

Lexical aspect and split intransitivity in Shughni

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This paper investigates split intransitivity (SI) in Shughni (Pamir group, Iranian languages). In my work, I explore syntactic manifestations of SI in Shughni and demonstrate that SI correlates with the lexical aspect of verbs. The data were obtained through elicitation and corpus research (Makarov et al. 2022).

The basis for positing SI in Shughni is the distribution of the second-position 3rd singular subject enclitic *=i* in past tenses, noted in Edelman (1990): it is used with transitive (1) and some intransitive (unergative) verbs (2), while it is not used with the majority of intransitive (unaccusative) verbs (3).

(1)	<i>yu=yi</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>wīn-č</i>		
	D3.M.SG=3SG	1SG.O	see-PF		
	'He saw me'				
(2)	<i>yu=yi</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>paloys-t</i>		
	D3.M.SG=3SG	much	work-PST		
	'He worked a lot'				
(3)	<i>yā(*=yi)</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>sifā-d</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>kū</i>
	D3.F.SG	again	climb.F-PST	UP	mountains
	'She climbed the mountains again'				

I show that one of the unaccusativity diagnostics used in Parker (2023), morphological causative formation, contradicts the clitic test: it not only fails to cover all unaccusative verbs, but also includes some unergative verbs.

Two main semantic parameters determining SI are distinguished cross-linguistically: agentivity and lexical aspect (Van Valin 1990, Dowty 1991, Arkadiev 2008). I argue that in Shughni, SI is determined by lexical aspect: verbs of activities are unergative, while states, achievements and accomplishments are unaccusative.

To investigate deeper the correlation with telicity, I analyze the aspectual characteristics of 29 predicates within Tatevosov's (2016) framework, which defines lexical aspect in terms of possible interpretations for perfective and imperfective forms. In Shughni, there is no grammatical aspect, thus past and present tense are used in appropriate contexts, unambiguously representing perfective or imperfective aspects. Examples 4-5 show that *šīntow* 'laugh' is classified as atelic, with only a processual interpretation available.

(4) PST

uz=um šīn-t
1SG=1SG laugh-PST
'I was laughing <when my mom entered>'
'<I heard a funny joke> and laughed'

(5) PRS

uz	<i>ik=ŠIČ</i>	Šānd-um
1SG	EMPH=now	laugh-1SG
'I am laughing now'		

I demonstrate that unergative verbs encompass atelic and multiplicative ones, while strong and weak telic, punctual, inceptive-stative and stative-process verbs are unaccusative; I also analyze the distribution of predicates with unique aspectual characteristics.

I also analyze the behavior of complex verbs. Furthermore, I describe the lexical correspondence between Shughni unergative verbs and those identified in genetically related languages (Dvoryankov 1960, Vydrin 2022).

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