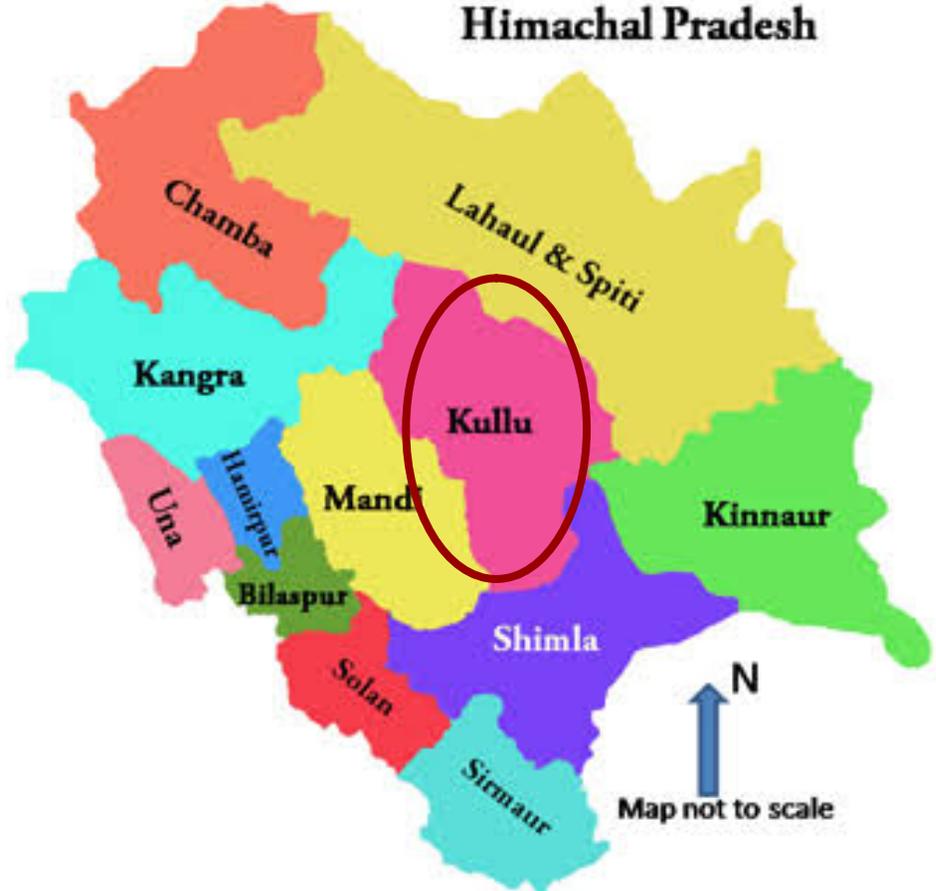# Genitive marking of arguments in Kullui (Indo-Aryan)

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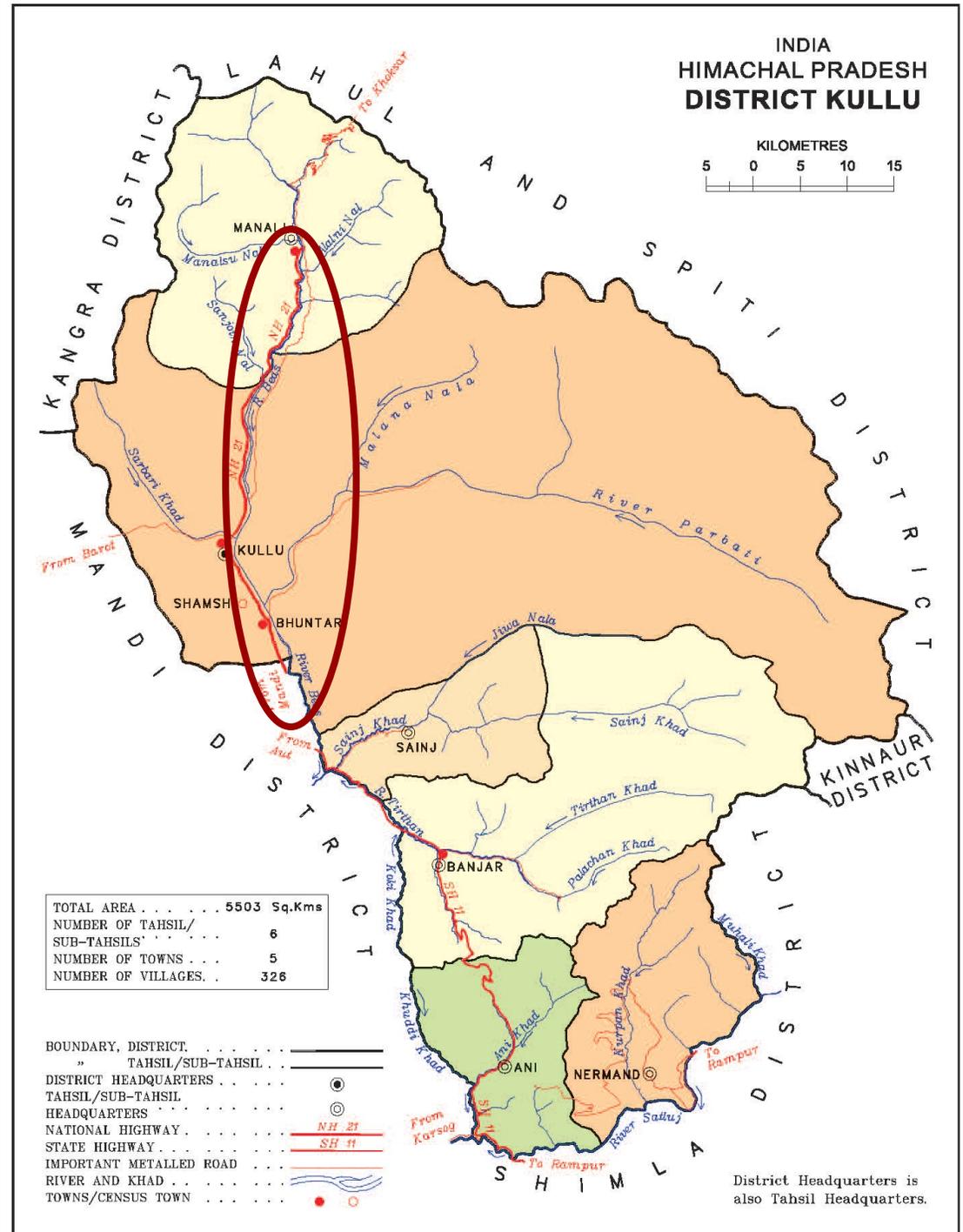
➤ Kullui (< Himachali (= West Pahari) < Indo-Aryan

➤ About 170 thousand speakers

➤ Located in Kullu District in Himachal Pradesh

Kullu district

6 tehsils (Manali, Kullu, Sainj, Banjar, Ani, Nirmand)

Kullui is spoken in Kullu and Manali tehsils, in the Kullu valley (Beas river valley)

- **Data**: fieldwork in the town of Kullu and in the villages of Naggar, Suma and Bashing (Kullu district, Himachal Pradesh, India) in 2014-2017. Both elicited examples and those taken from spontaneous texts.

- **Site**: www.pahari-languages.com

Standard use of Genitive in the New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) – Possessive Genitive: genitive postposition / case affix agrees with the Head Noun in gender, number and case (if there are any) like an adjective.

For example, in Hindi Genitive is used only as Possessive Genitive:

(1) *us-ke*   *do*   *bacch-e hain*
     he/she-GEN.PL   two   child-PL   COP.PRS.PL
     She has two children (lit. there are two children of hers)

Himachali

Eastern Indo-Aryan

Non-canonical (for NIA) uses of Genitive:
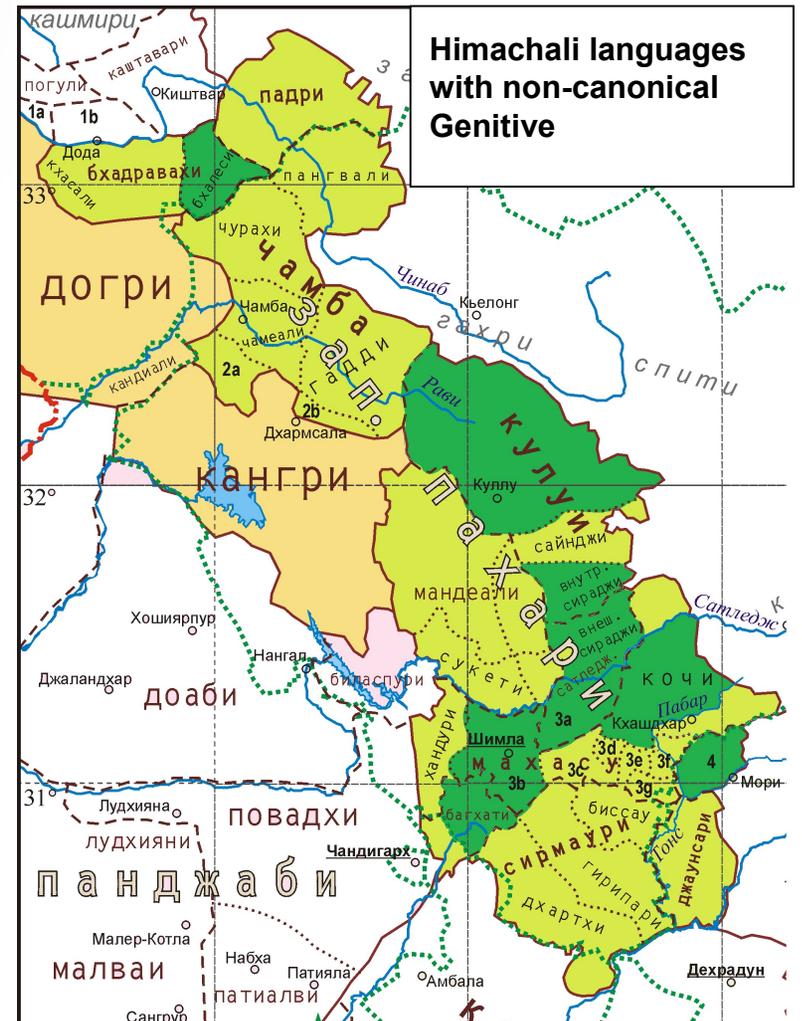
➢ attested and described for Eastern group of NIA: Bengali, Oriya and Assamese ([Masica 1991, Klaiman 1980, 1981, Onishi 2001, Yamabe 1995 and others]), where genitive affix has only one form and no agreement

➢ analyzed for Himachali in [Hendriksen 1986, Zoller 2009]

[Hendriksen 1986]: relational case (term for non-canonical Genitive)

www.free-power-point-templates.com

Himachali languages where the genitive marking of arguments is attested [Bailey 1920, Hendriksen 1986, Zoller 2007]:

Himachali languages

Bangani

Deogari

Kochi

Kotgarhi

Bhalesi

Baghati

Kiunthali

Kotguru

Outer

Siraji

Inner

Siraji

Kullui

Himachali languages with non-canonical Genitive

Types of arguments marked by Genitive in Himachali:

1. Agent in modal-deagentive constructions
- Agent in inabilitive constructions, inter allem inabiltive passive (subject is temporary unable to realize an action)

Deogari [Zoller 2011: 235]

(2) *mɛrɛ*   *zhuɔɲi*   *zhãv*   *nɛ*   *uɽ-i-ndɔ*
my.GEN.OBL   moon   till   not   fly-PASS-PRS.M.SG
I can not fly to the moon (for the time being, but later I can)

- Agent in involitive constructions (subject is unable to control an action)

Kotgarhi [Hendriksen 1986: 143]

(3) *sɔ̄*   *sūt:-ɔ*
he   sleep-PFV
He slept

(4) *tē:rɛ*   *sūt:-hu-ɔ*
he.GEN.OBL   sleep-PASS-PFV.M.SG.
He fell asleep

Types of arguments marked by Genitive in Himachali:

2. Experiencer in constructions of feeling and sensation (like Dative Subject in many NIA languages)

Kotgarhi [Hendriksen 1986: 106]
(5) *tsor-ɛ*   *hās:i*   *lag:-i*
     thief-GEN.M.OBL   laughter   be.attached-PRT.F
     The thief felt like laughing (lit. "to the thief laughter came")

Kochi [Hendriksen 1986: 161]
(6) *tēs-re*   *ḍɔra*   *thō*
     he.OBL-GEN.M.OBL   fear   COP.PST
     He was afraid (lit. "there was fear to him")

Types of arguments marked by Genitive (M.OBL -*rɛ*) in Kullui:

➢ *External Possessor*

Accusative-Dative

(7a)	*ei*	*gund-ɛ-bɛ*	*mar*
	this.OBL.M	hooligan-OBL-ACC/DAT	hit

Hit this hooligan

Possessive Genitive

(7b)	*ei*	*gund-ɛ-ri*	*mundi*	*nə*	*mar*
	this.OBL.M	hooligan-OBL-GEN.F	head(F)	LOC	hit

Hit this hooligan's head

External Possessor

(7c)	*ei*	*gund-ɛ-rɛ*	*mundi*	*nə*	*mar*
	this.OBL.M	hooligan-OBL-GEN.M.OBL	head(F)	LOC	hit

Hit this hooligan on his head

External Possessor with reversed word order

(7d)	*mundi*	*nə*	*mar*	*ei*	*gund-ɛ-rɛ*
	head(F)	LOC	hit	this.OBL.M	hooligan-OBL-GEN.M.OBL

Hit this hooligan on his head

External Possessor

(8a) *tes-rɛ*   *ʃohru*   *hu-a*

she.OBL-GEN.M.OBL   boy   be-PFV

She has given birth to a child (lit. A child appeared to her)

Cf. Hindi (possessive genitive):

(8b) *us-kā*   *baccā*   *hu-ā*

he/she.OBL-GEN.M   child   be-PFV

She has given birth to a child (lit. Her child appeared)

External Possessor

(9a) *dzos-ɛ-rɛ*   *maŋokamna pur-i ker-a*   *sa*

who-OBL-GEN.M.OBL   wish(F)   full-F do-GER   COP.PRS

To whom he fulfills the wish

Cf. Hindi (possessive genitive):

(9b) *jis-ki*   *manokamnā*   *pūri kar-t-ā*   *hai*

who.OBL-GEN.F wish(F)   full-F do-PRS-M COP.PRS

Whose wish he fulfills

Special marking for External Possessor can occur due to:

the relatively free word order in Kullui (also typical of other Himachali languages),

the possibility of splitting of genitive construction

the genitive NP is able to raise into a topical position

the raised genitive NP loses agreement with the Head Noun

Focus on the Head Noun of genitive construction

(10a) *dhũ-ɛ*   *laija*   *mer-i*   *ɔtʃtʃhi*   *dukh-i*
         smoke-INSTR INSTR   I.GEN-F   eye(F)   ache-PFV.F
      My eyes hurt because of the smoke

Focus on External Possessor

(10b) *mer-ɛ*   *dhũ-ɛ*   *laija*   *ɔtʃtʃhi*   *dukh-i*
        I.GEN-M.OBLsmoke-INSTR   INSTR   eye(F)   ache-PFV.F
     I feel pain in my eyes because of the smoke

[Hendriksen 1986: 107], the example of **External Possessor in Kotgarhi**:

(11) *jɔ*   *tsi:z*   *mer-ɛ*   *lag:-i*   *hāth:-ɛ*
     this   thing   I.GEN-OBL   be.attached-PFV.F   hand-PL.OBL
     This thing came into my hands (lit. this thing came to me into hands)

➢ ***Experiencer*** (like Dative Subject in NIA) or
Patient < External Possessor
Only these contexts are found where a body part can be mentioned. A Head Noun referring to a body part is dropped.

(12)   *mer-ɛ*   *dah*   *lag-i*
          I.GEN-M.OBL   pain(F)   be.attached-PFV.F
          I have pain

(13)   *tei*   *paɳi-rɛ*   *gɾoɭu*   *sengɛ*   *tei*
          that.OBL   water-GEN.M.OBL   waterpot   INSTR   that.OBL
          nebl-ɛ-rɛ   *lag-i*   *or* *sɔ mua*
          mongoose-OBL-GEN.M.OBL be.attached-PFV.F and it   die.PFV.M
          The mongoose was hit by that waterpot and died

(14)   *dɛnd-ɛ* *sɛngɛ*   *gund-ɛ-rɛ*   *mar*
          stick-OBL INSTR   hooligan-OBL-GEN.M.OBL   hit.IMP
          Hit the hooligan with a stick

Experiencer (like Dative Subject in NIA) or Patient <
External Possessor
Only these contexts are found where a body part can be mentioned. A Head Noun referring to a body part is dropped.

(12) *mer-ɛ*   *dah*   *lag-i*
      I.GEN-M.OBL   pain(F)   be.attached-PFV.F
      I have pain (in some body part)

(13) *tei*   *paɳi-rɛ*   *gɾoɭu*   *sɛngɛ*   *tei*
      that.OBL water-GEN.M.OBL   waterpot   INSTR   that.OBL
      nebl-ɛ-rɛ   *lag-i*   *or*   *sɔ mu-a*
      mongoose-OBL-GEN.M.OBL be.attached-PFV.F and   it die.PFV.M
      The mongoose was hit (on some body part) by that waterpot and died

(14) *dɛnd-ɛ* *sɛngɛ*   *gund-ɛ-rɛ*   *mar*
      stick-OBL INSTR   hooligan-OBL-GEN.M.OBL   hit.IMP
      Hit the hooligan (on some body part) with a stick

Cf: without any body part mentioned – ACC/DAT

(15) *tei-bɛ*   *khãg*   *lag-i*
      he-ACC/DAT   cough   be.attached-PFV.F
      He coughs

(16) *teibɛ*   *bɛs-a* *nɛ*   *bɔhu ulʈi* *edz-a*   *sa*
      he-ACC/DAT   bus-OBL LOC   much vomiting come-HBT   COP.PRS
      He is very sick in the bus

> **Agent in inabilitive passive constructions**
(subject is temporary unable to realize an action)

Agent cannot be overtly expressed in the **Ordinary Passive** structure. The only passive structure where Agent can be expressed is **Inabilitive Passive**

Ordinary Passive

(17)   *kulvi*   *bol-i-a*   *sa*
          Kullui   speak-PASS-HBT   COP.PRS
          Kullui is spoken (in…)

(18)   *kulvi*   *nɛi*   *bol-i-d-i*   *(ɔthi)*
          Kullui   NEG   speak-PASS-PTCP-F   COP.NEG
          Kullui is not spoken

(19)   **mer-ɛ*   *kulvi*   *bol-i-a*   *sa*
           I.GEN-M.OBL Kullui   speak-PASS-HBT   COP.PRS
            * Kullui is spoken by me

Inabilitive Passive

(20)   *mer-ɛ*   *kulvi*   *nɛi*   *bol-i-d-i*
          I.GEN-M.OBL   Kullui   NEG   speak-PASS-PTCP-F
          I am unable to speak Kullui

➢ ***Agent in inabilitive passive constructions***
(subject is temporary unable to realize an action)

(21)   *ʃohru-rɛ*   *ʃobhl-i*   *tɛrɛ*   *nɛi*   *beʃ-i-d-a*
       boy-GEN.M.OBL good-F   way(F)   NEG   sit-PASS-PTCP-M.SG
       The boy is not able to sit properly

(22)   *tei-rɛ*   *kits*   *nɛi*   *likh-i-ŋa*
       he.OBL-GEN.M.OBL anything   NEG   write-PASS-INF
       ɔthi,   *tu*   *likh*
       COP.NEG   you   write.IMP
       He will not be able to write anything, you write!

   Genitive Agent in inabilitive constructions has been
attested in **Bangani, Deogari, Kochi, Kotgarhi, Bhalesi,
Kiunthali, Kotguru, Outer and Inner Siraji.**

The passive in Kullui (and other Himachali languages) is morphological.

Passive marker **-i-** (< OIA passive morpheme *-ya-*) in all forms:

likhŋa 'to write => *likh<u>i</u>ŋa* 'to be written':

But in PFV **-i- –> -u-**: *likh<u>u</u>a* 'it has been written'

Passive forms in other Himachali languages:
[Hendriksen 1986: 141-143]:

Kotgarhi (in different forms): **h / hu / i** (*šūṇnō* 'to listen' – *šūṇ***hn**ō 'to be audible' INF – *šūṇ***i**a 'to be audible' PRS – *šūṇ***hu**ɔ 'to be audible' PRT)

Kochi (in different forms): **i / hu** (*šūṇno* 'to listen' – *šūṇ***i**ṇo 'to be audible' – *šūṇ***hu**ɔ 'to be audible' PRT)

Hypothesis of [Hendriksen 1986: 146-149]:

The passive form in Himachali can derive from the combination of gerund + verb *hoṇa* 'to be', that have merged.

Passive construction in Bilaspuri [Bailey 1920: 242] cited from [Hendriksen 1986:]:

(23)   *mette*   *nẽh   eh   kamm **kar-ī   hu-ndā***
          I.ACC/DAT   NEG this   work   do-GER   be-PRS
          I cannot do this work

Our hypothesis about inabilitive passive constructions in Kullui:

Genitive NP + Verbal Noun + to be

⬇

Genitive NP raises into a topical position

⬇

Genitive NP loses agreement with the Head Noun (VN)

⬇

combination 'Verbal Noun + to be' merges into one word

Diachronic development in Bengali [Onishi 2001: 126-127]:

Two major types of constructions with non-canonical Genitive:

1. Genitive NP + Verbal Noun + become/happen (=be) (deagentive construction)

"*Hɔ* (to be)-deagentivisation probably comes diachronically from a construction where the Genitive argument (denoting the Agent of the event described by the verb) functions as the Possessor of the nominalised verbal clause, and the whole Possessed clause stands as S of the predicate *hɔ*-".

2. Middle Bengali: **Genitive NP + body part (LOC) + sensation/feeling (NOM) + be/become/happen**. In modern Bengali 'body part (LOC)' is dropped.

Non-canonical Genitive marking is possible:

In Bengali, Oriya and Assamese – since the genitive affix has only one form and no agreement, the connection between a genitive NP and a Head Noun is not strong

In Himachali languages – because of relatively free word order

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Thank you