# Hindi-Urdu Case, p. 1

Data drawn from several published sources, and from Tara Mohanan (personal communication).

In this assignment, you will consider Case marking in Hindi(-Urdu). Case in Hindi is marked by particles (clitics) which follow the NP. Note the Case clitics on the subjects in each of the following sentences. [NOTE: Some nouns in Hindi have a different morphological form when they are marked by a Case clitic than when they are not.]

(1)    a.     Ravii kelaa  kʰaa rahaa tʰaa.            Case marking : ∅
                 Ravi banana eat  PROG  be.PST
                 'Ravi was eating a banana.'

         b.     Ravii ne kelaa  kʰaayaa.                  Case marking: *ne*
                 Ravi NE banana eat.PERF
                 'Ravi ate the banana.'

         c.     Ravii ko kelaa   kʰaanaa tʰaa.            Case marking: *ko*
                 Ravi KO banana eat.INF  be.PST
                 'Ravi was obliged to / needed to eat the banana.'

         d.     Ravii se kelaa   kʰaayaa nahĩĩ gayaa.        Case marking: *se*
                 Ravi SE banana eat.PERF not  go.PERF
                 'Ravi couldn't eat the banana.'

         e.     Ravii ke  caar bacce    tʰe.                Case marking: *ke*
                 Ravi KE four children be.PST
                 'Ravi had four children.'

         f.     Ravii mẽ  bilkul dayaa  nahĩĩ tʰii.           Case marking: *mẽ*
                 Ravi MẼ at.all  mercy  not  be.PST
                 'Ravi had no mercy at all.'

We will only look at the first three of these. The other Case markings are Instrumental (*se*), Genitive (*ke*), and Locative (*mẽ* and others).

**NE**
A.
Consider the following contrast between subjects marked with *ne* and subjects marked with ∅.

(2)    *ne* subjects
         a.     Ravii ne kelaa    kʰaayaa.
                 Ravi NE banana  eat.PERF
                 'Ravi ate the banana.'
                 (= 1b)

         b.     Raam ne šiišaa   toḍaa.
                 Ram  NE mirror  break.PERF
                 'Ram broke the mirror.'

# Hindi-Urdu Case, p. 2

(3)     Ø subjects
    a.      Raam  giraa.
            Ram    fall.PERF
            'Ram fell.'
    b.      Raam  joor-se cillaayaa.
            Ram    loudly  shout.PERF
            'Ram shouted loudly.'

Data of this kind are generally taken to be representative of the distribution of these two Cases in Hindi. How would you characterize the distribution of *ne* subjects? Of Ø subjects? What would be an appropriate name for the *ne* Case?

B.
Contrast the following. What additional factor conditions the appearance of *ne*? Given what we know about ergative Case, is this expected? Explain.

(4)     a.      Raam ne  Ravii ko  piiṭaa.
                Ram   NE  Ravi  KO  beat.PERF
                'Ram beat Ravi.'
        b.      Raam ne  Ravii ko  piiṭaa       hai.
                Ram   NE  Ravi  KO  beat.PERF  be.PRES
                'Ram has beaten Ravi.'
(5)     a.      Raam  Ravii ko  piiṭtaa        hai.
                Ram    Ravi  KO  beat.IMPERF  be.PRES
                'Ram beats Ravi.'
        b.      Raam  Ravii ko  piiṭegaa.
                Ram    Ravi  KO  beat.FUT
                'Ram will beat Ravi.'

C.
Now consider the following data:

(6)     a.      Raam ne  jor-se cillaayaa.
                Ram   NE  loudly shout.PERF
                'Ram (intentionally) shouted loudly.'
        b.      Raam ne    jaanaa      ki  Siitaa bahut bimaar hai.
                Ram   NE    know.PERF  that Sita   very  ill     be.PRES
                'Ram found out that Sita was very ill.'
        c.      Ravii davaaii   pii     gayaa.
                Ravi  medicine  drink  go.PERF
                'Ravi (impulsively) drank up the medicine.'

# Hindi-Urdu Case, p. 3

The examples in this section should contradict your observations in section A concerning the distribution of *ne* Case and Ø Case. How would you characterize the distribution of these two Cases in light of the new data? Are the data in this section expected based on your conclusions in section A as to the identity of the *ne* Case? Why or why not?

**KO**

D.
The textbook glosses *ko* as accusative Case (on p. 133), but other studies of Hindi have identified it as dative. Which identification do the following examples support?

(7)    a.    Ilaa ne ek bacce ko uṭʰaayaa.
            Ila  NE  one child  KO  lift.PERF
            'Ila lifted a child.'
        b.    Ilaa ne ek haar     uṭʰaayaa.
            Ila  NE  one necklace lift.PERF
            'Ila lifted a necklace.'

(8)    a.    Ilaa ne bacce ko uṭʰaayaa.               (*ko* is obligatory here)
            Ila  NE  child KO lift.PERF
            'Ila lifted the/a child.'
        b.    Ilaa ne haar     uṭʰaayaa.
            Ila  NE  necklace lift.PERF
            'Ila lifted a/the necklace.'
        c.    Ilaa ne haar    ko uṭʰaayaa.
            Ila  NE  necklace KO lift.PERF
            'Ila lifted the/*a necklace.'

(9)    a.    Raam ne kutte ko becaa.
            Ram  NE  dog  KO  sell.PERF
            'Ram sold the/*a dog.'
        b.    Raam ne kuttaa becaa.
            Ram  NE  dog    sell.PERF
            'Ram sold the/a dog.'

(10)   a.    Raam Anil ko uṭʰaaegaa.
            Ram  Anil  KO  carry.FUT
            'Ram will carry Anil.'
        b.    Anil uṭʰaayaa    jaaegaa.
            Anil  carry.PERF  go.FUT
            'Anil will be carried.'

Explain your answer.

# Hindi-Urdu Case, p. 4

E.
Now consider *ko* in the following examples.

(11)  a.     Raam ne  kutte ko   kʰaanaa diyaa.
           Ram   NE dog  KO   food      give.PERF
           'Ram gave food to the/a dog.'
     b.     *Raam  ne  kuttaa kʰaanaa diyaa.
           Ram   NE dog    food     give.PERF
           'Ram gave food to the/a dog.'
     c.     Raam  se kutte ko  kʰaana diyaa       gayaa.
           Ram   by dog  KO  food     give.PERF  go.PERF
           'The dog was given food by Ram.'

(12)  a.     Raam ne Anil ko  haar        bʰejaa.
           Ram   NE Anil KO  necklace send.PERF
           'Ram sent Anil a/the necklace.'
     b.     Anil  ko  haar         bʰejaa      gayaa.
           Anil  KO  necklace send.PERF  go.PERF
           'The necklace was sent to Anil.'

Is this the same use of *ko* (i.e. accusative or dative) as in D? If yes, show how. If not, explain and propose an analysis.

F.
*Ko* can also mark subjects. There is such a sentence in (1c) on p. 1, and additional examples below. (It can be shown that these are all subjects, but the data will not be presented here.)

(13)  a.     Tuṣaar ko   caand dikʰaa.
           Tushar KO   moon  become.visible.PERF
           'Tushar saw the moon.'
     b.     Tuṣaar ko   kitaab milii.
           Tushar KO   book   receive.PERF
           'Tushar received a book.'
     c.     Tuṣaar ko kʰušii       huii.
           Tushar KO happiness happen.PERF
           'Tushar became happy.'
     d.     Tuṣaar  ko miṭʰaaii kʰaanii hai.
           Tushar  KO sweets     eat.INF  be.PRES
           'Tushar wants to eat sweets.' / 'Tushar has the urge to eat sweets.'

What is your analysis of *ko* as a subject-marking Case: accusative or dative?

# Hindi-Urdu Case, p. 5

**Ø**

G.

We see in the above that subjects and objects can sometimes be marked with an overt Case (in the regular case, *ne* for subjects and *ko* for objects), and sometimes left unmarked. There are two ways one could analyze such a situation.

①       There is a mismatch (discrepancy) between the syntax and the morphology. In the syntax, all (regularly-marked) subjects are marked with *ne* Case and all direct objects with *ko* Case. But this syntactically relevant Case is "abstract Case": in the morphological realization, *ne* Case is realized as /ne/ for some nouns and unpronounced for others; similarly, *ko* Case is realized as /ko/ for some nouns and unpronounced for others. As far as the syntactic Case-marking rules are concerned, there is no separate Ø Case.

②       The morphology faithfully reflects the syntactic situation: some subjects are syntactically marked with *ne* Case and others are not, some objects are syntactically marked with *ko* Case and others are not. Ø is the unmarked Case, which we could call either nominative or absolutive. (In analyses of Hindi that adopt this view, the name "nominative" is usually used for the unmarked Case.) Under this analysis, there is a **syntactic** difference between NPs with overt Case and those without overt Case.

In this context, consider the verb agreement pattern in Hindi, exemplified in (13)–(16). (Note: Despite what you may think, there are no typos in these examples.)

(14)    a.      Ravii     kelaa       kʰaaegaa.
             Ravi(M)   banana(M)   eat.FUT.MSG
             'Ravi will eat a banana.'

         b.      Ravii     roṭii       kʰaaegaa.
             Ravi(M)   bread(F)   eat.FUT.MSG
             'Ravi will eat bread.'

         c.      Niinaa   roṭii       kʰaaegii.
             Nina(F)   bread(F)   eat.FUT.FSG
             'Nina will eat bread.'

         d.      Niinaa   kelaa       kʰaaegii.
             Nina(F)   banana(M)   eat.FUT.FSG
             'Nina will eat a banana.'

(15)    a.      Ravii      baalak   ko   uṭʰaaegaa.
             Ravi(M)   boy(M)   KO   lift.FUT.MSG
             'Ravi will lift up the boy.'

         b.      Ravii      baalikaa   ko   uṭʰaaegaa.
             Ravi(M)   girl(F)    KO   lift.FUT.MSG
             'Ravi will lift up the girl.'

# Hindi-Urdu Case, p. 6

c.  Niinaa  baalikaa ko  uṭʰaaegii.
Nina(F) girl(F)   KO  lift.FUT.FSG
'Nina will lift up the girl.'

d.  Niinaa  baalak  ko  uṭʰaaegii.
Nina(F) boy(M) KO  lift.FUT.FSG
'Nina will lift up the boy.'

(16) a.  Ravii     ne kelaa        kʰaayaa.
Ravi(M)  NE  banana(M) eat.PERF.MSG
'Ravi ate a banana.'

b.  Ravii     ne  roṭii      kʰaayii.
Ravi(M)  NE   bread(F) eat.PERF.FSG
'Ravi ate bread.'

c.  Niinaa    ne  roṭii      kʰaayii.
Nina(F)  NE   bread(F) eat.PERF.FSG
'Nina ate bread.'

d  Niinaa    ne  kelaa        kʰaayaa.
Nina(F)  NE  banana(M) eat.PERF.MSG
'Nina ate a banana.'

(17) a.  Ravii     ne  baalak  ko  uṭʰaayaa.
Ravi(M)  NE  boy(M) KO  lift.PERF.MSG
'Ravi lifted up the boy.'

b.  Ravii     ne  baalikaa ko  uṭʰaayaa.
Ravi(M)  NE  girl(F)   KO  lift.PERF.MSG
'Ravi lifted up the girl.'

c.  Niina     ne  baalikaa ko  uṭʰaayaa.
Nina(F)  NE  girl(F)   KO  lift.PERF.MSG
'Nina lifted up the girl.'

d.  Niinaa    ne  baalak  ko  uṭʰaayaa.
Nina(F)  NE  boy(M) KO  lift.PERF.MSG
'Nina lifted up the boy.'

What is the agreement rule in Hindi-Urdu? Does this help us decide between ① and ②? What do other data on this handout and what you know about Case typology tell us about ① vs. ②?