Revisiting "Doubled" Ezafe in Southern Zazaki

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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[1-2-3-4-5], as in the following schema: [NOUN-EZ1 MOD1-EZ2 MOD2]. This study investigates the distribution of EZ2 in Southern Zazaki, an Iranian language of the Kurdish Zone spoken in Southeastern Turkey. The form of the Ezafe in Zazaki is *-a/-o/-ê* depending on the number, gender and case of the head noun. Meanwhile, in Southern Zazaki (in contrast with Northern and Central dialects), EZ2 sometimes appears as *-a/-o/-ê* and sometimes as *-dê/-da* [6-7-8]. Our goal is to account for the contexts in which *-dê/-da* appears. We propose that the EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da* when a modified noun [NOUN-EZ MOD] is in a context where it receives genitive case, either in a possessive construction or from a selecting adposition.

In Zazaki, the Ezafe morpheme inflects for number and gender of the head noun (1).

(1) a. kutık-ê   mın   b. bız-a   mın   c. bız-ê   mın
       dog-EZ.M my 'my dog'   goat-EZ.F my 'my goat'   goat-EZ.PL my 'my goats'

Meanwhile, when the modified noun phrase appears in a possessive construction leading to two instances of Ezafe, the second Ezafe (EZ2) is realized as *-dê* (for M or PL) or *-da* (for F):

(2) a. goş-ê   kutık-dê mın   b. şıt-ê   bız-da mın
       ear-EZ.M dog-DE my 'my dog's ear'   milk-EZ.M goat-DA my 'my goat's milk'

At first glance, it may appear that generally in the context of [NOUN-EZ1 X-EZ2 Y], EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da*, but a closer examination reveals that EZ2 appears as *-dê/-da* only with the following phrasing [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]] as in (3), and not [[NOUN-EZ1 X]-EZ2 Y] as in (4):

(3) şıt-ê   mangar-da siya   (4) şıt-ê   sıpê-yê   manga
    milk-EZ.M cow-DA   black   milk-EZ.M white-EZ.M cow
    'the black cow's milk'   'the cow's white milk'

However, EZ2 does not appear as *-dê/-da* in all [NOUN-EZ1 [X-EZ2 Y]] contexts either, as illustrated by the contrast between (3) and (5). In (3), [X-EZ2 Y] is in a possessive relation with the head noun, whereas in (5), [X-EZ2 Y] is a complex modifier in an adjectival relation with the head noun. 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* 'dependent Ezafe' [6] or 'doubled Ezafe' [9]). Rather, the specific genitive case relation with the head noun is crucial. We further note that *-dê/-da* also appears when [NOUN-EZ MOD] is selected by adpositions (6) & (7). We posit that adpositions assign genitive case to their complements in Zazaki, as found elsewhere (e.g. in Balochi postpositions [10])

(5) sol-ê   siya-yê   tari   (6) mase-dê siyay sero   (7) war-da   mın   ra
    shoe-EZ.PL black-EZ.PL dark   table-DE black on   sister-DA my   from
    'the dark black shoes'   'on the black table'   'from my sister'

Morphologically, the case marking on the complement of the adposition and the direct object of a present verb are the same in Zazaki, traditionally termed as "oblique". However, a comparison between the realization of Ezafe in these two contexts reveals that these two cases need to be distinguished syntactically. This is best illustrated by the contrast in (8) and (9). These examples establish that the presence of genitive case is key in accounting for the distribution of *-dê/-da*.

(8) Eza kutık-ê   gırdi vinenn-a   (9) Eza kutık-dê gırdi re unen-a
    I   dog-EZ.M.OBL big   see.PRS-1S   I   dog-DE   big   at look.PRS-1S
    'I see the big dog.'   'I look at the big dog.'

To summarize, we propose that *-dê/-da* is the result of an Ezafe construction receiving genitive case, either within a possessive noun phrase or by an adposition; i.e. *-dê/-da* is the morphological realization of *EZ.GEN* with sensitivity to gender/number (10): (DE for both *-dê* and *-da.*)

(10)   a. NP[NOUN-EZ1 NP-GEN [X-DE Y]]   b. PP[NP[NOUN-DE X] PGEN]

This shows that while genitive case is not morphologically realized elsewhere in the language, its traces can still be found with morphosyntactic consequences.

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