

Zoomdemic: Case in Indo-Aryan Languages

Sakshi Singh

Jawaharlal Nehru University

19 April 2020

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - What is Case?
- 2 Case in Indo-Aryan Languages
 - Zograf's Layers
- 3 Problem of Layer 2 in Haryanvi
 - ACC/DAT Case
 - Questions
- 4 References

Inflectional Case

- Prototypical example of case is given to be from Inflectional Languages like Latin and Sanskrit

Latin

"friend": amicus (nominative); amicum (accusative); amici (genitive); and amico (ablative and dative).

- This is called inflectional case.
- It is affixal in nature and represents a grammatical relation in the sentence such as the marking of subjects and objects.

Case Feature in the Grammar

- Case Filter
 - In syntax, a case filter is a filter which requires an (overtly realized) NP argument to be case marked, or be associated with a case position.
 - Different heads assign different cases. For eg. Verbs and Prepositions are accusative case assigners for English.

What then is Case?

- Does it refer to a form or a relation?
- Can we rely on only form based description?
- Do we need the case feature?
- The answer is yes. We have to generalise over different forms of different Inflectional classes (Latin) and for Case allomorphy (Turkish).

Case in Indo-Aryan Languages

- Case is present in Indo-Aryan languages too.
- But it is not always inflectional in nature.
- So how does it fit into the case theory of generative syntax?
- What is its morphological form?

Zograf's Three Layers of Case

- Zograf(1976) and Masika(1991) divide Indo-Aryan case into three layers:
 - Layer 1 : Inflection Proper
 - Layer 2 : Phrasal Affixes/ Post-positional Clitics
 - Layer 3 : Proper Post-positions

Layer 1

- This is the layer which appears as an affix on the Noun which gets Case.
- For example In Hindi nouns may inflect for singular/plural number and for three forms, which Spencer(2005) calls the direct form, the oblique form and the vocative form:

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	laRkaa	laRke	makaan	makaan
Oblique	laRke	laRkō	makaan	makaanō
Vocative	laRke	laRko		
	'boy' (Masculine)		'house' (Masculine)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	laRkii	laRkiyāā	mez	mezē
Oblique	laRkii	laRkiyō	mez	mezō
Vocative	laRkii	laRkiyo		
	'girl' (Feminine)		'table' (Feminine)	

Figure 1: Inflected Noun Forms (Zograf Layer 1)

Layer 1

- Layer 1 has two main properties:
 - They trigger agreement on attributive modifiers and must be repeated on all (inflecting) modifiers within the NP

Hindi

- (2) ram ne ek mote: t̪uɦe: ko
 Ram ERG one fat.OBL mouse.M.SG.OBL ACC
 dek^h a
 see-PRF.M.SG
 "Ram saw a fat mouse "

Layer 2

- The second of Zograf's layers is found with a small number of postpositional clitics (phrasal affixes).
- Also called 'simple postpositions'.
- These are used to realize grammatical functions such as (transitive) subject (ne), direct object (ko), indirect object (also ko) as well as a variety of adverbial functions.
- Each of these postpositions is invariable except for Genitive-/ka:/, which agrees with the possessed noun.
- This layer has been identified as case proper by Butt & King (2004) whereas Spencer (2005) treats only Layer 1 as case proper and calls Layer 2 a Non-projecting PP.

Layer 2: Clitics

- These layer 2 forms are clitics and not affixes. (Butt & King, 2004)
- Even though in some languages like Marathi, they are written with the Noun like affixes.

Layer 2: Clitics v/s Affixes

- There are three main tests which show us that these are indeed clitics and not affixes (Butt & King, 2004):
 - Co-ordinate Structure Interaction
 - Inflectional affixes do not scope over a coordinate structure; instead, they can only be attributed to the stem to which they attach.
 - In contrast the layer 2 can scope over coordinated noun phrases

Hindi

- (3) tʃuɦe: ɔ:r kutte: ko
 mouse.M.SG.OBL and dog.SG.M.OBL ACC
 "a mouse and a dog"

Layer 2: Clitics v/s Affixes

- There are three main tests which show us that these are indeed clitics and not affixes (Butt & King, 2004):
 - Focus Clitic
 - The focus clitic may be placed between the case marker and the nominal, In Hindi /hi/ appears between various nouns or pronouns and the case forms as seen in (4)

Hindi

- (4) us-hi-ne/ko
Pron.3.SG-FOC-ERG/ACC
"He only"

Layer 2: Clitics v/s Affixes

- There are three main tests which show us that these are indeed clitics and not affixes (Butt & King, 2004):
 - Focus Clitic
 - With true affixes, the focus clitics behave differently: the clitic cannot split an affix from its stem as seen in (5)

Hindi

- (5) *kutt-hi-e:
Dog.SG-FOC-OBL
"Dog only"

Layer 2: Clitics v/s Affixes

- There are three main tests which show us that these are indeed clitics and not affixes (Butt & King, 2004):
 - Stress Pattern
 - 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 penultimate as in talAji 'search'.
 - If the case markers affected the stress system, one would expect Aja + ko 'to Asha' to become aJAko, but the stress remains on the first syllable.

Layer 3

- This is the most definite Proper preposition layer in Indo-Aryan
- It denotes nouns such as /ʊpəɾ/ in Hindi, as in *mez ke /ʊpəɾ/* 'on top of the table', where the 'top' is linked to the main noun via the genitive.
- The genitive form which acts as a connector (/ke/) remains invariable in most cases.
- These nouns can also appear by themselves for e.g. /ʊpəɾ a:o/

The Three markers

- Haryanvi has three different possible markers for its Direct/Indirect Object position, /nɛ:/, /t̪i:/ and /kɛ:/
- One of the Direct/Indirect object position marker is homophonous to the Ergative Subject Marker /nɛ:/.
- Another marker ,which alternates with the nɛ: marker in the DO/IO position across aspects and mood except in perfective aspect, is /t̪i/

The Three Markers

Habitual Aspect

- (6) ra:m siṭa nɛ:/ ti: kiṭa:b d̪iʒa: kəre:
Ram.M.SG Sita.F.SG DAT book.F.SG give do.HAB
'Ram gives the book to Sita.'

Perfective Aspect

Direct Object Position

- (7) ra:m nɛ: siṭa: *nɛ:/ ti: piṭja:
Ram.M.SG ERG Sita.F.SG ACC beat.PRV.M.SG
'Ram beat up Sita'

Indirect Object Position

- (8) ra:m nɛ: siṭa *nɛ:/ ti: kiṭa:b |di
Ram.M.SG ERG Sita.F.SG DAT book.F.SG give.F
'Ram gave the book to Sita'

The Three Markers

- There is a third marker /kɛ:/ which occurs with some specific verbs in direct object positions (9)

Perfective Aspect

(9) ra:m sita: **kɛ:** maræga:
Ram.M.SG Sita.F.SG ACC beat.M.SG.FUT
'Ram will beat up Sita'

Experiencer Subject Constructions

- Experiencer Subject Constructions in South-Asian Languages are characterised by the thematically prominent argument, which is expected to be the grammatical subject, is quite often an experiencer, and is marked with a case otherwise associated with indirect objects (Verma & Mohanan, 1990).
- Unlike ergative case, which is authorized only in the presence of a perfective aspect, dative subjects in Hindi are compatible with any combination of tense aspect (Bhatt, 2003).
- However, in Haryanvi the /t̪i/ marker does not occur in the Experiencer Subject position rather only the /nɛ:/ marker (and with specific verbs /kɛ:/(12)) is allowed as can be seen in (10) & (11).

Experiencer Subject Constructions

(10) Ram **nɛ:/*t̪i** b^hu:k lag ri hɛ:
Ram.SG.M DAT hunger seem PROG.SG.F be.SG
'Ram is hungry'

(11) Ram **nɛ:/*t̪i** sku:l nih jana
Ram DAT school no go.INF.SG.F
'Ram doesn't want to go to school'

(12) nəvi:n **kɛ:** ya ba:t̪ səmədʒ^h ni a:ja:
Naveen DAT this talk understand NEG come
kərə:
do.HAB.SG.M
'Naveen doesn't understand this thing'

Some Questions

- ① What functional head licenses / t̪i / (in the various positions it occurs) in Haryanvi? Does aspect or mood control its occurrence?
- ② What conditions license / nɛ / // kɛ / and when it occurs in the subject of experiencer verbs?
- ③ And why does // kɛ / occur only on the objects of some verbs?
- ④ Why do some experiencer subjects get marked by / nɛ / and some by / kɛ / and the / t̪i / marker does not appear at all when it can easily replace the nɛ marker in every other position?
- ⑤ What kind of case is this / kɛ / marker and what is its distribution?
- ⑥ Why does the ergative block the homophonous ACC/DAT marker (when it is allowed in some other varieties of Haryanvi(Bhiwani))?

References

- Butt, M. and T. H. King 2004. The status of case. In V. Dayal A. Mahajan (eds) *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, Springer Verlag.
- Mohanan, K.P. & Verma, M.K.(1990), Introduction to experiencer subject constructions, In *Experiencer Subjects in South Asian Languages* (eds. Mohanan, K.P. & Verma, M.K.) California:CSLI Publications.
- Masica, C. P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spencer, Andrew, "Case In Hindi", Proceedings of LFG05 Conference, 2005, University of Bergen, Butt, Miriam., and King, Tracy Holloway (Editors)
- Zograf, G. A. 1976 *Morfologičeskij stroj novyx indoarijskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.