

Grammatical Feature: Ergative case marking on the subject NP 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 marker [-ne/ni/nə] 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 jinkli* (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 Ergative case marking on the subject NP in the transitive perfective clause

Ergative case marking is absent on first and second person subject pronouns in the transitive perfective clause in the standard dialect. In several regional and social varieties of Marathi, however, the first and second person pronouns too are marked with ergative case. Thus, two values of this grammatical feature were attested across dialects of Marathi: (1) Only third person subject NP is overtly marked with ergative case in the transitive perfective clause; (2) First, second and third person subject NPs are overtly marked with ergative case in the transitive perfective clause. The geographical distribution and examples of the variant constructions are given below.

1.1 Variant 1: Only third person subject NP is marked overtly with ergative case in the transitive perfective clause

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

1.1.1 Example (District Solpaur, taluka Akkalkot, village Kurnur, M35, Maratha, B.Com.)

येनी बॉल असा टाकला समोरच्या बावाच्या समोर

ye-ni bəl əsa ʈakla səmorčə bawačə səmor

ye-ni bəl əsa ʈak-l-a səmor-č-a bawa-č-a səmor



he.OBL-**ERG** ball.3SGM thus.3SGM throw-PFV-3SGM ahead-GEN-OBL
brother.OBL-GEN-OBL ahead

He threw the ball in front of the other person.

1.2 Variant 2: First, second and third person subject NPs are overtly marked with ergative case in the transitive perfective clause

This variant was recorded in twenty-five 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
Gadchiroli	Korchi - Mohgaon
Gondia	Gondia - Tedhwa
Bhandara	Bhandara - Dhargaon and Mujbi, Tumsar - Lobhi
Nagpur	Nagpur - Yerla and Sonegaon (Lodhi), Bhiwapur - Sawargaon and Botezari, Ramtek - Bhojapur and Karwahi, Narkhed - Umri and Pandhari
Wardha	Ashti - Khadka and Thar, Hinganghat - Ajanti and Poti, Selu - Wadgaon Jangli and Zadshi
Yavatmal	Ghatanji - Khapri and Kurli, Ner - Dagad Dhanora
Amravati	Amravati - Malkapur, Warud - Gadegaon, Daryapur - Bhambora, Jitapur and Bhamod, Dharni - Kawdaziri
Akola	Akola - Gopalkhed and Yeota
Washim	Risod - Ghonsar and Chakoli, Karanja - Girda and Donad (Budruk)
Buldhana	Buldhana - Palaskhed Bhat and Warwand, Jalgaon-Jamod - Wadgaon Patan and Nimkarad, Shegaon - Shirajgaon (Nile) and Padsul
Aurangabad	Aurangabad - Bhikapur-Naigaon and Pimpalkhunta, Vaijapur - Sawkhedganga, Soegaon - Ghosla and Palaskheda
Jalgaon	Jalgaon - Dhamangaon and Wadli, Jamner - Wakod and Waghari, Raver - Mangalwadi, Chalisingaon - Hatle, Chopda- Vaijapur
Dhule	Dhule - Laling and Khede
Nandurbar	Shahada - Prakasha
Nashik	Surgana - Kathipada
Palghar	Vasai - Saivan, Dahanu - Bordi and Vetli,



	Jawhar - Khambala
Thane	Thane - Yeoor, Ambernath - Usatane, Bhiwandi - Bhiwadi, Murbad - Patgaon, Shahapur - Chaundhe (Budruk)
Raigad	Karjat - Salokh, Roha - Nagothane, Murud - Ekdara, Mahad - Narwan and Bheloshi
Pune	Junnar - Dhamankhel
Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar - Kamargaon and Narayan Doho, Newasa - Khalalpimpri
Beed	Beed - Bedukwadi and Kolharwadi
Jalna	Mantha - Uswad
Hingoli	Hingoli - Karwadi
Nanded	Nanded - Pangari
Kolhapur	Gadhinglaj - Hebbal Jaldyal

The first person singular ergative pronominal form *mya* was attested in seventeen 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
Wardha	Ashti - Khadka, Hinganghat - Poti
Yavatmal	Ner - Dagad-Dhanora
Amravati	Amravati - Malkapur, Warud - Gadegaon, Daryapur - Bhambora and Jitapur
Akola	Akola - Gopalkhed and Yeota
Washim	Risod - Ghonsar
Buldhana	Buldhana - Palaskhed Bhat and Warwand, Jalgaon-Jamod - Wadgaon Patan and Nimkara
Hingoli	Hingoli - Karwadi
Nanded	Nanded - Pangari
Latur	Udgir - Shirol Janapur and Malkapur
Beed	Beed - Bedukwadi and Kolharwadi
Jalna	Mantha - Uswad
Aurangabad	Aurangabad - Bhikapur-Naigaon and Pimpalkhunta, Vaijapur - Sawkhedganga
Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar - Kamargaon and Narayan Doho, Newasa - Khalalpimpri and Morgavhan
Palghar	Vasai - Wagholi, Kalmb and Nirmal, Dahanu - Vetli
Pune	Junnar - Dhamankhel
Sangli	Miraj - Mhaisal
Kolhapur	Chandgad - Tudiye, Kodali and Chandgad



The first person singular ergative pronominal form *minə* was attested in eighteen 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
Gadchiroli	Korchi - Mohgaon
Gondia	Gondia - Tedhwa
Bhandara	Bhandara - Dhargaon and Mujbi, Tumsar - Lobhi
Nagpur	Nagpur - Yerla and Sonegaon (Lodhi), Bhiwapur - Sawargaon and Botezari, Ramtek - Bhojapur and Karwahi, Narkhed - Umari and Pandhari
Wardha	Hinganghat - Ajanti
Yavatmal	Ghatanji - Khapri and Kurli
Amravati	Daryapur - Bhamod, Dharni - Kawdaziri
Akola	Akola - Gopalkhed
Buldhana	Buldhana - Warwand, Jalgaon-Jamod - Wadgaon Patan and Nimkarad, Shegaon - Shirajgaon (Nile) and Padsul
Aurangabad	Soegaon - Ghosla and Palaskheda
Jalgaon	Jalgaon - Dhamangaon and Wadli, Jamner - Wakod and Waghari, Raver - Mangalwadi, Chalisgaon - Hatle, Chopda - Vaijapur
Dhule	Dhule - Laling and Khede
Nandurbar	Shahada - Prakasha
Nashik	Surgana - Kathipada
Palghar	Vasai - Saivan, Dahanu - Bordi and Vetli
Raigad	Karjat - Salokh, Roha - Nagothane, Murud - Ekdara, Mahad - Narwan
Thane	Thane - Yeoor, Ambernath - Usatane, Bhiwandi - Bhiwali, Murbad - Patgaon, Shahapur - Chanudhe (Budruk)
Kolhapur	Gadhinglaj - Hebbal Jaldyal

1.2.1 Example (District Nagpur, taluka Bhiwapur, village Botejhari, M50, Baudhdh-Mahar, B.Com.)

मंजे एका दिवशी चार शो बगितले मीनं

məñʒe eka diwši čar šo bəgitlə **minə**

məñʒe ek-a diwš-i čar šo bəgit-l-e **mi-nə**

means one-OBL day.OBL-LOC four show see-PFV-3PL **I-ERG**

Means I watched four shows (of a movie) in one day.



1.2.2 Example (District Yavatmal, taluka Ner, village Dagad-Dhanora, M24, Kunbi, M.A.)

म्या माया मित्राले बॉल दिला

mya maya mitrale bəl dila

mya maya mitra-l-e bəl di-l-a

I.ERG I.OBL.GEN.OBL friend.OBL-DAT ball.3SGM give-PFV-3SGM

I gave the ball to my friend.

1.2.3 Example (District Nagpur, taluka, Bhiwapur, village Botejhari, M28, Kunbi, 9th)

तुमीनं पाळल्या कउन बॉ बाटला

tuminə paḷḷya kəun bə baṭla

tumi-nə paḷ-l-ya kəun bə baṭla

you.PL-**ERG** drop-PFV-3PL why DM bottle.OBL.PL

Why did you drop the bottles?

1.2.4 Example (District Buldhana, taluka Buldhana, village Warwand, F20, Ahire-Dhangar, 12th)

मीनं काम केलं तून केलं का

minə kam kelə **tun** kelə ka

mi-nə kam ke-l-ə **tu-n** ke-l-ə ka

I-ERG work.3SGN do-PFV-3SGN **you-ERG** do-PFV-3SGN what

I did the work. Have you (done the work)?

1.2.5 Example (District Nashik, taluka Nashik, village Madsangvi, F49, Nhavi, 8th)

पानी दिलं तिनी

pani dilə **tini**

pani di-l-ə **ti-ni**

water.3SGN give-PFV-3SGN **she-ERG**

She gave water.

