

Grammatical Feature: Verbal agreement in the transitive perfective clause

Like Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati, Konkani and some other New Indo-Aryan languages, standard Marathi is a split ergative language (split for person and aspect). Only the third person agent (both singular and plural) in the transitive perfective clause is overtly marked with the ergative case [-ne] and the verb in such clauses agrees with the highest argument in the nominative case. In the standard Marathi sentence *səšane gəwət k^halle* (rabbit-agent grass eat.PFV.3SGN; The rabbit ate the grass.) the verb ‘eat’ agrees with the number and gender of the non-case marked noun, *gəwət*. Similarly, in the sentence *kaswane šəryət jīnkli* (tortoise-agent race win.PFV.3SGF; The tortoise won the race.) the verb ‘win’ agrees with the number and gender of the non-case marked object, ‘race’. Overt ergative marking is absent in standard Marathi in the first and second persons though the rule for agreement remains the same. The verb shows default neuter singular agreement when the object is case-marked. E.g. *kaswane səšala hərəwle* (tortoise-agent rabbit-to defeated; The tortoise defeated the rabbit.)

1.0 Grammatical variation in agreement of the verb in the transitive clause

In several regional and social varieties of Marathi, however, the verb of the transitive-perfective clause optionally agrees with the subject of the clause. Thus, two values of this grammatical feature were attested across dialects of Marathi: (1) The verb in the transitive perfective clause agrees only with the non-case marked object; (2) The verb in the transitive perfective sentence largely agrees with the non-case marked object of the clause and variably with the subject of the clause. The geographical distribution and examples of the variant constructions are given below.

1.1 Variant 1: The verb in the transitive perfective clause agrees only with the non-case marked object

This variant construction was recorded in all the sampled districts in the state of Maharashtra.

1.1.1 Example (District Jalna, taluka Mantha, village Uswad, M45, Maratha, 6th)

ह्या मुलीनं त्या मुलाच्या तोंडात घास घातला

hya mulinə tya mulačə toṇḍat g^has g^hatla

hya muli-nə tya mula-č-a toṇḍ-a-t g^has g^hat-l-a

DEM.PROX.OBL girl.OBL-ERG DEM.DIST.OBL boy.OBL-GEN-OBL
mouth-OBL-LOC morsel.3SGM put-PFV-3SGM



This girl put a morsel of food in that boy's mouth.

1.1.2 Example (District Hingoli, taluka Kalamnuri, village Morwad, F21, Andh (ST), 12th)

त्या मानसाला पानी दिलं तिनं

tya mansala **pani dilə** tinə

tya mansa-la **pani di-l-ə** ti-nə

DEM.DIST.OBL man.OBL-DAT water.3SGN give-PFV-3SGN she-ERG

She gave water to that man.

1.1.3 Example (District Parbhani, taluka Palam, village Banvas, M42, Hatkar-Dhangar, 9th)

मंग तेनं आमाला तारीक दिली

məng tenə amala **tarik dili**

məng te-nə ama-la **tarik di-l-i**

then he.OBL-ERG we.EXCL-DAT date.3SGF give-PFV-3SGF

Then he gave us a date.

1.2 Variant 2: The verb in the transitive perfective sentence largely agrees with the non-case marked object of the clause and variably with the subject of the clause

This variant was recorded in fifteen of the sampled 34 districts in the state of Maharashtra. The geographical spread of this variant and examples are given below:

District	Taluka and Village
Chandrapur	Rajura - Koshtala, Brahmapuri - Torgaon (Budruk) and Panchgaon
Gadchiroli	Gadchiroli - Khursa and Shioni, Korchi - Bori and Mohagon
Gondia	Gondia - Temni and Tedhwa, Sadak-Arjuni - Chikhali
Bhandara	Bhandara - Dhargaon and Mujbi, Tumsar - Lobhi and Bori



Nagpur	Ramtek - Bhojapur
Nanded	Mukhed - Halni
Latur	Latur - Pakharsangvi, Nilanga - Dadgi, Udgir - Shirol Janapur
Beed	Ambejogai - Daradwadi
Osmanabad	Omerga - Kasgi
Solapur	Akkalkot - Chikkehalli
Sangli	Miraj - Mhaisal
Kolhapur	Karvir - Gadnudshingi, Chandgad - Chandgad and Tudiye
Sindhudurg	Vaibhavwadi - Nadavde, Sawantwadi - Kolgaon and Satarde
Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri - Zadgaon, Khed- Savnas and Bahiravli
Raigad	Roha - Nagothane

1.2.1 Example (District Gadchiroli, taluka Gadchiroli, village Khursa, M35, OBC, 12th)

येक मानुस आता थोडुसा पानी असलेली बाटल टेबलावर ठेवला

yek manus ata t^hoḍusa pani əsleli baṭəl ṭeblawər t^hewla

yek manus ata t^hoḍusa pani əs-lel-i baṭəl ṭebla-wər t^hew-l-a

one man.3SGM now little water.3SGN be-PTPL-3SGF bottle.3SGF table.OBL-PP.LOC keep-PFV-3SGM

A man kept a bottle containing a little water on the table.

1.2.2 Example (District Gadchiroli, taluka Korchi, village Bori, F19, Gond, FYBA)

ती मुलगी आपल्या नवऱ्याला पानी दिली

ti mulgi aplya nəwryala pani dili

ti mulgi aplya nəwrya-la pani di-l-i

DEM.DIST.3SGF girl.3SGF we.SELF.OBL husband.OBL-DAT water.3SGN give-PFV-3SGF

That girl gave water to her husband.

1.2.3 Example (District Chandrapur, taluka Brahmapuri, village Pachgaon, F51, Dhivar, Illiterate)

आमच्या बाबानं नाय का निस्त्या रोजगारावरं साडेतीन एकड जमीन घेतला



amča babanə nay ka nistya rojgarawərə saḍetin ekəḍ jəmin g^hetla

am-č-a baba-nə nay ka nistya rojgar-a-wərə saḍetin ekəḍ jəmin g^het-l-a

we.EXCL-GEN-OBL father-ERG NEG DM only wages-OBL-PP.LOC three and half acre land.3SGF take-PFV-3SGM

Our father worked on daily wages and yet was able to buy three and half acres of land.

1.2.4 Example (District Bhandara, taluka Tumsar, village Bori, F25, Phulmali, BSC)

त्यानं टोपी काडली

tyanə ṭopi kaḍli

tya-nə ṭopi kaḍ-l-i

he.OBL-ERG hat.3SGF remove-PFV-3SGF

He removed the hat (from his head).

1.2.5 Example (District Kolhapur, taluka Chandgad, village Chandgad, M19, Maratha, 10th)

त्या पोरगीनं ग्लासातून पानी पिलीन

tya porginə glasatun pani pilin

tya porgi-nə glas-a-t-un pani pi-l-in

DEM.DIST.OBL girl-ERG glass-OBL-LOC-ABL water.3SGN drink-PFV-3SGF

That girl drank water from the glass.

1.2.6 Example (District Kolhapur, taluka Chandgad, village Chandgad, M50, Mahar, 4th)

त्यानं खाली टाकला एक बाटली दुसरी पाडली परत उचलून वर ठेवली

tyanə k^hali ṭakla ek baṭli dusri paḍli pəṛət ucəlun wər ṭ^hewli

tya-nə k^hali ṭak-l-a ek baṭli dusri paḍ-l-i pəṛət ucəl-un wər ṭ^hew-l-i

he.OBL-ERG down throw-PFV-3SGM one bottle.3SGF other fall.CAUS-PFV-3SGF again pick up-CP up keep-PFV-3SGF

He threw down the bottle; he dropped a second bottle, picked it up again and kept it.



1.2.7 Example (District Ratnagiri, taluka Ratnagiri, village Zadgaon, F55, Muslim, 5th)

एक बाटली आनून ठेवलान हेनी

ek baṭli anun ṭ^hewlan heni

ek baṭli an-un ṭ^hew-l-an he-ni

one bottle.3SGF bring-CP keep-PFV-3SGM he.PROX.OBL-ERG

He brought the bottle and kept it.

1.2.8 Example (District Solapur, taluka Akkalkot, village Chikkehali, F29, Mahar, Illiterate)

पानी तिनं आनून दिली ते पेलं

pani tinə anun dili te pelə

pani ti-nə an-un di-l-i te pe-l-ə

water.3SGN she-ERG bring-CP give-PFV-3SGF DEM.DIST.3SGN drink-PFV-3SGN

She brought water and (he) drank it.

