

**Head & dependent marking and the Pamiri verb:
 a defaults-based account in Network Morphology**

Andrew Hippisley & Gregory T. Stump,
 University of Kentucky {andrew.hippisley, gstump}@uky.edu

0 Introduction

- Pamiri languages: Eastern Iranian, spoken in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China.
- These languages have attracted the attention of researchers working on alignment and case because some of the languages possess an unusual double-oblique construction (where A and O are oblique-marked), and others have an even more unusual tripartite system of case marking distinguishing A, S and O (e.g. Payne 1980, Bickel & Nichols 2009, Dixon 1994).

(1) Double oblique, Rushani	(2) Tripartite system, Yazghulami
či mum kitōb x̣ēyčʔ	mon š = tu wint.
who.OBL this.OBL book read.PRF	me.OBL D.O. = you see.PST
'Who read this book?'	'I saw you.' (c.f. <i>az</i> 'I', direct case form)

- These contemporary phenomena are the vestiges of an old split or partial ergative system that characterized this group's ancestral language, where in past tense contexts verbs agree with O and not A, and case marking distinguishes A from O and S (Pirejko 1979, Èdel'man & Dodyxudoeva 2009, Palancar 2009, Skjærvø 1989, Stump & Hippisley 2011).
- Talk outline:

- | | |
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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ancestral split ergativity 2. Canonical split ergativity 3. Canonical split ergativity as default 4. The array of overrides | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Towards a defaults-based typology of Eastern Iranian alignment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some assumptions • Network Morphology • the null hypothesis and Eastern Iranian alignment |
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1 Ancestral split ergativity

(3) Pamiri languages part of the Eastern Iranian family (based on Windfuhr 2009)

Pashto	Afghanistan	Northeast	
Pamir area		Ossetic	Russia, Georgia
North Pamir		Yagnobi	Tajikistan
Yazghulami	Tajikistan	Southeast	
Shughni-Rushani		Parači	Pakistan
Bartangi	Tajikistan	Ormuri	Afghanistan
Oroshori	Tajikistan		
Rushani	Tajikistan		
Sarikoli	China		
Shughni	Tajikistan, Afghanistan		
Ishkashimi	Tajikistan, Afghanistan		
Wakhi	Pakistan		
Munji	Afghanistan		

- Proto-Pamiri controversial (Wendtland 2008; Èdel'man and Dodykhudoeva 2009)
- emergence of ergativity in ancestral language due to reanalysis of nom-acc alignment
- passive is path of the reanalysis
- origins in Old Iranian *-ta* past participle (Pirejko 1979; Èdel'man & Dodykhudoeva a. 2009: 782; Palancar 2009: 570; Skjærvø 2009)

- (4) hamiçiyā Hagmatā
 rebel.PL.NOM.MASC assembled.PL.NOM.MASC
 'the rebels assembled' DB III 65. Payne (1980: 151)
- (5) ima tyā Manā kartam
 this.SG.NOM.NEUT what. SG.NOM.NEUT me.SG.GEN do.SG.MOM.NEUT.PSTPART
 'this is what was done by me' DB III 10. Payne (1980: 151; Pirejko 1979: 482)
 Reanalysis: 'I did this'

- vestigial split ergativity:
 - head property: verb agreement controlled by O
 - dependent property: case of A ≠ case of O, case of O = case of S

2. Canonical split ergativity

- Ancestral situation can be viewed as the *canonical* situation. We can identify an array of head and dependent properties that define 'canonical split ergativity (c.f. Payne 1980, Haig 2008).

(6)

<i>Properties</i>		PRESENT		PAST	
		Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive
Dependent properties (relating to nominal case)		Arg1 = direct	Arg1 = direct Arg2 = oblique	Arg1 = direct	Arg1 = oblique Arg2 = direct
Head properties (relating to verb agreement)	1. Agreement controller	Arg1		Arg1	Arg2
	2. Agreement features	Person, Number		Person, Number, Gender	
	3. Agreement marking paradigm	Paradigm α		Paradigm β	Paradigm γ

- Dependent properties: transitive arg1 = oblique

(7) Bartangi (Payne 1980: 163)

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Intransitive</i></p> <p>āz = um yat. I = 1SG came 'I came.'</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Transitive</i></p> <p>mun = um tā = r kitob vuĵ. I = 1SG.OBL you = to book bring.PERF 'I have brought you a book.'</p>
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3 Canonical split ergativity as *default*

- represent canonical split ergativity properties as an ancestral language root node in a hierarchy of nodes where terminal nodes represent daughter languages
- in individual language nodes, presence of split ergative properties expressed as inheritance, absence as overrides
- a language's alignment profile is the set of both *inherited* properties and properties that override the default
- distinguish between conservative and innovative languages, and languages in between

(15) **Pashto**

<i>Inherited properties</i>	<i>Overrides</i>
All dependent properties	Head property 3
Head property 1	(no distinction in trans/intrans marking)
Head property 2	

(16) **Shughni**

<i>Inherited properties</i>	<i>Overrides</i>
Head property 2	Dependent properties: A = S, A ≠ O in (present and) past
Head property 3	
	Head property 1 (Arg 2 never controls)

(17) **Ossetic**

<i>Inherited properties</i>	<i>Overrides</i>
Head property 3: distinct trans and intrans paradigms	(everything else)

4 The array of overrides

- taking each property in turn, we can gather up those languages which override the default, and say how exactly they override
- the pattern of overriding may be complex, and interdependent
- this may suggest intermediate / partial overriding represented by intermediate nodes

(18) Head property 1, O controls agreement in past

<i>Inheriting languages (4)</i>	<i>Overriding languages (9)</i>
Pashto, Parači, Munji Yaghnobi	Bartangi, Ishkashimi, Oroshori, Ossetic, Rushani, Shughni, Sarikoli, Wakhi, Yazghulami

(19) Head property 2, gender is a relevant feature in past

<i>Inheriting languages (5)</i>	<i>Overriding languages (8)</i>
Bartangi, Munji, Pashto, Rushani, Shughni	Ishkashimi, Oroshori, Ossetic, Parači Sarikoli, Wakhi, Yaghnobi, Yazghulami

(20) Head property 3, past transitive paradigm is formally distinct (in some way)

<i>Inheriting languages (7)</i>	<i>Overriding languages (6)</i>
Bartangi, Munji, Ossetic, Rushani, Shughni, Yaghnobi, Yazghulami	Ishkashim, Oroshori, Parači, Pashto, Sarikoli, Wakhi

(21) Dependent property, in past S & O = x (direct), A = y (oblique)

<i>Inheriting languages (3)</i>	<i>Overriding languages (10)</i>
Pashto, Munji?, Yaghnobi?	Bartangi, Ishkashimi, Oroshori, Ossetic, Parači, Rushani, Sarikoli, Shughni, Wakhi, Yazghulami

- better to see dependent property overriding as more fine grained

(22) Pattern 1 dependent property override: (S = direct), A = direct, O = oblique

- Ishkashimi, Oroshori, Sarikoli, Shughni, Wakhi (lower dialect) (5)

(23) Pattern 2 dependent property override: (S = direct), (A = oblique), O = oblique

- Bartangi, Parači, Rushani, Wakhi (upper dialect), Yazghulami (5)

(24) Pattern 3 dependent property override: (S = direct), A = direct, (O = direct)

- Ossetic (1)

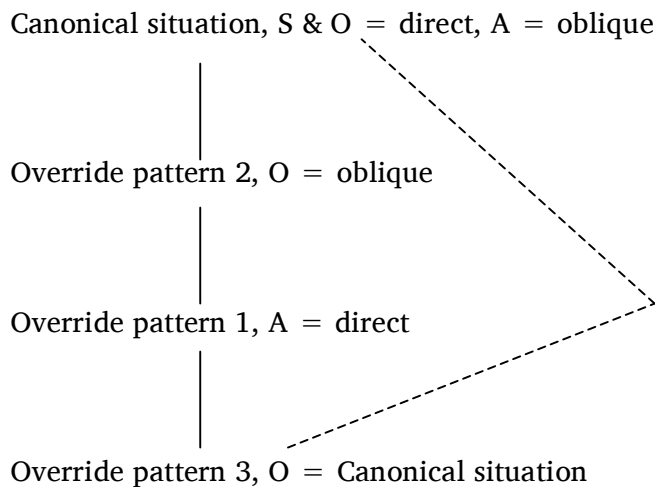
(25) Wakhi, Upper dialect (Bashir 1986: 16)

taw maž yafč fand det
 you.OBL I.OBL much deception give.PST
 'you deceived me greatly'

(26) Wakhi, Lower dialect (Payne 1980: 180)

wuz taw-i wind-əm
 I.DIR you.OBL-ACC see.PST-1SG
 'I saw you'

- represent this situation as *nested* defaults and *multiple* inheritance



- for some languages, emergent differentiated object marking (DOM), Stilo (2009).

(27) Oroshori, Pattern 1 (Payne 1980:167)

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. a = wam kitōb = um zōxt.
D.O. = that book = 1SG take.PST
'I took that book.' | b. tu a = mun čiz-ri parδāw?
you D.O. = me what.for tease.2SG.PRS
'Why are you teasing me?' |
|---|---|

5 Towards a defaults-based typology of Eastern Iranian alignment

5.1 Some assumptions

- A Paradigm-based and separation of content from form
- form paradigm vs content paradigm (Stump 1996)

(28) Partial paradigms of two Shughni verbs

		WIFTŌW 'knit'	WIRĪVDŌW 'stand'
Nonpast	1sg	<i>wāfum</i>	<i>wirāfcum</i>
	2sg	<i>wāfi</i>	<i>wirāfci</i>
	3sg	<i>woft</i>	<i>wirofct</i>
	1pl	<i>wāfam</i>	<i>wirāfcam</i>
	2pl	<i>wāfet</i>	<i>wirāfcet</i>
	3pl	<i>wāfen</i>	<i>wirāfcen</i>
	Past	1sg	<i>-um wīft</i>
2sg		<i>-t wīft</i>	masc. <i>-t wirūvd</i> / fem. <i>-t wirovd</i>
3sg		<i>-yi wīft</i>	masc. <i>wirūvd</i> / fem. <i>wirovd</i>
1pl		<i>-ām wīft</i>	<i>-ām wirovd</i>
2pl		<i>-et wīft</i>	<i>-et wirovd</i>
3pl		<i>-en wīft</i>	<i>-en wirovd</i>

(29) Content paradigms of two Shughni verbs

WIFTŌW 'knit'	WIRĪVDŌW 'stand'
⟨WIFTŌW, {1sg present}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {1sg present}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {2sg present}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {2sg present}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {3sg present}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {3sg present}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {1pl present}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {1pl present}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {2pl present}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {2pl present}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {3pl present}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {3pl present}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {1sg past}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {1sg past masculine}⟩ ⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {1sg past feminine}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {2sg past}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {2sg past masculine}⟩ ⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {2sg past feminine}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {3sg past}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {3sg past masculine}⟩ ⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {3sg past feminine}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {1pl past}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {1pl past}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {2pl past}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {2pl past}⟩
⟨WIFTŌW, {3pl past}⟩	⟨WIRĪVDŌW, {3pl past}⟩

- o allows for a features-based approach that gets at the possible alignment patterns in cross-linguistic perspective

(30) Attribute-value matrices for 'I (fem) stand', 'He struck them (masc)'

a.

Pred: 'stand'	Arg1: pers_pron
Tns: pres	Per1: 1
Mood: indic	Num1: sg
	Gend: fem

b.

Pred: 'strike'	Arg1: pers_pron	Arg2: pers_pron
Tns: past	Per1: 3	Per2: 3
Mood: Indic	Num1: sg	Num2: pl
	Gend1: masc	Gend2: masc

(31) Sentence schemata corresponding to (3) in Pashto

a.

Pred: DAREDƏL	Arg1: zə
Tns: pres	Case: dir
Mood: indic	
Agr: Per1: 1	
Num1: sg	

b.

Pred: MESSLEM	Arg1: DAY	Arg2: DUY
Tns: past	Case: erg	Case: dir
Mood: Indic		
Agr: Per2: 3		
Num2: pl		
Gend2: masc		

(32) Sentence schemata corresponding to (3) in Shughni

a.

Pred: WIRİVDŌW	Arg1: WUZ
Tns: pres	Case: dir
Mood: indic	
Agr: Per1: 1	
Num1: sg	

b.

Pred: ʃUKTŌW	Arg1: YU	Arg2: WĀÐ
Tns: past	Case: nom	Case: obl
Mood: Indic		
Agr: Per2: 3		
Num2: sg		

- (33) a. Formal realization of Pashto schema (3a): *zə daréžəm* ('I stand').
 b. Formal realization of Shughni schema (4a): *wuz wirāfcum* ('I stand').

B Inheritance is not mandatory

- o change not just additive but also overriding an historical situation
- o canonical as default (cf Hippiisley 2007 wrt canonical deponency)
- o nested defaults/overrides

C Inheritance may be from more than one source

5.2 *Network Morphology* (Corbett and Fraser 1993; Brown and Hippiisley 2011)

- o inferential-realizational, entailing paradigms as well as separation of content from form
- o defaults-based
- o supports multiple-inheritance
- o formal underpinning and computable, represented in DATR (Evans and Gazdar 1996)

(34) <syn> == <mor>

<syn 1 sg past fem> == <mor>

<syn 1 sg past fem > == <mor 1 sg past fem>

5.3 *Null hypothesis and Eastern Iranian alignment*

A any conceivable trajectory from canonical split ergativity to full accusativity is possible

B shared alignment properties don't necessarily indicate shared ancestry

- Towards disconfirming the null hypothesis

Typology

There are various alignment patterns found in the world's languages: accusative, ergative, active, split systems, and mixed systems, where head marking and dependent marking pattern differently (Nichols 1992 for a typology). Proposals have been made to constrain the variation found, for example Harris and Campbell's (1995: 258-281) *Complementarity Principle*. Some questions we should ask:

- for mixed systems, is the tendency for head marking to be ergative, or is this the tendency for dependent marking?
- do innovations in case have a bearing on the move towards an accusative system?
- does a reduction in agreement features, for example absence of gender, have a bearing?
- is there a relationship between the limitation of case marking on the NP and its pattern of alignment?

History

The default inheritance representation of the situation is diachronically *suggestive*. Allows us to ask questions about genetic affiliations in the Eastern branch of Iranian, for example:

- is there a proto-Pamiri language, as claimed for example by Payne (1980), but questioned by, for example, Wendtland (2008)?
- is there at least a North Pamiri group? (see Table 1)
- where do Wakhi and Munji fit in?
- are Parachi and Ormuric Eastern Iranian or Western Iranian, or transitional between the two?
- how significant a role should we attach to areal considerations?

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