

## EXPLORING CASE IN KUTCHI GUJARATI\*

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## 1. OVERVIEW

- Case/agreement patterns in Kutchi Gujarati
- Interaction between new information focus and differential object marking
- Non-nominative subjects in Kutchi Gujarati: A fresh look.

## 2. CASE &amp; AGREEMENT IN KUTCHI GUJARATI

2.1 AGREEMENT IN KUTCHI GUJARATI<sup>1</sup>*Unaccusatives*

(1).

- a. **Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi** aav-yo/-i/-ya *Perfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi come-pfv.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis came”
- b. **Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi** aav-to tho/-ti thi/-ta tha *Imperfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi come-ipfv.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis were coming”

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<sup>1</sup> In other tense/aspect combinations, agreement also patterns with the imperfective/perfective distinction given in the main text. A particularly interesting combination is present progressive which exhibits subject agreement for person, number and gender (rather than just number and gender):

- (i) Hu/Tame/Rahul aav-u ri/-o ra/-e ro  
1sg/2pl/Rahul come-pres.1sg aux.prog.f.sg/-pres.2pl aux.prog.pl/-pres.3sg aux.prog.m.  
“I/you/Rahul am/are/is coming”.

In this talk I will focus mainly on the past imperfective and perfective aspect, as this is where the case/agreement distinctions are the clearest. For detailed discussion on other tense/aspect combinations in Kutchi Gujarati, cf Patel (2005).

*Unergatives*

(2)

- a. **Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi** has-yo/-i/-ya *Perfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi smile-pfv.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis smiled”
- b. **Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi** has-to tho/-ti thi/-ta tha *Imperfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi smile-ipfv.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis were smiling”<sup>2</sup>

*Transitives*

(3)

- a. Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi Janak-ne mar-yo *Perfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi Janak-acc hit-pfv.m.sg  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis hit Janak”
- b. **Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi** Janak-ne mar-to tho/-ti thi/-ta tha *Imperfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi Janak-acc hit-ipfv.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis' were hitting Janak”

*Ditransitives*

(4)

- a. Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi Janak-ne chopri did-thi *Perfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi Janak-acc book give-pfv.f.sg  
“Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi gave Janak a book”
- b. **Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi** janak-ne chopri de-to tho/-ti thi/-ta tha *Imperfective*  
Rahul/Maya/Bhanderi janak-acc book give-ipfv.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
“Rahul/Maya/the Bhanderis' were giving Janak the book”

- Kutchi Gujarati has an agreement split correlating with aspect.

<sup>2</sup>For reasons of simplicity, I will gloss *-ti thi* etc. as *-imp.f.sg*. However, it should be pointed out that *-ti* is probably the imperfective marker with gender agreement and *thi* the past tense auxiliary with gender agreement.

## 2.2 CASE IN KUTCHI GUJARATI

- The following data show that there is no case split.

*Unaccusatives*

(5)

a. **Reena** aav-i *Perfective*  
 Reena come-pfv.f.sg  
 ‘Reena came’

b. **Reena** aav-ti thi *Imperfective*  
 Reena come-ipfv.f.sg  
 ‘Reena was coming’

*Transitive*

(6)

a. Reena **chokra**-ne mar-ya *Perfective*  
 Reena boys-acc hit-pfv.pl  
 ‘Reena hit the boys’

b. **Reena** chokra-ne mar-ti thi *Imperfective*  
 Reena boys-acc hit-ipfv.f.sg  
 ‘Reena was hitting the boys’

- How do we know that the absence of a case split, i.e. the absence of ergative case is not just syncretism or phonological reduction?
- Evidence 1:** pronouns do not exhibit ergative case; a place where we would expect to find it.

(7)

a. **hu** chokra-ne mar-u ri *Present Imperfective*  
 I.nom boys-acc hit-pres.1sg.subj aux.f.sg  
 ‘I am hitting the boys’

b. **hu** **chokra**-ne mar-ya *Past Perfective*  
 I.nom boys-acc hit-pfv.pl  
 ‘I hit the boys’

(8)

a. **tu** chokra-ne mar-e ri *Present Imperfective*  
 you.sg.nom boy.pl-acc hit-pres.2sg aux.f.sg  
 ‘you are hitting the boys’

b. tu **chokra**-ne mar-ya *Past Perfective*  
 you.sg.nom boy.pl-acc hit-pfv.pl  
 ‘you hit the boys’

(9)

a. **ame** chokra-ne mar-i ra *Present Imperfective*  
 we.nom boy-acc hit-pres.1pl aux.pl  
 ‘we are hitting the boy’

b. ame **chokra**-ne mar-yo *Past Perfective*  
 we.nom boy-acc hit-pfv.m.sg  
 ‘you hit the boys’

(10)

a. **tame** chokra-ne mar-o ra *Present Imperfective*  
 you.nom boy-acc hit-pres.1pl aux.pl  
 ‘you are hitting the boy’

b. tame **chokra**-ne mar-yo *Past Perfective*  
 you.nom boy-acc hit-pfv.m.sg  
 ‘you hit the boys’

(11)

a. **i** chokra-ne mar-e ro/ri/ra *Present Imperfective*  
 he/she/they.nom boy-acc hit-pres.3sg/pl aux.m.sg/f.sg/pl  
 ‘he/she are hitting the boy’



- b. \* **Moto kiri**  
big.m.sg ant.f.sg  
“big ant”

- Notice that in the following examples, where the subject agreeing NP includes an adjective, the verb must agree in grammatical gender.

*moti kiri in subject position*

(16)

- a. **Moti kiri** aav-i. *Perfective*  
big.f.sg ant.f.sg come-pfv.f.sg  
“the big ant came” (where ‘moti kiri’ refers to Valji)

- b. \* **Moti kiri** aav-yo. *Perfective*  
big.f.sg ant.f.sg come-pfv.m.sg  
“the big ant came” (where ‘moti kiri’ refers to Valji)

- c. **moti kiri** amne jo-ti thi *Imperfective*  
big.f.sg ant.f.sg us saw-ipfv.f.sg  
“The big ant was watching us” (Where ‘moti kiri’ refers to Valji)

- d. \* **moti kiri** amne jo-to tho. *Imperfective*  
big.f.sg ant.f.sg us saw-ipfv.m.sg  
“The big ant was watching us” (Where ‘moti kiri’ refers to Valji)

- These data clearly show that object agreement and subject agreement are not the same.

*(17) Moti Kiri in Object Position*

- a. \* **Hu moti kiri-ne** jo-i. *Perfective*  
I big.f.sg ant.f.sg-acc saw-pfv.f.sg  
“I saw the big ant” (where ‘moti kiri’ refers to Valji)

- b. **Hu moti kiri-ne** jo-yo. *Perfective*  
I big.f.sg ant.f.sg-acc saw-pfv.m.sg  
“I saw the big ant” (where ‘moti kiri’ refers to Valji)

(18)

- (i) Subject agreement => grammatical gender in the *moti kiri* cases
- (ii) Object agreement => natural gender in the *moti kiri* cases

- One can observe that similar asymmetries such as the “kiri” vs “moti kiri” subject-verb agreement cases also occur with predicative adjectives:

(19)

- a. \* **Kiri chari** che. *Perfective*  
ant.f.sg stupid.f.sg is  
“The ant is stupid” (where “kiri” refers to “Valji”)

- b. **Kiri charyo** che *Perfective*  
ant.f.sg stupid.m.sg is  
“The ant is stupid” (where “kiri” refers to “Valji”)

- c. \* **Moti kiri chari** che *Perfective*  
big.f.sg ant.f.sg stupid is  
“The big ant is stupid” (where “kiri” refers to “Valji”)

- d. **Moti kiri charyo** che *Perfective*  
big.f.sg ant.f.sg stupid.m.sg is  
“The big ant is stupid” (where “kiri” refers to “Valji”)

## 3.1 SUMMARY

- The agreement pattern that we find with epithets clearly shows that subject and object agreement are not the same thing.

- The data seem to hint at the possibility that object agreement in Kutchi Gujarati is semantic agreement as opposed to agreement being derived by a syntactic mechanism, such as probe-goal.

- The table below summarises the agreement patterns.

Agreeing NP	Subject-Verb Agreement	Object-Verb Agreement	Subject-Predicative Adj. Agreement
<i>kiri</i>	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )
<i>moti kiri</i>	grammatical gender ( <b>fem.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )

#### 4. FOCUS INTERACTION WITH DIFFERENTIALLY MARKED OBJECTS (DOM)

##### 4.1 OBJECT CASE IN KUTCHI GUJARATI

- In the last section we saw that Kutchi Gujarati has masculine and feminine genders.
- In addition to these, the language also has neuter, and default gender agreement.

(20)

Raj motu **ful** did-thu *Perfactive*  
 Raj big.**n.sg** flower give-pfv.**n.sg**  
 “raj gave someone a big flower”

(21)

Krish nanu **galoryu-ne** mar-yu *Perfactive*  
 Krish small.**n.sg** puppy.**n.sg-acc** hit-pfv.**n.sg**  
 “Krish hit a small puppy”

- However, there are also cases when a non-neuter object, will be marked by *-u*; this is clearly not neuter agreement, but *default* agreement.

(22)

Reena **Valji-ne** mar-yo *Perfactive*  
 Reena valji-acc hit-pfv.m.sg  
 “Reena hit Valji”

(23)

Reena **Valji-ne** mar-yu *Perfactive*  
 Reena Valji-acc hit-pfv.**def**  
 “Reena hit Valji”

- **The basic idea:** default agreement marking on the verb indicates that the object expresses old information (old information being information already mentioned in the discourse).

- Full agreement in gender and number indicates that the object expresses new information (information not mentioned in the discourse).

(24)

Context: John is a famous actor, and a notorious womaniser. Two friends, Sue and Mary were gossiping about John, when Jane came along and interrupted:  
 Jane: Who did John kiss yesterday?

a. John **Reena-ne** kiss kar-i *New Information*  
 John Reena-acc kiss do-pfv.**f.sg**  
 “John kissed Reena”

b. # John **Reena-ne** kiss kar-yu *Old information*  
 John Reena-acc kiss do-pfv.**n.sg**  
 “John kissed Reena”

(25)

Context: John and Mary are sitting in the park, chatting about their two friends, Bill and Sue. Their friend Jane approaches them and asks:  
 Jane: What happened to Bill?

a. # Sue **Bill-ne** kiss kar-yo *New information*  
 Sue Bill-acc kiss do-pfv.m.sg  
 “Sue kissed Bill”

b. Sue **Bill-ne** kiss kar-yu *Old information*  
 Sue Bill-acc kiss do-pfv.n.sg  
 “Sue kissed Bill”

- Default agreement is only possible if the object is case-marked. Object Case-marking in Kutchi Gujarati is restricted to animate/specific/definite objects.

- **Human objects object must be -ne marked.**

(26)

a. John chokri-**ne** mar-i  
John girl.f.sg-acc hit-pfv.f.sg  
“John hit a girl”

b. \* John chokri mar-i  
John girl.f.sg hit-pfv.f.sg  
“John hit a girl”

- **Non-Human objects are -ne marked only if they are specific or definite.**

(27) Context: John wants a dog, he thinks they are good for keeping burglars away. He doesn't have a particular dog in mind, and he doesn't even know where to look for one.

a. John kutro goth-e ro  
John dog look-pres.3sg aux.m.sg  
“John is looking for a dog” (non-specific object)

b. # John kutro-**ne** goth-e ro  
John dog-acc look-pres.3sg aux.m.sg  
“John is looking for a dog” (non-specific object)

(28) Context: John's dog ran away. He's turning the whole town up and down in order to find his dog.

a. John kutro-**ne** goth-e ro  
John dog-acc look-pres.3sg aux.m.sg  
“John is looking for a dog” (specific object)

b. # John kutro goth-e ro  
John dog look-pres.3sg aux.m.sg  
“John is looking for a dog” (specific object)

- **Unspecific definites** must be -ne marked:

(29) Context: Maya wants to buy a dog from the annual dogshow, and decides the following:

a. Maya aaj-no jityo kutro-**ne** lese  
Maya today-gen.m.sg winning dog.m.sg-acc buy.fut  
“Maya will buy todays winning dog” (no matter which one will win)

b. # Maya aaj-no jityo kutro lese  
Maya today-gen.m.sg winning dog.m.sg buy.fut  
“Maya will buy todays winning dog” (no matter which one will win)

(30) Context: Maya wants to buy a dog from the annual dogshow, and decides the following:

a. Maya jityo kutro lese  
Maya winning dog.m.sg buy.fut  
“Maya will buy a winning dog” (no matter which one)

b. # Maya jityo kutro-**ne** lese  
Maya winning dog.m.sg buy.fut  
“Maya will buy a winning dog” (no matter which one)

- Default agreement only possible when we have object agreement; i.e. in the perfective<sup>4</sup> aspect.

(31)

a. **Sue** Bill-**ne** kiss kar-ti thi/\*-**tu** thu  
Sue Bill-acc kiss do-ipfv.f.sg/n.sg  
“Sue was kissing Bill”

*Past Imperfective*

<sup>4</sup>Note that default agreement is also possible in imperfective Long distance agreement constructions, for in these cases, object agreement is present, for the subject is marked with a dative object. cf Patil & Grosz 2005 for examples.

- b. Sue **Bill-ne** kiss kar-**yo/-yu** *Past Perfective*  
 Sue Bill-acc kiss do-pfv.m.sg/n.sg  
 “Sue kissed Bill”

#### 4.2 EVIDENCE FOR DEFAULT AGREEMENT & CASE CORRELATING WITH DIFFERENT OBJECT POSITIONS

- Object and verb initially form a constituent, adverbials are adjuncts that are adjoined to VP.
- If the adverb interferes between the object and the verb, the object must of moved or ended up in a higher position by some other means.

(32) Adv << Obj: object is lower in the tree

(33) Obj << Adv: object has moved from its base position in the tree, or that the object is higher than the adverb.

(34)

- a. kadatch Mary **John-ne** maryo/\*yu [case and agreement]  
 possibly Mary John-acc hit.m.sg/\*n.sg  
 “possibly Mary hit John”
- b. Mary kadatch **John-ne** mar-yo/\*-yu [case and agreement]  
 Mary possibly John-acc hit-pfv.m.sg/n.sg  
 “possibly Mary hit John”
- c. Mary **John-ne** kadatch mar-yu/\*-yo [case and no agreement]  
 Mary John-acc probably hit-pfv.n.sg/m.sg  
 “possibly Mary hit John”
- d. Mary kadatch **kursi-ne** mar-i/\*-yu [case and agreement]  
 Mary possibly chair-acc hit-pfv.f.sg/n.sg

“possibly Mary hit the chair”

- e. Mary **kursi-ne** kadatch mar-yu/\*-i [case and no agreement]  
 Mary chair.acc probably hit-pfv.n.sg/f.sg  
 “Possibly Mary hit the chair”
- f. \* Mary **kursi** kadatch mar-yu/-i [no case, no agreement]  
 Mary chair probably hit-pfv.n.sg/f.sg  
 “possibly Mary hit the chair”

- If John is scrambled to the front of the clause, only default agreement is possible.

(35)

- a. **John-ne** mary kadatch mar-yu/\*-yo  
 John-acc Mary probably hit-pfv.n.sg/m.sg  
 “possibly Mary hit John”

#### Wh Movement

(36)

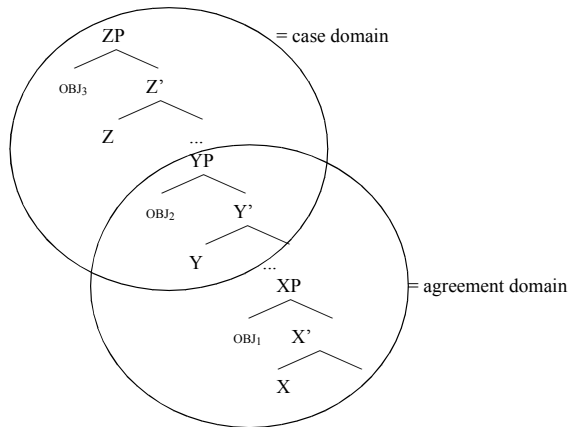
- a. John [kai.yo kutro-ne] maryo/\*yu?  
 John which.m.sg dog.m.sg-acc hit.pfv.m.sg/n.sg  
 “Which dog did John hit?”
- b. [kai.yo kutro-ne] John maryo/\*yo?  
 which.m.sg dog.m.sg-acc John hit.pfv.n.sg/m.sg  
 “Which dog does John want to hit?”

#### (37) Summary of Possible case/agreement patterns

- (i) no case + agreement
- (ii) case + agreement
- (iii) case + no agreement

- One could assume that the object can occur in any of three specifier positions in the tree.

(38)



- Assuming that they are linked by movement, we get optional movement of the object from OBJ<sub>1</sub> to OBJ<sub>2</sub> to OBJ<sub>3</sub>.
  - (i) default agreement  $\Leftrightarrow$  old information  $\Leftrightarrow$  movement to a higher position
  - (ii) full agreement  $\Leftrightarrow$  new information  $\Leftrightarrow$  either no movement, or movement that's not high enough to impact the old/new information distinction.
  - This can be summarised as follows:
- (39)
- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| ▪ object in OBJ <sub>1</sub> = yes agreement + no case  | indefinite/unspecific/inanimate |
| ▪ object in OBJ <sub>2</sub> = yes agreement + yes case | definite/specific/animate/new   |
| ▪ object in OBJ <sub>3</sub> = no agreement + yes case  | definite/specific/animate/old   |
- However we we look at multiple embedded constructions, things are a little more complicated...

- The following examples illustrate nominalised embedded clauses in Kutchi Gujarati.

(40)

- a. John [[**bakri-ne mar-vani**] sharu kar-vani] dhamki did-thi  
John goat-acc hit-inf.f.sg start do-inf.f.sg threat gave-pfv.f.sg  
"John threatened to start hitting the goat"
- b. \* John [[**bakri-ne mar-vanu**] sharu kar-vanu] dhamki did-thi/-thu  
John goat-acc hit-inf.n.sg start do-inf.n.sg threat gave-pfv.f.sg/n.sg  
"John threatened to start hitting the goat"

- The following examples illustrate long-distance fronting.

(41)

- a. **bakri-ne** John [[mar-vani] sharu kar-vani] dhamki did-thi  
goat-acc John hit-inf.f.sg start do-inf.f.sg threat give-pfv.f.sg  
"John threatened to start hitting the goat"
- b. \* **bakri-ne** John [[mar-vanu] sharu kar-vanu] dhamki did-thi/-thu  
goat-acc John hit-inf.n.sg start do-inf.n.sg threat give-pfv.f.sg/n.sg  
"John threatened to start hitting the goat"

- Notice that if we rightward extract the object, only default agreement is possible.

(42)

- a. John [[mar-vanu] sharu kar-vanu] dhamki did-thi **bakri-ne**  
John hit-inf.n.sg start do-inf.n.sg threat give.pfv.f.sg goat.f.sg-acc  
"John threatened to start hitting the goat"
- b. \* John [[mar-vani] sharu kar-vani] dhamki did-thi **bakri-ne**  
John hit-inf.f.sg start do-inf.f.sg threat give.pfv.f.sg goat.f.sg-acc  
"John threatened to start hitting the goat"

- Interestingly, the dative has the same form as the accusative, -ne. In the following section, we will look at non-nominative constructions.

## 5. NON-NOMINATIVE SUBJECTS IN KUTCHI GUJARATI

- The following cases illustrate dative subjects in Kutchi Gujarati<sup>5</sup>.

(43) Cases that are always non-nominative

- a. Sheela-ne bhuk lagi  
 Sheela-dat hungry feel.pfv.f.sg  
 'Sheela felt hungry'
- b. Mane nindar aav-e-ri  
 I.dat sleep come.pres.3.sg-auz.f.sg  
 'I am sleepy'
- c. Mane khabar nathi  
 I.dat know not  
 'I don't know'
- d. Mane cookie khaape  
 I.dat cookie want  
 'I want a cookie'

- Review arguments that the dative argument is an object (in section 5.1)
- Review arguments that the dative argument is a subject (in section 5.2).
- Possible explanations for the semantic basis of dative subject constructions:  
 Evidence against a non-volitionality/non-agentivity account (5.3)
- Evidence in favour of an aktionsart / aspectual account (5.4)

<sup>5</sup>Like in other IA languages, dative subjects typically are Experiencers and nonvolitional (Masica 1991:346-350).

## 5.1 EVIDENCE FOR NOMINATIVE ARGUMENT AS SUBJECT

Agreement and differential object marking suggests that the nominative object is the subject in these clauses.

*Evidence 1: Agreement with Nominative Object in Dative Subject Constructions*

(44)

- (a) patel-ne moti **kiri** gami/\*gamyo [grammatical gender]  
 Patel-dat big.f.sg ant like.f.sg/like.m.sg  
 'The patels like the big ant'
- (b) patel-ne **kiri** gamyo/\*gami [natural gender]  
 Patel-dat ant.f.sg like.m.sg/like.f.sg  
 'The patels like the big ant'

- This seems to suggest that nominative object in dat subject constructions looks like subject agreement (the imperfective cases), and **not** like object agreement.

(45) Recall out previous summary:

Agreeing NP	Subject-Verb Agreement	Object-Verb Agreement	Subject-Predicative Adj. Agreement
<i>kiri</i>	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )
<i>moti kiri</i>	grammatical gender ( <b>fem.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )	gender of referent ( <b>masc.</b> )

- The data in (46) show that the nominative object in dative subject constructions never gets differential object marking, and never allows for default agreement<sup>6&7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Contrastively, in LDA-constructions, the dative subject does **not** block differential object marking on the embedded object.

- (i) Halai-ne [kutro-ne advo] paryo  
 halai-dat dog.sg-acc touch.m.sg had.pfv.m.sg  
 'The Halais had to touch the dog'

<sup>7</sup>It should be noted that in ditransitives, the dative does not block differential object marking. cf Grosz&Patel (2006) for examples.

(46) Evidence 2: Absence of DOM & Default Agreement<sup>8</sup>:

- a. John-ne **kutro** gamyo  
John-dat dog.m.sg like.pfv.m.sg  
“John liked the dog”
- b. **kutro** John-ne gamyo  
dog John-dat like.pfv.m.sg  
“John liked the dog”
- c. \***kutro**-ne John-ne gamyo  
dog-acc John-dat like.pfv.m.sg  
“John liked the dog”
- d. \***kutro**-ne John-ne gamyu  
dog-acc John-dat like.pfv.m.sg  
“John liked the dog”
- e. \***kutro** John-ne gamyu  
dog John-dat like.pfv.n.sg  
“John liked the dog”

## 5.2 EVIDENCE FOR DATIVE-MARKED ARGUMENT AS SUBJECT

- However, subjecthood tests taken from Sigurdsson (1992) seem to suggest that the dative marked argument is really the dative subject.
- According to such subjecthood tests, the dative argument behaves as a subject in at least four regards:
  - (i) *Test: Reflexivization*: The dative argument triggers obligatory reflexivization on a possessive pronoun in the nominative object DP.
  - (ii) *Test: Raising*: The dative argument can undergo raising.

<sup>8</sup>Note that this is not a counterargument against my theory (case domain/agreement domain) but follows from the fact that DOM and agreement treat the nominative object in dative subject constructions as the grammatical subject.

(iii) *Test: Subject Control*: The dative argument can be represented by PRO in control constructions.

(iv) *Test: Passivization*: When the construction is passivized, the nominative argument (but not the dative argument) becomes the subject.

**Test 1: Reflexivization**

- Subjects trigger obligatory reflexivization, whereas objects at best allow optional reflexivization:

## (47)

- a. Reena-ne<sub>i</sub> eni<sub>i</sub> pothani<sub>i</sub><sup>k</sup> chopri gaame.  
Reena-dat her.f.sg self.f.sg book.f.sg like  
“Reena likes her book”
- b. Reena-ne<sub>i</sub> eni<sub>k</sub><sup>i</sup> chopri gaame.  
Reena-dat her.f.sg book like  
“Reena likes his/her book”
- c. Reena-ne<sub>i</sub> eno<sub>i</sub> pothano<sub>i</sub><sup>k</sup> kutro dekha-i-ro.  
Reena-dat her.m.sg self.m.sg dog see.3sg-aux.m.sg  
“Reena saw her own dog”
- d. Reena-ne<sub>i</sub> eno<sub>k</sub><sup>i</sup> kutro dekha-i-ro.  
Reena-dat his.m.sg dog.m.sg see.3.sg-aux.m.sg  
“Reena sees his dog”

The above seems to suggest that *Reena-ne* is the real subject (i.e. it passes the subjecthood test)

**Test 2: Raising**

- *hath* 'be about to' seems to be a raising predicate; dative subjects seem to be able to undergo raising<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup>The following tests indicate that *hath* is raising:

(48)

- a. Reena-ne [kuro gam-vano] hatho  
 Reena-dat dog like-inf.m.sg be about to.m.sg  
 “Reena was about to like the dog”
- b. panditji-ne [udras aav-vani] hathi.  
 Panditji-dat cough come-inf.f.sg be about to.f.sg  
 “Panditji was about to cough”
- c. chokro-ne [thandi par-vani] hathi  
 boy.m.sg-dat cold.f.sg feel-inf.f.sg be about.f.sg  
 “The child was about to feel cold”

- If these are raising predicates, it suggests that the dative subject can raise to the subject position.

**Test 3: Subject Control (i.e. being a controllee)**

- The examples below show that *sikh* 'learn' (being a control predicate<sup>10</sup>), the dative subject can be PRO; thus suggesting that the dative subject is a real subject.

## Expletive insertion

- (i) aa [kevai javanu] hathu [ke John aavse]  
 expl said go.inf.n.sg was.going.n.sg that Johncome.fut  
 “it was to be said that John will come”

## Idiom Chunk

- (ii) tari jeeb [kapvai javani] hathi  
 your tongue cut go.inf.f.sg was.going.f.sg  
 “You were meant to shut up.”

<sup>10</sup> These two tests show that *sikh* is a control predicate :

## Expletive test

- (i) \* [aa sikhya [kevai java ke John avse]]  
 expl learn said go-inf that John come.fut  
 “it learned to be said that John will come”

## Idiom Test

- (ii) \*[tari jeeb] [kapvai java] sikhya  
 you tongue cut.f.sg go.inf learned.pfv.n.sg  
 “you learned to shut up”

(49)

- a. Reena; [PRO; kuro gam-va] sikhi  
 Reena dog like-inf.pl learn.pfv.f.sg  
 “Reena learned to like the dog”

**Test 4: Passivization Restriction**

- In contrast, non-nominative objects shouldn't be able to become subjects of passives.

(50)

- a. udra aavai gi  
 cough come.pass go.pfv.f.sg  
 “It was coughed”

- b. kuro gamvai gyo  
 dog.m.sg like.pass go.pfv.m.sg  
 “The dog was liked”

## 5.3 SEMANTICS OF DATIVE SUBJECT-MARKING

- It has been suggested that the presence of the dative is associated with volitionality.
- Kutchi Gujarati has nominative subjects with the volitional and dative subjects with the nonvolitional reading (note that the verb is the same in both cases).

(51)

- a. Mane kuro(\*-ne) dekhairo  
 I.dat dog.m.sg(\*acc) see.pres.m.sg  
 “I see the dog”

- b. Hu kuro(-ne) dekhuri  
 I dog.m.sg(acc) see.pres.f.sg  
 “I am watching the dog”

(52)

- a. Mane kutro(\*-ne) sambrairo  
I.dat dog.m.sg(\*acc) hear.pres.m.sg  
“I hear the dog”
- b. Hu kutro(-ne) sambruri  
I dog.m.sg(acc) listen.pres.f.sg  
“I am listening to the dog”

- The following data in (53) show cases where depending on the light verb, we see nominative subject in one case, and dative in the other.

(53)

- a. Panditji(\*-ne) (jorai / maan mate) udras khadhi  
Panditji(\*dat) on purpose people for cough eat.pfv.f.sg  
‘The Priest coughed on purpose / to attract people (once – endpoint)’
- b. Panditji-ne (jorai / maan mate) udras aavi  
Panditji-dat on purpose people for cough come.pfv.f.sg  
‘The Priest coughed on purpose / to attract people (continually – no endpoint)’
- In the following cases, we have the same light verb, which suggests that the presence of the dative case can't be because of the light verb.

(54)

- a. anditji(\*-ne) hasi paryo  
Panditji(\*dat) laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
“The Priest fell about laughing”
- b. chokro-ne thandi pari  
boy-dat cold.f.sg feel.pfv.f.sg  
“The child felt cold”
- However, as in the *cough* cases, the presence of the dative does not seem to be due to volitionality, because we can have *on purpose* in the above examples.

(55)

- a. Panditji(\*-ne) (jorai / maan mate) hasi paryo  
Panditji(\*dat) on purpose people for laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
“The Priest faked to fall about laughing on purpose / to attract attention”
- b. chokro-ne (jorai / maan mate) thandi pari  
boy-dat on purpose people for cold.f.sg feel.pfv.f.sg  
“The child faked to feel cold on purpose / to attract attention”
- **Conclusion:** The dative case in non-nominative constructions does not seem to be linked to volitionality or even non-agentivity. Nor does it depend on the type of light verb present in the structure.
  - What is the dative associated with?

## 5.4 LEXICAL ASPECT &amp; DATIVE CASE

- I will argue in this section that it is linked to lexical aspect (namely to atelicity).
- At first sight, it looks like both cases in (56) are atelic, as they can combine with *for 5 minutes* (diagnosing atelicity), but not with *in 5 minutes* (diagnosing telicity).

(56)

- a. Panditji(\*-ne) panch minute mate udras khadhi  
Panditji(\*dat) five minutes for cough eat.pfv.f.sg  
“The Priest coughed for 5 minutes”
- b. \* Panditji(\*-ne) panch minute ma udras khadhi  
Panditji(\*dat) five minutes in cough eat.pfv.f.sg  
“The Priest coughed in 5 minutes”
- c. Panditji-ne panch minute mate udras aavi  
Panditji-dat five minutes for cough come.pfv.f.sg  
“He coughed for 5 minutes”

d. \* Panditji-ne panch minute ma udras aavi  
 Panditji-dat five minutes in cough come.pfv.f.sg  
 'The priest coughed in 5 minutes'

- If we look a little closer, it becomes obvious that in the *udras khadhi* case, we're dealing with iterativity (because the time frame of iterative coughing can stretch over 5 years!).
- In contrast, the *udras aavi* case seems to be concerned with continuity (because it becomes infelicitous if the time frame is 5 years, as you cannot cough continually for 5 years).

(57)

a. Panditji(\*-ne) panch varas mate udras khadhi  
 Panditji(\*dat) five years for cough eat.pfv.f.sg  
 'The priest coughed for 5 years'

=> *no endpoint* (i.e. *atelic*: the coughing lasted for five minutes) => *iteratively* => *telic*

b.# Panditji-ne panch varas mate udras aavi  
 Panditji-dat five years for cough come.pfv.f.sg  
 'The priest coughed for 5 years'

=> *no endpoint* => *non-iteratively / continually* => *atelic*

#### Conclusions:

- *Udras aavi* is atelic, most probably an activity.
- *Udras khadhi* is telic, most probably an achievement. *udras khadhi* licenses for 5 minutes and for 5 years, because it allows for an iterative reading (i.e. 'over and over again').
- The dative subject seems to combine with an atelic predicate, and the nominative subject with a telic predicate<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> The following examples **might** show that with activities we are more likely to get nominative case, and with states we are more likely to get dative case.

(i)

a. panditji(\*-ne) panch minute mate hasi paryo  
 panditji(\*dat) five minute for laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
 "The preist fell about laughing for 5 minutes"

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b.# panditji(\*-ne) panch minute ma hasi paryo  
 panditji(\*dat) five minute for laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
 "The preist fell about laughing in 5 minutes"

(ii)

a. panch minute mate panditji(\*-ne) hasi paryo  
 five minute for panditji(\*dat) laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
 "The preist fell about laughing for 5 minutes"

b.# panch minute ma panditji(\*-ne) hasi paryo  
 five minute in panditji(\*dat) laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
 "The preist fell about laughing in 5 minutes" => suggests that *hasi par* is atelic at first sight

(iii)

a.# panch varas mate panditji(\*-ne) hasi paryo  
 five year for panditji(\*dat) laugh fell.pfv.m.sg  
 "The preist fell about laughing for 5 minutes"

=> confirms that *hasi par* is atelic, i.e. no iterative reading is available; it is most probably an activity.