Aspect in Hindi-Urdu and the indeterminacy of future

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This paper explores the syntax-semantics of aspect in Hindi-Urdu by focusing on two puzzles about the distribution of perfective and habitual morphology.

Puzzle 1: Aspectual morphology is obligatorily required in tensed clauses. However, imperatives and simple future clauses can never host aspectual morphology. This is shown for the perfective aspect in (1).

(1) a. karan-ne ek khat likh-*(aa) hai Karan-erg one letter write-pfv.m.sg be.prs 'Karan has written a letter.'

Tensed clause

b. ek khat likh-(*aa)-o one letter write-pfv-imp.2n 'Write a letter!'

Imperative

c. karan ek khat likh-(*aa)-e-gaa Karan.nom one letter write-pfv-sbJv.3sg-fut.m.sg 'Karan will write a letter.'

Simple future clause

Puzzle 2: A verb bearing aspectual morphology can stand alone without a tensed auxiliary. Crucially, such truncated structures lack a future interpretation. We demonstrate this via the perfective aspect in (2).

(2) karan-ne pichhle hafte/#agle hafte ek khat likh-aa Karan-ERG last week/next week one letter write-PFV.M.SG 'Karan wrote a letter last week/#next week.'

Assuming a tri-partition of the clause into a V domain mapped to events, a T-domain mapped to situations, and a C-domain mapped to propositions, we argue that aspectual morphology in Hindi-Urdu is hosted on a head labeled $\operatorname{Asp}_{hu}^*$, which has two properties: (i) $\operatorname{Asp}_{hu}^*$ marks a transition from event descriptions to situation descriptions - it takes an event description as its complement and builds a situation description which encloses that event description and also provides a time and a world parameter, and (ii) $\operatorname{Asp}_{hu}^*$ encodes a uniqueness presupposition - it is defined only if the situation it creates is a unique situation.

Together, these properties explain both the ban on aspectual morphology in future-oriented structures (i.e. imperatives and simple future clauses), as well as the availability of truncated structures, which cannot be future-oriented.