg.
          On the earth the god (**A**) made also this mountain our place to live. (19th century poem of Gumānī Pant from JUYĀL 1973: 168)

(22)   tadapi   muluk   tero   choṛi   nai   koī   bhājā
       thereupon   country   your   leave.abs.   not   who   run away.PPP.masc.

       Thereupon, nobody (**S**) having left your country ran away. (19th century poem of Gumānī Pant from JUYĀL 1973: 166)

It seems that the lack of a synthetic instrumental case has been compensated by the employment of the agentive postposition. It is therefore a return to the point of departure, namely to the original instrumental agent marking which could be observed in Old Rajasthani and, what is more, with the instrumental function preserved. As we could see in the section on Rajasthani, the equal treatment of A and indirect objects has been perceived as an implication of ergativity. However in the history of Rajasthani one can observe the loss of the Erg. and Instr. syncretism, while in Pahari it has been consistently maintained or, in other words, it has been reinforced by introducing the Erg./Instr. postposition *le*. The instrumental marking is not in complementary distribution with the ergative one: cf ex. (23), which is the continuation of (21).

(23)   yeī   citt   vicāri   kāphal   sabai   rātā   bhayā   krodh-le
       this.empf.   mind   contemplate.abs.   kāphal fruit   all   red.pl.   be.PPP.pl.   anger-Post.Instr.

       Having contemplated it in mind, all the kaphāl fruits turned red from anger.
       (19th century poem of Gumānī Pant from PANDE 1994: 21)

The pronominal marking of Kumauni in the ergative domain actually differs from the nominal system only in O marking. As has been mentioned, the nominal O in perfective tenses remained chiefly unmarked. Pronouns on the other hand introduced Acc. marking from the imperfective to perfective domain at an earlier stage. From the earliest sources the existence of the tripartite system (A≠S≠O) can be noted. In Old Kumauni, however, instances of employment of the synthetic oblique in the O function can still be traced – they are restricted to the objects governed by absolutives; otherwise in the ergative construction pronouns usually take Dat./Acc. postposition (see ex. (24) comprising the oblique form of 1st pers. sg. which is equal to Nom., 1st pers. pronoun with Acc./Dat. postposition and the oblique form of 3rd pers. pron. pl. which functions here as Dat.). The unmarked forms of pronouns are attested in the O function as well but, as is worth mentioning here, they maintain the person agreement with the verbal form. This type of agreement also occurs in Garhwali (see ex. (25) and (26)).

It seems, however, that the more ancient stage of development can be traced in Western Pahari. For example, Kului preserves the opposition of the agentive and non-agentive 1st pers. pronoun *maí* vs. *hāū̃* the former being employed only to mark A in the perfective tenses. In addition, there is a postpositional Dat./Acc. form which can also be employed in the O function, thus forming a tripartite system (cf. ṬHĀKUR 1975: 251–254).

(24)   unan   maĩ   dekhi   baṛi   rīs   ai   aur   maĩ-kaṇi   mari
       they.Obl.   I.Nom.   see.abs.   big   anger.fem.   come.PPP.fem.   and   I-Post.Acc./Dat.   kill
       diyo
       give.aux.PPP.masc.

       Having looked at me they became very angry and they killed me. (Standard Kumauni) (GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV: 172)

(25)   vai-n   maĩ māryũ̃   Garhwali

          u-le   maĩ māryũ̃   Kumauni

          he-Post.Erg   I   hit.PPP.1sg.

          He hit me. (Juyāl 1973: 141)

(26)   maĩ -n   vo   māre   Garhwali

          I.-Post.Erg   he hit.PPP.3sg.

          maĩ -le   u   māro   Kumauni

          I.Post.Erg   he   hit.PPP.masc.3sg.

          I hit him. (Juyāl 1973: 141)

In the area of nominal case marking, contemporary Pahari dialects do not differ considerably from the languages recorded over a century ago by Grierson (and in the case of Kumauni more than 150 years ago, if we take into consideration the language of the early 19th-century poets, e.g. Gumani Pant). The A, S and O marking has remained the same, and the only difference can be observed in the phonetic shape of the former postpositions. In the majority of the central Pahari dialects they have actually become case endings – e.g. in western Kumauni *-ne> -n*, *le > -el, -l* (Ag./Instr.), *ko > -ak, -k* (Gen.), *mē > -m* (Loc. in western Kumauni) (Sharma 1987: 43–44) in Garhwali *-ne> -n*, *le > -l* (Ag./Instr.), *-ko > -k* (Acc./Dat.) (Biṣṭ & Jośī 2005: 16; Purohit & Beñjvâl 2007: 57, 252). The process of the evolution of postpositons started in the 19th century (probably in the second half of that century), as we can infer from the data gathered by Grierson and from the oldest poems. The phonetic change, however, has not affected the split ergative pattern.

On the other hand Western Pahari dialects have not introduced a separate agentive postposition, thus here the agent marking is more conservative and the ending *-e* is a direct descendant from the OIA/MIA Instr. (Masica 1991: 232, 247).

Unlike Rajasthani, Pahari dialects still preserve the unmarked pronominal O in the ergative domain. It must be emphasized, though, that central dialects, i.e. Kumauni and Garhwali, especially in their standardized version, have already consistently introduced O marking. In the Kumauni spoken around Almora (i.e. Khasparjiya), which is considered the standard language, I have not come across any instances of unmarked O. The same pertains to the Garhwali spoken in the area of Śrinagar. The literary works available to me also confirm this tendency. There are however dialects which still preserve unmarked O in the perfective tenses. Sharma (1987: 97) gives a few examples of the employment of unmarked pronominal objects at par with the marked ones, but he does not specify in which dialects they are in use.[5] I have found examples of unmarked pronominal objects in the perfective tenses in the Gangoli subdialect of Kumauni (ex. (27)). It can be expected that the spread of the Acc. marking will soon oust the unmarked O from the pronominal system of central Pahari. In this respect Western Pahari languages appear to be much more conservative. Kului still employs unmarked personal pronouns in the O function in the perfective tenses along with the marked forms.

(27)   rɑm-ɛl   mũ   ḍekʰjũ

          Ram.Post.Erg.   I   see.PPP.1sg.

          Ram saw me. (Gangoli) (Author's field notes)

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[5] Juyāl (1973), who based his research chiefly on the standard dialect as recorded by Grierson, also does not give any details regarding the use of the unmarked pronominal O.

The variation of the marked vs. unmarked pronominal objects in the perfective tenses indicates that the spread of O marking from the imperfective to perfective tenses appeared first in the pronominal system, and there are still instances of the retention of the older stages which are manifested in the absolute lack of the marked forms in the perfective tenses. The example of Rudhari seems to confirm such a general line of development of A, S and O marking. The nominal O marking in Rudhari is absent. On the other hand in the pronominal system the O marking is only attested in the imperfective tenses (28), being absent in the perfective tenses (29). To conclude, it can be said that the pronominal system of western Pahari, being more conservative, has not introduced the tripartite system as the central dialects did. Generally speaking, the tendencies in the development of the A, S and O marking observed in Old Rajasthani are clearly visible in Pahari dialects.

(28) tèɑn   kʰub mɑrɑ   kʌne tèɑn   raʃʃiɑ   sæ̃ĩ   bɑndi
      He.Acc./Dat. well strike.imp. and   he. Acc.Dat. rope.pl Post.Instr. binding

      sɑɽɑ
      finish.aux.imp.
      Beat him well and bind him with ropes. (Rudhari) (Varma 1936: 158)

(29) tòriɑ   ghoɽiɑ   ʌú   mɑrɑ
      Your   mare.Erg.   I.Dir.   strike.PPP.masc.sg.
      Your mare struck me. (Rudhari) (Varma 1936: 143)

As was demonstrated before, western Rajasthani dialects show gradual attrition of ergativity, shifting from ergative via tripartite to an accusative system. The same view cannot be maintained for Pahari dialects. They either still preserve or have introduced new A marking which is equal to the Instr., thus complying with one of the implications of ergativity. It is remarkable that in the central Pahari the old synthetic Instr. case has been replaced by the postpositional case, repeating the previous pattern which treated equally the A and Obl. argument (indirect object) and which is still existent in western Pahari.

On the other hand the introduction of O marking and its spread from the pronominal to nominal system is a sign of the shift towards morphological nominativity. One can thus speak about two opposite tendencies, namely reinforcement of the ergative A marking and spread of the accusative O marking. As we saw above, the latter process has not yet begun in some western Pahari dialects.

Let us now have a closer look at the subject status of the ergative. A brief examination of the conjunction reduction both in old and contemporary Kumauni indicates the labile status of syntactic pivot. In Grierson's specimens of Pahari I could find one example of S/O pivot (30), and in the contemporary texts there are certain fluctuations in pivot retention. If we look at the example (31), we can observe coreferential object deletion, where the referent is the subject of the former intransitive sentence, and this can serve as an evident example of S/O pivot. There are however instances in which the status of the pivot is at least doubtful e.g. in (32) A_1 is coreferential with O_2. It is thus reasonable to assume that, unlike Rajasthani, which showed fluidity of pivot at a much earlier stage, Pahari is still changing its syntactic status from labile to an A/S pivot language (33).

(30)   mero   bāp   pātāla-ko   raja   bisnu-le   màri-dechh
        my   father   Patala-Post.Gen.   king   Vishnu-Post.Erg.   kill-aux.give.3sg.

        wī-ko   kwe   chyŏlo   nhàti
        he-Post.Gen.   any   son   be.3sg.neg

        Vishnu killed my father king of Patala. He (king of Patala) has no son. (Kumauni) (GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV: 175)

(31)   dʒəssɛ   lɑl   sõŋrɪ   kɛ̃s   bʰɛ-k   sɐmnɪ   pʊji
        as soon as   red   pig   little   brother.Post.Gen.   Front   reach.PPP.fem.sg.

        tə   wi-l   jorɛ-l   svɔʈɛ-l   mɑrɔ
        then   s/he.Post.Erg.   power.Post.Instr.   stick-Post.Instr.   beat.PPP.masc.sg.

        As soon as the red pig (**S**) came to the front of the little brother, he (i.e. brother) beat (her) (**O**) vehemently. (PANT 2006: 150)

(32)   etʊk   nɐn   bʰɔ-kɛ̃   ʧʰoɽɪber terɪ   sɐsʊl
        so   Small   infant.Post.Dat./Acc.   leave.abs.   your   mother-in-law

        tʊ-kɛ̃   kɪlɛ   ləgɑ
        you-Post.Dat.Acc.   Why   send.PPP.masc.sg.

        (You) (**A₁**) having left so little infant (**O₁**), why did your mother-in-law (**A₂**) send you (**O₂ = A₁**)(here)? (PANT 2006: 58)

(33)   mantrɪ-l   jɛber   rɑdʒkʊmɑr-tʰɛ̃   pʊʧʰɔ
        minister-Post.Erg   go.abs   prince-Post.Abl.   ask.PPP.masc.sg.

        Minister, having gone, asked the prince. (PANT 2006: 20)

POSTPOSITIONAL MARKERS AND OBLIGATORY CONSTRUCTIONS

In Rajasthani, before the Dat./Acc. postposition was employed in the obligatory construction, A had been marked by Instr. and the verbal form was gerundive (I could find only one clear example (34) with marked A from a prose text from the 16th century AD). Later, around the 18th century, postpositional marking ousted the synthetic Instr. and gerundive yielded to gerund/infinitive. In the example (35) the two forms, namely gerundive and gerund/infinitive, are still in use (apart from that, (35) is an example of conjunction reduction controlled by the Instr. pronoun, which makes it an eligible candidate for the subject). The *ne* postposition, being originally the dative marker, is still used in those dialects which have not employed the Acc./Dat. postposition *ko* (e.g. Mewati, and in some varieties of Marwari; see (36)).

The usage of the *ne* postposition in this function seems to have once been spread among a greater number of dialects, as is confirmed by the classical Dakkhini data (ŠAMATOV 1974: 233). (Formally it resembles the obligatory construction which is spreading now in colloquial Hindi, presumably under the influence of Punjabi – the Erg. postposition *ne* ousts the Dat. marker of standard Hindi i.e. *ko*; the topic has been widely discussed by BASHIR 1999).

(34)   taïṁ   māharoparodhi pakṣa eka yakṣa-nī   pūjā   variwī
       you.Instr. my shelter   side   one Y.-Post.Gen. worship choose.ger.fem.sg.
       You have to worship Yaksha in one corner of my shelter. 16 c AD (R.G. 37)

(35)   piṇa au   dhanuṣa mo-nūṁ   cāḍhaṇo sītā paraṇawī
       but this bow   I.Obl.-Post.Dat. lift.inf S.   marry.ger.fem.sg.
       But I have to lift the bow and marry Sita. 18 c AD (R.G. 97)

(36)   bin-nɛ   roṭi   kʰaṇi   hɛ
       he.Post.Dat.   bread.fem   inf.fem.   be.aux.3sg.
       He has to eat the bread. (Shekhawati) (GUSAIN 2001: 39)

From the earliest records of Kumauni we can infer that the *le* postposition was employed in the obligatory constructions in which Rajasthani dialects used to employ the Dat./Acc postposition *ne*. In one of the Rajasthani dialects, namely Mewati, there is a Dat./Acc postposition *lu* which seems to be an etymological equivalent to the Pahari *le* (the postpositional parallels Acc./Dat. *nūṁ – lu* vs. Erg. *ne – le* are evident).[6] But it has to be emphasized here that the use of the agentive postposition in this context was restricted, and Old Standard Kumauni shows a preference for the Dat./Acc postposition. Grierson's data shows 4 occurrences of the dative marked agent and 1 of the ergative marked agent in obligatory construction with the impersonal *chāīṇo* 'it is necessary' (Hin. *chahiye*)[7]; there is only one example of the obligatory construction with the bare infinitive where agent is overtly expressed, and it is marked by the ergative postposition.

Contemporary Central Pahari languages employ the agentive postpositions to mark A in the obligatory construction based on the infinitive verbal form (see ex. (37) and (38)). Nevertheless, it seems that there is a minute semantic distinction between Garhwali and Kumauni, although it is not recognized by all authors – cf. JUYĀL (1973: 146–147), who treats it in Kumauni and Garhwali as obligative future, and SHARMA (1987: 111), who states that the construction of the type represented by (38) is present obligatory. My own field study carried out in 2008, and study of the available prose texts, tends to confirm the maintenance of the distinction, i.e. present obligatory in Kumauni and future obligatory (tending towards simple future) in Garhwali, which I render here in translation; in this respect the Garhwali pattern is of a Western Pahari type (cf. ex (39) from Kului with the stipulation that in Kului it is simple future (ṬHĀKUR 1975: 304–305)).

(37)   rɑm-ən   bʰoḷ   ḍehraḍun   jãṇ
       I.Post.Erg. tomorrow   Dehradun   go.inf.
       Tomorrow Ram will (have to) go to Dehradun. (Garhwali) (author's field notes)

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[6]   It is Mewati which has been perceived from the very beginning as the dialect bearing the strongest affinities with the Pahari dialects (cf. GRIERSON 2005 [1916], vol. IX, part IV: 10).

[7]   The only dialect showing both Dat./Acc. and Erg. A marking is Pachai (and the only occurrence of Erg. is attested with pronoun). Other dialects employ exclusively the Dat./Acc. postposition with *chāīṇo* 'it is necessary'.

(38)   tʃjɐl-ɛl   jə   kɑm   kərəɳ   tʃʊ
         son.Post.Erg. this   work   do.inf.   be.aux.3sg.
         The son has to do this work. (Kumauni) (author's field notes)

(39)   ʃohru-e   buʈe   kaʈɳe
         son.Post.Erg.   tree.pl   cut.inf.pl
         The son will cut the trees. (Kului) (ṬHĀKUR 1975: 305)

It is remarkable that the pronominal Erg. forms are not used in the simple future in Western Pahari as they are in the future obligatory in Garhwali, instead special Instr. forms are employed (cf (40) and (41)).

(40)   tʊm-un   kəʈkɑ   d̪ɪn   jəkʰ   roɳ
         you.Erg.   how many   day   here   stay.inf.
         How many days will you stay here. (Garhwali) (Author's field notes)

(41)   mũ   soɳɑ
         he.Instr.   sleep
         I will sleep. (Kului) (ṬHĀKUR 1975: 252)

One can notice that in contemporary dialects the instrumental marking of A in the obligatory construction is being replaced by Dat./Acc. marking, thus moving closer to the standard Hindi pattern (42). Likewise in Nepali the use of the Dat. postposition in the obligatory construction is an innovation (WALLACE 1985 quoted by MASICA 1991).

(42)   mɪ-kɛ   jə   kɑm   kərəɳ   tʃʰʊ
         I-Post.Dat./Acc.   this   work   do.inf. be.aux.3sg.
         I have to do this work. (Kumauni) Author's field notes

IN SEARCH OF SOURCES…

The ergative pattern existing in Pahari is somehow more resistant to nominativization. The transition from the synthetic to analytic type has not disturbed the ergative pattern. The renewal of the earlier construction based on the *-ta* participle with Instr. agent, the renewal of the obligatory construction based on the gerundive, and preservation of OV agreement (the coding properties) are clear indicators of the maintenance of split ergativity. On the other hand, the instability of the syntactic pivot (behavioral properties) points either to weak syntactic ergativity or to the pivotless type.

The evolution from ergative to nominative type has been widely attested in many languages of the world and it is traceable in many tongues belonging to the Indo-Iranian family. The reverse development, although accepted by many specialists in IA languages, was rejected by typologists who dealt extensively with active and ergative languages. For example, KLIMOV (1973) in his monumental monograph on ergativity not only refused to accept the accusative-to-ergative shift, but claimed that the ergative pattern had been simply borrowed

by IA tongues from the neighboring languages. The proposed Proto-Burushaski (KLIMOV 1976) or Tibeto-Burman substrata were however rejected (TIKKANEN 1988). However, an interesting proposal was put forward by ZAKAHRYIN (1979), who formulated a hypothesis of active typology of the colloquial dialects which were in contrast with a 'standard' IA language of nominative typology whose ergativization was a by-product of language contact with Tibeto-Burman tongues. It could have been a Dardic tongue or tongues with presumably strong active traits (ZAKHARYIN 1982: 42) or an unknown language 'X', whose existence was once postulated while analyzing the unidentifiable layers of agricultural vocabulary in NIA (Masica 1979).

On the other hand there is a lexical evidence which can be perceived as an active residue, namely verbs of the type *khãsnā* 'cough' – so-called eventives, i.e. verbs denoting something happening to or taking place in a person (or object), affecting a person (or object) (GONDA 1951: 82–100; 1960a: 49–55). Notwithstanding the fact that they are intransitive, they do take the ergative S in the perfective tenses. This group of verbs has been attested in other languages belonging to the ergative type (LAZARD 1998: 136–139) and certainly at least in one language family, namely Caucasian, they constitute an archaic layer of a former active type (cf. KLIMOV 1973: 144–148, 232–234).

The IA evidence is modest but partly traceable historically; for example, in Old Awadhi there are instances of the usage of the verb *hãsnā* 'laugh' with S in Nom. or in Obl. but neutral form of the PPP (see (43) and (44)).

(43) teï   haṁsā
      s/he.Obl. laugh.PPP.masc.sg.
      He laughed. Jaysi *Padumāvati* 23.8

(44) padumāvati haṁsā
      P.   laugh.PPP.masc.sg.
      Padumāvati laughed. Jaysi *Padumāvati* from (SAKSENA 1971 [1937]: 242)

In the contemporary IA languages that preserve the ergative pattern, eventive verbs take S either in Nom. or Erg., the latter being more archaic. It is thus a question of further historical investigation whether the assumed 'active residue' is a substratal layer or the preserved earlier pattern. In the case of syntactic phenomena such as ergative and obligatory construction, it has been recently suggested that they repeat the older pattern (Latin *mihi est* construction) attested widely in other IE languages and constituting a basis for reconstruction of the active stage of PIE (BAUER 2000).

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