Pashto second position en(do)clisis

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Untangling ‘Pashto second position en(do)clisis’

Pashto:
→ Eastern Iranian language, ca. 50 Million speakers in Afghanistan/Pakistan
→ Data presented here mainly from Tegey (1977) and native speaker N. Rehman
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Second position clitics (2P):
→ Definition varies greatly between languages
→ ‘Second’ mostly refers to the position after the first word or the first syntactic XP constituent, for prosodic or syntactic reasons.
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Second position clitics (2P):
→ Definition varies greatly between languages
→ ‘Second’ mostly refers to the position after the first word or the first syntactic XP constituent, for prosodic or syntactic reasons.

Endoclisis:
→ The 2P enclitic does not only change its linear position, but ‘moves’ into the stem of the host ⇒ endoclitic
→ Can be viewed in parallel to infixes, but: separate syntactic element, does not add meaning to the host, triggered by postlexical processes.
→ Reported for Udi (Harris 2002), Degema (Kari 2002) and Pashto (Tegey 1977)
This talk

1. the common Pashto data
2. the ‘uncommon’ Pashto data
3. a syntactic and prosodic perspective on that data
4. a resulting solution
Pashto data

## Pashto 2P clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weak Pronoun</th>
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<th>Modal</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>1. Sg</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>will, should</td>
<td>xo</td>
<td>really</td>
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<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>2. Sg</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>should, let</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>3. Sg</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>am / mo</td>
<td>1. Pl</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>3. Pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expected to have functional scope over the whole sentence (daughters of S).

If more than two enclitics cooccur, they are placed in a fixed template.

(1) \[ xo \; ba \; am \; am/mo \; me \; de \; ye \; no \]
Syntactic constraints

(2) \([\text{angur}]_{\text{NP}} = \text{ye rəwə} \]
grapes he brought
\text{‘He brought grapes.’}
Syntactic constraints

(2) \[[\text{angur}]_{NP} = \text{ye r} \alpha w\text{రə}\]
grapes he brought
‘He brought grapes.’

(3) \[[\text{xuʃαl aw patang}]_{NP} = \text{ba = ye dər ta r} \alpha w\text{ɾi}\]
Koshal and Patang will it you to bring
‘Koshal and Patang will bring it to you.’

*\text{xuʃαl = ba = ye aw patang dər ta r} \alpha w\text{ɾi}
Syntactic constraints

(2) \([\text{angur}]_{\text{NP}} = \text{ye} \, r\alpha \, w\varepsilon \)
   grapes he brought
   ‘He brought grapes.’

(3) \([xu\check{\text{s}}_{\text{al}} \, aw \, \text{patang}]_{\text{NP}} = \text{ba} = \text{ye} \, \text{dər} \, \text{ta} \, r\alpha \, w\varepsilon \)
   Koshal and Patang will it you to bring
   ‘Koshal and Patang will bring it to you.’
   *
   \([xu\check{\text{s}}_{\text{al}} = \text{ba} = \text{ye} \, \text{aw} \, \text{patang} \, \text{dər} \, \text{ta} \, r\alpha \, w\varepsilon \)

(4) \([\text{layl}_{\alpha} \, \text{na}]_{\text{PP}} = \text{de} \, \alpha \text{xis} \varepsilon \) \quad (*\text{layl}_{\alpha} = \text{de} \, \text{na} \, \alpha \text{xis} \varepsilon \)
   Layla from you buy
   ‘You were buying it from Layla.’
Syntactic constraints

(2) \([\text{angur}]_{\text{NP}} = \text{ye \ rαwɾə}\)
   grapes he brought
   ‘He brought grapes.’

(3) \([\text{xušαl aw patang}]_{\text{NP}} = \text{ba = ye dër ta rαwɾi}\)
   Koshal and Patang will it you to bring
   ‘Koshal and Patang will bring it to you.’
   \(*\text{xušαl} = \text{ba = ye aw patang dër ta rαwɾi}\)

(4) \([\text{laylα na}]_{\text{PP}} = \text{de αxistə}\)  
   (*\text{laylα = de na αxistə}\)
   Layla from you buy
   ‘You were buying it from Layla.’

(5) \([\text{aγa šeł kaləna xαysta peğla aw loy təgay alək}]_{\text{NP}} = \text{me nən byα wəlida}\)
   that 20-year pretty girl and big thirsty boy I today again saw
   ‘I saw that pretty 20-year old girl and the big thirsty boy again today.’
Syntactic constraints

(6) \( [\text{tor} = \text{me wəlida}] \text{ magar [spin} = \text{me wə nə lidə}] \)  
Tor I saw but Spin I PERF not saw  
‘I saw Tor, but I didn’t see Spin.’
(6) [tor =me wəlida] magar [spin =me wə nə lidə]
Tor I saw but Spin I PERF not saw
‘I saw Tor, but I didn’t see Spin.’

It can be concluded:

- Pashto 2P enclitics are clause-bound
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(6) [tor = me wəlidə] magar [spin = me wə nə lidə]
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‘I saw Tor, but I didn’t see Spin.’

It can be concluded:

- Pashto 2P enclitics are clause-bound
- Always placed after the first syntactic constituent
- The size of that constituent does not matter
Syntactic constraints

\[ (6) \ \text{[tor =me wəlidə] magar [spin =me wə nə lidə]} \]
\begin{align*}
\text{Tor} & \quad \text{saw} & \quad \text{but} & \quad \text{Spin} & \quad \text{PERF} & \quad \text{not saw} \\
\text{‘I saw Tor, but I didn’t see Spin.’} 
\end{align*}

It can be concluded:

- Pashto 2P enclitics are clause-bound
- Always placed after the first syntactic constituent
- The size of that constituent does not matter

→ Already difficult to find a common prosodic host
Prosodic constraints

(7) \( rα \)  \( τa \)  \( pe \)  \( gαnđé \)  =\( de \)

me for by_him sew you

‘You were having him sew it for me.’

→ 2P clitics only occur after stressed elements
Prosodic constraints

(7) rα ta pe gαndê =de

me for by_him sew you

‘You were having him sew it for me.’

→ 2P clitics only occur after stressed elements

→ This can also result in en(do)clisis
Pashto is an argument-dropping language → sentences can consist of only a verb and a 2P clitic
Pashto data

Endoclisis

- Pashto is an argument-dropping language
- sentences can consist of only a verb and a 2P clitic
- Endoclisis in the context of an aspect-determined stress alternation

(8a) **perfective:**
\[
\text{ták} = \text{me} \ wαhə
\]
shake₁ I shake₂
‘I shook it.’

(8b) **imperfective:**
\[
\text{ták}wαhə = \text{me}
\]
shake I
‘I was shaking it.’

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Pashto data

Endoclisis

- Pashto is an argument-dropping language
  - sentences can consist of only a verb and a 2P clitic
- Endoclisis in the context of an aspect-determined stress alternation

(8a) **perfective:**
\[ \text{ták} = \text{me wαhə} \]
shake\textsubscript{1} I shake\textsubscript{2}
‘I shook it.’

(8b) **imperfective:**
\[ \text{tákwaŋhé} = \text{me} \]
shake I
‘I was shaking it.’

⇒ With respect to the verbal hosts, three classes can be distinguished:
Class I: ‘Monomorphemic’ verbs

(9a) **imperfective**

\[ \text{təxna}w\text{a}la = \text{me} \]

`tickle I`

‘I was tickling (her).’

(9b) **perfective**

\[ w\hat{\omega} = \text{me} \text{ təxna}w\text{a}la (w\hat{\omega}təxna}w\text{a}la = \text{me}) \]

`PERF I tickle`

‘I tickled (her).’

Perfective aspect formed with perfective prefix \( w\hat{\omega} \)

→ Receives main stress

⇒ The clitic is placed after the stressed prefix
Class I: The *a*-initial verbs

- form perfective with *wã*-prefix
- can have alternating stress in the imperfective

(10a) imperfective:

a̰ gusṭ =me
wear I
‘I was wearing it.’

(10b) imperfective:

á =me ģustә
wear₁ I wear₂
‘I was wearing it.’
Class I: The a-initial verbs

- form perfective with wə-prefix
- can have alternating stress in the imperfective

(10a) imperfective: ağustə =me
wear 1
'I was wearing it.'

(10b) imperfective: á =me ǧustə
wear₁ 1 wear₂
'I was wearing it.'

/a/ as separate clitic/prefix from a diachronic perspective(?)
Class I: The a-initial verbs

- form perfective with \( w \)-prefix
- can have alternating stress in the imperfective

\[(10a) \quad \text{imperfective:} \quad \text{a}^g\text{ust}\, \text{a}^w =\text{me} \quad \text{imperfective:} \quad \text{a}^g\text{ust}\, \text{a}^w \]
\[\text{wear} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{wear}_1 \quad \text{I} \quad \text{wear}_2 \]
\[\text{‘I was wearing it.’} \quad \text{‘I was wearing it.’} \]

- /a/ as separate clitic/prefix from a diachronic perspective(?)

→ Not true for all a-initials
Class I: The a-initial verbs

- form perfective with wə-prefix
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(10a) imperfective: ağustə =me
   wear I
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   wear₁ I wear₂
   ‘I was wearing it.’

- /a/ as separate clitic/prefix from a diachronic perspective(?)

→ Not true for all a-initials
→ No longer from a synchronic perspective
Class II: ‘Bimorphemic’ verbs

Majority of verbs in this class consist of a derivational prefix and a root.

(11a) imperfective (11b) perfective

\[ \text{čelwαhе} = \text{me} \quad \text{čel} = \text{me} \ wαhə \]

push  I  push

‘I pushed (it).’  ‘I was pushing (it).’

- Perfective formed via stress shift to the prefix
- Clitic in perfective placed after the stressed prefix
**Class II: ‘Bimorphemic’ verbs**

Majority of verbs in this class consist of a derivational prefix and a root.

(11a) **imperfective**  
\[ \text{ṭelwαḥé} = \text{me} \]  
\[ \text{push} \quad \text{I} \]  
\[ \text{‘I pushed (it).’} \]

(11b) **perfective**  
\[ \text{ṭél} = \text{me \  ᦣ̣h\ₐ} \]  
\[ \text{PREF} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{push} \]  
\[ \text{‘I was pushing (it).’} \]

- Perfective formed via stress shift to the prefix
- Clitic in perfective placed after the stressed prefix

**However:**

Class II: ‘Bimorphemic’ verbs

Majority of verbs in this class consist of a derivational prefix and a root.

(11a) imperfective (11b) perfective
\[ \text{telwɑhь́} = \text{me} \] \[ \text{tel} = \text{me} \ wɑhь́} \]
push I push
‘I pushed (it).’ ‘I was pushing (it).’

- Perfective formed via stress shift to the prefix
- Clitic in perfective placed after the stressed prefix

However:

Also a group of verbs which do not contain an identifiable prefix/root

(12a) imperfective (12b) perfective
\[ \text{bьylьdь́} = \text{me} \] \[ \text{bьy} = \text{me} \ lодь́} \]
lose I lose
lose\textsubscript{1} I lose\textsubscript{2}
‘I was losing (it).’ ‘I lost (it).’
Complex predicates: combination of adjectives/adverbs/nouns and light verbs

(13a)  **imperfective**

\[ \text{t̥olaw̥l} \, = \text{de} \]

collect \, you

‘You were collecting (them).’

(13b)  **perfective**

\[ \text{t̥ol} \, = \text{de} \, \text{k̥al} \]

collect\textsubscript{1} \, you \, collect\textsubscript{2}

‘You collected (them).’
Intermediate summary

1. Clitics seem to follow first syntactic constituent.
   → size does not matter, cannot be interrupted
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2. If that syntactic constituent is destressed, clitics are placed after the next constituent carrying stress.
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2. If that syntactic constituent is destressed, clitics are placed after the next constituent carrying stress.

3. In the cases in (2.) and in verb-initial sentences, the clitic is placed according to an aspect-caused stress shift
   → after the verb in the imperfective (enclitic)
   → within the verb in the perfective (endoclitic)
Intermediate summary

1. Clitics seem to follow first syntactic constituent.
   \[ \rightarrow \text{size does not matter, cannot be interrupted} \]

2. If that syntactic constituent is destressed, clitics are placed after the next constituent carrying stress.
   \[ \rightarrow \text{after the verb in the imperfective (enclitic)} \]
   \[ \rightarrow \text{within the verb in the perfective (endo-clitic)} \]

3. In the cases in (2.) and in verb-initial sentences, the clitic is placed according to an aspect-caused stress shift
   \[ \rightarrow \text{within the verb in the perfective (endo-clitic)} \]

Resulting prosodic range: from several phonological phrases to stressed syllables.

essentially:
size does not matter,
but stress does,
and while verbs can be interrupted,
other syntactic constituents cannot?
Pashto 2P clitics are first and foremost placed according to syntactic constraints.

→ In the position after the first syntactic constituent
Proposed solution

1. Pashto 2P clitics are first and foremost placed according to syntactic constraints.
   → In the position after the first syntactic constituent

2. If syntactically (and prosodically) stranded in clause-initial position
   → postlexical phonological rephrasing (prosodic inversion) ensures that the 2P enclitic has a host.
Proposed solution

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2. If syntactically (and prosodically) stranded in clause-initial position
   - Postlexical phonological rephrasing (prosodic inversion) ensures that the 2P enclitic has a host.

⇒ Closer look at the syntactic and prosodic requirements
Pashto syntax - some relevant notions

- SOV (Verbal complex (VC) is always final)
- Argument-dropping
- Scrambling of constituents *before* VC
- Assume a flat syntactic structure (all XPs as immediate daughters of S)
Preverbal clitics

A close look on the ‘stressed preceding syntactic constituent’.

(14) rα ta pe gανδé =de
    me for by_him sew you
    ‘You were having him sew it for me.’

Initial ‘unstressed’ elements are part of a second group of clitics
Preverbal clitics

A close look on the ‘stressed preceding syntactic constituent’.

(14) rα ta pe gαndó =de
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Corresponding strong form:
Preverbal clitics

A close look on the ‘stressed preceding syntactic constituent’.

(14) \( r\alpha \ tau \ pe \ g\alpha \nu\delta\ =de \)
    me for by_him sew you
    ‘You were having him sew it for me.’

Initial ‘unstressed’ elements are part of a second group of clitics

**Corresponding strong form:**

→ construction with a **strong** oblique pronoun: \( m\alpha \)

(15a) tor \([m\alpha \ sara]\) \( \ddot{d}\epsilon r \ \ddot{\epsilon} \ \text{pezani} \)
    Tor me with very well acquainted
    ‘Tor is very well acquainted with me.’
Preverbal clitics

A close look on the ‘stressed preceding syntactic constituent’.

(14) \( r\alpha \) ta pe g\( \alpha n\delta \) =de
    me for by_him sew you
    ‘You were having him sew it for me.’

Initial ‘unstressed’ elements are part of a second group of clitics

**Corresponding strong form:**

→ construction with a **strong** oblique pronoun: \( m\alpha \)
   (15a) tor \( [m\alpha \ sara] \) \( \dder \ \chi\varnothing \) pezani
       Tor me with very well acquainted
       ‘Tor is very well acquainted with me.’

→ construction with a **weak** oblique pronoun: \( r\alpha \)
   (15b) tor \( \dder \ \chi\varnothing \ [r\alpha \ sara] \) pezani
       Tor very well me with acquainted
       ‘Tor is very well acquainted with me.’
Preverbal clitics

A close look on the ‘stressed preceding syntactic constituent’.

(14) \( r\alpha \ ta \ pe \ g\alpha nd\dot{\alpha} =de \)
    me for by_him sew you
    ‘You were having him sew it for me.’

Initial ‘unstressed’ elements are part of a second group of clitics

**Corresponding strong form:**

→ construction with a **strong** oblique pronoun: \( m\alpha \)
  (15a) tor [\( m\alpha \ sara \)] der \( \chi\varnothing \) pezani
    Tor me with very well acquainted
    ‘Tor is very well acquainted with me.’

→ construction with a **weak** oblique pronoun: \( r\alpha \)
  (15b) tor der \( \chi\varnothing \) [\( r\alpha \ sara \)] pezani
    Tor very well me with acquainted
    ‘Tor is very well acquainted with me.’

→ Moved to the position in front of the verb for no apparent prosodic reason!
Syntactic analysis (LFG)

⇒ **Conclusion**: *Syntactic* clitic, syntactically attaching to the constituent which ensures sentential scope: the VC.
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- **Consequence**: There will never be a completely unstressed constituent preceding the verbal complex.
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- **Consequence**: There will never be a completely unstressed constituent preceding the verbal complex.

- **(Simplified) syntactic analysis** very straightforward:
  \[ S \rightarrow [ \{XP \ 2P \ XP^* \ | \ 2P\} \ VC ] \]  
  (where \( XP = \{NP \ | \ PP \ | \ AP \ | \ AdjP\} \))
⇒ **Conclusion:** *Syntactic* clitic, syntactically attaching to the constituent which ensures sentential scope: the VC.

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- (Simplified) syntactic analysis very straightforward:

  \[ S \rightarrow [ \{ \text{XP} \ 2P \ \text{XP*} \mid 2P \} \ \text{VC} ] \quad (\text{where} \ \text{XP} = \{ \text{NP} \mid \text{PP} \mid \text{AP} \mid \text{AdjP} \}) \]

**Two possible constructions:**

1. \( \text{XP} \ 2P \ \text{XP*} \ \text{VC} \)

→ no further rearrangements necessary
Syntactic analysis (LFG)

⇒ **Conclusion**: Syntactic clitic, syntactically attaching to the constituent which ensures sentential scope: the VC.

- **Consequence**: There will never be a completely unstressed constituent preceding the verbal complex.

- (Simplified) syntactic analysis very straightforward:
  \[
  S \rightarrow [ \{XP \ 2P \ XP^* \ | \ 2P\} \ VC ] \quad \text{(where } XP = \{NP \ | \ PP \ | \ AP \ | \ AdjP\})
  \]

**Two possible constructions:**

1. XP 2P XP* VC
   → no further rearrangements necessary

2. 2P VC
   → Enl lifes in clause-initial position require repositioning (via prosodic inversion)
Main question: What is the ‘landing place’ of the 2P clitic?

⇒ Answer to that with evidence from several phonological processes:

1. vowel coalescence
2. vowel harmony
3. initial /k/-deletion
Prosodic aspect

Vowel coalescence

(16) **VC-external clitic:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tə } &= \text{ye } w\alpha xla \\
\text{you it } &= \text{PERF.buy} \\
\text{‘You buy it.’}
\end{align*}
\]
Vowel coalescence

(16) **VC-external clitic:**
\[
\text{tә } = \text{ye } \text{wәxла} \quad (*\text{wә } \text{axла})
\]
you it PERF.buy
‘You buy it.’

(17) **VC-internal clitic:**
\[
\text{wә } = \text{ye } \text{xла}
\]
PERF.buy₁ it buy₂
‘Buy it.’
Vowel coalescence

(16) **VC-external clitic:**
    \[ \text{tə } = \text{ye wαxla} \]  \(*wə \text{ a}x\text{la}*)
you it PERF.buy
‘You buy it.’

(17) **VC-internal clitic:**
    \[ \text{wα } = \text{ye xla} \]
PERF.buy\(_1\) it buy\(_2\)
‘Buy it.’

(18) **Across word boundaries:**
    \[ \text{kor špαnə axli} \]  \(*špαnαxli*)
house shepherd buys
‘The shepherds are buying the house.’
Vowel coalescence

(16) **VC-external clitic:**
\[ t\varepsilon = ye \ w\alpha lb ] \ (*w\emptyset \ axla) \\
you it PERF.buy \\
′You buy it.′

(17) **VC-internal clitic:**
\[ w\alpha = ye \ pba \]  \\
PERF.buy\_1 it buy\_2  \\
′Buy it.′

(18) **Across word boundaries:**
\[ kor \ ˘sp\emptyset n\emptyset axli ] \ (*˘sp\emptyset n\emptyset xli)  \\
house shepherd buys  \\
′The shepherds are buying the house.′

→ vowel coalescence within the prosodic word
Vowel coalescence

(16) **VC-external clitic:**
\[
\text{tə } = \text{ye } \text{wαxla} \quad \text{(*wə axla)}
\]
you it PERF.buy
‘You buy it.’

(17) **VC-internal clitic:**
\[
\text{wα } = \text{ye } \text{xla}
\]
PERF.buy₁ it buy₂
‘Buy it.’

(18) **Across word boundaries:**
\[
\text{kor ˘spαnə } \text{axli} \quad \text{(*˘spαnαxli)}
\]
house shepherd buys
‘The shepherds are buying the house.’

→ vowel coalescence within the prosodic word
→ postlexical process – also occurs with negative marker which is a separate syntactic item
Vowel harmony

Regressive vowel harmony: /i/ and /u/ raise mid-vowels /o/ and /e/ to high.
Vowel harmony

Regressive vowel harmony: /i/ and /u/ raise mid-vowels /o/ and /e/ to high.

(19) applies to 2P clitics:

\( wə =di \) guri (*de)

PERF should see

‘He should see him.’
Vowel harmony

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(19) applies to 2P clitics:

wə =di guri (*de)

PERF should see

‘He should see him.’

(20) applies to preverbal clitics:

wər bαndi (*bαnde) xiζu

it on step

‘We are stepping on it.’
Vowel harmony

Regressive vowel harmony: /i/ and /u/ raise mid-vowels /o/ and /e/ to high.

(19) applies to 2P clitics:
\[ \text{wə } = \text{di } \text{guri} \] (*de)
PERF should see
‘He should see him.’

(20) applies to preverbal clitics:
\[ \text{wər } \text{bαndi} \] (*bαnde) \text{xiζu}
it on step
‘We are stepping on it.’

(21) Does not apply to VC-external 2P clitics:
\[ \text{patang } = \text{me } [\text{wini}]_{\text{VC}} \] (*mi)
Patang me sees
‘Patang sees me.’
Vowel harmony

Regressive vowel harmony: /i/ and /u/ raise mid-vowels /o/ and /e/ to high.

(19) applies to 2P clitics:
\[
\text{wə } = \text{di } \text{guri} \quad (*de)
\]
PERF should see
‘He should see him.’

(20) applies to preverbal clitics:
\[
\text{wər } \text{bαndi} \quad (*bαnde) \text{ xiζu}
\]
it on step
‘We are stepping on it.’

(21) Does not apply to VC-external 2P clitics:
\[
\text{patang } = \text{me } [\text{wini}]_{VC} \quad (*\text{mi})
\]
Patang me sees
‘Patang sees me.’

(22) does not apply between two prosodic words:
\[
\text{xе } \text{wuхе} \quad (*\text{xi } \text{wuхе})
\]
good camels
‘Good female camels’
Vowel harmony II

1. VH applies to all word categories if the phonological context is given.
2. Within the verbal complex, VH spreads to both groups of clitics.
3. VH cannot cross the boundary between two lexically stressed words (two individual prosodic words); i.e., vowel harmony is not restricted by the phonological phrase.
4. VH cannot spread to a 2P clitic that is outside of the verbal complex, even if it is directly preceding it.

Conclusion: can be assumed that the verbal complex itself forms one prosodic word, including the main verb and both types of clitics.
Initial /k/ deletion

Class III complex predicates: light verbs starting with /k/:
Initial /k/ deletion

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*In the imperfective:* (stress on light verb)
Initial /k/ deletion

Class III complex predicates: light verbs starting with /k/:

*In the imperfective:* (stress on light verb)

(23) **first component ends in a vowel:**

\[ \text{asad ˇganəm wobə-} \text{kaw} \]

Asad wheat water do

‘Asad was watering the wheat.’
Initial /k/ deletion

Class III complex predicates: light verbs starting with /k/:

*In the imperfective:* (stress on light verb)

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\[
\text{asad ǧanəm tit-∅awi}
\]

(*tit-kawi*)

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*In the perfective*: (stress on initial component)

(25) **deletion never occurs:**

dzhobəl k-em
injured do
‘I injure...’
Initial /k/ deletion

Class III complex predicates: light verbs starting with /k/:

In the imperfective: (stress on light verb)

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In the perfective: (stress on initial component)

(25) **deletion never occurs:**
    dzhobəl k-em
    injured do
    ‘I injure...’

**Assumption:** Some boundary prevents the deletion
Prosodic inversion – the landing place

What is the boundary?
Prosodic inversion – the landing place

What is the boundary?

- Can’t be a ‘real’ prosodic word boundary $\omega$, if analysis is to be true for all other verb classes as well
Prosodic inversion – the landing place

What is the boundary?

- Can’t be a ‘real’ prosodic word boundary \( \omega \), if analysis is to be true for all other verb classes as well
- Can’t be foot
Prosodic inversion – the landing place

What is the boundary?

- Can’t be a ‘real’ prosodic word boundary \( \omega (\omega \), if analysis is to be true for all other verb classes as well
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- **Solution:** nested prosodic word \((x)_{\omega} \times_{\omega}\)
Prosodic inversion – the landing place

What is the boundary?

- Can’t be a ‘real’ prosodic word boundary \( \omega \), if analysis is to be true for all other verb classes as well
- Can’t be foot
- **Solution:** nested prosodic word \( ((x) \omega x) \omega \)
  \( \rightarrow \) strong enough to restrict /k/-deletion
Prosodic inversion – the landing place

What is the boundary?

- Can’t be a ‘real’ prosodic word boundary $\omega(\omega$, if analysis is to be true for all other verb classes as well
- Can’t be foot

**Solution:** nested prosodic word $((x)\omega x)\omega$

→ strong enough to restrict /k/-deletion
→ weak enough to let processes like vowel harmony pass
A note on domain assignment

If assuming that VC as a whole receives prosodic word status:
A note on domain assignment

If assuming that VC as a whole receives prosodic word status:

Each stressed item receives prosodic word status: \((x \times (\hat{x})_{\omega} \times x)_{\omega}\)

→ problematic if class three light verb receives prosodic word status – k-deletion would again be blocked, but this is not the case.
A note on domain assignment

If assuming that VC as a whole receives prosodic word status:

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   k-deletion would again be blocked, but this is not the case

2. Each stressed item forms a prosodic word boundary to its right:

   \(((x \times \dot{x})_{\omega} \times x)_{\omega}\)

<table>
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<th>example</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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A note on domain assignment

If assuming that VC as a whole receives prosodic word status:

1. Each stressed item receives prosodic word status: $(x \times (x)_{\omega} \times x)_{\omega}$
   → problematic if class three light verb receives prosodic word status – k-deletion would again be blocked, but this is not the case

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Prosodic Inversion: Within the verbal complex in Pashto, a 2P clitic is placed after the first prosodic word.
Summing up

1. Pashto 2P clitics are subject to both, syntactic and prosodic constraints.

2. If there is a preceding syntactic constituent, the (syntactic) placement is always sufficient:
   \[\text{There are no unstressed syntactic constituents preceding the 2P clitics}\]

3. If syntactically and prosodically stranded in a phrase-initial position, postlexical prosodic inversion ensures correct prosodic placement
   \[\text{The 2P clitic is placed at the position after the first prosodic word}\]

4. As for the analysis: straightforward implementation at the syntax-prosody interface in LFG (but that is a different talk)
Thank you!

... questions, comments...?