

Identity Avoidance in Morphology; Evidence from Polyfunctional Clitics of Sorani Kurdish
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Kurdish as a Northwestern Iranian language has three main sub-branches: Northern, Central, and Southern (Windfuhr: 2009). Most of these dialects have in common an inventory of clitics that mark subject agreement in the past transitive verb and possessor agreement on the noun phrase. Sorani as the central branch of Kurdish, follows the same agreement pattern. In the literature, markers of this type have been referred to as polyfunctional markers (Stump: to appear, Ackerman and et al. 2012). Polyfunctionality is defined as “the systematic use of the same morphology for more than one purpose” (Stump, 2015: 229). The polyfunctional concord clitics are illustrated in table 1.

TABLE 1. Polyfunctional Concord Clitics in Sorani

Markers	{PER NUM}
=em	{1 sg}
=et	{2 sg}
=I	{3 sg}
=man	{1 pl}
=tan	{2 pl}
=yan	{3 pl}

Tables 2 and 3 display subject agreement marking in the past transitive verbs and possessor agreement on the noun phrase, respectively. Clitics in 1 are marking σ {SUBJ PAST TRANS}. Clitics in 2 are marking ρ {POSS}.

TABLE 2. Simple Past Conjugation of x^warden ‘to eat’

x ^w arden ‘to eat’			
1 sg	x ^w ard=em	1 pl	x ^w ard =man
2 sg	x ^w ard =et	2 pl	x ^w ard =tan
3 sg	x ^w ard -I	3 pl	x ^w ard =yan

TABLE 3. Possessive Noun Phrases of ketew ‘book’

ketew ‘POSS book’			
1 sg	ketew=em	1 pl	ketew=man
2 sg	ketew=et	2 pl	ketew=tan
3 sg	ketew=I	3 pl	ketew=yan

Data in 1 and 2, show that the clitics of possessor and subject agreement both attach to the direct object.

1. me ketew-aka=tan=em x^wand.
 I book-DEF=2 pl. POSS= 1 sg. SUB read. PAST
 ‘I read your book’.
2. me ketew-aka=y=em x^wand.
 I book- DEF-3 sg. POSS= 1 sg. SUB read. PAST
 ‘I read his book’.

When the subject and the possessor of the object have the same person and number properties, in order to avoid the sequence of identical elements, one of these clitics expresses both $\{\sigma\}$ and $\{\rho\}$. This is what is known as morphological haplology (Yip: 1998, Plag: 1998 and Menn and MacWhinney: 1984, Stemberger: 1981).

3. men nan=aka=m x^ward.
 I bread-DEF=1sg. POSS. SUB. 1sg eat. PAST
 ‘I ate the (my) bread’.
4. ima nan=aka=man x^ward .
 we bread=DEF= 1pl. POSS. SUB.1pl eat. PAST
 ‘We ate our bread’.

This deletion happens because of an outranking constraint in this language that bans the adjacency of identical morphemes, following Xu (2007: 14), I call it OCP (morph):

OCP (morph): Two morphs with (partially) identical shapes cannot be adjacent.

OCP (MORPH) outranks MORPHDIS (McCarthy & Prince 1995):

Distinct instances of morphemes have distinct contents, tokenwise.

MORPHDIS is a violable constraint; because after the haplology, the semantics (content) of two clitics (possessor and subject agreement) is carried by one clitic.

De Lacy (1999: 52) explains the phenomenon of morphological haplology as one output form, which is a simultaneous realization of two input strings. In this study, based on having semantic coalescence, I argue for approaches in morphology that consider an abstract specification of morphosyntactic properties.

ketew {DEF 1pl POSS 1pl SUBJ PAST TR}	OCP (morph)	MORPHDIS	MAX-IO
ketew -aka-man-man	*!		
☞ ketew- aka-man		*	*

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