Why Sequencing Rules?

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This study investigates person and number marking of subject and object in one of the Iranian languages, known as Laki. This language belongs to the Northwestern branch of Iranian languages (Windfuhr 2009). In Laki, person and number properties of the subject and object can both be realized on the verb. These markers are polyfunctional; because they have distinct but related content depending on the context in which they appear. These person and number markers are classified in three groups: one is a set of clitics (hereafter group A) that mark {1 and 2 sg} and {1-3 pl}. The other one is a set of suffixes (hereafter group B) that mark {1 and 2 sg} and {1-3 pl}. The third one is the suffix *–i*, that marks {3 sg} (Taghipour 2017). The distribution of these markers is what is remarkable. Group A marks subject agreement of the preterite transitive verbs, and pronominal object in present tense. Group B marks subject agreement in present tense, and pronominal object in preterite transitive verbs. They also mark subject agreement in preterite intransitive verbs. Suffix *–i* marks subject agreement of {3sg} in preterite transitive and present verbs. It serves as the pronominal object for present verbs as well (illustrated in 1-3)

Group A. {sbj trans pret} ∧ {obj prs}

=em	{1sg}
=et	{2sg}
=man	{1pl}
=tan	{2pl}
=an	{3pl}

Group B. {sbj prs} ∧ {obj trans pret} ∧{sbj intrans pret}

em	{1sg}
in	{2sg}
imen	{1pl}
inan	{2pl}
en	{3pl}

-i: {3sg sbj trans pret} ∧ {3sg obj trans prs} ∧ {3sg sbj prs}

1. b-own-em=an
   subj-see.PRS-SUB.1SG=OBJ.2SG
   'I wish I see them.'

2. b-uniy-a-n=em
   PST.subj-see.PST-subj-OBJ.3PL=SBJ.1SG
   'I wish I had seen them.'

{OBJ/SBJ} depending on being more specified with {pret/prs} and {trans/intrans} features, will be morphologically realized by different forms either by clitics (Group A), or by affixes (Group B). Hence I am going to argue that {SBJ} and {OBJ}, apart form their person and number properties, should be specified with tense and valence values as well. Furthermore, I draw a distinction between intrinsic and positional exponence (Stump 2017). The distinction between intrinsic and positional exponence suggests that rules of exponence should actually consist of two independent parts: exponence declarations which specify intrinsic content τ:{ αPER βNUM} and sequencing rules which specify an exponent's linear ordering and its positional content.

References •Stump. Gregory. 2017. Polyfunctionality and the variety of inflectional exponence relations. In Ference Kiefer, James P. Blevins and Huba Bartos (eds.), *Morphological Paradigms and Functions*. Leiden: Brill. •Taghipour, Sahar. 2017. *Laki Verbal Inflection*. MA thesis. University of Kentucky. •Windfuhr, Gernot. 2009. *The Iranian languages*. London: Routledge.