A Syntactic Analysis of the Oblique form in Hindi/Urdu*

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Abstract

In this paper I provide a description of the Hindi/Urdu oblique noun forms. To date the oblique has not been mentioned in the Hindi/Urdu case and agreement literature in the Minimalist/P&P/GB frameworks. I argue that the oblique noun forms are the realization of an abstract structural case. I provide an explicit analysis in DM framework using Legates abstract vs morpholoigcal case, exploded DPs and feature percolatoin.

Contents

1 Introduction

In the lineage of Goverment and Binding, Principles and Parameters, Minimalist and Distributed Morphology the oblique noun forms of Hindi/Urdu have yet to be discussed. The oblique form is not resticted to nouns, but rather demonstratives, wh-words, adjectives, nouns and gerunds can appear in the oblique form. In this paper I show that all elements of a DP which is a complement of a postposition appear in the oblique form. I claim that the oblique is the realization of a structural case. The adjective, gerund and noun forms are easily decomposed into a stem and a suffix. Some of the demonstratives and wh-words can also be broken into a stem and a suffix while others are indivisible portmanteus.

The varied overt realization of the oblique can be accounted for if one adopts Legate's division of abstract vs morphological case. Abstract case is determined in the syntax and is realized as morphological case depending on the resources of the langauges lexicon. With out this abstraction away from actual morphological realization of case the distribution of oblique noun forms appears sporadic and mysterious.

The presence of an affixal case (the oblique) which appears on the complements of postpositions raises questions about the status of the Hindi/Urdu postpositions as case assigners. This is particularly relevant for discussions of case and agreement in Hindi/Urdu which has independatly come to the conclusion that the Hindi/Urdu 'case postpositions' do not behave croslingusticlallly as expected, Bhatt claims that agreement

and case cannot be the realizations of one relation, Bhatt also reports that hindi/urud as an exception ot burzio's generalization. Legate claims that hindi urdu has determined agreement, the verb will agree with the object if the subject is case marked (for her casemarking is a postposition) this falls out naturally if postpostionsarent case but rather funcitonal heads which do not permit the DP to be an argument..

2   Proposal for Hindi/Urdu Case System

(1)   Proposal:

Case Feature	nominative	T^o	ø
	accusative	v^o	ø
	oblique	P^o	-e,$\tilde{V}$
Functional Head	dative		=ko
	ergative		=ne
	genitive		=ka/ki/ke
	instrumental,		=se
	source		=se
	in		=mẽ
	on		=par
	toward, until		=tak
	through		dvara

3   Previous Proposals for Hindi/Urdu Case System

(2)   Previous discusison of case:

	Mahajan 1990	Mohanan 1994	Butt 2004
nom	ø	ø	ø
acc	ø	=ko	=ko
erg	=ne	=ne	=ne
dat	=ko	=ko	=ko
instr		=se	=se
gen		=ka/ki/ke	=ka/ki/ke
loc		mẽ	mẽ
		par	par
			tak
			ø

Previous proposals of Hindi/Urdu case only consider postpositions.

(3)   "all case is realized by postpositions, except for nominative case. (Davison 2004:202)

However, there are also Hindi/Urdu noun forms which alternate between 'direct' and 'oblique' forms, the 'oblique' is found on the complement of a postposition in (2), the 'direct' is found elsewhere in (3). The forms are obligatory (4), (5).

(4)   Oblique form of gadhe

us	gadhe	se	le	lo
[us	gədʰ-e	se]	l-e	l-o
that.OBL	donkey-M.Sg.OBL	from	take-Subj	take-2.SG

'Take it from that donkey.'

(5)   Direct form of gadha

hamara	gadhaa	ghaas to	nahin	khaa taa
1.Pl-GEN-M	donkey-M	grass=Top	Neg	eat=Impfv-M

'Our donkey doesn't eat grass.'

(6) The oblique is obligatory when the NP is the complement of a postposition

[*wo	gadha	se]	le	lo
that	donkey.MSG	from	take-SUBJ	take-2nd.sg

'Take it from that donkey.'

(7) The oblique cannot appear without a postposition

[*us	gadhe]	ghaas	kha	rahaa	hai
that.OBL	donkey.MSG.OBL	grass	eat	IMPERF.M.SG	3.SG

'That donkey is eating grass.'

The oblique form is similar to the accusative m on 'him' in the English structure below.

(8) Complements of prepositions in English are accusative I took the grass [from him.CASE]
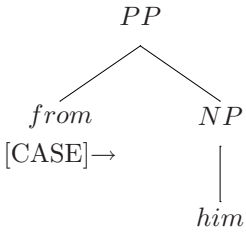
(9) Complements of postpositions in Urdu are oblique

us	gəd^{fi}e	=se	le	=lo
that	donkey-CASE	from	take	take-2nd

"Take it from that donkey."
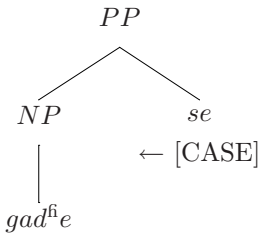
I claim that the oblique is also a form of case, a suffixal case rather than postpositional.

4 Description of the "oblique"

The exact shape of the oblique stem depends on the final phonological segment, and the gender (masculine and feminine) of the word.(Mohanan 1994:61)

In () below the final -a ending of the 'direct' masculine gadha 'donkey' alternates with the oblique -e in gadhe 'donkey-OBL.'

(10) The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001)

		Singular		Plural		
		Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	
Masculine						
a)		gadha	gadhe	gadhe	gadhõ	'donkey'
b)		mez	mez	?	?	'table'
Feminine						
c)		gadhi	gadhi	gadhiã	gadhiõ	'female donkey'
d)		bahu	bahu	bahuẽ	bahuõ	'daughter-in-law'

Pronouns also show a 'direct'/'oblique alternation. In () below the nominative stem for 1st singular is m while the oblique stem is mjh.

(11) The forms of pronouns (based on Butt & King 2004:174, and Shukla 2001:188-)
Function+Distance+Root+Gender.Oblique.Indefinite+Plural
Oblique works for =se,=par,=tak=mɛ̃
=ne, =ko and genitive are exceptions for person pronouns, but for different reasons

Person	Function	Singular			Plural	
		Direct		Oblique	Direct	Oblique
		Masculine	Feminine			
1		mɛ̃		mujh se	ham	ham se
2	Disrespect	tu		tujh se		
2	Familiar	tum		tum se	tum log	tum log-õ
2	Formal	ap		ap se	ab log	ab log-õ
3	Prox	ye		i-s se	ye	i-n(hõ) se
3	Distal	v-o		u-s se	v-o	u-n(hõ) se
3	Rel	j-o		j-i-s	j-o	j-i-n-(hõ)
Person	Wh	k-ɔn		k-i-s se	k-ɔn	k-i-n-(hõ) se
Person	Indef	k-o-i		k-i-s-i se	k-o-i - ko-i	k-i-s-i - k-i-s-i se
Quantity	Prox	i-tn-a	i-tn-i	i-tn-e		
Quantity	Distal	u-tn-a	u-tn-i	u-tn-e		
Quantity	Rel	j-i-tn-a	j-i-tn-i	j-i-tn-e		
Quantity	Wh	k-i-tn-a	k-i-tn-i	k-i-tn-e		
Manner	Prox	es-a	es-i	es-e		
Manner	Distal	ve-s-a	ve-s-i	ve-s-e		
Manner	Rel	je-s-a	je-s-i	je-s-e		
Manner	Wh	ke-s-a	ke-s-i	ke-s-e		
Place	Prox	y-ah-ã̃				
Place	Distal	v-ah-ã̃				
Place	Rel	j-ah-ã̃				
Place	Wh	k-ah-ã̃				
Place	Indef	k-ah-ĩ̃				
Time	Rel	j-ab				
Time	Wh	k-ab				
Time	Indef	k-ab-i				
Thing	Wh	kya		k-i-s se		
Thing	Indef	kuch		kuch se	kuch-kuch	kuch-kuch se

	NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INST	LOC	GEN
1. Sg	mɛ̃	mɛ̃=ne	mʊjʰ=ko / mʊjʰe	mʊjʰ=se	mʊjʰ=par	mer-a/i/e
1. Pl	hʌm	hʌm=ne	hʌm=ko / hʌme	hʌm=se	hʌm=par	hʌmar-a/i/e
2. Disresp.	tu	tu=ne	tʊjʰ=ko / tʊjʰe	tʊjʰ=se	tʊjʰ=par	ter-a/i/e
2. Familiar	tʊm	tʊm=ne	tʊm=ko / tʊmhe	tʊm=se	tʊm=par	tʊmhar-a/i/e
2. Resp.	ap	ap=ne	ap=ko	ap=se	ap=par	ap=k-a/i/e
3. Prox.Sg	ye	is=ne	is=ko / ise	is=se	is=par	is=k-a/i/e
3. Prox.Pl	ye	in=ne / inhõ=ne	in=ko / inhõ=ko / ine	in=se / inhõ=se	in=par / inhõ=par	in=k-a/i/e / inhõ=k-a/i/e
3. Dist.Sg	vo	us=ne	us=ko / use	us=se	us=par	us=k-a/i/e
3. Dist.Pl	vo	un=ne / unhõ=ne	un=ko / unhõ=ko / unhe	un=se / unhõ=se	un=par / unhõ=par	un=k-a/i/e / unhõ=k-a/i/e

Person & Number	Direct		Oblique		Object		Genitive	
First sg.	मैं	mɛ̃	मुझ	mujʰ	मुझे	mujʰẽ	मेरा	mẽrā
First pl.	हम	ham	हम	ham	हमें	hamẽ	हमारा	hamārā
Second sg.	तू	tū	तुझ	tujʰ	तुझे	tujʰẽ	तेरा	tẽrā
Second pl.	तुम	tum	तुम	tum	तुम्हें	tumʰẽ	तुम्हारा	tumʰārā
Honorific	आप	āp	आप	āp	does not occur		आपका	āp
Third sg. Proximate	यह	yah	इस	is	इसे	isẽ	इसका	iskā
Third pl. Proximate	ये	yẽ	इन	in	इन्हें	inʰẽ	इनका	inkā
Third sg. Remote	वह	vah	उस	us	उसे	usẽ	उसका	uskā
Third pl. Remote	बे	vẽ	उन	un	उन्हें	unʰẽ	उनका	unkā

4.1 The oblique is predictable and obligatory

4.2 The oblique is a suffix not a postposition or a clitic

In the next section I will provide arguments from Butt & King (2004) that the oblique is a suffix, while the case postpositions are not.

(12) (a) Case postpostions =ko can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yasin=ne   *[kʊtt-e*   *or*   *gʰoṛ-e]=ko*   *dekʰ-a*   *hɛ*
Yassin.M.Sg=ERG   dog-M.Sg.OBL   and   horse-M.Sg.OBL=ACC   see-Pfv.M.Sg   be.Prs.2.Sg
'Yassin saw the dog and the horse.'

(b) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs

*[[kʊtt   *or*   *gʰoṛ]-e]=ko*
dog-M.Sg.OBL   and   horse-M.Sg.OBL=ACC
'the dog and the horse'

(c) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs

*[[kʊtt-a   *or*   *gʰoṛ]-e]=ko*
dog-M.Sg.OBL   and   horse-M.Sg.OBL=ACC
'the dog and the horse'

(13) (a) The focus particle3 can intervene between the NP and the case postposition (Butt & King 2004:174)

ʊs=hi=ne   *kam*   *ki-ya*
3.Sg=Foc=ERG   work.M.Sg.Nom   do-Pfv.M.Sg
'That one himself/only did (the) work.'

(b) The focus particle cannot intervene between the NP and the oblique

kʊtt-hi-e
dog-Foc-OBL
'That one himself/only did (the) work.'

The -ko is a clitic, not a suffix. how about ne and other postpositions?

5 Previous Discussion of the Oblique

5.1 Non-Discussion

These properties have been described in Hindi/Urdu grammars (Kachru (1965), Kachru (1980:26), Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), and in LFG literature, Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

Yet, so far the GB/P&P/Minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu case and agreement discusses only postpositions as case, overlooking the oblique forms. The oblique is not glossed in Mahajan 1990, Kidwai 2000, Davison 2004 and Dayal 2003, 2004.

(14) jaane kaa (Mahajan 1990:160)

Raam-ne   *Mohan-ko*   *jaane ka*   *vaadaa*   *diyaa*
Ram-ERG   Mohan   to go gen   promise   gave
'Raam promised Mohan to leave.'

(15) larke-ko (Kidwai 2000:65)

sita-ne   ek laṛke-ko   pəsəsnd kiyα
Sita-ERG a   boy-DAT   liking   did
'Sita liked a boy.'

(16) is laRkee-koo (Davison 2004:209)

maiN-nee is-laRkee-koo   deekh li-yaa
I-ERG   this boy-DAT   see   take-Pfv-M.Sg
'I saw this boy.'

(17) apne kamre meN (Dayal 2003 D23)

puure   din maiN-ne apne   kamre meN kitaab   paRhii
whole day I-ERG   self's room   in   book-F read-F.SG
'The whole day I read books in my room.'

(18) kamre meN(Dayal 2004:403)

kamre meN cuuhaa ghuum rahaa hai
room   in   mouse   moving is
'A mouse is moving around in the room.'

Bhatt 2005 includes it in his glossing on gerunds but not on nouns, and doesn't discuss its properties.

(19) larke-ne Sita-se [kitaab parRh-ne]-ko (Bhatt 2005:780)

ek-bhii   laṛke-ne   Sita-se   kitaab   paṛh-ne-ko   nahĩ: kah-aa
one-Psi boy-ERG Sita-INST book-F go-Inf-OBL-DAT Neg   say-Pfv
'Not even a single boy told Sita to read the book.'

Only Mohanan 1994 includes the gloss and a discussion of its appearance.

(20) bacce-ke liye(Mohanan 1994:62)
      NN = NonNominative

bacce   -ke   liye
child(NN)   GEN(NN)   for
'for the child'

5.2   Previous accounts

Previous accounts of the oblique have discussed the oblique in terms of an inflectional paradigm in the lexicon. In this paper I will show that a uniform analysis of the oblique's presence can be provided if we adopt a theory of abstract case features which are determined in the syntax, and phonological realization of the case features are determined in the morphology (Legate to appear). This understanding of the oblique is may prove useful in analyzing Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

The oblique has been discussed in the LFG framework; both LFG accounts locate the oblique formation in the lexicon.

(21) Mohanan 1994:

- "just as stems carry information such as SINGULAR or PLURAL, they also bear the case features NOM, NONNOM, or VOC. (Mohanan 1994:61)
- "NONNOM stems must take a case clitic after them (Mohanan 1994:62)

(22) Butt & King 2004:

- The oblique is an agreement inflection on the complement of a K head (case postposition)
- Butt & King see "this remnant of the Sanskrit system as ensuring synchronic morphological wellformedness: if the noun is in the oblique form, then modifying adjectives must also be in the oblique form. (Butt & King 2004:168)
- The older morphological affixes (such as the oblique) may be part of the case system in other South Asian languages. (Butt & King 2004:173)

However, researchers in LFG are calling for a development in their framework to deal with case.

Butt (2005) notes that "the differing realizational possibilities for case markers one could argue about whether all of these different morphosyntactic creatures should all be lumped together under the label case The overt realization of case must be dealt with by some component of the theory, however, that component is often left underspecified. (Butt 2005:11)

So, a non-lexical analysis of the 'direct' and 'oblique' form may be brewing in the LFG literature.

6 Proposal for case realization in Hindi/urdu: making the Nitty gritties explicit

Proposal: the oblique is a case marker. The oblique is obligatory and uniform, its morphological realization is conditioned by the noun's class. This is no different from the accusative in English (which is found only on pronouns) and cases in German (which appear differently on masculine, feminine and neuter nouns).

(23) The framework I adopt:
Case assignment: Pesetsky & Torego 2001, Frampton & Gutman 2002
Feature spreading: Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutmann 2006, Kratzer 2006
Syntactic heirarchy in DPs: Exploded D, PhiP, Exploded P
Morphological realization: Marantz 1997, Legate to appear

6.1 Case assignment

I assume that the abstract case is assigned by a postposition to its DP complement (Pesetsky & Torego 2001, Frampton & Gutman 2002).

(24) Case assignment[1]

PP

$DP/NP \leftarrow [CASE]$ se

$gad^{fi}e$ from

donkey-OBL
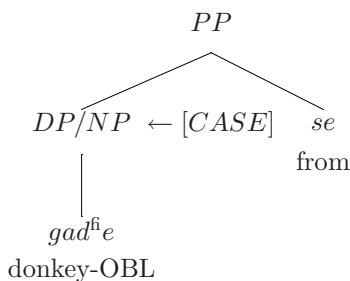
The morphology receives the bundles of features and realizes the bundles as faithfully as possible given the resources of the lexicon (Marantz 1997, Legate to appear).

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[1]There is no evidence of a D° in Urdu, I leave open the option of a DP or an NP for the examples in this paper.

(25) Spell out

$$\begin{bmatrix} N^{o} \\ DONKEY \\ +masc \\ +sing \\ +case \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow gad^{h}e$$

6.1.1 Multiple realization of same case

Like case in many languages (German for example), the oblique appears multiply on all elements of the DP which have an oblique form.[2]

(26) Multiple Obliques in Hindi/Urdu

us	bare	gadhe	se	le	lo
that.OBL	big-OBL	donkey-OBL	from	take-Subj	take-2.Sg

'Take it from that big donkey.'

(27) Multiple Accusatives in German

Nimm	den	Schemel	für	diesen	groSSen	grauen	alten
take-2.Sg.Imper	the-OBL	stool.OBL	for	that-OBL	big-OBL	grey-OBL	old-OBL

unbehaarten	ruhigen	sitzenden	Elefanten	dieses	Mannes
un-?-hair-OBL	quiet-OBL	sit-?-OBL	elephant-OBL	that-GEN	man-GEN

'Take the stool for this big grey old quiet hairless sitting elephant of the man.'

This structural case can be realized on pronouns, adjectives, nouns (in), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in), gerunds (in and), these are the same grammatical categories as in German ().[3]

(28) [dabbe ke   nice   tak]
     box-OBL=GEN-OBL under-OBL until

'up on the underneath of the box.'

(29) [raam ke   baiThne par]   m ne   us ko   khaanaa diyaa
     raam=GEN-OBL sit-NONFIN-OBL=ON mother=ERG 3sg.OBL=DAT food   give-Pfv

'When Ram sa down, mo her gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)

(30) [Lataa-ji-ke ye gaanaa gaa-ye ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)

Ashaa=ji=ka	ye	gaanaa	gaayaa	honaa
Ashaa=Hon=GEN-M.SG	this.M.Sg	sing-Nmlz-M.SG	sing-Pfv-M.Sg	be-NonFin-M.Sg

[Lataa=ji=ke	ye	gaanaa	gaaye
[Lataa=Hon=GEN-OBL	this.M.Sg.OBL	sing-Nmlz-M.Sg	sing-Pfv-M.SG.OBL

hone]=se	zyaadaa	mumkin	hai
be-NonFin-M.Sg.OBL]=INSTR	more	possible	be-Prs.3.Sg

'Ashaa-ji's having sung this song is more likely than Lataa-ji's having sung this song.'

It is clear that the case and gender features are shared within the projection. One way to accomplish this feature sharing is through feature spreading (Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutman 2006, Kratzer 2006). This must be accomplished in a two-step process.

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[2]I expect feature sharing to happen whenever there is a modifier, modifiee relationship (predicate modification, rather than functional application)

[3]If we think that the -en on participles is the same thing.

6.1.2 Upward feature Percolation/Projection

It is commonly assumed that the projecting sister projects its features to the mother node. As the possessor (GenP) is optional I assume it is adjoined to the NP, the same is true of the AdjectiveP. Cinque 2005 considers the DemontrativeP is also adjoined. As all elements are adjoined the features of donkey are projected.

(31) The features of the noun are projected/percolated through merger (Frampton & Gutman 2006)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +masc \\ +sing \end{array} \right]$$

NP
- DemP / NP
  - DISTAL
- NP
  - AdjP / NP
    - BIG
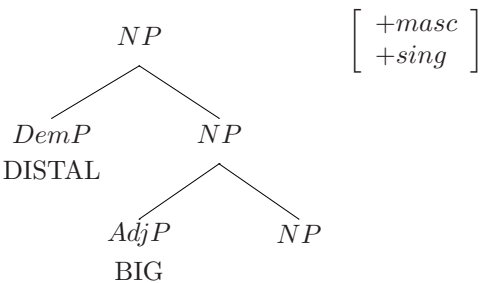
6.1.3 Downward feature sharing

this migth be controversail, could be the divide between synatx and morphology, syntax is bottom up, morphology is top down...

(32) The case feature of the complement must be spread down to all elements in the DP/NP (might be controversial, need to read more literature)

Finally, the feature bundles are spelled out as words using the lexical item which matches the most of the features. In this case, the demonstrative us 'that' isn't specified for masculine or feminine, as there is no competing demonstrative, it is inserted. The adjective bare 'big' and the noun gadhe 'donkey' are not specified for singular or plural, as there are no competing forms for singulars these are inserted.

(33) Lexical Insertion

6.2 Proving the oblique is obligatory/there when you don't see it

So far I have shown only masculine examples where the oblique is seen overtly. In the next section I will show that the oblique is regular and required, its appearance on some words and not on others is due to its morphological availability for certain words and not others.

In order to prove that the oblique is obligatory in the examples below, I will use a demonstrative, which show overtly the 4 way distinction in number and direct/oblique marking, and an adjective which show the 2 way distinction in gender marking.

(34) Hindi/Urdu demonstratives

	Singular		Plural	
	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
Proximate	ye	is	ye	in
Distal	vo	us	vo	un

(35) Hindi/Urdu Adjectives

	Singular		Plural		
	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	
Masculine	bara	bare	bare	bare	'big'
Feminine	bari	bari	bari	bari	

The morphology spells out each of these feature bundles given the resources available. If the morphology is given a masculine noun which has a lexical entry which realizes the oblique feature, the noun will surface in the oblique form, as the adjective bare 'big' does in (). If the masculine noun does not have an oblique form, the noun will surface as the default form, as the noun mez 'table' does in ().

(36) Masculine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

    (a) [wo   bara   mez]   gir   reha   h
           that.DIR big-MSG.DIR table.MSG.DIR fall IMPERF-M PRES-3SG
    'That big table is falling.'

    (b) [us   bare   mez   se]   le   lo
           that.OBL big-OBL.DIR table.MSG.OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.sg
    'Take it from that big table.'

If the morphology is given a feminine noun with an oblique feature, it will surface the default feminine form since feminine nouns do not have a lexical entry for the oblique.

(37) Feminine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

    (a) [wo   bari   kitaab]   gir   rehi   hɛ
           that.DIR big-FSG.DIR book.FSG.DIR fall IMPERF-F PRES-3SG
    'That big book is falling.

    (b) [us   bari   kitaab   se]   le   lo
           that.OBL big-FSG.OBL book.FSG.OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.sg
    'Take it from that big book.'

31.Spell out for feminine nouns

Thus the appearance and non-appearance of the oblique case does not stop it from being a regular case if one accepts Legate's (to appear) proposal that abstract case is different from overt morphological case. This shouldn't come as a surprise, we assume that "John is marked accusative in the sentence "I see john, even though there is no way of realizing accusative on John. We know that the accusative is there because when you replace John with a pronoun, the pronoun must be accusative "him not the nominative "he.

(38) English abstract case is also realized differently on different words:
    Compare John/John and he/him.

    a) John   sees   Bill.
        NOM   ACC
    b) I   see   John.
        NOM   ACC
    c) I   see   him.
        NOM   ACC
    d) *I   see   he.
        NOM   NOM

7 Summary

In this paper I have shown that it is possible to formalize the distribution of the oblique noun forms using a syntactic analysis. The formalization of the oblique in the syntax should be useful in analyzing the problematic Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

8 Ramifications of this paper

8.1 Hindi/Urdu postpositons aren't realizations of abstract case

If postpositions in Hindi/Urdu are assigning/checking a case, then they must be functional heads in the syntax.

This is only compatible with an analysis of the case postpositions as something equivalent to a PP or a KP7. This can be argued for independently on the grounds that Hindi/Urdu postpositions have regular semantics, and introduce only one type of theta role (Butt & King 2004).

This provides a further argument that the case postpositions are certainly not realizations of "structural case. Structural case is thought of a syntactic case feature, but a syntactic feature can't assign another case.

If case postpositions in Hindi/Urdu are functional heads in the syntax, this explains why passivization and argument raising retains the postposition, if we consider that passives are transformationally derived from actives. The highest maximal projection is the PP, so that must be raised, postposition and all.

Look into the "to him for English passives and compare the two passive and active sentences.

8.1.1   Except the ergative...

The ergative postposition is different from the others, as the pronouns are in the direct not the oblique form. I make no claims about the ergative.

9   Issues Hindi-Urdu case & agreement which are affected by this paper

In this section I will briefly outline areas where the case and agreement of Hindi/Urdu is claimed to behave differently from the crosslinguistic typology.

9.1   Contra Bhatt 2005, Hindi-Urdu case and agreement can't be two sides of a coin

Case and agreement are ideally two sides of a coin, the head probes for interpretable -features to check its uninterpretable -feature, in turn, the YP has uninterpretable case features are checked by the interpretable -role (Chomksy 1995). Alternatively, the functional head assigns abstract case features to its complement, and the complement shares its -features with the functional head. ('Crash Proof Syntax' Frampton & Gutmann 2006) In either a checking or an assignment approach the features are realized as person/gender agreement on the function head, and as a case marker on the complement.

(39)   Case and agreement are two sides of one relationship

Mahajan 1990: Hindi/Urdu verbs never agree with a case marked DPs. If we assume that the verb is assigning case, then the verb should agree with that DP. However, for Mahajan, the postpositions are case markers. If those are postpositions rather than case, then certainly the verb doesn't agree. My proposal derives that they don't agree.

9.2   Contra Bhatt 2005: Hindi/Urdu is an exception to Burzio's generalization

(40)   Accusative Ko is retained in passives (Bhatt 2005:782)
       but not all passives?

This is not an exception if -ko is not a structural case.
Bhatt 2005: Hindi/Urdu infinitives license structural case. 37.The complement of an infinitive must be accusative. (Bhatt 2005:782)
This is not an exception if -ko is not a structural case.

9.3   Contra Legate 2007: Hindi/Urdu has "aggressive agreement

Little v will agree the subject, but if it finds no eligible DP, it will search down and agree with the object
"I propose that the pattern of agreement found in Hindi is similar in essentials to Niuean in that DPs that bear inherent ergative Case do not trigger agreement. Where the languages differ is this:

"in Hindi, after the inherent Case-marked DP fails to trigger agreement, T continues to search down the tree for a DP that may trigger agreement, i.e. a DP with structural Case. In (37c), T finds the accusative object, which then triggers subject agreement, even though it has no other relationship with T. I refer to this as aggressive agreement.31 " (Legate p17) "Evidence for aggressive agreement comes from two sources. First, we find that (pseudo)-incorporated nominals trigger agreement in Hindi, even though such DPs crosslinguistically lack Case. (See for example, Baker (1988) on the lack of Case on incorporated nouns and Massam (2001) on the lack of Case on pseudo-incorporated NPs.) Thus, these DPs trigger agreement without bearing nominative Case or raising to [spec, T], simply based on closest c-command. (Legate p17) This is not the only place where Hindi shows object agreement, object agreement is only in gender, never in person, where as subject agreement is both gender and/or person. This requires a look into the morphological realization and syntactic relationships behind agreement in Hindi/Urdu.

10 For the future: Distribution of person agreement vs gender agreement in Hindi/Urdu appears to be systematic

The the distribution of agreement in Hindi/Urdu appears to be systematic, object agreement is in gender, never person. Subject agreement may be either gender or person depending on the verb. Lexical verbs show gender, light verbs show person. This agreement pattern might indicate a systematic difference either in the *agreement relations* between lexical verbs and light verbs, or more simply, a difference in *morphological availability* of person morphology for lexical verbs and light verb stems.

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B   A family tree of Hypothesis B

C   Arguments for Case in the Syntax over Case in the Lexicon

"Chomsky (1965:221-222, footnote 35) does note that he assumes case marking to be assigned at the level of phonological realization. (Butt 2005:29)

Both Mohanan 1994 and Butt & King 2004 take an approach where morphological processes take place in the lexicon (the "lexicalist position).

Falk argues against having case in the lexicon in his proposal for an additional architecture projection in LFG for case: "the premise is that the syntax must be able to specify the Cases that surface in the language. In any language in which there is an accusative Case, the syntax must be able to specify it. The same is true of ergative Case. This seems to us to be an uncontroversial assumption. (Falk 1997)

C.1   Arguments against the (strong) lexicalist position

Reading list
Chomsky 1970
Marantz 1997

C.2   Arguments for inflectional morphemes in/out the syntax

Reading list
?

C.3   Arguments for derivational morphemes in/out the syntax

Reading list
?

C.4   Conclusion of lexical vs syntax

As an alternative to "lexicalism, I adopt Late Insertion of functional items (Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1995, Chomsky 2001) where phonological material is inserted in the morphology to realize bundles of syntactic features. Under this approach the appearance of the oblique must be explained. This also allows a happy medium between non-uniform paradigm like morpheme class dependence and obligatory appearance (productivity) of 'oblique.'

D Case in the syntax: feature vs. head

D.1 What is a terminal node?

D.1.1 Seperatable morphemes?

D.1.2 Morphosyntactic features?

D.1.3 Phonological words?

D.1.4 Morphosyntactic feature tree as a phase, resulting in a phonological word as a terminal

D.2 Other potential arguments, but no one to cite yet:

D.3 Dependant on morphological class, not grammatical category

The realization of the oblique is dependant on morphological classes and gender. This is indicative of inflection rather than a functional head (although some functional heads show idiosyncratic realization (need to check Tim's talk and Hayes).

If the oblique were a functional head then it would select for a syntactic category rather than morphological class.

D.4 Summary of feature vs head, an open question

Summary: the oblique is a suffix, which is realized differently for different noun classes.

It's a suffix, but is it a feature or a functional head? A structural case that is assigned by P^o

E Is the oblique actually the accusative case?

E.1 Is this structural case only on objects of prepositions?

Legate (to appear) argues that abstract structural accusative case in Hindi which is assigned by v is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolutive to nominative or default in different languages. This is true in the verbal domain, but given the above data there does appear to be an overt realization of abstract structural case, that which is assigned by postpositions to their complements. As this these are postpositions rather than v this doesn't challenge Legate's claim, rather Legate is most likely correct in analyzing Hindi/Urdu case and agreement as non-standard in that it lacks a morpheme specific to structural accusative case.

E.2 No, there are other obliques that don't have a postposition

Now that we consider that the oblique is a case, we need to find case assigners for its appearance.

Yet, there are obliques which have no obvious postposition to assign case

E.2.1 The oblique as a locative

39.The oblique as a locative (Butt & King 2004:168) 8

E.2.2 The oblique in inalienable possession

40.The oblique in inalienable possession (Mohanan 1994:178)

41.The oblique (maybe) in an adjunct under the emphatic particle, not m.sg because the gen on the subject is also marked as oblique. What dialect is this?

Davison 2004:202

E.2.3 The oblique under the light verb 'allow'

42.The oblique under allow (Bhatt 2005:778) [Sarosh-ko gaaRii chalaa-ne] di-i
[peR kaT-ne] di-ye (Bhatt 2005:795)

E.2.4 The oblique under a conditional

43.In a conditional (collected from a web forum) Agr mere pice kutta bhonkne laga if 1st-GEN-OBL behind-OBL dog bark-NONFIN-OBL start-M.SG to main zurud bhag jaoongi then 1sg certainly run go-1sg=FUT 'If a dog started barking after me then I would certainly run.'

Like multiple obliques with in a DP, the oblique can appear on conjoined verbs

44.Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum) main aap ko 1.sg 2sg.FORMAL=DAT danda dhondne ya phir jota oTarne stick look.for-NONFIN-OBL or even shoe take.off-NONFIN-OBL duun gaa kya? Allow-1.SG FUT Q

It is a structural case, but is it a structural case assigned what. What unifies postpositions, locatives, inalienable possessives, permissives and focus? An existential operator?

E.2.5 The oblique on subjects of certain transitive verbs

"The subjects of eligible transitive verbs were marked as oblique (Butt & King 2004) (19)