Agreement and information structure in Surati Gujarati

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Abstract In Surati Gujarati and in Standard Gujarati, verbal elements can agree with a morphologically overt accusative case marked argument. This agreement pattern is unique because in other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi and Marathi, presence of morphologically overt case on an argument blocks agreement with that argument, and the verb shows default agreement as a result. In this article, I show a novel empirical fact that in the causative constructions of Surati Gujarati, the verb can either agree with an accusative case marked object or show default agreement. I argue that this difference in agreement (agreement with accusative marked object vs. default agreement) is due to the use of two homophonous but different case markings on the direct object, namely, differentially marked, [+SPECIFIC] Accusative case vs. [+/−SPECIFIC] ordinary Dative case. To account for dative case assignment, I propose that dative case is a dependent (structural) case in Surati Gujarati. Further, I establish a relationship between information structure and agreement. To account for both case alternation and information structure-agreement relationship in Surati Gujarati, I propose a focus-driven object shift analysis. Under the Minimalist Program (MP) framework, focus movements are considered A-bar movements while movement related to case assignment is A movement. Here, the same movement serves both purposes. Thus, a movement of this type raises a larger theoretical question on the status of A vs. A-bar movement.

Keywords information structure · object shift · agreement · causative · case alternation

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1 Introduction

Surati Gujarati is a dialect of Gujarati mainly spoken in the city of Surat and in areas surrounding Surat in India. The data in this article is from the

field work that I conducted in the city of Surat to collect data on Surati Gujarati. The field study was conducted on 25 language consultants, it consisted of 14 female and 11 male speakers. Their age groups ranged between 20–70 years.[1,2] Cardona (1965), Mistry (1998), and Suthar (2005) claim that in Standard Gujarati, when both the subject and the object are overtly case marked, the predicate must agree with the case marked object as seen in (1), and, if the predicate shows the default neuter agreement, it renders the sentence ungrammatical, as in (2). The agreement facts described in (1) and (2) for Standard Gujarati also hold for Surati Gujarati.[3]

(1) *ram-e* ***bakri-ne***$_{Acc}$ ***khaadhi*** *(Standard Gujarati)*
Ram.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-ACC eat.PFV.F.SG
'Ram ate the goat.'

(2) **ram-e* *bakri-ne*$_{Acc}$ *khaadhu* *(Standard Gujarati)*
Ram.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-ACC eat.PFV.N.SG
'Ram ate the goat.'

Now switching to the Surati Gujarati data, in examples (3) and (4), the use of a causativized predicate allows default agreement on the main verb in Surati Gujarati. This, I argue is due to case alternation. In a nutshell, I propose that Surati Gujarati has two distinct *-ne* markers, namely, -ne$_{Acc}$ vs. -ne$_{Dat}$. Although the case marker *-ne* is homophonous for Accusative and Dative case, the position of the accusative and dative case marked objects make the difference in the case markers explicit. I illustrate this in sentence (3), where the causativised predicate *dawdaav* ('cause to run') can show default neuter agreement morphology as Dative case does not control agreement in Surati Gujarati. A crucial point here is that the dative

[1]The Gujarati spoken in the cities of Vadodra and Ahemdabad of the Gujarat state in India is considered the Standard variety of Gujarati.

[2]I have excluded the field work methodology adopted to collect the data for reasons of space.

[3]The following abbreviations are used: ACC = Accusative, CAUS = Causative, DAT = Dative, ERG = Ergative, F = Feminine, *F* = Focus, M = Masculine, NOM = Nominative, NEG = Negation, N = Neuter, PLURAL = Plural, PFV = Perfective, SG = Singular

Note that nominative case in Hindi, Marathi, and Surati Gujarati is morphologically non-overt. Thus, referring to non-overt as zero case marking is merely a terminological choice and should not be taken as an analytical commitment.

marked object *ram* must always appear in the in-situ position to the right of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently').

(3) *Priyanka-e* ***lagbhag*** ***varamvaar*** $_{\text{VP}}$[*ram-ne*$_{Dat}$
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG probably frequently Ram.M.SG-DAT
vhel-lu *dawdaivu*]
early-N.SG run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka probably frequently made Ram run early.'

Conversely, in sentence (4), the causativised predicate *dawdaav* ('cause to run'), can also agree with the direct object *ram* for masculine singular features. Note, that the accusative case marked object *ram* must always appear in a structurally higher position than the dative marked object in (3). The accusative object invariably appears to the left of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently') as seen in example (4).

(4) *Priyanka-e* ***lagbhag*** *ram-ne*$_{i\,Acc}$ $_{\text{VP}}$[***varamvaar***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG probably Ram.M.SG-ACC frequently
t_i ***vhel-lo*** *dawdaivo*]
early-M.SG run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka probably frequently made Ram run early.'

The main goal of the paper is to explore this puzzling nature of agreement with causative predicates, illustrated in examples (3) and (4). I describe the puzzle in detail in §2 of the paper. The paper is structured as follows; in §2, I provide a detailed description of the puzzle. In §3, I discuss object case in Surati Gujarati. §4 provides supporting evidence for case alternation in Surati Gujarati, namely, Differential Object Marking Accusative vs. Ordinary Dative case. In §5, I provide data and diagnostics to show that information structure plays a vital role in accusative case assignment in the language. In §6, I account for dative case assignment in Surati Gujarati. And in §7, I argue for an object shift type of analysis.

2 The puzzle

Looking at these agreement patterns in both Standard and Surati Gujarati the use of causative predicates with overtly case marked arguments, presents an intriguing puzzle. We obtain an unexpected behaviour of the agree-

ment patterns with causative predicates (both causativized transitive and intransitive predicates). The core puzzle here is that both object agreement and default neuter agreement on the predicate is possible with the causative predicates, as seen in sentences (5) and (6), respectively. Conversely, default agreement was not possible with an ordinary transitive predicate *kha* ('eat') as seen in (1) and (2). The *-ne*$_{Acc}$ on the direct object *ghoda* ('horse') in example (5), is a case of differential object marking (henceforth DOM) (Aissen 2003). I will argue that this agreement alternation on the causative predicates seen in examples (5) and (6) is a reflex of the DOM phenomenon (i.e. differential object *-ne*$_{Acc}$ vs ordinary *-ne*$_{Dat}$).

(5) ***priyanka-e*** ***ghoda-ne***$_{Acc}$ ***dawdaivo***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-ACC run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka made the horse run.'

(6) *priyanka-e* *ghoda-ne*$_{Dat}$ *dawdaivu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-DAT run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka made a/the horse run.'

For the sake of simplicity, I use a causativized unergative predicate *dawdaav* ('cause to run') to demonstrate the puzzle in sentences (5) and (6).[4] It must be noted that the *-ne*$_{Acc}$ object in (5), is definite whereas the *-ne*$_{Dat}$ marked object in sentence (6) is ambiguous between definite and indefinite. Further, the agreement pattern seen in examples (5) and (6) is also available for +HUMAN proper names. I illustrate this in (7) and (8). In example (7), the causative predicate *dawdaav* ('cause to run'), agrees with

[4] Similar patterns are observed with causativized transitives, as in (i) and (ii) with an ambiguity in (i).

(i) *ram-e* ***bakri-ne***$_{Acc}$ *khawdaavi*
Ram.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-ACC eat.CAUS.PFV.F.SG
Reading A: 'Ram made the (specific) goat eat.'
Reading B: 'The (specific) goat was fed by Ram to someone.'
(Free Translation: 'Ram fed the goat')

(ii) *ram-e* *bakri-ne*$_{Dat}$ *khawdaivu*
Ram.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-DAT eat.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
Reading A (Only): 'Ram made a/the goat eat.'

the *-ne*$_{Acc}$ marked direct object *ram*.

(7) *priyanka-e* ***ram-ne***$_{Acc}$ ***dawdaivo***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG ram.M.SG-ACC run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka made Ram run.'

Conversely, in example (8), the causative predicate *dawdaav* ('cause to run'), shows default neuter singular agreement.

(8) *priyanka-e* *ram-ne*$_{Dat}$ *dawdaivu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG ram.M.SG-DAT run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka made Ram run.'

My proposal for solving this puzzle is to argue that this distinct agreement pattern is due to alternation in case, as indicated by the subscripted 'Acc' and 'Dat', thereby proposing two distinct *-ne* forms, namely, differential object *-ne*$_{Acc}$ vs. ordinary *-ne*$_{Dat}$. The phenomenon of case alternation has been attested for many languages like Russian, Icelandic, Spanish and Dutch (see Demonte 1995; Pineda 2013; Sigurðsson & Wood 2012).

DOM in Surati Gujarati is only available for animates. It is obligatory for [+HUMAN] proper names but the DOM marker can be dropped with a [−HUMAN, +ANIMATE] direct object, in which case they receive an indefinite interpretation as seen in example (9). The direct object *ghodo* ('horse') in (9) receives an indefinite interpretation without the DOM marker and the verb in this case must obligatorily agree with the direct object as seen in (9). This is in sharp contrast to example (5) where the object marked with the overt DOM marker *-ne*$_{Acc}$, receives a definite interpretation.

(9) *priyanka-e* ***ghodo*** ***dawdaivo***/**dawdaivu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG/*N.SG
'Priyanka made a horse run.'

In the following section, I discuss object case in greater detail.

3 Basics of object case in Surati Gujarati

In this section, I discuss the properties and the impact of the *-ne* marker, a homophonous marker for accusative and dative case on the interpretation of the sentence (for Standard Gujarati, see Mistry 1998). In Table 1, I

Table 1 Licensing conditions for DOM in Surati Gujarati

	DIRECT OBJECT	DOM (*-ne*$_{Acc}$)	Example
I.	[+HUMAN]/Proper names	Obligatory	(10)
II.	[+ANIMATE,−HUMAN]	Optional	(11)
III.	[−ANIMATE]	Not licensed	(12)

summarize the licensing conditions of DOM in Surati Gujarati.

The overt accusative case marking on direct objects in Surati Gujarati is sensitive to animacy and definiteness. Further, the overt case marker *-ne* is obligatory for direct objects that are proper names as seen in (10). The case marker *-ne* is optional for objects with [+ANIMATE] features, as in (11).

(10) *raj-e* ***ram*(-ne***$_{Acc}$***)*** ***joyo***
Raj.M.SG-ERG Ram.M.SG-ACC see.PFV.M.SG
'Raj saw Ram.'

(11) *raj-e* ***bakri(-ne***$_{Acc}$***)*** ***joyi***
Raj.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-ACC see.PFV.F.SG
'Raj saw a (the) goat.'

[−ANIMATE] objects cannot license the overt case marker in Surati Gujarati as it is sensitive to animacy, as seen in sentence (12), where the inanimate direct object *gaadi* (car) cannot be used with the *-ne* marker. [5]

(12) *raj-e* ***gaadi****(*-ne*$_{Acc}$*)* ***joyi***
Raj.M.SG-ERG car.F.SG(*-ACC) see.PFV.F.SG
'Raj saw a (*the) car.'

The hierarchy for licensing an overt accusative case marker on the object is illustrated in (13).

(13) **Animacy scale**

[5]The rules for licensing of an overt case marker on the object seem to be different for Standard Gujarati. Compare Mistry (1998:429) where he claims that even an inanimate definite object like *kaagal-ne* ('the letter') can license an overt accusative case marker.

Human > Animate Definite > Animate Indefinite > Inanimate

DOM is optional on [+ANIMATE] direct objects and its absence yields an indefinite interpretation of these direct objects as seen in (14), where *ghodo* ('horse') has an indefinite reading. In (14) both the adverb *vhel-* ('early') and the predicate *joyo* ('see') agree with the direct object *ghodo* ('horse') for masculine and singular features.

(14) *priyanka-e* *(varamvaar)* ***ghodo*** *(??varamvaar)*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG frequently horse.M.SG frequently
vhel-lo ***joyo***
early-M.SG see.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka frequently saw a horse early.'

The presence of DOM imparts a definite interpretation to the object as seen in (15). The position of the DOM marked object *ghoda-ne*$_{Acc}$ ('horse') in (15) must be noted as it is higher than the indefinite *ghodo* ('horse') in (14). I use adverbs *varamvaar* ('frequently') and *vhel-* ('early') to indicate the difference in the positions of the two objects in (14) and (15).

(15) *priyanka-e* *(??varamvaar)* ***ghoda-ne***$_{Acc}$ *(varamvaar)*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG frequently horse.M.SG-ACC frequently
vhel-lo ***joyo***
early-M.SG see.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka frequently saw the horse early.'

By contrast, with ditransitives the *-ne*$_{Dat}$ marked indirect object *ghodo* ('horse') in (16) does not trigger agreement and can never do so. The adverb *vhel-* ('early') and the predicate *aap* ('give') both agree with the unmarked object *chana* ('chickpeas') for number. Another important observation is the in-situ position of the *-ne*$_{Dat}$ marked object *ghodo* ('horse'), which is similar to the position of the unmarked object in (14). Note also that the indirect object is ambiguous between definite and indefinite in (16), parallel to what we saw in (6).

(16) *priyanka-e* *(varamvaar)* *ghoda-ne*$_{Dat}$ *(??varamvaar)*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG frequently horse.M.SG-DAT frequently

Table 2 Evidence for Case Alternation

	Argument	Example
I.	The use of -ne_{Acc} is optional but -ne_{Dat} is obligatory	(18), (20), (22)–(23)
II.	-ne_{Acc} object is structurally higher than -ne_{Dat} object	(24)–(26)
III	Agreement with Negative particle blocked with -ne_{Dat} object	(30)–(31)

chana ***vhel-la*** ***aapya***
chickpeas.PL early-PL give.PFV.PL
'Priyanka frequently gave chickpeas to a/the horse early.'

4 Evidence for case alternation in Surati Gujarati

As already indicated, I propose the following explanation for the distinct agreement pattern in Surati Gujarati: when the case on the object is accusative case, the verb must agree with the case marked object, and when it is dative, the verb exhibits default neuter agreement (see Mistry 1998 for Standard Gujarati). In this section, I will provide arguments to make the difference between differential object -ne_{Acc} vs. ordinary -ne_{Dat} more explicit.

4.1 Diagnostics for case alternation

The hypothesis must be empirically substantiated, as the two *-ne* morphemes are homophonous and this difference is visible in syntax (also see Mistry 1998). I summarize the arguments I provide in this section in Table 2.

A piece of evidence to show the presence of accusative-dative case alternation is seen in sentences (18) and (20) for contexts (17) and (19) respectively (see §5 on the role of information structure in case marking); here, the -ne_{Acc} marker is the accusative case marker (DOM) and it can be dropped. The predicate *dawdaav* ('cause to run') and the adverb *vhel-*

('early') in both these examples agree with the object.

(17) **Context:** Priyanka is a shepherd and has three horses Y1, Y2, Y3. Frequently, Y1 entered her kitchen early.

(18) *Priyanka-e* ***ghoda-ne***$_{Acc}$ *varamvaar* ***vhel-lo***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-ACC frequently early-M.SG
dawdaivo
run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka frequently made the horse run early.'

(19) **Context:** Some horse or other from Priyanka's village frequently entered her house early.

(20) *Priyanka-e* *varamvaar* ***ghodo*** ***vhel-lo***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG frequently horse.M.SG early-M.SG
dawdaivo
run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka frequently made a horse run early.'

By contrast, the *-ne* case marker is always obligatory when there is default agreement as seen in sentences (22) and (23) for context (21). I argue that this follows from analyzing it as a dative (non-DOM) case marker here.

(21) **Context:** Priyanka's mother asked: what did Priyanka do?

(22) *Priyanka-e* *varamvaar ghoda-ne*$_{Dat}$ *vhel-lu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG frequently horse.M.SG-DAT early-N.SG
dawdaivu
run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka frequently made a/the horse run early.'

(23) **Priyanka-e* *varmavaar ghodo* *vhel-lu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG frequently horse.M.SG early-N.SG
dawdaivu
run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka frequently made a/the horse run early.'

It must be noted that (18), (20) and (22) are all grammatical in their respective contexts. However, there is no context in which (23) is grammat-

ical. Thus, it seems that the distribution of accusative and dative case on the object is contextually determined. Another piece of evidence for case alternation in Surati Gujarati is presented by double object constructions. It seems very clear from Cardona & Suthar (2003) that SUBJ-IO-DO-VERB can be considered the base word order for double object constructions in Standard Gujarati as seen in (24) and this also holds for Surati Gujarati. The double object constructions are essential as dative case is considered the case of the indirect objects (see Dryer 1986; Haspelmath 2005) as shown in (24). In (24), the beneficiary is unambiguously dative marked. And the verb never agrees with the beneficiary. A causativized transitive will also end up looking, as in (25).[6,7]

(24) *ram-e* *raj-ne*$_{Dat}$ ***bakri*** ***aapi***
Ram.M.SG-ERG Raj.M.SG-DAT goat.F.SG give.PFV.F.SG
'Ram gave Raj a goat.'

(25) *ram-e* *varamvaar raj-ne*$_{Dat}$ VP[***bakri(*-ne***$_{Acc}$***)***
Ram.M.SG-ERG frequently Raj.M.SG-DAT goat.F.SG(*-ACC)
vhel-li ***khawdavi***]
early-F.SG eat.CAUS.PFV.F.SG
'Ram frequently fed (a/*the) goat to Raj early.'

Crucially, the language cannot license accusative case on the direct object in sentence (25) as long as it is in the in-situ position. But when the direct object *bakri* ('goat') moves out of the VP then it can be *-ne* marked, as in (26). Comparing (25) with (26), I show that that the accusative case marked causee moves out of the VP domain and it is structurally higher as seen in (26) than the dative argument, as in example (25).

(26) *ram-e* ***bakri-ne***$_{i\,Acc}$ *varamvaar raj-ne*$_{Dat}$ VP[$\boldsymbol{t}_i$
Ram.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-ACC frequently Raj.M.SG-DAT

[6]The presence of dative subjects and dative objects in Standard Gujarati has been documented in previous studies (see Mistry 2004; 1998).

[7]The important point that the paper tries to make is to illustrate that Surati Gujarati has two distinct *-ne* markers in causative constructions. Whether these markers are truly dative or accusative, as discussed by Manzini & Franco (2016), is beyond the scope of the paper.

vhel-li khawdavi]
early-F.SG eat.CAUS.PFV.F.SG
'Ram frequently fed the goat to Raj early.'

A dative-marked argument can only occur to the right of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently') as seen in sentences (22), (25) and (26), whereas the direct object can only be accusative-marked if it occurs to the left of *varamvaar* ('frequently') as seen in (18) and (26) as opposed to (25). Another piece of evidence comes from negation in Surati Gujarati. Surati Gujarati has negated auxiliaries which can either agree with the subject or with the object if both are available i.e., if the subject is unmarked for case as seen in (27). Here, the main verb *laav-* ('bring') agrees with the subject *Ram* and the negation can either agree with the subject *Ram* or with the object *gaadi* ('car') (For further discussion, see Joshi 2019).

(27) *ram gaadi nho-ti/nho-to lav-yo*
Ram.M.SG car.F.SG NEG-F.SG/M.SG bring-PFV.M.SG
'Ram did not bring a car.'

If the subject is unavailable, i.e. if the subject is ergative case marked, both the main verb and the pre-verbal *nho-* agree with the object as seen in (28) and (29).

(28) *ram-e* ***gaadi nho-ti chalaavi***
Ram.M.SG-ERG car.F.SG NEG-F.SG drive.PFV.F.SG
'Ram had not driven a car.'

(29) *ram-e* ***bakri-ne***$_{Acc}$ ***nho-ti khaa-dhi***
Ram.M.SG-ERG goat.F.SG-ACC NEG-F.SG eat-PFV.F.SG
'Ram had not eaten the goat.'

The observation crucial to the argument is that negation can agree independently of the main verb as seen in example (27), where the negation can either agree with the subject or with the object. Based on the above paradigm, I predict that if both subject and object are unavailable for agreement, then the main verb and *nho-* both must show default agreement. This is exactly what we observe in example (30) where both the main verb *dawdaav* ('made to run') and the negation show default agree-

ment morphology. The sentence in (30) supports an analysis where *-ne* is a dative marker when the verb exhibits default agreement since, whenever the dative object is unavailable to the main verb for agreement, it also remains unavailable to the negation for agreement.

(30) *Priyanka-e ghoda-ne$_{Dat}$ nho-tu dawdaivu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-DAT NEG-N.SG run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka did not make a/the horse run.'

If the object in example (30) was accusative, i.e., available for agreement then it should have allowed the sentence in (31) to be grammatical, considering the empirical fact illustrated in (27) that negation can agree independently of the main verb. However, example (31) is ungrammatical.

(31) **Priyanka-e ghoda-ne$_{Dat}$ nho-to dawdaivu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-DAT NEG-M.SG run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka did not make a/the horse run.'

As a result, it confirms the analysis that the object in (30) with default agreement on the main verb is dative and not accusative. Thus, based on the empirical evidence presented above I claim that the difference in the agreement patterns of Surati Gujarati is due to accusative-dative case alternation.

5 Role of information structure in case assignment

In this section, I argue that information structure plays a vital role in case alternation. To explain the role of information structure in case assignment, I propose the following: In the Surati Gujarati examples under discussion, the case-marked objects of the causative predicates are marked accusative case if the focus is narrow focus on the object. By contrast, the object is marked with dative case if the focus is focus on the entire VP.

5.1 Diagnostics for focus

To test the above hypothesis, I use the question-answer congruence test following Hamblin (1973), as the main example of pragmatic focus emerges in question-answer congruence where a question indicates the communicative goal of the questioner. In context (32), the focus is on the entire VP. Thus, the direct object *ghodo* ('horse'), is licensed with dative case, as

seen in sentence (33). Here, the presence of dative case is evident, as the verb shows default neuter agreement and does not agree with the direct object; recall that I have argued that dative case does not control agreement in Surati Gujarati (See §1, example (3)).

Focus on the VP

(32) **Context**: Priyanka wanted to know the strength of her new horse. When her mother saw the horse gasping for breath she asked
Q1: What did Priyanka do?

(33) *Priyanka-e* *[ghoda-ne$_{Dat}$* *dawdaivu/*vo]$_F$*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-DAT run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG/*M.SG
'Priyanka made a/the horse run.'

In context (34), the focus is on the direct object. As a result, it gets the accusative case, as seen in sentence (35). The presence of accusative case in this sentence is evident, since the verb in (35) agrees with the direct object, as accusative case is transparent to agreement in Surati Gujarati (see §2–§4).

Narrow focus (Focus on the direct object)

(34) **Context:** Priyanka had a goat and a horse. She was unsure whom she would send to the race. So Salman asked her mother
Q2: Whom did Priyanka pick to run in the race?

(35) *Priyanka-e* ***[ghoda-ne$_{Acc}$]$_F$*** ***dawdaivo/*vu***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-ACC run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG/*N.SG
'Priyanka made the horse run.'

In following section, I discuss dative case assignment in causative structures of Surati Gujarati.

6 Dative case assignment in causative structures

The empirical facts presented in the paper point us to the following direction with respect to dative case assignment. In what follows, I propose that dative case in Surati Gujarati causative structures is assigned by a dependent case mechanism. I build on Baker (2015), who argues that dative case is a high dependent case in VP and a VP analog of ergative case. We

know from sentences (25)–(26) that dative objects occur to the right of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently'), which is exactly what we get in sentence (36), thus, it is safe to say that the object *vaagh-ne* ('tiger') in sentence (36) is dative. The dative in (36) seems to be structural case as the object *vaagh* ('tiger') has an agent theta role from the verb *kha-* ('eat'). Thus, *vaagh* ('tiger') does not have the theta role associated with dative case (e.g. recipient). The dependent case idea is of utility here as the causee of a transitive causative predicate like *kha* ('eat') is dative if and only if it c-commands a distinct NP in the same VP domain. Notice that the object *vaagh-ne*$_{Dat}$ ('tiger') and *bakri* ('goat') in (36) are in the same VP domain but the dative object c-commands the unmarked object *bakri* ('goat') and thus, dative case is a result of case competition between the two DPs in the same domain.

(36) *mhe (??vaagh-ne*$_{Dat}$*) (varamvaar)* $_{\text{VP}}$[*vaagh-ne*$_{Dat}$ *bakri*
I.ERG tiger.M.SG-DAT frequently tiger.M.SG-DAT goat.F.SG
khawdaavi]
eat.CAUS.PFV.F.SG
'I frequently fed a/the tiger a goat.'

Now let us extend this analysis to a causativised unergative predicate like *dod* ('run'). For this, I Follow Laka (1993) and Baker & Bobaljik (2017), via Bárány & Sheehan (2019), who propose that unergative predicates as opposed to unaccusatives are said to be underlyingly transitive with a null cognate object. I further propose that causativised unergative predicates like *dod* ('run') contain an implicit object in the VP domain, which acts as the case competitor for the causee. As a result the causee gets dative as a dependent case, as seen in (37).

(37) *priyanka-e (??ghoda-ne*$_{Dat}$*) varamvaar* $_{\text{VP}}$[*ghoda-ne*$_{Dat}$
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-DAT frequently horse.M.SG-DAT
∅ *dawdaivu*]
run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka made a/the horse run.'

In line with the above-mentioned generalization, causativized unaccusative predicates do not have a null cognate object, and thus, do not

allow default agreement. I illustrate this in (38), where the causative predicate *paad* ('made to fall') has to obligatorily agree with the causee *ghoda* ('horse').

(38) *priyanka-e* *ghoda-ne*$_{Acc}$ *padaav-yo/*yu*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG horse.M.SG-ACC fall.CAUS.PFV.M.SG/*N.SG
'Priyanka made the horse fall.'

Recall, I show in sentences (25) and (26) that the accusative case marked causee moves out of the VP domain and it is structurally higher than the dative argument. I discuss the mechanism of object movement in the following section in greater details and provide evidence for the same.

7 Object shift/scrambling in Surati Gujarati

The distinct agreement patterns and case alternation seem to be a result of object shift/scrambling. In this section, I will illustrate the difference in the syntactic positions of DOM marked object vs. ordinary Dative object with respect to adverbs, as seen in examples (40) and (42). I propose that in the causative examples that I focus on, an object with +FOCUS feature moves out of the VP to a position where it gets accusative case, whereas an object without the +FOCUS feature remains in-situ regardless of its specificity and is assigned dative case. The crucial data supporting the claim comes from the adverb placement test (Pollock 1989). Assuming that adverbs have fixed positions, the results of the adverb placement test have a direct implication for the syntactic analysis of the word order. I use the adverbs *lagbhag* ('probably'), *varamvaar* ('frequently'), and *vhel-* ('early') to test object movement. For the [+FOCUS] object to get accusative case it must move out of the VP, as in (40), where the direct object *Ram* occurs to the left of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently').

(39) **Context:** Priyanka had many servants of which only Ram was the one who looked very exhausted. Thus, Priyanka's mother asked her father the following question:
Q3: Whom did Priyanka frequently make run early?

(40) *Priyanka-e* ***lagbhag*** *ram-ne$_{i\,Acc}$* $_{VP}$[***varamvaar*** ***t$_i$***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG probably Ram.M.SG-ACC frequently
vhel-lo *dawdaivo*]
early-M.SG run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka probably frequently made Ram run early.'

The sentence is grammatically deviant if the accusative case is forced on the object in-situ for context (39), as in sentence (41). Since proper names that have a human referent must be case marked with the DOM marker, *-ne* cannot be omitted from *Ram*.

(41) ??*Priyanka-e* ***lagbhag*** ***varamvaar*** $_{VP}$[***(vhel-lo)***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG probably frequently early-M.SG
ram-ne$_{Acc}$ ***(vhel-lo)*** *dawdaivo*]
ram.M.SG-ACC early-M.SG run.CAUS.PFV.M.SG
'Priyanka probably frequently made ram run early.'

Now let us consider a different question within the same context, as in (39), described in Q4. The response to the question in Q4 (with wide VP focus) is given in (42). If the object is dative case marked with default neuter agreement on the verb, the object without the [+FOCUS] feature remains in-situ, to the right of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently'), as seen in (42).

Q4: What did Priyanka do?

(42) *Priyanka-e* ***lagbhag*** ***varamvaar*** $_{VP}$[*ram-ne$_{Dat}$*
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG probably frequently Ram.M.SG-DAT
vhel-lu *dawdaivu*]
early-N.SG run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka probably frequently made Ram run early.'

The sentence is judged to not be perfectly grammatical if the dative case marked object *Ram*, moves higher on the clausal spine out of the VP, as seen in sentence (43) which contrasts with (42).

(43) ?*Priyanka-e* ***lagbhag*** *ram-ne$_{i\,Dat}$* ***varamvaar*** $_{VP}$[***t$_i$***
Priyanka.F.SG-ERG probably Ram.M.SG-DAT frequently

vhel-lu *dawdaivu*]
early-N.SG run.CAUS.PFV.N.SG
'Priyanka probably frequently made Ram run early.'

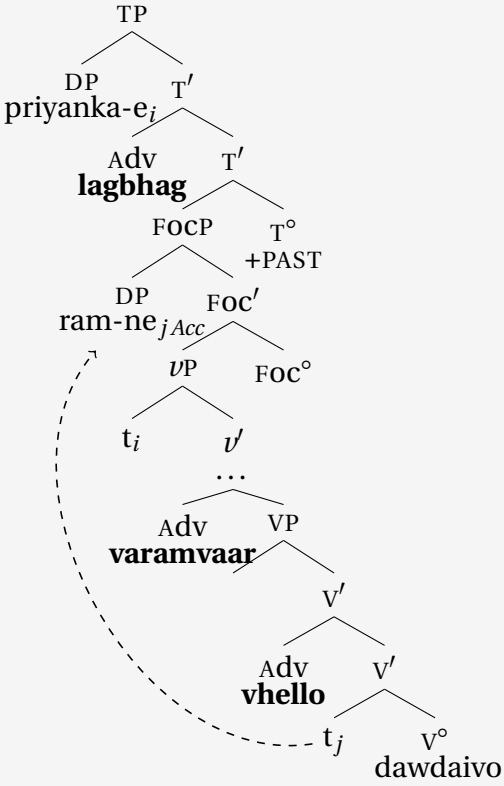
To account for object shift (sentence (40)) I propose the following (illustrated in (44)): First, the ergative subject, moves to the specifier of TP in this case. Subject movement is evident from the position of the adverb *lagbhag* ('probably') in the structure as shown in (44). Second, the accusative case marked object moves out of the VP. Movement of the DP out of the VP has been previously argued by Diesing (1992) to target specific objects.

For now I assume that the accusative object originates in the complement of V and the dative object in [Spec, VP] (as shown in (46)). Third, the movement of the object out of the VP is connected to accusative case in causatives. The evidence from the adverb placement test clearly show us that the object has to be higher on the clausal spine for it to surface with accusative case. Fourth, only objects with +FOCUS feature move out of the VP and get accusative case, as seen in sentence (40). If objects with +FOCUS feature do not move out of the VP, it renders the sentence ungrammatical as seen in (41). I build on Diesing (1997) and claim that objects with +FOCUS feature escape the existential closure when they move out of the VP, thereby acquiring accusative case as a form of dependent case (Baker 2015). This is sketched in (44) for sentence (40), and in (45) for (41).[8]

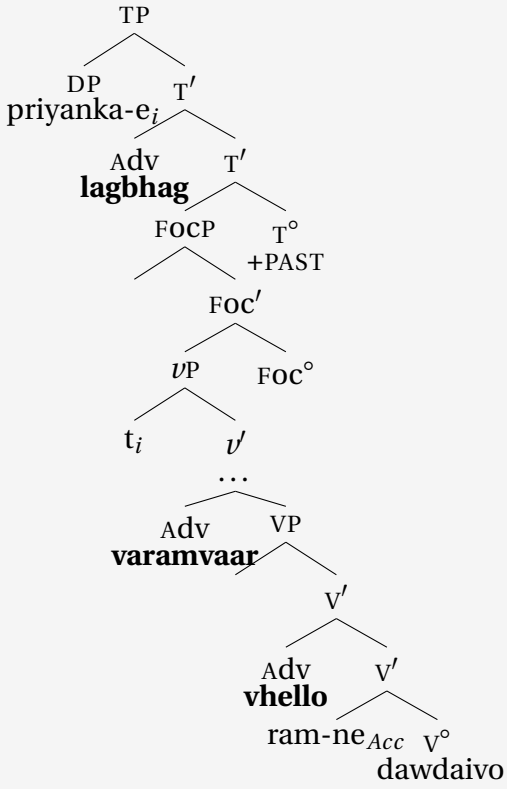
To account for in-situ objects (see (42)), I propose the following, illustrated in (46): First, the ergative subject moves to the specifier of TP as previously argued. Second, the dative case marked object remains in-situ and does not move out like the accusative case marked object. Third, the in-situ position of the dative case marked object is confirmed by the adverb placement test in (42) and (43). The sentence is perfectly grammatical when the dative marked direct object remains in-situ as seen in (42). However, the sentence cannot be judged perfectly grammatical when the dative marked direct object moves out of the VP, as in (43). Fourth, only objects with +FOCUS feature can move out of the VP. Since, the object in (42)

[8]This movement of the object is plausibly to the specifier of the focus position as described by Jayaseelan (2008). Movement of the object to the specifier of the focus position is made explicit in the trees in (44)–(47) for better clarity.

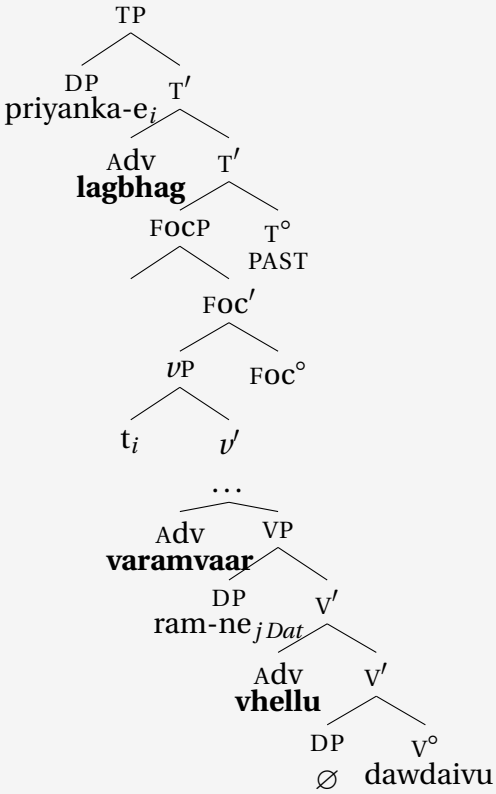
(44) √


TP
DP
priyanka-e$_i$
T′
Adv
lagbhag
T′
FocP
T°
+PAST
DP
ram-ne$_j$ *Acc*
Foc′
*v*P
Foc°
t$_i$
v′
…
Adv
varamvaar
VP
V′
Adv
vhello
V′
t$_j$
V°
dawdaivo

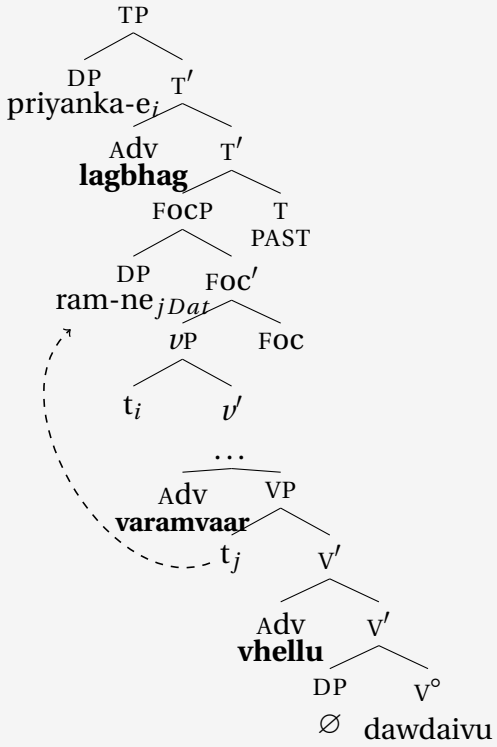
(45) *


TP
DP
priyanka-e$_i$
T′
Adv
lagbhag
T′
FocP
T°
+PAST
Foc′
vP
Foc°
t$_i$
v′
…
Adv
varamvaar
VP
V′
Adv
vhello
V′
ram-ne$_{Acc}$
V°
dawdaivo

(46) √


TP
DP
priyanka-e$_i$
T′
Adv
lagbhag
T′
FocP
T°
PAST
Foc′
*v*P
Foc°
t$_i$
v′
…
Adv
varamvaar
VP
DP
ram-ne$_j$ *Dat*
V′
Adv
vhellu
V′
DP
∅
V°
dawdaivu

(47) *


TP
DP
T′
priyanka-e$_i$
Adv
T′
lagbhag
FocP
T
PAST
DP
Foc′
ram-ne$_j$ *Dat*
*v*P
Foc
t$_i$
v′
…
Adv
VP
varamvaar
t$_j$
V′
Adv
V′
vhellu
DP
V°
∅
dawdaivu

does not have the +FOCUS feature due to focus on the entire VP, it remains in-situ and gets bound by existential closure inside the VP. The fact that the object in (42) is not the focused element of the sentence was illustrated in both (33) and (42). The structural analysis for sentence (42) is sketched in (46), and for sentence (43) in (47).[9] The existentially bound causee, which is in c-command relation with the null cognate object gets the dependent dative case. This is mainly because the causee is in a case competition scenario with the null cognate object in the same domain; dative case assignment within the VP is briefly mentioned in Baker (2015:133). Note however that Baker (2015) does not discuss dative case assignment with respect to information structure.[10]

8 Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented novel empirical evidence. I show that the difference in the agreement patterns in Surati Gujarati causative predicates, seems to be due to alternation of case on the objects. The next task was to define the conditions under which we observe case alternation. While pursuing this task, I determined the information structure and agreement relationship in Surati Gujarati. I showed that it is the presence or absence of a +FOCUS feature on the object, which seems to be the necessary condition for case alternation. Further, I propose that the dative case is assigned along the lines of Baker's (2015) dependent case proposal. To account for all of the above generalizations, I proposed an object shift analysis that derives both case alternation and the information structure-agreement relationship in Surati Gujarati. The requirement for object movement out of the VP is the +FOCUS feature, as objects without the +FOCUS feature remain in-situ. Such focus-driven object movement is the prerequisite for accusative case assignment. This idea is supported by the empirical data in the paper, in particular, (40) and (42). The empirical facts and the analysis in this article suggest that object movement for fo-

[9] Sentence (42) indicates that the Diesing effect, which holds for Hindi-Urdu as shown by Bhatt & Anagnostopoulou (1996), does not always hold for Surati Gujarati, as the dative case marked direct object in sentence (33) is ambiguous for specificity/definiteness object, but still does not move out of the VP.

[10] I remain agnostic about the status of the interaction of FocP with VP, when the focus is on the entire VP.

cus feeds differential object marking. This focus-driven object movement raises a bigger question on the status of A vs A-bar movement, as under the Minimalist Program (MP) framework, movement has been viewed as a concomitant of the operation 'Agree', (see Chomsky 2000) and focus movements are considered A-bar movements while movement related to case assignment is A movement. A-movement (for case) is usually assumed to precede A-bar movement (for focus). Here, the same movement serves both purposes. Thus, what drives A and A-bar movement operations in the derivation must be treated as a major empirical issue.

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