

REVISITING “DOUBLE” EZAFE IN SOUTHERN ZAZAKI¹

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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 (Ghomeshi, 1997; Kahnemuyipour, 2014; Larson & Yamakido, 2008; Samiiian, 1994; Samvelian, 2007), as in the following schema: [NOUN-EZ1 MOD1-EZ2 MOD2]
- ▷ We investigate the distribution of EZ2 in Southern Zazaki (SZ), a Northwestern Iranian language spoken in Southeastern Turkey. (All data comes from the authors’ fieldwork with two native Southern Zazaki speakers from Siverek, Diyarbakır.)
- ▷ EZ2 in SZ sometimes appears as *-a/-o/-ê* and sometimes as *-dê/-da* (Keskin, 2010; Paul, 2009; Paul, 1998; Todd, 2002; Werner, 2018).
- ▷ The *-dê/-da* forms have been referred to as double Ezafe by Larson and Yamakido (2006), who analyze it as double case-marking when Ezafe is embedded under another Ezafe or an oblique postposition.
- ▷ We propose 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 P.

Data

- ▷ Ezafe in SZ inflects for the number, gender, and case of the head noun as indicated in the following table²

| | Direct Case | Oblique Case | ?? |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|-----|
| Masculine | -(y)o | -ê/-y | -dê |
| Feminine | -(y)a | -(y)a | -da |
| Plural | -ê/-y | -ê/-y | -dê |

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 Direct (DIR) case, the Ezafe morpheme is *-(y)a* for feminine, *-(y)o* for the masculine and *-ê/y* for plural:

- (1) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Kutik-o sipê} \\ \textit{biz-a sipê} \end{array} \right\} \textit{min vinen-o/a}$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{dog-EZ.M.DIR white} \\ \textit{goat-EZ.F.DIR white} \end{array} \right\}$ 1S.OBL see-PRS-3S.M/F
 ‘The white dog/the white goat sees me.’

Ezafe in the Oblique Case

When the DP appears in a context where it receives Oblique (OBL) case, e.g. the direct object of a present verb, we have the OBL form of the Ezafe:

- (2) $\textit{Ez-a} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Kutik-ê sipê} \\ \textit{biz-a sipê} \end{array} \right\} \textit{vinen-o/a}$
 1S.DIR-PROG.1S $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{dog-EZ.M.OBL white} \\ \textit{goat-EZ.F.OBL white} \end{array} \right\}$ see-PRS-3S.M/F
 ‘I see the white dog/the white goat.’

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:

- (3) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Kutik-ê to} \\ \textit{biz-a to} \end{array} \right\} \textit{min vinen-o/a}$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{dog-EZ.M.OBL 2S.OBL} \\ \textit{goat-EZ.F.OBL 2S.OBL} \end{array} \right\}$ 1S.OBL see-PRS-3S.M/F
 ‘Your dog/your goat sees me.’

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: (DE stands for both *-dê* and *-da*).

When the modified noun phrase [NOUN-EZ-MOD] such as “the white dog” appears as a possessor:

- (4) a. $\textit{goş-ê kutik-Ø-dê sipê}$
 ear-EZ.M.OBL dog-OBL.M-DE white
 ‘the white dog’ s ear’
 b. $\textit{şit-ê biz-er-da sipê}$
 milk-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.F-DE white
 ‘the white goat’s milk’
 c. $\textit{şit-ê biz-an-dê sipê}$
 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 construction:

- (5) a. $\textit{goş-ê kutik-Ø-dê min}$
 ear-EZ.M.OBL dog-OBL.M-DE 1S.OBL
 ‘my dog’ s ear’
 b. $\textit{şit-ê biz-er-da Sultan-ê}$
 milk-EZ.M.OBL goat-OBL.F-DE Sultan-OBL.F
 ‘Sultan’s goat’s milk’
 c. $\textit{şit-ê biz-an-dê min}$
 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 6, EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da* if the adjective modifies the possessor (6a) rather than the head noun (6b), (Paul, 2009; Paul, 1998; Todd, 2002).

- (6) a. [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]]
 $\textit{şit-ê manga-r-da siya}$
 milk-EZ.M.OBL cow-OBL.F-DE black
 ‘the black cow’s milk’
 b. [[NOUN-EZ1 X]-EZ2 Y]
 $\textit{şit-ê sipê-yê manga}$
 milk-EZ.M.OBL white-EZ.M.OBL cow
 ‘the cow’s white milk’

↔ However, EZ2 does not appear as *-dê/-da* in all [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]] contexts either, as we see in the contrast between (6a) and (7). In (6a), [NOUN-EZ2 Y] is in a possessive relation with the head noun, whereas in (7), [X-EZ2 Y] is a complex modifier in an adjectival relation with the head noun (see also Todd, 2002):

- (7) $\textit{sol-ê siya-yê tari}$
 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). Rather, the specific genitive case relation with the head noun seems crucial.

EZ2 in SZ also appears as *-dê/-da* when [NOUN-EZ MOD/POSS’ R] is selected by a postposition (8)³. We posit that adpositions assign genitive case to their complements in Zazaki, as found elsewhere (e.g. in Balochi postpositions, Jahani and Korn, 2009).

- (8) a. $\textit{mase-dê siyay sero}$
 table-DE black on
 ‘on the black table’
 b. $\textit{Min ma-r-da to rê kilit-ê day.}$
 1S.OBL mother-OBL.F-DE 2SG.OBL to key-OBL give.PST.3S
 ‘I gave the key to your mother.’

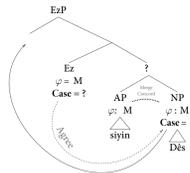
Analysis

PROPOSAL: *-dê/-da* is the result of an Ezafe construction receiving genitive case, either within a possessive noun phrase or by an adposition. In addition, *de/da* does not appear in all contexts where an Ezafe Phrase is in an Oblique position. Rather, it only appear with Genitive cases of Oblique. In other words, *-dê/-da* is the morphological realization of EZ.GEN with sensitivity to gender/number, which is shown schematically in (9).

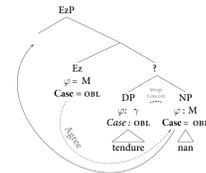
- (9) a. [NP NOUN-EZ1 [NP-GEN X-DE Y]]
 b. [PP [NP NOUN-DE X] P_{GEN}]

- ▷ Kahnemuyipour and Peters (2019) argue that phi features on the Zazaki Ezafe are always valued via Agree with the head noun. In the context of adjectival modification (10), 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 (11), the case on Ezafe is valued DP-internally, preventing further case-concord with D.

- (10) $\textit{Dês-o siyin}$
 wall-EZ stone
 ‘stone wall’

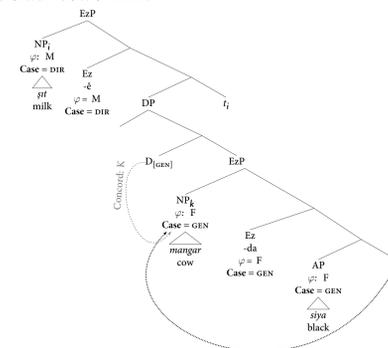


- (11) $\textit{Nan-ê tendure}$
 Naan-EZ Tandoori
 ‘tandoori bread’

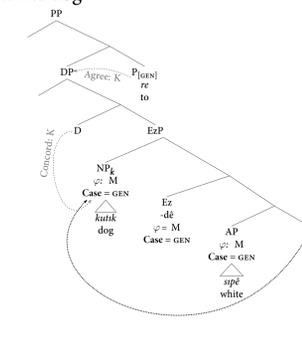


- ▷ In line with Kahnemuyipour and Peters (2019), we assume that the case value on the Ezafe is obtained via case concord with GEN assigning D (12) or P (13):

- (12) $\textit{şit-ê mangar-da siya}$
 milk-EZ cow-DE black
 ‘The black cow’s milk.’



- (13) $\textit{kutik-dê sipê re}$
 dog-DE white to
 ‘to the white dog’



Conclusions

- ▷ We have shown that what has been called “double” Ezafe in the literature can be analyzed as the 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. Consequently, not all obliques should be treated the same, as in this context only Genitive case triggers the DE forms.
- ▷ Open questions remain in particular with respect to the apparent similarity between the *-d* forms of Ezafe that appear in the context of indefinites and the *-dê/-da* forms used in “double” Ezafe. See the attached appendix for more information.

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Notes

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² Direct and oblique are established terms used in Iranian linguistics to refer to the cases in a two-cased systems where Direct represents Nom/Abs and Oblique all other cases.
³ *-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 (14). We propose that these postverbal DPs are introduced by a silent adposition assigning GEN case.

(i) $\textit{Ez şî-ya baxçê-dê xo}$
 1S.DIR go.PST-1S.F garden-DE self
 ‘I went to my garden.’

Appendix to: “Revisiting ‘Double’ Ezafe in Southern Zazaki”

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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:

| | Direct Case | Oblique Case | Gen |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|--------|
| Masculine | -ên do | -ên do | -en dê |
| Feminine | -ên da | -ên da | -ên da |

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 above; i.e. it appears when the modified indefinite noun phrase is embedded under a GEN assigning P head:

- (1) 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’

The other context is not as straightforward because it appears in cases where we have an indefinite possessum:

- (2) a. *mas-ên dê min*
table-INDF 1S.OBL
‘a table of mine’

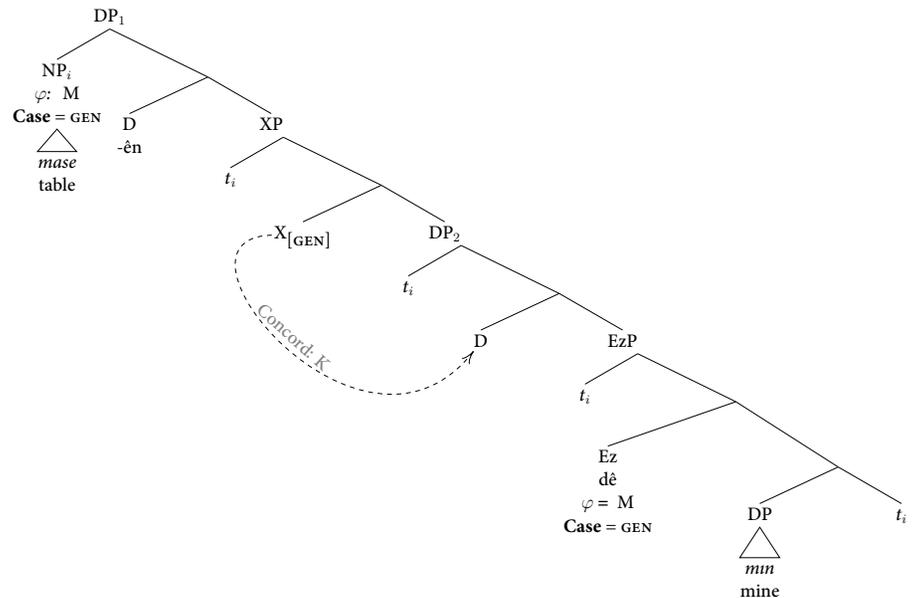
- b. *mang-ên da min*
COW-INDF DE 1S.OBL
‘a cow of mine’

English examples similar to (2) have been analyzed as double genitives by Barker (1998) as in [DP₁ two [XP dogs_i [X’ of_{PART/GEN} [DP₂ John’s dogs_i]]]].

If we apply this proposal to our Zazaki example, we get the structure in (3), and can easily account for the *-dê/-da* forms. Once again, we have a functional head which assigns Genitive case to the DP which contains the Ezafe, leading to the EZ.GEN specification of *-dê/-da*.

- (3) *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 *d*-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 (4) and OBL (5) 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.

(4) a. *Kutik-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*
dog-INDF DE black 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.F

‘A black cow sees me.’

(5) a. *Ez kutik-ên do siya vinen-a*
1.DIR dog-INDF DE black see.PRS-1S.F

‘I see a black dog.’

b. *Ez mang-ên da siya vinen-a*
1.DIR COW-INDF DE black see.PRS-1S.F

‘I see a black cow.’

The *-do/-da* forms used in the indefinite context appear to be similar to the “double” 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 “double” Ezafe.

For one, there is obviously only single modification involved here and no obvious additional genitive case, i.e. no “double” Ezafe. Also, they exhibit a different paradigm from the cases of “double” Ezafe: *-do/-da* vs. *-dê/-da*.

Further suggestive evidence for this separation comes from Northern Zazaki (NZ). Although this dialect does not have “double” ezafe, it does have the *d*- forms in the indefinite context. 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*. (Central Zazaki has neither “double” Ezafe, nor the *d*- forms in the indefinite.)

Table 1: The forms of the indefinite Ezafe morpheme in Northern Zazaki (Werner 2018:78)

| | Direct Case | Oblique Case | Gen |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| Masculine | -o de | -ê de | -ê de |
| Feminine | -a de | -a de | -a de |