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

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(1) Double oblique, Rushani

či	mum	kitob	x̌ēyč
who.OBL	this.OBL	book	read.PRF

'who read this book?'

(2) Tripartite system, Yazghulam

mon	š=tu	wint
me.OBL	D.O.=you	see.PST

'i saw you' (c.f. *az* 'i', direct case form)

Outline

1. Ancestral split ergativity
2. Canonical split ergativity
3. Canonical split ergativity as *default*
4. The array of overrides
5. Towards a defaults-based typology of Eastern Iranian alignment
   - some assumptions
   - Network Morphology
   - null hypothesis and Eastern Iranian alignment

Pamiri languages and their Eastern Iranian sisters

Pashto	Northeast
Pamir area	**Ossetic**
North Pamir	**Yaghnobi**
Yazghulami	Southeast
Shughni-Rushani	**Parači**
Bartangi	**Ormuri**
Oroshori	
Rushani	
Sarikoli	
Shughni	
Ishkashimi	
Wakhi	
Munji	

1. Ancestral split ergativity

Emergence of split ergative is reanalysis of nom-acc alignment

- Passive is the path of the reanalysis (Pirejko 1979, Stilo 2009)

Iranian *–ta* participle as origins of split ergativity

(1a) hamiçiyā hagmatā

rebel.PL.NOM.MASC assembled.PL.NOM.MASC

'the rebels assembled'

(1b) ima tya manā kartam

this.SG.NOM.N what.SG.NOM.N me.SG.GEN do.SG.NOM.N

'this is what was done by me'

Vestigial split ergativity

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

2 Canonical split ergativity

Properties		PRESENT		PAST	
		Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive
Dependent properties (relating to nominal case)		Arg1 = dir	Arg1 =dir Arg2 =obl	Arg1 = dir	Arg1 = obl Arg2 = dir
Head properties (relating to verb agreement)	1.Agreement controller	Arg1		Arg1	Arg2
	2.Agreement features	Pers, Num		Pers, Num, Gend	
	3.Agreement marking paradigm	Paradigm *α*		Paradigm *β*	Paradigm *γ*

Yazghulami

	Intransitive		Transitive*	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	=əm	=an	=əm	=an
2nd	=at	=əf	=at	=əf
3rd	--	=an	=ay	=əf

*Obligatorily omitted when an overt subject is present.

Rushani

	Intransitive		Transitive*	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	=(y)um	=am	=(y)um	=am
2nd	=at	=af	=at	=af
3rd	--	=an	=i	=an

*Obligatorily omitted when an overt subject is present.

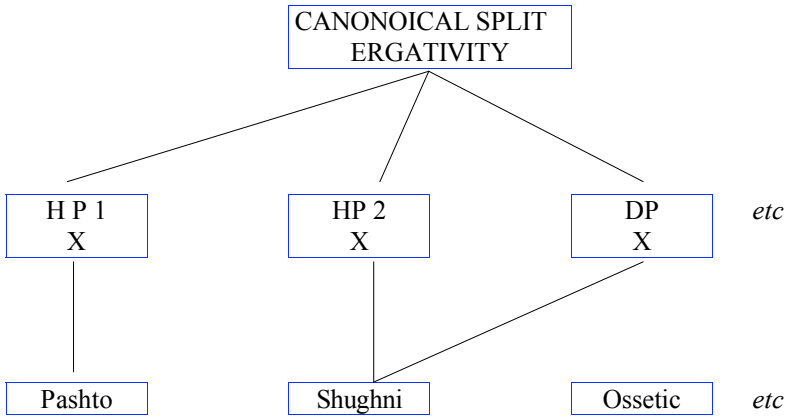
(12) a. u (*=ay) dəri ðůr šod
he (*=3SG) into gorge go.PST
he went into the gorge

b. ž=mon=ay win-t
D.O.=me=3SG see-PST
he saw me

(13) a. way (*=ay) ž=mon win-t
he (*=3SG) D.O=me see-PST
he saw me

3 Canonical split ergativity as *default*

Properties		PRESENT		PAST	
		Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive
Dependent properties (relating to nominal case)		Arg1 = dir	Arg1 =dir Arg2 =obl	Arg1 = dir	Arg1 = obl Arg2 = dir
Head properties (relating to verb agreement)	1.Agreement controller	Arg1		Arg1	Arg2
	2.Agreement features	Pers, Num		Pers, Num, Gend	
	3.Agreement marking paradigm	Paradigm α		Paradigm β	Paradigm γ



4 The array of overrides

Properties		PRESENT		PAST	
		Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive
Dependent properties (relating to nominal case)		Arg1 = dir	Arg1 =dir Arg2 =obl	Arg1 = dir	Arg1 = obl Arg2 = dir
Head properties (relating to verb agreement)	1.Agreement controller	Arg1		Arg1	Arg2
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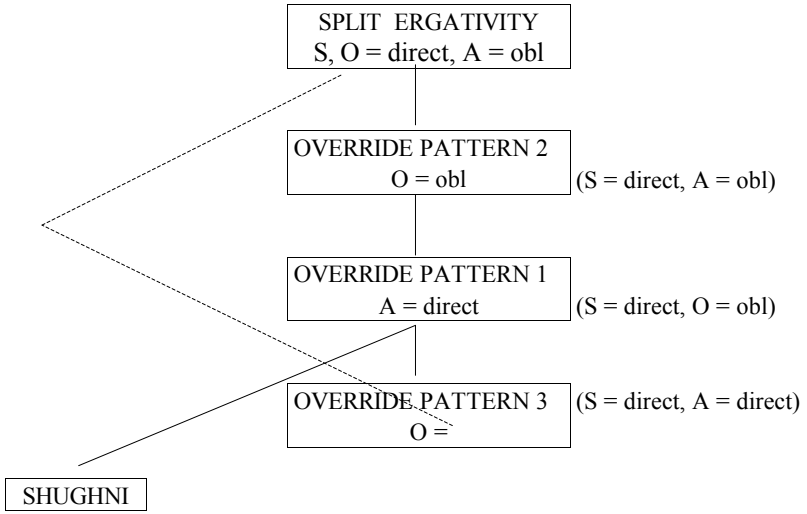

(27) Oroshori, Pattern 1

a. a=wam kitōb=um zōxt
D.O.=that book=1SG take.PST
'I took that book'

b. tu a=mun čiz-ri parδāw?
you D.O.=me what.for tease.2SG.PRS
'Why are you teasing me?'

5 Towards a defaults-based account of Eastern Iranian alignment

- Some assumptions
  - paradigm-based
  - separation of content from form

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

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

- Feature-based approach picks out alignment patterns in cross-linguistics perspective

(30) Attribute-value matrices for a. ‘I (fem) stand’, b. ‘he struck them (masc)’

a.

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

b.

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

B Inheritance is not mandatory

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

C Multiple inheritance

Network Morphology

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

(34)

```
<syn> == <mor>

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

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

Null hypothesis

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

	Grammatical domain	*Canonical split ergativity*	*Transitional phase*	*Canonical accusativity*
1.	Verb agrees in person/number a. with O	encoded like S	→	not encoded (All Pamir languages are here.)
	b. with A	not encoded	encoded, but not like S	encoded like S
	Bartangi:		3sg, 3pl	elsewhere
	Yazghulami:			
	Rushani:			
	Oroshori:			
2.	Vb agr. with S in gend (participle behavior)	yes (still a part.?)	→	no (not a participle)
	Bartangi:	✓		
	Yazghulami:			
	Rushani:			
	Oroshori:			
3.	Case of A	oblique	optional or variable, e.g. according to animacy	direct
	Bartangi:		✓	
	Yazgulyam:			
	Rushani:			
	Oroshori:			
4.	Case of O	not oblique	oblique / special, e.g. according to animacy	specifically accusative, strong tendency
	Bartangi:		✓	
	Yazghulami:			
	Rushani:			
	Oroshori:			

	Grammatical domain	*Canonical split ergativity*	*Transitional phase*	*Canonical accusativity*
1.	Verb agrees in person/number a. with O	encoded like S	→	not encoded (All Pamir languages are here.)
	b. with A	not encoded	encoded, but not like S	encoded like S
	Bartangi:		3sg, 3pl	elsewhere
	Yazghulami:	with overt S	3sg, 3pl	elsewhere
	Rushani:	with overt S	3sg	elsewhere
	Oroshori:			invariably
2.	Vb agr. with S in gend (participle behavior)	yes (still a part.?)	→	no (not a participle)
	Bartangi:	✓		
	Yazghulami:			✓
	Rushani:	✓		
	Oroshori:	✓		
3.	Case of A	oblique	optional or variable, e.g. according to animacy	direct
	Bartangi:		✓	
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	Rushani:	✓		
	Oroshori:			✓
4.	Case of O	not oblique	oblique / special, e.g. according to animacy	specifically accusative, strong tendency
	Bartangi:		✓	
	Yazghulami:		✓	
	Rushani:		✓	
	Oroshori:			✓

Null hypothesis

- shared alignment properties don't necessarily indicate shared ancestry