

THE PRONOMINAL CLITICS OF LOGAR ORMURI

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Moody Bible Institute, 2005

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

August

2014

This thesis, submitted by Jeremy Hawbaker in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is not solely my own, but rests on the help and support of several others. First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Joan Baart, for his continued commitment to this thesis. Not only did he provide me the texts which made this thesis possible, but he was active in the selection and development of its topic. His criticism and comments along the way have been invaluable. I also thank Dr. John Clifton and Dr. Adam Baker for the support they have shown me and for the criticism they have given. I need to also mention former committee members that steered my thesis in better directions, for which I am grateful: Dr. Stephen Marlett and Dr. David Weber.

I am also thankful for two men whom I have never met but who loom large in this thesis: Dr. Valentin Efimov and Dr. Charles Kieffer. Their work with the Ormuri people and language is the reason I can write this thesis. Their devotion to this people group has been an inspiration to me. In addition, I give special thanks to the men and women who voluntarily told their stories for Dr. Efimov and Dr. Kieffer. I thank them for allowing me, through their stories, a glimpse into their world. I hope in my analysis that I have done justice to their stories, their language, and their people.

I would like to very much thank my friends and family for bearing with me over the course of this thesis and this degree. I would like to thank my children: Liesl, Leslie, Moses, and Niklaus, who allowed their father the time to work on this thesis. Most of all, I would like to thank my wife, Kara, who has unfailingly supported and encouraged me, even through rough moods and desperate moments. I could not have done this without her.

ABBREVIATIONS

*	ungrammatical
(x)	x is optional
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	subject of transitive clause
ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary
BP	“The boy and the princess” text from Kieffer
COMP	complementizer
COMPR	comparative
DEF	definite
DC	“Dervish and camels” text from Kieffer
DIR	directional ¹
DUR	durative
EZ	ezafe
FBJ	“The foolish boy and the judge” text from Kieffer
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative

¹ See Appendix A for a brief description of the personal-directional prefixes.

INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTRO	“the [subject] participant is being introduced or activated for the first time” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131)
IPFV	imperfective
LDP	left-detached position
MD	“Master and disciple” text from Kieffer
N1	“the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131)
N2	“the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131)
N3	“the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131)
N4	“other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131)
NEG	negative
NINTRO	a participant is being introduced for the first time in a non-subject role
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
O	object of transitive clause
OBJ	object

OBL	oblique
OC	oblique clitic
OM	object marker
PC	pronominal clitic
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
PRF	perfect
PRS	present tense
PROG	progressive, habitual
PSA	privileged syntactic argument
PST	past tense
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
S	subject of intransitive clause
S1	“the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130)
S2	“the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130)
S3	“the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130)
S4	“other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130)
SBJV	subjunctive

SG	singular
TR	transitive

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a description of the system of pronominal clitics in the Logar dialect of Ormuri, an Iranian language of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Logar dialect is based in the Logar province of Afghanistan and is near to extinction. The thesis studies grammatical constraints on the occurrence of pronominal clitics in Ormuri sentences. It also investigates discourse factors that influence when a pronominal clitic is used to refer to an entity in the situation that is being talked about, rather than a noun, an independent pronoun, or zero anaphora. My analysis is based on a corpus consisting of fifty-five narrative texts told by Ormuri men and women in Afghanistan in the 1970s, collected and compiled separately by V. A. Efimov and Charles Kieffer. Each text was analysed with special attention to where, when, and how the pronominal clitics were used. Participant reference was analysed using the Default/Marked method described in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001).

Within a clause, Ormuri pronominal clitics may function as subject, object, possessor, or indirect object. A clitic functioning as possessor appears immediately after the possessed constituent. When functioning as subject, object, or indirect object, pronominal clitics are generally placed immediately after the first phrasal constituent of the clause. In some cases, a clitic may be co-referential with a sentence-initial noun phrase that functions as a subject or object argument. When, in this way, a pronominal clitic “doubles” a noun phrase occurring earlier in the clause, the clitic appears after the second, rather than the first, phrasal constituent of the sentence.

In present-tense clauses, an object argument can be encoded as a pronominal clitic, but a subject argument cannot be. In past-tense clauses, on the other hand, the subject argument of a transitive verb can be encoded as a pronominal clitic, but its object cannot be. This asymmetrical distribution of pronominal clitics in past- and present-tense clauses is a remnant of a more elaborate tense-based split-ergative system that must have existed in the past, and which still exists in the Kaniguram dialect in Pakistan.

Regarding the question as to when pronominal clitics (rather than nouns or other encodings) are selected to refer to participants in the discourse world, it was found that clitics are strongly preferred in contexts where they encode a reference to a participant that continues in the same grammatical role that it had in the previous clause or sentence.

The system of pronominal clitics in Logar Ormuri is similar to, albeit not identical to, the systems found in related languages, including Parachi, Persian, and Pashto.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the system of pronominal clitics in the Logar dialect of Ormuri. This description includes an overview of these clitics, an account of the ways in which they are used in connected text to refer to participants in an event or situation, and a comparison with the pronominal clitic systems in three closely-related languages: Parachi, Pashto, and Persian.

1.1 The Ormuri people and language

Ormuri (ISO 639-3 code [oru]) is an Iranian language spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The people call themselves Baraki while those outside the people group, notably the Pashtuns, refer to them as Ormuri (Burki 2001). In accordance with Efimov (2011), I will use the term ‘Ormuri’ to refer to both the people and their language.

Previous literature has identified two dialects of Ormuri: Logar and Kaniguram (Efimov 2011:1ff.). These names correspond to the places where the dialects are spoken, the former in the Logar province of Afghanistan and the latter approximately 160 kilometers away in the Kaniguram valley of Waziristan, Pakistan. While there is an estimated population of 10,000 speakers of the Kaniguram dialect (Khattak 2011), fewer than fifty people spoke the Logar dialect in 1977 (Kieffer 1977:74). This thesis will concentrate on the Logar dialect.

The Logar dialect is approaching extinction due to the Ormuri people choosing to speak the languages of wider communication in the area in which they live, most significantly Pashto and Persian. Kieffer (1977:74) writes that the Ormuri language “has reached the last stage of its resistance.” It is used only in the home and even there, due to exogamous marriages, its use is diminishing. This process of language attrition was already noted in the early twentieth century by Georg Morgenstierne, a Norwegian linguist. In 1924, Morgenstierne was in Afghanistan to do linguistic fieldwork. Though he did not visit the town of Baraki-Barak, Afghanistan, the central location of the Logar Ormuri dialect, a source from the town informed him that very few people still spoke pure Ormuri there. Rather, the Ormuri people spoke Pashto. Morgenstierne’s further travels in the area (though not to Baraki-Barak, due to an insurrection) confirmed the impression that Ormuri as a spoken language was practically non-existent in Afghanistan (1929:310). However, Charles Kieffer, a Swiss linguist who has worked on the Ormuri language for several decades, discovered in the 1960s that it was still spoken by some people in the fortified farms around Baraki-Barak. After this discovery, Kieffer and Morgenstierne visited these farms together. Kieffer reports that when Morgenstierne was introduced to actual speakers of Ormuri in Logar, he was moved to tears (Baart, p.c.).

Current speakers of the Logar dialect belong mainly to the older generations and language use is restricted primarily to the home (Efimov 2011:1). As more Logar Ormuri speakers intermarry with people from other language groups, such as Pashto or Dari, the number of future Ormuri speakers will likely diminish even further in Afghanistan.

As for the Kaniguram dialect, due to recent political turmoil in the region, the Ormuri population was displaced from their traditional home and the Pakistani army has

not yet allowed their return. They have been scattered across Pakistan, a situation that is putting the future of their language at serious risk (Khattak 2011; Ali 2014).

Ormuri is classified by some as a Western Iranian language, though this classification is debated in the literature. Grierson (1921) proposed a Western classification based on the preservation of the initial voiced plosives of Old-Iranian. (In Eastern Iranian languages these have been changed into fricatives or approximants.) For example, Old Iranian **d̥r-* ‘to have’ corresponds to *dar-* in Ormuri but *lar-* in Pashto, an Eastern Iranian language. Morgenstierne (1926:26ff.; 1929:316ff.) argued for an Eastern Iranian classification because of the significant similarities between Ormuri and Pashto, which include an extensive shared vocabulary and grammar. In his view, the depth of the similarities does not fit with a relatively recent migration of Ormuri from the western to the eastern parts of the Iranian language territory (Morgenstierne 1929:317-318). Instead, he proposed two subgroups of the Eastern Iranian languages, namely a South-Eastern subgroup, which includes Ormuri and Parachi, that preserved the initial voiced stops, and a North-Eastern subgroup that includes Pashto and the Pamiri languages, where the initial voiced stops became fricatives.

Efimov (2011) argued against this analysis, however, and holds to the Western Iranian classification. He based this claim on the preservation of the initial voiced plosives, like Grierson, as well as the correspondence of some fricatives between Old Iranian and modern Ormuri. According to Efimov, those features of Ormuri that favour an Eastern Iranian classification, such as the presence of the dental affricates /ts/ and /dz/ typical of Eastern Iranian rather than the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ typical of Western Iranian, are due to the heavy influence that neighbouring Eastern Iranian

languages, such as Pashto, have had on the development of Ormuri over the last several centuries.

1.2 Previous literature on Ormuri

Few major works exist for either dialect of the Ormuri language. In the nineteenth century, Ghulam Muhammad Khan wrote but did not publish a manuscript entitled *Qawa'id-i Bargista*, or “The Rules of Bargista,” which is a grammar and vocabulary of the Kaniguram dialect (of which Khan was a speaker). Using data and analysis from Khan’s manuscript, George A. Grierson wrote two works on the Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri: ‘The Ōrmurī or Bargistā language’ published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic society of Bengal* (Grierson 1918) and ‘Ōrmurī or Bargistā’ in volume 10 of the *Linguistic survey of India* (Grierson 1921). These include descriptions of the grammar and phonetics of this dialect, an extensive vocabulary, as well as some etymological studies. In these works, he posits the Western Iranian origin of the language.

Morgenstierne published on both dialects of Ormuri. His work on the Logar dialect was published in Volume 1 of *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* (Morgenstierne 1929). This work discusses Ormuri phonetics, phonology, and morphology and also includes some texts and an etymological vocabulary. In 1932, Morgenstierne published ‘Supplementary notes on Ormuri’ in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, which is primarily an etymological vocabulary of the Kaniguram dialect drawing from, revising, and adding to Grierson’s work as well as his own (Morgenstierne 1932).

Kieffer has been actively researching the Logar dialect of Ormuri since the 1960s. In 2003, he published *Grammaire de l'ōrmurī de Baraki-Barak (Lōgar, Afghanistan)*, which is a grammar of the Logar dialect of Ormuri (Kieffer 2003).

Valentin A. Efimov's book on Ormuri titled *Jazyk ormuri v sinxronnom i istoričeskom osveščanii* (Efimov 1986) was translated from Russian and republished as *The Ormuri language in past and present* (Efimov 2011). Efimov provides an overview of the phonology and morphology of Ormuri, with material focused on both dialects. He gives special attention to the historical origin of Ormuri through a detailed analysis of the development of the phonemes as well as the word forms.

Daniel G. Hallberg (1992) wrote a brief sociolinguistic description of Ormuri in Volume 4 of the *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*. In this work, he published a word list from the Kaniguram dialect as well as a text. He also includes a short history of the two dialects of Ormuri, notes on bilingualism among Ormuri speakers as well as notes on language vitality, and a comparison of Ormuri with Pashto.

1.3 Subject of thesis

Grierson (1918, 1921), Morgenstierne (1929, 1932), Kieffer (1972, 1979, 2003), and Efimov (2011) represent most of the work that has been done on the Ormuri language. While each of these works includes some discussion of the pronominal clitics, none describe their placement within the clause or their syntactic distribution, nor do they adequately describe their relation to ergativity and their function with regard to participant reference. This thesis presents a more extensive description of the pronominal clitics in Ormuri. It is very much hoped that this work will lead to further research on this little-studied language before it is lost.

1.4 Materials, transcription, and annotation

The corpus used for the analysis in this thesis consists of fifty-five texts in the Logar dialect of Ormuri from Logar province in Afghanistan. Fifty-one of these texts, along with free, sentence-by-sentence translations, were compiled by V.A. Efimov and are included in *The Ormuri language in past and present*. Forty-two of the texts were recorded from three adult men and two adult women in 1971 in Logar and nine texts were recorded in 1978-79 in Moscow from one of those same three men.

The remaining four texts were collected by Kieffer from one Logar man in the 1970s. For each of these four texts, I supplied the interlinear glosses and some free translations. In interlinearizing the texts, I relied heavily on the grammatical descriptions and extensive vocabularies in Grierson (1921), Morgenstierne (1929), and Efimov (2011). To establish the rough meaning of a word that does not occur in any of these published vocabularies, I relied on the free translation in Efimov (2011) for clues and also compared the various uses of the word in the texts. The free translations of the Efimov (2011) texts, including their punctuation, have either been taken directly from his book or have been modified from the original to better reflect the grammatical structure of the Ormuri sentence. If the free translation has been modified from the original, I have marked its reference with a ⁺, as in (1 2.1⁺). I wrote the free translations of the Kieffer texts, based on his original French translations.

The references to the corpus following each example are in the following format. If only numbers are listed such as (9 2.1), the text is taken from Efimov. The first number (i.e., 9) is the number of the text. The second number (i.e., 2) generally corresponds to the sentence number in the Efimov book. This number does differ from the book in some

texts.² The third number (i.e., 1) refers to the clause number. If the reference is made up of letters and numbers such as (DC 1.2.3), the text is taken from Kieffer. The letters identify the text. The key is as follows: DC = “Dervish and Camels”, FBJ = “The Foolish Boy and the Judge”, BP = “The Boy and the Princess”, MD= “Master and Disciple”. The first number (i.e., 1) refers to the paragraph number, the second number (i.e., 2) refers to the sentence number, and the third number (i.e., 3) refers to the clause number.

The transcription of the Ormuri follows Efimov (2011:xv), which uses the international Roman-based Iranian transcription system with the addition of γ to represent the voiced uvular fricative (United Nations 2012). For some sounds, a diacritic is added to a Roman character. These are \check{c} for the voiceless postalveolar affricate, \check{j} for its voiced counterpart, and \check{x} for the voiceless velar fricative. Where Kieffer’s transcription differs from the international system, I have modified it for the sake of consistency. Because I have no audio recordings, I must rely on the transcriptions provided.

The interlinear glossing follows the conventions set forth by the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008). I have modified the interlinear glosses of examples from other sources to be consistent with these conventions.

1.5 Outline

The following three chapters of this thesis are organized as follows. Chapter 2 includes a discussion of the syntax of Ormuri pronominal clitics (including what they are,

² In Efimov (2011), the sentence number sometimes contains information collected from two or more different people (i.e., the interviewer(s) and the interviewed). In my analysis, I separated these sentences into two or more sentences based on the number of speaker changes. This affected the number of all the following sentences.

where they appear and how they function). Chapter 3 is concerned with discourse factors affecting the use of Ormuri pronominal clitics. This chapter aims to describe *when* and *why* clitics are used. Participant reference in the texts is analysed using the Default/Marked method of referential tracking, as described in Chapter 18 of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001). Chapter 4 compares the system of Ormuri pronominal clitics with the related systems of pronominal clitics in Parachi, Pashto, and Persian. These three languages have all had influence on the development of Ormuri. The discussion here focuses especially on the function, distribution, and placement of clitics in each language. The purpose of this chapter is to place the analysis presented in Chapters 2 and 3 in perspective with the analysis of clitics in similar languages.

I have also included two appendices. The first is a brief description of two grammatical phenomena in Ormuri: the pronominal directional prefixes and the subordinator *ka*. The second is a sample participant reference analysis chart of Text 26 from Efimov (2011). A similar chart was made for each of the other 54 texts.

CHAPTER 2

THE SYNTAX OF PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN ORMURI

2.1 Introduction

The discussion presented in this chapter focuses on the pronominal clitics, with an additional mention of the enclitic verbal particles, and proceeds as follows. First, this chapter briefly characterizes clitics in general (§2.2). Next, the pronominal clitics of Ormuri are listed along with a discussion of the grammatical roles in which they can function within the clause (§2.3). Ormuri has two other, non-pronominal clitics: one indicates progressive aspect, and the other indicates subjunctive mood. A brief description of these verbal clitics is included in this section because of their similar placement within the clause.

The preferred placement of both the pronominal clitics and the two verbal clitics is in the second position of the clause, that is, after the first phrasal constituent in the clause. This position is more fully described in §2.4. There are exceptions to this pattern where a clitic appears in the *third* position in the clause. Most of these examples involve clitic doubling. These cases are dealt with in §2.4 as well. The ordering of the clitics in relation to each other as well as other elements in the clause is discussed in §2.5. The next section (§2.6) examines the different environments in which clitics function as subjects as opposed to those environments in which they function as objects. Discussion of this difference in distribution leads directly into a discussion of ergativity in Ormuri in

§2.7, in which it is argued that this particular distribution of the pronominal clitics is a remnant of split-ergativity based on tense.

2.2 Introduction to clitics

According to Zwicky (1977:1), most languages have morphemes that are neither clearly independent words nor inflectional affixes.³ These morphemes have been labelled clitics. Payne (1997:22) defines a clitic as “a bound morpheme that functions at a phrasal or clausal level, but which binds phonologically to some other word, known as the host.” Zwicky (1977:6) identifies three types of clitics: simple clitics, special clitics, and bound words. A simple clitic is defined as “a free morpheme [that], when unaccented, may be phonologically reduced, the resultant form being phonologically subordinated to a neighboring word” (Zwicky 1977:5). An example from English is the cliticization of object pronouns in casual speech, as illustrated in (1) and (2) (adapted from Zwicky 1977:5).

(1) Full form
hi 'siz 'hɪ
He sees her.

(2) Reduced form
hi 'sizɪ
He sees her.

A special clitic is defined as “an unaccented bound form [that] acts as a variant of a stressed free form with the same cognitive meaning and with similar phonological makeup” (Zwicky 1977:3). A standard example of a special clitic is the French

³ Zwicky (1985) proposes a series of tests for differentiating independent words and clitics, while Zwicky and Pullum (1983) establishes a different set of tests for distinguishing clitics from inflectional affixes.

pronominal clitic *le* [lə] ‘him’ with its corresponding independent pronoun *lui* [lɥi].

Special clitics may have special syntax. In French, objects generally appear after the verb, as seen in (3). (Examples (3)-(5) are taken from Zwicky (1977:4-5), save for the phonetic spelling, which is mine.)

- (3) *ʒə vwa ʒɑ̃*
Je vois Jean.
‘I see John.’

Changing this order so that the object is in front of the verb, as in **Je Jean vois*, is ungrammatical. French pronominal clitics, on the other hand, appear before the verb, exemplified in (4). **Je vois le* is ungrammatical (Zwicky 1977:4-5).

- (4) *ʒə lə vwa*
Je le vois
‘I see him.’
- (5) **ʒə vwa lə*
*Je vois le.
‘I see him.’

The third type of clitic, a bound word, is always unaccented and “can be associated with words of a variety of morphosyntactic categories”, though it is often semantically associated with a single constituent within the clause (Zwicky 1977:6). An example of a bound word from English is the possessive morpheme. This clitic attaches phonologically to the end of a noun phrase, which may not necessarily be a noun. It is semantically associated with the whole noun phrase. In *the one I put it in’s lid* the possessive morpheme *’s* attaches to the preposition *in* and is associated with *the one I put it in*.

Clitics occur in different locations within the sentence depending on their type as well as the language. Simple clitics occur in the same location as their full forms (Zwicky

1977:6). Special clitics and bound words, on the other hand, tend to move to the left or right margin of the constituent they are associated with or to the head of that constituent (Zwicky 1977:18). Thus, if a clitic is functioning on a sentence-level, such as a pronominal clitic functioning as subject or object, the clitic will tend to be located either at the beginning or end of the sentence. In many languages, the beginning of the sentence is the second position rather than actually sentence-initially (Zwicky 1977:19).

The definition of “second position” varies according to language. It may mean the position after the first constituent of the clause, as in (6), an example from Warlpiri where the two clitics =*kapi* ‘FUT’ and =*na* ‘1SG’ appear after the noun phrase *wawiri njampu* ‘this kangaroo’, which is the first constituent of the clause (clitics are underlined).

- (6) *wawiri njampu =kapi =na pura-mi*
 kangaroo this = FUT = 1SG cook-NPST

‘I will cook this kangaroo.’ (modified from Zwicky 1977:19)

The second position may also be interpreted as the position immediately following the first accented word as in (7), an example from Serbo-Croatian. In this example, the clitic =*je* ‘AUX’ appears after the first accented word, but inside of the first noun phrase *predsjednik tainu* ‘president Tainu’.

- (7) *predsjednik =je tainu danas doputovao*
 president = AUX Tainu today arrived

‘President Tainu arrived today.’ (modified from Zwicky 1977:19)

In some languages, the second position is variable and may be after the first constituent *or* the first accented word. Serbo-Croatian is one of these languages. Thus, while in (7) the clitic *je* appears inside the initial noun phrase, in (8), *je* appears after the first constituent. Both positions are grammatical in Serbo-Croatian.

- (8) *predsjednik tainu = je danas doputovao*
 president Tainu = AUX today arrived

‘President Tainu arrived today.’ (modified from Zwicky 1977:19)

The second position in some languages may be after the first stressed vowel of a clause-initial verb. These types of clitics are known as endoclitics, because they appear inside the verb. Pashto is a language that allows enclitics as well as endoclitics. In (9), the enclitics *ba* ‘FUT’ and *ye* ‘3’ appear after the first constituent. In (10), the endoclitics appear within the verb after the first stressed vowel. The carrots < and > mark the boundaries of the clitics within the verb *áxistə* ‘buy’.

- (9) *axisté = ba = ye*
 buy = FUT = 3

‘He would be buying [it].’ (modified from Zwicky 1977:20)

- (10) *á < = ba = ye > xistə*
 < = FUT = 3 > buy

‘He would be buying [it].’ (modified from Zwicky 1977:20)

2.3 Ormuri clitics

Like many Iranian languages, Ormuri has a set of enclitic pronouns (see Table 3 in §2.3.1 for a full inventory) as well as a set of full, independent personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, listed in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively. The demonstrative pronouns function as the third person pronouns. The plural demonstrative pronouns each have several variations in form, as marked by the parentheses.

Table 1: Personal pronoun inventory

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>az</i> ,	<i>máx</i>
	oblique <i>mun</i>	
2 nd	<i>tu</i>	<i>tos</i>

Table 2: Demonstrative pronoun inventory

Form	Proximate		Remote	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	<i>a</i>	<i>ay(i)(n)</i>	<i>afo</i>	<i>afoy(i)(n)</i>
Oblique	<i>k(e)re</i>	<i>k(e)rey(i)(n)</i>	<i>k(u)fo</i>	<i>ku(a)foy(i)(n)</i>
Possessive	<i>tare</i>	<i>tarey(i)(n)</i>	<i>tafo</i>	<i>tafoy(i)(n)</i>

The clitics differ from the independent personal and demonstrative pronouns in that (1) they require a host to their left (that is, they are never clause-initial), (2) they are phonologically dependent on their host (Efimov 2011:149), (3) they cannot be coordinated with another pronoun, (4) they tend to occur immediately after the first constituent of the clause, and (5) they are restricted to oblique roles and cannot control agreement on the verb. Of the categories of clitics described in Zwicky (1977), the Ormuri pronominal clitics are special clitics that act as variants of the independent pronouns.

The Ormuri clitics also differ from inflectional affixes. While affixes generally exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems, clitics may attach to various parts of speech (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:503). In Ormuri, pronominal clitics functioning as subject or object are found attached to nouns, independent pronouns, postpositions, adverbs, and verbs, as in (11)-(15), respectively (all clitics functioning as subjects in these examples).

(11) **Attached to noun**

kere kaftár = a = b nok
this.OBJ dove = 3 = PROG take.PST

‘She would take this dove.’ (36 4.3⁺)

(12) **Attached to independent pronoun**

kere = ya = b awók
this.OBJ = 3 = PROG read.PST

‘She would read this.’ (36 4.5⁺)

(13) **Attached to postposition**

kere tâqe ne = wa ku-xoy beg dâk
this.OBJ niche.OBL in = 3 OBJ-self raised do.PST

‘He pulled himself into this niche.’ (36 9.13)

(14) **Attached to adverb**

daraw = a kó-xeštmał ĵayók
quickly = 3 OBJ-brickmaker ask.PST

‘Quickly he asked the brickmaker.’ (MD 5.6)

(15) **Attached to verb**

awok = a = bu
read.PST = 3 = PROG

‘He would read [it].’ (36 4.13⁺)

Ormuri also has two verbal clitics. One marks progressive aspect and one marks subjunctive mood. Examples (11), (12), and (15) all contain the progressive marker =*b(u)*. A description of these verbal clitics is given in §2.3.2. The progressive and subjunctive markers as well as the pronominal clitics (except for those marking possession) usually appear in the second position in the clause, immediately following the first constituent of the clause. This position in Ormuri is discussed more extensively in §2.4.

In my text corpus, a clitic functioning as subject never appears in the same clause as a clitic functioning as object. Rather, subject clitics only appear in past-tense transitive clauses and object clitics only appear in present-tense transitive clauses. Not all transitive clauses contain pronominal clitics. Of 1607 transitive clauses in the corpus, clitics appear in 566. Further discussion of this distribution based on tense and transitivity is presented in §2.6.

Pronominal clitics functioning as possessor appear after the phrase containing the possessed constituent.

(16) **After possessed constituent, attached to noun**

tabib =at kók e?
 doctor = 2SG who COP.3

‘Who is your doctor?’ (5 4.2)

The clitic may appear immediately after the constituent, as in (16), or after a postposition if the possessed constituent is also the object of a postpositional phrase, as in (17).

(17) **After possessed constituent, attached to postposition**

az néla dí = wa poǵtóna dák,
 1SG presence from = 3 question do.PST

‘I asked in his presence,’ (1 1.2)

Further discussion of the placement of pronominal clitics functioning as possessor is found in §2.4.

2.3.1 *The inventory of pronominal clitics in Ormuri*

The Ormuri pronominal clitics are shown in Table 3, adapted from Efimov (2011:149).

Table 3: Ormuri pronominal clitics

Person	Following a consonant	Following a vowel
1sg	= <i>am</i>	= <i>m</i>
2sg	= <i>at</i>	= <i>t</i>
3sg, 3pl	= <i>a</i>	= <i>wa</i>
1pl, 2pl	= <i>an</i>	= <i>n</i>

Two important observations about the pronominal clitics can be made from Table 3.

First, the pronominal clitics take different forms depending on whether their hosts end in a consonant or a vowel. Second, the clitic *=(a)n* does not distinguish between first and second person, while the clitic *=(w)a* does not distinguish number.

Examples (18)-(20) show pronominal clitics functioning as subject, direct object, and possessor, respectively, using the second person singular clitic *=(a)t*.

- (18) *tsa=ṭ xoloke?*
 what=2SG eat.PSTPRF

‘What have you eaten?’ (13 2.2⁺)

- (19) *qazi ki=ṭ nak aqlam.*
 judge to=2SG NEG carry.off.1SG

‘I do not carry you off to the judge.’ (FBJ 11.3.4)

- (20) *ku-duwa=ṭ tar mun a-klân ki er-šer!*
 OBJ-daughter=2SG GEN 1SG DEF-son to DIR.1-give.IMP

‘Give your daughter to my son [in marriage]!’ (25 5.5)

Pronominal clitics functioning as subjects, as in (18), will be referred to henceforth as ‘subject clitics’. Those functioning as direct objects, as in (19), will be referred to as ‘object clitics’ and those functioning as possessor, as in (20), will be referred to as ‘possessor clitics’.

Efimov (2011:151) and Kieffer (2003:141) both state that a pronominal clitic may also function as a dative experiencer in Ormuri. (Efimov uses the term “indirect object” for this function and Kieffer uses “datif”.) There are parallels of this use of pronominal clitics in related languages (see Chapter 4). Though the corpus does not contain examples of this use, both Efimov and Kieffer give examples in their books. Two examples from Efimov (2011) are included below as (21) and (22). In both examples, the clitic *=(a)m* ‘1SG’ corresponds with ‘for me’ in the free translation. It is clear that the clitic does not function as the subject because of the conflicting agreement marking on the verb. Furthermore, the intransitive verb in (22) does not allow for a direct object.

- (21) *t_{sa} = m ka poʃ-ne nawešta ye,*
 what = 1SG COMP forehead-in written COP.3
- be = b nak se.*
 other = PROG NEG become.3

‘What is written on my forehead for me will not become different.’ (Efimov 2011:151)

- (22) *afo = m = bu pa kâr se.*
 that.NOM = 1SG = PROG INS action become.3

‘It is useful for me.’ (Efimov 2011:151)

The two examples from Kieffer (2003) are given below as (23) and (24). Both examples use the intransitive verb *yox-* ‘please’. In neither example can the clitic be functioning as subject because of conflicting agreement marking on the verb. Because the verb is intransitive, a direct object is not allowed. The pronominal clitic in (24) is clearly not functioning as possessor. Indeed, the most plausible analysis is that the pronominal clitics in (21)-(24) are functioning as dative experiencers.

- (23) *a pši =m=bu yorxé*
 this.NOM cat = 1SG = PROG please.3

‘This cat pleases me’ or ‘I like this cat’ (Kieffer 2003)

- (24) *tar mun qalam =at=bu yorxé?*
 GEN 1SG pen = 2SG = PROG please.3

‘Does my pen please you?’ or ‘Do you like my pen?’ (Kieffer 2003)

2.3.2 Verbal clitics

Ormuri contains two other clitics that appear in the same position of the clause as the pronominal clitics. These are the two verbal clitics: the progressive marker =*bu* (which also appears in the contracted form =*b*) and the subjunctive marker =*su*. The progressive aspect marker =*b(u)* can be used with a present or past verb stem, as in (25) and (26) respectively. With a present stem, the verb plus =*b(u)* forms the present-future tense (Efimov 2011:190). With a past stem, the verb plus =*b(u)* forms the continuous (iterative) past tense (Efimov 2011:202).

- (25) *wok =bu ar-šawe.*
 water = PROG DIR.1-give.3

‘They add water to it.’ (28 3.7⁺)

- (26) *kere kaftar = a =b nok.*
 this.OBJ dove = 3 = PROG take.PST

‘She would take the dove.’ (36 4.3)

The subjunctive marker =*su* is used in both present and past tenses, as in (27) and (28) respectively. In conditional clauses such as (28), =*su* appears in the apodosis.

(27) *lâlâ =su az piri goda wâk kam?*
 uncle = SBJV 1SG now where found make.1SG

‘Where might I find uncle now?’ (35 11.1⁺)

(28) *ka tar tu a-tsimi roġan bukon, soxta*
 COMP GEN 2SG DEF-eye clear be.PST.2SG burnt

txan = at =su nak xolok.
 bread = 2SG = SBJV NEG eat.PST

‘If your eyes had been clear, you probably would not have eaten burnt bread.’ (13 4.2)

The subjunctive marker =*su* always appears after the first constituent of the clause in the second position. The subjunctive marker occurs thirteen times in the corpus. In every instance it appears in the second position of the clause after the first constituent. The position of the progressive marker=*b(u)*, however, is not as consistent.

The progressive marker occurs 767 times in the corpus. Efimov (2011:191) states that the progressive marker “has no fixed position in the phrase (except that it cannot occur in initial position).” Morgenstierne (1929:358) describes the progressive marker’s position as “very free.” However, in the corpus, it generally appears in the second position of the clause (cf. Grierson 1921:217). The distribution of the progressive marker positions is presented in Table 4. Special mention is made in Table 4 of the preverbal position. This is the position immediately before the verb. Because the progressive marker modifies the verb, one might expect that it would appear near the verb, much as a possessor clitic attaches to the constituent it modifies. However, what we see in Table 4 is that the progressive marker occurs in the second position in an overwhelming number of cases, and that it rarely occurs in the preverbal position in clauses where this is not also the second position.

Table 4: =b(u) position

Position in the clause	#	%
Second position, but not preverbal	377	49.2
Second position = preverbal	338	44.1
Preverbal, but not in second position	31	4.0
Not in second position, not preverbal	21	2.7
Total	767	100

The progressive marker sometimes occurs twice within one clause: once after the first phrase of the sentence and repeated pleonastically before the verb phrase (Kieffer 2003:155). The two occurrences of =b(u) in this type of construction are counted separately in Table 4. This is an uncommon construction, found only fourteen times in the corpus. It is exemplified in (29)-(31).⁴

- (29) *ywáší = wa = b pets ki = bu tsawe.*
 straw = 3 = PROG behind to = PROG go.3

‘The straw remains (lit. ‘goes’) behind.’ (26 8.8)

- (30) *afo = b = bu rase.*
 that.NOM = PROG = PROG arrive.3

‘It is [already] ripening.’ (35 6.5)

- (31) *afo ki = b mayda paysa = b al-šawe*
 that.NOM to = PROG small coin = PROG DIR.3-give.3

‘He (lit. ‘that’) gives to him small coins.’ (15 1.2⁺)

⁴ In (31), the demonstrative pronoun *afo* ‘that’ is the object of the postposition *ki* ‘to’. In Ormuri, the demonstrative pronouns also function as third-person personal pronouns. When used as a pronoun, the nominative forms of the demonstrative pronouns may function as objects, as in (31). See Efimov (2011:156-157) for further discussion on this topic.

2.4 The position in the clause of pronominal clitics

2.4.1 Possessor clitics

The position of a possessor clitic within the clause is determined by the position of the possessed constituent. Generally in Ormuri, a clitic functioning as possessor appears immediately after the noun phrase it modifies. In (32), the third person clitic $=(w)a$ functions as possessor and modifies *bådâr* ‘boss’.

(32) *šé róz bådâr=a keré ki panér alšuk*
one day boss=3 this.OBJ to cheese DIR.3-give.PST

‘One day his boss gave him cheese.’ (BP 1.5.1)

However, if the possessed object occurs in a postpositional phrase, the possessor clitic will occur attached to the postposition. In the phrase *pây ne=m* ‘on my feet’ in (33), the first person clitic $=(a)m$ functions as the possessor of *pây* ‘feet’, the object of the postposition *ne* ‘in’.

(33) *alhamdolelâ ka dice=m pây ne=m nak da buk*
praise.God COMP shoes=1SG foot in=1SG NEG EMPH be.PST

‘Praise God that my shoes were not on my feet.’ (9 4.2)

In the corpus of texts, there is no evidence of a possessor clitic occurring before the noun it possesses. However, Efimov (2011:151) gives two examples in which the possessor clitics appear in the second position before the objects they modify rather than immediately after. These two examples are included here as (34) and (35). In both cases, the pronominal clitic $=m$ ‘1SG’ precedes the noun it modifies, *zle* ‘heart’.

(34) *kere kâr ne = m zle poxok šuk*
 this.OBJ work in = 1SG heart bake.PST become.PST
 ‘I am fed up with this.’ (lit., ‘In this matter my heart is baked.’)
 (Efimov 2011:151)

(35) *xronoki di = m zle al-tsok*
 hunger from = 1SG heart DIR.3-go.PST
 ‘I am dying of hunger.’ (lit., ‘My heart has gone away because of
 hunger’) (Efimov 2011:151)

In both examples above, the possessor clitic appears after the first constituent of the sentence in the common position of subject and object clitics. However, it is unlikely that these clitics are functioning as either objects or subjects. The verbs in both cases are intransitive, which rules out the clitics functioning as objects. Furthermore, a subject clitic is generally not used in past intransitive clauses (cf. §2.6). Another possibility that could be explored is that the clitics here are functioning as dative experiencers rather than possessors. More data is necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

2.4.2 *Unmarked order for subject and object clitics*

Pronominal clitics functioning as the subject or object of a clause primarily appear after the first constituent of the clause. Of 573 subject and object clitics in the corpus, 493 (86%) appear in this position. Examples of clitics in this position are presented in (36) and (37). In (36), the subject clitic *=(a)m* ‘1SG’ appears after the object noun phrase *ku tu* ‘you.OBJ’.

(36) *ku-tu = m šinók!*
 OBJ-2SG = 1SG buy.PST
 ‘I bought you!’ (21 8.4⁺)

In (37), the object clitic *=(w)a* ‘3’ appears after the prepositional phrase *be ta nemek* ‘without salt’.

(37) *be ta nemek = a = b, xo, nak xre.*
 without GEN salt = 3 = PROG indeed NEG eat.3

‘They do not eat without salt.’ (28 5.2)

If there is no other constituent, then pronominal clitics as well as verbal clitics will appear after the verb. The clause in (38) consists of the verb *manim* ‘I accept’ followed by an object clitic $= (w)a$ ‘3’ and the progressive marker $= b(u)$.

(38) *manim = a = b*
 accept.1SG = 3 = PROG
 ‘I accept it.’ (MD 12.3.2)

Thus, overall, most pronominal clitics occur after the first constituent of the clause, that is, in the second position. In 80 cases, however, subject and object clitics do not occur immediately after the first constituent. In 64 of these 80 cases, they are placed after the *second* constituent in the clause. In the other 16 cases, they are placed even further to the right. The next two sections deal with these 80 exceptions. 44 cases involve clitic doubling. These are discussed in §2.4.3. The remaining 36 cases are discussed in §2.4.4.

2.4.3 Clitic doubling

Of the 80 clitics in the Ormuri corpus that do not appear in the second position, 44 “double” an overt noun phrase occurring earlier within the same clause. In such cases, the noun phrase and the clitic are co-referential and function in the same syntactic role in the clause (either subject or object). I refer to this construction as *clitic doubling*. Clitic doubling describes a situation in which an argument is expressed by both an overt noun phrase and a clitic (Spencer & Luís 2012:§2.5.3).

Generally, a clitic that doubles a noun phrase attaches to the constituent following the noun phrase, rather than to the noun phrase itself. In (39)-(42), clitics appear immediately after the second constituent of the sentence. In (39) and (40), the subject clitic is co-referential with the initial noun phrase.

- (39) *páčâ ku-yâspi = wa yorġawok*
king OBJ-horses = 3 choose.PST

‘The king chose horses.’ (23 2.1)

- (40) *soltân mâmud kereyn = a = b yazni ne nak wotok.*
Sultan Mehmud these.OBJ = 3 = PROG Ghazni in NEG put.PST

‘Sultan Mehmud did not allow them into Ghazni.’ (2 4.3)

In (41) and (42), the object clitic is co-referential with the initial noun phrase. In both examples, the clitic appears after the second constituent of the sentence.

- (41) *kere ġipi begâ = wa = b nasen.*
this.OBJ milk evening = 3 = PROG take.1PL

‘We take this milk until evening.’ (27 2.7⁺)

- (42) *kere maska pa dest = a = b tol ke*
this.OBJ butter INS hand = 3 = PROG collected make.3

‘They collect the butter by hand.’ (27 6.5)

There are cases in which the co-referential clitic appears further into the sentence than after the second constituent, as in (43), in which the third person clitic $= (w)a$ is co-referential with the initial noun phrase *dawlatman* and appears after the third constituent of the sentence *hets* ‘anything’.

- (43) *dawlatman afõ ki hets = a nak yok*
rich.man that.NOM to anything = 3 NEG say.PST

‘The rich man said nothing to him.’ (17 2.2)

There are at least two possible explanations for clitic doubling. The first is that the initial constituent in these constructions is in a topicalized position outside of the clause and the clitic functions as a resumptive pronoun within the clause itself. The second explanation of clitic doubling is that the clitic is an agreement marker, rather than a referring expression on its own. These two explanations are discussed in §2.4.3.1 and §2.4.3.2, respectively. Neither explanation covers all the data. An explanation based on the context in which the participant appears also yields no satisfactory conclusion. The distribution of this construction is too varied across the contexts (see Chapter 3, especially footnotes 6 and 7).

2.4.3.1 Topicalization

Under a topicalization hypothesis, the initial noun phrases of examples (39)-(42) appear in a left-detached position. The co-referential clitic serves as a placeholder within the main clause. While this hypothesis is consistent with most of the data (36 out of 44 cases of clitic doubling), there are several instances in which the initial noun phrase is clearly not the topic (see below).

There is some support for a topicalization hypothesis in languages related to Ormuri. In the standard Persian of Iran, a topicalized indirect object appears sentence-initially with a co-referential clitic further in the clause. In (44), the first constituent *iræj* ‘Iraj’ is the topicalized indirect object. The clitic *heš* ‘3SG’ is co-referential with the indirect object.

- (44) *iræj₁-o pul be = heš₁ be-d-e*
 Iraj-OM money to = 3SG IMP-give-3SG

‘Iraj₁, give him₁ money.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:124)

English also marks topic with an initial noun phrase in a left-detached position (LDP) followed by a co-referential pronoun in the clause. In the English sentence *As for John, I like him very much*, the phrase *As for John* marks *John* as topic. This initial phrase is set off outside the clause *I like him very much* by a pause or intonation break represented by a comma. This is represented in Figure 1.

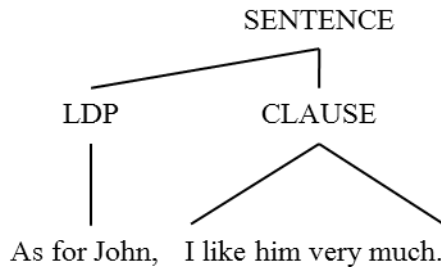


Figure 1: English left-detached position

The topic of a sentence conveys ‘old’ information. That is, it is part of the background or presupposition in a given discourse (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:201; Pavey 2010). Use of a special construction to mark topic is common for topics which have relatively low accessibility. This low accessibility could be due to the referent being new to the discourse (but accessible, perhaps because of a shared worldview) or requiring a re-introduction, or due to referential contrast (where one participant is contrasted with another) (Givón 2001b:254). According to Givón (2001b:229), the most common special construction to mark topic involves a left-detached position. Cross-linguistically, if an argument is topicalized through use of a detached position, then there must be a co-referential argument within the clause (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:36). In the English example above, the co-referential argument in the clause is the pronoun *him*.

Unfortunately, there is no unambiguous evidence in the corpus for the existence of a left-detached position in Ormuri sentence structure. A detached position is “normally set off from the clause by a pause or intonation break” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:36).

In the Ormuri data, however, intonation breaks are marked inconsistently, whether for detached positions or for other phenomena such as boundaries between independent clauses. They can be marked by commas or periods or not at all. In cases where there is clitic doubling, no intonation breaks are ever marked after the initial noun phrase or pronoun. Unfortunately, since I do not have access to either audio recordings or a speaker of the language, I cannot check for intonation breaks.

If we assume nevertheless that there is a left-detached position, and that a noun phrase in the left-detached position needs to be “doubled” by a co-referential clitic in the main clause, this accounts for some of the data in my corpus. In many examples, including (39)-(42) above, the initial constituent is an accessible participant in the discourse, meaning it could be topic. In the context surrounding (39), this sentence marks a switch in central character from a horse-dealer bringing horses to the king to the king choosing horses from the horse-dealer.

In (40), *soltān māmud* ‘Sultan Mehmud’ has not been introduced yet in this text, but he is an identifiable referent as part of the shared world-view of the speaker and hearer (Givón 2001b:227). Furthermore, as in (39), this sentence marks a switch in the central character from Mir Barak and his colleagues to Sultan Mehmud.

Kere xīpi ‘this milk’ in (41) and *kere maska* ‘this butter’ in (42) can also be analysed as topics. Example (41) appears in a procedural text in which the milk has been referred to already. Use of the detached position indicates that the topic is this specific milk (in context, the milk from a cow within twenty-four hours of giving birth rather than milk from a different time). The sentence in (42) comes after a break in the main line of

the procedure that adds extra detail to one step. This sentence marks the resumption of the procedure and the reintroduction of the butter as topic.

In each of the examples (39)-(42), if the initial constituent of the sentence is actually in a left-detached position, then the co-referential clitic appears in the second position of the clause – its expected position. This interpretation of clitic doubling is represented in Figure 2. In this figure, the abbreviations are defined as follows: LDP = left-detached position; NP = noun phrase; PC = pronominal clitic; NUC = nucleus; PRED = predicate; and V = verb.

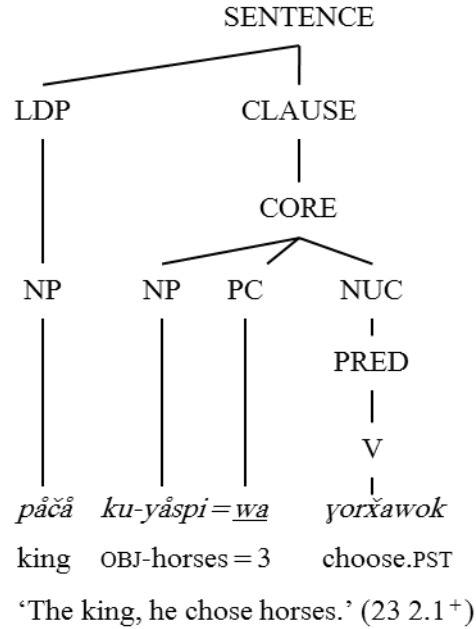


Figure 2: Ormuri left-detached position

While this explanation tentatively works for the examples above, in the end, this analysis does not work for all the data. In 8 out of the 44 cases of clitic doubling (18%), the initial constituent is clearly not the topic because it is not an accessible participant.

Six of these eight cases of clitic doubling occur in the first sentence of the narrative and introduce an unidentifiable character. Because a topic is part of the

pragmatic presupposition of a discourse, these constituents cannot be topics. Text 7 begins with the sentence found in (45). The clitic $=(w)a$ ‘3’ doubles the initial subject noun phrase *še saray-ye badsurat* ‘an ugly man’. The use of *še* ‘one’, which functions here as an indefinite article (Efimov 2011:132), informs the hearer that this is new information and, thus, is not the topic (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:201).

- (45) *še saray-ye badsurat še zarka-ye šersurat=a dórno^k.*
 one man-EZ ugly one woman-EZ beautiful=3 have.PST
 ‘An ugly man had a pretty wife.’ (7 1.1)

In 2 of the 8 cases, an unidentifiable participant is introduced somewhere in the narrative using clitic doubling (but not in the first sentence of the text). In the final clause of (46), the first two constituents are in left-detached positions. The clitic $=wa$ ‘3’ doubles the initial object noun phrase *cun texan* ‘some bread’. The use of *cun* ‘some’ indicates indefiniteness, which is not expected of a topic. The second constituent in a left-detached position, *bè karat* ‘another time’, is an adverbial phrase and is not doubled.

- (46) *máwa = wa majbur šuk*
 mother = 3 forced become.PST

ka tar xóy kelân ki šálaki al-sawé,
 COMP GEN own boy to shawl DIR.3-give.3

cun texan bé karat wane = wa or-waré.
 some bread other time in.it = 3 DIR.1-bring.3

‘His mother felt compelled to give her son a shawl, so that next time he can bring whatever food [he is given] inside it.’ (BP 5.6)

Examples (45) and (46) and others like them call into question a hypothesis that explains clitic doubling solely in terms of topicalization. Clearly, the noun phrase that the clitic is referring to is not the topic of the sentence.⁵

2.4.3.2 Agreement markers

Another potential explanation is that the “redundant” clitic is an agreement marker. This is a fairly common analysis for clitic doubling cross-linguistically (cf. §6.4.2 in Spencer & Luís 2012). Haig (2008:106) notes that pronominal clitics were used this way already in Middle Iranian and that it is “the norm in many West Iranian languages.” One analysis of the clitics of Pashto, a language closely related to Ormuri, has claimed exactly this, that the pronominal clitics are agreement markers (Roberts 2000:77ff.).

Agreement markers serve the hearers by enabling them to discriminate between subject and object. In Ormuri, subject clitics and object clitics are in complementary distribution. Subject clitics only occur with transitive past tense verbs, and object clitics only occur with transitive present tense verbs. (This is further elaborated in §2.6.) Due to this distribution based on tense, if the clitic is acting as an agreement marker, then it informs the hearer of the subject with transitive past tense verbs and the object with transitive present tense verbs.

⁵ Two further hypotheses regarding the clitic doubling shown in this section warrant further research. First, the left-detached position may contain a point of departure. When a speaker provides a surfeit of new information, he or she may choose to encode some of the information in a left-detached position in order to aid the hearer by anchoring the clause in some constituent. A second hypothesis is that these initial noun phrases are existential statements that begin the narrative by setting up the scene. This type of fixed introduction has been attested in other Iranian languages.

If clitics are agreement markers, then they should function this way wherever they appear. Furthermore, if clitics are agreement markers, then they should be obligatory (Fuß 2005:133). Clearly though, they are not obligatory. Almost two-thirds of the transitive clauses of the corpus (the environment where clitics may appear) contain no clitics (1041 of 1607). Likewise, because clitic doubling is comparatively rare (44 out of 573 subject and object clitics in the corpus), it is unlikely that a co-referential clitic should be analysed as an agreement marker.

An attempt to rescue the agreement-marker analysis could perhaps start from the hypothesis that the pronominal clitics of Ormuri are in the early stages of the grammaticalization process of independent pronouns becoming agreement markers (before becoming zero). Universally, the morphology of verbal agreement has developed from personal pronouns with several stages along the way, represented in (47) (adapted from Fuß 2005:2ff. and Givón 2001a:400; cf. Lehmann 1988:59-61). One of the stages of this trajectory is the transformation of clitic pronouns into agreement markers.

(47) independent pronoun → weak pronoun → clitic pronoun → affixal
agreement marker → fused agreement marker → zero

The “demise” of the pronoun is driven by phonological erosion (Givón 2001a:400; Fuß 2005:4). An independent pronoun becomes weak and needs to attach to a host. This new clitic continues to undergo further weakening and eventually becomes fused to the verb, perhaps with other inflectional markers. At some point, the pronoun/agreement marker disappears altogether. A sign that a language is in the early stages of this grammaticalization process is if a pronominal clitic is optional and not attached to the verb (Givón 2001a:407). This is certainly true of the pronominal clitics of Ormuri, which

only occur in about one-third of the transitive clauses. Furthermore, they are only attached to the verb if there is no other constituent in the clause.

However, the pronominal clitics of Ormuri are not a recent development. Efimov (2011:152) traces the existence of pronominal clitics from Ormuri to Old-Iranian, texts of which exist from the 6th to 4th centuries BCE (Skjærvø 2009:43). In Old-Iranian, as later in Ormuri, pronominal clitics functioned as oblique arguments (cf. Table 3.3.5 in Skjærvø 2009:81). The Ormuri pronominal clitics, then, have been inherited through Middle-Iranian and ultimately from Old-Iranian and are not the product of a recent grammaticalization process. It is still possible, though, that what we are observing in our text corpus is the beginning of a trend among the speakers of the language to put the pronominal clitics to a grammatical use (agreement marking), in addition to their use as straightforward referring expressions.

2.4.4 *Non-co-referential, non-second position clitics*

In the corpus, 36 subject and object clitics are neither co-referential with an overt noun phrase earlier in the clause or sentence, nor do they occur in the second position. In 33 of these cases, the initial constituent is an adpositional phrase or adverb, as in (48) and (49), respectively.

- (48) *panéxta di ayera =n tol dâke ta xoy?*
 outside from all=2PL collected do.PSTPRF GEN own
 ‘Have you gathered all your own beyond this plot (lit. ‘from outside’)?’ (34 5)

- (49) *béextyâr xani =wa dâk.*
 involuntarily laughed=3 do.PST
 ‘Involuntarily she began to laugh.’ (BP 7.2.2)

One possible explanation is that the sentence-initial adpositional phrases and adverbs appear outside of the clause in a left-detached position. If this was the case, then the pronominal clitic would still be in the second position of the clause. However, when a sentence begins with an adpositional phrase or adverb, the clitic does not always follow the second constituent. Sometimes it attaches to the adpositional phrase or adverb, as in (50) and (51), respectively.

(50) *endé di = wa ela dāk*
 here from = 3 released do.PST
 ‘He let it go from there.’ (36 3.5)

(51) *be = t hójwa nawešta dāk*
 then = 2SG satire written do.PST
 ‘Then you wrote a satire.’ (17 4.4)

It may be that a sentence-initial adpositional phrase or adverb may appear outside the clause in a left-detached position on some occasions, as in (48) and (49), while on other occasions it may appear within the clause, as in (50) and (51).

Another theory that may have bearing on the Ormuri data regarding the placement of pronominal clitics is that they are attracted to the focus or to the newsworthy element of a given clause (Haig & Nemati 2013:5-6; Givón 2001a:251). Because the focus position is often clause-initial, the clitics tend to appear in second position. However, when a different non-initial element is focused, the clitic may appear in a different location. Haig and Nemati (2013:6) provide a clear case of information structure taking precedence over syntactic considerations in clitic placement. In Delvari, a Western Iranian language spoken in Iran, the phrase that precedes the clitic is emphasized. In (52), the placement of the subject clitic =*t* ‘2SG’ in the second position emphasizes that the verb “belongs to the question focus.”

(52) *sey* *če=̣t* *bo* *si=š*
 with what = 2SG take.PST PREP = 3SG

‘How did you **take** it?’ (modified from Haig and Nemati 2013:6)

In contrast, the focus of the construction in (53), where the clitic is attached to the verb in the third position, is the means of taking.

(53) *sey* *če* *bord=et* *si=š*
 with what take.PST = 2SG PREP = 3SG

‘**How** did you take it?’ (modified from Haig and Nemati 2013:6)

The answers to the questions in (52) and (53) follow in (54) and (55), respectively.

(54) *sey* *māṣ̌in=om* *bo* *si=š*
 with car = 1SG take.PST PREP.3SG

‘I took it in [a] car.’ (modified from Haig and Nemati 2013:6)

(55) *sey* *māṣ̌in,* *bord=om* *si=š*
 with car take.PST = 1SG PREP = 3SG

‘In [a] car, I took it.’ (modified from Haig and Nemati 2013:6)

Understanding that subject and object clitics may be attracted to the focus of a particular clause aids in understanding those examples in Ormuri where the clitics do not appear in second position (and are also not co-referential with the initial constituent). For example, it is plausible that the focus of the clause in (48) is *ayera* ‘all’ and the focus of (49) is *xani* ‘laughed’. Without recordings and access to Ormuri speakers, however, the means of testing whether or not clitics are attracted to focal elements are limited.

One possible way of testing this hypothesis is by examining questions and answers in the corpus that co-occur with clitics. WH-question words appear in the typical focus position of a given language (Givón 2001b:232). Therefore, if the clitic is attracted to the focus position, it should be attached to this question word. Likewise, in an answer

to a question, the clitic should be attached to the new information appearing in the same position as the WH-question word. In (56), the clitic $=(a)t$ ‘2SG’ is attached to the question word *tsa* ‘what’. In (57), which is the answer to the question in (56), the clitic is attached to the new information *soxta txan* ‘burnt bread’. This new information appears in the same location as the question word. Because it is clause-initial, the clitic appears in second position.

(56) *tsa = t xoloke?*
 what = 2SG eat.PSTPRF
 ‘What have you eaten?’ (13 2.2)

(57) *soxta txan = om xoloke*
 burnt bread = 1SG eat.PSTPRF
 ‘I ate some burnt bread.’ (13 2.4)

If the answer to a question is not clause-initial and if clitics are attracted to the focus, then they will not appear in second position in these clauses. Unfortunately, there is no clear example of this in the Ormuri corpus.

Focus attraction, then, is a possible explanation for the placement of subject and object clitics. However, further research, including recordings and interactions with Ormuri speakers, is necessary to verify this hypothesis.

2.5 The relative order of clitics

When clitics occur together within the same clause, they occur in a specific order. When a pronominal clitic functioning as subject, direct object, or indirect object occurs attached to the same word as a progressive or subjunctive marker, the pronominal clitic appears before the progressive or subjunctive marker, as in (58) and (59), respectively.

(58) *ywáši = wa = b pets ki = bu tsawe.*
 straw = 3 = PROG behind to = PROG go.3

‘The straw remains (lit. ‘goes’) behind.’ (26 8.8)

(59) *ka tar tu a-tsimi roḡan bukon, soxta*
 COMP GEN 2SG DEF-eye clear be.PST.2SG burnt

txan = at = su nak xolok.
 bread = 2SG = SBJV NEG eat.PST

‘If your eyes had been clear, you probably would not have eaten burnt bread.’ (13 4.2)

When a possessor clitic is attached to the first constituent of a clause in which there is also a subject or object clitic, the possessor clitic occurs first, as in (60). In (60), the first person clitic *=(a)m* expresses the possessor (i.e., ‘my’) while *=(a)t* ‘2SG’ is the subject of the clause.

(60) *še šart = am = at pa jǎy dǎk.*
 one condition = 1SG = 2SG INS place do.PST

‘You have fulfilled [only] one condition of mine.’ (36 25.5)

The corpus contains no examples of both a subject and an object clitic occurring together in a clause. However, Grierson (1921:146) provides an example from the Kaniguram dialect, given in (61), in which a clitic functioning as subject appears before a clitic functioning as object.

(61) *khwalak = at = am.*
 eat.PST = 2SG = 1SG

‘You ate me.’ (modified from Grierson 1921:146)

With the exception of Grierson's example in (61), which is from the other dialect of Ormuri, the evidence indicates overwhelmingly that a subject and object clitic do not

appear together within a single clause. A more extensive discussion of the distribution of subject and object clitics will be given in §2.6.

In 224 of 227 cases in the corpus in which the first constituent is a postpositional phrase, pronominal clitics appear after the postposition, as in (62) and (63). Clitics are underlined and postpositions are double underlined.

(62) *soltân mâmud ki = wa yok:*
 Sultan Mehmud to = 3 say.PST
 ‘He said to Sultan Mehmud.’ (2 6.5)

(63) *še sate ne = wa = b toṭa toṭa dâk*
 one hour.OBL in = 3 = PROG tore tore do.PST
 ‘For an hour it would tear [him] to pieces.’ (36 48.11⁺)

The small number of exceptions, one of which is (64), suggests that it is not standard to place clitics before postpositions. In example (64), the object clitic =(w)a ‘3’ appears before the postposition *ki* ‘to’.

(64) *a-ḍuqaḍ zarkiyi = wa ki al-šer.*
 DEF-both women = 3 to DIR.3-give.IMP
 ‘Give him to both women.’ (14 2.4⁺)

2.6 The distribution of pronominal clitics

Clitics that function as subjects occur in different environments from clitics that function as objects. Subject clitics primarily occur in past-tense transitive clauses, while object clitics only occur in present-tense clauses. This section covers the distribution of subject and object clitics as it relates to tense and transitivity. Because possessor clitics follow whatever is possessed regardless of the environment, they are not included here.

Without the speaker or context, it is not always clear whether a pronominal clitic in a given clause is functioning as a subject or an object. For example, in (65), both the subject and object are third person. In theory, the third-person clitic $=_{(w)}a$ could be encoding the subject argument ('they'), or it could be encoding the direct object argument ('it').

- (65) *post = a = b* *ke*
 skinned = 3 = PROG make.3
 'They skin it.' (35 4.2)

However, when we look at the many sentences in our corpus that contain more specific clues as to what arguments are functioning in what roles in the clause, as in (66) where the ending on the verb shows that the subject is first-person plural (so the third person clitic $=_{(w)}a$ cannot be marking the subject), and as in (67) where the case marker *ku* indicates that *totí* 'parrot' is the object, rendering an object role for the clitic $=_{(w)}a$ unlikely, the constraining role of tense and transitivity on the distribution of the pronominal clitics becomes evident.

- (66) *be = wa = b* *mála* *ken*
 then = 3 = PROG harrowed make.1PL
 'Then we harrow it.' (26 1.7)

- (67) *ku-totí = wa* *šinók*
 OBJ-parrot = 3 buy.PST
 'He bought the parrot.' (21 6.2)

This distribution restriction is corroborated by the same or similar distribution restriction of pronominal clitics in some other Iranian languages, such as Pashto (Tegey & Robson 1996:65).

The following two sections more fully describe the distribution of clitics functioning as subjects and clitics functioning as objects.

2.6.1 Subject clitics

There are 435 subject clitics in the corpus. Their distribution with regard to the tense and transitivity of the clauses in which they occur is given in Table 5.

Table 5: Subject clitic distribution

Verb	Tense	Clitic as subject	
		Count	% of Total
Transitive	Past	425	97.7%
	Present	3	0.7%
Intransitive	Past	7	1.6%

Table 5 demonstrates that subject clitics occur primarily in the past tense with transitive verbs. Of the total count of subject clitics, 97.7% occur with a transitive verb in a past tense, as in (68) and (69).

(68) **Transitive, past tense**

ku-waxt tã pirn = am = bu muřarwãni dãk
 OBJ-time until now.until = 1SG = PROG car.driver do.PST

‘I have been driving cars up to now.’ (37 2.6)

(69) **Transitive, past tense**

tsa = t xolok-e?
 what = 2SG eat.PST-PRF

‘What have you eaten?’ (13 2.2)

A subject clitic appears in a clause with a past-tense intransitive verb seven times in the corpus. The small number suggests that this is not a standard use of the subject clitic. In (70), the verb *řik* ‘became’ is past intransitive. The subject is encoded as the clitic *=(a)m* ‘1SG’.

(70) **Intransitive, past tense**

ta taqi ta qala ne = m tawallod šük
GEN Taki GEN fort in = 1SG born become.PST

‘I was born in the fort of Taki.’ (37 1.2)

A subject clitic appears in a clause with a present tense transitive verb three times.

Again, this is likely not the standard use of the subject clitic. In (71), the verb *kari* ‘sow’ is present transitive. The clitic =*wa* ‘3’, attached to the object *řowâri* ‘maize’, functions as the subject of the clause.

(71) **Transitive, present tense**

ka water se, řowâri = wa = b kari.
COMP wet become.3 maize = 3 = PROG sow.3

‘When [the soil] becomes moist, they sow maize.’ (30 6.5-6)

The co-occurrence of a pronominal clitic with co-referential verbal agreement in (71) is highly marked in related languages (cf. §4.3). Indeed, it is also quite rare in the Ormuri corpus. Of 435 subject clitics, only five occur with co-referential verbal agreement, as displayed in Table 6. All five of these cases involve the third person clitic =(*w*)*a*.

Table 6: Distribution of =(*w*)*a* and co-referential verbal agreement

	Singular subject	Plural subject
Verbal agreement	0	5
No verbal agreement	307	42

Efimov (2011:199) explains the co-occurrence of clitics and verbal agreement as a way chosen by some Logar speakers to give the clitic an exclusively plural meaning, though only with transitive past-tense verbs. While all five co-occurrences of clitics and co-referential verbal agreement are plural subjects, only one of the five clitics (and thus, one in the entire corpus) is with a past-tense intransitive verb. This is seen below in (72).

Three are in transitive present-tense clauses, given in (71), (73), and (74), and one is in an intransitive past-tense clause, given below in (75).

(72) **Transitive, past tense**

še mǎšum že = wa ǰang drúnukín
 one baby on = 3 fight have.PST.3PL

‘They quarreled about a baby.’ (42 1.2)

(73) **Transitive, present tense**

kok = a = b xamirdǎn gađi, kok = a = b
 one = 3 = PROG kneading.trough with one = 3 = PROG

ar šay gađi kfoyn = a ge
 every thing with those.OBJ = 3 put.3

‘Some put it in the kneading trough, some into something else (lit. ‘into anything’), they put those.’ (27 6.9⁺)

(74) **Transitive, present tense**

kere run = a = b ke
 this.OBJ melted.butter = 3 = PROG make.3

‘They make melted butter.’ (27 6.14⁺)

(75) **Intransitive, past tense**

a-đugađ = a qǎzi ki al-tsokin
 DEF-both = 3 judge to DIR.3-go.PST.3PL

‘They both went to the *qazi* (judge).’ (14 1.3)

2.6.2 Object clitics

The corpus contains 138 object clitics. All occur with a present tense verb, as in (76)-(78).

(76) *mǎya = wa = b ken.*
 leaven = 3 = PROG make.1PL

‘We ferment it.’ (29 10.6⁺)

(77) *tsaraqam = a = b biže saṛay?*
 how = 3 = PROG cook.3 man
 ‘How does one cook it?’ (35 3.1⁺)

(78) *čangâl = a = b ke.*
 smooth = 3 = PROG make.3
 ‘They stir it (lit. ‘make smooth’).’ (28 2.6)

2.7 Ergativity

The distribution pattern of clitics, rather than verb agreement or case marking, is the only remnant of ergativity in the Logar dialect of Ormuri.

The term *ergativity* is used to denote a grammatical pattern in which subjects of transitive clauses (A) are treated one way and subjects of intransitive clauses (S) and objects of transitive clauses (O) are treated another way. This contrasts with a *nominative-accusative* pattern, where O is treated one way and S and A are treated another way (Dixon 1994:1). Ormuri is a *split-ergative* language in which past-tense clauses display ergativity, similar to the systems of ergativity in other Iranian languages (Dixon 1994:100).

Ergativity is clearly seen in the Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri in verb agreement. In the present tense, a verb agrees in person and number with S or A, as in (79) and (80), respectively.

(79) *az bu pa ormaṛo poy awasam*
 1SG PROG INSTR Ormuri knowledge understand.1SG
 ‘I understand Ormuri.’ (Efimov 2011:146)

(80) *az bu o saray dzunem*
 1SG PROG this.M man see.1SG
 ‘I see this man.’ (Efimov 2011:146)

A verb in the past tense, however, agrees in person and number with S or O, as illustrated in (81) and (82), respectively. It does not agree with A. In (81), the verb agrees with S. That is, the intransitive verb *tsekam* ‘to go’ agrees with the subject *az* ‘1SG’.

(81) *a-prān az kābul ki tsekam*
 DEF-yesterday 1SG Kabul to go.PST.1SG
 ‘Yesterday I travelled to Kabul.’ (Efimov 2011:146)

In (82), the past tense verb agrees with O. The transitive verb stem *dyek* ‘to see’ takes the second person plural ending *-ay*. Thus, the verb *dyekay* agrees with the object *tyos* ‘you’.

(82) *az tyos san dyekay*
 1SG 2PL today see.PST.2PL
 ‘I saw you today.’ (Efimov 2011:148)

In Logar however, an argument for the presence of ergativity cannot be based on verb agreement as it can be in the Kaniguram dialect. Person and number are not encoded in past tense transitive verbs (as well as in intransitive verbs in their common use). Example (82) from Kaniguram contrasts with (83), which is an example from Logar Ormuri. In (83), the verb carries no inflection for person or number; in Logar, there is a single form *dek* ‘see’ for all persons, genders, and numbers. Thus, verbal agreement cannot be used to identify the grammatical relations of subject and object.

(83) *az ku-Ahmad dek.*
 1SG OBJ-Ahmad see.PST
 ‘I saw Ahmad.’ (Efimov 2011:143)

Ergativity is not manifested in case marking, either. In Logar Ormuri, distinct cases only exist for the 1SG personal pronoun, which has a direct form *az* and an oblique form *mun* (Efimov 2011:143). The direct form is used for A and S regardless of tense. In (83) and (84), *az* is used for A in past tense and present tense, respectively. In (85) and (86), *az* is used for S in present tense and past tense, respectively.

(84) **A, present tense**

az dúwa darím
1SG daughter have.1SG

‘I have a daughter’ (36 5.9)

(85) **S, present tense**

bâyad az piri moram
must 1SG now die.1SG

‘I must die now’ (MD 14.4.1)

(86) **S, past tense**

az be kuča ki aliyokom.
1SG other street to go.out.PST.1SG

‘I went out on a different street.’ (36 43.13⁺)

The oblique form *mun* is used as O regardless of tense, exemplified in (87) and (88).

(87) **O, present tense**

awal ko-mun pa dâr kay
first OBJ-1SG INSTR gallows make.IMP.2SG

‘First hang me!’ (MD 12.5.2)

(88) **O, past tense**

afo ku-mun dzok.
that.NOM OBJ-1SG beat.PST

‘He beat me.’ (Efimov 2011:144).

Thus, there appears to be no formal distinction between nominative and ergative alignment in the Logar dialect of Ormuri, whether manifested through patterns of verb agreement or case marking.

However, the near complementary distribution of the subject and object clitics in past-tense vs. present-tense clauses does exhibit an ergative pattern: In past-tense clauses a pronominal clitic may function as A, but not as S or O. This contrasts with the distribution of clitics in present-tense clauses which exhibit a nominative-accusative pattern: In present-tense clauses, a pronominal clitic may function as O, but may not function as S or A.

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) offers an elegant way to describe this restriction of distribution in the two tenses. In RRG, in nominative constructions, S and A are the privileged syntactic arguments (PSA). In ergative constructions, S and O are the PSAs (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:281-282). In Ormuri, clitics may only function as O in the present-tense, nominative constructions and A in the past-tense, ergative constructions. Thus, they cannot refer to the PSA. Or, in reverse, the PSA cannot be encoded as a clitic in Ormuri. While there are some exceptions to this apparent generalization in the distribution of the subject clitics (cf. §2.6), they should be treated as anomalies and not representative of the default function of the clitic.

The conclusion, that the PSA cannot be encoded as a clitic, has cross-linguistic support from other Iranian languages in which clitics only function in oblique roles. The pronominal clitics found in Ormuri and other Iranian languages are derived from Old Iranian. Windfuhr (2009:23) notes that the pronominal clitics of Old Iranian function “as person markers in all oblique cases, including possessor, indirect object, direct object,

and the ergative agent” (23). Furthermore, in Middle West Iranian, the pronominal clitics “are only used as oblique” (Skjærvø 2009:205). Kieffer (2009:711) states that in Parachi, the language closest related to Ormuri, the pronominal clitics “function as general oblique case markers.”

In conclusion, in the Logar dialect of Ormuri ergativity is seen neither in agreement nor in case marking, but only in the different distributions of subject clitics and object clitics.

2.8 Conclusions

This chapter has focused on *what* the Ormuri pronominal clitics are and *where* they appear. Pronominal clitics in Ormuri function as subjects, direct objects, or possessors. They may also function as indirect objects. In the majority of cases, subject and object clitics appear in the second position of a clause. Possessor clitics appear after the possessed noun phrase or after the postposition if the possessed noun phrase is the object of the postposition.

Clitics do not control agreement on the verb. Rather, clitics and agreement markers are in complementary distribution. Subject clitics occur primarily with past-tense transitive verbs, which have no agreement marking. Object clitics occur exclusively with present-tense verbs, which are marked for subject. The next chapter takes this distribution into account when looking at *when* the pronominal clitics are used instead of other referring expressions in discourse.

CHAPTER 3

DISCOURSE FACTORS IN THE USE OF PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN ORMURI

3.1 Introduction

Every language has multiple ways to refer to what is being talked about. Which referring expression is used is based on various pragmatic and syntactic factors. These factors also affect when one expression is used instead another. One referring expression in Ormuri is the pronominal clitic. (A full inventory of expressions is listed in the next section.) The focus of this chapter is to establish *when* and *why* pronominal clitics are used in the texts. In order to do this, it is necessary to have an outline of the system of participant reference in Ormuri. The methodology for analysing participant reference utilized in this chapter is the Default/Marked Method, explained in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:127-135). A description of this method is given in §3.2. The next section (§3.3) lists the default encodings of the different contexts. A discussion of marked encodings follows in §3.4.

3.2 Methodology

The Default/Marked method of analysing participant reference consists of eight steps, which are listed in (89), quoted from Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:127-134).

(89) Steps for analyzing participant reference

1. Draw up an inventory of ways of encoding references to participants.
2. Prepare a chart of participant encoding in a text.
3. Allocate a number to each participant that is referred to more than once in the text.
4. Identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs.
5. Propose default encodings for each context.
6. Inspect the text for other than default encoding.
7. Incorporate any modifications to the proposals in 5.
8. Generalize the motivations for deviations from the default encoding.

The different referring expressions of Ormuri are arranged according to their encoding weight in (90), using the scale established by Givón (1983:18). This represents Step 1.

(90) Scale of encoding weight for participant reference in Ormuri:

full noun phrase > independent pronoun > pronominal clitic >
zero anaphora

Next, Steps 2-4 were applied to each of the Efimov and Kieffer texts. For Step 4, Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:130-131) distinguish five different contexts for a subject participant. These are copied below in Table 7.

Table 7: Subject participant contexts

INTRO	the participant is being introduced or activated for the first time
S1	the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence
S2	the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence
S3	the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation
S4	other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3

Non-subject participants also appear in one of five contexts (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131). In this analysis of the pronominal clitics of Ormuri, the only relevant non-subject participants are direct objects. There are no examples of clitics functioning on the clause level as indirect objects, objects of adpositions, or other non-subjects in the corpus. The non-subject contexts are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Non-subject participant contexts

NINTRO	the non-subject participant is being introduced or activated for the first time
N1	the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence
N2	the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence
N3	the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2
N4	other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3

For this analysis, content from reported speech has not been included, following the recommendation of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:128) as this content is “embedded in the overall structure of the narrative” and is not relevant for referential tracking.

An example of what the charts look like is given in Table 9, which charts the first fourteen clauses of Text 26. (A chart of the full text can be found in Appendix B.) The first column shows the reference number. Column two gives any connecting material between clauses. Columns three and five show the encoding of the subject and non-subject, respectively. In completing Step 3, each participant is allocated a number (e.g., the [1] after ‘we’) and is referred to by this number throughout the chart regardless of encoding. Columns four and six note the context in which each of these encodings appear (Step 4 in the methodology). Finally, column seven is a free translation of the remainder of the clause. If the free translation starts off with a person and number (e.g., 1pl), this indicates agreement marking on the verb.

Table 9: Text 26 participant reference analysis chart, clauses 1.1-1.14

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
1.1		we [1]	INTRO			1pl-take
1.2	when	PC.1PL [1]	S1	wheat [2]	INTRO	harvested
1.3		Ø [1]	S1	water [3]	INTRO	1pl-give to the field.
1.4	when	this [4]	S3			has become wet
1.5		Ø [1]	S4	this [4]	N3	1pl-take,
1.6		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-plough.
1.7	then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-harrow.
1.8	when	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [4]	N1	harrowed,
1.9		one to one and a half months	INTRO			3-become passed
1.10		Ø [1]	S1	this [4]	N1	1pl-take
1.11		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-[plough] a second time.
1.12	Then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-harrow.
1.13	After this	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-[plough] a third time,
1.14	then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-leave until Mizan.

After completing Steps 2-4, the results from all of the texts were compiled so that the default encodings for each context in Ormuri could be determined. Because this thesis is focused on the use of pronominal clitics and because clitics function only in oblique roles, the only relevant contexts for analysis are subjects in past tense transitive clauses and objects in present tense clauses. Thus, only results from analysis of these two types of clauses are included here.

The following section presents the results of Step 5, the default encodings of the subject and non-subject contexts. The conclusions of Steps 6-8, the analysis of marked encodings, are given in §3.4.

3.3 Default encodings

3.3.1 Subject contexts

Because clitics only function as oblique arguments, no subject encodings in present tense were taken into account when the encoding distribution was compiled as part of Step 5. The results are presented in Table 10.⁶ The referring expression with the highest count in each context is shaded.

Table 10: Encoding distribution over subject contexts in past tense transitive clauses

Context	Count					Percentage				
	INTRO	S1	S2	S3	S4	INTRO	S1	S2	S3	S4
Zero	1	83	10	2	6	2.4	20.4	6.9	3.7	7.8
Pronominal clitic	3	280	11	14	20	7.3	68.8	7.6	25.9	26.0
Pronoun	2	12	28	7	10	4.9	2.9	19.4	13.0	13.0
Noun phrase	35	32	95	31	41	85.4	7.9	66.0	57.4	53.3
Total	41	407	144	54	77	100	100	100	100	100

The introduction of a participant is defined as the first time the participant appears in the text. The default encoding for the introduction of a participant in the subject role is a noun phrase. An example of the default encoding is given in (91).

(91) *še roz faqir šâer dawlatmand saray ki al-tsok*
 one day poor poet rich man to DIR.3.go.PST

‘One day, a poor poet went to a rich man.’ (16 1.1)

In the S1 context, the subject continues from the previous clause or sentence (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130). The default S1 encoding is a pronominal clitic,

⁶ Where there is clitic doubling, the non-clitic expression is counted in the table. Thus, if a clitic is co-referential with a noun phrase, it is counted as a noun phrase in the table. A noun phrase with a co-referential clitic appears 8 times in the INTRO context, 4 times in the S1 context, 7 times in the S2 context, 5 times in the S3 context, and 6 times in the S4 context. A pronoun with a co-referential clitic appears 1 time in the S1 context, 1 time in the S2 context, and 1 time in the S4 context.

exemplified in (92). Because the S1 subject is the same from the previous clause, a lighter encoding is expected. Use of an unstressed pronoun as a referring expression “guarantees that the referent intended is either active or accessible” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:201). In (92), the subject participant is encoded as the full noun *dawlatmand* ‘rich man’ in the first clause and as the clitic *=(w)a* ‘3’ in the second clause.

(92) *dawlatmand kere kâr di zot qâr šuk*
 rich.man this.OBJ action from much anger become.PST

aw poḡtəna = wa dâk.
 and question = 3 do.PST

‘The rich man became very angry [with him] at this and asked.’ (16 2.1-2)

According to the results presented in Table 10, while the unmarked encoding is a clitic, the most common marked encoding in the S1 context is zero. Analysis of the data shows that the zero S1 encoding primarily occurs in two regular contexts in the Ormuri corpus: (1) in contexts where only one participant is “on stage” and (2) in the second clause in a coordinate construction with a shared subject. These two contexts are exemplified in (93) and (94). In (93), illustrating the first context, the participant is encoded as zero in the first clause. In this scene, he is the only participant.

(93) \emptyset *dék ka bé šé = wa kam é.*
 he see.PST COMP again one.of.them missing be.3

‘He saw that he was missing one of them again.’ (DC 7.2)

In (94), the first and second clauses share a subject. In the first clause of this sentence, the participant is encoded as *molâ* ‘mullah’. In the second clause, the subject is encoded lighter, as zero.

(94) *molâ qâr šuk aw yok:*
 mullah angry become.PST and say.PST

‘The mullah became angry and said.’ (24 3.1)

In either of these two contexts, a clitic may also be used and is used more often. For example, there are 160 coordinate constructions with transitive past-tense clauses in the corpus. Of those, zero is used in the second clause of the constructions 64 times, while a clitic is used 94 times. The sentence in (95) is made up of two clauses connected by the coordinate conjunction *aw* ‘and’ that share a subject. In the first, the subject is encoded with the noun phrase *kor* ‘blind man’. In the second, the subject is encoded as a clitic.

(95) *kor xaní dâk aw yok = a:*
 blind.man laughed do.PST and say.PST = 3

‘The blind man laughed and said.’ (19 3.1-2)

In (96), only one participant is on stage at this point in the text. The subject is encoded as a clitic four times in this example. Every instance (including the first) is in the S1 context.

(96) *ka banók = a, kere beš = a ša nok,*
 COMP throw.PST = 3 this.OBJ = 3 rope = 3 thus take.PST
xoltawók = a, ka dek = a,
 swing.PST = 3 COMP see.PST = 3
ka mâr mâkám e.
 COMP snake tight COP.3

‘When he threw it, he took the rope thus – swung it until he could see that the snake [was holding on] firmly.’ (36 11.4-8⁺)

A subject that is the addressee of a speech in the previous sentence is in the S2 context (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130). The default encoding for this context is a noun phrase. This encoding is exemplified in (98) which immediately follows (97), where the noun phrase *afó saray* ‘that man’ appears in the S2 context.

(97) *askari al-yók: "a jǎy mane yé.*
 soldiers DIR.3-say.PST this.NOM place forbidden COP.3

cón ta kâr péç = at."
 go.2SG GEN action behind = 2SG

‘The soldiers said to him: “This place is forbidden. Go back to your own business.”’ (DC 8.5-8.6)

(98) *afó saray al-yók: "xay éna xat*
 that.NOM man DIR.3-say.PST but so letter

ta pǎčǎ = n pǎčǎ ki = n aɣlay."
 GEN king = 1PL king to = 2PL carry.2

‘That man said to them: “But carry this letter of our king to your king”’ (DC 8.7)

While the S2 participant is primarily encoded as a noun phrase, unlike the other subject contexts, much of the encoding choice for the S2 context depends on the speaker. Table 11 shows a breakdown of the S2 context by speaker (there are no examples of the S2 context in texts taken from B.G. and M.R., so they have been omitted). Each language consultant encodes the participant in the S2 context in his own way. Abdol Aziz and Kh.O. primarily encode the S2 participant as a noun phrase. B.M. encodes the S2 participant primarily as a pronoun. Janbaz shows almost equal preference for pronoun and zero marking.

Table 11: S2 encoding distribution by language consultant

Consultant	Kh.O.		B.M.		Janbaz		Abdol Aziz	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Zero	2	4.9	1	5.0	7	30.1	0	0.0
Pronominal clitic	6	14.6	0	0.0	2	8.7	3	5.0
Pronoun	3	7.3	13	65.0	11	47.8	1	1.7
Noun phrase	30	73.2	6	30.0	3	13.0	56	93.3
Total	41		20		23		60	

A subject that participated in the previous sentence in a non-subject role that was not in a closed conversation is in the S3 context (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:130).

Because of the nature of this context, in which the subject changes from one clause or sentence to the next, the presence of at least some ambiguity is unavoidable. Because of its degree of informativeness, a noun phrase is the best choice for resolving the ambiguity. Thus, the default encoding for the S3 context is a noun phrase, as illustrated in (99), where the noun phrase *dawlatman* ‘rich man’ appears in the S3 context. In the first sentence, the rich man is mentioned but does not function as the subject. In the second sentence, the rich man has become the subject.

- (99) *be roz šăer al-tsok ta dawlatman e-ner ki*
 other day poet DIR.3-go.PST GEN rich.man OBJ-house to
aw wal nóstok. dawlatman yok:
 and there sit.down.PST rich.man say.PST

‘The next day the poet went to the rich man’s house [and] sat down there. The rich man said.’ (17 3.1-4.1)

The S4 context is defined in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:130) as “other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.” In this context, the subject participant plays no role in the preceding clause or sentence and has been introduced previously in the text. The default encoding for this context is a noun phrase. An example of the default encoding is given in (100). In (100), the noun phrase *a-dúka* ‘the girl’ appears in the S4 context.

(100) *kaftar ar-zák, endé nóstok.*
 dove DIR.1-come.PST here sit.down.PST

a-dúka kere kaftar nok
 DEF-girl this.OBJ dove take.PST

‘The dove arrived, (it) perched here. The king’s daughter took the dove’ (36 18.12-14)

3.3.2 Non-subject contexts

The distribution of object encodings in the different contexts is listed in Table 12. Again, because object clitics are only found in present-tense transitive clauses, only these types of clauses were included for analysis. The referring expression with the highest count in each context is shaded.⁷

Table 12: Encoding distribution over non-subject contexts in present tense clauses

Context	Count					Percentage				
	NINTRO	N1	N2	N3	N4	NINTRO	N1	N2	N3	N4
Zero	0	36	5	5	2	0	18.3	100	8.3	3.3
Pronominal clitic	3	81	0	12	4	2.8	41.1	0	20.0	6.6
Pronoun	2	44	0	24	12	1.9	22.3	0	40.0	19.7
Noun phrase	102	36	0	19	43	95.3	18.3	0	31.7	70.5
Total	107	197	5	60	61	100	100	100	100	100

The default encoding for the introduction of a direct object (the NINTRO context) is a noun phrase. In (101), the noun phrase *a-hojwa* ‘the satire’ appears in the NINTRO context. The subject participant in this clause is encoded as the clitic $=(w)a$ ‘3’.

⁷ A noun phrase with a co-referential clitic is counted as a noun phrase in this table. This construction is found 2 times in the NINTRO context, 2 times in the N3 context, and 1 time in the N4 context.

- (101) *be wâr a-hoĵwa = wa naweřta dâk,*
 other time DEF-satire = 3 wrote do.PST
 ‘Another time, he wrote a satire,’ (17 2.1⁺)

A non-subject is in the N1 context when it continues in the same role from the previous clause or sentence (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131). There is no clear default encoding for this context. Although no referring expression is used in a clear majority of cases, a pronominal clitic is the most frequent choice. In (102), *ganom* ‘wheat’ continues as the object in the second clause, where it is encoded as the clitic *=(w)a* ‘3’.

- (102) *aw wóray = bu ku-ganom draw ke*
 and summer = PROG OBJ-wheat harvested make.3

aw xarman = a = b ke.
 and threshed = 3 = PROG make.3

‘And in summer the wheat is harvested and threshed.’ (3 6⁺)

The N2 context is defined as “the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131). In the corpus, there are only five cases of the N2 context in present tense clauses. In all five cases, the encoding for the N2 context is zero. Examples (103) and (104) contain part of a conversation between a sentry and Turdalay. In (103), Turdalay responds to the sentry. In (104), the sentry replies to Turdalay. Turdalay, who is in the N2 context in (104), is not marked.

- (103) *ar-yok, ka: “...”*
 DIR.1-say.PST COMP
 ‘[He] said to him: “...”’ (36 29.9)

(104) *yoše = bu, ka*
 say.3 = PROG COMP

[The sentry] says [to him]: "...” (36 29.11+)

If the non-subject participant played a different role in the previous sentence, such as the subject, then it is in the N3 context (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131). Like the N1 context, there is no clear default encoding. In this context, pronouns are the most numerous choice. In (105), *run* ‘melted butter’ is the subject of the first clause. In the second clause, as the N3 object, *run* is encoded as the pronoun *kre* ‘this’.

(105) *kre di = bu run se.*
 this.OBJ from = PROG melted.butter become.3

kre = b ge xren.
 this.OBJ = PROG also eat.1PL

‘From it we make melted butter (run). We eat it.’ (40 4.5-6)

All non-subject references not covered by N1-N3 or NINTRO are in the N4 context (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:131). The default encoding for the N4 context is a noun phrase, as in (106), in which the object participant of the second sentence, encoded as *ganəm* ‘wheat’, plays no role in the first sentence.

(106) *be = wa = b qarâr gen mizân tumadi.*
 then = 3 = PROG calmly put.1PL Mizan until

mizân-e ne = b ganəm nasen
 Mizan-OBL in = PROG wheat take.1PL

‘Then we leave it until [the month of] Mizan. In Mizan we take the wheat’ (26 1.15-2.1)

3.4 Marked encodings

3.4.1 Marked encodings of subjects

A participant is over-encoded when it is encoded with a referring expression greater on the scale of encoding weight than the default for its given context. An independent pronoun, for example, is heavier than a pronominal clitic. In the S1 context, for example, a pronominal clitic is the default encoding. If a subject in the S1 context is encoded as an independent pronoun, then it is over-encoded, because an independent pronoun has greater weight than a pronominal clitic. Likewise, a participant is under-encoded when it is encoded with a referring expression lighter than the default for its context. The distribution of marked encodings of subject participants is given in Table 13.

Table 13: Distribution of subject marked encodings

Total number of subjects = 723		
	Count	% of total
Over-encoded	44	6.1
Under-encoded	197	27.2
Total Marked	241	33.3
Total Default	482	66.7

Under-encoding is more common than over-encoding. This is expected as the default encoding of four of the five subject contexts is a noun phrase, which is the heaviest of the referring expressions.

3.4.1.1 Over-encoding patterns

Over-encoding generally occurs across a thematic boundary or to disambiguate participants.

A new thematic grouping begins when there is discontinuity in one or more of four dimensions: time, place, action, or participants. Often this boundary is signaled by different adverbial expressions or a switch from reported conversation to a nonspeech event (cf. Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:37-39.). In the case of a thematic boundary, over-encoding functions to provide a general update on the identity of the participant (cf. Dooley & Levinsohn, 2001:40ff). In (107), the noun phrase *kar* ‘deaf, deaf man’ appears in the S1 context. The phrase *be* ‘then’ signals a thematic boundary between this sentence and what came before. Accordingly, in the matrix clause, the deaf man is encoded as *kar* rather than a clitic. This text contains a series of questions put by the deaf man to a sick man. To each of the sick man’s answers, the deaf man adds a remark based on what he assumes the sick man answered (of course, his assumption is always wrong, and therein lies the humor of this tale). After his inappropriate remark, the deaf man then asks another question. Each of these questions with their answer and the deaf man’s remark make one thematic grouping. The sentence in (107) begins the deaf man’s second question.

(107) *be kar al-yok:*
 then deaf DIR.3-say.PST

‘Then the deaf man said to him:’ (41 5.1⁺)

Second, over-encoding occurs when a single participant must be distinguished from multiple subject participants. In Text 18, the king and crown prince together serve as the subject for the first three clauses. In the fourth clause, the king alone is the subject and is encoded as a noun phrase, as seen in (108).

- (108) *páčá yok: "ay masxara!"*
king say.PST O jester
‘The king said: “Hey, jester!”’ (18 3.1-2)

3.4.1.2 Under-encoding patterns

Under-encoding generally occurs with generic subjects, when there is little to no ambiguity, and for S2 subjects in conversations longer than two exchanges.

First, if a subject is generic, it may be under-encoded. This is exemplified in (109), in which the subject participant is introduced with the clitic $=(w)a$ ‘3’ rather than the default encoding of a noun phrase. In Text 11, from which this example is taken, it is not important to know who is asking the question. Rather, this question is meant only to set up the questioned character’s response, which is the punchline of this joke.

- (109) *poxtəna =wa dāk, ka "ke = b dang?"*
question = 3 do.PST COMP why = PROG run
‘They asked [him], “Why are you running?”’ (11 1.4-5)

Second, under-encoding occurs when there is little to no ambiguity, as in (110). In (110), the S4 participant of the second clause is encoded as a pronominal clitic rather than the default encoding of a noun phrase.

- (110) *afō = b erzāk, kere kaftar = a = b nok*
that.DIR = PROG 1.come.PST this.OBL dove = 3 = PROG take.PST
‘It [the dove] would come, [and] she would take this dove.’ (36 4.2-3⁺)

It is clear from the surrounding context to whom the clitic is referring as the scene has already been set. In addition, the hearer knows that the clitic does not refer to the dove, the only other active participant, as the dove is in a non-subject role in the second clause.

There is therefore no ambiguity and a lighter encoding than a noun phrase may be chosen.

Third, under-encoding also occurs in conversations with multiple exchanges. Examples (111)-(114) are a portion of a conversation. The S2 participant is encoded as zero rather than the default noun phrase in both (112) and (114). Similarly, (113) also illustrates under-encoding. The speaker, encoded as *payradâr* ‘sentry’ in (111), is encoded as the pronoun *a* ‘this’ in (113), rather than the default S2 encoding of a noun phrase.

- (111) *payradâr* *yok:* "*goda = b* *tso?"*
 sentry say.PST where = PROG go.2SG
 ‘The sentry said: “Where are you going?”’ (36 29.2-3)
- (112) *yok:* "*ta* *akbar* *páčá* *e-řár* *ki* *tsam"*
 say.PST GEN Akbar king OBJ-city to go.1SG
 ‘(He) said: “I am going to the town of Akbar Pacha.”’ (36 29.4-5)
- (113) *a* *ar-yok,* *ka:* "*tu* *kočwálá* *yon*
 this.DIR DIR.1-say.PST COMP 2SG nomad COP.2SG

yá *bekoč* *on?"*
 or not.nomad COP.2SG
 ‘He said to him: “Are you a nomad or not a nomad?”’ (36 29.6-8⁺)
- (114) *ar-yok,* *ka:* "*na,* *bekoč* *om."*
 DIR.1-say.PST COMP no not.nomad COP.1SG
 ‘[He] said to him: “No, I am not a nomad.”’ (36 29.9-10)

3.4.2 Marked encodings of non-subjects

The distribution of marked encodings of non-subject participants is given in Table 14.

Table 14: Distribution of non-subject marked encodings

Total number of non-subjects = 431		
	Count	% of total
Over-encoded	98	22.7
Under-encoded	76	17.6
Total Marked	174	40.4
Total Default	257	59.6

3.4.2.1 Over-encoding patterns

Non-subject participants are over-encoded almost twenty-three percent of the time. Over eighty percent of these cases occur when there is some type of boundary between the two clauses, such as proceeding on to the next step in a procedure. In (115), the object of the first clause is not marked, but it is understood from context to be *maska* ‘butter’. In the second clause, the beginning of the next step, the object is encoded as *kere maska* ‘this butter’.

(115)	<i>še</i>	<i>mây</i>	<i>yâ</i>	<i>ĵistu</i>	<i>roz</i>	<i>wotok,</i>
	one	month	or	twenty	day	put.PST
	<i>be = b</i>		<i>kere</i>	<i>maska</i>	<i>nase</i>	
	then = PROG		this.OBJ	butter	take.3	

‘They have collected (lit. ‘put’) [a certain quantity of butter] for a month or twenty days – then they take this butter.’ (27 6.10-11)

The remaining cases in which a non-subject participant is over-encoded exhibit no common tendencies and may be speaker-dependent. For example, in one text, one participant is over-encoded twice in succession. In the first clause of this example, the non-subject, ‘him’, is encoded as the clitic *=(w)a* ‘3’. In the following two connected clauses, he appears in the N1 context. Though the default encoding of the N1 context is a clitic, in this example, the non-subject is encoded as the pronoun *kere* ‘this’ rather than a clitic.

(116) *pe = wa be, mǎwa = wa be bayal ne = wa = b nase,*
 father = 3 also mother = 3 also embrace in = 3 = PROG take.3

kere = b sǎrǎ ki agle,
 this.OBJ = PROG field to carry.3

kere = b wal nawe.
 this.OBJ = PROG there seat.3

‘And his father and mother take him in their arms, carry him into the field and seat him there.’ (25 3.1-3)

This participant is then over-encoded several more times in the next few clauses. Without access to the speaker or recordings, one can only speculate as to why. It may be that the speaker chose to over-encode this participant in this section of the text as a means of emphasis.

3.4.2.2 Under-encoding patterns

A non-subject may be under-encoded when the main line of the narrative is resumed after a break or when the participant is the topic or scene of either all or a large portion of the text. Under-encoding of non-subject participants may occur in a resumption of the procedure or story line after a break for an explanation or additional information. In these cases, if the added explanation or information were to be removed, that is, if only the main line of the narrative or procedure were examined, then the object encoding would behave in a predictable fashion. This is illustrated in (117). Example (117) contains four clauses. The object participant of the fourth clause is in the N4 context and is encoded as zero. In the first two clauses, he is encoded as the noun *klanak* ‘boy’ and as the clitic *=(w)a ‘3’*, respectively. The third clause, *a-beyn xo pǎywǎz e* ‘the other are paywazi’, is additional detail inserted into the procedure.

(117) *ku-klanak = bu agle, pâywâz = a = b ke,*
 OBJ-boy = PROG carry.off.3 paywaz = 3 = PROG make.3

a-beyn xo pâywâz e! pâywâz dâk,...
 DEF-others indeed paywaz COP.3 paywaz do.PST

‘They lead the young man, make him a ‘paywaz’ (lit. ‘with free feet’), for others were *paywazi*. They have made [him] a *paywaz*,...’
 (25 9.9-10.1)

If the third clause was not present, the N4 object would be N1. In the N1 context, the encoding of non-subjects is expected to remain equal or diminish in weight from one clause to the next. Thus, (117) would not be a marked encoding.

If one participant is the *topic* of either an entire text or a large portion of the text, it may be lightly encoded throughout, no matter what the context. A break in the procedure might not affect the weight of its encoding. For example, in certain procedural texts that explain how wheat is cultivated, harvested, ground into flour, and eventually turned into bread, the wheat may be lightly encoded even if there are breaks in the main procedural line. For example, in Text 26, the topic of the procedure is wheat. As a subject or object participant, it is encoded as a noun phrase only three times out of fifty-one references. It is encoded as a pronoun twenty-one times. In (118), an example from this text, the first sentence is the conclusion of a sub-procedure, which describes driving oxen and tying rakes to them. The second sentence resumes the main procedural line regarding the cultivation of wheat. In it, *kere* ‘this’ refers to the wheat on the threshing floor.

(118) *čapar = bu tareñ. kere = b čapar*
 rake = PROG tie.1PL this.OBJ = PROG rake

ken-ken-ken.
 make.1PL-make.1PL-make.1PL

‘We tie a rake. We rake it a long time.’ (26 7.8-9⁺)

The same light encoding given to the topic of the procedure may also be given to a *scene*. In two procedural texts (26 and 30), the scene is often encoded with an encoding lighter in weight than a noun phrase. For example, in Text 26, the field is the scene. It is encoded as a noun phrase only in its introduction. For the remainder of the text (over 120 clauses), the field functions as either a subject or object participant thirteen times. Of those, it is never again encoded as a noun phrase. Instead, the field is encoded as a pronoun four times, a pronominal clitic seven times, and zero two times.

There are five cases in which the introduction of a non-subject is under-encoded. In all five cases, the next clause is an immediate explanation of the participant using the default noun phrase. In (119), the demonstrative pronoun *kere* ‘this’ introduces an object participant. In the next clause, the narrator explains what he means. The pronoun refers to *gawdiši* ‘milking pail’.

- (119) *be = b* *kere* *nasen –* *gawdiši = b* *yošen*
 then = PROG this.OBJ take.1PL milking.pail = PROG say.1PL
 ‘Then we take it - we call [it] *gawdiši* (milking pail).’ (27 1.8-9⁺)

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has focused on *when* the pronominal clitics are used in discourse over other referring expressions. The conclusion is that they are most often used as the encoding for a participant that continues from one clause to the next. The distribution across the contexts is found in Table 15. The shaded area highlights the context where most clitics occur.

Table 15: Pronominal clitic distribution

Context	Count	Percentage
INTRO/NINTRO	6	1.4
S1/N1	361	84.3
S2/N2	11	2.6
S3/N3	26	6.1
S4/N4	24	5.6
Total	428	100

The next chapter compares the Ormuri system of pronominal clitics with those of three related languages. This gives evidence for some of the claims that I have made in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 by placing the analysis presented in this thesis in a broader perspective.

CHAPTER 4

CLITICS IN RELATED LANGUAGES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the systems of pronominal clitics in Parachi, the language most closely related to Ormuri, as well as in Pashto and Persian, two languages that have had a strong impact on Ormuri due to their proximity (Efimov 2011:1). This exploration yields insights about the relationships between these languages both from a historical-linguistic point of view, as well as from a language-contact point of view. A comparison of this sort aids in determining how similar or how different the Ormuri pronominal clitic system is from the languages that have had the most influence on it.

Parachi, a language spoken in Afghanistan by 3500 speakers according to a 1981 estimate (Kieffer 2009:693), is the language most closely related to Ormuri. The classification of Parachi is as controversial as that of Ormuri (cf. §1.1). However, Parachi and Ormuri consistently constitute their own subgroup whether of the Northwestern Iranian languages (Efimov 2011:3) or the Southeastern Iranian language group (Morgenstierne 1926:26).

Pashto, classified as a Southeastern Iranian language, is spoken in parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan by almost 27 million speakers. It has had a strong influence on Ormuri due to a shared cultural environment. It will become clear in this section that the

system of clitics in Ormuri resembles the system in Pashto more than either Parachi or Persian.

Persian is spoken by over 56 million speakers throughout Iran, Afghanistan, and neighbouring countries and, like Pashto, has been in close contact with Ormuri. Persian is classified as a Southwestern Iranian language.

The Logar dialect of Ormuri has been heavily influenced by Persian and Pashto. Kieffer (1977:75) states that the vocabulary of Logar Ormuri has been “taken over by about 90% by borrowings” from Persian and Pashto. The morphosyntactic structure of Logar Ormuri also shows intrusions from these languages. Furthermore, most Ormuri speakers in Afghanistan are trilingual in Ormuri, Pashto, and Persian, using each language in different contexts in order to make communication more efficient (Efimov 2011:1; Kieffer 1977:74). Kieffer (1977:74-75) creates a striking image of a typical trilingual Ormuri man who speaks Ormuri with his Ormuri grandmother about his children, Pashto with his Pashto wife about the field work, and Persian with his children about their schoolwork. When the subject changes, then so does his language. His grandmother and wife will speak their respective mother tongues, while his children will speak Persian or Pashto.

4.2 Pronominal clitic inventory

Table 16 contains an inventory of the pronominal clitics from each language (Parachi: adapted from Kieffer 2009:697; Ormuri: Efimov 2011:149; Pashto: adapted from Robson and Tegey 2009:733; Persian: adapted from Windfuhr and Perry 2009:434). The selection of the variant forms in Ormuri and Parachi (indicated by parentheses) depends on whether the previous word ends with a vowel or consonant. Though the

Pashto pronominal clitics are generally written as separate particles in the linguistic literature, for the sake of consistency and clarity they will be written with clitic boundaries here (=).

Table 16: Pronominal clitic inventory

Person	Parachi	Ormuri	Pashto	Persian
1SG	= <i>(o)m</i>	= <i>(a)m</i>	= <i>me</i>	= <i>am</i>
2SG	= <i>(w)a(w)</i>	= <i>(a)t</i>	= <i>de</i>	= <i>at</i>
3SG	= <i>(w)ē</i>	= <i>(w)a</i>	= <i>ye</i>	= <i>aš</i>
1PL	= <i>(w)(a)n</i>	= <i>(a)n</i>	= <i>am</i>	= <i>emān</i>
2PL	= <i>(w)ō(w)</i>	= <i>(a)n</i>	= <i>am</i>	= <i>etān</i>
	= <i>w/u</i>			
3PL	= <i>(w)(a)n</i>	= <i>(w)a</i>	= <i>ye</i>	= <i>ešān</i>

As can be seen in Table 16, the grammatical contrasts within the Ormuri system pattern closer to Pashto than to Parachi or Persian. In both Ormuri and Pashto, 1PL and 2PL share the same form and 3SG and 3PL share the same form. In Parachi, 1PL and 3PL share the same form. Persian alone has a distinct form for each person and number.

One additional comment must be made about the forms listed in Table 16. The vowels of the Persian pronominal clitics in the examples presented in this thesis sometimes differ from those shown in the table due to both transcriptional variation and language variation.

4.3 Function

The possible functions of the pronominal clitics of the different languages are summarized in Table 17.

Table 17: Summary of clitic functions

Function	Parachi	Ormuri	Pashto	Persian
Agent, past tense transitive	✓	✓	✓	
Direct object, present tense	✓	✓	✓	✓
Direct object, past tense				✓
Indirect object	✓	✓		✓
Possessor	✓	✓	✓	✓
Adpositional object	✓			✓

Concerning Parachi, Kieffer (2009:711) writes that pronominal clitics function as “the genitive, dative, direct object, and object of adpositions, and the agent in past tenses of transitive verbs.” In Pashto, according to Robson and Tegey (2009:733), “the enclitic pronouns function as subjects/agents in past transitive sentences, and in possessive constructions,” and “they also function as direct objects in present tense sentences.”

Persian pronominal clitics function as direct object, indirect object, adpositional object, or possessor (Roberts 2009:337). The function of a clitic in Persian is dependent on its host and is not affected by tense or transitivity (see §4.4.3 for further discussion of this point).

Persian is neither ergative nor split-ergative.

Clitics may also be used as experiencers in certain constructions in Persian, Parachi, and Ormuri. In Persian, a clitic is obligatory in these constructions, even if the experiencer is also expressed by an overt pronoun or noun phrase, as in (120) below. In (120), the clitic =*emun* ‘1PL’ is obligatory. The pronoun *ma* ‘we’ is optional. When *ma* occurs, it is co-referential with =*emun*.

- (120) (*ma*) *æz* *to* *xosh* = *emun* *umæd*
 we from you pleasure = 1PL come.PST.3SG

‘We liked you (you appealed to us).’ (modified from Sedighi 2010:89)

A similar construction is found in Parachi as illustrated in (121). This example contains two clitics. The clitic $=(o)m$ ‘1SG’ functions as experiencer. The clitic $=(w)\bar{e}$ ‘3SG’ functions as the direct object. Kieffer (2009) does not mention whether or not the clitic functioning as experiencer is obligatory.

(121) $n\bar{a}=\underline{m}$ $nar=\bar{e}$ $xaren$
 NEG = 1SG be.able = 3SG eat.INF

‘I cannot eat it’ (lit. ‘Not to me is the ability to eat it.’) (modified from Kieffer 2009:706)

I have found no examples of the clitic as experiencer in my corpus, but Efimov (2011) provides the following example in (122), repeated from (22).

(122) $af\bar{o}=\underline{m}=bu$ pa $k\hat{a}r$ $se.$
 that.NOM = 1SG = PROG INS action become.3

‘It is useful for me.’ (Efimov 2011:151)

4.4 Distribution and placement

A summary of the distribution and placement of pronominal clitics in Ormuri, Parachi, Pashto, and Persian is presented in Table 18. The systems in the different languages will be elaborated upon separately in this section: Parachi in §4.4.1, Pashto in §4.4.2, and Persian in §4.4.3.

Table 18: Distribution and placement of pronominal clitics

	Tense/transitivity-based distribution	Strict clause placement
Parachi	✓	
Ormuri	✓	✓
Pashto	✓	✓
Persian		

The distribution of pronominal clitics in Ormuri is affected by tense and transitivity.

Subject clitics occur in past tense transitive clauses, and object clitics appear in present

tense clauses. Similarly, the distributions of pronominal clitics in Parachi and Pashto are also constrained by tense and transitivity. Persian shows no such distribution pattern.

In Ormuri and Pashto, pronominal clitics normally occur immediately following the first constituent of the clause. Exceptions to this in Ormuri were noted in §2.4. In Parachi, pronominal clitics may appear in several positions. In Persian, clitics appear in different positions depending on their function.

4.4.1 Parachi

The distribution of pronominal clitics in Parachi is sensitive to tense and transitivity. As in Ormuri, subject clitics are found with transitive verbs with past stems, as in (123), and object clitics are found with verbs with present stems, as in (124).

- (123) *tū kun = əm kitāb dā*
 you to = 1SG book give.PST

‘I gave you a book.’ (modified from Morgenstierne 1929:63)

- (124) *mēr-an = om te*
 kill-3PL = 1SG FUT

‘They will kill me.’ (modified from Kieffer 2009:711)

Parachi does not have strict rules regarding the placement of pronominal clitics. In the absence of any other constituent, clitics attach to the verb. Otherwise, they may attach to any preverbal constituent in the clause “for selective emphasis” (Kieffer 2009:711). In (125), the clitic *=(w)a(w)* ‘2SG’ may attach to the constituent in any one of the three positions marked.

- (125) *tū nī-xawān(=a) nāqōn(=a) čē-pen(=a) xor*
 you to-night bread what-with eat.PST

‘What did you eat the bread with tonight?’ (modified from Kieffer 2009:711)

In any one of these positions, the clitic would be co-referential with the pronoun *tū* ‘you’. Kieffer (2009) does not include more description of this example. From the text, I cannot tell exactly what the significance of this clitic doubling is and whether a clitic is obligatory in this construction.

Kieffer (2009:708) does note that a co-referential clitic may mark focused constructions, as in (126). In (126), the possessive clitic $=_{(w)}\bar{e}$ ‘3SG’ is co-referential with *žū-eka* ‘one’s’.

(126) *žū-eka* *nām = ē* *Air* *bīn.*
 one-GEN name = 3SG Air be.PST

‘One’s, his name was Air.’ (Kieffer 2009:708; interlinear gloss is mine)

4.4.2 *Pashto*

Similar to Ormuri and Parachi, the distribution of Pashto clitics is affected by tense and transitivity. Like Ormuri, Pashto is a split-ergative language in which the undergoer is the syntactic controller of past tense transitive verbs. Thus, the past tense transitive verb will agree in person, number, and gender with the object rather than the subject (Tegey & Robson 1996:181). The privileged syntactic argument is never represented by a clitic. Clitics do not function as subjects in present tense or in past tense intransitive clauses, or as objects in past tense transitive sentences (Tegey & Robson 1996:65). This distribution pattern is illustrated in (127)-(128). In (127), the subject is encoded through agreement marking on the present tense verb and the object appears as a clitic.

(127) *khartsawú = ye.*
sell.1PL = 3SG

‘We sell it.’ (modified from Tegey and Robson 1996:183)

In (128), the past tense version of (127), the verb agrees with the object and the subject is encoded as a clitic.

(128) *khartsawólə = mo.*
sell.PST.3SG = 1PL

‘We were selling it.’ (modified from Tegey and Robson 1996:183)

In (129), the subject of the past tense transitive verb is optional, but may not be encoded as a clitic.

(129) (*ahmad*) *gaḍedé.*
(Ahmad) dance.PST

(Ahmad) danced. (modified from Tegey and Robson 1996:66)

Whatever the function, pronominal clitics in Pashto appear in the second position of the clause after the first stressed constituent (as opposed to the first word) (Robson & Tegey 2009:757). In example (130), the clitic appears after the first constituent which is also the first word in this sentence.

(130) *xushāl = me zyāti nə wəh-i*
Khoshal = 1SG anymore NEG hit-PRS.3

‘Khoshal doesn’t hit me anymore.’ (adapted from Pate 2012:28)

If the first constituent is a phrase consisting of multiple words, the second position is after the phrase, as in (131), and not after the first word, as in (132).

- (131) *[xwʊʃal əw patang]=bə=ye*
 Khoshal and Patang = FUT = 3
dər= tə rā.wɫ-i
 OC.2 = to bring.PRS.PFV-3
 ‘Khoshal and Patang will bring it to you.’

- (132) **[xwʊʃal=bə=ye əw patang]*
 Khoshal = FUT = ACC.3 and Patang
dər= tə rā.wɫ-i
 OC.2 = to bring.PRS.PFV-3
 ‘Khoshal and Patang will bring it to you.’ (Pate 2012:29)

Pashto clitics are in complementary distribution with agreement marking on the verb. Robson and Tegey (2009:756) state that a clitic is never co-referential with personal endings on a verb. This is illustrated in (133) and (134). In (133), the clitic =*ye* ‘3SG’ cannot co-occur with the agreement marking on the verb. Similarly, in (134), the clitic =*me* ‘1SG’ cannot co-occur with the agreement marking on the verb.

- (133) *khkol-ew-i=me* (*=*ye*)
 kiss-TR-3SG = 1SG = 3SG
 ‘He is kissing me.’ (modified from Roberts 2000:97)

- (134) *ahmad* (*=*me*) *khkol-ew-em*
 Ahmad = 1SG kiss-TR-1SG
 ‘Ahmad was kissing me.’ (modified from Roberts 2000:97)

A co-referential clitic is required for a left-detached element as in (135). The clitic =*ye* ‘3SG’ in (135) is co-referential with *spay* ‘dog’ which appears in a left-detached position. This position is also evidenced by the pause, represented by a comma.

- (135) *spay, pisho = ye khog-aw-i*
 dog cat = 3SG hurt-TR.PRS.IPFV-3SG

‘The dog, the cat is hurting him.’ (modified from Roberts 2000:13)

4.4.3 Persian

In Persian, unlike Ormuri and Pashto, clitics do not have a regular position within the clause, nor does tense and transitivity affect their use. An object clitic may appear in present or past tense, as in (136) and (137), respectively.

- (136) *tond-tær kar--kærdæn = æm komæk = et--mi-kon-e?*
 fast-COMPR work--do.INF = 1SG help = 2SG--DUR-do-3SG

‘Does my working faster help you?’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:146)

- (137) *komæk = eš--kærd-æm*
 help = 3SG--do.PST-1SG

‘I helped her/him.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:139)

Pronominal clitics attach to various constituents of a clause to express different functions. When attached to a verb, clitics express a direct object or indirect object, as in (138) and (139), respectively (Mahootian 2005:138).

- (138) *did-am = aš*
 see.PST-1SG = 3SG

‘I saw him.’ (adapted from Windfuhr & Perry 2009:486)

- (139) *goft-am = aš*
 say.PST-1SG = 3SG

‘I said to him’ (adapted from Windfuhr & Perry 2009:487)

With compound verbs, an object clitic is attached either to the first part of the compound verb, as in (137), or after the verbal inflections, as in (140).

- (140) *komæk--kærd-æm = eṧ*
 help--do.PST-1SG = 3SG

‘I helped her/him.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:139)

When attached to a generic direct object, Persian clitics indicate an indirect object (Mahootian 2005:140). This is illustrated in (141).

- (141) *sæm = eṧ* *dad-æm*
 poison = 3SG give.PST-1SG

‘I gave him poison.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:140)

When attached to a noun, Persian clitics may function as possessor. In (142)-(144), adapted from Windfuhr and Perry (2009:472) the clitic always functions as possessor and attaches to the end of a noun phrase. In (142), the clitic =*aṧ* attaches to a noun. In (143), the clitic attaches to an adjective modifying a noun. In (144), the clitic modifies the noun phrase *mo'allem-e javān* ‘young teacher’.

- (142) *ketāb = aṧ*
 book = 3SG
 ‘his/her book’

- (143) *ketāb-e bozorg = aṧ*
 book-EZ large = 3SG
 ‘his/her large book’

- (144) *ketāb-e bozorg-e mo'allem-e javān = aṧ*
 book-EZ large-EZ teacher-EZ young = 3SG
 ‘the large book of his/her young teacher’

Clitics attached to certain prepositions in Persian may function as the oblique object of the preposition, as in (145).

(145) *mæn ba = hatun mi-r-æm*
 I with=2PL DUR-go-1SG

‘I will go with you.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:265)

Clitics in Persian may be co-referential with the direct object or a topicalized indirect object. An example of a direct object with a co-referential clitic is given in (146). In (146), the clitic =*eš* ‘3SG’ is co-referential with the direct object *naser* ‘Nasser’. This structure “does not appear to serve any function of stress or emphasis” (Mahootian 2005:139).

(146) *naser-o komæk = eš kærd-æm*
 Nasser-OM help=3SG did-1SG

‘I helped Nasser.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:139)

Clitics in Persian may also be co-referential with a topicalized indirect object. When an indirect object is topicalized, it appears in the left-detached position, is marked with the object marker, and is replaced by a pronominal clitic within the clause in the default position for an indirect object (Mahootian 2005:124). This is illustrated in (147), where the clitic =*heš* ‘3SG’ refers to *iræj* ‘Iraq’, which appears in a left-detached position. The object marker *-o* is functioning here as a topicalizer.

(147) *iræj₁-o pul be = heš₁ be-d-e*
 Iraq-OM money to=3SG IMP-give-3SG

‘Iraq₁, give him₁ money.’ (modified from Mahootian 2005:124)

A clitic functioning as experiencer is attached to the non-verbal constituent of a compound verb in indirect verb constructions that express bodily sensations, emotions, and mental activity (Mahand 2011:531; Sedighi 2010:77; Windfuhr & Perry 2009:487).

This is illustrated in (148), where the experiencer is encoded as the clitic=*aš* ‘3SG’ and appears attached to *xāb* ‘sleep’.

- (148) *xāb = aš* *bord-Ø*.
sleep = 3SG take.PST-3SG
‘S/he slept.’ (modified from Mahand 2011:530)

In this type of construction, “the presence of an enclitic is obligatory,” whether or not there is an overt noun phrase (Mahand 2011:530), as in (149). In (149), the experiencer is encoded as *Ali*. The clitic =*aš* ‘3SG’ remains in the same position and is co-referential with *Ali*.

- (149) *Ali xāb = aš* *bord-Ø*.
Ali sleep = 3SG take.PST-3SG
‘Ali slept.’ (modified from Mahand 2011:532)

4.5 Participant reference

Overall, the four languages refer to participants in a discourse with similar types of referring expressions. The major differences are, first, that Ormuri does not have verbal agreement in the past tense while the others do. The second difference is that subjects in Persian may not be encoded as clitics. Third, Persian has a different system of progression through the referential forms for subjects as opposed to objects.

Examples (150)-(153) each contain a past-tense sentence, one from each language. Note that there is no overt subject in any of these examples. Rather, the subjects are marked on the verb, or in the case of Ormuri, not at all.

(150) **Ormuri**

awal yazni ki er-zâk.

first Ghazni to DIR.1-come.PST

First they came to Ghazni. (1 1.3)

(151) **Parachi**

xūrau

eat.PST.2SG

‘You ate.’ (modified from Morgenstierne 1929:63)

(152) **Pashto**

gaḍedám

dance.PST.1SG

‘I was dancing.’ (Tegey & Robson 1996:91)

(153) **Persian**

ammā ba:d šoru kard be šenā kard-an

but then begin do.PST.3SG to swim do-INF

va dōwr=e berke gašt zad-an

and around=EZ pond exploration hit-INF

‘But then she started swimming about and exploring around the pond.’ (Roberts 2009:338)

The second major difference between the languages is that subjects in Persian may not be encoded as clitics in any tense. Consequently, only objects occur with a co-referential clitic in Persian while in at least Ormuri, subjects and objects may occur with a co-referential clitic.

Ormuri, Parachi, Pashto, and Persian use the same types of referring expressions as in (154), arranged according to encoding weight from heaviest to lightest.

(154) full noun phrase > independent pronoun > pronominal clitic > zero anaphora

UnlikeOrmuri, however, verbs in any tense have distinct forms for each person and number in Parachi, Pashto, and Persian (Kieffer 2009:701-702; Robson & Tegey 2009:756; Windfuhr & Perry 2009:450).

Furthermore, and also unlike Ormuri, Persian has two systems of progression through the referential forms: one for subjects and one for objects, according to Roberts (2009:339). These systems are shown in (155).

(155) Referential progression for subject and object function
SU: noun/NP → ∅
DO: noun/NP → pronoun → pronominal clitic

According to (155), the referential progression of a subject participant proceeds from a noun directly to zero anaphora, while an object participant will proceed through various forms. A subject is not encoded as a clitic; an object is not encoded as zero. This is not true in either case for Ormuri, nor is it true of Pashto (cf. Tegey & Robson 1996:67, 166-167). A subject may be encoded as a clitic in Parachi (cf. Kieffer 2009:711); I do not have information on whether an object may be encoded as zero.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, through a brief examination of the function, placement, and distribution of clitics in Parachi, Pashto, Persian and a comparison with Ormuri, it is evident that the Ormuri system of pronominal clitics resembles the systems of these other Iranian languages in many respects. Furthermore, the system that is closest to Ormuri seems to be Pashto. Because of the prolonged geographic proximity of Pashto speakers to Ormuri speakers and the assimilation of Pashtun culture, it is not surprising that the

system of Ormuri clitics resembles the Pashto system. Because the borrowing from Pashto is so great in the Logar dialect of Ormuri (Kieffer 1977:75), however, it is unclear whether the similarities are solely due to proximity or whether the difference is attributable to genetic relations.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

This thesis presents a description of the system of pronominal clitics in the Logar dialect of Ormuri. Logar Ormuri is one of two still-existing dialects of the Ormuri language, but it is on the verge of extinction. While this language has been described by others, notably Grierson (1918, 1921), Morgenstierne (1929), Kieffer (1972, 1979, 2003), and Efimov (2011), no one has yet written an extensive description of the pronominal clitics or of their use in participant reference. The purpose of this study is to fill this void and thereby make a contribution to Indo-Iranian linguistics as a whole.

Chapter 2 included a discussion of the pronominal clitics in Ormuri as well as two other clitics: the progressive marker =*b(u)* and the subjunctive marker =*su*. It was established that the pronominal clitics in Ormuri may function as the subject, object, possessor, or indirect object. These clitics are usually placed immediately after the first phrasal constituent of the clause. Possessor clitics occur before subject or object clitics. Clitics function as agents almost exclusively in past-tense transitive clauses, while clitics function as objects only in the present tense. The different distributions of subject and object clitics exhibit the split-ergativity of Ormuri, where A is treated differently than S and O in the past tense and O is treated differently than S and A in the present tense. The privileged syntactic argument of a clause is never encoded as a clitic. The subjects of

verbs in the present tense as well as intransitive verbs in the past tense are not encoded as clitics. Objects of verbs in the past tense are also not encoded as clitics.

Chapter 3 attempted to answer when and why pronominal clitics are used primarily through an analysis of participant reference in Ormuri. Using the Default/Marked Method of participant reference analysis developed by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), the default encodings were established for different subject and object contexts. Because the focus of this thesis is pronominal clitics, only the types of clauses where clitics could occur were included in the analysis. That is, only transitive clauses in past and present tense were examined. The results of this analysis demonstrated that clitics are primarily used as the encoding for the continuation of a participant (the S1 and N1 contexts).

Chapter 4 presented a comparison of the system of pronominal clitics in Ormuri with those in three related languages: Parachi, Pashto, and Persian. In this comparison, special focus was placed on the function, distribution, and placement of pronominal clitics and their place in participant reference. The system in Ormuri behaves much like the systems in these other languages, especially like the system of clitics in Pashto.

In conclusion, this thesis has presented an extended description of the syntax and discourse factors of pronominal clitics in Logar Ormuri. This analysis should aid future research in syntax and discourse in Indo-Iranian languages. Further research and analysis should be done to complete the picture of participant reference that this thesis has begun.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Additional notes on Ormuri grammar

In this appendix, I present a brief description of two highly frequent grammatical phenomena in Logar Ormuri. The first phenomenon is the personal-directional prefix, glossed as DIR in the interlinear glosses. The second phenomenon is the *ka* subordinator, glossed as COMP in the interlinear glosses.

A.1 Personal-directional prefixes

Logar Ormuri has a system of personal-directional prefixes that attach to verbs. These prefixes indicate the direction of a movement or action in terms of the grammatical category of person. For instance, the prefix *er-* indicates that the direction of the action or movement is towards the speaker (first person), while *dar-* indicates direction towards the addressee (second person) and *al-* indicates direction towards a discourse-salient third person. Verbs of motion such as *tsok* ‘to go’ and *zâk* ‘to come’, as well as verbs that take dative arguments such as *yok* ‘to say’ and *-šuk* ‘to give’ are particularly likely to occur in combination with such personal-directional prefixes. The various forms of these prefixes as they occur in the corpus are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Logar Ormuri personal-directional prefixes

	Form(s)
1 st person	<i>ar-</i> , <i>er-</i> , <i>ir-</i> , <i>or-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>re-</i> , <i>war-</i>
2 nd person	<i>dar-</i>
3 rd person	<i>al-</i> , <i>ar-</i> , <i>war-</i>

For the first and third person directional prefixes, several forms are listed. Which one is used appears to be a matter of personal choice. In some cases, a speaker will use one form for one verb and another form for a different verb. For example, Kieffer's consultant AA uses *or-* with the verb *olok* 'to bring'. With other verbs, he uses *er-* to indicate the first person, as in *er-yok* 'said to me'.

In the interlinear glosses in this thesis, the personal-directional prefixes are glossed as 'DIR' with the addition of the grammatical person they encode. For example, the interlinear gloss for the verb *al-yok* 'said to him/her/them' is 'DIR.3-say.PST', where DIR.3 is the gloss for the third-person directional prefix *al-*.

Often, the grammatical person encoded by the directional prefix agrees with the grammatical person of the pronoun in a dative argument within the same clause, as in (1)-(3), which use a form of the verb *er-šuk* 'to give'. In these examples, the dative argument is explicitly marked by the postposition *ki* 'to'.

- (1) *a gé xodây ko-mun ki er-šuké*
 this also God OBJ-me to DIR.1-give.PSTPRF

'This also God has given to me.' (DC 7.7.2)

- (2) *az hets šay ku-tu ki nak dar-šuk*
 I any thing OBJ-you to NEG DIR.2-give.PST

'I did not give you anything.' (17 4.3)

- (3) *ayera = wa xalak ki al-šuk*
 all=3 people to DIR.3-give.PST
 ‘He gave it all to the people.’ (DC 7.9.3)

In other cases, however, the grammatical person expressed by the directional prefix does not match the dative argument. In (4), the directional prefix encodes first person while the pronoun in the indirect object (*tu* ‘you’) is second person.

- (4) *askari = t ko-mun a pa ĵok ĵok*
 soldiers = 2SG OBJ-me this INS hitting hitting

ko-tu ki or-olok
 OBJ-you to DIR.1-bring.PST
 ‘Your soldiers brought me to you with much hitting.’ (MD 5.8.3)

This mismatch shows that the directional prefix itself does not serve to mark the dative argument, but merely the direction of the action expressed by the verb. In the example in (4), the direction of the action was toward the current location of the speaker. A possible paraphrase of the example in English is: ‘The soldiers brought me *to this place where I am now* in order to hand me over to you.’

The personal-directional prefixes of Logar Ormuri are closely related to similar prefixes found in Pashto (Efimov 2011:161; Morgenstierne 1929:349). The functions of the Ormuri prefixes parallel the functions of their counterparts in Pashto (see Pate 2013).

A.2 *ka* subordinator

In Ormuri, the most common subordinator is *ka* ‘COMP’. Efimov (2011:230) states that *ka* “is used to connect the most diverse types of subordinate clauses – conditional, temporal and object etc. – with the main clause; in addition, it introduces direct speech.” The clause in which it appears is always subordinate, as in (5).

- (5) *ka draw = an dāk, be = b aglen,*
 COMP cut = 1PL do.PST then = PROG take.1PL

daryawe ne pāk yošawen.
 river.OBL in clean wash.1PL

‘When we have cut [it] up, then we take [it] and wash [it] clean in the river.’ (35.008)

The subordinator appears either clause-initially or in the second position, as in (6).

- (6) *jawzā māj ka šuk,*
 Jawza month COMP become.PST

kere jer bu nase
 this.OBJ clay PROG take.3

‘When the month of Jawza has come, they take this clay.’ (30.6.1-2⁺)

APPENDIX B

Text 26 participant reference analysis chart

Table 19: Text 26 Participant reference analysis chart

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
1.1		we [1]	INTRO			1pl-take
1.2	when	PC.1PL [1]	S1	wheat [2]	INTRO	harvested
1.3		Ø [1]	S1	water [3]	INTRO	1pl-give to the field.
1.4	when	this [4]	S3			has become wet
1.5		Ø [1]	S4	this [4]	N3	1pl-take,
1.6		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-plough.
1.7	then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3[4]	N1	1pl-harrow.
1.8	when	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [4]	N1	harrowed,
1.9		one and one half months	INTRO			3-become passed
1.10		Ø [1]	S1	this [4]	N1	1pl-take
1.11		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-[plough] a second time.
1.12	Then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-harrow.
1.13	After this	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-[plough] a third time,
1.14	then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N1	1pl-leave until Mizan.
2.1	In Mizan	Ø [1]	S1	wheat [2]	N4	1pl-take

Table 19 cont.

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
2.2		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-clean thoroughly:
2.3	so	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-clean
2.4	so	any doubt in our hearts	INTRO			3-leaves.
2.5	Also in Mizan	Ø [1]	S1	fertiliser [5]	INTRO	1pl-put into it - its country of origin being Kharguja.
2.6		Ø [1]	S1			1pl-take
2.7		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [5]	N1	1pl-scatter, its fertiliser.
2.8		Ø [1]	S1	seeds [6]	INTRO	1pl-scatter
2.9	then	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [7]	INTRO	1pl-take
2.10		we [1]	S1	iron rakes [7]	N1	1pl-have, of these -
2.11		Ø [1]	S1	this [7]	N1	1pl-take
2.12		we [1]	S1	PC.3 [4]	N4	1pl-rake.
3.1	when	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [4]	N1	raked
3.2	if	water [3]	INTRO			has been plenty
3.3	in that hour	Ø [1]	S4	water [3]	N3	1pl-give to it
3.4	if there has been none	Ø [1]	S1			1pl-await our turn at night
3.5	When our turn comes,	Ø [1]	S1	water [3]	N4	1pl-give to it
3.6	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	this [4]	N3	irrigated,
3.7		Ø [1]	S1			1pl-are finished with this.
4.1	In Aqrab again	we [1]	S1	one yaxaw [8]	INTRO	1pl-give to it [3]
4.2		this yaxaw [8]	S3			3s-remains, remains, remains
4.3	then again	snow [9]	INTRO			3s-also comes
4.4		rain [10]	INTRO			3s-also comes

Table 19 cont.

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
4.5		everything	INTRO			3s-comes
4.6		∅	S1			3s-remains, remains until Sawr.
4.7	as soon as	the month of Sawr	S3			has begun
4.8		rain				3s-is plenty
4.9		∅ [1]	S4	the rainwater [10a]	N3	1pl-get
4.10		∅ [1]	S1	the river water	INTRO	1pl-leave
4.11	Again	∅ [1]	S1	water [3]	N4	1pl-give to it on the fifteenth of Sawr.
5.1	Then/again	∅ [1]	S1	water [3]	N1	1pl-give to it on the fifteenth of Jawza.
5.2	Then	he who from excessive zeal [11a]	INTRO	four waters [3]	N1	3s-gives to it
5.3		he who does not [11b]	INTRO	three waters [3]	N1	3s-gives to it.
5.4	From three waters	∅ [11]	S1			3s-do not irrigate more.
5.5	When again	∅ [1]	S4	opening + PC.3 [12]	INTRO	1pl-make tight
5.6		any water	INTRO	PC.3 [12]	N1	3s-does not go.
6.1	When	this appointed time				became, for harvesting the wheat
6.2		∅ [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-harvest
6.3	Either	∅ [1]	S1	∅ [2]	N1	1pl-harvest ourselves
6.4	or	∅ [1]	S1	∅ [2]	N1	1pl-give to harvesters.
6.5		all [2]	S3			was from our own hand
6.6		∅ [1]	S1	∅ [2]	N3	1pl-harvest ourselves
6.7	If	all [2]	S3			was from the hand of the harvesters
6.8		∅ [1]	S1	∅ [2]	N3	1pl-give to the harvesters.

Table 19 cont.

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
7.1	then	∅ [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-collect in barrows.
7.2	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	∅ [2]	N1	collected barrows
7.3		∅ [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-make ricks thus, high ones!
7.4	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	ricks [13]	INTRO	made
7.5		∅ [1]	S1	buck rake [14]	INTRO	1pl-tie behind
7.6		∅ [1]	S1	oxen [15]	INTRO	1pl-tie
7.7		∅ [1]	S1	oxen [15]	N1	1pl-drive
7.8		∅ [1]	S1	buck rake [14]	N4	1pl-tie
7.9		∅ [1]	S1	this [2]	N4	1pl-rake a long time.
7.10		∅ [1]	S1			1pl-toil "Go then, throw aside" and "Turn it over" and "Do this! Sweep!"
7.11	until	this [2]	S4			3s-becomes small.
8.1	When	this [2]	S1			has become small,
8.2		∅ [1]	S1	this [2]	N3	1pl-take behind
8.3		∅ [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-collect.
8.4	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	∅ [2]	N1	collected
8.5	then	∅ [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-take
8.6		∅ [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-winnow
8.7		its opening [16]	INTRO			3-goes forward
8.8		its straw [17]	INTRO			3-goes behind
8.9	again when	∅ [1]	S4	this winnowing [18]	N3	1pl-became finished
8.10		∅ [1]	S1	straw of ours [17]	N3	1pl-carry
8.11		∅ [1]	S1	hayloft	INTRO	1pl-call
8.12		∅ [1]	S1			1pl-throw in this hayloft.

Table 19 cont.

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
8.13	then	Ø [1]	S1	this ear of grain that remained [2a]	N4	1pl-thresh with a buck rake for four or five days.
9.1	then	Ø [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-collect
9.2	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	collected
9.3		PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	piled
9.4	that time	PC.1pl [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	winnowed with a pitchfork,
9.5	this time	Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-winnow with a wooden shovel.
9.6		Ø [1]	S1			1pl-became finished with winnowing.
10.1	then	Ø [1]	S1			1pl-follow behind oxen.
10.2		Ø [1]	S1	oxen [15]	N4	1pl-find.
10.3	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	everyone [15]	N1	found,
10.4		Ø [15]	S3	wheat [2]	N4	3pl-level
10.5		Ø [1]	S4	this [2]	N1	1pl-thresh.
10.6	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	threshed,
10.7	then	Ø [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-take
10.8		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-collect.
10.9	Then	Ø [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	1pl-winnow.
11.1	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	winnowed
11.2		Ø [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-carry
11.3		Ø [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	1pl-sift
11.4	and	Ø [1]	S1	some wheat which is off the ground + that [2a]	INTRO	1pl-clean with a small sieve.
11.5	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [2a]	N1	cleaned with a small sieve
11.6		Ø [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-measure

Table 19 cont.

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
11.7		one [18a]	INTRO	PC.3 [2]	N1	3s-collects
11.8		one [18b]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	3s-measures.
11.9	again	Ø [1]	S4	this [2]	N1	1pl-carry home.
12.1		its weight [19]	INTRO			3-becomes known to us,
12.2		this much [19]	S1			became.
12.3	When	Ø [1]	S3	this [2]	N3	took home,
12.4	then	Ø [1]	S1	this [2] [20]	N1	1pl- take one part to suffice for autumn.
12.5	When	all	S3			was dirty
12.6		Ø [1]	S1	that [2]	N3	1pl-clean
12.7		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-make into flour.
12.8	Whenever	Ø [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	1pl-carry to the mill,
12.9		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-make into flour.
12.10	When	Ø [1]	S1	these [2]	N1	made into flour,
12.11		Ø [1]	S1	PC.3 [2]	N1	1pl-carry back
12.12		Ø [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	1pl-throw into the kandu.
12.13	When	PC.1PL [1]	S1	Ø [2]	N1	threw into the kandu,
12.14		Ø [1]	S1	this [2]	N1	1pl-eat
12.15		Ø [1]	S1			1pl-eat
12.16	until	winter [21]	INTRO			3-approaches.
12.17	When	winter [21]	S1			has come
12.18	then	Ø [1]	S1	Ø [22]	INTRO	1pl-take, one to one and half xarvara or twenty seers that is needed for the winter
12.19		Ø [1]	S1	that [22]	N1	3s-take

Table 19 cont.

Ref	Conn	Subject	Subject context	Non-subject	Non-subject context	Free translation
12.20		Ø [1]	S1	winter flour [23]	N3	1pl-make
12.21		Ø [1]	S1	Ø [23]	N1	1pl-put into the kandu.

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