

Pashto second position en(do)clisis

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Untangling 'Pashto second position en(do)clisis'

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- Eastern Iranian language, ca. 50 Million speakers in Afghanistan/Pakistan
- Data presented here mainly from Tegey (1977) and native speaker N. Rehman

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- 'Second' mostly refers to the position after the *first word* or the *first syntactic XP constituent*, for *prosodic* or *syntactic* reasons.

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Endocclisis:

- The 2P enclitic does not only change its linear position, but 'moves' *into* the stem of the host ⇒ *endoclititic*
- Can be viewed in parallel to infixes, but: separate syntactic element, does not add meaning to the host, triggered by postlexical processes.
- Reported for Udi (Harris 2002), Degema (Kari 2002) and Pashto (Tegey 1977)

This talk

- 1 the common Pashto data
- 2 the 'uncommon' Pashto data
- 3 a syntactic and prosodic perspective on that data
- 4 a resulting solution

Pashto 2P clitics

Weak Pronoun	Num.&Pers.	Modal	Translation	Adverbial	Translation
me	1. Sg	ba	will, should	xo	really
de	2. Sg	de	should, let	no	then
ye	3. Sg				
am / mo	1. Pl				
am / mo	2. Pl				
ye	3. Pl				

Expected to have functional scope over the whole sentence (daughters of S).

If more than two enclitics cooccur, they are placed in a fixed template.

- (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 xo ba am am/mo me de ye no

Syntactic constraints

- (2) [angur]_{NP} = **ye** rɔwrə
grapes he brought
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- (3) [xušəl aw patang]_{NP} = **ba** = **ye** dər ta rəwṛi
 Koshal and Patang will it you to bring
 'Koshal and Patang will bring it to you.'
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- (4) [laylɑ na]_{PP} = **de** əxistə (*laylɑ = **de** na əxistə)
 Layla from you buy
 'You were buying it from Layla.'

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- (4) [laylā nā]_{PP} = **de** axistə (*laylā = **de** nā axistə)
 Layla from you buy
 'You were buying it from Layla.'
- (5) [aḡa šəl kaləna xaysta peḡla aw loy təḡay alək]_{NP} = **me** nən byā wəlida
 that 20- year pretty girl and big thirsty boy I today again saw
 'I saw that pretty 20-year old girl and the big thirsty boy again today.'

Syntactic constraints

- (6) [tor =**me** wəlidə] magar [spin =**me** wə nə lidə]
 Tor I saw but Spin I PERF not saw
 'I saw Tor, but I didn't see Spin.'

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It can be concluded:

- Pashto 2P enclitics are clause-bound
 - Always placed after the first syntactic constituent
 - The size of that constituent does not matter
- Already difficult to find a common prosodic host

Prosodic constraints

- (7) *ra ta pe gaṇḍə =de*
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→ 2P clitics only occur after stressed elements

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- 2P clitics only occur after stressed elements
- This can also result in en(**do**)clisis

Endoclitisis

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- Endocclisis in the context of an aspect-determined stress alternation

(8a) **perfective:**

ʧák =me wαhə
 shake₁ I shake₂
 'I shook it.'

(8b) **imperfective:**

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 shake I
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⇒ With respect to the verbal hosts, three classes can be distinguished:

Class I: 'Monomorphemic' verbs

(9a) imperfective

təxnawála =me

tickle I

'I was tickling (her).'

(9b) perfective

wá =me təxnawəla (*wátəxnawəla =me)

PERF I tickle

'I tickled (her).'

Perfective aspect formed with perfective prefix wə

→ Receives main stress

⇒ The clitic is placed after the stressed prefix

Class I: The *a*-initial verbs

- form perfective with *wə*-prefix
- can have alternating stress in the imperfective

(10a) **imperfective:**

aḡusté =me

wear I

'I was wearing it.'

(10b) **imperfective:**

á =me ḡustə

wear₁ I wear₂

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- /a/ as separate clitic/prefix from a diachronic perspective(?)
- Not true for all *a*-initials
- No longer from a synchronic perspective

Class II: 'Bimorphemic' verbs

Majority of verbs in this class consist of a derivational prefix and a root.

(11a) **imperfective**
 ʔelwɑhə =me
 push I
 'I pushed (it).'

(11b) **perfective**
 ʔél =me wɑhə
 PREF I push
 'I was pushing (it).'

- Perfective formed via stress shift to the prefix
- Clitic in perfective placed after the stressed prefix

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However:

Also a group of verbs which do not contain an identifiable prefix/root

<p>(12a) imperfective</p> <p>bαylódə =me lose I 'I was losing (it).'</p>	<p>(12b) perfective</p> <p>báy =me lodə lose₁ I lose₂ 'I lost (it).'</p>
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Class III: Complex predicates

Complex predicates: combination of adjectives/adverbs/nouns and light verbs

(13a) **imperfective**

ṭolawál =de

collect you

'You were collecting (them).'

(13b) **perfective**

ṭól =de kṛəl

collect₁ you collect₂

'You collected (them).'

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Resulting prosodic range: from several phonological phrases to stressed syllables.

essentially:

size does not matter,
 but stress does,
 and while verbs can be interrupted,
 other syntactic constituents cannot?

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 - postlexical phonological rephrasing (prosodic inversion) ensures that the 2P enclitic has a host.
- ⇒ Closer look at the syntactic and prosodic requirements

Pashto syntax - some relevant notions

- SOV (Verbal complex (VC) is always final)
- Argument-dropping
- Scrambling of constituents *before* VC
- Assume a flat syntactic structure (all XPs as immediate daughters of S)

Preverbal clitics

A close look on the 'stressed preceding syntactic constituent'.

- (14) *ra ta pe gɑndá =de*
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Initial 'unstressed' elements are part of a second group of clitics

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Corresponding strong form:

→ construction with a **strong** oblique pronoun: $m\alpha$

- (15a) tor [$m\alpha$ *sara*] η er $\chi\acute{\alpha}$ pezani
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- (15a) *tor [mα sara] ɖer xə pezani*
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→ construction with a **weak** oblique pronoun: *rα*

- (15b) *tor ɖer xə [rα sara] pezani*
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→ Moved to the position in front of the verb for no apparent prosodic reason!

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Two possible constructions:

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Two possible constructions:

- 1 XP 2P XP* VC
 → no further rearrangements necessary
- 2 2P VC
 → **Enclitics** in clause-initial position require repositioning (via prosodic inversion)

Prosodic inversion

Main question: What is the 'landing place' of the 2P clitic?

⇒ Answer to that with evidence from several phonological processes:

- 1 vowel coalescence
- 2 vowel harmony
- 3 initial /k/-deletion

Vowel coalescence

(16) VC-external clitic:

tə =ye wɑxla

you it PERF.buy

'You buy it.'

(*wə axla)

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(18) Across word boundaries:

kor špαnə axli (*špαnαxli)
 house shepherd buys
 'The shepherds are buying the house.'

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kor špαnə axli (*špαnaxli)
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- vowel coalescence within the prosodic word
- postlexical process – also occurs with negative marker which is a separate syntactic item

Vowel harmony

Regressive vowel harmony: /i/ and /u/ raise mid-vowels /o/ and /e/ to high.

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'He should see him.'

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it on step

'We are stepping on it.'

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(21) **Does not apply to VC-external 2P clitics:**

patang =me [wini]_{VC} (*mi)

Patang me sees

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(21) **Does not apply to VC-external 2P clitics:**

patang =me [wini]_{VC} (*mi)

Patang me sees

'Patang sees me.'

(22) **does not apply between two prosodic words:**

χe wuxə (*χi wuxə)

good camels

'Good female camels'

Vowel harmony II

- 1 VH applies to all word categories if the phonological context is given.
- 2 Within the verbal complex, VH spreads to both groups of clitics.
- 3 VH cannot cross the boundary between two lexically stressed words (two individual prosodic words); i.e., vowel harmony is not restricted by the phonological phrase.
- 4 VH cannot spread to a 2P clitic that is outside of the verbal complex, even if it is directly preceding it.

Conclusion: can be assumed that the verbal complex itself forms one prosodic word, including the main verb and both types of clitics.

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asad ǰanəm wobə-**k**awi

Asad wheat water do

'Asad was watering the wheat.'

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Assumption: Some boundary prevents the deletion

Prosodic inversion – the landing place

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 - Can't be foot
 - **Solution:** nested prosodic word $((x)_{\omega} x)_{\omega}$
- strong enough to restrict /k/-deletion
- weak enough to let processes like vowel harmony pass

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- ① Each stressed item receives prosodic word status: $(x \times (\acute{x})_{\omega} \times x)_{\omega}$
 → problematic if class three light verb receives prosodic word status –
 k-deletion would again be blocked, but this is not the case

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- ② Each stressed item forms a prosodic word boundary to its right:
 $((x \times \acute{x})_{\omega} \times x)_{\omega}$

	construction	example
1	$((w\acute{a})_{\omega} = \mathbf{di} \text{ guri})_{\omega}$	after perfective prefix (VH)
1	$((w\alpha)_{\omega} = \mathbf{ye} \text{ xla})_{\omega}$	after perfective prefix (VC)
2	$((\acute{t}\acute{e}l)_{\omega} = \mathbf{me} \text{ w}\alpha\text{h}\acute{\alpha})_{\omega}$	after stressed part of verb
3	$((r\alpha \text{ ta pe } g\alpha\text{nd}\acute{\alpha})_{\omega} = \mathbf{de})_{\omega}$	after verb and preverbal clitics
4	$((r\alpha \text{ ta pe } w\acute{a})_{\omega} = \mathbf{de} \text{ g}\alpha\text{nd}\acute{\alpha})_{\omega}$	after perfective prefix and preverbal clitic

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Prosodic Inversion: Within the verbal complex in Pashto, a 2P clitic is placed *after the first prosodic word*.

Summing up

- ❶ Pashto 2P clitics are subject to both, syntactic and prosodic constraints.
- ❷ If there is a preceding syntactic constituent, the (syntactic) placement is always sufficient:
 - *There are no unstressed syntactic constituents preceding the 2P clitics*
- ❸ If syntactically and prosodically stranded in a phrase-initial position, postlexical prosodic inversion ensures correct prosodic placement
 - The 2P clitic is placed at the position after the first prosodic word
- ❹ As for the analysis: straightforward implementation at the syntax-prosody interface in LFG (but that is a different talk)

Thank you!

... questions, comments...?

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