

## CHAPTER NINE

# ZAZAKI

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

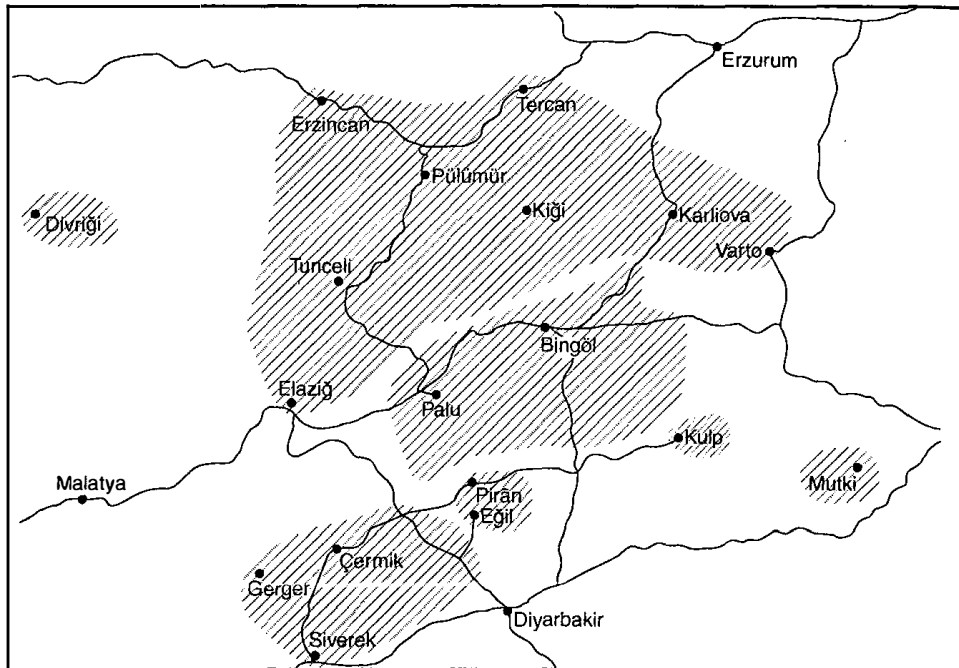
### 1.1 Overview

The name Zazaki (Zāzākī) is an exoterm, originally with pejorative connotation. The endoterm Dim(i)li is used, in particular by Sunni Zaza, besides other self-designations by various Zazaki groups. Geographically, Zazaki is spoken in eastern Turkey at the north-western borders of Kurdish-speaking areas, in a triangle defined by the cities of Siverek, Erzincan and Varto, as well as in an exclave of several villages near Mutki west of Bitlis, which may suggest a formerly wider distribution of Zazaki. Linguistically, Zazaki is a North-West Iranian language, more closely related to Gōrānī and the (Iranian) Āzari dialects than to Kurdish.

The history of Zazaki studies began in 1856, with P. I. Lerch's recordings of about 40 pages of text (including a German translation) in Zazaki, which at that time was still considered a Kurdish dialect. In 1932, the first grammatical description of Zazaki was attempted by Hadank (ed. of Mann 1932), which also served to establish Zazaki, among linguists, as a language in its own right. No grammar in a modern sense was published before Todd (1985). Yet another 13 years passed before two *comprehensive* grammars of Zazaki were written (Paul 1998; Selcan 1998). The present description is an abbreviated and revised version of the former.

There are no reliable statistics about the number of Zazaki speakers. In SE Anatolia they might number between 1.5 and 2 million. About the same number of Zaza may have emigrated to the urban centers of Western Anatolia, and to Western Europe, during the last 40 years. These numbers include all *ethnic* Zaza, however, many of whom (esp. the younger generation) have been assimilated to Turkish or Kurdish meantime. Another (apparently declining) part of the Zaza, although still speaking their mother tongue, have traditionally considered themselves as Kurds speaking a dialect of Kurdish. There have been ongoing emotional discussions among Zazas and Kurds for the past 20–25 years as to whether the Zaza form a separate people, or nation, and accordingly whether their form of speech may, or must, be called a separate (non-Kurdish) language. In most parts of the Zaza's home country there also live many Turks or Kurds, e.g. 50 percent of Turks in the city of Erzincan, or 50 percent of Kurds in Siverek and Varto. The most important cities with a predominant Zaza population are Çermik, Tunceli and Bingöl.

In the Republic of Turkey, Zazaki shares with (Kurmanci) Kurdish the status of a minority language, but (like Kurdish) it is not granted the rights that minority languages usually have in Europe. It has been ignored by state officials, or its existence has been denied until the 1980s. From 1989 on, publication in Zazaki (and Kurdish) has been partly allowed in Turkey, but the actual government policy has rather discouraged, or



MAP 9.1 ZAZAKI

prevented by force, regular and free publication in Zazaki. Since the 1980s, the main impetus for writing in Zazaki has come from the Zaza diaspora (exiles and guest workers) living in Western Europe (mainly Germany and Sweden).

Zazaki is divided into many quite heterogeneous dialects, most of which may be attributed to either of three (a northern, south-western, and south-eastern) dialect areas. Actually, Zazaki “consists” of dialects only, since no single dialect, or standardized mixture of dialects, can claim to be used (if in writing only) by a majority of speakers. The northern dialect area is defined not only linguistically, but also religiously, as all “northern” Zazas are Alevi Shi‘îs, while the southern Zazas are Shafi‘î Sunni.

Zazaki has been in contact with many other languages in history. The most important single language to influence Zazaki over time has been (Kurmanci) Kurdish. Other languages whose contact with Zazaki may still be seen today include Arabic, Persian, Armenian (esp. for the northern dialects), and Turkish whose influence on Zazaki has been rapidly increasing for the past decades.—In the following, NX refers to the dialect in Berz 1988.

## 2 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Inventory and distribution

The Çermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki have the following *phonemic* system of 8 vowels and 30 consonants, including 2 semi-vowels.

### 2.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

#### 2.1.1.1 Vowel system

TABLE 9.1: ZAZAKI VOWELS

	Front	Back
Close	<i>ī i</i>	<i>u ū</i>
Mid	<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>e</i>	
Open	<i>ā</i>	

#### 2.1.1.2 Diphthongs

In the Çermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki there are only falling diphthongs ending in *-y* (*āy, ey, oy, ūy*) or *-w* (*āw, ew, ēw*). When a diphthong is followed by a vowel, it loses its diphthongal character, e.g. *rāy-ā mi* is syllabic *rā-yā mi* ‘my way’. Therefore, diphthongs are not considered phonemic here.

### 2.1.2 Consonants

TABLE 9.2: CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uv.	Phar.	Glottal
Stops/Affricates :	<i>p b</i>	<i>t ʈ d</i>	<i>č ǰ</i>	<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>		
Fricatives	<i>f v</i>	<i>s ʃ z</i>	<i>š ž</i>	<i>x γ</i>		<i>ħʕ</i>	<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
Laterals, plain/vel.		<i>l l</i>					
Vibrants, flap/trill		<i>r r̥</i>					
Semi-vowels	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>				

## 2.2 Non-segmental features

As a rule, Zazaki words have their stress on the last syllable of the stem, while endings and suffixes are unstressed (stress is indicated here by underlined vowel). But note the following exceptions:

Stressed are the case endings *-er* and *-ān*; the negative prefixes *nē-* and *me-*, and the modal prefix *b(i)-*. Unstressed are the primary postpositions *-ā, -di(r), -rā, -rē, -ro*; the substantive verb; the particle *do* (future); and the clitic conjunctions *ū* ‘and’ and *zī* ‘also’. Vocative stress is on the penultimate syllable, where possible. Unpredictably, a small set of words has non-final stress, e.g. *ħepīs* ‘jail’ (anaptytic *-i-*, cf. Ar. *ħabs*), *kārdī* f ‘knife’, *mākī* ‘female’, *wīnā* ‘so’. Difference of stress may be phonemic: *nīnā* ‘she does not come’ ~ *nīnā* ‘of these’ (obl. pl. of dem.).

### 3 MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 Nominal morphology

##### 3.1.1 Nouns

Zazaki nouns distinguish the following inflectional categories: gender (masculine and feminine); number (singular and plural); case (direct and oblique); animacy; and definiteness. The distinction of gender exists only in the singular, including the number ‘one’, and natural gender in the vocative. The categories of animacy and definiteness operate in restricted areas.

##### 3.1.1.1 Gender

In their simplest forms nouns are unmarked for gender, except for the following subsets:

- (1) Masculine are: (a) nouns in *-e*: *āyre* ‘mill’, *girwe* ‘work’; (b) infinitives in *-iš*.
- (2) Feminine are: (a) abstract nouns in *-ey*, e.g. *rind-ey* ‘kindness’; (b) infinitives in *-er*; (c) tree names in *-ēr*: *sā-y-ēr* ‘apple tree’.

Also, singular feminines with final consonant are often marked by a “euphonic” *-i*: *āw-i* (f) *ā xo sere ki* ‘hold the water (f) to your head’. However, gender is always overtly distinguished in the oblique cases and in the *ezāfe* construction, including nouns allowing for natural gender distinction, such as *wēr* ‘owner (m/f)’: *wēr-ē* (m) *dew-i* (OBLf) ‘the owner (m) of the village’ vs. *wēr-ā* (f) *por-ī* (OBLm) ‘the owner (f) of the hair’.

##### 3.1.1.2 Number and case

Both singular and plural distinguish two basic cases, direct (DIR) and oblique (OBL). Any noun designating a plural number always takes the plural endings, while nouns used in the generic sense and collective nouns take the singular: *šār do pey bi-huw-o* ‘the people (s) will laugh about it’ (*pey huw-*). Feminine oblique *-er* is facultative. Vocalic endings insert hiatus *-y-*; *-ī* replaces masc. *-e*, otherwise *-ī > -y* after vowel.

TABLE 9.3: BASIC NOMINAL INFLECTION

	masc.	masc.	fem.	fem.	
DIRs	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>(-i)</i>	<i>-ā</i>	
OBLs	<i>-ī/-y</i>	<i>-ī/-y</i>	<i>(-er)(i)</i>	<i>-ā, -er-(i)</i>	
DIRp	<i>-ī/-y</i>	<i>-e-y</i>	<i>-ī/-y</i>	<i>-e-y</i>	
OBLp	<i>-ān</i>	<i>-(ey)-ān</i>	<i>-ān</i>	<i>-ān</i>	
	‘house’	‘camel’	‘girl’	‘story’	‘sister’
DIRs	masc. <i>bān</i>	masc. <i>deve</i>	fem. <i>keynek(-i)</i>	fem. <i>meselā</i>	fem. <i>wā</i>
OBLs	<i>bān-ī</i>	<i>dev-ī</i>	<i>keynek(-er)(-i)</i>	<i>meselā, mesel-er(-i)</i>	<i>wā-r(-i)</i>
DIRp	<i>bān-ī</i>	<i>deve-y</i>	<i>keynek-ī</i>	<i>mesel-e-y</i>	<i>wā-y</i>
OBLp	<i>bān-ān</i>	<i>dev-ān</i>	<i>keynek-ān</i>	<i>mesel-ān</i>	<i>wā-y-ān</i>

A small subset of nouns has a secondary oblique case with a “kinship-*r*”: *mālmā-r* ‘mother’, *pīlpē-r* ‘father’, *birālbirā-r* ‘brother’, *wālwā-r* ‘sister’. These are obligatory in those *ezāfe* constructions where the noun phrase is other than the syntactic subject or direct object (see section 4.2 Noun phrase structure).

### 3.1.1.3 Vocative

The vocative may distinguish gender, with a forward stress shift up to the pre-penultimate where possible: masc. -Ø, fem. -*ē*, (rarely) -*ī* or -Ø; plural -*ēno*.

### 3.1.1.4 Definiteness and unity

A noun in its simplest form may express either definite or indefinite singular or unity, or be used in a generic sense:

[*lāžek*] *ši-n-o*                      *ji-rē* [*lāžek*] *b-en-o*  
 '[the boy] goes (away)';            'she has ('to her is being') [a boy]';

[*piyāz*] *weš perey ke-n-o*  
 '[onions] make (*keno*) good money' (note ms -*o*).

Indefinite plurality may be expressed by the singular or plural in the direct case:

[*činā-y-o-m new-e-DIR-SM*] *bī-y-ār-ē*  
 'bring [new clothes]';

plurality,

[*enjil-ē-p wišk-ī-DIR-p*] *we-n-ē*  
 'they eat [dried figs]'.  
 'they eat [dried figs]'.

In addition, indefiniteness and unity may be expressed by two clitics or the numeral 'one':

(1) -*ē* (unstressed), -*ēn* before vocalic clitics only: *jā-y[-ē]-rā* 'from some place', *hetē jā-y[-ēn]-ā* 'to some place, (to) somewhere'. It supersedes the oblique endings: *šew-ē* '(for) one night'. In function, it corresponds more or less to the English indefinite article, and, depending on the context, either indefiniteness or unity may be more prominent: *bān-ē(n)* 'some, any house', or 'one house' (not two or three).

(2) The suffix -*nā* 'another' implies also an indefinite meaning. It likewise supersedes inflectional endings: oblique *merdim-[-nā]-rē* 'to another man'.

(3) *žew/žū* 'one' (m/f) may be thus used as well:

[*žew*] *jāmērd ū* [*žū*] *jin-y-ā ji*  
 '[a] young man and [one] wife of his (*ji*)'.

### 3.1.2 Adjectives

There is no strict boundary between adjectives and substantives in Zazaki. Adjectives may regularly be used as substantives, and some substantives as adjectives, while some nominals are difficult to assign to either class:

*sere-y-ē* [*ē bēnāmūs-ī-OBL*]  
 'the head of that [dishonourable] (man)';

*merdim-ē-do* [*dew-iž*]  
 'a (-*ē*) certain man, a peasant' ('a certain [peasant-ish] man');

*lāžek-ē-do bol* [*jāmērd*]  
 'a very [brave] boy' (< *jāmērd* 'hero')

(for typical adjectival derivation, see section 6 Lexis).

## 3.1.2.1 Gender, case and number

Like nouns, adjectives distinguish gender and show a two-case system. Unlike nouns, masculines in *-e* have corresponding feminines in *-ē*, and singular feminines never take obl. *-er*.

TABLE 9.4: ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION

	‘big’		‘white’		‘black’	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
DIRs	<i>gird</i>	<i>gird(-i)</i>	<i>si p-e</i>	<i>si p-ē</i>	<i>si yā</i>	<i>si yā</i>
OBLs	<i>gird-ī</i>	<i>gird(-i)</i>	<i>si p-ī</i>	<i>si p-ē</i>	<i>si yā-y</i>	<i>si yā</i>
DIRp	<i>gird-ī</i>		<i>si p-e-y</i>		<i>si yā-y</i>	
OBLp	<i>gird-ān</i>		<i>si p-ān</i>		<i>si yā-y-ān</i>	

When used predicatively, adjectives may optionally take the case ending of the noun to which they refer:

*mā pēro weš-ī-p yē*  
‘we are all well-p’, but

*īnsān-ī-p ben-ē āyā-s*  
‘the people-p become awake (*āyā*)’, i.e. ‘wake up’.

For attribution, see Section 4.2 Noun phrase structure.

## 3.1.2.2 Comparison

The simple form of an adjective may regularly be used in comparative or superlative functions: comparative, *nāme-y birā-y [werd]-ī* ‘the name of the [small(er)] brother’; superlative, *šeytān-o [gird] ti yē* ‘the [big(gest)] Satan is you’.

More explicit options are *dehā* ‘more’ or *en* ‘most’ (< Turkish *daha*, *en*):

*zūr-ā wārezā-y [dehā gird] bī*  
‘the lie of the nephew was [bigger]’;

*keynek-ā [en gird]-i riš-en-o ŋor*  
‘he sends the [biggest] girl upwards’.

The comparative relation is expressed either by the postposition *-rā*: *mi-rā gird* ‘bigger than me’ (lit. ‘big from me’); or by the adjectival suffix *-ēr(ī)*: *mi gird-ēr(ī)* ‘bigger than me’ (cf. English *my elder*). The former is used generally for simple predication, the latter for all other types of comparative sentences:

*kund [mi āqil-ēr] viž-y-ā*  
‘the owl has turned out [smarter than me]’.

The superlative relation is expressed by postpositional *miyān-di* ‘among’:

*[nē (teyr ū ŋūr)-ī-OBL miyān-di] en sifte šewšewok-i ye-n-ā*  
‘[among these birds], as the first comes the bat’.

The noun of reference may be resumed by a pronoun, such as the general 3rd person referential *ji*:

[*(jin ū jināwir)-ī-OBL miyān-di*], *en tersinok-ē ji arwēš-ī b-en-ē*  
 '[among the animals], the most fearful of them are the hares'.

### 3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

#### 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The Zazaki personal pronouns distinguish three persons in the singular and plural, and direct and oblique cases, except in the 1p, 2p. Gender is distinguished in the 3s. There is also an invariable weak (but not enclitic) oblique form. Note that Zazaki (like Northern Kurdish) lacks personal suffixes.

TABLE 9.5: PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1s	2s	3sm	f	1p	2p	3p
DIR	<i>ez</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>šimā</i>	<i>ē</i>
OBL	<i>mi(n)</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ey</i>	<i>āy</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>šimā</i>	<i>inān</i>
weak				<i>ji</i>			<i>ji</i>

The 1s *min* occurs before enclitic vowels only, e.g. *ti lāž-ē min ē* 'you are my son'.

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns have one distant form, identical with the strong 3rd person personal pronouns, and one proximate form distinguished only by initial *n-*. There are also two corresponding demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, and are morphologically less differentiated than the former.

TABLE 9.6: DEMONSTRATIVES

	'this'		'these'	'that'	'those'	
	masc	fem.	plural	masc.	fem.	plural
DIR	<i>no</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>
OBL	<i>ney</i>	<i>nāy</i>	<i>nīnā(n)</i>	<i>ey</i>	<i>āy</i>	<i>inān</i>
ADJ	<i>no</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>
OBL	<i>nē</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>

#### 3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronoun

The Zazaki reflexive marker *xo* 'self, own' is invariable, and co-referent with the syntactic subject only. In non-ergative sentences, it must be used for any "oblique" verbal or nominal complement:

- |                                       |                          |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Present direct object             | (2) Adverbial            |
| [ <i>xo</i> ] <i>kuw-en-ā 'erd-ā</i>  | <i>ye-n-o [ā xo]</i>     |
| 'she throws [herself] to the ground'. | 'he comes [to himself]'. |

## (3) Possessive of direct object

[meselā xo] mi-rē vāž-i

‘tell me [your story]’.

Similarly in past ergative sentences, *xo* occurs only if co-referential with the subject/agent, in which case the verb always shows masculine singular agreement:

nē kese-y mā-rā tersā-y  
these turtle-s us-from fear-ed-3p  
‘these turtles were afraid of us’,

[xo] ešt dol-ī miyān ū [xo] dol-di nimit.  
self threw-3sm lake-OBL inside and self lake-in hid-3sm  
‘they threw themselves inside the lake and hid [themselves] in the lake.’

Accordingly, co-reference with the direct object/patient requires the respective personal pronoun:

pī-y-ē [to]-OBL ti-DIR-PAT polāt kerdī bī-2s?  
‘had [your] father steeled you?’

In subordinate clauses co-reference with the subject of the main clause is expressed by the simple referential pronoun:

čī-y-o ki [jī-rē] lāzim o, herīn-en-ē  
‘what (-ever) is necessary [to them], they buy’.

## 3.1.3.4 Reciprocal pronoun

A reciprocal relationship within a sentence is indicated by invariable *pē* ‘each other’ which always shows (like reflexive *xo*) singular masculine agreement:

nē wirnā [pē] vīn-en-ē šimā wirnā helāl [-ē pē] yē  
‘they both see [each other]’; ‘you both are *helāl* [to one another]’;

mā [pē] kerd (ms) vīnī  
‘we have lost [one another]’.

## 3.1.4 Adpositions

## 3.1.4.1 Primary adpositions

## 3.1.4.1a Simple preposition

The simple prepositions immediately precede the nominal form they qualify, which is normally in the oblique case; thus PREP + OBL (mostly). The following are attested:

<i>ā</i> ‘to, towards’;	<i>hetā(n)</i> ‘until, up to’;	<i>zey</i> ‘like, according to’;
<i>bē</i> ‘without, except’;	<i>nezdī</i> ‘towards, near’;	
<i>bī</i> ‘with, through’;	<i>pey</i> ‘behind’.	



### 3.1.4.1b Simple postpositions

The simple postpositions may be attached to nominals and secondary postpositions. They usually require the oblique, thus OBL + POST (mostly). Some of these postpositions more or less correspond to a case of traditional grammar:

-ā ‘with, through’ (instrumental);	- <i>di(r)</i> ‘in, on’ (locative);
- <i>rā</i> ‘from, out of; along; through’ (ablative);	- <i>rē</i> ‘for, to’ (dative);
- <i>ro</i> ‘(up)on’; - <i>o</i> ‘(up)on’ (only after ‘ <i>erd</i> m ‘ground’ and <i>rāy</i> f ‘way’).	

### 3.1.4.2 Secondary adpositions

#### 3.1.4.2a Secondary prepositions

Secondary prepositions are nouns, adverbs, and other expressions with locational meaning, partly borrowed, that syntactically form *ezāfe* constructions, e.g.:

<i>bin-ē</i> N	‘under N’ (< <i>bin</i> ‘bottom’);
<i>čoršme-y-ē</i> N	‘around N’ (< <i>čoršme</i> ‘surrounding’);
<i>bāhd-ē</i> N	‘after N’ (< Ar. prepos. <i>ba’d</i> ‘id.’);
<i>gore-y-ē</i> N	‘according to N’ (< Turk. postpos. <i>göre</i> ‘id.’).

#### 3.1.4.2b Secondary postpositions

Secondary postpositions are nouns, adverbs, and other expressions with locational meaning, such as *bin* ‘under’ (‘bottom’), *ser* ‘on(to)’ (‘head’), *zere* ‘in(to)’, that syntactically form *ezāfe* constructions. They express motion, but state with the postposition *di(r)* ‘in’, e.g. *bīr-ī bin* ‘(down) into the well’, but *bīr-ī bin[-di]* ‘[at] the bottom of the well’.

### 3.1.4.3 Circumpositions

Prepositions may be combined with simple postpositions to form circumpositions that always require the OBL. Two plain prepositions, *bi*, *zey*; and four that contain an *ezāfe*, *hendē*, *hetē*, *qāndē*, *tewdē*, may optionally be combined with the postposition *-ā*, without altering their meaning:

[ <i>bi</i> ] <i>ling-ān-dē xo-y[-ā]</i>	[ <i>qān-dē</i> ] <i>čičī-y[-ā]</i>
‘[on (‘by’)] your own feet’;	‘[for] what’.

Similarly, the prepositions *ā* and *bi*, as in *ā . . . rā*, *ā . . . ro* and *bi . . . ro*, do not alter the meaning of the postpositions: *ā xo-rā* ‘on themselves’. (*bi*) . . . *ā* and *-rā* form a large number of modal and causal adverbial phrases (*-rā* often with plural):

<i>bi hērs-ā</i> ‘furiously’, <i>bi huwatey-ā</i> ‘laughingly’, <i>rāšt-ā</i> ‘really’;
<i>kēf-ān-rā</i> ‘with joy’, <i>ters-ān-rā</i> ‘for fear’.

### 3.1.5 Adverbs

Any adjective where this is semantically possible may have *adverbial* sense: *dūrī* ‘far’, *tāy* ‘(a) few’, *weš* ‘well’, *germ* ‘warm’, etc. In their turn, some adverbs may be used as attributive adjectives, e.g. *winā* ‘such’ (< *winā* adv. ‘so’).

Some important *temporal* adverbs include: *emser* ‘this year’, *pār* ‘last year’, *ewro* ‘today’, *vizēr* ‘yesterday’, *mešti* ‘tomorrow’, *nūkā* ‘now’, *rew* ‘soon, fast’, *tīm* ‘always’, *finā* ‘again’, *finē* ‘once’, *finē-rā* ‘suddenly’. Some important *local* adverbs include: *jēr* ‘below’, *jor* ‘above’, *tiyā* ‘hither, here’, *wār* ‘down(ward)’, *wižā* ‘thither, there’. *tiyā* and *wižā* may be combined with simple postpositions: *tiyā-rā* ‘from here’, and also be used as masculine nouns, *tiyā* ‘the (area) here’. A particular group of local adverbs are the “absolute” prepositions, such as *pey* ‘thereby’, and circumpositions such as *pirā* ‘thereof’, *tā* ‘thereby’.

Nouns, when used for denoting units of time are in the OBL: *šefāq-ī* ‘in the morning (m)’. The suffix *-nā*, attached to certain nouns and adverbs, may form temporal adverbs that point to the future: *ser-nā* ‘next year’, or give the meaning ‘already’ in the past: *vizēr-nā* ‘already yesterday’.

### 3.1.6 Numerals

#### 3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

The Zazaki cardinal numbers are the following:

TABLE 9.7: CARDINAL NUMBERS

1–9	11–19	10–90	100+	
<i>zew/žū</i> (m/f)	<i>žondes</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>se</i>	100
<i>di(di)</i>	<i>diwēs</i>	<i>vīst</i>	<i>di sey</i>	200
<i>hīrē</i>	<i>hīrēs</i>	<i>hīris</i>	<i>pānsey</i>	500
<i>čihār/čehār</i>	<i>čārēs</i>	<i>čewres</i>	<i>hezār</i>	1000
<i>pānž/pānĵ</i>	<i>pānĵēs</i>	<i>pānčās</i>		
<i>šeš</i>	<i>šīyēs</i>	<i>šeštī</i>		
<i>ħewt</i>	<i>ħewtēs</i>	<i>ħewtāy</i>		
<i>ħešt</i>	<i>ħeštēs</i>	<i>ħeštāy</i>		
<i>new</i>	<i>newēs</i>	<i>newāy</i>		

Other numbers are additive, using *ū* ‘and’: *vīst ū zew* ‘twenty-one’, etc.

The cardinal numbers immediately precede the noun they qualify. With most numbers, the noun takes the plural ending:

*di ěsker[-ī]-DIR-p bār ke-n-ē*      *ez do hīrē estor[-ān-]-OBL-p vež-ā*  
 ‘two soldiers are loading’;      ‘I shall get out three horses’;

*nāme-y-ē nē ħewt birā-y[-ān]-OBL-p*  
 ‘the name of these seven brothers’.

With multiples of 10 (between 20 and 100) and multiples of 100, nouns more often remain in their singular form:

plural,	singular,
<i>ħewtāy dew[-ān]-OBL-p</i> , -agent <i>werd-i-f</i>	<i>vīst merdim-s kiš-y-en-o-3s</i>
‘70 camels have eaten (f, implied is a melon)’;	‘20 men get killed’.

Enumerators assume the grammatical marking, here direct object:

*[hīrē čivāl-ī āltūn-ī]tir-en-ē*      *ti [di se-y kāyit pere-y] bi-d-ē mi*  
 ‘they steal [three bags (of) gold]’;      ‘(if) you give me [200 Lira (of) money]’.

### 3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers do not seem to be uniform within the Çermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki. While according to Todd (1985: 83) they are derived by suffixing *-(i)n* to the cardinal number, for the dialect NX this is true only for the numbers ‘2’, ‘3’, and ‘10’: *did-in*, *hūr-in*, *des-in*, while the remainder are derived by *-ī*: *pānj-ī* ‘5th’, *ḥewt-ī* ‘7th’, *ḡondes-ī* ‘11th’, *pānjēs-ī* ‘15th’.

### 3.1.6.3 Quantifiers

Like the cardinal numbers, most quantifiers occur uninflected before the noun which they qualify:

*bol* ‘much, many, lot of’, *bol perey qezenč ke-n-o* ‘he earns a lot of money’;  
*čend* ‘several, some’, also ‘how many’, *čend meng-ī tepiyā* ‘after some months’;  
*hergi* ‘each, every’, *hergi meng-i* ‘every month’;  
*pēro* ‘all’, *pēro od-ān-rā* ‘through all rooms’.

Alternatively, *bol* may be inflected and follow the noun; similarly, *bol*, *pēro* and *heme* ‘all’ may also follow the noun, but in apposition and with case agreement only (but not number):

*bi-b-ē*                      *wēr-ē*              *čī-y-ē bol-ī-OBL-S*  
 ‘(that you) become owners of many things’.

## 3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, and mood, and show distinction in transitivity and voice. Further distinctions are made by aspectual-modal particles.

### 3.2.1 Stem formation

#### 3.2.1.1 Subjunctive, past, and present stems

The Zazaki verbal forms are based on three stems: subjunctive, present, and past.

The subjunctive and past stems generally continue inherited Iranian present stems, while the present stems are derived from the Zazaki subjunctive stems by the formant *-(e)n*.

Past stems are mostly irregular and end either in a dental, with various degrees of changes: subj. *kiš-*, past *kišt-* ‘kill’; subj. *roš-*, past *rot-* ‘sell’; or they end in a long vowel (due to loss of final *-d*), e.g. subj. *d-*, past *dā* ‘give’. “Regular” past stems end in *-ā*, e.g. subj. *res-*, past *resā-* ‘arrive’.

Present stems show likewise certain irregularities, mostly loss of final *-r* in a small subset, e.g. subj. *ker-*, pres. *ke-n-*, past *kerd-* ‘do, make’, but also subj. *vāž-*, pres. *vā-n-*, past *vāt-* ‘say’.

Two verbs are suppletive: subj. *yer-*, pres. *ye-n-*, past *āme-* ‘come’ and subj. *vīn-*, pres. *vīn-en-*, past *dī-* ‘see’.

#### 3.2.1.2 Causative and passive stems

Most verbs with subjunctive formant *-y-* are intransitive, and verbs with subjunctive ending in *-n* are transitive and regular, e.g. intransitive subj. *rey-*, pres. *rey-en-*, past

*reyā-* ‘escape’; *girwey-*, pres. *girwey-en-*, past *girweyā-* ‘work’ (< *girwe* ‘work’); transitive, subj. *birn-*, pres. *birn-en-*, past *birnā-* ‘cut’.

Similarly, morphological passive forms are marked by *-(i)y* or *-ey*, e.g. *vāž-* ‘say’ > *vāž-y-*; *tir-* ‘steal’ > *tir-iy-*; *vīn-* ‘see’ > *vīn-ey-*.

Causative stems are derived by *-n*, rarely *-ān*, e.g. *geyr-* ‘go around’ > *geyr-n-* ‘show around’; *ters-* ‘be afraid’ > *ters-ān-* ‘frighten’.

Both causative and passives may be derived from the same stem, e.g. *‘ediz-y-* ‘tire’ vs. *‘ediz-n-* ‘(cause to) tire’; *šik-y-* ‘break’ vs. *šik-n-* ‘(cause to) break’.

### 3.2.1.3 Preverbs

Generally, the preverbs modify the meaning of the simple verb. There are two kinds, “true” preverbs and “absolute” circumpositions, such as the following:

- ā-* ‘back, open’, e.g. *ā-geyr-* ‘come back’; *ā-b-lā-ker-* ‘open’ (intr./tr.), *ā-birn-* ‘separate’;
- rā-* ‘back, open, forth’, e.g. *rā-čār-n-* ‘bring back’, *rā-b-l rā-ker-* ‘be opened, open (tr.)’, *rā-kew-* e.g. ‘lie down, go to sleep’;
- ro-* ‘down’, e.g. *ro-nen-* ‘put down’, *ro-qilot-nen-* ‘swallow’, *ro-šen-* ‘sit (down)’;
- de-* ‘into’, e.g. *de-ker-* ‘put into’, *de-kew-* ‘fall into’, *de-niš-n-* ‘set up’;
- we-* ‘out’, e.g. *we-čīn-* ‘choose’, *we-ker-* ‘kindle’ (‘bring out [fire]’).
- pā* ‘at, onto’ (< *bi-ā*), e.g. *pā nān-* ‘place (at/onto)’;
- pirā* ‘on’ (< *bi-rā*), e.g. *pirā d-* ‘put on’.

While true preverbs always precede the verb, e.g. *šew-ē, no [rā-]kew-n-o* ‘one night, he sleeps’, absolute circumpositions precede the verb if subjunctive and imperative, but otherwise follow it, e.g. *čīnā-y-o pāk [pirā] dē* ‘put on clean clothes’, but *čīnā-y dā-n-ē [pirā]* ‘they put on the clothes’.

Given that the absolute forms originate in empty circumpositions, an overt noun or pronoun takes the place of the prepositional component, e.g. *xo* ‘self’ in *čīnā xo-rā di* ‘put on (some) clothes’.

### 3.2.1.4 Compound verbs

Compound verbs typically consist of a nominal component and a small set of verbs that carry the inflection. Most basic are *b-* ‘be, become’ and *ker-* ‘do, make’ for intransitive and transitive function, e.g. *hewn vīn-* ‘dream’, lit. ‘see a dream’. To many English simple verbs there correspond Zazaki combinations of nominal complements with a subset of verbs. The nominal components may function as:

- (1) direct object: *zūr-ī ker-* ‘make lies’ = ‘lie’; *veyn d-* ‘give a call’ = ‘call’;
- (2) allative: *žā yer-* ‘come to the place’ = ‘be fulfilled’;
- (3) postpositional complement: *hewn-ā š-* ‘go with-sleep’ = ‘fall asleep’.

Similar to these is a small set of *ezāfe* constructions with dependent “logical object” which as a whole likewise function as syntactic direct objects, e.g.

- goštār-ey-ā N ker-* ‘make hearing of N’ = ‘listen to N’,
- or allative, e.g. *gāzī-d-ā N yer-* ‘come to the help of N’.

A third, still smaller group consists of compounds of ‘be’ with “*miš-* participles” borrowed from Turkic, e.g. *diš-miš b-* ‘make thinking’ = ‘think’.

Causatives compounds are formed with the verb *d-* ‘give’ + infinitive in *-en*, e.g.

*mi sere-y-ē ĵi dā ĵi-kerd-en-i*  
‘I had his head cut off’.

Passives are formed with *yer-* ‘come’.

### 3.2.2 Nominal forms

#### 3.2.2.1 Infinitives

Two infinitives, ending in *-(y)iš* (m) and *-(y)en(-i)* (f), are derived from the past stem, e.g. *geyrā-y-iš* ‘to go around’, *rā-kewt-iš* ‘go to sleep’; *ĵi-kerd-en(-i)* ‘to cut off’. Both infinitives are freely exchangeable in NX.

#### 3.2.2.2 Past participle

Past participles consist of the past stem + endings: *-e* (m), *-ā* (f), *-ey* (p).

#### 3.2.2.3 *miš*-participle

There is also a *miš*- participle borrowed from Turkic.

### 3.2.3 Person marking and ‘be, become’

#### 3.2.3.1 Person marking

In initial overview, the person markers in the various tenses and moods are shown in the following table:

TABLE 9.8: PERSON MARKING

	1s	2sm	f	3sm	f	1p	2p	3p
COP	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ē</i>
PRES	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ē/-im</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ē</i>
SUBJ	<i>-ā(n)</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ē(-mi)</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ē</i>
IMPR		<i>-i</i>					<i>-ē</i>	
PRET	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ī/-ī-m(i)</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī</i>
PERF	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ē</i>
PPRF	<i>-(i) bī-y-ā</i>	<i>-ī bī</i>	<i>-i bī-y-ā</i>	<i>-(i)-bīli</i>	<i>-i bī</i>	<i>-ī bī</i>	<i>-ī bī</i>	<i>-ī bī</i>

The 1p has both the generalized plural endings *-ē*, *-ī* and *-iml-mi*, either alone or in various combinations (*-iml-mi* are rarely found in NX).

#### 3.2.3.2 Existential verb

The existential verb is *est-*. In NX only 3rd pers. forms are found:

	3sm	3sf	plural
PRES	<i>est-o</i>	<i>est-ā</i>	<i>est-ē</i>
PRET	<i>est-(i) bī</i>	<i>est-i bī</i>	<i>est-ī bī</i>

All other tenses of the copula and the existential verb are supplied by the verb *b-* ‘be, become’.

The stative meaning ‘be’ is distinguished from non-stative ‘become’ in the subjunctive and past: subj. *b-* vs. *bīy-* ‘shall be/become’; past *bī-* vs. *bīy-ā-* ‘was/became’:

subjunctives:

*mā do wext-o ārē [bī-y-ē]*  
 ‘then we will (*do*) gather’ (‘get together’);

past:

*xīznā ā-[bī-y-ā-y-ā]*  
 ‘the treasury was [‘became’] opened’ (*ā-b-*).

### 3.2.4 Aspectual-modal and negative affixes and particles

#### 3.2.4.1 Modal *bi-*

The modal prefix *b(i)-* marks two sets of moods, the subjunctive and imperative (subjunctive stem), and the past subjunctive (imperfect past in *-ē*). There are various contractions with verb-initial components: *bīr-* ‘come’; *b-ānǰ-* ‘draw’; *bīr-* ‘eat’; note *bi-wāz-* ‘want’. *b(i)-* is superseded in the present subjunctive and imperative by a preverbal particle or nominal (*ārē-d-* ‘collect’ *bār ker-* ‘load’), and is lacking irregularly with some other (mostly monosyllabic) verbs (*ber-* ‘carry’, *res-* ‘arrive’, *šir-* ‘go’, *vāž-* ‘say’, *vīnder-* ‘stand’).

#### 3.2.4.2 Negative prefixes *ne-* and *me-*

The negative prefix is *nē-* (*nī-y-* before vowel), the prohibitive prefix is *me-*; both supersede *b(i)-*. The negative forms of the copula have the prefix *nīy-*; those of the existential verb have *či-nēlī-*:

*pī-y-o zey to wā či-nē-b-o*  
 ‘a father like you (are) should not (*wā nē*) exist’.

#### 3.2.4.3 Imperfective particle *-ē*

The invariable enclitic *-ē* is attached to the subjunctive past to mark the imperfect. Combined with *b(i)-* it marks the past subjunctive.

#### 3.2.4.4 Future particle *do*

Proposed *do*, often immediately following the subject, marks the simple future in combination with the present subjunctive, and the past conditional with the past subjunctive.

#### 3.2.4.5 Optative particle *wā*

Proposed *wā* marks the (present) optative in combination with the present subjunctive, and the past optative with the past subjunctive (*b(i)- + ē*).

### 3.2.5 System of tense, mood, and aspect

Zazaki has two basic tenses, present and past, and two basic aspects, imperfective and perfective. Moods include indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and optative (“conditional”), expressing various functions. Transitivity is distinctly marked in past tenses (see section 4.4.1.1 Ergative).

#### 3.2.5.1 Forms based on present stem

##### 3.2.5.1a Present indicative

The present indicative is formed from the present stem, as shown in the following paradigms:

**TABLE 9.9: PRESENT INDICATIVE**

	<i>ker-</i> ‘do’	<i>d-</i> ‘give’	<i>wer-</i> ‘eat’	<i>šir-</i> ‘go’
1s	<i>ke-n-ā</i>	<i>dā-n-ā</i>	<i>we-n-ā</i>	<i>ši-nā</i>
2sm/f	<i>ke-n-ē/ke-n-ā</i>	<i>dā-n-ē/dā-n-ā</i>	<i>we-n-ē/we-n-ā</i>	<i>ši-n-ē/ši-n-ā</i>
3sm/f	<i>ke-n-o/ke-n-ā</i>	<i>dā-n-o/dā-n-ā</i>	<i>we-n-o/we-n-ā</i>	<i>ši-n-o/ši-n-ā</i>
1p	<i>ke-n-ē (ke-n-im)</i>	<i>dā-n-ē</i>	<i>we-n-ē</i>	<i>ši-n-ē (ši-n-im)</i>
2p, 3p	<i>ke-n-ē</i>	<i>dā-n-ē</i>	<i>we-n-ē</i>	<i>ši-n-ē</i>

##### 3.2.5.1b Continuous present

The continuous present is formed from the present indicative and the proposed copula (but 1s has more often *-o* instead of *-ā*).

**TABLE 9.10: CONTINUOUS PRESENT**

1s	<i>ez olā</i>	<i>ke-n-ā</i>	1p	<i>mā</i>	<i>yē ke-n-ē</i>
2sm/f	<i>ti yē</i>	<i>ke-n-ē / ti yā ke-n-ā</i>	2p	<i>šimā</i>	<i>yē ke-n-ē</i>
3sm/f	<i>o yo</i>	<i>ke-n-o / ā yā ke-n-ā</i>	3p	<i>ē</i>	<i>yē ke-n-ē</i>

##### 3.2.5.1c Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive is formed from the subjunctive stem with the prefix *b(i)-*. It is missing before compound verbs and a small number of simple verbs. The final *-n* in the 1s occurs occasionally; the 1p variants *-(ē)-mi* and *-im-ē* occur only rarely and irregularly in NX. Used independently, the subjunctive is used as an “exhortative” or “deliberative” forms for the 1s, 1p.

**TABLE 9.11: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE**

	‘go’	‘give’	‘eat’
1s	<i>šir-ā(n)</i>	<i>bi-d-ā</i>	<i>būr-ā</i>
2sm/f	<i>šir-ē/šir-ā</i>	<i>bi-d-ē/bi-d-ā</i>	<i>būr-ē/būr-ā</i>
3s	<i>šir-o</i>	<i>bi-d-o</i>	<i>būr-o</i>
1p	<i>šir-ē ~ ši-mi</i>	<i>bi-d-ē ~ bi-dim-ē</i>	<i>būr-ē ~ būr-ēmi</i>
2p, 3p	<i>šir-ē</i>	<i>bi-d-ē</i>	<i>būr-ē</i>

## 3.2.5.1d Future

The future preposes the particle *do* to the subjunctive: *e(z) do šir-ā, ti do šir-ē* ‘I, you will go’.

## 3.2.5.1e Optative

The optative preposes the particle *wā*: *wā šār nē-vīn-o* ‘may the people not see (it)’.

## 3.2.5.1f Imperative

The imperative is formed from the subjunctive stem with the prefix *bi-*, neg. *me-*, and the personal endings 2s *-i*, 2p *-ē*. Irregular verbs whose subjunctive stem ends in *-r* have often irregular and unstable imperative forms, e.g. *bi-gīr(-i)* ‘take!’, *me-gī(r)* ‘don’t take!’.

## 3.2.5.2 Forms based on past stem

The following shows the inflections and the personal endings of intransitive verbs, which also mark the past patient in the ergative construction (see section 4.4.1 Use of cases).

## 3.2.5.2a Preterite

The preterite (simple past) is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. The 1p endings with *-m-* occur only spontaneously in most Çermik-Siverek dialects (similar to the present). The ending *-ē* of the 3sf is irregular.

TABLE 9.12: INTRANSITIVE PRETERITE

	‘fall’	‘go around’	‘come’	‘be’
1s	<i>kewt-ā</i>	<i>geyrā-y-ā</i>	<i>āme-y-ā</i>	<i>bī-y-ā</i>
2sm/f	<i>kewt-īkewt-ā</i>	<i>geyrā-y/geyrā-y-ā</i>	<i>āme-y/āme-y-ā</i>	<i>bī/bī-y-ā</i>
3sm/f	<i>kewt/kewt-i</i>	<i>geyrā/geyr-ē</i>	<i>āme-elām-ē</i>	<i>bī, bī/bī</i>
1p	<i>kewt-ī ~ kewt-īm</i>	<i>geyrā-y</i>	<i>āme-y ~ āme-y-mi</i>	<i>bī ~ bī-mi</i>
2p, 3p	<i>kewt-ī</i>	<i>geyrā-y</i>	<i>ām-e-y</i>	<i>bī</i>

## 3.2.5.2b Imperfect

The imperfect tense is formed from the past stem and the invariable suffix *-(y)ē* for all persons. Accordingly, the plural forms of the imperfect are formally identical with those of the perfect, and may be distinguished from the latter only by the context. The imperfect gives the sense of a repeated or habitual action, or continuous state in the past:

*meng-i-rā finē žī ez [āme-y-ē], mi jī-rē tāy čī-y-ē werd-ī*  
 a month once also I [came] I-OBL-AG for him some things of eating  
 [ārd-ē]  
 [brought]

‘once a month I came . . . and I brought him some things to eat’;

*hewā-rā kutik [lāwā-y-ē]*

‘a dog (*kutik*) [was (just) barking] from the air’.

## 3.2.5.2c Past subjunctive

The past subjunctive, *b(i)-* + imperfect, expresses impossible conditions in the protasis of conditional clauses (see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses).



### 3.2.5.2d Past conditional

The past conditional preposes *do* to the past subjunctive. It expresses impossible conditions in the apodosis.

### 3.2.5.2e Past optative

The past optative preposes *wā* to the past subjunctive. It expresses impossible past conditions in the apodosis, and unfulfillable wishes, e.g.

*wā ez bi-merd-ē*  
‘(oh), if only I had died’.

### 3.2.5.3 Perfect forms

#### 3.2.5.3a Present perfect

The present perfect (Perfect I) is formed from the past stem and the copula. Plural persons are not distinguished.

TABLE 9.13: INTRANSITIVE PERFECT

	‘fall’	‘flee’	‘go’
1s	<i>kewt-ā</i>	<i>remā-y-ā</i>	<i>šī-y-ā</i>
2sm/f	<i>kewt-ē / kewt-ā</i>	<i>remā-y-ē / remā-y-ā</i>	<i>šī-y-ē / šī-y-ā</i>
3sm/f	<i>kewt-o / kewt-ā</i>	<i>remā-y-o / remā-y-ā</i>	<i>šī-y-o / šī-y-ā</i>
plural	<i>kewt-ē</i>	<i>remā-y-ē</i>	<i>šī-y-ē</i>

Basically, the perfect tense is used to denote a past action that is connected, through its result, with the present moment, e.g. *eʃel-ē to [āme-y-o]* ‘your last hour [has come]’. In usage, however, the perfect is no longer clearly distinguished from the preterite. Sometimes, both are used in one and the same context, or the perfect is used where a preterite would be expected:

*to            cī-y-ē [dī-y-o]            yā cī-y-ē    āme-y-o    āqil-dē to*  
you-OBL-AG anything seen-PERF-3ms or anything come-PRET to mind of you  
‘[have you seen] anything, or [has] anything [come] to your head?’.

#### 3.2.5.3b Non-witnessed function

Another characteristic usage of the perfect (maybe developed recently, following the Turkic “*miş*-tense”) is that as “narrative”, indicating that the speaker has not witnessed what he reports:

*vā-n-ē,    dēw finā [āme]* (preterite in “aorist” function)  
‘they say: “The Diw has come again” (in the sense of ‘he is here’)

vs.

“*dēw [āme-y-o]* (perfect in non-witnessed function)  
‘(they report to Heso:)  
“The Diw has come (reportedly)” ’.

3.2.5.3c *Perfect II*

While the past participle is used mostly as an adjective, three verbs whose present tense connotes directed motion of living beings (*rā-kew-* ‘go to sleep’, *ro-sen-* ‘sit down’, *vinder-* ‘stop, stand’) form a second perfect tense that expresses a temporary state, e.g. *dār-i bin-dī žew lāžek* [*rā-kewt-e y-o*] ‘under the tree, a boy [is sleeping]’; *keynek-ēn ā ro-ništ-ā* ‘a girl [is sitting]’. By contrast, the simple perfect of these verbs expresses the act of motion.

3.2.5.3d *Pluperfect*

The pluperfect seems to be quite non-uniform in the various Zazaki dialects. In NX, it is formed for most persons from the inflected preterite, together with the likewise inflected preterite of the auxiliary verb ‘be’:

*pī-y-ē ez polāt* [*nē-kerd-i-bī-y-ā*]  
 father of me I-PAT steel had not made-1s  
 ‘my father had not steeled me’;

*mi sond werd-i bī mā piyā āme-y bī*  
 ‘I had sworn’ ‘we had come together’.  
 (cf. Persian *sowgand xordan*);

In the 1s and 2sf, the inflected auxiliary is attached to the uninflected past *stem* of the main verb. The optional *-(i)-* of the main verb in the 1s, 3sm is euphonic.

TABLE 9.14: INTRANSITIVE PLUPERFECT

	‘had remained’			‘had arrived’	
1s	<i>mend-(i)</i>	<i>bī-y-ā</i>		<i>resā</i>	<i>bī-y-ā</i>
2sm/f	<i>mend-ī</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>mend-i bī-y-ā</i>	<i>resā-y</i>	<i>bī</i>
3sm/f	<i>mend-(i)</i>	<i>bi, bī</i>	<i>mend-i bī</i>	<i>resā</i>	<i>bi, bī</i>
1p	<i>mend-ī</i>	<i>bī(-mi)</i>		<i>resā-y</i>	<i>bī(-mi)</i>
2, 3p	<i>mend-ī</i>	<i>bī</i>		<i>resā-y</i>	<i>bī</i>

## 3.2.5.4 Overview of system of tenses

In overview, the tense and mood system of Zazaki may be summarized in the following table, using 3sm, 2s forms of *geyr-* ‘go around’ and *ro-ništ-* ‘sit down’.

TABLE 9.15: SYSTEM OF TENSES AND MOODS: *geyr-* ‘go around’, *ro-ništ-* ‘sit down’

	INDICATIVE	NON-INDICATIVE	
		<i>bi-geyr-i</i> 2s	IMPR
PRES	<i>geyr-en-o</i>	<i>bi-geyr-o</i>	SUBJ
CONTIN	<i>o geyr-en-o</i>	<i>do bi-geyr-o</i>	FUT
		<i>wā bi-geyr-o</i>	OPT
PRET	<i>geyrā</i>	<i>bi-geyrā-y-ē</i>	PT SUBJ
IMPF	<i>geyrā-y-ē</i>	<i>do bi-geyrā-y-ē</i>	PT COND
		<i>wā bi-geyrā-y-e</i>	PT OPT
PERF-I	<i>geyrā-y-o</i>		
PERF-II	<i>ro-ništ-e-y-o</i> ‘he is sitting’		
PPERF	<i>geyrā bī</i>		

## 4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

### 4.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

The most important coordinating conjunctions include: *ū* ‘and’; *yā(n)* ‘or’; enclitic *žī* ‘also’; *finā žī* ‘nevertheless’; *bāhd-o (žī)* ‘then, after’, *wext-o* ‘then’; *qānd-ē* *joy* ‘therefore’, *yānī* ‘that is’; *emā* ‘but’.

### 4.2 Noun phrase structure

Demonstratives and numbers generally precede the head noun; dependent nominals follow it.

#### 4.2.1 Ezāfe construction and case marking

Dependent nominals are connected to their head noun by enclitic particles (EZ) that distinguish gender, number, and case. Adjectival markings differ slightly in the 3sm. Adjectives assume the grammatical marking of their head noun; dependent nouns are in the basic oblique case (OBL<sub>1</sub>).

The marker *d-* distinguishes *ezāfe* constructions that function as secondary syntactic cases (OBL<sub>2</sub>), that is, any cases other than the syntactic subject/agent and direct object/patient. Constructions with allative function and with primary postpositions (ALL/POST) have optional *d-*, except 3s *do*.

TABLE 9.16: EZĀFE PATTERNS

	<i>Adjectival</i>			<i>Nominal</i>		
	Head	EZ	ADJ-	Head	EZ	N-OBL
DIR <sub>m</sub>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>o</i>	ADJ- <i>o</i>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ē</i>	
OBL <sub>1m</sub>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ē</i>	ADJ- <i>ī</i>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ē</i>	
OBL <sub>2m</sub>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>dē</i>	ADJ- <i>ī</i>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>dē</i>	
ALL/POST <sub>m</sub>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>do</i>	ADJ- <i>ī</i>	N- <i>o</i>	-( <i>d</i> ) <i>ē</i>	
DIR <sub>p</sub>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ē</i>	ADJ- <i>ī</i>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ē</i>	
OBL <sub>1p</sub>	N- <i>ān</i>	- <i>ē</i>	ADJ- <i>ān</i>	N- <i>ān</i>	- <i>ē</i>	
OBL <sub>2p</sub>	N- <i>ān</i>	- <i>dē</i>	ADJ- <i>ān</i>	N- <i>ān</i>	- <i>dē</i>	
ALL/POST <sub>p</sub>	N- <i>ān</i>	-( <i>d</i> ) <i>ē</i>	ADJ- <i>ān</i>	N- <i>ān</i>	-( <i>d</i> ) <i>ē</i>	
DIR <sub>f</sub>	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ā</i>	ADJ-( <i>i</i> )	N- <i>o</i>	- <i>ā</i>	
OBL <sub>1f</sub>	N-( <i>er</i> )	- <i>ā</i>	ADJ-( <i>i</i> )	N-( <i>er</i> )	- <i>ā</i>	
OBL <sub>2f</sub>	N-( <i>er</i> )	- <i>dā</i>	ADJ-( <i>i</i> )	N-( <i>er</i> )	- <i>dā</i>	
ALL/POST <sub>f</sub>	N-( <i>er</i> )	-( <i>d</i> ) <i>ā</i>	ADJ-( <i>i</i> )	N-( <i>er</i> )	-( <i>d</i> ) <i>ā</i>	

Words ending in a vowel usually insert a glide *-y-* before an *ezāfe* vowel, with optional contraction of masc. *-e-y-ē* and fem. *-ā-y-ā*: *nāme-y-ē* ~ *nāmey* ~ *nāmē*; *keynā-y-ā* ~ *keynā*.

#### 4.2.1.1 Adjectival *ezāfe* constructions

##### (1) Primary cases

DIR:	OBL <sub>1m</sub> , direct object:
<i>birī-y-o gird</i>	[ <i>embāz-ē bīn-ī</i> ] <i>vīn-en-ō</i>
‘the big brother’;	‘he sees the other friend’.

## (2) Secondary cases, OBL

(a) direct object: *veyn dā-n-ā [legleg-ān-dē-p bīn-ān]* ‘(she) calls [the other storks]’; (b) adposition: *hetē [’esker-ān-dē-p bīn-ān]-ā* ‘to the other soldiers’.

(c) allative: *nobet-i ye-n-ā [keynek-er-dā-fwerd-ī]* ‘the turn comes [to the little girl]’.

(3) Primary postposition, ex. without *d-*:

*[jā-y-ān-ē-p pāk-ān]-di* ‘at (-*di*) clean places’.

Certain adjectives that obligatorily require qualification by a noun may take this with the *ezāfe*:

*piš-ē gūnī* ‘full of blood’; *keynā mi [lāyiq-ē to] nī-y-ā* ‘my daughter is not [worthy of you]’.

4.2.1.2 Nominal *ezāfe* constructions

## (1) Primary cases

(a) direct case: *beg-ē diyārbekir-ī-OBL* ‘the Beg of Diyarbakir’; (b) direct object: *lāžek [mirīčik-er-ā-f xo] gē-n-o* ‘the boy takes [his bird]’;

(c) past subject/agent: *o ki [pī-y-ē-m šimā] mā-rē kerd-o* ‘what [your father] has done to us’.

## (2) Secondary cases

(a) indirect object: *ārweš-ī mis-n-en-o [lāž-dē-m xo]* ‘he shows [his son] the hare’; (b) adverbial cases: *xātir-dē (m) to-OBL* ‘good bye’ (‘for your memory’);

(c) allative: *ver-ē xo dā-n-ē [āyre-y-ē (m) āw-i-OBL-f]* ‘they proceed [to the water mill]’ (‘mill of water’); (d) primary adposition: *[bizēk-dā-f mā-di] ey čičī dī-y-o?* ‘what has he seen [in (-*di*) our kid]?’

(3) ‘Kinship-*r*’

(a) primary case: *[birā-y-ē xo] ber-ē wižā* ‘bring [your brother] there’; (b) secondary case: *[birā-r-dē ji]-rā* ‘from his brother’.

## 4.2.1.3 Group inflection

Hendiadys connected by *ū* 'and' often inflect the second element only:

- (1) Adjective:

*(ṭeyr ū ṭūr)-o-m bīn* 'the other birds';

- (2) Dependent noun (with both elements inflected):

*xeber-i dā-n-ē [(mā-r ū pē-r)-dē-p bizēk-er-i]*  
'they inform [(the mother and father = parents) of the kid]'.

4.2.1.4 Multiple *ezāfe* constructions

In multiple *ezāfe* constructions, where the head noun ( $N_1$ ) is followed by a combination of dependent nouns and adjectives, each qualifier is preceded by its appropriate *ezāfe*. Basically, secondary *ezāfe* constructions normally should be in OBL and marked by *d-*, but may be not under certain conditions.

- (1)
- $N_1 + N_2 + ADJ_1$

An adjective qualifying the head noun ( $ADJ_1$ ) is invariably in final position. It attracts the EZ of the head noun, and is linked to  $N_2$  without *d-*, whether the whole phrase is in the primary or secondary case:

- (a) subject:

*wā [o āyā (-y-ē šimā)-y-o bēnāmūs] b-īr-o*  
'may [that infamous Agha of you] come';

- (b) allative:

*šī-n-ē [ā dew (-dā xidir āyā)-y-ā-f bīn-i]*  
'they go [to that other village of Xidir Agha]';

- (c) agent:

*[lāž (-ē min)-ē werd-ī-OBL<sub>1</sub>-m] vāt-i bī*  
'[my small brother] had said'.

- (2)
- $N_1 + N_2 + N_3$
- or
- $ADJ_2$

A further dependent noun ( $N_3$ ) or adjective qualifying  $N_2$  may or may not be marked by *d-* if the noun phrase as a whole is in a primary syntactic case:

- (3)
- $N_1 + N_2 + ADJ_2$

- (a) with
- d-*
- :

*hetē [nē 'esker-ān-(dē pādīšāh-dē bīnī-y)]-ā rem-en-ā*  
'(it) flees to the soldiers (of the other king)';

- (b) without
- d-*
- :

*res-en-ē [tāy 'esker-ān-(ē pādīšā-y-ē bīn-ī)]*  
'they reach [some soldiers (of the other king)]'.

(4)  $N_1 + N_2 + N_3$ 

- (a) with *d-*: direct object,  
 NP, *este-[y-ē gān-(dē mi)] zīn-[ē estor-ān-(dē xo)] girē dā-n-ē*  
 ‘the bones of my body’; ‘they tie up the saddle [of their (*xo*) horses]’;

- (b) without *d-*:  
 subject, *qeček-[ē embiri-y-ān-(ē mā)] āme-y*  
 ‘the children [of the neighbor of us] came’;  
 direct object, *heq-[ē rāy-(ā to)] ez dā-n-ā*  
 ‘I pay your fare’ (‘fare [of road of you]’).

## 4.2.1.5 Indefinite head noun

Indefinite *ezāfe* construction, marked by *-ē(n)* or *-nā*, always insert *d-*:

## (1) Adjectival noun phrases

- (a) predicative:  
*kāmōre [lāžek-ē-do bol jāmērd] o*  
 ‘K. is [a very brave boy]’;

- (b) direct object:  
*[pirēn-ē-do diřāt]-e dā-n-o xo-rā*  
 ‘he puts on [a torn shirt]’;

- (c) agent:  
*[keynek-ē-dā zey āšmī] govend-i ānt-ē*  
 ‘[a girl like the moon] has danced the round dance’.

## (2) Genitival noun phrases

- (a) subject:  
*[derd-ē-dē to] est-o*  
 ‘there is a pain of yours’ =  
 ‘you have a pain’;

- (b) with *-nā*, direct object:  
*[birā-r-nā-dē nīn-ān] kišenē*  
 ‘they kill (another brother of these)’.

## 4.2.1.6 Inalienable possession

With body parts or articles of dress in the sense of inalienable possession, the possessor pronoun and *xo* often precede the head noun unconnected if the phrase has a locative or allative sense:

*kewt [mi dest]*  
 ‘(it) has fallen [(in) my hand]’ (not *kewt dest-ē mi*);

*miričik-i dā-n-o [in-ān dest]*                      *[xo ser-ī miyān-di] plān-ān benā ā-n-ā*  
 ‘he gives the bird [(into) their hand]’;                      ‘[inside (her) own head] she makes plans’.

#### 4.2.1.7 Elliptic *ezāfe* forms

The head noun of both the nominal and adjectival *ezāfe* may be elided, giving the group a possessive sense, or a substantival sense:

*no lāžek [ē nāhmān beg-ī] nī-y-o*                      *[o bīn] vā-n-o*  
 ‘this boy is not [(the one) of Nāhmān Beg]’;                      ‘[the other (one)] says’.

### 4.3 Clause structure and word order

Every simple sentence contains a subject and a predicate. The other details of its structure depend mainly on the valence of the verb that is part of the predicate: direct object; indirect object; complements (that depend on the valence of the verb), either a simple case, or adpositional.

For the word order of the main constituents the following rules apply:

Subject + Object + Verb, specifically Direct Object + Verb.

#### 4.3.1 Pre- and postverbal placements

Dependent complements without postposition follow the predicate; those with postpositions may take any post-subject position (but for most verbs there is one characteristic position in which they occur). Thus, indirect objects marked by *-rē* precede, those without it follow the VP. These rules apply to past ergative sentences respectively.

##### 4.3.1.1 Preverbal placement

*ez-DIR [āy-ā] zewž-iy-ā-y-ā*                      *tī yē [mi-rā] čičī wāz-en-ē?*  
 ‘I [with her] got married’;                      ‘you [from me] what you want?’;

*‘erebū z. činā*                      *[xo-rā] vež-en-ā*  
 ‘Erebu Z. the clothes [from self] takes’.

##### 4.3.1.2 Postverbal placement

###### (1) Oblique cases, allative

*lāžek šī-n-o [dew-dā xo]*  
 ‘the boy goes [to his village]’;

###### (2) Postpositional phrases

*mā-yā lāžek-ī ūr-ā nān-ī dān-ā [sere-dē bizēk-er-i-ro]*  
 ‘the mother of the boy the rolling-pin throws [on the head of the kid]’.

### 4.3.2 Other conditions for word order

#### 4.3.2.1 Omission of *bi-*

The indirect object or complement that would regularly follow the verb, precedes it when the subjunctive form lacks *b(i)-* (subjunctive, future, imperative), mostly with *d-* ‘give’:

*ez do keyn-er-ā xo [to]-OBL dā*  
 ‘(then) I FUT daughter my [you] give’;  
*nē-ver-dā-n-ā [jī-ro] pēš-ī-y-o*  
 ‘she doesn’t allow (him) [(on her)self] (that) he embrace’.

#### 4.3.2.2 Adverbial complements

Free adverbial complements which regularly precede the verb, follow the copula when the subject is pronominal, in which case the copula may be repeated in final position:

*o yo [to heti] mā yē hewnā [tiyā-n-ān-di] nē yē nikā [kotī-dir] ē?*  
 ‘he is [with you]’; ‘we still are [in this region]’; ‘[where] are they now?’.

#### 4.3.2.3 Topicalization

A subject may be topicalized by following the direct object:

*heq-ē rāy-ā to [ez] dā-n-ā*  
 ‘your travel expense [I] will give’.

## 4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms

### 4.4.1 Use of cases

#### 4.4.1.1 Ergative

Zazaki shows the typical tense-sensitive crosswise ergative pattern of the primary cases, and verb agreeing with the DIR case:

	Subject	Direct Object	Verb Agreement
Present	DIR	OBL	DIR
Past-trans.	OBL	DIR	DIR

Also DIR are the non-specific indefinite direct object in the present, the intransitive subject in the past, and the predicative complement. Secondary syntactic cases are in the OBL. These include the indirect object (“dative”), the local complement of a verb of motion (“allative”); and the temporal nominal adverb.

*Inanimate* singular nouns, however, tend to show the direct case when in allative function, or when dependent on the primary postpositions *-di(r)* (always), and *-ā* and *-rā* (often). Examples for direct:

*ti do žī [hepis-di-DIR<sub>m</sub>] bi-mir-ē*  
 ‘you will also die [in prison]’.



The scale of oblique marking in animate vs. inanimate singular masculine nouns is as follows:

TABLE 9.17: SCALE OF SINGULAR OBLIQUE MARKING

	anim.	inanim.
Subject, patient, indef. object, predicate	–	–
Postposition <i>-di(r)</i>	+	–
Postpositions <i>-ā, -rā, -rē, -ro</i> ; allative	+	+/-
Agent, dative	+	not attested
Def. object., genitive, comparison	+	+
Secondary adpositions, adverb	+	+

#### 4.4.1.2 Verbal rection and transitivity

Some Zazakî verbs govern their complement in a way different from their English equivalent. For example, in verbs such as *hes ker-* ‘love’, the “object” of the emotion is seen as the “source” thus *-rā* ‘from’ (historically ‘for sake of’, beneficiary):

*ez o [keynek-ē-rā] hes ke-n-ā*  
‘I love [a girl]’, with the transitive verb *ker-* ‘do’.

Other Zazakî verbs with postpositions have similarly various ways to govern, whether the basic verb is transitive or not, e.g. *d-* ‘give’ or ‘hit’ + *ro* ‘on, down’ or *rā*:

*ti weš dā-n-ē [mi-ro]      žew-ser dā-n-ē [rem-ro]*  
‘you beat [(on) me] well’; ‘immediately they flee’ (‘hit [on flight]’);

*poste-y-ē xo dā-n-ā [xo-rā]*  
‘she puts [on (to) her skin]’.

#### 4.4.2 Subject marking

##### 4.4.2.1 Impersonal subjects and expressions

Impersonal subjects (‘one, they’) may be expressed by the 3p:

*mi-rē [vā-n-ē] “Šēr Osmān”*  
‘[they] call me “Šēr Osmān”’.

Impersonal expressions of the type ‘it is getting dark’, ‘it seems’, etc., are generally with ‘empty’ subject, e.g. *beno zimistān* ‘it becomes winter’:

*winī [ās-en-o-3sm], no merdim-ēn-o xāyīn o*  
‘[it seems] (‘thus’), this man is a traitor’.

But expressions of precipitation require the use the respective nouns:

*yāyer ū vew-ri [vār-en-ē]*  
‘it rains and snows’ (‘rain and snow [are raining]’).

3sm without copula are elliptic expressions like:

*[weš ki] to mi-rē vā      šikur Ellā-y-rē ki . . .*  
‘[(it is) good that] you told me’; ‘(may) thanks (be) to god that . . .’.

## 4.4.2.2 Non-specific past agents

Transitive past tenses occurring without agent may have *passive* sense:

*no qundāy qānd-ē čičī [ārd-o]?*                      *māhlā pēro [kerd-o bo]-y-ā*  
 ‘what [has] this bundle [been brought] for?’; ‘the whole quarter [has been painted].’

Otherwise, the morphological passive is used:

*win-ēn-ē ki āltūn-ī [tir-iy-ā-y-ē]*  
 ‘they observe that the gold [has been stolen].’

## 4.4.3 Object marking

## 4.4.3.1 Implicit direct object

Transitive verbs may occur without object (or one of their objects) if it is understood from the context:

*to rind kerd*                      *o vā-n-o: “ti virāz-i!”*  
 ‘(this) you have done [it] well’;    ‘(the) one says: “you prepare [it]!”’;

*ez soz dā-n-ā*                      *yān ti dā-n-ē mi*  
 ‘I give (my) word’                      ‘either you give (her) to me’.  
 (no overt indirect object);

## 4.4.3.2 Compound verbs

Zazaki compound verbs such as *bār ker-* ‘load’, lit. ‘make load’, often have no simplex pendant, and thus function like simple verbs, and may govern direct objects:

*kolī-y-ān [bār ke-n-ā] her-d-ē xo*  
 ‘she [loads] the firewood upon her donkey’.

Since no sentence can contain two direct objects, these constructions require a special explanation. Either the nominal complement has to be explained as a direct object within the verbal phrase itself, or the compound verb has to be considered a lexical unit that is not further analyzable (cf. Paul 1998c: 131 ff.).

## 4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

## 4.5.1 Possession, ‘have’

Possession is expressed by an *ezāfe* construction together either with the existential verb and forms of *b-* ‘be’, or with the postposition *-rē* (“dative”):

*di šārt[-ē mi] est-ē*                      *[ji-rē] lāžek b-en-o*  
 ‘I have two conditions’,                      ‘she has a boy’,  
 lit. ‘there are two conditions [of mine]’;    lit. ‘[to her] is being’.

#### 4.5.2 Aspectual construction

##### 4.5.2.1 Incipient action

This is expressed by *ker-* here ‘begin, be about to’ and *d- piro* ‘hit on’:

*wext-o ki ti [ke-n-ē] bi-zewž-iy-ē*  
‘when you [make/set about] to get married (subj.);’

*nē [dā-n-ē piro], ši-n-ē ki . . .*  
‘they [hit/set about] (and) go (ind.) to . . .’

##### 4.5.2.2 Instantaneous action

This is expressed by *d-* ‘hit’ (similar to the Persian colloquial use of *zadan* ‘hit’):

*žew-ser [dā-n-ē] rem-ro*  
‘immediately they flee’ (‘[hit on] flight’).

#### 4.5.3 Modal constructions

The main modal auxiliary verbs are: *š-/šā-* ‘be able, possible’, *wāz-/wāšt-* ‘want’, and *wetār-/wetārd-* ‘dare’. Necessity is expressed by *lāzim* ‘necessary’ and *maǰbūr* ‘obliged’. They are followed by the subjunctive:

*ḥewtāy dew-ān werd-i, finā žī [nē-šā] bi-qed-ēn-o*  
‘70 villages have eaten (of it), still though it could not be finished up’;  
*ez [wāz-en-ā] ey-ā bi-zewǰ-iy-ā*  
‘[I want] to marry him’;

*[lāzim o] ki ḥešt sehāt-ī šir-ē mā [meǰbūr ē] to bi-riš-ē*  
‘[it is necessary] that they walk eight hours’; ‘we [have to] send you (there)’.

### 4.6 Sentence types and word order

#### 4.6.1 Nominal sentences

Predicative sentences with a noun and copulative verb form a type of their own. These verbs may be intransitive (copula, *b-* ‘be, become’, *mān-* ‘remain, stay’) or transitive (*ker-* ‘make, render’, *silās-n-* ‘recognize as’). The nominal usually precedes the verb, but is postverbal when change of status is implied, specifically with *b-* in the sense of ‘become’ and *ker-* ‘do’:

##### (1) Preverbal:

*no [bes] o hewn-ē ‘eyšā [rāšt] viž-y-ā*  
‘this is [enough]; ‘Ayše’s dream turned out (to be) [true];’

*mērde-y-ē mi [šēx] qebūl kerd-o*  
‘he has accepted my husband [(as a) Shaikh].’

## (2) Postverbal:

*zeřt̄-y-ā ji b-en-ā [nermi]      lāžek-ī ke-n-o [pādīšāh]*  
 ‘his heart becomes [soft]’;      ‘he makes the boy [king].’

## 4.6.2 Other types

Besides declarative sentences, there are interrogative, imperative, optative, and exclamatory sentences for all of which, in principle, the rules established above are valid.

## 4.6.2.1 Interrogative sentences

These may be distinguished from sentences of statement only by way of intonation:

*to ey-rē žt̄ si,žil dā?*  
 ‘did you give him also a register?’

Interrogative pronouns are not in sentence-initial position (as in English), but in the position of the part of speech asked for:

*ti do ji-rē [čiči] vāž-ē?*  
 ‘[what] will you say to him?’

## 4.6.2.2 Imperative sentences

These have either a simple subjunctive of the 1st person (exhortative), or an imperative that often (but not always) contains the subject:

## (1) Subjunctive

*mā [šir-ē] sūk-ē-d-ā gird-i*  
 ‘[let’s go] to a big city’.

## (2) Imperative

*xeber-i [bi-d-i] mi                      [ti] mi-rē heb-ē wext [bi-d-i]*  
 ‘inform me!’ (‘[give] me information’);      ‘[you] [give] me a little time!’

## 4.6.2.3 Optative sentences

These have a subjunctive verb and one of the optative particles *wā*, or (less frequently) *bokā*. Any of the three persons may be the subject; with the present or past subjunctive, the desire is real or unreal respectively. *Wā*, but not *bokā*, usually stands in sentence initial position:

*[wā] veyšān bi-mān-o                      ez [bokā] mudir b-ā*  
 ‘may (that) she stay hungry’;      ‘may (that) I become director’;

*[wā] ellā-y ez                      nē-dā-y-ē (past subj. -ē)*  
 would God I-DIR-PAT had not created-1s  
 ‘would that God had not created (‘given’) me’.

## 4.6.2.4 Exclamative sentences

These are often introduced by *či* ‘what (a) N’:

[*či*] *pādišā-y-ē-d-o aḥmāq o!*  
 ‘[what a] foolish king he is!’

## 5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Zazaki complex sentences are composed of two (or more) constituent clauses that are either coordinate clauses, or main and subordinate clauses to which further clauses may be subordinated.

## 5.1 Coordinate clauses

A complex sentence consisting of two main clauses is not basically different from a sequence of two independent main clauses. Those two clauses may be connected without or with overt conjunction such as *ū* ‘and’, *yān* ‘or’. Semantically, there may be a logical, temporal, and other dependence between the two main clauses, which is either implicit:

*ez do birā-r-d-ē xo-rē vāž-ā, ey ez dā-y-ā ney*  
 I FUT brother- my tell he-AG-3s I-PAT-1s has given this  
 ‘I shall tell my brother, (because) he has given me to this one’;

or is made explicit by one of a series of coordinating conjunctions:

*nē pēš-iy-ē-nē lāžek-ī-ro, bāhd-o žī šī-n-ē*  
 they-AG3p embrace the boy then also they go  
 ‘they embrace the boy, **then** they go’;

*ez do šir-ā, emā šārt-ē-d-ē mi est-o*  
 I FUT go but condition of me is  
 ‘I shall go, **but** I have a condition (*šārt*)’.

In complex sentences, the subject/agent or direct object/patient of the second main clause may generally be unexpressed if it is identical with that of the first main clause:

*mi bilifkerd, ū ē xāpey-n-ā-y*  
 I-AG1s bluff made **and** them-DIR-PAT-3p cheated-3p  
 ‘I made a bluff, and cheated them’.

If one of the two main clauses is constructed ergatively, and the other one intransitive, this is true for 3rd person subjects/agents only:

*ez xāpey-n-ā-y-ā, ū rem-ā*  
 I-DIR-PAT seduced-1s and fled-INTR-3s  
 ‘(he) seduced me, and fled’;

*dēw ām-e-y-o, finā (āw-ā bīr-d-ē dew-i) birn-ā-y-ā*  
 diw has come-INTR again (water of well of village)-PAT-f interrupted-PRET-f  
 ‘the diw has come, and again (*finā*) interrupted (the village well’s water) (*āw*, f)’.

However, 1st or 2nd person subjects must be expressed:

[to]            girot-i,    ū [ti]            ā-geyr-ē  
 you-OBL-AG took-f    and you-DIR came back-INTR  
 ‘you took her, and you came back’.

## 5.2 Subordinate clauses

A subordinate clause may be subordinated to a main clause, or to another subordinate clause. Most types of subordinate clauses precede the main clause they qualify. Zazaki subordinate clauses may have nominal, attributive, or adverbial function. Even though not all of these clause types of traditional grammar constitute a distinct formal category in Zazaki, they will be so distinguished here.

Typically, most types of subordinate clauses are introduced by a characteristic clause-initial conjunction or conjunctive phrase, or a relative pronoun or the relative particle *ki*. Clause-final conjunctives are the enclitic particle *-se* ‘if’ (from Turkish) in certain conditional clauses, and the adverb *tepiyā* ‘after’ in certain posterior temporal clauses. Some types of subordinate clause have a variant without conjunction. Most frequent are: the conjunction/particle *ki* which has a broad range of uses in various clause types, and occurs as the (optional) second element of some bipartite conjunctions; further, *eger* ‘if’, *wext-o ki* ‘when’, *hetān (ki)* ‘as long as, until’, *madem (ki)* ‘because’, *çimkī* ‘because’, *hendik(i)* ‘as much/far as’.

## 5.3 Relative clauses

The relative clauses (RC) of Zazaki may be classified into those that are *independent* and function as subject, object, or adverbial complement, and those that are *attributive* and are governed by a head noun. Independent RCs are introduced by an indefinite relative pronoun or adverb, attributive RCs require an *ezāfe* construction with adjectival *ezāfe* particles connecting the head noun with the relative particle *ki*, or pronoun, dir. *ki*, obl. *kē*: independent *kām šī-n-o* ‘(he) who goes’ vs. attributive *merdim-o ki šī-n-o* ‘a/the man who goes’.

An intermediate position between the nominal *ezāfe* and the attributive RC is held by two constructions, RC with gapped copula:

*mār-o ki keynek-i pīz-e-di*  
 ‘the snake **which** in the girl’s belly’,

and EZ-construction with particles such as *zey* ‘like’:

*jinī-y-ā zey to*  
 ‘a woman like you’.

### 5.3.1 Functions of RC in the main clause

In functions other than subject, the relative pronoun ‘who’ is in the oblique, *kē*, but not the head noun:

<i>kē tepš-ē</i> ‘ <b>whom</b> they (may) catch’;	<i>kē-di nāmūs est-o</i> ‘at <b>whom</b> is honor’ (‘who(ever) has’);	<i>jewāb-ē kē dihā weš-d-ē mi šir-o</i> ‘the answer of <b>whom</b> I like more’ (‘whose answer’);
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but

*girwey-o ki mā nē-zā-n-ē*  
‘a work **that** we don’t know’.

### 5.3.2 Resumptive pronouns

Clause-internally, the co-referent to the head noun is resumed by the general 3rd person pronoun *ji* if it functions other than as a subject or object:

*qulā ki bin-ē ji nī-y-ās-en-o*  
‘a hole **that** bottom **of it** is not visible’ (‘whose ground’).

In the main clause, a RC is resumed by a pronoun that disambiguates the syntactic function. This is obligatorily the case of indirect object, and postpositional and *ezāfe* complements:

*zūr-ā kē werdī b-o-se, o do virāz-o*  
‘**whose** lie is smaller, **he** FUT prepare it’ (‘the lie of whom’)  
(*b-o* = 3sm subj. of ‘be’ + conditional *-se*);

*kām pē-rā bol hes ke-n-o, inān-rē vā-n-ē*  
‘**who** loves each other (*pē-rā*) very much (*bol*), **to them** they say’.

As part of the main clause, the RC may take the regular position of the constituent as which it functions:

*ši-n-o o ode-y-o ki āltūn-ī miyān-dī bī*  
‘he goes to the room **that** gold in (it) was’ (‘in which was’).

### 5.3.3 Topicalized relative clauses

A RC may be topicalized and take the sentence initial position. In that case, its regular position remains either vacant:

*girwe-y-o ki mā nē-zā-n-ē, mā nē-ke-n-ē*  
work **that** we not know we not do  
‘we don’t do a work that we don’t know’;

or it is resumed by a pronoun that makes his syntactic function explicit:

*mā kē-rā qāhr-ēn-ē, mā ey ā-n-ē*  
we **whom** we are angry we **him** bring  
‘about whom we are angry, him we bring’.

### 5.3.4 Head incorporation

The incorporation of the head noun into the relative clause is a noteworthy option (also known in Persian and other Iranian languages):

*por-ē mi kew-n-o kē dest, wā bīr-o*  
hair of me falls **whose hand** may he come  
‘in whose hand my hair (*por*) falls, (he) shall come’.

## 5.4 Nominal clauses

Subject and object clauses paraphrase subjects and objects but do not occur in their regular position, instead they follow the predicate, often introduced by *ki* ‘that’. Indirect questions also, and sometimes conditional or comparative clauses, may be nominal clauses.

### 5.4.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses follow impersonal expressions such as ‘it is necessary, clear, a pity’, etc., whose subject they replace:

*b-en-o ki ez bi-mir-ā*  
‘maybe that I (shall) die’.

They can also resume a preceding demonstrative pronoun that takes the subject position:

*sebeb-ē ji no yo ki kes-ī čī-y-ē-d-o winā qebūl nē-kerd-o*  
reason of it this is that anybody thing such accepted has not made  
‘the reason for it is that nobody has (ever) accepted such a thing’.

### 5.4.2 Object clauses

Object clauses follow verbs of perception and communication and paraphrase the direct object or complement that is usually governed by these verbs:

*ez zā-n-ā ki o yo ters-en-o*  
‘I know that he is fearing’ (‘frightened’).

### 5.4.3 Quotations

The two verbs of communication *vāž-* ‘say’ and *pers ker-* ‘ask’ (‘to make question’), however, usually govern direct speech instead of an object clause:

*pēyember vā-n-o: nē-b-en-o*                      *ji-rā pers ke-n-o: wā-y-ē, ti kām ā?*  
‘the prophet says: “it doesn’t work” ’;    ‘he asks her: “Sister, who are you?” ’

## 5.5 Adverbial clauses

### 5.5.1 Temporal and local clauses

Zazaki temporal clauses always precede the main clause. Formally, they cannot always be clearly distinguished from other subordinate clauses, e.g. temporal clauses introduced by *wext-o ki* ‘when’ (lit. ‘(at) the time that’) are similar to relative clauses introduced by, e.g. *rož-ā ki* ‘(on) the day that’. Here, temporal clauses will be distinguished, according to their temporal relation to the main clause, in anterior, simultaneous, and posterior clauses.



## 5.5.1.1 Anterior temporal clauses

These are formed with the adverb *tepeyā* ‘after’ following the verb of the temporal clause. This verb is usually in the preterite, but may be in the present tense if the verb of the main clause is also in the present:

*Γezāli šī-n-ā tep-ey-ā, Āḥmed veyn dā-n-o činā dā xo-rā tep-e-yā,*  
 Γ. goes-PRES after A., call hits-PRES clothes put on own **after**  
 ‘after Γezāli goes Ahmad calls’; ‘he goes after having put on (his)  
*šī-n-o*  
 he goes-PRES  
 clothes’.

## 5.5.1.2 Simultaneous temporal clauses

These are introduced by *wext-o ki* ‘when’, rarely also *ki*, following the subject of the main clause. The verb of the temporal clause is usually in the same tense as that of the main clause:

*wext-o ki keko merd, mi zā-n-ā*  
 ‘when the older brother died-PRET, I-AG knew-PRET . . .’;  
*keynek-i ki b-en-ā teyšān, ye-n-ā*  
 girl when she becomes-PRES thirsty she comes-PRES  
 ‘when the girl gets thirsty, she comes’.

If the temporal sentence is in the preterite and the main clause in a present tense, *wext-o ki* may correspond to English ‘as soon as’; more often, however, *senī (ki)* occurs in this sense, then causing the same tense in the temporal and main clause:

*wext-o ki K. āme, wā Ā. ji ber-o heš-i senī ez dī-y-ā,*  
 when K. came-PRET, A him bring-SUBJ; bear as soon as I-PAT saw-PRET-1s  
*rem-ē*  
 he fled-PRET  
 ‘as soon as K. comes, A. shall bring him’; ‘as soon as the bear saw me, he fled’.

## 5.5.1.3 Posterior temporal clauses

These are introduced by *hetā(n) (ki)* ‘until; as long as’. When a past action is reported, the verb of the temporal clause is in the present indicative or in a past tense, and *hetā(n) (ki)* corresponds to English ‘until’:

*hetān xo res-n-en-ē-PRES wede-dē pādīšāy, xeylē māḥkūm-ī mir-en-ē-PRES*  
 ‘until they proceed to the king’s room, many criminals die’;  
*hetān amē-PRET res-ē-pret to het, bī newāy ū new*  
 ‘until it came (and) reached to you, it was-past 99’.

When the reported action is not yet past, the verb is negated and in the present subjunctive or preterite, and *hetā(n) (ki)* corresponds to the English ‘as long as’:

*hetān ez ey nē-kiš-ā, mā-rē reḥāt-ey čī-nī-y-ā*  
 as long as I him not kill-subj to us peace is not  
 ‘as long as I don’t kill him, we have no peace’;

*hetān ē nī-y-āme-y-ē, mā bi-rem-ē*  
 as long as they have not come-pret we let us flee  
 'let us flee, as long as they haven't come'.

#### 5.5.1.4 Local clauses

Local clauses are introduced by *kotī* '(to) where', *kotī-di* 'where', or *kotī-rā* 'from where' and may be resumed through the local adverb *wižā* 'there' (or *wižā-di*, *wižā-rā* respectively):

*kotī-rā ye-n-ē, wā b-īr-ē*  
 'from where they come, may they come';

*kotī-di šān b-en-o, ez wižā-di rā-kew-n-ā*  
 where dark it becomes I to sleep fall to  
 'where(ever) it gets dark, there I go to sleep'.

#### 5.5.2 Conditional clauses

Zazaki conditional clauses are mostly introduced by the conjunctions *eger* or (less often) *ki*, the enclitic particle *-se* following the verb, or by a combination of both (*eger . . . -se*), all meaning 'if'. They always precede the main clause ('apodosis'). The conditional clauses may be distinguished in those with possible and those with impossible condition.

##### 5.5.2.1 Possible conditions

###### 5.5.2.1a Present and subjunctive

With possible conditions, the verb of both the protasis and apodosis often has a present tense form. The mode of the verb of the apodosis is, in principle, independent of that of the protasis.

###### (1) Present

*eger ti wāz-en-ā-PRES, mā piyā bi-zewē-iy-ē-SUBJ*  
 'if you want, let us marry';

*ki ti dā-n-ē-PRES, ti finā ded-ē mā yē-PRES*  
 'if you give (it), you are again (*finā*) our uncle'.

###### (2) Subjunctive

*eger bi-zān-o, ez do e-y šēx-o rāstā-y ker-ā*  
 if he knows-SUBJ I FUT him true sheikh I make-SUBJ  
 'if he knows (it), I will make him a true sheikh';

*bi-kew-o-se, dāḥā weš nē-b-en-o*  
 he falls-SUBJ if, again well he won't become-PRES  
 'if he falls, he won't get well again'.

### 5.5.2.1b Preterite

If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time, the past tense may appear in the protasis:

*eger wihēr-ē ji ām-e, mā do heq-ē ji bi-d-ē*  
 if owner of it came-PRET we FUT fee of him give-SUBJ  
 ‘if his owner comes, we will (certainly) pay its fee’;

*ti merd-ī-se, mā žī to-y-ā mir-en-ē*  
 you died-PRET if we also with you die-PRES  
 ‘if you die, we also will die with you’.

### 5.5.2.1c Perfect

Conditions that have already been fulfilled or not, but about whose fulfillment the speaker has no knowledge, have a verb in the perfect tense:

*eger čī-y-ē bi Γezāli kerd-o, mā gān-ē xo nān-ē ser*  
 if anything to Γ. done-PERF-3sm we life of own shall put-SUBJ up  
 ‘if they have done anything to Γ., we shall give our lives’;

*čīnā-y-ē mā berd-o-se, mā do šir-ē key-d-ē milā-y*  
 clothes of us taken-PERF3sm if we FUT go-SUBJ house of Molla  
 ‘if he has taken away our clothes, we will go to the Molla’s house’.

### 5.5.2.2 Impossible conditions, -ē

With *impossible past conditions* in the protasis the past subjunctive or past optative in -ē is used, and in the apodosis the conditional:

*eger ē nī-y-āme-y-ē, mi do kotī-rā bi-zānā-y-ē*  
 if they had not come-PASTOPT I-AG FUT wherefrom have known-COND  
 ‘if they hadn’t come, from where should I have known’.

Most types of conditional clause may also occur *without conjunction*, and then be recognized as such by the context or a subjunctive verb form only:

*wā-y-ē, ti čī-y-ē-rā fāhun ke-n-ā, mā b-īr-ē to hetī*  
 sister you anything understand-PRES we let come-SUBJ you to  
 ‘sister, if you understand anything, let us come to you’;

*mi poste-y-ē to nē-veš-n-ā-y-ē, diḥā ti do bī-y-ā-y-ē*  
 I-AG skin of you had not burnt-PAST-SUBJ further you FUT had eaten-COND  
 ‘if I hadn’t burnt your skin, you would have furthermore been . . .’

### 5.5.3 Concessive clauses

A concessive relation is often expressed through two main clauses that are connected through the coordinating conjunction *finā žī* ‘nevertheless, yet’:

*ḥewtāy dew-ān werd-i, finā žī nē-šā bi-qed-ēn-o*  
 70 villages-AG have eaten again also could not be finished-SUBJ  
 ‘70 villages have eaten (of it), still it could not be finished up’.

A conditional clause with *žī* ‘also’ may correspond to an English concessive clause:

*mā bi-zān-ē ki to kiš-en-o žī, mā mejbūr ē to bi-riš-ē*  
 we know-SUBJ that you he is killing **though** we **forced are** you we send-SUBJ  
 ‘**even if** we know he is going to kill you, we must send you (there)’.

Sometimes, an optative clause introduced by *wā*, following a main clause, may express a concessive relation:

*mā žī šop-tā īn-ān-rā šī-n-ē, wā mā žī bi-kiš-ē*  
 we also track of them-DIR-OBJ go **may be that** us also they kill-SUBJ  
 ‘and we follow their track, even if (‘may that’) they kill us’.

#### 5.5.4 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are introduced by *čimkī* or *mādem (ki)* ‘because, since’ and stand with *čimkī* before or after, with *mādem (ki)* always before the main clause:

*čimkī Ābdirreḥmān Beg merd, ē rey-ā-y*  
 ‘**as** A. Beg died, they got free’;

*dew-iž-ī qānd-ē ji šīn ke-n-ē, čimkī her-kes ji-rā ḥes k-en-o*  
 the farmers sake of him mourning make **because** everyone him liking makes  
 ‘the farmers mourn for him, because everybody loves him’;

*mādem ti šī, merāq me-k-i*  
**since** you went-PRET concern don’t make  
 ‘since you have gone, don’t be surprised!’

More often, however, a causal connection is expressed by two main clauses and the coordinating conjunction *qānd-ē joy* ‘therefore’:

*čī-y-ē ām-e ey sere-di, qānd-ē joy o nī-y-ām-e*  
 ‘something has happened (*āme* ‘came’) to him, **therefore** he hasn’t come’.

#### 5.5.5 Final clauses

Final clauses are introduced by *ki*, more seldom by *qānd-ē ki*, both ‘(in order) to’, and require, irrespective of the tense of the main clause verb, a verb in the present subjunctive. With *ki* they follow, with *qānd-ē ki* they precede the main clause:

*lāžek šī-y-o ki poste-y-ē ā-y bi-vīn-o*  
 boy has gone **that** skin of her find-SUBJ  
 ‘the boy has gone to find her skin’;

*qānd-ē ki ti nē-mir-ē, ti do šop-d-ā ā-y-rā šir-ē*  
**in order that** you not die-SUBJ you FUT track of her go-SUBJ  
 ‘so as not to die, you will follow her track’.

In addition, a final clause may often also follow the main clause asyndetically, or an optative (main) clause with *wā* may correspond to an English final clause:

*ez āme-y-ā gān-ē to bi-gīr-ā*  
 I have come life of you I take-SUBJ  
 ‘I have come to take your life’;

*‘ējele ne-y ber-ē, wā čim-ē mi ne-y nē-vīn-ē*  
 quickly him take **so that** eyes of me him not see-SUBJ  
 ‘take him away quickly, so that my eyes may not see him (any longer)’.

### 5.5.6 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses are built with one of the conjunctions *hendi/winī... ki* ‘so... that’. The consecutive clause, introduced by *ki*, follows the main clause:

*hendi rind b-en-ā, ki kes nē-š-en-o wesf-ān-ē ji bi-d-o*  
 so pretty she is being **that** anybody cannot description of her make-SUBJ  
 ‘she is so pretty that nobody can describe her’;

*ez do winī rezīl-ey-ā gān-ē to bi-gīr-ān, ki...*  
 I FUT **such** meanness life of you I take-SUBJ **that**  
 ‘I shall take your life with such a meanness that...’

Certain clauses that follow a double *winī*, or a question clause asyndetically (ex.2), may also correspond to an English consecutive clause:

*winī ji-rā hes ke-n-ē, winī hes ke-n-ē, ji-rē gān-ē xo dā-n-ē*  
 so it liking make **so** liking make for her life of self they give  
 ‘they love it so much, so much, (that) they lay down for it their life’;

*to čī čāre dī, ti remā-y?*  
 you-AG **what** remedy saw you have fled  
 ‘what remedy have you found, (that) you have fled?’

### 5.5.7 Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses of *equality* are introduced by *zeki, senī* or (rarely) *hendi ki*, and followed by a main clause that is often introduced by *winī*. The verb of the comparative clause is often indicative, but may also (after *zeki*) be subjunctive:

*zeki qertel-ī-leš-ī sero ārē-b-en-ē, winī xidir āyā-y sero ārē-b-en-ē*  
 like vulture corpse upon gather **so** X.Agha upon they gather  
 ‘like vultures gather on a carcass, so they gather on X. Agha’;

*zeki jīp-i bi-rām-o, dīreksīyon-ī winī ke-n-o xo dest*  
 like a jeep he may drive-SUBJ wheel **so** he makes his hand  
 ‘as if he would drive a jeep, so he takes the wheel in his hand’;

*esto-ri senī rem-en-ā, wā bi-rem-o*  
 ‘like the horse flees, **so** it shall flee’;

*hendi ki mi dest-rā b-īr-o, ez do bi-girwe-y-ā*  
 as much as my hand-from may come-SUBJ I FUT shall work-SUBJ  
 ‘as much as I can, I will work’.

## 6 LEXIS AND REGISTERS

### 6.1 Word formation

In the fairy tales and folkloristic texts that have been used for this study and that continue to predominate in Zazaki literary production, the possibilities of using derivation and composition for the formation of complex lexical units seem to be rather limited. This may be due to the fact that Zazaki still lacks most registers of official and “higher” literal usage, for which complex lexical units are usually formed.

#### 6.1.1 Derivation of nouns and adjectives

The most important derivational suffixes for the formation of nominals that continue to be productive in Zazaki are:

- *-iž*, the nisba suffix that forms nouns of origin and certain other nouns: *Mālmīsān-iž* ‘(a person) from (the mountain of) Malmisan’, *dew-iž* ‘farmer’ (< *dew* ‘village’);
- *-ey*, attached to adjectives or agent nouns, to form abstract nouns (that are feminine): *rind-ey* ‘goodness’, *dizd-ey* ‘theft’ (< *rind* ‘good’, *dizd* ‘thief’) (in certain dialects, *-ey* is replaced by *-in* or *-en*);
- *-ēr*, attached to names of fruits, to form tree names (that are feminine): *sā-y-ēr* ‘apple tree’ (< *sā* ‘apple’);
- *-en* (or in certain dialects, *-in*), attached to nouns or adverbs, to form adjectives: *jēr-en* ‘(being) below’, *reng-en* ‘coloured’, *gošt-en* ‘fleshy, consisting of meat’ (< *jēr* ‘below’, *reng* ‘colour’, *gošt* ‘meat’).

#### 6.1.2 Compounding

The most important compounding strategies in Zazaki are (Paul 2002):

- (1) right-headed determinative compounds occur seldom, and mostly as ‘frozen’ historical forms: *kē-ber* ‘house-door’ (the regular syntactic *Ezāfe* construction seems to be much more productive to express concepts that correspond to determinative compounds in other languages);
- (2) more frequent are verbal compounds that employ a verbal stem (usually the subjunctive one) as a second element: *merdim-wer* ‘cannibal(istic)’ (lit. ‘man-eating’);
- (3) the most productive compound type that seems to occur in the texts that have been used here are left-headed possessive compounds: *gān-rihāt* ‘comfortable’, lit. ‘(having a) relaxed soul’ < *gān* ‘soul’, *rihāt* ‘comfortable’.

## 6.2 Sociolinguistic features

### 6.2.1 Standard and colloquial registers

Since Zazaki still lacks most registers of official and “higher” literal usage and the majority of publications still belong to folk language and everyday speech, it is of no use to talk about the “social” strata of Zazaki. As for the question of a possible standard dialect, there have been various discussions since the 1990s (mostly in the exile press) about which dialect, or combination of dialects, should be preferred to create such a standard dialect,

but (at least until 2005) these discussions seem to have been purely academic, and every Zazaki writer still seems to use his own (village or town) dialect when he (or she) writes.

### 6.2.2 Kinship terminology

Some of the most important items of kinship terminology that have been met in the texts include the following: *mā(y)* ‘mother’, *pī* ‘father’, *wā(y)* ‘sister’, *birā* ‘brother’, *xāl* ‘(maternal) uncle’, *vistirī* ‘mother-in-law’. Interestingly, some human nouns like ‘boy, girl’, etc., are derived by the suffix *-ek* from their corresponding kinship term, e.g.:

*lāž* ‘son’ — *lāž-ek* ‘boy’      *keyn(ā)* daughter’ — *keyn-ek* ‘girl’  
*jinī* ‘wife’ — *jinēk* ‘woman’      *mērd* ‘husband’ — *mērd-ek* ‘man’

### 6.2.3 Terms of address

Many Zazaki terms of address correspond to (Kurmanci) Kurdish equivalents and thus attest to the close ethnic and historical bond that connects the Zaza to the Kurds:

address: *çim-ān ser* ‘goodbye’ (lit. ‘on the eyes’) ~ Kd. *ser çāv-ān* ‘id.’;  
 response: *ser-ān ser* ‘goodbye’ (lit. ‘on the heads’) ~ Kd. *ser ser-ān*.

Other Zazaki terms of address include:

address: *ti xeyr āmeye!* ‘welcome!’ (lit. ‘you have come well’);  
 response: *xeyr mi yān-di b-o!* (lit. ‘may welfare be in-between’);

address: *xātir bi to!* ‘goodbye’ (lit. ‘goodbye (be) to you’);  
 response: *oyur b-o!* (lit. ‘may good luck be!’);  
*Ellāh rāzī b-o!* ‘thank you!’ (lit. ‘may god be content’).

## 7 SAMPLE TEXT

‘*Ārwēš-ī*’ (‘The Hares’), in Koyo Berz 1988.

*Ĵjin ū Ĵjināvir-ī miyān-di, en tersinok-ē Ĵji      ārwēš-ī b-en-ē.*  
 Animals-OBL among-in, most fearful-EZ them-OBL hare-up are  
 ‘Among the animals, the most fearful of them are the hares.’

*mār xuš-en-o, ārwēš-ī rem-en-ē; her      zīř-en-o, ārwēš-ī rem-en-ē,*  
 snake hisses hare-p flee-3p donkey bray-sm hares-p flee-3p  
 ‘The snake hisses, the hares flee; the donkey brays, the hares flee’;

*gā qoř-en-o, ārwēš-ī rem-en-ē; kutik lāw-en-o, ārwēš-ī rem-en-ē . . .*  
 ox bellow-sm hare-p flee-3p dog bark-sm hare-p flee-3p  
 ‘the ox bellows, the hares flee; the dog barks, the hares flee . . .’

*çičī xo lūn-en-o, ārwēš-ī rem-en-ē.*  
 what self move-sm hare-p flee-3p  
 ‘what(ever) jumps about, the hares flee’.

*řož-ē ārweš-ī pēro ārē-b-en-ē pē ser, vān-ē:*  
 day-a hare-p all gather-3p each-other on, say-3p  
 ‘One day, all hares gather around themselves and say.’

*no dinyā-di mā-rā tersinok kes čī-nī-y-o,*  
 this world-in us-from fearful someone not-exists  
 ‘In this world, there is no-one more fearful than we are.’

*en tersinok-ē nē dinyā-y mā yē.*  
 most fearful-EZ-p this-OBL world-OBL we are  
 ‘we are the most fearful (ones) of this world.’

*mā hendā-y-ē tersinok-ī yē,*  
 we so-much fearful-p are-1p  
 ‘We are so fearful.’

*ḥādirē! mā pēro šir-ē, xo če-ker-ē dol-ī miyān,*  
 ahead! we all go-SBJ-1p self inside-do-SBJ-1p lake-OBL into  
 ‘(let’s go) ahead, (and) all go (and) throw ourselves into the lake.’

*mā pēro bi-fetis-īy-ē ū nē ters-ī-rā bire-yē!*  
 we all drown-SBJ-1p and this-OBL fear-OBL-from escape-SBJ-1p  
 ‘let’s all be drowned, and escape from this fright!’

*nē dā-n-ē piro šī-n-ē ki*  
 these set-3p about go-3p that  
 ‘They set about (and) go to’

*xo če-ker-ē dol-ē-d-ē līmin-ī miyān.*  
 self inside-do-SUBJ-3p lake-one-EZ-OBL dirty-OBL into’.  
 ‘throw themselves into a dirty lake.’

*ye-n-ē nezdī-d-ē dol-ī ki*  
 come-3p near-EZ-OBL lake-OBL that  
 ‘They come close to the lake so that’

*xo če-ker-ē dol-ī miyān,*  
 self inside-do-SBJ-3p lake-OBL into  
 ‘throw themselves inside the lake.’

*win-ēn-ē kese-y-ē ki*  
 notice-3p turtles-EZ-p that’  
 ‘they notice turtles that’

*teber-d-ē dol-ī-di xo dā-y-o ver-ā-rož.*  
 outside-EZ-OBL lake-OBL-in self give-PERF-3sm sun-place  
 ‘have exposed themselves to the sun outside the lake.’

*ē kese-y pēro finē-rā*  
 those turtles-p all suddenly  
 ‘All those turtles all of a sudden.’

*ters-ān-d-ē ārweš-ān-rā rāp rāp rāp*  
 fear-OBL-p-EZ-OBL hare-OBL-p-from rap rap rap  
 ‘out of fear of the hares, rap rap rap’



*xo erz-en-ē dol-ī miyān*  
 self throw-3p lake-OBL into'  
 'throw themselves into the lake'

*ū ters-ān-rā xo dol-ī miyān-di nimn-en-ē.*  
 and fear-OBL-p-from self lake-OBL midst-in hide-3p  
 'out of fear, and hide themselves, in the lake.'

*ārweš-ī vinder-en-ē, vān-ē:*  
 hare-p stop-3p say-3p  
 'The hares stop, (and) say.'

*nē kese-y mā-rā tersā-y*  
 these turtle-p us-from fear-ed-3p  
 'These turtles were afraid of us,'

*xo ešt dol-ī miyān ū xo dol-di nimit.*  
 self threw-3sm lake-OBL inside and self lake-in hid-3sm  
 'they threw themselves inside the lake and hid themselves in the lake.'

*zey mā tersinok-ī dinyā-di bol-ī yē,*  
 like us fearful-p world-in many-p are  
 'In the world, there are many (who are) fearful like us,'

*mā či-rē xo çe-ker-ē dol-ī miyān*  
 we why self inside-do-SBJ-1p lake inside  
 'why should we throw ourselves into the lake'

*ū xo bi-fetis-n-ē?*  
 and self drown-SBJ-1p  
 'and drown ourselves?'

*ḥādir-ē! mā pey-di šir-ē,*  
 ahead we back go-SBJ-1p  
 '(Let's go) ahead, let's go back(wards),'

*mā xo nē-y-erz-en-ē dol-ī miyān'.*  
 we self NEG-throw-1p lake inside'.  
 'we don't throw ourselves into the lake'.

*pēro dān-ē piro finā pey-di ā-geyr-en-ē*  
 all set-1p about again back return-1p  
 'All set about (and) return back again,'

*ū ši-n-ē, 'erd-ān miyān-rā b-en-ē vilā-y.*  
 and go-1p soil-OBL-p among-from become-1p scattered-p  
 'and go (and) get scattered among the earths.'

*xeyr-d-ē kes-ān,*  
 benefit-EZ-OBL turtles-OBL-p  
 'Thanks to the turtles,'

*ārweš-ī kišt-en-d-ā xo-rā rey-ēn-ē.*  
 hares-p killing-INF-EZ-OBL self-from escape-1p  
 'the hares escape from their suicide.'

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