

CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF THE URDU PRONOMINAL PHRASES

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Abstract The paper discusses an analysis of the constituent structure of Urdu pronominal phrases using the X-bar structure of the Minimalist program. It highlights two main elements: DP (Determiner Phrase) and pronominal clitics. Both elements are considered lexical items that undergo checking and merger operations to resolve the unvalued case-feature of the pronominal clitics and create a new category, specifically a noun phrase, after the merger. The study also notes that Urdu is a head-final language, meaning that complements precede heads in the sentence. In this case, the DPs (pronouns) function as complements, while the clitics act as heads. When the clitics is discussed, emphasizing their complementary distribution with pronominal inflections and the focus particle/clitic "hi." This distribution suggests that these clitics behave syntactically as pronominal clitics, which serve to mark cases and assign theta-roles.

1. Introduction

The Urdu pronouns plus pronominal clitics make phrases. This paper will investigate the hierarchical organization of the constituents formed by the Urdu pronominal forms plus pronominal clitics. The X-bar theory of generative grammar is the most popular theory that deals with the constituent structure of the sentences. The constituent structure will be analysed in the light of the of X-bar syntax. "Constituent structure provides the roadmap that determines which words can be combined with which other words" (Carnie, 2010, PP. 3), leading to the understanding of the syntactic behaviour of the words. Accordingly, this paper is an attempt to explain in the light of X-bar syntax the syntactic behaviour of the Urdu pronominal clitics to form pronominal phrases.



1.1 Urdu Pronominal Constituents

The Urdu DP (determiner phrase) combines with a clitic and makes a NP. Some of the Urdu pronominal phrases are given below in the tables (1) to (2).

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	mudzh=ko	həm=ko
1	you=DAT	We=DAT
	tum=ko	tom=ko
2^{nd}	you=DAT	you=DAT
2	tudz ^h = ko	
	you=DAT	
(hon SG/PL)	ap=ko	ap=ko
	you=DAT	you=DAT
3 rd prox	1s=ko	ın=ko/ ınhõ=ko
	He=DAT	They==DAT
Rem	us=ko	un=ko∕ unhõ=ko
	He=DAT	They=DAT

Table 1: The Urdu pronominal phrases with dative case

Table 1: The Urdu pronominal phrases with genetive case

The base / ka/ke/ ki / and Pronominal						
Person	Singular	•		Plural		
(hon SG/PL)	ap=ka	You=GEN	آپ کا	ap=ka	You=GEN	آپ کا
	ap=ki	You=GEN	آپ کی	ap=ki	You=GEN	آپ کی
	ap=ke	You=GEN	آپ کے	ap=ke	You=GEN	آپ کے
3 rd prox	1s=ka	He=GEN	اس کا	ın=ka	They=GEN	ان کا
	1s=ki	He=GEN	اس کی	ın=ki	They=GEN	ان کی
	1s=ke	He=GEN	اس کے	ın=ke	They=GEN	ان کے
Rem	vs=ka	He=GEN	اس کا	unka	They=GEN	ان کا
	vs=ki	He=GEN	اس کی	unki	They=GEN	ان کی
	vs=ke	He=GEN	اس کے	unke	They=GEN	ان کے

1.2 Do the Urdu Pronouns and Clitics Make Constituents?

The application of different tests to the NPs shows that they are constituents.

(i) They are constituents because they have an internal semantic coherence.



- 1) a. [us=ne] əfsər=ko rıſvəț di He.3.SG.OBL=ERG officer.3.SG.NOM=DAT bribery give.PERF.SG He gave the officer a bribe.
 - b. [həm=ne] əfsər=ko rıʃvət di We.1.PL.NOM=ERG officer.3.SG.NOM=DAT bribery give.PERF.SG We gave the officer a bribe.

In (1a) $\sigma s = ne$ has a semantic cohesion but $\sigma s = ne \ \partial f s \partial r$ has not a semantic cohesion. Similarly, in (1b) $h \partial m = ne$ has a semantic cohesion and $h \partial m = ne \ \partial f s \partial r$ has not the semantic cohesion.

(ii) The application of the constituent (replacement/substitution) test establishes the fact that they are syntactic constituents.

2)	a. Speaker A: ye rıſv	ət	k1s=ne	di	hæ
	This bril	bery	who=ERG	give.PERFSG	be.3PRESSG
	Who has g	iven this	s bribe?	-	
	b. Speaker B: us=ne				
	He.3SC	GOBL=I	ERG		
	* US				
	He.3S	GOBL			
3)	a. us=ne	abhi	skul	dzana	hæ
	he.3SGOBL=ERG	yet	school	go	be
	He has yet to go to	school.			
	b. use	abhi	skul	dzana	hæ
	he.3SGOBL-E	yet	school	go	be
	He has yet to go to s	chool.			
	*c. us abhi	skul	dzana	hæ	
	he.3SGOBL yet	school	go	be	
	He has yet to go to	school.			
	(iii) Ellipsis test als	a charry	a that the I led		d alitica malea

(iii) Ellipsis test also shows that the Urdu pronouns and clitics make a constituent.

4)	a. [ʊs=ne] əfsə	r=ko	rı∫vəṯ	di
	[He.3SGOBL=ERG] offic	cer.3SGNOM=	DAT bribery	give.PERFSG
	He gave the officer a brit	be.		
	b. əfsər=ko	rı∫və <u>t</u>	di	
	officer.3SGNOM=DAT	bribery	give.PERFS0	ĩ
	(He) gave the officer a bril	be.		

*c. ne əfsər=ko rı∫vət di

(iv) The application of the movement test also proves that they are constituents.

- 5) a. [Us=ne] əfsər=ko rıſvəţ di [He.3SGOBL=ERG]officer.3SGNOM=DAT bribery give.PERFSG He gave the officer a bribe.
 - b. əfsər=ko [ʊs=ne] rɪʃvəṯ di officer.3SGNOM=DAT [He.3SGOBL=ERG] bribery give.PERFSG

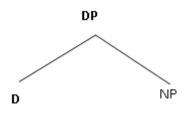


He gave the officer a bribe.

2. The Constituent Structure of the Urdu Pronominal Phrases

The assumption of the earlier work was that only lexical categories/content words can project. But the generative grammar during the last twenty years has promoted the view that functional categories/function words can also project. There are not only VPs, NPs etc. but also IPs and DPs etc. All word-level categories can project into phrases (Radford, 2004). So, in accordance with the Minimalist Program which is being used as a Framework for the present work, the noun phrases are in fact the determiner phrases. It has the following structure shown in tree diagram (4).

Figure 1:



The Urdu pronominal charces are the functional connatives which have their own projection and are the sister of the DP. These constituents are made of DPs and clitics. Their constituent structure can be given as in figure (2) given below.

Figure 2:

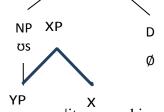
NP

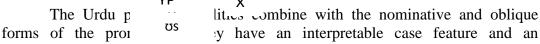
ʊs=ne

2.1 Linearisation in the Urdu Language

When a head X in the Urdu language combines with a complement YP to satisfy its selection feature, the head is to the right of the complement. Consequently, we find the ensu DP sic lineari Clitic the head-complement structure in the Urdu language.

Figure 3: The Linearisation of the Urdu pronominal pulase



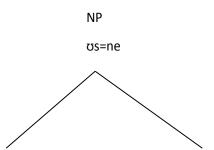




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uninterpretable noun feature as a c-selectional feature (subcategorization feature or subcat feature) and they merge with pronouns to make pronominal phrases (Fig. 4)

Figure 4:



In the abovesting diagram (Fig.4), the clitic pe_{uis} the head and the DP os is the complement. In generative grammar, the term complement has a broader meaning, referring to an expression that combines with a head to become a larger constituent of essentially the same kind. For example, in *read a book, a book* is the complement of the verb *read*; in *at the end, the end* is the complement of the preposition *at*; in *bags of groceries, of groceries* is the complement of the noun bags. In English, complements usually follow their heads, but in Urdu, the complements precede the heads. In the Table (3), *se* is the head and comes left to the complements (the pronouns).

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	mudg ^h =se	həm=se
2^{nd} (SG)	tom=se	<u>t</u> um=se
2 nd (hon SG/PL)	tom=se tody ^h =se ap=se	ap=se
3 rd prox	is=se	ın=se
Rem	∪s=se	un=se

Table 3: Se and its complements

2.2 Head-Complement Structure in Urdu

It is one of the properties of the lexical items that they have to merge with other lexical items or syntactic objects to check their features. Lexical items cannot stand alone as syntactic objects. Likewisw, Urdu pronominal clitics need syntactic objects to form well-formed syntactic structures.

6) a. mæ̃=ne khana khaya hæ I.1SGNOM=ERG meal eat be I have had meal
*b. nay khana khaya ha ERG meal eat be



have had meal.

Urdu pronominal clitic *ne* cannot stand alone in (6b) and the structure it makes in (6b) is ill-formed. It needs another syntactic object to check the features. In (6a) the pronoun $m\tilde{e}$ combines with the pronominal clitic *ne*. Similarly, all the pronominal clitics merge with the pronous. Thus, Urdu pronominal phrases come into existence as a result of a constituent building operation called Merge. Two syntactic objects, a pronoun and a clitic, merge and make a pronominal syntactic object.

When Merger operation applies to two syntactic items, one of them bears cselectional features. To check this feature another syntactic operation is applied. This operation is known as Checking. This Feature-Checking operation applies to the roots of the tree. The features of one syntactic object are compared with the features of another syntactic object. "Checking and Merge, then, always apply at the root, so that syntactic derivations are extended by the application of operations to the root projection of the tree" (Adger, 2003, p.175). This, as a general constraint, can be stated thus: "The Extension Condition: A syntactic derivation can only be continued by applying operations to the root of the tree" (Adger, 2003, p.175).

The kind of structure that comes into existence as a result of the Merger of Urdu pronouns and pronominal clitics is head-complement structure. Urdu, unlike English, is a language that takes the complement to the left of the head. For example, it takes the direct object and indirect object (complements of the verb) to the left of the verb.

 a. us=ne kıtab əsləm=ko di hæ He has given the book to Aslam.

kitab and Aslam=ko, the complements of the ditransitive verb di in (7a) occupy the positions that are to the left of the head.

b. mæ̃=ne khana kha lıya hæ I have eaten the meal.
The subject in (7b) that is the complement is to the left of the head hæ.

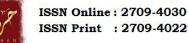
c. Hamıd=ki kıtab Hamid's book

Kitab in (7c) is the head and Hamid=ki is the complement and it is to the left of the *Kitab*.

2.3 The Status of the Nodes and the Urdu Pronominal Phrases

The pronouns in the pronominal phrases have no selectional features to be checked and thus, make a maximal projection. They are also a lexical category and thus make a minimal projection too. Thus, the features of a node decide its phrasal status. If a node has no c-selectional features then it is maximal and makes a phrase. The pronouns do not have c-selectional features, they are, therefore,





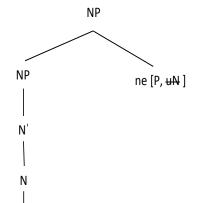
maximal and make a phrase. The pronominal clitics have uninterpretable noun cfeatures to be checked, so they do not make maximal projections and have no phrasal status, and because they make a lexical category, they make minimal projections. The pronominal phrases like os=ne are maximal because they have no c-selectional features and they are not minimal because they are not lexical items. The ensuing table gives a summary of the preceding facts.

Node	Minimal	Maximal	Comments
US	Yes	Yes	It is a lexical item that has no selectional features.
Ne	Yes	No	It is a lexical item that has selectional features to be checked
US=ne	No	Yes	It is neither a lexical category nor has selection features to be checked

"Only maximal projections/phrases can be sisters of the c-selecting heads. If a non-maximal projection is Merged, its unchecked c-selectional features will be 'trapped', leading to ungrammaticality (since all uninterpretable features must be checked)" (Adger, 2003, p. 84).

The complement that merges with the Urdu pronominal clitic has a phrasal status. The following picture comes before us in (Fig.5):

Figure 5: The Urdu pronominal clitic and its complement



We have three levels of projection for the NP. First we have the lexical item, pronoun, which mal projection written as X^{\min} or N^{\min} . It is not really a projection of anything vs[N] imply the lexical item (Adger, 2003). The second level of projection is the intermediate projection called the bar-level projection and it is written as X or N'. The intermediate projection is not a lexical item. The third level is the maximal level which is written as X^{max} or N^{max}



2.4 Headedness in the Urdu Pronominal Phrase

The Urdu pronominal constituents are made of two words and arguments can be given in favour of the headedness of each of these words. Adger (2003) is of the opinion that "there are two ways to think about the notion head. One is practical: how do we determine the head of a constituent? The other is more theoretical: what is it that makes a particular syntactic object a head" (P.57)? The more theoretical reasons show that clitics are the head of the Urdu Pronominal phrases. The following arguments can be given to identify the head of these phrases formed by clitics and pronouns in Urdu.

The head of a constituent is the most important word of that constituent semantically (Adger, 2003, p.57). In Urdu, pronouns and clitics make phrases. The pronouns carry the semantic content of the phrases and the clitics are the functional elements. This argument supports the idea that pronouns are heads of these phrases in Table (5).

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	mæ=ne	həm=ne
	I=ERG	We=ERG
2^{nd} (SG)	<u>t</u> u=ne	<u>t</u> om=ne
	You=ERG	You=ERG
(hon SG/PL)	ap=ne	ap=ne
	You=ERG	You=ERG
3 rd prox	is=ne	ın=ne
	He=ERG	They=ERG
		ın ^h õ=ne
		They=ERG
Rem	us=ne	un=ne
	He=ERG	They=ERG
		on ^h õ=ne
		They=ERG

Table 5: The Urdu pronominal Phrase

The Table (5) shows that the pronouns in these phrases carry the semantic content while clitis ne is a case-marker.

Further, a head of a phrase is the most important word because it determines the distribution of the whole phrase. The distribution of these phrases is that of the DPs in the sentences. These phrases perform the functions of the subjects, direct objects and indirect objects in the sentences. This fact indicates that pronouns are the heads of the phrases.

8) a. us=ne kəha he.SUBJ.3.SGOBL=ERG say He said.

b.	vo	∪s=ko	rozana mīl <u>t</u> a hæ		
	he.	he.OBJ.3.SG.OBL=ACC	daily	meet	be
	He n	neets him daily.			
c.	vo	us=ko		xə <u>t</u>	likh <u>t</u> a hæ

he. he.INDIROBJ.3.SG.OBL=DAT letter write be

In (8a), the DP $\sigma s = ne$ is a subject, in (8b) the DP $\sigma s = ko$ is a diret object and in (8c) the DP $\sigma s = ko$ is an oblique object. This distribution shows that it is the distribution of NPs and DPs and the pronouns in these phrases determine the distribution. The head of a constituent determines the distribution of the constituent. Its distribution is the distribution of the whole constituent.

The head is the most characteristic of the constituent. The features of the head are projected by the whole phrase. In syntax, features combine and make lexical items and the lexical items are considered the bundles of features. These lexical items combine into phrases on the basis of their selectional properties. The features of one of the constituting lexical items project through the phrase and thus, a phrase has the properties of that lexical item. In Urdu the DPs combine with pronominal clitics and make NPs. The DPs are the complements in the clitic phrases which are also the heads. Urdu is an OV language and takes modifiers and complements to the left of the head.

9) vs=ne kəha he.3SGOBL=ERG say.PERFSG He said.

In (9) vs=ne is a constituent that comprises two words, vs and ne. The word vs is a pronominal word and ne is a pronominal clitic that establishes the relationship between us (pronoun) and $k \partial ha$ (verb), theta-marks the agent role and encodes the grammatical relations of subject. This constitution (vs=ne) has the distribution of a NP. It seems that vs is the most important word and it also seems the most characteristic of the constituent because it is a noun and the whole constituent seems to project its features. The clitic ne combines with the pronoun and is a part of the NP and does not make a different phrase. So, in fact the phrase vs=ne is the projection of the pronominal clitic.

The head of a constituent refers to a real world object (Adger, 2003).

Person	Singular	Plural
1^{st}	mʊʤʰ=pər I=LOC	həm=pər We=LOC
2 nd (SG)	tudg ^h =pər You=LOC	tom=pər You=LOC
(hon SG/PL)	ap=pər You=LOC	ap=pər You=LOC
3 rd prox	ıs=pər	ın=pər

Table 6: The pronominal phrases



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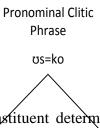
	He=LOC	They=LOC
		ın ^h õ=pər
		They=LOC
Rem	us=pər	un=pər They=LOC
	He=LOC	∪n ^h õ=pər
		They=LOC

In Table (6), all the pronouns pick out real world objects and the clitic $p \partial r$ (locative case-marker) establishes the relationship between the real world objects and the verb. This reason also suggests that pronouns are the heads of the DPs.

But the following more theoretical reasons prove that clitics are the heads in the Urdu pronominal phrases.

Urdu is an OV language and takes complement to the left of the head. Pronominal words come to the left of the clitics. So linearization of the Urdu language suggests that pronominal words plus clitics merge and form phrases in which clitics are the heads and pronouns are the complements. Ignoring the category of the clitics for the time being, we have the structure expressed by the tree diagram (6)

Figure 6: The structure of the pronominal clitic phrase



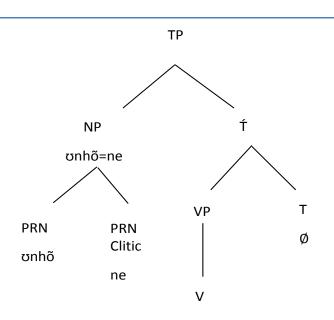
The head of a constituent determines the effect that it has on agreement ominal wor PRN Clitic ed by clitics, they don't agree relations. When U DP with T because syr es and once a phase has been nantic component. produced it goes t componen ko In other ΰS words, Phase Impenetrability Condition applies to it. Phase Impenetrability Condition is "a constraint on grammatical operations which specifies that the domain/complement of a phase head is impenetrable/ inaccessible to an external probe (i.e. to a probe which lies outside the relevant phase)" (Radford, 2004, p.469). Thus the agreement between pronouns and verbs is blocked.

10) onhõ=ne kəha they.3PLOBL=ERG say They said.

Figure 7:



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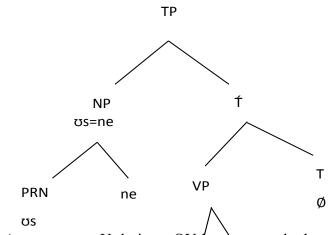


Clitic *ne* like an adposition/prepo kaha lish creates a barrier and does not allow the DP $on^{h}\delta$ to agree with other elements. It blocks the agreement. This fact shows that the clitics have effect on agreement relations and the elements that have effect on agreement relations are considered heads of the constituents. Thus, this argument supports the view that clitics are the heads of these phrases.

Moreover, "the head is the syntactic object which selects in any Merge operation" (Adger, 2003, p.71; Citko, 2014, p.12). The two syntactic objects σs and ne merge in (11) and make a new syntactic object $\sigma s = ne$.

11)	us=ne	gana	gaya
	he.1.SG.OBL=ERG	song	sing
	He sang (a) song.		

Figure 8:



In view of the lact that Urdu is an OV anguage and takes complements to the left of the head, it is the clitic *ne* that selects its complement *vs*. This fact shows

> NP V gana gaya

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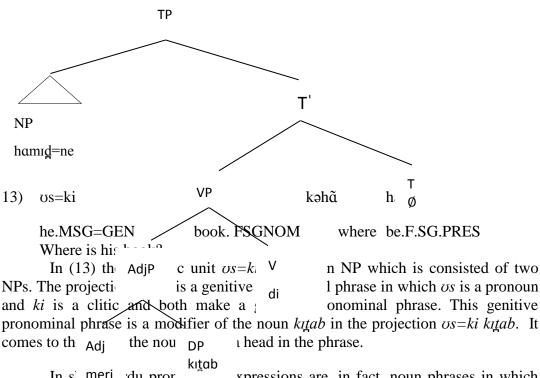
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that the clitics are the heads. Thus, this theoretical argument verifies that clitics are the heads.

12) hamid=ne meri kıtab omər=ko hamid.3SGNOM=ERG my.FSG book.F.SG.NOM omarMSG=DAT di give.F Hamid gave my book to Umar.

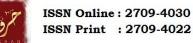
In (12) the phrase, $ham_{i}d=ne$, one of the arguments, is a subject and sister of the T. It occupies the left position to the head (di). The constituent, *meri* kitab (= my book), direct object, is a complement of the verb and is also to the left of its head, di, a verb. Moreover, in the phrase, *meri* kitab, *meri* is a modifier which comes to the left of the head, kitab. The phrase, *hamid=ne*, is a noun phrase in which *ne* is a pronominal clitic and *hamid* is a complement of the clitic *ne*.

Figure 9:



In s meri du pror______xpressions are, in fact, noun phrases in which pronouns are urs and complements and clitics are the head. Their structure is in accordance with the Head final parameter of the Urdu language.

Furtherm DP omər item tha PRN is the item that selects" (Adger, 2003, e agreement relationship, project in the y are the head in the pronominal plus ko



Now the question is that these phrases have the distribution of the noun phrases. Then, why don't they have a different distribution? The reason is that these clitics are the pronominal clitics. They don't make a different category. They are part of the pronouns. They have a complementary distribution with the inflections and are like phrasal affixes and syntactic inflections. They mark cases, encode grammatical relations and assign θ -roles. That's why the distribution is that of the Urdu noun phrases. And that's why the present work names them pronominal clitics.

14) a. us=se	put∫o.				
he.3SGOBL=ABL Ask him.	ask.SGVOC				
b. use	put∫o.				
he.3SGOBL	ask.SGVOC				
Ask him.					
c. kıtab	un=ko	do			
book.3SGNOM	they.3PLOBL=DAT	give.VOC			
Give them (a/the) book.					
d. kı <u>t</u> ab	un ^h ẽ	do			
book.3SGNOM	they.3PLOBL	give.VOC			
Give them (a/the) book	•	-			

In sentences (14a-d), the pronominal clitics have complementary distribution with the inflections of the pronouns. These inflections perform the same functions as are performed by clitics.

The above-mentioned arguments establish the fact the clitic like *ne*, $m\tilde{e}$, *pər*, and *tək* etc., are pronominal clitics. They make the noun phrases and are the head of these NPs.

2.5 Distribution of the Urdu Pronominal Clitics

They can occurs as a head of a NP.

15)	a.	həm=ko		səmose	pəsənd		hã
		we.3SGNOM=DAT	somasa	ı like		be	
		We like somasas.					_
	b.	mud3 ^h =se	æsi	dəvai	khai	nəhĩ	dzati
		I.1SGOBL=ABL	such	medicine	eat	not	go
		I can't take such me	edicine.	(Schmidt, 200	5, p.74)		

They may occur to the right of a particle *hi* (a focus clitic) plus DP.

16) ap=hi=ne kəha θa you.2OBL= FOC PRT =ERG say be It was you who said.

It can occur between the DP and the particles *hi* and *to*.



17) a. tu=ne=hi you.2SGOBL=ERG= FOC PRT You are the one who helped me. It is you who helped me.	meri my	mədəd ki help do (Schmidt, 2005, p.212)
b. mæ=ne=hi I.1SGNOM=ERG= FOC PRT It is I who did this work	ye this	kam kıya work do
c. ap=ne to y you.2OBL=ERG EMPH PRT th It was you who did not say that.		kəha θa say be

But the pronominal clitics do not precede the particle to in a phrase.

18)	a. ap=ki	to	mədzẽ	hã	
	you.2NOM=ERG	EMPH PRT	joy	be	
	You are greatly enjoying yourself.				
	*b. Ap	to	ki	maujen	hain
	you. 2NOM	EMPH PRT	ERG	joy	be

It can come between the two particles *hi* and *to*.

ap=hi=ne= to kəha θa you.2.OBL= FOC PRT=ERG= EMPH PRT say be It was you who said.

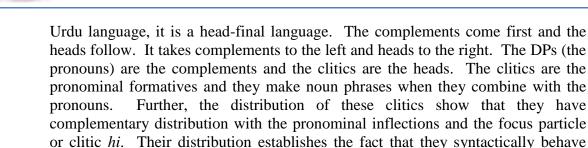
The above sentences (15-19) show that the clitics can change their place with the particle hi and they can proceed and follow this particle (hi), but they do not follow the particle to. They only precede the particle to. This points out the fact that to and the Urdu pronominal clitics do not occupy the same slot but they have complementary distribution with the particle hi which is also categorized as focus clitic by Butt & King (2004). The particles hi and to do not effect agreement relations. This indicates that the syntactic behaviour of the Urdu pronominal clitics is different from that of these particles.

20)	VO	hi	to	ga rəha	hæ	
	he.3.M.SG.NOM	FOC PRT	EMPH PRT	sing	live.SG.M	
be.3.SG.PRS						

It is he who is singing.

In (20), the nominative subject agrees in number, gender person and case with the lexical verb and T (tense-marking particle)

Conclusion This study has made an analysis of the constituent structure of the Urdu pronominal phrases in accordance with X-bar structure of the Minimalist programme. In (1), the structure of the Urdu pronominal phrase has been discussed. It has two constituting elements: DP and pronominal clitics. Both of these formatives are lexical items that participate in checking and merger operations to check the unvalued case-feature of the pronominal clitics and make a new category (noun phrase) after the merger. According to the linearization of the



like pronominal clitics that mark cases and assign theta-roles.

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