

Morphological and syntactic alignment in two dialects of Wakhi

Daniel Kaufman
ENDANGERED LANGUAGE ALLIANCE
bahasawan@gmail.com

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1 Morphological versus syntactic alignment

- There is now wide agreement that every language distinguishes grammatical relations systematically, although the mapping from argument structure to grammatical relations is highly diverse across languages and partly unpredictable for any given language.
- SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS: S - intransitive subject, A - transitive agent, P - transitive patient/object
- GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS: Subject, Object, Oblique...
- Here we will only consider the three primary relations of two types of canonical clauses: arguments of intransitive and transitive predicates.
- An easy English example, two cases for pronouns:

	Singular	Plural
1	I	we
2	you	you
3	he/she	they

Table 1: Case X

	Singular	Plural
1	me	us
2	you	you
3	him/her	them

Table 2: Case Y

(1) S OF AN INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

- a. We danced
- b. *Us danced

(2) A AND P OF A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

- a. I see him
- b. *I see he
- c. *Me see him
- d. *Me see he

- Schematically, the above pattern can be summarized as: S_X for an intransitive clause and $A_X P_Y$ for the transitive clause, i.e. NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE alignment.
- Note that morphological case doesn't always follow the canonical mapping.

(3) Silly me left the stove on all night.

- The subject in (3) takes case Y (accusative). Does this reflect something about its actual syntactic status within the clause?
- Research over the last few decades has shown that morphological case very often diverges from “underlying case” .
- Today's question: Is Wakhi¹ case superficial, as in (3), or does it reflect the syntactic organization of the clause?

2 Case marking and agreement in Murgab and Gojali

- The most unusual feature of Pamiri case systems is the double oblique pattern in which both the A and P argument of a transitive take oblique marking in the past tense.
- Payne (1980) shows how this system has gradually disintegrated through the Pamiri languages.
 - “Of all the Pamir languages, Roshani is the only one to preserve to any great extent the double-oblique case-marking system.” Payne (1980, p.182)
 - This is incorrect, however, if we include Gojali Wakhi in our comparison. Gojali Wakhi displays a completely undiluted form of the double oblique pattern in past transitives.

¹Wakhi is a Pamiri language whose dialects are spoken in Ishkashim, Murgab in Tajikistan, parts of the Wakhan corridor of Afghanistan and Gojal in North Pakistan. Bashir (2009), Lorimer (1958), Morgenstierne (1938), Paxalina (1975), and Grunberg and Steblin-Kamensky (1988) are the main contributions to grammatical descriptions of Wakhi.

- Gojali is thus best suited to analyze syntactically for potential differences between nominative and oblique subjects.

2.1 Forms

- Two primary cases: NOMINATIVE $\hat{\text{O}}$ OBLIQUE
- Two secondary cases built on top of the OBLIQUE: ABLATIVE $\hat{\text{O}}$ DATIVE

	Singular	Plural
NOMINATIVE	\emptyset	-ift
OBLIQUE	\emptyset / <i>-e</i>	-ve

Table 3: Primary cases

	Singular	Plural
ABLATIVE	-e-n	-ve-n
DATIVE	-e-r	-ve-r

Table 4: Secondary cases

- The personal pronouns follow the same general pattern: all pronouns except the 3SG and 1PL have distinct forms in the nominative and oblique.
- The ABLATIVE and DATIVE case markers take the OBLIQUE forms as their base, with the apparent addition of the *-e* that marks OBLIQUE case noun phrases.
- There also exists the possibility of using oblique pronouns in combination with the oblique marker *-e*, but this usage is the most difficult to characterize.

	Singular	Plural
1	wuz	sak
2	tu	saft
3	jo	jaft

Table 5: Nominative pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	maz _z	sak
2	to	sav
3	jo	jav

Table 6: Oblique pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	maz _z -ə-n	sak-e-n
2	taw-e-n	sav-e-n
3	jaw-e-n	jav-e-n

Table 7: Ablative pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	maz _z -ə-r	sak-e-r
2	taw-e-r/tor	sav-e-r
3	jaw-e-r/jor	jav-e-r

Table 8: Dative pronouns

2.2 Functions

- The two dialects under discussion here make very similar use of the ABLATIVE and DATIVE case. Their use of NOMINATIVE and OBLIQUE, however, is surprisingly divergent.
- In Gojali Wakhi, the null nominative case is used to express the subjects of intransitive predicates (in both past and non-past) as well as subjects of transitive predicates in the NON-PAST.
- This pattern, referred to as the DOUBLE OBLIQUE, is shown schematically in (4)-(5-c).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(4) <i>Gojali</i>
 INTRANSITIVE NON-PAST PREDICATES
 a. Subject.NOM Pred
 INTRANSITIVE PAST PREDICATES
 b. Subject.NOM Pred
 TRANSITIVE NON-PAST PREDICATES
 c. Agent.NOM Patient.OBL Pred
 TRANSITIVE PAST PREDICATES
 d. Agent.OBL Patient.OBL Pred</p> | <p>(5) <i>Murgab</i>
 INTRANSITIVE NON-PAST PREDICATES
 a. Subject.NOM Pred
 INTRANSITIVE PAST PREDICATES
 b. Subject.NOM/OBL Pred
 TRANSITIVE NON-PAST PREDICATES
 c. Agent.NOM Patient.OBL Pred
 TRANSITIVE PAST PREDICATES
 d. Agent.NOM/OBL Patient.OBL Pred</p> |
| <p>(6) INTRANSITIVE NON-PAST – <i>Gojali</i>
 wuz=ʂ gefs-am
 1SG.NOM=PROG run-1SG
 ‘I run.’</p> | <p>(7) INTRANSITIVE PAST – <i>Gojali</i>
 wuz=m gefst-ε
 1SG.NOM=1SG run.PST-PST
 ‘I ran.’</p> |
| <p>(8) TRANSITIVE NON-PAST – <i>Gojali</i>
 wuz=ʂ to win-am
 1SG.NOM=PROG 2SG.OBL see-1SG
 ‘I see you/I am seeing you’</p> | <p>(9) TRANSITIVE PAST – <i>Gojali</i>
 maz to wind
 1SG.OBL 2SG.OBL see.PST
 ‘I saw you’</p> |

- (10) INTRANSITIVE NON-PAST – *Murgab*
wuz=ş gefs-am
 1SG.NOM=PROG run-1SG
 ‘I run.’
- (11) INTRANSITIVE PAST – *Murgab*
wuz=m/maz gefst-ε
 1SG.NOM=1SG/1SG.OBL run.PST-PST
 ‘I ran.’
- (12) TRANSITIVE NON-PAST – *Murgab*
wuz=ş taw-i win-am
 1SG.NOM=PROG 2SG.OBL-ACC see-1SG
 ‘I see you/I am seeing you’
- (13) TRANSITIVE PAST – *Murgab*
wuz=m/maz taw-i wind
 1SG.NOM=1SG/1SG.OBL 2SG.OBL-ACC see.PST
 ‘I saw you’
- (14) INTRANSITIVE NON-PAST – *Shughni*
oz ʒoz-im
 1SG.NOM run-1SG
 ‘I run.’
- (15) INTRANSITIVE PAST – *Shughni*
oz=m ʒaçt
 1SG.NOM=1SG run.PST
 ‘I ran.’
- (16) TRANSITIVE NON-PAST – *Shughni*
oz to win-em
 1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL see-1SG
 ‘I see you/I am seeing you’
- (17) TRANSITIVE PAST – *Shughni*
oz=m to wind
 1SG.NOM=1SG 2SG.OBL see.PST
 ‘I saw you’

- The use of the oblique case marker *-e* in Gojali is even more exotic.
- Within noun phrases, it marks possessors, as the *ezafe* marker generally does in Iranian languages.

- (18) a. ja çinan-e fatf
 the woman-OBL.SG dog
 ‘the woman’s dog’
- b. ja çinan-ve fatf
 the woman-OBL.PL dog
 ‘the women’s dog’ 11.14.11

- On arguments, it is never obligatory but can be used optionally on:
 - the patient of a non-past transitive predicate
 - on EITHER argument of a past tense transitive predicate (but not both)!

(19) INTRANSITIVE PREDICATES (PAST AND NON-PAST)
Subject(*-OBL) Pred

(20) TRANSITIVE NON-PAST PREDICATES
Agent(*-OBL) Patient(-OBL) Pred

(21) TRANSITIVE PAST PREDICATES
a. Agent(-OBL) Patient Pred
b. Agent Patient(-OBL) Pred
c. *Agent-OBL Patient-OBL Pred

(22) *Gojali*
a. wuz=m to-e win-em
1SG.NOM=1SG 2SG.OBL-OBL see-1SG
'I see you.'

(23) *Gojali*
a. maz to-e wind
1SG.OBL 2SG.OBL-OBL see.PST
'I saw you.'
b. maz-e to wind
1SG.OBL-OBL 2SG.OBL see.PST
'I saw you.'
c. *maz-e to-e wind
1SG.OBL-OBL 2SG.OBL see.PST

3 Diagnosing syntactic structure and grammatical relations

3.1 Word order

- Agent-Patient-Verb (SOV) order is a very strong tendency in both dialects.
- Scrambling is permitted but, as might be expected, speakers tend to dislike scrambling when case and agreement offer no clues as to Agent-Patient relations.

- (24) *Gojali*
- a. wuz taw win-em
1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL see-1SG
'I see you.'
- b. taw wuz win-em
2SG.OBL 1SG.NOM see-1SG
'I see you.'

- (25) *Gojali*
- maz taw wind
1SG.OBL 2SG.OBL see.PST
'I see you.'
(‘You see me’ may be a possible interpretation with proper intonation)

- (26) *Murgab*
- a. wuz=ş taw-i win-em
1SG.NOM=PROG 2SG.OBL-ACC see-1SG
'I see you.'
- b. taw-i=ş wuz wind-i
2SG.OBL-ACC=PROG 1SG.NOM see.PST-PST
'I see you.'

- (27) *Murgab*
- a. wuz taw-i wind-i
1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL-ACC see.PST-PST
'I saw you.'
- b. taw-i wuz wind-i
2SG.OBL-ACC 1SG.NOM see.PST-PST
'I saw you.'

- No differences in ordering possibilities have ever been reported for the double oblique pattern in Pamiri languages, nor, as far as I am aware for ergative subjects in the vast majority of Indo-Iranian languages that display morphological ergativity.
- We have not yet found anything that distinguishes nominative and oblique subjects in the linear order.

3.2 Binding

- We examine here reflexives, reciprocals, condition-C effects and the possessive reflexive.

3.2.1 Reflexives

- Wakhi shows the expected asymmetry between the Agent and Patient argument in reflexive binding (with a twist).

- (28) *Gojali*
- Maria=ş çat wind
maria-PROG REFL see
'Maria saw herself.' 11.28.11

- Reflexive binding, however, has never been shown in any language to allow the binding of an Agent anaphor by a Patient argument, i.e. even syntactically ergative languages disallow the analogues of **Himself saw John*.
- The twist is found in a typologically bizarre (but completely commonplace in Wakhi) construction where reflexive anaphors are found in both the A and P positions.

(29) *Gojali*

- a. $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at=i}$ jezi $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at}$ wine-tu
 SELF=3SG yesterday SELF see-PRFTV
 ‘He saw himself yesterday.’
- b. $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at=m}$ jezi $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at}$ wine-tu
 SELF=1SG yesterday SELF see-PRFTV
 ‘I saw myself yesterday.’

- This is exactly what we expect if reflexive anaphora is derived by c-command and the oblique subject and object are in a mutual c-command relationship!
- Things of course, are not so simple: the construction also exists in the non-past, where we wouldn’t have an oblique subject.

(30) *Gojali*

- a. $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at=\text{\textasciitilde{s}}}$ $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at}$ wind
 SELF=PROG SELF see.3SG
 ‘He sees himself.’
- b. $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at=\text{\textasciitilde{s}}}$ $\text{\textasciitilde{c}at}$ win-em
 SELF=PROG SELF see-1SG
 ‘I see myself.’

- Nonetheless, the double reflexive construction offers an unexpected symmetry between the subject and object which could be relevant.

3.2.2 Reciprocals

- Reciprocals behave in a more expected fashion
- The relation between the reciprocal anaphor *loman/joman* (Gojali/Pamiri) and its antecedent is strictly asymmetric.

(31) *Murgab*

- a. sak=§ joman-i win-en
1PL.NOM=PROG each.other-ACC see-1PL
'We see each other.'
- b. *joman=§ sak-i win-en
each.other=prog 1PL.NOM-ACC see-1PL
- c. *joman joman-i win-en
each.other each.other-acc see-1PL

(32) *Murgab*

- a. sak=en joman-i wind-i
1PL=1PL each.other-ACC see.PST-PST
'We saw each other.'
- b. *joman=en sak-i wind-i
each.other=1pl 1PL-ACC see.PST-PST
- c. *joman=en joman-i wind-i
each.other=1pl each.other-acc see.PST-PST

- Facts appear identical in Gojali: order does not effect grammaticality

(33) *Gojali*

- a. jaft=§ loman win-en
3PL.NOM=PROG each.other see-3PL
'They see each other.'
- b. loman=§ jaft win-en
each.other=PROG 3PL.NOM see-3PL
'They see each other.'

- but the antecedent must be A and the anaphor must be P

(34) *Gojali*

- *loman=§ jav win-en
each.other=PROG 3PL.OBL see-3PL

(35) *Gojali*

- a. jaft=§ loman win-en
3PL.NOM=PROG each.other see-3PL

‘They see each other.’

- b. loman=ş jaft win-en
each.other=PROG 3PL.NOM see-3PL
‘They see each other.’

3.2.3 The possessive reflexive

- Many Iranian languages have two different possessive pronouns, a SELF/REFL possessor and a plain third person.
- Haig (1998) has shown that ergativity in Kurdish does not interact at all with the interpretation of the SELF possessor.

(36) *Kurmanci Kurdish* (Haig, 1998)

- a. cotkar kur_j-î di-şîn-e mal-a xwe
farmer:DIR boy-OBL DUR-send-3SG house-LK:FEM REFL
‘The farmer_i sends the boy to his_i house.’
- b. cotkar_i-î kur_j şand mal-a xwe_i
farmer-OBL boy:DIR send:PAST(3SG) house-LK:FEM REFL
‘The farmer sends the boy to his house.’

- In Murgab the reflexive possessor is *çe* and in Gojali *çu*.
- The following shows that past tense and non-past tense subjects behave as obligatory antecedents for the SELF possessor.

(37) *Murgab*

- a. ja mayoze-tfi=ş ja kaş-i tam-xun støjd
DET store-AGTNMLZR=PROG DET boy-ACC to.3SG.GEN house send.3SG
‘The storekeeper_i sends the boy_j to his_j house.’
- b. ja mayoze-tfi=ş ja kaş-i tə çə-xun støjd
DET store-AGTNMLZR=PROG DET boy-ACC to SELF.GEN house send.3SG
‘The storekeeper_i sends the boy_j to his_i house.’

(38) *Murgab*

- a. ja mayoze-tfi ja kaş-i tam xun stət-i
DET store-AGTNMLZR DET boy-ACC to.3SG.GEN house send.PST-PST

‘The storekeeper_i sent the boy_j to his_j house.’

- b. ja mayoze-tfi ja kaş-i tə çə xun stəti
DET store-AGTNMLZR DET boy-ACC to SELF.GEN house send.PST-PST
‘The storekeeper_i sent the boy_j to his_i house.’

(39) *Gojali*

- a. ja dukondor ja kaş tram xun remet
DET storekeeper DET boy to.3SG.GEN house send.3SG
‘The storekeeper_i sends the boy_j to his_j house.’
- b. ja dukondor ja kaş tra çu xun remet
DET storekeeper DET boy-ACC to SELF.GEN house send.3SG
‘The storekeeper_i sends the boy_j to his_i house.’

(40) *Gojali*

- a. ja dukondor ja kaş tram xun remet-tu
DET storekeeper DET boy to.3SG.GEN house send.PST-PRFCT
‘The storekeeper_i sent the boy_j to his_j house.’
- b. ja dukondor ja kaş tra çu xun remet-tu
DET storekeeper DET boy-ACC to SELF.GEN house send.PST-PRFCT
‘The storekeeper_i sent the boy_j to his_i house.’

3.2.4 Bound variables and condition C

- In the basic cases, linear order does not seem to effect binding relations. In (41-b), where the object is scrambled to precede the subject, the binding relations still hold, i.e. the identity of “her mother” co-varies with each daughter.

(41) *Murgab*

- a. kuli ðojd çe nan-er jordam tsart
every daughter SELF.GEN mother-DAT help DO.3SG
‘Every daughter helps her mother.’
- b. çe nan-er kuli ðojd jordam tsart
SELF.GEN mother-DAT every daughter help DO.3SG
‘Every daughter helps her mother.’

- Reversing the grammatical relations here, leaving *çe* REFL in the subject position renders the sentence ungrammatical regard less of linear order.

(42) *Murgab*

- a. * ζ e nan kuli δ ojd-er jordam tsart
SELF.GEN mother every daughter-DAT help do.3SG
- b. *kuli δ ojd-er ζ e nan jordam tsart
every daughter-DAT SELF.GEN mother help do.3SG

- Neither past tense nor linear order ameliorate the unacceptability of having ζ e as an A argument, as shown in (43) and (44).

(43) *Murgab*

- a. * ζ e nan Hassan-i adzi dust δ urd
SELF.GEN mother Hassan-ACC very love LightV.3SG
- b. *Hassan-i ζ e nan adzi dust δ urd
Hassan-ACC SELF.GEN mother very love LightV.3SG

(44) *Murgab*

- a. * ζ e nan Hassan-i adzi dust δ ord-i
SELF.GEN mother Hassan-ACC very love LightV.PST-PST
- b. *Hassan-i ζ e nan adzi dust δ ord-i
Hassan-ACC SELF.GEN mother very love LightV.PST-PST

3.3 Scope

- We might expect nominative and oblique subjects to behave differently in regard to scope if they are associated with different syntactic positions.
- This would mean that past tense subjects would have different scopal properties than non-past tense subjects, an unlikely situation.
- Yet, this is exactly what Anand and Nevins (2006) claim for Hindi. They assert that the ergative construction in the perfective does not allow for ‘inverse scope’.
- NB: I haven’t found anyone who confirms this judgment.

(45) *Hindi* (Anand and Nevins, 2006)

- a. koi shaayer har ghazal likhtaa hai
some poet.NOM every song.ACC write.m-IMPf be-PRES
‘Some poet writes every song.’ ($\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$)

- b. *kisii shaayer-ne har ghazal likhii*
 some poet-ERG every song.NOM write.f-PERF
 ‘Some poet writes every song.’ ($\exists>\forall$, $*\forall>\exists$)

3.3.1 Indefinites and negation

(46) *Murgab*

- a. *ji kaş xun-i toza ne-kert-i*
 one boy house-ACC clean NEG-do.PST-PST
 ‘One boy didn’t clean the house.’ ($??\text{NEG}>\text{one}$, $\text{one}>\text{NEG}$)
- b. *ji kaş be xun-i toza ne-kert-i*
 one boy also house-ACC clean NEG-do.PST-PST
 ‘Not one boy cleaned the room.’ ($\text{NEG}>\text{one}$, $*\text{one}>\text{NEG}$)

(47) *Murgab*

- a. *ji kaş xun-i toza ne-tsart*
 one boy house-ACC clean NEG-do.3SG
 ‘One boy won’t clean the house’ ($??\text{NEG}>\text{one}$, $\text{one}>\text{NEG}$)
- b. *ji kaş be xun-i toza ne-tsart*
 one boy also house-ACC clean NEG-do.3SG
 ‘Not one boy will clean the house’ ($\text{NEG}>\text{one}$, $*\text{one}>\text{NEG}$)

3.3.2 Indefinite pronouns and quantifiers

(48) *Murgab*

- a. *kujkitsøj jan de kuli pertfod-en raqs tsart*
 someone.SPEC FUT with every girl-ABL dance do.3SG
 ‘Someone danced with every girl.’ ($\exists>\forall$, $*\forall>\exists$)
- b. *kujkitsøj de kuli pertfod-en raqs kert-i*
 someone.SPEC with every girl-ABL dance do.PST-PST
 ‘Someone danced with every girl.’ ($\exists>\forall$, $*\forall>\exists$)

- However, when we begin to examine scope relations with indefinite pronouns we find that they are lexically determined.
- *kujkitsøj* always takes wide scope (i.e. as a specific indefinite) while *jitf kuj* must always take narrow scope in relation to another operator.

(49) *Murgab*

- a. kujkitsøj taw-i perst-i
someone.SPEC 2SG.OBL-ACC ask-PST
'Someone asked for you.'
- b. jitf kuj ma-r perst-i=a?
any who 1SG.OBL-DAT ask-PST=QM
'Did someone ask for me?'

(50) *Murgab*

%kujkitsøj ma-r perst-i=a?
someone.SPEC 1SG.OBL-DAT ask-PST=QM
'Someone asked for me?' (OK in echo context)

- The example in (51-a) is bad for precisely the same reason English, **Anyone asked for you* is unacceptable, it requires a higher operator (e.g. negation, modal, interrogative, etc.).

(51) *Murgab*

- a. *jitf kuj taw-i perst-i
any who 2SG.OBL-ACC ask-PST
- b. jitf kuj taw-i ne-perst-i
any who 2SG.OBL-ACC NEG-ask-PST
'Nobody asked for you.'

- The following interactions with negation are also predicted if *kujkitsøj* must be specific and *jitf* requires narrow scope.

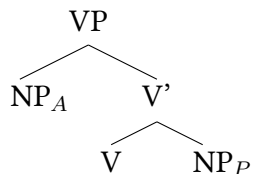
(52) *Murgab*

- a. jitf kuj=§ da-n-en raqs ne-tsart
any who=PROG with-3SG-ABL dance NEG-do.3SG
'No one is dancing with her.'
- b. kujkitsøj=§ da-n-en raqs ne-tsart
someone.SPEC=PROG with-3SG-ABL dance NEG-do.3SG
'There is someone who is not dancing with her.'

3.4 Coordination

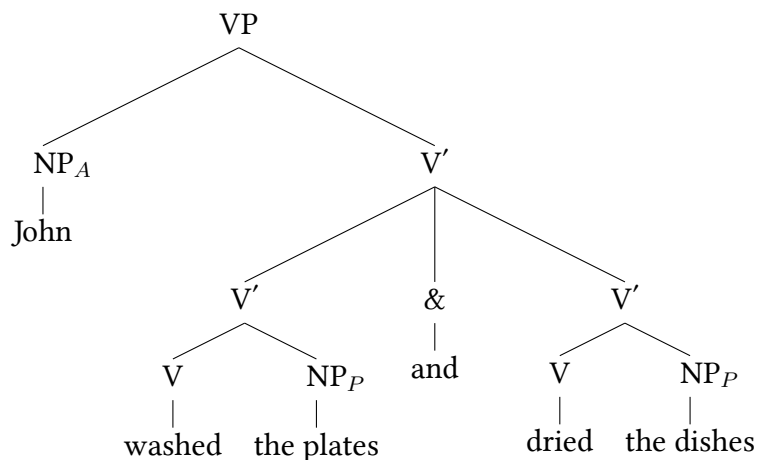
- Assuming a verb-phrase constituent as in (53), we expect an asymmetry in what terminals can be coordinated.
- In particular we expect Verb+Complement coordination should be possible but Subject+Verb coordination should not be possible (without elision of an underlying complement).

(53)



- V'COORDINATION looks like (54) in English

(54)



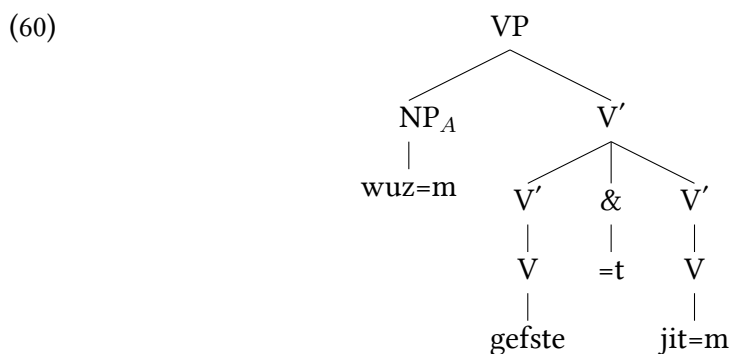
- Can V'coordination help us distinguish different positions for the nominative and oblique subject in Wakhi?
- There are complications!
 - First of all, as shown in (55) and (57) neither dialect allows bare past tense verbs without 2P clitics, making these clitics closer to detached agreement markers than pronominal arguments. (Same is true for Shughni.)

				Gojali	Murgab
(55)	wuz=m	jit=et	gefste		
	1SG.NOM=1SG	eat.PST=CONJ	run.PST	x	x
	'I ate and ran.'				
(56)	wuz=m	jit=et	gefste=m		
	1SG.NOM=1SG	eat.PST=CONJ	run.PST=1SG	x	OK
	'I ate and ran.'				
(57)	maz	jit=et	gefste		
	1SG.OBL	eat.PST=CONJ	run.PST	x	x
	'I ate and ran.'				
(58)	maz	jit=et	gefste=m		
	1SG.OBL	eat.PST=CONJ	run.PST=1SG	OK	OK
	'I ate and ran.'				

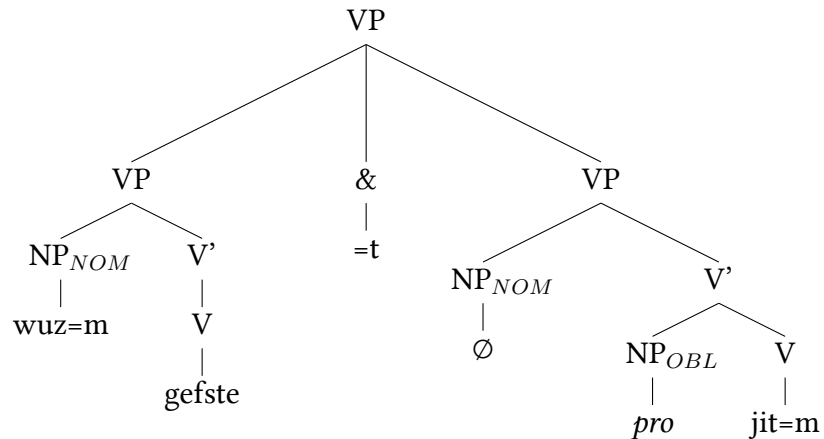
- As a result, we don't know what data like (59) really tells us.

				Gojali	Murgab
(59)	wuz=m	gefste=t	jit=m		
	1SG.NOM=1SG	run.PST=CONJ	eat.PST=1SG	OK	OK
	'I ran and ate.'				

- Does this represent coordination of two V's under a single subject, as in (60), or is there a null oblique subject in the second conjunct, as in (61)?



(61)



3.5 Sub-extraction

- Sub-extraction proves to be an interesting diagnostic tool in English and other languages due to a universal tendency for subjects to constitute islands.

(62) TOPICALIZATION

- [About dolphins]_i, I read a [book *t_i*] once.
- *[About dolphins]_i, [a book *t_i*] bothered me once.

(63) WH- MOVEMENT

- [About what]_i did he make [a movie *t_i*]?
- *[About what]_i did [a movie *t_i*] win an emmy?

- However, it appears impossible to find a context that allows any kind of sub-extraction in Wakhi. Interrogatives are in-situ in Pamiri so *wh*- movement can't help us here.

(64) *Murgab*

jet rangin xalg
this kind person
'this kind of person'

(65) *Murgab*

- a. wuz xo:li jet ranġin xalg-ver jordam tsar-em
1SG.NOM always DET.DIST kind person-PL.DAT help LIGHTV-1SG
'I always help these kinds of people.'
- b. jet ranġin, wuz xo:li xalg-ve-r jordam tsar-em
DET.DIST kind 1SG.NOM always person-PL.DAT help LIGHTV-1SG
'That way, I help the people all the time.'
Not, 'These kinds of people, I always help.'

(66) *Murgab*

- a. wuz xo:li firbε maj xrid tsar-em
1SG.NOM always fat sheep buy LIGHTV-1SG
'I always buy fat sheep.'
- b. *firbε_i wuz xo:li [_{t_i} maj] xrid tsar-em
fat 1SG.NOM always sheep buy LIGHTV-1SG

(67) *Murgab*

- a. wuz bu maj xrid tsar-em
1SG.NOM two sheep buy LIGHTV-1SG
'I will buy two sheep.'
- b. *bu(j)_i wuz [_{t_i} maj] xrid tsar-em
two 1SG.NOM sheep buy LIGHTV-1SG

(68) *Murgab*

- a. Hasan tsum maj xrid kert-i?
Hasan how.many sheep buy LIGHTV.PST-PST
'How many sheep did Hassan buy?'
- b. *tsum_i Hasan [_{t_i} maj] xrid kert-i?
how.many Hasan sheep buy LIGHTV.PST-PST

(69) *Gojali*

- a. ??dzaŋg bara jezi ji kitob maz dzojd
war about yesterday one book 1SG.OBL read.PST
'About war, I read a book yesterday.' ('OK, but not really OK')
- b. ??dzaŋg bara jezi ji kitob maz perifon goçt
war about yesterday one book 1SG.OBL bother make.PST
'About war, a book bothered me yesterday.' ('OK, but not really OK')

(70) *Gojali*

- a. ??dʒaŋg bara jezi ji kitob maʒ perifon goçt
war about yesterday one book 1SG.OBL bother make.PST
'About war, a book bothered me yesterday.'
- b. ??dʒaŋg bara jakinan kitob maʒ perifon goçt
war about definitely one book 1SG.OBL bother make.PST
'About war, a book definitely bothered me'

3.6 Discourse anaphora

- The interpretation of null anaphora has been shown to be sensitive to grammatical relations in a number of languages.
- Haig (1998) shows that (with a small caveat) the interpretation of null anaphora in Kurmanci Kurdish, a morphologically ergative language (both in case and agreement), does not interact with tense or morphological marking. The A argument is always the preferred antecedent

(71) *Kurmanci Kurdish* (Haig, 1998)

- a. jin_i cotkar-î_j di-bîn-e û paşê Ø_{i/*j} tere bazar-ê
woman farmer-OBL DUR-see:PRES-3SG and then go:PRES.3SG market-OBL
'the woman sees/meets the farmer then Ø goes to the market.'
- b. jin-ê_i cotkar_j dît û paşê Ø_{i/*j} çû bazar-ê
woman-OBL farmer see:PST(3SG) and then go:PAST.3SG market-OBL
'the woman saw/met the farmer then Ø goes to the market.'

- Again we find that the facts are similar for Wakhi
- In the simplest case, coreference of a null/clitic anaphor with a preceding P argument is impossible, as shown in (72).

(72) *Murgab*

- a. ja çinan=ş ja tʃupon-i wind=xə jan=i bozor rujd
DEF woman=PROG DEF shepherd-ACC see.3SG=then FUT=3SG market go.PST
'The woman sees the shepherd and then (she/*he) will go to the market.'
- b. ja çinan ja tʃupon-i wind-i=xə bozor=i rujd
DEF woman DEF shepherd-ACC see.PST-PST=then market=3SG go.PST
'The woman saw the shepherd and then (she/*he) went to the market.'

- Note however that this is not a hard constraint but rather only comes into play when there are two competing antecedents. In (73), we find reference back to the P argument when the A argument is not third person.

(73) *Murgab*

wuz=m ja tfupon-i wind-i=xə bozor=i rujd
 1SG.NOM=1SG DEF shepherd-ACC see.PST-PST=then market=3SG go.PST
 ‘I see the shepherd and then (he) goes to the market.’

- Same pattern for Gojali. (Note that in Gojali this is true null anaphora.)
- To get coreference with a P in case both A and P are third person, a full pronoun has to be used.
- The facts are identical for both past tense clauses (74) and non-past tense clauses (75).

(74) *Gojali*

- a. ja çinan ja ðaj wind=çe tra bozor regda
 DEF woman DEF man see.PST=then to market go.PST
 ‘The woman_i saw the man_j and \emptyset_i went to the market.’
- b. ja çinan ja ðaj wind=çe jow tra bozor regda
 DEF woman DEF man see.PST=then 3SG.NOM to market go.PST
 ‘The woman_i saw the man_j and \emptyset_j went to the market.’

(75) *Gojali*

- a. ja çinan=ep ja ðaj wind=çe tra bozor=ep rešt
 DEF woman=FUT DEF man see.3SG=then to market=FUT go.3SG
 ‘The woman_i will see the man_j and then \emptyset_i go to the market.’
- b. ja çinan=ep ja ðaj wind=çe jow=ep tra bozor rešt
 DEF woman=FUT DEF man see.3SG=then 3SG.NOM=FUT to market go.3SG
 ‘The woman_i will see the man_j and then \emptyset_j go to the market.’

- This is also a soft constraint in Gojali, where coreference with P is possible without a competitor.

(76) *Gojali*

- a. maz ja tfipin wind=çe jow tra bozor regda
 1SG.OBL DEF shepherd see.PST=then to market go.PST
 ‘I see the shepherd and then (he) goes to the market.’

- The following facts show a similar pattern for the interpretation of a null anaphor as P in the second clause.

(77) *Murgab*

- ja çinan pe bozor ruşt=xə ja tʃupon-i wind
DEF woman to.UP market go.3SG=then DEF shepherd-ACC see.3SG
'The woman goes to the market and sees the shepherd.'
- ja çinan pe bozor ruşt=xə ja tʃupon wind
DEF woman to.UP market go.3SG=then DEF shepherd see.3SG
'The woman goes to the market and the shepherd sees.' or
'The woman goes to the market and sees the shepherd.' (unmarked accusative)
but NOT, 'The woman goes to the market and the shepherd sees her.'

- Surprisingly, null anaphora even seems to be possible for a P argument in the second clause in *Murgab* when there is no competing A antecedent. (This has not been tested yet for Gojali.)
- Note that the object *maz* is optional in (78).

(78) *Murgab*

wuz=m bozor tsə rujd-i ja tʃupon (maz) wind-i
1SG.NOM=1SG market when go.PST-PST DEF shepherd 1SG.OBL see.PST-PST
'When I went to the market the shepherd saw me.'

3.7 Raising

- The strict selection of raising predicates for either subject or object has provided an excellent diagnostic for grammatical relations in other languages.

(79) SUBJECT-TO-SUBJECT RAISING

- It seems that John likes you.
- John_i seems *t_i* to like you.
- You_i seem John likes/to like *t_i*

(80) OBJECT-TO-SUBJECT RAISING

- It's easy to fool John.
- John_i is easy to fool *t_i*.
- *John_i is easy *t_i* to fool you.

3.7.1 *qrib* ‘close’

- A potential raising pattern is found in (81-b).

(81) *Murgab Wakhi*

- a. *qrib=i ki uz taw(-i) di-m*
close=3SG COMP 1SG.NOM 2SG-ACC hit-1SG
‘It’s close that I hit you.’ (‘I’m close to hitting you.’)
- b. *uz_i qrib ki t_i taw(-i) di-m*
1SG.NOM close COMP 2SG-ACC hit-1SG
‘I’m close to hitting you.’
- c. **uz qrib ki uz taw(-i) di-m*
1SG.NOM close COMP 1SG.NOM 2SG-ACC hit-1SG

- In fact, this turns out to be mere scrambling.
- We would expect a 2P clitic if *uz* was really an argument of *qrib*.
- Note also that the lower predicate still agrees with 1st person.
- (82) shows an unambiguous case of scrambling.

(82) *Murgab*

taw-i qrib=i ki uz di-m
2SG-ACC close=3SG COMP 1SG.NOM hit-1SG
‘It’s close that I hit you.’ (‘I’m close to hitting you.’)

3.7.2 *səðuid* ‘to seem’

- Predicates with the meaning ‘appear, seem’ often offer good candidates for raising verbs.
- The Wakhi verb *səðuid/sdujd* looks like one such candidate.

(83) *Gojali*

jε-m jər̀k=ʃε maːz-ər bɫf səðuid
DET-PROX work=PROG 1SG.OBL-DAT good appears
‘This appears good to me.’ (Lorimer, 1958, p.111)

- (84) shows *sdɯj* can agree with its subject in the meaning ‘to be visible’.

(84) *Murgab*

- a. tu=ʂ mar sdɯj
 2SG.NOM=PROG 1SG-DAT seem.2SG
 ‘You’re visible to me.’

- Raising seems to obtain from a non-verbal predicate in (85-b).
- Note that the apparent raising verb *sdɯjd* agrees with the subject in (85-b) for 2SG

(85) *Murgab*

- a. ma-r **sdɯjd** tu=t xiʃ
 1SG-DAT seem.3SG 2SG.NOM=2SG happy
 ‘It looks to me like you’re happy.’
- b. tu=ʂ ma-r xiʃ **sdɯj**
 1SG.NOM=PROG 1SG-DAT happy seem.2SG
 ‘You look happy to me.’

- Crucially though, this is impossible with a lower verbal predicate.
- The sentence (86-a) clearly instantiates scrambling as evidenced by the third person agreement on *sdɯjd*
- Agreement with second person is ungrammatical, as shown in (86-b)
- The same can be seen in (87).

(86) *Murgab*

- a. tu=ʂ ma-r sdɯjd jaw win-i
 2SG.NOM=PROG 1SG-DAT seem.3SG 3SG see-2SG
 ‘It looks to me like you see him.’
- b. *tu=ʂ ma-r sdɯj jaw win-i
 2SG.NOM=PROG 1SG-DAT seem.2SG 3SG see-2SG

(87) *Murgab*

- a. taw-i ma-r dzi sdɯjd jaw wind-i
 2SG.OBL-ACC 1SG-DAT COMP seem.3SG 3SG see.PST-PST
 ‘It seems to me that he saw you.’

- b. *tu=t ma-r (dzi) sdəj jaw (taw-i) wind-i
 2SG.NOM=2SG 1SG-DAT COMP seem.2SG 3SG 2SG-ACC see.PST-PST

3.8 Secondary predication

- We've only begin to look at the possibilities for secondary predication.

(88) *Gojali*

- a. maẓ jo tun wind
 1SG.OBL 3SG drunk see.PST
 'I saw him drunk.' (*Agent, Patient)
- b. wuz=ep jo tun win-em
 1SG.NOM=FUT 3SG drunk see-1SG
 'I will see him drunk.' (*Agent, Patient)

(89) *Gojali*

*jo maẓ-e tun ka:l goçt
 3SG 1SG.OBL-OBL drunk call make.PST
 She called me drunk

(90) *Gojali*

tu=ş tun drajv tsart
 2SG.NOM=PROG drunk drive LIGHTV.3SG
 'He is driving drunk.'

4 Conclusion

- The most interesting thing about the preceding facts is not that an exotic alignment pattern is underlyingly like English but rather *how few cues there are for grammatical relations*.
- Things that are done syntactically in English are done morphologically in Pamiri, e.g. Passive, elements of reflexive binding.

5 Appendix: Transitive and intransitive agreement patterns

SUBJECT	PAST	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
1SG	maz jo diç-t	maz jo diε-tu	wuz jo di-m
2SG	to jo diç-t	to jo diε-tu	tu jo di
3SG	jo jo diç-t	jo jo diε-tu	jo jo diç-t
1PL	sak jo diç-t	sak jo diε-tu	sak jo di-n
2PL	sav jo diç-t	sav jo diε-tu	saft jo di-jit
3PL	jav jo diç-t	jav jo diε-tu	jaft jo di-n
'The sheep'	ja maj jo diç-t	ja maj jo diε-tu	ja maj jo diç-t

Table 9: Gojali: *to hit him*

SUBJECT	PAST	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
1SG	wuz=m gezda	wuz=m ges-tu	wuz giz-əm
2SG	tu=t gezda	tu=t ges-tu	tu giz
3SG	jo gezda	jo ges-tu	jo giz-d
1PL	sak=ən gezda	sak=ən ges-tu	sak giz-ən
2PL	saft=əv gezda	saft=əv ges-tu	saft giz-it
3PL	jaft=əv gezda	jaft=əv ges-tu	jaft giz-ən
'The sheep'	ja maj gezda	ja maj ges-tu	ja maj giz-d

Table 10: Gojali: *to rise*

SUBJECT	PAST	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
1SG	uz=m jaw-i diçt-i	uz=m jaw-i diε-tu maz jaw-i diε-tu	uz jaw-i di-m
2SG	tu=t jaw-i diçt-i	tu=t jaw-i diε-tu to jaw-i diε-tu	tu jaw-i di
3SG	jaw jaw-i diçt-i	jaw jaw-i diε-tu	jaw jaw-i diçt
1PL	sak=ən jaw-i diçt-i	sak=ən jaw-i diε-tu	sak jaw-i di-n
2PL	sajif jaw-i diçt-i	sajif jaw-i diε-tu *sav jaw-i diε-tu	sajif jaw-i di-v
3PL	jawif jaw-i diçt-i	jawif jaw-i diε-tu jaw diwol-i diε-tu	jawif jaw-i di-n
'the wall'	jaw ja diwol-i diçt-i	*jav jaw-i diε-tu	jaw diwol-i diçt

Table 11: Pamiri: *to hit him*

SUBJECT	SIMPLE PAST	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
1SG	uz=m gøz-di	uz=m gøs-tu maz gøs-tu	uz giz-im
2SG	tu=t gøz-di	tu=t gøs-tu to gøs-tu	tu giz-i
3SG	jaw gøz-di	jaw gøs-tu	jaw giz-d
1PL	sak=ən gøz-di	sak=ən gøs-tu	sak giz-ən
2PL	sajif gøz-di	sajif gøs-tu *sav gøs-tu	sajif giz-əv
3PL	jawif gøz-di	jawif gøs-tu *jav/jawif gøs-tu	jawif giz-ən

Table 12: Pamiri: *to stand*

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