Chapter-2

The Thematic Structure of Urdu Verbs
Chapter – II

THE THEMATIC STRUCTURE OF URDU VERBS

2.0 Essential and Non-essential Arguments in a Thematic Structure

A thematic structure consists of a set of thematic roles associated with a predicate. The thematic roles are the distinguishing properties of arguments in a constituent structure which is a key to predicting whether or not a given sentence is structurally complete. As we treat non-essential argument as adjunct rather than complement to the verb and they provide only additional information, we have not discussed them in detail. This chapter provides a detailed account of the essential theta roles of several types of verbs in Urdu and English. We have divided Urdu verbs in semantic subgroups on the basis of the number and nature of θ-roles their arguments might have in their θ-grid to generate grammatical sentences.

Urdu has intransitive verbs that take one essential argument and transitive verbs that need two essential arguments. Some transitive verbs (including ditransitive verbs) require three arguments for having a well-formed sentence. Some intransitive and transitive verbs of Urdu and English may differ in regard to the number of overt essential arguments they must have. We have tried to find out whether they differ due to some semantic factors or mainly in terms of their structural properties. For instance, an NP in English may be realized as a PoP in Urdu, but it must be present to generate a grammatical sentence. However, not all essential arguments that a verb needs for the well-formedness of a sentence are overtly expressed. An argument may be covert, when either it is contextually assumed, absorbed in the verb or is deleted because Urdu is a pro-drop
language or it may be the case that the argument has moved out and left an empty trace behind. These points will be separately discussed later in this work.

2.1 Verbs with One Argument
The verbs of Urdu which need only one essential argument have been classified in sub-groups on the basis of the nature of their arguments. Some verbs take agent; some take theme/patient or experiencer as their essential argument. Some linguists do not differentiate between theme and patient but some do. We have treated them as two different theta roles according to their properties, i.e., whether they are animate or not. If an animate argument undergoes an action, it is a patient. If an inanimate entity undergoes an action, it is a theme. Such Urdu verbs have been compared with their English counterparts to find out whether they have the same type of arguments.

2.1.1. Verbs that need only agent as an essential argument
There are intransitive verbs that take only an agent as an essential argument. For instance, we have a verb such as dauRna: ‘to run’ which takes an agent as its argument. We may look at (1) to illustrate this point:

1a. dauRna: ‘to run’ <Agent>

b. laRka: dauR raha: hai
   boy running is
   ‘The boy is running.’

In (1b), the subject NP laRka: ‘boy’ is the essential argument for the verb dauRna: ‘to run’, it has the theta role of agent. It may be noted that the English equivalent of (1b) is also well-formed. The verb dauRna: can have a living-being as its agent as in (1c) or even a motor-driver conveyance as its argument, as in (1d).
1c. ye_ghoRa: tez dauRta: hai
this horse fast runs
‘This horse runs fast.’

d. meri: isporT ka:r bahot tez dauRti: hai
my sport car very fast runs
‘My sport car runs very fast.’

Some verbs that take agent as an essential argument are as follows:

2a. a:na: ‘to come’

b. mehma:n a:ye
guest came(hon., pl.)
‘The guest came.’

3a. ja:na: ‘to go’

b. mehma:n ja: rahe hai
guest going(hon. pl.) is
‘The guest is going.’

4a. bakna: ‘to chatter’

b. Asad hamesha: bakta: rahta: hai
Asad always chatters
‘Asad always chatters.’

5a. bolna: ‘to speak’

b. wo laRka: bahot bolta: hai
that boy too much speaks
‘That boy speaks too much.’

6a. bha:gna: ‘to run away’

b. čor bha:g gaya:
thief ran away
‘The thief ran away.

7a. phũnka:rna: ‘to hiss’

b. sã:p phũnka:r raha: hai
snake hissing is
‘The snake is hissing.’

13 Where an agent is [+honorific], it takes a plural verb in Urdu.
8a. ċalna: ‘to walk’
   b. wo laRka: ka:fi: tez čalta: hai
      That boy very fast walks
      ‘That boy walks very fast.’

9a. čahčaha:na: ‘to chirp’
   b. čiRya: čahčaha: rahi: hai
      bird chirping is
      ‘The bird is chirping.’

10a. baiThna: ‘to sit’
   b. laRka: baiTha: hai
      boy sitting is
      ‘The boy is sitting.’

11a. rukna: ‘to stop, to stay’
   b. mehma:n ača:nak ruk gaye
      guest suddenly stopped/stayed(hon., pl.)
      ‘The guest stopped/stayed suddenly.

12a. khelna: ‘to play’
   b. bačče khel rahe haĩ
      children playing are
      ‘The children are playing.’

13a. bhaũkna: ‘to bark’
   b. kutta: bhaũkta: hai
      dog barks
      ‘The dog barks.’

14a. sona: ‘to sleep’
   b. bačča: so gaya
      child slept
      ‘The child slept.’

15a. čilla:na: ‘to scream or cry out’
   b. bačče čilla: rahe haĩ
      children screaming are
      ‘The children are screaming.’
16a. *uThna:* ‘to get up’
   b. *mai* savere *uThthi: hũ:*
       I early get up
       ‘I get up early.’

We notice that sentences (1-16) of Urdu and their English equivalents are well-formed even when they have only one argument i.e., agent and they all are NPs. All these verbs in Urdu have causative alternation\(^\text{14}\). These causatives are formed by adding the suffixes –*a:* or –*wa:* . For example: *uThna:* ‘to get up’; *uThwa:na:* ‘to get someone/something picked up’.

### 2.1.2 Verbs that need experiencer as an essential argument

Some intransitive verbs of Urdu take experiencer, rather than agent, as the only essential argument. The argument involuntarily experiences the event which can be mental or physical. Culicover (2009:149) defines ‘experiencer’ as an “individual in a perceptual or cognitive state such as seeing or knowing”.

17a. *khã:sna:* ‘to cough’ <Experiencer>
       old man suddenly coughed
       ‘The old man coughed suddenly.’

In (17b), the NP *bu:Rha: a:DMI:* ‘old man’ is the experiencer. It is an essential argument for the verb *khã:sna:* ‘to cough’. The NP involuntarily experiences coughing. The same is the case with its English counterpart, which also needs only one argument, *the old man*, which is the experiencer. If the essential argument voluntarily coughs to draw the attention of someone, it is an agent rather than an experiencer. We may look at (18) to illustrate the point.

\(^{14}\) The thematic structure of causative verbs will be discussed in 2.5.
18. buːRhaː aːdmiː jaːn buːjh kar khãːsaː  
   old man intentionally coughed  
   ‘The old man coughed intentionally.’

We may look at similar other verbs whose essential arguments are experiencer, as in (19-21).

19a. tutlaːnaː ‘to stammer’
   b. Anees tutlaːtaː hai  
      Anees stammers  
      ‘Anees stammers’

20a. čhĩːknaː ‘to sneeze’
   b. Asad čhĩːk rahaː hai  
      Asad sneezing is  
      ‘Asad is sneezing.’

21a. kãːpnaː or tharraːnaː ‘to tremble’
   b. laRkaː kãːp rahaː hai  
      boy trembling is  
      ‘The boy is trembling.’

It is clear from the examples given above that these verbs of Urdu and their equivalent English verbs require experiencer as their essential argument.

In addition to the type of verbs discussed above, Urdu has the verbs that indicate mental state and need experiencer as their essential argument, as in (22-28)

22a. bipharnaː ‘to be out of control’
   b. wo laRkaː biphar gayaː  
      that boy became out of control  
      ‘That boy became out of control.’

23a. bisornaː ‘to sob’
   b. bačːaː bisor rahaː hai  
      child sobbing is  
      ‘The child is sobbing.’
24a. *bilakna:* ‘to weep bitterly’

b. *bačča:* bilak raha: hai
   *child weeping bitterly is*
   ‘The child is weeping bitterly.’

25a. *ru:Thna:* ‘to be displeased’

b. *mera:* dost ru:Th gaya:
   *my friend displeased was*
   ‘My friend was displeased.’

26a. *kumhla:na:* ‘to be blightened’

b. *bačča:* kumhla: gaya: hai
   *child blightened has*
   ‘The child has blightened.’

27a. *kara:hna:* ‘to moan or groan’

b. *mari:z* kara:h raha: hai
   *patient moaning/groaning is*
   ‘The patient is moaning / groaning.’

28a. *rona:* ‘to weep’

b. *Asad* bahot rota: hai
   *Asad too much weeps*
   ‘Asad weeps too much.’

It is clear from these examples that the number and nature of arguments are the same both in Urdu and English.

Some intransitive verbs have causative alternations which take two arguments: agent and experiencer. For instance:

29a. *hāsna:* ‘to laugh’ b. *hāsa:na:* ‘to cause to laugh’

c. Asad ne Anees ko hāsa:ya:
   *Asad Anees made laugh*
   ‘Asad made Anees laugh.’

30a. *rona:* ‘to weep’ b. *rula:na:* ‘to cause to weep’

c. Asad ne Anees ko rula: diya:
   *Asad Anees caused to weep*
   ‘Asad caused Anees to weep.’
2.1.3 Verbs that need *theme* as an essential argument

Urdu has many verbs which require theme as an essential argument. Theme is an entity that undergoes an action which may result in a change of state, as in (31).

31a. *bahna:* ‘to flow’ <Theme>
   b. *pa:ni:* bah raha: hai  
      water  flowing is  
      ‘The water is flowing.’

In (31a), the NP *pa:ni:* is the only essential argument for the verb *bahna:* ‘to flow’, which has the θ-role of theme. Some other verbs of this type are in (32-40).

32a. *ugna:* ‘to grow’
   b. peR ug gaya:  
      tree  grew  
      ‘The tree grew’

33a. *ubasna:* ‘to get stale’
   b. kha:na ubas gaya:  
      food  became stale  
      ‘The food became stale.’

34a. *Du:bná:* ‘to drown’
   b. kutta: pa:ni: mē Du:b gaya:  
      dog  water  in  drowned  
      ‘The dog got drowned in water.’

35a. *jalna:* ‘to burn’
   b. mombatti: jal rahi: hai  
      candle  burning  is  
      ‘The candle is burning.’

36a. *phaTna:* ‘to burst’
   b. ku:kar ača:nak  phaT gaya:  
      cooker  suddenly  burst  
      ‘The cooker burst suddenly.’
37a. *tapna:* ‘to get hot’

b. čhat tap rahi: hai
   roof getting hot is
   ‘The roof is getting hot.’

38a. *gū:jna:* ‘to echo’

b. a:wa:z gū:j rahi: hai
   sound echoing is
   ‘The sound is echoing.’

39a. *rukna:* ‘to stop’

b. ka:r ača:nak ruk gayi:
   car suddenly stopped
   ‘The car stopped suddenly.’

40a. *girna:* ‘to fall’

b. peR gir gaya:
   tree fell
   ‘The tree fell.’

It is the causal element that distinguishes passive sentence from a sentence with an intransitive verb which is semantically related to it. The causal factor is an external property of the passive, whereas its intransitive counterpart does not convey any causal sense. In other words, an intransitive verb does not mention the cause as an integral part of the basic description of the event; it does so only by way of conjoining. The verb *sell* is basically transitive in English but it may be used intransitively if only the theme is to be focused. For instance:

41a. The book sells well.

b. The book was sold in no time.

   c. The book got sold in no time.

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\[15\] *girna:* ‘to fall’ could take patient as an argument. See (55) below.

\[16\] See Sinha (1979) for details.
In (41a), the emphasis is on the inherent quality of the book that leads to the realization of the action, namely its sale\(^{17}\). (41b), alludes to a causal factor; it suggests that there was an agent who performed the action of selling. It also suggests that the book was really saleable. (41c) has no such implication. In so far as Urdu is concerned, the verb *bikna*: ‘sell’ is intransitive and may carry the medio-passive sense, as in (41d)\(^{18}\).

\[
41d. \text{wo kita:b Khud-ba-Khud bik gayi:} \\
\text{that book on its own got sold} \\
\text{‘That book got sold on its own.’ (i.e., without any promotion)}
\]

There are several Urdu verbs which have medio-passive intransitive counterparts in English, as in (42-45).

\[
42a. \text{ubalna: / khaulna: ‘to get boiled’} \\
b. \text{pa:ni: ubal / khaul gaya:} \\
\text{water got boiled} \\
\text{‘The water got boiled.’}
\]

\[
43a. \text{bujhna: ‘to be quenched’} \\
b. \text{meri: pya:s bujh gayi:} \\
\text{my thirst quenched} \\
\text{‘My thirst got quenched.’}
\]

\[
44a. \text{bãdhna: ‘to get tied / packed’} \\
b. \text{sa:ma:n bãdh gaya:} \\
\text{luggage got tied / packed} \\
\text{‘The luggage got tied / packed.’}
\]

\[
45a. \text{čhapna: ‘to get printed’} \\
b. \text{mera: a:rTikal čhap gaya:} \\
\text{my article got printed} \\
\text{‘My article got printed.’}
\]

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\(^{17}\) See Sinha (1981).

\(^{18}\) See Sinha (1986) for details.
The verbs which have the theme as the essential argument in the subject position include intransitive verbs which have their transitive counterpart. Such transitive verbs take theme as one of the essentials arguments, whereas the intransitives have only theme as their essential argument as in (46).

46a. *bhunna*: ‘to get roasted <Theme>

b. gosht bhun gaya:
    meat   got roasted
    ‘The meat got roasted.’

In (46), the subject NP *gosht* is the theme; the person who roasted the meat is not indicated. The inchoative intransitive verb *bhunna*: ‘to get roasted’ is different from the transitive verb *bhu:nna*: ‘to roast’. The transitive verb *bhu:nna*: ‘to roast’ needs two essential arguments i.e., agent and theme. We may look at (47) to illustrate the point.

47c. naukar ne gosht bhu:n diya:
   servant       meat   roasted
   ‘The servant roasted the meat.’

A large number of Urdu verbs which have theme as an essential argument encode transitive and intransitive alternations in terms of vowel alternation such as:

48a. *khulna*: ‘to open’ (intr.) b. *kholna*: ‘to open’ (tr.)

It may be pointed out that in English the verb *open* can be used as an intransitive or a transitive verb. When it is intransitive, it needs only one argument otherwise, it needs two arguments. In either case the NP that undergoes the action is the theme both in Urdu and English.

In English the weather verbs such as *rain, snow, thunder* etc have no overt argument. English sentences with such verbs have a dummy subject
it. No θ-role is assigned to it. But in Urdu the situation is somewhat different, such as in (49).

49a. It is raining.
   ‘pa:ni: baras raha: hai / ba:rish ho rahi: hai’
   water falling is rain occurring is

b. It is snowing.
   ‘barf gir rah: hai’
   snow falling is

c. It is thundering.
   ‘bijli: kaRak rahi: hai’
   thunder roaring is

The Urdu equivalents of (49a-c) have an overt theme, i.e. pa:ni: ‘water’ or ba:rish ‘rain’, barf ‘snow’, and bijli: ‘thunder’ respectively.

2.1.4 Verbs that need patient as an essential argument

There are some verbs in Urdu that take patient as an argument. If the entity which undergoes action is an individual, it is patient. For instance, we may look at (50):

50a. marna: ‘to die’ <patient>

b. Asad mar gaya:
   Asad died
   ‘Asad died.’

In (50b), the NP Asad is the only essential argument for the verb marna:, which has the θ-role of patient. We notice that in both Urdu and English, such sentences are grammatically complete with one argument having the θ-role of patient.

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19 If we consider ba:rish hona: / pa:ni: barasna: ‘to rain’, barf girna: ‘to snow’, bijli: kaRakna: ‘to thunder’ as one unit, i.e., a conjunct verb, then ba:rish ho rahi: hai, barf gir rahi: hai and bijli: kaRak rahi: hai have no argument.

20 Some linguists do not distinguish between patient and theme but some do. We use the term patient only for the individual that is affected by an action. Though Culicover (2009:149) distinguished between the two, he uses the term ‘things’ rather than ‘individual’ for patient.
Some other verbs with one essential argument bearing the θ-role of patient are as follows:

51a. piTna: ‘to get beaten’
   b. čor piT gaye
      thief got beaten
      ‘The thieves got beaten.’

52a. thakna: ‘to get tired’
   b. laRka: thak gaya:
      boy got tired
      ‘The boy got tired.’

53a. luTna: ‘to get robbed’
   b. qa:fila: luT gaya:
      caravan got robbed
      ‘caravan got robbed.’

54a. khona: ‘to get lost’
   b. bačča: kho gaya:
      child got lost
      ‘The child got lost.’

55a. girna: ‘to fall down’
   b. laRka: gir gaya:
      boy fell down
      ‘The boy fell down.’

The verb girna: ‘to fall’ in (55b) has the property to take either a theme or a patient as an argument. In (55b), it has patient and in (55c) it has theme as an argument:

55c. peR gir gaya:
     tree fell down
     ‘The tree fell down’
2.2 Verbs with Two Essential Arguments

The verbs in Urdu that require two essential arguments in their θ-grid are classified in sub-groups on the basis of the nature of the θ-role they might have.

2.2.1 Verbs which take *agent* and *theme* as essential arguments

2.2.1.1 Inchoative Transitive verbs

Inchoative verbs express the change of state of an entity. Inchoatives may be intransitive or transitive. If they indicate merely the change of state of the entity, they are intransitive. For example:

56a. *khulna:* ‘to open’ <Theme>

   b. darwa:za: khul gaya:
      door      opened
   ‘The door opened.’

If they also indicate who or what brought about the change of state, they are transitive, as in (57).

57a. *kholna:* ‘to open’ <Agent, Theme>

   b. Asad ne darwa:za: khola:
      Asad   door      opened
   ‘Asad opened the door.’

Some transitive verbs that take agent and theme as their essential arguments are inchoative. For instance, we may consider the θ-grid of the verb *pighla:na:* ‘to melt’ as in (58).

58a. *pighla:na:* ‘to melt’

   b. loha:r ne loha: pighla:ya:
      blacksmith iron      melted
   ‘The blacksmith melted the iron.’
c. *loha:r ne pighla:ya:
   blacksmith melted
   ‘*The blacksmith melted.’ \(^{21}\)

d. lohe ko pighla:ya: gaya:
   iron melted was
   ‘The iron was melted.’

In (58b), the NP *loha:r ‘blacksmith’ is the agent and *loha: ‘iron’ is the theme. As the theme is an essential argument; its absence makes the sentence ungrammatical, as in (58c). In the absence of a theme, both the sentence of Urdu and its English counterpart are ungrammatical. (58d) is correct because the theme occupies the subject position in it and the agent is understood or \(^{\text{θ}}\)-absorbed\(^{22}\). In other words, theme is an obligatory element in such structures in both Urdu and English. We may note that (58e) is also a possible sentence of Urdu.

58e. loha: pighal gaya:
   iron got melted
   ‘The iron (got) melted.’ \(^{23}\)

The difference between (58d) and (58e) is that (58d) implies an agent \(^{\text{θ}}\)-role whereas (58e) has no such implication. The same is true of English.

Some transitive inchoative verbs that belong to this set have been listed below.

59a. uja:Rna: ‘to pull down’

   b. logõ ne uska:n maka:n uja:R diya:
      people his house pulled down
      ‘The people pulled down his house.’

60a. udheRna: ‘to unfold, to unroll’

\(^{21}\) If the verb *melt* is used idiomatically, we can say (i) in English but not (58c).

   i. The blacksmith’s heart melted.

\(^{22}\) The concept of \(^{\text{θ}}\)-absorption will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

\(^{23}\) *get melted* is a medio-passive in English which has an intransitive counterpart in Urdu, i.e. *pighalna:*. 
b. Asma ne kapRe udheR diye:
   Asma  clothes  unfolded
   ‘Asma unfolded the clothes.’

61a. ukha:Rna: ‘to uproot’

b. laRke ne daraKht ukha:R diya:
   boy  tree  uprooted
   ‘The boy uprooted the tree.’

62a. gholna: ‘to dissolve’

b. Asma ne dawa: ghol di:
   Asma  medicine  dissolved
   ‘Asma dissolved the medicine.’

63a. pi:sna: ‘to grind’

b. laRki: gehũ: pi:s rahí: hai
   girl  wheat  grinding  is
   ‘The girl is grinding wheat.’

64a. paka:na: ‘to cook’

b. Asma kha:na: paka: rahí: hai
   Asma  food  cooking  is
   ‘Asma is cooking food.’

65a. toRna: ‘to break’

b. bačče ne gila:s toR diya:
   child  glass  broke
   ‘The child broke the glass.’

66a. jama:na: ‘to freeze’

b. Sana ne barf jama:i:
   Sana  ice  froze
   ‘Sana froze the ice.

67a. čhi:lna: ‘to skin off’

b. larki: sabzi: čhi:l rahí: hai
   girl  vegetable  skinning off  is
   ‘The girl is skinning the vegetables off.’

68a. dalna: ‘to split, to grind’

b. Asma čane dal rahí: hai
   Asma  gram  splitting / grinding  is
   ‘Asma is splitting / grinding the gram.’
69a. dhunna: ‘to card off’
   b. Asad ru:i: dhunta: hai
       Asad cotton cards off
       ‘Asad cards off cotton.’

70a. dhona: ‘to wash’
   b. dhobi: kapRe dho raha: hai
       washerman clothes washing is
       ‘The washerman is washing clothes.’

71a. si:na: ‘to stitch, to sew’
   b. darzi: kapRe si: raha: hai
       tailor clothes stitching is
       ‘The tailor is stitching clothes.’

72a. ku:Tna: ‘to pound’
   b. larki: mirčē ku:T rahi: hai
       girl chillies pounding is
       ‘The girl is pounding chillies.’

Some other verbs of this type are as follows:

73a. phoRna: ‘to cause to burst’, b. Dha:na: ‘to demolish’
   c. gū:dhna: ‘to knead’       d. rāgna: ‘to colour’
   e. sukha:na: ‘to dry’         f. saūdna: ‘to mix, to mash’
   g. ghoTna: ‘to grind’         h. masalna: ‘to crush’
   i. lapetna: ‘to fold, to roll’ j. Dha:lna: ‘to forge, to shape’
   k. hila:na: ‘to move, to jerk’
   l. garma:na: ‘to heat, to warm up’
   m. miTa:na: ‘to destroy, to obliterate’

2.2.1.2 Verbs of Creation
This class of verbs in Urdu involves the creation of a new entity as the result of an action indicated by the verb. Such a verb needs two essential
arguments- agent and theme - in its θ-grid. For instance, we may look at the verb `ka:Rhna: ‘to embroider’ in (74).

74a. `ka:Rhna: ‘to embroider’: <Agent, Theme>

b. laRki: ne kashi:da: ka:Rha:
girl    design   embroidered
‘The girl embroidered the design.’

c. kashi:da: ka:Rha:  gaya:
design    embroidered was
‘The design was embroidered.’

d. *laRki: ne ka:Rha:
girl    embroidered
‘*The girl embroidered.’

In (74b), the NP `laRki: ‘girl’ is the agent and `kashi:da: ‘design’ is the theme. The thematic relation between the verb `ka:Rhna: and its arguments remains the same even if the verb is used in the passive form, as in (74c). In (74c), though `kashi:da: ‘design’ becomes the subject of the sentence, it retains the θ-role of theme. The absence of this θ-role from the active form of the sentence makes it ungrammatical, as in (74d). We can observe the same phenomena in the English equivalents of (74a-74d).

Some other verbs that can be used in the same way are as follows:

75a. `bana:na: ‘to make’    b. `bunna: ‘to knit’

c. `khodna: ‘to dig’    d. `likhna: ‘to write’

e. `(khet) jotna: ‘to cultivate’    f. `ija:d karna: ‘to invent’

g. `khaRa: karna: ‘to erect’

2.2.1.3 Verbs of Accomplishment

The verbs of accomplishment also take agent and theme as their essential arguments. For example:

76a. `kama:na: ‘to earn’: <Agent, Theme>
b. Asad ne paise kama:ye
   Asad money earned
   ‘Asad earned money.’

In (76b), the NP Asad has the θ-role of agent and the NP paise ‘money’ has the θ-role of theme. When the theme is deleted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (76c). Sometimes theme is θ-absorbed, as in (76d).

76c. *Asad ne kama:ya:
       Asad earned
   ‘*Asad earned.’

d. Asad ne kama:ya: to bahot lekin bača:ya: nahī:
   Asad earned a lot but save did not
   ‘Asad earned a lot but did not save.’

This verb has no intransitive counterpart. The same is true of its English equivalent. Some other verbs that can be used in the same way are as follows:

77a. joRna: ‘to connect’

b. Asad ne ta:r joR diya:
   Asad wire connected
   ‘Asad connected the wire.’

78a. čhi:nna: ‘to snatch’

b. čor ne mera: pars čhi:n liya:
   thief my purse snatched
   ‘The thief snatched my purse.’

79a. sī:čna: ‘to irrigate’

b. kisa:n khet sī:č raha: hai
   farmer field irrigating is
   ‘The farmer is irrigating the field.’

80a. pakaRna: ‘to capture’

b. pulis ne čor ko pakaR liya:
   police thief capture
   ‘The police captured the thief.’
81a. *jiːtna:* ‘to win’

b. Asad maič jiːt gaya:
   Asad         match     won
   ‘Asad won the match.’

82a. *paːna:* ‘to get’

b. maĩne inaːm paːya:
   I       prize   got
   ‘I got the prize.’

83a. *jamaː karna:* ‘to collect’

b. Asad ne kitaːbẽ jamaː kĩ:
   Asad        books    collected
   ‘Asad collected books.’

84a. *paRhna:* ‘to read’

b. Asad ne kitaːb paRhi:
   Asad         book   read
   ‘Asad read the book.’

We may notice that all the English equivalents of (77b-84b) are well-formed with two arguments, i.e. agent and theme.

2.2.1.4 Verbs of Motion.

Transitive verbs of motion take agent and theme as essential arguments. We may look at the verb *ghasiːTna:* ‘to drag’ in (85).

85a. *ghasiːTna:* ‘to drag’ <Agent, Theme>

b. laRke ne bakse ko ghasiːTa:
   boy          box             dragged
   ‘The boy dragged the box.’

In (85b), the NP *laRkea* ‘boy’ is the agent and the NP *baksa:* ‘box’ is the theme. The Urdu sentence and its English equivalent are well-formed with two arguments, i.e. agent and theme. Some other verbs that belong to this set are as follows:
86a. maroRna: ‘to twist’

b. Asad ne ta:r ko maroRa:
   Asad     wire    twisted
   ‘Asad twisted the wire.’

87a. Thelna: / Dhakelna: ‘to push’

b. laRke ne ga:Ri: ko Thela: / Dhakela:
   boy   car    pushed
   ‘The boy pushed the car.’

88a. rokna: ‘to stop’

b. Asad ne ga:Ri: roki:
   Asad     car    stopped
   ‘Asad stopped the car.’

90a. khĩ:čna: ‘to pull’

b. laRke ne rassi: khĩ:či:
   boy   rope    pulled
   ‘The boy pulled the rope.’

89a. khena: ‘to row’

b. Asad na:v khe raha: hai
   Asad   boat   rowing    is
   ‘Asad is rowing the boat.’

The English counterpart of (90b) can be correct without the theme the boat but it is not true of Urdu. The theme is θ-absorbed in English but not in Urdu, as in (90c).

90c. *Asad khe raha: hai
   Asad rowing     is
   ‘Asad is rowing.’

2.2.1.5 Performative Verbs

Performatives are a class of verbs which are not used to describe a state of affairs, but to perform the act when used in the simple present tense. For example:
91a. to declare

b. I declare war on Maldeves.

Saying (91b) amounts to the declaration of war on Maldeves. Performative verbs take agent and theme as their essential arguments\(^\text{24}\). They are used performatively with first person, singular or plural subject in the simple present tense. The verb *barKhaːst karna:* ‘to discharge, to dismiss’ belongs to this set, as in (92).

92a. *barKhaːst karna:* ‘to discharge, to wind up’:<Agent, Theme>

b. maï miː Ting barKhaːst kartiː hũ:
   I meeting declare closed
   ‘I declare the meeting closed.’

c. miː Ting barKhaːst ho gayiː hai
   meeting winded up / concluded has
   ‘The meeting has been winded up / concluded.’

In (92b), the NP *maï* ‘I’ is the agent and the NP *miː Ting* ‘meeting’ is the theme. We may note (92c), the passive sentence, reports the act rather than accomplish it. The same is the case, if the verb is used in the past tense, as in (92d).

92d. maīne miː Ting barKhaːst kar diː
   I meeting winded up / concluded
   ‘I winded up / concluded the meeting.’

The English equivalent of (92b) is also correct with two arguments, agent and theme. As a matter of fact, there seems to be no difference between the performative verbs in English and Urdu from the point of view of the θ-grid. Other verbs which can also be used in this way are:

93a. *radd karna:* ‘to reject’

b. maï aːp kiː darKhaːst radd kartiː hũ:
   I your application reject
   ‘I reject your application.’

\(^{24}\) There are performative verbs which need three rather than two arguments, which will be discussed later.
94a. \textit{naka:\textit{rna}:} ‘to deny’

\begin{verbatim}
b. maĩ Asad ki: qa:bliyat ko naka:rti: hũ:
   I Asad of ability deny
‘I deny the ability of Asad.’
\end{verbatim}

Some performatives have conventional effect in Urdu, as in (95a):

95a. \textit{tala:q dena:} ‘to divorce’

\begin{verbatim}
b. maĩ tumhẽ tala:q deta: hũ:.
   I you divorce
‘I divorce you.’
\end{verbatim}

As soon as the speaker utters the sentence thrice, the act of divorce is complete.

2.2.1.6 Verbs of Physical and Mental Perception

In 2.1.2, we have discussed verbs that indicate perceptual or cognitive state that take only one essential argument i.e. the experiencer. In this section we are going to discuss verbs of physical and mental perception that take two essential arguments. Since they indicate volition, one of the arguments is agent; the other argument is, of course, the theme. For instance, we may look at (96b) in Urdu.

96a. \textit{dekhna:} ‘to see’ <Agent, Theme.

\begin{verbatim}
b. maĩne kita:b dekhi:
   I book saw
‘I saw the books.’
\end{verbatim}

(96b) has \textit{maĩne} ‘I’ as the agent and \textit{kita:b} ‘book’ as the theme. The verb \textit{dekhna:} ‘to see’ indicates a voluntary action done by the agent, namely, he saw the book and nothing else. The English equivalent is also well-formed with two arguments. There seems to be no difference between the two languages in this regard. The verb \textit{dekhna:} ‘to see’ can, however, be
used in another context to indicate the involuntary act of seeing, i.e., it can be used in the abilitative sense, as in (97).

97. maĩ dekh sakta: hũ:
   I see can
   ‘I can see.’

In this sense, it needs only an experiencer. We may note that the verb dekhna: ‘to see’ in (97) is different from the verb ta:kna:25 ‘to look at / to stare’ in (98). The latter indicates only volitional action.

98a. ta:kna: ‘to look at/ to stare’

   b. Asad bahot der se kha:ne ko ta:k raha: hai
      Asad for long food looking at has been
      ‘Asad has been looking at the food for long.’

In (98b), the NP Asad is the agent and the NP kha:na: ‘food’ is the theme.

Some similar verbs of perception in Urdu are listed in (99).

99a. bhu:lna: ‘to forget’  b. čakhna: ‘to taste’
     d. sunna: ‘to hear’  e. mahsu:s karna: ‘to feel’
     f. sũ:ghna: ‘to smell’

The Urdu verbs mentioned above and their equivalent English verbs, take the same number and type of arguments.

100a. ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’

   b. Asad ne khatre ko ta:R liya:
      Asad danger perceived
      ‘Asad perceived the danger.’

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25 In English to see is different from to look at. Urdu has the same verb for both. The difference can be made by the use of an adverbial:

i. maĩne ye kita:b dekhi: hai paRhi: nahĩ:
   ‘I have (merely) seen this book (but) not read it.

ii. maĩne ye kita:b Gaur se dekhi: hai
    ‘I have looked at this book carefully.’
In (100b), the verb *ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’ has the NP *Asad as the agent and the NP *khatra: ‘danger’ as the theme. In the passive form, it needs only the theme. Like the verb *dekhna: ‘to see’, the verb *ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’ can also be used in the abilitative sense but with a difference, as is shown by the contrast between (97) and (101).

101a. maĩ khatre ko ta:R sakta: hũ:
        I   danger    perceive  can
        ‘I can perceive the danger.’

b. *maĩ ta:R sakta: hũ:
    I     perceive  can
    ‘I can perceive.’

In (97) is a well-formed sentence without a theme, but (101b) is not. The verb *ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’ needs two overt arguments in its abilitative sense. Its English counterpart is also correct with two arguments. However, the English equivalent of (101b) is correct, i.e., the object of perception can be θ-absorbed in English.

Some other verbs of sensory perception in Urdu which differ from their English counterparts in this respect are in (102):

102a. *čhu:na: ‘to touch’

b. *bhu:lna: ‘to forget’

2.2.2 Verbs which take agent and patient as essential arguments
Some verbs may take agent and patient as essential arguments. They are discussed below.

2.2.2.1 Inchoative Transitive Verbs
Some inchoative transitive verbs take agent and patient as essential arguments. We have already discussed the θ-role requirement of
intransitive and transitive inchoative verbs which take theme as one of their arguments. We now discuss some transitive verbs which take agent and patient as essential arguments. We may look at the θ-grid of the verb ma:rna: ‘to kill’, as in (103a).

103a. ma:rna: ‘to kill’: <Agent, Patient>

b. Asad ne Anees ko ma:r diya:
   Asad  Anees       killed
   ‘Asad killed Anees.’

c. *Asad ne ma:ra:
   Asad         killed
   ‘*Asad killed.’

d. Anees ma:ra: gaya:
   Anees killed   was
   ‘Anees was killed.’

In (103b), the NP Asad is the agent and the NP Anees is the patient both in Urdu and English. (103c) indicates that the patient is an essential argument both in Urdu and English; its absence makes the sentences ungrammatical. (103d) is correct because it is the patient that occupies the subject position in the passive sentence. As the patient is essential to make the sentence grammatical, it is an obligatory element in the structures of both Urdu and English with this verb. We may note that (103e) is also a possible sentence of Urdu.

103e. Anees piT gaya:
   Anees    got beaten
   ‘Anees got beaten.’

(103d) and (103e) differ in the sense that (103d) implies an agent θ-role, whereas (103e) does not necessarily have such an implication.

Some other verbs of this type are listed in (104).

104a. pa:lna: / posna: ‘to bring up’  b. kučalna: ‘to trample’

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c. jaga:na: ‘to wake someone up’

d. saja:na: ‘to decorate’

2.2.2.2 Verbs of Accomplishment

The verbs of accomplishment take agent and patient as their essential arguments, as in (105a, b):

105a. dabočna: ‘to grab’: <Agent, Patient>

b. pulis ne čor ko daboč liya:
   police    thief     grabbed
   ‘The police pounced upon / grabbed the thief.’

c. *pulis ne daboč liya:
   police      grabbed
   ‘*The police grabbed.’

d. čor daboč liya: gaya: tha:
   thief     grabbed      was
   ‘The thief was grabbed.’

e. *čor daboč gaya:
   thief got grabbed
   ‘The thief got grabbed.

In (105b), the NP pulis ‘police’ has the θ-role of agent and the NP čor ‘thief’ has the θ-role of patient, both in Urdu and English. In (105c) is ungrammatical without the patient; whereas its occurrence in the passive form makes it grammatical, as in (105d). The same is true of their English counterparts. It is because the agent is implied in the passive sentence. The fact that (105e) is not possible indicates that the Urdu verb dabočna: ‘to seize’ has no intransitive counterpart. But the English equivalent is correct in the medio-pasive sense.\(^{27}\)

Some other verbs which belong to this group are as follows:

106a. čhalna: ‘to cheat’

b. Dasna: ‘to bite, to sting’

\(^{27}\) We make a difference between *be passive* and *get passive*, and claim that the latter has a medio-pasive meaning. See Sinha (1979, 198-200) for details.
c. **dhokha: dena:** ‘to cheat’

There are some verbs of accomplishment which have intransitive counterparts both in Urdu and English. We may look at (107) to clarify the point.

107a. **čhipa:na:** ‘to hide’

b. Asad ne Anees ko čhipa: diya: / liya:
   
   Asad      Anees         hid
   ‘Asad hid Anees.’

c. Anees čhipa: diya: gaya: tha:
   
   Anees         hidden  was
   ‘Anees was hidden.’

d. Anees čhip gaya: tha:
   
   Anees   got hidden
   ‘Anees got hidden.’

We may notice that in (107b), the NP *Asad* bears the θ-role of agent and the NP *Anees* bears the θ-role of patient. In (107c), the passive form of the sentence is correct with the patient; its agent is implicit. (107d) indicates that the verb **čhipa:na:** ‘to hide’ has intransitive counterpart. There is no difference between (107b, c) and their English equivalents, but (107d) is different; it does not refer to any other person hiding *Anees*.

Some other verbs of this type are as follows.

108a. **bhaga:na:** ‘to make (someone) run away ’

b. **sikha:na:** ‘to make (someone) learn’

c. **nača:na:** ‘to make (someone) dance’

### 2.2.2.3 Emotive verbs

Some emotive verbs of Urdu need the θ-roles of agent and patient to complete the sentence. We may look at (109) to illustrate this point.

109a. **jhiRakna:** ‘to scold’: <Agent, Patient>

b. Asad ne bačče ko jhiRak diya:
Asad child scolded
‘Asad scolded the child.’

c. *Asad ne jhiRak diya:
   Asad scolded
   ‘*Asad scolded.’

d. bačče ko jhiRka: gaya: tha:
   child scolded had been
   ‘The child had been scolded.’

(109b) has the NP Asad as the agent and the NP bačča: ‘child’ as the patient. (109c) is ungrammatical without the θ-role of patient. If the verb is in the passive form, as in (109d), only one θ-role, i.e., the patient, is needed. There seems to be no difference between Urdu sentences and their English equivalents in this respect.

Let us consider another verb Dara:na: ‘to frighten’ which belongs to this set.

110a. Dara:na: ‘to frighten’

b. Asma ne bačče ko Dara:ya:
   Asma child frightened
   ‘Asma frightened the child.’

c. bačče ko Dara:ya: gaya: tha:
   child frightened was
   ‘The child was frightened.’

In (110b), the NP Asma is the agent whereas the NP bačča: ‘child’ is the patient. The sentence with the passive form of the verb needs only the θ-role of patient, as in (110c). In other words, the patient is an essential argument of such verbs and it cannot be omitted. There is no difference between the Urdu sentences in (110b, c, d) and their English counterparts.

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28 (109c) is possible only if the patent NP has been mentioned earlier.

29 Grimshaw (1990:21) claims that the verb ‘to frighten’ has the θ-roles of experiencer and theme in its argument structure. We do not think so, if bačča: ‘child’ is the patient in (110b), Asma is not the experiencer.
Some other verbs of this type are listed below in (111).


c. *čiRha:na:* ‘to mock’   d. *ča:hna:* ‘to like’

e. *čeRna:* ‘to molest’   f. *kosna:* ‘to curse’

g. *lubha:na:* ‘to allure’

h. *sata:na:* ‘to annoy, to cause to suffer’
i. *dhutka:rnna:* ‘to revile / drive away’
j. *sharminda: karna:* ‘to embarrass’
k. *tanqi:d karna:* ‘to criticize’
l. *phusla:na:* ‘to ammuse, to coax’
m. *ghin kha:na:* ‘to have an aversion from’
n. *maza:k bana:na:/uRa:na:* ‘to ridicule’
o. *mohna:* ‘to fascinate / charm’

Some of these verbs take either types of $\theta$-roles, patient or theme, such as


112b. *tanqi:d karna:* ‘to criticize’

b. Asad ne Anees par tanqi:d ki:
   Asad      Anees      criticized
   ‘Asad criticized Anees.’

c. Asad ne us navil ki: baRi:   tanqi:d ki:
   Asad that novel very much criticised
   ‘Asad criticized that novel very much.’

In (112b), the verb has two arguments, *Asad* which bears the $\theta$-role of agent and another is PoP *Anees par*, which bears the $\theta$-role of patient. But in (112c), *Asad* is the agent and *us navil* ‘that novel’ is the theme. In English equivalent of (112b), verb is taking NP *Anees* as its patient argument rather than PP.
2.2.2.4 Verbs of Physical and Mental Perception

Urdu has some other verbs of physical and mental perception which require two essential arguments-agent and patient-to have a well-formed sentence. For instance:

113a. ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’ <Agent, Patient>
   b. usne mujhe ta:R liya:
      he me perceived
      ‘He perceived me (i.e. my intension).’

In (113b), the verb ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’ has the NP usne ‘he’ as the agent and the NP mujhe ‘me’ as the patient. Another verb of this type is ghu:rna: ‘to frown at’, as in (114).

114. usne mujhe ghu:ra:
       he me frowned at
       ‘He frowned at me.’

2.2.2.5 Verbs of Motion

Some transitive verbs of motion take agent and patient as essential arguments. We may look at the verb ragedna: ‘to chase’ to illustrate the point:

115a. ragedna: ‘to chase’
   b. usne čor ko rageda:
      he thief chased
      ‘He chased the thief.’

   c.*usne rageda:
      he chased
      ‘*He chased.’

   d. čor rageda: gaya: tha:
      thief chased was
      ‘The thief was chased.’

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30 For a detailed discussion of the verb ta:Rna: ‘to perceive’ see section (2.2.1.6)
(115b) indicates that the verb ragedna: ‘to chase’ has two NP arguments, one NP usne ‘he’, bears the θ-role of agent and another NP chor ‘the thief’ bears the θ-role of patient. (115c) and its English counterpart are incorrect without the patient argument, while the passive form of the sentence, both in Urdu and English, is correct with the patient alone, as in (115d). The Agent is implied here.

Some other verbs of this group are listed below.

116a. Dhakelna: ‘to shove’  
116b. paTakna: ‘to bump’  
116c. thapakna: ‘to pat’  
116d. Tahla:na: ‘to stroll’  
116e. Thelna: ‘to push’  
116f. čara:na: ‘to graze’  
116g. kučalna: ‘to trample’  
116h. hā:kna: ‘to drive, to urge’  
116i. jhanjhoRna: ‘to shake, to rouse’

2.2.3 Verbs which take agent and goal as their essential arguments

We may now look at some verbs of motion that take agent and goal as their essential arguments, as in (117).

117a. gherna: ‘to surround’: <Agent, Goal>  
117b. dushman ne shahr ko gher liya: hai  
   enemy           city          surrounded  has  
   ‘The enemy has surrounded the city.’

In (117b), the NP dushman ‘the enemy’ has the θ-role of agent and the NP shahr ‘the city’ has the θ-role of goal. There is no difference between Urdu verb and in its English counterpart from the point of view of the number and nature of arguments.

118a. čura:na: ‘to steal’  
118b. Anees ne mera: baig čura:ya: haĩ  
   Anees       my     bag     stolen    has  
   ‘Anees has stolen my money.’
119a. *guza:rna*: ‘to pass (time)’
   b. Asma bas zindagi: guza:r rahī: hai
      Asma just life passing is
      ‘Asma is just passing her time.’

120a. *baRhna*: ‘to proceed’
   b. dushman si:ma: ki: taraf baRh rahe haī
      enemies border towards proceeding are
      ‘The enemies are proceeding towards the border.’

121a. *lâ:ghna*: ‘to jump over’
   b. Asma ne na:le ko lã:gha:
      Asma drain jumped over
      ‘Asma jumped over the drain.’

122a. *pa:r karna*: ‘to cross over’
   b. Asad ne pul pa:r kiya:
      Asad bridge crossed over
      ‘Asad crossed over the bridge.’

123a. *čaRhna*: ‘to climb’
   b. Asad paha:R par čaRha:
      Asad mountain climbed
      ‘Asad climbed the mountain.’

In (123b), the NP *Asad* bears the θ-role of agent and *paha:R* ‘mountain’ bears the θ-role of goal. We may notice that the Urdu verb *čaRhna*: ‘to climb’ differs in nature from its English equivalent. One argument of the verb *čaRhna*: ‘to climb’ is NP *Asad* and another is PoP *paha:R par*, while both the arguments of its English equivalent ‘to climb’ are NPs i.e., *Asad* and *mountain*. Another verb which comes in this group is *da:Khil hona*: ‘to enter’.

### 2.2.4 Verbs which take theme and experiencer as their essential arguments.

There are some emotive verbs in Urdu that take theme and experiencer as their essential arguments, as in (124).
124a. *na:ummi:d karna:* ‘to disappoint’ : <Theme, Experiencer>

b. uske jawa:b ne mujhe na:ummed kiya:
   his reply me disappointed
   ‘His reply disappointed me.’

c. Aziz na:ummi:d ho gaya: tha:
   Aziz was disappointed
   ‘Aziz was disappointed.’

(124b) indicates that *uske jawa:b* ‘his reply’ is the theme and *mujhe* ‘me’ is the experiencer. (124c) indicates that with *hona:* as the conjunct auxiliary of the verb *na:ummid hona:* ‘be disappointed’, the experiencer is enough to produce a well-formed sentence. Some other verbs of this type are:

125a. *Khush karna:* ‘to amuse/ please’

b. is Khabar ne mujhe Khush kar diya:
   this news me amused / please
   ‘This news amused/ pleased me.’

126a. *uda:s karna:* ‘to sadden’

b. is Khabar ne mujhe uda:s kar diya:
   this news me saddened / made sad
   ‘This news saddened me / made me sad.’

127a. *mahsu:s karna:* ‘to feel’

b. mujhe sardi: mahsu:s ho rahi: hai
   I cold feeling happening
   ‘I am feeling cold.’

2.3 Verbs with Three Essential Arguments.

There are transitive verbs in Urdu which need three arguments in their θ-grid. These verbs are discussed separately in this section.

2.3.1 Verbs which take *agent, theme and goal* as their essential arguments

Some verbs of transaction or exchange take three arguments bearing the
θ-role of agent, theme and goal respectively. Such verbs describe the change of possession of an entity from one argument to another. We may consider the verb $bhejna$: 'to send'

128a. $bhejna$: 'to send': <Agent, Theme, Goal>

b. Asad ne Anees ko kita:b bheji:
   Asad     Anees to book sent  
   'Asad sent a book to Anees.'

In (128b), the NP $Asad$ is the agent, the NP $Anees$ is the goal and the NP $kita:b$ is the theme. We may note that the English counterpart of (128b) have the same number and type of arguments. In the passive form, either the theme or the goal may occur in the subject position with such verbs. For example:

c. Anees ko kita:b bheji: gayi:
   Anees     book sent was  
   'Anees was sent a book.'

d. kita:b anees ko bheji: gayi:
   book Anees to sent was  
   'The book was sent to Anees.'

In (128c), $Anees$ occurs initially in the sentence, though it is not the subject. In (128d), the goal argument $Anees$ is in subject position. The same is true of their English counterpart i.e. both the arguments $Anees$ and a book are NPs.

Some other verbs of exchange that take similar θ-roles are as follows:

129a. $bečna$: ‘to sell’     b. $Tohfe dena$: ‘to present’

c. $dena$: ‘to give’     d. $sikha:na$: ‘to instruct’

e. $paRha:na$: ‘to teach’     f. $saũpna$: ‘to deliver/entrust’
2.3.2 Verbs which take agent, theme and location as their essential arguments

Some verbs in Urdu need agent, theme and location in their theta grid. We may consider the verb *bharna*: 'to fill' in (130) to illustrate the point.

130a. *bharna*: 'to fill': <Agent, Theme, Location>

   Asad bucket in water filling is
   'Asad is filling water in the bucket.'

c. Asad pa:ni: bhar ra:ha: hai
   Asad water filling is
   '*Asad is filling water.'

d. *Asad ba:lTi: bhar ra:ha: hai
   Asad bucket filling is
   'Asad is filling the bucket.'

In (130b), *Asad* is the agent, the NP *pa:ni*: ‘water’ is the theme and *ba:lTi*: 'bucket' is the location. Both the Urdu sentences and its equivalent English are correct when all the arguments are present. (130c) indicates that in Urdu the sentence is complete without the location; i.e. the location can be deleted. But it is not true of its English counterpart, the agent and the theme are not enough to make the sentence complete; the verb in English needs the $\theta$-role of location to make the sentence grammatical. (130d) has the locative argument but not the theme, and it is ill-formed in Urdu. The English version of (130d) is well-formed if the preposition *in* is omitted may be because *the bucket* is the theme, rather than location, here.

When (130b) is passivised, the agent can be deleted as in (131a) and the same is true of its English equivalent. It can be noticed that in (131b), location can also be deleted from the sentence in Urdu but its English counterpart is not correct without the location argument.
131a. paːniː baːlTIː mē bhara gayaː thaː 
    water    bucket    in    filled    was
    ‘The water was filled in the bucket.’

b. paːniː bharaː gayaː thaː 
    water    filled    was
    ‘*The water was filled.’

c. *baːlTIː mē bharaː gayaː 
    bucket    in    filled    was
    *‘was filled in the bucket.’

(131c) has only the locative argument. The English sentence is completely unacceptable but the Urdu sentence is marginally acceptable, especially if the theme is contextually implied.

Some other verbs of this type are as follows:

132a. Dubonaː ‘to drown / dip’  b. Thoknaː ‘to hammer’
    c. haTaːnaː ‘to remove’

There are some verbs in Urdu which are somewhat different from their English equivalents: they may differ in regard to the number of their arguments if they are ambiguous. For instance: the Urdu verb rakhnaː is used for put as well as keep. The verb put needs three arguments- agent, theme and location, as in (133a).

133a. Putː <Agent, Theme, Location>
    b. usne kitaːb Tebal par rakh diː 
        He  book  table  on  put
        ‘He put the book on the table.’

c. usne kitaːb rakh diː 
    he  book  put
    ‘*He put the book.’

(133c) is ungrammatical in English because it does not have the locative argument. However, the verb keep, which has approximately the same
sense as *put*, needs only two overt arguments even in English. Thus, (134a) is well-formed in the sense of (134b).

134a. *He kept the book.*

b. *He kept the book with himself.*

In other words, an argument may not be overt if it can be covertly understood.

As mentioned above, in Urdu, the verb *rakhna:* is used for both *put* and *keep.* When *rakhna:* is used in the sense of *keep* it may have only two arguments, as in (135a,b).

135a. usne kita:b rakhi:/rakh di:

    he  book  put

  *He put the book.*

b. usne kita:b rakh li: \footnote{31}

    he  book  kept

  ‘He kept the book.’

(135a) sounds better if the locative argument is overtly mentioned, as in (135c). (135d) has a third argument *apne pa:s* which is optional.

135c. usne kita:b Tebal par  rakh di:

    he  book  table on  put

  ‘He put the book on the table.’

b. usne kita:b apne pa:s rakhi:

    he  book  with himself  kept

  ‘He kept the book with himself.’

### 2.3.3 Verbs which take agent, theme and source as their essential argument.

There are some verbs in Urdu which need three arguments, agent, theme

\footnote{31 If an Urdu verb occurs with the vector verb *lena:* ‘to take’, it need not have an overt locative NP because the vector verb makes the main verb reflexive which suggests that the result of the action goes to the agent of the sentence. See Sinha 1981 for further details.}
and source. For example:

136a. \textit{ha:sil karna:} ‘to obtain’: <Agent, Theme, Source>

\begin{itemize}
  \item b. maĩne ye kita:b ba:za:r se ha:sil ki: hai
    \begin{itemize}
      \item I this book market from obtained have
    \end{itemize}
    ‘I have obtained this book from the market.
  \item c. maĩne ye kita:b ha:sil ki: hai
    \begin{itemize}
      \item I this book obtained have
    \end{itemize}
    ‘I have obtained this book.’
  \item d. ye kita:b ha:sil ki: gayi thi:
    \begin{itemize}
      \item this book obtained was
    \end{itemize}
    ‘This book was obtained.’
\end{itemize}

In (136b), the NP \textit{maine} ‘I’ is the agent, the NP \textit{ye kita:b} ‘this book’ is the theme and the PoP \textit{ba:za:r se} ‘from the market’ is the source. (136c) indicates that the agent and theme are enough to make the sentence grammatical. The source \textit{ba:za:r se} ‘from the market’ is covert\textsuperscript{32}. A θ-role need not be overtly expressed when it can be inferred. In (136d), we may notice that the sentence is correct even though it has only the theme, as it is in the passive form. The English equivalents of (136b, c) are also correct with the same θ-roles. Some other verbs of exchange that take similar θ-roles are as follows:

137a. \textit{Khari:dna:} ‘to buy’  
137b. \textit{la:na:} ‘to bring’
137c. \textit{pa:na:} ‘to get’

There are some other verbs which have agent, theme and source as their θ-role, such as:

138a. \textit{a:za:d kara:na:} ‘to liberate’  
138b. \textit{čhi:nna:} ‘to snatch’
138c. \textit{bača:na:} ‘to rescue’
138d. \textit{haTana:} ‘to remove’

\textsuperscript{32} Strictly speaking, the covert argument is \textit{kahi: se} ‘from somewhere’ rather than \textit{ba:za:r se} ‘from the market’.
2.3.4 Verbs which take agent, theme and experiencer as their essential arguments

Some Urdu verbs take agent, theme and experiencer as their essential arguments. For example:

139a. māDhna: ‘to impose’

b. usne apni: Galti: mujh par māDh di:
   he his fault me upon imposed
   ‘He imposed his fault upon me.’

c. *usne apni: Galti: māDh di:
   he his fault imposed
   ‘*He imposed his fault.’

d. *usne mujh par māDh di:
   he upon me imposed
   ‘*He imposed upon me.’

We may notice that the verb māDhna: ‘to impose’ needs three arguments-agent, theme and experiencer. The agent can be dropped in the Urdu sentence, as it is a pro-drop language but in the absence of either the theme or the experiencer, the sentence is ill-formed. The English equivalent of the Urdu verb ‘to impose’ needs three arguments- agent, theme and experiencer in all cases.

2.3.5 Verbs which take agent, patient and instrument as their essential arguments

Some verbs need the θ-roles of agent, patient and instrument, rather than agent, theme and goal (as in 2.3.1) as their essential arguments. For instance, we may look at (140).

140a. ċubhona:/ gaRa:na: ‘to pierce’

b. usne mujhe su:i: ċubhoyi: / gaRa:i:
   he me needle pierced
   ‘He pierced me the needle.’
c. *usne su:i: čubhoyi: / gaRa:i:  
   he needle pierced  
   ‘*He pierced the needle.’

d. *usne mujhe čubhoyi: / gaRa:i:  
   he me pierced  
   ‘*He pierced me.’

e. su:i: mujhe čubhoyi: / gaRa:i: gayi: thi:  
   needle me pierced was  
   ‘The needle was pierced into me.’

In (140b), the verb čubhona: / GaRa:na: ‘to pierce’ has the NP usne ‘he’ as the agent, the NP mujhe ‘me’ as the patient and the NP su:i: ‘needle’ as the instrument. In the absence of either the patient or the instrument, the sentence is ill-formed, as is clear from (140c) and (140d) respectively. There is no difference between Urdu and its English equivalent with regard to the number and nature of arguments. The passivised form of the sentence is complete with the instrument and the patient as in (140e), but the structure of arguments differs here in Urdu and English. In Urdu, both the arguments are NPs, while in its English equivalent, the instrument argument the needle is an NP and the patient argument into me is a PP.

2.3.6 Verbs which take agent, patient and source as their essential arguments

Another set of locational verbs which take three arguments bearing the θ-roles of agent, patient and source, such as bedaKhal karna: ‘to expel’.

141a. bedaKhal karna: ‘to expel’ : <Agent, Patient, Source>  
   b. usta:d ne bačče ko  isku:l se   bedaKhal kar diya:  
      teacher child school from expelled  
      ‘The teacher expelled the child from school.’

c. bačče ko  isku:l se   bedaKhal kar diya: gaya: tha:  
      child school from expelled was  
      ‘The child was expelled from school.’
In (141b), the verb *bedaKhal karna:* ‘to expel’ bears the NP *usta:d* ‘teacher’ as the agent, the NP *bačča:* ‘child’ as the patient and the PoP *isku:l se* ‘from the school’ as the source. The same is true of its English equivalent. Both in Urdu and English, when the sentence (141c) is passivised, the agent is suppressed and the patient and the source make the sentence complete. In (141d), the Urdu and its English equivalent are correct with the two arguments, agent and patient.

Some verbs of this type are as follows:

142a. *uTha:na:* ‘to lift’

b. *haTa:na:* ‘to remove’

### 2.4 Verbs which take a sentential argument

Urdu has some transitive verbs which take a CP or an IP (i.e., an embedded clause) as one of their essential arguments. However, these verbs may differ in the number and nature of arguments in their θ-grid. They have been classified as follows:

#### 2.4.1 Verbs which take agent and theme as their essential argument

There are some performative verbs in Urdu which take CP or IP as one of its essential arguments and this argument bears the θ-role of theme. We may consider the verb *tardi:d karna:* ‘to deny’, as in (143) to illustrate the point.

143a. *tardi:d karna:* ‘to deny’ <Agent, Theme>

b. *maĩ tardi:d karta: hũ: [CP ke[IP aisa: nahi: hai]]*  

*I deny [CP that[IP it is not so]].’
c. usne tardi:d ki: \([\text{CP ke [\text{IP} aisa: nahi: hai]}]\)
   he denied that it so not is
   ‘He denied \([\text{CP that [\text{IP} it is not so]}]\).’

In (143b), the NP *maĩ* ‘I’ is the agent and the whole CP *ke aisa: nahi: hai* ‘that it is not so’ is the theme. There is no difference between Urdu and its English equivalent with regard to the number and nature of arguments here.

A performative verb can be used descriptively in which case it is not performative. When used descriptively, the verb may be in the non-present tense, while in its performative use, it is always with the first person subject in simple present tense, in indicative mood both in Urdu and English. (143b) is a performative sentence but (143c) is not.

Some performative verbs of this type are as follows:

144a. *qasam kha:na:* ‘to swear’ <Agent, Theme>

b. *maĩ qasam kha:ta: hũ: [\text{CP ke [\text{IP} maĩ badla: lũ:ga:]}]*
   I swear that I take revenge will
   ‘I swear \([\text{CP that [\text{IP} I will take revenge]}]\).’

c. *maĩ [\text{IP} badla: lene ki:] qasam kha:ta: hũ:*
   I to take revenge swear
   ‘I swear \([\text{IP} to take revenge]}\).’

145a. *da:wa: karna:* ‘to claim’<Agent, Theme>

   I claim that I this house of owner am
   ‘I claim \([\text{CP that [\text{IP} I am the owner of this house]}]\).’

c. *maĩ [\text{IP} is maka:n ke ma:lik hone ka:] da:wa: karta: hũ:*
   I this house of owner to be claim
   ‘I claim \([\text{IP} to be the owner of this house]}\).’

(144c and 145c) are the sentences derived from (144b and 145b) respectively, where the embedded argument is an infinitival clause (IP) rather than a CP, in both Urdu and English. As Urdu is a pro-drop
language, the agent can be dropped from all the sentences mentioned above because the agreement features indicate that the subject is first person, singular and masculine.

A non-performative verb of Urdu that may take sentential argument as theme is *sunna*:

146a. *sunna*: ‘to hear’ <Agent, Theme>

   b. maɪne suna: [CP ke [IP Asad ja: raha: hai]]
     I heard that Asad going is
     ‘I heard [CP that [IP Asad is going]].’

We may note that in Urdu there is only one verb *sunna*: whereas English has two verbs *to hear* and *to listen*.

147a. to listen ‘sunna’:

   b. He listened to me.
     ‘usne mujhe suna:’
     he me heard
   c. *He listened [that the train would arrive late].
   d. He listened to [NP the announcement [CP that the train would arrive late]].

In an Urdu sentence, the verb *sunna*: needs two arguments. Sometimes one argument is an NP and another is a CP and sometimes both the arguments are NPs. The English equivalent verbs *to hear* and *to listen* also have two arguments. The verb *to listen* may take two NPs as its arguments but will not have a sentential argument, as in (147c). The Urdu verb *ma:lu:m paRna*: ‘to seem’ and *lagna*: ‘to appear’ also need a sentential argument as theme, as in (148b). There is no agent argument in (148b, c).


   b. aisa: ma:lu:m paRta:/ lagta: hai[CP ke [IP wo ja:nte haĩ [CP ke
      it seems / appears that they know
      [IP wo kya: kar rahe haĩ]]]]
      they what doing are
‘It seems/ appears \([_{\text{CP}}\text{that }]_{\text{IP}}\text{they know what they are doing}]\).’

c. \(\text{ma:lu:m paRta: / lagta: hai }_{\text{CP}}_{\text{ke }}_{\text{IP}}\text{wo ja:nte haĩ}_{\text{CP}}_{\text{ke }}_{\text{IP}}\text{wo kya: kar rahe haĩ})\]

‘It seems / appears \([_{\text{CP}}\text{that }]_{\text{IP}}\text{they know what they are doing}]\).’

In (148b), the verb \(\text{lagna: / ma:lu:m paRna:} \); ‘to seem / appear’ has taken an NP argument \(\text{aisa:} \); which is like the pleonastic \(\text{it} \) in English and has no \(\theta \)-role and the CP argument \(\text{ke wo ja:nte haĩ ke wo kya: kar rahe haĩ} \) has the \(\theta \)-role of theme. Its English equivalent also has only one argument. In (148c), the Urdu sentence is well-formed with the CP only, the NP \(\text{aisa:} \) (sentential pronominal) is dropped here as the Urdu is a pro-drop language. In English, it is not the case. We cannot drop the subject argument as it is governed by the \textit{Extended Projection Principle}\(^{33}\).

Another semantically similar form of the verb \(\text{lagna:} \) is \(\text{dikhna:} \); ‘to appear’, which has a similar \(\theta \)-grid.

2.4.2 Verbs that take agent, theme and experiencer as their essential arguments

Some Urdu verbs take agent, theme and experiencer as their essential arguments and the theme may be a CP, as in (149).

149a. \(\text{Khabarda:r karna:} \); ‘to warn’; <Agent, Theme, Experiencer>

b. \(\text{maĩ tumhẽ Khabarda:r karta: hũ: }_{\text{CP}}_{\text{ke }}_{\text{IP}}\text{wohā: Khatra: hai}]\)

I warn you [CPthat [IPthere is danger there]].

\(^{33}\) A sentence must have a subject.
In (149b), the verb *Khabarda:r karna:* takes three arguments, the NP *maĩ* ‘I’ as the agent, the NP *tumhẽ* ‘you’ as the experiencer and the CP *ke waha:n Khatra: hai* ‘that there is danger there’ as the theme.

We may now consider another verb *mashwera: dena:* ‘to advise’, which belongs to this group.

150a. *mashwera: dena:* ‘to advise’ <Agent, Experiencer, Theme>

b. *maĩ tumhẽ mashwera: deta: hũ: [CP ke [IP PRO a:ra:m karo]]*  
   I       you       advise                         that       take rest  
   ‘I advise you [CP that [IP you take rest]].’

c. *maĩ tumhẽ [IP PRO a:ra:m karne ka:] mashwera: deta: hũ: [IP PRO to rest]*  
   I       you       to rest                       advise  
   ‘I advise you [IP PRO to rest].’

d. *maĩ mashwera: deta: hũ: [CP ke [IP PRO a:ra:m karo]]*  
   I       advise                         that       you       rest  
   ‘*I advise [CP that [IP you take rest]].’

e. *maĩ [IP PRO a:ra:m karne ka:] mashwera: deta: hũ: [IP PRO to rest]*  
   I       to rest                       advise  
   ‘*I advise [IP PRO to rest].’

In (150b), the NP *maĩ* ‘I’ is the agent, the NP *tumhẽ* ‘you’ is the experiencer and the CP *ke tum a:ra:m karo* ‘that you take rest’ is the theme. Its English equivalent is also well-formed. In (150c), the Urdu sentence of (150b) has been written in a different way; its theme has been nominalized and the experiencer is omitted. However, such a construction is not possible in English. In (150d), the verb *mashwera: dena:* ‘to advise’ takes two arguments. The NP *maĩ* ‘I’ is the agent and the CP *ke tum a:ra:m karo* ‘that you rest’ is the theme. In (150e), the experiencer argument of the verb *mashwera: dena:* i.e. *tumhẽ* is θ-absorbed but in the case of its English counterpart ‘to advise’, the experiencer *you* cannot be

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34 Even *tum* ‘you’ the subject of the embedded clause can be omitted because it is an imperative sentence.
deleted; it must be present in order to control the subject of infinitival clause.

Some other verbs of this category are as follows:

151 a. ija:zat dena: ‘to allow’    b. hukm dena: ‘to order’
   c. ra:e: dena: ‘to suggest’    d. ča:hna: ‘to want’
   e. isra:r karna: ‘to urge’    f. guza:rish karna: ‘to request’
   g. raza:mandi: dena: ‘to permit, to consent’
   h. tawaqqo rakhna: ‘to expect’

All these verbs can have CP as their theme.

There is another group of performative verbs which take CP or IP as the theme both in Urdu and English. For example:

152a. wa:da: karna: ‘to promise’

   I       you       promise       that       I       come       will
   ‘I promise you [CP that [IP I will come]].’

c. maĩ tumse [IP PRO a:ne ka:] wa:da: karta: hũ:
   I       you       to       come       promise
   ‘I promise you [IP PRO to come].’

   I       promise       that       I       come       will
   ‘I promise [CP that [IP I will come]].’

e. maĩ [IP PRO a:ne ka:] wa:da: karta: hũ:
   I       to       come       promise
   ‘I promise [IP PRO to come].’

In (152b), the verb wa:da: karna: ‘to promise’ has three arguments, the NP maĩ ‘I’ is the agent, the NP tumse ‘you’ is the experiencer and the CP ke maĩ a:ũ:ga: ‘that I will come’ is the theme. Its English counterpart is also well-formed with these three arguments. From (152c), it is clear that both in Urdu and English the verb wa:da: karna: ‘to promise’ can take
infinitival clause as its theme. The difference is that in Urdu the infinitival complement is connected to the verb wa:da: karna: by the process of genitive formation. The experiencer argument of (152d-e) i.e., tumse is θ-absorbed in both Urdu and its English counterpart.

Some other performative verbs of this group are as follows:


c. qabu:lna: ‘to confess’

The non-performative verb kahna: ‘to say’ also takes three arguments agent, experiencer and theme, where the theme argument is sentential (CP or IP). For instance:

154a. kahna: ‘to tell’ or ‘to say’

b. usne mujhe kaha: [CP ke [[IP Asad ne Aziz ko ma:r diya:]]]

(i) ‘He told me [CP that [IP Asad killed Aziz]].’

(ii) ‘He said to me [CP that [IP Asad killed Aziz]].’

(iii) ‘*He said me [CP that [IP Asad killed Aziz]].’

In (154b), the verb kahna: ‘to tell’ or ‘to say’ has three arguments; two NPs ‘usne’ and mujhe ‘me’ and the third argument is CP ke Asad ne Aziz ko ma:r diya: ‘that Asad killed Aziz’. For the verbs kahna: there are two verb forms in English i.e., tell and say. Both these verb forms have three arguments but they differ in their structure. In (154b[i]), two arguments are NPs, while in (154b [ii]) one argument is an NP and another is a PP. The third argument in both the cases is a CP. (154b [iii]) is wrong because it is the configurational nature of the verb to say that it cannot take an NP as an experiencer without a preposition.
2.5. The Thematic Structure of Causative Verbs

As the name suggests, causative verbs involve the type of construction that has the interpretation that the *agent causes someone (or some entity) to do something*. It means *to allow, to persuade, to help someone to do something*. In Urdu, causative verbs are formed by adding –a: or –wa: to the intransitive or transitive form of the verb. For instance, we can look at these semantically and derivationally related verbs:

155a. *piTna:* ‘to get (oneself) beaten’: intransitive
155b. *pi:Tna:* ‘to beat’ : transitive
155c. *piTwa:na:* ‘to get someone beaten’ : causative

In traditional grammar, (155a) is intransitive, (155b) is transitive and (155c) is causative while in Generative Semantics both (155b) and (155c) are treated as causatives\(^\text{35}\). Our treatment is closer to traditional grammar in the sense that we treat *pi:Tna:* ‘to beat’ type verb as transitive and *piTwa:na:* as causative. It is a little tricky to decide the 0-grid of causative verbs because the construction of Urdu causatives are biclausal semantically but monoclausal syntactically; it is “synthetic” (Bagchi 2008: 60). As opposed to Urdu, the causative constructions in English are “analytic” and biclausal. We will look at following sentences to make the point clear.

156. usne bačče ko Asad se paRhwa:ya: 
   he child Asad by made teach
   ‘He made [pAsad teach the child.]’
   (literally: ‘He caused the child to be taught by Asad.’)

\(^{35}\) Linguists like Grimshaw (1990) and many others have used the term “causative” ambiguously in the sense that they treat bare transitive verbs as causatives, though they do not believe in the basic principles of Generative Semantics.
(156a) contains only one verb i.e., *paRhwa:ya:* ‘to make someone teach someone else’, which happens to be morphologically complex\textsuperscript{36}. Semantically it is biclausal i.e. it has an embedded clause in it though it appears as a simple sentence. The English equivalent of (156b) seems to be complex as an embedded clause appears as an argument of the causative predicate in the main clause. Each of the two clauses in English has a distinct lexical verb i.e. *made* and *teach* respectively. In short, Urdu and English present different ways to express the idea, though from the point of view of thematic structure, they contain exactly the same arguments: agent and theme. However, there is a problem. According to Grimshaw (1990:24), a causative construction in English describes two “sub-events” and each sub-event is contains in a separate clause. The *causal event* is the first sub-event which is causally related to the second sub-event. The generalization she arrives at is that the argument which participates in the first sub-event in an event structure is more prominent than an argument which participates in the second sub-event. The cause is always a part of the first sub-event.

As mentioned earlier, Grimshaw (1990: 7-8) offers the structural organization of the array of arguments based on universal principles which she calls *thematic hierarchy*. It assumes the agent to be the highest

\textsuperscript{36} According to Baker (1988: 10-11) the internal structure of both types of sentences are the same, the only difference seems to be on the surface in the complexity of the verb. He claims that the causative affix and the root verb combine into a single word at some stage in order to create a complex verb. By the projection principle, this movement does not destroy thematically relevant structure: hence the moved verb root must leave a trace to allow theta role assignment to the “standard” subject and to head the embedded clausal complement which the causative morpheme lexically selects. According to Baker such morphological causatives are cases of verb incorporation. We may note that Hale and Keyser (1993: 99) and Chomsky (1993: 16-17) also favour verb incorporation to account for morphological causatives. Uriagereka (2002:272) calls this approach “decompositionalist”.

argument. Next is Experiencer, then, Goal/Source /Location and finally Theme, as given in (157):

157. Thematic Hierarchy

(Agent (Experiencer (Goal/Source/Location (Theme))))

Grimshaw (p. 27) proposes that the causal structure of a predicate also defines a hierarchy, just as the thematic structure does, as in (158):

158. Causal Structure Hierarchy

(Cause (Agent (Experiencer (Goal/Source/Location (Theme)))))

Each of these two hierarchies imposes its own set of prominence status. In (156) there seems to be two agents in the causative construction, one who causes or forces someone to do the work and the other who does the work.

One way is to treat the primary agent as *causer* as it motivates action and the secondary agent as *agent* who actually performs the action. Another approach is to treat primary agent as an agent and the secondary agent as an instrument used by the primary agent. The primary agent performs the action by causing the secondary agent to do the act. As the primary agent sets the ball in motion, he is the agent and the secondary agent is an instrument in the sense that the task is completed with his help. This notion seems to work well for Urdu where the primary agent is marked by –ne/φ and in a causative sentence, the secondary agent, actually takes –se, which is usually the instrument marker. The question arises: how did the agent turn into an instrument? We may note that the agent NP, when it is overt, takes –se rather than –ne in the passive counterpart of an active sentence. However in this approach a problem arises when there is an actual instrument in the sentence. For instance: we may look at (159).
159a. *Asad ne Aziz ko Tiːčar se čhaRiː se piTwaːyaː:
   Asad   Aziz   teacher by stick   with got beaten
   ‘Asad got Aziz beaten by the teacher with a stick.’

It may be noted that in (159) both the arguments i.e. Tiːčar ‘teacher’ and čhaRiː ‘stick’ have –se, an instrument marker, but according to the θ-criterion, it is not permissible for a sentence to have two independent arguments with the same θ-role, i.e. instrument; it is against the theta-criterion.

Keeping this fact of the natural language in view, we opt for the first approach and provisionally treat the primary agent as a *causer* and the secondary one as an *agent*. Urdu causatives have been classified in subgroups on the basis of number and nature of essential arguments they take.

### 2.5.1. Causative verbs which take *causer*, *agent* and *theme* as essential arguments

There are some causative verbs in Urdu where causer, agent and theme are obligatory for the completion of a sentence, as in (160).

160a. *uThwaːnaː*: to cause someone to lift:<Causer, Agent, Theme>

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37 ia. laRke ne use čhaRiː se aur jute se maːraː:
   boy   him   stick   with and   shoes   with beat
   ‘The boy beat him with stick and with shoes.’

b. laRke ne use čhaRiː aur jute se maːraː:
   boy   him   stick   and   shoes   with beat
   ‘The boy beat him with a stick and shoes.’

If two arguments have the same θ-roles, they are conjoined and the combined NP is treated as one argument, as in (ib), čhaRiː aur jute se ‘with stick and shoes’. But we cannot say (ic)

ic. *Asad ne Aziz ko Tiːčar aur čhaRiː se piTwaːyaː:
   Asad   Aziz   teacher and stick by get beaten
   **Asad got Aziz beaten by [the teacher and a stick].
b. Asad ne mazdu:rõ se sa:ma:n uThwa:ya:
Asad labourers luggage cause to lift
‘Asad caused [the labourers to lift the luggage].’

In (160a), it is obvious that the verb uThwa:na: ‘to cause to lift’ contains three NP arguments, Asad as a causer, mazdu:rõ ‘labourers’ as an agent and sa:ma:n ‘luggage’ as a theme. In English, the scene is different. We may note that the English counterpart of (160) has an embedded clause, the NP Asad is the agent and the whole clause i.e. the labourers to lift the luggage is the theme. The embedded clause has its own thematic structure where the NP labourers is the agent and the NP luggage is the theme. The number of arguments is the same in both the languages but their domains are different. In Urdu all the arguments are directly assigned θ-roles by the main verb uThwa:na: but in English both the clauses have their own agent and theme assigned by their respective verbs. The agent argument can be deleted from the surface in Urdu but it is not possible to do so in English\(^{38}\).

Some other verbs of this type are as follow.

161a. bhunwa:na: ‘to cause someone to fry’
   b. silwa:na: ‘to cause someone to sew’
   c. kaTwa:na: ‘to cause someone to cut’
   d. khudwa:na: ‘to cause someone to dig’
   e. khulwa:na: ‘to cause someone to open’
   f. ginwa:na: ‘to make someone to count’
   g. likhwa:na: ‘to make someone to write’
   h. piswa:na:- ‘to cause someone to grind’
   i. dhulwa:na: ‘to make someone to wash’

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\(^{38}\) The deletion of an argument may be a phenomenon of θ-absorption which will be discussed in the next chapter.
2.5.2. Causative verbs which take *causer, agent and patient* as their essential arguments.

Urdu has some inchoative causatives which take causer, agent and patient as essential arguments. Consider the following sentences:

162a. *piTwa:na:* ‘to make someone to beat’: <Causer, Agent, Patient>

b. Asad ne Anees ko bha:i se piTwa:ya:
   Asad Anees brother by cause to beat
   ‘Asad made [IP his brother beat Anees.]’

The representation in (162b) expresses that the verb *piTwa:na:* ‘to make someone to beat someone else’ has taken NP *Asad* as causer, NP *bha:i:* ‘brother’ as agent and NP *Anees* as patient. The English equivalent of (162b) has an embedded sentence in it and its argument structure has an agent NP *Asad* and a sentential argument as its theme. The embedded sentence has the verb *beat* which has assigned the θ5-role of agent to the NP *bha:i:* ‘brother’ and patient to the NP *Anees*. The verb *marwa:na:* ‘to cause to kill’ is another example of this type of causative verb in Urdu which needs three arguments i.e. causer, agent and patient.

2.5.3. Causative verbs which take *causer, agent, theme and location* as their essential arguments

Some causative verbs in Urdu require four essential arguments to make the sentence complete. These arguments are causer, agent, theme and location. (163) illustrates the point.

163a. *bharwa:na:* ‘to make someone to fill’: <Causer, Agent, Theme, Location>
b. Asad ne Anees se ba:lTî: mē pa:ni: bharwa:ya:  
Asad Anees bucket in water cause to fill  
‘Asad made [IP Anees fill the water in the bucket.]’

We may observe that in (163b), the verb *bharwa:na:* ‘to cause someone to fill something’ has the NP *Asad* as causer, the NP *Anees* as agent, the NP *pa:ni:* ‘water’ as theme and the PP *ba:lTî: mē* ‘in the bucket’ as its location. The same number of arguments is there in its English counterpart but with a difference. In its English equivalent, there are two verbs *made* and *fill* on surface and they both have their own thematic structure: *made* has two arguments i.e. the NP *Asad* as the agent and the whole clause *Anees to fill the water in the bucket* as its theme. The embedded clause possesses a separate thematic structure in which the NP *Anees* is the agent, the NP *water* is the theme and the PP *in the bucket* is location.

Some more verbs of this category are as follows:

164a. *rakhwa:na:* ‘to cause to place’ b. *ladwa:na:* ‘to cause to load’
c. *lagwa:na:* ‘to cause to fix’

2.5.4. **Causative verbs which take causer, agent, theme and source as their essential arguments.**

Some causative verbs take causer, agent, theme and source as their essential arguments in Urdu. (165) illustrates the point.

165a. *māgwa:na:* ‘to make someone to bring’ : < Causer, Agent, Theme and Source

b. usne miTha:i: naukar se duka:n se māgwa:yi:  
  he sweet servant by shop from make to bring  
  ‘He made [IP the servant bring the sweets from the shop.]’

c. usne miTha:i: duka:n se māgwa:yi:  
  he sweet shop from make to bring  
  ‘*He made [IP bring sweets from the market.]’
In (165b) and in its English counterpart, the arguments taken by the verb māgwā:na: ‘to make to bring’ are the NP usne ‘he’ as causer, the NP naukar ‘servant’ as agent, the NP miTha:i: ‘sweets’ as theme and the PoP duka:n se ‘from the market’ as source, except for the fact that in English the NP servant the NP sweets, and the PP from the market are the arguments of the verb bring of the embedded clause and this embedded clause has the θ-role of theme in relation to the verb of the main clause. The agent argument can be deleted in Urdu but not in English as is obvious from (165c). It is possible to delete the source argument in both Urdu and English as it is obvious from (165d) and its English counterpart. The sentence is complete without the agent and source in Urdu but it is not so in English, as is obvious from (165e). One more thing needs to be pointed out: (165b) is not very natural in Urdu. Either agent or source is dropped in conversation.

Some other verbs of this class are:

166a. utarwa:na: ‘to cause someone to bring down something’

b. haTwa:na: ‘to cause someone to remove something’

c. nikaIwa:na: ‘to cause someone to expel’.

2.5.5. Causative verbs which take causer, agent, theme and goal as their essential arguments.

Urdu has some causative verbs which require causer, agent, theme and goal. We may look at the following sentence to make the point clear.
167a. *dilwa:na: ‘to make to give’: < Causer, Agent, Theme and Goal>

b. Asad ne Asma se Aziz ko paise dilwa:ye
   Asad Asma Aziz money make to give
   ‘Asad made [IP Asma give money to Aziz].

c. Asad ne Aziz ko paise dilwa:ye
   Asad Aziz money make to give
   ‘*Asad made [IP to give money to Aziz].’

(167b) illustrates that the verb *dilwa:na: ‘to make someone to give’ in both the languages i.e. Urdu and English have the same number of arguments. Both (167b) and its English counterpart have the NP *Asad as the causer, the NP Asma as the agent, the NP paise ‘money’ as the theme and the PoP Asad ko ‘to Asad’ as the goal. The agent NP can be deleted in Urdu but not in English, as is obvious from the English counterpart of (167c).

Some other verbs of this type are as follows

168a. *pilwa:na: ‘to cause someone to drink’

b. *khilwa:na: ‘to cause someone to feed’

2.5.6. An Alternative Analysis of causatives

Though we have assigned θ-roles to various groups of causatives in Urdu in 2.5.1 to 2.5.5, we are not satisfied with our approach for theoretical reasons. Our analysis has posited *causer for the primary agent, i.e. for the agent of the causal subevent, and agent for the secondary agent, the agent of the second even. It works well for languages like English which use two verbs (e.g. *make…do or *cause…to do) but not for a languages like Urdu\(^3^9\) where the secondary agent is indicated by a verb but the primary agent is marked by a causative suffix added to that verb (e.g. *karna: ‘to

\(^{3^9}\) As is well known almost all South Asian languages have morphological causatives and so have Japanese, Korean, Persian, Turkish, Greenlandic Eskimo and many other languages. See Masica (1976) for details.
do’ and karwa:na: ‘to cause someone to do’. In other words, it does not work well for languages which have semantic-morphological interface and have synthetic causatives.

There is another problem we are faced with and that is with reference to Baker’s (1988: 46) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH). It states:

“Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure."  

As we have already argued, both clauses of a causative sentence in English have identical thematic relations; they have the structure of “[IP agent NP V [theme IP]]. If we accept the configurational approach to the theta theory, as proposed by Hale and Keyser (1993), we can show that both in English and Urdu they have identical structural relationship as well. We will illustrate this point in (169).

169a. usne ye ka:m mujhse karwa:ya:
   he this work  me by do-cause
   ‘He got this Job done by me.’
   [IP,He caused [IP, I did the job]].

If we follow the VP Internal Subject Hypothesis to present the thematic structure of Urdu and English in (169b), as suggested by Hale and Keyser (1993) and Chomsky (1993, 1995a). (169a) can be represented as (169b).

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40 Under the Minimalist Program, it should be read as “at the level of LF” and PF.
169b. For Urdu

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP}_1 & \rightarrow \text{NP}_1 \quad \text{V}_1' \\
\text{VP}_2 & \rightarrow \text{NP}_2 \quad \text{V}_2' \quad \text{V} \\
& \rightarrow \text{NP}_3 \quad \text{v} \\
\text{usne} & \quad \text{he} \\
\text{mujh se ye ka:m} & \quad \text{me this job} \\
\text{kar} & \quad \text{do} \\
\text{-wa:ya:} & \quad \text{caused to do} \\
\text{got done})
\end{align*}
\]
Both in Urdu and English, VP₂ is embedded in VP₁. VP₁ has two arguments, the agent and the theme (which is an embedded clause) and VP₂ also has two arguments, the agent (of the embedded verb) and the theme, as it is obvious from the tree diagrams given in (169b) for Urdu and English sentences. Thus, the essence of UTAH has been preserved, i.e. both the clauses have the same θ-roles and similar structures. Both the tree-diagram for Urdu and English as in (169b) show configurational approach and are not intended to show the process by which the PF in (169a) and in its English counterpart have been derived. In (169b), the lexical incorporation rule (of Baker 1988) is applied to derive *karwa:* ‘cause to do’ from *kar* ‘do’⁴¹.

⁴¹ See Hale and Keyser (1993: 67) diagram (22). Both these authors and Chomsky (1993, 1995: 315) suggest that if a verb has several internal arguments, then V₁ (of VP₁, what Chomsky calls v, the light verb) allows the V₂ of the embedded verb to be raised and attached to it, irrespective of whether it is transitive or intransitive. The V-incorporation is well-formed according to them.
The alternative approach posited above has the advantage of positing identical structural relations for identical thematic relations in a sentence both in Urdu and English. Besides it does not need to explain the relation between the spec NP₁ and V'₁ because NP₁ is the agent of V', the same way as spec NP₂ is the agent of V. It may be claimed that it has a great theoretical advantage over Grimshaw’s treatment of causative constructions. It saves us from proposing the cause hierarchy over the hierarchy of theme or adding cause to the number of θ-roles. As Hale and Keyser (1993:65) observe, it is not for nothing that natural languages need only a few thematic roles and the UTAH exists across languages of various types.

If we take predicate as a lexical head, we account for the merger of the verb and its complement for the formation of V' [V, NP] in all cases. If we treat V' as a unit, the specifier NP of the intended clause merges with it to derive a complete VP. In case an adjunct NP is to be merged, it is merged with V' to give a [V V (NP) PP]. It happens before the specifier NP merges with V' and the VP is derived as [V NP V NP (PP)].

To sum up, in this chapter we have given the thematic structure of various groups of Urdu verbs and compared them with those of English verbs. We believe that from the logical point of view, verb of various languages have similar thematic structure at LF but all of them are not expressed the same way at PF in all languages; some of them may be suppressed or θ-absorbed in a specific language.
We have grouped verbs according to the number of arguments they take and divided them in subgroups according to the nature of those arguments. Verbs with one argument may take an agent, an experiencer, a theme or a patient which is usually realized as a subject at PF. Verbs with two arguments may take agent and theme, agent and patient, agent and goal or experience and theme. Verbs with agent and theme may be inchoative transitive, verbs of creation, accomplishment, motion, physical and mental perception, performative or emotive verbs. When a verb needs three essential arguments, they are (a) agent, theme and goal, (b) agent, theme and location, (c) agent, theme and source, (d) agent, theme and experience, (e) agent, patient and instrument, and (f) agent, patient and source. In short, if a verb needs three arguments, two of them are agent and theme or patient. Verbs which need an embedded sentential argument have been discussed separately. In sentences with such verbs, the embedded sentential arguments are as a whole theme. However, sentences with two embedded sentential arguments are rather rare. We have discussed sentences with causative verbs in Urdu separately. We have adopted the framework of Hale and Keyser (1993) and shown that they can be discussed the same way in which the verbs with embedded sentences have been discussed. A superficial view suggests that such verbs have (a) causer, agent and theme, (b) causer, agent and patient, (c) causer, agent, theme and location, (d) causer, agent, theme and source or (e) causer, agent, theme and goal. But configurational analysis of these sentences has shown that these sentences have the structure of:
This type of analysis makes the causer hierarchy of Grimshaw superfluous and conforms to the uniformity of Theta Assignment Hierarchy.