CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCE OF DOMINANT REGIONAL LANGUAGES ON AS
Chapter 6

Influence of dominant regional languages on AS

6.0 Introduction

In multi-lingual context, it is generally seen that the dominant language has an effect on minor languages. In the process of linguistic interactions, socio-linguistic phenomenon like borrowing of lexical items and linguistic features of the dominant language is quite inevitable. The inclusion of this study is mainly to substantiate the claim of AS to be essentially different from NS. Since this is not an exhaustive comparative study between AS and NS, therefore, this Chapter specifically looks into the AS and NS argument selection, assessing the influence of Assamese. This includes a cross linguistic analysis of the aspectual properties of the verb types in these languages and the argument selection. The hypothesis taken is that AS inherits the feature of NS from where it originates, but since, in Assam, it has been in constant contact with Assamese and Bangla over a long period of time, it also has incorporated the features of the dominant languages.

The analysis of the predicates in AS, in the previous chapters shows a degree of continuum between stative to dynamic. This, eventually, determines the argument selection in the language. In AS, we find that the basic predicate type retains similarities with NS, for instance, the verb ah- is same in both AS and NS. However, the use of the verb in AS reflects influences of Assamese verb ase ‘have/exist’. In this chapter, I shall be discussing some selected verbs like hɔ-, ah- and lag- as these verbs are present in AS, NS and Assamese languages, with variation in their aspectual uses. The division or categorization of these predicates into aspectual categories such as ‘event’ ‘process’ ‘accomplishment’ reflects influences of Assamese language. Besides, AS has compound verbs with the use of light verbs’ like ‘do’, ‘give’, ‘take’, ‘come’ and so on which are quite integral part in Indo-Aryan predicates structure (Masica 1991, Mohanan 1994). The cross linguistic analysis of these verbs in AS, NS and Assamese, clearly brings forth
some fascinating influences of the dominant language. Furthermore, some morpho-syntactic variations with regard to the uses of postpositions and passive morphology have been observed in AS.

6.1 Verb ho-

In NS, the verb ho-ek ‘to be’ has three manifestations as hek–/ah–ek ‘existential use’ naikhe having the negative connotation of the same. hek– for ‘assertion’, rah– ‘state/situation’ and ho-ek and bhek imply ‘event’ or ‘process/change’ (Goswami 1976:35).

In Table 5 (see §1.3.3.1 in Chapter 1), we see that, the copula verb ho- is the future tense form copula in AS, derived from the present tense copula hek-. The verb ho– ‘become/happen’ in AS can be used in progressive aspect with the marker –ṭ/-aṭ. It has a perfective sense with the past tense marker –l (§ 3.3.2, Chapter 3). This verb is exclusively used to mean ‘become/happen’. The Assamese equivalent of ‘become/happen’ has similar aspectual implications.

In NS, the verb ho- can be used as equative as in (a) just like the verb hek-/lag– in AS and NS (Dey and Barbora, 2012). In AS, the equative use of ho- is not used anymore as in (225). In Assamese, the equivalent of the copula ho- in both equative and attributive sense remains covert.

225. mɔi mastɔr hek–aũ/h–aũ ( NS)
    1SG.NOM teacher COP.PRES-1SG
    ‘I am a teacher’.

226. mɔi mastɔr hek–ð/lag–ð/’h–ð (AS)
    1SG.NOM teacher COP.PRES-1SG
    ‘I am a teacher’.

In (225), the root form ho– when follows the 1st person singular agreement marker –aũ drops its /ɔ/. In AS and Assamese, the physical state of ‘being hungry’ or ‘thirsty’ cannot be denoted by ho-, whereas in NS, ho- can denote ‘state’ as is
evident in Table 14. Here, NS hɔ- is closer to Hindi hona ‘to be’ as in bhuka ho-na ‘be hungry’ or piyasa ho-na ‘being thirsty’.

In AS, there is one instance of the copular use of hɔ- being used in present imperfective constructions. It does not have the past and future form. It is mostly used in attributive constructions as in (227).

227. cini mitha hɔ-ɛ-la
sugar.NOM sweet be-3SG-PRES IMPERF

‘Sugar is sweet’

In (227) hɔ- functions as an attributive copula indicating universal truth. The root form is inflected for the default 3rd person singular agreement marker followed by the present imperfective marker –la. The copula hɔ- is homophonous with the future tense form of the equative copula. However, both the copular forms are different in terms of their function. The hɔ- form cannot be used in equative clauses or to link NP with another NP, such as, (227).

228. *mɔi mastɔr hɔ-ɛ-la
1SG.NOM teacher COP.PRES-3SG.IMPERF

The ungrammaticality of (228) shows that present imperfective copula hɔ-differs from the equative copula hɔ- in (227).

Again, in case of physical ailment like bemar ‘illness’, the verb in AS is hɔ- ‘become/happen’ both in perfective –ɛ and progressive–ɑɡ/-f takes experiencer subject. In AS examples, in §3.3.1.2 of Chapter 3, we see that the subject of such verb takes genitive case –r. Examples (105b-c) of Chapter 3 are repeated here as (229).

229. mɔ-r bimar ho-ɛ/hɔ-ɑɡ/hɔ-ɛ AS
I-GEN ailment happen-PERF/PROG AUX-PRES-3SG

‘I have ailment/am suffering from ailment.’

In Assamese, both hoise and hol denote ‘perfect’=‘accomplishment’, and hoi ase denote ‘progressive’= ‘process’. In Assamese, ho-i as implies progressive
aspect while, the suffixification of as with ho-i results in perfective aspect\textsuperscript{20}. The verb hoise and hol in Assamese imply perfective aspect and both agrees with nominative subject in person as in ho-is/hol-u ‘become-1p’ ho-is/hol-a ‘become-2p’ ho-is/hol-e ‘become-3p’. In case of genitive subject both take the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person default agreement marker. Besides, there are two fossilized forms of hoise and hol termed as quasi copula by Chowdhary (2011). In Assamese, the present tense copula ho- can occur in equative and attributive constructions. The copula constructions denoting state does not take the process and event implications, and thus yield ungrammatical construction with adverb phrase like e bos-or-ot /e bosor dhori ‘in a year/ for a year’ as in (230). With personal attributive hoko ‘fat’\textsuperscript{21} the subject is in nominative case with the thematic role of rheme.

230. *hi e bosor-ot-e /dhori bor hoko hoi

\hspace{1cm}3P.NOM \hspace{0.5cm}in a year /for a year \hspace{0.5cm}much \hspace{0.5cm}fat \hspace{0.5cm}COP.PRES

However, ‘becoming fat’ can be seen as a process with hoi ase in progressive aspect. But it cannot have a temporal endpoint and thus is not possible with the phrase ‘in a year’.

231. hi *e bosor-ot-e /dhori bor hoko hoi ase

\hspace{1cm}3P.NOM \hspace{0.5cm}in a year /for a year \hspace{0.5cm}much \hspace{0.5cm}fat \hspace{0.5cm}become-PERF AUX.PRES

Lit: ‘He is a becoming fat for one year.’

On the other hand, hol and hoise refer to perfective aspect and goes with telic property as ‘in a year’.

232. hi e bosor-ot-e /dhori bor hoko hol/hoise

\hspace{1cm}3P.NOM \hspace{0.5cm}in a year /for a year \hspace{0.5cm}much \hspace{0.5cm}fat \hspace{0.5cm}become.PERF

Lit: ‘He has become very fat in a year’

\textsuperscript{20} Masica (1991:271) states that in Assamese dekhi asilo mean ‘I was seeing’ while, dekhisilo means ‘I had seen’.

\textsuperscript{21} The Assamese data have been collected from the native speakers.
Chowdhary (2011) mentions some non-copular use of *hoise* in Assamese.

233. kagɔz heh hoise
    paper end be-IPFV-3p
    ‘The stock of paper has run out.’

Chowdhary (2011) states that the present indefinite form of *hɔ*- with a ‘habitual reading’ can be used as in (234). Here, the adverb ‘often’ is mandatory.

234. lora tu-r praye ohuk ho-e
    boy CL-GEN often illness COP-3
    ‘The boy often falls sick.’

235. lora tu-r oḥuk
    boy CL-GEN illness
    ‘The boy is sick.’

It is noteworthy that the subject of *hɔ*- in Assamese as event, accomplishment or process is usually an experiencer. Chowdhary (2011:206) further states that in Assamese, ‘in the presence of nominals encoding some physical ailment like ohuk ‘illness’ anɔndɔ ‘happiness’, dukh ‘sadness’, kɔsto ‘hardship’ and so on, the subject has the semantic role of an experiencer, marked by the genitive case-*r*’.

The genitive case marking can be seen as a possible influence of Assamese. In NS example (236), the experiencer subject NP of physical ailment takes the dative case –*kɛ*, while, in similar AS construction (229), the subject takes the genitive –*r*. In NS, the subject of both the perfective and progressive *hɔ*- takes a dative subject.

236. mɔ-kɛ bimar ho-e ho-t h–ɛ
    I-DAT ailment happen-PERF/-PROG AUX-PRES-3SG
    Lit: ‘To me ailment has happened.’
Again, in AS, with predicates implying physical ailment, intension/desire and non-volitional action, the subjects mostly take the genitive case –r/-ker. On the other hand, in NS, dative case ke is used with such predicate types. The difference is illustrated in (237a-b).

237. (a) mɔ-ke o-ker  saɛ  bheʃ  hɔ-l-ak  (NS)  
I-DAT  3SG-GEN  ASSO  meet  happen-PAST-3SG
   Lit: ‘My meeting with him happened’
   ‘I happened to meet him.’

(b) mɔ-r o-ker  say  bheʃ  hɔ-l-ak  (AS)  
I-GEN  3SG-GEN  ASSO  meet  happen-PAST-3SG
   Lit: ‘My meeting with him happened.’
   ‘I happened to meet him.’

In AS, the verb root hɔ- ‘happen/become’ can be used to imply an event, process and accomplishment just like the verb hɔ- ‘become/happen’ in Assamese. The aspectual properties of the verb can be shown as a continuum between stative and dynamic. Besides, in AS, the hɔ- verb form takes a genitive subject like that of Assamese. This is a significant difference between NS and AS, that the verb hɔ- in AS has lost its use as equative and attributive copula. Unlike the NS, the verb form, bhek ‘become/happen’, is seldom used in AS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Dynamic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hɔ- (imperfective)</td>
<td>hɔ- (event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔ- (teleic)</td>
<td>hɔ- (atelic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔ-t (progressive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig 35 The aspectual hierarchy of verb hɔ- in AS

6.2 Verb ah-

The verb ah- has similar implication in AS and NS. The Assamese counterpart of the verb is as- ‘have/exist’. The existential/possessive verb ahe in AS and ase in
Assamese can occur with nominal as conjunct to imply a ‘physical and mental state’, whereas, in NS, it is normally the $h\circ$– and $hek$– verb. This verb can be used as auxiliary followed by the conjunctive participial form of the main verb in AS, NS and Assamese denoting a ‘state’.

Table 19 The implications of the verb $ah$– and $as$–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhuk-$\circ$</td>
<td>bhuk-$a$ ahe</td>
<td>bhuk-$o$ t ase</td>
<td>‘be hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyas-$\circ$</td>
<td>piyas-$a$ ahe</td>
<td>piah-$o$ t ase</td>
<td>‘be thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dukhi hek</td>
<td>dukhi hek /ahe</td>
<td>dukh-$o$ t ase</td>
<td>‘be sad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garam ahe</td>
<td>garam ahe</td>
<td>gorom ase/hoi</td>
<td>‘heat exist/be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beram ahe</td>
<td>beram ahe</td>
<td>zor/$\circ$uhk ase</td>
<td>‘illness exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moir ahe</td>
<td>moir ahe</td>
<td>mor-$i$ ase</td>
<td>‘be in decaying state’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukh-$ai$ ahe</td>
<td>sukh-$ai$ ahe</td>
<td>huka-$i$ ase</td>
<td>‘be in dry condition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon ahe</td>
<td>mon ahe</td>
<td>mon ase</td>
<td>‘mental state’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carlson (1977) finds that adjectives do not always behave in uniform ways. He divides them into stages and individuals depending upon their temporary and permanent nature, respectively. In AS, the attributive copula form $ah$– is used if the adjectives denote temporary or less permanent attributes (Dey and Barbora, 2012). In Table 19, we see that, attributes indicating physical state in AS and Assamese occurs with $ah$– and $as$–, respectively. In NS equivalents, $h\circ$– and $hek$– are used. The attributive use of $ah$– can be seen as a possible influence of Assamese.

In NS, $ah$– function as copula and also as auxiliary (Navarangi 1965, Goswami, 1976). Similarly, in AS, it functions as a copula in (238) and as an auxiliary in (239).
“Argument selection in Sadani/Sadri as spoken in Assam”

238. moi ghar me ah–ō (AS)
1SG.NOM home POSP COP.PRES-1SG
‘I am at home.’

239. moi khana kha-f ah–ō (AS)
1SG.NOM meal eat-PROG COP.PRES-1SG
‘I am having my meal.’

In (238) ah– functions as copula that occurs at the clause final position and in (239) ah– functions as an auxiliary that follows the main verb kha ‘eat’.

Similar phenomenon can be seen in Assamese. The equivalent of ahɛ in Assamese is the verb ase ‘have/exist’. It can have a stative reading but when used as an auxiliary verb, it has a progressive sense.

240. hi ghor-oṭ as-e (Assamese)
3SG.M ghar-LOC EXIST-3P
‘He is at home’

241. hi bhaṭ kha-i as-e (Assamese)
3SG.M rice eat-NF COP.PRES-3
Lit: ‘He is eating rice.’

In example (240), the auxiliary verb as-e ‘COP.PRES-3’ follows the main verb kʰa-i ‘eat-NF’ indicating progressive aspect of the action.

In Assamese the verb as can be overt in de-verbal adverb phrase (Chowdhary 2011). In Table 19, there is a list of conjuncts with the verb AS ah– and Assamese

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22 According to Post (2005), in Assamese, ‘the verb stem as in a simple predication has the sense of ‘have /exist’, while as a chain-final serial verb, it gives progressive aspect; interpretation of event-sequence is impossible’. He illustrates this with example given below:

moi pela-i as -u
1NOM drop-NF PROG-1.SUB
‘I am dropping/tossing.’
*‘I drop and then I am here.’
In AS, *ahe* can occur as conjunct with *mon ahe* meaning ‘desire’, with the subject usually taking the genitive experiencer role.

242. mɔ-r sadri bol-ek mon ahe

    I-GEN sadri talk-NF mind have/EXIST.PRES

    ‘I have a desire to speak in Sadri.’

Similarly, in Assamese, the implication of the N+V conjunct *mon ase* ‘desire’ is more stative where the subject takes the genitive case.

243. ,fa-r porh-at mon ase

    3SG-GEN read-LOC mind have/EXIST.PRES

    Lit: ‘he has the mind to study’

A comparison of the above analysis with NS data shows that the subjects of such conjunct, though denotes a mental state, takes dative case.

244. mɔ-ke sadri bol-ek mon ahe

    I-DAT sadri talk-NF mind have/EXIST.PRES

    ‘I have a desire to speak in Sadri.’

In the same way, the subjects of verbs implying ‘intension’ or ‘desire’ take dative case in NS, and genitive case in AS as in (244a) and (244b), respectively. In NS, genitive case is exclusively used for possessive implication as in (245).

[Goswami, 1976:54]

245. gaō-ker iskol bagra sānder hai

    village-GEN school very beautiful COP.PRES

    ‘The village school is very beautiful.’

From the preceding discussion, it can be concluded that the use of genitive case in non-possessive implication can be seen as the influence of Assamese and
Bangla. The investigation, thus, brings forth the aspectual hierarchy of *ah*- verb in AS, shown in figure 36. Similar hierarchy applies for *as*- in Assamese.

![Aspectual hierarchy of ah- verb in AS]

**Stative**

\[ ahe \ (have/\text{exist}) > \text{sundor ahe} \ (\text{attributive}) > \text{mon ahe} \ (\text{desire}) > ahe \ (\text{progressive}) \]

*Fig 36* The aspectual hierarchy of verb *ah*- in AS

### 6.3 Verb *lag-*

In AS, the verb *lag*- has different interpretations. The subject of the verb *lag*- meaning ‘start or begin’ is usually nominative and agentive. The verb *lag*- ‘want/feel’ normally takes a dative subject (see § 3.2.1, Chapter 3). The former is dynamic while, the latter is an experiencer verb. Again, we have seen that *lag*- can also have attributive and equative implication. Thus, these implications form a continuum ranging from dynamic to stative. The use of *lag*- verb, in NS, AS and Assamese is illustrated in Table 20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. hās-ek lag-</td>
<td>hās-ek lag-</td>
<td>hāh-ibo dhori/‘begin to laugh’</td>
<td><strong>Dynamic</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lag</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. kachia lag-</td>
<td>poisa lag-</td>
<td>poisa lag-</td>
<td>‘want money’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. cōt lag-</td>
<td>cōt lag-</td>
<td>dhuk pa-</td>
<td>‘hurt feel’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. dā-ek lag-</td>
<td>dā-ek lag-</td>
<td>zabo lag-</td>
<td>‘obligation’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. aa-ek lag-</td>
<td>aa-ek lag-</td>
<td>ahibo lag-</td>
<td>‘obligation’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. sundor hai/*lag-</td>
<td>sundor lag-</td>
<td>dhuniya lag-</td>
<td>‘beautiful be’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.*mastor lag-</td>
<td>mastor lag-</td>
<td>*mastor lag-</td>
<td>‘teacher be’</td>
<td><strong>Stative</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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23 The use of genitive case in Bangla is exemplified in *ama-r jor hoeche* ‘I have/ am suffering from fever.’
The verb *lag-* ‘start or begin’ in AS and NS has a dynamic implication and takes a nominative subject. In Assamese, the equivalent light verb would be *dhor* ‘catch’. Thus, the use of *lag-* with an intransitive verb *hãh* ‘laugh’ in Assamese would be ungrammatical as shown in (a) in Table 20. However, in transitive construction, with the de-verbal form *kam-aŋ* ‘at work/work’ it is possible with similar meaning. This is exemplified in (246),

246. hi  
ah-e  
*kam-aŋ*  
*lagil*  
3SG.NOM  
come-CP-EMPH  
work-LOC  
start-PAST

‘The moment he came, he started working’

In AS, the verb *lag-* is also used as equative/attributive copula as in (226) in § 6.1. In contrast, the verb *lag-* is absent in NS, rather, the negative form *nalage* is used in negative constructions (Kiran, 2003). Table 20 shows that in NS, the verb *lag-* is not possible either as equative or attributive copula.

The difference between NS and AS copula\(^{24}\) can be seen in terms of form as well as in usage. For instance, the *hek-* form is present both in NS and AS as an equative copula.

247. *moi*  
mastɔr  
*hek-aũ/h-aũ/*lag-aũ*  
(NS)  
1SG.NOM  
teacher  
COP.PRES-1SG

‘I am a teacher’.

In (247), the copula *hek-ō / h-āũ ‘COP.PRES -1SG’ equates the subject NP *moi* ‘1SG’ with another NP *mastɔr* ‘teacher’. In NS, both *hek-* and *h-* operates as equative copula. Whereas, in AS, only *hek-ō /lag-ō* can function as equative copula not *h-ō*. This is exemplified in (226) in § 6.1. The difference could be seen

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\(^{24}\) The copular elements in NS are *hek-, he-, ah- and rah- in the positive form and two negative forms *nalak-e* and *nalage* Kiran (2003:52). As in AS, the NS variants *hek-, he/h- and ah- are copulas in the present form, *rah- is in the past form.
between NS and AS in terms of the agreement features. The 1st person singular agreement marker inflected to the hek– form in NS is –aũ, and that of AS is – ō.

In Assamese, lag– can be used as attributive copula as in (248) and (249) both in more permanent and less permanent context.

248. *tai-k hodai dhunia lag–e*

3-ACC always beautiful COP-3

‘She always looks beautiful.’

249. *tai-k azi dhunia lag–is-e*

3-ACC always beautiful COP-3

Lit: ‘Today she is looking beautiful.’

On the basis of the above analysis, it can be concluded that the aspectual properties of lag- verb in AS, can also be seen as a continuum ranging from the proto-typical stative reading to the dynamic one. This has been illustrated with the help of figure 37. In NS, the verb lag- is more of the dynamic nature. The influence of Assamese with regard to the attributive use of lag- is evident from the analysis of the above data. Furthermore, this could also be a reason behind the extended use of lag- as equative copula in AS.

![Fig 37 The aspectual hierarchy of verb lag- in AS](image)

The above analysis shows how the use of the verb ho-, ah- and lag- have been influenced by the dominant language. These verbs primarily having stative meaning can be used as a range of meanings between stative and dynamic.

Besides, these, there are other compound verbs, specifically verbs like ‘do’, ‘give’, ‘take’, ‘go’ etc, in NS, AS and Assamese that share similarities to a great extent (see appendix 4). This list of compound verbs exhibits some similarities with
other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Bangla, and so on. The use of light verb kar ‘do’ suggests ‘process’ or ‘activity’. The verb ḍa ḍa ‘go’ suggests ‘event’ and ‘passivized action’. This also denotes ‘motion away from reference point’ as in bhuil ḍa-ek ‘to forget’, cail ḍa-ek ‘go away’. On the other hand, aa ‘come’ indicates motion towards reference point as in, ghār aa ‘come home’ yad aa ‘remember’ or ‘come to memory’. Again, the tentative use of dekh ‘see’ with some verbs have similar meanings in Hindi dekhugaa ‘see.FUT.M’ and Bangla dekh-b-o ‘see-fut-1p’. The light verb de ‘give’ vs le ‘take’ has similar connotation like that of ‘for someone else’ and ‘do something for oneself’, respectively. It is noteworthy, that there are some instances, where direct borrowing has taken place from Assamese to AS as in ḍṣap mara ‘jump’, ḍa-ek lag ‘go-NF need’ meaning ‘obligation’. Again, in some cases, the light verb has the same meaning like that of the dominant language. A few of them are mentioned in Table 21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhāi ḍa</td>
<td>hoi ḍa</td>
<td>hoi za</td>
<td>‘happened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruis khis-a</td>
<td>raag uth</td>
<td>khong uth-a</td>
<td>‘be angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭala lag-</td>
<td>ṭala mar</td>
<td>ṭola mor-a</td>
<td>‘to lock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuid de</td>
<td>ḍṣap mar</td>
<td>zap mor-a</td>
<td>‘to jump’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.4 Influence of Assamese on AS case marking

In Hindi and the eastern Indo-Aryan languages, like Bangla, Assamese, Oriya, Bhojpuri, there are similarities in the case marking system and in the use of postpositions. For instance, the nominative is unmarked in all these languages and the dative/accusative are homophonous (Masica, 1991). According to Navarangi (1965:48) and Goswami (1976), arguments in NS may take nominative, accusative, instrumental, benefactive, ablative genitive and locative case. The case markers are mostly free morphemes or postpositions. As far as the influence of Assamese on the AS case system is concerned, it is observed that AS has retained most of the
case feature of NS, except for the ablative \textit{\textit{le}} and the allative used of it in NS. Moreover, the genitive –\textit{k} is no longer used in AS.

250. \textit{\textit{hamreman-\textit{ok} des bhara\textit{f hai}} (NS) [Goswami,1976]}

1PL-GEN country India COP.PRES

‘India is our country.’

251. \textit{\textit{hamreman-\textit{ker des bhara\textit{f hek-\textit{e}}} (AS)}

1PL-GEN country India COP.PRES-3SG

‘India is our country.’

Objects in the adjunct position or oblique objects take instrument, ablative, dative, illative, associative case in both NS and AS. In case of oblique object, it has been observed that certain postpositions in NS that are no longer used in AS. They are discussed in the following sub-sections.

6.4.1 Associative \textit{\textit{sa\textit{e}}} in NS and \textit{\textit{sage}} in AS

Associative case refers to the relationship of the NP in the object position with that of the NP in the subject position. Associative case differs from instrumental case in that it refers to animate nouns, whereas, instrumental case generally refers to inanimate nouns. In NS, the marker for the associative case is \textit{\textit{sa\textit{e}}} while, in AS it is \textit{\textit{sage}}.

252. (a) \textit{\textit{apan baap sa\textit{e} mangra a-l-ak}} (NS)

self father ASSO mangra come-PAST-3SG

‘Mangra came with his father.’

(b) \textit{\textit{apan/ni\textit{dze-r baa-r sage mangra a-l-ak}}} (AS)

self father-GEN ASSO mangra come-PAST-3SG

‘Mangra came with his father.’
In (252b), the compound postposition –ɾ saŋɛ ‘-GEN ASSO’ occurring after the NP 
ṣita ‘Sita’ indicates associative case. But in the NS example in (252a) the associative does not take the genitive base. The use of associative saŋɛ with genitive base –ɾ purely shows the influence of Assamese –ɾ logɔ or Bangla –ɾ fɔŋe.

6.4.2 Ablative le in NS and se in AS

Ablative case is associated with motion away from a source. This case generally indicates ‘removal from’. In AS, is marked by the post position se, while, in NS, it is the postposition le as in (255a)

253. mɔi badaʃar se a-l- ṭ
I.NOM market ABL come-PAST-1SG
‘I came from the market.’

The primary usage of ablative is to mark the location from which an object/person starts its motion. The object includes both physical and abstract. The ablative case marker se indicate abstract property of an individual, as has been expressed in (254).

254. ɔ mon se ɡiṭ-qṭ h-ɛ
3SG.NOM heart ABL sing-PROG AUX.PRES-3SG
Lit: ‘He/she sings from the heart.’

In (254), the ablative case marker se indicates that the song, which is an abstract thing, is coming from within the person (from his/her heart). In other words, it indicates that the person is singing a soulful song.

255.(a) gach le aam gir-l-ak
(NS)
tree ABL mango fell-PAST-3SG
‘A mango fell from the tree.’
(b) gach se aam gir-l-ak (AS)
  tree ABL mango fell-PAST-3SG
  ‘A mango fell from the tree.’

In NS, ablative le and dative le are homophonous\(^25\). According to Peterson (2010) in NS ablative le can also be used as allative sense as in (256).

256. se=khan le hamre=man=ke cik baraik kah-al (NS)
  that=time EXT 1NSG=PL=OBL chik baraik say-PTCP
  ja-t=he aij le
  PASS-IPFV=PRES.3SG today EXT
  ‘Since that time we are called ‘Chik Baraik’ until today.’

On the contrary, in AS, le is exclusively used as dative postposition. The ablative se is not used in allative sense, rather, the postposition tak would be used to refer to such ‘temporal distance’.

6.5 Passive morphology in NS and AS

The perfective participle –al is used as the passive morphology with causative implication, in both AS and NS. Nevertheless, in NS, the perfective marker –e/-ae, along with –al, is used having causative implication, which is not there in AS.

257. etowa se birsi ke citthi bhed-ae ge-l-ak
  etowa INSTR birsi ACC letter send-PERF go-PAST-3SG
  Lit: ‘Birsi was sent a letter by Etowa.’

\(^{25}\) Peterson (2010) has identified the phoneme as front close mid vowel /e/ in NS words ablative/dative le and , therefore, the same data has been represented here. However, I have used the front open mid vowel /ɛ/ in NS data translated from (Navarangi, 1965 and Goswami, 1976) to maintain a consistency throughout the work.
258. ɛtowa se  ɛgilas-thɛ  bhaŋ-al  ɣe-l-ak
etowa INSTR  glass-CL  break-PPL  go-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘The glass was broken by Etowa by me.’

In AS, the non finite –ɛk, is used as passive morphology as in (216a) in § 5.3.6, Chapter 5 repeated here as (259a). The use of non finite –ɛk form can be seen as Assamese influence as shown in (259b).

259. (a) (mɔ-r)  ʃian  kat-ɛk  hɔ-l-ak  (AS)
   I-GEN  vegetable  cut-NF  happen-PAST-3SG
Lit: ‘(My) vegetables cutting is done.’

(b) (moŋ)  bhət  randh-a  hol  (Assamese)
   (I-GEN)  rice.NOM  cook-NF  COP-PAST
Lit: ‘(My) cooking is done.’

In both AS and Assamese, the impersonal passives take the non finite form of the verb –ɛk in (259a) and –a in (259b), respectively.

In AS, we see that the causative and passive morphology do not interact. The perfective participle –al in passivisation has a causative connotation. This is unlike, Assamese, Bangla and Hindi passivized causative construction where the causative marker precedes the passive marker or morphology. However, in NS, there are instances, where, causative–passive interaction can be seen in certain cases. According to Goswami (1976:68) in NS, passivisation apart from the perfective –ɛ marker and participial marker –al, it can take the progressive aspect as in followed by the causative –aa. These are two rare instances, with such morphology. Since he has not provided the Hindi translation; it is difficult to get the context in which it is used. However, there is a strong possibility of such constructions being used as imperfective reading.
260. (a) **dardʒi kamidʒ si-aʔ h-ɛ** (Active sentence)
tailor.NOM dress.NOM stitch-PROG AUX.PRES-3SG

‘The tailor is stitching dress.’

(b) **dardʒi se kamidʒ si-aa-ʔ h-ɛ** (Passive sentence)
tailor INSTR dress.NOM stitch-DC-PROG AUX.PRES-3SG

‘The dress is being stitched by the tailor.’

In (260b) the subject takes the oblique instrumental case *se* and the verb is inflected for the direct causative marker *–aa* followed by the progressive marker *–ʔ* finally followed by the auxiliary *he*. Similarly, in (260b) the passive meaning has been derived by instrumental *se* with the subject and the causative *–aa* suffixed to the verb in progressive aspect. The direct causative marker *–aa* is evident in the passive construction (261), cited from Goswami (1976:55).

261. (a) **ram bhat kha-ʔ h-ɛ**
ram.NOM rice eat-PROG AUX-3SG

Lit: ‘Ram is eating rice (cooked).’

(b) **ram se bhat khi-aa-ʔ h-ɛ**
ram INSTR rice eat-DC-PROG AUX-3SG

Lit: ‘Rice (cooked) is being eaten by Ram.’

262. **cori-ke mal samet cor dhɔr-aa-l-ak**
thief-ACC goods with thief catch-DC-PAST-3SG

‘The thief has been caught along with the stolen things.’

There could be other factors that led to the loss of the causative marker in AS passivisation, which needs to be looked into in detail.

This chapter has attempted to provide a brief account of the language change and influences of the dominant languages that have taken place in case of AS from that of NS spoken in Chota Nagpur Plateau. Both the varieties differ in phonology, morphology, and lexical items as has been discussed in Chapter 1. Focusing mainly
on the argument selection rules in AS, it is interesting to note that the use of lag- and ah- verb as equative and attributive copula can be seen as a possible influence of Assamese. Again, in case of subject case, the use of genitive case can be seen as influence of Assamese and Bangla for certain predicates, which in NS take the dative case. For instance, predicates like bimar hoi he ‘fever happen’ and mon ahe ‘desire’ select an experiencer subject in both NS and AS. But the subject selected by these verbs takes dative ke in NS, whereas, in AS, it is the genitive –r/-ker. In case of object case, there are certain postposition in NS like ablative le and associative saε that is no more used in AS. The use of associative saε with genitive base –r purely shows the influence of Assamese –r logε or Bangla –r foε. Again, in passivisation the use of non finite –ek in impersonal passives can be seen as the influence of dominant regional languages. In causative-passive interaction, we see that unlike Assamese and Bangla or Hindi the causative markers do not co-occur with the passive morphology, rather the perfective participle marker –al gives the causative implication.

6.6. Conclusion

The study of the argument selection provides a detailed discussion of the arguments and the predicates in AS. The proto-role approach makes it easy to understand the differences in argument realization in the natural language, which otherwise seems so complicated. At a descriptive level, the thesis has attempted to categorise the arguments in terms of their proto-properties; also the verbal properties and their proto-entailments. This categorisation ultimately explains the selection of the arguments to their associated argument structure position (ASO). The analysis reinforces the notion that a two-way understanding of the verbal properties and that the argument properties are important. Verbs are divided primarily into stative and dynamic. Likewise, the arguments can be understood as prototypes and non-prototypes. In addition, it is necessary to realize that these categories and their properties are not air-tight, but their meaning overlap. They intrude into the each
other’s properties. Thus, the study demonstrates how this overlapping of meaning or properties is always in a degree continuum.

In AS, the nominative subjects can have the thematic roles of agent, experiencer, and rhemes which can be arranged in a continuum between dynamic and stative verbs. The dynamic verbs have the tendency to take agentive subjects whereas, the less dynamic verbs have the tendency to assign non-agentive subjects. The involvement of dative subjects in the action or the experience, even though non-volitional, can be shown as a degree of continuum between dynamic non-volitional followed by mental state and finally physical state, expressed by the verb. Similarly, the involvement of genitive subjects in the action can be seen as a continuum between agent and patient roles. The analysis shows that the predicates indicating dynamic mental states ensure more involvement of the subject followed by predicates denoting physical states, events and finally states or possessions. Locative subjects indicate abstract location, having the semantic role of goal and thus occurs after the patient role in the thematic hierarchy.

The object, like that of the subjects can be arranged in a thematic hierarchy, where the patient outranks the theme, which again outranks the oblique objects. The argument that occupy the direct object position do not always entail all the proto-patient properties like undergoing ‘change of state’ and ‘incremental theme’ and so on. Depending upon the nature of the verb type, some objects undergo change of state physically, and some undergo the change mentally. On the other hand, there are some that do not undergo any definite change or are not affected by the action. Analysis of the AS data shows that, not all verbs imply totally affected objects. The degree of affectedness can be seen as a continuum between more affected and less affected patients. The dynamic action verbs that physically affect the arguments are considered to be proto-typical patients followed by arguments that are mentally affected, as that of ‘scold’ and ‘remember’, followed by perception verbs like ‘see’ and finally by stative verb ‘know’. In case of oblique objects, locative me/opre, implies affectedness with dynamic verb biswas kar ‘trust do’ to whereas, with stative ahe ‘have’ it implies non-affectedness.
In monotransitive constructions can take the role of a patient or theme, whereas in ditransitive constructions, the direct object is normally the theme. The indirect objects with the thematic role of the recipient and beneficiary come next to it in the hierarchy. The theme entails the proto-patient property of undergoing change of position in the sense of being ‘transfer’. The recipient and the beneficiary do not undergo such change. Again, the argument with role of a recipient is the one who ‘receives’, in that sense can be considered more involved in the action than the beneficiary for whom ‘the action is done’ or so to say who is supposed to be ‘benefited by the action’. Thus, the recipient is more affected the beneficiary. Thus, in the hierarchy of ditransitive the theme outranks recipient which again outranks the beneficiary.

The basic problem of grammatical marking, having no one to one correspondence with the thematic roles in argument structure, has been also encountered in causativisation and passivisation. With the help of the aspectual and proto-role theories, some interesting generalization could be made about both causatives and passives in AS. In causativisation, the subject is demoted to the direct object, indirect object and the oblique NP position. The causee NP can take accusative, dative or the instrumental case with regards to the argument position. The alternation of the accusative, dative and instrumental case reflects the degree of control of the causee. In passivisation, the passive subject with the proto-patient role outranks the other non-prototypical patients in degree of affectedness. The passive subject position remains unoccupied in case of impersonal passives. The language also allows passive agent with the instrumental case se/dwara to appear as the passive subject, in certain cases. They are placed at the non-affected end of the scale. In the hierarchy, experiencer arguments with dative ke come next to the patient, followed by the beneficiary and theme and finally the instrumental. It is observed that both the causee and the passive subject adhere to the principles of thematic hierarchy based on the proto-properties, just like the core arguments A, S and O. Proto-properties of causee show that their thematic hierarchy also form a degree of continuum between more agentive and less agentive with instrument se at
one end and accusative ke on the other end of the scale. The passive subject shows the continuum between more affected to less affected patient roles with manifested by the accusative followed by dative and nominative case features.

In short, the predicates can be arranged in a hierarchy, where the dynamic outranks the non-dynamics. The data show that there is no definite demarcation between dynamic and stative; instead they are broken down into further categories showing the degree of control as a continuum between proto-agent and proto-patient. These two roles are placed at the two extreme ends of the scale. The other roles are placed depending upon their tendency towards one of them. In a clause structure, each argument position, be it subject of transitive, direct object, indirect object or any others, reveals the existence of a hierarchy; where the prototype outranks the non-prototypes. Again, each case marked argument (dative, genitive and so on) reveals the existence of a sub-hierarchy, where the proto-typical role outranks the non-prototypical ones. Thus, the relationship between the predicates, argument marking and the argument position consist of these interacting hierarchies. Such a pattern is possible in other Indo-Aryan languages. This has not been dealt with in the present study, but leaves the scope for further investigation.

Finally, the patterns in AS, when contrasted with the patterns in NS show some compelling differences between both the varieties of Sadri. The influence of dominant languages can be seen in the argument marking of AS. The influence is quite prominent and can be seen as a gradual process of language change.