The Morphological Behaviour of Urdu Pronominal Clitics

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ABSTRACT:

The categorical status and nature of the clitics following Urdu pronominal words are considered controversial on account of their morphological behaviour. Different linguists have given them different categorical labels such as case-markers, postpositions, inflections, phrasal affixes, clitics, projecting and non-projecting words, etc. They loosely attach to their hosts and perform different morphological functions. When they adjoin pronouns, they do not make postpositional phrases. They make DPs and mark different kinds of oblique case: ergative case, dative case, locative case, ablative case and accusative case and assign different theta roles. The present study attempts to investigate and explore all these things in order to know the exact nature of the morphological behaviour of these Urdu pronominal clitics.

Key Words: pronominal, morphosyntactic, environment, behaviour, clitics, affixes, inflections, adpositions

1. INTRODUCTION

Urdu pronominal words with clitics such as ka, ko, ne, se, $m\tilde{e}$, par and tak form expressions which seem like compound words, grammatical words and words plus clitics. It is difficult to decide about the morphological structure these clitics make, and thus their morphological behaviour is also hard to understand. This article discusses in the light of different morphological operations the morphological structure they (the clitics) make.

1.1 The Urdu Pronominal Clitics.

The Urdu case system has developed from the Sanskrit case system. The Sanskrit language employed inflections to realize overtly its different cases but these inflections were lost in the course of time. Instead of using inflections, Urdu has borrowed a set of clitics from Persian and Arabic languages to realize different cases. The ensuing table gives these clitics.

	-	T		1 1
Lable		Pror	omina	l clitics
Iavic	- L.	1 1 () 1	илина	LUHUS

Clitics	Translations	Functions
ka (ki, ke)	's, of	Possessor and other genitive functions
ko	to	Direct definite or specific object/indirect dative object, dative subject,
ne		Transitive subject in perfective
se	from, by	Instrumental, ablative
me	in, from	Locative, location inside
pər	on, at	Location on top of
ţək	till, until	As for as, up to

1.2 CLITICS

From the seventeenth century onward a lot of literature on clitics has been produced and since the publication of Zwicky's (1977) article, clitics have been discussed from the point of view of phonology, morphology and syntax. Their heterogeneous nature and idiosyncratic behaviour have led to a lot of definitions of these bound morphemes (Russi, 2008). Sadock (1995) proposes the following definition clitics: "A clitic is a [sic] element whose distribution linguists cannot comfortably consign to a single grammatical component" (Sadock, 1995, p.260).

Affixes, words and phrases can be easily recognized but clitics are hard to be differentiated. They have not been granted independent morphosyntactic status like affixes, and words. Owing to their heterogeneous or hybrid nature, they have neither all the properties of words nor that of affixes (Halpern, 1998). They behave differently from words and affixes. Some of them are more affix-like and others are more word-like. The Urdu clitics (*ne, ko, mẽ, se, pər, tək and ka*) have been considered affixes, phrasal affixes, clitics and words by different writers.

The present study does not consider them affixes/inflections and words. They are clitics that are loosely tagged to the pronouns. They are not attached to the pronouns like bound forms (affixes/inflections) and thus, do not make a morphological unit in combination with the pronouns. But these clitics do not occur in isolation and make a paradigm with the pronouns.

1.3 Morphological behaviour

Morphological behaviour of an element in modern linguistics means the morphological environments it occurs in and the realization of the morphological features it is made of. It is this morphological behaviour that determines the category of a linguistic item or element.

1.4 Pronominal:

Noun phrases are of different kinds e.g. r-expressions, anaphors and pronouns. R-expressions are NPs that get their meanings by referring to an entity or entities in the world, anaphors are NPs that obligatorily get their meanings from other NPs in the sentence and pronouns are NPs that may (but need not) get their meanings from other words in the sentence. Sometimes, the term pronominals is used for pronouns to distinguish anaphors from pronouns and the term pronouns is used for both anaphors and pronominals (Carnie, 2006).

The Urdu pronominal expressions are the combinations of pronouns and pronominal formatives. The pronouns carry the semantic content of the pronominal expressions and the pronominal elements are the functional categories that perform different functions.

2. METHODOLOGY:

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

2.1 Framework

The present research will be undertaken within the framework of Generative Morphology.

2.2 Objectives of the study

The present research aims at investigating the facts relevant to Urdu pronominal expressions, making them accessible to the international community. The present study will explore the morphological behaviour of the Urdu pronominal clitics and the way in which they may contribute to the general theory of clitics. The present study is an attempt to refine and add something to earlier views concerning these clitics and look at the unique dimensions of their

functions and relations to make a precise analysis and description of these clitics.

2.3 Research Questions

The present study explores the following research questions.

- I. How can the formatives attached to the Urdu pronouns be justified as clitics?
- II. What is the status of elements joining the Urdu pronominals in the morphosyntactic tradition that has been developed more recently?
- III. Do the Urdu pronominal clitics make a morphological unit?

2.4 Significance of the Study:

The study examines the facts concerning exclusively the Urdu pronominal clitics and no study in the past has focussed only on these elements attached to the pronouns. Thus the existing research is significant in this respect. It looks at the research on the pronominal clitics in the Urdu language from a new angle. It adds to the sum total of the investigation that already exists.

2.5 Delimitations of the Study:

The study explores the morphological behaviour of the Urdu pronominal clitics instead of the morphosyntactic behaviour of all the nominal clitics in the Urdu language. Second, the present study takes into consideration only the Urdu language used in Lahore and the Urdu language used by the classical and some modern writers in their works. Third, this research will be undertaken only in accordance with the framework of only Generative Grammar.

3. BACKGROUND LITERATURE:

The Urdu pronominal formatives have been given different names by different writers. The have been called inflections, clitics and postpositions. From the point of view of different linguists, these elements have different functions in the phrases.

3.1 Case-Markers of THE Urdu Language

The nature of case-markers is one of the most discussed phenomenon in linguistics. Sanskrit, Greek and Latin manifest the prototypical case system in which inflections on DPs mark grammatical relations of subject and object, and adpositions govern the case forms.

In NIA languages, three layers of functional category marking are identified on nominal and pronominal forms (Zograf, 1960; Masica, 1993; Payne, 1995). Urdu is one of the NIA languages. It has also three layers of functional categories. Inflectional case-markes make the layer I, the formatives like se, mẽ, ne, pər, tək, and kɑ (ki, ke), etc. attach to the Urdu

nominal and pronominal expressions. They are considered case-marking postpositions by a group of linguists (Zograf, 1960; Masica, 1993; Payne, 1995; Kachru, 2006), case-marking clitics by another group of linguists (Mohanan, 1994; Sharma, 1999; Butt and King, 2004) and postpositional clitics that mark grammatical relations by some other linguists (Spencer, 2005; Otoguro, 2006), and thus there is a controversy about their exact nature and functions. Consequently, they are regarded by different linguists as affixes, case markers, postpositions, clitics, postpositional clitics, nominal clitics and phrasal affixes etc. (Mahajan, 1990; Masica, 1993; Mohanan, 1994; Payne, 1995; Sharma, 1999; Spencer, 2005; Butt and King, 2004; Otoguro, 2006; Kachru, 2006; Koul, 2008). The layer III consists of the postpositional case-markers.

3.2 Clitics as Inflections

The nature and functions of the Urdu pronominal clitics and affixes are somewhat similar. That's why the linguists have found it difficult to distinguish the clitics from affixes in Urdu. "Depending both on the language and on scholarly predilections, descriptions have recognised either two layers of affixes and one of postpositions, or one layer of affixes and two layers of postpositions" (Masica, 1993, p. 231). One evidence is that clitic ko and se have alternative forms in the shape of inflections and they (clitics se, ko & inflections) also perform the same functions.

3.3 The Urdu Pronominal formatives as Clitics

Some linguists give certain tests to prove that these formatives are clitics instead of affixes. These tests are given below:

If the formatives appear in concord they are clearly affixes and if they appear once at the end of a phrase they are most probably clitics and postpositions.

1) a. vs=ne mvdzʰ-e or vnʰ-ẽ he.3.SG.OBL=ERG I.1.SG.OBL-DAT and he.3.PL.OBL-DAT kɪt̞abe bʰedʒĩ book send.F.PL.PERF

He sent books to me and them.

b. *vs=ne mudʒʰ or vnʰ- ẽ he.3.SG.OBL=ERG I.1.SG.OBL and he.3.PL.OBL-DAT

kıtabe bhedzi

book send.F.PL.PERF

He sent books to me and them.

In (1a), inflections appear at the end of the both coordinated pronouns. They are compulsory and cannot be omitted. That's why the sentence (1b) is unacceptable and the elements -e and $-\tilde{e}$ are regarded as inflections.

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2)
                                        dʒanvər-õ= mẽ
     a. mæ
             ınsan-õ
                                 or
     I.1.SG
             human.M.PL.OBL
                                 and
                                        animal.M.PL.OBL=LOC
     fərək
                                        səkta
                                                     hū
                          kər
                          do.PRES
                                                     be.1.SG.PRES
     difference.M.SG
                                        can.PRES
     I can differentiate between humans and animals.
     b. us=ne
                    həm-e
                                        ap=ko
     he.3.SG.OBL=ERG
                          us.1.PL.OBL
                                       and
                                              you.2.OBL=DAT
     kitab-e
                    bhed3i
     book.PL.NOM send.F.PL.PST
     He sent books to you and us.
                    həm=ko
                                              ap=ko
     c. us=ne
                                        or
     he.3SGOBL=ERG
                          us.1PLOBL=DAT
                                              and
      you.2OBL=DAT
      kitab-e
                          bhed3ihe
      book.PL.NOM
                          send.F.PL.PST
      He sent books to you and us.
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In (2a), the clitic $m\tilde{e}$ appears at the end of one noun. In (2b), the clitic ko appears once at the end of an expression showing concord. In (2c), the clitic ko that marks the dative case comes at the end of both coordinated pronouns. This shows that the behaviour of the clitics is different from that of the inflections.

The affixes are usually more integrated into their stems whereas clitics are not integrated like affixes into their hosts. Urdu clitics can be separated from their hosts by focus clitics while affixes and inflections are not separated by the focus clitics.

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mʊdʒ yərib=pər rəhəm kəro
I.1.SG.OBL poor=LOC pity.SG.OBL do.PRES
Take pity on me, poor fellow.
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The locative clitic *pər* is not integrated into the noun *yərib* (poor) like an inflection or a suffix.

The background literature examined in this part of the article shows the analysis undertaken by the different writers on the Urdu pronominal clitics. They have been divided into different categories and layers on account of their morphosyntactic behaviour. These elements have been regarded as inflections, words and clitics. All the writers do not support the idea that they belong to the same category. Thus their categorical status is still undecided. There is also a protracted controversy over their functions and the investigation of the present writers has not yet reached a unanimous opinion about their functions. They have been regarded case-marking inflections, clitics and words encoding grammatical relations and making postpositional phrases. Thus although a lot of in-

depth analysis has been carried out, their status, nature and function are undetermined.

4. THE MORPHOLOGICAL BEHAVIOUR OF THE URDU PRONOMINAL CLITICS:

The present research aims at investigating the morphological behaviour of the Urdu pronominal clitics in terms of the morphological structure they make. How do they combine with the pronouns? Do they attach to pronouns like inflections, clitics or words etc.? Which morphological operation do they undergo? What morphological properties do they have? This work deals with all these issues.

The Urdu pronominal clitics loosely attach to the pronominal forms and seem to make expression which look like single words, compound words, etc. The following parts of the article attempt to undertake the analysis of their morphological structure.

4.1 Urdu orthographic conventions and Urdu pronominal expressions

Orthography does not give a reliable criterion for the morphological analysis of the structure of the pronominal expressions. The Urdu pronouns and the pronominal clitics are written as one word and two words as well. The clitics 'ko' and 'se' in particular are attached in both ways.

Table 2: Clitics *ko*, *se* and pronominal words written as one word

The clitics ko, se and the pronominal base						
Person	Clitics	Singular Plural				
1st	ko, se	mʊʤʰko mʊʤʰse	مجهکو مجهسے	həmko həmse	ہمکو ہمسے	

Table 3: Clitics *ko, se* and pronominal words written as two words

The clitics <i>ko</i> , <i>se</i> and the pronominal base						
Person	Clitics	Singular		Plural		
1 st	ko, se	mʊʤʰ ko mʊʤʰ se	مجھ کو مجھ سے	həm ko	ہم کو	

4.2 Clitics or inflections

The word inflection comes from Latin Grammar. "Its root flect-, which we see in the English word flex, means 'bend'" (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011, P. 159). An "inflection is the realization of morphosyntactic features through morphological means" (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011, P.160). The Urdu pronominal clitics realize different

cases, grammatical relations and thematic roles. The following sentence has been adapted from Siddiqui (2003).

khana khaya tom=ne food eat you.2.PRN=ERG You ate (the) food.

The clitic k- realizes a genitive case and has itself inflections. It inflects for number and gender.

a. ʊs=kɑ lədka he.3.SG.M.OBL=GEN son.SGM His son b. ʊs=ke lədke he.3.PL,M,OBL=GEN son.PLM His sons c. vs=ki lədki

he.3.SG.F.OBL=GEN daughter.SG.F daughter d. vs=ki lədkiã

he.3.PL.F.OBL=GEN daughter.PL.F daughters

The clitic k-, in (5a-d), behaving like a bond word, attaches itself to the pronoun vs and, as a syntactic inflection, realizes a genitive case. Then it, via the morphological process called cumulative exponence in (5a), inflects to map onto a single form (inflection) more than one morphological features i.e., masculine gender and singular number. In (5a&b), it takes two inflections e.g., -a- and -e- to realize only one morphosyntactic feature i.e., masculine gender. This morphological process is known as extended Exponence. In (5c) the inflection -i- is employed to map two morphological features (feminine and singular) on one form and in (5d) again two morphological categories (feminine and plural) are realized. Thus the clitic *k*- shows complex morphosyntactic behaviour. First, it cannot stand alone and (like a bond word) attaches to a pronoun. Second, it takes inflections to become a word and thus takes part in various syntactic and morphological processes.

Further, these clitics also make a paradigm like inflections. One part of the pronominal expressions consists of pronouns while the other seems to comprise formatives that make a paradigm like inflections to express a case. Butt & King (2004) are of the opinion that they are clitics and make a paradigm to realize different cases. The following table is based on the pronoun paradigm given by Butt & King (2004):

Table 4: The Urdu pronoun paradigm

		Juli paradig	<u> </u>			
	NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INST	LOC	GEN
1.SG	Mæ	mæ=ne	mʊdʒʰ=ko mʊdʒe	mʊdʒʰ=se	mʊdʒʰ=mẽ, pər, tək	mer- a/i/e
1.PL	həm	həm=ne	həm=ko həmẽ	həm=se	həm=mẽ, pər, <u>t</u> ək	həmar- a/i/e
2. DISRESP.	tom	to=ne	tʊdʒʰ=ko tʊdʒʰe	tʊdʒʰ=se	tʊdʒ=mẽ, pər, tək	ter- a/i/e
2.FAMILIAR	tʊm	tʊm=ne	tom=ko tom ^h e	tom=se	tʊm=mẽ, pər, tək	tʊmʰar- a/i/e
	NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT	INST	LOC	GEN
2.RESP.	ар	ap=ne	ap=ko	ap=se	ap=mẽ, pər, <u>t</u> ək	ap=k- a/i/e
3.PROX. SG	Ye	ıs=ne	ıs=ko ıse	ıs=se	ıs=mẽ, pər, tək	ıs=k- a/i/e
3.PROX. PL	Ye	ın=ne ın ^h õ	ın=ko, ıne	ın=se	ın=mẽ, pər, <u>t</u> ək	ın=k- a/i/e

Moreover, they are tagged to the pronouns but they are not as attached to pronouns as inflections are. They are like bond words if we consider the criteria given by Zwicky (1977) to distinguish inflections from words. Ordering, internal sandhi, binding, construction with affixes, rule immunity and accent show that these elements are not inflections. They are clitics given by Zwicky (1977) and such formatives are called bond words by him.

However, the short alternative forms of the clitics *ko, ne, se* etc. also manifest themselves in the form of inflections and also have the functions (with some exceptions) like those of the inflections. The following sentence has been adapted from Siddiqui (2003).

6)	a. mæ̃=ne	kıţab	pədʰi	<u>t</u> hi	(Siddiqui, 2003)
	I.1.SG.NOM=ERG	book	study	be.PST	SG.F
	I studied the book.		-		
	b. mʊdʒʰe	ek	xə <u>t</u>	lık ^h na	hæ
	I.1.SG.OBL=ERG	one	letter	write	be
I h	ave to write a letter.	(adapt	ed from	n Daar, e	et al, n.d)

*c. mæ=ne ek lıkhna hæ xəţ I.1.SG.OBL=ERG one letter write be

I have to write a letter. (adapted from Daar, et al, n.d)

In (6a) the first person singular pronoun takes the ergative clitic and in (6b) the first person singular pronoun takes the inflection. In (6c) the first person singular pronoun cannot take the ergative clitic. It can take only an inflection as shown in (6b) but this inflection is with an oblique case that affects agreement relations like the Urdu pronominal clitics. This indicates that, so far as the relationship of agreement is concerned, the behaviour of the inflection is like that of the Urdu pronominal clitics. Thus, there are alternative forms of these clitics.

Table 5: The alternative forms of the clitic *ko*

	The clitic ko			
Person	Singular	Singular	Plural	Plural
	Pronominal	Pronominal	Pronominal	Pronominal
	form with ko	form with	form with	form with
		inflection	ko	inflection
1 st	mʊdʒʰ=ko	mʊdʒʰe	həm=ko	həmẽ
2 nd	tʊm=ko	tʊmʰe	tom=ko	tౖʊmʰẽ
	tʊdʒʰ=ko	tʊdʒʰe		
(Hon SG/PL)	ap=ko		ap=ko	
3 rd PROX	ıs=ko	ise	ın=ko ın ^h õ=ko	ınʰẽ
REM	ʊs=ko	υse	ʊn=ko ʊnʰõ=ko	ซท ^ห e๊

Similarly, the clitic se has at times alternative form and behave like inflections.

7) a. ʊs=ne həm=se nəhi putſa He.3.SG=ERG we.1.PL=ABL ask not He did not ask us. b. ʊs=ne həmẽ nəhĩ putsa He.3.SG=ERG we.1.PL not ask

He did not ask us.

In short, these clitics have three different forms and three different sets of functions. As independent elements they correspond to postpositions. When they are attached to pronouns like bond words they

are clitics and realize different morphosyntactic features and when they are inflections, they have a different distribution and function than those of clitics and postpositions.

8) a. mud3he bæthne do
I.1.SG.OBL-e sit give
Let me sit down.

*b. mud3h=ko bæthne do
I.1.SG.OBL=Date sit give
Let me sit down.

The sentence (8b) is grammatically incorrect and unacceptable. It means that both inflection and clitic in (8a&b) cannot have the same distribution in spite of being alternative forms. The clitic *ko* and its alternative forms do not always show the same morphosyntactic behaviour.

4.3 Compound Word

The Urdu pronominal expressions are also combinations of two words like compound words. Orthographic conventions are not considered a good guide to compounding. Phonology is considered more reliable. Accent subordination is recognised as the hall mark of compounds. One word accent dominates the entire compound but it does not do so in a syntactic phrase (Katamba, 1993). Compounds in English are often stressed on their first or left-hand base, whereas phrases typically receive stress on the right (Lieber, 2009). The Urdu pronominal expressions make phrases and like phrases in English receive stress on the right.

We do not find phonological motivation in the formation of Urdu Pronominal expressions as we find in the following English compounds.

- 9) a. Black-Jack
 - b. Claptrap

The Urdu Pronominal expressions are not rhyming compounds like the following English rhyming compounds.

- 10) a. Goody-goody
 - b. Pretty-pretty

They are not motivated by ablaut.

- l1) a. Zigzag
 - b. Dilly-dally

A prototypical compound is a word made up of at least two bases which can occur elsewhere as independent words, but it is not a prerequisite that the bases forming compound words must be autonomous words. Some marginal members of the compound words may be bound bases (Katamba, 1993). The Urdu pronominal forms are also made of two

bases which are otherwise used as independent words. They are made of pronominal words and functional words. The functional words in Urdu pronominal expressions behave like bond words and are tagged to the pronominal words like clitics.

Table 6: The base / ne / and pronominal expressions

The base / ne / and Pronominal expressions					
Person	Singular Plural				
1 st	mæ̃ne	میں نے	həmne	ہمنے	

Table 7: The base /pər/ and pronominal expressions

The base /pər/ and Pronominal					
Person	Singular		Plural		
1st	mʊʤʰpər	مجهپر	həmpər	ہم پر	

4.4 Lexicon and Urdu pronominal words

The pronominal words alone do not sometimes give complete grammatical information. They need the help of inflections and clitics to tell us about a subject, object, their cases etc.

Morphologists refer to the items listed in the lexicon as listemes. Most listemes are single vocabulary items. The less compositional the nature of a form the greater the likelihood of its being listed in lexicon (Katamba, 1993,). If an item is composed of some other items it is composed according to certain general rules. The meanings can be deduced keeping in mind the meanings of the parts and the rules involved in the composition of the item. The item can be analysed and decomposed into its parts. The linguistic items lower on the linguistic hierarchy are less compositional and more arbitrary in nature and thus are more likely to be listed in the lexicon.

In addition to the minimal, non-decomposable morphemes that are semantic entities, most complex words that do not have compositional meanings and idiosyncratic syntactic phrases (i.e., idioms) are listed in the lexicon.

If we look at the Urdu pronominal words we realise that they are composed of two grammatical words. These grammatical words are pronouns and particles that mark cases, etc. Katamba (2005) says that in the lexicon grammatical information form part of entries. This means the clitics giving the grammatical information are present with pronouns in the mental lexicon. When these two words join they do not seem to have compositional meanings. They seem to be idiosyncratic and arbitrary and

because they do not have compositional meanings, they are listed in the lexicon.

4.5 Clitics

Etymologically, the word 'Clitic' has been derived from the Greek word *Klinein* which means 'to lean' and the words that are labelled as clitics have also the tendency to lean on or depend on some adjacent word. Clitics are "the basis not just of one but of two nearly independent research traditions" (Anderson, 2005, P.1). At the beginning, the clitics were understood and explained in terms of phonology. The modern syntactic research, instead of focusing on the lack of prosodic accent or stress on the clitics has concentrated on the morpho-syntactic sense of the clitics. The present study looks at the morphology of the Urdu pronominal clitics.

4.5.1 The Phonological Sense of Clitics

Clitics are <u>declared pho</u>nol<u>ogically</u> or prosodically deficient morphemes that are unusual in certain ways (Dixon & Aĭkhenval'd, 2002). Clitics and affixes show different behavior in terms of syntactic and phonological cohesion. Both are bound formatives but clitics do not exhibit as strong attachment to the host as affixes do.

4.5.1 The Morpho-Syntactic Sense of Clitics

This modern research started by Richard Kayne (1 975) is concerned with the study of the particular class of pronominal elements. Kayne identified not only a number of 'distinctive properties' of clitics but also their 'distinctive position' and 'their inability to be modified or conjoined' (Anderson, 2005, p.2).

4.6 Morphological Characteristics Distinguishing Urdu Pronominal Clitics

Clitics occupy an intermediate position between a full-fledged phonological word and an affix, and may fall into different classes depending on their phonological properties and grammatical characteristics. "Whether clitics should be considered an independent category is not only an issue in morphological research but also in phonological research." The shape of and the use of the Urdu pronominal clitics indicates that they are akin to the elements that fall between full-fledged words and inflections.

They behave differently from affixes. Sapir (1930) pounts out that 'enclisis is . . . neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former (including strict adherence to certain principles of order), the inner feeling of the latter' (P. 70). The Urdu pronominal clitics morphologically behave like suffixes and independent words. Their

orthography also shows that they may join the pronouns like suffixes and may be written as independent words.

The recent researches have tried to accommodate clitics either as affixes or words. "With respect to the category, clitics are usually weak forms of functional elements such as pronouns, determiners, auxiliaries, negation particles and question particles" (Gerlach, 2002, pp.3). The Urdu pronominal clitics are in complementary distribution with pronominal They are not in complementary distribution inflection. postpositions. Moreover, they make a DP in postpositional phrases.

- a. mæ̃=ne σs=ko dek^ha I.1.SG.NOM=ERG he.3.SG.OBL=DAT see.PST I saw him.
 - b. mæ=ne dekha υse I.1.SG.NOM=ERG he.3.SG.OBL see.PST I saw him.
 - c. vo υs=ke $sa\theta$ hæ he.3.NOM 3.SG.OBL=GEN with be He is with him.
 - d. tsar=me do nəfi kər den four=LOC from two subtraction do give Subtract 2 from 4.

In (126a), vs=ko (oblique pronoun with clitic) and in (126b) vse (oblique pronoun with inflection) are in complementary distribution and in (126c) vs=ke (oblique pronoun with clitic) makes a DP in a postpositional phrase. The word $sa\theta$ is a postposition in (126c). In (12d) se is not a clitic. It is a full word and a postposition that makes a PP.

A clitic may have different variants. *The* in English behaves at times like a clitic and sometimes like a word (Aikhenvald, 2003). These are known as 'simple clitics', as opposed to others called 'special clitics' (Zwicky, 1977). The Urdu pronominal clitics also have different forms. The clitic, k- inflect for case, gender and number and has three different forms such as ka, ki, and ke. The clitic ko and se appear sometimes in the form of a word and sometimes in the form of an inflection (such as vs=ko and use, həm=se and həmē). These clitics or morphemes are clitics when they attach to pronouns to express case, thematic roles and grammatical relations but they are separate words when they take NPs to make postpositional phrases.

a. ʊs=mẽ bohət taqət hæ 13) he.3.SG.OBL=LOC power be very He is very powerful.

> b. vo həm=më nəhĩ hæ se

he.3.SG.NOM we.1.PL.OBL=LOC from not be He is not one of us.

In (13a) $m\tilde{e}$ is a clitic and in (13b), se is a postposition and full word while $m\tilde{e}$ is a clitic.

Zwicky (1977) make a distinction between simple clitics from special clitics. "Special clitics differ from simple clitics in that they are not necessarily derived from corresponding full forms in a transparent way and may be placed differently from the corresponding full form if there is one" (Gerlach, 2002, p.3). The formative *se* seems to become a casemarking clitic from *se* postposition and from clitic it has become an inflection.

14) a. ap ın=mẽ se kıs=ko pəsənd kərte hæ̃

you.2.NOM they.3.PL.OBL=LOC from whom=DAT like do be

Whom of them do you like?

b. me ap=se bat nəhi kərna tſahəta I.1.SG.NOM you.2.OBL=ABL talk not do want I do not want to talk to you.

c. use mət putʃʰo he.3SGOBL not ask

Do not ask him.

In (14a) *se* is a postposition and has a NP as its complement. In (14b) *se* is a clitic and a case marker and in (14c) *se* takes the form of an inflection.

Gerlach (2002) argues that "special clitics are at a transitional stage between simple clitics and affixes" (Gerlach, 2002, p.3). The Urdu pronominal clitic *ko* and *se* seem to be changing from simple clitics to inflections. In certain syntactic environment, it seems that they attach to pronouns like inflections.

15) a. mæ̃=ne in=ko or vs=ko dekʰα θα I.1SGNOM=ERG they.3PLOBL=DAT and he.1SGOBL=DAT see be I saw them and him.

I.1SGNOM=ERG they.3PLOBL and he.1SGOBL=DAT see be I saw them and him.

In the sentence (15a) the dative clitic repeats like suffixes and inflections at the ends of the pronouns of the conjoined phrase. But the

sentence (15b) is ungrammatical because one pronoun does not have the dative clitic.

"Considering the morphological and syntactic properties of clitics, one can observe that their behaviour in this respect shows some kind of defectiveness as well" (Gerlach, 2002, p.4). They are neither integrated into the sentence like normal words nor into words like affixes (Anderson, 2005). The Urdu pronominal clitics show complex morphosyntactic behaviour. The Urdu pronominal clitics incorporated into the preceding pronouns when they take the alternative form of inflection but they are not integrated into words when they are not inflections. They attach to them and have some sort of immobility.

```
a. mʊdʒʰ=se
                            bat
                                   na
                                          kərɔ
        I.1.SG.OBL=ABL
                            talk
                                   not
                                          do
        Do not talk to me.
    *b. mudzh bat na kərə se
    *c. mud3h bat se na kərə
    *d. mudzh bat na se kərə
     a. bot
             mʊdʒʰ=se
17)
                                          kərɔ
                                   na
       talk
             I.1.SG.OBL=ABL
                                   not
                                          do
       Do not talk to me.
      b. mojh=ko
                                   kərə
                     təng
                            na
        I=DAT
                     tease
                            not
                                   do
        Do not tease me.
     c. mujhe
                                   kərə
                     təng
                            nα
         I
                     tease not
                                   do
        Do not tease me.
```

Sometimes, they may follow focus clitics like hi etc; but often they do not detach themselves from the preceding pronouns. Moreover, it proves that they are clitics because only a clitic takes the place or slot of a clitic.

a. ye həm=hi=se yələti hui hæ this.3.SG.NOM we.1.PL.NOM=FOC=ABL mistake do be It is we who made this mistake.

> b. vs=hi=ne ve səwal putsha θa we.1.PL.NOM=FOC=ERG this. question. ask. be.PST It was he who asked this question.

Affixes usually attach to the words of a particular category whereas clitics may join the items of different categories. Urdu pronominal formatives cliticize to form DPs, PPs, and Nouns.

Clitics are "often default form" while nonclitic forms have additional meanings. The nonclitic forms of the Urdu pronominal clitics are inflections and postpositions while the default forms of the clitics are case-markers.

5. CONCLUSION

The morphological environment discussed in the article shows clearly that these elements (ne, ko, se, $m\tilde{e}$, par, tak, and ka (ki, ke)) are clitics because they neither are attached to the pronominal words like affixes and morphological inflections nor stand apart like separate words.

Although these clitics are loosely tagged to the pronouns and they lack mobility, they are not affixes. They form a paradigm like affixes but they do not join pronouns like affixes. They can be separated from the pronouns by focus clitics like *hi*. But they are more clearly and closely tagged to the pronouns in comparison with the nouns. (Koul, 2008)

The grammatical functions performed by clitics are also the functions that are usually performed by morphological elements like inflections, and syntactic units like adpositions (prepositions/postpositions). These functions verify that their behaviour is on the border line between the behaviour of the inflections and that of adpositions. Thus, their behaviour confirms that they are elements that are at in-between stage.

They are grammatical morphemes that are taken from lexicon and are attached to the pronouns. They do not have compositional nature as compound words have. They join pronouns like individual items and make syntactic constituents.

But there is no one-to-one relationship between form and meaning. More than one morphosyntactic features map onto a single form (clitic). Different cases, theta-roles and grammatical relations are realized by these clitics. Sometimes, a single morphosyntactic feature is mapped onto two clitics. So, there seems to be a combination of accumulative and extended exponence.

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