

# DIACHRONICA

---

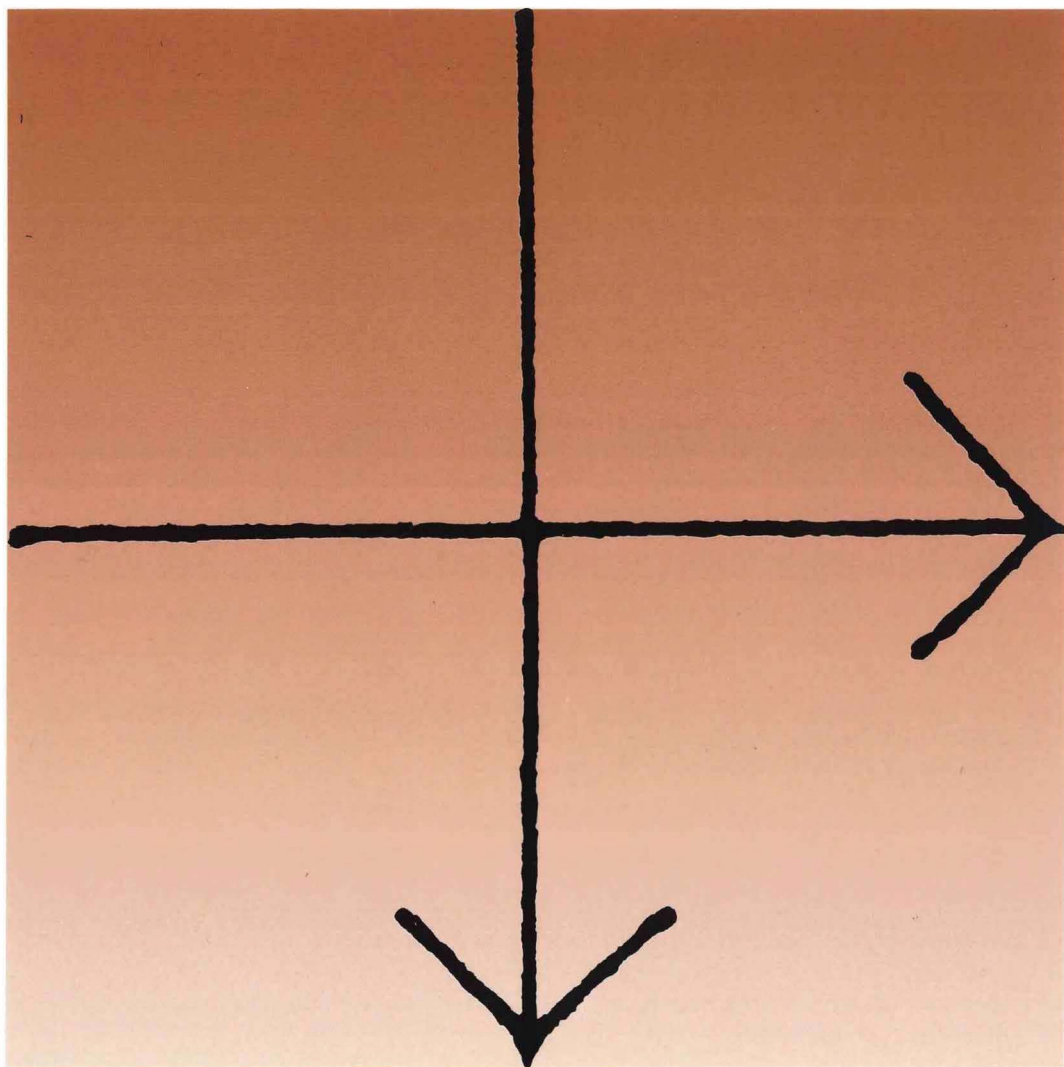
VOLUME 38

NUMBER 3

2021

SPECIAL ISSUE

Diachronic Dimensions of Alignment Typology



JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

# John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from *Diachronica* 38:3

© 2021. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible only to members (students and faculty) of the author's/s' institute. It is not permitted to post this PDF on the internet, or to share it on sites such as Mendeley, ResearchGate, Academia.edu.

Please see our rights policy on <https://benjamins.com/content/customers/rights>

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com)).

Please contact [rights@benjamins.nl](mailto:rights@benjamins.nl) or consult our website: [www.benjamins.com](http://www.benjamins.com)

# Typology and diachrony of converbs in Indo-Aryan

Krzysztof Stroński and Leonid Kulikov

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań | Ghent University

Non-finite forms constitute an important component of the verbal system of Indo-Aryan (IA) languages. On the one hand, some of them, such as e.g., converbs, have already received proper attention in historical linguistics and typological literature, with regard to Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) and New Indo-Aryan (NIA) (cf. Tikkanen 1987; Peterson 1998; Subbarao 2012 among others). Other forms, such as participles, have usually been analysed in the wider context of reorganisation of a finite verbal system which led to alignment change (for recent discussion see Dahl and Stroński 2016). On the other hand, adverbial participles or infinitives have so far been under-studied (cf. Sigorski 2005), particularly within early NIA. This period in the history of IA languages witnessed several important morphosyntactic developments and still requires in-depth study, particularly due to the lack of well-edited corpora. The aim of the present paper is to partly fill this gap by highlighting major trends in the development of constructions based on various non-finite forms in early NIA. We focus on main argument marking in converbal chain constructions and its interplay with the animacy hierarchy. We demonstrate a relative stability of differential case marking (DCM), focusing mainly on conditions on differential subject marking (DSM) and differential object marking (DOM). In addition, we compare converbal chain constructions with participial absolute constructions (AC). Finally, in order to give a holistic view of converbal constructions, we verify the type of linking instantiated by them, focusing on three scopal parameters in converbal constructions (Tense, Illocutionary Force and Negation) and using the apparatus of Role and Reference Grammar and Multivariate Analysis.

**Keywords:** Indo-Aryan, converb, cosubordination, alignment, absolute construction, differential subject marking, differential object marking, operator scope

## 1. Introduction

The point of departure for our study is a category of converb in early New Indo-Aryan (usually abbreviated as NIA) languages, which belong to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family, together with Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), or Sanskrit, and Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) languages, such as Pāli and Prākṛits.

The category of converb has already been analysed from typological and diachronic perspectives (see e.g., Haspelmath & König 1995). In Indo-Aryan scholarship, converbs<sup>1</sup> and some peculiarities of their use are considered one of the main features defining what is usually called “the South Asian Linguistic Area” (cf. Emeneau 1956; Masica 1976; Ebert 2001 among many others). Discussions from theoretical, diachronic and typological perspectives are offered by Davison (1981); Tikkanen (1987) and Subbarao (2012), to name just a few. Tikkanen (1987) specifically focuses on converbs in OIA, while studies on MIA converbs include, e.g., Peterson (1998). For the NIA period, there has been a number of studies on converbs in the various NIA dialects e.g., Peterson (2002) for Nepali; Yadav (2004) for Bhojpuri; Lohar (2012) for Maithili. But there is a significant gap in historical research on IA converbs, i.e., the Early NIA period (with the exception of Dwarikesh 1971, a work dealing predominantly with the morphology of the converb). This is an epoch of crucial importance in the development of the IA languages. Within this period, we observe several drastic changes in morphosyntactic alignment, which seem to result from the reorganisation of the case and verbal system inherited from MIA. In Early Hindi, for instance, we witness the rise of a new postpositional system as well as a reinterpretation of participial verbal forms.

In the present paper we hope to fill in the above-mentioned lacunae in the diachronic and typological study of NIA converbs. We aim at highlighting major trends in the development of converbal chain constructions in early NIA. We focus on main argument marking in these constructions and its interplay with the animacy hierarchy. We also compare converbal chain constructions with participial absolute constructions (AC). Finally, in order to verify the type of linking instantiated by converbal constructions, we focus on three scopal parameters such as Tense, Illocutionary Force, and Negation.

---

1. There has been a number of labels associated with the converb such as: conjunctive participle, absolutive and gerund. In this paper we consistently use the typologically most common term, converb, not going into details of the terminology. See Haspelmath (1995) for an overview of these.

The research presented in the paper has been based on the data consisting of four 10000-word corpora from the following four early NIA dialectal groups: Rajasthani, Awadhi, Braj and Dakkhini. This data was further supplemented by a more limited corpus of early Pahari inscriptions (the areal distribution of the languages represented by our corpora can be seen on Map 1). The languages under inspection belong to the major dialectal groups of which the continuants are now spoken in the so-called Hindi Belt, except Dakkhini, which is genetically the closest relative of Braj but is now spoken in the area dominated by Dravidian languages. Braj and Dakkhini are classified as members of Western Hindi branch. Along with Rajasthani and Pahari they evolved from Śauraseni Apabhramśa, and today they show quite significant areal distribution and structural differentiation. Awadhi, classified as a member of the Eastern Hindi branch, has developed from Ardhamagadhi Apabhramśa. The texts included in the corpus are representative of the discussed varieties. They belong to various genres and various periods.



**Map 1.** Early NIA dialectal groups documented in the corpora

Details regarding the corpus can be found in the Appendix. The language samples were either obtained from the standard (paper) editions (Bhānavat & Kamal 1997–1998; Prasad 1994; Gautam 1954; McGregor 1968; Miśra 1994; Snell 1991a,b; Dvivedī 1972; Śarma 1954; Joshi 2009; Pant 2009) and then run through the optical character recognition system HindiOCR designed by Olliver Hellwig<sup>2</sup> or, where possible, downloaded from the digital editions.<sup>3</sup> Text were parsed at the level of grammar, syntax and semantics by means of an IATagger system (Jaworski 2014), which facilitates tagging, multilevel annotation and analysis of Early New Indo-Aryan texts.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In §2, we present some theoretical issues pertaining to the basic alignment patterns as well as converbal constructions found in IA. In §3, we focus on the notion of cosubordination in the context of modern NIA. In §4, we discuss the issues of main argument marking in converbal chain constructions in early NIA. Section 5 deals with Subject Identity Constraint (SIC) in early NIA – one of the major characteristics of converbal chains. In §6, we concentrate on ACs and compare them with converbal chains in early NIA. Section 7 presents an analysis of scopal properties of converbs in early NIA. Section 8 gives a summary of our corpus analysis of four early NIA dialects.

## 2. Alignment and converbal chains in IA

IA languages present a textbook example of split ergative languages, where ergative alignment is taken as resulting either from the reanalysis of the passive or from originally ergative patterns presumably existing in OIA (see for example Anderson 1977; Klaiman 1978; Pirejko 1968; Hock 1986; Bubenik 1998; Butt 2001 among many others; for a more recent discussion from various perspectives, see Dahl & Stroński 2016). The type of alignment attested in several IA languages instantiates aspect-based split-ergativity. The aspect-based split ergativity is one of the most common types of splits, while other possible types involve grammatical categories of tense and mood, or are conditioned by the semantic nature of NPs (animacy or humanness).<sup>4</sup> In IA, ergative alignment is manifested by case marking and agreement. Both can (but do not necessarily) co-occur as in (1)–(2):

2. [http://www.indsenz.com/int/index.php?content=software\\_ind\\_ocr\\_hindi](http://www.indsenz.com/int/index.php?content=software_ind_ocr_hindi)

3. <https://wp.unil.ch/eniat/>

4. The other type labelled by Dixon (1994:70–83) as “a split conditioned by the semantic nature of the verb” has been more recently analysed in terms of “semantic alignment” (e.g., Donohue & Wichmann 2008) rather than split ergativity.

- (1) Hindi<sup>5</sup>  
*Rām=ne railgārī dekhī*  
 Ram=ERG train.ABS.F.SG see.PPP.F.SG  
 'Ram saw a train.'
- (2) Hindi  
*railgārī calī*  
 train.ABS.F.SG go.PPP.F.SG  
 'A train departed.'

Hindi/Urdu shows ergative alignment only in perfective tenses having S<sup>6</sup> and O unmarked and A marked overtly with object-verb agreement preserved. Rich variation is also observed in the attested patterns of split systems in the context of Indo-Aryan constructions, with object marking mainly along the lines of animacy and definiteness along with various types of object or subject agreement (for an overview of attested patterns see, for example, Verbeke 2013a).

Ergative morphology has also been studied in the context of subjecthood at least since the 1970s (see for example the volume edited by Verma 1976 on South Asian languages and more general typological works such as Li 1976, 1977). Several studies on IA clause linking led to the conclusion that ergative arguments are endowed with all behavioural subject properties and, what is more, in some languages (e.g., Nepali) they can even trigger agreement. One of the classical tests for subjecthood in IA relies upon the converbal chain construction, i.e., a construction with a non-finite verbal form, a converb. Examples (3) and (4) show that arguments with ergative marking may control and undergo conjunction reduction in converbal chain constructions:

- (3) Hindi (Kachru et al. 1976: 90)  
*ghar ā=kar, mohan=ne khānā khā=yā*  
 home come=CVB Mohan=ERG food eat=PST  
 'Mohan ate a meal(after) coming home.'
- (4) Hindi (Kachru et al. 1976: 90)  
*patr parh=kar, khuś ho ga-yā*  
 letter read=CVB happy be go-PST  
 'He became happy (after) reading the letter.'

5. Examples from Hindi/Urdu for which the sources are not given are authors' own examples in consultation with native speakers.

6. Throughout the paper we use the three labels introduced by Dixon (1979, 1994), widely used in the typological literature: S – subject of an intransitive verb, A – subject of a transitive verb, O – object of a transitive verb.

The central constituent in such constructions is a particular verbal derivative, called “converb” in typological scholarship. There have been several attempts to formulate a valid definition of the “converb”, based on large cross-linguistic studies (cf. Haspelmath & König 1995). According to one widely used definition, converbs are non-finite verb forms which mark adverbial subordination (cf. Haspelmath 1995: 3). This is a definition of the converb *sensu stricto* (cf. van der Auwera 1998 for a broader definition). A problem with this definition is the idea that converbs are part of a “subordinate” construction. However, as van der Auwera (1998) remarks, converbs also occur in non-embedded structures. This particular use of converbs among other factors has led to the concept of “cosubordination”, coined in Role and Reference Grammar (henceforth RRG, see Foley & Van Valin 1984; Van Valin 2005, which we discuss in the next section.

### 3. Coordination, subordination and cosubordination

RRG takes the notion of the layered structure of the clause as a point of departure. Thus, the levels of the nucleus (the predicate), the core (the predicate + its arguments), periphery (non-arguments) and the clause (the core + the periphery) are distinguished. Each level can be modified by one or more operators. Thus, (i) nuclear level can be modified by aspect, negation and directional, (ii) core level can be modified by directional, event quantification, modality and internal negation, while (iii) clause level can be modified by status, tense, evidentials and illocutionary force (for details see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 40–52; Van Valin 2005: 8–11).

Furthermore, various levels can be joined, resulting in “junctures”, which include nuclear, core and clausal junctures. A nuclear juncture consists of two or more nuclei forming a complex nucleus with a single set of core arguments. In a core juncture two or more nuclei, each with its own arguments, form distinct cores (which can be internally complex) that make up a clause. Finally, in clausal juncture two or more clauses are combined, and each clause can be independent of the others (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 442–448; Van Valin 2005: 188–191). The type of syntactic relations between the units is defined in terms of “nexus relation”. On this level, we distinguish between three types of clause structure: coordination, subordination and cosubordination. The first two are quite well-defined and the boundary between them seems to be rather clear-cut in the context of Indo-European languages. Cosubordination, however, is a type which requires further explanation.

The notion of “cosubordination” stems from Papuan linguistics (cf. Olson 1981), playing an important role in the RRG theory of clause linkage. It is characterised by the features of dependency and non-embeddedness. For instance, switch reference constructions, which are dependent but non-embedded, exemplify the phenomenon known as “operator sharing”. This can be observed, for instance, in the Papuan language Amele.

Thus, (5a) is an example of sharing the T (tense) operator: the tense marker is only on the main verb ‘eat’, but its scope is extended over the verb ‘come’, whereas in the coordinate structures (5b) each conjunct is specified for tense. In other words, the main difference between cosubordination and coordination is that the former shows a type of dependency, whereas the latter does not. The difference between cosubordination and subordination lies in the type of dependency. Subordination assumes structural dependency, i.e., the embedded clause functions as a main argument or a modifier (5c). On the other hand, cosubordination is based on the dependency of an operator (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 454; Van Valin 2005: 183). In example (5a), the tense operator, which is marked only on the main verb, has scope over the first conjunct. This is not the case in (5b), which is an example of a coordinate structure with tense markers in each conjunct. (5c)–(d) are examples of subordination: the verbal form of the subordinate (adverbial) clause bears its own tense marker, and the subordinate clause can be either preposed with regard to the main clause, as in (5c), or postposed, as in (5d), which is impossible in the case of coordination or cosubordination.

- (5) Amele (Van Valin 2005: 185–186; Roberts 2016: 333)
- a. switch reference = cosubordination  
*Ija ho-co-min sab ja-g-a.*  
 1SG come-DS-1SG food eat-2SG-TOD.PAST  
 ‘I came and you ate the food.’
  - b. coordination  
*Fred cum ho=i=an qa Bill uqadec h=ugi=an.*  
 Fred yesterday come=3SG=PST but Bill tomorrow come=3SG=FUT  
 ‘Fred came yesterday, but Bill will come tomorrow’
  - c. subordination: subordinated clause preposed  
*Ija ja hud=ig=a eu nu, uqa sab mane=i=a.*  
 1SG fire open=1SG=PST that for 3SG food roast=3SG=PST  
 ‘Because I lit the fire, she cooked the food.’
  - d. subordination: subordinated clause postposed  
*Uqa sab mane=i=a ija ja hud=ig=a eu nu*  
 3SG food roast=3SG=PST 1SG fire open=1SG=PST that for  
 ‘She cooked the food because I lit the fire.’

Example (5a) above instantiates clausal cosubordination. The cosubordinate nexus is however also present at the nuclear and core levels, which can be instantiated by serial verb constructions (e.g., Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 443–445) and causative clause unions, but both serial verbs and causatives are outside the scope of our paper.

Focusing now on converbs in Indo-Aryan, we find that early analyses of IA converbs argue for their subordinate status, in line with the common definition of converb. For example, according to Davison (1981), there is one underlying syntactic structure for the Hindi converb that is [+ subordinate] combined with aspectual value [+ perfective]. She lists several arguments for the subordinate status of the converb which pertain to non-finiteness, the “subject identity constraint” (henceforth SIC),<sup>7</sup> and word order. The following sentences serve as illustrations. In both sentences in example (6) the subject marker is fully dependent on the main verb, although the subject is shared with the converb.

- (6) Hindi (Davison 1981: 107)
- a. *mistrī=ne kal ā=kar sandūq banāyā*  
 carpenter=ERG yesterday come=CVB box.[M].NOMSG make.PST.SG.M  
 ‘The carpenter came yesterday and made the box.’
- b. *mistrī sandūq banā=kar kal āyā*  
 carpenter.NOM box.[M].NOM.SG make=CVB yesterday come.PST.SG.M  
 ‘The carpenter made the box and came yesterday.’

In (6a), the main verb is transitive, and its subject receives the ergative postposition *ne*, whereas the finite form of an intransitive (‘come’) would require a nominative subject. The opposite situation is found in (6b), where the intransitive main verb is construed with the nominative subject in spite of the transitive converb.

In other words, the encoding of the main argument (NOM/ERG) is determined by the transitivity of the main verb, and the (unexpressed) subject of the converbal construction must be referentially identical with the subject of the main verb, irrespective of its encoding (case).

Historically, this phenomenon goes back as far as the end of the Old Indo-Aryan / Middle Indo-Aryan period, as the following classical Sanskrit Examples (7a)–(7c) clearly show:

7. Subject Identity Constraint assumes that the subject of the matrix clause is identical with the subject of the embedded clause (cf. Subbarao 2012: 272).

## (7) Classical and Epic Sanskrit

- a. Class. Skt. (Hitopadeśa 90.13)  
*kuṭṭanyā* <...> *vanam* *praviś=ya phalāny*  
 procuress.INS.SG forest.ACC enter=CVB fruit.NOM.PL  
*ākīrṇāni*  
 strew.PPP:NOM.PL.N  
 ‘The **procuress** entered the forest and strewed around the fruits.’  
 (lit. ‘**Having entered** the forest, the fruits were strewed **by the procuress**.’)
- b. Class. Skt. (Kāmasūtra 90.13) (Tikkanen 1987: 150)  
*pūrvā=śāstrāṇi* *saṃhṛt=ya prayogān* *upasṛt=ya* *ca*  
 previous=Śāstra.ACC.PL collect=CVB practice.ACC.PL undertake=CVB and  
*kāma=sūtram* *idaṃ* *yatnāt saṃkṣepeṇa*  
 love=treatise.NOM.SG this.NOM.SG.N zeal.ABL brevity.INS  
*ni=veśitam*  
 down=lay.PPP.NOM.SG.N  
 ‘Having collected the previous śāstras and performed practices, this Treatise on Love has been laid down with zeal and brevity [by the author].’
- c. Epic Skt. (Nala 24.13ab) (Tikkanen 1987: 149)  
*sākṣād* *devān* *apahāya* *vr̥to*  
 before.one’s.eyes god.ACC.PL reject.CVB choose.PPP.NOM.SG.M  
*yaḥ* *sa* *mayā purā*  
 who.NOM.SG.M that.NOM.SG.M I.INS formerly  
 ‘He, who formerly was chosen by me, after I had rejected the gods in their presence.’ (lit. ‘...chosen **by me**, **having rejected** the gods...’)

Examples (8) and (9) show the role of word order in converbal constructions. The object *cāy* ‘tea’ can precede the converb, as in (8b), without a noticeable change in meaning from (8a). By contrast, in the equivalent coordinate structure (9b) such movement would produce an ungrammatical sentence, since *cāy* cannot be the argument of the verb *baiṭhā* ‘sit’.

## (8) Hindi (Davison 1981: 107)

- a. *akele baiṭh=kar cāy pī thī*  
 alone sit=CVB tea drink be.PST.F  
 ‘He used to sit alone and drink tea.’
- b. *cāy akele baiṭh=kar pī thī*  
 tea alone sit=CVB drink be.PST.F  
 ‘Having sat alone, he used to drink tea.’

- (9) Hindi (Davison 1981: 107)
- a. *akele baiṭhā aur cāy pī thī*  
 alone.OBL sit.PST and tea drink be.PST.F  
 'He used to sit alone and drink tea.'
- b. \**cāy akele baiṭhā aur pī thī*  
 tea alone sit=PST and drink be.PST.F

Notice that example (8) allows for two interpretations, with the event expressed by the converbal construction (sitting alone) (i) simultaneous or (ii) anterior with regard to the main event (drinking tea). The latter reading appears preferable for (8b), with the object preposed. This fact may give a clue to account for the ungrammaticality of the equivalent coordinate structure (9b). One may assume that coordinate structures only allow for simultaneous reading (i), while being incompatible with the semantics of anteriority (ii).

Example (9a) is a paraphrase of the sentence in (8a). Indeed, sentences containing converbs can receive a coordinated paraphrase. They also share many features with subordinate constructions and non-clausal adverbials. As a result, converbal constructions have been interpreted as lying between subordination and coordination (cf. Davison 1981: 105). As we can see in (10), at least two possible interpretations are acceptable.

- (10) Hindi (Davison 1981: 105)
- us=ne soc=kar kām kiya*  
 s/he=ERG [think=CVB] work do.PST
- a. 'Having thought s/he did the work'; 'S/he did the work after thinking.'
- b. 'S/he did the work carefully.'

Even though Davison maintained the view that the IA converb is a subordinate device, she noticed that the scope of question and negation in converbal construction differs from that of subordinate and coordinate clauses and that its blocking or extension is not based on any syntactic or semantic principles (Davison 1981: 108–116). That is why example (11) is acceptable, and the scope of the negation depends on pragmatic factors. According to Davison (1981: 116), it is exclusively world knowledge which blocks a sequential reading and permits an antithetical meaning (of the type 'speaking instead of reading' in (11)), whereas Kachru (1981: 41) clearly denies the pragmatic motivation of an antithetical meaning.

- (11) Hindi (Davison 1981: 115), (Kachru 1981: 41)
- vah patr na parh=kar bolā*  
 s/he letter not read=CVB speak.PST  
 'Instead of reading the letter, he spoke.'
- or
- 'He spoke after not reading the letter.'

Some more recent typologically oriented approaches also maintain the view that IA converbs are subordinate. Thus, Subbarao (2012: 209) claims that the feature [+ subordinate] of converbs is undisputable, whereas the feature [– finite] raises some questions, for example, in Kashmiri. Subbarao (2012: 281) argues that some Kashmiri converbs get the feature of tense, and as a result, the Kashmiri converb is considered a finite form. However, the assignment of the feature [+ tense] to the Kashmiri converb has a rather weak foundation. According to Subbarao, the subject of the Kashmiri converb does not need to be identical to the subject of the main verb (which is a violation of the SIC rule). As a result, Subbarao also seems to draw the conclusion that the tense of the converb might differ from the tense of the main verb (cf. Subbarao 2012: 282). However, the relation between sharing the subject and sharing the tense is far from clear. Furthermore, SIC can be violated in Indo-Aryan, and such cases are repeatedly noted in the literature (see, e.g., Dwarikesh (1971) and Schumacher (1977) for Hindi; Bickel and Yādava (2000) for Hindi and Nepali, Peterson (2002) for Nepali, among many others). In general, however the constraint in question is prevalent in most Indo-Aryan languages. In other words, if SIC is not taken into account, converbs in Kashmiri are subordinated constructions.

SIC has been the subject of discussion in several accounts of Indo-Aryan. For instance, Tikkanen (1987) discusses this constraint from a diachronic and typological perspective on clause linkage. Tikkanen's in-depth study is based on the parameter of the level of operational integration of the subordinated/coordinated clause. He argues:

[...] it is not enough to define a non-finite form or construction in terms of its temporal, aspectual, interpropositional and coreferential features. Without knowing the inherent constraints on its elliptic and contrastive operational integrability we do not know the conditions under which it may paraphrase or translate finite subordinate and/or coordinate clauses. (Tikkanen 1987: 34)

Tikkanen's approach assumes an analysis of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of converbs, and uses the framework of RRG.

However, according to Tikkanen, the concept of cosubordination is not fully applicable to Indo-European languages,<sup>8</sup> where the morphological category of switch reference is lacking. He argues that the indeterminacy of non-finite constructions as to the parameters of embedding and dependency results from their discourse function (Tikkanen 1987: 28).

---

8. But Van Valin & LaPolla's (1997: 443–445) examples of cosubordinate nexuses (nuclear and core cosubordination) from French and English are at odds with Tikkanen's claim.

Interestingly, Peterson (2002), in his paper on Nepali converbs, fully peruses the RRG terminology, demonstrating at length the operator of the converbal chain construction. However, he does not refer to cosubordination. Nepali converbs appear to show variable scope, as seen in (12), where the IF-scope can be restricted to one of the clauses (12a)–(12b), or can be extended to encompass both clauses (12c), which, in turn, means that operator sharing is not necessarily attested.

- (12) Nepali (Peterson 2002: 117)
- rām=le bhan=era us=le tyo kitāb paḍh=yo ki?*  
 Rām=ERG say=CVB 3SG=ERG that book read=PST.3SG Q  
 a. ‘Did he read that book because Rām told him to (and not because he wanted to)?’  
 b. ‘Since Rām told him to, did he read that book?’  
 c. ‘Did he read that book and did Rām tell him to?’

Example (12) is a converbal construction which clearly violates the SIC rule. In RRG terms, it could be an instantiation of a cosubordinate nexus, thus exemplifying a construction parallel to the one under (5a). However, this example shows that the operator scope is dependent on extralinguistic factors, and it is quite difficult to establish syntactic criteria defining the third type of nexus, cosubordination.

Since converbal chain constructions represent a type of linking which shares features of subordination (syntactic dependency between the main clause and the converbal clause e.g., for Indo-Aryan concessive, antithetical, causal) and coordination (sequential chaining), a more fine-grained solution to this typological problem has been proposed by Bickel (2010, 2011) in his multivariate analysis model. Bickel assumes that a discrete notion of cosubordination is not tenable, because there are constructions (for example of the type presented under (12)), where operator sharing can be just one option. Therefore, instead of introducing several types of cosubordination (for example, with obligatory and non-obligatory operator sharing), Bickel proposes to measure the existing variation by means of selected features. In this model, he takes into consideration a number of features including Illocutionary scope (ILL scope, referred to as illocutionary force scope, hereafter abbreviated as ‘IF-scope’), Tense scope (T-scope), Finiteness, Illocutionary force marking (ILL-mark), Tense marking (T-mark), Symmetry, Wh Extraction, FOC, Position and Layer, in order to verify the syntactic status of non-embedded structures.

In the present paper we analyse three operators: IF-scope, T-scope and NEG-scope which according to Bickel’s proposal (Bickel 2010: 56–62, 81) have the following properties:

1. the scope of the IF operator can be: (a) conjunct (encompassing both the main and the dependent clause); (b) disjunct (extending to either the main or the dependent clause but never to both); (c) local (limited to the main clause); (d) extensible (extending to either the main clause alone or to both the main and the dependent clause but never to the dependent clause alone); (e) constraint-free (not regulated by the linking type);
2. the scope of the Tense operator can be: (a) conjunct (extends to the main clause and the dependent clause); (b) local (limited to the main clause); (c) extensible (extends to either the main clause alone or to both the main clause and the dependent clause, but never to the dependent clause alone);
3. the scope of the Negation operator can be: (a) conjunct (extending to the main and the dependent clause); (b) local (limited to the main clause); (c) extensible (extending exclusively to the dependent clause); (d) variable (either limited to one of the clauses or conjunct).

Even though both RRG and the multivariate analysis have synchronic and typological orientation, both frameworks are applicable for diachronic analyses as well. In what follows, we investigate IA converbal constructions using these two approaches.

Thus, apart from the main arguments' marking, animacy and definiteness we concentrate on the subject properties of converbal chain constructions and their relation to the absolute constructions.

Below we also suggest that a diachronic study based on a limited corpus of Early New Indo-Aryan texts will make it possible to question the applicability of cosubordination as a discrete notion. This however should be done by using a set of variables such as IF-scope, T-scope and NEG-scope and by checking properties of the three operators.

#### 4. Main argument marking in converbal chain constructions

In this section we analyse the case marking of the arguments of the main verb in converbal chain constructions. In modern Hindi and in a number of other Indo-Aryan languages, one finds split ergativity as well as differential object marking, two phenomena which pertain to the marking of A and O respectively. Both phenomena already occur in Early NIA, though in a different form. First, we discuss the marking of the subject of transitive clauses (A), or A-marking.

#### 4.1 A-marking

A-marking in early NIA shows variability to a certain extent, with an optional ergative marking which seems to vary according to thus far partly unknown parameters. This phenomenon, labelled “optional ergative marking” (OEM) in the modern literature,<sup>9</sup> has only recently been discussed in the context of contemporary IA languages. It is not uncommon for languages with newly arisen ergativity (as is the case with NIA) to show a split between ergative and neutral patterns. In case of early NIA, this split is perfectivity- and/or volitionality-based. De Hoop and Narasimhan (2009) discuss OEM in Hindi, which they explain in terms of syntactic and semantic factors. Specifically, only “strong subjects” are said to be marked, which include subjects of perfective, highly transitive predicates and secondarily volitional subjects. Verbeke (2013b) connects the optional ergative marker with the perfective meaning in Nepali (see also Verbeke & De Cuypere 2015). The OEM found in our data has been explained in terms of the early decay of ergativity in the dialects belonging to the eastern branches of IA as well as to Rajasthani group (cf. Khokhlova 2000, 2006; Stroński et al. 2019).

In a standard (modern) NIA ergative construction, clauses with perfective transitive verb forms show both A-marking of the main argument and agreement with the O argument. This was not the case in early NIA. Awadhi, Braj and Dakkhini seem to show a preference for a nominative-accusative case marking pattern and ergative-like agreement pattern. This implies that the A of a perfective construction is unmarked, and shows no ergative or oblique marking. In the following examples we observe marked (13a)–(17a) and unmarked (13b)–(17b) A forms in perfective clauses. Object-agreement in gender and number in some of the examples below (13b), (14b), (17b) clearly testifies to ergative (or at least quasi-ergative) pattern, even despite the loss of A marking of the main argument.

##### (13) Old Awadhi

- a. *su=aim asīsa dīnha*  
 parrot=OBL blessing.M.SG give.PST.M.SG  
 ‘The parrot gave blessing (to the king).’ (J. 81.1) AD 1540
- b. *cāri mīta kabi muhamada pāe*  
 four friend.M.PL poet Muhammad.NOM.M.SG get.PST.M.PL  
 ‘Poet Muhammad got four friends.’ (J. 22.1) AD 1540

9. Cf. McGregor (2010) for an extensive discussion. Other terms include “differential subject marking” (De Hoop & Narasimhan 2009) and “differential agent marking” (Fauconnier 2011).

## (14) Old Rajasthani

- a. *ghaṇī vāri mātāṅ=im vidyā kah=ī*  
 many times outcaste=INS knowledge.NOM.F.SG say=PST.F.SG  
 ‘Many times the outcaste (A) taught (him).’ (RG.SS.9) 15th c.
- b. *kumār lakuṭ=ai te tim haṇy=ā jima...*  
 prince.NOM wood=INS they.DIR.PL so beat=PST.M.PL that...  
 ‘Prince beat them with a wooden stick so, that...’ (RG.M.39) 16th c.

## (15) Old Braj

- a. *jihim aneka vāra samara viṣai jityau hai*  
 who.OBL many time fight.NOM.M.SG in win.PST.M.SG be.3SG.PRS  
 ‘Who many times has won in fights’ (I.82) AD 1600
- b. *mo kahaṇi daśaratha āisu diyau*  
 I.OBL DAT Daśaratha.NOM permission.NOM.M.SG give.PST.M.SG  
 ‘Daśaratha gave me permission.’ (V.20.1) AD 1442

## (16) Old Dakhkhini AD 1634–1635

- a. *bahutām=ne apnā sar bhāy* (Šamatov 1974: 130)  
 many=ERG own head.M throw.PST.PL.M  
 ‘Many rested their heads.’
- b. *khudā tujhe fursat diyā* (Šamatov 1974: 131)  
 God.NOM you.OBL opportunity.M.SG give.PST.M.SG  
*hai*  
 be.AUX.3SG  
 ‘God has given you opportunity.’

## (17) Old Pahari

- a. Kumaoni 1374 AD (Joshi 2009: 344)  
*rājā=lai datta dinhi guṇākara pāṇḍe=lai data*  
 king=ERG gift.F.SG give.PPP.F.SG. P.=ERG gift.F.SG  
*pāi*  
 get.PPP.F.SG  
 ‘The king gave the donation, Guṇākar Paṇḍey received the donation.’
- b. Kumaoni 14th c (Joshi 2009: 360)  
*śrī jāgeśvara kī jātrā karī sutradhāra*  
 honourable J. GEN pilgrimage.F.SG do.PST.F.SG Sutradhāra  
*rajau putra rāmu*  
 Rajau.NOM son Rāmu  
 ‘Sutradhāra Rajau son of Rāmu undertook (lit. did) pilgrimage of Jāgeś-  
 vara.’

As we have already demonstrated, the ergative A marking is not obligatory in perfective tenses with the subjects of transitive verbs in early NIA. For example,

Awadhi as well as Maithili have developed a system of perfective tenses based on finite verbal forms which seem to have ousted the forms based on the *-ta* participle at very early stage (cf. Saksena 1971 [1937]), and, as a result, the ergative system has never fully persisted in Awadhi. Rajasthani, on the other hand, had drastically reorganised its case marking system i.e., old instrumental case ceased to be used in the early stages of Rajasthani (see Khokhlova 1992). Braj and Dakkhini developed a postpositional system for marking A arguments in perfective tenses. In both languages it was postposition *-ne*, attested in Braj only from the 17th century onwards, and in Dakkhini as early as in the 14th century. However, in Dakkhini at least up to the 16th century we note OEM and later on, A marking disappeared due to language contact with nominative-accusative Dravidian languages, which have no features of ergativity (see, for instance, Arora & Subbarao 1989). Lastly, Pahari introduced ergative postposition *-le* in the 14th century, and till the end of the 16th century its use was rather irregular. But early inscriptions even attest genitive marking, which is also the case with several contemporary languages (see Zoller 2008; Stroński 2014).

In sum, there is much variation and syncretism in the marking of the A argument from the early NIA onwards till now. On the one hand, from a morphological point of view, there are bound morphemes identified as markers of the instrumental or general oblique. On the other hand, there are postpositional markers labelled ergative or genitive. More specifically, early NIA may (i) show syncretism of the ergative and instrumental synthetic cases (Rajasthani), ergative and oblique synthetic cases (Awadhi, Western Pahari), or the ergative and instrumental postpositional case (Eastern Pahari), or (ii) develop a non-polysemous ergative postposition (Braj, Dakkhini). Whatever the actually attested patterns of syncretism and the exact diachronic scenarios of the development of case marking of A, all these case morphemes (bound or free) encode the first argument of a transitive verb, thus taking over the function of ergative marker (irrespective of the labels most commonly used in individual traditions: instrumental, genitive or oblique).

Taking a closer look at converbal constructions, we see that subject marking, if attested, depends exclusively on the transitivity of the main verb. More specifically, only the main argument of a transitive main verb, A, can be marked, whereas the sole argument of an intransitive main verb (S) always remains unmarked, irrespective of whether the converb is transitive or intransitive. Below in (18) we present data from Awadhi.

## (18) Awadhi

- a. *rāj=aiṃ sun=i biyoga tasa mānā*  
**king=INS.M.SG** hear=CVB separation.NOM.M.SG like consider.PST.M.SG  
 ‘The king having heard [this] felt desolated.’ (J.88.1) AD 1540
- b. *taba lagi rānī suā chapāvā jaba lagi ā=i mamjāri=nha*  
 then ABL queen parrot hide.PPP.M.SG when for come=CVB cat=PL.OBL  
*pāvā*  
 get.PST.M.SG  
 ‘Then the queen hid the parrot until the cats, having come, could find (him).’ (J.56.4) AD 1540
- c. *guru sikha dēi rāya pahim gay=au*  
**master.NOM** instruction give.CVB king next to go=PST.M.SG  
 ‘After giving this teaching, the guru went to the king.’ (T.2.10) AD 1574–1576

As we can see from these examples, possible combinations include (a) a transitive CVB and a transitive main verb; (b) an intransitive CVB and a transitive main verb; and (c) a transitive CVB and an intransitive main verb. The fourth possibility, an intransitive CVB with an intransitive main verb, has been excluded, since one-place predicates never allow for argument marking. Combinations (a) and (b) allow for main argument (i.e., A-marking), whereas (c) does not (S argument is unmarked).

However, the transitivity of the main verb does not necessarily trigger A-marking, and there are numerous examples of unmarked A forms in converbal constructions where the main verb is transitive; cf. example (19a) from Rajasthani with marked A and (19b) with unmarked A, despite the transitivity of the main verb in (19b). Transitive converbs never trigger S marking if the main verb is intransitive, as in (19c).

## (19) Rajasthani

- a. *iyām bulāya turatibega nūṃ kahi=yo*  
**they.OBL** call.CVB Turtibeg ACC say=PST.M.SG  
 ‘They, having called Turtibeg, said.’ (RG.DV.51) 16th/17th c.
- b. *mātāṃga tihām āwī rājā nu ādeśa kahīu*  
**outcaste.NOM** there come.CVB king GEN order.NOM.M.SG tell.PST.M.SG  
 ‘Having come there, the outcaste explained king’s order.’ (RG.M.11) 15th c.
- c. *isiṃ sām̐bhaḷi bewai bāmdhawa deśāmtara bhaṇi cālyā*  
 such hear.CVB two brothers.NOM abroad for go.PST.M.PL  
 ‘After having heard suchlike thing both brothers went abroad.’  
 (RG.M.33) 15th c.

In general, Awadhi, Braj and Dakkhini show a preponderance of unmarked forms in converbal constructions with the main transitive verb in a perfective form,

whereas Rajasthani has more equal distribution of marked and unmarked forms. Table 1 shows the distribution of marked and unmarked A forms in 4 dialects in converb constructions with the main transitive verb, which are, in fact, not very frequent. No attestations of intransitive main verbs with marked main arguments (i.e., S) are found in the corpus. Moreover, the limited data from Pahari clearly shows that this particular dialectal group has a preference for the ergative pattern, lacking any attestation of unmarked forms in converb chain constructions.

**Table 1.** Distribution of A marking in converb constructions with the main transitive verb<sup>10</sup>

|            | Cvb chain+ non-nominative A | Cvb chain + nominative A |
|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Awadhi     | 12                          | 52                       |
| Rajasthani | 20                          | 28                       |
| Braj       | 3                           | 30                       |
| Dakkhini   | 3                           | 7                        |

However, in several NIA we note the opposite phenomenon, namely main argument marking dependent on the transitivity of the converb. This is for example the case in Nepali, cf. (20)–(21).

- (20) Nepali

(Wallace 1981: 168)

*u*

*bimar bha=era mar=yo*

**he.NOM** sick be=CVB die=PST.3SG

‘He became sick and died.’
- (21) *us=le bikh khā=era mar=yo*

**he=ERG** poison eat=CVB die=PST.3SG

‘He died after eating poison.’

In (20) both the CVB and the main verb are intransitive, and the main argument (i.e., S of the main verb and the converb) remains unmarked. By contrast, in (21) the main verb is intransitive, while the converb is transitive. It is thus the converb only which can license A-marking of the shared main argument (i.e., S of the main verb and A of the converb). This must be an innovation, because we do not find similar examples in other Pahari languages (e.g., Kumaoni or Garhwali), but, interestingly, there are some isolate instances in early Braj mentioned in Snell (1991b: 71).

10. Pahari data is too scanty to be included in the table.

## 4.2 Differential object marking

The second case marking phenomenon which is relevant for a discussion of the control properties of arguments in sentences with converbs is Differential Object Marking (DOM). The main parameters that determine object marking in NIA languages are definiteness and animacy (for a most recent discussion on DOM from typological and historical perspectives see Witzlack-Makarevich and Seržant 2018). Early varieties of NIA seem to show that the parameters of animacy and definiteness started shaping DOM in quite a similar way. But DOM also had a secondary, language-specific, motivation in IA. For example, Old Rajasthani introduced the O marking first in the imperfective tenses, and only later in the perfective tenses (cf. Khokhlova 2000). Pahari dialects show a similar path of the development of DOM (cf. Wallace 1981; Stroński 2011, 2014). In our corpus, O marking is only attested for definite or animate nouns. The introduction of O marking dates to different historical periods in the languages under study. In Awadhi, from the middle of the 16th century onwards, we observe the first instances of O marking of animate as well as inanimate and definite arguments. However, at this period of the development of Awadhi, DOM is a tendency, rather than a strict rule. In the same text ‘Padmāvat’ by Jayasī from the middle of the 16th century we find both marked (as in (22) and (23)) and unmarked (as in (24) and (25)) animate and definite nouns.

- (22) Awadhi  
*beṃca=i lāga hāṭa la=i ohīm mola ratana mānika*  
 sell=CVB start.PPP.M.SG market take=CVB **he.OBL** price gemstone ruby  
*jahar hohīm*  
 where be.3PL.SBJ  
 ‘He started selling [the parrot], having brought him in the market where price of gemstone and ruby was settled.’ (J.76.2) AD 1540
- (23) Awadhi  
*pātī likhī samivar=i tumha nāmām*  
 letter.NOM.F.SG write.PPP.F.SG remember=CVB you.OBL **name.O.OBL.M.SG**  
 ‘I have written a letter having remembered your **name**.’ (J.225.6) AD 1540
- (24) Awadhi  
*dhāi suā lai mārāi gāi*  
 wet-nurse.NOM.F.SG **parrot.O.NOM.M.SG** take.CVB kill.INF.OBL go.PPP.F.SG  
 ‘The wet-nurse having taken the parrot went to kill it.’ (J.86.1) AD 1540

(25) Awadhi

*saṁvari rūpa padumāvati kerā haṁsā*  
 remember.CVB beauty.O.NOM.M.SG Padmavati GEN smile.M.PPP.SG  
*suā*  
 parrot.NOM.M.SG

‘Having remembered the beauty of Padmavati, the parrot smiled.’

(J.84.1) AD 1540

In Rajasthani, the earliest occurrences of O marking are for both animate definite object nouns (as exemplified in (26)) and animate indefinite arguments (cf. (27) with one single object marker *-rahaiṁ* shared by all members of the noun phrase). Much later, O marking is attested for inanimate definite arguments, as in (28), becoming consistently regular from the 18th century onwards. Although we find very early occurrences of marked O arguments, the earliest texts show considerable variability in Old Rajasthani with regard to O marking (cf. (29) with unmarked animate and definite argument):

(26) Rajasthani

*mṛga=rahaiṁ mati prayog=i choḍawī karī*  
 deer=ACC.M.SG intelligence.NOM.F.SG use=INS.M.SG release.CAUS.CVB do.CVB

‘Having saved the deer by the use of intelligence...’ (RG.TS.8) 14th c.

(27) Rajasthani

*mumḍa pākhaṁḍika eka=rahaiṁ dekh=ī kar=ī*  
 shaven.NOM.M.SG ascetic.NOM.M.SG one=ACC see=CVB do=CVB

‘Having seen one shaven ascetic...’ (RG.TS.9) 14th c.

(28) Rajasthani

*tina sahanāna=nūṁ dekha mo=nūṁ khabara paṛasai*  
 that sign=ACC see.CVB I=ACC/DAT information be found.PRS.SBJV.3SG

‘Having seen the sign, I would get the information.’ (RG.MS.79) 18th c.

(29) Rajasthani

*yakṣ=i arjuna ripu bāṁdhī=karī page*  
 Yaksha.M=INS.SG Arjuna enemy.NOM.SG bind=CVB foot.M.LOC.PL

*āṇi ghātiu*  
 come.CVB throw.PST.M.SG

‘Yaksha, having bound the enemy named Arjuna, threw him on his feet.’

(RG.TS.20) 14th c.

In Braj, the earliest occurrences of converbal constructions with marked O are found in the 15th century, all instantiating animate (30) or definite objects (31). Before the 16–17th century, DOM shows considerable variability, and only from

the 17th century onwards, inanimate definite nouns receive regular object marking (cf. animate and definite marked O in (32) and inanimate and definite O in (33)). Notice that this is also the period when the postpositional accusative marking became more common with verbs in the perfective tenses (cf. Drocco 2017).

- (30) Braj  
*tihi baiṃṭhār=i chatru siru diyo*  
 this.OBL make seated=CVB umbrella head give.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘Making him seated, [he] gave umbrella [to protect his] head.’ (V.1.73) 15th c.
- (31) Braj  
*tāhi dekh=i kopamṭanu bhayau*  
 it.OBL see=CVB angry.M.SG be.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘...having seen it [he] became angry.’ (V.2.114) 15th c.
- (32) Braj  
*kurukha cikattā-kaum nirakh=i kīnau sarajā*  
 having ugly face.NOM Chagatai-ACC see=CVB do.PPP.M.SG lion  
*sāhasa*  
 courage.NOM.M.SG  
 ‘Having seen ugly faced Chagatai (i.e., Aurangzeb?), the Lion (i.e., Shivaji) did a courageous act.’ (Ś.77) AD 1673
- (33) Braj  
*avasthā=hi pāi=kai vastu ghaṭai*  
 state=OBL.SG obtain=CVB thing/wealth decrease.3PRS.SG.SBJ  
 ‘Having obtained this state, the wealth decreases.’ (I.a.105) AD 1600

In the early Dakkhini corpus, only a few attestations of marked O’s are found with converbs, all occurring with the main verb in imperfective tenses.

- (34) Dakkhini  
*dono=kūṃ aisā kasa=ke [...] khelo*  
 both=ACC such tighten=CVB play.2.IMP  
 ‘Having bound both [in] such [way], play.’ (E.1.40) 16th c.

In Pahari, instances of marked O are attested in early inscriptional Nepali corpora, but they are entirely lacking in Kumaoni or Chambiyali (cf. Stroński 2014). With finite verb constructions they first appear around the 14th century in Nepali inscriptions (35), but in Kumaoni they do not occur before the 17th century (cf. (36)), and in converbal constructions in Nepali before the 17th century (37). Interestingly, in Kumaoni, definite and animate O’s with converbs are unmarked even in the 19th century, as in (38).

- (35) Old Nepali (Wallace 1981: 112)  
*deva=m̃ ghale*  
 god=OBL destroy.FUT  
 ‘You will destroy the god.’ AD 1356
- (36) Old Kumaoni (Joshi 1983: 65)  
*kārya akārya=kana jāṇam̃ cha*  
 act non-act=ACC understand be.3.SG.PRS  
 ‘He understands the acts to be followed and to be avoided.’ AD 1728–9
- (37) Old Nepali (Wallace 1981: 112)  
*rāvaṇa=kana mār=i*  
 R=ACC kill=CVB  
 ‘...having killed Ravana.’ AD 1773
- (38) Old Kumaoni (Grierson 2005 [1916]: 172)  
*unan maiñ dekh=i baṛi rīs ai*  
 he.OBL.PL I.NOM.SG see=CVB big anger[F] come.PST.F.SG  
 ‘Having looked at me they became very angry.’ 19th c.

We have demonstrated that ergative A marking is mostly optional in perfective tenses with transitive subjects in early NIA and that in converbal chain constructions, unmarked forms prevail. Furthermore, A-marking is, apart from in Pahari and, presumably Braj, solely dependent on the transitivity of the main verb.

As regards O-marking, DOM developed at various paces in the languages analysed in this paper. It seems that in Awadhi already in the 16th century both animacy and definiteness shaped DOM quite regularly, whereas in Braj it was rather in the 17th century and in Rajasthani in the 18th century. Moreover, languages belonging to the Pahari group attest similar developments at a still later date, from the 19th c. onwards.

## 5. The subject identity constraint (SIC)

As mentioned in the introduction, IA converbs share their subject with the main verb of their clause. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. Tikkanen (1995: 496) notes that exceptions to this coreference constraint (which he labels “restrictions”) predominantly have a semantic or pragmatic, but not morphosyntactic nature. Thus, even if there is no syntactic subject identity, there is a possessor or experiencer-like relation between the subject of the main clause and the subject of the converb. Moreover, in the case of violation of SIC, the converbal clause is rather propositionally restrictive (temporal, causal etc.) than non-

restrictive (i.e., additive-sequential).<sup>11</sup> This of course has direct implications for the scopal properties which are discussed in the next section.

According to Subbarao (2012:274), in several IA languages as well as in all Dravidian, some Tibeto-Burman and Munda languages, SIC can be violated when the subject of the converb is inanimate and the converb denotes a non-volitional act as, for example, in (39). In such cases the converbal subject can be overtly expressed.

- (39) Assamese (Subbarao 2012: 276)  
*bərɔxuni pɔry=i xɔisɔborj bərh=il*  
 rains fall=CVB crops grow=PST  
 (Literally) ‘Rains having fallen, the crops grew (well).’

The few instances of the violation of SIC in our data seem to have a semantic motivation, as demonstrated in (40)–(41).

- (40) a. Old Awadhi  
*sun=i jogī kai ammara karanī nevarī biraha bithā*  
 hear=CVB ascetic GEN immortal deed.F.SG end.PPP.F.SG separation pain  
*kai maranī*  
 GEN death.NOM.F.SG  
 ‘After [the person separated from the lover] had heard some immortal deeds of the ascetic (lit.: ‘Having heard about some immortal deeds of the ascetic...’), the death caused by the pain of separation was gone.’  
 (J.259.1) AD 1540
- b. Old Braj  
*sasī dekh=i rāma mana sītā basī*  
 moon see=CVB Ram mind Sita settle down.PPP.F.SG  
 ‘Having seen the moon [...], Ram’s mind/heart got inhabited by Sita.’  
 (V.1.102) 15th c.
- c. Old Dakkhini  
*tirā laba dekha haivā=ñi yāda āve*  
 your lips see.CVB beast=OBL memory come.3SG.PRS  
 ‘Having looked [at] your lips, a beast comes to memory (lit. memory of a beast comes).’  
 (VD.1) 18th c.

11. Converbs can be qualified as propositionally restrictive if they have a modifying function, expressing meanings which correlate with adverbial interpretations (such as temporal modification, causality, concession, manner and condition) and thus encoding the information that can be taken as “backgrounding” (for a definition and discussion of the propositionally restrictive/non-restrictive contrast, see, for instance, Coupe 2006: 150; Tikkanen 1987: 141–142 et passim).

- (41) a. Old Awadhi  
*kathā kahānī sun=i suṭhi jarā jānahum ghīu baisam̐dara*  
 story story hear=CVB very much burn as if ghee fire  
*parā*  
 fall.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘Having heard the stories, (the body) burnt as if ghee fell into fire.’  
 (J.226.7) 1540
- b. Old Rajasthani  
*ara hemū Pāṇīpaṁtha ā=i derā pariya*  
 and hemu Panipat come=CVB camp.M.NOM.PL fall.PST.M.PL  
 ‘And after that Hemu had come to Panipat, the camps were established.’  
 (RG.DV.58) 16/17th c.
- c. Old Braj  
*avasthāhi pāikai vastu ghaṭai aru vaḍhai*  
 state.F.OBL obtain.CVB wealth decrease.3SG.PRS and increase.3SG.PRS  
 ‘Having obtained the state, the thing/wealth (may) decrease or increase.’  
 (I.a105) AD 1600

Thus, in (40a)–(40b), the implicit subject of the converb has the role of experiencer in the event expressed by the subject noun ((40a) *maranī* ‘death’; (40b) *mana* ‘mind’ and (40c) *yada* ‘memory’) of the main clause. In (41), the implicit subject of the converb is in a possessor-like relation to the covert subject of the main clause, which appears in the preceding fragment of the text. There are good reasons to say that in examples (40)–(41) (except for (40a), which is syntactically not very clear, see above), the experiencer or possessor of the main clause (not always overtly expressed, but implicitly present in the structure) controls the reference of the subject of the converbal constructions.

The instances of SIC violation contain converbs denoting both non-volitional and volitional acts (cf. (44)–(45) vs. (42)–(43)), and their subjects can be both animate and inanimate (cf. (42)–(43) vs. (44)–(45)).

- (42) Old Awadhi  
*sakati haṁkār=i phāṁdi giya=m̐ melā*  
 power call=CVB noose neck=OBL.SG put.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘[Birds] having called [one another] with power [loudly], the noose was put on their neck.’  
 (J.72.3) AD 1540
- (43) Old Rajasthani  
*ti puruṣa raja=nai vacani karī saṁgha=māhi gayā*  
 these man.M.NOM.PL king=DAT speech do.CVB community=in go.PST.M.PL  
 ‘These men on hearing the king’s speech (lit. of the king having spoken) went happy to their community.’  
 (RG.13.SS) 15th c.

## (44) Old Awadhi

*biraha agini tana jari bana jare*

separation fire body burn.CVB forest burn.PPP.M.PL

‘From the fire of separation my body burnt and forests burnt.’

Lit. ‘From the fire of separation, my body having burnt, forests burnt.’

(J.225.5) AD 1540

## (45) Old Dakkhini

*to begānagī jā=kara tamāma egānagī āve*

then strangeness go=CVB whole excellence come.3SG.PRS

‘Then the strangeness would go [away] [and] the whole excellence would come [in its place].’

(MV.4.65) 1636

## 6. Absolute constructions

The last three examples discussed in §5 share a feature that resembles a syntactic type well-known from many ancient Indo-European languages, absolute constructions (AC). Specifically, we find in (43)–(45) an overtly expressed subject of the converb. A canonical AC can be defined as a subordinate temporal clause containing a head noun and a participle (or verbal adjective) in an oblique case. The head noun with which this participle/adjective is construed, can be considered the subject of the participial clause and is referentially non-identical with the subject of the main clause (cf. Haspelmath 1995; Bubenik 1998). However, Bauer (2000:300) has convincingly demonstrated that classical languages such as Latin may also show coreference of the subject of the participle and the subject of the main verb. In her recent monographic study on ACs, Ruppel (2012:29) does not take non-coreference of subjects as a defining feature of ACs, stating that “[a]bsolute constructions are temporal expressions with non-temporal heads”. Since ACs are attested in many branches of IE, some scholars speculated, though with caution, that they could be inherited from the protolanguage (Bauer 2000:331–332; Ruppel 2012:201–216).

Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) attests two types of AC: locative AC and much rarer genitive AC. Early NIA continued to use ACs with the subject in an oblique case and the predicate in the form of an inflected imperfective or perfective participle. All instances of AC in our corpus instantiate canonical ACs with non-coreferential subjects (cf. (46)–(49)).

- (46) Old Awadhi  
*tumha humta hoi prītama kai chāyā*  
 you.OBL be.PTCP.PRS be.3SG.PRS beloved of shadow  
 ‘Since you are here, the shadow of my beloved is here.’ (J.255.1) AD 1540
- (47) Old Rajasthani  
*teṇi pātisāh=i āyām sām̐tari kuṇa sahaī*  
 this.INS king=OBL come.PPP.GEN.PL burden.F.SG who bear.3SG.PRS  
 ‘When the king came, who bears the burden.’ (RG.GŚ.29) 15th c.
- (48) Old Braj  
*aise vacana kahe lachimanā tajyau sogā rāghava*  
 like speech say.PPP.M.OBL Lakshmana abandon.PPP.M.SG sadness Rama  
*tatachinā*  
 immediately  
 ‘When Lakshmana said such words, Rama abandoned [his] sorrow immediately.’ (V.1.121) 15th c.
- (49) Old Dakkhini  
*bhaī use dekhe piche pachānata kā eka qatarā ātā*  
 be DEM.3SG.OBL see.PPP.M.OBL after recognise of one drop come.PRP.M.SG  
*hai*  
 be.3SG.PRS  
 ‘After seeing it (lit. after it [sc. the light] has appeared), a drop [out] of the recognised one comes/appears.’ (BN.124) 14th c.

The coexistence of these two syntactic types immediately raises two questions: (i) can these two constructions be considered together, as two varieties of one, more general, phenomenon (constructions with non-finite verbal forms in the subordinate clause and non-coreferential subjects)? (ii) what is the main difference between these two types, one of which is based on participles (cf. (46)–(49)), while the other is based on converbs ((43)–(45))?

The main difference between participles and converbs (and thus between the two types in question) amounts to the difference between their syntactic characteristics and position within the verbal paradigm. Specifically, participles instantiate (de)verbal adjectives, i.e., inflectional forms which are marked for gender, number and case as well as aspect and voice. By contrast, converbs are deverbal adverbs, i.e., formations that do not take any inflectional morphology. However, participles in ACs are similar to converbs in the sense that they take a specific (fossilised) genitive plural (cf. (47)) or oblique (cf. (48) and (49)) form, and thus their inflectional potential is reduced.

In modern New Indo-Aryan languages, converbs and adverbial perfect participles (that is, participles fossilised in the oblique plural form) can have the same meaning in certain contexts, but structural and functional differences between such adverbials and perfect participles properly speaking have also been pointed out (e.g., Subbarao 2012: 271–272). As the examples below illustrate, the reference of the subject of a converbal construction is always controlled by the ergative argument of the main clause, as in (50a). By contrast, the subject of ACs with adverbial participles, depending on its position in the sentence, can be (cf. (50b)), but is not necessarily (cf. (50c)) controlled by the verb of the main clause

(50) Hindi-Urdu (Subbarao 2012: 265–271)

- a. PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> *kamre mē baiṭh=kar/ baiṭhe hue ham<sub>i</sub>=ne choṭe*  
 room LOC sit=CVB / sit.ADV.PTCP we=ERG small.OBL  
*baccō<sub>j</sub> ko dekhā*  
 children.OBL ACC see.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘We saw the small children while we were sitting (seated) in the room.’
- b. PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> *kamre mē baiṭhe hue ham<sub>i</sub>=ne choṭe baccō<sub>j</sub> ko*  
 room LOC sit.ADV.PTCP we=ERG small.OBL children.OBL ACC  
*dekhā*  
 see.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘We saw the small children while we were sitting (seated) in the room.’
- c. *ham<sub>i</sub>=ne choṭe baccō<sub>j</sub> ko PRO<sub>i/j</sub> kamre mē baiṭhe hue*  
 we=ERG small.OBL children.OBL ACC room LOC sit.ADV.PTCP  
*dekhā*  
 see.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘We saw the small children while we were sitting (seated) in the room.’  
 or  
 ‘We saw the small children while they were sitting (seated) in the room.’

In Early NIA both types of “different subject” constructions, i.e., (i) “different subject” (DS) converbal constructions and (ii) participial ACs in the canonical sense of the term, are rare and, as in the case of modern NIA languages, the “same subject” type of converbs is prevalent. In our corpus there are only a few instances of the type represented by (43)–(45), as opposed to a few hundreds of same subject converbal chains. ACs based on adverbial participles are extremely rare, and there are also a few examples of quasi-ACs with coreferential subjects, as in (51):

- (51) Old Dakkhini  
*khela khelate avidye ke khalīte meṃ ghusā*  
 play to.play.ADV.PTCP ignorance of sack in enter.PPP.M.SG  
 ‘While playing, [the pigeon] entered into the sack of ignorance.’  
 (E.II.35) AD 1548–1599

Our texts contain rare instances of converbs which may have a passive interpretation, cf. *bisari* ‘forget’ in (52).

- (52) *pāi bhuguti sukkha mana bhaeū ahā jo*  
 get.PPP.F.SG eating.F.SG happiness heart become.3SG.PST be.3SG.PST which  
*dukkha bisar=i saba gaeū*  
 sorrow forget=CVB all go.3SG.PST  
 ‘He ate and the happiness filled [his] heart, the sorrow which was [there] having been forgotten was all gone.’  
 ‘After eating, his hunger disappeared and he was happy and having forgot the sorrow all is gone.’ (J.66.5) AD 1540

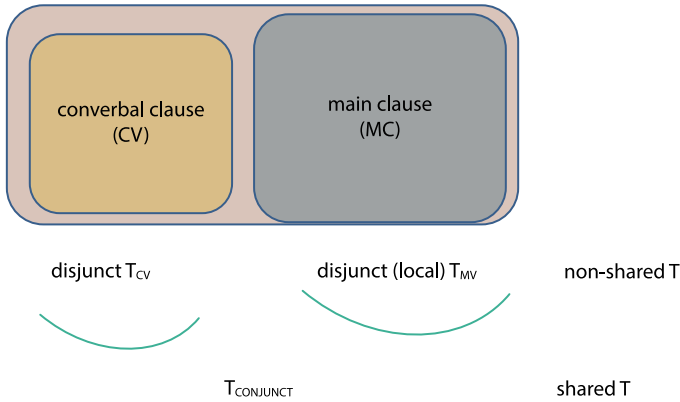
There are some difficulties with the interpretation of such constructions. It seems that in such cases the passive interpretation is more appropriate when the subject of the converb is coreferential with the subject of the main verb. The main problem with such rare constructions is that converbs do not take passive morphology. This forces us to admit the possibility that converbs may occasionally have a passive interpretation.

Whatever the morphosyntactic status of such DS constructions within the syntactic system of NIA languages, it is clear that they belong to its periphery and do not require serious modifications in the syntactic analysis of converbal constructions in NIA.

## 7. Scope of selected operators

In this section we focus on the scopal properties of converbal constructions. As we demonstrated in §2 when discussing possible theoretical approaches to a synchronic and diachronic analysis of converbs, scopal properties are of crucial importance for understanding how converbal constructions interact with main clause and, altogether, how are they incorporated into the structure of the complex sentence. For the sake of convenience, the relevant terms and definitions as well the most important correspondences in the terminological apparatus are recapitulated in Figure 1 below, which represents the basic structure of a complex sentence that incorporates a converbal construction (converbal clause).

For the purpose of the present preliminary survey, we have selected three operators, T (Tense), IF (Illocutionary Force) and NEG (Negation), investigating further their scope properties in converbal constructions.



**Figure 1.** Basic structure of the complex sentence incorporating a converbal clause

### 7.1 Tense scope

As we have seen in (5), in cosubordinate structures, the T-operator is shared. However, in early NIA this is not always the case and, moreover, there are possibly other grammatical factors determining the T-scope, such as the tense of the main verb. According to our analysis, when the main verb is in the past tense, its scope is conjunct. By contrast, when the main verb has non-past tense, the conjunct scope is rather unlikely. Cf. (53) with a conjunct scope as opposed to (54) with a local scope:

- (53) a. Old Awadhi  
*paṃkhi=nha dekh=i saba=nhi ḍara khāvā*  
 bird=OBL.M.PL see=CVB all.OBL.PL fear.M.SG eat.M.SG.PST  
 ‘... birds saw all of that and got scared.’ (J.69.2) AD 1540<sup>12</sup>
- b. Old Rajasthani  
*āmbā nī ḍāḷa namār=i āmbā le=i*  
 mango.OBL.M.SG GEN.F branch.F bend=CVB mango.M.PL take=CVB  
*ḍohalu pūriu.*  
 craving.M.SG fill.PST.M.SG  
 ‘(The outcast) bent the branches of mango tree from all seasoned forest,  
took mangos, fulfilled (her) craving.’ (RG.SS.5) 15th c.

12. The underlined verbal forms show the scope of selected operators.

- c. Old Braj  
*rac=i rac=i apane hātha saṁvāryau nikunja*  
 make=CVB make=CVB own.OBL.M.SG hand arrange.PST.M.SG bower.M.SG  
*bhavana*  
 house.M.SG  
 ‘Having made [it with his] own hands, [he] arranged the bower house.’  
 (HH.39.2) 16th c.
- d. Old Dakkhini  
*hora suka duka dono jāna=kara khudā kī yāda meṃ*  
 and happiness sorrow both know=CVB god GEN.F memory LOC  
*rahyā*  
 remain.PST.M.SG  
 ‘And [if] having experienced both happiness and sorrow [he] remained in  
 God’s memory.’  
 (BN.73) 15th c.
- (54) a. Old Awadhi  
*siddha ḍarahiṃ nahiṃ apane jīvāṃ kharaga dekh=i*  
 holyman fear.3PL.PRS not self.M.OBL.SG life.M.OBL.SG sword see=CVB  
*kai nāvahiṃ gīvāṃ*  
 CVB bow.3PL.PRS neck.F.OBL.SG  
 ‘Holy men do not fear for their own life but they bow their necks having  
 seen a sword.’  
 (J.240.3) AD 1540
- b. Old Rajasthani  
*phūladhārā vica uḍ=i paṛāṃ*  
 stream of flowers middle fly=CVB fall.1PL.PRS  
 ‘Having flown in the middle of the stream of flowers we fall.’  
 (RG.KJ.61) 17th c.
- c. Old Braj  
*kapi nāyaka ke jūtha bulāi rājahiṃ preta*  
 monkey leader GEN.M.PL troop call.CVB shine.3SG.SBJ spirit  
 ‘The spirit would shine, having summoned troops of monkey leaders.’  
 (V.1.50) 15th c.
- d. Old Dakkhini  
*to bīja hora jhāra dono mila=kara qālabiyata ku apaṛe*  
 then seed and heavy.rain both meet=CVB model ACC attain.3SG.SBJ  
*yāne isa khākī vajūda kūṃ*  
 that.is this earthy manifestation ACC  
 ‘Then both the seed and the rain, having met, deliver/attain the body/  
 model, i.e., the material manifestation.’  
 (BN.28) 14th c.

It seems that in Early NIA, the converb is rarely attested with non-past tenses. This fact furnishes strong evidence for the inherent perfectivity of this formation.

In his seminal work on the Sanskrit gerund, Tikkanen (1987:129–132) assumes perfectivity of converbs to be a direct corollary of their anteriority semantics (or, in other words, relative past tense). His Sanskrit data clearly shows the incompatibility of the perfective aspect and non-past tenses. Davison (1981) argues that all Hindi converbs have a perfective meaning. Data from early NIA languages shows that they seem to follow the same pattern. As we can see, this incompatibility of the perfective aspect and the non-past tense is also found today in the contemporary NIA languages. In (55), the main verb is the future tense and the reading of the converbal form is clearly present perfect, not future, i.e., the tense operator has local scope.

- (55) Hindi (Davison 1981:123, fn.7)  
*ham śtāks āj kharīd=kardo sāl ke bād bec dēge*  
 we stocks today buy=CVB two year after sell give.AUX.FUT.1PL  
 ‘We have bought stocks today and we will sell them in two years.’

Support for such an interpretation comes from other Indo-European languages as well. For example, in Polish anterior converbs are rarely used in non-past tenses. According to Bojałkowska (2010:206, 213–215), in Polish, the frequency of anterior converbs co-occurring with the main verbs operates along the following hierarchy:

*past tense > present tense > future tense > imperative, subjunctive.*

In Bojałkowska’s database, 82% of examples are past tense, 12% present tense and only 3% future tense. The remaining forms are subjunctives and imperatives.

Bojałkowska (2010:208–211) also notes that the T-scope in anterior converb constructions can be conjunct when the main verb is in the past or future tense. This results from the aspectual structure of the Polish verb which can be both future and past imperfective/perfective. In the present tense, however, there is only imperfective aspect. Anterior converbs are perfective and therefore, if they are to denote an event completed before the one expressed by the future or past tense, they can refer to an event in the future or past. For an event completed before the one expressed by the verb of the main clause in the present tense, the present perfective is not available. Hence it is impossible to extend the T-scope in converbal constructions with the main verb in the present tense. Compare (56), (57) and their equivalents in (56’), (57’) showing conjunct T-scope, as opposed to (58) and (58’), where the T-scope is local. The equivalents show that the temporal interpretation of the converb can be ambiguous (examples from Bojałkowska 2010:208–211).

- (56) Polish  
*Dalej będziemy działać, zapoznawszy się z tym materiałem.*  
 further be.FUT.1PL act.INF, acquaint.CVB REFL with this.INS material.M.INS.SG  
 ‘We will act further, having acquainted ourselves with this material.’
- (56') Polish  
*Dalej będziemy działać, kiedy zapoznamy się z tym materiałem.*  
 further be.FUT.1PL act.INF, when acquaint.FUT.1PL REFL with this.INS material.M.INS.SG  
 ‘We will act further, when we acquaint ourselves with this material.’
- (57) Polish  
*Przeszedłszy do drugiego pokoju kucnęła przy książkach.*  
 move.on.CVB to second.GEN.SG.M room.GEN.SG.M squat.PST.3SG.F near book.INS.PL.F  
 ‘Having moved on to the second room she squatted near the books.’
- (57') Polish  
*Kiedy przeszła do drugiego pokoju, kucnęła przy książkach.*  
 when move.on.PST.3SG.F to second.GEN.M.SG room.GEN.M.SG squat.PST.3SG.F near book.INS.F.PL  
 ‘When she moved on to the second room she squatted near the books.’
- (58) Polish  
 [...] *wyrwawszy się z korka chętnie stosujemy ciężką nogę.* [...] Break.out.CVB REFL from traffic.jam.GEN.M.SG willingly apply.1PL.PRS heavy.ACC.F.SG leg.ACC.F.SG  
 ‘Having broken out from the traffic jam we speed up.’
- (58') Polish  
 [...] *po tym, jak wyrwiemy / wyrwaliśmy się z korka, chętnie stosujemy ciężką nogę* [...] after this.INS how break out.1.PL.FUT / break out.1.PL.PST REFL from traffic.jam.GEN.SG willingly apply.1PL.PRS heavy.ACC.F.S leg.ACC.F.SG  
 ‘After we break out / broke out from the traffic jam we speed up.’

Although the low frequency of anterior converbs with non-past tenses in Polish does not imply their ungrammaticality, being only a tendency, it can serve as a good illustration of (and an additional piece of evidence for) a cross-linguistic

correlation between the meaning of anteriority and incongruency with non-past tenses in the main clause.<sup>13</sup>

## 7.2 IF scope

New Indo-Aryan converbs appear with present tense, subjunctive or imperative much more often than their Slavic counterparts. For example, there are numerous examples of converbal chains with imperatives in which two readings may be available, either with conjunct or with local scope; cf. (59)–(62):

- (59) Old Awadhi  
*kai cal=i hohu suā sanga satī*  
 or go=CVB be.IMP parrot.M.SG with satī.F.SG  
 ‘... or having gone become satī with the parrot.’  
 ‘... or go and become satī with the parrot.’ (J.88.8) AD 1540
- (60) Old Rajasthani  
*paṇi tumhē mayā karī deśāntari pahucaū*  
 but you mercy do.CVAB abroad.OBL reach.IMP  
 ‘But you, having shown mercy, go abroad.’  
 ‘But you show mercy and go abroad.’ (RG.M.15) 15th c.
- (61) Old Braj  
*baṇḍ=i mokhū devani kauṃ dehu*  
 pay.homage=CVB liberation (moksha) god DAT give.2SG.IMP  
 ‘Give liberation, having paid homage to gods.’  
 ‘Give liberation and pay homage to gods.’ (V.1.120) 15th c.
- (62) Old Dakkhini  
*pāṃca mila=ke insāpha karanā*  
 five meet=CVB decision do.2IMP/INF  
 ‘Having met [in] five, make decision.’  
 ‘You meet in five and make decision.’ (E.III.44) 16th c.

The IF-scope can be dependent on the constituent order. With converbal clause postposed the scope does not necessarily have to be conjunct:

13. Quite regrettably, similar studies on statistical correlations between the temporal and aspectual characteristics of converbs and the temporal characteristics of the verb in the main clause are still lacking, remaining a desideratum even for such languages with a rich system of converbs and well-developed grammatical tradition as Russian.

## (63) Old Braj

*sukha sovahi kāyara kī nāri hāranu jitanu virogu*  
 happiness sleep.2SG.IMP coward GEN.F woman lose.INF win.INF separation

*nivār=i*

dismiss=CVB

‘Sleep [in] happiness, the cowardly woman, having dismissed the separation  
 [from] losing and winning.’ (V.1.6) 15th c.

The IF-scope in assertive sentences is exclusively conjunct. When the main verb is negated, the IF-scope does not extend to the converbal clause (cf. (64)).

## (64) Old Awadhi

*rasa taj=i risi kabahum na kijai*  
 love leave=CVB anger when not do.3SG.PRS/IMP.PASS

‘Having abandoned love, one should never be angry.’ (J.90.5) AD 1540

This is in line with Tikkanen’s observations regarding earlier stages of IA that negation of the main verb results in backgrounding and a restrictive reading of the converbal clause (Tikkanen 1987: 161–162).

The IF-scope in questions is dependent on the position of the question word. If it is in the left-most position in the clause, then its scope is preferably conjunct, as in (65). If, however, the question word precedes the main verb, and the matrix clause is postposed, the scope is local, as in (66):

## (65) Awadhi

*kata cīrhāra ḍhukata la=i lāsā?*  
 how fowler hide.PRS.PTCP.M take=CVB bird-lime

‘Why would the fowler hide himself and use an adhesive to catch birds?’

(J.70.4) AD 1540

## (66) Awadhi

*kāna ṭūṭa jehi abharana kā la=i karaba so*  
 ear break.PST.M.SG which.OBL decoration what take=CVB do.3SG.FUT that  
*sona?*

gold

‘[...]having taken that golden decoration by which the ear breaks, what should one do?’ (J. 87d) AD 1540

## 7.3 NEG-operator

According to Kachru (1981:42), in modern New Indo-Aryan languages NEG scope can be variable at least in sequential constructions (chaining). Thus, (67) allows for three interpretations. There are also clear examples of conjunct scope where possibly no other interpretation is available. These include converbal con-

structions with adverbial readings, as in (68), as well as, interestingly, some sequential constructions (69).

- (67) Hindi (Kachru 1981: 42)

*us-ne nahā=kar khānā nahī̃ khāyā*  
s/he bathe=CVB meal.M.SG not eat.PST.M.SG  
'He did not eat after bathing.'

1. s/he ate before bathing
2. s/he went directly to the office without eating
3. s/he only had tea after washing face

- (68) Hindi (Kachru 1981: 42)

*tum man lagā=kar nahī̃ paṛhte*  
you mind apply=CVB not study.IMP.F.M.PL  
'You don't study diligently.'

- (69) Hindi (Tikkanen 1987: 31; from Premcand Godān)

*ab god se utar=kar pāv-pāv kyō nahī̃ calī*  
now lap ABL descend=CVB foot-foot why not walk.IMP.F.SG  
'Now why don't you get down from (daddy's) lap and walk on your feet.'

In early NIA NEG scope can also be conjunct in sequential constructions (70) with the negation marker in the main clause. However, the position of the NEG marker in front of the postposed main verb or the converbal clause may result in local scope of negation (cf. (71) and (72)). However, if the NEG marker occurs in front of (normally, immediately before) the preposed converbal clause, the scope of negation seems to extend to the adjacent main clause, cf. (73). Similarly, in adverbial constructions such as (74), the scope of NEG is extended to the converbal clause.

- (70) Old Braj

*rājakāja dekhi koū pāvata na bheu hai*  
royal act see.CVB someone obtain.IMP not secret be.3SG.PRS  
'The one who has not seen your royal act does not reach (your) secret.'  
[lit. Having seen the royal act, no one reaches (your) secret.] (Ś.170) 17th c.

- (71) Awadhi

*jaun tivāin kai kaja na jānā*  
if woman.INS.F.SG do.CV work not know.PPP.M.SG  
'If the woman didn't realise what she has done.' (J.86.4) AD 1540

- (72) Awadhi  
*sūjhai bhuguti na sūjha biādhū*  
 see.3SG.PRS eating not see.CVB fowler  
 '[we] see eating not having seen the fowler.' (J.72.5) AD 1540
- (73) Awadhi  
*na āi sahī yaha dhūpā*  
 not come.CVB suffer.PPP.F.SG this.DEM sunshine.NOM.F.SG  
 'Even if having come again, did not suffer this sunshine.' (J.27.7) AD 1540
- (74) Old Dakkhini  
*moammā nahīm kahe isa bāta kūṃ khola*  
 enigma not say.3SG.SBJ this matter ACC open.CVB  
 'One does not say this enigmatic thing openly (lit: having opened).' (H.39) AD 1641

Similar phenomena are also attested in modern NIA (cf. Davison 1981; Kachru 1981; Subbarao 2012).

#### 7.4 Concluding remarks on the scopal properties of CVB

As we have seen in the present section, converbal constructions in early Awadhi do not clearly show operator dependency. Davison (1981) rightly states that the scope of the IF-operator and NEG-operator is often dependent on pragmatic factors such as discourse prominence of the clauses being a part of converbal construction, discourse context, or speaker's knowledge. However, we have seen that in Early NIA, IF and NEG scope results from the position of the markers in the sentence as well. By contrast, the T-scope has a structural motivation, being dependent on the tense of the main verb. Evidence for this feature is found in several branches of early NIA and in modern NIA (particularly in modern Hindi).

### 8. Concluding remarks

Early NIA languages present an interesting example of a transitional stage, which documents rather unstable systems of main argument marking in perfective tenses. Specifically, there is an important areal differentiation in the domain of A marking: all analysed languages mark As in converbal chain constructions inconsistently and only with main transitive verbs. Languages belonging to the eastern branch such as Awadhi and languages of the western branch such as Rajasthani lost A-marking quite early. We have no instances of marking triggered by the tran-

sitivity of converbs in our corpus. Therefore we may tentatively conclude that this controlling property of converbs results from a later development.

The phenomenon of differential object marking shows considerable variability. Even though first instances of O marking are attested at quite early stages in all dialectal groups, the full establishment of the differential object marking determined by animacy and definiteness is a relatively late phenomenon. Moreover, as we can see from the presented data, some modern NIA languages, such as Pahari, still show unmarked Os even in contexts which require regular marking of Os.

The Subject Identity Constraint has been violated in cases of possessor or experiencer-like relation between the subject of the main and converbal clauses and, in contrast to the situation with modern NIA, in converbal constructions denoting both non-volitional and volitional acts. The violation of the Subject Identity Constraint rule led to the rise of absolutive constructions based on converbs, which coexisted with absolutive constructions based on past participles. As demonstrated above, converbal constructions predominantly showed Subject Identity Constraint, but those based on participles did not. This differentiation seems to survive into modern NIA languages.

Finally, the scope of select operators such as Tense, Illocutionary Force and Negation can be interpreted as a diagnostic tool for the aspectual character of the converb. We conclude that, since T-scope is preferably conjunct in past tenses, the preferred aspectual interpretation of the converb is perfective. IF-scope is highly variable and may depend on the position of the Q-word. NEG-scope also shows considerable variability. Taking all this into account, we assume that, from the structural point of view, the converbal construction occupies an intermediate position between subordination and coordination. The notion of cosubordination as such is arguably not applicable to the Indo-Aryan languages, because cosubordination suggests obligatory operator sharing, which is typically not the case in both early and modern NIA. We have applied a set of diagnostic parameters for diachronic analysis, arguing that the complex structures based on converbs can only be characterised in terms of a specific set of features but not strictly defined.

## Funding

The research was supported by Polish National Science Centre grant UMO-2013/10/M/HS2/00553 awarded to Krzysztof Stroński. The research was started thanks to a generous research grant awarded to Leonid Kulikov by the European Union's Marie Skłodowska-Curie program (grant nr. 665778) and from the NCN (POLONEZ grant nr. 2015/19/P/HS2/02028) during a research stay at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and finalised thanks to the FWO research grant G004121N.

## Abbreviations

Glossing follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>).

Other abbreviations used in the text include:

|           |                                           |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------|
| AC        | absolute construction                     |
| DOM       | differential object marking               |
| DSM       | differential subject marking              |
| DS        | different subject                         |
| IA        | Indo-Aryan                                |
| IF-scope  | scope of the illocutionary force operator |
| MIA       | Middle Indo-Aryan                         |
| NEG-scope | scope of the negation operator            |
| NIA       | New Indo-Aryan                            |
| OIA       | Old Indo-Aryan                            |
| SIC       | subject identity constraint               |
| PPP       | past passive participle                   |
| T-scope   | scope of the tense operator               |

## Primary sources

- Bhānāvāt, Narendra & Kamal, Lakshmi (eds.). 1997–1998. *Rājasthānī gadya: vikās aur prakāś* [Rajasthani prose: Development and publicity]. Āgrā: Śrīrām Mehrā end Kampanī. (RG.)
- Dvivedī Silākārī, Loknāth. 1972 (ed.), *Rāmāyankathā* [The story of Ramayana]. Ilāhābād: Sāhitya bhavan limited.
- Gautam, Manmohan. 1954. *Jāyasīgranthavalī* [Books of Jayasī]. Delhi: Rigal Buk Dīpo. (J.)
- Joshi, Maheshwar P. 1983. *Rājanitīśāstra of Chāṇakya* (Text and translation). Almora: Śrī Malika Publications.
- Joshi, Maheshwar P. 2009. Advent of polities in Uttarkhand (Kumaon and Garhwal). In Marie Lecomte-Tilouine (ed.), *Bards and mediums: History, culture, and politics in the central Himalayan kingdoms*, 327–371. Almora: Shri Almora Book Depot.
- McGregor, Ronald S. 1968. *The language of Indrajit of Orchā. A study of early Braj Bhāsā prose*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miśra, Viśvanāth P. 1994 (ed.), *Bhūṣaṇa granthāvalī* [Collected works of Bhushan]. Naī Dillī: Vāṇī prakāśan.
- Pant, Mahes Raj. 2009. Towards a history of the Khasa empire. In Marie Lecomte-Tilouine (ed.), *Bards and mediums: History, culture, and politics in the central Himalayan kingdoms*, 293–326. Almora: Shri Almora Book Depot.
- Prasad, Ram Chandra (ed.). 1994. *Tulsidasa's shrīramacaritamanasa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited.
- Snell, Rupert. 1991a. *The eighty-four hymns of Hita Harivaṃśa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Snell, Rupert. 1991b. *The Hindi classical tradition. A Brajbhāṣā Reader*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Śarmā, Śrīrām. 1954. *Dakḥinī kā padya aur gadya* [Poetry and prose of Dakkhini]. Haidrābād: Hindī Pracār Sabhā.

## References

- Anderson, Stephen R. 1977. On the mechanisms by which languages become ergative. In Charles Li (ed.), *Mechanisms of syntactic change*, 217–264. Austin & London: University of Texas Press.
- Arora, Harbir & K. V. Subbarao. 1989. Convergence and syntactic reanalysis: The case of *so* in Dakkhini. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 19(1), 1–18.
- Auwers, Johan van der. 1998. Defining converbs. In Leonid Kulikov & Heinz Vater (eds.), *Typology of verbal categories: Papers presented to Vladimir Nedjalkov on the occasion of his 70th birthday* (Linguistische Arbeiten 382), 273–282. Tübingen: Niemeyer.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110913750.273>
- Bauer, Brigitte. 2000. *Archaic syntax in Indo-European*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110825992>
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2010. Capturing particulars and universals in clause linkage: A multivariate analysis. In Isabelle Brill (ed.), *Clause linking and clause hierarchy: Syntax and pragmatics*, 51–101. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.121.03bic>
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2011. Multivariate typology and field linguistics: A case study on detransitivization in Kiranti (Sino-Tibetan). In Peter, Austin K., Oliver Bond, Lutz Marten & David Nathan (eds.), *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory 3*, vol. 3, 1–11. London: SOAS University of London.
- Bickel, Balthasar & Yogendra P. Yādava. 2000. A fresh look at grammatical relations in Indo-Aryan. *Lingua* 110(5), 343–373. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841\(99\)00048-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0024-3841(99)00048-0)
- Bojałkowska, Krystyna. 2010. *Opis składniowy imiesłowów przysłówkowych we współczesnym języku polskim* [A syntactic description of converbs in modern Polish]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.
- Bubenik, Vit. 1998. *A historical syntax of late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhramśa)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.165>
- Butt, Miriam. 2001. A reexamination of the accusative to ergative shift in Indo-Aryan. In Miriam Butt & Tracy H. King (eds.), *Time over matter: Diachronic perspectives on morphosyntax*, 105–141. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Coupe, Alexander R. 2006. Converbs. In Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of languages and linguistics*, 2nd edn., 145–152. Oxford: Elsevier.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/00183-8>
- Dahl, Eystein & Krzysztof Stroński (eds). 2016. *Indo-Aryan ergativity in typological and diachronic perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.112>
- Davison, Alice. 1981. Syntactic and semantic indeterminacy resolved: A mostly pragmatic analysis for the Hindi conjunctive participle. In Cole Peter (ed.), *Radical pragmatics*, 101–128. New York: Academic Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55, 59–138. <https://doi.org/10.2307/412519>
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511611896>
- Donohue, Mark & Wichmann Søren. 2008. *The typology of semantic alignment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199238385.001.0001>
- Drocco, Andrea. 2017. Rājasthānī features in medieval Braj prose texts: The case of differential object marking and verbal agreement in perfective clauses. *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie orientale* 53: 205–234. <https://doi.org/10.14277/2385-3042/AnnOr-53-17-7>

- Dwarikesh, Dwarika Prasad Sharma. 1971. Historical syntax of the conjunctive participle phrase in New Indo-Aryan dialects of Madhyadesa (Midland) of northern India. University of Chicago, PhD dissertation.
- Ebert, Karen. 2001. Südasien als Sprachbund. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.), *Language typology and language universals* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft. Bd. 11.2), 1529–1539. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Emeneau, Murray. 1956. India as a linguistic area. *Language* 32(1). 3–16.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/410649>
- Fauconnier, Stefanie. 2011. Differential Agent Marking and animacy. *Lingua* 121(3). 533–547.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2010.10.014>
- Foley, William A. & Robert D. Van Valin. 1984. *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grierson, George A. 2005 [1916]. *Linguistic survey of India. Vol. 9: Indo-Aryan family. Central group; Part IV: Specimens of the Pahārī languages and Gujurī*. Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In Martin Haspelmath & Ekkehard König (eds.), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 13), 1–55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463-003>
- Haspelmath, Martin & Ekkehard König (eds.), 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 13). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463>
- Hock, Hans Henrich. 1986. P-oriented construction in Sanskrit. In Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, Colin P. Masica & Anjani K. Sinha (eds.), *South Asian languages: Structure, convergence and diglossia*, 15–26. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hoop, Helen de & Bhuvana Narasimhan. 2009. Ergative case-marking in Hindi. In Helen de Hoop & Peter de Swart (eds.), *Differential subject marking* (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 72), 63–78. Dordrecht: Kluwer.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-6497-5\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-6497-5_4)
- Jaworski, Rafał. 2014. [http://rjawor.wm.wmi.amu.edu.pl/wiki/index.php/Main\\_Page](http://rjawor.wm.wmi.amu.edu.pl/wiki/index.php/Main_Page)
- Kachru, Yamuna. 1981. On the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the conjunctive participle in Hindi-Urdu. *Studies in Linguistic Sciences* 11(2). 35–49.
- Kachru, Yamuna, Braj Kachru & Tej Bhatia. 1976. ‘Subject’. A note on Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri and Punjabi. In Manindra K. Verma (ed.), *The notion of subject in South Asian languages* (South Asian Studies, Publication Series 2), 79–108. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Khokhlova, Ludmila V. 1992. Trends in the development of ergativity in New Indo-Aryan. *Osmania Papers in Linguistics* 18. 71–89.
- Khokhlova, Liudmila V. 2000. Typological evolution of Western NIA languages. *Berliner Indologische Studien* 13/14. 117–142.
- Khokhlova, Liudmila V. 2006. Sintaksičeskaja èvolucija zapadnyx novoiindijskix jazykov v 15–20 vv. [Syntactic evolution of Western New Indo-Aryan languages in 15–20 c.] In Anna Dybo et al. (eds.), *Aspekty komparativistiki 2* [Aspects of comparative studies] (Orientalia et Classica: Trudy Instituta vostočnyx kul’tur i antičnosti; Vyp. XI), 151–186. Moskva: Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Gumanitarnyj Universitet.

- Klaiman, Miriam H. 1978. Arguments against a passive origin of the IA Ergative. *Chicago Linguistic Society: Papers from the 14th Regional Meeting*. 204–216.
- Li, Charles N. (ed.) 1976. *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Li, Charles N. (ed.) 1977. *Mechanisms of syntactic change*. Austin & London: University of Texas Press.
- Lohar, Gopal Thakur. 2012. Converb constructions in Bhojpuri. *Nepalese Linguistics* 27. 217–222.
- Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago/London: Chicago University Press.
- McGregor, William B. 2010. Optional ergative case marking systems in a typological-semiotic perspective. *Lingua* 120. 1610–1636. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2009.05.010>
- Olson, Michael L. 1981. Barai clause junctures: Toward a functional theory of interclausal relations. Australian National University, PhD dissertation.
- Peterson, John. 1998. *Grammatical relations in Pāli and the emergence of ergativity in Indo-Aryan* (LINCOM Studies in Indo-European Linguistics 01). München: Lincom Europa.
- Peterson, John. 2002. The Nepali converbs: A holistic approach. In Rajendra Singh (ed.), *Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics 2002*, 93–133. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Pirejko, Lija A. 1968. *Osnovnye voprosy ėrgativnosti na materiale indoiranskix jazykov* [Main issues of ergativity: Evidence from Indo-Iranian languages]. Moskva: Nauka.
- Roberts, John R. 2016. *Amele RRG grammatical sketch*. SIL International.
- Ruppel, Antonia. 2012. *Absolute constructions in Early Indo-European*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139019736>
- Saksena, Baburam. 1971 [1937]. *Evolution of Awadhi*. Delhi-Patna-Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Schumacher, Rolf. 1977. *Untersuchungen zum Absolutiv im modernen Hindi*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.
- Sigorskij, Aleksandr. 2005. Deepričastija v jazyke xindi. [Converbs in the Hindi language] *Sbornik naučnyx trudov / MGIMO(U) MID Rossii* 21(36). 54–63.
- Stroński, Krzysztof. 2011. *Synchronic and diachronic aspects of ergativity in Indo-Aryan*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Stroński, Krzysztof. 2014. On syntax and semantics of the past perfect participle and gerundive in Early NIA – Evidence from Eastern Pahari. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 35. 275–305.
- Stroński, Krzysztof, Joanna Tokaj & Saartje Verbeke. 2019. A diachronic account of converbal constructions in Old Rajasthani. In Michela Cennamo & Claudia Fabrizio (eds.), *Historical Linguistics 2015. Selected papers from the 22nd International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Naples, 27–31 July 2015* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 348), 424–441. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.348.20str>
- Subbārāo, Karumuri V. 2012. *South Asian languages: A syntactic typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139003575>
- Šamatov, Azad N. 1974. *Klassičeskij daksini (Južnyj xindustani XVII v.)* [Classical Dakkhini (Southern Hindustani of the 17th century)]. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tikkanen, Bertil. 1987. *The Sanskrit gerund: A synchronic, diachronic and typological analysis* (Studia Orientalia 62). Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.

Tikkanen, Bertil. 1995. Burushaski converbs in their South and Central Asian areal context. In Martin Haspelmath & König Ekkehard (eds.). *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 13), 487–528. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463-016>

Van Valin, Robert J. 2005. *Exploring the syntax–semantics interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511610578>

Van Valin, Robert J. & Randy LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139166799>

Verbeke, Saartje. 2013a. *Ergativity and alignment in New Indo-Aryan languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110292671>

Verbeke, Saartje. 2013b. Differential subject marking in Nepali: The agent marker *le* in imperfective constructions. *Linguistics* 51(3), 585–610. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2013-0021>

Verbeke, Saartje & Ludovic De Cuypere. 2015. Differential subject marking in Nepali imperfective constructions: A probabilistic grammar approach. *Studies in Language* 39(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.39.1.01ver>

Verma, Manindra K. (ed.), 1976. *The notion of subject in South Asian languages* (South Asian Studies, Publication Series 2). Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Wallace, William D. 1981. Object-marking in the history of Nepali: A case of syntactic diffusion. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11(2), 107–128.

Witzlack-Makarevich, Alena & Ilja A. Seržant. 2018. Differential argument marking: Patterns of variation. In Ilja A. Seržant & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich (eds.), *Diachrony of differential argument marking* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics), 1–40. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Yadav, Ramawatar. 2004. On diachronic origins of converbs in Maithili. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 31(2), 215–241.

Zoller, Claus P. 2008. Genitive marking of subjects in West Pahārī. *Acta Orientalia* 69, 121–151. <https://doi.org/10.5617/ao.7389>

Appendix. Corpus

| Language       | Corpus size | Genre | Time of composition | Abbreviations used                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------|-------------|-------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Old Rajasthani | 10000 words | prose | 14–18th c.          | RG.DV – Viśaḷadevarāsa (15c.)<br>RG.GŚ – Gāḍaṇṣīwdās – Vacanikā khīci acaḷadāsa-rī (15c.)<br>RG.M – Merusumḍar – Amarsena-Vayarsena (15c.)<br>RG.MS – Muhaṇot Saṃgrāmsiṃgh – Adalati nyay(18c.)<br>RG.SS – Somsumḍar Sūri – Guru mahimā par kathā (15c.)<br>RG.TS – Truṇprabhav Sūri – Dvitiya vrata satya para kathā (14c.) |

| Language        | Corpus<br>size | Genre                 | Time of<br>composition | Abbreviations used                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Old<br>Awadhi   | 10000<br>words | Epic poetry           | 16 c.                  | J. – Malik Muhammad Jāyasī (1540)<br>T. – Tulsīdās (1574–1576)                                                                                                                                            |
| Old Braj        | 10000<br>words | Epic poetry<br>Prose  | 15–17th c.             | HH- Hita Harivaṃśa ‘Hita caurāsī’ /<br>Caurāsī’ (16th)<br>I – Indrajit of Orchā ‘Vivekadīpikā’ (1600)<br>Ś- Bhūṣaṇ Tripāṭhī ‘Śivrajbhūṣaṇa’ (1673)<br>V – Viṣṇudās ‘Rāmāyan kathā’ (1442)                 |
| Old<br>Dakkhini | 10000          | Prose<br>poetry       | 14–18th c.             | BN- Khwājā Bandā Navāz Gesūdrāz (1312/<br>88–1422/37)<br>E – Eknāth (1548–99)<br>H – Huseini (1641), poetry (henceforth H)<br>MV – Mullā Vajahī (1575/80–1660/71)<br>VD – Valī Daknī/Dakkhinī (1682–1730) |
| Pahari          | 3000           | Inscriptions<br>prose | 14–18 c.               | –                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

## Zusammenfassung

Infinite Verbformen bilden einen wichtigen Bestandteil des verbalen Systems der indoarischen (IA) Sprachen. Einerseits haben einige von ihnen, wie z. B. Konverben, in der historischen Linguistik und typologischen Literatur in Bezug auf Altindoarisch (OIA), Mittelindoarisch (MIA) und Neuindoarisch (NIA) bereits die gebührende Aufmerksamkeit erhalten (vgl. Tikkanen 1987; Peterson 1998; Subbarao 2012 unter anderen). Andere Formen, wie Partizipien, wurden normalerweise im weiten Kontext der Reorganisation des finiten verbalen Systems analysiert, was zur Änderung der Ausrichtung führte (für die rezente Diskussion siehe Dahl und Stroński 2016). Andererseits wurden adverbale Partizipien oder Infinitive bisher wenig untersucht (vgl. Sigorski 2005), insbesondere innerhalb der frühen NIA-Sprachen. Diese Periode in der Geschichte der IA Sprachen war Zeuge mehrerer wichtiger morphosyntaktischer Entwicklungen und erfordert noch eingehende Studien, insbesondere aufgrund des Mangels an gut bearbeiteten Korpora. Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, diese Lücke teilweise zu füllen, indem wichtige Trends bei der Entwicklung von Konstruktionen hervorgehoben werden, die auf verschiedenen infiniten Formen in frühen NIA Sprachen basieren. Wir fokussieren uns auf die Markierung der Hauptargumente in konverbalen Kettenkonstruktionen und deren Zusammenspiel mit der Belebtheithierarchie. Wir demonstrieren eine relative Stabilität der Differential Case Marking (DCM), wobei wir uns hauptsächlich auf die Bedingungen für die Differential Subject Marking (DSM) und die Differential Object Marking (DOM) konzentrieren. Zusätzlich vergleichen wir konverbale Kettenkonstruktionen mit partizipialen absoluten Konstruktionen (AC). Um eine ganzheitliche Sicht auf konverbale Konstruktionen zu geben, werden wir schließlich die Art der von ihnen instanziierten Verknüpfung überprüfen, wobei wir uns auf drei Skopalparameter in konverbalen Konstruktionen (Zeitform, illokutionäre Kraft und Negation) konzentrieren und den Apparat der Rollen- und Referenzgrammatik und multivariate Analysemodelle verwenden.

## Résumé

Les formes non finies constituent une composante importante du système verbal des langues indo-aryennes (IA). D'une part, certains d'entre eux, comme par ex. converbs, ont déjà reçu une attention appropriée dans la linguistique historique et la littérature typologique, en ce qui concerne le vieil indo-aryen (OIA), le moyen indo-aryen (MIA) et le nouvel indo-aryen (NIA) (cf. Tikkanen 1987; Peterson 1998; Subbarao 2012 entre autres). D'autres formes, telles que les participes, ont généralement été analysées dans le vaste contexte de la réorganisation du système verbal fini qui a conduit à un changement d'alignement (pour une discussion récente, voir Dahl et Stroński 2016). D'autre part, les participes adverbiaux ou infinitifs ont jusqu'à présent été sous-étudiés (cf. Sigorski 2005), en particulier au début de la NIA. Cette période de l'histoire des langues IA a connu plusieurs développements morphosyntaxiques importants et exige encore des études approfondies, en particulier étant donné le manque des corpus bien éditiés. Le but du présent article est de combler partiellement cette lacune en mettant en évidence les tendances les plus importantes dans le développement des constructions basées sur formes diverses non finies au début de la période NIA. Nous nous concentrons sur le marquage des arguments principaux dans les constructions de chaînes convergentes et son interaction avec la hiérarchie d'animation. Nous démontrerons la stabilité relative du marquage différentiel de cas (DCM), en se concentrant surtout sur les conditions de marquage différentiel du sujet (DSM) et de marquage différentiel de l'objet (DOM). De plus, nous comparerons les constructions de chaîne convergentes avec les constructions absolues participatives (AC). Enfin, afin de donner une vision holistique des constructions convergentes, nous vérifions le type de lien instancié par ces constructions. Nous nous concentrons sur trois paramètres de portée dans les constructions converbales (Temps, Force Illocutionnaire et Négation), en utilisant l'appareil de la grammaire de rôle et de référence et les modèles d'analyse multivariée.

## Address for correspondence

Krzysztof Stroński  
Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań  
Grunwaldzka 6  
61-780 POZNAŃ  
Poland  
stromiu@amu.edu.pl  
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8951-8516>

## Co-author information

Leonid Kulikov  
Ghent University  
Leonid.Kulikov@UGent.be

## **Publication history**

Date received: 2 December 2019

Date accepted: 5 June 2021

Published online: 10 August 2021

# Table of contents

Introduction: Aspects of Alignment Change

*Eystein Dahl*

## Articles / Aufsätze

Two types of alignment change in nominalizations: Austronesian and Japanese

*Edith Aldridge and Yuko Yanagida*

Evolutionary dynamics of Indo-European alignment patterns

*Gerd Carling and Chundra Cathcart*

Pathways to split ergativity: The rise of ergative alignment in Anatolian and Indo-Aryan

*Eystein Dahl*

Typology and diachrony of converbs in Indo-Aryan

*Krzysztof Stroński and Leonid Kulikov*

ISSN 0176-4225 / E-ISSN 1569-9714

**JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY**