NEITHER DATIVE NOR INSTRUMENTAL AS DEFAULT IN URDU:

Dative/instrumental marked non-MR arguments as PSA

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Dative as Default Case

Dative case is established as default case across languages because of its occurrence on obligue arguments with different thematic roles (Van Valin, 2018).

Icelandic = effector, experiencer, recipient, patient/ theme
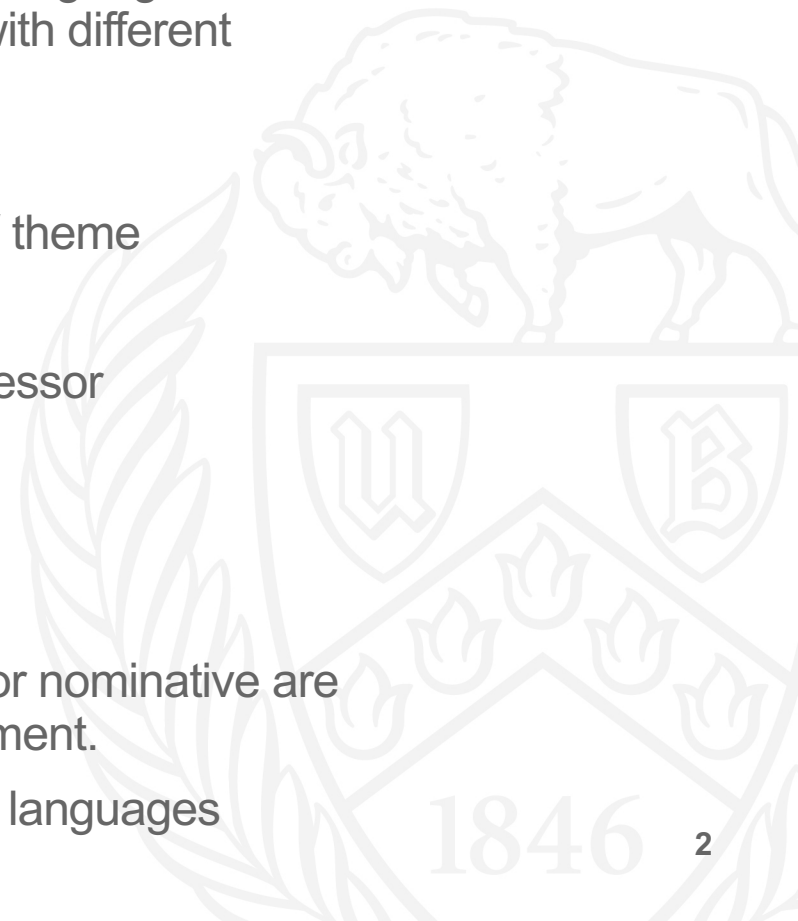
Dyirbal = recipient

Spanish = effector, benefactive, malafactive, possessor

German = benefactive, malefactive

Japanese = effector

In the absence of evidence to agentivity, ergative or nominative are blocked and dative is marked on the oblique argument.

Dative has (not lexical but) syntactic status across languages

Dative Default Examples

(1)   a. Mer þotti   Olaf-ur   leiðinleg-ur.   Icelandic

       1sg.dat thought Olaf-nom boring-nom

       'I considered Olaf boring.'   dat = experiencer

       b. Mer   byður   við setningafraeði.   Icelandic

          1sg.dat   is.nauseated   by syntax

       'I am nauseated by syntax.'   dat = experiencer

(2) Balam   miraji-Ø   baijgun   dyugumbi-ɾu   wuga-n   bagul
    nm.abs   beans-abs   nm.erg   woman-erg   give-tns   nm.dat

    yaɾa-gu.

    man-dat

    "The woman gave beans to the man.'   dat = recipient   Dyirbal

                                                            (Van Valin, 2018)   3

Dative Default Examples Cont'd

(3) Honum   madtist   vel   í   kirkjunni.   Icelandic
    3sg.dat   speak   well   in   church.the
'He (happened to) speak well in church.'   dat = effector

(4)   Se   me   rompió la   taza.   Spanish
       refl   Isg.dat broke the   cup
'My cup broke,' 'The cup broke on me,' or 'I accidentally broke the cup.'

                              dat = possessor, malefactive, or effector

(5) Ich   habe   ihr   geholfen.   German
    Isg.nom   have   3sg.f.dat   helped
'I helped her.'   dat = benefactive?

                                                       (Van Valin, 2018)

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Dative Default Examples Cont'd 2

(6) Ich   habe ihr   ein   Buch gekauft.   German

    Isg.nom   have 3sg.rdat   a.Acc   book bought

"I bought her a book.'   dat = benefactive

(7) a. Eg   skilaði   pening-un-um   til   hennar.   Icelandic

      Isg.nom   returned   money-def-dat   to   3sg.f.gen

'I gave the money back to her.'   dat = theme

   b. Eg   skilaði   henni   pening-un-um.   Icelandic

     Isg.nom   returned   3sg.f.dat   money-def-dat

'I gave her back the money.'   dat = theme, recipient

(8) Henni   bauðst   starf   hja Islenskri erfðagreiningu.   Icelandic

   3sg.f.dat   was.offered   job.nom at Icelandic Genetics

'She was offered a job at Icelandic Genetics.'   dat = recipient

                                                     (Van Valin, 2018)

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Dative Default Examples Cont'd 3

(9) a.   þeir   hvolfdu   bat-n-um.   Icelandic

3pl.nom   capsized   boat-def-dat '

They capsized the boat.'   dat = patient

b.   Bat-n-um   hvolfdi.   Icelandic

boat-def-dat   capsized

"The boat capsized.'   dat = patient

(10)   Taro   ga   Hanako   ni   zibun no   uti   de hon o

nom   dat   self gen   house   in book acc

yom-(s)ase~ta.   Japanese

read-cause-past

'Taro$_i$. made Hanako$_j$. read books in self i,j's house.'   dat = effector
                                                                                                      (Van Valin, 2018)

RRG and Macrorole Transitivity

RRG - monostratal framework – semantic and syntactic representation with pragmatic underpinnings

Linking algorithm

Semantic representation = logical structure - akstionsart classes initially suggested by Vandler (1967) and Dowty (1991) and later revisited by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997).

Syntactic representation – layered structure of clause –nucleus, core, clause, sentence

Theory of operators and constituent projection

no NPs in RRG, either RPs or PPs, core arguments are either direct or oblique (Van Valin 2005)

--Macrorole transitivity and syntactic transitivity are different in RRG

 two general semantic macroroles - 'actor' and 'undergoer' - central to the linking of semantic and syntactic representations.

The notion of M-transitivity is explicated in terms of these macroroles

What about Urdu?

The explanation can be extended over to instrumental oblique argument.

- The ergative or nominative are blocked in the absence of agentive evidence.
- The instrumental marks the oblique argument which occurs as PSA = accidental agents.
- Instrumental marks different oblique arguments performing different thematic roles like instruments, human effectors, forces .
- Instrumental adds non macro-role oblique argument to the core in Urdu

Privileged Syntactic Argument

"restricted neutralization of semantic roles and pragmatic function for syntactic purposes'" (Van Valin, 2018)

The terms 'subject' and 'object' are not used in RRG.

     Controller and pivot in RRG

In languages like Russian, Tamil, Finnish, Icelandic, Malayalam and Hindi, PSA can be assigned dative case, as well.

     Urdu is a language that not just assigns the dative case but also the instrumental case to the PSAs.

Diagnostics for PSA - conjunction reduction' and 'reflexive binding' (Van Valin 2005

     "controller of pivot in participial clause in obligatory control sites' and 'subject obviation that comprised antecedent to prenominal and antecedent to a reflexive" (Narasimhan, 1998).

About Urdu

- Pakistan's national language and one of India's 18 official languages (Rahman, 2002).
- Similar to Hindi in syntactic structure but a distinct difference between phonology, morphology and lexicon (Bashir, 2011).
- Hindi borrowed vocabulary from Sanskrit whereas
- Urdu borrowed vocabulary from Persian and Arabic
- SOV language with bare and clitic-marked nominals
- Ergative and nominative nominals in perfective
- Nominative and accusative nominals elsewhere
- Differential object marking on the basis of specificity and animacy
- Verbs inflect for number, gender and aspect
- Agreement trigger on the verbs is nominative

PSA Urdu

Dative PSA

(1).

bache=ko	sote	hov-a	khofnak
Child.SG.M=DAT	sleep-PL.M.HAB	happen.HAB-PL.M	scary.ADJ

khab	aay-a	or	…	uth
dream.SG.M(NOM)	come-SG.M.PERF	and.ADDIT		get.up.INTRNS

kar	ron-e	lag-a
do.CONV	cry.INST-INFTV.PL	hit.TRNS-PERF.SG.M

"While sleeping, a child had (a scary dream) a nightmare and started crying after waking up."

Diagnostic: controller interpreting pivot in conjoined clause

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Urdu PSA Cont'd

Instrumental PSA

(2).   Bache=se   khal-te   hov-e
         Child.SG.M=INST play.INSTR-HAB.PL.M   happen-PL.M

         ghubara   phat   ga-ya   or   dar
         balloon.SG.M=NOM   pop.INSTR   go-PERF.SG.M   and   scare

         kar   ro--ne   lag-a
         do.CONV   cry.INTRN-INFTV.PL.M   hit.INSTR-PERF.SG.M

"While playing, the boy accidently popped the balloon, and started crying being scared."

Diagnostic: Antecedent of Reflexive

(3)

Larke=ko	apn-a	kam	choor	kar
Boy.SG.M=DAT	self-SG.M	work=NOM	leave.TRNS	do

ghar	ja-na	par-a
house.SG.M=NOM	go-INFTV	lie.TRNS-PERF.SG.M

"The boy had to go home leaving his work unfinished."
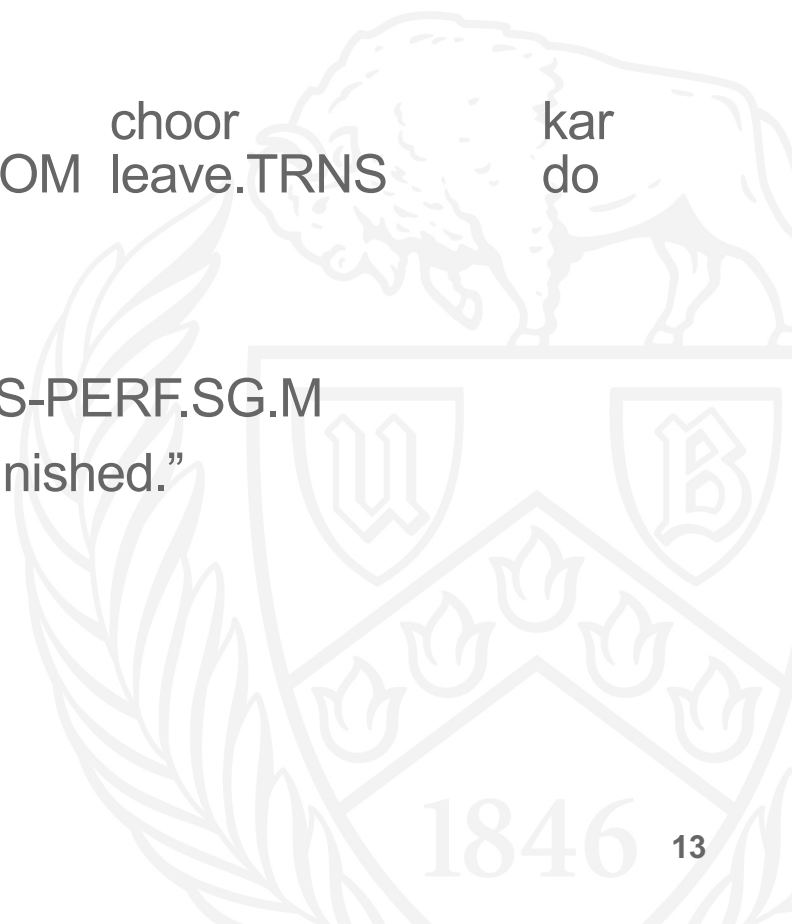
Antecedent of Reflexive Cont'd

(4)

Larke=se	apn-a	sabak	yad na
Boy.SG.M=INST	lesson.SG.M=NOM	learn.TRNS	no.NEG

ho   saka.

happen   can-PERF.SG.M

"The boy could not learn his lesson."

Diagnostic: Antecedent of Prenominal Pronouns

From Hindi, but does not work in Urdu.

(5)

Ram=ne	us=ki	ma=se	bahat
Ram.SG.M=ERG	he.3SG=GEN	mother.SG.F=INST	many.Quant

din	baad	baat	ki
day.PL.M	after	converse	do-PERF.SG.F

Ram talked to his mother after so many days. (Hindi)

/us=ki/ is taken as somebody 'else's' (other than Ram's) in Urdu

interpretation for Example (5:'Ram talked to his (someone else) Mother after so many days.'

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Dative Antecedent of Prenominal Pronouns

(6)

Aik	larki=ko	us=ki	bahan=ka	xat
One	girl.SG.M=DAT	her	sister.SG.F=GEN	letter.SG.M=NOM

mil-na	par	khoshi	ho-i
meet.TRNS=INFTV	on	happy.SG.F=NOM	happen-SG.F.PERF

"The girl became happy to receive her sister's letter."

Instrumental Oblique Core Argument

(7)

Aik	larki=se	us=ki	bahen=ki
One	girl.SG.F=INSTR	her.3SG.DIST=GEN	sister.SG.F=GEN

kitab	gum	ho	gai
book.SG.F=NOM	lose.TRNS	happen	go.TRNS-PERF.SG.F

"The girl lost her sister's book"

This cannot be used on ergative and nominative; not reliable diagnostic in Urdu

Neither Dative nor Instrumental as Default

(8a)   Consumption predicate (causee is a consumer)

Larki=ne   larke=ko   khana

Girl.SG.F=ERG   boy.SG.M=DAT   food.SG.M=NOM

khil-aa-ya.

eat.TRNS-CAUS-PERF.SG.M

"The girl made the boy eat food."

(8b)   Effector is a consumer/source

Larki=ne   larke=se   khane   kha-ya.

Girl.SG.F=ERG   boy.SG.M=INST   food=NOM   eat.TNS-PERF.SG.M

"The girl ate food from the boy."

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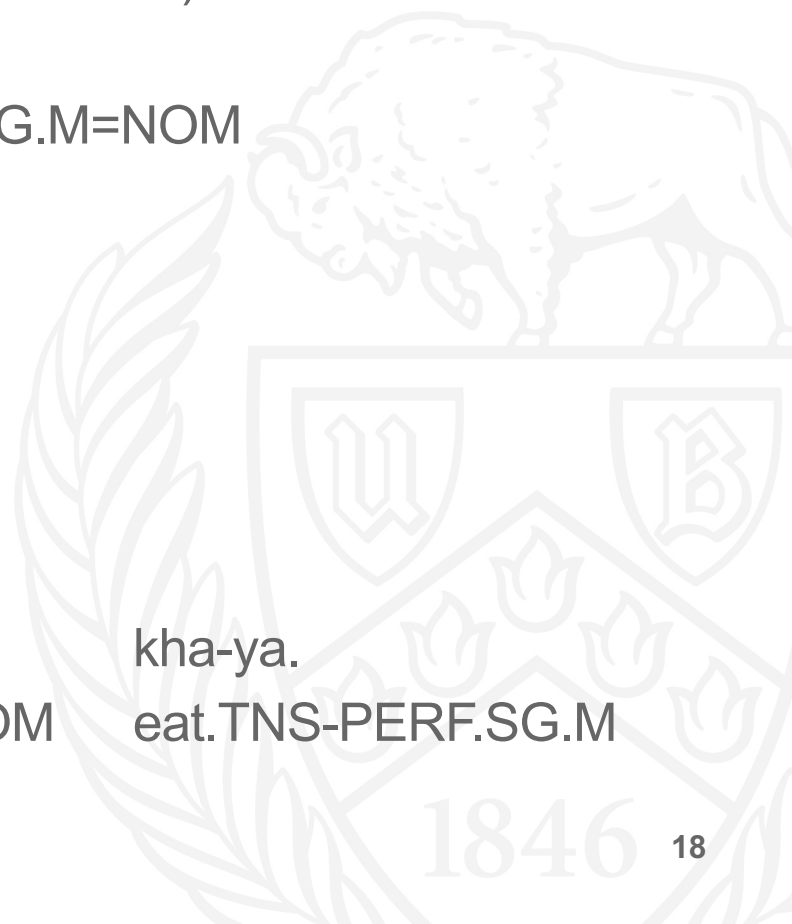
Transfer Predicates and Suppletives

(9a) Non-macrorole oblique core argument 'man' (dative) is the recipient and flower is direct macrorole core argument (i.e. theme in nominative)

Larki=ne	larke=ko	phool	di-ya.
Girl.SG.F=ERG	boy.SG.M=DAT	flower.SG.M=NOM	give.TRNS-PERF.SG.M

"The girl gave a flower to the boy."

(9b) (direct macrorole core argument (flower is theme and undergoer in nominative) 'boy' is non-macrorole oblique core argument (source in instrumental)

Larki=ne	larke=se	phool	li-ya.
Girl.SG.F=ERG	boy.SG.M=INST	flower	take.DTRNS-PERF.SG.M

"The girl took a flower from the boy."

Transfer Predicates and Suppletives Cont'd

(9c) 'boy' is the recipient in accusative and flower is theme in instrumental

Larki=ne	larke=ko	phool=se
Girl.SG.F=ERG	boy.SG.M=ACC	flower.SG.M=INST

nawaza

present.DTRNS-PERF.SG.M

"The girl presented the boy with a flower."

(9d) 'boy' is the deprived (i.e. source) argument

Larki=ne	larke=ko	phool=se	mehroom ki-a
Girl.SG.F=ERG	boy.SG.M=ACC	flower.SG.M=INST	deprive do-PERF.SG.M

"The girl deprived the boy of a flower."

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Causative Constructions

Unmediated Causality Chains

(10) High M-transitivity indicating high agentivity

Razza=ne   plate   toor
Razza.SG.M=ERG   plate.SG.F=NOM   break.TRNS

d-i
give.TRNS-PERF.SG.F
"Razza broke the plate. (Intentionally)"
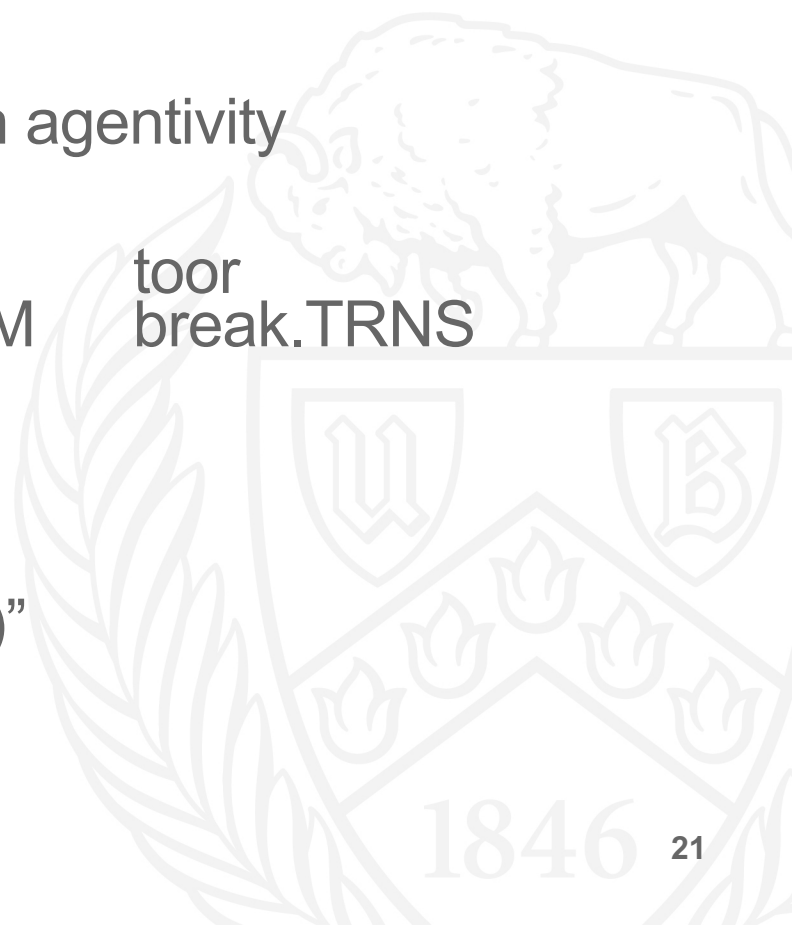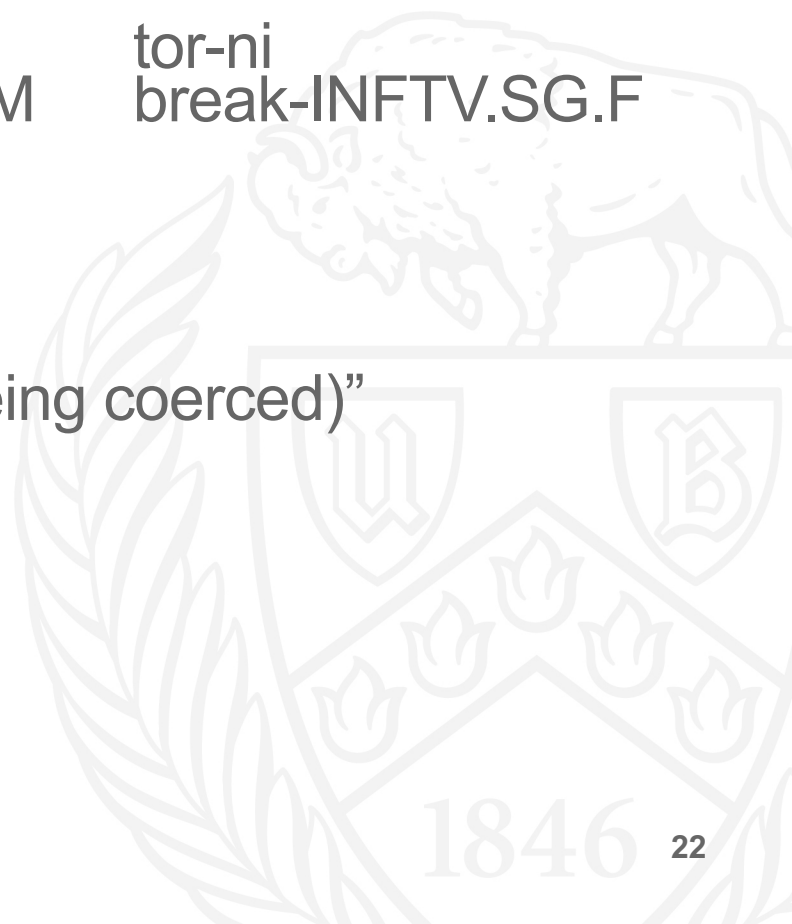
Unmediated Causality Chain

(11) Induced Potentiality
Razza=ko   plate   tor-ni
Razza.SG.M=DAT   plate.SG.F=NOM   break-INFTV.SG.F

par-i
lie-PERF.SG.F
"Razza had to break the plate. (By being coerced)"

Unmediated Causality Chain

(12) Non-agentive human effectors, instrumentally marked non-macrorole core argument

Razza=se   plate
Razza.SG.M=INST   plate.SG.F=NOM

toot   ga-i
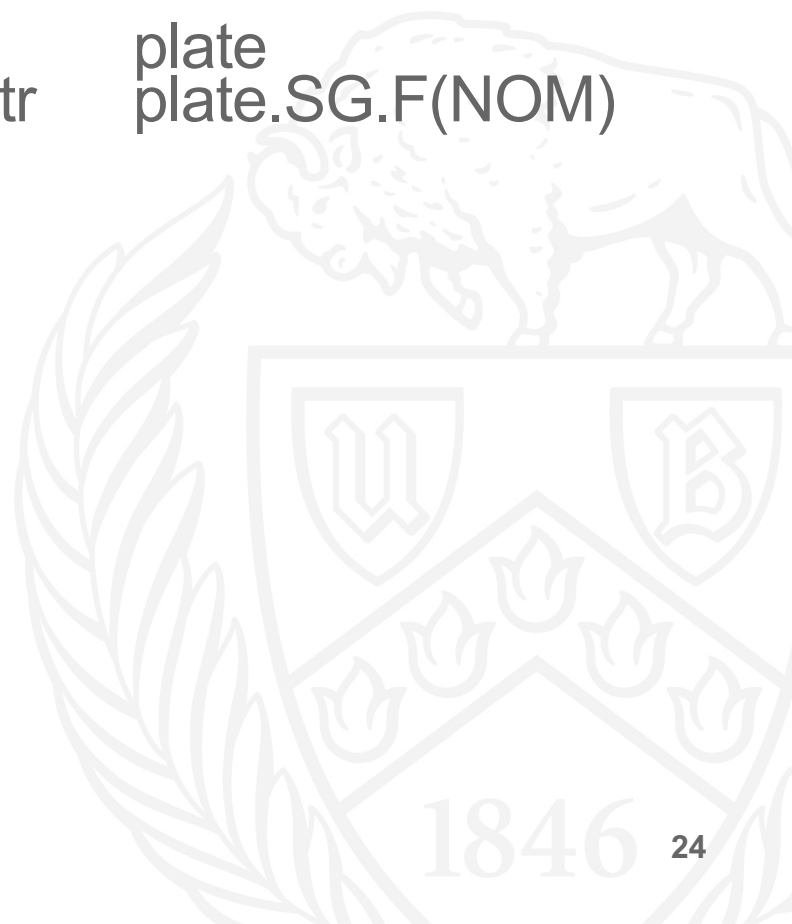break.INTRNS   go.TRNS-PERF.SG.F

"Razza accidently broke the plate."

Post connective /wajan/ 'because.of' core peripherial oblique argument

(13)
Razza=ki   wajah=se   plate
Razza.SG.M=GEN because.of=INStr plate.SG.F(NOM)

toot ga-i
break.INTRNS go.TRNS-PERF.SG.F

"Because of Razza, the plate broke."

Mediated Causality Chains
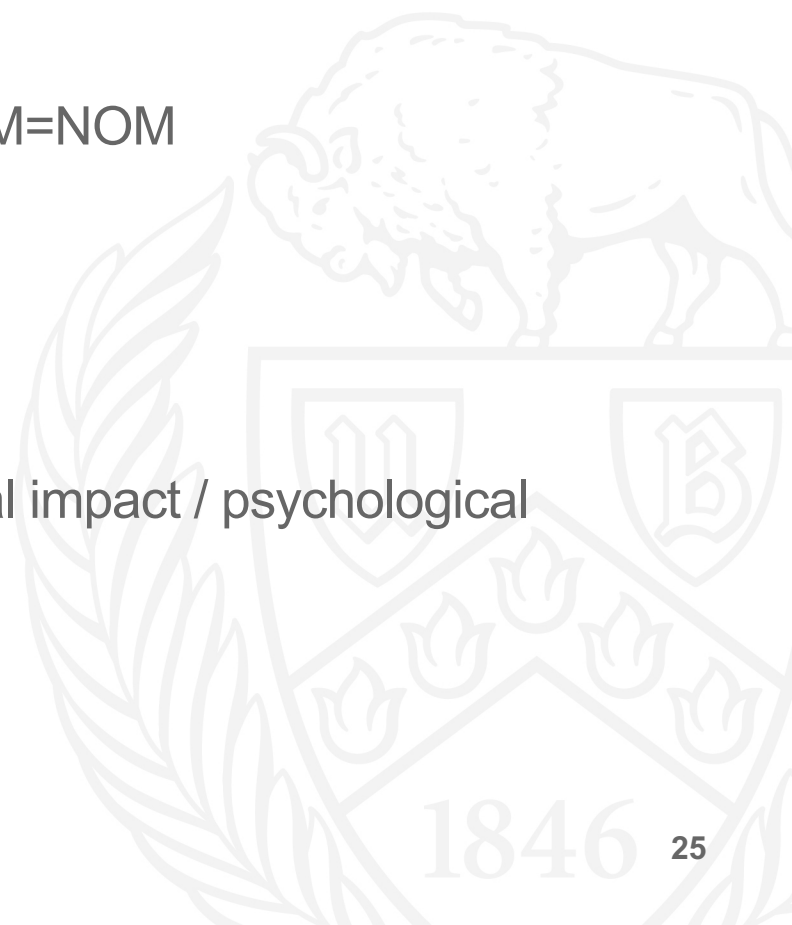
(14)

Haris=ne   Huma=se   cup

Haris.SG.M=ERG   Huma.SG.F=INST   cup.SG.M=NOM

tur-va-ya

break-CAUS-PERF.SG.M

Harris caused Huma*to* break the cup. (physical impact / psychological coercion)

Instrumental cannot be replaced by dative.

Experiencer verb as causative and no dative on experiencer

(15) Accusative non-macrorole core argument (non-default)

Larki=ne	larke=ko	samp=se
Girl.SG.F=ERG	boy.SG.M=ACC	snake.SG.M=INST

dara-ya

scare-PERF.SG.M

"The girl scared the boy with a snake."

Vague as boy (causee) is accusative

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Experiencer with Dative

(16)
Larki=ko   sardi   lag-i
Girl=DAT   cold.SG.F(NOM)   hit-PERF.SG.F

"The girl felt cold."

Experiencer as Nominative

(17)

Aik	larki	achi	khabar	sun
One	girl.SG.F(NOM)	good.F.ADJ	news.SG.F(NOM)	hear.TRNS

kar	khush	ho	gai
do.CONV	happy.ADJ	happen	go-PERF.SG.F

"The girl became happy to hear a good news."

Note: experiencer occurs with dative or nominative but not with instrumental.

Conclusion

Neither dative or instrumental are default.

> Dative occurs with non-macrorole experiencer and instrumental occurs with non-macrorole effector.

Considering the explanation of the evidence to agentivity, Urdu agentivity hierarchy can be formed as under:

Ergative nominal > dative nominal > instrumental nominal

Prototypical agentivity > induced potentiality > reduced potentiality

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