

Rājasthānī Features in Medieval Braj Prose Texts

The Case of Differential Object Marking and Verbal Agreement in Perfective Clauses

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Abstract One of the few scholars who paid attention to the 'dark' period of the evolution of NIA from late MIA was Luigi Pio Tessitori. The studies of this scholar resulted in his well-known *Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani*. In the introduction of his Grammar, Tessitori advanced the hypothesis that probably in this first period of NIA there was an intermediate form of speech that surely separated Old Western Rājasthānī from what he called an Old form of Western Hindī, but in which these two linguistic varieties of Western NIA merged together. Tessitori called Old Eastern Rājasthānī this old intermediate form of speech. As stated by himself, one of Tessitori's future objectives would be to find some proof to demonstrate or to invalidate this hypothesis. However, due to his untimely death, he was not able to do this. Due to the fact that at the present there's lack of specific studies on this topic, the present study intend to pursue Tessitori's hypothesis using some medieval published texts in Braj-bhāṣā prose. Even if the language of this kind of texts could be classified as a form of Braj, we will see that these texts show a language different from classical Braj, where many examples of a typical characteristic of Māravāṛī (i.e. Rājasthānī) are attested: the agreement of O with main verb, in a perfective construction, even if O presents an overt marking with the DAT/ACC postposition. Therefore these texts show the existence of a feature of convergence between different varieties. In the last section I will conclude that this seems to be in agreement with Tessitori's hypothesis, but a more detailed study on language contact involved in the evolution and formation of Western Hindī dialects is necessary to validate this hypothesis.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Braj Language. – 2.1 Braj-bhāṣā Prose Texts. – 3 Ergativity: Some Introductory Remarks. – 3.1 Ergativity in Indo-Aryan. – 3.2 Ergativity and Differential Object Marking in Indo-Aryan. – 4 Differential Object Marking in Early New Indo-Aryan. – 4.1 Differential Object Marking in Early Braj-bhāṣā prose texts. – Conclusion.

Keywords Rājasthānī. Braj-bhāṣā. Ergativity. Differential Object Marking.

1 Introduction

Several authors, including Hock,¹ Witzel,² Lubotsky,³ Kulikov,⁴ Norman (1990-1996), Bubenik (1996, 1998) and Peterson (1998),⁵ amongst many others, have recently examined Old Indo-Aryan and Middle Indo-Aryan from a historical linguistic perspective. On the contrary the New Indo-Aryan languages have not received the same attention, even if in the last few years it is possible to see a renewed interest by part of the scientific community.⁶ Notwithstanding their scientific approach and contemporary usefulness, only works published at the end of nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth century are available (see, for example, Hoernle 1880; Bloch 1920; Chatterji 1926). As regards Hindī there has been considerable

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1 For an overview on the huge work done by Hans Hock in the field of South Asian Linguistics and in particular of Old Indo-Aryan Linguistics see <http://www.linguistics.illinois.edu/people/hhhock> (where is also available a complete list of Hock's production) and <http://faculty.las.illinois.edu/hhhock/>.

2 A full list of Witzel's publications is available at: <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~witzel/mwpage.htm>.

3 A full list of Lubotsky's publications is available at: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/staffmembers/sasha-lubotsky>.

4 A full list of Kulikov's publications is available at: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/staffmembers/l.i.-kulikov>.

5 The following abbreviations are used in this article: 1: 1st person pronoun; 2: 2nd person pronoun; 3: 3rd person pronoun; A: Agent-like argument of a transitive clause; ABL: ablative; ACC: accusative; OIA: Old Indo-Aryan; ERG-ABS: ergative-absolutive; AUX: auxiliary; DAT: dative; DIR: direct; ERG: ergative; F: feminine; GEN: genitive; IMPF: imperfective; LOC: locative; M: masculine; MIA: Middle Indo-Aryan; NEG: negation; NIA: New Indo-Aryan; NOM-ACC: nominative-accusative; O: Object-like argument of a transitive clause; OBL: oblique; PAST: past; PERF: perfective; PL: plural; PAST.PART: past participle; PRES: present; S: Subject-like argument of an intransitive clause; SG: singular; INSTR: instrumental; V: main verb.

6 For example at the 49th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (31 August-3 September 2016, University of Naples Federico II, Naples) a specific workshop was dedicated to the study of Early New Indo-Aryan, called a ‘dark’ stage in the language development and a period characterized by a tremendous evolution and dynamics. The workshop was titled “Middle and Early New Indo-Aryan: a crucial period for linguistic development?” and the convenors were Saartje Verbeke (Ghent University/Research Foundation Flanders) and Krzysztof Stroński (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland). A summary of the workshop and of the talks accepted for this workshop are available at: <http://sle2016.eu/list-of-workshops>.

work on Hindī linguistics during the last sixty years in the form of books, research articles, monographs and dissertations. However, in recent times, there has been limited linguistic research on the varieties of Hindī, which, even if now classified as dialects, have been of primary importance in Indian linguistic analysis. This is especially true for the Braj language (often known as Braj-bhāṣā). The aim of this study is to address this deficit by presenting the analysis of one of some features of old NIA, which I commenced in 2008 in my study *L'ergatività in hindī. Studio diacronico del processo di diffusione della posposizione ne*, and continued with some other papers and talks (in particular Drocco 2016a, 2016b). At the same time the paper would like to offer a modest contribution to the study of Braj-bhāṣā from both a linguistic and philological point of view. In particular, this study investigates the details of a specific aspect of Braj-bhāṣā morpho-syntax, which has not received much attention; that is, the verbal agreement with O, the object-like argument of a transitive clause, in a perfective construction, especially when it is accompanied by an overt case-marker. As we will see even if the language of the texts analysed could be classified as a form of Braj, these texts show a language different from classical Braj, where many examples of a typical characteristic of Māravārī (i.e. Rājasthānī) are attested: this characteristic is properly the verbal agreement with O in perfective clauses, even if followed by a postposition. In section 2, in support of our main point concerning its diachronic evolution, we will briefly describe Braj-bhāṣā's literary tradition and its geographical location. Section 2.1 provides an overview of the Braj-bhāṣā texts, mostly in prose, analysed in this study. Section 3 describes the typological parameter of ergativity and in section 4 we introduce the Differential Object Marking in Early New Indo-Aryan, in particular in the IA languages considered in this study. In section 4.1, we first of all discuss the works of a few scholars who have examined this phenomenon not only in Braj-bhāṣā, but also in pre-nineteenth century Māravārī. In sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 we present the constructions taken from the Braj prose texts examined, providing our conclusions in section 5.

2 The Braj Language

Braj-bhāṣā is the language of Braj, a region extending from the south of Delhi to western Uttar Pradesh and eastern Rājasthān. This language is known with various names: Gvāliyarī (the language of Gwalior; Hindī: Gvāliyar), Braj-bhāṣā, Braj-bhākhā or simply Bhāṣā/Bhākhā (McGregor 2003, 914; Bush 2010a, 85 and 2010b, 268 note 1). Grierson (1916, 69) adds that

Braj-bhāṣā is also known as Antarbēdī, that is the language of the Antarbēd⁷ or the *doāb* ('a region lying between and reaching to the confluence of two rivers') between the Ganges and the Jamna.

Perhaps surprisingly, Braj seems to be a mixed language lacking in homogeneity. This is true not only for the various spoken forms (cf. Grierson 1916, 70), but also for its literary variety adopted in the multilinguistic environment of Muḡal India. In this regard Busch (2010a, 86) clearly maintains that, "we find considerable internal variation within the loosely-defined larger rubric of Braj Bhasha". Indeed, from a linguistic point of view, Braj-bhāṣā covers considerable territory. In particular it is spoken in the nebulously defined region of Vraja Bhūmi, which was a political state in the era of the *Mahābhārata* wars. This region, though not defined politically, is very well demarcated culturally. The area stretches from Mathurā, Jalesar, Agra, Hathras and Aligarh right up to Etah, Mainpuri and Farrukhabad districts (Michelutti 2002, 49). The largest cities in which Braj-bhāṣā is spoken are Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Gokula, and Govardhan. According to tradition these were the places in which Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood and youth (McGregor 1968, 3; Entwistle 1987, 1-21). For example in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the kingdom of King Kaṃsa is described as spreading through the Vraja region (Hindī: Braj), where the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa was born and spent his childhood days. Before Modern Hindī became the primary literary language of North India, Braj-bhāṣā was very important (cf. Grierson 1916, 72; Chatterji 1926, 12 and 1960, 191-200; McGregor 1974, 62-3; Rai 1984, 101-10) thanks to its use to write Kṛṣṇaite devotional literature (see Varmā 1935; McGregor 1968, 3; Snell 1992, 9-10, 29-36). The prestige of this language, now classified as a western dialect of Modern Hindī, was also based on its influence on the linguistic development of Khaṛī-bolī Hindī, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is in the period between the 1566 and 1658. During this time Agra, the most important city of Braj, was the capital of the Muḡal Empire (Masica 1991, 28) and Akbar, Emperor of Agra, composed some of his poems in Braj-bhāṣā. It is perhaps for this reason that Chatterji (1960, 200) chose to call this language *bādśāhī bolī*, 'the Emperor's language', or *darbārī zabān* 'imperial language', 'court language'. Similarly, according to Nespital (1998), it is on this language that the so-called urban *koinè* of Agra was formed, which significantly influenced the *zabān-e-urdū-e-mu'alla* of the new capital Delhi. More recently, in three excellent and informative studies Bush (2010b, 2011, 2014) illustrated masterfully the rise of Braj-bhāṣā in the Early Muḡal period.

7 The Braj word *Antarbēd* derives from Sanskrit *Antarvēd* literally meaning 'the country within the sacrificial ground, i.e. the holy land, *par excellence*, of India' (Grierson 1916, 69).

Moreover, it is important to highlight that what is called “Hindī”, “Hinduī” (Garcin de Tassy 1847) and “Hindavī” by some authors to designate the language of their works is, in the majority of cases, Braj-bhāṣā (cf. Bangha 2010, 35-6). Perhaps this is due to the fact that Braj-bhāṣā, as already said above, was the most important literary medium of northern India until the beginning of nineteenth century, especially for prose texts. Its prestige was so strong that it influenced both the linguistic and literary aspects of Khaṛī-bolī during most of nineteenth century (McGregor 1974, 67-8; Nespital 1998, 214-5).

Śiva Prasāda Simha (1958) carefully analysed the historical phase leading to the development of Braj-bhāṣā by attempting to draw a strict derivation of that language from its previous diachronic phase, i.e. Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. This thesis is possibly based on the fact that both languages developed during different ages, but in the same geographical area, the Madhyadeśa, in particular, as said above, in the *doāb* Gaṅgā-Yamunā. Moreover, according to the majority of scholars (Tessitori 1913b, 64 and 1914, 22-3; Chatterji 1926, 11, 113-4; Simha 1958, 8; Rai 1984, 106, 110), Avahaṭṭha⁸ and Piṅgala⁹ are to be considered younger than Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa but spoken in its same area: both these literary languages of early New Indo-Aryan show strong affinities to Braj-bhāṣā. In this respect Chatterji (1949, 65, taken from Rai 1984, 110) maintains that:

a newer, later form of Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa was taken up by the poets in Rajasthan and Malw, it was called Pingala. Pingala may be described as the intermediate language between the literary Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa and the medieval Brajbhāṣa.

The development of Braj-bhāṣā from Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa probably occurred at the beginning of Hemacandra’s life (1087-1171 AD).¹⁰ Indeed,

8 For more on Avahaṭṭha or Abhibhraṣṭa see Sen (1973) and Nara (1979), who advance the hypothesis that Avahaṭṭha was, especially in the beginning, a popular form (*laukika*) of Apabhraṃśa.

9 Piṅgala was the main literary language of poetry in the first period of evolution of Western New Indo-Aryan. Indeed the bardic literature of Rājasthān, especially eastern Rājasthān, of this period, was composed in Piṅgala (cf. Tessitori 1914, 23; Chatterji 1960, 196). The most important bardic text available is *Prṭhvirāja rāsau* (circa twelfth century) (but about its authenticity cf. McGregor 1984, 19). Tessitori (1914, 23) maintains that the language of the *Prṭhvirāja rāsau* is a “distinct form of language [...] and which might well be called Old Western Hindī”. Regarding Diṅgala, the other literary language of poetry in the same period, but in Western Rājasthān, see Smith (1975, 433-64).

10 Pischel (1965, 47) considers Hemacandra the most important of all the Prakrit grammarians. Hemacandra’s Prakrit grammar is the eighth chapter (*adhyāya*) of his *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*, of which the first seven chapters are devoted to Sanskrit; cf. Pischel (1965, 47-50) and Nitti-Dolci (1972, ch. 5).

the Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa in the examples offered in the grammar of this important Jaina scholar shows strong linguistic affinities with the literary languages known as Avahaṭṭha and Piṅgala. As already noted, the latter became Braja-bhāṣā at the end of fourteenth century (Chatterji 1926, 12; Siṃha 1958, 49; Snell 1992, 3). Rāmacandra Śukla was probably the first person to note that “Sūrasāgar appears to be the final, developed form of some continuing tradition, even though only oral, rather than the beginning of a later tradition [...]”.¹¹ Indeed Siṃha considers Sūradāsa’s text (XV-XVI century)¹² the literary peak of this important early New Indo-Aryan language that was subsequently held in great esteem for many centuries (Siṃha 1958, 8; cf. also Grierson 1916, 74-5).

2.1 Braj-bhāṣā Prose Texts

The majority of Braj-bhāṣā works are in verse governed by strict metrical rules (cf., among others, McGregor 1968, 3). This makes linguistic analysis particularly difficult, since it is difficult to distinguish between words chosen for metrical reasons and those chosen for grammatical reasons. Moreover, it is important to add that Grierson (1916, 75) clearly maintains that the first recognition of Braj-bhāṣā as a distinct dialect was Lallū Lāl’s grammar (1811); however this text is of no more help in studying the grammatical feature here taken into examination. As a consequence, the present study is based primarily on the analysis of excerpts from the few extant prose texts composed between the seventeenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, namely:

- i. the prose commentary of Indrajit of Orchā on the *Nītiśataka* of Bharṭṛhari, composed around the beginning of the seventeenth century, edited and analyzed by Ronald Stuart McGregor (1968, 3, 5-8);
- ii. the entire *Prabodha nāṭaka* (PN) of the Mahārājā Jasvant Siṃha (1626-1678), whose rule of Jodhpur began in 1638;¹³

11 For this English translation, see Rai 1984, 101-2. The original Hindī version is taken from Śukla 1973, 168.

12 Sūrdās is reputed as the most important author of Braj literature. He is known as an author of the *Aṣṭachāpa*, the eight kṛṣṇaite poets of Vallabhācārya’s *puṣṭi-mārga*. Sūrdās’s work is called *Sūrasāgara*, a well-known poem in the Braj language which describes Kṛṣṇa’s childhood.

13 Little has been written about this author (but see Snell 1992, 43). Jasvanta Siṃha is known for his *Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa*. This text, written in *dohā* – the most common couplet metre of early Hindī poetry (for its explanation see Snell 1992, 20) –, deals with rhetoric. He also wrote smaller works in Braj prose, including *Siddhātambodha*, *Bhagavada gītā ṭikā bhāṣā* and *Prabodha nāṭaka*. All these works are included in *Jasvantsiṃha granthāvalī* (cf. Miśra 1972). Much of this paper’s analysis is based on the *Prabodha nāṭaka* (pages 81 to 111), which is a Braj translation of the famous Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Kṛṣṇamiśra (on

- iii. the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*,¹⁴ in particular the four hagiographical stories, or *vārtā*, included in this text describing the most influential of the eighty-four Vaiṣṇava followers of Vallabha: the poets Sūradāsa, Kumbhanadāsa, Paramānandadāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsa, known also as the first of *Aṣṭachāpa* (McGregor 1974, 83-8; Grierson 1916, 74; Barz 1976), the well-known school of Braj poetry. The *vārtā* pertaining to these four poets are respectively 81, 82, 83 and 84;¹⁵
- iv. the *Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*.¹⁶

3 Ergativity: Some Introductory Remarks

In this section we describe the fundamental principles of ergativity and its role in NIA. As we will see, this paper's argument rests on these principles. Ergativity has been explained in quite distinct ways. In the present paper the term describes a cross-linguistically recurring case marking and agreement pattern, expressing, formally, the syntactic relation between the core arguments of one- and two-place verb sentences. Consequently, if we use the well-known symbols A and O to identify the two fundamental arguments of a transitive construction and S to identify the fundamental argument of an intransitive construction with single argument,¹⁷ it is cor-

this text see Boccali 2000, 531-2; it is mostly in prose and the only one with critical edition available.

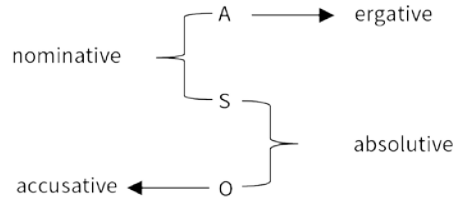
14 The *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* is the most important Braj-bhāṣā text in prose from the Vallabhācārya's *sampradāya* (1478-1530 AD) (for details of his life, see Barz 1976, 20-56), the *puṣṭi-mārga*. This work is an easy and colloquial text, where the life description of eighty-four (*caurāsī*) *vaiṣṇava* (introduced into *bhakti* by Vallabhācārya) is narrated to train followers. According to Vallabhācārya's *sampradāya* tradition, the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* was written by Gokulanātha (1552-1641 AD), Viṭṭhalanātha's fourth son (1515-1564 AD). Viṭṭhalanātha was the son of Vallabhācārya. Gokulanātha collected his grandfather's and his eighty-four followers' experiences, together with those of his father Viṭṭhalanātha and his two hundred and fifty two followers (*do sau bāvana*). He drew on these when teaching the *puṣṭi-mārga* practice. According to tradition, Gokulanātha wrote them down in Braj-bhāṣā in his older age and used Braja-bhāṣā for both spiritual and ordinary life. Gokulanātha's work was collected in the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* and in the *Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*. His nephew Harirāya (1590-1715 AD) subsequently wrote a commentary on these *vārtā* called *Bhāva prakāśa*. For further information, see Ṭaṇḍana (1960); Nagendra, Gupta (eds.) (1973, 404-8); McGregor (1984, 131-2, 208-14) and Entwistle (1987, 261-4).

15 For our analysis cf. Parīkh D. (ed.) VS 2027 (1970). This edition, considered *standard*, was firstly published in 1948 and is based on a manuscript dated 1695 AD (VS 1752) (cf. Barz 1976, 49), from a private collection in Sidhpur, in the district of Patan, in Gujarāt; cf. Ṭaṇḍana (1960, 50-1, 107-9).

16 For our analysis cf. Śarmā B., Parīkh D. (eds.) 1951-1953.

17 For a synthesis on this argument cf. Drocco (2008, 18-26).

rect to say, according to Dixon (1994, 22)¹⁸ that “the term ‘ergativity’ will be used in the standard way, for referring to S and O being treated in the same way, and differently from A. Ergative is then used in relation to A, the marked member of such an opposition, and ‘absolutive’ in relation to S and O, the unmarked term”. Dixon (1994, 9) proposes this scheme to illustrate his definition of ergativity:



Generally speaking, ergativity relates to two different parameters: morphological and syntactical. Morphologically speaking, in an ERG-ABS system, S = O in terms of the case-marking system and/or the verbal agreement (Comrie 1978, 336-42; Dixon 1994, 39). In this paper we will focus on this type of ergativity, since syntactical ergativity is not attested in modern IA (cf. Drocco 2008, 110-2). The majority of, if not all, the world’s languages which use the ERG-ABS system present alongside this system of case marking and/or verbal agreement also the NOM-ACC system (characterized by S = A, both distinct in respect of O): the resulting system is often described as a *split ergative system* (cf. Comrie 1978; Dixon 1994, 70; Plank 1995, 1184-5). The main factors determining the different split-ergative systems are (i) the location of A on the animacy hierarchy; (ii) the clause type (main vs. dependent); (iii) the semantic nature of the main verb, and (iv) the tense/aspect/mode of the main verb (Dixon 1994, 70-110).

3.1 Ergativity in Indo-Aryan


In most modern IA languages, the ERG-ABS system is attested in perfective clauses. As a consequence these languages are characterized by a split-ergative system, which is conditioned by the tense and aspect of the main verb. The following perfective clauses illustrate how this phenomenon is attested in Modern Hindī and Modern Māravārī:¹⁹

¹⁸ See Drocco (2008, 53-5) and notes to find bibliographic references about interpretations and/or definitions of ergativity and Dixon’s definition used in functional and typological studies in *Role and reference grammar*.

¹⁹ For the transliteration of *devanāgarī* script, the *International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (I.A.S.T.)*, based on a standard established by the International Congress of Orientalists at Geneva in 1894, is used.


Hindī

(1) *sāvitrī kala sārā dina mere pāsa rahī.*



 Sāvitrī (S) kala sārā dina m-er-e pāsa rah-ī(V).
 Sāvitrī(F) yesterday all day 1.SG-GEN-OBL. near stay-PERF.F
 Yesterday Sāvitrī stayed at my house for the whole day. (Caracchi 2002, 119)

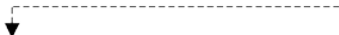
(2) *gopāla ne cāya chānī (V).*



 Gopāla (A) ne cāya (O) chān-ī (V).
 Gopāla(M) ERG tea(F) pour-PERF.F
 Gopāla poured tea. (Priyamvadā 2000, 42)

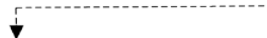
Māravārī

(3) *sītā aṭhe kale āī.*



 Sītā (S) aṭhe kāle ā-ī (V).
 Sītā(F) here yesterday come-PERF.F
 Sītā came here yesterday. (Magier 1983, 248)

(4) *sītā eka sogro jīmālīyo.*



 Sītā (A) eka sogro (O) jīmālī-y-o (V).
 Sītā(F) one (a piece of) bread(M) eat-PERF-M.SG
 Sītā ate (a piece of) bread. (Magier 1983, 248)

In (1), S, in the direct case and not followed by a postposition, governs the gender and number of the main verb, while (2) shows a perfective transitive clause using the ERG-ABS system in respect to case marking and verbal agreement: A is followed by a specific case-marker, which is *ne* in Hindī, and main verb shows agreement with O in gender and number (cf., among many others, Matthews 1952, 394; Pandharipande, Kachru 1977, 219-20, 223-4). The ERG-ABS system of Māravārī is different from that of Hindī and the majority of modern NIA languages. Indeed, in this language $S \neq A$, as typical of an ERG-ABS system, but this is true only for some pronouns and some nouns (Magier 1983, 244-5; Khokhlova 2001, 167; cf. also Khokhlova 2006). For example, in (4) A is not followed by any case-marker, because it is a proper noun. When a proper noun is used in Māravārī, $S = A$, even in perfective clauses. As in (2), the main verb is in agreement in gender and

number with O, which is a genuine ERG-ABS system.

What it is true for Hindī and Māravāṛī it is also true for all modern IA languages showing the typological parameter of split-ergativity. Although there are variations of the case-marking rules of A in perfective clauses (sometimes S = A, as in Māravāṛī), their verbal agreement, in the majority of cases,²⁰ is aligned according an ERG-ABS system if O is not followed by any postposition.²¹

3.2 Ergativity and Differential Object Marking in Indo-Aryan

An intriguing feature of modern IA with ergative and non-ergative constructions alike,²² but of particular interest in those languages showing split-ergativity, is the marking of O when it is either animate or 'definite' (i.e. one that is already known) (cf. Comrie 1979, 212-5; Klaiman 1987, 76-7; Masica 1991, 365-9). This is normally done with the dative postposition, called for this reason the DAT/ACC postposition (Masica 1991, 365).²³ In an IA ergative construction the case-marking of O is very important, even if done for a reason other than that under examination, for the resulting verbal agreement (cf. Klaiman 1987, 77-93; Masica 1991, 342). Consider the following Hindī perfective clause:²⁴

20 In Nepālī, A is always in agreement with main verb in perfective clauses, even if in the latter is followed by the ergative case-marker *le* (cf. Klaiman 1987, 78; Masica 1991, 343).

21 See Dahl, Stroński 2016 for a recent and detailed account of ergativity in IA; cf. also the papers included in Dahl, Stroński (eds.) (2016).

22 In Kāśmīrī, where is also present an ERG-ABS system in perfective tenses, O is followed by a specific case-marker only in non-perfective clauses (cf. Klaiman 1987, 77). In contrast, as Hook and Koul (2002, 143) have pointed out, explicit marking for direct object is not required "in the simple past and perfect tenses". Even if Verbeke, De Clercq (2016, 47) assert that this construction occur only in Kāśmīrī and Pogulī (the latter also a Dardic language spoken in Jammu and Kashmir state and resembling Kāśmīrī), Zoller (2007) and recently Drocco (2016c) showed that also in the endangered language Baṅgāṇī (spoken between the Pabar and Tons rivers in the Uttarkāśī district of the Uttarākhaṇḍ state), where is also present an ergative-absolute case-marking and verbal agreement system in perfective constructions, O is never marked in ergative clauses.

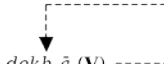
23 According to Masica (2001, 243-6) the marking of definiteness (as he called it) by the use of the ACC (or DAT/ACC) marker on direct objects is a typical feature of the South Asia seen as a linguistic area. As regards India reputed a good example of a linguistic area see also Masica 1976.

24 In the absence of explicit reference, the extract is drawn from the interviews conducted with mother-tongue speakers.

Hindī

(5) *rāma ne una laṛakiyoṃ ko dekhā.*

<i>Rāma</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>laṛaki-yoṃ</i> (O)	<i>ko</i>	<i>dekh-ā</i> (V).
Rām(M)	ERG	3.PL.OBL	girl(F)-OBL.PL	DAT/ACC	see-PERF.M.SG
Rām saw these girls.					



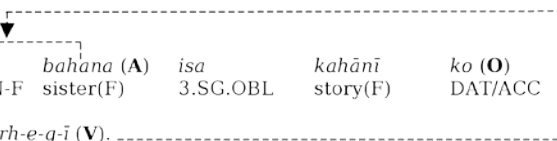
In (5), the main verb is not in agreement with O, a feminine noun (= *laṛakiyoṃ*, F), but is masculine and singular. Since both A and O in this Hindī construction are followed by a postposition, the main verb cannot agree with either and, consequently, is always in the masculine singular. This form of the verb has been called the ‘neutral’ form by several scholars (cf. Matthews 1952, 394; Masica 1991, 342; Palmer 1994, 59). Therefore in Hindī if A is followed by *ne* and O is followed by *ko* the standard ERG-ABS agreement is blocked.

Before continuing it is important to point out that in Hindī if O is ‘definite’ (i.e. one that is already known) thus, even if non-human, the DAT/ACC postposition *ko* is present, exactly as in the following constructions:


Hindī

(6) *āja merī bahana isa kahānī ko nahīm paṛhegī.*

<i>āja</i>	<i>m-ēr-ī</i>	<i>bahana</i> (A)	<i>isa</i>	<i>kahānī</i>	<i>ko</i> (O)
today	1.SG-GEN-F	sister(F)	3.SG.OBL	story(F)	DAT/ACC
<i>nahīm</i>	<i>paṛh-e-g-ī</i> (V).				
NEG	read-3.SG-FUT-F				
Today my sister will not read this story. (adapted from Caracchi 2002, 83)					


(7) *bhikṣuka ne gaṭharī ko ājamāyā.*

<i>bhikṣuka</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>	<i>gaṭharī</i> (O)	<i>ko</i>	<i>ājamā-y-ā</i> (V).
beggar(M)	ERG	bundle(F)	DAT/ACC	weigh-PERF-M.SG
The beggar weighed the bundle. (Premacanda, “Kajāki”, in <i>Mānasarovara</i> , bhāga 5, 200)				



In (6) a non-animate but ‘definite’ O is followed by *ko*: the construction is not ergative and therefore the verb is in concord with A. However in (7), a transitive perfective and thus ergative clause, the main verb is not in agreement with O, a feminine noun (= *gaṭharī*, F), but is masculine and singular.

In Hindi perfective clauses, the verb does not agree with O (thereby showing its 'neutral' form), not only if O is followed by *ko*, but also if O is a subordinate object clause, as in the reported speech, or if no specific O is expressed or implied (cf. Matthews 1952, 393-4; Caracchi 2002, 80-1).

The DAT/ACC postposition follows O also in Gujarātī and Māravārī. In both languages this case-marker is represented by the postposition *ne*. But in Gujarātī and Māravārī the verbal agreement is aligned differently to Hindi. This is an example of a Gujarātī perfective clause:

Gujarātī

(8) *chokarāmē strī ne joī.*

<i>chokar-ām-e</i> (A)	<i>strī</i> (O)	<i>ne</i>	<i>jo-ī</i> (V).
child-M.PL.ERG	women(F)	DAT	see-PERF.F
The children saw the women. (Lambert 1971, 89)			

In this example A is followed, as expected, by an ergative case-marker, namely the suffix *-e*, and O is followed by the DAT/ACC postposition *ne*. But, as we can see, the main verb is in concord with O, despite the DAT/ACC case-marker following O (cf. Cardona 1964, 270; Lambert 1971, 89; Comrie 1979, 214-5). The same phenomenon occurs in Māravārī (cf. Allen 1960, 9-13; Magier 1983, 252-3). In short, in both languages verbal agreement is always organized according an ERG-ABS system, even when O is followed by case-marker.

The Hindi ERG-ABS system is attested in all perfective sentences, that is in all clauses where the verb is constructed with the past participle of main verb and an auxiliary verb of *honā* (cf. Matthews 1952; Caracchi 2002, 80). In these clauses the auxiliary *honā* is in agreement with O if the latter is in the direct case, but if O is followed by the DAT/ACC postposition the auxiliary *honā* is 3rd singular person, as in (9):

Hindi

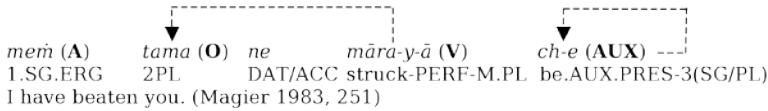
(9) *prasāda ne una laṛakom ko dekhā thā.*

<i>Prasāda</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>laṛak-om</i> (O)	<i>ko</i>
Prasāda(M)	ERG	3.PL.OBL	boy-M.PL.OBL	DAT/ACC
<i>dekh-ā</i> (V)	-----	<i>th-ā</i> (AUX)	-----	
see-PERF.M.SG		be.AUX.IMPF-M.SG		
Prasāda had seen those boys. (Caracchi 2002, 80)				

However, as described earlier, the situation is different in Gujarātī:

Gujarātī

(10) *mem tama ne mārayā che.*



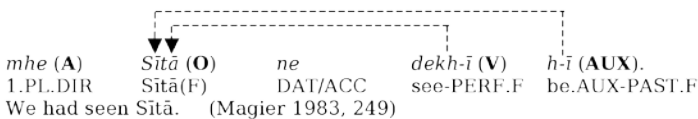
In (10), contrary to Hindī (cf. example 9), the main verb agrees with O, while auxiliary is in the ‘unmarked form’ showing concord with no nominal at all (cf. Cardona 1964, 270; Magier 1983, 251).²⁵ In Māravārī, depending on the tense of the auxiliary after the past participle of the main verb, two different compound past tenses can be formed, namely the present perfect and past perfect. According to Magier (1983, 248-50), in this language the main verb is in agreement with O in the present perfect, even if O is followed by postposition, and, in contrast to Gujarātī, the auxiliary agrees with A (cf. example no. 11). If the verb is in past perfect, both the main verb and auxiliary follow the standard ERG-ABS system, even if O is followed by the DAT/ACC marker *ne* (cf. example no. 12).²⁶

Māravārī

(11) *mhaiṁ sītā ne dekhī hūṁ.*



(12) *mhe sītā ne dekhī hī.*



²⁵ This kind of verbal agreement is not only attested in Gujarātī, but also in Mevārī, a dialect of Rājasthānī; see Magier (1983, 251).

²⁶ We use this gloss for the 1st person singular pronoun of Māravārī because in the contemporary form of this language the instrumental suppletive form is sometimes used, instead of the nominative one, for S and A in perfective clauses; cf. Drocco (2008, 94-5).

Khokhlova's studies on modern Māravārī (1992, 89-90 and 2001, 168) seem to confirm Magier's work (1983). However, she adds that this specific kind of verbal agreement in the present perfect is particularly frequent when A is the first person singular pronoun (cf. also Allen 1960 note 13). With examples from contemporary Māravārī prose, Khokhlova further notes that in present perfect sentences with A as a first person singular pronoun, both the main and auxiliary verbs agree with O, following the standard ERG-ABS system, as in the past perfect (cf. example no. 12).

4 Differential Object Marking in Early New Indo-Aryan

As we said in the introduction of this paper, little attention has been devoted to the evolution and the formation of the main NIA languages, especially from a syntactic and morpho-syntactic perspective. For example, there are few works examining the evolution of the original IA ERG-ABS system in NIA. Some recent examples are those of Khokhlova (1992, 1995, 2001), Drocco (2008, 2016a, 2016b), Montaut (2007, 2016) and Stroňsky (2011). However, although these works examine the dissolution and restoration of the ERG-ABS system, they focus on the case-marking of A. They dedicate little attention to the morpho-syntactic coding of O, in terms of case-marking and verbal agreement.²⁷ The rest of this paper aims to fill this gap²⁸ by analysing sentences from the texts mentioned above.²⁹ Since we will focus on medieval Māravārī and especially on Braj, we think it is useful to mention the findings of those scholars who have studied this topic.

Tessitori's work (1913a, 553-67; 1914, 216) was especially concerned with the etymology of the dative marker *naim*, which is mostly used to mark O. He asserts that the use of this postposition is regular in this function; however, he does not explain in which tenses this postposition is generally employed. Furthermore he does not illustrate the verbal agreement patterns found in perfective sentences when O is followed by *naim*. Therefore

27 The case-marking of O with a specific postposition, if human/animate and/or definite, seems to be an NIA innovation. In pre-nineteenth century studies, it was proposed that the argument in the O role is variably marked by the oblique case and/or by a postposition. However, it remains unclear how and when this innovation took place in modern IA languages, especially in those varieties characterized by an ERG-ABS system.

28 A very recent contribution devoted to the diachronic analysis of this important feature of NIA languages is the talk titled "Dative/accusative syncretism in New Indo-Aryan" presented by Ashwini Deo, Christin Schätzle and Miriam Butt at the workshop "Middle and Early New Indo-Aryan: a crucial period for linguistic development?" in the context of the 49th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (see note 6 above).

29 In the texts examined, *ne* is used as an ergative case-marker in the perfective. In this study, we only consider those sentences in which this postposition is present, because genuine ergative constructions.

the diachronic development resulting in the agreement patterns of present-day Māravāṛī have not been described (cf. § 3.1 and § 3.2 above). Like Tesitori, Khokhlova (2001) examined pre-eighteenth century Māravāṛī, but focused her attention on the attrition of the original ERG-ABS system of IA. She (2001, 167) says, “The ‘accusative’ postposition appeared first in constructions with verbs in imperfective tenses and later penetrated also into the perfective domain”. Khokhlova (2001, 182 note 5) also adds that, in regards to the imperfective tenses, “the accusative postposition has been used since the fifteenth century”, but only since the seventeenth century in perfective tenses. Smith (1975, 449), also focusing on early Māravāṛī, says that, “If the logical object of a transitive verb is followed by the objective postposition *nai/nūm*, the verb and auxiliary show the form expected if there were no such postposition”. However, this author does not give examples which illustrate this. Moreover, he does not illustrate the evolution of this particular morpho-syntactic phenomenon. Consequently, there remains a lack of evidence showing Māravāṛī’s agreement pattern in ergative constructions where O is followed by the DAT/ACC postposition.

As regards *verba dicendi* it is interesting to examine the following ergative construction taken from a Māravāṛī prose text:

Medieval Māravāṛī

(13) *pābūjī kahī [...]*

<i>Pābūjī</i> (A)	<i>kah-ī</i> (V)	[...]
<i>Pābūjī</i> (M)	<i>say</i> -PERF.F	
<i>Pābūjī</i> said [...]		

(Naiṇasī, Mumhato, *Mumhatā Naiṇasīrī Khyāta III.66.3x*, adapted from Smith 1975, 450)

In (13), despite A being masculine,³⁰ the verb is feminine. This is typical not only in Māravāṛī (Smith 1975; Hāṛautī, a Rājasthānī dialect cf. Allen 1960, 10), but also in Braj-bhāṣā (McGregor 1968, 85, 94, 224, note 3) when is present a reporting speech. The verb appears to agree with the noun *bāta* (F) ‘the thing said’, which is not mentioned. However, it is important to point out that in some cases sentences with the argument in A role show ‘neutral/impersonal’ form agreement, akin to that in Modern Standard Hindī; that is, masculine and singular, as in the following construction:

³⁰ In medieval and modern Māravāṛī (as regards the latter cf. § 4.) proper nouns does not present any case-marker and/or inflection when they occur as A of perfective constructions; as a consequence in these clauses they show S = A.

Medieval Māravārī

(14) *pābūjī kahyo [...]*

<i>Pābūjī</i> (A)	<i>kah-y-o</i> (V)	[...]
<i>Pābūjī</i> (M)	say-PERF-M.SG	
<i>Pābūjī</i> said [...]		

(Naiṇasī, Mumhato, *Mumhatā Naiṇasīrī Khyāta III.66.3x*, adapted from Smith 1975, 450)

Data illustrating the case-marking of O in Braj-bhāṣā perfective clauses and the associated agreement patterns are scantier than those of Māravārī. Indeed, in Varmā (1935) and Snell (1992), it is not possible to find any evidence about this particular topic. The same is true for the introductory linguistic notes to the editions of the devotional poems of Svāmī Haridās, of Kevalarāma's *Rāsa māna ke pada* and of Hita Harivaṃśa's *Caurāsī pada*, published by Ludmila L. Rosenstein (ed. 1997), Alan W. Entwistle (ed. 1993) and Rupert Snell (ed. 1991), respectively. To my knowledge, the only scholar who has analyzed this phenomenon seems to be McGregor (1968): we will review his work in the following section.

4.1 Differential Object Marking in Early Braj-bhāṣā Prose Texts

In the prose text of Indrajit of Orchā, ergative constructions, called *perfective-agentive* by McGregor (1968, 224), are normally used. In these sentences O agrees with main verb (sometimes followed by an auxiliary), while A, if a noun, takes the oblique case (if different from the direct one); in case it is a pronoun, it shows either the oblique case or a case other than the direct. Both arguments are never followed by any postposition. Indeed, in this text the typical ergative case-marker of Hindī, the postposition *ne*, is not attested (129-130, 224-5). In regards to the verbal agreement pattern of perfective clauses with *ko* after O, McGregor (1968, 225) says:

It is noteworthy that there are no examples clearly parallel to the common impersonal perfective-agentive construction of mod.(ern) st.(andard) H.(indī), which shows obl.(ique) case nominal form + *ko* with perfective participle in concord [...] [and] which is found wherever a 'definite object' would have been semantically appropriate in conjunction with a non-perfective verbal form.

We can thus conclude that, in the language used in the prose of Indrajit of Orchā a case-marking system of O in perfective clauses, which influences verbal agreement as in Modern Hindī, had not developed. McGregor

makes some very interesting arguments about the occurrence of this kind of construction in other Braj-bhāṣā literature. He (1968, 225) asserts:

Sūr's use of perfective-agentive constructions appears to agree substantially with that of this text. His perfective forms predominantly show concord with unsuffixed substs., even where there would be scope for regarding these as 'definite objects' in terms of the mod.(ern) st.(andard) H.(indī) construction.

This is confirmed by some ergative clauses found in the *Sūrasāgara*, as in example (15) and (16) below:³¹

(15) *prathama karī hari mākhana corī.*

<i>prathama</i>	<i>kar-ī</i> (V)	<i>hari</i> (A)	<i>mākhana</i>	<i>corī</i> (O).
first	do-PERF.F	Hari(M)	butter(M)	theft(F)
Hari made his first butter-theft.				
(Sūradāsa, <i>Sūra-sāgara</i> , vol. 1, <i>Rāga Rāmakalī</i> 886, 250)				

(16) *jasoda ūkhala bāmdhe Syāma.*

<i>Jasoda</i> (A)	<i>ūkhala</i>	<i>bāmdh-e</i> (V)	<i>Syāma</i> (O).
Yaśodā(F)	mortar(M)	tie-PERF.M.PL	Syāma(M)(PL)
Yaśodā tied Śyāma to the mortar.			
(Sūradāsa, <i>Sūra-sāgara</i> , vol. 1, <i>Rāga Rāmakalī</i> 997, 310)			

As we can see, in both constructions O is in agreement with the verb. In particular this is true also for construction in (16) where O is a proper noun referring to a human argument: in a similar Modern Hindī construction O would certainly have been followed by the DAT/ACC postposition *ko*, the latter neutralising the verbal agreement according an ERG-ABS system.

4.1.1 Differential Object Marking in the Prabodha nāṭaka

In the *Prabodha nāṭaka*, unlike in Indrajit's text, A is followed by *ne*, but only in perfective sentences. It is important to note that the use of this postposition as the ergative case marker of A is not obligatory, as in Mod-

³¹ In this example *Syāma* shows plural agreement with the verb, probably because it is an honorific. The same is true for Modern Standard Hindī, especially when are used titles and/or honorific prefixes/suffixes (cf. Caracchi 2002, 30-2).

ern Standard Hindī (Drocco 2008, chapter 6). In a perfective clause with A followed by *ne* but with O in the direct case, the latter agrees with the main verb in both gender and number. In the few instances in which there are human and/or definite Os (e.g. proper nouns and first and second person pronouns), the DAT/ACC postposition *koṃ/kaum̃* is present. Nevertheless, verbal agreement is not always clear,³² as in the following sentence:

(17) *Bastubicāra nai Kāma kaum̃ māryau [...]*

<i>Bastubicāra</i> (A) Investigation into Truth(M) Investigation into Truth (Jasvanta Siṃha, <i>Prabodha nāṭaka</i> , in <i>Granthāvalī</i> , 105)	<i>nai</i> ERG [...]	<i>Kāma</i> (O) Desire(M) [...]	<i>kaum̃</i> DAT/ACC [...]	<i>mār-y-au</i> (V) --[...] kill-PERF-M.SG [...]
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Dashed lines with arrows and question marks connect the O and V to the postposition *kaum̃* and the verb *mār-y-au* respectively.

In (17), it is not possible to determine whether the main verb *māranā* is masculine and singular, because O is marked by the postposition *kaum̃*. The verb could be either in the ‘neuter form’, as it would be in Hindī, or in agreement with O, as it would be in Māravārī and Gujarātī. This is because O is masculine, singular, and a 3rd person. Similar observations can be made about (18), since the past participle of *paṭhā-* is masculine and singular and the same is true for O, a 1st singular person pronoun related to *Bairaga*, occurring in the previous construction, also masculine and singular. However, the auxiliary *honā*, here in the 3rd person singular, does not agree with O, but is surely in the ‘neuter form’.

(18) *mo kaum̃ devī āsatikatā nai paṭhayo hai [...]*

<i>mo</i> (O) 1SG.OBL [...]	<i>kaum̃</i> DAT/ACC [...]	<i>devī</i> Goddess(F) [...]	<i>Āsatikatā</i> (A) Āsatikatā(F) [...]	<i>nai</i> ERG [...]	<i>paṭhā-y-o</i> (V) --[...] send-PERF-M.SG [...]
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Dashed lines with arrows and question marks connect the O and V to the postposition *kaum̃* and the verb *paṭhā-y-o* respectively.

<i>h-ai</i> (AUX) --[...] be.AUX.PRES-3SG The Goddess Āsatikatā sent me [...] (Jasvanta Siṃha, <i>Prabodha nāṭaka</i> , in <i>Granthāvalī</i> , 107)

Consequently, with regard to the morpho-syntactic feature under examination, examples (17) and (18) do not provide sufficient data to establish whether Braj behaves like Hindī or Māravārī/Gujarātī. However, if we look at the following sentence (i.e. 19), it is interesting to observe how

³² As such, in 17, as well as in some of the following examples, we have shown the various possibilities by marking them with “?”.

example (18) is given in a different manuscript of the *Prabodha nāṭaka*:

(19) *mo kauṁ devī āsatikatā naim paṭhayau haum̃.*

↓	↓					
mo (O)	kauṁ	devī	Āsatikatā (A)	naim	paṭha-y-au (V)	
1SG.OBL	DAT/ACC	Goddess(F)	Āsatikatā(F)	ERG	send-PERF-M.SG	

h-āum̃ (AUX).
 be.AUX.PRES-1.SG
 The Goddess Āsatikatā sent me [...]
 (Jasvanta Siṃha, *Prabodha nāṭaka*, in *Granthāvalī*, 107, note 77)

As we can see, example (19) is very similar to (18). The only difference in the reading is the form of the auxiliary. In (19), there is agreement of the auxiliary with the first singular person pronoun, that in the construction is O + *kauṁ*: as we have mentioned above, this is a characteristic of present-day Māravārī (cf. Khokhlova's arguments above).

Now we offer another example:

(20) *mo koṁ devī āsatikatā nai paṭhāi hai [...]*

↓					
mo (O)	koṁ	devī	Āsatikatā (A)	nai	paṭha-ī (V)
1SG.OBL	DAT/ACC	Goddess(F)	Āsatikatā(F)	ERG	send-PERF.F

↓

h-ai (AUX) --- [...]
 be.AUX.PRES-3.SG
 The Goddess Āsatikatā sent me [...]
 (Jasvanta Siṃha, *Prabodha nāṭaka*, in *Granthāvalī*, 108)

In (20) O is a 1st person singular pronoun referring to feminine noun. Consequently, in this example, the main verb *paṭha-* seems to be in agreement with O, even if followed by the DAT-ACC postposition *koṁ*, while the auxiliary is in the 3rd person singular, that is, the 'neutral form'. This construction (20) is thus morphosyntactically very similar to other constructions in Gujarātī (cf. example no. 8) and Mevārī, the latter being a dialect of Rājasthānī (cf. note no. 25).³³ Ultimately, it is not possible to advance conclusive arguments concerning agreement patterns in the *Prabodha nāṭaka*'s perfective sentences which introduce reported speech. This is due to the fact that in this text a reported speech is introduced through

³³ It is possible to advance the hypothesis that in (20) the main verb and auxiliary are both in agreement with A, 3rd feminine singular, even if the same argument is marked by *nai*. This pattern of agreement, although very rare, is attested in other texts of the same period (cf. Drocco 2008, 229), but in languages other than Braj-bhāṣā.

the verb *bola-*: the latter always agrees with its subject and thus follows a NOM-ACC pattern (cf. Drocco 2008, 230 note 28).

4.1.2 Differential Object Marking in *vārtā* Literature

In the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* perfective clauses following an ERG-ABS alignment are very frequent, but, as in the *Prabodha nāṭaka*, the use of the ergative case-maker *ne* is not fixed (see Drocco 2008, ch. 6 and Drocco 2016a). In perfective clauses, when A is followed by *ne* and O is not followed by any case marker, verbal agreement typically follows an ERG-ABS pattern (cf. 21).

(21) [...] *mathurā teṃ pāmcasau manuṣya bīrabala ne paṭhāye*

[...]	<i>Mathurā</i>	<i>teṃ</i>	<i>pāmcasau</i>	<i>manuṣya</i> (O)	<i>Bīrabala</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>
	Mathurā	ABI./LOC	five hundred	men	Bīrabala(M)	ERG
	<div style="text-align: center;">▼</div>					
	<i>paṭhā-y-e</i> (V) send-PERF-M.PL [...] Bīrabala sent five hundred men from Mathurā [...]					
	(Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā, 561)					

A verb introducing reported speech (for example, *kaha-*, *pucha-*), if perfective and with A followed by *ne*, is frequently in the feminine, as in medieval Māravāṛī and other Braj-bhāṣā texts. Consider the following example:

(22) *so [...] desādhipati neṃ sūradāsa soṃ kahī [...]*

<i>so</i>	[...]	<i>desādhipati</i> (A)	<i>neṃ</i>	<i>Sūradāsa</i>	<i>soṃ</i>	<i>kahī</i> (V)---	[...]
coṣī		Emperor(M)	ERG	Sūradāsa	INSTR	say-PERF.F	
Thus [...] the Emperor said to Sūradāsa [...] (Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā, 417)							

However, as illustrated in (23), the same verbs in the perfective may be masculine and singular, as in Modern Standard Hindi:

(23) *so desādhipati ne sūradāsa soṃ kahyo [...]*

<i>so</i>	<i>desādhipati</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>	<i>Sūradāsa</i>	<i>soṃ</i>	<i>kah-y-o</i> (V)---[...]
thus	Emperor(M)	ERG	Sūradāsa	INSTR	say-PERF-M.SG
Thus the Emperor said to Sūradāsa, [...] (Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā, 417)					

In the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* the use of the DAT/ACC postposition after O in a ergative construction is infrequent. When it occurs, O is always human and definite. However, in such cases, verbal agreement is always according an ERG-ABS system. For example:

(24) *hama koṃ śrīācāryajī ne [...] rākhe hate, [...]*

hama (O) 1PL.DIR	koṃ DAT/ACC	Śrīācāryajī (A) Śrī ācāryajī	ne [...] ERG	rākhe (V) put-PERF.M.PL.
hāt-e (AUX), be.AUX.IMPF(past)-M.PL Śrī ācāryajī had charged us [...] (literally: Śrī ācāryajī had put us [...]) (Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā, 539)				

The same is true for these common and proper nouns occurring as O (cf. 25), sometimes followed by the honorific suffix *-jī* (cf. 26): with this kind of nominals the typical ‘honorific plural’ (cf. note no. 31) is normally adopted and, as a consequence, the verb shows plural agreement:

(25) *[...] śrīgusāmījī ne sūradāsa koṃ [...] na dekhe.*

[...] ŚrīGusāmījī (A) Śrī Gusāmījī	ne ERG	Sūradāsa (O) Sūradāsa	koṃ DAT/ACC	[...] na NEG	dekhe (V) see PERF.M.PL
[...] Śrī Gusāmījī didn't see Sūradāsa [...] (Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā, 436)					

(26) *[...] taba śrīgiradharajī ne sūradāsajī koṃ bulāye [...]*

[...] taba śrīgiradharajī (A) thus Śrī Giradharajī(M)	ne ERG	sūradāsajī (O) Sūradāsajī	koṃ DAT/ACC	bulā-ye (V) call-PERF.M.PL
[...] thus Śrī Giradharajī called Sūradāsajī [...] (Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā, 412-22)				

The situation described so far is very similar to the situation of *Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* that, even if also ascribed to Gokulanātha, it has a different manuscript tradition compared to *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*; see examples in (27) and (28) below very similar to (22) and (23) above:

(27) [...] *śrīnāthajī nem śrīgusāmījī soṃ kahyo* [...]

[...]	<i>Śrīnāthajī</i> (A)	<i>nem</i>	<i>Śrī Gusāmījī</i>	<i>soṃ</i>	<i>kah-y-o</i> (V)	[...]
	Śrīnāthajī	ERG	Śrī Gusāmījī	INSTR	say-PERF.M.SG	
	[...] Śrīnāthajī said to Śrīgusāmījī [...] (<i>Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā</i> , 38)					

(28) *taba śrīgusāmījī soṃ dharmadāsa ne pūchī* [...]

<i>taba</i>	<i>Śrī Gusāmījī</i>	<i>soṃ</i>	<i>Dharmadāsa</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>	<i>pūch-ī</i> (V)	[...]
so	Śrī Gusāmījī	INSTR	Dharmadāsa	ERG	ask-PERF.F	
So Dharmadāsa asked Śrīgusāmījī [...] (<i>Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā</i> , 11)						

In regard to the topic of the present study, it is possible to find perfective clauses with A followed by the ergative postposition *ne* and O in agreement with main verb also in the *Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*, even if marked with the DAT/ACC postposition *koṃ*, exactly as the other Braj constructions presented below and, as already said, similarly to the situation found in present-day Māravāṛī.

(29) [...] *tāhī samaya bhītariyā āyo* [...] *kānhabāi koṃ dekhī*.

[...]	<i>tāhī</i>	<i>samaya</i>	<i>bhītariyā</i> (S = A)	<i>ā-y-o</i>	[...]	(A = zero)
	that	moment	family member(M)	come-PERF.M.SG		
	<i>kānhabāi</i> (O)	<i>koṃ</i>	<i>dekh-ī</i> (V).			
	Kānhabāi(F)	DAT/ACC	see-PERF.F			
	[...] in that moment a family member came [and] [...] saw Kānhabāi. (<i>Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā</i> , 5)					

(30) *tuma koṃ śrīgusāmījī ne bulāe haim*.

<i>tuma</i> (O)	<i>koṃ</i>	<i>Śrī Gusāmījī</i> (A)	<i>ne</i>	<i>bulā-e</i> (V)
2.PL(M)	DAT/ACC	Śrī Gusāmījī	ERG	call-PERF.M.SG
<i>h-aim</i> (AUX)				
be.AUX-PRES.3.PL				
Śrīgusāmījī have called you. (<i>Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā</i> , 45)				

It is interesting to point out that in the *Bhāva prakāśa*, Harirāya's commentary of *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* (as regards Harirāya see note no. 14), there occur some perfective clauses with A + *ne* and O marked by

the postposition *koṃ*, with the main verb certainly in the unmarked form, i.e. masculine and singular and the auxiliary in the third person. This is the situation found in Modern Standard Hindī. For example:

(31) *hama koṃ corana nem lūṭyo hai.*

<i>hama</i> (O)	<i>koṃ</i>	<i>cor-ana</i> (A)	<i>nem</i>	<i>lūṭ-y-o</i> (V)
1.PL.DIR	DAT/ACC	thief-M.PL.OBL	ERG	rob-PERF-M.SG

↓
h-ai (AUX) ---
 be.AUX.PRES-3.SG
 (Some) thieves have robbed us.
 (*Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*, 527)

But even more interesting one can see very few exceptions to what said above also in the *Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*; example in (32) is one of such exceptions:

(32) *tuma koṃ kinane bulāyo hai?*

<i>tuma</i> (O)	<i>koṃ</i>	<i>kinane</i> (A)	<i>bulā-y-o</i> (V)	<i>h-ai</i> (AUX)?
2.PL(M)	DAT/ACC	who-OBL-ERG	call-PERF-M.SG	be.AUX-PRES.3.SG
Who has have called you.			<i>(Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā</i> , 19)	

5 Conclusion

Until now, the morpho-syntax of verbal agreement in Braj-bhāṣā perfective sentences, especially when O is followed by a case-marker, has received little attention from scholars. The main aim of the paper was to contribute in filling this gap. The aforementioned examples from the texts of the few available Braj-bhāṣā prose works, which are reliable for the purpose of linguistic analysis, show that Braj-bhāṣā and other NIA languages and/or dialects related to Rājasthānī and/or to Gujarātī behave quite similarly in respect to the phenomenon under investigation. It is interesting to note that Tessitori (1913b), although focusing on other phenomena, advanced some arguments about the relatively similar language of the Digambara version of *Karakuṇḍa kī kathā*. According to the writer from Udine, that language seemed classifiable as 'Jaipurī'; however, this Jaipurī is distinct from Modern Jaipurī, since the language was at an earlier stage of development and showed similarities with both Māravārī and Braj-bhāṣā (Tessitori 1913b, 63). In fact the Jaipurī language of the *Karakuṇḍa kī kathā*

is more similar to Western Hindī than Modern Jaipurī. The latter is now considered a linguistic variety of Māravāṛī and therefore very similar to Gujarātī (cf. Tessitori 1913b, 63) and this, according to this Italian scholar (1913b, 64), is:

according to the hypothesis [...] that the dialects of eastern Rajasthani and those of Western Hindī would be derived from a single language that I would call ancient eastern Rajasthani, to distinguish it from the ancient western Rajasthani that [...] is the mother of Maravari and Gujarati. (1913b, 64)³⁴

We believe that this paper has further evidenced Tessitori's hypothesis, which is not yet fully developed. Indeed we propose that both *Karakuṇḍa kī kathā* and the texts in Braj prose examined in this paper show evidence of common features shared by different varieties. As already pointed out, according to Tessitori this is probably the result of the origin of these varieties from an old vernacular form of Eastern Rajputana – whether Old Eastern Rajasthānī or Old Western Hindī – “in origin more closely allied to the language of the Gangetic Doab than to that of Western Rajputana and Gujarat, and [...] only afterwards differentiated from the former under the influence of the latter” (Tessitori 1914, 23). However a more detailed analysis, taking into account the studies on contact linguistics (cf., for example, Thomason, Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003), should be done to validate Tessitori's hypothesis.

In conclusion, a study of the major dialects of Rājasthānī, especially the eastern ones, and those of Western Hindī could help to understand and define more precisely the development of the current ERG-ABS system of Modern Hindī. This is particularly true if this study is coupled with an analysis of the possible mutual influence between them, of which, it should be remembered, significant written evidence exists, though most remains unexamined in manuscript.

³⁴ Translation of the following original Italian text: “in pieno accordo coll'ipotesi [...] secondo cui i dialetti della rājasthānī orientale e quelli della hindī occidentale sarebbero derivati da un unico ceppo e cioè da quella lingua, che io chiamerei antica rājasthānī orientale, per distinguerla dall'antica rājasthānī occidentale che [...] è la madre della māvāvāḍī e della gujarātī” (Tessitori 1913b, 64).

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