

# Definiteness, DOM, and Ezafat: the reflexes of Proto-Indo-Iranian k-form evaluative suffixes

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MECHS

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- Ezafat: Attribution-marking Strategies
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# The Broad Strokes

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## definiteness, DOM, and Ezafat

- There have been various studies concerning the *k*-form definiteness markers in Western Iranian languages (Nourzaei, 2020, 2022; Nourzaei et al., 2015; Haig & Mohammadirad, 2019; Haig, 2019; Jahani, 2015).
- There have been various studies of ezafat (Karimi & Brame, 2012; Ghomeshi, 1997; Karim, 2021; Samiian, 1983, 1994; Larson et al., 2020; Larson & Yamakido, 2008).
- Western Iranian DOM is not well-studied, except for the Persianate =*rā* marker (Doostan & Daneshpazhouh, 2019).
- I propose here that these are related phenomena; \*-*Vkã* is the likely etymon for many but not all definiteness and case markers, as well as a subset of ezafat.

# Ezafat: Attribution-marking Strategies

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## Attributive Anticonstruct/Reverse ezafe (T Balochi):

- (1)     yarīb-ēn zāg-ē  
          poor-ATR boy-INDF  
          ‘a poor boy’ (Axenov, 2006, ex. 14)

## Possessive state/Genitive (T Balochi):

- (2)     gis-ay     wāund  
          house-GEN owner  
          ‘the owner of the house’ (Axenov, 2006, 79)

### Definite Atr. Con./Definite ezafe Soranî:

- (3) kur-e      baş-eke  
boy-DEF.EZ good-DEF  
'the good boy' (Karim, 2021, 155)

### Attributive Construct/ezafe (Hewramî L):

- (4) kitêb-î      syaw  
book-EZ.ATR black  
'black book' (MacKenzie, 1956, 2)

### Possessive Construct/ezafe (Hewramî L):

- (5) hǣr-û            şwan-æy  
book-EZ.ATR black-OBL  
'the shepherd's donkey' (MacKenzie, 1956, 3)

### Floating Construct/ezafe (Kurmacı):

- (6) xanî-yê            wan=î            buha  
house-EZ.DEF 3PL.OBL=EZ expensive  
'their expensive house' (Ekici, 2007, 16)



- All Canonical-ezafe languages show the construct on non definite nouns:

– (7) Ez=ê telefon-î te bi-k-im  
1SG.DIR=FUT phone-EZ 2SG.OBL SBJ-do.NPST-1SG  
'I'll call you (Kurmancî)'

– (8) Kur-ek-î Elman  
boy-INDF-EZ German  
'A German boy' (Kurmancî, Ekici, 2007, 15)

- Definite ezafe languages show a split between possessive and attributive forms:

- (9) kur-e baş-eke  
boy-DEF.EZ good-DEF  
'the good boy' (Sorani)

- (10) kur-**eke**-î Şwan  
boy-DEF-EZ Ş  
'Shuan's son' (Sorani)
- Definite ezafe and floating ezafe (gender) are in complementary distribution.

# Linkers

Language	<i>Att. Floating Construct</i>	<i>Poss. Floating Construct</i>	<i>Possessive construct</i>	<i>Attributive construct</i>	<i>Definite Att. Construct</i>	<i>Attributive Anticonstruct</i>	<i>Possessive State</i>
Kurmancî	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Southern Zazaki	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Soranî			✓	✓	✓		
Hewramî			✓	✓	✓		
Colloquial New Persian			✓	✓	✓		
Standard New Persian			✓	✓			
Gilaki						✓	✓
Takestani Tati						✓	✓
Turkmen Baluchi						✓	✓

# Definiteness: Definiteness- marking Strategies

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## What are the *k*-forms

- According to Nourzaei (2020) (following Pakendorf & Krivoshapkina, 2014), the old Iranian diminutive/evaluative suffix \*-Vkā became a definiteness marker.
- Following Whitney (1993), the Indo-Iranian diminutive marker *-(a)ka-* attached to a variety of bases to create adjectives of appurtenance, diminutives, and to impart no discernible meaning (Whitney, 1993, §1222).
- Following Nourzaei (2020), evaluating something gives way to specifying.

## The (nominal) reflexes of \*-Vkā I

- k      Emāmzāda Esmā'īlī (Fars): *doft-ak-ō* 'the girls  
[girl-DEF-PL]' (Windfuhr, 2012),  
Bušehrī (Fars): *ī havā-y-akū* 'this weather' (Windfuhr,  
2012),  
Gīonī (Lor): *asp-∅ gap-eka* "the big horse [horse-DEF.EZ  
big-DEF]" (McKinnon, 2001),  
Northern Lori *-(e)ka* (McKinnon, 2011),  
Dezfuli and Šuštari (S Lori): *-aka* (McKinnon, 2011),  
Bakhtiāri (S Lori): *-ekū* (McKinnon, 2011), *-(e)ke*  
(Anonby & Taheri-Ardali, 2019, 452),  
Central Kurdish *-eke* (Mackenzie, 1961),  
Southern Kurdish: *-aka -aga* and *aġa* (Fattah, 2000, 245),  
Hewramî (Lihon): *-aka* (MacKenzie, 1966),

## The (nominal) reflexes of \*-Vkǎ II

Paweyane: *-æka* (Holmberg & Odden, 2008),

Zerdeyane: *-aka* (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey, 2013),

Gewrecû: *-aka* (Mahmoudveysi et al., 2012).

k → ∅

Sīvandi: *-u* [M.SG.DEF] and *-e* [F.SG.DEF] (Windfuhr, 1991),

Judeo Isfahanî: *-e* [SG.DEF] (Windfuhr, 1991),

Khuri: *-u* [SG.DEF] (Windfuhr, 1991),

Kermani languages have *-u* (Borjjan, 2017a),

Median dialects (Kašan) have *-a/-e* (Borjjan, 2012),

Keša'i: *-é* (Borjjan, 2017b),

Kumzari: *-ō* (Anonby, 2019, 631).

? Additionally, there are languages that do not have confirmed reflexes of \*-Vkǎ, but DOM

## Kurmancî:

- (11) a. Ez pirtuk-ê di-xwin-im  
1SG.DIR book-F.SG.OBL IPFV-read.PRS-1SG.A  
'I read/ am reading the book' (definite)
- b. Ez pirtuk-Ø dixwinim  
1SG.DIR book-DIR IPFV-read.PRS-1SG.A  
'I read books' (generic, some NK in Turkey, anonymous reviewer)



### DOM (Vafsi):

- (12) a. tæmen gulle-y=m bæ-ruttæ  
1SG.OBL calf-OBL=1SG PU-sell.PST  
'I sold the calf.' (animate, definite)
- b. tæmen yey gullæ-Ø=m bæ-ruttæ  
1SG.OBL one calf-DIR=1SG PU-sell.PST  
'I sold a calf.' (animate, indefinite Stilo, 2018, 777)

### Double Oblique (Kurmancî):

- (13) Gundi-yan wan bazor ji hev  
villager-PL.OBL 3PL.OBL with.difficulty from each.other  
kir  
do:PST(3S)  
'The villagers pulled them apart with difficulty' (Baksî,  
1991: 31, apud Haig, 2008, 103)

- Dorleijn (1996) suggested that the Double Oblique construction is related to DOM strategies.
- Does not fit a usual pattern of ergativity loss:

- Split ergative pattern:  
 $A_{DIR} P_{OBL} V_{PRS.-AAGR} \sim$   
 $A_{OBL} P_{DIR} V_{PST-PAGR}$
- leveled accusative pattern:  
 $A_{DIR} P_{OBL} V-AAGR$
- leveled ergative pattern:  
 $A_{OBL} P_{DIR} V-PAGR$
- Instead of leveling, we have agent marking and object marking as independent variables.
  - K2 Pattern:  
 $A_{DIR} P_{DEF_{OBL}/P_{DIR}} V_{PRS.-AAGR} \sim$   
 $A_{OBL} P_{DIR} V_{PST-PAGR}$

– K<sub>3</sub> Pattern:

$$A_{DIR} P_{DEF_{OBL}}/P_{DIR} V_{PRS.-AAGR} \sim$$

$$A_{OBL} P_{DEF_{OBL}} V_{PST}/P_{DIR} V_{PST-PAGR}$$

- There is differential object marking, but conditioning factors of this differential are unknown.

	Kurmancî (N Kurdish)			Zazaki (Zaza-Gorani)	Vafsi (Tatic)	Chāli (Tatic)	Leriki (Talyshi)	Lāhijāni (Gilaki)
	1	2	3					
DOM (PRS)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	(✓)
DOM (PST)			✓	✓	✓	✓		(✓)
animacy		?	?	✓	✓			

# Sogdian Pattern I

- Weak stems: 7 cases
- Strong stems: 2 cases (1 = GEN; 1 = NOM, ACC, etc.)
- \*-aka stems: 2 cases (1 = NOM; 1 = ACC, GEN, etc.)

## Sogdian strong and vocallic declensions

	SG			PL		
	NOM	ACC	GEN	NOM	ACC	GEN
masc. (a)	-∅	-∅	-ī	M.PL = F.PL		
masc. (aka)	-ē	-ē	-(ī?)/ē			
fem (ā)	-∅	-∅	-ē	-∅	-∅	-ān
fem (ākā)	-ā	-ē	-ē	-ē(t) <sup>1</sup>	-ē(t)	-ētī/-ān

## Sogdian Pattern II

### Snapshot of the feminine

	*-ā	*-ākā	→		
NOM	-∅	-ā		-∅	-∅
ACC	-∅	-ē		-∅	-ē
GEN	-ē	-ē		-ē	-ē

- This discrepancy can be explained if we reconstruct an definite ezafe construction:

- (14) \*jin-a-î                                      baş  
                woman-DEF.NOM.F-EZ good  
– î → ∅ / a\_ and î → ∅ / ê\_

- (15) wāy-āy              ĵey  
                sister-EZ:F.SG 3SG.M.OBL  
                “his daughter” (Hadank, 1932, 73)

## Sogdian Pattern III

- $\hat{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / a\_ , \hat{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / \hat{i}\_ ,$  and  $\hat{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / \hat{e}\_$  are attested synchronically in Hewramî and diachronically in Zazaki; Soranî ?
- After the unimorphation of the nominative definiteness markers and ezafe:
  - Ezafat gain gender/plurality(/case) marking: M -ê, F -a, PL -ê
  - Definite ezafe construction appears redundant  
\*N-DEF.EZ Adj-EZ.DEF

## Expected outcomes

	M		F		PL	
	NDEF	DEF	NDEF	DEF	NDEF	DEF
EZ	-î	-ê	(-e)-î	-a	-î	-ê
NOM	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
ACC	-Ø	-ê	-Ø	-ê	-Ø	-ê
GEN	-î	-ê	-ê	-ê	-an	-an



# Sogdian Pattern V

## Kurmancî system

	M		F		PL	
	NDEF	DEF	NDEF	DEF	NDEF	DEF
EZ	-î	-ê	<b>-e</b>	-a	-î	-ê
NOM	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
ACC	?		-∅	-ê	-∅	<b>-an</b>
GEN			-ê	-ê	-an	-an
	common		Muş		Badînî	
	NDEF	DEF	NDEF	DEF	NDEF	DEF
ACC	-∅	-∅	-∅	-ê	-î	-î
GEN	-∅	-∅	-ê	-ê	-î	-î

# Summary

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## Summary I

- There are several cooccurring features that lead me to believe that \*-Vka- is the etymon for not just definiteness markers but ezafat.
  - languages with k-form definite markers and definite ezafe constructions are in complementary distribution with languages featuring floating/secondary ezafat and gender marking.
  - there is a bridging construction in the definite possessive strategy that blocks the definite ezafat

There are several cooccurring features that lead me to believe that \*-Vka- is the etymon for not just definiteness markers and ezafat but DOM.

## Summary II

- The same phonological reductions that paved the way for definite ezafat would naturally result in DOM.
- This is only true in the present where the patient was in the accusative case.
- syntactic leveling is required to bring it to the past tense.
- DOM only in the present tense is not independently motivated (e.g., by borrowing from Turkish or Persian)

**Thank You**

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