

Towards a New Analysis of Wakhi Clitics

Erin SanGregory¹

SIL International

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics

Abstract: This paper focuses on clitics in Wakhi, a Pamiri language of the Indo-Iranian family. While Wakhi clitics appear to be 2P (second position) in the default case, they can also be found much farther to the right in their clause. Hughes (2011), Erschler (2010), and Fuchs (2015) have taken different approaches to analyzing the wandering Wakhi clitic, which include restricting its hosts and locations, proposing it to be a member of a new category of clitic, and ascribing information structure functions to it. This paper proposes a new phrase structure rule that accounts for the distributional variations of the Wakhi clitic by locating it in Spec, Aux, where Aux is sister to a recursive VP.

1. Introduction

Pamiri languages of the Southeastern Iranian family in Central Asia are known to have subject agreement clitics as well as clitics that mark various TAM functions (Erschler 2010:4-6). Clitics in some Pamiri languages seem to be true Wackernagel (2P) clitics; however, this may not be the case for Wakhi, a Pamiri language spoken in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, and China.² Like other Pamiri languages, Wakhi has both agreement clitics and a TAM clitic, but the distribution of these clitics seems to be freer than is expected of typical Wackernagel clitics. Bashir (2009:835-836) notes that, although the TAM clitic prefers to attach to the first constituent in the clause (2P clitic), both it and the pronominal clitics may in fact attach to any constituent. Furthermore, both types of clitics may appear multiple times in a clause.

Since Bashir, several linguists have tackled the challenge of analyzing Wakhi clitics, with each one proposing a slightly different analysis. Erschler (2010) uses them, as well as examples from other Pamiri and Eastern Iranian languages, as the basis for his proposal of a new class of clitic that he calls "Almost Wackernagel Clitics" (AWC). Hughes (2011) rejects Erschler's analysis and uses a combined syntactic and phonological approach to posit the location where Wakhi agreement clitics are base-generated. Most recently, Fuchs (2015) proposes two types of Wakhi pronominal clitics that have different properties, distributional restrictions, and semantic effects.

In this paper, I take a different approach to analyzing Wakhi clitics than those used by previous authors. I begin by reviewing the definition of "clitic" and describing how the two types of Wakhi clitics (agreement and TAM) fit into this definition. I then overview the analyses proposed by Erschler, Hughes, and Fuchs. Using data from my own fieldwork,³ I demonstrate why aspects of these earlier analyses are untenable. Finally, I propose a phrase structure rule that

¹I am deeply indebted to Paul Kroeger for his zealous assistance throughout the process of writing this paper. He has contributed greatly both to the paper and to my understanding of the topic at hand, but I claim all mistakes as solely my own.

²ISO:wbl, Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, Pamiri (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013).

³Previous work on Wakhi has focused on the Tajik and Pakistani dialects but has neglected the dialects from the Wakhan Corridor of Afghanistan, which is the traditional homeland of the Wakhi people and language. With this paper, I hope to enrich the conversation by discussing the results of recent fieldwork done in Afghan Wakhi.

accounts for the distributional variations of the Wakhi clitic by locating it in Spec, Aux, where Aux is sister to a recursive VP.

2. Overview of Wakhi Clitics

Before delving into the discussion of Wakhi clitics, it is important to review what clitics are and how their position in the clause has historically been described. I undertake this task in §2.1 before moving on to the specifics of Wakhi clitics. Wakhi has two types of clitics: a set of agreement clitics⁴ and a single TAM clitic. The agreement clitics are the subject of §2.2. These clitics indicate agreement with the grammatical subject of the clause in which they occur. Although in both form and function they resemble the inflectional morphology that indicates subject agreement on verbs, they are in fact a distinct class of words, as their wide range of licensed hosts indicates. In §2.3, I introduce the Wakhi TAM clitic and briefly discuss its semantic and discourse effects.

2.1. Clitics defined

Linguists have long noted the difference between morphemes that are FREE (can stand independently as prosodic words) and BOUND (must attach to another word / morpheme). Yet there is another set of morphemes that does not seem to fit precisely into either of these categories. These morphemes have been traditionally called CLITICS because, as Zwicky (1977:3) notes, they must "lean on" another prosodic word, known as the HOST, in order to be licit. However, unlike AFFIXES, which are bound morphemes that take a host of a specific grammatical category, clitics are "promiscuous"—that is, they can (and do) attach to hosts from a variety of grammatical categories.

Zwicky (1977) describes clitics as belonging to two classes and correlates a clitic's potential location with its class. The first of these classes is called SIMPLE CLITICS. Simple clitics are phonologically reduced forms of full prosodic words, and they obey the syntactic rules governing the free morphemes from which they are derived. For example, the pronoun *he* in the English sentence *Where's he going?* often reduces in rapid speech to *Where's 'e going?* but must remain in the same location as the original full pronoun.

PHRASAL AFFIXES are a subset of simple clitics (Nevis 1988, cited in Kroeger 2005:322). The morphemes that fall into this category usually carry inflectional (as opposed to lexical) meaning and convey this meaning to an entire constituent (Zwicky 1977:6-7; Kroeger 2005:321-322). That is, although they appear to attach to hosts from a wide variety of grammatical categories, phrasal affixes actually attach to the end of a constituent of a certain category and inflect the constituent as a whole instead of just the host individually. The English possessive *-s* falls into this category; consider examples such as *the store I like's sale* where the possessive *-s* inflects the entire preceding noun phrase *the store I like*.

SPECIAL CLITICS are unstressed and often bound morphemes that carry the same / similar meaning as a (usually) phonologically related free form, but they are special in that they do not adhere to the normal rules of syntax. This does not mean that they are completely unpredictable

⁴The literature differs as to whether these clitics are pronominal clitics or agreement clitics. Although Hughes (2011) makes several claims that I refute in §3.2.2, I do for the most part concur with his analysis of these clitics as agreement morphemes and accordingly refer to them as such.

in where they locate—they tend to have preferred landing sites, such as near the margin of a constituent, adjacent to the head of a constituent, or at one end or the other of a sentence (Zwicky 1977:18). However, special clitics in different languages exhibit different preferences; therefore, we must write language-specific rules to account for their location.

Since special clitics vary so widely in their behavior, the linguistic community has spent a significant amount of time and effort attempting to describe them and where they can occur. In his seminal work (1892) on clitics, the German linguist Jacob Wackernagel described clitics in ancient Indo-European languages as being SECOND POSITION (2P); that is, that they appeared second in their clause. Clitics of this type have come to be known as "Wackernagel clitics" or as being governed by "Wackernagel's Law." Modern linguists distinguish between two types of Wackernagel clitics. Wackernagel's initial term, second position, is now reserved for a clitic that appears after the first **constituent** in its clause, while a clitic that appears after the first **word** of the clause (like those originally described by Wackernagel himself) is called SECOND WORD (2W).

Special clitics in many languages abide by Wackernagel's Law, but in other languages they exhibit much more freedom in their location, as Zwicky's (1977) definition of them hints. Linguists have attempted to account for clitic placement, Wackernagel or not, in a variety of ways, including morphological (Anderson 1993), syntactical (Klavans 1995), and phonological (Halpern 1995) analyses.

2.2. Wakhi verbal agreement suffixes vs. agreement clitics

2.2.1. Verbal agreement suffixes

In the nonpast tense (used for both present and future), all Wakhi verbs except for the irregular copula *təi* 'be.PRS' are inflected for subject agreement via suffixes. An unmarked verb stem indicates 2SG agreement. The suffix *-ən* is used for both 1PL and 3PL. Table 1, below, displays the full set of subject agreement markers.

Table 1: Subject agreement suffixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-əm	-ən
2	∅	-əv
3	-t, -d ⁵	-ən

Verbs in tenses other than the nonpast (i.e., past and perfect tenses)⁶ are inflected for tense but not subject agreement. Including a subject agreement marker renders a sentence with an inflected verb ungrammatical. This contrast is shown in examples (1)–(3).⁷

⁵The 3SG agreement suffix is realized as *-d* following voiced consonants and as *-t* elsewhere.

⁶A full description of the Wakhi verbal system is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is helpful to note that verbs generally have two stems, nonpast and past, that are inflected to form the different tenses. In this paper, unmarked verbs are nonpast.

- (1) jao nəʔ-d
 3SG.NOM cry-3SG.SAGR
 'He is crying.'
- (2) jao naod-i
 3SG.NOM cry-PST
 'He cried.'
- (3) *jao naod-i-d
 3SG.NOM cry-PST-3SG.SAGR

2.2.2. Agreement clitics

Wakhi agreement clitics are distinct from the regular subject agreement morphology on verbs. Agreement clitics bear a striking resemblance to the verbal agreement suffixes, but with a few important differences. First, the 3SG clitic is extremely rare.⁸ Second, whereas the 3PL.SAGR suffix is identical to the 1PL.SAGR suffix, the 3PL clitic takes the same form as the 2PL clitic (=əv).⁹ The full set of agreement clitics can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Agreement clitics

Person	Singular	Plural
1	=əm	=ən
2	=ət	=əv
3	=i	=əv

Wakhi clitics are in complementary distribution with the agreement suffixes. That is, they cannot appear in a sentence that contains a verb already inflected for subject agreement (nonpast), but they can appear when the verb does not carry an agreement suffix (copula, past and perfect tenses). Compare the sentences in (1)–(3) to those in (4)–(8). Sentences (4) and (5) both contain a present tense verb inflected for subject agreement, but the addition of the 1SG clitic =əm makes (5) ungrammatical. In contrast, sentence (6) is grammatical because the past tense verb is uninflected for subject agreement. The sentences in (7) and (8) are also grammatical

⁷Unless otherwise noted, examples are from my own fieldwork. Examples from other authors have been slightly modified to match my transcription.

⁸I have encountered only one example of the 3SG clitic in my fieldwork thus far. Fuchs notes that use of the 3SG clitic varies by dialect, with a likely trend towards the loss of the clitic. This would certainly seem to be the case for Afghan Wakhi. One possible explanation for the disappearance of the third person clitic is that the person / animacy hierarchy is exercising influence over which subjects trigger clitic agreement.

⁹Fuchs (2015) cites =i/ as the 2PL / 3PL clitic in two dialects (Gojali and Murghab) of Wakhi.

because they contain the copula, which is uninflected for subject agreement regardless of its tense.

- (4) wuz nəʊ-əʃm
1SG.NOM cry-1SG.SAGR
'I am crying.'
- (5) *wuz = əʃm nəʊ-əʃm
1SG.NOM = 1SG cry-1SG.SAGR
'I am crying.'
- (6) wuz = əʃm naod-i
1SG.NOM = 1SG cry-PST
'I cried.'
- (7) tu xiʃ təi = əʃt
2SG.NOM happy be = 1SG
'You (sg) are happy.'
- (8) tu xiʃ = əʃt tu
2SG.NOM happy = 2SG be.PST
'You (sg) were happy.'

Wakhi allows for zero-copula constructions in the present tense. Given that zero-copula constructions are verbless clauses and are thus incapable of bearing verbal inflectional morphology, we should expect to find agreement clitics in such sentences. This prediction is borne out by (9) and (10).

- (9) wuz airən = əʃm
1SG.NOM surprised = 1SG
'I am surprised.'
- (10) tu xiʃ = əʃt
2SG.NOM happy = 2SG
'You are happy.'

The distribution of Wakhi clitics might cause us to question whether they are in some way related to the agreement suffixes described in §2.2.1. However, they can be distinguished from standard verbal inflectional morphology when we examine their hosts. Remember that an affix must attach only to words of a certain grammatical category, while clitics allow for much more variety in their hosts. When we review the preceding examples, we find that Wakhi clitics can be hosted by a full pronoun subject, as in (6); a verb, as in (7);¹⁰ or an adjective, as in (9) and (10). Additional examples show that clitics can be hosted by nouns (11),¹¹ conjunctions (12), and various adjunct constituents, such as an adverbial PP (13). Thus, we can safely conclude that this set of Wakhi agreement markers is indeed composed of clitics.

(11) $\int\text{ot} = \text{ən}$ $k\text{i}^{12}$ jit-i çi $\text{qit}\text{ʃa-v-i}$ wizdi-ən
 supper = 1PL COMP eat-PST self's dish-PL-ACC wash -1PL
 'After we eat supper, we wash our dishes.'

(12) $\text{an} = \text{ən}$ ts-a-n $\text{yaft}\text{ʃ}$ $\text{wi}\text{ʃt-i}$
 then = 1PL from-DEM3-ABL INTENS fear-PST
 'Then we were very afraid of that (bear).'

(13) an da $\text{awal} = \text{ən}$ ji $\text{nəyardum} = \text{ən}$ wind-i
 then at beginning = 1PL one bear = 1PL see-PST
 'Then, at the beginning, we saw a bear.'

2.3. Wakhi TAM clitic

In addition to the agreement clitics, Wakhi also has a single TAM clitic: the morpheme $=\text{ʒ}$. It is somewhat difficult to nail down the exact function of this clitic, in part because it is optional and because its frequency of use therefore varies from speaker to speaker. When reviewing verb paradigms, one language consultant consistently used this clitic to distinguish a present, ongoing activity (as opposed to one anticipated in the future). That is, when prompted for an utterance regarding present activity, she would produce a verb such as $\text{ʃkurgəm} = \text{əʒ}$, which is probably similar in meaning to the English 'I am searching'. On the other hand, when asked to describe an activity planned for the future, she would drop the clitic and use the verb with only inflectional

¹⁰Although the host in example (7) is a copular verb, the generalization holds for other verbs as well.

¹¹Hughes (2011:43) observes that an agreement clitic cannot co-occur with an explicit NP_{SUBJ} in its clause. This is true when that subject is a full noun but not when it is a pronoun, as will be discussed in more detail in §3.2.2.

¹²The word *ki* has several uses. It serves as the complementizer for adverbial time clauses with the meaning 'when' or 'after', as seen here. It can introduce an S-COMP or purposive construction, and it also functions as a relativizer. When used as a relativizer or complementizer for adverbial time clauses, it typically occupies 2P. The topics of relativization and complementization are beyond the scope of this paper, but further study in this area, including the behavior of *ki* as compared to that of the Wakhi agreement and TAM clitics, could shed additional light on the discussion of Wakhi clitic placement.

morphology; i.e., *škurgəm* 'I will search'. I choose to follow Beck (2013:14) in glossing =*ʒ* as 'IPFV' (imperfective), as her example in (14) shows.¹³

- (14) *jan də səbɪq =əʒ lup =əʒ ɕat-i kɪ nəɣardum ətʃ waxt də*
 then in old.time = IPFV big = IPFV say-PST COMP bear no time with
məltɪq-ən ja-r qrib mə rətʃ-əv
 shotgun-ABL 3SG-DAT near NEG.IMP go-2PL.SAGR
 'Then in old times the old people said: Bears, never go near them (not even) with a
 shotgun.'¹⁴

Like the agreement clitics, the Wakhi TAM clitic attaches to a variety of hosts. In (14), we see two instances of the TAM clitic. The first instance of the clitic is hosted by the noun *səbɪq* 'old times'; the second instance is hosted by *lup*, an adjective meaning 'big' but used in an abstract sense here to mean 'old people'. The TAM clitic may also attach to a verb, as seen in (15), or to an adjective, as seen in (16) (Beck 2013:13).¹⁵ Furthermore, =*ʒ* may attach to a pronoun as in (17) (first instance) or to a conjunction as in (18) (Beck, p.c.). Example (18) also shows that the TAM clitic may attach after an agreement clitic, as demonstrated by both instances of the clitic.

- (15) *çø pʊtr-ər ɕan-d*
 self's son-DAT say-3SG.SAGR
e ɕan-d =əʒ kɪ ʊb yuri telə mar wizəm
 INTJ say-3SG.SAGR = IPFV COMP seven tray gold 1SG.DAT bring.2SG
 'He says to his son, oh, he says to bring him seven golden trays.'

- (16) *a = dr-a-ə ta'in kərt-i jupk kam kam jupk*
 EMPH = there-DEM3-EZ perceive do-PST water little little water
kam =ʒ wəs-t
 little = IPFV become-3SG.SAGR
 'There it perceived that the water becomes less and less, and it dries up.'

¹³If we consider this clitic to mark imperfective aspect, we could conceive of its use in the past tense to indicate some kind of continuous (or perhaps habitual) action, which would not be inconsistent with the semantic effects it produces in the present tense. In this case, we could revise the free translation to be 'the old people **used** to say' to reflect the aspectual effect of the clitic more clearly in English.

¹⁴Beck points out that the Wakhi TAM clitic serves a discourse function as well as an inflectional one. She posits that the use of this clitic foregrounds information that would otherwise have been considered part of the background of a text (2013:12-14). A full discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of the current paper, but her analysis is worth reading for those interested in pursuing the topic further.

¹⁵The adjective *kam* 'little' is probably part of a light verb construction in this clause, in which case it is interesting to note that the clitic interrupts a constituent, which it is not supposed to do.

- (17) jau =əʃ ʔa ar tʃiz-ə diʃ-t ət janə də
 3sg.nom = IPFV INTENS every thing-ACC know-3SG.SAGR and that.is in
 ʔəib =əʃ jau qəsa-ə diʃ-t
 foresight = IPFV 3SG.NOM story-ACC know-3SG.SAGR
 'He knows everything; that is, he knows things in foresight.'

- (18) 'jan =əv =əʃ 'kərt-i fə'rər 'rəʃj-d =əv =əʃ tr-a naɔ
 then = 3PL = IPFV do-PST escape go-PST = 3PL = IPFV to-DEM3 direction
 'Then they fled, they went over there.'

2.4. Classifying Wakhi clitics

Up to this point, I have not attempted to classify Wakhi clitics according to Zwicky's (1977) typology, but have only described how they function in their clause—they either mark agreement with the NP_{SUBJ} or indicate imperfective aspect. From this simple description alone we can see that Wakhi clitics bear a functional load and do not contribute new lexical content to the sentence. Since one of the characteristics of phrasal affixes is that they contribute inflectional meaning to their clause, Wakhi clitics would seem to fit into this category. However, there are other qualifications of phrasal affixes that Wakhi clitics do not meet. For example, while a phrasal affix exhibits significant freedom in the grammatical category of the individual word it selects as host, that word must be a member of a larger constituent whose category is fixed, such as a noun phrase (as seen in the English example in §2.1). Wakhi clitics of both types regularly violate this stipulation, as noted in §2.2.2 and in §2.3.

Since Wakhi clitics do not match the prototypical description of phrasal affixes, in §3 I consider whether they are special clitics. They fit quite well within this category in that they are exempt from the rules governing regular syntax and instead follow their own peculiar set of rules. In trying to determine what these rules are, linguists have proposed a number of explanations for the distributional variations exhibited by Wakhi clitics. These analyses are the topic of the following section.

3. Overview of Previous Analyses

The Wakhi language as a whole has been the subject of linguistic analysis off and on throughout the past century. Aside from Bashir's (1986) article on ergativity in Wakhi, the majority of these works have been largely typological in nature. Wakhi clitics entered the discussion only recently when Erschler (2010) included them in his study of Eastern Iranian languages that exhibit clitics having Wackernagel-like characteristics. Hughes (2011) and Fuchs (2015) have joined Erschler in the discussion of Wakhi clitics, agreeing that the preferred (but not universal) location for Wakhi clitics is 2P. Indeed, in a survey of the data presented in this paper so far, we find that every clitic (both agreement and TAM) is indeed 2P—except for the

doubled clitics in examples (13) and (14).¹⁶ This variation in clitic location is not specific to cases of multiple occurrences, as examples (19)–(21) from Hughes (2011:38) shows. Sentence (19) shows the clitic in default 2P, while in sentences (20) and (21) the clitic has attached to a host that occurs later in the sentence.

(19) jəz = əm ʃəpik γaftʃ baf çətu
 yesterday = 1SG bread INTENS good make.PST.PRF

(20) jəzi ʃəpik = əm γaftʃ baf çətu
 yesterday bread = 1SG INTENS good make.PST.PRF

(21) jəzi ʃəpik γaftʃ baf = əm çətu
 yesterday bread INTENS good = 1SG make.PST.PRF
 'Yesterday I made delicious bread.'

It is precisely this variation from strict Wackernagel position that Erschler, Hughes, and Fuchs attempt to explain, yet each takes a slightly different approach. In the following sections, I overview and critique each analysis in turn.

3.1. Erschler's AWC analysis

As mentioned above, clitics described as being Wackernagel clitics occasionally stray from their canonical position. This propensity for wandering is not specific to Wakhi clitics. Upon comparing data from a number of languages, including Eastern Iranian languages such as Wakhi and several other (closely related) Pamiri languages, Erschler (2010) observes that clitics that are supposed to adhere to Wackernagel's Law can be found farther to the right in their clause. He remarks that this "optionality" [sic] should not be surprising given that even prototypical "Wackernagel position" comes with two standard options: 2W vs. 2P.

To account for this kind of regular clitic wandering, Erschler proposes a new class of clitic: the ALMOST WACKERNAGEL CLITIC (AWC). An AWC is a clitic that by default occupies either the 2W or 2P location in its clause but that can optionally appear elsewhere. To explain this behavior, Erschler builds on Anderson's (2005) intuition that clitics are clause-level morphology and that, therefore, "every constituent in the clause receives a bundle of features that can be spelled out as a clitic (or clitic cluster)" (2010:9). He suggests that, when taken literally, this approach not only allows clitics to appear farther to the right in their clause, but also predicts multiple manifestations of clitics in a single clause to be possible in some languages. He includes Wakhi as an example of a language where we see this prediction fulfilled, based on examples such as (22) (Grünberg & Steblin-Kamensky 1976:49 in Erschler 2010:9). This should come as no surprise considering we have already seen multiple spell-out of an agreement clitic in (13) and the TAM clitic in (14).

¹⁶Note that the second pair of clitics in example (18) is 2P, although at first glance it appears otherwise. The host 'rəmj-d 'go-PST' is the first constituent of the second clause in the sentence.

- (22) wuz = əm pai = əm ar çɪ sar yirɔvd-i
1SG.NOM = 1SG yogurt = 1SG on self's head turn.over-PST
'I spilled the yogurt on my head.'

3.2. Hughes's application of the DFCE and PI

3.2.1. Overview of Hughes

Although Erschler's proposed AWC category seems to account for both clitic movement and multiple spell-out, his analysis is not accepted by all. Hughes rejects the AWC proposal outright; in fact, he completely forsakes the notion that Wakhi agreement clitics are 2P at all (2011:39).¹⁷ Instead, he proposes that these clitics are the head of an AgrP that is base-generated above TP. Several different movement operations can then shift other constituents to a position above that of the clitic in the syntactic tree, thereby locating the clitic in various places in the surface structure of the sentence (2011:53-55). Hughes's analysis crucially depends on his application of two different devices: the DOUBLY FILLED COMP FILTER and PROSODIC INVERSION.

Originally proposed by Koopman (1996), the doubly filled COMP filter (DFCF) "allows a language to have an overt head and silent specifier in a given projection, or vice versa" (Hughes 2011:55). Critically, only one or the other (i.e., head or specifier) can be overtly expressed, but not both. The DFCE is important to Hughes's analysis because he claims that these clitics cannot be hosted by a subject DP; when he invokes the DFCE, he can explain why that should be.

Halpern (1992) uses the theory of prosodic inversion (PI) to explain why 2W clitics locate where they do. Halpern notes that an enclitic that appears at the beginning of a clause is not licensed because it is phonologically and prosodically deficient. However, it has no options for becoming licit because no potential hosts precede it. It is in this situation that he invokes PI. PI moves a clitic only as far as is necessary to provide a licit host; thus, the clitic has only to move after the immediately following word to become licensed.

Hughes appeals to PI to explain why Wakhi agreement clitics occasionally appear after a verb, which according to his analysis should not be allowed. Indeed, he claims that clitics can never attach to the verb unless the verb is the only other phonologically realized word. It is at this point that he calls upon PI as a "mop-up" operation to move the verb before the clitic, an operation that is not ideal, but that is preferable to the only other option (namely, leaving the clitic in initial position without a host) (2011:60).

3.2.2. Criticisms of Hughes

Hughes himself recognizes that the quantity of data available to him was marginal (2011:62). Unfortunately, this lack of data has negatively affected his analysis on several points. To begin, his claims limiting the distribution of agreement clitics (upon which his analysis is crucially based) are too strong. As noted above, he claims that a clitic cannot be hosted by any subject DP (whether full pronoun or noun) or by a verb (except when PI intervenes in situations where there is no other constituent before the verb), nor can they appear more than once in their

¹⁷Hughes (2011) looks only at Wakhi agreement clitics and does not discuss the TAM clitic at all.

clause. Additionally, he states that a clitic cannot interrupt a constituent and that it may only appear in the past tense. A larger data pool shows that each of these claims is at best too general and at worst inaccurate.

Consider example (23) where the 1PL clitic =ən is hosted by the NP_{SUBJ} *sak* '1PL.NOM', which is a full subject pronoun.

- (23) sak =ən qrib rojd-i kɪ nɔyardum mərt-k
 1PL.NOM = 1PL near go-PST COMP bear die-PRF
 'We approached after the bear was dead.'

This example disproves Hughes's claim that a clitic cannot be hosted by a subject DP. However, some qualification is necessary. First, it does appear that a clitic that attaches to an subject DP does so only when that subject is a pronoun—a noun filling this position is not a licit clitic host.¹⁸ Thus, Hughes's claim is half true. Second, I believe the ability of a clitic to attach to a pronoun subject DP to be a result of dialectical variation. Notice that the clitic host in (23) is a nominative case pronoun used in the past tense, which is indicative of a nominative-accusative case system. My fieldwork shows that Afghan Wakhi has the option to follow **either** a nominative-accusative system **or** an ergative-absolutive system in the past or perfect tenses (only nominative-accusative is permitted in the present tense). Furthermore, only nominative case subject pronouns can serve as clitic hosts; an ergative pronoun is not a licit host. In all of Hughes's data, NP_{SUBJ} pronouns are in the ergative case. It appears that this is not an accident—tense-conditioned split ergativity is obligatory, not optional, for the Hunza¹⁹ dialect (Backstrom 2015, p.c.). This, then, would explain why my data conflicts with Hughes's on this point.

The second issue with Hughes's analysis is his claim that agreement clitics cannot attach to a verb unless the verb is the only full word in the clause. Example (7) from §2.2.2, repeated below as (24), as well as example (25) from Erschler (2010:5), both provide evidence to the contrary. Incidentally, example (24) also refutes Hughes's claim that clitics appear only in the past tense.

- (24) tu xɪʃ təi = ət
 2SG.NOM happy be = 1SG
 'You (sg) are happy.'

- (25) sak tə çɪ çɪi bar rojd = ən
 1PL.NOM to self's sister door go.PST = 1PL
 'We went to my sister's house.'

¹⁸The most likely opportunity for a clitic to attach to a noun subject would be in the third person. Since the 3SG clitic is quite rare, as mentioned earlier, it could be that the restriction on using a noun subject DP as host is related to the scarcity of the 3SG clitic.

¹⁹Pakistani.

When Hughes dismissed Erschler's (2010) AWC proposal, he rejected the evidence that Erschler provided for multiple spell-out (presented as example (22) in §3.1). However, I find his dismissal problematic since the evidence, both Erschler's and my own, consistently shows examples of multiple clitics within a single clause. We saw one such example in (13), repeated here as (26).

- (26) an da awal = **en** ji nɔyardum = **ən** wind-i
 then at beginning = 1PL one bear = 1PL see-PST
 'Then, at the beginning, we saw a bear.'

Hughes states that a clitic cannot interrupt a constituent, yet he includes an example that seems to do just that, as shown below in (27) (2011:18). He calls this construction a "phrasal verb" and analyzes the nominal component as a separate constituent. I question this analysis because Wakhi is known for having a large inventory of light verb constructions (LVCs), of which this is one.²⁰ A second example of a clitic interrupting an LVC from Beck (2013, p.c.) can be seen in (28).

- (27) jəzi jark = **əv** çətu
 yesterday work = 3PL do.PST.PRF
 'Yesterday they worked.'

- (28) ya zamat = **əv** çəş-ətk
 INTENS trouble = 3PL pull-PRF
 'They had a lot of trouble.'

3.3. Fuchs's split analysis

3.3.1. Overview of Fuchs

Fuchs (2015) is the most recent person to add her voice to the discussion of Wakhi clitics. She deviates from both Erschler (2010) and Hughes (2011) in choosing to adopt what she calls a "split analysis" of Wakhi clitics. Focusing as Hughes did on the agreement clitics, Fuchs divides them into two different types of clitics: doubled pronominal clitics and possessive clitics. She states that the pronominal clitics are inherently 2P and that, as such, they are base-generated in Spec,TP. She also posits both a topic position and a new information focus position in the left periphery of the sentence. When constituents that would normally appear farther right in a neutral construction are fronted to these positions, they cause the clitic to appear in 3P in the

²⁰A full battery of constituency tests for LVCs is beyond the scope of this paper. However, two short examples may be helpful here. First, the LVC moves to the beginning of the clause as a unit when it functions as the subject, as we see in the sentence *jark tsərak qela* 'working is difficult'. Second, the nominalizer *-kuzg* attaches to the end (heavy verb) of an LVC to derive the meaning 'one who ___', as we see in examples such as *jark tsərak-kuzg* 'worker; one who works'.

clause. This movement does not pose a problem for the clitic because it imposes no selectional restrictions on its host (2015:10-13).

Fuchs observes that some clitics appear to be involved in an EXTERNAL POSSESSOR construction. An external possessor construction is found where a word possesses something semantically even though it is itself syntactically an argument of the verb. Fuchs notes that external possessor constructions are known to occur in French and that certain Wakhi constructions involving clitics bear a strong resemblance to these French constructions (2015:15-17). She observes that such clitics occur farther to the right in the sentence than usually expected (beyond 2P) and, critically, that they must refer to an antecedent that both agrees with and is coreferential with the subject (but is not actually the subject) of their clause (2015:9). In other words, although the antecedent is the syntactic possessor, the subject (with which the syntactic antecedent is coreferential) is the semantic, external possessor. Example (29), below, shows an example of an external possessor construction (Fuchs 2015:16).²¹

(29) wuz_i ç_i şəw-v-i = m_i şkendəvd-i
 1SG.NOM self's horn-PL-ACC = 1SG break.TR-PST
 'I broke my horns.'

(30) *wuz_i ti_j şəw-v-i = m_i şkendəvd-i
 1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN horn-PL-ACC = 1SG break.TR-PST
 'I broke your horns.'

Additional characteristics of constructions involving possessor clitics include (1) that the object being possessed must be highly affected by the activity expressed in the clause (often as a result of inalienable possession), and (2) that the external possessor must be the subject of the clause. Fuchs uses this analysis to explain why example (29) is grammatical while (30) is ungrammatical (2015:16). As the indices show, the clitic in (29) is coreferential with the reflexive pronoun *ç_i*, which in turn is coreferential with the subject pronoun *wuz*. This works because all three items (clitic, reflexive pronoun, and subject pronoun) agree in person and number. Although the clitic and subject pronoun in (30) agree with each other, they do not agree in person with the genitive pronoun *ti* '2SG.GEN'. This lack of agreement makes it impossible for all three items to be coreferential and thus renders the sentence ungrammatical.

3.3.2. Criticisms of Fuchs

Fuchs's analysis is both elegant and original, yet it is not without flaws. My first criticism regards her account of where the pronominal clitics are base-generated. Although the specific location she posits is different, it is, like that proposed by Hughes (2011), a fixed location above the verb in the syntactic tree. Therefore, Fuchs again relies on PI to account for instances where the verb and the clitic are swapped. As I have already critiqued this approach in §3.2.2, I will not go into all the details again here, but instead refer the reader back to the counterexamples

²¹Indices added for clarity.

presented in (24) and (25), which demonstrate that the verb can serve as a host even when other potential hosts precede it in the clause.

My second criticism concerns Fuchs's split analysis of possessor clitics. Her external possessor analysis accounts quite neatly for data such as those presented in (29), but consider example (13), repeated here as (31).

- (31) an da awal = **en** ji nəyardum = **ən** wind-i
 then at beginning = 1PL one bear = 1PL see-PST
 'Then, at the beginning, we saw a bear.'

In this example, we see two instances of the clitic =ən '1PL'. According to Fuchs's analysis, we should only see two clitics in the same clause when one is a pronominal 2P clitic and the second is a possessor clitic (2015:18). The first clitic in (31) fits this pattern, but I find it difficult to call the second a possessor since the bear in this clause is clearly not possessed by the (null) subject of the sentence. Furthermore, as example (32) (repeated from (14)) demonstrates, the TAM clitic can also be doubled. It seems illogical to posit that a clitic that indicates imperfective aspect can also indicate possession, especially since there is nothing in this clause to be possessed. Since the TAM clitic and the agreement clitics behave similarly in all other ways, I question the validity of the claim that doubled agreement clitics indicate possession when this interpretation is impossible for the TAM clitic.

- (32) jan də səbiq = **əʃ** lup = **əʃ** çat-i kɪ nəyardum ətʃ waxt də
 then in old.time = IPFV big = IPFV say-PST COMP bear no time with
 məltiq-ən ja-r qrib mə rəʃ-əv
 shotgun-ABL 3SG-DAT near NEG.IMP go-2PL.SAGR
 'Then in old times the old people said: Bears, never go near them (not even) with a
 shotgun.'

In summary, in §3 I have taken a rather cursory look at recent analyses of Wakhi clitics proposed by three different linguists. I have examined some of the core arguments of these analyses and presented conflicting data that suggest a new analysis is needed. This analysis is the subject of the next section.

4. A Preliminary LFG Analysis of Wakhi Clitics

From the overview of other analyses in the preceding section, one thing should be rather clear: namely, that Wakhi clitics by default prefer 2P regardless of the analysis used to locate them there. Erschler (2010) and Fuchs (2015) both accept this generalization and incorporate it into their analyses. Although Hughes (2011) frees himself from the 2P assumption and attempts to pin down the location of Wakhi clitics by other means, in the end, his analysis still locates them in 2P in the default case whether he admits it or not.

The evidence clearly points towards 2P as the preferred home for Wakhi clitics; however, it also clearly demonstrates that other locations are possible even if they are less favorable. Consider the following examples, all repeated from earlier in this paper and including both types of clitics (agreement and TAM).

(33) jəzi jark = əv çətu
 yesterday work = 3PL do.PST.PRF
 'Yesterday they worked.'

(34) a = dr-a-ə ta'in kərt-i jupk kam kam jupk
 EMPH = THERE-DEM3-EZ perceive do-PST water little little water
 kam = ş wəs-t
 little = IPFV become-3SG.SAGR
 'There it perceived that the water becomes less and less, and it dries up.'

(35) an da awal = en ji nəyardum = ən wind-i
 then at beginning = 1PL one bear = 1PL see-PST
 'Then, at the beginning, we saw a bear.'

(36) jan də səbıq = əş lup = əş çat-i kɪ nəyardum ətʃ waxt də
 then in old.time = IPFV big = IPFV say-PST COMP bear no time with
 məltıq-ən ja-r qrib mə rəʃs-əv
 shotgun-ABL 3SG-DAT near NEG.IMP go-2PL.SAGR
 'Then in old times the old people said: Bears, never go near them (not even) with a shotgun.'

Examples (33) and (34) contain one instance of an agreement clitic and a TAM clitic, respectively. Neither of these clitics is 2P, but they both occur immediately before the verb. Moving on to (35) and (36), which both contain two instances of a clitic, we find that in both sentences the first clitic is 2P, while the second is again found immediately before the verb. I do not believe this to be a coincidence. We should recall from Zwicky (1977) that although special clitics are exempt from normal syntactic rules, they usually gravitate towards a certain position in the sentences—indeed, we have already appealed to this principle by stating that the default location for Wakhi clitics is 2P. Given that a clitic can have a preferred default position, I find it necessary to ask the question, what is to stop it from choosing a preferred secondary location as well? I propose that this is part of the answer to the question of the wandering Wakhi clitic—that it prefers to be 2P, but when it is not, its second best option is to get as close to (preferably immediately preceding) the verb as possible.

I realize that there are still several unexplained examples that contain clitics that are neither 2P nor preverbal. Particularly problematic are examples (20), (22), (25), and (31), repeated

below as (37)–(40). In (37) we see a clitic that has attached to the second constituent. Example (38) contains two clitics, the first of which is 2P, but the second of which is not. The clitic has attached to the verb in (39) even though there are several viable hosts higher in the phrase structure. Neither of the clitics in (40) is 2P, although the second clitic is preverbal.

(37) jəzi ʃəpik = əm ɣaftʃ baf çətu
 yesterday bread = 1SG INTENS good make.PST.PRF
 'Yesterday I made delicious bread.'

(38) wuz = əm pai = əm ar çɪ sar ɣirəvd-i
 1SG.NOM = 1SG yogurt = 1SG on self's head turn.over-PST
 'I spilled the yogurt on my head.'

(39) sak tə çɪ çəi bar rojd = ən
 1PL.NOM to self's sister door go.PST = 1PL
 'We went to my sister's house.'

(40) an da awal = ən ji nəɣardum = ən wind-i
 then at beginning = 1PL one bear = 1PL see-PST
 'Then, at the beginning, we saw a bear.'

At this point, I see one analysis that holds the potential to account for all of the data, including the problematic examples above. I propose that we write a phrase structure rule (PSR) such as the following:

(41) VP → VP, Aux

The PSR above generates a recursive VP with a sister Aux, where the clitic occupies the Aux position. The comma indicates that the order of VP and Aux is not fixed, but that they can occur in either order. When Aux is the first daughter of the first VP, as we see in the syntax tree in Figure 1, the clitic attaches to the initial XP constituent (here an NP_{SUBJ}) and appears in 2P.

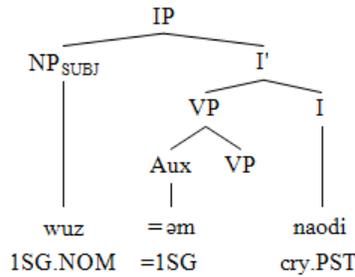


Figure 1: C-str for example (6)

When Aux is the second daughter of the first VP, we get a different result. In this case, the clitic attaches to whichever constituent is immediately lower than Aux in the tree. Thanks to the SOV word order, in this situation that constituent will usually be the verb. We can see an example of this structure in the following tree.

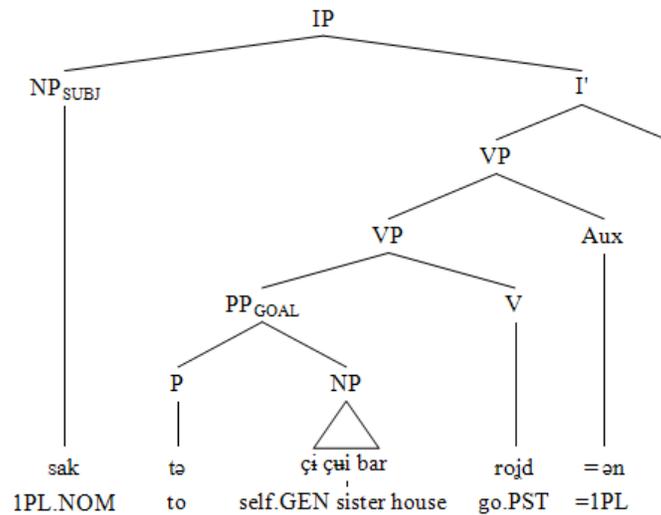


Figure 2: C-str for example (38)

The recursive nature of the PSR in (41) allows us to generate multiple nested VPs. Not every VP is required to have an Aux sister (other potential sisters are defined by PSRs not included here), but that does not mean that only one VP can have an Aux sister. In fact, Aux can appear multiple times (or in a clause without a clitic, not at all) and at different levels of the tree, thus accounting both for multiple occurrences of a clitic in a single clause and for a clitic that is either non-2P or preverbal. Example trees for a clause including two clitics (including one non-2P clitic) and a preverbal clitic can be seen in Figure 3 and Figure 4, respectively.

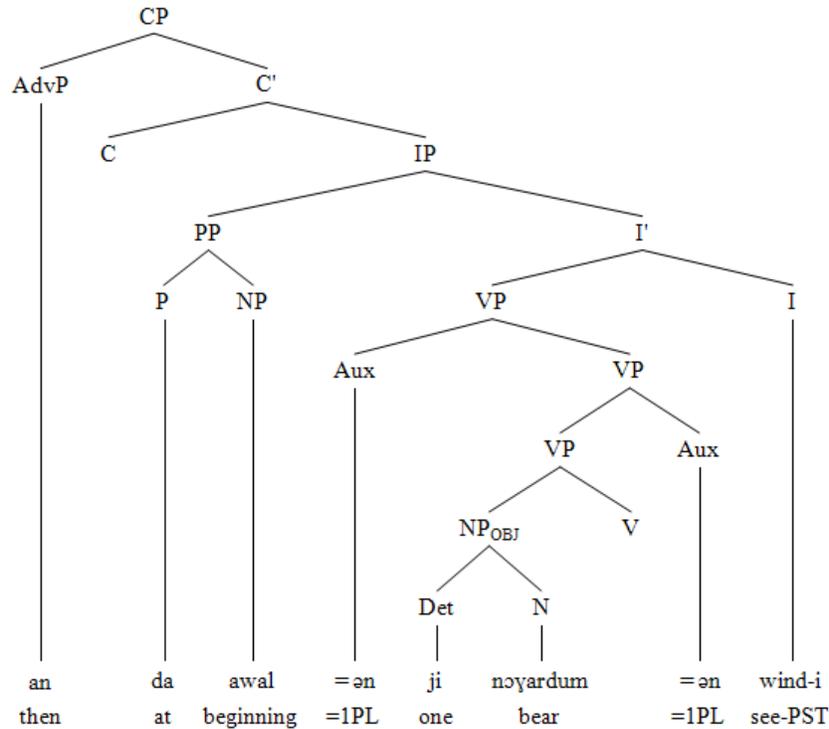


Figure 3: C-str for example (40)

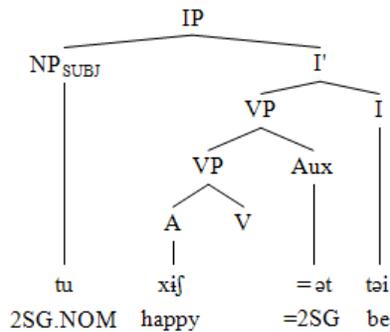


Figure 4: C-str for example (10)²²

As we can see, locating the clitic in Aux where Aux is the sister of a recursive VP is very powerful. Just this one simple PSR allows us to account for all of the clitic locations seen in this paper. We need to be careful when writing and applying rules such as this so that we do not give ourselves license to generate unattested or unnatural phrase structures. However, in the case of Wakhi clitics, I believe that the benefits of using such a powerful rule—namely, that it accounts

²²The copula has been added in this clause although it was null in the example as it was originally presented.

for all of the data uniformly without positing separate classes of clitics or appealing to devices such as the DFCF or PI—outweigh the drawbacks. Furthermore, it opens the door to further discussion and analysis of Wakhi clitics from within the LFG framework.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen that Wakhi has both agreement clitics and TAM clitics. Although these clitics at times appear to move freely within their clause, a closer examination shows that they actually have two main preferred locations, Wackernagel position (2P) and preverbal position. Furthermore, multiple clitics can appear in the same minimal clause. I propose a phrase structure rule that places the Wakhi clitic in an Aux position that is sister to a recursive VP. Such a phrase structure rule includes the options necessary to locate a clitic in 2P, after a non-initial constituent, or in preverbal or postverbal position and also allows for multiple manifestations of the same clitic within a clause.

Abbreviations

2P	second position	INTJ	interjection
2W	second word	LFG	lexical-functional grammar
3P	third position	LVC	light verb construction
AGRP	agreement phrase	NP	noun phrase
AWC	almost Wackernagel clitic	PI	prosodic inversion
C-str	constituent structure	PP	prepositional phrase
DEM3	demonstrative (far deixis)	SAGR	subject agreement
DFCF	doubly-filled COMP filter	Spec	Specifier
DP	determiner phrase	TAM	tense, aspect, and mood
EZ	ezafa particle	TP	topic phrase
INTENS	intensifier		

References

- Anderson, Stephen R. 1993. Wackernagel's revenge: Clitics, morphology, and the syntax of second position. *Language* 69 (1). 68-98.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 2005. *Aspects of the theory of clitics*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Bashir, Elena. 1986. Beyond split-ergativity: Subject marking in Wakhi. *Papers from the regional meetings, Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS)* 22 (1). 14-35.
- Bashir, Elena. 2009. Wakhi. In Gernot Windfuhr (ed.), *The Iranian languages*, 825-861. London: Routledge.
- Beck, Simone. 2013. Backgrounding and foregrounding, prominence, and highlighting in Afghan Wakhi. Cheltenham, UK: University of Gloucestershire Master's thesis.
- Erschler, David. 2010. On optionality in grammar: The case of East Iranian almost Wackernagel clitics. Handout from *Syntax of the World's Languages IV, Lyon 2010*.

- Fuchs, Zuzanna. 2015. Second position and "floating" clitics in Wakhi. *Proceedings of the Forty-first Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society (BLS) 2015*, to appear.
- Grünberg, Alexander & Ivan Steblin-Kamensky. 1976. Vakhanskij jazyk. [Wakhi]. Moscow: Nauka.
- Halpern, Aaron. 1995. *On the placement and morphology of clitics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Hughes, Todd R. 2011. Wakhi agreement clitics. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Master's thesis.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1995. *On clitics and cliticization: The interaction of morphology, phonology, and syntax*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Koopman, Hilda. 1996. The spec head configuration. *UCLA working papers in syntax and semantics* 1. 37-64.
- Kroeger, Paul R. 2005. *Analyzing grammar: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charlie D. Fennig (eds.). 2013. Wakhi. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world, seventeenth edition*. Dallas, TX: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>. Accessed May 31, 2015.
- Nevis, J. 1988. *Finnish particle clitics and general clitic theory*. Outstanding dissertations in linguistics. New York: Garland.
- Wackernagel, Jacob. 1892. Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1. 333-436.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. *On clitics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Linguistics Club.