Case and Agreement in Hindi-Urdu and Nepali
Prepare for discussion in class on February 5

Problem 1: Hindi-Urdu Case and Agreement

The following examples are from Hindi-Urdu. There are a couple of things to notice about these sentences. First, note that both the verb and auxiliaries (if present) can show agreement. Second, notice that some words contain the suffix *-ne* (glossed simply as X in the examples).

Task 1: Based only on the examples in (1) below, write a basic phrase structure grammar (or equivalent) to account for word order in Hindi-Urdu. Draw a tree for the sentence in (1h) to demonstrate how your grammar can account for this sentence.

Task 2: Come up with a generalization about when the suffix *-ne* occurs.

Task 3: Determine what features the verb (and auxiliary) agrees in. State a generalization about which noun phrase the verb agrees with.

(1)   a. siitaa   aayii
          Sita.FEM came.PERF.FEM
          'Sita came.'

      b. raam   giraa   thaa
          Ram.MASC fall.PERF.MASC be.PAST.MASC
          'Ram had fallen.'

      c. raam-ne   kelaa   khaayaa
          Ram.MASC-X banana.MASC eat.PERF.MASC
          'Ram ate a banana.'

      d. ilaa-ne   roTii   uthaaii
          Ila.FEM-X bread.FEM lift.PERF.FEM
          'Ila picked up the bread.'

      e. laRkiyaam   chiiMktiiM   thiim
          girl.FEM.PL sneeze.IMPERF.FEM.PL be.PAST.FEM.PL
          'The girls (habitually) sneeze.'

      f. siitaa-ne   laRkaa   dekhaa
          Sita.FEM-X boy.MASC see.PERF.MASC
          'Sita saw the boy.'

      g. raam   baazaar   gayaa
          Ram.MASC market.MASC go.PERF.MASC
          'Ram went to the market'.

      h. raam-ne   roTii   khaayii   thii
          Ram.MASC-X bread.FEM eat.PERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
          'Ram had eaten bread.'

      i. baccoN-ne   siitaa-ko   dekhaa   thaa
          children.MASC-X Sita.FEM-DAT see.PERF.MASC be.PAST.MASC
          'The children had seen Sita.'

      j. siitaa   girii   thii
        Sita.FEM fall.PERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM

        'Sita had fallen.'

      k. raam-ne   roTii   khaayii
        Ram.MASC-X bread.FEM eat.PERF.FEM

        'Ram ate bread.'

      l. ilaa-ne   haar   uthaayaa
        Ila.FEM-X necklace.MASC lift.PERF.MASC

        'Ila lifted a necklace.'

      m. siitaa-ne   laRkii-ko   dekhaa
        Sita.FEM-X girl.FEM-DAT see.PERF.MASC

        'Sita saw the girl.'

Task 4: Now, consider the examples in (2). Do you need to refine your characterization of the distribution of the morpheme *-ne*? Do you need to adapt your generalizations about agreement?

  (2) a. raam   roTii   khaataa   thaa
        Ram.MASC bread.FEM eat.IMPERF.MASC be.PAST.MASC

        'Ram (habitually) ate bread.'

      b. siitaa   kelaa   khaatii   thii
        Sita.FEM banana.MASC eat.IMPERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM

        'Sita (habitually) ate bananas.'

      c. raam   roTii   khaataa   rahtaa
        Ram.MASC bread.FEM eat.IMPERF.MASC PROG.IMPERF.MASC
        thaa
        be.PAST.MASC

        'Ram used to keep on eating bread.'

Task 5: Consider the examples in (3). Do you need to further refine your characterization of *-ne*? What about your generalizations about agreement?

  (3) a. raam-ne   jorse cillaayaa
        Ram.MASC-X loudly shout.PERF.MASC

        'Ram shouted loudly.'

      b. laRkiyoM-ne chiiMkaa   thaa
        girl.FEM.PL-X sneeze.PERF.MASC be.PAST.MASC

        'The girls had sneezed.'

      c. kuttoN-ne   bhoNkaa
        dogs.MASC-X bark.PERF.MASC

        'The dogs barked.'

      d. raam-ne   nahaayaa
        Ram.MASC-X bathe.PERF.MASC

        'Ram bathed.'

Task 6: Finally, look at the additional examples in (4). How does this data fit with the previous generalizations you made about *-ne* and agreement? Do you need to refine these generalizations? If so, how?

(4)   a.   siitaa-ko   larke   pasande   the
           Sita.FEM-DAT boys.MASC like.PERF.MASC.PL be.PAST.MASC.PL
           'Sita had liked the boys.'

      b.   siitaa-ko   gussaa   aayaa   thaa
           Sita.FEM-DAT anger.MASC come.PERF.MASC be.PAST.MASC
           'Sita has gotten angry.' [Literally: 'Sita has come to anger.']

      c.   niinaa-ko   ravii-se   roTii   dii   gayii
           Nina.FEM-DAT Ravi.MASC-INSTR bread.FEM give.PERF.FEM go.PERF.FEM
           'Nina was given bread by Ravi.'

Problem 2: Nepali Case and Agreement

The following data are from Nepali. Notice that Nepali verbs show agreement. Also notice that some words in Nepali appear with the suffix *-le* (glossed X). Finally, note that $\emptyset$ indicates a phonologically null argument in the examples below.

Task 1: Write a basic phrase structure grammar (or equivalent) to account for Nepali word order, based on the examples in (5). Draw a tree for the sentence in (5b).

Task 2: Keeping in mind your observations about Hindi-Urdu *-ne*, come up with a generalization about the distribution of the Nepali *-le* suffix.

Task 3: Determine what features the Nepali verb agrees in. State a generalization about which noun phrase the verb agrees with.

(5)   a.   ma bas-en
           I   sit-PERF.1SG
           'I sat.'

      b.   mai-le mero lugā   dho-en
           I-X   my   clothes wash-PERF.1SG
           'I washed my clothes.'

      c.   hijo   us-le timī-lāī   bajār-mā   dekh-yo
           yesterday he-X you.HON-DAT market-LOC see-PERF.3SG.MASC
           'Yesterday he saw you at the market.'

      d.   ma ṭhagīen
           I   cheat.PASS.PERF.1SG
           'I was cheated.'

      e.   hasan   gayo
           Hassan.MASC go.PERF.3SG.MASC
           'Hassan went.'

      f.   mai-le Hindī paḍhna   lāgen
           I-X   Hindi study.INF take.up.PERF.1SG
           'I took up studying Hindi.'

g. ma yatā   tiara   lāgen
   I   this.side towards take.up.PERF.1SG

   'I took this way.'

h. ma ays   pasal-mā patrikā   kinchu
   I   DEM.OBL store-LOC newspaper buy.PRES.1SG

   'I buy the newspaper in this store.'

i. rām   āyo   ra sabai-le ∅   piṭ-na
   Ram.MASC come.PERF.3SG.MASC and all-X   3SG.MASC hit-INF
   lāge
   begin.PERF.3PL

   'Ram came and everybody started to hit him.'

j. mai-le gilas phyānken   ra ∅   phuṭyo
   I-X   glass throw.PERF.1SG and 3SG.MASC break.PERF.3SG.MASC

   'I threw the glass and it broke.'

k. mai-le ays   pasal-mā patrikā   kinen
   I-X   DEM.OBL store-LOC newspaper buy.PERF.1SG

   'I bought the newspaper in this store.'

l. rām-le   dheri natsekocha
   Ram.MASC-X much dance.PERF.PRES.3SG.MASC

   'Ram has danced a lot.'

m. rām   angreji boldacha
   Ram.MASC English speak.IMPERF.PRES.3SG.MASC

   'Ram will speak English.'

Task 4: Examine the additional data in (6). Base on this data, do you need to modify your characterization of -le or verbal agreement in Nepali? If so, how?

(6) a. ma-lāī timī   man parchau
        I-DAT you.HON liking occur.PRES.2HON

        'I like you.'

     b. ma-lāī ṭhagīyo
        I-DAT cheat.PASS.PERF.3SG.MASC

        'I got cheated.'