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 oblique 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-nom leiðinleg-ur.  
Isg.dat thought Olaf-nom boring-nom  
'I considered Olaf boring.'

b. Mer byður við setningafraeði.  
Isg.dat is.nauseated by syntax  
'I am nauseated by syntax.'

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

yaŋa-gu.  
man-dat  
"The woman gave beans to the man.'
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 lsg.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  
lsg.nom have 3sg.f.dat helped  
'I helped her.'  
dat = benefactive?  
(Van Valin, 2018)
Dative Default Examples Cont’d 2

(6) Ich habe ihr ein Buch gekauft.  
  lsg.nom have 3sg.rdat a.Acc book bought  
"I bought her a book.'  

(7) a. Eg skilaði pening-un-um til hennar.  
  lsg.nom returned money-def-dat to 3sg.f.gen  
'I gave the money back to her.'  
  
  b. Eg skilaði henni pening-un-um.  
  lsg.nom returned 3sg.f.dat money-def-dat  
'I gave her back the money.'  

(8) Henni bauðst starf hja islenskri erfðagreiningu.  
  3sg.f.dat was.offered job.nom at Icelandic Genetics  
'She was offered a job at Icelandic Genetics.'  

(Van Valin, 2018)
Dative Default Examples Cont’d 3

(9) a. þeir hvolfdu bat-n-um.
   3pl.nom capsized boat-def-dat
Icelandic
   They capsized the boat.'

b. Bat-n-um hvolfdi.
   boat-def-dat capsized
Icelandic
   "The boat capsized.'

(10) Taro ga Hanako ni zibun no uti de hon o
     yom-(s)ase~ta.
     nom dat self gen house in book acc
Japanese
     read-cause-past
     'Taro, made Hanako, 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.
While sleeping, a child had (a scary dream) a nightmare and started crying after waking up."

Diagnostic: controller interpreting pivot in conjoined clause
“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.’)
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.”
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.”
Causative Constructions

Unmediated Causality Chains

(10) High M-transitivity indicating high agentivity

Razza=ne
Razza.SG.M=ERG  plate  plate.SG.F=NOM  toor  break.TRNS
d-i
give.TRNS-PERF.SG.F

“Razza broke the plate. (Intentionally)”
(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  
Razza.SG.M=GEN  
wajah=se  
because.of=INStr  
plate  
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
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
References


