

# Dependent dative case in Hindi-Urdu

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## ABSTRACT

While dative case has traditionally been analysed as a case assigned to a DP by a head (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Woolford 2001, 2006), Baker & Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2015) have argued that dative case in Sakha is a dependent case in the sense of Marantz (1991). Following Baker & Vinokurova (2010)'s analysis of Sakha, this paper proposes a dependent case analysis of dative case in Hindi-Urdu, based on crucial evidence from the causativised ingestive construction. This account is novel support for the view that dative case may be a dependent case in some languages.

## 1 Introduction

'Dative case' most commonly refers to the case assigned to the indirect object in ditransitives, but a diverse range of arguments crosslinguistically are marked with what is called 'dative case' in a given language, and these cases demonstrate distinct morphosyntactic behaviours.

For example, dative is termed a syntactically inactive inherent case in Modern Greek, since it is tied to the theta role of a goal in ditransitives, and does not disappear in passives or unaccusatives. (Chomsky 1986; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Alexiadou et al. 2014). In Japanese, dative case is suggested to be a structural case on goals in ditransitives, while it is inherent in monotransitives—since it alternates with nominative only in ditransitives (Woolford 2006; Fukuda 2007; Ishizuka 2010; Alexiadou et al. 2010). Crucially, under all of these traditional analyses, dative case is assigned by some functional head to some very proximal DP. (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Woolford 2001, 2006).

In contrast to the traditional view of dative as a functional head case, Baker & Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2015) have proposed that in some languages like Sakha, dative case is a 'dependent case' that surfaces on a DP when it is in a particular configuration with regard to other DPs and elements in the structure. In particular, they propose that whenever two DPs unvalued for case are in a c-command relationship in the same local domain, one of the DPs is assigned dependent case. Baker & Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2015) build on Marantz (1991)'s disjunctive case hierarchy, in which they name 'dependent case'—also based on the relative positioning of DPs in the structure—to be one of the possible modalities of case assignment.

In this paper, I argue that dative case in Hindi-Urdu is a dependent case in all its instances like in Sakha—due to similarities in the environments dative case appears in in both languages, as well as parallel morphosyntactic behaviour under passivisation. The dependent dative case rule I argue for is stated in (1).

- (1) **DATIVE CASE RULE:** If DP<sub>1</sub> c-commands DP<sub>2</sub> in the complement of *v*, assign dative to DP<sub>1</sub>

The characterisation of all dative case in Hindi-Urdu as a dependent case lends support to the view that along with being a functional head case of some kind in different languages (or across different constructions in the same language), dative case may also be a dependent case in some languages.

The structure of this paper is as follows: I outline the distribution of dative case in Hindi-Urdu, followed by syntactic diagnostics to distinguish dative case from accusative case in Hindi-Urdu, which are both realised as *-ko*. Then, I argue through the causativised ingestive construction that dative case cannot be a functional head case due to the lack of an assigning head. Lastly, I propose that dative is a dependent case assigned via the rule in (1), and show that only a dependent case analysis of the dative in Hindi-Urdu sufficiently captures its distribution.

## 2 Distribution of dative case

In ditransitives in Hindi-Urdu, the indirect object invariably receives dative case (2), which is syncretic with accusative *-ko*, (3).

- (2) *Dative on indirect object*  
 miina=ne ṭiina\*(=**ko**) kitaab di-i  
 Mina=ERG Tina\*(=DAT) book give-PFV  
 ‘Mina gave Tina a/the book’

- (3) *Accusative on direct object*  
 miina=ne fuul(=**ko**) dekh-aa  
 Mina=ERG flower(=ACC) see-PFV  
 ‘Mina saw a/(the) flower’

Dative *-ko* and accusative *-ko* may also coappear in the same clause (4), as Bhatt & Anagnostopoulou (1996) have shown. Note that the shifting of the direct object over the indirect object in (4)—which is required for the former to be marked accusative in ditransitives—is discussed in detail in Bhatt & Anagnostopoulou (1996), and will not be addressed further here, since it is independent of dative case assignment.

- (4) *Dative and accusative case in ditransitives*  
 miina=ne kitaab=**ko**<sub>j</sub> ṭiina=**ko** \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> di-yaa  
 Mina=ERG book=ACC<sub>j</sub> Tina=DAT \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> give-PFV  
 ‘Mina gave Tina the book’

In addition to goals in ditransitives, dative case also appears on experiencer arguments in experiencer constructions, (5) (Davison 2004).

- (5) a. *Experiencer construction*  
 mona\*(=ko) bukhaar hai  
 Mona\*(=DAT) fever AUX.PRES  
 ‘Mona has a fever’
- b. *Experiencer construction*  
 mona\*(=ko) siima dikh-ii  
 Mona\*(=DAT) Sima appear-PFV  
 ‘Mona saw Sima’ (Lit.: ‘Sima appeared to Mona’)

Ingestives—like in (6a)—are a class of transitive verbs in Indic that are made causative by adding a causative morpheme *-aa* to the verb stem, and introducing a causer argument, as in (6b).<sup>1</sup> *Salma* is the added causer argument in (6b), while *kutte* ‘dog’ becomes the causee. Importantly, dative case is found in causativised ingestives—the causee DP *kutte* ‘dog’ in (6b), which is sandwiched between *Salma* and *seb* ‘apple’ is marked dative.

- (6) a. *Ingestive*  
 kutte=ne seb khaa-yaa  
 dog=ERG apple eat-PFV  
 ‘The dog ate an apple’
- b. *Causativised ingestive*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=ko) seb khil-aa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=DAT) apple eat-CAUS-PFV  
 ‘Salma fed the dog an apple’ (Lit.: ‘Salma made the dog eat an apple’)

Now that I have specified the environments in which dative case occurs in Hindi-Urdu, I will explore diagnostics that help distinguish between dative and accusative *-ko*.

## 2.1 Dative *-ko* vs. accusative *-ko*

Dative *-ko* is syncretic with the accusative/DOM *-ko* on direct objects, but they are syntactically distinct cases (Mohanani 1994; Davison 2014, pace Kalin 2014). Evidence for the distinctness of dative *-ko* and accusative *-ko* comes from dative case always being obligatory—including in passives and on inanimates—in contrast with the often optional accusative case. As the ditransitive examples in (7) show, dative *-ko* is obligatory on the indirect object (as well as on experiencers (5) and in causativised ingestives (6b)), but accusative *-ko* is optional on many direct objects (7b).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The term ‘ingestives’ is due to how verbs of this class semantically denote consumption in some form—whether literal or abstract—across many Indic languages (Masica 1976). Causativised ingestives are unique in that the causee argument is marked dative. Some other verbs that belong to the ingestive class include *pii* ‘drink’, *dekh* ‘see’, *sikh* ‘learn’ etc. See Masica (1976) and Bhatt & Embick (2017) for more on ingestives.

<sup>2</sup>The form of the nominal that accusative *-ko* attaches to in (7b) and further examples is slightly simplified for ease of reading. The direct object in (7b) can be realised as either case-unmarked *chuuhaa* or accusative

- (7) a. *Obligatory dative -ko, no accusative -ko*  
 miina=ne **billii\*(=ko)** chuuhaa di-yaa  
 Mina=ERG cat\*(=DAT) mouse give-PFV  
 ‘Mina gave the cat a mouse’
- b. *Obligatory dative -ko, optional accusative -ko*  
 miina=ne chuuhe(=ko)<sub>j</sub> **billii\*(=ko)** \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> di-yaa  
 Mina=ERG mouse(=ACC)<sub>j</sub> cat\*(=DAT) \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> give-PFV  
 ‘Mina gave the cat a/the mouse’

Unlike with accusative case—which may or may not be obligatory depending on the specificity and animacy (among other factors) of the object (8)—a DP’s semantic properties have no influence on the obligatoriness of dative case. While (7a) already showed the obligatoriness of dative case on a goal DP whose referent is animate, (9) shows the obligatoriness of dative case even on an inanimate goal.

- (8) a. *Obligatorily accusative direct object*  
 miina=ne **tiina\*(=ko)** dekh-aa  
 Mina=ERG Tina\*(=ACC) see-PFV  
 ‘Mina saw Tina’
- b. *Optionally accusative direct object*  
 miina=ne fuul(=ko) dekh-aa  
 Mina=ERG flower(=ACC) see-PFV  
 ‘Mina saw a/(the) flower’
- (9) *Obligatory dative -ko on inanimate objects*  
 miina=ne fuul\*(=ko) paanii di-yaa  
 Mina=ERG flower\*(=DAT) water give-PFV  
 ‘Mina watered the flower’ (Lit: ‘Mina gave water to the flower’)

In passives of transitives,<sup>3</sup> accusative *-ko* becomes optional on a direct object (10a), even in cases where it was obligatory in active voice (c.f. (8a)).<sup>4</sup> When an indirect object is passivized, dative *-ko* remains obligatory on the indirect object, (10b).

*chuuhe=ko*. The variability in the final vowel of the nominal stem has no bearing on the argument presented.

<sup>3</sup>Note that while the experiencer construction discussed in §2 is also transitive, it is not discussed here because it cannot be passivized/made into an active impersonal construction in a similar way as the constructions in (10).

<sup>4</sup>The change in agreement on the verb and auxiliary when *tiinaa* is case-unmarked vs. accusative only has to do with case in that the  $\phi$ -probe in Hindi-Urdu is *case-discriminating* (Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014; Agarwal 2022). I will not delve into the  $\phi$ -agreement facts in Hindi-Urdu any further in this paper, since they are independent of dative case assignment.

- (10) a. *Passivised DO, optional accusative -ko*  
 ṭinaa=ko dekh-aa ga-yaa / ṭinaa dekh-ii ga-yii  
 Tina=ACC see-PFV PASS-PFV / Tina see-PFV PASS-PFV  
 ‘Tina was seen’
- b. *Passivised IO, obligatory dative -ko*  
 fuul\*(=ko) paanii di-yaa ga-yaa  
 flower\*(=DAT) water give-PFV PASS-PFV  
 ‘The flower was watered’ (Lit: ‘The flower was given water’)

It is clear from (7-10) that although dative and accusative case in HU are both realised as *-ko*, they are structurally different cases, and I will treat them as such throughout the paper.

## 2.2 Identifying *-ko* in causativised ingestives

Since the evidence for dependent dative case in Hindi-Urdu will ultimately come from causativised ingestives like (11b), I will briefly demonstrate that the *-ko* on the causee in these constructions is indeed dative, and not accusative. The causativised ingestive construction in (6b) is repeated below as (11).

- (11) *Causativised ingestive*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=ko) seb khil-aa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=DAT) apple eat-CAUS-PFV  
 ‘Salma fed the dog an apple’ (Lit: ‘Salma made the dog eat an apple’)

Bhatt & Embick (2017) have argued that the causee *kutte* ‘dog’ is obligatorily dative—and not accusative—in this construction. I will briefly outline some of their arguments for *-ko* on *kutte* ‘dog’ being dative.

We saw in (8b) that the presence of accusative case on an object has to do with its specificity and animacy, while dative case in (9) showed no such optionality. (12) shows that the case on the causee in ingestives is indeed dative, because even a nonspecific inanimate causee is obligatorily *-ko*-marked.<sup>5</sup>

- (12) *Causativised ingestive with nonspecific inanimate causee*  
 salma=ne koi ek guriyaa\*(=ko) saariii pehen-aa-yii  
 Salma=ERG some one doll\*(=DAT) sari wear-CAUS-PFV  
 ‘Salma dressed one of the dolls in a sari’ (Lit: ‘Salma made one of the dolls wear a sari’)

More evidence in favour of *-ko* on the causee in causativised ingestives being dative comes from passivising the ingestive causative. Recall from (10a) that accusative *-ko* becomes optional in passives on all arguments, regardless of their specificity and animacy, while dative *-ko* remains obligatory on all arguments in passives (10b). Passivising (11) and

<sup>5</sup>A specific indefinite reading can be resisted in (12) by felicitously following up the statement in the example with ‘but I do not know which doll’.

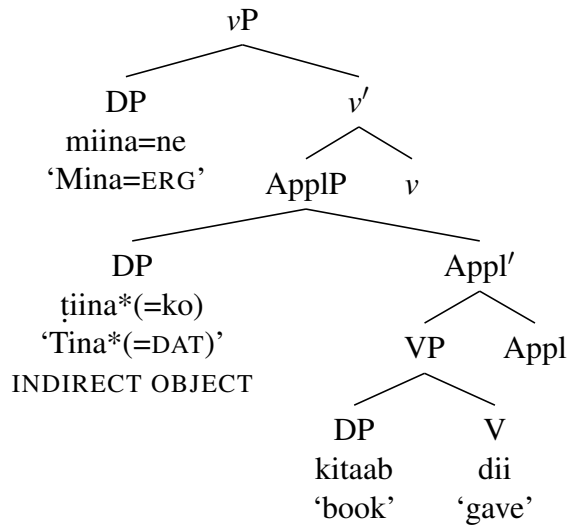
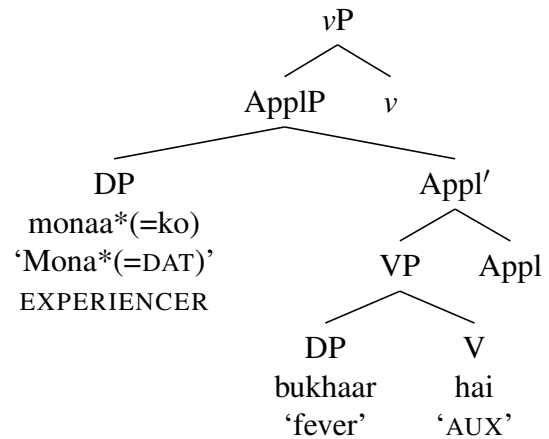
(12)—as in (13)—requires the obligatory retention of *-ko* on the causee in both instances, again indicating that this *-ko* is in fact dative.

- (13) a. *Passive of (11)*  
kutte\*(=**ko**) seb khil-aa-yaa ga-yaa  
dog\*(=**DAT**) apple eat-CAUS-PFV PASS-PFV  
'The dog was fed an apple' (Lit: 'The dog was made to eat an apple')
- b. *Passive of (12)*  
koi ek guṛiyaa\*(=**ko**) saari pehen-aa-yii ga-yii  
some one doll\*(=**DAT**) sari wear-CAUS-PFV PASS-PFV  
'One of the dolls was dressed in a sari' (Lit: 'One of the dolls was made to wear a sari')

(12) and (13) are clear arguments for dative *-ko* on causees in causativised ingestives. I now turn to possible analyses of dative case assignment in Hindi-Urdu, keeping in mind the instances of dative case discussed so far.

### 3 Theories of dative case assignment in Hindi-Urdu

Before turning to theories of dative case assignment, I will briefly introduce the assumptions I make about the location of dative DPs in the structure. Larson (1988) and Pykkänen (2008) have argued that indirect objects are introduced in the specifier of an applicative head. Based on their proposals, I adopt the structure in (14) for ditransitives, as illustrated for (2). Davison (2004) has proposed that experiencer arguments are merged in the same position as goals—Spec,VP in her terms and Spec,AppIP when transposed to this account. In her view, the lower DP in the experiencer construction is in Spec,VP much like the direct object in (di)transitives, so the AppIP structure in (14) is applicable to experiencer constructions as well, (15).

(14) *Ditransitive structure for (2)*(15) *Experiencer structure for (5)*

Once we adopt these fairly common assumptions, the ditransitive and experiencer examples so far are compatible with two analyses of dative case assignment in Hindi-Urdu. First, a functional head case analysis, where Appl assigns dative case to its specifier, akin to what Kalin (2014) has proposed. Ditransitives and experiencers are also compatible with a dependent dative case analysis, where dative is assigned to the higher of two DPs in the complement of  $v$ , as Baker & Vinokurova (2010) have argued for dative case in Sakha.

I argue that all instances of dative case in Hindi-Urdu are dependent case. The dependent case analysis neatly captures the generalisation that a dative-marked DP is always in the environment of a lower DP within a  $vP$  domain, as exemplified by every instance of dative case in this paper so far. Crucial evidence for dependent dative case in Hindi-Urdu comes from causativised ingestives like (6b), where the causee argument is exceptionally marked dative. I will show in §3.1 that dative case cannot be a functional head case in this construction, and thus must be a dependent case, detailed in §3.2.

### 3.1 Dative is not a functional head case

I now turn to the structure of the causativised ingestive, and show that dative case on causees in this construction cannot be a functional head case. I will refer to the causativised ingestive as just ‘causatives’ going forth, both for the sake of simplicity, and to reflect how the causativised ingestive mirrors causative constructions in other languages.

Recall once again the simple ingestive construction in (6a), repeated in (16a), There is a dedicated agent of eating, *kutte* ‘dog’, which is marked ergative like other external arguments in transitive perfective clauses. The structure of transitive ingestives is then parallel to the structure of other (non-experiencer) standard transitives, with the external argument in Spec, $vP$ . When the ingestive is causativised as in (16b), *kutte* ‘dog’ is now dative instead (and the causer is ergative). The puzzle, then, is the source of dative case in the causative.

- (16) a. *Ingestive*  
 kutte=ne seb khaa-yaa  
 dog=ERG apple eat-PFV  
 ‘The dog ate an apple’
- b. *Causativised ingestive*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=ko) seb khil-aa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=DAT) apple eat-CAUS-PFV  
 ‘Salma fed the dog an apple’ (Lit: ‘Salma made the dog eat an apple’)

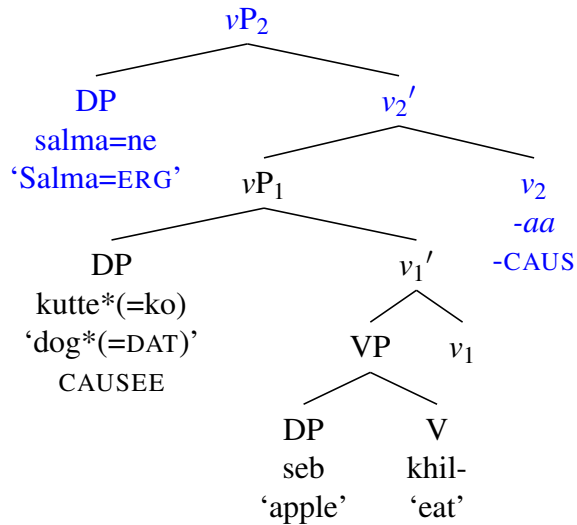
In Japanese causatives (17), the same pattern is obtained as in (16), where the non-dative external argument in the simple transitive becomes dative once embedded under a causative shell (Harley 2008). This pattern of dative case on the causee in a causativised transitive clause is also replicated in Sakha (Baker & Vinokurova 2010). Akin to *-aa* in the verbal complex in (16b), both Japanese and Sakha also have a dedicated causative morpheme in the verbal complex in the causative construction.

- (17) a. *Simple transitive in Japanese*  
 hanako=ga pizza=o tabe-ta  
 Hanako=NOM pizza=ACC eat-PST  
 ‘Hanako ate pizza’ (p.c. Katsuya Wakabayashi)
- b. *Causative*  
 taro=ga hanako\*(=ni) pizza=o tabe-sase-ta  
 Taro=NOM Hanako\*(=DAT) pizza=ACC eat-CAUS-PST  
 ‘Taro made Hanako eat pizza/fed Hanako pizza’ (Harley 2008; p.c. Katsuya Wakabayashi)

Let us then assume that the structure of transitive causatives is derived from the structure of plain transitives by adding a causer (and a causative morpheme), as is proposed in Baker & Vinokurova (2010) and Harley (2008) for Sakha and Japanese respectively, and for Hindi by Bhatt & Embick (2017).



(18) *Causative structure*



As far as functional head case theory goes, there are two contenders for dative case assigners in the causative: First,  $v_1$ , which introduces *kutte* ‘dog’ in both the ingestive in (16a) and its causative in (16b). Second, the causative head  $v_2$ , which embeds  $vP_1$  and introduces the causer. I will now argue that neither of these heads assign dative case in the causative in Hindi-Urdu.

The argument against  $v_1$  assigning dative case in the causative is simple— $v_1$  does not assign dative case to *kutte* ‘dog’ in the simple ingestive in (16a), so it cannot assign dative case to *kutte* ‘dog’ in the causative in (16b). As seen in (19), the simple ingestive is ungrammatical with a dative subject in place of an ergative subject, so  $v_1$  is not a dative-assigning head in the ingestive. Then, under functional head case theory, the only remaining dative case assigner is  $v_2$ , the causative head.

(19) *Ingestive with dative subject*

\*kutte=ko seb khaa-yaa  
 dog=DAT apple eat-PFV  
 Intended: ‘The dog ate an apple’

To argue against  $v_2$  assigning dative case, I show that this causative head does not assign dative case in other configurations where it is found. Take for example the unergative in (20a), and its causativised counterpart in (20b).

- (20) a. *Unergative*  
 kutta daur̥ rahaa hai  
 dog run PROG AUX.PRES  
 ‘The dog is running (around)’
- b. *Causativised unergative*  
 salma kutte(=ko) daur̥-aa rahii hai  
 Salma dog(=ACC) run-CAUS PROG AUX.PRES  
 ‘Salma is making a/the dog run’

Notably, the causee in the causative in (20b) is not dative. It is either case-unmarked or accusative, but not dative, as evidenced by the optionality of *-ko*. Recall from (8)-(10) that any instance of optional *-ko* is accusative, since dative *-ko* is always obligatory, even on nonspecific inanimate DPs and in passives. Passivising (20b) corroborates that *-ko* on *kutta* ‘dog’ is accusative, and not dative.

- (21) *Passive of causativised unergative*  
 kutta / kutte=ko daur̥-aa-yaa jaa rahaa hai  
 dog / dog=ACC run-CAUS-PFV PASS PROG AUX  
 ‘The dog is being made to run.’

Since the causee in causativised unergatives is accusative, not dative, the causative head *-aa*—represented as  $v_2$  in (18)—also cannot assign dative case. Then, no head is available to assign dative case to the causee in causatives of transitive ingestives like (16b) or (12), and dative case in Hindi-Urdu cannot be a functional head case. I will now move to on showing that every instance of dative case in this paper can in fact be modelled as a dependent case.

### 3.2 Dative case is a dependent case

While functional head case theory can account for the distribution of dative case in ditransitives and experiencers, it cannot in causatives like (16b) or (12), as shown in §3.1. Still, the uniform behaviour of dative case in ditransitives, experiencers, and causatives with regard to non-optionality and retention under passivisation suggests that a uniform analysis of dative case assignment in all of the aforementioned constructions is warranted. As claimed earlier in §3, dative case is only ever found on a DP when there is a lower DP in the same domain. Consider again the ditransitive, experiencer, and causative examples in (22), with the lower DP underlined.

- (22) a. *Ditransitive*  
 miina=ne tiina\*(=ko) kitaab di-i  
 Mina=ERG Tina\*(=DAT) book give-PFV  
 ‘Mina gave Tina a/the book’
- b. *Experiencer construction*  
 mona\*(=ko) bukhaar hai  
 Mona\*(=DAT) fever AUX.PRES  
 ‘Mona has a fever’
- c. *Causativised ingestive*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=ko) seb khil-aa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=DAT) apple eat-CAUS-PFV  
 ‘Salma fed the dog an apple’

The fact that dative case only appears in environments where there is a proximal lower DP is the clearest evidence in favour of a dependent case analysis of dative case in Hindi-Urdu. When a lower DP is absent, like in the causativised unergative in (20b), dative case is absent too. However, a lower proximal DP is only necessary, not sufficient to condition dative case on a DP, as demonstrated by simple transitive clauses like (3) and (6a), repeated as (23), where the higher argument is non-dative.

- (23) a. *No dative on higher DP*  
 miina{=ne/\*=ko} fuul(=ko) dekh-aa  
 Mina{=ERG/\*=DAT} flower(=ACC) see-PFV  
 ‘Mina saw a(/the) flower’
- b. *No dative on higher DP*  
 kutte{=ne/\*=ko} seb khaa-yaa  
 dog{=ERG/\*=DAT} apple eat-PFV  
 ‘The dog ate an apple’

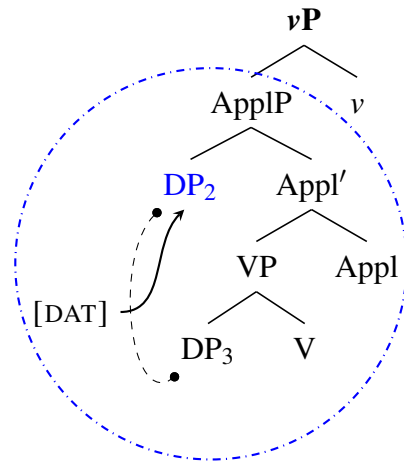
I claim that the missing ingredient for a complete dependent case analysis of the Hindi-Urdu dative is higher *v*P structure. As suggested in the trees for (22) in (14) and (18), the dative DP is always dominated by *v*P. Then, just like Baker & Vinokurova (2010) have proposed for Sakha, dative case comes out to be the case that appears on the higher of two DPs in the complement of *v* in Hindi-Urdu as well. A formal rule for dependent dative case assignment in Hindi-Urdu is proposed in (24).

- (24) **DATIVE CASE RULE:** If DP<sub>1</sub> c-commands DP<sub>2</sub> in the complement of *v*, assign dative to DP<sub>1</sub>

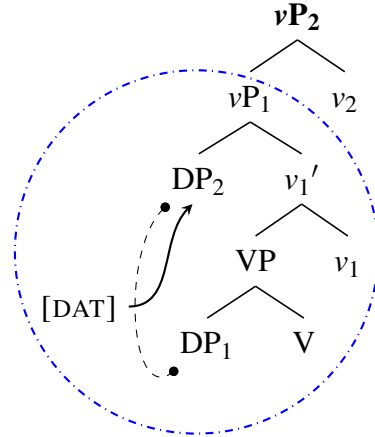
(24) derives the distribution of dative case in all of the prototypical examples in (22). The dative case rule in (24) is schematised for ditransitives/experiencers in (24) and for causatives in (24).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Recall from §3 that experiencer arguments and goals in ditransitives both merge in Spec,AppIP.

(25) a. *Dative case assignment in ditransitives/experiencers*

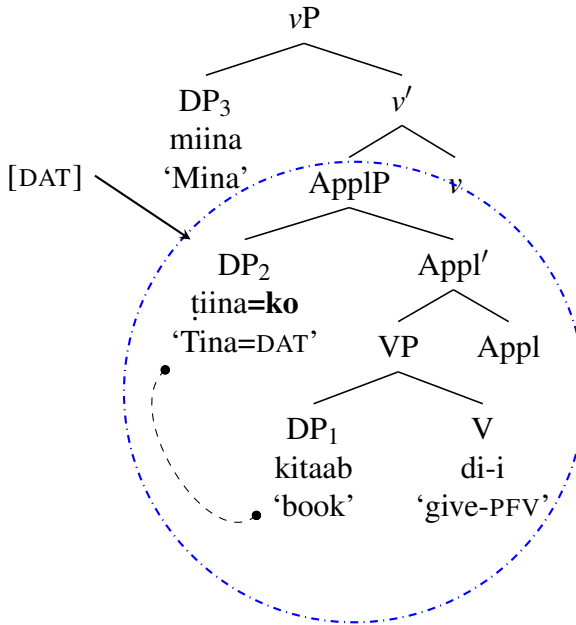


b. *Dative case assignment in causatives*

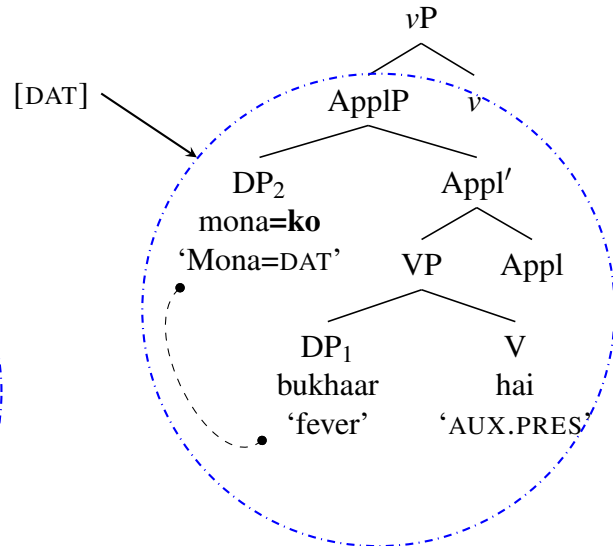


For the sake of clarity, I will briefly spell out the process of dative case assignment in each of the examples in (22). The ditransitive example in (22a) is illustrated as (26). The experiencer example in (22b) is illustrated as (15).

(26) *Dative case assignment in (22a)*



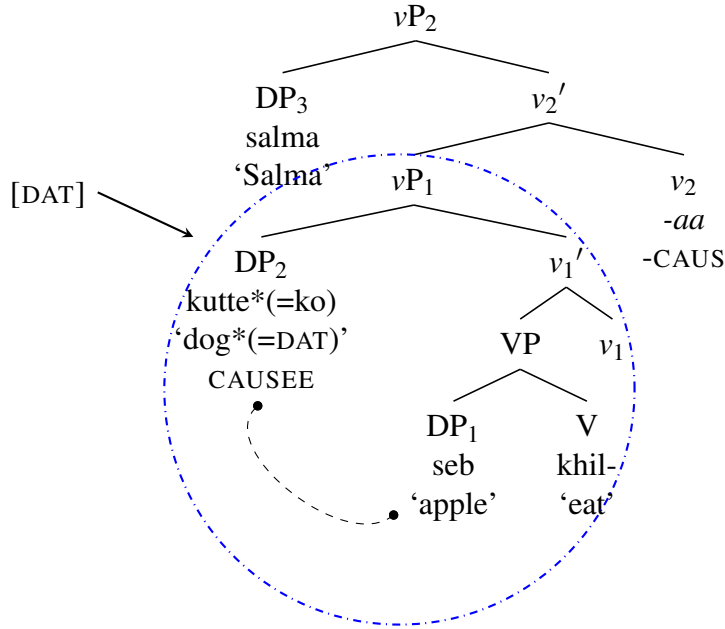
(27) *Dative case assignment in (22b)*



Lastly, the causative example in (22c) is sketched out in (28).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>An astute reader might wonder if it is possible to have a causativised ditransitive verb with two adjacent dative arguments—the causee and the goal—due to the rule in (24) applying twice. Unfortunately, I have not found any ditransitive verbs that can be causativised to create such a configuration.

(28) *Dative case assignment in (22c)*



While functional head case theory could only derive the distribution of dative case in ditransitives and experiencers, the dependent dative case rule in (24) singlehandedly derives the distribution of dative case in ditransitives, experiencers, as well as causatives.

(24) also importantly derives the obligatory preservation of dative case in passives like (10b) and (13), since both conditioners of dative case—namely a lower DP and higher  $v$ P structure—are retained under passivisation. For example, in (10b), repeated as (29), *fuul* ‘flower’ receives dative case due to its lower case competitor *paanii* ‘water’, and due to both the theme and passivised goal being embedded under  $v$ , even in the absence of the external argument.

(29) *Passivised goal in ditransitive*

*fuul\**(=ko)    *paanii di-yaa ga-yaa*  
 flower\*(=DAT) water give-PFV PASS-PFV  
 ‘The flower was watered’ (Lit: ‘The flower was given water’)

The dative case facts in causativised ingestives also extend to another kind of causative construction, the indirect causative (30), where the causative suffix is *-vaa* (Bhatt & Embick 2017). Assuming the  $v$ P housing the causee ‘dog’ is dominated by another  $v$ P in (30) just like in the direct causative, the rule in (24) also derives the distribution of dative case in indirect causatives. *kutte* ‘dog’ is dative in (30a) due to the lower DP *seb* ‘apple’, while the same DP in (30b) is case-unmarked or accusative, since the description of the dative rule is not met in the absence of a lower DP.

- (30) a. *Indirect transitive causative*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=**ko**) seb khil-vaa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=**DAT**) apple eat-CAUS.INDR-PFV  
 ‘Salma had the dog eat an apple’ (someone other than Salma made the dog eat the apple)
- b. *Indirect intransitive causative*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=**ko**) daur-vaa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=**ACC**) run-CAUS.INDR-PFV  
 ‘Salma had the dog run’ (someone other than Salma made the dog run)

Note that in configurations where dative case is found in Hindi-Urdu, the lower DP does not have to be case-unmarked. Even if accusative case assignment precedes dative case assignment in examples like (7), given again as (31), *chuuhe* ‘mouse’ still invariably conditions dative case on *billii* ‘cat’. Baker (2015) has proposed that in some languages, DPs that have already received case can nonetheless trigger dependent case on another DP, and the direct object in (31) is a possible example.

- (31) *Accusative-marked case competitor for dative case*  
 miina=ne chuuhe(=**ko**)<sub>j</sub> **billii**\*(=**ko**) \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> di-yaa  
 Mina=ERG mouse(=**ACC**)<sub>j</sub> cat\*(=**DAT**) \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> give-PFV  
 ‘Mina gave the cat a/the mouse’

Further evidence that overtly case-marked DPs in Hindi-Urdu may still trigger dependent dative case on a higher DP in *vP* is given in (32), where the dative DP *kutte* ‘dog’ has an instrumental case competitor.

- (32) *Instrumental-marked case competitor for dative case*  
 salma=ne kutte\*(=**ko**) billii-se mil-aa-yaa  
 Salma=ERG dog\*(=**DAT**) cat-INST meet-CAUS-PFV  
 ‘Salma introduced the dog to a cat’ (Lit: ‘Salma made the dog meet a cat’)

To recapitulate, the dependent dative case rule in (24) derives the distribution of dative case in ditransitives, experiencers, direct and indirect causatives, and passives. Then, only dependent case theory offers an explanatorily adequate account of all dative case in Hindi-Urdu, since functional head theory could not explain the source of dative case in causatives.

#### 4 Conclusion

I have shown in this paper that dative case in Hindi-Urdu is a dependent case. Dative case—which is found on goals in ditransitives, on experiencers, and on causees in causatives—demonstrates similar morphosyntactic behaviour in all of these constructions, in that it is retained under passivisation and is never optional. Yet, dative case in Hindi-Urdu resists characterisation as a functional head case due to the lack of an assigning head in the causative. Analysing the dative as a dependent case in Hindi-Urdu instead derives

its appearance in ditransitives, experiencers, causatives, and passives (of ditransitives and causatives) alike. Dative case in Hindi-Urdu being a dependent case solidifies Baker & Vinokurova (2010); Baker (2015)'s addition of dependent dative case to the typology of dative cases—where dative may be characterised as an inherent or structural head case (Zaenen et al. 1985; Chomsky 1986; Woolford 2006). The dependent case analysis of the Hindi-Urdu dative also lends support to the view that some dependent case rules allow a case competitor that has already been valued for case.

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