CASE STACKING IN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

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Abstract

The present work discusses the genitive-based 'case-stacking' phenomenon in Indo-Aryan languages. Indo-Aryan languages have a morphologically rich case system. Genitive case is one of the eight major case-forms present in the language. The present work focuses on one of the established morphological forms of genitive marker which are case-stacked with other case markers. In Eastern Indo-Aryan language Bangla, case-stacking is seen. For example:

*1. (tumi)   boi-gulo   ama-**der-ke**   da-o*

   (You.NOM) book-PL.ACC 1Pl-GEN-DAT give-IMP.HON

   '(You) give us the books.' Kolkata Bangla

In (1), the DP 'us' has two case forms, stacked together-the genitive affix -der, and the dative case affix -ke..

2. me-re-ku naya basta hona   I-GEN-DAT new bag want.Pres

   "I want a new bag." Dakkhini

In (2), we see genitive-dative case-stacking in western Indo-Aryan language Dakkhini.

Such constructions seem to be a problem vis-à-vis Chomsky's (2000) Minimalist construct because it claims that a DP becomes inactive after receiving a case (Activity condition). Thus, the existence of genitive and dative case suffixes together in Indo-Aryan languages seen above poses a problem.

In this paper, we explore this very problem. We ask the following question:

4. Do Indo-Aryan languages allow case stacking with genitive and accusative/dative? What does it imply about the general

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understanding of grammar in relation to the tenets of minimalist program?

To answer this, we claim that there are two types of genitive stacking seen in Indo-Aryan languages. One is related to lexicon and another to syntax.

Key Words: Case, Case-stacking, genitive, Indo-Aryan languages

Introduction

The present paper dissects the case stacking phenomenon (footnote: this paper concentrates on) in some Indo-Aryan languages/IA with focus on Bangla. Common case stacking constructions that are seen in IA involves the genitive and dative. For example, some DPs in Eastern Indo-Aryan languages/EIA such as Bangla exhibit stacking of case forms with morphologically marked genitive and morphologically marked dative/accusative case. For instance, see (1-2)

(1) (*tumi*)   *boi-gulo*   *ama-der-ke*   *da-o*

 (You.NOM) book-PL.ACC 1P-GEN.Pl-DAT give-IMP.HON

'(You) give us the books'

(2*) (tumi)*   *boi-gulo *ama-r-ke/ama-ke*   da-o*

  (You.NOM) book-PL.ACC P.Sg-GEN-DAT/1-DAT give-IMP.HON

  '(you) give me the books'

In (1), the DP *amaderke* has two case forms, stacked together. They are the genitive affix -der, and the dative case affix -ke coming together which are attached to the oblique pronominal form ama ('us').

Similarly, this can be seen in some languages in Western Indo-Aryan languages/WIA such as Dakkhini. For example:

(3) mere-ku   naya bag hona

   I-Gen-Dat new bag want

   'I want a new bag'

Explaining such data, where cases are assigned more than once becomes problematic. This is because most of the major theories in generative grammar, such as Government and Binding Theory (henceforth GB) and Dependency Theory of Case (henceforth DTC), although very different from each other, do not allow a DP to be case assigned twice. This drives our research problem where we probe into the following question:

(4)   Do IA languages such as Bangla really allow case stacking with genitive and accusative/dative? What does it imply about the general understanding of grammar in relation to the tenets of minimalist program?

When we analyse our data, we see that there are two types of genitive related stacking seen in IA languages. One is based on lexical semantics as seen in Dakkhini in (2). Here, another case-stacking phenomenon which is restricted to the genitive plural marker as seen in Bangla is related to DP internal structure.

Interestingly, when the indirect object ama-der-ke (1) changes from plural to singular amar-ke in (2), the structure becomes ungrammatical. It is grammatical, only when the indirect object loses the genitive marker. In turn, it loses the case-stacking feature and becomes ama-ke (2). Therefore, what appears to be evidence of case stacking in Bangla, is not really one. This claim gets support from the diachronic literature (Chatterjee 1926; 728, 730), which suggests that the origin of -der form is debatable.

We analyse the problem in hand via layered DP system vis-à-vis Ritter (1992) a.o. We contend that the NumP between the DP above and NP below blocks the genitive realization -der. Therefore -der in (1) is not genitive but an oblique plural. This claim is supported by the diachronic history of -der which shows that the marker is related to plural. This paper specifically looks at different types of genitive based case-stacking instances commonly found in Indo-Aryan languages. There are many South-East Asian languages such as Korean, and several Caucasian and Australian languages which show a high amount of case-stacking, are not discussed here because we concentrate on Indo-Aryan languages in this paper.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section 2 explains some significant proposals relating to the genitive assignment in the generative literature. Section 3 talks about case-stacking which introduces the empirical evidence regarding genitive use in EIA languages such as Bangla and WIA languages such as Dakkhini. Section 4 attempts an analysis of the phenomenon, both lexically and syntactically. Section discusses the origin of the genitive and dative forms, thereby throwing some light to the non-canonical usage of the genitive, i.e. genitive- accusative/ dative case-stacking with a sub-section on genitive over genitive case-stacking in Maithili. Section 6 concludes our study.

**Genitive case in generative literature**

This section describes the process of genitive case assignment via the generative lens. In the Government and Binding theory (henceforth GB), Chomsky (1981) proposes two important concepts relating to case. Firstly, the abstract or syntactic case is different from the morphological case. Abstract case is assigned to every overt DP in the narrow syntax. Morphological cases are just realizations of these abstract cases. They may or may not be null. Secondly, abstract cases are related to particular positions vis-a-vis government relations in the structure. These positions as described by Chomsky (1981:170) are:

(5)

"(i) NP is nominative if governed by AGR

(ii) NP is objective if governed by V with the subcategorization feature: - NP {i.e., transitive) (iii) NP is oblique if governed by P(iv) NP is genitive in [NP- X']

(v) NP is inherently Case-marked as determined by properties of its [-N] governor"

Chomsky (1981) considers (i-iv) as a structural or abstract case. (v), according to him, is an inherent case. Inherent cases are not assigned structurally or via government. As we see in (4), the genitive case is described as a structural case, assigned by N in a government relationship as seen below (6):

(6)
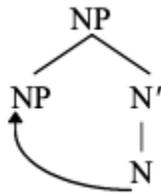
Chomsky (1986) describes the genitive case as an inherent case and relates it to theta role. Abney (1987) differentiated NP from DP. He related the assignment of the genitive to [Spec DP] as in (7):

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            DP
           /  \
         DP     D'
                / \
               D   NP
      the teacher's  AGR book
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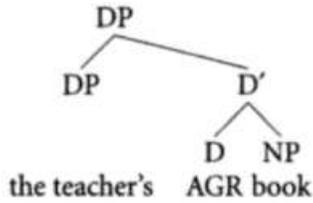
In later minimalist models (Chomsky, 2000 a.o.), case is no more related to government or particular structural positions. In relation to this, the valuation of the uninterpretable features of the functional heads of the lexicon in the computational space by the interpretable features of the DPs involved is called the universal operation Agree. Case is an epiphenomenon of Agree where the DPs are given case value as a side-effect of this operation. When the functional head T is involved in the operation Agree, nominative case is assigned to the DP. Similarly, when the functional head v is involved in the operation Agree, an accusative case is assigned. During the process of the assignment of the genitive, the functional head D agrees with the N and assigns genitive case.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are theories under the generative lens which dissociate the connection between abstract case and morphological case. In such theories only the morphological marker is considered. For instance, in the Dependent theory of case (Marantz, 1991 a.o.), the genitive is described as an unmarked case in the proposed case realization hierarchy as seen below.

(8) Case Realization Disjunctive Hierarchy

    a. Lexically governed

    b. 'Dependent' case (accusative and ergative)

    c. Unmarked case (environment-sensitive)

    d. Default case

The DPs in the proposed Case Realization Hierarchy of Marantz in the Dependent theory of case are assigned lexical case first and the dependent case is assigned consecutively. If a DP still remains without a case, it is assigned one of the unmarked cases which are nominative or genitive. In the perspective morphological case, genitive is often described as unmarked case. Genitive case behaves differently than other cases because it is primarily DP internal. However, it may not be true in Indo-

Iranian languages, where genitive-marked subjects are seen even in absence of possessor-possessee concepts. For example:

*(9) ama-r/*ami-∅ ∅-ke   bhalo lag-e.*

  I-Gen./*I-Nom. him/her-Acc. good feel-3P.Hab.

  'I like him/her'

  Kolkata Bangla

In (8), the 1st person subject is not morphologically unmarked nominative. It is marked with genitive morphology -r and does not participate in agreement.

Such 'polyfunctionality' of genitives is also in seen Old-Iranian where genitive is used for different functions, which are almost overlapping with the functions of dative (Haig, 2008). For example, in (9) the genitive 'mana' does ot give out any possessor possessee meaning.

(10)*ima dahyava   tya   mana   patiyaiša* (theseprovince:

      PL which 1S:GEN come:PST:3PL

'these (are) the provinces which came unto me' (Kent 1953: DB I,13,18)

Haig (2008) a.o. also claims that the genitive is the source of present ergative morphology in Indo- Iranian ergative languages. Therefore we see that genitives usually have extra 'functions' in this language family.

However, the case stacking constructions seen in (1-3) seems to be problematic because both minimalism and the dependent theory of case do not allow a single DP to be case-stacked. We will analyse our research problem regarding case stacking via minimalist assumptions where we will show that there are essentially two types of genitive related case-stacking found in Indo-Aryan languages. One of them is related to lexical properties of the verb used in the sentence. The second type is assigned via DP internal movement. -der has a special restriction that does not act as an exception to the Activity condition. The next section introduces the data and the research question in detail.

Case-Stacking

Case stacking is expressed in many terms, such as case doubling, suffixaufnahme etc. It is a linguistic phenomenon that is found cross-linguistically. As has been mentioned in (Asmann 2014;1), case stacking "refers to structures, where a DP is marked for

more than one case." The paper gives an example of a possessive construction, where a possessor DP not only bears its own genitive case marker but also bears the case marker (accusative) of the entire DP. Korean case-stacking properties has been described by many scholars including Levin (2016), Schutze (2001) a.o. For example:

(11) *na-eykey-ka paym-i*   *mwusepta*
   I-DAT-NOM snake-NOM fearful

    "I am afraid of snakes"

(12) *haksayng-tul-eykey-ka   ton-i   philyohata*
    student-Pl-DAT-NOM   money-NOM   need
    "The students need money"

     Korean (Schutze, 2001)

(11-12) presents dative-nominative stacking case stacking data in Korean where dative and nominative case markers are fused together with the DP. Schutze (2001) (see also Chung 2012) in reference to Korean claims that "appearance of multiple case morphemes on the same NP, does not exist". In other words, two case markings cannot come together in their usual sense. In case of Korean, the nominative marker acts as focus or discourse marker in a case stacking structure. Levin (2016) adopts dependent case approach where he claims that these two are indeed case markers in Korean, but the catch is "case calculation to re-apply upon the spell-out of every phase". The phases are Applicative phrase and CP. Jayseelan talks about case hierarchy in the line of nanosyntax where he claims that every case projects its head inside DP like (13)

(13)
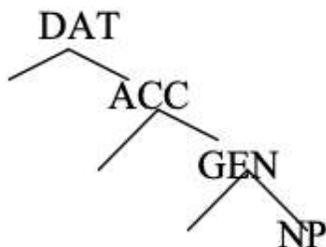
He shows that genitive and accusative/ dative are case-stacked when the DP moves from genitive. Morphology based movements decide what case markings will come with Nps/ DPs.

The empirical data in the current work focuses on genitive DPs as well. The next subsections show and explain case-stacking constructions in some EIA languages such as Bangla and WIA languages such as Dakkhini. But none of these theories explains why there is rampant genitive based case-stacking in Indo-Aryan languages. Additionally case stacked DPs never participates in agreement. These accounts do not explain this.

Now, the next subsections introduce the data of case-stacking both in EIA and WIA languages where we see instances of genitive related case-stacking.

Case-Stacking in EIA Languages

Before we go into the case-stacking data, let us get accustomed to the case forms of EIA languages. EIA languages are of purely nominative-accusative alignment. Morphologically marked genitive is seen in all the languages. Along with these, the accusative and dative markers are syncretic.

For instance, one of the EIA languages Standard Bangla presently has eight cases. The name of the case forms and their respective morphological markers are briefly schematised in the table below:

(14)

Case	Morphological Marker
Nominative	*Null*
Accusative	*-ke (in animates) / null (in inanimates)*
Dative	*-ke*
Locative	*-e/-te*
Genitive	*-er/-r (sg) and -der/-eder (pl)*
Instrumental	*d(w)ara/ diye (free morpheme)*

Morphological Case System of Standard Bangla

We can see in (14) that except for the nominative case, all the cases have respective morphological markings. The accusative and dative -ke markers show syncretism. One significant characteristic of Bangla genitives is that they agree in the number feature with the related NP. Look at (15-18) for the various canonical and non-canonical usages of Bangla genitives.

The instances of genitive cases are seen all over the new Indo-Aryan languages including Bangla. Primarily it is used to express the function of possessiveness. For example:

(15) *Eta   amar   boi*

This 1P.Sg-GEN book

   This is my book Bangla

 (16) *Eta amader   boi*

   This 1P.Pl-GEN book

   This is my book

    Bangla

In (11) and (12), the canonical assignment of genitive marker as possessive is seen. (11) has the singular genitive form -r and (12) has the plural genitive form -der. Nevertheless, the genitive markers in Bangla are used in other contexts too. One of the commonly seen non-canonical usage of Bangla genitive marker(s) is in case stacking constructions. For example:

(17) *rina   khelna-gulo   ta-der-ke   dilo*

   rina.NOM   toy-Pl.ACC   3P-GEN.Pl-DAT give.Pst.3P

    "Rina gave them the toys"

(18) *ami   toma-der-ke   kal bajar-e   dekhlam*

   1P.NOM 2P.-GEN.Pl-DAT yesterday market-LOC see.PstPerf.1P

   "I have seen you at the market yesterday"

In (17), we see the plural genitive marker case -der attached with the accusative/ dative marker -ke with the 3rd person pronominal. Similarly, the plural genitive marker case -der added to the accusative/ dative marker -ke with the 2nd person pronominal in (18). These are clear examples of genitive-accusative/ dative case-stacking.

To answer this, let us revisit the example (3) as (19) in New Bangla.

(19) (tumi)   boi-gulo   *ama-r-ke/ama-ke   da-o

   (You.NOM) book-PL.ACC 1P.Sg-GEN-DAT give-IMP.HON

   '(you) give me the books'

Interestingly, when the indirect object ama-der-ke (1) changes from plural to singular amar-ke in (3 and 19), the structure becomes ungrammatical. It is grammatical, only when the

indirect object loses the case-stacking feature and becomes ama-ke (19). The same happens for (17) and (18). The case-stacked DPs show no instance of case-stacking when the plural genitive is replaced by its singular counterpart -tomarke and -tarke respectively.

Such examples indicate that genitives and datives are not always stacked together in Bangla. This means that there are restrictions or constraints on this phenomenon. The stacking is seen only when the NP has a (genitive) plural form -der. We therefore claim that -der is not an exclusive genitive plural, rather a general oblique plural used in non-nominative contexts. The evidence of der not being simple genitive form is discussed in section 4.

Such case-stacking phenomena is also seen in another EIA language Odia. For example:

(20)   Se ama-ku/tuma-ku/ ta-ku phula dela

she.NOM   1P.Pl.GEN-DAT/2P.Pl.GEN-DAT/3P.Pl.GEN-DAT   flower   give. Pst

     "She gave us/you(pl/)/ them the flower"   Odia

(21) Se   mo-te phula dela

she.NOM 1P.Sg.GEN-DAT/ flower give.Pst

 "She gave me the flower"

Odia

In (20-21) we see case-stacking constructions in Odia where genitive and dative case markers are stacked.

Maithili, another EIA language shows genitive over genitive stacking. For example:

(22)   ham-ar-sab-ke   khana khatm bhau gelai
       We.GEN-Pl-GEN   food   finish   be.Inf   get.Pst
       "Our food is finished"

(23) ham-ar-sab-ke   pen hera   gelai

     We.GEN-Pl-GEN pen lose.Inf get.Pst

     "Our pen got lost"

In (22-23), we see genitive on genitive stacking where both genitives come on the same DP

 To summarise, we see two types of genitive related case stacking in EIA languages. One is genitive-dative stacking, another one is genitive over genitive stacking.

Case-Stacking in WIA Languages

WIA languages are of ergative-absolute alignment with internal variations (See Deo and Sharma, 2006 for a detailed discussion). Dakkhini is one of the WIA languages which show case-stacking. Dakkhini has morphologically marked cases except for the nominative. The genitive marker is -re and -ka. The dative/accusative marker is -ku. Dakkhini shows case stacking with genitive-dative in some constructions such as in (24). For example:

(24) me-re-ku naya basta hona

   I-GEN-DAT new bag want.Pres

    "I want a new bag"

    Dakkhini

In Dakkhini, genitive-dative/accusative case stacking is seen in (24) with the experiencer subject when the subject is first person, singular. The type which is seen in the EIA languages with ditransitive verbs is however missing here as seen in (25-26)

(25) ham-laan-ku/un-laan-ku   naya basta hona

    we-Pl-DAT/they-Pl-DAT new bag want.Pres

   "We/They want a new bag

(26) tumlogaan ham-laan-ku/un-laan-ku phulaan diye

   you.NOM we-Pl-DAT/they-Pl-DAT flower give.Pst

   "You gave us/them flowers"

    Dakkhini

(27) mere-ko naya bag chahiye

   I-GEN-DAT new bag want.Pres

  "I want a new bag"

  Bombay Hindi

A similar structure as (24) is seen in (27) for another WIA language Bombay Hindi where we also see the genitive-dative case stacked experiencer subject.

Such case-stacking constructions seem to be a problem vis-à-vis Chomsky's (2000) Minimalist construct because it claims that a DP becomes inactive after receiving a case (Activity condition). Thus, the existence of genitive and dative case suffixes together

in Bangla poses a problem. In this paper, we explore this very problem. To repeat, we ask the following specific question:

(28) Is the case stacking with genitive and accusative/dative in Bangla is truly an example of case-stacking in the grammar? What does such a phenomenon tell us about our understanding of grammar from a minimalist approach?

Proposal

The typology of case-stacking can be differentiated into two:

(i) genitive-dative subject marking

(ii) genitive-dative marking in themes

(iii) genitive-genitive case stacking

The first type of subject marking is a type of non-nominative subjects, one of the areal property of South-Asian languages. These are equivalent dative subjects of some WIA such as Hindi-Urdu etc. and genitive marked subjects in some EIA such as Bangla etc. For example:

(29) Raja-r   kolkata-e jonmo hoeche

   raja-Gen. kolkata-Loc. birth be.Pres.Perf.3P

   'Raja is born in Kolkata'

   Kolkata Bangla

(30) raamaku   mithaai   bhala laage

      Ram-DAT sweetmeat-NOM good feel-agr-Pres

      'Ram likes sweets.'

      Odia (Pattanayak, 2001)

(31) taara   tike   jara   heici

      he-GEN a little fever be-Perf-Pres

      He has a little fever

Odia (Pattanayak, 2001)

(32) koorii chu pan-uni booy pasand.

   girl.DAT   AUX.3SG.M   REFL-GEN.SG.M.NOM brother.NOM like

   'The girl likes her brother.'
   Kashmiri (Bickel, 2004)

(33) malā-ī bhut saṅga ḍar lāg-yo.

1SG.DAT ghost with fear perceptible-PT.3SG.M

'I was afraid of the ghost.'

Nepali (Bickel. 2004)

(34) moohan-koo apnee/us-keei maaN-baap-kii yaad aa-ii

Mohan.MS-DAT self 's/3s-GEN mother-father-GEN

memory. FScome-PF.FS

'Mohani remembered self 's/his parents.'

Hindi-Urdu (Davison, 2004)

Therefore from the evidence (29-34), we see that dative and genitive marked subjects experiencer subjects are a common feature of Indo-Aryan languages. Departing from such examples, we claim that the case-stacked subjects seen in Bombay Hindi and Dakkhini are the manifestation of the experiencer subject. In Bangla, it is represented by genitive morphology as seen in (29). Dasgupta (2004) explained this phenomenon in terms of syncretism.According to Dasgupta, genitive and dative have syncretism in their morphology in Bangla. The sentence constructions with experiential predicates behave similarly to the dative constructions in other languages like Hindi. It is only that the dative and genitive uses the same morphology in such cases in Bangla. He further goes on to propose "Indirect Case" to neutralise genitive vs. dative distinction. He claims, "...that have long been regarded as Genitive forms actually instantiate, not a Genitive proper, but rather an underspecified Case here termed the Indirect. There are no Genitives in this language, but only Indirect Case forms which syntactically play a possessor role and an experiencer role without varying their morphological Case. These nouns are in the Indirect Case throughout." (p.131).

In Odia, both genitive and dative morphology can be used in different contexts as can be seen in (30) and (31) respectively. They do not have case-stacked subjects. Dative marked subjects are also seen in Nepali, Kashmiri, Hindi-Urdu etc as seen above in (32-34). Similarly, in Dakkhini, some experiencer subjects are expressed by such case-stacked expressions. One reason might be the prolonged contact with Dravidian languages. Subbarao (1984) a.o. shows that Dravidian languages often use dative to show possession. Due to this Dakkhini shows "degenitivization" and replace it with dativization. For example:

(35) kutte ku cār pā~vā~ raite

dog.obl gen.pl four legs are

'A dog has four legs.'

Dakkhini (Subbarao, 2014)

(36) us ke pās bahut paisā hai

he.obl near a lot of money is

'He has a lot of money.'

Hindi-Urdu (Subbarao, 2014)

Therefore, we see genitive in Hindi-Urdu is replaced with dative in Dakkhini. In connection to this, the co-occurrence of the case-stacked subjects is seen in Dakkhini. Interestingly, this case-stacking is only seen in first and second person singular subjects. For example:

(37) tumaareku   naya basta hona

you-GEN-DAT new bag want.Pres

"You want a new bag"

(38) unku   naya basta hona

he/she-DAT new bag want.Pres

"I want a new bag"

(29) and (25) both show case-stacking unlike (19-20) and (38). (38) only has the dative marking. Departing from such evidence, we claim genitive -dative subject experience subjects are overtly different suffix but underlyingly they are fused together to mark the non-nominative subjects in such languages. In other words, both these are not case-stacked. Dakkhini is slowly losing its genitives and datives are replacing them. Evidence can be seen in (30) and (22), where only the dative is seen.

Similar conclusions have been discussed in Wali, Koul and Kaul (2002) where they claim that case-doubling are not morphological exponents of the structural case, but the dative-ablative marker is theta marker. Kashmiri, a Dardic language of South Asia show case-stacking (add foot-note) with genitive and dative. For example:

(39) ladk-i-sind-is doost-as

boy-DAT-hund-Msg-DAT friend-Msg-DAT

"To the boy's friend"

(40) bad'-an   kar'-an-hund   vazan

big-DAT-pl bangles-DAT-pl-POSS-Msg weight-Msg

"The weight of the bangles"

(41) ladk-i-sind   doost-an   par kitaab

 boy-Msg-DAT-POSS-Msg-ERG   friend-Msg-ERG   read   book
    "The friend of the boy read the book"

In (39) we see genitive -dative case stacking and in (41), we see triple case-stacking with ergative. Wali, Koul and Kaul (2002) claim that sind and other varieties of possessive (hund etc.) mark the theta. In their words, they are not genitive markers, but are "carrier of a theta role". The ergative case in (39) is concordial with respect to head of the DP 'friend'. It is not a ergative case value on 'boy' but on 'friend'. Now we move to genitive related case-stacking seen in EIA languages.

In case of EIA, there are both genitive-dative marking and genitive-genitive marking (especially in Maithili)

The relation between genitive and the number (functional head NumP) is close indeed. Such pieces of evidence are plenty in the generative literature (Ritter, 1992; Valois, 1991). Ritter (1992) highlights that there is a functional head between DP and NP. Therefore it implies that the DP layer is layered. The functional head that comes between them is NumP as seen below in Ritter (1992).

(42)
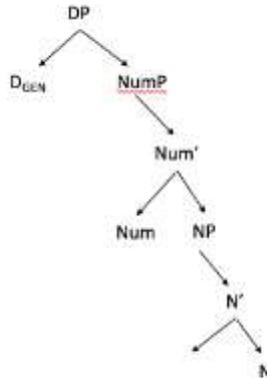
Such structures of layered DP in Bangla is also suggested by Bhattacharya (2000). The functional projection that he proposes which stands in between DP and NP is QP, "based on the position of the Q/Num + Classifier complex in the DP" (ibid). See the structure below in (43):

(43)
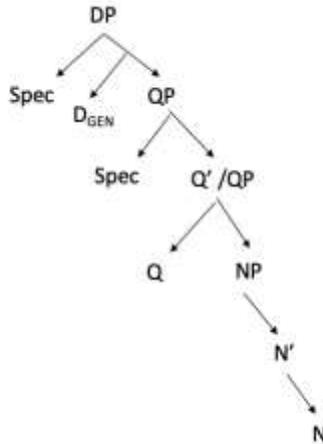
Departing from such evidence of the presence of NumP in DP, we contend that -der in (1), (17) and (18) is not genitive at all. By this, we mean the NP does not move to the [Spec DP] for genitive assignment in these types of non-canonical constructions. They stop at [Spec NumP/QP]. The purely oblique DPs are related to v and need an accusative/ dative case via Agree with v. This apparent case-stacking only happens in case of the plural -der-, not other plurals, such as -ra- or -gulo, that are found in New Bangla. The reasons are explained in section 4.1 where we explained the peculiarities of the genitive plural marker -der. The diachronic evolution of -der is seen to be debatable.

Diachronic Approach to -der Marker for Genitive

It is interesting to note that the original OIA genitive plural marker -ānām > -n̩ă, -nă, was found in early MB period. The -der marker is therefore a recent development and is found in NB.period. Chatterjee (ibid.) has proposed that this is an oblique plural form that came into popular use in the 15th century. It has evolved from the second MB. word adi which means 'of the like' 'others'. The -a of adi came to be linked with the preceding word, and gradually -di, -d alone had the force of an affix: e.g. pakhi-d-era 'of birds', goru-d-era 'of cows'.

The -d-/ -digå itself is not particularly a genitive plural. This is an affix which can be postpositioned with any of the non-nominative cases in Bangla. Let us look at some of the forms below:

(i) Accusative/Dative: Mānuṣ-digå-ke, mānuṣ-di-ke, mānuṣ-dig-e, mānuṣ-dig(å)-ke ' to men/humans'

(ii) Instrumental: mānuṣ-digå-dwara, mānuṣ-der diye/dwara (with) etc. 'with men/ humans'

(iii) Ablative: mānuṣ-digå/mānuṣ-di theke (from) 'from men/humans'

(iv) Genitive: mānuṣ(er)-diger, mānuṣ-e-der, mānuṣ-der, 'of men/humans'

(v) Locative: mānuṣ-digå-te, mānuṣ-digår-ete, mānuṣ-der-te, mānuṣ-dige-te 1

Thus, -der form is the combination of the oblique plural affix -d, -di and genitive marker -er.

This is an indication that genitive marker in itself does not allow case stacking (*ama-r-ke), but the presence of the oblique plural -d/di with the genitive, makes a conducive environment for case stacking with dative (ama-d-er-ke). The next section discusses how the -der marker helps in syntactic construction of structures that appear to be case-stacking structures on the surface.

This analysis further entails a minor question- whether der is syncretic in nature, i.e. whether -der has separate lexical entry in the lexicon with two different feature sets. We propose that -der has only one lexical entry with the feature set [+PL]. During numeration, when this marker gets selected in non-oblique DPs or genitive DPs, -der is "genitivised" in [Spec DP]. Else in oblique DPs, the movement is blocked in the intermediate NumP and the marker -der simply acts as an oblique plural.

Conclusion

This paper suggests that the prima-facie evidence of case-stacking in Bangla is not case-stacking at all. The morphological markers of the two cases -genitive and dative when attached to DPs form this illusion of case-stacking. The primary reason behind this apparent case-stacking phenomenon is seen when the movement of the particular NP is blocked in NumP and cannot agree with DP in the contexts of purely oblique DP structures. The functional category NumP agrees with the -der marker. In such conditions, the -der only acts as an oblique plural and does

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1 Chatterjee (1926) notes thatthis marker is uncommon for the locative: the Standard Colloquial would prefer the form *mānuṣ-guli-te/gula-te etc*

not show characteristics of genitive case. To become a genitive DP, this morphological marking must agree with D under minimalist premise or move to [Spec, DP] under GB. Additionally, the affix -der has a questionable evolutionary history which gives rise to such case-stacking constructions in the language. Thus, the above evidence shows that Bangla DPs do not allow stacking of more than one case, thereby conforming to the tenets of Minimalism.

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