Urdu Ezafe — Phrasal Affix or Clitic?

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Introduction

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### Genitive

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Punjab=Gen.F.Sg lion.M.Sg.Nom
‘Punjab’s Lion’
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- Two main ones are: **Genitive** and **Ezafe**.

**Genitive**

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‘Punjab’s Lion’

**Ezafe**

sher=e punjaab
lion.M=Ezafe Punjab.Nom
‘The Lion of Punjab’
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Our main concern is with the interplay of morphology, syntax and prosody and sorting through architectural assumptions made by others (vs. ourselves).

**Main Question:** Should *Ezafe* be analysed as part of morphology (“phrasal affix” as proposed in HPSG) or rather as a clitic, triggering an interaction of prosody and syntax?
The Genitive

Urdu is a head-final language:

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‘Yassin’s mother’s black dogs’
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- This is consistent with other patterns in the language, where the modifier agrees with the noun it modifies.
Even though the genitive $k$- is unique in Urdu among the case markers because it inflects, it patterns with the other case markers in all other respects.
Structural Representation

- Even though the genitive *k-* is unique in Urdu among the case markers because it inflects, it patterns with the other case markers in all other respects.

- Butt and King (2004) argue that case markers in Urdu (including the genitive) should be analyzed as case clitics (not postpositions).
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Butt and King (2004) argue that case markers in Urdu (including the genitive) should be analyzed as case clitics (not postpositions).

Since clitics are independent functional items as far as the syntax is concerned (they are “little words”), Butt and King (2004) accord case markers their own terminal node.
Case markers are functional heads of a KP (Butt and King 2004):

$$\text{KP} \longrightarrow \text{NP}[\text{obl}] \ K \ (\text{General Schema})$$
Structural Representation of Case

→ Case markers are functional heads of a KP (Butt and King 2004):

\[
\text{KP} \rightarrow \text{NP} [\text{obl}] \text{ K} \quad (\text{General Schema})
\]

→ Specialized Rule for Genitive
(Structures from the Urdu ParGram Grammar):

\[
\text{CS 1: } \text{NP} \quad "\text{pAkistAn kI hukUmat"}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{KPpos} & \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{NP} & \quad \text{Kposs} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{kI hukUmat} \\
\text{pAkistAn} & \\
\text{PRED} & \quad \text{hukUmat} \\
\text{NTYPE} & \quad \{\text{COMMON count}\} \\
\text{NSEM} & \quad \text{common} \\
\text{NSYN} & \\
\text{SPEC} & \quad \text{POSS} \\
\text{PRED} & \quad \text{pAkistAn} \\
\text{NTYPE} & \quad \{\text{PROPER LOCATION-TYPE country, PROPER-TYPE location}\} \\
\text{NSEM} & \quad \text{proper} \\
\text{NSYN} & \\
\text{SEM-PROP} & \quad \{\text{SPECIFIC}\} \\
\text{CASE} & \quad \text{gen, NUM sg, PERS 3} \\
\text{GEND} & \quad \text{fem, NUM sg, PERS 3}
\end{align*}
\]
Structural Representation of Case II

CS 1: "pAkistAn kI hukUmat"

CS 1: NP
    KPposs NP
    |    |    |
    NP Kposs N
    |    |    |
    N kI hukUmat
    pAkistAn

PRED 'hukUmat'
NTYPE NSEM [COMMON count]
    NSYN common
    |    |
    PRED 'pAkistAn'
    NTYPE NSEM [PROPER LOCATION-TYPE country, PROPER-TYPE location]
    NSYN proper
    |    |
    SPEC POSS
    |    |
    SEM-PROP [SPECIFIC]
    |    |
    1 CASE gen, NUM sg, PERS 3
    |    |
    15 SEND fem, NUM sg, PERS 3
General idea: functional heads (like other “little words”) can be clitics.
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Note that the prosody and syntax here do not contradict each other: *kii* shares a mother node with the modifier, which is also its prosodic host.
Case Markers are Clitics

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1 Coordination (cf Zwicky and Pullum 1983, criterion E): case markers have scope over coordination; inflectional affixes don’t. Case markers therefore rather attach to phrases and have to be placed by the syntax.
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2. **Intervening Clitics**: Focus clitics such as hi/b^ii ‘only/also’ may be placed between the case marker and the nominal: Noun=hi=case (sher=hi=kaa). These cannot separate an affix from its stem.
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3. **Stress**: Case markers do not carry stress and do not affect the placement of stress while affixes may.
Urdu Ezafe

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    lion=e Punjab
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(1) \( \text{Ser}=\text{e} \ \text{panjaab} \)
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- The *Ezafe*-construction expresses a dependency between the head noun and a modifier to the right of the NP: this modifier can be a noun (1) or an adjective (2).
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(2) sadaa=e buland
voice=Ez high
‘a high voice’
The Problem of Representation

Compare the *Ezafe*-construction in (a) to the genitive in (b):

a) hukuumat=e paakistaan  
   government=Ez Pakistan  
   ‘Government of Pakistan’

b) paakistaan=kii hukuumat  
   Pakistan=Gen government  
   ‘Pakistan’s government’
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→ **Problem**: The *Ezafe* is part of the modifying construction — it licenses the modifier *paakistaan*. This should be expressed within the *syntax*. However, *prosodically*, the *Ezafe* is part of the head noun *hukuumat*.
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- Is it a clitic like the case markers in Urdu?
- If it is a clitic, where do clitics in LFG “come in”?
- How would we represent a construction like that and cover all its morpho-syntactic and prosodic aspects?
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- The Ezafe is introduced in the morphology and marks the noun as expecting a modifier.

- Its phrasal placement is effected by an EDGE constraint.
Urdu Ezafe is a clitic

**Our Analysis:** Ezafe is a clitic

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→ Coordination with *Ezafe*

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this material and wealth=Ez world
‘this material and wealth of the world’ (from *zarb-e-kaleem* by Muhammad Iqbal)
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→ Coordination with Case

[maal or daulat] = ko kumaa-o
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→ The Ezafe attaches to constituents rather than words.
Architectural Considerations

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- So how should/can this be represented?
  - **LFG** with its modular projection architecture allows for a thorough analysis without engendering a need to generate clitics within the morphology (as in HPSG).
Syntax — the C(onstituent)-structure

CS 1: NP
    |  
    NPez
    |  
    NPez_ EzP
    |  
    N EZ N
    |  
    sher e panjAb
Syntax — the C(onstituent)-structure

The head of the construction is initial: fer
‘lion’
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The *Ezafe* is inserted at a terminal node and is thus analyzed as a syntactic word in its own right: *EZ*
Syntax — the C(onstituent)-structure

- The head of the construction is initial: *fēr* ‘lion’
- The *Ezafe* is inserted at a terminal node and is thus analyzed as a syntactic word in its own right: *EZ*
- It licences a modifier to its right: *panjAb* ‘Punjab’
The head of the construction is initial: *fer* ‘lion’

The *Ezafe* is inserted at a terminal node and is thus analyzed as a syntactic word in its own right: *EZ*

It licences a modifier to its right: *panjAb* ‘Punjab’

Together, they form the modifying constituent for the head noun *fer*.
Syntax — the F(unctional)-structure

"sher e panjAb"

```
PRED 'sher'
  | PRED 'panjAb'
  | MOD
  | NTYPE
  |   NSEM [COMMON count]
  |   NSYN common
  |   30 GEND masc, MOD-TYPE ezafe, NUM sg, PERS 3
  | CHECK [ _EZAFe + ]
  | NTYPE
  |   NSEM [COMMON count]
  |   NSYN common
  |   1 GEND masc, NUM sg, PERS 3
```  

- LFG’s f(unctional)-structure abstracts away from surface position and constituency and models functional information and dependencies.
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At f-structure, *sher* is clearly the head of the phrase.
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"sher e panjAb"

- LFG’s f(unctional)-structure abstracts away from surface position and constituency and models functional information and dependencies.
- At f-structure, *fer* is clearly the head of the phrase.
- *panjAb* is the modifier of the head noun.
Syntax — the F(unctional)-structure

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At f-structure, *sher* is clearly the head of the phrase.

*panjAb* is the modifier of the head noun.

The type of modification is registered as being of the *Ezafe* type: MOD-TYPE ezafe.
Prosody — the P(rosodic)-structure

- LFG’s projection architecture allows for other types of linguistic representations as well. Some that have been argued for: a(rgument)-structure, i(nformation)-structure, p(rosodic)-structure (Butt and King 1998).
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- For Ezafe, we have experimented with p(rosodic)-structure following proposals as to the prosodic hierarchy as formulated within Prosodic Phonology (e.g., Selkirk 1984).
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[but also see other proposals for incorporating prosody, e.g., O’Connor 2005, Mycock 2006, Bögel, Butt, Kaplan, King and Maxwell III 2009 (forthcoming)].
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At p-structure the *Ezafe* is not represented as an independent p(rosodic)-word.
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Prosody — the P(rosodic)-structure

- At p-structure the *Ezafe* is not represented as an independent p(rosodic)-word.
- Rather, it is encoded via the feature CL-FORM.
- The CL-FORM *Ezafe* is clearly integrated into the domain of a p-word *fer* at p-structure, although it syntactically shares a mother node with *panjAb* at c-structure.
- The morphological component was not involved in the analysis in any form with respect to *Ezafe*. 
Demo — Coordination

Demo/Example of an Coordinated Structure with Ezafe
An Argument We Don’t Understand

One argument that we have seen advanced in favor of treating clitics/phrasal affixes as being part of the morphological component is that clitics/PAs need access to word-level properties of their host, such as POS, number or gender in order to be able to ensure well-formedness.
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For example, the Urdu genitive would seem to need access to word properties (find a noun, figure out its number and gender) — “a property that disqualifies it as a clitic” (Anderson 2005, Samvelian 2007 etc.)
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- But since any type of agreement (e.g., subject-verb, modifier-head) that is generally dealt with in the syntax needs access to information about number, gender, POS, etc., we do not understand this argument. [any help very welcome!]

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There is no need to generate clitics within the morphological component.
Conclusion

- With the modular architecture of LFG it is possible to represent all aspects of clitics: special syntactic properties as to placement as well as prosodic structure.

- There is no need to generate clitics within the morphological component.

- Instead, an interaction between **Prosody** and **Syntax** accounts for the properties of Urdu *Ezafe* (and Persian *Ezafe* as well).
Conclusion

- With the modular architecture of LFG it is possible to represent all aspects of clitics: special syntactic properties as to placement as well as prosodic structure.

- There is no need to generate clitics within the morphological component.

- Instead, an interaction between **Prosody** and **Syntax** accounts for the properties of Urdu *Ezafe* (and Persian *Ezafe* as well).

- We have not explicitly demonstrated how to deal with Second Position clitics or other types of special clitics, but the basic approach would be the same as illustrated here.
In *synchronic* terms, the distinction between phrasal affixes vs. other clitics thus seems to be unnecessary.
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In **diachronic** terms, however, phrasal affixes seem to be those clitics which are on their way to becoming part of the morphological component (i.e., morphological affixes) — they represent a construction in transition, which accounts for many of their special properties.
Thank you for listening!