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
   Ilaa.FEM-X bread.FEM lift.PERF.FEM
   ‘Ila picked up the bread.’

e. laRkiyaam chi%MktiiM 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 thi
   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
   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-INST 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 ∅ 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 thagien 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 lägen
   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 Ø piṭ-na
   Ram.MASC come.PERF.3SG.MASC and all-X 3SG.MASC hit-INF
   läge
   begin.PERF.3PL
   ‘Ram came and everybody started to hit him.’

j. mai-le gilas phyānken ra Ø phutyo
   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 natsekochā
   Ram.MASC-X much dance.PERF.PRES.3SG.MASC
   ‘Ram has danced a lot.’

m. rām angreji boldachā
   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-lāi timī man parchau
   I-DAT you.HON liking occur.PRES.2HON
   ‘I like you.’

b. ma-lāi ṭhagīyo
   I-DAT cheat.PASS.PERF.3SG.MASC
   ‘I got cheated.’