

**CASE ALIGNMENT IN KINNAURI**

**Harvinder Kumar Negi\***  
**Purnendu Bikash Debnath\*\***

**ABSTRACT**

*This paper examines and discusses the ergativity in Kinnauri in terms of the alignment properties in nominal domain, i.e., the case marking of core arguments and their interpretations, as well as in verbal domain, i.e., agreement between the core arguments. The language shows split behavior; the ergative manifests in alignment pattern in different tense/ aspect and case marking of subject and object (i.e., differential case marking) and in agreement which cross references the core argument in verbal domain and shows verbal agreement with the subject or the object and also illustrates default agreement. This paper particularly examines the case marking of core arguments of the clause i.e. S, A and O.*

**Keywords:** Agreement, Argument, Case, Ergativity, Kinnauri, Object Marking, Subject Marking.

**1. Introduction**

Kinnauri is placed in the subgroup of West Himalayish languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Negi 2012). The language is spoken in the tribal district of Himachal Pradesh in North India. Kinnauri has a SUB-OBJ-VERB constituent order and exhibits nearly all characteristics of a SOV language. The paper describes the language in terms of its case alignment pattern to conform to its ergative characteristics which is discussed in the paper in terms of its alignment properties in nominal domain, i.e., the case marking of core arguments and their interpretations, as well as in verbal domain i.e. agreement between the core arguments, S, O and A.

Ergativity, in terms of alignment pattern in a language, means: (a) the case marking of the core arguments and (b) the verb agreement pattern (Bickel & Nichols 2009). The alignment of core arguments also encodes grammatical relations that these core arguments (S, A, O) exhibits based on their syntactic role. These grammatical relations are described variously in typological studies. The approach adopted here is based on the Dixonian approach (Dixon 1978; 1994) wherein the label S stands for the subject of an intransitive verb; A is the subject of a transitive verb and O is the direct object of a transitive verb. A/ O are

---

\* GLA University, Mathura, India

\*\* The English and Foreign Languages University, Shillong Campus, Shillong, India

grouped together, based on transitivity of the subject of NP. In such languages, an ergative case appears at the subject position in contrast to a nominative case. An ergative type language receives an overt case at the subject position of nominal phrase in perfective and nominative in imperfective aspect while the verb is in agreement with its core arguments in the clause. Ergative case assignment encourages object agreement in the clause which is in contrast to the patterning of case and agreement in an accusative language which marks the subject with a nominative case and encourages subject agreement. When the verb cannot agree with the subject or the object in the clause, verb takes a default form which is third person singular. The distribution of ergative case and nominative case can be illustrated in Hindi in examples (1-3)–

1. chotti                      bittu-ko                      pitt-tii                      ha  
name-NOM name-ACC      hit-IMPERF-F-SG      be-PRE-3SG  
Choti hits Bittu.
2. chotti-ne                      chitthi                      di  
name-ERG                      letter-NOM                      give-PERF-F-S  
Choti gave letter.
3. chotti-ne                      bittu-ko                      pittaa  
name-ERG                      name-ACC                      hit-PERF-3MS  
Choti hit Bittu.

In example (1), the subject takes a nominative case in imperfective and takes an ergative case when the verb is in perfective form, as in examples (2-3). In above illustrations, the subject agrees with verb in example (1), while the verb agrees with object in example (2), depending on the ability of the subject or the object to trigger agreement with the verb.<sup>1</sup> If neither of the two can trigger verbal agreement, the verb takes a default form, as in (3).

## **2. Case Marking in Kinnauri**

Case, in alignment typology, is regarded to code grammatical relations of the core arguments of sentence constructions. Along with word order and agreement, case is one way of indicating grammatical relations of clause and of distinguishing one relation from other (Kroeger 2005:102). In Kinnauri, S or A (or the object) is case marked by affix or postposition depending on the transitivity of the sentence constructions. In examples (4-11), case marking on nominal forms is either oblique (ergative, accusative, dative, instrumental, locative, genitive) or is absent (nominative). In the following section, we will focus on describing cases that are central to our discussion, i.e., marking of S, A, O which is nominative, ergative, dative, and marking on object. Examples 4-7, is the distribution of nominative case in Kinnauri:

4. kitab      dam      du/to  
     NOM    good      be-PRE  
     Book is good.
5. gi              kinu                      shec-o              tok  
     i-NOM    you (hon)- DAT      recognize-PROG    be-PRE  
     I am recognizing you.
6. chotti    kim-o              tosh  
     NOM    home-LOC      be-pre-3SG  
     Chotti is at home.
7.    gi              rima              khyac              duk  
     i-NOM    field-pl-NOM    see/care              be-PRE-1SG  
     I see/care fields.

In examples 4-7, subject NP takes nominative case which is phonologically null or unmarked. A clause can have more than one nominative (Butt 1993), as in example (7). In example (6), the locative case -o, marks an inanimate object. Some other cases in Kinnauri are marked as follows.

8. bittu-s              kitab                      hushis  
     name-ERG    book-NOM              read-PERF-3SG  
     Bittu read a book.
9. bittu              choti-dwack      halu              karash  
     name-NOM    name-ABL    potato-NOM    bring-PST-3SG-HON  
     Bittu brought potato from Chotti.
10. sudesh-is              choti-u      naamang      tvashis  
     name-ERG      name-GEN    name-NOM    call-PST-3SG  
     Sudesh called Tanu's name.
11. ama-s              ang-u              bergaa-s              kulcis  
     mother-ERG    me-DAT      stick-INST      beat-OBJ-PST-3SG  
     Mother beat me with a stick.

Ergative and instrumental case markers are identical; -s and -is (11). The distribution depends on the syntactic meaning. Ablative case is marked as postposition with animate noun or pronoun (9). It follows the animate base.

## 2.1 Grammatical Case and Semantic Case

Grammatical case marks subject, object and indirect object, and can be marked with nominative case for subject, accusative case for

object and dative case for indirect object. Unlike this, semantic case marks oblique arguments and adjuncts, and may be marked as genitive case for possessor, instrumental case and locative case for instrument and location, respectively. Semantic cases are generally overtly case marked (Siewierska and Bakker 2009). In addition to assigning grammatical relations between subject/ object, and ergative/ absolutive, case also attests alignment patterns and other properties in alignment typology, like verb agreement relationship which means agreement between verb and object or the O argument (Haspelmath 2005). Kinnauri has grammatical and semantic case markers which are used for arguments S, A and O, and oblique arguments and adjuncts, respectively. In Kinnauri, subject of a noun phrase are marked or unmarked depending upon the valency of the verb, object may or may not be marked for case relations and number. Considering example (12), subject of an intransitive verb takes unmarked nominative case whereas in examples (13, 14), the subject of a transitive verb in past is marked by ergative case -is and -s.

Case marking on S:

12. chang                    yoc-id                    du  
child-NOM                play-IMPF                be-Pre-3SG  
Child plays.

Case marking on A:

13. chang-is                khau    jashid  
child-ERG                Food    eat-PERF-3SG  
Child ate food.

14. ga-s    ang                kamang                lanshid  
I-ERG. my-DAT work                do-PERF.SG  
I did my work.

### **3. Marking of Core Arguments (S, A, O)**

Nominal can bear any case marking on the grammatical subject position in the clause; we are concerned with the direct cases on the subject that marks the agent of the verb. Ergative case marks subject of a transitive verb (A) in perfective, in contrast to unmarked direct object and the nominative marked subject of intransitive verb (S), which is indicated in unmarked form. Kinnauri displays the use of affix -s or -is as ergative marker. These structures, i.e., marking on S and A can be illustrated in examples (15-19) and examples (20-21), respectively. “A” bears nominative case if the verb in other than perfective, as illustrated in examples (22-23):

**a) Case Marking on ‘S’**

15. sita                      thuriashid                      du  
 name-NOM      run-IMPF                      be.PRE  
 Sita runs.
16. sita                      yag-o                      dwe  
 name-NOM Sleep-PROG                      be.PST  
 Sita was sleeping.
17. change      yoco                      nito  
 boy.NOM      play.PROG                      be.NON PST  
 Boys will be playing.
18. gi                      bazaar-o      biyo      duk  
 I-NOM market-OBL      go.PROG      be.PRE  
 I am going to market.

**b) Case Marking on “A”:** “A” bears nominative case in the non perfective tense.

19. guruji                      changa-nu                      kul-c      du  
 teacher-Nom      children-ACC      beat-IMPF      be.3PS  
 Teacher beats up children.
20. choti      nasom dzang      jogta  
 name-NOM      tomorrow      gold-ACC buy.FUT  
 Choti will buy gold tomorrow.

**c) Case Marking on “A” in Perfective Form**

21. caiki-s                      khau                      jaashid  
 all-ERG                      food-NOM                      eat-PERF-PST  
 All have eaten food.
22. gi-s                      ki-nu                      tangc  
 I-ERG                      you-ACC                      see-OBJ-PST  
 I saw you.

It can, therefore, be argued that transitivity is not the only criteria for ergativity; subjects may bear nominative or ergative on semantic basis.<sup>2</sup> It is crucial to check the nature of case marking on S and A when the subject is nouns and pronouns in order to reach at a generalized case marking pattern in the language.

**d) S/A Marking on Nouns**

This section illustrates case marking on common nouns and pronouns in simple constructions. In examples 23-25, illustrated is intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses respectively, in present tense. The recipient i.e., the indirect object in ditransitive clause is marked with a dative case.

**a) Present tense, Past and Future, Non perfective**

23. lattu                      biyo                      du  
boy-NOM                      go-ACC                      be-PRE

Kaka is going

24. mastar                      kyum                      juriao                      tokesh  
teacher-NOM                      house                      make-IMPRF                      be-PST-3SG (HON)

Teacher was making the house.

25. changa                      skulo                      kamang lan                      to  
child-PI-NOM                      school-DAT                      work do-PROG                      be-FUT

Children will do school (home) work.

Nouns as subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in present, non. perfective tenses are marked nominative case as is exemplified above. In past tense, (A) argument gets ergative case and dO is overtly marked absolutive.<sup>3</sup> The ergative markers –s and –is, have their use in the clause as phonologically conditioned.

**b) Past tense, Future, Non Perfective**

26. changa-s skulo                      kamang lanlan                      du  
child-PL-ERG school-DAT work-ACC finish-PERF be-PST

Children have finished school (home) work.

27. mastar-is                      kyum                      juriashid  
teacher-ERG house-NOM                      make-IMPRF. PST-3SG (HON)

Teacher made the house.

28. bowa                      kyum                      juariato/sh  
father-NOM house-NOM                      make-FUT-3SG  
(NONHON/HON)

Father will make the house.

29. golu-s                      skulo kamang shungshid  
name-ERG school work finish-PERF-PST

Golu finished school work.

30. mainga-is            zori lanlan            to  
 Inflation-ERG    trouble do-PERF    be-PRE  
 Inflation has done trouble.

S, A takes case markers depending on their semantic role and valency. The case markers of arguments are- unmarked for nominative (S) in all tense, aspects; -is, -s for ergative case (A) in perfective and past and -u, -o for dative (IO) and unmarked for nominative, accusative for dO. Case marking of common nouns and proper nouns in simple clause is shown in table 1. The case is inflected in all tenses based on the valency of arguments.

**Table 1: Case Inflection on Arguments**

<u>Arguments</u>	<b>S</b>	<b>dO</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>IO</b>
<b>Case</b>	Nominative	Accusative	Ergative	Dative
<b>Case markes</b>	Ø	Ø	-s, -is	-o, pung

**c) Marking on Pronouns in S, A position**

Pronominal case marker of subject (S) in intransitive clauses is -ø ‘Nom’. In terms of case suffixes and number marking, personal pronouns behave similar to animate nouns. First person personal pronoun has different forms for inclusive exclusive numbers, and the second person and third person has different forms to indicate honorificity in all numbers. First person pronoun has gi- form in direct case and ergative case; in all other case it is replaced by -ang, whereas second persons and third person forms remain unchanged in all number and case. Table 2 and 3 illustrates personal pronoun paradigm of nominative case with S, A in non perfective and ergative case with A in perfective.

**Table 2: Personal Pronoun Paradigm in Nominative Case**

<b>1P</b>	<b>Sg</b> Gi	<b>Dual (incl/ excl)</b> kashang/ nishi	<b>Pl (incl/ excl)</b> kashanga/ ninga
<b>2P</b>	<b>Sg (hon/ nonhon)</b> ki/ka	<b>Dual (hon/nonhon)</b> Ki nish/ ka nish	<b>Pl (hon/ nonhon)</b> kina/ kanega
<b>3P</b>	<b>Sg (hon/ nonhon)</b> do/ dogo	<b>du (hon/ nonhon)</b> do sung/ do nish	<b>Pl (hon/ nonhon)</b> dogo/ doga

**Table 3: Ergative Case on A in Perfective**

<b>1P</b>	<b>Sg</b> gi-s	<b>Dual (incl/ excl)</b> kashang-is/ nishi-s	<b>Pl (incl/ excl)</b> kashang-sa/ ninga-s
<b>2P</b>	<b>Sg (hon/ nonhon)</b> ki-s/ka-s	<b>Dual (hon/nonhon)</b> ki nish-is/ ka nish-is	<b>Pl (hon/ nonhon)</b> kina-s/ kanega-s
<b>3P</b>	<b>Sg (hon/ nonhon)</b> do-s/ dogo-s	<b>du (hon/ nonhon)</b> do sung-is/ do nish-is	<b>Pl (hon/ nonhon)</b> dogo-s/ dogo-s

From Table 3, pronominal forms that end with consonant takes –is as affix and –s when it ends with a vowel sound. The examples below exemplify case marking in different tenses- present, past and future:

**a. Present, Past, Future Tense:**

**1Person Singular**

31.	gi	changa-nu	kulo	tok
	i-NOM	boy-PL-ACC	hit-IMPF-PRE	AUX-1SG
	I am hitting boys.			

**1Person Dual (excl/incl)**

32.	nishi/ kashang	changa-nu	kulo	Toc
	we-DUAL-	boy-PL-	Call-IMPF-	AUX-
	(EXCL/INCL)-NOM	ACC	PRE	1SG
	We are hitting boys.			

**1Person Plural (excl/incl)**

33.	ka shanga/ ninga	changa-nu	kulo	Toc
	we-PL-(EXCL/INCL)-	Boy-PL-	Call-IMPF-	AUX-
	NOM	ACC	PRE	1SG-PL
	We are hitting boys.			

**2 Person Singulars (hon/nonhon)**

34.	Ki/ka	changa-nu	kulo	toi/ton
	you- (HON/NONHON)-	Boy-PL-	call-IMPF-	AUX-
	NOM	ACC	PRE	2SG
	You are hitting boys.			

**2 Person Dual (hon/nonhon)**

35.	Kinish/kanish	changa-nu	kulo	toc/toc
	you-DUAL-	Boy-PL-	Call-IMPF-	AUX-
	(HON/NONHON)-NOM	ACC	PRE	2SG
	You (two) are hitting boys.			

**2 Person Plural (hon/nonhon)**

36.	Kina/kanega	changa-nu	kulo	toc/toc
	you-PL-(HON/NONHON)-	Boy-PL-	Call-IMPF-	AUX-2P
	NOM	ACC	PRE	
	You (pl) are hitting boys.			

**3 Person Singular**

37.	dogo/do	changa-	kulo	tosh/to
	he- (HON/NONHON)-	nu	Call-IMPF-	AUX-3PL
	NOM	Boy-PL-	PRE	
	ACC			
	He is hitting boys.			



**3 Person Dual**

38.	dosung/donnish	changa-nu	kulo	tosh/toh
	he- (HON/NONHON)- NOM	Boy-PL- ACC	Call-IMPF- PRE	AUX- 3PL
	They (two) are hitting boys.			

**3 Person Plural**

39.	dogo/doga	changa- nu	kulo	tosh/toh
	they-HON/NONHON- NOM	boy-PL- ACC	hit-IMPF- PRE	AUX-3PL
	They are hitting boys.			

From examples 31- 39, pronoun exhibit nominative accusative case pattern in present imperfective in all number and person. Kinnauri has an extensive pronoun patterns for inclusive, exclusive and honorificity, and the pronoun takes different forms to show it. In examples 40-48, pronouns are inflected for ergative case when the subject appears at agentive position and the aspect type is perfective.

**b) Simple Past Tense and Perfective Aspect:**

**1 Person Singular**

40.	gi-s	changa-nu	Kulkul
	i-ERG	boy-PL-NOM	hit-IMPF-PRE
	I hit the boys.		

**1Person Dual (excl/incl)**

41.	nishi-s/ kashang-s	changa-nu	kulkul
	we-DUAL-(EXCL/INCL)-NOM	boy-PL-ACC	hit-PERF
	We hit the boys.		

**1Person Plural (excl/incl)**

42.	kashanga-s/ ninga-s	changa-nu	kulac
	we-PL-(EXCL/INCL)- NOM	Boy-PL- ACC	Hit-PERF- PST
	We hit the boys.		

**2 Person Singular (hon/nonhon)**

43.	ki/ka	changa-nu	kulo	tokein/token
	you- (HON/NONHON)- NOM	Boy-PL- ACC	HIT- PROG	Be-2P-PST
	You hit boys.			



phenomenon found in many languages and is called differential object marking (DOM). In Kinnauri, object is always marked and inanimate objects are marked when the object is definite. The postpositions marking the O argument are –u, –nu and –pang. Notice the marking of O in examples (51-55);

51. Gi do-pang Khyac Duk  
 I-ERG he-ACC see-NONPROG be-PRE  
 I see him.

52. gi-s do-pang khyashid  
 I-ERG he-ACC see-PST-MS  
 I saw him.

53. gi-s Chang Khyashid  
 i-ERG child-ACC see-PST  
 I saw a boy.

In examples 51 and 52, the DO is marked with the postposition –pang and –u when the object is definite. The object doesn't take postposition when it is not definite, as in (53). In examples (54-55), the object is inanimate and definite, and it takes the postposition –u:

54. gi-sdoga-s/dogo-s changu khyashid  
 i-ERG child-ACC see-PST  
 I saw the child.

55. biTTu-s gasa-nu esacis Tashid  
 name-ERG clothes- carefully keep-PST-3PSG  
 ACC  
 Bittu kept the clothes carefully.

In pronominal objects, the postposition –pang is used to mark the singular form of the non proximate or the remote object whereas –u and –nu are used to mark dual and plural forms of the proximate objects. Demonstrative pronoun objects are marked only when the object is animate (56). Pronominal objects are marked almost obligatorily since they are animate and definite (56-58).

56. Kis Angu thu ma kucis  
 you-ERG me-DAT Wh-Q call-PST  
 NEG-  
 Why didn't you call me?

57. Ki Dogon Kurin  
 you-NOM them-ACC call-FUT  
 You call them, in future.

58. Gi dogo-nu Kutok  
 I-NOM Them call-FUT  
 I will call them.

#### 4.1 Marking of Indirect Object (IO)

In Kinnauri, O argument show dual marking when there is an indirect object (IO) in a sentence along with the direct object (DO). IO is marked dative case and DO is marked accusative case, as illustrated in examples above, by similar postpositions markers. Dative case of IO expresses the notion of goal or experiencer in theta role criterion while the DO expresses the notion of benefactor or patient role in thematic role in agent-patient relationship. IO is marked obligatorily in Kinnauri. "Dative case marked on IO indicates the semantic notions of 'goal', 'focus', 'physical state', 'possession' and 'non-volitionality'" (Das 2011). In Kinnauri, dative case marking on IO is obligatory:

59. sarita-s kinu Kimo Kucis  
name-ERG you-DAT Home call-3-PST-3SG  
Sarita called you home.

60. Rimo poonamu Chang Kuco Du  
field-NOM name-DAT Child call-IMPF be-PRE  
A child is calling Poonam in the field.

In examples 59 and 60, IO is marked dative case –u. Dative case always marks animate IO and express specificity.

61. Kis angu Kimoc kucis  
you-ERG me-DAT home-LOC call-IMPF  
You called me from home.

62. Ki changa-nu Khau ran toin  
you-NOM children- DAT food-GEN giv be-PRE  
e  
You give food to children.

In examples 61 and 62, IO expresses the notion of recipient but not the direct beneficiary. Beneficiary benefits from an action directly whereas the recipient benefits when a transfer of an action takes place. IO, thus is an indirect beneficiary.

#### 5. Verb Agreement in Kinnauri

A language by cross referencing of verbs with the NPs identifies the language as accusative or ergative. Ergative agreement treats intransitive subjects and transitive objects alike, with the exclusion of transitive subjects (Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979). The verb includes affixes which marks for person, number or gender features of the NPs. A language shows a nominative-accusative agreement if the affixes cross referencing of NPs in S and A is similar with the exclusion of O.

Kinnauri shows subject and object agreement with the verb in different numbers (singular and dual/ plural) and persons (first person, second person and third person). Kinnauri lacks grammatical gender so the verb does not inflect for gender agreement. Agreement is realized by affixes that are attached to the verb and occur between the verb and the person and tense/ aspect markers.

#### 4.2 Subject Agreement in Kinnauri

The agreement markers are inflected to the verb showing agreement and other correlations. Both transitive and intransitive verbs take the same subject markers. The inflectional suffixes in subject agreement are- first person singular is takes suffix -k; first person dual and plural inclusive takes suffix -c, exclusive suffix form is unmarked; second person singular honorific takes suffix -in; dual and plural is -c. Non honorific marker is -n for all numbers. Third person honorific marker is -sh in all number and is unmarked in non honorific in all number. The distribution of affixes in subject agreement in Kinnauri is tabulated in Table 4.

	1P	2P		3P	
		Hon	Nonhon	Hon	Nonhon
<b>Sg</b>	-k	-in	-in	-sh	∅
<b>Du/ Pl</b>	-c	-c	-n	-sh	∅

Agreement in a language shows grammatical properties of the subject of the clause on the verb. Various agreement affixes in different tenses and aspects in the language are illustrated in the following sections:

##### a. Subject Agreement in S

Most of the intransitive verbs in Kinnauri show subject agreement. The ‘S’ according to the theta grid criteria has an external argument and doesn’t have an object. The ‘S’ thus is eligible to show subject agreement only with the verbs taking agreement features of its subject. Depending on the tense of the verb, subject agreement is shown in person and number:

63            Gi                            thuriashid            Tok  
                   i-NOM                            run-IMPF            be-PRE  
                   I run.

64.            Kashanga                            Yoco                            Tokec  
                   we-NOM                            play-PROG            be-PST

He has liked you.

In examples 63 and 64, intransitive verbs being one place predicate with regard to the argument structure, can take just one argument i.e. the external argument (subject). There is no object

agreement in the clause. The verbs agree with their subjects in number and person.

In cases where intransitive verb takes a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, i.e., an NP/ a PP dominated by main verb and a helping verb, the verb do not shows agreement with it pp or adjunct. Intransitive verbs, when they take a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, do not show agreement with it. The intransitive verb and the auxiliary, if any, agree with the subject in person and number, as in examples 65, 66:

65. Kina wali Koshtang lanc toc  
you-HON— very Hardwork do be-PL-PRE  
NOM  
You are working very hard.

66. Change Bairang Yoco du  
children-NOM outside-LOC play-PROG be-PRE  
Children are playing outside.

So, ‘S’ in Kinnauri shows a nominative type agreement alignment where the intransitive verbs agree with the subject in person and number. There are agreement markers for honorificity; the plural forms in first and second person have similar subject affix markers, example 64.

### **b. Subject Agreement in A**

‘A’ has a subject and the direct object, i.e., an external and an internal argument, respectively. The verb in a transitive clause can show agreement with the nominative subject in both imperfective and perfective aspects. Verbs in imperfective takes the agreement features in person and number of its external argument, which, in these examples, are overtly marked. The verbs and auxiliaries, in example 68, agree with their subjects in number and person. In example 68, the objects *khau* and *pado* are unmarked and the verbs do not agree with these objects. This is due to the Silverstein hierarchy, where the higher NPs tend to get precedence in feature markings:

67. Mohan chang-u Kulc Du  
name-NOM boy-ACC beat-IMPF be-PRE- 3SG  
Mohan hits the boy.

68. Doga kha Pado Dwe  
they-nom food-ACC cook-PROG be-PST  
They were cooking the food.

The verbs show agreement with ‘A’ i.e., their external argument in perfective aspect as well. This type of agreement is not a straight forward phenomenon. In languages, particularly in case of ergative languages, expected agreement alignment in perfective aspect

will be the verbs agreeing with the objects or when the object is overtly marked, the verbs take default form:

69. gi ju kamang lanlan tok  
 i-NOM this work do-PERF BE-PST-1SG

I have done this work.

70. Pinki Rang bowa Simla Bibi du/ nito  
 Name-NOM and father Place go-PERF be-PRE/ FUT-SG  
 Pinki and father have/ will have gone to Simla.

The verbs, in these examples, in perfective aspects agree with their subjects. The perfective is marked by reduplication of the main verb in Kinnauri (in most cases), be- verb, i.e., auxiliaries (tok, nito, du) in such constructions appear like a light verb (LV) instead of its usual role of an inflectional entities. In these examples, the light verbs affect the marking of agreement features of the verb and its subject i.e. ‘A’. This LV marks for tense and aspect and subject markings where as the main verb carries the semantic meaning of the verb with the LV. In Kinnauri ditransitive or three place predicate sentences, dO can be marked or unmarked, but IO is always marked. Verb agrees with subject in imperfectives, ex. (71) and the verb takes default form in perfective, example (72):

71. Tanvi angu Hindi huchid du  
 name- me- Hindi teach- be-  
 NOM ACC IMPERF PRE

Tanvi teaches me Hindi.

72. mansi-sinki Angu Kitab keke  
 name-NOM me-DAT book-ACC give

Mansi gave the book to me.

### c. Object Agreement in Kinnaur

Ergative languages conform object agreement to the ergative alignment where the subject is overtly marked and the verb is not able to agree with it. The verb instead agrees with object argument which is in bare form. But in Kinnauri, object agreement is very rare: verb either agrees with ‘A’ argument, if the subject is unmarked, or it takes default form. Kinnauri show object agreement only with the first and second person pronouns. The object marker is suffixed with the main verb. Object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

73. doga-s Angu Kucis  
 they-ERG me-DAT call-OBJ-PST-3P

They called me.

74. Gi kasturi-pang Tangak  
 i-NOM name-ACC see-PST

I saw Kasturi.

75. mansi-s Ral Jashid

name-ERG    rice-ACC            eat-PST  
Mansi ate rice.

In examples 74 and 75, object agreement is absent when the object is third person. Object-verb agreement arise when subject ceases to control the agreement of verb and giving rise to ergativity where subject loses control over agreement due to being overtly case marked and direct object of transitive verb which is in bare form controls the agreement.

- 
- <sup>1</sup> In order to trigger verbal agreement by subject or object, requirement is that the participant, i.e., subject or object, should be bare form in order to facilitate agreement.
  - <sup>2</sup> Several studies are available in Hindi- Urdu on ergative and transitivity association. See Kachru (1981) for details.
  - <sup>3</sup> Lot many theories are floating regarding the use of absolutive in place of accusative to mark direct object of transitive verb, we do not intend to resolve that debate and will simply adopt absolutive to mark dO.

### References

- Bickel, B., & Nichols, J. (2009). Case Marking and Alignment. *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. 304-321
- Butt, Miriam. (1993). Object Specificity and Agreement in Hindi/Urdu. In *Papers from the 29th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. 80-103.
- Das, P. K. (2006). *Grammatical Agreement in Hindi-Urdu and its Major Varieties*. München: Lincom
- Dixon, R. M. W. (1979). *Ergativity*. *Language* 55, 59-138.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. (2005). Argument Marking in Ditransitive Alignment Types. *Linguistic Discovery* 3(1), 1-21
- Kachru, Y. (1981). Transitivity and Volitionality in Hindi. *Studies in the Linguistics Sciences*, 11, 181-93.
- Kroeger. P. (2005). *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Negi, H. (2012). Sociolinguistic Profile of Kinnauri. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 105-11.
- Siewierska, A., & D. Bakker. (2009). Case and Alternative Strategies: Word Order and Agreement Marking. In A. Malchukov and A. Spencer. *The Oxford Handbook of Case* (pp. 290-303) Oxford: Oxford University Press