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# Foreword

This monograph contains a number of the talks given at the 41st Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, held in Berkeley, California, February 7-8, 2015. The conference included a General Session and the Special Session *Fieldwork Methodology*. The 41st Annual Meeting was planned and run by the second-year graduate students of the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley: Kenny Baclawski, Anna Jurgensen, Spencer Lamoureux, Hannah Sande, and Alison Zerbe.

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The BLS 41 Executive Committee  
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## Second Position and “Floating” Clitics in Wakhi

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### 1 Introduction

Second position clitics are well described in certain South Slavic languages, with analyses ranging from purely phonological to purely syntactic ones. The focus of this paper is a language with second position clitics that is much less well documented: Wakhi. As a non-European language, Wakhi clitics can offer fresh insight into the debate between syntactic and phonological approaches to second position clitics, especially because Wakhi clitics pose additional challenges to the standard approaches. Wakhi second position clitics appear to “float” – that is, they sometimes appear further to the right in the clause than second position.

Clitics in Wakhi are thus particularly problematic. Like all second position clitics, it is unclear whether phonology or syntax dictates their position within the clause. In addition, it is uncertain whether these clitics do indeed “float” – whether the clitics that appear in non-second position are the same as the second position clitics but are a result of movement, or whether they are independently derived clitics with the same form as the second position clitics, making the “floating” merely an illusion.

In this paper, I examine data from my own fieldwork, and argue for a split analysis of Wakhi clitics: I claim that the clitics that appear in second position are a different type of clitic than those that appear in non-second position. The crucial data in this analysis show evidence that the non-2P clitics have semantic selectional restrictions with respect to their hosts that the 2P clitics do not. Based on this data, I argue that the clitics that appear in second position are true 2P clitics, and I provide a syntactic account of these, locating them in a fixed structural position in Spec, TP. This syntax is able to account for the linear order of clitics with respect to other arguments in information-neutral clauses, in relative clauses, and in clauses in which A'-movement has extracted material into the left periphery. An independent account of non-2P clitics as possessive clitics is able to capture the semantic selectional restrictions they demonstrate. Further, such an analysis readily addresses the fact that these two different clitics have the same form: They both receive their  $\phi$ -features from the subject of the clause. 2P clitics via an AGREE relation with the subject, possessive non-2P clitics via an A-movement relationship. These facts illustrate why the two different clitics have the same form and why this has previously created the illusion of “floating” 2P clitics.

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List of abbreviations: 2P= second position; ACC = accusative; CL = clitic; DET = determiner; GEN = genitive; LV = light verb; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PST = past; SELF = reflexive pronoun; SG = singular.

## 2 Background

Second position (2P) clitics, first described by Wackernagel (1892), are those clitics (or clusters of clitics) that occur in second position in their clause. Clitics are phonologically weak elements that must have a phonologically strong element to serve as their host, but unlike affixes, clitics have a low degree of selection in terms of their host. Second position clitics, then, are those that can have as their host any XP (or X, depending on the language), as long as that host is the first within its clause. Consider, for illustration, the Slovenian clitic clusters in (1).

- (1) a. Hvalil *se ji je*.  
 praised. SELF.ACC HER.DAT is  
 ‘He praised himself to her.’
- b. da *se ji je* hvalil  
 that SELF.ACC HER.DAT is praised  
 ‘He praised himself to her.’
- c. \*da hvalil *se ji je* (Boškovič 2001)

Sentences (1a) and (1b), in which the clitic cluster follows the first word in the sentence, are grammatical. In (1c), however, the clitic cluster has no host, as it is sentence-initial, and the sentence is no longer grammatical. This phenomenon is not unique to Slovenian; it has been well described in several other languages, especially South Slavic languages such as Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian.

### 2.1 Approaches to second position clitics

These second position clitics have generated quite a large body of research in syntax, in phonology, and especially at the syntax-phonology interface. The crucial questions in this discussion have to do with whether second position clitics are base-generated or whether they are the result of movement. If they are the result of movement, what is the timing and motivation of this movement? The general approaches to second position clitics presented in the literature can be thought of as divided into four basic categories, as presented in Boškovič (2001): the strong syntactic approach, the weak syntactic approach, the strong phonological approach, and the weak phonological approach.

The strong syntactic approach claims that the syntax is solely responsible for the placement of clitics, with no movement occurring post-syntactically. Ungrammatical structures in which the clitic is sentence-initial or further to the right than second position must be ruled out by the syntax, not the phonology. One way to do this is proposed by Roberts (1994) for Serbo-Croatian: He claims the clitic is hosted in C, which has a strong feature that needs to be checked by some expression moving into its specifier, in front of the clitic. An alternative is to allow the syntax to know that the clitic is an enclitic and that it therefore cannot be stranded in sentence-initial position (Progovac 1996). The requirement for an element to be in front of the clitic can be satisfied by independently necessary syntactic operations such as wh-movement, but if none of these operations save the construction then some other element is allowed to move in front of the clitic. To prevent this movement from

occurring arbitrarily, movement restricted by the Last Resort Condition, such that it can only occur if no other operation has provided an appropriate host for the enclitic. This kind of analysis introduces a look-ahead problem, in which the syntax must have knowledge of whether certain phonological requirements are or are not being satisfied.

Putting aside the differences in ruling out ungrammatical structures discussed above, strong syntactic accounts of second position clitics generally have three important assumptions in common (Boškovič 2001): (1) Clitics cluster together syntactically, i.e. clause-mate clitics are all located in the same position. (2) This position is structurally fixed for all constructions. (3) This position is located high in the tree, so that there is no space for more than one element to occur in front of the clitic cluster within its clause. Accounts that take this approach include, but are certainly not limited to Franks (1999), Roberts (1994), Tomić (1996), and Wilder and Čavar (1994).

Weak syntactic accounts generally operate under the same assumptions and posit that clitic movement takes place in the syntax, but they delegate to post-syntactic operations a small amount of word-reordering that is needed to satisfy certain phonological conditions. In specific ungrammatical constructions in which the clitic is stranded in sentence-initial position, Halpern (1992) proposes a post-syntactic readjustment known as Prosodic Inversion (PI). Based on the well known observation that in some languages the clitic can occur in second position either after the first phrase (2a) or after the first word (2), Halpern argues that clitics that are left in sentence-initial position may undergo very local post-syntactic movement, lowering onto the first stressed word they encounter, allowing for their occurrence in second position after the first word in (2b). Opponents of this approach to second position clitics in Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1996, Wilder and Čavar 1994) point out that clitics that occur after the first word, seemingly cutting off a phrase, are restricted in their use, and often result in a special interpretation.

- (2) a. Taj covjek je volio Milenu  
that man is loved Milena  
'That man loved Milena'  
b. Taj je covjek volio Milenu.

On the other end of the spectrum, strong phonological approaches claim that second position clitics are a completely post-syntactic phenomenon, involving extensive word re-ordering at spell-out. Radanović-Kocić (1996) gives this kind of analysis for Serbo-Croatian second position clitics. Under her approach, clitics are indistinguishable from full forms in the syntax, but are set apart from other phonological material in the phonology by being assigned the feature [+clitic] (unless they carry phrasal stress). When prosodic mapping is applied, these elements are moved within their intonational phrase to the position immediately following the first phonological phrase of that intonational phrase. Because these phonological phrases and intonational phrases are not necessarily constituents in the syntax, this movement must be post-syntactic. Examples from Serbo-Croatian like (2) above pose challenges to this kind of account: In order to account for both (2a) and (2b) they must posit that the language can optionally form a phonological phrase from just a determiner.

Finally, weak phonological approaches argue that the phonology is responsible for second position clitics, but that all clitic movement occurs in the syntax. The phonology is instead

a filter, taking into consideration all syntactically well-formed outputs but filtering out those that violate certain phonological rules. More specifically, phonology rules out cases in which a second position clitic has no host within its intonational phrase (assuming cliticization cannot occur across intonational phrase boundaries), or has an unsuitable host, such as a phonologically weak element. The crucial element of this analysis is that Morphological Merger (Marantz 1989) takes place post-syntactically and only under phonological adjacency. Boškovič (2001) develops such an account, but departs from Marantz (1989) in claiming that Morphological Merger cannot reorder elements, it can only take two adjacent elements and make them into a single word.

The analyses described above are for the most part based on Slavic second position clitics, especially Serbo-Croatian. Some work has also been done on Bulgarian (Pancheva 2005, Harizanov 2014) and Macedonian (Harizanov 2014). Many non-European and therefore less accessible languages (Boškovič (2001) includes Walpiri, Pashto, Mayo, and others in this list) have much less of a presence in the literature on second position clitics (see Legate (2008) for an analysis of second position clitics in Walpiri). The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the literature on second position clitics by describing and providing a preliminary analysis for second position clitics in another less accessible language: Wakhi, an endangered East-Iranian language. All data in this paper comes from my own fieldwork.

## 2.2 Wakhi

Wakhi is an East-Iranian SOV language that can be broken up into four main dialects, corresponding to four primary geographic locations in which the Wakhi people live: Gojali Wakhi is spoken in the Hunza and Gojal valleys of Pakistan, Pamiri Wakhi is spoken in the Pamir region of Tajikistan, a separate dialect is spoken in the Wakhan corridor in Afghanistan, and a dialect is spoken in the Xinjiang province of China. Estimates of the number of Wakhi speakers vary between about 30,000 and 60,000, but the number is steadily declining, as Wakhi is a purely oral language, with no written form. Where Wakhi children attend school or work in larger cities, more dominant languages such as Russian, Urdu, and Tajik dominate academic and professional settings, and Wakhi is restricted to domestic life.

The dialect described in this paper is a Pamiri dialect. The Pamiri dialects are not a homogenous group, likely for geographical regions. The Pamirs of Tajikistan are a very isolated and mountainous region, with special permission required to enter the region and travel between villages being rather difficult. My informant is from Murghab, so I will refer to the variety of Wakhi she speaks as the Murghab dialect. Murghab is located in the far east of Tajikistan (for comparison, the capital and major city of Tajikistan – Dushanbe – is in the eastern half of the country), and is described by locals and other linguists who have been to the region as one of the more remote villages in the area.

As is expected in conditions of isolation from each other, the Wakhi dialects vary with respect to several aspects of the language. Wakhi is a split ergative language, but certain dialects appear to be losing the split ergativity. In the Murghab dialect, for instance, it appears that use of ergative pronouns is optional. My informant regularly produces two forms of transitive sentences in the perfect, reporting that the form with the ergative pronoun and the form with the nominative pronoun are equally acceptable. More immediately relevant to the current discussion is variation in clitic use. Two important variations come to mind.

First, the 3SG clitic is =*i*, and certain dialects appear to be losing this clitic, presumably for phonological reasons. For instance, for my Gojali Wakhi informant the clitic is obligatory whenever licensed by the syntax; my informant from Murghab, on the other hand, judges sentences with this clitic to be grammatical but often does not produce the clitic herself. Second, the dialects show variation in the placement of the second position clitics. Gojali Wakhi appears to have strict second position pronominal clitics, whereas Murghab Wakhi has been observed to have “floating” clitics – ones that do not necessarily adhere to the expected second position. I describe the facts of second position and “floating” clitics in Murghab Wakhi in the next section.

Although Wakhi is an SOV language, it does exhibit certain properties of a head-initial language. Wakhi sentences are all verb-final, as is expected, with the object directly preceding the verb. However, Wakhi regularly allows prepositions, rather than postpositions as one might expect. Head-final languages also have complementizers linearly following, rather than preceding, embedded clauses. The status of complementizers in Wakhi is yet to be determined. We find no overt complementizers following embedded clauses. The particle *tha* does resemble a complementizer – *ki* – is always clause-initial, but certain evidence point to this particle being a linker rather than a true complementizer (see the discussion below). In this paper I assume clause-final complementizers, but further work is needed to establish whether this is indeed the case in Wakhi.

### 3 Data

#### 3.1 2P clitics

The Wakhi clitics discussed in this paper are doubled pronominal clitics. They express the agreement  $\phi$ -features (in the case of Wakhi, these are person and number) of a full nominal phrase, which is referred to as the associate. In Wakhi, the associate is always the subject of the clause, thus the second position clitic covaries with the subject: In (3a), the subject is the 1SG.NOM *wuz* and the clitic is the 1SG =(ə)*m*, whereas in (3b) the subject is the 2SG.NOM *tu* and the corresponding clitic is the 2SG =(ə)*t*. A full paradigm, by person and number, of these pronominal clitics is provided in (4). The clitics occur only in the past tense – (3a) is in the past tense and has the second position clitic, while (3c) is in the present and cannot have the second position clitic.

- (3) a. *wuz=m gefsti*  
       1SG=1SG.CL run.PST  
       ‘I ran’
- b. *tu=t gefsti*  
       2SG=2SG.CL run.PST  
       ‘You ran.’
- c. *wuz=əʃ gefs-əm*  
       1SG=PROG run-1SG.PRS  
       ‘I am running.’

(4)

	SG	PL
1st	=əm	=ən
2nd	=ət	=iʃ
3rd	=i	=iʃ

These enclitics are observed to be second-position (2P) clitics, as they are hosted by the first phrasal constituent of the clause. In (3a) above, this first constituent is merely a word, but in fact the first constituent may be arbitrarily complex. In (5) the first constituent is composed of two words, and the corresponding clitic still occurs after the whole phrase rather than the first word (the determiner). The DP is even more complex in (6), in which *ja ðaj* ‘the man’ is modified by a relative clause. Still, the clitic occurs after this entire phrase. Further, we observe connectivity effects in (7a): The coordination of the 1SG *wuz* and the 3SG *Laura* results in the use of only one clitic, the 1PL clitic =ən, rather than separate clitics for each of the conjuncts, which would be ungrammatical as illustrated in (7b).

(5) [ja ʃelzɪn]=i            gefsti  
 det woman=3SG.CL run.PST  
 ‘That woman ran.’

(6) [ja badʒ ðaj [kumd ki ja ʃapik ptun jitk]]=i            ruçpetk  
 [DET fat man who COMP DET food all eat.PST]=3SG.CL sleep.PST  
 ‘The man who ate all the food slept.’

(7) a. [wuz=ət Laura]=ən        droz  
 1SG=AND Laura=1PL.CL tall  
 ‘Me and Laura are tall.’  
 b. \*[wuz=əm=ət Laura=i]        droz  
 1SG=1SG.CL=AND Laura=3SG.CL tall  
 ‘Me and Laura are tall.’

While the above examples seem to suggest that the clitic must be hosted by the subject (which is also the associate), this is not necessarily the case. If in a given clause the subject is dropped, then the clitic is hosted by whatever the next constituent is. In (8a), the subject pronoun is overt and hosts the clitic, but in (8b), the overt subject has been omitted from the transitive clause, but the clitic still occurs in second position, hosted by the internal argument of the verb. Note, however, that while the subject associate can be omitted from the clause as in (8b), the doubled clitic cannot, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (8c).

(8) a. wuz=əm        ja put-i        litʃ diçti  
 1SG=1SG.CL DET ball-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘I kicked the ball.’  
 b. ja        put-i=m            litʃ diçti  
 DET ball-ACC=1SG.CL kick LV.PST  
 ‘I kicked the ball.’



- c. \*wuz ja put-i litʃ diɕti  
 1SG DET ball-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘I kicked the ball.’

The data discussed in this section illustrates the behavior of Wakhi second position clitics when they occur where they are expected to: in second position, immediately following the first XP in their clause. The following section presents data in which the clitics, rather than occurring in second position, appear further to the right in the clause.

### 3.2 Non-2P clitics

It has been observed that in certain dialects of Wakhi the 2P clitics can appear further to the right of expected second position, as if they moved to the right in their clause. This has sometimes been described as “floating” clitics. The data presented in Section 3.1 all showed clitics occurring in the second position in the clause, immediately following the first phrasal constituent. The data in this section presents sentences in which the clitic does not occur where we would expect it to based on what has been described so far, and compares judgments about these sentences to those seen previously.

Example (9a) is just like those seen in Section 3.1: The clitic occurs in second position. The informant judges this kind of sentence to be contextually neutral, possible to utter out of the blue without any special context. Examples (9b-9d) show the clitic to the right of second position. In (9b) the clitic is on the internal argument *bil* ‘shovel’. The sentence is judged grammatical, as is (9d), in which the clitic is hosted by the sentence-final verb. My informant does report that both of these sentences are awkward, but nevertheless her intuition is that there is some emphasis on the speaker. (9c) is perfectly grammatical; in this example, the clitic is hosted by *tə ɕi znax* ‘in my jaw’. There is an emphasis on the speaker and his jaw, as if there were a series of self-mutilation events performed by various people and the speaker wants to highlight what she has done to herself.

- (9) a. wuz=əm bil pə ɕi znax dijt-i  
 1SG=1SG shovel in SELF.POSS jaw put-PST  
 ‘I put the shovel in my jaw.’  
 b. ?wuz bil=əm tə ɕi znax dəjt-əj  
 c. wuz bil [tə ɕi znax]=əm dəjt-əj  
 d. ?wuz bil tə ɕi znax dəjt=əm

Although (9) and the corresponding judgments may initially suggest a focus effect of the non-2P clitic, it is important to distinguish the effects in (9) from new information focus in Wakhi. New information focus in Wakhi is obligatorily marked by special pitch accent, indicated by boldface print in this paper. (10a) has no pitch accent as is considered information-neutral, possible to say without a special context, whereas (10b) has pitch accent on *ja puti* ‘the ball’ as is judged to have focus in ‘the ball’, as in a felicitous answer to the question *What did you kick?* (new information focus is also optionally marked by extraction into the left periphery, as will be discussed below, in Section 4.2). Consider now example (11), which demonstrates how clitic placement and new information focus in Wakhi interact: The two are independent, though not mutually exclusive.

- (10) a. wuz=əm ja put-i litʃ diɕti  
 1SG=1SG.CL DET ball-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘I kicked the ball.’ (information neutral)
- b. wuz=əm **ja put-i** litʃ diɕti  
 1SG=1SG.CL DET ball-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘I kicked **the ball.**’ (as an answer to the question *What did you kick?*)
- (11) a. *Q: What did you break?*  
 wuz=əm jɛzi ɕi **ʂəw-i** ʂkendəvdi  
 1SG=1SG.CL yesterday SELF.POSS horns-ACC break.PST  
 ‘I broke my horns.’
- b. *Q: What did you break?*  
 wuz jɛzi ɕi **ʂəw-i**=m ʂkendəvdi
- c. *Q: When did you break your horns?*  
 wuz **jɛzi** ɕi ʂəw-i=m ʂkendəvdi

In (11a) the clitic is in regular second position, and the pitch accent is on the object *ɕi ʂəw-i* ‘my horns’, and this object is interpreted as new information, as in response to the question *What did you break?*. (11b) is the same except that ‘my horns’ not only has the new information pitch accent but also hosts the clitic (which is therefore not in second position). The interpretation is the same, except that the informant reports the intuition that there is an emphasis on the speaker. This example shows us that new information focus and the clitic are not incompatible. Example (11c) shows that they are independent notions though: The clitic not being in second position does not mean that the new information focus must be on the same constituent. In this example, the new information focus is on *jɛzi* ‘yesterday’ while the clitic is on ‘my horns.’ ‘Yesterday’ is the new information, as in the answer to the question *When did you break your horns?* but again the informant reports an emphasis on the speaker that is not present when the clitic appears in second position. This set of examples and their corresponding judgments therefore show that clitics in Wakhi, when they occur to the right of second position, have a special interpretation, but this interpretation is not focus: Clitics and new information focus are separate but not mutually exclusive notions in Wakhi.

In Section 3.1 the data demonstrated that pronominal past tense clitics in Wakhi appear in second position, but the data in this section seems to suggest they can float: Wakhi pronominal clitics can appear further to the right of second position and introduce a special interpretation. This raises several questions. First, in the basic cases, what is the syntax of the second position clitics? Where are they hosted, such that they occur in second position in the clause in information neutral sentences? In the next section, I will explore evidence from extraction of focused expressions and topics to show that the clitic is indeed in a structurally fixed position in the syntax, as posited in syntactic accounts of second position clitics in other languages, like Serbo-Croatian. The second question to ask, once the syntax of the second position clitics is established, regards the nature of “floating” clitics. Are they the same clitics as the 2P clitics but indeed “floating” to the right from their expected position, or are they independently derived? I will propose an analysis of these clitics in the next section as well.

## 4 Analysis

In this section I propose an analysis of Wakhi pronominal clitics, in an attempt to capture the data described in above. I claim that 2P clitics and “floating” non-2P clitics are different types of clitics. In Section 4.1 I discuss evidence from differences in the selectional restrictions in terms of possible hosts for 2P and non-2P clitics that motivate this split in analysis. In Section 4.2 I provide a syntactic account of the 2P clitics, arguing that they are hosted in a structurally fixed position, specifically in Spec,TP. This analysis is shown to account for the linear ordering of clitics with respect to the first phrase in information-neutral clauses, in relative clauses, and in clauses in which topicalization and/or focus have extracted material into the left periphery. In Section 4.3 I turn to the syntax of the non-2P clitics, which I claim are possessor clitics, related to the subject by A-movement. This captures the semantic selectional restrictions on the host of the possessor clitics. It also captures the fact that 2P clitics and non-2P clitics have the same form: the subject that is related to the possessor clitic through A-movement is also the associate of the 2P clitic. The two types of clitics get their  $\phi$ -features from the same DP, so it is expected that they have the same form.

### 4.1 Two different clitics

While at first glance it may appear that the non-2P clitics are the same as the 2P clitics but in a different location as a result of some syntactic movement, a more thorough investigation of the arguments which may host 2P and non-2P clitics shows that this is not the case. In fact, semantic selectional restrictions on what arguments may host non-2P clitics show a much more limited use of the non-2P clitics, suggesting they are possessor clitics, independent from the 2P clitics.

Consider the following minimal pairs:

- (12) a. wuz  $\epsilon$ i                     $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{əw-i=m}$                      $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{kendəvdi}$   
           1SG SELF.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST  
           ‘I broke my horns.’
- b. \*wuz ti                     $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{əw-vi=m}$                      $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{kendəvdi}$   
           1SG 2SG.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST  
           ‘I broke your horns.’
- (13) a.  $\epsilon$ i                     $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{əw-i=m}$                     wuz  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{kendəvdi}$   
           SELF.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL 1SG break.PST  
           ‘It was my horns that I broke.’
- b. ti                     $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{əw-vi=m}$                     wuz  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{kendəvdi}$   
           2SG.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL 1SG break.PST  
           ‘I broke your horns.’

The non-2P clitic is more restricted in its use. While it can occur on the internal argument of the verb in (12a), it cannot occur on the internal argument in (12b). These examples are identical, save for who the horns that underwent the breaking belong to. When the horns belong to the 1SG subject of the sentence, *horns* can host the non-2P 1SG clitic. However,

when the horns belong to the 2SG addressee of the clause rather than to the subject, this argument is no longer an available host for the non-2P 1SG clitic.

In contrast, consider examples (13a) and (13b). These are analogous to (12a) and (12b), respectively, but with the internal arguments from (12a) and (12b) fronted for new information focus. Unsurprisingly, *ei səw-i* ‘my horns’ can host the clitic in (13a) just as it did in (12a), but the crucial data point is in (13b). Whereas *ti səw-vi* ‘your horns’ in (12b) could not host the non-2P 1SG clitic that agrees with the 1SG subject of the clause, that same argument – when fronted – can host the 2P 1SG clitic, as in (13b).

In other words, the non-2P clitic must be hosted by an argument that can be somehow associated with the subject of the clause, while the 2P clitic is unselective in the relationship of its host to the subject of the clause. This suggests that the 2P and non-2P clitics are not related by movement but are rather two independent clitics. I argue that Wakhki 2P clitics are true second-position clitics, whose host is determined by the syntax, whereas the non-2P clitics are independently derived possessor clitics.

If the 2P and the non-2P clitics in Wakhi are indeed independent of each other, then one might predict that it is possible for both to occur in the same clause. This prediction is in fact borne out:

- (14) wuz=əm ei                    səw-i=m                    škendəvdi  
 1SG=1SG SELF.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST  
 ‘I broke my horns.’

Example (14) shows that it is indeed possible for a 2P and non-2P clitic to cooccur in a clause, providing further evidence that the two are independent of each other. The remainder of this section will be dedicated to providing a syntax for the two different types of clitics.

## 4.2 The syntax of 2P clitics

Having demonstrated that the 2P pronominal clitics are different and independent from the non-2P pronominal clitics, I first tackle the syntax of the 2P clitics. I argue that these clitics are hosted in Spec,TP, which accounts for their second position after the subject of the clause in information-neutral sentences, and their second position after fronted material when information packaging extracts one or more arguments into the left periphery.

Data that shows how these 2P clitics interact with material that has been extracted into the left periphery is crucial in the analysis of Wakhi 2P clitics, as this data will demonstrate that these 2P clitics are in a structurally fixed position. Recall that in the case of the presence of an overt subject in an information neutral sentence, the clitic occurs in second position, hosted by the subject, as in (15a). In (15b), the subject is no longer the first constituent in the clause, as one of the internal arguments of the verb has been fronted. In this case, the clitic again occurs in second position, hosted by the fronted element *bil* ‘shovel’, rather than the subject *wuz* ‘I’.

- (15) a. wuz=əm bil    pə ei                    znax dijt-i  
 1SG=1SG shovel in SELF.POSS jaw put-PST  
 ‘I put the shovel in my jaw.’

- b. bil=əm      wuz tə çì      znax dəjt-əj  
 shovel=1SG 1SG in SELF.POSS jaw put-PST  
 ‘I put the shovel in my jaw.’

Informant judgments show that (15b) has either a topic interpretation or a new information focus interpretation of the fronted material, depending on the pitch accent on the fronted element. If the fronted element is realized with a low-high pitch accent, then it is interpreted as new information focus, as when the sentence is an answer to the question *What did you put in your jaw?* If this fronted element is not given special pitch accent, it is interpreted as a topic, and the sentence is judged to be a felicitous answer to a question like *What did you do with the shovel?*

These judgments suggest that a fronted element like in (15b) may be fronted above the TP. Both topicalization and focus are associated with A'-movement, so we might test binding conditions on the fronted elements to test this hypothesis. A possessive pronoun like *his* must be bound in its binding domain according to Binding Condition A. We therefore expect the coindexation of the subject and *his* to be grammatical and obligatory in a sentence like *John<sub>i</sub> kicked<sub>i/\*j</sub> his mother* (16a) but not allowed in *His<sub>\*i/j</sub> mother kicked John<sub>i</sub>* (16b), where the possessive pronoun *his* cannot be bound by something that it c-commands.

- (16) a. John<sub>i</sub>      çì<sub>i/\*j</sub>      nan-i      litʃ diçti  
 John=3SG SELF.POSS mother-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘John<sub>i</sub> kicked his<sub>i/\*j</sub> mother.’  
 b. çì<sub>\*i/j</sub>      nan      John-i<sub>i</sub>      litʃ diçti  
 SELF.POSS mother John-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘His<sub>\*i/j</sub> mother kicked John<sub>i</sub>.’

However, if fronting is indeed movement into an A' position, then this movement should preserve the binding relationships established in the original position of the extracted argument. That is, if *his mother* is A'-moved to the left periphery from its position as an internal argument of the verb, then it should still be bound by *John* as it was in its original position, and therefore *his* and *John* can be coindexed. That is indeed what we find in (17). Such evidence from binding demonstrates that the left extraction, judged to be topicalization or focus movement, is indeed A' extraction into the left periphery.

- (17) çì<sub>i/\*j</sub>      nan-i      John<sub>i</sub>      litʃ diçti  
 SELF.POSS mother-ACC John=3SG kick LV.PST  
 ‘John<sub>i</sub> kicked his<sub>i/\*j</sub> mother.’

To further examine the interaction between 2P clitics and fronting in Wakhi, we might note that if an argument can be fronted for topicalization or focus, then presumably it is possible to extract into the left periphery one constituent for topicalization, and one for focus. The result should be two constituents before the subject. If the clitic is not bound to any syntactic position but rather free to cliticize onto whatever the first constituent of the clause is regardless of the syntax, then the clitic should be hosted by the first of the two extracted constituents. If, instead, the clitic is in a syntactically fixed position in the CP domain, then we expect it to surface after both left-extracted constituents, that is, in a sort of *third* position. Consider the examples in (18), with boldface indicating focus pitch accent.

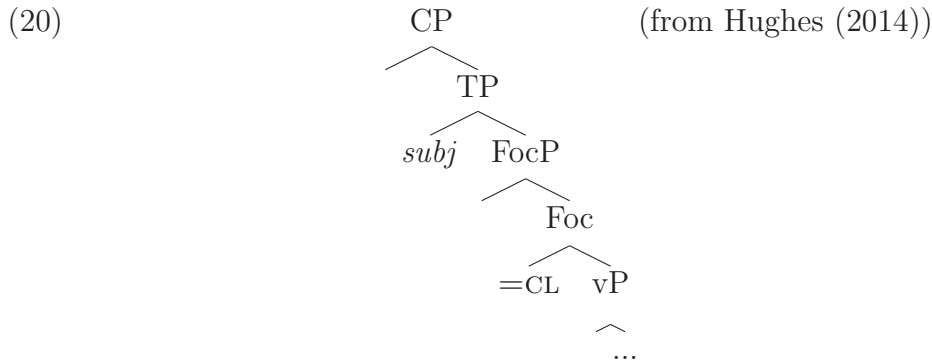
- (18) a. ar box ç̣i **p̣id**=əm wuz şkendovdi  
 in forest SELF.POSS foot=1SG 1SG break.PST  
 ‘It was my foot that I broke in the forest’
- b. \*ar box=əm ç̣i p̣id wuz şkendovdi  
 in forest=1SG SELF.POSS foot 1SG break.PST  
 ‘It was my foot that I broke in the forest’
- c. \*ar **box** ç̣i p̣id=əm wuz şkendovdi  
 in forest SELF.POSS foot=1SG 1SG break.PST  
 ‘It was my foot that I broke in the forest’

In (18a), two constituents have been fronted into the left periphery, and the 2P clitic occurs after the second one of them. In fact, (18b) shows that the clitic cannot occur after the first fronted constituent, which is evidence that the clitic is in a syntactically fixed position. Otherwise, we would expect (18b) to be grammatical.

As a further examination of the left periphery, consider the contrast in (18a) and (18b). The boldface in these examples indicates pitch accent – recall from Section 3.2 that this pitch accent is associated with new information focus in Wakhi. In (18a), two constituents are fronted, with the second one receiving the new information focus pitch accent. This sentence is grammatical, unlike (18c), in which the pitch accent is on the first of the two fronted constituents. The fact that focus-associated pitch accent is incompatible with topics indicates that the first fronted constituent must be the topic and the second must be the focused expression. More generally, the syntax of the left periphery appears to be as in (19), with multiple CPs, such that CP<sub>2</sub> takes a focused expression and CP<sub>3</sub> takes a topicalized expression.



In the Murghab dialect of Wakhi – the dialect presented in this paper –, the clitic itself is hosted in [Spec,TP]. Hughes (2014) proposes an analysis of second position clitics in the dialect of Wakhi spoken by his informants in which the second position clitic heads its own Focus Projection under the TP, as in (20). However, I cannot apply this analysis to the Murghab dialect, as the data shows that the clitics in this dialect are not directly tied to focus. The second position clitic can be hosted by a fronted topic, as in (21), and is still present in an information neutral sentence, as in (22). This is not predicted by an account in which the clitic is the head of a focus phrase, because topics are incompatible with focus, which would rule out (21) because the topic *ja put* ‘the ball’ should not be able to host a focus clitic. Since focus projections are presumably absent from information neutral clauses, a focus analysis of Murghab 2P clitics would also rule out (22), in which the information neutral sentence still has a clitic.



(21) *Q: What did you do with the ball?*

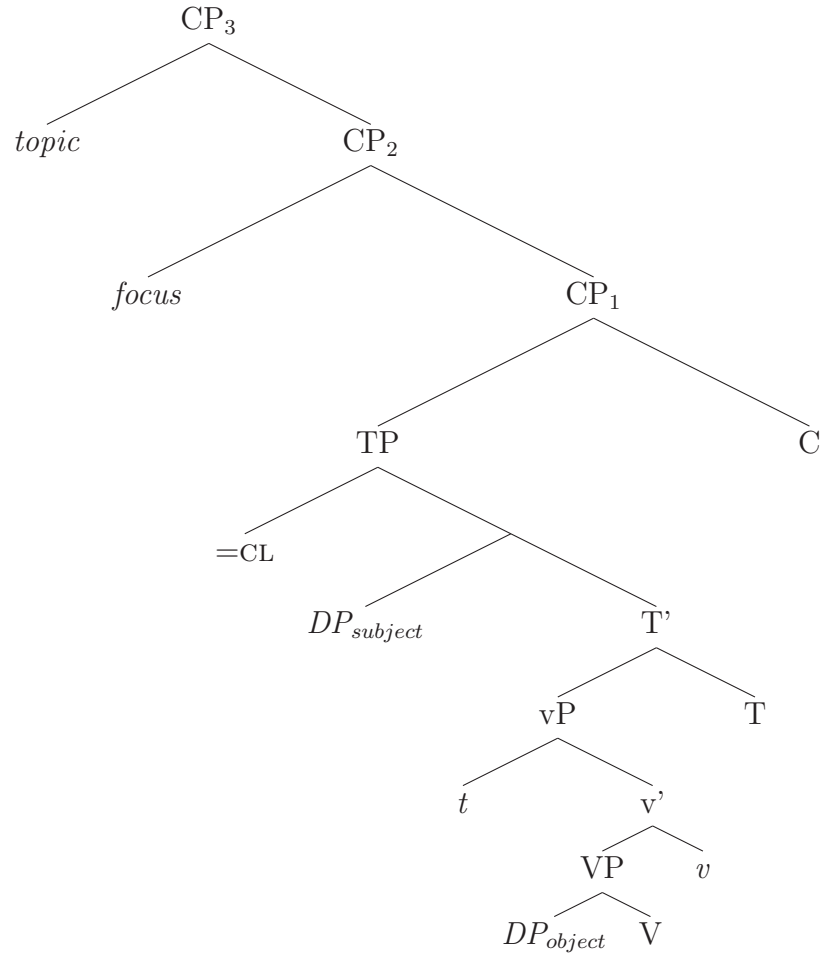
ja put-i=m wuz litʃ diɕti  
 DET ball-ACC=1SG.CL 1SG kick LV.PST

‘I kicked the ball.’

(22) wuz=əm ja put-i litʃ diɕti  
 1SG=1SG.CL DET ball-ACC kick LV.PST  
 ‘I kicked the ball.’

Rather than heading their own focus projection, Murghab Wakhi 2P clitics are hosted in Spec,TP. This syntactic analysis of 2P clitics accounts for the second position of these clitics in information neutral clauses, in clauses in which focused and/or topicalized expressions are extracted into the left periphery, in embedded clauses, and in clauses in which the subject is not phonologically overt. The syntactic structure I am positing is illustrated for a transitive clause in (23). I follow Borer (1984) and Jaeggli (1986), among others, in positing that the doubled clitic is the result of agreement; in this approach, there is an AGREE relation between a functional head and a nominal phrase. For Wakhi pronominal double clitics, a probe on T searches in the Spec,*vP* for the  $\phi$  features of a DP. These features are then spelled out in TP as a clitic rather than a full nominal phrase.

(23)



In information neutral clauses, there will be no topic or focused expression in the left periphery and therefore no phonologically overt material to the left of the clitic. The clitic, however, cannot be stranded sentence-initially; it must encliticize onto a phonologically strong expression. Therefore, the clitic undergoes prosodic inversion, a post-syntactic readjustment (Halpern 1992) that lowers the clitic onto the closest available phonologically overt expression. The structure in (23) shows that this expression will be the subject, if it is phonologically overt. The result of this readjustment will be a subject in first position, followed by the clitic, as in (24a). If, however, the subject is phonologically null, then the clitic will look further for a host. The next available host in a transitive clause is the object, and we have seen above (repeated in (24b)), that if the subject is missing, the object does indeed appear in first position, and the clitic appears in second position. Because Wakhi 2P clitics are enclitics, they lower onto the right edge of the DP. Therefore, if the DP is a coordinate structure or is modified by a relative clause, the clitic will appear at the right edge of the full phrase, as we saw above in (6) or (7a), respectively.



- (24) a. wuz=əm    ja    put-i    litʃ    diɕti  
           1SG=1SG.CL DET ball-ACC kick LV.PST  
           ‘I kicked the ball.’
- b. ja    put-i=m                    litʃ    diɕti  
           DET ball-ACC=1SG.CL kick LV.PST  
           ‘(I) kicked the ball.’

The same lowering of the clitic onto the DP should occur in relative clauses. 2P clitics are clause bounded – they cannot encliticize onto anything outside of their own clause. Thus, in a relative clause, despite the presence of the matrix clause, the clitics are still restricted to searching within their CP domain. Because there is nothing above the clitic and within the relative clause that can host the clitic, it is forced to lower onto the next available host, and therefore appears in second position, after the subject in (25). One might ask why it does not encliticize onto *ki*, which at first glance appears to be a complementizer. *Ki* is a borrowing from Persian, however, and has been analyzed in other related languages as a linker or coordinating conjunction rather than a complementizer (Megerdooomian 2001, Stilo 2004). Further support for this treatment of *ki* as a linker in Wakhi comes from examples like (26), in which the role of *ki* can be loosely translated as ‘and then.’ As a linker, *ki* is too far outside the clause for the clitic to be able to see it, so the clitic lowers onto the subject as expected.

- (25) ja    ɖaj    [ki    [<sub>CP</sub>wuz=əm litʃ diɕti]]    nowdi  
           DET man LINK 1SG=1SG.CL kick LV.PST cry.PST  
           ‘The man who I kicked cried.’
- (26) jan    maks    njefti    də    dərɔgo    [ki            [<sub>CP</sub>swots ʃiʃk drevt]]  
           then fly    go.PST in doorstep and.then jackdaw books sew.3SG  
           ‘Then the fly went outside and then the jackdaw sewed boots.’

I turn now to consider the predictions made by (23) for sentences with fronted material. If there is a focused expression extracted into the left periphery of the clause, then the clitic has a suitable phonologically overt host to its left, and it encliticizes onto this expression. The result are sentences in which the focused expression is sentence-initial, and the clitic occurs immediately after it, in second position (27) (pitch accent associated with focus is indicated by boldface print). When the sentence has a fronted topic, we follow the same logic: The clitic has a host to its left, so it encliticizes onto this topicalized expression and thus occurs in second position, immediately following the topic (28). If both a topic and a focused expression are extracted into the left periphery, the clitic will encliticize onto the closest host to its left: the focused expression. The focused expression is not sentence-initial in this case – it is preceded by the topic – the clitic does not occur in second position in this case. The topic is in first position, the focused expression in second, and the clitic does not occur until the third position in the phrase. We saw this above in (18a), repeated here in (29).

(27) *Q: What did you kick?*

ja **put**-i=m litʃ diçti  
DET ball-ACC=1SG.CL kick LV.PST

‘I kicked the ball.’

(28) *Q: What did you do with the ball?*

ja put-i=m litʃ diçti  
DET ball-ACC=1SG.CL kick LV.PST

‘I kicked the ball.’

(29) *Q: What did you break in the forest?*

[ar box] [çi **pid**]=əm wuz ʃkendovdi  
in forest SELF.POSS foot=1SG 1SG break.PST

‘It was my foot that I broke in the forest’

The approach to 2P clitics in Wakhi taken in this paper is a syntactic one: Following the discussion of weak syntactic analyses in Section 2.1, I claim that the 2P clitics are hosted in a structurally fixed position, specifically in Spec,TP, and that a post-syntactic lowering of the clitic onto the first available DP eliminates ungrammatical structures in which the clitic is stranded clause-initially. This analysis is able to account for the second position of clitics after the subject in information neutral clauses with a phonologically overt subject, and for the second position of clitics after other expressions when the the subject is phonologically null. It also accounts for the 2P clitics appearing in second position after topics or focused expressions, when these are fronted. In particular, it is able to predict that when both a topic and a focused expression have been extracted into the left periphery, the clitic appears in third position, after both fronted phrases. Having provided an account of the second position clitics, I now turn to sketch an account of the non-2P clitics.

### 4.3 Non-2P clitics and possessor raising

Recall the discussion in Section 4.1, in which I demonstrated that the non-2P clitics have different selection restrictions as to their host – ones that appear to be semantic rather than syntactic – that motivate an analysis of the non-2P clitics as different than the 2P clitics that were discussed in detail in Section 4.2. The crucial difference between (12a) and (12b), repeated here in (30) and (31), is between the possessor of the horns that are being broken. In (30) the 1SG subject breaks his own horns, while in (31) he breaks the horns of the addressee. The example (30) can therefore be compared to familiar examples with external possessors in French.

(30) wuz çi ʃəw-i=m ʃkendəvdi  
1SG SELF.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST

‘I broke my horns.’

(31) \*wuz ti ʃəw-vi=m ʃkendəvdi  
1SG 2SG.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST

‘I broke your horns.’

The classic distinction between regular possessor and external possessors is made for pairs as in French in (32a) and (32b) (Deal 2014). In (32a), the possessor of ‘the hand’ is a regular possessive pronoun, which has no grammatical relation to the verb. This contrasts with the external possessor in example (32b): Here the dative 3SG *lui* is semantically the possessor of ‘the hand’, but syntactically it is an argument of the verb.

- (32) a. J’ai pris sa main  
 1SG-HAVE taken 3SG.POSS hand  
 ‘I took his hand.’
- b. Je lui ai pris la main  
 1SG 3SG.DAT have taken the hand  
 ‘I took his hand.’

External possessor constructions come with an additional inference that the external possessor must be somehow affected, usually physically, by the action that is being performed on the possessed element. In French, this translates to the external possessor construction being licit most often when the possessed element is a body part of the possessor or, more generally, in some part-whole relationship to the possessor, as the possessor cannot avoid being affected by an action that involves his own body. For example, (33) is only grammatical when the thing being washed is the possessor’s arm, but not his son or his car.

- (33) Je lui ai lavé le bras / \*le fils / \*la voiture  
 1SG 3SG.DAT have washed the arm / \*the son / \*the car  
 ‘I washed his arm/\*son/\*car.’

The intuitions in Wakhi seem to be similar with regard to the affectedness of the possessor. Consider the contrast in (34a) and (34b). The possessed item in (34a) is the horns of the speaker – the breaking of these horns is something that undoubtedly affects the speaker physically, and the clitic attaching to ‘the horns’ is grammatical. On the other hand, the possessed item in (34b) is merely a pencil, and the sentence is thus marginal. A pencil is clearly not a body part, and it is easy to say how the breaking of the speaker’s pencil would not physically affect him in the same way that the breaking of his horns would.

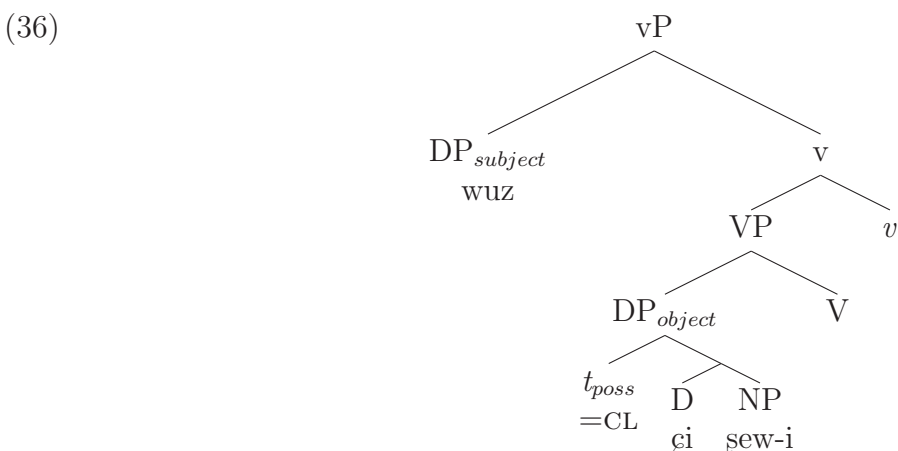
- (34) a. wuz ɕi ʃew-i=m ʃkəndevdi  
 1SG SELF.POSS horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST  
 ‘I broke my horns.’
- b. ??wuz ɕi qlam-i=m ʃkəndevdi  
 1SG SELF.POSS pencil-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST  
 ‘I broke my pencil.’
- c. wuz=əm ɕi qlam-i ʃkəndevdi  
 1SG=1SG.CL SELF.POSS pencil-ACC break.PST  
 ‘I broke my pencil.’

Based on the data presented here, the contrast between clauses with and without non-2P clitics in Wakhi is the contrast between clauses with and without external possessors. The possessor must be somehow affected by the action referred to in the clause, whereas a

regular possessive pronoun has no such restriction – the possessive *ci* is grammatical when it possesses both a body part, as in (34a) and a pencil, as in (34c). The additional restriction in Wakhi clitics is that the external possessor must also be the subject of the clause. We have seen before that (35a) is ungrammatical because there is a mismatch between the clitic, which is 1SG and the possessive pronoun on ‘the horns’, which is 2SG *ti*. Based on (35b), the sentence in (35a) cannot be repaired by changing the clitic to match the possessor of ‘the horns’. The only way for the non-2P pronoun to be grammatical is for the clitic to match both the possessor (overt or understood) and the subject of the clause, as in (30) above.

- (35) a. \*wuz ti            *şew-i=m*            *şkəndevdi*  
 1SG 2SG.GEN horns-ACC=1SG.CL break.PST  
 ‘I broke your horns.’
- b. \*wuz ti            *şew-i=t*            *şkəndevdi*  
 1SG 2SG.GEN horns-ACC=2SG.CL break.PST  
 ‘I broke your horns.’

External possessors are standardly analysed as movement, but the motivation for movement may be  $\theta$ -related or case-related. Wakhi possessor raising appears to be of the hybrid type: The possessor must be the subject of the clause, associated with a  $\theta$  position. The claim, then, is that the possessor is generated within the DP and moves into subject position in *Spec,vP* for  $\theta$ -role assignment. The  $\phi$  features of the subject are spelled out as a clitic within the DP, but spelled out as the full nominal in the subject position. Within the possessed DP, the clitic must be 2P as this is the relevant domain, so it encliticizes onto the right edge of the phrase *ci şew-i*. Following other hybrid external possessor analyses (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, Rodrigues 2010), I propose the following movement of the possessor from within the DP into the subject  $\theta$  position:



The additional benefit of this account is that we have the syncretism between the 2P and non-2P clitics for free. The possessor clitic gets its  $\phi$ -features from the argument that is also the associate of the second position clitic, so it is expected that they have the same form.

Based on the data in this section, we can develop an analysis of non-2P clitics that accounts for the judgments reported by the speaker. Non-2P clitics in Wakhi are in fact possessor raising clitics, independent from 2P clitics. They are the remainder of the external

possessor, which moves from within the DP into Spec,*v*P for  $\theta$ -role assignment. The crucial data in this analysis comes from semantic selectional restrictions of these clitics with respect to their hosts – the host must be in some part-whole relationship to the subject of the clause, which the pronominal clitic covaries with. Crucially, this analysis posits an A-movement relationship between the clitic and the subject of the clause that determines the  $\phi$ -features of the possessor clitic. Recall from the previous section that 2P clitics in Wakhi also obtain their  $\phi$ -features from the subject of the clause, explaining why 2P and non-2P clitics in Wakhi have the same form – this identity of form leads to the illusion of “floating” 2P clitics.

## 5 Discussion and conclusions

The combination of the analysis of the 2P clitics and the non-2P possessor clitics proposed in Section 4 leaves one outstanding question about the relationship between the types of the clitics and thus the two analyses. Recall from the discussion of the 2P clitic data in Section 3.1 that a clause can lack an overt subject, but it cannot lack a clitic. This extends to clauses which may have a possessor clitic and poses a challenge for the notion that these sets of clitics are completely independent from each other. Consider the data in (37).

- (37) a. wuz=əm    ɕi            ʃew-i        ʃkəndevdi  
           1SG=1SG.CL SELF.POSS horns-ACC break.PST  
           ‘I broke my horns.’  
       b. wuz=əm ɕi ʃew-i=m ʃkəndevdi  
       c. \*wuz ɕi ʃew-i ʃkəndevdi  
       d. wuz ɕi ʃew-i=m ʃkəndevdi

Example (37a) only has a second position clitic. This is predicted by combining the two analyses put forth in Section 4, because the second position clitic is obligatory, while the possessor clitic is only present if the interpretation highlights that the speaker is affected by the event described by the clause. By this logic, (37b) is also predicted: It has both the second position clitic, which is required, and the possessor clitic, indicating a special interpretation. There is no clitic in (37c), and the fact that it is ungrammatical is predicted because the second position clitic is obligatory. The problem arises in (37d), which has a possessor clitic but not a second position clitic, but is nevertheless grammatical. This is unexpected – the second position clitic is obligatory, and we have seen previously that a clause without a second position clitic is ungrammatical. However, comparing (37c) to (37d) seems to suggest that the presence of the possessor clitic somehow ameliorates the ungrammaticality caused by the lack of the second position clitic, since (37d) is grammatical after all. This effect implies a potential dependency between the second position clitics and the possessor clitics that simply combining the analyses provided in Section 4 cannot account for. I leave the details of this dependency and how it is encoded in the syntax to future work.

As it stands, an analysis that considers 2P clitics and non-2P clitics to be two distinct types of clitics captures many of the challenges posed by the data. With the second position clitic hosted in Spec,TP, the syntax readily accounts for the position in which the clitic occurs in information neutral clauses, in relative clauses, and in clauses with material in the

left periphery. It even predicts that the second position clitic will appear in third position when multiple expressions are fronted. Further, analyzing non-2P clitics as possessor clitics accounts for the interpretations associated with the placement of non-2P clitics. It also explains the selectional restrictions of the non-2P clitics, in contrast with the 2P clitics, which have no semantic restrictions on their host.

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