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Pronominal clitics in Western Iranian languages:
Description, mapping, and typological implications

Les pronoms clitiques dans les langues ouest-iraniennes
Description, cartographie, et implications typologiques

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Abstract

Pronominal clitics comprise one of the important traits of the majority of West Iranian languages. Nevertheless, while these person clitics have been the subject of virtually systematic studies in certain languages, e.g. Central Kurdish dialects, and Persian, they are hardly studied in the majority of languages where they are attested. More specifically, the existing scholarship has faintly dealt with the rise of procliticization, the development of person marking system, the placement of clitics, the cluster internal ordering of clitics, and the clitic-affix combinations. This study is an attempt to fill the lack of knowledge across the aspects mentioned. The development of proclitic attachment forms an integral part of the thesis. Originally enclitics in the second position in the sense of Wackernagel, a subset of West Iranian languages have developed proclitics. The hypothesis postulated in the thesis is that this evolution results from a change in the domain of cliticization, more precisely, the abandonment of the clause as the domain of cliticization. This shift in turn leads to the reanalysis of the clause-initial particles, hosts of the second position clitics, and their integration into the clitic paradigm. Having lost their host, the second position clitics change their attachment orientation and become incorporated into the element which follows them in the form of proclitics. Proclitic attachment is thus a secondary development from erstwhile second positioning of enclitics (Steele 1977; Wanner 1987). The person marking system points to the inverse development of subject indexing and object indexing in the past transitive constructions: in the former, the original 'pronominal' clitics have grammaticalized into markers of agreement, further pointing to the cross-linguistic tendency for subject agreement (Siewierska 1999; Haig 2018a). In the latter, the originally object agreement inflectional affixes on the verb are lending/have lent themselves to varying degrees of deinflectionalization (Norde 2009; Haig 2018a), hence deviating from the typological tendencies in associating inflectional affixes with the agreement relation (Siewierska 2004). Three domains are accountable for clitic placement across WILs: the clause, the verb phrase (VP), and the verb. A subgroup of VP-based clitic systems provides a rich source for the study of endoclitics: the endoclitics of the latter are the result of the interplay between second position requirement for clitics and the stress factor. V-based proclitic systems are characterised by ditropic attachment of clitics. The cluster internal ordering of clitics is determined by argument hierarchy (A > O > R > POS) across Iranian: the argument ranked higher in the hierarchy appears second in the cluster. This property brings Iranian languages close to Romance languages (Gerlach 2002). Finally, in some clitic-affix combinations, clitics interrupt morphological words, further overshadowing a categorical distinction between the categories of clitics and affixes on the one hand, and the concept of wordhood on the other (Haspelmath 2011).

Keywords: person indexing, procliticization, endoclitics, deinflectionalization, clitic placement, argument hierarchy

Résumé

Les clitiques pronominaux constituent l'un des traits saillants d'un grand nombre de langues ouest-iraniennes. Toutefois, s'ils ont fait l'objet d'investigations plus ou moins systématiques dans certaines d'entre elles, ex. les dialectes kurdes centraux et le persan, ils restent très peu étudiés dans la majorité des langues où ils sont attestés, dont des langues en danger. Plus précisément, les recherches précédentes ont très peu abordé l'émergence des proclitiques, le développement du système de marquage personnel, le positionnement des clitiques, l'ordre interne des séquences de clitiques et les combinaisons clitique-affixe dans une perspective comparative. Cette thèse a pour objectif de combler ces lacunes. L'étude du développement de la procliticisation occupe une place importante dans ce travail. Initialement des (en)clitiques de seconde position dans le sens de Wackernagel, une partie de langues ouest-iraniennes ont développées des proclitiques. L'hypothèse défendue dans ce travail est que cette évolution résulte d'un changement du domaine de cliticisation, plus précisément, de l'abandon de la phrase (ou proposition) comme domaine de cliticisation. Ce changement entraîne à son tour une ré-analyse des particules apparaissant en début de phrase, hôtes des clitiques de seconde position, et leur intégration dans le paradigme des clitiques. Ayant perdu leur hôte, les clitiques de seconde position changent d'orientation de rattachement et s'incorporent à l'élément qui les suit, devenant ainsi des proclitiques. L'attachement proclitique constitue donc un développement secondaire par rapport au second positionnement d'autrefois des enclitiques (Steele 1977; Wanner 1987). Le système de marquage personnel, quant à lui, indique un développement inverse pour l'indexation des sujets et des objets dans les constructions passées transitives : les premiers, initialement des clitiques pronominaux, se sont grammaticalisés en marqueurs d'accord, illustrant ainsi une tendance universelle en faveur de l'accord sujet (Siewierska 1999; Haig 2018a). Les seconds, réalisés comme des désinences (affixes) personnelles flexionnelles sur le verbe, ont fait l'objet d'une « désinflexionnalisation » à des degrés divers (Norde 2009; Haig 2018a), s'écartant ainsi d'une tendance universelle typologique associant les affixes flexionnels et la réalisation de l'accord (Siewierska 2004). En ce qui concerne les domaines de rattachement des clitiques, on peut en énumérer trois dans les langues ouest-iraniennes actuelles : la phrase (proposition), le syntagme verbal (SV) et le verbe. Un sous-groupe de langues avec le SV comme domaine de cliticisation constitue une source riche pour l'étude des endoclitiques: les endoclitiques des langues ouest-iraniennes sont le résultat de l'interaction entre l'exigence d'un placement en seconde position et les facteurs liés à l'accent. Les systèmes clitiques avec le verbe comme domaine de cliticisation sont caractérisés par l'attachement « ditrophique » des clitiques. L'ordre interne de la séquence des clitiques est déterminé par la hiérarchie d'arguments (A > O > R > POS) dans les langues iraniennes : l'argument classé plus haut dans la hiérarchie apparaît en deuxième position dans le cluster. Cette propriété rapproche les langues iraniennes des langues romanes (Gerlach 2002). Enfin, dans certaines combinaisons clitiques-affixes, les clitiques interrompent les mots morphologiques, remettant en question une distinction catégorique entre les clitiques et les affixes d'une part et la notion de 'wordhood' d'autre part (Haspelmath 2011).

Mots-clés: marquage personnel, procliticisation, endoclitiques, désinflexionalisation, positionnement des clitiques, hiérarchie d'argument

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN MORPHEMIC GLOSSINGS

Gloss	Definition
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADD	additive
ADP	adposition
AFF	affix
ASP	verbal aspectual particle
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative suffix
CL	clitic
CLF	classifier
CMPR	comparative suffix
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEM1	demonstrative particle
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct case suffix
DOM	differential object (or indirect object) marking
DRC	directional
EMPH	emphatic particle
EP	epenthetic vowel or consonant
EZ	ezafe enclitic
E	feminine
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
M	masculine
MID	middle
NA	not analysed
NC	non-canonical marking
NEG	negation, negative
NEG.IMP	prohibitive
NOM	nominative
NVC	non-verbal element in a complex predicate
OBL	oblique case suffix, or oblique pronoun
PASS	passive suffix
PERF	perfect
PL	plural suffix

POS	possessor
POVB	postverb
PPRF	pluperfect
PREP	preposition
PRS	present
PTC	clitic hosting particle
PTCP	participle
OPT	optative
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PST	past
PTCP	past participle suffix
PUNCT	punctual prefix
PVB	preverb
Q	question word
RDP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative pronoun
RESTR	restrictive
REZ	reverse ezafeh
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
VOC	vocative
A	subject of a transitive verb
S	subject of an intransitive verb
O	direct object of a transitive verb
IO	indirect object
R	oblique argument of a ditransitive, or a transitive verb

OTHER SYMBOLS USED IN GLOSSES

=	'clitic boundary' (reserved to clitic PMs and the additive enclitic)
-	'separates segmentable morphemes'
Ø	'non-overt, but reconstructible morpheme'
.	'separates several metalanguage elements represented by a single object language element'
_	'separates several object language elements represented by a single metalanguage element or by a unity of several metalanguage elements'
:	'links the functional explanation of a given form'

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THE TEXT

§	a section code
Abu.	Abuzeydabadi
acc.	accusative
AGR	agreement
Bad.	Badrudi
Bas.	Bastaki
BCK.	Baneh Central Kurdish
Beh.	Behbahani
Bnd.	Bandari

BSK.	Bijar Southern Kurdish
Cha.	Chali
Ch.	Chapter
CK	Central Kurdish or Sorani Kurdish
CP	Central Plateau
CPD	Central Plateau dialect
CTal.	Central Taleshi
Dsh.	Dashti
Dav.	Davani
Dej.	Delijani
Del.	Delvari
ex.	numbered example sentence
fn.	footnote
gen./dat.	genitive/dative
GorT.	Gorani Takht
GorQ.	Gorani Qal'eh
Jon.	Jondani
Kha.	Khansari
Kor.	Koroshi
LakH.	Laki Harsini
LakK.	Laki Kakevandi
Lar.	Lari
Mey.	Meymei
Min.	Minabi
MWI	Middle western Iranian
Nik.	Nikabadi
NK.	Northern Kurdish
Nod.	Nowdani
OIr.	Old Iranian languages
PM	person marker
S2	clause-second
SAP	Speech act participant
SCK.	Southern Central Kurdish
Sem.	Semnani
Siv.	Sivandi
SK.	Southern Kurdish
Tak.	Takestani
V	verb
Vaff	verbal affix
VP	verb Phrase
YZ.	Yazdi Zoroastrian
WILs	West Iranian Languages

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is a descriptively and typologically oriented study aiming at describing the pronominal (person) clitics of 31 modern West Iranian languages (henceforth WILs), with special attention drawing on clitics' forms, direction of attachment, functionality, and placement. In doing so, while the dissertation takes a neutral theoretical approach to the analysis of Iranian clitics, yet at the same time benefits from theoretical frameworks to the analysis of clitics. Our goal is to grasp the general development of a shared set of person clitics by covering, in particular, the following domains:

 i.   the rise of proclitic attachment in a subset of modern languages
 ii. the development of person indexing
 iii. clitic placement and the grouping of languages with regard to cliticization domains
 iv. the syntax of clitic sequences and the factors which determine internal ordering of clitics
 v.   clitic-affix combinations
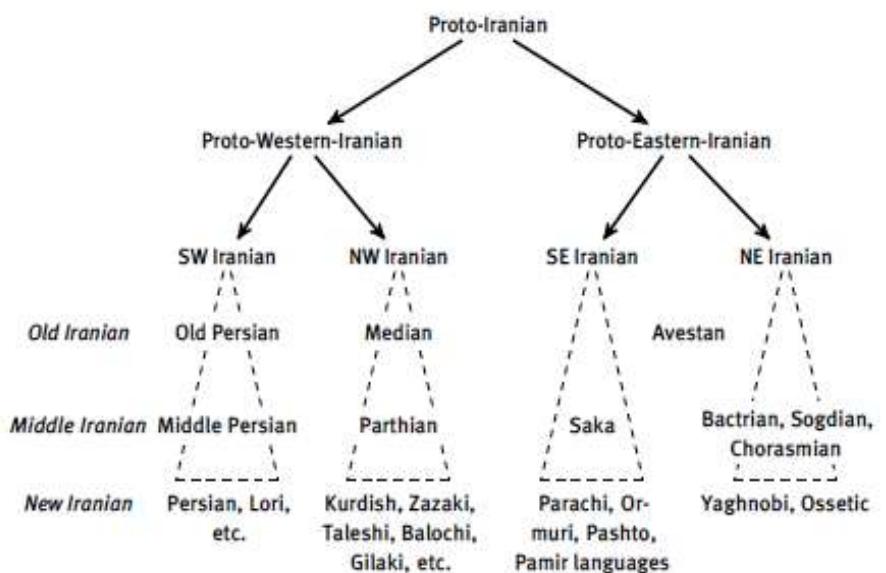
In this introductory chapter, we first present an overview of Iranian languages, investigated languages in this thesis, and tense-sensitive alignment in Iranian (§1.1). In §1.2 the term clitic will be defined in the light of major descriptive and typological approaches to the phenomenon. Since pronominal clitics are involved in person indexing, §1.3 provides a description of the 'agreement' phenomenon and lays out the conceptual framework within which we analyze person indexing in WILs. Section 1.4 gives an overview of pronominal clitics in WILs. Section 1.5 summarizes the different techniques of data gathering behind this thesis, and §1.6 is an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Iranian languages

Iranian languages constitute one of the branches of Indo-European languages. The oldest stages of Iranian languages are attested in Gatha Avestan, which are closely related to the earliest attested forms of Indo-Aryan, namely Vedic. In addition to Avestan, Old Iranian is also attested in Old Persian texts, which are datable back to 500 BCE. Middle Iranian (beginning in the third century BCE), and New Iranian (beginning in around the seventh century CE) are other stages of Iranian languages (Windfuhr 2009: 5).

Iranian languages are currently spoken in a huge geographical expanse in Asia ranging from westernmost provinces of China to the southeast Turkey/northeast Syria. Some of these languages are spoken by large national or ethnical communities, ex. Persian, Kurdish, Pashto, while others are inventoried as endangered languages, e.g. Tati, Wakhi, Judeo-Persian.

Traditionally, Iranian languages are classified into two main groups of Eastern and Western language families, each with their own subgroupings based on Northern and Southern poles: thus, for example, the Western branch is subdivided into Northwest and Southwest sub-branches (Schmitt 1989; Windfuhr 2009). The criteria for such a traditional grouping are primarily phonological. For instance, one of the characteristics of Southwestern group is the shift of prevocalic *z* in the Northwestern group to *d*, e.g. Kurdish *zān*, Persian *dān* 'to know'. Although there are problems with this classification (see Sims-Williams 1996; Paul 1998a; 2016; and Korn 2016 for a recent discussion[1]), I continue to use this grouping for purely practical reasons. A traditional classification of Iranian family tree is illustrated below (Korn 2016: 403):

Figure 1: The traditional family tree of Iranian languages

Iranian languages exhibit two major shifts in their morphosyntax: the first one is a massive reduction in the inventory of the nominal case system, from an (up to) eight-term case system in Old Iranian to a two-term case system, i.e. direct vs. oblique, in Middle and some modern languages, e.g. Kurmanji, Taleshi, and Tati. Ultimately, the two-term case system was lost as

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[1] Korn (2016) calls for the adoption of a new 'Central Iranian' branch to the Eastern vs. Western dichotomy.

well in some modern languages, e.g. Persian, dialects of south of Iran, and left the languages bereft of case morphology (see Haig 2008: Ch. 4 for details). The second major development in Iranian languages is the development of 'tense-sensitive alignment' (or 'split ergativity') since the Middle Iranian period. This latter is more relevant to the later shifts in person clitics, and will be discussed in some length in §1.1.2.

Windfuhr (2009: 31-34) lists two typological features which characterize most modern Iranian languages:
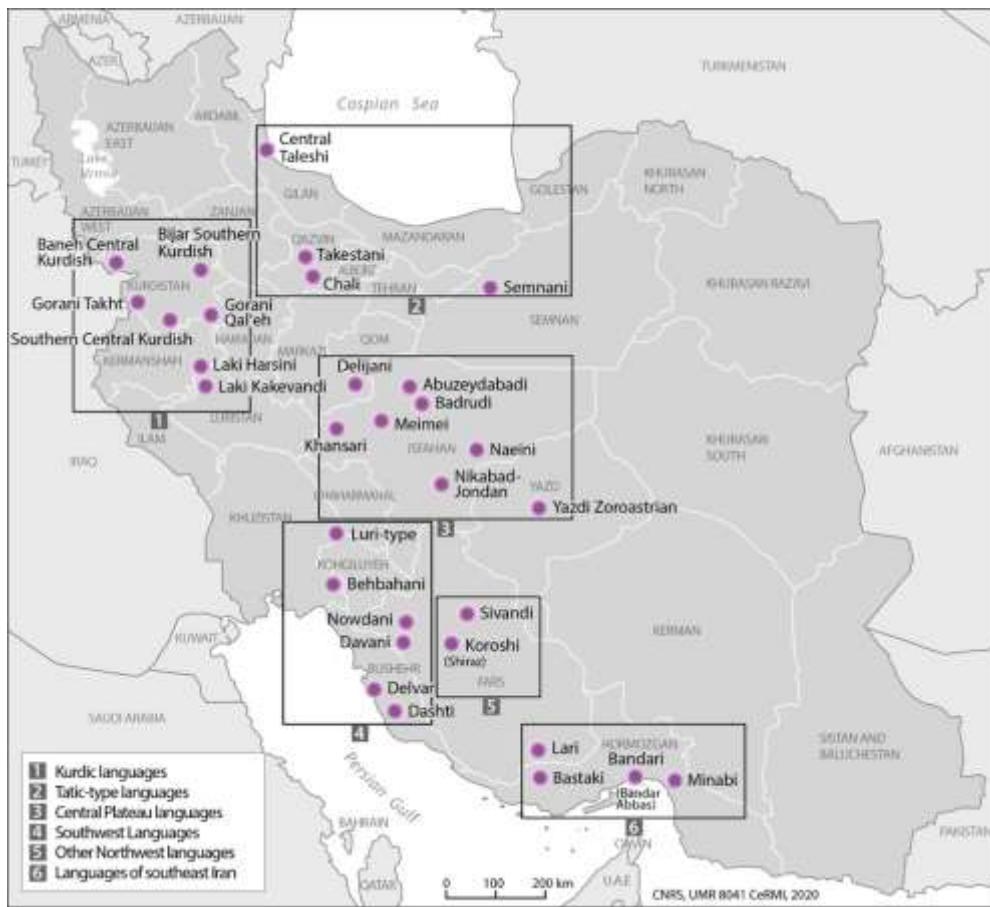
• tense-split ergativity, restricted to past tense verb forms derived from verbal participles

• differential object marking

 Haig (2017: 467) adds other typological features to the above two features:

• OV word order

• a very high frequency of complex predicates, based on a small set of light verbs

1.1.1 Investigated West Iranian languages

This dissertation is an investigation of the clitic system of 31 WILs. Following the existing classifications of Iranian languages in Schmitt (1989), and Windfuhr (2009), the studied languages are roughly classified into the following major groupings, illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2: Investigated Western Iranian languages

According to the traditional grouping, Kurdic languages, Tatic-type languages, and Central Plateau languages are classified as sub-branches of Northwest Iranian languages, to which Sivandi and Koroshi belong as well, hence the labelling 'other Northwestern languages'. Southwestern languages and language of southeast Iran are the other groupings distinguished in the literature (cf. Windfuhr 2009). It should be emphasized that the classification proposed here is by no means absolute and is not intended to impose a dialectology of Iranian languages (see above), rather it is meant to present us a fair approximation of areal distribution of language groups.

A good number of languages studied in this thesis are poorly documented or not documented as yet; most notably, Lari and Bastaki (as dialects of Larestani), Bandari, Dashti, Nowdani, Davani, Behbahani, Badrudi, Nikabad-Kondan, and Gorani Qal'eh. These rather unknown languages exhibit a range of diverse clitic systems which are so far uninvestigated in the literature on clitics in WILs (see Ch. 2).

1.1.2 An overview of ergativity in Iranian languages

To better understand the development of clitic person markers of Iranian languages, an overview of the evolution of ergativity in these languages seems unavoidable. The Iranian languages are known to have developed the so-called 'tense-based split ergativity' in their alignment system since Middle Iranian period (see Payne 1980; Comrie 1981a: 158-179; Dixon 1994: 100; Haig 2008, Jügel 2015, Scheucher 2019, among many others). The workings of this alignment system are as follows: the present tense constructions are uniformly nominative-accusative; however, past transitive constructions[2] exhibit an ergative alignment.

 The following examples from Kurmanji Kurdish clearly illustrate the tense-based ergativity: in (1. a) the subject of the present tense construction (A-prs) is in the direct case, the object (O-prs) is in the oblique case, and the verb agrees with the A-prs, as it does with the direct-marked subject argument of the intransitive clause (S) in (1. b). In the past transitive constructions on the other hand, the subject (A-past) is in the oblique case; the object (O-pst) appears in the direct case and the verb agrees with the latter (1. c).[3] Put simply, in terms of case marking and agreement S aligns with A in the present tense but with O in the past domain.[4]

(1) a. ***ez***   *te*   *di-bīn-im*
         1SG.DIR:A   2SG.OBL:O   IND-see.PRS-1SG
         'I see you.' (Bedir Khan & Lescot 1970: 110)

     b. ***ez***   *di-kev-im*
         1SG.DIR:S   IND-fall.PRS-1SG
         'I fall.' (Bedir Khan & Lescot 1970: 161)

     c. *te*   *ez*   *nas*   *kir-**im***
         2SG.OBL:A   1SG.DIR:O   know   do.PST-1SG
         'You recognized me.' (Bedir Khan & Lescot 1970: 325)

The historical ergative alignment in the past domain has lent itself to a number of non-ergative constructions in modern languages, and only a few languages, i.e. some dialects of Kurmanji

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[2] As noted by Haig (2008: 11-12) transitivity in the semantic sense is not pivotal for assigning tense-sensitive alignment. Rather, transitivity is related to particular verb lexemes. Thus, semantically intransitive complex predicates whose light verbs are regular transitive verbs (e.g. 'do', 'make', 'give') are treated as a transitive verb. Therefore, the alignment associated with such predicates in the past tense is identical to regular transitive verbs. For example, as with the past transitive construction in (1.c), the subject of the complex predicate *derbas kirin* 'to pass, to cross' in Northern Kurdish is in the oblique case in the past tense, hence *te derbas kir* (2SG.OBL passing do.PST) 'You passed/crossed'.

[3] The symbols A, S, and O are used in Dixon (1994) and correspond to S, A, and P in Comrie's (1978) characterization of core arguments of verb.

[4] As has been argued in Haig (2008: 8) Iranian ergativity remains morphological and has no syntactic effects in the operations of coordination, control of reflexives, etc.

Kurdish and Zazaki, have arguably preserved morphological ergativity it in its pure form (see Haig 2008: chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6 for an extensive discussion). Accordingly, some authors (e.g. Haig 2008) prefer to use the more neutral term 'tense-sensitive alignment' or 'tense-based alignment split' instead of 'split ergativity'.

What is relevant to our discussion here is not the range of tense-sensitive alignments in modern languages, rather the origins of such rather untypical 'split ergativity' constructions; untypical in the sense that the alignment system was uniformly nominative-accusative across all tenses in Old Iranian languages. This is shown in (2)–(3) below from Old Persian, in both of which the verb agrees with the nominative-marked A, cf. (2), and S, cf. (3), in the past tense.

(2)   *avam*   ***adam***   *frāišayam*   *Arminam*
      3SG.DEM.DIST.M.ACC:O   1SG.NOM:A   send.PST.1SG   Armenia.ACC
      '[An Armenian named Dādạršiš] ... I sent him forth to Armenia.' (Kent 1953: DBII, 30)

(3)   ***adam***   *xšāyaΘiya*   *abavam*
      1SG.NOM:S   king   become.PST.1SG
      'I became king.' (Kent 1953: XPf, 36-37)

However, the following perfect constructions, documented occasionally in Young Avestan and extensively in Old Persian (Windfuhr 2009: 31), are considered to be the predecessors of the ergativity in past transitive constructions of offspring languages. The most common term used for labelling these constructions is *mana kartam* (lit. which was done by me/ which is my doing).

(4)   *ima*   *tya*   *manā*   *kartam*   *pasāva*   *yaθā*
      that   which.NOM   1SG.GEN   do.PTCP   after   when

      xšāyaθiya   *abavam*
      king   become.PST.1SG
      'This (is) that (which) was done by me after (I) became king' (Kent 1953: DB I,28–29, cited in Haig 2008)

(5)   *avaθā=šām*   *hamaranam*   *kartam*
      thus=3PL.GEN   battle   do.PTCP
      'Thus, by them battle was done.' (Kent 1953: DB III,18–19, cited in Haig 2008)

In both (4) and (5) the O-past NP is in the nominative case, while the A-past is marked by the genitive case, cf. (4) or the genitive clitic, cf. (5). The verb on the other hand is a resultative participle which expresses agentive semantics. These constructions are syntactic (or periphrastic) perfects, which occasionally are accompanied by the copula 'to be'.

The interpretation of *mana kartam constructions* has long been subject to a good deal of debate in Iranian linguistics (see Haig 2008: Ch. 2 for a comprehensive literature on the subject matter); namely two streams of thought can be recognized in this regard: the first group advocates a passive analysis of *mana kartam construction*, and argues for a reanalysis of passive to ergative, in a way that in the course of time the non-core argument (by phrase) develops into a core subject argument. This stance is advocated by Cardona (1970), Bynon (1979, 1980), Payne (1980), Comrie (1981a)[5], and Scheucher (2019) among others.

The second group[6] calls for an alternative analysis according to which the constructions in (4)–(5) are indeed active constructions, and should be rather translated, for instance, as 'their battle was fought' or simply 'they fought a battle' (Haig 2017: 474). This analysis, vastly vouched in Haig (2008) and more succinctly in Haig (2017), suggests that the *mana kartam constructions* which basically express an agentive semantics are an extension of already existing non-canonical constructions of the type (6) below.

(6)   *utā=taiy*   *tauhmā*   *vasiy   biyā*
        and.also=2SG.GEN   seed   much   may.be
        'and you may have much seed (offspring)' (Kent 1953: DB IV, 75, cited in Haig 2008: 62)

In both (6) and the *mana kartam* constructions in (4) and (5) above, the logical subject is expressed in the genitive case and the logical object is in the nominative case, hence the close similarity of the two constructions. The issue is then resolved if we consider possessors as one of the historical sources for agents, in line with predictions of grammaticalization of case functions (Narrog 2014)[7]. In other words, the origins of ergativity should be sought in "pre-existing, non-canonical constructions typically involving Benefactives, External Possessors, and Experiencers" (Haig 2017: 465).

This close similarity between a non-canonical construction and the *mana kartam* is more visible in the following example from Old Persian. Here, the non-canonical construction has all the properties of *mana kartam* construction, that is, the logical subject is in the genitive case, the logical object is in the nominative case, and with which the verb agrees.

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[5] In another paper, Comrie (2016) casts doubt on the passive analysis of the *mana kartam* construction and states that *mana kartam* construction had some ergative properties from its outset.

[6] Benveniste (1952/1966), Anderson (1977), Haig (2008) are among scholars who, each with different methodologies, call for an active interpretation of *mana… kartam construction*.

[7] See Chapter 4 for more discussion of this point.

(7)   *dārayava[h]auš*   *pussā*   *aniyaičiy*   *ahantā*
        Darius.GEN.M.SG   son.NOM.M.PL   other.NOM.M.PL   be.3PL.IPF.MID
        'Darius had other sons.' [lit. 'to Darius were there other sons] (Old Persian_ Schmitt
        2009: 162, XPf)

Now that the active analysis of the *mana kartam* construction is opted, an aspect of the shift to the verb forms should be taken into account, that is, the loss of aorist and perfect forms of verb by Middle Iranian, forms which were already relics in Old Persian (Jügel 2011: 100, citing Schmitt 1989: 77). As a result of this shift, the periphrastic perfective became the sole way of expressing past tense verb forms. These periphrastic perfective forms preserved their (resultative) participle origins, cf. (4)–(5) above. Accordingly, the argument structure related to the resultative participle was extended to the past transitive constructions of later languages.[8]

This change in the verbal system was accompanied by the reduction of the rich eight-term case system of Old Iranian to a two-term case system, namely direct vs. oblique, by or during Middle Iranian period, and consecutively in most modern languages. According to Haig, the changes in the alignment system of daughter languages, as seen above for Kurmanji, are "more profitably seen as by-products of changes to the verbal and nominal inflection." (2008: 91).

Following examples from Middle Iranian illustrate the shifts just mentioned: the originally participle-based verb forms cannot assign an accusative case to its direct object argument hence the latter has to occur in the direct case. In addition, the A-past NPs are marked by the independent oblique pronoun or oblique clitics, both of which being a continuation of the older genitive case:

(8)   *dēn*   *īg*   **man**   *wizīd*
        religion.DIR   which   1SG.OBL:A   choose.PTCP
        'The religion which I chose.' (Haig 2008: 93, citing Boyce 1975: a, 1)

(9)   *ū=š*   *ēn=īz*   *guft*
        and=3SG:A   this.DIR=ADD   say.PST
        'And he said this too.' (Haig 2008: 95, citing Williams 1990a: 47.5)

The Middle Iranian constructions in (8)–(9) are a continuation of the *mana kartam construction* in (4)–(5) above: the A-past NP is marked by genitive case in (4) and its offshoot, the oblique

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[8] More recently, Dabir-Moghaddam (2018) brings up nearly the same analysis for the origins of ergativity in Iranian languages (cf. § 4.2.1.9).

case in (8). In addition, the clitic expression of the agent in (9) resembles its usage in Old Iranian period in (5).

As said, the verb forms in Middle Iranian were originally derived from participles of the older stages. These new verb forms preserved their participle origin in Middle Iranian and in a good number of modern languages and referred to the status of direct objects. In terms of argument structure then, the original participle agreed with the direct-marked O argument as it does with the S of intransitive constructions. This situation led to ergativity in Middle Iranian–and later in a bulk of modern languages.

(10) *Me=m*   ***l's'dl***   *YKTLWNt*   ***HWEnd***
      because.1SG:A highwayman.DIR.PL   kill.PTCP   COP.3PL
      'Because I killed the highwaymen.' (Middle Persian_ Haig 2008: 124, citing Heston 1976: 177)

(11) *u=t*   ***az***   *hišt*   ***hēm***   *sēwag*
      and=2SG:A   1SG.DIR   left   COP.1SG   orphan
      'And you left me behind as an orphan.' (Parthian_ Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 394, paT.873)

In (10)–(11) the participle is followed by the auxiliary agreeing in number with the direct object. This auxiliary copula coalesced into the verb stem and was reanalysed as a part of inflectional morphology in modern languages:

(12) *to*   ***ā***   *ārd-**ā**?*
      2SG.OBL   3SG.F.DIR:O   bring.PST-3SG.F:O
      'Did you bring that?' (Zazaki_ Paul 1998: 256)

(13) *axo*   *qāyem*   *bedon*   ***min=eš***   *na-xard-**on***
      1SG   hidden   became.1SG   1SG=3SG:A   NEG-eat.PST-1SG:O
      'I hid, (so) he (the wolf) didn't eat me.' (Badrudi, SM2[Bad]. 33)

The canonical ergative construction in (10)–(11), and its descendants in (12)–(13) realigned in different ways in modern languages, giving rise to a bulk of non-ergative alignment systems in the past transitive constructions. For instance, agreement with the overt object NPs was lost, cf. (14)–(15). In the loss of O-agreement, the inflectional morphology continued to index the object NP, yet the indexing was no longer obligatory, and would occur only when the co-referent object NP was not present in clause. In other words, the original O-agreement suffixes degrammaticalized as pronouns.

(14) *(*mā$_i$)*   *od=košt-**im**$_i$*
      1PL:O   2SG:A= kill.PST-1PL:O
      'You killed us.' (Yazdi Zoroastrian)

(15) *(*to_i)*   *om=bord-**eš**_i*
    2SG:O   1SG:A=take.PST-2SG:O
    'I took you.' (Bastaki)

Haig (2018a: 802) enumerates two more shifts to the object indexing in the past transitive constructions: first, the paradigm of object agreement was lost, and replaced by a system of obligatory affixal subject agreement (e.g. in Persian), through analogy with agreement morphology from intransitive verbs. Second: O-agreement has been lost, and past transitive verbs are basically not inflected for person, neither for subject nor for object, but for plural number of the object only (e.g. Balochi). It will be seen in Chapter 4 under § 4.2.3.2 that some languages bring about more shifts to the object indexing in the past tense.

Interestingly, the indexing of direct object via suffixal morphology was co-opted as indices for (some) adpositional complements in Middle Iranian, as in (16) where the complement of *abar* is realized not as a clitic pronoun, but as a copula on the verb.

(16) *ī*   *dēw-ān*   ***abar***   *burd*   ***hē***
    which demons-PL.OBL:A   upon take.PTCP   COP.2SG:R
    'Which the demons have brought upon you.' (MacKenzie 1964: 48)

This usage was continued in some WILs. In (17) from Central Kurdish, the adpositional complement is realized at distance from its governing preposition head in the form of a verbal person affix.

(17) *bo=**yān***   *gērā-w-**m**-a*   DM[BCK]. 18
    for=3PL:A   narrate.PST-PTCP-1SG:R-PERF
    'They have narrated (tales) to me.'

In (17) the A-past clitic has occupied the prepositional complement clitic's slot. The prepositional complement clitic moves on the verb for its realization but disforms into a verbal affix. One of the questions that will be addressed throughout Chapters 4 is: in which languages the indexing of object NPs via suffixal morphology has been co-opted for adpositional complements?

These changes in the alignment system were accompanied by the increasing grammaticalization of pronominal clitics as obligatory markers of A-past subject NPs in past transitive constructions. However, A-past clitic indexing had different fates in modern languages (cf. Jügel and Samvelian 2016; Haig 2018a): in some languages it became obligatory maker of the A-past NPs, e.g. Central Kurdish. In some other languages it remined alternating to oblique-marked subject NPs, e.g. Taleshi. And finally, in a few languages it gave its way to

the suffixal morphology through an analogy with past intransitive constructions, e.g. Persian (see Haig 2018a for a brief overview, but especially §4.2.2 and §4.3 for a thorough description).

1.2 Clitics and their typology

The term clitic, etymologically derived from Greek *klinein* 'to lean,' refers to linguistic 'prosodically deficient words' (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985), which must be incorporated into a host in order to be pronounced. Being 'bound words', they resemble affixes, however unlike the latter, clitics have a low degree of selection and freedom of host selection. Their combination with the host is not subject to accidental or pragmatic gaps, morphological and semantic idiosyncrasies. In addition, they are immune to syntax rules of deletion, movement, and can attach to the material already containing clitics (Zwicky & Pullum 1983)[9]. On the other hand, clitics are different from full words in being prosodically deficient, having a special morphosyntax and a rather rigid ordering (Zwicky 1985). So, clitics are best considered being intermediate between affixes and words (Nevis 2000), and accordingly blur the boundaries between morphology and syntax. Their placement properties, especially for Wackernagel or second position clitics, constitute a challenge for the division of labour between different components of the grammar. Several studies have consequently addressed the issue of what component of the grammar is responsible for clitic placement: phonology, morphology or syntax (see Zwicky 1987; Halpern 1995, Anderson 1993 & 2005, Miller 1992, among others).

Few linguistic phenomena have enjoyed as much interest as clitics for more than 40 years in linguistic typology and theoretical linguistics (see for instance Nevis et al.'s (1994) bibliography on clitics). Labelling clitics as 'a very intriguing collection of linguistic beasts', Spencer & Luís (2012: xiii) hold that "to study clitics adequately you really need to be concerned with all aspects of linguistics, from detailed phonetics to the analysis of discourse and conversation." This explains the enduring interest in clitics, which involves language specific challenging facts that need to be accurately described and accounted for and constitute a topic of cross-linguistic investigation involving several levels (or domains) of linguistic description.

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[9] Note, however that as already discussed by Zwicky himself in many papers, these are diagnostics, not defining criteria for clitichood, and exceptions may arise. In the same vein, Haspelmath (2015: 277) argues that "[T]here is no single set of properties that always uniquely identifies clitics and distinguishes them from affixes."

Linguistic items that are clitics can range from pronouns, auxiliaries, clausal conjunctions, and negation to adverbials. Among these, pronominal clitics have received a great deal of attention in the literature. Apart from their special positioning proprieties in many languages, e.g. being realized on the verb in Romance languages, these clitics also raise a very interesting typological issue with respect to the dividing line between agreement markers and pronominal affixes. The latter are claimed to be agreement markers, and not pronouns in various studies. As noted by Corbett (2006: 99-100), in terms of syntax, pronominal affixes are like pronouns in that they can occur in clauses without any other overt NP, such that a verb with its affixes forms a complete sentence. However, in terms of morphology, they display similarities with agreement markers, in that they are generally bound to the verb, are obligatory and form portmanteau combining marking of both core arguments. Thus, pronominal clitics fall between agreement markers and free pronouns and provide interesting empirical ground for pinning up the interplay between these two phenomena (see §1.3).

The first genuinely cross-linguistic study of clitics was proposed by Zwicky (1977), where he classified clitics into three classes: (i) simple clitics: items which are phonologically bound and have the same distribution as their accented full forms (e.g. the reduced form of her in 18.a); (ii) special clitics: elements which are phonologically bound but have a 'special syntax' different from their full forms (the French *le* in 18b); (iii) bound words: linguistic items which do not have a corresponding full form and which represent a special syntax (e.g. the English possessive 's in 18c).

(18)   a.   *He sees her   vs.   He [sizr].*
        b.   *Je vois <u>John</u>   vs.   Je <u>le</u> vois*   'I see John vs. I see him.'
        c.   The woman I talked to's arguments

The difference between these three elements lies mainly in, (i) the presence/absence of an accented counter-part–hence grouping simple and special clitics on one hand and bound words on the other, and, (ii) the presence or not of a special syntax–that is the same grouping of special and bound clitics in contrast to simple clitics. Later, the requirement for clitics to have full word counterparts was called into question and was removed in subsequent works on the typology of clitic elements (Klavans 1982; Zwicky 1985 ; Anderson 1992 & 1993). As a result, the three-way typology of clitics was reduced to a two-way typology of 'simple'[10] vs. 'special' clitics (phonological clitics and morphosyntactic clitics in Anderson's 2005 classification). In

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[10] Halpern (1998) provides a rather different definition of simple clitics, namely, clitics that may be positioned in a subset of the positions within which the full forms are found.

later works on the study of clitics it was the special syntax of special clitics which captured the most attention, especially the challenges they brought to the labour-share between different levels of grammar.

More recently, a different characterization of clitic phenomenon, that is, the concept of 'canonical clitic' has been proposed by Spencer and Luís (2013): "A canonical clitic, is the one illustrating the formal properties associated with a canonical affix, (being one-syllabic, and prosodically deficient), and showing the distributional properties of function words (phrasal attachment, and wide scope over a coordinated phrase). The concept of canonical clitic is based on the convergence properties of affixes and words, though a universally stablished definition of the 'word' is still lacking (Haspelmath 2011). The criteria that Spencer and Luís develop for a 'canonical clitic' seems to be principally eligible for 'simple clitics' and fails for the identification of clitics with special syntax, for these clitics occur where function words cannot be generally found. This is specially the case with Wackernagel clitics and mobile clitics. The authors conclude that finding canonical criteria for clitics with "syntactically unexpected distribution" is impossible.

Another way of classification of clitics is linked to their phonological attachment as enclitics, proclitics, and endoclitics. Enclitics are those clitics which adjoin to the right of their host (e.g. Persian 1SG clitic in *bābā=m* [father=1SG] 'my father'); proclitics attach to the left of their host (e.g. French 2SG object pronoun in *Je te=vois* 'I see you'); and endoclitics are 'putative' cases where a clitic breaks up the stem, in the same way infixes do, as in (19) from Udi (see §3.4 for a full definition of an endoclitic)

(19)   *kaɣuz-ax*   *a=z-q'-e*
        letter-DAT   receive1-1SG-receive2-AORII
        'I received the letter.' (Harris 2000: 598)

Examples of endoclitics have been cited for Pashto, and European Portuguese, yet their analysis as being endoclitics has been called into question in Anderson (2005), and solely Udi, and Degema (Kari 2012) are reported to have real cases of endoclitics which interrupt the lexical word (the verb stem in ex. 2). It will be seen in §3.3.5 that Delijani, a Central Plateau language, exhibits genuine cases of endoclitics. That is, a clitic PM breaks up the verb stem. More surprisingly, Nowdani, a Southwest Iranian language, exhibits extremely rare cases of circumclitics (i.e. clitics which are interrupted and lie in both edges of their hosts) whose existences as a mechanism for the phonological attachment of clitics has not been mentioned

in none of the classical literature on clitics (Halpern 1998; Nevis 2000; Anderson 2005; Spencer & Luís 2012).

As an alternative to the simple/ special positioning, a number of studies, e.g. Klavans (1982, 1985); Anderson (1993, 2005); Halpern (1995); and Billings (2002), offer a unified approach to the analysis of all aspects of clitichood which is centred around some parameters, e.g. the domain of their realization, placement, and attachment. Among these, Klavans (1985), and Anderson (2005) received a great deal of attention. These two works are reviewed below.

1.2.1 Klavans's typology of clitics

As a first attempt for providing a unified account of clitics, handling both their syntactic distribution and phonological attachment, Klavans (1982, 1985) offered a set of three binary parameters for analysing different aspects of cliticization. These are as follows:

I. Dominance (Initial/Final): it refers to the possibility that a clitic attaches to the initial or final constituent dominated by a specified phrase.

II. Precedence (before/after): it gives the fact that whether the clitics precedes or follows the constituent opted by the dominance parameter.

III. Phonological attachment (Proclitic/Enclitic): this parameter specifies the direction of the phonological attachment of the clitic with respect to the host chosen.

While the first two parameters are syntactic in nature, referring to where in the domain the clitic is located and whether it precedes or follows the host, the third parameter is phonological in nature and refers to the phonological attachment of clitics (or 'liaison' in Klavans's typology), a fact which Klavans claims is the property of the clitic itself. These three binary parameters yield eight possible 'cliticization types', and are claimed to encompass all possible aspects of the syntax and phonology of clitics–items which Klavans regards as phrasal affixes.

Table 1: Klavans's typology of clitics

parameter type	I. INITIAL/FINAL	II. BEFORE/AFTER	III. PROCLITIC/ENCLITIC	Examples
1	Initial (under N')	Before	Enclitic	Kwakwala NP Markers
2	Initial (under N')	Before	Proclitic	Greek article
3	Initial (under S)	After	Enclitic	Ngiyambaa Enclitics
4	Initial (under S)	After	Proclitic	Tepecano =an
5	Final (under S)	Before	Enclitic	Nganhcara Enclitics
6	Final (under S)	Before	Proclitic	Sanskrit preverbs
7	Final (under V[-T])	After	Enclitic	Spanish pron. Clitics
8	Final (under S)	After	Proclitic	Greek negative ou=

These types can be further sub-grouped into those in which there is a tension between the direction of syntactic and phonological attachment, namely, types 1, 5, 4, 8, – as examples of preposed enclitics (types 1, 5), and postposed proclitics (4, 8)–, and those which such a tension does not exist, namely, types 2, 3, 6, 7, –examples of preposed proclitics (types 1, 2), and postposed enclitics (types 3, 7). It is in the types 1, 5, 4, 8 that examples of 'double citizenship' (in Klavans's terminology, or 'ditropic clitics' (Embrik & Noyer 1999; Cysouw 2005), occur; for instance, the clitic in type 4 is syntactically related to the first word or constituent of the related domain under S, but is phonologically attached to the next element in the form of a proclitic. However, in the more regular type 3, the clitic is syntactically related to the first element under S, and phonologically attaches to the same element in the form of an enclitic.

Klavans's typology has often been criticized for being too rich; types 2, 3, and 7 seem to be more common than other types. The viability of types 4, 5, 6, 8 have been casted into serious doubts by some scholars (see. Halpern (1995: 34–36; 1998: 117–119 for instance). Another problem with her typology is that it does not account for clitics in Romance languages, which are positioned on the head verb. In addition, the typology does not account for cases where clitic placement is defined with respect to pragmatically defined units such as focused phrases (cf. Spencer & Luis 2012).

While the viability of some cliticization types has been criticized, examples of cliticization in some Iranian languages call for the presence of type 5 as attested: in languages with the verb as the domain for cliticization the original proclitic on the verb often leaves the verb as its syntactic host and attaches to whatever element which precedes it, but in the form of an enclitic (see §3.3.1 and §5.5 for a ditropic clitic account of such cases). This is shown in the following pair where the original proclitic on the verb encliticizes to the object NP, relativizer, and subject NP, respectively.

(20) a. *pos-i=**m**   binā   / posi **om**=binā   EL[Lar]. 15
          boy-INDF=1SG:A   see.PST

          *ke=**m**   nā-šenāxt   / ke   **om**=nāšenāxt
          REL=1SG:A   NEG-know.PST
          'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

      b. *mo=**m**   bo   / mo   **om**=bo   BO[Nod]. 18
          1SG=1SG:A   win.PST
          'I won (against you).'

1.2.2 Anderson's typology

Anderson (1993, 2005) takes Klavans's typology of clitics as a starting point and reformulates it in a new typology which, apart from terminological reconsiderations, discards the third parameter of Klavans, namely, phonological attachment of clitics, which gives the values of 'Proclitic' and 'Enclitic'. Instead, Anderson suggests that "direction of phonological attachment is not a lexical property of individual clitics", but rather is determined by a general mechanism called 'Stray Adjunction', which incorporates prosodically deficient material (including clitics) into a prosodic hierarchy (Anderson 2005: 13). In order to understand the mechanism of stray adjunction, we must refer to the theory of prosodic phonology (as stated, among others, in Selkirk 1995), which is the basis for Anderson's theory of cliticization.

Put simply, prosodic phonology is based on the principle that phonological representation has an internal organization and is hierarchical, and is distinct from the morphosyntactic structure of the sentence. The prosodic structure is composed of categories as syllable (σ), foot (Ft), phonological word (PWd), phonological phrase (PhP), intonational phrase (IP), and utterance (Utt). These phonological representations may or may not correspond to syntactic units in the language. A crucial point to consider is that as phonologically-deficient elements, clitics lack enough prosodic structure to integrate into the prosodic organization of the language. They thus need to adjoin to a category in the prosodic hierarchy to be able to be pronounced. It is through

the mechanism of stray adjunction that clitics are incorporated into the prosodic structure. In other words, clitics per se do not lexically opt for a host. Note however that, the direction of phonological attachment is the property of clitics themselves in Klavans's analysis.

Anderson comes up with the following three parameters for an exhaustive typology of clitics:

I. Domain: a clitic is located within the domain of some syntactic constituent (X^0 or X^{max} for some value of X)

II. Anchor: a clitic is located by reference to the first versus last daughter constituent of that domain (interpreted either syntactically or prosodically)

III. Orientation: a clitic is located preceding or following this anchor point.

Parameter I positions a clitic in a domain with which it is (syntactically or semantically) related. This, in turn, results in three general sorts of clitics (Anderson 2005: 79): (i) sentence clitics: these are clitics which are located with respect to the entire clause, e.g. person clitics in Old Iranian languages (Haig 2008) and in modern languages like Davani (§8.3.5.1), and Dashti (§8.3.5.5); (ii) clitics which are associated with nominal expressions, such as case markers, determiners, or possessives in some Balkan and Uralic languages. Kwakwala NP Markers are an example of this type (Anderson 2005); (iii) clitics which can be associated with phrases of any type, as markers of emphasis, constituent negation, interrogation, or other similar operators.

Parameter II allows for clitics to be anchored with respect to the first vs. the last daughter constituent of the cliticization domain with the added proviso that this constituent can be interpreted either syntactically or prosodically. Anderson especially adopted this condition to handle examples of second position which can be interpreted in different ways. There is a huge literature on what forms second position to which the clitic can adjoin. While in Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, and Tagalog second position is defined mainly with respect to the first phonological word ('2W' in Halpern's term), in Finish and Warlpiri the relevant element upon which the second position can be constructed is the first syntactic phrase (or 2D). Yet, second position in some languages is determined in regard to the phrasal accent: this is the case for clitics in Pashto (Tegey 1977), the Bulgarian interrogative clitic *li* (Franks 2000) and the pronominal clitics of Chamorro (Chung 2003).

Under Anderson's typology, the difficulty with those systems in which clitics are anchored by their heads, e.g. Romance clitics, is solved by adding into the domain parameter the minimal projection category X^0; This allows the clitic be anchored by the head, in addition to erstwhile

maximal phrasal projection X^max in Klavans's typology. Furthermore, to tackle those cases where clitic placement is defined with respect to prosodic factors rather than syntactic ones, Anderson adds a further condition to the anchor parameter, namely, the anchor is 'interpreted either syntactically or prosodically'; this added proviso covers in particular the range of placements a 'second position' clitic can take–after the first syntactic phrase, after the first phonological word, after the first phonological phrase, etc.

Anderson's typology then provides a more exhaustive treatment of the diversity of cliticization systems than that of Klavans. As with Klavans, Anderson suggests that all cases of 'special clitics' are phrasal affixes, i.e. an affix whose positioning is determined by reference to syntactic structure rather than a special 'word class'. This position thus prompts him to treat cliticization as a special type of morphological process subject to specific syntactic and phonological constraints.

Having mentioned a general survey of clitics and a typology of such elements in terms of the different aspects of cliticization, we are now in a position to move on to another aspect to the study of one specific type of clitics, i.e. pronominal clitics; the fact that they are subject to development into agreement markers in the course of their evolution. Therefore, one can analyse such elements within the general framework of 'person indexing' (or agreement) as well. The next section will provide a presentation of the terms and concepts within such a phenomenon.

1.3 Agreement

Agreement is a controversial term in linguistics and its definition varies according to the theory to which different scholars are akin to (see Corbett 2006, Cysouw 2011 for a historical review, and Haspelmath 2013, and Haig & Forker 2018 for a research overview). The agreement relation involves the non-local replication of features of an argument on another element in clause[11]: in (21), the person feature of the subject argument (which is merged with the number), has been replicated on the verb.

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[11] The most widely-cited definition of the phenomenon is given by Steele (1978: 610): "[t]he term agreement commonly refers to some syntactic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another".

(21)   Gumawana (Siewierska 2004: 120, citing Olson 1992: 326)
   a.   *yau   a-mwela*
        I   1SG-climb
        'I climbed up.'

   b.   *komu   ku-mwela*
        You   2SG-climb
        'You climbed up.'

Agreement is thus a case of 'displaced information', or 'information in the wrong place' (Corbett 2006: 2). This point is also stated in the definition of the term given in Bickel & Nichols (2007: 229): "[a]greement is the phenomenon by which a word carries morphological features that originate somewhere else."

Using the terminology proposed by Corbett (2003), the element which maintains the agreement is **Controller** (e.g. subject); the element whose form is determined by the agreement is the **Target** (e.g. verb); the syntactic environment in which the agreement occurs is called the **domain** (e.g. clause); the formal manifestation of the agreement on the target (e.g. a suffix) is called **agreement marker**; finally, **conditions** are factors which have effect on agreement (e.g. word order, definiteness, specificity).

In (21) the feature involved in the agreement relation is person. Likewise, this dissertation is primarily concerned with person agreement in WILs, and what is meant by agreement in what follows equals to person agreement. Note that other features, e.g. gender, number, case, and definiteness may also resume the relation of agreement. The manifestation of agreement feature on the target may be conditioned by syntactic factors, e.g. the controller should be present in the same local domain as the agreement marker, cf. (21). This manifestation could also be triggered by semantic and pragmatic factors, such as controller's animacy, and definiteness. For instance, an animate object in Teiwa (Alor-Pantar; eastern Indonesia) triggers agreement on the verb, cf. (22), while an inanimate one fails to do so, cf. (23) (Fedden et al. 2013: 35)[12]

(22)   *name   ha'an   **n-oqai**   **g**-unba'*
       Sir   2SG   1SG-child   3SG-meet
       'Sir, did you see (lit. meet) my child?'

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[12] Another effect of animacy in agreement relation in seen in Uralic languages with inverse agreement systems. There, the verb agrees with the transitive object, but not the one that is higher in animacy hierarchy than the subject (É. Kiss 2013)

(23) *bif eqar kopang nuk tei baq kiri*
      child female small one tree log pull
      'A little girl is pulling a log.'

This dissertation concentrates mainly on the syntactic notion of agreement. Hence, this introductory section is primarily concerned with the investigation of relevant syntactic parameters in describing the phenomenon of agreement. However, the role of semantic and pragmatic factors in shaping the agreement relations of investigated WILs will not be overlooked. For example, in some Central Plateau dialects, e.g. Badrudi, clitic person markers agree with highly salient object NPs in present tense constructions (see §4.2.3.1 for details).

The term agreement is often contrasted with the closely related phenomenon of 'anaphora' (or a pronominal realization of an argument). The difference between the two is often related to the 'locality' of the domain, in a way that when an agreement marker is realized in the same local domain as its controller, we are dealing with 'agreement', but when the domain extends beyond the clause, and to discourse, then 'anaphora' is at work. The respective person agreement markers (i.e. affixes, clitics, free pronouns) used in those constellations are then assumed to hold relations of either agreement or anaphora. Regarding the distinction between the two, three lines of thought can be differentiated in the literature: the first group regards the local clause as the scope of the agreement and leaves pronouns out of such scope (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987). The mainstream regards the distinction as being at best scalar (Corbett 2003; Siewierska 2004). Finally, a third line of thought, focusing, among other things, on the referentiality of bound person markers, considers agreement and anaphora as being inherently the same phenomenon (Givon 1976; Barlow 1992; Croft 2001 & 2013; Haspelmath 2013, etc.). [13]

As said, Bresnan & Mchombo (1986, 1987) are among scholars who differentiate between agreement and anaphora. In this regard, they introduce the terms 'grammatical agreement'; and 'pronominal agreement'. The difference between the two lies in the fact that while in grammatical agreement the controller and the agreement markers should be present in the same clause, in pronominal agreement the use of the agreement marker is in complementary distribution with the co-referential NP[14]. This binary distinction has since entered the literature

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[13] For instance, Barlow (1992) concludes that "there are no good reasons to distinguish between agreement and anaphora", since "both phenomena can be said to involve tracking and maintaining salient discourse referents."

[14] Bresnan and Mchombo (1986) also mention that some agreement markers can be used obligatorily with or without their co-referential NPs_ what reminds us of *cross-referencing*. However, they attribute the rise of such agreement markers to the general grammaticalization path in which bound pronouns seem to partially lose their

on agreement and has been taken up in subsequent works (e.g. Siewierska 2004; Van Valin 2005)

Inspired by Bresnan & Mchombo (1987), Siewierska (2004) offers a typology of person agreement based on the nature of relation between the controller and the target. She adds 'ambiguous agreement' to the bi-partite typology of person agreement proposed in Bresnan and Mchombo. Ambiguous agreement[15] is intermediate between pronominal and syntactic agreement and refers to an agreement relation in which the agreement marker is obligatorily present on the target, but the presence of the controller is optional, cf. (25) below. In addition, in relation to three types of agreement, Siewierska introduces three types of agreement markers –whose classification is based on the possibility of co-occurrence of agreement markers with the controller in the same domain: hence, a 'grammatical agreement marker' occurs in the same local syntactic domain as the obligatory controller, cf. (24a-b); an 'ambiguous agreement marker' is obligatorily present in the clause regardless of the presence or the absence of the controller, cf. (25a-b); and an 'anaphoric agreement marker' is incompatible with the controller being present in the same domain, cf. (26):[16]

(24)   German and English
        a.   ***Er*** *beobacht-**et***
              Mein ***Vater*** *beobacht-**et***
              Not: **Beobacht-**et***

        b.   ***He*** *watch-**es***
              My father watch-es
              Not: **Watch-**es*** (Mithun 2003: 237)

(25)   Latin/Italian
        a.   *veni-**t***   *vien-**e***
              come.PRS-3SG   come.PRS-3SG
              'he comes'

        b.   ***Marcus***   *veni-**t***   /   ***Marco***   *vien-**e***
              Marcus   come.PRS-3SG   Marco   come.PRS-3SG
              'Marcus/Marco comes' (Haspelmath 2013: 217)

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referentiality, and as a result are able to co-occur with the co-referential NPs, hence realizing both grammatical and anaphoric agreement

[15] Note that the adoption of 'ambiguous agreement' in Siewierska's typology is rather implicit. The latter is not categorized under her figure of agreement types (2004: 126, Fig.3 below), but only mentioned once in her book (2004: 126, fn. 5)

[16] Haspelmath (2013) uses 'gramm-indexes', 'cross-indexes', and 'pro-indexes' respectively for the same set of markers.

(26) Macushi (Cariban; Brazil and Guyana)

    a.   (*__João__)   __aa-ko'manī-'pī__
            John   3SG-remain-PST

    b.   (*__Mīīkīrī__)   __aa-ko'manī-'pī__
            He   3SG-remain-PST
           '(John/he) remained.' (Siewierska 2004: 123)

Siewierska (2004: 126) comes up with the following schema on the relationship between the anaphora and agreement, relevant for the feature of person. Note that what is important in this classification is complementarity between the agreement marker and the controller in the same local syntactic domain.
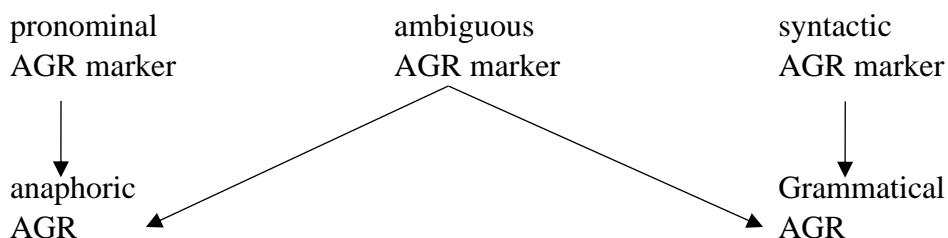
Figure 3: The relationship between type of agreement markers and type of agreement

Among the person markers, the analysis of 'ambiguous agreement markers' − which fall under 'cross-referencing', and are by the way the most common type of agreement markers – has been subject to a good deal of debate between linguists from different theoretical interests. The reason for such debates comes from the fact that the person marker and the controller could get different treatments in the domains they occur. According to the generative view, the subject of the verbs in (25.a) is a *pro*. This view regards all the occurrences of indexes as agreement markers that agree with the covert subject. On the other hand, the alternative view supported by Jelinek (1984), and Baker (1996), considers the existence of the indexes in (25.b) as some sort of argument, but the co-referent NP is given an 'adjunct' or 'appositive' status. A third approach proposed by scholars like Bresnan & Mchombo (1978) and Siewierska (2004), views indexes as pronouns–when they are not accompanied by a co-referent NP (cf. 25.a), and as agreement markers, when they are in the same clause as the co-referent NP, cf. (25.b) (see Haspelmath 2013 for a critical review of different approaches to cross-indexing).

Another point to consider about the agreement phenomenon is the relationship between the morphological status of person markers (i.e. clitic, affix, independent pronoun) and their association with the types of agreement markers (i.e. pronominal, ambiguous, or syntactic agreement markers). It is traditionally known that inflectional morphology expresses the

grammatical agreement. As Corbett (2006: 13) puts it: "the canonical expression of agreement is through affixes bound to target, that is through concatenative inflectional morphology". In the same way, Siewierska (2004) asserts that the global tendency is for pronominal agreement markers to be realized by weak forms or clitics, and for syntactic agreement markers to be indexed by affixes. On the other hand, ambiguous agreement markers tend to be affixes. She formulates the explanation behind such connections within a framework of grammaticalization as follows (2004: 162):

> [S]ince in the process of grammaticalization morpho-phonological changes and semantic ones are assumed to run in parallel […] one would expect the increase in the obligatoriness of person agreement from pronominal through ambiguous to syntactic to be reflected in a decrease in their syntactic independence and phonological form. And indeed to a large extent this is so.[17]

Put simply, independent pronouns evolve into affixal agreement markers through bound pronouns. This process results in the loss of phonological independence of erstwhile independent pronouns, the possibility of co-occurrence of the resulting bound pronouns with co-referential NPs in the same local syntactic domain, and the resultant reduction in referentiality of such bound pronouns down to affixal agreement markers at the endpoint of bound agreement markers. This claim and similar ones have been central to most studies on the grammaticalization of subject and object indices. That is, the grammaticalization path applies to object pronouns in the same way it does to subject pronouns (See for instance Bresnan and Mchombo's analysis on Bantu). However, grammaticalization of person agreement is not a universal, but rather another example of family (or areal) basis (Haig & Forker 2018, citing Bickel 2013). In addition, the grammatical pathway illustrated above, involving the prosodic erosion of pronouns and the concomitant obligatoriness of bound person markers, turns out to be working differently for subjects and objects (Siewierska 1999; Haig 2018a). That is, it is only in the case of subjects that such a pathway could work in person agreement, while objects pronouns, though getting reduced readily, do not make it to obligatory person agreement (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of Iranian data in this regard). In other words, loss of prosodic independence and cliticization to a verbal host should not be taken

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[17] This is congruent with Givon's claim (1976) that grammatical agreement arises from anaphoric pronominalization in 'topical discourse contexts'.

as evidence to a thorough shift toward agreement, especially in the case of object pronouns (Haig 2018a: 806).[18]

The last classificatory parameter is the degree of obligatoriness of the person markers, a parameter which has not been given primary attention in the literature on agreement (see Haig 2018a for discussion). As indicated by Corbett (2006), canonical agreement is obligatory rather than optional, i.e. the agreement marker should be present on the target. Considering that the cross-linguistic tendency is for the inflectional morphology to be 'obligatory' and being associated with 'grammatical agreement' (Such as 3SG -s in the conjugation of English present tense verbs), and for clitics and weak pronouns to be 'optional' and associated with 'pronominal agreement', one might expect that if pronominal clitics are to be found across languages, they are expected to be pronouns, while inflectional morphology is expected to represent grammatical agreement. A number of West Iranian languages display unexpected associations of agreement with clitics, and, 'anaphoric agreement' with affixes (in past transitive constructions and in non-canonical subject constructions), further suggesting that morphophonological form is not necessarily a good predictor of agreement type.[19]

A different conceptualization of the agreement and anaphora phenomena has been proposed by Haspelmath (2013), who suggests that the concepts of 'agreement' and 'pronoun' should be avoided in favour of the more neutral term 'argument indexing'. He argues that "bound person forms are best seen as phenomena sui generis that in most cases neither fall under a coherent concept of pronoun nor under a coherent concept of agreement" (2013: 209). He is especially critical of the treatment of cross-referencing' (ambiguous agreement markers in Siewierska's typology, see ex. 25a-b) as the most common type of indexing cross linguistically.

The alternative approach proposed by Haspelmath does away with the confusion that often arises with the analysis of 'cross-referencing', hence rejecting the strict 'agreement' or 'pronoun' view of cross-references, which would end up with either '*pro'* analysis of the absent controller (agreement view, e.g. the generative mainstream), or 'adjunct' or 'appositive' analysis of the co-referent NP (e.g. Jelinek 1984, and Baker 1996). It is also different from the already mentioned approach of scholars like Bresnan & Mchombo (1978), and Siewierska (2004), who try to accommodate both phenomenon of 'pronoun' and 'agreement' in a single

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[18] Likewise, Siewierska (2004: 163) notes that in some languages affixes can pronominally mark objects.

[19] In the same way, Mithun (2003) argues that inflectional affixes in Yup'ik and Navajo are as referential as independent person pronouns in European languages such as English and German, contrary to the common belief that inflectional verbal person affixes are (very) low in referential status.

conceptual framework, in a way that the presence or the absence of the co-referent NP yields to agreement vs. pronoun analysis of cross-references. Instead, Haspelmath points out that redundancy in marking core arguments – which happens in 'agreement' and 'cross-referencing' – can be seen as a 'distributed expression of meaning'. Note as well that Siewierska herself admits that 'the distinction between pronominal and ambiguous agreement markers and thus between anaphoric and grammatical agreement is a scalar one' (2004: 127)[20].

In this thesis, we keep using the term 'agreement' whenever the person marker obligatorily marks an argument regardless of the presence or the absence of the latter in the clause. Agreement in this sense parallels what Haig (2013) refers to as '**obligatory**' person indexing, referring to the "morphologically-bound realizations of the category 'person', required on all the exponents of the target (e.g. finite verbs), regardless of any contextual factors, and hence regardless of the presence or absence of the co-referent NPs". Thus in addition to the German/English examples in (24), the Latin/Italian examples in (25) are also considered cases of agreement.

On the other hand, for occurrences of person markers as pronouns, the term '**Conditioned'** person indexing is used. The latter refers to those occurrences of person indexes where contextual factors have an effect on the presence or not of the person index: e.g. the presence or absence of the co-referent NP", as exemplified by the contrast between the pair in (27):

(27)　　Southern Kurdish (Bijar dialect)
　　　a.　　*min*　　**awa_i**　　*wa-m(*=ay_i)*
　　　　　　1SG　　3SG　　take.PRS-1SG
　　　　　　'I will take it.'

　　　b.　　*min*　　*(*awa_i)*　　　　*wa-m=ay_i*
　　　　　　1SG　　3SG　　　　　　take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
　　　　　　'I will take it.'

As seen earlier in Teiwa examples, cf. (22)–(23), animacy could be another factor in the conditioned indexing of an object NP in clause. Likewise, in some Central Plateau dialects studied in this thesis, a highly salient object NP in the course of speech is doubled by a clitic person marker, contrast (28a) with (28b):

(28)　　a.　　*gorg*　　**šangul-u**　　*mangul*　　　　*a=**šun**-xor-a*　　　　　　SM1[Bad]. 21
　　　　　　wolf　　PN-and　　　　PN　　　　　IND=3PL:O-eat.PRS-3SG
　　　　　　'The wolf eats Shangul and Mangul.'

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[20] In the same vein, Haig and Forker (2018: 718) state that "[…] maintaining a division between agreement and anaphora will be difficult even within a single language."

b.   *axo*   *mu=don-on*   **bar**   *dāq*   SM2[Bad]. 6

1SG   mom=2PL:POS-COP.1SG   door open

(*š=)ā-n-i

3SG:O=PVB-put.PRS-2PL

'I'm your mother; open the door.'

In the same manner, in some modern languages, the A-past indexing through clitic PMs is conditioned to the absence of the coreferent NP, as the contrast in (29) shows:

(29)   a.   **verg-i**   *wārd-ē*   EL[GorT]. 49

wolf-OBL.M   eat.PST-3PL:O

'The wolf ate them.'

b.   *wārd-ē=š*

eat.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A

'(The wolf) ate them.'

Note that by focusing on the obligatoriness of the person markers rather than the presence or absence of controller in the same local syntactic domain as person markers, our analysis does away with the problems arisen by cross-referencing, rather the latter is subsumed under agreement. This approach turns out to be a useful one since none of Iranian languages exhibit strict agreement requirements of languages like English and German (i.e. obligatory presence of the controller in clause). Instead, Iranian languages belong to the (strong) cross-linguistic tendency of cross-referencing. In the same way, the neutral terms 'person marker' (PM), or 'index' is used instead of the controversial term 'agreement marker'.

It will be seen throughout Chapter 4 that in many WILs mismatches occur between the typologically expected marking of agreement (or obligatory indexing) through inflectional morphology, and conditioned indexing through clitic pronouns. These mismatches are shown to have arisen primarily out of the diachronic changes in the morpho-syntax of these languages.

1.4 An overview of clitic person markers in Western Iranian languages

Originally being comprised of two sets in Old Iranian, i.e. gen./dat. and acc. sets, clitic person markers started as pragmatic alternates of free forms of pronouns in Old Iranian. By Middle Iranian, these two sets merged into one set, allegedly of gen./dat. origin (see Korn 2009). These bound pronouns have undergone many changes in terms of their phonological attachment, functions, placement, and development:

a)   Phonological attachment: the direction of phonological attachment of pronominal clitics was in the form of encliticization in both Old and Middle Iranian periods. Interestingly though, some Central Plateau and south Iran languages have undergone procliticization alongside encliticization. The reason for the rise of procliticization is agued to be sought in the reanalysis of erstwhile clitic hosting particles in the clause-initial position, which caused by the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain (see §3.3.3 and §5.6 for a detailed discussion).

b)   Functionality of pronominal clitics: pronominal clitics can correspond to various functions in modern languages:

     I   adnominal possessor

     II   direct object

     III   adposition complements

     IV   non-canonical subjects (subject-like arguments in the constructions of 'predicative possession', 'necessity and wanting', 'potentiality', and 'non-controlled events' (e.g. expressions of sensory states like being hungry, cold)

     V   subjects of past transitive constructions

Generally, the indexing of first three functions is conditioned to the absence of the co-referent NPs, and that of the last two functions is obligatory, regardless of the presence/absence of the co-referent NPs. The main lines of differentiation between languages regarding the functionality of person clitics lies in the range of their usage in non-canonical constructions; indexing or not of the A-past argument via clitic person markers; and obligatoriness of the A-past indexing clitics: in this latter function clitics by and large mark the agreement relation, thus acting like verbal person endings. In some languages then, 'pronominal' clitics are in complementary distribution with verbal affix person markers (e.g. some Central Kurdish dialects, Samvelian 2007a; Haig 2008; Öpengin 2013): the members of each set act alternatively as pronouns and agreement markers, depending on the tense of the verb form. The interplay between these two sets gives rise to a complex picture, especially that the complement of an adposition can also be realized as a verbal person ending in some contexts.

c)   Placement of clitics: In Old and Middle Iranian periods clitics were realized in the clause-second position, and the positioning of clitics was determined by clausal prosody rather than syntax (Haig 2008). In most modern languages, clitics moved rightward in

the clause and lent their positioning to more syntactically-related factors, roughly holding responsible the verb phrase (e.g. Central Kurdish) and the verb (e.g. Bandari) as domains for their realization. Other aspects pertinent to the placement of pronominal clitics include:

— the relationship between clitic placement and adpositions

— whether a language allows for clitics to form a cluster? if yes, what determines the ordering of clitics in the cluster? if not, does it lead to externally-realized arguments?

— ordering possibilities in constellations where clitics and affixes form a sequence.

d) Development of clitics: the historical pronominal clitics of Iranians underwent different developments in modern languages:

— Some languages lost their use completely (e.g. Kurmanji Kurdish, Zazaki, Mazandarani, Gilaki)

— In a few languages, clitics no longer realize agreement with A-past NP, and largely act as pronouns (e.g. Persian)

— In some languages, person clitics realize all the functions listed above, hence functioning as both pronouns and agreement markers. The majority of languages belong to this group, including Central Kurdish (Samvelian 2007a, Öpengin 2013); Central Plateau dialects (Lecoq 2002), Sivandi (Lecoq 1979), etc.

As seen above, the pronominal clitics have undergone diverse shifts at different degrees across modern languages. Before turning to the literature on such elements in Ch. 2, some clarification on the terminology should be set out here. First, previous scholarship is abundant with diverse terms to refer to the pronominal clitics of WILs: personal affixes (Edmonds 1955); personal pronoun suffixes and suffixed pronouns (MacKenzie 1961); enclitic personal pronouns (Yar-Shater 1969); clitic pronouns (Bynon 1979); les pronoms suffixes and les pronoms enclitiques (Lecoq 2002); clitic pronouns and (personal) affixes (Samvelian 2007a, 2007b); pronominal clitics (Stilo 2004a; Haig 2008; Korn 2009), pronominal clitics and clitic pronouns (Samvelian & Tseng (2010); Gholami 2018); enclitic pronouns (Jügel 2009; Korn 2009); enclitic pronominal form (Paul 2010); pronominal enclitics (Dabir-Moghaddam 2012; Rasekh 2014);

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bound pronouns (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013); clitic person markers (Öpengin 2013); person-marking clitics (Nourzaei et al 2015); bound personal pronouns (Belelli 2016); les pronoms (en)clitiques (Jügel & Samvelian 2016).

To avoid confusion, I will henceforth use the neutral terminology 'clitic person markers' (clitic PMs), following Öpengin (2013). This terminology goes back to Siewierska (2004) who refers to any element playing a part in the person marking system, a 'person marker' or a 'person form'. Using this terminology has the advantage of avoiding the ambiguity arising from the term 'pronominal clitics', since clitic PMs have acquired agreement function in many modern languages: using the term 'pronominal clitic' would suggest that clitic PMs solely fulfil a pronominal function. In the same way, we refer to 'verbal agreement suffixes' or 'verbal person endings' as verbal affix person markers (abb. Vaff PMs). The choosing of this terminology becomes more illuminating when it will be further seen that Vaff PMs function as pronoun in some contexts, hence not realizing any agreement relation.

Another point to consider is the presentation of the examples. As said the same set of clitic PMs is used to realize diverse functions across WILs. It is thus not surprising to come up with clauses which contain two or three clitic PMs. To avoid confusion in the analysis of their functions, the function of each clitic PM is specified in the glossing, using the abbreviated conventions seen below after each occurrence of a clitic PM: adnominal possessor (POS); direct object (O); complement of an adpositions / non-flagged indirect object (R); non-canonical marking (NC); subject of past transitive constructions (A)[21]. By way of example, in (30) the functional label of the identical clitic PMs are given:

(30) *xorjin=eš*   *por*   *eš=kerd-e*   PS[Nod]. 42
      sack=3SG:POS full   3SG:A=do.PST-PERF
      'He has filled his sack.'

Finally, for matters of ease of understanding and practical reasons, the equal mark in the glossing is reserved only for clitic PMs and additive enclitics. Other grammatical categories, e.g. ezafe marker, copular PM, direct object marker (in some languages), can be considered to have clitic status due to some diagnostics of clitichood, e.g. promiscuous attachment. However, in the sake of clarity in the presentation of clitic PMs these latter markers are not glossed with the equal sign, but rather with a hyphen.

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[21] The same functional labels are used when in specific context these grammatical functions are expressed by verbal affix PMs.

1.5 Data gathering and fieldwork behind this thesis

The material for the study of WILs' clitics were predominantly gathered in the field. An exception is the data of Koroshi[22] and some varieties of Luri, for which access to speakers was hard, and instead published sources have been consulted for the relevant material. The data for the analysis of clitic systems of investigated languages comes from three sources:

(i)   natural data, e.g. folktales, life stories, retellings of pear story and a popular children tale.

(ii)   a set of elicitation tasks:

        a. narration of eight picture stories (speakers are asked to narrate a subtitled-less version of a picture story they have just read)

        b. filling-the-gap task (a speech situation with a missing clause is given to the informants. While translating the whole speech situation into their own language, informants produce the missing clause using the bare words in the parenthesis)

        c) conjugation tables (different ordering possibilities between bound arguments are tested through a set of tables)

(iii) published sources

I relied on natural data and elicitation tasks – obtained from the field – as the primary source of data gathering and data analysis. Whenever the data from the field were not revealing in some respects, I have relied on the data from the available published sources and descriptive grammars, with special focus drawing on the folktales in such sources –as they represent the language naturally.

As for Data gathering, I conducted three fieldworks in Iran: (i) June-August 2017 (60 days), (ii) February- March 2018 (35 days), and (iii) December 2018-January 2019 (20 days). During the first trip, I collected the data for 15 languages: Central Plateau dialects Abuzeydabadi, Delijani, Badrudi, Yazdi Zoroastrian; Kurdic dialects Baneh (C)entral (K)urdish, Southern

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[22]- The access to the speakers of Koroshi was hard due to the fact that Koroshi is spoken in scattered areas in the south of Iran.

CK[23], Bijar (S)outhern (K)urdish, Gorani Takht, Gorani Qal'eh, Harsini Laki, and Kakevandi Laki; Tati dialects Chali, and Takestani; and Davani and Lari in the south of Iran.

In the second fieldtrip, I focused mainly on the languages spoken in the south of Iran. These languages are largely unknown with respect to their clitic systems. The 13 languages covered during the second trip are: Southwest dialects Dashtestani Luri, Dashti, Delvari, Behbahani, and Nowdani; languages of southeast Iran, including Bastaki, Bandari, Minabi; Sivandi as a language island; Naeini and Khansari from Central Plateau group; and Semnani and Central Taleshi from the Tatic-type group.

The third trip was mainly devoted to answering missing questions on the clitic systems of some languages from the previous two fieldworks. For this reason, I gathered supplementary data for Dashti, Davani, Yazdi Zoroastrian, Naeini, Khansari, Badrudi, Taleshi, and Semnani. In addition, while travelling in the center of Iran I carried out the fieldwork on Nikabad-Jondan, and Meymei as members of Southeast and Southwest Central Plateau group, respectively.

To increase the accuracy of the language material produced, at least three native speakers (in rare cases two) were interviewed for the analysis of the clitic system of each language. Before going to the field, I was in contact with at least one speaker for each language, with whom I would work out the time of my arrival to the linguistic zone, the availability of other speakers, etc. Thanks to this pre-scheduling and massive collaboration and welcoming from the informants of studied languages, I was able to collect the data in a fairly short time span.

1.5.1 Natural data

It became clear to me from the beginning that elicited data, though informative they are, cannot fully provide me with enough insights into the complex syntax of clitic PMs of Iranian languages. Therefore, after having carried out the elicitation tasks, language informants would be asked to narrate in their own language a folktale, their life story, or some process narratives. This was often a daunting task, especially that the tradition of storytelling is highly diminishing, and at times the access to competent informants was hard. To cope with this situation, I had to

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[23] Speaking of my background, I was born in Ghorveh, in the southeast of Kurdistan province, Iran. I was raised in a bilingual family where Southern Central Kurdish, from my mother side, and Southern Kurdish, from my father side, were spoken. Later, I learned Persian at school. During undergraduate years in Iran, I had the chance to be exposed to different Gorani, and Laki dialects thanks to my friends. Finally, I have been learning Kurmanji Kurdish since living in Paris. Coming from this rich linguistic background of various Kurdish dialects and being competent in Persian reassured me further to consider doing research on other Iranian languages, which are by the way very similar in terms of lexicon, but remarkably different in their morpho-syntax.

rely on the retellings of 'pear film', and '*Shangul-o Mangul*' (a highly popular children's tale) as the primary source of natural data for some languages.

The natural data are classified into 5 text types, including folktales, free narratives, real life stories, process narratives, and film retellings. The natural data gathered in field comprise the corpus of Iranian languages that I developed throughout my PhD project. The corpus consists of 92 running texts, which amounts to 249 minutes. Each text is coded in the database and in the thesis together with the abbreviated name of the language in the brackets (e.g. PS[Nod]. 3 means 'sentence number 3 of 'pear story' from the Nowdani language). Informants are mostly men, but in some cases also women. The age range of speakers is from 17-85. Almost all the data were told in the presence of at least another native speaker. Table 2 summarizes the corpus behind this study. Note that natural data were not compiled for Laki Harsini, Luri, and Koroshi. The data for these languages come mainly from published sources (or elicited data in case of Laki Harsini and Luri).

Table 2: The corpus of natural data behind the thesis

languag	Text code	Database extension	length	Text type	Narrator name	gender /age	Description of the context
Baneh Central Kurdish	PS	PS[BCK]	03:31	film retelling	Abbas	M/32	Retelling of 'pear story'
	DM	DM[BCK]	01:13	folktale	Tali'eh	F/70	Dāstānī mišk ('The story of the mouse'): The mouse, the dry grass, and the clod try to prevent the rooftop from dripping.
	IB	IB[BCK]	04:37	folktale	Naser	M/55	Insānī bē aql ('A foolish person'): A folktale describing how foolish people do things without considering the consequences of their deeds.
	KM	KM[BCK]	01:02	free narrative	Tali'eh	F/70	Kābrāy mirdū ('The dead guy'): A guy who has been lain under snow for three months turns out to be alive.
Southern Central Kurdish	SB	SB[SCK]	02:36	folktale	Saleh	M/73	Sē birā ('Three brothers'): The dying king has some will which he likes his sons to fulfill after his death.
	WK	WK[SCK]	04:12	folktale	Osmat	F/66	Wilkēna (a girl's name): Wilkēne, a baby-girl born out of a kidney, is talented. Once she is caught in a desert with her friends, she manages to save her friends from an old witch, who has offered them help but intends to eat them.
	SH	SH[SCK]	05:03	folktale	Ismail	M/70	Šans ('luck'): A person is in search of his luck, but once he finds what his chances are, he becomes greedy and does not appreciate his opportunities.
	MQ	MQ[BSK]	12:42	folktale	Ja'far	M/45	Māyīn Qamanāz: Māyīin Qemenāz is a magical mare which has supernatural powers and help its owner through some difficulties.

Bijar Southern Kurdish	PP	PP[BSK]	02:29	folktale	Ja'far	M/45	Pīražin-ū pišī: ('The old woman and the cat'): An old woman cuts off her cat's tail because the cat has poured her milk. The cat has to go through a series of events to bring back the milk and get back his tail.
	MN	MN[BSK]	07:29	folktale	Rahim	M/43	Mard-ū nāmard ('The benevolent and the malevolent'): Two man happen to travel together. The benevolent shares everything he has with the malevolent but the latter refuses to do so. Each takes his own way, and through a series of events the benevolent promotes in his life and becomes the king of a country. A couple of years later they meet again...
	NW	NW[BSK]	02:17	free narrative	Rahim	M/43	Nardiwān ('ladder'): a newly-wed woman asks her mother how she can master her husband. The mother answers a husband is like a ladder; one should climb it gradually.
Gorani Takht	LB	LB[GorT]	01:25	personal/ process narrative	Bāqi	M/77	Lāla Bāqī ('Uncle Bāqī): The informant elaborates on the customs of marriage in his village and then talks about his own marriage.
	NQ	NQ[GorT]	02:47	free narrative	Heydar	M/31	Xānawāda-w Naqšbandī ('N.'s family'): The informant talks about the features of a 'suphi fraternity' group called 'Naqšbendī'.
	SO	SO[GorT]	01:04	free narrative	Heydar	M/31	Šēx Osmān ('Sheikh Osman'): the informant talks about how benevolent Sheikh Osman is.
	PS	PS[GorT]	01:45	film retelling	Mehdi	M/44	Retelling of 'pear story'
Gorani Qel'eh	KK	KK[GorQ]	02:16	folktale	Ardashir	M/54	Kor-a kačala ('the bald boy'): After being reproached by his father, the bald boy leaves home, and comes back with wealth after a couple of days.
	KD	KD[GorQ]	03:59	folktale	Ardashir	M/54	Kor-ū daryā ('The boy and the sea'): A cunny man gains a lot of wealth by pretending to be dead. Later, he gathers all the fortune of his fellow villagers by deceiving them how he gathered his wealth.
	PS	PS[GorQ]	01:56	film retelling	Mohammad	M/33	Retelling of 'pear story'
Laki Kakevandi	PS1	PS1[LakK]	06:03	film retelling	Younes	M/34	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS2	PS2[LakK]	05:54	film retelling	Younes	M/34	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS3	PS3[LakK]	02:25	film retelling	Younes	M/34	Retelling of 'pear story'
	SM	SM[LakK]	06:13	folktale	Younes	M/34	Retelling of 'Shangul-o Mangul', a highly popular tale for children.
Chali	AV	AV[Cha]	03:17	folktale	Hossein	M/55	Alān vaqteše ('now, it's time'): An unexperienced fox hires a rabbit to inform him of a close-by hunt. The rabbit learns his trick and gets rid of him.
	BB	BB[Cha]	02:27	folktale	Hossein	M/55	Bāš bali ('say yes'): Another version of 'Alān vāxteše' folktale.
	BQ	QB[Cha]	03:37	folktale	Hossein	M/55	Qāteri Bitār ('the mule veterinarian'): A veterinarian who treats the eye diseases of mules turns into an ophthalmologist.
Takestani	SM	SM[Tak]	06:55	folktale	Maryam	F/36	Retelling of 'Shangul-o Mangul', a highly popular tale for children.

Semnani	DV	DV[Sem]	02:15	real life story	Zabiholā	M/77	Zabiholā's memories about his father, and how he banned him from getting into quarrels with other people.
	PS	PS[Sem]	03:34	film retelling	Zabiholā	M/77	Retelling of 'pear story'
C Taleshi	PS	PS[CT]	02:43	film retelling	Ismaeil	M/45	Retelling of 'pear story'
Delijani	GX	GX[Dej]	08:48	folktale	Hossein	M/50	Gar-e Xāstgār ('the bald beau'): A bald man sets out to the king's city to ask for his daughter's hand. He has to fulfil a set of tasks to obtain the king's approval.
	PS	PS[Dej]	02:03	film retelling	Hossein	M/50	Retelling of 'pear story'
Khansari	QB	QB[Kha]	04:18	real-life story	Reza	M/60	Qese-ye bačegi ('the story of childhood'): The informant's childhood story about his fleeing from the school he didn't like. One day his father knew about his fleeing the school.
	DG	DG[Kha]	00:25	free narrative	Hossein	M/78	The informant talks about the features of his hometown, Khunsar.
Meymei	SB	SB[Mey]	02:18	real-life story	SadrEdin	M/68	The informant narrates the events that took place in a bus during the night he set off to Shiraz, where he was supposed to do his military service.
	LS	LS[Mey]	01:40	free narrative	Ali	M/84	The informant talks about the jobs he had done in the past until he ended up being a carpenter.
	TL	TL[Mey]	00:14	free narrative	Ali	M/84	The informant explains how divorce was a heinous thing in the past.
Abuzeydabadi	SM	SM[Abu]	03:44	film retelling	Tayeb	M/48	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul*', a highly popular children tale.
	PS	PS[Abu]	02:04	film retelling	Tayeb	M/48	Retelling of 'pear story'
Badrudi	PS1	PS1[Bad]	01:41	film retelling	Mehdi	M/31	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS2	PS2[Bad]	01:58	film retelling	Mehdi	M/31	Retelling of 'pear story'
	SM1	SM1[Bad]	02:43	folktale	Mehdi	M/31	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul*', a highly popular children tale.
	SM2	SM2[Bad]	03:01	folktale	Mehdi	M/31	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul*', a highly popular children tale.
Nikabad-Jondun	PS	PS[Jon]	01:37	film retelling	Moham-mad	M/33	Retelling of 'pear story'
	SM	SM[Jon]	02:47	folktale	Mohamm-ad	M/33	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul*', a highly popular children tale.
	HB	SF[Jon]	02:25	film retelling	Moham-mad	M/33	A silent film in which a poor boy wishes he had the clothes of another boy, but doesn't know that the well-clothed boy is disabled.
	PS1	PS1[Nik]	01:51	film retelling	Reza	M/45	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS2	PS2[Nik]	02:46	film retelling	Zahra	F/40	Retelling of 'pear story'
Naeini	PS	PS[Nai]	02:03	film retelling	Moham-mad	M/38	Retelling of 'pear story'
	SM	SM[Nai]	04:46	folktale	Moham-mad	M/38	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul*', a highly popular children tale.

	KX	KX[YZ]	05:11	folktale	Mina	F/46	Kosapošt-o xarguš ('The turtle and rabbit'): The rabbit boasts about his speed but loses a running competition against the turtle!
	PS1	PS1[YZ]	02:07	film retelling	Farshad	M/17	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS2	PS2[YZ]	02:34	film retelling	Farzad	M/24	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS3	PS3[YZ]	02:58	film retelling	Farzad	M/24	Retelling of 'pear story'
Yazdi Zoroastrian	SM1	SM1[YZ]	03:46	folktale	Farzad	M/24	Retelling of 'Shangul-o Mangul', a highly popular children tale.
	SM2	SM2[YZ]	03:58	folktale	Farzad	M/24	Retelling of 'Shangul-o Mangul', a highly popular children tale.
	HB1	HB1[YZ]	02:17	film retelling	Farzad	M/24	A silent film in which a poor boy wishes he had the clothes of another boy, but doesn't know that the well-clothed boy is disabled.
	HB2	HB2[YZ]	01:35	film retelling	Farshad	M/17	A silent film in which a poor boy wishes he had the clothes of another boy, but doesn't know that the well-clothed boy is disabled.
Sivandi	SD	SD[Siv]	06:56	folktale	Gholam-hossein	M/85	Se Det ('three girls'). Three girls set out to the city of Karbala for a pilgrimage. 'King Abbās' happens to hear their wishes.
	HT	HT[Siv]	00:50	folktale	Abdollah	M/80	The beginning of a narrative on a guy who rears the little girls to gain money.
	SM	SM[Siv]	00:20	folktale	Abdollah	M/80	The excerpt taken from the narrative 'HT'
	SE	SE[Siv]	01:06	folktale	Gholam-hossein	M/85	A king has a son who is interested in solitary life. Things change when he goes hunting.
Davani	KS	KS[Dav]	04:50	folktale	Aman	M/70	Koreye siā ('The black colt'): A black colt has magical powers and informs his owner of the wicked plots his mother-in-law has for him.
	XX	XX[Dav]	03:43	folktale	Aman	M/70	Xale xers ('Aunt bear'): A bear is invited to his friend's house but faces the reproach of the friend's wife.
	HS	HS[Dav]	00:18	free narrative	Karim	M/83	The informant narrates how he got exempted from doing military service.
	DX	DX[Dav]	00:52	free narrative	Khadijeh	F/55	The narrator tells the story of their donkey.
	AB	AB[Dav]	00:30	free narrative	Barāt	M/77	The informant tells the story of his time in military service.
Nodani	SM	SM[Dav]	03:25	folktale	Ebrahim	M/33	Retelling of 'Shangul-o Mangul', a highly popular children tale.
	PS	PS[Dav]	03:22	retelling	Ebrahim	M/33	Retelling of 'pear story'
Behbahani	BB	BB[Beh]	03:24	folktale	Raziyeh	F/45	Bibi botol ('mom cockroach'): A cockroach leaves home to look for a husband.
	SG1	SG1[Beh]	01:53	folktale	Moham-mad	M/50	Sang-o Gerdu ('the rock and the walnut'): A walnut complains to its mother that the rock has broken its head. The mother goes through a series of events to find out where the source of the problem is.
	SG2	SG2[Beh]	01:20	folktale	Senobar	F/78	Sang-o Gerdu ('the rock and the walnut')
	ZG	ZG[Beh]	00:26	free narrative	Eshrat	F/80	The narrator talks about the hardships she had been through when she was pregnant.
	ZZ	ZZ[Beh]	00:29	free narrative	Raziyeh	F/45	The informant's memory of an earthquake in her hometown.
	PS	PS[Beh]	03:22	film retelling	Zahra	F/33	Retelling of 'pear story'

Dashti	ZK	ZK[Dsh]	02:26	free narrative	Morad	M/78	The narrator tells about the way wedding ceremonies were held in the past, and yearns for the life and the social structure of the society in old times.
	KX	KX[Dsh]	01:26	free narrative	Morad	M/78	The narrator tells about the headmen's way of ruling in small villages. He then elaborates on the life of one special ruthless headman, who was finally killed by the government forces.
	EJ	EJ[Dsh]	01:32	free narrative	Morad	M/78	The informant's version of the Iranian revolution and the war between Iran and Iraq in the 80s.
Delvari	TB	TB[Del]	06:43	folktale	Shaker	M/60	Tojār-o bečeyku ('The business man and the child'): A business man tries to kill a new-born boy who is supposed to take up his fortune when he grows up. He fails to do so, and the grown-up boy obtains his fortune after his death.
	SZ	SZ[Del]	01:11	free narrative	Shaker	M/60	A man tests his wife and his close friend by pretending that he has killed someone.
Lari	SM	SM[Lar]	02:20	folktale	Leila	F/35	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul'*, a highly popular children tale.
	PZ	PZ[Lar]	01:07	free narrative	Leila	F/35	An old woman finds some money but gets so excited that pays the electricity bill of her neighbor
	PS1	PS1[Lar]	02:10	film retelling	Leila	F/35	Retelling of 'pear story'
	PS2	PS2[Lar]	02:07	film retelling	Leila	F/35	Retelling of 'pear story'
Bastaki	PD	PD[Bas]	03:43	folktale	Moham-mad Reza	M/32	Pose pādešā va dot ('The king's son and the daughter'): The prince falls in love with a girl whose mother-in-law is not kind to her.
	RS	RS[Bas]	02:43	folktale	Moham-mad Reza	M/32	Rubāh-o šotor ('the fox and the camel'): The camel cuts off the fox's tail since he has poured her milk. The fox has to go through a lot of help to bring back the camel's milk and get back his tail.
	PS	PS[Bas]	01:25	film retelling	Sara	F/30	Retelling of 'pear story'
Bandari	NN	NN[Bnd]	00:46	process narrative	Fatemeh	F/73	The informant tells about how they would cook food in the past.
	SM	SM[Bnd]	04:44	folktale	Sara	F/21	Retelling of '*Shangul-o Mangul'*, a highly popular children tale.
	PS	PS[Bnd]	01:50	film retelling	Sara	F/21	Retelling of 'pear story'
Minabi	MM	MM[Min]	04:15	folktale	Mojtaba	M/31	Mahmadi ('Mohammad'): Mahmadi, the only child of the family, leaves alone his parents in a cave. When he becomes old, his son does nearly the same thing to him.
	GW	GW[Min]	01:49	folktale	Hamid	M/51	Guwak ('frog'): A man leaves home every day to look for work but instead plays with a frog. His wife knows about the frog and burns it.
	PS	PS[Min]	01:23	film retelling	Mojtaba	M/31	Retelling of 'pear story'
Total	**92** texts		**249** mns.	**5** text types	**52** narrators	Male/Female Age range 17-85	

1.5.2 Elicitation tasks

The elicitation task for the study of Iranian person clitics are of three major types: (i) narration of picture stories; (ii) filling the gap; (iii) conjugation tables. These tasks are a combination of self-production and translation techniques. Elicitation through translation has largely been used in language typology (see for instance Dahl 2000). There have been several criticisms over the validity of data gathered through translation, one of them being the potential priming effects of the contact language on the resulting data, as well as the differences between the elicited data and real data in spontaneous speech. Nevertheless, translation remains an invaluable method of eliciting data for comparative purposes (Dahl 2000). Note, in addition that we tried to organize our tasks in a way to reduce noticeably the effects of Persian as the contact language (see below).

As said, at least three native speakers were consulted for data collection on each language. The procedure for carrying out elicitation tasks was as follows: the first informant would execute all three tasks, which would take around 2 hours. The next two speakers would either carry out one of the elicitation tasks or were asked to undertake a random combination of them, e.g. narrating three picture stories, and completing filling-the-gap task and conjugation tables in a random manner. Among three elicitation tasks, conjugation tables were not given primary focus after the first fieldwork since the data gathered from the other two tasks already contained valuable information on the various ordering possibilities between clitics and other inflectional affixes.

The aim of these tasks is to provide information on a range of clitic properties in Iranian languages, including their functions, placement principles, and interactions with categories like prepositions, Vaff PMs, and copulas. These information on clitics may not have been all produced spontaneously by informants at the natural course of speech or through folktales. Thus, having a fixed set of tasks and performing them on a family of related languages enabled us to see the distinct behaviour of clitics' syntax across investigated languages. In the following sections elicitation tasks are discussed one by one.

1.5.2.1 Picture stories

In this task, the informant narrates a set of eight picture stories. There exist two versions for each picture story: one with Persian subtitles, and one without. The informants are first exposed to a picture story subtitled in Persian. After reading the subtitled picture story, they are given

the same picture story which is subtitled-less (and contains only pictures). Then, informants are asked to recount the story in their own language. The task thus uses a self-production technique. It might also seem like a translational one. To reduce the effect of translation from Persian, there was a pause of two to three minutes before the informants related the subtitled-less story. The task resembles the one of film narration, in that the informants are producing their real language albeit in a roughly controlled way. The following table summarizes the picture stories[24] used for data gathering:
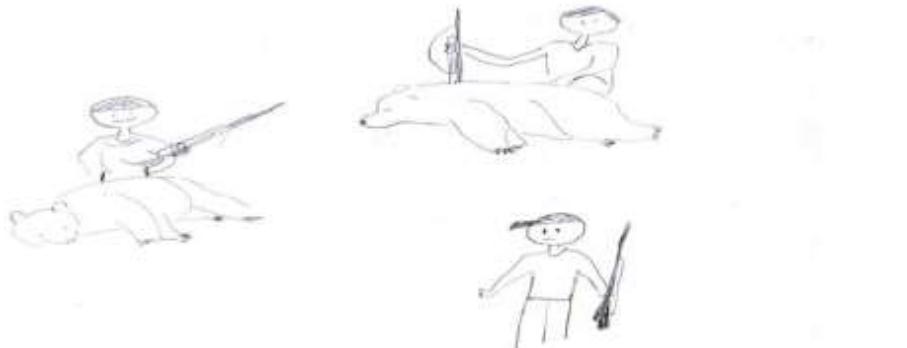
Table 3: The picture stories used as a part of elicitation tasks for data gathering

Picture story	Text code	Description of the linguistic context	Source
Animal Party	AP	Animals are throwing a party for the crab.	Littell (2010)
Bake-off	BO	Heather finds a way to make her competitive but lazy husband work.	TFS Working Group (2011a)
Chore girl	CG	Mary's friends come after her to play with them, but each time she has something to do	TFS Working Group (2011b)
Many bears	MM	Some men have problems with the bears living close-by.	Chen (2015)
The back bear and the salmon	BS	The black bear eats Wing's pet salmon.	Clarke & Wing Ng (2015)
Shopping list 1	SL1	Mary forgets to buy what she was supposed to buy every time she goes shopping.	TFS Working Group (2010a)
Shopping list 2	SL2	Each time Bill goes shopping something happens to his shopping list.	TFS Working Group (2010b)
The woodchopper	WC	Mary is worried of John's chopping the wood at night. She trips over one piece of wood that John unintentionally dropped on the way back home.	TFS Working Group (2011c)

In terms of the syntax of clitics, the stories were chosen in a way to obtain principally the different placement principles for the positioning of the clitic which indexes past transitive subjects (or 'A-past clitic'). For instance, in (31) from 'Many bears' picture story, informants have the choice to place the A-past clitic on the coordinated subject, the appositive NP, the object NP, the non-verbal component of the complex predicate, and the light verb.

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[24] All the picture stories are available online at: http://totemfieldstoryboards.org.

یک روز رفتند شکار . فرخ و فرهاد هریک خرسی را شکار کردند.

Figure 4: a fragment of 'Many bears' picture story

(31) a.   One day they went hunting ….

[Farox-o   Fahad-]^{SBJ NP} *[har   yek]*^{NP} *[xers-ī   rā]*^{OBJ}
PN-and   PN   each   one   bear-INDF   DOM

[šekār   kard-and]^{CV}
hunting   do.PST-3PL
'Farhad and Farox, each hunted a bear.' (Persian)

Persian does not index past transitive subjects by clitic person markers, cf. (31.a). Other languages behave differently in this regard:

b)   *[Farox-o   Farhād=**ešu**] [har   ato]   [ya   xers-i]*   [Davani]
      PN-and   PN=3PL:A   each   one   a   bear-INDF

      [ze]
      hit.PST

c)   *[Farox-u   Farā] [yak-ē]   [wirč-ēk=**yān**]*   [Bane CK]
      PN-and   PN   each-RESTR   bear-INDF=3PL:A

      rāw   kird
      hunting   do.PST

d)   *[Farox-o   Farhād]   [har   kāmi=šā]*   [Sivandi]
      PN-and   PN   each   which=3PL:POS

      [ye   xers-i-ā]   *[šekār=**šā**   kerd]*
      a   bear-INDF-DOM   hunting=3PL:A   do.PST

e)   *[Farhād-o   Farox] [nafar-i]   [ye   tā   xers]*   [Bandari]
      PN-and   PN   person-RESTR   a   CLF   bear

      *[šekār **šo**=ke]*
      hunt   3PL:A=do.PST
      'Farhād and Farox, each hunted a bear.'

While the placement of A-past clitic is defined with respect to the first element of clause in Davani, thus taking subject NP as the anchoring element, cf. (31.b), in Baneh CK the clitic has skipped the subject and is positioned on the object NP, cf. (31.c). This is the same in Sivandi, with the difference that the presence of the object marker on the object NP causes the rightward movement of the clitic to the next available element, i.e. non-verbal complement of the complex predicate, (cf. 31.d). Finally, in Bandari, the A-past clitic has skipped all the elements to its left and attaches to the light verb as its host, cf. (31.e). This example then illustrates how telling a unified method of data gathering can be in getting some insights into the clitic system of Iranian languages, ranging from clause-based clitic systems (Davani) to VP-based ones (Southern CK and Sivandi) to V-based systems (Bandari).

There are also a good number of situations in which there is a possibility to have multiple clitics in the cliticization domain:

خرس سیاهم گفت: ماهی ات را من خوردم..

Figure 5: A fragment of 'Salmon and bear' picture story

(32) a. *xers-e*   *siāh=**am***   *goft*   *māhi=**t**-o*
         bear-EZ   black=1SG:POS   say.PST   fish=2SG:POS-DOM

         man   xord-am
         1SG   eat.PST-1SG
         'My black bear said: I ate your fish.' (Persian)

In (32.a) from Persian, the possessor argument is indexed by a clitic PM, and the A-past is marked by the Vaff PM. However, in most Iranian languages the A-past argument is obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs. In principle, then, two clitics can co-occur in the same clause: A-past and possessor. The resulting pattern yields different outcomes across WILs. In Persian, as seen, only the possessor argument can be marked by a clitic PM. Other languages employ divergent strategies:

b.   *o=**m***   *mayi=**t***   *xward*   [Dashti]
          PTC=1SG:A   fish=2SG:POS eat.PST

c.   *māsāw-aka=**m***   *wārd-**i***   [Hawrami]
          fish-DEF=1SG:A   eat.PST-2SG:POS

d.   *māsi-aka=**t**=**im***   *xwārd*   [Southern CK]
          fish-DEF=2SG:POS=1SG:A   eat.PST

e.   *māhi=**t***   *ba=**m**-xa*   [Badrudi]
          fish=2SG:POS   PUNCT=1SG:A-eat.PST

f.   *ta*   *māhi*   *bo-xorč-an*   [Semnani]
          2.SG.OBL:POS fish   PUNCT-eat.PST-1SG

g.   *ešti*   *māhi*   *min*   *be-xord*   [Chali]
          2SG.OBL:POS fish   1SG.OBL   PUNCT-eat.PST
          'I ate your fish.'

The languages differ mainly in the marking of the possessor argument, being through a clitic PM, cf. (32.b),(32.d),(32.e), a verbal affix PM, cf. (32.c), or an oblique pronoun, cf. (32.f), (32.g). Moreover, only Southern CK allows for a clitic sequence. Also note that the placement of the A-past clitic is different in Dashti than in the rest of the languages.

Table 4 illustrates the frequency of clitic functions in the eight picture stories for Southern Central Kurdish. We didn't count the token of possessor clitics in the data unless it happened to co-occur with the A-past clitic.

Table 4: The counts of clitic PMs in the 'picture stories' task from Southern CK

Function	occurrence	Percentage
A-past	115	81.5%
A-past+ O	2	1.4%
A-past + POS	4	2.8%
A-past + R	7	5%
O PRS	2	1.4%
R	2	1.4%
NC	9	6%
Total	141	100%

As Table 4 illustrates, indexing A-past NPs is the most common use of clitics in SCK. It is not surprising though since the clitic obligatorily indexes a past transitive subjects NP in Southern CK (and in many Iranian languages). Non-canonical subjects are also obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs, hence their high frequency count. The rest of the functions are only conditionally marked by clitic person markers, usually in the absence of appropriate coreferential NPs, hence their lower frequency.

The narration of stories can vary according to the style of narration from one speaker to another. It can also depend on factors such as memory, distraction, etc. Some informants were more competent in retelling stories, while some others would become distracted by the subtitled-less version. Nevertheless, the resulting data remained more or less the same.

The data obtained from this task are used to get information on clitics' placement in their different functions (though, most frequently they index A-past and NC functions). The data were also used to confirm the accuracy of the constructions which informants produced in other tasks (see below).

1.5.2.2 Filling the gap

This task employs both translation and self-production techniques. Informants are given a set of 80 speech situations, with a clause in each situation missing. While translating the whole speech situation into their own language, informants are asked to produce the missing clause using the bare words in the parenthesis.

The speech situations were designed in a way to be as familiar as possible to the common knowledge ties to which language informants of different languages belong in Iran. They are sometimes extracted from popular folktales, descriptive grammars, common childhood experiences, and shared knowledge of the people, e.g. 'In old times, people would live in a tent.'. This would often make informants more inclined to participate in the study, to the extent that at times the speech situations would evoke some memories in speakers, and they would start narrating a story or a memory in their own language.[25]

It occurred that the sentences produced would not occasionally match what was expected from the task. For instance, informants would prefer to use independent pronouns instead of clitic PMs while producing their own clauses. In that case, I would ask them, for instance, 'say the sentence in another way!', or 'what about not saying the pronoun 'x' and saying it in a different way!'. This would mean an additional effort for language informants, yet it was the only way to get the intended responses. However, not all interviewed informants would be demanded to produce the controlled response. This would further allow me to get variations for the given constructions.

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[25] This was the case for a 57-year-old native speaker of Delvari, and a 30-year-old speaker of Minabi who made a short dialogue out of each of the 80 situations. Some informants of other languages would occasionally do the same for some speech situations.

The situations are organized in way to obtain (i) functional range of clitics; (ii) the placement principle responsible for clitic positioning; (iii) the interaction between clitics and other categories, e.g. prepositions, verbal affixes, indefinite markers, copula PMs; (iv) the syntax of clitic strings; and (v) clitic-affix combinations. For example, in the following situation the speakers have the option of marking core arguments A and O by different person markers:

(33) A: *dišab*   *raft-i*   *mehmuni*   *dust-ā=t-o*
           last night   go.PST-2SG   party   friend-PL=2SG:POS-DOM

          did-i?
          see.PST-2SG
     B: *āre ……………… (didan)*
          Yes, ……………… (to see)
          'A: Did you meet your friends at the party last night? B: Yes, **I saw them**.'

In response to the situation in (33), informants produced the following clauses:

(34) a. *o=**m** di-an*   [PTC=1SG:A   see.PST-3PL:O]   [Dashti]
     b. *dit=**em-en***   [see.PST=1SG:A-3PL:O]   [Behbahani]
     c. *dī-ē̄=**m***   [see.PST-3PL:O=1SG:A]   [Hawrami]
     d. *dī=**yān=im***   [see.PST=3PL:O=1SG:A]   [Southern CK]
     e. *dī-**m**-a=**yān***   [see.PST-1SG:A-EP=3PL:O]   [S Kurdish]
     f. ***m**=i-di-en*   [1SG:A=TAM-see.PST-3PL:O]   [Naeini]
     g. *jānā=**m** vind*   [3PL.OBL=1SG:A   see.PST]   [Takestani]
          'I saw them.'

The exemplars exhibit an array of possibilities for the ordering of A-past and O arguments on the verb, ranging from second positioning of the A-past clitic in (34.a) to its varied ordering with respect to the object-indexing Vaff PM in (34.b),(34.c),(34.f). The other factor distinguishing the languages in (34) is the disparate indexing of the main arguments. This brings together (34.a),(34.b),(34.c),(34.f) in the same grouping (i.e. clitic indexing of the A-past argument and affixal marking of the object NP), and classifies each of (34.d), (34.e), and (34.g) into separate groupings.

As another instance, the following speech situation (n. 30 in the database) examines the behaviour of the clitic systems when the clitic complement of an adposition could co-occur with the A-past clitic in the same domain.

(35) A: *bābā či barā=**m** xarid-i?*
          dad   what   for=1SG:R   buy.PST-2SG:A
     B: ………………. (to buy chocolates for)
     A: 'Dad, what did you buy me?'
     B: 'I bought (some) chocolate for you.'

The resulting responses considering this situation are presented below for a couple of investigated languages:

(36) a. *šukolat=**em***   *bā*   *hāt-**ey***   [Delijani]
          chocolate=1SG:A   for   buy.PST-2SG:R

      b. *šokolāt=**am***   *si=**t***   *esed-e*   [Behbahani]
          chocolate=1SG:A   for=2SG:R   buy.PST-PERF

      c. *šokolāt=**im***   *sand-ū-a*   *bo=**t***   [Southern CK]
          chocolate=1SG:A   buy-PST-PTCP-PERF   for=2SG:R

      d. *šokolāt*   *si=**t***   ***om**=sad-a*   [Nowdani]
          chocolate   for=2SG:R   1SG:A=buy.PST-PERF

      e. *šokolāt-i*   *ta*   *ra*   *berinč-an*   [Semnani]
          chocolate-OBL 2SG:R for   buy.PST.PTCP-1SG
          'I bought/ have bought (some) chocolate for you.'

The data in (36) can be analysed at least on two levels: (i) the indexing of the indirect participant; and (ii) the anchor for the positioning of the A-past clitic. Regarding (i) Delijani and Semnani differ from the rest of the languages in not indexing the indirect participant argument by a clitic PM: i.e. by a Vaff PM in Delijani, and by an oblique pronoun in Semnani. As for (ii), while A-past clitic takes the object NP as its host in Delijani, Behbahani, and Southern CK, the clitic has skipped the object NP and attached to the verb in a proclitic grab in Nowdani.

Despite being a very practical method to get comparable data, there were some problematic cases during the execution of this task. For instance, issues related to the valency of the verbs would result in different construction across investigated languages. This was the case for the following situation:

(37) A: *biā*   *injā*   *kār=**et***   *dār-am*
          IRR.come.PRS.2SG   here   job=2SG:R   have.PRS-1SG

      B: *ne-mi-ā-m*   *man-o*   *mi-zan-i*
          NEG-IND-come.PRS-1SG   1SG-DOM   1SG-hit.PRS-2SG

      A: *na-tars*   …………...   *(nazadan)*
          NEG.IMP-scare.PRS   …………   (not to hit)

'A: Come here, I have a business with you! B: I'm not coming, you are going to hit me. A: don't be scared! **I won't hit you**.'

Here, what is intended is having the object clitic realized on the present tense verb. However, depending on the valency of the verb 'to hit' in the studied languages, either a 'bare verb', cf. (38.a),(38.b),(38.c) or a 'PP + verb', cf. (38.d),(38.e),(38.f) is produced:

(38) a.   *ni-ma-koš-m=**at***   [NEG-IND-kill-1SG:A=2SG:O]   [Laki]

        b.   *ma-koš-ū=**t***   [PROH-kill-1SG:A=2SG:O]   [Gorani Takht]

        c.   *nā-zan-om=**et***   [NEG.IND-hit-1SG:A=2SG:O]   [Bandari]

        d.   *dar=**ed** nā-kod-un*   [at=2SG:R NEG.IND-hit-1SG:A]   [Badrudi]

        f.   *pi=**a** na-vis-o*   [PREP=2SG:R NEG.IND-hit-1SG:A] [Abuzeydabadi]

        e.   *n-īa-m la=**t***   [NEG.IND-give-1SG:A at=2SG:R] [Bijar SK]

The filling-the-gap task is organized in a way to extract most of the syntax of clitics in selected languages. There are at least three speech situations to get the data for each function that clitic PMs index. In addition, due to multifunctionality of clitic PMs, it was common to have up to three clitics in some clauses. Table 5 exhibits the frequency of the functions indexed by clitic PMs in the 80 situations. Not surprisingly, the resulting occurrences can differ from language to language.

Table 5: Frequency of clitic functions in filling-the-gap task

Function	Occurrence	Percentage
A-past	19	23.75%
A-past + R	15	18.75%
A-past + O	12	15%
A-past + POSS	4	5%
O-prs	8	10%
R PRS.TR	3	3.75%
R PRS.INTR	3	3.75%
NC	11	13.75%
other	5	6.25%
total	80	100%

1.5.2.3 Conjugation tables

This task involves the expression of all the range of positioning possibilities for all the six values of the person feature to act as the main arguments of transitive clauses, that is, subject, object, and adpositional complement, via dependent or independent person markers. Informants were given some conjugation tables in Persian and were asked to translate them into their own language. The data obtained previously from the other two tasks would be tested against the correctness of the resulting data informants provided in this task, and vice versa. Following constructions were chosen for this task:

i)   the paradigmatic form of the verbs *ferestādan* 'to send', and *bordan* 'to take'

ii)   the paradigmatic form of the complex predicate *da'vat kardan* 'to invite'

iii)   the paradigmatic construction 'to say to sb'

iv)   the paradigmatic construction 'to bring (sth) to sb'

v)   the paradigmatic construction 'to ask (from) sb'

vi)   the paradigmatic construction containing the auxiliary verb *daštan* plus the main verb *goftan* 'to say, to obtain the imperfective/progressive construction 'being in the process of saying (sth) to sb'

Except for (vi), each construction could be said in the realis past and present tenses, irrealis past tense, and their negative counterparts, giving 168 cells for each construction in total. Apart from information on the clitic-affix combinations, the constructions could also give us insights about the cliticization domain of A-past vs. O clitics (constructions i and ii), and A-past vs. R clitics (constructions iii, iv, v). Consider, for example, the clause 'I take you' in the following languages:

(39) a.   *o=t   me-bor-e*   [PTC=2SG:O   IND=take.PRS-1SG]   [Davani]
      b.   *mi=t-bor-am*   [IND=2SG:O-take.PRS-1SG]   [Behbahani]
      c.   *mi-r-im=at*   [IND-take.PRS-1SG=2SG:O]   [Laki]
      d.   *t=a-bar-om*   [2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG]   [Bandari]
      e.   *d=a-šen-o*   [2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG]   [Abuzaydabadi]
      f)   *a=t-ber-on*   [IND=2SG:O-take-1SG]   [Badrudi]

The data from (39) reveal that languages are different in the placement of the object clitic on the verb stem. More specifically, object clitics differ in the direction of attachment on the verb form in being a proclitic, cf. (39.d)–(39.e), or an enclitic, cf. (39.b),(39.c),(39.f). Moreover, the exemplars show that while the TAM prefix in Laki is not a possible clitic host, in other languages with enclitic attachment (except for Davani whose clitic system is defined with respect to the clause), the TAM prefix is regarded as a host for the positioning of the object clitic.

The interactions between clitic PMs and different grammatical markers, e.g. negation and TAM formatives can equip us with a bulk of information on the morphosyntax of clitics across WILs. The resulting data can further be employed for a comparative database of clitics in Iranian languages. As said above, the data from this section were not given primary focus after the first fieldwork, mainly because the translation of all tables was a cumbersome task for the informants. Instead, I would ask informants to conjugate one full table, and in passing some cells in other tables.

1.5.3 Published sources

The published sources and especially descriptive grammars were used as the last resort to collect the missing data on the clitic systems of (some) languages. This was the case especially for those languages for which the data from the field, both elicitation and natural data, were not enough for the analysis of their clitic system. However, for some other languages with sufficient data, the reference to the descriptive grammars was merely intended for a varied presentation of the examples. Table 6 summarizes part of the bibliography used in the description of the clitic system of languages.

Table 6: The supplementary sources used in description of clitic system of languages

Language	Source
Laki Harsini	Belelli (2016)
Chali, Takestani	Yar-Shater (1969)
Central Taleshi	Paul (2011)
Semnani	Christensen (1915); Majidi (1980)
Delijani	Safari (2008)
Khansari	Mann & Hadank (1926)
Meymei	Lambton (1938); Fathi Borujeni (2013)
Abuzeydabadi	Lecoq (2002)
Nikābād	Shafi'i Nikabadi (1998)
Naeini	Lecoq (2002)
Yazdi Zoroastrain	Firoozbakhsh (1999)
Sivandi	Lecoq (1979)
Koroshi	Nourzaei et al. (2015)
Davani	Mahamedi (1982), Salami (2002)
Luri-type dialects	Amān Allāhi & Thackston (1986), Anonby & Asadi (2014)
Minabi	Barbera (2005)

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. This introductory chapter set out the background information on Iranian languages, tense-sensitive alignment across WILs, an overview of clitics in Iranian languages, and data gathering behind this dissertation. It also gave an overview of clitics and person indexing phenomena, and laid out the theoretical background to them.

Chapter 2 investigates the literature on the study of pronominal clitics in WILs. Following a detailed analysis of the previous scholarship, we will see at what stage our actual knowledge of the pronominal clitics of WILs is, what the previous scholarship lacks in the discussion of

clitics, and what the aims of current thesis are concerning those lacks of knowledge. The chapter ends with a brief overview of the contents of the following chapters on the form, functionality, and placement of clitic PMs.

In chapter 3, firstly, we will discuss the variation at the inventories of pronominal clitics, both within and across language groups, with the aim to trace back the clitic paradigms to the older stages of Iranian languages. The chapter also brings into light the extension of the clitic paradigm into the paradigm of inflectional suffixes, and vice versa. Later, we will tackle the issue of the phonological attachment of clitics in the form of procliticization in some WILs, and develop some hypotheses about the rise of procliticization in a subset of WILs. Finally, the general typology of phonological attachment of clitics will be reviewed in the light of some rare cases of endoclitics in Delijani, and circumclitics in Nowdani.

Chapter 4 gives an analysis of the functional range of clitic PMs across WILs. For each major function that clitic PMs index, the functional status of the clitic PMs as markers of anaphora or agreement will be specified. In addition, a map will be given, according to which the distribution of each clitic function and possible areal explanations behind such distribution will be explored. The chapter will give a comprehensive account of the development of person indexing in WILs within the framework of grammaticalization.

Chapter 5 surveys the principles behind placement of person clitics across WILs. It characterizes three general domains of cliticization: Clause-based, VP-based, and V-based. Each of these domains are representative of clitic positioning in a subset of WILs. While the facts of clitic placement in each cliticization domain is different from that of others, each domain in itself witnesses certain grouping of languages with respect to the placement of clitics. The chapter ends with offering a diachronic and comparative account for the rise of procliticization in modern languages with proclitic attachment. It holds the hypothesis that clause-initial proclitics are a secondary development from the erstwhile clause-second positioning of enclitics.

Chapter 6 deals with cluster internal ordering of clitics in both present tense and past tense constructions. It also provides an account of the deviations from cluster internal ordering of clitics. It will be seen that argument hierarchy is the relevant factor determining the internal ordering of clitics in the clusters. In this chapter we will also give an account of the constellations in which clitics and affixes are in concatenations, and test the resulting constructions against the clitichood criteria.

Finally, in Chapter 7 we shall recapitulate the major findings of the thesis.

In addition to the principal chapters, supplementary data are provided in the Appendix section. Most importantly, in Appendix 3, sketches of clitic PMs have been provided for each of the 31 investigated languages: each sketch consists of sections on different aspects of clitichood, including (i) paradigm of clitic PMs, (ii) functionality of clitic PMs (iii) placement principles behind clitic positioning; (iv) clitic stacking, and (v) clitic-affix sequences.

Chapter 2: Pronominal clitics of West Iranian languages: General overview & state of the art

The previous chapter laid out the theoretical background to understanding the terms clitic and agreement, and gave a summary of West Iranian clitic person markers. This chapter surveys the previous scholarship on the West Iranian clitic PMs, and serves as a bridge from the theoretical considerations pointed out in Chapter 1 to the survey of the clitic systems in following chapters, with the aim to conduct the reader through a logical and intelligible mode of presentation. In doing so, §2.1 gives an overview of the literature on the paradigm of clitic PMs and their historical derivations. In the follow-up sections, we will survey the existing scholarship on the rise of procliticization in modern languages (§2.2), functionality of clitic PMs (§2.3), and their morphosyntax (§2.4), respectively. Section 2.5 summarizes what the literature lacks in the study of clitic systems of WILs, and in which aspects the current thesis attempts to fill the gap in our understanding of West Iranian clitic PMs. Finally, in §2.6 we shall give a summary of the content of the thesis.

2.1 Literature on the paradigm of clitic PMs

The clitic paradigms of modern WILs are assumed to be derived from Old Iranian forms and ultimately go back to Proto-Indo-European (Korn 2009). In Old Iranian period, clitic PMs were of two sets: gen./dat. and acc. These two sets diminished to one set in Middle and Modern Iranian languages, as illustrated below for the paradigm of clitic PMs in modern Persian:

Table 7: Clitic PMs in modern Persian

	SG	PL
1	=m	=mān
2	=t	=tān
3	=š	=šān

A recurrent debate on the historical derivation of clitic PMs of modern languages centres around tracking their origins to either the accusative set or the genitive/dative set of Old Iranian clitic pronouns. According to a common view, clitic PMs of modern languages are derived from their gen./dat. ancestors in Old Iranian. More recently, this line of thought has been vouched in Gholami (2018: 113): "in both Zoroastrians Dari of Kerman (ZDK) and Zoroastrians Dari of Yazd (ZDY), as in Persian and other languages as well, the pronominal

clitics for the singular are derived from the Old Iranian gen./dat. pronominal clitics, e.g. 1sg. om/m<(Old Persian)OP -maiy, 2sg. ot/od <OP -taiy, 3sg. -oš/š <OP -šaiy."

Korn (2009) favours an alternative view according to which the clitic PMs of modern languages are best considered reflexes of both OIr. gen./dat. and acc. sets (see Ch. 3 for more details). Such an approach has also been taken up by Haig (2018a: 794) in his discussion of the historical origins of Iranian clitic person markers.

Predictions on the dialectology of modern Iranian languages have been made with regard to certain cells in the clitic paradigm. For instance, the form of 3SG clitic PMs as either =š or =i, deriving from -šaiy and -hōi forms in Old Iranian respectively, has been viewed as a 'long recognized isogloss' within West Iranian languages (Windfuhr & Arbor 1989: 259). As a result, modern languages are being classified as either deriving from -šaiy forms or -hōi forms. The paradigm of clitic PMs in Balochi, however, shows that both =š and =i occur as alternate forms for the 3SG clitic (Korn 2009: 164), thus posing a challenge to the mentioned isogloss. It will be seen throughout Chapter 3 that indeed more languages have both forms for 3SG clitic PMs, further questioning such an isogloss.

Another aspect to the historical origin of clitic PMs is the derivations of such person markers not from their 'pronominal' ancestors, but from the corresponding paradigm of verbal affix PMs or copula PMs. This line of research has been taken up in Korn (2011). For example, 1SG clitic PM of Semnani -an is considered to be derived from the corresponding cell in the Vaff PM paradigm (Korn 2011: 64). In §3.2.1 we present a critical review for such derivations and add some more derivations.

The research on the historical source of clitic PMs already equips us with enough understanding of the origins of clitic PMs. However, the previous scholarship has neglected the fact that clitic person markers might extend to the paradigm of Vaff PMs, either totally, or partly. For instance, Stilo (2008a: 367) holds that 1PL and 2PL forms of Vaff PM paradigm in Taleshi are derived from clitic PMs. In §3.2.2 we follow this line of research and explore the range of extensions from the clitic paradigm into the Vaff PM paradigm.

2.2 Literature on the rise of proclitics

Previous scholarship has generally assumed that encliticization is the sole mode of phonological attachment of clitics in WILs (e.g. Lecoq 2002: 86; Korn 2009: 159). It is only more recently and in passing that the proclitic attachment of clitics in a subset of WILs has

been recognized (cf. Dabir-Moghaddam 2008; Jügel 2017; Gholami 2018). As will be seen, no thorough analysis, synchronic or diachronic, has been proposed for proclitics. Consequently, we rely on glossing conventions used in these studies in order to grasp the gist of the underlying analysis.

A crucial point to consider in the discussion of procliticization is the fact that some modern languages have developed the latter out of the previous enclitic attachment in Old and Middle languages. In this transition the particles *o-* and *a-* play an important role; these particles go back to clause-initial conjunctions *u-* 'and' and *a(h)-* 'then, thus' in Middle Iranian, respectively (Brunner 1977), and act as clitic hosts when other eligible clitic hosts are absent in the clause (see § 3.3.3).

Apart from Gholami, who does not speak of the origins of *o-*, Dabir-Moghaddam and Jügel converge on the verdict that the particle *o-* of modern languages in (40) originates in the Middle Iranian conjunction *u*. However, these three works treat *o-* differently:

(40)   a.   ***o=š***   *vā*
                  PTC=3SG:A   say.PST
                  'He said.' (Lari_ Dabir-Moghaddam 2008)

       b.   ***oš***   *vā*
                  3SG.OBL   say.PST
                  'He said.' (Middle Persian_ Jügel 2017)

       c.   ***um=di***
                  1SG:A=see.PST
                  'I saw.' (Zoroastrian dialect of Kerman_ Gholami 2018: 117, transcription modified)

Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) favours the analysis in (40.a). He takes the instances of *o-* in Lari and Davani as a particle to which clitic PMs encliticize. His analysis fails to address the fact that *o-* is acting differently in these two languages. While in Davani it is still a particle which recurs with all the cells of the clitic paradigm[26], In Larestani it has become a supporting vowel which only resurfaces with the consonant-only form of singular clitic PMs: contrast the paradigmatic form of the verb *dian* 'to see' in the past tense constructions of the two languages:

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[26] Moreover, Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) reduces the resurfacing of *o-* in Davani to constructions with the verb as the only host. This stance is strongly refuted in (§3.3.3 & §8.3.5.1).

(41)	**Davani**		**Lari**	
	o=m	*di*	*om=di*	'I saw'
	o=t	*di*	*ot=di*	'You (sg.) saw'
	o=š	*di*	*oš=di*	'S/he saw'
	o=mu	*di*	*mon=di*	'We saw'
	o=tu	*di*	*ton=di*	'You (pl.) saw'
	o=šu	*di*	*šon=di*	'they saw'

Taking insights from Ivanow (1940), Jügel (2017) favours an oblique analysis of the combination *o + clitic*, thus ex. (40. b) above, in a way that the whole unit is considered an independent oblique pronoun. It is nevertheless undoubted that the combination *o + clitic* cannot stand by itself as a unit, e.g. in response to a question. Accordingly, the term 'oblique pronoun' is misleading. His stance seems to only be applied to Middle Iranian, and is not applicable to modern languages. However, Jügel seems to imply that the same stance is taken for the analysis of such a unit in Yazdi Zoroastrian, which has the same paradigm as the one of Lari seen in (41). Thus, this combination can solely be assumed for singular forms, hence *om*, *ot*, *oš*, but not for plural forms, which do not appear with the the preceding *o*, hence *mo*, *to*, *šo*.

Finally, Gholami (2018) favours the synchronic analysis in (40.c). This analysis is the one advocated for in this thesis. The author attributes the rise of procliticization in modern languages to the changes that has occurred in the ergative construction. She does not provide any argumentation for her claim rather takes it for granted with the decay of ergativity, i.e. the loss of object agreement with object NP, the enclitics become proclitics not only in the dialects of Zoroastrians but also elsewhere in the languages spoken in the south of Iran (e.g. Lari, Hormozgani, etc.). In addition, the author assumes that only A-past clitics have become proclitics (p. 177). However, proclitic attachment involves virtually all functions of clitics (see §3.3 and §5.6). In Chapter 3, under §3.3.3, we provide an alternative analysis according to which the rise of procliticization in modern languages is directly related to the reanalysis of the erstwhile clitic hosting particles of Middle Iranian period. This reanalysis is assumed to have originated by the rightward drift of clitic PMs form the clause-second position to the verbal domain.

2.3 Previous scholarship on the functionality of clitic PMs

Functional range of West Iranian clitic PMs has been the subject of a number of studies, either in passing or conclusively. A look at the literature reveals that the role of clitic PMs has been surveyed along four major aspects: (i) the listing of clitic functions; (ii) the grammaticalization

of clitic PMs; (iii) the correlation between clitic PMs and the nominal case system; (iv) the role of clitic PMs in the alignment system. In the following sub-sections each of these aspects will be reviewed.

Before turning to the four aspects mentioned, a few points on the development of clitic PMs' functionality should be noted. According to Haig (2008: Ch. 3), from their early attestations clitic PMs marked a bundle of indirect participant functions, including external possessors, beneficiary, recipients, experiencers, and adnominal possessors. These functions are the direct continuation of the functional domain of Old Iranian genitive and dative cases. He further assumes that the functions of clitics as indexing core arguments of past transitive subjects (A-past) and direct objects (O) are in fact derived from the 'constructional polysemy' of the notion of indirect participant, as the latter shares the semantic feature of [+human] with agents, and affectedness with objects. This claim is actually well substantiated in the grammaticalization of case functions, according to which dative case functions (which have the similar range of functions as indirect participants) can extend to both patients and agents (see Narrog 2014). The 'indirect participant' function of clitic PMs in Old Iranian is exemplified below:

(42)   *at̯-cā=**v̄ə̄***   *mīždə̄m*   *aŋhat̯*
        thus-and=2PL:DAT   fruit   become.PRS.IRR.3SG
        'Thus and fruit will rise for you.' (Old Avestan_ Haig 2008: 56)

(43)   *ada=**taiy***   *azdā*   *bavātiy*
        then=2SG:GEN   known   be.PRS.3SG
        'Then (it) is known to you.'   (Old Persian_ Haig 2008: 57, citing Kent 1953)

In addition, Haig presumes a parallelism between the shifts in the clitic paradigm and the nominal case system (2008: 116):

> The original range of 4–6 nonnominative cases available in Old Iranian had melded to a single Oblique case by Middle Iranian, which continued to fulfil the functions of the old non-nominative cases. Likewise, of the different case forms of the clitics, only one survived, which again covered all the old functions.

In other words, the resultant oblique case and the clitic pronouns continued to mark oblique functions in the grammar of languages. However, unlike the later loss of case distinction in some modern languages, clitic PMs continue to mark the oblique functions (2008: 116).

Haig's observations already shed light on diverse aspects of clitic PMs' functionality across WILs, and can be summarized as follows:

(I)   The indirect participation is the primary function of clitics

(II)   The functions of clitics as indexing core arguments of 'A-past' and 'direct object' are considered 'radial extensions' of clitics' primary functions as indirect participants.

(III)   The development of clitic PMs since Old Iranian parallels that of the nominal case system, in a way that both the resultant oblique case and the clitic pronouns continued to mark oblique functions in the grammar of languages

(IV)   Clitic PMs continue to be present in the grammar of most languages, regardless of the presence or not of the nominal case system in languages.

While keeping Haig's generalizations in mind, the literature on the functionality of clitic PMs across Western Iranian will be reviewed in the following sub-sections.

2.3.1 The listing of clitic functions

The listing of clitic functions is especially relevant in the descriptive grammars of individual languages. Here, the authors simply classify the functionality of clitic PMs of their studied languages: Central Kurdish (MacKenzie 1961: 77-78; Öpengin 2016: 94), Southern Kurdish (Fattah 2000: 282–291), Central Plateau dialects (Lecoq 2002: 89-90), Minabi (Barbera 2005: 50), Taleshi dialects (Paul 2010: 82), Gorani (MacKenzie 1966: 25; Mahmoudveysi and Bailey 2013: 29), Koroshi (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 56-58); Laki of Harsin (Belelli 2016: 64-65), etc. Since clitic PMs is not the grammarians' main area of interest, an inconclusive list of clitic functions is often provided. For instance, the full range of non-canonical constructions, where the deviant marking of the subject-like argument is frequently handled by clitic PMs, is at times lacking in the descriptive grammars.

The listing of clitic functions has also been discussed in more theoretical works on the clitic system of languages. Among these, one can mention Haig (2008); Öpengin (2013); Gholami (2018), and Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear). Haig (2008: 105) provides a list of clitic functions in Western Middle Iranian as follows: (i) an A-past; (ii) an O-prs; (iii) an indirect participant; (iv) an adpositional complement; (v) an adnominal possessor. He applies the same classification to the clitic functionality in Central Kurdish and suggests that "it [the list] is a fair approximation of clitic pronouns [clitic PMs, MM] whenever they are found in West Iranian: the only regular difference across individual languages is whether or not they use the clitic in the A-past function." (2008: 283). This point will be taken up in Ch. 4 again where we add that languages also differ largely in the extent they employ clitics for indexing the subject-like argument in non-canonical subject constructions.

Öpengin (2013) sticks virtually to the same classification of clitic functionality in Mukri Central Kurdish as Haig (2008) does for Central Kurdish. However, he assumes an 'adverbial function' (locative adverb) for clitic PMs on the basis of the following examples:

(44) *ege   mā-b-ē-t=ī̄*
      if   remain.PST-be.IRR.PRS-3SG-EP=3SG:NC
      'If it still exists' [if it has remained] (Öpengin 2013: 241)

(45) *qend=ī̄   lē-ye*
      sugar=3SG:R   at-COP.3SG
      'Is there (any) sugar?

(44) can be considered an example of 'predicative possession'. Note that the argument structure and semantics of the verb *mān* 'to remain, to exist' in Kurdish is identical to that of the existential stem *ha-* 'exist'; both verbs denote the possession of an entity by a possessor. Therefore, ex. (44) can be alternatively translated as 'if something still exists/remains to it'. In (45), on the other hand, the fronted clitic is actually the complement of the preposition *lē* 'at'; the translation thus should be "Is there any sugar in it?". Thus, it can be said that the clitic PMs of Mukri do not fulfil an adverbial function.

Gholami (2018: 114-117) gives a list of clitic functions in the Zoroastrian dialect of Kerman as follows: (i) O-prs, (ii) indirect participant, (iii) adnominal possessor, (iv) their use in the perfect and pluperfect tense, (v) a combination of 3SG clitic PM *š* and the preposition *e*, (vi) their use with modal verbs, (vii) A-past. As for (iv), the author has conflated the form of clitic PMs with their functions, i.e. clitic PMs still index the A-past NP in perfect and pluperfect verb forms but for the author the different form of the clitic PMs in simple past vs. perfect constructions means that clitic PMs have a different function. Regarding (v), the author does not clearly state that the clitic marks the complement of a preposition, but only takes *še* as a combination of 3SG clitic *š* plus preposition *e*.

Finally, Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear) give a classification of clitic functions across Kurdic dialects. This classification contains two parameters to the functionality of clitic PMs: (a) whether or not clitic PMs mark the function in question; (b) whether or not they are obligatory in indexing the relevant function. The authors state that clitics' functionality in Kurdic differs along three major lines: (i) the obligatoriness or not of the A-past indexing and the marking or not of the latter via clitic PMs; (ii) the degree of marking non-subject arguments in the past tense via clitic PMs; (iii) the range of non-canonical constructions across Kurdic. The authors draw a cline of ergativity based on these parameters, according to which in the more conservative dialects where ergativity is well-preserved: (a) the indexing of an A-past NP

is contingent either on the absence of coreferential oblique NPs or is different from the indexing of A-prs NPs; (b) only A-past is realized as a clitic PM and the realization of other non-subject arguments changes into a verbal affix in the same local domain with an A-past clitic; (c) the range of non-canonical subject constructions is more extensive.

2.3.2 The grammaticalization of clitic PMs

Another aspect to the investigation of clitic PMs' functionality is the grammaticalization of such items in their function as indexing A-past NPs out of the previous pronominal function. In general, two approaches to the grammaticalization of A-past clitic PMs can be distinguished in the literature: the first approach, initially introduced by Bynon (1979) and later followed in Jügel (2009; 2015) and Jügel & Samvelian (2020), assumes that A-past clitics primarily resumed the external topic NP. For instance, in the following example, the clitic PM =*yān* is taken to be a resumptive pronoun which historically licensed agreement with the external topic *šwānakān* 'the shepherds'.

(46) *šwān-akān*   *asp-akān=**yān***   *bīnī*
      shepherd-DEF.PL   horse-DEF.PL=3PL:A   see.PST
      'The shepherds saw the horses.' (Suleimani CK_ Bynon 1979: 216)

In Bynon's account, the resumptive pronoun =*yān* came to express subject-verb agreement following the loss of O-agreement on the verb. This loss of O-agreement caused a conflation between the grammatical subject (logical object), which previously controlled verb agreement, i.e. *aspakān* in (46), and the logical (topicalized) subject, which was resumed by a pronominal clitic. In other words, a conflation could have occurred between uninflected core arguments of the verb. This conflation was resolved when clitic pronouns developed into agreement markers following the generalization of topicalized overt subject NPs into unmarked subjects.

Jügel (2009) has a slightly different account for the grammaticalization of A-past clitics than Bynon. While in line with Bynon, he maintains the reinterpretation of an earlier 'topic-agreement' to subject-verb agreement, however, for Jügel this introduction of obligatory A-past agreement should not have stopped the historic O-agreement, yet Central Kurdish chose to stop O-agreement.

On the other hand, while embracing this reanalysis scenario, Jügel & Samvelian (2020) add that the close similarity between clitic pronouns and verbal agreement affixes in terms of the 'weight of indexing' facilitated the analysis of clitic pronouns as agreement markers. They

further suggest that the same developmental path might have occurred to clitics indexing the experiencer in non-canonical subject constructions.

Note that in line with Givon (1976) these accounts converge on the assumption that subject agreement stemmed from the topicalization of pronouns. More recently, Haig (2018b; 2020) cautiously opts for an alternative frequency-based account to the rise of A-past agreement. He refers to the Jügel's (2015) count of A-past clitics in the Middle Persian corpus, according to which 44 per cent of all past transitive constructions had A-past clitics. This high percentage of clitic pronouns is atypical comparing to the relevant percentages from other languages, and for Haig suggests that clitic pronouns are "qualitatively different from their free pronouns". Haig points to the following example in where the clitic PM has unexpectedly resumed the relativization on the subject slot, though such a relativization is not necessary in Iranian:

(47) *ēk,   ke=š   man   brēhēnīd*
      one   that=3SG:A   1SG   create.PST.3SG
      'one which created me.' [lit. one that he created me] (Zoroastrian Middle Persian_
      Haig 2018b: 67 citing Jügel 2015: 378)

This example suggests that A-past clitics were already demonstrating traits of agreement markers in Middle Persian and did not display a typical behaviour of a pronoun. Haig concludes that: "the clitic subject pronouns of Middle Iranian, while not agreement markers in a strict sense, nevertheless differed in their distribution significantly from free subject pronouns in other Iranian languages" (2018b: 67).

Haig (2018a: 800; 2018b) gives a brief overview to the fate of alternating A-past clitic PMs of Old and Middle Iranian periods in modern languages as follows: (i) in some languages, e.g. Central Kurdish, they grammaticalized into obligatory agreement markers; (ii) in some they were abandoned and gave their way to verbal endings, e.g. Persian; (iii) in some they remain alternating indices, e.g. Taleshi, as in Middle Iranian. The development of A-past indexing clitics will be fully investigated across modern languages in Ch. 4 under §4.2.2.

2.3.3 The correlation between clitic PMs and the case system

As noted briefly in §2.4.1 a parallelism between the loss of nominal case morphology and the increase in the use of clitics has been assumed in the literature. This has been put forward more evidently in Haig (2008: 105): "the simplification of the case system between Old and Middle Iranian was, to some extent, compensated for by the massive increase in the use of clitics".

Recently, Jügel & Samvelian (2016) attempt to answer a question related to the hypothesis mentioned above, that is, what relationship exists between the maintenance or not of the nominal case system and the loss or prevalence of clitic person markers in WILs. To answer this question, the authors employ three parameters, on the basis of which one can obtain a typology of Iranian languages in this regard: (i) pronominal clitics function solely as pronouns [PC$_{pron}$], i.e. they non-obligatorily mark object, possessor, and oblique arguments; (ii) clitic PMs mark A-past agreement [PC$_{agr}$]; (iii) the language has a nominal case morphology [case]. These parameters are binary, and their combination gives rise to eight probable types. In Persian for instance clitic PMs are only pronouns, hence [+PC$_{pron}$], they don't index agreement relation[27] [-PC$_{agr}$], and the case system is lost [-case]. Persian is thus classified as [–case][+PC$_{pron}$][–PC$_{agr}$]. Other possible types are listed below. In the author's corpus no language was found to represent the type [–case][– PC$_{pron}$][+ PC$_{agr}$].

Type 1 : [–case][+ PC$_{pron}$][–PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Persian)
Type 2 : [–case][+PC$_{pron}$][+PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Central Kurdish)
Type 3 : [+case][+PC$_{pron}$][+PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Mukri Kurdish, Koroshi)
Type 4 : [+case][+PC$_{pron}$][–PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Gilaki)
Type 5 : [+case][–PC$_{pron}$][+PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Taleshi)
Type 6 : [+case][–PC$_{pron}$][–PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Kurmanji)
Type 7 : [–case][–PC$_{pron}$][–PC$_{agr}$] (e.g. Mazani)
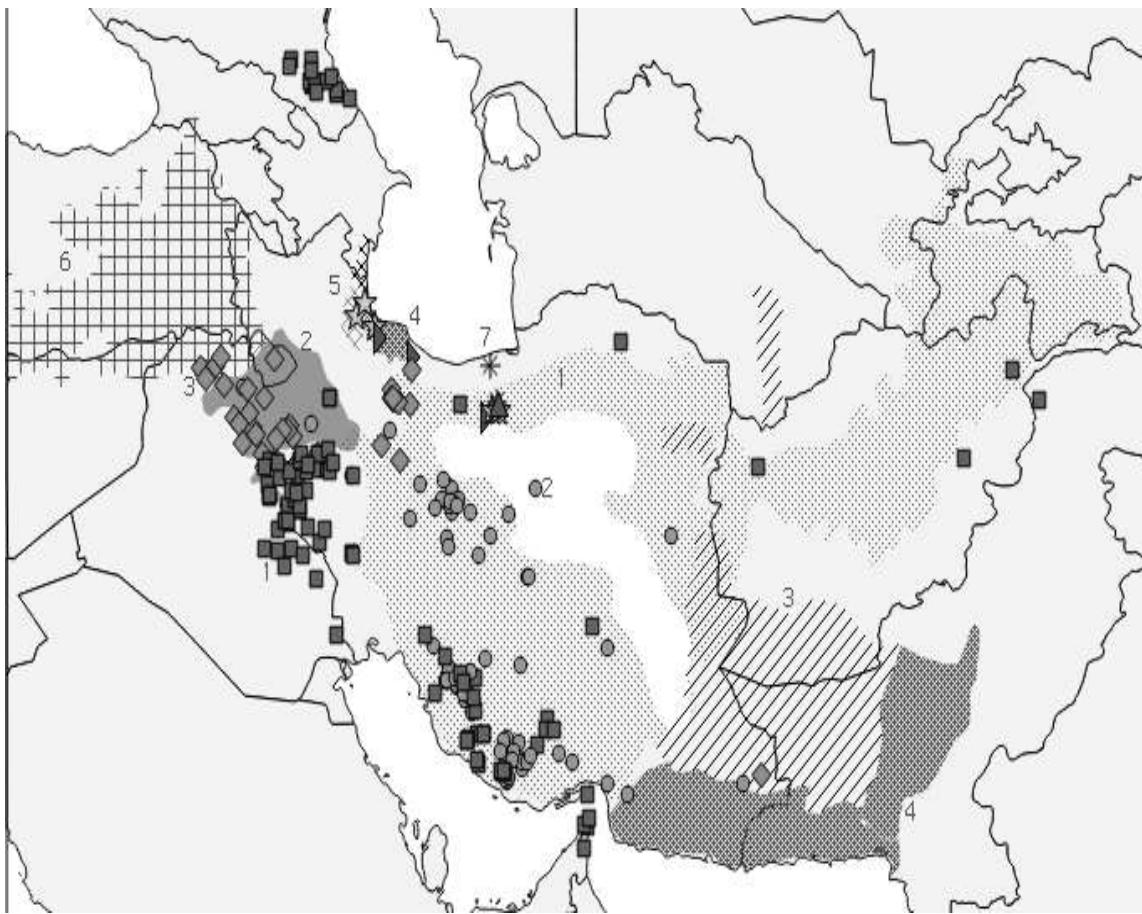
Figure 6 illustrates the geographic distribution of these types (Jügel & Samvelian 2016: 422):

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[27] Although the authors accept that clitic PMs of Persian show properties of agreement markers in some non-canonical constructions, they choose not to consider them agreement markers, rather their choice of the [PC$_{agr}$] parameter is reserved for the agreement function of clitic PMs in indexing A-past NPs.

Figure 6: three-way typology of Iranian languages based on features [case][PCpron][PCagr]

Symbols: type 1■; type 2: ●; type 3:◆; type 4:+; type 5☆; type 6:►; type 7:✳

On the basis of attested types, the authors conclude that the hypothesis if a language has preserved its case system, then it does not make use of pronominal clitics, is far from absolute. Note that this hypothesis could nonetheless be applied to Kurmanji and Zazaki . They add that if one considers only parameters of case and pronominal function of clitics, two axes of north and south can be distinguished: in the former the clitics are lost, while in the latter the case system has disappeared. Among these two extremes lies the intermediary zone where clitics have been preserved but their pronominal function has given its way to the A-past agreement, i.e. type 5: [+case][–PC$_{pron}$][+PC$_{agr}$].

The authors claim that type 5 i.e. [+case][–PC$_{pron}$][+PC$_{agr}$], attested in Semnani, Taleshi, Shahrudi, Aftari, demonstrates that the agreement function of the clitic, i.e. [PC$_{agr}$] is independent of the two other parameters, namely [case] and [PC$_{pron}$]. However, note that it is through the grammaticalization of the pronominal function of clitics that these latter turn into agreement markers (see §2.4.2). In addition, among all the attested types, type 5 causes an anomaly: for instance, in types 2 and 3, [+PC$_{agr}$] implies [+PC$_{pron}$] in line with predictions of

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the grammaticalization. Types 1 and 4 on the other hand suggest that [+PC$_{pron}$] does not necessarily imply [+PC$_{agr}$], again in accordance with predictions of grammaticalization. Finally, types 6 and 7 suggest that [–PC$_{pron}$] implies [–PC$_{agr}$]. However, type 5 suggests that [–PC$_{pron}$] can imply [+PC$_{agr}$], against the implication attested for types 6 and 7.

Note that the authors seem to have taken for granted that the A-past clitic PMs of type 5 languages are obligatory, hence [+PC$_{agr}$]. Our data from the field actually questions this type and demonstrates instead that the A-past indexing clitic PMs of these languages are in complementary distribution with overt subject NPs. Therefore, the clitics should be regarded as pronouns. Consequently, type 5 should be rather left out and languages subsumed under this type be grouped under type 4: [+ case][+ PC$_{pron}$][–PC$_{agr}$]. We can predict that these languages eventually grammaticalize clitics in indexing A-past NPs, but this would happen with the levelling of the A-past NP case marking in the past tense to that of A-prs NP case marking (see §4.3 for details), that is a direct case marking for A-past NP like in the present tense constructions. This process has already happened in Takestani (see §8.3.2.2) and to a large extent in Southern Taleshi (See Paul 2010 for more details). This point in turn suggests that the case parameter should be applied differently to those languages which have maintained it, and consequently the north-south axis, proposed by authors, should be modified.

Apart from this drawback, which results from the use of secondary sources for giving this three-way typology, Jügel & Samvelian's paper provides us with invaluable information about the correlations between clitic PMs and case systems, the geographical distribution of languages with A-past clitic indexing, and that of languages which solely have a pronominal function for clitic PMs.

2.3.4 Clitic PMs and their role in the alignment system

Another aspect to investigation of clitic PMs' functionality is their role in identifying the alignment system of individual languages. Quite expectedly, this concerns solely obligatory indexing of A-past arguments through clitic PMs. The role of clitic PMs in the alignment system has been highlighted in a number of studies, notably MacKenzie (1961), Bynon (1979), Lazard (2005), Haig (2008), Jügel (2009), Dabir-Moghaddam (2012), and Öpengin (2013). One factor to the determination of alignment is then how A-past clitics are analysed, while the other factor being agreement with the O-past NP. The relevant facts are demonstrated with the following examples from Central Kurdish:

(48)   *min*   *hāt-**im***   *bo*   *ēra*
          1SG   come.PST-1SG:SG   to   here
          'I came here.' (Haig 2018: 279, transcription modified)

(49)   *ēwa*   *min=**tān***   *bīnī*
          2PL   1SG:O=2PL:A   see.PST
          'You saw me.' (Haig 2018: 279, transcription modified)

(50)   *bīnī=**tān**-**im***
          see.PST=2PL:A-1SG:O
          'You (pl.) saw me.' (Suleimani Central Kurdish_ Bynon 1979: 219)

In (48) and (49) the person markers realize agreement with S and A arguments, respectively. The O argument on the other hand is only indexed through verbal affix PMs when the coreferential O NP is absent in the clause, as the contrast between (50) and (49) shows: in (49), there is no agreement with the overt O argument; however, in (50) the 1SG Vaff PM resumes the absent O argument.

Taking A-past indexing clitic PMs of Central Kurdish as pronouns, and assuming a zero default O-agreement analysis for the O argument in (49), MacKenzie (1961) adopts an ergative analysis for past tense constructions of Central Kurdish. Though note that Mackenzie himself calls the construction in (49) an 'agential construction'. He loosely refers to constructions like (49) as a passive type of structure. This view has been criticized in Bynon (1979), Samvelian (2007a; 2013) and Jügel (2009), who rather call for an accusative alignment of past tense constructions for the reason that S and A are obligatorily indexed by respective person markers, while O is indexed only in the absence of the coreferential NP, hence a pronoun. On the other hand, taking into account both the form of the person markers and the obligatoriness for Central Kurdish data, Haig (2008: 302) states that: "S, A and O each determine a distinct, but partially overlapping type of agreement." For Haig conventional labels don't really fit for the discussion of alignment in Kurdish (see also Haig 2017 for further discussion of alignment in Kurdish).

Lazard (2005) takes two criteria for determining the alignment in WILs: case marking and the category of person markers in indexing core arguments. In the same manner, Dabir-Moghaddam (2012) takes the form of person markers as the indicator of the alignment system and disregards the functional status of person markers as pronouns or agreement markers. For Dabir-Moghadddam the fact that both in (48) and (50) the same set of person markers index S and O, while A is indexed differently (i.e. by a clitic PM), is an indication of ergativity in Central Kurdish. He applies the same analysis to other Kurdish dialects, and to other Iranian languages as well, especially in his recent work (Dabir-Moghaddam 2013). As another example, in ex. (51) from the Sanandaji dialect of CK, both A and O are indexed by the clitic

PMs, contrary to the S which is always indexed by verbal affix PMs. Dabir-Moghaddam claims that constructions of this type exhibit 'double-oblique' alignment, since A and O are indexed identically. Note further that the O-past indexing in (51) is conditioned, whereas the A-past indexing is obligatory.

(51)   *di=tān=yān*
           see.PST=2PL:O=3PL:A
           'They saw you.' (Dabir-Moghaddam 2012: 57)

Finally, Öpengin (2013) takes both the obligatoriness and the form of person markers as parameters for defining the alignment in Central Kurdish. He concludes that Mukri CK is ergative-absolutive in terms of the category of person marker (S=O≠A), but is nominative-accusative in terms of the syntactic status of the core arguments, i.e. S and A are obligatorily indexed, while O indexing is conditioned to absence of its coreferential NP (S=A≠O).

2.4 Previous scholarship on the placement of clitic PMs across WILs

The placement of West Iranian clitic PMs has been subject to diverse studies. Among WILs, Central Kurdish has gained the most attention regarding the positioning of its clitic PMs (see Samvelian 2007a, 2007b, 2013; Haig 2008; Öpengin 2013: chaps. 5, 6, 2019; Öpengin and Mohammadirad *to appear*). Persian is another language whose clitic PMs' syntax has been studied to a good extent (Samvelian & Tseng 2010, Rasekh 2014, among others). However, other WILs have been investigated only in passing with regard to the syntax of clitic PMs: for example, Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) gives a brief overview of the domain of cliticization of A-past clitics in Balochi dialects, Central Kurdish, Laki, Davani, Naeini, and Larestani. At any rate, a considerable amount of research is missing on the clitic placement across WILs (see below).

In what follows, I divide the literature on the West Iranian clitic placement into three sections: (i) the domain of cliticization; (ii) adpositions and cliticization; (iii) clitic-affix combinations. These three components are at the heart of much of the literature on the West Iranian clitic placement, and their review will allow us to situate ourselves in the right position to further investigate the syntax of clitics.

2.4.1 Previous scholarship on the domain of clitic placement in Iranian languages

We start our investigation of the cliticization domain with the relevant literature on Central Kurdish. Samvelian (2007b: 243) suggests the following placement rule for clitic positioning in Central Kurdish:

> "Clitics, roughly speaking, attach to the right edge of the 'verbal phrase' (i.e. an instance of the so-called 'second position' clitics). When the verb is the first member of the VP, the clitic interrupts the verb (i.e. endoclitic) and is placed after the first morpheme of the verb."

In addition, she adds that the subject NP is excluded for clitic hosting. VP-second positioning is seen in the following examples: in (52)–(53) the clitic has appeared after the first syntactic constituent of the VP (i.e. the object NP, and the prepositional phrase, respectively), while in (54)–(55) it has appeared on the first morphological element within the verb form:

(52) *xezīne-ī* *pādšā=**yān*** *tālān* *kird-bū*
   treasure-EZ king=3PL:A pillage   do.PST-PPRF
   'They had pillaged the king's treasure.' (Öpengin 2013: 303, glossing modified)

(53) *min* *ba* *Narmin=**ī*** *de-lē-m*
   1SG to PN=3SG:O IND-say.PRS-1SG
   'I'm telling it to Narmin.' (Samvelian 2007a: 267)

(54) *da=**m**-xwārd*
   IPFV=1SG:A-eat.PST
   'I was eating.' (Samvelian 2007a: 270)

(55) *nārd=**mān-in***
   send.PST=1PL:A-3PL:O
   'We sent them.' (Samvelian 2007a: 270)

Samvelian favours an affixal analysis of clitics in Central Kurdish. Therefore, the occurrence of the clitic PMs in (52)–(53) where they attach to syntactic phrases is analysed as cases of phrasal affixes, while their occurrence on the first morphological element within the verb form in (54)–(55) is viewed as instances of lexical affixes. This stance has the advantage of giving a unified analysis of clitics and reduces clitics' unexpected realization as endoclitics to their affixal behaviour. Indeed, the same affixal analysis of clitic PMs has been applied to Persian clitics in Samvelian & Teseng (2010). Under her affixal analysis of clitics, the apparent anomalies with clitics' non-second positioning in the following examples is resolved by recourse to the fact that affixes illustrate idiosyncrasies in the attachment to their host.

(56)   *nārd-**in=ī***
       send.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A
       'He sent them.' (Samvelian 2007a: 272)

(57)   *nārd-ū=**tān-in***
       send.PST-PTCP=2PL:A-3PL:O
       'You have sent them.' (Samvelian 2007a: 272)

Neither in (56) nor in (57) is the second positioning of clitics observed: in (56) the 3SG clitic has exceptionally followed the verbal affix PM, and in (57) the clitic is positioned after the participle affix. These violations in clitics' second positioning led Samvelian to conclude that "the placement of clitics cannot be accounted for in terms of second position, whatever the definition of such a position be" (Samvelian 2007a: 272)

Another account for the placement of clitic PMs in Central Kurdish is given in Haig (2008). Haig assumes a syntactic account of clitic placement in CK: "clitics attach to the leftmost constituent of their phrases" (2008: 285). For Haig, the left-most constituent for A-past and O-prs clitics is the first constituent of the VP. He suggests that the following hierarchy[28] can be taken as the cliticization domain for O-prs and A-past clitics (even though they exhibit some small differences for clitic positioning):

Preverbal particles etc. > Preverbal TAM/Negation > Verb stem

This hierarchy suggests that the clitic opts for the first constituent to the left as its anchor, and it is only in the absence of such a constituent that the clitic moves on to take the immediate element to its right as the host. Note that Haig does not discuss whether the positioning of clitics into the verb forms in the 'endoclitic' grab has any implication for VP-based placement rule, rather it is implied that VP-based positioning is determined differently according to the syntactic host.
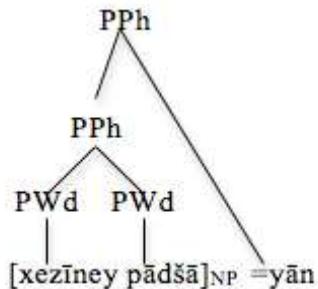
Another major contribution to the clitic placement in Central Kurdish is Öpengin (2013, Ch. 5, 6). As for the domain of cliticization, Öpengin calls for a prosodic analysis (2013: 329):

> "It is suggested the clitic PMs are systematically positioned in the 'second-position' of the VP. The 'second' here is determined with respect to the PPh [phonological phrase]. A clitic thus is assumed to occur always in a PPh, sometimes by simple adjoining while some other times as part of the PWd projecting the PPh."

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[28] Haig develops this hierarchy for the placement of O-prs and applies it to A-past clitics. Although he confirms that Object NP is a regular A-past clitic host, he does not include it in the hierarchy of possible hosts for the placement of A-past clitics.
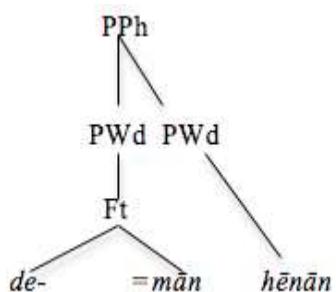
In Öpengin's account occurrences of clitics after the first syntactic element of the VP (ex. 52 above), and its third positioning in the verbal domain (ex. 57) are instances of free clitics[29], which have adjoined to a PPh. The prosodic integration of the clitic after the first syntactic element of the VP (related to ex. 52) is shown below (Öpengin 2013: 319):

Figure 7: prosodic structure of cliticization in the pre-verbal domain

Finally, instances of endocliticization on pre-verbal inflectional prefixes are taken to be cases of internal clitics. Here, the clitic PM forms a secondary stress with the TAM. This secondary stress does not cause any change in the stress pattern of the verb form. The clitic and the pre-verbal TAM prefix form a Foot and project their own PWd, which in turn projects a PPh.

(58)   *de=mān-hēnā-n*   (ˌde.mān.hēˈ.nān)
        IPFV=1PL-bring.PST-3PL
        'We would bring them.' (Öpengin 2013: 324)

Figure 8: prosodic structure of cliticization on the modal/aspectual *de-*[30]

Öpengin's prosodic analysis works only at the cost of certain adaptations to the data: for instance, while the TAM affix *de-* does not take stress, it is however, considered as prosodic word. In addition, Öpengin's prosodic analysis predicts for the presence of only one clitic with large scope over the two coordinate verbs. However, each clitic is repeated on each coordinate verb:

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[29] See Selkirk (1995) for possible prosodic combinations resulting from the attachment of a clitic to its host.

[30] Öpengin (2013: 325)

(59)   *bird=ī-ū*   *xwārd=ī*   */ * bird=ī-ū*   *xwārd*
       take.PST=3SG:A-and   eat.PST=3SG:A   take.PST=3SG:A-and   eat.PST
       'He took (it) and ate (it).'

So far, we have distinguished three accounts to the domain of cliticization in Central Kurdish: affixal (Samvelian 2007a, 2007b), syntactic (Haig 2008), and prosodic (Öpengin 2013). A last major contribution is a comparative study of clitic placement across Kurdic languages by Öpengin and Mohammadirad (to appear). The authors consider the VP as the domain of cliticization across Kurdic languages, i.e. cliticization after the first constituent of the VP. They point that one major variation across Kurdic is the fact that in Central Kurdish and some Northern Kurdish dialects bordering CK speech zone the first eligible constituent of the VP for clitic hosting can be either a syntactic constituent or a morphological element. However, in Southern Kurdish, Laki, and Gorani VP-initial constituent can only be a syntactic element, i.e. morphological elements are skipped as clitic hosts. Another major difference between Kurdic languages is the extent to which dialects allow multiple cliticization in the past transitive constructions. According to this criterion, in the more conservative dialects of Mukri Central Kurdish, Gorani of Hawraman, and some Laki, only A-past clitic can be present in the VP, while the realization of other non-subject arguments changes into a verbal affix PM. This restriction is looser in CK and Gorani dialects bordering Southern Kurdish speech zone, and is totally avoided in Southern Kurdish dialects.

Other Iranian languages have also been subject to research with respect to the domain of cliticization. Among these, one can mention Gazi, a Central Plateau dialect. Stilo (2004a) claims that clitic PMs have acquired double functions in the past transitive constructions of Gazi, that is, "while their form encodes agreement with A-past, they are commonly shifted leftwards in the clause ("Fronted") and […] by position they generally mark the host as O-past." In other words, clitic PMs positionally act as case markers for O-past NPs. This is shown in the following example:

(60)   *šomā*   *[dandun*   *mo]*^NP-OBJ*=**dun***   *na-ymart*
       2PL   tooth   1SG=2PL:A   NEG-break.PST
       'You didn't break my tooth.'

Stilo confirms that clitic placement in Gazi follows a hierarchy –roughly equal to the first available element within VP, but argues that the direct object is often the first element of the VP. It is then and by attaching to direct object that the clitic simultaneously shows where the object is placed in the sentence. He goes on to propose an 'object eligibility hierarchy' as

follows, according to which "clitic will attach to the most eligible candidate for 'object-like word' and when all else fails, it attaches to the verb."

Direct object > Indirect object > Non-verbal complement of light verb > Adverb/Preposition> verb stem

There are several objections to Stilo's account of clitics as case markers in Gazi: first, like in a good number of Iranian languages, the clitic positioning in Gazi follows a roughly VP-based positioning. To say that the clitic has grammaticalized as an object-marker simply underestimates the hierarchical nature of clitic positioning. Moreover, In Stilo's account O NPs should be marked, either positionally by clitic PMs, or via the accusative marker –(r)a. However, we came across the following examples in Eilers & Schapka (1979) where the object NP has been skipped for clitic hosting and is not accusative-marked either.

(61) *[sar=až]*^{NP-OBJ}   *foru=š*   *ārt*
      head=3SG:POS   landed=3SG:A   bring.PST
      'He paid repect.' [lit. He landed his head] (Eilers & Schapka 1979: 128)

(62) *ru*   *rore*   *de*   *[yek*   *vače*   *mil-i]*^{NP-OBJ}   *bi=ž-git*
      ADP   road   ADP   a   child   sparrow-INDF   PUNCT=3SG:A-catch.PST
      'He caught a baby-sparrow in the road.' (Eilers & Schapka 1979: 128)

Indeed, these examples suggest that clitics are not case markers, nor accusative-marking via *(r)a* has fully extended to the past tense, or at least has extended partially. Furthermore, there are various examples in Eilers & Schapka (1979), where the flagged indirect objects are skipped for clitic hosting, contrary to the so-called 'object eligibility hierarchy'.

(63) a.   *Hātam*   *be*   *mo*   *be=š-vāt*
           PN   to   1SG   PUNCT=3SG:A-say.PST
           'Hatam told me.' (Eilers & Schapka 1979: 124)

      b.   *be*   *mulāzem-un*   *šā*   *be=š-vāt*
           to   attendant-PL   king   PUNCT=3SG:A-say.PST
           'He said to the king's attendants.' (Eilers & Schapka 1979: 126)

In conclusion, a better analysis for clitic placement in Gazi would be that clitics in Gazi follow a roughly VP-second positioning. Consequently, the object-marking account of clitics is rejected here, rather, it would be perhaps more convincing to argue that in line with the neighbouring Southwest Central Plateau dialects of Jondan and Nikabad (see §8.3.3.6), direct objects are not case-marked in the past tense, hence no 'case marker' function for clitics.

The importance of Stilo's account for clitic placement in Gazi lies in the fact that his analysis of clitics as case markers has been adopted either implicitly or explicitly to some other studies

on clitic placement across Iranian languages: for instance, Rasekh-Mahand and Izadifar (2016) adopt Stilo's account directly to the A-past cliticization in Takestani variety of Tati. In the same way, Dabir-Moghaddam (2008: 96) gives the following placement rule for A-past clitic PMs of Central Kurdish, Laki, and Naeini: "the agent clitic attaches to the O […] if there is no O, the verb hosts the agent clitic". Both these studies reduce the clitic placement of their investigated languages to object marking and fail to observe the complexities of the clitic system of their investigated languages.

The A-past clitic placement of a number of other WILs has been surveyed in Dabir-Moghaddam (2008). In discussing the A-past clitic placement in Davani, the author claims that the clause is the domain for cliticization. The clitic then attaches to the first constituent of the clause, cf. (64). In the absence of the subject NP, the O hosts the clitic, cf. (65) (2008: 93). In addition, when the O NP is absent, "the clitic appears along with the particle *o-*", cf. (66). The particle *o-* is a relic of the clause-initial conjunction *u-* 'and' in Middle Iranian:

(64) *ma=**m***   *ketāv* *ese*
      1SG=1SG:A   book   buy.PST
      'I bought a book.'

(65) *ketāv-o=**m***   *ese*
      book-PTC=1SG:A   buy.PST
      'I bought a book.'

(66) *o=**m***   *ese*
      PTC=1SG:A   buy.PST
      'I bought.'

Dabir-Moghaddam's description of clitic system in Davani is based on elicited data and does not sufficiently reflect the complexities of Davani's clitic system. First, he gives no account of the properties of particle *o-*. Moreover, his analysis of the particle *o-* remains confusing for the few set of examples he has provided: for the author, the particle *o-* resurfaces when there is no O argument in the clause, however, it is not clear why the particle *o-* should attach to the O NP in (65). Our alternative analysis, which is based on the analysis of natural data from the field, argues that the particle *o-* continues the function it had in Middle Iranian and resurfaces as the clitic host whenever the clausal-second positioning is at risk for clitic placement, i.e. when the subject argument or other clausal adverbs and conjunctions are absent in the clause. In addition, clauses like (65), where the object NP hosts the A-past clitic, are regarded as the outcome of the weakening of clausal-second positioning.

The A-past clitic positioning of Larestani has also been touched upon in passing in Dabir-Moghaddam (2008). He gives the following rule for A-past clitic placement in Larestani: "it appears that in Larestani the agent clitic [A-past clitic] is placed immediately before the verb either attached to the particle *o-* [ex. 67] or as a proclitic on the verb [ex. 68], or alternatively on a prepositional object if there is one available [ex. 69]." (2008: 96).

(67) *ketāb o=**m**   xeli*
      book   PTC=1SG:A   buy.PST
      'I bought a book.' (Dabir-Moghaddam 2008: 95, citing Khonji 1999: 251-252)

(68) *ali   ketāb   bori   **š**=xond-e*
      PN   book   a lot   3SG:A=read.PST-PRF
      'Ali has read a lot of books.' (Dabir-Moghaddam 2008: 95, citing Khonji 1999: 251-252)

(69) ***š**=a   mo   got-e*
      3SG:A=to   1SG   say.PST-PERF
      'I gave the book to Maryam.' (Dabir-Moghaddam 2008: 95)

There are several objections to his analysis of clitic placement in Larestani: first no analysis of the properties of the so-called particle *o-* has been offered. As will be seen in later chapters, unlike in Davani, *o* in Larestani has lost the particle status, rather acts as a supporting vowel and resurfaces for the cliticization to obey the syllable-structure rules of the language, hence its appearance before consonant-only singular form of clitic PMs in (70.a), but its absence before the syllabic plural clitic in (70.b):

(70) a. ***oš**=got   / *š=got*
          3SG:A=say.PST
          'He said.'

      b. ***šu**=got   / *ošu=got*
          3PL:A=say.PST
          'They said.'

Second, it is well known that the process of cliticization should not violate the phonological rules of the grammar. However, it is not clear in the author's account how the consonant-only clitic in (68) has appeared on the consonant-initial verb stem without any support, and hence yielding the non-permissible syllable *šxond*. The correct analysis of the clitic attachment in (68) would rather be that the clitic acts as a 'ditropic clitic' and attaches to the element immediately preceding the verb (see §3.3.2 for more details). Finally, under his analysis it is not clear why in a clitic system with the verb as the domain of cliticization, a clitic should move leftward and procliticize on the preposition head of a prepositional phrase.

Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) finishes his discussion of the clitic placement in Iranian languages by proposing three domains for the placement of A-past clitics in Iranian languages. These domains include: (i) clausal, as in Davani; (ii) verb phrase (Balochi, Kurdish, Laki, and Naeini); (iii) (prepositional object[31] +) verb-initial domain, as in Larestani (2009: 98). His three-way classification of clitic placement is a preliminary assessment of the phenomenon and does not adequately address the wrinkles behind clitic positioning across WILs.

Persian is another language whose cliticization domain has been fairly investigated. Samvelian & Tseng (2010) offer a lexical account of pronominal clitics in Persian within HSPG framework. They argue that Persian clitics are better viewed as affixes rather that syntactic items. In the same manner, clitics should be taken as phrasal affixes when occurring on syntactic phrases (2010: 213). The authors enumerate a number of syntactic properties of object clitics in Persian, including the restriction that limits them to be realized immediately pre-verbally, cf. (71); the possibility for clitics to both skip the immediate pre-verbal element and taking it as a host, as in (72a) vs. (72b): and the fact that O-indexing clitics can double an object NP, cf. (73):

(71) *(ketāb-hā=rā)   [be   doxtar](=*ešān)   nešān=**ešān**   dād-im*
     book-PL=DOM   to   girl   show=3PL:O   give.PST-1PL
     'We showed them (the books) to the girl.' (Samvelian & Tseng 2010: 216)

(72) a. *baz   kard-im=**aš***
       open   do.PST-1PL=3SG:O

     b. *baz=**aš**   kard-im*
       open=3SG:O   do.PST-1PL
       'We opened it.' (Samvelian & Tseng 2010: 214-215)

(73) *Maryam-rā   did-im=**aš**/   u-rā   did-im=**aš***
     PN-DOM   see.PST-1PL-3SG:O   3SG-DOM   see.PST-1PL-3SG:O
     'We saw Maryam.' / 'We saw him/her.' (Samvelian & Tseng 2010: 214)

Rasekh (2014) adds that clitic doubling in (73) is excluded for indefinite object NPs and questioned object arguments (e.g. *what* in **what did you buy?** is not doubled). At any rate, research is missing on the specific conditions under which object clitic doubling occurs in Persian. As noted by Haig (2018a), in 29 narrations of Pear story in Adibifar corpus (2016)

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[31] Note that the author's 'prepositional object' in (iii) is indeed a prepositional phrase. As seen in ex. (69) it is the preposition head that hosts the clitic not its object.

only one example exhibits clitic doubling. This fact calls for an in-depth study of Persian clitics, which is beyond the scope of the current dissertation.

Another complexity with Persian clitics is their mobility in the pre-verbal domain. As seen in (72a-b), they can skip the preverbal element and attach to the verb; the question remains as which slot is more frequent for the placement of Persian clitics: preverbal or postverbal slot?

The answer to these questions requires an in-depth corpus study, and in the case of clitic doubling, pragmatic factors should be considered as well. These questions are beyond the scope of the current thesis, which deals primarily with the variation in the clitic systems of poorly-investigated WILs. Consequently, Persian clitics are only investigated in this thesis in the framework of the bigger picture within which variations in different aspects of clitichood across WILs are highlighted.

Finally, a preliminary account of clitic placement in Delvari has been given in Haig & Nemati (2013). Under their account, the A-past clitic is a second position clitic at the clause level, as in (74)–(75):

(74) *eli=š*   *xunei-ku*   *sei*   *āmu=m*   *xeri*
      Ali=3SG:A   house-DEF   for   uncle=1SG:POS   buy.PST
      'Ali bough the house for my uncle.'

(75) *key=t*   *bo*   *si=š*
      when=2SG:A   take.PST   PREP=3SG:O
      'When did you take it?

While taking a clause-second (S2) analysis of clitic placement, the authors confirm that the direct object is the most favoured host for clitic placement. This violates the S2 positioning analysis since the object is syntactically analysed within the VP. The authors go on to adopt an information structure-based account of clitic placement in Delvari, in a way that the S2 positioning of clitics is overridden by the information structure factors. For example, in the pair in (76) the newsy and prominent focused element is taken as the clitic host.

(76) a. *sey*   *māšin=om*   *bo*   *si=š*
          with   car=1SG:A   take.PST   PREP=3SG:R
          'I took it in [a] car.'

      b. *sey*   *māšin,* *bord=om*   *si=š*
          with   car   take.PST=1SG:A   PREP=3SG:R
          'I took it in [a] car.'

The authors then turn to O clitics. While maintaining that the domain for the placement of the latter roughly corresponds to the VP, the authors claim that a focused element in the clause can

override such a VP-based positioning. This is illustrated in (77) where according to the authors the subject NP is focused and has hosted the clitic.

(77) *xo=m=**eš***   *mi-ver-om*
      REFL=1SG:POS=3SG:O   IND-take.PRS-1SG
      'I take it myself.' (Haig and Nemati 2013, citing Mamasani 2005: 72)

Haig and Nemati's account of clitic placement in Delvari basically gives two different cliticization domains for A-past and O clitics: the clause for the former, and the VP for the latter. This has the disadvantage of assuming two cliticization domains for the same set of clitic person markers. An alternative analysis is proposed in (§8.3.5.6), according to which while preserving a relic of older S2 positioning (which is the main domain for cliticization in neighbouring Dashti), Delvari has given way S2-positioning to a more VP-based placement.

2.4.1.1 Summary of cliticization domain in the literature of WILs

Section 2.5.1 discussed in some length the literature on the cliticization domain for a selected number of WILs. According to these studies, the cliticization domain can roughly correspond to the clause (Davani, Delvari?), VP (Central Kurdish, Balochi, Laki, Naeini), and a loosely V-based system (Larestani, and Persian). However, as we saw, apart from the clitics of well-studied languages like Central Kurdish and (less so) Persian, our understanding of the clitic system of other languages is at best loose based on the previous scholarship. Consequently, one of the main aims of the current thesis is to provide a fair analysis of cliticization domains across WILs, which takes also diachronic facts into account.

2.4.2 Previous scholarship on cliticization and adpositions

Another interesting aspect to the study of the clitic PMs of WILs is their relationship with adpositions. The latter display two allomorphemic variants depending on the status of their complements as being syntactically independent or bound. Following the tradition, if the complement is a syntactic item (e.g. NP, PP) the adposition is called simple, but if it is a bound person marker, i.e. a clitic PM or a Vaff PM, the adposition is in an absolute form (MacKezie 1961). In Table 8 the range simple and absolute adpositions in Central Kurdish are illustrated (Samvelian 2007a: 275).

Table 8: Primary adpositions in Central Kurdish

Primary adpositions[32]		
Simple	Absolute	Gloss
ba	*pē*	'to', 'with', 'at'
bē	–	'without'
bo	*bo*	'for'
-a	*-ē*	'to'
la	*lē*	'of', 'in'
tā	–	'until'
da	*tē*	'to', 'with', 'at'
lagal	*(lagal)*	'with'

The distinction between simple and absolute adpositions is shown the following pair: in (78a) the simple preposition *ba* cannot have a bound complement, neither is it possible for the absolute form *pē* to have a free complement, cf. (78b).

(78)   a.   *ba*   *to/*=t*   *da-lē-m*
             to   2SG/*=2SG:R   IND-say.PRS-1SG

       b.   *pē=t/*to*   *da-lē-m*
             to=2SG:R/*2SG   IND-say.PRS-1SG
             'I am telling you.' (Samvelian 2007a: 275)

Apart from the clitic vs. non-clitic status of their arguments (or affixal vs. non-affixal realization in Samvelian's term), simple and absolute adpositions of Central Kurdish differ in one more important aspect, namely, while the complement of a simple adposition should be always local, cf. (78.a), the absolute adpositions allow for a non-local realization of their clitic complements[33], as seen in the following examples:

(79)   *rojbāš=yān*   *lē_*   *a-kā*
        good-morning=3PL:A   at   IND-do.PRS.3SG
        'He wishes them good morning.' (Samvelian 2007a: 283)

(80)   *ēma=y*   *tē_*   *nā-č-īn*
        1PL=3SG:R   in   NEG.IND-go.PRS-1PL
        'We do not go there.' (Samvelian 2007b: 246, citing Edmonds 1955: 498)

(81)   *(ēwa)* *pē=tān*   *wut-im*
        2PL   to=2PL:A   say.PST-1SG:R
        'You told me.' (Samvelian 2007a: 276)

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[32] Among the primary adpositions, *bē*, and *tā* lack corresponding absolute forms. On the other hand, unlike other adpositions, *bo* and *lagal* do not show allomorphic variation when used as absolute forms.

[33] In Samvelian's analysis, the complements of compound prepositions are realized both as a free form or as a clitic, but their clitic realization remains local, e.g. *la sar mēz* 'on the table', *la pišt=it* 'behind you.'

In examples (79)–(80), the clitic leaves its adposition head, marked by the 'underscore', and attaches to the element immediately preceding the adposition. Samvelian claims that the non-local realization of the clitic complement of prepositions is a further evidence in favour of a lexical affix analysis of clitics, and is restricted to two constructions: first, in present tense constructions, cf. (79), and in intransitive constructions (regardless of tense), cf. (80), the clitic complement leaves its preposition head and attaches to the constituent immediately preceding its governing preposition head. Second, in the past transitive constructions, the clitic complement of a preposition is detached from its head preposition and attaches to the verb in the form of a verbal affix PM, cf. (81).

Note that the clitic complement of the preposition has been changed into a verbal affix PM in (81), an instance of a 'metamorphosis' or 'disformation'. To account for this instance of externally-realized bound adpositional complement, Samvelian introduces the principle of 'argument composition', developed in HSPG framework. Under this principle, the absolute preposition is an unsaturated argument and its argument properties are inherited by the verb. The argument of the absolute preposition thus moves on to the verb, yet considering that the verb is its host, the argument's realization swaps into a verbal affix PM.

Öpengin (2013) proposes a different constraint-based account for the 'disformation' of the clitic PM to a verbal affix PMs for ex. (81). Under his account, "disformation takes place as a result of an interaction between clitic placement principles and constraints on clitic sequencing." (2013: 362). He argues that the cooccurrence of two clitics is prohibited in the same syntactic domain in past tense. Thus, following 'argument hierarchy' (A/S > IO > O), when there is a competition of a slot for clitic positioning, only the higher argument, i.e. A-past is realized by the clitic while the realization of other arguments changes to a verbal affix PM (see §6.3.5.3 for a critical discussion of this point).

To tackle the leftward movement of adpositional complement clitics to the adjacent element in (79)–(80), Samvelian adopts a 'linearization-based account' within the HSPG framework. According to this account lexical items and their affixes do not necessarily need to be related with a fixed order. That is, the clitic and its preposition head form a morphological unit, but a unit in which the order of its elements is not strictly ordered. Being enclitics then, clitics can precede their governing head and attach to the element immediately preceding the absolute preposition. For Öpengin on the other hand, the clitic complement moves leftward to abide the VP-second positioning rule for clitics; however, this leftward movement exceptionally targets as well the subject of intransitive sentences, ex. (80).

To sum up, two different accounts exist in the literature regarding the relationship between cliticization and adpositions: Samvelian's affixal analysis and Öpengin's mainly prosodic-syntactic account. The interaction between cliticization and prepositions will be overviewed for each investigated language in Appendix 3. In addition, in §6.3.5.3 we present our alternative analysis for those cases in which a clitic disforms into an affix.

2.4.3 Clitic-affix sequences

Another aspect to the study of the morphosyntax of clitic PMs is the order in which they appear in clitic-affix combinations. This has been investigated for selected Iranian languages in Stilo (1981); Central Kurdish in Samvelian (2007a), Haig (2008), and Öpengin (2013); and more recently for Kurdic languages in Öpengin and Mohammadirad (to appear).

Let's start our discussion of the literature by Stilo (1981). Stilo's paper is primarily concerned with a classification of Tatic language group within the sociolinguistic context of neighbouring Iranian and non-Iranian languages. Stilo points out to a number of isoglosses with respect to which variations occur among Tatic dialects. These isoglosses are mostly triggered by the geographical area in where these dialects are spoken. One such isogloss is the possibility of the bound expression of direct objects into the verb, known as 'object incorporation' in Stilo. He distinguishes between three groups of languages on the basis of this parameter: group (1), referred to as 'non-incorporating', does not allow the object to be indexed as a bound form into the verb. This group consists of Caspian languages, some Tatic languages, and the neighbouring non-Iranian languages of Armenian and Turkish.

Group (2) refers to languages which, depending on the tense of the verb, Vaff PMs or clitic PMs are inversely used to express the direct object. This pattern is thus reminiscent of tense-sensitive alignment. Central Kurdish, Gorani, and purportedly some Central Plateau dialects permit this pattern. The author further classifies languages of this group into three 'alternates' depending on where O and A PMs are realized on the verb stem. Each alternate in turn allows for distinct positionings of A and O according to the tense of the verb (Stilo 1981: 167–168):

Table 9: Stilo's claddification of clitic-affix constellations in present and past tense constructions of selected Iranian languages

alternates	tense	constellation	Languages representing the constellations
(i)	prs	O=V-A	Vafsi and Amorei of the Tatic group,
	past	A=V-O	Central Plateau dialects?
(ii)	prs	V-A=O	Gorani, and through extention from
	past	V-O=A	Gorani, the neighbouring Assyrian dialects
(iii)	prs	O=V-A	Central Kurdish
	past	V=A-O	

Though very appealing, this classification remains a preliminary illustration of the constellations where clitics and affixes are realized on the verb stem. Only a few languages have been shown to represent these patterns. As will be seen in Chapter 6 the majority of Central Plateau dialects and Larestani dialects represent alternate (i) of stilo's classification. On the other hand, alternate (ii) is not restricted to Gorani and comprises Laki as well. In addition, one can further add Behbahani as a representative of alternate (iii). Another shortcoming of the classification above is the fact that it has ignored internal variations within dialects of the same language, probably due to the lack of dialectological works at the time. For instance, not all Gorani and Central Kurdish dialects illustrate the alternate (ii), and (iii), as will be seen in §6.4.

Finally, Group (3) concerns languages which consistently use pronominal clitics to mark direct objects in both present and past tense constructions (Stilo 1981: 170-171).

Table 10: Stilo's classification of languages which object NPs are pronominally indexed through clitic PMs

alternates	tense	constellation	Languages representing the constellations
(i)	prs	V-A=O	Persian, Bakhtiari, Se-Dehi
	past		Persian, Bakhtiari, Arabic
(ii)	prs	O=V-A	Meymei
	past		
(iii)	prs	A-V=O	Arabic
	past		
(iv)	prs	A=O=V	
	past		Meymei
(v)	prs	A=V=O	
	past		Se-Dehi

Again, this grouping does not sufficiently account for the all the possible orderings of clitics and Vaffix PMs in Iranian languages. Moreover, there are some problems with Stilo's

classification of 'object incorporation' in group (3) languages: first, Meymei has been mentioned as belonging to alternate (iv) in the past tense, hence A=O=V:

(82)   *be=**dun=emon**-xost*
         PUNCT=2PL:A=1PL:O-strike.PST
         'You struck us.'

In our corpus of Meymei, the object is indexed by a verbal affix PM in the past tense. The construction Stilo mentions in (82) was not attested in the literature on Meymei (Lambton 1938, Fathi Brojeni 2013)[34]. Instead, if the bound expression of the object is going to be realized via a clitic PM at all, it would have to precede the subject clitic, hence O=A=V. Accordingly, example (82) should be translated as 'We struck you'. The alternate (iv) should be left out of the range of constellations where O and A are ordered on the verb. In addition, alternate (iii) is specific to Arabic and does not occur in an Iranian language.

The investigation of clitic-affix sequences in Central Kurdish has given rise to a good deal of debate. Samvelian (2007a) mentions that when the verb is the only available host for the placemnt of A-past clitic, the clitic displaces a verbal affix PM from its host, cf. (83), but adds that a 3SG A-past clitic is an exception to this rule since it follows the verbal affix PMs, cf. (84). This trait is viewed as one of the instances which defies a unified second-position analysis to clitic placement is Kurdish.

(83)   *nārd=**mān-in***
         send.PST=1PL:A-3PL:O
         'We sent them.' (Samvelian 2007a: 270)

(84)   *nārd-**in=ī***
         send.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A
         'He sent them.'

By taking an affixal analysis of clitics, Samvelian relates the exceptional ordering in ex. (84) to the 'idiosyncratic placement' of affixal elements.

Haig (2008: 292) offers an alternative account based on the person hierarchy for tackling the idiosyncrasy of clitic placement in the post-verbal spot in (83)–(84) above: "[w]hen the A-past marker refers to an SAP, it will always precede the O-past marker; otherwise, it follows the O-past marker[…] when the A-past is third person plural, both possible orders are permitted. For

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[34] In a conversation that I had with Stilo (p.c.), he acknowledged the wrongness of the analysis of Meymei example the way it is presented in his paper.

example, 'they saw me' could be either *dī-yān-im* (A-O), or *dī-m-yān* (O-A). The A-O alternative is the commoner of the two options".

Haig argues that this rule is established by the 'hierarchical alignment' (see Nichols 1992), according to which "access to inflectional slots for subject and/or object is based on person, number, and/or animacy rather than (or no less than) on syntactic relations". The ordering of A and O in Suleimani is then accounted for on the basis of the person of the two arguments, in a way that if Speech Acts Participants (1st and 2nd persons) are A, the order is A-O. If on the other hand the non-SAP is indexed as A, the order is O-A. This account has been taken up with some small modifications in Jügel (2009).

Interesting though it is, this account fails to deal with the placement of 3PL A-past clitic preceding the SAP O verbal affix PM (the more common order in Suleimani). Here the syntactic hierarchy is better suited to explain the positioning of 3PL A-past clitic. Note that the O-A ordering in Suleimani CK could be attributed to a substratum effect from Gorani (see also Table 11).

Finally, Öpengin (2013; 2019) argues that 'argument hierarchy' (A/S > IO > O) is the relevant factor for clitic-affix constellations in the Mukri dialect of CK. Thus, with all the person forms but 3SG, the A-past clitic enters between the verb stem and the Vaff PM indexing O-past, as in (83). He also enumerates that the verbal affix PM in past tense constructions is not phonologically integrated into the verb stem, in the sense that it does not take word stress, despite the general rule that the word stress is on the final syllable in Kurdish. By not bearing stress, then the verbal affix acts like a clitic and can be separated from its host by another clitic, hence the order in (83). As for the exceptional placement of the 3SG clitic in (84) against argument hierarchy prediction, Öpengin holds that this ordering should be accounted for based on OCP[35]-like phonological constraints that require the elements in a sequence to be distinct (cf. Yip 1998). In other words, the phonological and morphosyntactic structure of affixes in a cluster should be in such a way that it would not disrupt the morphosyntactic information they are going to express. The positioning of the vocalic 3SG clitic PM before the Vaff PM in (84), i.e. *nard-īn*, ambiguates the identity of the referents in the action of the verb. Following the principle of 'identity avoidance' the clitic swaps its position with the verb affix in the interest of maximally identifying referents.

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[35] obligatory counter principle

Another problematic case in clitic-affix sequences of Mukri Central Kurdish concerns the clitic marking of 2SG O-past in the following construction:

(85) *bird=**it**=ī*
      take.PST=2SG:O=3SG:A
      'He took you.' (Öpengin 2013: 405)

The same identity avoidance analysis is applied to (85) in Öpengin (2013). The 2SG verb affix is the vocalic -ī. When the object-indexing 2SG Vaff PM is followed by the vocalic 3SG clitic -ī, the expected resultant form will be *bird-ī=ī*, which again interferes the optimal identification of referents. The 2SG verbal affix thus disforms into a clitic to resolve this ambiguity.

More recently, Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear) provide a list of clitic-affix sequences in Kurdic languages, as follows:

Table 11: Argument indexes on the verb in the past tense constructions across Kurdic

	V=A-O	V-O=A	V=O=A	V-A=O
CKM	+			
GORH		+		
LAK		+		
CKSu	+	+		
GORZ		+		
CKSa			+	
GORQ			+	
SK/LAKH				+

CKM: Mukri Central Kurdish; GORH: Gorani Hawraman; LAK: Laki of Kakevand/Aleshtar; CKSu: Suleimani CK; GORZ: Gorani of Zarda; CKSa: Sanandaji CK; GORQ: Gorani of Qal'eh; SK: Southern Kurdish; LAKH: Laki of Harsin

As can be seen the ordering of arguments gives rise to different results across Kurdish. In Laki, Gorani and its neighbouring dialects of Sulaimaniya CK the ordering is V-O=A, while the more northern CK dialects Mukri and (less so) Suleimaniya opt for the reverse order V=A-O. Southern Kurdish dialects and Laki dialects bordering SK are uniformly V-A=O across all tenses.

This classification proves to be a useful way of demonstrating variation across Kurdic languages and can account for cross-dialectal variations. We will follow the same methodology to illustrate variations in the clitic-affix combinations across WILs in Chapter 6.

2.4.3.1 Summary of clitic-affix sequences

The existing literature, though satisfactorily accounts for a good deal of ordering possibilities between core arguments of the verb, especially across Kurdic languages, does not equip us with enough understanding to the nature of clitic-affix combinations on the verb and its complexities across the rest of the WILs. Indeed, our understanding of the relevant phenomenon across Iranian is limited. Hence, one of the major aims of the current thesis is to provide an inventory of clitic-affix combinations across Iranian, and to grasp what factors account for their ordering on the verb.

2.5 Summary of the literature on clitic systems of WILs

The previous sections surveyed in length the state of art on the clitic systems of WILs. The previous scholarship on the clitic was divided into some four major aspects: (i) paradigm of the clitic PMs; (ii) procliticization; (iii) functionality of clitic PMs; (iv) syntax of clitic PMs. Some of these aspects were shown to have been investigated with respect to more components. For instance, the discussion of functionality of clitic PMs often involves the grammaticalization of such items and their role in the alignment system of individual languages. The placement properties of clitic PMs on the other hand often covers the cliticization domain of such items, the relationship between cliticization and adpositions, and the interaction between clitic PMs and Vaff PMs when these two sets are in combination.

As shown in previous sections, not all aspects of clitichood in WILs have been treated equally in the literature. For instance, our understanding of the rise of procliticization in modern languages is at best loose at the current stage. In the same way, the existing literature has not fully investigated the complexities of cliticization domain in various modern languages. Moreover, previous scholarship lacks a comprehensive picture on the grammaticalization paths for clitic PMs across WILs.

Another issue with the previous scholarship on West Iranian clitics is the fact that it has mainly focused on the morphosyntax of clitic PMs in some specific languages, e.g. Central Kurdish, and Persian. The clitic systems of some other Iranian languages, e.g. Davani, Larestani, Naeini, have been investigated impressionistically in the literature. Therefore, the literature does not illuminate many of the wrinkles of the clitic systems of such languages. Moreover, the previous scholarship had not as its aim the investigation of clitic systems of many modern languages. For instance, Central Plateau dialects are almost unknown with respect to their clitic systems.

In the same way, our understanding of the clitic systems of much of languages spoken in south Iran is narrow.

2.6 Content of the thesis

With the gaps mentioned in the survey of literature on clitics, the current thesis aims to give a preliminary investigation of clitic PMs of WILs along the following thematic domains: forms and phonological attachment of clitics, functions of clitics, cliticization domains, cluster internal ordering of clitics, and clitic-affix combinations. In this regard, a sketch of clitics is available for each language in Appendix 3. Each sketch focuses on the survey of the mentioned aspects of clitichood in each language.

In the follow-up chapters we explore each major aspect to the investigation of clitic PMs: in Chapter 3 on form and phonological attachment of clitics, we will first present an overview of the paradigm of clitics across WILs. We will see that the traditional isogloss which classifies the Iranian languages based on retention or not of certain 3SG clitic forms does not hold (§3.1). In addition, we give an overview of the mutual derivation of certain person forms in the paradigm of clitics and verbal affix PMs (§3.2). For instance, the retention of 1PL and 2PL clitic forms in the paradigm of Vaff PMs of some Southern Kurdish and Luri-type dialects points to the erstwhile existence of a clitic paradigm, which was later taken over (though not totally) by the corresponding paradigm of Vaff PMs through analogy with present tense constructions. In the same way, Bandari and Bajalani give evidence for the total replacement of the Vaff PM paradigm by the clitic paradigm in certain TAM forms of intransitive verbs.

Chapter 3 also gives an overview of the direction of clitic attachment across WILs (§3.3). Three major modes of attachment are distinguished: enclitics, proclitics, and endoclitics. Our discussion will mostly focus on the proclitic attachment, and its extent in the languages that have it. More importantly, we develop some hypotheses for the rise of procliticization in WILs. This issue becomes more significant considering that the direction of clitic attachment in Old and Middle Iranian periods was solely in the form of enclitics, while in some modern languages proclitic attachment has arisen out of the previous enclitic stage.

We maintain that the rise of procliticization in modern languages is triggered by the reanalysis or the loss of some clitic-hosting particles in the clause-initial position. This is shown in the comparison of the paradigmatic form of the verb 'to see' in the past tense of Davani and Lari. The former has the clause as its domain of cliticization, while the latter has the verb as such.

(86)　　　　　Davani　　　　　　Lari

　　　　　　o=m　di　　　*om=di*　　　　　'I saw'
　　　　　　o=t　di　　　*ot=di*　　　　　'You saw'
　　　　　　o=š　di　　　*oš=di*　　　　　'S/he saw'
　　　　　　o=mu　di　　*mo=di*　　　　　'We saw'
　　　　　　o=tu　di　　*to=di*　　　　　'You saw'
　　　　　　o=šū　di　　*šo=di*　　　　　'They saw'

It is seen that in Davani the particle holds the clitic PMs in the clause-second position (and thus avoids the verb to be a clitic host). However, in Lari's Verb-based clitic system, the clause is no longer the domain of cliticization. With the movement of the clitics toward the verb the particle has lost its older function, and reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigm. However, the erstwhile particle solely resurfaces with the consonant-only singular forms of clitics, and not with the syllabic plural forms. The reason for the retention of erstwhile particle *o* with singular forms is that the cliticization mechanism should comply with the syllable structure rules of the languages, hence avoiding non-allowed syllable onsets *mdi, *tdi, *šdi. In other words, the role of particle has changed from a syntactic element to a phonological element. Needless to say, the plural forms have already a syllabic structure and do not need the supporting *o*.

Chapter 3 also gives an overview of the ditropic clitics across WILs. It will be seen that ditropic behaviour of clitics is characteristic of certain WILs with the verb as the domain of cliticization. Here, the clitic has the verb as its syntactic host, but attaches to whatever element that precedes it: e.g. the subject NP in (87), and the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate in (88):

(87)　*mo=**m**　　　bo*　　　　*/ mo　om=bo*　　　　　BO[Nod]. 18
　　　1SG=1SG:A　　win.PST
　　　'I won (against you).'

(88)　*zendegi=**š**　　mi-ke*　　*/ zendegi　eš=mi-ke*　　　EL[Nod]. 1
　　　life=3SG:A　　IPFV-do.PST
　　　'He would live (in a small village).'

Chapter 3 ends with a discussion of endocliticization in WILs. Endoclitic attachment of clitics is taken to be the by-product of the stress factor and the second-position requirement for clitics. In the following example, for instance the second position clitic cannot take as host the weak negative formative *ne*. It thus moves onto the next strong syllable, which is the first syllable of the disyllabic verb stem *šenās* 'to know':

(89)　*ne-še=**šun**=nās-on*　　　　　　　　　　EL[Dej]. 79
　　　NEG-know1=3PL:O=know2-1SG
　　　'I don't know them.'

Chapter 4 pinpoints the functionality of clitic PMs across WILs. In doing so, it lists the function of clitics and surveys whether clitics obligatorily index each function. This chapter thus provides a variety of maps illustrating the variation between languages in regard to marking different arguments by clitic PMs. For example, languages are classified into five groupings with regard to indexing non-canonical subjects (§4.2.1): the first group consists of languages which have largely preserved since WMI period major non-canonical subject constructions, the subject of which marked by clitic PMs. On the other hand, the fifth group consists of mainly languages with nominative-accusative alignment (like Persian), in which the extent of non-canonical constructions is restricted to non-controlled events. It will be concluded that the continuation of old irregular predicates and the preservation of tense-sensitive alignment are among factors that trigger the extent of non-canonical construction across WILs. Chapter 4 also highlights the various paths of the grammaticalization of person markers indexing A-past and O-past arguments, while a combination of these two factors provides us with the development of person indexing in the past tense of WILs (§4.3).

chapter 5 is concerned mainly with the domain of cliticization across Iranian languages. In this chapter we distinguish between three major cliticization domains: the clause, cf. (90), the verb phrase, cf. (91), and the verb, cf. (92). In the following examples, the placement of A-past clitics is intended. Elements that are skipped for clitic hosting in (91)–(92) are marked by the 'underscore'.

(90)   *ya*   *ru=š*   *Sārā*   *vašā=y*   *gā*   BO[Beh]. 2
         a   day=3SG:A   PN   to=3SG:R   say.PST
         'One day, Sarah told him.'

(91)   *šaw-ē_*   *kor-akān=ī*   *bāng*   *kird*   SB[SCK]. 3
         night-INDF   boy-DEF.PL=3SG:A   call   do.PST
         'One night he called his sons.'

(92)   *yekiyeki_*   *miva-yā_*   *bā*   *deqat_*   ***oš=čī***   PS2[Lar]. 3
         one.by.one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
         'He picked the fruit one by one with care.'

A set of properties will be shown to distinguish the clitic placement in each of these domains from those of other domains. For instance, clausal conjunctions, subject NP, and clausal adverbs are regular clitic hosts in clause-based clitic systems, while such is not the case in the other two domains (except under ditropic clitic behaviour in V-based systems). Furthermore, a subset of VP-based clitic systems allows for pre-verbal inflectional and derivational formatives to be clitic hosts, while such is not possible in V-based clitic systems. For each cliticization domain a rule of clitic placement will be given for clitic positioning, and differences between

languages will be pointed in this regard. For instance, in VP-based cliticization systems, the clitic is placed on the left-most edge of the what is roughly correspondent to the Verb phrase. However, not all VP-based clitic systems act alike, in a way that a subset of them allow morphological elements on the verb to be clitic hosts. The chapter also gives an overview of the change in the placement of certain clitic functions: it will be seen that some clitic functions do not in general follow the clitic placement rule, rather clitics have acquired more of an affixal status and are not separated from their heads (i.e. they do not show mobility). This concerns mostly possessor and adpositional complement uses of clitics. We will argue that the scenarios of 'head attachment' and 'rightward movement' are accountable for these changes in the clitic placement.

Finally, we will see in Chapter 5 that some V-based proclitic systems exhibit exceptions in clitic placement, e.g. the clause-initial placement of a proclitic. Reflecting on the fact that the clause was the earlier domain of cliticization in these languages, we arrive at the conclusion that the unexpected proclitic attachment of clitics clause-initially in V-based cliticization systems is a residual of earlier clausal-second positioning of such items in the form of enclitics (see §5.6).

In Chapter 6, we elaborate on the cluster internal ordering of clitics, and clitic-affix combinations across WILs. As for the former, we will first give an overview of the range of clitic sequences across investigated languages in both present tense constructions (§6.2) and past tense constructions (§6.3). It will be seen that in both tenses, the argument hierarchy (A > O > R > POS) is responsible for the cluster-internal ordering of clitics, in a way that the element higher in the argument hierarchy occurs second in the cluster. This is shown in the following examples, where the higher-ranked O and A-past arguments have occurred following the low-ranked bound possessor argument. In the light of argument hierarchy, we will also account for deviations from the expected ordering of clitics in the cluster.

(93)   *dim-e*   *som=**om**=**et***   *mi-zen-am*   BB[Beh]. 38
      with-EZ   hoof=1SG:POS=2SG:O   IND-hit.PRS-1SG
      'I will hit you with my hoof.'

(94)   *un*   *ji_*   *be*   *āqā=**m**=**eš***   *bi-āt-e-be*   QB [Kha]. 15
      3SG   too   to   dad=1SG:POS=3SG:A   PUNCT-tell.PST-PTCP-PPRF
      'He had told my father.'

The chapter ends with a survey of constellations in where clitic PMs and verbal affix PMs are in a combination. We will highlight the variation between languages in this regard, and outline

the resulting combinations in which the order of clitics and affixes do not yield the expected behaviour of clitichood and affixhood.

Chapter 3: Form and phonological attachment of clitics

The previous chapter discussed in length the literature on the clitic PMs of WILs. In addition, it laid out some introduction into the content of the current thesis. This chapter investigates the form and phonological attachment of clitics across WILs. In terms of form, we survey the variation in the clitic paradigm of WILs, historical origins of clitic paradigms, and the way such paradigms have developed across languages. In terms of phonological attachment, we explore the extent of procliticization, and the possible pathways through which it might have developed since Middle West Iranian period. In doing so, §3.1 traces the paradigm of West Iranian clitic PMs back to OId Iranian languages. In §3.2 we review alternative sources for the derivation of clitic paradigms and that of verbal affix PMs. In the second part of the chapter phonological attachment of clitics will be surveyed. In doing so, §3.3 looks into the extent of proclitic attachment in Iranian languages, and develops some hypotheses for the rise of procliticization in these languages. In the follow-up sections, endoclitic (§3.4) and circumclitic (§3.5) attachment of clitics will be surveyed.

3.1 The clitic paradigm of WILs

The clitic paradigms of modern WILs are assumed to be derived from Old Iranian forms, and ultimately go back to Proto-Indo-European (Korn 2009). In OIr. period, pronominal clitics comprised two sets: genitive/dative, and accusative. These two sets were in close similarity with the corresponding Vedic forms (cf. Korn 2009: 162):

Table 12: Pronominal clitics in Old Iranian and Old Indic

		Old Iranian		cf. Vedic
		Genitive/dative	Accusative	
sg	1	OP *-maiy* OAv. *-mōi*, YAv. *-mē*	OP, Av. *-mā*	gen./dat. *-me* acc. *mā*
	2	OP *-taiy* OAv. *-tōi*, *-tē*, YAv. *-tē*	Av. *-θβā*	gen./dat. *-te* acc. *tvā*
	3	OP *-šaiy* OAv. *-hōi*, YAv. *-hê*, *-šē*	m., f.: OP *-šim*, *-dim*; Av. *-īm*, *-hīm*, *-dīm*; n.: Av. *ĭ̭*, *-diṯ*	acc. *-īm*, *-sīm*; n. *-ī*
pl	1	OAv. *-nə̄*, YAv. *-nō*	OAv. *-nā̊*, YAv. *-nō*	obl. *-nas*
	2	OAv. *-və̄*, YAv. *-vō*	OAv. *-vā̊*, YAv. *-vō*	obl. *-vas*
	3	OP *-šām*	m., f.: OP *-šĭš*, *-dīš*; Av. *-īš*, *-hīš*, *-dīš*; n.: Av. *ī*, *-dī*	acc. *-īm*, *-sīm*; n. *-ī*

Genitive/dative and accusative sets syncretized into one set in middle and new Iranian languages. The relevant forms from Middle Iranian languages are illustrated in the following table (Korn 2009: 160):

Table 13: Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian Pronominal clitics

		Middle Persian	Parthian
sg	1	-(u)m	
	2	-(u)t, -(u)d	
	3	-(i)š	
pl	1	-n (rare), -mān	-mān
	2	-(i)tān, -(i)dān	-tān
	3	-(i)šān	

According to the common view, the singular forms *-m*, *-t*, *-š* are assumed to be reflexes of OIr. gen./dat clitics **-maiy, *-taiy, *-šaiy* respectively. On the other hand, plural forms (except for Middle Persian 1PL -n) are formed by the adding of the pluralizing marker *-ān* to the singular forms. This has been recently vouched in Gholami (2018), where the author discusses the derivation of clitic PMs in the Zoroastrian dialect of Kerman: "in both Zoroastrians Dari of Kerman (ZDK) and Zoroastrians Dari of Yazd (ZDY), as in Persian and other languages as well, the pronominal clitics for the singular are derived from the Old Iranian gen./dat pronominal clitics, e.g. 1sg. om/m<OP -maiy, 2sg. ot/od <OP -taiy, 3sg. -oš/š <OP -šaiy. (2018: 113)"

The clitic paradigm of Middle Iranian continues in the modern languages. Table 14 illustrates the inventory of clitic PMs across investigated WILs:

Table 14: Clitic PM forms across investigated West Iranian languages (simplified)

language	Form of clitic PMs					
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Hawrami Takht	m	t	š	mā	tā	šā
Hawrami Qal'eh	m	t	š	mā	tā	šā
Delijani	m	d	š	mon	don	šon
Khansari	m	d	ž, š	mun	dun	žun, šun
Badrudi	m	d	š	mun	dun	šun
Nikabad-Jondan	m	d	š	mon	ton	šon
Meymei	m	d	š	mun	dun	šun
Naeini	m	t	š	mi, mni	ti, tni, ni	ši, šni
Yazdi Zoroastrian	m	d	š	mo	do	šo
Luri-type dialects	m	t	š, s	mon	ton	šon, sön
Sivandi	m	t	š	mā	tā	šā
Nowdani	m	t	š	mu	tu	šu
Davani	m	t	š	mu	tu	šu
Delvari	m	t	š	mu	tu	šu
Dashti	m	t	š	mu	tu	šu
Lari	m	t	š	mo	to	šo
Bastaki	m	t	š	mo	to	šo
Central Taleshi	m	r	š	mun	run	šun
Takestani	m	i	š	mon	yon	šon
Chali	m	i	š	mon	yon	šon
Semnani	an	a, at	š	mon	ton	šon
Behbahani	m	t	ē/ī, š	me, mu	te, tu	še, šu
Bandari	m	t	ī, š	mo	to	šo
Minabi	m	t, ē	ī, š	mon	ton	šon
Baneh CK	m	t, ē	ī	mān	tān	yān
Southern CK	m	t, o, ē	ī	mān	tān	yān
Bijar SK	m	d	ī	mān	dān	yān
Laki Kakevandi	m	t	ē,	mān	tān	ān, an
Laki Harsini	m	t	ē, y	mān	tān	yān
Abuzeydabadi	m	a(d), d	ē, ī, y	mo	do	yo
Kuroshi	n, m	t, te	ē, ī, ay	ēn	ō	eš, aš

As can be seen, the original paradigm of clitic PMs in Middle Iranian is resurfaced in many WILs, but with some superficial phonological changes, e.g. rounding of the vocalic element in the plural forms (*tān* vs. *ton, tun*); voicing or not of the onset in 2SG and 2PL forms (/t/, vs. /d/); voicing of 3rd person forms in Khansari (š < ž; šun < žun); backing of 3SG form *ī* (*ī* <ē); and perhaps some flapping of /t/ in Central Taleshi (/t/ < /r/).
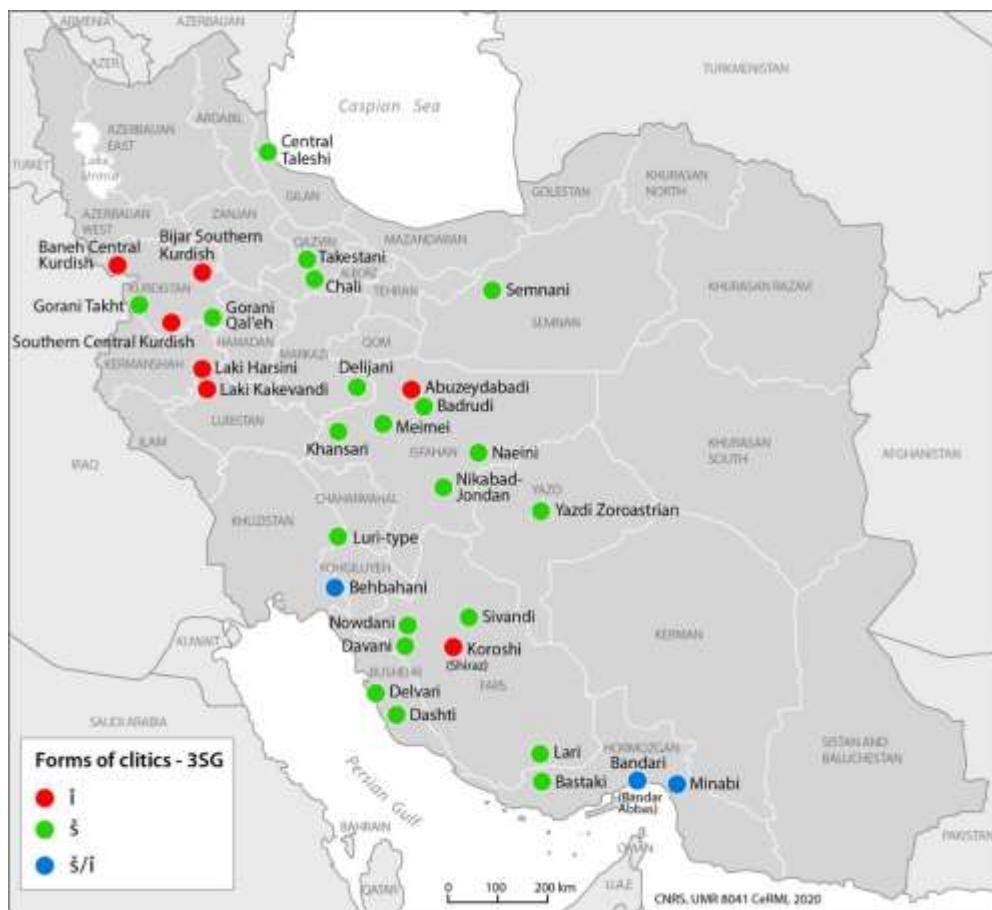
Apart from phonological changes, one major difference between WILs is the form of 3SG clitic PMs as being either *š* or *ī*: *š* and *ī* are reflexes of *ˢ-šaiy* forms and *ˢ-hōi* forms of OIr. gen.dat clitics, respectively. This distinction has been regarded as a 'long recognized isogloss' within West Iranian languages (Windfuhr & Arbor 1989: 259). As a result, modern languages have

been classified as either deriving from *$\check{s}aiy$ forms or *$h\bar{o}i$ forms. The following table, adopted from Korn (2009: 161, and Windfuhr 1975), illuminates the point better:

Table 15: Isogloss grouping new Iranian languages based on the the form of 3SGclitics

	<OIr. gen./dat. *-hai	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šai
Middle Ir.		Middle Persian, Parthian
New Ir.	Kurdish, Khuri, Kohrudi, Harzandi, Balochi, Bashkardi, Bandar Abbasi	New Persian, remaining New Western Iranian

However, Korn (2009) mentions that some Balochi dialects have both forms for 3SG form of the clitic PM. In addition, Table 14 shows that indeed more languages exhibit both ī-form and š-form for 3SG clitics: these languages include Behbahani, Bandari, and Minabi. Thus, along with Balochi, these languages challenge the mentioned isogloss. Figure 9 illustrates the distribution of *š*-forms and or *ī*-forms of 3SG clitic forms in the investigated languages:

Figure 9: Forms of 3SG clitic PMs across investigated languages

As seen, *ī*-forms are rather limited to the peripheries of WILs, most notably to the Kurdic languages in the West. Similarly, mixed forms for 3SG are rather restricted to the easternmost southern languages Bandari, Minabi (and Balochi), on the one hand, and Behbahani at the periphery of Southwest languages.

Another aspect to consider is that in the majority of languages the plural forms of clitics are formed by the addition of plural marker to the singular set. However, exceptions arise in some languages, e.g. Koroshi (3SG: =î, 3PL: =êš, see Table 17 below), and to a lesser extent Behbahani, Bandari, and Minabi (3SG: =ī, 3PL: =šon/šān). Taking into account these deviations, I chose not to gloss plural forms as two segmentable formatives, namely the affixation of the plural marker -ān/-on/-u to the singular forms; rather the plural forms are considered one bound formative.

Another aspect to the investigation of clitic inventories is the derivation of the clitic paradigms from either the corresponding pronominal forms of the ancestor languages, or from other sources, e.g. from the inflectional morphology. In the same way, other aspect to the study of clitic paradigms is their extension into other bound person paradigms, e.g. Vaff PMs, copulas, or vice versa. The next section takes up such derivations and extensions from or to the clitic paradigms of modern languages.

3.2 The derivation of clitic person markers of WILs

As mentioned earlier, the general assumption in the study of the clitic paradigms of modern Iranian languages is that these paradigms are derived from OIr gen.dat clitics. Korn (2009) questions such a view and instead explores the alternative sources from which clitic forms might have been derived. These possibilities are summed up below, first for the singular set of clitic PMs, then for the plural set:

— some clitics are derived from OIr. accusative clitics. This is the case with 2SG forms in some Central Kurdish dialects which have -ū as an alternate to the regular -t form[36]; -ū is generally assumed to be a reflex of OIr. acc. *-θβā[37] and -t a reflex of the OIr. gen/dat. *-taiy.

— 1SG forms might have been developed due to a coalescence of OIr. gen./dat. *-maiy and acc. *-mā, since both forms would result in -m anyway.

— in the same way, 3SG form -š can be said to have been derived from a coalescence of OIr. gen./dat. *-šaiy and acc. *-šīm. 3SG -ī of Balochi and Central Kurdish dialects can

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[36] Baneh CK, and SCK studied in this thesis have also 2SG -o as an alternate to the general -t form.

[37] Perhaps the derivation *-θβā < -a can be applied to 2SG clitic form in Abuzeydabadi and Semnani.

be considered a reflex of OIr. acc. *-(h)īm*. Finally, in languages which have *-ay* (Balochi, Bashkardi), or *-ē* (Laki, and some Central Kurdish dialects) as 3SG forms, a derivation from OIr. gen./dat. *-hai* appears equally possible.

Plural forms of person clitics on the other hand show different behaviours:

—   in most languages, plural forms are formed by adding of the pluralizing marker *-ān* or its variants to the singular forms (see the clitic paradigms of WMI, and WILs in Tables 12, and 13, respectively)

—   1PL and 2PL clitic forms of some languages can be said to have been derived from OIr. gen./dat. or acc. forms (see Table 16). Such forms are better regarded as a reflex of both old forms in Korn (2009)

Table 16: The derivation of 1PL and 2PL forms of pronominal clitics of some WILs

	Koroshi	Balochi	South Bashkardi	Central Kurdish[38]	Old Iranian	
					gen./dat.	acc.
1PL	-en	-in	-an	-in	*-nah	*-nāh
2PL	-u	-o	-o	-ū	*-wah	*-wāh

—   3PL forms of some languages are not derived from singular forms plus the pluralizing marker:

Table 17: Languages in which 3PL forms are not derived from 3SG forms

	Balochi	Koroshi	South Bashkardi	Abyanei	Harzandi
3SG	-īš, -ī, -ē	-ī	-ī, -ē, -h	-ī	-ī
3PL	-īš, -ēš, -ē	-eš	-eš	-šī	-ī

—   3PL *-ī* in Harzandi is assumed to have been driven from OIr. acc. *-(h)īm* as with its 3SG form. On the other hand, 3PL forms of other languages in Table 17 are assumed to be a reflex of OIr. acc. *-(h)īš*, *-šīš* and/or gen./dat. *-šām*.

All this suggests that the claim that the clitic paradigm of modern languages are originated from their OIr. gen./dat. counterparts faces problems. Korn (2009) favours an alternative view which rather contends that clitic paradigm of modern languages are a reflex of both OIr.

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[38] This is the case with Piždar, Mukri, and less so few other Central Kurdish dialects which have 1PL -in and 2PL -ū as alternants for the general forms -mān, and -tān (MacKenzie 1961: 77).

gen./dat. and acc. sets. Such an approach has also been taken up by Haig (2018a) in his discussion of the historical origins of pronominal clitics of modern Iranian languages.

Korn (2009) comes up with an interesting observation on the relationship between 3SG forms and a distinct derivation of plural forms (see Table 17), as follows: "[A]ll the WIr. [WILs here, MM] varieties whose plural clitics are not based on the singular […] have 3sg. clitics -ī, sometimes also -ē, but that none of these variants has only -š." (2009: 167). A look at Tables 14 and 17 confirms her point better. This means that the distinct derivation of plural forms, which are not formed on the basis of singular forms plus the pluralizing marker, correlates with languages having 3SG forms in -ī. However, the reverse does not hold: a language that has a 3SG clitic form in –š, does not necessarily have the 3PL form from a distinct derivation. Data from investigated languages in this thesis, some of them not included in Korn's paper, further proves the mentioned generalization.

3.2.1 The suffixal origin of clitic PMs

Not all the cells in the paradigm of clitic PMs of WILs are derived from their OIr. predecessors. Indeed, some clitic PMs of WILs can be said to have developed from copulas and or Vaff PMs. Table 18, adopted from Korn (2011: 64) illustrates the derivation of some clitic forms from the corresponding cells in the paradigm of Vaff PMs or copula PMs.

Table 18: Western Iranian pronominal clitics potentially derived from copula/ verbal affix PMs

	Pronominal clitics		Copula/verb. affix PM[39]	Notes
1sg	West & Ir. Bal. South & East Bal. Semnan region	=un =ã̃, =õ̃, =ũ̃ (a/e/i)n	+ān, +un, īn +ã̃, +ũ̃ -in, -un, =on	aso PRO 1SG=um
2sg	South & East Bal., Vafsi, North Talyshi	=ē =i	+ē +i	also PRO 2SG =it also Tatic PRO 2SG =∅; < OIr. *=tai?
3sg	Semnani	=ā, =i	- ã̃, -e, -u. =i	
	Laki (Luristan)	=te		also PRO 3SG =e; cf. =Vt in Sorani, Fars, etc.
2pl	Laki	=ino(n)	+ino(n)	cf. PRO 1PL =imo(n)

According to Table 18, 1SG and 2SG forms of clitics are more prone to be influenced by the corresponding forms in other bound person paradigms. While in general Korn's classification in Table 18 is valid, a closer look at some language data contradicts some of her assumed

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[39] Following Korn's transcription, the signs –, and = represent verbal affix PMs and copulas respectively, and + is used when the form in question acts as both.

derivations. For example, the *-te* form of 3SG clitic in Laki is said to occur only as an object clitic, which is different from the form of the A-past clitic (cf. Korn 2011: fn.33). However, the contrast between (95)–(96) shows that the epenthetic *-t* occurs to ease the articulation of the A-past clitic PM preceded by a vowel-final syllable.

(95) *non*   *hword=**e***
      bread   eat.PST=3SG:A
      'He ate bread.'

(96) *non*   *hword-üī-t=**e***
      bread   eat.PST-PPRF-EP=3SG:A
      'He had eaten bread.' (Lazard 1992: 219)

Moreover, while Korn takes Majidi's (1980) description of Semnani for the derivation of the 3SG clitic, data from Christensen (1915) and our data from the field suggest that indeed the form of 3SG is the pronominal *-š:* thus the assumed derivation for Semnani should be left out of Table 18.

A note on the derivation of 1SG *-an* in the clitic paradigm of Semnani is worth mentioning. As said, *an* derives from corresponding from in the Vaff PM paradigm. Interestingly, *-an* has taken up the morphosyntactic restrictions of the Vaff paradigm as well. Consequently, contrary to the other person values in the clitic paradigm, *-an* is not in complementary distribution with the overt subject NP. The contrast between the following sentences illustrates this point:

(97) ***unun*** *ba-diā*   / vs. (* *unun*) *ba-diā=šon*   MB[Sem]. 16
      3PL   PUNCT-see.PST
      'They saw.'

(98) ***mo**=am*   *žo*   *du-na-sāt-**an*** /*mo-am žo du-na-sāt*   DV[Sem]. 21
      1SG.OBL=ADD 3SG   PVB-NEG-beat.PST-1SG
      'I didn't beat him either.'

The question now arises as why the clitic paradigms have borrowed some forms from the respective suffixal morphology? Korn (2011) comes up with the conclusion that this phenomenon happens in languages with tense-sensitive alignment; such languages have different set of person markers for indexing arguments. For instance, *-ān* is the form of Balochi 1SG in present tense constructions and past intransitive ones, while the clitic form *-m* is used only in the past transitive. As a result, through the mechanism of generalization the more widespread pattern of inflectional morphology generalizes to the one of (restricted) clitic paradigm. Put differently, the specific person indexing paradigm, here the clitic paradigm, is subject to change from the neighbouring person indexing paradigm, i.e. the suffixal morphology through analogical extension of the suffixal morphology to the clitic paradigm.

3.2.2 The clitic origin of suffixal morphology

In some languages it seems that clitic PMs have replaced the original inflectional morphology of the verbs. For instance, while discussing the paradigm of clitic PMs and suffixal morphology in Northern Taleshi, Stilo (2008a: 367) suggests that "[t]he 1st and 2nd persons plural of the Set2 series [clitic PMs here, MM] in Talyshi have replaced the original Set1 [Vaff PMs here, MM] forms of these two persons which have been lost." The following table brings more evidence from investigated languages in this thesis:

Table 19: The derivation of 1PL and 2PL forms of suffixal morphology from clitic PMs

	Suffixal morphology		Clitic PMs
1pl	Chali, Takestani, Delijani	-imo	=mo
	Central Taleshi	-əmun	=əmun
2pl	Chali, Takestani	-iyo	=ion
	Central Taleshi	-ərun	=ərun

The reason why such substitutions occur in the suffixal morphology paradigm might be related to the extension of the paradigm of clitic PMs into that of suffixal morphology at some point in the history of these languages. A close look at the paradigm of suffixal morphology of Iranian languages suggest the clitic paradigm can extend into the Vaff PM paradigm in three possible ways:

In the first case, special cells in suffixal morphology are targeted. The paradigmatic form of the verbs 'to go' *šen* and 'to see' *vinden* in the past tense of Central Taleshi is brought here to highlight such a shift. Here, the clitic set has substituted the verbal affix PM set in 1PL and 2PL forms.

(99)   1SG   *š-em*   *vind=əm-a*
           2SG   *š-iš*   *vind=ər-a*
           3SG   *š-a*   *vind=əš-a*
           1PL   *š-**imun***   *vind=**əmun**-a*
           2PL   *š-**irun***   *vind=**ərun**-a*
           3PL   *š-in*   *vind=əšun-a*

As another example, Persian 3SG clitic *-š* replaces the 3SG zero morpheme of suffixal morphology in the past tense, as in *raft=eš* 'he went.', *goft=eš* 'He said'. The 3SG clitic here loses its pronominal nature and becomes the (obligatory) index of third person subject. Adopting the 'Blocking Principle' of Fuß (2005), Rasekh (2014) analyses the emergence of the 3SG clitic form in the paradigm of suffixal morphology of Persian as compensating for a defect in the paradigm of verbal affix PMs, i.e. the lack of distinctiveness of the 3SG slot in the latter.

Table 20: Shifts in the paradigm of verbal affix PMs in Persian

a. suffixal morphology (old)

1sg	-am
2sg	-ī
3sg	-Ø
1pl	-im
2pl	-id
3pl	-and

b. Clitic PMs

1sg	=m
2sg	=t
3sg	=š
1pl	=mān
2pl	=tān
3pl	=šān

c. suffixal morphology (new)

1sg	-am
2sg	-ī
3sg	-eš
1pl	-im
2pl	-id
3pl	-and

The second way a paradigm of clitic PMs can affect a paradigm of verbal affix PMs is the full substitution of the latter by the former. This is the case for Bājalāni dialect of Gorani, studied by MacKenzie (1956), and Bandari. In Bājalāni, with the exception of 3SG zero morpheme, the paradigm of clitic PMs extends to past intransitive verbs. In (100) the paradigmatic form of the intransitive verb *āmāy* 'to come' and the transitive verb *wārday* 'to eat' in the past tense is given for comparison.

(100)
1SG	*āmāy=m*	*wārd=m*
2SG	*āmāy=t*	*wārd=t*
3SG	*āmā-Ø*	*wārd=š*
1PL	*āmāy=mān*	*wārd=mān*
2PL	*āmāy=tān*	*wārd=tān*
3PL	*āmāy=šān*	*wārd=šān*

In Bandari, on the other hand, the paradigm of clitic PMs has extended to imperfective past intransitive constructions. This is shown below for the paradigmatic form of *raften* 'to go' in contrast to the equivalent imperfective past paradigm of *goften* 'to say':

(101)
1SG	*m=a-ra* 'I was going/ would go'	*m=a-goft* 'I was saying/ would say'
2SG	*t=a-ra*	*t=a-goft*
3SG	*š=a-ra*	*š=a-goft*
1PL	*mā=ra*	*mā=goft*
2PL	*tā=ra*	*tā=goft*
3PL	*šā=ra*	*šā=goft*

A third candidate for the extension of a clitic paradigm into a Vaff paradigm involves in a cycle according to which the clitic paradigm first extended to the paradigm of suffixal morphology, as seen above for Bajalani and Bandari, then at a presumed later stage, such a paradigm was substituted by that of suffixal morphology, though the substitution remained partial, and some cells of the clitic paradigm could be traced in the current paradigm of suffixal morphology.

 This kind of change seems to be the case with some languages that have developed unified nominative-accusativity out of the assumed older tense-sensitive alignment. Some Southern

Kurdish varieties appear to be a candidate for such changes. Here, the suffixal morphology has apparently retained the older pronominal clitic paradigm in some cells. This is notably the case for 1PL, and 2PL forms, as shown below for the dialects of Bistun and Bijar:

Table 21: Clitic origin of some cells in the paradigm of suffixal morphology in SK varieties[40]

| | Suffixal morphology | | Pronomian clitics |
	Bijar	Bistun	
1SG	-m	-im	=m
2SG	-īd	-it	=t
3SG	-īd, -g, - ǧ	-êd	=y
1PL	**-īmān**	**-īmen**	=mān
2PL	-in	**-ītān**	=dān/ =tān
3PL	-in	-in	=yān

Assuming that these languages have passed through an ergative stage in which pronominal clitics marked the A-past arguments, the current paradigm of Vaff PMs with traces of clitic paradigm could be explained by the loss of A-past clitic mobility in Southern Kurdish, and its grammaticalization on verb stem as inflectional affixes. The clitic paradigm on the verb was subsequently substituted by the extension of the corresponding paradigm from the suffixal morphology used for present tense verb stems. Though the replacement remained partial and did not affect all the cells; 1PL and 2PL still demonstrate their clitic origin. These changes are summarized below:

Table 22: Assumed changes in the paradigm of Vaff PMs in Southern Kurdish

a. the original paradigm of clitics and Vaff PMs

	clitic	Vaff
1sg	=m	-im
2sg	=t	-it
3sg	=ī	-ē(d)
1pl	=mān	-īn
2pl	tān	-in
3pl	=yān	-in

b. the extension of the clitic paradigm to that of Vaff

	Vaff
1sg	=m
2sg	=t
3sg	=ī
1pl	=mān
2pl	=tān
3pl	=yān

c. partial substitution of the paradigm in b, by the Vaff paradigm via analogy

	Vaff
1sg	-im
2sg	-it
3sg	-ē(d)
1pl	-mān
2pl	- tān
3pl	-in

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[40] 1PL *-īmun* and 2PL *-ītun* occur as alternatives to the more general verbal endings of *-im* and *-it* in Luri dialect of 'Bālā Garīva'. However, *-īmun* and *-ītun* are used more rarely, unless the ending is followed by an enclitic object (Amān Allāhi & Thackston 1986: 201).

However, the above paradigm of suffixal morphology in Tables 21 and 22c is now being used across all tenses for both intransitive and transitive verbs. That is, contrary to the erstwhile pattern of tense-sensitive alignment where the clitic paradigm was used solely in past transitive verbs, now the reflexes of the clitic paradigm in 1PL and PL persons are used across all the tenses. The question then remains as what kind of changes the paradigms of clitic PMs and Vaff PMs have been subjected to prior to the current system where the reflexes of clitic paradigm in some cells of suffixal morphology are used across all tenses, contrary to their restricted use in the older stage? The answer to this question is not easy considering the lack of historical records for SK dialects. However, one might assume that at some point the paradigm of clitic PMs of some SK dialects extended to past intransitive verbs as well, hence Table 22b (as attested for Bajalani above). Later, the past tense clitic paradigm was partially replaced by the paradigm of suffixal morphology from present tense constructions (Table 22c). The new paradigm of past tense, which by the way was more informative in distinguishing the plural sets of verbal affix paradigm, e.g. the distinction between 2PL and 3PL person forms, was later generalized into all tenses. The same pattern could be assumed to have occurred to some Luri dialects (see fn. 40).
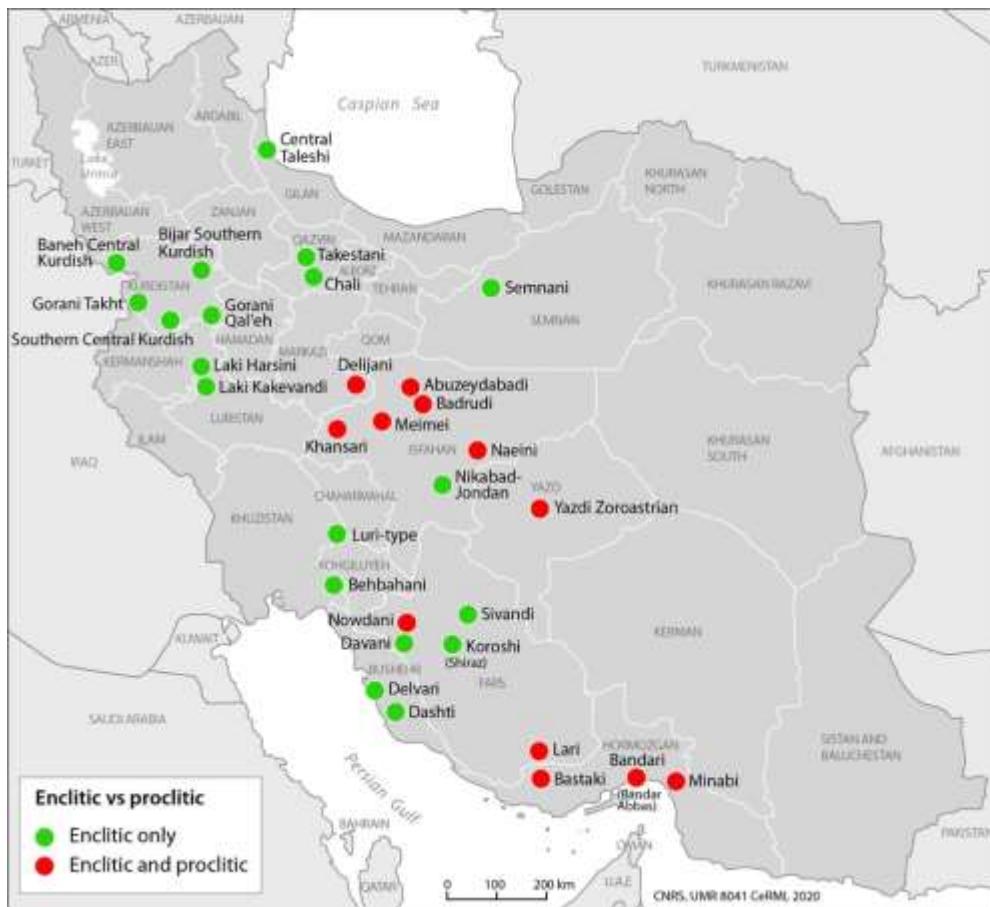
3.3 Phonological attachment of clitics in WILs: proclitic attachment

It is generally assumed that the nature of cliticization in WILs is that of enclitic attachment. For example, Korn (2009: 159) reports that "[t]hey [Clitic PMs here, MM] are used as enclitic counterparts of the stressed personal pronouns in all oblique functions[41]." It is only recently and in passing that the proclitic attachment of clitics in a subset of WILs has been recognized (see for instance Dabir-Moghaddam 2008; Jügel 2017; Gholami 2018).

The rise of proclitic attachment is significant in the languages that have it, since the main tool for the phonological attachment of clitics in Old and Middle West Iranian languages (and a good number of modern languages, see Figure 10) was in the form of encliticization. Diachronically speaking, then, a previous enclitic stage could be assumed for languages with proclitic attachment.

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[41] In the same way Lecoq (2002: 86) considers the pronominal clitics of Central Plateau dialects as 'enclitics'

Figure 10: Procliticization and encliticization of pronominal clitics in WILs

As seen, WILs have either enclitic-only attachment or use both enclitics or proclitics as means of clitic attachment. In the first group, the enclitic attachment of clitics has been preserved since the Old Iranian period. It is in the second group of languages that a major shift in the direction of clitic attachment has taken place since presumably the later Middle Iranian period. Here, proclitics have arisen out of the previous enclitic attachment. The procliticization tendency is areally distributed: ranging from central Iran to the languages of southeastern Iran, and including some Southwestern languages, e.g. Nowdani.

The extent of proclitic attachment is different in the Central Plateau than in languages situated in the south: that is, while proclitic attachment is limited to TAM forms of verbs and some immediate preverbal domains in Central Plateau languages (see §3.3.2 Table 23), it is in the south and in the Yazdi Zoroastrian that procliticization is more prevalent. Here, proclitics usually endorse the same set of functions as enclitics, including an A-past, cf. (102), a direct object, cf. (103), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (104), a non-canonical subject, cf. (105), an adpositional complement, cf. (106), and a possessor, cf. (107).

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(102) *yeki   yeki   miva-yā   bā   deqat   **oš**=čī*   PS2[Lar]. 3
one   one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
'He picked the fruit one by one with care.'

(103) ***š**=a-res-et-e*   *peš-e   āsiābān*   RS[Bas]. 18
3SG:O=IND-send.PRS-3SG-DRC   to-EZ   miller
'He sends him to the miller.'

(104) *āhangar   ševal   **š**=a-det*   RS[Bas]. 27
blacksmith   shovel   3SG:R=IND-give.PRS.3SG
'The blacksmith gives him a shovel.'

(105) ***om**=na-hasta*   EL[Bnd]. 41
1SG:NC=NEG-exist
'I don't have it.' [lit. To me it does not exist]

(106) ***š**=az_bar   a_te   sabad   a-riz-en*   PS1[Lar]. 18
3SG:R=for   in   basket   IND-pour.PRS-3PL
'They put (the pears) into a basket for him.'

(107) *ya   mošta   ārt   e-kuz-ā   **š**=e   gal_*   SM2[YZ]. 15
a   punch   flour   IND-hit.PRS-3SG   3SG:POS=to   foot
'(The wolf) pours a handful of flour on his paw.'

Despite the large coverage of proclitics in WILs, the existing scholarship has often overlooked it, or has only secondarily dealt with proclitic attachment of clitics. For example, Dabir-Moghaddam (2008: 99), provides a preliminary classification of phonological attachment of A-past clitics in some Iranian languages as follows:

a. clitic attached to the particle o- or an enclitic (Davani)

b. clitic attached to the particle o- or a proclitic (Larestani)

c. enclitic and proclitic (Naeini)

d. enclitic only (Balochi, Kurdish, and Laki)

Dabir-Moghaddam takes the occurrences of *o* before the clitic PMs (e.g. 102, 105) in languages with pattern (a) and pattern (b) as particles on which clitics encliticize. However, in both (102), and (105) the erstwhile particle has now merged into the clitic forms. Indeed, no analysis of the properties of *o-* has been offered in his paper. As seen later, his classification fails to account for the distinct properties of *o-* in Davani and Larestani: in the former *o* is a clitic hosting particle which guarantees second positioning of clitics, while in the latter it's a supporting vowel which only appears with the singular forms of pronominal clitics so that the outcome of cliticization does not violate the syllable restriction of the language.

On the other hand, Gholami (2018) gives an account of procliticization in the Zoroastrian dialect of Kerman, according to which proclitic attachment only affects A-past clitics, while as seen above in (102)–(107), it applies nearly to all the clitic functions.[42]

In the following sub-sections, we will first provide the range of proclitic attachment in WILs, and then move on to give an account of the rise of procliticization, enumerating the factors that have been crucial in the development of proclitics. However, in many Iranian languages, clitics demonstrate an elusive behaviour and defy a unified syntactic and phonological analysis in terms of their attachment to the host. One instantiation of this is the 'ditropic' behaviour of clitics in a sub-set of Iranian languages.

3.3.1 Ditropic clitics

Ever since Klavans's (1985) ground-breaking typology on the clitic types (see §1.2.1), there has been a recognition of 'ditropic clitics' (see Embrick and Noyer 1999; Cysouw 2005), which are termed as 'clitics with double citizenship' in Klavans (1985). Ditropic clitics exhibit different syntactic and phonological dependencies in the sense that while they are syntactically related to a specific complement, phonologically can take any immediate element in their proximity as their host. Perhaps the most famous case of ditropic clitic is found in Kugu Nganhcara (a Pama- Nyungan language from Cape York, Australia), in where the clitic is syntactically related to the verb *wa:* 'give', but is encliticized to whatever element that precedes the verb (Klavans 1985: 104):

(108) a.   *nhila*   *pama-ng*   *nhingu*   *pukpe-wu*   *kuʔa*
         he.NOM   man-ERG   him.DAT   child-DAT   dog

         wa:=ngu.
         give=DAT.3SG

         'The man gave the dog to the child.'

b.	*nhila*	*pama-ng*	*nhingu*	*pukpe-wu*	*kuʔa = ngu*	*wa:*
c.	*nhila*	*pama-ng*	*kuʔa*	*nhingu*	*pukpe-wu = ngu*	*wa:*
d.	*nhila*	*pama-ng*	*kuʔa*	*pukpe-wu*	*nhingu = ngu*	*wa:*
e.	*kuʔa*	*nhingu*	*pukpe-wu*	*nhila*	*pama-ng = ngu*	*wa:*
f.	*kuʔa*	*nhingu*	*pukpe-wu*	*pama-ng*	*nhila = ngu*	*wa:*

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[42] Note however that one can already come across proclitic attachment of clitics functioning as prepositional complements in Gholami's description of Kermani Zoroastrian clitics.

Cysouw (2005) offers a survey of ditropic clitics cross-linguistically. According to him, ditropic clitics occur in two contexts: in the first context, the clitic is syntactically related to a particular constituent, here Y, but phonologically attaches to divergent hosts, here labelled as [x], to the left of Y, cf. (109a). The second case of a ditropic clitic is related to a context where the clitic leaves the constituent Y and attaches to the highly divergent hosts [X] to the right, cf. (109 b).

(109)   a.   [X]=clitic [Y]
        b.   [Y] clitic=[X]

(109 a) is an instance of a preposed enclitic and corresponds to Klavans's types 1 and 5, while (109 b) is an example of a postposed proclitic and corresponds to Klavans's types 4 and 8. Cysouw holds that due to the general preference for encliticization in the world's languages, pattern (a) is expected to occur more frequently.

A ditropic clitic should meet two requirements: (i) there should be no semantic unit resulting from the combination of the host X and the clitic; (ii) the host X should not constitute a particular class of linguistic item. In other words, elements of diverse categories should be able to host the clitic. So, for instance the English phrasal affix *'s* in '*the woman I talked to's hat*' does not qualify as a ditropic clitic since even though it has no semantic relation to *you* (thus fulfilling condition i), yet syntactically the host of *'s* is regularly the last element of the possessor phrase, hence violating the structural variability of the host. In §3.3.2.2.2, we will review cases of ditropic clitics in some Iranian languages and further show that they can be grouped under type 5 of Klavans's typology of clitics, i.e. preposed enclitics.

3.3.2 The extent of proclitic attachment in Western Iranian languages

Since Middle Iranian period, some modern languages have developed proclitics at different rates throughout their grammars. The extent to which procliticization is possible on different hosts and in different domains is summed up in Table 23.

Table 23: Procliticization extent in WILs

Language	domain of cliticization[43]	host			Immediate preverbal omains	
		prep	V.stem	TAM-V.stem	[Y] CL=TAM-Vstem	[X] CL=Vstem becomes: [X]=CL V.stem
Delijani	VP	−	−	+	+	−
Khansari	VP	−	+ (rare)	+	+	−
Meymei	VP	−	+ (rare)	−	−	−
Abuzeydabadi	VP	−	−	+	+	−
Badrudi	VP	−	+ (rare)	−	+	−
Naeini	VP	−	+	+	+	−
Yazdi Zoroastrian	mainly V	+	+	+	+	+
Lari	mainly V	+	+	+	+	+
Bastaki	mainly V	+	+	+	+	+
Nodani	V	+	+	+	+	+
Bandari	V	−	+	+	+	+
Minabi	V	+	+	−	+	+

Keys: +: the proclitic attachment is possible
      −: the proclitic attachment is not possible

In Table 23, procliticization is surveyed at two levels: at the level of special hosts proclitic attachment is examined on prepositions, TAM prefix, and bare verb stems. At the level of domain, proclitic attachment is examined in two sub-domains. In the first case, the clitic has the option of leaving its syntactic host [Y] to the left and attach to the TAM form of the verb to right. In the second case, the proclitic has the verb as its syntactic host. However, in the course of natural speech the clitic has the possibility to leave the bare verb stem as its syntactic host and attach to whatever element that immediately precedes the verb, exhibiting thus a ditropic clitic behaviour.

As can be seen, languages spoken in the south of Iran allow proclitic attachment on prepositions, while such is not viable in CPDs. Interestingly, even though being classified as a CP dialect, Yazdi Zoroastrian groups with the languages in the south rather than with the rest of CPDs. Likewise, CPDs and languages of the south differ with respect to the viability of the proclitic attachment on the bare verb stem (column ii). Here, Naeini, and Yazdi Zoroastrian are distinguished from the rest of CPDs, and align with the languages in the south. In what follows

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[43] See Chapter 6 for traits of clitic placement in each of the cliticization domains.

we cover in more details the extent of proclitic attachment on specific hosts and in immediate pre-verbal domains.

3.3.2.1 Procliticization on special hosts

In this section, we will survey the proclitic attachment on special hosts. As seen in Table 23, the relevant hosts are prepositions, TAM form of the verbs, and bare verb stems. While giving an overview of the clitic attachment on these elements, we briefly elaborate on possible historical derivations and explanations behind the proclitic attachment in such constructions.

3.3.2.1.1 Procliticization on prepositions

Column 1 of Table 23 explores the possibility of procliticization on prepositions. This feature is only available – at different rates – for V-based cliticization languages but is absent for VP-based languages with proclitic attachment. Among V-based languages, only Larestani dialects Lari and Bastaki, and Yazdi Zoroastrian have their prepositions considerably undergone procliticization:

(110) *š=az_bar*   *a_te*   *sabad*   *a-riz-en*   PS1[Lar]. 18
       3SG:R=for   in   basket   IND-pour.PRS-3PL
       'They put (the pears) into a basket for him.'

(111) *dāšt*   *š=e-kā*   *š=e_tu*   HB2[YZ]. 12
       hand   3SG:A-IPFV-do.PST   3SG:R=in
       'He put (his) hand in it.'

In Nowdani and (less so) Minabi, proclitic attachment usually applies only to the polyfunctional dative preposition.

(112) *kār*   *t=aš*   *om=ni*   EL[Nod]. 70
       job   2SG:R=with   1SG:NC-NEG.COP.3SG
       'I don't have (any) business with you.'

(113) *kār*   *t=a*   *hast=om*   EL[Min]. 70
       job   2SG:R=to   exist.PRS=1SG:NC
       'I have a business with you.'

Finally, Bandari is an exception in V-based languages in not having proclitic attachment on its preposition. The reason for such exceptionality could be sought in the fact that Bandari has

borrowed its prepositions from Persian[44], and thus copies the encliticization pattern of Persian to its prepositions:

(114) *be=š*   *komak a-kon-en*   PS[Bnd]. 12
       to=3SG:R   help   IND-do.PRS-3PL
       'They help him.'

3.3.2.1.2 Procliticization on the bare verb stem

In column 2 of Table 23 cliticization on the bare verb stem is examined. In this regard, all V-based cliticization languages allow for procliticization. In §3.3.3 we argue that the rise of procliticization in such constructions is related to the reanalysis of WMI clitic hosting particles *u-/ o-* in such languages. For the time being, note that a trace of such a particle is still existing before the singular form of clitics when they attach to the bare form of the verb, cf. (115)–(117), however, the erstwhile particle is now merged into the clitic paradigm.

(115) ***om**=di=šu*   EL[Nod]. 44
       1SG:A=see.PST=3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

(116) ***od**=košt-im*   ED2[YZ]. 48
       2SG:A=kill.PST-1PL:O
       'You killed us'

(117) *yeki   yek   miva-yā   bā   deqat   **oš**=čī*   PS2[Lar]. 3
       one   one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
       'He picked the fruit with care.'

In other words, the erstwhile particle resurfaces in order for the language not to have non-permissible onset **mdi* in (115)*, or * dkošt* in (116). By the addition of the erstwhile particle, the outcome of cliticization will comply to the syllable-structure rules of such languages with proclitic attachment. On the other hand, no such erstwhile particle is needed for the plural set of clitic PMs to procliticize on the verb, since plural clitics are already syllabic.

(118) *hanuz pul   be   me   **šo**=na-dād-en*   GW[Min]. 9
       yet   money to   1SG   3PL:A=NEG-give.PST-PERF
       'They haven't paid me money yet.'

(119) *az   gošnegi   **to**=košt=omo*   EL[Bnd]. 48
       from   hunger   2PL:A=kill.PST=1PL:O
       'You killed us of hunger.'

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[44] See Table 114 on the list of prepositions in Bandari.

Among VP-Based clitic systems of central Iran, Naeini. Cf. (120), and rarely Khansari, cf. (121), Meymei, cf. (122), and Badrudi, cf. (123), allow for clitic PMs to procliticize on the verb stem.

(120) *iya*   ***šni****=i-di*   MB[Nai]. 17
      3PL   3PL:A=TAM-see.PST
      'They saw.'

(121) ***ež****=vāt*   QB[Kha]. 8
      3SG:A=say.PST
      'He said.'

(122) ***am****=gā*   *hā-gir-on*   EL[Mey]. 69
      1SG:NC=want.PST   PVB-take.PRS-1SG
      'I wanted to buy (it).'

(123) ***ašun****=vā*   CG[Bad]. 7
      3PL:A=say.PST
      'They said.'

It should be noted that in Khansari, Badrudi and Meymei examples above, a vocalic *a/e* precedes the clitic form. This element is assumed to be a reflex of Middle Iranian adverbial particle *ah* 'then, thus', and its sandhi form *ā/a* (see §3.3.3 for more details)

In short, the rise of procliticization on the bare verb seems to be related to the development of two old particles in the now languages with proclitic attachment (see 3.3.3 for more details). These particles are the reflex of 'and-conjunctor' *u-* in V-based clitic systems, and the reflex of adverbial particle *ah, a-* in VP-based clitic systems of central Iran. However, note that among the two particles, the evidence for the existence of an erstwhile particle before the bare verb stem is stronger in V-based languages, in a way that the reflex of the particles occurs with all verbs. In most VP-based languages on the other hand, what is assumed to be a reflex of the erstwhile particle *a-* resurfaces only with small number of verbs. The reason for such restriction in the use of *a-* before bare verb stems could be related to the grammaticalization of the erstwhile particle *ba, be* before bare past verb stems as the 'punctual marker' across most Central Plateau dialects (see MacKinnon 1977)[45], as exemplified in (124)-(125):

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[45] The punctual prefix *be/bi* was a multifunctional particle in Middle Persian, denoting adverbial, conjunctional, prepositional, and preverbizing (either directional or perfectivizing) functions (MacKinnon 1977: 16 ff. 15). In Early New Persian *be/bi* was employed, among other things, with past tense verbs to signify a completed action, which is not of interest to the present situation. This function was in opposition with unmarked *be/bi*-less past tense verb stems, which had a rather perfective sense, hence signified a completed but not temporally highly defined act. In other words, punctuality was opposed to perfectivity (MacKinnon 1977: 18). MacKinnon adds that *be* resurfaces as a punctual marker with nearly the same function as Early New Persian in some modern western Iranian languages, including Central Plateau dialects, and Tatic group.

(124) *māsu=a*   *ba=**m**-xard-a*   BS[Abu]. 16
        fish=2SG:POS   PUNCT=1SG:A-eat.PST-3SG.F
        'I ate your fish.'

(125) *ba=**m**-di-ande*   EL[Dej]. 44
        PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST-3PL:O
        'I saw them.'

3.3.2.1.3 Procliticization on the TAM formative

In column 3 of Table 23, the proclitic attachment on the modal/aspectual formative (or TAM) has been illustrated. According to this, except for Badrudi, Meymei, and Minabi, all languages allow procliticization on the TAM affix. Yet, a closer look at the data from investigated languages amounts to separate grouping of languages in this regard:

In Delijani, and Khansari the reflex of the particle *a-* resurfaces with the clitic paradigm of languages:

(126) *āw*   *ašon=a-bar-a*   GX[Dej]. 18
        water   3PL:O=IND-take.PRS-3SG
        'The water will take them away.'

(127) *šomā*   *e**ž**=e-vin-di*   QB[Kha]. 17
        2PL   3SG:O=IND-see.PRS-2PL
        'You see him.'

On the other hand, in the CP dialects Abuzeydabadi, Naeini, and Yazdi Zoroastrian, no recourse is made to the erstwhile particles, rather the clitic procliticizes directly to the TAM affix:

(128) *mon=a-xand*   EL2[Abu]. 5
        1PL:A=IPFV-read.PST
        'We were reading.'

(129) *šo=he-rāš-im*   EL[YZ]. 68
        3SG:O=IND-sell.PRS-1PL
        'We will sell them.'

(130) *t=e-vin-i*   EL2[Nai]. 64
        2SG:O=IND-see.PRS-1/2SG:A
        'I see you.'

Finally, in the V-based clitic systems of southern Iran, the recourse to the erstwhile particles before the TAM prefix depends on the type of the TAM prefix in question. If the latter is a vocalic element, as in (131)–(132), no recourse to the supporting *o* is needed since the clitic

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PMs can resyllabify with the following vocalic TAM. This is the case for the languages of southeast Iran, e.g. Lari, Bastaki, and Bandari[46]:

(131) **t**=*a-bar-om*   *sahrā*   EL[Bnd]. 8
       2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG   desert
       'I will take you out.'

(132) **š**=*a-res-et-e*   *peš-e āsiābān*   RS[Bas]. 18
       3SG:O=IND-send.PRS-3SG-DRC   to-EZ   miller
       'He sends him to the miller.'

On the other hand, with the TAM affix being consonant-initial, as in (133), the clitic system has a recourse to the reflex of *o*, so that the outcome of cliticization would not lead to the non-permissible onset *mmi*.

(133) **om**=*mi-šā*   BO[Nod]. 12
       1SG:NC=IND-be able.PRS
       'I'm able.'

To recap, languages with proclitic attachment show disparate groupings with respect to the procliticization on the TAM prefix. The differences go back to the presence or absence of the erstwhile clitic hosting particles on the current clitic paradigm, and the type of TAM the clitic procliticizes on.

3.3.2.2 Procliticization at the domain level

The previous section outlined in some detail the behaviour of individual languages with respect to procliticization on special hosts, namely prepositions, bare verbs, and verbs with the accompanying TAM prefix. In this section, the procliticization phenomenon is analysed on two domains: (i) immediate preverbal domain with the TAM formative present on the verb; (ii) immediate preverbal domain when the verb is bare.

The preliminary observation suggests that while special elements may not undergo procliticization (e.g. verb stem in Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi), the mechanism of procliticization acts preferably at the domain level of languages in Table 23; that is, in almost all languages with proclitic attachment, proliticization on the verb is the main tendency when clitics are realized in immediate preverbal domains. This kind of proclitic attachment in specific domains conforms to Anderson's (2005) claim that the direction of phonological attachment of clitics is

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[46] In Minabi, on the other hand, a clitic does not procliticize on the TAM prefix rather encliticizes onto the verb stem. This is probably due to the contact-induced change from the neighboring Balochi dialects, which have enclitic attachment.

not a property of clitics themselves but is rather defined by the general rules of how a deficient (unstressed) material is treated in the language (see below for more details).

3.3.2.2.1 Y CL=TAM-V

Let's begin with the domain consisting of a preverbal element Y, a clitic, and a TAM formative preceding the verb stem. This domain is formulated as Y CL=TAM-V. This formulation means that in immediate preverbal domain the clitic leaves its syntactic element to the left, here Y, and attaches to the TAM as its phonological host.

The behaviour of VP-based languages with respect to cliticization in the immediate preverbal domain is seen in the following examples from Meymei, cf. (134), Naeini, cf. (135), Badrudi, cf. (136), and Abuzeydabadi, cf. (137). Here the syntactic host of clitic is marked by the underscore '_'.

(134) *čandi*   **gandom_**   **m=a-čind**   LS[Mey]. 13
        how.often   wheat   1SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST
        'How often I used to harvest wheat.'

(135) *tu*   *mehmuni*   *va*   **ki_**   **t=i-di?**   EL1[Nai]. 15
        ADP   party   ADP   who   2SG:A=TAM-see.PST
        'Whom did you see at the party?'

(136) **komak_**   **š=a-ker-en**   PS1[Bad]. 20
        help   3SG:POS=IND-do.PRS-3PL
        'They help him.'

(137) *gel*   *deraxt-e*   **golowi_**   **y=a-čid**   PS[Abu]. 1
        on   tree-DEF   pear   3SG:A=IPFV-peck.PST
        'He was pecking pears on the tree'

On the basis of the above examples, one can say that there is a tension between the direction of phonological attachment and syntactic attachment of clitics. that is, while in the immediate pre-verbal domain the clitic PM is syntactically related to the element that precedes the verb, phonologically it opts for the vocalic TAM prefix on its right as the host, thus representing type 4 of Klavans's typology of clitics, i.e. postposed proclitics. The Iranian data then bring more evidence in favour of type 4 of Klavans's typology, a type whose occurrence cross-linguistically has been questioned (see Cysouw 2005 for an overview). It should be noted however that the behaviour of clitics in the above examples is not that of a 'ditropic clitic' since the host to which the clitic attaches is unanimously the TAM prefix. In other words, the phonological host of the clitics is specified.

The proclitic attachment of clitics in the above examples is conditioned to a specific feature of the TAM prefix, namely the latter being a vocalic element. With the syllabic TAM prefix present on the verb in the immediate preverbal domain, encliticization to the preverbal element is at work:

(138) *davet=**šun***   *ba-kard-im*   EL[Bad]. 50
       invitation=3PL:A   PUNCT-do.PST-1PL:O
       'They invited us.'

 Nor does procliticization apply when the clause contains more than one preverbal element within the VP, in which case, the enclitic takes first element of the VP as host:

(139) *tana=**šun***   *dar*   *a-kost-ø*   EL1[Bad]. 10
       reproach=3PL:A   to   IPFV-hit.PST-3SG:R
       'They would reproach him.'

On the other hand, in V-based clitic systems the proclitic attachment to the verb is not conditioned to immediate preverbal domains, rather clitics regularly opt for the verb as the host regardless of the type of domain in which they are found (see Ch. 5 under §5.5). In (140)–(141), the clitic procliticizes on the TAM prefix on the verb regardless of the available potential elements to host the clitic to the left, marked by the 'underscore', to host it.

(140) *čom_*   *brā=**do**_*   ***m**=e-āort-ā*   SM2[YZ]. 12
       dinner   for=2PL:R   1SG:A=TAM-bring.PST-PERF
       'I have brought you food.'

(141) *golābi-al_*   *a*   *bālā-y*   *deraxt_*   ***eš**=mi-či*   PS[Nod]. 3
       pear-PL   from   top-EZ   tree   3SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST
       'He was pecking the pears on the tree.'

Note however that while in V-based clitic systems the placement of A-past and O clitics is defined with respect to the verb and is not sensitive to the immediate preverbal domain, adpositional complement clitics, cf. (142a) and possessor clitics, cf. (142b) tend to skip their host to the left and procliticize on the verb in the immediate preverbal domain, exhibiting the same trait as VP-based clitic systems above.

(142) a.   *zan=eš*   ***az**_*   ***š**=a-pors-ed*   SL2[Bnd]. 2
             woman=3SG:POS   from   3SG:R=IND-ask.PRS-3SG
             'His wife asks him.'

       b.   ***kola**_* ***š**=a-ket*   PS1[Lar]. 14
             hat   3SG:POS=IPFV-fall.PST
             'His hat fell down.'

In short, with some differences, in the immediate preverbal domain of both V-based and VP-based clitic systems the clitics exhibit elusive behaviour, in a way that they detach from their hosts and procliticize on the verb, illustrating instance of postposed proclitics.

3.3.2.2.2 X CL=V becomes X=CL V

In this section we review the proclitic attachment when the domain consists of a divergent preverbal constituent X, a clitic, and the bare verb stem, formulated as X CL=V. As seen in Table 23 above, this situation is only relevant with the languages in which the verb is the relevant domain for cliticization. The clitic thus procliticizes on the verb as its anchor point regardless of the presence of the potential hosts to the left. Examples are provided below:

(143) *kəlā=š_*   *šo=dā*   PS3[YZ]. 19
       hat=3SG:POS   3PL:A=give.PST
       'They gave (him) his hat.'

(144) *xorjin=eš_*   *por_*   ***eš**=kerd-e*   PS[Nod]. 42
       sack=3SG:POS full   3SG:A=do.PST-PERF
       'He has filled his sack.'

(145) *dar_*   *vāz_*   ***šo**=ke*   SM[Lar]. 16
       door   open   3PL:A=do.PST
       'They opened the door.'

(146) *yekiyeki_*   *miva-yā_*   *bā*   *deqat_*   ***oš**=čī*   PS2[Lar]. 3
       one.by.one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
       'He picked the fruit one by one with care.'

In the above examples, the A-past clitics has skipped the available elements to its left and is landed on the verb as its anchor. However, cliticization in the immediate preverbal domain of V-based clitic systems poses another problem parallel to cliticization in VP-based languages seen above. That is, in natural speech the original proclitic in the immediate preverbal domains of V-based clitic systems can leave the verb as its syntactic host and phonologically attach to the immediate element to its left in an enclitic grab. The clitic in such contexts exhibits a ditropic clitic behaviour, since there is no restriction on the category of the element to which the proclitic encliticizes. In the following examples elements of diverse syntactic status can host the elusive clitic: an object NP, cf. (147), a clausal conjunction, cf. (147)– (148), an adverb, cf. (149), a subject NP, cf. (150)–(151), and the last element of the preceding clause, cf. (152).

(147) *mardog-a*   *go=š*   *ba*   *be*   *bāzār*   EL1[YZ]. 71
     man-DEF   cow=3SG:A   take.PST   to   bazaar

     tā=š   *veroš-ā*   */ go*   ***oš**=ba .... tā*   ***oš**=veroš-ā*
     so that=3SG:O sell.PRS-3SG
     'The man took the cow to the bazaar in order to sell it.'

(148) *pos-i=**m***   *binā*   */ posi*   ***om**=binā*   EL[Lar]. 15
     boy-INDF=1SG:A   see.PST

     *ke=**m***   *nā-šenāxt*   */ ke*   ***om**=nāšenāxt*
     REL=1SG:A   NEG-know.PST
     'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

(149) *bezi=**m***   *na-vā*   */ bezi*   ***om**=na-vā*   EL1[YZ]. 64
     no.more=1SG:NC   NEG-want.PRS
     'I don't want (to see you) anymore.

(150) *mo=**m***   *bo*   */ mo*   ***om**=bo*   BO[Nod]. 18
     1SG=1SG:A   win.PST
     'I won (against you).'

(151) *me=**m***   *bordi=šo*   */ me*   ***om**=bordi=šo*   SM[Bnd]. 31
     1SG=1SG:A   take.PST=3PL:O
     'I took them.'

(152) *om=ne-šā*   *bod-e=š*   SL2[Bas]. 18
     1SG:NC=NEG-be able   COP.PST-COP.3SG=3SG:O

     vā-xon-em   */ om=ne-šā*   *bod-e*   ***oš**=vā-xon-em*
     PVB-read.PRS-1SG
     'I hadn't been able to read it.'

The behaviour of clitics in the above examples brings a strong support for the type 5 of Klavans's typology of clitics, i.e. preposed enclitics. Recall that one of the objections to Klavans' typology was that type (5) along with some other types (most notably types 4, and 8) occur rarely (or are non-existent) cross-linguistically (see for instance Embrick and Noyer 1999; Halpern 1995). The clitic system of V-based Iranian languages in Table 23 confirms that actually type 5 is prolific (see also Cysouw 2005 for more languages with type 5).

3.3.2.3 Correlations between cliticization at the levels of special hosts and domains

The previous two sections surveyed the mechanism of procliticization on two levels of hosts and domains. We outlined that the mechanism of procliticization acts preferably at the domain level, while it may not be the case at the host level. Badrudi is the best example of this lack of correlation, i.e. with the imperfective verb as the only clitic host, the clitic encliticizes to the

vocalic TAM prefix; but in immediate preverbal domain the same enclitic procliticizes to the TAM prefix. However, while the above generalization is generally true, the procliticization preferences in some languages suggest that the proclitic attachment works preferably at the host level and does not extend to the domain level. The behaviour of clitics in Delijani and Khansari at the northwest outskirts of Central Plateau dialects actually calls for a (tenacious) lack of correlation between procliticization at the domain level and at the host level.

While procliticization on certain verb forms does not in rare cases imply procliticization at the clause level (e.g. Delijani), such an implication is true in the case of prepositions. That is, in those Iranian languages where proclitic attachment is allowed on prepositions, we expect to have the latter allowed at the clause level as well. This is typical of V-based cliticization systems outlined in Table 23.

3.3.3 Procliticization and the development of S2-assuring particles

In section §3.3.2, we reviewed the extent of proclitic attachment at the levels of special hosts and special domains and suggested that procliticization can act upon either the whole morpho-syntax or be limited to specific preverbal domains. We also briefly touched upon the possibility that the proclitic attachment on verb forms might have something to do with the development of clitic hosting particles of Middle Iranian. This section elaborates on this issue and links the rise of procliticization to the reanalysis of clitic hosting particles of Western Middle Iranian (WMI) in modern languages with proclitic attachment. In other words, we outline the role of the unit 'particle=clitic' in shaping the current clitic systems with proclitic attachment.

Reanalysis is one of the main mechanisms of syntactic change and is defined as follows (Langacker 1977: 58): "a change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation." A well known example of reanalysis is the change in the morpheme boundary as happened in the history of English with the indefinite article *a(n)*. For example, the word for *apron* was originally *napron* in Old English. As a result of boundary shift, the *n* of '*napron'* was reanalysed as part of the indefinite article by modern English, hence *an apron.* In the same way, the Old English *ewt* came to be reanalysed as 'newt'. Reanalysis can affect different layering of the structure, including constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations, etc. (cf. Harris & Campbell 1995: Ch. 4).

In the discussion of reanalysis, one should specify the type of reanalysis, the cause of it, and its effect in the language. Thus, in the English example above, the type of reanalysis is the shift in morpheme boundary. What caused this shift was the indefinite article *a(n)*. The effect of this change is the historical resegmentation of indefinite article and some nouns in modern English. In what follows we apply the same analysis to the development of clitic hosting particles in modern Iranian languages.

In sections §3.3.2.1.2 and §3.3.2.1.3, we postulated a hypothesis according to which the rise of proclitic attachment in modern languages was related to the reanalysis of clitic hosting particles of MWI in modern languages. One such clitic hosting particle is the WMI 'and'-coordinator *-ud*. The 'and-coordinator' *-ud* and its *sandhi* form *u-* were basically used to join words, phrases, and clauses in MWI (Brunner 1977: 226):

(153) *wcn*   ***'wt***   *YZrd*   *pdmwxtn*   *cy*   *'dy'wr'n*
      voice and   heart grinding   of   friend.PL.OBL
      'the grinding on of the voices and hearts of friends.' (Parthian_ Brunner: 1977: 226)

The *sandhi* form *u-* marked also the beginning of the sentence, in that it acted as a clause-initial particle to which the clitic PMs could attach[47]. This is the case especially in Middle Persian Pahlavi texts (Brunner: 1977: 227). In both (154)–(155) below, *u-* resurfaces to assure that clitics are positioned in the clause-second position, hence our use of the term 'S2-assuring particle'. We will elaborate further on this point in Chapter 5, under §5.2 in the discussion of clitic placement in MWI.

(154) *u=**t***   *az*   *hišt*   *hēm*   *sēwag*
      and=2SG:A   1SG.DIR   left   COP.1SG   orphan
      'And you left me behind as an orphan.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 394, paT.873)

(155) *u=**tān***   *paymōxt*   *hēm*
      PTC=2PL:A   dress.PST   COP.1SG
      '[..] and you dressed me.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 417)

Jügel (2017) also analyses the *u-* in MWI as a clitic hosting particle: "[e]nclitic pronouns frequently attach to the conjunction *ud* 'and', which then takes the form *u-*. This combination is so common that *u-* is also used when the meaning 'and' is not intended, i.e. *u-* becomes a semantically empty carrier for the enclitic pronoun". In other words, a semantic change has occurred to the coordinator *u-*. Jügel's analysis further bears out our analysis that *u-* is a particle which host clitic PMs. However, he does not recognize *u-* as a S2-assuring particle, rather he

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[47] Brunner (1977: 227) refers to this use of *u-* as 'quasi-adverbial', while Heston (1976: 249) uses the term 'clause-marker'.

considers the combination *u+clitic* in modern languages an oblique pronoun[48] (see §2.3 for a critical discussion).

Turning back to particle *-ū*, a reflex of the latter has been retained in the Southwest dialects Dashti, and Davani. In both these languages, the particle *- ū* still functions as an element which assures the S2-positioning of clitics. In (156)–(157) below, the particle *o-* resurfaces to assure that the clitics would not be placed on the direct object or indirect object, as elements of the VP. By recourse to the particle *o-* the cliticization domain remains clausal (cf. §5.3 for a full discussion).

(156)   **o=t**   *ya*   *memuni*   *hā-de*   XX[Dav]. 14
        PTC=2SG:R   a   party   PVB-give.PRS.1SG
        'That I throw a party for you.' [lit. That I give you a party]

(157)   **o=mu**   *ri*   *xar*   *mi-nā*   ZK[Dsh]. 20
        PTC=1PL:A   on   donkey   IPFV-put.PST
        'We would put (the sack) on donkeys.'

Data from a good number of Central Plateau dialects suggests that presumably the development of another S2-assuring particle is relevant in the rise of proclitic attachment. This particle is derived from the adverb *ā* (') 'thus, then' (MacKenzie 1971; Brunner 1977). Alternatively, Brunner considers also the possibility that the Sandhi form of the adverb *ah*, i.e. *a-* might be the source of the particle in Middle Persian Pahlavi texts. Like *u-*, *a-/ā-* holds the clitics in the clausal-second position in MWI.

(158)   **'=t**   *tl*   *mynyt*
        PTC=2SG:O   NVC   think.PRS.3SG
        'He scorns you.' (Brunner 1977: 114)[49]

(159)   **ā=šān**   *ān*   *abāyēd*   *ka=šān*   *gyān*   *az*   *tan*
        then=3PL   this   is.necessary   that/when=3PL   soul   from   body

        be   *šāwēd*
        out   go.PRS.3SG
        'Then it is necessary for them that/when their souls go from their bodies.' (Haig 2008: 108 citing Williams 1990a: 13b.3)

Unlike *u-*, the particle *a-/ā-* does not seem to have a clitic hosting function in modern languages. However, a remnant of this particle appears in the paradigm of clitic PMs in Delijani, cf. (160),

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[48] See Ivanow (1940: 64) for the similar treatment of the forms *um*, *ut*, *uš* as 'independent personal pronouns' in the Zoroastrian dialects of Yazd and Kerman.

[49] Contrary to Brunner, Nyberg (Nyberg 1974: 279) regards both particles *u-* and *a-* as part of the paradigm of clitic pronouns.

and Khansari, cf. (161). In addition, it has been retained in the conjugation of few verbs in Badrudi, cf. (162), and few other CPDs:

(160) *āw*   ***ašon**=a-bar-a*   GX[Dej]. 18
       water 3PL:O=IND-take.PRS-3SG
       'The water will take them away.'

(161) ***ed**=e-ber-on*   *berin*   EL[Kha]. 8
       2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG   out
       'I will take you out.'

(162) ***ašun**=vā*   CG[Bad]. 7
       3PL:A=say.PST
       'They said.'

As said, both *u-* and *a-* particles underwrite the S2 placement of clitics in WMI. However, it is only *u-* that has preserved the older clitic hosting function in few modern languages, i.e. Dashti and Davani (see Chapter 5 for the exact conditions under which *u-* appears). What interests us for the time being is tracking the reflexes of these clitic hosting particles in modern languages and the way they have developed since presumably late Middle Iranian. Table 24 illustrates the changes that, we assume, have occurred to the reflexes of *u* and *a* in languages with proclitic attachment:

Table 24: Reflexes of clitic hosting particles *u-* and *a-* in modern Iranian languages

cliticization domain	Clause			VP		V				
languages	WMI	Dav.	Dsh.	Bad./ Mey. /Dej.	Kha.	Lar. Bas.	Nod.	YZ.	Bnd.	Min.
1SG	u=m	o=m	o=m	am=	em=	om=	om=	om=	om=	om=
2SG	u=t	o=t	e/o=t	at=	ed=	ot=	et=	od=	et=	et=
3SG	u=š	o=š	e/o=š	aš=	ež=	oš=	eš=	oš=	eš=/ī=	ī=
1PL	u=mān	o=mū	o=mū	amun=	emun=	mo=	mū=	mo=	mo=	mon=
2PL	u=tān	o=tū	e/o=tū	adun=	edun=	to=	tū=	do=	to=	ton=
3PL	u=šān	o=šū	e/o=šū	ašun=	ežun=	šo=	šū=	šo=	šo=	šon=

As can be seen, only Clause-based clitic systems of Davani and Dashti have fully preserved a reflex of *u-* and/or *a-* particles in all persons, and still have enclitic attachment. Here the particle *o-*, as a reflex of *u-* in MWI, continues to assure the S2 requirement for clitic PMs.[50] On the other hand, what is assumed to be a reflex of the erstwhile particle *a-* is now merged into all the cells of the clitic paradigm in the VP-based clitic systems of Delijani and Khansari, and is recurring in the conjugation of few verbs in Badrudi, and Meymei. Finally, in the V-based clitic systems of Larestani (with Lari and Bastaki as its dialects), Nowdani, Yazdi Zoroastrian,

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[50] See the respective sketches of person clitics for Davani (§8.3.5.1) and Dashti (§8.3.5.5), but also §5.3.

Bandari, and Minabi, the erstwhile particle *u-*, has been merged into the clitic paradigm of languages, but only resurfaces with the singular set of clitic PMs. Assuming the original S2 clitic placement rule for the VP-based and V-based clitic systems, the question still remains as which kind of shifts the S2-assuring particles have undergone until they have merged into the paradigm of clitics. In what follows, we attempt to answer this question.

Since Middle Iranian, the conditioning factor for the appearance of *particle o-* (and less so *a-*) was shifted from resurfacing to reassure the S2 positioning of clitic PMs to that of resurfacing to assure that the cliticization would not violate the syllable-structure rules of the language. This is shown in the following example from the paradigmatic form of the verb *xarden* 'to eat' in past tense of Lari. The vocalic *o* resurfaces with the singular set to avoid non-licensed onsets **mx, *tx, *šx*. In other words, to comply with the syllable-structure rules of the language, the singular clitics resyllabify with the now supporting *o*. The plural clitics are already syllabic and do not need to resyllabify with *o*.

(163) *om=xa*   / **mxa*   [1SG:A=eat.PST]   'I ate.'
       ot=xa   / **txa*   [2SG:A=eat.PST]   'You (sg.) ate.'
       oš=xa   / **šxa*   [3SG:A=eat.PST]   'S/he ate.'
       mo=xa   [1PL:A=eat.PST]   'We ate.'
       to=xa   [2PL:A=eat.PST]   'You (pl.) ate.'
       šo=xa   [3PL:A=eat.PST]   'They ate.'

We suggest that in fact the proximity of the unit 'particle=clitic' to the verb stem finally led to a reanalysis of the *u-* and/or *a-* particles as part of the paradigm of clitic PMs. We will survey the syntactic effect of this change in §5.6, here we will only provide a brief summary. The reanalysis appears to have happened posterior to the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain. This move consequently resulted in the flexibility of the conditioning rule for the particles, that is to host clitics. Eventually, with the emergence of the VP and V as cliticization domains, the particle lost its older function and gradually merged into the paradigm of clitics. Data from modern languages point that the shift from a clitic hosting particle to a dummy vocalic element (merged on the clitic paradigms) has probably happened in three stages:

In the first stage, following the S2 restriction on the placement of clitic PMs, the clitic hosting particles occurred before all the person forms in the clitic paradigm. This is still the case in the dialects of Davani, and Dashti, in where the clause is the relevant domain for cliticization, and is exemplified below by the paradigmatic form of the verb 'to ask' in the past tense of Davani:

(164) $o=m$ *porsi*   [PTC=1SG:A   ask.PST]   'I asked'
       $o=t$ *porsi*   [PTC=2SG:A   ask.PST]   'You (sg.) asked.'
       $o=š$ *porsi*   [PTC=3SG:A   ask.PST]   'S/he asked.'
       $o=mu$ *porsi*   [PTC=1PL:A   ask.PST]   'We asked.'
       $o=tu$ *porsi*   [PTC=2PL:A   ask.PST]   'You (pl.) asked'
       $o=šū$ *porsi*   [PTC=3PL:A   ask.PST]   'They asked.'

At stage 2, following the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain, and the rightward drift of clitics towards the verb, the unit 'particle + clitic' (e.g. *o=m xward* 'I ate') was reanalysed as a proclitic on the verb (e.g. *om=xward*). The paradigm of clitic PMs in the VP-based clitic systems of Khansari, and Badrudi represents this stage. As the data from these languages suggest, this change affected all persons. The paradigmatic form of the verb 'to say' in the past tense of Badrudi is given as an example:

(165) *am=vā*   [1SG:A=say.PST]   'I said.'
       ad=vā   [2SG:A=say.PST]   'You (sg.) said.'
       aš=vā   [3SG:A=say.PST]   'S/he said.'
       amun=vā   [1PL:A=say.PST]   'We said.'
       adun=vā   [2PL:A=say.PST]   'You (pl.) said.'
       ašun=vā   [3PL:A=say.PST]   'They said.'

Data from Buringuni, a Southwest dialect in Fars province, further provides evidence for the stage 2. In the folktales provided by Mann (1909: 91-26), one can see the weak maintenance of supporting vowels in the plural forms[51], as in (166)–(167). Note that this dialect has a V-based cliticization system as the neighbouring Nowdani, so the supporting *o* and *e* vowels should not be taken as clitic hosting particles.

(166) *mā*   *ham*   *omu=zay*
       1PL   too   1PL:A=hit.PST
       'We shot too.' (Mann 1909: 91, transcription modified)

(167) *ye*   *kakā*   *ešū=bī*
       a   brother   3PL:A=have.pST
       'Where do you want to go?' (Mann 1909: 120, transcription modified)

In addition, we came across two examples of the resurfacing of the supporting vowels with the plural form of clitics in V-based clitic systems of Nowdani, cf. (168), and Yazdi Zoroastrian, cf. (169):

(168) *havā-y*   *xo=**tu***   ***otu**=bu*   SM[Nod]. 3
       weather-EZ   REFL=2PL:POS   2PL:NC=be.IMP
       'Take care of yourselves.' [lit. hold your weather]

---

[51] Buringuni's clitic paradigm is as follows: *om, et, eš, omū, etū, ešū*.

(169) *komak=**oš**   **ošo**=kā*   PS1[YZ]. 20
       help=3SG:O   3PL:A=do.PST
       'They helped him.'

The reason for the resurfacing of the supporting vowels in these examples seems to be linked to the strategy of 'avoidance'. The latter is one of the strategies used by the grammar to preclude the repetition of identical morphemes in a row, while the others being haplology, and suppletion (Menn & MacWhinney 1984). In the above examples the ambiguity arising in the sequence of identical person values *tu tu* in (168) and similar person values *oš šo* in (169) is resolved by the resurfacing of the erstwhile particle *u-* before the second clitic. In any case, these examples confirm that the erstwhile particle *u-* is potentially existing before plural sets of clitics as well but is resurfaced rarely under certain morphophonological conditions to avoid the ambiguity arising as a result of having identical clitics in a row.

Finally, stage 3 highlights the shift in the conditioning factor for the resurfacing of current supporting vowels, i.e. reassuring that the process of cliticization does not yield outputs which violate the syllable-structure rules of the language. This shift resulted in the disappearance of such supporting vowels from the plural forms (which are syllabic and comply to the syllable-structure of the language) but their maintenance on consonant-only singular set. The paradigmatic form of the verb 'to eat' above in (165), and that of the verb 'to see' in (170) from Bastaki represent this stage.

(170) *om=di*   [1SG:A=see.PST]   'I saw.'
       ot=di   [2SG:A=see.PST]   'You (sg.) saw.'
       oš=di   [3SG:A=see.PST]   'S/he saw.'
       mu=di   [1PL:A=see.PST]   'We saw.'
       tu=di   [2PL:A=see.PST]   'You (pl.) saw.'
       šu=di   [3PL:A=see.PST]   'They saw.'

The data thus propose a gradual attachment of the clitic hosting particles to the paradigm of clitics triggered by the reanalysis of the unit particle + clitic as a part of the paradigm of clitics, and further disappearance of erstwhile particles from the plural sets. These changes are summarized in the following table:

Table 25: Presumed stages of the development of the *u-* and *a-/e-* particles before the bare verb stem

	1st stage	2nd stage	3rd stage
1SG	e/o=m	e/om=	e/om=
2SG	e/o=t	e/ot=	e/ot=
3SG	e/o=š	e/oš=	e/oš=
1PL	e/o=mu	e/omu=	mu=
2PL	e/o=tu	e/otu=	tu=
3PL	e/o=šu	e/ošu=	šu=

In terms of reanalysis one can retell the facts of this shift as follows: the type of reanalysis is the loss of morpheme boundary. Therefore, the bimorphic unit 'particle=clitic' in *o=m, o=t, o=š* was reanalysed as a single morpheme: *om, ot, oš*. The cause of this change is the abandonment of the clause as the domain of cliticization in favour of VP-based and V-based clitic systems. This shift in turn led to the flexibility for the resurfacing of clitic hosting particles clause-initially, and consequently resulted in the gradual merging of the erstwhile particles into the paradigm of clitics. Ultimately, the bimorphic unit 'particle=clitic' was reanalysed as a single morpheme. Finally, this change had as its effect: first, the semantic bleaching of the coordination to an S2-aassuring particle in Middle Iranian; second, the change of contexts where erstwhile particles would resurface, namely, from clause-initial (in Middle Iranian, Dashti, and Davani) to verbal domain (e.g. in Lari, Nowdani, Yazdi Zoroastrian).

The same development is presumed to have occurred to S2-assuring particles before TAM forms of verbs. Here, *u-* and *a-* particles were present in the older stage, functioning still as clitic hosting particles:

(171) ***o=t***   *mē-bor-e-a*   *dar*   EL[Dav]. 8
       PTC=2SG:O   IND-take.PRS-1SG-DRC   out
       'If you ate the soup, I will take you out.'

(172) ***e=šu***   *mi-go*   ZK[Dsh]. 9
       PTC=3PL:A   IPFV-say.PST
       'They would say.'

In the next stage, the clitic hosting particles reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigms. The data from Delijani represents this stage. In (173) the paradigmatic form of the auxiliary verb 'to want' in the past imperfective is shown:

(173) *am=e-gā*   [1SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'I would wish'
      at=e-gā   [2SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'You (sg.) wish.'
      aš=e-gā   [3SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'S/he would wish.'
      amon=e-gā   [1PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'We would wish.'
      aton-e-gā   [2PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'You (pl.) would wish.'
      ašon=e-gā   [3PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'They would wish.'

The following examples from Delijani and Khansari further represent the second stage of development:

(174) *āw*   **ašon**=*a-bar-a*   GX[Dej]. 18
      water   3PL:O=IND-take.PRS-3SG
      'The water will take them away.'

(175) *šomā*   **ež**=*e-vin-di*   QB[Kha]. 17
      2PL   3SG:O=IND-see.PRS-2PL
      'You see him.'

In the last stage of development, the recourse to the supporting vowels is no longer necessary, since singular forms would resyllabify with the following vocalic TAM prefix. Consequently, the supporting vowels were disappeared from the paradigm of clitics. This is exemplified in the paradigmatic form of the verb 'to eat' in the imperfective past tense of Lari:

(176) *m=a-xa*   [1SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'I was eating.'
      t=a-xa   [2SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'You (sg.) were eating.'
      š=a-xa   [3SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'S/he was eating.'
      mo=a-xa   [1PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'We were eating.'
      to=a-xa   [2PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'You (pl.) were eating.'
      šo=a-xa   [3PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'They were eating.'

However, the supporting vowels resurface for resyllabification requirements of the language when the TAM prefix has a consonant in its onset, e.g. *mi-*. The paradigmatic form of the verb 'say' in the imperfective past tense of Nowdani represents this point:

(177) **om**=*mi-go*   [1SG:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'I was saying'
      et=*mi-go*   [2SG:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'You (sg.) were saying.'
      eš=*mi-go*   [3SG:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'S/he was saying.'
      mu=mi-go   [1PL:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'We were saying.'
      tu=mi-go   [2PL:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'You (pl.) were saying.'
      šu=mi-go   [3PL:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'They were saying.'

Likewise, in some VP-based proclitic systems of the Central Plateau group (e.g. Abuzeydabadi, Naeini), the clitic procliticizes to the TAM form of the verb without recourse to any supporting vowel. The paradigmatic form of past imperfective 'read' in Abuzeydabadi is given as an example:

(178) **m**=*a-xand*   [1SG:A=TAM-read.PST]   'I was reading.'
      d=*a-xand*   [2SG:A=TAM-read.PST]   'You (sg.) were reading.'
      y=*a-xand*   [3SG:A=TAM-read.PST]   'S/he was reading.'
      mon=*a-xand*   [1PL:A=TAM-read.PST]   'We were reading.'
      don=*a-xand*   [2PL:A=TAM-read.PST]   'You (pl.) were reading.'
      yon=*a-xand*   [3PL:A=TAM-read.PST]   'They were reading.'

The stages of development of *u-* and *a-* particles before TAM forms of verbs are summarized below:

Table 26: Presumed stages of the development of the *u-* and *a-/e-* particles before TAM forms of verbs

	1st stage	2nd stage	3rd stage
1SG	e/o=m	e/om=	(e/o)m=
2SG	e/o=t	e/ot=	(e/o)t=
3SG	e/o=š	e/oš=	(e/o)š=
1PL	e/o=mu	e/omu=	mu=
2PL	e/o=tu	e/otu=	tu=
3PL	e/o=šu	e/ošu=	šu=

The specific claim we are making here is that the rise of procliticization on verbal forms in all languages with proclitic attachment in Table 24, is directly related to the reanalysis of the reflexes of *u-* and/or *a-* particles as a part of the paradigm of clitic PMs. As sketched above, this change is a gradual process and is presumed to have probably been caused by the rightward drift of clitic PMs from the second position in clause towards the verbal domain. This move meant that the necessity to maintain the clitic assuring particles relaxed, and facilitated by their being reanalysed in some languages. Consequently, the conditioning factor for the resurfacing of such particles (that is to guarantee that clitics have S2 positioning) was no longer valid. The old particles are now fully or partly part of the paradigm of clitic PMs, resurfaced first with all the forms, and later with only singular forms before verb stems –mainly for the reason that the process of cliticization comply with the syllable-structure rules of the languages.

The question still remains as what happened to the S2-assuring particles in languages where encliticization is the sole means of clitic attachment? We might suggest that the S2-assuring particles have disappeared in those languages –as there is no data comparable to the languages with proclitic attachment reflecting the stages of the developments of particles in enclitic systems. A more convincing hypothesis would be that languages with enclitics grammaticalized a more syntactic version of clausal second position in which S2-assuring particles were hardly relevant as clitic hosts (see §5.6 for more discussion on this point).

3.3.4 The proclitic attachment across WILs: summary

 In the previous two sections, i.e. §3.3.2 and §3.3.3, we observed the way languages behave with respect to procliticization in different domains. In addition, an account for the rise of procliticization was proposed. The rise of proclitics was assumed to be related to the reanalysis of erstwhile S2-assuring particles as supporting vowels in modern languages with proclitic attachment. This reanalysis was further assumed to have occurred after the rightward movement of clitics from clause-second position to more VP-based and V-based domains. What we observe here is thus a parallel to the shift of clitic placement and the resultant proclitic attachment in the history of Romance languages (cf. Wanner 1987).

Among the S2-assuring particles, evidence for the presence of WMI 'and-conjunctor' *u-* is more evident; a reflex of the latter having preserved its clitic hosting functions has been fully preserved in Davani, and Dashti. However, the particle *u-* is now merged into the clitic paradigm of investigated southeastern languages Lari, Bastaki, Bandari, and Minabi; the Southwest language Nowdani, and Yazdi Zoroastrian at the southeastern outskirt of Central Plateau dialects. In these languages, the remnant of 'and-conjunctor' *u-* occurs systematically with the consonant-only element of singular clitic forms whenever the process of cliticization fails to comply with the syllable-structure rules of the languages. The supporting *u-* occurs also on rare occasion with plural forms, mainly to disambiguate the readings of two identical clitics in a row.

On the other hand, evidence for the presence of the particle *a-* is less evident, that is, contrary to *u-*, in no modern Iranian language has *a-* preserved it clitic hosting function. It occurs only in the paradigm of clitic PMs in the Central Plateau dialects Delijani, and Khansari, and less so in the conjugation of few verbs in Badrudi, and Meymei.

In this chapter we focused mainly on the inventory of clitic paradigms and their historical development. A full discussion of the role of clitic hosting particles in shaping the proclitic systems is deferred to Chapter 5, under §5.6.

3.4 Phonological attachment of clitics in WILs: endoclitic attachment

Cross-linguistically speaking, phonological attachment of clitics is either in the form of proclitics or enclitics, with the latter being more common (cf. Halpern 1998: 119; Nevis 2000). There had been some recognition of endoclitics as well, though their occurrence is very rare

comparing to proclitics and enclitics. Nevis (2000: 397) defines an endoclitic as follows: "[a]n endoclitic is usually viewed as a clitic sandwiched between a stem and its affix, […], or else infixed directly into a host without regard to morphological boundaries." Her definition of endoclitics thus encompasses both a clitic which is placed between a stem and its affix, as in (179) from Pashto, and one which directly interrupts the host element, as in the Udi example in (180):

(179) **á =me ɣustə**
　　　 ?=1SG　wear
　　　 'I was wearing (it).' (Anderson 2005: 156)

(180) q'ačay-y-on　bez　　tänginax　　**baš-q'un-q'**-e
　　　 thief-PL-ERG　my　　money.DAT　steal₁-3PL-steal₂-AORII
　　　 'Thieves stole my money.' (Harris 2000: 599)

In what follows, we take Nevis's classification as a departure point for the analysis of endoclitics in WILs, both in the verbal level and the NP level.

3.4.1 The endoclitic intervening between the stem and its inflectional prefixes

West Iranian provides a very rich source for the study of endoclitics. The endoclitics of these languages arise mostly from the syntactic positioning of clitics on morphological elements within the predicate. This case of endoclitics equals the one of Pashto above, and the clitic resembles an affix in integrating into the host.
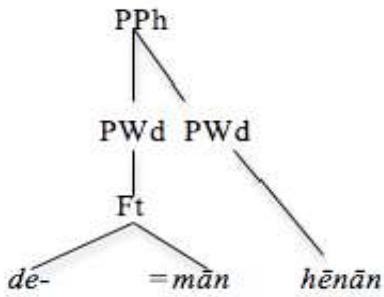
This arguable kind of endoclitic is very common in WILs. Among the studied languages in this thesis Central Kurdish, cf. (181), Behbahani, cf. (182), (to a lesser extent) Delvari, cf. (193), and the Central Plateau dialects Delijani, cf. (184), Khansari, cf. (185), Meymei, cf. (186) Abuzeydabadi, cf. (187), Badrudi, cf. (188), Nikabadi, cf. (189), and Naeini, cf. (190), allow for occurrences of endoclitics similar to the one mentioned for Pashto, i.e. the clitics appear between the inflectional prefixes and the host verb.

(181) bā　　　a=**y**-bā　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　DM[BCK]. 7
　　　 wind　IND=3SG:O-take.PRS.3SG
　　　 'The wind takes it.'

(182) mi=**š**-āverd-am　　　　　　　dume　　　　　　　　ZG[Beh]. 7
　　　 IPFV=3SG:A-take.PST-1SG:O　down
　　　 'He would bring me downstairs.'

(183) *mo*   *na=**m**-fahmi*   EL[Del]. 52
       1SG   NEG=1SG:A-understand.PST
       'I didn't understand [it].'

(184) *ba=**m**-di-ande*   EL[Dej]. 44
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST-3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

(185) *esb-ā*   *ne=**m**-gir-ende*
       dog-PL   NEG=1SG:O-catch.PRS-3PL
       'The dogs won't bite (lit. catch) me.' (Khansari_ Mann & Hadank 1926: 42)

(186) *bišda*   *be=**š**-ter-da*   EL[Mey]. 73
       IRR.go.PRS.2PL   IRR=3SG:O-bring.PRS-2PL
       'Go bring him.'

(187) *aval* *na=**m**-ešnāso-in*   EL1[Abu]. 45
       first   NEG=1SG:A-know.PST-3PL:O
       'I didn't recognize them at first.'

(188) *gorg* *šangul-u*   *mangul*   *a=**šun**-xor-a*   SM1[Bad]. 21
       wolf   PN-and   PN   IND=3PL:O-eat.PRS-3SG
       'The wolf eats Shangul and Mangul.'

(189) *na-ters-Ø*   *na=**t**-t-on-e*   EL[Nik]. 70
       NEG.IMP-fear-2SG   NEG=2SG:O-give.PRS-1SG-IND
       'Don't get scared, I won't beat you!'

(190) *yak* *por=**em***   *i-di*   *go*   *na=**m**-šinasā*   EL2[Nai]. 15
       a   boy=1SG:A   TAM-see.PST REL   NEG=1SG:A-know.PST
       'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

The negative and subjunctive formatives are comprised of strong syllables in above examples; this could possibly explain why they are opted as clitic hosts. Note however that the exact prosodic status of pre-verbal inflectional formatives across languages is unknown to us for the time being. In discussing the relevant endoclitic positioning in the Mukri dialect of Central Kurdish, Öpengin holds that the indicative/imperfective prefix is unstressed but seems to get a secondary stress when combining with clitics. The prosodic structure of cliticization on the TAM prefix in (191) is exhibited in Figure 11.

(191) *de=mān-hēnā-n*   (ˌde.mān.hēˈ.nān)
       IPFV=1PL-bring.PST-3PL
       'We would bring them.' (Öpengin 2013: 324)

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Figure 11: Prosodic structure of the cliticization on the modal/aspectual de-

The exact nature of these cases of 'endocliticization' in CK has been subject to debate in the literature. Samvelian (2007a) supports a morphological treatment of these occurrences of clitics –and similar ones occurring between the verb-stem and the verbal affix PM, thus refers to them as 'endoclitics'. Öpengin (2013), on the other hand, advocates a prosodic motivation and seems to disfavour an endoclitic analysis on the account that "the combination of the TAM and the clitic compose a foot, and thus introduce an additional stress. The foot, in turn, composes a PWd in addition to the PWd of the host. The two PWds compose a recursive PWd, which in turn projects its PPh" (2013: 325).

Evidence for the role of stress in determining this kind of 'endoclitic' comes from the fact that inflectional prefixes are skipped for clitic hosting if they have a weak syllable or if they are unstressed. This is shown in (192)–(193): in both these examples the weak negative formatives are skipped for clitic hosting. Note however that contrary to the weak form in (192) the strong negative form *na-* in Delvari in (183) can host a clitic PM.

(192) *ne-mi-ẓen-em=et*   EL[Del]. 70
       NEG-IND-hit.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I won't beat you.'

(193) *ne-šnāsā-i=m*   / vs.   *na=m-šenāsā-ī*   EL[Bad]. 15
       NEG-know.PST-2SG:O=1SG:A
       'I didn't recognize you'

Likewise, in (149) the unstressed TAM formative gets merged into the verb stem and fails to act as a clitic host:

(194) *mit=am*   *be-š-am*   BB[Beh]. 48
       IND.want.PRS=1SG:NC   IRR-go.PRS-1SG
       'I want to go.'

Figure 12 illustrates the areal distribution of endoclitics occurring between the pre-verbal affixes and the verb stem in investigated WILs:
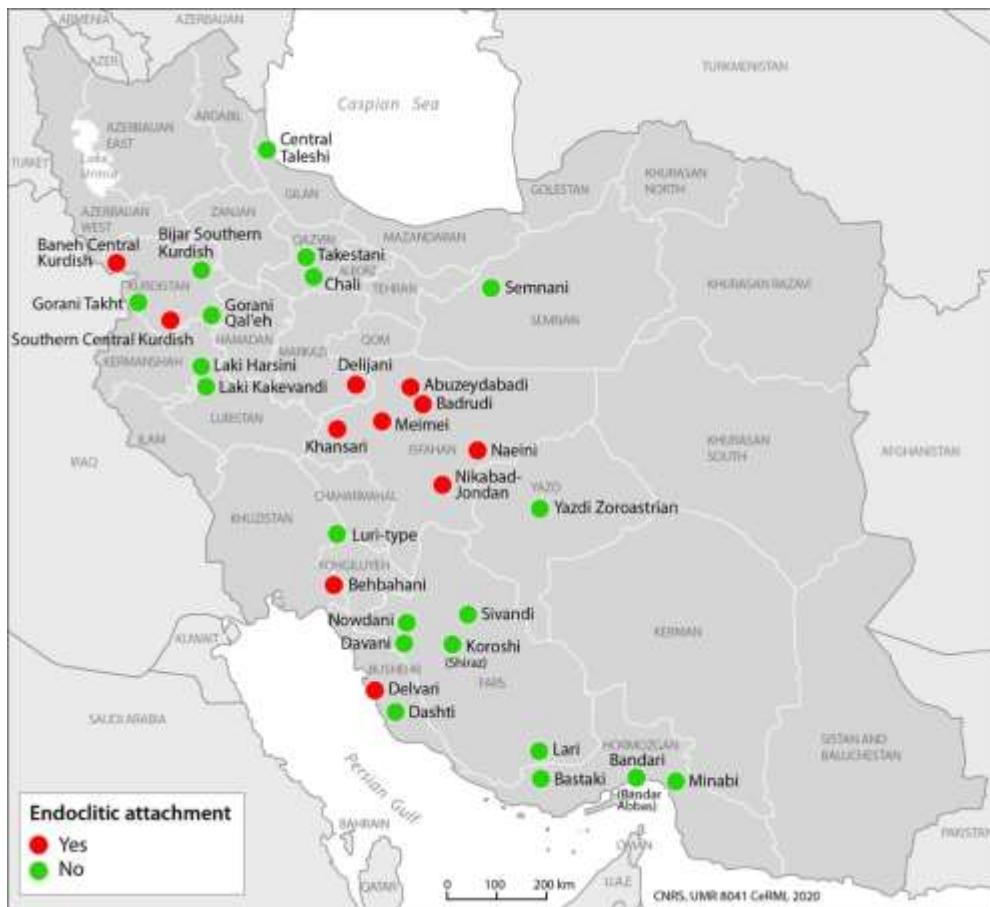
Figure 12: Endoclitic attachment in WILs

As can be seen endoclitics sandwiching between Vaff PMs and the verb stem are mainly a feature of Central Plateau dialects (with the exception of Yazdi Zoroastrian), Central Kurdish in the northwest and some small pockets in southwest Iran.

3.4.2 Endoclitics intervening between the verb stem and verbal affix PMs

Similar to the above cases of 'endocliticization', clitic PMs can break up a chain containing a verb stem and the following Vaff PMs. This kind of behaviour is typical of clitic systems of Baneh CK, cf. (195) and Behbahani, cf. (196):

(195)   *bird=**yān-īn***   EL[BCK]. 51
        take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O
        'They took us.'

(196)   *bor=**šen-im***   EL2[Beh]. 51
        take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O
        'They took us.'

Likewise, the Dikin Maraghei dialect of Tati allows for clitics to front verbal affix PMs (Stilo 2018: 62):

(197) *vindi=**m-ian***
      see.PST=1SG:A-3SG.F:O
      'I saw her.'

Similar to the discussion on the placement of clitics on the TAM prefix in Central Kurdish, Samvelian (2007a) considers the positioning of clitic between the verb stem and the verbal person affix an instance of 'endoclitic' on the ground that the clitic has broken up the predicate. Öpengin (2013), on the other hand, states that the verbal person affix in (195) is not stress-bearing and is thus not prosodically integrated into the verb stem it attaches to. In other words, the verbal person affix has the status of a clitic here and can be separated from its host verb by the second-positioning clitic *yān*. Thus, the apparent problem of the placement of a clitic (=*yān* in 195) before a verbal affix (-*īn*), can be reduced to the positioning of two clitic elements post-verbally. In the same way, Haig (2018a) takes the 'looser degree of phonological integration' of the verbal affix PM accountable for its displacement from the verb stem by a clitic element.

3.4.3 Stress and second position requirement as relevant factors evoking endocliticization

A rather similar reason for the rise of endocliticization is a combination of both stress facts and the requirement for clitics to stick to the second positioning. This is the case in the following examples from Delijani, where the negative formative and the punctual formative have a weak syllable and are not stress-bearing. The clitic then, following the second position requirement, opts for the first syllable of the verb-stems *šenās* and *rūnd* as the host.

(198) *ne-še=**šun**=nās-on*   EL[Dej]. 79
      NEG-know1=3PL:O=know2-1SG
      'I don't know them.'

(199) *be-re=**mon**=ānd*   EL[Dej]. 5
      PUNCT-read1=1PL:A=read2
      'We were reading.'

A similar treatment can be applied for the following example from Behbahani where the imperative affix is not stress-bearing and has formed a syllable with the verb stem, thus invisible to clitic hosting. Consequently, the object clitic moves onto the verb stem, but surprisingly is placed between the latter and the verbal affix PM.

(200) *b-ar=**š**-am*   *si=t*   EL1[Beh]. 75
      IRR-bring.PRS=3SG:O-1SG:A   for=2SG:R
      'That I bring it to you.'

Note that the verbal affix PM is stress-bearing in the present tense verb forms of all Iranian languages. The clitic is expected not to interrupt the prosodic structure of the verb, and to be placed after the stressed verbal person affix. However, the clausal second position requirement here has outranked the expected fact that 'clitics do not interrupt the prosodic structure of their host' (Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Nevis 2000, among others). Therefore, following the strict S2 requirement, the clitic breaks up the prosodic structure of its host and is placed before the stressed verbal affix PM, hence acting as an endoclitic.

3.4.4 Endocliticization at NP level

The data from Laki Kakevandi show an interesting case of endocliticization at the NP level. Here the clitic interrupts the noun and the following indefinite affix:

(201) *kor=**m**-ē*   *dī*   EL[LakK]. 15
        boy=1SG:A-INDF   see.PST
        'I saw a boy.'

The morphophonological status of the indefinite marker as either clitic or affix in (201) is not clear to us at this stage. However, the clitic does not interrupt the definite suffix and the head noun, thus, *kor-a=m dī* [boy-DEF=1SG:A see.PST] 'I saw the boy.'

This instance of endoclitic attachment occurs as well in the Dikin Maraghei dialect of Tati. Stilo (2018) reports that endoclitics ('mesoclitics' in his terms) in Dikin Maraghei can arise in two contexts: (i) feminine nouns followed by the definite singular marker; (ii) masculine nouns in the singular oblique. These two situations are exemplified below (the glossing and transcription are slightly modified):

(202) *asif=**m**-an*   *a-gat-ian*   *zemin-da*
        apple.DIR=1SG:A-DEF.F   PVB-take.PST-3SG.F   ground-from
        'I picked the apple up off the ground.' (Stilo 2018: 48)

(203) *sar=**t**-i*   *me-jan-en*
        head=2SG:POS-OBL.M IND-strike.PRS-1SG
        'I will hit your head.' (Stilo 2018: 47, glossing modified)

Stilo questions whether the feminine definite marker in (202) is a clitic or an affix, but states that the masculine oblique case *-i* in (203) is undoubtedly an affix. In any case, the occurrences of clitics in these situations represent NP-based endocliticization across Iranian family. More recently, Haig (2019) uses the term 'debonding' for these cases and for related phenomenon in a variety of West Iranian languages.

3.5 Phonological attachment of clitics in WILs: circumclitic attachment

Data from Nowdani, a Southwestern Iranian language, calls for a rarely-attested instance of clitic attachment to the host, i.e. circumclitics. Here, when realized on the dative/ablative preposition *aš*, the plural clitics get interrupted and encompass the host preposition, cf. (204)–(205):

(204) *pors*   ***t=aš=u***   *mi-kon-am*   */ *****tu****=aš*   [conjugation]
       question   2PL=from=2PL   IND-do.PRS-1SG
       'I ask you (pl.) a question.'

(205) *Maryam*   ***š=aš=u***   ***eš****=go*   */ *****šu****=aš*   CG[Nod]. 8
       PN   3PL=to=3PL   3SG:A=say.PST
       'Maryam told them.'

On the other hand, singular clitic forms simply procliticize to the preposition *aš*:

(206) *ye*   *bār*   *dige*   ***t****=aš*   *mi-ga-m*   EL[Nod]. 21
       one   time   more   2SG:R=to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
       'I'm telling you again.'

Cicumclitics occur also in Peloponnesian Tsakonian family branch (Liosis 2017), but in any case, such phonological attachment of clitics has extremely rare frequency in the languages of world. In addition, in the literature there is no mention of circumcliticization as a mode of clitic attachment (see Nevis et al. 1994; Anderson 2005; Spencer & Luís 2012 among others). In addition to being rare, such cases of circumclitics are a violation of one of the important diagnostics of clitics held in Zwicky & Pullum (1983), in that clitic plus host combinations are not expected to result in idiosyncrasies, contrary to host + affix combinations which are formed by lexical operations.

Now, the question is why such unexpected forms have arisen. The answer possibly lies in phonology; note that onset of the preposition *aš* is strong enough not to undergo deletion in the presence of the strong-vocalic final plural forms *mu*, *tu*, *šu*. The clitic thus gets interrupted and encircles the absolute preposition[52].

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[52] Historically, preposition *aš* is supposedly derived from the preposition *a* plus the expletive 3SG pronoun *š* in late middle Persian. The expletive 3SG would appear on the preposition when the original clitic complement of the latter would move to the clause second position, as in *ka=****tān**** nēkīh awi=****š**** rasēd* [when=2PL goodness to=3SG arrive.PRS.3SG], 'When something good comes to you [pl].' (see Jügel 2017 for details). Now in Nowdani the original expletive pronoun has been grammaticalized along with the preposition *a* as the absolute form of the simple preposition *a*.

In short, all the examples presented under 'endocliticization' and 'circumclitics' are in a way or another a violation of the 'uninteruptibility' criterion for wordhood (see Haspelmath 2011 for the notion of wordhood). While some occurrences of clitics inside morphological words results from the positioning of clitics following prosodic facts, e.g. clitic positioning following TAM –thus not strictly violating the uninteruptibility criterion, some other cases are direct violation of interruptibility as a criterion for wordhood, e.g. endoclitics of Delijani, and Behbahani in §3.4.3. In addition, the circumclitics of Nowdani are an instance of morphological idiosyncrasy of clitic plus host combinations.

3.6 Summary of form and phonological attachment of clitics

This chapter described the variation in the form and phonological attachment of clitic PMs across WILs. As for the clitic forms, it discussed the development of clitic paradigms, and the attested pathways of change to which it has been subjected. As for the phonological attachment, cases of proclitics, endoclitics, and circumclitics were told to be attested across WILs. In addition, some hypotheses were formulated regarding the rise of proclitic attachment in WILs.

As for the derivation of the paradigm of clitic PMs, we surveyed the literature on the topic (notably Korn 2009) and provided further evidence that the isogloss which divides Iranian languages on the basis of 3SG forms of clitic PMs having either -*š* or -*ī* is not tenable. Later, we investigated the alternative sources for the derivation of special cells in the clitic paradigm from the suffixal morphology. We also surveyed the reverse development, i.e. the clitic origin of the suffixal morphology. It was held that the extension from the paradigm of clitics to suffixal morphology may be partial (as in Persian), total, e.g. Bajalani, and Bandari, or cyclic, e.g. some Southern Kurdish dialects.

The second part of the chapter focused on the phonological attachment of clitics in WILs. After illustrating which languages allow proclitic attachment, we proposed some hypotheses regarding the rise of proclitic attachment in WILs. Finally, the range of other means of clitic attachment in WILs were surveyed, namely endocliticization and circumcliticization.

The Iranian data bring strong evidence in favour of types 4 and 5 of Klavans's typology of clitics. Type 4 occurs in the immediate preverbal domains of V-based clitic systems and some Central Plateau languages: here, the enclitic leaves out its syntactic host to the left and attaches to the TAM affix of the verb form as a proclitic, hence an instance of a postposed proclitic. Type 5, on the other hand, is specific to the V-based proclitic systems. Here in the immediate

preverbal domain the proclitic often leaves the verb as the syntactic host, and attaches in an enclitic grab to whatever element that comes to the verbs' left, demonstrating a ditropic clitic behaviour, and further an instance of a preposed enclitic.

Proclitic attachment was assumed to have arisen mainly as a result of the reanalysis of the erstwhile clitic hosting particles following the rightward drift of clitics since Middle Iranian. These particles originally held clitics in clausal second position. With the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain, these particles gradually merged into the clitic paradigm of languages, and consequently their function changed to the one of resurfacing with singular clitics so that the outcome of cliticization would not violate the syllable-structure rules of the languages.

The chapter ended with a discussion of endoclitic and (in rare cases) circumclitic attachment of clitics in a subset of WILs. We concluded that endoclitic attachment of clitics in WILs arises as a result of both stress facts and the second position requirement for clitic positioning. Circumclitic attachment, on the other hand, was only attested in Nowdani, in where the plural clitic PMs get interrupted when cliticizing to the polyfunctional dative preposition.

Chapter 4: Functional range of clitic PMs and typology of person indexing

The previous chapter discussed in some length the origins of person clitics' paradigm, the rise of proclitics, and endoclitic attachment of clitics. This chapter first brings our attention to the functionality of clitic PMs across WILs: for each use of clitic PMs the functional status of the clitic PMs as either an agreement marker or a pronoun will be set out; in addition, a map will be provided for each clitic function demonstrating the extent of clitic functionality across languages. The chapter also sets out the development of bound person indexing in WILs. In doing so, in §4.1, we will briefly overview our conception of the term agreement, as already put forward in Chapter 1. In §4.2 we move on to scrutinize one by one the functions that clitic PMs index across WILs. Section 4.3 presents the development of person indexing in WILs, and §4.4 is the conclusion.

4.1 Person indexing: terminological considerations

The various theoretical aspects to the person agreement were reviewed to a good deal in §1.4. Here we give a brief overview of our conceptualization of agreement phenomenon in this thesis.

In our analysis, the term agreement is reserved for constellations in which the indexes are obligatory regardless of the presence or absence of the controller NP in the same local syntactic domain. This narrow use of the term agreement thus encompasses both 'syntactic agreement and 'ambiguous agreement under Siewierska's typology, as represented in (207)–(208), respectively (repeated for convenience):

(207) German and English
> a.   **_Er_**   _beobacht-**et**_
>   **_Mein_**   **_Vater_** _beobacht-**et**_
>   Not: _*Beobacht-**et**_

> b.   **_He_** _watch-**es**_
>   _My father watch-es_
>   Not: _*Watch-**es**_ (Mithun 2003: 237)

(208) Latin/Italian
> a.   _veni-**t**_   /   _vien-**e**_
>   come.PRS-3SG   come.PRS-3SG
>   'he comes'

    b.   ***Marcus**   veni-**t**   /   **Marco**   vien-**e***
        Marcuscome.PRS-3SG   Marco   come.PRS-3SG
        'Marcus/Marco comes' (Haspelmath 2013: 217)

Under the current approach, the ambiguity arising with the term agreement is avoided, rather the latter is restricted to the obligatory presence of the inflectional morphology in all contexts[53], as illustrated in the Latin/Italian examples in (208). Therefore, Controller NP's being present or not is irrelevant to the relation of agreement. For the ease in the mode of presentation in contrasting agreement with 'conditioned indexing' (see below), the term 'obligatory indexing' is used alternatively to refer to 'agreement' in the sense we conceive it here.

'Conditioned' (or alternating) person indexing, on the other hand, refers to the contexts where the presence of the (bound) person markers is conditioned to contextual factors. One such factor is the complementarity between the index and the coreferent NP in the same syntactic domain, as exemplified in (209) below (repeated for convenience):

(209)   Southern Kurdish (Bijar dialect)

        a.   *min   **awa**$_i$ wa-m(*=**ay**$_i$)*
            1SG   3SG   take.PRS-1SG
            'I will take it.'

        b.   *min   (***awa**$_i$)   wa-m=**ay**$_i$*
            1SG   3SG   take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
            'I will take it.'

As another example, clitic PMs in most Tatic languages (and less so in Gorani Takht) are in complementarity with overt oblique-marked subject NPs. Thus, whenever the latter is present in the clause, the clitic PM is not allowed to mark the subject NP. In other words, the clitic resumes an anaphoric relation.

(210) ***palang-e**   čemen(=***eš**)   be-bard*   AV[Cha]. 14
       tiger-OBL.M   1SG.OBL=3SG:A   PUNCT-take.PST
       'The tiger took me.'

To sum up, our conception of the agreement phenomenon is mainly a syntactic notion. The relevant feature in the discussion of agreement is that of person. The term 'agreement' is reserved for obligatory presence of an index in the relevant syntactic domain, and the term 'conditioned indexing' is used in contexts where the manifestation of the person index on the target is conditioned by contextual factors, as seen in examples (209)–(210).

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[53] The same approach has been adopted in Fuß (2005) but also in Haig (2018a).

4.2 Functional range of clitics across WILs

In Chapter 2, under §2.4 we laid out the literature on the functionality of clitic PMs in WILs. It was seen that the functionality of clitic PMs has been examined along four lines in the literature: (i) the listing of clitic functions; (ii) the grammaticalization of some clitic functions out of the previous pronominal state; (iii) the correlation between the clitic PMs and the nominal case system; (iv) the role of clitic PMs in the alignment system of languages. It was held that the listing of clitic functions (mostly relevant in the grammatical description of languages) is mainly concerned with giving an inventory of clitic functions without drawing any implications on the historical derivation of clitic functions, or (perhaps) the functional status of clitics in their diverse functions as markers of agreement relation or anaphora. The following are the typical functions that person clitics may index across WILs:

(I)   non-canonical subjects

(II)   adnominal possessor

(III)   direct object of a present tense

(IV)   adpositional complement and non-flagged indirect objects

(V)   subject in a past transitive construction (A-past)

In the following sub-sections, we analyse one by one the use of clitics in each of these functions across WILs, taking into account other aspects to the functionality of clitic PMs as well. Therefore, for each function the obligatory vs. conditioned status of clitic marking is surveyed, and a map will be provided, equipping us with information about the distribution of clitic functionality across WILs and the possible areal and internal correlations between languages and language groups in this regard.

4.2.1 Non-canonical subjects

The term 'non-canonical subjects' roughly refers to those subject-like arguments which have some subject properties, e.g. [+ human] but which exert low level of control over the event of the verb and are marked differently from normal subjects (see Onishi 2001 for a detailed discussion). [54] The non-canonical subject constructions are different from normalized construction in the deviant marking of the subject-like argument, contrary to the regular alignment pattern associated with indexing normalized subjects A and S. Non-canonical

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[54] Alternatively, the term 'dative subject' has been proposed in the literature (Sibatani 2001).

subjects are limited to certain predicate types and centre around certain semantic domains (Shibatani 2001: 312; Hagège 2006), including:

a. Possession/Existence

b. Psychological states

c. Physiological states

d. Visual/auditory perceptions, including the notion of 'appearance'/'seeming'

e. Modal states of necessity and wanting, including the notion of obligation ('must')

f. Modal states of potentiality, including ability and the notion of permission ('may')

g. Uncontrolled events; e.g. forgetting, finding, etc.

As said, non-canonical subject constructions do not align with A and/or S in terms of morphology: the subject-like argument is often the sole argument of the verb, but its marking differs from both the S and A. By way of example, verbal affix PMs in Bastaki index S in all tenses, cf. (211a), and A in present tense constructions, cf. (211b). However, following the tense-sensitive alignment Bastaki employs clitics to index the A argument in past transitive constructions, cf. (211c). The system thus highlights different indexing of A NPs in present (via Vaff PMs) vs. past tense constructions (via clitic PMs).

(211)　Bastaki

    a.　　*a-č-**en(g)**　　　　/ raft-**en(g)***
         IND-go.PRS-3PL　　　　go.PST-3PL
         'They go/ They went.'

    b.　　*dot-iā=šo　　　　at-ār-**en(g)***　　　　　　PD[Bas]. 14
         daughter-PL=3PL:POS　IND-bring.PRS-3PL
         'They bring their daughters.'

    c.　　*va　　golābiā=š　　jam　　　**šūn**=kerd*　　　　PS[Bas]. 14
         and　　pear=3SG:POS　addition　3PL:A=do.PST
         'And they collected his pears.'

Non-canonical subject constructions differ from normalized constructions in that the indexing of the subject-like argument is impervious to the tense of the clause. Therefore in Bastaki examples below the clitic PM indexes the subject-like possessor argument in both present and past tense constructions, respectively.

(212)　a.　　*hānā　yak　mahi　**oš**=he*　　　　　　　　BS[Bas]. 9
         PN　　a　　fish　3SG:NC=exist.PRS
         'Hānā has a fish.' [lit. a fish exists to her]

b.   *yeki*   *dot*   ***oš**=bod-e*   PD[Bas]. 3
          one   girl   3SG:NC=exist.PST-PERF
          'She had a daughter.' [lit. a daughter existed to her]

It should be noted that the non-canonical subject constructions just seen are syntactically intransitive, hence *fish exists/ there existed a girl.* That's why the subject-like argument has to be introduced as an oblique form to the syntactic structure of the clause, hence '*(a) fish of Hannah exists/ Her girl existed.*' This means that unlike transitive clauses where the A is the direct argument of the verb, the subject-like argument in non-canonical constructions is not a direct argument of the verb. In the following subsections, we first give an overview of the current state of knowledge on non-canonical constructions in Iranian languages, and then move on to present the semantic domains in which non-canonical subjects are used across WILs.

4.2.1.1 Previous scholarship on the non-canonical subject constructions

There is an array of studies on the properties on non-canonical constructions in WILs, and especially in Persian. Of particular, the analysis of the predicate types 'psychological states', 'physiological states', and 'non-controlled events' in Shibatani's classification has intrigued linguists working on Persian. The following examples from Persian are in order:

(213)   *(man)*   *xoš=am*   *mi-ā-d*
        1SG   pleasure=1SG:NC   IND-come.PRS-3SG
        'I like (it).' [lit. My pleasure comes]

(214)   *(Sārā)*   *sard=eš*   *šod*
        PN   cold=3G:NC   become.PST.3SG
        'Sara felt cold.'

A look at the literature reveals the adoption of different formal and semantic criteria to analyse these construction. This is also reflected to some extent in the divergent terminology used to refer to these construction: 'compound verbs of experience' (Barjasteh 1983); 'indirect middle verbs' (Windfuhr 1979); 'impersonal constructions' (Dabir-Moghaddam 1997); 'subjectless constructions' (Karimi 2005); 'pronominal complex predicate' (Kazeminejad 2014). More recently, Jügel and Samvelian (2020) provide a useful overview of such constructions (which they refer to as 'experiencer construction') by enumerating their syntactic properties. The authors suggest that the clitic PMs in examples (213)–(214) would originally resume a hanging topic. Later through reanalysis clitics came to cross-reference the experiencer in an agreement relation, hence the obligatoriness of the clitic PMs in the examples above.

As noted in Jügel and Samvelian (2020), there are two lines of research in the literature regarding the syntactic makeup of examples (213)–(214). The first group considers them a subtype of impersonal constructions (Lazard 1957; Karimi 2005, among others), on the account that the subject is absent in such constructions. The second group states that the non-verbal element is indeed the subject of the light verb, since it is resumed by the default 3SG Vaff PM on the light verb (cf. Dabir-Moghaddam 1997; Sedighi 2010). Finally, Haig (2008: 108) states that the use of clitic PMs in these constructions is a continuation of the original indirect participant function they had in Old Iranian languages. It will further be seen in §4.2.1.5 and &4.2.1.6 that these constructions recur in the rest of Iranian languages as well, and that the clitic PMs obligatorily index the experiencer therein.

In what follows we keep using the term 'non-canonical subject constructions' as an umbrella term for the entirety of predicate types that express aberrant marking of an experiencer (or subject-like) argument. We will further see in §4.2.1.9 that non-canonical subject constructions are crucial to our understanding of the rise of ergativity in Iranian languages.

4.2.1.2 Predicative possession

In addition to the regular marking of adnominal possessors through clitic PMs (see §4.2.4), possession is also marked syntactically in predicative possession constructions. The latter are of two primary types in WILs (see Mohammadirad *to appear* for an overview of predicative possession across WILs): (i) 'be'-possessives, (ii) 'have'-possessives[55]. 'Be'-possessives are based on the existential base *ha/he/e-* 'to exist'. These are highlighted by the deviant indexing of the possessor (or subject-like) argument of the verb 'to exist'. This type of predicative possession dates back to the Old Iranian stage:

(215) *nōit*   *mē*   *asti*
       NEG   1SG.DAT   COP.PRS.3SG
       'I have no ….' (Young Avestan_ Skiærvø 2003: 18)

(216) *dārayavahauš*   *puçā*   *aniyaiciy*   ***āhantā***
       Darius.GEN.M.SG   son.NOM.M.PL other.NOM.M.PL   exist.3PL.IPFV.MID
       'Darius had other sons.' [lit. Darius, other sons existed] (Old Persian_ Schmitt 2009: 162, XPf)

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[55] These terms come from the literature on the predicative possession (see for instance Heine 1997; Stassen 2009, among others)

In the above examples, the possessor argument has appeared in the dative and genitive cases, respectively. Likewise, the deviant indexing of the subject-like argument continues in WMI: here the subject-like argument can be indexed by a clitic pronoun:

(217)   *ēn*   *zan,*   *kē=š*   *yak*   *pus*   **ast**
  this   woman   who=3SG:NC   a   son   exist.PRS
  'This woman, who has a son.' [lit. This woman, to whom a son exists] (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 371, paT. 707)

'Be'-possessives continue to recur in some modern languages: for example, in the following pair from Nowdani the possessor argument has been obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs across both present and past tense constructions:

(218)   a.   *homsāye=mu*   *do*   *tā*   *beče*   *š=en*   EL[Nod]. 61
    neighbor=1PL:POS   two   CLF   child   3SG:NC=exist.PRS
    'Our neighbour has two kids.'

(219)   b.   *ye*   *nardebun-e*   *čui=am*   **eš=bi**   PS[Nod]. 2
    a   ladder-EZ   wooden=ADD   3SG:NC=exist.PST
    'He had a wooden ladder as well.'

'Be'-possessives also occur in languages which illustrate case/clitic complementarity (see §4.2.2). For example, in Central Taleshi whenever the subject-like NP is introduced into the clause as an oblique NP (often accompanied by the postposition *rā*), cf. (220a), the use of the clitic PM is redundant. However, the clitic pronoun indexes the subject-like argument in the absence of coreferent overt oblique-marked NP, cf. (220b).

(220)   a.   **i-la**   **merd-i**   **rā**   *karg-i*   *hest*   *be*   EL[CT]. 63
    A-CLF   man-INDF   for   hen-INDF   exist   AUX.PST
    'A man had a hen.' [lit. there existed a hen for a man]

   b.   *se*   *gela*   *sabad=**eš***   *hest-be*   PS[CT]. 6
    three   CLF   basket=3SG:NC   exist-COP.PST
    'He had three baskets.'

In the same way, in the Bahdini dialect of Kurmanji – where clitic pronouns are absent – the subject-like argument is marked by an oblique case.

(221)   *naqlakē*   **hakim-ak-ī**   *sē*   *kur*   *ha-bō-n*
  at.a.time   prince-INDF-OBL   three   son   exist-COP.PST-PL
  'Once a prince had three sons' [lit. once to-a-prince three sons existed] (Haig 2008: 258, citing MacKenzie 1962: 320, glossing modified)

What is common to be-possessive languages discussed so far, is the presence of the existential base *ha-/he-/e-* as the predicate. The marking strategy for the possessor argument though might

differ from language to language (e.g. by clitic PMs in Nowdani, but by oblique-marked NPs in Bahdini).

On the other hand, 'have'-possessives are formed on the basis on the verb stem *dār* (infinitive form *dāštan*) 'to have'. The verb 'have' had originally the meaning 'hold, keep' in Old Iranian, cf. (222), and developed into a possessive marker in later stages of Middle Iranian, cf. (223):

(222) *ima   xšaç-am   taya   adam   **dãray**-āmi*
        this   empire-ACC   which   1SG.NOM   hold-1SG
        'This is the empire which I hold.' (Old Persian_ Schmitt 2009: 119, DPh)

(223) *ku   kirm   bunag **dāšt***
        where dragon abode have.PST
        'Where the dragon had the abode.' (Middle Persian_ Jügel 2015: 837, KN 10 / 1)

The verb 'have' in the above examples sticks to the alignment pattern of transitive verbs: in (222) it is inflected for the A-prs NP, whereas in (223) following the ergative alignment it's not inflected for the person of the subject NP. The verb 'have' kept the regular indexing pattern of transitive verbs in modern languages with 'have' as the predicate in predicative possessive constructions. Thus, there is no deviant marking of the possessor argument. This is shown in the following pair from Badrudi, where, following the tense-sensitive alignment, the subject is marked by the Vaff PM in the present tense, and by the clitic PM in the past tense.

(224) a. *i   daraxt   golowi   dār-**a***   PS1[Bad]. 1
            a   tree   pear   have.PRS-3SG
            'He has a pear tree.'

       b. *se   duno   bozqālu=**š***   *dard-en*   SM1[Bad]. 1
            three CLF   kid.goat=3SG:A   have.PST-3PL:O
            'She had three kid goats.'

'Have'-possessives are also common in languages which have adopted 'nominative-accusativity' in the indexing pattern of core arguments, e.g. Persian, Luri, and some Southern Kurdish. Compare the pair in (225):

(225) a. *ye   ketāb dār-**i***
            a   book   have.PRS-2SG
            'You have a book.'

       b. *ye   ketāb dāšt-**i***
            a   book   have.PST-2SG
            'You had a book.' (Persian)

What is common to the 'have'-possessive languages is that the indexing of the subject-like argument follows the alignment pattern associated with regular transitive verbs.

Considering these two types of predicative possession in WILs, I propose that in fact the maintenance of the existential base *ha-/he-/e-* is what triggers the deviant indexing of subject-like arguments in predicative possessive constructions. Here, the subject-like arguments are either oblique-marked or are indexed by clitic PMs–contrary to the regular indexing of transitive verbs. On the other hand, languages which have adopted the regular base *dār* (infinitive form *dāštan*) 'to have' as means of expressing syntactic possession do not exhibit deviant marking of the subject-like argument in predicative possessive constructions.

In terms of diachrony, the data suggest that the more archaic 'be'-possessives have been superseded by 'have'-possessives in a subset of modern languages (see Figure 13). Note however that, in some languages 'be'-possessives and 'have'-possessives co-occur. This was seen in Bijar SK and Sivandi, and is exemplified by the following pair from Bijar SK[56]:

(226)   Bijar Southern Kurdish

    a.   *bizn-a*   *īšī*   *šīr=**im***   *ni-ya*   PP[BSK]. 8
        goat-DEF   say.PRS.3SG   milk=1SG:NC NEG-COP.3SG
        'The goat says: I don't have milk.'

    b.   *īma*   *kawš* *n-eyr-**īmān***   PP[BSK]. 17
        1PL   shoes NEG-have.PRS-1PL
        'We don't have shoes.'

In short, depending on the verb stem used in predicative possessive constructions, and the case/clitic correlation in the languages, six marking strategies are available for indexing the possessor (or subject-like) argument in predicative possessive constructions, summarized in Table 27:
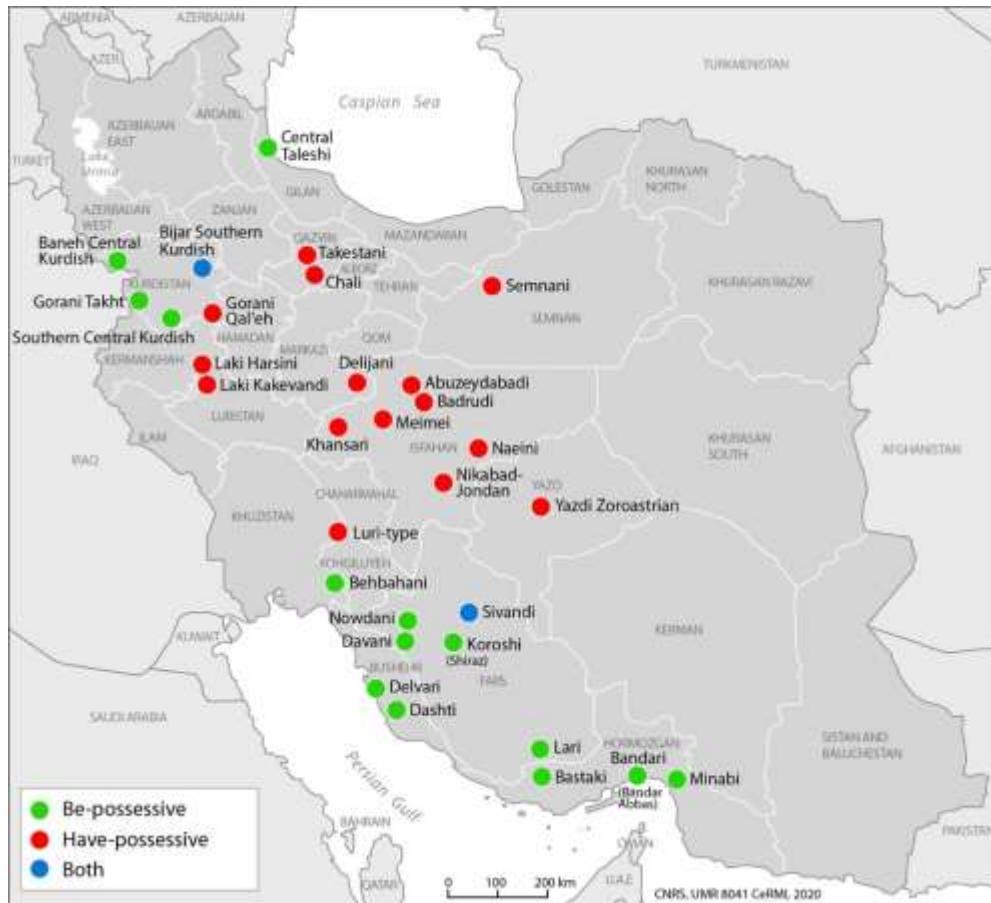
Table 27: indexing of the possessor argument in predicative possessive constructions

	verb stem	tense	means of indexing the possessor argument			Language
			OBL	CL PM	V_{AFF PM}	
1	*ha-/he-/a-*	PRS/PST	+			Bahdini, Kurmanji, Zazaki
2		PRS/PST	+	+		C. Taleshi
3		PRS/PST		+		BCK., SCK., Bnd., Min., Lar., Kor., Dsh., Dav., Nod., Beh., GorT.
4	*a-/ dār-*	PRS/PST		+	+	BSK., Sivandi
5	*dār-*	PRS			+	LakK., LakH., GorQ., Cha., Sem., Tak., CPDs., Siv., BSK.
		PST		+		
6	*dār-*	PRS/PST			+	Persian, Luri-Bakhtiari, most of SK

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[56] The choice of predicate for marking the possessive relation in these languages is mainly determined by the nature of the possessive relation as being inalienable vs. alienable (see Mohammadirad: *to appear*).

According to Table 27, in 'be'-possessive languages the deviant indexing of the subject-like argument exerts across both present and past tenses (groups 1, 2, and 3). However, in 'have-possessive' languages, the indexing pattern of the subject-like argument becomes identical with that of regular verbs: it is either different according to the tense (group 5) or is normalized across both tenses (group 6)

Figure 13 reveals the distribution of 'be'-possessives, and 'have'-possessives, and a further type in which the choice between the latter two is dependent on the semantics of possession.

Figure 13: existential base as triggering the non-canonical marking of the possessor argument in be-possessive languages

The map reveals areal distribution of the two main types of predicative possession across WlLs: 'be'-possessive languages are restricted to the peripheries of WILs, including languages of southeast Iran, Southwest languages (except for varieties of Luri and Persian), and Kurdic dialects and Central Taleshi to the northwest. On the other hand, 'have'-possessive languages are rather located in the centre of WILs, starting from Tatic dialects Chali, Takestani, and Semnani down to some Kurdic dialects (e.g. Laki, Gorani Qel'eh) and Luri to the west, and to Central Plateau dialects in the south. Finally, languages which use both 'be' and 'have' as the

predicate are located at the border between 'be'-languages and 'have'-languages. The map illustrates that the 'areal effect' is more revealing in the distribution of 'be'- and 'have'-possessives than the 'variety membership'. For instance, Gorani Qal'eh, is distinct from Gorani Takht in adopting the 'have'-verb (see Mohammadirad *to appear* for a detailed discussion[57]).

4.2.1.3 Necessity and wanting

The semantic domain of 'necessity and wanting' is another domain which triggers the non-canonical marking of subject-like arguments, impervious to the tense of the clause. In such a non-canonical construction, the 'needer' participant, i.e. the participant to whom something is needed, is indexed differently than A and S arguments. A necessity verb can be expressed through a lexical verb:

(227) *men   ina   dej=**om**   e-y*   EL[Dej]. 67
      1SG   DEM.F girl=1SG:NC   IND-want.PRS
      'I want this girl.' [lit. to me this girl is needed]

(228) *nā=**m**-avā-t-en*   *be   to*   MM[Min]. 26
      NEG=1SG:NC-be necessary.PRS-EP-COP.3SG   PREP   2SG
      'I don't want you.'

The modal status of necessity can also be expressed non-canonically by a clitic PM:

(229) ***oš**=nā-i*   *alān   o-č-eš-e*   *dar*   WC[Bas]. 4
      3SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS   now   IND-go.PRS-2SG-DRC   out
      'It is not necessary that you go out now.'

(230) *xāst=**me***   *b=ē-xar-im*   EL[Beh]. 58
      want=1PL:NC   IRR=3SG:O-buy.PRS-1PL
      'We wanted to buy it.'

In the examples above clitic PMs obligatorily index the 'needer' participant. Another encoding strategy for the needer participant is attested in languages in which clitic PMs are in complementary distribution with oblique-marked NPs: in Central Taleshi, cf. (231), Chali, cf. (232), Semnani, cf. (233), and less so Takestani, cf. (234)[58], the overt 'needer' participant being oblique-marked is in complementarity with a clitic PM.

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[57] Likewise, Southern Taleshi ('have'-possessive) is distinguished from Central and Northern Taleshi ('be-possessive) in this regard.

[58] In Takestani, clitics still have preserved a faint trace of their pronominal status in some necessity constructions (see 8.3.2.2.2)

(231) **xerdan-un**   *ba-pi*   *če*   *be-ka-n*   EL[CT]. 66
child-PL.OBL   TAM-want.PST what IRR-do.PRS-3PL
'What did the children want to do?'

(232) **zār-on**   *mi-gavastā*   *či*   *ari-nda?*   EL[Cha]. 66
child-PL.OBL   IPFV-want.PST   what do.PST-3PL
'What did the kids want to do?'

(233) **mo**   *del-i*   *me-gi*   BS[Sem]. 3
1SG.OBL   heart-OBL.M IND-want.PRS
'I would like.' [lit. My heart wishes]

(234) **Māriy-a**   *mo-qosti*   *be-š-ia*   *bar*   CG[Tak]. 2
PN-DIR.F   IPFV-want.PST IRR-go.PRS-3SG.F out
'Mary wanted to go out.'

However, with the oblique-marked subject being absent in the clause, the clitic PM is used to resume such an argument:

(235) *mi-gavast=**i***   *če*   *be-zon-āš*   EL[Cha]. 60
IPFV-want.PST=2SG:NC   what IRR-know.PRS-2SG
'What did you want to know?'

(236) *bapi=**m**-e*   */me*   *bapi*   EL[CT]. 58
want.PRS=1SG:NC-INF   1SG.OBL   want.PRS
'I want.'

In the same way, in the necessity construction of Bahdini Northern Kurdish the overt oblique-marked subject-like NP blocks the indexing of the needer participant by inflectional morphology:

(237) **min**   *t-vē-t*   *hesp-ē*   *xō*
1SG.OBL   IND-be.necessary.PRS-3SG   horse-EZ.M REFL
'I want/need my own horse.' (Haig 2008: 261, glossing modified)

In the rest of Kurmanji dialects, the 'needer' participant in necessity constructions is treated as a regular subject NP. Therefore the alignment pattern associated with regular transitive verbs is applied to necessity constructions. Note also that the regular verb *xwāstin* has been adopted in necessity constructions.

(238) a.   *ez*   *di-xwaz-**im***
         1SG.DIR   IND-want.PRS-1SG
         'I want.'

    b.   **min**   *xwast*
         1SG.OBL   want.PST
         'I wanted.'

Finally, in languages where the alignment system has shifted to fully-fledged nominative-accusativity in terms of agreement, necessity verbs follow the indexing pattern of other verbs and are regularly marked by verbal affix PMs. Among studied languages, Southern Kurdish and Luri-type dialects behave in this way:

(239) *pari-ān*   *xwāz-**in***   *biyān-a*   *dašt*   MQ[BSK]. 98
      fairy-PL   want.PRS-3PL   IRR.come.PRS.3PL-DRC   desert
      'The fairies want to come out (of the water).'

Table 28 summarizes different encoding strategies for indexing the 'needer' participant in necessity constructions:

Table 28: Indexing of 'needers' and 'wanters' in necessity constructions

tense	indexing of the 'needer'			Language
	OBL	CL PM	VAFF PM	
PRS/PST	+			Bahdini Northern Kurdish
PRS/PST	+	+		Tatic-type languages
PRS/PST		+		CPDs, languages of southeast Iran, Southwestern languages (except for Luri), Kurdic dialects (except for SK, and Lak H.)
PRS			+	most Kurmanji Kurdish
PST	+			
PRS/PST			+	SK, LakH., Luri-Bakhtiari, Persian

According to the above table, apart from languages which employ Vaff PMs to index the needer participant across both present and past tenses (i.e. SK., LakH., Luri-Bakhtiari, Persian), and with the exception of most Kurmanji Kurdish, other investigated languages license deviant marking of the needer participant in their morphosyntax. This deviant marking can be carried out by oblique forms of NPs (Bahdini), an alternation between oblique forms and clitic PMs (Tatic), or through clitic indexing of the needer participant across both present and past tenses (e.g. CPD).

The question now arises as what triggers the deviant marking of the needer participant in necessity constructions. It seems that irregular verbs are the primarily triggers for a deviant marking of the 'needer' participant. In this regard, languages studied can be roughly classified into three groups on the basis of the verb stems used in 'necessity constructions': (i) suppletive stems, e.g. LakK. *a-, gast*; Dej. *y-, gā-*; Abu. *yī-, gā-*; Beh. *ī-, xās-*; Min. y-, *xās-*; Nod. *ā-, es-*; Dsh. *ī(t)-, zī-* ;(ii) adding of the past tense marker to the present stem: BCK. (*h)awē-, wīst-*; Bahdini. *vē-, viā-*; Cha. *gav-, gavastā-*; Tak. *qo-, qostī-*; Sem. *ga-, giyā-*; Kha. *gū-, gūā-*; Bad. *piya-, piyā-*; YZ. *vā-, vista-*; Siv. *gā-, gāst-*; Dav. *ā-, ast-*; Lar. *(v)ī-, vest-*; Bnd. *vā-, vāst-*; Luri,

Persian *xā(h)-, xās(t)-*; BSK. Kurmanji *xwāz-, xwāst-*; LakH. *twā-, twāst-* (iii) employing the same base across both tenses and adding of the copula to form the past tense construction: SCK. Gor. *garak-;* Del. *esgā-*; Kor. *bokā-.*

It seems that only languages which have fully adopted the stem *xāh-, xāst* or its cognates (e.g. *twā-, twāst* in Laki Harsini) as the predicate across both present and past stems, do follow the indexing pattern of regular transitive verbs. Most Kurmanji dialects (except for Bahdini), Persian, Southern Kurdish, and Luri-Bakhtiari dialects follow this pattern. Note that Behbahani and Minabi use the stem *xās-* only in the past tense, hence not eligible for the generalization stated above. The rest of languages use stems other than *xāst-* in necessity constructions.

Figure 14 illustrates the indexing of necessity constructions across WILs. Languages marked in green are those in which clitics obligatorily index the 'needer' participant across all tenses. Those marked in blue are languages in which clitics' indexing of the 'needer' participant is conditioned to the absence of the co-referent NP. Finally, languages marked in red are those in which the indexing of the needer has become levelled to that of typical subjects.
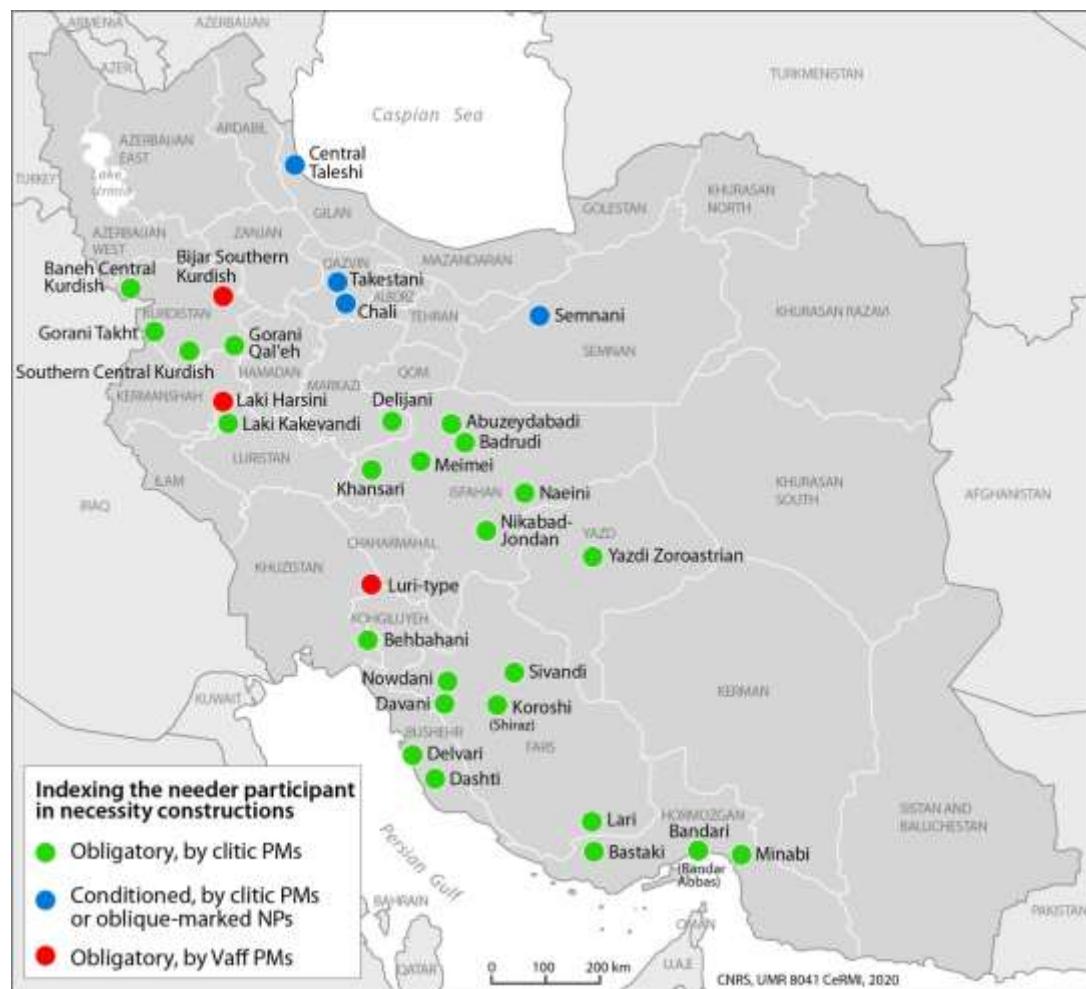
Figure 14: The indexing of necessity constructions across Iranian languages

The map suggests that the deviant marking of necessity constructions is areally-distributed: except for the strip containing of southern Kurdish dialects and Luri-type dialects, other languages favour aberrant marking of the needer participant in necessity constructions, either by obligatory clitic PMs (most Kurdic, Central Plateau, Southwestern languages and languages situated in the southeast Iran) or by alternating clitic PMs (Tatic-type languages).

4.2.1.4 Modal status of potentiality

Another semantic domain that is usually included within non-canonical constructions is the modal expression of the notion 'potentiality/possibility'. Here, the subject-like argument of the verb 'be able, can' is indexed differently from A and S arguments. The following examples illustrate the marking of the potentiality constructions in present and past tense constructions of Davani:

(240) *mo*   *xe=**mu*   *ne-mi-šā*   *bedune*   *hema* XX[Dav]. 38
      1PL   EMPH=1PL:NC NEG-IND-be able.PRS without   wood
      'We are not able (to survive) without wood.'

(241) *dig=**omu*   *na-šast*   *beyu*   EL[Dav]. 68
      yesterday=1PL:NC NEG-be able.PST IRR.come.PRS.1PL
      'We couldn't come over (to you) yesterday.' [lit. It wasn't possible for us]

In the examples above, the stem *šā*-[59], *šas*- expresses the modal meaning of potentiality. *šā*- expresses the modal meaning of potentiality in some other languages as well, e.g. Nowdani, Dashti, Lari. However, unlike predicative possessive constructions and necessity constructions above – where the existence of certain verb stems would license a non-canonical subject marking – *šā* by itself does not lead to the non-canonical indexing of the subject-like argument, at least in Yazdi Zoroastrian, cf. (242), Abuzeydabadi, cf. (243), Naeini, cf. (244), and Bahdini, cf. (245):

(242) a.   *na-še-kārt-**e*   *be-š-e*   *bar* CG[YZ]. 4
           NEG-be able.PRS-AUX-2SG IRR-go.PRS-2SG out
           'You cannot go out.'

     b.   ***mo**=na-se-kā*   EL[YZ]. 59
           1PL:NC=NEG-be able.PST-AUX
           'We weren't able (to buy it).'

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[59] The stem *šā*- was sometimes used as an impersonal verb in Middle Iranian. Yet, most frequently it was a personal verb (Brunner 1977: 188)

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(243) a.   *non*   *habi*   *na-š(a)-**i***   *ka*   BS[Abu]. 12
           3SG.F   no.more   NEG-be able.PRS-3SG   AUX
           'She cannot (see her fish) anymore.'

      b.   *na=**m**-šo-ka*   *beg-o*   EL[Abu]. 68
           NEG=1SG:NC-be able.PRS-AUX   IRR.come.PRS-1SG
           'I couldn't come over (to you).'

(244) a.   *nā-š(a)-**i***   *šo-y*   *tāk*   *ni*
           NEG.IND-be able.PRS-1SG   IRR.go.PRS-1SG   open   IRR.put.PRS.1SG
           'I cannot go open it.' (Lecoq 2002: 530)

      b.   *čun*   *na=**ši**-šā*   *kart-e*
           becuase   NEG=3PL:NC=be able   do.PST-INF
           'Because they weren't able (to heal her)' (Lecoq 2002: 502)

(245) a.   *am*   *na-šē-**yn***   *vī*   *māl-ī*   *da-yn-av*   *ta*
           1PL   NEG-be able.PRS-1PL   DEM.M   wealth-OBL.M   give.PRS.1PL-to   2SG
           'We cannot give you this house.' (MacKenzie 1961: 328)

      b.   ***min***   *šīyā*
           1SG   be able.PST
           'I was able.'
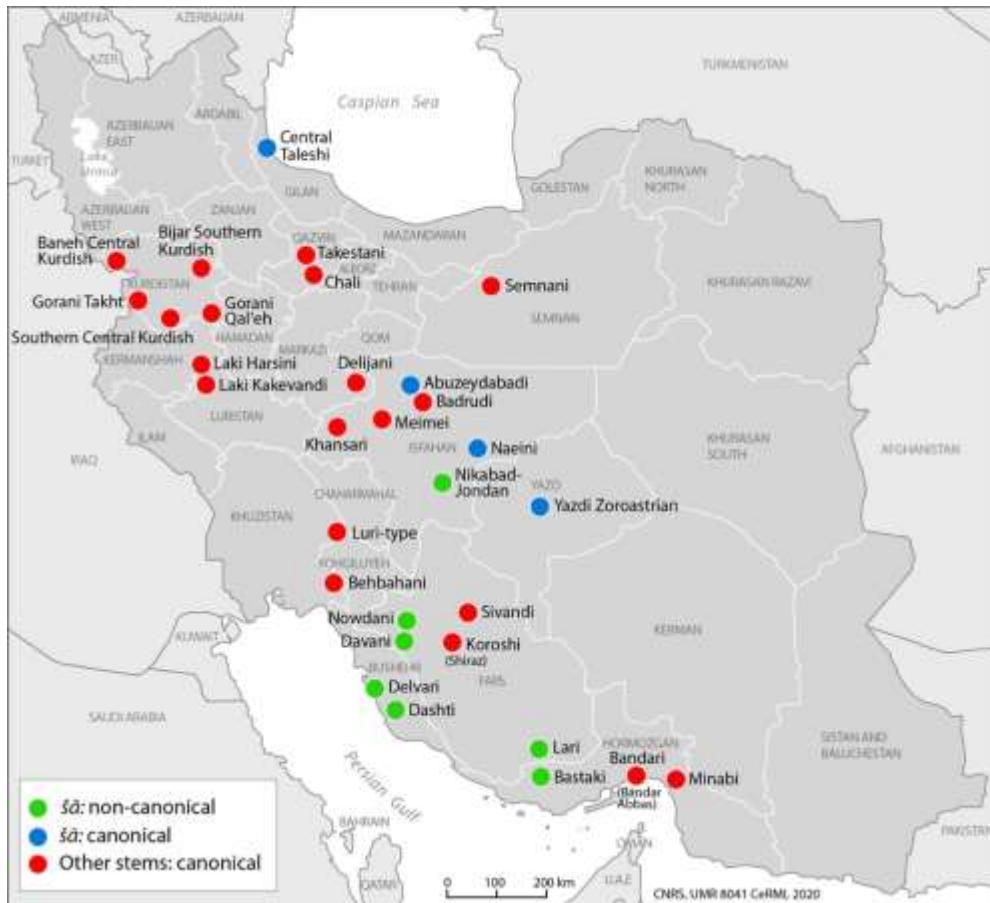
The verb stem *šā* also marks potentiality/possibility in Central Taleshi. Note that in (246) the mobile person form is from the paradigm of verbal affixes, and should not be mistaken for a clitic PM.

(246) a.   *alān*   *ba-šā=**yš***   *š-e*   *berun*   CG[CT]. 13
           now   TAM-be able=2SG.SET1B   go-INF   out
           'Now, you are allowed to go out.'

      b.   *ne-šā(st)=**m**-a*   *aye*   *xand-e*   SL2[CT]. 17
           NEG-be able=1SG.SET1B-TR   3SG.DIR   read.PST-INF
           'I wasn't able to read them.'

The potentiality constructions in these languages suggest that the stem *šā-* has been levelled to a regular stem. In languages with no aberrant marking in potentiality constructions, regular stems are used as the predicate; these stems follow the typical indexing pattern of regular transitive verbs, and include (i) *tavān-, tavanest-* and its cognates across modern languages, e.g. Kurdish. *twān-, twānī-*, Bnd. /Min. / Beh. *tun-, tunest-*; (ii) *zun-, zunā-(zunest-)* in Sem. /Dej. /Kha.

The range of potentiality constructions is depicted in Figure 15. Languages marked in green are those which use the *šā-* stem and the indexing of the subject is non-canonical; those marked in blue are languages which use *šā-* but the indexing pattern follows that of regular transitive

verbs; and finally, languages marked in red use other verbs in potentiality constructions, e.g. *tavānestan, zunestan*, which again follows the indexing pattern of regular transitive verbs.

Figure 15: Verb stems and the canonical vs. non-canonical marking of potentiality constructions

As can be seen, the distribution of non-canonical subjects in the semantic domain of potentiality starts from the Southwest CP dialect Nikabadi and runs through south to Southwest languages Davani and Nodani, down to Dashti and Davani, and eastward to Lari and Bastaki.

In some languages with regular marking of 'potentiality', a periphrastic construction is also available for expressing possibility. Such periphrastic constructions exist in Central Kurdish, cf. (247) and Gorani, cf. (248).

(247) *awa=**y***   *bo*   *nā-k-rē-ē*
       that=3SG:R   for   NEG.IND-do.PRS-PASS-3SG
       'He cannot do that.' [lit. It is not possible for him to do that] (Baneh CK)

(248) *min-ič*   *hüč=**im***   *pay*   *na-kir-yā*
       1SG=ADD   nothing=1SG   to   NEG-do.PRS-PASS
       'I too, there was nothing to be done by me.' (Gorani Zarda, Mahmoudveysi and Bailey 2013: 146)

4.2.1.5 Verbs of liking

Common to the majority of Iranian languages is the deviant indexing of the 'liker' argument in the expressions of '(dis)liking and love', (termed as 'psychological states' within Shibatani's classification). These constructions are often formed with complex predicates, whose light verbs are 'want', 'come', 'exist', etc. In the following examples, the construction 'to like to do something' is intended. Note that the clitic PM obligatorily indexes the experiencer ('liker') argument in (249)–(254). However, in (255) due to oblique vs. clitic complementarity, the clitic indexing of the subject-like argument is excluded in the presence of the coreferent NP.

(249) *xwaš-a*   *m-āy-t=ē̄*   BS[LakK]. 11
       pleasure-IND   IND-come.PRS-EP=3SG:NC
       '(She) likes (it)' [lit. Her pleasure comes]

(250) *del=eš*   *mi-keš-et*   BS[Dsh]. 11
       heart=3SG:POS   IND-pull.PRS-3SG
       '(She) likes (it).'[lit. Her heart pulls]

(251) *pē̄=m*   *xoš-a*   IB[BCK]. 33
       to=1SG:R   pleasure-COP.3SG
       'I would like.' [lit. It is (a) pleasure to me]

(252) *i*   *dus=eš-en*   BS[Del]. 11
       DEM   liking=3SG:NC-COP.3SG
       '(She) likes.' [lit. Her liking exists]

(253) *dust=i*   *ha*   BS[Min]. 11
       liking=3SG:NC exist.PRS
       '(She) likes.' [lit. Her liking exists]

(254) *xaš=eš-en*   BS[Min]. 11
       pleasure=3SG:NC-COP.3SG
       '(She) likes (it).' (Nodani)

(255) *žin*   *dal-i*   *ma-gi*   BS[Sem]. 11
       3SG.F   heart-OBL.M   IND-want.PRS
       '(She) likes.' [lit. Her heart wants]

4.2.1.6 Non-controlled internal physical and emotional states

In addition to 'liking constructions' exemplified in the previous section, in a number of events the experiencer (or subject-like argument) has no control over the action of the verb and is indexed differently than regular subjects. These constructions are roughly analogical to Shibatani's 'physiological states' and 'non-controlled events'. Of such constructions in WILs

one can mention the following predicate types: 'to fall sleep', 'to forget', 'to be cold/warm', 'to be thirsty/hungry', etc.

(256) *sārmā=**m**-ā*   EL[YZ]. 62
      cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I'm cold.'

(257) *farbā=**š**   me-bar-e*   SD[Siv]. 50
      sleep=3SG:NC IPFV-take.PRS-3SG
      'She falls asleep.'

(258) *čehna=**m**-en*   EL[Min]. 62
      thirsty=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I'm thirsty.'

(259) *veša=**žun**-u*   EL[Kha]. 62
      hungry=3PL:NC-COP.3SG
      'They are hungry.'

(260) *ma=**m**   sard   bi-s-e*   EL[Dav]. 62
      1SG=1SG:NC cold   become.PST-EP-PERF
      'I'm feeling cold.'

(261) *ke   vaša=**š**   na-gen-e*
      COMP hungry=3SG:NC   NEG-become.PRS-3SG
      'That he won't be hungry.' (Delijani_ Safari 2008: 81)

As said, the non-canonical constructions of these types are shared among Iranian languages. Even languages where clitic PMs have lost their function as A-past, e.g. Persian, cf. (262), southern Kurdish, cf. (263), and Luri-type dialects, cf. (264) employ clitics obligatorily in these constructions.

(262) *man   dard=**am**   gereft*
      1SG   pain=1SG:NC took.PST
      'I felt pain.' [lit. Pain overtook me] (Persian)

(263) *bad=**em**   tiyad*
      bad=1SG:NC   IND.come.PRS.3SG
      'I don't like (it)' [lit. To me comes bad] (Southenr Kurdish)

(264) *sard=**om**-e*   EL[Lor]. 62
      cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I'm cold.'

4.2.1.7 Existential constructions

In a number of languages, the expression of 'existentiality' in the sense of 'being in a place' is carried out by clitic PMs. Here, clitics obligatorily index the entity being present. These kinds of existential constructions are characteristic of some Southern Kurdish dialects, and Delvari:

(265) *has=**eyān***
      exist.PRS=3PL:NC
      'Are they (there)?' (Ilam Southern Kurdish)

(266) *boč-ā=t*   *nis=**šu***   *xo*   EL[Del]. 49
      child-PL=2SG :POS   NEG.COP=3PL:NC   EMPH
      'Your children are not (around).'

This marking of 'existence' above is actually identical to the marking of be-possessives in predicative possessive constructions: in both cases the verb 'exist' is used. Diachronically speaking, the expression of existence can be derived from that of predicative possession (cf. Stassen 2009: 6). For example, the French predicative possessive construction in (267a) is assumed to be the source of the existential construction in (267b):

(267) a.   *Il*   *a*   *un*   *cheval*
            he   has   a   horse
            'He has a horse.'

      b.   *Il*   *y*   *a*   *des*   *gens*   *qui*   *fument*
            it   there has   INDF.PL   people   who   smoke
            'There are people who smoke.' (Stassen 2009: 6)

In the same way, the expression of existentiality could extend into similar contexts, and participant's mental state can also be indexed deviantly. In the following examples, participant's being alive, cf. (268) and mental state, cf. (269) is intended.

(268) *tā*   *zinde=**t**-e*
      till   alive=2SG:NC-COP.3SG
      "As long as you are alive." (Bakhtiari, Windfuhr 1988: 560)

(269) *Ahmad*   *čōn-en=**et***
      PN   how-COP.3SG=2SG:NC
      'Ahmad, how are you [feeling]?' [lit. how is it to you] (Nourzaei et al 2015: 183)

To these, one can add the expression of 'age', which is uniformly marked as a non-canonical subject construction across the majority of WILs (with an exception of most Kurmanji Kurdish, and Some Tatic), regardless of languages having preserved tense-sensitive alignment or not.

(270) *pos=**et**=**eš***   *čan*   *sāl-ā*   EL[Dav]. 78
      boy=2SG:POS=3SG:NC   how.many   year-COP.3SG
      'How old is your son?

(271) *pir=**em***   *duāzda*   *sal=**ež**-u*   EL[Kha]. 78
      boy=1SG:POS   twelve   year=3SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'My son is twelve years old.'

(272) *pür-a=**d***   *čand*   *sāl=**i**-ā*   EL[Abu]. 78
      boy-DEF=2SG:POS   how.many   year=3SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'How old is your son?

It should be noted that in the cognitive approaches to predicative possession, domains of 'experience' (e.g. examples of 'non-controlled events') and 'age' are conceived as domains neighbouring to possession (see for instance Heine 1997). The encoding pattern associated with possession thus can extend to such domains as well. Mohammadirad (to appear) argues that the syntactic structure associated with some 'non-controlled events' here (physical sensation in his term), is the same as that used in 'be'-possessive constructions (cf. §4.2.1.2). He further shows that languages with the verb 'have' as the predicate in predicative possession continue to encode the domains of physical sensation and age by the more archaic 'be'-possessive verb, hence the deviant marking of these constructions in have-possessive languages.

4.2.1.8 Non-canonical subject constructions: summary

In the previous sub-sections, we examined the range of non-canonical subject constructions across WILS. These constructions are used at different degrees across modern language, and can be sub-classified into four major groupings: (i) potentiality, (ii) predicative possession, (iii) necessity and wanting, and (iv) liking and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states. In Table 29, the extent of non-canonical constructions across investigated WILs is shown:

Table 29: The range of major non-canonical subject constructions across investigated WILs

group	languages	Major non-canonical subject constructions			
		Predicative possession	Potentiality	Necessity & wanting	Liking and non-controlled states
1	Dav., Nod., Dsh., Del., Lar., Bas.	+	+	+	+
2	Beh., CK., Bnd., Min., GorT., Kor. CTal. Bahdini NK	+	–	+	+
3	Nikabad-Jondan, Vafsi[60]	–	+	+	+
4	GorQ., LakK, most of CPDs., Siv. Cha., Tak., Sem.	–	–	+	+
5	LakH., Lur., SK., Pers.	–	–	–	+

As can be seen, investigated languages are classified into four major groupings with respect to the range of non-canonical subject constructions: group 1 refers to southern languages Davani, Dashti, Nowdani, Delvari, Lari, and Bastaki. Here clitics are being used for marking all major non-canonical subject constructions. Languages of this group are thus assumed to have preserved approximately a great deal of non-canonical subject constructions of Old and Middle Iranian periods. Group 2 languages are similar to those in group 1 except that the expression of potentiality constructions has been levelled to that of other transitive verbs[61]. On the other hand, what makes group 3 different from group 1 is the fact that predicative possessive constructions are based on the regular stem *dār-* 'to have', which follows the alignment pattern of regular transitive verbs. Group 4 forms the majority of investigated languages; here non-canonical constructions are restricted to the expressions of necessity and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states. Finally, group 5 is associated with languages which have undergone fully-fledged nominative accusativity in their agreement systems, and in which non-canonical constructions are restricted to the expressions of (dis)liking, and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states.

Except for non-controlled events which are marked deviantly across all languages, there exists an interesting correlation among the other three major non-canonical constructions, in a way

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[60] See Stilo (2004b) for the relavant data for Vafsi.

[61] In this classification, only non-periphrastic potentiality constructions based on the verb stem *šā-* are intended. Thus, periphrastic potentiality constructions of Central Kurdish and Gorani Takht are not included as potentiality constructions.

that the deviant indexing of potentiality and/or predicative possessive constructions in a language implies the aberrant indexing of necessity constructions in the same language (Groups 1, 2, 3). However, the deviant marking of the needer argument in a necessity construction does not necessarily mean that the domains of potentiality and predicative possession are also marked aberrantly (Group 4) –contrary to the indexing pattern of the rest of normalized constructions. This observation can be formulated in the form of the following hierarchy:

Hierarchy of non-canonical subject indexing across investigated WILs

Potentiality and/or Existential predicative possession < Necessity & wanting < Liking and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states

Overall, these groupings are depicted in Figure 16:
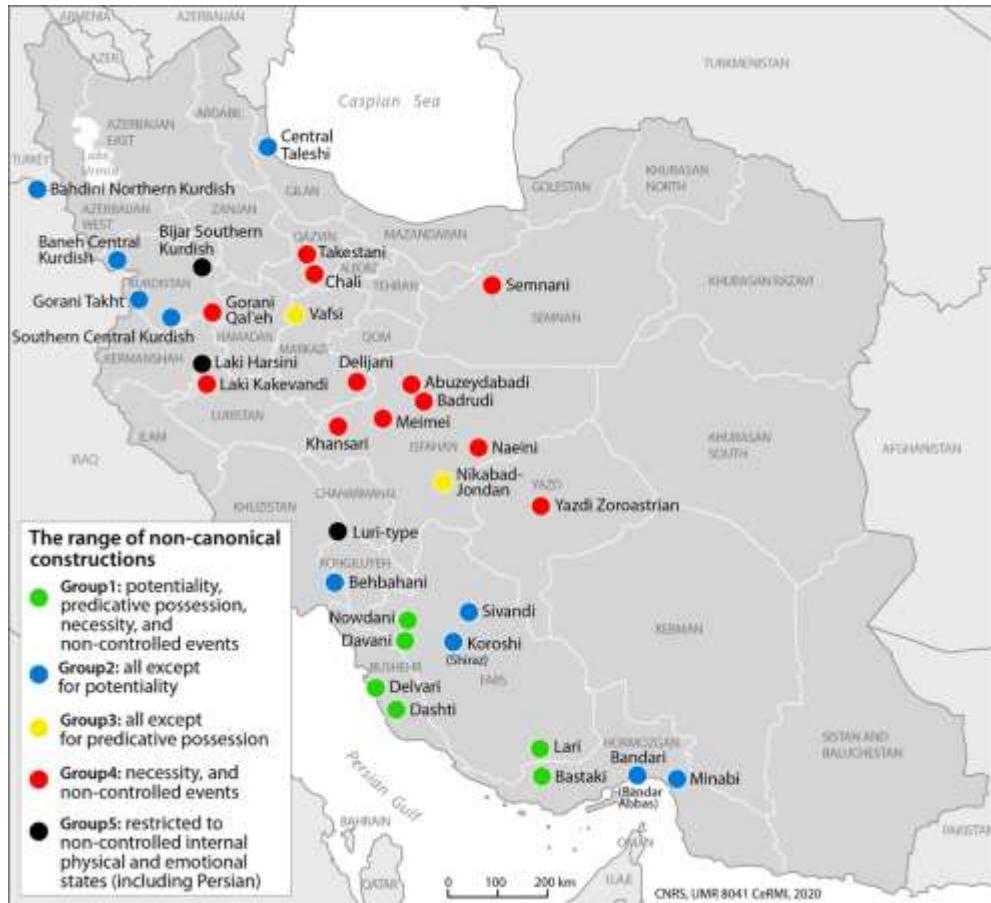
Figure 16: The extent and grouping of non-canonical subject constructions across WILs

According to Figure 16, the heaviest concentration of non-canonical constructions is restricted to the south of Iran in the languages of group 1: here all major non-canonical subject constructions are attested. Languages of groups 2, and 3 are the next in having most non-canonical subject constructions: these languages are placed mostly in the southwestern and northwestern peripheries of WILs. On the other hand, languages of group 4 are positioned

rather in the centre and north of investigated languages. Finally, languages of group 5 form a vertical strip, and include southern Kurdish[62], Luri-type languages, and Persian.

 The question now arises as what factors contribute to the maintenance of deviant indexing of non-canonical subjects across WILs. It seems that two major factors are crucial in the continuation of aberrant marking of non-canonical subjects: (i) the maintenance of particular irregular (older) verb stems in the domains of predicative possession, necessity, and potentiality, and (ii) the retention of tense-sensitive alignment. In fact, these factors interact in the vitality of non-canonical constructions. For example, languages with tense-sensitive alignment in Table 29, e.g. Bandari, exhibit more canonical constructions than those without tense-sensitive alignment, e.g. Luri. The inverse picture, i.e. the adoption of regular verb stems and the development towards the accusative alignment is expected to give rise to the loss of non-canonical constructions; this is actually the case with languages which have adopted full accusativity, whereby deviant marking of non-canonical constructions is restricted to the expressions of (dis)liking, and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, as depicted above. On the other hand, in languages which still have preserved tense-sensitive alignment, the maintenance of irregular verb stems is the main factor for the abundance of non-canonical subject constructions.

4.2.1.9 Non-canonical subject constructions and the emergence of ergativity

It is held in the literature that non-canonical subject constructions and ergative constructions show striking similarities, both semantically, and structurally (cf. Lazard 1984; Haig 2008; and more recently Dabir-Moghaddam 2018). Bahdini dialect of Kurmanji Kurdish is said to exhibit the prime instance of such a parallel, as illustrated in the comparison between the necessity constructions in (273)–(274), and the canonical ergative construction in (275):

(273) *ama*   ***hasp***   *nā-vē-**n***
       1PL.OBL   horse.DIR.PL   NEG.IND-be.necessary.3PL
       'We do not want horse.' (Haig 2008: 260, citing MacKenzie 1961: 192)

(274) *te*   ***ez***   *nā-vē-**m***
       2SG.OBL   1SG.DIR   NEG.IND-be.necessary.3PL
       'You do not want me.' (Haig 2008: 260, citing MacKenzie 1961: 192)

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[62] Note however that Bijar Southern Kurdish has preserved some non-canonicality in expressing the subject-like argument of predicative possessive constructions.

(275)   *te*   **ez**   *kušt-**im***
          2SG.OBL   1SG.DIR   kill.PST-1SG
          'You killed me.'

In these constructions, the A argument is uniformly oblique-marked, and the O argument is direct-marked. In terms of agreement, it is the O NP which triggers the person agreement on the verb.

Haig (2008) cautiously assumes that such parallels could further point to the fact that ergativity emerged from non-canonical constructions. In other words, non-canonical subjects are assumed to extend to 'a specific, morphologically-defined environment', i.e. past transitive constructions. In his account the broader notion of 'indirect participant' (cf. §2.4) extended to the subject of *mana kartam construction*, which had the resultative participle as its predicate (cf. §1.2 for a discussion of *mana kartam*). The alignment pattern associated with this construction was later extended to all past transitive verbs. This association was also resulted from the fact that the periphrastic participles superseded perfective from of verb in late Old Iranian and later in Middle and Modern languages (see §1.2 and §2.4 for further discussion).

More recently, Dabir-Moghaddam (2018) takes up the issue again and claims that "a non-canonical subject construction with the core meaning 'to exist' in Old Persian triggered the genesis of ergativity." By this, the author actually means that ergativity evolved from be-possessive constructions, as shown below:

(276)   *dārayavahauš*   *puçā*   *aniyaiciy*   ***āhantā***
          PN.GEN.M.SG   son.NOM.M.PL other.NOM.M.PL   exist.3PL.IPFV.MID
          'Darius had other sons.' [lit. Darius, other sons existed] (Old Persian_ Schmitt 2009: 162, XPf)

(277)   *utā=**taṷ***   *yāvā*   *taṷmā*   *ahati*
          and=2SG.GEN as.long.as   strength.NOM.N.SG   be.IRR
          'And as long as you will have seed.' (Schmitt 2009: 84, DB)

In Dabir-Moghaddam's analysis, the source of ergativity in Middle Iranian and subsequently in modern languages is assumed to be related to the analogical extension of the constructions in (276)–(277) to past transitive verbs (cf. 275), on the one hand, and the reanalysis of the perfective forms of Old Iranian as participles in Middle Iranian, on the other.

Note that Dabir-Moghaddam's account is not different from that of Haig (2008). For Haig, ergativity emerged through the extension of 'pre-existing', non-canonical constructions to participle predicates expressing agentive semantics. This extension seems to be mediated by

the *mana kartam* construction, whose main predicate was a periphrastic participle, which was later extended to all transitive verbs by Middle Iranian and subsequently in the majority of modern languages.

For Dabir-Moghaddam, on the other hand, the link from 'non-canonical subject constructions' and past transitive constructions is direct and is to be sought in the analogical extension of the constructions with the core meaning 'exist' to past transitive constructions, coupled with the reanalysis of perfective verb forms as participles by Middle Iranian. He adds that the stativity feature of the verb 'to exist' is the source for its analogical extension to other non-canonical constructions which express modal necessity, possibility, (dis)liking, etc. There are some inconsistencies with Dabir-Moghaddam's analysis: first, he does not elaborate on the dynamics of the direct extension of non-canonical subject construction to past transitive verbs; rather this extension is taken for granted. Second, it is not clear how the analogical extension proceeds from a stative verb like 'to exist' to the expression of 'desire, and necessity', 'potentiality and possibility', and 'obligation'.

In conclusion, while it is almost evident that ergativity in Iranian emerged through the extension of pre-existing non-canonical construction, scholars have different approaches on how such an extension might have occurred. For Haig, the analogical extension is rather indirect and is mediated by the *mana kartam* construction. For Dabir-Moghaddam, such an extension is direct. For the most part, Haig's account is more well-pronounced than that of Dabir-Moghaddam for the reasons mentioned above.

Finally, data from Larestani dialects provide additional support for the derivation of ergativity from non-canonical constructions. Here, non-canonical subject constructions exhibit the same disformation of bound adpositional complements attested in languages with tense-sensitive alignment[63]. A full discussion of this is deferred to §6.3.5.3, in the discussion of the deviations from the expected clitic ordering in past transitive constructions. For the moment note that both in the non-canonical construction in (278), and in the past transitive construction in (279), the suffixal morphology has been co-opted for the expression of the adpositional complement, which would otherwise be indexed by a clitic PM. Reflecting the analogical extension of non-canonical subject constructions to past tense constructions (hence the rise of ergativity), this identical treatment of indexing bound adpositional complements could indeed point to the

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[63] Some Central Kurdish dialects also disform a bound adpositional complement in non-canonical constructions (see §6.3.5.2)

extension of the indexing pattern associated with non-canonical subject constructions to past transitive constructions.

(278) *kār=**om***   ***va***   *hest-**eš***   EL[Lar]. 70
       job=1SG:NC   to   exist.PRS-2SG:R
       'I have a business with you.'

(279) *qazā*   ***m=az_bar***   *ārd-e-s-**ī***   SM[Lar]. 7
       food   1SG:A=for   bring.PST-PERF-EP-2PL:R
       'I have brought you food.'

4.2.2 A-past indexing

Perhaps the most important function of clitic PMs across WILs is that of indexing an A-past argument. A-past indexing of clitics has been touched upon in some studies, especially in Jügel (2015, on Middle Iranian); Jügel & Samvelian (2016); Haig (2008; 2018a; 2018b). A-past clitic PMs were pronominal to a large extent in Middle Iranian and were alternating to overt oblique-marked subject NPs (Jügel 2015). This complementarity is exhibited in the contrast between following examples: in (280), the A-past clitic is absent in the presence of an overt oblique-marked subject pronoun, however, in (281) the clitic has resumed the absent A-past NP:

(280) *dēn*   *īg*   ***man***   *wizīd*
       religion.DIR   which   1SG.OBL:A   choose.PTCP
       'The religion which I chose.' (Middle Persian, Haig 2008: 93, citing Boyce 1975: a, 1)

(281) *čē=**t***   *ātaxš* *ī*   *man* *pus*   *ōzād*
       because=2SG:A   fire   of   my   son   extinguish.PST.3SG
       'Because you extinguished the fire of my son.' (Middle Persian, Haig 2008: 124)

Haig (2018a) gives a brief synopsis of the fate of A-past indexing of clitics in modern Iranian languages as follows: (i) in some languages, e.g. Central Kurdish, they grammaticalized into obligatory agreement markers; (ii) in some they were abandoned and gave their way to Vaff PMs, e.g. Persian; (iii) in some they remain alternating indices, e.g. Taleshi. This classification is generally valid, yet remains a general one. While sticking to Haig's classification, we present a thorough data-centred analysis of A-past clitic indexing in investigated languages.

In the first group of languages, A-past clitics continue the original pronominal function they had in Middle Iranian. This occurs in most Tatic-type languages and less so in Gorani Takht. Here, clitic PMs remain alternating to the oblique-marked A-past NPs. The following excerpt from Chali illustrates clearly that in the first two clauses the clitic PMs are absent in the

presence of overt oblique-marked subject NPs: however, in the continuation of discourse clitics resume the absent A-past NPs:

(282) *tā* **liās-e** *em* *jemla* *bāt,* AV[Cha]. 12
as.soon.as fox.OBL.M DEM.DIR sentence say.PST

varg-e *jeftak* *be-zandi*
wolf-OBL.M buck PUNCT-hit.PST

o *šekār=**eš*** *pāšindi*
and hunt=3SG:A throw.PST

o *hamberā* *bo-xord=**šo***
and together PUNCT-eat.PST=3PL:A

'As soon as the fox said this sentence, the wolf bucked and took down the hunt and (then) together (with the fox) they ate (it).'

The same is true of Kurmanji dialects bordering the Central Kurdish speech zone (see Öpengin and Mohammadirad: to appear), namely, in the speech of Gerdī tribe in the south of Semdin district in the border between Turkey and Iraq, and in the speech of the Surčī tribe spoken in the area between Diyana/Rewanduz and Akre. In the following excerpt, when the overt oblique-marked subject pronoun is present, the clitic PM is not necessary. However, in the follow-up clauses the clitic PM resumes the absent subject NP:

(283) **min** *la_bo* *xo* *rēnjbar-ak* *girt,*
1SG.OBL for REFL labourer-INDF keep.PST.3SG

*hinār=**im**-a* *jot,*
send.PST=1SG:A-DRC plough

*šiwān-ak-īš=**im*** *girt*
shepherd-INDF-ADD=1SG:A keep.PST.3SG
'I hired a labourer, I sent him to the plough, (then) I hired also a shepherd.'
(MacKenzie 1962: 228)

In the second group of languages, which form the majority of WILs, A-past clitic PMs have turned into agreement markers. The following examples from Delijani, cf. (284), and Behbahani, cf. (285) show that clitic PMs are used to index overt A-past NPs.

(284) *mā=š* *nun=**eš*** *ba-pet* GX[Dej]. 6
mother=3SG:POS bread=3SG:A PUNCT-bake.PST
'His mother baked bread'

(285) *mādarbozorg-ā=**šē*** *si* *mā* *tariff* *mi-ke* BB[Beh]. 5
grandmother-PL=3PL:A for 1PL definition IPFV-do.PST
'The grandmothers would narrate (tales) to us.'

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Recall from §2.3.2 that there are two different approaches in the literature regarding the grammaticalization of A-past clitics: the first approach assumes that the subject NP was originally in the topic position, and would be resumed by a clitic PM. It was later with the grammaticalization of the topic NP as the subject NP that clitics came to be markers of subject agreement. In other words, topic agreement was reinterpreted as subject agreement. This approach is vouched in many works, e.g. Bynon (1979), Jügel (2009; 2015), and Jügel & Samvelian (2020). The second approach is more of a frequency-based account and is favoured by Haig (2018b). Haig suggests that A-past clitics started to show traits of agreement markers as early as Middle Iranian period. This is borne out by the high percentage of A-past clitics in Middle Iranian period.

Finally, in the third group of languages A-past clitic PMs gave way to Vaff PMs. This is the case with Persian, Southern Kurdish, and Luri-type dialects:

(286)   *o*   *šer-e*   *dāl=es*   *kerd-en*
        and   piece-EZ   tearing=3SG:O do.PST-3PL:A
        'They tore him to pieces.' (Bakhtiari, Anonby & Asadi 2014: 95)

(287)   *mā*   *čand*   *ketāb*   *xarid-im*
        1PL   some   book   buy.PST-1PL:A
        'We bought some books.' (Persian)

Figure 17 exhibits the status of bound marking of A-past NPs in investigated WILs: Languages marked in green obligatorily index the A-past NP by clitic PMs; in languages marked in blue, like in Middle Iranian, the clitic-indexing of an A-past argument is conditioned to the absence of the coreferent (oblique-marked) NP. Finally, languages marked in red are those in which obligatory Vaff PMs have superseded A-past clitics.
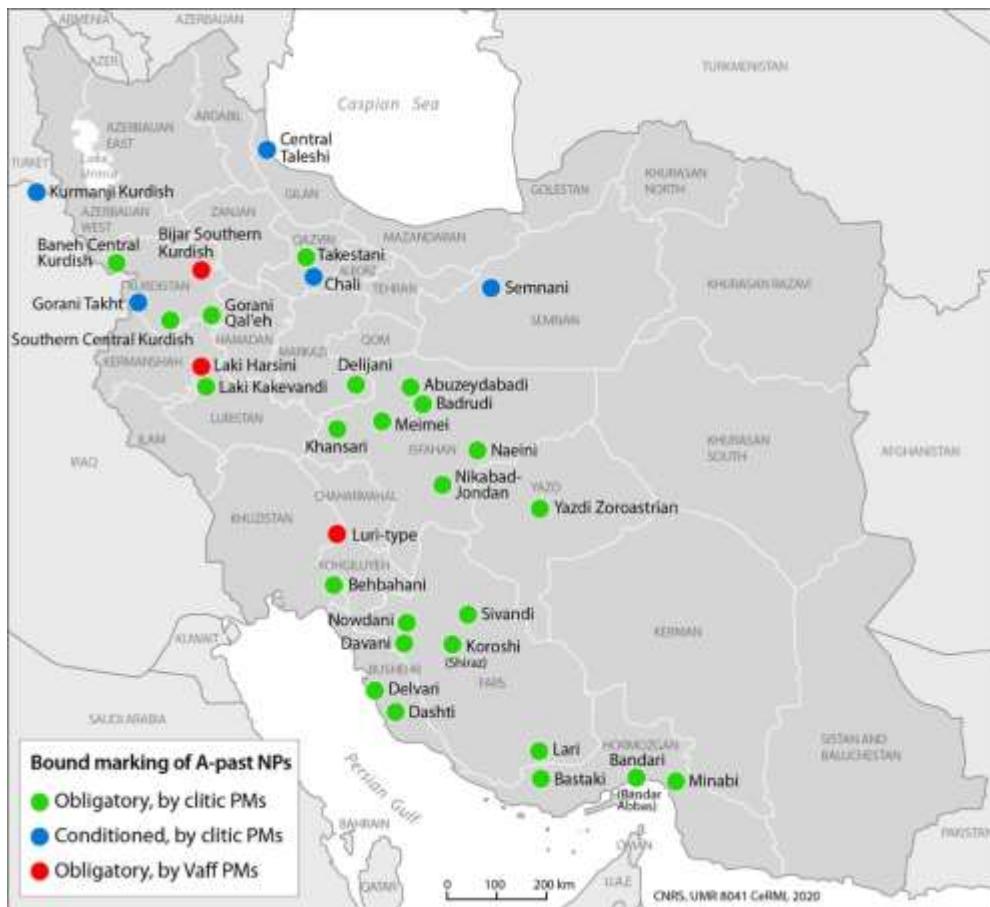
Figure 17: Bound indexing of A-past NPs in WILs

As seen, A-past clitics are rather areally dispersed with respect to their functional status as agreement markers or pronouns. That is, languages with clitic PMs still preserving their pronominal origin (Tatic, Kurmanji dialects bordering CK[64], and Gorani Takht) are distributed in the northern periphery of WILs. While as we move southward clitic PMs become obligatory indices of A-past NPs: Central Plateau dialects, languages spoken in the southeast Iran, and most of Southwest languages. This is reminiscent of Jügel and Samvelian's (2016) north-south pole, according to which in the north nominal case marking is preserved but clitic PMs are lost, or are agreement markers, but in the south case marking is lost and clitic PMs are turned into agreement markers (see §2.4.3 for a critical review of this analysis). Finally, the strip containing southern Kurdish, and Luri-type dialects is where A-past clitics have given their way to Vaff PMs.

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[64] Note however that clitic PMs are totally disappeared in most Kurmanji dialects (cf. Haig 2008: Chap 5)

4.2.3 Object indexing

Indexing an object argument is another major function of clitic PMs across WILs. In this section O function of clitic PMs is examined in the present tense (§4.2.3.1), and past transitive constructions (§4.2.3.2). It is especially in the latter tense that the investigation of O-function of clitic PMs is revealing since inflectional affixes are expected to index the O-argument following the assumed older ergativity stage. However, due to the shifts to the original ergative pattern diverse changes to the O-indexing are attested.

4.2.3.1 Object indexing in the present tense

The function of clitic PMs as indexing O argument goes back to Old Iranian, where there existed a distinct set of accusative clitic pronouns (cf. Table 12):

(288) *kara haya AƟuriya   hau=**dim**   abara   yata Babirauw*
      people which Assyrian   DEM=3SG:ACC brought   to   Babylon
      'The Assyrians people- they brought it to Babylon.' (Kent 1953: DSf, 32-33)

By Middle Iranian, the two sets of Olr. clitics were syncretized into one non-nominative set, of general oblique use. The resultant oblique set continued to index object arguments pronominally, i.e. in the absence of the coreferent object NPs:

(289) *ū=**d**   stāyēm*
      PTC=2SG:O   praise.PRS.1SG
      'I will praise you' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 451, mpB. 1055)

(290) *ū=m   kun-ēd   nām   Kerdir*
      and=1SG:O   make.PRS-3SG name   Kerdir
      'And (he) names me Kerdir' (Haig 2008: 114, citing MacKenzie 1999b: 1.25)

The object function of clitic PMs continues in the grammar of many modern Iranian languages, yet its realization in the clause is subject to different placement preferences (see Ch. 6). The Following are a few examples of O-prs function of clitics in modern languages:

(291) *hel=**ī**-a-sēn-ēt*   SH[SCK]. 23
      PVB=3SG:O-IND-take.PRS-3SG
      'He will wake him up.'

(292) *va   **š**=e-koš-ā*   SM1[YZ]. 40
      and   3SG:O=IND-kill.PRS-3SG:A
      '[…] and she (the goat) kills him (the wolf).'

(293) *ke=**m**   a_tu otāq-e   dar   bār-enā*   KS[Dav]. 25
      that=1SG:O   inside room-DEF   PVB   IRR.bring.PRS-3PL
      'That they take me out of the room.'

(294) **š**=*a-zen-**en***   PD[Bas]. 8
      3SG:O=IND-hit.PRS-3PL:A
      'They beat her.

In all the examples seen so far, O-prs clitic PMs are not obligatory, rather alternating to the overt object NP. Haig (2018a) gives a survey of object clitics in the present tense of Iranian languages and mentions that apart from sporadic cases of clitic doubling in colloquial Persian it is not expected that the object clitics turn into agreement markers. However, we came across some cases of O-clitic doubling in Central Plateau dialects Badrudi, Nikabad-Jondun, and Naeini. The conditions under which the doubling occurs is yet to be investigated, but it seems that highly salient discourse participants (e.g. animate and topical) are doubled by clitic PMs. Badrudi shows a prime example of such doubling. In the following examples salient object NPs are doubled by clitic PMs:

(295) *gorg* ***šangul-u***   ***mangul***   *a=**šun**-xor-a*   SM1[Bad]. 21
      wolf   PN-and   PN   IND=3PL:O-eat.PRS-3SG
      'The wolf eats Sh. and M..'

(296) *age*   *xeyli* *porrügeri*   *ba-ker-e*   ***to***   SM1[Bad]. 26
      if   a.lot   boasting   IRR-do.PRS-2SG   2SG

      hem   *a=**d**-xor-on*
      ADD   IND=2SG:O-eat.PRS-1SG
      'If you boast too much, I will eat you as well.'

(297) ***vaču=m***   *māl*   *min=**šun***   *de*   SM1[Bad]. 30
      child.PL=1SG:POS   to   1SG=3PL:O   give.PRS.2SG.IMP
      '(If I happen to win) give my children to me...'

The examples above point to nascent agreement features of clitic pronouns triggered by pragmatic features of the coreferent NP, i.e. being salient, animate, definite (see §8.3.3.5 for more examples and discussion).

Some WILs may make use of other encoding strategies to index the object argument. In Tatic-type dialects for instance oblique forms of pronouns mark absent object arguments[65]:
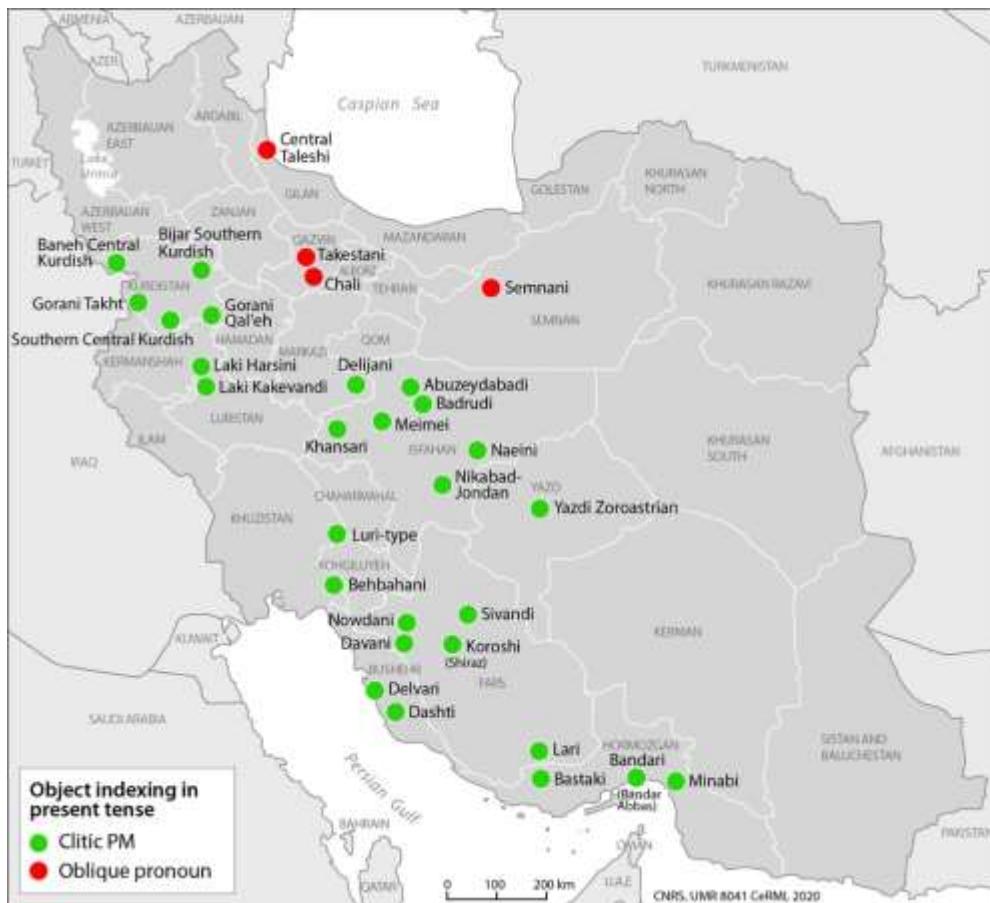
(298) *i*   *fasl=am*   *a*   ***ta***   DV[Sem]. 23
      a   time=ADD   1SG.DIR   2SG.OBL

      du-ma-sāz-on
      PVB-IND-hit.PRS-1SG
      'Yes, I will beat you once as well.'

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[65] Note however that due to contact influence from Persian some Tatic-type languages sporadically use clitic PMs for marking object NPs (cf. Chali §8.3.2.1).

(299)	*be-š-an*	**amun**	*bu-ar-an*	EL[CT]. 73
	IRR-go.PRS-2PL	3PL.OBL	IRR-bring.PRS-2PL	

'You go (and) bring them.'

Figure 18 illustrates the O-prs function of clitic PMs across studied WILs:

Figure 18: O-prs function of clitic PMs across WILs

As seen, with the exception of Tatic-type languages which use oblique pronouns to mark O-prs, the rest of languages employ clitic PMs to do so.

4.2.3.2 Object indexing in the past transitive constructions

The development of object indexing in past transitive constructions is directly related to changes that occurred to the original ergative construction since Middle Iranian period (cf. §1.1.2 for an overview of ergativity). Put briefly, the original ergative construction with the copula PMs marking agreement with the O NPs was the result of the shifts that occurred to the verb system: since late Old Iranian, aorist and perfect forms of past tense verbs were lost and resultative participles came to express past tense verb stems. The resultative participles were

unable to assign accusative case to their direct object arguments and the latter had to occur in the direct case. Thus, when used predicatively, the participle would agree with the direct object NP through a set of verbal person affixes which would appear with the copula stem. In the same way, the participle would agree with the only argument (S) of past intransitive constructions (by the same set of PMs). This pattern resulted in the emergence of ergativity. Accordingly, ergativity was a 'by-product of the shifts in the verb system' (Haig 2018a: 802). The ergative pattern of Middle Iranian languages is shown in the following examples.

(300) *u=t*   *az*   *hišt*   **hēm**   *sēwag*
       and=2SG:A   1SG.DIR   left   COP.1SG   orphan
       'And you left me behind as an orphan.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 394, paT.873)

(301) *Me=m*   *l's'dl*   *YKTLWNt*   **HWEnd**
       because.1SG:A highwayman.DIR.PL   kill.PTCP   COP.3PL
       'Because I killed the highwaymen.' (Haig 2008: 124, citing Heston 1976: 177)

Both in (300)–(301), the copula PMs agrees with the direct-marked object NP. The old ergative pattern continues to resurface in the grammar of few Iranian languages, e.g. Kurmanji, cf. (302), Badrudi, cf. (303). However, by new Iranian period the auxiliary copula coalesced into the verb stem and was reanalysed as part of the inflectional morphology.

(302) *te*   *ez*   *dīt-**im***
       2SG.OBL:A   1SG.DIR:O   see.PST-1SG
       'You saw me.' (Haig 2008: 214)

(303) *axo*   *qāyem bedon*   **min**=*eš*   *na-xard-**on***   SM2[Bad]. 33
       1SG   hidden become.PST.1SG   1SG=3SG:A   NEG-eat.PST-1SG:O
       'I hid, (so) he (The wolf) didn't eat me.'

The canonical ergative pattern in which the inflectional affixes agree with direct object NP succumbed to different fates across WILs: Haig (2018a: 802) enumerates four shifts to the original object agreement suffixes:

(i)   object agreement was lost and superseded by obligatory suffixal subject agreement
         (e.g. Persian)

(ii)   it has remained in some languages, notably Northern Kurdish, though subject to a lot
         of cross-dialectal variations

(iii)   it has been lost, and past transitive verbs are basically not inflected for person, either
         subject or object, but for plural number of the object only (Balochi, though with some
         additional complications, Jahani 2015).

(iv)   It has been retained but no longer as obligatory object agreement, rather as a pronoun

Haig's observations already largely lay out the developments that have occurred to the original object agreement verbal affix PMs in ergative constructions. However, some fine-grained shifts to the obligatory Vaff PMs of ergative constrictions are missing in the above scenario. In what follows, by assuming that all WILs possessed the original ergative construction with object agreement, we will lay out a change scenario from canonical ergative construction–where verbal affix PMs hold object agreement, to accusative languages like Persian–where clitic PMs came to realize O NPs pronominally. On this basis, WILs can be classified into six major groupings, described in the following sub-sections.

4.2.3.2.1 Canonical ergative construction, Vaff PMs are obligatory

Here Vaff PMs continue their historical role and agree with the object NP. Examples of this stage were already shown above for Kurmanji, cf. (302) and Badrudi, cf. (303). However, there exists many cross-dialectal variations among Kurmanji dialects regarding the obligatory object indexing, and some dialects have lost the ergative pattern (see Haig 2008: Ch. 5 for discussion).

4.2.3.2.2 A trace of obligatory Vaff PMs

In some WILs, a subset of independent pronouns, i.e. those which are direct-marked, still trigger object agreement on the verb. However, the oblique set of pronouns or the innovated pronominal oblique forms[66] have superseded the older direct forms of pronouns, and these latter are not able to trigger agreement on the verb. Tatic-type languages can best be considered representatives for this development. In the more conservative dialect of Central Taleshi, object agreement with direct-marked plural object NPs is still available[67], cf. (304), but such is not possible for oblique-marked pronouns which function as direct objects, cf. (305):

(304) *a.*   *bale*   ***aye**=m*   *vind-**in***   EL[CT]. 44
              yes   3PL.DIR:O=1SG:A   see.PST-3PL:O
              'Yes, I saw them.'

(305) *b.*   *hiškas-i*   ***mən***   *nə-vind-a*
              no.one-INDF   1SG.OBL   NEG-see.PST-TR
              'Nobody has seen me.' (Central Taleshi_ Paul 2011: 97)

---

[66] Cf. Haig (2008: Ch. 4 for a full discussion)

[67] Likewise, Yarshater (1969) states that in Eshtehardi the past transitive verb occasionally agrees with object NPs. Same pattern can be seen in Mukri Kurdish, where plural NPs occasionally trigger agreement on the verb (Öpengin 2013).

Other Tatic-type dialects studied in this thesis employ either oblique forms, as in (306), or an innovated oblique form, cf. (307), and extend their usage to contexts where originally direct form of pronouns would occur. As expected, these oblique forms cannot trigger agreement on the verb.

(306) *žo*   ***mo***   *kotaki*   *bo-kuāt*   DV[Sem]. 12
       3SG.OBL.M   1SG.OBL   beating   PUNCT-hit.PST
       'He hit me.'

(307) *palang-e*   ***čemen***   *be-bard*   AV[Cha]. 14
       tiger-OBL.M   1SG.OBL   PUNCT-take.PST
       'The tiger took me.'

4.2.3.2.3 Vaff PMs are no longer object agreement markers

In the majority of WILs with tense-sensitive alignment, Vaff PMs no longer exhibit O-past NP agreement, rather have gained a new pronominal function following the loss O-agreement on the verb. In other words, Vaff PMs mark the person of the O-past NP whenever the latter is absent in the local domain. Examples:

(308) *fan=**em***   *dā-y-**nān**-a*   SM[LakK]. 50
       trick=**1SG:A**   give.PST-PTCP-**2PL:O**-PERF
       'I have tricked you.'

(309) *ike*   *ika*   *qurt=**e***   *be-du-**an***   SM[Abu]. 25
       one   one   swallow=3SG:A   PUNCT-give.PST-3PL:O
       'He swallowed them one by one.'

(310) *e=**š***   *aqd*   *ne-mi-kerd-**an***   KX[Dsh]. 18
       PTC=3SG:A   marriage   NEG-IPFV-do.PST-3PL:O
       'He wouldn't marry them.'

(311) *gorg*   ***oš**=xārd-**en***   EL[Lar]. 49
       wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

The pronominal function of verbal affix PMs in these constructions is a sign of their degrammaticalization. Norde (2009: 152) uses the alternative term 'deinflectionalization', and defines it as such:

> "Deinflectionalization is a composite change whereby an inflectional affix in a specific linguistic context gains a new function, while shifting to a less bound morpheme type."

The fact that the verbal affix PMs in (308)–(311) have gained a new pronominal function is an indication of their deinflectionalization. Further evidence for the deinflectionalization of the

Vaff PMs comes from the following examples where these person markers have become less bound and can be displaced from their host verb by an intervening clitic PM (see Haig 2019 for a similar discussion on Central Kurdish):

(312) *hā…* *dit=**em-en***   EL1[Beh]. 44
       yes   see.PST=1PL:A-3PL:O
       'Yes, I saw them.'

(313) *bird=**yān-in***   *bo*   *bēmāristān*   EL[BCK]. 51
       take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O   to   hostpital
       'They took us to the hospital.'

4.2.3.2.4 Vaff PMs gradually give way to clitic PMs

In the next shift from the ergative alignment, some WILs languages still retain tense-sensitive alignment by disparate indexing of the A argument in the past transitive tense (cf. §4.2.2). However, the O-indexing Vaff PMs gradually give their way to clitic PMs, mainly due to the pressure from the cross-system harmony. Through cross-system harmony past tense constructions imitate the indexing pattern of present tense constructions. This change, as expected, affects the pronominal markers first. Consequently, the O-past argument starts to be marked by a clitic PM, resembling more and more O-present indexing. Among studied languages, Davani and Delvari exhibit, at different degrees, the opting of clitic PMs for marking O-past arguments, yet one can sporadically trace the older affixal marking of O-past. In the following pairs, the O argument is either realized by a Vaff PM or alternatively by a clitic PM.

(314) a.   *bad=**ešu***   *bord-**u***   *Asalu*   AB[Dav]. 3
            then=3PL:A   take.PST-1PL:O   PN
            'Then they took us to Asaluyeh.'

       b.   *mālī=**tu***   *azyat=**om***   *ke*   EL[Dav]. 11
            a.lot=2PL:A   irritation=1SG:O   do.PST
            'You made me angry.'

(315) a.   *ri*   *taxt-ā=**šu***   *xet-ānd-**im***   EL[Del]. 51
            on   bed-PL=3PL:A   sleep-CAUS.PST-1PL:O
            'They laid us on beds.'

       b.   *di=**m***   *si=**šu***[68]   EL[Del]. 44
            see.PST=1SG:A   PREP=3PL:O
            'I saw them.'

---

[68] In Delvari past transitive constructions the dummy preposition *si* is often introduced to host object clitics (cf. §8.3.5.6).

Some Gorani dialects also demonstrate this behaviour: in the Zarda dialect of Gorani inflectional affixes typically realize the O-past function, , cf. (316a). However, we came across examples in which the older O-indexing suffixal morphology has given way to clitic PMs, cf. (316b).

(316) a. *hawird-**īm=šan***   *abadī*   *wē=man*
           bring.PST-**1PL:O=3PL:A**   village   REFLX=1PL
           'They took us to our village.' (Mahmoudveysi and Bailey 2013: 49)

       b. *wir=**man=šan***   *gēlna*
           PVB=**1PL:O=3PL:A**   return.CAUS.PST
           'They took us back.' (Mahmoudveysi and Bailey 2013: 101)

These languages thus illustrate a change in the indexing pattern of past transitive verbs, in a way that the older ergative morphology on the verb is getting lost and is being superseded by the clitic PMs. This is then an obvious case of morphosyntactic simplification, since the clitic marking of O does not result in the externally-realized O on the verb stem (see Ch. 6 for more detail). As said, cross-system harmony seems to be the main factor in shaping this development.

4.2.3.2.5 Vaff PMs totally give way to clitic PMs

The next major development occurs in languages which still exhibit tense-sensitive indexing of A arguments, yet the older O-indexing inflectional morphology totally gives totally its way to clitic PMs. This occurs in Southern Central Kurdish, cf. (317), Gorani Qel'eh, cf. (318), Nowdani, cf. (319), and Bandari, cf. (320).

(317) *dī=**yān=im***   EL[SCK]. 44
       see.PST=3PL:O=1SG:A
       'I saw them.'

(318) *zarīfīkaw*   *niyā=**šān=iš***   *nām*   *sabad-aga*   PS[GorQ]. 4
       gently   put.PST=3PL:O=3SG:A into   basket-DEF
       'Gently, he put them into the basket.'

(319) *gorg*   *e**š**=xa=**šu***   EL[Nod]. 49
       wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST=3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

(320) *me=**m***   *bordi=**šo***   SM[Bnd]. 31
       1SG=1SG:A   take.PST=3PL:O
       'I took them.'

As seen, clitic PMs have been employed to mark O-past in the above examples, contrary to the canonical ergative constructions where inflectional morphology agreed with overt object NP. Here again it seems that the mechanism of cross-system harmony is behind such a change, in

a way that clitic PMs uniformly function as O in both present tense and past tense constructions. It is further assumed that situations like this occur in heavy contact situation where languages with different alignment types are in contact. For instance, the Kurdic dialects SCK and Gorani Qe'leh are spoken in a region where Southern Kurdish (which has accusative alignment) is the main contact language. On the other hand, Nowdani and Bandari are under heavy contact from Persian.

4.2.3.2.6 Accusative languages: Vaff PMs are opted for subject, clitic PMs for objects

The final development occurs in fully-fledged accusative languages (in terms of agreement), where two major shifts occur: (i) clitic PMs mark O-past arguments, (ii) Vaff PMs extend their domain to replace the clitic marking of the A-past NP. This pattern is attested in Southern Kurdish, Luri-type dialects, and Persian:

(321) *xard-**en**=**es***
       eat.PST-3PL:A=3SG:O
       'They ate him.' (Bakhtiari, Anonby & Asadi 2014: 95)

(322) *na-nāsī-m=**ayān***   EL[BSK]. 45
       NEG-know.PST-1SG:A=3PL:O
       'I didn't know them.'

These languages exhibit two deviations from the ergative constructions regarding core arguments' marking: A-indexing has become levelled across both tense (through inflectional affixes), O-indexing has also become unified across both tense (through clitic PMs).

4.2.3.3 Object indexing in the past transitive constructions: summary

In the previous section, we went into some detail to demonstrate the shifts that the canonical ergative construction underwent in investigated languages. It was shown that languages illustrate different gradings of deviance from the older ergative construction in terms of indexing O-past arguments. Taken together with the shifts to A-past indexing, the resultant pattern equips us with the development of person indexing in WILs, to which we will turn in §4.3. For the time being, let's discuss the fate of O-indexing in past transitive constructions, as depicted in Figure 19:
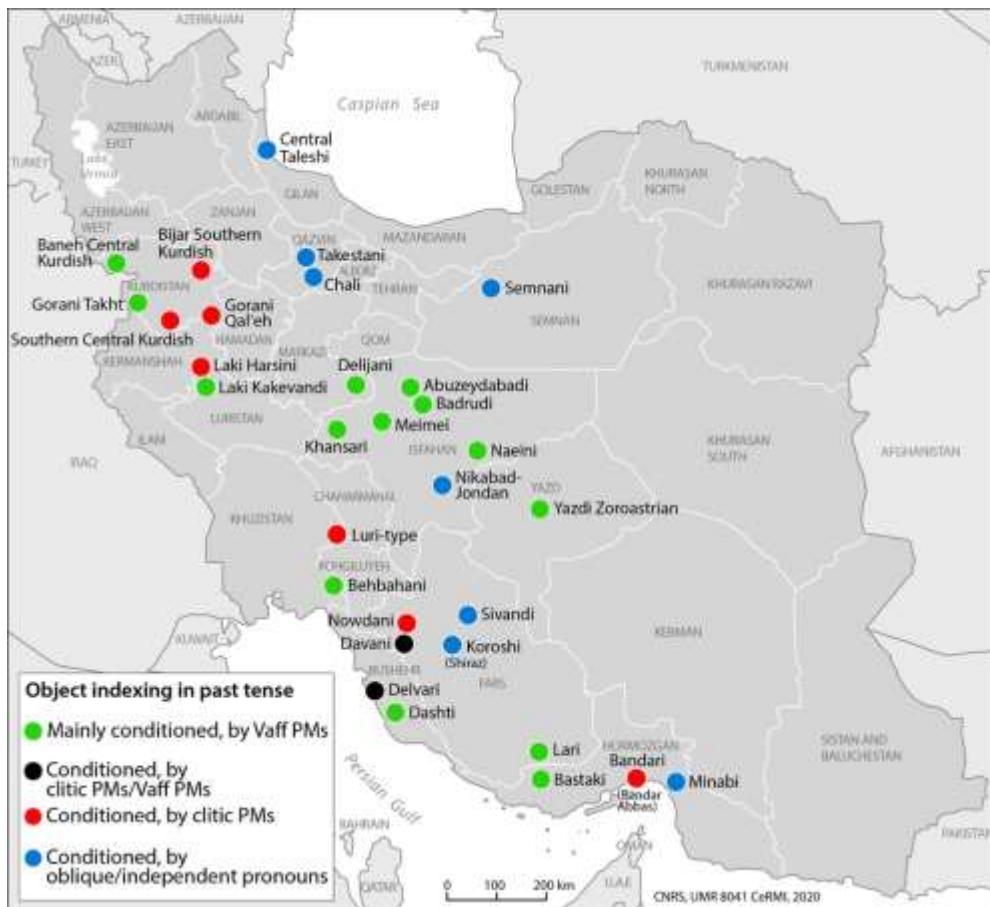
Figure 19: Object indexing in past transitive constructions of WILs

As can be seen from the map, verbal affix PMs still continue to conditionally index O-past in a good number of investigated languages, i.e. in most of Central Plateau, some Kurdic, most Southwest languages, and Larestani dialects. In these languages, even though Vaff PMs no longer agree with object NPs in person (with Badrudi as a tentative exception), 'ergativity in form' is still preserved, that is, contrary to A-past indexing via clitic PMs, O-indexing is identical to S-indexing, hence S=O≠A. However, in terms of syntactic status of core arguments, these languages remain nominative-accusative, since only A and S are obligatorily indexed while O-indexing by Vaff PMs remains alternating, thus S=A≠O. Note further that, while having lost person agreement with the object NP, few of these languages have preserved gender agreement for 3SG object NPs (cf. §4.3 for discussion).

Other tense-sensitive languages go even further and opt for independent marking or clitic indexing of O-past, i.e. languages marked in red and blue. As for the former, languages may have different reasons to adopt noun-bound marking of O: Minabi might have adopted this pattern through contact with neighbouring Balochi dialects. As for Sivandi, the non-bound indexing of O-past might be considered an indication of its origins back to Tatic-type dialects

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or Southwest branch of Central Plateau (see §8.3.4.1 for discussion). On the other hand, non-bound indexing of O-past in Nikabad-Jondan might be considered an aberrance from the tense-sensitive alignment (triggered by factors still to be understood). Finally, as a Balochi dialect, Koroshi adopts noun-bound marking of absent O-past NP.

On the other hand, languages coloured in red are those which through analogy with the present tense constructions have employed clitics for the pronominal indexing of the O-past argument. These languages are further grouped into tense-sensitive languages (SCK, Gorani Qal'eh, Bandari, and Minabi), and accusative languages (Bijar SK, Laki Harsini, and Luri-type dialects). It is assumed that after the mechanism of analogy affects the levelling of O-indexing across both tenses, languages move toward levelling the A-indexing in both tenses. In other words, clitics were first generalized to mark O-past argument, hence no inflectional morphology left in past transitive constructions, then via analogy with intransitive S indexing, inflectional morphology was extended to index A-past arguments (see §4.3 for more details).

4.2.4 Adnominal possessor indexing

Indexing possessor arguments is another major function of clitic PMs across WILs. As in the previous section we will analyse the extent of this clitic function both in present and past tense constructions.

4.2.4.1 Possessor indexing in present tense constructions

Clitic PMs exhibit conditioned indexing of an adnominal possessor in the present tense constructions of investigated languages. In the following example, the coreferent free pronoun cannot be present in the same local domain as the clitic PM.

(323) *mo*   *day*   *(*šomā$_i$)*   **tu**$_i$=*s-am*   SM[Nod]. 11
      1SG   mother   2PL   2PL:POS-EP-COP.1SG
      'I am your mother.'

Put differently, clitic PMs cannot double a possessor argument in the clause. However, there are left-dislocated constructions in Persian in which the possessor argument is an external topic, which can be resumed by a clitic PM, cf. (324). Constructions of this type cannot be considered

examples of doubling since the overt possessor NP is not in the same local domain as its possessor-indexing clitic PM[69].

(324) *Ali,*   *bābā=š*   *umad*
       PN   father=3SG:POSS   come.PST.3SG
       'Ali, his father came.' (Rasekh 2014: 19, citing Taghavipour 2005)

Two indexing strategies are available for marking adnominal possessors. In the majority of WILs, clitic PMs realize possessors, e.g. Kurdic dialects, Central Plateau languages, languages of southeast Iran, and Southwestern languages. On the other hand, Tatic-type languages usually index the possessor argument via an oblique form of independent pronouns.
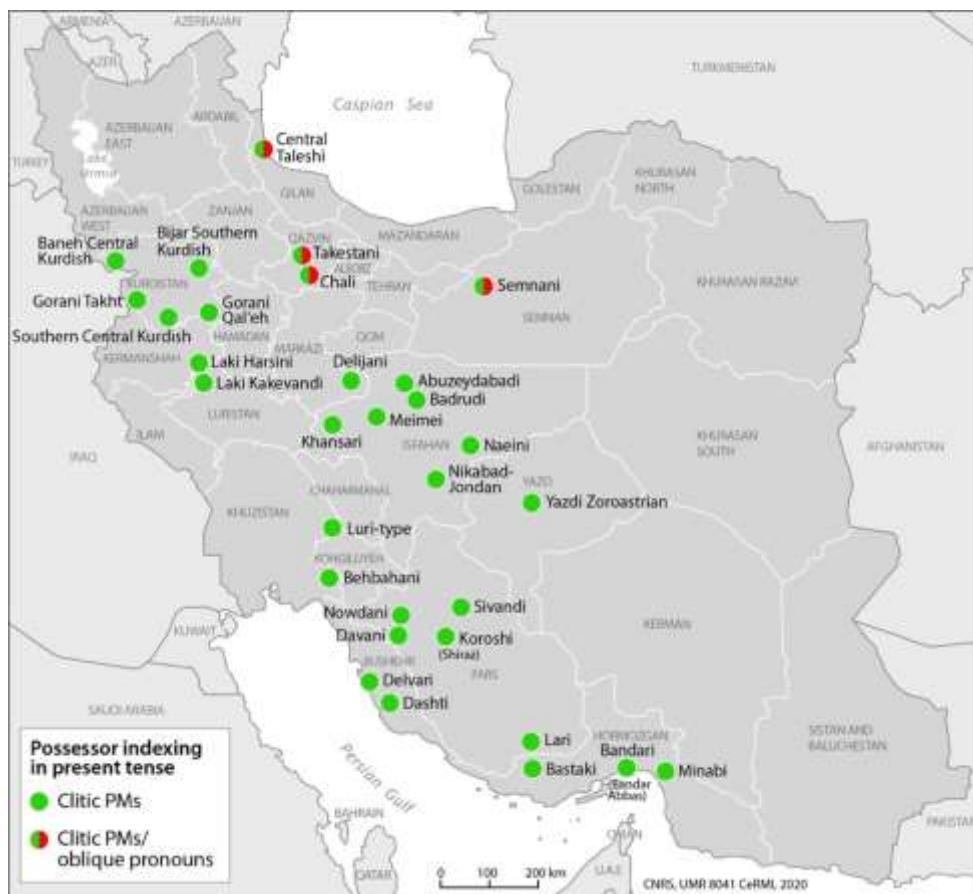
Figure 20: indexing adnominal possessors in present tense constructions

4.2.4.2 Possessor indexing in past tense constructions

Possessor-indexing clitics are not obligatory in past tense constructions either: they are in complementarity with overt possessor NPs:

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[69] Karimi (2003: 112) holds that constructions of the type in ex. (324) are only well-formed if the clitic PM is coindexed with the subject NP.

(325) *e=**šu***   *sar=**aš**ᵢ*   (**un*ᵢ) *bori*   KX[Dsh]. 26
       PTC=3PL:A   head=3SG:POS 3SG   cut.PST
       'They cut off his head.'

Possessor arguments are indexed in three ways in past transitive constructions: the majority of languages opt for clitic marking of the possessor argument, as in the present tense. This in turn leads to multiple cliticization in past transitive constructions, since indexing an A-past NP is handled by obligatory clitic PMs in past transitive constructions (of most languages)[70].

(326) *āiyl-ayl-aga=**m=šā***   *bard*   EL[GorQ]. 39
       child-PL-DEF=**1SG:POS=3PL:A**   take.PST
       'They took away my children.'

In the second group of languages, the realization of possessor clitic PM swaps to a Vaff PM. As the latter can only be realized on the verb, it means that the possessor-indexing Vaff PM should be realized at distance from its possessed NP. In other words an instance of external possession occurs. This phenomenon is characteristic of some Kurdic languages, as seen below:

(327) *das=**t**-a*   *ma-girt-**im***   EL[LakK]. 42
       hand=2SG:A-IPFV   IPFV-take.PST-1SG:POS
       'You would take my hand.'

(328) *hargīz*   *del=**im***   *na-mārē-n-**ē***   EL[GorT]. 40
       never   heart=3PL:A   NEG-break.PST.PTCP.M-EP-3PL:POS
       'I have never broken their hearts.'

These constructions presumably have their origin in Middle Iranian. MacKenzie (1999: 305) holds that the following tentative example from Middle Iranian can be alternatively considered a construction in which external possession occurs.

(329) *čiyon=it*   *fradom*   **ham**   **bahr**   **ud**   **rōzīg_**   *bē*
       since=2SG:A   first   both   portion   and   substance   PVB

       abgand   **hēm**
       throw.PST   COP.1SG
       'Since you have first overthrown both my portion and daily substance.'[71] (MacKenzie 1999: 305)

---

[70] In chapter 6 we review syntactic consequence of multiple clitics in the clause.
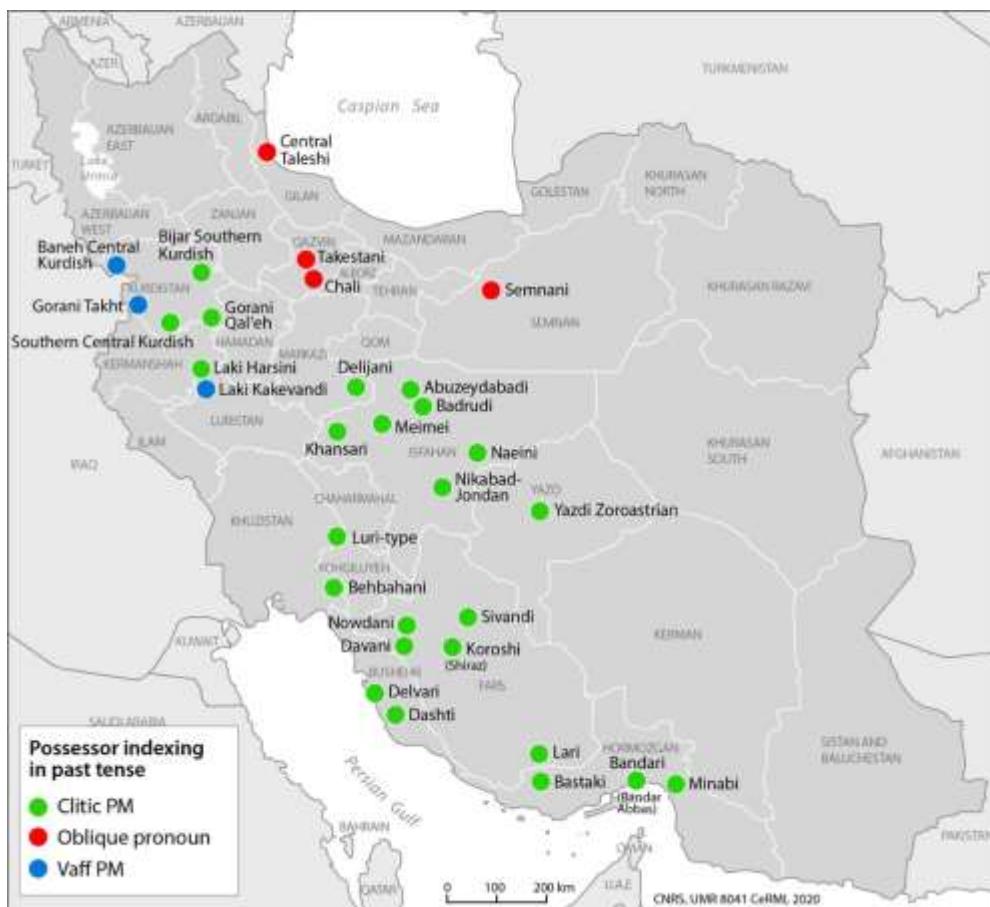
[71] MacKenzie first analyses the copula person form in (329) as a pronominal form indexing the recipient-like argument (or 'indirect affectee' in his terminology), and provides first the translation 'both portion and daily substance for me'. However, he holds that the alternative analysis, i.e. that of external possession (or 'indirect genitive' in his terminology) is more likely for the role of the copula person marker in (329).

In (329), the bound possessor argument of the NP *ham bahr ud rōzīg* has left the NP and appeared at distance in the form of a verbal affix on the copula stem. The possessor is realized at distance from its possessed head, hence illustrating an instance of external possession.

Finally, Tatic-type languages usually employ oblique pronouns for possessor-indexing:

(330) ***žo***   *kola*   *peydā*   *kard=**šon***   PS[Sem]. 26
     3SG.M.OBL   hat   visible   do.PST=3PL:A
     'They found his hat.'

Figure 21 summarizes different encoding strategies for marking possessors in past transitive constructions:

Figure 21: possessor indexing in past transitive constructions

As seen, clitic PMs index possessors in most WILs. On the other hand, External possession (i.e. the realization of the possessor argument at distance on the verb via a Vaff PM) is limited to the Kurdic group at the western peripheries of investigated WILs. Finally, oblique-marking of the possessor argument is characteristic of Tatic-type languages.

4.2.5 Adpositional complement

Indexing bound complement of an adposition is the last major function of clitic PMs across WILs. As with other functions, the use of clitics in marking indirect participants is surveyed in both present tense and past tense constructions.

4.2.5.1 Adpositional complement in present tense constructions

Indexing bound complement of an adposition is another major function of clitic PMs across WILs. As with other non-subject arguments, the bound indexing of the adpositional complement by clitic PMs is conditioned to the absence of the coreferent adpositional complement:

(331) *iskān-ē   čāy   irā=**m**ᵢ   (*minᵢ) bi-y-ār-a*   NW[BSK]. 12
      cup-INDF.EZ   tea   for=1SG:R   1SG   IRR-EP-bring.PRS-2SG.IMP
      'Bring me a cup of tea.'

Two strategies are available to mark the adpositional complements in present tense constructions of WILs: clitic PMs, and oblique pronouns. These two marking strategies are illustrated in the following examples:

(332) *ye   bār   dige   **t**=aš   mi-ga-m*   EL[Nod]. 21
      one   time   more   2SG:R=to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
      'I'm telling you again.'

(333) ***čeme**-rā   če   ānde?*   SM[Tak]. 47
      1SG.OBL-to   what   give.PRS.2SG
      'What will you give me?'
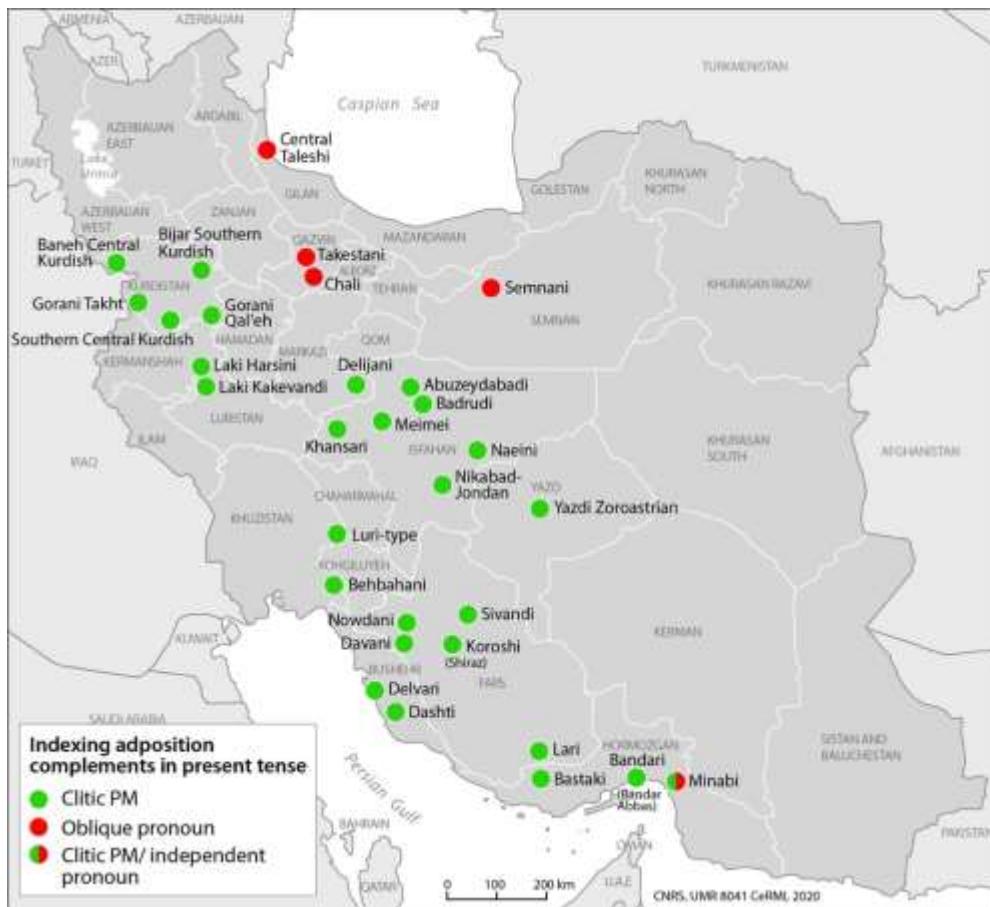
Figure 22: indexing adposition complements in present tense constructions

As is the case with O-prs and possessor indexing in present tense constructions, Tatic languages are different from the rest of languages in marking the indirect participants via oblique pronouns. Interestingly, in Minabi a set of prepositions take only independent form of pronouns as their complements. This pattern, though strange in the south of Iran, might result from contact with neighbouring Balochi dialects, which (like in Tatic languages) employ oblique pronouns to mark adpositional complements.

4.2.5.2 Adpositional complement in past tense constructions

The indexing of adpositional complements exhibits more variation in past transitive constructions than in present tense constructions. In what appears to be the basic historical pattern, dating back to the Middle Iranian period, the O-past indexing Vaff PMs are co-opted for marking adpositional complements in past transitive constructions:

(334) *u=m*   ***awiš_*** *guft* ………. ***hē***
      and=1SG:A   to   say.PST   COP.2SG
      'I have said to you.' (Middle Iranian, MacKenzie 1964: 46)

(335)   *ī*   *dēw-ān*   **abar_** *burd*   **hē**
       which demons-PL.OBL:A   upon take.PTCP   COP.**2SG:R**
       'Which the demons have brought upon you.' (Middle Iranian, MacKenzie 1964: 48)

In (334)–(335), the complements of *awiš* and *abar* have been realized as a Vaff PM, which appears on the copula. Both examples then illustrate cases of external realization of adpositional complements in Middle Iranian. The same pattern continues to recur in the grammar of some modern languages. In (336)–(337) for instance, the bound complements of prepositions *az bar* and *(a)bin* have been realized at a distance from their head prepositions.

(336)   *qazā*   *m=**az_bar***   *ārd-e-s-**ī***   SM[Lar]. 7
       food   1SG:A=for   bring.PST-PERF-EP-**2PL:R**
       'I have brought you food.'

(337)   *yake*   *yay*   *gila=yž*   *sēf*   PS3[LakK]. 25
       each   a   CLF=ADD   apple

       *dā-**n**=ē-a*   **bin**
       do.PST-**3PL:R**=3SG:A-DRC   to
       'Also, He gave each one of them an apple.'

What we see here is thus the continuation of the older pattern of WMI in modern languages, in which Vaff PMs are co-opted for marking indirect participants flagged by a preposition. This situation has been relaxed in some languages with tense sensitive alignment, and a bound preposition complement can be realized either by a Vaff PM or a clitic PM. Gorani Takht, and CP dialects Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi, and Meymei show this pattern. The choice between vaff PMs vs. clitic PMs in marking R-past is dependent on, among other things, the type of head preposition used: Normally, external realization of the preposition complement as a Vaff PMs is the case with old, multifunctional prepositions, while borrowed prepositions seem to copy the indexing pattern of the source languages. This is shown below in the distinction between the multifunctional preposition *dar* vs. *vāsa....rā* in Badrudi:

(338) a.   *dar=**šun***   *ba-porsā-**i***   EL1[Bad]. 21
            from=3PL:A   PUNCT-ask.PST-2SG:R
            'They asked you.'

      b.   *ani*   *vāsa=**t***   *rā*   *na=**m**-vot-a*   EL2[Bad]. 21
            yet   ADP=2SG:R   ADP   NEG=1SG:A-say.PST-PERF
            'I haven't told you yet.'

Pre-verbal or post-verbal realization of head preposition is another factor determining the indexing of preposition complement via either a Vaff PM or a clitic PM, respectively. In the following pair, the multifunctional preposition *pē* selects for different bound person markers depending on where it is placed in the clause, i.e. pre- or post-verbally.

(339) a.   *Māri*   *pi=ē*   *vāt-**an***   CG[Abu]. 14
           PN   to=3SG:A   say.PST-3PL:R
           'Mary told them.'

      b.   *se*   *qona*   *golowi-a=**m***   PS[Abu]. 22
           three   CLF   pear-DEF=1SG:A

           hā-ne-grā   *pi=**ye***
           PVB-NEG-take.PST   from=3SG:R
           'I didn't take the three pears from him.'

In the third pattern, languages uniformly use clitic PMs in marking preposition complements. Assuming the (tentative) older pattern of indexing preposition complements by Vaff PMs, these languages must have undergone morphosyntactic simplification by replicating the marking pattern of present tense constructions for prepositional complements:

(340)   *dim=š=ē*   *hey*   *bāzi*   *mi-ke*   BC[Beh]. 9
       with=3SG:R=3SG:A   repeatedly   game   IPFV-do.PST
       'She would constantly play with it.'

(341)   *e=**šu***   *arus*   *tu=š*   *mi-nā*   ZK[Dsh]. 7
       PTC=3PL:A   bride   in=3SG:R   IPFV-put.PST
       'They would put the bride in it.'

Indeed, it is not clear at this stage whether languages with clitic marking of prepositional complements have diverged from languages with inflectional marking of prepositional complements through morphosyntactic simplification, or rather the clitic marking of prepositional complements has been always there since the Middle Iranian period. The answer to this question requires further in-depth study into Middle Iranian data.

Finally, as expected, in Tatic-languages prepositional complements are marked by oblique pronouns:

(342)   *žo*   *kola*   *ž**o**-ra*   PS[Sem]. 28
       3SG. OBL.M:POS   hat   3SG.OBL.M:R-to

       *ba-bard=**šon***
       PUNCT-take.PST=3PL:A
       'They took his hat to him.'

Figure 23 depicts diverse strategies for marking bound adpositional complements across WILs:
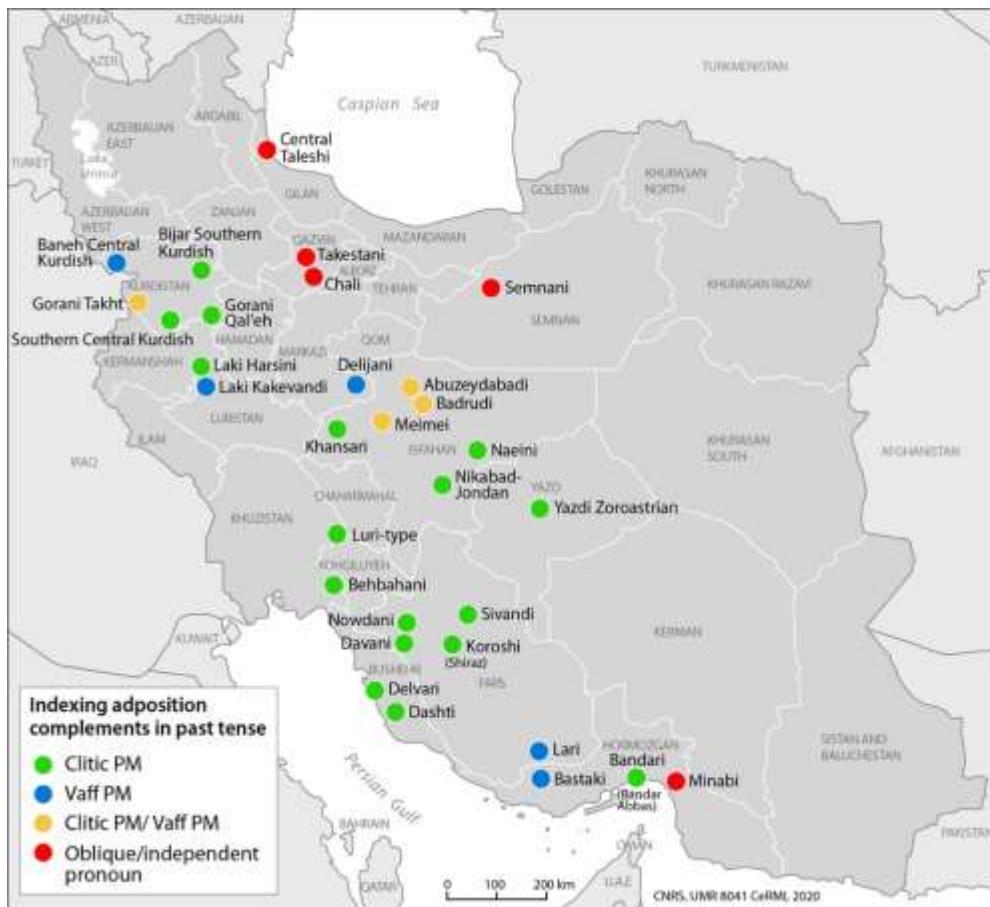
Figure 23: Marking of adpositional complements in past transitive constructions

Languages coloured in blue, and less so those marked in yellow have preserved the presumed older suffixal morphology marking of bound adpositional complements in past tense constructions. These languages are rather distributed at the northwestern peripheries of Central Plateau dialects, and further in some Kurdish dialects, and Larestani dialects. Languages marked in green on the other hand, are those which presumably have undergone morphosyntactic simplification in levelling the marking of adpositional complements across both present and past tense constructions.

4.3 The development of person indexing in past transitive constructions

The distribution of clitic PMs in functioning as A-past and O was explored in §4.2.2 and §4.2.3, respectively. It was seen that, except for a few cases of doubling in some Central Plateau dialects, clitic PMs continue to pronominally index the objects in the present tense constructions of the majority of modern languages. On the other hand, subject NPs in present tense constructions are uniformly marked by obligatory Vaff PMs. While the person indexing

in the present tense constructions has remained the same in the history of Iranian languages–that is, with clitic marking of direct objects (see Haig 2018a) and inflectional marking of A-present, it is in the past transitive constructions that Iranian languages have undergone a whole shift in the person indexing system since Middle Iranian period.

To begin with Middle Iranian period, the identical paradigm of clitics expressed both A and O, but in mutual exclusive domains: O-indexing was restricted to the present tense constructions, cf. (343), and A-indexing to past transitive constructions, cf. (344)

(343) *ū=d*　　　　　*stāyēm*
　　　PTC=2SG:O　　praise.PRS.1SG
　　　'I will praise you' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 451, mpB. 1055)

(344) *čē=t*　　　　　　　　*ātaxš*　*ī*　*man*　*pus*　*ōzād*
　　　because=2SG:A　　　fire　of　my　son　extinguish.PST.3SG
　　　'Because you extinguished the fire of my son.' (Middle Persian, Haig 2008: 124)

At this early stage, A-past clitics were still pronouns, though their high frequency in past transitive clauses was a precursor of their development into agreement markers (see Haig 2018b). Haig (2018a; 2018b; 2020) gives a brief survey of the fates of person indexing in these two functions of clitics in the history of Iranian languages. He arrives at the conclusion that while subject clitics have developed into agreement markers, in line with predictions of grammaticalization, the object clitics of present tense constructions have remained pronouns in the two millennia history of Iranian languages, further supporting the fact that the assumed grammaticalization path for pronouns works differently for object pronouns (see below).
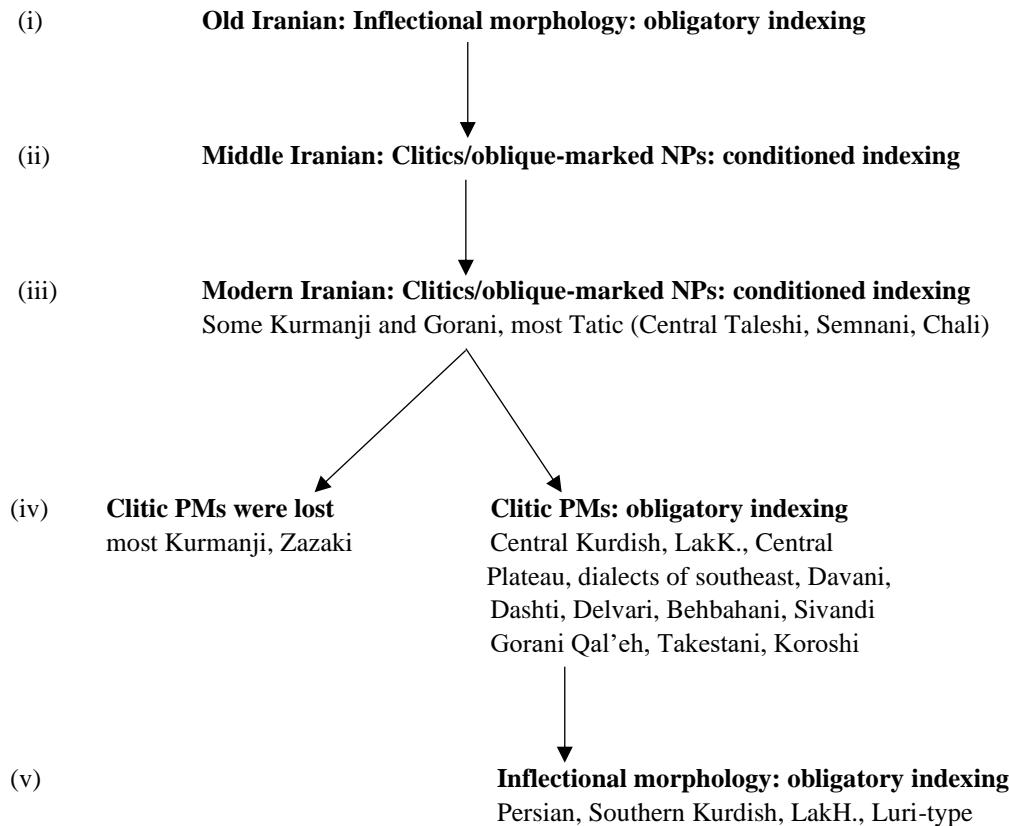
Haig's analysis already lays out major shifts to the person indexing in the history of WILs. However, the fate of object indexing in the past tense has been briefly discussed. It is our aim here to depict the fate of O-indexing in the past tense in light of A-past indexing, since it is in the past tense that most realignment of early ergative construction has occurred (see §4.2.3.2).

Following the emergence of ergativity, a distinct paradigm of inflectional person affixes came to obligatorily index past transitive objects:

(345) *u=t*　　　　　***az***　　　　*hišt*　***hēm***　　*sēwag*
　　　and=2SG:A　　1SG.DIR　　left　COP.1SG　orphan
　　　'And you left me behind as an orphan.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 394, paT.873)

The original A-past indexing via clitic PMs and O-past indexing via inflectional morphology underwent different shifts in modern languages. This was already shown to a good deal in (§4.2.2) and (§4.2.3.2). Here, we summarize the main developments occurred to A-past and O-past indexing, considering also the diachronic origins of these two indices.

As said, in §4.2.2, following the emergence of ergativity in past tense verb forms in WMI, A-past indexing went through different stages of development. These are summarized in the following diagram:

(i) **Old Iranian: Inflectional morphology: obligatory indexing**

(ii) **Middle Iranian: Clitics/oblique-marked NPs: conditioned indexing**

(iii) **Modern Iranian: Clitics/oblique-marked NPs: conditioned indexing**
Some Kurmanji and Gorani, most Tatic (Central Taleshi, Semnani, Chali)

(iv) **Clitic PMs were lost** **Clitic PMs: obligatory indexing**
most Kurmanji, Zazaki   Central Kurdish, LakK., Central
Plateau, dialects of southeast, Davani,
Dashti, Delvari, Behbahani, Sivandi
Gorani Qal'eh, Takestani, Koroshi

(v) **Inflectional morphology: obligatory indexing**
Persian, Southern Kurdish, LakH., Luri-type

Figure 24: The development of A-past indexing across WILs

According to Figure 24, A-past indexing has gone through five stages of development in the history of WILs. In the stage 1, an A argument would be indexed by inflectional affixes in both present tense and past tense constructions. In stage 2, the verbal system went under major shifts and a periphrastic resultative participle came to be the sole means of expressing past stem verbs. This participle could only express the person of O argument, hence the rise of ergativity; the A-past NP then would appear as an oblique argument in the clause, and could be alternatively indexed by a clitic PM. This state of affairs in WMI was the basis for further developments in modern languages. In what appears to be a direct continuation of WMI, some modern languages in stage 3 stick to the same indexing pattern of A-past NPs: clitic PMs resume an absent oblique-marked A-past NP in the clause.

Stage 4 witnesses a branching of stage 3 into two groups: The first group is representative of most Kurmanji dialects and of Zazaki: here, alternating clitics were lost altogether, leaving the oblique-marked NPs as sole carriers of A-past NPs. The second group contains the majority of

WILs: here the originally optional clitic PMs grammaticalized into obligatory agreement markers of A-past NPs resulting in a reversal marking of A NP in present vs. past transitive constructions (by Vaff PMs vs. clitic PMs, respectively). Now, it might be the case that some languages preserved the nominal case morphology, while at the same time grammaticalized clitic indexing of A-past NPs. This is the case with Takestani, Koroshi, Mukri dialect of CK. However, what differentiates these languages from those in stage 3 is that the case distinction is lost on A-past NPs in these languages, whereas in the languages placed in stage 3, the A-past NPs are oblique-marked and are alternating to coreferent clitic PMs. What this means is that the correlation between the maintenance of nominal case morphology and the agreement marking of A-past NPs by clitic PMs is only relevant if the case distinction is lost on A-past NPs[72]. This in turn paves the way for the grammaticalization of clitics as markers of agreement relation.

Most radical change must have happened in stage 5. Here A-past indexing clitic PMs have been superseded by Vaff PMs. The languages showing this pattern include Persian, Southern Kurdish, and Luri-type languages. It was seen in §3.2.2 that relics of older paradigm of clitics are still extant in the current paradigm of inflectional morphology in some Southern Kurdish and Luri dialects. The existence of relics of clitic paradigm in the inflectional morphology of these languages (mostly relevant for 1PL and 2PL forms) suggests that clitic paradigm had been existing in the earlier period of these languages, but later were fixed on the verb stem, i.e. they lost their mobility, and were consequently superseded by inflectional morphology. The reason for such changes was argued to be the levelling with the indexing pattern of present tense verb forms.

As for O-past indexing, the original O-past agreement pattern of Middle Iranian has undergone more shifts than that of clitic marking of A-past NPs. For instance, agreement was lost, and a degrammaticalized inflectional morphology came to pronominally index O-past argument. In the same way, the weakening of the original ergative construction resulted in the extension of oblique case to contexts where previously direct-marked NPs would recur; this change in the

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[72] In Jügel and Samvelian's (2016) proposed typology for the correlation between agreement function of clitics and the maintenance of nominal case morphology it is assumed that the agreement function of clitics in indexing A-past NPs is independent of the existence of nominal case morphology in a language. Indeed languages in stage 3 falsify their claim since clitics are alternating to oblique-marked A-past NPs.

nominal system in turn brought about the loss of O-agreement on the verb. The fate of O-past indexing is depicted in Figure 25:

Old Iranian: clitic PMs/ oblique pronouns: conditioned indexing

↓

Middle Iranian: inflectional morphology: obligatory indexing

↓

Modern Iranian: inflectional morphology: obligatory indexing
Bahdini Northern Kurdish, Zazaki, Gorani Takht

↙ ↘

weakly preserved by obligatory Vaff PMs
some Kurmanji

Vaff PMs: obligatory indexing in some contexts, conditioned indexing elsewhere
Badrudi

↓ (left branch) ↓ (right branch)

weakly preserved by obligatory Vaff PMs (only marking number)
Balochi, Taleshi

Vaff PMs: conditioned indexing
Central Kurdish, LakK., most
CP dialects, Lari, Bastaki, Behbahani

↓ (left branch) ↓ (right branch)

oblique pronouns: conditioned indexing
Takestani, Chali, Semnani, Koroshi,
Sivandi, Minabi, Nikabad_Jondun

Clitic PMs: conditioned indexing

↙ ↘

Languages with tense-sensitive A indexing
Southern Central Kurdish, Gorani
Qal'eh, Nowdani, Bandari

Languages with uniform accusative alignment
Persian, Southern Kurdish, LakH.,
Luri-type dialects

Figure 25: The development of O-past indexing across WILs

As can be seen, O-past indexing has undergone major changes since Middle Iranian: the original O-agreement of WMI has been retained well only in few languages, namely Bahdini Northern Kurdish, Zazaki, and Gorani Takht. From this canonical O-agreement two branches can be derived: the first branch, which is at the left side of the Figure 25, concerns languages which have preserved case distinction on pronouns; in these languages clitic PMs are either lost or in complementarity with oblique pronouns or independent pronouns. The O-indexing Vaff PMs would originally agree with the direct-marked O argument in these languages: this pattern is still available to some extent for some personal pronouns (see below). However, the

deconstruction of ergativity resulted in the extension of oblique case to the otherwise direct-marked arguments (see Haig 2008: Ch. 4 for full discussion). One consequence of this extension was oblique marking of direct object NPs by the oblique forms of pronouns and nouns: it is then not surprising that the verb does not agree with an oblique-marked NP, hence the loss of O-agreement.

(346) *palang-e*   ***čemen***   *be-bard*   AV[Cha]. 14
      tiger-OBL.M   1SG.OBL   PUNCT-take.PST
      'The tiger took me.'

(347) *varg-i*   *žun*   *bo-xord*   EL[Sem]. 49
      wolf-OBL   3PL.OBL   punct-EAT.PST
      'The wolf ate them.'

Another possibility for such systems is the maintenance of some O-agreement in some subsets of the grammar. This concerns mostly agreement with 3PL O arguments. The agreement pattern here could be best considered agreement in number rather than person: [73]

(348) *görg* *pāk* ***numin=a*** *biāšt-**an***   SM[Abu]. 24
      wolf all   3PL=3SG:A   PUNCT.take.PST-3PL:O
      'The wolf took them all'

(349) *bale*   ***aye=m***   *vind-**in***   EL[CT]. 44
      yes   3PL.DIR:O=1SG:A   see.PST-3PL:O
      'Yes, I saw them.'

In addition, in some languages reflexes of O-agreement seem to be relevant only for the gender feature, while person agreement is lost. The data from Abuzeydabadi and (less so) Delijani[74] exhibit such agreement: [75]

(350) ***māsu=a***   *ba=m-xard-**a***   BS[Abu]. 16
      fish=2SG:POS   PUNCT=1SG:A-eat.PST-3SG.F
      'I ate your fish.'

(351) *ajay*   *gusfand=eš*   *ba-košt-e*   EL[Dej]. 50
      one.F   sheep=3SG:A   PUNCT-kill.PST.3SG.F
      'He slaughtered (a) sheep.'

---

[73] Data from Mukri dialect of Central Kurdish also exhibits sporadic cases of O-agreement in number with 3PL NPs (Öpengin 2013: 250)

[74] Delijani shows gender agreement only in the past tense. The verb agrees regularly with feminine S, and sporadically with an overt feminine object (see fn. 119, but also Stilo 2019: 74)

[75] However, O-past gender agreement was not attested for other languages with gender distinction in 3SG persons (e.g. Chali, Takestani, Semnani). Here, 3SG forms show gender distinction in past intransitive constructions, yet such distinction is not reflected in the agreement with an overt feminine object in past transitive constructions. This suggests that perhaps the viability of gender agreement is related to the maintenance of ergative morphology elsewhere in the clause, e.g. the presence of direct forms of O NP triggering agreement on the verb.

The right branch in Figure 25 relates to languages in which nominal and pronominal case distinction is largely or completely lost. Here too, the original O-agreement suffixal morphology has undergone major changes: in the majority of languages the inflectional morphology has deinflectionalized and developed into a pronoun (cf. Figure 17). As an example, compare the following pair from Laki Kakevandi:

(352) *a.*   *are*   *dī-**n=im***   EL[LakK]. 44
                 yes   see.PST-3PL:O=1SG:A
     vs.

       b.   *are*   *owon=im*   *dī*
                 yes   3PL=1SG:A   see.PST
                 'Yes, I saw them.'

In (352b), the independent O NP renders the use of Vaff PM unnecessary. The person indexing systems with O-indexing deinflectionalized Vaff PMs underwent further changes: the deinflectionalized Vaff PMs were superseded by clitic PMs in languages like Southern Central Kurdish, Gorani Qal'eh, Bandari, and Nowdani, cf. (353) from Nowdani:

(353) *gorg*   ***eš=xa=šu***   EL[Nod]. 49
      wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST=3PL:O
      'The wolf ate them.'

It is assumed that this replacement of the Vaff PMs by clitic PMs in marking O-past argument has happened possibly through analogy with the indexing pattern in present tense constructions. In the latter, clitic PMs mark pronominally an O-prs argument. By shifting the marking of O-past to a clitic PM, the pronominal indexing of both O-prs and O-past is now uniformly carried out by clitic PMs. The pronominal expression of O arguments through two sets of person indices, namely verbal affix PMs in the present tense, and clitic PMs in the past tense, is not perhaps as economical as having only one paradigm being used for the indexation of the pronominal O argument. This is facilitated by the fact that Vaff PMs are now carriers of a pronominal relation in the past tense. In addition, among the two paradigms of bound person markers, clitic PMs are used for the encoding of other oblique functions as well. Then it is perhaps more efficient to extend their range of functions to that of marking pronominal O-past marking, rather than extend the domain of otherwise S-agreement Vaff PMs. This change has the benefit of solely assigning agreement function to Vaff PMs.

Not surprisingly, the levelling of O-indexing via clitic PMs has also occurred on the last branch of Figure 25 in where languages with accusative alignment are found. This levelling is assumed to have occurred before the levelling of A-marking via suffixal morphology, otherwise the

person indexing system would have ended up indexing both A-past and O-past arguments through the same paradigm of inflectional morphology – a fact unattested in the entirety of WILs. In simple terms, the-now accusative languages had presumably first extended the use of clitic marking to that of O-past indexing – as with tense-sensitive languages with clitic marking of O-past –then through analogy with past intransitive verbs or present tense verbs, extended the S-past indexing via suffixal morphology to that of A-past indexing.

As can be seen, A-past and O-past indexing have undergone inverse developments with respect to grammaticalization into agreement; that is, while A-past indexing is moving/has moved toward agreement in majority of languages, O-indexing is shifting/has shifted toward anaphora. The development of A-past indexing then is in accordance with the grammaticalization cline from free pronouns to agreement affixes (Fuß 2005: 4):

independent pronoun → weak pronoun → clitic pronoun →affixal (agglutinative) agreement marker → fused agreement marker → ø

Note however that from the earlier attestations of A-past clitics in Iranian languages, they were clitic pronouns. Hence the hierarchy above can account for the final stages of the grammaticalization cline of A-past indexing clitics.

The question arises as why through a course of 2000 years, the original O-agreement was largely lost while at the same time the original bound pronominal marking of A-past developed into an agreement marker. This inverse indexing preferences for A and O could be related to the general tendency for subject agreement cross-linguistically (Siewierska 1999; Haig 2018a) [76]. This seems to be explained by the fact that the category 'person' is not informative for objects, as put by Haig (2018a: 811) in the following hypothesis:

> "In actual usage, the category of person is relatively uninformative in the P [here O, MM] role. Speakers can fairly reliably predict that around 90% of objects will be third person, and this appears to be invariant across different speech situations, and languages. If we assume that speakers are sensitive to these kinds of strong frequency effects (see Bresnan et al. 2007 for evidence that this is the case), then the inference a speaker can draw from available input is that, all other things being equal, with around 90% probability a direct object of any given transitive verb will be third person. In

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[76] This seems to be the pattern in contact situations as well. Kojima (2019) reports that Batsbi, a Nakh-Daghestanian language, has developed bound person indexing under the long contact influence from Georgian. However, in Batsbi person indexing, it is only the subject-indexing that has developed into obligatory agreement, while O-indexing remains pronominal, and is in complementary distribution with the overt O NP.

other words, even in the absence of any person indexing for object (or any other cues), a speaker can predict with a reasonable degree of reliability that the object is third person."

In other words, there is a reliable association between O role and a particular value of the person category, namely third person. This seems to license the lack of O-agreement cross-linguistically. However, as we saw in passing O-agreement is stronger when the feature involved is number, cf. examples (348)–(349) above.

4.4 Summary of functionality of clitic PMs and person indexing development

This chapter provided an extensive account of clitic functionality in WILs: it surveyed various functions of clitic PMs along with their grammatical status as agreement or anaphora across investigated languages. In addition, for each clitic function, a map was provided, illustrating areal distribution of various clitic functions across languages. Finally, the chapter provided a systematic account of the development of person indexing for A-past and O-past indices.

As with clitic functionality, we described each major function of clitics in detail. The discussion began with what is diachronically assumed to be the primary function of clitics, that is, indexing the subject-like argument in non-canonical constructions. It was shown that for each non-canonical subject construction, it is the retention of old irregular verb stems that trigger non-canonical marking of subject-like arguments, through clitic PMs and/or oblique pronouns. For instance, the existence of the old stem *ha-/a-/-e* 'exist' is what principally triggering the non-canonical marking of the possessor argument in predicative possessive constructions. However, when the verb stem *dār-* 'have' and its cognates have come to express the possessive relation, the possessor argument is treated as a regular grammatical subject, therefore its indexing follows that of normalized transitive constructions. It was also held that in languages with nominative-accusative alignment non-canonical marking of a subject-like argument is limited to non-controlled events, whereas in languages which have preserved tense-sensitive alignment in general more semantic domains are subject to aberrant marking of the subject-like argument. The range of non-canonical subject constructions had some implications for the dialectology of Iranian languages. In addition, we provided, in passing, a brief overview of the association between the rise of ergativity and non-canonical constructions.

In the rest of the chapter, clitic functionality was examined for both non-subject arguments and the A-past argument. It was shown that the deinflectionalized suffixal morphology was co-opted for indexing salient non-core arguments, e.g. possessors and adpositional complements. This pattern though is now available only in a few languages whereas most languages employ clitic PMs for this purpose uniformly across both tenses.

The chapter ended with a rather detailed account of the development of person indexing across WILs. It was shown that in the course of 2000 years since Middle Iranian period, A-past and O-past indexing have undergone inverse developments; obligatory indexing in case of A-past indexing, and conditioned indexing for O-past indexing. Most radical changes were shown to have occurred to O-past indexing: here the historical O-past agreement via suffixal morphology is degrammaticalizing/ has degrammaticalized into a pronominal expression of the O-past via either deinflectionalized suffixal morphology, or – through analogy with present tense constructions – by clitic PMs. The motif for such inverse development, was argued to be the cross-linguistic tendency for subject indexing on one hand, and the uninformativeness of the category 'person' for the O argument on the other.

Chapter 5: Placement of clitic PMs

In the previous two chapters, we investigated in detail the different aspects of change in the paradigm of clitic PMs (including also the direction of attachment of clitics), and the functional range of such elements across WILs. This chapter explores the placement principles behind clitic positioning in WILs. Our aim is to grasp the clitic placement tendencies, whose investigation involves the following major aspects: (i) determination of the cliticization domain across languages and whether or not the use of clitics in each function is in accordance with the clitic placement rule in the relevant domain; (ii) hosts and non-hosts in clitic positioning; (iii) the syntactic outcome of the rise of procliticization in modern languages; (iv) clitic clusters across languages; and (iv) clitic-affix combinations. Among these, this chapter will survey the first three aspects to clitic placement in modern languages, while the examination of the last two comprises the core of the following chapter.

In doing so, following a general characterization of cliticization domain in WILs as (i) clause-based, (V)erb (P)hrase-based, and (V)erb-based (§5.1), we will provide a concise overview of clitic placement in Old and Middle Iranian languages (§5.2). The follow-up sections (§5.3 to §5.5) go into detail to characterize major features of clitic placement in each of the cliticization domains. In §5.6 we argue that the proclitic attachment of clitics clause-initially or in the verbal domain is a residual of their earlier clause-second (S2) positioning, and it was due to the loss of clitic hosting particles that clitics were left bereft of leftward support, hence their attachment to the next element to the right in a proclitic grab.

Before turning to the analysis of clitic placement in WILs, let's recall briefly the typology of clitic placement as proposed in Anderson (2005), which is as follows: each clitic is cliticized in a domain, which could be a clause, maximal projection of a constituent, e.g. NP, VP, or a head of a constituent, e.g. a verb. In each respective domain, the clitic takes as anchor (host) the first or last element of the respective domain. The designation of anchor can be characterized, according to language-specific rules, either syntactically or prosodically. For instance, the anchoring element is the first phonological word in Ancient Greek, while in Finish it is rather a syntactic phrase. There are also languages, e.g. Serbian, in which, with some complication, the anchoring element can be both the first word or the first phrase. Finally, each clitic is located preceding or following this anchoring element. In the following sections the term 'clitic' is, until further specified, identical to a 'clitic person marker' (or clitic PM) in previous chapters.

5.1 Cliticization domains in WILs: a general classification

The domain of cliticization in investigated languages can in general be classified into three. The first of these is a clausal clitic system. This domain of cliticization was the one operating in Old and Middle Iranian, and is still available, with some minor differences, in few modern languages (see Figure 26). The majority of modern languages though have given up the clause as the domain of cliticization and clitics find themselves in a domain roughly correspondent to the verb phrase, or the verb. As a quick hint to understanding cliticization domains of WILs, examples below illustrate Clause-based, VP-based, and V-based systems, respectively:

(354) ***merd=eš***   *gā*   *bā*   *bāzār*   EL[Dav]. 71
       man=3SG:A   cow   take.PST   bazaar
      'The man took the cow to bazaar.'

(355) *mā=š_*   *nun=**eš***   *ba-pet*   GX[Dej]. 6
      mother=3SG:POS   bread=3SG:A   PUNCT-bake.PST
      'His mother baked bread'

(356) *me_*   *mo*   *kār-a_*   ***m**=e-kārt-ā*   SM2[YZ]. 30
      1SG   DEM   job-DEM1   1SG:A=TAM-do.PST-PERF
      'I have done this job.'

In (354), the A-past clitic has cliticized on the subject NP. However, in (355) it has the skipped the subject NP, marked by the underscore, and cliticized on the next element to the right. Finally, in (356) the A-past clitic skips both the subject and object NPs and takes the verb as its anchoring element.

These cliticization domains are distinct with regard to other aspects as well. For instance, clausal adverbs are clitic hosts in Clause-based clitic systems:

(357) *ya*   *šov-i=**š***   *Nima* *gā*   WC[Beh]. 3
      a   night-INDF=3SG:A   PN   say.PST
      'One night, Nima said'

(358) *sob=**mu***   *harekat*   *mi-ke*   ZK[Dsh]. 48
      morning=1PL:A   movement   IPFV-do.PST

      xorub   *mi-resid-im*   *Xormuj*
      evening   IPFV-arrive.PST-1PL   PN
      'We would start (travelling) in the morning and arrive to Khormuj in the evening.'

In both examples above, the temporal clausal adverbs have hosted A-past clitics. However, these elements are not usually cliticized upon in VP- and V-based systems, as exhibited respectively in (359)–(360):
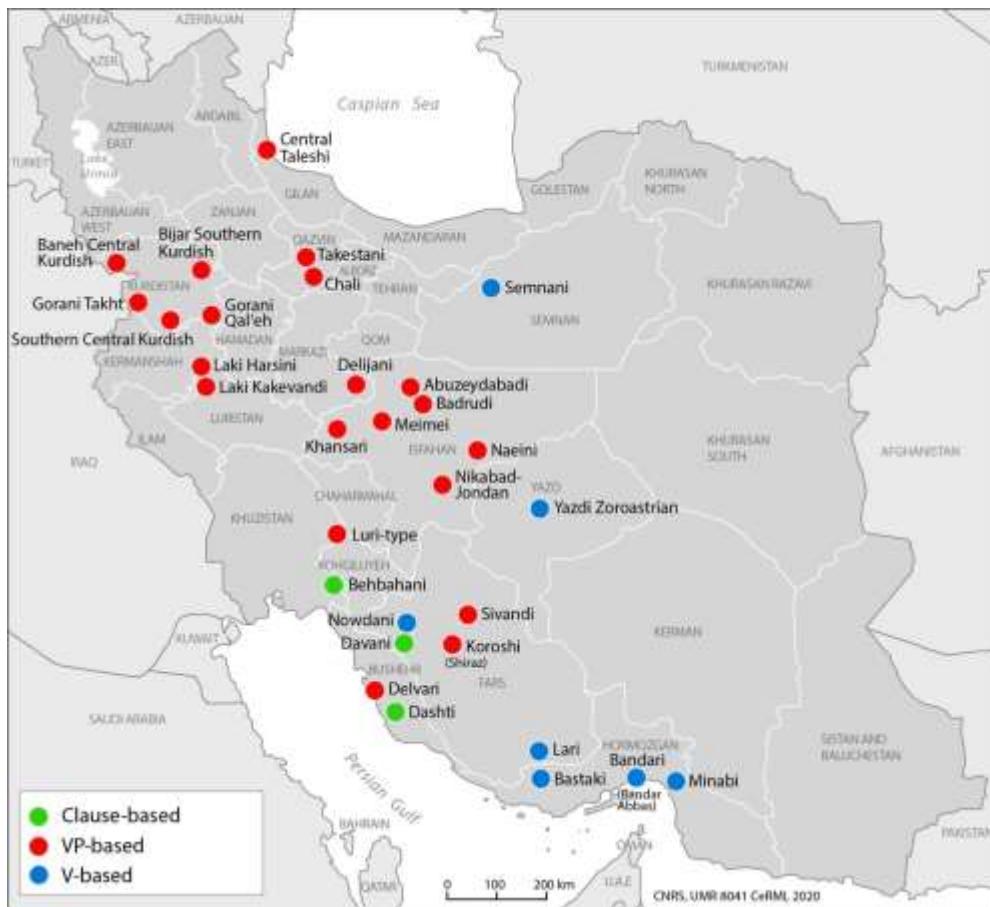
(359) | *hamīša_* | *dāyk=im_* | | *aw* | *šit-a=y* | DM[BCK]. 15
| always | mother=1SG:POS | | DEM | thing-DEM1=3SG:A |

bo *a-got=īn*
for IPFV-tell.PST-1PL:R
'My mother would always tell us that thing.'

(360) | *i* | *hafte_* | *xeyli* | *pil_* | *xarj_* | **om**=*ke* | SL1[Nod]. 25
| DEM | week | much | money | cost | 1SG:A=do.PST |

'I spent a lot of money this week.'

Example (359) is an illustration of a VP-based system. Here the A-past clitic skips both the temporal adverb and the subject NP and cliticizes on the object NP as the first element of the verb phrase. Example (360), on the other hand, illustrates the workings of a V-based system: here the clausal adverb and the direct object have been skipped for A-past clitic positioning; the clitic has rather opted for the verbal element of the complex predicate as the host.

However, note that the tri-partite classification of cliticization domains in WILs is not quite neat and there are some languages which illustrate transitional properties in their clitic systems. For examples, Yazdi Zoroastrian, and Larestani dialects have most of the properties of V-based clitic systems. Yet, they exabit a trace of what assumed to be the erstwhile Clause-based cliticization in some specific contexts. As an example, with a prepositional phrase preceding the verb, the clitic is attached rather to the preposition head than to the verb. In §5.6 we have cause to claim the derivation of such constructions from the erstwhile Clause-based clitic systems.

(361) | *golab-iā* | **š**=*a te* | *sabad* | *e-ke* | PS[Bas]. 6
| pear-PL | 3SG:A=in | basket | IPFV-do.PST |

'He was putting the pears in a basket.'

(362) | *yāki* | *dārs-e* | *xeyli* | *xib* | **š**=*e* | KX[YZ]. 37
| a | lesson-INDF | very | good | 3SG:A=to |

xarguš *dā*
rabbit give.PST
'He gave a very good lesson to the rabbit.'

Figure 26 illustrates the classification of studied languages with regard to the domain of cliticization:

Figure 26: Cliticization domain in under-investigated WILs

The map reveals certain areal distribution of cliticization domains across WILs. Most notably, Clause-based cliticization systems are concentrated in the Southwest languages Davani, Dashti, and Behbahani. These languages have preserved, in varying degrees, the older clausal second positioning of clitics. In §5.3 it will be further shown that among these three languages, Davani and Dashti cluster more with Old and Middle Iranian periods than Behbahani does.

On the other hand, V-based clitic positioning is conspicuously a feature of languages of southeast Iran, and Nowdani in the southwest. Interestingly, Yazdi Zoroastrian, situated in the southeasternmost part of Central Plateau dialects, has also a V-based clitic system, contrary the rest of CPDs. Semnani exhibits a V-based clitic system as well. However, its V-based cliticization domain does not exhibit most of the features of other V-based clitic systems (e.g. procliticization, relics of S2-assuring particles), suggesting that Semnani has probably gone through a different path to adopting V-based clitic positioning.

Finally, most investigated WILs demonstrate VP-second clitic positioning. These include Kurdic dialects, Tatic, Central Plateau dialects, Sivandi, and Koroshi. These languages are

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distributed in the northwestern, central, and western parts of WILs.[77] Here, roughly-speaking, clitics attach to the first element within the VP. However, there is an important isogloss dividing VP-based clitic systems, in a way that while in a subset of such clitic systems morphological elements can be cliticized upon as clitic hosts, in the other subset solely a syntactic element can be the anchor (cf. §5.5).

Drawing on parallels form Romance and Slavic languages, Haig (2008) suggests that the shift in the cliticization of Iranian languages from clause-based to other domains is resulting from the mechanisms of 'rightward drift' and 'head attraction'. By the former, he means that over time clitics abandon the second-position and gravitate toward the verb. Some examples of 'rightward' drift of clitics were seen above in the discussion of clitic placement in VP-based and V-based clitic systems (see for instance ex. 359–360). On the other hand, 'head attraction' refers to the attachment of clitics on their governing head. Both these processes lead to abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain. For example, a possessor clitic overwhelmingly will cliticize on the possessed NP, regardless of the domain for cliticization. In (363) for instance, the domain of cliticization is the clause, yet the possessor clitic does not abide by clause second (S2) placement rule and remains attached to its head.

(363) *kolah-e bari=am_*   *sar=**aš***   *bi*   KX[Dsh]. 4
        sombrero=ADD   head=3SG:POS COP.PST.3SG
        'There was a sombrero on his head too/ He had a sombrero on his head too'

It should be noted that the shift in the clausal second positioning of clitics started already in Middle Iranian languages, and one can already trace the flexibility in following S2 positioning rule. In other words, although S2 positioning was the regular placement for person clitics in MWI, there are some examples where the clitic is realized locally, not in the clause-second position. This is illustrated in (364) from Parthian, where the A-past clitic has skipped both the subject NP and the relativizer to appear on the prepositional phrase. Likewise, in (365) the adpositional complement clitic is attached to the preposition head and not to the preceding relativizer, marked by the underscore:

(364) *xrd_*   *cyd_*   *'c*   *bw=t*   *pdgtyft*
        wisdom   REL   from   Buddha=2SG:A   PUNCT.took
        'The wisdom which you received from Buddha.' (Brunner 1977: 102)

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[77] It should be noted that Delvari has basically a VP-based clitic system. However, it shows traces of older clause-based clitic positioning (still extant in the neighbouring Dashti), which is triggered by factors such as clausal focus (see §8.3.5.6 for a full discussion of clitic placement in Delvari)

(365) | *andar* | *šab* | *ō* | *wiyābān-ēw* | *mad,* | *kē_* | *pad=**iš*** | *ēč* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | night | to | desert-INDF | came | REL | in=3SG:R | nothing |

āb	*ud*	*xwarišn*	*nē*	*būd*
water	and	food	NEG	exist.PST

'In night, he got in one desert where there was no water and food.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 402, ff 237, mpB)

Later stages of Iranian provide ample evidence for an overall rightward drift in clitic placement rules, leading to abandonment of the S2 positioning for the majority of languages (though retained in a minority, see §5.3): the relevant host for clitics in the modern languages is now some constituent of the VP, which may include the verb itself (see §5.4 & §5.5).

5.2 Clitic placement in Old and Middle Iranian periods

Clitic placement in Old Iranian period follows the clause-second (or Wackernagel) position. In other words, clitics adjoin to the first element within the clause:

(366) | *Auramazdā=**maiy*** | *upastām* | *abara* |
|---|---|---|
| PN=1SG.GEN | aid | bear.PST.3SG |

'Ahuramazda bore me aid.' (Old Persian _ Kent 1953: DB I, 87-88)

(367) | *kuᵛrā=**tōi*** | *arədrā?* |
|---|---|
| where=2SG.DAT | zealous |

'Where are thy zealous ones?' (Old Avestan _ Yasna 34.7, West 2011: 153)

(368) | *at=**vå*** | *yazāi* | *stauuas* |
|---|---|---|
| thus=2SG.ACC:O | worship.1SG | praise |

'I worship you with praise.' (Old Avestan, Yasna 50.4, West 2011: 167)

(369) | *utā=**maiy*** | *aniyasçiy* | *vasiy* | *astiy* | *kartam* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and=1SG.GEN | much | else | COP.3SG | do.PTCP |

'And much else was done by me.' (Kent 1953: DB IV, 46)

In the above examples, the subject NP, cf. (366), the question word, cf. (367), the clausal adverb, cf. (368), and the coordinator, cf. (369) are the first elements of clause and have been cliticizes upon. Judging on these examples, one can suggest that the anchoring element is the first phonological word within the clause.

The S2 positioning continues to a large extent through WMI period. The examples below illustrate the diversity of elements hosting clausal second-position clitics. These elements include: a subject pronoun, cf. (370), an adverb, cf. (371), a subordinator, cf. (372), an 'and'-coordinator, cf. (373), and an adverbial particle and a complementizer, cf. (374).

(370) | *tw=**m'n*** | *'yy* | *xwd'y* |
|---|---|---|
| 2SG=1PL:POS | COP.2SG | lord |

'You are our lord' (Parthian, Brunner 1977: 102)

(371) *çīd=**mān*** *pāyēd*
always=1PL:O protect.PRS.3SG
'(It) always protects us.' (Haig 2008: 115 citing Durkin-Meisterernst 2006: M105a)

(372) *eg=**tān*** *dahem* *sāl* *pad* *sāl*
if=2PL:R IRR.give.PRS.1SG year after year
'If we give you year after year...' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 394, mpB.446)

(373) *u=**t*** *az* *hišt* *hēm* *sēwag*
and=2SG:A 1SG.DIR left COP.1SG orphan
'And you left me behind as an orphan.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 394, paT.873)

(374) *ā=**šān*** *ān* *abāyēd* *ka=**šān*** *gyān* *az* *tan*
then=3PL:NC this is.necessary that/when=3PL soul from body

be *šāwēd*
out go.PRS.3SG
'Then it is necessary for them that/when their souls go from their bodies.' (Haig 2008: 108 citing Williams 1990a: 13b.3)

These examples clearly display that the clause is the relevant cliticization domain in WMI: the clitics take the first element within the clause as the anchoring element, which is often a particle, as in (373)–(374), but also a first word.

Among the clitic hosts in WMI, two particles are crucial for our understanding of the change in the clitic systems of modern languages, most notably for the rise of procliticization (cf. §3.3.3). These two particles are the reflexes of 'and'-coordinator *u-*, cf. (373), and adverbial particle *a-/ā-*, cf. (374). These particles guaranteed the second-positioning of clitics at the clause level, and were mainly resurfacing as clitic hosts when other eligible clause-initial elements, e.g. subject NP, clausal conjunctions, clausal adverbs, topics, were absent in the clause. In the following examples, the first constituent within the clause is an object NP, cf. (375), a complex predicate, cf. (376), a negative particle, cf. (377), a bare verb, cf. (378), and a prepositional phrase, cf. (379). By attaching to the particle *o-*, the second position clitics avoid taking complex predicates and non-subject arguments of the verb as their anchoring elements. Consequently, the cliticization domain remains clausal.

(375) *u=m* *tō* *saxwan* *isnūd*
PTC=1SG:A 2SG word hear.PST
'I heard your word.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 443, paT. 1016)

(376) *u=t* *frabīhtar* *kard* *hēm*
PTC=2SG:A fatter do.PST COP.1SG
'You made me fatter.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 423, mpB. 961)

(377) *u=mān*   *nē*   *bōxt*   *hē?*
PTC=1PL:A   NEG   save.PST   COP.2SG
'Didn't we save you?' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 433, mpT. 965)

(378) *u=m*   *pursid*
PTC=1SG:A   ask.PST
'I asked.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 285, mpB. 120)

(379) *u=š*   *ō*   *hō*   *dād*
PTC=3SG:A   to   3SG.DIST   give.PST
'And he gave to that.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 288, paT. 131)

In later stages of a subset of Iranian languages, the clitic hosting particles were subject to either reanalysis as part of the paradigm of clitics, or loss . These facts were already laid out in §3.3.3. In §5.6 we take up this issue again to resituate the deviations of clitic placement from the expected clitic positioning rule in V-based proclitic systems within the bigger picture of the abandonment of the clause as the domain of cliticization, and the shifts to clitic hosting particles. The cause of this shift, i.e. the reanalysis of these particles, is assumed to be the rightward drift of clitics in later stages of Iranian, a drift which led to the abandonment of the second-position rule for the majority of languages. This move meant that the necessity to maintain clitic assuring particles relaxed, and facilitated their being re-analysed in some languages.

However, we do not claim that the retention of S2-assuring particles historically precedes the rightward drift of clitics: that is, as illustrated in (364), repeated here for convenience, a language may maintain S2-assuring particles while at the same time having undergone rightward drift for some clitic functions, most notably possessor and preposition complements. In the following example, the adpositional complement clitic does not move on the domain-initial relative pronoun *kē*, but is realized locally on its head.

(380) *andar*   *šab*   *ō*   *wiyābān-ēw*   *mad,*   *kē_*   *pad=iš*   *ēč*
in   night   to   desert-INDF   came   REL   in=3SG:R   nothing

āb   *ud*   *xwarišn*   *nē*   *būd*
water   and   food   NEG   exist.PST
'In night, he got in one desert where there was no water and food.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 402, ff 237, mpB)

To recapitulate, clitic placement in Old and Western Middle Iranian languages largely follows S2 positioning. This S2 positioning already showed traces of weakening in Middle Iranian period, and was eventually abandoned in most modern languages. The rightward drift of clitics was said to be the cause of changing clitic placement rule from clausal to non-clausal domains.

5.3 Modern languages with the clause as the cliticization domain

We start our discussion of cliticization domain with modern West Iranian languages that have preserved the clausal second-positioning of clitics. These languages include Davani, Dashti, and Behbahani. Our basic assumption is that the clitic placement is a unified mechanism applicable to all clitic functions (A-past, object, preposition complement, possessor, and non-canonical subjects) in the relevant cliticization domain, i.e. the clause, VP, and V. Indeed, the investigation of clitic placement suggests that this is largely true for clitic placement in all cliticization domains (see below). However, as will be seen, some clitic functions, e.g. possessor clitics and preposition complement clitics, tend to deviate from the clitic placement rule and remain attached to their governing heads regardless of the cliticization domain. Examples of the non-mobility of adpositional complement clitics and possessor clitics are given below:

(381) *me   dot   vašā=še   ne-mi-da-m*   EL1[Beh]. 36
      1SG   girl   to=3PL:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS-1SG
      'I won't give (my) daughter to them in marriage.'

(382) *hafsad sal   a   ?omr=et   gozašt-esse*
      700   year   from   age=2SG:POS   pass.PST-PTCP.PERF
      'You are 700 years old.' [lit. 700 years have passed from your age] (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

In (381), the adpositional complement clitic is realized locally on its prepositional head, though according to the S2-position rule it was supposed to move onto the subject NP *me* 'I'. Likewise, in (382) possessor-indexing clitic is attached to its possessed head and lacks mobility.

To account for these cases of deviation from the clitic placement rule, and also for the ease in the mode of presentation, in what follows the domain of cliticization is examined separately for the use of clitics in each of their major functions–despite our primary assumption that clitic placement rule applies equally to all clitic functions in the relevant domain.

5.3.1 A-past

The clitic indexing past transitive subjects (or the A-past clitic), regularly occurs second in the clause in all three languages. This is shown in the following examples, where diverse clause-initial constituents host A-past clitics:

I. Subject NP

(383) *sang=ey*   *ser-e*   *gerdu*   *eškeni*   SG2[Beh]. 2
stone=3SG:A   head-EZ   walnut   break.PST
'The stone broke walnut's head.'

(384) *Emrikā=š*   *Sadām Hoseyn*   *āwu*   EJ[Dsh]. 22
America=3SG:A   PN   bring.PST
'The United States brought Saddam Hussein.'

II. Clausal adverbs

(385) *ya*   *ru=š*   *Sārā*   *vašā=y*   *gā*   BO[Beh]. 2
a   day=3SG:A   PN   to=3SG:R   say.PST
'One day, Sarah told him.'

(386) *intori=š*   *si=šun*   *mi-ndāxt*   KX[Dsh]. 19
this.way=3SG:A   to=3PL:R   IPFV-throw.PST
'This way, he would fall on them.'

(387) *diār=šu*   *čaqu*   *keš-ese*   KS[Dav]. 35
already=3PL:A knife   pull.PST-PTCP.PERF
'They have already pulled out (the) knife.'

III. adjunct prepositional phrases

(388) *bejāye*   *'yeki bud yeki nabud'=še*   BB[Beh]. 2
instead.of   once upon a time=3PL:A

mi-goft   *jal-e jelā*
IPFV-say.PST   PN
'Instead of 'once upon a time' people would say 'Jale Jelā' (to begin their tales).'

(389) *šey*   *kolt=šu*   *mi-go*   *pišdo*   KX[Dsh]. 6
to   side.arm=3PL:A   IPFV-say.PST   PN
'They would say *pišdo* to 'side arm.''

IV. bare verb

(390) *go=š:*   *hā!*
say.PST=3SG:A   yes⸢SEP⸣
'"Yes!" said (Esfandiyar).' (Davani _ Mahamedi 1982: 454)

(391) *dit=še*   *moi-ā*   *nis-en*   MB[Beh]. 8
see.PST=3PL:A   fish-PL   NEG.exist.PRS-3PL
'They saw that there were (are) no more fish.'

IV. topicalized object NP

(392) *ma=š*   *tā*   *aso*   *kasi*   *das=om*
1SG=3SG:A   till   now   somebody   hand=1SG:POS

na-bas-se
NEG-tie.PST-PERF
'Me, nobody has chained me (my hands) yet.' (Davani _ Mahamedi 1982: 454)

As these examples suggest various syntactic elements can host S2 clitics across three languages. These elements include typical clause-initial elements like a subject NP, clausal adverbs, clause-external topics, and less so (in case of Davani and Dashti) the bare verb. These 'second position' clitics follow the first syntactic phrase in the clause. They cannot interrupt syntactic phrases:

(393) *[bejāye(*=šeᵢ)   'yeki(*=šeᵢ) bud yeki nabud]=šeᵢ*   BB[Beh]. 2
       instead.of   once upon a time=3PL:A

       mi-goft   jal-e jelā
       IPFV-say.PST   PN
       'Instead of 'once upon a time' people would say 'Jale Jelā' (to begin their tales).'

(394) *[ya(*=šᵢ)   ru]=šᵢ   Sārā   vašā=y   gā*   BO[Beh]. 2
       a   day=3SG:A   PN   to=3SG:R   say.PST
       'One day Sarah told him'

Among clause-based clitic systems, Davani and Dashti are distinguished from Behbahani with respect to the range of possible clause-initial clitic hosts. We will first deal with the clitic placement facts of the former two languages and then turn to Behbahani. First, in both Davani and Dashti subordinators and coordinators are possible clitic hosts:

(395) *agar=at   esfandiyār   košt*
       if=2SG:A   PN   kill.PST
       'If you killed Esfandyar!' (Davani _ Mahamedi 1982: 455)

(396) *yā=šu   mā   davat   kerd-ey*   EL[Dsh]. 50
       or=3PL:A   1PL   invitation   do.PST-PERF
       'Or, they have invited us.'

(397) ***amo=š***   *dai=šu   aš=eš   gā*   CG[Dav]. 3
       but=3SG:A   mother=3PL:POS   to=3SG:R   say.PST
       'But, their mother told her...'

The second major property of cliticization in Dashti and Davani lies in the fact that in continuity with WMI (cf. § 5.2) the verb (last element) of the preceding clause can host the S2 clitic:

(398) *yeho   to   pā   mi-bi-e=t*   KX[Dsh]. 8
       suddenly   2SG   foot   IPFV-become.PST-2SG=**2SG:A**

       mo   mi-košt
       1SG   IPFV-kill.PST
       'All of a sudden, you would get up (and) would kill me.'

(399) *o=mu*   *ya*   *nana-i*   **bi=š**   XX[Dav]. 2
       PTC=1PL:NC   a   grandma-INDF   exist.PST=3SG:A

       Teli   *doros*   *mi-ke*
       round.bread   right   IPFV-do.PST
       'We had a grandma who would cook bread.'

In (398) the 2SG A-past clitic encliticizes to the verb of the preceding clause. Similarly, in (399) the 3SG A-past clitic attaches to the existential stem of the previous clause. Note that despite the apparent inconsistency that the clitic has attached to the preceding clause, the domain for cliticization still remains the clause here: that is, being a second-position clitic, the clitic has to appear in clause-second position, but since there is no eligible host clause-initially, e.g. a subject NP, conjunctions, clausal adverbs, and since the attachment of clitics is in the form of enclitics, the clitic phonologically attaches to the immediately preceding element in the course of speech, in this case the verb of the preceding clause.

Third, both Dashti and Davani have preserved a reflex of 'and'-coordinator *u-* of MWI period (cf. §5.2, and examples (375)–(379) above, but also §3.3.3 for more details on the development of *u-*). Judging from our corpus, and in continuity with particle *u-* in MWI, this particle guarantees the clausal second positioning of clitics in Dashti and Davani, and is resurfaced whenever regular clause-initial hosts. e.g. the subject NP, clausal conjunctions, clausal adverbs, and topics are absent in the clause (hence compensating for the absence of such elements to which S2 clitics usually adjoin). In the examples below, by attaching to *o-* (or the phonological variant *e-*) the clitic avoids taking as host non-subject arguments of the verb, including the object NP in (400)–(401), and the indirect object in (402)–(403). Put differently, the latter arguments are realized within the VP, and although being placed clause-initially, are not considered clause-initial elements by the clitic system because the cliticization domain is the clause as its whole.

(400) *o=š*   *[asp]*^NP-OBJ   *bass-a*   *bone-y*   *draxt*
       PTC=3SG:A   horse   tie.PST-DRC   trunk-EZ   tree
       '(Rostam) tied the horse to the trunk of the tree.' (Davani _ Mahamedi 1982: 455)

(401) *e=šu*   *[erus]*^NP-OBJ   *soār*   *xar*   ZK[Dsh]. 4
       PTC=3PL:A   bride   ride   donkey

       ā-mi-ke
       PVB=IPFV-do.PST
       'They would raise the bride to the donkey.'

(402) *o=mu*   *[ri*   *xar]*^PP-IO   *mi-nā*   ZK[Dsh]. 20
       PTC=1PL:A   on   donkey   IPFV-put.PST
       'We would put (the sack) on donkey(s).'

(403) e=**š**   [si=**m**]^{PP-IO}   go   / *si=m=eš   go   EL[Dsh]. 62
       PTC=3SG:A   to=1SG:R   say.PST
       'He told me.'

In the same way, when the complex predicate, cf. (404)–(405), and the verb with the accompanying TAM, cf. (406) are the sole elements for cliticization, the particle *o-* resurfaces clause-initially and acts as the clitic host. Consequently, in addition to keeping clitics in the S2, the resurfaced particle sets free various syntactic and morphological elements within the verbal complex from clitic hosting.

(404) o=**šu**   varaqa   dad-**e**   HS[Dav]. 5
       PTC=3PL:A   licence   give.PST-1SG:O
       'They gave me the licence.'

(405) o=**m**   sedā   ke   / *sedā=m   ke   KS[Dav]. 24
       PTC=1SG:A   voice do.PST
       'I shouted.'

(406) o=**mu**   mi-košt-**an**   / *mi=mu-koštan⁷⁸   EJ[Dsh]. 20
       PTC=1PL:A   IPFV-kill.PST-3PL:O
       'We would kill them.'

As said, the recourse to *o-* assures S2-positioning of clitics in both languages similar to that of MWI. Following excerpt from Dashti displays perfectly how the S2-assuring particle holds clitics in the clause-second position whenever non-subject arguments of the verb or the verb itself are clause-initial. Note further the availability of different clause-initial elements as clitic hosts:

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[78] Note that although the alternative analysis would lead to ungrammaticality in (405)–(406), it is expected that with the weakening of the clitic placement rule, the S2-assuring particle ultimately disappears and the clitics opt for VP-initial elements and the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate as anchoring elements in both Davani and Dashti.

(407) *Emrikā=š*   *hojum*   *ke,*   EJ[Dsh]. 16
    America=**3SG:A** attack   do.PST

    e=š   *Saddam* *gereft,*
    PTC=**3SG:A** PN   grab.PST

    e=š   *bord*   *Emrikā,*
    PTC=**3SG:A** take.pst America

    modati=š   *zendān* *ke,*
    a.while=**3SG:A** prison   do.PST

    e=š   *āvord,*
    PTC=**3SG:A** bring.PST

    tu *ārāk=**eš*** *edām* *ke*
    in Iraq=**3SG:A** execution do.PST
    'The United States attacked (Iraq). They caught Saddam Hussein (and) took him to
    the United States. The United States imprisoned him for a while, (then) brought (him)
    back, (and) executed him in Iraq.'

Considering these properties in the clitic placement, the following hierarchy is postulated for S2 clitic positioning in Dashti and Davani:

Placement of A-past clitics in Dashti and Davani

verb of the preceding clause, left dislocated topics > clausal adverbs, conjunctions > adjunct prepositional phrases > subject NP > S2-assuring particle(s) > bare verb

This hierarchy should be read as follows: in the absence of an eligible clause-initial elements to the left, the S2-assuring particle *o-* resurfaces to act as a clitic host. It is only sometimes with the clause-initial bare verb that this particle does not resurface as the clitic host.

Finally, it should be noted that although both Davani and Dashti have undergone rightward drift for clitic placement in a subset of clitic functions, nevertheless both have preserved the clitic hosting particles. This is shown in the following examples where the particle holds the A-past clitic in the clausal second position, however the prepositional complement clitic, cf. (408), and the possessor clitic, cf. (409) are realized locally on their respective heads:

(408) *e=š*   *si=**m***   *go*   EL[Dsh]. 62
    PTC=3SG:A to=1SG:R say.PST
    'He told me.'

(409) ***o=š***   *ču=š*   *boland* *vā-ke*
    PTC=3SG:A wood=3SG:POS raised PVB-do.PST
    'He raised his stick.' (Davani_ Salami 2002: 524)

In other words, the retention of S2-assuring particles does not necessarily precede the rightward drift of clitics; rather a language can preserve the S2-assuring particles while at the same time undergo rightward drift and head attraction for some clitic functions.

Turning now to Behbahani, the clitic placement rule differs in several respects from Dashti and Davani. Firstly, clausal conjunctions and subordinators are not permissible clitic hosts in Behbahani. This results in a movement of A-past clitic onto the immediate element to the right:

(410) ***amo_***   *na=**m**-tunest*   *čon*   *geruni*   *bi*   EL1[Beh]. 59
       but   NEG=1SG:A-can.PST   because   expensive   COP.PST
       'But I couldn't (buy it), because it was expensive.'

(411) *pādšā=š*   *a*   *merd-aku*   *tašakor*   *ke*   EL1[Beh]. 46
       king=3SG:A   from   man-DEF   gratitude   do.PST

       vo_   *got=**e***
       and   say.PST=3SG:A
       'The king thanked the man and said.'

The second major distinction is the fact that the clitic hosting particles are absent in Behbahani. In other words, unlike Dashti and Davani, the clitic hosting particles do not resurface to make up for the absence of eligible clause-initial elements. The A-past clitic then has to move on to the first syntactic element to the right to seek its host:

(412) *sarkām=eš=**et***   *xard-e ?*   / **o=t sarkam=eš xard-e*   SG2[Beh]. 11
       pistil=3SG:POS=2SG:A eat.PST-PERF
       '(Why) did you eat its pistil?'

In the lack of particle *o-* resurfacing before the verbal complex domain, various pre-verbal syntactic and morphological elements are opted as clitic host:

(413) *vo_*   *tamiz=**ey***   *ke*   BO[Beh]. 16
       and   clean=3SG:O   do.PST
       'And he cleaned (the kitchen).'

(414) *hā=**m***   *da*   EL1[Beh]. 22
       PVB=1SG:R   give.PRS.2SG
       'Give me.'

(415) *xās=et*   *be=**m**-zan-a*   EL1[Beh]. 43
       want.PST=2SG:NC   IRR=1SG:O-beat.PRS-2SG
       'If you happen (wanted) to hit me.'

(416) *mi=**š**-bord-am*   *ser-e*   *bum*   ZG[Beh]. 6
       IPFV=3SG:A-take.PST-1SG:O   head-EZ   roof
       'He would take me onto the roof.'

In the above examples the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate, cf. (413), the derivational formative, cf. (414), and pre-verbal inflectional formatives, cf. (415)–(416) host clitic PMs, leading to a more syntactic version of S2 clitic positioning for the realization of A-past clitics.

In the same way, the verb of the preceding clause is not an available clitic host. This leads to the rightward movement of the clitics, as shown in (417), where the clitic is attached on the verb host.

(417) *be-š-i*   *b-ar=eš-i*   /* *be-š-i=š*   *b-ar-i*   EL1[Beh]. 73
        IRR-go.PRS-2PL   IRR-bring=3SG:O-2PL
        'Go bring him.'

Note further that in (417) the irrealis formative is a weak syllable, hence not eligible as a clitic host. The clitic then moves onto the verb stem, but following the S2-requirement interrupts the verb stem and its accompanying stress-bearing Vaff PM, giving rise to an endoclitic attachment of the clitic (see §3.4.3 for more explanation). Considering all the properties of clitic placement in Behbahani, one can assume the following hierarchy for A-past cliticization:

Placement of A-past clitics in Behbahani

clausal adverbs> adjunct prepositional phrases> subject NP> object NP> non-verbal element of complex predicate> adposition> verbal prefixes (derivational/grammatical> verb stem

The hierarchy may be read as follows: the clitic takes as host the first element to the left of the hierarchy. It is only in the absence of such element that the clitic adjoins onto the next element to the right. What this hierarchy suggests in addition is the fact that cliticization in Behbahani is more of a morpho-syntactic issue than it is in Dashti and Davani. This point becomes evident considering that in Behbahani an array of elements, syntactic or morphological, in the verbal complex host the clitics. On the other hand, in Dashti and Davani, the S2-assuring particle holds the clitics clause-initially, and thus bans the elements within the verbal complex to act as clitic hosts.

In sum, S2-based West Iranian clitic systems give evidence to the existence of two rather different cliticization systems: the first one, seen in Dashti and Davani, is a more conservative version of clausal-second positioning, and ultimately goes back to Old and Middle Iranian period. Here, a reflex of 'and'-coordinator particle underwrites the second positioning of clitics whenever such a placement is at risk. The second system, relevant for Behbahani, is a more syntactic version of the clausal second-positioning. Here clause-initial conjunctions, and the

verb of the preceding clause are not viable clitic hosts. In addition, the S2-assuring particle is non-existent. Taken together, these two factors seem to cause the clitics to seek their hosts rightward in the clause and lend their realization to more syntactic factors.

5.3.2 O-indexing clitic

Similar to the A-past clitic, an O clitic is realized second in its domain, i.e. the clause. In the following examples from Davani, the subject NP, cf. (418) and the complementizer, cf. (419) host the O clitic:

(418) *ma=**t***   *xo=m*   *mi-kor-e*   *šā*
       1SG=2SG:O   REFL=1SG:POS   IND-do.PRS-1/2SG   king
       'I myself can make you a king.' (Mahamedi 1982: 456)

(419) *ma*   *vā-mi-kor-en*   *ke=**m***   KS[Dav]. 25
       1SG   PVB-IND-do.PRS-3PL   that=**1SG:O**

       a_tu   *otāq-e*   *dar*   *bār-enā*
       inside   room-DEF   PVB   IRR.bring.PRS-3PL
       'They unchain me in order to take me out of the room.'

In the same way, in (420)–(422) the instrumental phrase, the coordinator, and the clausal adverb host the O clitics:

(420) *dim*   *çe=**m***   *mi-zen-a*   BB[Beh]. 31
       with   what=**1SG:O**   IND-hit.PRS-2SG
       'How (with what) will you hit me?'

(421) *tā=**t***   *moraxas*   *āi*   ZK[Dsh]. 36
       that=2SG:O   released   IRR.give.PRS.3SG
       'That he let you go.'

(422) *usā=**t***   *mi-wor-om*   *sahrā*   EL[Dsh]. 8
       then=2SG:O   IND-take.PRS-1SG   desert
       'Then I will take you out.'

The examples above suggest that, as with the clitic placement hierarchy postulated for A-past cliticization, complementizers, cf. (419),(421), and conjunctions, cf. (422) are possible clitic hosts for O clitic placement in Davani and Dashti. In Behbahani, on the other hand, such elements are skipped for hosting an O clitic:

(423) *ay_*   *na=**m**-me-koš-a*   *tā*   BB[Beh]. 18
       if   NEG=1SG:O-IND-kill.PRS-2SG CONJ

       biām   *dar*
       IRR.come.PRS.1SG   out
       'If you don't kill me, then I will come out.'

Finally, another point of convergence of Dashti and Davani comes from the fact that the S2-assuring particle resurfaces for the attachment of O clitic (and/or non-flagged indirect object), whenever other eligible clitic hosts are absent in the clause.

(424) *aya* ....   *o=m*   *bo-koš-an*   ZK[Dsh]. 15
      if   PTC=1SG:O   IRR-kill.PRS-3PL
      '(Even) if … they kill me,'

(425) *o=t*   *ya*   *memuni*   *hā-de*   XX[Dav]. 14
      PTC=2SG:R   a   party   PVB-give.PRS.1SG
      'That I throw a party for you.' [lit. that I give you a party]

In sum, O-indexing clitics also follow the clausal second positioning rule for clitic placement in S2-based clitic systems. As with A-past clitic placement, the data point to the different grouping of Davani and Dashti against Behbahani regarding the delicacies of viable clause-initial clitic hosts.

5.3.3 Clitics indexing non-canonical subjects

As with A-past clitics, indexing non-conical subjects (hence NC) through clitics is obligatory in all three languages (see §4.2.1). In terms of positioning, these clitics behave similarly to A-past and O clitics and follow the same placement hierarchy assumed for A-past clitic placement. Thus, NC clitics take the clause as their domain of realization. In the following examples, the subject NP, cf. (426), the conjunction, cf. (427), and the if-subordinator, cf. (428) host NC-indexing clitics:

(426) *me=m*   *i*   *dot-e*   *m-i(t)*   EL1[Beh]. 67
      1SG=1SG:NC   DEM   girl-DEM1   IND-want.PRS
      'I want this girl.'

(427) *čon=eš*   *ya*   *kor-e*   *siya-y*   *bi*   KS[Dav]. 9
      since=3SG:NC a   colt-EZ   black-INDF   exist.PST
      'Since he had a black colt,'

(428) *agar=et*   *šāhi*   *m-o*
      if=2SG:NC   kingdom   IND-want.PRS
      'If you want kingdom!' (Davani _ Mahamedi 1982: 454)

As with A-past and O clitics, in Davani and Dashti the S2-assuring particle resurfaces to host the NC-indexing clitics when other eligible hosts, i.e. subject NP, clausal conjunctions, clausal adverbs, are absent in the clause.

(429)   *o=**mu***   *ya*   *xar-i*   *bi*   DX[Dav]. 1
           PTC=1PL:NC   a   donkey-INDF   exist.PST
           'We had a donkey.'

(430)   *o=**š***   *bad*   *me-am(a)-a*   *i*   *baček-e*   KS[Dav]. 8
           PTC=3SG:NC   bad   IPFV-come.PST-DRC   DEM   child-DEM1
           'She hated this kid.'

(431)   *o=**mu***   *ne-šāyi*   *gerun*   *bi*   EL[Dsh]. 59
           PTC=1PL:A   NEG-be able.PST   expensive   exist.PST
           'We weren't able (to buy it) because it was expensive.'

In the above examples, the object NP, cf. (429), the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate, cf. (430), and the verb, cf. (431), are clause-initial elements. By attaching to the resurfaced particle *o-*, not only the clitic retains its second positioning, but also excludes the elements in verbal complex from being its host. What the data so far demonstrate is that a single hierarchy of clausal-second clitic placement can account for the placement of clitics in their different functions.

5.3.4 Adpositional complement clitics

As with other clitic functions, the clitics indexing adpositional complements are also expected to be realized in the clause-second position. Among S2-based cliticization systems, only Davani turned out to have preserved the clausal second positioning of such clitics. In (432)– (434), following the proposed hierarchy for the A-past clitic placement in §5.3.1, the adpositional complement clitic leaves its adposition head and attaches to the clause-initial elements, including the clausal adverb, cf. (432), the subordinator, cf. (433), and the intransitive subject, cf. (434).

(432)   *aso=**t***   *si*   *mi-ge-y-ē*
           now=2SG:R   to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
           'I will tell you now.' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

(433)   *to=**t***   ***a_si***   *šum*   *bār-e*
           that=2SG:R   for   dinner   IRR.bring.PRS-1SG
           'That I bring you dinner.' (Salami 2002: 518)

(434)   *ka*   *vo*   *inā=**š***   ***a_tu***   *bi*   DX[Dav]. 4
           mow   and   these=3SG:R   in   COP.PST.3SG
           'There was mow and such was in it.'

Interestingly, the following example in Davani illustrates that in line with the cliticization of other clitics, the S2-assuring particle *o-* resurfaces to host the otherwise stray clause-initial R clitic.

(435)   *o=š*   *jaryān*   **aš_**   *mi-ga-tā*   KS[Dav]. 21
         PTC=3SG:R   story   to   IND-tell.PRS-3SG
         'He tells the story to him.'

In the above example, following the clausal second positioning, the clitic argument of *aš* has left its governing preposition and moves leftward. Yet, since there is no eligible clause-initial element to host it, the particle *o-* resurfaces to hold the clitic clause-initially.

Judging from the data available to us, the movement to the clause-second position is not the case with adpositional complement clitics in Dashti, and especially in Behbahani. Rather, in both languages these clitics have been completely attracted to their head preposition. In other words, the R clitics in both dialects have lost the expected mobility. In §5.2 and §5.3.1, mechanisms of rightward drift and head attraction were argued to be the cause of this changing placement rule for R clitics.

(436)   *me_*   *ketāb_*   *vaše=t*   *me-sen-am*   EL[Beh]. 25
         1SG   book   from=2SG:R   IND-take.PRS-1SG
         'I will take the book from you.'

(437)   *hezār-o*   *punsad*   *toman=et=am _*   ZK[Dsh]. 57
         thousand-and   five.hundred   toman=2SG:POS=ADD

         he=t   *bi*
         with=**2SG:R**   exist.PST
         'Your money (1,500 Tomans) remained always with you .'

(438)   *vo_*   *bāzjui_*   *šā=š*   *mi-kon-an*   EL[Dsh]. 38
         and   interrogation   from=3SG:R   IND-do.PRS-3SPL
         'And they interrogate him.'

As can be seen, no matter the number of preceding elements available for clitic hosting, the R clitic remains on its head preposition and illustrates typical behaviour of so-called 'simple clitics', i.e. exhibiting the same syntactic distribution as the non-clitic form.

5.3.5 Adnominal possessor clitics

Clitics indexing possessor arguments are the most liable to attach to their governing possessed head across WILs, hence exhibiting cases of 'head attraction'. Examples (439)–(440), are instances of clausal-second positioning of possessor clitic in Middle West Iranian: in (439) the possessor clitic has left its governing head *xwd'y* and moved on the subject NP. In (440), in the absence of an eligible clause-initial clitic host, the possessor clitic has appeared on the clitic hosting particle *u-*, which has resurfaced to hold the clitic in the clause-second position.

(439) tw=***m'n***   *'yy*   *xwd'y_*
       2SG=1PL   COP.2SG   lord
       'You are our lord' (Parthian, Brunner 1977: 102)

(440) *u=**t***   *az*   ***pus*** *tä*   ***bräd_***   *wist* *ud*
       PTC=2SG:POS from son till brother   twenty and

       se   *murd* *bawēnd*
       three dead be.PRS.3PL
       'And of your sons up to your brothers twenty-three will be dead.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 327, mpB 400)

Among S2-based clitic systems, it is only in Davani that a faint trace of clausal-second positioning of clitics indexing adnominal possessor can be seen. In (441), the clitic complement of the possessed head, itself the complement of the PP, has moved from its position and appeared in the clause-second position together with the accompanying S2-assuring particle. The resurfacing of the clitic hosting particle here thus is a direct continuation of its function in the WMI period, as seen in (440). Likewise, in (442), the possessor clitic leaves its possessed head, marked by underscore, and takes the clausal adverb as its host.

(441) *o=**m**[79]*   *az*   ***yād_***   *še-s-e*   EL[Dav]. 56, also hearsay
       PTC=1SG:POS/NC   from memory   go.PST-EP-PERF
       'I have forgotten.' [lit. It has gone from my memory]

(442) *šād=**eš***   *a*   ***del-e_***   *dar-bār-e*   XX[Dav]. 39
       maybe=3SG:POS   from heart-?   PVB-bring.PRS-3SG
       'Maybe he can soothe him.' [lit. pull (it) from his heart]

While these two examples clearly illustrate S2-positioning of possessor clitics in Davani, the remaining tokens of the latter in our corpus are realized regularly on their head possessed NP, showing cases of 'head attraction':

(443) *hafsad sal*   *a*   *?omr=**et***   *gozašt-esse*
       700   year   from age=2SG:POS pass.PST-PTCP.PERF
       'You are 700 years old.' [lit. 700 years have passed from your age] (Davani _ Mahamedi 1982: 455)

Likewise, the possessor clitics in Dashti and Behbahani regularly appear on their head noun, and show no sign of mobility.

(444) *kolah-e bari=am_*   *sar=**aš***   *bi*   KX[Dsh]. 4
       sombrero=ADD   head=3SG:POS COP.PST.3SG
       'There was a sombrero on his head too/ He had a sombrero on his head too'

---

[79] In this example, a non-canonical reading of the clitic is equally possible. In fact, the clitic can be considered polysemous.

(445) *yeki   a   golâbi-ā_   a   das=**ay**   oftā*   PS[Beh]. 6
      one   of   pear-PL   from   hand=3SG:POS fall.PST.3SG
      'One of the pears fell from his hand.'

5.3.6 Clause-based cliticization systems: summary

The previous sub-sections went into some length to exhibit clitic positioning in Clause-based cliticization systems, and demonstrated if the use of clitics in each function has any impact on the placement rule for clitics. We saw that Clause-based cliticization systems show two rather different tendencies with regard to clitic placement in S2 position: the first was said to embrace clitic placement in Davani, and Dashti. Here, clitic placement resembles to a great deal the one existing in Middle Iranian period, in the sense that whenever eligible clause-initial hosts are absent, e.g. subject NP, clausal adverbs, conjunctions, the clitics recourse to the S2-assuring particles as the anchoring element. In other words, the S2-assuring particle holds clitics' realization in the clause-second position.

The second Clause-based clitic system is that of Behbahani. Like the clitic placement in Dashti and Davani, various syntactic elements are available as clitic hosts, including the subject NP, clausal adverbs, and adjunct prepositional phrases. However, unlike the latter two, clause-initial conjunctions, and the verb of the preceding clause are not possible clitic hosts in Behbahani. Moreover, there is no sign of 'and'-coordinator particle guaranteeing the second-positioning of clitics. These factors cause the clitics to move rightward in the clause for their placement. The clitics then lend themselves to more syntactic factors for their realization. For instance, morphological words are regularly interrupted for clitic positioning in Behbahani (see ex. (414)-(416).

Table 30: Possible clitic hosts in clause-based cliticization systems

	clausal conjuctions	clausal adverbs	subject NP	particle *o-*	object NP	light verb complement	preverb	TAM	verb stem
Davani	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Dashti	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Behbahni	+	+	+	x	+	+	+	+	+

Keys: + : the element in question is a possible clitic host
         – : the element in question is not a clitic host
         x : the element in question is irrelevant for clitic hosting

The two groups thus display obvious differences for the placement of clitics. Nevertheless, it was seen that in each group a single hierarchy of clitic placement accounts for a large part of clitic positioning in the grammar. In other words, the use of clitics in different functions for the

most part follows the same general rule of clitic positioning, further proving that the mechanism of clitic placement uniformly applies to the single paradigm of clitics. However, it was seen that the general S2-placement rule shows some traces of weakening when it comes to adpositional complement clitics and possessor clitics. This was seen to be the case for Davani. In Behbahani and Dashti, the S2-placement rule has been completely abandoned for the placement of these two clitic functions, and they no longer follow the general rule of S2-clitic placement. In a way then by losing their mobility clitic PMs in these functions display more traits of affixes than special clitics. The reason for such a shift in clitic placement was said to be sought in the mechanisms of 'head attraction', and 'rightward drift', the mechanisms through which clitics gradually abandon S2-positioning, move rightward in the clause and attach to their heads.

5.4 Modern languages with the Verb Phrase as the cliticization domain

In the majority of investigated WILs, what is roughly equivalent to the (V)erb (P)hrase is the relevant domain for cliticization (cf. Figure 26 above). The VP-based cliticization systems have received the most attention in the literature on clitics in Iranian linguistics (see for example Samvelian 2007a; 2007b; Haig 2008; Öpengin 2013, among others). Our conception of the VP as the cliticization domain is not a strict syntactic or theoretical stance; the VP is rather conceived as the (complex) verb, its direct object, and sometimes also its indirect object. By opting for the VP as the relevant cliticization domain, then VP-external elements including the subject NP, clausal adverbs, and clausal conjunctions are regularly skipped for clitic hosting. This fact is shown in the following examples:

(446) *bā_   min_   bi=**t**-xwa-m*   SH[SCK]. 39
      HORT   1SG   IRR=2SG:O-eat.PRS-1SG
      'Let me eat you.'

(447) *šaw-ē_   kor-akān=**ī**   bāng   kird*   SB[SCK]. 3
      night-INDF   boy-DEF.PL=3SG:A   call   do.PST
      'One night he called his sons.'

In the above examples from Southern CK, the clausal conjunction and the subject NP in (446), and the temporal adverb in (447) have not been cliticized upon. The person clitics rather have opted for the first morphological and syntactic element as their hosts, respectively. In what follows, as with the investigation of clitic placement in Clause-based cliticization systems, we

will present one by one the placement rule for the positioning of clitics in each of their major functions.

Before proceeding to the investigation of the cliticization domain in VP-based languages, it is worth revisiting those Central Plateau dialects which have developed proclitic attachment on the verb, most notably when a TAM precedes the verb. What is important to our understanding of procliticization in such (partly) proclitic systems is the development of Middle Iranian clause-initial adverbial particle *ah, āh*: with its sandhi form *a/ ā* in these VP-based clitic systems (see §3.3.3 for a detailed discussion).

As said in §5.2, the particle *a-* along with the particle *u-* had the role of assuring clausal second positioning for clitics. This is shown in the following example form Middle Iranian:

(448) *a=t*　　　　*tl*　　*mynyt*
　　　　PTC=2SG:O　　NVC　　think.PRS.3SG
　　　　'He scorns you.' (Brunner 1977: 114)'

(449) *ā=m*　　　*fräz*　*guft*　　　*hē*　　　　*zarduxšt*
　　　　PTC=1SG:A　　to　　say.PST　　COP.2SG　　Zoroaster
　　　　'I said to you, Zoroaster.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 398)

The offshoots of *a-/ ā-* occur in some CPDs, however, with the difference that they no longer occur clause-initially as their presumed ancestors did, but have now integrated into the paradigm of clitics. This shift from an S2-assuring particle to a part of the clitic paradigm is assumed to have been triggered by the abandoning of the clause as the cliticization domain and the rightward drift of clitics towards the verb. Both these interrelated processes resulted in the reanalysis of the clitic hosting particle *a-* as a dummy element appearing with all the cells of the clitic paradigm: see for instance, the paradigmatic form of the verb 'to want' in the past imperfective of Delijani:

(450)　*am=e-gā*　　　[1SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]　　'I would wish'
　　　　at=e-gā　　　[2SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]　　'You (sg.) wish.'
　　　　aš=e-gā　　　[3SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]　　'S/he would wish.'
　　　　amon=e-gā　　[1PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]　　'We would wish.'
　　　　aton-e-gā　　[2PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]　　'You (pl.) would wish.'
　　　　ašon=e-gā　　[3PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]　　'They would wish.'

Here the reflex of Middle Iranian *ah, āh*: sandhi form *a-/ ā-* is resurfaced before all the person clitic forms. It is assumed that in the earlier stage of the now CPD dialects with proclitic attachment, the particle was independently hosting the then enclitic, and the unit *am=e-gā* 'I would wish' above had rather the form of *＊a=m e-gā*. It was later through the abandoning of the clause as the domain of cliticization that the unit 'particle=clitic' went through boundary

shift and was reanalysed as a single unit. In other words, the particle lost its clitic hosting function and fossilized into a dummy vowel on clitic forms.

Examples below further illustrate how each time the dummy vowel appears with the clitic forms when they procliticize on the verb. This is especially the case with the Northwest dialects of Central Plateau, including Delijani, cf. (451), and Khansari, cf. (452):

(451) *āw*   ***ašon**=a-bar-a*   GX[Dej]. 18
     water   3PL:O=IND-take.PRS-3SG
     'The water will take them away.'

(452) *šomā*   ***ež**=e-vin-di*   QB[Kha]. 17
     2PL   3SG:O=IND-see.PRS-2PL
     'You see him.'

A further development of the erstwhile particle *a-* is seen in dialects in which only a faint trace of the latter is now available. In Badrudi, for instance, the reflex of erstwhile *a-* is resurfaced only in the conjugation of few verbs, most notably 'to say':

(453) ***ašūn**=vā*
     3PL:A=say.PST
     'They said.'

In the third group of Central Plateau dialects, the erstwhile particle is totally lost from the paradigm of clitics. Abuzeydabadi and Naeini represent this group. In §5.6 we argue that the proclitic attachment of clitics in these languages is a residual of their previous second positioning placement: i.e. in the loss of leftward support the stray clitics procliticized to the next element, here the TAM prefix, to their right.

(454) ***mon**=a-xand*   EL2[Abu]. 5
     1PL:A=IPFV-read.PST
     'We were reading.'

(455) ***t**=e-vin-**i***   EL2[Nai]. 64
     2SG:O=IND-see.PRS-1/2SG:A
     'I see you.'

To wrap up, proclitic attachment in VP-based Central Plateau dialects is related to the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain. This led to the shift in the functionality of MWI particle *a-/ā-* in a way that the latter was either reanalysed as a dummy element and coalesced into the clitic paradigm in some languages (e.g. Delijani, Khansari), or was totally lost in some other languages (e.g. Abuzeydabadi, Naeini).

5.4.1 A-past clitics

As a general rule for VP-based clitic systems, the first syntactic element within the VP is taken as the clitic host. If the latter is absent, the clitic moves on to the next available element to the right to find its anchoring element. In the following examples, the VP-initial element is a direct object, cf. (456), a preposition, cf. (457), a light verb complement, cf. (458), a preverb, cf. (459), and a bare verb, cf. (460):

(456) *ajey   pol=eš   ba-sāt*   GX[Dej]. 20
       a   bridge=3SG:A PUNCT-build.PST
       'He built a bridge.'

(457) *dar=em   na-vot-i*   EL1[Bad]. 29
       to=1SG:A   NEG-tell.PST-2SF:R
       'I haven't told you.'

(458) *mo   ferār=em   kert*   QB[Kha]. 8
       1SG   escape=1SG:A do.PST
       'I ran away.'

(459) *hal=ī   a-sēn-ēt*   SH[SCK]. 23
       PVB=3SG:O   IND-take.PRS-3SG
       'He will wake him up.'

(460) *did=yu*[80]   SM[Abu]. 31
       see.PST=3PL:A
       'They saw.'

To the available clitic hosts, one can add some prepositional phrases within the VP, which apparently have the argument status and can host the clitics. Contrast (461)–(462) with (463).

(461) *bāwk=im   [bo   to]=y   nārd-ū-w-a*   IB[BCK]. 32
       father=1SG:POS   for   2SG=3SG:A   send.PST-PTCP-EP-PERF
       'My father has sent (it) for you.'

(462) *Ali   [de   mon]=eš   dā*   EL[Mey]. 80
       PN   to   1SG=3SG:A   give.PST
       'Ali gave (it) to me.'

(463) *[la   birsā]   košt=tān-īn*   EL[BCK]. 47
       from   hunger   kill.PST=2PL:A-1PL:O
       'You killed us of hunger.'

The prepositional phrase in (461) has the role of a beneficiary and contributes to the action of the verb as a secondary argument, thus hosted the clitic. Likewise, in (462) the PP is the indirect

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[80] Note that except for Naeini, past-tense verbs in Central Plateau are regularly preceded by the punctual marker *bi-, ba-*, which regularly hosts the A-past clitic. Examples like (460) were only marginally found in some CPDs.

argument of 'give'. In (463), on the other hand, the PP is an ablative adjunct, which does not necessarily contribute to the action of the verb, and has been skipped for clitic hosting.

Apart from the commonality between the VP-based cliticization systems in terms of taking the first syntactic element within the VP as the host (note however that preverbs are not strictly syntactic elements), a major isogloss divides the VP-based cliticization systems into those which allow morphological elements on the verb (e.g. TAM exponents and negative formatives) to be clitic hosts and those which do not. To start with the former, the clitic opts for the TAM prefixes, and/or a negation marker as the host when the verb form containing such affixes is the last resort for clitic placement. This pattern is seen in Central Kurdish dialects, cf. (464)–(465), and (with the exception of proclitic attachment to the TAM formatives seen above) in Central Plateau dialects, cf. (466)–(471):

(464) *awa*   *a=**y**-xaw-ān-īn*   *dayk=im*   DM[BCK]. 2
       INTJ   IPFV=3SG:A-sleep-CAUS.PST-1PL:O   mother=1SG:POS
       "Our mother would put us to sleep this way."

(465) *a=**y**-xāt-a*   *nāw*   *bēška*   WK[SCK]. 6
       IND=3SG:O-put.PRS.3SG-DRC inside   cradle
       'He puts it in a cradle.'

(466) *ba=**m**-di-ande*   EL[Dej]. 44
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST-3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

(467) *ba=**m**-di*   QB [Kha]. 21
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST
       'I saw.'

(468) *be=**šun**-vā*
       PUNCT=3PL:A-say.PST
       'They said.' (Meymei_ Lambton: 1938: 23)

(469) *gorg*   *b=**ē**-xard-an*   EL1[Abu]. 49
       wolf   PUNCT=3SG:A-eat.PST-3PL:R
       'The wolf ate them.'

(470) *ba=**š**-diā*   PS2[Bad]. 27
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST
       'He saw.'

(471) *yak*   *por=em*   *i-di*   *go*   *na=**m**-šinasā*   EL2[Nai]. 15
       a   boy=1SG:A   TAM-see.PST   REL   NEG=1SG:A-know.PST
       'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

The above examples clearly hint that pre-verbal inflectional formatives are clitic hosts in Central Kurdish and most of CPD dialects. The occurrences of clitics inside the syntactic words

is reminiscent of (a kind of) endoclitic attachment of clitics, as explained in §3.4.1. Overall, the following hierarchy of clitic placement can be assumed for those VP-based cliticization systems which allow for morphological elements to be clitic hosts:

Placement of A-past clitics in VP-based clitic systems (1)

object NP > non-verbal element of complex predicate > adposition > preverb > grammatical verbal prefixes (TAM/NEG) > bare verb stem

According to this hierarchy, the clitic attaches to the leftmost constituent within the VP. It is only in the absence of the leftmost element that the clitic attaches to the next available element to its right. As can be seen, the bare verb stem is the last resort for cliticization.

As seen in Ch. 3 under §3.4.3, the unstressed weak forms of inflectional prefixes can be skipped for clitic hosting, resulting in a way in a deviation from the hierarchy just mentioned. Consider the following examples from Badrudi:

(472) *ne-šnāsā-i=**m***   EL[Bad]. 15
       NEG-know.PST-2SG:O=1SG:A
       'I didn't recognize you!'

(473) *del=šu*   *na=**m**-hard-a*   EL1[Bad]. 40
       heart=3PL:POS   NEG=1SG:A-break.PST-PERF
       'I haven't broken their hearts.'

In (472), the weak form of the negative formative, i.e. *ne-* is skipped for hosting the A-past clitic; however its stressed counterpart *na-* in (473) is opted as a clitic host.

A second group of VP-based clitic systems allows only syntactic elements to be anchoring elements for cliticization. Consequently, pre-verbal inflectional formatives are not interrupted by clitics. This group includes Laki dialects, Gorani dialects, Southern Kurdish, Luri-type dialects, Tatic-type dialects, Sivandi, and Koroshi. Examples are provided below:

(474) *be-xord=**ešo***   * *be=**šo**-xord*   AV[Cha]. 12
       PUNCT-eat.PST=3PL:A
       'They ate.'

(475) *ba-di=**šon***   PS[Sem]. 22
       PUNCT-see.PST=3PL:A
       'They saw.'

(476) *me-bard=**i***   *šahr-e*   *bāzi*   EL[Tak]. 42
       IPFV-take.PST=2SG:A   city-EZ   game
       'You would take (me) to the amusement park.'

(477) *me-word=eš*   HT[Siv]. 7
      IPFV-bring.PST=3SG:A
      '[When the girl] would bring [the child], …'

(478) *dya   na-gašt=om   nay-ā-ay*
      well   NEG-say.PST=1SG:A   NEG.IMP-come.PRS-2SG
      'Well, didn't I tell you not to come?' (Koroshi_ Nourzaei et al. 2015: 144)

(479) *na-šnāsī-n=im*   EL[LakK]. 45
      NEG-know.PST-3PL:O=1SG:A
      'I didn't recognize them.'

In the above examples inflectional prefixes of different categories have been skipped for clitic hosting: the punctual TAM prefixes, cf. (474)–(475); the imperfective TAM prefix, cf. (476)–(477), and the negative formatives, cf. (478)–(479). Languages of this second group are not completely uniform though: with some complication some of them extend the non-anchoring element to derivational preverbal formatives: contrast (480)–(482) with (483)–(484):

(480) *un-de=š-bu*
      PVB-give.PST=3SG:A-PPRF
      'he had given.' (Chali_ Yar-Shater 1969: 243)

(481) *hā-dāy=š-a   dālāk-e   dast*   SM[Tak]. 55
      PVB-give.PST=3SG:A-DRC   blacksmith-REZ   hand
      'He handed over (it) to the blacksmith.'

(482) *vi-gat-e=m-a*   SL2[CT]. 26
      PVB-take-PTCP=1SG:A-TR
      'I have bought.'

(483) *pirežener-ā   vā=mā-girānd*
      old.woman-DOM   PVB=1PL:A-take.PST
      'We brought back the old woman.' (Sivandi_ Lecoq 1979: 41)

(484) *niyā-(ē)n=iš-ara*   SO[GorT]. 15
      put.PST-PERF=3SG:A-POVB
      'He has built (the garden).' [lit. He has opened the garden]

The Tatic-type dialects in (480)–(482) do not allow derivational prefixes to host A-past clitics. However, Sivandi, cf. (483) and Gorani Takht, cf. (484) allow for the verb form containing the derivational prefix or 'postfix' (in the case of Gorani) to be interrupted by the A-past clitic.

Considering this variation in the second group the following hierarchy can be assumed for the positioning of A-past clitics:

Placement of A-past clitics in VP-based clitic systems (2)

object NP > non-verbal element of complex predicate > adposition > (derivational preverbal formatives) > verb stem

This hierarchy differs from the first hierarchy in dropping out inflectional prefixes as permissible clitic hosts. In addition, whether or not derivational prefixes can be anchors is language-specific.

Deviations occur from the general clitic placement rule just mentioned. For example, in Sivandi, the *(r)ā*-marked object NP in the VP-first position is skipped for clitic hosting. The clitic then moves on to the next available element to right[81]:

(485) *donbe-rā_*   *ow=ā̌š*   *mi-kerd* /*donbe-rā=š ow mikerd* HT[Siv]. 8
      tail-DOM   water=3SG:A   IPFV-do.PST
      'He would fry the fat of the tail.'
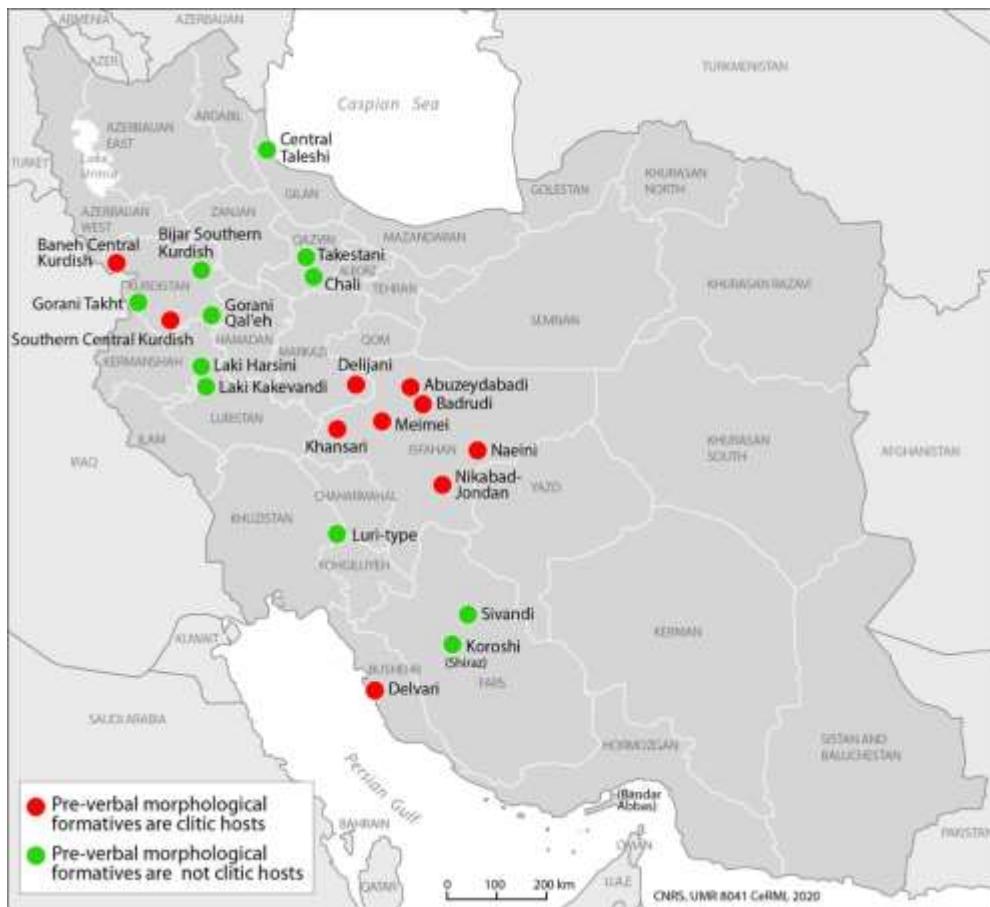
In the same way, the 3SG clitic in Laki Kakevandi has developed an affixal behaviour and does not abide the VP-based positioning. Put differently, it skips all the pre-verbal elements to the left to attach to the verb as its host. Examples:

(486) a.   *mīwa_*   *jam-ā_*   *ma-kird=ē*   PS3[LakK]. 2
          fruit   collection-IPFV   IPFV-do.PST=3SG:A
          'He was pecking fruit.'

      b.   *fan_*   *dā-ymin=ē*   SM[LakK]. 60
          trick   give.PST-1PL=3SG:A
          'He deceived us.'

To sum up, the VP-based cliticization systems have in common taking the leftmost syntactic element of what roughly corresponds to the VP as the anchoring element. However, they are further divided into two groups regarding the anchoring elements for cliticization: in the first group morphological elements are also available for clitic hosting while in the second group such are not possible clitic hosts. Figure 27 represents such a split in VP-based cliticization systems. As can be seen the first group is limited to CPDs, Central Kurdish and (less so) Delvari in the south.

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[81] Similarly, oblique-marked NPs, both direct objects and indirect objects, are skipped for clitic hosting in Koroshi (see §8.3.4.2.3)

Figure 27: The split in the VP-based cliticization systems regarding the availability of pre-verbal morphological formatives as clitic hosts

5.4.2 O clitics, and Non-flagged R-indexing clitics

As with A-past clitics, non-flagged indirect object clitics opt for the first element within the VP as their hosts. Non-flagged indirect participant clitics of this kind only occur in few languages (most notably CPDs). In the following examples, the anchoring element for the placement of an indirect object clitic is the object NP, cf. (487), the preverb, cf. (488), and the verb, cf. (489)–(490):

(487) *ejey*   *mü=m=et*   *hā-don*   GX[Dej]. 12
       a   hair=1SG:POS=2SG:R   PVB-give.PRS-1SG
       'That I give you a strand of my hair.'

(488) *a-š-en*   *kālā=š*   *hā=š*   *a-de-n*   PS1[Bad]. 25
       IND-go.PRS-3PL   hat=3SG:POS   PVB=3SG:R   IND-give.PRS-3PL
       'They go (and) give him his hat.'

(489) *m-ay-d=īmā*   LB[GorT]. 3
       IND-give.PRS-2PL=1PL:R
       'Will you give (her) to us?'

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(490)　*bale*　*me-diy=**āt***　　　　　　　　　　　　　SD[Siv]. 71
　　　　yes　　IND-give.PRS.1SG=2SG :R
　　　　'Yes, I will give you (my land).'

Likewise, object clitics follow the same placement principle as A-past clitics. However, with the object NP being absent in the VP (since it is co-referent with the O clitic) the domain of cliticization in the VP is smaller than that of A-past clitics. Nonetheless, the first element within the VP is chosen as the anchoring element for O clitic placement. Examples:

(491)　*la*　　*dāyk=**t**=**ī***　　　　　　*war-gir-īn*　　　　EL[BCK]. 75
　　　　from　mother=2SG:POS=3SG:O　　PVB-take.PRS-1PL
　　　　'That we take it from your mother.'

(492)　*bo=**t**=**ī***　　　　　　*bi-nēr-im*　　　　　　EL[SCK]. 76
　　　　for=2SG:R=3SG:O　　　IRR-send.PRS-1SG
　　　　'That I send it for you.'

(493)　*xās*　　*tamis=**ān**-ā*[82]　　　*ma-ke*　　　　PS1[LakK]. 4
　　　　well　　clean=3SG:O-IND　　　IND-do.PRS.3SG
　　　　'He cleans them well.'

(494)　*kü=**t***　　　　*ber-on-e*　　　　　　EL[JN.NK]. 10
　　　　out=2SG:O　　take.PRS-1SG-IND
　　　　'I will take you out.'

In the above examples, elements of diverse syntactic categories host the object clitic: the prepositional phrase, cf. (491)–(492), the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate, cf. (493), and the preverb, cf. (494).

The split mentioned for A-past cliticization holds true for Object clitics as well. Thus, while the first group of languages in Figure 27 allow for the pre-verbal morphological elements to be clitic hosts, as in (495)–(497), the second group disallows such elements to be anchoring elements, cf. (498)–(499):

(495)　*bišda*　　　　　　　　*be=**š**-ter-da*　　　　　EL[Mey]. 73
　　　　IRR.go.PRS.2PL　　　　IRR=3SG:O-bring.PRS-2PL
　　　　'Go bring him.'

(496)　*bā*　　*a=**y**-bā*　　　　　　　　　DM[BCK]. 8
　　　　wind　　IND=3SG:O-take.PRS.3SG
　　　　'The wind blows it off.'

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[82] The imperfective marker in Laki is in the periphrastic form *-a ……ma-*. This first element attaches to whatever elements appears before the verb, while the second prefixes to the verb stem.

(497) **tu**   *ji*   *xer-on=**ot**-e*[83]   SM[Jon]. 32
       2SG   ADD   eat.PRS-1SG=2SG:O-IND
       'I will eat you as well.'

(498) *hazer-i*   *čemen*   *nokar*   *ābāš*   AV[Cha]. 10
       ready-COP.2SG   1SG.OBL   servant   be.IRR.2SG

       yā   *be-koš-em=**i***
       or   IRR-kill.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'Are you ready to become my servant or I shall kill you?

(499) *me-bar-u=**āš***   *tu*   *jangal*   SD[Siv]. 42
       IND-take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O   in   forest
       'He takes her to the forest.'

Finally, note the role of stress as a factor in determining whether morphological elements can
be clitic hosts. In (500) from Delvari, the negative marker *ne-* is not stressed and is skipped for
clitic hosting.

(500) *ne-mi-zen-em=**et***   EL[Del]. 70
       NEG-IND-hit.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I won't beat you.'

5.4.3 Clitics indexing non-canonical subjects

Following the general VP-second clitic placement rule, the clitics indexing non-canonical
subjects also occur second in the VP domain.

(501) *ču=**am***   *tik*   *tik*   *bay*   *kā*   CG[Abu]. 14
       wood=1SG:NC   stick   stick   should   do.INF
       'I have to chop down the woods.'

(502) *mo*   *hič*   *kār=**om***   *na-šā*   *be-kar-on*   HB[Jon]. 23
       1SG   no   job=1SG:NC   NEG-be able.PRS   IRR-do.PRS-1SG
       'I cannot do anything.'

(503) *da=**m**-awē*   IB[BCK]. 1
       IND=1SG:NC-want.PRS
       'I want.'

(504) *bo-qost=**emun***   *jāve*   *agr-emon*   EL[Tak]. 58
       PUNCT-want.PST-1PL:NC   3SG.OBL.M   buy.PRS-1PL
       'we wanted to buy it'

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[83] the TAM formative in Nikabad-Jondun appears in the post-stem position. Nevertheless, the clitic inserts
between the verbs stem and the TAM.

In the above examples, the object NP, cf. (501)–(502), the TAM, cf. (503), and verb as a whole, cf. (504) host NC clitics. These examples further suggest that the rule of clitic placement seen in §5.4.1 applies as well to the positioning of NC-indexing clitics.

5.4.4 Adpositional complement clitics

Adpositional complement clitics can occur in both transitive constructions and intransitive ones. The placement of these clitics has some delicacies in each of these constructions. We will start our survey by the analysis of R clitics' placement in present transitive constructions. Regarding the latter, VP-based languages are divided into two groups: in the first group, adpositional complements are mobile: they leave their preposition head and move leftward if there is an eligible element to host them. This pattern is seen in CK dialects, cf. (505)–(506), most of Central Plateau (except for Nikabad-Jondun), cf. (507)–(512), and the more conservative dialects of Gorani and Laki groups, cf. (513)–(514). Note that the element to which the adpositional complement clitic attaches is immediately preceding the adposition in all the examples below.

(505) *nimak=ī*   ***tē_***   *a-kā*   WK[SCK]. 25
     salt=3SG:R   in   IND-do.PRS.3SG
     'She pours the salt in it'

(506) *jā*   *aw*   *waxt-a=t*   ***pē_***   *a-lē-m*   IB[BCK]. 36
     then   DEM   time-DEM1=2SG:R   to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
     'Then, at that moment I will tell you.'

(507) *do*   *se*   *barq*   *ātaš=**em**=am*   ***bā_***   *bār-iyon*   GX[Dej]. 34
     two   three   flame   fire=1SG:R=ADD   for   IRR.bring.PRS-2PL
     'Bring me two or three flames of fire as well.'

(508) *mečete*   *ā*   *asdolā=š*   ***bi_***   *dāž-ende*   DG[Kha]. 17
     mosque   Mr.   PN=3SG:R   to   IND.say.PRS-3PL
     '(People) will call it the mosque of Mr. Asdollā.'

(509) *ču=**d***   ***bi_***   *na-xus-on*   EL[Mey]. 70
     wood=2SG:R   to   NEG-hit.PRS-1SG
     'I won't hit you with a stick.'

(510) *dem=ē*   ***pē_***   *ne-d-i-y-ā*
     mouth=3SG:R   to   NEG.IMP-give.PRS-2SG-EP-INTJ
     'Don't talk to her.' [lit. Don't give mouth to her] (Abuzeydabadi_ Lecoq 2002: 366)

(511) *kawš=**et***   ***dar_***   *a-gir-on*   EL1[Bd]. 64
     shoe=2SG:R   from   IND-take.PRS-1SG
     'I take the shoes from you.'

(512) *seng=**eš***   ***tu_***   *e-rij-en*   SM[Nai]. 57
      stone=3SG:R   in   IND-throw.PRS-3PL
      'They put stone(s) in it.'

(513) *bā*   *qisa-y*   *qaymī=**t***   ***pay_***   *karū*   LB[GorT]. 13
      OPT   talk-EZ   old=2SG:R   for   IRR.do.PRS-1SG
      'Let me tell you some old sayings.'

(514) *hān=**an***   ***abin**-a*   *muš-e*   SM[LakK]. 16
      such=3PL:R   to-IND   IND-say.PRS-3SG
      'She says such to them.'

Alternatively, one can claim that the rule of VP-second positioning applies to the placement of adpositional complement clitics as well. Thus, when the ahpositional head of a clitic is not VP-initial, its clitic complement detaches from it and moves leftward to attach to the first element within the VP. In the examples just seen the element to which the R clitic attaches is the first element within the VP, which happens to be adjacent to the preposition. This element is usually an object NP, but also a temporal adverb, cf. (506). In all these cases, the anchoring element to which the oblique clitics attach is the first element within the VP, suggesting that the domain of cliticization is the VP. This fact becomes more evident by considering examples (506),(513): in both these examples, that leftward movement of clitics does not target clause-initial conjunctions as anchors, proving that the clause is not the domain of cliticization. Further support for VP-second placement comes from the following examples from Central Kurdish. Here the R clitic leaves its preposition head, skips the immediately preceding element, and lodges on the first element of the VP, i.e. the object NP:

(515) *aw*   ***qisa=t**-a*   *har*   ***bo***   *nāyž-im*   EL[SCK]. 9
      DEM   saying=2SG:R-DEM1   ever   for   NEG.say.PRS-1SG
      'I will never tell you about that saying.'

(516) *dabē*   *xēwat-ēk=**im***   *la*   *darawa-y*   *šār*   ***bo***
      AUX.3SG   tent-INDF=1SG:R   in   out-EZ   city   for

      hal-bi-da-n
      PVB-IRR-give.PRS.3PL
      'They will have to pitch a tent for me out of the city.' (Öpengin 2013: 301, citing Thackston 2006: 24)

Additional support for the VP-second placement of adpositional complement clitics comes from contexts where the preposition head of the R clitics is the first element within the VP. In such cases the R clitics are not subject to mobility, since they are already second in their domain, viz. VP (hence the unavailability of the affirmative word, cf. (517) and the

complementizer, cf. (518) as anchors for the placement of the R clitic in the following examples):

(517) *arē_*   *pē=y*   *a-lē-m*   EL[BCK]. 37
       yes   to=3SG:R   IND-tell.PRS-1SG
       'Yes, I will tell her.'

(518) *dendeun*   *na-dār-a*   *ke_*   SM[Nai]. 39
       tooth   NEG-have.PRS-3SG   COMPL

       ve=š   *hamla*   *kir-a*
       to=3SG:R   attack   IRR.do.PRS-3SG
       'He has no teeth to attack her.'

There is some restriction on the mobility of prepositional complement clitics. For instance, the leftward movement of such clitics is blocked when the adposition head of the PP is placed post-verbally, cf. (519)–(520).

(519) *eyž-ē*   *pē=yān*   */ *eyž-ē=yān pē*   SB[SCK]. 9
       IND.say.PRS-3SG   to=3PL:R
       'He says to them.'

(520) *bi-kin-o*   *pi=ya*   *rā / *bi-kin-o=ya pi ra*   EL1[Abu]. 76
       IRR-send.PRS-1SG   ADP=2SG:R   ADP
       'That I send (it) for you.'

However, exceptions arise in the Kurdic dialects of Gorani Takht, cf. (521), and (solely with the 3SG clitic) in Laki, cf. (522). In both these dialects the clitic can move leftward and attach to the verb as the first element within the VP. These two languages thus seem to represent an older layer of R clitic placement in WILs.

(521) *arē*   *m-āč-ū=š*   ***pana***   EL[GorT]. 37
       yes   IND-say.PRS-1SG=**3SG:R** **to**
       'Yes, I will tell her.'

(522) *m-a:-n=ē*   *abin*   PS1[LakK]. 27
       IND-give.PRS-3PL=**3SG:R**   **to**
       'They give (the pears) to him.'

In any case, the realization of adpositional complement clitics remains in the proximity of its head. Samvelian (2007b: 246-247) takes linearization-based accounts for the analysis of parallel constructions in Central Kurdish. According to her, although forming a syntactic unit, the clitic and its preposition head are not strictly ordered in such constructions. The clitic has the possibility either to precede or follow the preposition, but being an enclitic it attaches to the preceding element (and not procliticizes to the following element). This analysis is valid for all the cases of attachment of an adpositional complement clitic to an element immediately

preceding the adposition, including the object NP, the temporal adverb, and the verb, seen above. In other words, the clitic should be adjacent to the head preposition. However, examples (515)–(516) showed that the element on which the detached adpositional complement clitic attaches need not to be adjacent to the adposition head. Therefore, a VP-second realization for R clitics seems more tenable.

In addition, complications arise when considering further data from the west of Iran in the mainly Kurdish speech zone where different dialects of Kurdic are spoken. Here, as in examples (515)-(516), the leftward movement of adpositional complement clitic is not bound to its proximity with the adposition head, rather seems to be specified for a special position within the VP, cf. (523)–(525):

(523) *golāwi=**n**-a*　　　　*m-ey-**a***　　　**bin**　　　　　PS1[LakK]. 32
　　　　pear=3PL:R-IND　　　IND-give.PRS-DRC　to
　　　　'He gives them pear(s).'

(524) *yakē*　　　*dāna-y*　　　*la-w*　　　　　　　　SB[SCK]. 7
　　　　one　　　　CLF-EZ　　　from-DEM

　　　　*kanīšk-al=**yān**-a*　　*ba-n*　　　　　　***pē***
　　　　girl-PL=3PL:R-DEM1　IRR.give.PRS-2PL　to
　　　　'Give one of these girls to each of them.'

(525) *xabar=**tā***　　*maymē*　　　　　***pana***　　　　LB[GorT]. 5
　　　　news=2PL:R　IND.give.PRS.1PL　　to
　　　　'We will let you know.' [lit. We will give you news]

In (523)–(525) the leftward movement of the adpositional complement clitic is not subject to its attachment to the immediately preceding element, i.e. the verb, but to an element further in the left: such an element is the object NP in (523)–(524), and the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate *xabar dāy* 'giving news', i.e. *xabar* in (525)[84]. These examples, and the ones in (515)–(516), challenge the linearization account seen above, since the adpositional complement clitic is not adjacent to its preposition head. However, they still prove that the domain of cliticization is the VP, since the leftward movement of the clitic has targeted the first element of the VP as the host, i.e. object NP in (523)–(524), and light verb complement in (525), and not the immediately preceding element, i.e. the verb. Thus, a better characterization

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[84] It should be noted that constructions of this type seem to only occur with certain types of verbs, most notably the ditransitive verb 'give'. In any case, the placement of the adpositional complement clitic follows the VP-second rule, and the anchoring element is the first element within the VP.

for the placement of adpositional complement clitics would be to consider them being realized on the first element of the VP, following the proposed hierarchy of clitic positioning in §5.4.1.

In the second group of VP-based cliticization systems, the placement of adpositional complement clitics does not follow the VP-second positioning rule. That is, adpositional complement clitics do not detach from the preposition head to attach to the VP-initial element. In other words, adpositional complement clitics have lost their mobility, illustrating thus typical affixal behaviour. This pattern is seen in Luri-type dialects, cf. (526), Nikabadi-Jondun, cf. (527), Sivandi, cf. (528), Koroshi, cf. (529), Delvari, cf. (530), and the less conservative dialects of Kurdic group, including Bijar SK, cf. (531), Gorani Qal'eh, cf. (532), and Laki Harsini, cf. (533):

(526) *iškār-hā_*   **da=t**   *ba-xar-im*
game-PL   from=2SG:R   IRR-buy.PRS-1PL
'We would like to buy some game from you.'(Luri of Bālā-Garīva_Amān Allāhi & Thackston 1986: 148)

(527) *vejā=š*   *sang_* **ru=š**   *n-u-e*   SM[Jon]. 45
instead=3SG:POS   stone in=3SG:R   put.PRS-3SG-IND
'Instead of it (i.e. the babies), she puts stone in it.'

(528) *mabādā*   *ajāneb*   *bord-i_*   SD[Siv]. 4
lest   alien   victory-INDF

ba_bini=šā   *vindu*
at=3PL:R   IRR-hit.PRS.3SG
'Lest the aliens harm them.' [lit. hit a victory upon them]

(529) *xo*   *a-tān-ay*   *šāh-ay*   *ǰanek-ā_*
well   IND-can.PRS-2SG   king-GEN   daughter-OBL

bahr=am   *be-ger-ay*
for=1SG:R   IRR-take.PRS-2SG
'Fine, can you get the king's daughter for me?' (Koroshi_ Nourzaei et al. 2015: 135)

(530) *dast_* **šā=š**   *be-kiš*   EL[Del]. 67
hand   from=3SG:R   IRR-pull.PRS.IMP
'Let go of her.' [lit. pull out (your) hand of her]

(531) *šīr_* **wa=m**   *ba*   PP[BSK]. 7
milk   to=1SG:R   give.2SG.IMP
'Give me (some) milk.'

(532) *kas-ī*   *kār-ū*   *kāsebī_*   KD[GorQ]. 10
person-RESTR job-and   business

bina=m   *ni-m-ū*
to=1SG:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS.3SG
'Nobody will give me a job.'

(533) *birsāq_*　　　　***ařā=m***　　　　*b-ār-an*
　　　　fritter　　　　　FOR=1SG:R　　　IRR-bring.PRS-2PL
　　　　'Bring me fritters.' (Laki Harsini _ Belelli 2016: 225)

As seen, the adpositional complement clitic in the above examples attaches to its preposition head despite the presence of available elements to the left – marked by the underscore – to host the clitic. Assuming that in the older stage of these languages adpositional complement clitics were mobile (as in their counterparts in group one), the R clitics of these languages must have undergone the grammaticalization, in the sense that through the process of head attraction adpositional complement clitics have now completely attracted to their heads and lost the mobility they used to have. The use of clitics as indexing adpositional complements then resembles a behaviour typical of lexical affixes since they have become selective with respect to their host word, and lack one of the important criteria of clitichood, namely mobility.

As for the placement of adpositional complement clitics in intransitive constructions (both present and past), the tendency for the languages of group 1 is for such clitics to remain mobile. Thus, if the adpsotion head is not clause-initial, the adpositional complement clitics moves leftward to attach to the immediately preceding element. Some examples are in order below:

(534) *rēgā-y*　　　*ka*　　　*čawt*　　*ū*　　　*čēwal=ī*　　***tē_dā**-ya*　　　IB[BCK]. 43
　　　　route-RESTR　REL　　wrong　and　　RDP=3SG:R　　in-COP.3SG
　　　　'A route which has falsehood in it.'

(535) *qawr$_i$*　　*ča=y$_i$*　　　***pē_***　　*atē*　　　　　　　　　　　　SB[SCK]. 9
　　　　tomb　　what=3SG:R　　to　　　IND.come.PRS.3SG
　　　　'What's going to happen to the tomb?'

(536) *xānawāda-w*　*naqšbandī$_i$*　*xās-ū*　　　　　　　　　　　LB[GorT]. 14
　　　　family-EZ　　　PN　　　　　　good-AND

　　　　xarāb=iš$_i$　　***čana**-n*
　　　　bad=3SG:R　　　IN-COP.3SG
　　　　'There are (is) both the good and the bad in N. Family.'

(537) *dī*　　　　　*pül=m-ē*　　　　***arān_***　*na-manī-ü*　　　　SL1[LakK]. 18
　　　　no more　　money=1SG:R-INDF　for　　　NEG-remain.PST-PTCP
　　　　'I was left with no more money.'

(538) *ow=aš*　　　***ji_***　*garm*　*ā-nā-šd-i*
　　　　water=3SG:R　from　　warm　PVB-NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG.F
　　　　'He is incompetent.' [lit. Water does not boil from him] (Delijani _ Safari 2008)

(539) *ayb=id*　　　　　　***bi_***　*bo?*
　　　　wrongness=2SG:R　　with　COP.PST.3SG
　　　　'Was there something wrong with you? (Meymei _ Fathi Borujeni 2013: 160)

In the above examples, the prepositional complement clitic has appeared on the element immediately preceding it. A constraint on this placement is the non-coreferentiality of the adpositional complement clitic with its host. Thus, in (535)–(536) the co-referent NP is not taken as the host for adpositional complement clitic.

On the other hand, languages of group two have lost the mobility of adpositional complement clitics in intransitive constructions. Examples:

(540) *xaw_* *la=y*   *kaf-ē*   */ *xaw=y* *la_* *kaf-ē*   MN[BSK]. 26
       sleep on=3SG:R   fall.PRS-3SG
       'He falls asleep [lit. sleep falls on him]

(541) *ni-ma-zān-im*   *ča_* *bin=ī̄*   *hāt*
       NEG-IND-know.PRS-1SG   what to=3SG:R   come.PST
       'I don't know what happened to her.' (Laki Harsini_ Belelli 2016: 186)

(542) *atr_*   *tu=š-en*   EL[Del]. 17
       parfume   in=3SG:R-COP.3SG
       'There is perfume in it.'

(543) *čī_*   *bi_sar=tā̄*[85]   *āmā*   EL[GorQ]. 35
       what to=2PL:R   come.PST
       'What happened to you?'

To sum up, VP-based cliticization systems are divided into two major groups regarding the placement of adpositional complement clitics: in the first group, these clitics are mobile, and their placement follows the rule of VP-second positioning. Therefore, when the PP is not VP-initial, its clitic complement moves leftward to seek the first element within the VP as its anchoring element. Such an element is generally adjacent to the preposition head, but not necessarily. In the second group the adpositional complement clitics have lost their mobility and are fixed on their preposition head no matter the syntactic context. Note further that the discussion of adpositional complement clitics' placement for the VP-based Tatic-type languages is irrelevant, since clitics do not function as adpositional complements in these languages (cf. §4.2.5). The resultant patterns are seen in Figure 28: the mobility of adpositional complement clitics is restricted to most of the Central Plateau group, and the more conservative Kurdic dialects in the West.

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[85]- Here the clitic is the bound complement of the compound preposition *bi_sar* 'to'.
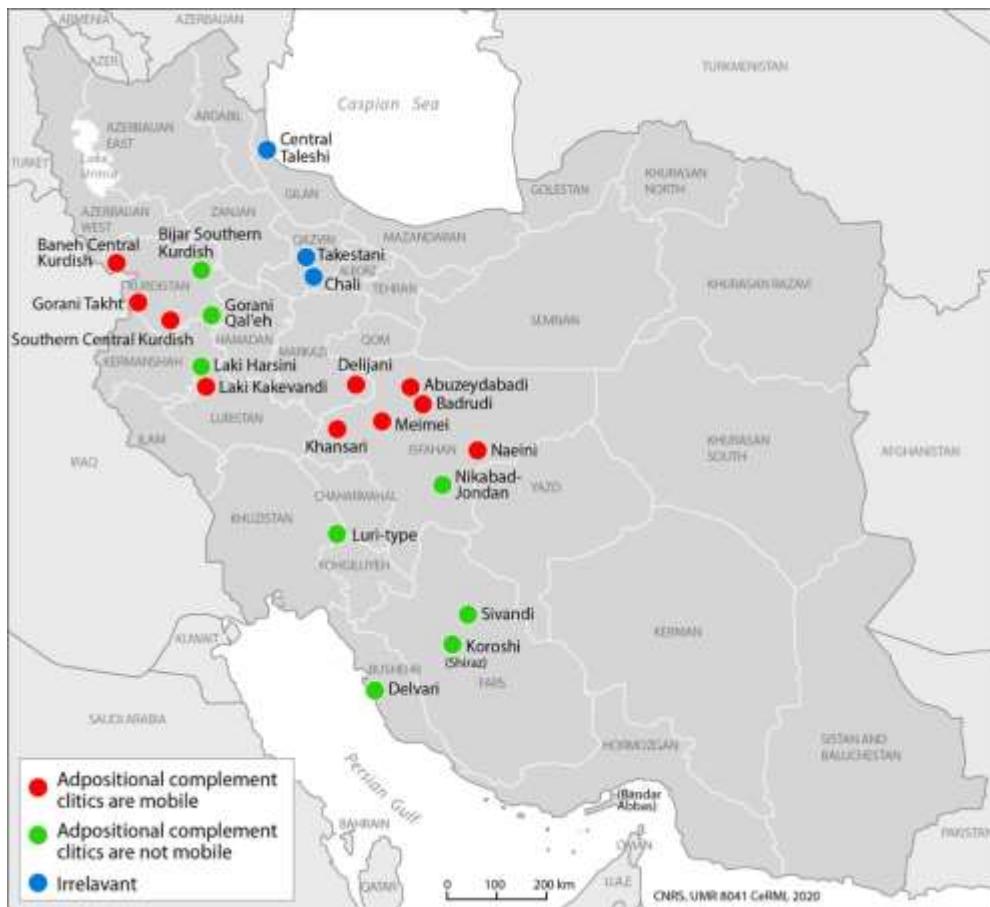
Figure 28: the mobility or not of adpositional complement clitics in VP-based cliticization systems

5.4.5 Adnominal possessor clitics

Possessor clitics generally have simple syntax and occur at the right edge of the NP, where also
the non-clitic forms occur, as shown in the following examples:

(544)　a.　　*mu=**šun**　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SM2[Bad]. 30
　　　　　　mom=3PL:POS
　　　　　　'their mom'

　　　　b.　　*māl　　bāwk=**ī**　　　　　　　　　　　NW[BSK]. 3
　　　　　　house　father=3SG:POS
　　　　　　'her father's house'

　　　　c.　　*māl　　bāwk　**awa**　　　　　　　　　NW[BSK]. 3
　　　　　　house　father　3SG
　　　　　　'her father's house'

In (544a) the clitic is placed on the head of the NP. In (544b) the possessor clitic has moved
onto the right edge of the NP, and has the same distribution as the non-clitic form in (544c).
While in general possessor clitics are realized in the same position as their non-clitic
correspondents, hence seemingly exhibiting some simple syntax, there are some contexts (most

notably across Kurdic group) in which such a correspondence does not occur. The first of such contexts is the placement of 3SG possessor clitic in copular constructions after the person form of the copula, rather than on the right edge of the NP:

(545) *xošk-akān-n=ī̆*   EL[BCK]. 79
       sister-DEF.PL-COP.3PL=3SG:POS
       'They are her sisters.'

The expected construction would have been the one in which the possessor clitic would cliticize on the head of NP and precede the copula, hence:

(546) **xošk-akān=ī̆-n*   EL[BCK]. 79
       sister-DEF.PL= 3SG:POS-COP.3PL
       'They are her sisters.'

The reason for such an atypical ordering of the possessor clitic appears to be motivated by the strategy of 'avoidance', which is in charge of avoiding obscurity in the morphosyntactic information when morphemes form a concatenation (cf. (Menn & MacWhinney 1984; Yip 1998). One solution to avoid having obscurity in the order of morphemes is the change in the order of morphemes, while the other solutions are suppletion, haplology, epenthetic vowel insertion, etc. The expected ordering of the possessor clitic at the left edge of the NP and before the copula PM in (546) would result in the construction '*xošk-aka-ān-īn*', a construction in which the possessor clitic would have been analysed as part of the copula, blurring the information intended to be carried by the possessor clitic. The reordering of the possessor clitic and the copula in (545) solves this problem (see Öpengin 2019 for similar treatment of displacement of 3SG clitics in similar contexts in Mukri CK).

Furthermore, common to CK dialects, and some Gorani is the placement of the possessor clitics after the additive clitic in the structure of the NP, as in (547)–(548).

(547) *dang=īç=iš*   EL[GorT]. 16
       voice=ADD=3SG:POSS
       'his voice too'

(548) *kor-akān=īš=ī̆*   SB[SCK]. 9
       son-DEF.PL=ADD=3SG:POSS
       'his sons too'

However, the non-clitic form occurs before the additive clitic in such contexts: as shown in the contrast between (548) vs. (549).

(549) *kor-akān*   *aw=īš*
       boy-DEF.PL   3SG=ADD
       'His sons too.' (SCK)

These examples suggest that the placement of possessor clitics is subject to some complications, and is not straightforwardly simple in the sense of the so-called simple clitics. Apart from the examples above, in some languages possessor clitics show mobility in certain contexts, as in (550) form Laki where the possessor clitic leaves its head, marked by the underscore, and attaches to a preceding NP in the clause. Similarly, in (551) the possessor clitic leaves the prepositional phrase and attaches to the immediately preceding NP in the clause.

(550) *golāwī=**n**=īš*   *hā_*   *das-ā_*   PS1[LakK]. 42
      pear=3PL:POSS=ADD   existing.3SG   hand-ADP
      'They have pear(s) in their hand(s).' [lit. there is pear in their hands]

(551) *am*   *piyāw-a=**m***   *ba*   *das_*   *kawt*   IB[BCK]. 25
      DEM   man-DEM1=1SG:POSS   to   hand   fall.PST.3SG
      'I found this man.' [lit. This man fell into my hand]

The data from the corpus show that these cases of possessor clitic mobility occur only in intransitive clauses. In addition, it is mostly in the Kurdic dialects that this unexpected syntactic behaviour of possessor clitics is attested.

5.4.6 VP-based cliticization systems: summary

In previous sub-sections) different traits of cliticization in the languages with roughly the VP as the domain of cliticization were surveyed. It was seen that common to all VP-based clitic systems is the unavailability of subject NP, clausal conjunctions, and clausal adjuncts as clitic hosts. VP-based clitic systems rather opt for the verb, its direct object, and some indirect objects as the anchoring elements. This was reflected in a hierarchy for clitic placement in such languages according to which the left-most constituent within the VP is taken as the clitic host. However, a major isogloss divides VP-based clitic systems on the basis of the availability of morphological elements on the verb as clitic host (cf. Figure 27). The first group of languages, consisting of most of Kurdic and Central Plateau dialects, allow morphological elements to be clitic hosts. The second group, on the other hand, does not allow for this possibility, leaving syntactic elements as the anchoring elements. The following table, inspired by Haig & Nemati (2013), illustrates hosts and non-hosts for clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems.

Table 31: Possible clitic hosts in VP-based cliticization systems

	Central Kurish	Central Plateau	GorT., LakK.	Sivandi	Tatic-type	Koroshi	Southern Kurdish	Luri-type
clausal conjuctions	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
clausal adverbs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
subject NP	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
object NP	+	+	+	±[86]	+	+	x[87]	x
light verb complement	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
preposition	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
preverb	+	+	+	+	–	?	–	–
TAM	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
verb stem (present)	–[88]	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
verb stem (past)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Keys: + : the element in question is a possible clitic host

  – : the element in question is not a clitic host

  x : the element in question is irrelevant for clitic hosting

A further division between VP-based clitic systems concerned the mobility of adpositional complement clitics, based on which languages were divided into two groups (cf. Figure 28). The first group comprised the more conservative dialects of Kurdic group and most Central Plateau dialects: here adpositional complement clitics are mobile, and often detach from their adposition host. In the second group, the mobility is not the case and adpositional complement clitics have rather acquired an affixal status. It was held that the mobility of adpositional complement clitics can be understood in the light of VP-second positioning, in that the R clitics move onto the first element of the VP as their anchor.

5.5 Languages with the Verb as the cliticization domain

This section is an investigation of clitic placement in languages with the verb as the cliticization domain. Recall from Figure 26 that these languages are rather concentrated in the south of Iran,

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[86] In Sivandi, an object NP can only host a clitic PM if it's not *rā*-marked.

[87] In both Southern Kurdish (including also Laki Harsini), and Luri-type dialects, A-past clitics are absent. The mobility of clitics is only relevant for Object clitics, which are in complementarity with the object NP, hence the irrelevance of the latter as a clitic host.

[88] In both Central Kurdish and CPD, the verb stem in the present tense (as well as in the past tense of CPD) is preceded by a clitic hosting TAM affix. The latter precludes the verb to host clitics.

and include Nowdani, Bandari, Minabi, Lari, and Bastaki. Also Yazdi Zoroastrian from the CPD group and Semnani further to the north have adopted V-based cliticization. Apart from Semnani, other V-based cliticsystems have developed proclitic attachment and show some parallels with clause-based clitic systems (see below). In the following sections, we keep surveying the clitic placement for each of the major functions of clitic PMs.

5.5.1 A-past

As a general feature of V-based clitic systems, the verb is the anchoring element for clitic placement. It means that the verb is opted as the clitic host regardless of the number of earlier potential elements in the clause to host the clitic. The following examples show the placement of A-past clitics in V-based clitic systems:

(552) *golābi-al_*   *a*   *bālā-y* *deraxt_*   ***eš**=mi-či*   PS[Nod]. 3
pear-PL   from   top-EZ tree   3SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST
'He was pecking the pears on the tree.'

(553) *yekiyeki_*   *miva-yā_*   *bā*   *deqat_*   ***oš**=čī*   PS2[Lar]. 3
one.by.one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
'He picked the fruit one by one with care.'

(554) *golābi-ā-rā_* *yakiyaki_*   ***šo**=nā*   *tu*   *sabad*   PS1[YZ]. 19
pear-PL-DOM   one.by.one   3PL:A=put.PST in   basket
'(Then) they put the pears one by one into the basket.'

(555) *dār-iā_*   *xord_*   ***oš**=kerd*   CG[Bas]. 9
wood-PL   little   3SG:A=do.PST
'He chopped down the wood.'

(556) *se*   *tā*   *sabad_*   *āmāde_*   ***i**=kerd-a*   PS[Min]. 2
three   CLF   basket   ready   3SG:A=do.PST-COP
'He had prepared three baskets.'

(557) *i*   *māl_* *kari_*   *kar=**mun***
one.M house renting   do.PST=1PL:A
'We rented a house.' (Semnani _ Christensen 1915: 62)

In all the above examples object NPs have been regularly skipped as anchoring elements. Moreover, in sentences (555)–(557) the non-verbal element of the complex predicate has also been skipped for clitic hosting; rather, it is the verbal component, i.e. the light verb, that hosts the A-past clitics. In any case, the examples above illustrate the end point of rightward drift of A-past clitics across WILs, namely their realization on the verb. It should be noted that in fast speech, it is almost impossible to distinguish the attachment of clitics as a proclitic on the verb and not as an enclitic on the immediately preceding element, cf. (552)–(557) above. However,

this does not mean that the cliticization domain is not the verb in these examples. The clitic placement is not certainly defined with respect to the VP-second element here, since the object NP is consistently skipped for clitic hosting, and the clitic appears on the verb. The fact that the clitics can phonologically attach to the preceding element in (552)–(557) is argued to be a reflection of their ditropic behaviour (see below, but also §3.3.2.2.2). A proof for taking the verb as the domain of cliticization is that if a pause is made before the immediate pre-verbal element and the verb, the clitic always appears on the verb. It is shown in another version for example (555) below, when there is a pause (marked by ….) between the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate and the light-verb the clitic appears on the light verb:

(558) *dār-iā_*   *xord…*   ***oš**=kerd*   CG[Bas]. 9
       wood-PL   little   3SG:A=do.PST
       'He chopped down the wood.'

In any case, by taking the verb as the anchoring element the clitics resemble more and more verbal affixes. Note that Semnani rests aside from other V-based languages in having enclitic attachment of A-past clitics on the verb.

Another feature of V-based clitic system with respect to cliticization is that the verb-stem and its pre-verbal inflectional and derivational morphemes are not interrupted for clitic hosting. The clitic rather procliticizes (or encliticizes in the case of Semnani and less so Minabi) to the whole unit 'PVB/TAM+verb stem'. Examples (559)–(562) are cases where a derivational formative precedes the main verb.

(559) *bā*   *sizan*   ***š**=ā-doxt-a*   *kot=eš*   SL2[Nod]. 21
       with   needle   3SG:A=PVB-sow.PST-DRC   coat=3SG:POS
       'He sew (the list) with a needle to his coat.'

(560) *miva-yā_*   *jam_*   ***šo**=vā-ke*   PS2[Lar]. 20
       fruit-PL   collect   3PL:A=PVB-do.PST
       'They collected the fruits.'

(561) *āšpazxune_*   *pāk_*   ***om**=vā-kerd-e*   BO[Bas]. 19
       kitchen   clean   1SG:A=PVB-do.PST-PERF
       'I cleaned the kitchen.'

(562) *oš=vā-düt*   SM[Lar]. 27
       3SG:A=PVB-sew.PST
       'She sewed (it).'

In the same way, in the following examples the unit 'TAM+verb' has been opted for either pro- or en-cliticization: in (563)–(566) the clitic procliticizes on the TAM, while in (567)–(568) it encliticizes on the verb.

(563) *nun_*   ***om*=*ne-xard-e***   RS[Bas]. 17
bread   1SG:A=NEG-eat.PST-PERF
'I haven't eaten food.'

(564) ***m*=*e-na-vāt-ā***   EL1[YZ]. 9
1SG:A=TAM-NEG-say.PST-PERF
'I haven't said.'

(565) ***mā*=*xond***   EL[Bnd]. 5
1PL:A.IPFV=read.PST
'We were reading.'

(566) ***eš*=*na-lešt***   PS[Nod]. 9
3SG:A=NEG-let.PST
'He didn't let (the goat).'

(567) *a-xon*=***mo***   EL[Min]. 5
IPFV-read.PST=1PL:A
'We were reading.'

(568) *ba-di*=***šon***   PS[Sem]. 22
PUNCT-see.PST=3PL:A
'They saw.'

Note that unlike other V-based clitic systems of the south of Iran, Minabi prefers encliticization of A-past clitic on the verbal form. The reason for Minabi's atypical encliticization preference in example (567) and in similar contexts is assumed to be the contact influence from neighbouring Balochi dialects, which only have enclitic attachment (cf. §8.3.6.4).

Interestingly, among V-based languages, Yazdi Zoroastrian, and (less so) Larestani dialects of Lari and Bastaki seem to have generalized the V-based placement rule to complex predicates as well. Here, the light verb complement is also treated as preverb/TAM, on the verb, and is procliticized upon. In the following examples the complex predicates *qabul kardan* 'to accept'*,* and *ejāze gereftan* 'to get permission' have been analysed as a single unit for the placement of A-past clitic.

(569) *kosapošt*   *umā*   *vo*   ***še*=*qabul***   *kā*   KX[YZ]. 10
turtle   come.PST   and   3SG:A=acceptance   do.PST
 'The turtle came over and accepted (the challenge).'

(570) ***še*=*ejāza***   *gete*   *ke*   CG[Lar]. 2
3SG:A=permission   take.PST   to

oču-a   *dar*
go.PRS.3SG-DRC   out
'She asked for permission to go out.'

Evidence for the claim that the complex predicate is taken as a single unit for cliticization comes from the the following example from Yazdi Zoroastrian. Here, the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate *salumalayk kardan* 'to say hello' is analysed as an object NP in (571a) since it is accompanied by the indefinite *yaki* 'one', and is thus skipped by the clitic as a host. However in (571b), the non-verbal complement is not considered an object NP but rather forms the complement of the complex predicate. In such a case the clitic takes the complex predicate as a single unit and procliticizes to it.

(571) a.   *yaki*   *salumalayk*   ***oš**=kā*   */ yaki * **še**= slumalayk kā*   HB1[YZ]. 12
        a   hello   3SG:A=do.PST

     vs.

   b.   *še=salumalayk*   *kā*
        3SG:A=hello   do.PST
        'He said hello.'

So far, two traits of V-based cliticization systems have been pointed out, at least with respect to A-past cliticization: first, the verb is the anchoring element for clitic placement; second, the verb is not separable from its TAM and/or preverbal prefixes for clitic hosting: the clitic rather procliticizes or (less so) encliticizes to the whole unit. A third property of V-based clitic systems is that in immediate pre-verbal domains clitics show the traits of 'ditropic clitics'. That is, the clitic can detach from the verb as its syntactic host and phonologically attach to whatever element that immediately precedes the verb (see §3.3.2.2.2 for more details). Examples below are from A-past cliticization.

(572)   *pos-i=**m***   *binā*   */ posi*   ***om**=binā*   EL[Lar]. 15
      boy-INDF=1SG:A   see.PST

      *ke=**m***   *nā-šenāxt*   */ ke*   ***om**=nāšenāxt*
      REL=1SG:A   NEG-know.PST
      'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

(573)   *mo=**m***   *bo*   */ mo*   ***om**=bo*   BO[Nod]. 18
      1SG=1SG:A   win.PST
      'I won (against you).'

(574)   *vo=š*   *dozi*   *raft*   */ va*   *oš=dozi*   PS[Bas]. 8
      and=3SG:A   steal.PST   go.PST
      'He stole (them) and went off .'

In all the above examples the clitic has detached from its anchoring element, i.e. the verb, and phonologically attached to the immediately preceding element, which is an object NP and a complementizer in (572), a subject NP in (573), and a conjuction in (574). The A-past clitics

in these constructions can be considered ditropic clitics since the the phonological host to which the clitic attaches is unspecific.

To sum up, V-based clitic systems exhibit three properties with respect to A-past cliticization:

I. the clitic skips all the constituents in clause to attach to the verb as its anchoring element.

II. pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting, the clitic rather procliticizes (or less so encliticizes) on the verbal form. In few languages the non-verbal component of the complex predicate is treated the same as derivational formatives, hence the complex predicate is not interrupted for clitic hosting.

III. in the immediate pre-verbal domain, clitics exhibit the traits of 'ditropic clitics' and phonologically attach to whatever element which precedes the verb.

Finally, it should be noted that, apart from Semnani, other V-based languages demonstrate offshoots of Middle Iranian S2-assuring particle *u-*. The latter is also present in S2-based clitic systems of Dashti and Davani, where it has preserved its older function. However, in a V-based clitic system, the MI particle *u-* no longer guarantees second-positioning of clitics, rather resurfaces to assure that the process of cliticization would not violate the syllable-structure rules of the languages (cf. §3.3.3 for a full discussion). Not surprisingly, it is solely with the mono-consonantal singular clitic forms that the erstwhile particle appears. The plural forms are already syllabic and do not need to resyllabify. The paradigmatic form of the verb 'to see' in Larestani dialects illustrates this point. In §5.6 we will have cause to claim that these constructions arose out of the erstwhile clause-based clitic systems.

(575) *om=di*   [1SG:A=see.PST]   'I saw.'
       ot=di   [2SG:A=see.PST]   'You (sg.) saw.'
       oš=di   [3SG:A=see.PST]   'S/he saw.'
       mu=di   [1PL:A=see.PST]   'We saw.'
       tu=di   [2PL:A=see.PST]   'You (pl.) saw.'
       šu=di   [3PL:A=see.PST]   'They saw.'

5.5.2 Clitics indexing non-canonical subjects

The placement of NC-indexing clitics follows the placement tendencies enumerated for A-past clitic positioning. As for the first property, the verb is the anchoring element for the placement of NC-indexing clitics:

(576) me_   mā   doto-gar-o_   **m**=e-vā   EL1[YZ]. 67
     1SG   DEM   girl-DEF?-DO   1SG:NC=IND-want.PRS
     'I want this girl.'

(577) ye   nardebun-e   čui=am_   **eš**=bi   PS[Nod]. 2
     a   ladder-EZ   wooden=add   3SG:NC=exist.PST
     'He had a wooden ladder as well.'

(578) tanhā_   ye   tā   čuk_   hast=**om**-en   EL[Min]. 46
     only   a   CLF   boy   exist=1SG:NC-PERF
     'I had but one child.'

As for the second property, NC-indexing clitics do not interrupt the verbal forms (containing the verb and its pre-stem derivational or inflectional formatives).

(579) **om**=ne-mi-šā   CG[Nod]. 4
     1SG:NC=NEG-IND-be able.PRS
     'I cannot (come out).'

(580) **oš**=nā-i   alān   o-č-eš-e   dar   WC[Bas]. 4
     3SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS   now   IND-go.PRS-2SG-DRC   out
     'It is not necessary that you go out now.'

(581) **i**=nā-vā   be-rey   WC[Bnd]. 4
     3SG:NC=NEG.IND-be.necessary.PRS   IRR-go.PRS.2SG

     čub   be-bor-i
     wood   IRR-cut.PRS-2SG
     'It is not necessary that you go (out) and fetch wood'

Here again, exceptions arise in Larestani dialects, notably in Bastaki where the complex predicate is viewed as a clitic host and is uninterruptable for clitic hosting.

(582) ma   **ma**=xaš   ezā   BS[Bas]. 3
     1SG   1SG:NC=nice   IND.come.PRS.3SG
     'I like (to play with my fish).' [lit. My pleasure comes]

As for the third property, the NC-indexing clitics exhibit the ditropic clitic behaviour in immediate preverbal contexts. That is, while having the verb as their syntactic host, such clitics phonologically attach to the immediately pre-verbal element.

(583) har   če   to=**t**   xās   / to   **ot**=xās   SL2 [Min]. 17
     every   thing   2SG=2SG:NC   want.PST
     'Whatever you wanted.'

(584) se   tā   sabad-e   golābi=**š**   den   / ... **oš**=den   PS[Bas]. 2
     three   CLF   basket-EZ   pear=3SG:NC   COP.PST
     'He had three baskets of pear.'

(585) *hatā=š*   *ne-šays*   */ hatā oš=ne-šays*   BO[Lar]. 9
       even=3SG:NC   NEG-be able.PST
       'She wasn't even able (to put the cake in the oven).'

In the above sentences, the subject NP, the direct object, and the coordinator have phonologically hosted the NC-indexing clitics, respectively.

To recapitulate, the placement of NC-indexing clitics follows the same clitic positioning rule enumerated for A-past clitic placement in the previous section, further suggesting that the same clitic placement rule applies across the grammar regardless of the distinct uses of clitics.

5.5.3 O-indexing clitics

The cliticization of O-indexing clitics follows roughly the same tendencies as that of A-past clitics. As for the first feature of cliticization proposed for V-based clitic systems, O-indexing clitics (or non-flagged R clitics) opt for the verb as the anchoring element:

(586) *dāyen*   *komak_*   *š=a-dey-n*   PS1[Lar]. 18
       IND.come.PRS.3PL   help   3SG:O=IND-give.PRS.3PL
       'They come over (and) help him.'

(587) *negā_ š=a-kond*   SM[Bnd]. 30
       gaze   3SG:O=IND-do.PRS.3SG
       'He gazes at her.'

(588) *āhangar_*   *ševal_*   *š=a-det*   RS[Bas]. 27
       blacksmith   shovel   3SG:R=IND-give.PRS.3SG
       'The blacksmith gives him a shovel.'

In (586)–(587), the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate has been skipped for hosting O clitic. Similarly, the non-flagged R clitic in (588) has skipped the object NP to attach to the verb.

As for the second property of cliticization in V-based languages, i.e. the uninterruptability of the verb and its pre-verbal formatives, two groupings of V-based clitic systems regarding the placement of O clitics can be seen: in the first group the basic proclitic attachment on the pre-verbal formatives is preserved. Languages which follow this pattern include Yazdi Zoroastrian, cf. (589), Lari, cf. (590), Bastaki, cf. (591), and less so Bandari, cf. (592).

(589) *in*   *di*   *hemla*   *be-kr-ā*   *be*   SM2[YZ]. 6
       3SG   ADD   attack   IRR-do.PRS.3SG   to

       mi   *boz-ā,*   *šo=be-xr-ā*
       DEM   goat-PL   3PL:O=IRR-eat.PRS.3SG
       'That he (too) attack these goats, (and) eat them.'

(590) *sāb=eš*   ***oš**=nā-yr-a*   PS1[Lar]. 9
owner=3SG:POS   3SG:O=NEG.IND-let.PRS-3SG
'Her owner does not let her.'

(591) ***š**=a-res-et-e*   *peš-e   āsiābān*   RS[Bas]. 18
3SG:O=IND-send.PRS-3SG-DRC   to-EZ   miller
'He sends him to the miller.'

(592) ***t**=a-bar-om*   *sahrā*   EL[Bnd]. 8
2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG   desert
'I will take you out.'

In the above examples, the O clitic has procliticized to the inflectional formatives preceding the verb stem. These examples further suggest that the proclitic attachment is at work no matter the category of the formative preceding the verb stem: the irrealis formative in (589), the negative formative in (590), and the TAM exponent in (591)–(592).

Yazdi Zoroastrian and Larestani dialects are excepted in this group for taking the complex predicate as a syntactic word for clitic hosting.

(593) *me   tanhāi*   ***še**=šekār*   *e-kr-a*   EL1[YZ]. 34
1SG   lonely   3SG:O=hunting   IND-do.PRS-1SG
'I will hunt it by myself.'

The second group includes those languages in which clitics encliticize on the verbal form, thus deviating from the procliticization norm occurring with A-past clitics and NC clitics. Minabi and Nowdani belong to this group, cf. (594)–(595). This changing rule of attachment for O clitics from procliticization to encliticization is perhaps triggered by the copying of the corresponding constructions from Persian, and/or Balochi (in case of Minabi) as the contact languages.

(594) *be-reye*   *bi-ār-i=**še**   / *še=bi-ār-i*   EL[Min]. 73
IRR.go.PRS.2PL   IRR-bring.PRS-2PL=3SG:O
'Go and bring him.'

(595) *tama   mi-git=**eš**   / *eš=mi-git*   PS[Nod]. 18
greed   IND-do.PRS.3SG=3SG:O
'The greed overtakes him.'

Bandari shows some intermediate behaviour and sometimes allows for the encliticization of O clitic, most notably with negative formatives:

(596) *nā-šnās-i=**šon**?*   EL[Bnd]. 79
NEG.IND-know.PRS-2SG=3PL:O
'Don't you recognize them?'

Examples just surveyed were related to contexts where O-clitics cliticized on the verbal forms containing inflectional affixes (and negative formatives as well), and based on which two groups of languages were classified. The examples below suggest that such a grouping is also true when derivational morphemes precede the verb: here, Bastaki preserves the proclitic attachment, while Nowdani goes for enclitic attachment of the O clitic.

(597) ***oš****=vā-xon-em*   SL2[Bas]. 18
      3SG:O=PVB-read.PRS-1SG
      'That I read it.'

(598) *sang*   *mi-kond*   *tu*   *kom*   *gorg* *vo*   SM[Nod]. 38
      rock   IND-do.PRS.3SG   in   stomach   wolf and

      *vā-mi-duz-et=**eš***
      PVB-IND-sow.PRS-3SG=3SG:O
      'She puts (some) some rocks into the wolf's belly and sows it (the belly).'

Finally, O clitics also regularly display the 'ditropic clitic' behaviour in the languages of group 1, in that they attach to the element immediately preceding the verb in pre-verbal contexts. In the following examples, the elements which phonologically host the ditropic O clitics are conjunctions, cf. (599)–(600), and the verb of the preceding clause in, cf. (601).

(599) *tā=**š***   *veroš-ā*   / *tā*   ***oš****=veroš-ā*   EL1[YZ]. 71
      that=3SG:O   sell.PRS-3SG
      '(The man took the cow to the bazaar) in order to sell it.'

(600) *tā=**š***   *be-fereš-e*   / *tā*   ***oš****=be-fereš-e*   EL[Lar]. 71
      to=3SG:O   IRR-sell.PRS-3SG
      '(The man took the cow to the Bazaar) in order to sell it.'

(601) *om=ne-šā*   *bod-e=**š***   SL2[Bas]. 18
      1SG:NC=NEG-be able   COP.PST-COP.3SG=3SG:O

      vā-xon-em   / *om=ne-šā*   *bod-e* ***oš****=vā-xon-em*
      PVB-read.PRS-1SG
      'I hadn't been able to read it.'

Needless to say, V-based languages which prefer enclitic attachment for object clitics, i.e. Nowdani, Mianbi, and less so Bandari, are not expected to show 'ditorpic' behaviour, as shown in the impossibility of the verb of the preceding clause to host the O clitic in the following examples:

(602) ***om****=nā-vā*   *be-gin-om=**et***   EL[Bnd]. 72
      1SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS   IRR-see.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
      'I don't want to see you.'

(603) **om**=*ne-mi-ā*   *be-ben-am*=**et**   EL[Nod]. 72
       1SG:NC=NEG-IND-want.PRS   IRR-see.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I don't want to see you.'

In sum, the placement of O clitics is roughly parallel to the rule assumed for A-past clitic placement. However, in Nowdani, Minabi, and less so Bandari, O clitics deviate from the typical behaviour of clitics in V-based languages in two respects: first, they opt for encliticization on the verb, contrary to the procliticization norm in other functions. Second, as a result of their enclitic preference, O clitics do not exhibit ditropic behaviour. These deviations are assumed to have resulted from the heavy contact with Persian (or Balochi), a contact which apparently impacts O clitics earlier than obligatory A-past and NC clitics.

5.5.4 Adpositional complement clitics

In the previous sub-sections, it was seen that the placement of clitics which index direct arguments and subject-like arguments follows the rule of clitic placement in §5.5.1. If subjects and objects are regarded as arguments of the verb, then the cliticization of A and O clitics on the verb is the logical result of head attraction of these clitics on their head–the verb. It is then expected that the same 'head attraction' scenario be true of the placement of clitics functioning as adpositional complements and adnominal possessors. Indeed, this is the picture that we get in V-based clitic systems, and adpositional complement clitics remain attached to their preposition head. The procliticization preference is also held here:

(604) **š**=*az_bar*   *a_te*   *sabad*   *a-riz-en*   PS1[Lar]. 18
       3SG:R=for   in   basket   IND-pour.PRS-3PL
       'They put (the pears) into a basket for him.'

(605) *dāšt*   *š*=*e-kā*   **š**=*e_tu*   HB2[YZ]. 12
       hand   3SG:A-IPFV-do.PST   3SG:R=in
       'He put (his) hand in it.'

(606) *hama*   *čom-ā-y*   *ke*   *š*=*e-riz-ā*   SL1[YZ]. 20
       all   thing-PL-RESTR   REL   3SG:A=PUNCT-buy.PST-PERF

       š=*e_hemra*   *be-n*
       3SGR=with   COP.PST-3PL
       'All the things he had (has) bought were with him.'

(607) *čü*   **š**=*a_vā*   *be-kon-em*   PZ[Lar]. 4
       what   3SG:R=with   IRR-do.PRS-1SG
       'What should I do with it?'

In the above examples, the prepositions carrying different meanings have been procliticized upon. V-based clitic systems are not similar in the range of procliticization on the adpositions.

For instance, in Nowdani and Minabi proclitic attachment on the preposition head works only on the multi-functional dative preposition:

(608) *kār*   ***t****=aš*   ***om****=ni*   EL[Nod]. 70
       job   2SG:R=with   1SG:NC-NEG.COP.3SG
       'I don't have (any) business with you.'

(609) ***t****=aš*   *mi-ga-m*   EL[Nod]. 21
       2SG:R=to   IND-tell.PRS-1SG
       'I will tell you.'

(610) *kār*   ***t****=a*   *hast=**om***   EL[Min]. 70
       job   2SG:R=to   exist.PRS=1SG:NC
       'I have a business with you.'

However, with the adoption of prepositions from Persian, e.g. *be* in (611) or other contact languages (e.g. Luri, cf. 612), the enclitic attachment pattern of the source languages has accompanied the borrowed prepositions:

(611) *be=**š***   *komak*   *a-kon-en*   PS[Bnd]. 12
       to=3SG:R   help   IND-do.PRS-3PL
       'They help him.'

(612) *kola*   *eš=bo*   *si=š*   PS[Nod]. 36
       hat   3SG:A=take.PST   for=3SG:R
       'He took the hat to him.'

5.5.5 Adnominal possessor clitics

Like in other uses of clitics, the clitic indexing an adnominal possessor is also showing the endpoint of head attraction and is attached to its possessed head. The local realization of the possessor clitics is shown in the following examples:

(613) *to*   *nana=**mu***   *nes-eš*   SM[Lar]. 9
       2SG   mother=1PL:POS   NEG.be.PRS-2SG
       'You are not our mother.'

(614) *me*   *ha*   *māzar=**do***   SM2[YZ]. 8
       1SG   COP.1SG   mother=2PL:POS
       'It's me, your mother!'

Despite the overwhelming evidence that possessor clitics are realized locally in the NP domain, some constructions in Yazdi Zoroastrian and Larestani dialects point to the mobility of possessor-indexing clitics. In these constructions, the possessor clitic argument of an NP governed by a preposition leaves its possessed NP and procliticizes on the preposition.

(615)   *ya*   *mošta*   *ārt*   *e-kuz-ā*   *š=e*   *gal_*   SM2[YZ]. 15
        a   punch   flour   IND-hit.PRS-3SG   3SG:POS=to   foot
        '(The wolf) pours a handful of flour on his paw.'

(616)   *yeki*   *az*   *čub-iā*   *š=az*   *dast_*   *kat*   WC[Lar]. 10
        a   from   wood-PL   3SG:POS=from   hand   fall.PST.3SG
        'One of the sticks fell from his hand.'

(617)   *mehr-e*   *dot-u*   *š=a te*   *del_*   *a-kat*   PD[Bas]. 26
        affection-EZ   girl-DEF   3SG:POS=in   heart   IPFV-fall.PST.3SG
        'He was filled with the affection for the girl.' [lit. The affection of the girl fell into his heart]

In (615)–(617), the possessor clitic has skipped the possessed heads *gal*, *dast*, and *del*, respectively and procliticized to the preposition head of the prepositional phrase. These constructions show that the syntax of possessor clitics are not totally simple. In addition, they are further comparable to the parallel construction in Davani where the possessor clitic leaves its host, moves leftward, and ultimately appears on the clitic hosting particle *o-* (cf. §5.3.5):

(618)   *o=m*   *az*   *yād_*   *še-s-e*   EL[Dav]. 56, also hearsay
        PTC=1SG:POS/NC   from   memory   go.PST-EP-PERF
        'I have forgotten.' [lit. It has gone from my memory]

In discussing the correlations between Clause-based and V-based clitic systems in §5.6, we claim that the sentences in (615)–(617) might have previously resembled the Davani example in (618), and it was only later with the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain that the S2-assuring particle was removed from clause-initial position, leading to the proclitic attachment of the otherwise stray clitic to the preposition head in (615)–(617).

5.5.6   Deviations from V-based cliticization

One of the cited examples in the literature on the clitic placement in Larestani is the fact that the originally V-based clitic moves leftward onto the preposition head of a prepositional phrase when a PP precedes the verb (Dabir-Moghaddam 2008). Examples are provided below. Note that Larestani dialects are not the only one exhibiting this property; but it occurs as well in Yazdi Zoroastrian.

(619)   *mard-ü*   *gāw-u*   *š=a teke*   EL[Lar]. 71
        man-DEF   COW-DEF   3SG:A=to inside

        bazāl   *bu*
        bazaar   take.PST
        'The man took the cow to the Bazaar in order to sell it.'

(620) | *yāki* | *dārs-e* | *xeyli* | *xib* | *š=e* | KX[YZ]. 37
| a | lesson-INDF | very | good | 3SG:A=to |

| *xarguš* | *dā* |
| rabbit | give.PST |

'He gave a very good lesson to the rabbit.'

(621) | *golab-iā* | *š=a te* | *sabad* | *e-ke* | PS[Bas]. 6
| pear-PL | 3SG:A=in | basket | IPFV-do.PST |

'He was putting the pears in a basket.'

The presence of these constructions in Larestani prompts Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) to take 'prepositional phrase + verb' as the domain for cliticization in such contexts. An alternative analysis could be that the clitic placement in these contexts displays VP-second cliticization: then the syntactic host in the above examples would be the object NP, however, the clitic phonologically proclitizes to the following element, i.e. the preposition.

(622) | *ma* | *se* | *tā* | *kār* | CG[YZ]. 14
| 1SG | three | clf | job |

| *me=anjam* | *e-dā-z-ā* |
| 1SG:A=accomplishment | TAM-do.PST-EP-PERF |

'I have done all the three tasks.'

The problem with VP-second analysis is that it assumes two modes of clitic attachment; an enclitic on the object NP, and a proclitic elsewhere in the clause, e.g. on the verb, on the preposition. In addition, if one takes VP-second analysis, the clitic is expected to attach as an enclitic to the first element of the VP. However, as seen below, the non-verbal element of the complex predicate is not taken as a clitic host, while following VP-second analysis it should have hosted the clitic. The clitic rather procliticizes on the whole complex predicate as a unit.

(623) | *še=ejāza* | *gete* | *ke* | CG[Lar]. 2
| 3SG:A=permission | take.PST | to |

| *oču-a* | *dar* |
| go.PRS.3SG-DRC | out |

'She asked for permission to go out.'

In the same way, VP-second analysis cannot deal with the proclitic attachment on the prepositional phrase in the following constructions:

(624) | *šon=a te* | *sabad* | *nā* | PS[Bas]. 15
| 3PL:A=in | basket | put.PST |

'They put (the pears) into the basket.'

(625) *š=a te*　　*kesa=š*　　*e-ke*　　　　　　　　　　　　PS[Bas]. 5
　　　3SG:A=in　　sack=3SG:POS　IPFV-do.PST
　　　'He would put them in a sack.'

Our alternative analysis is that the procliticization of the clitics in constructions (619)–(625) exhibits indeed a residual of older Clause-based cliticization. A full discussion of this assumed derivation is deferred to §5.6. Here we simply summarize our analysis: briefly put, clause-initial occurrence of proclitics in these constructions is a residual of an earlier state in which the then enclitics would have the S2-assuring particles as their host clause-initially (though in the absence of other eligible clause-initial hosts). Later with the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain, the erstwhile particles were removed from the clause-initial position, leaving clitics bereft of leftward support. The stray clitics then had no option but to procliticize on the first element to their right.

5.5.7 V-based cliticization systems: summary

In this section we surveyed the facts of clitic placement in languages with the verb as the cliticization domain. Three general traits of V-based languages with respect to cliticization were said to be the followings:

   I.　　the clitic skips all the constituents in clause to attach to the verb as its anchor

   II.　　pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting, the clitic rather procliticizes (or less so encliticizes) on the verbal form. In few languages the non-verbal component of the complex predicate is treated the same as derivational formatives, hence the complex predicate is not interrupted.

   III.　　in the immediate pre-verbal domain, clitics exhibit the traits of 'ditropic clitics' and attach to whatever element which precedes the verb.

The first property is the opting of the verb as the anchoring element regardless of other potential elements in clause for clitic hosting. The second property refers to fact that the verb form with its TAM. and/or derivational prefixes is treated as an inseparable unit for cliticization. It was shown that in Larestani dialects and Yazdi Zoroastrian the non-verbal component of the complex predicate is treated as a preverb and is thus not interrupted for clitic hosting. Finally, the third property points to the ditropic analysis of clitics in immediate-preverbal domains.

These three properties were shown to be at the heart of clitic positioning in V-based pro-clitic systems. It was further shown that while the placement of A-past and NC clitics follows the mentioned clitic positioning tendnecies, the placement of O clitics (in Nowdani, Minabi, and less so Bandari) shows signs of weakening. For instance, the ditropic behaviour of clitics is absent. The same can be said for the placement of prepositional complement clitics: the basic pattern for V-based clitic systems is for such clitics to procliticize on their preposition head. However, with the borrowing of the prepositions from contact languages, e.g. Persian, Luri, the enclitic attachment associated with the borrowed preposition has also been copied in these languages.

5.6 Procliticization as a residual of Clausal second positioning

In chapter 3, under §3.3.2 we covered the extent of proclitic attachment in WILs. In §3.3.3 we offered an account of the development of proclitic attachment on the basis of reanalysis and or loss of particles that guaranteed the second positioning of clitics, referred to as 'S2-assuring particles', in modern languages with proclitic attachment. Table 32 illustrates how this reanalysis has happened when the cliticization occurs at the verbal domain:

Table 32: Presumed stages of the development of the *u*- particle before the bare verb stem

	1st stage	2nd stage	3rd stage
1SG	a/o=m	a/om=	a/om=
2SG	a/o=t	a/ot=	a/ot=
3SG	a/o=š	a/oš=	a/oš=
1PL	a/o=mu	a/omu=	mu=
2PL	a/o=tu	a/otu=	tu=
3PL	a/o=šu	a/ošu=	šu=

This section traces the syntactic effect of the rise of procliticization in languages which have adopted proclitic attachment. Our primary assumption is that with the abandonment of the clause as the domain of cliticization the S2-asssuirng particles lost their erstwhile functions, i.e. assuring that clitics are realized clause-initially. Consequently, these particles were either lost or reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigm. This scenario, on which we elaborate in detail below, is not uncommon cross-linguistically. For instance, Steele (1977) holds that the proclitic attachment on the verb in some Uto-Aztecan languages is a secondary development from the second positioning of clitics with enclitic attachment.

In what follows we argue that the proclitic attachment of clitics in WILs arose out of the previous enclitic attachment of clitics in the clause-second position (for a detailed account see

Mohammadirad & Samvelian :*submitted*). The cause of this shift was the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain, a change which affected the clitic-hosting function of S2-assuring particles. Consequently, these particles either integrated into the paradigm of clitics, or were totally lost clause-initially. Both these shifts left enclitics bereft of left-hand prosodic support. Eventually, in the absence of any hosts to the left, the stray clitics had to procliticize on the next element to their right. The issue is complex and is in need of exemplification.

Recall that S2-assuring particles are crucial to the understanding of clause-based clitic systems in Middle Iranian period, cf. (626) and the modern clause-based clitic systems of Dashti, cf. (627) and Davani, cf. (628): the particle resurfaces as clitic hosts when other eligible clause-initial hosts, e.g. a subject NP, conjunctions, topics, and clausal adjuncts, are absent in the clause. In the examples below the (complex) verb and its direct object argument are initial in the clause. The attachment of the clitics to the resurfaced particle holds the clitic's realization domain at the clause level. In other words, the particle prevents the clitics from having a VP-based realization.

(626) *u=š*   *gurg*   *ēw*   *grift*
       PTC=3SG:A   wolf   one   catch.PST
       'He caught a wolf.' (Parthian _ Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 311)

(627) *o=š*   *bad*   *me-am(a)-a*   *i*   *bače-k-e*   KS[Dav]. 8
       PTC=3SG:NC   bad   IPFV-come.PST-DRC   DEM   child-DIM-DEM1
       'She hated this kid.'

(628) *o=**mu**   *mi-košt-an*   EJ[Dsh]. 20
       PTC=1PL:A   IPFV-kill.PST-3PL:O
       'We would kill them.'

The S2-holding function of particle *o-* in (627)–(628) is a direct continuation of its function in Middle Iranian, exemplified in (626). On the other hand, in the V-based proclitic systems the S2-assuring particle *o* has now integrated into the paradigm of clitic PMs, as seen in the two rightmost columns of Table 32. Similarly, in the following examples, the erstwhile S2-assuring particle resurfaces only when the cliticization process yields an output that violates the syllable-structure rules of the language: in (629a) the *o* is resurfaced to avoid forming the non-licensed onset *mx*. In (629b), on the other hand, there is no need for recourse to the supporting *o*, since the clitic form can resyllabify with the following TAM.

(629) a.   **om**=*xa*   / * mxa*
             1SG:A=eat.PST
             'I ate.'

b.   **m**=*a-xa*   / * **om**=*a-xa*
     1SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST
     'I was eating.' (Lari)

The following pair further illustrates the contrast between singular and plural clitic forms with respect to the resurfacing of the now supporting vowel:

(630) a.   **oš**=*di*   / * *š*=*di*
            3SG:A=see.PST
            'He saw.'

       b.   **šo**=*di*   / * *ošo*=*di*
            3PL:A-see.PST
            'They saw.' (Nowdani)

Recall that proclitic attachment is not limited to a certain function of clitic PMs, e.g. A-past. Rather, the mechanism of proclitic attachment involves virtually all clitic functions: in the following examples, clitics with diverse grammatical functions procliticize: the A-past, cf. (631), direct object, cf. (632), non-canonical subject, cf. (633), prepositional complement, cf. (634), and possessor, cf. (635).

(631) *yeki*   *yek*   *miva-yā*   *bā*   *deqat*   **oš**=*čī*   PS2[Lar]. 3
       one   one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
       'He picked the fruit one by one with care.'

(632) **š**=*a-zen-**en***   PD[Bas]. 8
       3SG:O=IND-hit.PRS-3PL:A
       'They beat her.'

(633) **om**=*nā-vā*   EL[Bnd]. 72
       1SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS
       'I don't want (it).'

(634) *ye*   *bār*   *dige*   **t**=*aš*   *mi-ga-m*   EL[Nod]. 21
       one   time   more   2SG:R=to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
       'I'm telling you again.'

(635) *ya*   *mošta*   *ārt*   *e-kuz-ā*   **š**=*e*   *gal_*   SM2[YZ]. 15
       a   punch   flour   IND-hit.PRS-3SG   3SG:POS=to   foot
       '(The wolf) pours a handful of flour on his paw.'

In what follows, we argue that the proclitic attachment of clitics in their different functions is the result of the integration of clitic hosting particles into the paradigm of clitics. Our assumption that the proclitic attachment in the V-based systems in (631)–(635) can be driven from erstwhile S2-based positioning is further borne out by close parallels between the cliticization in V-based and Clause-based domains: namely, the existence of offshoots of S2-assuring particles in both domains, and the unavailability of verbal prefixes as clitic hosts in

both domains (see §5.3 and §5,5): the difference between Clause-based and V-based cliticization is that in the Clause-based clitic system the clitic attaches to the clitic hosting particle in the pre-verbal domain, hence no interruption of the verbal prefixes. The V-based cliticization, however, opts for procliticization on the verb complex. By considering such parallels and some other features, in what follows we propose that the S2-assuring particles existed in the earlier stage of V-based clitic systems. But, following the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain and the formation of new V-based clitic systems, these particles lost their erstwhile functions and were either removed clause-initially or reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigm. In both cases the resulting pattern was the absence of leftward prosodic support for clitics, which further led to the proclitic attachment of the otherwise stray clitics to the next element to the right.

As a first instance of the assumed derivation of the proclitic attachment out of the previous enclitic attachment, consider that normally neither in clause-based enclitic systems nor in V-based proclitic systems are pre-verbal morphological elements interrupted for clitic hosting:

(636) *u=š*   *nē*   *afsānd*
      PTC=3SG:A   NEG   plant.PST
      'He did not plant.' (Middle Persian_ Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 413, mpB.858)

(637) *o=**mu***   *mi-košt-**an***   EJ[Dsh]. 20
      PTC=1PL:A   IPFV-kill.PST-3PL:O
      'We would kill them.'

(638) ***mu**=mi-es*   / *o=mu*   *mi-es*   EL[Nod]. 69
      1PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST
      'We wanted.'

Sentences (636)–(637) show the clause-based clitic systems of Middle Persian and Dashti in where the particle *o-* assures S2-positioning of the clitic. However, in (638) the clitic has procliticized to the TAM prefix. Assuming that in the earlier stage of Nowdani *o-* was available to host the then clausal-second clitic, hence *o=mu mi-es*, we can hypothesize that *o* disappeared in the V-based clitic system of Nowdani, because the clause was no longer the cliticization domain and hence the requirement for the resurfacing of the particle eased. The stray clitic then attached to the TAM prefix in the form of a proclitic.

As another instance, it was seen that in some V-based clitic systems, i.e. Yazdi Zoroastrian, and less so in Larestani dialects, the complex predicate is not interrupted for clitic hosting, but is rather procliticized upon, as in (639) below. Now, given that in clause-based systems the particle *o-* resurfaces before the complex predicate to assure S2 positioning, as in (640) from

Middle Persian, and in (641) from Davani, one might assume that the particle *o-* had existed as well in the earlier period of V-based proclitic systems when S2-positioning was not completely abandoned:

(639)   ***ma*[89]=*xaš***   *ezā*   / *o=m*   *xaš*   *ezā*   BS[Bas]. 3
        1SG:NC=nice   IND.come.PRS.3SG
        'I like (to play with my fish).' [lit. My pleasure comes]

(640)   *u=**t***   *dašn*   *dād*
        PTC=2SG:A   gift   give.PST
        'You gave gift.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 426, mpB.928)

(641)   *o=**š***   *bad*   *me-am(a)-a*   *i*   *baček-e*   KS[Dav]. 8
        PTC=3SG:NC   bad   IPFV-come.PST-DRC   DEM   child-DEM1
        'She hated this kid.'

Another aspect to the assumed derivation of V-based proclitic systems out of the previous clause-based clitic systems comes from the cliticization of possessor clitics in contexts where the possessed NP is headed by a prepositional phrase. In the clause-based clitic systems of Middle Iranian and Davani the possessor clitic in such construction can be realized in the clause-second position by attaching to the particle *o-*:

(642)   *u=**t***   ***az***   ***pus***   ***tä***   ***bräd_***   *wist*   *ud*   *se*
        PTC=2SG:POS from   son   till   brother   twenty   and   three

        murd   *bawēnd*
        dead   be.PRS.3PL
        'And of your sons up to your brothers twenty-three will be dead.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 327, mpB 400)

(643)   *o=**m***   *az*   ***yād_***   *še-s-e*   EL[Dav]. 56, also hearsay
        PTC=1SG:POS/NC   from   memory   go.PST-EP-PERF
        'I have forgotten.' [lit. It has gone from my memory]

In the above example, following the S2-based placement rule for clitic positioning the clitic argument of *az pus tä bräd* in (642), and *az yād* in (643) is realized in the clause-second position. Now, it can be said that the proclitic attachment of the possessor-indexing clitics in the V-based clitic systems in parallel constructions is actually resulting from the loss of the particle *o-*, and the ensuing procliticization of the otherwise stray clitic to the next element to the right:

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[89] However, the adoption of an earlier S2-stage still leaves open the challenge brought about by the presence of the vocalic *a* on the 1SG clitic, i.e. *ma=*. This vocalic *a* could be considered a secondary development here.

(644) *mehr-e*   *dot-u,*   *š=a te*   PD[Bas]. 26
       affection-EZ   girl-DEF   3SG:POS=in

       *del_*   *a-kat*   / **mehre dot-u, o=š a te del_ kat*
       heart   IPFV-fall.PST.3SG
       'He was filled with the affection for the girl.' [lit. The affection of the girl fell into his heart]

The fourth candidate for the derivation of V-based from Clause-based clitic systems is the procliticization of the adpositional complement clitics on adpositions in V-based languages, while in the Clause-based clitic systems the particle *o-* hosts the clause-second adpositional complement clitic, as in (645)–(646).

(645) *u=t*   *dard*   *ud*   *danāh* ***abar_*** *nē*   *rasēd*
       PTC=2SG:R   pain   and   illness upon   NEG   arrive.PRS.3SG
       'And pain and illness does not come over you.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 303, mpT.220)

(646) *o=š*   *jaryān*   ***aš_***   *mi-ga-tā*   KS[Dav]. 21
       PTC=3SG:R   story   to   IND-tell.PRS-3SG
       'He tells the story to him.'

Taking these two examples as the earlier state of affairs, i.e. a stage where adpositional complement clitics were realized clause-initially on the S2-assuring particle(s), we might go further to make a parallel with V-based languages where clause-initial R clitics are procliticized to their head preposition, cf. (647)–(648). Such proclitic attachment can plausibly be reconstructed by considering an earlier stage where S2-assuirng particles would hold the clitic in the clause-initial position, which were lost following the abandonment of the cliticization at the clause domain.

(647) *š=az_bar*   *a_te*   *sabad*   PS1[Lar]. 18
       3SG:R=for   in   basket

       a-riz-en   / **o=š az bar a te sabad arizen*
       IND-pour.PRS-3PL
       'They put (the pears) into a basket for him.'

(648) ***t=aš***   *mi-ga-m*   / * *o=t aš migam*   EL[Nod]. 21
       2SG:R=to   IND-tell.PRS-1SG
       'I will tell you.'

Finally, in §5.5.6 we came across cases of procliticization in few V-based languages in where the clitics indexing A-past and O arguments would exceptionally attach to a prepositional phrase, instead of cliticizing on the verb as their anchoring element. Example (649) from Bastaki illustrates such a behaviour:

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(649)   *š=a*   *mamā=š*   *got*   CG[Bas]. 13
        3SG:A=to   mom=3SG:POS   say.PST
        'She said to her mom.'

This example is clearly not what one expects of a V-based cliticization system, for the A-past clitic is realized on the preposition head of a PP to the left of the Verb. It rather exemplifies a clause-initial proclitic. On the other hand, in (650) below we see that in the parallel construction from Middle Iranian the A-past clitic is hosted by the S2-assuring particle.

(650)   *u=š*   *o*   *mērag*   *guft*
        PTC=3SG:A   to   young.man   say.PST
        'He said to the young man.' (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014: 275, mpB.60)

Building on such a parallel, we can assume that in the earlier stage of Bastaki, sentence (649) was rather the same as in Middle Persian, hence **o=š a mamā=š got*, and it was only later that the proclitic attachment emerged (following the loss of the particle).

What we see so far is the close similarity between Clause-based and V-based clitic systems with respect to certain criteria, which would further highlight the rise of proclitics in the latter group. A last point to consider in the assumed derivation of V-based proclitic systems out of the erstwhile Clause-based stage is the fact that, as seen, V-based proclitic systems unanimously exhibit 'ditropic clitic' behaviour in immediate pre-verbal domains. Very interestingly, the immediate pre-verbal element to which the V-based clitic attach include, among other phonological hosts, the clausal conjunction, cf. (651), the subject NP, cf. (652), and even the verb of the preceding clause, cf. (653).

(651)   *vo=š*   *dozi*   *raft*   / *va*   *oš=dozi*   PS[Bas]. 8
        and=3SG:A   steal.PST   go.PST
        'He stole (them) and went off .'

(652)   *har*   *če*   *to=t*   *xās*   / *to*   *ot=xās*   SL2 [Min]. 17
        every   thing   2SG=2SG:NC   want.PST
        'Whatever you wanted.'

(653)   *om=ne-šā*   *bod-e=š*   SL2[Bas]. 18
        1SG:NC=NEG-be able   COP.PST-COP.3SG=3SG:O

        vā-xon-em   / *om=ne-šā*   *bod-e*   *oš=vā-xon-em*
        PVB-read.PRS-1SG
        'I hadn't been able to read it.'

Clausal conjunctions, the subject NP, and the verb of the preceding clause are among eligible clitic hosts in Clause-based clitic systems (cf. §5.3. In a way then, the ditropic behaviour of clitic in immediate pre-verbal domains of V-based proclitic systems, and especially the clitic

attachment to elements such as the verb of the preceding clause, though seemingly quite phonological in nature, could be regarded as a relic of an earlier stage of V-based languages when S2-based positioning was still at work.

To recapitulate, V-based clitic systems display close correlations with clause-based clitic system regarding cliticization in some contexts. These could point to the derivation of the former from the latter. The most important evidence for the assumption of such a derivation is the whole set of shifts that occurred to the S2-assuring particle *o*-. The latter is lost in the clause-initial position of V-based clitic systems. This shift which was caused by the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain, which further resulted in the rise of procliticization in V-based clitic systems. In the same way, the erstwhile particle *o*- was reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigm in the pre-verbal domain, again resulting in the rise of procliticization in V-based proclitic systems. Finally, it was shown that the ditropic attachment of clitics could be a hint in considering the presence of an earlier Clause-based clitic system of the now V-based proclitic systems. What we observe here is also reminiscent of the rise of proclitics in Old Romance as described by Wanner (1987: 237): "proclisis results from a lack of a lefthand prosodic support for the second position weak element or pronoun." The rise of proclicis in WILs is another illustration of the directionality of change in the clitic systems, where S2 enclitics ending up as verbal affixes realized as proclitics.

The derivation of procliticization out of the previous S2 enclitic attachment is also applicable to VP-based Central Plateau dialects. In some languages of this group, e.g. Delijani, Khansari, the relic of erstwhile particle *a*- is still available at the clitic paradigm (cf. Table 24 in §3.3.3). This makes it easy to reconstruct the older clausal-second positioning for the clitics[90]:

(654) *āw*   ***ašon**=a-bar-a*   / * *āw,*   ***a=šon** a-bar-a*   GX[Dej]. 18
       water   3PL:O=IND-take.PRS-3SG
       'The water will take them away.'

(655) *šomā*   ***ež**=e-vin-di*   / * *šomā, **e=ž** e-vin-di*   QB[Kha]. 17
       2PL   3SG:O=IND-see.PRS-2PL
       'You see him.'

---

[90] One way of assuming the existence of erstwhile *a*- particle above, is to further presume an external topic source of subject NPs, as is known cross-linguistically (Givon: 1976). Consequently, the particle in (654)–(655) above was resurfaced in the clause-first position for clitic hosting, since the topic NP was not in the same local domain for cliticization. This hypothesis, while possible, still does not explain why external topic should not be a clitic host in the earlier S2 stage. Unfortunately, the lack of historical records for CPD dialects make the task of reconstruction harder. An alternative analysis, which seems more plausible, could be that after loosing the clitic hosting function, the particle moved together with the person clitic forms to the preverbal domain.

In some other languages of this group, the trace of erstwhile particle is no longer available on the clitic paradigm, yet the clitic hosting particle particle can be reconstructed based on the assumption that the particle existed in the earlier stage of these languages.

(656)   ***mon=a-xand***   / *****amon=a-xand**   / *****a=**mon** a-xand**   EL2[Abu]. 5
        1PL:A=IPFV-read.PST
        'We were reading.'

(657)   ***t=e-vin-i***   / *****at=e-vin-i**   / *****a=**t** e-vin-i**   EL2[Nai]. 64
        2SG:O=IND-see.PRS-1/2SG:A
        'I see you.'

The question remains as why the majority of WILs went with enclitic attachment and did not develop proclitics. The answer to this question remains difficult considering the lack of historical records. However, we can assume that the role of clitic hosting particles was trivial at the earlier stage of languages with enclitic attachment, and that these languages had originally a rather syntactic version of the S2 positioning. The data from the Clause-based clitic system of Behbahani is telling in this regard. In Behbahani, S2-assuring particles are absent. The absence of clitic hosting particles means that, unlike other Clause-based clitic systems, e.g. WMI, Dashti, where the clitic hosting particle holds the clitic in the clause-second position, and thus reduces the eligible clitic hosts to elements like subject NPs, and clausal adverbs, in Behbahni no such restriction exists on the eligible clitic hosts, and elements of diverse syntactic or morphological categories can hosts a clitic, e.g. object NP, non-verbal complement of the complex predicate, TAM prefixes, preverbs, etc. The rest of languages with enclitic attachment, e.g. VP-based enclitic systems, exhibit similar behaviour to Behbahni, with the difference that elements like the subject NP are not opted as clitic hosts.

We might then assume that languages which preserved the enclitic attachment grammaticalized a more syntactic version of second position, a version in which the role of clitic hosting particles was trivial in the clitic system. More investigation into Middle Iranian data can illuminate the derivation of languages which preserved enclitic attachment. For instance, Brunner (1977: 108) holds that the particle *u-* is used less frequently in Parthian than in Middle Persian. The VP-based languages with enclitic attachment then might possibly descend from a Middle Iranian language, e.g. Parthian, in where the role of clitic hosting particle *u-* as a clitic host was not significant.

5.7 Summary of cliticization domains in WILs

In this chapter we provided a data-centred account of clitic placement across WILs. We characterized three major cliticization domains in WILs: Clause-based, VP-based, and V-based. Following a diachronic introduction to clitic placement in Old and Middle Iranian periods, we provided a detailed survey of each of these cliticization domains. A set of properties were shown to distinguish the clitic placement in each of these domains from those of other domains. For instance, clausal conjunctions, subject NP, and clausal adverbs are regular clitic hosts in Clause-based clitic systems, while such is not the case in the other two domains (except under ditropic clitic behaviour in V-based proclitic systems). In addition, a subset of VP-based systems allows for pre-verbal inflectional and derivational morphemes to be clitic hosts, while such is not possible in the other two domains.

In each cliticization domain, a rule of clitic placement was held accountable for clitic placement. This clitic placement rule was tested against the use of clitics in each of their major functions. We saw that deviations occur from the expected rule of clitic placement in some clitic functions. Most notably, adpositional complement clitics and possessor clitics have undergone 'head attachment'. That is, they are no longer subject to mobility on the basis of the clitic placement rule. The other factor triggering deviations from the expected clitic placement rule was argued to be languages contact. Though a full investigation of the effect of language contact on the clitic placement in WILs in awaiting further research, nevertheless we came across some deviant cases of cliticization, which could be explained under contact phenomenon. For example, few V-based systems were seen to prefer enclitic attachment of clitics over the expected proclitic attachment on verbs and prepositions, lack the ditropic attachment in some contexts.

The chapter ended with a comparative diachronic (and synchronic) account of syntactic effects of the rise of proclitics in WILs. We presumed that procliticization in V-based and VP-based proclitic systems exhibits a residual of earlier clause-second enclitic placement.

Chapter 6: Clitic-clitic and clitic-affix combinations

The previous chapter laid out the facts behind clitic placement in WILs. It characterized three general domains of cliticization across WILs: Clause-based, VP-based, and V-based. In this chapter we explore the consequences of having multiple clitics in a given domain of cliticization. In the most straightforward cases, these will result in clitic sequences, cf. (658), but also the disformation of one of the arguments into a verbal affix PM, cf. (659), and the tendency for the clitics not to form a sequence, cf. (660).

(658)   *čanē*   *pol-o*   *māl=**m**=**o***   SB[SCK]. 12
       how.often   money -and   property=**1SG:POS=2SG:A**

       xwārd
       eat.PST
       'How often you pillaged my money and property!'

(659)   *bo=**yān***   *gērā-w-**m**-a*   DM[BCK]. 18
       for=**3PL:A**   narrate.PST-PTCP-**1SG:R**-PERF
       'They have narrated (tales) to me.'

(660)   *dāyk=im*   *hilka-w-ron=**ī***   *bo=**m***   WK[SCK]. 29
       mom=1SG:POS   fried.eggs=**3SG:A**   for=**1SG:R**

       doros   *a-kird*
       right   IPFV-do.PST
       'My mother would make me fried eggs.'

Thus, one of the aims of this chapter is to investigate the internal order of clitics and the deviations from clitic clustering across WILs. In addition, the chapter gives an overview of constructions in which clitics and affixes are in concatenation, and tests the resultant constructions against the expected clitichood criteria.

In doing so, §6.1 provides a typological basis to the investigation of clitic ordering cross-linguistically, and lays out the factors that are determinant in the ordering of clitics. In §6.2, we explore the syntax of clitic sequences in present tense constructions, and in §6.3 such sequences are examined in past tense constructions. As will be seen, in both tenses, it is the argument hierarchy that determines the internal ordering of clitics, in a way that the higher ranked bound argument in the hierarchy occurs second in the cluster. In addition, in §6.2 and §6.3 an overview of the deviations from the expected clitic clustering will be given. These deviations include, among other things, a reversal of the expected argument-based ordering, triggered by 'avoidance' strategy, and the disformation of one of the clitic arguments into a verbal affix PM. Finally, in §6.4 we survey clitic-affix sequences in present and past tense constructions: this

section is an extension to Stilo's (1984) classification of such concatenations in WILs, and calls for certain morphosyntactic isoglosses across Iranian. §6.5 is the conclusion.

6.1 Multiple cliticization in a cross-linguistic perspective

Taking a constraint-based approach to verbal agreement cross-linguistically, Woolford (2003) claims that clitic alignment constraints coupled with cross-referencing constraints determine the existence or not of multiple cliticization in ergative languages. The issue is complex and is presented here in its simplest form. Woolford argues that agreement (or cross-referencing in her terminology) arises as a result of tension between several constraints, which leads to accusative or ergative alignment patterns. The devices used for obligatory cross-referencing are verbal agreement markers and/or clitics. Languages differ in (i) whether they prefer to cross-reference arguments (at the cost of markedness), and (ii) which kind of competing devices to use for cross-referencing: clitics or affixes. The relevant constraints for the rise of alignment patterns include: (i) a constraint that requires agreement with the subject, i.e. AgrS; (ii) a constraint that requires all arguments to be cross-referenced, referred to as XRef, though at the cost of markedness. To these, two more markedness constraints of not using clitics and affixes as cross-referencing devices are added, hence *clitic and *agree. The resulting image from the interaction of these constraints is five nominative-accusative cross-referencing systems as follows (Woolforf 2003: 7)

(i) all eligible arguments cross-referenced with agreement (e.g. Swahili),
(ii) all eligible arguments cross-referenced with clitics (e.g. Warlpiri),
(iii) just subject agreement (e.g. English),
(iv) subject agreement plus object clitic(s) (e.g. Spanish), and
(v) no cross-referencing at all (e.g. Chinese)

For instance, a language like English ranks AgrS constraint above all other constraints, while in Warlpiri XRef is ranked above all.

Woolford goes on to claim that the same set of constraints hold for the cross-referencing in ergative languages. However, since in the latter clitics are the preferred cross-referencing devices, a set of 'clitic alignment constraints' should be added to the theory for tackling ergative languages. According to Woolford, clitic alignment constraints (i) determine the positioning of clitics in the relevant domain (e.g. the clitic should be positioned in the leftmost edge of its domain); (ii) specify the ordering of clitics with regard to each other (e.g. on the basis of person hierarchy, syllabic weight, etc.); (iii) limit the number of clitics per clause, since there is a

competition between arguments to access the cross-referencing device. To better understand these constraints, some examples are in order.

As for clitic ordering, the relevant constraint could be triggered by different factors, e.g. syllabic weight, person, and case. In Haya (Niger-Congo, Tanzania), the clitic highest in person hierarchy (1 > 2 > 3) is closer to the verb, as shown in (661)–(662). In both examples, no matter the function, the person higher in the hierarchy is closer to the verb, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

(661)   a-*ka*-**mu-n**-*deet-ela*   / *a-ka-**n**-**mu**-*deet-ela*
        3-TNS-**3-1**-bring-APPL
        'He brought him to me.' or 'He brought me to him.' (Woolford 2003: 12)

(662)   *a-ka*-**mu-ku**-*deet-ela*   /* a-ka- **ku**-**mu**-*deet-ela*
        3-TNS-**3-2**-bring-APPL
        'He brought him to you.' or 'He brought you to him.' (Woolford 2003: 12)

Prosodic weight could be also a factor in determining the ordering in clitic sequences. In Tagalog, for instance, the monosyllabic clitic should appear before a disyllabic clitic in the cluster (Lee & Billings 2004: 197). In the pair below, the monosyllabic clitic precedes the disyllabic one, disregarding the argument status of respective clitic pronouns.

(663)   a.   *nakita ko*   *siya*   * .... *siya*   *ko*
                see   1SG.GEN   3SG.NOM
                'I saw her/him.'

        b.   *nakita ka*   *nila*   *... *nila*   *ka*
                see   2SG.NOM   3PL.GEN
                'They saw you.'

The last clitic alignment constraint is the number of clitics in the cliticization domain. If languages allow only one clitic per cliticization domain, then depending on some factors, e.g. person hierarchy, argument hierarchy, or syllabic weight, arguments compete to be realized by the clitic. As a result, only one argument is allowed to be realized by a clitic, while other one goes through 'disformation' into a different agreement marker with a distinct morphophonological status, e.g. a free pronoun, or an affix. As an example, in Maranao (Austronesian, Philippines), the sequence 'a nominative clitic first, genitive clitic second' is grammatical:

(664)   *di'=ako=iran*   *katawan*
        NEG=1SG.NOM=3PL.GEN   know
        'They don't know me.' (Kaufman 2010: 138)

However, the inverse order, though expected, leads to ungrammaticality. The nominative clitic then has to disform into a free pronoun (Kaufman 2010: 144):

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">EXPECTED ORDER</td><td colspan="2">ACTUAL ORDER</td></tr>
<tr><td>(665)</td><td>HOST=mi=kano</td><td></td><td>HOST=mi</td><td>sekano</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>=1PL.GEN=2PL.NOM</td><td></td><td>=1SG.GEN</td><td>2PL.NOM</td></tr>
</table>

More familiar examples of constraints in clitic sequences and the restrictions on multiple cliticization can be found in Romance languages. Gerlach (2002: 128) enumerates the properties of clitic sequencing in Romance languages as follows: "[i]n Romance languages, clitic combinations resist separation, they maintain a strict internal order, they are often confined to at most two elements, and they exhibit unique morphophonological behaviour." Under the first property, the clitics should be adjacent, hence the ungrammaticality of ex. (666. b) in Italian:

(666) a.   *devo*   *dir=**glie=lo***
           must.1SG   say=3SG:IO=3SG:O

      b.   ****gli*** *devo*   *dir=**lo***
           3SG:IO   must.1SG   say=3SG:O
           'I must tell it to him.'

It is the feature 'case' (or argument hierarchy) that determines the ordering of clitics in Romance languages, in a way that indirect object clitics precede direct object clitics, as in (666a) above. The only exception is the ordering of 3SG direct and indirect object clitics in French, where the order is reversed. Contrast the order in (667) with (668):

(667) *Je*   ***le***   ***lui***   *ai*   *déjà*   *montré*
       1SG   3SG:O   3SG:IO   AUX.1SG   already   show.PTCP
       'I have already shown it to him.'

(668) *Je*   ***te***   ***l'***   *ai*   *déjà*   *montré*
       1SG   3SG:IO   3SG:DO   AUX.1SG   already   show.PTCP
       'I have already shown it to you.' (Gerlach 2002: 130)

Consider also the deviation in the phonological form of clitics when resembling clitics are in a row. In Spanish the 3rd person clitics and reflexive clitics are identical, both having the form *se*. When occurring in combination one of them is deleted. The same pattern in Italian results in the substitution of one of the identical clitics by the 1PL or locative clitic *ci*, thus *si si* → *ci si*.

Finally, some clitic sequences do not occur in Romance languages because of factors such as animacy, person, and argument status. In French, for instance, the combination of 1SG object

clitic and 2PL indirect object clitic is prohibited (relevant to alignment constraints in Woolford's typology). In such cases, the indirect object clitic has to disform into a full pronoun:

(669) a. *Il   me   vous   recommend
            3SG   1SG:O   2PL:IO   recommnend

       b. Il   me   recommend   à   vous
           3SG   1SG:O   recommnend   to   2PL:IO
           'He recommends me to you.' (Gerlach 2002: 149)

Keeping in mind the general cross-linguistic tendencies on clitic sequencing, in the coming sections major characteristics of cluster internal syntax of clitics in WILs is enumerated.

6.2 Cluster internal ordering in present tense constructions

In this section we investigate the cluster internal ordering of clitics in present tense constructions. We will enumerate factors that are crucial in the formation of the cluster. In addition, deviations from the expected clustering will be survyed. As will be seen, the most straightforward examples of clitic clustering in present tense constructions are those in which possessor clitics co-occur with one of other clitics, e.g. object clitic, R clitic, and clitic PMs indexing non-canonical subjects. In such sequences the possessor clitic comes first and is followed by at most one of other clitics. We will see further below that argument hierarchy is the relevant factor determining this ordering. Let's move on to present one by one each case of clustering.

6.2.1 Co-occurrence of possessor clitic with object clitic

The first instance of clitic clustering to be shown here is one in which the O-indexing clitic follows the possessor-indexing clitic. Put differently, following the clitic placement rule, the object clitic appears on the first syntactic element within its cliticization domain. If the element in question has a bound possessor, then the object clitic will form a sequence with it. The cliticization domain is the VP in (670), and the clause in (671)–(672). In both cases the O clitic follows the possessor-indexing clitic, which has the NP as its cliticization domain.

(670) la   dāyk=**t=ī**   war-gir-īn   EL[BCK]. 75
       from   mother=2SG:POS=3SG:O   PVB-take.PRS-1PL
       'That we take it from your mother.'

(671) dim-e   som=**om=et**   mi-zen-am   BB[Beh]. 38
       with-EZ   hoof=1SG:POS=2SG:O   IND-hit.PRS-1SG
       'I will hit you with my hoof.'

(672)   *xo=**om**=eš*   *mi-ver-om*
       REFL=1SG:POS=3SG:O   IND-take.PRS-3SG
       'I take her/him myself.' (Delvari_ Haig & Nemati 2013, citing Mamasani 2005: 72)

6.2.2 Co-occurrence of possessor-indexing clitic with R-indexing clitic

The second case of clitic clustering is related to instances where an adpositional complement clitic forms a sequence with the preceding possessor-indexing clitic. The bound R-argument can be either flagged or non-flagged in these chains. If flagged, following the clitic placement rule, the R-indexing clitic leaves its head preposition and moves leftward to attach to the preceding element which already contains a bound possessor:

(673)   *bā*   *dafr-akān=**m**=ī*   *pē_*   *bi-šo-m*   KM[BCK]. 6
       OPT   dish-DEF.PL=1SG:POS=3SG:R with IRR-wash.PRS-1SG
       'That I wash my dishes with it.'

(674)   *dot=**om**=oš=ji*   *ve_*   *ti*
       girl=1SG:POS=3SG:R=ADD   to   give.PRS.1SG
       'I will give my daughter to him as well.' (Naeini_ Lecoq 2002: 502)

In both (673)–(674) above, following the VP-second placement rule, the R-indexing clitic leaves its preposition head, and moves leftward to attach to the VP-first element as its anchor. The anchor already contains a bound possessor argument, with which the R clitic forms a cluster.

Clitic sequences of the type just seen occur also in some other VP-based cliticization systems, however, with the difference that the R-indexing clitic is not flagged and is similar to an object clitic. This fact is shown in the parallel constructions below, where the non-flagged bound R argument of (exclusively) the verb 'give' forms a sequence with the preceding possessor-indexing clitic.

(675)   *tā*   *mā*   *det=**emun**=et*   *vā-dimun*   GX[Dej]. 29
       that   1PL   girl=1PL:POS=2SG:R PVB-give.PRS.1PL
       'That we give you our daughter (in marriage).'

(676)   *š-u-e*   *kelā=**š**=eš*   *d-u-e*   PS2[Nik]. 33
       go.PRS-3SG-IND   hat=3SG:POS=3SG:R give.PRS-3SG-IND
       'He goes and gives him his hat.'

(677)   *tā*   *mon*   *dot=**em**=et*   *hi-dān*
       that   1SG   daughter=1SG:POS=2SG:R PVB-give.PRS.1SG
       'That I give you my daughter (in marriage).' (Khansari_ Mann & Hadank 1926: 45)

(678) *mon   dot=**m=eš**   hā-na-don*
       1SG   girl=1SG:POS=3SG:O   PVB-NEG-give.PRS.1SG
       'I won't give him my daughter.' (Meymei, Fathi Borujeni 2013: 163)

6.2.3 Co-occurrence of possessor clitic with the clitic indexing non-canonical subject

In the sequences surveyed so far, both clitics in the chain pronominally realized their corresponding free forms: both possessor-indexing clitics and O- and/or R-indexing clitics acted as pronouns. However, in the following examples, the possessor-indexing clitic is followed by a clitic PM which obligatorily indexes the non-canonical subject:

(679) *mo   večā=**m=om**   gu-e*   SM[Jon]. 27
       1SG   child.PL=1SG:POS=1SG:NC   want.PRS-IND
       'I want my children.'

(680) *mon   in   dot=**ešun=em**   na-gā*
       1SG   DEM   girl=3PL:POS=1SG:NC   NEG-want.PST
       'I didn't wish for this girl of them.' (Meymei, Fathi Borujeni 2013: 161)

(681) *kār=**t=am***   *he*   EL1[Beh]. 70
       job=2SG:POS=1SG:NC exist.PRS
       'I have a task for you.'

(682) *pos=**om=eš**   davāzda   sāl-ā*   EL[Dav]. 78
       son=1SG:POS=3SG:NC twelve   year-COP.3SG
       'My son is twelve years old.'

The subject-like argument has distinct functions in the above examples, i.e. the needer, cf. (679)–(680), the possessor in a predicative possessive construction, cf. (681), and the attributor, cf. (682). Nevertheless, it forms a cluster with the possessor clitic.

6.2.4 Other clitic sequences

The clitic clusters with possessor-indexing clitics as one of the clitic sets in the sequence are the most common in WILs. Other clitic clusters exist as well, but are less frequent. In one sequence, an R-indexing clitic is followed by an object clitic, as illustrated by the following example from Southern Central Kurdish. Here, following the clitic placement rule, the O clitic attaches onto the prepositional phrase which already carries an R clitic.

(683)   *ama   bi-gr-a   aysa   lē=**d**=**ī**   a-sēn-im*
        DEM   IRR-hold.PRS-2SG.IMP   now   from=2SG:R=3SG:O   IND-take.PRS-1SG
        'Hold this (for a moment), I will take it from you now.' (Öpengin & Mohammadirad:
        to appear)

Note that the constructions of this type occur very rarely in WILs. The default pattern is often for the direct object to be left unexpressed.

(684)   *bo=**t**   bi-nēr-im*   EL[SCK]. 76
        for=2SG:R   IRR-send.PRS-1SG
        'That I send (it) for you.'

Öpengin (2013: 344-346) suggests that it is the pronominal expression of the R-indexing clitic that blocks the pronominal realization of the object clitic in such constructions. However, the issue seems to be simpler than this, and could be linked to pragmatic factors such as givenness of the object in the discourse structure, which further precludes the overt expression of the direct object, either nominally or pronominally.

Another candidate for a clitic sequence in WILs is the combination of an R-indexing clitic and an NC-indexing clitic, as seen below from the Xošnāw dialect of Central Kurdish:

(685)   *pāšā   īš=**it**=**ī**   pē_   ye*
        king   business=2SG:R=3SG:NC   with   COP.3SG
        'The chief has a business with you." (MacKenzie 1962: 210, §468)

Here the adpositional complement clitic has left its host preposition and moved on the preceding element *īš*, where it is further followed by the obligatory NC clitic.

A much less-frequent clitic sequence construction to consider is the one in which the object clitic is followed by the obligatory non-canonical subject clitic. It is seen in the following example form Southern Central Kurdish:

(686)   *arē   garak=**yān**=**m**-a*   [hearsay]
        yes   be necessary=3PL:O=1SG:NC-COP
        'Yes, I want them.'

6.2.5 Summary of clitic sequencing in present tense constructions

Major types of clitic sequencing in present tense constructions were displayed in the previous sub-sections. These constructions are summarized in the following table:

Table 33: clitic sequences in present tense constructions

1st clitic	2nd clitic	the sequences
possessor	object	[NP=CL:POS=CL:O (….) verb]
possessor	adposition complement	[NP=CL:POS=CL:R ADP]
possessor	non-flagged indirect object	[NP=CL:POS=CL:R (….) verb]
possessor	non-canonical subject	[NP=CL:POS=CL:NC (….) verb]
adposition complement	object	[PP=CL:R=CL:O (….) verb]
adposition complement	non-canonical subject	[NP=CL:R=CL:NC ADP verb]
object	non-canonical subject	[NP=CL:O=CL:NC (…) verb]

According to Table 33, the ordering of clitics in present tense constructions of WILs is determined by the argument hierarchy, as follows:

Hierarchy of clitic ordering in WILs

subject > direct object > indirect object[91] > possessor[92]

This hierarchy should be read as follows: in any possible clitic combination, one argument to the right occurs first and at most one argument to the left occurs second. This hierarchy duly predicts all the sequences in Table 33. Other major properties of clitic sequences in WILs include the strict internal ordering and a restriction on the number of person clitics to be at most two in a row.

An alternate way to interpret the cluster ordering of clitics above is to recourse to the cliticization domain. In all but the last sequence, i.e. NP=CL:O=CL:NC, the clitic which has its domain of cliticization as the clause or VP follows the clitic having its domain of cliticization as the NP, or PP, i.e. possessor and R-indexing clitics, respectively. Thus, in [NP=CL:POS=CL:O], the clausal O clitic follows the phrasal possessor clitic. This suggests that clause-level cliticization occurs after the cliticization at the phrase level. However, this scenario stills leaves unexplained the ordering 'NP=CL:O=CL:NC', since both O clitics and NC clitics have their domain of cliticization as the clause (or VP depending on language). Here, the recourse to the argument hierarchy for clitic ordering solves the challenge behind clitic ordering.

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[91] The category 'indirect object' involves both 'flagged' and 'non-flagged' bound indirect objects.

[92] This hierarchy is thus similar to the accessibility hierarchy originally proposed in Keenan and Comrie (1977) for the accessibility of different arguments for relative clause formation.

6.2.6 Deviations from expected clitic clustering in present tense constructions

In the previous section, we outlined that argument hierarchy is responsible for the cluster internal ordering of clitics. In some contexts the expected clustering does not occur, rather each clitic is realized in separation. In (687)–(688), for instance, the non-flagged bound R argument is expected to attach to the NP containing the possessor clitic. However, it remains in the proximity of the verb.

(687) *vaču=**m**_*   *hā=**m***   *de*   SM2[Bad]. 39
   child.PL=1SG:POS PVB=1SG:R give.PRS.2SG.IMP
   'Give me my children.'

(688) *a-š-en*   *kālā=š*   *hā=š*   *a-de-n*   PS1[Bad]. 25
   IND-go.PRS-3PL hat=3SG:POS PVB=3SG:R IND-give.PRS-3PL
   'They go (and) give him his hat.'

(689) *raxt*   *o*   *lebās=om*   *gō*   *telā=**m**_*
   clothes and clothes=1SG:POS with gold=1SG:POS

   *me-d-ān=**te***
   IND-give.PRS-1SG=2SG:R
   'I will give my clothes along with my gold to you.' (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 148)

This so-called deviation from expected clitic sequencing can often be related to the lack of expected clitic mobility in some languages. R-indexing clitics are expected to cliticize on the first element of the VP in such examples, however, they avoid doing so. Another reason for the disprefference of the clitic sequencing in (687)–(688), could be avoiding the ambiguity arising out of having two identical clitics in a row. In (689), on the other hand, the R clitic skips the prepositional phrase embedded in the object NP as a clitic host.

Similarly, in (690)–(691) below, the O and NC clitics skip the PP phrase with its accompanying R clitic as a host, hence no sequencing:

(690) *bilā=**t***   *bi-kiān-ī=š*   */ * bilā=**t**=iš*   *bi-kiān-ī*   EL[GorQ]. 75
   for=2SG:R IRR-send.PRS-1SG/2SG=3SG:O
   'That I send it over to (for) you.'

(691) *az_vini=**t***   *mo-gā=**m***
   from=2SG:R IND-want.PRS=1SG:NC
   'I want from you.' (Sivandi, Lecoq 1979: 137)

A reverse picture would be the lack of expected mobility for the lower-ranked clitic, as seen in the following example from Suleimani dialect of Central Kurdish.

(692)   *īš=**im**   pē=**t**-a*
       business=1SG:NC   with=2SG:R-COP.3SG
       'I have some business with you.' (MacKenzie 1962: 66, §163)

Here a cluster could have formed by the leftward mobility of the adpositional complement clitic on the preceding element *īš*, (hence *īš=it=im pē-ya*, as in ex. 685 from Xošnāw CK) but the prepositional complement clitic rather remains attached to its head preposition, hence no clitic stacking.

What these data show is the lack of expected clitic sequencing most probably triggered by the changing rule of clitic placement. A rather different cause for the deviation from the expected clitic clustering is the omission of one of the identical clitics in a row due to haplology. This is seen in the following example, where the O clitics elides in the presence of the identical 3SG R clitic:

(693)   *bo=y(=ī)*   *a-nēr-im*   EL[SCK] 76
       for=3SG:R(=3SG:O)   IND-send.PRS-1SG
       'I will send it to him.'

Clitic clustering is often dispreffered in the present tense constructions of V-based proclitic systems, for mostclitics that appear second on the cluster in Table 33 are specified to be realized on the verb as their anchoring element. Thus, higher-ranked clitics are not necessarily in the proximity to the clitics which have the NP or PP as the cliticization domains, especially since that these clitics might procliticize elsewhere in the clause.

(694)   *kār*   *t=aš*   *om=ni*   EL[Nod]. 70
       job   2SG:R=with   1SG:NC-NEG.COP.3SG
       'I don't have (any) business with you.'

(695)   *kār*   *t=a*   *hast=**om***   EL[Min]. 70
       job   2SG:R=to   exist.PRS=1SG:NC
       'I have a business with you.'

(696)   *dom=**oš***   *š=a-de-t*   RS[Bas]. 33
       tail=2SG:POS   2SG:R= IND-give.PRS-3SG
       '(The camel) gives him (back) his tail.

In sum, the expected clitic clustering is avoided by factors such as lack of clitic mobility, disambiguity, haplology, and restrictions on clitic placement.

6.3 Cluster internal ordering in past tense constructions

The previous section illustrated cluster internal ordering of clitics in present tense construction of WILs. Here, we present such ordering in past transitive constructions. Recall from §4.2 that

in many modern WILs A-past clitics are obligatory in past transitive constructions. Recall as well that languages are further distinguished with regard to the realization of nonsubject arguments via clitic PMs or affix PMs in past transitive constructions (cf. §4.2.3.2, §4.2.4.2, and §4.2.5.2). We begin our presentation by languages in which all arguments in past transitive constructions can be realized via clitics. A resultant pattern then would be the possibility of having multiple clitics in past transitive constructions.

6.3.1 Co-occurrence of possessor clitic with A-past clitic

As a first instance of clitic stacking in past tense constructions, a possessor clitic is followed by an obligatory A-past clitic. Here, following the clitic placement rule, the A-past clitic lodges on the first element within the VP or the clause. If such an element already contains a bound possessor argument (which has the NP as its cliticization domain), then the A-past clitic forms a sequence with it. Examples below are representative of clitic clusters containing of A-past and possessor clitics in VP-based cliticization systems.

(697) *čanē_* *pol-o* *māl=**m**=**o***   SB[SCK]. 12
how.often money -and property=1SG:POS=2SG:A

xwārd
eat.PST
'How often you pillaged my money and property!'

(698) *un* *ji_* *be* *āqā=**m**=**eš***   *bi-āt-e-be*   QB [Kha]. 15
3SG too to dad=1SG:POS=3SG:A PUNCT-tell.PST-PTCP-PPRF
'He had told my father.'

(699) *mo=m_*   *pül-ā=**m**=**em***   *barā*   SB[Mey].29
1SG=ADD money-PL=1SG:POS=1SG:A PVB.take.PST

de *refiq=**m**=**em***   *dā*
to friend=1SG:POS=1SG:A   give.PST
'I took my money and gave it to my friend.'

(700) *čarg=**eš**=**šun**=em*   *be* *düm*   PS[Dej]. 12
basket=3SG:POS=3PL:A=ADD to front

*čarx=**eš***   *nā*
bicycle=3SG:POS put.PST
'Also, they put his basket in front of his bicycle.'

(701) *golābi-ā=**š**=**ošni***   *jem* *ka*   PS[Nai]. 17
pear-PL=3SG:POS=3PL:A collect do.PST
'They collected his pears.'

(702) *sāb-ar=**eš**=**eš***   *m-āt*   QB[Cha]. 6
        owner-OBL=3SG:POS=3SG:A   IPFV-tell.PST
        'He would tell its owner.'

Such sequences occur as well in languages with the clause as the domain of cliticization. Here, following the clitic placement rule, an A-past clitic is realized on the first element of clause as its anchor. If the latter contains a bound possessor complement, then the A-past clitic forms a sequence with it.

(703) *pos=**eš**=**ešu**,*   *i.juri*   *ver_sar=eš*   *aver-se*
        boy=3SG:POS=3PL:A   such   to=3SG:POS   bring.PST-PERF
        'They have done this to his son.' (Davani_ Mahamedi 1984: 131)

(704) *dai=**m**=**eš***   *ejāza*   *dā*   CG[Dav]. 18
        mom=1SG:POS=3SG:A   permission   give.PST
        'My mother allowed (me).'

(705) *bābā=**t**=**eš***   *baqal*   *mi-kerd-am*   ZG[Beh]. 5
        father=2SG:POS=3SG:A   hug   IPFV-do.PST-1SG:O
        'Your father would hug me.'

(706) *buwā=**m**=**eš***   *besi*   *kerd-em*   EL[Dsh]. 53
        father=1SG:POS=3SG:A   sending   do.PST-1SG:O
        'My father sent me over.'

In the above examples, the first element within the clause is a topicalized object NP, cf. (703), and a subject NP, cf. (704)–(706). These clause-initial elements contain a bound possessor with which the A-past clitic forms a sequence.

What is common to both VP-based and clause-based cliticization systems is the formation of clitic clusters, in where, following relevant clitic placement rules, obligatory A-past clitics attach to the NPs containing possessor clitics. In both cliticization systems, the clitic sequence is only possible if the A-past clitic is not realized earliest in clause. For instance, the A-past clitic in (707) is placed on the subject NP, While the possessor-indexing clitic is realized later in the clause on the object NP. Here, the special placement rule of A-past clitic excludes its clustering with the possessor clitic.

(707) *mošk=**e***   *anbun=**am***   *ne-mi-dezi*   SG2[Beh]. 14
        rat=3SG:A   large.leathern.bottle=1SG:POS   NEG-IPFV-steal
        'The rat wouldn't steal my large leathern bottle.'

Cluster internal ordering has a different outcome in V-based pro-clitic systems. Here, the verb is the anchoring element on which the A-past clitic procliticizes. If the possessor clitic is in the vicinity of the verb, under certain conditions it can resyllabify with the A-past clitic and form a proclitic cluster on the verb.

(708) *mai_*   **t=om**=*xā*   BS[Lar]. 14
      fish   2SG:POS=1SG:A=eat.PST
      'I ate your fish.'

(709) *pādešā*   *a*   *bači-al_*   **š=eš**=*go*   EL[Nod]. 11
      king   to   child-PL   3SG:POS=3SG:A=say.PST
      'The king said to his children.'

(710) *māhi-ā_*   **šo=i**=*xārd*   *o*   *raft*   MB[Bnd]. 8
      fish-PL   3PL:POS=3SG:A-eat.PST   and   go.PST
      'He ate their fish and went away.'

In the above examples the possessor-indexing clitic leaves its host to the left, marked by the underscore, and forms a cluster with the A-past clitic. Certain conditions should be met for the possessor clitic to 'resyllabify' with the A-past clitic. First, no element should intervene between the two clitics. Second, the A-past clitic should either be a vowel-initial syllabic form, cf. (708)–(709), or a monovocalic syllable, cf. (710).

Whenever one of these conditions are not met the proclitic clustering is excluded: in (711), the additive clitic interferes between A-past and possessor clitics; in (712), the A-past clitic is neither syllabic nor vowel-initial; in (713) the A-past clitic is syllabic but not vowel-initial, hence no clustering.

(711) *kolā=š*=*am*   **šun**=*vā-dā-Ø*   PS[Bas]. 16
      hat=3SG:POS=ADD   3PL:A=PVB-give.PST-3SG:R
      'They also gave him his hat.'

(712) *dast*=**om**   *t*=*a-geret*   EL[Lar]. 42
      hand=1SG:POS   2SG:A=IPFV-take.PST
      'You would take my hand.'

(713) *kəlā=š*   *šo*=*dā*   PS3[YZ]. 19
      hat=3SG:POS   3PL:A=give.PST
      'They gave (him) his hat .'

6.3.2 Co-occurrence of R-indexing clitic with A-past clitic

A second candidate for clitic clustering in past transitive constructions is the occurrence of an obligatory A-past clitic following a locally-realized R clitic. This fact is illustrated in the following examples from VP-based cliticization systems:

(714) *lē*=**mān=ī**   *hal-kird-a*   *borān*
      from=1PL:R=3SG:A   PVB-do.PST-DRC   snowstorm
      'The snowstorm overtook us.' (Southern CK_ Öpengin & Mohammadirad: to appear)

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(715) *ez=**ež=ešun*** *vā-porsā* CG[Kha]. 3
     from=3SG:R=3PL:A   PVB-ask.PST
     'They asked her.'

(716) *heyvunāt* *ve=**š=eši*** *vāt*
     animals   to=3SG:R=3PL:A   say.PST
     'The animals told him.' (Naeini_ Lecoq 2002: 498)

(717) *un* *ru-ā* *ru* *yenguā* *iki* *bo*
     DEM   day-PL   in   Yenguā   one   COP.PST

     *ho=**š=šon*** *vāt-e* *QenberAli*
     to=3SG:R=3PL:A   say.PST-IPFV   PN
     'In the past, there was one (man) in Yenguā, whom people would call QanbarAli.'
                                          (Nikabad_Shafi'I Nikabadi 1998: 563)

In (714)–(717) the R clitic is locally realized on its preposition head and is further followed by an A-past clitic. A less frequent pattern would be for the R clitic to leave its host preposition and move leftward, but still form a cluster with the following A-past clitic. This construction was only attested in Southern CK and does not seem to occur elsewhere.

(718) *āš-ēk=**mān=o*** *pē_* *dā* hearsay[SCK]
     soup-INDF=1PL:R=2SG:A   to   give.PST
     'You gave us (a) soup.'

Examples of the sequence PP=CL:R=CL:A in clause-based clitic systems are provided below:

(719) *šā=**š=eš*** *mi-go* *kore* *sia* KS[Dav]. 18
     to=3SG:R=3SG:A   IPFV-say.PST   colt   black
     'He would call him black colt.'

(720) *dim=**š=ē***[93] *hey* *bāzi* *mi-ke* BC[Beh]. 9
     with=3SG:R=3SG:A   repeatedly   game   IPFV-do.PST
     'She would constantly play with it.'

(721) *si=**š=ē*** *ya* *sut-i* *za* PS[Beh]. 30
     for=3SG:R=3SG:A   a   whistle-INDF   hit.PST
     'He whistled for him.'

Note that common to both VP-based and clause-based clitic systems is the occurrence of a prepositional phrase with the locally-realized bound R clitic first in the clitic sequence. The A-past clitic later forms a cluster with such a unit. Not surprisingly, the possibility of clustering is excluded if the A-past clitic occurs earlier in the cliticization domain:

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[93] When third singular clitics occur in a combination in Behbahani, the order is one in which the =ē form always occur second in cluster regardless of the function it fulfils.

(722) *mā*   *maram ...*   *mardem=še*   *tu=š*   ZZ[Beh]. 9
       month   Moharram   people =3PL:A   in=3SG:R

       sine   *mi-ze*
       chest   IPFV-hit.PST
       'People would morn in it (chest beating) during the month of Moharram.'

(723) *aw*   *kanīšk-a*   *pāwšā*   *soāl=ī̄*   SH[SCK]. 23
       DEM   girl-DEM1   king   question=3SG:A

       lē=t   *kird*
       from=2SG:R   do.PST
       '(If) the King's daughter asked you.'

(724) *bābā=š*   *qisa=š*   *pina=š*   *kard*   KK[GorQ]. 2
       father=3SG:POS   talk=3SG:A   to=3SG:R   do.PST
       'His father rebuked him.'

Example (722) is representative of a clause-based cliticization system. Here A-past clitic occurs earlier in clause on the adjunct phrase, and the R clitic is locally realized, hence no clustering. Likewise, in (723)–(724) as instances of VP-based clitic systems, the A-past clitic occurs earlier in the cliticization domain (i.e. VP): this further excludes the latter to form a cluster with the R clitic, which is realized locally on its head preposition. Note further that in neither of the examples are R clitics mobile, which also leads to the lack of clustering.

The cluster internal ordering of clitics in V-based clitic systems is different from the internal ordering of clitics in VP-based and clause-based ones. Here, A-past clitics have the verb as their anchoring element, and are realized on the latter. If an R clitic is immediately preceding the A-past clitic, under certain conditions it can leave its host preposition and form a cluster with the A-past clitic. The resultant pattern is a proclitic cluster, in which the A-past clitic is the one closer to the verb. The conditions are similar to the proclitic cluster consisting of possessor and A-past clitics. Thus, the morphophonological form of the clitics determines the viability of clitic clustering.

(725) *se*   *tā*   *golābi* *be_*   *šo=i-dā*   PS[Bnd]. 15
       three   CLF   pear   to   3PL:R=3SG:A-give.PST
       'He gave them three pears.'

(726) *be_*   *š=i=goft*   SL2[Bnd]. 21
       to   3SG:R=3SG:A=tell.PST
       'She told him'

(727) *az_*   *šo=(o)m=pārso*   [conjugation]
       from   3PL:R=1SG:A=ask.PST
       'I asked them.'

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In the examples above: the A-past clitic is vocalic-initial in (725)–(726), and syllabic in (727). In addition, in (726), although both clitics share the same person and number, yet they do not possess the same morphophonological shape. Taken together, these conditions allow for the resyllabification of the adpositional complement clitic with the adjacent A-past clitic as a cluster on the verb. Such a proclitic cluster is excluded when one of the conditions above are not met, as in (728) where the A-past clitic is consonant-initial.

(728) *brā=**m**   **šo**=ārt*   [conjugation, YZ]
       for=1SG:R   3PL:A=bring.PST
       'They brought (it) for me.'

6.3.3 Co-occurrence of an O clitic with an A-past clitic

Following the tense-sensitive alignment, bound realization of direct objects in past transitive constructions is via verbal affix PMs in the majority of WILs (cf. §4.2.3.3, Figure 19). However, tense-sensitive alignment is weekend in some languages, and clitic PMs have generalized to conditionally index bound direct objects in past transitive constructions. The languages exhibiting this pattern are Southern Central Kurdish, Gorani Qal'eh, Nowdani, Bandari, (less so) Minabi), and few other languages. Given that in this group of languages A-past clitics are obligatory in past transitive constructions, multiple cliticization occurs. As for the cluster internal ordering, three patterns prevail for the ordering of A and O clitics. In the first pattern, which is typical of Southern Central Kurdish and Gorani Qal'eh, the O clitic comes first and the A-past clitic follows it.

(729) *zerīfīkaw   niyā=**šān**=**iš**   nām   sabad-aga*   PS[GorQ]. 4
       gently   put.PST=3PL:O=3SG:A into   basket-DEF
       'Gently, he put them into the basket.'

(730) *kor-ēk=im   dī   ka*   EL[SCK]. 15
       boy-INDF=1SG:A   see.PST   that

       *na=**y**=**im**-a-nāsī*
       NEG=3SG:O=1SG:A-IPFV-know.PST
       'I saw a boy, whom I wouldn't recognize.'

In the above examples the verb, cf. (729), and the negative formative, cf. (730), host the clitic cluster comprising of O and A-past clitics.

The second pattern concerns languages like Sivandi, and Chali. These languages rarely mark direct objects by clitic pronouns, rather the latter are in general marked by independent oblique pronouns (in case of Chali) or '*rā*'-marked free pronouns (in case of Sivandi). However, in few

occasions informants employed clitics to realize direct objects, and hence opted for clitic clusters in which O clitics and A-past clitics would occur in a sequence. In such cases, the order is A-past clitic first, O clitic second. Interestingly, this ordering is different from all the cases of clitic clustering in VP-based languages, which are based on argument hierarchy and in where the higher-ranked argument appears second in the cluster. Given that these constructions in Sivandi and Chali are most probably recent, the distinct ordering of clitics in the cluster seems to be a replication of the order of core arguments on the verb in Persian.[94]

(731) *be-köšt=**em=iš***   EL[Cha]. 13
      PUNCT-kill.PST=1SG:A=3SG:O
      'I killed him.'

(732) *aval*   *na-šenāxt=**em=ešā***   EL[Siv]. 45
      first   NEG-know.PST=1SG:A=3PL:O
      'I didn't recognize them in the beginning.'

An alternative account would be to analyse the ordering in the cluster as replicating that of person clitics and affixes on the verb in present tense constructions, as seen in (733). That is, if having the possibility to form a sequence of arguments on the verb, the speakers would choose to generalize the same ordering of core arguments in present tense constructions to that of past tense constructions.

(733) *hazer-i*   *čemen*   *nokar*   *ābāš*   AV[Cha]. 10
      ready-COP.2SG   1SG.OBL   servant   be.IRR.2SG

      yā   *be-koš-**em=i***
      or   IRR-kill.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
      'Are you ready to become my servant or I shall kill you?

Finally, in the V-based clitic system of Bandari one can see a different treatment of A-past and O clitics in the cluster. Here, the A-past clitic is the one closest to the verb, and the O clitic precedes the A-past clitic.

(734) *bey*   *če_*   ***š=et=kost***   EL[Bnd]. 13
      for   what   3SG:O=2SG:A=kill.PST
      'Why did you kill him?'

(735) ***šo=(o)m=bord***   [conjugation]
      3PL:O=1SG:A=take.PST
      'I took them.'

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[94] Note that in both examples, the clitic form indexing A-past clitic, i.e. 1SG is identical to the corresponding form in the Verbal affix PM paradigm. The speakers thus might have generalized the pattern associated with the present tense to the past tense on the basis of the identicality of 1SG person forms indexing the subject argument.

6.3.4 Summary of clitic sequencing in past transitive constructions

As seen in previous (sub)sections, the cluster internal ordering of clitics in past transitive constructions is of two major subtypes. The first subtype comprises languages with Clause-based and VP-based cliticization systems. Here, as with present tense constructions, the cluster is an enclitic on some host. Major enclitic sequences of this subtype are summarized below:

Table 34: Enclitic clusters in the past transitive constructions

1st clitic	2nd clitic	Synactic construction	Languages
possessor	A-past	[NP=CL:POS=CL:A (….) verb]	most VP-based, and Clause-based systems
adposition complement	A-past	[PP=CL:R=CL:A (…) verb]	most VP-based, and clause-based systems
object	A-past	[host=CL:O=CL:A verb] or [verb=CL:O=CL:A]	Southern CK, Gorani Qal'eh
A-past	object	[verb=CL:A=CL:O]	Chali, Sivandi

Apart from the last pattern associated with nascent clitic clustering in Chali and Sivandi, what determines the ordering in the rest of constructions in Table 34 is the argument hierarchy (A > O > IO > POS). That is, in each cluster the element that is higher-ranked in the argument hierarchy occurs second in the cluster. In the first three rows of Table 34 it is the A-past clitic that occurs after non-subject bound arguments. On the other hand, the pattern associated with Chali and Sivandi is assumed to be a replication of the Persian pattern of ordering arguments on the verb.

The second subtype of clitic clustering occurs in mainly V-based cliticization systems. Here, depending on some specific conditions, each of possessor, R, and O clitics can form a proclitic cluster with the A-past clitic on the verb.

Table 35: proclitic clusters in past transitive constructions

1st clitic	2nd clitic	resulting sequences
possessor	A-past	[NP CL:POS=CL:A=verb]
adposition complement	A-past	[PP CL:R=CL:A=verb]
object	A-past	[host CL:O=CL:A=verb] or [CL:O=CL:A=verb]

The same argument hierarchy applies for the ordering of clitics in the sequence. In each cluster, it is the A-past clitic that is closest to the verb, while the non-subject clitic adjoins secondarily to the unit CL:A=verb.

Overall, the survey of clitic sequences in WILs suggests that both in present tense constructions and in past tense constructions, the argument hierarchy is responsible for cluster internal ordering of clitics. In this sense, WILs resemble Romance languages. In the latter, disregarding some exceptions, the ordering is also determined by argument hierarchy in a way that in a combination of an indirect object (IO) clitic and a direct object (DO) clitic, the order is: IO first, DO second.

6.3.5 Deviations from expected clitic clustering in past transitive constructions

A range of clitic clustering phenomena in WILs were presented above. As explained, argument hierarchy is the triggering factor behind the ordering of clitics across investigated WILs. However, deviations occur from the expected clitic clustering in some contexts. These contexts are classified into the following: (i) the order in the clitic cluster is not based on the argument hierarchy; (ii) one of the identical clitics in the cluster is deleted due to haplology; (iii) despite the expected clitic sequence, only one argument can be realized via a clitic while the other argument should disform into a verbal affix PM. In what follows we examine these deviations from the expected clitic clustering.

6.3.5.1 The ordering is not based on the argument hierarchy

It was demonstrated that the ordering in the clitic clusters across WILs is based on argument hierarchy whether such a cluster is an enclitic on the relevant host, or a proclitic on the verb. In each case the clitic higher in argument hierarchy appears after the one lower in the argument hierarchy. However, in one example from the Tati dialect Chali we came across the following order in the cluster, in which, quite unexpectedly, the A-past clitic is placed before the possessor clitic:

(736) *xāk-ar=**em=i***   *un-dā*   EL[Cha]. 41
       sister-OBL=1SG:A=2SG:POS   PVB-give.PST
       'I gave your sister (in marriage).'

What is unexpected in this ordering is that contrary to the argument hierarchy the A-past clitic is placed before the possessor clitic, while the expected construction would be:

(737) EXPECTED CONSTRCTION   ACTUAL CONSTRUCTION
    *xāk-ar=**i=m**   xāk-ar=**em=i**
     sister=2SG:POSS=1SG:A   sister-OBL=1SG:A=2SG:POS

In terms of the cliticization domain, we see that in the actual construction the possessor clitic, with the NP as its domain of cliticization has occurred external to the A-past clitic, which has the VP as its domain of cliticization. This ordering is not congruent with the fact that clause-level cliticization occurs after phrase level cliticization. The reason for the displacement of the possessor clitic here is related to the strategy of 'identity avoidance', a tool used by the grammar requiring sequence of elements to be arranged in a way that do not disrupt morphosyntactic information they are expected to express (see Yip 1998). In (736), the 2SG clitic is a vowel-only form. Its placement before the A-past clitic obscures its expressiveness, and would result in the interpretation of the expected construction as if the vowel-only 2SG clitic was part of the syllabic A-past clitic (or alternatively an oblique case affix). This would further lead to a change in the intended meaning:

(738) *xāk-ar=**im**   un-dā
     sister-OBL=1SG:A   PVB-give.PST
    'I gave (my) sister.'

The obscurity resulting from the expected order is solved by the avoidance strategy, through which the possessor clitic displaces from its head NP and occurs after the A-past clitic, hence the actual order in (737).

6.3.5.2 Deletion of identical clitics in a cluster

A rather different reason for disfavouring a clitic cluster is the occurrence of identical clitics in a row, in which case one of them is deleted, as in (739)–(740) below:

(739) xo=y   tamīs kird-aw   / xo=y=ī   PS[BCK]. 13
     REFL=3SG:POSS/A   clean do.PST-ASP
    'He clean himself.'

(740) birā-ka=m   hēnā   / birā-ka=m=im hēnā   EL[BCK]. 69
     brother-DEF=1SG:POSS/A   bring.PST

    lagal   xo=m
    with   REFL=1SG
    'I brought my brother with me.'

In (739), the 3SG clitic on the reflexive base expressed both the possessive clitic and the A-past clitic. In (740) the identical 1SG clitic forms in the cluster are reduce to one clitic. In such

contexts then one clitic expresses two grammatical roles at the same time. The reduction of identical clitics to one is an instance of 'haplology'.

It should be noted that the omission of identical clitics in a row seems not to be an option in most investigated languages. In §6.3.1 some examples were seen in which languages tolerate clitic clusters with identical clitic forms.

(741) *mo=m_*   *pül-ā=**m**=**em***   *barā*   SB[Mey]. 29
1SG=ADD   money-PL=1SG:POS=1SG:A   PVB.take.PST

de   *refiq=**m**=**em***   *dā*
to   friend=1SG:POS=1SG:A   give.PST
'I took my money and gave it to my friend.'

(742) *min*   *šans*   *xwa=**m**=**im***   *xawar-aw*   *kird*   SH[SCK]. 34
1SG   luck   REFL=1SG:POSS=1SG:A   call-ASP   do.PST
'I awakened my luck.'

6.3.5.3 One clitic per cliticization domain

It was seen in chapter 4, under §4.2 that in past transitive constructions of some WILs the pronominal expression of direct objects and (less so) indirect objects and possessors swaps to verbal affix PMs. In other words, the expression of such non-subject arguments disforms into a verbal affix PM, despite the fact that they are expected to be realized by clitic PMs, as in present tense constructions. Examples are provided below:

(743) *ike*   *ika*   *qurt=**e***   *be-du-**an***   SM[Abu]. 25
one   one   swallow=3SG:A   PUNCT-give.PST-3PL:O
'He swallowed them one by one.'

(744) *dast=oš=am*   ***š**=a*   *nešū*   *dād-**en***   SM[Lar]. 15
hand=3SG:POS=ADD   3SG:A=to   show   give.PST-3PL:R
'He showed them his hand too.'

(745) *yak*   *temen=**šu***   *hā-dā-**yma***   LS[Mey]. 25
one   toman=3PL:A   PVB-give.PST-1PL:R
'(As for salary) they gave us but one Toman.'

(746) *das=**t**-a*   *ma-girt-**im***   EL[LakK]. 42
hand=2SG:A-IPFV   IPFV-take.PST-1SG:POS
'You would take my hand.'

As can be seen different non-subject arguments have been realized via verbal affix PMs: the direct object in (743), the flagged indirect object in (744), the non-flagged indirect object in (745), and the possessor bound argument in (746). In each case, following the clitic placement

rule the higher-rank A-past clitic has taken over the slot of the non-subject argument and the latter has moved on the verb for its realization, yet in the guise of a verbal affix PM.

The disformation of clitics in such constructions has led to a good deal of debate among linguists working on Iranian languages, a gist of which is presented in the following lines. There are three main approaches to the disformation of clitics in past transitive constructions, vouched in Samvelian (2007a, 2007b); Öpengin (2013); and Haig (2013, 2018a). Öpengin provides a unified constraint-based account for the totality of constructions with the disformation of clitics to affixes in Mukri Central Kurdish (similar to ex. (743)–(746) above). On the other hand, Samvelian and Haig provide accounts for only a subset of constructions with disformation.

To start with the account in Öpengin (2013), the author follows Woolford (2003) in taking a constraint-based approach to the analysis of constructions with disformation in the Mukri dialect of Central Kurdish. Öpengin (2013) holds that disformation is the result of the interaction between the constraints on clitic sequencing, on the one hand, and the clitic placement principle, on the other. Under the former, the alignment constraint restricts the number of clitics in each cliticization domain to one, while under the latter, clitics compete for the left-most edge of the cliticization domain following the clitic placement rule. In both cases, following the argument hierarchy, it is the higher-ranked clitic that would lodge on the left-most edge of its domain while the lower-ranked argument disforms into a verbal affix and is realized on the verb. Öpengin's account applies for all the constructions above in (743)–(746). Although this account has the advantage of providing a unified synchronic account for the phenomenon of disformation, however, it disregards the diachronic motivation behind the disformation. For instance, it was explained that the degrammaticalization of originally O-agreement Vaff PMs in past transitive constructions is the result of the loss of canonical ergativity. The verbal affix PM continued to index direct object arguments but pronominally and only in the absence of a co-referent NP (see below for more explanations).

Samvelian (2007a, 2007b) lays out an 'argument composition' account for the disformation phenomenon in Central Kurdish within the HSPG framework. She only applies this account to the disformation of the clitic complement of an adposition, and suggests that the absolute preposition in examples like the one in (744) is an unsaturated argument and its argument properties is inherited by the verb. the argument of the absolute preposition thus moves on to the verb, yet considering that the verb is its host the argument's realization changes into a verbal affix PM.

Finally, Haig (2017; 2018a) has a more functionally-based explanation for the examples of the realization of non-core arguments by verbal affix PMs. He suggests that the realization of adpositional complements via verbal affix PMs is a further sign of the degrammaticalization of object agreement, whereby the pronominal O verbal affix PM extends to mark arguments which are usually high in animacy.

All the three accounts are convincing and can account for part of the data. The important point to consider is the fact that these cases of disformation were primarily the result of the rise of ergativity in Middle Iranian, during which the whole system of alignment was reshuffled, causing a significant change in the indexing pattern of arguments. For instance, the so-called disformation of an adpositional complement clitic to a verbal affix was already a fact of Middle Iranian syntax:

(747) *ī*   *dēw-ān*   **abar_** *burd*   **hē**
       which demons-PL.OBL:A   upon   take.PTCP   COP.**2SG:R**
       'Which the demons have brought upon you.' (Middle Iranian, MacKenzie 1964: 48)

(748) *u=m*   **awiš_**[95]   *guft* ……….. **hē**[96]
       and=1SG:A   to   say.PST   COP.2SG
       'I have said to you.' (Middle Iranian, MacKenzie 1964: 46)

Similarly, in the tentative example below, the disformation of a possessor argument into a verbal affix is attested. Here, the bound possessor argument of the NP *ham bahr ud rōzīg* has left the NP and appeared in distance in the form of a verbal affix PM being accompanied by a copula stem. The possessor is realized in distance from its possessed head, hence illustrating an instance of external possession.

(749) *čiyon=it*   *fradom* **ham** **bahr** **ud** **rōzīg_**   *bē*
       since=2SG:A   first   both   portion and   substance   PVB

       abgand   **hēm**
       throw.PST   COP.1SG
       'Since you have first overthrown both my portion and daily substance.' MacKenzie (1999: 305)

It is thus possible that languages which show the disformation of arguments in past transitive constructions simply continue the indexing pattern associated with Middle Iranian.[97] In

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[95] *awiš* is the absolute form of the simple preposition *o* 'to'.

[96] The full sentence here is *u=m awiš guft ud handarzēnīd hē*. The 2SG copula has taken wide scope over coordination, and is not appeared after the first coordinate clause, thus *u=m awiš guft …. hē*.

[97] However, the exact nature and the range of disformation of non-subject arguments, especially possessors and adpositional complements, in unknown in Middle Iranian, and calls for future research.

addition, it should be noted that 'the slot competition account' as vouched in Öpengin (2013) is not historically tenable: in (747) above no A-past indexing clitic PM is available in the clause, yet the disformation occurs. Similarly, the affixal realization of the adpositional complement, cf. (748), and the possessor argument, cf. (749), is not triggered because the relevant slots on the preposition and the possessed NP have been taken by the A-past clitic; the latter rather is realized in the clause-second position. There is thus no competition for the slot on the preposition. In addition, the restriction 'one clitic per clause' does not hold: in (747) there is no clitic in the clause. This is further borne out by a parallel construction from Gorani Takht:

(750) *agar*   *ma'mūr-akā*   *parsā-y*   *čana_*   EL[GorT]. 21
       if   officer-PL.OBL   ask.PST-2SG:R from
       'If the officers happen to interrogate you, ..'

The disformation from a clitic to an affix then has happened for another reason. Haig's account may provide us with a better explanation of disformation historically: namely, the Vaff PMs being degrammaticalized into a pronoun, further extended to conditionally index adpositional complements and possessors. Adopting this account would imply that the Vaff PMs were not carriers of an agreement relation with O NP is WMILs (since otherwise the extension would not work out), or at least they gradually lost marking the agreement relation with the O NP and at the same time were extending to conditionally index recipient-like arguments.

An alternative account would be to make an analogy between the argument structure of the disformation constructions seen above and that of non-canonical constructions. Recall further that the rise of ergativity in past transitive constructions was argued to be sought in the extension of the argument structure associated with the non-canonical constructions in §1.1.2 and §4.2.1.8. Now, presuming to be correct the hypothesis that the argument structure associated with non-canonical constructions was extended to past transitive constructions_ hence the rise of ergativity_ we might further assume that the disformation constructions seen above might have a predecessor in non-canonical constructions as well. Indeed, this is the picture that one gets in Larestani dialects and some CK dialects. Even though we lack historical data on this for the moment, in the following non-canonical constructions from Bastaki, cf. (748), and Central Kurdish, cf. (749), the the adpositional complement is expressed by a Vaff PM, identical to its disformation in past transitive constructions, cf. (744), (750) above.

(751) *kār=om*   *va_*   *hest-eš*   EL[Bas]. 70
       job=1SG:NC   with   exist.PRS-2SG:R
       'I have a business with you.'

(752) lē=**yān**   da-wē-**m**
      from=3PL:NC   IND-want.PRS-1SG:R
      'They want of me.' (Central Kurdish)

These examples are clearly illustrative of an older layer of the syntax of non-canonical constructions in WILs, since the expression of the adpositional complement is carried by Vaff PMs, parallel to the non-canonical constructions with the affixal marking of the logical object, as in (753):

(753) *nokā   ta   **az**   na-vē-**m***
      now   2SG.OBL   1SG.DIR   NEG-want.PRS-1SG:O
      'Now, you don't want me.' (Akrē dialect of Kurmanji Kurdish_ MacKenzie 1962:
      288)

 Thus, the examples in (751)–(752) could further bear out the possibility that, along with the ergativity, the so-called disformation of an adpositional complement to a Vaff PM in modern languages might be derived from the extension of the indexing pattern associated with the non-canonical constructions.

6.4 Clitic-affix sequences

In this section we give an overview of the constellations in which clitics and verbal affixes form a sequence. In §2.5.3 an overview of the existing scholarship on this matter was presented. It was seen that the literature has mainly focused on the ordering of clitics and affixes in past transitive constructions of Central Kurdish: Samvelian (2007a), Haig (2008), and Öpengin (2013; 2019), but also the Kurdic dialects (Öpengin & Mohammadirad: to appear). Here we provide a typology of clitic-affix sequences in investigated languages. For ease of presentation such constructions are presented separately for present tense and past tense constructions. Under each section exceptionalities in the ordering of clitics and affixes will be discussed.

6.4.1 Clitic-affix sequences in present tense constructions

The sequencing of clitics and affixes on the present tense verbs is contingent on the rule which defines the placement of clitics. It was seen in Ch. 5 that in a subset of VP-based clitic systems the clitic placement rule is sensitive to pre-stem inflectional formatives. In addition, in most V-based systems the clitic rather procliticizes on the verb and its accompanying TAM prefixes. Both these systems preclude clitics and affixes form occurring in concatenation. However, we saw that in a subset of languages a pre-verbal TAM prefix is not a clitic host, a fact further leading to the movement of the clitic to the post-verbal position and hence its realization on the

verb stem. In other words, the clitic forms a cluster with verbal affix PM on the verb. Languages allowing this pattern are: Chali, cf. (754), Bijar SK, cf. (755), Gorani[98], cf. (756), Laki, cf. (757), Luri-type, cf. (758), the CP dialect Jondun-Nikabad, cf. (759), Sivandi, cf. (760), Koroshi, cf. (761), Nowdani, cf. (762), Delvari, cf. (763), and Minabi, cf. (764). The order in the combination is such that the O-indexing clitic follows the subject-indexing Vaff PM.

(754) *yā*   *be-koš-**em**=**i***   AV[Cha]. 10
       or   IRR-kill.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       '(Are you ready to become my servant) or I shall kill you?

(755)   *na-tüyan-īd*   *koš-**im**=**ad***   MN[BSK]. 59
       NEG-can.PRS-2SG   kill.PRS-1SG:A=2SG:O
       'If you do not manage (doing it), I will kill you.'

(756) *m-ār-**ū**=**š***   EL[GorT]. 67
       IND-bring.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I will take her.'

(757) *gorg* *nāy*   *bar-**e**=**tān***   SM[LakK]. 13
       wolf   NEG.come.PRS.IRR   IRR.eat.PRS-3SG:A=2PL:O
       'Lest the wolf come (and) eat you.'

(758) *bāyad*   *ma*   *ba-ir-am=**aš***
       should   1SG   IRR-grab.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I must catch it.' (Luri_ Amān Allāhi & Thackston 1986: 145)

(759) *ber-**on**=**šon**-e*   *bāzār āzād* *ferāš-**on**=**šon**-e*   EL[JN.NK]. 68
       take.PRS-1SG=3PL:O-IND   bazaar free   sell.PRS-1SG=3PL:O-IND
       'I will take them to the free market (and) I will sell them.'

(760) *me-bar-**u**=**āš***   *tu*   *jangal*   SD[Siv]. 42
       IND-take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O   in   forest
       'He takes her to the forest.'

(761) *ġazabī*   *a-b-ān*   *a-war-ān=**et***
       angry   IND-become.PRS-1SG IND-eat.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I will get angry [and] eat you.' (Koroshi_ Nourzaei et al. 2015: 140)

(762) *tama* *mi-git=**eš***   PS[Nod]. 18
       greed   IND-do.PRS.3SG=3SG:O
       'The greed overtakes him.'

---

[98] Note however that in the more conservative dialects of Gorani, e.g. Gorani Takht and Gorani Lohun, the indicative TAM prefix *mi-* is not regularly used with all verb stems, but appears only under certain morphophonological conditions, e.g. before vowel-initial verb stems (See MacKenzie 1966: 32, but also §8.3.1.4). This then could explain the post-verbal realization of clitics when the verb is the last resort for cliticization.

(763) *ne-mi-zen-em=et*   EL[Del]. 70
       NEG-IND-hit.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I won't beat you.'

(764) *tu*   *bāzār-e*   *āzād*   *a-fruš-**im=šo***   EL[Min]. 68
       in   market-EZ   free   IND-sell.PRS-1PL=3PL:O
       'We will sell them at the free market.'

The ordering seen in these combinations is in accordance with typical clitichood criteria (Halpern 1998; Anderson 2005), since as a syntactic item the clitic has occurred external to the Vaff PM. Among these languages, Gorani and (under certain conditions) Laki Kaekevandi[99] allow for the adpositional complement clitic to leave their preposition head and form a sequence with the Vaff PM on the verb, as illustrated in (765)–(766). The resulting ordering of the person markers on the verb remains the same as that of the combination of a Vaff PM and an O clitic:

(765) *arē*   *m-āč-**ū=š***   *pana_*   EL[GorT]. 37
       yes   IND-say.PRS-1SG=3SG:R   to
       'Yes, I will tell her.'

(766) *kor-a=ž*   *ki*   *klāw-a*   *arān-a_*   PS2[LakK]. 35
       boy-DEF=ADD   REL   hat-DEF   for-IND

       *m-ār-**in=ē***
       IND-bring.PRS-3PL=3SG:R
       'The boy to whom they bring the hat.'

As said, clitic-affix combinations are not possible in the rest of WILs, since the clitic is realized pre-verbally following the clitic placement rule. Put briefly, three patterns suggest themselves. The first pattern concerns the proclitic attachment of the O clitic on the verb. This is relevant for most of V-based clitic systems: Yazdi Zoroastrian, cf. (767), Lari, cf. (768), Bastaki, cf. (769), and Bandari, cf. (770).

(767) *va*   *š=e-koš-**ā***   SM1[YZ]. 40
       and   3SG:O=IND-kill.PRS-3SG:A
       '[…] and She (the goat) kills him (the wolf).'

(768) *sāb=eš*   *oš=nā-yr-**a***   PS1[Lar]. 9
       owner=3SG:POS   3SG:O=NEG.IND-let.PRS-3SG
       'Her owner does not let her.'

---

(769) **š**=*a-zen-**en***   PD[Bas]. 8
       3SG:O=IND-hit.PRS-3PL:A
       'They beat her.'

(770) **t**=*a-bar-**om***   EL[Bnd]. 8
       2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG
       'I will take you (out).'

This pattern is also relevant for O clitic placement in VP-based systems with proclitic attachment, with the difference that the proclitic attachment occurs only when the TAM formative is the indicative prefix. Languages allowing this are Delijani, cf. (768), Khansari, cf. (769), Naeini, cf. (770), and Abuzeydabadi, cf. (771).

(771) *men*   **aš**=*a-fās-**on***   EL[Dej]. 67
       1SG   3SG:O=IND-marry.PRS-1SG:A
       'I will marry her.'

(772) *šomā*   **eǯ**=*e-vin-di*   QB[Kha]. 17
       2PL   3SG:O=IND-see.PRS-2PL
       'You see him.'

(773) **t**=*e-vin-**i***   EL2[Nai]. 64
       2SG:O=IND-see.PRS-1/2SG:A
       'I see you.'

(774) *ru*   *bāzār āzād   da*   **yon**=*a-ruš-im* EL1[Abu]. 68
       ADP   Bazaar free   ADP   3PL:O=IND-sell.PRS-1PL
       'We sell them at the free market.'

The second pattern concerns languages in where the clitic PM intervenes between the TAM prefix and the verb stem, exhibiting thus a kind of endoclitic attachment. Languages allowing this include Behbahani, cf. (772), and VP-based clitic systems of Central Kurdish, cf. (773), Meymei, cf. (774), and Badrudi, cf. (775):

(775) *mi*=**m**-*zen-a*   EL1[Beh]. 70
       IND=1SG:O-hit.PRS-2SG
       'You will hit me.'

(776) *a*=**w**-*kož-im*   WK[SCK]. 10
       IND=2SG:O-kill.PRS-1SG:A
       'I will kill you.'

(777) *a*=**t**-*ber-**on***   *bar*   EL.[Mey].8
       IND=2SG:O-take.PRS-1SG   out
       'I will take you out.'

(778) *ru*   *bāzār āzād   de*   *a*=**šun**-*ruš-im* EL1[Bad]. 68
       ADP   market free   ADP   IND=3PL:O-sell.PRS-1PL
       'We sell them at the free market.'

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This occurs also in VP-based clitic systems which follow the first pattern, but only when the irrealis marker or the negative formative precede the verb stem:

(779) *ba=š-ber-iyon*   GX[Dej]. 33
       IRR=3SG:O-take.PRS-2PL
       'Take him.'

(780) *na=**m**-ai*   *habi*   *b=**a**-vin-o*   EL2[Abu]. 64
       NEG-1SG:NC=want.PRS   anymore   IRR=2SG:O-see.PRS-1SG
       'I don't want to see you anymore.'

Finally, the third pattern concerns Clause-based systems Davani and Dashti. Here, the O clitic has the tendency to be realized preverbally on the clitic-hosting particle.

(781) *o=t*   *me-bor-e-a*   *dar*   EL[Dav]. 8
       PTC=2SG:O   IND-take.PRS-1SG-DRC   out
       'I will take you out.'

(782) ***e=t***   *ne-mi-zen-om*   EL[Dsh]. 70
       PTC=2SG:O   NEG-IND-hit.PRS.1SG
       'I won't hit you.'

Overall, the resulting patterns from the cliticization of an O clitic on the present tense verb constructions yields different placement of the latter depending on the clitic placement rule: (i) a proclitic on the verb, (ii) an endoclitic-like element intervening between the pre-verbal TAM and the verb, (iii) realization on a clitic hosting particle pre-verbally. Among these, clitic placement in the second pattern is more susceptible to the stress facts of the language. Thus, when the pre-verbal TAM element to which the clitic attaches is a weak syllable or when it gets merged in the verbal stem, the clitic will move on to the verb stem to seek its host:

(783) *tēr-**im**=ī*   */ da-ēr-im*
       IND.bring.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I will bring it.' (Southern Central Kurdish, Öpengin & Mohammadirad: to appear)

In (783), the indicative marker has coalesced into the verb stem and is invisible to clitic hosting. The clitic then moves on the verb stem and forms a cluster with the Vaff PM.

Indeed, the stress factor could result in more radical positioning of the clitic in the languages where the clitic intervenes between the TAM and the verb (see §3.4.3 for more details). One such positioning is the idiosyncratic placement of an object clitic before the Vaff PMs in Behbahani.

(784) *bar=**š-am***   *si=t*   EL1[Beh]. 75
       IRR.bring.PRS=3SG:O-1SG:A   for=2SG:R
       'That I bring it to you.'
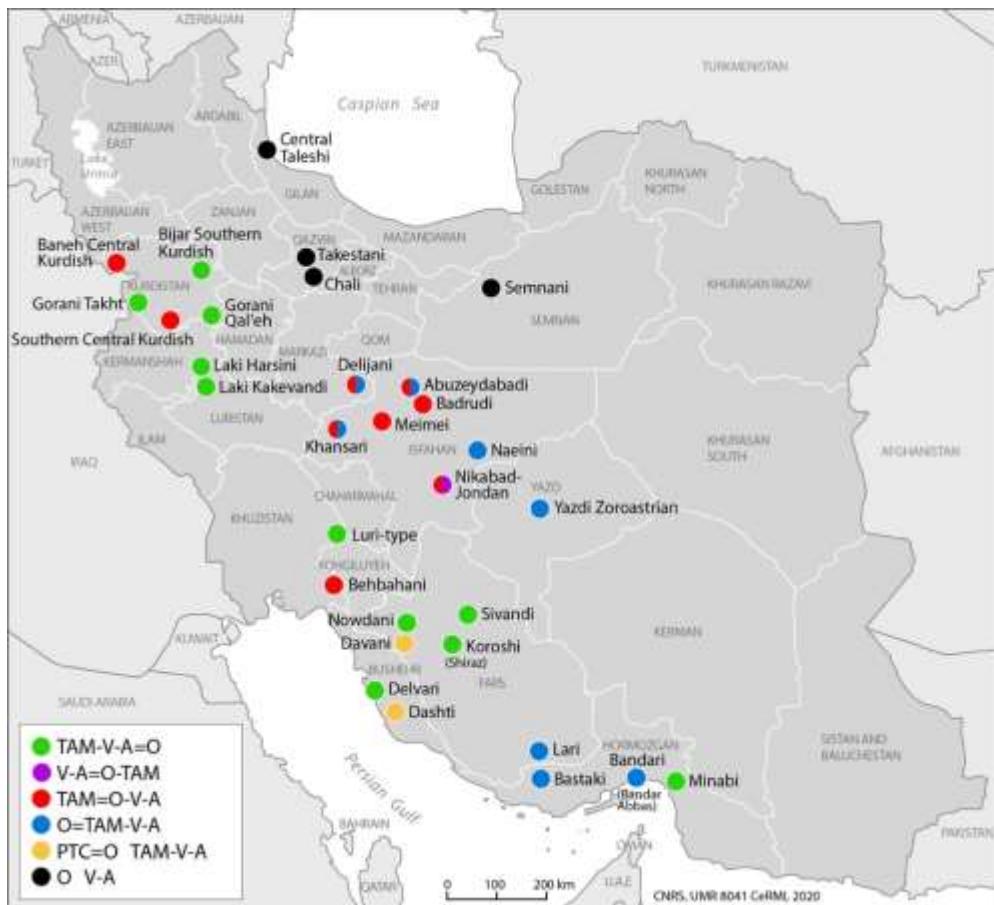
(785) *xāst=me*   *Ø-esen=**eš-im***   EL1[Beh]. 58
       want.PST=1PL:NC   IRR-buy.PRS =3SG:O-1PL
       'We wanted to buy it.'

In (784), like in the CK example in (783) the irrelais marker has coalesced into the verb stem. However, very interestingly, the clitic intervenes between the verb stem and the stressed Vaff PM. In the same way, in (785), in the absence of the clitic-hosting irrealis formative pre-verbally, the object clitic has moved on the verb stem and displaced the latter from the Vaff PM. The resultant sequence in both cases is an idiosyncratic order in which the clitic precedes the Vaff PM in the combination. Note further that the word stress falls on the last syllable in the present tense verbs across WILs. That is, as the last syllable of the verb, the inflectional suffixes carry the stress in the above examples. The clitic however, breaks up the phonological word containing the verb stem and the inflectional suffix, quite contrary to the cross-linguistic pattern that clitics do not cause a change in the prosodic make-up of their host words. Put differently, clitics are expected to occur external to the inflectional affixes: this is one of the strongest criteria for clitichood in the literature (Halpern 1998; Nevis 2000; Anderson 2005). However, what we see here is a reverse picture in which the clitic has combined with the verb stem and not with the affixal word in its entirety.

What triggers this idiosyncratic clitic placement is the second position requirement for clitic placement. This requirement obligates the clitic to be realized in the second position within the relevant domain of cliticization. When the verb is the last resort for cliticization, the placement of clitic becomes sensitive to the morphological elements preceding the verb. In the absence of the TAM prefixes, cf. (785) or in case they are prosodically weak, cf. (784), the second position clitic targets the first strong syllable of the following element, in this case the verb stem, as its host, further breaking up the affixal word. This idiosyncratic ordering shows that prosody is a relevant factor for clitic positioning in Behbahani.

6.4.1.1 Summary of Ordering of A and O on present tense verb constructions

In §6.4.1 we surveyed the range of ordering possibilities for the person markers which index A and O arguments on present tense verb constructions. We saw that it is only in a subset of Iranian languages that these person markers form a sequence with inflectional person affixes on the present tense verb, while the majority goes for pre-verbal (or pre-stem) positioning of the O clitic (following the clitic placement rule). Overall 6 patterns are attested for the ordering of A and O on present tense verb constructions, illustrated in Figure 29:

Figure 29: Ordering of bound arguments on present tense verb constructions

As seen, certain grouping of languages is evident with regard to the ordering of A and O on present tense verbs: most conspicuously, the northwest-southwest strip contains languages in which A and O form a combination on the verb. This strip partly extends to the Southwest dialects of Central Plateau group (though note the ordering V-A=O-TAM), and to Minabi in the Southeast (as a result of language contact). Another pattern of ordering is the proclitic attachment of O clitic on the verbal form (O=TAM-V-A), relevant for the languages of southeast Iran, and extending northward to the Southeastern most dialects of Central Plateau, i.e. Yazdi Zoroastrian, and Naeini. In addition, this pattern is partly relevant for the CP dialects Abuzeydabadi, Delijani, and Khansari, in which the proclitic attachment is only at work when the vowel-only indicative formative precedes the verb stem.

A third pattern of interest is the placement of O clitic on the preverbal TAM (hence TAM=O-V-A), in the Central Kurdish speech zone, Central Plateau dialects Badrudi and Meymei, and the Southwest dialect Behbahani. This pattern is also relevant for the CP dialects Abuzeydabadi, Delijani, and Khansari, when the relevant the irrealis formative and/or the negative formative precede the stem.

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Finally, the Tatic-languages in the north and Clause-based clitic systems in the southwest each have their own ordering preferences, O V-A, and PTC=O V-A, respectively; neither of which implies the bound attachment of the O argument on the verb.

These ordering patterns thus reveal distinct zones for the ordering of A-prs Vaff PMs and O-indexing clitics on the present tense verb. These zones cross-cut 'variety membership'. For instance, CPDs' erratic behaviour of having three patterns of ordering A and O on the present tense verb points to different areal forces in shaping the clitic systems e.g. the alignment of the Southeast dialects of CPD with the languages in southeast Iran; and in-between behaviour of Central Plateau dialects bordering Kurdish to the west and the southeast dialects to the south. Note that linguistic contact is also an important factor in the changing patterns of placement, e.g. the different ordering of A and O in Minabi in contrast to the rest of V-based proclitic systems. In any case, the ordering of A-prs Vaff PMs and O-indexing clitics defy the traditional dialectological classification of Iranian languages into two poles of Southwestern vs. Northwestern.

6.4.2 Clitic-affix sequences in past tense constructions

The expected ordering of clitics and verbal affixes in past transitive constructions shows divergent outcomes, especially that not all languages exhibit the reversal marking of A and O (see §4.3). Another factor is the placement rule that leaves the A-past clitic in the pre-stem position. We will start our discussion with the proper cases of combinations of clitics and affixes in past transitive constructions. Considering this, languages are classified into three groups. These groups are distinguished on the basis of the type of person markers used, and the ordering of A and O arguments in the combination. The first group is pertinent to languages with accusative alignment in agreement. Here the same set of person markers as the ones used in present tense constructions index A and O arguments, i.e. the affix PM marks the A, and the clitic indexes the O. In addition, the ordering of the person markers is identical with their ordering in present tense constructions. Bijar southern Kurdish, cf. (786), the transitional Laki dialects bordering SK, cf. (787), and Luri-type dialects, cf. (788) exhibit this possibility. Persian also belongs to this group.

(786) *na-nāsī-**m=ayān***   EL[BSK]. 45
       NEG-know.PST-1SG:A=3PL:O
       'I didn't know them.'

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(787) *dī-**m=yān***   EL[LakH]. 44
     see.PST-1SG:A=3PL:O
     'I saw them.'

(788) *xard-**en=es***
     eat.PST-3PL:A=3SG:O
     'They ate him.' (Bakhtiari_ Anonby & Asadi 2014: 95)

The second group consists of languages in which the order of arguments on the verb is different from that of present tense constructions. That is, contrary to the present tense, O-indexing PM that is closer to the verb, and is followed by A-indexing PM. This group is further classified into two subgroups on the basis of the type of person markers used: (i) Vaff PM indexes the object NP and the clitic PM indexes the A argument. Laki Kakevandi, cf. (789) and Gorani Takht, cf. (790) are representatives of this subgrouping.

(789) *are*   *dī-**n=im***   EL[LakK]. 44
     yes   see.PST-3PL:O=1SG:A
     'Yes, I saw them.'

(790) *bard-**ā=šā***   LB[GorT]. 18
     take.PST-**1SG:O=3PL:A**
     'They took me.'

Note that these languages exhibit the same ordering of affixes and clitics on the verb across present and past tenses, only that depending on the tense of the verb the function of each person marker changes. Compare ex. (790) above with ex. (791) below:

(791) *m-ār-**ū=š***   EL[GorT]. 67
     IND-bring.PRS-**1SG:A=3SG:O**
     'I will take her.'

To this subgroup, one may add the CP dialect Badrudi. Across most CPDs, past tense verb stems are preceded by the inflectional prefixes, to which the A-past clitic attaches, hence no clitic-affix combination. However, in the following example, the negative marker has a weak syllable and is skipped for A-past clitic hosting. The clitic moves on the verb to seek its host, but does not interrupt the Vaff PM and host verb, rather follows the affixal word.

(792) *ne-šnāsā-**i=m***   / **ne-šnāsā=**m-i***   EL1[Bad]. 15
     NEG-know.PST-2SG:O=1SG:A
     'I didn't recognize you'

In the other subgroup, the ordering 'O first, A second' is held on the verb, but both A and O are indexed by clitic PMs. Southern dialects of Central Kurdish and the Qal'eh dialect of Gorani represent this subgrouping.

(793) *dī=yān=im*   EL[SCK]. 44
       see.PST=3PL:O=1SG:A
       'I saw them.'

(794) *zerīfīkaw   niyā=šān=iš   nām   sabad-aga*   PS[GorQ]. 4
       gently   put.PST=3PL:O=3SG:A into   basket-DEF
       'Gently, he put them into the basket.'

Finally, the third group concerns languages in where the order on the bare verb stem is A first, O second, but unlike group 1, the A is realized by a clitic, and the O by an affix (reflecting the tense-sensitive alignment). As with the second group, this group is further divided into two subgroups. In the first subgroup the reversal marking of A and O is preserved; thus A is marked by a clitic and O via a Vaff PM. However, the A-past clitic displaces the O-indexing verbal affix PM from the verb stem. The northern dialects of Central Kurdish, cf. (795), and Behbahani, cf. (796) show this ordering (see §3.4.2 for the explanation of these seemingly misplaced clitics):

(795) *bird=yān-īn   bo   bēmāristān*   EL[BCK]. 51
       take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O to   hostpital
       'They took us to hospital.'

(796) *bor=šen-im   marizxuna*   EL2[Beh]. 51
       take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O   hospital
       'They took us to the hospital.'

The only exception occurring in the ordering HOST=A-O concerns some constellations in Central Kurdish where the A-past clitic is a vowel-only 3SG form. Here, the ordering of the clitic and the verbal affix is reversed. Under §2.5.3 we saw that this exceptional ordering is triggered by OCP-like constraints which require the elements in a sequence be distinct (cf. Öpengin 2019 for further explanation on this).

(797) *gorg   xwārd-n=ī*   EL[BCK]. 49
       wolf   eat.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A
       'The wolf ate them.'

The second subgroup concerns languages like Sivandi and Chali, in where the object NP is marked by a clitic PM. It was argued in Ch. 4 that these constructions are rather nascent in these languages, and that the conditioned indexing of the object argument is basically handled by an oblique pronoun or a *rā*-marked independent pronoun.

(798) *be-köšt=em=iš*   EL[Cha]. 13
       PUNCT-kill.PST=1SG:A=3SG:O
       'I killed him.'

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(799)   *aval*   *na-šenāxt=**em=ešā***   EL[Siv]. 45

       first   NEG-know.PST=1SG:A=3PL:O

       'I didn't recognize them in the beginning.'

In sum, depending on the disparity of marking A and O via clitic PMs or Vaff PMs, and contingent on the order in which these person markers occur in combination, clitic-affix or clitic-clitic sequences on the verb stem of past transitive constructions fall into three patterns, presented in the following table.

Table 36: clitic-affix and clitic-clitic clusters on the past tense verb stem

grouping / languages	V=A-O	V=A=O	V-O=A	V=O=A	V-A=O
1.a Baneh CK, Beh.	+				
1.b Siv., Cha.		+			
2.a GorH., LakK., Bad.			+		
2.b SCK., GorQ.				+	
3 BSK., LakH., Luri					+

As can be seen, the combination of A and O on the bare verb stem calls for certain interesting areal patterns across WILs (cf. Figure 30 below): the Southwest dialect Behbahani aligns with the Northern dialects of Central Kurdish; Sivandi and Chali align together; the southern varieties of Central Kurdish come together with neighbouring Laki and Gorani groups, and remotely with the Badrudi dialect of CP further to the east; finally Southern Kurdish aligns with the neighbouring Luri-type dialects in the ordering of arguments on the verb.

The ordering of bound arguments on the verb cannot be handled by a single principle. For the languages of group 1, one can suggest that according to the argument hierarchy (A > O) the post-stem slot goes to the A argument. This hierarchy works only reversely for the group two languages (O > A). This fact not only suggests a split in the morphosyntax of these languages, but also pints to different historical paths that led to such orderings.

Finally, the ordering of person forms on group 1.a, i.e. Host=clitic-affix, reveals that, although clitics and affixes exhibit some prototypical features which are predictive of certain types of behaviour, the second position requirement can blur the categorical distinction between such forms, in a way that each person form shows certain behaviour in the post-stem slot which is not prototypically expected of it.

Due to the specifics of A-pst clitic placement, the rest of WILs avoid forming clitic-affix or clitic-clitic combinations on the verb stem, as seen in the previous chapter. Here, we can

distinguish between four groupings. The first group consists of a large part of CP dialects. Here the A-past clitic is realized on the pre-stem punctual prefix:

(800) *ba=**m**-di-**ande***   EL[Dej]. 44
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST-3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

(801) *gorg   b=**ē**-xard-**an***   EL1[Abu]. 49
       wolf   PST=3SG:A-eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

The second grouping concerns mostly V-based clitic systems, and the Naeini dialect of Central Plateau. In this pattern, the A-past clitic is a proclitic on the verb form:

(802) ***t**=u-košt-**em***   EL2[Nai]. 48
       2SG:A=TAM-kill.PST-1PL:O
       'You killed us.'

(803) ***od**=košt-**im***   ED2[YZ]. 48
       2SG:A=kill.PST-1PL:O
       'You killed us.'

(804) *gorg   **eš**=xa=**šu***   EL[Nod]. 49
       wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST=3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

The third pattern relates to the S2-based clitic systems Davani and Dashti. Here the A-past clitic is realized on the clitic hosting particle in the preverbal slot.

(805) *o=**mu**   mi-košt-**an***   EJ[Dsh]. 20
       PTC=1PL:A   IPFV-kill.PST-3PL:O
       'We would kill them.'

Finally, the last pattern is the realization of the A-past clitic on the verb stem, while the O is marked as a bound or a free argument of a dummy preposition. Delvari and Minabi are representative of this group.

(806) *di=**m**   si=**šu***   EL[Del]. 44
       see.PST=1SG:A   PREP=3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

(807) *košt=**et**   be   mā*   EL[Min]. 48
       kill.PST=2SG:A   PREP   1PL
       'You killed us.'

6.4.2.1 Summary of Ordering of A and O on present tense verb constructions

In §6.4.2 we reviewed the ordering possibilities of A and O on bare verb stems in past tense constructions. It was seen that 5 general patterns of ordering A and O can be distinguished (cf. Table 36). In addition, we reviewed languages in which as a result of clitic placement rule the A-past clitic does not form a sequence with the bound O argument. The overview of such constructions reveals 11 major patterns, illustrated in Figure 30:
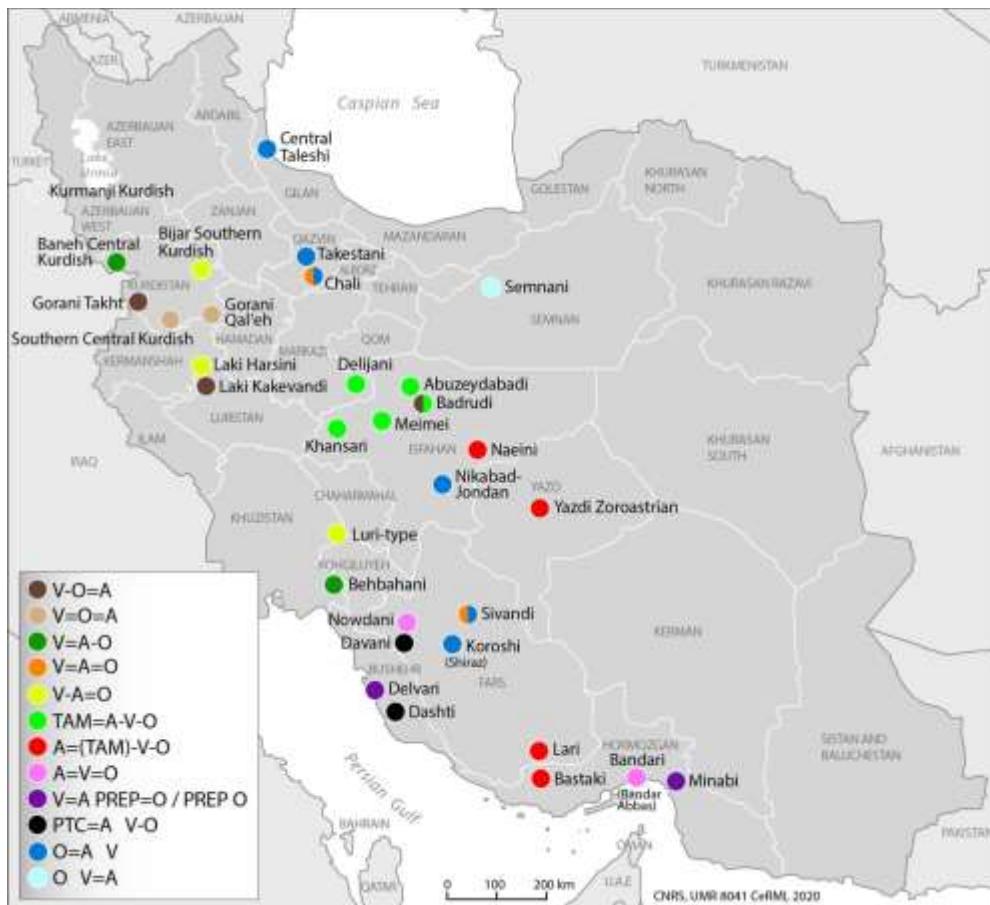
Figure 30: Ordering of bound arguments on past tense verb constructions

The resulting constructions from the ordering of A and O on past tense bare verb stems show greater diversity than in present tense verb constructions, and points to certain grouping of WILs. To start with the Kurdic group, four general patterns of combining A and O is attested: Laki and Gorani Takht (V-O=A); Southern Central Kurdish and Gorani Qal'eh (V=O=A); Bijar SK, Laki Harsini (V-A=O), aligning further with Luri-type dialects in the south; and Baneh CK (V=A-O) coming together with Behbahani in the southwest[100]. On the other hand, Central

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[100] Cf. Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear) for an explanation of the directions of change between Kurdic group regarding the clitic-affix combinations. For example, the authors hold that in the regions around the

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Plateau dialects form rather a unified group in having the ordering TAM=A-V-O. However, two exceptions occur: (i) the different ordering preference in the Southwestern Nikabad-Jondan brings it closer to Koroshi and Sivandi in the south; (ii) the ordering A=(TAM)-V-O in the Southeast CP dialects Naeini and Yazdi Zoroastrian brings them close to Lari and Bastaki in the South. Other areally-motivated groupings include the patterns associated with Davani and Dashti, on one hand, and the Tatic-type dialects in the north on the other.

The map also points to some geographically-distant grouping of languages, most visibly the same ordering pattern in Minabi and Delvari on one hand, and that of Nowdani and Bandari, on the other. Equally noteworthy is the same ordering of arguments for the clitic-affix combination in Baneh CK in the northwest, and Behbahani in the southwest Iran. The exact reason behind such patternings is still to be investigated: we might propose that these patterns arose from independent parallel developments, i.e. each language developing them separately. For instance, the ordering A=V=O in Nowdani and Bandari can be assumed to have been previously A=V-O, with the affixal marking of O argument (following the ergative alignment). The change from A=V-O to A=V=O is then rather related to the internal change in the language, namely the loss of ergative alignment and the generalization of the clitic PMs to past tense constructions. It is of course possible that this change has been motivated by the contact with the superstrate language Persian, which indexes the O as an enclitic on the verb stem across both present and past tenses.

6.5 Summary of clitic-clitic and clitic-affix combinations

This chapter laid out major properties of the constructions in which either two clitics or a clitic and an affix form a sequence. As for the former, the properties of person clitic sequencing in West Iranian were said to be as follows: clitic combinations have a strict internal order, and they are limited to two elements. The cluster internal ordering of clitics is determined by the argument hierarchy (subject > direct object > indirect object > possessor), through which the argument higher in the hierarchy appears second in the cluster. In this manner, in past transitive constructions investigated languages opt for two types of clitic sequences with respect to the attachment of the clitic cluster to the host: an enclitic, and a proclitic. Enclitic clusters are characteristics of multiple cliticization in clause-based and VP-based clitic systems. On the

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Southern Central Kurdish zone the ordering is either V-O=A or V=O=A, with the latter being driven from the former out of the weakening of tense-sensitive alignment, and contact-related issues.

other, proclitic clusters are characteristics of mainly V-based cliticization systems, but unlike enclitic clusters, certain conditions should be met for the clitics to form a cluster in such cliticization systems. For instance, the clitic to which the second clitic is added should be vocalic-initial.

The deviations from the clitic clustering were said to be arising out of five factors: (i) the higher ranked bound argument being realized earlier in the clause; (ii) due to 'avoidance' strategy the order in the cluster is contrary to the argument hierarchy; (iii) only the realization of the higher-ranked argument remains through a clitic, while the lower argument swaps into a verbal affix; (iv) two identical clitics could be reduced to one through haplology; (iv) the higher-ranked bound argument lacks the expected mobility, and consequently does not form a cluster with the lower-ranked clitic. All these cases result in lack of clitic sequences.

The chapter ended with an overview of clitic-affix combinations in present and past tense constructions. The resulting combinations from each tense were tested against the criteria for clitichood and affixhood, and an explanation was provided for cases where the combination does not hold to the expected behaviour of these person forms. For instance, the placement of clitics before affixes on the present tense verb forms in Behbahani was argued to be motivated by the second position requirement for the placement of clitics. The resulting patterns from the combination of clitics and affixes across languages are motivated by areal explanations and independent developments. The former was said to be the case for the identical ordering of A and O in the Southeast dialects of the Central Plateau group (i.e. Naeini and Yazdi Zoroastrian) and in languages of southeast Iran. The latter is relevant for the same treatment of A and O on the verb in geographically-distant languages. For instance, the Southwest dialect Behbahani comes together with the Northern dialects of Central Kurdish in having the order TAM=O-V-A in present tense constructions, and V=A-O in past tense constructions.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis provided a typological survey of person clitics across Western Iranian languages. It drew upon a data-centred basis for the investigation of the person clitics of 31 WILs, including among which highly-endangered languages, e.g. Behbahani, Dashti, Nowdani, etc., for which no grammatical description is available to date. The thesis had thus two major aims: first, the investigation of the syntax of clitic person markers across WILs: a systematic survey of the latter has so far been limited to certain languages, most notably Central Kurdish, and Persian. Thus, in many ways the thesis contributes to the extension of previous scholarship on person clitics across WILs. The second major aim was contributing to the typological studies on clitics, by bringing evidence from the less-known Iranian languages.

In this regard, Chapters 1 & 2 set the background for understanding the person clitics of Iranian languages and the previous scholarship on such items. Chapter 1 gave an overview of Iranian languages, tense-sensitive alignment in these languages, a brief survey of clitics in Iranian languages, and data collection behind the thesis. It also laid out the descriptive and theoretical concepts behind the phenomena 'clitic', and 'agreement'. Chapter 2 explored the existing scholarship on person clitics in these languages. It offered a classification of the literature on Iranian clitics on the basis of four major aspects: (i) form and derivation of clitics, (ii) phonological attachment of clitics; (iii) functionality of such items, and (iii) their syntax. Investigation of these major aspects formed the content of the following chapters.

Chapter 3 discussed the variation in the form of clitics and the phonological attachment of such items across WILs. It also gave an overview of the development of the clitic paradigms across WILs. For instance, it brought more evidence, in line with Korn (2009), against the isogloss that divides Iranian languages on the basis of 3SG forms of clitic PMs being either *-š* or *-ī*. In addition, the chapter surveyed not only the derivation of the paradigm of clitics form that of verbal affix PMs (in line with Korn 2011), but also the alternative possibility that the paradigm of clitics might have extended to the paradigm of inflectional person affixes. It was seen that this extension could be (i) partial, (ii) total, or (iii) cyclic. In the first case, certain cells in the clitic paradigm extend to the corresponding cells in the inflectional morphology. For instance, the 3SG clitic in Persian has entered the paradigm of verbal affix PMs, filling the defect in the paradigm of the letter in the past tense. Total extension of a clitic paradigm to a paradigm of verbal affix PMs is the case with the certain TAM forms of verbs in Bajalani and Bandari.

Finally, Southern Kurdish displays a cycle of changes in its paradigm of verbal affix PMs as follows: first the clitic paradigm had apparently totally replaced the verbal affix paradigm in the past tense (same as in Bajalani), but later with the loss of tense-sensitive alignment the clitic paradigm was taken over by the extension of the verbal affix paradigm associated with present stem of verbs. Though the extension remained partial and some cells of the now verbal affix PM paradigm illustrate the clitic origin of person forms, especially in 1PL and 2PL forms.

The second part of Chapter 3 discussed the phonological attachment of clitics, most notably their proclitic attachment in southeast languages and Central Plateau group. The proclitic attachment of clitics was assumed to have been arisen out of the previous enclitic attachment of person clitics in Old and Middle Iranian periods. Following a classification of WILs on the basis of the range of proclitic attachment, and a primary classification of cliticization domains, some typological tendencies suggested themselves. The Iranian languages bring strong evidence in favour of types 4 and 5 of Klavans's typology of clitics. Type 4, i.e. a postposed proclitic, occurs in the immediate preverbal domains of V-based proclitic systems and some Central Plateau languages which have proclitic attachment: here the clitic leaves out its syntactic host to the left and attaches to the TAM affix of the verb form. Type 5, i.e. a preposed enclitic, is specific to the V-based proclitic systems. Here, the bare verb is the syntactic host for clitic placement. However, in the immediate preverbal domain, the clitics often leave the verb and attach to whatever element that comes to the verbs' left, demonstrating a ditropic clitic behaviour.

A major question posed in Chapter 3 was the rise of proclitics out of the previous enclitics of predecessor languages. We argued that the proclitic attachment of clitics arose out of the integration of clitic hosting particles of Middle Iranian period into the clitic paradigm of modern languages which have developed proclitic attachment. This change was brought about by the abandonment of the clause as the cliticization domain: with this abandonment, the necessity for maintaining S2-assuring particles gradually relaxed, leading to their univerbation in VP-based and V-based proclitic systems. Consequently, in the absence of leftward support the stray clitic had to procliticize on the element to its right, hence the rise of procliticization. This scenario conforms to the typological tendencies in the rise of proclitics, namely their being secondary to enclitic attachment (cf. Steele 1977; Wanner 1987).

The chapter ended with the examination of other means of clitic attachment across Iranian, namely endoclitics and circumclitics. The Iranian languages provide a rich resource for the investigation of endoclitics. It was shown that the endoclitics of these languages arise out of

the interplay between stress facts of the languages, and the second-position requirement for the placement of clitics. In some languages, e.g. Behbahni, the second position requirements results in the interruption of the prosodic structure of affixal words by clitics, a property which is not expected of clitics cross-linguistically (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Halpern 1998; Nevis 2000 among others). In addition, circumclitics were shown to occur in Nowdani, in contexts where the plural clitics get interrupted when criticizing to the multifunctional preposition *aš*.

Chapter 4 discussed the functionality of person clitics across WILs. The major questions posed in this chapter were the grammatical status of clitics in each of their uses as either markers of agreement relation (or obligatory indexing), or pronouns (conditioned indexing); the range of clitic functionality across modern languages; and the development of person indexing in WILs. The chapter started with the investigation of the most basic function of clitics, i.e. indexing non-canonical subjects. Considering this latter, investigated WILs are classified into five groupings: the first group has presumably preserved the totality of non-canonical subjects of older languages. Here, clitic PMs mark the non-canonical subjects in the constructions of potentiality, necessity, predicative possession, and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, regardless of the tense of the verb. Other groupings deviate from the first group in lacking one or more of these constructions. A hierarchy of non-canonical subject marking was proposed as follows:

Hierarchy of non-canonical subject indexing across investigated WILs

Potentiality and/or Existential predicative possession < Necessity & wanting < Liking and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states

This hierarchy predicts that if a predicate type to the left is non-canonically marked, then all the predicate types to the right are also non-canonically marked (see also Figure 16). Two factors were said to be crucial for understanding the range of non-canonical constructions across WILs: (i) the retention of particular verb lexemes; (ii) the retention of tense-sensitive alignment. For examples. in languages where tense-sensitive alignment has given its way to accusativity (e.g. Persian, Luri-type, Southern Kurdish), non-canonical constructions are limited to 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states'. The chapter continued with surveying the functional range of other major uses of clitics. It was seen that in some Central Plateau dialects person clitics double a highly salient object NP in present tense constructions, hence approaching the agreement marking. However, a thorough investigation of the conditions for doubling an object NP requires further research.

A major complication with the person indexing system across most of WILs is the mismatch between the morphophonological form of the bound person markers and their grammatical status. For instance, through grammaticalization, originally pronominal clitics have developed into agreement markers in their use as indexing past transitive subjects (A-past), and non-canonical subjects. On the other hand, originally O-agreement verbal affix PMs have degrammaticalized in most languages, and carry conditioned indexing of the object NP. More interestingly, as markers of pronominal relation, these verbal affix PMs can extend to index the adpositional complements, and possessors, at a distance from their respective heads, exhibiting thus instances of externally-realized arguments. Thus, a bound complement of a preposition is realized via clitic PMs in present tense constructions, but via a verbal affix PM in past transitive constructions. The Iranian data thus, in line with Siewierska (2004); Haig (2018a), and contrary to the generativist approach, point to the fact that the morphophonological form of the person markers is not a good indicator of their grammatical status as makers of agreement or pronouns. The chapter ended with an account of the development of person indexing in WILs. It was shown that in the course of 2000 years, A-past and O-past indexing have undergone inverse developments; obligatory indexing in case of A-past indexing, and conditioned indexing for O-past indexing. The most radical shifts were shown to have occurred to O-past indexing: here the historical O-past agreement via suffixal morphology has degrammaticalized into a pronominal expression of the O-past. Thus, suffixal morphology realizes the pronominal expression of O argument. Moreover, in some languages through analogy with O-indexing in present tense constructions clitic PMs have superseded historical O-indexing verbal affix PMs . The motif for such inverse developments was argued to be the cross-linguistic tendency for subject indexing on one hand, and the uninformativeness of the category 'person' for the O agreement on the other hand (Haig 2018a).

Chapter 5 discussed the placement of clitics across WILs. The chapter had as its aim highlighting the domain of cliticization across languages; hosts and non-hosts in clitic placement; variation within languages regarding clitic placement; and the possible derivation of clitic systems from the older clausal-second positioning. The chapter characterized three major cliticization domains in WILs: (i) clause-based, (ii) VP-based, and (iii) V-based. A set of properties were shown to distinguish the clitic placement in each of these domains from those of other domains. For instance, clausal conjunctions, subject NP, and clausal adverbs are regular clitic hosts in clause-based clitic systems, but not in the other two domains (except under ditropic clitic behaviour in V-based proclitic systems). In addition, V-based proclitic

systems are characterized by ditropic attachment of clitics. This, however, is not a trait of cliticization in the other two domains.

In each cliticization domain, a rule of clitic placement was said to account for clitic placement. This rule was assumed to predict for the placement of clitics in their different functions, thus prompting a unique account for clitic placement. Consequently, assuming that in each domain a unified clitic placement rule is responsible for clitic positioning, cases of locally-realized clitics contrary to the assumed clitic placement rule were argued to be the consequence of the rightward drift of clitics and their attraction on head. These processes generally affect some clitic functions (most conspicuously possessors, and adpositional complements) more than others (A-pasts and O clitics). The other factor triggering deviations from the expected clitic placement rule was argued to be language contact. Though a full investigation of the effect of language contact on the clitic placement in WILs awaits further research, nevertheless we came across some deviant cases of cliticization, triggered by the contact phenomenon. For example, few V-based systems were shown to prefer, under contact influence from Persian, enclitic attachment of clitics over the expected proclitic attachment on verbs and prepositions, and the ensuing lack of ditropic behaviour in immediate preverbal contexts.

Chapter 5 ended with an account of the syntactic effects of the rise of proclitics in modern languages. In some V-based and VP-based clitic systems clause-initial proclitics occur. It was argued that these cases of clause-initial proclitics can solely be explained by recourse to their erstwhile enclitic attachment on S2-assuring particles clause-initially. Due to the rightward drift of clitics, the tendency to preserve S2-assuring particles relaxed and these latter were eventually lost in the now V-based and VP-based proclitic systems. In the absence of leftward support, clitics politicized to the next element to the right in a proclitic grab. The bigger picture suggests that proclitic attachment is a secondary development from enclitic attachment in the clause-second position (Steele 1977), and that clause-initial proclitics are a residual of second positioning of enclitics.

Chapter 6 gave an overview of cluster internal ordering of clitics, and clitic-affix combinations. The properties of clitic sequencing in West Iranian are as follows: clitic combinations have a strict internal order, and they are limited to two elements. Argument hierarchy i.e. subject > object > indirect object > possessor was argued to be the factor triggering the internal ordering of clitics in a cluster, in a way that in each clitic sequence the argument to the left of the hierarchy occurs second in the cluster. This brings Iranian languages close to Romance languages, in where, apart from few exceptions, the direct object argument occurs second in

the cluster with an indirect object argument (Gerlach 2002). While the majority of WILs opt for enclitic clusters, some V-based clitic systems allow for proclitic clusters in certain contexts. Nevertheless, the argument hierarchy works for clitic clustering here, with the difference that the argument higher in the hierarchy is closer to the verb.

The chapter also tackled the deviations from expected clitic clustering in WILs, and classified the latter into some cases, two of which are discussed here. In the first case, in past transitive constructions only one of the arguments, i.e. the A-past, is realized via a clitic, while the realization of other arguments is swapped into a verbal affix PM, resulting in externally-realized arguments, or 'disformation constructions'. The existing accounts on the disformation of nonsubject bound person forms include a constraint-based account (Öpengin 2013), a linearization-based account (Samvelian 2007a), and a grammaticalization-based account (Haig 2018a). Of particular interest for these accounts is the analysis of those disformation constructions in where the clitic argument of an adposition or a possessed noun is changed into a verbal affix PM. The alternative account pursued here was that similar to ergative constructions, the disformation constructions have their origin in non-canonical constructions. A prime example of this correlation occurs in some Central Kurdish dialects and in Larestani group, in where, similar to its disformation in past transitive constructions, the bound complement of a preposition is realized by a Vaff PM in non-canonical constructions. Thus disformation constructions are simply the continuation of the pre-existing non-canonical constructions. The second candidate for the deviation from the expected clitic clustering was cases where the ordering of arguments in the cluster did not obey the expected argument hierarchy. This was the case with the displacement of 2SG possessor indexing clitic from the head NP, and its occurrence after the A-past clitic in Chali. This unexpected ordering was explained by recourse to the strategy of 'avoidance', which guarantees the morphosyntactic information expressed by the morphological elements in a row (see Yip 1998; and for similar phenomenon in Central Kurdish Öpengin 2013; 2019).

The second part of Chapter 6 dealt with the overview of clitic-affix combinations in present and past tense constructions. It was shown that due to the clitic placement rule which causes a pre-verbal realization of clitics in certain preverbal slot, clitic-affix combinations are considerably excluded across a good number of modern languages. However, it was seen that in some of those cases where such combinations are allowed, the clitic interrupts morphological words, further overshadowing a categorical distinction between the clitics and affixes, on the one hand, and the notion of wordhood on the other (Haspelmath 2011).

In addition to providing a first systematic overview of West Iranian person clitics, the findings of the current thesis can shed light on the dialectology of WILs, a field that has been traditionally based on mainly phonological and lexical isoglosses, and based on which the Northwest/Southwest branching of WILs has been proposed. Most isoglosses found in this thesis challenge this branching: for instance, Yazdi Zoroastrian (a member of Central Plateau languages) aligns with V-based clitic systems of southeast Iran (most notably with Larestani dialects), and not with the VP-based clitic system of the rest of Central Plateau. In addition, Behbahani, a Southwest language, aligns with Northern dialects of Central Kurdish in the ordering of clitics and affixes on the verb across both tenses. Alternatively, a look at the maps suggests that an areal approach with microvariation across and within varieties is better representative of dialectology of Iranian languages: to name only few, the cliticization domain suggests that, clause-based and V-based clitic systems are concentrated in the southwest, and southeast, respectively, while the rest of languages to the north and west have VP as the domain of cliticization (Figure 26). A nearly full retention of non-canonical constructions is limited to some Southeast and Southwest dialects, while the rest of languages show the divergence from this, motivating micro-areal patterns (Figure 16). The availability of preverbal morphological elements as clitic hosts aligns Central Kurdish dialect with Central Plateau group, while the rest of Kurdic group, i.e. Gorani, Laki, Southern Kurdish aligns with Tatic-type languages in not permitting cliticization on preverbal grammatical formatives (Figure 27). Similarly, the retention of 'be' as a possessive verb is geographically limited to the southern and northwestern peripheries of WILs, while languages situated in the centre and north use 'have' as a possessive verb (Figure 13).

Overall, a closer look at the historical data illuminates the wrinkles behind the syntax of clitics of WILs. The rise of proclitics can be understood in the light of the role of clitic hosting particles, the rightward drift of clitics, and the fact that, diachronically, proclitic attachment is secondary to enclitic attachment. Similarly, the disformation constructions were said to probably have their origins in non-canonical constructions. The development of person indexing systems can be grasped under the processes of grammaticalization and deinflectionalization of bound person markers, and general typological restrictions on the informativeness of the category 'person' for object agreement.

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APPENDICES

8.1 Appendix 1

In this section we provide three samples of fully-glossed texts, each representing a distinct clitic system. The texts exts are from Dashti (a representative of (mainly) clause-based clitic system), Baneh CK (a VP-based clitic system), and Bastaki (a mainly V-based clitic system). The description of each of the texts has been provided in Ch.1, Table 2.

8.1.1 Text 1: *kadxodā* 'headman', KX[Dsh]

1.   A: *u*   *zaman*   *kadxodā-o*   *inā,*   *ki*   *kadxodā*
         DEM   time   headman-and   such   who   headman

   bi   *tu*   *velāt-ā=tun?*
   COP.PST.3SG   in   township-PL=2PL:POS
   Back then, were there headmen in your townships?

2.   B: *kaxodā,*   *masalan,*   *i*   *velāyat-i*   *ku*   *bist*   *tā*
         headman   for.instance   DEM   township-DEM1   COMP   twenty   CLF

   xune   *bi*   *ye*   *nafar*   *kaxodā*   *bi*
   house   COP.PST.3SG   a   person   headman   COP.PST.3SG
   Headman, for example, there was a headman for this township, which was as big as twenty households.

3.   *ye*   *šāl-e*   *got-i=š*   *mi-bast*
      a   sash-EZ   big-INDF=3SG:A   IPFV-tie.PST
   He would wear a big sash.

4.   *kolah-e bari=am*   *sar=aš*   *bi*
      sombrero=ADD   head=3SG:POS   COP.PST.3SG
   He had a sombrero on his head too.

5.   *kolt=eš=am*   *injā*   *zat-ay,*   *pišdo*
      sidearm=3SG:POS/A=ADD   here   hit.PST-COP   PN
   He would tie his sidearm here (on the waist), a *pišdo*.

6.   *šey*   *kolt=šu*   *mi-go*   *pišdo*
      to   sidearm=3PL:A   IPFV-say.PST   PN
   People would say *pišdo* to 'sidearm'.

7.   *i*   *dena*   *kaxodā*   *bi*   *masan ....*   *sad*   *nafar*
      a   CLF   headman   COP.PST.3SG   for.instance   100   person

   sad panja   *nafer=eš*   *āqā*   *in*   *negahdāri*   *mi-ke*
   150   person=3SG:A   man   DEM   care   IPFV-do.PST
   For example, there was a headman. Man, he who would take care of 100, 150 people.

8.
yeho	*to*	*pā*	*mi-bi-e=t*		*mo*	*mi-košt*
suddenly	2SG	foot	IPFV-become.PST-2SG=2SG:A		1SG	IPFV-kill.PST

All of a sudden, you would get up and kill me.

9.
beça-y	*mo*	*pā*	*mi-bi=š*		*to*	*mi-košt*
child-EZ	1SG	foot	IPFV-become.PST.3SG=3SG:A		2SG	IPFV-kill.PST

My child would get up and kill you.

10.
intor	*āyamkoši*	*bi*	*tā*	*zemān-i*
this.way	homicide	COP.PST.3SG	until	time-INDF

dobāre	*çe*	*barname-i*	*piyāde*	*wā-bi*
again	what	plan-INDF	settled	PVB-become.PST.3SG

This way, there was a lot of homicide in the past, until later on when another system was settled.

11.
xeyli	*xatarnāk*	*bi*	*zemān-e*	*kedim*
very	dangerous	COP.PST.3SG	time-EZ	old

It was very dangerous in the old days.

12.
A: *har*	*volāti*	*kadxodā-y=š*	*bi*	*yā*	*na?*
each	township	headman-INDF=3SG:A	COP.PST.3SG	or	no

Each township had a headman or what?

13.
B: *har sad*	*xune*	*panjā*	*xune*	*ye*	*kadxodā-i*	*bi*
each 100	house	50	house	a	headman-INDF	COP.PST.3SG

There was a headman for each 50, 100 households.

14.
ye	*kaxodā-i*	*bud*	*be*	*nam-e*	*Aršaye Zārseyn*
a	headman-INDF	COP.PST.3SG	by	name-EZ	PN

There was a head man who was called Arshay Zārseyn.

15.
ādam-e	*bel*	*fozoli*	*bi,*	*e=š*	*azyat*	*mi-ke,*
human-EZ	a.lot	sly	COP.PST.3SG	PTC=3SG:A	annoying	IPFV-do.PST

kotakkāri=š	*mi-ke*
brawl=3SG:A	IPFV-do.PST

He was a sly guy; he would annoy people; he would spark a brawl.

16.
e=š	*ādam*	*mi-ze,*	*mi-fahm-i!*	*e=š*
PTC=3SG	human	IPFV-hit.PST	IPFV-understand.PRS-2SG	PTC=3SG:A

ādam	*mi-košt,*	*e=š*	*ādam*	*mi-dozd*
human	IPFV-kill.PST	PTC=3SG:A	human	IPFV-steal.PST

He would beat people, you understand! he would kill people; he would kidnap people.

17.
yāzda	*tā*	*zen=eš=am*	*bi,*	*çar*	*tā=š*
eleven	CLF	woman=3SG:A=ADD	COP.PST.3SG	four	CLF=3SG:POS

aqdi	*bedan*	*bākya*	*biaqd*	*bedan*
married.by.law	COP.PST.3PL	rest	not.married.by.law	COP.PST.3PL

He had eleven wives as well; four of them were married to him by law, while the rest were not so.

18. | *e=š* | *aqd* | *ne-mi-kerd-an* |
|---|---|---|
| PTC=3SG:A | marriage | NEG-IPFV-do.PST-3PL |

He didn't marry them.

19. | *intori=š* | *ši=šun* | *mindāxt* |
|---|---|---|
| this.way=3SG:A | to=3PL:R | IPFV.fall.PST |

e=š	*moāword-an*	*tu*	*xune*
PTC=3SG:A	IPFV.bring.PST-3PL:O	in	home

In this manner, he would hustle them, and bring them home.

20. | *beç=eš=am* | *doros* | *ke* |
|---|---|---|
| child=3SG:A=ADD | true | do.PST |

He had babies from them as well. [lit. he made babies]

21. | *hālā* | *šazda* | *tā* | *baça=m* | *dār-a* | *az* | *un* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| now | sixteen | CLF | child=ADD | have-3SG | from | DEM |

yāzda	*tā*	*zana=š*
11	CLF	wife=3SG:POS

Now, he has sixteen children from those eleven wives.

22. | *bad* | *sardār* | *Esfandyāri* | *az* | *Tehrān* | *amed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | warlord | PN | from | Tehran | came.3SG |

bā	*sarvāz-ā*
with	soldier-PL

Then 'warlord Esfandyari' together with soldiers came over from Tehran.

23. | *bā* | *asla* | *moratab* | *and-an* |
|---|---|---|---|
| with | gun | straight | come.PST-3PL |

They came over directly. They were armed.

24. | *e=šu* | *Aršey.Zārseyn* | *košt* | *tu* | *ka* | *kāki,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PTC=3PL:A | PN | kill.PST | in | mountain | PN |

tu	*ka*	*kāki*
in	mountain	PN

They killed A.Z in the mountain of Kāki, in the mountain of Kāki!

25. | *moratab=šu* | *košt* |
|---|---|
| straightly=3PL:A | kill.PST |

They killed him directly.

26. | *āqā!* | *e=šu* | *sar=aš* | *bori* |
|---|---|---|---|
| man | PTC=3PL:A | head=3SG:POS | cut.PST |

Man! they cut his head off.

27. | *e=šu* | *sar=aš* | *injā* | *dafn* | *ke* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PTC=3PL:A | head=3SG:POS | here | burial | do.PST |

They buried his head here.

28. | *tan=eš=am* | *e=šu* | *bo* | *Xormuj,* |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | body=3SG:POS=ADD | PTC=3PL:A | take.PST | PN |

kehana-ye	*xān-e*	*Xormuj*
court-EZ	khan-EZ	PN

As for his corpse, they took it to Khormuj, to the court of the Khan of Khormuj.

8.1.2 Text 2: *dāstānī mišk* 'the story of mouse', DM[BCK]

1. | *a=y-go* | *mēšk-ē* | *bū* |
   |---|---|---|
   | IPFV=3SG:A-say.PST | mouse-INdF | COP.PST.3SG |

   They say (lit. it says): 'There was a mouse'

2. | *awa* | *a=y-xaw-ān-īn* | *dayk=im* |
   |---|---|---|
   | INTJ | IPFV=3SG:A-sleep-CAUS.PST-1PL:O | mother=1SG:POS |

   Our mother would put us to sleep this way.

3. | *mēšk-ēk-ū* | *gilmiwat-ēk-ū* | *pūš-ēk* | *a-bin* |
   |---|---|---|---|
   | mice-IND-and | clod-INDF-and | dry.grass-INDF | IPFV-COP.PST.3PL |

   There was once a mouse, a clod, and a dry grass.

4. | *la* | *kul-ēk-ā* | *a-bin* |
   |---|---|---|
   | ADP | hole-INDF-ADP | IPFV-COP.PST.3PL |

   They were in a hole.

5. | *mišk-aka,* | *gawra-tir,* | *xwa=y* | *la* | *hamū=yān* | *ba* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | mice-DEF | old-CMPR | REFL=3SG:POS | from | all=3PL:POS | PREP |

gawra-tir	*a-zān-ē*	*ba*	*pūš-aka*	*a-lē*
old-CMPR	IND-know.PRS-3SG	to	DRY.grass-DEF	IND-say.PRS.3SG

ā	*biro*	*sarbān*
INTJ	IRR.go.PRS.2SG	rooftop

   The mouse who considered itself older than the other two, said to the dry grass: "Go to the rooftop!"

6. | *dilopā* | *a-kā* | *māl-aka=yān* |
   |---|---|---|
   | drip | IND-do.PRS.3SG | house-DEF=3PL:POS |

   The (roof of) house dripped.

7. | *dilopā-(a)ka* | *dēn-a* | *la-(a)w* | *bān-a* | *ba-w* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | drip-DEF | bring.PRS-2SG | ADP-DEM | top-DEM1 | with-DEM |

b=ī-gir-a	*bā*	*dilopā*	*na-kā*
IRR=3SG-hold.PRS-3SG	that	drip	PROH-do.PRS.3SG

   "Put something in the place where it drips, so that it shall not drip anymore."

8. | *pūš-ī* | *dāmāw* | *a-çēt-a* | *sarbān* |
   |---|---|---|---|
   | dry.grass-EZ | poor | IND-go.PRS.3SG-DRC | rooftop |

bā	*a=y-bā*
wind	IND=3SG:O-take.PRS.3SG

   Poor dry grass! As it got to the roof, the wind blowed it off.

9.   *ka*   *bā*   *a=y-bā*   *a-rwā*
         as   wind   IND=3SG:O-take.PRS.3SG   IND-go.PRS.3SG

         As the wind blowsed it off, it went away.

10.   *har*   *nā-yit-aw*   *mišk-aka*   *ba*   *gilmiwat-aka*
         agin   NEG.IND.come.PRS.3SG-ASP   mouse-DEF   to   clod-DEF

         a-lē   *ā*   *to*   *biro*   *bi-zān-a*   *bo*
         IND-says.3SG   INTJ   2SG   IRR.go.PRS.2SG   IRR-know.PRS-2SG   why

         na-hāt-o   *dilop-aka=š*   *har*   *dē*
         NEG-come.PST.3SG-ASP   drip-DEF=ADD   constantly   come.PRS.3SG

         As the dry grass didn't come back, the mouse said to the clod: "Go see why it hasn't come back". In the same time the roof didn't stop dripping.

11.   *aw=īš*   *a-tē*   *sarbān*   *aga*   *a-čēt-a*
         3SG=ADD   IND-come.PRS.3SG   rooftop   when   IND-go.PRS.3SG-DRC

         sarbān,   *ba*   *sarbān-aka*   *abē*   *bārān*   *lē=y*
         rooftop   at   rooftop-DEF   COP.PST   rain   at=3SG:R

         a-dā   *bilāw*   *abēt-aw,*
         IND-give.PRS.3SG   dispersed   IND.become.3SG-ASP

         pirž-ū   *bilāw*   *abētaw*
         scattered-and   dispersed   IND.become.3SG-ASP

         The clod went to the roof. As it got to the roof, the rain hit it, and it was spread along; it detoriated.

12.   *har*   *nāyt-aw*   *nāyt-aw*   *a-lē*   *am*
         AUX   NEG.IND.come.PRS.3SG-ASP   NEG.IND.come.PRS.3SG-ASP   IND-says.3SG   DEM

         qoromsāq-ān-a   *xo*   *na-hāt-n-awa*   *dāxom*
         coward-PL-DEM   EMPH   NEG-come.PST-3PL-ASP   I.wonder

         bo   *kwö*   *rošt-ūn*
         to   where   do.PST-3PL

         As the clod did not come back, the mouse said: "Where are these cowards?! Where did they go?"

13.   *ka*   *a-çē*   *timšā*   *a-kā*   *aw*   *bā*
         as   IND-go.PRS.3SG   watching   IND-do.PRS.3SG   3SG   wind

         bird-ū-yet=ī   *aw*   *bo*   *xoy*   *ba*
         take.PST-PTCP-PERF=3SG:A   3SG   for   REFL=3SG:POS   ADP

         sar-ī   *sarbān-ak-ā*   *balāw*   *būt-o*
         top-EZ   rooftop-DEF-ADP   dispersed   become.PST.3SG-ASP

         When the mouse went up, it saw that one of them was blown off by the wind, and the other was spread on the roof.

14. *aw=īš*   *awna*   *pē-a-kan-ē*   *awna*
     3SG=ADD   that.much   PVB-IND-laugh.PRS-3SG   that.much

     pē-a-kan-ē   *la*   *dāx-ā*   *a-taq-ē*
     PVB-IND-laugh.PRS-3SG   ADP   anger-ADP   IND-explode.PRS-3SG
     (On seeing this scene) the mouse laughed so much that it broke apart.

15. *awa… hamīša*   *dāyk=im*   *aw*   *šit=ī-ya*
     DISC   always   mother=1SG:POS   DEM   thing-DEM1=3SG:A-DEM1

     bo   *a-kot=īn*
     for   IPFV-tell.PST-1PL:R
     This… my mom would always tell us this thing.

16. *awna*   *ba-(a)wān*   *pē-a-kan-ē*   *la*   *dāx-ā*
     that.much   ar-3PL   PVB-IND-laugh.PRS-3SG   ADP   anger-ADP

     bo   *xoy*   *a-taq-ē*
     for   REFL=3SG:POS   IND-explode.PRS-3SG
     The mouse laughed so much at them that it broke apart.'

17. *ama*   *dāstān-ēk*
     DEM   story-INDF
     This (was) one story.

18. *dāstān-ī*   *minālī=m*   *awa=m*   *har*   *la*   *bīr-a*
     story-EZ   childhood=1SG:POS   DEM=1SG:NC   only   in   memory-COP.3SG

     bo=yān   *gērā-w-m-a*
     for=3PL:A   narrate-PTCP-1SG:R-PERF
     (Among) the tales that they narrated to me during my childhood, I only remember this one.

19. *ka*   *zor-a*   *walē*   *ba*   *xwā*   *hīç=yān=im*
     INTJ   a.lot-COP.3SG   but   by   God   nothing=3PL:POS=1SG:NC

     la   *bīr*   *na-mā-w-a*
     in   memory   NEG-remain.PST-PTCP-PERF
     There are a lot of them, yet by God, I don't remember any of them.

8.1.3 Text 3: pear story, PS[Bas]

1. *yek*   *merd-e*   *ley*   *derxt*   *den*   *golabi š=ā-či*
     a   man-INDF   on   tree   COP.PST.3SG   pear   3SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST
     A man was on the tree, picking pears.

2. *se*   *tā*   *sabad-e*   *golābi=š*   *den*
     three   CLF   basket-EZ   pear=3SG:NC   COP.PST.3SG
     He had three baskets of pears,

3. *ke*   *do*   *tā=š*   *por*   *oš=kerd-est-en*
     REL   two   CLF=3SG:POS   full   3SG:A=do.PST-PTCP-PERF
     of which he had filled up two.

4.   *va*   *yeki=š*   *hanuz* *xāli*   *den*
        and   one=3SG:POS still   empty COP.PST.3SG
        And one was still empty.

5.   *bad*   *a-raft-a*   *barā* *golabi-ā*   *š=a-či*
        then   IPFV-go.PST.3SG-DRC above pear-PL   3SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST

        š=a te   *kesa=š*   *e-ke*
        3SG:A=into   sack=3SG:POS IPFV-do.PST
        Then he climbed the tree, plucked the pears and poured them into his sack.

6.   *a*   *zir*   *ābezen*   *golabi-ā*   *š=a te*   *sabad* *e-ke*
        to   down return.PST.3SG   pear-PL   3SG:A=to   basket IPFV-do.PST
        He would return (and) pour the pears into the basket.

7.   *bad*   *yak*   *pos-i*   *rad*   *bi*   *bā*   *dočarxa=š*
        then   a   boy-INDF   pass   become.PST with   bike=3SG:POS
        Later, a boy who was riding his bike passed by.

8.   *bad*   *neh*   *ke*   *veystā*   *yaki*   *az*   *sabadi-ā=š*   *oš=nā*
        then   as   COMP stop.PST.3SG one   of   basket-PL=3SG:POS   3SG:A=put

        a ley *dočarxa=š,*   *vo=š*   *dozi*   *raft*
        on   bike=3SG:POS and=3SG:A   steal.PST   go.PST.3SG
        As he stopped, he put one of his baskets on his bike, and stole it and went off.

9.   bad   *te*   *rah*   *ke*   *a-raft,*   *yek*   *dočarxa*
        then   in   road   comp   IPFV-go.PST.3SG   a   bike

        ke   *az*   *taraf-e*   *moqābel=eš*   *a-hond*
        COMP from   side-EZ   opposite=3SG:POS   IPFV-come.PST.3SG
        On his way, there was a bike coming from the opposite direction.

10.   *das*   *š=a*   *pas-e*   *kola=š*   *zad*
        hand   3SG:A=to   back-EZ   hat=3SG:POS   hit.PST

        kola=š   *oš=gardi*
        hat=3SG:POS   3SG:A=turn.PST
        He touched the back of his hat, and turned his hat.

11.   *me*   *pos*   *jelo=š*   *oš=ne-di*
        DEM   boy   front=3SG:POS   3SG:A=NEG-see.PST

        a   *češ-e*   *sang-I*   *hond*   *kat*
        to   eye-EZ   stone-INDF   come.PST.3SG fall.PST.3SG
        The boy didn't see the front, collided with a stone, (and) fell.

12.   *bad*   *golābi-ā=š*   *barxalozomay*
        then   pear-PL=3SG:POS   split.PST.3SG
        Then his pears were split.

13. | *se* | *tā* | *pos* | *ke* | *mayke* | *bāzi* | *šun=a-kerd* |
    |------|------|-------|------|---------|--------|------------|
    | three | CLF | boy | REL | there | game | 3PL:A= IPFV=do.PST |

komak	*šūn=kerd*
help	3PL:A=do.PST

Three boys who were playing there, helped him.

14. | *va* | *golābi-ā=š* | *jam* | *šūn=kerd* |
    |------|-------------|-------|-----------|
    | and | pear-PL=3SG:POS | addition | 3PL:A=do.PST |

And they gathered up his pears.

15. | *šon=a te* | *sabad* | *nā* |
    |-----------|---------|------|
    | 3PL:A=into | basket | put.PST |

They put (the pears) into the basket.

16. | *bad* | *kolā=š=am* | *šūn=vā* | *dā-ø* |
    |-------|------------|---------|-------|
    | then | hat=3SG:POS=ADD | 3PL:A=to | give.PST-3SG:R |

His hat too, they gave (it to) him.

17. | *pos-e* | *ham* | *bahr-e* | *tašakor* | *se* | *tā* | *golābi=š* |
    |---------|-------|---------|----------|------|------|-----------|
    | boy-DEF | too | for-EZ | gratitude | three | CLF | pear=3SG:A |

dahd-en
give.PST-3PL:R

The boy too, in order to thank them, gave them three pears.

18. | *bad* | *az* | *un* | *taraf,* | *me* | *merd-a* | *ke* |
    |-------|------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
    | then | from | dem | side, | DEM | man-DEM1 | REL |

golabi=š	*a-či*	*a*	*lay*	*deraxt*	*a*	*zir*	*hond*
pear=3SG:A	IPFV-pick.PST	from	above	tree	to	down	come.PST.3SG

On the other hand, the man who was picking pears came down the tree.

19. | *oš=di* | *yak-e* | *az* | *sabadi-ā=š* | *ni* |
    |--------|--------|------|-------------|------|
    | 3SG:A=see.PST | one-INDF | of | basket-PL=3SG:POS | NEG.COP.3SG |

He saw that one of his baskets is not there.

20. | *me* | *se* | *tā* | *pos-e* | *se* | *tā* | *golābi* | *be* | *dast* |
    |------|------|------|---------|------|------|----------|------|--------|
    | DEM | three | CLF | boy-DEM1 | three | CLF | pear | in | hand |

az	*bark=oš*	*rad*	*boven*
from	front=3SG:POS	pass	become.PST.3PL

These three boys with three pears in hand were passing by in front of him.

8.2 Appendix 2

8.2.1 Filling-the-gap task

In this section a version of filling-the-gap task, as used in the field, is presented. For the ease of understanding, each speech situation in Persian is followed by its phonemic transcription in italics. The intended sentences for the informants to produced are put in boldface. In addition, each speech situation is translated into English.

١. در زمان خیلی قدیم، مردم .... (در چادر زندگی کردن)

dar zamāne xeyli qadim mardom ……………... (dar čādor zendegi kardan)

'In ancient times people **would live in tents**.'

٢. رفتیم روستا. ماشینم خراب شد. یکی از اهالی روستا تراکتور داشت. ماشینم را .... (با تراکتور بوکسل کردن)

raftim rustā. māšin=am xarāb šod. yeki az ahāli-e rustā tarāktor dāšt. māšinam rā ……………... (bā tarāktor boksol kardan)

'We went to the village. My car stopped working. One of the villagers had a tractor. **We towed the car with a tractor**.'

٣. سی و دو سالم بود .... (که زن گرفتن)

si-o do sālam būd ……… (ke zan gereftan)

'I was 32 years old when **I got married.' [lit. I took (a) woman]**

٤. الف: دیروز چکار میکردی تو پارک؟
ب: با دوستام .... (والیبال بازی کردن)

A: *diruz čekār mikardi tu pārk?*
B : *bā dustām …………………………. (vālibāl bazi kardan)*

'A: What were you doing in the park yesterday?
B: **I was playing Volleyball with my friends**.'

٥. الف: دیشب بعد از شام چکار میکردید؟
ب: .... (خواندن)

dišab bad az šām čekār mikardid? ……………... (xāndan)

'What were you doing after having dinner last night? **We were reading**.'

٦. تو خیابون قدم میزدم................... (که ٥٠٠ تومان پیدا کردن)

tu xiābun qadam mizadam …………………………. (ke 500 toman peydā kardan)

'(When) I was walking in the street **I found 500 tomans**.'

٧. محمد چکار کرد؟ او .... (در صندوق را باز کردن)

Mohammad čekār kard? ……………. (dare sandoq rā bāz kardan)

'What did Mohammad do? **He opened the door of the box**.'

٨. اگر آشت را خوردی و .... (این لوبیا را جدا کردن) میبرمت بیرون.

agar āšat rā xordi va in ………………………….. (lobiāha rā jodā kardan) mibaramet birūn.

'If you eat your soup, and **separate these beans**, I will take you out.'

۹. الف: این داستان را برام گفتی؟
ب: نه .... (این رو نگفتن، برای)

A: in dāstan rā barām gofti?
B: na ………………………………… (in ro nagoftan barāye)
'A: Have you told me this story? B: No, **I haven't told you this one**.

۱۰. پیرمرد بعد از مرگ همسرش اموالش را بین پسرانش تقسیم کرد. رفته رفته بی پول شد و عروسهایش .... (طعنه زدن به)
piremard bad az marg-e hamsaraš amvālaš rā beyne pesarānaš taqsim kard.
rafte rafte bi pul šod va arūshāyaš ……………………… (t'aneh zadan be)
'After his wife's death, the old man distributed his belongings among his sons.
 Little by little, he became penniless and his daughters-in-law **reproached him**.'

۱۱. پادشاه به پسرانش گفت : یک دفعه دیگه پیش من نیاید .... (خیلی عاجز کردن، من را)
pādšāh be pesarānāš goft: yek daf'e dige piš-e man nayāyid; ……………………… (xeyli ājez kardan, man ra)
'The king told his sons: 'do not come back to me again; **you have made me very angry**.'

۱۲. بازار رفتید چی خریدید؟ .... (دو من گوشت خریدن)
bazār raftid či xaridid? ………………………………………… (do man gūšt xaridan)
'What did you buy at the bazaar? **We bought two mans (a unit of weight) of meat**.'

۱۳. الف: چه اتفاقی برای مرد افتاد؟
ب: کشتمش
الف: ....!! (چرا کشتن)

A: če etefāqi barāy-e mard oftad?
B: koštameš
A: ……………………… (čerā koštan)
'A: What happened to that guy?
B: I killed him
A: **Why did you kill him**?'

۱۴. مرد جنازه سگ را برداشت .... (و خاک کردن)
mard jenāzeye sag rā bardāšt …………………… (va xāk kardan)
'The man took the dog's corpse and **buried it**.'

۱۵. الف: تو مهمونی کیا رو دیدی؟
ب: خیلیا که آشنا بودن ولی .... (پسری دیدن) که نمیشناختمش

A: tu mehmuni kiā ro didi ?
B : xeyliā ke āšnā budan vali ……………………… (pesari didan) ke nemišnaxtameš
'A: Whom did you see at the party?
B: I met many acquaintances, but, **I saw a boy,** whom I didn't know.'

۱۶. میخواستیم بریم تهران که عمه پری گفت اونم میاد. .... (بردن، او هم) و رفتیم.
mixāstim berim Tehran ke ameh Pari goft unam miād. ………… (bordan, u ham) va raftim.
'We wanted to go to Tehran. Aunt Pari said she also intends to go there. **We picked her up too**, and left (for Tehran)'

۱۷. سینا به عطر فروشی رفت و .... (برای همسرش ادکلن خریدن)

Sinā be atrforoši raft va ……………………. (barāye hamsaraš odkolon xaridan)

'Sina went to the perfumery and **bought an eau de cologne for his wife**.'

۱۸. الف: دوستات برای تولدت چی آوردن؟

ب: .... (کیف و خودکار، برای تولد آوردن)

A: dustāt barāye tavalodet či āvordan?

B: ……………………………………….. (kif o xodkār, barāye tavalod āvordan)

'A: What did your friends bring you on your birthday?

B: **They brought a bag and some pens for my birthday**.'

۱۹. مراد طبق معمول از سر کار بازمیگشت، و .... (شام خوردن)

Morād tebqe ma'mul az sare kār barmigašt, va ………………. (šām xordan).

'As usual, Morad would come back from work and **eat his dinner**.'

۲۰. دم ظهری چند تا شرور یه آدم بیچاره رو تو خیابون گیر آوردن .... (انقدر زدن به) که نگو.

dame zohri čan tā šarur ye ādame bičararo tu xiābun gir andāxtan …………………

(enqadr be zadan) ke nagu

'During daytime, some thugs seized a hapless guy and **beat him to the point** that you couldn't believe.'

۲۱. بازم میگم علی، اگه مامورا .... (سوال کردن از) نگی منم باهات بودم!

bāzam migam Ali, age ma'murā …………… (soāl kardan az) nagi manam bāhāt budam.

'I'm telling you again Ali!, if **the police officers happen to interrogate you**, do not mention the fact that I had been with you.'

۲۲-۲۳. سارا: نمیخوای پولمو پس بدی؟

نیما: کدوم پول؟

سارا: یه هفته پیش پنج هزار تومان پول ...... (گرفتن از- من)

نیما: تو اصلن ....!! (پول ندادن به- من)

A: nemixāy pulamo pas bedi?

B: kodum pul

A: ye hafte piš panj hezār toman pul …………… (geteftan az-man)

B: to aslan ……………………… (pul nadādan be - man)

A: 'Don't you intend to give me back my money?

B: Which money?

A: A week ago, **you borrowed five thousand tomans form me**.

B: You haven't ever **lent me money**.'

۲۴. پدرم از سر کار برگشت و .... (گفتن به- من): مشقهایت را نوشتی؟

pedaram az sar-e kār bargašt va be ....(goftan be - man): mašqhāyat rā neveštī?

'My father came back from work **and told me**: "have you done your assignments?"'

۲۵. سینا ما را در خیابان دید و......... (کتاب را- گرفتن از- ما)

Sinā mā rā dar xiābān did va …………… (ketāb rā, gereftan az -mā)

'Sina bumped into us in the street and **took back the book from us**.'

26-27. پادشاه پول زیادی به مرد داد؛.............. (زیاد دادن به- او) و .... (کم ندادن به- او)

pādšāh pule ziādi be mard dād; ………… (ziad dādan be- ū) o ……… (kam nadādan be-ū)

'The king gave a lot of money to the man; **he gave him a lot (of money); he didn't give him little**.'

28. الف: حق و حقوقتون رو پرداخت کردن؟
ب: نه آقا تا حالا .... (هیچ، پول، ندادن به)

A: haq o hoquqetun ro pardāxt kardan?
B: na āqā tā hāla …………………… (hič, pul, nadādan be)

'A: Have the paid your salaries?
B: No sir! **they haven't paid us any money so far.'**

29. الف: داستان زندان رو قبلا برام گفتی؟
ب: نه هنوز .... (نگفتن برای)

A: dāstān-e zendān ro qablan barām gofti?
B: na hanuz ………………………. (nagoftan barāye)

'A: Have you already told me what happened in prison (lit. the story of prison?)
B: No, **I haven't told you yet**.'

30. الف: دوستات برای تولدت چی آوردن؟
ب: .... (کیف و خودکار، برای آوردن)

A: dustāt barāye tavalodet či āvordan?
B: ……………………………………….. (kif o xodkār, barāye āvordan)

A: What did your friends bring you on your birthday?
B: **They brought a bag and some pens for me**.'

31. الف: بابا چی برام خریدی؟
ب: .... (شکلات خریدن برای)

A: bābā či barām xaridi?
B :…………………………………. (šokolāt xaridan barāye)

'A: Dad! What did you buy for me?
B: **I bought some chocolates for you**.'

32. پدر و مادر دختر نیز خواستگار را پسندیدند و دختر را .... (به عقددر آوردن-او)

pedaro mādare doxtar niz xāstegar rā pasandidand va
doxtare rā ………………(be aqd dar āvordane- ū)

'The girl's parents also approved the suitor and **married their daughter to him**.'

33. سینا با دوستاش قرار گذاشتن برن بیرون، اما سینا نظرش عوض شد و .... (با) نرفت.

Sinā bā dustāš qarār gozāštan beran birun, amā Sinā nazaraš avaz shod va ………. (bā) naraft.

'Sina and his friends were supposed to go out together, but Sina changed his mind and **didn't go out with them**.'

۳۴. شاهزاده همراه با بعضی از وزیران به شکار رفت. شاهزاده در میانه ی راه گوزن زیبایی دید و به کسانی که .... (با او بودن) گفت: شما نیایید من تنهایی میرم شکارش میکنم.

shāhzādeh hamrāh bā ba'zi az vazirān be šekar raft. Shāhzādeh dar miyāne-ye rāh gavazn-e zibāi did va be kasāni ke .... (bā ū budan) goft: šomā nayāyid man tanhāi miram šekāraš mikonam.

'The queen went hunting along with some of the ministers. In the middle of way, he saw a beautiful deer and told to **those who were with him**: " don't come with me! I'm going to hunt it alone!"'

۳۵. الف: کجایین بچه ها؟! .... (چی به سر آمدن)؟!
ب: رفتیم دور پارک قدم زنی.

A: kojāein bačehā?! .... (či be sar āmadan)
B: raftim dore park qadam zani.
'A: Kids! where are you? **what happened to you**?
B: We were strolling in the park.'

۳۶. الف: شنیدی خونواده ی آقای کریمی میخوان بیان خواستگاری دخترمون؟
ب: میخوام صد سال سیاه نیان. من .... (دختر، ندادن، به)

A: šenidi xunevādeye āqāye karimi mixān biān xāstegāri-ye doxtaremun.
B: mixām sad sale siāh nayān, man .... (doxtar nadādan, be)
'A: Have you heard that the Karimi's are going to come by to suit our daughter?
B: never in million years!! **I won't give them my daughter**!'

۳۷. الف: اگه فردا مینا رو دیدی بهش میگی؟
ب: آره .... (گفتن به)

A: age farad Minā ro didi beheš migi?
B: āre, ... (goftan be)
'A: If you happen to see Mina tomorrow, will you tell her?
B: Yes**, I will tell her**.'

۳۸. اینجای داستان بودم که مامورا قاتل رو میگیرن و .... (بازجویی کردن از)
injāye dāstān budam ke ma'murā qātel ro migiran va .... (bāzjui kardan az-ū)
'We were there in the story that that the police officers took the killer and **interrogated him**.'

۳۹. خانمی با بچه هاش تو پارک بود یهو متوجه میشه بچه هاش نیستن. داد میزنه که ای مردم به دادم برسین .... (بچه ها، بردن)
xānomi bā bačehāš tu park bud. yeho motavajeh miše bačehāyāš nistan.
dād mizaneh ke āy mardom be dādam beresin .... (bačehā, bordan)
'A woman was at park with her children. Suddenly, she realized that her children were lost. She screamed: "Hey people!!, please help me!! **they took my children away**."'

۴۰. الف: تا حالا شده دل پدر و مادرت رو بشکونی؟
ب: .... (هرگز، دلشان، به درد نیاوردن/ شکاندن)

A: tā hālā šode dele pedaro mādareto beškuni?
B: .... (hargez delešān, be dard nayāvordan)
'A: Has it ever happened to you that you broke your parents' hearts?
B: **I have never broken their hearts**.'

41. الف: بابا! برای چی خواهرمون رو دادی به پسر پادشاه؟!

ب: پسرم! .... (خواهر، دادن) به پسر پادشاه چون چاره ای نداشتم.

A: bābā! barāye či xāharemūn ro dādi be pesare pādšāh?

B: pesaram! .... (xāhar, to, dādan) be pesare pādšāh čon čārei nadāštam.

'Dad! Why did you give our sister to the queen?

B: Son! **I gave your sister** to the queen because I had no other options.'

42. مامان! یادش بخیر! وقتی بچه بودم .... (دست گرفتن- من) میبُردیم شهر بازی.

māmān! yādeš bexeyr! vaqti bače budam .... (dast gereftan- man) mibordim šahre bāzi.

Mom! good old days! when I was a kid, **you would hold my hand** and take me to the amusement park.'

43. الف: بچه ها رو کجا گذاشتی؟

ب: .... (گذاشتن، خونه مادرم)

A: bačehā ro kojā gozāšti?

B: .... (gozāštan, xuneye mādaram)

A: 'Where did you put the kids?

B: **I put them** in my mom's house.'

44. الف: دیشب رفتی مهمونی دوستاتو دیدی؟

ب: آره .... (دیدن)

A: dišab rafti mehmuni dustāto didi?

B: are .... (didan)

'A: Did you see your friends at the party last night?

B: Yes, **I saw them**.'

45. دیشب بیرون بودم. یهو چند نفر اومدن سمتم. اولش .... (نشناختن) بعد که خوب نگاه کردم دیدم پسر عمه هامن.

dišab birun budam. yeho, čand nafar umadan samtam. avaleš .... (našenāxtan) ba'd ke xub negā kardam didam pesar amehāman.

'I was out last night. Suddenly, some people came to me. **I didn't recognize them** in the first place, but when I looked closer I realized that they were my cousins!'

46. پادشاه از مرد تشکر کرد و گفت تنها یک پسر دارم تو .... (نجات دادن)

pādšāh az mard tašakor kard va goft tanha yek pesar dāram to .... (nejāt dādan)

'The king thanked the guy and said: I have but one son and **you saved him**.'

47. الف: راستی تا حالا همسایه های جدیدتون رو دعوت کردی خونه تون؟

ب: نه تا حالا .... (دعوت نکردن آنها)

A: rāsti tā hālā hamsāyehāye jadidetūn ro davat kardi xunatun?

B: na tā hālā .... (da'vat nakardan-ānhā)

'A: By the way, have you invited your new neighbour to your house so far?

B: No, **I haven't invited them** yet.'

48. ای بابا! غذارو بیار دیگه!.............. (از گشنگی کشتن-ما)

ey bābā! qazā ro biār digeh .... (az gošnegi koštan-mā)

'Come on! Bring the food! **You killed us of hunger**.'

49. الف: چه به سر بچه هات اومد؟

ب: .... (گرگ، خوردن)

A: če be sare bačehāt āmad?

B: ....(gorg, xordan)

'A: What happened to your kids?

 B: **The wolf ate them.**'

50. الف: کی بود زنگ زد؟

ب: خونه عمه لیلی بودن........ (دعوت کردن-ما) امشب بریم خونه شون.

A: ki bud zang zad?

B: xuneye ame leyli budan .... (da'vat kardan- mā) emšab berim xunašun.

'A: Who was on the phone?

B: That was Aunt Leyli's; **they invited us** to their place tonight.'

51. بعد از بمباران ماموران .... (بردن-ما) بیمارستان.

bad az bombārān ma'murān .... (bordan-mā) bimārestān.

'After the bombardment, the officers **took us** to the hospital.'

52. الف: چه اتفاقی برای پات افتاده؟

ب: دیروز یک سگ .... (گاز گرفتن)

A: če etefāqi barāye pāt oftāde?

B: diruz ye sag .... (gāz gereftan)

A: What happened to your feet?

B: Yesterday a dog **bit me**.'

53. الف: کی گفت بیای اینجا؟

ب: بابا .... (فرستادن من)

A: ki goft biāy injā?

B: bābā .... (ferestadan-man)

'A: Who told you to come by here?

B: (My) father **sent me**'

54. بعد از بمباران ماموران .... (ما، در بیمارستان، بستری کردن)

bad az bombārān ma'murān .... (mā, dar bimārestān, bastari kardan)

'After the bombardment, the officers **hospitalized us in the hospital.**'

55. رفتم نانوایی. نانوا گفت .... (چند نان خواستن)

raftam nānvāei, nānvā goft: .... (čand nān xāstan)

'I went to the bakery. The baker asked: **"How many loaves of bread do you need?"**'

56. الف: خودکارم یادم رفته.

ب: از بچه ها بپرس ببین کی .... (خودکار داشتن)

A: khodkāram yādam rafte.

B: az bačehā bepors bebin kī .... (xodkār dāštan)

'A: I have forgotten my pen.

 B: Ask the other students, see **who has an extra pen**.'

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57. در زمان قدیم پادشاهی بود .... (که بچه نداشتن)

dar zaman-e qadim pādešāhī bud ……………………. (ke bače nadāštan)

'In ancient times there was a king who **didn't have any children**.'

58-59. دیروز با داداشم رفتیم بیرون، یه جفت کفش خوب دیدیم. .... (خواستن، خریدن) اما .... (نتوانستن) چون گرون بودن.

diruz bā dādāšam raftim birun, ye joft kafše xūb didam; ……………………
(xāstan, xaridan) amā ……………………(natavānestan) čon gerūn būdan.

'Yesterday, I went out with my bother. I saw a good pair of shoes.
I wanted **to buy it**, but **I couldn't** because they were expensive.'

60. الف: چرا حقیقتو بهم نگفتی؟
ب: .... (خواستن) چیو بدونی؟

A: čerā haqiqato behem nagofti?
B: …………………….. (xāstan) čio bedūni?
'A: Why didn't you tell me the truth?
B: **What did you want** to know?'

61. همسایه ما .... (دو بچه داشتن)، یه پسر و یه دختر.

hamsāye mā …………………………. (do bače dāštan); ye pesar o ye doxtar.

'Our neighbour **has two children**; a boy and a girl.'

62. مادرم مریض بود. به من گفت: پسرم پنجره را ببند .... (سرد بودن)

mādaram mariz būd. be man goft: pesaram panjereh rā beband ………………. (sard budan)

'My mother was ill. She told me: Son! Close the door! **I'm cold.**

63. یه مردی مرغی داشت که .... (جوجه های زیادی داشتن)

ye mardi morghi dāšt ke ………………………………(jūjehaye ziādi dāštan)

'A man had a hen, **which had a lot of chickens**.'

64. الف: سلام بابا
ب: سلام و کوفت، پسره یه بی چشم و رو. برو بیرون! .... (دیگر نخواستن دیدن)

A: salām bābā.
B: salāmo kūft, pesareye bi češm o rū. bro birūn ………………. (digar nemixām bebinamet)
'A: Hi dad!
B: I'm not saluting you! you, ingrate son! get out of my sight! **I don't want to see you anymore**.'

65. الو سلام! ببخشید مادر جون دیروز .... (نتوانستن) بیایم پیشت، کار داشتیم؛ امشب بابچه ها یه سر میایم.

Alo salām! bebaxšid mādar joon dirūz ………………. (natavānestan) biām pišet,
kār dāštim. emšab bā bačehā ye sar miāym.

'Hey mom! sorry! yesterday, **we couldn't** come by to give you a visit.
We had some works to do. Tonight, I will come by along with the kids to visit you.'

66. الف: بعد از امتحان بچه ها میخواستن چکار کنن؟

ب: .... (خواستن) کتابا رو پرت بکنن که مدیر رسید بهشون و در رفتن.

A: bad az emtehān bačehā mixāstan čekār konan?

B: ……………………. (xāstan) ketābā ro part bedan ke modir resid behešūn o bačehā dar raftan.

A: 'What would the children wish to do after the exam?'

B: **They wanted** to throw away the books, but the school principal bumped into them, and they fled.

67. من این دختررو میخوام. هر اتفاقی هم پیش بیاد باز .... (گرفتن)

man in doxtaro mixam. har etefāqi ham piš biād bāz (gereftan)

'I want this girl. No matter what happens **I will marry her**.'

68. الف: با این گوسفندها چه میکنید؟

ب: .... (در بازار آزاد فروختن)

A: bā in gusfanhā če mikonid?

B: ………………………. (dar bāzāre āzād foruxtan)

'A: What are you going to do with these sheep?

B: **We sell them in the free market**.'

69. دیروز با داداشم رفتیم بیرون، یه جفت کفش خوب دیدیم. .... (خواستن، خریدن) اما .... (نتوانستن) چون گرون بودن.

diruz bā dādāšam raftim birun, ye joft kafše xūb didam; ………………….
(xāstan, xaridan) amā …………………….(natavānestan) čon gerūn būdan.

'Yesterday, I went out with my bother. I saw a good pair of shoes.
I wanted **to buy it**, but **I couldn't** because they were expensive.'

70. الف: بیا اینجا کارت دارم.

ب: نمیام منو میزنی

الف: نترس .... (نزدن)

A: biā injā kāret dāram!

B: nemiām, mano mizani

A: natars, ……………… (nazadan)

'A: come here! I have a business with you!'

B: I'm not coming, you're going to beat me!

A: Don't be scared! **I won't beat you**!'

71. مرد گاو را به بازار برد تا .... (فروختن)

mard gāv rā be bāzār bord tā …………………………….. (fruxtan)

'The man took the cow to the bazaar **in order to sell it**.'

٧٢. الف: سلام بابا
ب: سلام و کوفت، پسره یه بی چشم و رو. برو بیرون! .... (دیگر نخواستن دیدن)

A: salām bābā.
B: salāmo kūft, pesareye bi češm o rū. bro birūn ……………… (digar nemixām bebinamet)
'A: Hi dad!
B: I'm not saluting you! you, ingrate son! get out of my sight! **I don't want to see you anymore**.'

٧٣. ماموران یک نفر را که قصد داشت وارد کاخ شود بازداشت کردند. پادشاه به ماموران دستور داد: بروید .... (آوردن)
ma'mūrān yek nafar rā ke qasd dāšt vārede kāx šavad bāzdāšt kardand.
pādšāh be ma'mūrān dastur dād: beravid ………………… (āvordan)
'The guards imprisoned a man who was trying to enter the palace.
The king ordered his guards: "Go **bring him**!"'

٧٤. در اتاقم را بسته بودم که خواهرم آمد دید قفل است: گفت: .... (باز کردن)
dare otāqam baste bud ke xāharam āmad did qofl ast : goft : …………………… (bāz kardan)
'My room door was locked and my sister noticed that. She said: **open it!**'

٧٥. الف: تا تهران اومدم و کتابامو یادم رفته با خودم بیارم.
ب: اگه میخوای، برم خونتون از مادرت بگیرمشون .... (فرستادن برای)
A: tā Tehrān umadam o ketābāmo yādam rafte bā xodam biāram
B: age mixāy beram xūnatūn az mādaret begiramešun ………………… (ferestādan barāye)
'A: I have come to Tehran and I forgot to bring my books with me.
B: If you want, I can go to your house, take them from your mother, and **send them to you**!'

٧٦. اگه میخوای، پول از حسابم دربیارم .... (فرستادن برای- تو)
age mixāy pūl az hesābam dar biāram ………………………… (ferestādan barāye)
'If you want, I can withdraw some money from my account, and **send it to you**.'

٧٧. الف: یه کاری بگم میکنی؟
ب: چه کاری؟
.... (آن کتابم) را که روی تاقچه است بیاور
A: ye kāri begam mikoni?
B: če kāri?
A: …………………………………. (ān ketābam) rā ke ruye tāqče ast biāvar
'A: Would you do me a favour?
B: What favour!
A: Bring me **that my book** on the rack.'

٧٨. الف: پسرت چند سالشه؟
ب: .... (پسر 12 سال).
A: pesarat čand sāleše?
B: ………………… (pesar 12 sāl)
'A: How old is your son?
B: My son is 12 years old.'

79. الف:این دو تا زن کی ان که با مینا میان سمتمون؟

ب: نمیشناسیشون؟! .... (خواهراشن)

A: in do rā zan kian ke bā Minā miān samtemūn?
B: nemišnāsišūn?! .... (xāharāšan)
A: Who are these women coming to us along with Mina?
B: Don't you know them? they are her sisters.'

80. الف: کی کتابا رو داد بهت؟

ب: علی ....

A: kī ketābāro dād behet?
B: Ali ....
'A: Who gave you the books?
B: Ali **gave them to me**.'

8.2.2 Filling-the-gap task as carried out in Delijani

This section presents the emplyment of filling-the-gap task in the Central Plateau dialect Delijani. The task was carried out in July 2017. The informant is a male, 60-year old, native speaker of Delijani. He is a retired teacher and has spent all his lifetime in the city.

1. ru pištarāye bewdašta merdem ru čādor vā zandegišu akard
2. bašdimān dehāt. Māšinemon xarāb genā. ejeye dehātiye taraktol=eš dert. māšinemoneš bā tarektol boksel kerd
3. si do salem be ke zanem befāšt
4. heze če dakard ru park vā? bā refiqiem vālibal bāzimo akard
5. heze šaw bade šāme čedu akard? ketābemun berun, beremonont, veremonont
6. ru xiābun vā rā bereštimon ke pānsad temanem bowšt
7. mohamad češ kerd? on bar sndoqeš vo tāq nā
8. aga āšetet borda in lubiāt vaoji, adabaron a bar
9. in šowqātet vā men boat? na inem vā nuātay
10. merde pira zaneš ke bamarde mālešeš miān purieš vā qesmat kerd. āstā āstā bi pul genā vo ārusieš hay sarzenāšu adā
11. pātešā be puriešeš bāt: i hani piš-e pahlü men nawrion. ājezedon bakard-on
12. bā bāzār ešdion čičidon hāt? do men guštemon hāt
13. vā merda čičia piš eme? bamkošt. čune bad-košt?
14. merda lāše esbaš ver-get vo de xākeš kerd
15. ru meymuni vā kiāt be-di? xewliyā ke āšnā bede vali puraim badi ke namešnāsā
16. amānagā bašimon Teyrun ke ame pari ašvā nāton. onemonem babard o bašdimon
17. Sinā baše atrforuši vo vā zaneš odkolonš hāt
18. dust-iet bā tavalodešun či čišun bārt? kif o xodkārešon bā bārd-on/ kif o xodkārešon bā tavalodem bārt

19. Morād isin hamiša az sar kār vā vāgerdā vo šomeš ört / šomeš öwra

20. deme pišina čande ādame lāt bičārašun xiābun-a vā de gir est o. anqazašon bi mālā ke nuwā

21. bāzam bid ājon Ali / age mamurie ji=šun vāporsā-i vāšonporsā nuā ke menam kofād ebdon/

22. nad-ay pül-e men vā peš di? kemün pül? aje hafta piš 5 hezār tomen pül=ed ji hāt-on

23. to aslan pület a men nadā/ pület hānadāon

24. boām a sar kār vā vāgerdā o be meneš vāt biš āton/ maqšeted čuna nanevešta

25. Sinā amaš ru xiyabun vā badiyā o katābeš ji hāt-imā

26. pātešā püle oroftiš a merdem dā/ xewliš hā-dā-ø

27. vo kameš hānadā

28. haq-o hoquqešon hādāyun? tā hatun heč pülišun hānadāymān

29. dāstāne zandunet pištarā vā men buwāt-a? na hamunam bid nowāton, na hamunam nadvāta

30. dusiet vā tavalodet čičišun bārt? kif o xodkārešun bārt

31. bābā čičit bā hāt-on? šukolatem bā hātey

32. mā vo boāv o detam xāstegārešun bapesendā vo detešun mar vā kerd-ø/ detešun de mahr-e un kerd

33. Sinā bā dusieš qarārešun bašt bašende a bar, amā sinā nazareš āleš genā vo kofāšun naše

34. šāzde kofā i pore vazirie baše ešekār. šāzāde ru miune rā vā ajay gavazne xošgeleš ba-diy o be onone ke kofāš vābde vāt ke šomā naoriyon men haw ašon aš-a-kow-on

35. kugavāion āy bačie ? čiči be sar=edun ema? bašd-imon dowre pārk vā qadam bimāli

36. badešnafta xānevādeye āqāye karimi ašun-ey burande xāstegāriye detamun ? amey sad sāl-e siām nawrende. men detešun vā nā-d-on// men dete vā onāne nādon

37. age sabā Mināt badi čičiš biāji ? biš ājon

38. endeye šowqāte vābdon ke mamurie qātel ayrande vo jiš bāzxās akerende

39. xānomāi bā bačieš ru pārk vā bəde ihoi vāyofta genāe ke bačašun ni. dād akešande ke āy merdem be dādem beresion. bačamešun baberd

40. tā hatun genā dele mā vo boāt bameri? hergez delešunim namarda/vā darde nārda

41. bābā bāse čiči fākamuned vā pür pātešā nadā ?ey püre men fākadem bā pür pātešā dā vāse inke čāraim nedert

42. nane yādeš bexeyr vaxti bača abdon dastemet ayt o /ad=a-bard-on šahr-e bāzi

43. bačiet kuga vābašt? sarā mām vā bamašte

44. heze šaw ke bašdi meymunie dusieded badi? hon bamdiande

45. eze šaw bar vā bedon yeho čan nafar ruye me meye avaleš namešnāsāiande, bad ke xub nām diam pür ameiam-ande

46. pātešā be merdaš vā daset dard nakere va bašvāt ke ejey pür dāron ke to nejātet badā

47. rāsiš tā haton homsāye numuned davat kard-a serādun? na tā hatun davatem nakardiande

48. ey bābā! qazā bāre heni! a vašai hāmāt bakošt/ a vašai ba=d-košt-imun

49. če be sare bačied eme? gorg bošord-ande

50. ki bo zangeš beze? sarā ame leylā be. davateš kardimon, bašimon serāšun

51. be peysare bombārun mamurie bašunbardimon marizxuna

52. pāt češ genāha? heze esba vā gazaš geta

53. ki bešvāt buri ande? buām meneš bakinā/ baškināon

54. be peysare bombāru mamurie hāmāšun bimareson vā hawsenā
55. bašdon nonvāi nonvā ašā čandi none da-i?
56. xodkārem a yādem avar ešde. a vačie vāporsa bewne ki xodkar der-e
57. ru pištarā vā pātešāi ba ke bačaš nedert
58. heze hey gāgām bašdimon a bar. i joft orsie xubīm badi. amunagā hārimun
59. amā namunzānān
60. čune rāstiātedeš bi nowotun? čičit agā zunbi
61. homsāye hāmā do bačaš dart: ajay pür o ie det-e
62. mām mariz ebde/ boām mariz be. be menš wāt: ey püre men panjera hābande sardema
63. ajy merdai iya kargaiš dert ke xewli jixjuš dert
64. selām bābā. selām o kuft. puraye bi čam o ru. baše a bar. hani name badbinon
65. alo selām babaxši nane jun heze namzānā burimon baret karemun dert. emšaw bā bečie isti etimon
66. be peysare emtehān bečie češun kard? ašunagā katābie partāw karande ke modir bišun barisā vo be čākešun koft
67. men ina dejom ey. har čiam api šure bāzam men ašafāson
68. bā in heyvānie čā karande? ru bāzār āzād vā ašunharušimā
69. heze hey gāgām bašdimon a bar. i joft orsie xubem badi. amagā hāron
70. bure ende karet bi dāron. nāton bim amāli. naterse bid nāmālon
71. merda gāš babard bāzār tā bašeruša
72. selām bābā. selām o kuft. puraye bi čam o ru. baše a bar. hani name badbinom
73. mamurie aje nafar ke ašagā ke vāred-e kāx gene bāygāšun kard. pātešā dastureš a mamurie dā tā bašande bašārende
74. barkam hābaste be ke fākem bama diš qolfe ašā vā tāqeš ne
75. tā teyron bamon o katābem a yādem abarša ke bā heym bāron age ad-ay bašon serādon a māt hāron bāt bašonkinon
76. age ade pül a hesābem a bar āren o vā to / bāt bakinon
77. ajay kārit biājon akar-i? če kāri? on ketābem ke ru jena bā bāre
78. püret čand sāleše? pürem duāzde sāleš-e
79. in dowa zančie kiande ke hey Minā atande rubemon? nešešunnāsi? fākiešande.
80. ki katābieš hādāi? Ali hāš dāon.

8.3 Appendix 3

In this section, a sketch of person clitics is provided for each of the investigated languages. It was seen in Chapter 1 under §1.1.1 that the languages studied go under major grouping as Central Plateau languages; Kurdic languages; Tatic-type languages; Other Northwest languages, Southwest languages; and languages of southeast Iran. For each sketch of clitics, the behaviour of clitics is tested against a shared set of parameters, including (i) forms of clitics, (ii) clitic PMs' functionality, (iii) the extent of clitic use in non-canonical constructions, (iv) phonological attachment of clitic PMs (for those languages with both procliticization and encliticiztion as means of clitic attachment), (v) clitic placement, (vi) cluster internal ordering of clitics, and (vii) clitic-affix sequences. These seven parameters are telling enough to provide us with a descriptive basis for surveying the diversity of clitic systems across West Iranian languages. In the following paragraphs, we will elaborate on each of these parameters.

The section on the forms of clitic PMs investigates the paradigm of clitics in each languages, taking into account possible areal parallels and historical derivations of clitics.

The section on functionality of clitic PMs delves into the functional distribution of clitic PMs in the languages studied. Here, the status of clitic PMs as markers of anaphora or agreement relation will be specified for each clitic function. In addition, the range of non-canonical subject constructions will be surveyed for each language. Furthermore, the possible asymmetries between the nominal case marking and the functional status of clitic PMs will be brought into consideration – if such a correlation is relevant in the grammar of languages.

In some Iranian languages, the phonological attachment of clitics has taken a different path since Middle Iranian languages, in a way that proclitics have arisen in the morphosyntax, while at the same time the enclitic attachment is at work (cf. §3.3.3 & §5.6). For these languages, we will give a classification of the domains in which procliticization and encliticization occur. This undertaking is, however, excluded for languages which exhibit mixed clitic systems (e.g. Minabi; §8.3.6.4); rather the discussion of directionality of attachment is introduced in the section on clitic placement.

Perhaps the most intriguing section on the dataset summaries on clitic PMs in investigated languages is that of their placement in different domains. After specifying the relevant cliticization domain for each language, we move on to display hosts and non-hosts for clitic placement . As explained in Ch. 5 our primary assumption is that clitic placement applies

uninformedly across all clitic functions. Thus the clitic placement rule will be tested against the positioning of clitic in their different functions.
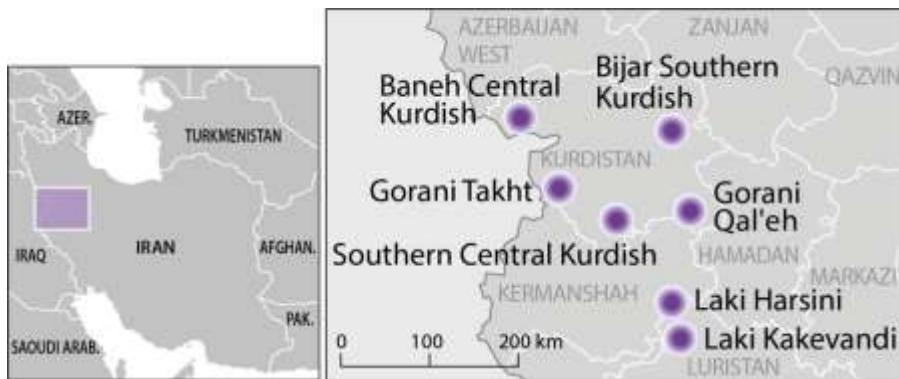
Due to multifunctionality of clitic PMs in West Iranian languages, it is expected to come across two or more clitics in the same clause/domain. Such co-occurrence of clitic PMs can have radical consequences on the morphosyntax, especially in past transitive constructions (cf. §6.2 & §6.3). Thus, in the section on 'multiple cliticization' we survey the restrictions on clitic clustering, the ordering of clitics in the cluster, and deviations from expected clitic clustering.

Finally, in the section on 'clitic-affix sequences', the possible concatenation of clitics and affixes will be explored. In addition, the resulting sequences will be tested against clitichood and affixhood criteria.

8.3.1 Kurdic languages

Kurdic is a cover term for one of the largest groups of closely-related West Iranian dialects. There are three main subgroups of Kurdish: (i) Northern Kurdish is the most widely spoken variety of Kurdish, also known as Kurmanji; (ii) Central Kurdish has two main subgroups, Sorani in Northern Iraq up to the Little Zab River, and Mukri in the adjacent Iranian province of Kurdistan. (ii) Southern Kurdish is found in the bordering areas of Iraq and Iran, from Khaneqin in Iraq over to Kermanshah in Iran and down to the north of al-Amara, Iraq, as well as in the Bijar region of Iran (McCarus 2009: 587). In addition to these, there are residual dialects such as Gorani, and Zaza, which are sometimes included under Kurdish. Furthermore, we added Laki under the cover term of 'Kurdic'. Note however that its position among Kurdish languages is controversial (see Anonby 2004).

The investigated dialects include Baneh Central Kurdish (BCK), Southern Central Kurdish (SCK); Bijar Southern Kurdish (BSK); Gorani dialects of Takht (GorT), and Qal'eh (GorQ); and Laki dialects of Kakavandi (LakK), and Harsini (LakK). A brief description of the clitic system of most of these dialects along with explanations on the development of clitic systems, both functionally and syntactically, is given in Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear). Here, we present a more detailed presentation of Kurdic languages, and take into account factors of cliticization which have not been covered in previous studies.

Figure 31: Investigated Kurdic languages

8.3.1.1 Baneh Central Kurdish

Baneh is located in the Kurdish-speaking areas in northwest Iran, in the border with neighbouring dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan. The CK dialect of Baneh shows close similarities to the Kurdish dialect of Sulaymaniyah and is situated between Mukri, and Southern CK dialects, e.g. Sanandaji. The functionality of clitic PMs and their placement in Baneh CK is the same as in other CK dialects, yet unlike upper CK dialects, clitic clusters are allowed at a limited range. The data for this study gathered in Baneh in March 2018 and include, in addition to elicitated data, one narration of 'pear story' (PS), a free narrative (KM), and two folktales (DM; IB). Informants are two males, aged 32 and 55, and one female aged 70.

8.3.1.1.1 Form

The forms of clitic PMs are set out below:

Table 37: Clitic PMs in Baneh CK

	SG	PL
1	= im	= mān
2	= it, =ē	= tān
3	= ī	= yān

The second person singular form has an alternant 'back' vocalic element $\bar{e}$, which has its origin in Olr. 2SG accusative form *-$\theta\beta\bar{a}$ (cf. §3.1 for more detail).

8.3.1.1.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used for indexing a number of functions, including the adnominal possessor, cf. (808), O-prs NP, cf. (809), adpositional complement in present tense, cf. (810), and an A-past NP, , cf. (811). Only in the last function is the use of clitic PMs obligatory.

(808) *xošk-akān-n=ī*   EL[BCK]. 79
       sister-DEF.PL-COP.3PL=3SG:POS
       'They are her sisters.'

(809) *a=**yān**-xā-t-a*   *nāw*   *sawat-aka-wa*   PS[BCK]. 6
       IND=3PL:O-put.PRS-3SG-DRC   ADP   basket-DEF-ADP
       'He pours them into the basket.'

(810) *qawl=**it***   *pē*   *a-da-m*   IB[BCK]. 37
       promise=2SG:R   to   IND-give.PRS-1SG
       'I promise you.' [lit. I give you promise]

(811) *am*   *xalāt-a=**m***   *bo*   *to*   *hēnā-w-a*   IB[BCK]. 28
       DEM   gift-DEM1=1SG:A   for   2SG   bring.PST-PTCP-PERF
       'I have brought this gift for you.'

In addition to these, clitic PMs obligatorily index the subject-like argument (or the 'experiencer') in the following non-canonical subject constructions: 'predicative possession', cf. (812), 'necessity and wanting', cf. (813), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (814).

(812) *dū*   *mināl=ī*   *haya*   EL[BCK]. 61
       two   child=3SG:NC exist.PRS.3SG
       'He has two children.'

(813) *da=**m**-awē*   IB[BCK]. 1
       IND=1SG:NC-want.PRS
       'I want.'

(814) *sarmā=yš-yat=ī*   EL[BCK]. 62
       cold=ADD-COP.3SG=3SG:NC
       'He is cold as well.'

Finally, following the decline of ergativity known from most WILs, agreement with direct objects NP is lost:

(815) *harmē-yakān=**yān***   *baš*   *kird*   PS[BCK]. 27
       pear-DEF.PL=3PL:A   share   do.PST
       'They shared the pears.'

(816) *mināl-akān=ī*   *bīnī*   PS[BCK]. 29
       child-DEF.PL=3SG:A   see.PST
       'He saw the kids.'

In short, clitic PMs mark the typical oblique functions attested elsewhere across most West Iranian. In addition, clitics have developed into agreement markers in indexing A-past and non-canonical subjects.

8.3.1.1.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic PMs are placed following 'the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP', hence excluding subjects, sentential adverbs, and conjunctions as anchors. In this sense, the clitic placement abides the first hierarchy presumed for clitic placement in VP-based languages in §5.4.1, repeated her for convenience:

Placement of A-past clitics in VP-based clitic systems (1)

object NP > non-verbal element of complex predicate > adposition > preverb > grammatical verbal prefixes (TAM/NEG) > bare verb stem

According to this hierarchy, the clitic attaches to the leftmost constituent within the VP. It is only in the absence of the latter that the clitic attaches to the next available element to its right. As can be seen, the bare verb stem is the last resort for cliticization. In the following examples, the first element within the VP is a verbal adverb, cf. (817), an object NP, cf. (818), a non-verbal element of a complex predicate, cf. (819), an adposition, cf. (820), verbal prefixes (derivational, cf. (821)/grammatical, cf. (822)–(823)), and the verb stem, cf. (824). Note that in the presence of each of these elements VP-initially, the clitic does not move to the next element to the right to seek its host. For example in (818), in the presence of the object NP *bard-aka* 'the rock', the A-past clitic does not take the non-verbal element of complex predicate *fra yān* 'to throw' as a host

(817)   *am*   *köxā-y*   *ka*   *āwā=**mān***   IB[BCK]. 23
         DEM   head.man-RESTR   REL   such=1PL:A

         lē   *kird-Ø*
         at   do.PST-3SG:R
         'This headman to whom we did such.'

(818)   *bard-aka-š=**yān***   *fra*   *yā*   PS[BCK]. 16
         rock-DEF=ADD=3PL:A   throwing   give.PST

         aw   *lā-wa*
         DEM   side-POSTP
         'They throw the rock to the other side as well.'

(819) *timšā=y*   *kird-in*   PS[BCK]. 30
       look=3SG:A   do.PST-3PL:O
       'He looked at them.'

(820) *lē=š=ī̄*   *da-n*   IB[BCK]. 10
       at=ADD=3SG:R   give.PRS-3PL
       'That they hit him as well.'

(821) *tē*[101]*=m*   *gayn-a*   IB[BCK]. 19
       PVB=1SG:O   arrive.PRS-2SG.IMP
       'Make me understood.'

(822) *bā*   *a=y-bā*   DM[BCK]. 8
       wind   IND=3SG:O-take.PRS.3SG
       'The wind blows it off.'

(823) *min*   *nā=y-nās-im*   IB[BCK]. 31
       1SG   NEG.IND=3SG:O-know.PRS-1SG
       'I don't know him.'

(824) *kut=ī̄*   IB[BCK]. 15
       say.PST=3SG:A
       'He said.'

In addition, depending on their status as argument vs. adjunct, some prepositional phrases are eligible clitic hosts. In (825)–(826) apparently the argument status of the prepositional phrases renders them eligible clitic hosts, while in (827)–(828) the adjunct prepositional phrases are seemingly invisible to clitic positioning.

(825) *bāwk=im*   *[bo   to]=y*   *nārd-ū-w-a*   IB[BCK]. 32
       father=1SG:POS   for   2SG=3SG:A   send.PST-PTCP-EP-PERF
       'My father has sent (it) for you.'

(826) *emin* *[la   to   bēaql-tir]=im*   *na-dī-w-a*   IB[BCK]. 42
       1SG   from 2SG   foolish-CMPR=1SG:A   NEG-see.PTCP-PERF
       'I have never seen someone sillier than you.'

(827) *[la   har   jiyē]* *pirsyār=ī̄*   *lē*   *a-kird*   IB[BCK]. 9
       at   every place   question=3SG:A   PVB   IPFV-do.PST
       'He would inquire at every place.'

(828) *[la   birsā]*   *košt=tān-īn*   EL[BCK]. 47
       from   hunger   kill.PST=2PL:A-1PL:O
       'You killed us of hunger.'

The VP-second clitic placement works for adpositional complement clitic PMs in present tense as well (cf. Table 38 for the list of prepositions in Baneh CK). That is, if there is a VP-initial element preceding the adposition, the clitic PM leaves it head preposition to the left and moves

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[101] The verb form in question is *tē geyštin* 'to understand', [lit. to arrive at]

onto the VP-initial element. Needless to say, if the preposition is VP-initial, the clitic complement is realized locally.

Table 38: Simple and absolute prepositions in Baneh CK

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
le	*lē*	'from', 'at'
be	*pē*	'to', 'with'
....	*ē*	'to'
....	*tē*	'in', 'into'
bo		'for', 'to'
lagal		'with'

(829) *dāstān-ēk=**tān**   **bo**   bi-gēr-im*   IB[BCK]. 1
      story-INDF=2PL:R   for   IRR-narrate.PRS-1SG
      'That I narrate a story to you.'

(830) *jā   aw   waxt-a=t   **pē**   a-lē-m*   IB[BCK]. 36
      then   DEM   time-DEM1=2SG:R   to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
      'Then, at that moment I will tell you.'

(831) *kič=**yān**   nā-ya-m-**ē***   EL[BCK]. 35
      daughter=3PL:R   NEG.IND-give.PRS-1SG-to
      'I won't give (my) daughter to them.'

The fronting of adpositional complement clitics occurs in intransitive constructions as well:

(832) *rēgā-y   ka   čawt   ū   čēwal=**ī**   **tē_dā**-ya*   IB[BCK]. 43
      route-RESTR   REL   wrong and   RDP=3SG:R   in-COP.3SG
      'A route which has falsehood in it.'

8.3.1.1.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Since clitic PMs fulfil different functions in Baneh CK, it is common to have two or more clitics in the same cliticization domain. In present tense constructions, such co-occurrence of clitic PMs occasionally leads to clitic sequences: in examples below, the VP-initial element already contains a locally realized possessor indexing clitic. Following VP-based positioning, the object clitic in (833), and the adpositional complement clitic in (834) land on the the VP-initial element, and hence form a cluster with the possessor clitic.

(833) *la   dāyk=**t=ī***   *war-gir-īn*   EL[BCK]. 75
      from   mother=2SG:POS=3SG:O   PVB-take.PRS-1PL
      'That we take it from your mother.'

(834)   *bā*   *dafr-akān=m=ī*   *pē_*   *bi-šo-m*   KM[BCK]. 6
         OPT   dish-DEF.PL=1SG:POS=3SG:R   with   IRR-wash.PRS-1SG
         'That I wash my dishes with it.'

Such a cluster can occur in past intransitive constructions as well:

(835)   *ka*   *hāt-awa*   *dāna-yk=yān=ī*   *lē_*   *kawt*   WC[BCK]. 12
         when   come.PST-ASP   one-INDF=3PL:POS=3SG:R   from   fall.PST
         'When he came back, one of them fell from him (his hand).'

In past transitive constructions, on the other hand, the clitic indexing of the A-past NP is obligatory. On the other hand, nonsubject arguments have also the option to be marked by clitic PMs, like in present tense constructions. However, for historical reasons, explained in §6.3.5, all such arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology, yet, at varying degrees. An O-past is realized by Vaff PMs, cf. (836)–(837). The paradigm of Vaff PMs is set out in below:

Table 39: Verbal affix PMs in Baneh CK

	SG	PL
1	-im	-īn, -in
2	-ī	-in
3	-ē, -ā/ -Ø	-in

(836)   *dar=ī*   *hēnā-n*   PS[BCK]. 4
         out=3SG:A   bring.PST-3PL:O
         'He took them out.'

(837)   *a=t-bird-īn*   *bo*   *šahr-ī*   *bāzī*   EL[BCK]. 41
         IPFV=2SG:A-take.PST-1PL:O   to   city-EZ   game
         'You would take us to an amusement park.'

Bound complements of prepositions, cf. (838)–(839), and bound possessors, cf. (840) are also subject to disformation into Vaff PMs.

(838)   *hamīša*   *dāyk=im*   *aw*   *šit-a=y*   DM[BCK]. 15
         always   mother=1SG:POS   DEM   thing-DEM1=3SG:A

         bo   *a-got=īn*
         for   IPFV-tell.PST-1PL:R
         'My mother would always tell us that thing.'

(839)   *bo=yān*   *gērā-w-m-a*   DM[BCK]. 18
         for=3PL:A   narrate.PST-PTCP-1SG:R-PERF
         'They have narrated (tales) to me.'

(840)   *mināl-akān=**yān**   bird-**im**   EL[BCK]. 38*

         child-DEF.PL=3PL:A   take.PST-1SG:POS

         'They took away my children.'

However, the clitic realization is also an option, more commonly for possessors, and less so for adpositional complements. In such cases, the clitic indexing possessor and prepositional complements can alternatively form a cluster with the following obligatory A-past clitic.[102]

(841)   *xwašk-aka=**mān=id**   dā*   *EL[BCK]. 40*

         sister-DEF=1PL:POS=2SG:A   give.PST

         'You gave our sister.'

(842)   *Alī   pē=**m=ī**   yā-**n**   EL[BCK]. 80*

         PN   to=1SG:R=3SG:A   give.PST-3PL:O

         'Ali gave them to me.'

8.3.1.1.5 Clitic-affix sequences

As in present tense constructions O clitic lands on the inflectional TAM prefix as the last resort for its realization, the clitic cannot form a sequence with the A-indexing Vaff PM (see ex. (809) and (822) above). However, in past transitive constructions with the verb as the sole host for clitic positioning, the obligatory A-past clitic displaces the Vaff PM from the verb stem, exhibiting thus an endoclitic behaviour.

(843)   *bird=**yān-īn**   bo   bēmāristān   EL[BCK]. 51*

         take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O   to   hostpital

         'They took us to hospital.'

However, when the A-past is 3SG, as in (844), the order changes, and the clitic follows the object-indexing verbal affix.

(844)   *gorg   xwārd-**n=ī**   EL[BCK]. 49*

         wolf   eat.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A

         'The wolf ate them.'

In a more recent discussion of this exception in the neighbouring variety of Mukri, Öpengin (2013; 2019) calls for an 'identity avoidance; analysis for the exceptional order of the 3SG clitic with respect to other persons. The gist of analysis is as such: being a vocalic element, the positioning of 3SG before other person markers causes the clitic PM to be merged into the object-marking verbal affix PMs, hence obscuring the morpho-syntactic information of the

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[102] In other words, both Vaff PMs and clitics are opted for the indexing of possessors and adpositional complement. This situation is reminiscent of the clitic system of Suleimaniya CK (see MacKenzie 1961a for examples).

person forms. The 3SG from, thus swaps its position with the verbal affix PMs, in the interest of expressing the morpho-syntactic information.

Finally, in some restricted cases the verb can host up to three bound PMs, each one indicating an argument. This is shown in the following examples where the R-indexing Vaff PM precedes the object Vaff PM, while both are followed by the 3SG A-past clitic.

(845) *Alī*   *dā-**m-n**=**ī**-y-ē*   EL[BCK]. 80
       PN   give.PST-**1SG:R-3PL:O=3SG:A**-EP-to
      'Ali gave them to me.'

In short, the clitic system of Baneh CK resembles that of neighbouring Suleimaniya and Mukri dialects in having a VP-based clitic system. The tense-sensitive alignment yields a reversal marking of almost all arguments across present transitive vs. past transitive constructions. The anchoring element for cliticization can be both a syntactic element and a morphological element within the verb phrase.

8.3.1.2 Southern Central Kurdish

This section provides an overview of the properties of clitic PMs in the dialects situated in the southern peripheries of CK speech zone, referred to as Southern Central Kurdish. These dialects are neighbouring to Southern Kurdish and Gorani dialects. The SCK speech zone is represented below.
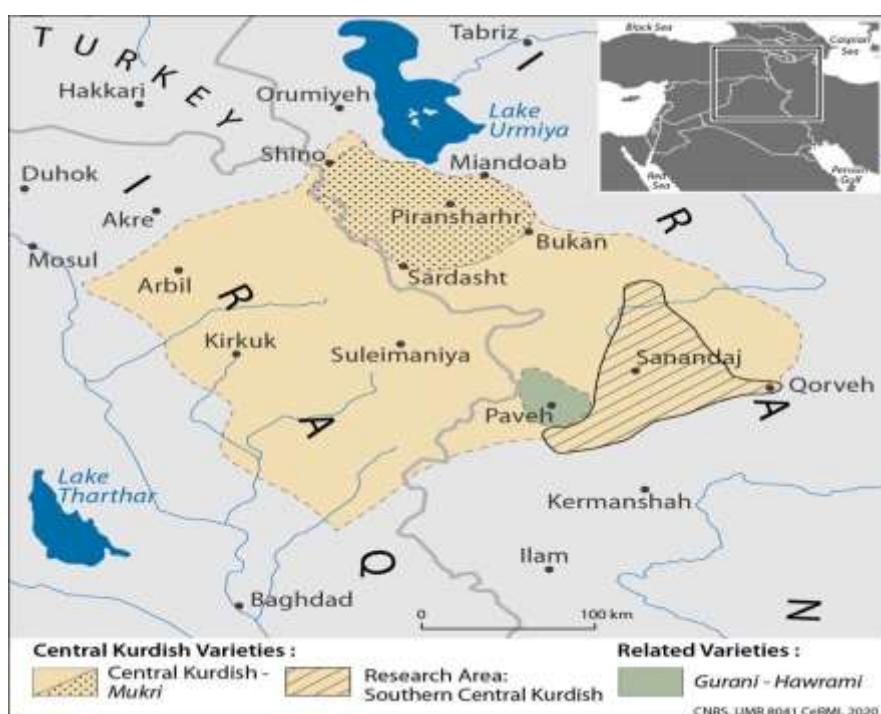
Figure 32: Southern Central Kurdish speech zone

Despite the vast literature on clitic PMs in Central Kurdish (cf. Edmonds 1955; MacKenzie 1961; Samvelian 2007a, 2007b, 2013; Haig 2008; Öpengin 2013, 2019), research on clitic PMs in SCK is still lacking. It is only recently in Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear) that a brief description of SCK clitics compared to other CK dialects is presented. In addition, Dabir-Moghaddam (2012) investigates the role of clitic PMs in the alignment system of Sanandaj dialect of SCK.

The data for this presentation are three folktales, coded as SB, WK, and SH in the data base.[103] In addition, elicitation tasks were carried out on two informants, aged 32, and 21.

8.3.1.2.1 Form

Table 40: Clitic PMs in Southern Central Kurdish

	SG	PL
1	=m	= mān
2	=t/=d,=o,=ē	= tān
3	= ī	= yān

The singular second person form of clitic PM has an alternative *o*, and rarely *ē*. The latter was argued to be a reflex of the OIr. 2SG accusative clitic *-*θβā* in §3.1.

8.3.1.2.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used for marking a number of syntactic functions, including the adnominal possessor, cf. (846), O-prs NP, cf. (847), preposition complement, cf. (848), and A-past NP, cf. (849). Only in the last function is the use of clitic PMs obligatory.

(846) *xwašk-akān=**y**-in*   EL[SCK]. 79
      sister-DEF.PL=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
      'They are her sisters.'

(847) *aw*   *pīražin-a*   *garak=**y**-a*   WK[SCK]. 19
      DEM   old.woman-DEM1   necessary=3SG:NC-COP.3SG

      *b=**yān**-xwā*
      IRR=3PL:O-eat.PRS.3SG
      'That old woman intends to eat them'

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(848)   *hīlka=**y***   *tē*   *a-škēn-ē*   WK[SCK]. 32
        egg=3SG:R   in   IND-break.PRS-3SG
        'She breaks the egg in it.'

(849)   *čāī=**mān***   *a-xwārd*   WK[SCK]. 38
        tea=1PL:A   IPFV-eat.PST
        'We were drinking tea.'

In addition, Clitic PMs mark experiencer in a number of non-canonical constructions, including 'predicative possession', cf. (850), 'necessity and wanting', cf. (851), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states'e.g. 'being hungry', cf. (852).

(850)   *sē*   *kor=**ī***   *bīwa*   *ū*   *sē*   *kanīšk*   SB[SCK]. 2
        three   boy=3SG:NC   exist.PST   and   three   girl
        'He had three sons and three daughters.'

(851)   *min*   *am*   *kanīšk=**m**-a*   *garak*   EL[SCK]. 67
        1SG   DEM   girl=1SG:NC-DEM1   necessary
        'I want this girl.'

(852)   *birsī=**yān***   *awē*   WK[SCK].31
        hungry=3PL:NC   IND.beome.PRS.3SG
        'They become hungry.'

Finally, unlike northern CK dialects, where occasionally the old ergative morphology on the transitive verbs is represented, in SCK all traces of such agreement morphology are lost. Therefore, the verb does not show agreement with overt object NPs.

(853)   *šaw-ē*   *kor-akān=**ī***   *bāng*   *kird*   SB[SCK]. 3
        night-INDF   boy-DEF.PL=3SG:A   call   do.PST
        'One night he called his sons.'

8.3.1.2.3 Placement of clitic PMs

As in other Kurdish varieties, clitics are positioned after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP, identical to the clitic placement hierarchy in §8.3.1.1.3. The VP-second positioning of clitics is shown in the following examples where diverse syntactic and morphological elements host clitics: a verbal adverb, cf. (854), an object NP, cf. (855), a non-verbal element of a complex predicate, cf. (856), an adposition, cf. (857), verbal prefixes (derivational, cf. (858)/grammatical, cf. (859)–(860)), and the bare verb stem, cf. (861).

(854)   *awna=**yān**-a*   *dā*   *lē*   EL[SCK]. 20
        that.much=3PL:A-DEM   give.PST   at.3SG:R
        'They bit him a lot.'

(855) *dāna-y*   *ifrīt=ī*   *topān-a*   SB[SCK]. 26
CLF-EZ   demon=3SG:A   destroy-PERF
'She has destroyed a demon.'

(856) *payā=yān*   *a-ka-n*   WK[SCK]. 48
visible=3PL:O   IND-do.PRS-3PL
'They find them.'

(857) *pē=yān*   *a-yž-ē*   SB[SCK]. 9
to=3PL:R   IND-tell.PRS-3SG
 'He tells them'

(858) *hal=ī*   *a-sēn-ēt*   SH[SCK]. 23
PVB=3SG:O   IND-take.PRS-3SG
'He will wake him up.'

(859) *a=y-xāt-a*   *nāw*   *bēška*   WK[SCK]. 6
IND=3SG:O-put.PRS.3SG-DRC   inside   cradle
'He puts it in a cradle.'

(860) *bā*   *min*   *bi=t-xwa-m*   SH[SCK]. 39
HORT   1SG   IRR=2SG:O-eat.PRS-1SG
'Let me eat you.'

(861) *bāwk=im*   *wit=ī*   SB[SCK]. 27
father=1SG:POS   say.PST=3SG:A
'My father said.'

VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of adpositional complements in present tense constructions, as illustrated in (862)–(863) (see Table 41 for the list of adpositions). Here the clitics leave their adposition head and move leftward to attach to the VP-initial element.

Table 41: Simple and absolute adpositions in Southern Central Kurdish

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
ba	*pē*	'to', 'by'
la	*lē*	'from', 'in', 'to'
-e	*-ē*[104]	'to'
-	*tē*	'in', 'inside'
bō		'for'
(la)tak		'with'

(862) *dam=ī*   **bo**   *doros*   *a-kā*   WK[SCK]. 5
mouth=3SG:R   for   right   IND-do.PRS.3SG
'She makes (a) mouth for it.'

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[104] Note that the absolute preposition –ē meaning 'to' has a restricted use in SCK: its domain of usage has been taken over mostly by the absolute preposition *pē*.

(863) *nimak=ī̀*   *tḕ*   *a-kā*   WK[SCK]. 25
      salt=3SG:R   in   IND-do.PRS.3SG
      'She pours the salt in it'

Interestingly, even when the preposition follows the verb, its clitic argument can float leftward, skip the verb, and land on the VP-initial element, hence its realization at a distance. In the following example, the clitic complement of *pē* is realized at a distance from the preposition. This positioning of adpositional complement clitic poses challenge to the linearization-based account for clitic placement (see §5.4.4)

(864) *yakē*   *dāna-y*   *la-w*   SB[SCK]. 7
      one   CLF-EZ   from-DEM

      kanīšk-al=yā̀n-a   *ba-n*   *pḕ*
      girl-PL=3PL:R-DEM1   IRR.give.PRS-2PL   to
      'Give one of these girls to each of them.'

Likewise, adpositional complement clitics move leftward on the preceding word in intransitive clauses. The element which hosts the clitic should not be coreferent with the clitic. Thus, in (865) *qawr* cannot be host for the preposition complement.

(865) *qawr*   *ča=y*   *pḕ*   *atḕ*   SB[SCK]. 9
      tomb   what=3SG:R   to   IND.come.PRS.3SG
      'What's going to happen to the tomb?'

(866) *čik=ī̀*   *pḕ*   *a-č-ē*   SB[SCK]. 24
      little=3SG:R   to   IND-go.PRS-3SG
      'A while passes (on it).'

8.3.1.2.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Two clitics can be present in the same cliticization domain in present tense constructions. In the following example the O clitic has formed a cluster with the preceding R clitic:

(867) *bo=t̀=ī̀*   *bi-nēr-im*   EL[SCK]. 76
      for=2SG:R=3SG:O   IRR-send.PRS-1SG
      'That I send it for you.'

In past transitive constructions, with the obligatory indexing of A-past NP via clitic PMs, the question arises as which kind of arguments are available to exponence as the old suffixal morphology? In fact, the data show that none of the nonsubject arguments are available to exponence by Vaff PMs. This is indeed the most striking difference distinguishing SCK from

most Central Kurdish dialects, e.g. Baneh, Mukri, Hewlēr, Piždar, where the realization of non-subject arguments is systematically carried by Vaff PMs in past transitive constructions.[105]

In SCK past transitive constructions, multiple cliticization will lead to clitic clusters, in where the A-pst clitics systematically follows other clitic functions, as illustrated below. In (868), the A-past clitic follows the O-past clitic on the negative formative. In (869) the A-past clitic forms a cluster with the preceding possessor-indexing clitic.

(868) *kor-ēk=im*   *dī*   *ka*   EL[SCK]. 15
       boy-INDF=1SG:A   see.PST   that

       *na=**y=im**-a-nāsī*
       NEG=3SG:O=1SG:A-IPFV-know.PST
       'I saw a boy, whom I wouldn't recognize.'

(869) *čanē*   *pol-o*   *māl=**m=o***   SB[SCK]. 12
       how.often   money -and   property=1SG:POS=2SG:A

       xwārd
       eat.PST
       'How often you pillaged my money and property!'

Multiple cliticization also occurs when one of the clitic sets is an adpositional complement clitic. However, clitic clustering is rarely the case. The possibility for forming a cluster depends, among other thing, on early realization of the adpositional complement clitic in the domain and the adjoining of A-past clitic to it:

(870) *lē=**mān=ī***   *hal-kird-a*   *borān*
       from=1PL:R=3SG:A   PVB-do.PST-DRC   snowstorm
       'The snowstorm overtook us.' (Southern CK_ Öpengin & Mohammadirad: to appear)

In both examples below, clitic clustering is excluded, apparently because the adpositional complement clitic has lost its mobility and does not move leftward to form a cluster with the A-past clitic.

(871) *dāyk=im*   *hilka-w-ron=**ī***   *bo=**m***   WK[SCK]. 29
       mom=1SG:POS   fried.eggs=3SG:A   for=1SG:R

       doros   a-kird
       right   IPFV-do.PST
       'My mother would make me fried eggs.'

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[105] As seen in Baneh CK sketch, a dire consequence of disformation constructions is the in-distance realization of nonsubject arguments from their governing heads.

(872) *aw*   *kanīšk-a*   *pāwšā*   *soāl=ī̄*   SH[SCK]. 23
       dem   girl-DEF   king   question=3SG:A

       lē=t   *kird*
       from=2SG:R   do.PST
       'That Kind's daughter asked you.'

While adpositional complement clitics in past transitive constructions are not generally mobile, I came across the following hearsay example, in which the clitic complement of the adposition leaves its preposition host, moves to the VP-initial element, and is further followed by the A-past clitic:

(873) *āš-ēk=**mān=o***   *pē_*   *dā*
       soup-INDF=1PL:R=2SG:A   to   give.PST
       'You gave us (a) soup.'

This example may suggest that A-past clitic placement is secondary to the mobility of adpositional complement clitics.

8.3.1.2.5 Clitic-affix sequences

In present tense constructions clitic-affix combinations do not occur, since the inflectional TAM prefix on the verb is a clitic host, which further precludes the clitic to form a sequence with the Vaff PM on the verb stem:

(874) *a=**w**-kož-im*   WK[SCK]. 10
       IND=2SG:O-kill.PRS-1SG:A
       'I will kill you.'

Clitic-affix sequences are not possible in past transitive constructions either since the objects are systematically marked by clitic PMs. When the bare verb stem is the only available clitic host, the object clitic lands first on the verb, and the A-past clitic follows it, as illustrated in (875). The ordering of A and O resembles their order in Neighbouring Gorani and Laki dialects (cf. Table 36 & Figure 30).

(875) *dī=**yān=im***   EL[SCK]. 44
       see.PST=3PL:O=1SG:A
       'I saw them.'

In sum, unlike most CK dialects, in SCK clitic PMs have replaced the historical inflectional morphology in past transitive constructions, resulting in multiple clitics and clitic sequences in these constructions.

8.3.1.3 Bijar Southern Kurdish

This section concerns the properties of clitic PMs in the SK dialect of Bijar, commonly called 'Garrūsī'. The latter is located in the northernmost part of SK speech zone and is surrounded by CK dialects to the west, and Azeri Turkish to the east (see Anonby et al. 2019: fig. 2). The data were gathered during two fieldworks in July 2016, and July 2017 and include three folktales, codified in the database as MQ, PP, MN, and one free narrative, coded as NW. In addition, elicitation tasks were also consulted for the presentation of Garrūsī sketch. Informants are four male speakers, with the age range between 30 to 45. A brief description of Bijari's clitic system is provided in Öpengin and Mohammadirad (to appear). Here we provide a more detailed description.

8.3.1.3.1 Form

Table 42: Clitic PMs in Bijar SK

	SG	PL
1	= m	= mān
2	= d	= dān
3	= ī	= yān

The voicing of second person forms is what distinguishes Bijari and most SK dialects from CK dialects.

8.3.1.3.2 Functions

The most notable function of clitic PMs, i.e. that of indexing past transitive subjects is absent in Bijar SK and other SK dialects in general. Nonetheless, Clitic PMs are used in a number of constructions where they index the adnominal possessor, cf. (876), direct object, cf. (877), and prepositional complement, cf. (878). In all of these functions the use of clitic PMs is conditioned to the absence of the coreferent NP.

(876) *kewš-agān=**im**   bin-a*   NW[BSK]. 19
　　　 shoe-DEF.PL=1SG:POS IRR.put.PRS-IMP.DRC

　　　 *war   pā=**m**-aw*
　　　 ADP   foot=1SG:POS-ADP
　　　 'Put my shoes in front of me.'

(877) *d-wayg-a=**y**-a*   *māl*   *bāwk=ī*   NW[BSK]. 3
IND-take.PRS-3SG-3SG:O-DRC   house   father=3SG:POS
'He takes her to her father's home.'

(878) *iskān-ē*   *čāy*   *irā=**m***   *bi-y-ār-a*   NW[BSK]. 12
cup-INDF.EZ   tea   for=1SG:R   IRR-EP-bring.PRS-2SG.IMP
'Bring me a cup of tea.'

Unlike CK, A-past NPs are not indexed by clitic PM. Though as explained in §3.2.2 some remnants of older clitic indexing of A-past NPs are still traceable in the affixal paradigm of person markers, most notably in 1PL and 2PL forms. Examples of A NP indexing in past transitive constructions are provided below:

(879) *to*   *ča*   *kird-īd*   *bīd-a*   *pādešā?*   MN[BSK]. 66
2SG   what   do.PST-2SG   become.PST.2SG-DRC   king
'What did you do to become a king?'

(880) *nijāt=**ī***   *dā-w-im*[106]   MQ[BSK]. 33
salvage=3SG:O   give.PST-PTCP-COP.1SG:A
'I have saved him.'

Clitic PMs are used to handle the aberrant indexing of the subject-like argument in the non-canonical constructions 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (881), and less commonly 'syntactic possession', contrast (882) with (883). See §4.2.1.2 for the conditions which amount to the aberrant marking of the possessor argument in BSK).

(881) *düat-a*   *xwaš=**ī***   *way*   MQ[BSK]. 51
girl-DEF   nice=3SG:NC   to.DEM

       kor-a   *yā-y*
       boy-DEM1   come.PRS-3SG
'The girls likes this boy.'

(882) *bizn-a*   *īšī*   *bāwa*   PP[BSK]. 8
goat-DEF   say.PRS.3SG   INTJ

       *šīr=**im***   *ni-ya*
       milk=1SG:NC   NEG-COP.3SG
'The goat says: believe me, I have no milk.'

(883) *yay*   *pīražin-ī*   *dū*   *pišī-y*   *dīr-**ī***   PP[BSK]. 1
a   old.woman-INDF   exist.PRS   cat-INDF   have.PRS-3SG
'There is an old woman, who has a cat.'

---

[106] In (880), the A-past indexing copula PM is placed after the participle. The order resembles the one existing in CK, with the difference that in CK, clitic PMs encode the subject, as in *bird-ū=yān-a* 'take.PST-PTCP=3PL-PERF' 'They have taken (it).' Bijari is indeed the sole SK variety which sticks to the same order as CK. In other SK varieties, the participle is either lost or hardly visible, as in *bird-in-a* 'take.PST-3PL-PERF', 'They have taken' from the Ghorveh dialect of SK.

8.3.1.3.3 Placement of clitic PMs

The clitics are placed after the first element within the VP. The available clitic hosts is limited to non-verbal component of the complex predicate, cf. (884), and verb stem with inflections, cf. (885). One reason for the unavailability of other elements as clitic hosts is that the clitic mobility is mainly relevant for the O clitic, and the latter is in complementarity with the coreferent object NP, hence the impossibility of object NP to act as a clitic host.

(884) *ristgār=**ī***   *kird-ū-m*   MQ[BSK]. 33
       releived=3SG:O   do.PST-PTCP-COP.1SG:A
       'I have released him.'

(885) *na-tüyan-īd*   *koš-im=**ad***   MN[BSK]. 59
       NEG-can.PRS-2SG   kill.PRS-1SG:A=2SG:O
       'If you do not manage (to do that), I will kill you.'

Pre-stem grammatical affixes are not possible hosts for clitics in Bijar SK:

(886) *bi-nār-īm=**ay***   */ *b=**ī**-nār-īm*   MQ[BSK]. 66
       IRR-send.PRS-1PL=3SG:O   IRR=3SG:O-send.PRS-1PL
       'We wanted to buy it.'

In addition, proverbal aspectual particles tend to be skipped for hosting clitics:

(887) *aw*   *kar-a=**y***   EL[BSK]. 74
       ASP   do.PRS-2SG.IMP=3SG:O
       'Open it.'

The placement tendencies of Bijar SK suggest that the O clitic is approaching to the verb. Overall, the clitic positiong in BSK follows the second hierarchy for clitic positioning in VP-based clitic system (cf. §5.4.1).

Adpositional complement clitics are not mobile in BSK. That is, they do not detach from their preposition head, cf. (888)–(890).

Table 43: Prepositions in Bijar Southern Kurdish

PREP[107]	Gloss
wa	'to', 'by'
la	'from', 'at'
irā, rā	'for', 'to,
war, wal	'with'
la nāw	'in'

---

[107] It should be noted that, unlike most Kurdish dialects, in Bijar SK only one set of prepositions is used with both dependent and independent complements.

(888)   *xaw*   *la=**y***   *kaf-ē*   MN[BSK]. 26
        sleep   on=3SG:R   fall.PRS-3SG
        'He falls asleep.' [lit. sleep falls on him]

(889)   *šīr*   *wa=**m***   *ba*   PP[BSK]. 7
        milk   to=1SG:R   IRR.give.PRS.2SG.IMP
        'Give me (some) milk.'

(890)   *birū*   *lāy*   *dār-a*   *galā*   PP[BSK]. 9
        IRR.go.2SG   to-EZ   tree-DEF   leaf

        *arā=**m***   *biyār-a*
        for=1SG:R   IRR.bring.PRS-2SG.IMP
        'Go to the tree and bring me leaf.'

8.3.1.3.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics are allowed in present tense constructions, yet they do not result in clitic clusters.

(891)   *rā=**d***   *bī-ār-im=**ay***   */ * rā=**d**=ī*   *bī-ār-im*   EL[BSK]. 75
        for=2SG:R   IRR-bring-1SG=3SG:O
        'That I bring it for you.'

Multiple cliticization is also possible in past transitive constructions, yet it does lead to clitic sequencing.

(892)   *kitāw-ān=**ī***   *la=**mān***   *san*   EL[BSK]. 25
        book-PL=3SG:POS   from=1PL:R   take.PST.3SG
        'He took [back] his books from us.'

8.3.1.3.5 Clitic-affix sequences

In both present and past transitive constructions, O clitic follows A-indexing Vaff PMs:

(893)   *wa-m=**ad**-a*   *dayšt*   EL[BSK]. 8
        take.PRS-1SG=2SG:O-DRC   outside
        'I will take you out.'

(894)   *na-nāsī-m=**ayān***   EL[BSK]. 45
        NEG-know.PST-1SG=3PL:O
        'I didn't know them.'

To recap, clitic PMs are characterized by their pronominal nature in Garrusī and across Southern Kurdish dialects. In terms of placement, they attach to their heads in most of the functions that they encode. By levelling the marking of transitive subjects in all tenses, Bijar SK has developed into fully-fledged nominative-accusative type of alignment. In addition,

some other traits of clitic positioning in Bijar SCK are as follows: permissibility of multiple cliticization in all tenses, and the occurrence of Vaff PMs before clitics in clitic-affix combinations.

8.3.1.4 Gorani Takht

This section investigates the syntax of clitic PMs in the Takht dialect of Hawrami, referred to as Gorani Takht throughout the thesis. Hawrami refers to a group of dialects spoken in the area extended between Kurdistan and Kermanshah provinces in the west of Iran and in the encompassed neighbouring regions in Iraqi Kurdistan. MacKenzie (1966) has provided a description of the Nowsūd dialect of Hawrami. Work on Hawrami clitics is restricted to Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear) where the authors offer a comparative account of Hawrami clitics within the Kurdish dialectology. The material for this study was gathered during two fieldworks to the region in March 2016, and July 2017, and include, in addition to elicitation tasks, two free narratives (coded as NQ, and SO in the database), one process narrative (LB), and a retelling of the pear story. The informants are three males, aged 31, 44, and 77.

8.3.1.4.1 Form

Table 44: Clitic PMs in Gorani Takht

	SG	PL
1	=(i)m	= mā
2	=(i)t/=(i)ṱ	= tā
3	=(i)š	= šā

The most noticeable difference distinguishing Gorani clitics from the surrounding Kurdish dialects is that third person forms have *š* in Gorani.

8.3.1.4.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index the following syntactic functions: an adnominal possessor, cf. (895), an O-prs NP, cf. (896), an adpositional complement in present tense, cf. (897), a non-flagged indirect objects, cf. (898)[108], and an A-past NP, cf. (899).

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[108] The preposition *pana* can be optionally present in these constructions

(895) *wāla-kē=š-nē*   EL[GorT]. 79
       sister-DEF.PL.DIR=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
       'They are her sisters'

(896) *m-ār-ū=š*   EL[GorT]. 67
       IND-bring.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I will take her.'

(897) *maw=it*   *vana*   EL[GorT]. 70
       NEG.hit.PRS.1SG=2SG:R   at
       'I won't hit you.'

(898) *m-ay-d=īmā*   LB[GorT]. 3
       IND-give.PRS-2PL=1PL:R
       'Will you give (her) to us?'

(899) *bar-aw*   *sinoq-aka=š*   *kard-va*   EL[GorT]. 7
       door-EZ   box-DEF=3SG:A   do.PST-ASP
       'He opened the door of the box.'

Unlike most Gorani dialects, the A-past use of clitics has not fully been grammaticalized into agreement. That is, in continuity with the pattern existed in Middle Iranian, the clitic PM is in complementarity with an overt oblique-marked A-past NP. Put differently clitic PMs have retained their pronominal function in Gorani Takht.

(900) *adabiāt-ē*   *fārsī,*   **šāhnāma-y**   NQ[GorT]. 27
       literature-EZ   Persian   PN-OBL

       zinda   *karda-n-o*
       live   do.PST.PTCP.M-PERF-ASP
       'Shahnameh revived Persian literature.'

(901) **āðī**   *jamāwarī*   *kard-ēn-o*   NQ[GorT]. 29
       3SG.OBL.M   collection   do.PST-3PL-ASP
       'He collected them.'

(902) **varg-ī**   *wārd-ē*   EL[GorT]. 49
       wolf-OBL.M   eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

However, it should be noted that the oblique encoding of NPs is restricted to the third person NPs. The case distinction is lost for (S)peech (A)ct (P)articipants, as can be seen in Table 45. Consequently, the clitic indexing of an A-past NP is obligatorily when the latter is an SAP, cf. (903):

		Direct	Oblique
SG	1		*min*
	2		*to*
	3m	*āð*	*āðī*
	3f	*āða*	*āðē*
PL	1		*ēma*
	2		*šima*
	3	*āðē*	*āðīšā*

(903) *min*   *žanī=**m***   *ārd-a*   EL[GorT]. 3
      1SG   woman=1SG:A   bring.PST-3SG.F
      'I took a wife!'

Furthermore, common to all Gorani dialects, the present stem of verbs is used in the formation of imperfective past constructions, hence no clitic marking of the A-past NP.

(904) *xizmat=**mā***   *panē*   *kar-ēn-ē*   LB[GorT]. 14
      service=1PL:R   to   do.PRS-AUG-3PL
      'They would make us do a service (for them).'

clitic PMs also index the non-subject arguments in the following constructions: predicative possession, cf. (905), necessity and wanting , cf. (906), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (907):

(905) *bāx-ē=**š***   *ha-n*   SO[GorT]. 5
      garden-PL.DIR=3SG:NC   exist.PRS.3PL
      'He has gardens.'

(906) *garak=**šā***   *bē*   *čēš*   *Ø-kar-ā*   EL[GorT]. 66
      necessary=3PL:NC   COP.PST   what   IRR-do.PRS-3PL
      'What did they wish to do?'

(907) *sard=**m**-ā*   EL[GorT]. 62
      cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I am cold.'

In addition, clitic PMs mark the agent in periphrastic causative constructions:

(908) *dray=**šā***   *pana*   *kan-ā*   LB[GorT]. 19
      teasel=3PL:A   to   pick.PST-1SG
      'They made me pick teasels.'

Reflecting the old ergative morphology, transitive verbs systematically agree with overt direct-marked object NPs in number and gender.

(909)	*agar*	*sabā*	*Mīnā=t*	*dī-a!*	EL[GorT]. 37
	if	tomorrow	PN.DIR=2SG:A	see.PST-3SG.F	

'If you happen to meet (met) Mina tomorrow!'

(910)	*mamānī-aka*	*na*	*kē-ū*	EL[GorT]. 15
	party-DEF	in	who.PL.DIR-and	

	kē=t	*dī-y-ē*	
	who.PL.DIR=2SG:A	see.PST-EP-3PL	

'Whom did you see at the party?'

Such an agreement is attested with the overt object NP in non-canonical subject constructions as well:

(911)	*fra*	*mēwa-y*	*āl=iš*	*hanē*	LB[GorT]. 13
	much	fruit-EZ	good=3SG:NC	exist.PRS.3PL	

'It has so much good fruit.'

(912)	*čin*	*nān=it*	*garakē-nē*	EL[GorT]. 55
	how.many	bread=2SG:NC	necessary.PL-COP.3PL	

'How many loaves of bread do you need?'

8.3.1.4.3 Placement of clitic PMs

As in neighbouring CK dialects, clitic PMs land on the first syntactic element within the VP. The VP-second placement is shown in following examples, where clitic PMs have occurred after different VP-initial elements.

(913)	*ēna=šā*	*dā-ø*	*vana*	EL[GorT]. 20
	that.much=3PL:A	give-3SG:R	at	

'They bit him a lot.'

(914)	*āða=č=mā*	*bard-a*	EL[GorT]. 16
	3SG.DIR.F=ADD=1PL:A	take.PST-3SG.F	

'We took her too.'

(915)	*yarē*	*sāl-ē*	*xizmat=šā*	*pana*	*kard-ā*	LB[GorT]. 16
	three	year-PL.DIR	service=3PL:A	to	do.PST-1SG	

'They made me do (them) service(s) for three years.'

(916)	*ma-kš-ū=t*	EL[GorT]. 70
	NEG-kill.PRS-1SG=2SG:O	

'I won't hit (kill) you.'

(917)	*vāt=iš*	EL[GorT]. 62
	say.PST=3SG:A	

'He said.'

Grammatical verbal prefixes are not possible clitic host, as shown in (915) above, and in (918):

(918) *ma-šnās-ī=šā*?   EL[GorT]. 79
       NEG-know.PRS-2SG-3PL:O
       'Don't you know them?'

The workings of clitic placement in Gorani Takht point to the fact that the second hierarchy for clitic placement in VP-based clitic systems, mentioned in §5.4.1, is accountable for clitic placement. The hierarchy is repeated here for convivence:

Placement of A-past clitics in VP-based clitic systems (2)

object NP > non-verbal element of complex predicate > adposition > (derivational preverbal formatives) > verb stem

It should be noted that, apart from the negative formative, TAM preverbal prefixes are not fully grammaticalized in Gorani Takht, as illustrated by (919)–(920) This could explain in part the tendency for clitics to occur post-verbally.

(919) *bar-ū=t*   *ji*   *bar*   EL[GorT]. 8
       take.PRS-1SG=2SG:O   to   out
       'I will take you out.'

(920) *garak=im*   *niā*   *ϕ.vīn-ū=t*   EL[GorT]. 72
       necessary=1SG:NC   NEG.COP.3SG   IRR.see.PRS-1PL=2SG:O
       'I don't want to see you.'

In the post-verbal position, on the other hand, the clitic PMs are placed between the host verb and verbal postverbs:

(921) *niyā-(ē)n=iš-ara*   SO[GorT]. 15
       put.PST-PERF=3SG:A-POVB
       'He has built (the garden).' [lit. he has opened the garden]

(922) *kar-a=š-va*   EL[GorT]. 74
       do.PRS-2SG.IMP=3SG:O-ASP
       'Open it.'

The VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of adpositional complement clitics. Thus, if not in the VP-second position, the clitic complement of an adposition detaches from its head and occurs on the first syntactic element within the verb phrase.

Table 46: Simple and absolute adposition in Gorani Takht

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
ba	*pana, panē*	'to', 'by','with
ja	*čana*	'from', 'in'
pay	*pay, pēy*	'for', 'to,
--	*vana*	'at'
--	*pora*	'to'
--	*-ē*	'to'
čanī		'with'

(923) *xabar=tā*　　*maymē_*　　　　　　*pana*　　　　　　LB[GorT]. 5
　　　　news=2PL:R　IND.give.PRS.1PL　　to
　　　　'We will let you know.' [lit. We will give you news]

(924) *bā*　*qisa-y*　　*qaymī=t*　　*pay*　*kar-ū*　　　　LB[GorT]. 13
　　　　OPT　talk-EZ　　old=2SG:R　for　IRR.do.PRS-1SG
　　　　'Let me tell you some old sayings.'

(925) *arē*　*m-āč-ū=š*　　　　　　　*pana*　　　　　　EL[GorT]. 37
　　　　yes　IND-say.PRS-1SG=3SG:R　　to
　　　　'Yes, I will tell her.'

In the above examples the first element of the VP is the light-verb complement in (923), the object NP in (924), and the verb in (925). The adpositional complement clitic detaches from its head and lands on the left of the adposition. Note further that the clitic complement of the preposition in (923) skips the verb and opts for the light-verb complement as the first syntactic element within the VP, further substantiating the VP-second analysis for clitic positioning.

In the same vein, adpositional complement clitics in intransitive constructions attach to the element immediately preceding the adposition:

(926) *xānawāda-w*　*naqšbandī*　　*xās-ū*　　　　　　LB[GorT]. 14
　　　　family-EZ　　　PN　　　　　　good-AND

　　　　xarāb=iš　　*čana-n*
　　　　bad=3SG:R　　IN-COP.3SG
　　　　'There are (is) both the good and the bad in N. Family.'

(927) *sāb-ē=š*　　　　　*čana-nē*　　　　LB[GorT]. 13
　　　　apple-PL.DIR=3SG:R　in-COP.3PL
　　　　'There are apples in them.'

8.3.1.4.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics are allowed in present tense constructions, but their occurrence in the same domain does not usually result in clitic clusters:

(928) *kīān-ū=šā*   *pēy=t*   EL[GorT]. 75
       send.PRS-1SG=3PL:O   for=2SG:R
       'That I sent them for you.'

In past transitive constructions, however, the clitic indexing of the A-past NP is obligatory (except for third person NPs). Now the question is which arguments are available to exponence as a Vaff PMs. Examples below suggest that all nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as Vaff PMs: the direct object, cf. (929)–(930), the adpositional complement, cf. (931)–(932), and the possessor, cf. (933).

Table 47: Verbal affix PMs in Gorani Takht

	SG	PL
1	-a(ne)	-mē
2	-ī/y	-dē
3	-Ø(m), -e (f)	-ē

(929) *tāta-y=m*   *kīāst-a-nā*   EL[GorT]. 53
       father-OBL=1SG:POS   send.PST-PTCP.M-1SG:O
       'My father has sent me (over).'

(930) *bard-ā̄=šā*   *ālif*   *kanē*   LB[GorT]. 18
       take.PST-1SG:O=3PL:A grass   grass   pick.INF
       'They took me to 'grass harvesting'.'

(931) *agar*   *ma'mūr-akā*   *parsā-y*   *čana*   EL[GorT]. 21
       if   officer-PL.OBL   ask.PST-2SG:R from
       'If the officers asked you.'

(932) *čiklīt=im*   *pay*   *sānā-(ē)n-ī̄*   EL[GorT]. 31
       chocolate=1SG:A   for   but.PST-PERF-2SG:R
       'I have bought some chocolate for you.'

(933) *hargīz*   *del=im*   *na-mārē-n-ē̄*   EL[GorT]. 40
       never   heart=3PL:A   NEG-break.PST.PTCP.M-EP-3PL:POS
       'I have never broken their hearts.'

The exponence by Vaff PMs is relaxed for possessor and adpositional complements, and these arguments can alternatively be indexed by clitic PMs.

(934) *zārol-akē=m*   *bard-ē=šā*   EL[GorT]. 39
       child-PL.DIR=3PL:POS take.PST-3PL=3PL:A
       'They took away my children.'

(935) *kor-aka=š*   *īmān=**iš***   NQ[GorT]. 10
        boy-DEF.DIR=3SG:POS   faith=3SG:A

        nārd   *pana=š*
        NEG.bring.PST to=3SG:R
        'His son didn't have faith in him.'

8.3.1.4.5 Clitic-affix sequences

clitic PMs form a sequence with Vaff PMs in both present and past tense constructions. In the former, the object clitic or prepositional complement clitic follows the A-indexing Vaff PMs:

(936) *lu-īdē*   *bār-**dē**=š*   EL[GorT]. 73
        go.PRS-2PL.IMP   IRR.bring.PRS-2PL=3SG:O
        'Go bring him!'

(937) *m-āč-**ī**=š*   *pna*   EL[GorT]. 37
        IND-say.PRS-2SG=3SG:R   to
        'Will you tell her?'

Interestingly, the ordering of clitic-affix sequences in past transitive constructions is identical to the ordering in present tense. However, the role of clitic PMs, and Vaff PMs changes: clitic PMs index the A-past argument, and Vaff PMs mark the object, cf. (938), or the prepositional complement, cf. (939):

(938) *ārd-**a**=**m***   LB[GorT]. 21
        bring.PST-3SG.F:O=1SG:A
        'I brought her.'

(939) *hīštāy*   *ne-gēlnā-(ē)n-**ī**=**m**-va*   *pay*   EL[GorT]. 29
        not.yet   NEG-tell.PST-PERF-2SG:R=1SG:A-ASP to
        'I haven't narrated to you yet.'

In conclusion, the clitic PMs in Gorani Takht still show traces of their pronominal origin and have not fully developed into agreement markers; in continuity with the Middle Iranian period, they are in complementary distribution with overt oblique-marked NPs. In terms of placement, clitic PMs are placed after the first syntactic element within the VP. TAM prefixes have not been fully grammaticalized in Gorani, and, even when present pre-verbally, are not available as clitic hosts.

8.3.1.5 Gorani Qel'eh

This section is an investigation of person marking and clitics' syntax in the Qel'eh variety of Gorani, located in a village called 'Qal'eh', locally pronounced as 'Qałā', in the west of

Ghorveh, Kurdistan province, Iran. Gorani Qal'eh dialect is spoken far from the main Gorani speech zone in the border with Iraq, and shows interesting deviations from proper Gorani, including, among other things, the loss of case and gender systems, and the loss of ergative alignment in terms of agreement with the object NP. The data were gathered during two fieldworks to the region in July 2017, and in March 2018. The linguistic material for this presentation consists of elicitation tasks, two folktales (encoded in the database as KK, and KD), and one retelling of pear story. Informants are four males with the age range between 33 and 54. A brief description of Gorani Qal'eh in comparison with other Gorani dialects has been given in Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear).

8.3.1.5.1 Form

Table 48: Clitic PMs in Qel'eh Gorani

	SG	PL
1	=m	= mā
2	=it	= tā
3	=š	= šā

Like in other Gorani dialects, and unlike the neighboring SK and CK dialects, third person forms have *š*.

8.3.1.5.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used for marking a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (940), an O-prs NP, cf. (941), a prepositional complement, cf. (942), and an A-past NP, cf. (943). It is only in the last function that the use of clitic PMs is obligatory.

(940) *kor-aga=**m***   *mard-ā*   KD[GorQ]. 4
       boy-DEF=1SG:POS   die.PST-PERF
       'My son is (has) dead'

(941) *m-ar-ī=**t***   *dašt-aw*   EL[GorQ]. 8
       IND-take.PRS-1SG=2SG:O   plain-ADP
       'I (will) take you out.'

(942) *yay*   *kār-ī*   *bina=**t***   *m-āč-ī*   EL[GorQ]. 77
       a   task-INDF   to=2SG:R   IND-say.PRS-1SG
       'I will tell you a task (to do).'

(943) *dāmān-aga=**š***   *či*   *bān*   *dār-aga*   *pir*   *kard*   PS[GorQ]. 2
       apron-DEF=3SG:A   on   top   tree=DEF   full   do.PST
       'He filled his apron on top of the tree.'

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In addition, clitic PMs mark the subject-like argument in the non-canonical constructions of necessity and wanting , cf. (944), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (945).

(944) *čan*   *nān=**it***   *garak-ā*   EL[GorQ]. 55
       how many   bread=2SG:NC   necessary-COP.3SG
       'How many loaves of bread do you need?'

(945) *sard=**m**-ā*   EL[GorQ]. 62
       cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
       'I'm cold.'

Unlike proper Gorani, predicative possession is expressed by the verb *daštey* 'to have', which follows the indexing pattern of regular past transitive verbs. Thus, *daštey* indexes the possessor argument by a clitic PM solely in the past tense. This is shown in the contrast between (946) and (947):

(946) *kār=it*   *dār-ī*   EL[GorQ]. 70
       task=2SG:R   have.PRS-1SG
       'I have business (with) you.'

(947) *kor-ayg=**iš***   *dāšt*   KD[GorQ]. 2
       boy-INDF=3SG:NC   have.PST
       'She had a son.'

In line with the rest of Gorani, the present stem of the verb is used in past progressive constructions, hence excluding clitic PMs from indexing the A-past NP in such constellations.

(948) *čuār*   *kināčū* *xarīk-anya*   *tara*   *mi-čanā-na*   KK[GorQ]. 4
       four   girl   AUX-COP.3PL   plant   IPFV-pick.PST-3PL
       'Four girls were picking plants.'

Finally, contrary to proper Gorani, and following the loss of ergative morphology, the verb does not show agreement with overt object NPs in past transitive constructions:

(949) *qātir-o*   *wolāx=**šā***   *hāwird*   KK[GorQ]. 15
       mule-and   donkey=3PL:A   bring.PST
       'They brought mule(s) and donkey(s).'

(950) *mamūr-ayl-aga*   *īme=**šā***   *bard*   EL[GorQ]. 51
       agent-PL-DEF   1PL=3PL:A   take.PST
       'The agents took us.'

8.3.1.5.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic PMs are placed after the first syntactic constituent within the VP, hence excluding subject NP, conjunctions, and clausal adverbs as possible hosts. Followings are instances of clitic placement after the first element of the VP.

(951)   *ay*   *girwa* *sarwat-a=t*   *či*   *kora* *hāwird-ā?*   KD[GorQ]. 24
       DEM   all   wealth-DEM1=2SG:A from   where bring.PST-PERF
       'Where have you brought all this wealth?'

(952)   *bina=š*   *māč-ī*   EL[GorQ]. 37
       to=3SG:R   ind.tell.PRS-1SG
       'I will tell her.'

(953)   *qīn=iš*   *kard*   KK[GorQ]. 2
       huff=3SG:A   do.PST
       'He huffed.'

(954)   *wāt=šā*   KD[GorQ]. 16
       say.PST=3PL:A
       'They said.'

(955)   *garak=im*   *bī*   *bi-sān-ī=š*   EL[GorQ]. 69
       necessary=1SG:NC   COP.PST   IRR-take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I wanted to buy it.'

As in other Gorani dialects, grammatical verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts, as shown in (955) above and further in (956) below. The clitic placement is thus based on the same hierarchy mentioned for Gorani Takht (cf. §8.3.1.4.3)

(956)   *ni-m-nās-ī=šā?*   / * *ni=šā-m-nās-ī*   EL[GorQ]. 79
       NEG-IND-know.PRS-2SG=3PL:O
       'Don't you know them?'

Despite the VP-second positioning rule, adpositional complement clitics remain *in situ* in present tense constructions, and do not move to the VP-initial element. In other words, R-indexing clitics can be said to have acquired affixal status.

Table 49: Simple and absolute prepositions in Qel'eh Gorani

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
bi	*bina, pina*	'to'
či	*čina*	'from', 'in'
we	*une*	'at'
bilā		'for'
tak		'with', 'by'

(957)   *kas-ī*   *kār-ū*   *kāsebī*   KD[GorQ]. 10
       person-RESTR job-and   business

       bina=m   *ni-m-ū*
       to=1SG:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS.3SG
       'Nobody will give me a job.'

(958)   *mi*   *kināčū*   *bina=**šā***   *ni-may*   EL[GorQ]. 36
        1SG   girl   to=3PL:R   NEG-IND.give.PRS.1SG
        'I won't give (my) daughter to them.'

(959)   *bāzjūī*   *čina=**š***   *mi-k-ā*   EL[GorQ]. 38
        interrogation from=3SG:R IND-do.PRS-3PL
        'They interrogate him.'

Nor the clitic complement of prepositions is mobile in intransitive constructions.

(960)   *čī*   *bi_sar=**tā***   *āmā*   EL[GorQ]. 35
        what to=2PL:R   come.PST
        'What happened to you?'

8.3.1.5.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

In present tense constructions, two or more clitics can cooccur in the same cliticization domain. their co-occurrence, though, will not usually lead to a clitic sequence.

(961)   *bilā=**t***   *bi-kiān-ī=**š***   / **bilā= **t**=**iš** bi-kiān-ī*   EL[GorQ]. 75
        for=2SG:R   IRR-send.PRS-1SG/2SG=3SG:O
        'That I send it over to (for) you.'

However, in past transitive constructions with the obligatory clitic indexing of A-past NPs, the question arises as whether the realization of other arguments stays via clitic PMs or changes to Vaff PMs. Interestingly, unlike Gorani proper, all non-subject arguments are realized by clitic PMs. In other words, clitic PMs are totally used in contexts where the old suffixal morphology used to index nonsubject arguments in past transitive constructions.

Multiple cliticization in past transitive constructions can lead to clitic sequences of the type in which the A-past clitic is the second element in the cluster. In the following examples, the A-past clitic has occurred after the O clitic in (962)–(963), and the possessor clitic in (964):

(962)   *nīyā=**šān**=**im***   *yāna* *dāyk=im*   EL[GorQ]. 43
        put.PST=3PL:POS=1SG:A   home mother=1SG:POS
        'I left them in my mother's home.'

(963)   *zerīfīkaw*   *niyā=**šān**=**iš***   *nām*   *sabad-aga*   PS[GorQ]. 4
        gently   put.PST=3PL:O=3SG:A into   basket-DEF
        'Gently, he put them into the basket.'

(964)   *āiyl-ayl-aga=**m**=**šā***   *bard*   EL[GorQ]. 39
        child-PL-DEF=1SG:POS=3PL:A take.PST
        'They took away my children.'

The clitic sequence is rather unfavoured when one of the clitics is the prepositional complement clitic. Here, A-past and R clitics are realized separately.

(965) *bābā=š*   *qisa=**š***   *pina=**š***   *kard*   KK[GorQ]. 2
       father=3SG:POS   talk=3SG:A   to=3SG:R   do.PST
       'His father rebuked him.'

(966) *qorinjik=**iš*** *gīrd*   *ūne=**š***   KD[GorQ]. 13
       pinch=3SG:A take.PST   at=3SG:R
       'He gave him a pinch.'

Gorani Qal'eh thus acts quite similarly to Southern CK in having multiple clitics in clause in past transitive constructions (cf. §8.3.1.2.4).

8.3.1.5.5 Clitic-affix sequences

In present tense constructions, the object clitic follows the A-indexing Vaff PM:

(967) *mi-fariš-īm=**išā***   EL[GorQ]. 68
       IND-sell.PRS-1PL:A=3PL:O
       'We will sell them.'

On the other hand, since the expression of direct object is carried by clitic PMs in past transitive construction, no clitic-affix combinations come about in past transitive constructions. Instead, a cluster is formed by the adjoining of the A-past clitic to the O-past clitic. The order in such a cluster is such that the object clitic is placed first and the A-past clitic follows it.

(968) *či*   *ārāyī*   *košt=**mān=it***   EL[GorQ]. 48
       from   hunger   kill.PST=1PL:O=2SG:A
       'You killed us of hunger.'

In conclusion, the Gorani Qal'eh has undergone the same development as the SCK in realizing non-subject arguments via clitics throughout all tenses, hence levelling the marking of all nonsubject arguments. Gorani Qal'eh sticks to the VP-second clitic placement; however, unlike proper Gorani, adpositional complement clitics have been subject to head attraction and lost their mobility.

8.3.1.6 Laki Kakevandi

Laki is spoken in the north of Lorestan province up to the southeast of Kermanshah and south of Hamedan provinces, as well as in some areas in the Ilam province, Iran. The dialect investigated here is the Kakevandi dialect of Laki, spoken in the city of Harsin. The Kakevandis have been migrated to Harsin around 70s, and their dialect shows more proximity to the dialects of Kuhdasht and Aleshtar in Lorestan province than to the Harsini dialect, which has many features of Southern Kurdish (cf. §8.3.1.7). Laki Kakevandi exhibits tense-sensitive alignment,

and its clitic placement is VP-based. However, the 3SG clitic has already undergone the endpoint of rightward drift and is grammaticalized on the verb. The material for this presentation were gathered during a fieldwork to the region in July 2017 and contains elicitation tasks, three retellings of pear film and one retelling of *Shangul o mangul*, a popular children tale. Informants are members of a family with Laki as the language of daily communication. A brief presentation of Laki Kakevandi in comparison with other languages in the Kurdic group has been given in Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear).

8.3.1.6.1 Form

Table 50: Clitic PMs in Laki Kakevandi

	SG	PL
1	=(i)m	= (i)mān
2	=(i)t	=(i)tān
3	=ē	=(ā)n/=(a)n

The 3PL clitic is often reduced to a monoconsonantal form.

8.3.1.6.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index the following syntactic functions: an adnominal possessor, cf.(969), an O-prs NP, cf, (970), an adpositional complement, cf. (971), and an A-past NP, cf. (972). It is only in the last function that the clitic PM have become obligatory indices.

(969)   *hāna*   *muš-e-a*   *dā=**y***   SM[LakK]. 60
       such   IND-say.PRS-3SG-DRC child=3SG:POS
       'She tells her mom such.'

(970)   *xās*   *tamis=**ān**-ā*[109]   *ma-ke*   PS1[LakK]. 4
       well   clean=3SG:O-IND   IND-do.PRS.3SG
       'He cleans them well.'

(971)   *m-ūš-ē*   *a bin=**ān***   SM[LakK]. 15
       IND-say.PRS-3SG   to=3PL:R
       'She tells them.'

(972)   *min*   *māhī-a=**m***   *hwārd*   BS[LakK]. 15
       1SG   fish-DEF=1SG:A   eat.PST
       'I ate the fish.'

---

[109] Note that the imperfective marker is the periphrastic form *-a ma-*. The first element always attaches to the left, while the second prefixes to the verb stem.

In addition, clitic PMs mark the subject-like argument in the the following constructions: necessity and wanting , cf. (973), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (974).

(973) *ma-gist=it*   *ča*   *bi-zān-īn*   EL[LakK]. 60
       IPFV-want.PST=1SG:NC   what   IRR-know.PRS-2SG
       'What did you want to know?'

(974) *fira*   *tinī-a-s=ē*   SM[LakK]. 82
       very   thirsty-COP.3SG-EP=3SG:NC
       'He is very thirsty.'

Predicative possession is expressed by the verb *dāšten* 'to have', which has the same indexing pattern as regular transitive verbs. Thus the possessor argument is indexed by Vaff PMs in the present tense, cf. (975), and by clitic PMs in the past tense, cf. (976).

(975) *bīn*   *kī*   *xodkār*   *dēr-ē*   EL[LakK]. 56
       see.PRS.IMP   who   pen   have.PRS-3SG
       'See who has got a pen!'

(976) *do*   *gla*   *āyl*   *dāšt=ē*   EL[LakK]. 61
       two   CLF   child   have.PST=3SG:NC
       'He had two children.'

Finally, the old agreement morphology on past transitive verbs is lost. Hence the verb does not show agreement with overt object NPs.

(977) *tamām māhī-l-a*   *hwārd=ē*   MB[LakK]. 7
       all   fish-PL-DEF   eat.PST=3SG:A
       'He ate all the fish.'

(978) *berā-yl=am-u*   *xwār-la=m*   SM[Lakk]. 61
       brother-PL=1SG:POS-and   sister-PL=1SG:POS

       kol   *hwārd-ē-a-s=ē*
       all   eat.PST-PTCP-PERF-EP=3SG:A
       'My brothers and my sisters, he has eaten all (of them).'

8.3.1.6.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic PMs are positioned after the first syntactic element within the VP, hence excluding subject NP, clausal adverbs, and conjunctions as possible clitic hosts. The VP-second positioning is shown in the following examples where elements of diverse syntactic status host clitic PMs: the verbal adverb, cf. (979), object NP, cf. (980), non-verbal component of the complex predicate, cf. (981), preposition, cf. (982), verb stem with inflectional prefixes, cf. (983), and the verb stem, cf. (984).

(979)   *axenka=**an**-a*   *košt*   EL[LakK]. 20
        thatmuch=3PL:A-DEM kill.PST
        'They beat (him) a lot.'

(980)   *ham*   *čū-īl-a=**m***   *birī-a*   CG[LakK]. 13
        both   wood-PL-DEF=1SG:A   cut.PST-PERF
        'I have chopped down the wood as well.'

(981)   *tasmīm=**ān***   *girt*   MB[LakK]. 11
        decision=3PL:A   take.PST
        'They made a decision.'

(982)   *agard=**ān***   *na-či*   EL[LakK]. 33
        with=3PL:R   NEG-go.PST.3SG
        'He didn't go with them.'

(983)   *ma-ka-ymen=**ē***   *a*   *dī*   SM[LakK]. 64
        IND-do.PRS-1PL=3SG:O   to   see
        'We will find him.' [lit. We will bring him into sight]

(984)   *dī=**ān***   MB[LakK]. 16
        see.PST=3PL:A
        'They saw.'

As in Gorani dialects, verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts. This fact is born out by example (983) above, and (985)–(986) below:

(985)   *na-šnāsī-**n**=**im***   * *na=**m**-šnās-īn*   EL[LakK]. 45
        NEG-know.PST-3PL:O=1SG:A
        'I didn't recognize them.'

(986)   *ni-ma-koš-m=**at***   **ni*=**t**-ma-koš-im*
        NEG-IND-kill.PRS-1SG=2SG:O   EL[LakK]. 70
        'I won't kill you.'

The clitic placement thus follows the second hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (cf. §5.4.1). However, the placement of 3SG clitic form is an exception to the VP-second positioning. Here, the 3SG clitics is placed after the verb stem regardless of the presence of a previously available elements to host it. In the following examples, the 3SG clitic is placed at a distance from its logical host, marked by underscore, and is appeared on the verb. These examples further point that the 3SG clitic is placed on the verb regardless of the function it bears. In a way then, we can argue that by sticking to the verb as its only host the 3SG clitic form has acquired an affixal status.

(987)   *sēf-ēl-a*   **agard_**   *jam-ā*   *ma-ka-n=**ē***   PS2[LakK]. 26
        apple-PL-DEF with   addition-IND   IND-do.PRS-3PL=3SG:R
        'They collect the apples with him.'

(988) *xirs-a*   *b-ā-y*   *o*   MB[LakK]. 11
bear-DEF   IRR-come.PRS-3SG   and

šekār_   *ka-n=ē̄*
hunting   do.PRS-3PL=3SG:O
'That the bear come over and they hunt it.'

(989) *kor-a=ž*   *ki*   *klāw-a*   PS2[LakK]. 35
boy-DEF=ADD REL   hat-DEF

arān-a_   *m-ār-in=ē̄*
for-IND   IND-bring.PRS-3PL=3SG:R
'The boy to whom they bring the hat.'

(990) **golowī-a_**   *ma-činyā=y*   PS2[LakK]. 6
pear-IPFV   IPFV-pick.PST=3SG:A
'He was picking pear(s).'

(991) **pā_**   *zahm-a*   *maw-t=ē̄*   PS1[LakK]. 22
foot   wound   IND.become.PRS.3SG-EP=3SG:POS
'He was wounded.' [lit. his feet get wounded]

(992) *āyl-ēl-a*   *m-āy-n=ē̄-a*   **komak_**   PS1[LakK]. 24
kid-PL-DEF   IND-come.PRS-3PL=3SG:POS-DRC   help
'The kids come to his help.'

The VP-second positioning of clitics applies to as well to the placement of adpositional complement clitics in present tense constructions. That is, if not VP-second, the clitic complement of a preposition moves away from its head and is placed on the initial element within the VP, as illustrated by examples (933)–(934):

Table 51: Simple and absolute prepositions in Laki Kakavandi

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
va bin	*(v)a bē, abin*	'to'
az, ē	*ajin*	'from'
arā	*arē, arin, arān*	'for', 'to'
va gard	*a gard*	'with'

(993) *sē*   *gla*   *golāwi=n-a*   PS1[LakK]. 32
three CLF   pear=3PL:R-IND

mey-a[110]   **bin**
IND.give.PRS.3SG-DRC   to
'He gives them three pears.'

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[110] The full form of adposition is *a bin*. When placed following the verb, the first element phonologically attaches to the verb.

(994)   *hān=**an***   ***abin-a***   *muš-e*   SM[LakK]. 16
        such=3PL:R   to-IND   IND-say.PRS-3SG
        'She says such to them.'

It should be note that the clitic's leftward movement in (993) has skipped the verb and targeted the object NP as the host. This example confirms that the positioning of prepositional complement clitic follows the VP-second positioning rule, it is the object NP that is the first element within the VP. In addition, in-distance realization of R clitic means that it is not necessary for the host element to be immediately adjacent to the verb (see also comparable data in Gorani Takht, and Southern CK).

The R clitic also exhibits mobility in intransitive constructions:

(995)   *dī*   *pül=**m**-ē*   SL1[LakK]. 18
        no more   money=1SG:R-INDF

        arān   *na-manī-ü*
        for   NEG-remain.PST-PTCP
        'I had no more money left.'

8.3.1.6.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Two or more clitics can be present in the same VP in present tense constructions, yet their co-occurrence will not lead to clitic sequences:

(996)   *arān=**it***   *kil*   *ka-m=**ē***   EL[LakK]. 25
        for=2SG:R   round   do.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
        'That I send it over to you.'

In past transitive constructions, on the hand, the A-past NP is obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs. On the other hand, the inflectional person affixes are used in indexing non-subject arguments: objects, cf. (997)–(998), adpositional complements, cf. (999)–(1000), and possessors, cf. (1001)–(1002).

Table 52: Verbal affix PMs in Laki Kakevandi

	SG	PL
1	-m	-īm/-īmin
2	-īn	-īn/- inān
3	-ē/ -Ø	-in

(997)   *fan=**im***   *dā-y-**nān**-a*   SM[LakK]. 50
        trick=1SG:A   give.PST-PTCP-2PL:O-PERF
        'I have tricked you.'

(998) *howārd-**in**-a-s=**ē***   SM[LakK]. 65
      eat.PST-3PL:O-PERF-EP=3SG:A
      'He has eaten them.'

(999) *yake   yay   gila=yž   sēf*   PS3[LakK]. 25
      each   a   CLF=ADD   apple

      *dā-**n**=**ē**-a   bin*
      give.PST-3PL:R=3SG:A-DRC   to
      'Also, he gave each one of them an apple.'

(1000) *šokolāt=**im**   arān   xērī-(i)**n**-a*   EL[LakK]. 31
       chocolate=1SG:A   for   buy.PST-2SG:R-PERF
       'I bought (some) chocolate for you.'

(1001) *āyl-ēl-a=**n***   *bird-**im***   EL[LakK]. 39
       suger-PL-DEF=3PL:A   take.PST-1SG:POS
       'They took away my children.'

(1002) *das=**t**-a*   *ma-girt-**im***   EL[LakK]. 42
       hand=2SG:A-IPFV   IPFV-take.PST-1SG:POS
       'You would take my hand.'

8.3.1.6.5 Clitic-affix sequences

Clitics and affixes combine in present tense constructions in two contexts: when the clitic functions as the object, cf. (1003), and when the clitic is a 3SG adpositional complement, cf. (1004). In both cases the clitic follows the Vaff PM.

(1003) *gorg   nāy   bar-**e**=**tān***   SM[LakK]. 13
       wolf   NEG.come.PRS.IRR   IRR.eat.PRS-3SG:A=2PL:O
       'Lest the wolf come (and) eat you.'

(1004) *mūš-**im**=**ī**-a*   *bin*   EL[LakK]. 37
       IND-say-1SG=3SG:R-DRC   to
       'I will tell her.'

Past transitive constructions keep the same order of clitics and Vaff PMs with the difference that the functions of respective person markers changes: the Vaff PM encodes the object, cf. (1005), or (only when the A-past NP is 3SG) prepositional complement, cf. (1006), and clitic PM indexes the A-past NP.

(1005) *are   dī-**n**=**im***   EL[LakK]. 44
       yes   see.PST-3PL:O=1SG:A
       'Yes, I saw them.'

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(1006) *ketāw-a*   *ēžin*   *girt-**īmin**=**ē***   EL[LakK]. 25
         book-DEF   from   take.PST-1PL:R=3SG:A
         'He took the book from us.'

In short, Laki Kakevandi is characterized by tense-sensitive alignment. The functional distribution of clitic PMs and affixes differs in present vs. past tense constructions. Clitic PMs are positioned after the first syntactic element within the VP. However, the placement of 3SG clitics points to the endpoint of the grammaticalization of clitics, namely their realization on the verb regardless of the availability of potential elements to host the clitic.

8.3.1.7 Laki Harsini

The dialect of Laki investigated here is that of Harsin, in the southeast of Kermanshah, Iran. The Laki dialect of Harsin is transitional between SK and Laki proper (see Belleli 2016: 14). Laki Harsini shows divergence from Laki Kakevandi in the argument indexing system. In addition, the clitic system of Laki Harsini is largely simplified. The clitics have lost considerably their mobility, and the alignment system has shifted to nominative-accusative. The material for this presentation was collected during a fieldwork to the region in August 2017 and is supplemented with the data in Belelli's (2016) grammatical description. A brief presentation of the Harsini dialect in comparison with other Kurdic languages is given in Öpengin & Mohammadirad (to appear).

8.3.1.7.1 Form

Table 53: Clitic PMs in Laki Harsini

	SG	PL
1	=(i)m	= (i)mān
2	=(i)t	=(i)tān
3	=ē, =y	=yān

The clitic paradigm of Laki Harsini resembles more the clitic paradigm of Southern Kurdish than that of Laki proper. For instance, in Laki Kakevandi 3PL form is reduced to a consonant, and in Laki Aleshtari round vowels are used in plural forms, hence *imo(n), ino(n), o(n)* (cf. Lazard 1992: 217). However, Laki Harsini shows almost the same clitic paradigm as in SK.

8.3.1.7.2 Functions

The most salient use of clitic PMs in Iranian languages, i.e. indexing A-past NPs, is absent in Laki Harsini. Yet, clitic PMs index some syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1007), an object, cf. (1008), and a prepositional complement, cf. (1009). Common to all these functions is the complementarity between the clitic PM and the coreferent NP.

(1007) *dūs-al=ī*   *hāt-in*   CG[LakH]. 6
       friend-PL=3SG:POS   come.PST-3PL
       'Her friends came over.'

(1008) *ni-m-eyt-im*   *bīn-im=at*   EL[LakH]. 64
       NEG-IND-want.PRS-1SG   see.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I don't want to see you.'

(1009) *are*   *mūš-em-a*   *bin*[111]*=ē*   EL[LakH]. 37
       yes   IND-say.PRS-1SG-DRC to=3SG:R
       'Yes, I will tell her.'

The use of clitic PMs in marking non-canonical subject constructions is restricted to non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1010), and expressions of 'age', cf. (1011).

(1010) *gwisna-(a)-s=ī*   *tišna-(a)-s=ī*
       hungry-COP.3SG-EP=3SG:NC   thirsty-COP.3SG-EP=3SG:NC
       'She is hungry (and) thirsty' (Belelli 2016: 120)

(1011) *kor-a=m*   *dūāzda*   *sāl-a-s=ī*   EL[LakH]. 78
       boy-DEF=1SG:POS   twelve   year-COP.3SG-EP=3SG:NC
       'My son is twelve years old.'

8.3.1.7.3 Placement of clitic PMs

The discussion of clitic placement is only relevant for the O and NC function of clitics. In both cases the Clitic PMs are placed after the first constituent of the VP, which usually amounts to the non-verbal complement of the complex predicate, cf. (1012), and the inflected verb stem, cf. (1013). It is thus safe to say that clitics are placed on the verb.

(1012) *deŋ=yān-e*   *ma-ka-n*
       call=3PL:O-IND   IND-do.PRS-3PL
       'They invite them.' (Belelli 2016: 225)

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[111] The full form of the adposition is *a bin* 'to' (as in Laki Kakevandi). When placed following the verb, the first element is cliticized to the verb.

(1013) *b-ār-in=ē*   EL[LakH]. 73
      IRR-bring.PRS-2PL=3SG:O
      'Bring it.'

Like in Laki Kakevandi, verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts:

(1014) *ma-frūš-īm=yān*   **ma=yān-frūš-īm*   EL[LakH]. 68
      IND-sell.PRS-1PL=3PL:O
      'We will sell them.'

In addition, unlike Laki Kakevandi, 3SG clitics do not show exceptional placement on the verb.

(1015) *mi*   *züter*   *tamīz=ī-a*   *ma-ka-m*   BO[LakH]. 13
      1SG   quicker   clean=3SG:O-IND   IND-do.PRS-1SG
      'I will clean it earlier.'

(1016) *kam-ī*   *xamīr-a*   *bin=ī-a*   *ma-sīn-ī*
      little-INDF   dough-ADP   from=3SG:R-IND   IND-get.PRS-3SG
      'She gets a bit of dough from her.' (Belelli 2016: 225)

However, the 3SG clitics aligns with Laki Kakevandi in its positioning external to the NP and after after the copula:

(1017) *ya*   *Marī-a*   *ow=š*   *dā-a-s=ē*   CG[LakH]. 1
      DEM   PN-COP.3SG   3SG=ADD   mother-COP.3SG-EP=3SG:POS
      'This is Mary, and that is her mother.'

In their function as complements of prepositions, clitic PMs show local realization, and are not subject to leftward movement. The set of prepositions is illustrated in the following table.

Table 54: Simple and absolute prepositions in Laki Harsini

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
va[112]	*va bin, a bin*	'to',
va, a	*van, an, varin*	'from', 'in'
arā	*arin, arā*[113]	'for', 'to'
va gard	*va gard, ard*	'with'

(1018) *mi*   *dit-a*   *bin=yān*   *ni-me-y-m*   EL[LakH]. 36
      1SG   daughter-DRC   to=3PL:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS-1SG
      'I won't give them (my) daughter in marriage.'

---

[112] The preposition *va* is multifunctional and as a simple preposition expresses recipients, sources, instruments, and locations. It appears in combination with other grams to form separate absolute prepositions for each function.

[113] *arā* takes both bound and non-bound complements, while *erin* functions solely as an absolute preposition. The same applies to *vegerd* vs. *ard*.

(1019) *birsāq*   *ařā=**m***   *b-ār-an*
       fritter   FOR=1SG:R   IRR-bring.PRS-2PL
       'Bring me fritters.' (Belelli 2016: 225)

(1020) *ni-ma-zān-im*   *ča*   *bin=**ī***   *hāt*
       NEG-IND-know.PRS-1SG   what   to=3SG:R   come.PST.3SG
       'I don't know what happened to her.' (Belelli 2016: 186)

8.3.1.7.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics are allowed in the same cliticization domain in present tense constructions. However, clitics usually do not form a cluster.

(1021) *ařā=**t***   *kil=**ē***   *bi-ka-m*   EL[LakH]. 75
       for=2SG:R   round=3SG:O   IRR-do.PRS-1SG
       'That I send it for you.'

Multiple clitics in practice can occur in past transitive constructions as well. However, given that the A-past function of clitics is absent, occurrences of other clitics in the same clause is quite rare. Moreover, such co-occurrences in the past transitive constructions would not lead to clitic clusters.

8.3.1.7.5 Clitic-affix sequences

In both present and past tense constructions, O-indexing clitic PMs follow A-indexing Vaff PM:

(1022) *mi-wāz-im=**ē***   EL[LakH]. 67
       IND-marry.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I will marry her.'

(1023) *dī-m=**yān***   EL[LakH]. 44
       see.PST-1SG=3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

In sum, the agreement system in Harsini Laki has developed into fully-fledged nominative-accusative type of alignment, contrary to the neighbouring Laki proper dialects of Kakevandi, and Aleshtar. Clitic PMs are used but as pronouns, and in terms of placement, they are placed on their heads, and consistently after Vaff PMs in clitic-affix combinations.

8.3.2 Tatic-type languages

The term Tatic-type dialects is used here as a cover term for Taleshi, Semnani, and southern Tati dialects Takestani and Chali. The reason for such grouping is the close geographical proximity, and shared morpho-syntactic features, including the maintenance of two-term case system, the development of innovative oblique cases, and the mainly pronominal use of clitic PMs. This grouping is similar to Stilo's (1981) classification of Tatic in classifying Taleshi under Tatic-type dialects.

The Tatic-type dialects share certain traits in their clitic systems, which differentiates them further from other language groups. For instance, the clitic pronouns are often in complementarity with oblique-marked NPs; clitic-affix sequences are often excluded; morphological elements are not possible clitic hosts.

Figure 33: investigated Tatic-type languages

8.3.2.1 Chali

Chali (or Shâli) is a Tati dialect spoken in Chal, in the south of Qazvin province, Iran. Chali is considered a Southern Tati dialect in Yar-Shater (1969). The clitic PMs of Chali have maintained their pronominal origin and have not grammaticalized into agreement markers. The clitic placement is defined by recourse to the first syntactic element within the VP. The material for this presentation were gathered during a fieldtrip to the region in March 2018 and comprises elicitation tasks, and three folktales (codified as AV, BB, BQ in the database). Supplementary data are consulted from Yar-Shater's (1969) grammatical description.

8.3.2.1.1 Form

The following table illustrates the paradigm of clitic PMs in Chali.

	SG	PL
1	=m	=mo
2	=i	=yo
3	=š	= šo(n)

Following non-vowel final words, clitic PMs are mostly preceded by the connective vowel *e*. The forms of clitic PMs resemble the corresponding cells in the paradigm of Vaff PMs 1PL and 2PL. This was taken to be the clitic origin of the Vaff PMs in §3.2.2.

8.3.2.1.2 Functions

Clitic PMs mark a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1024), a direct object, cf. (1025), an A-past, cf. (1026), and the subject-like argument in necessity constructions, cf. (1027). The use of clitic PMs in all of these functions is triggered by the absence of the coreferent NP.

(1024) *nokar=**eš**   ā-bi-m*   AV[Cha]. 13
       servant=3SG:POS   PVB-COP.PST-1SG
       'I became his servant.'

(1025) *hazer-i   čemen   nokar   ābāš*   AV[Cha]. 10
       ready-COP.2SG   1SG.OBL   servant   be.IRR.2SG

       *yā   be-koš-em=**i***
       or   IRR-kill.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'Are you ready to become my servant or I shall kill you?

(1026) *i   palang=**em**   bind*   AV[Cha]. 8
       a   leopard=1SG:A   see.PST
       'I saw a leopard.'

(1027) *čan   nān=**i**   mi-go*   EL[Cha]. 55
       howmany   bread=2SG:NC IND-want.PRS
       'How many loaves of bread do you need?'

An important point about the last two functions above is that clitics show conditioned indexing, that is, they do not index an overt oblique-marked subject NP. Put simply, clitic PMs are pronominal in Chali and have not grammaticalized as agreement markers in indexing A-past andnon-canonical subject (contrary to most Iranian languages, and the neighbouring Takestani).

(1028) ***varg-e**   liās-e   rā   dastur   on-dā*   BB[Cha]. 5
       wolf-OBL.M   fox-OBL   to   order   PVB-give.PST
       'The wolf ordered the fox.'

(1029) **xaroš-e**   *ke*   *tajob*   *yard-a-bo*   AV[Cha]. 6
      rabbit-OBL.M REL   amazed   do.PST-PTCP-PPRF
      'The rabbit who was amazed.'

(1030) **palang-e**   *čemen*   *be-bard*   AV[Cha]. 14
      tiger-OBL.M 1SG.OBL   PUNCT-take.PST
      'The tiger took me.'

(1031) **zār-on**   *mi-gavastā*   *či*   *ari-nda?*   EL[Cha]. 66
      child-PL.OBL IPFV-want.PST   what do.PST-3PL
      'What did the kids want to do?'

The examples below further prove that the absence of clitic marking is not contingent on the category of the overt subject NP being an NP or a pronoun.

(1032) **men**   *ji*   *qabul*   *ya*   AV[Cha]. 13
      1SG.OBL   too   acceptance do.PST
      'I, too, accepted (it).'

(1033) *yo*   **men**   *u-gerat*
      3PL.OBL.PROX 1SG.OBL   PVB-take.PST
      'I picked up these.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 160)

(1034) *agar* **ta**   *ču*   *me-n-erbind*   CG[Cha]. 14
      if   2SG.OBL   wood IPFV-NEG-cut.PST
      'If you wouldn't have chopped down the wood…'

(1035) **men**   *em*   *teti*   *mi-gav*   EL[Cha]. 67
      1SG.OBL   DEM.DIR   girl IND-want.PRS
      'I want this girl.'

In the following excerpt, the clitic pronouns are first absent in the presence of coreferent NP, but resume the absent A-past NP in the continuation of discourse.

(1036) *tā*   **liās-e**   *em*   *jemla*   *bāt*   AV[Cha]. 12
      as.soon.as fox.OBL.M   DEM.DIR   sentence say.PST

      varg-e   *jeftak* *be-zandi*   *o*
      wolf-OBL.M buck PUNCT-hit.PST and

      *šekār=**eš***   *pāšindi*   *o*
      hunt=3SG:A   throw.PST   and

      hamberā   *bo-xord=**šo***
      together   PUNCT-eat.PST=3PL:A
      'As soon as the fox said this sentence, the wolf bucked and took down the hunt and (then) together (with the fox) they ate (it).'

As can be seen, the A-past and NC-indexing clitics are in complementarity with overt coreferent NPs. This is contrary to the analysis in Jügel & Samvelian (2016), which assumes an agreement function for clitic PMs of all Tati dialects.

Like in Semnani, Takestani, and Central Taleshi, oblique forms of independent pronouns are regularly used for marking nonsubject arguments (direct object, indirect object, possessor). This means further that clitic pronouns do not usually index nonsubject arguments across Tatic-type languages.

Table 56: Independent personal pronouns in Chali

		Direct	Oblique1	Oblique2
SG	1	*az*	*men*	*čeme(n)*
	2	*ta*	*ta*	*ešta*
	3m	*a*	*āy, yī*	*jay*
	3f	*aya*	*āya, ya*	*jaya*
PL	1	*āmā*	*amā*	*čemā*
	2	*šōmā*	*šōmā*	*šōmā*
	3	*ay*	*ayōn, yōn*	*jaya, jayon*

(1037) **āyon*=ešon*   *m-ārd*   QB[Cha]. 21
       3PL.OBL=3PL:A   IPFV-bring.PST

       bitār-e   *var*
       veterinarian-OBL   to
       'They would take them to the veterinarian.'

(1038) **jaya*-ku*   *āvāl*=šun*   *hā-gerat*   CG[Cha]. 17
       3SG.F.OBL:R-from   news=3PL:A   PVB-take.PST
       'They asked of her'

Finally, the old ergative morphology is lost on past transitive verbs. That is, the verb no longer agrees with the direct object:

(1039) *dö*   *gav-e=š*   *ji*   *be-bard*   *cul*
       two   cow-DIR.PL=3SG:A   too   PUNCT-take.PST   pasture
       'And he took two cows to pasture.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 101)

(1040) *ā*   *dono*   *sö*   *xers-e*   *vind*   MB[Cha]. 13
       3SG   two   three   bear-DIR.PL   see.PST
       'The other two (men) saw three bears.'

Note in addition that most direct object NPs appear in the oblique form, cf. (1030),(1037) above, giving rise to the double oblique constructions. Not surprisingly then, the verb shall not agree with such oblique-marked object NPs.

The paradigm of Vaff PMs is shown in Table 57. Note that 3SG forms show gender distinction. Yet such distinction is not reflected in the agreement with a feminine object in past transitive constructions, cf. (1041). This suggests further that the viability of gender agreement is related to the maintenance of the direct case on the object NP.

Table 57: Verbal affix PMs in Chali

		set 1	set 2
SG	1	-öm	-em
	2	-i, -eš	-eš
	3m	-e	-Ø
	3f	-ia	-ia
PL	1	-ōm	-emo
	2	-ā	-eyō
	3	-end	-end

(1041) *age   arā   mīne=ī   bind*   EL[Cha]. 37
     if   tomorrow   PN.OBL=2SG:A   PUNCT.see.PST
     'I you happen to see [saw] Mina tomorrow.'

In short, clitics function solely as pronouns in Chali. This groups Chali with Semnani (§8.3.2.3), Taleshi (§8.3.2.4), and to a lesser extent Gorani Takht (§8.3.1.4), further pointing to a distinct branch in the development of person indexing across WILs (cf. §4.3). Like their predecessors in Old and Middle Iranian periods, clitics in these varieties have retained their pronominal origin. The ergative morphology is lost on the verbs. The same is true of gender agreement, where the verb does not agree with the gender of the object in past transitive constructions, but it does so with the intransitive subjects in past tense and with all subjects in present tense constructions.

8.3.2.1.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitics are placed after the first syntactic phrase within the VP. The Followings are some examples which show the placement of clitics on hosts of different categories: a focused adverb, cf. (1042), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1043), an object NP, cf. (1044), a light verb complement, cf. (1045), and a verb, cf. (1046).

(1042) *azir=**öm**   āš   be-pat*
     yeaterday=1SG:A   soup   PUNCT-cook.PST
     'Yesterday I cooked soup.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 156)

(1043) *xaroš=**eš**   bāt*   AV[Cha]. 23
     rabbit=3SG:A   PUNCT.say.PST
     '(The fox) said to the rabbit.'

(1044) *bičār-a   heyvān-on=**eš**   kore   mi-yard*   QB[Cha]. 8
     unfortunate-REZ   animal-PL.OBL=3SG:A blind   IPF-do.PST
     'He would blind the unfortunate animals.'

(1045) *fekr=**eš***   *yard*   AV[Cha]. 28
       thought=3SG:A   do.PST
       'He contemplated.'

(1046) *bāt=**eš***   AV[Cha]. 15
       say.PST=3SG:A
       '(The leopard) said.'

Note however that prepositional phrases are regularly skipped for clitic hosting:

(1047) *[jay*   *rā]_*   *salām=**em***   *ya*   AV[Cha]. 9
       3SG.OB.F   to   hello=1SG:A   do.PST
       'I said hello to him.'

(1048) *[čemen-ā]_*   *jašn=**šo***   *be-grat-e*   AP[Cha]. 10
       1SG-for   party=3PL:A   PUNCT-take.PST-PERF
       'They have thrown a party for me.'

(1049) *[xešten=**eš***   *ku]_*   *āvāl=**em***   *ā-great*
       REFL=3SG:POS   from   inquire=1SG:A   PVB-take.PST
       'I inquired of him himself.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 178)

In addition, except for the cases like (1044) above where the reverse ezafeh construction is used, clitics regularly attach to the possessor element in an NP. At the first sight, this might seem that the clitic has broken up the NP but considering the structure of NP as [possessor + possessed], such a placement is reduced to the placement of the clitic on the modifier element in the NP.

(1050) *asb=**eš***   *gušt-ö*   *be-xord*   AV[Cha]. 18
       horse=3SG:A   meat-OBL.M   PUNCT-eat.PST
       'He (the wolf) ate the horse's meat.'

(1051) *čemen=**i***   *dast*   *mi-great*   EL[Cha]. 42
       1SG.OBL=2SG:A   hand.DIR.M   IPFV-take.PST
       'You would take my hand.'

Finally, preverbal derivational and inflectional formatives are skipped for clitic hosting:

(1052) *un-de=**š**-bu*
       PVB-give.PST=3SG:A-PPRF
       'He had given.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 243)

(1053) *mi-xund=**emo***   EL[Cha]. 5
       IPFV-read.PST=1PL:A
       'We were reading.'

(1054) *me-ne-zan-em=**i***   EL[Cha]. 70
       IND-NEG-hit.PRS-1SG:2SG:O
       'I won't hit you.'

(1055) *be-xord=**ešo***   AV[Cha]. 12
        PUNCT-eat.PST=3PL:A
        'They ate.'

In short, clitic placement in Chali is defined with respect to the first element within the VP. In addition, morphological words are not interrupted for clitic hosting. These two features suggest that clitic placement follows the second hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (cf. §5.4.1).

8.3.2.1.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Given the fairly rich case system with oblique pronouns functioning as possessors, objects, and indirect objects, one would not expect to find multiple clitics in the same cliticization domain. However, we came across some examples in our corpus, in where nonsubject arguments were realized by clitic PMs, and would cluster with A-past clitics.

(1056) *sāb-ar=**eš**=**eš***   *m-āt*   QB[Cha]. 6
        owner-OBL=3SG:POS=3SG:A   IPFV-tell.PST
        'He would tell its owner.'

(1057) *mār=**em**=**em***   *kiyö*   *ba-hašt-e*   EL[Cha]. 43
        mother.OBL=1SG:POS=1SG:A   house.OBL   PUNCT-leave.PST-PERF
        'I have left (them) at my mother's house.'

(1058) *be-köšt=**em**=**iš***   EL[Cha]. 13
        PUNCT-kill.PST=1SG:A=3SG:O
        'I killed him.'

In the above examples the possessor clitic, cf. (1056)–(1057) and the object clitic, cf. (1058) have appeared in a clitic sequences with the A-past clitic. As can be seen, the possessor clitic occurs first in the cluster with the A-past clitic. However, the object clitic has appeared second in the sequence with the A-past clitic (see §6.3.3 and §6.3.4 for explanation on this inverse ordering of A-past clitic). Surprisingly, we came across one clitic sequence where the subject clitic ousts the possessor clitic from its position on its head.

(1059) *xāk-ar=**em**=**i***   *un-dā*   EL[Cha]. 41
        sister-OBL=1SG:A=2SG:POS   PVB-give.PST
        'I gave your sister.'

The reason for this unexpected ordering was shown to be triggered by the strategy of avoidance in § 6.3.5.1. Put briefly, the 2SG clitic is vocalic and its position on the head NP preceding the 1SG clitic may ambiguate the reading of the clause: the placement of 2SG clitic before the A-past clitic in (1059) obscures its expressiveness, and would result in a change of meaning as 'I

gave (my) sister'. The possessor clitic then moves out of its position in accordance with the principle of 'identity avoidance' (see Yip 1998), which requires a sequence of morphological elements be arranged in such a way that they do not disrupt morphosyntactic information they are expected to express. One way to do away with this problem is the swapping of clitic PM positions in the above examples, hence the expressivity of the morpho-syntactic information.

8.3.2.1.5 Clitic-affix sequences

If happen to appear in sequence with suffixal morphology, the clitic PMs follow the obligatory suffixal morphology.

(1060)   *mi-bar-**em=i***   *birun*   EL[Cha]. 8
         IND-take.PRS-1SG:A=2SG:O   outside
         'I will take you out.'

In conclusion, by using disparate indexing of A arguments across different tenses, Chali illustrates the tense-sensitive alignment in its agreement system. Clitic PMs have preserved their pronominal origin, and are not yet grammaticalized into agreement markers. In terms of placement, clitics are placed after the VP-initial element, which could only be a syntactic element. Morphological formatives are not cliticized upon in Chali.

8.3.2.2 Takestani

This section in an investigation of clitic PMs' syntax in the Takestani dialect of Tati. The latter is one of southern Tati dialects, and a concise grammar sketch of which has been given in Yar-Shater (1969). In addition, Rasekh-Mahand & Izadifar (2016) give a description of the alignment system and clitic placement in Takestani. Unlike in Chali, the A-past clitic in Takestani has fully grammaticalized as an agreement marker, i.e. it is no longer in complementarity with the overt (oblique-marked) subject NP. Clitic placement is defined with respect to the first syntactic element within the VP. The material for this presentation was collected in a fieldwork to the region in July 2017, and include elicitation tasks and a retelling of a popular children tale (codified as SM in the database). Informants are two males, aged 33, 37, and a female, aged 36. Occasionally, reference will be made to the data in the literature, especially Yar-Shater (1969).

8.3.2.2.1 Form

Table 58: Clitic PMs in Takestani

	SG	PL
1	=m	=mon
2	=i	=yon
3	=š	=šon

The paradigm of clitic PMs resembles that of Vaff PMs in 1PL and 2PL forms. This identicality was assumed to be the clitic origin of suffixal morphology in 1PL and 2PL forms (cf. §3.2.2.).

8.3.2.2.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used to mark possessors, cf. (1061)–(1062), A-past arguments, cf. (1063)–(1064), and less commonly an O-prs NP, cf. (1065). It is only in their function as indexing an A-past NP that clitics are obligatory indices.

(1061) *māyā=**šon**-ā*   SM[Tak]. 7
   mom=3PL:POS-COP.3SG.F
   'She is their mother.'

(1062) *be-paras   māy-ar=**eš**   bāqāl*   SM[Tak]. 28
   PUNCT-jump.PST.3SG   mom=OBL=3SG:POS   hug
   'He jumped into her mother's arms.'

(1063) *koli   alaf=**eš**   be-xā*   SM[Tak]. 42
   a.lot   grass=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST
   'The goat ate a lot of grass.'

(1064) *ānā   māy-ar=ešun   bi   čul-e   de*   SM[Tak]. 4
   3PL   mom-OBL=3PL:POS   with   field-OBL   in

   *zendegi=**šun**   mi-ya*
   life=3PL:A   IPFV-do.PST
   'They would live in the field with their mother.'

(1065) *merraxas=**i**   mi-yar-em*
   leave=2SG:O   IND-do.PRS-1SG
   'I will give you a leave.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 155)

Alternatively independent oblique pronouns can mark possessors. An account of possessive phrases in eight picture stories used in our elicitation tasks showed that out of 51 possessive phrases, only in 6 tokens the oblique pronouns were used to mark possessors, while in the rest of tokens (45 tokens) clitic PMs were used to do so, which amounts to 90% of the tokens. It is thus safe to say that clitic PMs are already on their way to supersede oblique pronouns in marking possessors.

Clitic PMs also mark the experiencer in 'necessity and wanting' constructions

(1066) *čan*   *done*   *nun=**i***   *mo-qo*   EL[Tak]. 55
        how   many   bread=2SG:NC   want.PRS
        'How many loaves of bread do you need?'

(1067) *bo-qost=**emun***   *jāve*   *agr-emon*   EL[Tak]. 58
        PUNCT-want.PST-1PL:NC   3SG.OBL.M   buy.PRS-1PL
        'We wanted to buy it.'

In necessity and wanting constructions a faint trace of the pronominal function of clitic PMs is still attested. In the following examples, the clitics are not used to cross-reference the experiencer.

(1068) **Māriy-a**   *mo-qosti*   *be-š-ia*   *bar*   CG[Tak]. 2
        PN-DIR.F   IPFV-want.PST   IRR-go.PRS-3SG.F   out
        'Mary wanted to go out.'

(1069) ***a***   *tanā*   *mo-qo*   *jive*   *šekār*   *yar-em*   EL[Tak]. 34
        1SG   alone   IND-want.PRS   3SG.M   hunting   do.PRS-1SG
        'I want to hunt it by myself.'[114]

Note that in both examples a direct-marked subject NP has triggered the absence of clitic marking, while normally the conditioning factor for the absence of clitics is for the subject NP to be oblique-marked (see relevant data on Chali). These examples then point to the continuation of the older pattern of indexing, even though the subject NP is no longer oblique marked. This situation is compared to the following examples, where the clitics now obligatorily index the direct-marked subject NP.

(1070) *a*   *ji*   *titi=**om***   *mo-qo*   EL[Tak]. 67
        1SG   3SG.F   girl=1SG:NC   IND-want.PRS
        'I want this girl.'

(1071) *az=i*   *ešte=**m***   *me-ne-qo*[115]
        1SG=ADD   2SG=1SG:NC   IND-NEG-want.PRS
        'I also don't want you' (Yar-Shater 1969: 269)

On the other hand, all indirect objects, and most direct objects are consistently marked via oblique pronouns, which are derived from adding up a preposition to the older oblique forms, hence innovated object markers (see Haig 2008: Ch. 4). Such functions are usually marked by

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[114] In discussing the role of clitics in the alignment system of Takestani, Rasekhmahand and Izadifar (2016) claim that unlike Eshtehardi, Deravi, and Kajali dialects, clitic PMs are considered to be agreement markers in their function as A-past. The examples here suggest that clitics have not fully grammaticalized into agreement markers, at least in encoding experiencers.

[115] The transcription was slightly adapted to our system.

clitic PMs in those Iranian languages which have lost the oblique pronouns, yet in Tatic varieties the presence of oblique pronouns renders the use of clitic PMs unnecessary.

Table 59: Independent personal pronouns in Takestani

		Direct	Oblique
SG	1	*a(z)*	*čeme*
	2	*ta*	*ešta*
	3m	*ā(v)*	*jā(v)*
	3f	*āva*	*jāva*
PL	1	*āmā*	*čomā*
	2	*šomā*	*šomā*
	3	*ānā*	*jānā*

(1072) ***čeme*-rā**   *če*   *ānde?*   SM[Tak]. 47
     1SG.OBL-to   what   give.PRS.2SG
     'What will you give me?'

(1073) ***jāvā*=šun**   *vāt*   *boz-e*   SM[Tak]. 2
     3SG.OBL.F=3PL:A   say.PST   goat-EZ

     zangule   *pā*
     bell   foot
     'They would call her 'the goat with a bell-foot'.'

(1074) *a*   ***ešte***   *me-bar-em*   *bar*   EL[Tak]. 8
     1SG   2SG.OBL   IND-take.PRS-1SG   out
     'I will take you out.'

Finally, since direct object NPs are regularly marked by the oblique case, no sign of the old ergative morphology is present on the verb, i.e. no agreement with the overt object NP in person, cf. (1075) or gender, cf. (1076)–(1077).

(1075) *zār-on=**eš***   *sedā=š*   *ye*   SM[Tak]. 27
     child-PL.OBL=3SG:POS   voice=3SG:A   do.PST
     'She called her kids.'

(1076) *Hasan-e*   *zan-ar*   *rā-da*   *vind=**em***
     PN-REZ   woman-OBL   road-in   see.PST=1SG:A
     'I saw H.'s wife on the way' (Yar-Shater 1969: 79)

(1077) *age*   *sābā*   *ta*   *minā=**i***   *vind*   EL[Tak]. 37
     if   tomorrow   2SG.DIR   PN=2SG:A   see.PST
     'If you happen to see [saw] Mina tomorrow!'

In short, clitic PMs and oblique pronouns interact in the person marking system of Takestani. Clitic PMs still illustrate a tinge of their pronominal origin in 'necessity and wanting' constructions. However, they have developed into agreement markers in indexing A-past NPs.

8.3.2.2.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic placement in Takestani is defined with respect to the first syntactic element within the VP. In the following examples, clitics attach to the first available constituent within the VP for their realization, a direct object, cf. (1078), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1079), a light verb complement, cf. (1080), and a verb, cf. (1081).

(1078) *bez-e*   *vu=**eš**   *ā-ne-xā*   SM[Tak]. 62
       goat-DEF   water=3SG:A   PVB=NEG-eat.PST
       'The goat didn't drink water.'

(1079) *āhangar=**eš**   *vāt*   SM[Tak]. 46
       blacksmith=3SG:A   say.PST
       'He said to the blacksmith.'

(1080) *dād=**eš**   *be-zand*   SM[Tak]. 37
       shouting=3SG:A   PUNCT-hit.PST
       '(The wolf) shouted.'

(1081) *varg*   *vāt=**še***   SM[Tak]. 14
       wolf   say.PST=3SG:A
       'The wolf said.'

Note that the NP structure is head-final in Takestani. In such a case, the clitic attaches to the modifier element. The pattern seen here is the mirror image of clitic placement in head-initial WILs. There, the clitics attach to the modifier element, which comes after the head noun.

(1082) *jā*   *bez=**oš***   *gardan-e*   *begi*   SM[Tak]. 64
       3SG.OBL.DEM goat=3SG:A   neck-OBL   take.PST
       'He grabbed that goat's neck.'

(1083) *a*   *ešti=**m***   *šangul*   *be-xārdi*   SM[Tak]. 40
       1SG.DIR   2SG.OBL=1SG:A   PN   PUNCT-eat.PST
       'I ate your Shangul.'

As in Chali, flagged oblique arguments are skipped for A-past clitic hosting. The clitic then attaches to the next available element to the right.

(1084) *bez-e*   **[*jānā*   *bi*]_**   SM[Tak]. 8
       goat-DEF   3PL.OBL   with

       *xodāfezi=**š***   *bi-ye*
       good-bye=3SG:A   PUNCT-do.PST
       'The goat said good-bye to them'

(1085) **[*ešte*   *rā*]_** *šokolāt=**em***   *agerdi*   EL[Tak]. 31
       2SG.OBL   for   chocolate=1SG:A   buy.PST
       'I bought you (some) chocolate.'

Likewise, oblique-marked kinship terms in the object position are also skipped for clitic placement:

(1086) *Hasan-e   zan-ar   rā-da   vind=em*
      PN- REZ   woman-OBL   road-in   see.PST=1SG:A
      'I saw H.'s wife on the way.' (Yar-Shater 1969: 79)

Finally, grammatical and derivational verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts:

(1087) *me-bard=i*   *šahr-e*   *bāzi*   EL[Tak]. 42
      IPFV-take.PST=2SG:A   city-EZ   game
      'You would take (me) to the amusement park.'

(1088) *diya*   *me-ne-qo=m*   *ešte*   *vin-em*   EL[Tak]. 64
      no more   IPFV-NEG-want.PRS=1SG:NC   2SG   see.PRS-1SG
      'I don't want to see you anymore!'

(1089) *hā-dāy=š-a*   *dālāk-e*   *dast*   SM[Tak]. 55
      PVB-give.PST=3SG:A-DRC   blacksmith-REZ   hand
      'He handed over (it) to the blacksmith.'

The fact that prepositional phrases, verbal prefixes, and less so oblique-marked objects are regularly skipped for clitic hosting renders the number of clitic hosting elements limited, leaving object NP, light verb complement, and verb stem as the most frequent clitic hosts in Takestani. In any case, the clitic placement can be said to follows the second hierarchy for clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (cf. §5.4.1).

In discussing clitic placement in Takestani, Rasekhmahand and Izadifar (2016: 151-153) claim that A-past clitic takes verb or the object as preferred hosts, with the latter being commoner. In addition, in line with Stilo's stance on Gazi clitics, the authors claim that A-past clitics of Takestani have been grammaticalized as markers of direct objects. This statement does not sufficiently capture the hierarchical nature of clitic placement, as seen above. Nor does it reflect the fact that clitic placement is not sensitive to oblique-marked direct objects, and prepositional phrases.

One unusual property of A-past clitics in Takestani is their double occurrence, once on the object NP, once on the verb. Seeming odd though, speakers would consider such phrases quite natural.

(1090) *hame* *či=š*   *mār=eš-ā*   SM[Tak]. 29
      all   thing=3SG:A   mom =3SG:POS-to

      tarif=eš   *ye*
      narration=3SG:A   do.PST
      'He narrated everything to his mother.'

(1091) *kāmerān*   *xers=eš*   *šekār*   *n-iard=š-e*   MB[Tak]. 5
      PN   bear=3SG:A   hunting   NEG-do.PST=3SG:A-NA
      'Kamran didn't hunt [a] bear.'

(1092) *čimi=šon*   *zār-on*   *be-bard=šon*   EL[Tak]. 39
      1SG=3PL:A   child-PL.OBL   PUNCT-take.PST=3PL:A
      'They took [away] my children.'

Such a recurrence of clitic PMs has also been reported for the Tati variety of Xo'in:

(1093) *seg=ešān*   *p(e)two=šān*   *kay*
      stone=3PL:A   thorw=3PL:A   do.PST
      'And they threw stones.' (Yar-shater 2003: 170)

Such cases of clitic repetition could be regarded as a contact-induced change, a copy of the pattern existing in Turkish and Persian as the contact languages for Takestani. In both Turkish and Persian A-past indexing Vaff PMs occur solely on the verb. Takestani seems to have copied the subject-indexing pattern of Turkish and Persian, while at the same time sticking to the VP-second realization of the clitic PM. Heine & Kuteva (2005) refer to the similar phenomenon as 'contact-induced grammaticalization'.

8.3.2.2.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to the labour-share between clitics and oblique pronouns, multiple clitics do not generally occur in Takestani. It is only occasionally and in past transitive constructions that a possessor clitic can co-occur with the A-past clitic in the same cliticization domain. Such a co-occurrence will not generally yield clitic clustering:

(1094) *dast-on=eš*   *āsiyā*   *de*   *ārdin=eš*   *ye*   SM[Tak]. 17
      hand-OBL=3SG:POS   mill   in   floury=3SG:A   do.PST
      'He covered his hands with flour in the mill.'

(1095) *zār-on=eš*   *rā*   *āš=eš*   *sā*   *me-dā*   SM[Tak]. 35
      child-PL=3SG:POS   for   soup=3SG:A   cook   IPFV-give.PST
      'She was making soup for his children'

8.3.2.2.5 Clitic-affix sequences

Considering that direct objects are regularly marked by oblique pronouns, clitic-affix sequences do not occur in Takestani, as shown in the following examples:

(1096) *ešta*   *me-ne-zan-em-a*   EL[Tak]. 70
      2SG   IND-NEG-hit.PRS-1SG-NA
      'I won't hit you.'

(1097) *jānā=m*   *vind*   EL[Tak]. 44
      3PL.OBL=1SG:A   see.PST
      'I saw them.'

In sum, Takestani shows tense-sensitive alignment through different indexing of A NPs across present and past tense verb forms. Unlike Chali, clitic PMs have developed into agreement markers in indexing A-past NPs. Clitics are positioned after the VP-initial element, which can be a syntactic element, but not a morphological one. Interestingly, under contact influence A-past clitics are repeated in the same cliticization domain.

8.3.2.3 Semnani

Semnan is situated 220 km west of Tehran, Iran. Its dialect, Semnani, is considered a member of Northwest Iranian languages. The binary case system is well persevered in Semnani, and for the most part the clitic PMs have maintained their pronominal origin; yet, interestingly, they have lost their mobility and their occurrence is limited to the verb stem. The material for this presentation was gathered during two fieldtrips to the region in March 2018, and January 2019, and include elicitation tasks, a real-life story, and a retelling of the pear film. In addition, supplementary data from literature (Christensen 1915; Majidi 1980) are consulted.

8.3.2.3.1 Form

Table 60: Clitic PMs in Semnani

	SG	PL
1	-an	=mon, =mun
2	=a, =at	=ton, =tun
3	=eš[116]	=šon, =šun

The 1SG form is drived from the corresponding form in the Vaff PM paradigm (see §3.2.1). This is borne out by the fact that, unlike other person forms in the clitic paradigm, *-an* shows the typical morphosyntactic behaviour associated with Vaff PMs, e.g. being obligatorily present on the verb regardless of contextual factors (see below).

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[116] Lecoq (1989a: 308) assumes the ending -ā as an alternant for the 3SG clitic *-eš*. The -ā form was not attested in our data.

8.3.2.3.2 Functions

Clitic PMs do not play a major role in the morpho-syntax of Semnani: On one hand, they have not developed into obligatory indices of A-past NPs contrary to the expected pattern across most West Iranian. On other hand, they are in complementary distribution with oblique-marked NPs in most of their other functions. Judging from our data, clitic functionality is restricted to indexing the A-past NP, cf.(1098), and the subject-like argument in 'necessity' constructions, cf. (1099):

(1098) *golābi ma-čend=**eš***   PS[Sem]. 5
       pear   IPFV-pick= 3SG:A
       'He was picking pear(s).'

(1099) *ma-giā=**mon***   *be-rin-in*   EL[Sem]. 69
       IPFV-want.PST=1PL:NC   PUNCT-buy.PST-1PL
       'We wanted to buy (it).'

As said, the use of clitics is not obligatory in these functions. Thus, clitics do not resume an overt oblique-marked subject NP.

(1100) ***varg-i***   *žun*   *bo-xord*   EL[Sem]. 49
       wolf-OBL   3PL.OBL   punct-EAT.PST
       'The wolf ate them.'

(1101) *čon*   ***mo***   ***piar***   *mo-ra*   *bāt-bā*   DV[Sem]. 12
       since   1SG.OBL   father.OBL   1SG.OBL-to   say.PST-PPRF
       'Since my father had told me,'

(1102) ***janikay***   *žon-a*   *izara niyā hā-kard*   *o*   *bāt=**eš***
       woman.OBL   3PL.OBL-to   a little   look   PVB-do.PST   and   said=3SG:A
       'The woman looked at them briefly and said.' (Majidi 1980: 195)

(1103) ***boz-in***   *ma-giā*   *golabi-a*   *va-xor-e*   PS[Sem]. 11
       goat-OBL.F   IPFV-want.PST pear-DEF   IRR-eat.PRS-3SG
       'The goat wanted to eat the pear.'

The examples below further illustrate that this rule is not sensitive to the category of the subject NP being a noun (as seen above) vs. a pronoun:

(1104) ***žo***   *mo*   *kotaki*   *bo-kuāt*   DV[Sem]. 12
       3SG.OBL.M   1SG.OBL   beating   PUNCT-hit.PST
       'He hit me.'

(1105) *čon*   ***šomā*** *bāt-bā*   *davā*   *nā-kar-in*   DV[Sem]. 21
       since   2PL   say.PST-PPRF   fight   NEG.IMP-do.PRS-2PL
       'Since you said: Do not get into fight (with others)'

(1106) agar **ta**   ču   ma-na-(a)rbind   WC[Sem]. 15
      if   2SG.OBL   wood   IPFV-NEG-cut.PST
      'If you wouldn't chop wood.'

(1107) **unun**   badiā   MB[Sem]. 16
      3PL   punct-SEE.PST
      'They saw.'

The only exception to the complementarity stated above is the encoding of the A-past through 1SG form. Here, the form is borrowed from the paradigm of Vaff PMs and has preserved its affixal status. Consequently, the 1SG clitic form is obligatory present on the verb, regardless of the presence of the coreferent NP.

(1108) **mo**=am   žo   du-na-sāt-**an**   DV[Sem]. 21
      1SG.OBL=ADD 3SG   PVB-NEG-beat.PST-1SG
      'I didn't beat him either.'

(1109) **mo**   šamā-ra   bāt-č-**an**   DV[Sem]. 22
      1SG.OBL   2PL-to   tell.PST-PTCP-1SG
      'I have said to you.'

In discussing the relationship between the inherited two-term case marking and the development of clitic PMs, Jügel and Samvelian (2016) classify Semnani as a language where clitic PMs have no pronominal function and instead have developed solely as agreement markers in A-past indexing. However, from what we see above in (1100)–(1107), except for 1SG PM, which is derived from the corresponding form in suffixal morphology, other persons in the clitic PM paradigm have preserved their pronominal nature, and cannot be considered agreement markers.

As said above, due to maintenance of the case system on pronouns, clitic PMs are limited regarding the functions they encode. Instead, Oblique pronouns fulfil the oblique functions that clitics are expected to encode in the context of WILs. This fact is seen in the following examples where oblique pronouns mark a possessor, cf. (1110), a direct object, cf. (1111), an indirect object, cf. (1112), and prepositional complement, cf. (1113).

Table 61: Independent personal pronouns in Semnani

		Direct	Oblique
SG	1	*a*	*mon/mu*
	2	*tu*	*ta*
	3m	*u*	*žo/ žu*
	3f	*una*	*žin*
PL	1	*hamā*	*hamā*
	2	*šamā*	*šamā*
	3	*ui, unon*	*žon, unon*

(1110) **mo**   *vač-on*   *ba-bard=šon*   EL[Sem]. 39
        1SG.OBL   child-PL.OBL   PUNCT-take.PST=3PL:A
        'They took my children.'

(1111) *i*   *fasl=am*   *a*   **ta**   DV[Sem]. 23
        a   time=ADD   1SG.DIR   2SG.OBL

        du-ma-sāz-on
        PVB-IND-hit.PRS-1SG
        'Yes, I will beat you once as well.'

(1112) *vače-y*   **žin**   *day=š*
        child-OBL   3SG.F   give.PST=3SG:A
        'He gave the child to her.' (Christensen 1915: 57)

(1113) *o*   **žin**   *pi*   *vā-persi=šon*   CG[Sem]. 4
        and   3SG.F.OBL   from   PVB-ask.PST=3PL:A
        '(Her friends came by) and asked her.'

Finally, as O-past NPs are regularly marked by the oblique case, no cases of agreement with O-past NP can be seen in past transitive constructions, neither in person, cf. (1114), nor in gender, cf. (1115).

(1114) **zeyk-un**   *kojā*   *bāš-č=a*   EL[Sem]. 43
        child.PL.OBL   where   PUNCT.put.PST-PTCP=2SG:A
        'Where have you put the kids?'

(1115) *age*   *haren*   *mīn-en*   *ba-di=a*   EL[Sem]. 37
        if   tomorrow   PN-OBL.F   PUNCT-see.PST=2SG:A
        'If you happen to see (saw) Mina tomorrow!'

8.3.2.3.3 Placement of clitic PMs

As seen in the examples above, clitic PMs regularly attach to the verb stem no matter how many elements are available to mark them pre-verbally. This is further shown in the following examples, where elements of diverse categories are skipped for clitic hosting: the object, cf.

(1116)–(1117), the light verb complement, cf. (1118), the derivational prefix, cf. (1119), and the inflectional prefixes, cf. (1120)–(1121).

(1116) *i   māl   kari   kar=**mun***
     one.M house renting   do.PST=1PL:A
     'We rented a house.' (Christensen 1915: 62)

(1117) *žin   bat=**eš***   PS[Sem]. 12
     2SG.F.OBL   PUNCT.take.PST=3SG:A
     'He took her (the goat).'

(1118) *komak   kard=**ešon***   PS[Sem]. 23
     help   do.PST=3PL:A
     'They helped (him).'

(1119) *hā-de=**š***   mo   ra*   EL[Sem]. 80
     PVB-give.PST=3SG:A   1SG   to
     'He gave (it) to me.'

(1120) *ba-di=**šon***   PS[Sem]. 22
     PUNCT-see.PST=3PL:A
     'They saw.'

(1121) *na-di=**šon***   MB[Sem]. 9
     NEG-see.PST=3PL:A
     'They didn't see.'

The data thus point to the endpoint of A-past clitic mobility, namely its attachment to the verb as an affix. Having lost their mobility, clitic PMs approach affixes in the sense of being selective with respect to the host they attach to. Interestingly though, while having lost their mobility, clitic PMs are still markers of anaphora and are in complementary distribution with the coreferent NP (see above), proving that the morphophonological form of a person marker is not a good indicator of its morphosyntactic status as a marker of agreement or anaphora.

8.3.2.3.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to highly restricted use of clitic PMs, their use only as A-past, and the 'labour-share' between clitics and oblique pronouns, one cannot expect to find examples of clitic clusters, and or clitic-affix combinations. This is best shown in the following examples form 'pear story' where non-subject arguments are not indexed by clitic PMs, hence no multiple cliticization:

(1122) ***žo***   kola peydā   kard=**šon***   PS[Sem]. 26
     3SG.M.OBL:POS   hat   visible   do.PST=3PL:A
     'They found his hat.'

(1123) **žo**   *kola*   **žo**-*ra*   *ba-bard=***šon**   PS[Sem]. 28
        3SG.OBL:POS   hat   3SG.OBL:R-to   PUNCT-take.PST=3PL:A
        'They took his hat to him.'

To sum up, clitic PMs in Semnani show a unique development among WILs: while having maintained their pronominal origin, clitics have lost their mobility and become fixed after the verb stem.

8.3.2.4 Central Taleshi

Taleshi is spoken along the southwest coast of Caspian Sea in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan and is divided into three subgroups: Northern, Central and Southern. The central dialect is spoken in the cities of Asalem, and Hashtpar, which are placed at the dialect centre. In common with the Northern Taleshi dialects, in a number of TAM paradigms Vaff PMs are mobile. Clitic PMs have preserved their pronominal origin and are in complementary distribution with the overt coreferent NPs across their major functions. Clitic placement is defined with respect to the VP as the domain, and is different from the placement of mobile affixes. The material for this study were gathered during a trip to the region in March 2017, and include the elicitation tasks and a retelling of the pear film. The data are further supplemented with Paul's (2011) grammatical description of Taleshi dialects.

8.3.2.4.1 Form

The forms of clitic PMs are set out in the following table:

Table 62: Clitic PMs in Central Taleshi

	SG	PL
1	=m	=mun
2	=r	=run
3	=š	=šun

The forms of 1PL and 2PL forms are identical to the ones in Vaff PM paradigm in imperfect, present, and past constructions (see Table 64) Stilo (2008a: 367) holds that such pronominal forms have indeed replaced the original verb suffixes which have been lost (see also §3.2.2).

8.3.2.4.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index an A-past NP, cf. (1124), and experiencers in a number of non-canonical subject constructions, including 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1125), and 'predicative

possessive' constructions, cf. (1126). In addition, they index rarely possessors, especially with kinship terms, cf. (1127).

(1124) *š-a*   *berun*   *ču-yē=š*   *ber-in*   CG[CT]. 11
go-3SG   out   wood-DIR.PL=3SG:A   cut.PST-3PL
'He went out and chopped down the wood(s).'

(1125) *ba-pi=**šun**-e-be*   *ketāb-on*   EL[CT]. 66
TAM-want=3PL:NC-PERF-AUX.PST   book-PL.OBL

fer   *ā-da-n*
throw   PVB-give.PRS-3PL
'They wanted to throw away the books.'

(1126) *pādešāh-i*   *hest*   *be*   *ke*   EL[CT]. 57
king-INDF   exist   AUX.PST   REL

*xerdan=**eš***   *na-be*
child=3SG:NC   NEG-exist.PST
'There was a king who didn't have any child.'

(1127) *xā=**m***   *um-a*   EL[CT]. 74
sister=1SG:POS   come-3SG
'My sister came over.'

An important point about the functionality of clitic PMs is that they have not developed into agreement markers in indexing A-past and NC arguments. That is, clitic PMs are in complementary distribution with overt subject NPs.

(1128) ***šema***   *me*   *xeyli*   *ājez*   *kard-a*   EL[CT]. 11
2PL   1SG.OBL   too.much   upset   did-TR
'You made me upset.'

(1129) ***šāter-i***   *bamen-a*   *vāt-a*   EL[CT]. 55
baker-OBL   1SG.OBL-to   say.PST-TR
'The baker told me.'

(1130) ***merd-i=am***   *bez-i*   *sar*   *gat-be*   PS[CT]. 12
man-OBL=ADD   goat-REZ   head   grab.PST-PPRF
'The man had grabbed the goat's head.'

(1131) ***me***   *a*   *kela*   *ba-pi*   EL[CT]. 67
1SG.OBL   DEM   girl   TAM-want.PRS
'I want this girl.'

(1132) *i-la*   *merd-i*   *rā*   *karg-i*   *hest*   *be*   EL[CT]. 63
a-CLF   man-INDF   for   hen-INDF   exist   AUX.PST
'A man had a hen.'

Jügel & Samvelian (2016) list Taleshi dialects among those Iranian languages where clitics have only agreement status. They further add that no pronominal function can be assumed for

clitic PMs. However, the examples (1128)–(1132) prove them wrong since clitics are in complementary distribution with the overt oblique NP in indexing an A-past NP and an experiencer, hence their pronominal status.

The verb stem *šā* is used for the expression of 'potentiality/possibility'. However, unlike languages like Davani, and Lari *šā* acts like a regular verb and follows the tense-sensitive alignment pattern of indexation.

(1133) *alān   ba-šā=yš*   *š-e   berun*   CG[CT]. 13
      now   TAM-be able=2SG:SET1B   go-INF out
      'Now, you are allowed to go out.'

Direct objects and indirect objects are generally marked by oblique pronouns, and possessors are marked via possessive pronouns. The presence of these independent forms of pronouns renders the use of clitic PMs unneeded in marking nonsubject arguments, cf. (1134)–(1135):

Table 63: Independent personal pronouns in Central Taleshi

		Direct	Oblique	Possessive
SG	1	*az*	*men*	*čemen*
	2	*tə*	*tə*	*əštə*
	3	*a*	*ai*	*ča(i)/čimi*
PL	1	*ama*	*ama*	*čama*
	2	*šəma*	*šəma*	*šəma*
	3	*aye*	*amun*	*čamun*

Following examples show the use of oblique pronouns in marking different oblique functions.

(1134) *be-š-an   **amun**   bu-ar-an*   EL[CT]. 73
      IRR-go-2PL   3PL.OBL   IRR-bring.PRS-2PL
      'You go (and) bring them.'

(1135) ***ča**   rafeq-e   umin*   CG[CT]. 3
      3SG:POS   friend-PL.DIR come-3PL

      ***ai**   kā=šun   dah-parsi*
      3SG.OBL:R   from=3PL:A   PVB-ask.PST
      'Her friends came over and asked her.'

8.3.2.4.3 Floating verbal affix PMs

The verbal affix PMs show an interesting behaviour in Central Taleshi (and some Northern Taleshi sub-dialects, see Stilo 2008a), in that in some TAM paradigms, they float leftward in the clause in the same way clitic PMs are mobile in Taleshi and in other Iranian languages. Here, as our focus is on clitic PMs, we are convinced to give a brief overview of the

constructions where floating verbal affixes occur. The different paradigms of verb affix PMs are set out in the following table.

Table 64: Verbal affix PMs in Central Taleshi

		set 1a			set 1b
		SBJV	IPFV	PST	PRS, FUT, PROG
SG	1	-u	-im	-im	-im
	2	-i	-iš	-iš	-iš
	3	-u	-i	-a	-a
PL	1	-am	-imun	-imun	-imun
	2	-an	-irun	-irun	-irun
	3	un	-in	-in	-in

Among these two sets, set 1a is used in the formation of irrealis mood, imperfective past, and various intransitive past tenses. Like in Gorani dialects, the present stem of the verb is used for the formation the imperfective past, rendering the alignment in such constructions nominative-accusative. The person markers used in set 1a behave like ordinary affixes and are realized on the verb stem. In addition, reflecting the old ergative morphology on the verb, set 1a affixes are being used regularly to show number agreement with nominal plural object NPs in past transitive constructions:

(1136) *em*　　　　*zo-a*　　　　***golābi-e**=šun*　　　*jam*　　　　PS[CT]. 26
　　　　DEM.DIR　　kid-DEM1　　pear-DIR.PL=3PL:A　addition

　　　*be-kard-**in***
　　　PUNCT-do.PST-3PL
　　　'They collected the pears of this boy.'

(1137) *a-i*　　　　*əštan*　　*tung-e*　　*žyn*　　*ā-kard=in*
　　　　3SG-OBL　　REFL　　jug-DIR.PL　loss　PVB-caused=TR.PL
　　　　'He lost his jugs.' (Paul 2011: 94)

The agreement with pronominal direct objects depends on SAP _ non-SAP distinction. The plural non-SAP triggers agreement with the verb but the SAPs do not behave so since oblique forms of pronouns have replaced the direct forms of SAP in past transitive constructions (see Paul 2011: 91-102 for more details):

(1138) *ae*　　　　*de*　　*gela*　*se*　　*gela*　*golābi*　　　　PS[CT]. 29
　　　　3SG.OBL　　two　　CLF　　three　CLF　　pear

　　　aye　　　　*hedya*　*be-dā-yn*
　　　3PL.DIR　　gift　　PUNCT-give.PST-3PL
　　　'He gave them two, three pears as a gift.'

(1139) *hiškas-i*   *mən*   *nə-vind-a*
        no.one-INDF   1SG.OBL   NEG-see.PST-TR
        'Nobody has seen me.' (Paul 2011: 97)

(1140) *Sinā*   *xiābun*   *da*   *ama*   *vinda*   EL[CT]. 25
        PN   street   LOC   1PL   saw
        'Sina saw us in the street.'

On the other hand, quite interestingly, set 1b person forms, which are identical to intransitive past tense forms, can float leftward in the clause. The tense forms where set1b occurs include present and future tenses, cf. (1141)–(1142), and present progressive, cf. (1143):

(1141) *gāv-na*   *go=**mun***   *bāt-e*   EL[CT]. 71
        cow-to   cow=1PL:SET1B   TAM.say.PRS-INF
        'We say *go* to 'cow'.'

(1142) *az*   *ba*   *tə*   *i-la*   *xəlik*   *ā=**m**-a-dā*
        1SG   to   2SG   A-CLF   spade   PVB=1SG:SET1B-TAM-hand.over
        'I'll give you a spade.' (Paul 2011: 140)

(1143) *a*   *kār=a*   *hard-e*
        3SG.DIR   PROG=3SG:SET1B   eat-INF
        'He is eating.' (Paul 2011: 127)

Paul (2011) includes intransitive present perfect and past perfect constructions as the domains which also use floating set 1b PMs. However, we didn't come across the employment of set1b in such tense forms.

With respect to their placement, Stilo (2008a: 382) suggests that "[t]he placement of set 1b is triggered by the position of the main stress of a clause and the main stress, in turn is triggered by the information structure of the clause." Paul (2011) recapitulates the same placement preference for such floating PMs in Central Taleshi. The role of stress in determining the placement of the floating verbal affixes is borne out by the following excerpt, in where the floating affix is each time realized on the focused element, marked in bold.

(1144) *az*   *te*   *kā*   *zudtar* *āšpešxuna*   **tamiz=im**   BO[CT]. 13-15
       1SG   2SG from earlier kitchen   clean=1SG:SET1B

       ba-kard-e!
       TAM-do-INF

       ne!   *az*   *te*   *kā*   **zudtar=im**   *tamiz* *ba-kard-e!*
       no   1SG 2SG from earlier=1SG:SET1B   clean TAM-do-INF

       šoru=šun   *karda* *be*   *tamiz* *kard-e*
       start=3PL:A did   to   clean do-INF

       ki=a   *zud-ter*   *tamiz* *ba-kard-e*
       who=3SG:SET1B   early-CMPR   clean TAM-do-INF

       malum   *ni!*
       obvious   NEG.COP.3SG

'I will clean the kitchen earlier than you! No, I will clean (it) earlier! They started to clean (the kitchen). It is not clear who will clean (it) earlier!'

As a further support for the role of stress in the placement of these clitic-like affixes, note that the negative formative in (1145), and the preverb in (1146) bear stress, and are eligible hosts for clitic-like elements.

(1145) *az*   *ne=**m**-am-a*   EL[CT]. 70
       1SG   NEG=1SG:SET1B-come.PRS-AUX
       'I'm not coming.'

(1146) *əštə*   *nana* *kā*   *vi=**m**-a-gat-e*   EL[CT]. 75
       2SG:POS   mom from   PVB=1SG:SET1B -TAM-take-INF
       'I will take (them) from your mother.'

On the other hand, the TAM formative, which precedes the verb stem in present tense verb forms, is not stress-bearing, hence not available as a clitic host.

(1147) *az*   *tanhāi=**m***   *be-ši-e*   EL[CT]. 34
       1SG   alone=1SG:SET1B   TAM-go-INF

       *ba-žand=**im***   / **ba=m-žand*
       TAM-hit=1SG:SET1B
       'I will go alone (and) hunt (it).'

8.3.2.4.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic PMs are positioned after the first syntactic element within the VP. The VP-second positioning is shown in the following examples where the verbal adverb, cf. (1148), the object NP, cf. (1149), the prepositional phrase, cf. (1150), the light-verb complement, cf. (1151), and the verb stem, cf. (1152), host clitic PMs:

(1148) *xeyli=**šun***   *me*   *zaif*   *kard-a*   EL[CT]. 11
        a.lot=3PL:A   1SG.OBL   weak   do.PST-TR
        'They have weakened (angered) me a lot.'

(1149) *čuy-e=**š***   *xerd*   *ā-kard-in*   CG[CT]. 11
        wood-DIR.PL=3SG:A   little   PVB-do.PST-3PL
        'He chopped down the Wood.'

(1150) *dečarxa*   *sar-i*   *kā=**š***   *bə-nā*   PS[CT]. 20
        bicycle   TOP-OBL   LOC=3SG:A   PST-put
        'He put (them) in front of the bicycle.'

(1151) *xāk=**š**=ani*   *kard*   EL[CT]. 14
        soil=3SG:A-ADD   did
        'He buried him too.'

(1152) *vāt=**ə̌š**-a*   CG[CT]. 17
        say=3SG:A-AUX.PST
        'He said.'

Classifiers can also host clitic PMs.

(1153) *de*   *man=**emun***   *gušt*   *vi-gata*   EL[CT]. 12
        two   maund=1PL:A   meat   PVB-take.PST
        'We bought two mounds (eight kilos) of meat.'

However, Derivational and morphological elements are not eligible clitic hosts. In the following examples the preverb, cf. (1154)–(1155), the TAM prefix, cf. (1156), and the negative formative, cf. (1157) are skipped for clitic hosting.

(1154) *vi-gat-e=**m**-a*   SL2[CT]. 26
        PVB-take-PTCP=1SG:A-TR
        'I have bought.'

(1155) *da-kard-a=**š**-ba*   *kisa*   *dela*   *kā*
        PVB-do-PTCP=3SG:A-PPRF   bag   in   LOC
        'He had thrown (it) into a bag.' (Paul 2011: 382)

(1156) *a-pi=**r***   *be*   *čiči*   *be-zun-i*   EL[CT]. 60
        TAM-want=2SG:NC   AUX.PST   what   IRR-know-2SG
        'What would you like to know?

(1157) *ni-a-pi=**r**-a*   *čeme*   *pul-i*   *be-da-y*   EL[CT]. 22
        NEG-TAM-want=2SG:NC-COP   1SG   money-OBL   IRR-give-2SG
        'Don't you want to give (me) my money?'

The fact that negative marker and preverbs are skipped for hosting clitic PMs but are eligible host for clitic-like verbal affixes suggests that the placement rule behind clitic positioning and floating verbal affixes is different. It should be further noted that the unavailability of

morphological elements as clitic hosts groups Central Taleshi under those WILs with the second hierarchy of clitic positioning (outlined in §5.4.1) accountable for clitic placement.

8.3.2.4.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to highly restricted use of clitic PMs, and the 'labour-share' between clitics and oblique pronouns, one cannot expect to come across multiple cliticization in the VP. The following examples illustrate this fact.

(1158) ***čai***   *ila*   *golābi jaba=š*   *be-gati*   PS[CT]. 19
       3SG:POS   a   pear   basket=3SG:A PUNCT-take.PST
       'He took one of his pear baskets.'

(1159) ***bamen=aš***   *vāt-a*   EL[CT]. 24
       1SG.OBL:R=3SG:A   said.PST-TR
       'He said to me.'

8.3.2.4.6 Clitic-affix sequences

For the same reason explained in the previous section, i.e. the labour-share between clitics and oblique pronouns, clitics are not expected to appear in concatenation with Vaff PMs.

(1160) ***te***   *ba-bard=**im***   *berun*   EL[CT]. 8
       2SG.OBL:O   TAM-take-1SG:SET1B outside
       'I will take you out.'

(1161) *bale*   ***aye=m***   *vind-in*   EL[CT]. 44
       yes   3PL.DIR:O=1SG:A see.PST-3PL:O
       'Yes, I saw them.'

To sum up, Central Taleshi can be classified together with Chali, Semnani, and less commonly Takestani, and Gorani Takht under a unified group, in which clitic PMs have preserved their pronominal original _though in varying degrees, and are in complementary distribution with overt oblique marked subject NPs. Unlike the rest of Iranian languages, Taleshi possesses a set of floating clitic-like Vaff PMs in a number of TAM paradigms. In terms of placement, clitic PMs are placed following the first syntactic element within the VP. The placement of clitics is different from that of floating verbal affixes. While in the latter morphological elements are clitic hosts, such elements are not eligible hosts for clitic PMs.

8.3.3 Central Plateau languages

The term 'Central Plateau languages' refers to a number of languages spoken in central Iran, extending from the southeast of Markazi province diagonally down to Yazd. Borjian (2009) refers to the Central Plateau group as the 'South Median group of Northwest Iranian languages'. Krahne (1976) provides a list of phonological, morphological, and lexical isoglosses, based on which Central Plateau languages are distinguished. Lecoq (1989b) classifies Central Plateau dialects into four geographical subgroups: (i) Northwest dialects; (ii) Northeast dialects; (iii) Southwest dialects; (v) Southeast dialects[117]. The investigated CP languages in this thesis can be grouped under Lecoq's classification as follows:

Northwestern: Delijani, Khansari

Northeastern: Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi, Meymei

Southeastern: Naeini, Yazdi Zoroastrian

Southwestern: Nikabad-Jondan

A map of the investigated CP dialects is represented below in figure 34:
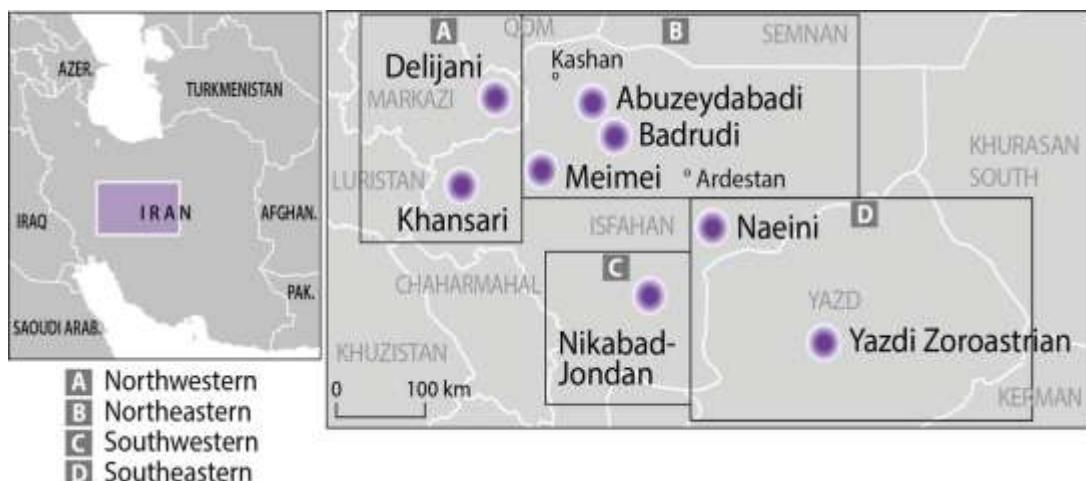
Figure 34: Investigated Central Plateau languages

8.3.3.1 Delijani

Delijani, locally pronounced as *Deligoni*, is spoken in Delijan township, Markazi province, Iran. Delijani is the northwesternmost dialect of the CP. Phonological attachment of clitics is both in the form of proclitics and enclitics. In addition, Delijani Clitics illustrate some

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[117] On the other hand, Windfuhr (1991) divides Central Plateau dialects into four subgroups: Western, Northern, Southern, and Eastern. This grouping corresponds to Lecoq's classification Northwest, Northeast, Southwest, and Southeast (Stilo 2007).

exceptional occurrences of endoclitics. Tense-sensitive alignment is preserved by reversal marking of core arguments across present vs. past transitive tenses. Clitic are placed after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP. The material for the current description were collected during two fieldworks to the region in June 2017, and January 2019, and includes elicitation tasks, a folktale (codified as GX in the database), and a retelling of the pear film. The data are further supplemented with the data in Safari (2008). The informants are three males; one in his 50s, and the other two in their 30s.

8.3.3.1.1 Form

Table 65: Clitic PMs in Delijani

	set 1	set 2
1	=m	am=
2	=d	ad=
3	=š	aš=
1	=mon	amon=
2	=don	aton=
3	=šon	ašon=

The 1PL person form is identical to the corresponding form in the paradigm of Vaff PMs (cf. Table 67). In §3.2.2, we held that 1PL Vaff PM is derived from that the corresponding form from the clitic paradigm. As in most Central Plateau dialects investigated in this thesis, e.g. Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi, Naeini, the direction of clitic attachment is mainly in the form of enclitics. Proclitic attachment of clitics is restricted to the immediate preverbal domain, and on the verb.

8.3.3.1.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used in marking a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1162), an O-prs NP, cf. (1163), a prepositional complement in present tense, cf. (1164), a non-flagged indirect objects, cf. (1165), and an A-past NP, cf. (1166). Only in the last function is the use of clitic PMs obligatory.

(1162) *fāk-ie=š-ande*   EL[Dej]. 79
      sister-PL=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
      'They are her sisters.'

(1163) *ba=š-ber-iyon*   GX[Dej]. 33
     IRR=3SG:O-take.PRS-2PL
     'Take him.'

(1164) *hama*   *ji=š*   *a-tars-ande*
     everone   from=3SG:R   IND-fear.PRS-3PL
     'Everybody is afraid of him.' (Safari 2008: 68)

(1165) *ejey*   *mü=**m**=et*   *hā-don*   GX[Dej]. 12
     a   hair=1SG:POS=2SG:R   PVB-give.PRS-1SG
     'That I give you a strand of my hair.'

(1166) *mā=š*   *nun=**eš***   *ba-pet*   GX[Dej]. 6
     mother=3SG:POS   bread=3SG:A   PUNCT-bake.PST
     'His mother baked bread'

In addition to the functions listed above, Clitic PMs obligatorily index experiencers in the following constructions: 'necessity', cf. (1167), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1168).

(1167) *men*   *ina*   *dej=**om***   *e-y*   EL[Dej]. 67
     1SG   DEM.F   girl=1SG:NC   IND-want.PRS
     'I want this girl.'

(1168) *ke*   *vaša=š*   *na-gen-e*
     COMP   hungry=3SG:NC   NEG-become.PRS-3SG
     'That he won't be hungry.' (Safari 2008: 81)

Finally, following the decline of ergative morphology, person agreement with object NP is lost, cf. (1169). However, in rare cases the verb shows gender agreement with overt object NP, cf. (1170).

(1169) *aton*   *ke*   *men=**et***   *sir*   *vā-kerd*   GX[Dej]. 12
     now   that   1SG=2SG:A   well-fed   PVB-do.PST
     'Now that you fed me.'

(1170) *ajay*   *gusfand=eš*   *ba-košt-e*   EL[Dej]. 50
     one.F   sheep=3SG:A   PUNCT-kill.PST.3SG.F
     'He slaughtered (a) sheep.'

8.3.3.1.3 Phonological attachment

As said, the phonological attachment of clitic PMs is both in the form of enclitics, and less so proclitics. Procliticization occurs on the imperfective TAM form of the verb. In such a case the clitic is accompanied by a reflex of WMI adverbial particle **ah* 'then, thus', and its sandhi form *ā-/a-*, and precedes the verb. The particle *ā-/a-* insured the S2 positioning of pronouns in Middle Iranian (Brunner 1977), however, in some CP dialects, e.g., Delijani, Khansari, Badrudi, and

Meymei, it has been reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigm, hence *am, at, aš, amon, aton, ašon* (set 2 in Table 65).

(1171) *āw*   ***ašon****=a-bar-a*   GX[Dej]. 18
       water   3PL:O=IND-take.PRS-3SG
       'The water will take them away.'

(1172) *am=e-gā*   [1SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'I would wish'
       at=e-gā   [2SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'You (sg.) wish.'
       aš=e-gā   [3SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'S/he would wish.'
       amon=e-gā   [1PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'We would wish.'
       aton-e-gā   [2PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'You (pl.) would wish.'
       ašon=e-gā   [3PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST]   'They would wish.'

Apart from enclitic and proclitic attachment, clitic PMs also exhibit some rare occurrences of endoclitics which interrupt the verb stem.

(1173) *be-re=**mon**-ānd*   EL[Dej]. 5
       PUNCT-read1=1PL:A-read2
       'We were reading.'

The past stem of 'read' is *rund,* as in *katāb=mun be-rund 'We read a book'.* However in (1173), the stem has been broken and there is a change in the quality of the vowel, hence *re-ānd*. The clitic, while skipping the weak TAM prefix, breaks up the verb stem. This occurrence of the clitic is similar to the process of infixation. The second case of an endoclitic was attested for the verb '*know*':

(1174) *ne-še=**šun**=nās-on*   EL[Dej]. 79
       NEG-know1=3PL:O=know2-1SG
       'I don't know them.'

Here again the clitic has broken up the stem *šenās* 'know'. It should be noted that *šenās* is disyllabic. The negative formative usually hosts the clitic PM in Delijani, however, here it is not stressed in (1174), hence invisible to clitic hosting. Following the second position requirement the clitic skips the negative formative and lands on the next syllabic formative, i.e. the first syllable of the verb *šenās*. In any case, these cases of endocliticization, like the oft-cited endoclitics of Udi, are counterexamples to the lexical integrity hypothesis, according to which the structure of a word is not visible to syntax (Di Sciullo & Williams 1987, Lapointe 1980). What we have here is a bound word, i.e. a clitic, which has broken up another word. The clitic's behaviour here thus resembles that of infixes.

The verbal prefixes in the above examples are formed from weak syllables, hence invisible to clitic placement. On the other hand, the verb stems are heavy: the verb stem *še.nās* 'to know' is

bi-syllabic, and the stem *rund* 'read' has a heavy coda (it changes to ro.ānd in the presence of an endoclitic). Note further that the clitics are placed after the first syntactic or morphological element in the VP, exhibiting a kind of second position clitics. With the verbal prefixes carrying no stress and being syllabically weak for hosting second position clitics, the clitic opts for the next morpho-phonological element – the first syllable of the verb stem in this case – as its host and occurs inside the verb-stem.[118] It can thus be said that the stress coupled with the second position requirement are the factors giving rise to the endocliticization in (1173)–(1174).

8.3.3.1.4 Placement of clitic PMs

The first syntactic or morphological element within the VP is opted as the anchor for clitic placement. Thus VP-external elements like subject NP, clausal adverbs, and conjunctions are skipped for clitic hosting. VP-second positioning is shown in the following examples where elements of diverse categories host clitics: an adverb, cf. (1175), an object NP, cf. (1176), a non-verbal element of complex predicate, cf. (1177), an adposition, cf. (1178), and verbal prefixes (grammatical, cf. (1179)/derivational, cf. (1180)), and the verb stem, cf. (1181).

(1175) *xeyl=eš*   *hā-dā-ø*   EL[Dej]. 26
       a lot=3SG:A   PVB-give.PST-3SG
       'He gave him a lot.'

(1176) *ajey*   *pol=eš*   *ba-sāt*   GX[Dej]. 20
       a   bridge=3SG:A PUNCT-build.PST
       'He build a bridge.'

(1177) *men*   *aton*   *komak=et*   *a-kar-on*   GX[Dej]. 23
       1SG   IND-come.PRS.1SG   help=2SG:O IND-do.PRS.1SG
       'I will come over (and) help you.'

(1178) *bi=š*   *āj-on*   EL[Dej]. 37
       to=3SG:R   say.PRS-1SG
       'I will tell her.'

(1179) *hani*   *na=m-e-y*   EL[Dej]. 64
       no more   NEG=1SG:NC-IND-want.PRS

       ba=d-bin-on
       IRR=2SG:O-see.PRS-1SG
       'I don't want to see you anymore.'

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[118] I am grateful to Geoffrey Haig (p.c) for pointing out the role of stress to me in these examples.

(1180) *men*   *vā=**m**-bard*   GX[Dej]. 62
       1SG   PVB=1SG:A-take.PST
       'I won.'

(1181) *di=**š***   GX[Dej]. 8
       see.PST=3SG:A
       '(The boy) saw.'

The clitic placement then follows the first hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems, outlined in §5.4.1. VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of prepositional complement clitics. Thus if not VP-second, the clitic complement of a preposition moves away from its head and is placed on the first syntactic element within the VP, as illustrated by examples (1182)–(1184):

Table 66: Simple and absolute adpositions in Delijani

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
de	*bī*	'to', 'by'
a, e	*jī*	'from',
bā	*bā*	'for'
bā	*kofā*	'with', 'by'
ru		'in', 'inside'

(1182) *kār=**et***   ***bi***   *dār-on*   EL[Dej]. 70
       work=2SG:R   to   have.PRS-1SG
       'I have business with you.'

(1183) *do*   *se*   *barq*   *ātaš=**em**=am*   ***bā***   *bār-iyon*   GX[Dej]. 34
       two   three   flame   fire=1SG:R=ADD   for   IRR.bring.PRS-2PL
       'Bring me two or three flames of fire as well.'

(1184) *age*   *kār-ā-ye*   *yani=**d**=am*   ***bi***   *aj-imon*   GX[Dej]. 64
       if   task-PL-EZ   other=2SG:R=ADD   to   say.PRS-1PL
       'If we tell you (to do) other works too.'

The R clitics are also mobile in intransitive constructions:

(1185) *ow=**aš***   ***ji***   *garm*   *ā-nā-šd-i*
       water=3SG:R   from   warm   PVB-NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG.F
       'He is incompetent.' [lit. Water does not boil from him]

8.3.3.1.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics are allowed in present tense constructions. The occurrence of two clitics in the same cliticization domain can lead to a clitic cluster, as in (1186), where the clitic indexing the non-flagged indirect object follows the possessor clitic.

(1186) *tā*   *mā*   *det=**emun**=**et***   *vā-dimun*   GX[Dej].29
     that   1PL   girl=1PL:POS=2SG:R   PVB-give.PRS.1PL
     'That we give you our girl (in marriage).'

In past transitive construction, on the other hand, the A-past NP is obligatorily marked by a clitic PM. The question remains as which kind of non-subject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Examples (1177)–(1188) prove that direct object are marked by Vaff PMs.

Table 67: Verbal affix PMs in Delijani

	SG	PL
1	-on	-īmon
2	-ī	-īyon
3	-a, -Ø (m.), -e/-i (f.)[119]	-e, -ande

(1187) *gorg*   *b=**oš**-ord-**ande***   EL[Dej]. 49
     wolf   PUNCT=3SG:A-eat.PST-3PL:O
     'The wolf ate them.'

(1188) *tā*   *hatun*   *davat=**em***   *na-kard-i-**ande***   EL[Dej]. 47
     until   now   invitation=1SG:A   NEG-do.PST-PTCP-3PL:O
     'I haven't invited them yet.'

Bound prepositional complements are also realized by Vaff PMs. The exponence by Vaff PMs means that the complement of the preposition appears at a distance from its preposition head:

(1189) *šukolat=**em***   *bā*   *hāt-**ey***   EL[Dej]. 31
     chocolate=1SG:A   for   take.PST-2SG:R
     'I have bought chocolates for you.'

(1190) *katāb=**eš***   *ji*   *hāt-**imon***   EL[Dej]. 25
     book=3SG:A   from   took.PST-1PL:R
     'He took the book from us.'

The realization of possessor argument is different from O- and R-indexing clitics in that it remains through clitic PMs. The possessor clitic is locally realized on the possessed noun in past transitive constructions. One outcome of having both the possessor and the A-past clitic in the same cliticization domain is a clitic sequence in which the A-past clitic follows the possessor clitic:

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[119] The 3SG affix PM *-a* is used in the present tense and does not show gender agreement. However, the 3SG markers *-Ø* (m.), *-e/ -i* (f.) are used in the past tense and distinguish gender.

(1191) *čarg=**eš**=**šun**=em*   *be*   *düm*   PS[Dej]. 12
       basket=3SG:POS=3PL:A=ADD   to   front

       čarx=eš   *nā*
       bicycle=3SG:POS   put.PST
       'Also, they put his basket in front of his bicycle.'

(1192) *bača=**m**=**ešun***   *ba-berd*   EL[Dej]. 39
       child=1SG:POS=3PL:A   PUNCT-take.PST
       'They took away my child.'

8.3.3.1.6 Clitic-affix sequences

As the last resort for clitic placement, the verb stem is preceded by the imperfective affix *a-* in progressive tenses, and the punctual affix *ba-* in past tense and perfect tenses. Thus, according to the first the hierarchy for clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems, the clitic PM would principally land on such verbal prefixes. The preverbal positioning of the clitic PMs in both present and past tenses excludes any clitic-affix sequences in Delijani.

(1193) *men*   ***aš**=a-fās-**on***   EL[Dej]. 67
       1SG   3SG:O=IND-marry.PRS-1SG:A
       'I will marry her.'

(1194) *ba=**m**-di-**ande***   EL[Dej]. 44
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST-3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

To sum up, the system of argument indexing shows the well-known tense-based split pattern, as a result of which the functional distribution of clitic PMs and verbal affix PMs differs in present and past tenses. Clitic PMs are characterized by their exceptional attachment inside some verb stems as endoclitics, mainly due to stress and second position requirement for clitic placement. In terms of placement, clitics occur after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP. In contexts where clitics form a cluster, the internal ordering is determined by argument hierarchy.

8.3.3.2 Khansari

Khansari, locally pronounced *Khusāri*, is a CP dialect spoken in Khansar in the west of Isphahan province, Iran. It is considered a Northwest dialect in the classification of CP (cf. Figure 34). Due to the influence of Persian through media and formal education, the number of speakers is diminishing rapidly; Khansari could be thus considered an endangered language. Khansair has preserved the tense-based alignment. The clitic placement is defined with respect

to the second position within the VP. The anchoring element for clitic placement can be either syntactic or morphological. A grammatical description of Khansari has been given in Mann & Hadank (1926). The material for this presentation was gathered during two fieldworks to the region in March 2018, and in January 2019. The data include, in addition to elicitation tasks, a life story (codified as QB in the database), and a free narrative (codified as DG). The informants are two males (aged 78 and 60) and a female (aged 54),

8.3.3.2.1 Form

The following table illustrate the forms clitics in Khansari.

Table 68: Clitic PMs in Khansari

		set 1	set 2
SG	1	=em	em=
	2	=ed	ed=
	3	=ež, =eš	ež=, eš=
PL	1	=mūn	emun=
	2	=dūn	edun=
	3	=žūn/=ešūn	ežun=/ešūn=

Third person forms often have the form *ž*, contrary to the *š* form in most other WILs. The phonological attachment of clitic PMs is mainly in the form of enclitics. However, in certain domains clitics adjoin to their hosts as proclitics (see §8.3.3.2.3).

8.3.3.2.2 Functions

As in most Central Plateau dialects, clitics have a central role in the grammar, and index the syntactic functions like possessor, cf. (1195), O-prs NP, cf. (1196), prepositional complement, cf. (1197), non-flagged indirect objects, cf. (1198), and A-past NP, cf. (1199). The clitic PMs realize conditioned indexing in all functions but the A-past NP.

(1195) *xuā=ž-ende*   EL[Kha]. 79
      sister=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
      'They are her sisters.'

(1196) *šomā*   ***ež=e-vin-di***   QB[Kha]. 17
      2PL   3SG:O=IND-see.PRS-2PL
      'You see him.'

(1197) *mečete*   *ā*   *asdolā=š*   *bi*   *dāž-ende*   DG[Kha]. 17
     mosque   Mr.   PN=3SG:R   to   IND.say.PRS-3PL
     '(People) will call it the mosque of Mr. Asdollā.'

(1198) *hi=**d**-e-d-on*
     PVB=2SG:R-IND-give.PRS-1SG
     I will give you.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 45)

(1199) *mo*   *ferār=**em***   *kert*   QB[Kha]. 8
     1SG   escape=1SG:A   do.PST
     'I ran away.'

In addition to these, clitics index 'experiencers' regardless of the tense of the verb in a number of non-canonical subject constructions. These constructions include 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1200), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1201).

(1200) *i*   *goni-a=**žun***   *e-gu*   *če*   *be-ker-ende*   QB[Kha]. 26
     DEM   sack-DEM1=3PL:NC   IND-want.PRS   what   IRR-do.PRS-3PL
     'That what they want to do with this sack.'

(1201) *veša=**žun**-u*   EL[Kha]. 62
     hungry=3PL:NC-COP.3SG
     'They are hungry.'

The predicative possession is marked by the verb *dārten* 'to have', which follows the regular tense-based alignment of transitive verbs, as shown in the contrast between (1202) and (1203):

(1202) *faqat*   *Xusār*   *dār-u*   DG[Kha]. 6
     only   PN   have.PRS-3SG
     'Only Khansar has (walnuts).'

(1203) *pādešā-i*   *be*   *ke*   *veča=š*   *ne-dārt*   EL[Kha]. 57
     king-INDF   COP.PST   CLM   child=3SG:A   NEG-have.PST
     'There was a king who didn't have a child.'

There are sporadic examples where, clitics excessively mark the subject of the inchoative verbs:

(1204) *amala=**t***   *gen-e*   QB[Kha]. 41
     worker=2SG:NC   become.PRS-2SG

     *gedā=**t***   *gen-e*
     begger=2SG:NC   become.PRS-2SG
     'You will become a worker! You will become a beggar.'

Finally, the old agreement morphology on past transitive verbs is lost, hence no overt object indexing in the following examples.

(1205) *gurg-e*   *inā=**ž***   *ba-xurt*
     wolf-DEF   3PL=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST
     'The wolf ate them.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 57)

(1206) mon=**ežun**   min   guni-a   kert   QB[Kha]. 28
      1SG=3PL:A   inside   sack-DEF   do.PST
      'They put me inside the sack.'

8.3.3.2.3 Phonological attachment

As can be seen in the above examples, clitics mostly attach to their hosts in the form of enclitics, including when the host is a possessed noun, cf. (1207), a preposition, cf. (1208), a non-verbal complement of a complex predicate, cf. (1209), a preverb, cf. (1210), and with most inflectional verbal prefixes, cf. (1211)–(1212).

(1207) *in*   *ji*   *māni=ž-u*   CG [Kha]. 1
      3SG.PROX   too   mother=3SG:POS-COP.3SG
      'This too, is her mother.'

(1208) *be=**š***   *biāž*   EL [Kha]. 37
      to=3SG:R   IRR.tell.PRS.2SG
      'Tell her.'

(1209) *māni=m*   *ejāza=š*   *hā-dā*   CG [Kha]. 18
      mother=1SG:POS   permission=3SG:A   PVB-give.PST
      'My mother let (me).'

(1210) *var=**emun***   *mālā*   QB [Kha]. 18
      PVB=1PL:A   rub.PST
      'We ran away.'

(1211) *na=**m**-e-gu*   *ba=**d**-vin-on*   QB [Kha]. 64
      NEG=1SG:NC-IND-want.PRS   SNJV=2SG:O-see.PRS-1SG
      'I don't want to see you.'

(1212) *ba=**m**-di*   QB [Kha]. 21
      PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST
      'I saw.'

However, clitic PMs attach to the verb in the form of a proclitic, when (i) the verb is preceded by the TAM prefix *e(d)*-, as in (1213)–(1214); (ii) the past form of the verb is not accompanied by the punctual marker *ba*-, as in (1215).

(1213) ***ed**=e-ber-on*   *berin*   EL[Kha]. 8
      2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG   out
      'I will take you out.'

(1214) ***em**=e-feymā*   *ke*   *alān*   QB[Kha]. 31
      1SG:A=IPFV-understand.PST   CONJ   now

      kā   *der-mi*
      where   in-1PL.COP
      'I would understand where we were.'

(1215) **ež=vāt**   QB[Kha]. 8
      3SG:A=say.PST
      'He said.'

As seen in Table 68, the vocalic *e* precedes all the person forms in the clitic paradigm. This is further shown below for the paradigmatic form of the auxiliary *dārten* in the past tense:

(1216)   *em=dārt*   [1SG:A=AUX]
            et=dārt   [2SG:A=AUX]
            ež=dārt   [3SG:A=AUX]
            emun=dārt   [1PL:A=AUX]
            etun=dārt   [2PL:A=AUX]
            ežun=dārt   [3PL:A=AUX]

Example (1217) further shows that the vocalic element appears with all the cells of the clitic paradigm, even when the verb is preceded by a TAM prefix.

(1217)   *em=e-gu*   [1SG:NC=TAM-want]   'I want'
            et=e-gu   [2SG:NC=TAM-want]   'You (sg.) want'
            ež=e-gu   [3SG:NC=TAM-want]   'S/he wants'
            emun=e-gu   [1PL:NC=TAM-want]   'We want'
            edun-e-gu   [2PL:NC=TAM-want]   'You (pl.) want'
            ežun=e-gu   [3PL:NC=TAM-want]   'They want'

8.3.3.2.4 Clitic placement

The verb phrase is the relevant domain for cliticization in Khansari. This means above all that VP external elements like subject, conjunctions, and clausal adverbs are skipped as anchors. Rather, clitics are placed after the first syntactic, cf. (1218)–(1222), or morphological element, cf. (1223)– (1225), within the VP. Consequently, clitic placement in Khansari follows the first hierarchy for clitic positioning in VP-based cliticization systems (see §5.4.1).

(1218) *mi*   *o*   *medresi-a=**žun***   *sabtenām*   *i-kerd*   QB [Kha]. 6
       in   DEM   school-DEM1=3PL:A   registeration   IPFV-do.PST
       'They would register (students) in that school.'

(1219) *mo*   *xeyli=**m***   *tars*   *gert-e-be*   QB [Kha]. 35
       1SG   a lot=1SG:A   fear   take-PTCP-PPRF
       'I panicked.' [lit. Fear had seized me]

(1220) *bar-e*   *guni=**žun***   *vā*   *kerd*   QB [Kha]. 27
       door-EZ   sack=3PL:A   open   do.PST
       'They opened the sack's lid.'

(1221) *bi=**ž***   *vāž-ān*
       to=3SG:R   tell.PRS-1SG
       'I will tell him.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 42)

(1222) *šekār=eš*   *e-ker-on*   EL[Kha]. 34
   hunting=3SG:O   IND-do.PRS-1SG
   'I will hunt it.'

(1223) *ver=em*   *e-xund*   EL[Kha]. 5
   PVB=1SG:A   IPFV-read.PST
   'I was reading.'

(1224) *hekim*   *ež=vāt*
   physician 3SG:A=say.PST
   'The physician said.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 39)

(1225) *esb-ā*   *ne=m-gir-ende*
   dog-PL   NEG=1SG:O-catch.PRS-3PL
   'The dogs won't bite (lit. catch) me.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 42)

We also came across examples where the clitic has broken up the first syntactic element of the VP.

(1226) *čār* *tā=ž*   *viča* *dārt*
   four CLF=3SG:A child have.PST
   'She had four kids.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 56)

(1227) *ditke*   *heft* *qelam=eš* *ārāš* *bi-ket-e-be*
   girl.DEF   seven pen=3SG:A make-up PUNCT-do.PST-PTCP-PPRF
   'The girl had (had) a heavy make-up.' [lit. she had drawn seven pens of make-ups on her] (Mann & Hadank 1926: 46, transcription modified)

VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of prepositional complement clitics. That is, the clitic complement of a preposition leaves it host and moves leftward to appear on the first element within the VP as its anchoring element.

Table 69: Simple and absolute prepositions in Khansari

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
be	*be, bi*	'to'
ez	*ez, vā*	'from'
baxče		'for'
bā		'with'
mi		'in', 'inside'

VP-second positioning of prepositional complement clitics is shown in the following examples. Note that the distinction between simple and absolute prepositions has only remained to some for the dative-marking preposition *bi*.

(1228) *har*   *či=š*   ***bi***   *d-āž-on*[120]
       each   what=3SG:R   to   IND-tell.PRS-1SG
       'No matter what I tell him…' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 45)

(1229) *deraxt-e*   *gerdu=š*   ***bi***   *dāj-ende*   DG[Kha]. 4
       tree-EZ   walnut=3SG:R   to   IND.say.PRS-3PL
       'They call it the walnut tree.'

In short, in line with Delijani, the VP is the domain for cliticization in Khansari. Clitics are placed after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP.

8.3.3.2.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics can occur in the same cliticization domain in present transitive construction. Their co-occurrence could lead to clitic clusters.

(1230) *tā*   *mon*   *dot=**em=et***   *hi-dān*
       that   1SG   daughter=1SG:POS=2SG:R   PVB-give.PRS.1SG
       'That I give you my daughter (in marriage).' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 45)

In past transitive clauses, with the obligatory clitic-indexing of an A-past NP, the question arises as what kind of arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. The realization of possessors remains via clitic PMs, as in (1231)–(1232). In both examples, the A-past clitic has formed a cluster with the preceding possessor clitic.

(1231) *dušman=**et=im***   *ba-gift*
       enemy=2SG:POS=1SG:A   PUNCT-grab.PST
       'I seized your enemy.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 51)[121]

(1232) *be*   *āqā=**m=eš***   *bi-āt-e-be*   QB [Kha]. 15
       to   dad=1SG:POS=3SG:A   PUNCT-tell.PST-PTCP-PPRF
       'He had told my father.'

Similarly, prepositional complement clitics are realized via clitic PMs for the most part:

(1233) *ez=**ež=ešun***   *vā-porsā*   CG[Kha]. 3
       from=3SG:R=3PL:A   PVB-ask.PST
       'They asked her.'

(1234) *šukolat=**em***   *baxča=**t***   *hā-geft-ey*   EL[Kha]. 31
       chocolate=1SG:A   for=2SG:R   PVB-take.PST-PTCP
       'I have bought (some) chocolate for you.'

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[120] See Stilo (2007: 106-108) for the development of the indicative marker *et-/at-/ ed/ to-* in Central Plateau and further in Southeast dialects.

[121] Mann & Handak's translation for this sentence is *Dein Feind hat mich gepackt* 'Your enemy seized me', which is not correct considering the order of clitics.

However, variation exists for the indexing of prepositional complement clitics, in a way that the bound complement of the absolute preposition *bi* can occasionally be realized as a Vaff PM, hence its realization at distance from the head preposition, cf. (1235)–(1236)

Table 70: Verbal affix PMs in Khansari

	SG	PL
1	-on, -ān	-emin
2	-e	-idi
3	-ū/ -Ø	-ende

(1235) *bi=š*   *vāt-**ān***   EL[Kha]. 24
       to=3SG:R   tell.PST-1SG:R
       'He told me.'

(1236) *mun*   *bi=**m***   *vat-**ē***
       1SG   to=1SG:A   tell.PST-2SG:R
       'I told you.' (Mann & Hadank 1926: 51, transcription modified)

Finally, reflecting ergative morphology, the exponence of objects is through Vaff PMs:

(1237) *gorg-a*   *ba=š-xort-**ende***   EL[Kha]. 49
       wolf-DEF   PUNCT=3SG:A-eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

(1238) *sabtenam=**ežun***   *kert-**on***   QB [Kha]. 4
       registeration=3PL:A   do.PST-1SG:O
       'They registered me (at school).'

What the data suggest is that the old suffixal morphology is available for conditioned indexing of direct objects, and has extended in part to mark bound complements of certain prepositions.

8.3.3.2.6 Clitic-affix sequences

In both present and past tense constructions, the verb is preceded by a TAM prefix, to which clitics can either procliticize (in present tense), or encliticize (in past tense). Note that reflecting the tense-sensitive alignment pattern, a reversal marking of A and O is carried in present vs. past tenses.

(1239) ***ežun**-e-ruž-ān*   EL[Kha]. 68
       3PL:O=IND-sell.PRS-1SG:A
       'I will sell them.'

(1240) *ba=**m**-di-**nde***   EL[Kha]. 44
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST-3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

To sum up, Khansari Clitic PMs are characterized by their attachment to host mainly as enclitics, and less so as proclitics. Clitic placement is defined with respect to the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP.

8.3.3.3 Meymei

Meymeh is a small city, located 120 km to the north of Isfahan. Its dialect, Meymei is situated in the south of Northeastern group of CP dialects, to which Abuzeydabadi and Badrudi also belong. Meymei has maintained the tense-sensitive alignment known for most Iranian languages. Clitic placement is defined with respect to the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP. The data for this description come from a fieldwork to the region in December 2018, and include elicitation tasks, two free narratives and one autobiography. In addition, our description is supplemented with the examples from the folktales provided in the grammatical sketches of Meymei in Lambton (1938) and Fathi Brujeni (2013). The informants participating in this study include four males, aged 27, 45, 68, and 84.

8.3.3.3.1 Form

Clitics appear in three paradigms, as illustrated below:

Table 71: Paradigm of clitic PMs in Meymei

		set 1	set 2	set 3
SG	1	=m	m=	am=
	2	=d	d=	ad=
	3	=š	š=	aš=
PL	1	=mūn	mūn=	amūn=
	2	=dūn	dūn=	adūn=
	3	=šūn	šūn=	ašūn=

8.3.3.3.2 Function

Clitic PMs index an adnominal possessor, cf. (1241); an object NP in the present tense, cf. (1242); a prepositional complement, cf. (1243); a non-flagged indirect objects in the present tense, cf. (1244); and an A-past NP, cf. (1245). Only in the last function is the indexing by clitic PMs obligatory.

(1241) *dāde-hā=š-enda*   EL[Mey]. 79
      sister-PL=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
      'They are her sisters.'

(1242) *bišda*   *be=š-ter-da*   EL[Mey]. 73
      IRR.go.PRS.2PL   IRR=3SG:O-bring.PRS-2PL
      'Go bring him.'

(1243) *amšow*   *bā*   *bač-ā* *ye*   *sar=it*   EL[Mey]. 65
      tonight   with   kid-PL a   head=2SG:R

      bi   *xos-on*
      to   hit.PRS-1SG
      'I, together with the kids, will visit you tonight.'

(1244) *mon*   *dot=šu*   *hā-nad-on*   EL[Mey]. 36
      1SG   girl=3PL:R   PVB-NEG.give.PRS-1SG
      'I won't give them my daughter (in marriage).'

(1245) *Ali*   *de*   *mon=eš*   *dā*   EL[Mey]. 80
      PN   to   1SG=3SG:A   give.PST
      'Ali gave (it) to me.'

In addition, clitic PMs obligatorily index the subject-like argument in the constructions 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1246), and 'wanting', cf. (1247).

(1246) *sarmā=**m**-a*   EL[Mey]. 62
      cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I'm cold.'

(1247) *na=**t**-gi*   *pül*   *mon*   *paš*   *di?*   EL[Mey]. 22
      NEG=2SG:NC-want   money 1SG   back   give.PRS.2SG
      'Don't you want give me back the money.'

The predicative possessive constructions are expressed by the regular verb *dā*, which has the same indexing pattern as that of regular transitive verbs, hence the affixal marking of the possessor in the present tense constructions in (1248). The expression of potentiality/possibility is through the periphrastic form 'one's razor cut sth', cf. (1249).

(1248) *men*   *pül*   *ne-der-on*   SB [Mey]. 37
      1SG   money   NEG-have.PRS-1SG
      'I don't have (any) money.'

(1249) *tix=**om***   *ni=š-birind*   EL[Mey]. 58
      razor=1SG:POS   NEG=3SG:A-cut.PST
      'I wasn't able.' [lit. my razor didn't cut it]

8.3.3.3.3 Phonological attachment

Phonological attachment of clitics depends on the domain in which they appear. In most cases, as can be seen above, enclitic attachment to the host element is favoured. However, in two domains the clitic system would rather opt for proclitic attachment, in which case sets 2 or 3 are used (see Table 71).

Set 2 is used in the immediate preverbal domain. Here, the clitic leaves its syntactic host to the left and attaches in the form of a proclitic to the indicative/imperfective formative on the verb.

(1250) *dast-e*   *mon*   ***d**=a-ga*   EL[Mey]. 42
        hand-EZ   1SG   2SG:POS=IPFV-take.PST
        'You would take my hand.'

(1251) *čandi*   *gandom*   ***m**=a-čind*   LS.[Mey]. 13
        how.often   wheat   1SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST
        'How often I used to harvest wheat.'

Set 3 of the clitic PM paradigm is preceded by the vocalic *a* and occurs with restricted number of verbs. In line with the analysis proposed for Delijani, the vocalic element preceding the clitic forms is assumed to be a reflex of the WMI adverbial particle *ah, ā* 'thus'.

(1252) ***am**=gā*   *hā-gir-on*   EL[Mey]. 69
        1SG:NC=want.PST   PVB-IRR.take.PRS-1SG
        'I wanted to buy (it).'

8.3.3.3.4 Clitic placement

The placement of clitics is defined with respect to the first syntactic and/or morphological element within the VP, hence adhering to the first hierarchy of clitic placement in VP-based clitic systems (cf. §5.4.1). VP-second placement of clitics is shown below where clitics are placed after the first syntactic, cf. (1253)–(1255), or morphological element, cf. (1256)–(1258), within the VP.

(1253) *ziād=**eš***   *hā-dā*   EL[Mey]. 26
        a.lot=3SG:A   PVB-give.PST
        'He gave (him) much (money).'

(1254) *ru-i*   *ya*   *timeni=**šun*** *de*   *hāmā* *a-dā*   LS[Mey]. 26
        day-INDF   a   toman=3PL:A to   1PL   IPFV-give.PST
        'They would pay us one Toman per day.'

(1255) *vo*   *xāk=**eš***   *ka*   EL[Mey]. 14
        and   soil=3SG:A   do.PST
        'And he buried (it).'

(1256) *harki*   *ru*   *meyma*   *da*   *masaln*   TL[Mey]. 4
         whoever   ADP   Meymeh   ADP   for.instance

         a=š-gā   *jan*   *telāq*   *be-de*
         IPFV=3SG:NC-want.PST   woman   divorce   IRR-give.PRS.3SG
         'For instance, each person who would want to divorce his wife.'

(1257) *be=šun-vā*
         PUNCT=3PL:A-say.PST
         'They said.' (Lambton: 1938: 23)

(1258) *abi*   *na=m-gi*   *bi=d-bin-on*   EL[Mey]. 72
         no.more   NEG=1SG:NC-want.PRS   IRR=2SG:O-see.PRS-1SG
         'I don't want to see you anymore.'

The VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of prepositional complement clitics, in a way that the clitic complement of a preposition leaves its host and moves leftward to attach to the VP-first element, as exemplified in (1259).

Table 72: Simple and absolute adpositions in Meymei

simple ADP	absolute ADP	gloss
de	*bi*	'to'
de (postp)	*bi*	'from'
ru…da, da (postp)	*ru……da*	'in', 'inside'
rā (postp)	*bi…….rā*	'for'
da (postp), xo	*xo, bā*	'with'

(1259) *ču=d*   *bi*   *na-xus-on*   EL[Mey]. 70
         wood=2SG:R   to   NEG-hit.PRS-1SG
         'I won't hit you with a stick.'

The same leftward movement is held in intransitive constructions:

(1260) *ayb=id*   *bi*   *bo?*
         wrongness=2SG:R   with   COP.PST.3SG
         'Was there something wrong with you? (Fathi Borujeni 2013: 160)

8.3.3.3.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics can occur in the same cliticization domain in present tense constructions. In (1261)–(1262), the R clitic and the NC clitic have respectively formed a sequence with the preceding possessor clitic.

(1261) *mon*   *dot=m=eš*   *hā-na-don*
         1SG   girl=1SG:POS=3SG:R   PVB-NEG-give.PRS.1SG
         'I won't give him my daughter.'   (Fathi Borujeni 2013: 163)

(1262) *mon   in   dot=**ešun=em**   na-gā*
      1SG   DEM   girl=3PL:POS=1SG:NC NEG-want.PST
      'I didn't wish for this girl of them.' (Fathi Borujeni 2013: 161)

In past transitive constructions, clitic PMs obligatorily index an A-past NP. The question remains as whether other non-subject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Among non-subject arguments, the possessor is realized the same way as in the present tense constructions. Its occurrence in the same domain as the obligatory A-past clitics often results in a clitic sequence, in which the A-past clitic appears second:

(1263) *mo=m   pül-ā=**m=em***   *barā*   SB[Mey].29
      1SG=ADD   money-PL=1SG:POS=1SG:A   PVB.take.PST

      *de   refiq=**m=em***   *dā*
      to   friend=1SG:POS=1SG:A   give.PST
      'I took my money and gave it to my friend.'

Bound complements of prepositions are realized either by clitics or by affixes, as shown in the following two examples (cf. Table 73 for the paradigm of Vaff PMs)

(1264) *to?fe=**šun***   *bi=**t***   *ra   be-ta*
      gift=3PL:A   ADP=2SG:R   ADP   PUNCT-bring.PST
      'They brought gift(s) for you.' (Lambton 1938: 19)

(1265) *hame   hārf-ā=**m***   *bi   vā-**Ø***   EL[Mey]. 37
      all   saying-PL=1SG:A   to   say.PST-3SG:R
      'I said all the sayings to him.'

Table 73: Verbal affix PMs in Meymei

	SG	PL
1	-on	-ima
2	-e	-ida
3	-ū/ -Ø	-enda

Finally, reflecting the erstwhile ergative morphology, direct objects and non-flagged indirect objects are most frequently realized by Vaff PMs.

(1266) *bāzār de   bi=**m**-erut-**enda***   EL[Mey]. 68
      bazaar in   PUNCT=1SG:A-sell.PST-3PL:O
      'I sold them in the bazaar.'

(1267) *yak   temen=**šu***   *hā-dā-**yma***   LS[Mey]. 25
      one   toman=3PL:A   PVB-give.PST-1PL:R
      '(As for salary) they gave us but one Toman.'

(1268) *bābā=**m***   *hā=š*   *ne-di-**yon***   SB[Mey]. 37
       father=1SG:POS   PVB=3SG:A   NEG-give.PST-1SG
       'My father didn't give me (money).'

Only in one example we encountered the clitic realization of the object clitic:

(1269) *man'=**eš=ešun***   *hā-ka*   TL[Mey]. 4
       forbidding=3SG:O=3PL:A   PVB-do.PST
       'They would forbid him.'

This example is important in one central aspect. Stilo (1981: 171) cites the example below, which according to his translation, the subject clitic precedes the object clitic in the cluster:

(1270) *be=**dun=emun**-xost*
       PUNCT=2PL:A=1SG:O-hit.PST
       'You struck us.'

The translation Stilo proposes is refuted, and should be rather 'We struck you', on the account that in clitic clusters of CP dialects the A-past clitic is always second (cf. §6.3.4 and §2.4.3).

8.3.3.3.6 Clitic-affix sequences

Clitics do not appear in a sequence with Vaff PMs neither in present tense nor in past tense constructions. The reason lies in the pre-stem realization of the clitic on verbal prefixes in both tenses. The important point to note, however, is the inverse marking of A and O arguments across both tenses:

(1271) *a=**t**-ber-**on***   *bar*   EL.[Mey].8
       IND=2SG:O-take.PRS-1SG:A   out
       'I will take you out.'

(1272) *a=**t**-bard-**on***   *šahr-e*   *bāzi*   EL[Mey] 42
       IPFV=2SG:A-take.PST-1SG:O   city-EZ   game
       'You would take me to the amusement park.'

In conclusion, Meymei exhibits the tense-sensitive alignment known from most WILs. The clitic placement is defined with respect to the first syntactic and or morphological element within the VP.

8.3.3.4 Abuzeydabadi

Abuzeydabadi is a Northeastern Central Plateau dialect, spoken in the city of Abuzeydabad, situated 30 kilometres south of Kashan. With its population of 10000 inhabitants, the dialect has been well perseverd and the level of its adoption to the new generation was high according

to my observations. Abuzeydabadi shows the typical tense-sensitive alignment known from most Iranian languages. Clitic placement is defined with respect to the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP, and clitics have two modes of attachment: enclitics, and proclitics. The data for this study comprises elicitation tasks, and the retellings of pear film and *Shangul-o mangul*, a highly popular children tale, and are further supplemented with the data in Lecoq (2002) and Razaqi (2018). Informants are three males aged 30, 37, and 48.

8.3.3.4.1 Form

Table 74 exhibits the paradigm of clitic person markers in Abuzeydabadi.

Table 74: Clitic PMs in Abuzeydabadi

		set 1	set 2
SG	1	=m	m=
	2	=a(d)	d=
	3	=ē, =ī	y=
PL	1	=mo	mo=
	2	=do	do=
	3	=yo	yo=

The phonological attachment of clitics is defined as being both proclitics and enclitics, with the latter being more common (cf. §8.3.3.4.3). Interestingly, like in most Kurdic dialects, the third persons have *y*.

8.3.3.4.2 Functions

Clitic PMs mark the following syntactic functions: an adnominal possessor, cf. (1273), an O-prs NP, cf. (1274), an adpositional complement in present tense, cf. (1275), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1276), and an A-past NPs, cf. (1277). It is only in the last function that clitic PMs are markers of obligatory indexing.

(1273) *mama=**mun**-a*   SM[Abu]. 20
      mom=1PL:POS-COP.3SG
      'She is our mother.'

(1274) ***y**=a-ger-ō*
      3SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG
      'I take him.' (Lecoq 2002: 248)

(1275) āhā   pē   **y=a-vāj-o**   EL2[Abu]. 37
       yes   to   3SG:R=IND-say.PRS-1SG
       'Yes, I will say to her.'

(1276) ma   dot=**yu**   hay   na-d-on   EL1[Abu]. 36
       1SG   girl=3PL:R   PVB   NEG-give.PRS-1SG
       'I won't give them (my) daughter.'

(1277) gel   deraxt-e   golowi   **y=a-čid**   PS[Abu]. 1
       on   tree-DEF   pear   3SG:A=IPFV-peck.PST
       'He was pecking pears on the tree'

In addition, clitic PMs are the sole medium of expressing 'experiencers' in the following non-canonical constructions: 'wanting' and 'obligation', cf. (1278)–(1279), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1280). The expression of the modal status of 'obligation' in (1279) reflects a similar construction in WMI (cf. Shirtz 2016).[122]

(1278) māri   **y=a-gā**   bi-š-i   bar   CG[Abu]. 2
       PN   3SG:NC=IPFV-want   IRR-go.PRS-3SG   out
       'Mary wanted to go out.'

(1279) ču=**am**   tik   tik   bay   kā   CG[Abu]. 14
       wood=1SG:NC   stick   stick   should   do.INF
       'I have to chop down the woods.'

(1280) sarmō=**m-a**   EL1[Abu]. 62
       cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
       'I'm cold.'

The syntactic possession is expressed by the regular verb *dārtan* 'to have '(etymologically related to Persian *dāštan*), hence no aberrant marking of the possessor.

(1281) hānā   i   māhi   dār-ē   BS[Abu]. 9
       PN   a   fish   have.PRS-3SG
       'Hannah has a fish.'

The semantic domain of potentiality is expressed by the stem *šā-* which, unlike some Southwest languages, e.g. Davani, Nowdani, is a regular verb and has the same indexing pattern as that of regular transitive verbs:

(1282) a.   non   habi   na-š(a)-e-ka   BS[Abu]. 12
             3SG.F   no.more   NEG-be able.PRS-3SG-AUX
             'She cannot (see her fish) anymore.'

---

[122] Shirtz holds that in WMI, a reanalysis occurred in the reading of the relationship between the auxiliary *abāyad* and the following infinitive. This reanalysis led to the interpretation of the clitic PMs as markers of a nominative argument, though originally clitic PMs encoded an indirect participant function.

b. *na=**m**-šo-ka*   *beg-o*   *ver=**a*** EL1[Abu]. 65
    NEG=1SG:A-be able.PRS-AUX IRR-come.PRS-1SG   to=2SG:R
    'I couldn't come over to you.'

Reflecting the old ergative morphology, the past transitive verb shows agreement with the overt plural objects in number, cf. (1283)–(1284), and 3SG feminine objects in gender, cf. (1285).

(1283) *pāk*   *māsu=**ē***   *bi-xard-an*   MB[Abu]. 7
       all   fish=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST-3PL
       '(He) ate all the fish.'

(1284) *görg*   *pāk*   *numin=**a***   *biāšt-an*   SM[Abu]. 24
       wolf   all   3PL=3SG:A   PUNCT.take.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf eat them all'

(1285) *xirs*   *siv=**am***   *māhi=**ē***   *be-xard-a*   BS[Abu]. 8
       bear   black=1SG:POS   fish=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST-3SG.F
       'My black bear ate the fish.'

8.3.3.4.3 Phonological attachment

As seen in the examples above, clitics' mode of attachment is mostly in the form of enclitics. However, proclitic attachment occurs in two contexts: first, the clitic procliticizes to the verb forms containing the indicative/imperfective prefix.

(1286) ***mon**=a-xand*   EL2[Abu]. 5
       1PL:A=IPFV-read.PST
       'We were reading.'

Second, in the immediate preverbal domain, if the verb is preceded by the indicative/imperfective prefix, then the clitic leaves its syntactic host to the left and attaches onto the TAM affix as its phonological host (see also ex. (1275),(1277)_ an instance of type 4 cliticization in Klavans's typology (1985).

(1287) *man*   *nēm*   *doč-e_*   ***m**=a-i*   EL1[Abu]. 67
       1SG   DEM.F girl-DEM1   1SG:NC=IND-want.PRS
       'I want this girl (for marriage).'

(1288) *temāšā_*   ***yun**=a-ka*   SM[Abu]. 40
       watch   3PL:A=IPFV-do.PST
       'They were watching (the wolf).'

8.3.3.4.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic PMs land on the first syntactic and or morphological element within the VP. This means that subject NP, sentential adverbs, and conjunctions are skipped for clitic hosting. Second

positioning within the VP is shown in the following examples where clitics are placed after the first syntactic, cf. (1289)–(1292), (1296), or morphological element, cf. (1293)–(1295), within the VP.

(1289) *nanja=y*   *be-xard-a*   *ke*   SM[Abu]. 31
so.much=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST-COP   that

      xow   *ešd-a*
      sleep   go.PST-PERF
      'He has eaten so much that he has fallen asleep'

(1290) *se*   *golowi=a*   *hār-gerā*   PS[Abu]. 24
      three   pear=3SG:A   PVB-take.PST
      'He picked three pears.'

(1291) *dobāra*   *bözqālaje*   *vāj=e*   *be-ka*   SM[Abu]. 20
      again   kid.goat   voice=3SG:A   PUNCT-do.PST
      'Again, the kid goat made a voice.'

(1292) *pi=ē̄*   *vāt-o*   EL2[Abu]. 24
      to=3SG:A   tell.PST-1SG:R
      'He told me.'

(1293) **mon***=a-go*   *hā=***yo**   *ger-im*   EL2[Abu]. 58
      1PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST   PVB=3PL:O   take.PRS-1PL
      'We wanted to buy them.'

(1294) *na=***m***-ai*   *habi*   *b=***a***-vin-o*   EL2[Abu]. 64
      NEG-1SG:NC=want.PRS   anymore   IRR=2SG:O-see.PRS-1SG
      'I don't want to see you anymore.'

(1295) *ru*   *bāzār āzād*   *da*   **yon***=a-ruš-im*   EL1[Abu]. 68
      ADP   Bazaar free   ADP   3PL:O=IND-sell.PRS-1PL
      'We sell them at the free market.'

(1296) *did=***yu**   SM[Abu]. 31
      see.PST=3PL:A
      'They saw.'

Thus, it is safe to say that, like in the rest of CP, clitic placement follows the first hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (cf. §5.4.1). The VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of adpositional complement clitics. That is when adpositions are not VP-initial their clitic complement moves leftward to attach to the VP-initial element, hence abiding VP-second positioning.

Table 75: Simple and absolute adpositions in Abuzeydabadi

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
di	*pi*	'to'
da (POSTP)	*pi*	'from',
ru……… da, da (POSTP)	*pē…..da*	'in', 'inside'
rā	*pi……..rā*	'for'
xodu	*varā, veru*	'with', 'by'

(1297) *dem=ē̆*   **pē**   *ne-d-i-y-ā*
      mouth=3SG:R to   NEG.IMP-give.PRS-2SG-EP-INTJ
      'Don't talk to her.' [lit. Don't give mouth to her] (Lecoq 2002: 366)

(1298) *hiyā*   *zang=**am***   **pi**   *be-qā*
      tomorrow   call=1SG:R   to   IRR-hit.PRS.2SG
      'Call me tomorrow.' (Razaqi 2018: 146)

(1299) *pē=**do***   *rā*   *b-ār-o*
      ADP=2PL:R   ADP   IRR-bring.PRS-1SG
      'That I bring (for) you.' (Lecoq 2002: 368)

(1300) *čiči=**du***   ***de_sar***   *ma-var?*   EL1[Abu]. 35
      what=2PL:R   to   PVB-happen.PST.3SG
      'What happened to you?'

In (1297)–(1298), the clitic has moved onto the VP-initial element, hence skipping its preposition head. In (1299), the adposition is already VP-initial, hence no mobility for its clitic complement. Note further the R clitic mobility is also at work in intransitive constructions, cf. (1300).

8.3.3.4.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics are allowed in present tense constructions. The resulting constructions, however would not usually lead to clitic sequences.

(1301) *bi=**yu**-kin-o*   *pi=**ya***   *rā*   EL1[Abu]. 75
      IRR=3PL:O-send.PRS-1SG   ADP=2SG:R   ADP
      'That I send them for you.'

In past transitive construction, the A-past NP is obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs. The question is what kind of arguments are available to exponence as old Vaff PMs. Non-subject arguments differ in the extent to which they are allowed to be marked by verbal affix PMs. Reflecting the ergative morphology, direct objects are regularly indexed by verbal affix PMs, cf. (1302)–(1304).

Table 76: Verbal affix PMs in Abuzeydabadi

	SG	PL
1	-o	-im
2	-i	-iya
3	-ī,-ē(prs)/-Ø, -a: (m), a (f)	-an/-ē

(1302) *gorg   b=ē-xard-an*   EL1[Abu]. 49
     wolf   PST=3SG:A-eat.PST-3PL:O
     'The wolf ate them.'

(1303) *ike   ika   qurt=e   be-du-an*   SM[Abu]. 25
     one   one   swallow=3SG:A   PUNCT-give.PST-3PL:o
     'He swallowed them one by one.'

(1304) *aval   na=m-ešnāso-in*   EL1[Abu]. 45
     first   NEG=1SG:A-know.PST-3PL:O
     'I didn't recognize them at first.'

The same applies to bound adpositional complements. However, the tendency to be marked by suffixal morphology gets looser in comparison to direct objects. Thus, in (1305)–(1306) the prepositional complement is realized at a distance from its preposition head and is marked by the old suffixal morphology, but in (1307)–(1308) the adpositional complement is expressed by the clitic, which has a local realization.

(1305) *Māri   pi=ē   vāt-an*   CG[Abu]. 14
     PN   to=3SG:A   say.PST-3PL:R
     'Mary told them.'

(1306) *mā=yu   pi=ē   vāt-a*   CG[Abu]. 3
     mom=3PL:POS to=3SG:A   say.3SG.F:R
     'Their mother said to her.'

(1307) *se   qona   golowi-a=m*   PS[Abu]. 22
     three   CLF   pear-DEF=1SG:A

     hā-ne-grā   pi=ye
     PVB-NEG-take.PST   from=3SG:R
     'I didn't take the three pears from him.'

(1308) *i   meqdār-ē   āš=e   bo-pow-a-bā*   EL1[Abu]. 45
     a   amount-EZ   soup=3SG:A   PUNCT-cook.PST-PTCP-PPRF

     pē=ye   rā
     ADP=3SG:R   ADP
     'She had cooked some soup for her.' (Lecoq 2002: 370)

Note that the clitic-marking of the adpositional complement in (1307)–(1308) seems to be related to the post-verbal occurrence of adpositions.

On the other hand, adnominal possessors are consistently marked by clitic PMs. Furthermore, they often form a sequence with the A-past clitic.

(1309) *dādā=**dun=am***   *de*   *pür*   *šā*   *dā*   EL1[Abu]. 41
       sister=2PL:POS=1SG:A to   son   king   give.PST
       'I gave your sister to the King's son.'

(1310) *žur-i=**am=yo***   *bei-šüd-an*   EL2[Abu]. 39
       child-PL=1SG:POS=3PL:A   PUNCT-take.PST-3PL
       'They took away my children.'

In the following examples the A-past clitic does not opt for forming a cluster with the possessor-indexing clitic, rather the A-past clitic takes the inflectional prefix as its host. Given that the possessor-indexing clitic is a vocalic element in the following examples, it seems that the movement of A-past clitic to the inflectional prefixes is in the sake of identifiability of the possessor arguments in question, since otherwise the vocalic possessor clitic could be mistaken for part of the A-past clitic form.

(1311) *māsu=**a***   *ba=**m**-xard-a*   BS[Abu]. 16
       fish=2SG:POS   PUNCT=1SG:A-eat.PST-3SG.F
       'I ate your fish.'

(1312) *po=**e***   *b=**yu**-di*   SM[Abu]. 18
       foot=3SG:POS   PUNCT=3PL:A-see.PST
       'They saw his foot [feet].'

8.3.3.4.6 Clitic-affix sequences

Considering that verbs are always preceded by the inflectional verbal prefixes, clitic-affix sequences do not occur in Abuzeydabadi. However, following the tense-sensitive alignment, a reversal marking of core arguments is seen in present vs. past tense verb forms.

(1313) *bāz*   ***y**=a-šün-**o***   EL1[Abu]. 67
       again   3SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG:A
       'I will take (marry) her anyway.'

(1314) ***d**=a-šüd-**o***   *šahr-e*   *bāzi*   EL1[Abu]. 42
       2SG:A=IPFV-take.PST-1SG:O   city-EZ   game
       'You would take me to the amusement park.'

In sum, clitics in Abuzeydabadi are characterized by their attachment to their hosts as both enclitics and proclitics. Proclitic attachment is restricted to the verbal domain. In line with the rest of CP, the domain of cliticization is the VP, and the clitics appear second in such a domain. The argument indexing exhibits a reversal marking of A and O following the tense-sensitive alignment system..

8.3.3.5 Badrudi

Badrudi, locally pronounced as 'Bādi', is a member of northeast CP. Badrudi is spoken in the town of Badrud, in Natanz county, in the east of Kashan, Iran. Its population is reported to be 14,391, in 3,709 families at the 2006 census. The level of adopting the language to the younger generations is declining. Badrudi has maintained the old ergative pattern in the past tense constructions. More interestingly, clitic PMs double highly animate object NPs in the present tense constructions, a feature which is rare across WILs. In terms of placement clitics are positioned after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP. The data were gathered during two fieldworks to the region in June 2017, and December 2018, and comprise elicitation tasks, two retellings of pear story, and two retellings of *Shangul-o mangul* tale. Informants are two males, aged 30 and 55.

8.3.3.5.1 Form

The three sets of clitic PMs in Badi are set out in the following table:

Table 77: Clitic PMs in Badrudi

		set 1	set 2	set 3
SG	1	=m	m=	am=
	2	=d	d=	ad=
	3	=š	š=	aš=
PL	1	=mūn	mūn=	amūn=
	2	=dūn	dūn=	adūn=
	3	=šūn	šūn=	ašūn=

Clitic PMs have two mode of attachment: enclitics and proclitics. Regarding the inventory of forms, Badrudi is different from the neighbouring Abuzeydabadi dialect in having third person forms with *š*.

8.3.3.5.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used in a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessors, cf. (1315), an O-prs NP, cf. (1316), a prepositional complements in present tense, cf. (1317), a non-flagged indirect object in present tense, cf. (1318), and an A-past NP, cf. (1319). The clitic PMs are conditioned to the absence of the coreferent NP in all but the last function.

(1315) *mu=**šun**   a-ya*   SM2[Bad]. 30
   mom=3PL:POS IND-come.PRS.3SG
   'Their mother comes over.'

(1316) *ru   bāzār āzād   de   a=**šun**-ruš-im*   EL1[Bad]. 68
   ADP   market free   ADP   IND=3PL:O-sell.PRS-1PL
   'We sell them at the free market.'

(1317) *dar   **š**=a-oj-ē*   EL2[Bad]. 37
   to   3SG:R=IND-tell.PRS-2SG
   'Will you tell her?'

(1318) *a-š-en   kālā=š   hā=š   a-de-n*   PS1[Bad]. 25
   IND-go.PRS-3PL   hat=3SG:POS PVB=3SG:R IND-give.PRS-3PL
   'They go (and) give him his hat.'

(1319) *ba=**š**-diā*   PS2[Bad]. 27
   PUNCT=3SG:A-see.PST
   'He saw.'

In addition, clitic PMs obligatorily index the subject-like argument in the non-canonical constructions 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1320), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1321).

(1320) *a=**šun**-piyā   čekār ba-ker-en*   EL1[Bad]. 66
   IPFV=3PL:NC-want.PST   what   IRR-do.PRS-3PL
   'What they wanted to do?'

(1321) *sard=**em**-a*   EL1[Bad]. 62
   cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
   'I am cold.'

'Syntactic possession' is based on the verb *dāštan*, which is a regular verb and follows the canonical argument indexing of transitive verbs. Contrast (1322) with (1323):

(1322) *hamsāya=mū   ī   pür   dār-e*   EL1[Bad]. 61
   neigbour=1PL:POS   a   son   have.PRS-3SG
   'Our neighbor has a son.'

(1323) *i   dune boz   bo   se   duno*   SM1[Bad]. 1
   a   CLF   goat COP.PST.3SG three CLF

   bozqālu=š   dard-en
   goat.kid=3SG:A   have.PST-3PL
   'There was a goat who had three kid goats'

Finally, as a reflex of the older ergative construction, the verb agrees overt object NPs in past transitive constructions, be it plural NPs, e.g. (1323) above, and (1324) below, or independent pronouns, cf. (1325)–(1326).

(1324) **šangul** *o* **mangul**=eš *ba-xard-en* SM2[Bad]. 27
   PN   and   PN=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST-3PL:O
   '(The wolf) ate Shangul and Mangul,'

(1325) *axo* *qāyem* *bedon* **min**=eš *na-xard-on* SM2[Bad]. 33
   1SG   hidden   became.1SG   1SG=3SG:A   NEG-eat.PST-1SG
   'I hid, (so) he (the wolf) didn't eat me.'

(1326) *Sinā* **ama**=š *ru* *xiyabun* *da* *ba-diyā-im* EL2[Bad]. 25
   PN   1PL=3SG:A   ADP   street   ADP   PUNCT-see.PST-1PL
   'Sina bumped into (saw) us in the street.'

As said above, the use of the clitic in indexing an A-past NP is obligatory. Our preliminary observation suggests that clitics also double index highly salient discourse referent object NPs in present tense constructions. The doubled object NPs in such cases are highly animate and salient referents. Examples:

(1327) *gorg* **šangul-u** **mangul** *a=šun-xor-a* SM1[Bad]. 21
   wolf   PN-and   PN   IND=3PL:O-eat.PRS-3SG
   'The wolf eats Shangul and Mangul.'

(1328) *age* *xeyli* *porrügeri* *ba-ker-e* **to** SM1[Bad]. 26
   if   a.lot   boasting   IRR-do.PRS-2SG   2SG

   hem *a=**d**-xor-on*
   ADD   IND=2SG:O-eat.PRS-1SG
   'If you boast too much, I will eat you as well.'

(1329) *harče* *a=š-piya* **nin** SM1[Bad]. 32
   what.ever   IND=3SG:NC-want.PRS   DEM.F

   boz *gaz=**eš*** *gir-a*
   goat   bite=3SG:O   take.PRS-3SG
   'No matter how much (the wolf) wants to bite this goat,'

(1330) *nin* *gorg-a=m* *a-šu* *o* SM2[Bad]. 23
   DEM   wolf-DEM1=ADD   IPFV-go.PST.3SG   and

   do **dunu**=eš *a=**šun**-xor-a*
   two   CLF=3SG:POS   IND=3PL:O-eat.PRS-3SG
   'The wolf goes (went) and eat two of them (the kid goats).'

(1331) **vaču**=m *māl* *min=**šun*** *de* SM1[Bad]. 30
   child.PL=1SG:POS   to   1SG=3PL:O   give.PRS.IMP.2SG
   '(If I happen to win) give my children to me .'

The same preference was also attested in the elicited data:

(1332) *mamur* **qātel** *a=š-gir-en* EL1[Bad]. 38
   COP.DIR.PL   killer   IND=3SG:O-take.PRS-3PL
   'The cops arrest the killer.'

(1333) *Hānā* *abi*   *balad*   *naha*   **m
*māhi=š***   BS[bad]. 13
       PN   no.more   skilled   NEG.COP   fish=3SG:POS

       ba=š-vin-a
       IRR=3SG:O-see.PRS-3SG
       'Hana cannot see her fish anymore.'

On the other hand, non-salient definite object NPs are not co-indexed by a clitic PM, as shown in the following examples:

(1334) *axo*   *mu=**don**-on*   **bar**   *dāq*   *(*š=)ā-n-i*   SM2[Bad]. 6
       1SG   mom=2PL:POS-COP door open 3SG:O=PVB-put.PRS-2PL
       'I'm your mother; open the door.'

(1335) *gorg*   *ašu*   **pā=š**   SM2[Bad]. 15
       wolf   IPFV-go.PST.3SG   foot=3SG:POS

       rangi   *(*š=)a-ker-a*
       colourful   3SG:O=IND-do.PRS-3SG
       'The wolf goes away and makes his feet colorful.'

As it appears, the object clitic has gone a step forward in the grammaticalization chain toward obligatory indexing in some specific contexts. Recently, Haig (2018a) has questioned the fact that the grammaticalization path of object agreement follows the same pattern as the grammaticalization of subject agreement, a view that is widely held in grammaticalization studies (see Bresnan & Mchombo 1984; Siewierska 2004 among others). Instead, he suggests that in the early stages of grammaticalization chain from pronouns to agreement markers, while object indexing gets reduced to bound markers as subject indexing, it does not necessarily make it to the last stages of grammaticalization chain, i.e. obligatory indexing, rather object indexing gets frozen at the stage of being a bound pronoun. Indeed, Badrudi data suggest that while object indexing is in general conditioned to the absence of the coreferent NP, highly-salient objects are doubled by clitic PMs in the present tense.

8.3.3.5.3 Phonological attachment

Generally speaking, the phonological attachment of clitic PMs into their hosts is in the form of enclitics. This was seen above where clitic PMs fulfil different functions, and are attached to the hosts of diverse syntactic or morphological categories.

Proclitics, on the other hand, are used in two contexts: first, when the syntactic host of the clitic PM is placed immediately before the TAM prefix of the verb form, the clitic PM skips its syntactic host to the left and attaches to the indicative/imperfective prefix in the form of a proclitic. In this context the set 2 of clitics are used.

(1336) *komak_*   *š=a-ker-en,*   PS1[Bad]. 20
        help   3SG:O=IND-do.PRS-3PL

        *pā_*   *š=a-ker-en*
        foot   3SG:O=IND-do.PRS-3PL
        'They help him … they lift him up.'

(1337) *vāj_*   *š=aker-en*   PS1[Bad]. 23
        call   3SG:O=IND-do.PRS-3PL
        'They call him.'

Note that when the verb form with the TAM marker is the only available host, the clitics are an enclitic on the TAM.

(1338) *a=**t**-ber-on*   *bar*   EL1[Bad]. 8
        IND=2SG:O-take.PRS-1SG   out
        'I will take you out.'

Procliticization is also attested in the past tense conjugation of few verbs, e.g. 'say'. Here, the clitic paradigm is preceded by the vocalic vowel *a*, hence the set 3 of clitics in Table 77.

(1339)   *am=vā*   [1SG:A=say.PST]   'I said.'
                ad=vā   [2SG:A=say.PST]   'You (sg.) said.'
                aš=vā   [3SG:A=say.PST]   'S/he said.'
                amun=vā   [1PL:A=say.PST]   'We said.'
                adun=vā   [2PL:A=say.PST]   'You (pl.) said.'
                ašun=vā   [3PL:A=say.PST]   'They said.'

It should be noted that the punctual prefix *ba-* precedes all the perfective forms in Badrudi and in most Central Plateau dialects. The prefix *ba-* had nearly the same function in Early New Persian and was a marker of aspectual punctuality (MacKinnon 1977). Some facts suggest that as a grammatical marker *ba-* is perhaps recent across CP: firstly, *ba-* was absent in the verbal paradigm of MWI. In addition, some CP dialects, e.g. Naeini, Yazdi Zoroastrian, do not have the punctual *ba-* in their verbal paradigm. It is then perhaps safe to say that the punctual marker *ba-* is recent in the verbal morphology of CP dialects, and it has probably developed from some form of preposition. Consequently, we may further assume that the morphological structure of the verbs was in general something like the paradigm in (1339) prior to the grammaticalization of *ba-* as the punctual prefix. Thus the paradigm in (1339) represents a remnant of the older paradigm of verbs, in where the particle *a-* originally assured the S2 positioning of clitics.

8.3.3.5.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Like in the rest of CP, clitics are placed after the first available syntactic or morphological constituent within the VP. The VP-second positioning is illustrated in the following examples

where diverse VP-initial elements host the clitics: an adverb, cf. (1340), an object NP, cf. (1341), a preposition, cf. (1342), a light verb complement, cf. (1343), and verbal prefixes (derivational, cf. (1344), and inflectional, cf. (1345)–(1346)). Given the availability of both syntactic and morphological elements as clitics hosts, it can be said that the clitic placement follows the first hierarchy for clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (see §5.4.1).

(1340) *naqd=**šun***   *dar*   *kost-ø*   EL1[Bad]. 20
       much=3PL:A   to   hit=3SG:R
       'They beat him a lot.'

(1341) *se*   *dunu*   *golābi=**šun***   *hā-a-d-a*   PS1[Bad]. 26
       three   CLF   pear=3PL:A   PVB-give.PRS-3SG
       'He gives them three pears.'

(1342) *dar=**em***   *na-vot-**i***   EL1[Bad]. 29
       to=1SG:A   NEG-tell.PST-2SF:R
       'I haven't told you.'

(1343) *tana=**šun***   *dar*   *a-kost-ø*   EL1[Bad]. 10
       reproach=3PL:A   to   IPFV-hit.PST-3SG:R
       'They would reproach him.'

(1344) *kade*   *mu=**m***   *de*   *rā=**m***   *kard-en*   EL1[Bad]. 43
       house   mother=1SG:POS   ADP   PVB=1SG:A   do.PST-3PL
       'I have left them at my mother's home.'

(1345) *del=**šu***   *na=**m**-hard-a*   EL1[Bad]. 40
       heart=3PL:POS   NEG=1SG:A-break.PST-PERF
       'I haven't broken their hearts.'

(1346) *ba=**š**-diā*   PS2[Bad]. 27
       PUNCT=1SG:A-see.PST
       'He saw.'

Note that in (1345), the negative formative is a strong syllable and has hosted the clitic. The same is true for the punctual formative in (1346). However in (1347) below, the clitic has skipped the weak syllable counterpart of the negative formative *na-*. This suggests that clitic placement is sensitive to the prosodic weight of morphological elements.

(1347) *ne-šnāsā-i=**m***   EL1[Bad]. 15
       NEG-know.PST-2SG:O=1SG:A
       'I didn't recognize you'

The VP-second positioning is also operative for the placement of adpositional complement clitics. That is, when adpositions are not VP-initial, their clitic complement moves leftward to seek its host in the VP-initial position, cf. (1348).

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
de, xod	*dar*	'to'
de	*dar*	from
vās……..rā		'for'
ru		'in', 'inside'
bā		'with'

(1348) *kawš=et*   ***dar***   *a-gir-on*   EL1[Bd]. 64
　　　 shoe=2SG:R   from   IND-take.PRS-1SG
　　　 'I take the shoes from you.'

8.3.3.5.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to the polyfunctionality of clitic PMs, it is not surprising to come across multiple clitics in the same cliticization domain. Examples of multiple clitics in present tense constructions are shown below.

(1349) *a-š-en*   *kālā=**š***   *hā=**š***   PS1[Bad]. 25
　　　 IND-go.PRS-3PL   hat=3SG:POS   PVB=3SG:R

　　　 a-de-n
　　　 IND-give.PRS-3PL
　　　 'They go (and) give him his hat.'

(1350) *vaču=**m***   *hā=**m***   *de*   SM2[Bad]. 39
　　　 child.PL=1SG:POS   PVB=1SG:R   give.PRS.2SG.IMP
　　　 'Give me my children.'

In past transitive constructions, with obligatory indexing of A NP through clitic PMs, the question arises as what kind of arguments are available to exponence as the old suffixal morphology. Among non-subject arguments, possessors are realized by clitic PMs:

(1351) *vač=**am***   *ba=**šun**-bard-en*   EL1[Bad]. 39
　　　 child.PL.DIR?=1SG:POS   PUNCT=3PL:A-take.PST-3PL
　　　 'They took away my children.'

(1352) *dast=**em***   *a=**t**-git*   EL2[Bad]. 42
　　　 hand=1SG:POS   IPFV=2SG:A-take.PST
　　　 'You would take my hand.'

The bound complements of adpositions can be realized either by clitics or alternatively by Vaff PMs. In (1353), the bound complement of the adposition *vās….rā* is realized as a clitic:

(1353) *ani*   *vās=**at***   *rā*   *na=**m**-vot-a*   EL2[Bad]. 21
       yet   ADP=2SG:R   ADP   NEG=1SG:A-say.PST-PERF
       'I haven't told you yet.'

On the other hand, the bound complement of the (absolute) preposition *dar* is realized as a Vaff PM on the verb, cf. (1354)–(1355).

Table 79: Verbal affix PMs in Badrudi

	SG	PL
1	ūn/ -on	-im
2	-e	-ī, -īd
3	-a/ -Ø	-en

(1354) *nin=**em**   **dar**   na-vot-a-**i***   EL1[Bad]. 9
       3SG=1SG:A   to   NEG-tell.PST-PERF-2SG:R
       'I haven't told you this.'

(1355) *dar=**šun**   ba-porsā-**i***   EL1[Bad]. 21
       from=3PL:A   PUNCT-ask.PST-2SG:R
       'They asked you.'

Likewise, reflecting the old ergative morphology known since Middle Iranian period, the O argument is available to exponence as Vaff PMs.

(1356) *ru*   *sabad* *š=a-rit-**en***   PS2[Bad]. 4
       in   basket 3SG:A-IPFV-pour.PST-3PL:O
       'He would pour them in the basket.'

(1357) *bābā=**m**   vis=**eš**   kard-a-**on***   EL2[Bad]. 53
       father=1SG:POS   send=3SG:A   do.PST-PERF-1SG:O
       'Father has sent me over (here).'

8.3.3.5.6 Clitic-affix sequences

Since verb-forms in various tenses are always preceded by the corresponding TAM or punctual formatives, clitics don not occur in sequences with verbal affixes.

(1358) *ke*   *ba=**š**-ruš-a*   EL1[Bad]. 71
       COMP   IRR=3SG:O-sell.PRS-3SG
       'That he sell it.'

(1359) *gorg*   *ba=**š**-xard-**en***   EL2[Bad]. 49
       wolf   PUNCT=3SG:A-eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

In short, Clitic PMs of Badrudi have nearly the same functional range as other CP dialects, e.g. being obligatory indices of an A-past NP. However, they seem to have been grammaticalized

in indexing certain subtypes of object NPs (i.e. salient, animate) in present tense constructions as well. The clitic system is a VP-based one, in which both syntactic and morphological elements are opted as clitic hosts. Finally, clitic-affix sequences do not occur because clitics are always positioned on preverbal formatives to the left of verb-stem.

8.3.3.6 Nikabad_Jondan

The dialects studied in this section belong the localities of Jondān (locally pronounced as Jondun) and Nikābād (locally pronounced as Yenguā), located 100 km and 80 km southeast of Isphahan, respectively. Both these dialects belong the Southwest group of Central Plateau dialects and are in a very close relationship to the neighbouring Varzanei dialect studied in Lecoq (2002). In both Jonduni and Nikabadi (henceforth Nikabad_Jondan) dialects, tense-sensitive alignment is maintained. Unlike the rest of CP, the pronominal expression of object NPs in the past tense is only viable through independent pronouns. In terms of phonological attachment, clitics solely attach to their hosts in terms of enclitics and opt for the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP for their placement. Data for this presentation were gathered during a trip to the region in December 2018. and include elicitation tasks, 3 narrations of pear story (one from Jondun, codified as 'PS[JN]', two from Yengabad, codified as 'PS1[NA] and PS2 [NA]'), a retelling of a silent film (codified as HB) and one narration of the popular folktale *Shangul o Mangul* in Jondani. Informants include one male speaker from Jondun in his early 30s, and two members of a family from Yengabad, one male and one female, in their 40s. The data are further supplemented with some examples taken from the folktales in Sahfi'i Nikābādi's (1998) survey of Nikabad dialect.

8.3.3.6.1 Form

Table 80: Clitic PMs in Nikabad-Jondun

	SG	PL
1	=m	= mon
2	=d	= ton
3	=š	= šon

When attaching to a consonant-final host, clitic PMs are preceded by vocalic *o*. Unlike most CP dialects, the phonological attachment of clitics in Nikabad_Jondan is solely in the form of enclitics.

8.3.3.6.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used in marking a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1360), an O-prs NP, cf. (1361), a prepositional complement, cf. (1362), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1363), and an A-past NP, cf. (1364). It is only in the last function that the clitics have become obligatory indices.

(1360) *mo*   *mā=**tun**-on*   SM[Jon]. 10
      1SG   mom=2PL:POS-1SG
      'I'm your mother.'

(1361) *na-ters*   *na=**t**-t-on-e*   EL[Nik]. 70
      NEG.IMP-fear.PRS   NEG=2SG:O-give.PRS-1SG-IND
      'Don't get scared, I won't beat you!'

(1362) *āre*   *ho=**š***   *vāj-on-e*   EL[Jon]. 37
      yes   to=3SG:R   tell.PRS-1SG-IND
      'Yes, I will tell her.'

(1363) *doti=**šun***   *hi-na-t-on-e*   EL[Jon]. 36
      girl=3PL:R   PVB-NEG-beat.PRS-1SG-IND
      'I won't give them (my) girl.'

(1364) *axi-ā*   *gā=**š***   *be-be*   *bāzār*   EL[Nik]. 71
      man-DEF   cow=3SG:A   PUNCt-take.PST   bazaar
      'The man took the cow to the market.'

In addition, clitic PMs mark subject-like arguments in the constructions 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1365), 'potentiality', cf. (1366), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1367).

(1365) *boz-e*   *gu=**š**-e*   *golābi-ā*   *ba-xer-u*   PS2[Nik]. 12
      goat-DEF   want.PRS=3SG:NC-IND pear-PL   IRR-eat.PRS-3SG
      'The goat wants to eat the pears.'

(1366) *mo*   *hič*   *kār=**om***   *na-šā*   *be-kar-on*   HB[Jon]. 23
      1SG   no   job=1SG:NC   NEG-be able.PRS   IRR-do.PRS-1SG
      'I cannot do anything.'

(1367) *sarmā=**m**-u*   EL[Nik]. 62
      cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I'm cold.'

Predicative possessive constructions, on the other hand, are based on the stem *dārten* 'to have', which is a regular stem and follows the indexing pattern of transitive verbs, hence the affixal marking of the possessor in present tense constructions.

(1368) *ki*   *xodkār*   *dar-u*   EL[NIK]. 56
       who   pen   have.PRS-3SG
       'Who has a pen?'

As said above, the clitic indexing of an A-past NP is obligatory. In addition, our preliminary analysis suggests that definite object NPs in the present tense can be doubled by clitic PMs. The object NPs in these constructions can be roughly analysed as topics.

(1369) **tu**   *ji*   *xer-on=ot-e*   SM[Jon]. 32
       2SG   ADD   eat.PRS-1SG=2SG:O-IND
       'I will eat you as well.'

(1370) *unvaxt* **večā**=*š*   *ku=šun*   *ār-u-e*   SM[Jon]. 45
       then   child.PL=3SG:POS   out=3PL:O   bring.PRS-3SG-IND
       'Then she takes out her children.'

(1371) *bā*   *ham*   *qat=šon*   *kart-e*   *ke*   MB[JN.NK]. 11
       with   together   speech=3PL:A do.PST-IPFV   that

       čejuri   **xers**   *bi=š-gir-ind*
       how   bear   IRR=3SG:O-take.PRS-3PL
       'They talked about how to catch the bear.'

It is hardly clear at this stage what is the conditioning factor for the clitics to agree with the object NP. This issue is reserved for future research.

8.3.3.6.3 Clitic placement

Clitic PMs are placed after the first element within the VP. The latter could be either a syntactic, cf. (1372)–(1377), or a morphological element, cf. (1378)–(1380). Therefor, it can be said that clitic placement follows the first hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (see §5.4.1).

(1372) *anti=***šon**   *kotak*   *be-tā*   EL[JN.NK]. 20
       so.much=3PL:A   hit   PUNCT-give.PST
       'The beat (him) a lot.'

(1373) *pu=om*   *ez*   *sar-e*   *kār*   *vā-gartā-o*   EL[JN.NK]. 63
       dad=1SG:POS from   head-EZ   work   PVB-turn.PST.3SG-and

       ho   *mo=š*   *vā*
       to   1SG=3SG:A   say.PST
       'My father came back from work and told me.'

(1374) *večā*   *mo=š*   *be-xārt-e*   SM[Jon]. 37
       child.PL   1SG=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST-PERF
       'He has eaten my children.'

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(1375) *ho=**šun***   *vāj-u-e*   SM[Jon]. 2
        to=3PL:R   tell.PRS-3SG-IND
        'He tells them.'

(1376) *xāli=**š***   *hā-ka*   PS[Jon]. 6
        empty=3SG:A   PVB-do.PST
        'He unloaded (his basket of pear).'

(1377) *xond=**om**-e*   EL[NA]. 5
        read.PST=1SG:A-IPFV
        'I was reading (a book).'

(1378) *gā=**mān***   *hā=š-gir-im*   EL[JN.NK].59
        want.PST=1PL:NC   PVB=3SG:O-take.PRS-1SG
        'We wanted to buy it.'

(1379) *be-š-i*   *be=š-ār-i*   EL[Nik].73
        IRR-go.PRS-2PL   IRR=3SG:O-bring.PRS-2PL
        'Go bring him.'

(1380) *na=**šon**-šenās-i-ye*   EL[Nik]. 79
        NEG=3PL:O-know.PRS-2SG-IND
        'Don't you know them!'

The data suggest that classifiers embedded in the object NP are also frequent hosts for clitic, as seen in (1381)–(1382) below. This phenomenon occurs in Baneh CK, and some other CP dialects as well. In discussing the relevant phenomenon in Mukri Central Kurdish, Öpengin (2013) suggests that the classifier along with its modifier can form a noun phrase, and there are two noun phrases present in the object NP.

(1381) *se*   *tā=**š***   *sabad=ji*   *da*   PS2[Nik]. 6
        three   CLF=3SG:A   basket=ADD   have.PST
        'He had three baskets as well.'

(1382) *axi=š*   *šeš*   *tā=**š***   *deyri-o*   BO[JN.NK]. 15
        man=3SG:POS   six   CLF=3SG:A   plate-and

        se   *tā*   *kāse*   *be-šošt*
        three   CLF   bowl   PUNCT-wash.PST
        'Her husband washed six plates and three bowls.'

It was said above that morphological elements are also eligible hosts for clitic placement. However, such elements are skipped for hosting NC-indexing clitics in potentiality constructions. The clitic is rather fixed on the verb stem. This situation can be considered a sign of the loss of clitic mobility in potentiality constructions.

(1383) *u*   *ibi*   *na-šā=š*   *bi=š-vin-u*   BS[JN.NK]. 12
        3SG   no.more   NEG-be able.PRS=3SG:NC   IRR=3SG:O-see.PRS-3SG
        'She cannot see her anymore.'

(1384) *bišter*   *az*   *to*   *be-šā=**m***   BO[JN.NK]. 5

       more   than   2SG   IRR-be able.PRS=1SG:NC

       širini   *be-sāz-o*
       sweet   IRR-cook.PRS-1SG
       'That I can cook more sweets than you.'

(1385) *Māri*   *be=š-vā*   *na-šā=**m***   CG[JN.NK]. 4

       PN   PUNCT=3SG:A-say.PST   NEG- be able.PRS=1SG:NC
       'Mary said: I cannot (come out).'

8.3.3.6.3.1 Adpositions and clitic placement

Adpositional complement clitics have lost their mobility in Nilabad-Jondan. That is, they are realized locally, and do not abide the VP-second positioning.

Table 81: Simple and absolute adpositions in Nikabad-Jondun

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
ho	*ho*	'to',
ez		'from',
ru…vā	*ru*	'in', 'inside'
rā(postp)	*hi…..rā, he….rā*	'for'
hu, bā	*ho*	'with'

In the following examples, despite the presence of available elements for hosting the clitic complement of the preposition, the clitic does not show leftward movement.

(1386) *vejā=š*   *sang_* ***ru=š***   *n-u-e*   SM[Jon]. 45

       instead=3SG:POS   stone in=3SG:R   put.PRS-3SG-IND
       'Instead of it (i.e. the babies), she puts stone in it.'

(1387) *qese_* ***ho=t***   *vāy-n-e*   EL[JN.NK].9

       story   to=2SG:R   say.PRS-1SG-IND
       'I will tell you a story.'

8.3.3.6.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to the multifunctionality of clitics, it is common to have two or more clitics in the same cliticization domain. In the following examples, multiple cliticization has led to clitic clusters in present tense constructions. Common to all examples, is the presence of the possessor clitic first in the cluster, and the NC-indexing or R-indexing clitics second. Thus, the cluster-internal ordering of clitics follows the argument hierarchy, outlined in §6.2.5.

(1388) *mo*   *večā=**m**=**om***   *gu-e*   SM[Jon]. 27

       1SG   child.PL=1SG:POS=1SG:NC   want.PRS-IND
       'I want my children.'

(1389) *š-u-e*   *kelā=š=eš*   *d-u-e*   PS2[Nik]. 33
go.PRS-3SG-IND   hat=3SG:POS=3SG:R   give.PRS-3SG-IND
'He goes and gives him his hat.'

(1390) *ham*   *dot=om=eš*   *he-t-on-e*
as.well   daughter=1SG:POS=3SG:R   PVB-give.PRS-1SG-IND
'I will give him my daughter as well.' (Shafi'I Nikabadi 1998: 550)

Likewise, there is no restriction on multiple clitics in the past tense. Examples of possessor clitics forming a cluster with obligatory A-past clitics are given below:

(1391) *sabad*   *golābi=aš*   *be-git-o*   PS[Jon]. 17
basket   pear=3SG:A   PUNCT-take.PST-and

düm   *čarx=oš=oš*   *nā*
on   bike=3SG:POS=3SG:A   put.PST
'He took the basket of pear and put it on his bike.'

(1392) *veče-hā=m=šon*   *be-be*   EL[Nik]. 39
child-PL=1SG:POS=3PL:A   PUNCT-take.PST
'They took my children.'

In (1393) the A-past clitic forms a cluster with the prepositional complement clitic. On the other hand, multiple cliticization in the VP has not led to a clitic cluster in (1394).

(1393) *un*   *ru-ā*   *ru*   *yenguā*   *iki*   *bo*
DEM   day-PL   in   Yenguā   one   COP.PST

ho=š=šon   *vāt-e*   *QenberAli*
to=3SG:R=3PL:A   say.PST-IPFV   PN
'In the past, there was one (man) in Yenguā, whom people would call QanbarAli.'
                                                (Shafi'I Nikabadi 1998: 563)

(1394) *alaf=om*   *bārt*   *hi=tān*   *rā*   SM[Jon]. 10
grass=1SG:A   bring.PST   ADP=2PL:R   ADP
'I brought grass for you.'

Unlike the rest of CPDs, the pronominal expression of direct objects in the past tense is carried by independent pronouns. The expression of the object by independent pronouns was a consistent pattern through both elicitation tasks and storytellings. In this sense, Nikabad-Jondan pattern the same as Tatic dialects, and Sivandi (see §8.3.4.1) .

(1395) *Habeangur*   *vāj-u-e*   *gorg*   *bome*   SM[Jon]. 25
PN   say.PRS-3SG-IND   wolf   PUNCT.come.3SG

inā=š   *be-xā*
3PL=3SG:A   PUNCT-eat.PST
'Habe Angur says: the wolf came and ate them.'

(1396) *pu=m*   ***mo=š***   *bendā*   EL[JN.NK]. 53
    father=1SG:POS   1SG=3SG:A   PUNCT.send.PST
    'My father sent me over.'

8.3.3.6.5 Clitic-affix sequences

It is only in the present tense constructions that clitics form a sequence with Vaff PMs. In such a context, A-indexing verbal affix PM is followed by the object clitic. Both person markers are further followed by the postposed TAM affix.

(1397) ***ber-on=šon-e***   *bāzār āzād* *ferāš**-on=šon**-e*   EL[JN.NK]. 68
    take.PRS-1SG=3PL:O-IND   bazaar free   sell.PRS-1SG=3PL:O-IND
    'I will take them to the free market (and) I will sell them.'

In conclusion, clitic PMs have the same traits as in the rest of CP: e.g. obligatory indexing of the A-past NP, clitic clustering. Like in Badrudi, the salient object NPs in the present tense constructions are doubled by clitic PMs. Clitic placement is defined with respect to the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP.

8.3.3.7 Naeini

Naeini is CP dialect spoken in Naein, 170 km east of Isfahan, Iran. Along with Yazdi Zoroastrian, Naeini belongs to the southeast branch of CP. Naeini illustrates tense-sensitive alignment. In terms of placement, clitic are positioned after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP. The data for this presentation were gathered during a fieldwork to the region in December 2018, and include elicitation tasks, one retelling of pear story, and one retelling of *Shangul-o mangul*. They are further supplemented with the data in Lecoq (2002) on Naeini. Informants are two males in their 30s, and are originally from Bāfrān in the vicinity of Naein.

8.3.3.7.1 Form

Table 82: Clitic PMs in Naeini

		set 1	set 2
	1	=(o)m	m=
SG	2	=(o)t	t=
	3	=(o)š	š=
	1	=(o)mi, =mni	mi=
PL	2	=(o)ti, =tni, =ni	ti=
	3	=(o) ši, =šni	ši=

The clitic PMs are characterized by attachment to the host as both pre- and en-clitics, with the former being the more common. The plural forms are formed by adding the plural *-i* to the singular forms. Also, there are alternative form for plural persons *mni, tni, šni*, which don't seem to be widespread across Naeini.

8.3.3.7.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index an adnominal possessor, cf. (1398), an O-prs NP, cf. (1399), a preposition complement, cf. (1400), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1401), and an A-past NP, cf. (1402). The use of clitics is contextually-triggered usually by the absence of the co-referent NPs in all but the last function, where clitic PMs obligatorily index the A-past NP.

(1398) *māy=**om***   *mariz*   *bi*   EL1[Nai]. 62
       mother=1SG:POS   ill   COP.PST
       'My mother was ill.'

(1399) *bāz*   *ji*   ***š**=e-gir-i*   EL1[Nai]. 67
       again   ADD   3SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG
       'I will take her (lit. marry her) anyway.'

(1400) *dendeun*   *na-dār-a*   *ke*   SM[Nai]. 39
       tooth   NEG-have.PRS-3SG   COMPL

       *ve=**š***   *hamla*   *kir-a*
       to=3SG:R   attack   IRR.do.PRS-3SG
       'He has no teeth to attack her.'

(1401) *go*   ***š**=i-t-i*   EL1[Nai]. 41
       COMPL   3SG:R=TAM-give.PRS-1SG
       'That I give him.'

(1402) *gorga*   *o-vāj-a*   *me*   ***m**=u-xārt-a*   SM[Nai]. 30
       wolf   IND-say.PRS-3SG   1SG   1SG:A=TAM-eat.PST-PERF
       'The wolf says: I have eaten (them).'

In addition, clitic PMs index the subject-like argument in the constructions 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1403), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1404).

(1403) *tu*   *di*   *tāriki*   *vā*   *na=**š**-vā*   WC[Nai]. 5
       ADP   DEM   darkness   ADP   NEG=3SG:NC-want.PRS
       'It is not necessary (for you to go out) in this darkness.'

(1404) *vaša=**šni**-o*   EL1[Nai]. 48
       hungry=3PL:NC-COP.3SG
       'They're hungry.'

Syntactic possession is expressed by the verb *dārten*, which following the alignment pattern associated with transitive verbs, marks its subject NP via clitic PMs only in the past tense:

(1405) *vača=š   na-dārt*   EL2[Nai]. 57
      child=3SG:NC NEG-have.PST
      '[There was a king] who had no child.'

The semantic domain of potentiality is expressed by the stem *šā-*. Yet, like in Abuzeydabadi, and contrary to Southwest languages Davani, and Nowdani, *šā-* has developed into a regular verb, and has the same indexing pattern as other transitive verbs:

(1406) a.   *nā-š(a)-i*   *šo-y*   *tāk*   *ni*
           NEG.IND-be able.PRS-1SG   IRR.go.PRS-1SG   open   IRR.put.PRS.1SG
           'I cannot go open it.' (Lecoq 2002: 530)

      b.   *čun*   *na=ši-šā*   *kart-e*
           becuase   NEG=3PL:NC-be able   do.PST-INF
           'Because they weren't able (to heal her)' (Lecoq 2002: 502)

8.3.3.7.3 Phonological attachment

The nature of phonological attachment of clitic PMs is basically that of encliticization. Procliticization, on the other hand, appears in the preverbal domain. More specifically, proclitic attachment is at work when the verb is the last resort for clitic placement. In such a case, the clitic PMs procliticizes to the TAM prefix. A paradigmatic form of the verb 'to say' in past tense is given as an example. Note that the perfective marker *u-* is eliminated in the presence of palatal vowel of plural forms, while in singular forms it remains in its position.

(1407)   *m=u-vāt*   [1SG:A=TAM-say.PST]   'I said'
            t=u-vāt   [2SG:A=TAM-say.PST]   'You (sg.) said'
            š=u-vāt   [3SG:A=TAM-say.PST]   'S/he said'
            m(n)i=vāt   [1PL:A=TAM-say.PST]   'We said'
            t(n)i=vāt   [2PL:A=TAM-say.PST]   'You (pl.) said'
            š(n)i=vāt   [3PL:A=TAM-say.PST]   'They said'

For some classes of verbs, the TAM prefix is 'i'. The verb 'to do' is one such case. The paradigmatic form of the latter is given below. Here the prefix merges with the identical vocalic element of the plural clitics, yielding identical forms for singular and corresponding plural forms (note also the insertion of *n*).

(1408)　　　*m=i-ke*　　　　　　[1SG:A=TAM-do.PST]　　'I did.'

t=i-ke　　　　　　[2SG:A=TAM-do.PST]　　'You (sg.) did'

š=i-ke　　　　　　[3SG:A=TAM-do.PST]　　'S/he did.'

m(n)i=i-ke / mi=ke　[1PL:A=TAM-do.PST]　　'We did'

t(n)i=i-ke / ti=ke　[2PL:A=TAM-do.PST]　　'You (pl.) did.'

š(n)i=i-ke / ši=ke　[3PL:A=TAM-do.PST]　　'They did.'

Proclitic attachment is also at work in the course of natural speech, when clitic PMs immediately precede the verb with the proper TAM affix. Here, the clitic leaves its syntactic host to the left and procliticizes on the TAM prefix:

(1409) *ve_　**š**=o-vāj-i*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　EL1[Nai]. 36
　　　to　3SG:R=IND-say.PRS-1/2SG
　　　'I will tell her.'

(1410) *tu　mehmuni　va　ki_　**t**=i-di?*　　　　　　EL1[Nai]. 15
　　　ADP　party　　　ADP　who　2SG:A=TAM-see.PST
　　　'Whom did you see at the party?'

8.3.3.7.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic PMs are usually placed after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP, thus excluding subject NP, conjunctions, and clausal adverbs as eligible hosts. VP-second clitic positioning is shown in the following examples. The VP-initial element is either a syntactic element, cf. (1411)–(1415), or a morphological element, cf. (1416)–(1418).

(1411) *ziād=**oš**　　ha-dā*　　　　　　　　　　　　EL1[Nai]. 26
　　　a lot=3SG:A　PVB-give.PST
　　　'He gave (him) a lot (of money).'

(1412) *gorga　e-yom-a　　　　　　　o*　　　　　　　SM.[Nai]. 26
　　　wolf　IND-come.PRS-3SG　and

　　　*Shangul　o　　Mangul=**oš**　u-xa*
　　　PN　　　　and　PN=3SG:A　　TAM-eat.PST
　　　'The wolf came over and ate Sh. and M.'

(1413) *ve　me=**š**　　u-vāt*　　　　　　　　　　　EL1[Nai]. 24
　　　to　1SG=3SG:A　TAM-say.PST
　　　'He told me.'

(1414) *xoy　dočrxa=**š**　ferār=**oš**　ka*　　　　　　PS[Nai]. 11
　　　with　bike=3SG:POS　scape=3SG:A　do.PST
　　　'He escaped with his bike.'

(1415) *bāzi　dār-i　　　　ve=**t**　　vāji　　　　Ali*　　EL2[Nai]. 21
　　　again　AUX-1SG　　to=2SG:R　say.PRS-1SG　PN
　　　'I'm telling you again Ali!'

(1416) *iger*   *gorga*   *va=š-ba*   SM[Nai]. 46

       if   wolf   PVB=3SG:A-win.PST

       'If the wolf won...'

(1417) *yak*   *por=**em***   *i-di*   *go*   *na=**m**-šinasā*   EL2[Nai]. 15

       a   boy=1SG:A   TAM-see.PST   REL   NEG=1SG:A-know.PST

       'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

(1418) *iya*   ***šni**=i-di*   MB[Nai]. 17

       3PL   3PL:A=TAM-see.PST

       'They saw.'

We can thus conclude that the clitic placement in Naeini follows the first hierarchy of clitic placement in VP-based clitic system, outlined in §5.4.1. It should be further noted that the procliticization preference described above does not mean that VP-second positioning is excluded. For instance, in (1419), although the clitic has attached to the TAM, the syntactic element could be still regarded as the light-verb complement.

(1419) *xošhāli_*   ***š**=i-ke*

       happiness   3SG:A=TAM-do.PST

       'She got happy.' [lit. She made a lot of happiness] (Lecoq 2002: 504)

In the discussion of the clitic placement in Naeini, Dabir-Moghaddam (2008: 97) claims that "the agent clitic attaches to the O[object]. If there is no O, the clitic is a proclitic on the verb." His statement restricts the number of available clitic hosts to two, namely the object and the verb, while as seen above the nature of clitic placement is hierarchical and diverse hosts with different grammatical status are opted as anchoring elements.

VP-second positioning applies as well to the placement of adpositional complement clitics in present tense constructions. Thus, if the VP-intial element precedes the preposition, the clitic complement of the preposition moves leftward and attaches to such an element.

Table 83: Simple and absolute adpositions in Naeini

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
ve	*ve, vir*	'to'
az		'from'
burā .....rā		'for'
xoy		'with'
tu……va/ve	*tu*	'in', 'inside'

(1420) *mi*   *dot=**ošni***   *ve*   *nā-t-i*   EL2[Nai]. 36

       1SG   girl=3PL:R   to   NEG.IND-give.PRS.1SG

       'I won't give (my) daughter to them (in marriage).'

(1421) *seng=**eš***   ***tu***   *e-rij-en*   SM[Nai]. 57
       stone=3SG:R   in   IND-throw.PRS-3PL
       'They put stone(s) in it.'

(1422) *mā*   ***tu**=š*   ***ve***   *mezel*   *kir-em*
       1PL   ADP=3SG:R   ADP   house   do.PRS.1PL
       'We live in it.' (Lecoq 2002: 506)

In (1420)–(1421) the clitic leaves it preposition head and moves on the object NP as its anchor. In (1422), on the other hand, the PP is VP-initial, hence no mobility for the clitic.

8.3.3.7.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics occur freely in the present tense constructions. The co-occurrences of clitics from different functions could result in clitic sequences. In (1423) R clitic has formed a sequence with the possessor clitic.

(1423) *dot=**om**=**oš**=ji*   *ve_*   *ti*
       girl=1SG:POS=3SG:R=ADD   to   give.PRS.1SG
       'I will give my daughter to him as well.' (Lecoq 2002: 502)

On the other hand, the A-past NP is obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs in past transitive constructions. The question arises as what kind of arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology? As shown in the examples below, possessors and prepositional complement are also indexed by clitic PMs. Such a co-occurrence of two clitics in the VP could result in clitic clusters, in where the A-past clitic appears second (following the argument hierarchy, cf. §6.3.4).

(1424) *golābi-ā=**š**=**ošni***   *jem*   *ka*   PS[Nai]. 17
       pear-PL=3SG:POS=3PL:A   collect   do.PST
       'They collected his pears.'

(1425) *heyvunāt*   *ve=**š**=**eši***   *vāt*
       animals   to=3SG:R=3PL:A   say.PST
       'The animals told him.' (Lecoq 2002: 498)

On the other hand, reflecting the old ergative morphology, direct objects are realized by the old suffixal morphology.

Table 84: Verbal affix PMs in Naeini

	SG	PL
1	-i, (rarely) -m	-em
2	-i	-id/it
3	-e/ -Ø	-en

(1426) *vaču-ā=m*   *māli* *ājez=**ošni***   *kart-**i***   EL2[Nai]. 11
      child-PL=1SG   a.lot irritated=3PL:A   do.PST-1SG:O
      'My children angered me a lot.'

(1427) *tā*   *osma* *go*   *davat=**om***   *na-kart-**en***   EL2[Nai]. 47
      until now   that invitation=1SG:A   NEG-do.PST-3PL:O
      'I haven't invited them until now.'

(1428) *ā*   ***m**=e-di-**en***   EL2[Nai]. 44
      yes   1SG:A=TAM-see.PST-3PL:O
      'Yes, I saw them.'

8.3.3.7.6 Clitic-affix sequences

Clitic PMs and Vaff PMs do not occur in concatenation neither in present tense constructions, nor in past tense constructions. The reason lies in the preverbal realization of the clitics. Thus, following the tense-sensitive alignment a reversal pattern occurs according to which either A or O is realized by a clitic in each tense, and the other argument is expressed by a Vaff PM.

(1429) ***t**=e-vin-**i***   EL2[Nai]. 64
      2SG:O=IND-see.PRS-1/2SG:A
      'I see you.'

(1430) ***t**=u-košt-**em***   EL2[Nai]. 48
      2SG:A=TAM-kill.PST-1PL:O
      'You killed us.'

In conclusion, as in the rest of CP, clitics in Naeini have grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs. In terms of attachment, clitic PMs appear both as proclitics and enclitics. Clitics are placed after the first syntactic or morphological element within the VP, and the internal ordering of clitics is determined by the argument hierarchy.

8.3.3.8 Yazdi Zoroastrian

The Zoroastrian dialect of Yazd, called 'Dari' by its speakers, and Gavruni by outsiders, is spoken in the city of Yazd and some neighbouring villages including Khroamshah, Margam Abad, Sharif Abad, Zin Abad, Rahmat Abad, etc. The Zoroastrian community is assumed to have migrated to Yazd from another region (Gholami 2016). What follows is a description of person marking system and the syntax of clitic PMs of the Khoramshah dialect of Yazdi Zoroastrian. This dialect is characterized by the tense-sensitive alignment. Unlike the rest of CP, the clitic placement is V-based in Yazdi Zoroastrian. However, a trace of clause-based cliticization is seen in certain contexts, with the difference that clitics are realized as proclitics.

The data for the following presentation were gathered during two fieldworks to Yazd in June 2017, and December 2018, and include a folktale (coded as KX in the database), three retellings of pear film, two retellings of *Shangul-o Mangul*, and two retellings of a silent film (coded as HB1 and HB2). Informants are members of a family, two males, aged 17, 24, and one female, aged 46, who have migrated to Yazd since 2010.

8.3.3.8.1 Form

The three sets of Yazdi Zoroastrian clitic PMs are set out in the following table:

Table 85: Clitic PMs in Yazdi Zoroastrian

		Enclitic	Proclitic	
		set 1	Set 2a	set 2b
S	1	=(o)m	(o)m=	me=
G	2	=(o)d	(o)d=	de=
	3	=(o)š	(o)š=	še=
PL	1	=mo	mo=	mo=
	2	=do	do=	do=
	3	=šo	šo=	šo=

The phonological attachment of clitic PMs is mainly that of proclitics, while enclitics are also partially employed. clitic PMs appear in three sets: their use depends mainly on the different domains in which they occur (see §8.3.3.8.3).

8.3.3.8.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1431), an O-prs NP, cf. (1432), a prepositional complement, cf. (1433), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1434); and an A-past NP, cf. (1435). Only in the last function are clitic PMs obligatory indices.

(1431) *me   ha   māzar=**do***   SM2[YZ]. 8
     1SG   COP.1SG   mother=2PL:POS
     'It's me, your mother!'

(1432) *in   di   hemla   be-kr-ā   be*   SM2[YZ]. 6
     3SG   ADD   attack   IRR-do.PRS-3SG   to

     *mi   boz-ā,   **šo**=be-xr-ā*
     DEM   goat-PL   3PL:O=IRR-eat.PRS-3SG
     'That he (too) attack these goats, (and) eat them.'

(1433) hama čom-ā-y   ke   š=e-riz-ā   SL1[YZ]. 20
       all   thing-PL-RESTR   REL   3SG:A=TAM-buy.PST-PERF

       š=e_hemra   be-n
       3SG:R=with   COP.PST-3PL
       'All the things he had (has) bought were with him.'

(1434) šo-an   kelā   š=a-da-n   PS2[YZ]. 21
       go.PST-3PL   hat   3SG:R=IND-give.PRS-3PL
       'They go (went) give him the hat.'

(1435) va   mi   golābi-a   š=e-ret   PS2[YZ]. 3
       and   DEM   pear-DEM1   3SG:A=TAM-pour.PST

       tu   čewzo=š-ā
       ADP   apron=3SG:POS-ADP
       'And he would put theses pears into his apron?'

In addition to the functions listed above, clitic PMs mark experiencers in 'necessity and wanting' constructions, cf. (1436), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1437).

(1436) š=a-vā   taš-e   mas-ter-i   WC[YZ]. 4
       3SG:NC=IND-want.PRS   fire-EZ biger-CMPR-INDF

       deres   ve-kr-ā
       make   IRR-do.PRS.3SG
       'He wants to make a bigger fire.'

(1437) sārmā=m-ān   EL1[YZ]. 62
       cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
       'I am cold.'

The predicative possession is expressed by the regular verb *darden* 'to have', which has the same argument-indexing pattern as the rest of transitive verbs, hence the affixal indexing of the Possessor NP in present tense constructions.

(1438) hānā   yaki   māhi   dār-ā   BS[YZ]. 9
       PN   a   fish   have.PRS-3SG
       'Hannah has (a) fish.'

Finally, the old agreement morphology on past transitive verbs is lost. Accordingly, the verb does not agree with an overt object NP.

(1439) vače-gun-e   tā   m=e-xārt-ā   SM2[YZ]. 30
       child-PL-EZ   2SG   1SG:A=TAM-eat.PST-PERF
       'I have eaten your children.'

(1440) gorg   miye=š   xā   SM2[YZ]. 20
       wolf   3PL.PROX=3SG:A   eat.PST
       'The wolf ate these.'

In short, the system of argument-indexing illustrates the familiar tense-sensitive alignment attested in CP and most WILs. In addition, the O-agreement is lost on past transitive verbs.

8.3.3.8.3 Phonological attachment

Clitics' mode of attachment is basically in the form of procliticization. Enclitic attachment operates on a number of hosts. The Set 1 of clitics in Table 85 is used in general for the attachment of a possessor clitics, cf. (1441), and the complement of some Persian-borrowed prepositions, cf. (1442).

(1441) *keza=**mo***   *beqal-e*   *rudxuna-ā*   BS[YZ]. 4
        house=1PL:POS   by-EZ   river-3SG.COP
        'Our house is by the river.'

(1442) *berā=**t***
        for=2SG:R
        'For you'

Also, in immediate preverbal domain, the original proclitic on the verb, leaves the verb as its syntactic host and attaches leftward to the element immediately preceding the verb, in an enclitic grab. This was argued to be a a sign of ditropic behaviour of clitics in V-based clitic systems in §5.5.7.

(1443) *Nimā=**š***   *vā*   / *Nimā **oš**=vā*   WC[YZ]. 9
        PN=3SG:A   say.PST
        'Nima said.'

(1444) *vali=**š***   *vā*   / *vali **oš**=vā*   KX[YZ]. 11
        but=3SG:A   say.PST
        'but he said ...'

As with proclitics, set 2a is used when clitics procliticize on the verb, as shown below for the paradigmatic form of the verb 'to see' in the past tense: .

(1445)   *om=di*   [1SG:A=see.PST]   'I saw.'
                 ot=di   [2SG:A=see.PST]   'You (sg.) saw.'
                 oš=di   [3SG:A=see.PST]   'S/he saw.'
                 mo=di   [1PL:A=see.PST]   'We saw.'
                 do=di   [2PL:A=see.PST]   'You (pl.) saw.'
                 šo=di   [3PL:A=see.PST]   'They saw.'

The vocalic element preceding the singular clitics was argued to be an offshoot of the old clitic hosting particle *u-*, which is now merged into the clitic paradigm (cf §3.3.3 for details). Ivanow

(1940) takes the use of clitics in these contexts as 'independent pronouns'[123]. The 'independent pronoun' analysis of clitics in these contexts is refuted because the clitics are still prosodically deficient and need a host to attach to.

Set 2a is also employed with the imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect verb forms, with the difference that since these verb forms are generally preceded by a TAM affix, the singular clitic forms syllabify with the following TAM prefix, hence no recourse to *o*.

(1446) *š=e-nā*   PS1[YZ]. 3
     3SG:A=IPFV-put.PST
     'He would put (the pears into one of the baskets which he had)'

(1447) *ke*   *xers-a*   *š=e-di-z-ā*   MB[YZ]. 12
     that   bear-DEF   3SG:A=TAM-see.PST-EP-PERF
     'That he has seen a bear.'

(1448) *m=e-xart-a-ba*
     1SG:A=TAM-eat.PST-PTCP-PPRF
     'I had eaten.'

When the plural forms are to be attached to such verb forms, the weak vowel of TAM prefix is removed in the proximity of strong vowel of plural forms. Accordingly, the distinction between imperfect and past stem gets lost for plural forms.

(1449) *mo=xan*   */ mo-e-xan*   EL1[YZ]. 5
     1PL:A=read.PST
     'We were reading/ we read.'

In the negative forms of imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect verb forms, the relevant TAM formatives precede the negative form.[124] As a result, singular clitic PMs resyllabify with such a TAM:

(1450) *m=e-na-sekā*   SL2[YZ]. 16
     1SG:A=TAM-NEG-can.PST
     'I wasn't able to (read the list).'

(1451) *m=e-na-vāt-ā*   EL1[YZ]. 9
     1SG:A=TAM-NEG-say.PST-PERF
     'I haven't said'

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[123] Jüge (2017) proposes the same treatment for the unit *u*- particle + clitic in Middle Iranian. This observation was rejected in Chapter 3 on the ground that the *u*- is a clitic hosting particle only in Middle Iranian and a few modern clause-based clitic systems. However, it has reanalysed as part of the clitic paradigm in V-based clitic systems.

[124] Here are some examples of such TAM prefixes preceding the negative marker in the verb forms mentioned above (see Firoozbakhsh 1999: 66-73): *e-na-šo-e* [IPFV-NEG-go.PST-1SG] 'I was not going.'; *ī-na-št-a-e* [TAM-NEG-GO.PST-PTCP-1SG] 'I have not gone.'; *ī-na-št-a-bo-e* [TAM-NEG-GO.PST-PTCP-PPRF-1SG] 'I had not gone.'

(1452) **m=e-ne-xart-a-ba**
     1SG:A=TAM-eat.PST-PTCP-PPRF
     'I had not eaten.' (Firoozbakhsh 1999: 73)

In addition, in immediate preverbal domains with the TAM prefix present on the verb, the clitic leaves the its syntactic host to the left and attaches to the TAM prefix as its phonological host. This is an example of a postposed proclitic, formalized as an instance of type 4 of clitics under Klavans's typology.

(1453) *hār_*   **š=e-vej-e**   EL1[YZ]. 37
     to   3SG:R=IND-tell.PRS-2SG
     'Will you tell her?'

In some constellations the rightward phonological movement of the clitic can result in a cluster with the already existing A-past clitic on the verb. This is exemplified in (1454), where the adpositional complement clitic has left its syntactic host and formed a cluster with the A-past clitic.

(1454) *az_*   **šo=(o)m=pārso**   [conjugation]
     from   3PL:R=1SG:A=ask.PST
     'I asked them.'

As noted in §6.3.2 the viability of such clusters is dependent on the form of clitic PMs in question. For instance, clustering is not possible when the A-past clitic is a plural form.

(1455) *brā=**m***   **šo=ārt**   [conjugation]
     for=1SG:R   3PL:A=bring.PST
     'They brought (it) for me.'

Set 2a is also used when the cliticization is at the clausal domain and where the clitic procliticizes on a preposition:

(1456) *vāv-i*   *xonek* **š=e**   *mardom*   *dād*
     water-EZ   fresh 3SG:A=to   people   give.PST
     'He gave fresh water to the people.' (Firoozbakhsh 1999: 101)

(1457) *dāšt* **š=e-kā**   **š=e_tu**   HB2[YZ]. 12
     hand   3SG:A-TAM-do.PST   3SG:R=in
     'He put (his) hand in it.'

The vocalic preposition *e* triggers procliticization no matter where it appears in the sentence. In (1458) below, the possessor clitic leaves the possessed noun fronts to *e*:[125]

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[125] Possessor-indexing Clitics show the same trait in Larestani dialects (see §8.3.6.1.3 and §8.3.6.2.3).

(1458)   *ya*   *mošta*   *ārt*   *e-kuz-ā*   ***š=e***   *gal_*   SM2[YZ]. 15
          a   punch   flour   IND-hit.PRS-3SG   3SG:POS=to   foot
          '(The wolf) pours a handful of flour on his paw.'

(1459)   *yaki*   *lebās-e*   *kone*   *qadimi*   HB1[YZ]. 5
          a   cloth-EZ   old   old

          š=e   *var_*   *bo*
          3SG:POS=to   body   COP.PST.3SG
          'He had an old cloth on him.'

Finally, set 2b is employed when cliticization occurs on complex predicates:

(1460)   *me*   *tanhāi*   ***še=šekār***   *e-kr-a*   EL1[YZ]. 34
          1SG   lonely   3SG:O=hunting   IND-do.PRS-1SG
          'I will hunt it by myself.'

(1461)   ***me=dāvat-e***   *ne-kārt-an*   EL2[YZ]. 47
          1SG:A=invitation-IPFV   NEG-do.PST-3PL:O
          'I didn't invite them.'

In discussing the proclitics of set 2b, Ivanow (1940) claims that the multifunctional preposition *e* 'in, at, to, from,' is placed before the preverbal element, and that the pronominal clitic is fronted to such a preposition, hence the different glossing.

(1462)   *čemuš*   ***m=e***   *pu*   *na-bo*   / *čemuš e pu=**m** nabo*
          shoes   1SG:POS=to   foot   NEG-COP.PST
          'There were no shoes on me (lit. on my feet).' (Ivanow 1940: 64)

Ivanow goes further and regards the occurrence of the set 2b clitics before non-verbal complement of the complex predicate as instances where the preposition *e* precedes the light verb complement, hence the proclitic attachment to *e*. Windfuhr (1989: 106) takes up the issue and reiterates the same analysis as that of Ivanow. He says that the preposition *e* fronts to light verb complements through 'functional extension'. He adds that this extension is unique to Zoroastrian dialects.

(1463)   *xdo-ro*   ***š=[e***   *šokr]*   *e-ka*   / *xodo-ro [e šokr]* ***oš**=et-kart*
          god-DOM   3SG:A=PREP   thanking   IPFV-do.PST
          'He was thanking God.'

8.3.3.8.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic placement is mainly defined with respect to the verb, hence a V-based clitic system. Yazdi Zoroastrian is thus different from the rest of CP in having a V-based clitic system. Clitic placement also shows traces of erstwhile clause-based positioning, to which we turn in §8.3.3.8.4.2.

8.3.3.8.4.1 V-based positioning

Clitic placement follows the traits of cliticization in V-based cliticization systems outlined in §5.5.7. As with the first trait, the clitic skips all the constituents in clause to attach to the verb as its anchor. In the following examples the clitic systematically skips the object NP and other elements to the left, marked by underscore, to attach to the verb as its anchoring element:

(1464) *mi* *bačegun-e_*   *sut_*   PS3[YZ]. 18
    DEM child-PL-DEM1   whistle

    *brā=š_*   *šo=kāšt*
    for=3SG:R 3PL:A=hit.PST
    'Those kids whistled for him.'

(1465) *čom_* *brā=do_*   *m=e-āort-ā*   SM2[YZ]. 12
    dinner for=2PL:R   1SG:A=TAM-bring.PST-PERF
    'I have brought you food.'

(1466) *golābi-ā-rā_* *yakiyaki_* *šo=nā*   *tu*   *sabad* PS1[YZ]. 19
    pear-PL-DOM one.by.one 3PL:A=put.PST in   basket
    '(Then) they put the pears one by one into the basket.'

(1467) *me* *mo* *kār-a_*   *m=e-kārt-ā*   SM2[YZ]. 30
    1SG DEM job-DEM1   1SG:A=TAM-do.PST-PERF
    'I have done this job.'

The second trait for clitic placement in V-based clitic systems was that pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting. The clitic rather procliticizes on the verbal form. This trait is shown in the following examples:

(1468) *od=na-kuz-a*   EL1[YZ]. 70
    2SG:O=NEG-hit.PRS-1SG
    'I won't beat you.'

(1469) *m=e-neft-e*   [conjugation]
    1SG:A=TAM-send.PST-2SG
    'I would send you (over).'

(1470) *in* *di* *hemla* *be-kr-ā*   *be*   SM2[YZ]. 6
    3SG ADD attack IRR-do.PRS-3SG   to

    mi *boz-ā,*   *šo=be-xr-ā*
    DEM goat-PL 3PL:O=IRR-eat.PRS-3SG
    'That he (too) attack these goats, (and) eat them.'

It was further mentioned that the non-verbal component of the complex predicates is treated the same as derivational morphemes. This means that the complex predicate is not interrupted for clitic hosting.

(1471) **še**=vā   kā   EL1[YZ]. 74
      3SG:O=open   do.PRS.2SG.IMP
      'Open it.'

(1472) **šo**=šuru   kā   pākre   tamiz kārtā   BO[YZ]. 12
      3PL:A=start   do.PST kitchen   clean do.INF
      'They started to clean the kitchen.'

Evidence for the analysis of the complex predicate as a single unit for clitic placement comes from the following examples. In (1473) pre-verbal element is analysed as an object NP (since it is preceded with the numeral 'one') and is not proclitized upon. Similarly in (1474) the preverbal element is trated as an object NP, hence no proclitic attachement.

(1473) yaki   slumalayk   **oš**=kā / ***še**= yaki slumalayk kā   HB1[YZ]. 12
      a   hello   3SG:A=do.PST
      'He said a hello.'

(1474) eštebā **m**=e-kārt-ā   / ***me**= eštebā e-kārt-ā   SM1[YZ]. 43
      error   1SG:A=TAM-do.PST-PERF
      'We made an error.'

However, in another version of example (1473), where the numeral is absent before *slumalayk*, and the latter is analysed as the light verb complement and is procliticized upon.

(1475) **šē**=sluamalayk   kā
      3SG:A=hello   do.PST
      'He said hello.'

Finally, as for the third trait of clitic placement in V-based clitic systems, clitics exabit the traits of 'ditropic clitics' in immediate pre-verbal domain and attach to whatever element which precedes the verb. This is shown in the following examples, where the originally V-based proclitic attaches to the preceding elements as an enclitic: an adverb, cf. (1476), an object NP, cf. (1477), a conjunction, cf. (1477), and a subject NP, cf. (1478).

(1476) bezi=**m**   na-vā   / bezi om=na-vā   EL1[YZ]. 64
      no.more=1SG:NC   NEG-want.PRS
      'I don't want (it) anymore.'

(1477) mardog-a   go=**š**   ba   be   bāzār   EL1[YZ]. 71
      man-DEF   cow=3SG:A   take.PST   to   bazaar

      tā=**š**   veroš-ā   / go **oš**=ba. .... tā **oš**=veroš-ā
      that=3SG:O   sell.PRS-3SG
      'The man took the cow to the bazaar in order to sell it.'

(1478) Nimā=**š**   vā   / Nimā **oš**=vā   WC[YZ]. 9
      PN=3SG:A   say.PST
      'Nima said.'

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In fact, such placement of clitic PMs can be reduced to reordering adjunction rules in the natural speech, which causes the clitic PMs to be realized on the preceding element. In other words, one can say clitic PMs are syntactically specified for the verb in these examples but attach to whatever element that precedes them. This is then an example of what has been termed 'dual citizenship' in Klavans (1985) and/or 'ditropic clitics' in Cysouw (2005).

8.3.3.8.4.2 Proclitics as residuals of clause-based positioning

In a number of contexts, it seems that clitics exhibit a VP-based positioning. One such context is the presence of the prepositional phrase headed by *e* between the main verb and the direct object NP, which causes the clitic to leave its host verb and moves leftward to front the preposition.

(1479) *yāki* *dārs-e* *xeyli* *xib* **š**=*e*   KX[YZ]. 37
a lesson-INDF very good 3SG:A=to

 xarguš *dā*
 rabbit give.PST
 'He gave a very good lesson to the rabbit.'

(1480) *kafš-ā=š* **š**=*e az* *pā* *bar* *kā* HB2[YZ]. 11
shoe-PL=3SG:POS 3SG:A=from foot PVB do.PST
 'He put out his shoes from (his) feet.'

We might also alternatively adopt a VP-based analysis of clitic placement on the complex predicate in the following examples.

(1481) *šāx-e* *mo* *boz-a* **še**=*tiž* *kā* SM2[YZ]. 40
horn-EZ DEM goat-DEM1 3SG:A=sharp do.PST
 'He sharpened the horn of this goat.'

(1482) *kosapošt* *umā* *vo* **še**=*qabūl* *kā* KX[YZ]. 10
turtle come.PST and 3SG:A=acceptance do.PST
 'The turtle came over and accepted (the challenge).'

One might assume that the cliticization domain is the VP is such context and that while being realized in the VP, the clitic phonologically attaches to the element to the right in the form of a proclitic. Thus, in the above examples, the clitic is syntactically related to the object NP, but phonologically attaches to the next element to the right, i.e. the prepositional phrase, cf. (1479)–(1480), and the non-verbal component of the complex predicate, cf. (1481)–(1482). Appealing it might seem, the VP-based positioning runs into problem when we consider further data. For instance, with the complex predicate as the sole unit for cliticization, one would expect the clitic to procliticize to the light verb (although it is syntactically related to the non-verbal component).

However, as seen below, the clitic still procliticizes to the whole unit, contrary to what is expected of a VP-based clitic system:

(1483) **šo**=šuru   kā   pākre   tamiz   kārtā   BO[YZ]. 12
        3PL:A=start   do.PST   kitchen   clean   do.INF
        'They started to clean the kitchen.

In §5.6 we held the alternative account that such instances of proclitic attachment are rather a residual of their earlier clause-second positioning in the foem of enclitics on the clitic hosting particle. Following the loss of clitic hosting particles the stray clitics procliticized to the next element to the right.

8.3.3.8.4.3 Placement of adpositional complement clitics

Yazdi Zoroastrian uses two different set of prepositions: simple, and absolute. the latter are usually formed by adding the multifunctional *e* to the simple forms. The list of prepositions is summarized in Table 86. Note that among prepositions, *az* an *berā*, and *hār* take only enclitics as their complements.

Table 86: Simple and absolute prepositions in Yazdi Zoroastrian

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
be, hār	*e, hār*	'to'
az		'from'
tu	*e_tu*	'in', 'inside'
berā		'for'
bā, vā	*bā, e_hemra*	'with', 'by'

Common to the general traits associated with the placement of clitics in V-based clitic systems, prepositional complement clitics are realized locally on their head prepositions. If the attachment is in the form of a proclitic, then the preposition *e* combines with other prepositions to yield absolute forms.

(1484) *hama*   *čom-ā-y*   *ke*   *š=e-riz-ā*   SL1[YZ]. 20
        all   thing-PL-RESTR   REL   3SG:A=TAM-buy.PST-PERF

        š=e_hemra   *be-n*
        3SGR=with   COP.PST-3PL
        'All the things he had (has) bought were with him.'

(1485) *dāšt*   *š=e-kā*   *š=e_tu*   HB2[YZ]. 12
        hand   3SG:A-TAM-do.PST   3SG:R=in
        'He put (his) hand in it.'

Likewise, the preposition *e* precedes the compound prepositions. The clitic then procliticizes to *e* instead of being realized after the preposition. Note further that *e* gets elided in the presence of the vowel-final plural form in (1487).

(1486) *čerk-o*   *pačāli di*   *š=e_ri*   *bā*   */e_ri=š*   BO[YZ]. 14
       dirt-and   grim ADD   3SG:R=on   COP.PST
       'There was dirt (remaining) on it.'

(1487) *če*   ***do=sar***   *em-zā*   */ e_sar=**do***   EL1[YZ]. 35
       what 2PL:R=head   come.PST.PERF
       'What has happened to you.'

8.3.3.8.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Given the multifunctionality of clitics, it is expected to have two or more clitics in the same clause.

(1488) *bra=**t***   ***šu**=ve-niv-e*   EL2[YZ]. 75
       for=2SG:R   3PL:O=IRR-send.PRS-1SG
       'That I send them to you.'

In past transitive constructions an A-past argument is obligatorily indexed by a clitics PM. The question arises as what kind of nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology (i.e. Vaff PMs). Reflecting the old ergative morphology, the Vaff PMs mark direct objects, as illustrated in (1489)–(1490).

Table 87: Verbal affix PMs in Yazdi Zoroastrian

	SG	PL
1	-a	-im
2	-e	-ī
3	-ā/ -Ø	-en, -an

(1489) *āre=**m***   *di-**an***   EL1[YZ]. 44
       yes=1SG:A   see.PST-3PL:O
       'Yes, I saw them.'

(1490) *gorg*   ***oš**=xārt-**en***   EL1[YZ]. 49
       wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them'.

On the other hand, adpositional complements and possessors are realized by clitic PMs:

(1491) *hār=**oš***   ***oš**=vā*   PS1[YZ]. 21
       to=3SG:R   3SG:A=say.PST
       'He said to him.'

(1492) *kəlā=š*   *šo=dā*   PS3[YZ]. 19
     hat=3SG:POS   3PL:A=give.PST
     'They gave (him) his hat .'

8.3.3.8.6 Clitic-affix sequences

As clitics are regularly realized as a proclitic before the verb stem, no concatenation of clitics and affixes is viable.

(1493) *va*   *š=e-koš-ā*   SM1[YZ]. 40
     and   3SG:O=IND-kill.PRS-3SG:A
     '[…] and she (the goat) kills him (the wolf).'

(1494) *od=košt-im*   ED2[YZ]. 48
     2SG:A=kill.PST-1PL:O
     'You killed us.'

In conclusion, clitic PMs have grammaticalized in marking A-past and subject-like arguments in Yazdi Zoroastrian. Clitics are characterized by their proclitic attachment, and unlike the rest of CP dialects the cliticization domain is the verb. This last point brings Yazdi Zoroastrian close to the Larestani dialects and could hint to the immigrant origin of the Zoroastrian community in Yazd, as has been suspected in the literature (see Gholami 2016).

8.3.4 Other Northwest languages

The two languages described in this section, that is, Sivandi, and Koroshi are traditionally classified as members of Northwest Iranian languages, hence the labelling 'other Northwest languages'. Alternatively, they can be considered language islands in the context of south Iran, since they are encircled by Southwest languages (see §8.3.5). Lecoq (1989c: 341) proposes that it is highly probably that Sivandi had originated in the centre of Iran. On the other hand, Koroshi, whose data come from around Shiraz, is considered very close to Baluchi dialects spoken in the southeast Iran.

Figure 35: Sivandi and Koroshi as language islands

8.3.4.1 Sivandi

Sivand is located 60 kilometres north of Shiraz, Fars province, Iran. Its dialect, Sivandi, is spoken only in Sivand, and is surrounded by neighbouring Persian speaking villages. Sivandi is assumed to be originally linked to the CP dialects (Windfuhr 1991; Lazard 2005). The data for the current presentation were gathered during a fieldwork to the village in February 2018 and contain elicitation tasks, one folktale (coded as SD), and three excerpts from two folktales (HT, SM, SE). They are further supplemented with the data in Lecoq (1979). The speakers are four males with the age range from 30 to 85 years old.

8.3.4.1.1 Form

Table 88: Clitic PMs in Sivandi

		set 1	set 2
SG	1	=m	=ām
	2	=t	=āt
	3	=š	=āš
PL	1	=mā	=āmā
	2	=tā	=ātā
	3	=šā	=āšā

Clitics appear in two sets in terms of attachment: the set 2 is different from set 1 in having a vocalic element preceding the clitic forms.

8.3.4.1.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used in marking a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1495), a direct object, cf. (1496), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1497), an adpositional complement, cf. (1498), and an A-past NP, cf. (1499). The use of clitic PMs is conditionally-triggered in all but the last function.

(1495) *bā*   *vazir=eš*   *š-ine*   *ko*   SE[Siv]. 8
       with   vizier=3SG:POS   go.PST.3PL   mountain
       'Together with his vizier, they went to (a) mountain.'

(1496) *me-bar-u=āš*   *tu*   *jangal*   SD[Siv]. 42
       IND-take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O   in   forest
       'He takes her to the forest.'

(1497) *bale*   *me-diy=āt*   SD[Siv]. 71
       yes   IND-give.PRS.1SG=2SG:R
       'Yes, I will give you (my land).'

(1498) ke   tir   be-gen-e   abini=š   SE[Siv]. 9
        that   arrow   IRR-hit.PRS-3SG   at=3SG:R
        'That he shoot at him.'

(1499) xazā=š   me-diyān   SD[Siv]. 7
        food=3SG:A   IPFV-do.PST
        'He would give food (to the poor).'

In addition to these, clitic PMs obligatorily encode 'experiencers' in the non-canonical constructions 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1500), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1501):

(1500) me-gāst=**et**[126]   či   be-zan-i   EL[Siv]. 60
        IPFV-want.PST=2SG:NC   what   IRR-know.PRS-2SG
        'What did you want to know?'

(1501) farbā=š   me-bar-e   SD[Siv]. 50
        sleep-3SG:NC   IND-take.PRS-3SG
        'She falls asleep.'

On the other hand, two constructions are used for the expression of predicative possession: in the first construction, the copula establishes the relation between the possessor and the possessed, and the possessor is marked by the clitic PM regardless of tense-sensitive alignment.

(1502) ye   sultan-i   bi   SE[Siv]. 1
        a   sultan-INDF   COP.PST

        ye   kor-i=š   bi
        a   son-INDF=3SG:NC   exist.PST
        'There was a Sultan who had a son.'

 In the second construction, the regular verb stem *dar* 'have' is used for establishing the possessive relation: *dar* follows the regular indexing pattern of transitive verbs.

(1503) dar-e   diye   xub-i   dar-e   SD[Siv]. 57
        door-EZ   house   good-INDF   have.PRS-3SG
        'She has a good house.'

Mohammadirad (to appear) proposes that what triggers the choice between using the copula or 'have' for expressing the possessive relation is the nature of possessive relation as being inalienable, as in (1502), vs. alienable, cf. (1503). In other words, the copula marks instances of inalienable possession (such as kinship, body-part, part-whole), in which the relationship

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[126] Note that the form of the TAM vowel is changed in accordance with the vowel in the verb stem, compare (1500) with (1525).

between the possessor and the possessed is close. The stem *dar*, on the other hands, expresses less stable relationships over time.

Finally, the old ergative morphology on past transitive constructions is lost. Therefor, the verb does not agree with overt object NPs.

(1504) *ayāl-gar=**m**-ā*   *ber=**šā***   EL[Siv]. 39
       child-PL=1SG:POS-DOM   take.PST=3PL:A
       'They took away my children.'

In short, clitics mark all major functions characterized for most of Iranian languages. Furthermore, by distinct indexing of A NP arguments in present vs past tense, Sivandi exhibits tense-sensitive A-indexing.

8.3.4.1.3 Phonological attachment

As seen in the examples above, the nature of clitic attachment is basically in the form of enclitics. Table 88 shows that two sets of clitic PMs are used in Sivandi. Set 2 is different from set 1 in being preceded by the vocalic element *ā*. Our data suggests that set 2 is used only when the verb stem ends in high vowels, like *i*, *u*. For instance, in (1505)–(1506) the verb stem is followed by the Vaff PMs which end in high vowels *i* and *u*, respectively. In both these cases the set 2 is used. On the other hand, the Vaff PM in (1057) ends in the low vowel *e*. Here, the clitic PM from set 1 is used.

(1505) *gāst=**em***   *be-sen-i=**āš***   EL[Siv]. 58
       want.PST=1SG:NC   IRR-buy.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I wanted to buy it.'

(1506) *ke*   *borš-u=**āš***   EL[Siv]. 71
       to   IRR.sell.PRS-3SG=3SG:O
       'That he sell it.'

(1507) *tu*   *bāzār*   *morš-ime=**šā***   EL[Siv]. 58
       in   bazaar   IND.sell.PRS-1PL=3PL:O
       'We sell them in a market.'

Lecoq (1973: 40) adds the diphthong *ey* to the vowels which are followed by set 2 clitic PMs. Yet, our data dismiss his observation.

(1508) *i-ā*   *esey=**mā***   SM[Siv]. 3
       DEM-DOM   buy.PST=1PL:A
       'We bought this.'

8.3.4.1.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitics are placed after the first syntactic element within the VP. In the following examples VP-initial elements host clitic PMs: an object NP, cf. (1509), a light verb complement, cf. (1510), a preposition, cf. (1511), a preverb, cf. (1512), and the verb stem, cf. (1513).

(1509) *binavā-gar-ā   xorāk=**eš**   me-diyān*   SD[Siv]. 6
   poor-PL-DOM   food=3SG:A   IPFV-do.PST
   'He would give food to the poor.'

(1510) *tu bāzār   tow=**em** me-fārd*   SM[Siv]. 1
   in bazaar   turn=1SG:A   IPFV-eat.PST
   'I was wandering in the Bazaar.'

(1511) *hā a bini=**š** māš-i*   EL[Siv]. 37
   yes to=3SG:R IND.tell.PRS-1SG
   'Yes, I will tell her.'

(1512) *pirežen-e-rā   vā=**mā** girānd*
   old.woman-DEF-DOM   PVB=1PL:A   take.PST
   'We brought back the old woman.' (Lecoq 1979: 41)

(1513) *vāt=**eš***   SD[Siv]. 15
   say.PST=3SG:A
   'She said.'

With regard to cliticization on the verb, inflectional verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts:

(1514) *na-mi-šnās-i=**āšā**   * na=**šā**-mi-šnās-i*   EL[Siv]. 79
   NEG-IND-know.PRS-1/2SG=3PL:O
   'Don't you know them?'

The facts of clitic placement amount to the postulation of the second hierarchy for clitic positioning in VP-based languages, outlined in §5.4.1. However, clitic placement in Sivandi shows a wrinkle: definite direct objects and sometimes indirect objects are marked by accusative/dative marker *(r)ā*. When *rā*-marked, these elements are skipped as clitic hosts. The clitic then moves rightward to seek its host.

(1515) *vaqtike det-e eyāl-ā_ me-word=**eš***   HT[Siv]. 7
   when girl-DEF child-DOM IPFV-bring.PST=3SG:A
   'When the girl would give birth to the child,'

(1516) *donbe-rā_ ow=**āš** mi-kerd*   HT[Siv]. 8
   tail-DOM water=3SG:A   IPFV-do.PST.
   'He would fry the fat of the tail.'

(1517) *šāh abās šeme-rā_ xāst=**eš**-an*   SD[Siv]. 25
   king PN 2PL-DOM want=3SG:NC-PERF
   'King Abbas has wished (to see) you'

(1518) *pirežen-e-rā_*   *če=**tā***   *kard*
old woman-DEF.F= DOM   what=2PL:A   do.PST
'What did you do to the old woman.' (Lecoq 1979: 32)

In addition, definite-marked objects are skipped for clitic hosting:

(1519) *me*   *i*   *det-aku*   *me-gā=**m***   EL[Siv]. 67
1SG   DEM   girl-DEF   IND-want.PRS=1SG:NC
'I want this girl.'

However, *rā*-less indefinite direct objects are clitic hosts:

(1520) *tu*   *esfehān*   *ye*   *pirežen-i=**š***   SD[Siv]. 56
in   PN   a   old woman-INDF=3SG:A

peydā   *ke*
visible   do.PST
'He found an old woman in Isfahan.'

(1521) *tofang=**eš***   *vor*   *gort*   SE[Siv]. 8
gun=3SG:A   PVB   take.PST
'He picked up (a) gun.'

Haig (2008: 128) considers the emergence of innovated object marker *rā* as the hallmark of accusativity, and the indexing of the A-past NP via clitic PMs as the hallmark of ergativity in Western Middle Iranian languages. He provides an example from Early New Persian, in which both *rā* and the A-past clitic occur in the same clause. According to Haig these constructions are hybrid, and point that both *rā* and the A-past clitic coexist. As seen, Sivandi shows the same trait. In addition, Sivandi further provides evidence for a link between the rise of accusative marker *rā*, on one hand, and the additional rightward drift of the clitic PMs toward the verb, on the other.

Adpositional complement clitics have local realization and do not obey VP-second positioning. This is seen in the following examples, where regardless of available VP-initial elements to the right, marked by the underscore, the clitic rests on its head.

Table 89: Simple and absolute prepositions in Sivandi

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
ba	*(b)a_bini, (b)a_vini*	'to'
az	*a(z)_bini, a(z)_vini*	'from'
tu	*tu*	'in', 'inside'
bere	*brā, az_bini*	'for'
bā	*hampā, bā_bini*	'with'

(1522) *me*   *det_*   **a_bini=šā**   *na-me-dey*   EL[Siv]. 36
       1SG   girl   to=3PL:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS.1/2SG
       'I won't give them my daughter.'

(1523) *mabādā*   *ajāneb*   *bord-i_*   SD[Siv]. 4
       lest   alien   victory-INDF

       ba_bini=šā   *vindu*
       at=3PL:R   IRR.hit.PRS.3SG
       'Lest the aliens harm them.' [lit. hit a victory upon them]

8.3.4.1.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics can occur in the same cliticization domain in present tense constructions: clitic stacking is not preferred though.

(1524) *tā*   *berā=t*   *be-kin-i=āš*   EL[Siv]. 75
       that   for=2SG:R   IRR-send.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'That I send it over to you.'

(1525) *az_vini=t*   *mo-gā=m*
       from=2SG:R   IND-want.PRS=1SG:NC
       'I want from you.' (Lecoq 1979: 137)

In past transitive constructions, on the other hand, the clitic indexing of an A-past NP is obligatory. The question arises as what kind of nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. The answer is none of them. Possessor, (1526)–(1527), and prepositional complements, cf. (1528)–(1529), continue to be marked by clitics. Note that in neither case is the clustering with an A-past clitic preferred.

(1526) *sar=š-ā*   *puši=š*   SD[Siv]. 55
       head=3SG:POS-DOM   cover.PST=3SG:A
       'She covered its opening.'

(1527) *čerā*   *dade=mā*   *dey=t*   EL[Siv]. 41
       why   sister=1PL:POS   give.PST=2SG:A

       kor-e   *pādešā*
       son-EZ   king
       'Why did you give our sister (in marriage) to the king's son?'

(1528) *tā*   *da*   *ye*   *qerāni-rā*   *az_vini=š*   *essey=eš*
       until   ten   one   rial-DOM   from=3SG:R   take.PST=3SG:A
       'Until he took ten coins of one Rial from him.' (Lecoq 1979: 158)

(1529) *ye*   *darviš-i=š*   *gord*   *az_bini=š*   SE[Siv]. 3
       a   dervish-INDF=3SG:A   take.PST   for=3SG:R
       'He hired a Dervish for him.'

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The basic pattern for the realization of the object argument is the indexing by *rā*-marked independent pronouns. This construction brings Sivandi closer to Tatic languages and Southwest group of Central Plateau, and differentiates it from neighbouring V-based proclitic systems in Fars province.

(1530) *bowā=**m***   *me-rā*   *kinei=**š***   EL[Siv]. 53
        father=1SG:POS   1SG-DOM   send.PST=3SG:A
        'Father sent me over.'

(1531) *hame-rā*   *berd=**ešā***   *bimārestān*   EL[Siv]. 51
        1PL-DOM   take.PST=3PL:A   hospital
        'They took us to the hospital.'

However, divergence from this basic pattern is also attested, especially in the use of language among younger generation. In the following example, a clitic has indexed the O argument.

(1532) *tā*   *hālā*   *dāvat=**ešā***   *na-kerd=**m**-en*   EL[Siv]. 47
        until   now   invitation=3PL:O   NEG-do.PST=1SG:A-PERF
        'I haven't invited them yet.'

(1533) *meselmān=**eš***   *kerd=**em***
        muslim=3SG:O   do.PST=1SG:A
        'I made him Muslim.' (Lecoq 1979: 115)

Likewise, in (1534)–(1535), the O argument is realized by clitic PMs. Note further that, the ordering of arguments seems to be a replication of their order in present tense constructions. Anyway, according to informants' judgments the clitic indexing of the object NP is the less frequent pattern.

(1534) *aval*   *na-šenāxt=**em**=**ešā***   EL[Siv]. 45
        first   NEG-know.PST=1SG:A=3PL:O
        'I didn't recognize them in the beginning.'

(1535) *košt=**em**=**eš***   EL[Siv]. 13
        kill.PST=1SG:A=3SG:O
        'I killed him.'

8.3.4.1.6 Clitic-affix sequences

Clitic PMs form a sequence with Vaff PMs in present tense constructions. In such a context the clitic follows the Vaff PM:

(1536) *beše-yke*   *bere-yke=**š***   EL[Siv]. 73
        IRR.go.PRS-2PL   IRR.bring.PRS-2PL=3SG:O
        'Go (and) bring him.'

As seen in the previous section, the same ordering of A and O is seen in the past tense, with the difference that both A and O are indexed by clitic PMs.

To sum up, clitics in Sivandi have the typical functions attested in most WILs. Sivandi provides an example of a modern language in where both the accusative marker *rā* and the A-past clitic co-exist in the morpho-syntax, yielding a hybrid form. The pronominal expression of objects is for the most part excluded for clitic PMs in past transitive constructions. Clitics are placed after the first syntactic element within the VP; however, clitic positioning is not allowed on *rā*-marked NPs, a fact that leads to the rightward movement of clitics in the clause.

8.3.4.2 Koroshi

Koroshi is a western Iranian language which is closely related to Baluchi. Koroshi communities are scattered along the south of Iran, mainly concentrated in provinces of Hormozgan and Fars. The material for this presentation draws from the descriptive grammar of Koroshi by Nourzaei et al. (2015). The authors provide a meticulous analysis of Koroshi based on six folktales. Clitic PMs have grammaticalized in indexing A-past NPs. Clitics have a weak VP-based positioning, and with some exceptions opt for the first syntactic element within the VP as their anchor.

8.3.4.2.1 Form

The paradigm of clitic PMs is presented in the following table (cf. Nourzaei et al 2015: 53):

Table 90: Clitic PMs in Koroshi

	1	=on/=om/=am/=em/=m
	2	=et/=at/=te
SG	3	=ī /=e/=ay
	1	=ēn/=en/=n
	2	=ō
PL	3	=eš/=aš

Third person forms are different: *ī* is used for the singular and *š* for the plural. While *š* vs. *ī* distinction (originally derived from two sets of Old Iranian genitive/dative clitics *-šai* and *-hai* forms) is implied by some scholars to be an isogloss for the classification of West Iranian languages, Koroshi, Behbahani (§8.3.5.3), Bandari (§8.3.6.3), and Minabi (§8.3.6.4) have both forms for third persons, and cast serious doubts on such a hypothesis (cf. §3.1 for details). First and second plural forms are not derived from singular forms, but from different sources, that

is, either from Old Iranian dative/genitive *-nah and *-wah or accusative *nāh and *wāh pronouns.

8.3.4.2.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used in diverse syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessors, cf. (1537), an O-prs NP, cf. (1538), an adpositional complement, cf. (1539), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1540), and an A-past NP, cf. (1541). Only in the last function are clitics obligatory indices. The glossing system used in Nourzaei et al. (2015) is adapted to our glossing system.

(1537) *yek-e*   *a*   *ī*   *mēš-obār=at*   *be-day*
       one-INDF   from   PROX sheep-PL=2SG:POS   IRR-give.PRS.2SG
       'Give [me] one of these sheep of yours.' (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 181)

(1538) *ġazabī*   *a-b-ān*   *a-war-ān=et*
       angry   IND-become.PRS-1SG IND-eat.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I will get angry [and] eat you.' (ibid. 2015: 140)

(1539) *zankākā=ī*   *bahr=ay*   *a-š-ī*
       sister in law=3SG:POS for=3SG:R   IND-say.PRS-3SG
       'Her sister in law says to her.'(Ibid. 2015: 226)

(1540) *a-š-ī*   *a-d-ān=ō̄*
       IND-say.PRS-3SG   IND-give.PRS-1SG=2PL:R
       'He says, "I will give [it to] you.' (Ibid. 2015: 194)

(1541) *man*   *gašt=om*   *ta*   *gōš=et*   *ke*
       1SG   say.PST=1SG:A   2SG   ear=2SG:A   do.PST
       'I told [you]; did you listen?' (Ibid. 2015: 128)

In addition, clitic PMs obligatorily index the subject-like arguments in the constructions of 'predicative possession', cf. (1542), 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1543), and mental states, cf. (1544):

(1542) *ya*   *berād-e*   *ham*   *bod=ay(/ bod-a=ī)*
       a   brother-INDF   ADD   exist.PST-COP=3SG:NC
       'She had a brother too' (Ibid. 2015: 211)

(1543) *man*   *hīčī=m*   *na-bokā*
       1SG   nothing=1SG:NC   NEG-want
       'I don't want anything' (Ibid. 2015: 183)

(1544) *Ahmad*   *čōn-en=et*
       PN   how-COP.3SG=2SG:NC
       'Ahmad, how are you [feeling]?' [lit. how is it to you?] (Ibid. 2015: 183)

Finally, the old ergative morphology on past transitive verbs seems to be lost:

(1545) *haššad*   *haywān=**om***   *edāra*   *a-kod-a*
       eight.hundred animal=1SG:A   management   TAM-do.PST-COP.PST
       'I managed eight hundred animals.' (Ibid. 2015: 270)

8.3.4.2.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitics are positioned after the first syntactic element within the VP. Thus VP-external elements including subject NP, conjunctions, and clausal adverb are generally skipped for clitic hosting. In the following examples elements of diverse syntactic categories in the VP-initial position have hosted clitics: an adverb, cf. (1546), an object NP, cf. (1547), a preposition, cf. (1548), a light verb complement, cf. (1549), a preverb, cf. (1550), and the verb, cf. (1551):

(1546) *ba*   *men*   *ētwār=**eš***   *ga*
       to   1SG   this way=3PL:A   say.PST
       'They told me like this.' (Ibid. 2015: 223)

(1547) *haġīġat*   *sarmas*   *dōšī*   *ādam=**ī***   *gerd*
       in fact   Sarmas   last night   human being=3SG:A gathered

       kod-a   *čel-tā*
       do.PST-PP   forty-CLF
       'Actually, last night Sarmas gathered [some] people, forty gunmen.' (Ibid. 2015: 242)

(1548) *gōn=**et***   *ǰaŋ*   *kan-Ø*
       with=2SG:R   war   IRR.do.PRS-3SG
       '[if he wants] to go to war with you' (Ibid. 2015: 203)

(1549) *ke*   *ē*   *nābud=**en***   *a-kan-t*
       CLM   3SG.PROX   annihilated=1PL:O   IND-do.PRS-3SG
       'because [otherwise] he will destroy us.' (Ibid. 2015: 205)

(1550) *dar=**om***   *a-gēk-a*
       PVB=1SG:A   TAM-take.out.PST-COP.PST
       'I would take [them] out' (Ibid. 2015: 268)

(1551) *dya*   *na-gašt=**om***   *nay-ā-ay*
       well   NEG-say.PST=1SG:A   NEG.IMP-come.PRS-2SG
       'Well, didn't I tell you not to come?' (Ibid. 2015: 144)

Inflectional verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts. Their inability to host clitics does not seem to be related to the stress factor, since the negative/prohibitive marker is stressed, but is skipped as a clitic host anyway (see Nourzaei et al 2015: 28). The TAM affix is not stressed, and not a clitic host.

(1552) *bowā* *ma-koš-et=**e***
       father PROH-kill.PRS-2PL=3SG:O
       'father, don't kill it' (Ibid. 2015: 178)

(1553) *a-dā-d=ī*   *Ahmad*
       IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG:O   PN
       'He gives her to Ahmad.' (Ibid. 2015: 139)

It can be said that the placement of clitics follows the second hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based clitic systems (see §5.4.1). Note however that VP-second positioning is overridden when the object is oblique-marked:

(1554) *ham-ī*   *kačal-ok-ā_*   *bokān=**om***
       EMPH-PROX   bald-DEF-OBL want=1SG:NC
       'I want this king's... this bald [girl].' (Ibid. 2015: 155)

(1555) *ber-r-en*   *m-enn-en*   *ǰanek-ā_*
       IRR-go.PRS-1PL   IND-see.PRS-1PL   girl-OBL

       *a-d-ant=**en***
       IND-give.PRS-3PL=1PL:R
       'Go [and] see [if] they give us the girl' (Ibid. 2015: 103)

Likewise, the object NP is skipped for clitic hosting when it is specific:

(1556) *man*   *šīš*   *nawkar_*   *ass-en=**om***   *īdān*
       1SG   six   male.servant   exist.PRS-COP.3SG=1SG:NC   here
       'I have (lit. to me there is) six servants here.' (Ibid. 2015: 206)

(1557) *raft-en*   *kōbīn_*   *eǰāra=**en***   *ko*
       go.PST-1PL   combine.harvester   rent=1PL:A   do.PST
       'We went [and] rented a combine harvester' (Ibid. 2015: 267)

In addition, prepositional phrases tend to be skipped for clitic hosting:

(1558) *ǰanek-ā*   *ba*   *kay*   *bokān=**et***
       girl-OBL   for   who   want=2SG:NC
       'For whom do you want the girl?' (Ibid. 2015: 222)

(1559) *bahr-e*   *mā*   *a-gašt-ad=ī*
       for-EZ   1PL   TAM-say.PST-COP.PST=3SG:A
       'He kept telling us...' (Ibid. 2015: 47)

The clitic complement of an adposition is realized locally. This means that VP-second positioning does not apply to the placement of such clitics.

Table 91: Simple and absolute prepositions in Koroshi

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
ba	...	'to'
a, as	*az*	'from'
ba	*bahr*	'for', 'to'
go	*gon*	'with'
mā	*mān*	'in', 'inside'

In the following examples, despite the availability of VP-initial elements for clitic hosting, the adpositional complement clitic is realized locally on its head adposition.

(1560) *oštor   o   haywān   o   eš-ān   walm-e_*
       camel and   animal   and   PROX-PL.NOM   many-INDF

       az=aš   *a-ger-an*
       from=3PL:R   IND-take.PRS-3PL
       'They take a lot of camels and [other] animals and the like from them' (Ibid. 2015: 279)

(1561) *xo   a-tān-ay   šāh-ay   ǰanek-ā_*
       well   IND-can.PRS-2SG   king-GEN   daughter-OBL

       bahr=am   *be-ger-ay*
       for=1SG:R   IRR-take.PRS-2SG
       'Fine, can you get the king's daughter for me?' (Ibid. 2015: 135)

8.3.4.2.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to multifunctionality of clitic PMs, it is expected to find two or more clitics in the same cliticization domain. This co-occurrence of clitics, though, does not usually lead to clitic clusters.

(1562) *raxt-o   lebās=**om**   gō   telā=**m***
       clothes-and   clothes=1SG:POS   with   gold=1SG:POS

       *me-d-ān=**te***
       IND-give.PRS-1SG=2SG:R
       'I will give my clothes along with my gold to you.' (Ibid. 2015: 148)

(1563) *ya   payǧām-e   ass-en=**om**   bahr=**at***
       one   message-INDF   exist-COP.3SG=1SG:NC   for=2SG:R
       'I have (lit. there is to me) a message for you'

In past transitive constructions, with the obligatory indexing of A-past NPs via clitic PMs, the question remains as which kind of arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Possessors and adpositional complements are realized by clitic PMs, cf. (1564)–(1565). However, their co-occurrence with the A-past clitic would not result in clitic sequencing.

(1564) *wad-ī   doī=**om**   košt=**om***
       REFL-GEN   mother=1SG:POS   kill.PST=1SG:A
       'I killed my mother' (Ibid. 2015: 237)

(1565) *zamāna   bahr=**om**   pešār=**ī**   āwo*
       fate   for=1SG:R   pressure=3SG:A   bring.PST
       'Life (lit. fate) put pressure on me.' (Ibid. 2015: 254)

As for direct objects, it seems that their pronominal realization is not carried by clitic PMs, but by the oblique form of personal pronouns.

(1566) *sewomī-yā*   *dya*   *man-ā*   *košt-ag=**eš***
      third-OBL   then   1SG-DOM   kill.PST-PP=3PL:A
      'On the third [neighing], then they [will] have killed me.' (Ibid. 2015: 174)

(1567) *eš-ān-ā*   *deya*   *košt=**ō̄***
      PROX-PL-DOM   well   kill.PST=2PL:A
      'You killed them.' (Ibid. 2015: 241)

8.3.4.2.5 Clitic-affix sequences

It is only in the present tense that clitic PMs appear in concatenation with Vaff PMs. In such a context, the clitic PM follows the Vaff PM.

(1568) *bokān=**eš***   *bo-koš-**ant=ī̄***
      want=3PL:NC   IRR-kill.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O
      'They are going to kill it.' (Ibid. 2015: 177)

In conclusion, Koroshi clitics have grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs–in line with the majority of WILs. The placement of clitic PMs shows a weak version of VP-second positioning, in which, with some exceptions, the first syntactic element within the VP is opted as the clitic host.

8.3.5 Southwest languages

The Southwest sub-branch of Iranian languages form a relatively homogeneous group, and belongs to the same group as Persian (Lecoq 1989c: 341). This grouping include: (i) various dialects spoken around Kazerun, including Buringuni, Māsarmi, Somghuni, Pāpūni, and Davani–all of them classified under 'Fars group' in Mann (1909) ;[127] (ii) the dialects situated to the northwest of Shiraz, including Ardakāni, Kalāti, and Xullāri; (iii) Luri dialects, which are spoken in large areas in the provinces of Fars, Khuzestan, Lorestan, Kohkiluyeh va Buyer Ahmad, and west of Isphahan, and are sub-grouped under dialect labels such as Big Lors (Lor-e bozorg), Mamasseni, Bakhtiyari, etc; (iv) Dashti, and Delvari; (v) various Persian dialects (Farsi, Dari, Tajiki).

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[127] Mann (1909) refers to such dialects as 'Tajīkī', while Windfuhr (2009: 13) calls them 'Perside groups'.

In this section, we give sketches of clitic PMs for a representative group of Southwest dialects, including Davani, Nowdani, Behbahani, Luri-type dialects, Dashti, and Davani. The first two are spoken around Kazerun; and the last two are dialects spoken in Bushehr province.

Figure 36: Investigated Southwest languages

8.3.5.1 Davani

Davani, locally pronounced *Dou:ni*, is a Southwest Iranian language, which is spoken in the village of Davan, 12 km northeast of Kazerun, Fars province, Iran. Davani has retained the older pattern of clausal second positioning of clitics. In addition, it shows a weak reflex of old suffixal morphology in past transitive constructions. The data for this presentation were gathered during two fieldworks to the region in July 2017, and December 2018, and include elicitation tasks, two folktales (codified as KS, XX), and three free narratives (codified as HS, DX, and AB). They are further supplemented with two folktales; one in Mahamedi (1982), and one in Salami (2002). Informants are 5 males and one female, with the age range between 55 to 83.

8.3.5.1.1 Form

The paradigm of clitic PMs is set out below:

Table 92: Clitic PMs in Davani

	SG	PL
1	=m	=mū
2	=t	=tū
3	=š	=šū

The forms of clitic PMs are identical to the neighbouring Nowdani dialect. Clitic PMs are preceded by joining vowels *e, o* when attaching to a consonant-final coda. When occurring at

the clause initial position, clitics are preceded by the particle *o-*, derived from the 'u-conjunctor' in Middle Iranian.

8.3.5.1.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1569), an O-prs NP, cf. (1570), a prepositional complement, cf. (1571), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1572), and an A-past NP, cf. (1573). It is only in the last function that clitic PMs have turned into obligatory indices.

(1569) *das=**eš**   *me-larzesā*   XX[Dav]. 32
        hand=3SG:POS   IND-shake.PST.3SG
        'His hands were trembling.'

(1570) *ke=**m**   *a_tu* *otāq-e*   *dar*   *bār-enā*   KS[Dav]. 25
        that=1SG:O   inside room-DEM   PVB   IRR.bring.PRS-3PL
        'That they take me out of the room.'

(1571) *ā,*   *aš=**eš**   *mē-gē-ye*   EL[Dav]. 37
        yes   to=3SG:R   IND-tell.PRS-1/2SG
        'Yes, I will tell her.'

(1572) *ma=**t**   *iqa*   *pil*   *mi-d-e*   KS[Dav]. 13
        1SG=2SG:O   this.much   money   IND-give.PRS-1SG
        'I will give you this much money.'

(1573) *o=**šu**   *bā*   *i*   *baček-e*   *zabān*   KS[Dav]. 19
        PTC=3PL:A   with DEM child-DEM1   languagde

        yakkodom   *mi-fa:mi*
        each.other   IPFV-understand.PST
        'Together with this child, they would understand each other's language.'

In rare cases the clitic PMs mark past intransitive subjects, possibly through extension from past transitive domain.

(1574) *simorq=**eš***   *ame*
        PN=3SG:S   come.PST
        'Simorq came.' (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

Mahamedi (1982: 453) calls for the occurrence of the clitic following the verb *še* 'to go' in (1575) below as an instance of the clitic marking of past intransitive subjects. However, it's clear that the person marking of the verb is via suffixal morphology, i.e. zero affix. Indeed, the 3SG clitic indexes the A-past NP of the following clause. It is in the absence of eligible clause-initial element that the A-past clitic has attach to the verb of the preceding clause.

(1575) še-Ø=**š**   *a*   *rostam*   *go*   *biyu*
       go.PST-3SG=3SG:A   to   PN   say.PST   IRR.come.PRS.2SG
       '(Bahman) went and asked Rostam to come.' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

In addition to the functions listed above, clitic PMs mark the subject-like argument in a number of non-canonical constructions regardless of the tense of the verbs. These constructions include 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1576), 'potentiality', cf. (1577), 'predicative possession', cf. (1578), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states' cf. (1579)–(1580).

(1576) *ma=**m***   *i*   *dot-e*   *m-ā*   EL[Dav]. 67
       1SG=1SG:NC DEM girl-DEM1   IND-want.PRS
       'I want this girl.'

(1577) *to=**t***   *ne-mei-ša*   *dass-e*   *ma*   *hu-ven-e*
       2SG=2SG:NC NEG-IND-be able.PRS hand-EZ   1SG   PVB-take.PRS-1/2SG
       'You cannot chain me (my hands)' (Mahemedi 1982: 454)

(1578) *o=**mu***   *ya*   *xar-i*   *bi*   DX[Dav]. 1
       PTC=1PL:NC a   donkey-INDF exist.PST
       'We had a donkey.'

(1579) *o=**š***   *bad*   *me-am(a)-a*   *i*   *bače-k-e*   KS[Dav]. 8
       PTC=3SG:NC bad   IPFV-come.PST-DRC   DEM   child-DIM-DEM1
       'She hated this kid.'

(1580) *o=**m***   *xoš-ter-ā*
       PTC=1SG:NC sweet-CMPR-COP.3SG
       'It is nicer to me.' (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

Finally, following the decline of ergativity, the past transitive verbs do not agree with overt direct object NPs:

(1581) *duš*   *šed-e*   *mehmuni=**t***   EL[Dav]. 44
       last.night   go.PST-1/2SG party=2SG:A

       *dus-gal=**et***   *di*
       friend-PL=2SG:POS   see.PST
       'Last time when you went to the party….. did you see your friends?

8.3.5.1.3 Placement of clitic PMs

As a reflex of their counterparts in Middle and Old Iranian languages, clitic PMs appear in the clausal second position in Davani. That is, they are placed after the first element (word) of the clause and have an enclitic attachment. The eligible clitic hosts are as follows:
I. subject NP

(1582) ***merd=eš***   *gā*   *bā*   *bāzār*   EL[Dav]. 71
       man=3SG:A   cow   take.PST   bazaar
       'The man took the cow to bazaar.'

II. first element of the NP

(1583) *rostam=eš*   *?āqeli*   *ke*   *diko=š*   *dar*   *deres*   *ke*
       PN=3SG:A   wisdom   do.PST   two=3SG:A   door   right   do.PST
       'Rostam was wise and built (a mosque) with two doors.' (Mahamedi 1982: 456)

III.   dislocated object NP

(1584) *pos=eš=ešu,*   *i juri*   *ver_sar=eš*   *aver-se*
       boy=3SG:POS=3PL:A   such   to=3SG:POS   bring.PST-PERF
       'They have done this to his son.' (Mahamedi 1984: 131)

(1585) *ma=š*   *tā*   *aso*   *kasi*   *das=om*
       1SG=3SG:A   till   now   somebody   hand=1SG:POS

       na-bas-se
       NEG-tie.PST-PERF
       'Nobody has chained me (my hands) yet.' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

IV. clausal Adverbs

(1586) *diār=šu*   *čaqu*   *keš-ese*   KS[Dav]. 35
       already=3PL:A   knife   pull.PST-PTCP.PERF
       'They have already pulled out the knife.'

V. 'if'-subordinator

(1587) *agar=at*   *esfandiyār*   *košt*
       if=2SG:A   PN   kill.PST
       'If you killed Esfandyar!' (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

(1588) *agar=et*   *na-ze*   *gardan=et*   *me-zer-e*   XX[Dav]. 31
       if=2SG:A   NEG-hit.PST   neck=2SG:POS   IND-hit.PRS-1SG
       'If you don't beat (me), I will cut your neck.'

VI. relativizer

(1589) *ya*   *ādam-i=š*   *ya*   *mor-i*   *bi*   EL[Dav]. 63
       a   man-INDF=3SG:NC   a   hen-INDF   COP.PST

       ke=š   *māli*   *čikek*   *bi*
       REL=3SG:NC   lot   chicken   exist.PST
       'There was a hen that had a lot of chickens.'

VII. conjunctions

(1590) *amo=š*   *dai=šu*   *aš=eš*   *gā*   CG[Dav]. 3
       but=3SG:A   mother=3PL:POS   to=3SG:R   say.PST
       'But, their mother told her...'

(1591) *čon=eš*   *ya*   *kor-e*   *siya-y*   *bi*   KS[Dav]. 9
       since=3SG:NC   a   colt-EZ   black-INDF   exist.PST
       'Since he had a black colt.'

VIII. the last element of the previous clause:

(1592) *o=mu*   *ya*   *nana-i*   **bi=š**   XX[Dav]. 2
PTC=1PL:NC   a   grandma-INDF   exist.PST=3SG:A

Teli   *doros*   *mi-ke*
round.bread   right   IPFV-do.PST
'We had a grandma who would cook bread.'

(1593) **še-Ø=š**   *a*   *rostam*   *go*   *biyu*
go.PST-3SG=3SG:A   to   PN   say.PST   IRR.come.PRS.2SG
'(Bahman) went and asked Rostam to come.' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

(1594) *duš*   *šed-e*   *mehmuni=t*   EL[Dav]. 44
last.night   go.PST-1/2SG   party=2SG:A

dus-gal=et   *di*
friend-PL=2SG:POS   see.PST
'Last time when you went to the party….. did you see your friends?

The above examples illustrate that what forms second position in Davani could be basically defined as the first word (or 2W in Halpern's terminology 1995). We would not go into much detail about the prosodic status of different hosts listed above, as it requires a separate detailed study. For such a reason, any claim about the exact nature how S2 is defined is utterly an oversimplification at this stage. Yet, we are tempted to hypothesize that this property of clitics in Davani brings the latter closer to languages like Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, and Tagalog (see. Spencer & Luís 2012), where S2 is mainly defined as a 2W, that is clitics appear after the first phonological word. A possible support for this claim is when the clitic breaks up the initial clausal NP and lodges on the first element, as in (1583).

The following excerpt illustrates how in each turn the clitics is appeared on the clause-initial element:

(1595) *še-Ø=š*   *a*   *qassāvi*   *diko*   *gordik*   *ese*,
go.PST-3SG=3SG:A   from   butchery   two   kidney   buy.PST

vo=š   *avā*   *xu:na,*   **vo=š**   *gossā*   *tu*
and=3SG:A   bring.PST   home,   and=3SG:A   put.PST   in

de:g   **usāt=eš**   *nā*   *ri*   *čāla*
pot   then=3SG:A   put   on   stove
'She went and bought two kidneys from the butchery, brought them home, and put them in a pot. Then she put (the pot) on the stove.' (Salami 2002: 510)

In the absence of eligible clause-initial elements, e.g. the subject NP, clausal conjunctions, clausal adverbs, and topics, the particle *o* resurfaces and acts as a host for clitic to maintain their realization at the clause level. As said, the particle *o* is a reflex of the clause-initial particle *ū* in

WMI. Thus, by attaching to the clitic hosting particle *o*, the VP and its typical elements, i.e. the object NP, and the verb complex, are skipped for clitic hosting. Consequently, the domain of cliticizations remains clausal.

To better understand this point, note that in the following examples, disregarding the particle, the clause otherwise starts with a VP-initial element, including the object NP, (1596)–(1598), the prepositional phrase, cf. (1598), and the complex predicate, cf. (1599)–(1601). By attaching to the clitic hosting particle, the clitics' domain of realization remains clausal, hence skipping VP-initial elements to be anchors.

(1596) *o=š*   *tir*   *ze*   *sar=eš*
       PTC=3SG:A   arrow hit.PST   head=3SG:POS
       'He shot an arrow into his head.' (Mahamedi 1982: 456)

(1597) *o=š*   *asp*   *bass-a*   *bone-y*   *draxt*
       PTC=3SG:A   horse tie.PST-DRC   trunk-EZ   tree
       '(Rostam) tied the horse to the trunk of the tree.' (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

(1598) *o=t*   *ya*   *memuni*   *hā-de*   XX[Dav]. 14
       PTC=2SG:R   a   party   PVB-give.PRS.1SG
       'That I throw a party for you.' [lit. that I give you a party]

(1599) *o=š*   *boland*   *vā-ke,*   *bā.*   *o=š*
       PTC=3SG:A   tall   PVB-do.pST   take.PST   PTC=3SG:A

       a   *daryā* *radd*   *ke*
       from   sea   moved   do.PST
     '(The Simorrgh) picked (him) up (and) to away) and flew with him over, over the sea.' [SEP]
                                            (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

(1600) *o=š*   *emzā*   *na-ker-se*   *ke*
       ptc=3SG:A   signature   NEG-do.PST-PERF   REL

       ma *šā*   *be*
       1SG king   IRR.become.PRS
       'He has not accepted (signed) that I am the king.' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

(1601) *o=m*   *sedā* *ke*   KS[Dav]. 24
       PTC=1SG:A   voice do.PST
       'I shouted.'

Note that the clitic can alternatively be hosted on the bare verb:

(1602) *go=š:*   *hā!*
       say.PST=3SG:A   yes[SEP]
       'Yes! said (Esfandiyar).' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

Most of the examples provided so far were about the S2 positioning of A-past clitic PMs. The examples below further prove that S2 positioning rule applies to the placement of other clitics, e.g. NC-indexing clitics, cf. (1603)–(1604), and direct objects, cf. (1605)–(1606):

(1603) *be*   *enje*   *ke=**m***   EL[Dav]. 70
        come.PRS.2SG.IMP   here   for=1SG:NC

        kār   *aš=**et***   *he*
        job   to=2SG:R   exist.PRS
        'Come here for I have a business with you.'

(1604) *agar=**et***   *šāhi*   *m-o*
        if=2SG:NC   kingdom   IND-want.PRS
        'If you want kingdom!' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

(1605) *ma*   *vā-mi-kor-en*   *ke=**m***   KS[Dav]. 25
        1SG   PVB-IND-do.PRS-3PL   to=1SG:O

        a_tu   *otāq-e*   *dar*   *bār-enā*
        inside   room-DEF   PVB   IRR.bring.PRS-3PL
        'They unchain me to take me out of the room.'

(1606) *ma=**t***   *xo=m*   *mi-kor-e*   *šā*
        1SG=2SG:O   REFL=1SG:POS   IND-do.PRS-1/2SG   king
        'I myself can make you a king.' (Mahamedi 1982: 456)

The data point to the fact that clitic placement in Davani follows the first hierarchy of clitic positioning for clause-based clitic systems (see §5.3.1). In the same way, the clause-second positioning of clitics applies as well to the placement of adpositional complement clitics. Thus, the clitic complement of an adposition usually leaves its adposition head and is realized clause-initially, cf. (1607)–(1610).

Table 93: Simple and absolute prepositions in Davani

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
a, be	*aš, šā*	'to'
a	*aš*	'from'
xoδ, vā	*emra, va*	'with'
an, tu	*a_tu*	'in', 'inside'
si, a_si		'for'

(1607) *aso=**t***   ***si***   *mi-ge-y-ē*
        now=2SG:R   to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
        'I will tell you now.' (Mahamedi 1982: 454)

(1608) *ka*   *vo*   *inā=**š***   ***a_tu***   *bi*   DX[Dav]. 4
        mow   and   these=3SG:R   in   COP.PST.3SG
        'There was mow and such was in it.'

(1609) *to=**t**   **a_si**   šum   bār-e*
      that=2SG:R   for   dinner   IRR.bring.PRS-1SG
      'That I bring you dinner.' (Salami 2002: 518)

(1610) *ya   majjet-i=**m**   **si_**   deres bu-ku*
      a   mosque-INDF=1SG:R   for   right IRR-do.PRS
      'Build a me mosque.' (Mahamedi 1982: 456)

In the above examples, the adpositional complement clitic detaches from its preposition head and attaches to various available elements in the clausal-initial position, including the adverb, cf. (1607), the subject of intransitive clauses, cf. (1608), the conjunction, cf. (1609), and the direct object, cf. (1610).

Interestingly, in the absence of an eligible host for the placement of the fronted R-indexing clitic, the particle o- resurfaces as a host in the clause-initial position.

(1611) *o=**š**   jaryān   **aš_**   mi-ga-tā*   KS[Dav]. 21
      PTC=3SG:R   story   to   IND-tell.PRS-3SG
      'He tells the story to him.'

This example clearly illustrates the S2-positioning of the adpositional complement clitics. In addition, it shows how clitic hosting particle resurfaces to host the otherwise hostless fronted clitic.

Finally, note that in the following examples, the clitic complement of *va* has been moved onto the clause-initial complementizer *to*. However, due long distance between the clitic and its governing preposition, a repeatition of R clitic has taken place on the preposition *va*.

(1612) *beli   to=**š**   si   keše-y   āxer   ya   dōr-i*
      IRR.let.2SG   COMP=3SG:R   for   time-EZ   final   a   turn-INDF

      *va=**š**   be-zer-e*
      with=3SG:R   IRR-hit.PRS-1SG
      'Let me have a ride with it for the last time.' (Salami 2002: 525)

In past transitive clauses, on the other hand, the presence of the clause-second A-past clitics seems to block the mobility of adpositional complement clitics:

(1613) *mi-šest=**ešu**   qese   xāle   xers-e*   XS[Dav].4
      IPFV-sit.PST=3PL:A   tale   aunt   bear-DEF

      *barā=**mu**   me-go*
      for=1PL:R   IPFV-say.PST
      'They would narrate to us the tale of 'aunt bear'.'

(1614) **vo=š**   **a_ri=š**   *qāli*   *pēn*   *vā-kē*
       and=3SG:A   on=3SG:R   tapis   wide   PVB-do.PST
       'And she spread out the rug on it.' (Salami 2002: 519)

The mobility of possessor-indexing clitics was attested only once in the database:

(1615) *šād=**eš***   *a*   *del-e_*   *dar-bār-e*   XX[Dav]. 39
       maybe=3SG:POS   from   heart-?   PVB-bring.PRS-3SG
       'Maybe he can soothe him.'

However, for the most part the S2 placement tendency is relaxed for the placement of possessor-indexing clitics, in a way that these clitics remain attached to the possessed noun, and do not show mobility. In other words, the possessor-indexing clitics have been fixed on their head possessed NPs following the mechanism of head attraction (see §5.3.5. for more on this).

(1616) *va*   *xod-e*   *baček-e*   *ši=š*
       and   with-EZ   boy-INDF   husband=3SG:POS

       gap   *mē-zen-tā*
       speech   IND-hit.PRS-3SG
       'And, she is talking with her husband's son' (Salami 2002: 517)

(1617) *hafsad sal*   *a*   *?omr=**et***   *gozašt-esse*
       700   year   from   age=2SG:POS   pass.PST-PTCP.PERF
       'You are 700 years old.' [lit. 700 years have passed from your age] (Mahamedi 1982: 455)

In the same vein, the mobility of possessor-indexing clitics is lost in past transitive constructions:

(1618) *o=š*   ***ču=š***   *boland*   *vā*   *ke*
       PTC=3SG:A   wood=3SG:POS   raised   PVB   do.PST
       'He raised his stick.' (Salami 2002: 524)

(1619) *mayār=eš*   *sargozašt=**eš***   *gā*
       PN=3SG:A   adventure=3SG:POS   say.PST
       'Mahyar narrated his adventure.' (Salami 2002: 531)

In short, the role of the supporting particle *o-* is utterly important in maintaining the clitics second in the clause. In addition, the clausal-second positioning has been relaxed for some clitic functions, e.g. possessor.

8.3.5.1.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to the multifunctionality of clitics, it is expected to come across two or more clitics in the same cliticization domain, i.e. the clause. In the following examples, the NC clitic has formed a cluster with the possessor clitic.

(1620) pos=**om=eš**   davāzda   sāl-ā   EL[Dav]. 78
son=1SG:POS=3SG:NC twelve   year-COP.3SG
'My son is twelve years old.'

In past transitive constructions, the clitic indexing of an A-past NP is obligatory. The question arises as which kind of nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Among such arguments, possessors and adpositional complements are regularly realized by clitic PMs, an can further occur in a sequence with the A-past clitic.

(1621) dai=**m=eš**   ejāza   dā   CG[Dav]. 18
mom=1SG:POS=3SG:A   permission   give.PST
'My mother allowed (me).'

(1622) šā=**š=eš**   mi-go   kore   sia   KS[Dav]. 18
to=3SG:R=3SG:A   IPFV-say.PST colt   black
'He would call him black colt.'

On the other hand, reflecting the old ergative morphology on past transitive verbs, direct objects are conditionally indexed by Vaff PMs:

Table 94: Verbal affix PMs in Davani

	SG	PL
1	-e	-ū
2	-e, -Ø	-ī
3	-t, -tā/ -Ø	-en, -enā[128]

(1623) bad=**ešu**   bord-**u**   Asalu   AB[Dav]. 3
then=3PL:A   take.PST-1PL:O   PN
'Then they took us to Asaluye.'

(1624) o=**šu**   varaqa   dad-**e**   HS[Dav]. 5
PTC=3PL:A   licence   give.PST-1SG:O
'They gave me the licence.'

Note that affixal realization of direct objects in the past tense was only attested in the speech of very old speakers and seems to be no longer existent in the speech of younger generation, who would rather opt for the pronominal realization of the object NP, by either independent pronouns, or by clitic PMs. In the following examples the O argument (polysemous with possessor clitic) is marked by the clitic PMs.

(1625) to=**t**   nejāt=**eš**   dā   EL[Dav]. 46
2SG=2SG:A   salvation=3SG:O   give.PST
'You saved him.'

_____

[128] With regard to the vowel -ā in third person forms, Mahamedi (Mahamedi 1994: 130) suggests that "[t]he -ā in -t-ā and -en-ā is probably the attention-drawing particle (h)ā found in many dialects in Persia."

(1626) *māli=**tu***   *azyat=**om***   *ke*   EL[Dav]. 11
        a.lot=2PL:A   irritation=1SG:O   do.PST
        'You made me angry'

8.3.5.1.5 Clitic-affix sequences

Taking into account the clausal second positioning of clitics, sequences of clitics and affixes are not expected to occur in Davani, as in the following example where the clitic is realized in distance from the Vaff PM (see also (1623)–(1624) for examples from the past tense).

(1627) *ke=**m***   *bor-enā*   KS[Dav]. 29
        that=1SG:O   IRR.cut.PRS-3PL
        'That they behead me.'

In sum, the most striking feature of clitic PMs in Davani is the fact that they have preserved the clausal-second positioning known from older stages of Iranian languages. Of particular importance is the maintenance of clause-initial clitic hosting particles which avoids clitics' realization to be subject to VP-based positioning. While in general clause-second positioning applies to the placement of all clitics, the placement of possessor-indexing clitics shows certain degree of relaxation from S2-positioning.

8.3.5.2 Nowdani

Nolan is located in the mountainous area of Kohmarre-ye Nolan in the southeast of Kazerun, Iran. Its dialect Nodani, along with the vernaculars of the neighbouring villages is considered a Fars dialect. Fars proper dialects were used to locally referred to as *Tājīkī* in the sense of 'Iranian-speaking settled', 'non-tribal' populations (Windfuhr 1999: 363, citing Mann 1909). With its population of 3000 inhabitants, Nowdani is still spoken among the local people but the level to which it is adopted to children is diminishing. Nowdani illustrates a divergence from tense-sensitive alignment in the sense of levelling the marking of direct objects by clitic PMs. Nowdani has a V-based clitic system, and plural clitics opt for cicumclitic attachment in certain contexts. The data for this presentation were gathered during a fieldwork to the region in March 2018, and include elicitation tasks, a retelling of pear story, and a retelling of *Shangul-o Mangul*. Informants are three males, aged 26, 34, and 35.

8.3.5.2.1 Form

The two sets of clitic PMs are set out below:

Table 95: Clitic PMs in Nowdani

		Enclitic	Proclitic
SG	1	=(o)m	om=
	2	=(e)t	et=
	3	=(e)š	eš=
PL	1	=(e)mū	mū=
	2	=(e)tū	tū=
	3	=(e)šū	šū=

The phonological attachment of clitic PMs is mainly in the form of proclitics. Yet, interestingly, the plural forms appear unexpectedly as circumclitics when attaching to the multifunctional preposition *aš* (see below for more details).

8.3.5.2.2 Functions

Clitic PMs clitics have a central role in the grammar and index the syntactic functions like an adnominal possessor, cf. (1628), a direct object, cf. (1629), an adpositional complement, cf. (1630), and an A-past NP, cf. (1631). Except for the last function where the use of clitic is obligatory, hence an agreement marker, in the rest of the functions, the use of clitics is conditionally-triggered, usually by the absence of the co-referent NPs.

(1628) *mo*   *day*   ***tu**=s-am*   SM[Nod]. 11
       1SG   mother   2PL:POS-EP-COP.1SG
       'I am your mother.'

(1629) *tama*   *mi-git=**eš***   PS[Nod]. 18
       greed   IND-do.PRS.3SG=3SG:O
       'The greed overtakes him.'

(1630) *ye*   *bār*   *dige*   ***t**=aš*   *mi-ga-m*   EL[Nod]. 21
       one   time   more   2SG:R=to   IND-say.PRS-1SG
       'I'm telling you again.'

(1631) *āšpazxune*   *tamiz*   ***šu**=mi-ke*   BO[Nod]. 13
       kitchen   clean   3PL:A=IPFV-do.PST
       'They were cleaning the kitchen.'

In addition, clitic PMs obligatorily index subject-like arguments, regardless of the tense of the verb form, in the following non-canonical subject constructions 'predicative possession', cf. (1632), 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1633), 'potentiality', cf. (1634), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1635).

(1632) *ye*   *nardebun-e*   *čui=am*   **eš=bi**   PS[Nod]. 2
       a   ladder-EZ   wooden=ADD   3SG:NC=exist.PST
       'He had a wooden ladder as well.'

(1633) **eš=m(e)-ese**   *bo-šu*   *dar*   SM[Nod]. 5
       3SG:NC=IPFV-want.PST   IRR-go.3SG.PST   out
       'She would wish to go out.'

(1634) **eš=ne-mi-šā**   *māhi=š*   *be-ben-di*   BS[Nod]. 13
       3SG:NC=NEG-IND-be able.PRS fish=3SG:POS   IRR-see.PRS-3SG
       'She cannot see her fish (anymore).'

(1635) *tešna*   **šu=en**   EL[Nod]. 62
       thirsty   3PL:NC=COP.3SG
       'They are thirsty.'

Finally, the old ergative morphology is lost on past transitive verbs, thus the verb does not agree with overt direct object NPs.

(1636) *mamur-al*   *mā*   **šu=bo**   *bimārestān*   EL[Nod]. 51
       officer-PL   1PL   3PL:A=take.PST   hospital
       'The agents took us to the hospital.'

(1637) *malum-e*   *ke*   *bača-yl*   **eš=xard-e**   SM[Nod]. 34
       obvious-COP.3SG   that   child-PL   3SG:A-eat.PST-PERF
       'It is obvious that he has eaten the (goat)kids.'

8.3.5.2.3 Phonological attachment

The clitics' mode of attachment to the host is either through procliticization or encliticization. procliticization is observed when clitics function as a non-canonical subject, cf. (1638), an A-past (1639), and as complement of preposition *aš* 'to, from', cf. (1640), (but see below for some interesting exceptions):

(1638) *Kāmrān*   **eš=na-šas**   *xers*   MB[Nod]. 5
       PN   3SG:NC=NEG-be able.PST   bear

       šekār   *Ø-kond*
       hunting   IRR-do.PRS.3SG
       'Kamran was not able to hunt a bear.'

(1639) *i*   *hafte*   *xeyli*   *pil*   *xarj*   **om=ke**   SL1[Nod]. 25
       DEM   week   much   money   cost   1SG:A=do.PST
       'I spent a lot of money this week.'

(1640) **š=aš**   *pors*   *mi-kond*   BO[Nod]. 3
       3SG:R=from   question   IND-do.PRS.3SG
       'She asks him.'

To better understand the attachment of A-past clitics, a paradigmatic form of the verb 'to say' in the past tense is given below:

(1641)   *om=go*   [1SG:A=say.PST]   'I said.'
              et=go   [2SG:A=say.PST]   'You (sg.) said.'
              eš=go   [3SG:A=say.PST]   'S/he said.'
              mu=go   [1PL:A=say.PST]   'We said.'
              tu=go   [2PL:A=say.PST]   'You (pl.) said.'
              šu=go   [3PL:A=say.PST]   'They said.'

The same paradigm is used before TAM form of verbs, as can be seen for the paradigmatic form of the verb 'to say' in the past imperfective tense:

(1642)   *om=mi-go*   [1SG:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'I was saying.'
              et=mi-go   [2SG:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'You (sg.) were saying.'
              eš=mi-go   [3SG:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'S/he was saying.'
              mu=mi-go   [1PL:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'We were saying.'
              tu=mi-go   [2PL:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'You (pl.) were saying.'
              šu=mi-go   [3PL:A=IPFV-say.PST]   'They were saying.'

When preceding the verb, singular clitics are accompanied with supporting vocalic element *o* (with 1sg), and *e* (with 2SG and 3SG). These elements are traces of older clitic hosting particles in Middle Iranian (cf. §3.3.3), which now have turned into dummy vowels. Note further that when the verb stem is preceded by a vocalic preverb, the recourse to dummy vowel is not necessary:

(1643) *bā*   *sizan*   *š=ā-doxt-a*   *kot=eš*   SL2[Nod]. 21
       with   needle   3SG:A=PVB-sow.PST-DRC   coat=3SG:POS
       'He sew (the list) with a needle to his coat.'

(1644) *ye*   *sabad-i*   *š=ā-se*   PS[Nod]. 19
       a   basket=INDF 3SG:A=PVB-take.PST
       'He picked up a basket.'

As seen in (1640) above, the 3SG clitic from has procliticized to preposition *aš*. This is the same for 1SG and 2SG forms. However, the attachment of plural clitics to *aš* results in extremely rare cases of circumclitics, in a way that the first segment of the clitic PM precedes *aš*, and the second segment follows it. This is given below for the paradigmatic form of the construction 'to ask sb' in present tense.

(1645) *pors*   *m=aš*   *mi-kond*   [question 1SG:R=from do.PRS] 'He asks me.'
       pors   *t=aš*   *mi-kond*   'He asks you (sg.).'
       pors   *š=aš*   *mi-kond*   'He asks her/him.'
       pors   **m-aš-u**   *mi-kond*   'He asks us.'
       pors   **t-aš-u**   *mi-kond*   'He asks you (pl.).'
       pors   **š-aš-u**   *mi-kond*   'He asks them.'

The paradigmatic form of the construction 'to say to somebody' in the past tense further suggests that such idiosyncratic attachment applies in the past tense as well.

(1646) *m=aš*   *eš=go*   [1SG:R=to   3SG:A=say.PST]   'He said to me.'
       t=aš   *eš=go*   'He said to you (sg.).'
       š=aš   *eš=go*   'He said to her/him.'
       m-aš-u   *eš=go*   'He said to us.'
       t-aš-u   *eš=go*   'He said to you (pl.).'
       š-aš-u   *eš=go*   'He said to them.'

Cicumclitics occur also in Peloponnesian Tsakonian family branch (Liosis 2017), but in any case, such phonological attachment of clitics has extremely rare frequency in the languages of world. Moreover, in the literature there is no mention of circumcliticization as a mode of clitic attachment (see Nevis et al. 1994; Anderson 2005; Spencer & Luís 2012 among others). In addition to being rare, such cases of circumclitics are a violation of one of the important diagnostics of clitics held in Zwicky & Pullum (1983), in that host + clitic combinations are not expected to result in idiosyncrasies, contrary to host + affix combinations which are formed by lexical operations.

Now, the question is why such unexpected forms have arisen. The answer possibly lies in phonology; note that onset of the preposition *aš* is strong enough not to undergo deletion in the presence of the strong-vowel final plural forms (mu, tu, šu). The clitic thus gets interrupted and encircles the absolute preposition. In other words, the clitic unexpectedly undergoes disintegration, contrary to the widely-held view that clitics show only a loose phonological incorporation into the host (Nevis 2000).

On the other hand, encliticization is the main tool for the attachment of clitics in their functions as possessors, cf. (1647), direct objects, cf. (1648), and (except for complements of *aš*) preposition complements, cf. (1649).

(1647) *bazi-al=**eš***   *e*   *dast=**et***   *mi-oft-e*   WC[Nod]. 6
       some-PL=3SG:POS   from   hand=2SG:POS   IND-fall.PRS-3SG
       'Some of them will fall from your hands.'

(1648) *be-ben-am=et*   EL[Nod]. 72
     IRR-see.PRS.1SG=2SG:O
     'That I see you!'

(1649) *bā=šu*   *na-ra*   EL[Nod]. 33
     with=3PL:R   NEG-go.PST.3SG
     'He didn't go with them.'

The encliticization preference for such arguments is overridden by the general procliticization tendency when the each of these clitics is placed before singular vowel initial A-past clitics. The resultant pattern is a clitic cluster on the verb, in which the A-past clitic is closer to the verb.

(1650) *mašq-al*   *t=et=nevešt-e?*   EL[Nod]. 24
     affignment-PL 2SG:POS=2SG:A-write.PST-PERF?
     'Have you done (written) your assignments?'

(1651) *šokolāt*   *si*   *t=om=sad-e*   EL[Nod]. 31
     chocolate   for   2SG:R=1SG:A=buy.PST-PERF
     'I have bought you chocolates.'

(1652) *pādešā*   *a*   *bači-al*   *š=eš=go*   EL[Nod]. 11
     king   to   child-PL   3SG:POS=3SG:A=say.PST
     'The king said to his sons.'

(1653) *xeyli* *ājez*   *m=et=kerd-e*   EL[Nod]. 11
     much irritated   1SG:O=2SG:A=do.PST-PERF
     'You have irritated me a lot.'

As explained in §6.3.1, the formation of clitic sequences is dependent the special properties of the A-past clitic, namely, its being vowel-initial. In the examples below A-past clitics are not vowel-initial, hence the staking is not possible.

(1654) *xeyli* *ājez=om*   *tu=kerd-e*   EL[Nod]. 11
     much irritated=1SG:POS   2PL:A=do.PST-PERF
     'You have irritated me a lot.'

(1655) *bači-al=em*   *šu=bā*   EL[Nod]. 39
     child-PL=1SG:POS   3PL:A=take.PST
     'They took my children away.'

The reason why in (1650)–(1653) stacking arises is due to the fact that procliticization is the main apparatus for the phonological attachment of clitic PMs. Therefore, wherever the context is convivial for clitics to procliticize they will do so. As mentioned, it is the morphophonological form of the A-past clitic that makes the clustering possible.

8.3.5.2.4 Placement of clitic PMs

The clitics have undergone the endpoint of rightward drift, hence their realization on the verb. Nodani then can be said to have a V-based clitic system. The positioning of clitics in Nowdani follows all the traits of cliticization in V-based cliticization systems (see §5.5.7). As with the first trait, the clitic skips all the constituents in the clause to the left to attach to the verb as its anchor. In the following examples, the A-past clitic is regularly positioned on the verb, disregarding the potential elements to the left to host it.

(1656) *golābi-al_*   *a*   *bālā-y* *deraxt_*   ***eš**=mi-či*   PS[Nod]. 3
      pear-PL   from   top-EZ tree   3SG:A=IPFV-pick.PST
      'He was pecking the pears on the tree.'

(1657) *list-e_*   *tu*   *ra_*   *gom_*   ***om**=ke*   SL1[Nod]. 10
      list-DEF   in   road   lost   1SG:A=do.PST
      'I lost the list on the way.'

(1658) *Bad_*   *xune_*   *jarū_*   ***eš**=ke*   CG[Nod]. 8
      then   house   sweeping   3SG:A=do.PST
      'Then she swept the house.'

(1659) *sedā-y*   *xo=š_*   *nāzok_*   ***oš**=kerd-e*   SM[Nod]. 12
      voice-EZ   REFL=3SG:POS soft   3SG:A=do.PST-PERF
      'He has pitched his voice at a soft level.'

(1660) *xorjin=eš_*   *por_*   ***eš**=kerd-e*   PS[Nod]. 42
      sack=3SG:POS   full   3SG:A=do.PST-PERF
      'He has filled his sack.'

(1661) *golābi-al_*   ***šu**=rext-e*   *tu*   *sabad*   PS[Nod]. 31
      pear-PL   3PL:A=pour.PST-DRC   in   basket
      'They poured the pears into the basket.'

(1662) *por_*   ***eš**=mi-ke*   PS[Nod]. 6
      full   3SG:A=IPFV-do.PST
      'He would fill (the basket).'

The second trait for clitic placement in V-based clitic systems was that pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting. The clitic rather procliticizes on the verbal form:

(1663) ***eš**=na-lešt*   PS[Nod]. 9
      3SG:A=NEG-let.PST
      'He didn't let (the goat).'

(1664) *ye*   *sabad-i*   *š=ā-se*   PS[Nod]. 19
      a   basket-INDF   3SG:A=PVB-take.PST
      'He picked up a basket.'

(1665) **om**=*ne-mi-šā*   CG[Nod]. 4
      1SG:NC=NEG-IND-can.PRS
      'I cannot (come out).'

The third trait of clitic placement in V-based cliticization systems is the ditropic behaviour of clitics in immediate pre-verbal contexts, in a way that in the course of fast speech the original proclitic on the verb leaves the verb as its syntactic host and attaches to whatever element that precedes the verb. In the following examples, the subject NP, and light verb complement host the ditropic clitic.

(1666) *mo=**m**   bo   / mo   om=bo*   BO[Nod]. 18
      1SG=1SG:A   win.PST
      'I won (against you).'

(1667) *zendegi=**š**   mi-ke   / zendegi eš=mike*   EL[Nod]. 1
      life=3SG:A   IPFV-do.PST
      'He would live (in a small village).'

The traits above are held accountable for the placement of A-past clitics and the clitics indexing non-subject arguments. The placement of O clitics, however, exhibits some deviations from the general traits of clitic positioning just mentioned. O clitics opt for enclitic attachment on the verb, and as a result do not show the ditropic behaviour expected of clitics in V-based clitic systems.

(1668) *age   ehtiāt   ne-kon-i   miā*   SM[Nod]. 4
      if   caution   NEG-do.PRS-2PL   IND.come.PRS.3SG

      *mi-xor-ed=**etu***
      IND-eat.PRS-3SG=2PL:O
      'If you don't take caution, (the wolf) comes over and will eat you.'

(1669) *sang   mi-kond   tu   kom   gorg   vo*   SM[Nod]. 38
      rock   IND-do.PRS.3SG   in   stomach   wolf   and

      *vā-mi-duz-et=**eš***
      PVB-IND-sow.PRS-3SG=3SG:O
      'She puts (some) some rocks into the wolf's belly and sows it (the belly).'

(1670) *mi-fruš-am=**ešu***   EL[Nod]. 68
      IND-sell.PRS-1SG=3PL:O
      'I will sell them.'

It is assumed here that the different placement preferences for object clitics and A-past clitics, is related to either contact-induced changes, or the general shift in the placement of clitics. Under the first assumption, the enclitic attachment of O clitics is explained by the fact that Nowdani has borrowed this mode of attachment under constant influence from Persian. Note that object clitics procliticize to the verb in the speech of surrounding villages.

Under the second assumption, the post-verbal occurrence of object clitic seems to be a general drift in languages spoken in the south of Iran (See the data for Bandari §8.3.6.3, and Minabi §8.3.6.4 as well). The shift to post-verbal position, and in turn enclitic attachment in languages with procliticization as the main apparatus for phonological attachment starts from the object-clitics and probably then affects the A-past clitics. Interestingly, this shift of the placement is accompanied by the levelling of object marking in all tenses via clitic PMs (see below).

Common to the general traits associated with the placement of clitics in V-based clitic systems, prepositional complement clitics have lost their mobility and behave like affixes, hence showing local realization.

Table 96: Simple and absolute prepositions in Nowdani

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
a	*aš*[129]	'to', 'with'
a, e	*aš*	'from',
tu		'in', 'inside'
si		'for', 'to'
bā		'with'

(1671) *bā*   *bači-al*   *ye*   *sar-i_*   EL[Nod]. 65
         with   kid-PL   a   head-INDF

        t=aš   *mi-zan-am*
        2SG:R=to   IND-hit.PRS-1SG
        'Together with the kids, I will give you a visit.'

(1672) *ye*   *listi=am_*   ***si=t***   *āmāda*   *kon-am*   SL2[Nod]. 4
         a   list=add   for=2SG:R   prepared   IRR.do.PRS-1SG
        'That I prepare a list for you as well.'

8.3.5.2.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics occur in present tense constructions, yet their co-occurrence does not generally lead to clitic sequences.

(1673) *bāz*   ***om=mi-ā-t=eš***   EL[Nod]. 67
         again   1SG:NC=IND-want.PRS-EP=3SG:O
        'I want her anyway!'

---

[129] The distinction between free and absolute prepositions has been only retained in the polysemous ablative and dative preposition. Note further that *aš* seems to be derived from preposition *a* plus the expletive 3SG pronoun *š* in late middle Persian, which would appear on the preposition when the original clitic complement of the latter would move in to the clause second position, as in *ka=tān nēkīh awi=š rasēd* [when=2PL goodness to=3SG arrive.PRS.3SG], 'When something good comes to you [pl].' (see Jügel 2017 for details). Now in Nowdani the original 3SG expletive pronoun has been grammaticalized along with the preposition *a*, yielding *aš*, as the absolute form of the simple preposition *a*.

(1674) *kār*   ***t**=aš*   ***om**=ni*   EL[Nod]. 70
        job   2SG:R=with   1SG:NC-NEG.COP.3SG
        'I don't have (any) business with you.'

In past transitive constructions with the clitic marking of A-past NP being obligatory, the question arises as what kind of arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Following examples illustrates that clitic PMs continue to index possessors, cf. (1675), and adpositional complements, cf. (1676)–(1677).

(1675) *das*   ***m**=**ot**=mi-gerot*   EL[Nod]. 42
        hand   1SG:POS=2SG:A=IPFV-take.PST
        'You would take my hand.'

(1676) *Maryam*   ***š**=aš=**u***   ***eš**=go*   CG[Nod]. 8
        PN   3PL=to=3PL   3SG:A=say.PST
        'Maryam told them.'

(1677) *ketāb* ***m**=aš*   ***eš**=sa*   EL[Nod]. 25
        book   1SG:R=from   3SG:A=take.PST
        'He took the book from me.'

direct objects are also realized by clitic PMs, though as said, they opt for encliticization on the verb.

(1678) *gorg* ***eš**=xa=**šu***   EL[Nod]. 49
        wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST=3PL:O
        'The wolf ate them.'

(1679) ***om**=ne-šenāxt=**ešu***   EL[Nod]. 45
        1SG:A=NEG-know.PST=3PL:O
        'I didn't recognize them.'

As seen, the marking of object in past transitive construction has changed to clitic PMs, hence paralleling the marking of the object marking in present tense. In discussing the rise of double oblique constructions in Iranian languages, Haig (2008) puts forwards the hypothesis that the ergative pattern of past transitive construction is shifting in a way to become more like the accusative alignment of the present tense, and this shift starts with the direct case-marked objects in the past tense to be marked the same way as oblique-marked objects of the present tense, hence giving rise to double-oblique patterns in the past tense. He refers to levelling of object marking as cross-system harmony. Now, reflecting on the older ergative pattern and the object agreement on the verb from Middle Iranian onward, it seems plausible to hypothesis that the same shift is happening in Nowdani through the levelling in the indexing of direct objects in all tenses. Finally, note that the enclitic attachment of the object clitic in (1678)–(1679) could

hint to the erstwhile presence of the suffixal morphology on the verb, which is now being taken over by clitic PMs.

8.3.5.2.6 Clitic-affix sequences

The combination of clitic PMs and Vaff PMs is only possible in present tense constructions. In such constellations, the O clitic follows Vaff PMs.

(1680) *be-š-i*   *ber-i=š*   EL[Nod]. 73
       IRR-go.PRS-2PL   IRR.bring.PRS.2PL=3SG:O
       'Go (and) bring him!'

(1681) *mu=mi-es*   *uson-um=eš*   EL[Nod]. 69
       1PL:NC=IPFV-want.PST   IRR.buy.PRS-1PL=3SG:O
       'We wanted to buy it.'

To sum up, clitic PMs in Nowdani have extended their domain of usage to conditionally index direct objects in past transitive constructions, rendering the marking of objects identical across all tenses. The verb is the anchor for cliticization, and clitics have acquired affix-like behavior in the sense of losing mobility. Finally, there are extremely rare cases of circumclitics in Nowdani, arising out of the attachment of plural clitics to the multi-functional preposition *aš*.

8.3.5.3 Behbahani

Behbahani is a modern Southwest Iranian language spoken in the Behbahan, Khuzestan province, Iran. Clitics in Behbahani have grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs. Behbahani has preserved to some extent the clausal second positioning of clitics. The Second positioning requirement results in instances of endocliticization where clitics break up the prosodic structure of their host words. The data for this presentation were gathered during a fieldwork to the region in February 2018, and include elicitation tasks, three folktales (codified as BB, SG1, SG2), two free narratives (codified as ZG, and ZZ), and a retelling of pear story. Informants four females and one male, with the age range of 33 to 83 years old.

8.3.5.3.1 Form

The paradigm of Behbahani clitic PMs are presented below:

	1	=m
SG	2	=t
	3	=ē/=ī, =š
	1	=me/=mū/=meni
PL	2	=te/=tū/ =teni
	3	=še/=šū/=šā/ =šeni

Third singular person has *š* and *ē* as alternative forms. The presence of both these forms in Behbahani, as well as in Koroshi, Bandari, and Minabi were argued to challenge one of the isoglosses for the classification of WILs (cf. §3.1 for discussion).

8.3.5.3.2 Functions

Parallel to their functions in most WILs, clitic PMs index an adnominal possessor, cf. (1682), an O-prs NP, cf. (1683), an adpositional complement, cf. (1684), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1685), and an A-past NP, cf. (1686). Except for the last function where clitic PMs are obligatory indices, the clitics' indexing of other functions is triggered by the lack of co-referent NPs.

(1682) *xār-un=**eš**-en*   EL1[Beh]. 79
      sister=PL=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
      'They are her sisters.'

(1683) *dim   če=**m**   me-zen-a?*   BB[Beh]. 31
      with   what=1SG:O   IND-hit.PRS-2SG
      'How (with what) will you hit me?'

(1684) *vo   dim=**e**   ya   taš-e   gonde-i*   WC[Beh]. 4
      and   with=3SG:R   a   fire-EZ   big-INDF

      doros kon-im
      right   IRR.do.PRS-1PL
      'And, we make a big fire with it.'

(1685) *ya   bača-ī=**m**   hā-dē*   EL1[Beh]. 80
      a   kid-INDF=1SG:POS   PVB-give.PRS.2SG.IMP
      'Give me a child.'

(1686) *mādarbozorg-ā=**šē**   si   mā*   BB[Beh]. 5
      grandmother-PL=3PL:A   for   1PL

      tariff   mi-ke
      definition   IPFV-do.PST
      'The grandmothers would narrate (tales) to us.'

In addition to the functions listed above, clitic PMs obligatorily index subject-like arguments, regardless of the tense of the verb, in the constructions 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1687), 'predicative possession', cf. (1686), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1689).

(1687) *me=**m***   *i*   *dot-e*   *m-i(t)*   EL1[Beh]. 67
        1SG=1SG:NC   DEM   girl-DEM1   IND-want.PRS
        'I want this girl.'

(1688) *ya*   *mard-i=**š***   *ya*   *morq-i*   *bi*   EL1[Beh]. 63
        one   man-INDF=3SG:NC   a   hen-INDF   COP.PST
        'A man had a hen.'

(1689) *gosna=**t**-en*   EL2[Beh]. 62
        hungry=2SG:NC-COP.3SG
        'You are hungry.'

Finally, the old ergative morphology is lost on past transitive verbs. Thus, the verb does not show agreement with overt object NPs:

(1690) *xers-i*   *amey*   *hame-ye*   *moiā=**i***   *xa*   MB[Beh]. 7
        bear-INDF   come.PST.3SG   all-EZ   fish=3SG:A   eat.PST
        'A bear came over and ate all the fish.'

(1691) *baba=**y***   *me*   *besi*   *kerd-e*   EL1[Beh]. 53
        father=3SG:A   1SG   send   do.PST-PERF
        'Father has sent me over.'

8.3.5.3.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitics are placed in the clausal-second position. Behbahani then aligns with Middle West Iranian, Davani, and Dashti in this regard. However, as it will be seen below, Behbahani shows some peculiarities not seen in the other clause-based clitic systems. In the following examples the S2 positioning of clitics on different clause-initial elements is shown:

I. Subject NP

(1692) *sang=**ey***   *ser-e*   *gerdu*   *eškeni*   SG2[Beh]. 2
        stone=3SG:A   head-ez   walnut   break.PST
        'The stone broke walnut's head.'

(1693) *čipu=**š***   *go*   SG1[Beh]. 15
        shepherd=3SG:A   say.PST
        'The shepherd said.'

II. Prepositional phrase

(1694) *te*   *pārk-ā=**še***   *čāder*   *ze*   ZZ[Beh]. 3
        in   park-PL=3PL:A   tent   hit.PST
        'They camped in parks.'

(1695) *bejāye*   *'yeki bud yeki nabud'=še*   BB[Beh]. 2
       instead.of   once upon a time=3PL:A

       mi-goft   *jal-e jelā*
       IPFV-say.PST   PN
       'Instead of 'once upon a time' people would say 'Jale Jelā' (to begin their tales).'

(1696) *si če=t*   *ser-e*   *bese=m*   *eškenid-e?*   SG2[Beh]. 6
       why=2SG:A   head-EZ   child=1SG:POS   break.PST-PERF
       'Why have you broken my child's head?'

III. Preposition

(1697) *dim=š=ē*   *hey*   *bāzi*   *mi-ke*   BC[Beh]. 9
       with=3SG:R=3SG:A   AUX   game   IPFV-do.PST
       'She was constantly playing with it.'

V. Clausal adverbs

(1698) *ya*   *ru=š*   *Sārā*   *vašā=y*   *gā*   BO[Beh]. 2
       a   day=3SG:A   PN   to=3SG:R   say.PST
       'One day Sarah told him'

(1699) *ya*   *šov-i=š*   *Nima* *gā*   WC[Beh]. 3
       a   night-INDF=3SG:A   PN   say.PST
       'One night Nima said.'

As seen, the first element within the clause hosts clitics, regardless of its syntactic category. Further data suggest that in the absence of above clitic hosts, the clitic moves rightward to attach to the next immediate element. In the following example the object NP hosts the clitic.

(1700) *ye*   *sale*   *botoli=š*   *ave*   BB[Beh]. 9
       a   bunch cockroach=3SG:A   bring.PST
       'She gave birth to a bunch of cockroaches.'

Recall that in Davani, in the absence of eligible clause-initial hosts, e.g. the subject NP, topic, clausal adverbs, the particle *o* is resurfaced to host the clitic. Consequently, the verb complex and its direct object are avoided for clitic hosting (cf. §8.3.5.1.3). Behbahani lacks particle *o*. Therefore, the clitic is free to opt for VP-initial elements as its host.

Another major difference with the S2 clitics of Davani is that Behbahani clitics skip regularly clause-initial elements such as the conjunctions, cf (1701), 'and'-coordinator, cf. (1702), 'If'-subordinator, cf. (1703), relativizer, cf. (1704), and preceding clause, cf. (1705), as clitic hosts.

(1701) **amo_** *na=m-tunest*   *čon*   *geruni*   *bi*   EL1[Beh]. 59
       but   NEG=1SG:A-can.PST   because   expensive   COP.PST
       'But I couldn't buy (it), because it was expensive.'

(1702) *pādšā=š*   *a*   *merd-aku*   *tašakor*   *ke*   EL1[Beh]. 46
king=3SG:A   from   man-DEF   gratitude   do.PST

vo_   *got=**e***
and   say.PST=3SG:A
'The king thanked the man and said.'

(1703) *ay_*   *na=**m**-me-koš-a*   *tā*   BB[Beh]. 18
if   NEG=1SG:O-IND-kill.PRS-2SG   that

biām   *dar*
IRR.come.PRS.1SG   out
'If you don't kill me, I will come out'

(1704) *ya*   *mard-i=š*   *ya*   *morq-i*   *bi*   EL1[Beh]. 63
a   man-INDF=3SG:NC   a   hen-INDF   cop.PST

ke_   *kiliaka-y*   *ziādi=š*   *bi*
REL   chicken   much=3SG:NC   COP.PST
'A man had a hen which had many chickens.'

(1705) *be-š-i_*   *b-ar=**eš**-i*   EL1[Beh]. 73
IRR-go.PRS-2PL   IRR-bring=3SG:O-2PL
'Go bring him.'

Note that in the last example, the clitic skipps the irrealis prefix, and breaks up the chain containing the verb stem plus the verbal affix PM, in violation of clitichood behaviour (cf. Halpern 1998). As syntactic elements, clitics are expected to occur external to inflectional morphemes. The reason for such odd placement could be explained in terms of the syllabic structure of the verb stem, on the one hand, and the second positioning rule, on the other. Note that the verb stem is monosyllabic *ar-*, and the TAM prefix forms a single syllable with it, hence *bar*, which further leaves the combination invisible to clitic hosting. Following the second position placement rule the clitic lodges on the first syllabice element, i.e. *bar*, and further displaces the inflectional morpheme on the verb. This odd behaviour of clitics is also interesting in another sense. In (1705) the stress is word final, that is on the inflectional suffix. The clitic thus breaks up the prosodic structure of the verb form and precedes the otherwise stressed Vaff PM. More examples of this trait of clitics are presented below:

(1706) *b-ar=**š**-am*   *si=t*   EL1[Beh]. 75
IRR-bring.PRS=3SG:O-1SG:A   for=2SG:R
'That I bring it to you.'

(1707) *xāst=me*   *esen=**eš**-im*   EL1[Beh]. 58
want.PST=1PL:NC   buy.PRS =3SG:O-1PL
'We wanted to buy it.'

As said, the clitic hosting particle has no role in the positioning of clitics. It is thus expected that in the absence of eligible clause-initial elements, VP-initial elements host clitics. In the following examples, VP-initial elements of diverse syntactic categories host clitics: a prepositional phrase, cf. (1708), an object NP, cf. (1709), a light verb complement, cf. (1710), verbal prefixes (derivational, cf. (1711)/grammatical, cf. (1712)–(1713)), and the verb stem, cf. (1714).

(1708) *a*   *xodā=**y***   *darxāst*   *ke*   BB[Beh]. 4
from   god=3SG:A   request   do.PST
'He asked God.'

(1709) *si-o*   *se*   *sāl=**am***   *bi*   *ke*   EL1[Beh]. 3
thirty-and   three   year=1SG:NC   COP.PST   when

*ze=**m***   *esse*
woman=1SG:A   take.PST
'They would go (and) would bring him.'

(1710) *vo*   *tamiz=**ey***   *ke*   BO[Beh]. 16
and   clean=3SG:O   do.PST
'And he cleaned (the kitchen).'

(1711) *hā=**m***   *da*   EL1[Beh]. 22
PVB=1SG:R   give.PRS.2SG
'Give me.'

(1712) *xās=et*   *be=**m**-zan-a*   EL1[Beh]. 43
want.PST=2SG:NC   IRR=1SG:O-beat.PRS-2SG
'If you happen (wanted) to hit me.'

(1713) *mi=**š**-bord-am*   *ser-e*   *bum*   ZG[Beh]. 6
IPFV=3SG:A-take.PST-1SG:O   head-EZ   roof
'He would take me onto the roof.'

(1714) *dit=**še***   *moi-ā*   *nis-en*   MB[Beh]. 8
see.PST=3PL:A   fish-PL   NEG.exist.PRS-3PL
'They saw that there were (are) no more fish.'

The above examples illustrate that clitic placement in Behbahani is defined with respect to the first syntactic or morphological element within the clause. It can be concluded that the clitic placement follows the second hierarchy for clitic positioning in clause-based clitic systems (see §5.3.1)

Despite the clause-based clitic system, adpositional complement clitics are placed locally in Behbahani. In other words, adpositional complement clitics have lost their mobility and become

affix-like. In the following examples, the adpositional complement clitic is realized locally regardless of potential elements to the left to host it.

Table 98: Simple and absolute prepositions in Behbahani

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
a	*vešā, vašā, ašā*	'to', from
te	*e_tu, tu*	'in', 'inside'
si		'for'
dim		'with', 'by'

(1715) *me_ ketāb_ **vaše=t** me-sen-am*   EL[Beh]. 25
       1SG   book   from=2SG:R   IND-take.PRS-1SG
       'I will take the book from you.'

(1716) *me_ dot_ **vašā=še** ne-mi-da-m*   EL1[Beh]. 36
       1SG   girl   to=3PL:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS-1SG
       'I won't give (my) daughter to them in marriage.'

(1717) *a ušu_ ke_ **dim=ey** bi-d-an*   EL1[Beh]. 34
       to   3PL   REL   with=3SG:R   COP.PST-EP-3PL
       'To those who were with him.'

In line with adpositional complement clitics, possessor clitics are also realized locally, conforming to the head attraction scenario proposed in Haig (2008) for the changing placement of clitics in Iranian languages.

(1718) *yeki a golâbi-ā_ a das=**ay** oftā*   PS[Beh]. 6
       one   of   pear-PL   from   hand=3SG:POS   fall.PST.3SG
       'One of the pears fell from his hand.'

In sum, clitic placement in Behbahani can be defined with respect to the first syntactic or morphological element at the clausal level. However, S2 positioning in Behbahani is looser in comparison with Middle west Iranian, Davani, and Dashti, in a way that clausal conjunctions are regularly skipped for clitic placement. In addition, no recourse to the clitic hosting particle *o* is made: this further leads the clitic placement to resemble cliticization in VP-based clitic systems (e.g. Central Kurdish). The S2 requirement however causes the clitics to precede the verbal affix PMs when both occur in the same slot on the verb stem.

8.3.5.3.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to multifunctionality of clitic PMs, it is expected to come across two or more clitics in the cliticization domain, i.e. the clause. In present tense constructions the occurrence of multiple clitics can result in a cluster, in which maximally two clitics are present. In the following

examples, following the second positioning rule the O clitic, cf. (1719), and the NC-indexing clitic, cf. (1720) have formed a cluster with the locally-realized possessor clitic.

(1719) *dim-e*   *som=**om=et***   *mi-zen-am*   BB[Beh]. 38
       with-EZ   hoof=1SG:POS=2SG:O   IND-hit.PRS-1SG
       'I will hit you with my hoof.'

(1720) *kār=**t=am***   *he*   EL1[Beh]. 70
       job=2SG:POS=1SG:NC exist.PRS
       'I have a task for you.'

In past transitive constructions, A-past NPs are obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs. Non-subject arguments like objects, adpositional complements, and possessors, can also be expressed by clitic PMs, as in present tense constructions. Now the question arises as which kind of these arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. The examples below suggest that adpositional complements are realized by clitic PMs. In (1721)–(1722) the A-past clitic forms a cluster with the R-indexing clitic. In (1723), on the other hand, clustering is not at stake.

(1721) *dim=š=ē*[130]   *hey*   *bāzi*   *mi-ke*   BC[Beh]. 9
       with=3SG:R=3SG:A   repeatedly   game   IPFV-do.PST
       'She would constantly play with it.'

(1722) *si=š=ē*   *ya*   *sut-i*   *za*   PS[Beh]. 30
       for=3SG:R=3SG:A   a   whistle-INDF   hit.PST
       'He whistled for him.'

(1723) *mā*   *maram* ...   *mardem=še*   *tu=š*   ZZ[Beh]. 9
       month Moharram   people =3PL:A   in=3SG:R

       sine   *mi-ze*
       chest   IPFV-hit.PST
       'People would morn in it (chest beating) during the month of Moharram.'

Likewise, the bound expression of adnominal possessors is through clitic PMs.

(1724) *sarkām=**eš=et***   *xard-e*   SG2[Beh]. 11
       pistil=3SG:POS=2SG:A eat.PST-PERF
       'Why did you eat its pistil.'

(1725) *mošk=**e***   *anbun=**am***   *ne-mi-dezi*   SG2[Beh]. 14
       rat=3SG:A   large.leathern.bottle=1SG:POS   NEG-IPFV-steal.PST
       'The rat wouldn't steal my large leathern bottle.'

---

[130] When third singular clitics occur in a combination, the order is one in which the *=e* form always occurs second in the cluster regardless of its function.

Reflecting the old ergative morphology, direct objects, cf. (1726)–(1727) and non-flagged indirect objects, cf. (1728) are indexed by Vaff PMs. Note that the affixal indexing of these arguments is conditioned to the absence of coreferent NPs.

Table 99: Verbal affix PMs in Behbahani

	SG	PL
1	-am	-im
2	-e, -a	-ī
3	-d/ -Ø	-en

(1726) *bābā=t=eš*   *baqal*   *mi-kerd-am*   ZG[Beh]. 5
father=2SG:POS=3SG:A   hug   IPFV-do.PST-1SG:O
'Your father would hug me.'

(1727) *gorg=e*   *xard-en*   EL1[Beh]. 49
wolf=3SG:A   eat.PST-3PL:O
'The wolf ate them.'

(1728) *zine-y*   *čehrexodā=y*   *nān-e*   SG2[Beh]. 12
wife-EZ   headman=3SG:A   bread-EZ

soxte   *poxte*   *ne-mi-dād-am*
burned   RDP   NEG-IPFV-give.PST-1SG:R
'The wife of headman would not give me burned bread.'

8.3.5.3.5 Clitic-affix sequences

Clitics do not usually combine with Vaff PMs in present tense constructions. The reason lies in the fact that the verb stem is preceded by a clitic hosting TAM, which the clitic takes as its host.

(1729) *mi=t-bor-am*   *der*   EL1[Beh]. 8
IND=2SG:O-take.PRS-1SG   out
'I will take you out.'

(1730) *na=m-m-i*   *be=t-bin-am*   EL1[Beh]. 64
NEG=1SG:NC-IND-want.PRS   IRR=2SG:O-see.PRS-1SG
'I don't want to see you.'

However, there are some case where, as said above, due to syllabification restrictions the chain containing the verb stem and TAM affix forms a single syllable and is thus invisible to cliticization. The clitic thus follows the verb stem but, being a second position clitic, precedes the inflectional affix.

(1731) *b-ar=š-am*   *si=t*   EL1[Beh]. 75
IRR-bring.PRS=3SG:O-1SG:A   for=2SG:R
'That I bring it to you.'

In past transitive constructions, with the bare verb as the last resort for cliticization, clitics can combine with Vaff PMs. The second position clitic intervenes between the verb stem and the inflectional affix:

(1732) *bor=**šen-im***   *marizxuna*   EL2[Beh]. 51
        take.PST=3PL:A-1PL:O   hospital
        'They took us to the hospital.'

(1733) *hā…*   *dit=**em-en***   EL1[Beh]. 44
        yes   see.PST=1PL:A-3PL:O
        'Yes, I saw them.'

It should be recalled that as syntactic items clitics are expected to occur external to morphological words. This is in fact one of strong diagnostics of clitichood in the literature (see e.g. Halpern 1998; Anderson 2005). However, we see that (along with Baneh CK cf. §8.3.1.1.5), Behbahani goes against such a diagnostic. The reason for the placement of clitic in the post-stem slot and before the inflectional affix is (in line with the parallel constructions in the present tense) the second position requirement for the placement of the clitics, which overrides the expected clitic behaviour.

To sum up, Behbahani clitics have been grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs. The domain of cliticization is the clause. Clitics show a loose S2 positioning at the clause level, with subject NPs being possible clitic hosts but to the exclusion of clausal conjunctions. In some contexts clitics break up the prosodic makeup of the affixal word by being placed before the stressed affixes. The second position requirement was argued to be the cause of this odd behaviour of clitics.

8.3.5.4 Luri-type dialects

This section concerns the clitic PMs' syntax in the Luri dialect of Dashtestani, mainly spoken in Dahstestan; Deylam, and Genaveh Counties in the southern province of Bushehr. Dashtestani has borrowed elements from the neighbouring Bushehri, Dashti, and Delvari dialects. The Dashtestani data are further compared with the data from Luri and Bakhtiari. All these dialects are characterized by the nominative-accusative alignment, and the fact that clitic PMs are used principally as pronouns. Clitic placement exhibits a loose VP-based positioning.

Luri data come from Amān Allāhi & Thackston (1986), and Bakhtiari data are from Anonby & Asadi (2014). The investigated Luri dialect in Amān Allāhi & Thackston (1986) is that of 'Bala-

Gariva', spoken in the south of Lorestan province. And the Bakhtiari dialect is that of 'Haft Lang' from the area surrounding Masjed Solaymān.

8.3.5.4.1 Form

The paradigm of clitic PMs in three dialects are set out below.

Table 100: Clitic PMs in Luri-type dialects

		Dashtestani	Bakhtiari	Luri
SG	1	=om		=(a)m
	2	=(e)t		=(a)t
	3	=(e)š	(e)=s	=(a)š
PL	1	=mon	=mön	=mūn
	2	=ton	=tön	=tūn
	3	=šon	=sön	=šūn

The major difference lies in Bakhtiari's third person forms with *s*, compared to *š* in other dialects. The other differences include the degree of the roundness and backness of the vocalic element in plural forms, and the vocalic element which accompanies the singular forms. Interestingly, the paradigms call for closer similarity of Dashtestani and Bakhtiari vs. Luri.

8.3.5.4.2 Functions

The most striking function of clitics in new Iranian languages, i.e. indexing A-past NPs, is lost in Luri-type dialects. Nonetheless, clitic PMs mark a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1734), a direct object, cf. (1735), an adpositional complement, cf. (1736), and a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1737). The use of clitic PMs in all these functions is conditioned to the absence of the co-referent NPs.

(1734) *biyā   kura=š   ba-ir-im*
       let's   colt=3SG:POS   IRR-grab.PRS-1PL
       'Let's capture its colt.' (Amān Allāhi & Thackston 1986: 145)

(1735) *o   šer-e   dāl=es   kerd-en*
       and   piece-EZ   tearing=3SG:O do.PST-3PL:A
       'They tore him to pieces.' (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 95)

(1736) *dai=m   ejāze   va=m   dā-Ø*   EL[Lor]. 36
       mother=1SG:POS   permission   to=1SG:R   give.PST-3SG
       'My mother gave me permission.'

(1737) *Eli*   *dād-ϕ=**em**-a*   EL[Lor]. 80

PN   give.PST-3SG=1SG:R-PERF

'Ali has given (it) to me.'

In addition, clitic PMs mark the subject like argument is the following constructions: 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1738)–(1739), and existential constructions, cf. (1740). The clitics' use in these constructions is obligatory.

(1738) *sard=**om**-e*   EL[Lor]. 62

cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG

'I'm cold.'

(1739) *ke*   *hamočo*   *xav*   *bord-ϕ=**es***

COMP   right.there   sleep   take.PST.3SG=3SG:NC

'He fell asleep there.' (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 100)

(1740) *tā*   *zinde=**t**-e*

till   alive=2SG:NC-COP.3SG

'As long as you are alive.' (Bakhtiari, Windfuhr 1988: 560)

As said, the A-past use of clitics is absent in Luri-type dialects. Thus, reflecting the accusative alignment, the same set of Vaff PMs index A arguments across all tenses.

(1741) *dusal=**eš***   *umeden*   *va=**š***   *goft-en*   CG[Lor]. 3

friend=3SG:POS   come.PST   to=3SG:R   say.PST-3PL

'Her friends came over (and) told her.'

(1742) *meqdāri*   *čub*   *mi-bor-om*   WC[Lor]. 3

a.little   wood   IND-cut.PRS-1SG

'I will chop some wood.'

8.3.5.4.3 Placement of clitic PMs

The placement of clitic PMs in all Luri dialects is reduced to the nonverbal complement of the complex predicates, cf. (1743)–(1744), and the verb stem with inflections, cf. (1745).

(1743) *dig*   *seg-i*   *gāz=**om***   *gereft-ϕ*   EL[Lor]. 52

yesterday   dog-INDF   bite=3SG:O   take.PST-3SG

'A dog bit me yesterday.'

(1744) *nā-ter*   *mi-ter-om*   *temiz=**eš***   *kon-om*   BO[Lor]. 13

quick-CMPR   IND-can.PRS-1SG   clean=3SG:O   IRR.do.PRS-1SG

'I can clean it quicker.'

(1745) *košt-om=**eš***   EL[Lor]. 13

kill.PST-1SG:A=3SG:O

'I killed him.'

The following example shows that the object NP is skipped for hosting the R-indexing clitic. This example suggests that the verb is the preferred landing site for clitics.

(1746) *gavu   rend-e   ham   ya   most*
      brother crafty-DEF   also   one   handful

      *novn   kule_   dād-Ø=**es***
      bread   dried   give.PST.3SG=3SG:R
      'The crafty brother gave him a handful of dry bread.' (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 99)

Grammatical verbal prefixes are not possible clitic hosts:

(1747) *bāyad   ma   ba-ir-am=**aš***
      should   1SG   IRR-grab.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
      'I must catch it.' (Amān Allāhi & Thackston 1986: 145)

(1748) *ne-mi-šnāxt-om=**eš***   EL[Lor]. 15
      NEG-IPFV-know.PST-1SG=3SG:O
      'I wouldn't know her.'

The facts of clitic placement across Luri-type dialects suggest that the second hierarchy for clitic placement in VP-based positioning, highlighted in §5.4.1, is accountable for clitic placement. Note further that a loose version of that hierarchy applies to clitic placement across Luri (since for instance an object NP is not a clitic host).

As expected in languages with accusative alignment (cf. Bijar SK §8.3.1.3.3; Laki Harsini §8.3.1.7.3), adpositional complement clitics have lost their mobility, and acquired affix-like behaviour. In other words, adpositional complements are realized on their head adpositions regardless of the available preceding elements to host them.

(1749) *iškār-hā_   da=**t**   ba-xar-im*
      game-PL   from=2SG:R   IRR-buy.PRS-1PL
      'We would like to buy some game from you.' (Amān Allāhi & Thackston 1986: 148)

(1750) *mo   doxtar_   va=**šu**   ne-mi-d-om*   EL[Lor]. 36
      1SG   girl   to=3PL:R   NEG-IND-give.PRS-1SG
      'I won't give (my) daughter to them.'

8.3.5.4.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

In present tense constructions, two or more clitics can occur in the same cliticization domain, yet, their co-occurrence does not result in a clitic cluster.

(1751) *si=**t**   bisi=**šun**   kon-om*   EL[Lor]. 75
      for=2SG:R   send=3PL:O   do.PRS-1SG
      'That I send them over to you.'

In the same way no restriction applies to multiple cliticization in past tense transitive constructions.

8.3.5.4.5 Clitic-affix sequences

In both present and past transitive construction, the ordering in clitic-affix sequences is such that in which the O clitic follows the A-indexing Vaff PM:

(1752) *ne-mi-zan-om=et*   EL[Lor]. 70
       NEG-IND-beat.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I won't beat you.'

(1753) *xard-en=es*
       eat.PST-3PL=3SG:O
       'They ate him.' (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 95)

In conclusion, following the development of accusative alignment, clitic PMs function principally as pronouns in Luri-type dialects. In terms of placement, except for limited mobility of object clitics, clitics have lost their mobility in other functions, e.g. as complements of adpositions. Finally, clitics have a fixed order with respect to Vaff PMs in all verb forms.

8.3.5.5 Dashti

Dashti is a Southwest Iranian dialect spoken in the cities of Khormuj, Kaki and their surroundings in the south of Bushehr province, Iran. Clitics in Dashti have grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs. Like in Davani, Dashti has preserved clausal second positioning of clitics, in which clause-initial clitic hosting particles have a vital role. The data for this presentation were gathered during two fieldworks to the region in February 2018, and December 2019, and include elicitation tasks, and three free narratives (codified as ZK, KX, and EJ in the database). Informants are three males, aged 55, 63, and 78.

8.3.5.5.1 Form

The paradigm of clitic PMs is set out below:

Table 101: Clitic PMs in Dashti

	SG	PL
1	=m	=mu
2	=t	=tu
3	=š	=šu

8.3.5.5.2 Functions

Clitic PMs index an adnominal possessor, cf. (1754), an O-prs NP, cf. (1755), an adpositional complement, cf. (1756), and an A-past NP, cf. (1757). It is only in the last functions that clitics obligatorily index the coreferent NP.

(1754) *pā=**m***   *bihes-en*   ZK[Dsh]. 15
        foot=1SG:POS   numb-COP.3SG
        'My feet are numb.'

(1755) *e=**t***   *ne-mi-zen-om*   EL[Dsh]. 70
        PTC=2SG:O   NEG-IND-hit.PRS.1SG
        'I won't hit you.'

(1756) *ketāb-eku*   *šā=**š***   *vāy-mi-san-om*   EL[Dsh]. 38
        book-DEF   from=3SG:R   PVB-IND-take.PRS-1SG
        'I will take the book from him.'

(1757) *e=**š***   *ādam*   *mi-košt*   KX[Dsh]. 16
        PTC=3SG:A   people   IPFV-kill.PST
        'He would kill people.'

In addition to these, clitic PMs obligatorily index subject-like arguments, regardless of the tense of the verb, in the constructions 'predicative possession', cf. (1758), 'potentiality', cf. (1759), 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1760), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1760).

(1758) *yāzda*   *tā*   *zen=**eš**=am*   *bi*   KX[Dsh]. 17
        eleven   CLF   woman=3SG:NC=ADD   exist.PST
        'In addition, he had elven wives.'

(1759) *o=**mu***   *ne-šāyi*   *gerun*   *bi*   EL[Dsh]. 59
        PTC=1PL:A   NEG-be able.PST   expensive   exist.PST
        'We weren't able [to buy it]; it was expensive.'

(1760) *e=**t***   *m-it*   *če*   *be-fam-i*   EL[Dsh]. 60
        PTC=2SG:NC   IND-want.PRS.3SG   what   IRR-understand.PRS-2SG
        'What do you want to understand?'

(1761) *gošna=**t**-en*   EL[Dsh]. 62
        hungry=2SG:NC-COP.3SG
        'You are hungry.'

Finally, the old ergative morphology on past transitive verbs is lost.

(1762) *Sinā=**š***   *mā*   *tu*   *xiābun*   *di*   EL[Dsh]. 25
        PN=3SG:A   1PL   in   street   see.PST
        'Sina ran into us in the street.'

8.3.5.5.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Dashti clitics are second-positioning in the sense of Wackernagel. That is, they attach to the first element of the clause. Following examples illustrate that elements from diverse syntactic categories host clitics:

I. Subject NP

(1763) *Irān=eš*   *ārāk*   *sarnegun*   *ke*   EJ[Dsh]. 21
Iran=3SG:A   Iraq   destroyed   do.PST
'Iran destroyed Iraq.'

(1764) *Emrikā=š*   *Sadām Hoseyn*   *āwu*   EJ[Dsh]. 22
America=3SG:A   S. Hussein   bring.PST
'The United States brought Saddam Hussein.'

II. Prepositional phrase

(1765) *šey*   *kolt=šu*   *mi-go*   *pišdo*   KX[Dsh]. 6
to   side.arm=3PL:A   IPFV-say.PST   PN
'They would say *pišdo* to 'side arm.''

(1766) *xode*   *sadām=šu*   *solh*   *ke*   EJ[Dsh]. 13
with   Saddam=3PL:A   peace   do.PST
'They made peace with Saddam.'

III. Clausal Adverbs

(1767) *sob=mu*   *harekat*   *mi-ke*   ZK[Dsh]. 48
morning=1PL:A   movement   IPFV-do.PST

xorub   *mi-resid-im*   *Xormuj*
evening   IPFV-arrive.PST-1PL   PN
'We would start (travelling) in the morning and we would arrive to Khurmuj in the evening.'

(1768) *intori=š*   *ši=šun*   *mi-ndāxt*   KX[Dsh]. 19
this.way=3SG:A   to=3PL:R   IPFV-fall.PST
'This way, he would fall on them.'

IV. Preposition

(1769) *šā=šu*   *na-raft*   EL[Dsh]. 33
with=3PL:R   NEG-go.PST.3SG
'He didn't go with them.'

V. 'and'-coordinator

(1770) *wa=š*   *xāk*   *ke*   EL[Dsh]. 14
and=3SG:A   soil   do.PST
'And he buried (him).'

VI. Other conjunctions

(1771) yā=**šu**   mā   davat   kerd-ey   EL[Dsh]. 50
       or=3PL:A   1PL   invitation   do.PST-PERF
       'Or they have invited us.'

(1772) tā=**t**   moraxas   āi   ZK[Dsh]. 36
       that=2SG:O   released   IRR.give.PRS.3SG
       'That he let you go.'

VII. 'If'-subordinator

(1773) age=**šu**   pors-e   to   ke
       if=3PL:A   question-EZ   2SG   do.pST
       'If they asked you.'

VIII. The last element of the preceding clause

(1774) beča-y   mo   pā   mi-bi=**š**   KX[Dsh]. 9
       kid-EZ   1SG   foot   IPFV-become.PST=3SG:A

       to   mi-košt
       2SG   IPFV-kill.PST
       'My son would get up (and) kill you.'

As seen elements of diverse categories are eligible to host clitics. If none of these eligible hosts are available clause-initially, the particle *o-* (now phonologically changed into *e* before 2 and 3 persons), a reflex of the WMI 'and-conjunctor particle' *u-* resurfaces and acts as a clitic host, hence guaranteeing the clause-second positioning of clitic PMs. This is shown below for a paradigmatic form of the verb 'to see'.

(1775)   *o=m di*   [PTC=1SG:A   see.PST]   'I saw.'
             e=t di   [PTC=2SG:A   see.PST]   'You (sg.) saw.'
             e=š di   [PTC=3SG:A   see.PST]   'S/he saw.'
             o=mu di   [PTC=1PL:A   see.PST]   'We saw.'
             e=tu di   [PTC=2PL:A   see.PST]   'You (pl.) saw.'
             e=šu di   [PTC=3PL:A   see.PST]   'They saw.'

Similarly, in the following examples the resurfaced particle excludes the VP-initial elements, i.e. object NP, cf. (1776)–(1778), and the indirect object, cf. (1779) from clitic hosting. Therefor, the cliticization domain remains clausal.

(1776) o=**mu**   xali-ā   meret   ZK[Dsh]. 18
       PTC=1PL:A   grain-PL   IPFV-pour.PST

       tu   kom-e   hasio
       in   belly-EZ   mill
       'We would pour the grains into the mill.'

(1777) e=**šu**   erus   soār   xar   ā-mi-ke   ZK[Dsh]. 4
       PTC=3PL:A   bride   ride   donkey   PVB=IPFV-do.PST
       'They would raise the bride to the donkey.'

(1778) *e=**šu***   *gelim-a*   *por-e ka*   *mi-ke*   ZK[Dsh]. 5
        PTC=1SG:A   tapis-DEF   full-EZ mow   IPFV-do=PST
        'They would fill the tapis (packsaddle) with mow.'

(1779) *o=**mu***   *ri*   *xar*   *mi-nā*   ZK[Dsh]. 20
        PTC=1PL:A   on   donkey   IPFV-put.PST
        'We would put (the sack) on donkeys.'

The same placement tendencies apply for the positioning of the O-indexing clitic. In (1780)–(1781) the O clitic attaches to the conjunctions. In (1782) the particle resurfaces to avoid the cliticization on the verb.

(1780) *usā=**t***   *mi-wor-om*   *sarā*   EL[Dsh]. 8
        then=2SG:O   IND-take.PRS-1SG   desert
        'Then I will take you out.'

(1781) *tā=**t***   *moraxas*   *āi*   ZK[Dsh]. 36
        that=2SG:O   released   IRR.give.PRS.3SG
        'That he let you go.'

(1782) *aya..*   *o=**m***   *bo-koš-an*   ZK[Dsh]. 15
        if   PTC=1SG:O   IRR-kill.PRS-3PL
        '(Even) if they kill me,'

The clitic placement tendencies thus point to the fact that the first hierarchy of clitic positioning in clause-based cliticization systems, highlighted in §5.3.1, is accountable for the clitic placement. Of particular importance in Dashti's clitic system is the clitic hosting particle *o-* (or its variant *e-*), which resurfaces to host clitics whenever clausal second positioning is at risk, i.e. when eligible clause-initial hosts are absent in the clause. The following excerpt displays perfectly, where necessary, the resurfacing particle keeps the A-past clitic in the clause-second position. Note further the availability of different elements as clitic hosts:

(1783) *Emrikā=š*   *hojum*   *ke,*   EJ[Dsh]. 16
        America=3SG:A   attack   do.PST

        e=š   *Saddam*   *gereft,*
        PTC=3SG:A   PN   grab.PST

        e=š   *bord*   *emrikā,*
        PTC=3SG:A   take.pst   America

        modati=š   *zendān*   *ke,*
        a.while=3SG:A prison   do.PST

        e=š   *āvord,*
        PTC=3SG:A   bring.PST

        tu   *ārāk=**eš***   *edām*   *ke*
        in   Iraq=3SG:A   execution   do.PST

'The United States attacked (Iraq). They caught Saddam Hussein (and) took him to the United States. The United States imprisoned him for a while, (then) brought (him) back, (and) executed him in Iraq.'

The clausal second positioning does not apply to the placement of adpositional complement clitics. Put differently, these clitics have lost their mobility and are fixed on their head adpositions, hence displaying an affix-like behaviour.

Table 102: Simple and absolute prepositions in Dashti

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
šey, si	*šā, si*	'to'
šey	*šā*	'from'
xod	*he*	'with'
si		'for'
tu		'in'

(1784) *hezār-o*   *punsad*   *toman=et=am_*   ZK[Dsh]. 57
thousand-and   five.hundred   toman=2SG:POS=ADD

he=t   *bi*
with=2SG:R   exist.PST
'Your money (1,500 Tomans) remained always with you .'

(1785) *vo_*   *bāzjui_*   ***šā=š***   *mi-kon-an*   EL[Dsh]. 38
and   interrogation   from=3SG:R   IND-do.PRS-3SPL
'And they interrogate him.'

(1786) *ya*   *kar-i_*   ***si=t***   *be-ga-m*   EL[Dsh]. 77
a   job-INDF   to=2SG:R   IRR-tell.PRS-1SG

mi-kon-ey
IND-do.PRS-3SPL
'Will you do me a favor?'

Likewise, possessor clitics have lost their mobility and are not subject to movement to the clausal second position.

(1787) *kolah-e bari=am_*   *sar=**aš***   *bi*   KX[Dsh]. 4
sombrero=ADD   head=3SG:POS COP.PST.3SG
'There was a sombrero on his head too/ He had a sombrero on his head too'

8.3.5.5.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to the multifunctionality of clitics, two or more clitics are allowed to occur in the same clause. The example below is representative of multiple clitics in the present tense.

(1788) *kār=**om***   *en*   *šā=**t***   EL[Dsh]. 70
       job=1SG:NC   exist.PRS   with=2SG:R
       'I have a business for you.'

In past transitive constructions, the clitic indexing of an A-past NP is obligatory. The question arises as which kind of arguments are subject to realization via old suffixal morphology. Possessors, cf. (1789)–(1790), and adpositional complements, cf. (1791)–(1792), are realized by clitic PMs. Note that in all examples below the A-past clitic is realized clause-initially and the possessor and R clitics are realized locally on their respective heads.

(1789) *e=**šu***   *sar=**aš***   *bori*   KX[Dsh]. 26
       PTC=3PL:A   head=3SG:POS cut.PST
       'They cut off his head.'

(1790) *e=**šu***   *sar=**aš***   *injā*   *dafn*   *ke*   KX[Dsh]. 27
       PTC=3PL:A   head=3SG:POS here   burial   do.PST
       'My mother let me (come out).'

(1791) *e=**šu***   *arus*   *tu=**š***   *mi-nā*   ZK[Dsh]. 7
       PTC=3PL:A   bride   in=3SG:R   IPFV-put.PST
       'They would put the bride in it.'

(1792) *e=**š***   *si=**m***   *go*   EL[Dsh]. 62
       PTC=3SG:A   to=1SG:R   say.PST
       'He told me.'

Reflecting the old ergative morphology on past transitive verbs, the O argument is indexed by Vaff PMs. However, Vaff PMs have been deinflectionalized and index an O argument only in the absence of the coreferent NP.

Table 103: Verbal affix person markers in Dashti

	SG	PL
1	-om, -em	-im
2	-i	-id, -tu
3	-et/ -Ø	-an

(1793) *buwā=**m**=eš*   *besi*   *kerd-**em***   EL[Dsh]. 53
       father=1SG:POS=3SG:A   sending   do.PST-1SG:O
       'My father sent me over.'

(1794) *e=**š***   *aqd*   *ne-mi-kerd-**an***   KX[Dsh]. 18
       PTC=3SG:A   marriage   NEG-IPFV-do.PST-3PL:O
       'He wouldn't marry them.'

(1795) *e=**š***   *moāword-an*   *tu*   *xune*
       PTC=3SG:A   IPFV.bring.PST-3PL:O   in   home
       'He would bring them home.'

8.3.5.5.5 Clitic-affix sequences

Considering the general clause-second positioning, clitics usually do not form a sequence with Vaff PMs. The clitic is rather placed in the pre-verbal dmain on the clitic hosting particle. Note also that the marking of A and O is reversed in the present vs. past tense.

(1796) *e=t* *ne-mi-zen-om* EL[Dsh]. 70
 PTC=2SG:O NEG-IND-hit.PRS-1SG:A
 'I won't hit you.'

(1797) *o=mu* *mi-košt-an* EJ[Dsh]. 20
 PTC=1PL:A IPFV-kill.PST-3PL:O
 'We would kill them.'

In short, Dashti displays tense-sensitive alignment known from other WILs. In terms of placement clitics are positioned second in clause. In line with Middle Iranian and Davani, the clitic hosting particle *o-* is of particular importance in retaining clitic placement at the clause level.

8.3.5.6 Delvari

Delvari refers to the dialect spoken in Delvar township in Bushehr Province. Delvari shows a complex clitic system in its morpho-syntax: while the clitic placement is now defined with respect to the first element within the VP-based, a relic of older clausal-based clitic positioning, now triggered by information structure, is still available. In addition, stress plays a role in the positioning of clitics. In terms of functionality of person markers, only a relic of the older suffixal morphology is remained. The data were gathered during a fieldwork to the region in February 2018 and include elicitation tasks, a folktale (coded as TB), and a free narrative (coded as SZ). The main informant is a 60-year-old man, who in addition to narrating the folktale, would make a speech situation of his own upon reading the 'filling the gap' task', rendering the latter more like natural data rather than elicited data. Other Informants are two females, aged 35, and 40. In addition, reference will be made to Haig and Nemati's (2013) paper on Delvari clitics.

8.3.5.6.1 Form

Following table shows different sets of clitic PMs in Delvari:

	SG	PL
1	=(o)m	=(e)mu
2	=(e)t	=(e)tu
3	=(e)š	=(e)šu

Clitics' main mode of attachment is in the form of enclitics. In rare cases the original enclitic resylabifies with the neighbouring vowel-initial element to its right in a proclitic grab.

(1798) *ya   zen-i   boč   š=ā-mi-sond*   EL[Del1]. 39
        a   woman-INDF   child 3SG:POS=PVB-IND-take.PRS.3SG
        'A woman picks up her child.'

(1799) *kār   **m=en**   šā=t*   EL[Del1]. 70
        task   1SG:NC=COP.3SG   with=2SG:R
        'I have a business with you.'

8.3.5.6.2 Functions

Clitic PMs clitics have a central role in the grammar, and index syntactic functions like an adnominal possessor, cf. (1800), a direct object, cf. (1801), an adpositional complement, cf. (1802), and an A-past NP, cf. (1803). Only in the last function have clitics developed into agreement markers.

(1800) *xin=**eš**   bā*   TB[Del]. 16
        blood=3SG:POS   IRR.bring.PRS.2SG
        'Bring his blood.'

(1801) *ke   bo-koš-im=**eš***   TB[Del]. 34
        that   IRR-kill.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
        'That we kill him.'

(1802) *emru šā=**š**   mi-ga-n   park*   EL[Del]. 3
        today to=3SG:R   IND-say.PRS-3PL   park
        'They call it 'park' nowadays.'

(1803) *boč-i   ke   mā   bord=**emu**-en*   TB[Del]. 34
        child-RESTR   REL   1PL   take.PST=1PL:A-PERF
        'The child whom we took.'

In addition to these, clitic PMs obligatorily mark subject-like arguments, regardless of the tense of the verb, in the following constructions: predicative possession, cf. (1804), necessity and wanting , cf. (1805), non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1806), and (less commonly) potentiality, cf. (1807).

(1804) *hānā* *ye* *mai* *š=en*   BS[Del]. 8
       PN   a   fish   3SG:NC=exist.PRS
       'Hannah has a fish.'

(1805) *mo*   *i*   *dot-aku=**m***   *mesgā*   EL[Del]. 67
       1SG   DEM   girl-DEF=1SG:NC   IND.want
       'I want this girl.'

(1806) *mo*   *sarmā=**m**-en*   EL[Del]. 62
       1SG   cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
       'I am cold.'

(1807) *ne-mi-šā=**m**-en*   *sarā*   *bām*   EL[Del]. 33
       NEG-IND-be able=1SG:NC-COP.3SG   desert   IRR.come.PRS.1SG
       'I cannot come out.'

To these, we can add the marking of 'existential constructions' in the present tense, where the existent entity could be realized by a clitic PM.

(1808) *boč-ā=t*   *nis=**šu***   *xo*   EL[Del]. 49
       child-PL=2SG:POS   NEG.COP=3PL:NC   EMPH
       'Your children are not (around).'

Finally, at the cost of digression, the old ergative morphology is disappeared from past transitive verbs, hence no agreement marking of the object NP.

(1809) *mā=**šu***   *bo*   *bimārestān*   EL[Del]. 51
       1PL=3PL:A   take.PST   hospital
       'They took us to the hospital.'

8.3.5.6.3 Placement of clitic PMs

In discussing the clitic placement of Delvari, Haig and Nemati (2013) take clause (with some restrictions) as the relevant domain for the placement of A-past clitics and call for information-structure factors, i.e. shift in the focus, whenever S2 is overridden. Following examples form our corpus confirms the role of information structure in the placement of clitics. As can be seen, different focused elements have hosted the clitics: the question mark, cf. (1810), the left-dislocated object, cf. (1811), the subject NP, cf. (1812), the adverb; cf. (1813), and the verb, cf. (1814):

(1810) *i*   *ketābā*   *ka=š*   *day-en*   *si=t*   EL[Del]. 80
       DEM   book-PL   who=3SG:A   give.PST-PERF to=2SG:R
       'These books, who gave you?'

(1811) *mese*   *un*   *āyem-eku=**m***   *ke*   *košt-en*   SZ[Del]. 4
       like   DEM   man-DEF=1SG:A   REL   kill.PST-PERF
       'Like that person whom I killed.'

(1812) to=**t** āyem košt-en   SZ[Del]. 7
2SG=2SG:A man kill.PST-PERF
'You killed a human being.'

(1813) me āyem hiči=**m** ne-košt-en   SZ[Del]. 8
1SG man nothing=1SG:A NEG-kill.PST-PERF
'I haven't killed any man.'

(1814) u āyem-i ke šomā xeri=**tu**   TB[Del]. 32
DEM person-INDF REL 2PL buy.PST=2PL:A
'That person whom you bought.'

While the role of information structure in the placement of clitics is unavoidable in the above examples, in a large number of the examples in our corpus, clitic positioning is determined with respect to the first element within the verb phrase:

(1815) tu Kapar zendegi=**šu**   EL[Del]. 1
in tent life=3PL:A

mi-kerd-en /* tu Kapar=šu zendegi mike
IPFV-do.PST-PERF
'They would live in Kapar.'

(1816) dai=mu mi-bord=**eš**   EL[Del]. 42
mother=1PL:POS IPFV-take.PST=3SG:A

si=mu /* dai=mu=š mi-bord si=mu
PREP=1PL:R
'Our mother would take us.'

(1817) i hafta-yku xeyli pil=**om**   SL1[Del]. 23
DEM week-DEF a.lot money=1SG:A

xarj kerd-en /* i hafta-yku=m xeyli pil xarj kerd-en
expense do.PST-PERF
'I spent a lot of money this week.'

(1818) i=**t** ši gel hā-kerd-en   SZ[Del]. 9
DEM=2SG:A under mud PVB-do.PST-PERF
'You have buried him.'

(1819) āyam-i ke xelāf=**eš** ke   ZD[Del]. 1
man-INDF REL crime=3SG:A do.PST
'A person who did commit a murder.'

From these examples one might provisionally suggest that while the clitic positioning is sensitive to the information structure, as already proposed by Haig and Nemati (2013), very frequently it is the first element within the VP that hosts the clitic PM.

Further exploration into the data suggests that stress also plays a role in determining clitic placement, when the relevant hosts are inflectional and derivational prefixes on the verb.

Among such prefixes, the TAM prefix in (1820), and derivational prefixes, cf. (1821)–(1822) are not stress-bearing and consequently are skipped for clitic hosting:

(1820) *mi-got=**emu***   EL[Del]. 6
       IND-say.PST=1PL:A
       'We would say.'

(1821) *vā-sā=**š***   *raft*   EL[Del]. 25
       PVB-take.PST=3SG:A   go.PST
       'He took (it) and went away.'

(1822) *me-sgā=**m***   *bi*   *vā-sen-em=**eš***   EL[Del]. 68
       IPFV-want=1SG:NC   COP.PST   PVB-take.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
       'I wished to buy it.'

The negative formative has two alternates: *ne* and *na* The former occurs in the formation of present tense verb forms and is unstressed. On the other hand, *na* occurs with past tense verb forms and is stressed. Among these two, only the stressed *na* can host the clitic PM:

(1823) *geruni*   *bi*   *na=**m**-xeri*   EL[Del]. 59
       expensive   COP.PST   NEG=1SG:A-buy.PST
       'It was expensive (so) I didn't buy (it).'

(1824) *na=**m**-šnāxt*   *si=š*   EL[Del]. 15
       NEG=1SG:A-know.PST   PREP=3SG:O
       'I didn't recognize him.'

(1825) *mo*   *na=**m**-fahmi*   EL[Del]. 52
       1SG   NEG=1SG:A-understand.PST
       'I didn't understand.'

The unstressed *ne* is not capable of clitic hosting:

(1826) *ke*   *nendāz-en=**eš***   TB[Del]. 62
       that   NEG.throw.PRS-3PL=3SG:O
       'That they don't throw it.'

(1827) *boro*   *tā*   *ne-zed-en=**et***   /*ne=**t**-zed-en* EL[Del]. 25
       IRR.go.PRS.2SG   till   NEG.IRR-beat.PRS-3PL=2SG:O
       'Leave before they beat you.'

(1828) *ne-mi-zen-em=**et***   /*ne=**t**-mi-zen-em*   EL[Del]. 70
       NEG-IND-hit.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
       'I won't beat you.'

(1829) *ne-mi-šnāxt=**om***   *si=š*   /*ne=**m**-mi-šnāxt si=š*   EL[Del]. 15
       NEG-IPFV-know.PST=1SG:A   PREP=3SG:O
       'I didn't recognize him.'

Note that in Haig and Nemati's analysis the negative formative unequivocally takes the clitic as a host regardless of the tense of the verb. Our analysis, on the other hand, considers stress as a relevant factor for the placement of clitics on derivational and inflectional prefixes.

A possible alternative account for clitic positioning in Delvari would be that the latter shows traces of older clausal S2 positioning, which is still viable in the neighbouring Dashti (see §8.3.5.5), spoken only 40 kilometres to the east of Delvar. If the older S2 positioning will be taken as the point of departure, then it would be plausible to assume that the older S2 positioning has succumbed to VP-based positioning. However, stress and (less so) clausal focus override VP-second positioning. Overall, the facts of clitic positioning roughly suggest that the first hierarchy of clitic positioning in VP-based languages, highlighted in §5.4.1, is accountable for clitic placement in Delvari.

8.3.5.6.4 Object clitics

Although the number of object clitics are limited in our corpus, yet we assume that the same VP-based positioning account can be hold for the placement of O clitics. As already visible from the examples (1826)–(1828) above, the stress has a role in the placement of O clitics in the clause. In the same manner, following examples suggest that object clitics follow VP-based positioning:

(1830) *tu*   *dig-e*   *rangi_*   TB[Del]. 58
       in   caldron-EZ   colorful

      *hol=**eš***   *mi-de-n*
      pushing=3SG:O   IND.do.PRS.3PL
      'They push him into the colorful caldron.'

(1831) *ke_*   *tu*   *dig_*   *ne-(e)ndāz-en=**eš***   TB[Del]. 62
      COMP   in   caldron   NEG-throw.PRS-3PL=3SG:O
      'That they don't throw him into the caldron.'

(1832) *mo_*   *zutar_*   *tamiz=**eš***   *mi-kon-om*   BO[Del]. 14
      1SG   sooner   clean=3SG:O   IND-do.PRS-1SG
      'I will clean it sooner.'

(1833) *lo=**š***   *mi-de-n*   TB[Del]. 58
      pushing=3SG:O   IND-do.PRS-3PL
      'They push him.'

In (1830)–(1831) the adjunct phrases are skipped for hosting the object clitic. The clitic thus has moved onto the verb as the first element of the VP. The same VP-based placement is true of (1832) where the object clitic has skipped both the subject NP and the adverb and takes the

light verb complement as its host. Finally, in (1833) the light verb complement is the VP-first element and hosts the object clitic.

What these examples suggest is that, as with A-past cliticization, the relevant domain for the realization of object clitics is the VP. However, the two examples below, suggest the S2-positioing for object clitics: in our account these examples represent the older clausal second positioning of clitics.

(1834) *sey   māšin=**om**   mi-ver-et*
      with   car=1SG:O   IND-take.PRS-3SG
      'S/he takes me by car.' (Haig & Nemati 2013, citing Mamasani 2005: 72)

(1835) *xo=**om**=eš   mi-ver-om*
      REFL=1SG:POS=3SG:O   IND-take.PRS-3SG
      'I take her/him myself.' (Haig & Nemati 2013, citing Mamasani 2005: 72)

8.3.5.6.5 Prepositional object clitic placement

Adpositional complement clitics have lost their mobility and occur on their preposition heads in both tenses. In other words, the placement of these clitic does not abide the VP-second positioning rule.

Table 105: Simple and absolute prepositions in Delvari

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
šey[131], say, si	*šā ,sā, si*	'to'
si	*si*	'for'
az, šey	*az, šā*	'from'
šay, say	*šā*	'with'

(1836) *be   nām   masul_   **šā=šun**   mi-g-en*   EL[Del]. 28
      by   name   authority   to=3PL:R   IND-say.PRS-3PL
      'They are called authorities.' [lit. Namely, they call them authorities]

(1837) *dast_   **šā=š**   be-kiš*   EL[Del]. 67
      hand   from=3SG:R   IRR-pull.PRS.IMP.2SG
      'Let go of her.' [lit. pull out (your) hand of her]

(1838) *atr_   **tu=š-en***   EL[Del]. 17
      parfume   in=3SG:R-COP.3SG
      'There is perfume in it.'

---

[131] The preposition *šay* (or *say*), and its absolute form šā are multifunctional, and mark simultaneously recipients, sources, and companions. In marking recipients, *šay* alternates with the polyfunctional beneficiary preposition *si*. When marking source arguments, *šay* alternates with *az*, which is seemingly borrowed from Persian.

8.3.5.6.6 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Since clitics are multifunctional, it is expected to find two or more clitics in the same clause. In (1839), an example of multiple clitics in present tense is seen.

(1839) *bisi=š*   *kon-om*   *si=t*   EL[Del]. 76
       sending=3SG:O   IRR.do.PRS-1SG   for=2SG:R
       'That I send it over to you.'

In past transitive constructions, clitic PMs obligatorily index an A-past NP. The question remains as which kind of arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Adpositional complements and possessors are realized by clitic PMs. In the examples below the A-past clitic forms a cluster with possessor and R clitics. The order is such that the A-past clitic occurs second.

(1840) *si=t=om*   *xarid*   *kerd-en*   SL2[Del]. 26
       fro=2SG:R=1SG:A   shopping   do.PST-PERF
       'I did shop for you.'

(1841) *jigar=om=šu*   *xin*   *ā-kerd-en*   EL[Del]. 43
       liver=1SG:POS=3PL:A blood PVB-do.PST-PERF
       'You made me crazy.' [lit. You filled my liver with blood]

The bound realization of direct objects remains for the most part through clitic PMs. However, the O-indexing clitic cannot be directly realized on the verb, and requires the supporting (dummy) preposition *si* for this purpose.

(1842) *di=m*   *si=šu*   EL[Del]. 44
       see.PST=1SG:A   PREP=3PL:O
       'I saw them.'

(1843) *aval*   *na=m-šenāxt*   *si=šu*   EL[Del]. 45
       first   NEG=1SG:A-know.PST   PREP=3SG:O
       'I didn't recognize them first.'

The clitic indexing is the preferred pattern for the expression of O arguments. However, a relic of the older suffixal morphology was found in some examples in the corpus. Here, the Vaff PMs index the absent object NP.

Table 106: Verbal affix PMs in Delvari

	SG	PL
1	-om, -am	-im
2	-i	-itu
3	-t/ -Ø	-en

(1844) *ri* *taxt-ā=**šu**   *xetānd-**im***   EL[Del]. 51
   on bed-PL=3PL:A   sleep-CAUS.PST-1PL:O
   'They laid us on beds.'

(1845) *boā=**m***   *bisi=š*   *kerd-**am***   EL[Del]. 53
   father=1SG:POS send=3SG:A do.PST-1SG:O
   'My father sent me over.'

(1846) *ājez* *bijej=**et*** *kerd-**am***   EL[Del]. 64
   angry REDP=2SG:A do.PST-1SG:O
   'You made me angry.'

8.3.5.6.7 Clitic-affix sequences

It is only in present tense constructions that clitics occur in a sequence with Vaff PMs. In such a constellation, the order is such that the O clitic follows the A-indexing Vaff PM:

(1847) *bo-ruš-em=**eš***   EL[Del]. 68
   IRR-sell.PRS-1SG=3SG:O
   'That I sell it.'

To sum up, Delvari's clitic system not only shows a relic of the older clausal S2 positioning – the pattern still available in the neighbouring Dashti –, but also highlights the role of information structure and stress in the positioning of A-past clitics. However, the relevant domain of cliticization largely remains the VP. The tense sensitive system is preserved and a relic of older suffixal morphology is still evident in past transitive constructions.

8.3.6 Languages of southeast Iran

Languages of southeast Iran are subsumed under three broad groups (Skjærvø 1989: 363) (i) Lārestāni dialects, including the dialects of Lar, Bastak, Gerāš, Evaz, Khonj; (ii) Komzāri; (iii) Baškardi and its subdialects. Windfuhr (2009: 13) refers to the languages of southeast Iran as 'Non-perside groups'. The investigated southeast Iran dialects in this thesis are Bandari, Minabi, and Larestani dialects 'Lari', and 'Bastaki'.

Figure 37: Investigated languages of southeast Iran

8.3.6.1 Lari

Larestani refers to a set of vernacular dialects such as Lari, Khonji, Gerāshi, Bastaki, Evazi, spoken in an area extending from Lar in the south of Fars province to the North of Minab in the neighboring Hormozgan province. This section provides a sketch of clitic PMs in Lari, spoken in the city of Lar. With its population of 80000 inhabitants Lari is spoken among locals but the its adoption to the younger generation is diminishing. Lari's clitic system is basically a V-based one, hence the designation of the verb as the domain for cliticization. However, a relic of older clause-based cliticization is still available, but in a proclitic grab. The data for this presentation include a free narrative (codified as PZ in the database), two retellings of pear story, and one retelling of *Shangul-o Mangul*. The informants are three females, aged 20, 35, and 45.

8.3.6.1.1 Form

Table 107: Clitic PMs in Lari

		Set 1	Set 2	Set 3
SG	1	=(o)m	(o)m=	ma/e=
	2	=(o)t	(o)t=	ta/e=
	3	=(o)š	(o)š=	ša/e=
PL	1	=mo	mo=	mo=
	2	=to	to=	to=
	3	=šo	šo=	šo=

Depending on the domain in which they are found, and on the host to which they attach to, clitic PMs appear either as proclitics or enclitics. However, procliticization is primary mode of clitic attachment (cf. §8.3.6.1.3).

8.3.6.1.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used to index a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1848), an O-prs NP, cf. (1849), an adpositional complement in the present tense, cf. (1850), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1851), and an A-past NP, cf. (1852). It is only in the last function that clitics are obligatory indices.

(1848) *to   nana=**mu**   nes-eš*   SM[Lar]. 9
      2SG   mother=1PL:POS   NEG.be.PRS-2SG
      'You are not our mother.'

(1849) *sāb=eš   **oš**=nā-yr-a*   PS1[Lar]. 9
      owner=3SG:POS   3SG:O=NEG.IND-let.PRS-3SG
      'Her owner does not let her.'

(1850) ***š**=az_bar   a_te   sabad   a-riz-en*   PS1[Lar]. 18
      3SG:R=for   in   basket   IND-pour.PRS-3PL
      'They put (the pears) into a basket for him.'

(1851) ***š**=a-go-em*   EL[Lar]. 37
      3SG:R=IND-tell.PRS-1SG
      'Yes, I will tell her.'

(1852) *pos-iā=m   made ke   sīb   **šo**=a-xa*   PS2[Lar]. 26
      boy-PL=ADD   as   apple   3PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST
      'As they were eating apple(s).'

In addition to the functions listed above, clitic PMs obligatorily index the subject-like argument, regardless of the tense of the verb, in the constructions 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1853), 'potentiality', cf. (1854), 'predicative possession', cf. (1855), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1856).

(1853) *aval   **š**=a-vī   yak   sīv   vā-sī*   PS1[Lar]. 12
      first   3SG:NC=IND-want.PRS a   apple   PVB-take.PRS.3SG
      'First, He wants to pick up an apple.'

(1854) *a-gü=**m**   nā-ša   ba-em*   CG[Lar]. 11
      IND-say.PRS.3SG=1SG:NC   NEG.IND-be able.PRS   IRR.come.PRS-1SG
      'She says: I cannot come over.'

(1855) *yak   kari   se   tā   beč   **oš**=an*   SM[Lar]. 1
      a   sheep   three   CLF   kid   3SG:NC= COP.3SG
      'A sheep has three kids.'

(1856) *sarmā=**m**-a*   EL[Lar]. 62
      cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I am cold.'

Finally, at the cost of digression, the ergative morphology on past transitive verbs is lost. Thus the verb does not agree with overt object NPs in past transitive constructions.

(1857) *gorg-ü* *und* *a* *jā* *o*   SM[Lar]. 17
    wolf-DEF come.PST.3SG to place and

    šangul-o *Mangul* **oš**=*xa*
    PN-and   PN   3SG:A=eat.PST
    'The wolf came in to the place and ate Shangul and Mangul.'

(1858) *xers-i* *on-Ø*   *hama* *moin-iā*=*š*   *xa* MB[Lar]. 6
    bear-INDF come.PST.3SG all fish-PL=3SG:A   eat.PST
    'A bear came by (and) ate all the fish.'

8.3.6.1.3 Phonological attachment

The phonological attachment of Clitic PMs in Lari is basically defined as being that of proclitics. We start first with contexts in where enclitic attachment is at work. When functioning as adnominal possessor, the clitic PM would generally encliticize to its host:

(1859) *ma* *nana*=**tu**   *es-em*   SM[Lar]. 7
    1SG mother=2PL:POS be.PRS-1SG
    'I am your mother.'

Set 1 is also employed under ditropic clitic behaviour. That is, the original proclitic leaves the verb as its host, and encliticizes to the immediate constituent preceding the verb. In the examples below, such an element is the subject NP, cf. (1860), the object NP and the relativizer, cf. (1861), and the last element of the preceding clause, i.e. the verb, cf. (1862).

(1860) *ma*=**m** *xa*   / *ma* **om**=*xa*   BS[Lar]. 15
    1SG=1SG:A eat.PST
    'I ate.'

(1861) *pos-i*=**m**   *binā* / *pos-i* **om**=*binā*   EL[Lar]. 15
    boy-INDF=1SG:A see.PST

    ke=**m**   *nā-šenāxt* / *ke* **om**=*nā-šenāxt*
    REL=1SG:A NEG.IPFV-know.PST
    'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

(1862) *a-gü*=**m**   *nā-ša*   CG[Lar]. 11
    IND-say.PRS.3SG=1SG:NC NEG.IND-be able.PRS

    ba-em   / *a-gü* *om*=*nā-ša* *ba-em*
    IRR.come.PRS-1SG
    'She says: I cannot come over.'

Despite the apparent enclitic attachment, these constructions are still alternatively identifiable to speakers as consisting of the clitic procliticizing to the verb and not encliticizing to the preverbal elements. For instance, if speakers make a pause between the subject NP and the verb in (1860) above, the clitic remains attached to the verb (as a proclitic):

(1863) *ma …*   ***om**=xa*   BS[Lar]. 15
       1SG   1SG:A=eat.PST
       'I ate.'

Set 2 is used when the cliticization occurs on verbs and prepositions. To start with the former, when the verb is the sole element for clitic hosting, the clitics attaches to it in the form of a proclitic. In such a case the supporting *o* – an offshoot of clitic hosting particle *u-* in MWI – precedes the singular forms for syllabification reasons, that is, to assure that the process of cliticization would not result in non-licensed onsets *mxa, txa, šxa*. A paradigmatic form of the verb 'to eat' in past tense is given as an example:

(1864) *om=xa*   / **mxa*   [1SG:A=eat.PST]   'I ate.'
       ot=xa   / **txa*   [2SG:A=eat.PST]   'You (sg.) ate.'
       oš=xa   / **šxa*   [3SG:A=eat.PST]   'S/he ate.'
       mo=xa   [1PL:A=eat.PST]   'We ate.'
       to=xa   [2PL:A=eat.PST]   'You (pl.) ate.'
       šo=xa   [3PL:A=eat.PST]   'They ate.'

Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) takes the vocalic segement *o* as a particle to which clitics can encliticize. Yet, as seen above, plural clitics procliticize to their host verb without recourse to *o*. If we follow Dabir-Moghaddam's analysis we would end up with two different phonological attachments on a same host for the same set of clitic PMs. In addition, Dabir-Moghadam's analysis runs into problem when the attachment of clitic PMs to imperfect verb forms is at work. Here, the singular clitics resyllabify with the TAM prefix and do not need the supporting *o*. A paradigmatic form of the verb 'to eat' in the past imperfect elucidates this point.

(1865) *m=a-xa*   [1SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'I was eating.'
       t=a-xa   [2SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'You (sg.) were eating.'
       š=a-xa   [3SG:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'S/he was eating.'
       mo=a-xa   [1PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'We were eating.'
       to=a-xa   [2PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'You (pl.) were eating.'
       šo=a-xa   [3PL:A=IPFV-eat.PST]   'They were eating.'

The integration into the TAM affix is in general true of phonological attachment of clitics when they precede a TAM suffix. In the following example the possessor clitic leaves its syntactic host to the left and takes the TAM as its phonological host:

(1866) *kola_* *š=a-ket* PS1[Lar]. 14
     hat   3SG:POS=IPFV-fall.PST
     'His hat fell down.'

(1867) *dāyen* *komak_* *š=a-dey-n* PS1[Lar]. 18
     IND.come.PRS.3PL   help   3SG:POS=IND-give.PRS-3PL
     'They come over (and) help him.'

In the same way, set 2 is used for the attachment of adpositional complement clitics to their host adpositions.

(1868) *čü* *š=a_vā* *be-kon-em* PZ[Lar]. 4
     what   3SG:R=with   IRR-do.PRS-1SG
     'What should I do with it?'

(1869) *hame* *xarid-iā* *š=amra-an* SL1[Lar]. 18
     all   shopping-PL   3SG:R-with-COP.3PL
     'All the shopping are with her.'

(1870) *š=az_bar* *a_te* *sabad* *a-riz-en* PS1[Lar]. 18
     3SG:R=for   in   basket   IND-pour.PRS-3PL
     'They put (the pears) into a basket for him.'

Interestingly, the clitic complement of possessed noun embedded within a prepositional phrase moves off its head and lands on the head preposition in the form of a proclitic:

(1871) *yeki* *az* *čub-iā* *š=az* WC[Lar]. 10
     a   from   wood-PL   3SG:POS=from

     *dast_* *kat*
     hand   fall.PST.3SG
     'one of the sticks fell from his hand.'

(1872) *š=az* *pahlu_* *rad* *a-be-n* PS1[Lar]. 25
     3SG:POS=from   side   crossing   IPFV-be.PST-3PL
     'They were crossing at his side.'

Finally, set 3 is used in the cliticization on complex predicates. In such a case a vocalic element of unknown origin follows the singular forms.

(1873) *še=ejāza* *gete* *ke* CG[Lar]. 2
     3SG:A=permission   take.PST   to

     oču-a *dar*
     go.PRS.3SG-DRC   out
     'She asked for permission to go out.'

To sum up, proclitic attachment is the main mode of phonological attachment of clitics in Lari.

8.3.6.1.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Clitic placement is mainly defined with respect to the verb, hence a V-based clitic system. The general traits of clitic placement in V-based clitic systems was mentioned in §5.5.7. As for the first trait, the clitic skips all the constituents in clause to attach to the verb as its anchor. This is shown in the following examples, where the elements skipped for clitic hosting are marked by the underscore '_'.

(1874) *yeki   yeki_   miva-yā_   bā   deqat_   **oš=čī**   *   PS2[Lar]. 3
       one   one   fruit-PL   with   care   3SG:A=pick.PST
       'He picked the fruit one by one with care.'

(1875) *gül_   **šo=xa-o**   dar_   vāz_   **šo=ke**   *   SM[Lar]. 16
       deception   3PL:A=eat.PST-and   door   open   3PL:A=do.PST
       'They were deceived and opened the door.'

(1876) *bā   čaxü_   aškam-e   gorg-ü_   *   SM[Lar]. 25
       with   knife   stomach-EZ   wolf-DEF

       para=š   ke*
       torn=3SG:A   do.PST
       'She tore down the wolf's stomach with a knife.'

(1877) *se   tā   kār_   anjam_   **om=dā**   *   CG[Lar]. 15
       three   CLF   work   accomplishement   1SG:A=do.PST
       'I did all the three works.'

In the above examples, the clitic has regularly skipped the object NP, adverb, and the light verb complement to appear on the verb, exhibiting thus selectivity with respect to the host to which it attaches (as is typical of affixes).

As for the second trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, the pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting. The clitic rather procliticizes on the verbal form.

(1878) *miva-yā   jam   **šo=vā-ke**   /* vā **šo=ke**   *   PS2[Lar]. 20
       fruit-PL   collect   3PL:A=PVB-do.PST
       'They collected the fruits.'

(1879) *sāb=eš   **oš=nā-y(e)r-a**   *   PS1[Lar]. 9
       owner=3SG:POS   3SG:O=NEG.IND-let.PRS-3SG
       'Her owner does not let her.'

(1880) *Sanjāb   **oš=vā-porsi**   *   AP[Lar]. 5
       squirrel   3SG:A=PVB-ask.PST
       'The squirrel asked.'

As in Yazdi Zoroastrian, the non-verbal component of the complex predicate is sometimes behaved the same way as verbal prefixes for clitic hosting. The clitic thus procliticizes to the complex verb as a whole unit. In the following examples the complex verbs *ejāza gete* 'get permission', and *gom vākerden* 'to lost' have been procliticized upon.

(1881) ***še**=ejāza*   *gete*   *ke*   CG[Lar]. 2
       3SG:A=permission   take.PST   to

       oču-a   *dar*
       go.PRS.3SG-DRC   out
       'She asked for permission to go out.'

(1882) *list-ü*   ***ma**=gom*   *vā-kerd-es-t-on*   SL2[Lar]. 9
       list-DEF   1SG:A=lost   PVB-do.PST-PTPC-EP-PERF
       'I have lost the list.'

As for the third trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, clitics exhibit the traits of 'ditropic clitics' in the immediate pre-verbal domain. That is, while syntactically being related to the verb, they attach to whatever element which precedes the verb. In the examples below, the conjunction, cf. (1883), the object NP and the relativizer, cf. (1884), and the last element of the preceding clause, i.e. the verb, cf. (1885) have hosted the original V-based proclitic.

(1883) *tā=š*   *be-fereš-e*   */ tā*   ***oš**=be-fereš-e*   EL[Lar]. 71
       to=3SG:O   IRR-sell.PRS-3SG
       'The man took the cow to the Bazaar in order to sell it.'

(1884) *pos-i=**m***   *binā*   */ pos-i **om**=binā*   EL[Lar]. 15
       boy-INDF=1SG:A   see.PST

       *ke=**m***   *nā-šenāxt*   */ ke*   ***om**=nā-šenāxt*
       REL=1SG:A   NEG.IPFV-know.PST
       'I saw a boy, whom I didn't know.'

(1885) *a-gü=**m***   *nā-ša*   CG[Lar]. 11
       IND-say.PRS.3SG=1SG:NC   NEG.IND-be able.PRS

       ba-em   */ a-gü om= nā-ša ba-em*
       IRR.come.PRS-1SG
       'She says: I cannot come over.'

The Lari data thus points to the fact that the clitic placement is a V-based one. However, like in Yazdi Zoroastrian, there are some relics of older clause-based second positioning. This is shown in the following examples, where the clitic procliticizes to the vowel-initial prepositional phrase which precedes the verb.

(1886) *Sārā*   *š=a*   *šü=š*   *got*   SL2[Lar]. 2
      PN   3SG:A=to   husband=3SG:POS   say.PST
      'Sarah said to her husband.'

(1887) *šokolāt*   *m=az_bar*   *se-s-e-š*   EL[Lar]. 31
      chocolate   1SG:A=for   buy.PST-EP-PERF-2SG:R
      'I have bought (some) chocolates for you.'

(1888) *dast=oš=am*   *š=a*   SM[Lar]. 15
      hand=3SG:POS=ADD   3SG:A=to

      nešūn   *dād-en*
      display   give.PST-3PL:O
      'He showed them his hand as well.'

It was argued in §5.6 that these constructions could be considered relics of older clause-based cliticization, and that they can be reconstructed by the erstwhile presence of clitic hosting particle *o* before the now proclitic. Note that in the above examples the clitic attaches to a prepositional phrase which has a close relationship with the verb, in the way that the PP can be considered an argument of the verb. However, the following examples suggest that if prepositional phrase preceding the verb has adjunct status, the clitic rather takes the verb as its host.

(1889) [*az*   *xošālī*]   *gerix*   *šo=ke*   SM[Lar]. 32
      from   happiness   crying   3PL:A=do.PST
      'They cried out of happiness.'

(1890) [*ate*   *pišband=oš*]   *oš=rixt*   PS[Lar]. 3
      inside   apron=3SG:POS   3SG:A=pour.PST
      'He put (the pears) inside his basket.'

To sum up, we might conclude that Lari's clitic placement is basically V-based, but there are some relics of older clause-based cliticization (see §5.6).

8.3.6.1.4.1 Prepositions and clitic placement

Along with most other Iranian languages, Lari employs two sets of prepositions depending on the status of prepositional complements as being dependent vs. independent.

Table 108: Simple and absolute prepositions in Lari

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
a, vā	*a_vā, a, e*	'to', 'by'
az	*az, a_vāz, azavā*	'from',
bare	*az_bar*	'for'
bā	*vā, emra*	'with'
a_teke, a_te		'in', 'inside'

Absolute prepositions are mostly made by adding the vocalic *a* or *az* element to the simple prepositions. The pair in (1891) shows the occurrence of *vā* as the simple preposition while as its absolute counterpart *a_vā* takes the clitic as its complement:

(1891) a.   *vā-gešt*   ***vā***   ***xāna***   SL2[Lar]. 5
               PVB-arrive.PST   to   house
               'He returned home.'

        b.   *pül=om*   ***m=a_vā***   *pas*   *ā-de-y-š ?*   EL[Lar]. 22
               money=1SG:POS   1SG:R=to   back   IND-give.PRS-EP-2SG
               'Will you give me back my money?'

Compound prepositions are accompanied by vocalic element *a* in both their simple, cf. (1892) vs. absolute uses, cf. (1893). The bound clitic complement of such prepositions then procliticizes to the same vocalic element:

(1892) ***a_kenār-e***   *rudxuna*   *zendegi*   *a-kon-en*   WC[Lar]. 2
        beside=EZ   river   life   IND-do.PRS-3PL
        'They live by the river.'

(1893) *dega*   ***m=a_peš***   *ma-yā-yi*   EL[Lar]. 11
        no more   1SG:R=to   PROH-come.PST-2PL
        'Do not come to me anymore!'

With respect to their placement – as expected from the cliticization from V-based clitic systems – adpositional complement clitics have local realization, hence realizing on their head prepositions. In other words, the adpositional complement clitic have adopted an affix-like behaviour in being selective with respect to the host they attach to.

(1894) *čii*   ***š=a_vā***   *be-kon-em*   PZ[Lar]. 4
        what   3SG:R=with   IRR-do.PRS-1SG
        'What should I do with it?'

(1895) *yak*   *sīb*   ***š=az***   *a-ket*   PS1[Lar]. 13
        one   apple   3SG:R=from   IND-fall.PRS.3SG
        'An apple falls from him (his hand).'

(1896) ***š=az_bar***   *süt*   *a-zan-en*   PS1[Lar]. 20
        3SG:R=for   whistle   IND-hit.PRS-3PL
        'They whistle him.'

8.3.6.1.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics co-occur in present tense constructions. However, their co-occurrence does not lead to a clitic cluster.

(1897) **_m=a-vi_**   **_š=ate_**   PZ[Lar]. 6
     1SG:NC=IND-want.PRS   3SG:R=in

     _ko_   _bey-m_
     do.INF IRR.come.PRS-1SG
     'I want to put (it) inside it and come back.'

In past transitive constructions, the A-past NP is obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs. The question is which kind of nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. The direct objects, cf. (1898)–(1899), and adpositional complements, cf. (1900)–(1901) are available to exponence as Vaff PMs. An affixal expression of the preposition complement means in distance realization of the affixal complement from the preposition head.

Table 109: Verbal affix PMs in Lari

	SG	PL
1	-em	-am
2	-eš	-ī
3	-e/ -Ø	-en

(1898) _baba=**m**_   **_oš=feresa-ys-e-m_**   EL[Lar]. 53
     father=1SG:POS   3SG:A=send.PST-EP-PERF-1SG:R
     'My father has sent me over (here).'

(1899) **_om=binād-en_**   EL[Lar]. 44
     1SG:A=see.PST-3PL:O
     'I saw them.'

(1900) _qazā_   **_m=az_bar_**   _ārd-e-s-**ī**_   SM[Lar]. 7
     food   1SG:A=for   bring.PST-PERF-EP-2PL:R
     'I have brought you food.'

(1901) _dast=oš=am_   **_š=a_**   _nešū_   _dād-**en**_   SM[Lar]. 15
     hand=3SG:POS=ADD   3SG:A=to   show   give.PST-3PL:O
     'He showed them his hand too.'

In rare cases the adpositional complement is marked by the clitic PM:

(1902) **_š=az_bar_**   _süt_   **_šo=zad_**   PS2[Lar]. 23
     3SG:R=for   whistle   3PL:A=hit.PST
     'They whistled for him.'

This restriction on the number of clitics within past transitive VPs, however, does not hold for the realization of bound possessors. The clitic complement of a possessed noun is thus not subject to disformtion. Rather, it can be realized locally, cf. (1903), or alternatively it can form a sequence with the A-past clitic, cf. (1904).

(1903) *dast=**om***   *t=a-geret*   EL[Lar]. 42
       hand=1SG:POS   2SG:A=IPFV-take.PST
       'You would take my hand.'

(1904) *mai*   ***t=om**=xā*   BS[Lar]. 14
       fish   2SG:POS=1SG:A=eat.PST
       'I ate your fish.'

8.3.6.1.6 Clitic-affix sequences

The proclitic attachment of clitics on the verb excludes the combination of clitics and affixes on the verb slot in present tense and past tense constructions. Note that reflecting the tense-sensitive alignment pattern, a reversal marking of A and O is carried in present vs. past tenses.

(1905) *a teke bazāl-e*   *āzād*   ***šo**=a-fereš-**am***   EL[Lar]. 68
       in   bazaar-EZ   free   3PL:O=IND-sell.PRS-1PL:A
       'We sell them at the free market.'

(1906) *gorg*   ***oš**=xārd-**en***   EL[Lar]. 49
       wolf   3SG:A=eat.PST-3PL:O
       'The wolf ate them.'

Tu sum up, Lari clitics have grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs. The person indexing system is complex and points to a reversal of marking main arguments in present vs, past tense constructions, i.e. by either clitic PMs or Vaff PMs. The verb is the domain of cliticization. However, a reflex of older clause-based cliticization is still available.

8.3.6.2 Bastaki

Bastaki is the southernmost dialect of Larestani language group. It is spoken in the Bastak County, in the north of Hormozgan province, Iran. In spite of being situated far from the main Larestani speech zone, the clitic system is basically the same as Lari: the person indexing system exhibits the reversal marking of arguments in present transitive vs. past transitive constructions. In addition, the verb is the main domain of cliticization. The data for this presentation were gathered during a fieldwork to Bandar-Abbas in February 2018 and include elicitation tasks, two folktales (codified as PD and RS in the database), and a retelling of the pear film. The informants are members of a family who have migrated to Bandar-Abbas since 2016.

8.3.6.2.1 Form

Table 110: Clitic PMs in Bastaki

		set 1	set 2	Set 3
SG	1	=(o)m	(o)m=	ma=
	2	=(o)t	(o)t=	ta=
	3	=(o)š	(o)š=	ša=
PL	1	=mo	mo=	mo=
	2	=to	to=	to=
	3	=šo	šo=	šo=

The paradigm of clitic PMs is basically identical to that of Lari. Proclitic attachment is the clitic's preferred mode of attachment.

8.3.6.2.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used in indexing a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1907), an O-prs NP, cf. (1908), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (1909), an adpositional complement, cf. (1910), and an A-past NP, cf. (1911). It is only in the last function that clitic PMs are obligatory indices.

(1907) *xongo-yā=š-en*   EL[Bas]. 79
     sister-PL=3SG:POS-COP.3PL
     'They are her (younger) sisters.'

(1908) *š=a-res-et-e*   *peš-e   āsiābān*   RS[Bas]. 18
     3SG:O=IND-send.PRS-3SG-DRC   to-EZ   miller
     'He sends him to the miller.'

(1909) *āhangar   ševal   š=a-det*   RS[Bas]. 27
     blacksmith   shovel   3SG:R=IND-give.PRS.3SG
     'The blacksmith gives him a shovel.'

(1910) *t=az_bahr   be-rest-em*   EL[Bas]. 75
     2SG:R=for   IRR-send.PRS-1SG
     'That I send (it) to you (lit. for you)'

(1911) *nun   om=ne-xard-e*   RS[Bas]. 17
     bread   1SG:A=NEG-eat.PST-PERF
     'I haven't eaten food.'

In addition to these, clitics obligatorily index the subject-like argument, regardless of the tense of the verb, in the following constructions: 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1912), 'potentiality', cf. (1913), 'syntactic possession', cf. (1914), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states, cf. (1915).

(1912) **oš**=nā-i   alān o-č-eš-e   dar   WC[Bas]. 4
   3SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS now IND-go.PRS-2SG-DRC out
   'It is not necessary that you go out now.'

(1913) bad **t**=a-šaw   oč-eš   CG[Bas]. 3
   then 2SG:NC=IND-be able.PRS IRR.go.PRS-2SG
   'Then you are allowed to go (out).'

(1914) hānā yak mahi **oš**=he   BS[Bas]. 9
   PN   a   fish 3SG:NC=exist.PRS
   'Hānā has a fish.'

(1915) ma gošna   **m**=en   BS[Bas]. 17
   1SG hungry   1SG:NC=COP.3SG
   'You are hungry.'

Finally, at the cost of digression, the old ergative morphology on past transitive verbs is lost. Therefore, the verb does not show agreement with overt object NPs.

(1916) dus-iā=**t**   **od**=ded-e   EL[Bas]. 44
   friend-PL=2SG:POS 2SG:A=see.PST-PERF
   'Did you see your friends?

(1917) amā ta xiābun   **oš**=di   EL[Bas]. 25
   1PL in street   3SG:A=see.PST
   'He saw us in the street.'

8.3.6.2.3 Phonological attachment

As in the neighboring Lari, the nature of clitic attachment is basically that of procliticization, in which case sets 2, and rarely set 3 are used. On the other hand, enclitic attachment is reduced to the attachment of possessor clitics, cf. (1918), and the adpositional complement clitics whose prepositional head is seemingly borrowed from Persian, cf. (1919).

(1918) bā kākā=**m**   čed-am-a   dar   EL[Bas]. 69
   with brother=1SG:POS go.PST-DRC out
   'I went out with my brother.'

(1919) barā=**m**   nun bā   RS[Bas]. 17
   for=1SG:R bread IRR.bring.PRS.2SG
   'Bring me (some) bread.'

Set 1 is also employed when under ditropic clitic behaviour the original proclitic leaves its host verb, and encliticizes to the immediate constituent preceding the verb. For instance, in (1920) the original proclitic on the verb is attached to the preceding clause in the form of an enclitic:

(1920) *om=ne-šā*   *bod-e=š*   SL2[Bas]. 18

         1SG:NC=NEG-be able   COP.PST-COP.3SG=3SG:O

         vā-xon-em   / *om=ne-šā   bod-e   **oš**=vā-xon-em*

         PVB-read.PRS-1SG

         'I hadn't been able to read it.'

Set 2 clitic PMs are used when A-past and O-clitics cliticize on the verb. It is also used in the integration of the adpositional complement clitics to its head (see below). As for the former, consider the paradigmatic form of the verb 'steal' in the past tense:

(1921)   *om=dozi*   [1SG:A=steal.PST]   'I stole.'

                   ot=dozi   [2SG:A=steal.PST]   'You stole.'

                   oš=dozi   [3SG:A=steal.PST]   'S/he stole.'

                   mo=dozi   [1PL:A=steal.PST]   'We stole.'

                   to=dozi   [2PL:A=steal.PST]   'You stole.'

                   šo=dozi   [3PL:A=steal.PST]   'They stole.'

The vocalic element *o* which precedes the singular forms was argued to be an offshoot of 'and-conjunctor' *u-* in Middle Iranian (see §3.3.3 and §5.6). It was held that the now supporting vowel in modern V-based clitic systems resurfaces for matters of syllabification, namely to assure that the process of cliticization would not yield non-licensed onsets.[132]

When the verb stem is preceded by the TAM affix, there is no need for the supporting *o*, since the singular clitic forms can resyllabify with the TAM. This is shown for the paradigmatic form of the construction 'to tell sb'.

(1922)   *m=a-go-e*   [1SG:R=IND-tell.PRS-3SG]   'He tell me.'

                   t=a-go-e   [2SG:R=IND-tell.PRS-3SG]   'He tells you (sg.).'

                   š=a-go-e   [3SG:R=IND-tell.PRS-3SG]   'He tells him.'

                   mon=a-go-e   [1PL:R=IND-tell.PRS-3SG]   'He tells us.'

                   ton=a-go-e   [2PL:R=IND-tell.PRS-3SG]   'He tells you (pl.),'

                   šon=a-go-e   [3PL:R=IND-tell.PRS-3SG]   'He tells them.'

Likewise, set 2 is used for the attachment of an adpositional complement clitics to non-borrowed adpositions:

(1923) *bā*   ***m**=az_bahr*   EL[Bas]. 77

        IRR.bring.PRS.2SG   1SG:R=for

        'Bring (it) to me.'

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[132] Dabir-Moghaddam (2008) considers *o* as a particle to which the clitics encliticize in these contexts. However, the so-called particle does not show up with plural forms. A clitic hosting particle analysis for the supporting vowel *o* is thus refuted.

Interestingly, the clitic complement of possessed noun embedded within a prepositional phrase moves off its head and lands on the head preposition in the form of a proclitic:

(1924) *mehr-e   dot-u   š=a te   del_*   PD[Bas]. 26
      affection-EZ girl-DEF 3SG:POS=in heart

      a-kat
      IPFV-fall.PST.3SG
      'He was filled with the affection for the girl.' [lit. The affection of the girl fell into his heart]

(1925) *dār   t=az   dast_ a-ket*   WC[Bas]. 5
      stick 2SG:POS=from   hand IND-fall.PRS
      'The stick will fall from your hand.'

Finally, set 3 is used in the cliticization on complex predicates. In such a case a vocalic element of unknown origin follows the singular forms.

(1926) *ma   ma=xaš   ezā*   BS[Bas]. 3
      1SG   1SG:NC=nice IND.come.PRS.3SG
      'I like (to play with my fish).' [lit. My pleasure comes]

(1927) *az=aš   ša=bad   honed-e*   PD[Bas]. 4
      from=3SG:R 3SG:NC=bad come.PST- 3SG
      'She didn't like her.'

8.3.6.2.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Like in Lari, Bastaki has a V-based clitic system. That is, the verb is the anchoring element for cliticization. The general traits of cliticization in V-based clitic systems were laid out in §5.5.7. As for the first trait, the verb is opted as the clitic host regardless of the number of potential elements to the left to host the clitic, marked by the 'underscore' in the following examples:

(1928) *šiš   ta   širini_ nak_   oš=kerd-e*   BO[Bas]. 7
      six   CLF   sweet baking   3SG:A=do.PST-PERF
      'He has baked six sweets.'

(1929) *dār-iā_   xord_ oš=kerd*   CG[Bas]. 9
      wood-PL   little   3SG:A=do.PST
      'He chopped down the wood'

(1930) *jašn_   bar   ma_   šun=geret-e*   AP[Bas]. 10
      celebration   for   1SG   3PL:A=take.PST-PERF
      'They have thrown a part for me.'

(1931) *hāw=am_   š=a-det*   PD[Bas]. 9
      water=ADD   3SG:R=IND-give.PRS.3SG
      'She gives her water as well.'

(1932) *va   golābiā=š   jam   **šūn**=kerd*   PD[Bas]. 14
       and   pear=3SG:POS   addition   3PL:A= do.PST
       'And they collected his pears.'

As for the second trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, the pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting. The clitic rather procliticizes on the verbal form.

(1933) ***ot**=nā-zen-em*   EL[Bas]. 70
       2SG:O=NEG.IND-hit.PRS-1SG
       'I won't hit you.'

(1934) *āšpazxune   pāk   **om**=vā-kerd-e*   BO[Bas]. 19
       kitchen   clean   1SG:A=PVB-do.PST-PERF
       'I cleaned the kitchen.'

The third trait for cliticization in V-based clitic systems was that while clitics are syntactically related to the verb, they exhibit ditropic behaviour in the immediate pre-verbal domain, and attach to whatever element which immediately precedes the verb. In the following examples, the ditropic clitic has attached to the preceding object NP, cf. (1935), the light verb complement, cf. (1936), and the last element of the preceding clause, cf. (1937).

(1935) *se   tā   golābi=š   dahd-en / se tā golābi **oš**=dād-en*   PS[Bas]. 17
       three CLF   pear=3SG:A   give.PST-3PL:O
       'He gave them three pears.'

(1936) *harvaxt   xana=**t**   vā-ke   / harvaxt xana **ot**=vā ke*   PD[Bas]. 11
       whenever   laugh=2SG:A   PVB-do.PST
       'Whenever you smiled.'

(1937) *om=ne-šā   bod-e=š*   SL2[Bas]. 18
       1SG:NC=NEG-be able   COP.PST-COP.3SG=3SG:O

       *vā-xon-em   / om=ne-šā   bod-e **oš**=vā-xon-em*
       PVB-read.PRS-1SG
       'I hadn't been able to read it.'

So far, the Bastaki data point to the fact that the clitic placement in a V-based one. However, like in Lari, and Yazdi Zoroastrian, there are some relics of older clause-based second positioning, illustrated in the following examples.

(1938) ***š**=a te   kesa=š   e-ke*   PS[Bas]. 5
       3SG:A=in   sack=3SG:POS   IPFV-do.PST
       'He would put (the pears) in his sack.'

(1939) *golab-iā   **š**=a te   sabad   e-ke*   PS[Bas]. 6
       pear-PL   3SG:A=in   basket   IPFV-do.PST
       'He was putting the pears in a basket.'

In §5.6 it was argued that these examples illustrate a relic of older clause-based positioning, where the clause-initial particles would host clitics clause-initially. With the loss of such particles, the clitics ended up losing leftward support, and procliticizing to the next element to the right.

As expected, adpositional complement clitics have local realization in V-based clitic systems.

Table 111: Simple and absolute prepositions in Bastaki

Simple ADP	Absolute ADP	Gloss
va	*a, vā*	'to', 'by'
az	*az*	'from',
bar	*az_bar, barā*	'for'
bā	*a_rafik*	'with'
te	*a_te*	'in', 'inside'

(1940) *bāyad*   ***barā=m***   *šir*   *bār-eš*   RS[Bas]. 7
       AUX   for=1SG:R   milk   IRR.bring.PRS-2SG
       'You need to bring me milk.'

(1941) *bāzjui*   ***š=az***   *a-kon-en*   EL[Bas]. 38
       interrogation 3SG:R=from IND-do.PRS-3PL
       'They interrogate him.'

Note that, as in Lari, the preposition *a, az* resurface before local nous for forming compound prepositions.

(1942) *čan*   *nafar*   *homd-en*   ***m=a_taraf***   EL[Bas]. 45
       some   person   come.PST-3PL 1SG:R= side
       'Some people came up to me (my direction).'

(1943) *dust-iā=š*   ***š=az_dom***   *āndast-en*   CG[Bas]. 4
       friend-PL=3SG:POS   3SG:R=after   come.PST-3PL
       'Her friends came up to her.'

8.3.6.2.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics can occur in the same clause. The following example shows the co-occurrence of two clitics in present tense constructions.

(1944) *dom=**et***   ***ot**=nā-de-m*   RS[Bas]. 9
       tail=2SG:POS   2SG:R=NEG.IND-give.PRS-1SG
       'I won't give you your tail.'

In past transitive constructions, on the other hand, the A-past NP is obligatory indexed by clitic PMs. The question remains as what kind of non-subject arguments, i.e. direct object, indirect

object, possessors, are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. Among these, bound possessors are indexed by clitic PM.

(1945) *kolā=š=am*   *šun=vā-dā-Ø*   PS[Bas]. 16
       hat=3SG:POS=ADD   3PL:A=PVB-give.PST-3SG:R
       'They also gave him his hat.'

(1946) *rubā*   *šir=oš*   *oš=let-e*   RS[Bas]. 6
       fox   milk=3SG:POS 3SG:A=pour.PST-PERF
       'The fox poured her milk.'

On the other hand, the old suffixal morphology is used for marking the direct objects, cf. (1947)–(1948), and adpositional complements, cf. (1949)–(1950). The realization via Vaff PMs for adpositional complements means that the complement of the adposition is realized at a distance from its head.

Table 112: Verbal affix PMs in Bastaki

	SG	PL
1	-em	-am
2	-eš	-ī
3	-e/ -Ø	-eng

(1947) *mamur-iā*   *šo=a*   *bimārestān*   *bord-am*   EL[Bas]. 51
       officer-PL   3PL:A=to   hospital   take.PST-1PL:O
        'The officers took us to (a) hospital.'

(1948) *aval*   *om=ne-šnās-ed-en*   EL[Bas]. 45
       first   1SG:A=NEG-know-PST-3PL:O
       'I didn't recognize them first.'

(1949) *čoklet*   *m=az_bar*   *xalest-eš*   EL[Bas]. 31
       chocolate   1SG:A=for   buy.PST- 2SG:R
       'I bought chocolates for you.'

(1950) *age*   *mamur-iā*   *soāl*   *šo=az*   *kerd-eš*   EL[Bas]. 16
       if   officer-pl   question   3PL:A-from   do.PST-2SG:R
       'If the cops happen to ask you.'

Surprisingly, in certain non-canonical subject constructions the bound adpositional complement is indexed by a Vaff PM, whereas clitics are usually expected to index R clitic in such constructions.

(1951) *kār=om*   *va_*   *hest-eš*   EL[Bas]. 70
       job=1SG:NC   to   exist.PRS-2SG:R
       'I have a business with you.'

In §6.3.5.3 we argued that in line with the claim that ergativity originated in non-canonical subject constructions, the disformation of bound adpositional complements to Vaff PMs in past transitive constructions could have its roots in the indexing pattern of non-canonical constructions, as exemplified in (1951).

8.3.6.2.6 Clitic-affix sequences

As clitics systematically procliticize to the verb stem in both present and past tense constructions, clitic-affix combinations do not occur in Bastaki. Note that the reversal marking of A and O arguments is retained in present vs. past tense constructions.

(1952) *š=a-zen-**en***   PD[Bas]. 8
     3SG:O=IND-hit.PRS-3PL:A
     'They beat her.'

(1953) ***t**=a-bord-**em**-a*   *šahr-e*   *bāzi*   EL[Bas]. 42
     2SG:A=take.PST-1SG:O-DRC   city-EZ   game
     'You would take me to the amusement park.'

Tu sum up, Bastaki clitics have grammaticalized in their use as indexing A-past NPs. As with Lari, the person indexing system is complex and points to a reversal of marking main arguments in present vs, past tense constructions, i.e. through either clitic PMs or Vaff PMs. In certain non-canonical constructions the realization of a bound adpositional complement is swapped to a verbal affix PM. This was said to be a parallel to the indexing of a bound adpositional complement in the past tense, and was argued to be a precursor to the indexing pattern in the past tense. The verb is the domain of cliticization. However, a reflex of older clause-based cliticization is still available.

8.3.6.3 Bandari

Bandari is the local dialect of Bandar-Abas, the provincial capital of Hormozgan province in the south of Iran. Bandari has close affinity with neighboring Larestani dialects in its clitic system. For example, the verb is the domain of cliticization. As for the person indexing, Bandari has preserved the disparate indexing of A-past NPs, however, clitic PMs have extended to mark direct objects in past transitive constructions, leading to the levelling of O indexing in present and past tenses. The data for this presentation were gathered in the 'Shaqu' neighbourhood of Bandar-Abas (the oldest neighbourhood in the city), and includes elicitation tasks, a process narrative (codified as NN in the database), a retelling of pear story, and a retelling of *Sahngul-*

o Mangul. Except for Pelevin's short article (2010), very little is known about the morpho-syntax of Bandari.

8.3.6.3.1 Form

The 3SG clitic has two alternative forms of *i*, and *š*. The direction of clitic attachment is basically in the form of proclitics. The attachment of clitics as either pro- or en- clitics, depends on the domain and the type of hosts clitic attach to (cf. §8.3.6.3.3).

Table 113: Clitic PMs in Bandari

		set 1	set 2	Set 3
	1	om=	m=	=(o)m
SG	2	et=	t=	=(e)t
	3	i=,=eš	š=	=i, =(e)š
	1	mo=	mā=	=(o)mo
PL	2	to=	tā=	=(o)to
	3	šo=	šā=	=(o)šo

8.3.6.3.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used for marking a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (1954), an O-prs NP, cf. (1955), an adpositional complement, cf. (1956), and an A-past NP, cf. (1957). The use of clitics is conditionally-triggered to the absence of the coreferent NP in all but the last function.

(1954) *šu=š*   *qabul* *a-kon-d*   BO[Bnd]. 6
   husband=3SG:POS accept IND-do.PRS-3SG
   'He husband accepts [the competition).'

(1955) *t=a-bar-om*   *sahrā*   EL[Bnd]. 8
   2SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG desert
   'I will take you out.'

(1956) *be=š*   *komak* *a-kon-en*   PS[Bnd]. 12
   to=3SG:R help   IND-do.PRS-3PL
   'They help him.'

(1957) *vaxti* *xorāk* *dorst* *t=a-ke*   NN[Bnd]. 17
   when food right 2SG:A=IPFV-do.PST
   'When you would make food.'

Surprisingly, clitics have extended to mark intransitive subjects in the imperfective past.

(1958) *bar*   **š**=*a-gašt*   *xuna*   WC[Bnd]. 10
        PVB   3SG:S=IPFV-arrive.PST   home
        'He was coming back home.'

(1959) *me*   **m**=*a-na-ka*   WC[Bnd]. 14
        1SG   1SG:S=IPFV-NEG-fall.PST

        tu   *how-e*   *ruxuna*
        inside   water-EZ   river
        'I wouldn't fall into the river.'

In addition, clitic PMs mark the subject-like argument, regardless of the tense of the verb, in the following constructions: 'necessity and wanting', cf. (1960), 'predicative possession', cf. (1961), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (1962).

(1960) **i**=*nā-vā*   *be-rey*   WC[Bnd]. 4
        3SG:NC=NEG.IND-be.necessary.PRS   IRR-go.PRS.2SG

        čub   *be-bor-i*
        wood   IRR-cut.PRS-2SG
        'It is not necessary that you go (out) and fetch wood'

(1961) *se*   *tā*   *bača*   **š**=*asta*   SM[Bnd]. 1
        three   CLF   child   3SG:NC=have.PST
        'She had three kids.'

(1962) *sard*=**om**-*en*   EL[Bnd]. 62
        cold=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
        'I'm cold.'

For the expression of potentiality, The regular verb *tavānestan* has been adopted, which has a regular syntax.

(1963) *hālā*   *a-tun-om*   *be-ra-m*   *birun*   CG[Bnd]. 14
        now   IND-can.PRS-1SG   IRR-go.PRS-1SG   out
        'Now, I can go out.'

Finally, the ergative morphology on past transitive verbs is lost, hence no agreement with overt plural objects. One reason for this can be due to the fact that definite direct objects are regularly flagged by the dummy preposition *be*, hence being introduce into the grammar as an oblique argument with which verb does not agree.

(1964) *to*   *be*[133]   *šangul-o*   *mangul*   **et**=*xwardi*   SM[Bnd]. 29
        2SG   PREP   PN-and   PN   2SG:A=eat.PST
        'You ate Shangul and Mangul.'

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[133] To distinguish this use of preposition as marking direct objects from its other uses as beneficiary and recipient markers, we have glossed the former simply as 'prep' throughout the sketch, while for the latter uses the meaning has been provided in the glosses.

(1965) *bābā be   me   **i**=ferestādi*   EL[Bnd]. 53
   father PREP 1SG   3SG:A=send.PST
   'Father sent me over.'

8.3.6.3.3 Phonological attachment

The phonological attachment of clitic PMs is basically that of procliticization, in which case
either set 1 or set 2 of clitics is used. Set 1 is used in the integration of clitics to transitive verbs.
In the following example, the clitics from set 1 have attached to the verb *goten* 'say'

(1966) *om=go*   [1SG:A=say.PST] 'I said'
   et=go   [2SG:A=say.PST] 'You (sg.) said.'
   i=go   [3SG:A=say.PST] 'He said.'
   mu=go   [1PL:A=say.PST] 'We said.'
   to=go   [2PL:A=say.PST] 'You (pl.) said.'
   šo=go   [3PL:A=say.PST] 'They said.'

Recall that 1SG and 2SG forms above are preceded by the vocalic element *o*, which as in
neighbouring dialects of Larestani group, resurfaces for matters of resyllabification. On other
hand, set 2 of clitics is used for cases when cliticization on TAM forms of verbs is at work.
Here, the vocalic element of the plural forms merges with the TAM prefix, yielding the forms
mā, tā, šā.

(1967) *m=a-goft* [1SG:A=IPFV-say.PST] 'I was saying'
   t=a-goft   [2SG:A=IPFV-say.PST] 'You (sg.) were saying.'
   š=a-goft   [3SG:A=IPFV-say.PST] 'He was saying.'
   mā=goft   [1PL:A.IPFV=say.PST] 'We were saying'
   tā=goft   [2PL:A.IPFV=say.PST] 'You (pl.) were saying.'
   šā=goft   [3PL:A.IPFV=say.PST] 'They were saying.'

The negative marker on present tense verb forms is a merged formative containing both the
negative and the indicative formatives:

(1968) *nā-zan-om=**et***   EL[Bnd]. 70
   NEG.IND-beat.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
   'I won't beat you.'

(1969) ***et**=nā-vā*   EL[Bnd]. 22
   2SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS
   'Don't you want to!?'

However, the cliticization of singular clitics has radical consequences on the negative formative
in past imperfective verbs. Here, for matters of syllabification the originally single formative
expressing both TAM and negative formatives detaches into two formatives. Moreover, the
new formatives are reordered in such a way that the TAM precedes the negative. Thus, the

singular clitics can resyllabify with the TAM prefix. However, the plural forms do not cause any such reordering and attach to the same negative formative *nā* as the one used with present tense verbs.

(1970) *m=a-na-raft*   [1SG:S=IPFV-NEG-go.PST]   'I wouldn't go; I wasn't going.'

   t=a-na-raft   [2SG:S=IPFV-NEG-go.PST]   'You (sg.) woudn't go; You (sg.) weren't going.'

   š=a-na-raft   [3SG:S=IPFV-NEG-go.PST]   'He wouldn't go; He wasn't going.'

   mo=nā-raft   [1PL:S=IPFV-NEG-go.PST]   'We wouldn't go; We weren't going.'

   to=nā-raft   [2PL:S=IPFV-NEG-go.PST]   'You (pl.) wouldn't go; You (pl.) weren't going.'

   šo=nā-raft   [3PL:S=IPFV-NEG-go.PST]   'They wouldn't go; They weren't going.'

Note that the procliticization of plural forms does not cause a change in the morpho-phonological shape of the cumulated negative and TAM prefixes. On the other hand, the singular forms render the order of verbal prefixes reversed, thus they can be really said to cause a change on the morpho-phonology of their hosts and running against the claim that "clitics do not cause shifts to the morpho-phonology of their host" (Zwicky & Pullum 1983), and "clitics show only a loose phonological incorporation into the host" (Nevis 2000).

In fast speech, when the verb stem is preceded by a preverbal element the proclitic attachment on the past verb stem gives its way to encliticization. In such a context, following the ditropic behaviour the clitic leaves out the verb as its syntactic host and attaches to the element which immediately precedes the verb.

(1971) *ye*   *morqi=š*   *hasta*   */ ye*   *morqi* **oš**=*hasta*   EL[Bnd]. 63
   a   hen=3SG:NC   exist.PST
   'A man had a hen.'

(1972) *dega=**m***   *nā-vā*   */ dega*   **om**=*nā-vā*   EL[Bnd]. 64
   anymore=1SG:NC   NEG.IND-want.PRS
   'I don't want (to see you) anymore.'

Encliticization is the main tool of phonological attachment for possessor clitics and bound adpositional complements. In such cases set 3 is used for the attachment of clitics.

(1973) *pā=š*   *liz*   ***i**=xo*   WC[Bnd]. 12
   foot=3SG:POS   slip   3SG:A=eat.PST
   'She slipped (over the wood).' [lit. her foot slipped]

(1974) *dustā=š*   *az=**eš***   *dobāre*   *šo=porsi*   CG[Bnd]. 7
   friend=3SG:POS   from=3SG:R   again   3PL:A=ask.PST
   'Her fiends asked her again.'

However, when preceding the verb forms, clitic PMs in their function adpositional complement (and probably in possessive function) can detach from their syntactic hosts and procliticize to the TAM prefix, in accordance with the general preference for procliticization.

(1975) *be_*   *š=a-gay*   EL[Bnd]. 37
        to   3SG:R=IND-say.PRS-2SG
        'Will you tell her?'

In short, the nature of phonological attachment of clitics could be basically defined as being that of procliticization, which is preffered to encliticization when clitic PMs occur prior to a TAM affix.

8.3.6.3.4 Placement of clitic PMs

Like in Larestani group, Bandari has a V-based clitic system. This means that the verb is the anchoring element for cliticization. By taking the verb as their only host the clitics then have become selective with respect to the number of hosts they attach to and developed an affix-like behaviour. In §5.5.7 three general traits of cliticization in V-based clitic systems were enumerated. As for the first trait, it was held that the verb is taken as the anchoring element regardless of the potential elements to host the clitic to the left of the verb. These elements are marked by the underscore in the following examples:

(1976) *ru*   *ātiš_*   *doros_*   *šā=ke*   NN[Bnd]. 19
        on   fire   right   3PL.IPFV:A=do.PST
        'They would make (cook) on fire.'

(1977) *čub-o_*   *teke_*   *i=ke*   WC[Bnd]. 9
        wood-PL   chopped   3SG:A=do.PST
        'He chopped the wood.'

(1978) *āšpazxun=am_*   *zu-ter*   *az*   *to_*   *tamiz_*   BO[Bnd]. 23
        kitchen=ADD   early-CMPR   from   2SG   clean

        om=ke
        1SG:A=do.PST
        'I cleaned the kitchen sooner than you.'

(1979) *xarguš_*   *šāx-e*   *boz_*   *tiz_*   *i=kerd*   SM[Bnd]. 49
        rabbit   horn-EZ   goat   sharp   3SG:A=do.PST
        'The rabbit sharpened the goat's horn.'

As for the second trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, the pre-verbal derivational and inflectional formatives are not interrupted for clitic hosting:

(1980) **mā**=*xond*   EL[Bnd]. 5
  1PL:A.IPFV=read.PST
  'We were reading.'

(1981) **et**=*na-hasta*   /* *na=t-hasta*   CG[Bnd]. 17
  2SG:NC=NEG-have.PST
  'You didn't have (this fire).'

The third trait for cliticization in V-based clitic systems was that while clitics have the verb as their syntactic host, they exhibit ditropic behaviour in the immediate pre-verbal domain, and attach to whatever element which immediately precedes the verb. In the following examples, the ditropic clitic has attached to the preceding subject NP, cf. (1982), object NP, cf. (1983), and adverb, cf. (1984).

(1982) *me*=**m**   *xwardi*=*šo*   / *me*   **om**=*xwardi*=*šo*   SM[Bnd]. 32
  1SG=1SG:A   eat.PST=3PL:O
  'I ate them.'

(1983) *ye*   *morqi*=**š**   *hasta*   / *ye*   *morqi*   **oš**=*hasta*   EL[Bnd]. 63
  a   hen=3SG:NC   exist.PST
  'A man had a hen.'

(1984) *dega*=**m**   *nā-vā*   / *dega*   **om**=*nā-vā*   EL[Bnd]. 64
  anymore=1SG:NC   NEG.IND-want.PRS
  'I don't want (to see you) anymore.'

The data thus prove that the cliticization domain for the placement of A-past clitics is basically V-based. The same cliticization preference applies for object clitics. Thus, in (1985), the clitic has taken the verb as the host.

(1985) *negā*   **š**=*a-kond*   SM[Bnd]. 30
  gaze   3SG:O=IND-do.PRS.3SG
  'He gazes at her.'

The examples below further suggest the uniterruptibility of the TAM for the placement of object clitics.

(1986) **š**=*a-ger-om*   EL[Bnd]. 67
  3SG:O=IND-take.PRS-1SG
  'I will take her.'

(1987) **šā**=*foruš-ing*   EL[Bnd]. 68
  3PL:O.IND=sell.PRS-1PL
  'We sell them.'

The only difference from A-past cliticization is that, the object clitic tends to follow the verb when the latter is preceded by the negative, cf. (1988), and or the irrealis formatives, cf. (1989):

(1988) *nā-šnās-i=šon?*   EL[Bnd]. 79
     NEG.IND-know.PRS-2SG=3PL:O
     'Don't you recognize them?'

(1989) **om**=nā-vā   *be-gin-om=et*   EL[Bnd]. 72
     1SG:NC=NEG.IND-want.PRS   IRR-see.PRS-1SG=2SG:O
     'I don't want to see you.'

Comparing the above examples to the parallel ones in the neighboring Larestani dialects of Bastaki and Lari – where the object clitic has the same direction of attachment as the A-past clitic –, it becomes clear that Bandari has adopted the Persian ordering of object clitics on the verb, but only when the verb is preceded by negative and irrealis prefixes. On the other hand, object cliticization on TAM prefix is the same as A-past cliticization.

Alternatively, such a change in cliticization could be related to the general shift of clitic placement in the south of Iran (see the data for Nowdani as well), which starts with the object clitic through its post verbal occurrence. Bandari data, further suggest that such a shift of placement occurs gradually and does not affect the cliticization on all verbal prefixes alike.

As expected from a V-based clitic system, the adpositional complement clitics have local realization. However, Bandari is different from the rest of V-based clitic systems in the enclitic attachment of clitics to the adpositions (perhaps because the prepositions are borrowed from Persian, and the same enclitic attachment has been copied here).

Table 114: Simple and absolute prepositions in Bandari

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
ba, be	*be*	'to',
a(h)	*az*	'from',
tu		'in', 'inside'
bey	*barā*	'for'
bā	*vegar, bā*	'with'

(1990) *dar*   **a_ru=š**   *bāz*   *kon-im*   SM[Bnd]. 17
     door   on=3SG:POS   open   IRR-do.PRS-1PL
     'Let's open the door on him.'

Following the general procliticization preference, in immediate pre-verbal domains the enclitic complement of an adposition can leave the adposition head to the left and procliticize to the verb:

(1991) *zan=eš*   **az_**   *š=a-pors-ed*   SL2[Bnd]. 2
     woman=3SG:POS   from   3SG:R=IND-ask.PRS-3SG
     'His wife asks him.'

(1992) *māmā=š*   ***be_***   *š=a-ge*   CG[Bnd]. 3
        mom=3SG:POS   to   3SG:R=IND-tell.PRS.3SG
        'Her mom tells her.'

8.3.6.3.5 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Due to the multifunctionality of clitic PMs, multiple clitics are expected to occur in the same clause. The following example is from multiple clitics in the present tense.

(1993) *čuk=**et***   *čan*   *sāl=**eš**-en?*   EL[Bnd]. 78
        son=2SG:POS how.many   year=3SG:NC-exist.PRS
        'How old is your son?'

In past transitive constructions, the clitic indexing of an A-past NP is obligatory. The question arises as which kind of nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. The answer is none of them. That is, the old suffixal morphology on verbs has given its way to clitic PMs, and the marking of all nonsubject arguments have been levelled across all tenses:

(1994) *me=**m***   *bordi=**šo***   SM[Bnd]. 31
        1SG=1SG:A   take.PST=3PL:O
        'I took them.'

(1995) *dast=**om***   ***t**=a-ge*   EL[Bnd]. 42
        hand=1SG:POS   2SG:A=IPFV-take.PST
        'You would take my hand.'

(1996) *age*   *mamur-o*   *az=**et***   *soāl*   ***šo**=kerd*   EL[Bnd]. 21
        if   officer-PL   from=2SGR   question   3PL:A=do.PST
        'If the officers asked you questions...'

The A-past clitic procliticizes on the verb. The occurrence of other clitics in the immediate preverbal domain can result in interesting proclitic clusters on the verb, in way that the clitics which index non-subject arguments can alternatively detach from their heads and resyllabify with the A-past clitic. Following examples illustrate clitic clusters where the first clitic is an O, cf. (1997)–(1998), an adpositional complement, cf. (1999)–(2000), and a possessor, cf. (2001), and the second clitic is the A-past. The ordering of clitics in such clusters is rigid, and the A-past clitic is closer to the verb.

(1997) *bey*   *če*   ***š=et**=košt*   EL[Bnd]. 13
        for   what   3SG:O=2SG:A=kill.PST
        'Why did you kill him?'

(1998) ***šo=(o)m**=bord*   [conjugation]
        3PL:O=1SG:A=take.PST
        'I took them.'

(1999) *se*   *tā*   *golābi*   *be*   ***šo=i**-dā*   PS[Bnd]. 15
       three   CLF   pear   to   3PL:R=3SG:A-give.PST
       'He gave them three pears.'

(2000) *be*   ***š=i**=goft*   SL2[Bnd]. 21
       to   3SG:R=3SG:A=tell.PST
       'She told him'

(2001) *māhi-ā*   ***šo=i**=xārd*   *o*   *raft*   MB[Bnd]. 8
       fish-PL   3PL:POS=3SG:A-eat.PST   and   go.PST
       'He ate their fish and went away.'

Note that in all the clusters above the A-past clitic is a vowel-initial form. This makes it possible for the preceding clitic to form a cluster with it (cf. §6.3.1- §6.3.3 for the conditions on the clitic clustering in V-based proclitic systems):

(2002) ***mo**=bord=**et***   */*et=mo=bord*   [conjugation]
       1PL:A=take.PST=2SG:O
       'We took you.'

(2003) *az*   *gošnegi*   ***to**=košt=**omo***   EL[Bnd]. 48
       from   hunger   2PL:A=kill.PST=1PL:O
       'You killed us of hunger.'

While the viability of having clitic clusters prior to the verb stem seems to be dependent on the person of the A-past clitic as being vowel-intial, the full behaviour of such clusters, and different syllabification possibilities behind such clusters remains to be understood.

8.3.6.3.6 Clitic-affix sequences

The clitic-affix combinations are allowed only in present tense constructions, and only when the verb is preceded by negation and/or irrealis formative. In such a context the O-indexing clitic follows the Vaff PM.

(2004) *mard*   *gā*   *i=bo*   *bāzār*   EL[Bnd]. 71
       man   cow   3SG:A=take.PST   market

       tā   *bo-fruš-**et**=**eš***
       to   IRR-sell.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O
       'The man took the cow to the market to sell it.'

In short, the development of clitic functions in Bandari point to two interesting facts: the extension of clitic functionality to indexing intransitive subjects in past imperfective constructions, and their extension to mark pronominally direct objects in past tense. The former is exceptional is the Iranian context since it shows the extension of clitic marking to intransitive

clauses[134], whereas the latter illustrates the levelling of dependent marking of objects, hence having done away with the anomalous marking of objects via two sets of person markers, i.e. clitic PMs and Vaff PMs. In terms of placement, the clitic system is primarily a V-based one. The procliticization preference for clitic PMs along with the V-based realization of core arguments could result in proclitic clusters on the verb.

8.3.6.4 Minabi

Minab is one of the eight counties of Hormozgan province and is located 80 kilometres north of Bandar-Abbas, Iran. Its dialect, Minabi, shows close similarities with the neighbouring Bandari dialect in terms of lexicon, and grammar, and at the same time is in heavy contact with Balochi and Bashkardi. Minabi sticks to the V-based cliticization. Clitics tend to move towards encliticization due to the contact influence from neighbouring Balochi dialects. The data for this study were gathered during a fieldwork to the region in February 2018, and include the recording of elicitation tasks, two folktales (codified as MM, and GW), and one retelling of pear story. Informants are three males, aged 31, 38, and 51. In addition, reference will be made to Barbera's grammatical description of Minabi (2005).

8.3.6.4.1 Form

Table 115 presents different sets of clitic PMs in Minabi:

Table 115: Clitic PMs in Minabi

		set 1	set 2
SG	1	=(o)m	om=
	2	=(e)t, =e	et=
	3	(o)š==š, =iš, =še, =i	i=
PL	1	=mon	mon=
	2	=ton	ton=
	3	=yon, =šān	šon=

The clitics appear in two sets of proclitics and enclitics. Barbera (2005: 49) lists only set 1 as the paradigm of clitic PMs in Minabi. He attributes the proclitic attachment in the examples

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[134] The Gorani dialect of Bājalāni shows a similar development. There, the clitics have extended to index the intransitive S in the simple past tense (see MacKenzie 1956).

like *m=a-wā* 'I want' to borrowing from the neighboring Bandari dialect (see below for an alternative analysis).

The 2SG singular clitic is sometimes realized as the clos-mid front vowel *e*. 3SG form has both -i forms and -š forms. Their distribution seems to be triggered both phonologically (e.g. -*i* attaches to consonant-final hosts and -*š* to vowel-final hosts), and functionally, e.g. *še* was only attested functioning as a direct object, while *i=* is used for indexing the A-past NP.

8.3.6.4.2 Functions

Clitic PMs are used for marking a number of syntactic functions, including an adnominal possessor, cf. (2005), an O-prs NP, cf. (2006), a non-flagged indirect object, cf. (2007), an adpositional complement, cf. (2008), and an A-past NP, cf. (2009). It is only in this last function that clitics are obligatory indices.

(2005) *bap=**i***   MM[Min]. 32
     father=3SG:POS
     'His father'

(2006) *tu*   *bāzār-e*   *āzād*   *a-fruš-im=**šo***   EL[Min]. 68
     in   market-EZ   free   IND-sell.PRS-1PL=3PL:O
     'We will sell them at the free market.'

(2007) *hā-da-m=**et***   EL[Min]. 76
     PVB-give.PRS-1SG=2SG:R
     'That I give to you.'

(2008) *hama*   *xarid-ān*   *donbāl=**eš**-an*   SL1[Min]. 19
     all   shopping-PL   with=3SG:R-3PL.COP
     'All (his) shopping are with him.'

(2009) *mom*   *o*   *bap=**i***   *a-go=**šā***   MM[Min]. 22
     mom   and   dad=3SG:POS   IPFV-say.PST=3PL:A
     'His parents would say.'

In addition to these, clitic PMs mark the subject-like argument, regardless of the tense of the verb forms, in the following constructions: 'predicative possession, cf. (2010), 'necessity and wanting', cf. (2011), and 'non-controlled internal physical and emotional states', cf. (2012).

(2010) *tanhā*   *ye*   *tā*   *čuk*   *hast=**om**-en*   EL[Min]. 46
     only   a   CLF   boy   exist=1SG:NC-PERF
     'I had but one child.'

(2011) *nā=**m**-avā-t-en*   *be*   *to*   MM[Min]. 26
     NEG=1SG:NC-be necessary.PRS-EP-COP.3SG   PREP   2SG
     'I don't want you.'

(2012) *čehna=**m**-en*   EL[Min]. 62
      thirsty=1SG:NC-COP.3SG
      'I'm thirsty.'

Finally, the old ergative morphology is lost on past transitive verbs. One reason for this state of affairs could be the fact that definite animate objects are regularly marked by the dummy preposition *be*. The direct object is thus introduced into the grammar as a prepositional phrase. Therefore, not surprisingly, the verb does not agree with such a prepositional phrase.

(2013) *be*   *me*   *tu*   *xār*   ***et**=nāhā*   MM[Min]. 43
      PREP   1SG   in   cave   2SG:A=put.PST
      'You left me in a cave'

(2014) *be*   *mom*   *buā*   *bap-e*   *xo*   MM[Min]. 20
      PREP   mom   father father-EZ   REFL

      *kerd=**i***   *dāxel-e*   *ya*   *kise-i*
      do.PST=3SG:A inside-EZ   a   sack-INDF
      'He put his parents inside a sack.'

8.3.6.4.3 Placement of clitic PMs

Based on the approximation that phonological attachment of clitics is basically in the form of enclitics, Barbera (2005: 50) suggests that 'the position before the verb is the most common [slot] for clitic placement, but clitics can never initiate the sentence.' This statement is too general and does not adequately capture the complexities behind the clitic system of Minabi.

Like the neighboring dialect of Bandari, the clitic system of Minabi is best seen a V-based one. Thus, the verb is the domain for cliticization. Clitic placement exhibits the general traits of clitic placement in V-based clitic systems, highlighted in §5.5.7. As for the first trait, the cliticization domain is defined with respect to the verb. The clitic thus skips potential host elements to the left of the verb and attaches to the verb, exhibiting an affixal behaviour.

(2015) *mahi-e*   *pari_*   ***i**=go*   EL[Min]. 16
      aunt-EZ   PN   3SG:A=say.PST
      'Aunt Pari said.'

(2016) *ye_*   *mive-hā_*   *jam_*   ***šu**=ke*   PS[Min]. 14
      3PL   fruit=PL   collect   3PL:A=do.PST
      'They collected the fruits.'

(2017) *hanuz_*   *pul_*   *be*   *me_*   ***šo**=na-dād-en*   GW[Min]. 9
      yet   money   to   1SG   3PL:A=NEG-give.PST-PERF
      'They haven't paid me money yet.'

(2018) *ya   dār_   ātiš_   **i**=za*   GW[Min]. 14
      a   wood   fire   3SG:A=hit.PST
      'He fired a stick.'

(2019) *se   tā   sabad_   āmāde_   **i**=kerd-a*   PS[Min]. 2
      three CLF basket   ready   3SG:A=do.PST-COP
      'He had prepared three baskets.'

(2020) *ke_   be   mā_   yek   jā-i_   **et**=nahād-en*   MM[Min]. 23
      REL   PREP 1PL   a   place-INDF 2SG:A=put.PST-PERF
      'That you have put us in a place.'

(2021) *me_   xo_   se   tā_   **om**=nahad-a   ijā*   PS[Min]. 20
      1SG   EMPH three CLF   1SG:A=put.PST-DRC here
      'I put three (basket) here.

What distinguishes Minabi from other V-based clitic systems is that it is inclined to encliticization, possibly as a result of the contact from adjacent Balochi dialects. In the following examples the clitic skips the pre-verbal elements to attach to the verb, yet in an enclitic grab.

(2022) *bil-e   xo_   a-vā-get=**i***   GW[Min]. 6
      shovel-EZ   REFL IPFV-PVB-take.PST=3SG:A
      'He would pick up his shovel.'

(2023) *ro   be   dar   va_   čub-on_   borid=**i***   WC[Min]. 11
      go.PST.3SG to   out   and   wood-PL   cut.PST=3SG:A
      'He went out and chopped the woods.'

(2024) *sozand=**i***   GW[Min]. 14
      burn.CAUS.PST=3SG:A
      'She burnt (it).'

As for the second trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, the pre-verbal derivational and inflectional prefixes are not interrupted for clitic hosting. For instance, in the following examples the TAM prefix is skipped for clitic hosting. Note again that unlike the proclitic attachment in other V-based clitic systems, enclitic attachment is preferred:

(2025) *a-xon=**mo***   EL[Min]. 5
      IPFV-read.PST=1PL:A
      'We were reading.'

(2026) *a-xwar=**šo**   o   a-rot-en*   PS[Min]. 18
      IPFV-eat.PST=3PL:A   and   IPFV-go.PST-3PL
      'They would eat and walk.'

An exception occurs when the clitic attachment is on the negative formative. Here the negative formative is taken as the clitic host:

(2027) *ne=**y**-fahmi*   *če*   *bu*   PS[Min]. 21
       NEG=3SG:A-understand.PST   what   become.PST.3SG
       'He didn't understand what happened.'

Finally, as for the third trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, the clitics exhibit ditropic clitic behaviour in the immediate pre-verbal domain. Thus, while having the verb as their syntactic host, the ditropic clitics attach to whatever element appearing before the verb. In the following examples the subject NP, cf. (2028)–(2029), the object NP, cf. (2030), and the prepositional phrase, cf. (2031) host the ditropic clitic.

(2028) *har*   *če*   *to=**t***   *xās*   */ to*   ***ot**=xās*   SL2 [Min]. 17
       every   thing   2SG=2SG:NC   want.PST
       'Whatever you wanted.'

(2029) *doht-e*   *šomā*   *me=**m***   *košt-en / me* ***om**=košten*
       girl-EZ   2PL   1SG=1SG:A   kill.PST-PERF
       'I have killed your daughter.' (Barbera 2005: 110)

(2030) *mahmadi*   *čuk=**i***   *bu*   */ čuk* ***i**=bu*   MM[Min]. 24
       PN   boy=3G:NC   exist.PST
       'Mahmadi became dad.' [lit. a boy was born to him]

(2031) *be*   *i=**šo***   *di*   */ be i **šo**=di*   PS[Min]. 10
       to   3SG=3PL:A   give.PST
       'They saw him.'

It can thus be said that the clitic placement in Minabi is basically a V-based one. The same traits of placement can be applied for the placement of object clitics. The following example shows that the verb is the anchoring element for the placement of the O clitic (first trait):

(2032) *ke_*   *how_*   *i=bo*   MM[Min]. 41
       COMP   water   3SG:O=take.PRS.3SG
       'That water displace him.'

As for the second trait, the pre-verbal affixes are not interrupted for O clitic hosting:

(2033) *a-bar-om=**et***   *lard*   EL[Min]. 8
       IND-take.PRS-1SG=2SG:O   out
       'I will take you out.'

(2034) *be-reye*   *bi-ār-i=**še***   EL[Min]. 73
       IRR-go.PRS.2PL   IRR-bring.PRS-2PL=3SG:O
       'Go and bring him.'

The same is true for cliticization on the negative formative. Note further that unlike the cliticization of A-past clitic the negative formative is not interrupted for clitic hosting.

(2035) *nā-šnās-i=šon*   EL[Min]. 79
        NEG.IND-know.PRS-2SG=3PL:O
        'Don't you know them!'

Finally, the O clitic placement also shows the third trait of cliticization in V-based clitic systems, namely the ditropic clitic behaviour:

(2036) *šeytun   gul=i   a-det   / gul i=a-det*   PS[Min]. 4
        devil   deception=3SG:O   IND-give.PRS.3SG
        'The devil deceives him.'

In short, the clitic placement facts point to the designation of the verb as the domain of cliticization. In addition, it was seen that A-past and O behave largely similar with respect to their placement.

8.3.6.4.3.1 Adpositional complement clitics

The prepositions and their relationship to cliticization is indeed complicated, especially that the preposition *be* marks animate direct objects. Following table lists the different sets of prepositions.

Table 116: Simple and absolute prepositions in Minabi

Simple PREP	Absolute PREP	Gloss
be	*be, (rarely) a*	'to'
e	*az, eyz*	'from'
bā	*donbāl*	'with'
be		'for'
tu		'in'

The distinction between simple and absolute prepositions is mostly lost. Most importantly, the preposition *be* which fulfils beneficiary and recipient functions acts only as a simple preposition and does not take an enclitic pronoun as its complement, as in (2037)–(2038) below. Consequently, as far as direct objects and adpositional complements headed by *be* are concerned, multiple clitics are not allowed in the clause.

(2037) *bap-e   me   be   me   i=goht-en*   MM[Min]. 42
        dad-EZ   1SG   to   1SG   3SG:A=say.PST-PERF
        'My father said to me .'

(2038) *Ali   dād=iš-en   be   me*   EL[Min]. 80
        PN   give.PST=3SG:A-PERF   to   1SG
        'Ali has given it to me.'

The preposition *a* 'to' rarely acts an absolute form of *be*. But, unlike other prepositions to which clitic PMs attach as enclitics, the clitic complement of *a* attaches to it in the form of a proclitic.

(2039) *kār*   ***t=a***   *hast=**om***   EL[Min]. 70
      job   2SG:R=to   exist.PRS=1SG:NC
      'I have a business with you.'

As expected from clitic placement in V-based clitic systems, adpositional complements are realized locally, and have lost their mobility. This can be seen in (2039) above, and further in (2040) below.

(2040) *how_*   *eyz=**i***   *a-cak-et*
       water   from=3SG:R   IND-drip.PRS-3SG
       'Water drips from it.' (Barbera 2005: 87)

8.3.6.4.4 Restrictions on multiple cliticization

Multiple clitics co-occur in present tense constructions. However, their co-occurrence does not usually lead to a clitic cluster.

(2041) *kār*   ***t=a***   *hast=**om***   EL[Min]. 70
      job   2SG:R=to   exist.PRS=1SG:A
      'I have a business with you.'

In past transitive constructions, on the other hand, an A-past NP is obligatorily indexed by clitic PMs. The question is which nonsubject arguments are available to exponence as old suffixal morphology. The following examples point that possessor arguments are realized by clitic PMs.

(2042) *be*   *čuk-on=**om***   *bor=**šon**-en*   EL[Min]. 39
       PREP   boy-PL=1SG:POS   take.PST=3PL:A-PERF
       'They took away my children.'

(2043) *dast=**om***   *a-get=**et***   EL[Min]. 42
       hand=1SG:POS   IPFV-take.PST=2SG:A
       'You would take my hand.'

Bound adpositional complements are also marked by clitic PMs:

(2044) *yak-e*   *dah*   *toman* *pul*   *be*   *xo=**i***
       each-EZ   ten   toman   money   for   REFL=3SG:A

       ge   *eyz=**ešân***
       take.PST   from=3PL:R
       'He took ten Tomans from each of them.' (Barbera 2005: 120)

As seen above, multifunctional preposition *be* takes only free complements as host:

(2045) *šokolāt=**om***   *xarid-en*   *be*   *to*   EL[Min]. 31
        chocolate=1SG:A   buy.PST-PERF   for   2SG
        'I have bought chocolates for you.'

In the same way, direct objects are regularly accompanied by the preposition *be*. The latter cannot take a clitic PM as its host, hence the realization of object by an independent pronoun.

(2046) *košt=**et***   *be*   *mā*   EL[Min]. 48
        kill.PST=2SG:A   PREP   1PL
        'You killed us.'

8.3.6.4.5 Clitic-affix sequences

Clitics occur in sequences with verb agreement suffixes only in present tense constructions. The resulting ordering is such that the clitic follows the Vaff PM.

(2047) *nā-zan-om=**et***   EL[Min]. 70
        NEG.IND-hit.PRS-1SG=2PL:O
        'I won't beat you'

To sum up, Minabi has grammaticalized the A-past use of clitic PMs. The clitic system seems to be influenced by the neighbouring Balochi dialects, since in some context the direction of clitic attachment is in the form of enclitics. Like in other languages of southeast Iran, Minabi has a V-based clitic system, and clitics systematically attach to the verb as their anchoring element.