

Spatial Sources of Case

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1. Introduction

- This paper discusses the extension of spatial markers to structural case markers and non-spatial usages.
- In section 2, we give examples of (structural) case markers that have either originated from a spatial marker, or they have spatial usage in the same language, or their cognate is a spatial marker in another related language.
- In section 3, we introduce features *Source*, *Via*, *End*, *Static* and *Dynamic* to model spatial meaning of case markers.
- Section 3 and 4 discuss the non-spatial semantic usages of originally spatial markers. We especially focus on Urdu/Hindi *se* and Manipuri *daa* that have different spatial as well as structural uses.
- Section 3 and 4 discuss different syncretism patterns, and suggest that these are not accidental, but are based on semantic reasons and can be explained by semantic features.

2. Spatial Origin of Case Markers

Question: It is claimed that case markers (often) have spatial origins. Do we find its evidence from South Asian languages?

- We provide few examples to establish the diachronic and synchronic relation of spatial markers and structural case.
- A diachronic analysis of history of development of case markers in South Asian languages show that many case markers originate from a locative.
- A synchronic analysis of case markers and locatives in South Asian languages show that locatives have other (non-locative) semantic and similarly.
- Similarly, we find that cognates of locative of one language have non-locative semantic and structural usages in other related language(s).

2.1. ko/kuuN/k^he/kii

- The dative/accusative marker in many Indo Aryan languages begins with *k/k^h*. Examples are Urdu/Hindi *ko*, Siraiiki *kuuN*, Bengali *ke*, Oriya *kuu* and Sindhi *k^he*.

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- Beames (1872) proposed that the origin of these case markers is Sanskrit locative *kaakSe* ‘in the armpit’.
- Pashto, an Iranian language, has *kii/ke* for locative. Hewson and Bubenik (2006:150) proposed that it is derived from Avesta locative *kaaSe*, a locative of *kaaSa* ‘armpit’.
- A non-standard dialect of Nepali uses *k^haiN* for marking locative and speech object. (Tikaram Poudel p.c.)
- The armpit becomes the locative in Pashto, and got ‘towards’ and goal meaning in Indo Aryan languages.

2.2. kan^dhi/kane

- Haryani is spoken around and near Delhi. Many Urdu/Old Urdu case markers have locative cognates in Haryani.
- Haryani *kan^dhi* is used for ‘towards’ and ‘at’.

(1) ao bhaajya bhaam;aaN **kan^dhi**
 3P run Brahmin **towards**
 ‘He ran to/towards Brahmin.’ (Singh 1970:162) <Haryani>

(2) phuNglaa **kan^dhi**
 outer-end **at**
 ‘at outer end’ (Singh 1970:184) <Haryani>

- *kane* is used in Old Urdu and in one of its “non-standard” dialects.
- In Old Urdu, *kane* is a synonym of *paas* ‘near’. (Insha 1808:306)
- *kane* is used in Karbal Katha published in 1732-33 .

(3) cacia buzurgavaar **kane** ga-yaa
 uncle honorable **to** go-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘Went to the uncle.’ (KK:106 c.f. Narang 2007: 240) <Urdu>

(4) tum koN soNpaa haq **kane**
 2P Acc hand-over truth **to**
 ‘Handed over you to God.’ (KK: 99 cf. Narang 2007: 240) <Urdu>

- In old Nepali, *kana* is used as dative marker. (Tikaram Poudel p.c.)
- *Kana/kane* originated from Sanskrit *karna* meaning ‘ear’.
- The *kane/kan^dhi* examples shows that static locative markers get additional usages as ‘towards’ marker and goal/dative marker.

2.3. taaNhi/taiiN

- In Haryani, *taaNhi* has spatial and dative usages.

(5) raajaa **taa**Nhi ... paoNcya
king at reached
'reached raja.'
(Singh 1970: 166) <Haryani>

(6) bannI nae ... sao rapie bahman **taa**Nhi diwaa diye
grocer-wife Erg 100 rupees Brahmin **Dat** give-caus gave
'Grocer's wife offered 100 rupees to the Brahmin.'
(Singh 1970:162)
<Haryani>

- In Punjabi and Sindhi *taaiiN* is used as locative 'till' (but not as dative).
- In (Old) Urdu, it has locative and dative usages.

(7) laayaa na t^haa tuu aaj **taiiN** haat^h suue teG
take.Perf not be.Past2P.Sg today **till** hand towards sword
'You did not took your hand towards the sword, till now.'
(Dard 1996:42) <old Urdu>

(8) mujh **taiiN** is baat kii kiyaa xabar
1P.Obl **Dat** this matter Gen what news
'To me, this matter is not known.' / 'I do not know this matter.'
(Insha 1808:44) <Old Urdu>

- The cognates of *taanhii/taaiiN/taiiN* again show that locative endpoint and dative have common markers or originate from common roots.

2.4. *te/toN/taa*N

- *te* is used as locative 'on' in Sindhi and Punjabi.

(9) kitaab mez **te** ae
book.F.Sg table.F.Sg **on** be
'The book is on the table.'
<Punjabi>

- Punjabi has the ablative inflection *-oN* that is used only for source of the motion.
- It has the ablative clitic *toN* that has extended usages too.
- Similarly, Sindhi have non-productive inflection *-aaN* and clitic *taa*N (see Ahmed (2007) for details).
- The Punjabi and Sindhi ablative inflection is appended to *te* 'on' for an ablative case marker.

te (on) + *-oN* (ablative) = *toN* (ablative 'from') <Punjabi>

te (on) + *-aaN* (ablative) = *taa*N (ablative 'from on') <Sindhi>

- Divan-e-Hasan Shauqi (1564), written in Deccan, has *te* in sense of 'on'. (Jalibi 1973:53)
- In Old Urdu, *te/tii* is used as ablative.

(10) teraa maqsuud kiyaa hai tu kaaN **te** aa-yaa
 2P.Gen goal what be.Pres 2P where **Abl** come-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘What is your goal? From where you have come?’ (Vajhi 1932:44)

- We can guess a relation between *taiiN* in 2.3 and *te* discussed here. A locative *te* got ablative sense (*te/tii*) in Old Urdu; and endpoint sense in Punjabi, Sindhi and Old Urdu (*taaiiN/taiiN*).

3. Semantic Features for Spatial Markers

Question: In the above section, we show a relation of structural case markers and the spatial marker. Can we provide a spatial analysis of case markers?

- In the literature, spatial markers are generally modeled by using different features and structures (Ostler 1979, Jackendoff 1980, Kracht 2004).
- Butt (2006) proposed that case markers have space and control dimensions.
- Here, we concentrate mainly on the space dimension only and devise a semantic model based on relevant features found in different spatial models.
- We introduce the following features into which a spatial marker can be decomposed.

Source = Starting point of a path

End = End point of a path

Via = The path that does not include Source or End point

Loc = The location/place (that does not have path in it)

- The spatial markers can be decomposed into these features. Following are the few examples from English spatial markers.

From = + Source + Via

Through = - Source + Via

To = + Via + End

At = + Loc-at

- The feature set can model different types of locatives e.g. [+ Loc-in] for English *in* and [+ Loc-on] for English *on*.
- The above analysis, differentiate between English *from* and *through*.
- English *from* has a starting point [+Source] while English *through* does not have starting point [-Source].
- Otherwise both have [+Via] feature that is related to path.

- The analysis of Nepali case markers give two more features to the model.
- In Nepali, we find two ablatives that encode static path and the motion of a body on the path. See the following examples.

(11) us=le dilli=**dek^hi** kathmandu=samma baaTo banaa-yo
 3P=Erg Delhi=**Abl** Kathmandu=Loc-till street make.Perf
 ‘He built a street from Delhi to Kathmandu.’ <Nepali>

(12) u dilli=**baaTa** kathmanDu=samma kud-yo
 3P Delhi=**Abl** Kathmandu=Loc-till ran-Perf
 ‘He ran from Delhi to Kathmandu.’ <Nepali>

- Jackendoff (1980:43) introduced the structure *ORIENT* (which has the path component) for sentences like following.

(13) The sign points towards New York. <English>

(14) The road goes from New York to San Francisco. <English>

- The semantic structure of the preposition *from* in (13) of English is different from the preposition *from* in (14).

(15) John came from New York.

- Hence, we introduce the features *Static/Dynamic* to differentiate a static path as in (10) and (13) from the dynamic path as in (11) and (14).

- The Nepali ablatives can be decomposed into features as following.

dekhi = + Source + Via + Static

baaTaa = + Source + Via + Dynamic

4. Instrumentals

- In the previous section, we introduced semantic features into which a spatial marker can be decomposed.
- In this section, we explore the relationship of spatial markers and instrumentals and model it via our proposed features.
- As a starting point, we list semantic usages of Urdu/Hindi *se*. Then, we give a cross-linguistic analysis of markers in other languages marking the same semantic usages.

4.1. Urdu/Hindi *se*

4.1.1. Semantic Usages

- Urdu/Hindi *se* has following important semantic usages.

- (16) vo karaacii=**se** aa-yaa (Source Of Motion)
 3P Karachi=**Abl/Inst** come-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘He came from Karachi.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (17) vo baaG=**se** guzr-aa (Path)
 3P garden=**Abl/Inst** pass-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘He passed through the garden.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (18) us=ne mazduroN=**se** g^har ban-vaa-yaa (Causee)
 3P=Erg laborer.Pl=**Abl/Inst** house build-Caus-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘He caused the laborers to buith the house.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (19) vo saaNp=**se** dar-taa hai (Stimulus)
 3P snake=**Abl/Inst** fear-Imp.M.Sg be.Pres
 ‘He fears snakes.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (20) us=ne caabi=**se** darvaazaa khol-aa (Instrument)
 3P=Erg key=**Abl/Inst** door.M.Sg open-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘He opened the door with the key.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (21) vo tezii=**se** bhaag-aa (Manner)
 3P fast-ness=**Abl/Inst** run-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘He ran fastly.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (22) sigret piine=**se** vo biimaar ho gayaa (Reason)
 cigarette drink.Inf=**Abl/Inst** 3P sick be go.Perf.3P.Sg
 ‘He got sick by smoking cigarettes.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (23) vo mujh=**se** laR-aa (Reciprocal Object)
 3P 1P.Obl=**Abl/Inst** fight-Perf.M.Sg
 ‘He fought me.’ <Urdu/Hindi>
- (24) vo mujh=**se** piyaar kar-taa hai (Emotion Object)
 3P 1P.Obl=**Abl/Inst** love do-Imp.M.Sg be.Pres
 ‘He loves me.’

4.1.2. Cross-linguistic Comparison

- Table 1 gives the case markers marking semantic usages of Urdu/Hindi *se* in four different South Asian languages.

Table 1: Cross-linguistic distribution of semantic usages of Urdu/Hindi *se*

	Nepali	Pashto	Manipuri	Punjabi
Source	<i>baaTa</i> (Abl)	<i>na</i> (Abl)	<i>dagi</i> (Abl)	<i>toN</i> (Abl)
Path		<i>pa</i> (Loc-Inst)		<i>toN</i> (Abl)
Causee	<i>baaTa</i> (Abl)	<i>pa</i> (Loc-Inst)	<i>daa</i> (Loc-Dat)	<i>toN</i> (Abl)
Stimulus	<i>dekhi</i> (Abl)	<i>na</i> (Abl)	(Nom)	<i>toN</i> (Abl)
Instrument	<i>le</i> (Erg-Inst)	<i>pa</i> (Loc-Inst)	<i>naa</i> (Erg-Inst)	<i>naal</i> (Com-Inst)
Manner		<i>pa</i> (Loc-Inst)	<i>naa</i> (Erg-Inst)	<i>naal</i> (Com-Inst)
Reason	<i>le</i> (Erg-Inst)	<i>pa</i> (Loc-Inst)	<i>naa</i> (Erg-Inst)	<i>naal</i> (Com-Inst)
Reciproc. Obj	<i>sanga</i> (Com)	<i>sara</i> (Com)	<i>gaa</i> (Com)	<i>naal</i> (Com-Inst)
Emotion Obj	<i>sanga</i> (Com)	<i>sara</i> (Com)	(Nom)	<i>naal</i> (Com-Inst)

4.2.2. Ablative marking Source/Path

- The ablative marker marks the source of the motion.
- In South Asian languages, it also marks: the causee; agent of the so-called “inability construction”; and stimulus.
- These semantic usages of the ablative marker are either modeled as source ‘from’ or path ‘through’.
- Punjabi *toN* marks the spatial usages ‘from’ and ‘through’. We suggest its feature(s) as:

toN = + Via

- Compare it with English ‘from’ and ‘through’ repeated above.

From = + Source + Via

Through = + Via

- The feature set of Punjabi *toN* is underspecified for the feature [Source] that allows it to encode both ‘from’ and ‘through’.
- Ablative marker also marks the stimulus of the verb ‘fear’.

(28) menuuN saaNp=toN Dar lag-yaa
 1P.M.Sg.dat snake.M.Sg=abl fear.noun stick.M.Sg.perf
 ‘I feared the a/the snake.’ <Punjabi>

(29) u sarpa=deki daraauuN-cha
 3P snake=Abl fear-NonPast
 ‘He fears snakes.’ <Nepali>

- As discussed in section 3, Nepali differentiates between static path *dekhii* and dynamic path *baaTaa*.
- The stimulus in Nepali is marked by point ablative *dekhi*, as the action does not flow from the stimulus.
- The agents, as in (29), are marked by the Nepali dynamic path ablative *baaTa*.

4.2.3. Instrument as Path

- In 4.2.1, we find that the companion metaphor is responsible for comitative-instrument syncretism.

se = + Via

- It is same as Punjabi *toN*. The only difference is that Punjabi use companion metaphor and Urdu/Hindi use path metaphor for instrument.

- The feature(s) of Pashto *pa*, having ‘through’/instrument and locative usages are:

pa = - Source

- Pashto *pa* is underspecified for the feature [Via]. It can have any usage that does not require [source] feature.
- Compare it with the feature set of Pashto *na* that marks the usage ‘from’.

na = + Source + Via

- We have explained Pashto locative-instrument and Urdu/Hindi ablative-instrument syncretism pattern by highlighting the common semantic usage ‘through’.
- Torwali, an Indo-Aryan language, gives another example of this Path-as-Instrument metaphor.
- In Torwali, the form *de/te* marks both ‘through’ and (instrumental) ‘with’.

(36) jaan pan **de** lhengi
snake way **over** passed
‘The snake passed over the way.’

(37) ahmad baagh **te** lhangu
Ahmad garden **through** passed
‘Ahmed passed through the garden.’

(38) ahmad-e kera **de** bhowai chi ki
Ahmad-Erg knife **with** apple cut did
‘Ahmed cut the apple with the knife.’

- The feature(s) Torwali *de/te* is similar to English *through*.

de/te = - Source + Via

4.2.4. Summary of the proposed model

- In 4.2.1-4.2.3, we model the instrumentals of Punjabi, Urdu/Hindi, Pashto and Torwali.
- The following table summarizes our proposal for English, Punjabi, Urdu/Hindi, and Pashto instrumentals.

(41) tomba-naa chaoba-daa laairik amaa pi-i
 Tomba-Erg Chaoba-Loc book one give-Real
 ‘Tomba gave Chaoba a book.’ (Dative usage)

- Similarly, the *-daa* marks the addressee that is a recipient like dative argument of the verb ‘give’.

(42) saatra-naa oja-daa wahang hang-i
 student-Erg teacher-Loc question ask-Real
 ‘The student asked question to the teacher.’

- We find few alternations of locative *-daa* with bare nominative that need explanation.
- If the marker *-daa* is not present after the object of a contact verb, the sentence implies that the object is intensively and heavily affected. Compare (43) and (44).

(43) tomba-naa chaoba-daa phu-i
 Tomba-Erg Chaoba-Loc beat-Real
 ‘Tomba beat Chaoba.’

(44) tomba-naa chaoba phu-i
 Tomba-Erg Chaoba beat-Real
 ‘Tomba beat Chaoba (intensively).’

Question: If *-daa* marks a location in (43), why it is not allowed with the object of (44).

- The accusative case is defined as a path (e.g. Butt 2006).
- It suggests that the (prototypical) affected object in (44) is a path and hence does not get the locative marker *-daa*.
- The undergoer objects of causative verbs like *thong* ‘cook’ are never case marked in Manipuri because they are affected. (Poudel 2008)

(45) tomba-naa caak thong-ae
 Tomba-Erg food cook-CAUS-Ant.real
 ‘Tomba cooked the food.’

- On the other hand, the agentive object of causative verb e.g. *nok-han-* ‘make laugh’) is marked with *-daa*. (Poudel 2008)

(46) tomba-naa ojaa-daa nok-han-le
 Tomba-Erg teacher-Loc laugh-CAUS-Ant.real
 ‘Tomba made the teacher laugh.’

- It is similar to the location vs. path conceptualization of (43) and (44).
- The object of (45) is a (prototypical) affected object. It is treated as a path.

- The object of (46) is agentive and hence it is not a prototypical object. It is marked as a location that receives the action.
- We conclude that the varied usages of Manipuri *-daa* (location, dative, addressee and causee) can easily be explained by treating it as location [+Loc].

6. Conclusions

- We find examples of case markers that originate from spatial markers.
- We introduced a feature based system having features *Source, End, Loc, Via* and *Static/Dynamic*.
- We represent case markers as a single set of the above features. The features can be underspecified.
- The syncretic case markers e.g. locative-instrument marker *pa* of Pashto are also represented by a single set of features.
- The model proposed here does not say anything about control dimension of the case markers. It is a matter of further investigation.
- We guess that we will need only few features e.g. *control* and *affected*. The fine-grained difference in degree of affectedness can be explained by the nature of location feature e.g., Loc-beside (comitative) signals different degree of affectedness than the Loc-on.

7. Selected References

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