

THE URDU PRONOMINAL CLITICS AS CASE-MARKERS

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Abstract

This study explores the role of Urdu pronominal clitics in marking and assigning cases to Urdu pronouns. Cases are important grammatical properties of pronouns. In Generative Grammar, the concept of abstract case is introduced to explain this phenomenon. In Urdu, pronouns combine with inflections and clitics to express different cases. The pronominal clitics specifically indicate seven types of oblique case: ergative, dative, instrumental, comitative, locative, and ablative. These cases in Urdu pronouns exhibit characteristics of quirky, structural, and inherent cases. Overall, the article delves into the intricate relationship between Urdu pronouns and the various cases they can express through the use of clitics.

Introduction

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads e.g., subject and object of a verb can be marked by a case system (Blake, 2001; Ahmed, 2007) and “the term ‘case’ was traditionally used for the system of noun suffixes typical of Indo-European languages” (Miller, 2002, p.134). Thus, the concept of case has been taken from traditional grammars and traditionally the term case refers to the inflectional marking. “Old Indo-European languages used morphological inflections to express case. For example, Sanskrit had eight cases whose names, in Latin grammatical terms, are: Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Ablative, Instrument, Genitive, Locative and Vocative” (Ahmed, 2007, p.1).

Morphological Case in Urdu

“South Asian languages, especially New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages (1000 AD - present) devised a new method to mark cases. Along with few morphological inflections that are remains of Old and Middle Indo Aryan languages, these languages use clitics and postpositions to mark the case” (Ahmed, 2007, P.1). The series of new case markers is “ne ‘ergative’, se ‘instrumental’, ko dative/accusative’, k- (ka, ki, & ke) ‘genitive’. These are not part of the inflectional morphology, but rather have the morphophonological status of clitics” (Butt, & Ahmed, 2011). Thus, the Urdu case markers are inflections and clitics. Moreover, there are also other case markers and Masica identified three layers of case marking in NIA: inflection, clitics, postpositions (Ahmed, 2007, pp.1-2).

Different writers have given different number of cases in the Urdu language. Butt and King (2004) are of the opinion that Urdu has seven cases that are overtly realized by seven markers. According to Siddiqui (2003) Urdu has eight cases and even some writers claim that Urdu has nine cases (Humayoun, 2006). There is no contradiction among these writers. Those who talk of three cases they are talking of morphological cases and those who think there are seven, eight or nine cases they also consider clitics as case-markers.

Usually direct, oblique and vocative case forms in case of nouns and direct, oblique and genitive in case of Urdu pronouns are differentiated (Schmidt, 1999;

Kachru, 2006). The direct case form is like the nominative case form and is unmarked form of Urdu pronouns. The Urdu pronominal clitics combine with oblique, nominative and accusative forms of the pronominals.

Urdu Nouns and Overt Morphological Case-Marking

Urdu nouns have overt morphological case-marking for oblique and vocative cases. Singular and plural forms of accusative and vocative cases are differently realized morphologically.

- 1) a. ek larka vaha khaa tha
one boy.SG.M.NOM there stand.SG.M be.SG.M
One boy was standing there.
- b. larke vaha khae the
boy.PL.M.NOM there stand.PL.M be.PL.M
Boys were standing there.
- c. us=ne ek larka=ko dekha
he.SG.OBL=ERG one boy.SG.M.OBL=ACC see.SG.M.NOM
He saw a boy.
- d. us=ne kuthe larko=ko dekha
he.SG.OBL=ERG some boy.PLOBL=ACC see.SGM
He saw some boys.
- e. larke, meri baat suno
boy.SG.M.VOC my talk listen.VOC
Boy, listen to me.
- f. larke, meri baat suno
boy.PL.VOC my talk listen.VOC
Boys, listen to me.

In sentences (1a&b), the subject is nominative, in (1c&d) the object has the oblique case and in (1e&f) the subject has the vocative case.

Table 1: The endings of the Urdu nouns for different cases

	NOMINATIVE		OBLIQUE		VOCATIVE	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
MASCULINE	beta (son)	Bete (sons)	bete (son)	betō (sons)	beta/ bete(son)	Beto (sons)
MASCULINE	bhai (brother)	bhai (brothers)	bhai (brother)	bhaiyō (brothers)	bhai (brother)	bhai (brothers)
FAMININE	beti (daughter)	Betiā (daughters)	Beti (daughter)	Betiō (daughters)	beti (daughter)	betiyo (daughters)
FAMININE	bāhān (sister)	bāhānē (sisters)	bāhān (sister)	bāhānō (sisters)	bāhān (sister)	bāhāno (sisters)

1.1.1 Urdu Pronouns and Overt Morphological Case-Marking

In accordance with the traditional grammarians, the pronominal system of the Urdu language has the direct/nominative, oblique and genitive case forms that are given below in the Table (1).

Table 2: Case forms of the Urdu pronouns

Direct	Oblique		Genitive		
			M		F
			SG	PL	
mā (I)	mudʒʰ (me)	mudʒʰe (me)	mera (my)	mere (my)	meri (my)

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the specific functions and mechanisms of Urdu pronominal clitics in marking and assigning different cases to Urdu pronouns.
2. To analyze the characteristics and variations of the seven oblique cases expressed by the pronominal clitics in Urdu.
3. To explore the theoretical framework of Generative Grammar and its application in understanding the concept of abstract case and its role in Urdu pronouns and their associated inflections and clitics.

Research Questions

The present study explores the following research questions.

1. How do Urdu pronominal clitics function to mark and assign different cases to Urdu pronouns?
2. What are the specific characteristics of the seven oblique cases expressed by the pronominal clitics in Urdu?
3. How does the concept of abstract case in Generative Grammar explain the role of cases in Urdu pronouns and their adjoined inflections and clitics?

Methodology

The research design for the present study is the qualitative research.

Framework

The present research will be undertaken within the framework of the Minimalist Program.

Case-Marking and Minimalist Program

The Generative Grammar gives us three cases such as nominative, accusative and oblique. The Urdu pronominal system has also the three above-mentioned morphological cases.

- 2) a. He is my best friend.
he.NOM
b. vo mera səb=se atʃa dʒʌst hæ
he.NOM my all=ABL good friend be
He is my best friend.
He and *vo* in (2a&b) are subjects and have nominative case.
- 3) a. I met him.

- he.ACC
b. mǎ use/ʊs=ko mīla
I.NOM he.OBL-ACC/ he.OBL=ACC meet
I met him.

Him and *use/ʊs=ko* in (3a&b) have accusative case. In Urdu direct object has oblique form plus inflection or clitic.

- 4) a. I gave a book to him.
he.OBL
b. mǎ=ne ek kītab use dī
I.NOM=ERG one book he.OBL-DAT give
I gave a book to him.
c. mǎ=ne ek kītab ʊs=ko dī
I.NOM=ERG one book he.OBL=DAT give
I gave a book to him.

Him in (4a), *use* in (4b) and *ʊs=ko* in (4c) are oblique objects and assigned dative case by an inflection or a clitic. In the Table (3) oblique pronominal forms with inflections and clitics have been given below. They (inflections and clitics) mark different cases.

Table 3: Oblique pronominal forms with inflections and clitics

	NOMINATIVE	OBLIQUE	OBLIQUE WITH INFLECTIONS & CLITICS	
IstP.SG	mǎ (I)	mudʒ ^h (me)	mudʒ ^h e (me)	mudʒ ^h =ko/se/mē/pār/tāk/ne (me)
1stP.PL	hām (we)	hām (us)	hāmē (us)	hām=ko/se/mē/pār/tāk/ne (us)
2ndP.SG	tū (you)	tudʒ ^h (you)	tudʒ ^h e (you)	tudʒ=ko/se/mē/pār/tāk/ne (you)
2ndP.SG/PL	tūm (you)	tūm (you)	tūmhē (you)	tūm=ko/se/mē/pār/tāk/ne (you)
HON	ap (you)	ap (you)		ap= ko/se/mē/pār/tāk/ne (you)

3rdP.SG	ye (this,he,sh, it)	is (him,her, it)	ise (him,her, it)	is=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne him/her/it
	vo (that, he, sh, it)	us (him, her, it)	use (him, her, it)	us=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne (him/her/it)
3rdP.PL	ye (they, these)	in (them)	inhẽ (them)	in=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne (them)
	vo (they, those)	on (them)	onhẽ (them)	on=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne (them)
REL.SG	dzo	dzis	dzise	dzis=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne
REL.PL	dzo	dzin	dzinhẽ	dzin=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne
INDF. SG	koi	kis	kise	kis=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne
INDF.PL	koʃʰ (some)	kin	kinhẽ	kin=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne
INTER.ANIM.SG	Kon (who)	kis	kise	kis=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne
INTER.ANIM.PL	Kon (who)	kin	kinhẽ	kin=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne
INTER.INAN	krya (what)	kis	kis	kis=ko/se/mẽ/pər/tək/ne

Case Assignment, Configurations and the Minimalist Program

“Case is assigned to DPs in certain structural configurations by certain other elements” (Poole, 2002, p.88). In other words, a particular configurational /structural relationship is needed between the Case assigner and the assignee. What case a DP has depends on the other elements that assign the case to the DP.

The syntactic environment is a prerequisite for the function of case. One condition is the presence of a ‘case assigner’. Hence, when the noun is in an unmarked form and occupies the subject position it has the nominative case assigned by T and when the noun is the direct object it is assigned accusative case by the lexical verb. When the noun is the object of a preposition it has the oblique case. According to the Minimalist Program, tense marking particles, verbs and

prepositions assign cases. In Urdu, inflections and clitics (in addition to tense marking particles, verbs and prepositions) mark and assign cases.

Moreover, a noun phrase must be in a particular relation to its case assigner.

- 5) *a. I am happy Hamid.
 *b. mǎ kʰʊʃ Hamid hũ
 I.NOM happy Hamid be
 I am happy Hamid.

The sentences (5a&b) are ungrammatical because there is no word adjacent to *Hamid* to assign a case to it.

But the sentences (6a&b) given below are grammatical for there is a preposition preceding *Hamid* in (va) and a postposition following *Hamid* in (vb) that assign oblique case to *Hamid*.

- 6) a. I am happy for Hamid.
 b. mǎ Hamid=ke liye kʰʊʃ hũ
 I.NOM Hamid.OBL=GEN for happy be
 I am happy for Hamid.

Thus Urdu language uses clitics to assign oblique cases to pronouns.

- 7) mǎ us=ke liye kʰʊʃ hũ
 I.NOM he.OBL=GEN for happy be
 I am happy for him.

Case Assignment and C-Command

Traditional grammar says that finite auxiliary agrees with its subject. Government and Binding theory says that finite *I* (*INFL*) agrees with its specifier (specifier -head relationship). In Minimalism syntactic relations are restricted to the relation c-command created by merger. Agreement is the syntactic mechanism that establishes relationships between nodes and involves a relation between a probe and a goal. When a head and its complement merge, the head serves as a probe. It searches within its complement for a goal to agree with. “The term goal represents a constituent which agrees with or is attracted by a higher head which serves as a probe” (Radford, 2009, p.387). Nominative and null case-marking involve agreement with T and a T can’t agree with a non-nominative DP and if there is no nominative DP probe, the T appears in a default form/agreementless form (Radford, 2004). Urdu case assignment follows the above mentioned rules.

Nominative case assignment by finite T

- 8) a. mǎ skul dʒɑtɑ hũ
 I.1.SG.M.NOM school go.SG.M be.1.SG.PRES
 I go to school.
 b. tʊm skul dʒɑtɑ ho
 You.2.SG.M.NOM school go.S.GM be.2.SG.PRES
 You go to school.

- c. vo skul dʒaʈa hæ
 He.3.SG.M.NOM school go.SG.M be.3.SG.PRES
 He goes to school.
- d. vo skul dʒaʈe hæ
 They.3.PL.M.NOM school go.PL.M be.3.PL.PRES
 They go to school.
- e. vo skul dʒaʈi hæ
 She.3.SG.F.NOM school go.SG.F be.3.SG.PRES
 She goes to school.

In (8a-e), the subjects are assigned the nominative case by tensed auxiliaries (T). They agree in number and person (phi-features/ø-features). The lexical verbs in (8a-e) agree in number and gender.

Nominative case assignment to object by finite T

If a subject in Urdu is followed by a clitic or has an inflection, the tense marking constituent assign nominative case to the object if the object is neither followed by a clitics nor has an inflection. In case of a clitic or an inflection Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) does not let the tense-marking suffix or auxiliary assign nominative case either to a subject or an object.

- 9) a. mǣ=ne ek lərka ʒekʰa
 I.1.SG.OBL=ERG one. boy.3.SG.M.NOM see.SG.M.NOM.PRES
 I saw a boy.
- b. mǣ=ne use/us=ko
 I.1.SG.OBL=ERG he.3.SG.M.OBL-ACC/he.3.SG.M.OBL=ACC
 ʒekʰa
 see.SG.M.NOM.PRES
 I saw him.

In (9a) the subject is not the goal on account of the constraint called Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). In (9a) the object *lərka* is the goal and the verb *ʒekʰa* is the probe. It checks the valued ø-features of the object and assigns the unvalued feature of case (nominative case) to the object. In (9b) neither the subject nor the object can be assigned the nominative case on account of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). The verb has the default or agreementless form and the object has the inherent case i.e., accusative case.

Default Order

When the tense-marking probe is unable to check the unvalued case feature of the goal owing to Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) or some other reason, it appears in default agreementless form. Thus, when clitics follow the nouns and pronouns the T is in default form.

- 10) a. mǣ=ne use/us=ko tʃʰua
 I.1SGNOM=ERG he.3SGOBL-E/he.3SGOBL=ACC touch.SGM
 I touched him/her.

b. mæ=ne on=se putʃa
I.1SGNOM=ERG he.3PLOBL=ABL ask.SGM
I asked him.

In (10a&b) the arguments and T don't agree in phi-features and case features. The tense-marking suffixes appear in default/agreementless form.

OBLIQUE CASE

The term is usually used to describe case in Urdu/Hindi grammars. The oblique case is used when a DP has an inflection, a clitic or a postposition. Thus, it is any grammatical case except the nominative and vocative. It is contrasted with an unmarked case e.g; *mæ* vs. *mudʒʰ* and *vo* vs. *us* etc. It is also used for the languages that don't have the nominative case e.g; ergative-absolutive languages. It includes the accusative and prepositional cases. In Urdu, it is an inherent case and is assigned by a governing postpositions, clitics and inflections.

Inflection is a non projecting category but creates barrier like clitics and postpositions in Urdu. Inflections and clitics behave differently so far as case assignment is concerned. Clitics assign nominative as well as oblique case while inflections assign only oblique case. The case that my present work requires to investigate is the oblique case in the Urdu language.

The Case Pattern of the Urdu Language

Languages are divided on the basis of the case pattern they manifest e.g., ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative types. In ergative languages “the complement of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb are assigned the same morphological case” (Radford, 2004, p.450) and in accusative languages subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs have the same morphological case that is different from that of the objects. In other words, in the active or accusative languages the nominative, the unmarked case of these languages, expresses both the agent of transitive verbs and the sole argument of intransitive verbs. The accusative indicates the patient of transitive verbs. In ergative languages or absolutive language, the absolutive, the basic (=unmarked) case in these languages, “designates the patient of transitive verbs as well as the single argument of intransitive verbs regardless of its thematic relation. The marked case, the ergative serves to express the agent of transitive verbs” (Bussmann, 2013, p.376). Now the question is whether or not Urdu follows one of these two patterns.

It is usually said that Urdu is an ergative language. Butt and Ahmed (2011) are of the opinion that Urdu is neither an ergative language nor a split ergative language. These notions cannot exactly express the case system or case pattern shown by Urdu language. Sanskrit, the ancestor language of Urdu, was not ergative. The ergative case of Urdu is said to be the result of an alignment change between case marking and grammatical relations in the case system of the language (Butt, & Ahmed, 2011).

But Pesetsky and Torrego (n.d.) give the following properties of an ergative absolutive language.

- “1. Abstract case is morphologically zero (or shows the same morphology for both NOM and ACC) —as in English.
2. Inherent case exists, and is not morphologically zero.
3. One of the categories that assigns inherent case is v (the category that introduces an external argument), which assigns inherent case to its θ -marked specifier.” (Pesetsky & Torrego, n.d.)

Urdu seems to follow these above principles (1-3) in some sentences of some tenses. Its abstract case is morphologically zero, its inherent case is not morphologically zero and v assigns inherent case to its theta marked specifier. So Urdu is a split ergative language.

The Ergative Case

In Urdu, *ne* is the ergative case-marker. The first and second person pronouns followed by the clitic, *ne*, appear in the nominative. Third person singular pronouns followed by the same clitic, *ne*, have the oblique case and third person plural pronouns take special forms. The Table (3) shows these case forms.

Table 3: The nominative and ergative cases of the Urdu pronouns

Singular	Nominative	Pronoun+ne
1 st person	mā (I)	mā=ne
2 nd person	tū (you)	tū=ne
3 rd person	vo (he, she, it,)	us=ne
	ye (he, she, it,)	is=ne
Plural		
1 st person	hām (we)	hām=ne
2 nd person	tūm (you)	tūm=ne
	ap (you)	ap=ne
3 rd person	vo (they)	un ^h ō=ne
	ye (they)	in ^h ō=ne

The ergative case-marker, *ne*, marks only the subject with ergative case. It does not mark the direct and oblique objects. When the pronoun is the subject of the transitive verb in the perfect tense, the pronominal subject may be followed by the clitic, *ne*, the ergative case-marker.

- 11) a. mā=ne kītab pər^{hi} t̪^{hi}
I.1.SG.NOM=ERG book.F.SG.NOM read.PERF.F.SG
be.PAST.F.SG
I had read (the) book. (adapted from Siddiqui, 2003, p. 360)
- b. mā=ne kītabē pər^{hi} t̪^{hi}
I.1SGNOM=ERG book.FPLNOM read.PERF.F.SG be.PAST.F.PL
I had read (the) books. (adapted from Siddiqui, 2003, p. 360)
- c. mā=ne kīssa pər^{ha} t̪^{ha}

- I.1SGNOM=ERG story.MSGNOM read.PERFMSG be.PASTMSG
I had read (the) story. (adapted from Siddiqui, 2003, p. 360)
- d. mǎ=ne kisse pər^he t^he
I.1SGNOM=ERG story.MPLNOM read.PERFMPL be.PAST.1M.PL
I had read (the) stories. (adapted from Siddiqui, 2003, p. 360)
- e. mǎ=ne ye xət pər^ha hæ
I.1GSNOM=ERG this letter.3SGNOM read.PSTSG be.3SGPRS
I have read this letter.
- f. ʊs=ne sare səmose k^hæ hæ
I.3GSOBL=ERG all samosa.3PLNOM eat.PSTPL be.PRS3PL
He has eaten all (the) samosas.

In all these sentences, the subject has been assigned ergative case by the case-marker, *ne*, and the verb agrees with the nominative object. In (11a), the feminine singular nominative object, *kɪt̪ab*, agrees with the feminine singular verb, *pər^hi t^hi*. In (11b) feminine plural nominative object, *kɪt̪ab̃*, agrees with the feminine plural verb, *pər^hi t^hĩ*. In (11c) the masculine singular nominative object, *kɪssa*, agrees with the masculine singular verb. In (11d) the masculine plural nominative object, *kisse*, agrees with the masculine singular verb. In (11e&f) the object DP, being a higher head in the structure serves as a probe and searches for a c-commanded T goal to agree with. According to Pesetsky's Earliness Principle operations apply as early as possible in derivation. It is a "principle which says that linguistic operations must apply as early in a derivation as possible" (Radford, 2009, p. 383). A probe agrees in phi features with the goal. The probe DP starts searching for the c-commanded T and as soon as the nominative DP finds the T goal it agrees with it in Phi features. The only T goal c-commanded by the nominal/pronominal is hæ, hæ, t^hi, t^ha and t^he.

The clitic, *ne*, also marks the subject of the past tense.

- 12) a. t̪om=ne bazar=se kɪya xəriɖa?
You.2NOM=ERG market=ABL what buy
What did you buy in (from) the market? (adapted from Schmidt, 2005)
- b. ap=ne ʊn^hẽ kya bəɖaya
you.2NOM=ERG they.OBL what tell
What did you tell them?
- c. ap=ne səfək=pər kya ɖek^ha
you.2NOM=ERG road=LOC what see
What did you see on the road? (adapted from Schmidt, 2005)
- d. ʊs=ne g^hofe=pər səvəri ki
I.3GSOBL=ERG horse=LOC ride do
He rode a horse.
- e. kɪsi=ne ye bukrat̪=se dʒake put^ha
somebody=ERG this Bukrat=ABL go ask
Somebody went to Bakraat and asked this
marz t̪ere nəzɖik mohlɪk hæ kya kya
malady you.GEN near deadly be what what

Which maladies are deadly in your opinion?

(adapted from Siddiqui, 2003, p. 360)

The clitic, *ne*, also marks ergative case to the subject DPs of some intransitive verbs.

- 13) a. us=ne $\text{k\ddot{o}h\ddot{a}}$ ke vo ab thik $\text{h\ddot{a}}$
 he.3SGOBL=ERG say.PERFMSG that he now well be
 He said that he is well now.
- b. $\text{m\ddot{a}\ddot{e}=ne}$ abhi $\text{son\ddot{a}}$ $\text{h\ddot{a}}$
 I.1SG.OBL=ERG yet sleep be
 I have yet to sleep.

In (13a&b) the subject DP is in the ergative case and the intransitive verb in (13a) is in past tense and the sentence (13b) has the present perfect tense.

The syntactic analysis of the Urdu ergative case has not yet been undertaken satisfactorily. It has been viewed as quirky case, inherent case and structural case. Bittner and Hale (1996) have regarded it as a marked structural case. But according to Butt and King (2004), they have disregarded the semantic factors which interact with syntax. Mahajan (1990) and Davison (1999) have also adopted the structural approach to analyze the ergative case in Urdu. De Hoop (1999) tries to implement the semantic notion of the case. Butt and King (1991), and Mohanan (1994) also support semantic analysis and “therefore argue that the ergative is associated with volitionality or the feature [+conscious choice]” (Butt & King, 2004).

Locative Case

It is a kind of case form that ‘expresses the place in, on or at which something exists or occurs’ (Trask, 1993, p.164). For finer distinction Urdu language uses different clitics for different kinds of locative case. For example, Urdu uses the clitic *mē* for inessive case and the clitics *pār* and *ṭāk* for adessive case.

Locative case

The case-marker clitic *mē* marks locative case, especially inessive case which is a kind of locative case. It mainly expresses the sense of *in*. In addition to the sense of *in*, the clitic *mē* also expresses the sense of *between*, *among*, *into*, etc. inessive (‘in’ a place), elative (‘from inside’ a place) and illative (‘into’ a place).

The clitic *mē* is used to express the concrete or abstract notion of location in time or space.

It may express the extended notion of spatial location.

- 14) a. un=mē dostī $\text{h\ddot{a}}$
 they.3PLOBL=LOC friendship. FSGNOM be.SGPRES
 There is (a) friendship between them.
- b. un=mē purānī dostmānī $\text{h\ddot{a}}$

they.3PLOBL=LOC old enmity. FSGNOM be.PRESSG
There is (an) old enmity among them.

In the above sentence (14a), the sense of between has been conveyed and in (14b) the sense of among is present.

The case-marker *mē* may be used to show the abstract location of different emotions, qualities, abilities etc.

- 15) a. *us=mē itni dʒurəʈ nəhī hæ*
he.3.SG.OBL=LOC so courage not be.PRES.3.SG
He has not so much courage.
b. *un=mē lədaɪ=kɑ hosla nəhī hæ*
they.3PLOBL=LOC fight.FSGNOM=GEN courage not be. 3SGPRES
He has no stomach for (a) fight.

The case-marker *mē* may be employed to express the extended notion of abstract location of ideas expressed by the psyche verbs such as doubt, think etc.

- 16) a. *is=mē soʃne=ki koi bat nəhī*
this.3P.SG.OBL=LOC think=GEN any talk not
There is nothing to think about.
b. *is=mē koi ʃək nəhī*
this.3P.SG.OBL=LOC any doubt not
There is no doubt about it.

The case-marker *mē* can be used to communicate the sense of change from one state to another.

- 17) *mā ap=mē ye ʈəbdili ʈekʰ kər xuf huva*
I.1PSG you.2OBL=LOC this change see do please become
I am pleased to see this change in you.

The clitic *mē* is used with the verb, ‘lagna (to be applied)’ to express ‘to cost’, and ‘to take time’ (Schmidt, 2005, p.77)

- 18) *mæ=ne is=mē ek lakʰ ropæ ləgaye hæ*
I.1P.SG.NOM.ERG this.3P.SG.OBL=LOC one lac rupees apply be
I invested Rs.100000 in this/in this business.

The clitic *mē* may be employed to mark the argument that expresses the entities that are compared.

- 19) a. *m=mē Hamid səb=se əʃʰɑ hæ*
they.3P.PL.OBL=LOC Hamid all=LOC good be.3FSGPRES
Hamid is the best of all of them.

Locative case

pər is an adessive case-marker. Adessive is a kind of locative case that typically expresses the sense of at, on or near. *pər* has also a variant form *pe* that usually occurs in poetry and colloquial speech (Schmidt, 2005, p.77).

- 20) a. $\text{us}=\text{pär}$ bohät sari zomađarıyâ hâ
he.3SGOBL=LOC many all responsibility be.PL
He has many responsibilities.
- b. $\text{us}=\text{ke}$ $\text{häm}=\text{pär}$ befömar âhsanađ hâ
he.3SGOBL=GEN we.1PLOBL=LOC countless favour be
He has done countless favours to me.
- c. $\text{ün}=\text{pär}$ hämê b'härosa hâ
he.3.PL.OBL=LOC we trust be
We have trust in them.
- d. $\text{möd}^{\text{h}}=\text{pär}$ yaqin $\text{räk}^{\text{h}}\text{o}$
I.1.SG.OBL=LC believe put
Believe me.
- e. $\text{möd}^{\text{h}}=\text{pär}$ zıyađa bod^{h} mät dalo
I.1.SG.OBL=LC much burden not put
Don't overburden me.

The locative marker is also used when the argument is the source or location of some emotional experience.

$\text{möd}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{us}=\text{pär}$ fäk hâ

I. he.3.SG.OBL=LOC doubt be

I doubt him.

Locative case

täk is also an adessive case-marker that indicates extent or limit. It “shows that something extends to a specific point in time or space” (Schmidt, 2005, p.77).

- 21) a. $\text{möd}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ $\text{ap}=\text{täk}$ $\text{pähätfäne}=\text{ke}$ liye tşar ghänte läge
I.1.SG.OBL-E you.2.OBL=LOC reach=GEN for four hour take
It took me four hours to reach you.
- b. äfva $\text{ün}=\text{täk}$ $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$ pähätf göi hâ
rumour they.3PLOBL=LOC reach go be
Rumour has reached them.

Ablative, Comitative, Instrumental Case-Marker

The clitic *se* marks different cases such as ablative, comitative, sociative, instrumental, etc. “The syncretism i.e. of usage of common marker of sociative (or comitative) and instrument marker is a known phenomenon” (Ahmed, 2006, p.5). It is also used for other usages such as manner, source, reason, etc.

Instrumental case

The noun or noun phrase that refers to the means by which the action of the verb is performed is in the instrumental case. (Richards & Schmidt, 2010)

The instrumental marker *se* marks the instrument with which the action is accomplished.

- 22) a. ap kɪs kələm=se d̥əstʃxət̚ kərē ge
 you.3MSGNOM which pen.MSGNOM=INST signature do will
 With which pen will you sign?
- b. mǎẽ ʊs=se d̥əstʃxət̚ kərũ ga
 I.1MSGNOM he.3MSGOBL=INST signature do will
 I shall sign with that.

kələm and *us* have instrumental case in (22a&b) because they are used as instruments to accomplish the action of signing.

- 23) a. *us=ne ek beltʃe=se/us=se sorax kʰoda*
 he=ERG one spade=INST/he.3SGOBL=INST hole dig
 He dug the hole with a spade.
- b. *us=ne hətʰode=se/us=se kil tʰōka*
 he=ERG hammer=INST/he.3S.OBL=INST nail hit
 He hit the nail with (a) hammer.

The spade, the hammer and *us* are in the instrumental case. They are used to perform the action.

The clitic *se* marks the instrumental case to the arguments that refer to the instrument of verbs expressing incapacity.

- 24) mʊdʒ^h=se k^hana nəhĩ k^haya dʒaɣa
 I.1SGOBL=INST food. MSGNOM not eat. PERFMSC
 I can't possibly eat the food.

The clitic *se* marks the instrumental case to the arguments that refer to the instrument of verbs expressing involuntary action.

- 25) o ho mɔdʒ^h=se kya ho gəyɑ?
oh I.1SGOGL=INST what happen go
Oh no, what have I done (involuntarily)? (adapted from Schmidt, 2005, p.74)

The clitic *se* marks the instrumental case to the arguments that identify the instrument of passive.

- 26) ye sərək ʊn=se bənai dʒæ gi
this.3SGNOM road.FSGNOM they.3PLOBL=INST make go will
This road will be built by them. (adapted from (Schmidt, 2005, p.74))

The clitic *se* marks the instrumental case to the arguments that refer to the instrument of causative.

- 27) mǣ ap=ka kam us=se kərvaũ ga
 I.1MSGNOM you.2SGOBL=GEN work he.3SGOBL=INST do will
 I'll get him to do your work.

Some verbs require their objects marked with *se* e.g; take, ask, talk, speak, meet, etc.

- 28) a. mǎ=ne kɪtʌb ʊn=se li
 I.1SGNOM=ERG book.FSGNOM they.3PLOBL=INST take
 I took (a/the) book from them.
- b. koi mere dɪl=se putʃ^{he} t̪ere tir-e nim kəf=ko
 someone my heart=INST ask your arrow half release=DAT
 Someone should ask my heart about your half-released arrow. (adapted from Schmidt, 2005, p.75)
- c. mǎ t̪om=se baɫ kərna tʃahəɟa hũ
 I.1MSGNOM you.2SGOBL=INST talk do want be
 I want to talk to you.
- d. mǎ ʊs=se mɪla
 I.1SGNOM he.3SGOBL=INST meet.PASTMSG
 I met him.
- e. mǎ ʊs=ko mɪla
 I.1.SG.NOM he.3.SG.OBL=DAT meet.PAST.M.SG
 I met him.

In the above two sentences (28a-e), the instrumental case and the dative case almost have the same meaning.

Comitative/Sociative case

Comitative case serves to show the accompaniment of a thing or person or it identifies an individual in whose company something is done (Bussmann, 1996; Trask, 1993). The sociative marker *se* fundamentally convey the sense of accompaniment with another object.

- 29) mǎ ʊs=se baɫ kərna tʃahəɟa hũ
 I he.3SGOBL=SOC talk do want be
 I want to speak to him.

When accompaniment is extended to agentive/action domain, we get examples like following sentence.

- 30) mǎ=ne ʊs=se baɫ ki
 I.1SGNOM=ERG he.3SG=SOC talk do.PERFFSG
 I talked with him.

The action of discussion is done in the presence or accompaniment of two persons.

- 31) ap=se d̪ərxast̪ hæ ke həmē apne fən=se nəvazē
 you.SOC
 He (an honoured poet) is requested to favour us with his art.
 (adapted from Schmidt, 2005, p.75)

Ablative case

It is a morphological case in some languages which serves to mark the agent in passive sentences or shows different types of adverbial relations such as the instrument, manner, separation, time, place of the action or source of movement. Urdu language uses the clitic *se* to assign and mark the ablative case to DPs. “The examples of different semantic usages of ablative show that its core meaning is source point of motion. The other usages are its extensions” (Ahmed, 2006, p.8). Masica (1993) has also discussed some complex constructions that can either be considered as layer IV or special sub-layers of layer II. Urdu uses constructions like *mẽ se* and *per se* that have two layer II markers. It also uses (ki) *vadža se* that has a noun *vadža* (reason) and one or two layer II clitics, *ki* and *se*.

The fundamental usage of ablative *se* is to mark the location from which a person or an object starts to move.

- 32) a. ap kɨs=se mɨl kər aye hã
 you.2SGNOM whom.SGOBL=ABL meet do come be
 Whom have you met before you came?
- b. vo ʊs=se mɨl kər aya hã
 he he.3.SG.OBL=ABL meet do come be
 He has come after meeting him.

The clitic *se* is also used to mark the ablative case to the argument that transfers something to the other argument.

- 33) a. $\text{us}=\text{ne}$ $\text{mud}^{\text{h}}=\text{se}$ pæse liye
 $\text{he.3SGOBL}=\text{ERG}$ $\text{I.1SGOBL}=\text{ABL}$ money take
 He took money from me.
- b. $\text{mæ}=\text{ne}$ $\text{us}=\text{se}$ kıtab li/xæridi
 $\text{I.1SGNOM}=\text{ERG}$ $\text{he.3SGOBL}=\text{ABL}$ book take/buy
 I took/bought (a/the) book from him.

In (33a) *mvd*_{3^h}=*se* and in (33b) *us*=*se* are locations and sources from which the DPs *money* and *book* start their motion.

The ablative marker *se* is also used when the argument is the source of experience.

- 34) a. mʊdʒ^{he} us=se k^hɔf ɑ̃ɑ hæ
 I.1SGOBL he.3SGOBL=ABL fear come be
 I fear him.
 b. mʊdʒ^{he} tʊm=se nəfrət hæ
 I.1SGOBL you.2OBL=ABL hate be
 I hate you.

In (34a), $us=se$ and in (34b) $tum=se$ are the sources of emotional experience.

The clitic, *se*, also case-marks source of the psyche verbs such as love, hate etc. The sources of these verbs may be termed as abstract locations.

- 35) a. $\text{m}\ddot{o}\text{d}\text{z}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}$ $\text{us}=\text{se}$ $\text{p}\ddot{r}\text{y}\ddot{a}\text{r}$ $\text{h}\ddot{a}$
 I.1SGOBL he.3SGOBL=ABL love be
 I am in love with him.
 b. $\text{m}\ddot{o}\text{d}\text{z}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}$ $\text{us}=\text{se}$ $\text{n}\ddot{a}\text{f}\ddot{r}\ddot{a}\text{t}$ $\text{h}\ddot{a}$
 I.1SGOBL he.3SGOBL=ABL hate be
 I hate him.

The ablative marker *se* also marks the argument that can be the target of the action expressed by the verbs like ask, talk, speak etc.

- 36) a. $\text{m}\ddot{a}\ddot{x}=\text{ne}$ $\text{us}=\text{se}$ $\text{b}\ddot{a}\text{t}$ $\text{n}\ddot{a}\text{h}\ddot{i}$ $\text{k}\ddot{i}$
 I.1SGNOM=ERG he.3SGOBL=ABL talk not do
 I did not talk to him.
 b. $\text{us}=\text{ne}$ $\text{m}\ddot{o}\text{d}\text{z}^{\text{h}}=\text{se}$ $\text{s}\ddot{a}\text{v}\ddot{a}\text{l}$ $\text{p}\ddot{u}\text{t}\text{f}\ddot{n}\ddot{a}$
 he.3SG=EERG I.1SGOBL=ABL question.MSG ask.PERF.M.SG
 He asked me a question. (adapted from (Ahmed, 2006))

In the above sentence (36a&b), the arguments, $\text{us}=\text{se}$ and $\text{m}\ddot{o}\text{d}\text{z}^{\text{h}}=\text{se}$ have been marked with ablative marker *se* and are the sources of action expressed by the verbs $\text{b}\ddot{a}\text{t}$ *kārna* and $\text{p}\ddot{u}\text{t}\text{f}\ddot{n}\ddot{a}$.

Nominal clitic *se* has the temporal usage but the pronominal clitic *se* has no such usage.

- 37) vo $\text{t}\ddot{i}\text{n}$ $\text{d}\ddot{i}\text{n}=\text{se}$ $\text{l}\ddot{a}\text{h}\ddot{o}\text{r}=\text{m}\ddot{e}$ $\text{h}\ddot{a}$
 he.3SGNOM three day.MSGOBL=ABL Lahore=LOC be
 He has been in Lahore for three days.

The clitic *se* also marks the agent who is made to perform some action by another agent.

- 38) $\text{m}\ddot{a}\ddot{x}=\text{ne}$ $\text{us}=\text{se}$ $\text{x}\ddot{a}\text{t}$ $\text{l}\ddot{i}\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{v}\ddot{a}\text{y}\ddot{a}$
 I.1SGNOM=ERG he.3SGOBL=ABL letter write
 I made him write (a/the) letter.

The ablative marker also marks and assigns the ablative case to the complement of the intransitive verbs like *tutāna* (break).

- 39) glas $\text{us}=\text{se}$ $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{t}\ddot{a}$
 glass.MSGNOM he.3SGOBL=ABL break.PERFMSG
 The glass was broken by him. (adapted from Ahmed, 2006)

“Ablative case marker is used to mark a location from/relative to which a comparison is made” (Ahmed, 2006, p.4)

- 40) vo $\text{m}\ddot{o}\text{d}\text{z}^{\text{h}}=\text{se}$ $\text{d}\ddot{u}\text{r}$ $\text{r}\ddot{a}\text{h}\text{t}\ddot{a}$ $\text{h}\ddot{a}$
 he.3MSGNOM I.1MSGOBL=ABL away live.PRESMSG be
 He lives away from me.

The argument *vo* is compared with the argument *mud^h=se* from which a comparison is made.

The clitic *se* is also used to make comparison and show comparative and superlative degrees.

- 41) a. *vo* *mud^h=se* *ziada zəhin* *hə*
 he.3MSGNOM I.1SGOBL=ABL more intelligent be
 He is more intelligent than me.
- b. *vo* *səb=se* *ziada zəhin* *hə*
 he.3.M.SG.NOM all =ABL more intelligent be
 He is the most intelligent of all.

Here the argument having ablative marker acts as origin from which the quality ‘intelligence’ is measured on the abstract adjective scale. “In all of the above examples, ablative marker marks the argument from which action is originating i.e. action moves away from it.” (Ahmed, 2006) In short, the clitic *se* marks the arguments that are the source of motion in terms of stimulus, time, agency, comparison, place etc.

Dative Case

A single case-marker can mark different cases. The clitic case-marker, *ko*, marks and assigns the dative and accusative cases in the Urdu language. It roughly means ‘to’ and ‘at’. The dative case is equivalent to English indirect object case. When there is a ditransitive verb with two objects, one is affected by the action and the other receives the object, the former is direct object and has the accusative case while the latter is the indirect object and has the dative case.

- 42) a. *ap=ne* *on=ko* *xəṭ* *bhedza*
 you.2SGNOM=ERG them.3PLOBL=DAT letter.MSGNOM send.PAST
 You sent a letter to them.
- b. *is=ko* *məṭ* *tjhedo*
 that.3.SG.OBL=DAT don't tease
 Don't tease him.

The clitic, *ko*, can be replaced with the suffix *e*. Kachru (1987) calls these case forms with inflections, *-e/(h)ẽ*, the contracted forms of the pronouns plus clitic, *ko*. The pronoun, *ap*, is an exception. When this clitic follows the pronoun, *ap*, it cannot be replaced by the suffix *e*. The table given below also points out that all the pronouns don't have morphological case or inflection to mark cases. They mark their cases by using clitics.

Table 4: The dative case-marker clitic *ko* and inflection *e/(h) ẽ*

Si	Pron	Pronoun
ngular	oun+ko	+e/(h) ẽ
1 st	<i>mud</i>	<i>mudze</i>
person	<i>3=ko</i>	
2 nd	<i>ṭud3</i>	<i>ṭudze</i>

person	=ko	
3 rd	us=	use
person	ko	
	is=k	ise
	o	
Pl		
ural		
1 st	həm	həmē
person	=ko	
2 nd	tum	tum ^{hē} /
person	=ko	tumhē
	ap=	
	ko	
3 rd	on=	on ^{hē} /
person	ko	onhē
	m=k	m ^{hē} /
	o	mnhē

Inflection marks the dative case in (43a&b)

- 43) a. vo [mod^{3hē}] tfae pəlaṭe hæ
they.3PLNOM I.1SGOBL tea drink be.PLPRES
They give *me* tea to drink (lit. gives tea to *me*).
b. qıl-e nadā [tūd^{3hē}] hova kıya hæ (Ghalib, n.d)
heart foolish you.2SGOBL happen what be
Foolish heart, what has happened to *you*? (Schmidt, 2005)

The clitic, *ko*, usually follows the indirect object in the Urdu language.

- 44) mǎ=ne us=ko kıṭab di
I.1SGNOM=ERG he.3SGOBL=DAT book.FSG give.PERFFSG
I gave (a/the) book to him.
The subject in (44) is marked with ergative marker *ne*, object is nominative and the recipient is marked with dative marker *ko*.

The clitic, *ko*, also marks and assigns the accusative case to a DP that identifies an animate or specified inanimate direct object. Sometimes, *ko*, is omitted to show that the object is unspecified.

- 45) a. on=ko bəlaə
them.3PLOBL=DAT call
call them.
b. on=ko baḡ le tfaəlo
them.3PLOBL=DAT garden take go
Take them to the garden.
ko marks accusative case to the specified inanimate direct object
46) a. us=ko xalı kər qə

that.3SGOBL=DAT empty do
Empty that.

- b. *is=ko upər le dʒao*
this.3.SG.OBL upstairs take go
Take this upstairs.

It (*ko*) also marks the dative case to the subjects of the perception/psyche verbs. In the following verse composed by Ghalib / ɣalīb / (n.d) and translated by Schmidt (2005) the subject in the first line has the dative case.

- 47) a. *həm=ko ʊn=se vəfa=ki hæ ʊmiɖ*
we.1PLNOM=DAT them.3PLOBL=INST loyalty=GEN be hope
I (lit. we) hope for loyalty from the one
dʒo nəhĩ dʒaŋte vəfa kɪa hæ
who not know loyalty what be (Ghalib, n.d)
Who does not know what loyalty is

- b. *ʊs=ko fəzul=mē ʃək hæ*
he.3SGOBL=DAT vain=LOC doubt be
He is doubtful in vain.

- c. *ʊs=ko səmose pəsəɖ hæ*
he.3.SG.OBL=DAT samosa like be
He likes samosas.

- d. *ʊn=ko kamyabi ki tʌvəko hæ*
them.3.PL.OBL=DAT success=GEN hope be
They expect to succeed.

The clitic, *ko*, also assigns the dative case to the subject of the verb, *ləgəna*.

- 48) a. *ʊs=ko dər ləga*

he.3SG=DAT fear touch.MSGPAST
He got scared.

- b. *ʊn=ko ye bəɖ buri ləgi*
them.3PLOBL=DAT this talk bad seem
They were displeased to hear this thing.

The clitic, *ko*, marks the dative case to the subject DP of the transitive and intransitive verbs.

- 49) *ʊs=ko ʊmiɖ hæ*
he.3SGOBL=DAT hope be
He is hopeful.

The subject of an intransitive verb in (49) has been marked with dative case.

- 50) *ʊs=ko kɪtəb pəfʰni hæ*
he.3SGOBL=DAT book read be
He has to read (a/the) book.

The subject of a transitive verb in (50) has been marked with dative case *ko* also marks the dative case to the DPs that show experiencer subjects.

- 51) a. us=ko $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ana dek}^{\text{h}}$ $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{uk}$ $\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{gne l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{gi}$
he.3SG=DAT food see do hunger touch seem
He started feeling hungry to see the food.
- b. $\text{ap=ko ye z}\bar{\text{o}}\text{kam k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}=\text{se l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{g gya h}\bar{\text{a}}?$
How (lit. from where) did you catch cold? (adapted from Schmidt, 2005)

“Where a constituent is assigned case by virtue of its semantic function (e.g. a goal complement of certain types of verb is assigned dative case in German), it is said to receive inherent case” (Radford, 2009, pp. 375-76), and when a DP is assigned a case on account of its structural position, it is said to be a structural case. The dative in the light of the above given data is an inherent case. It is assigned to the theta-marked indirect objects, direct objects and subjects. It is not a semantic case because it is not assigned to a non-argument that has a special semantic interpretation. It also seems to be a quirky case because it replaces the nominative subjects and accusative objects. It is also checked by a functional head, clitic *ko*, and this evinces that it is also a structural case. Thus, it seems to be a combination of a quirky case, an inherent case and a structural case.

Conclusion

This article examines the role of the Urdu pronominal clitics in marking and assigning the case to Urdu pronouns. Case is an essential property of pronouns. Therefore, the Generative Grammar has given the concept of abstract case. The Urdu pronouns adjoin inflections and clitics for realization of different cases. The pronominal clitics show about seven different kinds of the oblique case: ergative case, dative case, instrumental case, comitative case, instrumental case, locative case and ablative case. The cases of the Urdu pronominal expression evince the characteristics of quirky, structural and inherent case.



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