

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

Shuan Osman Karim

karim.56@osu.edu

Goethe University Frankfurt

MECHS



- The Broad Strokes
- Ezafat: Attribution-marking Strategies
- Definiteness: Definiteness-marking Strategies
- Systemic Patterns

The Broad Strokes

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; *-*Vkā* is the likely etymon for many but not all definiteness and case markers, as well as a subset of ezafat.

Ezafat: Attribution-marking Strategies

Attributive Anticonstruct/Reverse ezafe:

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

Possessive state/Genitive:

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

Definite Atr. Con./Definite ezafe:

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

Attributive Construct/ezafe:

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

Possessive Construct/ezafe:

- (5) hæŕ-û şwan-æy
 book-EZ.ATR black-OBL
 ‘the good boy’ (MacKenzie, 1956, 3)

Floating Construct/ezafe:

- (6) xanîyê 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
 - (8) Kur-ek-î Elman
boy-INDF-EZ German
- Definite ezafe languages show a split between possessive and attributive forms:
 - (9) kur-e baş-eke
boy-DEF.EZ good-DEF
 - (10) kur-eke-î Şwan
boy-DEF-EZ Ş
- 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> |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Kurmançî | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| Southern Zazaki | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| Soranî | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Hewramî | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Colloquial New Persian | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Standard New Persian | | | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| Gilaki | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Takestani Tati | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Turkmen Baluchi | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ |

Definiteness: Definiteness- marking Strategies

What are the *k*-forms

- According to Nourzaei (2020) (following Pakendorf & Krivoschapkina, 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 *-Vkǎ 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-Ø 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 *ağa* (Fattah, 2000, 245),
Hewramî (Lihon): *-aka* (MacKenzie, 1966),

The (nominal) reflexes of *-Vkǎ II

Paweyane: *-ækæ* (Holmberg & Odden, 2008),
Zerdeyane: *-aka* (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey, 2013),
Gewrecûî: *-aka* (Mahmoudveysi et al., 2012).

$k \rightarrow \emptyset$ Sîvandi: *-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* (Borjian, 2017a),
Median dialects (Kašan) have *-a/-e* (Borjian, 2012),
Keša'i: *-é* (Borjian, 2017b),
Kumzari: *-ō* (Anonby, 2019, 631).

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

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 dixwinim
 1SG.DIR book IPFV-read.PRS-1SG.A
 'I read books' (generic, some NK in Turkey, anonymous reviewer)

Vafsi:

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

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 this 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, we have agent marking and object marking as independant variables.
 - K2 Pattern:

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

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

– K₃ Pattern:

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

$$A_{OBL} P_{DEF_{OBL}} V_{PST}/P_{DIR} V_{PST} \text{.-} P_{AGR}$$

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

| | Kurmançî (N Kurdish) | | | Zazaki (Zaza-Gorani) | Vafsi (Tatic) | Chāli (Tatic) | Leriki (Talyshi) | Lāhijāni (Gilaki) |
|-----------|-------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | | |
| IOM (PRS) | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | (✓) |
| IOM (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) | -Ø | -Ø | -ī | M.PL = F.PL | | |
| masc. (aka) | -ē | -ē | -(ī?)/ē | | | |
| fem (ā) | -Ø | -Ø | -ē | -Ø | -Ø | -ān |
| fem (ākā) | -ā | -ē | -ē | -ē(t) ¹ | -ē(t) | -ētī/-ān |

Sogdian Pattern II

Snapshot of the feminine

| | *-ā | *-ākā | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|---|----|----|
| NOM | -Ø | -ā | → | -Ø | -Ø |
| ACC | -Ø | -ē | | -Ø | -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 → Ø / a_ and î → Ø / ê_

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

- $\hat{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / a_ , \hat{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / _i ,$ 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 AdjEZ.DEF

Sogdian Pattern IV

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 |

Summary

Summary

- 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.

- 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

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