

REVISITING “DOUBLE” EZAFE IN SOUTHERN ZAZAKI*

Songül Gündoğdu, Arsalan Kahnemuyipour and Andrew Peters
University of Toronto; University of Toronto - Mississauga; University of Toronto

1. Introduction

Ezafe is a common feature of many Iranian languages wherein a vowel is inserted between the head noun and post-nominal modifiers (including possessors) iteratively (Samiian 1994; Ghomeshi 1997; Samvelian 2007; Larson and Yamakido 2006; Kahnemuyipour 2014), as indicated in the following schema for a noun phrase with three modifiers:

$$(1) \quad [N\text{-}e\mathbf{z1} \text{ MOD}_1\text{-}e\mathbf{z2} \text{ MOD}_2\text{-}e\mathbf{z3} \text{ MOD}_n]$$

Ezafe in Zazaki, an Iranian language spoken in (south)eastern Turkey, displays more complex forms than other Iranian languages as the Ezafe vowel expresses both the phi-features and case of the head noun. The present study particularly investigates the distribution of EZ2 in Southern Zazaki (SZ). EZ2 in SZ sometimes appears as *-a/-o/-ê* and sometimes as *-dê/-da* (Todd 2002; Paul 1998, 2009; Keskin 2010; Werner 2018) as illustrated in (2) and (3), respectively. The Ezafe agrees with the feminine ‘goat’ in (2a), while it agrees with the masculine ‘dog’ in (2b), and with the plural ‘shoes’ in (2c). All these Ezafe forms reflect the nominative case of the whole DP, and both EZ1 and EZ2 forms are the same (except for the epenthetic [y] which appears after vowels). Meanwhile, while EZ1 forms in (3) are similar to the Ezafe forms in (2), the EZ2 forms are different in that they have an additional *-d*. (DE stands for both *-dê* and *-da*.)

- (2) a. *bız-a sıpê-ya gırdi*
goat-EZ.F white-EZ.F big
‘the big white goat’

*This project is supported by SSHRC grant # 435-2018-0527. The first author holds the Elahé Omidyar Mir-Djalali Postdoctoral Fellowship in Iranian Linguistics at the University of Toronto, generously funded by Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute and the SSHRC grant. We are grateful to members of the Syntax of Nominal Linkers Project at the University of Toronto. All data come from the authors’ fieldwork with two native Southern Zazaki speakers from Siverek, Diyarbakır. We are very grateful to Sultan Gümüşkaşık and another anonymous linguistic consultant for their help with the data.

- b. kutık-o sipê-yo girdi
 dog-EZ.M white-EZ.M big
 ‘the big white dog’
- c. sol-ê sipê-yê girdi
 shoe-EZ.PL white-EZ.PL big
 ‘the big white shoes’
- (3) a. goş-ê bız-er-da sipê
 ear-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.F-DE white
 ‘the white goat’s ear’
- b. goş-ê kutık-Ø-dê sipê
 ear-EZ.M.OBL dog-OBL.M-DE white
 ‘the white dog’s ear’
- c. sol-ê embaz-an-dê mın
 shoe-EZ.PL friend-OBL.PL-DE 1S.OBL
 ‘my friends’ shoes’

The *-dê/-da* forms have been referred to as double Ezafe by Larson and Yamakido (2008), who analyze them as Ezafe embedded under another Ezafe or an oblique post-position. However, this analysis faces problems because *-dê/-da* does not appear in all contexts where a phrase containing Ezafe is embedded in a larger Ezafe construction. We argue in this paper that the Ezafe morpheme is *-dê/-da* specifically when [NOUN-EZ MOD] is placed in a context where it receives genitive case, either in a possessive construction or from a selecting adposition. Following Kahnemuyipour and Peters (2019), we assume that the case value on the Ezafe is obtained via case concord with a GEN assigning D or P head.

This paper is structured as follows. The following section provides a brief overview of Ezafe in SZ, with a special emphasis on its interaction with case. Section (3) discusses the proposal by Larson and Yamakido (2006) (cf. also Larson and Samiiian (2020)), which takes *dê/-da* in SZ as double Ezafe, and providing here several arguments against such an analysis. Section (4) provides our analysis of the Ezafe morpheme *dê/-da* in SZ, according to which *-dê/-da* is seen as the morphological realization of EZ.GEN with sensitivity to gender/number in this language. Section (5) discusses the appearance of *do/da/de* forms realizing EZ1 in the context of modified indefinite nouns and investigates a possible relation with the *de/da* forms seen as realizing EZ2. Lastly, concluding remarks and the points left for future research are presented in Section (6).

2. Ezafe in Southern Zazaki

Zazaki, also known as Dimlî or Kirmanjkî, is a Northwestern Iranian language spoken in (South)eastern Turkey (Paul 1998; Werner 2018) . It has three main dialects, namely Southern Zazaki, Central Zazaki and Northern Zazaki (Keskin 2010). All Zazaki dialects have a two-case system: Direct (DIR) and Oblique (OBL).¹ Obliques and other nominals excluding locatives and vocatives always appear in the OBL case while the case of the subject and the object is determined by the alignment type. Subjects are marked with the DIR case while objects appear in the OBL case in present tense sentences. The alignment reverses in past tense sentences where subjects are marked with the OBL and objects appear in the DIR case (Paul 1998; Todd 2002). Besides, Zazaki displays a two-way gender distinction; feminine and masculine, which reveals itself on adjectives, verbs and case endings (Todd 2002). Similar to many Iranian languages, Zazaki employs the Ezafe marker for relating postnominal modifiers including possessors to the head noun, but it differs from some other Iranian languages (e.g. Persian) in that Ezafe markers in Zazaki inflects for phi-features and case. Our focus in this paper will be on the Southern Zazaki dialect.

Ezafe in SZ inflects for the number, gender, and case as indicated in table (1):

Table 1. The forms of the Ezafe morpheme in Southern Zazaki.

	DIR.	OBL.	DE
MASC.	$-(y)o$	$-\hat{e}/y$	$-d\hat{e}$
FEM.	$-(y)a$	$-(y)a$	$-da$
PL.	$-\hat{e}/y$	$-\hat{e}/y$	$-d\hat{e}$

Although the feminine ($-a$) and plural ($-\hat{e}/-y$) Ezafe forms are the same in the DIR and OBL case, the masculine forms are different ($-o$ vs. $-\hat{e}/-y$). Meanwhile, in another case paradigm, which we indicate with DE in the third column, Oblique Ezafe forms are preceded by $-d$. We will have a closer look at the interaction of Ezafe and case in the following sub-sections.

2.1 Ezafe in the Direct Case

The Ezafe morpheme in SZ not only agrees in phi-features with the head noun but it also reflects whichever case the whole DP receives in the clause; if the DP is in the DIR case, the Ezafe morpheme is $-(y)a$ for feminine, $-(y)o$ for the masculine and $-\hat{e}/y$

¹Direct and oblique are established terms used in Iranian linguistics to refer to the cases in a two-cased system where Direct represents Nom/Abs and Oblique all other cases.

for plural. As illustrated in the following sentences, the subject DP of a present tense sentence appears in the DIR case, and the Ezafe morpheme clearly reflects the case of the DP.

- (4) [Bız-a sipê] mın vinen-a
goat-EZ.F white 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.F
'The white goat sees me.'
- (5) [Kutık-o sipê] mın vinen-o
dog-EZ.M.DIR white 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.M
'The white dog sees me.'
- (6) [Kutık-ê sipê] / [bız-ê sipê] mın vinen-ê
dog-EZ.PL white / goat-EZ.PL white 1S.OBL see.PRS-PL
'The white dogs / the white goats see me.'

2.2 Ezafe in the Oblique Case

When the DP appears in a context where it receives the OBL case, e.g. the direct object of a present verb, we have the OBL form of the Ezafe. The Ezafe morpheme is *-(y)a* for feminine and *-ê/y* for the masculine and plural.

- (7) Ez-a [bız-a sipê] vinen-a
1S.DIR-PROG.1S goat-EZ.F white see.PRS-1S
'I see the white goat.'
- (8) Ez-a [kutık-ê sipê] vinen-a
1S.DIR-PROG.1S dog-EZ.M.OBL white see.PRS-1S
'I see the white dog.'
- (9) Ez-a [kutık-ê sipê] / [bız-ê sipê] vinen-a
1S.DIR-PROG.1S dog-EZ.PL white / goat-EZ.PL white see.PRS-1S
'I see the white dogs / white goats.'

Additionally, in possessive constructions where the head noun is followed by the Ezafe and then the possessor, the Ezafe invariably shows OBL, even when it is in DIR position (10b).

- (10) a. Ez-a [kutık-ê to] / [bız-a to]
 1S.DIR-PROG.1S DOG- EZ.M.OBL 2S.OBL / goat-EZ.F 2S.OBL
 vinen-a
 see.PRS-1S
 ‘I see your dog/your goat.’
- b. [Kutık-ê to] / [bız-a to] mın vinen-o/a
 dog-EZ.M.OBL 2S.OBL / goat-EZ.F 2S.OBL 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.M/F
 ‘Your dog/your goat sees me.’

2.3 Ezafe as *-dê/-da*

However, in a number of contexts, the second Ezafe (EZ2) in SZ is realized as *-dê/-da*, with *-dê* used for masculine or plural and *-da* for feminine. For instance, when the modified noun phrase [NOUN-EZ-MOD] such as “the white dog” appears as possessor in a possessive construction, then EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da* (11):

- (11) a. goş-ê kutık-Ø-dê sıpê
 ear-EZ.M.OBL dog-OBL.M-DE white
 ‘the white dog’s ear’
- b. şıt-ê bız-er-da sıpê
 milk-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.F-DE white
 ‘the white goat’s milk’
- c. şıt-ê bız-an-dê sıpê
 milk-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.PL-DE white
 ‘the white goats’ milk’

In recursive possessive constructions where [noun-ez poss’r] such as “my dog” is itself a possessor in another possessive constructions, again EZ2 is realized as *-dê/-da* (12).

- (12) a. goş-ê kutık-Ø-dê mın
 ear-EZ.M.OBL dog-OBL.M-DE 1S.OBL
 ‘my dog’s ear’
- b. şıt-ê bız-er-da Sultan-ê
 milk-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.F-DE sultan-OBL.F
 ‘Sultan’s goat’s milk’

- c. şıt-ê bız-an-dê mın
 milk-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.PL-DE 1S.OBL
 ‘my goats’ milk’

At first glance, it may appear that generally in the context of [NOUN-EZ1 X-EZ2 Y], EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da*. However, as illustrated in the following contrasts in (13), EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da* if the adjective modifies the possessor (13a) rather than the head noun (13b) (Paul 1998, 2009; Todd 2002).

- (13) a. [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]]
 şıt-ê manga-r-**da** siya
 milk-EZ.M.OBL cow-OBL.F-DE black
 ‘the black cow’s milk’
- b. [[NOUN-EZ1 X]-EZ2 Y]
 şıt-ê sipê-yê manga
 milk-EZ.M.OBL white-EZ.M.OBL cow
 ‘the cow’s white milk’

The examples so far imply that the presence of a specific genitive case relation with the head noun seems to be crucial for the appearance of *-dê/-da*. Meanwhile, there are other cases where EZ in SZ also appears as *-dê/-da*; e.g. when [NOUN-EZ MOD/POSS’R] is selected by an adposition, EZ is realized as *-dê/-da*. As illustrated in (14), when the DP ‘black table’ or ‘my mother’ appears as the complement of an adposition like ‘on’ or ‘to’, then the Ezafe morpheme has the form of *-dê/-da*:

- (14) a. [mase-dê siyay sero]
 table-DE black on
 ‘on the black table’
- b. Mın [ma-r-da to rê] kilit-ê day.
 1S.OBL mother-OBL.F-DE 2S.OBL to key-OBL give.PST-3S
 ‘I gave the key to your mother.’

We posit that adpositions assign genitive case to their complements in Zazaki, as found elsewhere (e.g. in Balochi postpositions, Jahani and Korn (2009)). Therefore, we will argue that *-dê/-da* is the result of an Ezafe construction receiving genitive

case, either within a possessive noun phrase or by an adposition². In other words, *-dê/-da* is the morphological realization of EZ.GEN with sensitivity to gender/number in SZ.

3. De/Da as “Double Ezafe”

Larson and Yamakido (2006) (and also Larson and Samiian (2020)) develop a theory of DP structure where all DP modifiers begin postnominally as the complements of D. In their account, all [+N] elements, including nominal modifiers such as adjectives, as well as nominal P’s need to be Case-licensed. They argue that Ezafe in Iranian languages is a case-marking element which licences all [+N] elements in their base position. In their case-theoretic account of Ezafe, *-dê/-da* in Zazaki is taken as an instance of double case marking or case stacking. They suggest that when a phrase containing Ezafe is embedded in a larger Ezafe construction or when a phrase containing Ezafe is the complement of an oblique postposition, the embedded Ezafe morpheme in Zazaki becomes *-dê or -da*, depending on gender and/or number of the head noun. Thus, *-dê/-da* indeed reflects the double case of the DP, which they identify with what is known in the literature as suffixaufnahme (Plank 1995). As they consider Ezafe to be a case-marker, they suggest that Zazaki *-dê/-da* are portman-teaus of Ezafe as a case marker and a general oblique case, i.e. they are instances of double Ezafe, as shown in (17)-(18).

- (15) [HEAD-EZ [HEAD-de/-da MOD]]
 kutik-e [əmiryan-de ma]
 dog-ez neighbor(obl)-sez us
 ‘our neighbor’s dog’

²*-dê/-da* has also been observed in the contexts of allatives; e.g. the spatial goals of the verbs of directed motion such as *go*, *come* and *fall* are mostly encoded as DPs in the postverbal position. The Ezafe appears as *-dê/-da* when we have [NOUN-EZ- MOD/POSS’R] in this position ((i) and (ii)). We propose that these postverbal DPs are introduced by a silent adposition assigning GEN case.

- (i) Ez şi-ya baxçê-dê xo
 1S.DIR go.PST-1S garden-DE self
 ‘I went to my garden.’
- (ii) Ez şi-ya baxçê-dê xaseki
 1S.DIR go.PST-1S garden-DE beautiful
 ‘I went to the beautiful garden.’

- (16) [HEAD-de/da MOD] P
 [mar-da to] ra
 mom(obl)-sez you(obl) from
 ‘from your mother’

- (17) [EXP -e [DP Pro D̄ [D' [NP əmiryan] [D' t̄ [EXP -de ma]]]]]
 [OBL] [OBL]

- (18) [PP [DP Pro D̄ [D' [NP mar] [D' t̄ [EXP -da to]]]] ra]
 [OBL]

However, this account is problematic because *-dê/-da* does not appear in all cases of Ezafe embedded under another Ezafe as we see in the contrast between (19) and (20). In (19), [X-EZ2 Y] is in a possessive relation with the head noun, whereas in (20), [X-EZ2 Y] is a complex modifier in an adjectival relation with the head noun (see also Todd (2002)):

- (19) [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]]
 şit-ê manga-r-da siya
 milk-EZ.M.OBL cow-OBL.F-DE black
 ‘the black cow’s milk’

- (20) [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]]
 sol-ê siya-yê tari
 shoe-EZ.PL black-EZ.PL dark
 ‘the dark black shoes’

This shows that *-dê/-da* does not appear in all contexts where a phrase containing Ezafe is embedded in a larger Ezafe construction (à la “double Ezafe” of Larson and Yamakido (2006) and Larson and Samiian (2020)). Rather, the specific genitive case relation with the head noun seems crucial.

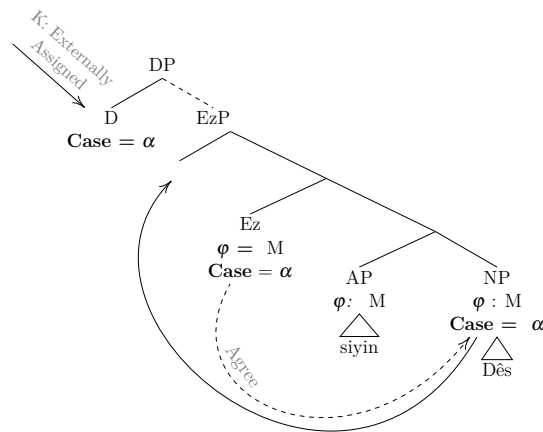
4. Analysis

We have shown above that *-dê/-da* cannot be accounted for as a case of “double Ezafe”, as suggested by Larson and Yamakido (2006) and Larson and Samiian (2020), since it does not appear in all cases of Ezafe embedded under another Ezafe. We rather argue that *-dê/-da* in SZ is the morphological realization of EZ.GEN with sensitivity to gender/number, which is shown schematically in (21). (DE stands for both *-dê* and *-da*.)

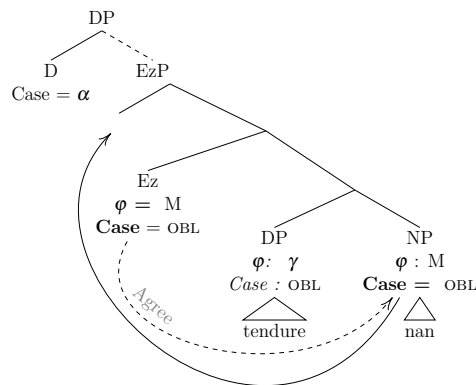
- (21) a. $[_{NP} \text{ NOUN-EZ1 } [_{NP-GEN} \text{ X-DE } Y]]$
 b. $[_{PP} [_{NP} \text{ NOUN-DE } X] P_{GEN}]$

Kahnemuyipour and Peters (2019) argue that the phi features on the Ezafe in Zazaki are always valued via Agree (which is downward) with the phi features of the head noun. In the context of adjectival modification (22), the case value on the Ezafe is obtained via case concord with D, which is itself assigned DP-externally. Meanwhile, in the presence of a possessor (23), the case on Ezafe is valued DP-internally, preventing further case concord with D.

- (22) Dês-o siyin
 wall-EZ.M.DIR stone
 ‘stone wall’

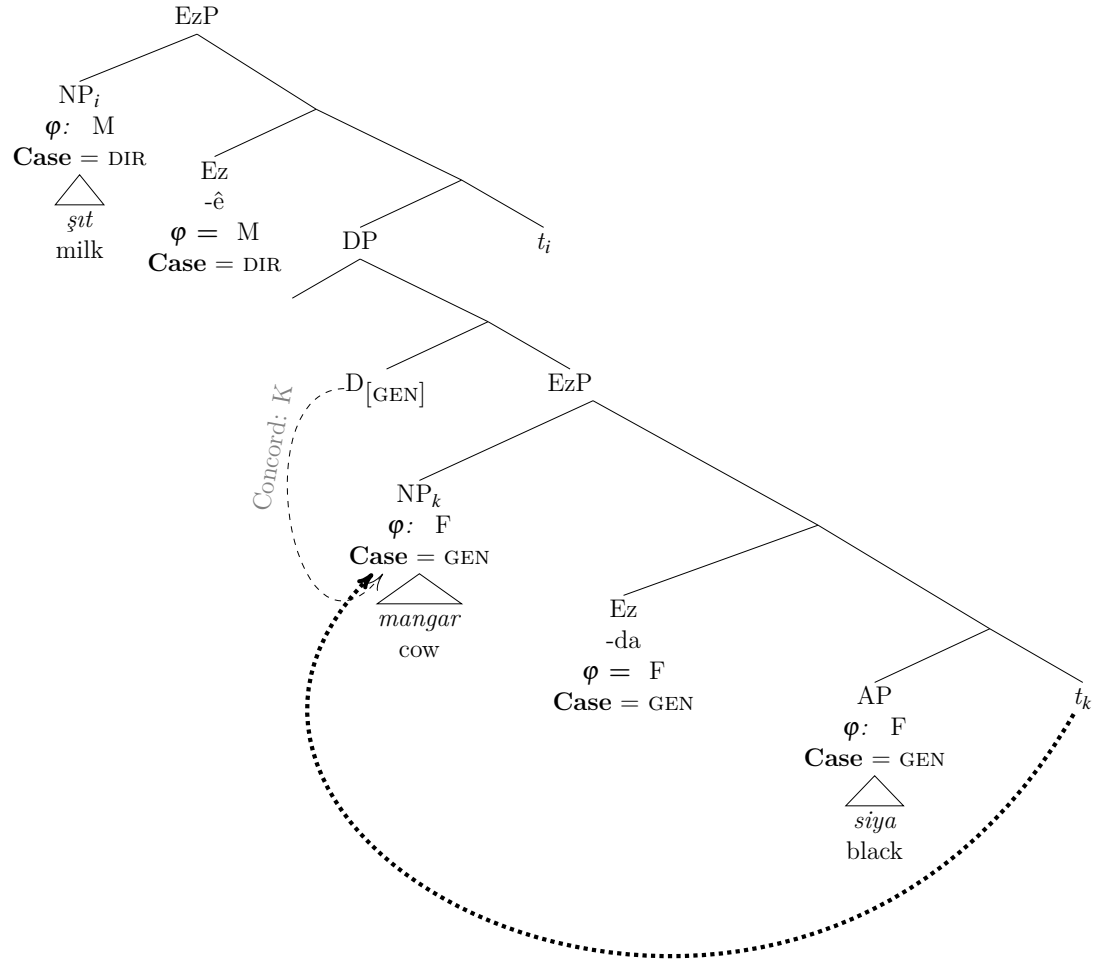


- (23) Nan-ê tendure
 Naan-EZ.M.OBL Tandoori
 ‘tandoori bread’



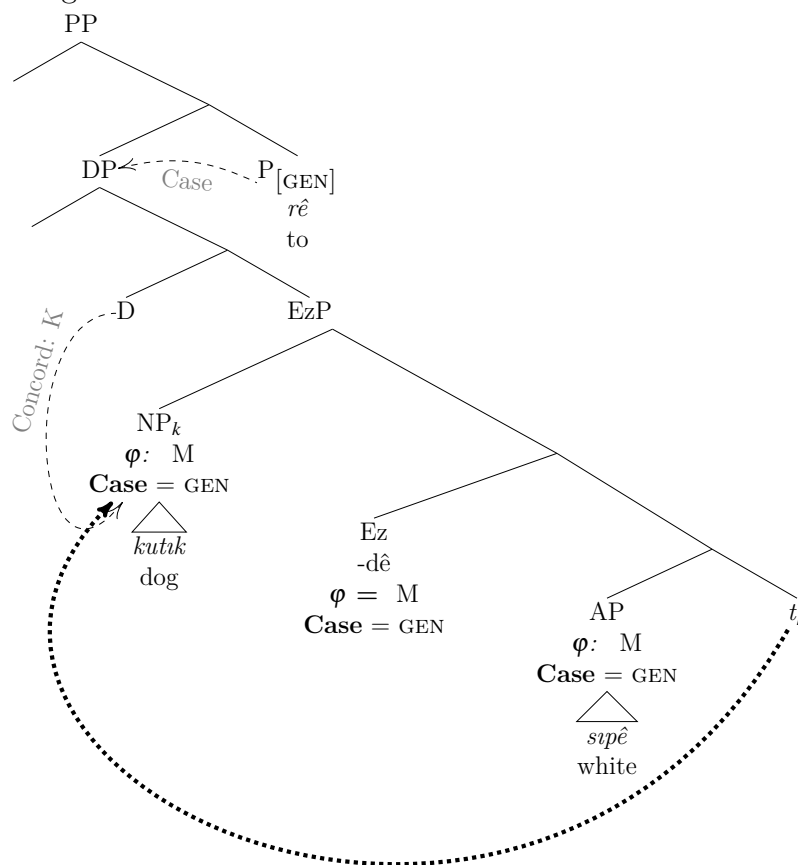
In line with Kahnemuyipour and Peters (2019), we assume that the case value on the Ezafe is obtained via case concord with GEN assigning D as in (24) or P as in (25). In (24), as the DP ‘black cow’ is a possessor, it receives genitive case, which is then expressed on the lower Ezafe morpheme due to case-concord, resulting in the DE form.

- (24) şıt-ê manga-r-da siya
 milk-EZ.M.OBL cow-OBL.F-DE black
 ‘The black cow’s milk.’



In (25), again, a DP which contains an Ezafe-phrase receives genitive case, this time coming from the P head, which takes the DP ‘white dog’ as its complement.

- (25) kutık-dê sıpê rê
 dog-DE white to
 ‘to the white dog’



5. Further Issues: Ezafe in the Indefinite Context

A closer examination of SZ data reveals that DE-forms appear in one further context to realize Ezafe. When the head noun is indefinite and modified by an adjective or possessor, the indefinite marker *-ên* is followed by *do/da/dê* depending on the gender and case of the head noun in SZ. This paradigm is provided in table (2):

Table 2. The forms of the indefinite Ezafe morpheme in Southern Zazaki.

	DIR.	OBL.	GEN
MASC.	<i>-ên do</i>	<i>-ên do</i>	<i>-ên dê</i>
FEM.	<i>-ên da</i>	<i>-ên da</i>	<i>-ên da</i>

The distribution of *dê/da* in the last column occurs in two contexts. One of them is exactly as expected from the analysis we provided in the previous section; i.e. it appears when the modified indefinite noun phrase is embedded under a GEN assigning P head (26):

- (26) a. *mas-ên dê siya sero*
 table-INDF DE black on
 ‘on a black table’
- b. *mang-ên da siya ra*
 cow-INDF DE black from
 ‘from a black cow’

However, the other context is not as straightforward because it appears in cases like (27) where we have an indefinite possessum:

- (27) a. *mas-ên dê min*
 table-INDF DE 1S.OBL
 ‘a table of mine’
- b. *mang-ên da min*
 cow-INDF DE 1S.OBL
 ‘a cow of mine’

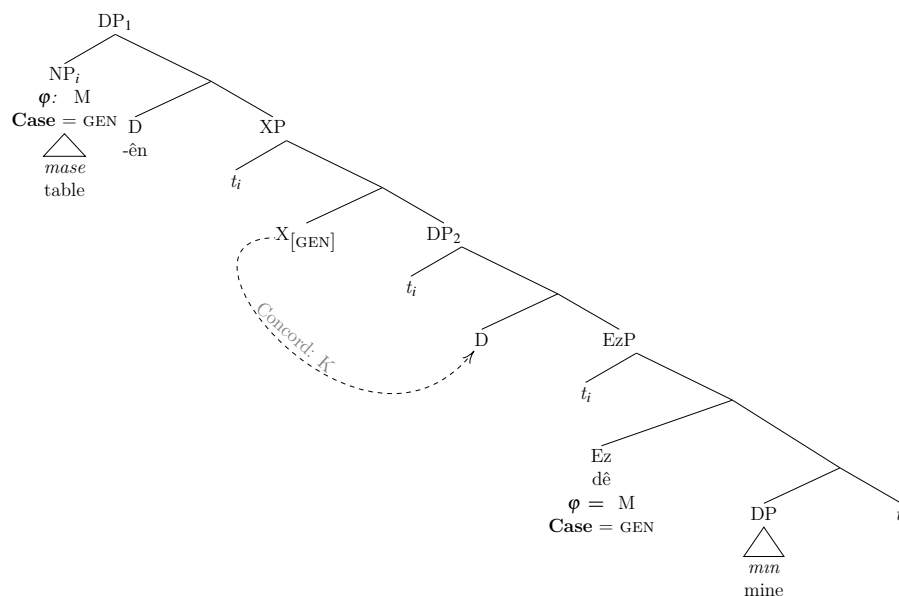
English examples similar to (27) have been analyzed as double genitives by Barker (1998). Barker argues that although double genitives like ‘two friends of John’s’ are superficially similar to simple genitives such as ‘two friends of John’, they have more in common with standard (possessive) partitives like ‘two of John’s friends’. Barker, therefore, suggests that double genitives are structurally equivalent to possessive partitives. The surface difference between double genitives and possessive partitives is due to the position in which the noun friends is spelled out. The noun is spelled out within the DP2 in partitives (28), while it is spelled out in the specifier position of the partitive in double genitive constructions, (29).

- (28) *two of John’s friends*
 $[_{DP1} \text{two} [_{XP} [_{X'} \text{of}_{PART/GEN} [_{DP2} \text{John’s friends}]]]]$

- (29) *two friends of John's*
 [_{DP1} two [_{XP} friends [_{X'} of_{PART/GEN} [_{DP2} John's friends]]]]

If we apply this proposal to our Zazaki example, we get the structure in (??), and can easily account for the *-dê/-da* forms. Once again, we have a functional head (i.e. the partitive X) which assigns Genitive case to the DP that contains the Ezafe, leading to the EZ.GEN specification of *-dê/-da*.

- (30) *mas-ên dê min*
 table-INDF DE 1S.OBL
 'A table of mine'



Now we are left with the first two columns where we see DE-forms in the absence of a clear genitive context. When the indefinite head noun is modified by an adjective, then the indefinite marker *-ên* is followed by *do* (masculine) and *da* (feminine) in both DIR (31) and OBL (32) environments. Note that in the indefinite context, we see the reappearance of the masculine marker *-o* in the OBL, whereas this form is limited to the DIR case in the definite paradigm.

- (31) a. *Kutık-ên do siya min vinen-o*
 dog-INDF DE black 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.M
 'A black dog sees me.'
- b. *Mang-ên da siya min vinen-a*
 cow-INDF DE black 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.F
 'A black cow sees me.'

- (32) a. Ez kutık-ên do siya vinen-a
 1S.DIR dog-INDF DE black see.PRS-1S
 ‘I see a black dog.’
- b. Ez mang-ên da siya vinen-a
 1S.DIR cow-INDF DE black see.PRS-1S
 ‘I see a black cow.’

The *-do/-da* forms used in the indefinite context appear to be similar in form to the Ezafe cases we have tried to account for in this paper, raising questions for our EZ.GEN analysis of these forms, as no genitive context seems to be present here. For now, we are taking these cases to be different from Genitive Ezafe for two reasons. First, there is obviously only single modification involved, and there is no obvious additional genitive case, i.e. no “double” Ezafe. Also, they exhibit a different paradigm from the cases of Genitive Ezafe: *-do/-da* vs. *-dê/-da*. Further suggestive evidence for this separation comes from Northern Zazaki (NZ). Although this dialect does not have the Genitive ezafe forms we have analyzed above, it does have DE-forms in the indefinite context, as provided in table (3):

Table 3. The forms of the indefinite Ezafe morpheme in Northern Zazaki

	DIR.	OBL.	GEN.
MASC.	<i>-o de</i>	<i>-ê de</i>	<i>-ê de</i>
FEM.	<i>-a de</i>	<i>-a de</i>	<i>-a de</i>

Interestingly, there is a reversal of ordering in NZ, with the Ezafe (showing its usual paradigm) appearing before an invariable *-de* form. Note that the indefinite marker in the absence of modification is *-e*. The other Zazaki dialect, i.e. Central Zazaki, has no DE-form Ezafe at all (Werner 2018).

6. Conclusions

In this paper, we have shown that what has been called “double” Ezafe in the literature can be analyzed as the morphological realization of EZ.GEN. This happens in two contexts: when a modified or possessive NP is used as a possessor or when it is complement of P. This crucially relies on the genitive relation that holds between an Ezafe Phrase and a Gen-assigning functional head. Following Kahnemuyipour and Peters (2019), we have developed an analysis where the case value on the Ezafe is obtained via case concord with a GEN assigning D or P head.

We have also approached the distribution of Ezafe in indefinite contexts in SZ, and discussed that the DE-forms appearing in the absence of a clear genitive context should be considered distinct from *dê/-da* forms discussed in this paper. However,

open questions remain in particular with respect to the apparent similarity between the -DE forms of Ezafe that appear in the context of indefinites and the *-dê/-da* forms used in the Genitive Ezafe paradigm.

References

- Barker, Chris. 1998. Partitives, double genitives and anti-uniqueness 16: 679–717.
- Ghameshi, Jila. 1997. Non-projecting nouns and the Ezafe construction in Persian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15: 729–788.
- Jahani, Carina and Agnes Korn. 2009. *Balochi*. New York: Routledge, 634–692.
- Kahnemuyipour, Arsalan. 2014. Revisiting the Persian Ezafe construction: A roll-up movement analysis. *Lingua* 150: 1–24.
- Kahnemuyipour, Arsalan and Andrew Peters. 2019. Separating concord and agree: The case of Zazaki ezafe .
- Keskin, Mesut. 2010. *Zazaca üzerine notlar (Notes on Zazaki)*. Iletisim, 221–244.
- Larson, Richard and Vida Samiiian. 2020. *The Ezafe construction revisited*. John Benjamins, 173–236.
- Larson, Richard and Hiroko Yamakido. 2006. Zazaki “double ezafe” as double case-marking .
- Larson, Richard and Hiroko Yamakido. 2008. Ezafe and the deep position of nominal modifiers. In *Adjectives and adverbs: Syntax semantics and discourse*. Oxford University Press, 43–70.
- Paul, Ludwig. 1998. *Zazaki: Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Paul, Ludwig. 2009. *Zazaki*. Routledge, 545–586.
- Plank, Frans. 1995. *(re-)introducing Suffixaufnahme*. Oxford University Press, 3–110.
- Samiiian, Vida. 1994. The Ezafe construction: Some implications for the theory of X-bar morphosyntax. In *Persian studies in North America*, ed. M. Marashi. Bethesda, MD: Iranbooks.
- Samvelian, Pollet. 2007. A (phrasal) affix analysis of the Persian ezafe 43(3): 605–645.
- Todd, Terry Lynn. 2002. *A grammar of Dimili*. Iremet Forlag, Stockholm.
- Werner, Brigitte. 2018. *Forms and meanings of the ezafe in Zazaki*. Reichert Verlag.