

# A Corpus-based Study of Endoclititic $=\hat{i}\hat{s}$ in Kurdish

Sina Ahmadi      Antonios Anastasopoulos      Géraldine Walther

George Mason University Fairfax, VA, USA  
{sahmad46, antonis, gwalthe}@gmu.edu

Endoclitics and mesoclitics, clitics that appear within their hosts, are typologically rare phenomena found only in a few languages such as Udi (W. Smith, 2014), Pashto (Kopris, 2009), Degema (Kari, 2002) and Andi (Maisak, 2021). This paper follows Anderson (2005) and (Walther, 2012) in using the term endoclititic to mean any word-internal cliticization. Kurdish, an Indo-European language of >25M speakers, is known for displaying a number of morphological complexities related to endoclitics. While Sorani Kurdish endoclititic pronominal person markers have been extensively discussed in the literature (Walther, 2012; Bonami and Samvelian, 2008; Allahweisiazar et al., 2022), to the best of our knowledge, the endoclititic  $=\hat{i}\hat{s}$  ‘also/even/too’ and its variants have not been documented in any variants of Kurdish. Yet, Sorani Kurdish data shows that the distribution of the endoclititic  $=\hat{i}\hat{s}$  is influenced by the complex placement properties of the language’s enclitic pronominal person markers. This paper investigates the interdependent complexities of Sorani Kurdish endoclititic markers. Using a corpus-based approach, we compare the usage and distribution of complex Sorani Kurdish  $=\hat{i}\hat{s}$  to variants found in other Kurdish varieties which do not display the same complex person marker placement patterns (see Table 1): Kurmanji and Zazaki  $j\hat{i}$  and  $z\hat{i}$  (also  $z\hat{i}$ ) appear as free morphemes; Gorani  $=\hat{i}\hat{c}$  and Southern Kurdish  $=\hat{i}\hat{s}$  appear as enclitics and follow oblique morphemes or precede pronominal suffixes, but do not interact with enclitic person markers (MacKenzie, 1966).

Language	Variant	Endoclititic
Kurdish	Kurmanji	$j\hat{i}$ (ژی)
	Sorani	$=\hat{i}\hat{s}$ (یش) / $=s$ (ش)
	Southern	$-\hat{i}\hat{s}$ (یش) / $-s$ (ش)
Zaza-Gorani	Gorani (Hawrami)	$-\hat{i}\hat{c}$ (یچ) / $-c$ (چ)
	Zazaki	$z\hat{i}$ (zi)

Table 1: The  $=\hat{i}\hat{s}$  endoclititic in variants of Kurdish and in Zaza-Gorani



## References

- Allahweisiazar, G., Gholami, V., Mohammadi Bolbanabad, S., and Varzandeh, O. (2022). Mukri Pronominal Enclitics distribution in VP: An Optimality Theoretic. *Zabanpazhuhi (Journal of Language Research)*, 14(45).
- Anderson, S. R. (2005). *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics*. Number 11. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Bonami, O. and Samvelian, P. (2008). Sorani Kurdish person markers and the typology of agreement. In *13th International Morphology Meeting*.
- Kari, E. E. (2002). On endoclitics: Some facts from Degema. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 63:37–53.
- Kopris, C. (2009). Endoclitics in pashto: Can they really do that. In *Third Workshop on Computational Approaches to Arabic Script-based Languages. Machine Translation Summit XII, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada*.
- MacKenzie, D. N. (1966). *The Dialect of Awroman (Hawraman-i Luhon): Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Vocabulary*. E. Munksgaard.
- Maisak, T. (2021). Endoclitics in Andi. *Folia Linguistica*, 55(1):1–34.
- Matras, Y. (2019). Revisiting Kurdish dialect geography: findings from the Manchester Database. *Current issues in Kurdish linguistics*, 1:225.
- W. Smith, P. (2014). Non-peripheral cliticization and second position in Udi and Sorani Kurdish. In *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. (Date accessed: 12.05.2020).
- Walther, G. (2012). Fitting into morphological structure: accounting for Sorani Kurdish endoclitics. In *Mediterranean Morphology Meetings*, volume 8, pages 299–321.