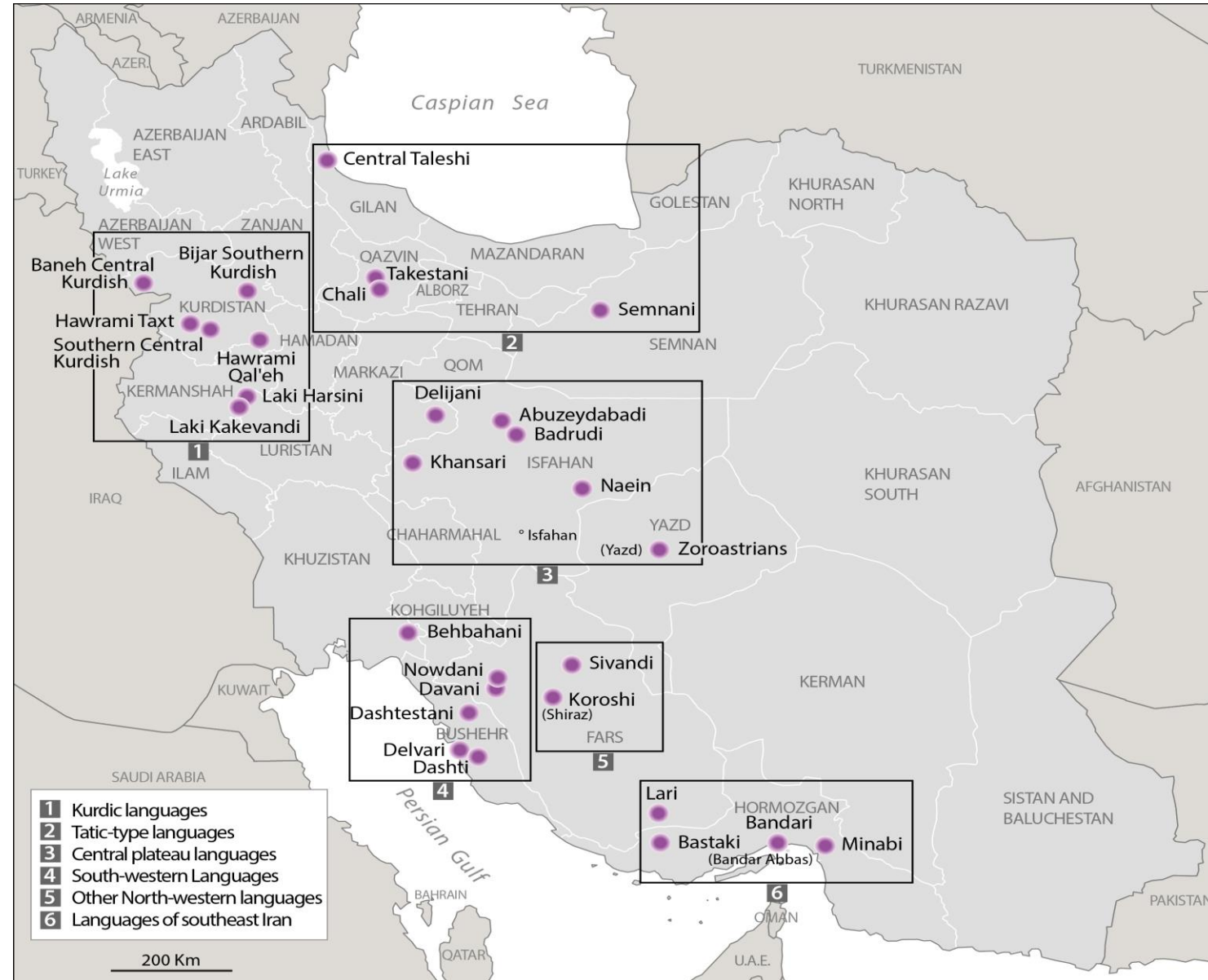


Procliticization mechanism in western Iranian languages: its extent and development

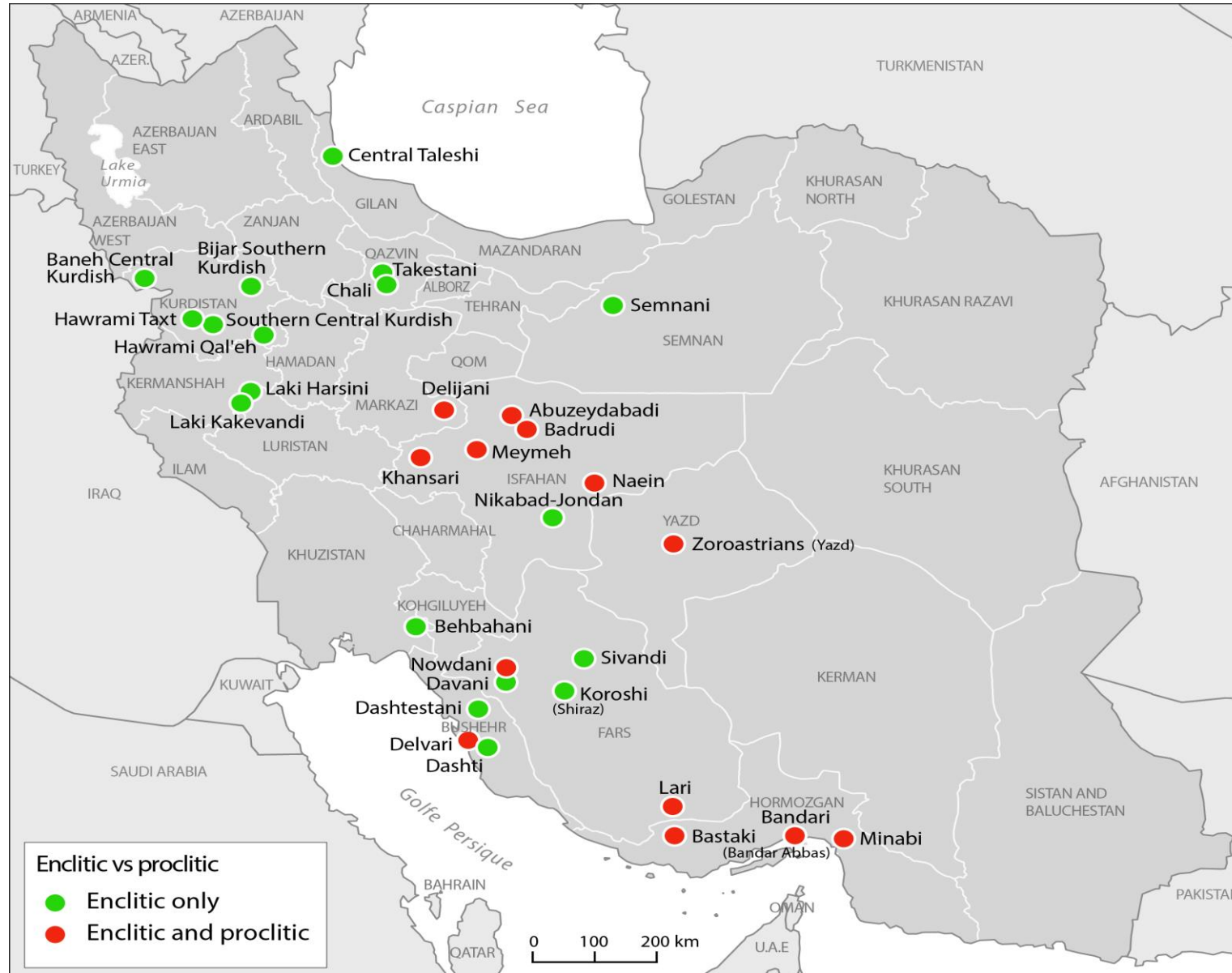
Masoud Mohammadirad
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle- Paris 3

- ❖ Proclitic attachment in modern languages (Examples)
- ❖ Previous scholarship
- ❖ Clitic placement in Old and Middle Iranian Languages
- ❖ S2-assuring particles in Middle Iranian
- ❖ Pronominal clitics and their rightward drift in modern languages
- ❖ The development of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages
 - subject and object clitics
 - prepositional object clitics
 - possessor clitics
- ❖ Conclusion

Under-investigated languages



Modern languages with proclitic attachment



Examples: subject in past transitive constructions

- 1) *yeki* *yeki* *mivi-yā bā* *deqat*
 oš = *çī* PS[Lar2]. 3
 one one fruit-PL with care
 3SG:A = pick.PST
 ‘He was pecking the fruit with care.’ (Lari)
- 2) *vaxti* *xorâk* *dorst* *t* = *a-ke*
 LE[Bn]. 17
 when food right 2SG:A = IPFV-do.PST
 ‘When you would make food.’ (Bandari)
- 3) *aš* = *vâ*
 3sg:A = say.pst
 ‘He said.’ (Badrudi)

Examples: direct object

4) *ot* = *nā-zen-em*
EL[Bs]. 70

2SG:O = NEG-hit.PRS-1SG

‘I won’t beat you.’ (Bastaki)

5) *in* *di* *hemla* *be-kr-â* *be*
SM[ZY]. 6
3SG ADD attack SBJV-do.PRS3SG to
mi *bozâ,* *šo* = *be-xr-â*
DEM goat-PL 3PL:O = SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG
‘That he (too) attack these goats, (and) eat them.’ (Zoroastrians of Yazd)

6) *t* = *a-bar-om* *sahrâ*
EL[Bn]. 8
2SG:O = IND-take.PRS-1SG desert
‘I will take you out.’ (Bandari)

Examples: prepositional object

- 7) *š̌ = az bar* *a te* *sabad* *a-riz-en*
 PS[Lar1]. 18
 3SG:R = for into basket IND-pour.PRS-
 3PL
 ‘They pour (the pears) into a basket for him.’ (Lari)
- 8) *š̌ = aš* *pors* *mi-kond*
 BO[Nd]. 3
 3SG:R = from questionIND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘She asks him.’ (Nodani)
- 9) *dâšt* *š̌ = e-kâ* *š̌ = e tu*
 HB[ZY]. 12
 hand 3SG:A-IPFV-do.PST3SG:R = in
 ‘He put (his) hand in it.’ (Zoroastrians of Yazd)

Previous scholarship

Dabir-Moghaddam (2008)

A preliminary classification of phonological attachment of pronominal clitics functioning as A-past in some Iranian languages:

- a. clitic attached to the particle *o-* or an enclitic (Davani)
- b. clitic attached to the particle *o-* or a proclitic (Lari)
- c. enclitic and proclitic (Naeini)
- d. enclitic only (Central Kurdish, Balochi, Taleshi, etc.)

► No analysis of the properties of the *O* particle

Contrast:

- 10.a) *o = m* *xa*
 PTC = 1SG eat.PST
 ‘I ate.’ (Dabir-Moghaddam’s analysis of *O-*)
- b) *mo = xa*
 1PL = eat.pst
 ‘We ate.’

Previous scholarship

Jügel (in press)

11)	<i>oš</i>	<i>vâ</i>
	3SG.OBL say.PST	
	‘He said.’	(Jügel 2017)

► Oblique analysis runs into problems. In addition, O occurs only with singular forms

Previous scholarship

Gholami (2018)

The changes that had occurred to the canonical ergative construction (e.g. loss of verb agreement with object) triggers the rise of procliticization in modern languages.

- **Such a correlation is not correct!**
- **Her account implies that proclitic attachment only happens with the use of clitics as indexing past transitive subjects**

Working hypothesis: Clitics in all their functions are realized second in clause

- 11

I) **particle O- (Samdhi form of ‘and-coordinator’ *ud*)**

► It resurfaces whenever other eligible clitic hosts (e.g. clausal conjunctions, subject NP, clausal adverbs) are not available

16) *û* = *tân* *paymôxt* *hêm*
 PTC = 2PL dress.PST COP.1SG
 ‘[.] and you dressed me.’ (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014:417)

17) *û* = *šan* *andar* *hw* *šhr* *cyš*
 pâr *ny* ‘*st*
 PTC = 3PL in dem world thing debt
 NEG exist.PRS
 ‘[...] They have no debts at all in this world.’ (Parthian) (Bruner 1977:228)

S2-assuring particles in Middle Iranian

II) **Particle a-/ â- (Samdhi form of the adverb *ah*)**

18) *a = t* *tl* *mynyt*
 PTC = 2SG ? scorn.PRS.3SG
 ‘He scorns you.’ (Brunner 1977:114)’

19) *â = m* *fräz* *guft* *hê* *zarduxšt*
 PTC = 1SG to say.PST COP.2SG Zoroaster
 ‘I said to you, Zoroaster.’ (Durkin-Meisterenst
2014:398)

The continuation of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages

Particle O-

- 20) **o** = *t* *ya* *memuni* *hâ-de*
 XS[Dv]. 14
 PTC = 2SGa party PVB-give.PRS.1SG
 ‘That I throw a party for you.’ [Lit. That I give you a party] **(Davani)**

- 21) **o** = *mu* *ri* *xar* *mi-nâ*
 LS[Dsh]. 8
 PTC = 1PL on donkey IPFV-put.PST
 ‘We would put (the sack) on donkeys.’ **(Dashti)**

particle a- (now a supporting vowel)

- 22) **aš** = *vâ*
 3sg = say.pst
 ‘He said.’ (Badrudi)

Pronominal clitics and their rightward drift in modern languages

S2-based (23.a) _ VP-based (23.b) _ V-based (23.c)

23.a) [*Farox-o Farhād = ešū*] [*har ato*] [*ya xersī*] [*ze*] (Davani)
pn-and pn = 3pl each one a bear-indf hit.pst

b) [*Farox-u Farā*] [*yak-ê*] [*wirç-êk = yân*] *râw kird* (Southern Central Kurdish)
pn-and pn. each-restr bear-indf = 3pl hunt do.pst

c) [*Farhād-o Farox*] [*nafar-i*] [*ye tâ xers*] [*šekâr šo = ke*]
(Bandari)
pn-and pn person-restr a clf bear hunt 3pl:A = do.pst
"Farhād and Farox each hunted a bear."

► The rightward drift of clitics in clause and the subsequent developments which occurred to S2-assuring particles were the major factors in the rise of procliticization in modern languages with proclitic attachment.

The developement of S2-guaranteeing particles in Modern languages

	WMI	Dav.	Dash.	Kha	Bad	Lar	Del.	Nod.	ZYD.	Ban.	Min.
1SG	u = m	o = m	e/o = m	em =	am =	om =	om =	om =	om =	om =	om =
2SG	u = t	o = t	e/o = t	ed =	at =	ot =	et =	et =	od =	et =	et =
3SG	u = š	o = š	e/o = š	ež =	aš =	oš =	eš =	eš =	oš =	eš = /î =	î =
1PL	u = mân	o = mû	e/o = mû	emun =	amun =	mo =	mû =	mû =	mo =	mo =	mon =
2PL	u = tân	o = tû	e/o = tû	edun =	adun =	to =	tû =	tû =	do =	to =	ton =
3PL	u = šân	o = šû	e/o = šû	ežun =	ašun =	šo =	šû =	šû =	šo =	šo =	šon =

Table 2: Reflexes of *u-* and *a-* in modern Iraninan languages

The developement of S2-guaranteeing particles in Modern languages: **1st stage**

► **Particles still guarantee second positioning of clitics**

e.g. The paradigmatic form of the verb 'to ask' in Davani

24)

o = m	porsi
o = t	porsi
o = š	porsi
o = mu	porsi
o = tu	porsi
o = šû	porsi

The developement of S2-guaranteeing particles in Modern languages: **2nd stage**

► the unit ‘particle + clitic’ (e.g. *o = m xward* ‘I ate’) was reanalyzed as a proclitic on the verb

The paradigmatic form of the verb ‘to say’ in the past tense of Badrudi

25)

a m = vâ	‘I said’
a d = vâ	‘You said (sg)’
a š = vâ	‘S/he said’
a mun = vâ	‘We said.’
a dun = vâ	‘You said (pl)’
a šun = vâ	‘They said.’

The development of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages: **3rd stage**

► stage 3 highlights the shift in the conditioning factor for the resurfacing of current supporting vowels, i.e. reassuring that clitics have a prosodic structure of their own

‘The paradigmatic form of the verb to say’ in the past
tense of Turi

26)	om = xa	‘I ate.’ ⁵
	ot = xa	‘You ate (sg).’
	oš = xa	‘S/he ate.’
	mo = xa	‘We ate.’
	to = xa	‘You ate (pl).’
	šo = xa	‘They ate.’

The developement of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages:

	1 st stage	2 nd stage	3 rd 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 =

Table 3: Presumed stages of the development of the u- and e- particles before the bare verb stem

The developement of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages

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

Table 4: Presumed stages of the developement of the u- and a/e- particles before TAM forms of verbs

3rd stage		3rd stage	
m = a-xa	'I was eating.'	om = mi-xa	'I was eating'
t = a-xa	'You were eating (sg).'	et = mi-xa	'You(sg) were eating.'
š = a-xa	'S/he was eating.'	eš = mi-xa	'S/he was eating.'
mo = a-xa	'We were eating.'	mu = mi-xa	'We were eating.'
to = a-xa	'You were eating (pl).'	tu = mi-xa	'You (pl) were eating.'
šo = a-xa	'They were eating.'	šū = mi-xa	'They were eating.'

The developement of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages: prepositional object clitics

- 27) *ka = tân* *nêkîh* *awiš* *rasêd*
 when = 2pl something.good to arrive.PRS.3SG
 ‘When something good comes to you.’ (Middle Persian , Jügel in press)
- 28) *o = š* *jaryân* *aš* *mi-ga-tâ*
 KS[Dv]. 21
 PTC = 3SG:R story to IND-tell.PRS-3SG
 ‘He says the story to him.’ (Dsavani)
- 29) *š = az bar* *a te* *sabad* *a-riz-en* *< * o = š az bar*
 a te **sabad arizen**
 3SG:R = for in basket IND-pour.PRS-3PL
 ‘They pour (the pears) into a basket for him.’ (Lari)

The developement of S2-assuring particles in Modern languages: possessor clitics

30) *rawāgēnīdan* *ī = šān* *dušdēnīh*
 promulgation ez = 3pl bad.religion
 ‘The promulgation of their bad religion’ (Middle Persian , Jügel in press
)

31) *šād = eš* *a* *del* *dar-bâr-*
e XS[Dv]. 39
 maybe = 3SG:POSS from heart PVB-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘Maybe he can soothe him.’ (Dsavani) [Lit. he can
 take [it] out from his heart]

32) *dār* *t = az* *dast* *a-ket*
 < * *o = t* *dār* *az* *dast* *a-ket* stick *a-ket* 2SG:POSS = from
 hand IND-fall.PRS < * or *dār = ot az* *dast* *a-ket*
 ‘The stick will fall from your hand.’ (Bastaki)

Conclusion

The major force behind the rise of procliticization in modern languages is the rightward movement of clitics toward the verb and accordingly the change in cliticization domain from S2 to VP-based and Vebv-based clitic systems. This movement triggered either the disappearance of erstwhile S2-guaranteeing particles (in case of possessor and prepositional object clitics) or their resurfacing as supporting vowels (in case of object and subject-indexing clitics).

Thank you