

- 1 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-25-2005 08:50 AM <>utterance<> Agar aap K Pechey Kotta"DOC" Lag Jaey Tu Kiya Kareyn Gay.....* 1 Attachment(s)
- 2 <>name<> knazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 09:03 AM <>utterance<> hahahahahahah .. good bob behna. agr merey pechey kote pechey lagay to main kia kroon ga.. sab sey pehley to main koi danda dekhoon ga ya koi bata ...:D agr koi chez na mili to phir apan jote ko our dog bhag jaey ga:D agr kota pechey lagay to bhagni nahi chaheey issey kota kota nahi reht sheer bn jate hai:D :D :D our aap gedor
- 3 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-25-2005 09:06 AM <>utterance<>
- 4 <>name<> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 09:14 AM <>utterance<> hum ik baar hug tha pechey peechey bhagney lagay aur bhonkta jte raha th jasey kaat ley ga mein nai motor cycle roki ton khara ho gya saath mein aur bhonkney lagay .. mein neechey utte ..!!! Mujhey yead hai Fleet Shoes ka barra fashion tha aik zamaney mein barey barey soal waley jootey mein nai uttar kai doh teen kick kerwaini kutey kai mun per :D :D :D :D :D Kuta phir kahan gya mujhey nahi patte :D :D :D Dost bat'at the kai ab woh gali kai end per hee betha renta hai aur kisi ko kuch nahi kehta :D :D :D
- 5 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-25-2005 09:38 AM <>utterance<> hahahaha hahahaaaaaaaahaaaaahoooooo :D hahahaha barra mazah aayaa worthless bhai wasay paraeey mohaley kay koteey apnay mohaley say ziyadan dangerous hotay bain but aap na bhi thik dhonmai ki mazah aayaa ::):D:D
- 6 <>name<> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 09:40 AM <>utterance<> is mein aik lafz bhi jhoot nahi hai sach mein :D mein aisa hee hub kerte thi .. !!! aur nafrat hai mijhey bila waja kutey sai na janey kyun aur jab bilian roop heint .. uff i just hate it dil kerte haan maar hee ::):D
- 7 <>name<> knazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 09:47 AM <>utterance<> thanxxxxx bob behna dasal aap dog ki nafsiyat nahi jant na is lieey app aesa keh rah bain. jahan ham rehrey bain wahan pehley bohot dog hotay they :rolleyes: our ham bhi bohot diray they

14 : (

15 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:03 AM <>utterance> woh toh sab choro yeh
batai bhaiye kai tikey ban ton don g khaa kaun ? :D aur baat bahaduri ki nahi
hai bachey baat ab yeh hai kai ab kuta bhonk :D koi bhi bhonk toh chup raha :D is
liye kai kaat hee lay toh acha hai :D :D

16 <>name> Aroosa <>date<>02-25-2005 10:06 AM <>utterance> oeYY meti story per bin
koi comment de dorolleyes:

17 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:07 AM <>utterance> Gari mein beth gae
maan liya per gher waley has nail is harket per jasey abhi mein has rahi ho :D :D

18 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:07 AM <>utterance> mein nai ab perha hai :D

19 <>name> Aroosa <>date<>02-25-2005 10:09 AM <>utterance> yeh maine jaan booj ker
nahi likhi :P itna hunse kai jaab bih saab akathie hota issi baat ko cher ker
hunstha :D

20 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:11 AM <>utterance> auf kya kerte yehi
kerne the :D

21 <>name> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 10:12 AM <>utterance> Aroosa behna jee aap ki
story to bohot hi shandar hai .. aap waqai bohot himat ki keh aap bhadra nahi mrah
dogi aap ko ghar chor key ahe :D :D :D

22 <>name> Aroosa <>date<>02-25-2005 10:13 AM <>utterance> khairr ...saab ko pat
hai kai sair per jaab jang hai to , isne chahtri saath rakin bas :P

23 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:13 AM <>utterance> toh gari sai toh uttaray
nahi the gadi :D :D

24 <>name> Aroosa <>date<>02-25-2005 10:14 AM <>utterance> :D :D haaa, aur pihr mai
hospital mai ussi dog kai Phoolou kai Guidaaste ka intezar kert :o :D

25 <>name> Aroosa <>date<>02-25-2005 10:15 AM <>utterance> haa jaab mujhe pata chal
jagy kai dog arahai hai..beshak bandha hug :D, taab bih mai uskai jaan ka intezar
kerti hoon ...

26 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:17 AM <>utterance> amooman larkian kuton
sai darai :D

27 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:17 AM <>utterance> Par bobcut toh deet hee
nahi tikeey ban :D :D kutey kai bhi

28 <>name> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 10:18 AM <>utterance> bilkol sahi kaha :D :D

29 <>name> Aroosa <>date<>02-25-2005 10:19 AM <>utterance> :D :P yeh to hai

30 <>name> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 10:20 AM <>utterance> hum bob behna qasai hai
kia :mad: :D :cool:

31 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:24 AM <>utterance> ALLAH usey khush rakheyaa
bohat achi bachi hai

32 <>name> Worthless <>date<>02-25-2005 10:24 AM <>utterance> Qasai nahi pata cook hai
:D

33 <>name> FARHAN SHAHZAD <>date<>02-25-2005 11:26 AM <>utterance> haaaan kuteebaki
to mujh se bari purani dusumai hai jahan bhi mujhey dekh letey :D

34 <>name> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 11:52 AM <>utterance> phir :eek:
.....ghoorna shucco ker deekey :D :D :D

35 <>name> ~*Kinara*~ <>date<>02-25-2005 12:00 PM <>utterance> humm...aisa to khair
khabi nahn how :D kay peechey bhag :D :haan aghar aisa :D to :s main wahaan bhag :D :D

36 <>name> ~*Kinara*~ <>date<>02-25-2005 12:02 PM <>utterance> phir :eek:
jitna taz bhag :D :D :D

37 <>name> FARHAN SHAHZAD <>date<>02-25-2005 12:19 PM <>utterance> :D :D phir
.....kuch nahi..... haaaaaaaaaaaaannnnnnnn phirye hu.....
.....phir main aagey aagey awr kuta peechey
aysa sirf aik dafa huwaus waqt main chootekutey ne mujhey
itna bhag :D min kabhi nahi bhool saktalakin main kutey k haath nahi ayeeka
.....Main ne aik khaleya main chilang lagde :D :D :D :D :D :D :D :D

38 <>name> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 12:25 PM <>utterance> :eek: itna doosandi to
sans phool :D :D :D :D :cool: is sey to behtr hai keh aap os sey daareen nahi
:) our Jota nikal kr osey dra deen woh khed hi bnaaj jaey :cool: :rolleyes:

39 <>name> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 12:29 PM <>utterance> wah wa Farhan bhai :) app
to merathan rase jeet sakte :D bohot achi batte batte aap ney think pa jee

40 <>name> ~*Kinara*~ <>date<>02-25-2005 12:30 PM <>utterance> nahn na aisla to main
khabi nahn kar samangal mujhay Us say buhat dar lajwai bancha bhi :D :cool: das foot
door rahe us say phir bhi dar rahi :D :D :D :D :D

kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 12:35 PM <>utterance> halahahaha lekin :D :D :D itna drin
achi baat hai kiaa :cool:

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

41 <>name<> FARHAN SHAHZAD <>date<>02-25-2005 12:36 PM <>utterance<> zara nawaizi ka

shukriyalakin khalid bhai ager aap phley batate to main merathan main hisa

zaroor leehwaseey meri door bhi kafi teez hai

42 <>name<> kumazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 12:40 PM <>utterance<> humm good Farhan pa jee :)

agli bar sahi .. himat-e-mardan maddad-koda

43 <>name<> ~*Kinnara*~ <>date<>02-25-2005 12:44 PM <>utterance<> ab kya ~~kesaki~~ :-

s lagta to hia na :D :rolleyes:

44 <>name<> DesiPower <>date<>02-25-2005 12:46 PM <>utterance<> humm interesting thread

once mayen apni pyari pyari 125 per tha aur aik kutta jo kay shakal say he kutta

lagta th yani big DOG. aur lagta tha pagal ~~o~~ ~~ga~~ key, bike per merey peechay laga

bhagnay yani dikhay la apna kutrapam bus meri Lahori rag phatki mayen nay bike ko

bhagaya aur kuch dayer agey ja kay ~~bike mo~~ and than kuta agey agey aur mayen

peechay peechay :) 5 minutes khaila phir dil bhar ~~ba~~ than kutta apni gal aur Desi

apni gal lolz

45 <>name<> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 12:54 PM <>utterance<> bohot khob Lahori pa jee.

achi our mazedar story hai :)

46 <>name<> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 12:59 PM <>utterance<> humm sahi :rolleyes: :)

47 <>name<> Al-Qaida <>date<>02-25-2005 01:08 PM <>utterance<> Mein kuttey ~~ko~~ ya to bush

~~ki~~ tasveer dikhoun ga ke terey dost ka janen walahoun ya ussey ~~mazkrat~~ ki dawat

~~mera~~ aur without fight masael ka hal talashkaran..... :D

48 <>name<> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 01:18 PM <>utterance<> hanahahahahaha bohot hi

ondah baat kahi Al-Qaida bhai maza aageman say wah wa :D :D

49 <>name<> Ambreen <>date<>02-25-2005 01:22 PM <>utterance<> ufffff bob cut jab mein

shooti thi mere pechay wagi dogi lag gaya ~~the~~ Jab mein school se wapis aa ~~rahat~~ ~~the~~

i was 10 years oldmein batta ~~nahin~~ ~~sakta~~ kiya halat thi meri aur maze ki

bat dogi se bhi ziada teez bhagr ~~rabil~~ ~~the~~ mein.... Mahala

50 <>name<> Al-Qaida <>date<>02-25-2005 01:27 PM <>utterance<> thank y mr azizi

<>name<> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 01:28 PM <>utterance<> hahahaha nice. is ka

matlab hai app bhi merathan rase jeet ~~jaisa~~ :D :D :D good

52 <>name<> kmazizi <>date<>02-25-2005 01:31 PM <>utterance<> you are welcome pa jee

<>name<> FARZAN SHAHZAD <>date<>02-25-2005 01:45 PM <>utterance<> haaaaan shukriya

khalid bhai

54 <>name<> Masood <>date<>02-25-2005 02:50 PM <>utterance<> Mujhey bachpan mein aik

~~jeon~~ kahi ~~na~~ : cool:

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

54 baar kuttey ney kattha aur woh nishaan aik muddat tak rahtha (shukar 14 teekey

nahn lagway ~~bar~~ ~~bar~~ wact :D). Phir jab taqreban 14-15 to yahan par aik bobat

badey German kuttey ney hamla kya tha... bas Ji meri to jaisey jaan hi nikal gei

(badi mushkil sey jaan ko wapis laya tha :P). Ab mujhey janwaron mein siraf issi

kuttey key bachey :D ka khof hai. Agar peechay ~~key~~ to kya kareey?.... apni

istida mein jo kuchh ~~ha~~ ~~saka~~ - mukkey, thuddey :D aur *phir bhi¹ kaamyab na huwa to

baqi kaam kutty hil kar ~~the~~ :rolleyes:

55 <>name<> Ambreen <>date<>02-25-2005 03:10 PM <>utterance<> hahaha.....sahi kaha

ap ap ne baqi ki tu kutta hi ~~Jan~~

56 <>name<> Ambreen <>date<>02-25-2005 03:11 PM <>utterance<> agar aap ke Peechay kuta

kutta chor di ~~jae~~ tu... :cool:

57 <>name<> zaalim <>date<>02-25-2005 04:23 PM <>utterance<> agar aap ke Peechay ~~lag~~ ~~jaaven~~ jab aap kuttay ke

lagay to aap ko chahiye ke aap bhi kuttay ke peechay lag jaayen ge to kutta samjhay ga ke aap us se bhi baray kuttay hain.

peechay lag jaayen ge to kutta dar kar bhaag jaave ga. yeh mazaq nahi hai balkay sanjeda mashwara

lehaaza kutta dar kar bhaag jaave ga. yeh mazaq nahi hai balkay sanjeda mashwara

hai.

58 <>name<> Al-Qaida <>date<>02-25-2005 05:04 PM <>utterance<> Koi na mano yeh merwaay

gamera mashwara best hai :rolleyes:

59 <>name<> DesiPower <>date<>02-25-2005 05:31 PM <>utterance<> kya karun ager bike na

hot to aaj meri story tak na hot storis mayen : (

60 <>name<> zaalim <>date<>02-25-2005 06:09 PM <>utterance<> mera mashwara aazma ke

dekho. azmaish short hai. aur main ne shuru mein hi keh dia ~~tha~~ ke main mazaq nahi

kar ~~rahi~~ ~~baikay~~ sanjeeda mashwara de ~~rahat~~ ~~the~~

61 <>name<> Al-Qaida <>date<>02-25-2005 06:19 PM <>utterance<> han azmao

sab.....mein nehi azmaungacha ~~azmanay~~ ke band ~~16~~ injections

~~lai~~:rolleyes:

62 <>name<> afshansiraj <>date<>02-25-2005 11:46 PM <>utterance<> yaa Allah larki yeh

kiya pouch ~~raf~~ ~~the~~ .eek: .Allah naa ~~ka~~ ~~kesse~~ ke saah ~~aess~~ .wasse mujhevi

nn se bohut der bhi legay ~~the~~ :eek: bhi mere saath tu aessa kuch nahi how

lakin doosru se saath aessa ho ~~the~~ zaroor dhekha ~~hai~~ :D :D ~~kafay~~ tu woh

bataduuuum :cool:

63 <>name<> Ambreen <>date<>02-26-2005 12:18 AM <>utterance<> ji ji bataye sun raha

~~jeon~~ kahi ~~na~~ : cool:

H. 801
802
803
804
805
806

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt
17/11/2006

64 <>name:> shy <>date:>02-26-2005 12:20 AM <>utterance:> toba he monster ye kia sawal
kia tum ne :D laghe tumhen koi taza taza tajurba ~~ha~~ :P :D mera tajurba is bare
me ye he ke aik dafa ham sab walk kar rahi, door se aik sahab aya nazer ~~ay~~ in ke
sath ye bara sa dogy wo us ki zanjeer pakre use walk karwa rahi. (mujhe apne
dogy ke elawa sab dogies se khof aya to me apni side se hat kar dusri taraf ho gai
or us dogy ne shaad ye harkat karti mujhe dekha lia :rolleyes: jab hamare kareeb se
guzzi wo dono to achanak wo dogy seeds side change kar ke meri taraf lapka, or jump
mara us ne me ne itni zor se cheekh mari :o or jo log saath the un ke pеechе chup
ghuse se un sabab ko pata nahi kia kuch suna ~~da~~ us waqt meri tangen mare khof ke
larz rah ~~the~~ dil ki itni speed ~~th~~ ke shaad koi race hota to wo jeet ~~data~~
:rolleyes: :o

65 <>name:> Ambreen <>date:>02-26-2005 12:26 AM <>utterance:> shy jii aap zanjeer se
jakre dogy se dar ~~the~~ :rolleyes: humen dekh ~~ha~~ hum per azad desh ke azad dog ne humla
kiya t :o haaa sehmi hoi :o

66 <>name:> shy <>date:>02-26-2005 12:30 AM <>utterance:> zanjeer me to ~~the~~ per us ne
muji per attack to ~~the~~ :rolleyes: itni zor zor se bhonk ~~the~~ meri taraf lapak
ke, meri to jaan hi naikil ~~the~~ thi :o

67 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 12:51 AM <>utterance:> (ab mujha dog z
ki naaseyaat bni jaan hogi : (hahahaaaaaaa mabadolat aap dog kay pechey kyon
hotela ~~ha~~ bhai :rolleyes: ab tu bechiarey ka pecha chor ~~dein~~ akhir ko oss na apni
ghaltati maan hi ~~ha~~ :D :D :D

68 <>name:> kmazizi <>date:>02-26-2005 01:11 AM <>utterance:> hmm. okey sahi hai bob
behna. ab to woh bacchrey dorsey dekh ka dom daba kr bhag jate ~~ha~~ :D ;) :cool:

69 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 01:15 AM <>utterance:>
hahahaaaaaaa bara mazah aya wasay dog na phaley school kay door main
tum ko dara ~~ha~~ phir os na college kay door main oss na kaha ~~chall~~ ab dekha ~~ha~~ :P :cool:
Aroosa darti ha kay nahin or tum phir bhi dar ~~dein~~ but DOG shayaad kuch aya ~~ha~~ oss
na sirf darmay say kaam laga wasay pakistan aya tu DOG'z say aasi koi umeed na
rakinha kiyon kay yahan kay dog ~~zzzzzzzzzzzzz~~ :mad:

70 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 01:17 AM <>utterance:> bahah gee bhai
dog'z ko bhi tu apni jaan deyari hti ha na:D:D

71 <>name:> knuzizi <>date:>02-26-2005 01:23 AM <>utterance:> humm sahi hai. ab app ko

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt
17/11/2006

71 yaqeen aya ~~ha~~ :D :P :cool: lenaza again aesa ho to kabhi bhagya mat okey :cool: worna kota
sheeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeer :D
72 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 01:35 AM <>utterance:> hummmmm mujha bhi
aasa hi lag ~~ha~~ ha yani dog kay roob main koei aat hi nahi ha : (aaeyy tu changi
gaal nahi ~~ha~~ : (bechara dog itni mahamat karti ~~ha~~ hum par roob dali ~~ha~~ ki or hum
hain kay ~~darb~~ ~~ha~~ nahi : (

73 <>name:> kmazizi <>date:>02-26-2005 01:37 AM <>utterance:> hahahahahaha. bob mojhey
to aesa lagta hai keh app ney. kisi degi doctore key pass bheeji kr rokda (Rs) 50 %50 kiehey
...keh logoon ko kooton sey dra kr docotore key pass bheeji kr rokda (Rs) 50 %50 kiehey
jaeen hain na :eek: :D

74 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 01:36 AM <>utterance:> humm pata chal gaya
wasay main kahin bhi jati hon ~~ha~~ apni ammi or bhai kay saath hi jati hon tu ammi
koein tu zahir ~~ha~~ wo tu meeraysaath bhagay ~~ha~~ nahi tu main bhi nahi bhagay
: (or agar bhiyon main say koei ~~ha~~ tu kotteyyyyyy ko aapni kismaat par rona
aae ~~ha~~ kay kiss pas hamla kar di ~~ha~~ :D :D :D

75 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 01:39 AM <>utterance:> aap na mijha pagal
samjha ~~ha~~ :mad: arey main tu 85% say kam ki baat hi nahi ~~ha~~ :D:D
76 <>name:> kmazizi <>date:>02-26-2005 01:42 AM <>utterance:> Jhoopooooocooocoo bob our
dar...2 motazad baeeem ~~ha~~ :rolleyes: bob to qasai hai qasai. Yeh to har kisi ki
tiki boti kr dey ~~ha~~ :D koteey ki kia majal key key bob pr hamla ~~ha~~ :D :cool:
bob to khod eek sheeeeeeeeer hai :cool:

77 <>name:> kmazizi <>date:>02-26-2005 01:47 AM <>utterance:> :eek:
achaaaaaaa ~~ha~~ . isi wajah sey ham ko ~~chall~~ :rolleyes: :cool:
78 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 02:03 AM <>utterance:> :mad: hain kaat hi
lay tu acha ha main apnay mohaleey kay kotley ko aap ka address day kar bheeji rahi hon
shaam 5 bajeeay aap ko ~~kaat~~ ~~ha~~ humara ~~DOG~~ :P thik ha :D
79 <>name:> Bobcut_monster <>date:>02-26-2005 02:15 AM <>utterance:>
ahhahahahchchchchchchchch :D :D arey sara kasoor DOG'z ka tu nahi ~~ha~~ na aap na
bhi DOG'z ki shan main koei na koei gustakhii ki hi hogi ab bat ~~ha~~ tu na
nataey..... :rolleyes:<>name:> naveedirshad <>date:>02-26-2005 02:16 AM
<>utterance:> :rolleyes: :rolleyes: yeh kaisa thread hai?? :rolleyes: :rolleyes:

chalo jawab deyadele ~~ha~~ main khara ho jaon ~~ha~~ aur us sey fermash karon ga k main

060427agar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

79 apk family main sey nahn hoon leaza meri jaan bakhshi ker deghe pizzzzzzz . aur
ager us ney kat liya tu mujhey 14 teekey lagaygain aur kuttay ko 28 ;)

80 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-26-2005 02:22 AM <>utterance>>
hahahaaaaaaa :D wasay iss silgelay mian km kay mashwarey parh lay :D :D :D
kam aa :D :D :D :D

81 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-26-2005 02:41 AM <>utterance>> :D :D :D :D :D
yani lahore rug sahi wadt par pharki :D anyways mazah aya aap kay viewz parh kar :D

82 <>name>> mindless <>date<>02-26-2005 02:48 AM <>utterance>> array bhai kerak
hey... kutey to kutey hi hottiehead na... uske baad jo kemna dooga wo kutey na

83 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-26-2005 03:00 AM <>utterance>> hahahaaaaa waki iss
say tu Dog_kay hoosh our jaeyn gay :D:D akhir dog bhi jandar ha oos ko bhi bush wosh
jesi chezaiai borilagti hon gi :D

84 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-26-2005 03:05 AM <>utterance>> : (: (:D
hahahaaaaaaa ahahahahaaaaaaa bonaat nazah aaya amber aap kay viewz parh kar
but aap ki raftar the ktni andazan :rolleyes: ya iss liya poche hay kay agar kafi hi

85 <>name>> ziyadhan thi tu agley olympic main tum ko pakistan say reasing mokabla :main bneej
datan_gay koei tu iss manlaiy main PAKISTAN ka naam roshan karey : (: D : D : D
<>name>> Ambreen <>date<>02-26-2005 03:09 AM <>utterance>> janab meri raftar ka
andaza aap ko us waqt tak nahin heea jab tak eke adad kutta aap ke pechey nahn doee
ga :p ji ji bilkul hum pehly bhi farma chuke bain ager humare pechey kutta lega diva
jiletu dekha tumhari amber world cup jeet ker hee_gi :cool:

86 <>name>> Aik_lerki <>date<>02-26-2005 03:10 AM <>utterance>> uff nahee monster :eek:
ma to aisa sooch bhe :rolleyes: (pata nahe phir kia hogd ager aisa hea to mera
to heart fail ho jaayga shayad : (:o :o

87 <>name>> Ambreen <>date<>02-26-2005 03:13 AM <>utterance>> nahn bhi aap bhi wold cup
jeet jaen gis meri tatha :cool:

88 <>name>> Aik_lerki <>date<>02-26-2005 03:18 AM <>utterance>> nahee yar :o mai to kuch
ker bne nahe sake :rolleyes: der ky maay : (:o

89 <>name>> Sareena Khan <>date<>02-26-2005 04:01 AM <>utterance>> Bhanjji Dara ker rakh
dryay :o kahing tum ne koi kutta tu nahi book kewaliya kaatne ke livee :eek:
..... ya phir koi aur dhang ka sawaal nahi Milaa :D :D well khuda ka Shukar hai
kabhi aessa Hadsa ha , nahi hai.....) lekin mujh per tu Larzaa taari :rolleyes:

060427agar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

89 .hai k Agar aessa :rolleyes: tu kiyaa hogaa.. :o :o :confused: hum chal :rolleyes: lag_gaya
Kutaa peechey aao mein aessa Kewal :rolleyes: bhagge se tu koi faida nahi hogaa... Bus

Kutaa ko dawatnana doongri k Dog Jee ker loo aapa kaun koun mehnut kare itna bhagee
akhir kaar kaat ker hi :rolleyes: khud ko kutwa Joongi :o :o :D phir dhare mar maar
ke :rolleyes: phir 24 injections :rolleyes: chila ghuila ke aur tum tu hakeem Saniba

90 <>name>> Aroosa <>date<>02-26-2005 04:08 AM <>utterance>> kya kerrey :rolleyes: waha kai
dogss :confused: :o khada :rolleyes: kya :o

91 <>name>> Sareena Khan <>date<>02-26-2005 05:11 AM <>utterance>> Aray Masood bhai aik
baat tu :rolleyes: Masood bhai k akhir kutton ki aap se yaa aap ko kuttu se banti bhai
:rolleyes: aik dafah bhi nahi do dafah :confused: :confused: App ne injections bhi

92 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 03:19 AM <>utterance>> hahahaaaaaaa
arey khala kutey ki majal jo monster ki khala ki taraf deekh kar bhonk :D bhi :mad:
agar kabhi aasa :D tu aap kuttey ko beta :rolleyes: kay monster aap ki bhanji ha or wo
bari dangerous ha tumharey tikey banadaya :D :mad: or khala ji hakeem
injection nahn lagatey :D khaar aap bikar nahin karganagar kuttey
na aap ko kata tu aap ko kuch nahn he ga jo he ga
wo..... :rolleyes: samajh :rolleyes:

93 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 03:41 AM <>utterance>> :D arey nahn nahn
khate :D thori hain :rolleyes: tum aao tu sahi pakistan phir tum ko :rolleyes:
yahen kay dog'z :D :D khud pata chal :rolleyes: kay kiya kar :rolleyes:

94 <>name>> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 03:45 AM <>utterance>> [quote=
navedirshad]:rolleyes: :rolleyes: yeh kaisa thread hai?? :rolleyes: :rolleyes:
chalo Jawab :rolleyes: main khra ho Jsoon ga aur us sey Fermanish kasseeng :D main
apki family main sey nahn heen lehaza mei jaan bakshi ker deghe plzzzzzzz. aur
ager us ney kat liya tu mujhey 14 teekey lagaygain aur kuttay ko 28 ;) hahahaaaaa :D
:D :D :D :D

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

<>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 04:09 AM <>utterance<> : (hum kuch kar hi

nahn sakheyy. : (

96 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 04:12 AM <>utterance<> Mujhey tou dogs sey daa
hi nahe lag.

97 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 04:20 AM <>utterance<>

hainnnnnnnnnnnnnn :gek: arey dear ya tu kee baat nahn hoo ga! tu dog or
da maseyye : iss liya bajay iss kay kay dog rub daay oss say phaley hi aap khud oss
par rub dal day :D mazed maloomaat kay liya km bhai or wortless bhi kay view parhey
shukreya :D:D:D

98 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 04:31 AM <>utterance<> :eek: :eek: acha tu
phir dog'z aap say dam gay henna :D :D

99 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 04:32 AM <>utterance<> Pata nahe aap ko kaisey
pata.

100 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 04:52 AM <>utterance<> ji ji

zaroorrrrrrrrrr hum hamatan goosh hain:D:D:Dor aap tu khargoosh henna aap

subaswam D

101 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 04:55 AM <>utterance<> :D bass bhai

muin na bata diya na kay kal aap kay mohallay kay kuttay nahn mujha
battaya henna kay wo aap say bohaat adrittey henna tu aap on kutton ko bi dey gaye kay

mian na aap ko bata diya tu kuttey mujh par bhi hamlah kar sakheyy : () :)

samjha kareyn :D

102 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 04:58 AM <>utterance<> Mery mohalev main kuthay

henna hii nahe aap ko ghalat fehmil henna :)

103 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 05:11 AM <>utterance<> areyyyyyyyyy kal

mujha eik kutta milla tha kha taba henna ali bhi kay mohalev say aay henna ali bhai

barey hi dangerion hain :D:D:D:D

104 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 05:14 AM <>utterance<> Nahie koi meri shikayat

laga gaya henna

105 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 05:19 AM <>utterance<> arey nahn ali bhai

wo tu khara henna kay aap kay ali bhai nay sarey kutton kai naash main dum kya noa

ha hum ko kisi par rub hi nahn dalaay dalaay har waqt hum ko dam gaye henna :D

:D :D :D

106 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 05:24 AM <>utterance<> Acha jii aap k pass kiya

121 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 11:08 AM <>utterance<> hummumum sochey tu

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

106 saboot hai??

107 <>name<> Sareena Khan <>date<>02-27-2005 05:32 AM <>utterance<> Ali bhai aap bobcut
ki baton ka bura henna ! Is ko sunday ke sunday dura parta rehta
hai.....

108 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 05:37 AM <>utterance<> main aadlaat kay
saway oss kuttay ko henna jis na mujha ya baat kahay but wait pizz:D:D:D

109 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 05:43 AM <>utterance<> Acha sis Mujhey nahn
mal@henna Aap ney henna bohat shukriya

110 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 05:47 AM <>utterance<> ali bhai ko pata ha
bob kasi ha :roleyes: bob aasi hi ha jasi wo ha :roleyes: or sunday kay dorey wali
baat tum ko henna :roleyes:

111 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 05:47 AM <>utterance<> Aab adalat bhai jana
patey gam??

112 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 05:49 AM <>utterance<> Yanii k yeh baat sach hii
hai

113 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 05:59 AM <>utterance<> or kiya tu aasay hi
kuttey ko henna mad: arey oss nay ghalat itelah dil thi aadlaat tu jaa hoga na
oss ko akhir ko :)

114 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-27-2005 06:03 AM <>utterance<> Chailey thek hai aap ko
mera pm mil??

115 <>name<> only4lovers <>date<>02-27-2005 08:11 AM <>utterance<> Rabhee moka mil hi
nabi hai Ager aisa henna too Yaggenan Thread Start henna Walay ko henna : (k us
nay aaisa kia henna :)

116 <>name<> only4lovers <>date<>02-27-2005 08:12 AM <>utterance<> :eek:
Kaha k Ali Bhai Mean k /><>name<> only4lovers <>date<>02-27-2005 08:15 AM <>utterance<> Ager nahi hain Too

Raat ko mbray pichay kon bhagay henna :eek:

118 <>name<> only4lovers <>date<>02-27-2005 08:16 AM <>utterance<> Yani k Dog nay aap ko

utterance<> Samajh nahi henna k Ali ko Bhai kon Keh-henna

119 <>name<> only4lovers <>date<>02-27-2005 08:17 AM <>utterance<> Kon hoo sakha henna

120 <>name<> only4lovers <>date<>02-27-2005 08:19 AM <>utterance<> Or aap ko henna k
Friday ko Padta hai aray Sirf Sochay henna nahi :roleyes:

121 zarah kon ~~hi~~^{hi}~~sakheesha~~ rolleyes: koei jan pechan ka Dog ~~lagta baha~~:D
122 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-27-2005 11:18 AM <>utterance<> hummmmm :mad: ab
pata chal gaya na ab sub sunday ko mujh say ~~darskayhaan~~^{darshana} :D
warnaaaaaaa :D

123 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-28-2005 09:34 AM <>utterance<> Warna kiya???

124 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>02-28-2005 09:38 AM <>utterance<> kuch nahin :D :D :D
:D

125 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>02-28-2005 09:42 AM <>utterance<> Door k dhool ~~chalev~~^{chalev} :D
<>name<> mindless <>date<>03-01-2005 01:08 AM <>utterance<> arey wasey mein ne ~~sun~~^{sun}

126 ~~hey~~ ke ager kuta same ~~3~~³ ~~3~~³ der ker ~~bhagneke~~^{bhagneke} bajekherna ho jang chahing kuta
khud hi der ker ~~bhagnejaga~~^{bhagnejaga} (SOCHY GA KE YEH MERE SEY BHI BERA KON AA GIA) wase Kutta
jo hey wo inaan mein knoof kie bo songh le ~~le~~^{le} aur siref unkohi katta ~~hey~~^{hey} jo us
sey ~~chahing~~^{chahing}...
127 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-01-2005 08:17 AM <>utterance<> Arey Bob sis Aap ney
ba ~~te~~^{te} nahie k kutey ki paishii kab hai???

128 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-02-2005 09:05 AM <>utterance<> :eek: :eek: :eek:
129 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-03-2005 07:27 AM <>utterance<> Yeh cartoon kaisey???

130 <>name<> nice man <>date<>03-03-2005 07:37 AM <>utterance<> han g on ka
<>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-03-2005 07:50 AM <>utterance<> hahah kiya matlab
kasay asay :eek: or kasay :D arey bhai ya aap kay mohawron ki wagha say ad kiyatha

131 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-03-2005 11:12 AM <>utterance<> Acha yeh bat ~~bat~~^{bat} kutey ka
kiya bana

133 <>name<> zindagee <>date<>03-05-2005 10:18 AM <>utterance<> .. kiyoun tum khud say
nahin pata ~~lajha sakheesha~~^{lajha sakheesha} kai kuttay ka kia hua ... tum ko har baat ~~batan~~^{batan} paday

134 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-06-2005 09:44 AM <>utterance<> Aap kutey ka kutey ~~ko~~^{ko}
pata hoo gaa mujhey kiya pata

135 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-06-2005 11:15 PM <>utterance<> hmm abhi tu kuch
nahin bana soch rahi hon oss kay bhi
tik.....:D:D:D

136 <>name<> zindagee <>date<>03-07-2005 02:31 AM <>utterance<> laiakn tum ko kiyoun
nahin pata hai ???

137 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-07-2005 02:44 AM <>utterance<> Main dog thori hoon joo
hai aus ko pouchoo

138 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-07-2005 09:35 AM <>utterance<> ji thik ~~dhawany~~^{dhawany}
hahen ali bhi :) dog say pocho jo pochha ha OK :)

139 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-07-2005 09:38 AM <>utterance<> haan tou aisi liye tou
pouch raha hoon

140 <>name<> sufyan_khan <>date<>03-07-2005 09:40 AM <>utterance<> arry kiyay dha ~~gushtaa~~^{gushtaa} phir
pata hai kya no man tree par ~~the~~^{the} aur dog nich :D phir 1 ghanta tree par ~~leka~~^{leka}
pata hai kya no man tree par ~~the~~^{the} aur dog nich :D phir 1 ghanta tree par ~~leka~~^{leka}
pata hai Sach maza ~~ga~~^{ga} :D

141 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-07-2005 09:48 AM <>utterance<>
hahahhaaaaaaaaaa hoho cheheheheen bara afsocoos ~~baa~~^{baa} bhi: () :D:D
<>name<> sufyan_khan <>date<>03-07-2005 09:54 AM <>utterance<> ab afsos ~~baa~~^{baa} say
kiya ho ga ???:o nona ~~baa~~^{baa} wo to ~~baa~~^{baa} :p

142 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-08-2005 02:11 AM <>utterance<> nahn tum iss say ~~soot~~^{soot}
~~soot~~^{soot} .. n bus :mad:

143 <>name<> zindagee <>date<>03-08-2005 02:43 AM <>utterance<> kai ab dog se kia ~~pooshaal~~^{pooshaal}
zindgi bhean

144 <>name<> nice_man <>date<>03-08-2005 02:43 AM <>utterance<> kai ab dog se kia ~~pooshaal~~^{pooshaal}

145 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-08-2005 05:50 AM <>utterance<> hum ya bhi thik ha
:D :D

146 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-09-2005 07:31 AM <>utterance<> Kiya kaha
:D :D

147 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-09-2005 07:50 AM <>utterance<> :d:d:d:d

148 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-09-2005 07:53 AM <>utterance<> hehehe

149 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-09-2005 08:30 AM <>utterance<> hohoho :D

150 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-10-2005 08:43 AM <>utterance<> hahahah

151 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-11-2005 05:10 AM <>utterance<> arey ya kiyay boraha
ha_bhi :rolleyes:

152 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-11-2005 08:00 AM <>utterance<> Joo aap ker rahi hon

153 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-11-2005 08:11 AM <>utterance<> :D :D :D wasay agar
dog'z ko pata chal ~~gaya~~^{gaya} kay hum on par itna has ~~gheeyhaan~~^{gheeyhaan} tu wo

154 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-12-2005 02:51 AM <>utterance<> heheheheh

155 <>name<> bestweb <>date<>03-12-2005 04:50 AM <>utterance<> Good

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

156 <>name<> sufyani_khan <>date<>03-12-2005 04:56 AM <>utterance<> thek nahi bilkul theek
hai ;)

157 <>name<> M_A_S_T <>date<>03-12-2005 05:05 AM <>utterance<> bobcut ji _ jis tarha ap
ne kaha hai _ mere khail main yeh kaam to BUSH bhi aaj kal kar ~~rehabai~~ _ aap
aaj kal us ke bare main thread shuru :eek: :D :D :D <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>
03-16-2005 08:35 AM <>utterance<> :eek: :eek: :seek: acha thik ha bhai
..... : (

158 <>name<> Dil <>date<>03-16-2005 08:41 AM <>utterance<> humm iss barey main to socha
~~ya~~ .. :rolleyes:

159 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-16-2005 08:47 AM <>utterance<> humm arey bhai_idea
tu acha ha ...thanxxx but aap kyon nahin start kartey new thread arey bhai aap khud
bhi ~~ya~~thread start ~~ya~~ but agar aap nahin ~~karey~~ tu ~~ya~~ main kar
don gi:)

160 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-16-2005 08:54 AM <>utterance<> : (tu ab ~~ya~~ main
kahn ya ~~ya~~ dog :eek:

161 <>name<> diya <>date<>03-16-2005 09:29 AM <>utterance<> pata nahi kya ~~ya~~ ~~ya~~ ~~ya~~
to soch kar hi darr ~~ya~~ :P

162 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-16-2005 10:06 AM <>utterance<> :eek: aarey aarey
daroo nahin sis aap tu monster ki sis ~~ya~~ aap ko bahadur ~~ya~~ :D

163 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-17-2005 08:14 AM <>utterance<> Arey Dog ka kiva bana

164 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-17-2005 08:22 AM <>utterance<> :D :D hahaha wooo
tu daar ~~ya~~ hum logon say : D :D :D

165 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-17-2005 08:25 AM <>utterance<> Aap ko kis ne ~~ya~~
<>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-17-2005 08:48 AM <>utterance<> main na oss ko dar
~~ya~~ cool: :P kha raha tha monster mujha ~~ya~~ :main
tumhein toffee don ga :D

167 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-17-2005 08:49 AM <>utterance<> yanii k aap ~~ya~~ :main
~~ya~~

168 <>name<> diya <>date<>03-19-2005 04:34 AM <>utterance<> to phir theek hai mein usai
tumhara bata kar khud side par ~~ya~~ :D tum nipat ~~ya~~ us sai :P

169 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-19-2005 06:25 AM <>utterance<> :eek: :eek: acha
sel a dia ..diya tu na : (

170 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-19-2005 07:03 AM <>utterance<> nahin tuu :o abhi
~~ya~~ baba ~~ya~~ kud us say Aige Aige ~~ya~~ :main

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.lall.txt

17/11/2006

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.iall.txt

17/11/2006

- 185 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-20-2005 08:02 AM <>utterance<> hmm wasay dog ko bhi akal ~~hmm~~^{ayy} mearray kheval say... akhir woo aap kay ya kisi or kay pechey ~~rage~~^{ayy} confused: dog ko apni ya dogon wali aadat ~~badal~~^{ne} kiyon thik kaha na main na :confused: :D :D :P
- 186 <>name<> innocent <>date<>03-21-2005 05:16 AM <>utterance<> nhain gii mera dog nahin katta woh to cat sy bhi ~~arrang~~^{bhai} rolleyes:
- 187 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 05:20 AM <>utterance<> hein jiiiiiiiiiiiiiii... woh dog hi hay naaaa..... agar meere pichay dog laga na.. to main.... side per ~~hmm~~^{ayy} usay ~~hmm~~^{ayy}..... tum hi jeet ja... ne har ~~mess~~^{ayy}
- 188 <>name<> innocent <>date<>03-21-2005 05:46 AM <>utterance<> ARY sidra jii phir bhi ager dong ~~ayy~~^{ayy} many too aap kia ~~King~~^{King} gill..... :rolleyes:
- 189 <>name<> TheMask <>date<>03-21-2005 05:58 AM <>utterance<> Ji Too per App Samadate ~~hmm~~^{ayy} APne Relitives Ko :D :D (Joke)
- 190 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-21-2005 06:04 AM <>utterance<> hahahaha nice topic bobcut bachi... meray saath ~~hmm~~^{ayy} waqaya may ~~likheeng~~^{ayy} zaroor baat ~~ayy~~^{ayy} kam az kam dog ko tu dog ~~hmm~~^{ayy} or aap ka dog cat's say ~~gara~~^{ayy} ha :(
- 191 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 06:24 AM <>utterance<> :seek: :(ya kiya k1_gaal ~~ayy~~^{ayy} kam az kaam dog ko eik chamata tu ~~hmm~~^{ayy} tum koo :(:) :P :D
- 193 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-21-2005 06:28 AM <>utterance<> acha babloo gabloo ye bakao kay tum Dog say ~~deewsh~~^{ayy} ???
- 194 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 06:30 AM <>utterance<> lo jius ne na katna ho to bhi kaat lay.....or main janweron pr hath rhokhatey.... D :rolleyes: main hath ~~g~~^{ayy}.. woh mera hath hi sath ~~javay~~^{ayy} to. mera ~~ki~~^{ayy} ~~babay~~^{ayy} gaaaaaa
- 195 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 06:31 AM <>utterance<> DOG se.....nhil to.woh mujhay ~~ayy~~^{ayy} :P
- 196 <>name<> Aliakbeer <>date<>03-21-2005 06:32 AM <>utterance<> Woh dogsey nahie tumsey ~~ayy~~^{ayy} darrti hai<>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 06:33 AM <>utterance<> hanah loo bhi muth parhi direct humla ~~hmm~~^{ayy} :
- 197 <>name<> Abdullanthegreat <>date<>03-21-2005 06:34 AM <>utterance<> :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: Amni :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek: :eek:

060427aagar.aap.ke.pechey.kotta.lag.jaey.v3.iall.txt

17/11/2006

- 198 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 06:35 AM <>utterance<> :eek: :eek: :eek: ap indirectly,kia kenna channay hein.....kidding
- 199 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 06:37 AM <>utterance<> ooooo chacha ji..mirror main apni shakal dekh ker daaR gla..... ~~ayy~~^{ayy} moon.. shisha kam ~~ayy~~^{ayy} keoooo... :P :D
- 200 <>name<> Aliakbeer <>date<>03-21-2005 06:37 AM <>utterance<> Joo aap ~~santhi~~^{ayy} 201 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 06:38 AM <>utterance<> hmm thankKKOO: ji ji zacoor ~~hmm~~^{ayy} sub intezar main ~~hmm~~^{ayy} key aap kay saath ~~ayy~~^{ayy} :rolleyes: :D :D :D
- 202 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 06:39 AM <>utterance<> u know ma.sanjnay ke liveh aik cheez ~~ayy~~^{ayy} na... woh to hay hi nhi...ka ~~ayy~~^{ayy} maoin :(:rolleyes: :P
- 203 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-21-2005 06:39 AM <>utterance<> O nahi babiloo gablio... ye baat nahi hay ... agar may sheesha dekh ~~ayy~~^{ayy} to Sheesha meray hussan bardast nahi ~~ayy~~^{ayy} aur toot ~~ayy~~^{ayy} ... may to is liya hairan ~~ayy~~^{ayy} may tuharee asiati ~~ayy~~^{ayy} jaan ~~ayy~~^{ayy}... aur der bhi ~~ayy~~^{ayy} ab tou :(
- 204 <>name<> Plucky <>date<>03-21-2005 06:40 AM <>utterance<> Bobcut_monster sahab, main aap ko he call ~~ayy~~^{ayy}, kyun kay kutta ~~ayy~~^{ayy} hai aap ka vagif hai, jo sub key peechay ~~ayy~~^{ayy} magar aap kay peechay ~~ayy~~^{ayy} .. :))
- 205 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 06:40 AM <>utterance<> :D :D :D
- 206 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-21-2005 06:41 AM <>utterance<> Aray bara maza ~~ayy~~^{ayy} humaree Gathering aik taraf aur Dogs ke gathering aik taraf.... hum log agay kuray humaree ~~ayy~~^{ayy}. may Roman urdu may ~~tarsheel~~^{ayy} say ~~ayy~~^{ayy}..
- 207 <>name<> Aliakbeer <>date<>03-21-2005 06:42 AM <>utterance<> yani k aap k pass dimagh name ki koi cheez nahie hai.
- 208 <>name<> Aliakbeer <>date<>03-21-2005 06:42 AM <>utterance<> Amii Amii Yeh joo tasweer main baba hai naa Bhadoooo
- 209 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 06:43 AM <>utterance<> mujhay kyun ~~ayy~~^{ayy} hay...meri thori thori ~~ayy~~^{ayy}... or great ji..mind bhi ker ~~ayy~~^{ayy} hein.....sorrirrrryyyyyyy
- 210 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 08:52 AM <>utterance<> hum ya bobcut sahaba waki bareyhsetaan hian.....mad: sub kay pechey dog ~~ayy~~^{ayy} man: mad: but main tu bobcut bahan hon tu main tu aasi nahin hon main tu bohaat achi

210 bachi hoon:D:D:D

211 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 08:54 AM <>utterance<> hahahaha humm wasay ab ya agey pechey wali baat ker key aap na pareshaan kar diya ha radhey bhaiya.. ab

&name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 08:57 AM <>utterance<> arey arey bhi sub coooool ho Jaeyn areyyahan koei kisi ki bazi wasti kharaab nahi karraha or na kei karey Plzzzzzzz we r sister'z & brother's tu sub eik dostray kay saath sirf jaldi say ~~baat~~ kay ~~baat~~ ~~baat~~ :D :D :D

212 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 08:58 AM <>utterance<> arey arey bhi sub coooool ho Jaeyn areyyahan koei kisi ki bazi wasti kharaab nahi karraha or na kei karey Plzzzzzzz we r sister'z & brother's tu sub eik dostray kay saath sirf mazaak karey ok :D

213 <>name<> only4lovers <>date<>03-21-2005 08:59 AM <>utterance<> Us Waqt main thread ko Bola loon ga

214 <>name<> Bobcut_monster <>date<>03-21-2005 09:09 AM <>utterance<> :mad: :mad: :mad: muja zaroor phaswana ha sub naaa :mad:

215 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-21-2005 10:28 AM <>utterance<> hahaha :D .. array meray khayal say app nay suna nahi ye jumla Bisti kero aur ~~KERAAOO~~ tabhi :D

216 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-21-2005 10:32 AM <>utterance<> mujhay pata tha... mind woh kerta hay jis ke pass ho..... ap ke pass to..... :D HAHHAHAAHAA AB AP KE JUMLAH PER AMAL ~~KERAAOO~~ :D

217 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-22-2005 12:59 AM <>utterance<> : confused: :eek:

:cool: :rolleyes: :(:o ... itnee bari bisiti.com :(:(owaainnnnnn owain.... aik masoom say nany munay say bachay ke bisit ~~kerti~~ ~~ho~~ babloo gabloo sharam nahi ati tumay.... Allah ~~pechay~~ ~~ta~~ tumay ... haan...

218 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-22-2005 01:05 AM <>utterance<> 1 Attachment(s)

219 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-22-2005 01:10 AM <>utterance<> U NANA MONA BACHA NHI..... U CHACHAAA :p CHACHA HPO KER RO RHAY HOOCOOOO..... BAD :p ALAY ALAY KHUD HI TO BOLA THA NA..... BISY KERO OR KERVOOO..... PHIR ROO KUN RHAY HOOCOOO :rolleyes: :) SACH HUMESHA KERTA HOTA HAY..... RAT NA..... SACH ~~SUMMER~~ KA HOGILA RALDA ~~SEKHO~~ AENA ANDERRRR :rolleyes: :D SHARUM KI KIA BAAT KI HAY CHACHA :cool: WOH GANA YAD HO GA NA..... SHARUM KAHAN BIKTI HAY..... MAIN BHI KHERIDAR HON KHEREDON GAAA...PATA BATA DOOCOOO :p :p :p :p :p

220 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-22-2005 01:11 AM <>utterance<> AHHAHAHAAHAA HHAHHAHAAA HONHONHONHONHON HEHEHEHEHEHEHEHEHEHEEEEEE ISLIVEH KEHTY HOOCOONNNNN PANGA IS NOT CHANGAMAA :p :D :rolleyes: :cool: ;)

221 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-22-2005 01:21 AM <>utterance<> kon sa Baba :confused:

222 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-22-2005 01:25 AM <>utterance<> Hm to ye baat hay sahi hay babloo gabloo... aj say is baat per Anil shuru BSTI KEROO AUR KERAAOO... ok haan je sach ~~baat~~ ~~baat~~ ~~baat~~ ... jaisa kay tumhay ~~JEGA~~ ~~THAKA~~ sach :D ... but merry kiyal say Babloo gabloo tumharay liya ye waala ~~GANA~~ ~~BANA~~ ~~BANA~~ hay "Aqal kahan bikti ... may bhi ~~dekhedar~~ ~~boon~~ may bhi ~~khasedoosga~~ . pata bata doo na...." heheheh hahahahahah holohohohohoh... lolzzzz :D :p

223 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-22-2005 01:28 AM <>utterance<> han na panga is not changa :D :p wo to tumhay mera reply pernay kay bad pata ~~Chahayenge~~ :D :p

224 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-22-2005 05:07 AM <>utterance<> lo is main kia gusa ~~monay~~ ~~hahahahah~~ ...yeh to main khud ~~KERAAOO~~ ... mere pass aqal nam ki koe fazol cheez nhi hayyyyy... her insan ko apnay haray main pata ~~hotay~~ ... me ko biil pata hay....waise thanx.... ALLAH ka shuker hay us ne mujhe aqal ~~shadi~~ ... warna main tum logon ki terhaaan... ~~heft~~ ~~gehet~~ ...or han us ne itny himat bhi di hay ke ...sach ~~sun sakoso~~ ...cool: :rolleyes: ~~asti kewna~~ ~~or kewna~~ap janab ka formula hay...mera nhi..... :rolleyes: :cool:

225 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-22-2005 05:09 AM <>utterance<> kiun ap ke reply main aisi kia khas bat hay sir..... :rolleyes: :confused:

226 <>name<> Abdullahthegreat <>date<>03-22-2005 06:08 AM <>utterance<> ohhn!.. gabloo gabloo ap nay to sach may mind ~~kerjaya~~ ... sorry :(... sorry agar tumhara dil ~~akha~~ to :.... acha ~~ehro~~ in batoon ko kuch aur bat ~~kerjaya~~ :asyy ~~kerjani~~ noo... :rolleyes:

227 <>name<> innocent <>date<>03-22-2005 08:55 AM <>utterance<> agii sidra sis woh dog hi hai pahr kafi shareef hai na ies liay ab KIA cat bichari ~~kerjana~~ ~~kerjana~~ koi ~~or hona~~

228 <>name<> sidra shah <>date<>03-22-2005 11:13 AM <>utterance<> arey chachaa.....na mind bay na dillllllll i m mind freee+dil :rolleyes: :) jo cheez hay nhi kiun ~~lajjiji~~ ~~lajjiji~~ mind ~~shikia~~... ~~shikli~~ dayr ke liyeh buri ~~lajgi~~... fir set hoo gae....

:rolleyes: :cool: main khud bhi to bohat ~~chachaa~~ ...aisa kamoon main aisa to hota hay :rolleyes: kabhi kerooco... kabhi kervooco... balancehona chayeh kiun rat ~~ha~~; :) :D :p

229 <>name<> Aliakber <>date<>03-23-2005 06:31 AM <>utterance<> Arey kiun kutey bili ki tarha ~~le~~ ~~pechey~~ ~~pechey~~

Ques. Which morph

Wants said for

What do the recessive Agf Ram do to
Cures Surface can't explain
- explanation will serve to

from kuta do ge.

mer kuta dun ga

V8 kuta [de] ger.

ab kuta deno ge

re [te] ga

3rd agreement
hun kuta deno ge

vo mudje toba de
main toba
from use ob
verb do to
turn use hoff PM
die go to
dun toga to
det he ho to
verb do to
top friend

parne lagin
parne lagin
V + moon
Kart lsg
no

to Sans phool ja~~e~~ya app ka jay)

Alka askd pkae diya

taab hih mai uske jaane ka interzaar kash' hdn

[ye]

agr mere piche kuta lag jaye to

if

my behind

dog

put

ga -y-e

then

behind me
chasing me

Asp/T.

Complementizer

kol

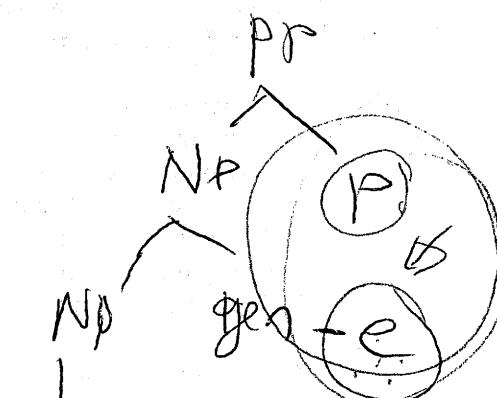
mene usko

ja~~e~~ya

diya

please

ja~~e~~ye
school
march



Ja jab mai ~~the~~ school a~~g~~i to
arrive from this

mudje

I-dat

parna chay~~e~~

study nonfin

meed -y-e

cop

12 Restoring indefinites to normalcy

(33) Sentence type III

In the jewelry store *García Brothers* they have a lot of cheap stuff and they really earn their living on this cheap stuff more than on real jewels. However, they have a collection containing a bracelet, a watch, a ring, and a pair of earrings that is altogether quite expensive, even though each of these items by themselves are not so incredibly expensive. If there were a robbery, it would be terrible if they took the collection. This morning there has been one, and Esteban García, one of the owners, has taken out his gun and has said to the robber: "Take whatever you want from these jewels over here, I don't care. But don't take the collection. If you take it, I will kill you. Look, you can even take the earrings, but don't take the whole collection".

Dialog between policeman and witness:

POLICEMAN: What did Esteban García say to the robber?

WITNESS: Le dijo que le mataría si se llevaba *algunas* joyas

'He said he would kill him if he took some jewels'

Question:

Is the witness telling the truth? YES NO

This item tests for a wide scope reading of *algunos*. In this reading, it is not enough to take just any jewels (or a single jewel) to satisfy the antecedent of the conditional; only taking certain jewels does (i.e., the ones from the collection). The narrow scope reading of *algunas* is false in this scenario. If speakers answer this item with "yes", it is then because they allow a wide scope reading of *algunas*.

(34) Sentence type II

One of the most valuable pieces in the Duchess of Teruel's diamond necklace collection has disappeared tonight during a party. One of the guests is suspected of being responsible. The necklace was in the safe, in the study room, which is adjacent to the room where the party took place. It is important to know who left and entered the party room when. Several guests left the party room, separately, between 6pm and 7pm, the time during which the necklace disappeared.

Dialog between policeman and witness:

POLICEMAN: What happened between 6pm and 7pm?

WITNESS: Que *algunos* invitados salieron del salón.

'Some guests left the living room'

(35) Sentence type VI

The Deutsche Bank has been robbed several times this year. One of the mafia groups in the city is responsible. In a meeting with his associates at the end of the year, the mafia boss summarized the achievements of the year as follows: "dear friends, our much appreciated Teresa San Juan, accompanied in each occasion by a different new member of our group, has robbed the Deutsche Bank several times this year". One of the boss' projects for this year was to train all new members with Teresa, since she is such a good robber. So he made sure that each time Teresa robbed a bank, one of the new members accompanied her, a different one each time.

In this paper I will present data concerning a little known morphological case in Hindi/Urdu. What is interesting is that this case is never mentioned in the generative literature on Hindi-Urdu case, instead the case clitics ergative, dative/accusative and instrumental are discussed.

The complements of Urdu postpositions are marked with a structural case. This case is realized on all elements inside the DP which have this case form available. Case concord is found in other languages such as German where accusative, genitive, and dative case will be realized on the determiner, adjective and noun inside a DP.

- DP → P → Acc
1. us bare gadhe se le lo
that.ACC big-ACC donkey-ACC from take-SUBJ take-2nd.sg
'Take it from that big donkey.'
 2. Nimm den Schemel für diesen großen
take-2sg.imper def-ACC stool.ACC for that-ACC big-ACC
grauen alten unbehaarten ruhigen
grey-ACC old-ACC un-?-hair-ACC quiet-ACC
sitzenden Elefanten dieses Mannes
sit-?-ACC elephant-ACC that-GEN man-GEN
'Take the stool for this big grey old quiet hairless sitting elephant of the man.'

I assume that the structural case is assigned by the postposition to its DP complement and is realized multiply in the morphology at spell out (Bobaljik 2006).

This structural case can be realized on pronouns, adjectives, nouns (in 1), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 3), gerunds (in 4). The same grammatical categories as in German.

3. dabbe ke nice tak
box-ACC=GEN-ACC under-ACC until
'up to the underneath of the box.'
4. raam ke baiThne par māā-ne
raam=GEN-ACC sit-NONFIN-ACC=ON mother=ERG
us=ko khaanaa diyaa
3sg.ACC=DAT food give-PERF
'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohan 1994:78)

Legate 2007 claims that in fact there is no structural accusative case in Hindi/Urdu, rather what appears to be an accusative case (-ko) is in fact an inherent dative case. This is needed for her analysis of ergativity. This is true in the verbal domain, but given the above data there does appear to be a structural case, that which is assigned by postpositions to their complements. As this these are postpositions rather than verbs 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 structural accusative case.

Strangely there are other elements which can be marked with this structural case, elements which *are* the complements of verbs/functional heads in the verbal area. The complements of the conditionals and subjunctive are realized with this structural case, also multiply marked as in DPs.

5. With subjunctive force

Bhagna nahi chahiye

Run-NONFIN NEG should-ACC

'One shouldn't run.'

6. In a conditional

Agr mere pice kutta bhonkne

if 1st-GEN-ACC behind-ACC dog bark-NONFIN-ACC 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.'

Similar to the structural case within PPs, these are also realized on all elements inside the phrase.

7. Multiple marking on conjuncts

main aap ko

1.sg 2sg.FORMAL=DAT

danda dhondne

stick look.for-NONFIN-ACC or even

duun gaa kya?

Allow-1.SG FUT Q

jota o Tarne shoe take.off-NONFIN-ACC

ya phir

would I let you look for a stick or take off your shoe

Other claims about Hindi-Urdu not fitting a typical system English/French

Legate 2007: Hindi Urdu has "determined agreement" little v will agree with the object if it can't find an unmarked subject

- This is not the only place where Hindi shows object agreement, object agreement is only in gender, never in person, whereas subject agreement is both gender and/or person

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

- Ko is retained in passives, this is not an exception if -ko is a dative
- It's also not an exception if Hindi/Urdu doesn't have accusative case (as claimed by Legate 2007)

Bhatt 2005: Even "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement with the verb

- They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.

Morphologically, agreement between modifiers can be realized as Concord (like in Urdu and German). Agreement between a function and an argument is usually realized once on the object, and/or once on the verb. But not on all verbal elements for example? Or on all arguments for example?

multiple

ke-

ACC DAT

NOM
TOPIC

PP

PP

PP

nicker

(DP

geno)

box

pe

DP

LOC

e e

modifier

non f. see

home saw his
no Cop no
IPA

vP

LOC

existential

VP

or

VP

OB; V

breathing

PP

Path
stak

DP

Place
e.

read

The Oblique Form as a Structural Case in Hindi/Urdu

Review of Hindi/Urdu case in the literature

1. Hindi/Urdu cases

Mahajan 1990	Mohanan 1994	Butt 2004
Ø nom	Ø Nom	Ø nom
Ø acc	ko Acc	ko acc
ne erg	Erg	ne erg
ko dat	Dat	ko dat
se	Instr	se instr
kaa	Gen	k- gen
me̤par	Loc	me̤par/tak/Ø loc
OBL	Non-nom	

2. Nominative & Accusative Case (Mahajan 1990:72)

sita ~~kaa~~ kaa ~~kaatii~~ ~~thii~~
 Sita (f.) banana(m.) eat {imp. f.} be {pat. f.}

3. Ergative & Dative Case (Mahajan 1990:73)

baccaon ~~me̤par~~ sitaa-ko ~~deteen~~ thaas
 children(s) erg. Sita(f.) dat. see (perf. m. sg.)

4. Instrumental (Mahajan 1994:59)

raam-ne ~~daane~~-ke saip-ko ~~maraz~~ ~~kill-PERF~~
 Ram-ne stick-~~er~~ snake-ka kill-PERF

5. Source (Butt & King 2004:164)

nadya-ne ~~kiya~~ lahor=se fan ki-ya
 Nadya-F=8g-Erg today Lahore=last phone do-Perf.M.Sg
 sun=ne sole=se

goldsmith.M.Sg=Erg gold.M.Sg Obl=Inst

kar bana-a
 necklace.M.Sg.Nom make-Perf.M.Sg

'The goldsmith made a necklace out of the gold.'

Cases in Hindi/Urdu are clitics, not postpositions

9. Can scope over cojoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yassin.M.Sg=Erg dog-N.Sg.Obl and horse-M.Sg.Obl=Acc

deka^a-a he Pres.3.Sg

'Yassin saw the dog and the horse.'

nadya ~~kiya~~ lahor or karachi^{i=j=e} - hi

Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Lahore and Karachi.

'Nadya is from Lahore and Karachi.'

10. The focus particle³ can intervene (Butt & King 2004:174)

(dehi=j=e) - kan ki-ya
 Pron.3.Sg=Foc=Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do-Perf.M.Sg

'That one himself only did (the) work.'

tuj^{i=j=e} - di-ja

you Obj=Foc=Dat give-Perf.M.Sg

'Leave it to you (and not to anyone else). (Platts 1967: 300)

11. No stranding

¹ The genitive is derived historically from an agreeing participle of the verb 'kr-*do*'. (Payne 1995) "The fact that the genitive inflects can be traced directly to its historical origin. After a fierce debate in the last century, the view espoused by Hoernle won out and was taken over by Beames (1872:283) and Kellogg (1893:129). Under this view, the genitive is analyzed as having arisen from *krta* (done by), the Sanskrit past participle of *kr* (*do*) as follows: Sanskrit *krta* > Prakrit *krta* > *krtaa* > modern Urdu/Hindi *k-*. The original participle inflected for agreement and the genitive case marker has not lost this property." (Butt & King 2004:166)

² *Par* is typically pronounced 'pe' in colloquial speech.

³ The focus clitic has the distribution of an adverb. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may just be the last element of a clause. In (1), the focus clitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb.

(1) nadya-ne ~~kiya~~ cards play-Perf.M.Sg=also be.Pres.3.Sg
 Nadya has very played cards.

ad posh
Perfcl
Category

affeg
to mes
Sing

→ general functional head
w/ unique, subject φ

deposition Select

Class

is. Syllogism

Rezaka

12. "Case markers do not affect the placement of stress, while affixes do. For example, in trisyllabic words with three heavy syllables, the stress falls on the penult" (Butt & King 2004:176) However, stress in Hindi/Urdu is highly problematic see Hayes (1990: 162-167).

ta.'a.sh+hi
'a.sh+ko ≠ a.'sh.a.ko

'Asha-DAT'

The underdiscussed morphological case: "oblique"

So far GB/P&P/Minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu has not acknowledged the presence of the oblique noun form. Mahajan 1990 didn't even gloss it. Bhattacharyya 2005 includes it in his glosses but doesn't say why its used.

13. Direct form

jhānīka grāmā gheas =to rājñi kīk =tā

our donkey grass emp! NE¹ eat imper!

"Our donkey doesn't eat grass."

14. Oblique form

us **gadhe** se le lo
that.OBL donkey-OBL from take-SUBJ take₂-nd.SG

"Take it from that donkey."

I will claim that the oblique is also a form of case, morphological case rather than postpositional.

The direct (or bare) and oblique stem forms have often been described in the literature (Kachru (1965), Kachru (1980:26), Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

"The exact shape of the [oblique] stem forms is dependent on (a) the final phonological segment, and (b) gender (there being a two way gender distinction in Hindi, masculine and feminine)." (Mohanan 1994:61)

15. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001:12)

direct singular	direct plural	oblique singular	oblique plural
masculine: गांड़ी गांड़ों	गांड़ी गांड़ों	*गांड़ी गांड़ों	
feminine: नारा नारों	नारा नारों	गांड़ी गांड़ों	
neuter: बाहु बाहुओं	बाहु बाहुओं	गांड़ी गांड़ों	गांड़ी गांड़ों

16. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172) add question words and relative pronouns

To my knowledge the oblique hasn't yet been accounted for in a theory where case must be determined by the syntax, instead of an inflectional paradigm in the lexicon.

Previous Generative Discussion of the Oblique

Mohanan 1994:

1. "It is by no means assumed that the stems that exhibit a case distinction are undervived or morphologically unrelated forms. Rather, just as stems carry information such as SINGULAR or PLURAL, they also bear the case features NOM, NONNOM, or VOC." (Mohanan 1994:61)

2. "NONNOM stems must take a case clitic after them" (Mohanan 1994:62)

Butt & King 2004:

17. The oblique:
"In modern Urdu/Hindi, the oblique is mandatory for all non-nominative (non-direct) forms. This includes all nouns marked by overt case, as illustrated in (16), as well as bare locatives, as shown in (17). The oblique manifests itself as the affix -e on masculine singular nouns ending in -a, and as -o in the plural on all nouns. However, on all other forms (e.g., feminine singular nouns, masculine nouns not ending in -a such as yassin in (16)), the oblique marking is not overt." (Butt & King 2004:168)

NOM	FRC	ACC/FAT	ISST	LOC	GEN
1. Sg	in̩	in̩=ne	muj̩=ko	muj̩=se	muj̩=par
1. Pl	ham	ham=ne	ham=ko	ham=se	ham=par
2. Diresp.	tu	tu=ne	tu=j̩=ko	tu=j̩=se	tu=j̩=par
2. Familiar	tum	tum=ne	tum=k̩=ko	tum=s̩=se	tum=s̩=par
2. Resp.	ap	ap=ne	ap=k̩=ko	ap=s̩=se	ap=p̩=par
3. Prox.Sg	ye	is=ne	is=k̩=ko	is=s̩=se	is=p̩=par
3. Prox.Pl	ye	un=ne	in̩=ko	in̩=se	in̩=par
3. Dist.Sg	vo	us=ne	os̩=ko	os̩=se	os̩=par
3. Dist.Pl	vo	un=ne	un̩=ko	un̩=se	un̩=par
		un̩=ne	on̩=ko	un̩=se	un̩=par
		un̩=ne	on̩=ko	un̩=se	un̩=par

- (16) a. *yassin=ne* *kut-a* *dekh-a*
 Yassin.M.Sg=Erg dog.M.Sg.Nom see-Perf.M.Sg

b. *yassin=ne* *kut=ko* *dekh-a*
 Yassin.M.Sg=Erg dog.M.Sg.Obl=Acc see-Perf.M.Sg

- (17) *adnan* *daksane*
 Adnan.M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg

be.Pres.3.Sg

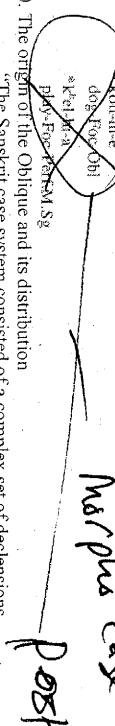
'Adnan has gone to the post office.'

18. Two Obliges, 1 as agreement on the complement of a K head, 2 as a locative 'to/from' but not 'in/towards'

"We do not follow this analysis, but 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. The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted: it can only mean 'to' or 'from', not 'in', 'towards' etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5): one as agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker." (Butt & King 2004:168)

The oblique "now primarily serves as a morphological wellformedness checker similar to the weawstrong agreement pattern of German adjectives and determiners (see Butt, King, Nitto, and Segond (1999: 103-108) for a description and LFG analysis)." (Butt & King 2004:173)

19. "the oblique marking -e on nouns is an inflectional affix." (Butt & King 2004:174) Not a postposition (Butt & King 2004:176)



20. The origin of the Oblique and its distribution

"The Sanskrit case system consisted of a complex set of declensions which varied according to three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and approximately thirteen different noun classes. The system distinguished nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. Unlike the Urdu/Hindi system of today, case was marked by inflectional affixes, as in its sister language Latin... These forms were either lost or were collapsed into the modern oblique marking (Beames 1872–209)." (Butt & King 2004:167)

21. Case Forms in Middle Indo-Aryan (Butt & King 2004:168)

Singular	Plural
- <i>ta, tā, ati</i>	- <i>ti, ati</i>
[same as Nominative]	
Instrumental	<i>etih, īti, ha, hi</i>
Ablative	<i>atih, īti, ato</i>
Genitive/Dative	<i>-ha, aho, ha, su, sse</i>
Locative	<i>-i, hi, him</i>

22. Butt & King 2004 consider the older morphological affixes may be part of the case system in other South Asian languages.

"In some South Asian languages, these vestiges play a greater role in the case marking system than what can be observed in Urdu/Hindi. For those languages, an inclusion of the oblique marking as part of the case system seems reasonable." (Butt & King 2004:173)

Claim: the oblique is a case, even in Hindi/Urdu. The assignment of the oblique is obligatory and uniform, its morphological realization is conditioned only on the noun's class. This is no different from the accusative in English (found only on pronouns) and German.

Following Legate (to appear) I will argue that case and agreement are determined in the syntax and realized by the morphology. The oblique is the morphological realization of an abstract structural case that is syntactically determined. The morphological realization depends on the word class of the root and is 'as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language.' (Legate to appear)

A structural case that is assigned by Po

I assume that the structural case is assigned by a postposition to its DP complement, and is realized multiply through feature spreading (Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutman 2006), in the morphology at spell out.

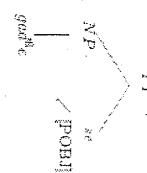
23. English prepositions assign accusative to their complements
 English PP
 I took the *grass* [from *her* P[DP]]



24. Urdu prepositions assign "oblique" to their complements

Urdu PP

as *gat²e* *b* =*is*
that donkey-PORD from take take-2nd
"Take it from that donkey."



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

25. us

bare

gadhe

se

le

lo

that-ACC
Take it from that bidACC

donkey-ACC from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG

26. Nimm

den

chemele

für

diesen

großen

big-ACC

stool-ACC for

that-ACC

take-2sg-impf DEF-ACC

take-2SG

grauen

old-ACC

alten

unbehaarten

quiet-ACC

grey-ACC

old-ACC

un-2-hair-ACC

quiet-ACC

sitzenden

Elephanten

elephant-ACC

that-GEN man-GEN

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

27. [Lataa-ji-ke ye gammaa gaa-ye ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)

[A: *shat-ii-kas* *yeh gammaa* *gaa-ya* *ho-naa*]

Asha-Han-Gem this song sing-Pfv he-1nf

[Lataa-ji-ke] *yeh gammaa* *gaa-ye*

Lataa-Han-Gem Ohi this song sing-Pfv.Ohi

ho-1el-se *zvadaa* *mumkin* *hai*

be-Jat(Ohi)last more possible be.Ps.3sg

*Asha-ki having sung this song is more likely than Lataa-ji's

having sung this song.

This structural case can be realized on pronouns, adjectives, nouns (in 1), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 3), gerunds (in 4), the same grammatical categories as in German.⁴

28

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

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

admin *dakcane* *ge-ya*
Adhan M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Past.M.Sg

he

be.Pres.3.Sg

'Adhan has gone to the post office.'

⁴ If we think that the -en on participles is the same thing.

29. raam ke	batTime par	mā̄-ne
raam=GEN-ACC	sit-NONFIN-ACC-ON	mother=ERG
us-ko	khaana	diya
3sg.ACC=DAT	food	give-PERF
'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)		

In this section I have shown that the oblique is regular and required; its appearance in some situations and not others is due to its morphological availability for certain words and not others. I have claimed that the oblique is assigned by postpositions.

Ramifications of a structural case

- If case clitics are assigning case, they are probably not case but rather argument introducers than argument markers.

- If case clitics are helping the verb introduce arguments, are the functions of what would be lexical verbs in English broken into pieces in Hindi/Urdu case clitics, root, and light verbs.

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^o is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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^o , 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.

31. The oblique in inalienable possession (Mohanam 1994:178)

t^{1,5} bili²-t¹ / k¹ e² kai³ ^{āk⁴} ^{āk⁵} ^{āk⁶}
this cat-² one only eye-³(⁴) be-⁵(⁶)

This cat has only one eye.
t¹ ^{āk²} ^{āk³} ^{āk⁴} ^{āk⁵} ^{āk⁶}
this elephant-² very small forehead-³(⁴) be-⁵(⁶)

This elephant has a very small forehead.

32. 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?

raam²-g¹ baī²-e¹ hi³ māzne⁴ uske⁵ k⁶zmaa⁷ diyaa⁸
Ram²-G sit-NR mother-E pron-D food-N give-PREF

As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.

33. The oblique under *allow* (Bhatt 2005:778)

*[Sarosh-ko g̣aaRii chataa-ne] di-1
 Nadia-ne [Sarosh-ko g̣anii chataa-ne] di-i*

Nadia-¹Eg Sarosh-²Acc car-³F drive-⁴Gen Obj let-⁵Pv.Psg

'Nadia let Sarosh drive the car.'

[peR kaT-ne] di-ye (Bhatt 2005:795)

Nadia-ne [her ^{kaT-ne]} di-ye

Nadia-Erg trees eat_{er}-Inf.Obi let-³Pv.P4

'Nadia let the trees get eat.'

34. In a ~~comitative~~ (collected from a web forum)

Ag¹ mere pice kutta bhonke *laga*

if ^{1,5}-GEN-ACC behind-ACC dog bark-NONFIN-ACC state-MSG

to main zunud bhag jaongi

then ^{1,5}g 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

35. Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum)

main aap ko *laga*
 1.sg 2.sg FORMAL=DAT danda *laga* ya phir *laga* *laga*

stick took-for-NONFIN-ACC or even shoe take-off-NONFIN-ACC

diun gaa kya?

Allow-1.SG FUT Q

It is a structural case, but is it a structural case assigned by a verbal existential introducer, (ie v⁰) after all?

Probably not, what to check next...

References

- Bhatt, R. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:475-807.

- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In Step by Step, Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Chomsky, Naam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In Ken Hale: A life in language, ed. MichaelKenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. 'How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax'. In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-157.

- Legate, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.

- Mahajan, Anoop. 1990. *The A/A-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation.

- Masica, Colin. 1991. The Indo-Aryan Languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pk115 M37 1991

- Mohanam, Tara. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

- Payne, J. 1995. "Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri." in *Double Case, Agreement by Suffixalization*. Plank, F. (ed). Oxford University Press.

- Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa

- Vuchic, R. 1993. *A study of Noun Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.

Appendices

-e on arguments of verb heads

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

(19) *jih* rac-e. *suraya* bhu
who.Obj create-Perf.M.Pt heaven.M.Nom earth.Nom

satta
seven.Nom hell.M.Nom

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]
[He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]
(Chand. Pridiraja-Rasau i.11; Beames 1872: 267)

kappa [i] ajitak
clothes.MPl today-by maker

parala [ja-ne *ka na]
par-ne 'aa na]

GO-Inf.MPl/GO-Inf.Msg

should

the/*tha

be.Pst.MPl/*be.Pst.MSG

'The clothes should have been made by today.'

Masculine nouns

Sona, some gold Butt & King 2004:164

Shukla 2001:6

Masculine:	<i>dēvā</i>	'god'
	<i>rājā</i>	'king'
	<i>pānī</i>	'water'
	<i>pāk</i>	'meat'
Jenitif:	<i>surī</i>	'woman'
	<i>rājī</i>	'queen'
	<i>swā</i>	'water'
	<i>ndī</i>	'meat'

3rd singular -e

Butt & King 2004:165

U_{usec} *sdh-a* *wati* ja-e^{g-a}

Pron=Inst walk-Perf.M.Sg not go-<be>-put-M.Sg

'She/he can't possibly walk.' (In the context of a broken leg)
(Glassman 1976: 275)

Participles (with varying gender)

Participles (this is not oblique as it should become -i with a fem subject)

(Mohanan 1994:182)

<i>śrīgṛ̥ga-kā</i> f — <i>mustaravate</i> <i>hue</i> / <i>jām</i>	<i>hūat</i>
Sti Krishna i was born. — i smiling.	happened-PERF

Plural -e

36. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Anil-e	<i>lakte</i>	<i>dēkh-e</i>	* <i>dēkh-aa</i>
Anil-Erg	<i>boys.M</i>	see-Pfv.MPl	see-Pfv.D
Anil saw boys.			
Anil-e	<i>lakṣyāt</i>	<i>dēkhāt</i>	* <i>dēkh-aa</i>
Anil-Erg	<i>girls.P</i>	see-Pfv.FPl	see-Pfv.D
Anil saw girls.			

37. Is that certainly plural in this example? (Bhatt 2005:796)

Forms of se — sa, si, se?

(Butt & King 2004:170)

The instrumental *se* may either be connected with Sanskrit *sam* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *singe* 'in attachment to' (Kellogg 1893: 132). The genitive arose out of a participial form of 'do' (fn. 11), and the

38. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40)

raam-ne *KON* *saa* *aadmi* *sita* *se* *kaha* *[ki]* t

Ram(SUB) which man(EDO) sits to told (that)

ayya thaal]

come-perf-m be-pst-m

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

39. Kon si (Mahajan 1990:

(29) *kon si* *daasi*, *raajaa-ne* *uske*, *pitta-ko* [t_{um} t_{ro} t_{oo}]

which maid(DO) king(SUB) her father(IO)

lora *dill*

return give-pst-f

Which maid, did the king return to her, father?

Adverbs (might show acc like in Quechua)

40. Dhire dhire (slowly)

41. Kese (Mahajan 1990)

ram-ne *kya* *kaha* *tha* *ki* *mohan-ne* *kia-ko* *kessa* *maraka*

ram-arg KRM said whom how hit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit who ~ ?

ram-ne *kya* *kaha* *tha* *ki* *mohan-ne* *kab* *kia-ko* *kessa*

ram-arg KRM said whom how

How did Ram say that Mohan hit whom when?

42. phir se (Bhatt 2005:766)

Rohan-he adj

[jhin-sc nichnat

kar-ii] chahii

Fsg

Rohan-Eg today again hardwork-E do-huF want-Pfv,Fsg

"Today Rohan wanted to work hard again."

43. 'aidii jaldi/jaldi se 'quickly'

44. bari calurtaa se 'cleverly'

Vaala, vaali, vale

45. In a possessive (Mahaian 1990:37)

[apni, ram, vaali kitab, m-ne, t' use, t,

self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(To)

di. give-perf-t

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

Discussions of Hindi-Urdu as an exception

Bhatt 2005: Hindi-Urdu is an exception to Burzio's generalization

• Ko is retained in passives, this is not an exception if -ko is a dative

• It's also not an exception if Hindi-Urdu doesn't have accusative case (as claimed by Legate 2007)

Bhatt 2005: Even "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement with the verb

• They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.

Legate 2007: Hindi-Urdu has 'determined agreement' little v will agree with the object if it can't find an unmarked subject

• 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

1. Postposition

2. oblique det.

summary add.
contribution of this paper
different

3. whs

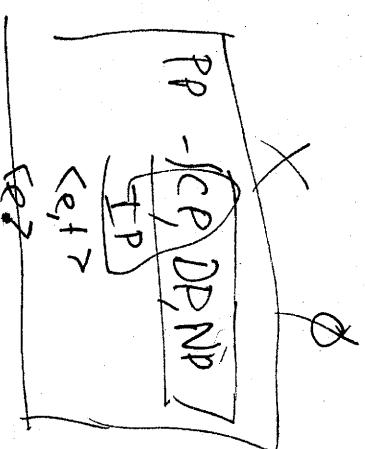
1. focus particle
2. irregular vs
predictable sentence

3. why intermediate case

Analys - derive it

$$D^P \xrightarrow{C^P} P^o$$

- probe & goal
feature
- uninterpretable feature
- C-command
- structural not inherent
- morph vs abstract
- assignment.



↑
types & Case

Syntactic features will be the
tip of
agreement
etc.

functional projection

look at KP literature

Either:

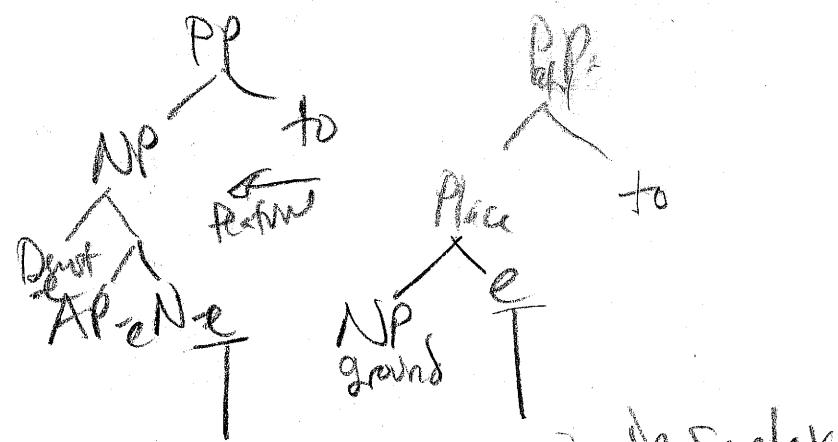
→ But & King are essentially right,
they choose to generate the
word and insert it into syntax

- I choose to create in the syntax
and send to lexicon

2 approaches

with respect to Syntax 2 analysis

e is
a feature e is
a functional head



e in morphology e in Syntax

- why article?
- & cannot to be
evidence that
Case & agreement
this is why there
is no agreement
by postposition
in Urdu, SVO
possible crossing -
circularly

Speech act

- what
inflection

politeness culturally specific
feeling
- if sentence
is happy
inappropriate
direct, not happy
conversational
as guests

pragmatics in speech

- non verbal
incorrect request
- cultural
flirtatious
- i wonder
answer good
More - me and
Information structure
first, have to possible

The instrumental *se* may either be connected with Sanskrit *sam* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *sazze* 'in attachment' (Kellogg 1893: 132). The genitive arose out of a participial form of *do* (fn. 11), and the

28. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40)

raam-ne kon saa aadmi siita sa kaha[er] (x1) t

Ram(SUB) which man(EDO) Sita to told

(that)

saya[er] thaal]

come-perf-n be-pst-n

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

29. Kon si (Mahajan 1990:

(23) [kon si dasil, raaja-ne uske, pitaa-ko [t_{ah} t_{oo} too

which maid(DO) king(SUB) her father(TO)

lotaa dill]

return give-pst-f

Which maid, did the king return to her, father?

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

30. Dhire dhire 'slowly'

31. Kese (Mahajan 1990)

raam-ne kyaa kaha tha ki mohan-ne ki-to kaae maraa
Raam-eg Kya said Mohan whom how hit
How did Ram say that Mohan hit who - ? whom how hit
raam-ne kyaa kaha tha ki mohan-ne kab kis-ko kise
Raam-eg Kya said Mohan-eg when whom how hit
maraak

bit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit whom whom?

32. phir se (bhant 2005:76)

Rohat-ne aaj [phir-se mehnat kar-nii] chah-ii

Rohan-Eg today again hardwork.F do-InfF want-Pfv.FSg

'Today Rohan wanted to work hard again.'

33. Jaldi jaldi valdi se 'quickly'

34. baRi caturtaa se 'cleverly'

Vaala, vaali, vaale

35. In a possessive (Mahajan 1990:37)

[apni, raam, vaali, kitab], mB-na, t₁ use, t₂
self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(TO),
dil
give-past-f

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

It would be nice if you review

The Oblique Form as a Structural Case in Hindi/Urdu

Review of the literature

1. Hindi/Urdu cases

Mahajan 1990	Mohanan 1994	Butt 2004
Ø nom	Ø Nom	Ø nom
Ø acc	ko Acc	ko acc
ne erg	EG Erg	ne erg
ko dat	ko Dat	ko dat
se	Instr	se
kaa	Gen	k-
mēpar	Loc	mē/pārik/Ø loc
OBL	Non-nom	

2. Nominative & Accusative Case (Mahajan 1990:72)

sīta *ke*laa

sīta (habitually) ate bread.

3. Ergative & Dative Case (Mahajan 1990:73)

baccau-ne sīta-ko dethaa thaas

children(m.)erg. Sita(f.) dat. see(perf.m.ag.)

be(pst.m.ag.)

The children had seen Sita.

4. Instrumental (Mohanan 1994:59)

reem-ne dand-e-se sād-p-ko mearaz

Ram-ne stick-sz snake-ko kill-PERF

Ram killed the snake with a stick.

5. Source (Butt & King 2004:164)

nadja-ne qj Lahor=se fen ki-ya

Nadya.F.Sg=Erg today Lahore=Inst phone do-Perf.M.Sg

'Nadya called from Lahore today.'

sunaa-ne

goldsmith.M.Sg=Erg gold.M.Sg Obl=Inst

bar buna-ya

necklace.M.Sg.Nom make-Perf.M.Sg

'The goldsmith made a necklace out of the gold.'

6. Genitive ¹ (Mohanan 1994:60)	raam-ne bacce-kaa naam	naam	pinkarua
raam-ne	bacce-kaa	name	call-PERF
Ram-ne	child-kaa		
Ram called the child's name.			
7. Locative (Mohanan 1994:60)	baccau kamere-m&	baif'aa	hai.
baccau	room-incl	slit-PERF	be-PERF
child	room-incl	slit-PERF	be-PERF
The child is sitting in the room.			
8. Locative ² (Mohanan 1994:60)	raam-ne kariaa durvaae-par	taangat.	hang-PERF
raam-ne	kariaa	door-par	
Ram-ne	shirt	door-par	
Ram hung (this) shirt on the door.			

Cases in Hindi/Urdu are clitics, not postpositions

9. Can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yashin-ne [labor or karacⁱlīne] hc

Yassin.M.Sg=Erg dog.M.Sg.Obl and horse.M.Sg.Obl=ACC

dukⁱa he see Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg

'Yassin saw the dog and the horse.'

nathaa [labor or karacⁱlīne] hc

Nadya.F.Sg.Nom Lahore and Karachi=Inst be.Pres.3.Sg

'Nadya is from Lahore and Karachi.'

10. The focus particle³ can intervene (Butt & King 2004:174)

Pron.a.Sg=Foc=Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do-Perf.M.Sg

'That one himself(only did (the) work.'

tūⁱ=is-ko di-ya

you.Obj=Foc=Dat give-Perf.M.Sg

'I gave it to you (and not to anyone else).' (Platts 1967: 360)

11. No stranding

¹ The genitive is derived historically from an agreeing participle of the verb *kr* 'do.' (Payne 1995) "The fact that the genitive inflects can be traced directly to its historical origin. After a fierce debate in the last century, the view espoused by Hoernle won out and was taken over by Beames (1872:283) and Kellogg (1893:129). Under this view, the genitive is analyzed as having arisen from *kṛita* (done by), the Sanskrit past participle of *kr* 'do' as follows: Sanskrit *kṛita* > Prakrit *kṛita* > *kṛita* > modern Urdu/Hindi *k*-. The original participle inflected for agreement and the genitive case marker has not lost this property." (Butt & King 2004:166)

² *Par* is typically pronounced 'pe' in colloquial speech.

³ The focus clitic has the distribution of an adverb. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (1), the focus clitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb, *nadja-ne*.

(1) Nadja.F.Sg=Erg cards play-Perf.M.Sg+case be.Pres.3.Sg
Nadya has only played cards.

12. "Case markers do not affect the placement of stress, while affixes do. For example, in trisyllabic words with three heavy syllables, the stress falls on the penult" (Butt & King 2004:176) However, stress in Hindi/Urdu is highly problematic see Hayes (1990: 162-167).

ta.'a.sh+i 'search'

'a.sha+ko ≠ a.'sha.ko

'Asha-DAT'

The underdiscussed morphological case: "oblique"

So far GB/P&P/Minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu has not acknowledged the presence of the oblique noun form. Mahajan 1990 didn't even gloss it. Bhatt 2005 includes it in his glosses but doesn't say why its used.

13. Direct form

hunar-a *gṛīfā* *gṛīas* =^{to} *nāhīn* *kīs* =^{it}
our donkey grass emph. N^{EG} eat impv^{it}

"Our donkey doesn't eat grass."

14. Oblique form

us *gadhe* *sc* *le* *lo*
that.OBL donkey-OBL from take-SUBJ take-^{2nd}.SG
'Take it from that donkey.'

I will claim that the oblique is also a form of case, morphological case rather than postpositional.

The direct (or bare) and oblique stem forms have often been described in the literature (Kachru (1965), Kachru (1980-26), Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

"The exact shape of the [oblique] stem forms is dependent on (a) the final phonological segment, and (b) gender (there being a two way gender distinction in Hindi, masculine and feminine)." (Mohanan 1994:61)

15. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001:12)

direct singular	direct plural	oblique singular	oblique plural
masc/neut: गर्ज़ी	गर्ज़ी	मर्ज़ी	मर्ज़ी
fem:	गर्ज़ी	मर्ज़ी	मर्ज़ी
locative: नाहीं	नाहीं	नाहीं	नाहीं
genitive: बहु	बहु	बहु	बहु

16. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172) add question words and relative pronouns

NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INST	LOC	GEN
1. Sg	mi	na ^z =ne	na ^j =ko	na ^j =se	na ^j =par
			na ^j =e		mer-a/ie
1. Pl	ham	hum=ne	ham=ko	ham=se	ham=par
			ham=ko		hum-a/ie
2. Disresp.	tu	tu=ne	tu ^j =ko	tu ^j =se	tu ^j =par
			tu ^j =e		ter-a/ie
2. Familiar	tum	tum=ne	tum=ko	tum=se	tumpar
			tum=ko		tumbar-a/ie
2. Resp.	ap	ap=ne	ap=ko	ap=se	ap=par
			ap=ko		ap=k-a/ie
3. Prox.Sg	ye	is=ne	is=ko	is=se	is=par
			is=ko		is=k-a/ie
3. Prox.Pl	ye	in=ne	in=ko	in=se	in=par
		inhi=ne	inhi=ko	inhi=se	inhi=par
3. Dist.Sg	vo	us=ne	us=ko	us=se	us=par
			us=ko		us=k-a/ie
3. Dist.Pl	vo	un=ne	un=ko	un=se	un=par
		unho=ne	unho=ko	unho=se	unho=par
			unko		un=k-a/ie

To my knowledge the oblique hasn't yet been accounted for in a theory where case must be determined by the syntax, instead of an inflectional paradigm in the lexicon.

Previous Generative Discussion of the Oblique

Mohanan 1994:

1. "It is by no means assumed that the stems that exhibit a case distinction are undervived or morphologically unrelated forms. Rather, just as stems carry information such as SINGULAR or PLURAL, they also bear the case features NOM, NONNOM, or VOC." (Mohanan 1994:61)

2. "NONNOM stems must take a case clitic after them" (Mohanan 1994:62)

Butt & King 2004:

1. The oblique:
"In modern Urdu/Hindi, the oblique is mandatory for all non-nominative (non-direct) forms. This includes all nouns marked by overt case, as illustrated in (16), as well as bare locatives, as shown in (17). The oblique manifests itself as the affix -e on masculine singular nouns ending in -a, and as -o in the plural on all nouns. However, on all other forms (e.g., feminine singular nouns, masculine nouns not ending in -a such as yassin in (15)), the oblique marking is not overt." (Butt & King 2004:168)

(16) a. yassin=ne kurt-a dek^{b-a}

Yassin.M.Sg=Eng dog.M.Sg.Nom see-Perf.M.Sg

'Yassin saw *some* dog.'

b. yassin=ne kurt-e=ko dek^{b-a}

Yassin.M.Sg=Eng dog.M.Sg.Obl=Acc see-Perf.M.Sg

'Yassin saw the dog.'

(17) adnan dakkané gə~ya
Adnan.M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg

hi.
be.Pres.3.Sg

'Adnan has gone to the post office.'

18. Two Obliques, 1 as agreement on the complement of a K head, 2 as a locative 'to/from' but not 'in/wards'

"We do not follow this analysis, but 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. The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system is restricted to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is as agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker." (Butt & King 2004:168)

The oblique "now primarily serves as a morphological wellformedness checker similar to the weast-strong agreement pattern of German adjectives and determiners (see Butt, King, Niño, and Segond (1999: 103-108) for a description and LFG analysis)." (Butt & King 2004:173)

19. "the oblique marking -e on nouns is an inflectional affix." (Butt & King 2004:174) Not a postposition (Butt & King 2004:176)

*kort-th-e
dog.Foc-Obl

play-Foc-Perf.M.Sg

20. The origin of the Oblique and its distribution

"The Sanskrit case system consisted of a complex set of declensions which varied according to three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and approximately thirteen different noun classes. The system distinguished nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. Unlike the Urdu/Hindi system of today, case was marked by inflectional affixes, as in its sister language Latin... These forms were either lost or were collapsed into the modern oblique marking (Beams 1872, 209)." (Butt & King 2004:167)

21. Case Forms in Middle Indo-Aryan (Butt & King 2004:168)

Singular	Plural
Nominative -st, st, sti	-st, st
Accusative [same as Nominative]	
Instrumental -st, sti, he, hi	-st(i), sti, ati
Ablative -stu, athu, ato	-ta, ahi
Genitive/Dative -stu, ato, ha, su, svu	-tu, ha
Locative -i, hi, him	-ti

22. Butt & King 2004 consider the older morphological affixes may be part of the

case system in other South Asian languages.

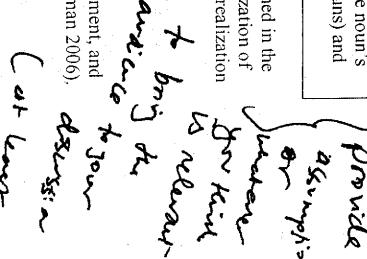
"In some South Asian languages, these vestiges play a greater role in the case marking system than what can be observed in Urdu/Hindi. For those languages, an inclusion of the oblique marking as part of the case system seems reasonable." (Butt & King 2004:173)

Claim: the oblique is a case, even in Hindi/Urdu. The assignment of the oblique is obligatory and uniform, its morphological realization is conditioned only on the noun's class. This is no different from the accusative in English (found only on pronouns) and German.

Following Legate (to appear) I will argue that case and agreement are determined in the syntax and realized by the morphology. The oblique is the morphological realization of an abstract structural case that is syntactically determined. The morphological realization depends on the word class of the root and is "as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language." (Legate to appear)

A structural case that is assigned by Po

I assume that the structural case is assigned by a postposition to its DP complement, and is realized multiply through feature spreading (Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutman 2006). In the morphology at spell out,



23. English prepositions assign accusative to their complements

English PP
I took the grass [from my POEM]

to make tea
out here
the same

Stand point

in order

to be understood

your discussion

of

research

Urdu PP	
us	gəf ^f e
that	dənkey-P ² PL
	from take take-2nd

"Take it from that donkey."



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

23. us bare gadhe se le lo
that-ACC big-ACC donkey-ACC from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG
"Take it from that big donkey."
24. Nimm den Schenkel für diesen grauen alten
3sg.ACC-DAT food
"When Nimm sat down, mother gave him food" (Mohanan 1994:78)
25. us bare gadhe se le lo
that-ACC big-ACC donkey-ACC from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG
"Take it from that big donkey."
26. Nimm den Schenkel für diesen grauen alten
3sg.ACC-DAT food
"When Nimm sat down, mother gave him food" (Mohanan 1994:78)

- take-2sg.imper def-ACC stool-ACC for that-ACC
grauen alten unbehäften ruhigen
grey-ACC old-ACC un-? hair-ACC quiet-ACC
sitzenden Elefanten that-GEN man-GEN
"take the stool for this big grey old quiet hairless sitting elephant of the man."
27. [Lataa-jí-ke ye gaanaa gaar-ye ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)
[A-shaa-jí-kaa yeh gaanaa gaav-ya ha ho-ne]
Asha-Hör-Gern this song sing-P³V²-Inf
[Lataa-jí-ke yeh gaanaa gaav-ye]
Lataa-Hör-Gern Osh this song sing-P³V².Osh
ho-ne-le
zvadzaa munkin hal
be-haf Osh just more
"Ashaan-jí's having sung this song is more likely than Lataa-jí's
having sung this song."

This structural case can be realized on pronouns, adjectives, nouns (in 1), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 3), gerunds (in 4), the same grammatical categories as in German.⁴

28. dabke ke nice tak
box-ACC=GEN-ACC under-ACC until
'up to the underneath of the box.'

⁴If we think that the -en on participles is the same thing..

29. raam ke	batiine par	mā̄-ne
raam=GEN-ACC	sit-NONFIN-ACC=ON	mother=ERG
us=ko	khaanaa	diya
3sg.ACC-DAT	food	give-PERF

"Julie's glasses
[raam-ke hāT^bne]-par inā̄-ne usko k̄haanaa diya
Raam-GEN st. NonFin-LOC mother ERG him DAT food ABS give Perf
'When Raam sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)

In this section I have shown that the oblique is regular and required, its appearance in some situations and not others is due to its morphological availability for certain words and not others. I have claimed that the oblique is assigned by postpositions.

Ramifications of a structural case

- If case clitics are assigning case, they are probably not case but rather argument introducers than argument markers.

- If case clitics are helping the verb introduce arguments, are the functions of what would be lexical verbs in English broken into pieces in Hindi/Urdū: case clitics, root, and light verbs.

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^o is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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^o this doesn't challenge Legate's claim, rather Legate is most likely correct in analyzing Hindi/Urdū case and agreement as non-standard in that it lacks a morpheme specific to structural accusative case.

No 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

30. The oblique as a locative (Butt & King 2004:168)
admin qaksane ḡe-ya
Adm.M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg
hc be.Pres.3.Sg
'Adnan has gone to the post office.'

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

<i>is</i>	<i>bili¹kai / -ke</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>dh²e³</i>	<i>hat</i>
This cat	cat- ¹	one	one	only	eye-S(F) bce-PR
<i>is</i>	<i>haat¹kaa²-ke</i>	<i>baatu</i>	<i>chaa</i>	<i>maataak</i>	<i>hat</i>

This elephant has a very small forehead.

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

<i>raam¹-ke</i>	<i>baati² ke</i>	<i>maa³-te</i>	<i>usko</i>	<i>k^haaraa</i>	<i>dhyaa</i>
Ram- ¹	sit-NF	mother-E	pron-B	food-N	give-PERF

As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.

33. The oblique under *allow* (Bhatt 2005:778)

[Sarosh-ko	gaaRii	chala-a-ne[di-i]			
Nadia-ne	[Sarosh-ko]	gaapi	chala-a[di]	di-i	
Nadia-Erg Sarosh-Acc cat-F	drive-Catv. OBL	let-Piv.FSG			
'Nadia let Sarosh drive the cat.'					
[beR-kaT-ne] di-ve (Bhatt 2005:775)					
Nadia-ne [per ka-vel]		di-ye			
Nadia-Erg trees cut ₁ -ka ₁ OBL let-Piv.P!					
'Nadia let the trees get cut.'					

34. In a conditional (collected from a web forum)

Ag ¹ mere	piece	kutta	blonkne	laga
if I ¹ "GEN-ACC	behind-ACC	dog	bark-NONFIN-ACC	start-M.SG
to main	zurud	bhag	jaoongi	
then	Isg	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

35. Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum)

main	aap ko				
1.SG	2.SG.FORMAL=DAT				
danda dhondie	ya phir	jota o Tanne			
stick-look-for-NONFIN-ACC	or even	shoe take-off-NONFIN-ACC			
duun	gaa	kya?			
Allow-1.SG	FUT	Q			

Appendices

-e on arguments of verb heads

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

Probably not, what to check next...

References

- Bhatt, R. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:4:75-807.
- Butt, M. & T. H. King. 2004. The Status of Case. In *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, ed. V. Dayal & A. Mahajan. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In Step by Step. Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In Ken Hale: A life in language, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. 'How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax.' In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-157.
- Légeat, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.
- Mahajan, Anoop. 1990. *The A/A-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation.
- Masica, Colin. 1991. The Indo-Aryan Languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PK115.M37 1991
- Mohanan, Tara. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Payne, J. 1995. "Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri." in *Double Case. Agreement by Suffix and Inflame*. Plank, F. (ed). Oxford University Press.
- Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa
- Vuchic, R. 1993. *A study of Nominal Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.

(19) *jiti* race *surgā* heaven.M.Nom *bhu* earth.Nom
who Obl create-Perf.M.Pt_i heaven.M.Nom earth.Nom
sata *pātālī*
seven.Nom hell.M.Nom

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]
[He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]
(Chand, Pritchard-Rasan 1.11; Beames 1872: 267)

Masculine nouns

Sona, some gold Butt & King 2004:164

Shukla 2001:6

Masculine:	<i>dīvī</i>	'god'
	<i>rājā</i>	'king'
	<i>rājī</i>	'queen'
	<i>brāhma</i>	'water'
	<i>r̥īk̥</i>	'tree'

Feminine:	<i>stī</i>	'woman'
	<i>r̥īk̥ī</i>	'queen'
	<i>brāhmaī</i>	'water'
	<i>nādī</i>	'river'

3rd singular -e

Butt & King 2004:165

usṣe col-a

Prom=first walk-Perf.M.Sg not 2nd-3rd fut-M.Sg

'She/he can't possibly walk.' (in the context of a broken leg)
(Glassman 1976: 275)

Participles (with varying gender)

Participles (this is not oblique as it should become -i with a fem subject)

(Mohanty 1994:182)

śrīkṛṣṇ-kau { — *mukurave* *hūm* } *jāmī* *jhāmā*

Sri Krishna-G smile-NF he-NP birth-N happen-PERF

Sri Krishna i was born. — i smiling.

Plural -e

36. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Anil-ne	<i>lakte</i>	<i>dekh-e</i>	* <i>dkh-aa</i>
Anil-Erg	boys.M	see-Pfv.M.Pt _i	see-Pfv.D
Anil saw boys.	boys.M	see-Pfv.M.Pt _i	see-Pfv.D
Anil-ne	<i>harkīat</i>	<i>dekh-e</i>	* <i>dekh-aa</i>
Anil-Erg	girls.Pt _i	see-Pfv.FP _i	see-Pfv.D
Anil saw girls.	girls.Pt _i	see-Pfv.FP _i	see-Pfv.D

37. Is that certainly plural in this example? (Bhatt 2005:796)

kappi [k̥aj̥tak̥] bən
clothes.MPl today-by makar
ja-ne*[ja-nā] shakātive
GO-Inf.MPl/GO-Inf.MSg shokti
the*[tha]
be.Pst.MPl/be.Pst.MSg
'The clothes should have been made by today.'

Forms of se – sas, se?

(Butt & King 2004:170)

The instrumental se may either be connected with Sanskrit *saṁ* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *sāṅga* 'in attachment to' (Kellogg 1893: 132). The genitive arose out of a participial form of 'do' (fn. 1), and the

38. Kon saa (Majapai 1990:40)

raam-ne kōn saa aadmi sitaa se kahāte (ki) t Ram(SUB) which man(EDO) Sita to told (that)

asyaa thaal come-perf-m be-pst-m

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

39. Kon si (Majapai 1990:

(29) [kon si daasii, raaja-na-*te uske*, pītaa-ko [t_{as} t_{re} t_{os}] which maid(DO) King(SUB) her father(IO)

loraā dill]

return give-pst-f

Which maid, did the king return to her, father?

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

40. Dhire dhire slowly'

41. Kese (Mahajan 1990)

kese-ne kesa kaha thaas ki eshaan-ne kis-ko kese mārā
Rām-erg Rām said whom how hit
How did Rām say that Māhan hit who ~ ?
kese-ne kesa kaha thaas ki māhan-ne kab kis-ko kese
Rām-erg Rām said Māhan erg when whom now
hit

How did Ram say that Māhan hit whom when?

42. phir se (Bhatt 2005:766)

Rohan-te *daj* [phr: sc *mehnat* kar-nijⁱ chath-ii
Rohan-Eng today again hardwork.F do-hnf.F want-PtV.F.Sg

'Today Rohan wanted to work hard again.'

43. Jadii jaldiⁱ se 'quickly'

44. baRi caturtaa se 'cleverly'

Vaala,vaali,yale

45. In a possessive (Matajan 1990:37)

{apni_i ram_j vaali_k kitab_l mⁱ-ne_m t_n use_p t_q
self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(ZO)

di_r

give-perf-f

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

Discussions of Hindi-Urdu as an exception

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

- Ko is retained in passives, this is not an exception if -ko is a dative
- It's also not an exception if Hindi/Urdu doesn't have accusative case (as claimed by Legate 2007)

Bhatt 2005: Even "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement with the verb

- They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.

Legate 2007: Hindi Urdu has "determined agreement" little v will agree with the object if it can find an unmarked subject

- 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

Start general (background, issue etc)

Go to word particular → the issue approached in the
Come examples and spend more time going over them.

The Oblique Form as a Structural Case in Hind/Urdu

Review of Hindi/Urdu case in the literature

1. Hindi/Urdu cases

Mahajan 1990	Mohanan 1994	Butt 2004
Ø nom	Ø Nom	Ø nom
Ø acc	ko Acc	ko acc
ne erg	ne Erg	ne erg
ko dat	ko Dat	ko dat
se	Inst	dat
kaa	Gen	se
mē/par	Loc	instr
OBL	Non-nom	gen

2. Nominative & Accusative Case (Mahajan 1990:72)

sītaa kelaat khaatii thiit
Sita (f.) banana(m.) eat(imperf.f.) be (pst. f.)

Sita (habitually) ate bread.

3. Ergative & Dative Case (Mahajan 1990:73)

#sītaa-ko dakaat

children(m.) erg. Sita(f.) dat. see(past.m.sg.)

The children had seen Sita.

4. Instrumental (Mohanan 1994:59)

raam-ne dange-se saziy-ko māmaa
Ram-ne stick-se snake-ko kill-PERF

Ram killed the snake with a stick.

5. Source (Butt & King 2004:164)

nadya-ne aj labor=se fon ki-ya
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg today Lahore=Inst phone do-Perf.M.Sg

'Nadya called from Lahore today.'

somaat-ne sone=se

goldsmith.M.Sg=Erg gold.M.Sg Obl=Inst

har

bonaya
necklace.M.Sg.Nom make-Perf.M.Sg

'The goldsmith made a necklace out of the gold.'

Remember, we don't know Hindi-Urdu well.

Hindi-Urdu we are

spend more time going over them.

6.

Genitive (Mohanan 1994:60)

raam-ne bacee-kaa naam pukaruu

Ram-ne child-kaa name call-PERF

Ram called the child's name.

7. Locative (Mohanan 1994:60)

baceezaa kameen-e buufuu hai

child room-in# sit-PERF be-PERF

The child is sitting in the room.

8. Locative? (Mohanan 1994:60)

raam-ne kamaa darmate-par tazigaa

Ram-ne shirt door-par hang-PERF

Ram hung (his) shirt on the door.

Cases in Hindi/Urdu are clitics, not postpositions

9. Can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yasine-ne ikun-e or g'orej=ko

Yassin.M.Sg=Erg dog-M.Sg.Obl and horse-M.Sg.Obl=Acc

dekk-a he be.Pres.3.Sg

see-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg

'Yasin saw the dog and the horse.'

nudra labor or karachi=e he

Nadya.E.Sg.Nom Lahore and Karachi=Inst be.Pres.3.Sg

'Nadya is from Lahore and Karachi.'

10. The focus particle¹ can intervene (Butt & King 2004:174)

use=he ki-ya Pron.3.Sg=Foc-Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do-Perf.M.Sg

'That one himself only did (the) work.'

tujh=Isisko di-va

year.Obl=Foc=Dat give-Perf.M.Sg

'I gave it to you (and not to anyone else).' (Platts 1967: 300)

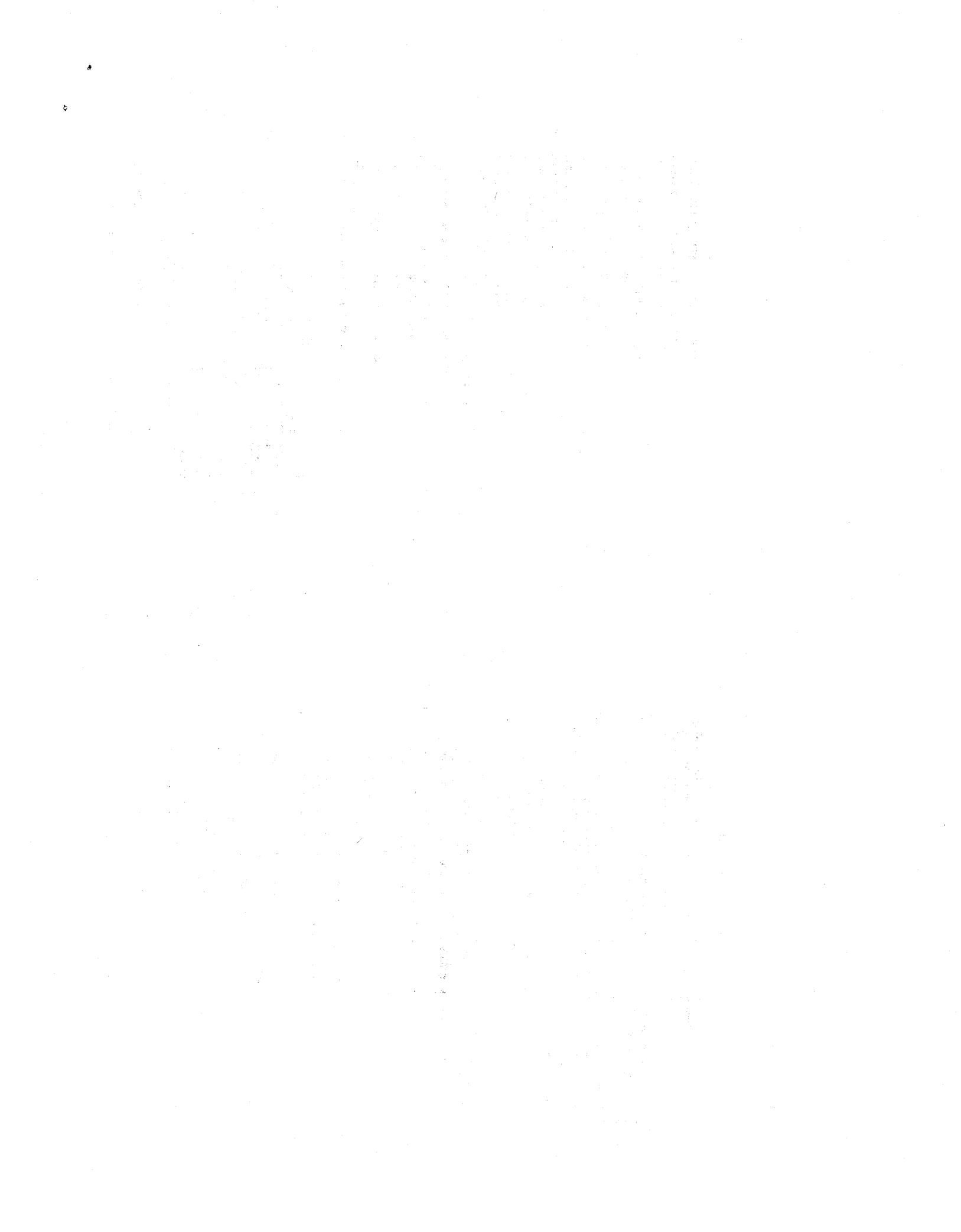
11. No stranding

¹ The genitive is derived historically from an agreeing participle of the verb *kr*-do. (Payne (1995): "The fact that the genitive inflects can be traced directly to its historical origin. After a fierce debate in the last century, the view espoused by Hoornje won out and was taken over by Beurres (1872:285) and Kellogg (1893:129). Under this view, the genitive is analyzed as having arisen from *krila* 'done by', the Sanskrit past participle of *kr*'to' as follows: Sanskrit *krila* > Prakrit *kerila* > *keri* > modern Urdu/Hindi *k*. The original participle inflected for agreement and the genitive case marker has not lost this property." (Butt & King 2004:166))

² Part is typically pronounced 'pe' in colloquial speech.
The focus clitic has the distribution of an adverb. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (b), the focus clitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb.

(b) Nadya.E.Sg=Erg cards play-Perf.M.Sg=elso be.Pres.3.Sg

³ Nadya has only played cards.



The Oblique Form as a Structural Case in Hindi/Urdu

Review of Hindi/Urdu case in the literature¹

1. Hindi/Urdu cases

Mahajan 1990

Mohanan 1994

Butt 2004

\emptyset	nom	\emptyset	Nom
\emptyset	acc	ko	acc
ne	erg	Erg	erg
ko	dat	Dat	dat
se	Instr	se	instr
kaa	Gen	k-	gen
me/pa/r	Loc	me/pa/r/ak/ \emptyset	loc
OBL	Non-nom		

2. Nominative & Accusative Case (Mahajan 1990:72)

sita^a kela^b rhaatil^c thi^d

sita (f.) banana(m.) eat (imp. f.) be (pst. f.)

sita (habitually) ate bread.

3. Ergative & Dative Case (Mahajan 1990:73)

bacon^a-ne sita^b-ko dethaa^c taaa^d

children(m.) erg. Sita(f.) dat. see (part. m. sg.)

be (pst. m. sg.)

The children had seen Sita.

Instrumental (Mahajan 1994:59)

raam-ne dand-e-se salip-ko manzaz

Ram-ne stick-se snake-ko kill-PERF

Ram killed the snake with a stick.

5. Source (Butt & King 2004:164)

nadiya-ne qj Lahor=se fan ki-ya

Nadya-F.Sg=Erg today Lahore=last phone do-Perf.M.Sg

'Nadya called from Lahore today.'

sunar-ne some=se

goldsmith.M.Sg=Erg gold M.Sg Obl=Inst

har be na ya

necklace.M.Sg.Nom make-Perf.M.Sg

'The goldsmith made a necklace out of the gold.'

^a goldsmith.M.Sg=Erg gold M.Sg Obl=Inst
^b har be na ya
^c necklace.M.Sg.Nom make-Perf.M.Sg

'The goldsmith made a necklace out of the gold.'

Cases in Hindi/Urdu are clitics, not postpositions

9. Can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yasin-ne [kone or karac^e] hui

Vassim-M.Sg=Erg dog-M.Sg.Obl and horse-M.Sg.Obl=Acc

det=a

see-Perf.M.Sg he.Pres.3.Sg

'Yassin saw the dog and the horse.'

nadiya [lajor or karac^e] hui

Nadya-F.Sg.Nom Labor or Karachi=last be.Pres.3.Sg

'Nadya is from Lahore and Karachi.'

10. The focus particle² can intervene (Butt & King 2004:174)

use=nihane kam ki-ya

Prox.3.Sg=Foc=Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do-Perf.M.Sg

'That one himself did (the) work.'

tujh-ko di-ya

'you Obj=Loc-Dat give-Perf.M.Sg

'I gave it to you (and not to anyone else).'³ (Plaut 1967: 300)

11. No stranding

You can't play cards

6. Genitive¹ (Mohanan 1994:60)

raam-ne bacee-kaa naam pukaraa

Ram-ne child-kaa name call-PERF

Ram called the child's name.

7. Locative (Mohanan 1994:60)

bacee-kaa kamre-m^c baif^d hui

child room-m^c si-PERF be-PERF

The child is sitting in the room.

8. Locative² (Mohanan 1994:60)

raam-ne karaaz darvaze-par lixy gaa

Ram-ne shirt door-par hang-PERF

Ram hung (his) shirt on the door.

¹ The genitive is derived historically from an agreeing participle of the verb *kr* 'do.' (Payne 1995) "The fact that the genitive inflects can be traced directly to its historical origin. After a fierce debate in the last century, the view espoused by Hoernle won out and was taken over by Beames (1872:285) and Kellogg (1893: 129). Under this view, the genitive is analyzed as having arisen from *krta* done by'; the Sanskrit past participle of *kr* 'do' as follows: Sanskrit *krta* > Prakrit *kerita* > *kerit* > modern Urdu/Hindi *k*-. The original participle inflected for agreement and the genitive case marker has not lost this property." (Butt & King 2004:166)

² *Par* is typically pronounced 'pe' in colloquial speech.

³ The focus clitic has two distributions as an adverb. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (i), the focus clitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb.

(i) Nadya-E.Sg=Erg cards play-Perf.M.Sg=acc be.Pres.3.Sg
 Nadya has only played cards.

Is your point that oblique cases
prioritize? *Oblique*

12. "Case markers do not affect the placement of stress, while affixes do. For example, in trisyllabic words with three heavy syllables, the stress falls on the penult" (Butt & King 2004:176) However, stress in Hindi/Urdu is highly problematic see Hayes (1990: 162-167).

ta. la. sh+i
'a.shak+o ≠ a.'sha.ko 'Asha-DAT'

'search' 'search'

The underdiscussed morphological case: "oblique"

So far GB/P&P/minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu has not acknowledged the presence of the oblique noun form. Manajan 1990 didn't even gloss it. Bhatt 2005 includes it in his glosses but doesn't say why its used.

13. Direct form

hamara g̥raha *ghrasa* =_{IO} *natiñ* *kha* =_{IZ}
our donkey grass emph. NEG eat impvⁱ

"Our donkey doesn't eat grass."

14. Oblique form

gadhe *se* *le lo* *embedded under post position*
that.OBL donkey-OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd sg

"Take it from that donkey."

I will claim that the oblique is also a form of case, morphological case rather than postpositional.

The direct (or bare) and oblique stem forms have often been described in the literature (Kachru (1965), Kachru (1980:26), Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

"The exact shape of the [oblique] stem forms is dependent on (a) the final phonological segment, and (b) gender (there being a two way gender distinction in Hindi, masculine and feminine)." (Mohanan 1994:61)

15. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001:12)

direct singular	direct plural	oblique singular	oblique plural
masc.sing: राजा	राजों	राजे	राजों
fem.sing: रानी	रानी	रानी	रानी
termine: बहू	बहु	बहूं	बहूं

16. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172) add question words and relative pronouns

To my knowledge the oblique hasn't yet been accounted for in a theory where case must be determined by the syntax, instead of an inflectional paradigm in the lexicon.

Previous Generative Discussion of the Oblique

Mohanan 1994:

1. "It is by no means assumed that the stems that exhibit a case distinction are undervoice or morphologically unrelated forms. Rather, just as stems carry information such as SINGULAR or PLURAL, they also bear the case features NOM, NONNOM, or VOC." (Mohanan 1994:61)
2. "NONNOM stems must take a case clitic after them" (Mohanan 1994:62)

Butt & King 2004:

17. The oblique:
"In modern Urdu/Hindi, the oblique is mandatory for all non-nominative (non-direct) forms. This includes all nouns marked by overt case, as illustrated in (16), as well as bare locatives, as shown in (17). The oblique manifests itself as the affix -e on masculine singular nouns ending in -a, and as -o in the plural on all nouns. However, on all other forms (e.g., feminine singular nouns, masculine nouns not ending in -a such as yassin in (16)), the oblique marking is not overt." (Butt & King 2004:168)

- (16) a. *yassin=ne kolt-a dek^b-3*
Yassin.M.Sg=Eig dog.M.Sg.Nom see-Perf.M.Sg

'Yassin saw a/some dog.'

- b. *yassin=ne kolt-e-ko dek^b-a*
Yassin.M.Sg=Eig dog.M.Sg.Obl=Acc see-Perf.M.Sg

'Yassin saw the dog.'

- (17) ahan dakte *gr̥ya*
Adnan.M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg

be.
 be.Pres.3.Sg

'Adnan has gone to the post office.'

18. Two Obliques, 1 as agreement on the complement of a K head, 2 as a locative 'to/From' but not 'in/towards'

"We do not follow this analysis, but 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. The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted: it can only mean 'to' or 'from', not 'in', 'towards' etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5): one as agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker." (Butt & King 2004:168)

The oblique "now primarily serves as a morphological wellformedness checker similar to the weakstrong agreement pattern of German adjectives and determiners (see Butt, King, Nino, and Segond (1999: 103-108) for a description and LFG analysis)." (Butt & King 2004:173)

19. "the oblique marking -e on nouns is an inflectional affix." (Butt & King 2004:174) Not a postposition (Butt & King 2004:176)

**kort-hi-e*

**dog.Fox-Obl*

**kel-hi-a*

*play-Foc.Perf.M.Sg

20. The origin of the Oblique and its distribution

"The Sanskrit case system consisted of a complex set of declensions which varied according to three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and approximately thirteen different noun classes. The system distinguished nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. Unlike the Urdu/Hindi system of today, case was marked by inflectional affixes, as in its sister language Latin... These forms were either lost or were collapsed into the modern oblique marking (Beames 1872-209)." (Butt & King 2004:167)

21. Case Forms in Middle Indo-Aryan (Butt & King 2004:168)

Singular	Plural
Nominative [<i>st. a. am</i> [same as Nominative]	<i>st. aJ</i>
Accusative Instrumental [<i>em. m. he hi</i> <i>emhi, em, ah, ah</i>	<i>emhi, em, ah, ah</i>
Ablative [<i>iu. ahu. ato</i> <i>ah, abo, az, st, sun</i>	<i>hiq, atik</i>
Genitive/Dative Locative [<i>is. bi. him</i> <i>is, bi, him</i>	<i>is, bi, him</i>

22. Butt & King 2004 consider the older morphological affixes may be part of the case system in other South Asian languages.

"In some South Asian languages, these vestiges play a greater role in the case marking system than what can be observed in Urdu/Hindi. For those languages, an inclusion of the oblique marking as part of the case system seems reasonable." (Butt & King 2004:173)

Claim: the oblique is a case, even in Hindi/Urdu. The assignment of the oblique is obligatory and uniform, its morphological realization is conditioned only on pronouns) and class. This is no different from the accusative in English (found only on pronouns) and German.

Following Legate (to appear) I will argue that case and agreement are determined in the syntax and realized by the morphology. The oblique is the morphological realization of an abstract structural case that is syntactically determined. The morphological realization depends on the word class of the root and is "as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language." (Legate to appear)

A structural case that is assigned by Po

I assume that the structural case is assigned by a postposition to its DP complement, and is realized multiply through feature spreading (Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutman 2006), in the morphology at spell out.

23. English prepositions assign accusative to their complements
- English PP
I took the grass [from my P[OB]]

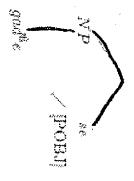


24. Urdu prepositions assign "oblique" to their complements

Unit PP

as PST^{P} $=\text{sc}$ te $=\text{d}_3$
 that donkey-FORI from take take-2nd
 "Take it from that donkey."

pP

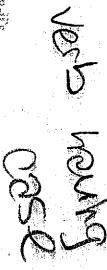


Like case in many languages (German for example), the oblique appears multiply on all elements of the DP which have an oblique form

25. us bare gadhe gadhe $=\text{sc}$ le lo
 that CC big-ACC donkey ACC from take-SUBJ take-2nd-SG
 'Take it from that big donkey.'
26. Nimm den Schenkel für diesen großen
 take-2-SG imper def-ACC stool-ACC for that-ACC big-ACC
 grauen alten unbekommen röhren
 grey-ACC old-ACC un-2-hair-ACC quiet-ACC
 sitzenden Elefanten dieses Mannes
 sit-2-ACC elephant-ACC that-GEN man-GEN
 'Take the stool for this big grey old quiet hairless sitting elephant of the man.'

27. [Lataa-ji-ke ye gaanaa ga-ye ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)

- [A shaa-je-kaa yeh gaanaa ga-ya-ho-naa]
 Lataa-Hon-Gan Ohi this song sing-PFV.Ohi
 ho-naa-je zvadha ramkin hai
 b2-PL.Ohi last more possible be.PRS.3.Sg
 'Asianic having sung this song is more likely than Lataa-ji's
 having sung this song.'



This structural case can be realized on pronouns, adjectives, nouns (in I), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in II) gerunds (in III), the same grammatical categories as in German.⁴

28. dabbe ke OBJ nice OBJ tak
 box-ACC=GEN Ae under- Ae until
 'up to the underneath of the box.'

⁴ If we think that the — on participles is the same thing.

29. raam ke OBJ

raam=GEN- Ae sit-NONFIN- Ae =ON khaanaa
 us=ko 3sg.ACC=DAT food give-PERF

Juie's glosses
 [raam-ke] haT^hne]par māā-ne uses k'hāanaa divaa
 Raam-GEN sit NonFin-LOC mother-Erg him-DAT food ABS give-Perf
 'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)

In this section I have shown that the oblique is regular and required, its appearance in some situations and not others is due to its morphological availability for certain words and not others. I have claimed that the oblique is assigned by postpositions.

Ramifications of a structural case

- If case clitics are assigning case, they are probably not case but rather argument introducers than argument markers.

- If case clitics are helping the verb introduce arguments, are the functions of what would be lexical verbs in English broken into pieces in Hindi/Urdu: case clitics, root, and light verbs.

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^0 is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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^0 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.

No, 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

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

- adhan dikxuu $\text{ge}-\text{ya}$
 Adam.M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg
 he be.PRS.3.Sg
 'Adhan has gone to the post office.'

⁴ Adhan has gone to the post office.'

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

bilki / ek hi kai
 this cat-^{1SG} / one only eye-S(?) be-PK
 This cat has only one eye.



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

nām-ke bātī hi mādne usko kāzna diya.
 Ram-3 sit-NF mother-E pron-D food-N give-PERF
 As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.

33. The oblique under *allow* (Bhatt 2005:778)

[Sarosh-ko gaakhi chala-ne] di-i
 Nadia-ne [Sarosh-ko gaanī chala-ne] di-i
 Nadia-EG Sarosh-ACC-car.F drive-Ger.Obl iet-P²V₁FSG
 'Nadia let Sarosh drive the car.'

[peR-kaT-e] di-ye (Bhatt 2005:795)

Nadia-ic [peR kāT-e] di-ye
 Nadia-EG 'trees cut-¹Inf.Obl iet-P²V₁P₁

'Nadia let the trees get cut.'



34. In a conditional (collected from a web forum)

Agt mere pie kutta bhonkne laga
 if 1st-GEN-ACC behind-ACC dog bark-NONFIN-ACC start-M.MSG
 to main zurud bhag jaongi
 then 1sg certainly run go-1^{SG}-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

35. Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum)

main aap ko
 1.SG 2.SG FORMAL=DAT danda dhondne ya phin iota oTāne
 stick look-for-NONFIN-ACC or even shoe take-off-NONFIN-ACC
 duun gaa kya?
 Allow-1.SG FUT Q

Appendices

-e on arguments of verbal heads

Vuchic, R. 1993. *A study of Noun Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.

References

Butt, R. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23: 757-807.

Bhatt, M. & T. H. King. 2004. The Status of Case. In *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, ed. V. Dayal & A. Mahajan. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In Step by Step. Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In Ken Hale: A life in language, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. 'How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax'. In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-157.

Legate, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.
 Mahajan, Anoop. 1990. *The A/A-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation.

Masica, Colin: 1991, The Indo-Aryan Languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.K|15..M37 1991

Mohanan, Tara. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Payne, J. 1995. "Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri." in *Double Case. Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. Plank, F. (ed). Oxford University Press.

Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa

It is a structural case, but is it a structural case assigned by a verbal existential introducer, (ie v) after all?
 Probably not, what to check next...

World I let you look a stick or two off your shoes

It is a structural case, but is it a structural case assigned by a verbal existential

{19) jih̥i rati^e suraya bhu
who.Obl create-Perf.MPl heaven,M.Nom earth,Nom
satta pātāla

seven.Nom hell,M.Nom

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]
(Chaud. Prithviraj-Rasau 1.11; Beames 1872: 267)

[He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]

The

clothes should have been made by today.'

The clothes should have been made by today.'

Masculine nouns
Sona, some gold Butt& King 2004:164

Shukla 2001:6

Masculine:

जैरा	जैरा	'god'
ताजा	ताजा	'king'
पानी	पानी	'water'
पैर	पैर	'feet'
Feminine:		
सुनि	सुनि	'woman'
ताजी	ताजी	'queen'
गर्भ	गर्भ	'child'
पौरी	पौरी	'wife'

3rd singular -e

Butt& King 2004:165

उस्से उड़ा रुहि जो-ए-ग-ा

Prox-List walk-Perf.M.Sg not go-3-Fut.M.Sg

'She/he can't possibly walk.' (in the context of a broken leg)
(Glassman 1976: 275)

Participles (with varying gender)

Participles (this is not oblique as it should become -i with a fem subject)

(Mohanan 1994:182)

श्रीकृष्ण-का / ... मुख्करावे हुआ / जामी

Sri Krishna-G smile-NF be-NP birth-N

Sri Krishna₁ was born. i smiling.

Plural -e

36. (Bhatt 2005:787)

अनि-ए	लक्ष्मी देखि-ए	*देखि-ए
Ani-Eng	boys, M. see-Pfv.MPl/ see-Pfv.D	
‘Ani saw boys.’		
Anि-ए	लक्ष्मी देखि-ए	*देखि-ए
Ani-Eng	girls, Pl. see-Pfv.FPl/ see-Pfv.D	
‘Ani saw girls.’		

37. Is that certainly plural in this example? (Bhatt 2005:796)

कपो
clothes,MPi
पाता
make,Imp
जाने[जाना]
GO-Inf.MPl/GO-Inf.MSG
should
be.Pst.MPl/*be.Pst.MSG

The clothes should have been made by today.'

Forms of se – sa, si, se?

(Butt & King 2004:170)

The instrumental *se* may either be connected with Sanskrit *sam* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *sange* in attachment to (Kellogg 1893: 132). The genitive arose out of a participial form of 'do' (fn. 11), and the

38. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40)

राम-ने कौन सा अद्मी सिंहा से कहा[e] (kil) t

Ram (SUB) which man (EDO) Sits to told (that)

साया थाल

come-perf-m be-pat-m

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

39. Kon si (Mahajan 1990:

{29} [k]On si daasi, raaja-ne uske, pitaa-ko [tmas tvo tvo
which maid (DO) king(SUB) her father(IO)

लोरा ढिल

return give-pst-f

which maid, did the king return to her, father?

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

40. Dhire dhire 'slowly'

41. Kese (Mahajan 1990)

राम-ने क्या कहा ताकि मोहन-ने कि-को क्या मारा

RAM-org KYA said whom how hit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit who ~ ?

राम-ने क्या कहा ताकि मोहन-ने कि-को क्या

मारा

Mohan said whom how

hit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit whom when?

42. phir se (Bhatt 2005:766)

Rohan-ne aaj [phir se methat kar-lili] claud-h
Rohan-Erg today again hardw/F do-inff want-PIV,FSg

'Today Rohan wanted to work hard again.'

43. Jaldi/jaldi/jaldi se 'quickly'
44. bar-i caturaa se 'cleverly'

Vaala, vaali, vaale

45. In a possessive (Mahajan 1990:37)

[apni, raam, vaali kitab], nis-ne, t_x, use; t_x

self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(XO)

dli

give-parf-f

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

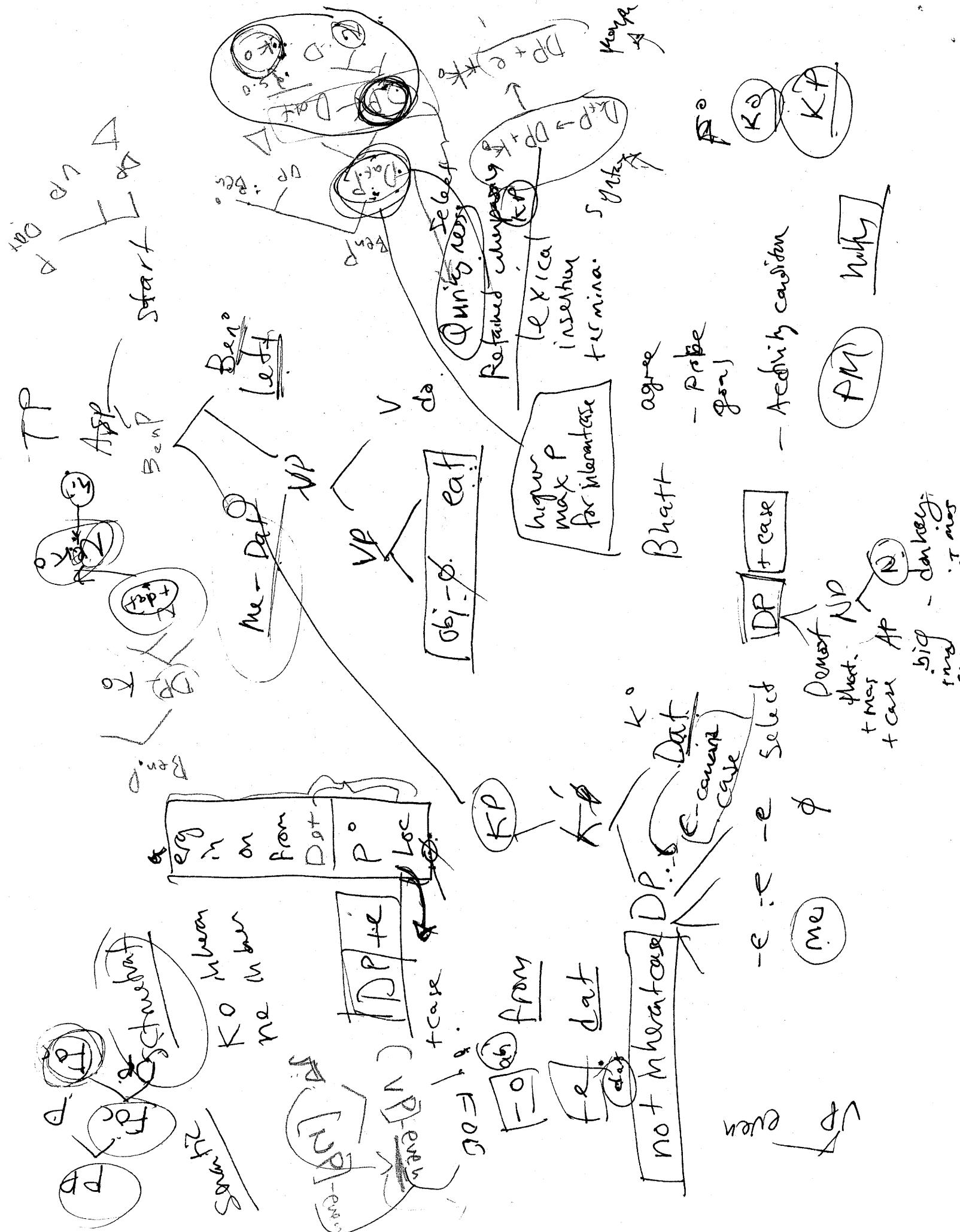
Discussions of Hindi-Urdu as an exception

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

- Ko is retained in passives, this is not an exception if -ko is a dative
- It's also not an exception if Hindi/Urdu doesn't have accusative case (as claimed by Logate 2007)

Bhatt 2005: Even "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement with the verb

- They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.
- Logate 2007: Hindi Urdu has "determined agreement" little v will agree with the object if it can't find an unmarked subject
- 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



The Oblique Form as a Structural¹ Case in Hindi/Urdu

Goal of this paper: Show that Hindi/Urdu has an affixal case, which can be explained using an abstract syntactic case feature, which allows Hindi/Urdu case to not be an exception.

Proposal:

Abstract case	\emptyset	t^0	
	\emptyset	v^0	
(No claim)		-e	p^0
PP		ne	erg
	ko	Dat	
	se	instrumental,	
	kaa	source	
	mē	genitive	
	par	on	
	tak	Toward/until	

1. Hindi/Urdu case postpositions

Matalian 1990 Mohanan 1994

\emptyset	Nom	\emptyset	Nom
\emptyset	acc	ko	acc
\emptyset	erg	ne	erg
ko	dat	ko	dat
	se	instr	
	kaa	gen	
	mē/par	loc	
OBL	Non-nom	me ^{par/ak/∅}	

There are also Hindi/Urdu noun forms which alternate between 'direct' and 'oblique' forms.

2. Direct form of *gadha*

humare g̥adha g̥hais =to nāīn k̥ha =k̥a
our donkey grass emph NEG eat imperf

“Our donkey doesn't eat grass.”

3. Oblique form of *gadha*

¹ Structural refers to a case which is a syntactic feature rather than a functional head, maybe inflectional is better...

[us that.OBL	gadhe	se]	[le lo
	donkey.MSG.OBL	from	take-SUBJ take-2 nd .SG
‘Take it from that donkey.’			
[*wo that.OBL	gadhe]	sej	[le lo
	donkey.MSG	from	take-SUBJ take-2 nd .SG

‘Take it from that donkey.’

5. The oblique cannot appear without a postposition
 f^{*wo} *gadhe* *ghaas kha* *rāhaa*
 that.OBL donkey.MSG.OBL grass eat IMPERF.M.MSG 3.SG

- ‘That donkey is eating grass.’

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

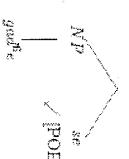
1. Complements of prepositions in English are accusative
 English PP
 I took the grass [from him.POBJ]
 P.P



2. Complements of postpositions in Urdu are oblique
 Urdu PP

us *gadhe* *sej* *le lo*
 that donkey.POBJ from take take-2nd
 ‘Take it from that donkey.’

P.P



- I claim that the oblique is also a form of case, a suffixal case rather than postpositional.

The “oblique”

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

In (6) below the final -a ending of the 'direct' masculine *ghoRa* 'horse' alternates with the oblique -e in *ghoRe* 'horse-OBL'.

6. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001:12)

direct singular	direct plural	oblique singular	oblique plural
masculine: गायः गौः नानि वा॒यः	गौः गौः नानि वा॒यः	गौ॒रे गौ॒रे नानी॒रे वा॒ये॒रे	गौ॒रों गौ॒रों नानी॒रों वा॒यों
feminine: गाया॑ नानी॑ वा॒या॑	गाया॑ नानी॑ वा॒या॑	गौ॒री॑ नानी॑री॑ वा॒ये॑री॑	गौ॒री॑रों नानी॑रों वा॒योंरों
neuter: नानि॑ बहु॑	नानि॑ बहु॑	नानी॑रे॑ बहु॑रे॑	नानी॑रों बहु॑रों

Pronouns also show a 'direct'/oblique alternation. In (7) below the nominative stem for 1st singular is *m̄ē* while the oblique stem is *m̄ȳ* (under the =ne, =ko, =se, =par postpositions).

7. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172) add question words and relative pronouns

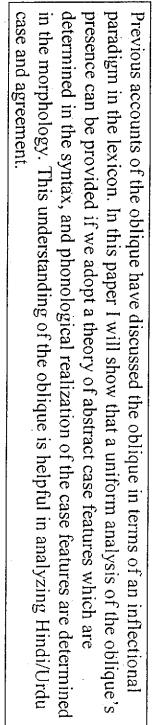
NOM	ERG	ACC/HAT	INST	TAC	GEN
1. SG m̄ē m̄e=ne		<i>m̄ȳ</i> =ko	<i>m̄ȳ</i> =se	<i>m̄ȳ</i> =par	<i>m̄ȳ</i> =ne
1. Pl hum hum=ne		<i>m̄ȳ</i> =ko	<i>m̄ȳ</i> =se	<i>m̄ȳ</i> =par	<i>m̄ȳ</i> =ne
2. DispRep. tu tu=ne		<i>tuj̄</i> =ko	<i>tuj̄</i> =se	<i>tuj̄</i> =par	<i>tuj̄</i> =ne
2. Familiar tum tum=ne		<i>tum̄</i> =ko	<i>tum̄</i> =se	<i>tum̄</i> =par	<i>tum̄</i> =ne
2. Resp. ap ap=ne		<i>ap̄</i> =ko	<i>ap̄</i> =se	<i>ap̄</i> =par	<i>ap̄</i> =ne
3. Prox.Sg ye is=ne		<i>is̄</i> =ko	<i>is̄</i> =se	<i>is̄</i> =par	<i>is̄</i> =ne
3. Prox.Pl ye is=ne		<i>is̄</i> =ko	<i>is̄</i> =se	<i>is̄</i> =par	<i>is̄</i> =ne
3. Dist.Sg vo os=ne		<i>os̄</i> =ko	<i>os̄</i> =se	<i>os̄</i> =par	<i>os̄</i> =ne
3. Dist.Pl vo un=ne		<i>un̄</i> =ko	<i>un̄</i> =se	<i>un̄</i> =par	<i>un̄</i> =ne

Previous Discussion of the Oblique

Mohan 1994:

1. "just as stems carry information such as SINGULAR or PLURAL, they also bear the case features NOM, NONNOM, or VOC." (Mohan 1994:61)
2. "NONNOM stems must take a case clitic after them" (Mohan 1994:62)
3. Butt & King 2004:
4. The oblique is an agreement inflection on the complement of a K head (case postposition)
5. 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)
6. The older morphological affixes (such as the oblique) may be part of the case system in other South Asian languages (Butt & King 2004:173)

A family tree of Hypothesis B



Yet, so far the GB/P&P/Minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu has skirted the distribution of the oblique noun form. Mahajan 1990 didn't gloss it, Bhatt 2005 include it in his glossing but doesn't explain it.

Lexical
to appear

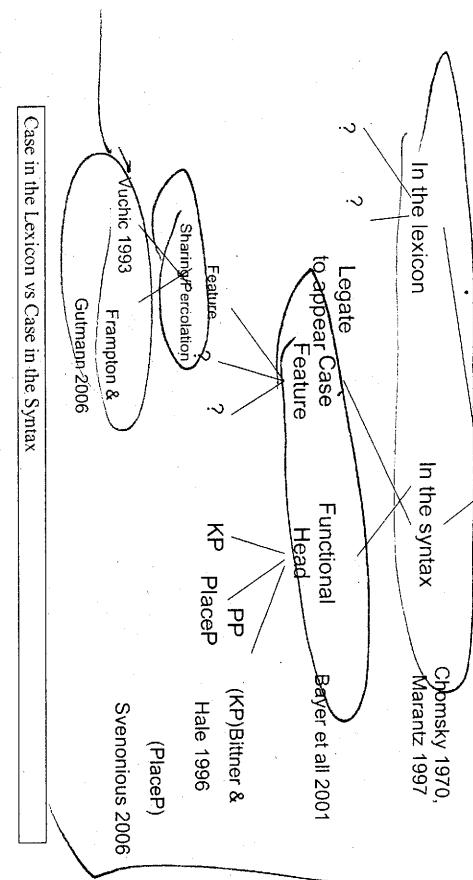
The direct (or bare) and oblique stem forms have been described in the non GB literature (Kachru (1980:26), Kachru (1980:26), Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

² Butt & King discuss another use of the oblique: "The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted: it can only mean 'to' or 'from', not 'in', 'towards', etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5): one as agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker. (Butt & King 2004:168)

REVIEW SK

for paper family of hypothesis B

Where are inflected forms made?



Case in the Lexicon vs Case in the Syntax

Both Mohanan 1994 and Butt & King 2004 take an approach where morphological processes take place in the lexicon (the "lexicist" position). This has been shown to be untenable in Chomsky 1970, and is argued explicitly against in Marantz 1997.

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. Furthermore the formalization of the oblique should be useful in analyzing the problematic Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

Exceptions in Hindi-Urdu case & agreement

- Blatt 2005: Hindi Urdu is an exception to Burzio's generalization
 - Ko is retained in passives, this is not an exception if -ko is a dative
 - It's also not an exception if Hindi/Urdu doesn't have accusative case (as claimed by Legate 2007)
- Blatt 2005: Even "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement with the verb
 - They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are

Example of looking

New Mohanan (1990) : Case & agreement

modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement. Legate 2007: Hindi Urdu has "determined agreement" little v will agree with the object if it can't find an unmarked subject. 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

Case feature vs Postposition

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

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

Yassin=ne [kjatee] dog.M.Sg.Obl and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc
det^a-ko
*Ikun or g^bol-e-ko
dog and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc
Yassin saw the dog and the horse.
*Yassin saw the dog and horse.
- (b) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
*Ikur-a or g^bol-e-ko
dog-M.Sg and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc
- (c) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
*Ikur-a or g^bol-e-ko
dog-M.Sg and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc

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

use=^{cname} kam kiya
Front.3.Sg-Foc=Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do.Pref.M.Sg

*That one himself only did (the) work.
*kun-his-e
dog-Foc-Obl

Other potential arguments:

The realization of the oblique is dependent on morphological classes and gender. This is indicative of inflection.

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

¹⁹ The focus elite has the distribution of an *adverb*. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case elites, although it is always Postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (i), the focus elitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb

(i) *Nadya-nama taj^a khaberi*
Nadya-SG-3sg cards play-Pref.M.Sg=also be.Pres.3.Sg
^a Nadya has only played cards.'

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

Claim: the oblique is a case marker, even in Hindi/Urdū. 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).

Following Legate (to appear) I will argue that case and agreement are determined in the syntax and realized by the morphology.

Case is assigned/checked on a NP-DP in an argument position of a functional head.

The functional head P^0 assigns/checks the abstract case feature on its complement; this feature is realized as the oblique in the morphology.

The morphological realization of the abstract case depends on the word class of the root and is "as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language." (Legate to appear)

A structural case that is assigned by P^0

I assume that the abstract case is assigned/checked by a postposition to its DP complement, and is realized multiply through feature spreading (Vučić 1993, Frampton & Guinan 2006) in the morphology at spell out.

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

13. us that.OBL	bare big-OBL	gadhe donkey-OBL	se from	le lo
		'Take it from that big donkey.'		
14. Nimm den Scherbel		für diesen	großen big-OBL	
		for that-OBL		
grauen grey-OBL	alten old-OBL	unbehaarten un- ² -hair-OBL	ruhigen quiet-OBL	
sitzenden Elefanten		dieses Mannes		
		'Take the stool for this big grey old quiet hairless sitting elephant of the man.'		

In this section I have shown that the oblique is regular and required, its appearance in some situations and not others is due to its morphological availability for certain words and not others. I have claimed that the oblique is assigned by postpositions. This abstract case must be spread with in the DP so that it is available in the feature bundles of all modifiers.

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 (18). 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 (18).

18 [us that.OBL take it from that big table.]	bare big-OBL	mez table.MSG.OBL	se]	le lo

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.

19. Feminine oblique surfaces the same as the default form
 (a) [us
that.OBL
big-FSG OBL book.FSG OBL
take it from that big book.]

¹ I expect feature sharing to happen whenever there is a modifier, modify relationship (predicate modification, rather than functional application)

This structural case can be realized on pronouns, adjectives, nouns (in 13), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 15), gerunds (in 16 and 17), these are the same grammatical categories as in German (14).⁵

15. [stabbe ke nice tak]
box-OBL=GEN-OBL under-OBL until
'up to the underneath of the box.'

16. [raam ke bathe par] māā-ne
raam=GEN-OBL sit-NONFIN-OBL=ON mother=ERG
us=kō diya

- 3sg.OBL=DAT food give-PERF
[Latāa-jī-ke ve gaanta gaa-yē ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)
Latāa-Hon-Gen.Obl this song sing-Pfv.Obl
hor-~~as~~ Zyschar mankin hai be-th ObL init more
be-th ObL init more possible be-prs.3SG
'Asha-jī's having sung this song is more likely than Latāa-jī's
having sung this song.'

17. [Latāa-jī-ke ve gaanta gaa-yē ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)
[A shaa-jī-kaa yeh gaanaa gaa-yā ha-naa]
Astaa-Hon-Crea this song sing-Pfv.
[Latāa-jī-kā jeh gaanaa gaa-yā ha-naa]
Latāa-Hon-Gen.Obl this song sing-Pfv.Obl
hor-~~as~~ Zyschar mankin hai be-th ObL init more
be-th ObL init more possible be-prs.3SG
'Asha-jī's having sung this song is more likely than Latāa-jī's
having sung this song.'

test for
case
for
Aspect

this is a posession

we want pronoun table

(b) wo	bati	kitaab	gir	rehi	hai
that	big-FSG	book.FSG	fall	IMPERF-F	PRES-3SG
'That big book is falling.					

Thus the appearance and non-appearance of the oblique case does not stop it from being a regular case if Legate's (to appear) theory that abstract case is different from overt morphological case. This isn't shocking, 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."

Ramifications of a structural case

If case 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 case as something equivalent to a PP or a KP. This can be argued for independently on the grounds that Hindi/Urdu case postpositions have regular semantics, and introduce only one type of theta role.

This provides a further argument that the case postpositions are not realizations of "structural" case (which Legate to appear needs to be the case at least for the v'). Structural case is typically thought of as a syntactic case feature, but a syntactic feature can 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. The highest maximal project is the PP, so that must be raised, postposition and all.

g ve examples of RC & Dative Agreement

- Butt, M. & T. H. King. 2004. The Status of Case. In *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, ed. V. Dayal & A. Mahajan. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chomsky, N. 1970. "Remarks on Nominalization," in *Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar*. The Hague: Mouton, 1972, 11-61.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. "Bare Phrase Structure," in G. Weißenthuh, ed., *Government and Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program*, Oxford: Blackwell, 385-439.
- Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax. In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-157.
- Halle, M. and A. Marantz 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection," in K. Hale and S.J. Keyser, eds., *The View From Building 20*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 111-176.
- Legate, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.
- Mahajan, A. 1990. *The A/A-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation.
- Masica, C. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PK115 .M37 1991
- Mohanan, T. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Payne, J. 1995. "Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri," in *Double Case, Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. Plank, F. (ed). Oxford University Press.
- Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa
- Vachic, R. 1993. *A study of Noun Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.
- <http://www-iitols.iit.edu/lrc/agreement.htm>
- <http://www.ling-langs.ac.uk/staff/anna/anna.htm>

- References
- Bhatt, R. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:4757-807.

Appendix

Two kinds of abstract case features, structural and inherent, not really relevant

Inherent case is an idiosyncratic case which depends on the lexical item which assigns the case.

If different postpositions assigned different case on a par with the oblique then it would be worthwhile investigating whether the oblique is inherent. German postpositions assign different cases, the postposition *für* 'for' assigns/checks accusative, while *von* 'from' assigns/checks dative.

However, in Urdu all postpositions assign/check oblique, as all members of a syntactic category assign/check the same case, it seems non-sensical to entertain that that case is inherent; it is an idiosyncratic case which is characteristic of a particular lexical item.

Tests for inherent case come from the verbal domain rather than the PP domain.

One test is whether the case-marked NP/DP retains its case when passivized. What the corresponding action a postposition's complement would be escapes me. (Ben argues against A-movement as a test since non-A-moved objects loose their structural case in Icelandic passives. Ben says that if the markedness theory of ergative marking were correct, an inherent case would be a case where a co-argument is demoted, but no grammatical function change takes place. In the antipassive the object is demoted to an oblique while the subject remains a subject. Postpositions don't appear to have co-arguments in Urdu, so this test for inherent case is not possible.)

Since I think that the inherent/structural case is irrelevant this shouldn't be a problem.

My claim: postpositions are functional heads which participate in event structure, they introduce arguments. In this way they are "semantic case" if anything. They are not "structural" cases, at least not in terms of the assignment/checking of 'features'. They must be present as functional heads, in the syntax, because they assign a case (oblique). The oblique itself is a "structural" case in that it is a feature in the syntax, not a head.

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^0 is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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^0 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.

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

20. The oblique as a locative (Bhatt & King 2004:168)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----|------------|------------|
| is
this
cat-G | bilka <i>ki</i> /-ke | ok | hit | <i>hat</i> |
| | <i>hat</i> | | <i>hat</i> | |
| | | one | only | eye-N(F) |
| | | | | be-PR |
- 'Adrian has gone to the post office.'

21. The oblique in inalienable possession (Mohanan 1994:178)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| is
this
elephant-G | haufka <i>ka</i> /-ke | badal | <i>čīdā</i> | mustak | <i>hat</i> |
| | <i>hat</i> | | <i>hat</i> | | <i>hat</i> |
| | | very | small | forehead-SQ | be-PR |
| | | | | | |
- 'This elephant has a very small forehead.'

22. The oblique (maybe) in an adjunct under the emphatic particle, not ms.msg because the gen on the subject is also marked as oblique. What dialect is this?
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| raums-ke
Ram- <i>G</i> | baup <i>ne</i> <i>hi</i> | mazāne | <i>korma</i> | <i>dyeaa</i> |
| | | <i>uska</i> | | |
| | sit-NF | mother-E | pron-D | food-N |
| | | | | give-PERF |
- 'As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.'

23. The oblique under allow (Bhatt 2005: 778)

- [Sarosh-ko graRii chala*-ne*] *di-i*
Nadia-ne [Sarosh-ko graani chala*-ne*] *di-i*
Nadia-Erg Sarosh-Acc cat.F drive-Gen.OBJ let-Pfv-Fsg
'Nadia let Sarosh drive the car.'

- [per kaT-ne] di-ve (Bhatt 2005:95)

- Nadia-ne [per kat-ne] di-ve
Nadia-Erg trees cut-*er*-inf.OBJ let-Pfv-Pl

'Nadia let the trees get cut.'

*Structural
Inherent
other
heads*

24. In a conditional (collected from a web forum)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| Ag: mere | pice | kutta | bhokne | laga |
| if ^s -GEN-OBL | behind-OBL | dog | bank-NONFIN-OBL | start-M.MSG |
| to | main | zund | bhag | jaoongi |
| then | 1sg | certainly | run | go-1sg=FUT |
- 'If a dog started barking after me then I would certainly run.'

J Nelson Law VP

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

25. Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum)

main	aap ko		
1.SG	2sg-FORMAL=DAT		
danda dhordne		ya phir	
stick look-for-NONFIN-OBL	or even	jota o'farne	
dun	gaa	kya?	shoe take-off-NONFIN-OBL

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 on arguments of verb heads

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

jithi	race ^e	suraga	bhu
who.Obl	create;Perf.M.PI	heaven.M.Nom	earth.Nom
satta	pāṭala		
seven.Nom	hell.M.Nom		

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]

[He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.] (Chand, Prithviraj-Raskai 1.11; Beames 1872: 267)

Masculine nouns

Sona, some gold Butt & King 2004: 164

Shukla 2001: 6

Masculine:	dēvī	'god'	
देवी	dēvī	'god'	
राजा	rājā	'king'	
रानी	rānī	'queen'	
पेत्र	pētr	'tree'	

Feminine:

स्त्री	stṛī	'woman'	
रानी	rānī	'queen'	
रात्रि	rātrī	'wind'	
नदी	nadī	'river'	

3rd singular -e

Butt & King 2004: 165

DSense	ccl-a	nothi	ja-e-g-a
Pron=Inst	walks-Perf.M.Sg	not	go-3-Fut.M.Sg

'She/he can't possibly walk.' (in the context of a broken leg) (Glassman 1976: 275)

Participles (with varying gender)

Participles (this is not oblique as it it should become -i with a fem subject)

Shrikrishna-kaa	f ____ muskharate	hue]	jaam	huuuu
Sri Krishna-G	smile-REF	bce-NF	birth-N	happen-PERF

Plural -e

26. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Anilic	laññā	dkhāññā	*dskhāññā
Anil-Eg	boys	boys M see-Pfv.MPl	see-Pfv.D
'Anil saw boys.'			
Anilne	laññāññā	*dskhāññāññā	
Anil-Eg	girls	girls Pl see-Pfv.FPl	see-Pfv.D

'Anil saw girls.'

Forms of se – sa, si, se?

(Butt & King 2004:70)

The instrumental se may either be connected with Sanskrit *sun* 'with'

or with the locative singular noun *safge* 'in attachment to' (Kellogg 1893: 132). The genitive arose out of a participial form of *do* (fn. 11), and the

28. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40)

raam-ne kon saa aadmi sitaa se kaha[te] (ki) t

Ram(SUB) which man(EGO) Sita to told (that)

aaya thaal come-perf-m be-pat-m

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come,

29. Kon sii (Mahajan 1990:

(29) [kon si dasi si raava-ne uske, pitaa-ko [tu tu tu

which maid(DO) king(SUB) her father(FO)

lotaa dil]

return give-Pst-f

which maid, did the king return to her, father?

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

30. Dhire dhire 'slowly'

31. Kese (malajian 1990)

[ram-ne kya kaha tha ki mohan-ne kis-ko kise maraa Ram-erg KYA said whom how hit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit who - ?

[ram-ne kya kaha tha ki mohan-ne kab kis-ko kise Ram-erg KYA said whom when whom how

maraa hit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit whom when?

32. phir se (bhakti 2005:76)

[phir-se melhat kar-nii] chaah-ii Rohan-Erg today again hardwork,F do-huff want-PFv,FSg

'Today Rohan wanted to work hard again.'

33. jaldi jaldi se 'quickly'

34. baRi caturtaa se 'cleverly'

Vaala, vaali, vaale

35. In a possessive (Malajian 1990:37)

[apni, ram, vaali kitab], ne-ne, t' uses, ti self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(IO)

dil

give-perf-f

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

Specified for
give in underspecification

like lack of comp one
w/ the verb - e

The Oblique Form as a Structural¹ Case in Hindi/Urdu

Goal of this paper: Show that Hindi/Urdu has an affixal case

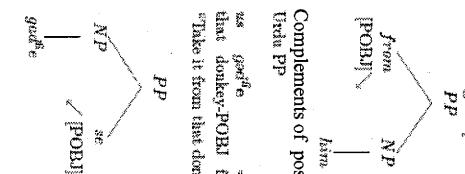
Proposal:

Abstract case	\emptyset	P^2
	\emptyset	v_Q
	-e	P^2
(No claim)	ne	e^E
P _P	ko	Dat
	se	instrumental, source
	kaa	genitive
	mē	in
	par	on
	tak	Toward/until

1. Hindi/Urdu case postpositions

Mahajan 1990	Mohanan 1994	Butt 2004
\emptyset nom	\emptyset Nom	\emptyset nom
\emptyset acc	ko Acc	ko acc
ne erg	Erg ne	erg ne
ko dat	Dat ko	dat ko
se	Instr se	instr se
kaa	Gen k-	gen k-
mē/par	Loc mē/par	loc mē/par/tak/∅
OBL	Non-nom	Non-nom

There are also Hindi/Urdu noun forms which alternate between 'direct' and 'oblique' forms.



- I claim that the oblique is also a form of case, a suffixed case rather than postpositional.
The “oblique”

- The exact shape of the oblique stem depends on (a) the final phonological segment, and
(b) gender (masculine and feminine) of the word. (Mohanan 1994:61)
- In (6) below the final -a ending of the 'direct' masculine *ghoRā* 'horse' alternates with
the oblique -e in *ghoRe* 'horse-OBL'

'Take it from that donkey.'

4. The oblique is obligatory when the NP is the complement of a postposition
*/*mo* *gadha* *se/le* *to*
that donkey.MSG from take-SUBJ take-2nd sg
'Take it from that donkey.'

5. The oblique cannot appear without a postposition
*/*us* *gadhe* *ghuaas* *kha* *rataa* *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.

1. Complements of prepositions in English are accusative
English PP
I took the grass [from him.POBJ]

PP



2. Complements of postpositions in Urdu are oblique



Urdu PP
take *gadhe* *se* *le* *to*
that donkey-P OBJ from take take-2nd
"Take it from that donkey."

6. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001:12)

direct singular	direct plural	oblique singular	oblique plural
masculine: परा परों	परे परों	परीं परों	परों परों
feminine: नारी नारों	नारे नारों	नारीं नारों	नारों नारों
neuter: बहुं बहुं	बहुं बहुं	बहुं बहुं	बहुं बहुं

Pronouns also show a 'direct'/oblique alternation. In (7) below the nominative stem for 1st singular is *m̥e* while the oblique stem is *m̥y̥i* (under the -ne, =ko, =se, =par postpositions).

7. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172) add question words and relative pronouns

NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INST	LOC	CEN
1. SI	मिे नि॒=me	मि॒यिे को॒=ko	मि॒यिे से॒=se	मि॒यिे पर॒=par	मि॒यिे वि॒=e
1. PI	हुमे हुम॒=ne	हुम॒यिे को॒=ko	हुम॒यिे से॒=se	हुम॒यिे पर॒=par	हुम॒यिे वि॒=e
2. Disresp.	उमे उम॒=ne	उम॒यिे को॒=ko	उम॒यिे से॒=se	उम॒यिे पर॒=par	उम॒यिे वि॒=e
2. Familiar	तुमे तुम॒=ne	तुम॒यिे को॒=ko	तुम॒यिे से॒=se	तुम॒यिे पर॒=par	तुम॒यिे वि॒=e
2. Resp.	अपे अप॒=ne	अप॒यिे को॒=ko	अप॒यिे से॒=se	अप॒यिे पर॒=par	अप॒यिे वि॒=e

Yet, so far the GB/P&P/Mininalist literature on Hindi/Urdu has skirted the distribution of the oblique noun form. Mohanan 1990 didn't gloss it, Bhatt 2005 include it in his glossing but doesn't explain it.

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. This understanding of the oblique is helpful in analyzing Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

Previous Discussion of the Oblique

Mohanan 1994:

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

Butt & King 2004:

3. The oblique is an agreement inflection on the complement of a K head (case postposition)
4. 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."² (Butt & King 2004:168)
5. 10. The older morphological affixes (such as the oblique) may be part of the case system in other South Asian languages. (Butt & King 2004:173)

Both Mohanan 1994 and Butt & King 2004 take an approach where morphological processes take place in the lexicon (the "lexicalist" position). This has been shown to be untenable in Chomsky 1970, and is argued explicitly against in Marantz 1997.

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. Furthermore the formalization of the oblique should be useful in analyzing the problematic Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.³

² Butt & King discuss another use of the oblique: "The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted so it can only mean 'to' or 'from', 'not in', 'towards', etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5): one as agreement inflection or the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker. (Butt & King 2004:168)

³ Discussions of Hindi/Urdu as an exception in terms of case & agreement
 • Ko is retained in passives, this is not an exception if -ko is a dative
 • It's also not an exception if Hindi/Urdu doesn't have accusative case (as claimed by Legate 2007)

The direct (or bare) and oblique stem forms have been described in the non GB literature (Kachru (1965), Kachru (1980:26), Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

Bhatt 2005: Even "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement with the verb

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

11. (a) Case postpositions = *ko* can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

Yassin [konne] or $\hat{g}^{\text{kon-e}}=ko$
Yassin.M.Sg=Eng dog.M.Sg.Obl and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc
see-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg

(b) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
*[*kut* or $\hat{g}^{\text{kut-e}}=ko$
dog and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc

(c) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
*[*kut-a* or $\hat{g}^{\text{kut-e}}=ko$
dog.M.Sg and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc

12. (a) The focus particle⁴ can intervene between the NP and the case postposition (Butt & King 2004:174)

us=himself kam Ki-ya
Pron.3.Sg=Foc-Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do.Perf.M.Sg
'That one himself/only did (the) work.'

(b) The focus particle cannot intervene between the NP and the oblique
*[*kut-hi-e*

Other (Polaris) arguments

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

The realization of the oblique is dependant on morphological classes and gender. This is indicative of inflection.

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

- They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.

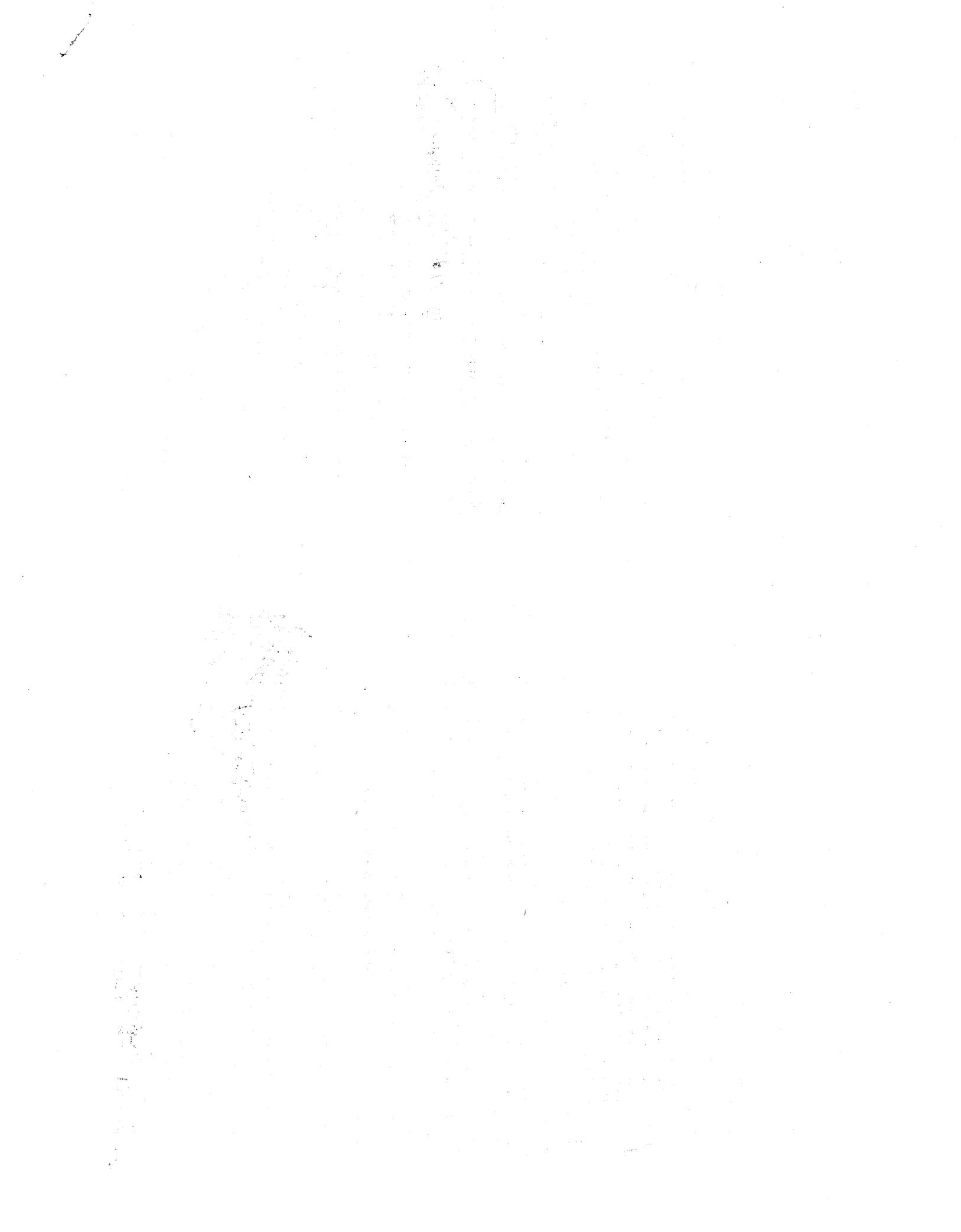
Legate 2007: Hindi Urdu has "determined agreement"; little v will agree with the object if it can't find an unmarked subject

- 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

¹⁸ The focus clitic has the distribution of an adverb. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (i), the focus clitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb.

(i) *Nadya-nam taf keri-shi cards play-Perf.M.Sg.also be.Pres.3.Sg*
'Nadya has only played cards.'

Revison on abstract feature the relativity
<p>Claim: the oblique is a case-marker, even in Hindi/Urdu. 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).</p> <p><i>Getitive</i> <i>Case</i> <i>Abstract feature</i> <i>Structural case</i></p> <p>Following Legate (to appear) I will argue that case and agreement are determined in the syntax and realized by the morphology.</p> <p>Case is assigned/checked on a NP/DP in an argument position of a functional head. The functional head p^o assigns/checks the abstract case feature on its complement, this feature is realized as the oblique in the morphology.</p> <p>The morphological realization of the abstract case depends on the word class of the root and is "as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language." (Legate to appear)</p> <p>Two kinds of abstract case features, structural and inherent</p> <p>Inherent case is an idiosyncratic case which depends on the lexical item which assigns the case.</p> <p>If different postpositions assigned different case on a par with the oblique then it would be worthwhile investigating whether the oblique is inherent. German postpositions assign different cases, the postposition <i>für</i> 'for' assigns/checks accusative, while <i>von</i> 'from' assigns/checks dative.</p> <p>However, in Urdu all postpositions assign/check oblique, as all members of a syntactic category assign/check the same case, it seems non-sensical to entertain that that case is inherent; ie an idiosyncratic case which is characteristic of a particular lexical item.</p> <p>Tests for inherent case come from the verbal domain rather than the PP domain.</p> <p>One test is whether the case-marked NP/DP retains its case when passivized. What the corresponding action a postposition's compliment would be escapes me. (Ben argues against A-movement as a test since non-A-moved objects loose their structural case in Icelandic passives. Ben says that if the markedness theory of ergative marking were correct, an inherent case would be a case where a co-argument is demoted, but no grammatical function change takes place. In the antipassive the object is demoted to an oblique while the subject remains a subject. Postpositions don't appear to have co-arguments in Urdu, so this test for inherent case is not possible.)</p> <p>Since I think that the inherent/structural case is irrelevant this shouldn't be a problem.</p>



The Oblique Form as a Structural¹ Case in Hindi/Urdu²

Goal of this paper: Show that Hindi/Urdu has an affinal case, which can be explained using an abstract syntactic case feature, ~~Hindi/Urdu~~ allows Hindi/Urdu case to not be an exception (Mahajan 1990, Bhatt 2005, Legate to appear).

Proposal:

Abstract case	\emptyset	t ² nominative
	\emptyset	v ² accusative
(No claim)	-e	p ² e oblique
PP	ne	ergative
	ko	dative
	se	instrumental, source
	kaa	genitive
	me	in
	par	on
	taak	toward/until
	dvaaaraa ³	through

1. Hindi/Urdu case postpositions
Mahajan 1990 Mohanan 1994

Butt 2004

\emptyset	Nom
\emptyset	Acc
ko	Acc
ne	Erg
ko	Dat
se	Instr
kaa	Gen
me	Loc
OBL	Non-nom

There are also Hindi/Urdu noun forms which alternate between 'direct' and 'oblique' forms.

2. Direct form of *gadha*

hemant gada *gadha* *nahin kia* =tae
our donkey grass emph NEG eat imperf

“Our donkey doesn’t eat grass.”

3. Oblique form of *gadha*

[us] *gadhe* *sel le* *lens hai?*
that.OBL donkey-M.MSG.OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG

“Take it from that donkey.”

4. The oblique is obligatory when the NP is the complement of a postposition
kaon se *gadha sel patale to* *lens hai?*
that donkey.MSG from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG

‘Take it from that donkey.’

5. The oblique cannot appear without a postposition
kaon se *gadhe/ grass kha raha* *hai*
that.OBL donkey.MSG.OBL grass eat IMPERF.MSG

‘That donkey is eating grass.’

The oblique form is similar to the accusative *me* on ‘him’ in the English structure below.

1. Complements of prepositions in English are accusative
English PP

I took the grass [from him.]POBJ]

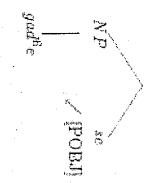
- PP
from
NP
[POBJ]
him

2. Complements of postpositions in Urdu are oblique

bacce *-ke* *dvaaaraa*
child(NN) G(NN) through (the agency of)
'through (the agency of) the child'

From Deepak

Urdu PP
 us geof^fe =se ke =lo
 "Take it from that donkey."
 "Take it from that donkey."
 PP
 NP
 guaz^{se}
 [PQRJ]



I claim that the oblique is also a form of case, a suffixal case rather than postpositional.

The “oblique”

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

In (6) below the final -a ending of the ‘direct’ masculine *gadha* ‘horse’ alternates with the oblique -e in *gadhe* ‘horse-OBL’.

6. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001)

	Singular	Plural	
	Direct	Oblique	Direct
Masculine			
a)	gadha	gadhe	gadhi ^o
b)	mez	mez	mezo?
Feminine			
c)	gadhi	gadhi	gadhi ^o
d)	bahu	bahu	bahu ^o

Pronouns also show a ‘direct’/‘oblique’ alternation. In (7) below the nominative stem for 1st singular is *mɛ* while the oblique stem is *mɛf* (under the ne, ko, se, dat Postpositions).

7. The oblique forms of pronouns (Shukla 2001)

	Singular	Plural	
	DP	[DP from]	DP
1	mɛ	mujh se	hum
2	tum	tum se	ap
3 Prox	ye	is se	ap se
		in se	

The direct (or bare) and oblique stem forms have been described in the non GB literature (Kachru (1965), Kachru (1980:26), Prāy (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1979), Mohanan (1994), Butt & King (2004)).

Yet, so far the GB/P&P/Minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu has skirted the distribution of the oblique noun form. Mahajan 1990 didn't gloss it. Bhatt 2005 includes it in his glossing but doesn't explain it. (Bavm 2004) *Locality + Agree* (Mahajan 1990:160)

- a) Ram promised Mohan to leave.
 Ram-ne mohan se jaane kaa vaada diya
 Ram-erg Mohan to go gen promise gave
 b) Ram took a promise from Mohan to leave.
 Ram-erg Mohan-obj to go gen promise took
 lit. Ram took a promise from Mohan to leave.

9. (Mohanan 1994:62)

bacce ke liye
 children G(NN) for
 'for the child.'

10. (Davison 2004:211) Look at Davison more

bacce-free [dusue bacce-seed] apnee/*us-eat-kee
child-ERG second child-from self-S/3s-Gen

khilaunee chuin li-ee

toys snatch take-PF

'One child' snatched snatched from [another child]

self-S/3s-Gen toys

(Dayal 2004:403)

11. (Dayal 2004:403)
kame meN cubhaa ghuum rahaai hai
room in mouse moving is
'A mouse is moving around in the room.'

12. [[Lataa-j-i-ke ye gaanaa gaa-ye ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)
[A siia a-ji-kaa yeh gaanaa gaa-ya-ho-naa]
A-shaa-Hon-Gen i this song sing-Pfv be-Inf
[Lataa-ji-ke yeh gaanaa gaa-ye
Lataa-Hon-Gen Oh! this song sing-Pfv.Oh!
ho-jeL-se zyadaan munkin ha-
be-Inf.Obi-listr more possible be-PF.3SG
'Ashaa-ji- having sung this song is more likely than Lataa-ji's
having sung this song.'

13. Legate (to appear L8)
vo auraa Ali samajhite hai ki Sudha-ne us-e
DEM woman ABS Ali ABS thinks that Sudha-ERG her-COM
beat kiyaa thaai
That woman, Ali thinks that Sudha talked to her. (Dwivedi 1994:31)

14. Legate (to appear L16)
raam-ke bair-jeL-par maata-ne usko kbaanaa diyaai
Raam-GEN sit NonFin-LOC mother-ERG him DAT food ABS give-PF
'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)

- laane [raam-ke darvaza k-jeL-par am-ko DaaTaa
Raam-GEN door ABS open NonFin-LOC Anu-DAT scold PIER
'Ta scolded Anu on Ram's opening the door' (Mohanan 1994:186)

15. Legate (to appear L38)
puure din mainNee (apne kame meN) kitaab paRhi
whole day L-ERG self's room in book E read F.S

Kidwai 2001 scan it

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 helpful in analyzing Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

Previous Discussion of the Oblique

Previous accounts have been made in the LEG framework, both locate the oblique formation in the lexicon.

- Mohanan 1994:
1. "just as stems carry information such as SINGULAR or PLURAL, they also bear the case features NOM, NONNOM, or VOC." (Mohanan 1994:61)

2. "NONNOM stems must take a case clitic after them" (Mohanan 1994:62)

- Butt & King 2004:
16. The oblique is an agreement inflection on the complement of a K head (case postposition)

17. 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."⁴ (Butt & King 2004:168)

18. The older morphological affixes (such as the oblique) may be part of the case system in other South Asian languages. (Butt & King 2004:173)

Case in the Lexicon vs Case in the Syntax

Both Mohanan 1994 and Butt & King 2004 take an approach where morphological processes take place in the lexicon (the "Lexicalist" position). This has been shown to be untenable in Chomsky 1970, and is argued explicitly against in Marantz 1997.

Check inflectional vs derivational arguments?

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. Furthermore the formalization of the oblique should be useful in analyzing the problematic Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

⁴ Ta scolded Anu on Ram's opening the door (Mohanan 1994:186)

Issues Hindi-Urdu case & agreement

WORK ON MORE*** read chomsky 1995, and pesetsky & torrego

Mahajan 1990: Case and agreement can't be two sides of a coin.

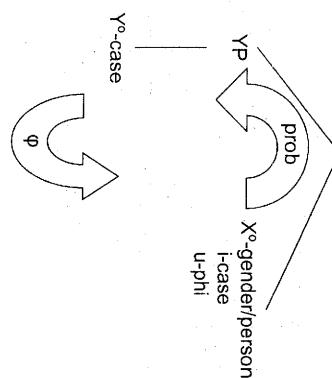
⁵ Butt & King discuss another use of the oblique: "the one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locative cases as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted: it can only mean to or 'from', not in 'towards', etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5) on the basis of agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker" (Butt & King 2004:168)

More (14/14)

19. Case and agreement are ideally two sides of a coin, the head probes for interpretable ϕ -features to check its uninterpretable ϕ -feature; in turn, the YP has uninterpretable case features are checked by the interpretable θ -role (Chomsky 1995). Alternatively, the functional head assigns abstract case features to its complement, and the complement shares its ϕ -features with the functional head.

The features are realized as person/gender agreement on the function head, and as a case marker on the complement.

XP



- Hindi/Urdū 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. If those are postpositions rather than case then of course the verb doesn't agree. My proposal derives that they don't agree.

Bhatt 2005: Hindi/Urdū is an exception to Burzio's generalization

- Accusative Ko is retained in passives (this is not an exception if -ko is a dative, it's also not an exception if Hindi/Urdū doesn't have accusative case, as claimed by Legate to appear)

Butt 1995: Long distance agreement is blocked if the noun is "pseudo incorporated". But some pseudo incorporated nouns, like girl in idiomatic expressions like "girl-looking" for marriage proposals, show agreement.

20. "pseudo incorporated" nouns show agreement
 Ahil-ne lajkiyal: dekh-i₂ *dekh-i₁
 Ahil-Eg girls.P1 see-Pfv.FP1 see-Pfv.D
 'Anil saw girls.'

- They agree only in gender. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are

modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected, the only barrier to the analysis before was that there was still agreement.

modifying

Lagat 2007: Hindi/Urdū has "determiner-agreement"

- Little v will agree the subject, but if it finds no eligible DP, it will search down and agree with the object

- 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

"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" (Lagat 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. Deck 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." (Lagat p17)

Read more

Mahajan 1990: Hindi/Urdū shows that case and agreement are two sides of the same coin.

Case feature vs Postposition

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

21. (a) Case postpositions =ko can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yasin=ne [kutte-
Yasin.M.Sg=Eg dig.M.Sg.Obl or gⁱor el=ko
dekhⁱ-a he
see-Perf.M.Sg be.Prs.3.Sg

*Yassin saw the dog and the horse.'

- (b) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
 *{kutte or gⁱor el=ko
 dog and horse-M.Sg.Obl=Acc

(c) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs

* [I'll out-a

or

\$*[out-a]=co

dog-M.SG and horse-M.SG-Obl=Acc

22. (a) The focus particle⁵ can intervene between the NP and the case postposition
(Butt & King 2004:174)

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

* kuit-hi-e

kam

ki-ya

Pron.3.Sg=Foc=Eng work.M.Sg.Nom do.Perf.M.Sg
dog-Foc.Obl

Other potential arguments:

The realization of the oblique is dependent on morphological classes and gender. This is indicative of inflection.

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

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

Focus
Claim: the oblique is a case marker, ~~ever in Hindi/Urdu~~. 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).

Following Legate (to appear) I will argue that case and agreement are determined in the syntax and realized by the morphology.

Case is assigned/checked on a NP/DP in an argument position of a functional head.

The functional head p^o assigns/checks the abstract case feature on its complement, this feature is realized as the oblique in the morphology.

The morphological realization of the abstract case depends on the word class of the root and is "as faithful as possible given the morphological resources of the language." (Legate to appear)

A structural case that is assigned by P^o
I assume that the abstract case is assigned/checked by a postposition to its DP complement, and is realized multiply through feature spreading (Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Guinan 2006) in the morphology at spell out.

Like case in many languages (German for example), the oblique appears multiply on all elements of the DP which have an oblique form.⁶

23. **With multiple markings**
that-OBL big-OBL gadie bare se le-to

Take if from that big donkey-OBL **more markings** groben
take-2sg.imper def-OBL stool.OBL for **für diesen** big-OBL

graben alten unbehaarten ruhigen
old-OBL un-2-hair-OBL quiet-OBL

sitzenden Elefanten dieses Mennes
sit-2-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 23), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 25), gerunds (in 26 and 27), these are the same grammatical categories as in German (24).

25. [dabbe ke nice tak]
box-OBL=GEN-OBL under-OBL until
'up to the underneath of the box.'

26. [raam ke baithe par] māā-ne
raam=GEN-OBL sit-NONFIN-OBL=ON mother=ERG
us=ko 3sg.OBL=DAT diyya
food give-PERF

'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)
27. [Lataa-jit-ke ye gaanaa gaa-ye ho-ne] see (Bhatt 2005:765)
[A-shaa-jit-kaa yeh gaanaa gay-yaa ho-aa]
A-shaa-Hon-Gen this song sing-Pfv-be-1af
[Lataa-jit-ke yeh gaanaa gay-aa]
Lataa-Hon-Gen.Obl this song sing-Pfv.Obl
ho-neL-ee zyaadaa munkin hai
be-inf.Obl-1inst more possible be.Prs.3.Sg
'A-shaa-jit's having sung this song is more likely than Lataa-jit's
having sung this song.'

¹³ The focus clitic has the distribution of an aspect. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (b), the focus clitic *hi* is shown attached to a verb.

(b) *Kuit-hi-e* he
Nadya-1.Sg-Eng cards play-Perf.M.Sg also be.Prs.3.Sg
'Nadya has only played cards.'

⁶ I expect feature sharing to happen whenever there is a modifier, modifyee relationship (predicate modification rather than functional application)

? If we think that the -en on participles is the same thing.

**toy principle for
rule, homadom**

**Show
Simpler
Legge
aspects**
Spreading

In this section I have shown that the oblique's regular and required its appearance in some situations and not others is due to its morphological availability to certain words and not others. I have claimed that the oblique is assigned by postpositions. This abstract case must be spread with in the DP so that it is available in the feature bundles of all modifiers.

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 (30). 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 (30).

To show that the DP is oblique I will use a demonstrative which always shows number and oblique, and an adjective which shows gender.

28. Hindi/Urdu demonstratives

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

29. Hindi/Urdu adjectives

	Singular		Plural	
	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
Masculine	bare	bare	bare	bare
Feminine	bari	bari	bari	bari

30. Masculine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

- (b) [two] bara mez gir reha he
 that.DIR big-MSG DIR table.MSG.DIR fall IMPERF-M PRES-3SG
'That big table is falling.'
- (a) [us] bare mez se] le lo take-2nd.SG
 that.OBL big-OBL.DIR table.MSG.OBL from take-SUBJ
'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.

31. Feminine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

- (b) [yo] bari kitaab gir rehi he
 that.DIR big-FSG.DIR book.FSG.DIR fall IMPERF-F PRES-3SG
'That big book is falling.'
- (a) [us] bari kitaab se] le lo take-2nd.SG
 that.OBL big-FSG.OBL book.FSG.OBL from take-SUBJ
'Take it from that big book.'

Thus the appearance and non-appearance of the oblique case does not stop it from being a regular case if Legate's (to appear) theory that abstract case is different from overt morphological case. This isn't shocking, 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."

Ramifications of structural 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 case as something equivalent to a PP or a KP. This can be argued for independently on the grounds that Hindi/Urdu postpositions have regular semantics, and introduce only one type of theta role.

This provides a further argument that the case postpositions are not realizations of "structural" case (which Legate to appear needs to be the case at least for the v⁰). Structural case is typically thought of a syntactic case feature, but a syntactic feature can't assign another case. *Falsche*

If case postpositions in Hindi/Urdu are functional heads in the syntax, this explains why passivization and argument raising retains the postposition. The highest maximal project is the PP, so that must be raised, postposition and all.

Show that the ergative is different from the others, the pronouns are in the direct no the oblique form ***

32. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172)

abstract but

Hale

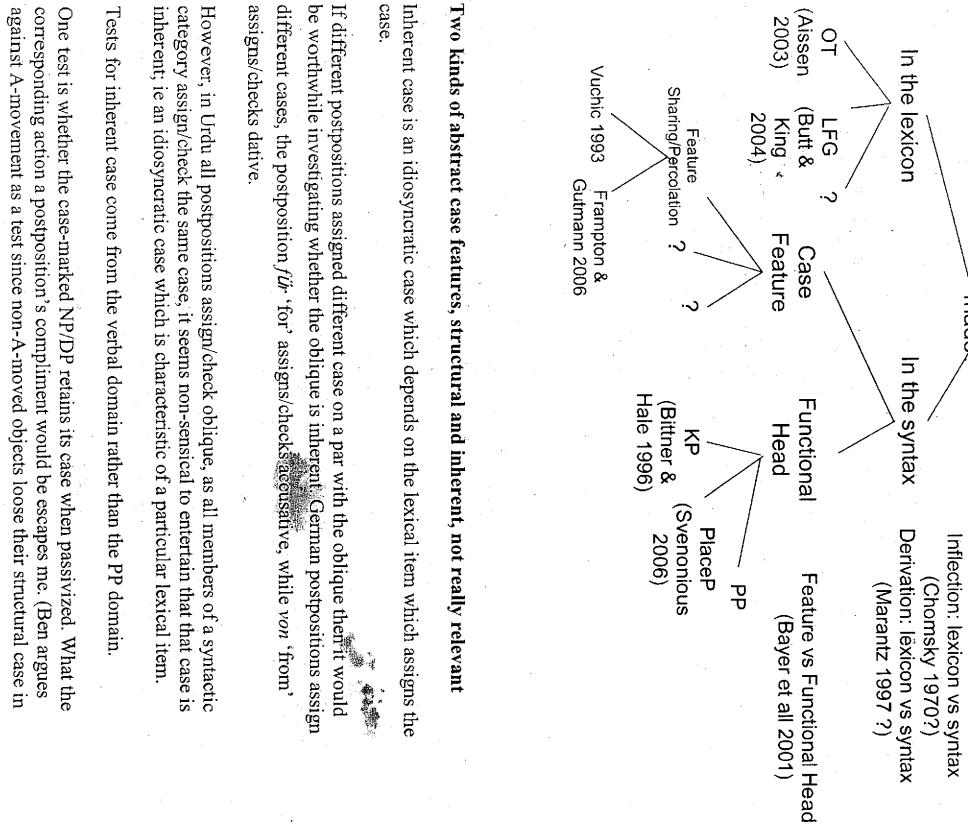
	NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INST	LOC	GEN
1. SG	m̥	m̥=ne	muj ^b =ko	muj=se	muj ^b =par	mer-a/fie
1. PL	ham	ham=ne	ham=ko	ham=se	ham=par	hamar-a/fie
2. Disresp.	tu	tu=ne	tuj ^b =ko toje	tuj ^b =se	tuj ^b =par	ter-a/fie

2. Familiar	tum	tum=ne	tum=ko	tum=se	tum=par	tumbar-a/fie
2. Resp.	ap	ap=ne	ap=ko	ap=se	ap=par	ap=k-a/fie
3. Prox.Sg	ye	is=ne	is=ko	is=se	is=par	is=k-a/fie
3. Prox.PL	ye	in=ne	in=ko	in=se	n=par	n=k-a/fie
3. Dist.Sg	vo	os=ne	us=ko	os=se	us=par	us=k-a/fie
3. Dist.PL	yo	un=ne	un=ko	un=se	un=par	un=k-a/fie
		unho=ne	unho=ko	unho=se	unho=par	unho=k-a/fie
		unho ^b				

References

- Bhatt, R. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23.4:757-807.
- Butt, M. & T. H. King. 2004. The Status of Case. In *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, ed. V. Dayal & A. Mahajan. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chomsky, N. 1970. Remarks on Nominalization," in *Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar*. The Hague: Mouton, 1972, 11-61.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*.
- Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In *Step by Step. Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. 'How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax.' In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-157.
- Hale, M. and A. Marcantz. 1993. 'Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection.' In K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, eds., *The View From Building 20*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 111-176.
- Legate, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.
- Mahajan, A. 1990. *The A/A-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation. *Musicæ*, 6. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PKU 15. M37 1991
- Mohanan, T. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Payne, J. 1995. "Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri," in *Double Case, Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. Plank, F. (ed). Oxford University Press.
- Pesetsky, David & Esther Torrego. 2001. T-to-C movement: Causes and consequences. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 355-426. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Vuchic, R. 1993. *A study of Noun Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.
<http://www.ulots.let.uu.nl/~thc/agreement.htm>
 Agreement Database
<http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/anna/anna.htm>
- Appendix
- Sgn*
drVokh,
Kidwari
- A family tree of Hypothesis B

The Family Tree of Hypothesis B



Where are inflected forms made?

Inflection: lexicon vs syntax
(Chomsky 1970?)

Derivation: lexicon vs syntax
(Marantz 1997?)

In the lexicon

In the syntax

Case Feature

Functional Head

Feature vs Functional Head

Icelandic passives. Ben says that if the markedness theory of ergative marking were correct, an inherent case would be a case where a co-argument is denoted, but no grammatical function change takes place. In the antipassive the object is denoted to an oblique while the subject remains a subject. Postpositions don't appear to have co-arguments in Urdu, so this test for inherent case is not possible.)

Since I think that the inherent/structural case is irrelevant this shouldn't be a problem.

My claim: postpositions are functional heads which participate in event structure, they introduce arguments. In this way they are "semantic case" if anything. They are not "structural" cases, at least not in terms of the assignment/checking of "features". They must be present as functional heads, in the syntax, because they assign a case (oblique). The oblique itself is a "structural" case in that it is a feature in the syntax, not a head.

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^o is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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^o 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.

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

33. The oblique as a locative (Butt & King 2004:168)
 aitnā daxkāte g-e-yā^g
 Adhan M.Sg.Nom post office M.Sg.Obl go.Perf.M.Sg
 hē
 be.Pres.3.Sg

'Adnan has gone to the post office.'

34. The oblique in inalienable possession (Mohanan 1994:178)
- | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------|--------|--------------|-------|
| is | bili̥ki / -ke | ek | hi | čāk* | hai. |
| this | cat-G | one | only | eye-(N) | bc-PR |
| This cat has only one eye. | | | | | |
| is | haaričāna / -ke | bolua | c̪ytau | matauk | hai. |
| this | elephant-G | very | small | forehead-(N) | bc-PR |
| This elephant has a very small forehead. | | | | | |

Two kinds of abstract case features, structural and inherent, not really relevant

Inherent case is an idiosyncratic case which depends on the lexical item which assigns the case.

If different postpositions assigned different case on a par with the oblique then it would be worthwhile investigating whether the oblique is inherent. German postpositions assign different cases, the postposition *für* 'for' assigns/checks accusative, while *von* 'from' assigns/checks dative.

However, in Urdu all postpositions assign/check oblique, as all members of a syntactic category assign/check the same case, it seems non-sensical to entertain that that case is inherent; i.e. an idiosyncratic case which is characteristic of a particular lexical item.

Tests for inherent case come from the verbal domain rather than the PP domain.

One test is whether the case-marked NP/DP retains its case when passivized. What the corresponding action a postposition's compliment would be escapes me. (Ben argues against A-movement as a test since non-A-moved objects loose their structural case in

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

raam-ke bai'ye hi maāne usko k'aanaa dyaa.
Ram-G sit-NF mother-E pron-D food-N give-PERF

As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.

Davison 2004:202

main yah baat pathlee hii samajh-aa
1-nom this matter first only understand-pf
[ki raakceś apni zid-par drh hai]
that Rakesh self's obstinacy-on fixed is

'I understood from the first that Rakesh had become fixed on his own obstinacy.' (Ibid.)

36. The oblique under *allow* (Bhatt 2005 :778)

[Sarosh-ko gaaRii chalaan-ne] di-i
Nadia-ne [Sarosh-ko gaati chalaan-ne] di-i
'Nadia-Erg Sarosh-acc car.F drive-Gen.Obl let-Pfv.Fsg
[peR kaI-ne] di-yé (Bhatt 2005:795)
Nadia-ne [peR kaI-ne] di-yé
Nadia-Erg trees cutter-Int.Obl let-Pfv.Pt
'Nadia let the trees get cut.'

37. In a conditional (collected from a web forum)

Ag+ mere pice kutta blonkne laga
if 1st-GEN-OBL behind-OBL dog
to main zurud bhag jaoongi
then Iss certainly run go-1sg=FUT
'If a dog started barking after me then I would certainly run.'

raam-ne canhaa sitaa ko dekhnaa
Ran-excl wanted sita to see

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

38. Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum)

main aap ko 1.SG 2sg.FORMAL=DAT dandia dhondne ya phir stick-look-for-NONFIN-OBL or even 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 on arguments of verb heads

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

(19) *jiji rac-e suraga bliu*
who.Obl create-Perf.M.PI heaven.M.Nom earth.Nom
satta patila seven.Nom hell.M.Nom

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]

[He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]
(Chand, Prithiraj-Rasau i, 1). Beames 1872: 267)

Masculine nouns

Sona, sone gold Butt& King 2004:164

Shukla 2001:6

Masculine:	dāvā	'god'
	rājā	'king'
	pānī	'water'
	pēč	'tree'
Feminine:	sīti	'woman'
	rāni	'queen'
	havā	'wind'
	nadi	'river'

3rd singular -e

Butt& King 2004:165

use=e cd1-a Pro=Inst walk-Perf.M.Sg nor go-3-Fut.M.Sg

'She/he can't possibly walk.' (in the context of a broken leg)

(Glassman 1976: 275)

Participles (with varying gender)

Participles (this is not oblique as it should become -e with a fem subject)

(Mohanan 1994:182)
strikiyā kaa l — mātukarate hue / jaam huaz.

Sri Krishnā-G smile-NF bc-NP birth-N happen-PERF

Plural -e

39. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

The Oblique Form as a Syntactic Case in Hindi/Urdu¹

Goal of this paper: Show that Hindi/Urdu has an affixal case, which can be explained using an abstract syntactic case feature. This analysis requires that postpositions in Hindi/Urdu are not realizations of structural case. By eliminating the postpositions as structural case, this proposal may also help to remove case and agreement in Hindi/Urdu as an exception. (Mahajan 1990, Bhart 2005, Legate to appear). Its exception status will be discussed later.

Proposal:

Abstract case	\emptyset	t^0 nominative
(No claim)	\emptyset	v ⁰ accusative
Functional head	-e	p ⁰ oblique
ko	ne	ergative
ko	ko	dative
se	se	instrumental, source
kia	kia	genitive
mē	in	
par	on	
tak	toward/until	
dīraazā ²	through	

1. Previous Proposals of Hindi/Urdu Case

Mahajan 1990 Mohanan 1994 Butt 2004

\emptyset	nom	\emptyset	nom
\emptyset	acc	ko	acc
ne	erg	ne	eig
ko	dat	ko	dat
se	instr	se	instr
kia	Gen	k-	gen
mē/par/tak/ \emptyset	Loc	mē/par/tak/ \emptyset	loc
OBL	Non-nom		

Previous proposals of Hindi/Urdu case only consider postpositions.

"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):

2. Oblique form of *gadha*
 [us gadhe
 that.OBL donkey.MSG.OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG

'Take it from that donkey.'

3. Direct form of *gadha*
humare *gadha* *ghaas* =*to* *nahan* *kha* =*ta*
 our donkey grass emph NEG eat imperf

'Our donkey doesn't eat grass.'

4. The oblique is obligatory when the NP is the complement of a postposition
 { **wo* *gadha* *se* } *le to*
 that donkey.MSG from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG
 'Take it from that donkey.'

5. The oblique cannot appear without a postposition
 { **us* *gadhe* } *ghaas kha raha* *hui*
 that.OBL donkey.MSG.OBL grass eat IMPERF.MSG 3.SG
 'That donkey is eating grass.'

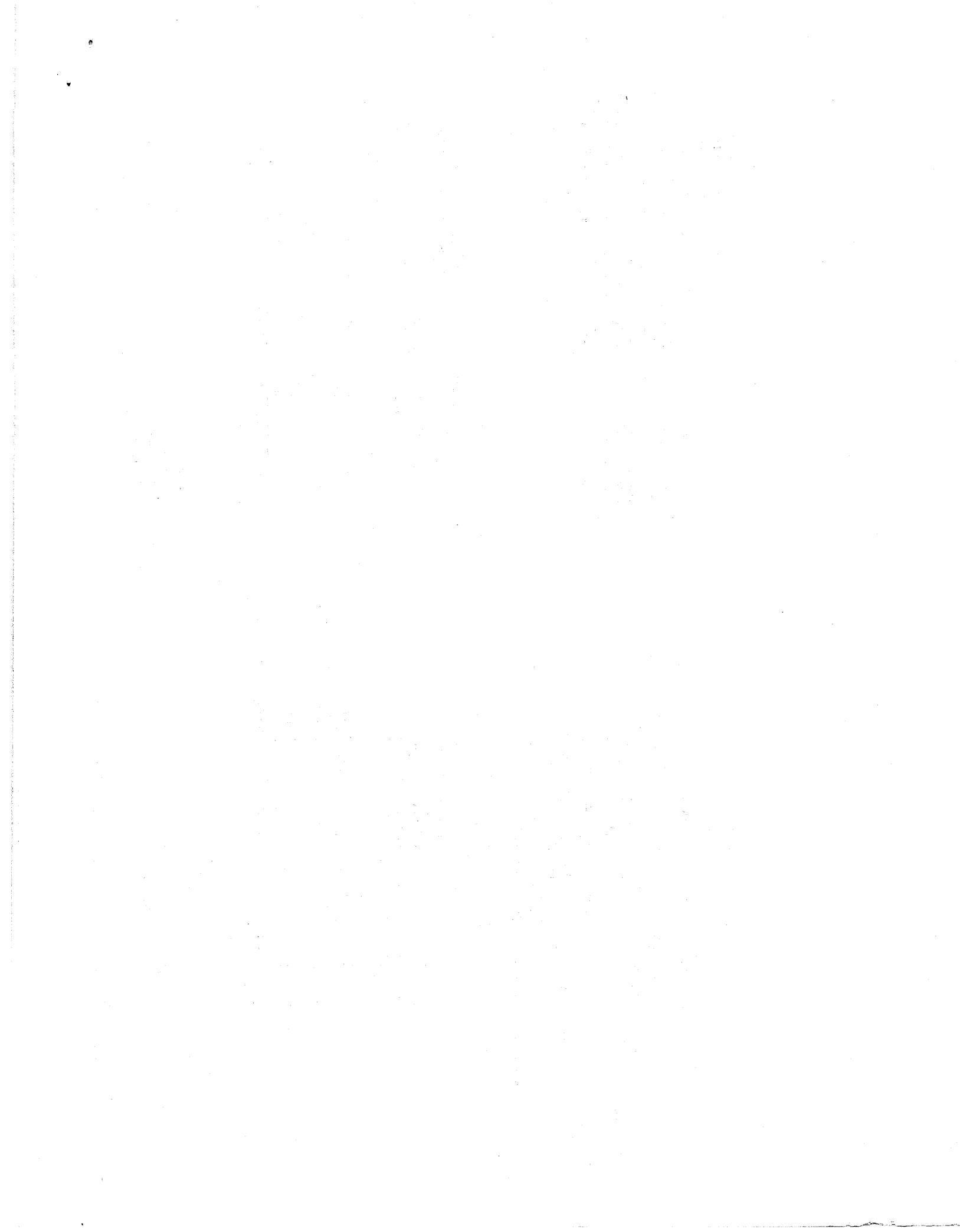
¹ I would like to thank the Abipasi family for sharing their home and language with me. Thanks especially to Kartik, Durvasula for extensive discussion and his always willing ear. Thanks also to Masahiro Yamada, Lamyi/Fidaiat and Timothy McKinnon. All errors and oversights are my own. © – following abbreviations are used in these paper: Abs – Absolutive; Acc – Accusative; Dat – Dative; Eig – Ergative; Neg – Negation; Prs – Present; LDA – Long Distance Agreement; Hon – Honorific; D- Default; PSTPRT – Past Participle; NMLZ – Nominalizer; Pass – Passive Auxiliary; PSI – Polarity Sensitive Item; Inf – Infinitive; Pst – Past; Pv – Perfective; Impv – Imperfective; Prog – Progressive; Hab – Habitual; Ger – Gerund; Obj – Oblique; 1 – 1st Person; 2 – 2nd Person; 3 – 3rd Person; F – Feminine; M – Masculine; N – Neuter; Sg – Singular; Pl – Plural

² This is a postposition I haven't heard in spoken Urdu, but is cited in Mohanan 1994:62

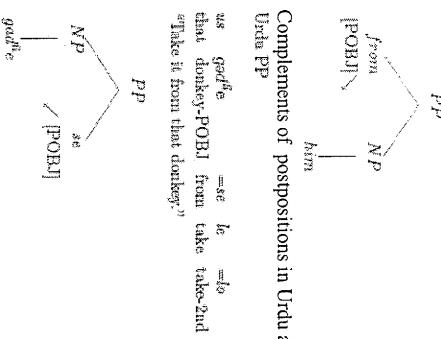
- bacce* -ke *dharaa*
 child(NS) G(NS) through (the agency of)
 'through (the agency of) the child'

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

1. Complements of prepositions in English are accusative



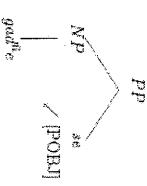
English PP
PP
from the grass { from him.POBJ}



2. Complements of postpositions in Urdu are oblique

Urdu PP

us *qad̪he* ^{=st^e} *be* ^{=i^o}
that donkey-POB1 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.

The “oblique”?

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

In (6) below the final -a ending of the ‘direct’ masculine *gadha* ‘donkey’ alternates with the oblique -e in *gadhe* ‘horse-OBL’.

6. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	Oblique	Direct
Masculine		Oblique
a)	<i>gadha</i>	<i>gadhe</i>
b)	<i>mez</i>	<i>mez</i>
Feminine		
c)	<i>gadhi</i>	<i>gadhia</i>
d)	<i>bahu</i>	<i>bahuē</i>

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 CBJ/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.

8. jaane kaa (Mahajan 1990:160)
ram-ne mohan-ko jaane kaa vaadaa diyaa
Ram-erg Mohan to go gen promise gave
9. larke-ko (Kidwai 2000:65)

Pronouns also show a ‘direct’/‘oblique’ alternation. In (7) below the nominative stem for 1st singular is *mē* while the oblique stem is *mujh*.

7. The oblique forms of pronouns (Shukla 2001)

	Singular	Plural
DP	[DP from]	DP
1	<i>mē</i>	<i>mujh se</i>
2	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum se</i>
3 Prox	<i>ye</i>	<i>is se</i>
3 Dist	<i>vo</i>	<i>us se</i>
3 Rel	<i>jo</i>	<i>jis se</i>
3 wh person	<i>kon</i>	<i>kis se</i>
3 wh thing	<i>kya</i>	<i>kis se</i>
Place Prox	<i>yahā</i>	<i>yahā se</i>
Place Dist	<i>vahā</i>	<i>vahā se</i>
Place Rel	<i>jahā</i>	<i>jahā se</i>
Place wh	<i>kahā</i>	<i>kahā se</i>
Quantity	<i>iina/iini</i>	<i>iine</i>
Quantity Rel	<i>jittu/jittu</i>	<i>jittu</i>
Quantity wh	<i>kitnau/kitni</i>	<i>kitne</i>
Time wh	<i>kab</i>	<i>kab se</i>
3 indef person	<i>koi</i>	<i>koi-koi</i>
3 indef thing	<i>kuch</i>	<i>kuch-kuch</i>
Place indef	<i>kahi</i>	<i>kahi-kahi</i>
Quantity-Rel	<i>kabi</i>	<i>kabi-kabi</i>
Time indef	<i>kabi</i>	<i>kabi-kabi se</i>

sita-ne ek. latke-ko pasand kiya
 Sita-ERG a boy-DAT liking did
 'Sita liked a boy.'

10. is laRkee-koo (Davison 2004:209)

main-neえ is-iRkee-koo dœə̯ɛn hɪ-vaa

I-Eng this boy-Dat see take-Pf-nis

T saw this boy.'

11. apne kamre meN (Dayal 2003 D23)

punte din main-N-ne (apne kamre meN) kitab patRhi

'whole day I-Eng self's room in book-Fem read-fan-sing.

"The whole day I read books in my room."

12. kamre meN(Dayal 2004:403)

kamre meN ciuhaa gluuum rathaa 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.

13. larke-ne Sita-se [kitab parRhi-ne] ko (Bhatt 2005:780)

[kitab parth-ne] ko nahi:

ek-bhi luke-ne Sita-se one-PSI boy-Eng Sita-Inst book-F go-Int Obj-Dat Neg

Kit-ka
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.

14. bacce-ke liye(Mohanan 1994:62)

bacce ke liye

child(N) G(N) for

'for the child'

Previous Discussion of the Oblique

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 (Logate to appear). This understanding of the oblique is may prove useful in analyzing Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

Case in the Lexicon vs. Case in the Syntax

"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)

Arguments against the (strong) lexicalist position:
 Reading list
 Chomsky 1970

Marantz 1997

Arguments for inflectional morphemes in/out the syntax:
 Arguments for derivational morphemes in/out the syntax:

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

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)

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.

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.'

Case feature vs. Postposition

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

15. (a) Case postpositions = *ko* can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004: 174)

yassin=ne [kutu^e or $\mathbf{g}^{\text{h}}[\text{or-e}]$ =*ko*
Yassin.M.Sg=Erg dog.M.Sg.Obl and *horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc*

dekk-a *he*

se-Perf.M.Sg he.Pres.3.Sg

*Yassin saw the dog and the horse.'

- (b) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs

*[kutu^e or $\mathbf{g}^{\text{h}}[\text{or-e}]$ =*ko*

dog and *horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc*

- (c) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs

*[kutu^a or $\mathbf{g}^{\text{h}}[\text{or-e}]$ =*ko*

dog.M.Sg and *horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc*

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

geshi=ne *kum* *ki-ya*
Pron.3.Sg=Foc=Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do-Perf.M.Sg

"That one himself/only did (the) work."

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

**kutu^b-e*

dog-Foc-Obl

Other potential arguments, but no one to cite yet:

The realization of the oblique is dependent 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).

¹⁵ The focus clitic has the distribution of an advclitic. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postposed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (i), the focus clitic *ni* is shown attached to a verb.

(i) *hadyawere taf k^b-el-asti he*

Nadya.F.Sg=Erg cards play-Perf.M.Sg=also be.Pres.3.Sg

³ *Nadya has only played cards.*

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

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

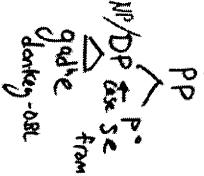
Proposal: the oblique is a case marker. The oblique is obligatory and uniform, its morphological realization is conditioned by the noun's class. This is no different from the accusative in English (which is found only on pronouns) and cases in German (which appear differently on masculine, feminine and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

The framework I adopt:

Case assignment: Pesetsky & Torego 2001, Frampton & Gutman 2002
 Feature Spreading: Vuicic 1993, Frampton & Gutmann 2006, Krauzer 2006
 Morphological realization: Marantz 1997, Legate to appear

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

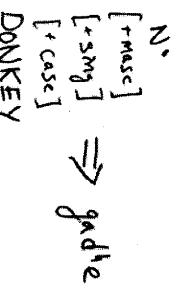
17. Case assignment⁴



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).

18. Spell out

⁴ 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.



Like case in many languages (German for example), the oblique appears multiply on all elements of the DP which have an oblique form.⁵

19. us bare gadhe se le 10
 that-OBL big-OBL donkey-OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd-SG
 'Take it from that big donkey.'
20. Nimm den Schemel für diesen großen
 take-2sg;imper def-OBL stool-OBL for that-OBL big-OBL
 grauen alten unbehaarten ruhigen
 grey-OBL old-OBL un-? hair-OBL quiet-OBL
 sitzenden Elefanten dieses Mannes
 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 19), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 21), gerunds (in 22 and 23), these are the same grammatical categories as in German (20).⁶

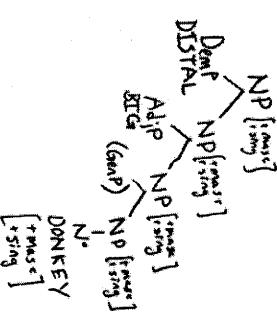
21. [dabbe ke nice tak]
 box-OBL=GEN-OBL under-OBL until
 'up to the underneath of the box.'
22. [raam ke batThee par] māññe
 raam=GEN-OBL sit-NONFIN-OBL=ON mother=ERG
 us=ko khanna diyaa
 3sg.OBL=DAT food give-PERF
 'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)
23. [lataa-ji-ke ye gaanaa gaa-ye ho-ne] se (Bhatt 2005:765)

[Asha-a-jik-kaa	yeh	gaanaa	gar-ya ha-naal
Asha-a-Hon-Cen	this	song	sing-Pfv be-Inf
[lataaj-je	yeh	gaanaa	gan-ye
Lataa-Hon-Gen-Obl	this	song	sing-Pfv.Obl
ho-nel-se	zyadiaa	munkin hai	
be-Inf.Obl-InstR more	possible	be.Prs.3Sg	
'Ashaaji's having sung this song is more likely than Lataaj-ji's			having sing 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 (Yuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutman 2006, Kratzer 2006). This must be accomplished in a two-step process.

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 DemonstrativeP is also adjoined. As all elements are adjoined the features of donkey are projected.

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



25. 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)

⁵ I expect feature sharing to happen wherever there is a modifier, modifie relationship (predicate modification, rather than functional application)

⁶ If we think that the -en on participles is the same thing..

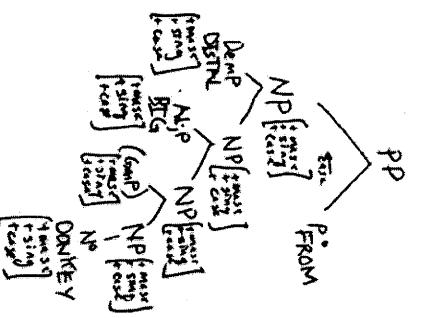
In order to prove that the oblique is obligatory in the examples below, I will use a demonstrative, which show overtly the 4 way distinction in number and direct/oblique marking, and an adjective which show the 2 way distinction in gender marking.

27. Hindi/Urdu demonstratives

	Singular	Plural
Direct	Oblique	Direct
Proximate	is	ye
Distal	vo	us

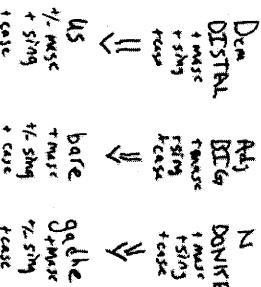
28. Hindi/Urdu adjectives

	Singular	Plural
Direct	Oblique	Direct
Masculine	bare	bare
Feminine	bari	bari



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.

26. Lexical Insertion



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 (29). 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 (29).

29. Masculine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

- (a)[two bare mez gir reha he
that.DIR big-MSG.DIR table.MSG.DIR fall IMPERF-M PRES-3SG
'That big table is falling.'
- (b)[us bare mez sel le 10
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.

30. Feminine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

- (a)[two bari kitab] gir rehi he
that.DIR big-FSG.DIR book.FSG.DIR fall IMPERF-F PRES-3SG
'That big book is falling.'
- (b)[us bari kitab sel le 10
that.OBL big-FSG.OBL book.FSG.OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.sg
'Take it from that big book.'

The oblique is obligatory

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.

31. Spell out for feminine nouns

Dem	Ali	N
DISTAL	BRG	Book
+FEM	+FEM	+FEM
+sing	+sing	+sing
+case	+case	+case
↑	↑	↑
us	bəri	kɪ̯.təmb
+FEM	+FEM	+FEM
+sing	+sing	+sing
+case	+case	+case

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

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.”

32. English abstract case is also realized differently on different words:

Compare John/John and he/him.

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

Ramifications of a structural 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.

⁷Or maybe a DP (Bleam 2005)

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.

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.

33. The oblique forms of pronouns (Butt & King 2004:172)

NOM	ERG	ACC/FAR	INST	LOC	GEN
1. Sg	nɪt	mɛ=ne	nʊdʒ ^h =ko	muj ^h =se	muj ^h =kər
1. Pl	həm	hom=ne	hom=ko	hom=se	hom=par
			hom=ko	hom=se	hom=par
2. Disresp.	tu	tu=ne	tʊj ^h =ko	tʊj ^h =se	tʊj ^h =par
2. Familiar	tum	tum=ne	tʊm ^h =ko	tʊm ^h =se	tʊm ^h =par
2. Resp.	ap	ap=ne	ap=kə	ap=se	ap=par
3. Prox.Sg	ye	ɪs=ne	ɪs=k ^h o	ɪs=mɛ	ɪs=par
3. Prox.Pl	ye	mɛ=ne	mɛ=k ^h o	mɛ=se	mɛ=par
3. Dist.Sg	vo	ʊn=ne	ʊn=k ^h o	ʊn=se	ʊn=par
3. Dist.Pl	vo	ʊn=ne	ʊn=k ^h o	ʊn=se	ʊn=par

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.

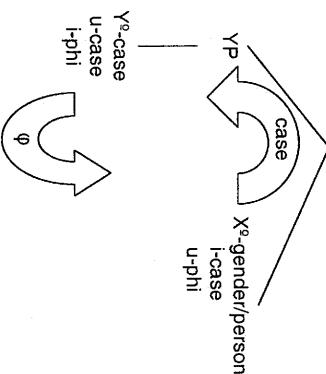
Issues Hindi-Urdu case & agreement

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.

- Mahajan 1990, Bhatt 2005: 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 ϕ -features to check its uninterpretable ϕ -feature, in turn, the YP has uninterpretable case features are checked by the interpretable Θ -role (Chomsky 1995).

Alternatively, the functional head assigns abstract case features to its complement, and the complement shares its ϕ -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.

- 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.

For the future

The realization 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 between lexical verbs and light verbs.

References

- Bhatt 2005: Hindi/Urdu is an exception to Burzio's generalization
- 36. Accusative Ko is retained in passives (Bhatt 2005:782)
Sita-ko Ram-dwaraa d̥i-t-aa gay-yaa
Sita-Acc Ram-by scold-Pfv.MSG PASS-Pfv.MSG
'Sita was scolded by Ram.'
- 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)

[Sita-ko muijhe/*nE	piit-ne]	di-yaa	ga-yaa
Sita-Dat me.ACC/I.Nom hit-Inf:Obj	give-Pfv.MSG	Pass-Pfv.MSG	

'Sita was allowed to hit me.' (= 'Someone let Sita hit me.')

- This is not an exception if -ko is not a structural case.

- 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

It is not clear what the mechanism is for this search. It could be a standard head-dependent search, or it could be a head-independent search where the head is checked for agreement features and then the search continues down the tree. One that I would like to rule out is a head-dependent search where the head is checked for agreement features and then the search continues up the tree. This would mean that the head would have to be checked for agreement features before the child node, which is not what I think is happening here.

- 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.

Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Corbett, Greville G.

Agreement /
Cambridge, UK: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2006.

xviii, 328 p. : ill. ; 26 cm.
Morris Library P299.A35 C67x 2006 Normal Loan

Frampton, J. and S. Gutmann. 2002. Crash-Proof Syntax. In *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, ed. by Samuel D. Epstein and T. Daniel Seely, 90–105. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. 'How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax.' In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 121–157.

Halle, M. and A. Marantz. 1993. 'Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection,' in K. Hale and S.J. Keyser, eds., *The View From Building 20*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 111–176.

Legate, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.

Mahajan, A. 1990. *The A/A-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation.

Mastica, C. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pK115 M37 1991

Mohanan, T. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Payne, J. 1995. 'Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri.' In *Double Case, Agreement by Suffrage/Name*. Plank, F. (ed). Oxford University Press.

Pesetsky, David & Esther Torrego. 2001. T-to-C movement: Causes and consequences. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 355–426. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

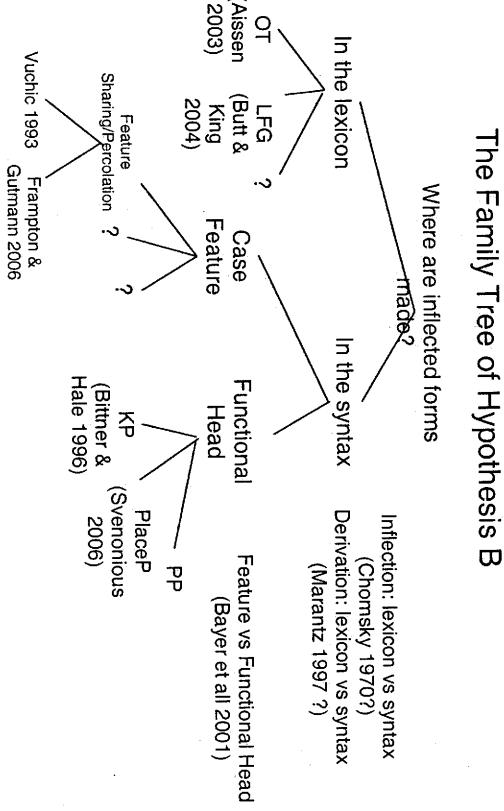
Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa.

Vuchic, R. 1993. *A study of Noun Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.

<http://www.vulots.let.uu.nl/~hv/agreement.htm>
Agreement Database
<http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/anna/anna.htm>

Appendix

A family tree of Hypothesis B



The Family Tree of Hypothesis B

Where are inflected forms made?

In the lexicon
In the syntax
Inflection: lexicon vs syntax
(Chomsky 1970?)
Derivation: lexicon vs syntax
(Marantz 1997?)

OT
(Aissen
2003)

LFG
(Butt &
King
2004)

Case
Feature

Functional
Head

Feature
vs Functional Head
(Bayer et all 2001)

In the lexicon
Shaving/Percolation
Feature
?

Vuchic 1993
Frampton &
Gutmann 2006

KP
(Bittner &
Hale 1996)

PlaceP
(Svenonius
2006)

Two kinds of abstract case features, structural and inherent, not really relevant

Inherent case is an idiosyncratic case which depends on the lexical item which assigns the case.

If different postpositions assigned different case on a part with the oblique then it would be worthwhile investigating whether the oblique is inherent. German postpositions assign different cases, the postposition *für* 'for' assigns/checks accusative, while *vom* 'from', assigns/checks dative.

However, in Urdu all postpositions assign/check oblique, as all members of a syntactic category assign/check the same case; it seems non-sensical to entertain that that case is inherent; ie an idiosyncratic case which is characteristic of a particular lexical item.

Tests for inherent case come from the verbal domain rather than the PP domain.

One test is whether the case-marked NP/DP retains its case when passivized. What the corresponding action a postposition's complement would be escapes me. (Ben argues against A-movement as a test since non-A-moved objects lose their structural case in Icelandic passives. Ben says that if the markedness theory of ergative marking were correct, an inherent case would be a case where a co-argument is denoted, but no grammatical function change takes place. In the antipassive the object is denoted to an oblique while the subject remains a subject. Postpositions don't appear to have co-arguments in Urdu, so this test for inherent case is not possible.)

Since I think that the inherent/structural case is irrelevant this shouldn't be a problem.

My claim: postpositions are functional heads which participate in event structure, they introduce arguments. In this way they are "semantic case" if anything. They are not "structural" cases, at least not in terms of the assignment/checking of "features". They must be present as functional heads, in the syntax, because they assign a case (oblique). The oblique itself is a "structural" case in that it is a feature in the syntax, not a head.

What is agreement, can Hindi/Urdu agreement become normal if we consider following Kratzer (2006) that gender agreement is different?

Butt 1995: there is a great deal semantic and syntactic evidence that nouns like girl in "girl-looking" are incorporated, yet the noun and verb agree.

38. 'pseudo-incorporated' nouns show agreement
Anil-ne lakhiya_i dekhi_i *dekh-i-aa
Anil-Erg girls.P1 see-Pfv.FPl/ see-Pfv.D
'Anil saw girls.'
- raam-ne lakDin kaati_i
Raam-M_{Erg} wood.F cut,Perf.Fem
'Raam did wood-cutting'
- paure din maiN-ne (apne kaame meh)_i kitaab padRhi_i
whole day I-ERG self's room in book.F read Fsg
'The whole day I read books in my room.'

This agreement has been considered a sign that the noun cannot be pseudo incorporated by Bhattacharya 2005. Nouns which are incorporated are not case marked and don't show agreement with the verb (Baker 1998, Massam 2001).

- However, the pseudo-incorporated noun and verb agree only in gender. Kratzer 2006 argues that sharing gender features is done under nonrestrictive modification, which is precisely the semantics for pseudo-incorporated nominals. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument. And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been

suspected, the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.

Is this structural case only on objects of prepositions?

Lagate (to appear) argues that abstract structural accusative case in Hindi which is assigned by v^0 is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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^0 this doesn't challenge Lagate's claim, rather Lagate 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.

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

39. The oblique as a locative (Butt & King 2004:168)⁸
adman dakane ge-yā_i
Adman.M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg
he be.Pres.3.Sg
'Adman has gone to the post office.'

40. The oblique in inalienable possession (Mohanan 1994:178)
- | | | |
|--|-------------|--------------------|
| is bilikkii / -ke | ek iii | haai |
| this eat-G | one only | eye-NPQ be-PR |
| This cat has only one eye. | | |
| is haari-khad / -ke | duhu c̪̥kka | hat |
| this elephant-G | very small | forehead-NPQ be-PR |
| This elephant has a very small forehead. | | |

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?

⁸ Butt & King discuss another use of the oblique: "The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted: it can only mean 'to' or 'from'; not 'in', 'towards', etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5): one as agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker" (Butt & King 2004:168)

raam-ke baij̥e hi māñ-ne usko k'taanaa diya.
 Ram-i sit-NF mother-E pron-^D food-N give-PERF

As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.

Davison 2004:202

main yah baat pahlee hii samajh-aa
 I-nom this matter first only understand-pf

[ki raakeeš apni zid-par drh hai]

that Rakesh self's obstinacy-on fixed is

I understood from the first that Rakesh had become fixed on his own obstinacy.' (Ibid.)

42. The oblique under *allow* (Bhatt 2005:78)

[Sarosh-ko gaarII chalaar-re] di
 Nadia-ve [Sarosh-ko gamii chalaat-re] di
 Nadia-Eng Sarosh-Acc car.F drive-Get.Obl let-Pfv.FSG

'Nadia let Sarosh drive the car.'

[peR kaT-ne] di-ye (Bhatt 2005:79)

Nadia-ve [he kai ne] di-ye

Nadia-Eng trees cut_{past}-Int.Obl let-Pfv.FP1

'Nadia let the trees get cut.'

43. In a conditional (collected from a web forum)

Ag'mere pice kutta bhonkne laga
 if 1st-GEN-OBL behind-OBL dog bark-NONFIN-OBL start-M.SG

to main zurd bhag jaongi

then 1sg certainly run go-isg-FUT

'If a dog started barking after me then I would certainly run.'

raam-na casbas sittaa ko dekhnaa
 Ram-era wanted Sita to see

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 iota oTane
 stick took-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 on arguments of verb heads

"The subjects of eligible transitive verbs were marked as oblique" (Butt & King 2004:119)

(19) jihī rac-e suraga bau
 who.Obl create-Perf.M.Pt heaven.M.Nom earth.Nom

satta pitāla seven.Nom hell.M.Nom

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]
 '(He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]' (Chand, Prithiraja-Rasoi.11; Beames 1872: 267)

No-e

Kidwai 2000:165
 run-ne_{i,j} mohān-ko apni_{i,j} kitab kāta di
 Ram(SU) Mohan(IO) self's book(DO) return gave
 'Ram returned Mohan self's book.'

Masculine nouns

Sona, son gold Butt& King 2004:164

Shukla 2001:6
 Masculine:
 शराव - देवा 'god'
 शराव राजा 'king'
 पति प्राणि 'white'
 पति पैक 'tree'
 Feminine:
 स्त्री स्त्री 'woman'
 स्त्री रानी 'queen'
 स्त्री हवा 'wind'
 स्त्री नदी 'river'

3rd singular-e

Butt& King 2004:165
 ussece cdi-a nahi ja-e-g-a
 Pron=Inst walk-Perf.M.Sg not go-3-Fut.M.Sg
 'She/he can't possibly walk.' (in the context of a broken leg)
 (Glassman 1976: 275)

Kidwai 2000:43
 run-to ayega, or koi ay-e-na-aye

Ram-TOP will come else any come-not-come
 'RAM will come, whether anybody else comes or not.'

Participles (with varying gender)\

Participles (this is not oblique as it is should become -i with a fem subject)
 (Mohanan 1994:182)

śrīkṛṣṇ-kau / — *mukharate hue/ jannm* *huar.*
 Sri Krishna-G smile-NF bc-NP birth-N happen-PStP

Sri Krishna i was born. — i smiling.

Can this be in the oblique, us aurat instead of voh aurat

Left dislocated topics in Hindi bear ABS (Deshpadi 1994)⁶

⁶As illustrated in Mahajan 1994, having topics may also agree in case with the related clauses internal DP.

Voh aurat, John tis⁹ dilo jaanse phaar kartaa he
 that woman.ABS John her-NSTR whole-heartedly love do be

"John is madly in love with that woman" (Chandra 2004)

Plural -e

45. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Anil-ne laike dekh-e/ *dekh-aa
 Anil-Erg boys.M see-Pfv.MPl/ see.Pfv.D
 'Anil saw boys.'
 Anil-ne laikiyā; dekh-⁷/ *dekh-aa
 Anil-Erg girls.PL see-Pfv.FPl/ see.Pfv.D
 'Anil saw girls.'

46. Is that certainly plural in this example? (Bhatt 2005:796)

kare/ [t_i aaj-lak ban
 clothes,MP] today-by make_{for} chahaiye
 jaa-ne*[ja-aatal] GO-InfMP/GO-InfMsg should

the/*that

be,Pst.MPl*be,Pst.MSg

'The clothes should have been made by today.'

Forms of *se* – sa,sit,e?

(Butt & King 2004:170)

The instrumental *se* may either be connected with Sanskrit *sam* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *sogje* 'in attachment to' (Kellogg 1893: 152). The genitive arose out of a participial form of 'do' (fn. 11), and the

47. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40)

raam-ne kon saa aadhai ajita se kaha[t_i] t

Ram(SUB) which man (EDO) Sita to told -(that)

Vaalaavaali,vaale

ayaa thaal

come-perf-m be-pst-m

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

48. Kon sii (Mahajan 1990:

(29) [kon si daasi, raja-ne uake, pitaa-ko [t_{sub} t_{to} t_{po} which maid(po) king(SUB) her father(10) ioraas dii]]]

return give=pst-f

Which maid, did the king return to her, father?
 apni, kon sii kitaab raam-ne phenkt dii ?

self's which book Ram-erg. threw away
 Which of self's book did Ram throw away?

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

50. Dhire dhire 'slowly' (Mahajan 1990:123)

kis-ne dhire dhire kaam kiyya

who

slowly work did

Who worked slowly?

51. Kese (Mahajan 1990)

[raam-ne kya kaha tha ki mohan-ne kis-ko kise marrta Ram-erg Kya said Mohan whom how hit How did Ram say that Mohan hit who - ?

[raam-ne kya kaha tha ki mohan-ne kab kis-ko kesa Ram-erg Kya said Mohan-erg when whom how marrta hit How did Ram say that Mohan hit whom when?

52. phin se (Bhatt 2005:766)
 Rohan-ne aaj [phin-se melhat kat-ni] chalii-hi Rohan-Erg today again hardwork.F do-InfF want-Pfv.FSg
 'Today Rohan wanted to work hard again.'

53. Jaldii jaldii/jaldii se 'quickly'

54. baRi/cantara se 'cleverly'

55. kitne 'how many'

kitne ran ss, [raam-ne puchaa [t_i [kon sii tiaa ki t_i, t₂ tiaa ki t_i, t₂ tiaa ki t_i, t₂ harayegiiii]]]]

56. In a possessive (Mahajan 1990:37)

[apni, raam, valii kitab], mE-ne, t'k use, t_k
self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(To)
dil
give-perf-t

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

Kill

cause to be dead

[give death
to him]

kill him for some one else

Šrīkr̥ṣṇ-kaa [__ muskuraate hue] janm huaa.
 Sri Krishna-G smile-NF be-NF birth-N happen-PERF
 Sri Krishna; was born, __ i smiling.

Can this be in the oblique, us aurat instead of voh aurat

Left dislocated topics in Hindi bear ABS (Dwivedi 1994)⁶

⁶As illustrated in Mohanan 1994, hanging topics may also agree in case with the related clause-internal DP.

Voh aurat, john us-se dilo jaanse pyaar kartaa he
 that woman.ABS John her-INSTR whole-heartedly love do be
 "John is madly in love with that woman" (Chandra 2004)

Plural -e

48. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Anil-ne lajke dekh-e/ *dekh-aa
 Anil-Erg boys.M see-Pfv.MPl/ see-Pfv.D
 'Anil saw boys.'

Anil-ne lajkiyā: dekh-ī/ *dekh-aa
 Anil-Erg girls.Pl see-Pfv.FPl/ see-Pfv.D
 'Anil saw girls.'

49. Is that certainly plural in this example? (Bhatt 2005:796)

kapre_f [t_i] aaj-tak ban
 clothes.MPl today-by make_{Int}
 jaa-ne/*jaa-naa] chaahiye
 GO-Inf.MPl/GO-Inf.MSg should
 the/*tha
 be.Pst.MPl/*be.Pst.MSg
 'The clothes should have been made by today.'

Forms of se – sa, si, se?

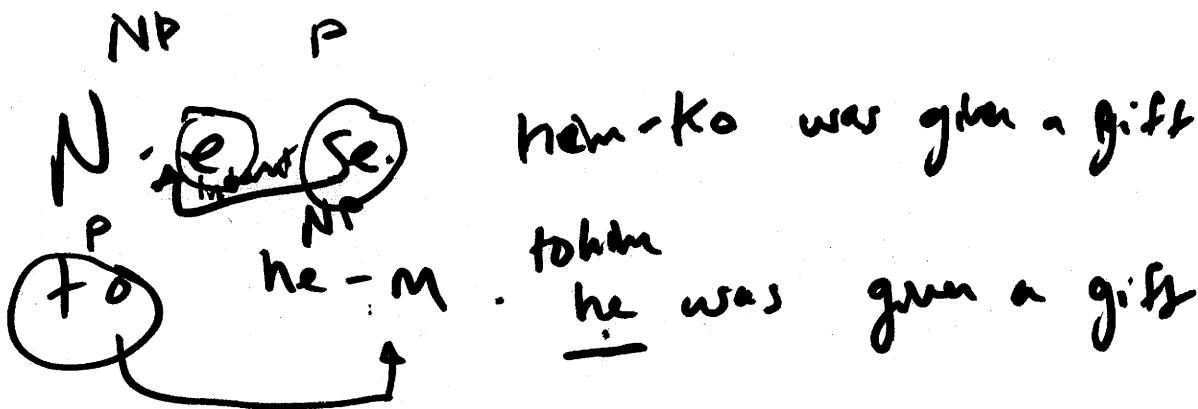
(Butt & King 2004:170)

The instrumental *se* may either be connected with Sanskrit *sam* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *sāṅge* 'in attachment to' (Kellogg 1893: 132). The genitive arose out of a participial form of 'do' (fn. 11), and the

50. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40)

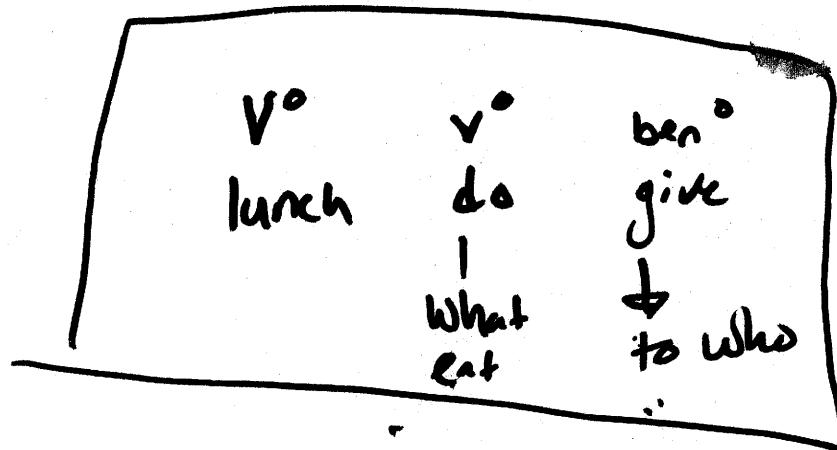
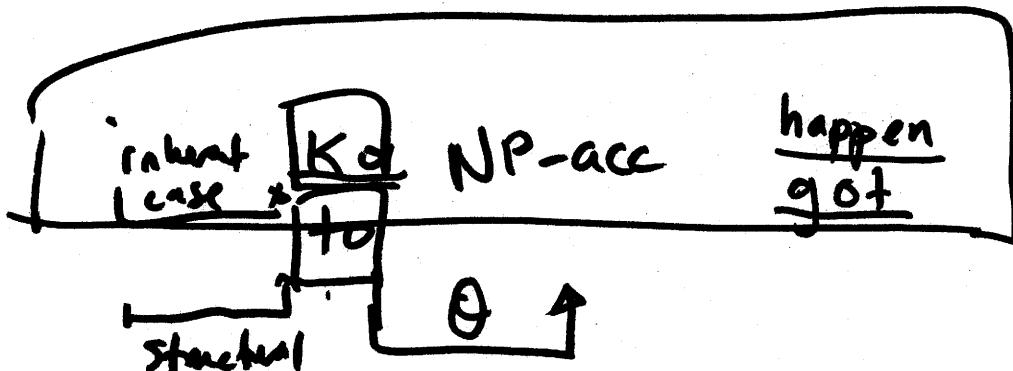
raam-ne kOn saa aadmii siitaa se kahaal_{cr} (ki) t
 Ram(SUB) which man(EDO) Sita to told (that)
 aayaa thaas]
 come-perf-m be-pst-m
 lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

51. Kon sii (Mahajan 1990:



Passive ↗

One to two
two to one



I gave a book to him

Dem [finite]

to the men who
want

were to
buy saw

]

extraction

Dem [^{modifer} non finite genus]

CP [CP]

(apni raam, vaali kitab), me-ne, t' use, t,
self's Ram's book (DO) I (SUB) him(IO)

dil

give-perf-f

lit. My Ram's book, I gave to him.

gadhi)

Ko
SR
Ka
Me
par
tak
dvara

enclitics
for ergon
help for
passive under
reprsn

Other reasons
why it's not
a Structured
Case

Paul
Postal

NP/DP

\leftarrow case F°
 P°

Active

I gave the book $\xrightarrow{\text{to}}$ him \star

Passive I gave $\xrightarrow{\text{to}}$ him a book $\xrightarrow{\text{to}}$ Acc $\xrightarrow{\text{to}}$
He was given the book $\xrightarrow{\text{preposition}}$ for passive
 the book was given to him $\xrightarrow{\text{for PS case}}$

Active mene usko kitab diya

Passive usko mere se mere lama dia gaya
 us se kitab

I bought a book $\xrightarrow{\text{for him}}$
 ≠ he gets it RESULT

gave to
 $\xrightarrow{V^\circ}$ $\xrightarrow{P^\circ}$ $\xrightarrow{\text{US}} \xrightarrow{\text{Ko}}$ $\xrightarrow{F^\circ}$

Ko
 $\xrightarrow{P^\circ}$ gave $\xrightarrow{\text{active}}$ I bought $\xrightarrow{\text{him}}$ a book
 = he gets it RESULT
 past he was bought a book by me
 like the book

[aphni, ram, vaali kitab], ab-ne, t'i use, t,
self's Ram's book (PO) I (SUB) him(FO)

dli

give-pref-

list. MY Ram's book, I gave to him.

Ram was seen by me
Ram was killed by me

I

Saw

Ram

Active

mene (ko) Ram Ko dela

sit

Ram Jawa

mar' Gayi

Passive

Ram (ko), mene dvara

dela gaya

detha gaya

detha gaya

- Entailments

- ko

Structural case

argues to A.S.U

there is no

ko in the sentence
to begining

lack

KO

PP

Kill

cause to die

noon ka

X.

dia

de

I give to

de ko

Ab

śrīkṛṣṇ-kaa / — muskarāte hue / jaam *huāa*
 Sri Kṛṣṇa-G smile-NF be-NP happen-PERF
 Sri Kṛṣṇa I was born, — i smiling.

Can this be in the oblique, us aurat instead of voh aurat?

Left dislocated topics in Hindi bear ABS (Dwivedi 1994)⁶

e.g. illustrated in Mohan tank hanging topics may also agree in case with the related clause internal DP.

Voh aurat, John usco dilo jaane Pvāt kartaa he
 that woman, ABS John her-INSTR whole-heartedly love do be

John is really in love with that woman" (Chandra 2004)

Plural →

47. (Bhatt 2005:787)

Anil-ne lajke/*dekh-e/* *dekh-aa

Anil-Erg boys.M see-Pfv.MPl/ see-Pfv.D

'Anil saw boys.'

Anil-ne lajhiya/* dekh-ii/* *dekh-aa

Anil-Erg girls.PL see-Pfv.FPl/ see-Pfv.D

'Anil saw girls.'

48. Is that certainly plural in this example? (Bhatt 2005:796)

kappe/* [t̪] asijtak ban

clothes.MPl today-by make^{hmu}

jai-te/*jan-taal chahaiye

GO-Inf.MPl/GO-Inf.MSG should

the/*tha

bc.Pst[MPl]*bc.Pst.MSG

'The clothes should have been made by today'

Forms of se - sa, si, se?

(Butt & King 2004:170) The instrumental *se* may either be connected with Sanskrit *sem* 'with' or with the locative singular noun *sange* in attachment to (Kilolog 1833: 132). The genitive arose out of a participle form of 'do' (fn. 11), and the

49. Kon saa (Mahajan 1990:40) rāam-ne kon_saa admii sitaa se kahaa[er] (ki)t

Ram(SUB) which man(EDO) Sita to told (that)

ayaa thaal]

come-perf-m be-pst-m

lit. Which man did Ram tell Sita had come.

50. Kon sii (Mahajan 1990:

Vaala,vaali,vaale

51. Kon sii daasi, raaja-ne uske, pitaa-ko [t̪-ub t̪o t̪o

(29) [kon sii daasi, raaja-ne uske, pitaa-ko [t̪-ub t̪o t̪o
 which maid(DO) king(SUB) her father(TO)
 lora dill]

return give-pst-f

Which maid, did the king return to her, father?
 apni kon sii kitaab Ram-ne phenK dili?

self's which book Ram-erg. threw away?

Which or self's book did Ram throw away?

Adverbs (might show acc like in quechua)

52. Dhire dhire slowly (Mahajan 1990:123)

kis-ne dhire dhire kaam kiyaa

who slowly

work did

53. Kese mahajan 1990

raam-na kya kaha tha ki mohan-ne

kis-ko kesa maraa

How did Ram say that Mohan hit who - ?

raam-ne kya kaha tha ki mohan-ne kab

kis-ko kesa

maraa

maraa

hit

How did Ram say that Mohan hit whom when?

54. phir se (Bhatt 2005:766)

Rohan-ne aaj [phir-se inehnat

kar-nii] chaah-ii

Rohan-Erg today again hardwork-F do-hnf.F want-Pfv.Fsg

'Today Rohan wanted to work hard again.'

55. Jaldi jaldi/* quickly

56. barti caturta se 'cleverly'

57. kitne 'how many'

kitne ran se [raam-ne pochaa [t̪, [kon sii t̪iin ko,

raam soch hz ki [t̪, [hanarii t̪im t̪, t̪,

harasayegii]]]]]]

58. In a possessive (Mahajan 1990:37)

Information structure

Sita Ko rāndara marigaya

event oriented

Sita

rāndara marigaya

context

Sita oriented

$G(i)_{i,j}$

definite

specific

rām-ke baītʰe hi mād-ne usko k̤amaz diyaa.
 Ram₋₃ sit-NF mother-E pron-D food-N give-PERF

As soon as Ram sat down, mother gave him food.

Davison 2004:202

maiN yah baat pahlee hii samajh-aa
 I-nom this matter first only understand-PF

[ki raakese apni zid-par

that Rakesh self's obstinacy-on fixed is

'I understood from the first that Rakesh had become fixed on his own obstinacy.' (ibid.)

44. The oblique under *allow* (Bhatt 2005:778)

[Sarosh-ko gaRii chala-nej di-i
 Nadia-ne [Sarosh-ko gaani chala-nej di-i
 Nadia let Sarosh drive the car.]

[peR ka!-ne] (Bhatt 2005:795)

Nadia-ne [peR ka!-ye]

Nadia-Eng trees cut-for-Thi(Obl let-Pfv.Pt]

Nadia let the trees get cut.'

45. In a conditional (collected from a web forum)

Ag₁ mere pice kutta bhonkne laga
 if 1stGEN-OBL behind-OBL dog bark-NONFIN-OBL stan-MSG
 to main zunq bhag jaongi
 then 1sg certainly run go-1sg=FUT
 'If a dog started barking after me then I would certainly run.'

raam-ne caabaa siitas ko dekhnaa
 Ram-3SG wanted Sita to see

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

46. Multiple marking on conjuncts (collected in a web forum)

main aap ko
 1.SG 2.SG.FORMAL=DAT
 danda dhondne ya phir
 stick look-for-NONFIN-OBL or even
 duuu gaa kya?
 Allow-1.SG FUT Q

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

-e on arguments of verb heads

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

(19) jihī rac-e suraga biu
 who.Obl create-Perf.M.Pt heaven.M.Nom earth.Nom

satta pañāla

seven.Nom hell.M.Nom

'Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells.' [Old Hindi]

[He who created heaven, earth and the seven hells.]

(Chand, Pritchaya-Rasaa 1.11; Beames 1872, 267)

No -e

Kidwai 2000:165
 kum-ne mohanj-ko amijif kitab heta di
 Ram(SU) Mohanj(10) self's book(DO) return gave
 'Ram returned Mohanj self's book.'

Masculine nouns

Sona, sone gold Butt& King 2004:164

Shukla 2001:6
 Masculine:
 रामः देवा गृहः
 रामी राजा गृही
 रामी प्राणी प्राची
 रामी प्रेत् प्रेती
 रामी सति सती
 रामी रानि रानी
 रामी हवा हवानी
 रामी नदी नदी

3rd singular -e

Butt& King 2004:165
 Usse cal-a
 Pron=just walk-Perf.M.Sg not go-3.Fut.M.Sg
 'She/he can't possibly walk.' (in the context of a broken leg)

(Glassman 1976: 275)
 Kidwai 2000:43
 run-to urego... or koi eye-na-dye
 Ram-TOP will come else any come-not-come
 'RAM will come, whether anybody else comes or not.'

Participles (with varying gender)\

Participles (this is not oblique as it should become -i with a fem subject) (Mohanan 1994:182)

The Oblique Form as a Syntactic Case in Hindi/Urdu¹

Goal of this paper: Show that Hindi/Urdu has an affixal case, which can be explained using an abstract syntactic case feature. This analysis may help to remove case and agreement in Hindi/Urdu as an exception. (Mahajan 1990, Bhat 2005, Legate to appear).

Proposal:

post positions not Case	
Abstract Case	Ø nom
PP	Ø acc
No claim)	ne erg
-e	ko dat
ne	se Instr
ko	kaa Gen
se	mē/par Loc
source	k- gen
kaa	mē/par/dk/Ø loc
genitive	
mē	
n	
instrumental,	
par	
on	
tak	
oward/until	
dvaraā ²	
through	

1. Previous Proposals of Hindi/Urdu Case

Mahajan 1990 Mohanan 1994

But 2004

Ø	nom	Ø	nom
Ø	acc	ko	acc
ne	erg	ne	erg
ko	dat	ko	dat
se	Instr	se	instr
kaa	Gen	k-	gen
mē/par	Loc	mē/par/dk/Ø	loc

Previous proposals of Hindi/Urdu case only consider postpositions.

"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 (3), the 'direct' is found elsewhere in (2). The forms are obligatory (5),(4).

2. Direct form of *gadha*

humara gəd̥ia ghaas =to ratiñ khaa =t̥a
our donkey grass emph NEG eat imper!

"Our donkey doesn't eat grass."

3. Oblique form of *gadha*

[us gad̥ie] gadha that OBL donkey-MSG.OBL se] le lo from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG

'Take it from that donkey.'

4. The oblique cannot appear without a postposition

*[*us gad̥ie] gadha that OBL donkey-MSG.OBL grass eat IMPERF.MSG*

'That donkey is eating grass.'

5. 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.'

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

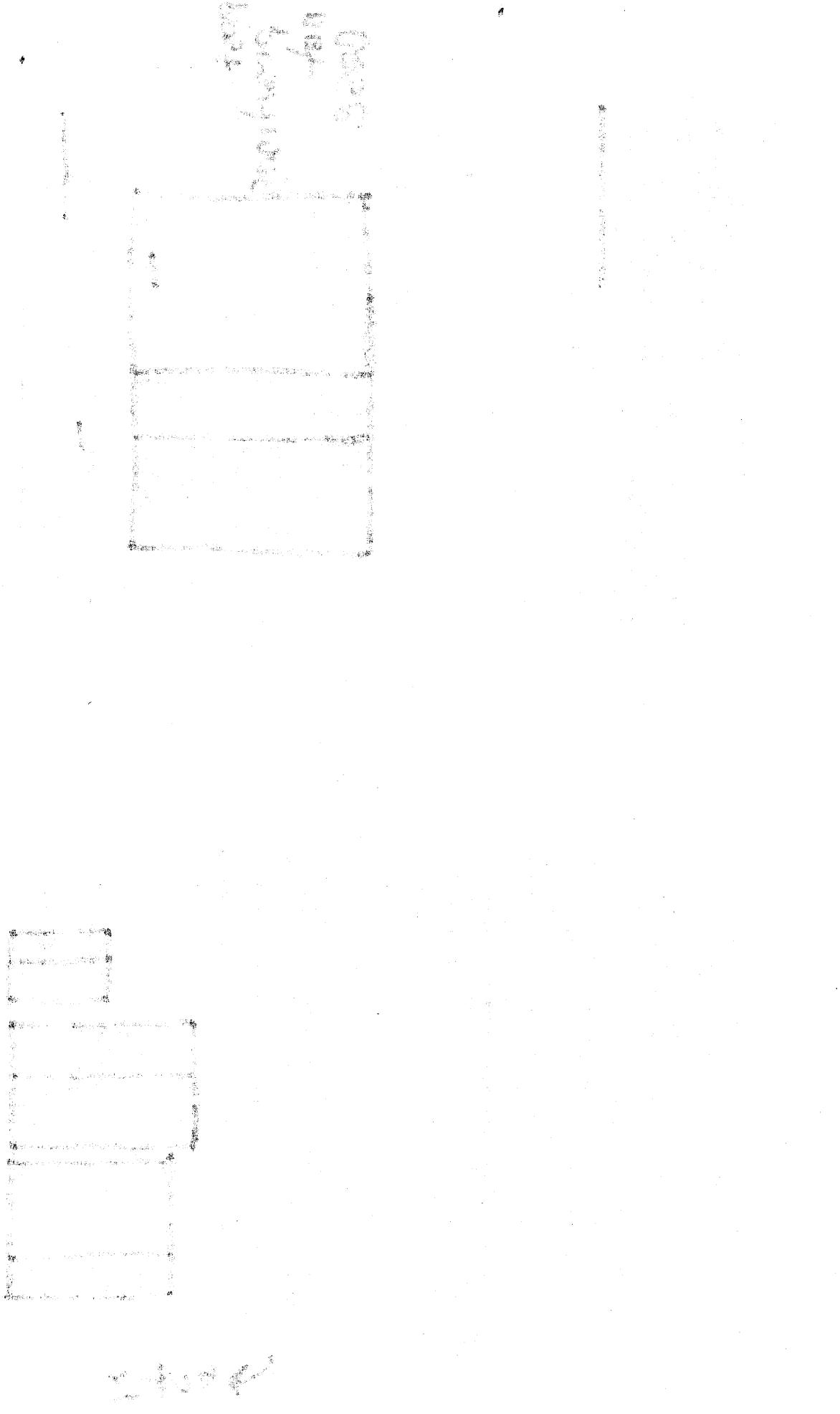
1. Complements of prepositions in English are accusative

bacee -ke dvaraā child(NN) G(NN) through (the agency of)
'through (the agency of) the child'

¹ I would like to thank the Abbasi family for sharing their home and language with me. Thanks especially to Karthik Durvasala for extensive discussion and his always willing ear. Thanks also to Masahiro Yamada, Launy Hidajat and Timothe McKinnon. All errors and oversights are my own. © The following abbreviations are used in these paper: Abs – Absolutive; Acc – Accusative; Dat – Dative; Erg – Ergative; Neg – Negation; Prs – Present; LDA – Long Distance Agreement; Hon – Honorific; D – Default; PSTPRT – Past Participle; NMLZ – Nominalizer; Pass – Passive Auxiliary; PSL – Polarity Sensitive Item; Inf – Infinitive; Pst – Past; Perf – Perfective; Imp – Imperfective; Prog – Progressive; Hab – Habitual; Ger – Gerund; Obj – Oblique; 1 – 1st Person; 2 – 2nd Person; 3 – 3rd Person; F – Feminine; M – Masculine; N – Neuter; Sg – Singular; Pl – Plural

² This is position I haven't heard in spoken Urdu, but is cited in Mohanan 1994:62

but I claim...



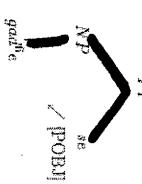
English PP
I took the grass [from him POR]



2. Complements of postpositions in Urdu are oblique

Urdu PP

us *gadhi^{hī}* *ke* *se*
tak^{hī} donkey-POBJ 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.

The "oblique"

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

In (6) below the final -*a* ending of the 'direct' masculine *gadha* 'horse' alternates with the oblique -*e* in *gadhe* 'horse-OBL.'

6. The oblique forms of nouns (Shukla 2001)

	Singular		Plural	
	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique
Masculine				
a)	gadha	gadhe	gadho	'donkey'
b)	mez	mez?	mezo?	'table'
Feminine				
c)	gadhi	gadhi	gadhi ^{hī}	'female donkey'
d)	bahu	bahu	bahu ^o	'daughter-in-law'

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

Yet, so far the GB/P&PM minimalist literature on Hindi/Urdu case and agreement discusses only postpositions as case, overlooking the oblique forms. Mahajan 1990, Kidwai 2000, Davison 2004, Daval 2003, 2004, didn't gloss the oblique.

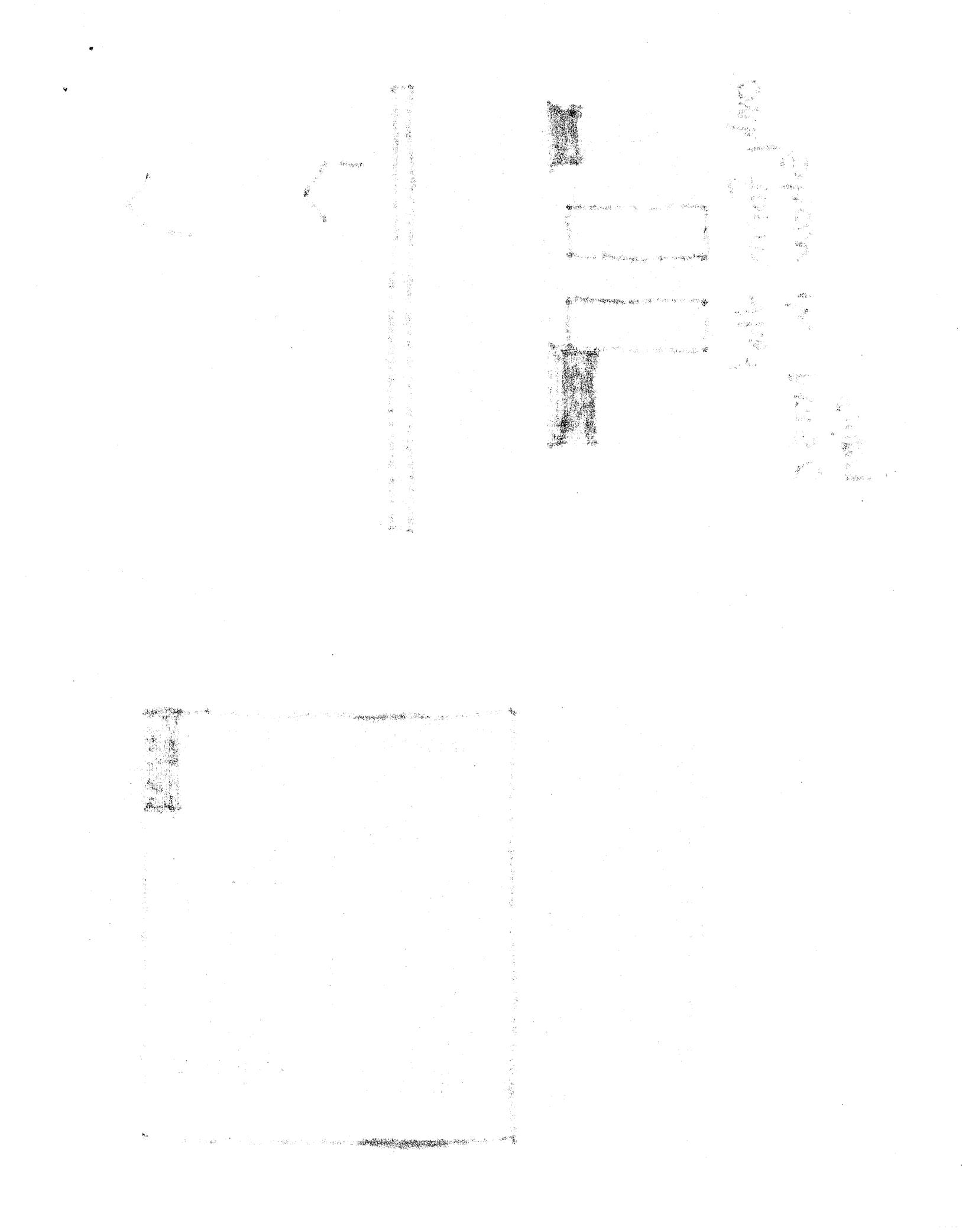
8. jaane kaa (Mahajan 1990:160)
raam-ne mohan-ko jaane kaa vaadaa diyaa
Ram-erg Mohan to go gen promise gave
9. (Kidwai 2000:65)

Pronouns also show a 'direct'/oblique alternation. In (7) below the nominative stem for 1st singular is *mē* while the oblique stem is *mujh^o*.

7. The oblique forms of pronouns (Shukla 2001)

	Singular		Plural	
	DP	[DP from]	DP	[DP from]
1	mē	mujh se	hum	hum se
2	tum	tum se	ap	ap se
3 Prox	ye	is se	ye	in se
3 Dist	vo	us se	vo	un se
3 Rel	jo	jis se	jo	jinho se
3 wh person	kon	kis se	kon	kinhō se
3 wh thing	kya	kis se	kya	kis se
Place Prox	yahā	yahā se	yahā	yahā se
Place Dist	vahā	vahā se	vahā	vahā se
Place Rel	jahā	jahā se	jahā	jahā se
Place wh	kahā	kahā se	kahā	kahā se
Quantity	jina/jini	jine		
Quantity Rel	jina/jini	jine		
Quantity wh	kina/kini	kine		
Time wh	kab	kab se	kab	kab se
3 indef person	koi	kisi se	koi-koi	kisi-kisi se
3 indef thing	kuch	kuch	kuch-kuch	kuch-kuchi se
Place indef	kañī	kañī	kañī-kañī	kañī-kañī se
Quantity Rel	kabi	kabi se	kabi-kabi	kabi-kabi se

only form the +
show in masc
sing.



sita-ne ek latke-ko pasand kiya
Sita-ERG a boy-DAT liking did
'Sita liked a boy.'

10. is laRkee-koo(Davison 2004:209)

maiN-ne is laRkee keo deekH-iyan

L-Erg this boy-Dat see take-Pf.n.s

I saw this boy.'

11. apne kamne meN (Dayal 2003 D23)

puure din maiN-ne (apne kamne meN) kitaab paRhui

whole day I-erg self's room in book-fam read-fem-sing.

'The whole day I read books in my room.'

12. kamne meN(Dayal 2004:403)

kamne meN cuuhaa ghuum rahaai hai

room in mouse moving

b5

'A mouse is moving around in the room.'

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

13. bacce-ke liye(Mohanan 1994:62)

bacce *ke* *liye*
child(N) G(NN) for
'for the child'

Bhatt 2005 includes it in his glossing but doesn't explain it.

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

ek-paii larke-ne Sita-se [kitaab parRh-ne]-ko nahi.
one-PSI boy-Erg Sita-Inst book-F go-inf.Obj-Dat Neg

kah-aa

say-PV

'Not even a single boy told Sita to read the book.'

Previous Discussion of the Oblique

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 helpful 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.

Mohanan 1994:

non-nominative

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

Butt & King 2004:

15. The oblique is an agreement inflection on the complement of a K head (case postposition)

16. 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)

17. 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 wrote a book on case in many frameworks in 2005, and there was a Case workshop at the LFG05 conference.

"A great deal could be said about the differing realizational possibilities for case markers and one could argue about whether all of these different morphosyntactic creatures should all be lumped together under the label case. A great deal has in fact been said about this issue, however, in terms of syntactic approaches to case, these questions are rather uninteresting. The notion of case employed in theories of syntax is an abstract notion which is used to characterize the interaction between verbal lexical semantics, grammatical relations and word order. 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)

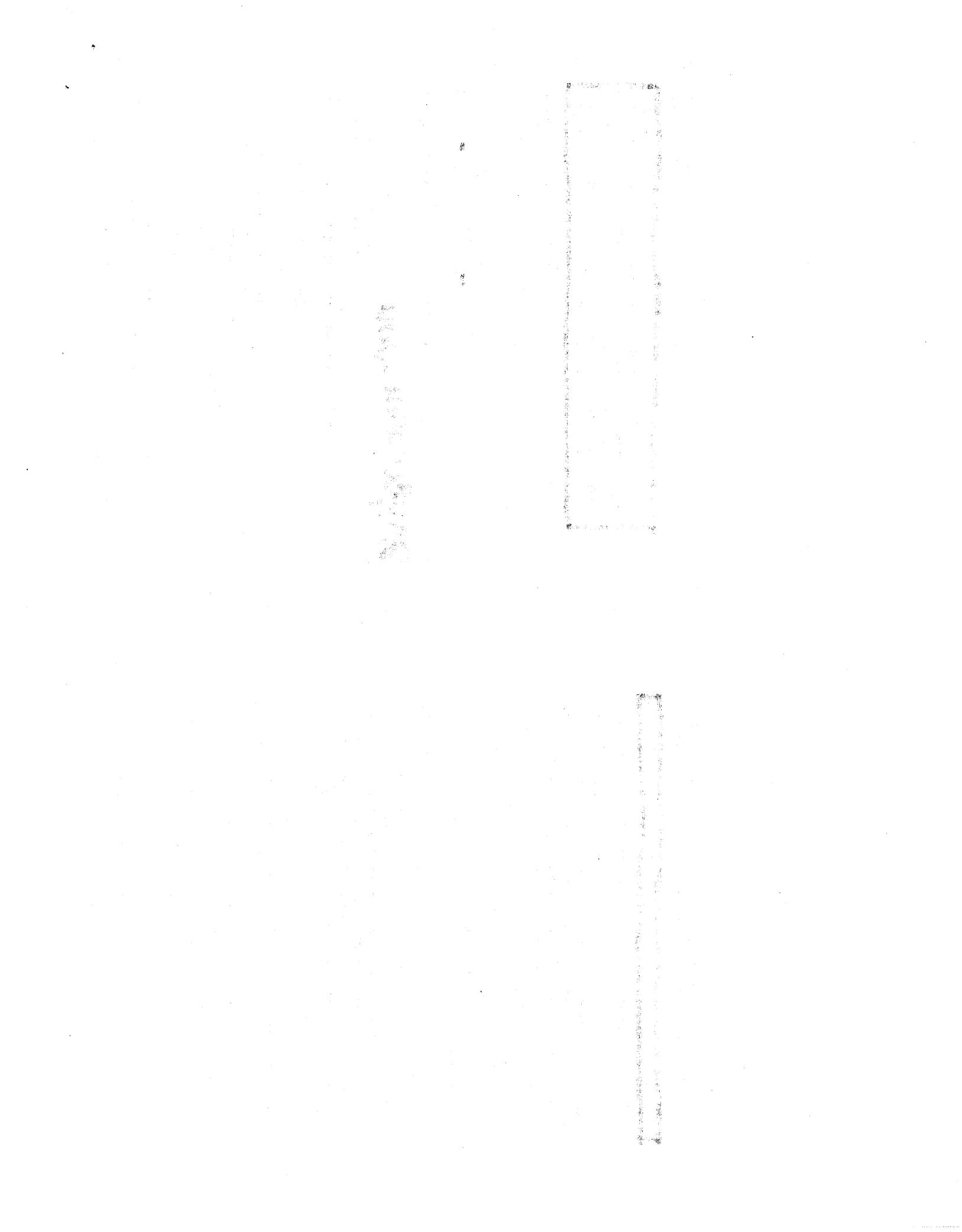
Butt says that most of the theories she surveys on her book on case haven't put much thought into the overt form of case markers. (Butt 2005:11)

"It has become clear over the past few years that the standard LFG treatment of agreement is inadequate, a fact which was the focus of the agreement workshop at the LFG 05 conference. This inadequacy is a combination of several factors, but it is primarily a conceptual failure. An adequate theory of agreement must begin with a conceptual understanding of the nature and purpose of agreement. This paper will argue that agreement, along with Case marking, involves an additional level of representation in the LFG projection architecture, one which we will call grammatical marking structure, or g-structure." (Falk 2005:2) [read more](#)

So an analysis of the 'direct' and 'oblique' form may be brewing in the LFG literature.

Case in the Lexicon vs Case in the Syntax

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)

Arguments against the (strong) lexicalist position:

Reading list

Chomsky 1970
Marantz 1997

Arguments for derivational morphemes in/out the syntax:

is that what people misinterpreted

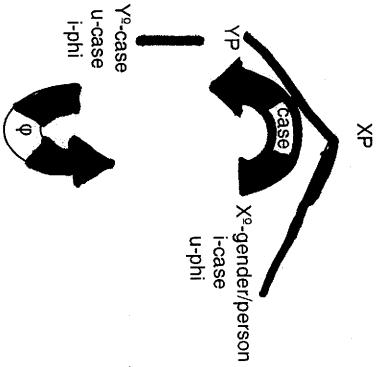
Chomsky (1965:221-222, footnote 35) does note that he assumes case marking to be assigned at the level of phonological realization." (Bhatt 2005:29)

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.'

Furthermore the formalization of the oblique in the syntax should be useful in analyzing the problematic Hindi/Urdu case and agreement.

Issues Hindi-Urdu case & agreement

- 18. Mahajan 1990, Bhatt 2005: Case and agreement can't be two sides of a coin.
- 19. Case and agreement are ideally two sides of a coin, the head probes for interpretable ϕ -features to check its uninterpretable ϕ -feature, in turn, the YP has uninterpretable case features are checked by the interpretable θ -role (Chomsky 1995). Alternatively, the functional head assigns abstract case features to its complement, and the complement shares its ϕ -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.



- 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.
- Bhatt 2005: Hindi/Urdu is an exception to Burzio's generalization

19. Accusative Ko is retained in passives (Bhatt 2005:782)
Sita-ko Ram-dwaaraa qā:j-rāa ga:yāa
Sita-Acc Ram-by scold-Pfv.MSG PASS-Pfv.MSG

'Sita was scolded by Ram.'

- This is not an exception if -ko is not a structural case.

Bhatt 2005: Hindi/Urdu infinitives license structural case.

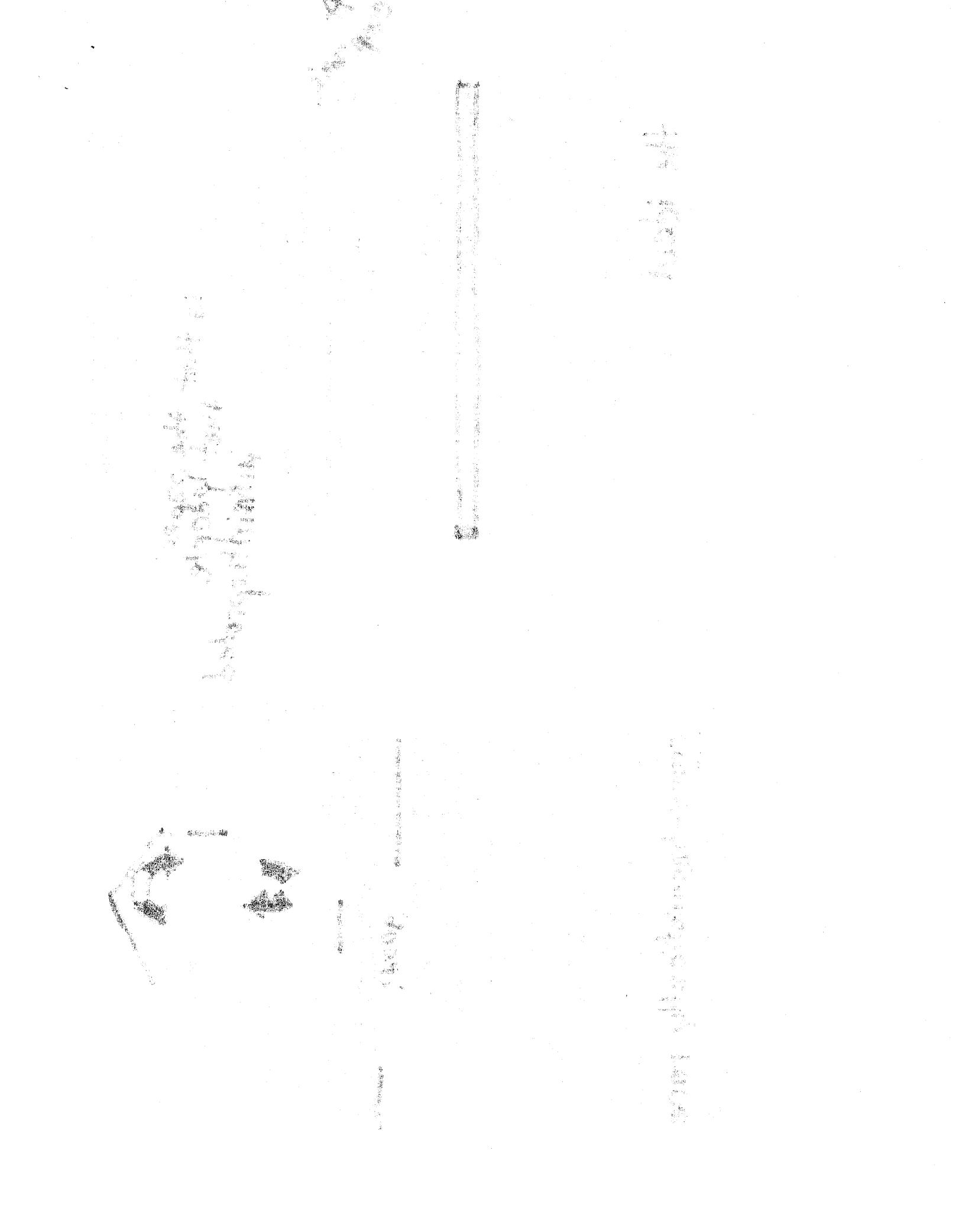
- 20. The complement of an infinitive must be accusative. (Bhatt 2005:782)
[Sita-ko mujhe/*mE pīt-ne] di-yaa ga:yāa
Sita-Dat me.Acc[I.Nom hit-Inf.Obl give-Pfv.MSG Pass-Pfv.MSG]
'Sita was allowed to hit me.' (= 'Someone let Sita hit me.')
- This is not an exception if -ko is not a structural case.

- 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

Cross-linguistically rare

"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."

the ideal



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)

- 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.

Case feature vs Postposition

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

21. (a) Case postpositions = *ko* can scope over conjoined NPs (Butt & King 2004:174)

yassin-e@ [kutte-e or *g¹or-e=ko*
Yassin.M.Sg-Erg dog.M.Sg.Obl and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc
deka^{b,a} *he*
see-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.¹Sg

‘Yassin saw the dog and the horse.’

- (b) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
*[kutte or *g¹or-e=ko*
dog and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc

- (c) The oblique cannot scope over conjoined NPs
*[kutte-a or *g¹or-e=ko*
dog.M.Sg and horse.M.Sg.Obl=Acc

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

us=hi=re kam kiyā
Pron.3.Sg=Foc-Erg work.M.Sg.Nom do-Perf.M.Sg

‘That one himself only did (the) work.’

- (b) The focus particle cannot intervene between the NP and the oblique
**kutte-e*
dog-Foc-Obl

Other potential arguments, but no one to cite yet:

¹⁹ The focus clitic has the distribution of an adverb. As such, it has a wider syntactic distribution than the case clitics, although it is always postponed and may not be the last element of a clause. In (i), the focus clitic *is* shown attached to a verb.

(i) *nadya-e@* *taj* *ke=ehi* *he*
Nadya.F.Sg-Erg cards play-Perf.M.Sg=also be.Pres.3.Sg
‘Nadya has only played cards.’

The realization of the oblique is dependent on morphological classes and gender. This is indicative of inflection rather than a functional head (although some functional heads show idiosyncratic realization (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.

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

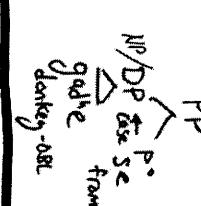
A structural case that is assigned by Po

The framework I adopt:

- Case assignment: Pesesky & Torrego 2001, Frampton & Gutman 2002
- Feature spreading: Viñchic 1993, Frampton & Gutmann 2006, Krauzer 2006
- Morphological realization: Marantz 1997, Legate to appear

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

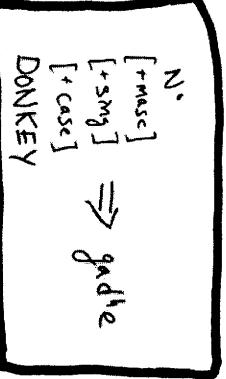
23. Case assignment⁴



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).

24. Spell out

⁴ 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.



Like case in many languages (German for example), the oblique appears multiply on all elements of the DP which have an oblique form.⁵

25. us bare **gadhe** se le 10
that.OBL big-OBL donkey-OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.SG
'Take it from that big donkey.'
26. Nimm den Schemel für diesen **großen**
take-2sg.imper def-OBL stool-OBL for that-OBL big-OBL
grauen alten unbekarren ruhigen
grey-OBL old-OBL un-? hair-OBL quiet-OBL
sitzenden Elefanten dieses Mannes
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 25), the genitive postposition, postpositions (in 27), gerunds (in 28 and 29), these are the same grammatical categories as in German (26).⁶

gerunds

27. [dabbe ke nice tak]
box-OBL=GEN-OBL under-OBL until
'up to the underneath of the box.'
28. [raam ke batThe par] maa-ne
raam=GEN-OBL sit-NONFIN-OBL=ON mother=ERG
us-ko khaanaa dijaa give-PERF
3sg.OBL=DAT food
'When Ram sat down, mother gave him food' (Mohanan 1994:78)
29. [Lataa-ji-ke ye gaanaa gaye ho-ne] see (Bhatt 2005:765)

⁵ I expect feature sharing to happen whenever there is a modifier-modifiee relationship (predicate modification, rather than functional application)

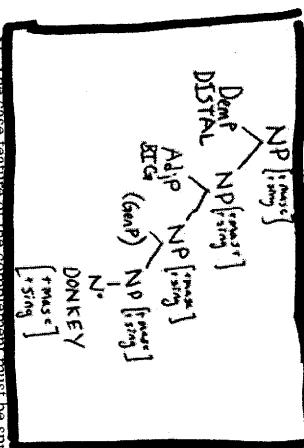
⁶ If we think that the -en on participles is the same thing.

[A-shaa-ji-kaa	yeh gaanaa	gaa-yaa ho-naal
Ashaa-Hon-Gen	this song	sing-Priv.be-Inf
Lataa-ji-ke	yeh gaanaa	gaa-yee
Lataa-Hon-Gen.Obl	this song	sing-Priv.Obl
ho-naal-se	zyakada	munkin hai
be-tinf.Obl-Inst	more	possible be-Prs.3Sg
'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 through feature spreading (Vuchic 1993, Frampton & Gutman 2006, Kratzer 2006). This must be accomplished in a two-step process.

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 DemonstrativeP is also adjoined. As all elements are adjoined the features of donkey are projected.

30. The features of the noun are projected/percoded through merger (Frampton & Guzman 2006)

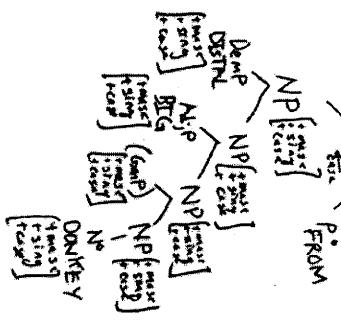
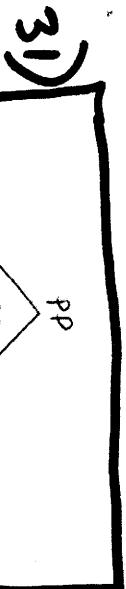


⁷1. The case feature or the complement must be spread down to all elements in the DP/NP (might be controversial, need to read more literature)

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
688
689
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
788
789
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
888
889
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
988
989
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

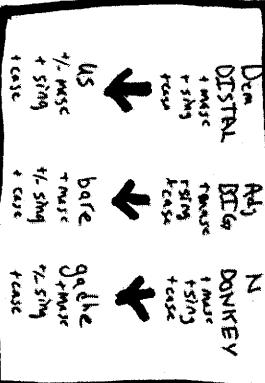
Next Section

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.



Finally, the feature bundles are spliced out as words using the lexical item which matches the most of the features. In this case, the demonstrative *us* 'that' is 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.

32. Lexical Insertion



The oblique is obligatory

So far I have shown 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.

33. Hindi/Urdu demonstratives

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

34. Hindi/Urdu adjectives

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

35. Masculine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

- 2) (b) [wo bara mez] gir reba he
 'that DIR big-MSG DIR table.MSG.DIR fall IMPERF-M PRES-3SG
 'That big table is falling.'
- (a) [us bare mez sel le lo take-2nd.sg
 '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.

36. Feminine oblique surfaces as the direct form if there is no oblique

- (b) [wo barf kitab] gir rehi he
 'that DIR big-FSG.DIR book.FSG.DIR fall IMPERF-F PRES-3SG
 'That big book is falling.'
- (a) [us barf kitaab sel le lo take-2nd.sg
 'that.OBL big-FSG.OBL book.FSG.OBL from take-SUBJ take-2nd.sg
 'Take it from that big book.'

37. Spell out for feminine nouns



If case postpositions in Hindi/Urdu are functional heads in the syntax, this explains why passivization and argument raising retains the postposition. The highest maximal project is the PP, so that must be raised, postposition and all.

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.

Den DT-AL +Nom +Acc +Sing +Plur +Case WS +I-form +P-form +S-form +C-form +Case bari Kitab	At-i Book them +Nom +Acc +Sing +Plur +Case +I-case Kitaab
---	--

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.
- b) NOM ACC
- c) I see John.
- d) NOM ACC
- *I see he.
- NOM NOM

Ramifications of a structural 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 case as something equivalent to a PP or a KP. 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 not realizations of "structural" case (which Legate to appear needs to be the case at least for the v⁰). Structural case is thought of as a syntactic case feature (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001), but a syntactic feature can't assign another case.

References

- Bratt, R. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:4:757-807.
- Butt, M. & T. H. King. 2004. The Status of Case. In *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, ed. V. Dayal & A. Mahajan. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chomsky, N. 1970. "Remarks on Nominalization," in *Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar*, The Hague: Mouton, 1972, 11-61.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. The Minimalist Program.

the first time, the author has been able to identify the species of all the individuals examined. The results are summarized in Table I.

The following species were found to be associated with the *Leptothrix* sp. complex:

- *Leptothrix* sp. complex
- *Leptothrix* sp. 1
- *Leptothrix* sp. 2
- *Leptothrix* sp. 3
- *Leptothrix* sp. 4
- *Leptothrix* sp. 5
- *Leptothrix* sp. 6
- *Leptothrix* sp. 7
- *Leptothrix* sp. 8
- *Leptothrix* sp. 9
- *Leptothrix* sp. 10
- *Leptothrix* sp. 11
- *Leptothrix* sp. 12
- *Leptothrix* sp. 13
- *Leptothrix* sp. 14
- *Leptothrix* sp. 15
- *Leptothrix* sp. 16
- *Leptothrix* sp. 17
- *Leptothrix* sp. 18
- *Leptothrix* sp. 19
- *Leptothrix* sp. 20
- *Leptothrix* sp. 21
- *Leptothrix* sp. 22
- *Leptothrix* sp. 23
- *Leptothrix* sp. 24
- *Leptothrix* sp. 25
- *Leptothrix* sp. 26
- *Leptothrix* sp. 27
- *Leptothrix* sp. 28
- *Leptothrix* sp. 29
- *Leptothrix* sp. 30
- *Leptothrix* sp. 31
- *Leptothrix* sp. 32
- *Leptothrix* sp. 33
- *Leptothrix* sp. 34
- *Leptothrix* sp. 35
- *Leptothrix* sp. 36
- *Leptothrix* sp. 37
- *Leptothrix* sp. 38
- *Leptothrix* sp. 39
- *Leptothrix* sp. 40
- *Leptothrix* sp. 41
- *Leptothrix* sp. 42
- *Leptothrix* sp. 43
- *Leptothrix* sp. 44
- *Leptothrix* sp. 45
- *Leptothrix* sp. 46
- *Leptothrix* sp. 47
- *Leptothrix* sp. 48
- *Leptothrix* sp. 49
- *Leptothrix* sp. 50
- *Leptothrix* sp. 51
- *Leptothrix* sp. 52
- *Leptothrix* sp. 53
- *Leptothrix* sp. 54
- *Leptothrix* sp. 55
- *Leptothrix* sp. 56
- *Leptothrix* sp. 57
- *Leptothrix* sp. 58
- *Leptothrix* sp. 59
- *Leptothrix* sp. 60
- *Leptothrix* sp. 61
- *Leptothrix* sp. 62
- *Leptothrix* sp. 63
- *Leptothrix* sp. 64
- *Leptothrix* sp. 65
- *Leptothrix* sp. 66
- *Leptothrix* sp. 67
- *Leptothrix* sp. 68
- *Leptothrix* sp. 69
- *Leptothrix* sp. 70
- *Leptothrix* sp. 71
- *Leptothrix* sp. 72
- *Leptothrix* sp. 73
- *Leptothrix* sp. 74
- *Leptothrix* sp. 75
- *Leptothrix* sp. 76
- *Leptothrix* sp. 77
- *Leptothrix* sp. 78
- *Leptothrix* sp. 79
- *Leptothrix* sp. 80
- *Leptothrix* sp. 81
- *Leptothrix* sp. 82
- *Leptothrix* sp. 83
- *Leptothrix* sp. 84
- *Leptothrix* sp. 85
- *Leptothrix* sp. 86
- *Leptothrix* sp. 87
- *Leptothrix* sp. 88
- *Leptothrix* sp. 89
- *Leptothrix* sp. 90
- *Leptothrix* sp. 91
- *Leptothrix* sp. 92
- *Leptothrix* sp. 93
- *Leptothrix* sp. 94
- *Leptothrix* sp. 95
- *Leptothrix* sp. 96
- *Leptothrix* sp. 97
- *Leptothrix* sp. 98
- *Leptothrix* sp. 99
- *Leptothrix* sp. 100

Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework. In *Step by Step. Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Appendix

A family tree of Hypothesis B
<http://www.uliois.let.uw.edu.pl/~ttc/agreement.htm>
 Agreement Database
<http://www.ling.janes.ac.uk/staff/anna/anna.htm>

- Corbett, Greville G.
Agreement /
 Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2006.
 xviii, 328 p. : ill. ; 26 cm.
 Morris Library P299.A35 C67x 2006 Normal Loan

- Frampton, J. and S. Gutmann. 2002. Crash-Proof Syntax. In *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, ed. by Samuel D. Epstein and T. Daniel Seely, 90-105. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

- Frampton, J. & S. Gutmann. 2006. 'How Sentences Grow in the Mind: Agreement and Selection in an Efficient Minimalist Syntax.' In C. Boeckx (ed.), *Agreement Systems*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-157.

- Halle, M. and A. Marantz 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection," in K. Hale and S.J. Keyser, eds., *The View From Building 20*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 111-176.

- Legate, J. To appear. Morphological and Abstract Case.

- Mahajan, A. 1990. *The AA-bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. MIT Dissertation.

- Masica, C. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pK115.M37 1991

- Mohanan, T. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

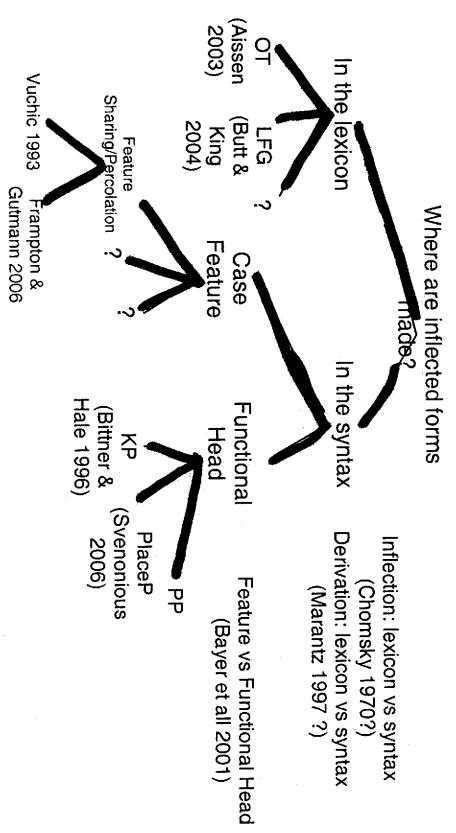
- Payne, J. 1995. "Inflecting Postpositions in Indic and Kashmiri." in *Double Case, Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. Plank, F. (ed.), Oxford University Press.

- Pesetsky, David & Esther Torrego. 2001. T-to-C movement: Causes and consequences. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 355-426. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

- Shukla, S. 2001. *Hindi Morphology*. München: Lincom Europa.

- Vuchic, R. 1993. *A study of Noun Phrase agreement in French as a second language: an autosegmental model*. University of Delaware Dissertation.

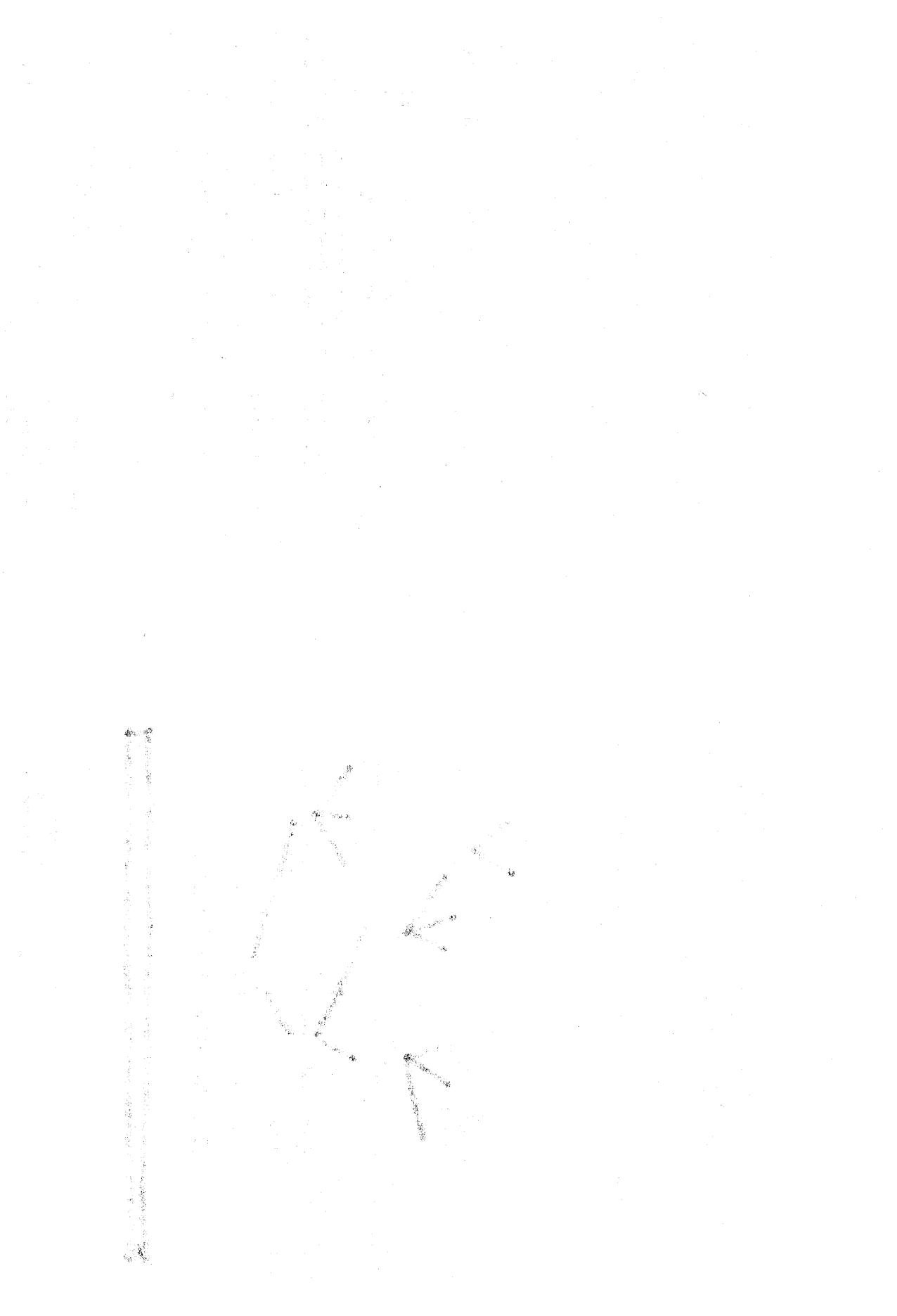
The Family Tree of Hypothesis B



Two kinds of abstract case features, structural and inherent, not really relevant

Inherent case is an idiosyncratic case which depends on the lexical item which assigns the case.

If different postpositions assigned different case on a par with the oblique then it would be worthwhile investigating whether the oblique is inherent. German postpositions assign different cases, the postposition *für* 'for' assigns/checks accusative, while *von* 'from' assigns/checks dative.



However, in Urdu all postpositions assign/check oblique, as all members of a syntactic category assign/check the same case; it seems non-sensical to entertain that that case is inherent, i.e. an idiosyncratic case which is characteristic of a particular lexical item.

Tests for inherent case come from the verbal domain rather than the PP domain.

One test is whether the case-marked NP/DP retains its case when passivized. What the corresponding action a postposition's complement would be escapes me. (Ben argues against A'-movement as a test since non-A'-moved objects loose their structural case in Icelandic passives. Ben says that if the markedness theory of ergative marking were correct, an inherent case would be a case where a co-argument is denoted, but no grammatical function change takes place. In the antipassive the object is denoted to an oblique while the subject remains a subject. Postpositions don't appear to have co-arguments in Urdu, so this test for inherent case is not possible.)

Since I think that the inherent/structural case is irrelevant this shouldn't be a problem.

My claim: postpositions are functional heads which participate in event structure, they introduce arguments. In this way they are "semantic case" if anything. They are not "structural" cases, at least not in terms of the assignment/checking of "features". They must be present as functional heads, in the syntax, because they assign a case (oblique). The oblique itself is a "structural" case in that it is a feature in the syntax, not a head.

What is agreement, can Hindi/Urdu agreement become normal if we consider (following Kratzer 2006) that gender agreement is different?

Butt 1995: there is a great deal semantic and syntactic evidence that nouns like girl in "girl-looking" are incorporated, yet the noun and verb agree.

40. "pseudoincorporated" nouns show agreement

Anil-ne	larki-wāt̪ / dekh-i-/	*dekh-aa
Anil-Erg	girls, Pl	see-Pfv.FPl/ see-Pfv.D
Anil saw girls,	lakDii	kaatii
raam-ne		
Ram-M-ERG wood-E cut, Perf.Pem		

'Ram did wood-cutting' (Mohanan 1994:107)

pnaare din maiN-ne (apne kame reN) kitaab paRhii
whole day I-ERG self's room in book E read E~~sg~~

"The whole day I read books in my room.' (Dayal 2003:23)

This agreement has been considered a sign that the noun cannot be pseudo incorporated by Bhat 2005. Nouns which are incorporated are not case marked and don't show agreement with the verb (Baker 1988, Massam 2001).

• However, the pseudo-incorporated noun and verb agree only in gender. Kratzer 2006 argues that sharing gender features is done under nonrestrictive modification, which is precisely the semantics for pseudo-incorporated nominals. I would like to argue that agreeing in gender is a sign of a modifier rather than an argument.

And so this would confirm that they are modifiers, not arguments as has been suspected; the only barrier to this analysis before was that there was still agreement.

Is this structural case only on objects of prepositions?

Legate (to appear) argues that abstract structural accusative case in Hindi which is assigned by ν^o is the morphological default, null. This is needed for her analysis reducing absolute 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 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.

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

41. The oblique as a locative (Butt & King 2004:168)⁷

adhan M.Sg.Nom post office.M.Sg.Obl go-Perf.M.Sg he
be.Pres.3.Sg

'Adhan has gone to the post office.'

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

is biliñ-ku / -ek hid ^{azk*} hai.
this eat-G one only eye-SQF be-PR

This cat has only one eye.

is haurhi-kaa / -ek bohot cōtar mustik
this elephant-G very small forehead-N(M) be-PR

This elephant has a very small forehead

43. The oblique (maybe) in an adjunct under the emphatic particle, not m_{ng} because the gen on the subject is also marked as oblique. What dialect is this?

⁷ Butt & King discuss another use of the oblique: "The one use of the oblique marking in the modern system in which the original case function has been preserved is the use of the oblique to mark locatives as in (17). The meaning of this locative use is restricted: it can only mean to or from, not in, towards, etc. We thus distinguish between two forms of the oblique morphemes (section 5): one as an agreement inflection on the complement of a K head, and one as a locative case marker. (Butt & King 2004:168)

