A Typological Study of Local Cases in EIA Languages

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Abstract

The paper describes the local cases of four of the eastern Indo-Aryan languages (EIA) using the cognitive framework. The languages under observation are Asamiya, Bangla, Maithili, and Oriya. The local cases are used to mark the position or location of an object which is always stated in reference to another object. These languages use local cases to mark three spaces; location of a static object, source, and path of a moving object. The local cases have been divided into two basic categories; static and dynamic. The paper begins with the description of the static local cases and then refers to the cases used for dynamic location through this process it discovers that Maithili seems to have dichotomy between basic locations on and in but it has just one general spatial term like the other three languages. Moreover it was also observed that static and dynamic markers can overlap into each other's sphere in certain circumstances. Along with the local cases used with the concrete objects, uses of these case

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markers with abstract locations too have been explored to mark the extended semantics of these local cases.

1. Introduction

"Local cases express notions of location ('at'), destination ('to'), source ('from'), and path ('through'). The term local in this context refers to 'place'" (Blake 2001: 151). The local cases are used to mark the position or location of an object which is always stated in reference to another object. According to some authors (Landau & Jackendoff 1993), space implies a universal distinction between two notions, entities and locations. This distinction is assumed to be fundamental to the structure of human language and to reflect the organization of the neural substrate of our brain into two distinct systems, one involved in the identification of objects (the *what*-system), the other with their localization (the where-system) (Landau & Jackendoff 1993).

The standard linguistic representation of an object's place requires three elements: the object to be located (or figure), the reference object and their relationship (Landau & Jackendoff 1993). As noted by Miller & Johnson-Laird (1976) and Talmy (2005), if the objects are unequal in size or mobility, the larger and more stable is invariably encoded as the reference object. The markers which are used to mark the place, the 'place' referred by Blake (2001) to mark the term local, do not only mark the physical geographic place but often goes beyond the physical concrete world and are used to express the notions of the abstract place. The use of markers to explain the objects in context to the abstract place is generally influenced by the use of the markers in

the concrete physical world. Various cognitive studies have been done to study the influence of these markers used with physical entity on the use of the markers with the abstract entity. Cognitive approach says that there is one primary meaning to which various other meanings get embedded and thus form a polysemy network. This polysemy network can be easily marked out in this context of spatial markers. There are authors (Anderson 1971, Cook 1989) who say that all cases can be viewed as locative expressions. This involves cases which are not directly marking the locations but using the abstract sense of the location. But here I am looking only at the cases used to mark concrete locations and their abstract usages.

By borrowing terms from Langacker (1991) I have tried to explain the extended meaning of these case markers or spatial cases. Langacker (1991) uses the terms, 'Trajector' (TR) and 'Landmark' (LM). Trajector (TR) is the one who uses the path or about whom something is said. Landmark (LM) is the main locus in relation to which something is said.

The languages under observation are Asamiya (spoken mainly in Assam), Bangla (spoken mainly in West Bengal), Maithili (spoken mainly in Bihar), and Oriya (spoken mainly in Orissa) of India. Other than various local cases these languages use various markers to mark different locations. These markers can become host to locative and ablative cases. These markers will be referred as deixis over here as they perform as deictic elements. They are of various types denoting time and space. Those marking the time will be referred as temporal deixis and those marking the space will be called spatial deixis. It is not the scope of the present chapter to describe deixis but they will be referred to in order to describe spatial cases.

The spatial markers or local cases are also called locatives. "Locatives consist of two layers: the first layer defines a location and the second, a type of movement with respect to that location. The elements defining these layers, called localisers and

modalisers, tend to form a unit, which is typically either an adposition or a case marker. This layering is not only semantically but in many languages also morphologically manifest" (Kracht 2002: 157). The languages under observation do not use locatives to mark the "a type of movement with respect to that location," (ibid.) but it marks the movement with respect to a location irrespective of its type. Two layers of locatives can be seen for these languages, too.

The languages under observation can be stated to have unidimensional spatial case systems as they mark three spaces; location, path of movement, and source of movement. Unidimensional spatial case systems tend to be organized according to a tripartite distinction between location, destination of movement, and source of movement. 'Locative,' 'allative,' and 'ablative' are the terms most commonly used to describe such systems, at least when the case forms in question are used predominantly in spatial functions (Creissels 2009). They can be classified into different categories for clear distinction.

The local cases for the concerned languages can be classified into two categories; Static and Dynamic. Based on these two categories the case markers are described. When an object is in the static position then its location is marked by the locative marker. Dynamic positions can be explained well by pointing out the position of a moving object; the starting point (source), the path through which it travels (path), and the destination where it reaches (goal). Goal can become the part of the static position as when an object reaches its goal it becomes static while it can even be perceived differently as the reaching of an object to the goal is seen as a completion of the path (or the movement) and not just a static position.

2. Static

Locative case is used in these languages to mark the static location of an object (TR). Locative cases mark the location of an object in relation to another object (LM). The object whose location is stated that object is in the static position. The object in relation may or may not be in the static position, e.g., *the man is in the room* (here room is static) and the man is in the moving bus (bus is not in the static position). In both the sentences the position of the 'man' is described so he is (has to be) in the static position but the position of the object in relation to which his location is stated may or may not be static like in one sentence it is static (room) but in the other it is dynamic (moving bus).

2.1. Level 1 Marker

Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya have only one locative marker (LOC), /ɔt/, /ʈe/, and /re/ respectively. It was believed for long that every language has a primitive on and in concept. But languages like Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya show that there need not be any perspective dichotomy between basic locations, like in versus on. Moreover some works (Brown 1994, Levinson & Meira 2003) have shown that notions like IN or ON do not seem to be primitive holistic concepts to many languages. There can be alternative kinds of distinctions (Bowerman 1996) or no distinction at all like in the above stated languages.

(1) bɑll-tu   kuŋw-ɔʈ   pori   gol.   (Asamiya)
     ball-CLA[1]   well-LOC   fell   went
     'The ball felt into the well.'

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[1] Here is a list of abbreviations used in this article: CLA—classifier, PLU—plural, AGT—agentive, ACC—accusative, LOC—locative Marker, GEN—genetive

(2) lorɑ-suwɑli-borok bench-ɔʈ   bohil.   (Asamiya)
    boy-girl-PLU   bench-on/LOC   sat
    'Boys and girls sat on the bench.'

(3) ʈʰoli-ʈe   sobɟi   ɑcʰe.   (Bangla)
    bag-LOC   vegetable   is
    'There is vegetable in the bag.'

(4) cele-tɑ   ceɑr-e   boʃlo.   (Bangla)
    boy-CLA   chair-LOC   sat
    'Boy sat on the chair.'

(5) puɑ-ti   ɟʰiɔ-ti-ku   pɑɳi-re   ɖʰɔkkɑ mɑrilɑ. (Oriya)
    boy-CLA   girl-CLA-ACC   water-LOC push   hit
    'The boy pushed the girl in the water.'

(6) cʰuɑ-mɑɳe bũer-e   bosicʰɔɳʈi.   (Oriya)
    child-PLU   ground-LOC   sat
    'Children sat on the ground.'

Maithili uses two locative markers to mark the static position of
an object: /me/ and /pər/. Both are postpositions which follow the
noun (LM) in relation to which the other object's (TR) position
is marked. Broadly, /me/ marker can be said to be used for the
sense of English postposition 'in,' 'inside,' and 'within' or
enclosement with sentences like the following.

(7) jʰorɑ me   ʈərkɑri   əic.
    Bag   in/LOC vegetable   is
    'There is vegetable in the bag.'

(8) buɖʰ lok gɑon me   rəhəit cʰəitʰ.
    old men village in/LOC live   is
    'Old men stay in villages.'

The /me/ marker of Maithili acts more like the locative marker of the other three languages. The locative markers in Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya cannot be used with animate TRs instead genitive (GEN) marker is used. This is common phenomenun which can be witnessed in many languages. "Nouns referring to humans, or more generally to animates, may have special forms for spatial cases. In some languages, such nouns are incompatible with spatial cases. This follows from a general tendency to express spatial relations with human beings as the reference point in an indirect way, through a genitival construction ('at N's place')" (Creissels 2009: 612). Here similarly, the locative case is not used with animates but only the genitival construction is used for such purposes.

(9) ɖʰobɑ-zon-ɔr   ɖʰar   ɑse.   (Asamiya)
     washerman-CLA-GEN debt   is
     'Washerman has debt on him.'

(10) kukur-bilɑk-ɔr bʰukɑ   abʰjakʰ ɑse.   (Asamiya)
     dog-PLU-GEN bark   habit   is
     'Dogs are in the habit of barking.'

(11) rɑm-er   kʰɔmoʈa   acʰe.   (Bangla)
     Ram-GEN   capacity   is
     'Ram has the capacity in him.'

(12) o-r   dakar   obʰəbeʃ   acʰe.   (Bangla)
     it-GEN   bark   habit   is
     'It is in the habit of barking.'

(13) se-mɑnɔŋkə-r   bɑhuʈ   sɑhɔs.   (Oriya)
     (s)he-PLU-GEN   very   valor
     'They have valor in them.'

(14) ʈɑ-r   bʰukibɑ   ɔbʰas   ɔcʰi.   (Oriya)
      it-GEN   bark   habit   is
      'It is in the habit of barking.'

Same thing can be seen in Maithili though with two differences. Firstly in Maithili the locative marker is not abondened like the above stated three languages. The locative marker here follows the genitival construction. Secondly in Maithili locative marker comes after a genitival construction only when the TR is animate pronominal (examples (15) and (16)). It is interesting to note that genitival construction does not precede when the TR is animate nominal entity (examples (17) and (18)).

(15) həm-rɑ   mei   himmət   əic.
      I-GEN   in/LOC   valour   is
      'I have valour in me.'

(16) ok-rɑ   mei   bʰukəi   ke   ɑdət   cʰe.
      it-GEN   LOC   bark   GEN   habit is
      'It is in the habit of barking.'

(17) rɑɟu   mei   himmət   cʰẽ.
      Raju   in/LOC   valour   is
      'Raju has valour in him.'

(18) kukur   mei   bʰukəi   ke   ɑdət   cʰe.
      Dog   in/LOC   bark   GEN   habit is
      'Dogs are in the habit of barking.'

In Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya the locative marker can be used with animates when there is a deictic element. In all these languages including Maithili the locative marker is attached with the deictic elements like, /xɑmukʰ+ɔt/ front+LOC, /maɟ+ɔʈ/ between+LOC (Asamiya), /kɑcʰ+e/ near+LOC, /nic+e/ under+LOC

(Bangla), /bic+me/ between+LOC, upɔre me on+LOC (Maithili), /upɔr+e/ on+LOC, /ɑgə+re/ front+LOC (Oriya) to mark a specific topographical location.

(19) mo-i   siʈʰi-kʰon   prisʈʰɑ-bur-ɔr   (Asamiya)
      I-AGT   letter-CLA   page-PLU-GEN
      mɑɟ-ɔʈ   ʈʰoi.
      between-in/LOC   kept
      'I kept the letter in between the pages.'

(20) loɾɑ-boɾ   ʈeo-r   upor-ɔʈ   bohil.   (Asamiya)
      boy-PLU   (s)he-GEN   on-on/LOC   sat
      'Boys sat on it.'

(21) o-r   bɑri   ʃteʃn-er   kɑc-e.   (Bangla)
      (s)he-GEN   house   station-GEN   near-LOC
      'His house is near the station.'

(22) boi-tɑ   tebil-er   nic-e   pore gælo. (Bangla)
      book-CLA   table-GEN   under-LOC   fall went
      'The book fell under the table.'

(23) həm ciʈʈʰi ke   pənnɑ   ke   bic   (Maithili)
      I   letter ACC   page   GEN   between
      me   rəkʰne   cʰələũ.
      in/LOC   kept   is
      'I kept the letter in between the pages.'

(24) gəŋɑ ke   upər me   ek-tɑ   pul   ɑcʰi. (Maithili)
      Ganga GEN on   LOC   one-CLA   bridge is
      'There is a bridge on the Ganges.'

As can be seen in the above examples whenever locative marker is used with the deictic elements then in it is followed by the

genitive marker. Though it is not so for Oriya as seen in the following examples (25) and (26).

(25) se   steʃən   agə-re/   samna-re   rɔhe.   (Oriya)
     (s)he   station   front-LOC/ front-LOC live
     '(S)he lives in front of the station.'

(26) citʰiti tebul upɔr-e   tʰoaicʰi.   (Oriya)
     letter table on-LOC   kept
     'Letter is kept on the table.'

Table 1. Comparison of Locative Marker between All the Four
          Languages

Languages	Markers	With animates	With deixies
Asamiya	-ɔt	replaced by GEN	LM+GEN+DEIXIES+LOC
Bangla	-e	replaced by GEN	LM+GEN+DEIXIES+LOC
Oriya	-re	replaced by GEN	LM+DEIXIES+LOC
Maithili	me	follows GEN with pronominals	LM+GEN+DEIXIES+LOC

2.2. Level 2 Marker

The marker /pər/ is used for the sense of English preposition "on." The variant of /pər/ is /upər/, which is used with pronominals. Whenever /upər/ is used it follows the genitive marker /ke/ with nominals and /-rɑ/ with pronominals. At times both /rɑ/ and /ke/ can occur. In such situations /ke/ marker is not obligatory as it can be dropped.

(27) bəccɑ hun kɑ   upər   bəis   gele.
     Child (s)he GEN on/LOC   sat   gone
     'Child sat on him/her.'

(28) lərkɑ   oi   per   bəisəl.
      child it   on/LOC   sat
      'Child sat on it.'

Though /pər/ and /upər/ can be used as variants and use of the one in place of the other is not ungrammatical yet their semantic range varies slightly which becomes obvious in the fluent speech of the native speakers. /upər/ is prefered when the LM is in higher position (physically) than the TR from the speakers point of view, like in the example (horse), the horse is in higher position than the child so /upər/ will always be prefered. If something is kept on the top of almirah and the speaker cannot reach it then the prefered (and the only for some speakers) marker is /upər/ to state the position of the object. /upər/ highlights the height of the LM in context to TR. In all these languages /pər/ is used for the following sentence because the LM is the ground which is not higher than TR. Here /upər/ does not sound good to the native speakers.

Maithili has two basic locative markers (/me/ and /per/). But only /me/ can be said to be the primitive spatial markers in this language. Other location markings are derived by attaching it with the deictic elements like "bɑgɑle" (near); bɑgɑle mei (nearby), nicʰe mei (at the bottom), upɔre mei (on the top), and so on, as seen in the above examples (23) and (24). But this is not possible with /per/. This makes one think whether both the markers /me/ and /pər/ are of the same category or not and I find they are not. /pər/ is clearly the grammaticalized form of /upəre/ which means 'on top of.' That's why /me/ can even be used with /upəre/. Actually /upəre/ is a deictic element like /nice/ or /bəgəle/ which is now in the process of grammaticalization. As it is known when a word is in the process of grammaticalization then at the initial stage both the original and the grammaticalized version coexist. Here too it can be seen that both /upər/ and /pər/ coexists in same conditions. If /pər/ is taken as the grammaticalised form

of the deictic element /upər/ then it leads to another argument that Maithili too like its neighbouring languages have only one locative case marker. This discussion is followed in section 2.3.

Points in support of /pər/ as the grammaticalized form of /upəre/:

- Both the form /pər/ and /upər/ coexists in these languages and can be replaced by each other in many contexts.
- /upəre/ is a deictic element with which /me/ can be used but /pər/ cannot be used with /upəre/.
- /pər/ cannot be attached with any deictic element like /me/ or /mẽ/.

The following table shows the difference between the two markers /me/ and /pər/ and their behavior with these languages. The difference points out towards the fact that both the markers are not of the same category or level. They should be kept in different levels.

Table 2. Showing Differences between Two Locative Markers in Maithili

Features of case markers	
me	pər
Used when the LM is perceived as an enclosed figure	Used when the TR is perceived to be on the axis of the LM
Cannot be replaced with any other marker as such.	Seems to have derived from 'upəre'; can be replaced with 'upər' in some places.
Can be attached to deictic elements.	Cannot be attached to deictic elements.

2.3. Discussion

In Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya stated examples show that basically all these languages have one locative marker which shows location of TR in context to LM but the marker neither states the position nor the direction of the TR. It is expressed only through the context. Like the following example in Bangla can be ambiguous if quoted out of context.

(29) pakʰɑ bicʰɑn-ɑr   opor-e.
     fan   bed-GEN   top-Loc
     'The fan in on/above the bed.'

These type of locative markers are called general spatial terms (GST) in the cognitive literature (Levinson 2003, Feist 2008). If a language has GSTs, they occur in virtually all spatial descriptions and impart no specific information about the location of the figure. Rather, these terms just serve to indicate that there is a locative relation between the figure and the ground. The most important of these for the understanding of GSTs is the contextual variability (Feist 2008). Specification of this element of meaning and therefore of the semantics of the GST must be computed relative to a context of utterance (Kyburg & Morreau 2000, Kennedy 2007).

"The single semantic element proposed for GSTs is the vague predicate *close*, emphasizing the role of context in the interpretation of spatial scenes" (Feist 2008: 1195). She clarified that the GSTs provide no discriminating information about the placement of the objects. Similar is the case here. As the GST here cannot specify the space so various spatial markers are used in the form of deictic elements.

Same can also be said about Maithili. It can be said that the /me/ marker is the original locative marker which is used in every context of location. But recent developments in this language is

redefining the meaning of /me/. The recent development is the occurance of /pər/ the grammaticalised version of /upər/. This marker can be used independently like /me/ but cannot be attached with the deictic elements like /me/. As /pər/ is grammaticalised form of the deictic element /upər/ which broadly means 'on,' so /pər/ is also used to mark the location 'on' and related locations like above or on top of. The occurance of /pər/ has redefined the meaning of /me/ by narrowing down its meaning. Now /me/ is used in these languages only for the meaning related to in or inside. Though it still occurs with various deictic elements including /upər/. Moreover in support of the agrument that /pər/ and /me/ in these languages are not locative markers of same level it can be said that in some contexts one can be replaced by the other (e.g., (30)). It would not have been so if both were locative markers of same level as both have opposite meanings.

(30) o   gʰər   pər/me   ɑcʰi.   (Maithili)
     (S)he   school   on/in LOC   is
     '(S)he is in the house.'

As the above arguements show that both the markers /me/ and /pər/ are of different levels, /me/ can be termed as Level 1 locative marker whereas /pər/ as Level 2 locative marker. May be with the passage of time /pər/ can develop into a level 1 locative marker. For the present scenario we cannot leave behind /pər/ as it is not just a deictic element like /upəre/ or /nice/. It does not function like them. It cannot be attached with /me/. But at the same time it is not like /me/ (the reasons for this have been discussed earlier) so to keep them in different levels can be a solution for this problem.

2.4. Abstract Use

These locative markers like other case markers are often

stretched. Herskovits (1986: 156) proposed "ideal meanings for the spatial prepositions and then described two types of deviations from the ideal." First type is based on convention which results to polysemy and the second is "pragmatic process of allowance or tolerance" (ibid.). But both can overlap with the passage of time and mix up so well that it can become quite difficult to differentiate one from the other. Same can be seen in these languages. The use of locative markers has "ideal meaning" form which is derived various meanings giving birth to polysemy network. These markers are extended to the use abstract TR which can be easily justified by the theory of polysemy. In all these languages the abstarct use of the locative markers can be marked. Roughly it can be said that for Maithili when the LM is an enclosed figure then /me/ is used to describe the location of the TR. For something to be in some LM, LM must have an interior.

(31) həm ɑpəs me baĩʈ leb.
      We among in/LOC share take
      'We will share among us.'

(32) kɑilh lərki ḍaḍi ke bɑre me soclək.
      Yesterday girl granny GEN about LOC think
      'Yesterday the girl thought about her granny.'

In the above examples a sense of enclosement can be seen. Enclosed space is being created (at an abstract level) among people creating 'we' (example (31)) where things can be shared. In the second example (32) it can be seen that thought about granny has been perceived as an inclosed figure. The girl is surrounded by her granny's thought and hence the use of /me/ is justified. It can be noted that any physical body, event, space, or time can be perceived as an enclosed entity if it is not open ended. If the starting and the end point is marked then the entity can be

perceived to have an inside to it. To mark this 'inside' the locative marker /me/ can be used in Maithili.

Similarly when the peripherry of certain object is perceived then to mark this peripherry the marker /pər/ is used in Maithili. Here in both the examples the TR is within the peripherry of the LM so /pər/ is used.

(33) ɑurə̪t   bəccõ   pər   cɨllɑji.
     woman   children   on/LOC   shouted
     'Woman shouted on the children.'

(34) əcɑnək   həm-ər nəɟəir   okrɑ   pər   pərəl.
     Suddenly   I-GEN sight   (s)he-GEN on/LOC   felt
     'Suddenly I saw him/her.'

As the locative markers in Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya are primarily GST so the exact position of the TR in context to LM does not really matter. The locative marker here surves the purpose of showing the connection between the TR and the LM. In the work by Bowerman & Pederson (1992, see also Bowerman & Choi 2001) the ATTACHMENT area was seen as a category invaded by the encroachment of large IN and ON categories. The ATTACHMENT area here too can be seen as a category which is reflected through locative markers in abstract locations. When some exact location is perceived then to mark it the deictic elements are used both in concrete and abstract objects.

(35) kukur-tu-e   lorɑ-to-k   opor-ɔ̪t   bʰuki u̪tʰil.
     dog-CLA-AGT boy-CLA-ACC   on-in/LOC   bark rose
     'Dog barked at the boy.'   (Asamiya)

(36) onek-er   ur-̪te   bʰoe kore.   (Bangla)
     many-GEN   fly-LOC   fear do
     'Many people scared of flying.'

(37) dʱobi   upɔr-e   bɑhuʈ   runɔ ɑcʰi.   (Oriya)
       Washerman   on-LOC   lot   debt is
       'There is lots of debt on the washerman.'

Table 3. Showing Difference in Locative Marker in Two Groups

Maithili	Others
Two layers of locatives markers showing two way distinction	One marker; GST
Layer 1 can only be used with deixis; TR+GEN Deixis LOC.	Can only be used deixis; TR+GEN Deixis LOC (except Oriya). Oriya does not need the genitive marker before the deictic element.
Can be used with both animate and inanimate.	Cannot be used with animates.

3. Dynamic

   Prototypical motion event "consists of one object (the 'Figure') moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or 'Ground') . . . the 'Path' . . . is the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object" (Talmy 1985: 60). The location of a dynamic object can be perceived from different points in context to its LM. Generally the main verb is that of motion in the dynamic state. The basic three are the source (from where the TR starts moving), path (through or via which the TR travels), and the goal (the point where the TR reaches or aims to reach). In addition to these more complexities can be added to the location depending on the manner of the motion. "A Motion event can have a 'Manner' or a 'Cause'" (ibid.) which can affect the relation between the TR and the LM. Moreover the basic three, source, path, and goal can

be further scrutinized to look at different dimensions. Jackendoff (1983, see also Landau & Jackendoff 1993) gives subclasses of path: via, to, from, and away from. Ahmed (2009) explains the use of the Urdu/Hindi *se* and Pashto *pa* by using the feature PATH which have subclasses source, via, and end.

These languages perceive two basic dynamic positions. One is the separation of the TR from the point from where the action starts (LM). This point of separation can be called Source. The second is the Path through which the TR travels. The relation between the Path and the TR is marked by the local case. Goal is often included with the Source and the Path but it is not included here because all languages scrutinized here use the same static marker to locate the position of the TR when it reaches its destination. When the TR reaches its goal it becomes static which justifies the use of static case markers to be used with the goal.

3.1. Source

The relationship between the source (LM) and the object (TR) is called ablative case (ABL). The source is marked in Maithili with /sə̃/, Asamiya /porɑ/, Bangla /tʰeke/, and Oriya /ʈʰɑru/. In Bangla if TR gets separated from an animate object, i.e., If the LM is animate then the ablative marker /tʰeke/ needs to follow genitive marker /-er/ or /-r/. Whereas in Asamiya genitive marker /-ɔr/ or /-r/ always precedes the ablative marker.

(38) o   ləɽkɑ gɑon   sə̃   cəil   gel.   (Maithili)
     That   boy   village ABL walk   went
     'That boy went away from the village.'

(39) mekuri-tu saɖ-ɔr   pɔrɑ poril.   (Asamiya)
     cat-CLA   roof-GEN   ABL   felt
     'Cat felt from the roof.'

(40) cʰele-tɑ   skul   t̪ʰeke pɑlie   gælo.   (Bangla)
     boy-CLA   school   ABL   escape went
     'The boy escaped from the school.'   (LM is -Animate)

(41) cʰɑt̪ro ʃikəkʰɔk-er   t̪ʰeke boi   nilo.   (Bangla)
     Student teacher-GEN   ABL   book took
     'Student took book from the teacher.' (LM is +Animate)

(42) guri-ti   se   t̪ʰɑru pɔri gelɑ.   (Oriya)
     kite-CLA   that   ABL   fall went
     'The kite felt from there.'

In all the above stated examples it can be seen that the TR gets separated from its source. The process of separation denotes that the object is related with some motion hence it is dynamic. Although the motion is not always overt like in Bangla example the 'book' gets separated from the teacher. The source for the book is the teacher. The use of genitive marker with the animate LM focuses on the fact that the source possesses the TR before it is separated from the LM.

The source can even be expected like when asking a question to someone, it is assumed that the source of the answer will be the one to whom the question has been asked. So, in the sentences where something is asked, begged or expected to be taken from there also the ablative case is used in all these languages. In such sentences the TR is assumed to be come out of a particular source which is the LM.

(43) lərki   kit̪ab sə̃   ek-ʈɑ   pənnɑ pʰɑɖlək. (Maithili)
     girl   book ABL one-CLA page   tore
     'Girl tore one page from the book.'

(44) xi   ʈɑ-r   bondʰu-r   porɑ ouxɖ   kinile. (Asamiya)
     (s)he (s)he-GEN friend-GEN ABL medicine bought
     '(S)he bought medicine from his/her friend.'

(45) o   rɑɟa-r   ʈʰeke bʰikʰe   cɑilo.   (Bangla)
     (s)he king-GEN   ABL alms   asked
     'He begged from the king.'

(46) coroti buri lokoti ʈʰɑru poisɑ   cori   kɔlɑ. (Oriya)
     thief old   woman ABL money   steal do
     'Thief stole money from the old woman.'

Another source is the source of experience in the dative subject
sentences (Ahmed 2007). The source of the experience is also
marked with ablative case marker where the experience is taken as
something coming from the source. But it is true only for Maithili.

(47) aɖmi ke   siŋʰ sə̃   ɖər lagəl.   (Maithili)
     I   ACC lion ABL fear feel
     'Man was scared of lion.'

For such type of expression where there is a source for
experience there accusative case is used in Asamiya, Bangla, and
Oriya.

(48) mɑnuh-jon-e   bɑgh-to-k   bʰoj kʰɑise. (Asamiya)
     man-CLA-AGT   tiger-CLA-ACC fear felt
     'Man was scared of the lion.'

(49) mɑnuʃ bɑgʰ ke   bʰoe pɑe.   (Bangla)
     man   lion ACC fear   feel
     'Men are scared of the lion.'

(50) mɑnisɔti-ku   siŋhɔ-ku dɑr lɑgilɑ.   (Oriya)
     man-ACC   lion-ACC fear feel
     'Man was scared of the lion.'

Ablative case also marks the source of time and space. It is used to mark start time of any event when used with the temporal deixis. If time is seen as a scale, here the start time becomes the source of the event because from that point of time the action starts. The action here is the TR whereas the time scale is the LM. The displacement is between the two time span.

(51) hɔm bʰor   sə̃   sɑnjʰ ʈak puʄa   kelɔm. (Maithili)
     I   morning ABL evening till worship did
     'I worshipped from morning to evening.'

(52) ɑmi sokɑl   ʈʰeke   porcʰi.   (Bangla)
     I   morning ABL   studying
     'I am studying since morning.'

(53) rɑm   sɔkʰɑl   ʈʰaru   soicʰi.   (Oriya)
     Ram   morning   ABL   sleep
     'Ram is sleeping since morning.'

Similarly it is used with the spatial location where the deictic element is used to mark certain distance. Here the source is the LM from which the distance is measured. The measurement is stated to mark the distance. The direct movement of the TR is not visible but it is an instance of polysemy network.

(54) ɑmɑr bɑri   ekʰan ʈʰeke ɔnek ɖu:r.   (Bangla)
     my   house   here ABL far   away
     'My house is far away from here.'

Table 4. Use of Ablative Marker in All the Four Languages

Semantics	Examples	Languages
separation	from the market	in all
direct source	something taken directly from someone	in all
with expected source	asking, begging	in all
with the source of experience	fear, anger	not in Bangla
with the deictic elements	time or place as the source of the action, starting point	in all

3.2. Path

The path is the LM through which the TR passes. It can be concrete or abstract. Creissels (2009) mentions some features of the markers used to encode the Path.

(55) a. Ablative markers are often used to encode, not only source, but also path.
b. Path may also be encoded by a complex case marker consisting of an ablative marker plus an extension.
c. Path may be encoded by means of the combination of a spatial case and an adposition.
d. Instrumental case markers or adpositions often have the expression of path as one of their possible uses, even in languages that have a distinction between an instrumental case/adposition an ablative case.

It can be seen in the following examples that point (55a), (55c), and (55d) stands true for all the languages. In Maithili ablative marker is used for the path and the marker is same marker that of the instrumental case. But in Asamiya and Bangla there are

different markers for the ablative case and the path. The path marker is common with the instrumental case marker. The use of instrumental marker for the path is a common feature in many languages. It has even been marked that the instruments are conceptualized as abstract paths (Ostler 1979). Maithili use the same marker for the source and the path. The common marker for both the source and the path often leads to ambiguity as can be seen in the following examples.

(56) o   pul   sə̃   ɟaiʈ ɑcʰi.   (Maithili)
     (S)he   bridge   ABL   go   is
     '(S)he goes through the bridge.'

To show the exact position of the moving TR in context to LM the locative marker or locative deixis too at times is used with the ablative marker. The locative marker in such usage tells the location of the TR in context to LM while the ablative marker marks the LM as the path. This is a common expression which is explained by Kracht (2002) where he says that "locative expression is therefore structured as [M [L DP]], where M is a modaliser (specifying the mode), L a localiser (specifying the configuration) and DP a determiner phrase. It may be the case that L precedes DP (as in English) or that it follows it and the same for M" (p. 185). Modaliser for Kracht is a type of movement with respect to location. But here the modaliser if taken just as a movement with respect to location of the movement then Kracht structure can be used to explain the use of both locative and ablative case for a dynamic TR. The structure for these languages is [[DP L]M].

(57) o   pul   ke   upər   sə̃   ɟaiʈ ɑcʰi. (Maithili)
     (S)he   bridge   GEN   on/LOC   ABL   go   is
     '(S)he goes through the bridge.'

In Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya a separate marker is used for path. In Asamiya and Bangla the marker is the same that of the instrumental like Maithili but not so in Oriya.

(58) xi   dolong-kʰon-ɔr   maje-re   ɉaj.   (Asamiya)
     (s)he   bridge-CLA-GEN   middle-INST   goes
     '(S)he goes through the bridge.'

(59) se   ɉoŋgol   ɖie   ɉae.   (Bangla)
     (S)he   forest   ABL   go
     '(S)he goes through the forest.'

(60) se   pulo-ɖei   ɉae.   (Oriya)
     (s)he   bridge-PATH   go
     '(S)he goes through the bridge.'

It should be marked that all the languages use a common marker for both the instrument and the path except Oriya. It is perhaps the only language in the eastern Indo-Aryan group which has a different marker for the path which does not mark any other case relations. A separate case for path is not so common but such a case is found in a few Australian languages (Blake 2001). Following are some more examples from Oriya.

(61) mu   paħad   ɖei   saħar   ku   ɉae.
     I   hill   PATH   town   ACC   go
     'I go to the town through the hills.'

(62) mu   skul   kʰeʈ   ɖei   ɉae.
     I   school field   PATH   go
     'I go to school through the field.'

The following table shows the similarities and differences between the all in languages in the use of case markers to mark

the dynamic locations.

Table 5. Use of Different Case Markers for Dynamic TR

	Case Markers	
Languages	Source	Path
Maithili	Ablative/Instrumental	Ablative/Instrumental
Asamiya & Bangla	Ablative	Instrumental
Oriya	Ablative	PATH

4. Static versus Dynamic

The use of the verb generally decides whether the TR is static or dynamic. But sometimes when the TR is just a patient then depending on the context the TR can either be marked by the static marker or the dynamic marker. Replacing one by the other may not bring huge difference to the meaning but they are semantically different and contextual bound which comes naturally to the native speakers but when enquired individually the speakers are generally unable to differentiate the difference.

(63) həm dɨlli me   i   kitab kʰərɨdəb.
     I   Delhi in/LOC this book buy
     'I will buy this book in Delhi.'

(64) həm dɨlli sə˜   i   kitab kʰərɨdəb.
     I   Delhi ABL this book buy
     'I will buy this book from Delhi.'

To use the locative case in the example (63) the speaker has to be in the same place (in Delhi) but when the speaker uses the ablative case then it means he/she may not be in the same place

to buy it. He/she can buy it (make the book separated from place) from another place. This can be clearly understood from the following example. Flipkart is an online store. The buyer can never be in it (as it is not a physical place) so here the use of locative is inappropriate. Only ablative marker can be used for it as the book can be taken away from there.

(65) həm flipkart   me   i   kɨtab kʰərɨdəb*.
     I   Flipkart in/LOC this   book buy

(66) həm flipkart   sə̃   i   kɨtab kʰərɨdəb.
     I   Flipkart ABL   this   book buy
     'I will buy this book from Delhi.'

Similar examples can be found in all the other languages too where depending on the context either locative or the ablative marker can be used. But interchangeability of the markers cannot be done for every structure. Whenever there is verb of separation (like, buy, fall, bring, and so on) there has to be ablative case unlike Maithili. So the examples (63) and (64) of Maithili cannot be structured similarly in the other three languages. Examples below from Bangla prove it.

(67) ɑmi boi-tɑ   ɖilli-ţe   kinbo.
     I   book-CLA   Delhi-LOC   buy.FUT (Not good)

(68) ɑmi boi-tɑ   ɖilli-ţe   gie kinbo.
     I   book-CLA   Delhi-LOC   go buy.FUT
     'I will go to Delhi and buy this book.'

(69) ɑmi boi-tɑ   ɖilli-ţʰeke   kinbo.
     I   book-CLA   Delhi-ABL   buy.FUT
     'I will buy this book from Delhi.'

But when something is not totally separated but which can be perceived as half separated then it can take either locative or the ablative marker in these languages as it can be perceived either way.

(70) gacʰ   t̪ʰeke pɑt̪a   ɟʰulcʰe.   (Bangla)
      tree   ABL   leaf   hanging
      'The leaf is hanging from the tree.'

(71) gacʰ-e   pɑt̪a   ɟʰulcʰe.   (Bangla)
      tree-LOC   leaf   hanging
      'The leaf is hanging from the tree.'

(72) gɔsɔ-r   pɔrɑ pɑt̪   ɑse.   (Asamiya)
      tree-GEN   ABL   leaf   is
      'There is a leaf in the tree.'

(73) gɔsɔ-t̪   pɑt̪   ɑse.   (Asamiya)
      tree-LOC   leaf   is
      'There is a leaf in the tree.'

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, local cases of two positions, static and dynamic has been discussed. To show static location the locative case is used. On a surface level it seems that Maithili has two locative markers while the other three languages have one locative marker. Locative marker of Asamiya, Bangla, and Oriya can be said to be GST (General Spatial Term). It does not mark any exact location (like on, in, under) of the TR in context to LM but shows the link which is termed as 'Attachment' by cognitive linguists (Bowerman 1996, see also Bowerman & Choi 2001) between the two.

If Maithili is looked deep into then it can be seen that it too
had one locative marker (me) which was used as GST but recent
development has included another locative marker to this language
(the detailed arguement for this is stated in section 2.1 and 2.3).
The two locatives function differently hence they have been
marked as Level 1 and Level 2 markers (section 2.3). Semantically
one marker is used when the LM is perceived as an enclosed
figure while the other (Level 2) is used when the axis of the LM
has to be pointed out. Though at times both Level 1 and 2 may
overlap which can be understood clearly through the following
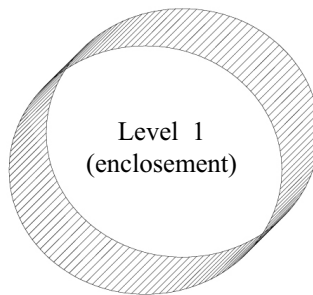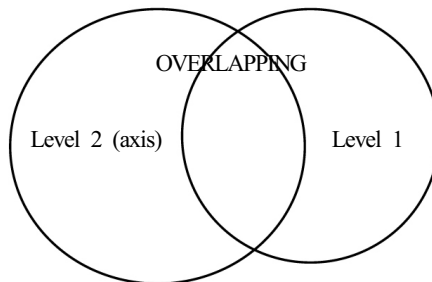figures.

Figure 1. Level 1 Marker

Level 1
(enclosement)

Figure 2. Level 1 & 2 Overlapping Each-Other

OVERLAPPING

Level 2 (axis)   Level 1

Maithili use two cases as local case; locative and ablative. The locative is used to mark the static position whereas ablative is used to mark the dynamic position including both source and the path. The ablative marker is same as the instrumental marker in this language. The following figure (Figure 3) shows the use of the local cases in all the three languages.

Asamiya and Bangla use three local cases. One is used to mark the static location and the other two are used to mark the dynamic location. They use two different markers for the source and the path. The marker for the source is ablative and the marker for the path is instrumental. Oriya too uses three local cases to mark the various relations between LM and TR. One is used to mark the static location and the other two like Asamiya and Bangla are used to mark the dynamic location. But unlike Asamiya, Bangla, and Maithili the marker for path is neither common to ablative marker nor to instrumental marker which is an uncommon factor for the whole eastern Indo-Aryan group.

Figure 3. Classification of the Local Cases
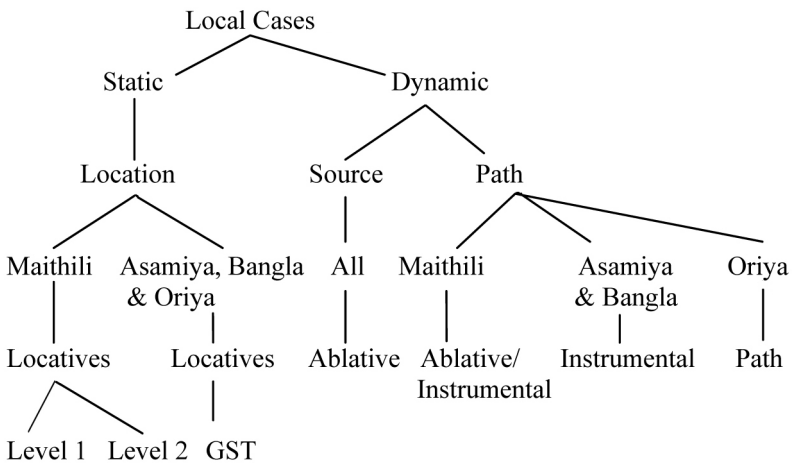
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