Ergativity and Agreement in Kinnauri

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Abstract

Kinnauri belongs to Tibeto-Burman family of languages but it is spoken in the area where the dominant languages are from Indo-Aryan family of languages. It is interesting to examine the structure of Kinnauri language. The pattern of 'ergativity' and 'agreement' needs some special attention. The languages that act as the 'contact languages' in the area are Kumauni, Garhwali, Dogri, Kangri and many others from Indo-Aryan branch. Another important trait of the languages spoken in Himachal Pradesh is that they show a great deal of 'influence' of Punjabi language. This influence is mapped in the languages of the area beyond borrowing of the vocabulary or pronunciation. Some of these influences have been noticed even at the structure-level in the languages. It is also for this reason that the system of 'ergativity and agreement system' of Kinnauri becomes very important to examine. Kinnauri has 'ergativity' but its function is very different in the language and this function is the characteristic of Tibeto-Burman i.e. despite being marked with ergative case, the subject will have the preference and privilege of showing agreement with the subject noun in the sentence. Kinnauri does not show 'grammatical gender' marking as one of the phi-features on the verb-morphology. Thus, the implicational statement about the characteristics of the structure of the language with regard to 'grammatical gender', 'ergativity' and 'agreement' and their interplay would forecast that Kinnauri does not have the so called 'object-verb-agreement' as a system of agreement. If this is so, the agreement system proposed in Das (2006) becomes very relevant to analyze the system of ergativity and agreement in Kinnauri. The present paper on 'ergativity and agreement in Kinnauri' is an attempt to explore some of these interrelated issues of language structure in Kinnauri.

Key Words: Kinnauri, Sino-Tibetan, Agreement, Environment, Borrowing, Vocabulary, Structure-level, Agreement System', Ergativity, Implicational Statement, Characteristics, Interplay, Object-verb-agreement', Phenomenon

Introduction

Ergative case marking is a system of case marking which has helped researchers like Dixon (1994) and others to classify languages typologically as 'ergative-absolutive' vis-à-vis 'nominative-accusative' languages. Dixon (ibid) defines the phenomenon (ergativity) as '…the subject of intransitive verb and the direct object of the transitive verb are case marked in the same case form i.e. absolutive (zero case form) and the subject of the transitive verb is case marked differently i.e. the ergative case. It is an interesting phenomenon to acknowledge that most of the Indian researchers such as Bahl, K.C. (1974), Balachandran, L. (1988), Bhatt. R. M. (1993), Cardona, G. & D. Jain(2003), Comrie, B. (1984), Das, P.K. (1997), Davison, A. (2002), Emeneau, M.B. (1956), Gair J.W. and K. Wali (1989), Hook, P.E. (1991) , Kachru, Y. (1987), Kachru, Y. and R. Pandharipande (1978), Khan, B. (1989), Khan, B.(1987), Kidwai, A. (1995), Mahajan, A. (1989), Masica, C. P. (1976), Mohanan, T.(1994), Patnaik, B.N.(1995), Saksena A. (1981), Saleemi, A.P. (1994), Saleemi, A.P.(1974), Shapiro, M.C. (1989) Sharma, A. (1958), Singh, J. (1993), Subbarao, K.V. (1997), Subbarao, K.V. (1999) and many others who have worked on some or other aspect of 'ergativity'. Each of the above-mentioned researchers has looked into some or other functions of ergative case marking in different Indian languages and

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have adopted the so called 'split-ergativity' which can be conditioned to several grammatical factors such as tense, aspect, person and number. Therefore, there is a kind of robust literature available in the area and the recent work by Verbeke (2013) which has examined the 'Alignment and Ergativity in New Indo-Aryan Languages' is a good piece of work and it has exhaustive data from various Indo-Aryan languages to discuss the nature, form and function of ergativity. However, there seems to be a major problem in the mainstream research works in this area. Most of the researchers have paid attention to the form and function of ergativity that has 'split' marking of ergativity in Indian languages. Thus, many languages from Tibeto-Burman and some Indo-Aryan languages as well have completely been ignored where there seems to be a full-fledged marking of ergativity that has been proposed by Dixon (1987; 94). If one wants to highlight 'the problems' of mainstream research works on Indian languages on ergativity, s/he doesn't even have a clear idea about the nature of the problem! It is more than natural to ask as to what does it mean to say a 'full-fledged ergative language' as we have heard and read a lot about the nature and function of 'split-ergative languages'. So, it is very important that we should have some talk about a 'full-fledged ergative language' and how does this system differ from a 'split-ergative language' in the context of describing the ergativity in Indian languages. However, we don't find any researcher even using the term such as 'full-fledged ergative languages' despite the fact that there are many languages such as Hmar, Mizo, Ao and Khortha where the subject of a transitive verb is case marked differently than the subject of an intransitive verb irrespective of the tense and aspect or even the person or number marking of the subject noun, but we don't find any distinction or discussion in the literature about the form and function of ergativity of such languages. This is a very sad state of affair with regard to the description of the ergative case marking in Indian languages. Das (2013) has discussed the system of a 'full-fledged ergativity' in Khortha. I will leave the topic here as food for thought for those researchers who read this paper for two reasons, one, that Kinnauri shows 'split-system of ergativity' and two, I have to discuss the agreement system and its relevance for the present paper.

The present paper is an effort to show as to how the two systems i.e., a) the ergative marking and b) the agreement marking, must be distinguished from each other in the context of Indian languages and they should not be made dependent on each other, rather they should be viewed separate-linguistic phenomena and it is only then we can do justice to these grammatical constructs that are found in Indian languages.

Agreement is interpreted as the outcome of some sort of grammatical relations between two or more elements in the sentence. In other words, agreement is viewed purely as a reference of the participant(s) that is marked on the verb which subsequently turns the verb into finite form with the help of the tense and aspect in which the sentence is constructed. Thus, supporting one of famous view in modern times, we can say that 'agreement' in most cases helps the hearer to keep track of the different referents in a discourse. This is probably why Lehmann (1988:55) prefers to call 'agreement' to be referential in nature. It is referential because it helps to retrieve the referent(s). A formal definition for agreement is mentioned in Das (2006) which is a modified version of Lehmann's definition of agreement (1988):

**Definition of 'Grammatical Agreement':**

Constituent $Y_{(verb)}$ agrees with constituent $X_{(NP)}$ in a category Z if the following conditions hold true:

a. There is a syntactic relationship between X and Y.

b. X is related to a subcategory z (the nominal inflections) of a grammatical category Z (the verbal inflection) and X's relationship to z is independent of the nature or value of Y.

c. There is a mutual sharing of the grammatical features/values between the nominal and verbal inflections in the clause.

d. Z is expressed on Y and forms a constituent with it (i.e. VP).

Das (2006); Pp 2

interpret it in the following way, the verb (i.e. **Y**) agrees with an NP (i.e. **X**) in a category **Z** (i.e. the bound morpheme(s)[1]). The first condition that is demanded by the definition is very clear and that is '…there is a syntactic relationship between the verb and the NPs in the sentence'. The next important point in the definition is that every 'X (i.e. an NP)' necessarily belongs to its own sub-class i.e. 'x' which is encoded with its PNG[2] and this 'x' is inherently subsumed in the making of a sub-class i.e. 'z' which becomes an integral part of 'Z' i.e. verbal inflection. The verbal inflection is an output of 'PNG' of subject NP and the tense and aspect of the sentence. It is for this reason that the tail of the condition states that '….'*X*'s relationship to '**z**' is independent of the nature or value of *Y*' and this should be understood as the verb inflection which is made out of the PNG and T&A[3] is not concerned with what is the type (i.e. intransitive, transitive or di-transitive) of verb. The last condition suggests that the formation of VP as a constituent takes place when the 'Z' the inflectional marker is expressed on 'Y' in the sentence.

Let us see this in a pictorial notation and then transposing these pictorial notations in an example in Hindi and then move on the next section:
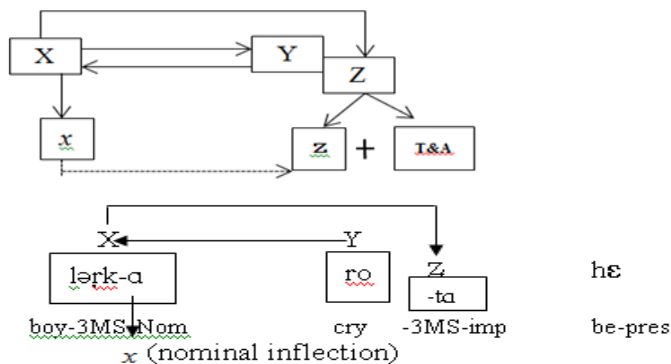
| Pictorial Diagram-1 | Exemplified Diagram-2 |

Systems of Agreement in Different Languages

The above definition and its illustration can be realized in different languages resulting in different kinds of 'Systems of Agreement'. I will try to limit myself to the analysis of the possible systems of agreement in Indian languages, because it will not be possible for me to

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[1] Bound morpheme is true in case of languages other than Isolating type of languages. Morpheme could be more than one in case of languages where the 'agreement markers' are more than one and they show agreement with SUB and OBJ both. Maithili is an example of such language discussed in Das (2006) that requires more than one bound morphemes to encode the agreement with SUB and OBJ.

[2] This PNG i.e. Person, Number and Gender of the Subject/Object NP is not marked uniformly in all languages. There is a degree of selection of these three grammatical properties. A language may have one, two, all three or even none of these properties and this depends on how much 'inflectional' a language is.

[3] T&A= I have mentioned Tense, aspect, but in some cases it may have mood as well in a sentence.

examine and discuss every type of system of agreement in languages of the world due to the limitation of time and space of the present paper.

Mostly, the languages that show 'grammatical gender' as an essential semantic and structural feature of the lexical items tend to have 'subject-verb' and 'object-verb' agreement. These two systems of agreement exist in complementary distribution. Meaning, the 'subject-verb' and 'object-verb' agreement demand two different syntactic environments and they can't co-exist in a sentence. They are mutually exclusive. Researchers working on languages like Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Nepali etc. have reported this fact in their works[4]. I would like to reiterate it again here that most of the typological claims that I am makingregarding the structural dependencies for agreement phenomenon are mainly for the languages in India. This is important here because one can easily raise an objection to the implicational claim that *if a language has 'grammatical gender' as feature for every lexical item, the language will have 'object-verb agreement'*. There are languages like French, Spanish, Italian and many other languages in the world which may have 'grammatical gender' as a distinguishing feature of every lexical item, but do not have 'object-verb agreement'. However, the objection is invalid for present paper because this prediction is valid only for some languages spoken in India from Indo-Aryan stock.

But if we combine another linguistic feature such as 'ergative case' with the subject nominal along with the 'grammatical gender', it will make the situation better for the typological implicational claim. The 'ergative case', in these Indo-Aryan languages, and its relationship with the 'grammatical gender', help the languages to facilitate the 'object-verb agreement'. Having combined these two linguistics features together, the above mentioned implicational typological claim and its application become wider and it can now take care of even the European languages that are mentioned above.

Another important point that must be mentioned here is that if any of these two features is unavailable in a language, the language won't show 'object-verb agreement'. Thus, the European languages that I have named here do have 'grammatical gender', but none of them has 'object-verb agreement' because they all lack 'ergativity'. On the contrary, there are languages in India like Hmar, Mizo, Khortha, Kinnauri and all of them have 'ergativity', but 'object-verb agreement' is not present in any of them simply because none of them has 'grammatical gender'.

There is yet another type of languages where the system of agreement shows that the subject-verb agreement is fundament and the primary requirement of the verb to agree with. However, there are other NPs in the sentence that are important from discourse point of view. It is for this reason that some referential marking of these NPs must find some reference on the verb phrase besides the subject of the sentence. This marking of the other NPs on the verb looks similar to the marking of the subject NP but they are quite different in their linguistics features. They do not create a new syntactic domain[5] where the system of agreement has to change for the purpose of their references to the other NPs than subject NP. The speakers simply need these special discourse markers on the verb to keep track of the references in the sentence along with the subject but certainly not barring the subject NP. Languages like Maithili, Angika and some other languages come under this type. Das[6] (2006) has classified these systems of agreement into two different types e.g. 'Single-system of agreement' and 'Dual-system of agreement'.

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[4]Saksena(1981), Comrie (1984), Butt (1995), Das (2006) and many others have reported this.

[5]This is what happened in subject-verb and object-verb agreements and the change of their references to different NPs than the subject NP in Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi and other languages.

[6] See Das (2006) for more details about these two types of agreement in different languages.

Kinnauri is a language which has a 'single-system of agreement' despite the fact that the language has 'ergativity' marking on the subject NPs, 'i.e. a 'split-system of ergativity'. The present paper keeps the above mentioned implicational typological claim at the center as a theoretical model and wishes to examine the agreement facts in Kinnauri. The paper is divided into three sections. Section one deals with the basic and descriptive details of agreement in Kinnauri. The second section deals with ergativity in Kinnauri and explains how the phenomena of 'ergativity' and 'agreement' are unnecessarily grouped together. There are mere correlations between the two but they are not dependent linguistically on each other as they have been reported by many researchers from Indian subcontinent. The third section explains as to why the agreement system in Kinnauri should be classified as 'Single-system of agreement'.

Basic Structures of Agreement in Kinnauri
Simple clauses:

1. gɨ   kim-o   bi-č   dʊ-k
    I-1S-Nom   house-Loc   go-pres   be-pres-1S
    'I go home'.

2. ki/kɑ   kim-o   bi-č   dʊ-ĭn /-n
    You-2S-H/NH-Nom   house-Loc   go-pres   be-pres-2S-H/NH
    'You go home'.

3. do   kim-o   bi-č   dʊ-ø
    S/he-3S-Nom   house-Loc   go-pres   be-pres-3S
    'S/he goes home'.

In the above examples (1-3), the verb phrase has two linguistic elements, the first one is the main verb and other one is a 'be' verb. The main verb in the verb phrase bears a bound morpheme '-č' that marks the present tense and the 'be' verb takes care of the person markings e.g. '-k' for first person singular and '-n' for second person non-honorific and '-ĭn' for second person honorific. The third person remains unmarked, meaning the 'be' verb does not show any overt marking for the third person singular or plural subject in Kinnauri. Let us examine the plural counterparts of the present simple tense in different persons in Kinnauri:

4. kəšəŋɑ   kim-o   bi-č   dʊ-č
    We-1-Pl-Nom   house-Loc   go-pres   be-pre-1Pl
    'We go home'.

5. kinɑ   kim-o   bi-č   du-č
    You-2Pl-Nom   house-Loc   go-pres   be-pres-2Pl
    'You(all) go home'.

6. do-gɑ   kim-o   bi-č   du-ø
    They-3Pl-Nom   house-Loc   go-pres   be-pres-3Pl
    'They go home'.

These examples (4-6) show the plural counterpart of the earlier examples in present simple tense. There are some interesting morpho-syntatic markers shown up in these Kinnauri sentences. The plurality of the subject NPs is marked on the 'be' verb with an inflectional marker '-č' which is homophonous with the present tense marker that appears with the main verb in Kinnauri. Since, both person and number features from the PNG are used in Kinnauri; we can wonder what happens to the person distinction in present tense. Well, the person distinction is lost in case of plural subject NPs in first and second person. If the subject NP is in third person, it remains unmarked even in the plural form.

Past Simple Tense

7. gɨ   kim-o   bi -yo-k
    I-1S-Nom   house-Loc   go   pst-1S
    'I went home'.

8. ki/kɑ   kim-o   bi   -yo-ĩn /-n
    You-2S-H/NH-Nom   house-Loc   go   pst-2S-H/NH
    'You went home'.

9. do/dogɑ   kim-o   bi- -yo-ø
    S/he/they/-Nom   house-Loc   go   pst-3S
    'S/he went'.

10. kəšəŋɑ   kim-o   bi- -yo-č
     We-1-Pl-Nom   house-Loc   go   pst-1Pl
     'We went home'.   <The verb ending is same for 2nd person plural>

The morpho-sysntatic markings of these examples (7-10) again conform to the earlier findings about the person and number markings on the verb phrase for the agreement-system in Kinnauri in past simple tense.
However, unlike the present simple tense, where the main verb was accompanied by a be verb to take care of the marking for person and number, in case of past simple tense, the tense marker as well as the markers for person and number are borne by the main verb[7]only. The morpheme '-yo' marks the past tense and person and number markers are reiterated as the '-k' for first person singular and '-n' for second person non-honorific and '-ĩn' for second person honorific and the third person remains unmarked in both singular and plural forms.

Future Simple Tense

11. gɨ   kim-o   bi- -to-k
     I-1S-Nom   house-Loc   go   fut-1S
     'I will go home'.

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[7] As a language topologist, I am quite surprised to the form of verb in past simple tense in Kinnauri. Most of the languages that I have worked on would show a suppletive form (i.e. go- went or jana, 'to go' – 'gəyɑ' etc.) but in Kinnauri there is no such change of main verb from present to past simple.

12. ki/kɑ   kim-o   bi-   -to-ĩn /-n
      You-2S-H/NH-Nom   house-Loc   go   fut-2S-H/NH
      'You will go home'.

13. do/ dogɑ   kim-o   bi   -to-ø
      S/he/ they-Nom   house-Loc   go   fut-3S
      'S/he /they will go home'.

14. kəšəŋɑ   kim-o   bi -to-č
      We-lPl-Nom   house-Loc   go -fut-1Pl
      'We will go home'.

15. kɪnɑ   kim-o   bi -to-č
      You-2Pl-Nom   house-Loc   go -fut-2Pl
      'You(all) will go home'.

These examples (11-15) are given here to show the pattern of agreement in Kinnauri in simple future tense. The marking of the agreement features on the verb is remarkable as they attest to great structural uniformity in the language. The main verb stem 'bi' is attached with a bound morpheme to mark the future simple e.g. '-to'. This is often called the 'stem forming' process in inflectional languages. After this the person and number marking are attached to the stem to refer to different kinds of subject NPs in the sentences. The inflectional marker '-k' has been used for first person singular and '-n' for second person non-honorific and '-ĩn' for second person honorific. The third person in both singular and plural form remains unmarked. The bound morpheme '-č' is used to mark the plural first person and second person subject NPs in example (14-15).

Aspectual Marking in Kinnauri

Present Simple or Indefinite Aspect in Kinnauri

16. gɨ   roṭe   jɑ-č   dʊ-k
      I-1S-Nom   chapatti   eat-pres   be-pres-1S
      'I eat chapatti'.

17. ki/kɑ   roṭe   jɑ-č   dʊ-ĩn   /-n
      You-2S-H-Nom/NH   Chapatti   eat-pres   be-pres-2S-Hon   non-Hon
      'You eat chapatti'.

18. do/dogɑ   roṭe   jɑ-č   dʊ-ø
      S/he-3S/Pl-Nom   chapatti   eat-pres   be-pres-3S/Pl
      'S/he/They eat chapatti'.

19. kəšəŋɑ   roṭe   jɑ-č   dʊ-č
      we-1Pl-Nom   chapatti   eat-pres   be-pres-1Pl
      'We eat chapatti'.

The examples (16-19) are reiteration of earlier explained fact about the agreement pattern in present simple or indefinite aspect in Kinnauri. The verb in these examples have been intentionallychosen to be from the transitive stock, which can clearly illustrate that there is no effect on the agreement pattern due to the change of the verb type in Kinnauri.

The example (18) shows that a marker '-gɑ' is used with the subject NPs or with other nominal items to make it plural in Kinnauri.

Progressive/Continuous Aspect in Kinnauri

20. gɨ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dʊ-k
    I-1S-Nom chapatti eat-prog be-pres-1S
    'I am eating chapatti'.

21. ki/kɑ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dʊ-ĩn   /-n
    You-2S-H-Nom/NH chapatti eat-prog be-pres-2S-Hon non-Hon
    'You are eating chapatti'.

22. do/dogɑ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dʊ-ø
    S/he-3S/Pl-Nom chapatti eat-prog be-pres-3S/Pl
    'S/he/They eating chapatti'.

23. kəšəŋɑ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dʊ-č
    we-1Pl-Nom   chapatti eat-prog be-pres-1Pl
    'We are eating chapatti' <the verb marker remains same for 2nd Plural>

The examples (20-23) have been given here to highlight the continuous aspect marking in Kinnauri in present tense. The inflectional marker '-o' is used here with the main verb to show the progression or the continuity of the action denoted by the main verb in the sentences. The agreement maker for person and number remains uniform in the above sentences such as '-k' for first person singular, '-n and -ĩn' for second person non-honorific and honorific and '-č' for plural forms of first and second person subject NPs. The third person remains unmarked with singular and plural subject NPs.

Past Progressive Aspect in Kinnauri

24. gɨ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dwe-k
    I-1S-Nom Chapatti eat-prog be-pst-1S
    'I was eating chapatti'.

25. ki/kɑ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dwe-ĩn   /-n
    You-2S-H-Nom/NH chapatti eat-prog be-pst-2S-Hon non-Hon
    'You were eating chapatti'.

26. do/dogɑ   roṭe   jɑ-o   dwe-ø
    S/he-3S/Pl-Nom chapatti eat-prog be-pst-3S/Pl
    'S/he/They was/were chapatti'.

27. kəšəŋɑ   roțe   jɑ-o   dwe-č
    we-1Pl-Nom   Chapatti   eat-prog   be-pst-1Pl
    'We were eating chapatti' <the verb marker remains same for 2nd Plural>

These examples (24-27) are used here for the purpose of showing the agreement system in past progressive aspect in Kinnauri. The main verb is marked with an affix '-o' for showing the progressive aspect. The be-verb shows a change from 'dʊ' to 'dwe' in these examples. After that there is a regular affixing of person and number inflection to the be-verb and we have already explained these markers.

Future Indefinite Aspect in Kinnauri

28. gɨ   roțe   jɑ -tɔ-k
    I-1S   chapatti eat   fut-1S
    'I will eat chapatti'.

29. ki/kɑ   roțe   jɑ -tɔ-ĩn/-n
    You-2S-H/NH-Erg   chapatti eat   fut-2S-H/-NH
    'You will eat chapatti'.

30. do/dogɑ   roțe   jɑ -tɔ
    S/he-3S/Pl-Erg chapatti eat   fut
    'S/he/They will chapatti'.

31. kəšəŋɑ   roțe   jɑ -tɔ-č
    we-1Pl-Erg   Chapatti   eat   fut-1Pl
    'We will eat chapatti' <the verb marker remains same for 2nd Plural>

We have already seen the future indefinite aspect in Kinnauri in the examples (11-15), and these examples (28-31) conform to the similar or same findings about the agreement system in future indefinite aspect. However, I have used the transitive verb in these sentences to ensure that there is no change in the marking for the future indefinite aspect with regard to the +/- transitivity of the verb.

Future Progressive Aspect in Kinnauri

32. gɨ   roțe   jɑ-o   ni-tɔ-k
    I-1S   chapatti eat-prog be-fut-1S
    'I will be eating chapatti'.

33. ki/kɑ   roțe   jɑ-o   ni-tɔ-ĩn/-n
    You-2S-H/NH   chapatti eat-prog be-fut-2S-H/-NH
    'You will be eating chapatti'.

34. do/dogɑ   roțe   jɑ-o   ni-tɔ-ø
    S/he-3S/Pl   chapatti eat-prog be-fut-3S
    'S/he/They will be eating chapatti'.

35.	kəšəŋɑ	roṭe	jɑ-o	ni-tɔ-č
	we-1Pl	chapatti	eat-prog	fut-1Pl

'We will be eating chapatti' <the verb marker remains same for 2nd Plural>

The above examples (32-35) are the last set of examples to show the progressive aspect in future tense which also exemplify the imperfect aspect[8] in Kinnauri. The progressive aspect in future tense that is shown in examples (32-35) is very simple. The main verb is marked with a progressive suffix '-o' and there is a different helping verb 'ni' which takes an inflectional marker '-tɔ' that we have seen earlier to be used for future tense in Kinnauri. The markers that mark the person and number of the subject NPs on the verb in the sentence are similar to what we have already explained in earlier cases.

Split-ergative System in Kinnauri
Kinnauri, like many other languages spoken in India, depicts a 'split-ergative system'. The definition of ergativity by Dixon (1994;Pp 1) which has been mentioned in the introduction of the paper is realized/materialized in partial in many Indian languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Kangri and Kinnauri. These languages partially display 'Nominative-Accuasative' type of case marking and partially they show 'ergative-absolutive' type of case marking. The ergative case marking with the subject NP is mostly conditioned by the tense, aspect, number and person markings in the lanuages and thus they create a 'slipt-system' of ergative case marking. So, in Kinnauri, the marking of the ergative case with the subject of a transitive clause takes place only in 'past simple tense, and in all perfective aspects'. Thus, Kinnauri is grouped into those languages of India[9] which are known or called 'Split-ergative languages'.
In other words, the subject of a transitive clasue is case marked with an ergative case only when the main verb shows the perfective reading. The perfective reading includes the past simple tense and all perfect aspects in different tenses. Kinnauri follows this system, and thus it is classified as a 'split-ergative' language. Let us examine the agreement in ergative constructions in Kinnauri.

Present Perfect Aspect in Kinnauri

36.	gɨ-s	roṭe	jɑ	jɑ-ø
	I-1S-Erg	chapatti	Eat	perf-3S(default)

'I have eaten chapatti'.

37.	ki-s/kɑ-s	roṭe	jɑ	jɑ-ø
	You-2S-H/NH-Erg	Chapatti	eat	perf-3S(default)

'You have eaten chapatti'.

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[8]The past simple aspect in the examples (7-10) could have given us different structural information in Kinnauri because this aspect functions as the perfect aspect compared to other imperfect aspects that we used so fact. However, this did not happen as the verb in the examples (7-10) was intransitive one.

[9] I have said most of the Indian languages, because there are languages like Mizo, Hmar, and Khort hɑ (angika) and may be some more which show a full-fledged ergative system.

38. do-s/doɡɑ-s   roțe   jɑ   jɑ-ø
    S/he-3S/Pl-Erg   chapatti   eat   perf-3S(default)
    'S/he/They have eaten chapatti'.

39. kəšəŋɑ-s   roțe   jɑ   jɑ-ø
    we-1Pl-Erg   Chapatti   eat   perf-3S-default
    'We have eaten chapatti' <the verb marker remains same for 2nd Plural>

These examples (36-39) show many important features ofergativity and agreement system in Kinnauri. One, Kinnauri seems to reduplicate the stem of the main verb to show the perfective aspect in present tense. Second, the subject NP is marked with ergative case suffix in all the examples. Third, it is interesting to see that in case of reduplicated verb-form, which is used for marking the present perfect aspect, the verb does not take any agreement marker for subject NPs. This is somewhat odd, but very new and interesting in terms of the behavior of verb morphology in Kiannauri. Languages like Punjabi and Hindi which are the contact-languages in the area also have ergative case in such context, but they also have a change of the system of agreement. In other words, Hindi and Punjabi, will display 'object-verb agreement' in such context. However, Kinnauri does not have 'object-verb agreement' and in order to show the 'default agreement', which is the last option if there is no NP in the sentence to agree with, the language develops this unique strategy of repeating the verbal stem and add nothing afterwards to make it work as 'default agreement'.

Past Simple Aspect

40. gɨ-s   roțe   jɑ-ø   -k
    I-1S-Erg chapatti   eat-pst   -1S
    'I ate chapatti'.

41. ki-s/kɑ-s   roțe   jɑ-ø   -ĩn/-n
    You-2S-H/NH-Erg   chapatti   eat-pst   -2S-H/NH
    'You ate chapatti'.

42. do-s/doɡɑ-s   roțe   jɑ-ø   -ø
    S/he-3S/Pl-Erg   chapatti   eat-pst   -3S/Pl
    'S/he/They ate chapatti'.

43. kəšəŋɑ-s   roțe   jɑ-ø   -č
    we-1Pl-Erg   chapatti   eat-pst   -1Pl
    'We ate chapatti'.

These examples (40-43) are in the same aspect with transitive verb and it is because of the transitivity of the verb that we have ergative case with the subject NPs. However, what is linguistically interesting about these sentences is that they show the subject-verb agreement marking on the verb in each of these sentences. What remains puzzling though is the absence of

past-tense marker[10] in these examples. However, if we compare these sentences with present perfect aspect of the earlier section, we do have some explanation. The verb stem is not repeated in past simple tense and the agreement in put on the stem to mark the past simple aspect which brings a distinctverbal-from to show that the action has been done in past and in perfective way. The agreement morphology on the Kinnauri verb which shows that the verb can agree with the ergative case marked subject NPs is something very new if comparethis with languages from Indo-Aryan family (of course with some exceptions). Meaning, most of the Indo-Aryan languages will have the 'object-verb agreement' in such context because the ergative or any case suffix with the subject NPs blocks their eligibility to show the agreement with the verb. However, this is a very common trend in Tibeto-Burman languages and we will have some discussion of Hmar, another Tibeto-Burman language, which shows similar marking of ergative case with the subject NP and yet the verb agrees with the ergative case marked subject. But before that let us see some more examples in Kinnauri with such pattern before we conclude the section.

Past Perfect Aspect in Kinnauri

44.   gɨ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   dwe-k
      I-1S-Erg   chapatti   eat-perf   be-fut-1S
      'I will have eaten chapatti'.

45.   ki-s/kɑ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   dwe-ĩn/-n
      You-2S-H/NH-Erg   chapatti   eat-prog   be-fut-2S-H/-NH
      'You will have eaten chapatti'.

46.   do-s/dogɑ-s roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   dwe-ø
      S/he-3S/Pl   chapatti   eat-perf   be-fut-3S
      'S/he/They will have eaten chapatti'.

47.   kəšəŋɑ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   dwe-č
      we-1Pl   chapatti   eat-perf   fut-1Pl
      'We will have eaten chapatti' <the verb marker remains same for 2nd Plural>

The examples (44-47) in Kinnauri present another important and distinct pattern of verb morphology of a Tibeto-Burman language that is spoken in an area where the contact-languages are mostly from Indo-Aryan language family. In these examples, the verb stem, as it was in present perfect, is repeated to show the perfectivity of the action described by the verb and a 'be-verb' is used with its past form 'dwe' and the agreement suffix is put on the past tense marked 'be-verb'. This is a good example of morphosyntatic concatenation of agreement suffixand tense and aspect marking on the verb of a sentence. Kinnauri seems to have developed this pattern as a blend of different patterns that are available in the contact-languages in the area such as Hindi and Punjabi.

Future Perfect Aspect in Kinnauri

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[10]I have checked these examples for past perfect aspectand their pattern with the native speaker of the language twice, but he kept insisting that this is how we speak.

48. gɨ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   ni-tɔ-k
    I-1S-Erg   chapatti   eat-perf   be-fut-1S
    'I will have eaten chapatti'.

49. ki-s/kɑ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   ni-tɔ-ĩn/-n
    You-2S-H/NH-Erg   chapatti   eat-prog   be-fut-2S-H/-NH
    'You will have eaten chapatti'.

50. do-s/dogɑ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   ni-tɔ-ø
    S/he-3S/Pl-Erg   chapatti   eat-perf   be-fut-3S
    'S/he/They will have eaten chapatti'.

51. kɔšɔŋɑ-s   roṭe   jɑ-jɑ   ni-tɔ-č
    we-1Pl-Erg chapatti   eat-perf   fut-1Pl
    'We will have eaten chapatti'.

These examples (48-51) are the last set of examples which show the perfective marking on the verb in future tense. The pattern of the verb morphology is very simple. The main verb stem is repeated to mark the perfectivity and this brings the ergative case with the subject NPs in the sentences. There is a 'be-verb' and a future tense marker i.e. 'ni-tɔ' and once this auxiliary verb is conjugated with tense, it is ready to accept the agreement suffix for different persons and numbers that are available with subject NPs to show the syntactic relationship with the verb in the sentence. The inflectional marker for agreement in case of first and second person plural subjects remains the same, a homophonous marker '-č' is used, and we have seen this earlier examples too. The third person either singular or plural remains unmarked for its person and number agreement on the verb. This brings Kinnauri quite close to a more 'agglutinative-type' of language than Hindi at the level of verb morphology[11]. Let us now compare the agreement and ergativity of Kinnauri with another Tibeto-Burman language called Hmar. This comparison will help us understand the marking ergative case and the agreement pattern of Kinnauri better and not confused with the patterns of ergativity and agreement of Indo-Aryan languages.

Kinnauri and Hmar
I want to conclude the paper by comparing Kinnauri with another language from Tibeto-Burman family called 'Hmar'. This comparison is needed to make a better sense of the 'agreement-pattern' that we have discussed in Kinnauri so far. Consider the following examples from Hmar[12]:

Ergativity in Hmar
 Subject in Intransitive Clauses in Hmar
52. kɛi   kɑ- tlɑn

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[11] Typologically speaking, Hindi is more close to 'Inflectional type of languages' at the level of verb and its morphological patterns.

[12]Darhmingthang John (2011) Ergativity in Hmar, an MPhil proposal submitted at the Centre for Advanced Studies in Linguistics, University of Delhi, Delhi-110007

        I-1S-Nom   1S   run-pres
        'I run'.

53.   kɛi-ni   kɑn- tlɑn

        I-1Pl-Nom 1Pl   run-pres
        'We run'.

54.   kɛi   skul-ɑ   kɑ- fe

        I-1S-Nom   school-Loc   1S   go
        'I go to school'.

55.   nɑute   cʰu   ɑ-   trap

        baby-3S-Nom   det.   3S   cry
        'The baby cries'.

The above examples from Hmar show that the subject NP is marked with nominative case because the verb in these examples is intransitive. Now, let us examine some examples with transitive from Hmar.

Subjects in Transitive Clasues in Hmar

56.   kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ- zi:k

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   write
        'I write a letter'.

57.   kɛi-ni-in   lekʰatʰɔn   ɛi- zi:k-tɑh

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1Pl   write-pst
        'We wrote a letter'.

58.   kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ- zi:k-diŋ

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   write-fut
        'I will write a letter'.

59.   kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ- zi:k-jiŋ-diŋ

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   write-fut-prog
        'I will be writing a letter'.

60.   kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ- lo-zi:k-ɑnih

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   pst-write-be
        'I was writing a letter'.

61.   kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ- zi:k-lɑime:k-ɑnih

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   write-Prog-be
        'I am writing a letter'.

62.   kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ- lo-zi:k-tɑh

        I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   pst-write-prest-perf
        'I have written a letter'.

63. kɛi-in   lekʰatʰɔn   kɑ-   zi:k-tɑ-diŋ-ɑnɑ

    I-1S-Erg   Letter   1S   write-Perf-Fut-be
    'I will have written a letter'.

The above examples (56-63) from Hmar are with transitive verbs and these verbs have been used in different tenses and aspects. These examples also depict the fact that the subject of these examples are case marked with the ergative case if we compare them withthe earlier examples of intranstive verbs.

However, the most important thing that these examples show here is that the subject NPs in all these examples are case marked with an ergative case, and yet they show agreement with the verb in all the sentences. Therefore, we can't explain the grammatical constructs such as agreement and egativity in the languages of different family if we are too much guided by the parameters of agreement and ergativity and their coincidental implicational values from the languages of Indo-Aryan family. The comparison of the system of agreement and ergativity in Hmar with Kinnauri has been done here with a purpose to show that agreement and ergativity are two different phenomena and they may implicate to each other accidently in some languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Punjabi, but this does not mean that they have to be implicationally correlated in all the languages. Thus, we must imphasize that they (i.e. agreement and ergativity) are   not   part   and   parcel   of   each   other   and   thus   they   can   also   exist   in   mutually exclusiveenvironment in the langauges from different family i.e. Tebeto-Burman.

There are research works which have proven the fact that even in the languages from Indo-Aryan family, there are cases where a cased marked NP can show agreement with the verb. So, it is infact not something very unusual in the linguistic literature to have a situation where a case-marked NP (either as a subject or an object) can show agreement with the verb.

I want to bring the discussion of Gujurati and Nepali to prove my point here. Gujurati is an Indo-Aryan language and in Gujurati, when the subject NP gets an ergative case, the verb does not show agreement with it. However, the verb invariably agrees with the direct object in the sentence irrespective of whether the direct object is case marked or not. One can explain the reson for such agreement of overt-case marked DO with the verb by highlighting the point that Gujurati does not have what is known as 'Default agreement' as the third option of agreement that we find in Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi. Moreover, the point that I want to highlight here is that Gujarati does attest another instance of case marker NP (the direct object) and its agreement with the verb. Let us see the examples from Gujarati:

Gujarati: (Adopted from Mistry 2003)
64. šilaa-e   kaagaL   lakh-y-o

    S.(F)-ERG   letter (M)   write-PF-M
    'Sheela wrote a letter'.

65. šilaa-e   raaj-ne   jagaaD-y-o

    S.(F)-ERG   R.(M)-Acc   awake-PF-M
    'Sheela woke up Raj'.

These examples (64-65) from Gujarati exemplify that the verb can agree with a case marked nominal in Gujarati. This strengthens the above-mentioned facts of 'agreement pattern' in Kinnauri and Hmar. In example (64) the direct object is unmarked and it has its phi-features as '-3MS' and that is what the inflection on the verb shows. Now, when we compare (65) with

(64), we can get confused as to whether (65) is case of 'object-verb agreement' or a case of 'default-verb agreement'.However, the natives of Gujurati would say that the verb in (65) shows agreement with the direct object, inspite of the fact that the direct object bears an overt case. Let us see one more example in Gujarati toarrive at a better conclusion because one can argue that the example (65) might be a case of 'default agreement' in Gujarati. Consider the following example:

66. raaj-e   šeela-ne   jagaaD-y-i

     R.(M)-ERG   S.(F)-Acc   awake-PF-F
     'Raj woke up Sheela'.

The above example (66) leaves no space for any doubt regarding the agreement of the verb with an overt case-marked direct object in Gujarati.

Let us also examine the case of Nepali and its agreement pattern in ergative construction. This will really enrich the future research work in the area and widen up the horizon of the research on 'ergativity and agreement' with myriad diversification.

Nepali: (adopted from Poudel, T. 2006)

67. čɪtrəkɑr-le   dʰerɑi   čɪtrə   bənɑ-yo

     painter-3MS-Erg   many   picture   make-pst-3MS
     'The painter made many pictures'.

68. mɑi-le   sodʰpətrə   lekʰ-y-e

     I-1MS-Erg   research paper   write-pst-1MS
     'I wrote a research paper'.

These examples (67-68) help us to wind up the discussion on the issue of ergative case-marked nominal and its agreement with the verb in the sentence. The case of Nepali provides another instance of an Indo-Aryan language where 'the ergative case' does not have to block the agreement between the subject and the verb in the sentence. The same fact has been ascertained from the discussion of Kinnauri in this paper. So, we could close the discussion with the finding that Kinnauri belong to a 'single-system of agreement' despite the fact that the subject NP is ergative case marked[13]. This proves the point that from the point of view of linguistic function, the ergative case in Kinnauri does not behave similar tothat of some Indo-Aryan languages (i.e. Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi etc.), in a sense that the ergative case does not function as a blocker for the agreement between subject and verb in Kinnauri.

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[13]See Das, P. K. (2006) for a full discussion of 'Single-system of agreement' VS 'Dual-system of agreement'.

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