

## Zazaki Notes Week 2

Participants: A. Adler, M. Ceplova, A. Csirmaz, J. Gajewski, M. Kenstowicz, A. Nevins, B. Norris, C. Quinn, N. Richards, J. Sabbagh, M. Walter. Transcribed by A.N.

The “izafe” will be glossed as **linkadj** for preadjectival linkers and **linkposs** for pre-possessor linkers. I will gloss possession with the Saxon genitive conventions (‘the boys’ book’) rather than ‘the book of the boys’ – although the latter is probably more transparent, we have not attempted to elicit an overt preposition. [Further note: M.K. suggests possessor is akin to ‘construct state’. Checking multiple possessors might confirm this affinity (is specificity of possessums only encoded on highest possessor? cf. Hebrew *beyt ach hamorah* ‘house brother the-teacher’ = ‘the house of the brother of the teacher’).]

|           | Masc | Fem | Pl  |
|-----------|------|-----|-----|
| Verb.past | d-∅  | d-e | d-i |
| Verb.pres | eno  | ena | ene |
| Noun.cit  | ∅    | ε   | i   |
| Noun.gen  | i    | ε   | a   |
| linkposs  | e    | a   | e   |
| demonstr  | no   | na  | ne  |
| linkadj   | o    | a   | e   |
| adj.agr   | ∅    | e   | i   |

[M.K.: Perhaps  $\epsilon \rightarrow e$  in the env. - (C) i. Only one consonant can intervene, cf. *wendi*.]

### Review: Possessives and Adjectives Together

- (1) kitab-o sur  
book-linkadj.M red-M.  
‘The red book’
- (2) kitab-e layik-i-o sur  
book-linkposs.M boy-gen.M-linkadj.M red-M.  
‘The boy’s red book’

[Question posed by N.R.: clitics or suffixes? Presence of two on preadjectival possessor legislates against ‘slot’-based morphological template for these.]

- (3) qεlεm-a layik-i-a sur-ε  
pen-linkposs.F boy-gen.M-linkadj.F red-F.  
‘the boy’s red pen’
- (4) qεlεm-e layik-i-e sur-i  
pen-linkposs.Pl boy-gen.M-linkadj-Pl. red-Pl.  
‘the boy’s red pens’
- (5) qεlεm-e layik-an-e sur-i  
pen-linkposs.Pl boy-gen.Pl-linkadj.Pl red-Pl.  
‘the boys’ red pens’

[Issue raised by N.R.: is -n- insertion a hiatus-breaking epenthesis? If so, conditions on hiatus resolution apply in case of *a.e.* but not other vowel sequences, perhaps \*Low-High. A.N.: Perhaps structure is topicalization+resumption: *qεlεm-e layik-a, ne sur-i* ‘the boys’ pens, they’re red’.]

- (6) qεlεm-e mεhεmεd-e sur-i  
‘mehmed’s red pens’

### Predication

- (7) kitab suro  
‘the book is red’

- (8) qələm-e sura  
‘the pen is red’
- (9) qələm-i sure  
‘the pens are red’

[Predicative Adjectives show ‘Verbal’ agreement suffixes]

- (10) Mohamed malemo.  
‘Mohamed is a teacher (m)’
- (11) Aisha malema.  
‘Aisha is a teacher (f)’
- (12) Aisha-u-Mohamed-i malem-e  
Aisha-conj-Mohamed-comit.M teacher-pl.  
‘Aisha and Mohamed are teachers’
- (13) Mohamed-i-o Aisha malem-e  
Mohamed-comit.M-conj Aisha teacher-pl.  
‘Mohamed and Aisha are teachers’

[‘Comitative’ affix *i* on masculine DPs appears regardless of position in conjunct. Apparent variation in conjunct morpheme *u* when preceded by *i*.]

- (14) Hesən-i-o Mohamed-i maleme  
Hesən-comit.M-conj Mohamed-comit.M teacher-pl.  
‘Hesən and Mohamed are teachers’

### Ditransitives

- (15) Mehemedi kitab da malim-i  
M. book gave-M. teacher-obl.M.  
‘Mohamed gave the book to the teacher’

[Possibility: ‘genitive marking’ used generally for obliques? With ‘give’ though, difficult to disentangle GOAL from BENEFACTIVE; if latter, genitive perhaps expected, regardless of oblique as distinct subclass of case.]

- (16) Mehemedi qələm-e d-e malim-i  
M. pen gave-F. teacher-obl.M.  
‘Mohamed gave the pen to the teacher’

[Suppose verb stem is *da*. Is *da+e* hiatus resolved here by deletion of 1st vowel?]

- (17) M. kitab-i-o qələme da-i malim-i  
M. book-com.M-conj pen gave-pl. teacher-obl.M.  
‘M. gave the book and pen to the teacher’
- (18) M. kitab-i-o qələme de malim-i  
M. book-com.M-conj pen gave-f. teacher-obl.M.
- (19) M. qələm-o kitab-i da malim-i  
M. pen-conj book-com.M gave-m. teacher-obl.M.

[2nd-conjunct agreement is optional.]

### Past Monotransitives

- (20) Mi maalim di  
I-erg teacher saw-M.  
‘I saw the teacher’

(21) Mi maaliṃ-ε di-e  
I-erg teacher-F. saw-F.

(22) Mi maaliṃ-i di  
I-erg teacher-Pl. saw-Pl.

[Is an *i* deleted in verbstem+pl *di-i*?]

(23) Mi maaliṃ pači kerd  
I-erg teacher-M. kiss did-M.  
'I kissed the teacher'

(24) Mi maaliṃ-ε pači kerdε  
I-erg teacher-F. kiss did-F.

(25) Mi maaliṃ pači kerdī  
I-erg teacher-Pl. kiss did-Pl.  
'I kissed the teacher'

['kiss' expressed as a light verb construction: 'kiss + do', (cf. Urdu cognate *kar*, 'do') agreement varies with KISSEE and not 'incorporated object']

(26) Mi o pači kert  
I-erg he kiss did-M.  
'I kissed him'

[Fast speech: *mi o* becomes *mo*]

(27) Mi a pači kerdε  
I-erg she kiss did-F.  
'I kissed her'

(28) Mi e pači kerdī  
I-erg they kiss did-Pl.  
'I kissed them'

(29) Mi (šodir) a-o-o pači kerdī  
I-erg (morning) she-conj-he kiss did-Pl.  
'I kissed her and him (in the morning)' (PlAgr)

[use of adverb for phonological curiosity; seems irrelevant to agreement]

(30) Mi a-o-o pači kerd  
I-erg she-conj-he kiss did-M.  
'I kissed her and him' (2ConjAgr)

(31) Mi o-o-a paci kerdε  
I-erg he-conj-she kiss did-F.  
'I kissed him and her' (2ConjAgr)

(32) Mi a-o-e paci kerdī  
I-erg she-conj-they kiss did-Pl.  
'I kissed her and them'

(33) a, mi pač kerdε  
she, I kiss did-F.

(34) a-o-e, mi pač kerdε  
her-and-him, I kiss did-Pl.

[Pause required between dislocated object and subject. Preliminary questions suggest dislocated objects have to be GIVEN]

- (35) m̄in-o braye-xo...  
I-conj. brother-linkposs.m-self's...  
'I and my brother...'
- (36) ez xo wineno  
I self see-M.  
'I see myself'
- (37) M̄i bra-e-xo di  
I-erg brother-linkposs.m-self's saw-M.  
'I saw my brother'
- (38) M̄i way-a-xo di-e  
I-erg sister-linkposs.f-self's saw-F.  
'I saw my sister'
- (39) Bra-e m̄i ez dia  
Brother-linkposs.m my I saw  
'My brother saw me'

[Use of *m̄i* is as possessor here though it appears ident. to 1.erg  
Use of *dia* instead of *di* a bit puzzling; even if 'I' is feminine, we expect *di-e*.]

- (40) Maleme m̄i waya-xo di-e.  
Teacher my sister-self's saw-F.  
'My teacher saw his/\*my sister'

[Appears that binder of *xo* must c-command it and that linear precedence is insufficient]

#### Kinship and Adjectival modification

- (41) bra-o q̄iškεk / p<sup>h</sup>il  
brother-linkadj.m younger-m. / older-m.
- (42) way-a q̄iškεkε / p<sup>h</sup>ile  
sister-linkadj.f younger-f. / older-f.
- (43) am̄ik-a q̄iže  
mat.aunt-linkadj.f young-F.  
[mother's sister. note: regressive voicing assimilation in *q̄iškεkε*? use of *-kεk* as diminutive?]
- (44) xal̄ik-a q̄iže  
pat.aunt-linkadj.f young-f.  
[father's sister]
- (45) mae/ mai / p<sup>h</sup>i/ kal̄ik / p<sup>h</sup>ilke  
mother/mothers/father/grandmother/grandfather
- (46) ma-o-p<sup>h</sup>i-ε ma  
mother-conj-father-linkposs.pl my-pl.  
'my mother and father'
- (47) p<sup>h</sup>io deuliti/ p<sup>h</sup>iε deuliti  
rich father / rich fathers

#### Light Verb Constructions

- (48) M̄i bir̄iya maya xo kerda  
I-erg missing-linkposs.f mother-link-poss.f self's did-F.  
'I missed my mother'

[A.N. interpretation: 'I did my mother's missing'. Gloss of *bir̄iya* as possessed not fully confirmed, but suggested by following data: use of genitive for MISSEE and invariance of verb agreement (which includes final *-a* - for feminine agreement with *bir̄iya*?)]

- (49) Mi biriiya de kərda  
 I-erg missing 3sgmasc-gen. did  
 'I missed her'
- (50) Mi biriiya də kərda  
 I-erg missing 3sgfem-gen. did  
 'I missed her'
- (51) Mi biriiya dina kərda  
 I-erg missing 3pl-gen. did  
 'I missed them'
- (52) Mi may-a-xo xoviira kərda  
 I-erg mother-linkposs.f-self's forgetting did-F(?)  
 I forgot my mother
- (53) Mi a xoviira kərda  
 I-erg she forgetting did-F(?)  
 I forgot her
- (54) Mi p<sup>h</sup>ii-e-xo xoviira kərd  
 I-erg father-linkposs.m-self's forgetting did-M.  
 I forgot my father

END OF SESSION