AGREEMENT IN HINDI-URDU

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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I DEDICATE THIS DISSERTATION TO
ALL, WHO ARE NEAR AND DEAR TO MY HEART

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CERTIFICATE

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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "**AGREEMENT IN HINDI-URDU**" submitted by **Pradeep Kumar Das** in partial fulfilment of the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma of any University. This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**.

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(Pradeep Kumar Das)

CONTENTS

Page No.

PHONEMIC TRASCRIPTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

a ----------ə

a: ----------a

i ----------i

i: ----------I

u ----------u

u: ----------U

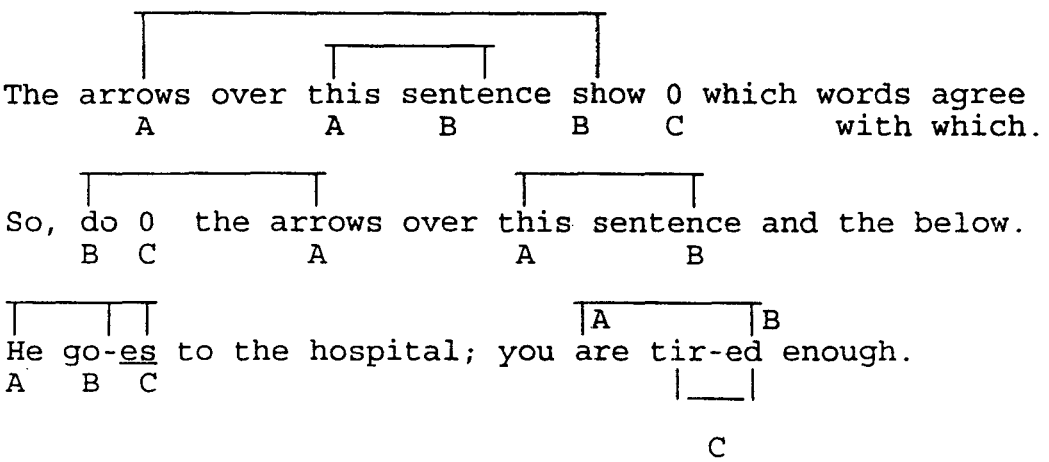
E ----------ɛ

O: ----------O

Nom -------- Nominative case
Erg ---------Ergative case
Acc ---------Accusative case
Inst --------Instrumental case
Dat ---------Dative case
Gen ---------Genitive case
Loc ---------Locative case
Abl ---------Ablative case
Poss --------Possessive case
Obl ---------Oblique case
Imp ---------Imperfective aspect
Asp ---------Aspect
perf --------Perfective aspect
Inf ---------Infinitive
cont --------Continuous aspect(progressive)
pres --------Present tense
past --------Past tense
fut ---------Future tense
defl --------Default form of agreement
MS ---------Masculine singular
FS ---------Feminine singular
MP ---------Masculine plural
FP ---------Feminine plural

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of grammatical agreement or concord by which a grammatical constituent `*A*' is said to agree with another constituent `*B*' in property `*C*' within some grammatical configuration is widespread in human languages. In fact, agreement is the first & foremost device which we need to analyse or learn a language. As we know that after the identification of sounds of a language, we need their arrangement to comprehend *words, phrases, compounds and clauses*. After these components are identified, we need the higher string which is a sentence. We cannot construct a sentence by putting together different words till we are well equipped with the notion of grammatical agreement of that language. So, in metaphoric term we can say that ` *the agreement is the heart of the language whose healthy function is as important as that of a human body which play a crucial role in keeping the human being alive*'. For example:



These examples provide support to the foresaid statement about agreement. In examples (1&2), the direction of different arrows show agreement amongst various words in example (3) but even at the time of giving the direction of the arrows, the sentences have the agreement between their words. So, what conclusion we arrive at, is that we cannot construct a single sentence of any language without the clear understanding of `*agreement phenomenon*'.
If this is the case then the `*agreement phenomenon*' must somehow be accommodated in a full scale of grammatical theory.

The text books on traditional grammar, while describing the `*agreement phenomenon*' provide typical examples like, the adjectives agree with head nouns in gender, number and case and the verbs agree with subjects in person and number. The examples are generally cited from Latin or other highly inflected European languages such as French, Old English etc. This kind of description of agreement is very much evident in Bloomfield (1933: 191-194) Jesperson (1922: 335-336, 348-55) and in Lyons (1968: 239-65).

But with the advent of Moravcsik's "Agreement" (1978), research in this area took a different turn. A number of researches since then have led to an increased possibility of giving a general account of agreement.

First, works on typology and universals have revealed the generalization about agreement. A comprehensive survey

of types of agreement, such as that given in Moravcsik (1978) and Lehman (1982), Corbett (1979), Chafe (1984) and Lapointe (1980), reveals the extend and limitations of the diversity of the standard constructions.

Another related area of research on agreement comes from a functional perspective on language phenomenon such as in Givon (1984). Papers in this volume have a functional flavor. The paper of Lehman, in particular, gives a functional account in the sense that he presents an explanation as to what agreement is in terms of a communicative perspective.

After this, interest in agreement has arisen from the work within particular grammatical theories. All the major formal theories have regarded agreement as a part of the language which have led to the accounts of agreement, couched in terms of specific grammatical frameworks. Research in this area can be loosely grouped under the following theoretical perspective:

1) Extended Standard Theory and Government Binding Theory: Chomsky (1981,1982) Chung and Geongopoulos (1982,1985).

2) Lexical-Functional Grammar: Kaplan & Bresnan (1982), Bresnan and Mchombo (1986), Fassi Fehri (1981).

3) Relational Grammar: Perlmutter (1983) Aissen (1987).

4) Generalized Phrase-Structure Grammar & Categorial Grammar: Sag and Klein (1982) Cann (1984) Pulum (1985) Zwoclub (1986), Steele (1981) Timberlake (1985 a:b).

In addition to these approaches to agreement, there are other fields of linguistics that have contributed to re-

search on agreement in historical linguistics such as by Givon (1979), Greenberg (1978), Naro (1981), Marchese (1975, 1978,1979:b,1982). Apart from historical linguistics searches on agreement also took place in language acquisition due to these approaches such as by Karmiloff-Smith (1978), Demuth (1986), and sociolinguistic research such as by Corbett (1979), Poplak (1980), Guy (1987).

Talking about the research carried out on `Agreement' in Hindi-Urdu, we have ample of works to list. But before we proceed, a brief note on the language(s) under discussion is almost necessary. Hindi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in several parts of Northern India. The speakers of this language may be broadly classified into the following six groups:-

1) Speakers of standard Hindi as their mother-tongue

2) Speakers of Hindi whose primary language is a certain dialect of Hindi.

3) Speakers of Hindi whose primary language is another major Indo-Aryan language, such as Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali etc.

4) Speakers of Hindi whose mother-tongue is a Dravidian language, such as Tamil, Telgu, Malayalm etc.

5) Native speakers of Urdu.

6) Speakers of Hindi whose primary language is English i.e. a variety of standard English or of English in India.

Among these six groups of Hindi speakers, No (1) & (5) present an interesting scenario. As is mentioned earlier, Hindi is spoken in several parts of Northern India while Urdu is spoken mainly in Pakistan and in various parts of

India with a Muslim population. The speakers of Urdu in India, speak standard Hindi as far as its grammatical forms and pronunciation are concerned because of the coincidence of these inventories in both languages. This is why, in discussion about Hindi language, we often come across the terms, Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani and HIndi-Urdu. Talking about the difference between these two languages (Hindi-Urdu i.e. H-U henceforth), people often employ a yardstick of politics and religion for their self-benefit.

There are of course, some differences between these two languages as far as the basic vocabulary or lexical items are concerned. Within this scheme that distinguishes these languages, Hindi refers to the variety that exhibits a strong Sanskrit influence while Urdu shows Perso-Arabic influence, particularly on vocabulary. The speakers if Urdu, generally, refrain from using words or phrases of Sanskrit origin even in the basic vocabulary of day to day life. This applies especially to nouns, adjectives and adverbs and to syntagms consisting of a noun or an adjective and a functional verb.

The Hindi speakers, being influenced with Sanskrit vocabulary, use the functional verbs like *`hona: `to be'*, *`karna: `to do'*, *`ḍena:'`to give'* with nouns or adjectives mainly derived from Sanskrit language such as,- *`kaṣṭ hona:'`to have pain'*, *`spaṣṭ karna:'`to make clear'*, *`apeksa: karna:'`to expect'* *`uṯṯar ḍena:'`to answer'*,

`praṭi:ṭ hona:'`to seem', `prisram karna:'`to do labour' etc. On the other hand the Urdu speakers in this situation will normally use the corresponding Urdu lexemes (nouns & adjectives) while speaking Hindi such as,- *`ṭaklif zahi:r karna:'`to express pain', `java:b ḍena:'`to reply', `ma:lum hona:'`to know', `mehnaṭ karna:'`to do labour', `zkham ḍena:'`to hurt'etc.* These usages are clear instances of lexical interference of Perso-Arabic influences, at least from the point of view of a `Sanskritized' Hindi.

This is the only basic linguistic differences between these two languages when we talk in terms of Hindi and Urdu. Like others linguists e.g. Kachru (1966,67,70,81), Davison (1985,90,91a-b), Mahajan (1989,90), Khan (1989),Gair & Wali (1989), Abbi (1994,95), the employment of the term, *`Hindi-Urdu'* has a specific reference in the present work. The term *`Hindi-Urdu'* is perhaps used to indicate or express what is common to Hindi and Urdu in a neutral way. So, the term H-U in this dissertation has been used to indicate the spontaneous speech of an individual where s/he has not been coloured (influenced) politically or religiously. In other words, it refers to the mental linguistic system of an individual who uses linguistic system of a language without any conscious choice. Furthermore, Chomsky has rightly pointed out that *"the linguistic systems of no two individuals are identical; not even twins brought up in the same community"* (1988:36-37). So, under this view, our object of investigation will

not be the *"Hindi-Urdu"*, a language which i[redacted] entity, rather, it will be the internal linguistic[redacted] an individual H-U speaker.This specification does [redacted] that the internal linguistic systems of individuals [redacted] ing to the H-U speaking community differs a lot in maj[redacted] well as minor ways, from the system described here. Instea[redacted] it makes my stand clear because I am not a native speaker of[redacted] either languages, so I have to rely mostly on the data given by the native speakers.

After this brief introduction to the language under discussion, we can enumerate the research work on agreement in Hindi-Urdu like this,- Kachru Y.(1970,76,81,88), Comrie B.(1984), Saksena A. (1985) Khan (1989), Gair J. & Wali K.(1988-89), Davison A. (1988,91), Singh Y. (1990), Mahajan A. (1990, 89a:b), Mohanan T. (1990,94), Saleemi A.P. (1994), Abbi A.(1994,95) etc.

Most of the works on agreement in Hindi-Urdu which are listed above have taken in issue very seriously but what these researches lack is the uniformity. All of them, though, say more or less the same thing but have given different terminology for a very simple thing which certainly affects the clarity of the phenomenon. They, of course, have described as to how agreement take place between different grammatical constituent within some given environment and if that environment is not met or maintained then the agreement between different grammatical constituents is

blocked. But they, while giving the rule(s) for the agreement pattern have not tried to incorporate a wide range of the corpus in their analyses. As a result of this deficiency when we test their rule(s) on a bulk of data of the language, we arrive at a conclusion that their hypotheses are not sufficient to take the agreement pattern of H-U into account in whole. So, in order to evade afore-mentioned problems or failings, we will examine the agreement pattern in H-U with exhaustive data and analyse them carefully under various headings to avoid the overlappings. After the analysis is done, we will point out the findings and only then will provide the rule(s) to account for the agreement pattern.

In order to incorporate the above mentioned approach or method for examining and analysing the agreement phenomenon in H-U, we will arrange the work into the following chapters:-

Chapter One:-This chapter, at first, brings the basic facts of agreement pattern in H-U into discussion and then goes on pointing out the earlier proposals of different scholars. In doing so, the chapter evaluates their proposals and then tries to show as to how these proposals are not sustainable.

Chapter Two:- In this chapter, an effort has been made to examine the agreement pattern in simple constructions(in almost all relevant construction). Later, the chapter also deals with the "blocking phenomenon" in detail.

Chapter Three:- This chapter starts the discussion of agreement phenomenon in H-U `***within clause***'. Here, the term *within clause* has been employed to take mainly the `*complex predicates*' into account.

Chapter Four:- Chapter four is the extension of chapter three as we witnessed some cases of agreement pattern which function differently in comparison to the simple clauses.In literature such cases have been termed as *"long distance agreement"*.In this chapter an effort has been made to examine the agreement pattern in `*long distance agreement*' on the line of simple clauses.

Conclusion:- After fourth chapter, the dissertation ends up with a conclusion. Here, the findings and the limitations of the work have been pointed out with the closing of the chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

AGREEMENT SYSTEM IN HINDI-URDU

Agreement is defined as a relationship between two elements in a syntactic structure[1]. The relationship is such that if one of the elements contains any particular feature e.g. number, person, gender, the other member also exhibits that feature. Syntactic and morphological structures are not unrelated and this we can say by observing the agreement system of a language. In agreement, the morphological form of the lexical elements is decided by the occurrence of other elements at a certain syntactic position. Broadly speaking, there are two types of agreement- (i) adjective agreement (ii) verb agreement.

In Adjective Agreement, an adjective appears in a particular morphological form according to the features i.e. person, number and gender, of the head noun. Furthermore, the adjective agreement is operated at the phrasal level[2]. As we are not dealing with the agreement at phrasal level, we will limit our focus on the agreement which mainly takes place at sentence or clause level. We would employ the term *"agreement* pattern or phenomenon" solely for this purpose throughout the work.

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1. In almost all traditional grammars of a language.

2. For a detail study of adjective agreement and its modern treatment see Lapointe(1980,1985).

In verb agreement, a verb inflects the morphological form depending upon the features (person, number and gender) of certain NP(s) in the sentence. In other words, when a verb agrees with an NP, it exhibits the same grammatical features e.g. person, number and gender as those of the NP. Normally, a finite verb agrees either with the subject or the object of the sentence. This sort of agreement is governed by certain principles, and these principles are a matter of parametric variation across languages (Chomsky 1981 a). We, in the light of above assumtions, will outline the basic agreement pattern in Hindi-Urdu.

1.1 Basic Facts of Agreement in Hindi-Urdu:

In a simple or mono-clausal sentence, the verb and auxiliaries, (if there is any) shows agreement with either the subject or the object(s) in Hindi-Urdu. The verb agrees with the subject if it is not marked with an overt case morphology. In other words, the subject of a simple clause triggers agreement on the verb and auxiliaries in number, person and gender if it bears an abstract case morphology[1]. For example:-

(1) laṛka: khelṭa: hE
boy-MS-Nom play-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`The boy plays.'

(2) laṛke so rahe ṭhe
boy-MP-Obl-Nom sleep cont-Imp-MP be-past-MP
`The boys were sleeping.'

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1. The person inflection of subject NP on the verb in H-U is reflected only in present tesne.

(3) laṛkiyã: na:č rahĩ: hogĩ:
girl-FP-obl-Nom dance cont-Imp-FP be-Fut-FP
`The girls will be dancing.'

In these examples (1-3), the verb is an intransitive one. The verbs and auxiliaries in these simple sentences agree with their subject in number, person and gender. The subjects, as we expect, have not been overtly marked with case-morphology i.e. they bear an abstract case-marker. This agreement pattern is maintained even with the transitive verbs provided they bear no overt case-morphology. The subject, if it is not overtly marked, supersedes the unmarked object of the clause in triggering agreement on the verb in H-U. We can see the afore-mentioned agreement patter in the following examples:

(4) laṛka: kiṭa:b paṛhṭa: hE
boy-MS-Nom book-Fs-Acc read-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`The boy reads a book.'

(5) larkiyã: a:m kha: rahi: thĩ:
girl-FP-Nom mango-MP-Acc eat cont-Imp-FP be-past-FP.
`The girls were eating mangoes.'

(6) sariṭa: kha:na: bana: rahi: hogi:
Sarita-FS-Nom meal-MS-Acc make cont-Imp-FS be-Fut-FS.
`Sarita will be cooking the food.'

The verbs and auxiliaries in the above examples agree with their subjects in gender person and number as they are overtly unmarked and have been assigned with an abstract case i.e. nominative case. The objects, *kiṭa:b,`book', a:m,`mango'*, and kha:na:,`food', *for that matter, are unmarked but* they do not play any role in the agreement pattern, as is

depicted by the verbs. However, if the subject of a transitive verb[1] carries an overt case marking then the verb shows agreement with its object (direct object), such as :

(7) larkõ̃ ne roṭi: kha:yi: hE
boy-MS-obl-Erg bread-Fs-Acc eat-FS-perf be-Pre-FS
`The boy has eaten the bread.'

(8) larkiyõ̃ ne a:m kha:ye hE
girl-FP-Obl-Erg mango-MP-Acc eat-perf-MP be-Pres-MP
`Girls have eaten the mangoes'.

(9) larkõ̃ ne bhikha:ri: ko pEse d̰iye hẽ̃
boy-MP-Obl-Erg beggar-MS-Dat coins-MP-Acc give-Imp-MP be-pres-MP
`Boys have given money to the beggar'.

Here the subjects in examples (1-8) *`laṛke'-boys*, `laṛkiyõ̃'-girls, *carry an overt case marking or Ergative case* -`*ne*'. So, the verbs show agreement with their objects -`*roṭi*'-`*bread*', *and* `*ã̃:m*'-`*mango*'. In example (9) we have both direct and indirect object and since the subject `leṛke'-`boy' *and indirect object* `bhikha:ri:'-`baggar' *are* overtly case marked,i.e. ergative and dative case markers, the verb agrees with its Direct object `*pEse'-money*'. But, if both subject and object(s)[2] are overtly case marked i.e. carry an overt case marker, the verbs and auxiliaries (if there are any) do not show agreement with subject or object(s) instead inflect for a default form of agreement represented by third-person masculine singular (henceforth

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1.We, at this point, are leaving the case of intransitive verb. We will talk about it in second chatper.

2.Objects in the sense when we have both Direct and Indirect objects.

3rd PMS). We can notice this form in the following examples:

(10) ram ne laṛke ko piṭa: hE
Ram-MS-Erg boy-MS-obl. Acc-beat-Perf-MS-3P be-Pre.
`Ram has beaten the boy'.

(11) mã: ne siṭa: ko bula:ya: hE
mother-3P-FS-Erg Sita-3P-FS-Acc call-Perf-MS be-Pres-MS
`The mother has called Sita'.

In the above examples (10-11) the subjects *`ra:m'-Ram, `mã:'-mother and objects -`siṭa:'-Sita, `laṛke'-boy, have been* marked overtly with cases i.e. ergative and accusative cases respectively. The verbs, therefore, show agreement with neither of them and exhibit the default agreement form i.e. 3rd PMS..

1.2 Long Distance Agreement:

Apart from the simple sentences discussed in the earlier section, we also fined ample of complex structures in H-U. Complex structures, in the sense, they are formed by embedding more than one simple sentences within a construction. In literature, they are often termed as *"Long distance agreement". In such structure, an embedded NP not only triggers* agreement on the verb of its own clause, but on the verb outside its clause i.e. the matrix clause. Such structures have been noticed and analyzed by many scholars e.g. Davison 1985, 1988 a-b; Khan 1989; Mahajan 1989; 1990; Singh 1990-92; Butt 1993; Mohnanan 1991 etc. These scholars while discussing *`long distance agreement'*, have divided it into two kinds- (i) The Control Construction and (ii) The Embedded Psyche-verb Construction.

(1) The Control Construction: The control construction is an example of such `long distance agreement, where the object noun not only shows agreement with its own verb which is in infinitive or gerund form, but also with the matrix verb and auxiliaries (if there is any). The following examples depict this pattern:-

(12) larkõ ne [ča:y-pini:] ča:hi:
boy-MP-Obl-Erg tea-FS eat-Inf-FS want-perf-FS
`The boys wanted to take tea'.
(13) larkiyõ ne [bha:ṭ kha:na:] ča:ha:
girl-FP-Obl-Erg rice-MS eat-Inf-MS want-perf-MS.
`The girls wanted to eat rice.'

In the above examples (12-13), the subject NPs are marked with overt case-morphology and thus do not show agreement with either of the verbs in the construction. The object nouns, *`ča:y'-tea and `bha:ṭ'-rice*, on the other hand, are not overtly marked and bear abstract case, and so, they trigger agreement not only on the embedded verbs but also on the matrix verbs i.e. *`ča:hna:' to want*. We have discussed the phenomenon of *`infinitives and agreement'* in chapter three and the case of *`long distance agreement'* of such infinitival construction in chapter four.

(2) The Psyche-Verb Construction:- This type of construction has been mentioned by Singh (1990); Khan (1989) and Mahajan (1989) in the literature. The psyche-Verb construction exhibits a structure in which an NP of the embedded clause triggers agreement in both embedded and matrix clause. This construction is different from the control construction in

the sense, that unlike the control construction, this not only employ infinitival but also the finite clauses as the embedded form in matrix clause. Secondly, in control construction, the agreement of the nominal object with the infinitive is optional and it also effects the controlling capacity of the matrix verb, while, in psyche-verb construction, the agreement of nominal object with the embedded verb (mostly finite) is obligatory which results in controlling the matrix verb necessarily. The examples of psyche-verb construction are given as follows:

(14) mã: ne [mohan ko ṭhanḍh lagi:] payi:
mother-FS-Erg mohan-MS-Dat cold-FS catch-Perf-FS find-Per-FS
`The mother found Mohan having a cold.' (Singh 1990:35)

(15) mã: ko ra:ste par [čavanni:[1] giri: hui:] mili:
mother-FS-Dat road-MS-obl-Loc cavanni-FS fall-F be-Perf-FS find-Perf-FS
`The mother found cavanni lying on the road.'

(16) mujhe ḍha:be[2] par [rupaya: gira: hua:] mila:
I-MS-Dat Dhaba-MS-Obl-Loc rupees-MS fall-MS be-Perf-MS find-perf-MS
`I found a rupees lying on the Dhaba.

(17) ravi ko ra:ste par [phu:l gire hue] mile
Ravi-MS-Dat road-MS-obl-Loc flower-MP fall-P be-Perf-MP find-Perf-MP.
`Ravi found flowers laying on the road.'

In the above examples (14-17), the objects of embedded clause not only trigger agreement on the verbs of their clauses but also affect (influence) the agreement features of

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1.`cavani:' is four cent or twenty five paise in H-U.

2.`dha:ba:' is called tea stall in H-U.

the matrix verb. As is already pointed out that the distinctions mentioned by the scholars (Singh and Khan) are not very convincing, we, while dealing with long distance agreement, will not incorporate these variations or distinctions between long distance agreement phenomenon. We will analyze and explain the 'long distance agreement' in whole and use it as a cover term to account for complex or compound sentences in H-U.

With this brief presentation of basic facts about the agreement phenomenon of Hindi-Urdu, we will proceed towards providing a review of earlier proposals on agreement in H-U. There has been several attempts to explain and analyze the function of agreement phenomenon in Hindi-Urdu starting from Allen (1950) to Mahajan (1990). The researchers have adopted divergent theoretical frameworks to account for the phenomenon. Some of these explanations along with their frameworks or models are remarkable as far a particular section or part of agreement phenomenon is concerned, but none of these studies has been able to explore and provide an appropriate analysis of the phenomenon in whole. As we will advance in our discussion, we will witness the situation.

1.3 A Review of Previous Analysis of Agreement in H-U:

As is mentioned earlier that a number of attempts have been made to account for the function of agreement phenomenon in Hindi-Urdu, we will talk about their proposal in brief and provide the evidence regarding the shortcomings of these

proposals with the citation of counter examples. We can list these proposals under the following headings[1]:

(I) In terms of "economy of resources" (Allen-1950).

(II) In terms of "Grammatical relation of Subject as well as case marking"- (Kachru et al. 1976).

(III) In terms of a "Nominative-accusative verbes ergative absolutive split framework"- (Comrie 1984, 1985).

(IV) In terms of "linear order and overt/convert case marking (Khan-1989) Mohanan -(1990), Butt-(1991)

(VI) In terms of hierarchical order and the structure of NPs in Hindi-(Gair & Wali 1989)

(VII) In terms of the interaction of case, NP-Movement and AGR Phrases-(Mahajan-1989,1990).

Now we will first present the analysis of these proposals one by one and try to point out the short-comings of these proposals by providing critical analysis and counter examples against these proposals or theories of agreement phenomenon in Hindi-Urdu:

(1) The Economy of Resources Approach:-

The `economy of resources' approach has been proposed in Allen (1950), to account for the agreement phenomenon in H-U. This approach is concerned to answer the question as to why only the NP(s) with phonologically null case-marking shows agreement in H-U. Allen answers this question saying that since there is no regular morphological expression of number

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1.The arrangement of these proposals has been taken from the work of Singh (1990).

inflection in the nominative form of nouns, there is a need for this inflection to be expressed in some ways. we know that the gender-number distinction among nouns in H-U is lexical in most cases. In other words, there is no overt morphology to express the gender-number distinction among Nouns in H-U (in most cases). According to Allen, the language (H-U) makes this distinction by marking it as an agreement feature on the verb or verbal string, such as:

(18) hã̃:ṭ̂hi: a: raha: hE
elephant-MS-Nom come cont-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`The elephant is coming.'

(19) hã̃:ṭ̂hi: a: rahe hẼ
elephant-MP-Nom come cont-Imp-MP be-pres-MP
`The elephants are coming.'

In the above examples (18-19), the subject NP *`hã̃:ṭ̂hi:'*-`elephant' *in (18) is singular, while the same NP in (19) has* been employed as plural. Significantly, this singularity/plurality distinction is expressed not by means of any marking on the nominal but on the verbal elements. However, when a subject NP is overtly marked with any case morphology, the singularity/plurality distinction get its morphological manifestation on the subject NP itself. The verb, in that case, does not bear any such inflections, which can show the gender-number distinction of the noun. For example:

(20) hã̃:ṭ̂hi: ko a:na: hE
elephant-MS-Acc come-Inf-MS be-Pres-MS
`The elephant has to come.'

(21) ha:ṭ̂hi:yõ̃ ko a:na: hE
elephant-MP-obl-Acc come-Inf-MS be-pest-MS.
`The elephants have to come.'

Unlike the earlier examples (18-19), the above examples (20-21) depict the singular and plural forms of the noun *`hã:ʈhi:'-`elephant'*, which differ in their phonological shape. That is, the number inflection finds a morphological expression on the nominal elements i.e. the noun in (20) is singular and plural in (21).

After presenting this fact, Allen generalizes the agreement phenomenon in H-U on the account of *"economy of* resources" which says"- the NPs overtly marked for case do not show agreement with their verbs, while those NPs which are not marked for case do show agreement with their verbs".

Allen's *"economy of resources"* is both unclear and inefficient to account for the function of agreement phenomenon in Hind-Urdu. Although lots of arguments and counter examples can be forwarded to criticize the proposal, we will simply refute this proposal by providing a very common example of the language and will show as to how the principle of *"economy of resources"* can not account for even such a common instance:-

(26) bačče kha:na: kha: rahe hẼ
child-MP-Nom meal-MS-Acc eat Cont-Imp-MP be-Pres-MP
` The children are eating the meal.'

(27) laṛkiyã: gana: ga: rahi: hẼ
Girl-FP-Nom song-MS-Acc sing cont-Imp-FP be-Pres-FP
`The girls are singing the song.'

In examples 26 and 27, the subject NPs show the morphological inflection for their plurality. And according to

Allen's proposal, these NPs should not show agreement with their verbs, but we can see that these NPs do show agreement with their verbs and auxiliaries. Apart from this, there are several other deficiencies and shortcomings with this principle, such as questions of `economy' and other unmarked NPs in a sentence, but we would not go in detail because at the very first instance, the proposal fails to support our data of H-U.

(ii) Ergative-Absolutive and Nominative-Accusative Parameter: This proposal has been put forward by Comrie to account for the function of agreement phenomenon in Hindi. Working on the typological framework, Comrie provides following rules for agreement in Hindi:-

a) "Most transitive verbs have subject with no overt case marking in the imperfective clause, but with the case postposition `-ne' in the perfective clause.. In the imperfective, the verb agrees with the (unmarked) subject. In perfective, the verb agrees with direct object if this is unmarked morphologically, otherwise with nothing... (Comrie-1984, Pg 858).

(27) laṛkiyã̃: roṭi: kha:ṭi: hẽ̃
girl-FP-Nom bread-FS-Acc eat-Imp-FP be-pres-FP.
`The girls eat bread.'

(28) laṛkiyõ̃ ne bha:ṭ kha:ya: hE
girl-FP-obl-Erg rice-MS-Acc eat-perf-MS be-Pres-MS.
The girls have eaten the rice.

(29) larkiyõ̃ ne roṭi: ko kha:ya:
girl-FP-obl-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-Per-MS.
`The girls ate the bread'.

As far these examples are concerned, Comrie's prediction or rule seems to be operative, but we can have imperfective clause of transitive verb where subject bears an overly case

morphology such as:

(30) mujhse ye sava:l nahi: ban raha: hE
I-MS-Dat this question-MS-Acc not solve cont-Imp-MS be-pres-MS

`I am not able to solve this question.'
or `I am unable to solve this question.'

(31) ra:m se čiṭṭhi: likhi: nahi: ja: rahi: thi:
Ram-MS-Dat letter-MS-Acc write-perf-FS not go cont-Imp-FS be-past

`Ram was unable to write the letter.'

As he headed towards the following section of the article, Comrie further gives another set of rule by adopting grammatical relations on a nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive basis. He writes:-

"*.....in the imperfective, agreement is on a nominative* accusative basis (i.e. with the intransitive or transitive subject); in the perfective, agreement is on an ergative-absolutive basis (i.e., with the intransitive subject or transitive direct object), except that an overtly case marked direct object cannot trigger verb agreement". - (Comrie-Pg-859).

Again there have been lots of criticisms against these rules[1] of Comrie, but we will not go into much detail in evaluating those criticisms because these rules are not much different from earlier one about which we already have discussed above. However, the following shortcomings of the proposal are necessary to discuss. First, there are instances where even in imperfective clauses, the subject cannot show agreement. These instances are the capabilative conditions or the dative subject constructions. For example:-

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1. For a detil criticism of these rules see Kachru et al (1976), and Saksena (1985).

(32) is laṛki: se phu:l bhi: nahi: to:ṛe ja:ṭe hɛ̃
this girl-FS-Obl Inst flower-MP-Ace Emph not pluck-Imp-MP go-Imp-MP be-Imp-MP
`This girl cannot ever pluck the flowers.'

(33) laṛke ko šarm a:ṭi: hE
Boy-MP-obl shame-FS-Ace come-Imp-FS be-Imp-pres
`The boy feels ashamed or (To the boy shame comes)

Examples (32 & 33) are instances of the imperfect aspect, yet, in both these example, the verb and auxiliary show agreement not with their subject but the object which is opposite to the observations made by Comrie in his rule.

Secondly, if we accept the proposal forwarded by Comrie, we will have to divide the subject of the transitive clauses at one place with the ergative absolutive pattern, when we will be dealing with the ergative case and at other place, with the nominative accusative pattern when we will examine the instances of nominative case. Furthermore, Comrie predicts that in perfective aspect the agreement is on an ergative absolutive i.e. in perfective aspect the verb agree either with the subject of intransitive clause or with the direct object of the transitive clauses. But we do have structures of perfective aspect in H-U, in which the verb agrees with the subject even in transitive clauses1, such as:-

(34) ra:dha: kha:na: bana: čuki: hE/thi:
Radha-FS-Nom meal-MS-Acc make Asp-Perf-FS be-Pres/past-FS
`Radha has(d) cooked the food.'

(35) ravi yah kiṯa:b paṛh ču̇ka: hE
Ravi-MS-Nom this book-FS-Acc read Asp-Perf-MS be-pres-MS
`Ravi already has read this book.'

`These examples (34-35) show that the subjects `ra:d̂ha:'-Radha and `ravi'-Ravi, *can successfully trigger* agreement on the verbs in a transitive clause, even though the verbs are in perfective aspect.

So, because of these shortcomings, we can say that the proposal of *"Ergative-Asolutive and Nominative-Accusative* parameter" *is not capable of explaining the function of* agreement phenomenon in H-U. Thus, Comrie's account is not sustainable.

(III)"Grammatical relation of Subject as well as case marking parameter":- **This proposal has been proposed by Kachru and** Bhatia (in literature referred as Kachru et al. 1976). Talking about the notion of `subject' in H-U and other related languages they have prescribed some rules for verb agreement by evoking the grammatical relation of subject as well as case marking. Their rules can be presented like this:-

a) The verb agrees with the subject in case it is unmarked.

b) In case the subject is marked with postposition, the verb agrees with any other noun phrase that is unmarked.

c) In case there are no unmarked noun phrases in the sentence, the verb is in the third-person singular form.
(Kachru et al. 1976;Pg:102)

As far the clarity and the application of these rules are concerned one can certainly find them at much higher

places than the other proposals and their rules discussed upto now in this work. But these rule also suffer from some shortcomings and do not go very far in accounting every sort of data of H-U. In simple sentences, rules (a) of this proposal seems to be applicable most of the time. But in case of embedded clause, the rule fails to account as to why the embedded verb does not trigger agreement with the matrix subject such as :-

36, laṛke [bha:ṭ Kha:na] čа:hṭe ṭhe
Boy-MP-Nom rice-MS eat-Inf-MS want-Imp-MP be-past-MP
`The boys wanted to eat rice.'

37,??/* laṛke [ča:y pini:] čahṭe ṭhe
Boy-MP-Nom tea-FS drink-Inf-FS want-IMP-MP-be-past-MP
`The boy wanted to take tea.'

The examples (36-37) show that the objects of the infinitival clause control the agreement pattern of the embedded verb when the subject is unmarked[1]. The subject, on the other hand, triggers agreement on the matrix verbs only, while according to the rule professed by the proposal, both verbs (matrix and embedded) should show agreement with the subject as it is unmarked i.e. does not bear any overt case morphology.

Similarly, rule (b) is also not applicable everywhere. It states that if the subject is marked with a postposition, the verb agrees with any other noun phrase of the sentence that is unmarked. But this is not true at everywhere or

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1.For more detail see chapter three.

instance, we do have structures in which an unmarked nominal element fails to be a candidate for agreement such as:-

(38) sunita: ne ravi ko ya:d kiya:
Sunita-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Acc memory-N(f) do-Perf-MS
`Sunita remembered Ravi.'

(39) rahi:m ne sami:ra: ko apni: bahan bana:ya:
Rahim-MS-Erg Samira-FS-Acc self-F sister-N(f) make-perf-MS
`Rahim made Samira his sister.'

In these examples (38-39), the initial two NPs bear overt case-markers i.e. ergative and accusative respectively. The verb, according to the rule, can not agree with those nominals so, it looks for an unmarked NP to agree with it. In these example, we do have NPs e.g. *`ya:d'-memory' and `ba-*han'-sister' *which are not marked with any overt case mor-*phology, but even then, the verbs in both examples inflect for the default form, i.e. 3rd PMS. So, a generalized rule such as (b) can not account for agreement pattern manifested by these examples. So, even this rule is not sustainable.

Last but not least rule (c) also needs a little bit modification. As we have observed the default form of agreement in H-U, which inflects for third person singular masculine, it is better to call it the same rather than only third person singular.

(IV) Linear order and overt/covert case marking:- This proposal has been given by Saksena (1981). In her proposal, Saksena refutes Comrie's parameter of relational notions of subject and object. She says that the simplest rule of verb agreement, in H-U, makes no reference to the relational

nations such as subject and object, rather it relies entirely on such notions as linear order and the surface realization of case marking. The proposed rule of verb agreement made by Saksena can be sta ted like this :-

"Rule A: The verb agrees with the left most phonologically null instance of case marking"- (Saksena -1981 Pg 468)

According to this rule, when verbs agree with an antecedent, they are sensitive to number, person and gender. And when verbs do not agree with an antecedent, they stay in the unmarked state - third person masculine singular i.e. 3rd PMS. For example:

(40) ra:m ḍo:ṛta: hE
Ram-MS-Non run-Imp-MS be-Imp-Pres.
`Ram runs.'

(41) ra:m roṭi: kha:ta: hE
Ram-MS-Non bread-FS-Acc eat-Imp-MS be-Imp-Pres
`Ram eats bread'

According to the rule, the verbs agree with the left most NPs which are phonologically null, i.e. do not bear overt case morphology and the examples given above exhibit this fact. Now see these examples:-

(42) ra:m ne roṭi: kha:yi:
Ram-MS-Obl-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-perf-FS
`Ram ate the bread.'

(43) ra:m ko shya:m ki: ya:d a:yi:
Ram-MS-Dat Shayam-MS-Gen remeberance-FS come-Perf-FS
`Ram remembered Shyam.'

In the above examples, the verb does not agree with subject and indirect object because, in (42) the subject is marked with ergative case and in (43) the subject as well as

the indirect object are marked with dative and genitive cases and according to the rule the NPs `*roṭi:*'-*bread*, in (42) and `*ya:d*'-*memory*, in (43) become left most phonologically null instances and verb agrees with these NPs. Now we will see the following example:-

(44) ra:m ne mohan ko čhaṛi: se piṭa:
Ram-MS-Obl-Erg Mohan-MS-Acc stick-FS-Inst beat-Perf-MS
`Ram beat Mohan with the stick'

In this example both agent and patient are marked by phonologically overt case marking and the verb agrees with none and it remains in the neutral form i.e. 3rd person masculine singular.Thus, Rule A, proposed by Saksena accounts for the above presented data. So far so good, but the presented data is not very exhaustive as far the function of agreement phenomena in H-U is concerned. Apart from these there are several sentences and of course, important ones which are left unaccounted for by this rule for example:-

(45) uski: kaha:ni: mɛ̃ a:p ko nahi: baṭa: sakṭa: hũ
He-MS-Gen story-FS I-MS-Nom You-MS-Dat not tell-MS can-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`I can not tell you his story.'

(46) mohan ne mi:ra: ko abhineṭri: bana:ya:
Mohan-MS-Obl-Erg Mira-FS-Acc actress-FS make-perf-MS
`Mohan made Mira an actress.'

(47) laṛki: ne roṭi: kha: kar pa:ni: piya:
Girl-FS-Obl-Erg bread-FS eat CP water-MS-Acc drink-Perf-MS
`Having eaten the bread, the girl drank the water.'

In all these examples the NPs `*kaha:ni:*'- *Story*,`*abhineṭri:*'-actress *and* `roṭi:'-bread, *respectively present the* left most phonologically null instances i.e. they do not bear

any overt case morphology and according to the proposed rule A, the verb should agree with these NPs but as we see that the verb agrees with none of the NPs. So, like other proposal, this one too is not sustainable or retainable.

(V) Verb Agreement in H-U and the GB Theory:- This proposal has been put forward by Khan (1989). He has tried to capture the function of agreement phenomenon in H-U under GB framework. He takes `*Argument-Structure*' in consideration and tries to explain agreement phenomenon with this in H-U. He says that the problematic case for a verb-agreement, is the transitive verb that may show agreement with one of its two arguments . The verb always agrees with the subject NP (that is, ***[NP/S]***) in nominative case, but may agree with the direct object (that is ***[NP/VP]***) when ***[NP/S]*** is assigned either the ergative or the dative case. And if the argument in the direct object position is also marked by a postposition, the verb reflects the form of default agreement, 3rd PMS, (i.e. third person, singular masculine form). After giving such functional description of the agreement phenomenon, he gives a rule to account for the agreement pattern in H-U likes this:-

"The verb agrees with its left-most argument in A-position with 0(zero) case marking". (Khan 1989;Pg:82)

This rule of Khan is comparatively better than that of Saksena because it does take care of some more data which Saksena's rule can not handle , such as:-

(48) vah laṛki: (na:) us ne sab ke sa:mne čhi̐:k diya:
That girl-FS-Nom Emph She-FS-Erg all in front of-Obl sneeze give-perf-MS
`That girl! She sneezed in front of everybody.'

(49) mohan ne mira: ko abhinetri: bana:ya:
Mohan-MS-Erg Mira-FS-Acc actress-FS make-Perf-3P-Perf
`Mohan made Mira an actress.'

Khan, describing the agreement of these examples under his rule, says that since the NPs, `*vah larki:*' and `*abhinetri:*' *are not arguments of these sentences, so, they can not* show agreement with their verbs. Khan also tries to provide a possible answers as to why an overt case marked argument in direct object position cannot trigger agreement. According to his explanation, case elements such as `*-ne*'(i.e. the ergative case marker), `*-ko*' (i.e. the accusative) and `-se'*(i.e. instrumental case marker), have the status of* postpositions and they can not carry any agreement feature. Because of this lack, they create an opaque domain for agreement....(Singh 1990;Pg:127), and so they do not show agreement with verbs.

Although, Khan's explanations is much plausible than other proposals in this regard, still, it also suffers from empirical inadequacies. For example, Khan's theory or rule can not explain as to why an NP in an `infinitival clause' does not show agreement with its verb. Example of such construction can be given like this:-

(50) hari: ne [ča:y pi:na:] ča:ha:
Hari-MS-Obl-Erg tea-FS-Acc drink-Inf-MS wan-perf-MS
`Hari wanted to take tea.'

Apart from this Khan's rule can not take account of various sorts of embedded clauses and their agreement . We can just illustrate one to see the situation:-

(51) laṛko: ne [sīta: ko beṭhe hue] pa:ya:
Boy-MP-Obl Erg sita-FS-Acc sit-MP Asp-MP find-perf-MS
`The boys found Sita sitted.'

As is shown in above example, Khan's rule can not explain as to how should we interpret the agreement pattern of the above sentence. From the structure of the sentence, one might wonder that if the subject of the matrix clause and the object of the embedded clause are marked, why the verb (in embedded.clause) is not inflecting the default form as the matrix verb does so. Last but not least, Khan's rule can also be criticized on the basis of his adoption of *`linear order' in terms of left most argument, as he rules out* Saksena's rule on this very ground. So, on the basis of these shortcomings, we can not follow or accept Khan's proposal to account for the agreement pattern in H-U.

(VI) Hindi agreement an Anaphor:- This proposal has been proposed by Gair & Wali (1989) to account for the agreement phenomenon and its function in Hindi. This proposal is better than other's because it describes the agreement phenomenon in Hindi purely in configurational terms. According to their observations, there exists an element in Hindi which they labeled as ***`agr'***. This ***`agr'*** is anaphoric in nature and, according to them, is the part of perfective and imperfective morphology. The agreement morphology on the verbal elements

is an experience of this anaphoric elements -`*agr*'[1]. And since this element is anaphoric in nature, it should be bound.

After postulating the existence of the anaphoric `*agr*' they give the following agreement rule for Hindi:-

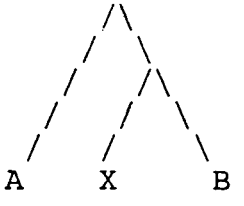
Hindi Agreement Convention :-

"The verb in Hindi, or more precisely all agreement - bearing elements within V, agrees with the direct-case NP that maximally C-Commands it within S. Lacking such an NP, it assumes the default value (3rd masculine Sg. (y) aa).
(Gair and Wali-1989;Pg:)

Having propounded the above-mentioned rule for agreement in Hindi, they define `maximal C-command ' as:-

"....a form`A' maximally C-Commands`B' iff `A' C-commands`B' and there is no form of category a that C-commands`A'....."
(Gair and Wali- ibid)

In other words, maximal C-command refers to the highest C-commanding node in the tree diagram, such as:-



In this tree-diagram, A maximally C-commands both B and X. However, the node X does not maximally C-commands B, though it does C-command it. This is so, because, X is in turn C-commanded by A.

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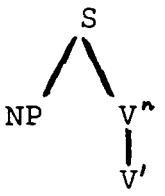
1. This `agr' is distinct from the other `AGR' according to the authors. For detail explanation see Gair & Wali(1989).

After describing these basic assumption and definition of maximal c-command, they provide five tree-diagrams to account for the function of agreement phenomenon in Hindi. The thick or heavy lines in the tree-diagrams has been used to show the direction of agreement amongst the linguistic elements. The five tree-diagrams showing the pattern of agreement in Hindi are shown like this:-

a>



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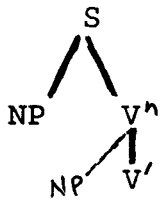

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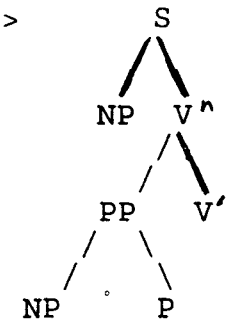

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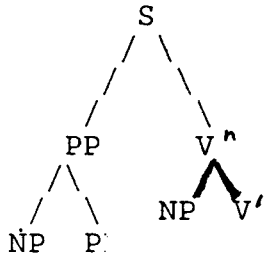

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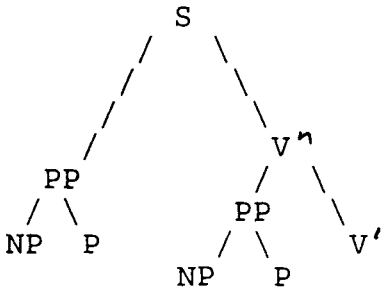

Thus,(a) represents intransitive agreement.The (b) and (c) both represent transitive imperfect agreement with direct case subjects, but in (b) the object is in the direct case and in (c) it is case marked. The (d) represents both (1)

transitive perfect sentences with `-ne' marked subjects and direct case objects, and (2) dative-subjective sentences. The (e) Represents default agreement with all eligible NPs case marked. (Gair & Wali 1989; Pg:57)

According to this proposal, NPs which branch out from PPs can not show agreement with their verbs because first they carry an overt case morphology and secondly, because of this overt case marking they do not C-command anything outside them. And the performance of subject agreement in place of object agreement, in a case when both arguments unmarked, is explained in terms of *"maximal C-command"*. They claim subject argument as a higher position than that of object in a phrase marker by the notion of *"maximal c-command"*.

If we compare Gair and Wali's proposal with the earlier proposals, we find that Gair & Wali's account is more plausible and sustainable. But it also suffers from some inadequacies as it is not adequate enough to handle the sets of date in H-U. For example:-

(53) mohan ne [ča:y pina:] ča:ha:
Mohan-MS-Erg tea-FS-Acc drink-Inf-MS want-perf-MS
`Mohan wanted to take tea.'

(54) rahi:m ne [ga:ṛi čala:na:] si:kha:
Rahim-MS-Erg car-FS-Acc drive-Inf-MS learn-perf-MS
`Rahim learned how to drive the car.'
or (Rahim learned driving the car)

In these examples (53-54), the objects NPs *`ča:y'-tea'* and *`ga:ṛi:'-car'* do not show agreement with their verbs. In Gair and Wali's framework, these NPs are possible arguments. They have the potentiality to trigger agreement, but as we

see, they do not do so.

Apart from this, the examples of long distance agreement pose great problems for Gair and Wali's proposal. The long distance agreement presents a situation where the embedded object, though does not C-command the matrix verb, it still triggers agreement on the verb of the matrix clause. For example:-

(55) laṛko ne [ǰali: hui: roṭi: nahi: kha:ni:] č̣a:hi:
Boy-MP-Erg burn-F Asp-F bread-FS-Acc not eat-Inf-FS want-perf-FS
`The boys did not want to eat the burnt bread.'

(56) no:kar ne [sa:ṛi: nahi: d̂honi:] č̌a:hi:
servant-MS-Erg sari-FS-Acc not wash-Inf-FS want-perf-FS
`The servant did not want to wash the sari.'

In these examples of long distance agreement, the embedded NPs do not C-command the matrix verbs, but still show agreement with them. Thus, such instances of 'long distance agreement' create problems for Gair & Wali's proposal. The inadequacies and instances of other shortcomings discussed before, do not permit us to go very long with this proposal to account for the agreement phenomenon in H-U.

(VII) The Interaction of CASE and AGR :- This proposal has been put forward by Mahajan (1989 & 1990)[1]. Mahajan, in both his attempts, tries to explain the function of agreement phenomenon in Hindi with a different approach. Since the

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1. Since Mahajan (1990) does not differ much from his earlier study (1989) in any fundamental way, we will make his latter work (1990) as our reference point.

study is done in a different framework and from a different point of view, we will not go into much detail in evaluating this proposal. However, we will examine those aspects which are closely related to our interest and investigation[1].

Mahajan seems to reduce the agreement phenomenon to an interaction between *Case and `AGR'*. He argues that the subject as well as object agreement in Hindi is mediated through a rule of argument shift. This rule moves an appropriate argument into a L-related position where it is governed by *AGR*, providing a configuration in which the agreement can take place. He further explains that the agreement between an AGR element and the argument that it governs is also a configuration of structural case assignment. This means that only those elements that do not receive structural case within VP in H-U, can move to *SPEC AGR* position. Talking about the possibilities of object agreement in the language, he suggests that it is possible only in those cases where the verb itself is a non-case assigner i.e. is a perfective participle or a psyche verb. (Mahajan 1990; Pg:68)

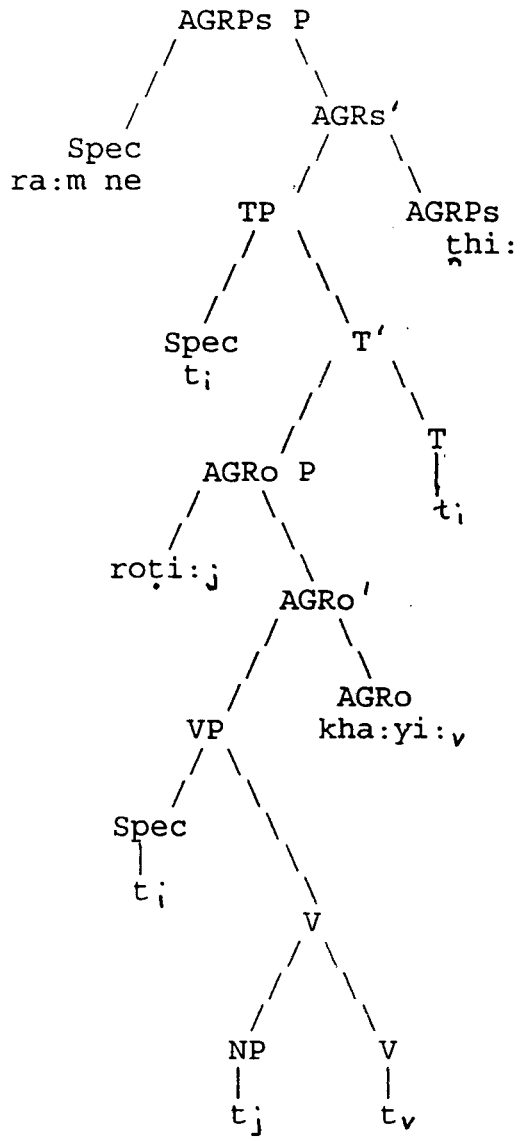
With this much of his assumption, let us start with the derivation (59) of (57-58) in Mahajan's account:-

(57) laṛko ne kiṭa:b ̃ paṛhi: thi:
boy-MP-Obl-Erg book-FS-Acc read-perf-FS
`Boys had read the book.'

1.For more detail explanation see Singh (1990) and Butt (1993).

(58) ra:m ne roṭi: kha:yi: thi:
Ram-MS-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-perf-FS be-past-FS
`Ram had eaten the bread.' (Mahajan ibid; Pg:73)

(59)



We already stated earlier that according to Mahajan's assumption, the perfective participle form of the verb cannot assign case to its objects. So, the object moves to SPEC AGRo. The verb moves to AGRo and the resulting Spec-head relation between the object and the verb creates the ambience

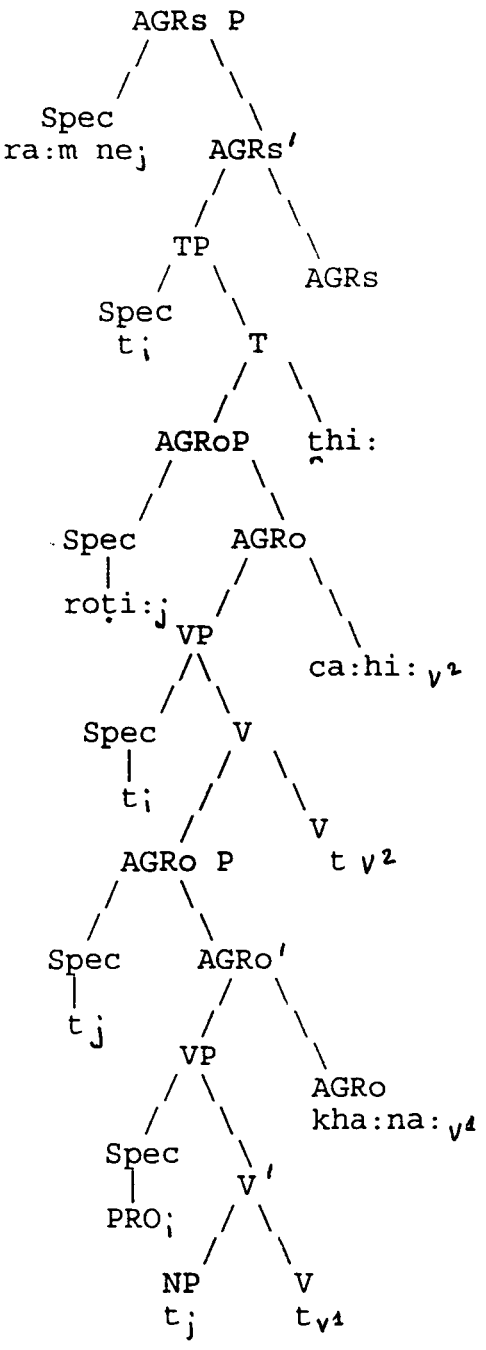
of object agreement. The NPs which bear the ergative or dative case marker can not trigger agreement because the case marker *`ne' or `ko'* etc are postpositions and they block the government of their complement NP from outside.

In other cases, where the subjects show agreement with their verbs, the objects remain in situ since the imperfect form of the verb in such cases is a CASE assigner. The movement of the subject from Spec-V to the Spec-AGRs position and the ensuing traces creates an environment for agreement of subject on the verbal string.

Now let as examine Mahajan's proposal for `long distance agreement'. It can be illustrated by the derivation (61) of the example (60) given below:-

(60) ra:m ne [roṭi: kha:ni:] ča:hi: ṭhi:
Ram-MS-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-Inf-FS want-pert-FS be-Past-FS
`Ram wanted to eat the bread.'
(Mahajan- ibid; Pg:90)

(61)



According to Mahajan, the infinitival form of a verb can not assign case to its object because in his assumption the infinitival clauses in Hindi are AGRoPs and the AGRo can

assign case only when it is governed by a finite TENSE. The lower AGRo also is not in position to assign case, because it is not governed by a finite TENSE. The object therefore moves, as does roti:in (61) from its d-structure position to the space AGRO position in the matrix clause. The ensuing traces and the location of the object in *Space - AGRO* position in the matrix clause produce the required agreement conditions or facts.

In other instances, where there is no long distances agreement, the infinitival form of the verb does assign case to its object. The object, therefore, does not move and stays in its d-structure position. This is why, according to Mahajan no long distances agreement takes place in the example given below:-

(62) ra:m ne [roṭi: kha:na:] ča:ha:
Ram-MS-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-Inf-MS want-Past-MS
`Ram wanted to eat bread.'
(Mahajan-ibid;Pg:91)

The last pattern explained by Mahajan can be illustrated by the following example:-

(63) */??? ra:m [roṭi: kha:ni:] ča:hṭa: ṭha:
Ram-MS-Nom bread-FS-Acc eat-Inf-FS want-Imp-MS be-Past-MS
`Ram wanted to eat bread.'
(Mahajan-Pg-92)

In this case, the embedded object trigger agreement on its own verb but not in the verb of matrix clause. Mahajan suggests that in such instances as given in example (63), the government of the lower AGRo by the matrix imperfect

participle .....makes structural case assignment possible in the lower Spec AGRo.... (Mahajan ibid;Pg:96).

By this what he means is that the embedded object in this case moves only upto the lower Spec-AGRo position and is assigned with a case in this position. Therefore, agreement is restricted to the embedded clause.

With this much of citation of Mahajan's proposal and his explanation of agreement phenomenon in Hindi, we now move towards pointing out the shortcomings and difficulties, his analysis faces.The very first shortcoming of this proposal is that it has made the simple function of agreement phenomenon very complicated by relating with various types of movement and case assignment. Secondly, the theory does not take care of all linguistic elements and their functions. To mentions just one of such instances, Mahajan's analysis does not explain how object agreement can appear on the tense auxiliary in examples (60) & (62) given above, where the object does not move beyond *SPEC-AGRO*. Furthermore in example (61) the proposed derivation for long distances agreement, the object has moved only upto the *Spec-AGRo* position but the tense auxiliary also shows agreement. So, in this place too the problem remains unsolved or unexplained. Because of these inadequacies, it is not clear how object agreement in (62) and (63) can be accommodated in Mahajan's analysis. Since Mahajan has not provided any explanation for these questions, these empirical facts pose problems for his analysis.

Last but not least, we know that all kinds of agreement are not Spec-head phenomenon such as modifier-head agreement. Therefore, it is not correct to assume that all agreement is necessarily a *Spec-head/AGR* relation. As Mahajan tries to explain the function of agreement phenomenon employing this nation only, his approach suffers from major inadequacies with regard to its analysis of agreement phenomenon in H-U.

Thus, after examining the exiting literature on agreement phenomenon in Hindi-Urdu and pointing out the advantage and disadvantage of these works, we can say that except a few, most of the analyses suffer from significant theoretical and empirical inadequacies. Now, we will examine the function of agreement phenomenon in H-U in chapter two in almost all the possible constructions so that we, being aware of the basic facts of the phenomenon, can move easily towards the analysis part of it in chapter three and four.

CHAPTER TWO

AGREEMENT IN SIMPLE CLAUSE

We, in chapter one, discussed the basic patterns and reviewed the existing work on the agreement phenomenon in H-U. What we observed in our review is that some analyses (*Saksena & Khan's*) are too general to account for all the facts of the phenomenon, while other analyses (*Mahajan, Allen and Comrie*) have made this simple phenomenon a complicated one. Keeping these observstions in our mind, we, in this chapter, will analyse the function of `agreement' in various clauses, available in H-U. This will not only enable us in being well equipped with its function but will also provide us a sound base for predicting any conclusive statement about it's function. This chapter has been divided into three sections. Section one deals with the subject-verb agreement. Section two describes the object-V agreement with an emphasis on the nature of Ergative and Dative constructions in H-U. An attempt of examining and explaining the reasons which block the afore-mentioned agreements has been made in the concluding (third section) part of the chapter.

2.1 **Subject-V agreement** : We will begin our study of the subject-V agreement system in H-U by examining the agreement patterns in *(a) intransitive verbs, (b) monotransitive verbs and (c) ditransitive verbs.*

2.1.a> **Agreement pattern of intransitive verbs:** Most of

intransitive verbs[1] exhibit the case of subject verb agreement. By definition, an intransitive verb ensures that there will be no object in the clause, while the subject is obligatory and it agrees with the .verb, for example :

1. ra:m do:ṛta: hE
   Ram-MS-Nom run-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
   `Ram runs.'

2. sita: so rahi: thi:
   Sitā-FS-nom sleep cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
   `Sita was sleeping.'

3. laṛke khel rahe hõge
   boy-MP-Nom play cont-Imp-MP- be-fut-MP
   `Boys will be playing.'

4. laṛkiyā̃: ro rahī̃: hĒ
   girl-FP-Nom cry cont-Imp-FP be-pres-FP
   `Girls are crying.'

Thus, each of these examples of intransitive verbs shows that there is no object in the clause and the verbs show agreement with their subjects. But, an intransitive verb optionally can take a postpositioal phrase as its complement. However, the verb never can agree with such complement. In other words, an intransitive verb does not agree with its complement, an NP dominated by the PP. We can see the following examples to clarify the statement:-

5. mĒ ba:ẓa:r ja: raha: hũ
   I-MS-Nom market-Loc go cont-Imp-MS be-pres-IstPS
   `I am going to the market.'

1.There are a few intransitive verbs which behave like transitive verbs and can occure with Ergative Subjects. We will deal with these verbs as we proceed with our discussion.

6. sita: skul ja: rahi: thi:
Sita-FS-Nom school-Loc go cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`Sita was going to school.'

7. bačče. ra:t ko rote hẽ
child-MP-Nom night-Loc cry-Imp-MP- be-pres-MP
`Children cry in the night.'

All the examples illustrated above show that the intransitive verb, though, can optionally take a postpositional phrase as its complement, the verb does not agree with it. Thus, after examining these structures, we can make a tentative hypothesis that in most cases, an intransitive verb along with its auxiliary (if there is any) agrees with its subject in number, person and gender.

2.1.b> <u>Agreement pattern of monotransitive verbs</u>:

Apart from those intransitive verbs, the transitive verbs also show agreement with their subjects. A transitive verb by definition requires a subject and also an object on its complement. A transitive verb shows agreement with a nominative subject in both imperfective and perfective aspect. First, let us see the case of imperfective aspect, as :-

18. ra:m laṛke ko ma:rta: hE
Ram-MS-Nom goy-MS-obl-Acc beat-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`Ram beats the boy.

9. mã: bačče ko kha:na: degi:
mother-FS-Nom child-MS-obl-Dat food-MS give-Imp-fut
`The mother will give the food to the child.'

10. ve sara:b pi: rahe the
they-MP-Nom wine-FS-Acc drink cont-Imp-MP be-past-MP
`They were drinking(taking) wine.'

The examples, given above, show that transitive verbs trigger agreement with their subjects if they are in nominative forms or do not bear any overtly marked case morphology. Secondly, in all these examples, verbs are in imperfective aspect.

Now, before we proceed further with our discussion on Subject-V agreement in perfective aspect, it is but necessary to look into the function of the verbal complex in H-U. In H-U, the verb shows relatively few inflectional affixes, but the verbal sequences are extemely complex and consist of as many as five or six elements as is depicted by the following example:-

10>a. uttam patr likhata: cala: ja: raha: tha:
Uttam-MS-Nom letter-FS-Acc write-Imp-MS move-MS go-MS cont-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`Uttam was going on writing the letter.'

As in the above example, the verbal sequence has a `*head*' which is marked for aspect such as perfect or imperfect. In other words, such head is the form that basically determines the selectional and subcategorial properties of the sequence.The final element of the sequence is auxiliary in the form of the verb,`*hona:`be'*, which is the only verb showing tense. Furthermore, the auxiliary, apart from showing tense marking, also shows agreement for person and number(in present form) and gender and number(in the past). The perfectivity of the main verb is shown in the participial endings such as `*Perfective- ya:/a:* ' and `*Imperfetive-ta:/i:/e* '.

This perfective and imperfective participles also show agreement for gender and number.

In some instances where the main verb does not inflect for number and gender, the agreement features are displayed by a perfective particle-`cuka:'. This particle shows the completion of the action and the perfective particle shows agreement for gender, number and person such as:-

10>b. ravi yah kiṭa:b paṛh čuka: hE
Ravi-MS-Nom this book-FS-Acc read Asp-perf-MS be-pres-MS
`Ravi already has read this book.'

Thus, these examples (10,a-b) show that the agreement features are distributed unevenly over the verbal complex, but all the forms susceptible to agreement marking show their occurrence mainly in the described two ways. We will maintain this distinction of the verbal complex (sequence) through out the work.

To proceed with our discussion of subject-verb agreement, now we should examine the case of transitive verbs in perfective aspect, which also show agreement with their subjects. Looking from the standard view of tense-aspect conditioned ergativity, we should expect (as maintained by several scholars) that in no case, a transitive verb can show agreement with subject in perfective aspect in H-U. However, this expectation is not sustainable because of the following examples which are fairly common in H-U and therefore must be considered before we make any such hypothesis:

11. rahi:m vah kiṭa:b paṛh čuka: ṭha:
Rahim-MS-Nom that book-FS-Acc read asp-perf-MS be-past-MS
`Rahim had read that book.'

12. sunil apni: kiṭa:b yahi: čhoṛ gaya: hE
Sunil-MS-Nom his-FS book-FS-Acc here leave go-perf-MS be-pres
`Sunil has left his book here.'

13. ḍi:pak mera: na:m bhul gaya: hoga:
Deepak-MS-Nom my name-MS-Acc forget go-perf-MS be-fut-MS
`Deepak would have forgotten my name.'

14. kari:m sabko apni: ba:ṭ kah čuka: ṭha:
Karim-MS-Nom to all his matter-FS-Acc tell asp-perf-MS be-past
`Karim had told his matter to all.'

15. vah apni: kiṭa:b la:ya:
he-MS-Nom his-FS book-FS-Acc bring-perf-MS
`He brought his book.'
(Gair & Wali-1989:50)

16. larkiyã: dudh la:yĩ:
girl-FP-Nom milk-MS-Acc bring-perf-FP
`The girls brought milk'
(ibid-1989:50)

All these examples are in perfective aspect and yet allow their verbs to agree with the subjects. In fact, if we leave the examples (15 & 16) and try to make the agreement between verbs and objects by assigning the subject an Ergative post-position , we find that we land up with ungrammatical sentence such as :

*17. rahi:m ne vah kiṭa:b paṛh čuki: thi:
rahim-MS-Erg that book-FS-Acc read asp-perf-FS be-past-FS
*`Rahim had read that book.'

In other words, we can say that object-verb agreement is not possible in such sentences which contain perfective auxiliaries of the kind typified by *`cuka:', -`finish'* and

`*gaya*',-`*go-perfect*'. One possible argument can be given for the behavior of these perfective elements that they appear more like indecent auxiliaries or light verbs[1], rather than the inflectional entities. This we can say because the negator `*nahi*' and emphatic or focus particles " *to and hi:* " can intervene between the main verb and these perfective elements, such as :

18. rahi:m vah kita:b parh to cuka: tha:
Rahim-MS-Nom that book-FS-Acc read Emph aspt-perf-MS be-past-MS
`Rahim had already read that book.'

19. di:pak mera: na:m bhul hi: gaya: hoga:
Deepak-MS-Nom my-MS name-MS-Acc forget Emph go-perf-MS be-fut-MS
` Deepak must have forgotten my name.

20. suni:l mujhe Esa: to kah nahi: gaya: tha:
Sunil-MS-Nom to me like this Emph tell not go-perf-MS be-past-MS
` Sunil had not told me like that.'

Looking at these possibilities discussed above, we can stress again that such non-ergative perfective patterns are extremely productive in H-U and almost any ergative perfective construction can be transformed into its non-ergative counter part. We will discuss the related issues with their importance and implications in subsequent chapter, after the completion of our present discussion of subject-verb agreement.

1.The constructions of light verbs and agreement will be discussed in detail in Chapter three.

2.1.c> Agreement pattern of ditransitive verbs

Apart from these transitive verbs, the ditransitive verbs also can show agreement with their subjects in both imperfective and perfective aspects. By definition, a ditransitive verb is the one which takes both a direct object and an indirect object as its arguments. In other words, what happens that we, sometimes, may want to talk about an event which involves someone in addition to the people or things that are subject and object of the clause. This third participant is someone who is benefited from the action or receives something as a result. They become the indirect object of the clause. The direct object, as usual, is the person or thing that something is done to. But the subject ,in order to show agreement with such ditransitive verbs, ought to be in nominative form i.e. it should not bear an overtly marked case morphology. For example:-

21. yah ṭi:car mujhe hamesa: ačče greḍ deṭe hẼ
that teacher-MS-Nom to me always good grade-MS-Acc give-MS(hon)-Imp be-pres-MS(hon)
`That teacher always gives me good grade.'

22. ra:m apne bha:i: ko čiṭṭhi: likh raha: hE
Ram-MS-Nom his brother-MS-Dat letter-FS-Acc write cont-Imp-MS be-pres
`Ram is writing the letter to his brother.'

23. kari:m mujhe urḍu paṛha:ṭa: ṭha:
Karim-MS-Nom to me Urdu-MS-Acc teach-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Karim used to teach me Urdu.'

24. yah a:ḍmi: mujhe roz ga:li: deṭa: hE
this man-MS-Nom to me everyday abuse-FS-Acc give-Imp-MS be-pres-ms
`This man abuses me everyday.'

All the above listed examples of ditransitive verbs show that subjects of such verbs in imperfective aspect can show agreement with them provided these subjects are in unmarked nominative form, i.e. do not bear an overt case morphology. This is what is the case of imperfect aspect of the ditransitive verbs and now we should examine the case of perfective aspect of ditransitive verbs and their agreement with the subjects. For this, we can see the following examples:

25. shya:m mohan ko kiṭa:b lo:ṭa: čuka: ṭha:
Shyam-MS-Nom Mohan-MS-Dat book-FS-Acc return asp-perf-MS be-past

`Shyam had returned the book to Mohan.'

26. siṭa: ra:m ko halwa: ḍe gayi: ṭhi:
Sita-FS-Nom Ram-MS-Dat halwa-MS-Acc give go-perf-FS be-past-FS

`Siṭa had given halwa to Ram.'

27. uday sabi:ṭa: ko kha:na: paros čuka: ṭha:
Uday-MS-Nom Sabita-FS-Dat meal-MS-Acc serve asp-perf-MS be-past-MS

`Uday had served the meal to Sabita.'

28. shya:m ra:m ko uski: kalam lo:ṭa: gaya: ṭha:
Shyam-MS-Nom Ram-MS-Dat his pen-FS-Acc return asp-perf-MS be-past

`Shyam had returned Ram's pen.'

29. gwa:la: mujhe subah ḍudh ḍe gaya: ṭha:
Milkman-MS-Nom to me morning-Loc milk-MS-Acc give asp-perf-MS be-past-MS

30. sabnam rahi:m ko paṭr likh čuki: ṭhi:
Sabman-FS-Nom Rahim-MS-Dat letter-FS-Acc write asp-perf-FS be-past-FS

`Sabnam had already written the letter to Rahim.'

Examples 25-30 show that even in the ditransitive verbs constructions, a verb can show agreement with its subject in perfective aspect. So, the general notion or assumption

regarding the perfective aspect in H-U, where it is argued that in no case it would be possible to have subject-V agreement in perfective construction, can not be accepted on the face value. The examples discussed above fairly show the possibility of such pattern. The data present here are very common in H-U and we can claim on the basis of these examples that it is always possible to have subject-V agreement in ditransitive construction, irrespective of imperfective and perfective aspect provided one has independent auxiliaries or light verbs such as *`cuka:'*, *`gaya:'and `a:ya:'*. In fact, this type of perfective pattern is so productive that any ergative construction can be transformed into its non-ergative counter part. In other words, we can have subject-V agreement by employing these light verbs because the use of such light verb facilitates non-ergative subject (i.e. a subject which does not bear an overt case morphology), to trigger agreement on verbs.

2.2. Object-Verb Agreement:

The case of object-V Agreement comes into function in H-U throught the employment of two major mechanisms i.e. Ergative construction and Dative construction. And before proceeding further to the discussion of object-V agreement, it is necessary to explain the notions of Ergativity and Dative subject (often called Experiential Subject).

The leading characteristic of Ergative languages is defined in terms of the similar treatment of subject of intransitive clause and the object of transitive clause. In other words, the Ergative languages group the subjects of intransitive verbs together with the objects of transitive verbs-(Dexon 1979, Van Valin 1990, Butt 1993). In contrast, the Accusative languages such as English and Romance, do not make such distinction and treat the subjects of intransitive verbs and subjects of transitive verbs alike. Thus, the ergative languages can be considered to be marked in the sense that they do not treat all the subjects alike, but align intransitive subjects with transitive objects. The difference of this sort may manifest itself either in terms of overt morphological case marking or in terms of different syntactic behavior of the two groups of languages.

H-U has been described synchronically as a split-ergtive language in the literature-(Dixon 1972, Bittner and Hale 1993). The term split is exclusively conditioned by transitivity and perfective aspect. However, researchers have made several attempts to prove that H-U does not meet the required conditions for Ergativity or split-creativity in a `deeper' sense[1]. In particular, PandhariPande and Kachru (1977) have made careful study of H-U by employing the param-

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1. For a detil explanation of sucg description of Hindi Ergative pattern see Allen (1951).

eter used in Dixion(1972) to identify ergative system. After a through study of the language under discussion, they have drawn a conclusion that H-U does not fit into the frame of a split ergative system as articulated by Dixon. An ergative system under the terminology established by Dixon is one which treats the subject of intransitive verb (S) and the object of transitive verbs (O) alike, with regard to a number of syntactic phenomena such as case marking and verb agreement. PandheriPande and Kachru have shown on the basis of the evidence gathered from the verb agreement, past participial modification, relativization and some other phenomena that (S*) is not always grouped with (O*), rather subject behaves like an Agent in some instances. In other words, for some syntactic processes, the subject status of a given NP, whether it be ergative or not, is relevant, while for some other processes, the particular case marking on a given NP is relevant. And it is the later relevancy of syntactic behavior of an NP marked with `ergative' case morpheme-ne, which plays an important role in object-V agreement. The agreement between object and verb takes place in H-U when subject of the clause bears an overtly marked case morphology (postposition), such as :-

31. kari:m ne ča:y pi:
Karim-MS-Erg tea-FS-Acc drink-perf-FS
`Karim took tea.'Or ` Karim had tea.'

32. sami:ra ne kha:na: kha:ya:
Samira-FS-Erg meal-MS-Acc eat-perf-MS
`Samira ate the meal.'

33. sohan ne kele khari:de
Sohan-MS-Erg banana-MP-Acc buy-perf-MP
`Sohan bought the bananas.'

34. larkõ ne mEč ji:ta:
boy-MP-Erg match-MS-Acc win-perf-MS
`The boys won the match.'

35. larkiyõ ne bahut ačče gi:t ga:ye
girl-FP-Erg very good song-MP-Acc sing-perf-MP
`The girls sang very good songs.'

All these examples depict the instances of object verb agreement because each of these constructions contains a subject which bears an ergative case marker-`ne'. Two possible reasons can be stated for the occurrence of this particle`-ne' is these construction. First, the presence of perfective aspect necessitates the use of this particle i.e. the ergative case marker-`ne'.

The second relevant factor is that it is typically necessary for the NP, in H-U, that behaves or functions as an *Agent* to take the ergative case marker. In other words, the perfective participle morphology, in most cases, on the main verb necessitates object-V agreement and the appearance of the ergative case marker with the subject. Now, let us examine the case of object-V agreement in ditransitive verb constructions. The examples of such construction are as follow:

36. mi:ra: ne mohan ko upha:r diya:
Mira-FS-Erg Mohan-MS-Dat gift-MS-Acc give-perf-MS
`Mira gave the gift to Mohan.'

37. anil ne sabnam ko ek čiṭṭhi: likhi:
Anil-MS-Erg Sabnam-FS-Dat one letter-FS write-perf-FS
`Anil wrote a letter to Sabnam.'

38. no:kar ne mali:k ko pEse lo:ṭa:ye
servant-MS-Erg master-MS-Dat money-MP-Acc return-perf-MP
`The servent returned the money to the master.'

39. sami:ra: ne sabnam ke liye pa:n laga:ya:
Samira-FS-Erg Sabnam-FS-Dat betal leaf-MS-Acc put-perf-MS
`Samira made the betel leaf for sabnam.'

40. ga:y ne bačhṛe ko ḍudh pilaya:
cow-FS-Erg calf-MS-obl-Dat milk-MS make drink-perf-MS
`The cow made the calf drink the milk.'

41.ranjana: ne bhikha:ri ko kha:na: di:ya:
Ranjana-FS Erg beggar-MS DAT food-MS-Acc give-perf-MS
`Ranjana gave the food to the beggar.'

42. si:ṭa: ne baččo ko kapṛe pahna:ye
Sita-FS-Erg child-MS-obl-Dat clothe-MP-Acc make wear-perf-MP
`Sita made the children wear the clothes.'

43. ravi ne uday ke liye pEse la:ye
Ravi-MS-Erg Uday-MS-dat money bring-perf-MP
` Ravi brought money for Uday.'

44. suniṭa: ne aji:ṭ ke liye no:kari ḍhunḍhi:
Sunita-FS-Erg Ajit-MS-Dat job-FS-Acc search-perf-FS
`Sunita searched the job for Ajit.'
45. ma:li:k ne no:kar ko i:na:m diya:
Master-MS-Erg servant-MS-Dat reward-MS-Acc give-perf-MS
`Master gave the reward to the servant.'

The two possible factors, mentioned earlier, for the occurrence of the ergative case marker in the constructions of object-V agreement, also hold true in the context of ditransitive verbs. The examples (36)-(45) support these factors i.e. the presence of the perfective aspect on non serial main verb complex along with the function of subject NP as an agent makes the occurrence of ergative case marker-`*ne*' obligatory.

The afore-mentioned two factors which make the presence of an ergative case marker -`*ne*' with subject NP of both

transitive and ditransitive clauses, also play an important role in facilitating the object-verb agreement in H-U. The ergative subject of the transitive clause does not trigger agreement on the verb because it bears an overtly marked case -*`ne'*. The verb, in such case, looks for an argument which is in direct-case i.e. overtly unmarked. The objects of the transitive clauses in examples (31-35) are cases in point. Similarly, in ditransitive clauses, (36-45), both the subject and the indirect object have been marked with overt case markers -*`ne' and `ko'* respectively. In this case, none of these arguments triggers agreement on the verb. So, the verb agrees with direct object of the clause which does not contain such overt case morphology.

In order to explain the nature of the verb in the constructions of object-verb agreement, we need to assimilate the accountable part of the hypotheses of Gair and Wali 1989, and Khan 1989[1]. We need to predestine the best part of their hypotheses and incorporate them into one -*(a)....morphologically case marked argument are not `bare' NPs.....(Gair and Wali-1989),(b)....the NPs, bearing overt case markers are actually not NPs but the PPs (Khan 1989)*. So, if we coalesce these two hypotheses, we come to a solution which ensures that only those (NPs/argument/subject/object) control agreement which are not overtly marked with case-markers, because

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1.For detail explanation of these hypotheses see Chapter one

the NPs bearing overt cases are treated as PPs. Consequently, agreement between the NP, inside an argument PP, and the verbal complex, is blocked. The blocking, then, necessitates another inflectional `base' NP to enter into this relationship. This relationship only is termed as object-V agreement.

Another important factor for the emergence of object-V agreement relationship in H-U comes into evidence from dative-construction. Dative constructions can employ both intransitive and transitive verbs[1]. The instances of object-V agreement can be evidenced only from transitive verbs because of structural requirements. A transitive verb shows agreement with its object in H-U, when the subject NP bears on overt marked case-`*ko*'. This case marker-`ko' is used in H-U for both dative and accusative cases. There has been a lot of debate whether dative and accusative are different of same. If they are same then the question arises as to why this is so, and if they are different then the general query is how ? Different scholars have presented different opinions and explanations. But instead of going into details of the issue, we can summarize the issue in the following way for a clear understanding of the term-"dative case".

46. sunita: ko kaha:ni: ya:d a:yi:
Sunita-FS-Dat story-FS-Acc memory come-perf-FS
`Sunita remembered the story.'

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1. For intransitive verbs, employed in Dative construction, see the section *"Blocking of Agreement"* in this Chapter.

47.a.resma: ne ravi ko kiṭa:b di:
Reshma-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Dat book-FS-Acc give-perf-FS
`Reshma gave a book to Ravi.'

47.b.ranjana: ne roṭi: ko paka:ya:
Ranjana-FS-Erg bread-FS-Acc cook-perf-MS-defl.
`Ranjana baked the bread.'-(a particular kind).

T. Mohanan (1990,1993a) and M. Butt (1993,1993a) argue that the dative case in H-U appears only on goals, whether it is spatial, as in (47a) or abstract as in (46). However, because the dative marker-`ko' in (46) is homophonous with the accusative `ko' in (47b), the two cases have often been treated as one and the same. For example, Mahajan (1990) is the one whose recent analysis of Hindi scrambling phenomena presupposes that every instance of `ko' must be treated as inherent dative case. On the other hand, within T.Mohanan's (1990) approach to *Arguments in Hindi* and in M.Butt's (1993) analysis of *Complex Predicates*, a dative `*ko*' has been carefully distinguished from an accusative `*ko*' as explained by above example (47,a,b).

The debate and disagreement with regard to the analysis of dative and accusative is not a recent phenomenon in the literature and fairly goes back to Allen (1951), who has argued against the prevalent ideas of the time that every instances of the Hindi-`*ko*' should be treated as a dative case. In fact, it can be clearly explained that although the dative-`*ko*' and the accusative-`*ko*' are homophonous, they fulfill two different functions and appear in complementary

distribution[1]. For example let us repeat our examples (47,ab) with a slight change is (48,ab):

*48.a. rešma: ne ravi kiṭa:b di:
Reshma-fs-Erg Ravi-ms-? book-fs-Acc give-perf-fs
`Reshma gave the book to Ravi.'

48.b. ranjana: ne roṭi: paka:yi:
Ranjana-fs-Erg bread-fs-Acc bake-perf-fs
`Ranjana baked the bread.'

Thus, example (48a) shows that the dative marker `*ko*' of (47a) is not optional and that is why (48a) without `ko' on the indirect object is ungrammatical, while the accusative -`*ko*' of (47,b) is completely optional and (48,b) is perfectly grammatical even without a -`*ko*' on its direct object. So, a clear distinction can be made between the -`*ko*' of indirect objects and the -`*ko*' of direct objects. The optionality of -`*ko*' in direct objects has been noticed by several scholars e.g. Allen 1951, Masica 1976, Comrie 1981, Mahajan 1990, T. Mohanan 1990, Singh, 1993, Butt 1993, Abbi 1994. According to the analysis of these linguists, there is a correlation between animacy, definiteness and the appearance of -`*ko*' on direct objects. Allen (1951, Pg 70) furthermore, remarks on the contrast between the `definiteness' in (47b) and the `indefiniteness' is (48b) "..... *that these terms cover a variety of subtleties in usages, and the translations by means of the English indefinite and definite articles must be considered convenient rather than accurate*". However, Butt

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1.For more detail analysis see Kipasky (1987)

(1993: Pg 17) argues that the H-U accusative -`*ko'* in (48b) should be treated as a marker of`**specificity'**, rather than `**definiteness'**. In order to support her argument, she presents the example of Urdu accusative which is analogous with the Turkish accusative[1] as follows:

49.a> adna:n a:j ra:t ki: salen ke liye murgi: ča:hta: tha:
Adnan-MS-Nom today night-FS-Gen curry for chicken-FS-Nom want-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Adnan wanted chicken for tonight's curry.'

49.b> uske kha:nsa:me ne baza:r se murgi: khari:di:
he-Obl-Gen cook-MS-Obl-Erg market-MS-Abl chicken-FS-Acc buy-perf-FS
`His cook bought a chicken from the market.'

49.c uske kha:nsa:me ne ba:za:r se murgi: ko khari:da:
he-Obl-Gen cook-MS-Erg market-MS-Abl chicken-FS-Acc buy-perf-defl
` His cook bought a particular chicken from the market.'

According to her analysis, the sentence in (49a) sets up a context in which the direct object `*murgi:'*-`*chicken'*, is interpreted as non-specific. The sentence in (49b), where `*murgi:'* is not marked with -`ko', is perfectly good within the context of (49a) and it can also be treated as non specific. However in (49c) `*murgi:Ko'*- `*chicken-Acc'* can only receive a specific interpretation, and the sentence is therefore strange within the context of (49a). The only viable interpretation of (49c) is one, in which it must be assumed that the cook already had a particular chicken in his mind, which he had wished to cook, so he went to the market and

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1.For the analysis of Turkish accusative see M. Enc.

bought it.

After all these explanation about the different treatments of the dative and the accusative, and specially the analogous comparison of Urdu accusative on Turkish line, we can conclude the issue that the dative-`*ko*' and the accusative -`*ko*', though are homophonous in H-U, appear on different grammatical relations and are governed by different semantic interpretations. The accusative `*ko*' is a marker of `*specificity*' *or* `*definiteness*' on direct objects, while the dative -`*ko*' indicates the semantic notion of goal and can appear on both subjects and indirect objects. When it appears with subjects, in transitive clauses, it obligates the direct object to trigger the agreement on the verb, while its appearance on the indirect object, in ditransitive clauses, necessitates the verb to agree with the direct object of the clause. In support of these assumptions, we can see the following examples:

50.uḍay ko khiṛki: se čа:nd ḍikha:
Uday-MS-Dat window-from moon-MS-Acc become visible-perf-MS
`Uday saw the moon from the window.'
Or, 'To Uday the moon became visible through the window.'

51. ravi ko no:kari: mili:
Ravi-MS-Dat job-FS-Acc get-perf-FS
`Ravi got the job.'

52. mujhe saṛak par ek puṣṭak mili:
I-MS-Dat road on one book-FS-Acc find-perf-FS
`I found a book on the road.'

53. use ḍin mẽ ṭa:re ḍikhe
he-MS-Dat daylight in star-MP-Acc become visible-perf-MP
`He saw stars in the daylight'.
`The stars became visible to him in the daylight.'

54. sunita: ko is ba:t se khuši: hui:
Sunita-FS-Dat this matter from happiness-FS-Acc happen-perf-FS
`Sunita became happy of this matter.'

55. čuhe ko billi: se dar laga:
mouse-MS-Obl-Dat cat from fear-MS-Acc seem-perf-MS
`The mouse became afraid of the cat.'

56. bhaiya ko mitha:i: aččhi: lagi:
brother-MS-Dat sweet-FS-Acc good-FS seem-perf-FS
`The brother found the sweet good(testy).'

57. šilpi: ko dava:i: pi:ni: pari:
Shilpi-FS-Dat medicine-FS-Acc drink-FS fall-perf-FS
`Shilpi had to drink the medicine.'

As we see,-`*ko*' in all the above examples (59-58), the dative case appears with subject NP and this obligates the verb to agree with the direct object which bears no such overt case morphology. Apart from this, the dative case can also occur with indirect object in ditransitive clauses such as :-

58. mã: ne bačče ko dudh pila:ya:
mother-FS-Erg child-MS-Obl-Dat milk-MS-Acc make drink-perf-MS
`Mother made the child drink the milk.'

59. akbar ne bi:rbal ko i:na:m diya:
Akbar-MS-Erg Birbal-MS-Dat prize-MS-Acc give-perf-MS
`Akbar gave the prize to Birbal.'

60. rajni:š ne šruti: ko pustak di:
Rajnish-MS-Erg Shruti-FS-Dat book-FS-Acc give-perf-FS
`Rajnish gave the book to Shruti.'

61. usne mujhe meri pustak lo:ta:yi:
he-MS-Erg I-MS-Dat my book-FS-Acc return-perf-FS
`He returned me my book.'

In examples (59-63) the dative case occurs with indirect objects. The subject NPs already bear on overtly marked case i.e. ergative case and we have seen in our previous section

that NPs bearing an ergative do not reflect agreement on verbs. So, in this case, when subject and indirect object of a ditransitive clause bear ergative and dative cases viz -`*ne*' and -`*ko*' respectively, what we are left with is the unmarked direct object and the verb agrees with this unmarked direct object.

These sorts of dative construction have drawn considerable attention and sparked the interest of linguistic researchers since Emeneau (1956). The dative subject construction, also known as `*experiencer subject*[1]', in H-U, has been studied in great detail in Bhatt, (1974), Shapiro (1974), Hook (1976), Kachru (1966 : 70), Davison (1969), Verma (1976) and Abbi (1974), among others. The term `*experiencer subject*' often used to refer to dative subjects, suggests that there is an exclusive association between the semantic notion of experiencer and dative case. However, as is evident in other South Asian languages, the facts of H-U also show that the semantic basis for dative case cannot be reduced to the notion of experiences. For instance, in example (53), the subject of the simple verb `find' cannot be called an experiencer, yet, it has dative case. An explanatory answer comes from the elaborate analysis of Abbi (1994), where she treats such verbs as benefactive verbs and their subjects are classified as non-experincers. But the issue becomes more compli-

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1.For further detail and explanation see Abbi (1994).

cated with the evidence of the following constructions:

62. salma: ne khiṛki: se ča:nd ḍekha:
Salma-MS-Erg window from moon-MS-Acc see-perf-MS
`Salma saw the moon through the window.'

63. uḍay ne din mẽ ṭa:re ḍekhe
Uday-MS-Erg day light in star-MP-Acc see-perf-MP
`Uday saw the stars in the day light.'

64. suniṭa: is ba:ṭ se khuš hui:
Sunita-FS-Nom this matter from happy become-perf-FS
` Sunita became happy with the matter.'

These examples (64-66) contrast with (50,54 and 55) respectively mainly in meaning but not in `*theta role*'. The subject in each of these is clearly an *experiencer* and yet it is in nominative or ergative case. So, the notion `*experiencer*' is neither sufficient nor necessary for its semantic association with dative case. This assumption of course, remains a topic for further research. So, we limit our study by looking at only those aspects of dative case which keep concern with agreement phenomenon. And as we observed earlier, the appearance of dative case marker -`*ko*' with subject NP or with indirect object disallow them to inflect the agreement on the verb and necessitates the verb to agree with the direct object of transitive and ditransitive clauses. This agreement of verb and direct object has been termed as object-verb agreement in the literature.

2.3 - Neutral form or Default from or Agreement:

What we have been observing in our previous sections is that the verbal string reflects the agreement property (ies) of an NP, only if it has not been marked by any overt case

morphology e.g. `*ergative, dative, accusative or instrumental cases* '. But we can also have such constructions where there is no `*bare NPs*', (examples of (b) type) to trigger the agreement on the verbal strings (in case of auxiliaries) such as :

65.a> kari:m sami:ra: ko bula: raha: ṭha:
Karim-MS-Nom Samira-FS-Acc call-MS cont-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Karim was calling Samira.'

65.b> kari:m ne sami:ra: ko bula:ya:
Karim-MS-Erg Samira-FS-Acc call-perf-MS-defl.
`Karim called Samira.'

66.a> šilpi: ravi ko ḍã:ṭ rahi: hE
Shilpi-FS-Nom Ravi-MS-Acc scold cont-Imp-FS be-pres-FS
`Shilpi is scolding Ravi.'

66.b> šilpi: ne ravi ko ḍã:ṭa:
Shilpi-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Acc scold-perf-MS-defl
`Shilpi scolded Ravi.'

67.a> pulis čor ko pi:ṭ rahi: ṭhi:
Police-FS-Nom thief-MS-Acc beat cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`The police was beating the thief.'

67.b> pulis ne cor ko pi:ṭa:
police-FS-Erg thief-MS-Acc beat-perf-MS-defl
`The police beat the thief.'

In all these examples (67-69), the subtype (a) exhibits that the verb agrees with its subject NP because it is in direct case or bears no overt case morphology. However, the subtype (b) shows that there is no such NP available to which verb can be coindexed for GNP. In such a case, where there is no eligible `direct-case-nominal' or `bare NP' to trigger the agreement on verb, the verb represents a neutral or default form *(y)a: i.e. 3P.M.S* (third person masculine singular).

We can term *"the neutral or default form"* of agreement as *"blocking of agreement"*, because the emergence of the former takes place when the nominal elements are followed or assigned with any postposition or overtly marked case morphology such as *-ne,-ko,-se,-me etc.* (ergative dative, accusative, instrumental and locative). This kind of *`blocking'* takes place at several levels in different types of constructions. For examples :

68.a> sami:ra: maccʰaṛ ma:r rahi: ṭhi:
Smira-FS-Nom mosquito-MP-Acc kill cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`Samira was killing the mosquitoes.'

68.b> sami:ra: maccʰaṛõ ko ma:r rahi: ṭhi:
Samira-FS-Nom mosquito-MP-Acc kill cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`Samira was killing the mosquitoes.'

68.c> sami:ra: ne maccʰaṛ ma:re
Samira-FS-Erg mosquito-MP-Acc kill-perf-MP
`Samira killed the mosquitoes.'

68.d> sami:ra: ne maccʰaṛo ko ma:ra:
Samira-fs-Erg mosquito-mp-Acc kill-perf-ms-defl
`Samira killed the mosquitoes.'

The example, given above (68) and their subsets show how the appearance of postpositions or case markers with nominal elements go on blocking the scope of agreement between these nominal and the verb at different levels. In (68a) both subject NP and object NP are`bare' and do not bear any overtly marked case and the verb shows the preference to agree with subject NP. This preference takes place because the subject is said to be the higher argument than the object

in the subcategorization of the verb[1]. The example (68b) exhibits the agreement between the subject and the verb because the object NP is overtly marked with accusative case. In (68c), the subject NP is marked with the ergative case -`ne' which blocks the agreement between subject and verb. The object NP, in this case, enters into the scene and triggers the agreement on verb. The last example (68d) depicts altogether a different situation as both subject NP and object NP have been marked with overt case morphology which blocks the agreement between the verb and these nominals. In this case, the verb inflects for the default form (3rd P.M.S.). Such case of blocking phenomenon between the nominal elements and the verb is very much prevalent in intransitive; transitive and ditransitive clauses in H-U, enumerating each of these constructions.

2.3.a> Blocking Of Agreement in Intransitive Clause:-

Intransitive verbs normally agree with their subjects which have no overt case markings. Intransitive verbs show this pattern irrespective of aspect such as:-

69.a> laṛki: so rahi: hE
girl-FS-Nom sleep cont-Imp-FS be-pres-FS
`The girl is sleeping.'

69.b> laṛka: ḍo:r raha: ṭha:
boy-MS-Nom run cont-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`The boy was running.'

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1. For a detail study about the "Arguments in Hindi" see Mohanan (1990,1994).

69.c> laṛke ro rahe hẼ
boy-MP-Nom cry cont-Imp-MP be-pres-MP
`Boys are crying.'

69.d> laṛkiyã: a: rahĩ: thĩ:
girl-FP-Nom come cont-Ipm-FP be-past-FP
`Girls were coming.'

In all these examples, the verbs and auxiliaries show agreement with their subject as these subject do not bear any overt marked case morphology. But there are a small number of intransitive verbs which behave like transitive verbs in the perfective aspect. These verbs have been termed as `*ambient verbs*' (Chafe 1970) and are often called anomalous intransitive verbs in the literature (Comrie 1984).These verbs, due to their semantic nature, not only express the action but also the environment or intention of the action performed by the agent. The subject of these verbs takes the overt case marker -`*ne*' in perfective form. For example (adopted from Van Olphen - 1975: 184):-

70.a> laṛki: naha:ṭi: hE
girl-FS-Nom bath-Imp-FS be-pres-FS
` The girl takes bath.'

70.b> larki: ne naha:ya:
girl-FS-Erg bath-perf-MS-defl
` The girl bathed.'

71.a>salma: ć̀hĩ:k rahi: ṭhi:
Salma-FS-Nom sneeze cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
` Salma was sneezing.'

71.b> salma: ne ć̀hĩ:ka:
Salma-FS-Erg sneeze-perf-MS-defl
`Salma sneezed.'

72.a> vah khã:s raha: hE
he-MS-Nom caugh cont-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
` He is caughing.'

72.b> usne khã:nsa:
he-MS-Erg caugh-perf-MS-defl
`He caughed.'

73.a> kutte bhõ:kate hẽ
dog-MP-Obl-Nom bark-Imp-MP be-pres-MP
`The dogs bark.'

73.b> kutto: ne bhõ:ka:
dog-MP-Obl-Erg bark-perf-MS-defl
`The dogs barked.'

But examine the following sentences:-

74.a> laṛka: a: raha: hE
boy-MS-Nom come cont-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`The boy is coming.'

*74.b> larka: ne a:ya:

75.a> laṛki: so rahi: thi:
girl-FS-Nom sleep cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`The girl was sleeping.'

*75.b> laṛki: ne soya:

In the examples (70-73), all the subtypes (a) show the agreement between the subjects and their verbs as they do not bear any overtly marked case morphology. In contrast, the subtypes (b) fail to depict such agreement because of the appearance of the ergative postpositon -*`ne'* with the nominal elements. In other word, this appearance of the ergative case with subject NP blocks the agreement between subject and the verb and leads the emergence of the default form. This, however does not happen with examples (74-75) and their subsets. The assignment of ergative postposition with (74b & 75b) makes these constructions ungrammatical. One possible reason for such behavior of anomalous and non-anomalous

intransitive verbs is explained like this,"....*it is necessary for the NP that takes the ergative case marker to be agentive....*" (Saleemi, 1994: 289). This can explain why ergative markers are possible with the subjects of the anomalous intransitive verbs in 70-74. The subject NPs of the subtype (b) in these examples have been assigned with ergative marker because the nature of the action described is intended to be agentive and volitional, while this feature is altogether absent in the subset of (74-75). In these examples, the agentivity element is either very weak or almost non-existent.

2.3.b. Blocking Due To Dative Subject & Infinitives Form of Main Verb :-The appearance of the dative case with the subject NP of intransitive verbs along with the infinitive marker *-na:* on its main verb also blocks the agreement between the subject and the verb.

76.a> mahmud hãsṭa: hE
Mahmud-MS-Nom laugh-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`Mahmud laughs.'

76.b> mahmud ko hãsna: paṛa:
mahmud-MS-Dat laugh-Inf-MS fall-perf-MS
`Mahmud was compelled to laugh.'

77.a> mẽ a:j bahuṭ khuš hũ:
I-IstP-MS-Nom today very happy be-pres-IstP-MS
`Today I am very happy.'

77.b> mujhko a:j khuš hona: paṛa:
I-MS-Dat today happy be-Inf-MS fall-perf-MS
`I was compelled to be happy.'

78.a> ravi ro raha: ṭha:
Ravi-MS-Nom cry cont-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Ravi was crying.'

78.b> ravi ko rona: a:ya:
Ravi-MS-Dat cry-Inf-MS come-perf-MS
`Ravi felt like crying.'

In these examples (76-78), the subtypes (a) show the agreement of the subject and the verb as the subject of these intransitive verbs does not bear any overt case marker. In case of the subtypes (b), the verbs fail to agree with their subjects because these subjects are overly marked with the dative case and the infinitive marker `*-na:*' with main verb leads to the emergence of the *Default form- 3rd PMS*. We will take up the issue in chapter three and look into the problems of *infinitives* in detail.

2.3.C Blocking Of Agreement in Monotransitive Clause:-

Blocking in monotransitive clause takes place when both the subject and the object are marked overtly with case markers or postpositions. For examples:

79.a> rešma: ravi: ko ḍekh rahi: thi:
Reshma-FS-Nom Ravi-MS-Acc see cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`Reshma was looking at Ravi.'

79.b> rešma: ne ravi: ko ḍekha:
Reshma-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Acc see-perf-MS-defl
`Reshma saw Ravi.'

80.a> uḍay saloni: ko bula: raha: hE
Uday-MS-Nom Saloni-FS-Acc call cont-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`Uday is calling on Saloni.'

80.b> uḍay ne saloni: ko bula:ya:
Uday-MS-Erg Saloni-FS-Acc call-perf-MS-defl
`Uday called on Saloni.'

81.a> baćče pa:gal ko ćiṛha: rahe the
boy-MP-Nom mad man-MS-Acc tease cont-Imp-MP be-past-MP
`The boys were teasing the mad man.'

81.b> baccõ ne pa:gal ko cirha:ya:
boy-MP-Erg mad man-MS-Acc tease-perf-MS-defl
`The boys teased the mad man.'

As we see, the subtypes (a) of these examples (79-81) have the potentiality to show the agreement between the subject and the verb as the subject of these constructions is *`a bare NP'*. We have already seen that only a bare NP can trigger agreement on the verb. The subtypes (b), however, fail to show such relationship as the subjects along with the objects, have been overtly marked with ergative and accusative postpositions. Since, the NPs bearing an overt case morphology, are actually the part of PPs, the agreement between the NPs and the verbs, inside an argument PP, is *`blocked'*.

2.3.d Blocking of Agreement in Ditransitive Clause:

In a ditransitive clause, the indirect object is always marked with an overt case, So, there are two possibilities left in such construction. Firstly, the subject of the clause, if it does not bear an overt case, can trigger agreement on the verb. Secondly, if the subject is also marked with an overt case, the direct object of this construction which is generally in direct case or does not bear an overt case controls the agreement. Examples can be presented like this:

82.a> ravi sunita: ko kita:b deta: hE
Ravi-MS-Nom Sunita-FS-Dat book-FS-Acc give-Imp-MS be-pres
`Ravi gives the book to Sunita.'

82.b> ravi ne sunita: ko kita:b di:

Ravi-MS-Erg Sunita-FS-Dat book-FS-Acc give-perf-FS
`Ravi gave the book to Sunita.'

However, in certain context, the direct object may also be marked with -`*ko'*. The appearance the overt marked case with direct object blocks the agreement between different arguments (i.e. ***S : I O and D O***) and the verb . In this case, there is no bare NPs or arguments left to trigger the agreement, the verb reflects for the default form (3rd PMS). We can observe this in the following examples:-

83. saloni: ne us aurat ko pulis ko ḍikha:ya:
Saloni-FS-Erg that woman-FS-Acc police-FS-Dat show-perf-MS-defl

`Saloni showed that woman to the police.'

84. anil ne gend ko mujhe pa:s kar ḍiya:
Anil-MS-Erg ball-MS-Acc I-Dat pass do give-pref-MS-defl
`Anil passed over the ball to me.'

85. sarita: ne mere liye ḍoctar ko bula:ya:
Sarita-FS-Erg I-Dat for doctor-MS-Acc call-perf-MS-defl
`Sarita called the doctor for me.'

86. mã: ne mere liye a:ya: ko ḍã:ta:
mother-FS-Erg I-Dat for maid servant-FS-Acc scold-perf-MS-defl

` The mother scolded the maid servant for me.'

As is evident from these examples (83-86) that the indirect object of the ditransitive clause is always marked with overt case -`*ko'*. The verb, then, can show agreement with the subject NP, if the clause is imperfective and the agreement is controlled by the direct object if the clause is perfective and the subject NP bears an ergative case -`*ne'*. But in the above examples, even this argument of the clause is overtly marked with a postposition which blocks the

agreement of the verbs and the argument (direct object). Thus, these overt case marking forces the verb to inflect for the *default or neutral form that is 3rd P.MS* .

CHAPTER THREE

AGREEMENT WITHIN CLAUSES

In the preceding chapter, we explained the pattern of agreement phenomenon in simple clauses. The agreement system of simple sentence in H-U poses no problem and shows a clear pattern which we can sum up in the following way:-

A) In simple sentences (clauses), a verb, in H-U agrees with an unmarked NP i.e. an NP having the nominative/absolutive case-marker (bare NP).

B) Agreement in H-U follows the following hierarchy:
i) Subject NP
ii) direct object NP
iii) If neither (i) nor (ii) above is eligible for agreement (i.e. if both lack the case marker (bare form), the verb gets the unmarked, default agreement, namely the third person masculine singular.

These rules take care of as far the simple clauses are concerned and it would have been a matter of great pleasure, if these rules could have been able to account for any sort or all kinds of data of the language (H-U) under discussion. But, this is not the case and our hope gets shattered when we encounter a bulk of data in the form of complex sentences. This chapter is an attempt to capture various types of complex sentences and examine the pattern or system of agreement within these clauses. While doing so, we will limit our focus and will include only those complex structures which are important from the point of view of their agreement patterns.

In this chapter, we will be analysing the following types of constructions:

1) Co-ordination and Agreement

2) Complex Predicates and Agreement

a) Conjunct verb and agreement

b) Compound verb and agreement

c) Infinitive constituent and agreement.

3.1 ***Co-ordination and agreement:***

Chomsky's invocation, in 1965, to the co-ordinately conjoined sentences in English and the propagation of a condition that such constituents should be of the `***same type***', enkindled the interest of many linguists like S. Annear (1967), R. Long (1967), J. Rosds (1967) Wierzbicka and Paul Schater (1977), to look into the issue seriously, though Chomsky never went further to explain the condition about such constituents i.e. *"same type"*. Among the afore-mentioned linguists, Paul Schater's observation of the coordinate constructions provided a solid base to such constructions. He proposed a definition or rather a constraint of the co-ordinate construction as follows,....."*the constituents of a co-ordinate construction must belong to the same syntactic category and have the same semantic function*".

The above definition allows us to conjoin the following constructions:

1) ravi a:m aur kela kharia:ḍ raha: tha:
Ravi-MS-Non mango-MP and banan-MP-Acc buy-cont-Imp-MS be-past-MS.

`Ravi was buying mangoes and bananas'.

2) sarita: parhna: aur likhana: ja:nti: hE
Sarit-FS-Non read-Inf-MS and write-Inf-MS know-Imp-FS be-pres.
`Sarita knows reading and writings.'

3) anil ne kalam aur pencil khariḍe
Anil-MS-Erg pen-FS and pencil-FS-Acc buy-perf-MP
`Anil bought pen and pencil'.

The identity criteria of both syntactic and semantic functions, in these examples, have been maintained to rule out the following type of ungrammatical sentences as they violate the constraints:

4)* ravi a:m aur sona: khari:d raha: tha:
Ravi-MS-Non mango-MS and gold-MS Acc buy cont-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Ravi was buying mangoes and gold.'

5)* si:lu ne zor se aur bačče ko pi:ta:
Silu-FS-Erg hard with and child-MS-Obl-Acc hit-perf-MS
`Shilu with hard and hit the child.'
(Abbi 1979;Pg:60)

6)* ra:m aur seb ačče hE
Ram-MS and apple-MP-Nom good-MP be-pres-MP
`Ram and apple are good.'
(ibid:60)

Thus according to Paul Schater's proposal and his observation, one needs to take both semantic and synactic `*identities*' in account for the coordinately conjoined sentences. Abbi (1979) counters his proposal by objecting the essentiality of the identity of syntactic function in such construction. She argues that an appropriate and correct semantic representation of such construction will automatically generate a proper syntactic representation. (Abbi 1979:60). She proved her statement by enumerating and analys-

ing various kinds of coordinate constructions, available in H-U. As the arguments, she has presented in support of her statement, have been given a careful treatment, we also stick to her proposal and finding (see Abbi : 1979 for more details).

What makes the co-ordinate constructions distinct, as far the agreement pattern is concerned, from various other sub-ordinate conjunctions, is the fact that when two or more sentences are conjoined, neither is subordinate to the other.In other words, in Sub-ordinate constructions, one sentences or clause depends on the other or acts as the subordinate part of the other. For example:

7) mɛ̃ vahã: se ʈab a:ya: jab ba:riš ruk čuki: ʈhi:
I-MS-Nom there from then come-perf-MS when rain-FS stop asp-Perf-FS be-past-FS
`I started from there when rain had stopped.'

Example `7' has been derived from the given two sentences below:-

7(a) mɛ̃ vahã: se a:ya:
I-MS-Nom there from come-perf-MS
`I came from there.'

b) ba:riš ruk čuki: ʈhi:
rain-FS-Nom stop Asp-perf-FS be-past-FS
`The rain had stopped.

When we conjoin these two clauses with the help of linking words i.e. `*ʈab--jab,-`then--when'*, we get the sub-ordinate clause given in example (7). And it is very much known that in this example (7a) is dependent on (7b) or the

subordinate to it. Now let us examine the instances of co-ordinate construction, given below:

8) sab laṛke aur laṛkiyã: beṭh gaye
all boy-MP and girl-FP-Nom sit go-perf-MP
`All the boys and girls sat downs.'

In the above co-ordinated sentences, both the member sentences are independent and has been derived from these independent sentences, given below:

8)a. sab laṛke beṭh gaye
all boy-MP-Nom sit go-perf-MP
`All the boy sat down.'
8)b. sab laṛkiyã: beṭh gayi:
all girl-FP-Nom sit go-perf-FP
`All the girls sat down.'

The above two independent sentences are, first, clubbed together into a compound sentence, such as:

8)c. sab laṛke beṭh gaye aur sab laṛkiyã: beṭh gaĩ:
all boy-MP-Nom sit go-perf-MP and all girl-FP-Nom sit go-perf-FP
`All the boys sat down and all the girls sat down.'

The deletion of the identical quantifiers, *`sab'-`all'*, of the compound sentence (8c) gives us the required coordinate sentence listed above in example (8). Let us examine the co-ordinations formed through such process:

There are various kinds of coordinate constructions that can be noticed in H-U. But, we need to limit our focus because our interest is invested only in that part of co-ordination which displays interesting agreement pattern. However, we list the most commonly used coordination in H-U. (For detail studies of these coordination see Abbi-1979).

(i) Cunjunct coordination:--`aur`-and';`aur...bhi,`-and...also `phir... bhi:'-`even.. then'.

(ii) Disjunctive coordination:--`ya:`-or',`athva:`-or'`nahĩ:to `otherwise; na.. na``neither... nor'.

(iii) Causal coordination:--`kyoki,`-because',`ke ka:ran,`-because of,' `isliye, athva:`-therefore'.

(iv) Adversative coordination[1]:--` par, parantu`-but'.

The agreement pattern in the constructions of these co-ordinate conjuncts is similar to that of simple clauses, listed before. (see Abbi 1979). The constructions conjoined by *`aur'-`and'* displays an interesting agreement pattern. The conjunct `*aur*' not only conjoins the independent sentences into one but also the lexical elements. For example:

(9) uday aur rajni:š kha:na: kha: čuke the.
Uday-MS and Rajnish-MS-Nom meal-MS-Acc eat Asp-perf-mp be-past-MP
`Uday and Rajnish had eaten the meal.'

(10) sunita: aur ravi tahal rahe the
Sunita-FS and Ravi-MS-Nom walk cont-Imp-MP be-past-MP
`Sunita and Ravi were walking.'

(11) nišа:nt aur tita:s parh rahe hẽ
Nishant-MS and Titas-FS-Nom read cont-Imp-MP be-past-MP
`Nishant and Titas are reading.'

(12) yahã: ba:gh aur bakri: ek ghat mẽ pa:ni: pite hẽ
here tiger-MS and goat-FS-Nom one bank in Water-MS drink-Imp-MP be MP.
`Here, tiger and goat drink water in one bank.'

(13) to:ta: aur mEna: ek hi: da:l par bethe hẽ
parrot-MS and nightingale-FS-Nom one Emp branch on sit-Imp-MP be-pres-MP
`The parrot and the mena are sitting on the same branch'.

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1. For this category of Co-ordination see Kachru-(1970).

These examples depict that when two lexical elements (mostly nominal elements) are conjoined with a conjunct `*aur'-and*, the verb inflects for plural masculine number. This is quite normal and expected. The next thing what makes the issue complicated is the gender inflection or the verb. The agreement pattern of these examples tell us that: (i) if two nominal elements without any postposition with them are linked with `*aur'-and*, and both NPs are masculine singular, the verb inflects for masculine plural as in example (9), (ii) this rule holds true even if one of the nominals is changed into feminine singular, regardless of its positioning i.e. first or last such as in (10-13). Now let us examine some more examples given below:-

(14) sunița: aur rešma: ga: rahĩ: thĩ:
Sunita-FS and Reshma-FS-Nom sing cont-Imp-FP be-past-FP
`Sunita and Reshma were singing.'

(15) ga:y aur bakri čar rahĩ: hẽ
cow-FS and goat-FS-Nom graze cont-Imp-FP be-pres-FP
`The cows and goats are grazing.'

(16) pensil aur kalam ṭu:ṭi: hui: hẽ
pencil-FS and pen-FS-Nom break-FS Asp-perf-FS be-pres-FP
`The pencil and the pen are broken.

(17) ghaṛi: aur ãgu:ṭhi: nayi: hẽ
watch-FS and ring-FS-Nom new-FS be-Imp-FP
`The watch and the ring are new'.

The above example (14-17) are different from examples (10-13) in the sense that each of these examples has both feminine nominals. The agreement pattern of these examples tells us that (i) if two unmarked nominals are' conjoined with `*aur'-`and'*, and both NPs are feminine singular the verb

inflects for feminine plural. Now let us examine the following examples:-

(15) ek ga:y aur do ghore mEda:n me čar rahe hẽ
one cow-FS and two horse-MP-Nom field-MS-Loc graze cont-MP-be-prest-MP.
`One cow and two horses are grazing in the field'.

(16) do bačhre aur ek bakri: mEda:n mẽ čar rahi: hẽ
two calf-MP and one goat-FS-Nom field-MS-Loc graze cont-Imp-FS be-pres-FP.
`Two calves and one goat are grazing in the field.'

(17) ek ga:y do ghore aur ek bakri: mEda:n mẽ čar rahi: hẽ
one cow-FS two horse-MP and one goat-Fs-Nom field-Loc graze cont-Imp-Fs bepres-FP.
`One cow, two horses and one goat are grazing in the field'.

In these above examples (15-17) the conjuncts are of both gender and person connected by the coordination *`aur'-`and'*. None of these nominals have postpositions after them. The agreement pattern is different from the previous one. The verbs inflect for plural and they take the gender inflection of the last or near most NP. In other words, when unmarked nominals of both persons (singular and plural) and genders (masculine & feminine) are conjoined with *`aur'-and*, they require a plural verb and it inflects the gender of the last nominal element. We have some more instances of co-ordinate constructions as given below:-

(18)a. suni:l roṭi: aur ča:val kha: raha: tha:
Sunil-MS-Nom bread-FS and rice-MP-Acc eat cont-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Sunil was taking rice and bread'.

b. suni:l ne roṭi aur ča:val kha:ye
Sunil-MS-Erg bread-Fs and rice-MP-Acc eat-perf-MP.
`Sunil ate bread and rice.'

c. suni:l ne čaval aur roṭi: kha:yi:

Sunil-MS-Erg rice-MP and bread-FS eat-perf-FS.
`Sunil ate rice and bread'.

In example (18a) *`Sunil'* is the subject of the clause and is in direct form i.e. it is not overtly marked with case markers. The direct object *`roṭi: aur ča:val'-`bread and rice'* is also unmarked. We already have seen, (recall chapter two; agreement in transitive clause), that in a case where both subject and object are overtly unmarked, the Verb agrees with the subject of clause because of it primacy over the object. This is why, in example (18a) the verb agrees with its subject even though the object is unmarked. The subject in (18b) bears an overt case morphology -***`ne'***, so, it fails to trigger agreement on the verb and the verb agrees with the object NP which is apparently in direct from. The object NP here is an instance of conjunction-i.e. the two conjuncts of different person and number have been conjoined with *`aur`-and'*. The agreement pattern, in a case where the conjunction functions as the object of a clause, is as follows: (1) When the conjunction functions as the object of an overtly case-marked subject, the verb agrees with the number and gender of the last unmarked nominal of the conjunction, (2) but if the conjunction, which functions as the object of an overtly case-marked subject, also bears an overt case-morphology, the verb agrees with none and inflects the default form i.e. 3rd P.MS. The examples of the last observation can be given as follow:

(19)a. anil ne bha:ṭ aur sabji: kha:yi:
Anil-MS-Erg rice-MP and vegetable-FS-Acc eat-perf-FS
`Anil ate rice and vegetable'.
but,

b) anil ne bha:ṭ aur sabji: ko nahi: kha:ya:
Anil-MS-Erg rice-MP and vegetable-FS-Acc not eat-perf-MS
`Anil did not eat rice and vegetable'.

In order to conclude the section of co-ordination and agreement, we can say that the constructions conjoined by *`aur'-`and'*, display a different agreement pattern from that of simple clauses. We, roughly, can group this pattern in the following types of rule:-

(i) If two unmarked singular nominal in subject position are conjoined with aur: and, they function as one single constituent and require a plural verb, in the context of (i) either both nouns are masculine (ii) or both are a combination of masculine and feminine, irrespective of their positioning in the constituent.

(ii) if two unmarked nominals in subject position of both numbers, (singular and plural) and genders (masculine and feminine) are connected with *`aur'-`and'*, they necessitate a plural verbs which shows the gender agreement with near most nominal.

(iii) if two unmarked singular nominals are linked with *`aur'-`and'* and both of them are feminine, the verb inflects for plural feminine.

(iv) If a co-ordinate-constituent, containing two unmarked nominals of both numbers and genders, functions as the object

of an overtly case-marked subject (Ergative or Genitive), the verb agrees wit the last or near most nominal in number and gender.

(v) If a co-ordinate-constituent is overtly marked and functions as the object of a clause in which subject has already been marked with overt-case, the verb inflects for default form i.e. 3rd P.M.S.

3.2 Complex Predicates and Agreement:

In Hindi-Urdu, as in most South Asian languages the occurrence of complex predicates is very frequent and productive. A complex predicate is made of two lexical element; a *Host and a Light verb*. In such combination of two lexical elements, Nouns, Adjectives and non finite form of verbs, can function as the *Host* of complex predicate. The following examples are the instances of light verbs in combination with a nominal, an adjectival and a verbal hosts respectively:

(21) a. rešma: ga: uṭhi: (verbal host)
Reshma-FS-Nom sing rise-Perf-FS
`Reshma sang out spontaneously.'

(21)b. ravi ne kamra: sa:f kiya: (Adjectival host)
Ravi-MS-Erg room-MS clean do-perf-MS
`Ravi cleaned the room.'

(21)c. uḍay ne suniṭa: ka pi:čha: kiya: (Nominal host)
Uday-MS-Erg Sunita-FS-Gen pursue-N(m) do-perf-MS
`Uday followed Sunita'.

3.2.1 Conjunct Verbs and Agreement:

In the literature (linguistics) on H-U, the verb + verb complex predicates are referred to as compound verbs and the

noun + verb complex predicates have been termed as Conjunct Verbs by many scholars like Bahl (1979), Verma (1976), Kachru (1980),Comrie (1981) and Abbi(1994). In this section, we will limit our focus to the complex predicate which is formed in the form of N+V i.e. conjunct verbs.

Although there has been some sporadic work on complex predicates in English, such as Ross (1967) Chomsky (1982) Jackendoff (1972), Higgins (1974), Ochrle (1975), Wierzbicka (1982), it is only after the recent work of Cattell (1984) that the phenomenon has become the center of attention of the linguists. As far as the scholars, working on the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, are concerned, complex predicate has been an area of interest for them since a long period of time. In the literature of Hindi-Urdu, the works as early as of Gilchrist (1796), Kellogg (1875), Platts (1898) and more recent works as of Guru (1922), Sharma (1958), Hacker (1961), Kachru (1966), Verma (1971), Hook (1974), Bahl (1974), Masica (1976) Mohanan (1990), Butt (1993) and Abbi (1994), deal with the complex predicate of one or other types.

Complex predicate containing conjunct verb (i.e. *combination of N + V*), in H-U, is descriptively and theoretically puzzling. The `***N'*** in such CP is said to be the part of the predicate, along with the light verb of the clause. It decides the numbers of valency (argument) as well as the meanings and cases associated with the arguments of the construction. At the same time, this `***N'*** functions as an

argument with the other arguments of the clause as the light verb can agree with it. We thus, find a baffling situation; *"a predicate agrees with one of its part"*. The `***N'*** in a CP, therefore, is simultaneously a predicate as well as an argument[1]. Before we probe deep into the issue, it is essential to point out that all the combinations of N+V are not the instances of CP. There has been considerable difference of opinion among the scholars on the issue in the literature of H-U. Despite the difference in their opinions what they can not overlook, is the fact that there are N+V sequences that are not CPs, while other instances of N+V sequences that are uncontroversially accepted as CPs. Examples of these two afore-mentioned sequences can be given as follows:

(22) a. rameš ne homavark kiya:
Ramesh-MS-Erg homework-MS-Acc do-perf-MP
`Ramesh took money from Ravi.

b. ni:na: ne pradi:p ko kita:b di:
Neena-FS-Erg Pradeep-MS-Dat book-FS give-per-FS
`Neena gave the book to Pradeep.'

These are the examples of N+V sequence which are not treated as CPs. Now, consider the following examples:

(23)a. rameš ne sunita: par *bharosa: kiya:*
Ramesh-MS-Erg Sunita-FS-Loc reliance-N(m) do-perf-MS
`Ramesh relied on Sunita'.

b. ni:na: ne baččo par *dhya:n diya:*
Neena-FS-Erg child-MP-Obl-Loc attention-N(m) give-perf-MS
`Neena paid attention on children'.

1.Since the puzzling situation is restricted to the Cpmlex Predicates which contain the Cunjunct Verb (i.e. N+V), we will be concerned with only N+V CPs here.

These examples contrary to the earlier ones, are the N+V sequences which are treated as CPs. Now we compare the structure of the sentences in (22) and (23). In (22a), we have a doer `*rameś* ' and a done thing `*homework*'. Similarly, in (23a), we have the doer `*ramesh*' and the done thing `*the act of relying*'. But contrary to (22a), (23a) has a third argument `*sunita:*'. This argument could not have been licensed by the verb `*kar*'-`*do*' which is dyadic[1]. The only possible explanation, then, is that this argument is licensed by the noun `*bharosa:*'-`*reliance*'[2]. In other words, `*bharosa: karna:*'-`*to rely*' contributes to the number of arguments in the clause. Likewise, (23b) contains the giver, Neena, the receiver, the story and the given thing attention, exactly as in (22b). However, we know that the receiver (i.e. the goal of giving), normally takes the DATIVE case, for instance, `*pradip-ko*' in (22b). But the receiver in (23b) is in *LOCATIVE* case with the marking-`*par*'-*at*'. We know from the analysis of Gruber (1965) that *Loc*-`*par*' is systematically associated with the semantic configuration -{ **X BE AT Y** }. Gruber (1965) analyses the semantics of motion and location which provide the basis for extension to a range of `**Semantic fields**' that *(a) Static locations and (b) Dynamic Locations*

1.A diadic verb is the one which has two arguments, one internal and another external.

2.See Bahl (1974) for detail discussion of Hindi Complex Predicates with an emphasis on the verb-`karna:'.

can refer to. A brief sketch of this account can be presented like this:-(see also Mohanan 1991 for more detail)

(A) Static Location ----------[be]

a. Contact ---------- [AT X]
[John remained at his post]
b. containment ---------- [In X]
[John was in the market]

c. Proximity ---------- [NEAR X]
[John Stand near the T.V.]

(B) Dynamic Location ---------- [MOVE]
a. Source ----------[From X]
[John came out of the market]

b. Goal ---------- [Towards X]
[John went into the room]

This semantic configuration confirms the fact that `*Loc-`par'* is not the part of semantic structure of the verb `*ḍena:'*-`*to give'*. Therefore `*ḍe'*-`*give'*, cannot license locative case. But if we consider the N+V together, we definitely can say, that `*ḍhya:nḍena:'*-`*pay attention'* licenses this LOCATIVE case in (23b). In other words, the N in the N+V sequences in (23) has the capacity to control the number, meaning and the case of the arguments in the clause.

We have observed two important things about CPs from our discussion, (i) the CP functions as a single predicate (ii) the `N' in a N+V sequence of CP functions as one of the arguments of the clause. With these two findings, we will proceed to examine the agreement pattern of the complex

predicate. As we saw in chapter two that the verb in H-U shows agreement with its unmarked nominal. Now, the subject of an N+V CP construction triggers agreement on the verb if it (subject) does not bear an overt-case. In other words the verb of a CP, (i.e. a CP made of N+V) agrees with its nominative subject such as:

(24)a. ḍi:pak anju ka: *apma:n karega:*
Deepak-MS-Nom Anju-FS-Gen insult-N(m) do-Imp-fut-MS
`Deepak will insult Anju.'

b. salma: kari:m ka *apma:n karegi:*
Salma-FS-Nom Karim-MS-Gen insult-N(m) do-Imp-fut-FS
`Salma will insult Karim.'

The above examples show that the verbs agree with the nominative subject. But if the subject of the CP is overtly case-marked, the light verb of an N+V CP construction agrees with its internal nominal host, such as:

(25)a. suja:ṭa: ne mohan ka *apma:n kiya:*
Sujata-FS-Erg Mohan-MS-Gen insult-N(m) do-perf-MS
`Sujata insulted Mohan.'

b. suja:ṭa: ne mohan ki: *baṛa:i: ki:*
Sujata-FS-Erg Mohan-MS-Gen praise-N(F) do-perf-FS
`Sujata praised Mohan.'

(26) a. suniṭa: ne ravi par *bharosa: kiya:*
Sunita-Fs-Erg Ravi-MS-Loc reliance-N(m) do-perf-MS
`Sunita relied on Ravi'.

b. Suniṭa: ne ravi par *kripa: ki:*
Sunita-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Loc favour-N(f) do-perf-FS
`Sunita showed kindness to Mohan.'

(27) a. pinki: ne sunil se *bEr kiya:*
Pinky-FS-Erg Sunil-MS-Inst enmity-N(m) do-perf-MS
`Pinky showed enmity towards Sunil.'

b. pinki: ne sunil se *nafrat ki:*
Pinky-FS-Erg Sunil-MS-Inst hatred-N(f) do-perf-FS
`Pinky hated Sunil'.

In each of these sentences in (25-27), the light verb shows masculine agreement in (a) and feminine agreement in (b).These examples presents a structural paradox, because the light verbs can agree with their host only if the nominal (host) is an argument. However, we know that the nominal is the part of the predicate. So, how do we account for this dual nature of these CPs ? A CP, in this situation, must then have two different structures as given below:-

(28) a. [rameš ne] [sunita: par] [bharosa: kiya:]

(28) b. [rameš ne] [sunita: par] [bharosa:] [kiya:]

These two different structures of a CP construction reveal that in (28a) the nominal host of the CP is not an argument of the clause and thus, the light verb does not agrees with it, while in (28b) the nominal host is an argument of the clause and the light verb shows agreement with it. Furthermore, these structures (28 a,b,) are the two different groupings of the elements where (28a) is the grouping required by phenomena such as gapping, responses to `yes-no' questions etc; and (28b) is the grouping required by the

facts of agreement[1]. Now, let us examine some instances of N+V CPs in which the light verb does not agree with its host such as:

(29) si:ma: ne d̂i:pak ko *pasand kiya:*
Seema-FS-Erg Deepak-MS-Acc liking-N(f) do-perf-MS
`Seema liked Deepak.'

(30) mohan ne gi:ṭa: ko *ya:d kiya:*
Mohan-MS-Erg Geeta-FS-Acc memory-N(f) do-perf-MS
`Mohan remembered Geeta.'

(31) rešma: ne ravi ko *ksama: kiya:*
Reshma-Fs-Erg Ravi-MS-Acc forgiveness-N(f) do-perf-MS
`Reshma forgave Ravi.'

In these examples (29-31), the internal nominal hosts of an N+V CPs are the only unmarked arguments. We would, therefore, expect the light verb to agree with them. These nominal hosts are feminine as is evident from the facts of modifier agreement in the examples given below:

(32)a. si:ma: ki: pasand azi:b thi:
Sima-FS-Gen liking-N(f) strange be-Imp-past-FS
`Sima's choice was strange.'

b. gi:ṭa: ki: ya:d mohan ko saṭa: rahi: hE
Geeta-Fs-Gen memory-N-(f) mohan-MS-Acc torment cont-Imp-FS be-pres.
`Geeta's memory is tormenting Mohan.'

c. rešma: ne ravi ki: ksama: ča:hi:
Reshma-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Gen forgiveness-N(f) desire-perf-FS
`Reshma wished for Ravi's forgiveness.'

The examples in (32) make it more clear that the nominal hosts of CPs in examples (29-31) are feminine and they do not trigger agreement on the light verb because the light verb

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1.For more detail analysis of the hypothesis see Mohanan-(1990).

inflects for masculine singular i.e. default form. However, the change of position of these nominal hosts and the cases in (32) creates a situation where the light verbs do agree with these nominals. All this explanation brings a picture before us which facilitates us to predict that when the light verb agrees with host, the host(nominal element) is an OBJ.ARG(object argument) of the clause as is given in the table (28b). But there are instances where the light verb does not agree with the nominal host as in (29-31). In this case the nominal host is not the argument of the clause as is shown in table (28a). The explanation of this dual function of the light verb is based on an intrigueing corelation between the ability of the light verb to agree with the host, and the case associated with the AGR(argument) preceded by the host. So, we can provide the solution to the paradox of the N+V CPs like this: (i) the light verb can agree with its nominal host when the argument preceded by the host bears the genitive case as in (25), the locative case as in (26) and the instrumental case as in (27), (ii) but the light verb cannot agree with the host if the argument preceded by the host bears the marked (indirect) accusative case/ (29,30,31 33a, 34a) unmarked (direct) nominative case.

The examples of the later hypothesis can be given as follows:

(33) a. ravi ne soheli: ko *ya:d kiya:*
Ravi-MS-Erg Soheli-FS-Acc memory-N(f) do-perf-MS
`Ravi remembered Soheli.'

b. ravi ko soheli: *ya:d a:yi:*
Ravi-MS-Dat Soheli-FS-Nom memory-N(f) come-perf-MS
`Soheli's memory came to Ravi'.

(34) a. sunita: ne kaha:hi: ko *ya:d kiya:*
Sunita-FS-Erg story-FS-Acc memory-N(f) do-perf-MS
`Sunita memorized the story.'

b. sunita: ne kissa *ya:d kiya:*
Sunita-FS-Erg incident-MS memory-N(f) do-perf-MS
`Sunita memorized the story.'

The correlation between predicate internal agreement and the case of the ARGUMENT preceded by the nominal host, not only explains the agreement pattern of the above examples but also provides an explanatory base to the following contrast, taken from Bahl (1974:29)

(35)a. usne mohan ko *ya:d kiya:*
Pro-F/MS-Nom Mohan-MS-Acc memory-N(f) do-perf-MS
`S/he remembered Mohan.'

b. usko mohan ki: *ya:d a:yi:*
Pro-F/MS-Dat Mohan-MS-Gen memory-N(f) come-perf-FS
`Mohan's memory come to him/her'.

In (35a), Mohan bears accusative case which is an argument preceded by the nominal host, so *`kiya:'-`did'*, fails to agree with the predicate internal *`ya:d'-memory'*. This is what our hypothesis (ii) predicts. In (35b), *`mohan'-`Mohan'* is in genitive case and as is accounted for in our hypothesis (i), the light verb agrees with the predicate internal nominal host of the CP. Furthermore, example (35b) gives us a very simple picture as the argument *`ya:d'-`memory'* is the OBJ.Noun (PR.BBJ in Mohanan's account 1994;pg:230) of the clause and is unmarked and according to our rule(discussed so far), the light verb agrees with this.

3.2.2 Compound Verbs and Agreement:

As we noticed in the previous section (3.2.1) that apart from the conjunct verbs (i.e. a CP of an N+V), a sequence of the V1+V2 also leads to the formation of a complex predicate in H-U. A complex predicate which consists of two verbs i.e. V1+V2 is termed as *`compound verb'*. It is a well known fact (Masica 1976) that H-U, along with many Indian languages, makes use of the sequence of two verbs (V1+V2) as the finite verbs. A compound verb refers to a complex verb form, consisting of a main verb which contains the core meaning of the complex verb, and a secondary ***VECTOR*** verb which is lexically emptied, i.e.grammaticalized. This secondary vector verb, in most cases, serves as a modifying or explicating the main verb which is often termed as *`polar verb'*. This function of V2 probably, facilitates the complex verb with the Explicator Compound verb. Furthermore, it is the V2 which bears the inflections for tense, mood and aspect marking. It also represents the agreement pattern of the language. However, there is a very limited number or set of verbs which can function as vectors in H-U and generally they come in the following pairs with opposite of each other's meaning *COME-GO: TAKE; GIVE; RISE-FALL; KEEP-THROW;SIT- STAND* etc.

Before we start our investigation of agreement pattern, there are certain things which require a subtle clarification regarding the *`compound-verb'*, we are going to look into. This will make the scope of our study very clear as the

term *`complex predicate'* is used as a cover term. Here, the term *`complex-predicate'* has been used solely for V1+V2 type predicate. This will, certainly, include the *`compound verb'* with an uninflected V1, such as ***`kha: liya:'*** -***`ate up'*** type, but will not include, in this study, the one with the inflected V1 such as ***`kha:ne laga:'-`started eating'***[1].

This distinction, probably, is essential to maintain the semantic uniformity and more importantly the semantic need of *`compound verb'*. According to given definition of compound verb, we can only call those sequences of V1+V2, a compound verb in which the meaning of the polar or main verb does not differ from that of the sequence V1+V2. We can, on this ground, segregate those groupings of V1+V2 from the arena of compound verb which fail to depict this semantic head. Some examples are worth to consider at this stage.

(36.i) a. d̂i:pa: ne kha:na: kha: liya:
Deepa-FS-Erg meal-MS-Acc eat take-perf-MS
`Deepa has taken the meal.'

(36.i)b. d̂ipa: ne kha:na: kha:ya:
Deepa-FS-Erg meal-MS-Acc eat-perf-MS
`Deepa had taken the meal.'

(36.ii)a. d̂i:pa: ne ka:m kar d̂iya:
Deepa-FS-Erg work-MS-Acc do give-perf-MS
`Deepa did the work.'

(36.ii)b. d̂ipa: ne ka:m kiya:
Deepa-FS-Erg work-MS-Acc do-perf-MS
`Deepa did the work.'

1.For a detail study of this type of Compound Verbs see Verma-(1993).

(37) a. sunil va:pas a: gaya:
Sunil-MS-Nom back come go-perf-MS
`Sunil came back.'

b. sunil va:pas a:ya:
Sunil-MS-Nom back come-perf-MS
`Sunil came back.'

But now consider the following examples:

(38) a. bačče kha:na: kha:ne lage.
child-MP-obl-Nom meal-MS-Acc eat-MP engage-perf-MP
` The children started eating the meal.'

b. bačč̃o ne kha:na: kha:ya:
child-MP-obl-Erg meal-MS-Acc eat-Perf-MS
`The children have eaten the meal.'

(39) a. amar kiṭa:b paṛhne laga:
Amar-MS-Nom book-FS-Acc read-Inf-MP engage-Perf-MS.
`Amar started reading the book.'

b. amar ne kiṭa:b paṛhi:
Amar-MS-Erg book-FS-Acc read-perf-FS
`Amar read the book'.

If we compare the two sets of examples given above, we find that the earlier instance of V1+V2 sequence meets the desired requirement of compound verb, while the later fails to do the same. However, there is some exceptions of this generalized statement. For in stance consider the following example:

(40)a. priyanka: ghar čali: gayi:
Priyanka-FS-Nom home-MS walk-perf-FS go-perf-FS
`Priyanka went home.'

b. priyanka: ghar gayi:
Priyanka-FS-Nom home-MS go-perf-FS
`Priyanka went home.'

The above example certainly creates problem for our generalized statement, but as we are basically concerned to

examine the agreement pattern of compound verb rather than establishing the criteria for qualifying a compound verb, we will not invoke te sensitive or controversial aspect of the issue and will limit our focus on the agreement pattern of compound verb.

We noticed that `*compound verb'* is formed by putting the polar (main) verb and the vector (light) verb together in a sequence of V1+V2. The sequence of V1+V2 can be made of with a transitive and transitive; an intransitive and intransitive; a transitive and intransitive verbs. In other words, the occurrence of the main verb and light verb in a `*complex verb'* can be classified in the following sets:-

(1) V1-(transitive)+V2-(transitive),

(2) V1(intransitive)+V2(intransitive), and

(3) V1(transitive)+V2 (intransitive)--this classification is very necessary for examining the agreement pattern of compound verb in different sets. We will examine these sets one by one and analyze the agreement pattern.

(1) Compound of V1 (transitive)+V2(transitive):

Let us examine the following sentences for this heading:-

(41) a suja:ṭa: ne kha:na kha: liya: (kha:ya:)
Sujata-FS-Erg meal-MS-Acc eat take-perf-MS
`Sujata ate the meal.'

b. suja:ṭa: kha:na: kha: rahi: hE
Sujata-FS-Nom meal-MS-Acc eat-cont-Imp-FS be-pres
`Sujata is eating the meal'.

(42)a. ḍhobi: ne mere kapṛe dho ḍiye (dhoye)
Washer man-MS-Erg my-MP clothes-MP-Acc wash give-perf-MP
`The washer man washed my clothes'.

b. ḍhobi: mere kapṛe ḍhoṭa: hE
Washer man-MS-Nom my-MP clothes-MP-Acc wash-Imp-MS be-pest.
`The washer man washes my clothes.'

(43)a. mɛ̃ ne suniṭa: ki: ghaṛi: bana: ḍi: (bana:yi:)
I-MS-Erg Sunita-FS-Poss watch-FS-Acc make give-perf-FS
`I mended Sunita's watch'.

b. mɛ̃ suniṭa: ki: ghaṛi: bana: raha: ṭha:
I-MS-Nom Sunita-Fs-Poss watch-FS make-cont-Imp-MS be-Past-MS
`I was mending Sunita's watch.'

(44)a. niveditа: ne ḍarva:za: khol ḍiya: (khola:)
Nivedita-FS-Erg door-MS-Acc open give-perf-MS
`Nivedita opened the door.'

b. niveditа: ḍarva:za: kholegi:
Nivedita-FS-Nom door-MS-Acc open-Imp-Fut-FS
`Nivedita will open the door.'

(45)a. uḍay ne saloni: ko čiṭṭhi: likh ḍi: (likhi:)
Uday-MS-Erg Soloni-FS-Dat letter-FS-Acc write give-perf-FS
`Uday wrote the letter to saloni.'

In these above examples, all set (b) are the instances of simple verb clauses i.e. the clauses which have a main verb and its auxiliaries. And according to the *`agreement-rule'* of simple clause, if the subject of the clause is unmarked or does not bear overt case morphology, the verb can agree with it. In set (b) of these examples this rule holds true. However, in set (a) of these examples, the subject is not available for triggering agreement on the verb as it has overtly been case marked. According to the giver rule (see chapter two), the verb in this case, look for an argument which is unmarked. The object (Direct Object) is not marked with any overt case morphology, so it triggers the agreement properties on the vector verb or V2 as the V1 or main verb in

compound verb remains uninflected. So, in sum the agreement features in a compound verb is listed with the V2 or vector verb and the verb agrees with directed object. However, in order to show agreement with direct object, the vector verb should be transitive one[1].

(ii) Compound Verb of V1 (transitive)+V2(intransitive):

Consider the following examples for such sequences of compound verbs:-

(46)a. rešma: sa:ra: ča:val kha: gayi:
Reshma-FS-Nom all rice-MS-Acc eat go-perf-FS
`Reshma ate all the rice.'

b. rešma: ne sa:ra: ča:val kha:ya:
Reshma-FS-Erg all rice-MS-Acc eat-perf-MS
`Reshma ate all the rice.'

(47)a. si:ma: ye kya: kar bethi:
Seema-FS-Nom this-MS-Acc what do sit-perf-FS
`How seema did this ?'

b. si:ma: ne ye kya: kiya:
Seema-FS-Erg this-MS-Acc what do-perf-MS
`How Seema did this ?'

(48)a. suja:ta diva:l par apna: na:m likh a:yi:
Sujata-FS-Nom wall-FS-Loc self name-MS write come-perf-FS
`Sujata: wrote her name on the wall.'

b. suja:ta: ne diva:l par apna: na:m likha:
Sujata-FS-Erg wall-FS-Loc self name-MS write-perf-MS
`Sujata wrote her name on the wall.'

(49)a. uday mera: sa:ra: halwa: kha: gaya:
Uday-MS-Nom my-MS all halwa-MS-Acc eat go-perf-MS
`Uday ate all my halwa.'

b. uday ne mera sa:ra: halwa: kha:ya:
Uday-MS-Erg my-MS all halwa-MS eat-perf-MS
`Uday ate all my halwa.'

1.For a detail explanation see Abbi-(1995).

All these examples of compound verb consist of transitive (V1) and intransitive (V2) verbs. The set (a) in these examples depict that the CV shows agreement with the subject NP as it is not overtly marked i.e. it does not bear any over tall case-morphology such as `*ne or ko*' (Ergative or Dative respectively). Abbi (1995;Pg:14) explains that "... *in Hindi, ergative case marking of the subject is linked to transitive of the main verb in past tense....*"[1]. This observation is slightly debatable because, we do have instances of "*Ergative Subject*", occurring with intransitive verb, not only in simple clauses but also in complex predicate with compound verb. For example:

(50)a. laṛka: kh̃ã:sṭa: hE
boy-MS-Nom cough-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`The boy coughs.'

b. laṛke ne kh̃ã:sa:
boy-MS-Obl-Erg cough-Perf-MS
`The boy coughed.'

b. suniṭa: ne sabke sa:mne č̃hĩ:k diya:
Sunitā-FS-Erg all-Dat in front of sneeze give-perf-MS
`Sunita sneezed before everyone.'

c. suniṭa: ne sabke sa:mne č̃hĩ:ka:
Sunitā-FS-Erg all-Dat in front of sneeze-perf-MS
`Sunita sneezed before everybody (all).'

These above example shows that even though the verbs `*kh̃ã:sa:*'-`*coughed*' and `*č̃hĩ:ka:*'-`*sneezed*' are intransitives, they can assign `*Ergative-case*' to their subjects. However, the conditions what we have suggested in chapter

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1.For further explanation see Abbi-(9195).

two, for the assignment of Ergative case with the subject seem more plausible. We suggested that if the main verb of the clause has perfective aspect marker and the subject functions as an `*agent*' in the completion of the action only then the subject can get ergative marker. This prediction not only explains the case of *ambient*[1] *intransitive* verbs occurring with ergative subject as in (50), but also takes in account for the compound verbs of V1 (transitive)+V2(Intransitive) type as in (46-49). This suggestion further gets strengthen with the subset (b), of these examples where the appearance of perfective marker with main verb facilitates the subject with Ergative case-marker while the lack of this marker with main verb in the set (a) of these examples fails to provide the subject with Ergative case marker. So, when the subject in these examples does not bear the ergative or any such overt case morphology, the verb agrees with it.

Coming back to agreement pattern of the CV with the V1 (transitive) + V2(intransitive) sequence, one very important point is there to notice (also pointed out in Abbi-1995). The transitivity or intransitivity of the vector or V2 plays an important role in the agreement pattern of the CV. If a CV has a transitive vector or V2, it turns the whole compound verb into transitive and if the V2 (vector) happens to be

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1.For a detail explanation of the term see Chafe-(1970).We also have discussed the core nature of such verbs in Chapter two .

intransitive one, it, by dominating the polar verb, changes the whole complex verb into intransitive. This statement can be analyzed by observing the set (50) of above examples as well as in example (c) where the transitive vector *`diya:'-`gave'*, joined with intransitive polar verb *`chi:k'-`sneeze'*, necessitates ergative marker with subject and inflects for default form of agreement. But this is true only with close set of verbs which are treated as anomalous intransitive verbs and function as transitive verbs. In rest of the cases, i.e. V1 (transitive)+V2(intransitive), the compound verbs show agreement with their subjects. This will become more clear as we see the third type of compound verb which are formed with V1(intransitive) + V2(intransitive) as given below:

(iii) Compound verb with V1 (intransitive)+V2(intransitive):

We can examine the following examples for the pairing of this kind of compound verbs:-

(51)a. burha: ha:thi: mar gaya:
old-MS elephant-MS-Nom die go-perf-MS
`The old elephant died.'

b. burha: ha:thi: mara:
old-MS elephant-MS-Nom die-past-MS
`The old elephant died.'

(52)a larki: kũve mẽ kud gayi:
girl-FS-Nom well-MS-obl-Loc jump go-perf-FS
`The girl jumped into the well.'

b. larki: kũve mẽ kudi:
girl-FS-Nom well-Obl-Loc jump-perf-FS
`The girl jumped into the well.'

(53)a. ghaṛi: ṭebul se gir gayi:
watch-FS-Nom table-MS-Abl fall go-perf-FS
`The wathch fell down from the table.'

b. ghaṛi: ṭebul se giri:
watch-FS-Nom table-MS-Abl fall-past-FS
`The watch fell down from the table.'

In the above examples, the compound verbs have been formed with two intransitive verbs, i.e. a sequence of V1 (intransitive)+V2(intransitive). The whole complex verb, as we would expect according to our previously discussed hypothesis, agrees with its subject. One very important question can be raised at this stage against our condition or predication regarding the occurrence of ergative case-marker with the subject NP. The condition says that if there is perfective marker with the main verb, we should get an ergative case marker with the subject NP. In set (b) of these examples, even though we do have perfective marker with the main verb, the subject, in no case, can be assigned with an ergative case-marker. The observation is right but then we forget the second part of the condition to take into account. The second part of the condition says that in order to have ergative case marker with subject NP, the subject should have the agentive quality-i.e. an agent actively participating in the completion of the action. We saw in the sentences given above that the anomalous or ambient intransitive verbs can optionally have ergative subjects as the nature of action performed by the subject is agentive and volitional. In

contrast to this, the agentivity element is either very weak or almost absent in the subject of these examples(51-53:a-b).

3.2.3 Small Clauses and Agreement:

The small clause or verbless clause poses a vital problem for its analysis. This problem is not only felt in H-U, but also in languages like Japanese, Korean and English too. However, many scholars such as Massam and Roberge (1989), Stowell (1983), Koster (1978b), Haegeman (1991-93), have tried to explain the phenomenon under Government and Binding Theory (GB theory). They, adopting the devices like *theta grid, case-filter, and case conflict, subcategorization frame* etc, have tried to explain that small clause is a subordinate to some other main predicate. However, in a main predicate the small clause form such a constituent which corresponds or functions as an independent sentence even though it never ever can occur independently. The following examples are made of such small clause:

(54) Marry believes [the taxi driver innocent].

(55) John made [Marry a fool].

(56) I consider [John an honest inspector].

It is evident from the above examples that the small clauses are of different types. We, in order to understand the small clause, will explain the example (54) in detail as follows[1]:

1.For further detail see Haegeman-(1991).

(54) a. Marry believes [this story] .

b. Marry believes [the taxi driver to be innocent].

c. Marry believes [the taxi driver to be innocent].

d. Marry believes [the taxi driver innocent].

In example (54a) both arguments of the verb `*believe*' are realized by NPs. In (54b) one of the arguments of `*believe*' is realized by a finite clause, while the corresponding argument in (54c) is indicated by a non-finite clause. The bracketing device in (54c) has been adopted to show that we consider `*the taxi driver*' to form a constituent with `*to be innocent*'. If we compare the sentences (54b) and (54c), we find that they are very similar in meaning. In (54b), the verb `*believe*' takes two argument one realized by the subject NP, and the other is realized by a sentence. The lexical entry of the verb `*believe*' can have the following representation of theta grid:

(54)(e) believe; verb

1	2
NP	NP/S

(f) believe; verb

1	2
NP i	NP/S j

The argument of (54a) are saturated as in (54f), where `*j* ' is the index of an NP. Similarly, in (54b), the satura-

tion of the arguments are represented as in (54,f) with a `*j*' which is the index of a subordinate clause. Given the close similarity in meaning between (54b) and (54c), the natural assumption is that the verb `*believe*' in (54c) is the same as that in (54b) and has the same theta grid.

Now, if we turn our attention towards (54d), we find that even this sentence is very close in meaning to (54b) and (54c), so we postulate that the verb `*believe*' has the same theta grid representation as in (54e). In (54 d) we have a constituent-[the taxi driver innocent], which does not have a verb and it is said to have a postpositional meaning i.e. *"the same sort of meaning as a full clausal structure has, but it lacks any verb form"*. (Haegeman 1991; Pg 50).This is why we say that in (54 d) the constituent *[the taxi driver innocent]* corresponds to the sentence *[the taxi driver to be innocent]* in (54c). In both sentences, the NP, *[the taxi driver]* is the subject of the predicate expressed by the AP innocent. And the constituents such as *[the taxi driver innocent]* are treated as small clauses in the Government-Binding literature.

With this explanation and the analysis of small clauses in English, let us see the situation or instances of small clause in H-U. With the assumption discussed above, we can say that agreement, in some instances, is confined within the sentential boundary and that the governing category for agreement is the `S' node. A crucial evidence for this claim

is derived from a close set of verbs such as *`bana:na'-`make', `manana:'-`believe', `chunana:' -`elect'*. The examples of these verbs are given as follow:

(55) vidha:ta: ne *[is larki ko da:si:]* bana:ya:
Creator-MS-Erg this girl-FS-Acc slave-F make-perf-MS
`The creator made this girl a slave.'
(Gaire Wali 1989:65).

(56) sa:dhu ne *[us stri: ko ra:ni:]* samjha:
hermit-MS-Erg that woman-FS-Acc queen-F consider-perf-MS
`The hermit considered that woman a queen.'
(Guru 1962 Pg. 578)

(57) ravi ne *[sabi:ta: ko apni: bahan]* ma:na:
Ravi-MS-Erg Sabita-FS-Acc self sister-F believe-perf-MS
`Ravi believed (accepted) Sabita his sister.'

(58) us ne *[mumta:j ko abhinetri:]* bana:ya:
he-MS-Erg Mumtaj-Fs-Acc actress-F made-perf-MS
`He made Mumtaj an actress.'

All these examples of small clauses represented in brackets correspond to that of English sentences discussed above in (54). We here will not go in dealing with as to what are the devices to establish the notions of theta grid; lexical entry of arguments or its representation as we find no difference between the verbs used in English and H-U. But in order to prove that in these examples, *`da:si:'-`slave' ra:ni:-queen; `bahan' sister'; and `abhinetri:-`actress'* are not the arguments of the verbs ***`bana:ya'-`made', `samjha:'-`considered', `mana:'-`believed'*** respectively, we need to paraphrase the example (58). This will prove that the complements of these verbs are, in fact, small clauses and they are

confined with in an `S' boundary[1]:-

(58)a. usne *[mumṭa:j abninetri: hE]* ko bana:ya:
he-MS-Erg Mumtaj-FS actress-F is Acc make-perf-MS
`He made Mumta who is an actress.'

b. usne *[mumṭa:j abhinetri:]* ko bana:ya:
he-Ms-Erg Mumtaj-FS actress-F-Acc make-perf-MS
`He made an actress like Mumtaj.'

In (58a) the verb ***`bana:ya:' made'***, takes two arguments. The first argument is realized by the subject NP while the second one is realized by the sentence represented in the bracket. This hypothesis again gets strengthened by the example (58b) where ***`mumṭa:j abhinetri:'-`Mumtaj actress'***, functions as single NP which is the second argument of the verb of the ***`bana:na:'-`made'***. Thus, these sentences have two arguments which are overtly marked with ergative and accusative cases. The verbs getting no unmarked nominals (arguments), inflect for the default form of agreement i.e. 3rd P.S.M. Similarly, in (58) the NP, ***`abhinetri': `actress'*** is not the argument of the verb ***`bana:nya: made'*** as it can have only two arguments, which are *`usne'-`he' and `mumta:j'-`Mumtaj'* respectively. In this case, ***[mumṭa:j ko abhinetri:]*** is a small clause functioning as a subordinate to the main predicate. In this small clause, there are two NPs, one is ***`mumta:j'*** and the other is ***`abhinetri:'***. The first NP acts as a subject to the second one and as a whole is governed by an ***`S' node***. So, in no case, the NP ***`abhinetri:'*** can be consid-

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1.For a detail analysis of such notion see Wali-(1987).

ered as an argument of the verb *`bana:na:'-`made'*, and as per the rule, the verb agrees only with its argument which is unmarked. The verb in (55) inflects for default form as both arguments of the sentence are overtly case-marked. The NP *`abhinetri:'-`actress'* is the part of the complement clause of the verb *`bana:na:-`make'* with which it can show agreement.

3.2.1 The Infinitive Constituent and Agreement:

In this section, we will see as to how the category of the infinitive constituents are treated as NPs. This claim is made because the constituent headed by an infinitive has the distribution of an NP. Furthermore, it can also take case markers and undergo several morphological changes that only apply to NPs. There are two types of explanations provided to the infinitive constituents in the literature of H-U. Scholars like Mohanan (1992) and Mahajan (1990) treat the infinitive constituents the part of verb and argue for them to be VPs. On the other hand, scholars like Kachru (1980), Davison (1988 1990 1991 a-b), Srivastav (1991 c) and Butt (1993) treat the infinitive constituents as NPs.

We,in terms of analysing the infinite constituents, will follow up the later stream of the scholars and show how infinitives function as NP. Furthermore, we will also try to explain as to how these infinitives which are NPs can be treated as verbal Nouns.

(59) sapna: *[frenč parhna:]* ja:nṭi: hE
Sapna-FS-Nom French N(F) read-Inf-MS know-Imp-FS be-pres
`Sapna knows how to reads French.'

(60) sunil *[maka:n bana:na:]* ča:hṭa: ṭa:
Sunitl-MS-Nom house-N(M) make-Inf-MS want-Imp-MS be-past
`Sunilt wanted to build the house.'

(61) sariṭa: *[čiṭṭhi: likhana:]* ča:h rahi: ṭhi:
Sarita-FS-Nom letter-N(F) write-Inf-MS want cont-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`Sarita was willing to write the letter.'

As is manifested from the above examples, the infinitive clauses are formed by affixing the morpheme -`*na:*' to the bare stem of a verb. The morpheme-`*na:*' is actually the masculine form of the infinitive and it also functions as the default form i.e. 3rd PMS.

Kachru (1980:40) calls the infinitive constituents `*the infinitival complements*'. This claim can be justified by the following examples:-

(62)a. sariṭa: ne anil ko *[ha:r bana:ne ko]* kaha:
Sarita-FS-Erg Anil-MS-Acc garland-N(m) make-Inf-obl-Acc say-Perf-MS
`Sarita asked Anil to make the garland.'

b. sariṭa: ne anil ko *[ha:r bana:ne]* diya:
Sarita-FS-Erg Anil-MS-Dat garland-N(M) make-Inf-Obl give-perf-MS

`Sarita let Anil make garland.'

c. sariṭa: ne anil ko *[ha:r bana:ne]* bheja:
Sarita-FS-Erg Anil-MS-Acc garland-N(M) make-Inf-Obl send-perf-MS.
`Sarita sent Anil to make the garland.'

In examples (62 a-b), the infinitive `*ha:r bana:na:*'-`*to make garland*', functions as an argument of the finite

verbs `*kaha:*'-*told*' and `*ḍiya:*'-`*give*'. The example (62C) shows that the same infinitive `*ha:r bana:na:*' is an adjunct of the verb `*bheja:*' -`*sent*'. Thus, Kachru's analysis of H-U infinitive constituents as `*infinitival complements*' is correct as is depicted by the above examples.

Before we say anything about the agreement pattern of the infinitival construction, we should examine the following sentences:-

(65)a. laṛkõ̃ ne *[ca:y pini:]* cahi: thi:
boy-MP-Erg tea-N(f) drink-Inf-FS want-Imp-FS be-past-FS
`The boys wanted to take tea.'

b. mujhe *[ga:ṛi: cala:ni:]* a:ti: hE
I-MS-Dat car-N(f) drive-Inf-FS come-Imp-FS be-pres
`I know how to drive the car.'

c. basanti: ko *[ṭanga: cala:na]* a:ta: hE
Basanti-Fs-Dat tonga-N(f) drive-Inf-MS come-Imp-MS be-pres
`Basanti knows how to drive a togna.'

d. sarita: ko *[sa:re barṭan ḍhone]* paṛte hẽ̃
Sarita-Fs-Dat all utensil-MP wash-Inf-MP fall-Imp-MP be-pres-MP
`Sarita is compelled to wash all the utensils.'

The examples in (65) show that the morphology on the infinitive can vary according to the gender and number of its object. The agreement pattern of these examples bring an important fact into the scene. What we have been generalizing regarding the agreement pattern is that the verb agrees with an unmarked nominal of the clause and this agreement between the nominal and the verb is usually clause-bound. But the examples given above show that the matrix verbs also agree with the embedded objects of the infinitive. This shows us a

path to think about the agreement across boundaries (clauses). We, however, can not discuss the issue in detail here as we are dealing with the agreement pattern only within a clause. We will see this phenomenon in the next chapter under the heading *"Long Distance Agreement"*. At this point, we will limit our focus to the morphology on the infinitives. In (65 a,b) the infinitives agree with the feminine nominatives *`ča:y'-`tea*, and *`ga:ṛi:'-`car'* as the morpheme *-`ni:'* in both cases (56 a-b) indicates feminine gender of the infinitives. The embedded nominative object in (65c) *`ṭonga:'-tonga*, is masculine and so the masculine form *-`na:'* is inflected on the infinitive. In the last example (65d), were the infinitive agrees with a plural nominative object, the infinitive apparently bears a plural morpheme-*`ne'*.

This behavior of infinitive marker *-`na:'* shows similarity with the masculine nouns ending in *`a:'* as in *`laṛk-a:' `boy'*. This analogy can be justified by the following illustration[1]:-

	A	B	C
	Nom singular	Nom.Plural	Dative/Accusative
Masc. Noun	laṛk-a:	laṛk-e	laṛk-e-ko
Infinitive	bana:-na	bana:-ne	bana:-ne-ko

This analogy makes it clear that the infinitive marker

1.For more clarification of such relationship of -`na:' and `-a:' see Batt-(1993).

-`*ne*' in examples (62) and in examples (65) does not function alike. The -`*ne*' in examples (62) is not a marker of agreement, rather it reflects the non-nominative status of the infinitive while in example (65) this is a marker of agreement and it reflects the number and gender of its nominal objects.

The appearance of case marker with infinitives also makes it clear that infinitives are NPs. See the following examples:-

(66)a. suman ne ravi ko *[ga:ṛi: cala:ne]* di:
Suman-FS-Erg Ravi-MS-Dat car-N(f) drive-Inf-Obl give-perf-FS
`Suman let Ravi drive the car.'

b. suman ne ravi ko *[ga:ṛi cala:ne-ko]* di:
Suman-FS-Erg Ravi-SM-Dat car-N(f) drive-Inf-Obl-Acc give-perf-MS
`Suman allowed Ravi to drive the car'.

(67) mã: ne bačče ko *[roṭi: kha:ne]* di:
mother-FS-Erg child-MS-Obl-Dat bread-N(f) eat-Inf-Obl give-perf-FS
`The mother let the child eat the bread'.

b. mã: ne bačče ko *[roṭi: kha:ne ko]* di:
mother-FS-Erg child-MS-obl.Dat bread-N(F) eat-Inf-obl-Acc give-perf-MS
`The mother gave the bread to the child to eat.'
or `The mother allowed the child to eat the bread.'

(68)a. basanṭi ne biru: ko *[ṭa:nga: calne]* diya:
Basanti-Fs-Erg Biru-MS-Dat tonga-N(m) drive-Inf-Obl give-perf-MS
`Basanti let Biru drive the tonga.'

b. basanṭi ne biru: ko *[sa:i:kal calne-ko]* di:
Baanti-FS-Erg Biru-MS-Dat bicycle-N(f) drive-Inf-obl-Acc give-perf-MS
`Basanti allowed Biru to drive the bicycle.'

The difference between the set (a) and (b) of these examples has been suggested by Butt (1993) as the former is the purposive or permissive construction while the later has been said to be the Tell construction, which slightly sounds confusing. A very clear distinction can be made between *the infinitive with plus accusative marker(+ko)* and *the one with minus accusative marker(-ko)* through two distinct semantic readings of these infinitives. The infinitives which donot bear the postposition(-ko) gives the reading that something is given to someone for ever and the receiver is not expected to return the thing to the giver, while in the situation where the infinitives occur with the case marker(+ko) gives a reading that something has been given to someone and the receiver is expected to return it to the giver. For example:-

(68c) kari:m ne salma: ko *[pEse rakhane]* diye
Karim-MS-Erg Salma-FS-Dat money-MP keep-Inf-MP give-perf-MP
`Karim let Salma to keep the money.'

(68d) kari:m ne salma: ko *[pEse rakhane-ko]* diye
Karim-MS-Erg Salma-FS-Dat money-MP keep-Inf-Acc give-perf-MP
`Karim gave Salma the money to keep.'

Since, we are not dealing with the types of infinitival constructions and the difference between them, we will simply talk about the morphology on the infinitives which is important from the agreement point of view. We find that there is no overt case marker on the infinitives of set (a) of these examples, while the infinitives of set (b) are marked with an overt case morphology which looks like the

accusative/dative case marker and as this case marker occurs with infinitives the verb still gets an argument to agree with which is the object of the infinitive. Furthermore, the `*oblique*' morpheme `*-e*' appears with the infinitives in set (a) when they are not followed by any overt case morphology. Also note that the -`***ne***' on the infinitives is invariable unlike (65) i.e. it does not vary here to show agreement with the nominal object of the clause. Turning our attention towards the set (b), we observe that the infinitives are followed by an overtly case morphology i.e. accusative case. It is a well known fact and have been already explained by the scholars like Davison (1991 b), Mohanan-1991 and Srivastav (1991 c) that the case-markers in H-U do not appear with non nominal entities[1]. So, the occurrence constraint along with analogous inflection paradigm proves that the infinitives are the NPs. However, it is not clear as to whether these infinitives which function as NPs, should be treated an N or a V. For a clear understanding of the fact let us examine the following examples:

(69)*a. sarita: ne anil ko *[ha:r aččha: bana:ne]* diya:
Sarita-FS-Erg Anil-MS-Dat garland-N(m) good make-Inf-Obl give-perf-MS

`Sarita let Anil make a garland good'.

b. sarita: ne anil ko *[ha:r jaldi: se bana:ne]* diya:
Sarita-FS-Erg Anil-MS-Dat garland-N(m) hurry-Inst make-Inf-

1.The case markers do appear with some adjectives but in that case they more or less function like nouns.

Obl give-perf-MS.
`Sarita let Anil make the garland quickly.'

(70)a. sarita: ne anil ko *[ha:r bana:ne]* diya:
Sarita-FS-Erg Anil-MS-Dat garland-N(M) make-Inf-Obl give-perf-MS
`Sarita let Anil to make the garland.

b. sarita: ne *[ha:r]* anil ko *[bana:ne]* diya:
Sarita-FS-Erg garland-N(m) Anil-MS-Dat make-Inf-obl give-perf-MS
`Sarita let Anil to make the garland.'

c.sarita: ne *[bana:ne]* diya: *[ha:r]* anil ko
Sarita-FS-Erg make-Inf-obl. give-Perf-MS garland-N(M) Anil-MS-Dat
`Sarita let Anil to make the garland.'

(71)a. sarita: ne us lambe a:dmi: ko bula:ya:
Sarita-FS-Erg that tall-Obl man-MS-Acc call-perf-MS
`Sarita called that tall man.

b.* sarita: ne lambe a:dmi: us ko bula:ya:
Sarita-FS-Erg tall-man-MS that-Acc call-perf-MS
`Sarita called tall man that.'

c.* sarita: ne lambe us ko a:dmi: bula:ya:
Sarita-FS-Erg tall that-Acc man-MS call-perf-MS
`Sarita called tall that man.'

The example (69a) depicts that the infinitives can not be modified by any adjectives. We know that an adjective modifies a noun not a verb. We should have got the infinitive modified by the adjective if it were a noun. But we get an ungrammatical sentence in (69a) when we try to modify the infinitive with an adjective. In example (69b) on the other hand, has successfully been modified by an adverb as a verb can be modified by an adverb. Similarly, the examples (70) show that the argument can freely move (scramble) out of the infinitive constituents and successfully retain the grammati-

cal feature intact. But examples (71b-c) show that an ordinary NP does not possess this freedom of movement. Along with this, the examples cited so for have been marked with verbal (nominative,accusative) case markers, rather that nominal (genitive) one. So, we, with the help of these facts, can say that the infinitive must be analyzed as a verbal noun.

To conclude the section, we can outline the agreement pattern of the infinitives in the following ways: (i) If the subject of the main predicate is unmarked and the infinitive is marked with nominal morpheme-`*na:*' i.e. the marker of default (3rd PMS) form, the verb agrees with the subject (ii) if the subject of the main clause is overtly marked, the object of the infinitive not only trigger agreement on its own verb but also controls the matrix verb of the clause in gender and number, (iii) If the subject and indirect object of the clause are overtly marked and the infinitive is in oblique form (i.e. -`*ne*'), the direct object of the clause controls the matrix verb as it trigger agreement on it and, (iv) if the infinitive is also overtly marked along with the subject and the indirect object in the clause, the verb (matrix) inflects for default form of agreement i.e. 3rd PMS.

CHAPTER FOUR

LONG DISTANCE AGREEMENT

While dealing with infinitive construction in chapter three, we noticed that there are a few constructions in Hindi-Urdu in which the object of the embedded predicate not only triggers agreement on its own verb but also on the verb of the matrix clause. However, such agreement, i.e. agreement between matrix verb and embedded object, takes place only when the subject of the matrix clause is overtly marked with any case morphology. This agreement pattern of complex sentences has been termed as *"Long Distance Agreement"* by the scholars like Singh (1990), Mahajan (1989,1990), Mohanan (1991,1992), Davison (1985,1988,1990,1991-b), Butt (1993). In most of the afore-mentioned works, *`long distance agreement'* has either been made confined to the infinitives and their embedding within a matrix clause (Davison, Mohanan and Butt) or has been ignored by showing major concern not with agreement pattern but with ***case assignment or movement of phrasal categories i.e. NPs: SPEC of Agr P,*** (Mahajan: Singh). The former, however, explains a part of the *`long distance agreement,* while the later has made it too complicated to be understood by those (Researchers) who have no formal training of the adopted frame-wrok i.e. G.B. Theory.

A detail review of these works and their analyses, is not only needed to prove the above mentioned statement but

also will provide a deep insight to the understanding of the construction[1]. However, we will not deal with this (review of these works) because of the space, and the limitations of the focus of the work. Moreover, this step will lead us too far from our major concern.

Before we start our discussion about the agreement pattern in long distance agreement, it is necessary to consider the agreement pattern in the following examples:-

(1) a. ravi roṭi: kha: raha: hE
Ravi-MS-Nom bread-FS-Acc eat cont-Imp-MS be-Pres-MS.
`Ravi is eating the bread.'

b.> ravi ne roṭi: kha:yi: hE
Ravi-MS-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-Perf-FS be-pres.FS.
`Ravi has eaten the bread.'

c.> ravi ne roṭi: ko kha:ya: hE
Ravi-MS-Erg bread-FS-Acc eat-Perf-MS be-pres-MS.
`Ravi has eaten the bread.'

The above examples depict the agreement pattern of simple sentence which we have been observing in the work i.e. a verb in Hindi-Urdu agrees with a nominative (unmarked) subject, in absence of which it (the verb) agrees with a nominative object, and if both are overtly marked as in the example (e), the verb inflects for a default agreement, which is 3rd PMS. So far so good, but the agreement pattern in examples (a & b) needs some explanation. We have already discussed as to why the verb in example (a) prefers the subject to agree with rather than the object when both are

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1.See Batt (1993) for a brief review of some such works.

unmarked. We can re-state the fact like that, if there is more than one nominative argument in a construction, the verb agrees with the higher argument. The notion of `*higher*' is ultimately derived from a thematic hierarchy (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989) from which theta roles are mapped on to grammatical functions at f-structure. According to the notion of thematic hierarchy, the subject is the *first or `higher'* candidate for the agreement with the verb and if the subject is overtly marked then the object enters into the scene of agreement with the imposition of `*higher*' argument by the theta role.

With this assumption of thematic hierarchy , we proceed to examine the agreement pattern of long distance agreement. Consider the following examples of long distance agreement:

(2) a. mɛ̃ saṛak par *[čavanni: giri: hui:]* pa:ṭa: hũ
I-MS-IstP-Nom-Loc cavanni-FS fall-Asp-perf-MS find-Imp-MS be-pres-IstP.
`I always find the cavanni lying on the road.'

b.> mẽ ne saṛak par *[čavanni: giri: hui]* pa:yi:
I-MS-Erg road-MS-Loc cavanni-FS fall-Asp-perf-FS find-perf-FS
`I found the cavanni lying on the road.'

c.> mã: ne saṛak par [čavanni: ko gira: hua:] pa:ya:
mother-FS-Erg road-MS-Loc cavanni-FS-Acc fall Asp-perf-MS find-perf-MS.
`The mother found the cavanni lying on the road.'

The above examples (2) show the `*shift-chain*' of agreement pattern in `long distance agreement' which is somewhat analogous to the pattern of simple sentence explained in example (1). However, there are certain conditions which we can lay out, once we are over with the analysis of agreement

pattern of these sentences. We have seen that if there is more than one argument in a construction, the matrix verb agrees with the *`higher'* argument of sentence, provided it is unmarked. Let us account for the agreement facts of the above constructions in the light of this hypothesis. In example (a), the highest argument is *`mE-I'* in the construction, and as we expect, the matrix verb to agree with this unmarked argument, even though the lower argument is also unmarked. In example (b), the subject NP of the matrix clause is overtly marked and thus fails to emerge as a higher argument or candidate for agreement. In absence of this subject, the object of the embedded predicate gets the position of higher argument which is unmarked and the verb i.e. the verb of the embedded predicate (clause) and the matrix verb, agrees with it. Notice that this argument in earlier example (a) functions as lower argument of the construction and plays no role in agreement of the matrix verb. The agreement pattern in example (c) is simple enough. There is no argument available as all of them are overtly marked, thus, the verb inflects for a default form of agreement i.e. 3rd PMS. We can have some more examples of this type as given below:

(3) sunita: ne bicha:van par *[phu:l gire: hue:]* pa:ye:
Sunita-FS-Erg bed-MS-Loc flower-N(P) fall Asp-perf-MP find-perf-MP
`Sunita found flowers lying on the bed.'

(4) anil ne tebul par *[syahi: giri: hui:]* pa:yi:
Anil-MS-Erg table-FS-Loc ink-N(F) fall Asp-perf-FS find-Perf-FS
`Anil found the ink blotted on the table.'

(5) uday ko dha:be par *[ek sikka: gira: hua]* mila:
Uday-MS-Dat Dhaba-MS-Loc one coin-N(M) fall Asp-perf-MS get-perf-MS.
`Uday got a coin, lying on the dhaba.'

(6) sunil ko darvaje par *[phu:l gire hue]* mile.
Sunil-MS-Dat door-MS-Loc flower-MP fall-Asp-perf-MP get-perf-MP
`Sunil found the flowers thrown at the door.'

The above examples (3-6) depict the pattern of long distance agreement which we discussed above. The verbs, (matrix and embedded one) in these examples are finite. In all these examples, the embedded verb as well as the matrix verb agrees with the lower object as the subject NP in these examples are overtly marked i.e. they bear an overt case morphology. However, there are certain constraints for such agreement, but before we deal with those constraints, it is necessary to discuss one more type of long distance agreement caused by embedding an infinitive within other matrix clause. This type of long distance agreement has been noticed and discussed in detail by Davison (1990), Mahajan (1989-90) and Butt (1993). So, we will not discuss long distance agreement of this type in detail. We, however, will be analyzing only those parts of the construction which are important from agreement point of view. Consider the following examples:

(7) ra:m *[roṭi: kha:na:]* ca:hṭa: tha:
Ram-MS-Nom bread-FS eat-Inf-MS want-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Ram wanted to eat the bread.'

b.> sariṭa: *[ga:ṛi: cala:na:]* ca:hṭi: hE
Sarit-FS-Nom car-FS drive-Inf-MS want-Imp-FS be-pres-FS
`Sarita wants to drive the car.'

c. ravi *[ḍava:/ḍava:i pina:]* ča:hṭa: ṭha:
Ravi-MS-Nom medicine-N(F) drink-Inf-MS want-Imp-MS be-past-MS
`Ravi wanted to take medicine.'

The above examples (1 a,b,c) show a different agreement pattern from that of earlier examples (3-6) in which the embedded clause is finite one. In these examples, the embedded clause has non-finite verbs which is in third person singular form (default form) and thus does not display any agreement with the object of the embedded predicate. Secondly, the matrix verbs are in imperfective aspect which (as we have seen earlier) necessitates the verb to agree with its own subject. So, we can say that if the matrix verbs are not in perfective aspect and the embedded verb inflects for infinitive marker `*-na:*', the matrix verb shows agreement only with its own subject. However, the embedded infinitive verb, in some cases, does show agreement with the object of embedded predicate[1] such as:-

???/*(8)a. ra:m *[roṭi: kha:ni]* ča:hṭa: ṭha:
Ram-MS-Nom bread-N(F) eat-Inf-FS want-Imp-MS be-past-MS.
`Ram wanted to eat the bread.'
(Mahajan 1989:235/Butt 1993:74)

b. laṛke *[ča:y pi:ni]* ča:hṭe ṭhe.
boy-MP-Nom tea-N(F) drink-Inf-FS want-Imp-MP be-past-MP.
`The boys wanted to take tea.'

These examples (8a-b) pose great problem for many scholars like Mahajan (1989), Davison (1990,1991a-b) and Butt (1993). Butt, (1993), in order to explain this paradox has

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1.As has been noted by Mahajan(1989) and Butt(1993).

classified the infinitives into three types (see Butt for more detail). Furthermore, she has taken it for granted that the matrix verb and the infinitive predicate can agree with different arguments. In other words, there are instances, in which the infinitive predicate agrees only with its own nominative argument, while the matrix verb agrees with its highest nominative argument, the subject. She, however, does not give any answer as to why this happen and in what environment. The above examples pose problem for our hypothesis too, but it seems that these examples do not belong to the core-part of H-U corpus. Secondly if the validity of these data is attested, it needs further research.

The long distance agreement formed with an embedded infinitive predicate presents some more instances in which the embedded infinitive verb as well as the matrix verb shows agreement with the lower object. Consider the following examples for such constructions:

(9) sunil ne *[roṭi: kha:ni:]* ča:hi:
Sunil-MS-Erg bread-N(F) eat-Inf-FS want-perf-FS.
`Sunil wanted to eat the bread.'

(10) laṛkõ ne *[ča:y pi:ni]* ča:hi:
boy-MP-obl-Erg tea-N(F) drint-Inf-FS want-perf-FS.
`The boys wanted to take tea.'

(11) sariṭa: ne *[ḍu:ḍh pina:]* ča:ha:
Sarita-FS-Erg milk-N(M) drink-Inf-MS want-perf-MS.
`Sarita wanted to drink milk.'

(12) anuj ko *[ga:ṛi čala:ni:]* a: gayi:
Anuj-MS-Dat car-N(F) drive-Inf-FS come go-perf-FS
`Anuj now knew how to drive the car.'
or`Anuj learned how to drive the car.'

(13) ravi ko *[bijli: karakhni:]* acchi: nahi: lagti:
Ravi-MS-Dat lightning N(F) crackle-Inf-FS good-F no seem-Imp-FS
`Ravi does not like the crackling of the lightning.'
(Butt 1993:75)

All these examples (9-13) exhibit that the matrix verb as well as the embedded infinitive agrees with the object of the embedded infinitive predicate. This is expected according to our hypothesis explained earlier. Here, in these examples, the subject NPs which is the highest argument of the construction are overtly marked with case-morphology and thus, cease to be a candidate for agreement. The lower objects in this case, become the higher argument for agreement as they bear no overt case-morphology. So, the verbs of embedded infinitive predicate as well as the matrix verbs show agreement with them.

However, it has been mentioned by various scholars such as Davison (1990), Mahajan (1989-90), Mohanan (1992) and Butt (1993) that the infinitive agreement in these constructions i.e. the agreement between the object and the infinitive, is optional as:-

(14) anuj ko [ga:ri: čala:ni:] a:ti: hE
Anuj-MS-Dat car-N(F) drive-Inf-FS come-Imp-FS be-pres
`Anuj knows how to drive a car.'

(15) anuj ko [ga:ri: čala:na:] a:ta: hE
Anuj-MS-Dat car-N(F) drive-Inf-MS come-Imp-MS be-pres.
`Anuj knows how to drive a car.'

The above example (14) is a case of long distance agreement in which the embedded infinitive and the matrix verb show agreement with the object of the embedded infinitive predicate. The example (15) differs from this pattern. In this, the agreement between the object of the embedded clause and the infinitive is shown as optional. Two different explanations have been given in the literature to account for this optionality of the agreement depicted by example (15). Mahajan (1989) and Davison (1988) have explained this phenomenon by the notion of *specificity and non-specificity*. In other words, according to them, the *`ga:ṛi:'-`car'*, in example (14) is more specific than in example (15) (for more detail see the mentioned works). On the other hand, Mohanan (1992) and Butt (1993) have explained the optionality of the infinitive agreement in (15) by notion of noun incorporation. Butt (1993) has tried to prove that when the object does not trigger agreement on the infinitive it should be treated as the case of incorporation[1]. She proves her claim by saying that when the object *`ga:ṛi:'-car,* is incorporated with infinitive *`čala:na:'- to drive,* in (15), the whole constituent can neither be separated by scrambling nor can be modified by a genitive NP or a determiner. However, these operations can successfully be applicable in (14) in which the object trig-

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1. See Butt (1993) for detail analysis (also in Mohanan-(1992).

gers agreement on the infinitive. For examples:

(14.a) [ga:ṛi:] [anuj ko] [čala:ni: a:ṭi: hE]

car-N(F) Anuj-MS-Dat drive-Inf-FS come-Imp-FS be-pres
`Anuj knows how to drive a car.'

(15)* a. [ga:ṛi:] [anuj ko] [čala:na: a:ṭa: hE]
car-N(F) Anuj-MS-Dat drive-Inf-MS come-Imp-MS be-pres-MS
`Anuj knows how to drive a car.'

(14)b. anuj ko [ravi: ki: ga:ṛi: čala:ni:] a:ṭi: hE
Anuj-MS-Dat Ravi-MS-Poss car-N(F) drive-Inf-FS come-FS be-pre
`Anuj knows how to drive Ravi's car.'

(15)*b. anuj ko [ravi ki: ga:ṛi: čala:na:] a:ṭa: hE
Anuj-MS-Dat Ravi-Ms-Poss car-N(F) drive-Inf-FS come-FS be-pre
`Anuj know how to drive Ravi's car.'

(14)c. anuj ko [kai: ga:ṛi:yã: čala:ni:] a:ṭi: hE
Anuj-MS-Dat several car-FP-obl drive-Inf-FS come-Imp-FS be-pres
`Anuj knows how to drive several cars.'

(15)* c. anuj ko [kai: ga:ṛi:yã: čala:na:] a:ṭa: hE
Anuj-MS-Dat several car-FP-obl drive-Inf-FP come-Imp-FP be-pres
`Anuj knows how to drive several car.'

These examples prove that optionality of agreement between the object and infinitive in the embedded predicate (15) should be treated as the case of incorporation. Thus Butt's claim (1993) that examples (14 & 15) present two different reading i.e. ***"ga:ri: cala:ni:" as "driving a car"*** in (14), and ***"ga:ri: cala:na:"- as "car-driving" in*** (15), sounds very logical. And since, no criticism has been put forward against her analysis to the phenomenon to the best of my knowledge, we too will stick to her analysis.

Heading towards the conclusion of chapter, we can sum up the agreement-pattern in the long distance agreement in the

following way :

1) If the subject of the matrix clause is unmarked i.e. is not overtly marked with case morphology , the matrix verb agrees with this *highest argument* of construction which is subject.

ii) If the subject of the matrix clause is overtly marked with overt case morphology then the embedded finite or non-finite verb along with the matrix verb shows agreement with the unmarked object of embedded clause.

iii) If both subject of the matrix clause and the object of the embedded clause are overtly marked, the verbs (matrix and embedded) inflect for a default form of agreement.

iv) If the subject of the matrix clause is unmarked and the embedded infinitive infects for a default form (3PMS), the matrix verb shows agreement with its own subject.

v) If the subject is overtly marked and the embedded infinitive does not agree with its object, the matrix verb also can not agree with the object of the infinitive predicate.

CONCLUSION

The central purpose of this study was to layout the basic patterns of agreement in H-U. In order to achieve this goal, we examined the corpus of the language under discussion at various levels i.e. **agreement pattern in simple clauses; within clauses** and out side the clause (**long distance agreement**). This classification became necessary to overcome the overlapping of the constructions available in H-U. On the other hand, this classification facilitated us to account for a wide range of the corpus.

We, in chapter one, reviewed the existing literature on agreement with a prior outline of basic agreement pattern in H-U. In this chapter, we not only presented the different treatments of agreement phenomenon by several scholars adopting different modes, but also explained the shortcomings of these treatments. These falling, of course, spring up because the scholars have not incorporated a wide range of data of the language in their works. Furthermore, some of these scholars e.g. Allen (1951), Khan (1989) and Saksena (1981 & 85) have considered the phenomenon very simple, while in others opinion e.g. Comrie(1984), Gair and Wall (1989) Davison (1988, 1991), the agreement pattern in H-U is very complex. Because of such assumptions or pre-suppositions, the former scholars, considering the phenomenon very simple, have given the rules which can not account for every sort of

construction in H-U, while the later group of scholars, ignoring the naturalness of the phenomenon have tried to settle down the issues which are not directly linked to agreement phenomenon i.e. *case assignment, movements of phrasal categories and control theory etc.*

Being exposed to these complications in chapter one, we, in chapter two, simply explored the maximum possible constructions in H-U and examined the agreement pattern in these constructions. This exploration brought two important findings into our notice, (1) judging from the standard point of view of tense-aspect conditioned ergativity, many scholars have said that we can not have subject-verb agreement in perfective constructions of any type in the language (H-U), but we presented ample of evidences in which sentences with some perfective auxiliaries (see chapter two for more detail) not only demonstrate possibility of the subject-V agreement but also depict that object-V agreement is not possible at all in these sentences, (ii) according to the well-established norm of split-ergative parameter, the scholars have laid out that we can have *`Ergative subject'* only with transitive-verb construction in past tense, but we again proved by citing counter-examples that these principles do not account for a wide range of data in H-U, as we have some intransitive verbs (ambient verbs) which take an *`Ergative Subject'* in perfective aspect. Secondly, there are some perfective auxiliaries which, being grouped with the transi-

tive verbs, altogether block the occurrence of *`Ergative Subject'* in any tense.

After discussing the agreement pattern in simple sentences in detail, we, in chapter three, looked into the *"agreement pattern within the clauses"*. We, under this heading, started our investigation with a simple issue like coordination and agreement and gradually moved towards complicated issues like ***`conjunct verb and agreement', `compound verb and agreement', `small clause and agreement' and `infinitive constituent and agreement'***. We examined the problematic aspect of ***`conjunct verb'*** and tried to analyze it with the help of *Gruber's model of `semantic fields'(1965)*. We explain the relationship between the arguments and cases of the conjunct verb construction. The effort proved fabulous when we succeeded in establishing this relationship and found the solution that the case marking on `the argument' preceded by the conjunct verb decides the agreement pattern of the constructions. Similarly in the next section, we analyzed the compound verb construction and their agreement pattern, here too, we came out with a new fact that though the polar verb (v1) decides the issues such as valency and theta-marking in the construction, the vector verb (V2) determine the very function of whole verbal complex in the construction. In other words, the function of the compound verb as transitive or intransitive depends on that of (transitive or intransitive) the vector verb. Apart from this we also dealt with the

problems of *`small clause'* and *`infinitival constructions'* in this chapter.

In the last chapter (i.e. Chapter four), we looked into the agreement pattern in ***"long distance agreement"***. In this, we examined mainly two types of long distance agreement caused by the embedding of finite clause and non-finite clause. Dealing with the agreement pattern of these two types, we adopted the model of ***"thematic hierarchy"*** developed by Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, and tried to bring the pattern of *`long distance agreement'* on the line of simple sentence. The motivation behind such effort was to maintain the establish norms i.e. the agreement in Hindi-Urdu is a clause-bounded phenomenon and (ii) the agreement can move only upwards i.e. while the matrix verb shows agreement with the lower object, the lower verbs (finite/non-finite) by no means can control the agreement features of the matrix verb. Though, some instance of embedded infinite constituents and their agreement pattern within long distance agreement remained unsolved, but as we explained,(see chapter Five for detail), these instances either do not belong to the core-fact of Hindi-Urdu or such agreement pattern is optional in the language. However, as has been pointed out in the chapter, this is a topic of further research and it should be looked up in more detail in a work which deals exclusively with long distance agreement in the light of infinitives. AT the end, it is but necessary to mention that though I have

put the best of my effort to maintain the clarity and avoid the overlapping of the agreement phenomenon through out the work, some minor problems or short comings can not be denied of specially when one is dealing with a dynamic and ever changing subject (thing) like Language.

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