



Evidence of Unexpressed Postpositions in Urdu Phrase Structure

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Abstract

Urdu postpositions are much different from English prepositions, not only semantically but also morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically they appear as clitics, as bound morphemes, and as phonetically null entities. As clitics, they perform dual function: case markers and postpositions. Syntactically, they behave in three different ways: (1) as overt postpositions, (2) in the form of OAF, (3) by staying completely unactualized. This paper describes their silent behaviour.

Keywords: Case Postposition, Nominative Accusative, Dative Locative, Genitive Instrumental, OAP, OAF

Postposition is a very confusing topic in Urdu syntax. They become even more confusing when they appear on Adjunct slots. Here, sometimes they stay overt, and sometimes covert. How we come to know about their covert presence is the topic of this paper. We are going to describe the evidence of their presence, their structure, and their syntactic function.

Anderson (2006, p. 18) says the term *case* is derived from Latin word *casus* /'ka:z/. It means *falling*. In the opinion of the Greeks, Nominative was the *upright* case, and others were *falling* from 'uprightness'. The term *oblique* literally means *slanted*. For our convenience, we interpret them, with modification of Butt's (2006) idea, as *direct* and *indirect* links between an argument and predicator/postposition.

Urdu Noun Phrases (NPs) usually precede some particles which are differently described. Mohanan (1990), Butt (1995, 2004, 2006), Rizvi (2008) term them as case clitics that do the function of case marking; whereas Schmidt (1999) calls them postpositions. The authors have combined the two theories and have tried to separate their functions of case marking and postposition (Khurshid et al., 2021a, 2021b). Their detail is given below.

Urdu NPs bear three types of cases: vocative case, nominative case, and oblique case (Butt, 1995). NPs bearing vocative case, precede an imperative sentence, and are separated from the verb by a comma. Their function is to point out the addressee. Nominative and oblique cases mark subject and object NPs. Nominative case is the default case. Absence of any case becomes nominative case. A nominative NP shows markedly different behavior from an oblique NP. Oblique case markers are: [ne], [ko], [mẽ], [pər], [tək], [se], and [ka, ke, ki]. Mohanan (1990) and Butt (1995) have termed them as:

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| [ne], | Ergative case marker |
| [ko], | Accusative case marker |
| [ko] | Dative case marker |
| [mẽ], [pər], [tək], | Locative case markers |
| [se], | Instrumental case marker |
| [ka, ke, ki] | Genitive case markers |

[ne] appears on external argument of the perfective verbs (Davison, 2004). [ko] functions both as an accusative and a dative case marker. [mẽ], [pər], [tək] and [se] may mark both internal and external arguments (Butt, 2004; Woolford, 2006). They usually function as the heads on internal PP arguments (Rizvi, 2008), termed by Valin (2004) as Oblique Phrases. [ka, ke, ki] usually appear on complement NPs (Khurshid et al. 2021a, 2022 b). Their function is to show possession. They usually link two NPs.

The authors have drawn a line of distinction between case markers and postpositions on the basis of their differing functions. The ergative, accusative, and dative case may be taken as case markers. Whereas, the clitics following NPs in complement, adjunct, oblique phrase slots may be identified as postpositions (Khurshid et al., 2021a, 2021b). Their examples are given below:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----|--------------|-----|--------------------|------------|----|
| 1 | <i>larka chamra kat ta he</i> ['ləɾːka 'tʃəmːɾa 'kɑ:tːta hɛ] | | | | لڑکا چمڑہ کاٹتا ہے | | |
| | 'ləɾːk -a | Ø | 'tʃəmːɾa | Ø | 'kɑ:tː | t -a | hɛ |
| | boy.3.s.m | NOM | apple.3.s.m. | NOM | cut | IMPERF.s.m | is |
| | The boy slashes leather | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 2 | larke ne chamra kata ['lær.ke ne 'tʃəm.ɾa 'kɑː.tɑ] | | | | | لڑکے نے چمڑہ کاٹا ہے | | |
| | 'lær.k | -e | ne | 'tʃəm.ɾa | Ø | 'kɑː.t | -a | |
| | boy.3.s.m | OAF | ERG | apple.3.s.m. | NOM | cut | IMPERF.s.m | |
| | The boy slashed the leather. | | | | | | | |
| 3 | larke ne chamre ko kata ['lær.ke ne 'tʃəm.ɾe ko 'kɑː.tɑ] | | | | | لڑکے نے چمڑے کو کاٹا | | |
| | 'lær.k | -e | ne | 'tʃəm.ɾ | -e | ko | 'kɑː.t | -a |
| | boy.3.s.m | OAF | ERG | apple.3.s.m. | ERG | ACC (to) | cut | IMPERF.s.m |
| | The boy slashed the leather. | | | | | | | |
| 4 | larke ne chamra chhuray se kata ['lær.ke ne 'tʃəm.ɾa tʃʰuːr se 'kɑː.tɑ] | | | | | لڑکے نے چمڑا چھڑے سے کاٹا | | |
| | 'lær.k | -e | ne | 'tʃəm.ɾ -a | tʃʰuːr | -e | se | 'kɑː.t -a |
| | boy.3.s.m | OAF | ERG | leather.3.s.m. | knife.3.s.m. | OAF | INS | cut IMPERF.s.m |
| | The boy slashed the leather with a knife. | | | | | | | |
| 5 | larkay ne seb sofe pe rakha. ['lær.ke ne seb 'so.fe peʰ 'rə.kʰɑ] | | | | | لڑکے نے سیب صوفے پر رکھا | | |
| | 'lær.k- | -e | ne | seb | 'so.f- | -e | peʰ | 'rə.kʰ- -a Ø |
| | boy.3.s.m | OAF | ERG. | apple.3.s.m. | couch.3.s.m | OAF | LOC. (on) | put s.m. past tense |
| | The boy put the apple on the couch. | | | | | | | |
| 6 | John ne seb mujh tak pohncaya. [dʒɒn ne seb mudʒʰ tək pɔ̃ː. 'tʃɑː.jɑ] | | | | | جان نے سیب مجھ تک پہنچایا | | |
| | dʒɒn | ne | seb | mudʒʰ | Ø | tək | pɔ̃ː. 'tʃɑː.j- | -a Ø |
| | John.3.s.m | ERG. | apple.3.s.m. | me | Obl. | LOC (to) | carry | s.m. past tense |
| | John carried the apple to me. | | | | | | | |
| 7 | mujhay raat ko jana he 'mʊ.ɖʒʰe raːt ko 'dʒɑː.na he | | | | | مجھے رات کو جانا ہے | | |
| | 'mʊ.ɖʒʰe | -e | raːt | Ø | ko | 'dʒɑː.na | he | |
| | me.1.s | OAF | night.3.s.f. | OBL | DAT | go.INFIN | is | |
| | I am to leave at night. | | | | | | | |
| 8 | mujh ko raat ko jana he 'mʊ.ɖʒʰ ko raːt ko 'dʒɑː.na he | | | | | مجھ کو رات کو جانا ہے | | |
| | 'mʊ.ɖʒʰ | Ø | ko | raːt | Ø | ko | 'dʒɑː.na | he |
| | me.1.s | OBL | OAF | night.3.s.f. | OBL | DAT | go.INFIN | is |
| | I am to leave at night. | | | | | | | |
| 9 | Larkay ne dakhane jana he. ['lær.ke ne 'dɑː.k. xɑː.ne 'dʒɑː.na he] | | | | | لڑکے نے ڈاک خانے جانا ہے۔ | | |
| | 'lær.k- | -e | ne | 'dɑː.k. xɑː.n- | -e | Ø | 'dʒɑː.na | he |
| | boy.3.s.m | OAF | ERG | Post office. | OAF | P | go.INFIN. | is |
| | The boy is to go to the post office. | | | | | | | |

In the above glosses, note the boldfaced items. They are: Ø, NOM, -e, Obl, [ne], ERG, ACC, DAT, LOC, P., representing empty, Nominative, -e feature (Oblique Agreement Feature), Oblique marker, Ergative marker, Accusative marker, Dative marker, Locative marker, Postposition respectively.

Oblique cases need a linking feature [-e] to agree with an NP. For example, [ˈləɾ.ke ne], [ˈtʃəm.ɾe ko], [ˈso.ʃe peʰ], etc. Nominative case neither needs any clitic nor any linking feature on the noun head. It's the default case. In this paper, the linking feature, [-e] is going to play an important role ahead. It stays on all the noun heads in front of oblique case markers, sometimes overtly, and sometimes covertly. But even in its covert presence, it can easily be detected. Examples of covert oblique markers are [ˈmodʒʰ Ø ʔək], [ˈmʊ.ɖʒʰ Ø ko], [ɾa.ʔ ko]. In the last three examples, [mʊ.ɖʒʰ] and [ɾa.ʔ] bear a zero Oblique Agreement Feature (OAF). It becomes phonetically realized on nouns ending on [a] sound. On all other nouns, it remains silently present. We can test the presence of OAF, by replacing the noun head with another one ending on [a]. For example, in 10 below, replacement test clearly indicates the silent presence of OAF.

| | | | |
|----|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 10 | [ˈmodʒʰ Ø ʔək] | [ˈmʊ.ɖʒʰ Ø ko] | [ɾa.ʔ Ø ko] |
| | [ˈfəs.l- -e ʔək] | [ˈpər.ɖ- -e ko] | [ʔn.ˈdʒʰe.r-e ko] |

We may double check the presence of OAF with another test. This test is based on number morphology. The number morphology of Urdu nominative nouns is different from that of oblique nouns. The former usually end on [e], [ɛ̃] and [ã], While the latter end on [ō] sound. Number morphemes on arguments are different from those on vocative NPs. This difference needs to be contemplated.

| | Nominative | Oblique | Vocative | |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| Singular | Plural | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| [ˈləɾ.ka] | [ˈləɾ.ke] | [ˈləɾ.kō] | [ˈləɾ.ke] | [ˈləɾ.ko] |
| [mez] | [ˈme.zē] | [ˈme.zō] | [ˈmez] | [ˈme.zo] |
| [ˈləɾ.ki] | [ˈləɾ.ki.jã] | [ˈləɾ.ki.jō] | [ˈləɾ.ki] | [ˈləɾ.ki.jo] |

(Butt, 1995)

Noun heads in front of oblique markers bear [ō] sound. To test the presence of silent OAF, singular noun can be replaced by its plural number. If the replaced noun ends on [ō] sound, it confirms physical presence of OAF. But the story is not over yet. We have one more test left.

The presence of OAF is not restricted to noun heads only. It extends to the associated modifiers and determiners too. [a]-sound-ending rule applies to modifiers and determiners too. To test the presence of OAF, an adjective or determiner ending on [a] sound may be inserted in front of the noun head. If the inserted adjective/determiner acquires OAF, it points out the presence of a covert OAF on the noun head. For example,

| Determiner | | Adjective | | Noun with Covert OAF | Oblique Case |
|------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------------------------|-----------------|
| | OAF | | OAF | | LOC |
| | | ˈbəɾ- | -e | mə.ˈka:n Ø | mē |
| ˈme.r- | -e | | | mə.ˈka:n Ø | mē |
| tʊmˈha:r- | -e | tʃʰo.t- | -e | mə.ˈka:n Ø | mē |

Now, after providing the evidence of logical presence of a phonetically null OAF on noun heads, we proceed to the issue of postpositions and then to covert postpositions.

Schmidt (1999) classifies Urdu postpositions into three types:

Simple Postpositions: [ne], [ko], [mē], [pər], [ʔək], [se], [ka, ke, ki]

Serial Postpositions: [mē se], [pər se] etc.

Compound Postpositions: They are some phrasal combinations. Their detailed lists are given below:

[ka] + Oblique Noun + Case Marker

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| [ke mʊ.ˈqa.ble mē] | in comparison with |
| [ke ˈzər.ʃe (se)] | by means of |
| [ke sə.ˈbəb se] | because of |
| [ki və.ˈdʒʰa.ʰ se] | because of |
| [ke ʔər pər] | by way of |

Schmidt, 1999, p. 81)

[ka] + Oblique Noun (OAF) + Ø Case Marker

We come to know about OAF on NP because in all examples below masculine genitive [ka] appears in oblique form as [ke]. It's evident that the genitive marker has acquired OAF from the following NP. Let's apply the replacement rule. See the structure of the last item in the table below. [ke ˈvɑ.ːʃte]. [ˈvɑ.ːʃte] ends on [-e] sound. Now the question arises what has assigned OAF [ˈvɑ.ːʃte].

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| [ki dʒəːˈgɑːh (Ø Case Marker)] | in place of |
| [ke sɑːtʰ (Ø Case Marker)] | with |
| [ke əːˈlɑːvɑː (Ø Case Marker)] | in addition to |
| [ke xɪːˈlɑːf (Ø Case Marker)] | against |
| [ki ˈtəːrəf (Ø Case Marker)] | towards |
| [ke ˈvɑːˈstɛ (Ø Case Marker)] | in order to |

(Schmidt, 1999, p. 82)

[ka] + Oblique Adjective (OAF)

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| [ke mʊːˈtɑːˈbɪq] | according to |
| [ke mʊːˈtɑːˈlɪq] | about |
| [ke ˈbrɑːˈbər] | equal to, similar to |

(Schmidt, 1999, p. 82)

[ka] + Oblique Adverb (OAF)

| | |
|---------------|---------------|
| [ke ˈuːˈpər] | above |
| [ke sɪːˈvɑ] | except for |
| [ke ˈpɑːs] | near |
| [ke bɑːd] Ø | after |
| [ke ˈpiːˈtʰe] | behind, after |

(Schmidt, 1999, p. 83)

Postpositional Sequences

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| [ke ˈniːˈtʰe se] | out from under |
| [ki ˈtəːrəf se] | via |
| [mɛ se] | out of |
| [ke ˈuːˈpər se] | over |

(Schmidt, 1999, p. 85)

Kachru (2006) has classification Hindi/Urdu postpositions as simple postpositions, complex postpositions, zero postpositions (pp. 103, 104-107).

| | | | |
|---------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| [ke ˈniːˈtʰe] | under | [ke ˈpiːˈtʰe] | behind |
| [ke ˈənˈdər] | inside | [ke ˈsɑːmˌne] | in front of |
| [ke zərˈje] | by | [ke ˈbɑːˈhər] | outside |
| [ki bəːˈdʒəe] | instead of | [ki bəːˈɣəl mɛ] | next to |
| [ke ˈpɑːs] | near | [ke lɪˈje] | for |
| [ke ˈpɑːs] | near | [ke sɪːˈvɑ] | without |
| [ke ˈuːˈpər] | Above | | |

Her concept of zero postposition is basis of this paper. In her opinion, postpositions like [tək], [pər], and [ko] sometimes remain phonetically unpronounced, though their trace may easily be sensed in certain slots. This paper is going to describe the structure of such PPs in X bar framework.

Koul (2008) has issued the following list of Urdu/Hindi postpositions (p. 57):

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| [ke ˈpɑːr] | across | [ke mʊːˈqɑːˈble mɛ] | in comparison with |
| [ke ˈuːˈpər] | above | [ki dʒəːˈgɑːh] | in place of |
| [ke ˈɑːr ˈpɑːr] | through | [ke sɑːtʰ] | along with |
| [ke ˈbədˌle] | in place of | [ke jəːˈhɑː/hɑː] | at some place |
| [ke bəːˈɣər/sɪːˈvɑ] | without | [ki ˈtəːˈrɑːh] | like |
| [ke əːˈlɑːˈvɑ] | in addition to | [ke ˈbiːˈtʰ] | inside of |
| [ke ˈbɑːˈhər] | outside | [ke lɪˈje/ˈvɑːˈstɛ] | For |
| [ke ˈbrɑːˈbər] | equal | [ki ˈtəːˈrəf] | towards |
| [ke ˈənˈdər] | inside | [ke ˈsɑːmˌne] | in front of |
| [ke ˈpɑːs] | near | [ke lɑːɪq] | appropriate |
| [ke ˈɑːs ˈpɑːs] | near about | [ke ˈləg bʰəg] | about |
| [ke bɑːd] | afterwards | [se ˈbɑːˈhər] | out of |
| [ke ˈɑːˈqe] | In front of | [se ˈpɛːˈle] | before |

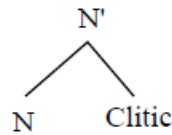
Butt and King (2004, p. 18) have preferred to classify simple and compound postpositions as case phrases and postposition phrases. They take those constituents as postpositions which fall in adjunct slot and perform possessive, spatial, or temporal functions. She presents the following list of Urdu postpositions:

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| [ke 'sa:m'ne] | in front of | [ki 'tə.rəf] | in the direction of |
| [ke 'ni:t'fe] | under | [ke 'pa:s] | next to |
| [ke 'pi:t'h'e] | behind | [ke 'pə'h'le] | before |
| [ke 'a:ge] | in front of (further along) | [ke bə:d] | after |
| [ke 'u:pər] | over | [ke lɪ'je] | for |
| [ke 'ən.dər] | inside | [ke sa:t'h] | with |

(Butt and King, 2004, p. 18)

Rizvi (2008), mostly borrowing from Butt and King (2004), introduces a concept of tetravalent argument structures of Urdu verbs. He has termed Locative PPs as oblique phrases.

Davison (2004) and Mohanan (1990, p. 80) describes the constituent structure of a clitic phrase as:



The problem with all the above theories is that they have mainly focused on subject and object NPs and have ignored adjunct slots where adpositions mainly belong. Postpositions usually describe possessions, spatial, and temporal relations. Butt (1995), and Butt and King (2004) have taken the same positions, but they have not explored this possibility in detail. Moreover, Butt and King have studied Urdu postpositions in the LFG framework. They have not described the constituent structure of Postposition Phrases and their formal distribution. We aim to accomplish this missing part.

Khurshid et al (2021a, b) has charted out Urdu PPs in X Bar background. He has differentiated cases from postpositions. He terms the clitics on arguments NPs as case markers, while the clitics on NPs in the oblique, complement, and adjunct slots as postpositions. Some detail on OAF and Oblique Adjunct Phrases (OAP) is available in these works, but this topic needs exclusive and detailed elaboration.

1. Results and Discussion

In English language, we often find a strange deviation.

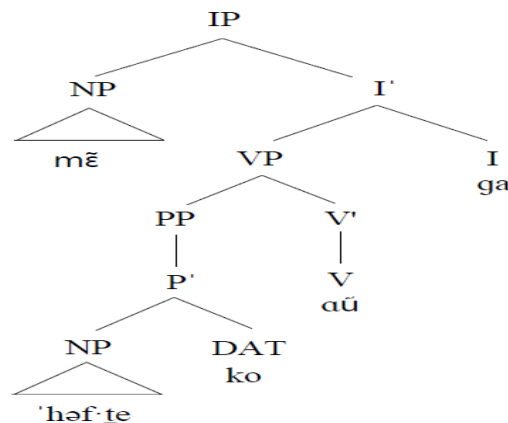
I go to college.

I go home.

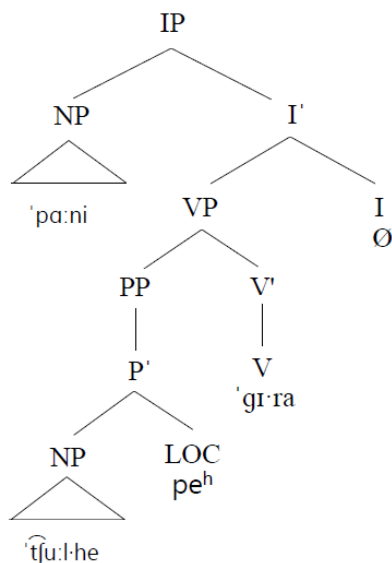
In the above examples, 'to college' is a PP, but what about 'home'? Surely, it is not an object NP. It lies in the slot of an adjunct. We expect an adverb, or adjunct PP, to fill this slot. A plausible interpretation would be that 'home' is an adjunct PP with a covert preposition head. Similar structures are very common in Urdu syntax.

Normal adjunct PPs in Urdu are usually a combination of an oblique case marker and an NP. Ergative, Accusative, and Genitive markers are exceptions. The first two sit with subject and direct object NPs respectively, while the third one stays as the complement PP head. Let's see a few examples of adjunct phrases:

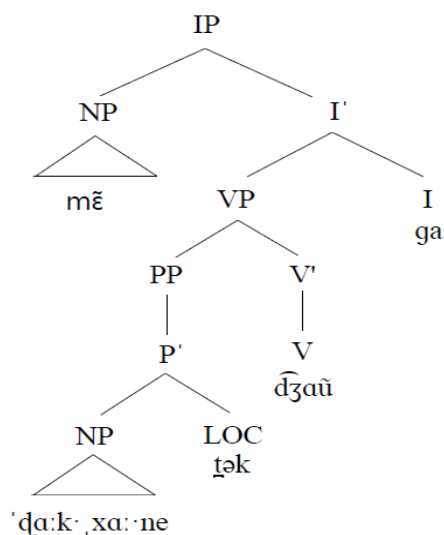
| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|------|
| Main haftay ko aon ga | | | | میں ہفتے کو آؤں گا۔ | |
| [mẽ 'həf.te ko aũ ga] | | | | | |
| mẽ | 'həf.te | -e | Ko | aũ | ga |
| I.1.s | Saturday | OAF | DAT (on) | come | Will |
| I will come on Saturday. | | | | | |



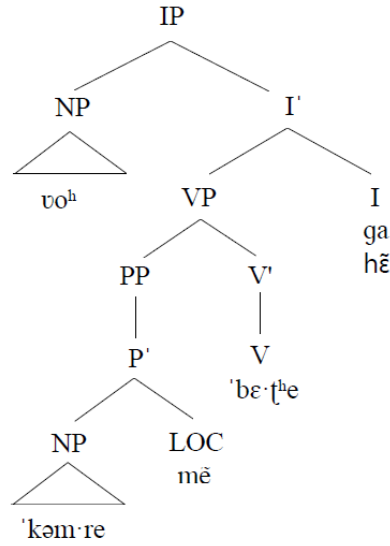
| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------|-----|--------------------|--------|------------|
| Pani choolhe pe gira [ˈpaːni ˈtʃuːlˌhe peˈɡɪˌra] | | | | پانی چولہے پہ گرا۔ | | |
| ˈpaːni | Ø | ˈtʃuːlˌh- | -e | peˈ | ˈɡɪˌra | Ø |
| water.3.s.m. | NOM | stove.3.s.m. | OAF | LOC (on) | fell | Past tense |
| Water fell on the stove. | | | | | | |



| | | | | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------|------|
| Main dak khanay tak jaon ga [mẽ ˈd̪aːkˌx̌aːˌne t̪ək d̪ʒaũ ga] | | | | میں ڈاکخانے تک جاؤں گا۔ | | |
| mẽ | Ø | ˈd̪aːkˌx̌aːˌn- | -e | t̪ək | d̪ʒaũ | ga |
| I.1.s | NOM | Post office.3.s.m. | OAF | LOC (up to) | go | will |
| I will go up to the post office. | | | | | | |

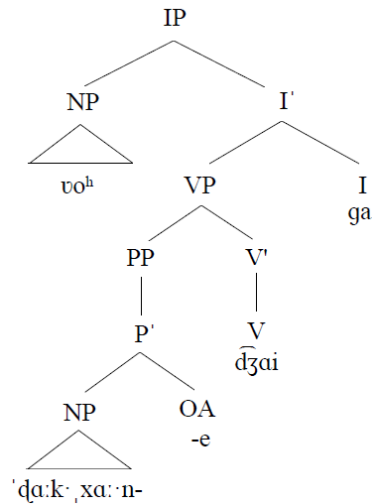


| | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-------------|-----|------------------------|----------|-----|
| Voh kamray main betthay hain [voˈh ˈkəmˌre mẽ ˈbeːt̪ʰe h̪ɛ] | | | | وہ کمرے میں بیٹھے ہیں۔ | | |
| voˈh | Ø | ˈkəmˌr- | -e | Mẽ | ˈbeːt̪ʰe | h̪ɛ |
| They.3.p. | NOM | Room.3.s.m. | OAF | LOC (in) | sit | are |
| They are sitting in the room. | | | | | | |

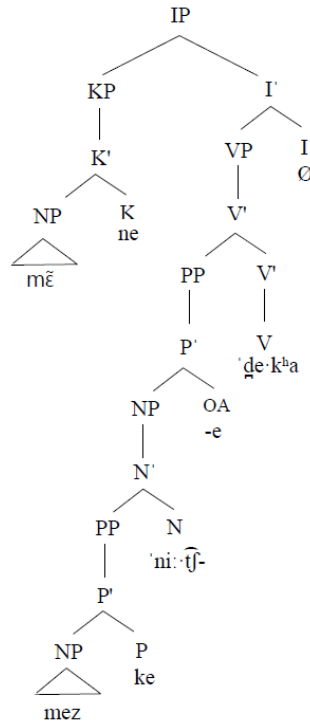


In the above glosses, a combination of overt OAF and Postposition head is given. We may call them Oblique Adjunct Postpositions (OAP). Usually, Datives and Locatives fall in this category.

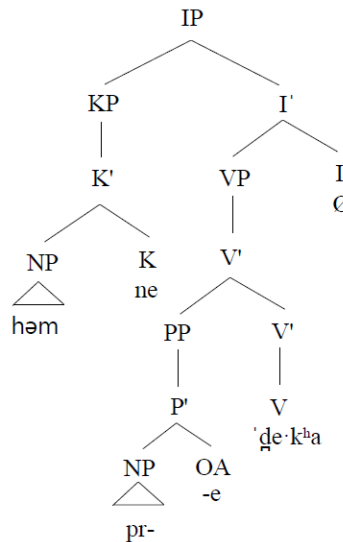
| | | | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------|--------------------|-------|------|
| woh dak khane jai ga [vo ^h 'dɑ:k, xa:·ne d̪ʒai ga] | | | وہ ڈاکخانے جائے گا | | |
| vo ^h | Ø | 'dɑ:k, xa:·n- | -e | d̪ʒai | ga |
| He.3.s.m. | NOM | Post Office.3.s.m. | OA | go | will |
| He will go to post office. | | | | | |



| | | | | | | | |
|---|------|--------------|-----|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Main ne mez ke neechay dekha [mẽ ne mez ke 'ni:·t̪e 'd̪e:k^ha] | | | | | | میں نے میز کے نیچے دیکھا | |
| mẽ | ne | mez | Ø | ke | 'ni:·t̪e- | -e | 'd̪e:k^ha |
| I.1.s | ERG. | Table.3.s.m. | OAF | GEN. (of) | beneath | OA | See. IMP |
| I looked down beneath the table. | | | | | | | |



| | | | | |
|---|------|------|----|-----------------|
| <i>ham ne pray dekha.</i> [həm ne pre 'de·kʰa] | | | | ہم نے پرے دیکھا |
| həm | ne | pr- | -e | 'de·kʰa |
| we.1.p. | ERG. | away | OA | look.IMP |
| We looked away. | | | | |



In the above glosses, we find Oblique Agreement Feature, but no Oblique Adjunct Postposition. Presence of OAF is the evidence of a silent Postposition ahead. When we try to insert a postposition, either the meaning changes, or the structure becomes unacceptable. The covert postposition here exists purely in abstraction; it has no physical representation. As OAF, overt or covert, indicates the presence of an abstract postposition here, it, in a way, represents Oblique Adjunct Postposition. Their phrasal structure may be described as above.

Now a question arises as to why we take OAF as a postposition. Why don't we leave the slot of postposition empty as we did in case of Inflection phrase above? The native speakers of Urdu often stress this morpheme to refer to a place. For example,

| | |
|-----------------------|--------|
| Pray ja. [pre dʒa] | پرے جا |
| pre | dʒa |
| away | go |
| Keep away | |

Sometimes, native speakers of Urdu unusually prolong the [e] part of the nominal adverb [pre] to mean 'farther'. It gives a hint that they tend to substitute [e] with the abstract postposition.

From the above data, we arrive at the understanding that all adjunct slots of an Urdu sentence are occupied by a PP, overt or covert. They may be labelled as Adjunct Postpositions. Sometimes, they appear as OAF; sometimes they remain phonetically null, but their logical presence can always be tested and verified.

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