



LACIM

European research network on linguistics and
languages of the Anatolia-Caucasus-Iran-
Mesopotamia area



glottothèque

languages of Anatolia, Caucasus, Iran, Mesopotamia

Kurdish

Unit 3: Clitic and affix combinations in
Central Kurdish

Ergin Öpengin

University of Kurdistan-Hewlêr

Masoud Mohammadirad

Cambridge University

7/12/2021

visit glottothèque at: <https://spw.uni-goettingen.de/projects/lacim/>

This unit

- Clitic and affix person marker paradigms
- Argument indexing
- Clitic placement
- Clitic and affix person marker combinations
- Exercises

1. Clitic and affix person markers in Kurdish

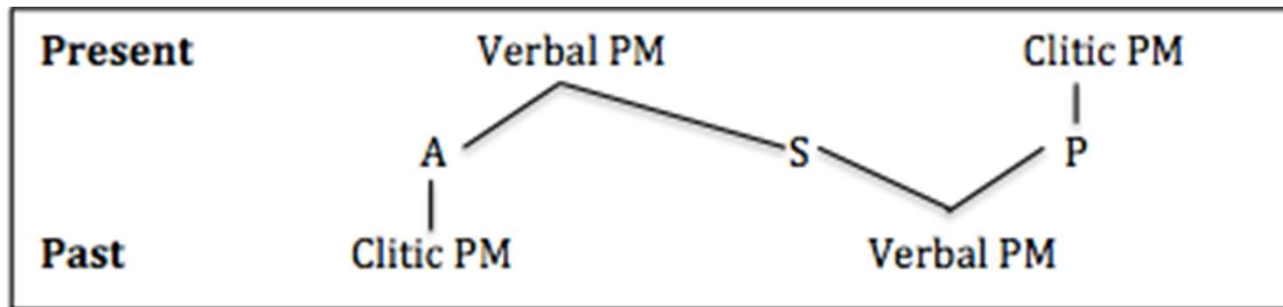
- Person marking paradigms in Central Kurdish (note “-” vs. “=“)

		Verbal PMs	Clitic PMs
SG	1	-im	=im
	2	-î	=it
	3	-∅	=î
PL	1	-în	=mān
	2	-in	=tān
	3	-in	=yān

- Verbal PMs historical Iranian agreement markers
- Pronominal clitics historical Iranian bound pronouns – mobile

2. Argument indexing in CK

- Present tense is typical nominative accusative
- Past tense: morphological ergative



Verbal PMs

S-past

(1a) *hāt-īn*

come.PST-1PL

‘We came.’

O-past

(1b) *hīč kes řā=y-ne-de-girt-im*

no person PVB=3SG-NEG-IPFV-keep.PST-1SG

‘Nobody would let me in (their house).’

Clitic PMs

A-past

- (2a) *xezīne-ī* *pādšā=yān* *tātān* *kird-bū*
treasure-EZ king=3PL pillage do.PST-COP.PST

‘They had pillaged the king’s treasure.’

- (2b) *qerewoʔ-ān* *kut=yān*

guard-PL say.PST=3PL

‘The guards said’

3. Clitic placement

- Placement Principle: First phrase or stressed element in the VP

(3) Hierarchy of hosts:

Preverbal elements (Phrases, Preps, Nominal elements of compound verbs)

Pre-stem morphemes (Negation, Aspect)

Verb stem (bare or with inflection)

- Placement Principle: First phrase or stressed element in the VP

(4a) *eme* *[[xezīne-ī pāšā]^{NP}=mān* *tātān* *kirdū-e]_{VP}*
 1PL treasure-EZ king=**1PL:A** pillaged do.PST.PTCP-PERF
 ‘We have pillaged the king’s treasure.’

(4b) *jā* *[[lē]^{Prep}=mān* *kiřī]_{VP}*
 DM from=**1PL:A** buy.PST
 ‘Then we bought (it) from him.’

(4c) *īdī* *[na=mān-xwārd]_{VP}*
 anymore NEG=**1PL:A**-eat.PST
 ‘We didn’t eat it anymore.’

(4d) *dwēnē* *[kird=mān]_{VP}*
 yesterday do.PST=**1PL:A**
 ‘We did (it) yesterday.’

4. Clitic and affix ordering in combinations

- When the verb stem is the only element in VP it hosts both A-marking clitic and O-marking verbal affix person marker

(5) *nārd=yān-im* *bo* *ēre*
 send.PST=3PL-1SG to here
 ‘They sent me to here.’

- The order is:

Host=Pronominal.clitic-Verbal.affix

- But according to theory it should have been:

Host-Affix=Clitic

-
- Three crosslinguistic criteria of clitic hood:
 - 1) Occur external to affixes (not internal to them)
 - 2) Non-phonological integration
 - 3) Mobility – attachment to hosts of different categories

 - See Anderson (2005), Siewierska (2004), Halpern (2000)

-
- Paradigm of *girtin* 'to keep' with 1PL A

		Stem	A	O
SG	1	<i>girt</i>	= <i>mān</i>	--
	2	<i>girt</i>	= <i>mān</i>	- <i>ī</i>
	3	<i>girt</i>	= <i>mān</i>	-∅
PL	1	<i>girt</i>	= <i>mān</i>	--
	2	<i>girt</i>	= <i>mān</i>	- <i>in</i>
	3	<i>girt</i>	= <i>mān</i>	- <i>in</i>

-
- The order is however reverse with a 3SG Agent
 - The paradigm of the verb *birdin* 'to take' with 3SG Agent

		Stem	O	A
SG	1	<i>bird</i>	<i>-im</i>	<i>=ī</i>
	2	<i>bird</i>	<i>=it</i>	<i>=ī</i>
	3	<i>bird</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>=ī</i>
PL	1	<i>bird</i>	<i>-īn</i>	<i>=ī</i>
	2	<i>bird</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>=ī</i>
	3	<i>bird</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>=ī</i>

-
- Two questions
 1. How to account for the clitics' occurring before affixes?
 2. Why is the ordering with a 3SG pronominal clitic idiosyncratic?
-

Existing accounts

- Haig (2008): Person-role constraint (Inverse system)
- Samvelian (2007): Both paradigms are affixes – no conceptual problem

Proposed analysis: Öpengin (2013)

- Pronominal clitics are clitics, not affixes:
 - o Mobility - varied host selection
 - o Non-phonological integration
- But verbal affix person markers are “clitics”
 - o Non-phonological integration:
 - They do not form a phonological/prosodic word with their host
 - o They cause alternation in the stress pattern of their host

-
- Stress pattern in Kurdish: final syllable

hawīn [ha.'win] 'summer'

getāwird [gɛ.ʔa.'wird] 'tiny leaf'

- Affixes do not cause alternation in the stress pattern
 - Definiteness *-eke*
 - Plural *-an*
 - Participle *-ū*
 - Pluperfect formative *-bū*

<u>Syllabic</u>	<u>Morphemic</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Translation</u>
ti.rē.ye.'ke	<i>tirē-<i>eke</i></i>	grape-DEF	'the grape'
kē.'lān	<i>kē-lān</i>	gravestone-PL	'gravestones'
mir.'dū	<i>mird-ū</i>	die.PST-PTCP	'dead'
kir.'dū.e	<i>kird-ūw-e</i>	do.PST-PTCP-COP.3SG	'has done'

-
- Verbal affix person (agreement) markers used in the present tense do not cause alternation in the stress pattern

<u>Syllabic</u>	<u>Morphemic</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Translation</u>
dē.'nim	<i>de-hēn-im</i>	IND-bring.PRS-1SG	'I shall bring (it).'
de.zā.'nī	<i>de-zān-ī</i>	IND-know.PRS-2SG	'You know (it).'
de.zā.'nē	<i>de-zān-ē</i>	IND-know.PRS-3SG	'S/he know (it).'
de.'keyn	<i>de-ke-yn</i>	IND-do.PRS-1PL	'We shall do ...'
de.gi.'rin	<i>de-gir-in</i>	IND-keep.PRS-3PL	'They keep ...'

-
- However, verbal affix person markers used with past stems do cause alternation in the stress pattern – to penultimate stress

<u>Syllabic</u>	<u>Morphemic</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Translation</u>
'nūs.tim	<i>nūst-im</i>	sleep.PST-1SG	'I slept.'
gē.'řā.me.we	<i>gēřā-m-ewe</i>	relate.PST-1SG:R-ASP	'He narrated it to me'
de.'gir.tī	<i>de-girt-ī</i>	IPFV-keep.PST-2SG:R	'I would respect you'
kir.'dū.wim	<i>kird-ūw-im</i>	do.PST-PTCP-1SG:0	'You invited me'

- Verbal person markers with past stem are thus not affix-like, because they don't form one phonological word with their host.
- Diachronic support: they result from contraction of copular base *ha-* and original verbal affix person markers (i.e. univerbation)

-
- Account:
 - o If verbal person markers are clitic in this regard, there is no issue with their being separated from their host for the placement of pronominal clitics

 - Why pronominal clitics come first in combinations of pronominal clitics and verbal person markers?
 - Argument hierarchy: $A > O$
 - Clitic Placement Principle: First Phonological Phrase in VP

Q2. Idiosyncratic ordering with 3SG A

- Except with a 3SG A-marking pronominal clitic, the order is clitic first verbal person marker second

bird=yan-im

take.pst=3PL-3SG 'They took me'

bird-im=ī

take.pst-1SG=3SG 'He took me'

- If both person marker categories are clitics, and A-marking clitic comes first, why is the order idiosyncratically reversed with 3SG A-marking clitic?
-

-
- Analysis:
 - o Order is reversed to maintain phonological and morphological identity of the PMs in combination

 - Obligatory Contour Principle (Yip 1998): phonological constraints that require the elements in combination to be distinct.
-

- Paradigmatically expected (hypothetical) combinations of A- and O-marking person markers

		A	O	=A=O
SG	1	=ī	-m	īm
	2	=ī	-ī	-īy
	3	=ī	-∅	ī/īy
PL	1	=ī	-īn	īn
	2	=ī	-n	īn
	3	=ī	-n	īn

- Combinations monosyllabic units
- They resemble single forms, *e.g.* =īn is also 1PL verbal person marker
- Identity of markers is blurred
- Argument roles encoded by PMs are ambiguous or not expressed

- These fatal violations are avoided by reversing the order

- Reversed (actual) combinations of 3SG A clitic with verbal markers

		O	A	=A=O
SG	1	<i>-im</i>	<i>=ī</i>	<i>imī</i>
	2	<i>=it</i>	<i>=ī</i>	<i>itī</i>
	3	<i>-∅</i>	<i>=ī</i>	<i>ī</i>
PL	1	<i>-īn</i>	<i>=ī</i>	<i>īnī</i>
	2	<i>-n</i>	<i>=ī</i>	<i>inī</i>
	3	<i>-n</i>	<i>=ī</i>	<i>inī</i>

- Combinations are bi-syllabic units
- Clitic and verbal markers have distinct forms
- Argument roles are unambiguously expressed

5. Exercises

1. According to clitic placement hierarchy, where should the 3SG A clitic =*ī* land in the following sentences?

1) *kābrā* *kālek-ek-an* *frošt*
fellow melon-DEF-PI sell.PST
'The man sold the melons.'

2) *jine* *šām* *saz* *kird*
woman dinner cook do.PST
'The woman cooked dinner.'

3) *kes* *lē* *ne-kirrī*
nobody from NEG-buy.PST
'Nobody bought them from him'

4) *jīn-eke* *bird*
woman-DEF take.PST
'The woman took (it).'

References

- Gerlach, Birgit. 2002. *Clitics between Syntax and Lexicon*. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Haig, Geoffrey. 2008. *Alignment Change in Iranian Languages: A Construction Grammar Approach*. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 37. Berlin New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Halpern, Aaron. 2001. Clitics. In Andrew Spencer & Arnold M. Zwicky (eds.), *The Handbook of Morphology*, 101-122. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mohammadirad, Masoud. 2020. "Pronominal Clitics in Western Iranian Languages: Description, Mapping, and Typological Implications." PhD dissertation. Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3.
- Öpengin, Ergin. 2013. Clitic/affix interactions. A corpus-based study of person marking in the Mukri variety of Central Kurdish. PhD dissertation. Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3.
- Öpengin, Ergin. 2019. "Accounting for Clitic and Affix Combinations in Central Kurdish." In *Current Issues in Kurdish Linguistics*, edited by Songül Gündoğdu, Ergin Öpengin, Geoffrey Haig, and Erik Anonby. Bamberg: Bamberg University Press, pp. 243-261.
- Öpengin, Ergin & Masoud Mohammadirad. Forthcoming. Formal and functional variation in pronominal clitics across Kurdish: documentation and explanations. In Yaron Matras, Ergin Öpengin & Geoffrey Haig (eds.), *Structural and Typological Variation in the Dialects of Kurdish*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Samvelian, Pollet. 2007. What Sorani Kurdish absolute prepositions tell us about cliticization. In Frederic Hoyt, Nikki Seifert, Teodorescu Alexandra & Jessica White (eds.), *Texas Linguistic Society IX: The Morphosyntax of Underrepresented Languages*, 263–283. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Siewierska, A. 2004. *Person*. CUP.
- Yip, Moira. 1998. Identity avoidance in phonology and morphology. In Patrick Farrell & Steven G. Lapointe (eds.), *Morphology and Its Relation to Syntax and Phonology*, 216–247. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

this lecture

is part of the series *Glottothèque: Languages of the Anatolia, Caucasus, Iran, Mesopotamia; grammatical snippets online*, ed. by. C. Bulut, A. Donabédian-Demopoulos, G. Haig, G. Khan, P. Samvelian, S. Skopeteas, N. Sumbatova. Bamberg/Cambridge/Göttingen/Moskow/Nicosia/Paris: LACIM network.



LACIM

glottothèque

You may find related lectures and further information at the Glottothèque website at:
<https://spw.uni-goettingen.de/projects/lacim/>

Anatolia, Caucasus, Iran, Mesopotamia
grammatical snippets online