

## Double-Duty Pronominal Clitics in Gazi

Syntax of the World's Languages  
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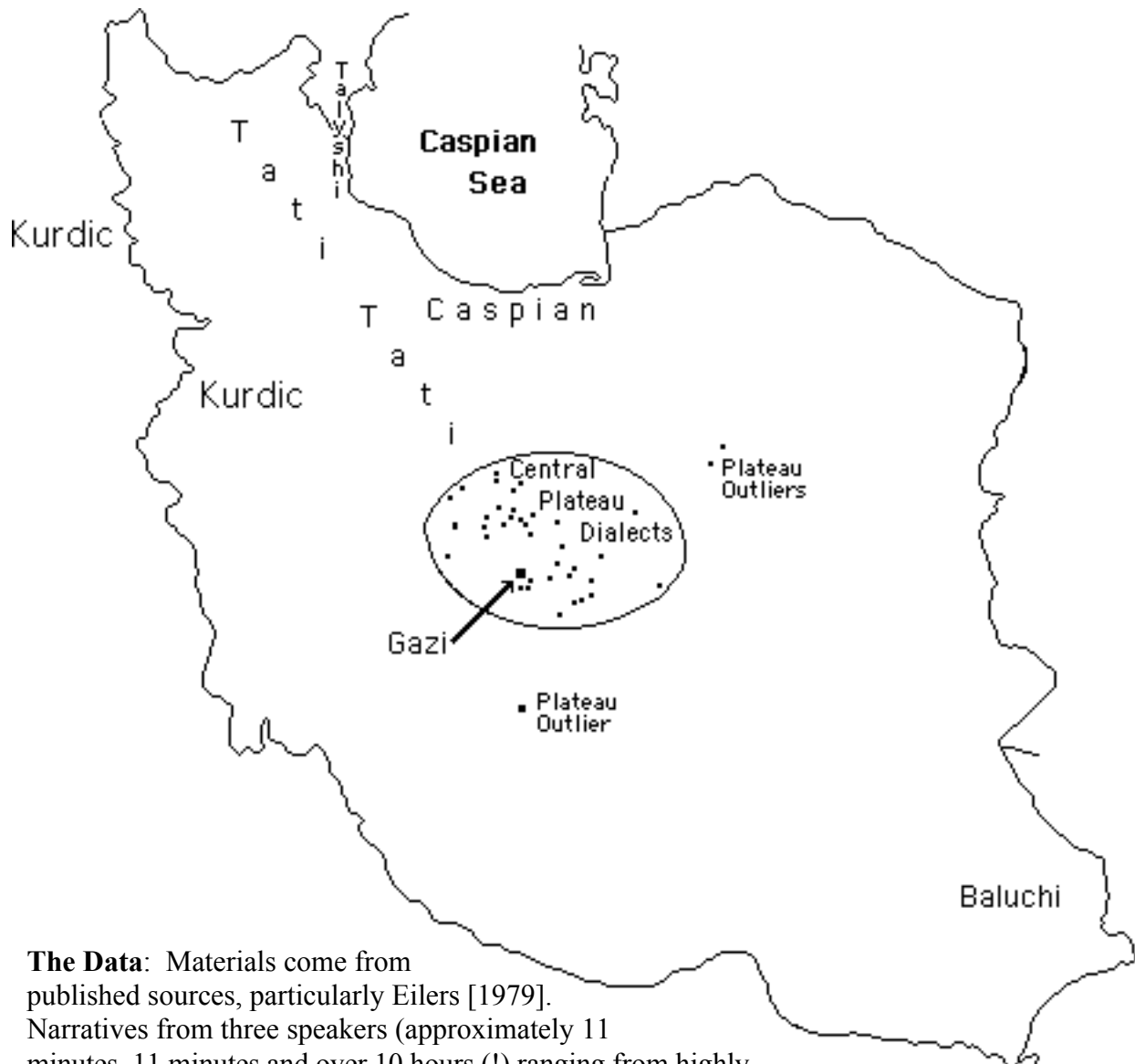
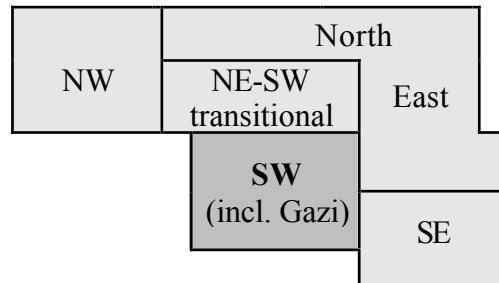
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Gazi ([gʏæzi]), a Central Plateau language of Northwest Iranian, spoken in the city of Gaz

- There are 7 groups of **Northwest Iranian**:

  - Tatic (including Talyshi)
  - Central Plateau
  - Caspian
  - Kurdish
  - Gurani
  - Zazaki/Dimli (Central Turkey)
  - Baluchi (outlier in the southwest)

Subdivisions of Central Plateau



**The Data:** Materials come from published sources, particularly Eilers [1979]. Narratives from three speakers (approximately 11 minutes, 11 minutes and over 10 hours (!) ranging from highly educated to (most likely) illiterate, but all bilingual in Persian.

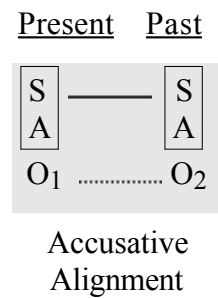
### Alignment in Gazi

o Alignment of Core Arguments: **Nominative-Accusative**

- No case forms on nouns or pronouns; Accusative-marking via clitics
- *two* strategies for Accusative-marking in a tense-based split (hence: O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>2</sub> ↓↓)

- an enclitic Accusative-marker *-(r)a* in the present tenses;
- an innovation for Accusative-marking in the past tenses

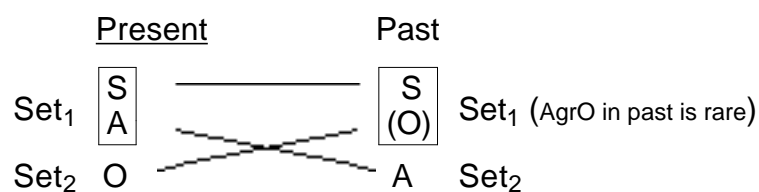
(The clitic *-(r)a* of the present is also available to the past system, but is rare.)



o Argument encoding in verb:

- two distinct sets of agreement markers cross-reference core arguments in a tense-based split in intransitive/transitive conjugations: in the present intransitive and transitive are conjugated alike (S = A); in the past they are distinguished by different Person-Agreement Markers (S ≠ A).

- **Set<sub>1</sub>**: verbal agreement markers; bound *suffixes*.
- **Set<sub>2</sub>**: *pronominal clitics*, highly mobile



- Gazi verbs encode agreement with S, A and P in varying degrees:

		Present	Past
Verb agrees with:	S	obligatory	obligatory
	A	obligatory	predominant; null agreement possible but rare
	P	often (animates)	possible but rare

**Set<sub>1</sub>:** bound agreement affixes

1sg	-an
2sg	-e
3sg	-u
1pl	-em
2pl	-id
3pl	-end

*Full Pronouns*

<i>mo</i>
<i>to</i>
<i>un</i> (he, she, it)
<i>ema</i>
<i>šoma</i>
<i>una</i>

**Set<sub>2</sub>:** Set<sub>2</sub> enclitics

=(a)m
=(a)d
=(a)ž
=(a)mun
=(a)dun
=(a)žun

Set<sub>1</sub> Functions:

1. encode agreement with S in all tenses,
2. encode agreement with A *in the present*,
- (3. encodes agreement with O in past (rare))  
(moribund (?) remnant of old past-tense ergative system — fieldwork is needed)

Set<sub>1</sub> Behavior:

- a. always suffixed to verb root (fixed)
- b. may  
take stress:                      xer-**ú**-e  
                                         eat-3S<sub>1</sub>-DUR  
                                         “He eats”

Set<sub>2</sub> Functions:

1. encode agreement with Os in verb/present\*  
*mo ún=a ven-án-e ~ mo ven-án=až=e ~*  
*mo ún=a ven-án=až=e*  
 I him=ACC see-1S<sub>1</sub>=3S<sub>2</sub>=DUR “I see him”

2. (encode Indirect Object in present system)\*
3. NP: pronominal possessive\*  
*dæst un ~ dæst=až* “his hand”
4. PP: object of preposition\*  
*æz un ~ æz=až* “from him.”  
\*alternates with coreferential pronoun
5. experiencer in experiencer construction

6. in **form** they encode agreement with transitive subject in past;  
 7. by **position**, have become grammaticalized as marking host as Direct Object<sub>past</sub>

Set<sub>2</sub> Behavior: “*The Floating Clitics*”

- a. position within **verb** is controlled by stress (comes immediately after stress):

Present System (encodes O)		Past System (encodes A)	
<u>precede root</u>	<u>follow root</u>	<u>precede root</u>	<u>follow root</u>
bí- <b>ž</b> -keš	keš-án- <b>ež</b> -e	bí- <b>ž</b> -kešt	kešté- <b>ž</b> -e
PUNCT-3S <sub>2</sub> -kill	kill-3S <sub>2</sub> -DUR	PUNCT-3S <sub>2</sub> -killed	killed-3S <sub>2</sub> -DUR
“kill him!”	“I’ll kill him”	“he killed”	“he used to kill”

**in past system**

- b. high leftward mobility away from verb, not determined by stress within **VP**
- c. position in clause: no Wackernagel position
- d. hosts: **O**, IO, ADV, PP, (but does not move out of VP domain, i.e. does *not* move to subordinate (or coordinate) conjunctions, or subjects)
- e. not necessarily adjacent to verb, may move several elements to left from verb
- f. occasionally omitted altogether, i.e., no agreement marking possible (see 21)

### Accusative-marking in the Present Tenses:

- No case forms as such
- Objects are marked with the encliticized marker *-(r)a* (at the very end of the NP).
- Accusative marking is licensed only for *specific* Objects
- *-(r)a* can also encode Indirect Object, if there is no available Direct Object (never both)

#### Specific Direct Object, Present Tense

#### non-Specific Direct Object, Present Tense

(1) *næbz šazdé=ra gir-ú-e.*  
 pulse prince=ACC take-3S<sub>1</sub>-DUR  
 "He takes the prince's pulse"

(2) *yeg pussin iżir bær mo vâ-dærz-e?*  
 one *pustin* fine for I PVB-sew-2S<sub>1</sub>  
 "Will you sew a fine *pustin* for me?" (Eilers, 36:7)

The following are the statistics for the use of *-(r)a* with specific and non-specific Ps in the present system by the various speakers:

Table One: *-(r)a* Accusative-marking in the Present

	least educated	very educated	most educated
<b>Present System</b>	Eilers, servant	Eilers, father	Eilers, son
<i>-(r)a</i> , specific D.O. in Present	22	25	13
no <i>-(r)a</i> , Specific D.O., Pres	5	3	0
<b>Total Tokens, overt specific O</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>% specific Ps marked with <i>-(r)a</i></b>	<b>81.5%</b>	<b>89.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<i>-(r)a</i> , Non-Specific D.O., Pres	0	0	0
no <i>-(r)a</i> , Non-Specific D.O., Pres	12	12	9
<b>% non specific Ps marked with <i>-(r)a</i></b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>

Double marking of Direct Objects with both *-(r)a* on the overt N/Pronoun *and* Set<sub>2</sub> fronting is also common, especially for animates Os:

(3) *dót=a bé=ž=ber-end*  
 girl=ACC PUNCT=3S<sub>2</sub>=carry=3P<sub>1</sub>  
 "Let them take the girl away."

(4) *mó=ra bí=m=gi!*  
 I=ACC PUNCT=1S<sub>2</sub>=catch  
 "Catch me!"

### Accusative-marking in the Past Tenses:

- in past, argument of core argument alignment is Nominative-Accusative
  - there are two strategies for marking Patients
1. marked with the enclitic *-(r)a* (as in present). Used by more Persian-influenced speakers
  2. *typologically unusual double function for the pronominal clitics (Set<sub>2</sub>)*: while their *form* encodes agreement with A<sub>past</sub>, they are commonly shifted leftwards in the clause (“Fronted”) and, as we shall see, by *position* they generally mark the host as O<sub>past</sub>.

Examples of Set<sub>2</sub>, the floating clitics and their landing sites:

Set<sub>2</sub> clitics may remain on verb; fronting is not obligatory:

- (5) bær baba=žun xunté=žun=e.  
 for father=3P<sub>2</sub> sung=3P<sub>2</sub>=DUR  
 “They used to sing for their father.”

Set<sub>2</sub> clitics can shift to the word immediately left of the verb. In most cases, this word is the Direct Object (irrespective of specificity):

Specific O, Noun

- (6) sæhær dib górz=až=až vé-git  
 morning demon mace=3S<sub>2</sub>=3S<sub>2</sub> PVB-take  
 “In the morning the demon picked up his mace.”  
 (Eilers 20:9)

- (7) šoma dændun mó=dun næ-ymært  
 you.pl tooth I=2P<sub>2</sub> NEG-broke  
 “you didn’t break my tooth” (Eilers, 70:4),

Set <sub>2</sub> enclitics
=(a)m
=(a)d
=(a)ž
=(a)mun
=(a)dun
=(a)žun

Specific O, Pronoun

- (8) ún=až bé-be ru zendun.  
 he=3S<sub>2</sub> PUNCT-took in jail  
 “He took him to jail.”

The relative length of Object NP is not an issue in hosting Set<sub>2</sub> clitics:

- (9) [ye moš pæšm=o peyal verre-a]=ž b-art  
 one fist wool=and dung lamb-pl=3S<sub>2</sub> PUNCT-brought  
 “He brought a fistful of lamb’s wool and dung.” (Eilers, 36: 11)

There is no special Wackernagel position; Set<sub>2</sub> clitics commonly occur in various positions. In (10), it is in third position and is also not adjacent to the verb (*Distance Fronting* below):

- (10) in merd mæyyari hær bār=i dü-ta tace=ž žer bæγæł=æž náy-e  
 this man P.N. each time=INDEF two-COUNTER bale=3S<sub>2</sub> under armpit=3S<sub>2</sub> put-DUR  
 “This Mayyari man each time would put two bales under his arm (and carry them)”  
 (Eilers 45:2)

### Option 2: -(r)a

For the two speakers under heavy influence from Persian, the -(r)a enclitic Accusative-marker is also an occasional option in the past tenses (9 - 13%, see statistics, Table Two):

- (11) üšpüš=a bí=ž-git  
 louse=ACC PUNCT=3S<sub>2</sub>=caught  
 “He caught the louse.” (Eilers, 20:12)

### Distance Fronting

Many examples of leftward fronting show that whenever the O is shifted leftwards in the sentence (for pragmatic reasons), Set<sub>2</sub> moves *with* the Object-as-host:

Specific O, “Distance Fronting”

- (12) mo ketab=am æz mææm-reza bé-rint.  
 I book=1S<sub>2</sub> from PN-PN punct-bought  
 “I bought the book from Mohammad-Reza” (69:1)

Specific O, Pronoun, “Distance Fronting”

- (13) un šæxs un=až ru kæšta xo=ž feresnáy-e.  
 that person he=3S<sub>2</sub> in field self=3S<sub>2</sub> send-DUR  
 “That person<sub>i</sub> used to send him<sub>j</sub> into his<sub>i</sub> field.”

even farther away from the verb:

- (14) hæmin jur xordal-a=ž yeki-yeki ta nezzik aγel gælledar-a bé-xos  
 just.this way residue-PL=3S<sub>2</sub> one-one until near pen shepherd-PL PUNCT-threw  
 “He was throwing down the residue exactly this way until right near the shepherds’ pen.  
 (Eilers, 36:11)

- (15) cador=amun šöš kilumetri go sær ye færséngi=u bé-žent-e=bo.  
 tent=1P<sub>2</sub> six kilometer REL on one parasang=is PUNCT-hit-PERF=BE.PAST  
 “We had pitched tent six kilometers (away), which is one full parasang.”

non-Specific O, “Distance Fronting”

- (16) mo emsin šojaæt=i=m æz un zæn mææbadi bí-di  
 I this.way courage=indef=1S<sub>2</sub> from that woman PN PUNCT-saw  
 “I saw that kind of courage from that Maabadi woman.” (Eilers, 46:19)

*Very occasionally*, Set<sub>2</sub> is fronted over a relative clause to stay with the O of the matrix clause:

- (17) m<sup>o</sup>=ž be in jur [go ven-id-e] ke.  
 me=3S<sub>2</sub> to this way SUBORD see-2P<sub>1</sub>-DUR made  
 “He made me this way that you see.” (Eilers, 25:16)

Set<sub>2</sub> clitics are also occasionally fronted over a subject but still remain attached to the O:

- (18) moc mo=ž zinji bí-git.  
 wrist I-3S<sub>2</sub> woman PUNCT-grabbed  
 “The woman grabbed my wrist.” (Eilers, 45:12)

Marking of non-specific Objects:

While there is differential Accusative-marking according to specificity with *-(r)a* in the present, marking of objects in the past by the position of the Set<sub>2</sub> does not show this split. All Objects are Accusative marked:

non-Specific O, Noun

- (19) ege pül=ad bí-yuss-e.  
 if money-2S<sub>2</sub> PUNCT-found=PERF  
 “If you hve found some money,...” (Eilers, 45:10)
- (20) ye joft girowe=ž bæra=m bé-rint.  
 one pair socks=3S<sub>2</sub> for=1S<sub>2</sub> PUNCT-bought  
 “He bought me a pair of socks.”

Deletion of Set<sub>2</sub>

As mentioned, Set<sub>2</sub> may also, very occasionally, be omitted altogether. That is, when there is an overt O expressed in the clause or when the O is clear from context but has no overt realization, there is the possibility of leaving the verb with TAMs but without any cross-referencing of the A:

overt O expressed in the clause

- (21) mo né-m-yuss-e æmma ege yek-i bí-yus, ...  
 I NEG-1S<sub>2</sub>-found-PERF but if one-INDEF PUNCT-found  
 “I haven’t found (it) [the treasure], but if someone did find (it), ...” (Eilers, 45:11)

Table Two: Accusative-marking in the Past, all types

	least educated	very educated	most educated
<b>Past System</b>	Eilers servant (approx 11 min.)	Eilers father (approx 11 min.)	Eilers son (approx 11 min.)
Accusative Marked by Fronted Set2:			
<b>specific O</b> , marked by fronted Set2	20	42	21
<b>specific O</b> , unmarked for accusative	0	0	0
<b>non-specific O</b> , marked by fronted Set2	7	10	10
<b>non-specific O</b> , unmarked for accusative	0	0	1
Accusative Marked by Fronted <i>-(r)a</i> :			
specific O, marked with <i>-(r)a</i> (alone = no Set2)	0	4	2
specific O, marked with <i>-(r)a</i> + Set2 (fronted to other element) in past tense	0	1	1
specific O, marked with <i>-(r)a</i> + Set2 (fronted to Compounding element in complex predicate)	0	0	1
specific O, marked with <i>-(r)a</i> + Set2 (kept on VB)	0	0	1
<b>Total Tokens, Past, overt Objects</b>	27	57	37
<b>% Objects marked with fronted Set2</b>	100%	91.2%	83.8%
<b>% Objects marked with <i>-(r)a</i></b>	0%	8.8%	13.5%

## “Other Objects” and The Object Eligibility Hierarchy

### Ditransitives

Set2 enclitics often front to an NP serving as the Indirect Object when a no Direct Object is available. Most of these examples occur with the verb “say” (22) but occasionally the O argument is dropped and the Set<sub>2</sub> clitic then fronts to the overt Indirect Object (23):

- (22) ale=ž bǒ-šo dót=až=až bé-vat  
 aunt=3S<sub>2</sub> PUN CT-went daughter=3S<sub>2</sub>=3S<sub>2</sub> PUN CT-said  
 “Her aunt went (and) told her daughter.” (Eilers, 45:8)

- (23) gork nadun hær ru ye verre=ž artey-e be ruba=ž tayy-e  
 wolf stupid every day one lamb=3S<sub>2</sub> take-DUR to fox=3S<sub>2</sub> give-DUR  
 “The stupid wolf would bring a lamb every day (and) would give (it) to the fox.”  
 (Eilers, 36:11)

However, whenever the O is overt, even when the I.O. is also available to serve as host, the clitic almost always prefers to attach to the O and the indirect object is marked in alternate ways (or left unmarked):

- (24) jum=až mo ta  
 goblet=3S<sub>2</sub> I gave  
 “She gave me the goblet.” (Eilers, 46:17)

Even if the Direct Object precedes the Indirect Object, the former takes precedence and Set<sub>2</sub> is fronted over the I.O. (Distance Fronting):

- (25) qessæm xoda=d mo ta  
 oath God=2S<sub>2</sub> I gave  
 "You gave me the oath of God (= you swore upon God to me)."

### Complex predicates; Light Verb Constructions

The situation with complex predicates, where the verbal complex has a nominal-type (or other type) preverbal element lexically bonded to a light verb, is very similar to the situation we just saw with Indirect Objects. That is, if there is a light verb construction and no overt O, Set<sub>2</sub> preferably fronts off the light verb to the content element. However, if a Direct or Indirect Object is present, the latter will usually serve as host over the NLV (nominal element of a light verb construction). That is there is a clear hierarchy in preference for the host of Set<sub>2</sub> clitics:

D.O.<sub>±specific</sub> > I.O. > NLV > ADV/PP > VB

Examples:

Complex predicate; compound verb, no overt O

- (26) hæ.ci {važ=až bé-ke} ← verbal complex  
 no.matter voice=3S<sub>3</sub> PUNCT-did  
 "No matter how much he called,..." (Eilers, 36:12)

Contrast the latter with a complex predicate containing an overt O and the same verb:

- (27) yeki=ž {važ ke}  
 one=3S<sub>3</sub> voice did  
 "He called one of them." (Eilers, 45:9)

In the following example, the Set<sub>2</sub> clitic is still fronted to the overt O, not the NLV, even over a Subject (promoted leftward for pragmatic reasons):

- (28) hæme kar-a kælæntæri=m mo {ænjum tayy-e} ← verbal complex  
 all work-PL police.station=1S<sub>2</sub> I fulfillment gave-DUR  
 "I performed all the tasks of the police station." (Eilers, 71:1)

In the texts investigated for these three speakers, *no* examples of Set<sub>2</sub> fronted to the NLV when an overt O is present has been found. The host of highest preference by far is the O.

### Summary

The Set<sub>2</sub> clitic, which is typical in most NW Iranian languages for the conjugation of transitive verbs in the past tense, is also typically very mobile in these languages. While there is a tendency in various other NWI to front these clitics to the word before the verb, which is often the Direct Object of the clause, Gazi seems to have grammaticalized the landing site of these clitics: it prefers to cliticize them to the Direct Object, no matter where the latter is or how far it gets removed from the verb.

Most sentences in a running text, however, are not of the canonical [overt A-overt O-VB] type. There is a high degree of argument dropping in discourse and therefore the Direct Object, the preferred landing site for the clitics, is not always available. In such cases the clitic will attach to the most eligible candidate for “object-like word” in the following hierarchy and, when all else fails, it attaches to the verb:

#### Object Eligibility Hierarchy

D.O. > I.O. > NLV > ADV/PP (> VB)

#### Abbreviations Used in Interlinear Glossing

1S <sub>1</sub>	Set <sub>1</sub> ending: 1st sg.	COUNTER	noun counter, <i>dánaə, dane</i>
2S <sub>1</sub>	Set <sub>1</sub> ending: 2nd sg.	DUR	durative aspect
3S <sub>1</sub>	Set <sub>1</sub> ending: 3rd sg.	INDEF	indefinite
1P <sub>1</sub>	Set <sub>1</sub> ending: 1st pl.	NEG	negative
2P <sub>1</sub>	Set <sub>1</sub> ending: 2nd pl.	PERF	formant of the perfect tenses
3P <sub>1</sub>	Set <sub>1</sub> ending: 3rd pl.	PL	direct plural ending
1S <sub>2</sub>	Set <sub>2</sub> ending: 1st sg.	PUNCT	punctual (non-durative) aspect
2S <sub>2</sub>	Set <sub>2</sub> ending: 2nd sg.	PVB	preverb
3S <sub>2</sub>	Set <sub>2</sub> ending: 3rd sg.	SUBORD	subordinator <i>ke</i>
1P <sub>2</sub>	Set <sub>2</sub> ending: 1st pl.		
2P <sub>2</sub>	Set <sub>2</sub> ending: 2nd pl.		
3P <sub>2</sub>	Set <sub>2</sub> ending: 3rd pl.		

#### Additional notes regarding Eilers (1979):

Citations from Eilers (1979) are listed, not according to page number, but according to Narration number and section number, e.g., (Eilers, 36:12) comes from Narration 36, section 12. The numbers for the narrations correspond to the three speakers of Gazi as follows: Narration 20 is the speech of the least conservative speaker, Ahmad-’Ali Barumand, a 19-year old high school student; Narration 36 is the speech of the most conservative of the three speakers, ’Abbas (last name and age not given), the family servant of the Barumand family; all other narrations represent the speech of Yahya Khan Barumand, age 45, the father of the family and son of the former mayor of Gaz. The speech of the latter can be considered to be on the less conservative side, that is, somewhat influenced by Persian but not as much as that of his son. The material was gathered in 1941.

Eilers’ transcriptions in the publication represent a tight, subphonemic transcription with many more details of the sound system given, especially regarding the vowels, than is necessary. I have “normalized” his transcriptions based on the transcriptions of other investigators (Yarshater, Zhukovskii and Kalbassi).

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