1. The agentive nominative is the case of the grammatical subject of an active transitive verb in the original passive construction, and (as stated in Chapter Three) morphologically it is instrumental, but semantically it, in no sense, is different from the historical nominative.

The fusion of the grammatical subject of an active transitive verb in the original passive construction in the historical or the nominative proper has become a well established phenomena in NIA. As regards its history, it goes back to Apabhrama. Clear instances of the agentive nominative are available from Apabhrama. e.g. 'je mahu ādīnā díaḥadā dai pavaśantaṃ; tāṇa gaṇantie aṅguli jajja riaunaha - n a.- By counting (again and again) (the number of) days which were mentioned to me by my beloved when he set out on his travel (the skin of) my fingers has worn away by the nails. (The first two are expressive of the agent in the passive construction, and the third of the simple instrumental.' Quoted from Wilson Philological Lectures, page 534.

The idiom of the agentive nominative is also very well attested in Avahatta, the proto NIA speech (represented by Kirtilata) e.g. janē jāca kajana raṅji; jen he saraṇacari hira; jen he atatthajana vimana xijja; jen he atatthana bhana. Kirtilata.

Thus, the idiom of the agentive nominative in NIA, owes its origin from Apabhrama through Avahatta and it provides a very interesting feature to the syntax of the nominative of NIA.
2. I bring forth here some of the idioms of the agentive nominative from the different NIA, for a comparative study, and they shall clearly speak of the affinity between the different branches of NIA, as regards the employment of the agentive nominative:

Thus - OWR - adisvāranaīdikṣālidhījānī - having learned that ādisvar had taken the 'dikṣā' (Ādic) devacātēbhagavānanaikidhaute dekhi - the gods having seen what had been done by the verbal One (Ādic) Marathi - tinēmalālavakarayetēmahānūnasāṅgitalē - she told me that she would come soon ekaṃekāsasāhityakarāvēmahānūnāāpānāsaīśvarēyālokīpāthavilēshe - God has sent us on earth to help one another. In Bengali (old, and Middle) e was employed as a common affix for the agentive and the nominative, and were interchanged in OB and in early Middle Bengali, with the complete fusion of the passive construction with the active, the agentive was totally merged into the nominative. But Dr. S.K. Chatterji feels that in the gradual merging of the two cases, i.e. the nominative and the agentive, 'it is not unlikely that there was some influence of the masses of Tibeto-Burmans, in North and East Bengal, who adopted the Aryan speech of Bengal during the formative period of Bengali .........'

(ODBL. §497, page 743.) But this explanation needs a proper clarification. (Also see, Assamese- Its formation and Development §647,285-286)

1. The Indian Antiquary NOV. 1914. Notes on Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani. 225. And also c.f. * The use of n a I as a post-position for the agentive seems to have been growing more and more frequent in the latter form of the language. Now a days it is common not only to Gujarati and to some dialects of Rajasthani such as Mevati and Mālawī, but also, to Western Hindi, Nepali, Pājābī and Marāthi! Ibid.

2. Students Marathi Grammar §587,2,310. and also See. §481,1,268.

3. Syntax of Early and Middle Bengali. §20. page 30 / MSS.
c.f. (Braj) kānha kahyau girī gobacradhāna 
tē aurādevanahīdūjā, gopānī satya 
māniyashalīno bādodevagarirājā-
Kānha said 'there is no other God, besides the mountain Govardhan; 
taking it to be truth, the cowherds regarded the king of mountains 
as a great God.' (Sūrā-Sāgara).

N.B. The idiom of the agentive nominative does not feature in 
Eastern Hindi.

3. The post-positive for the agentive nominative in Hindi is -nē 
(kanauji - nē, Puňjabī - nē, Rājasthānī - ē, -e, ; Mārāwādī -nē, 
Gujārātī-e, Nepālī -lē, Bengālī and Assamese - e ; Marāṭhī - nē 
e, ē, ī, PL nē hī, ī, ī, - vide Comparative Grammar n.57. 262.)
As regards the origin of the agentive -nē, Beames (comparative 
Grammar. page 265) and Kellogg (Hindi Grammar. §196) derive it from 
GIA lāgyā > lāgīo > lāgī > lāi, lē, nē; 
Trump derives it from GIA instrumental sg. -ēna (-ēna > nē.)
But these suggestions cannot be entertained. For reasonsvide 
Hindi Bhasa ka Udgam Auk Vikās. §304. page 440. The most reliable 
and dependable source for -nē is GIA *karnē (karna > nē) 
- as √pṛcch -nā > pṛasānā).1 Thus GIA 

4. The agentive nominative in Hindi (EHP) is employed as the 
grimatical subject in all the tenses of the perfect participle of 
transitive verbs (a) In the passive construction (karami prayog) 
(b) In the impersonal construction (bhāve prayog). (Also see ODBL 
§698. page 967 - 972; and Linguistic Survey of India Vol IX Pt I 
page. 52.

1 Suggested by Dr. Sukumar Sen. See also ODBL. page. 963.
5. The following are the principal uses of the agentive nominative in the language of EBP.

I. (a) Grammatical subject of the verb in past perfect of the passive construction.
(b) Grammatical subject of the verb in past indefinite in (i) the passive construction, and (ii) in the impersonal construction.
(c) Grammatical subject of the verb in present perfect (of the transitive verb) in passive construction.
(d) Grammatical subject of the verbs in conditional past perfect in the passive construction.
(e) Grammatical subject of verbs in presumptive perfect (past subjunctive) of the transitive verb in passive construction.

II. (a) The following four classes of compound verbs (from the transitive perfect participle) when passively constructed, take the agentive nominative.
   (i) Permissive compound (verb).
   (ii) Desiderative compound (verb).
   (iii) Acquisitive compound (verb).
   (iv) Intensive compound (verb).
(b) Grammatical subject of transitive verbs from imperfect participle.
(c) Grammatical subject of intransitive verbs (i.e. in bhave prayog.).

6. Certain transitive verbs from perfect participle are not constructed passively in past tenses, hence they do not employ the agentive nominative.

7. Grammatical subject of the transitive verbs in the past perfect, passively constructed. maine use śrāp diya hai jisne āp ke gale mē marāsāp dālā tē I have cursed him who had kept a dead snake in your
before her arrival some other Brahmin's son had come by accident and had said to the (ambassador's son). BP. 5, 56.

(a) (Impersonal construction) Ganadhar ne raniyao ko kathakahathaa - Ganadhar had told the anecdote to the queens of the palace. AP. 340. maineto kahathaa - I (had) said. Nep. 19. rani ne apani paricarikaa ko bulayathaathe queen had called her maid-servants. RC/MSS.

8. Grammatical subject of the transitive verb in the past indefinite.

(a) Passive construction (b) Impersonal construction.

(a) With passive construction: - aisa vicara srnaika maha raja ne kiya - the king Srenik decided thus - PP. 29. rajaseenikane sri ganadhara deva konamostukahakarasamadhana puchaa, aur praana kiya - having saluted Ganadhar, Srenik asked (from him) solution (of his problems) and put (some) questions. PP. 30. acarya mahaprabhuna neparthvparikramakaari - Acarya Mahaprabhun did the 'parikrama' of the earth. CV. ravana ne jainctaliksaaadari - Ravan adopted Jainism. PP. 340. Krsna ne basural bajarai - Krishna played the pipe. PS. 60. itanibat nasiket ne pita ko sunaia - Nasiket related this to his father. RKK. 21. uske piche maine ghoqi bagachutha kaa - I spurred my horse after it (the deer) RKK. 10. bahnene jalbun ke kahaa - the Brahmin angrily said. RKK. 11.

(b) With Impersonal construction: - dusta mati ravanane mandorika sikaa nanmana - vicious
Rāvaṇa did not acknowledge the teachings of Mandodari. PP. 650.

Kānsane bahān bahānoī ko ēek ghar mē mūd diyā - Kāns imprisoned (his) sister and brother-in-law in a room. PS. 1.5. prabhune jārāsindhu ko chudavāy diyā - the lord released (lit. caused to be released). Jārāsandha PS. bāitāl ne laqākā rājā ko diyā - the bāitāl offered the damsel to the king. SB. 49.

Usane apanī rāniyo ko bulāyā - he sent for his queens. Ibid. 92.

9. Grammatical subject of the transitive verb in present perfect.

(a) In passive construction (b). in impersonal construction. Examples:-

(a) Passive construction :- bābā gaṅga bhaṭa arja karte haī ki bābā canda ne āgama bānī - Kāthī hai - the bard Bābā Gaṅga requests (says) that the poet ēamd has predicted the future (happenings). CChV/MSS. jotumane bhāgavata kī tīkā kīnī hai so mujhe sunāo - read out to me your commentary on the Bhāgavat CV. 11. āvapna rātrike anta mē nara pati ne dekh e haī - the king has dreamt during the last hours of the night. ĀP. 85. rājā parikṣit ko jāke patādo jotumho śrāgīṛśi ne sāp diyā hai -(you) go and inform the king Parikṣit that the sage Śrāgī has cursed you. PS. 1.4. unako unake mābap ne kah diyā - hai - her father and mother have said to her. RKK. 7.

(b) Impersonal construction :- so samvata 1627. kevaiśāma badī terasa guruvāra kū āpane pūrana kathā sunāhai - on thursday, the 13th day of Jēṣṭhabaḍa of 1627, you have heard the complete anecdote. CChV/MSS.
10. Grammatical subject of the verb in the conditional perfect:—
e.g. *yadi vāyuputra ne koṅ nirdayada kā kāma kiya-hoya—* if 'Vāyuputra' had committed some
shameful deed. PP. 480. *jā lakṣamaṇa ne yaha kathā muskāna se kahi hoya—if Lakṣamaṇa
had related this anecdote with a smile. RC/MSS. Under this head
is included the 'Dubitative perfect': e.g. *ūsane roṣa se
na sandesā bhejā hoya—* may he not have sent this
message with (i.e. in) anger. PP. 477.

11. Grammatical subject of the verb in the presumptive perfect:
e.g. *āpne yah ghatanā suṇi hoga—* possibly
you have heard (of) this incident—PS. 160. *Kaṅva muni
ne sandesā bhejā hoga—the sage Kaṅva might
have sent the message. SN. 79.

12. The following four classes of compound verbs in perfect tense
(when passively or impersonally constructed) take the agentive
nominative.

(a) Permissive compound:—*mantaṁ e usase bola-
neḥ na diya—* the minister did not permit him to speak. PS. 118.

(b) Desiderative compound:—*rānī ne apanī put-
riyo ko dekhanā cahi—the queen desired to see her
daughters. SB. 98.

(c) Acquisitive compound:—(when its initial member is a
conjunctive participle) e.g. *rānī ne usase yaha
bātā na kahha pāi—* the queen could not say this to him.
PP. 380. But this is a very rare and irregular idiom. c.f. *strīyā
yah bāt na kah sa ki—the women could not say this. PS. 190

(This is a more regular and representative idiom.).

(d) Intensive compound: - e.g. rām laksāmān, bharat, śatrughne dhanus vidyā sīkh lī - Rām, Lakṣmān, Bharat and Śatrughna learnt 'Dhanus Vidyā'. RC. / MSS.

13. The perfect tense of the following transitive verbs are actively constructed, hence they do not employ the agentive nominative.

(i) bolana - 'to speak' (ii) bhuānā - 'to forget'
(iii) bakanā - 'to say', 'to utter' (iv) lānā - 'to bring'
(v) samajhanā - 'to understand', (vi) jānanā - 'to give birth' (vii) pukāranā - 'to call': Examples:

(i) sṛī sūkadev jī bole - Śrī Sukadev ji said.
PS. 32. 54. Satrajit bolājhuṭh sac kī to maīnā hi jānata - Satrajit said I know not of the truth and the falsehood. PS. 129. But a few examples are available were 'bolanā' is passively constructed and it employs the agentive nominative, e.g. rāmcandrane kabhī jhuṭh nahi bolā - Rām never told a lie. RC. / MSS.

(ii) bhūlanā - rāvana pai ātā huā pavānajaya apanī pratijā bhūle - while going towards Rāvan., Pavanaṇjay forgot his commitments.
PP. 630. vah to bhulagaye the apanī sthiti - he forgot all about his position SB. 97. But c.f. jin ne rca vō ko bhulāye hai - those who have forgotten the 'Rcās', NRT UB. (The verb is passively constructed and employs the agentive nominative).

(iii) bakanā - e.g. tumabahutabake aba sa ṣāy a makaro - you have spoken enough, now observe moiesty. BYB. 380
rāvana bahutabaka parasītā mauna rāhī - Rāvan rebuked much, but Sītā observed silence (kept mum.)
PP. 860.
The language of GV, BYB, PP, AF, RAJ, is very elastic as regards the use of the agentive nominative. The following transitive verbs, besides being passively constructed in the perfect tenses, are also actively constructed, and thus, they do not employ the agentive nominative.

(i) vicārana - e.g. taba rāja adbhut cārita dekhā - then having seen this strange

(iv) lānā - apane ji kādara hoṭhō par vahna lāyā - he did not bring the pang of his heart on his lips. S.B. 87. c.f. mera rath yahā kisane lāyā. SB. 95.

(v) samajhaṇā - maś samajhi ki tū kuṭilāi kare hai - I understood (that) you have acted viciously PP. 780. ved kī rcāo ko jo samajhe hai - those who have understood the Ṛgās of the Vedas. NĀTU/MS. But c.f. hamane tumhārī līlā na samajhi - we did not understand your 'Līlā'. RC/MS.

(vi) jananā - bhāgya vaṭāi hai vaha mātā jo tumako jani - fortunate is the mother who gave you birth. PP. 310. mātā jo yogya putra janes ā - the mother who has given birth to a worthy son. NĀTU/MS. But c.f. dhalāti avasthā mē usme tin putra janā - in her declining age she gave birth to three sons. PP.

(vii) pukārana - tab pūtanā pukārī - then pūtena shouted. PS. 7. 17. tab sabhā ke log pukārē - then the people of the assembly shouted. BPS.XLV. 78. āge jākar dekhē to ek cor sāmane se calā ātā hai rājā use dekh ke pukārā - having advanced he saw a thief coming towards him, the king called out. EP. 13. 106.
behaviour the king thought. PP. 74.

(ii) Karanā-yahasamasta jagata avidyā kari mudrita netra hutā so tuma jāgrata rūpa kiyā - this universe was ignorant, like eyes, (which are) unable to see in the dark, and you enlightened it. BYB. 100.

he magadha-dhipa, te bhalā prāśna kiyā yā prāśna kara tū hamārā mana prasannakiyā - the ruler of Magadh you have asked a befitting question; having asked this question, you have certainly pleased me. ĀP. 23.

(iii) kahana-yā bhāti yugādi puruṣani kī katha gautama-ganadhara kahā - thus, Gautam Ganadhara described the life of the men of the time immemorial. PP. 50.

(iv) dekhana-aho aisā sthānaka mai prthvī dekhānāhi - I never saw such a place in the dominion of earth. ĀP. 86.

(v) sunanā-mai loka visai prasiddha mahā sundara tāke guna sunī hai - I have heard the goodness of all those who are famous for their virtues in the dominion of earth PP. 206. he garudendra tumā sunā hai - O Garudendra! You certainly have heard (of it). PP. 798.

The verbs praṇām karanā; namaskāra karāna, uccār (a) karanā; nikalana, pahacāna-nā, pāvābādhanā, besides being passively constructed, in a few cases, are actively constructed, and they do not employ the *-agentive nominative. The following are the examples:- gāṅga canda jī baradīhakā nāma leke vina kū namaskāra kiyā - having remembered Cand Baradīh Gaṅga saluted.
him. C ChVM/MSS. taba rājā dūbe mādhava dūbe
namaskāra kiya - then Mādhav Dūbe and Rājā Dūbe
offered (Açāryajī) salutation. CV. 109; bābā cande phira
b'a ca na u c cā r a k i yā - then Babā and uttered the words.
C.ChVM/MSS. ya bhayaṅkara sāgara viṣemaś rāja dūbīs
ātma bodha yā - I was drowning in the deep ocean of
world, you became merciful and rescued me and gave me self-realisation
PP. 928. Like wise, 'pahacānānā', pāvā bāchānā
are also actively constructed e.g. aur us vakta mai
unese saphā kahūga ki mai tumko har-
gij nahi pahacānā - and then will I profess unto them
I could not recognise you. NT. 26. 123. Sākuntalā āge
pāvā bādha yā - Sākuntalā stepped forward. SN. 64.

Verbs expressing some sentiments or explaining some idiom-
atic expressions (in having the transitive value) are generally
passively or impersonally constructed. But in the case of quite a
good number of the idioms they are actively constructed and donot
employ the agentive nominative e.g. taba rāvanā kro-
dha kiya - then Rāvan became enraged PP. 790. taba vaha
hāya hāya kiya - then he repented. AP. 210. taba vah
sunī ansunī karī - then he neglected (his request)
SB. 98. vah cuguli ja lagāī - she complained
(against him). SB. 106.

The following are some of the other important transitive
verbs which besides being passively or impersonally constructed, are
also constructed actively. niharana mai uski betī
ko niharā - I watched his daughter. OL. mai jānā,
'I knew', OL. mai eklajī pāyā - I derive pleasure.
OL. 130.
maḥ cālīs baraś ke mīhanat mē lahū
apāṁna karke hajār rūpaye jama-kīyā
so ekāk khodiya - I collected thousand rupees with
labour of forty years by sweat of my brow, which I suddenly lost. OLT.

Kellogg, (Hindi Grammar) - 689. 1107) brings forth the following
examples: 'aīse kahi sanyāṣīyan sab mili
ke mere bīlte sab dhan kādi layau-
Having said thus, the Sanyāsīs took out all the stores from my hole'
and on its basis suggests. 'In both Braj Prose and poetry the post-
position - ne - is omitted.' But this opinion of Kellogg cannot be
accepted as a scientific one. This idiom does not exhibit the omission
of the post positive - ne. As discussed above, in the language of EBP,
in the case of quite a good number of idioms, the transitive perfect
participial verbs in the perfect tense, besides being passively or
impersonally constructed, are also actively constructed and under this
circumstance the agentive nominative is not employed. This tendency
is very regular in Rāj. (from Kellogg takes this idiom).

Again, the following statement of Kellogg, as regards the use of the
agentive nominative, is very interesting, and deserves its inclusion
in our discussion. 'In a Hindi translation of Bhagavat Purāṇa, I
have found the case of the agent very commonly used, with the infinitive
in the title of chapters. Thus, the title of 8th Skandha
reads - hari āvatār lekar bacāna prāṇa-
dāśika - the saving of the life of (his) handmaid by God, having
become incarnate as Hari. Again, in the second Adhyāya of the same
kahanā Sukadevajī ne kathā gajendra
vāgrāh kā - the narration by Sukadevī of the story of Gajendra
and Grāh. Pincott also brings-forth a similar idiom - jāre us pāc pāṇḍav ne merā kya karane ko hai-go fellow, what can those five Pāṇḍavas do against me? Pincott feels that this use of the agentive is extending. But evidences are lacking to support his statement. This tendency is completely unknown in EBP.

I could mark only one such idiom in NRTUB e.g. anna vin prāṇī ne kya karane kya-what can animates do without grains - NRTUB/MSS. This is the only idiom of the agentive nominative as the grammatical subject of infinite available in EBP.

14. Grammatical subject of transitive verb in imperfect tense.

A few idioms are available, where the agentive nominative appears as the grammatical subject of transitive verb in imperfect tense. This is not a very regular idiom and appears sporadically. e.g. tab rāvaṇa ne bolatā hai-then Rāvaṇa speaks. RC/MSS. tab dūtī ne kahatī hai-then the 'dūtī' says - Rāj. 23.

Some sporadic examples are attested, where the past indefinite - e.g. with 'laganā' employs the agentive nominative e.g. tab bāyaha kathā yugandharake gāṇḍhara ne sunane lage-then the 'Gāṇḍhar of Yugandhar' began to hear this 'kathā' ĀP. 301. tab cākravāk ne kahane laga u-then the Čākravāk began to say. Rāj. 61.

15. Grammatical subject of intransitive verbs (in bhāve prayog).

(a) Intransitive verbs from perfect participle, in the case of quite a good number of the idioms, are impersonally constructed and thus they employ the agentive nominative.

(b) When intransitive verbs employ cognate accusative, they are treated as transitive verb; and are passively constructed and ādā

1. Hindi Grammar 688. 9.
employ the agentive nominative.

(a) Use of the agentive nominative with intransitive verb.

The following intransitive verbs employ the agentive nominative in past indefinite tense. *n a hānā* - 'to take bath' *chīkanā* - 'to sneeze' *thūkanā* - 'to spit'. e.g. *ránī* *n āhāyā* *aurā* *pānditane* *mantra uccārā* - the queen took bath and the priest uttered the 'mantras'. PP. 640. *jaba pavanāñjaya prasthāna kota t para bhaye to usaki rānī ne do bārā chīkā* - while Pavanāñjaya was to depart his queen sneezed twice. PP. 730. *aise apavitra kārya par samasta sansār ne thūkā* - on account of this unpious deed all the people insulted (him) (lit. spat on him).

(b) Intransitive verb taking cognate object is treated as transitive and take the agentive nominative - e.g. *maine asānkhya ladāīyā ladī par kabhī parājitā* *n āhūa* - I fought innumerable battles but was never defeated. RC/MSS. *unhone stēchīcalī* - he followed the evil path. RC/MSS.

Intransitive verbs taking cognate objects are also actively constructed, and thus, they do not employ the agentive nominative. 16. Compound transitive verbs in the past explaining repetition or continuation of an action do not employ the agentive nominative...e.g. *ve bārbār gīnā kiye* - they counted repeatedly. NR/TUB/MSS is *drṣya ko rām dekhā kiye* - Rām watched this scene(s) (i.e. continually watched this scene) RC/MSS.

17. A compound intransitive verb, having 'dañā' as its final member, does not employ the agentive nominative as its grammatical subject, but when 'denā' appears as the final member of the compound verb, it, in some of the idioms, employs the agentive nomi-
native, e.g. vibhīṣaṇa started from that place

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