Outline of Narrative Discourse Features in Dimli / Southern Zazaki

Name of analyst: Brigitte and Eberhard Werner

Institution: SIL International

Date: March 2007

Abstract: This work represents results based on a six week workshop, held at the European Training Programme in Germany / Holzhausen, supervised and taught by Dr. Inge Egner (assistant teacher Cornelia Wüsthoff)

Abbreviations ........................................................................................................................................... 4
Introduction .............................................................................................................................................. 5
Sociolinguistic Background ................................................................................................................. 5
Reference on research Data .................................................................................................................. 6

1. ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE CLAUSE .............................................................................. 7

1.1 Default Order of Constituents in the Clause .............................................................................. 7
1.1.1 Verbal-predicates ...................................................................................................................... 7
1.1.1.1 Intransitive predicates ...................................................................................................... 7
1.1.1.2 Transitive predicates ......................................................................................................... 7
1.1.1.3 Ditransitive predicates ...................................................................................................... 8
1.1.1.4 Locative predicates ........................................................................................................... 8
1.1.2 Non-verbal Predicate .............................................................................................................. 9
1.1.2.1 Copula .............................................................................................................................. 9

1.2 Marked Order of Constituents in the Clause ........................................................................... 9
1.2.1 Pre-posed Elements ................................................................................................................ 9
1.2.2 Post-posed Element ................................................................................................................. 10

1.3 Excurs: Word Order within the Comment ............................................................................... 10
1.3.1 Default Word Order ............................................................................................................. 11
1.3.2 Marked Word Order ............................................................................................................. 11

1.4 Dislocated Constituents ............................................................................................................ 11
1.4.1 Left-Dislocated Constituents ............................................................................................... 11

1.5 Relative Clauses ....................................................................................................................... 12
1.5.1 Form of the Relative Clause ............................................................................................... 12
1.5.2 Semantics of the Relative Clause ....................................................................................... 12
1.5.3 Pragmatics of the Relative Clause ...................................................................................... 13

1.6 Pronouns and Determiners ...................................................................................................... 13
1.6.1 Substitutive and Allocutionary Pronouns ............................................................................ 13
1.6.2 Anaphor ci and xo ............................................................................................................... 15
1.6.3 Demonstrative Adjectives ..................................................................................................... 15
1.6.4 Near and Far-Deixis in Locative Pronouns ......................................................................... 16
1.6.5 Determiners / Articles ......................................................................................................... 16
1.6.6 Specificity ............................................................................................................................. 16

2. INFORMATION STRUCTURE .................................................................................................. 18

2.1 Sentence Articulation ............................................................................................................ 18
2.1.1 Topic-Comment Articulation .............................................................................................. 18
2.1.2 Identificational Articulation .................................................................................................. 18
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

2.1.3 Thetic Sentences Articulation ................................................................. 19

2.2 Points of departure ..................................................................................... 20
  2.2.1 Temporal PoD ......................................................................................... 20
  2.2.2 Referential PoD ....................................................................................... 20
  2.2.3 PoD of renewal (echo) ........................................................................... 21
  2.2.4 Spatial PoD ............................................................................................. 21
  2.2.5 Tail-Head Linkage .................................................................................. 21
  2.2.6 Summary ................................................................................................. 22

2.3 Fore- and Backgrounding ........................................................................... 23
  2.3.1 Coded by Tense and Aspect: ................................................................. 23
    2.3.1.1 Change of Tense ............................................................................... 23
    2.3.1.2 Change of Aspect ............................................................................ 23
    2.3.1.3 Exkurs: The Progressive Aspect in Narratives: ............................ 24
  2.3.2 Background information coded by Connectives ................................. 24
  2.3.3 Summary ............................................................................................... 25

2.4 Highlighting (or Marked Prominence) ....................................................... 26

2.5 Information Structure and Subordination .................................................. 26

3. PARTICIPANTS IN NARRATIVE ................................................................ 27
  3.1 Introduction/Activation of Participants ...................................................... 27
    3.1.1 Major Participants ............................................................................... 27
    3.1.2 Minor Participants ............................................................................... 28
    3.1.2.1 Not-accessible Minor Participants ................................................. 28
    3.1.2.2 Accessible Minor Participants ......................................................... 29
    3.1.3 Props ...................................................................................................... 29
    3.1.3.1 Marked Prop Introduction ............................................................... 29
  3.2 Reference of Activated Participants and Re-activation ............................ 30
    3.2.1 Functions: Activation Status and Context (S1-S4): ............................ 31
      Marked reference ....................................................................................... 31
      3.2.1.1 Maximal Topic Continuity (S1 context) ........................................... 32
      3.2.1.2 Discontinuity - Re-activation (S4 context) ...................................... 32
      3.2.1.3 Substitution – depending from Center of Attention ..................... 32
    3.2.2 Participant Reference at Climax ........................................................... 32
    3.2.3 Center of Attention ............................................................................. 33

4. REPRESENTED SPEECH IN NARRATIVE ............................................... 34
  4.1 Formal features of represented speech ..................................................... 34
    4.1.1 Direct Speech ....................................................................................... 34
    4.1.2 Indirect Speech .................................................................................... 34
  4.2 Functions of Represented Speech in Narrative ......................................... 34
    4.2.1 Marked by Vocative ............................................................................ 35
    4.2.2 Attention Getter .................................................................................. 35
      4.2.2.1 Author’s Intrusion ........................................................................ 35
  5. CONNECTIVES IN NARRATIVE ................................................................. 37
  5.1 Overview of Connectives .......................................................................... 37
    5.1.1 The Additives ew and u ...................................................................... 38
    5.1.2 Adversatives/Contrastives ................................................................. 38
    5.1.3 Connective ki ....................................................................................... 39
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

5.2 Preferred order of Propositions .................................................................39
  5.2.1 Semantic Relations in Unequal Structures (Logic in Clause Order) ..................39
  5.2.2 Cause – Effect Sequences .................................................................40
  5.2.2.1 RESULT – reason & reason – RESULT ..............................................40
  5.2.2.2 MEANS – Purpose ( = final clause) ..................................................40
  5.2.2.3 Condition – CONSEQUENCE .......................................................41
  5.2.2.4 Concession – CONTRAEXPECTATION ..........................................41
  5.2.3 Semantic Relations in Comparison Clause (HEAD – manner) .......................41
  5.2.4 Negative – POSITIVE Propositions ......................................................42

6. MARKING OF NARRATIVE DEVELOPMENT ..............................................43

6.1 The Sequence .........................................................................................43

6.2 Opening and Coda ..................................................................................43

6.3 How are Narratives in Zazaki carried forward .........................................44
  6.3.1 Developmental Markers ......................................................................44
  6.3.1.1 Contrastive ....................................................................................44
  6.3.1.2 Conclusives ..................................................................................45
  6.3.2 PoD (Point of Departure) ....................................................................45
  6.3.3 Tense-Aspect ....................................................................................45

6.4 How are Narratives in Zazaki not carried forward .....................................45
  6.4.1 Backgrounding ...................................................................................45
  6.4.2 Tail-Head linkage ...............................................................................46
  6.4.3 Repetition ..........................................................................................46

6.5 Devices marking the Climax ....................................................................46
  6.5.1 Participant Reference ..........................................................................46
  6.5.2 Represented Speech ............................................................................46
  6.5.3 Word order .........................................................................................46
  6.5.4 Effect particles ...................................................................................46
  6.5.5 Verbs of Action (eye-witness texts) ....................................................46

Bibliography .................................................................................................47
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cop</td>
<td>Copula (lexical meaning: ‘to be’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EW</td>
<td>Eberhard Werner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>Exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>Ezafe (binding morpheme)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>Past imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>Indefinite-suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LocAd</td>
<td>Locative adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl</td>
<td>Oblique marker (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opostp</td>
<td>Indirect object with postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orig</td>
<td>originally (in Original)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl</td>
<td>Reflexive anaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel</td>
<td>Relative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.comp</td>
<td>Subject complement /attribute (in non-verbal predicate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Subjunctive mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPC</td>
<td>Spacer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction
Name of language: Dimli, Dımlıki, Southern Zazaki (Ethnologue: DIQ)
Language family: Indo-European¹ (North-West Iranian)

Sociolinguistic Background

The homeland of the Zaza is determined by the course of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and stretches out from the high mountains and deep canyons of northeastern Turkey to the flat and dry regions in the southeast. The Zaza language can be divided into three large dialect groups according to geographical location: a northern group (Erzincan, Tunceli, Varto); a southern group (Çermuk, Siverek, Gerger, Adıyaman); and an eastern group (Hani, Lice, Elazığ, Bingöl)². Lexical and grammatical differences underlie the division into three dialect groups. The people of the northern group adhere to the Alevi religion, whereas the people of the southern and eastern groups practice Sunni Islam.

Minority language politics forced the Zaza people to move from their homeland area into main cities of western Turkey and to Europe, mainly to Germany. It is estimated that, at present, half of the 3-5 million³ Zaza speakers no longer live in their homeland. They have moved to the outskirts of large Turkish cities (Adana, İzmir, İstanbul), and can be found in several countries of Europe⁴ and in the USA. Estimated by us less than one million still lives in the homeland area with an increasing tendency of pensioners from Europe moving back due to increasing political peace in East Turkey.

Since the 19th century, attempts started writing the language. The earliest published Zaza-Document is a poem in Arabic script. Research at the beginning of the 20th century showed little written material and less literacy developing (Hadank 1932: XI)⁵.

In 1980 asylum seekers and guest-laborers in Germany and Sweden began to publish numerous books and magazines. Many wordlists, lexicons, linguistic descriptions, novels and children’s books went into publication. This led to the establishment of several publishing houses, clubs, and foundations. Up to present, Zaza intellectuals continue to acquaint their people with the written language through the publication and distribution of magazines, books and Internet publications. At the same time, they hope to be recognized by the European society.

The Northern group usually uses an alphabet which is based on Jacobson’s research and suggestion.⁶ However, a standard alphabet of the Southern group is not yet accepted. Jacobson as well included in his literacy book a suggestion for Southern Zazaki, however many authors deny this approach (the discussion mainly refer to the diacritical system).

Finally, we want to summarize the main linguistic works:

We want to clarify that this research paper covers Southern Zazaki only.

² Paul (1998b:211 § 303) also recognizes three main dialect groups, but treats some isolated groups such as Mutki, Kığ and Kulp in his research. Beyond a doubt, this division into three groups represents a simplification of a very complex set of facts.
³ There are no solid statistics on the total number of speakers. Nevertheless, we adhere to Paul’s (1998b: xiii) estimate.
⁴ Paul (1998b: xiii) estimates the number in Germany to be 2-300,000.
⁵ Selcan offers detailed background information on literacy development until the nineties (Selcan 1998:12-122).
⁶ His research was included in a standard writing instruction coming from Turkish to Zazaki (Jacobson 1993:124-125).
Reference on research Data

To research discourse structure in narratives following stories were used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zazaki title</th>
<th>English title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agha beno, nêbeno</td>
<td>Agha or Swindler</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtleme, zirtleme</td>
<td>Kirtleme</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following eyewitness stories were used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zazaki title</th>
<th>English title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diyarbakir</td>
<td>Diyarbakir</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qahwe</td>
<td>Qahwe</td>
<td>Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally 12 folk tale stories (60 pages) served as field data for this paper. Some rare examples are from the first draft of Luke (unpublished).
1. ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE CLAUSE

1.1 Default Order of Constituents in the Clause

In Zazaki default word order is SOV, both in main clauses and subordinate clauses as well. Zazaki is like Persian a pro-drop language, so a pronominal subject is normally omitted.

1.1.1 Verbal-predicates

Various sentence-types with verbal predicates go first, non-verbal predicates follow.

1.1.1.1 Intransitive predicates

Intransitive predicates (S-V) can be extended by subject complements and locatives. Complements in clauses with the verb “to become” obligatorily occur post-verbally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gorm</td>
<td>Zew Erebê esto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one Arab-IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘There is an Arab.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A,1c</td>
<td>zew mérdekkê beno,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one man-IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘There is a certain man.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.1.2 Transitive predicates

The unmarked word order for predicates with direct object or goal is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Vbecome</th>
<th>Comp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K,8 a</td>
<td>nê</td>
<td>sâş</td>
<td>manenê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘They are baffled’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K,3</td>
<td>Nê</td>
<td>Erzurum dî</td>
<td>benê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>Erzurum in</td>
<td>become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘They become guests of a certain house.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 The difference of using estbiyayış or biyayış for the introduction of entities has a pragmatic reason. Biyayış is used only for major participants at the opening of a story. Estbiyayış used elsewhere.
1.1.1.3 Ditransitive predicates

The unmarked order of constituents is the following:

- **S – O – V – Goal**
- **S – IO – O – V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K,6a</td>
<td>nê</td>
<td>şekerê xo</td>
<td>dekenê</td>
<td>qedixa miyan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>sugar-of refl.</td>
<td>fill</td>
<td>cups-obl into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘They put the sugar into their cups.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K,9a</td>
<td>[nê]</td>
<td>qeleley şeker</td>
<td>genê</td>
<td>xo dest.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>cube-of sugar</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>their hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘They take a cube of sugar into their hands.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K,4a</td>
<td>ｗhêrê keyi</td>
<td>ninarê</td>
<td>çay</td>
<td>ano,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the host</td>
<td>them-to</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>brings,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The host brings tea to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K,7b</td>
<td>nê</td>
<td>wêhêrdê keyi</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>koçìki buwazê.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>owner-of house from</td>
<td>teaspoons</td>
<td>want(SJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘They felt ashamed ] to ask the host for teaspoons.’ (object complement clause)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.1.4 Locative predicates

The locative phrase consists of the postposition **dı** ‘in; at’, following the noun phrase.

---

8 The noun phrase in the Goal slot demands a reversed word order (GN) of its constituents when semantically “part of the body”. When placed in the object slot, these NP are in default word order (NG), i.e. ezê xo şuwena. Eza aw kenê xo dest. constr. ex.) ezo destê xo şuwena.

- I-am hand-of refl wash
  - ‘I am washing my hands’

- constr.ex.) Eza aw kenê xo dest.
  - I-am water do refl. hand
  - ‘I pour water into/over my hand’
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

$S$ – (O) – Loc – V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>(O)</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K,19b</td>
<td>Ez</td>
<td>Erzurum di</td>
<td>misaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>Erzurum in</td>
<td>have learned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I learned [it] in Erzurum.’

Gorm. | nê | koçê xo | na merg miyan di | ronenê. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>sleeping.place-of refl</td>
<td>this meadow in between</td>
<td>put</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They prepare their place to sleep upon this meadow.’

1.1.2 Non-verbal Predicate

1.1.2.1 Copula

The copula is a suffix that differentiates gender and number. It is attached to the subject complement.

$S$ – Comp-Cop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Comp</th>
<th>Cop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,23d</td>
<td>nê</td>
<td>axay ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they(near)</td>
<td>aghas not</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They aren’t aghas.’

| A,31a   | ma       | meymanê to | -yê |
| we      | guests-of you | are |

‘We are your guests.’

1.2 Marked Order of Constituents in the Clause

1.2.1 Pre-posed Elements

Pre-posed elements are not frequently found in our data. However, pre-posing of subject complements is not rare.

a) Subject Complement (default: $S$ – S.comp)

$S$.comp – S-Cop

The function of pre-posing the subject complement is to emphasize the subject, the element that follows the pre-posed element. Both elements are already activated, so it is not a question of information flow, but of focus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.comp</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,21c + 32 d +32g</td>
<td>axa ez-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agha 1-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The agha, surely am I.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| A,33a | werdê ê kutika zi es'teyê. |
| food-of those dogs also bones-are |
| ‘Food for dogs is (indeed) bones.’ |

| A,31c | ko goşt? |
| where | meat? (Cop is omitted)
| ‘Where in the world is the meat?’ |

9 In this case the copula would be wrong: *Ko goşt-o; but goşt koti-yo is correct.
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

default: $S – S.comp: \text{goşt kotiyo}$

‘Where is the meat?’

b) Adverbial Phrase (temporal/spatial)

$Adv – S – (O) – V$

Fronted adverbial expressions function as Point of Departure (PoD).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adv</th>
<th>$S$</th>
<th>$O$</th>
<th>$V$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gorm.</td>
<td>tiya di [ma] koçê xo ronmu.</td>
<td>here [we] sleeping.place-of refl put(SJ)</td>
<td>[....] that we prepare our sleeping place exact here.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A,3 a Rozê kêverê nina koyeno one.day door-EZ their is.knocked ‘One day it knocks on their door.’

c) Direct object preceding the subject

a. $O – S – V$

Ma ’emel nêkem ki no dêw ney kışto.
‘We didn’t agree that the giant killed him.’  
Wexta nê ’emel kenê ki dêw ney kışto.
‘This time they agreed that the giant killed him.’

1.2.2 Post-posed Element

Post-posed elements are more rarely found than pre-posed. The two examples below are the only occurrences in our data. When the author of the stories edited the written text, he deleted both post-posed elements. Because it was clearly uttered in the oral recording, we inserted these elements in the chartered text. So we can say, post-posing is a feature of oral speech only.

a) Locative Adjunct

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S$</th>
<th>$S.comp-Cop$</th>
<th>$LocAd$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,16c</td>
<td>è chi kuti kiyê,</td>
<td>zerre di.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>what dogs-are</td>
<td>inside in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They, inside the house, are just dogs [the two men].

b) Adverb of Manner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S$</th>
<th>$O$</th>
<th>$V$</th>
<th>$Goal$</th>
<th>$Adv$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,18a</td>
<td>[-]</td>
<td>aw keno</td>
<td>chi dest</td>
<td>irbîqi-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[he]</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>does</td>
<td>his hand</td>
<td>jug-with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He poured water over his (the man’s) hand with the jug.’

Function:
Post-posing has no function due to information flow or focus. The storyteller wants to make sure that the hearer gets the whole picture. Thus the post-posed element does make explicit what already is known to the hearer. The low intonation of the post-posed elements as well confirms this hypothesis.

1.3 Excursus: Word Order within the Comment

In the predicate itself the direct object and the indirect object can interchange their positions. The reason behind is the principle of *natural information flow*. Thus the established information is presented before the non-established information (Roberts 2003:3,8-13).
1.3.1 Default Word Order

The two examples below are presenting a contrast in word order due to the principle of information flow. Both predicates contain the same verb of motion (‘bring’) therefore the IO is expected to be in the Goal position. However, in the first example (K,4 a), due to the principle that established information precedes non-established information, the direct object ‘tea’ comes after the established information (O). Thus, the goal position is left out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K,4 a</td>
<td>whêrê keyi</td>
<td>ninarê (established) çay (non-established)</td>
<td>ano, the host brings them-to tea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If ‘tea’ is already established information, the IO (receiver of that ‘tea’) will be placed into the Goal position. See the example below. Thus, the default word order is followed (see 1.3.3.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adv</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,10c</td>
<td>çay bi ‘hadıre tepiya</td>
<td>nê [...] anê</td>
<td>meymana ver.</td>
<td>‘After the tea was prepared they offered it to their guests.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.2 Marked Word Order

Violating the principle of information flow and non-established information precedes the established information, will be called marked word order for emphatic prominence (Roberts 2003:13).

In the context of the example below the three guests, here IO (‘them’) are prominent in the whole unit. The calf, although mentioned in the opening (setting), was not yet activated in this unit. Therefore, we can apply Roberts principle: The word order is marked to amplify the focus toward the ‘calf’. In the English translation, focus is made visible by the modifier ‘our beloved’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A,10c</td>
<td>ma na naleka xo cirê</td>
<td>bibrnm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘We will slaughter for them our (beloved) calf.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4 Dislocated Constituents

Right-dislocated constituents are not found in our date.

1.4.1 Left-Dislocated Constituents

Left dislocation (subject and object) combined with a relative clause are frequent used in Zazaki narratives. In both examples of left dislocations below, the function is to “help the hearer to clearly identify the referent”.

a) Subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-disloc</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S.comp</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B,23b</td>
<td>no çiyo kt tiyê kenê,</td>
<td>no kirtleme</td>
<td>niyo kirtleme.style is-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The stuff which you are doing, this isn’t kirtleme at all.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More research needed to find left-dislocations without relative clause
1.5 Relative Clauses

In Farsi, according to Roberts (2003:23), restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause is distinguished by a morphological feature. However, in Zazaki all relative clauses could be identified as restrictive. Like in Persian the relative clause is post-nominal and the particle *ki* functions as introducer and complementizer of the relative clause.

1.5.1 Form of the Relative Clause

Examples of relativization on subject and object are given below. The antecedent is preceding the introducer *ki*, which is a particle without any flections. “Descriptive ezafe” (linking morpheme) is attached to the antecedent, thus the relative clause serves as a descriptive element. (The counterpart ezafe in Zazaki is the “genitive ezafe”, which is never used in relative clause.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Intr.</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elic.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iniyo</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kesi</td>
<td>keno kavir,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the fountain-<strong>EZ</strong>desc</td>
<td>rel</td>
<td>someone-obl</td>
<td>makes [to] lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The fountain, which transforms you into a lamb,...’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>Intr.</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K,23b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no çiy-o</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>tiy-</td>
<td>-yê kenê,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this thing-<strong>EZ</strong>desc</td>
<td>rel</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>are-doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The stuff, which you are doing,...’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally we found a frequent construction of RC, which the indefinite noun ‘somebody; who’ serving as antecedent. Due to its indefiniteness, the ezafe is omitted from the antecedent.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>rel</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partridge Boy:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ziwandê zerezi ra</td>
<td>fa’hm keno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who-zero<strong>EZ</strong></td>
<td>rel</td>
<td>the language of patridges</td>
<td>understands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘somebody who understands the language of patridges,...’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In overall majority relative clause is combined with a left-dislocation. Resumptives are pronouns:

- **This thing which you are doing, this isn’t kirtleme, this is zirtleme!** (K,23b)
- **The spring which turns you into a lamb, he from this spring drinks.** (Elic.)
- **The two giants who you have killed, they both were my brothers.** (Gorm.)
- **Somebody who understands the language of patridges, he knows how they really are.** (Lazeko Z.)

Without left-dislocation:

- **The snake which is in her belly** became chopped up into pieces and come out of her belly (Elic.).
- They went to the house of the **girl whom the miller wants to marry.** (Miller and Fox)

1.5.2 Semantics of the Relative Clause

As said above, no distinction exists between different semantic types of relative clause in Zazaki. My personal suggestion is that there is only the **identifying/restrictive RC.**

---

11 “Descriptive” and “genitive” Ezafe are both terms, which are already, introduced in grammars on Zazaki.
12 Roberts (2203:24) describes that if the antecedent is a direct object of the main sentence, it carries the object marker. This is not attested in Zazaki, the oblique marker is never found on the antecedent.
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

Two sentence-initially occurring connectives are literally relative clauses. They function as temporal PoDs:

- Sıhata ki (hour that,…), meaning ‘at the time when’
- Wexto ki (time that,…), meaning ‘at the time when’ (K,17a)

1.5.3 Pragmatics of the Relative Clause

The RC demonstrates three pragmatic functions:

a) The use of relative clause in our Narrative K, occurs in a direct speech act, very much near to the climax, which is located at the end of this same utterance. The RC could serve as pointing to the most important element, by describing it to the hearer again. This slows down the event sequence by increasing the tension. (see K,23b)

b) At other occurrences of the RC, it seems the RC is re-activating a topic, which was already on stage, but not present in the preceding sentences. The RC helps the hearer/reader to identify the topic.

- Ex.: ‘You would not expect that those giants who G. killed, they both were brothers of this giant’ (Gorm). The giants who G. killed were active in some units before this utterance. Time and place changed already.
- Ex.: ‘The snake which is in her belly, get chopped up into pieces and comes out of her belly’ (Elic.). The snake was prominent some sentences ahead, but at the meantime the girl and the shepherd were searching for an antidote. By the RC the snake was re-activated to the hearer.

c) Due to information flow we can argue, that a RC never transports non-established information, but established or accessible information.

1.6 Pronouns and Determiners

Zazaki has a very complex system of pronouns. Two degrees of distance can be observed in all categories despite allocutionary pronouns.

1.6.1 Substitutive and Allocutionary Pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish between gender (masc. and fem.), number (sing. and pl.) and case (direct and oblique\(^\text{13}\)). Additionally, the Zazaki system distinguishes two degrees of distance. The first chart below presents the substitutive pronouns in neutral form, which also serve as far deixis pronouns. The second chart is presenting near deixis pronouns. The third chart represents allocutionary pronouns to have the complete picture, although they are not of great interest for discourse analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart 1: Substitutive Pronouns – Far Deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIRECT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart 2: Substitutive Pronouns – Near Deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIRECT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{13}\) Todd (2002:33).
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>na (she.near)</th>
<th>nay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>nê (they.near)</td>
<td>nina(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 3: Allocutionary Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural(^{14})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st}) pers.</td>
<td>ez (I)</td>
<td>min (my, me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{nd}) pers.</td>
<td>ti (you)(^{15})</td>
<td>to (your)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{14}\) No distinction of oblique vs. rectus in 1\(^{st}\) and 2\(^{nd}\) person plural.

\(^{15}\) While gender is distinguished in verb agreement of 2\(^{nd}\) person, it is, however, not marked in the pronoun.
1.6.2 Anaphor çı and xo

Two pronouns that are more oblique are used in Zazaki, the anaphors çı and kî. Both stay for an entity which is not restricted by gender and number, it can be every person in the pronoun system. The only distinction between these two anaphors is, that they refer back to different theta roles (agent versus patient). The oblique anaphor çı refer back to an entity, which plays the semantic role of patient in the phrase. The oblique anaphor xo in contrary refers back to the entity that plays the agent of the phrase. Additionally xo serves as a reflexive pronoun as well.

Locative deixis, however, is not encoded by these anaphors.

Example for referential agreement with agent:

A,10c ma na naleka xo çı-rê bibrım.
we this calf of our to-them slaughter
‘We will slaughter for them our (beloved) calf.’

Example for referential agreement with patient:

A,15a […] aw keno çı dest,
[he] water do-PRES-3SM his hand
‘We will slaughter for them our (beloved) calf.’

Example of a predicates with reflexive pronoun:

Gorm. Na ’eba kes dano xo-ra, kes beno vîni.
this coat person give refl.-from/to person become invisible
‘Whoever put on (lit: give upon himself) this coat, become invisible [for others].’

1.6.3 Demonstrative Adjectives

We call a demonstrative that is not an anaphor, but determines a noun phrase demonstrative adjective. The morphological distinctions between direct and oblique cases are only relevant for 3rd Pers. singular. See especially lexemes of the 3rd Pers. masculine (marked red). They morphologically differ from the pronouns in chart 1&2 (1.6.1.). The other persons/genders have identical forms with the pronouns presented in 1.6.1.

Chart 4: The Demonstrative Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEAR</th>
<th>FAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASCULINE</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>nô (this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>nê (this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMININE</td>
<td>Dir. &amp; Obl.</td>
<td>na (this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>Dir. &amp; Obl.</td>
<td>nê ~ ni (these)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example for masculine demonstrative adjective (oblique):

Elic. Eki şma nê ini ra aw bsêmê, şma benê her.
If you(pl) this well from water will-drink you(pl) become donkey.
‘If you(pl) drink from this well, you will become a donkey.’

16 Remark on terminology: Paul and Crandall use the term “demonstrative adjectives”, but Todd used “deictic adjectives”.
17 Singular oblique inflections are the only lexically difference to Demonstrative Pronouns.
18 This fluctuation refers to dialect variants.
1.6.4 Near and Far-Deixis in Locative Pronouns

The two locative pronouns uza and tiya, carry the same two-fold deixis far and near, meaning ‘there’ and ‘here’. (Two other locative adverbs tever and zerre, meaning ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ are reflecting the same pattern.) The far-deixis locative pronoun ‘there’ interestingly also represents temporal meaning, by attaching the locative particle di.

Chart 5: The Locative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With directional verb</th>
<th>uza</th>
<th>tiya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With non-directional verb</td>
<td>uza di</td>
<td>tiya di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) there (at)</td>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) developmental marker (see chapter 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.6.5 Determiners / Articles

First, definiteness in Zazaki is not represented morphologically. However, a determiner for indefiniteness exists, by the cardinal number one preceding the NP. Likewise the indefiniteness suffix (IND) –ê could be attached to a NP. Both can be translated whether by “a” or by “one”.

The global VIPs are introduced by using the number ‘one’ as well as the suffix of indefiniteness (-IND) in the same NP. We could say, this double marking means ‘a certain man’. The local VIP uses only the number ‘one’ (further details in chapter 3).

1.6.6 Specificity

Specificity is a term referring to semantics; it is distinguished from definiteness (the grammatical form).

I like to define specificity according to Lambrecht (1998:81): A “specific indefinite NP” is one whose reference is identifiable to the speaker but not to the hearer, while a “non-specific indefinite NP” is one whose referent neither speaker nor hearer can identify at the time of utterance.

The below chart tries to consider marking of specificity on pronouns and nouns as well:

Chart 6: The Distinction of Specificity and Definiteness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function:</th>
<th>Form:</th>
<th>definite</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>specific</td>
<td>a) Near and far-deixis pronouns and demonstratives</td>
<td>a) one NP-IND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Oblique marker on NP (object) is present</td>
<td>b) one NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 Example from Todd (2002:38):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-specific</th>
<th>a) Oblique marker on NP (object) is omitted.</th>
<th>a) NP-IND</th>
<th>b) Plural marker (generic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘someone, something, nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(kam, çi, teva)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Odo di mang-ey bibirno*
he-FUT two cow-PL butcher
‘he will butcher two cows (non-specific).’

*Odo di mang-an bibirno*
he-FUT two cow-OBLpl butcher
‘He will butcher the two cows (specific).’
2. Information Structure

In all communication, the speaker guides the hearer in adding material to his/her mental representation. How is new information added to the context? There are plenty of possibilities to say essentially the same thing in several different constructions (I ate the apple; the apple was eaten by me; the apple, I ate…). The author/speaker is able to relate new information to already established knowledge. “Semantic content relates to what is added, whereas discourse-pragmatic structuring relates to where it is added and how it relates to what is already there” (Dooley & Levinsohn, 2000:31).

2.1 Sentence Articulation

In describing the sentence articulation, discourse-pragmatic study of a sentence is done. “How is the topic continued”, “how is the focus of the sentence handled”, these kinds of questions are answered in this chapter. And the overall precondition is that every utterance has a focus.

2.1.1 Topic-Comment Articulation

In Zazaki topic always precedes the comment. Thus, it is in the range of language universals claimed by discourse analysts (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:32). According to Dik, topic is the entity that the “utterance is primarily about” (Dik 1978:130). Nord calls this the Theme-Rhema-Gliederung (Nord 2003:121). Topic stands for the known or available information, whereas comment stands for the unknown or new information. In a Topic-Comment articulation, focus directs towards information in the comment.

A, 3a) Participants were introduced as major actors in the setting. The pronoun nina and kêverê ‘their door’ refers back to the introduced participants. Comment is build up by the new information koyeno ‘is knocked’.

A, 3b) The “wife” is introduced, but because of the BACKGROUND-INSERTION in A, 2 she is re-introduced here. Opening the door is her action – thus a comment on her.

A, 3c) Identificational articulation is normally a kind of argument focus. Just one concept is being asserted and the rest of the information is presupposed (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:32). I found no identificational articulation in the data.

2.1.2 Identificational Articulation

Identificational articulation is normally a kind of argument focus. Just one concept is being asserted and the rest of the information is presupposed (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:32). I found no identificational articulation in the data.

---

20 Topic is the “matter of current concern” (Lambrecht 1998:150). Important information is explained more specifically as comment.

21 Dooley & Levinsohn call this focus-presupposition (2000:32).
2.1.3 Thetic Sentences Articulation

Presentational sentences that reflect the subject and express sentence focus are often used to introduce participants (Lambrecht 1998:39). This is also true for Zazaki. For presentational sentences the unmarked and therefore default situation is the introduction of the participants and the presentation of the narrative setting. The introduction, like A, 1a is an example of presentational articulation.

A, 1a-c  Cakê beno cake nébeno, zew mērdekê beno,
small.place-IND exists one man-IND exists
small.place-IND not-exists

‘Somewhere lived a certain man,’

K, 23d shows Zirtleme in post-posed position. It could be handled as a thetic-presentational articulation.22

K, 23b  La hero, hero, no çiyo(O) kî tiyê kenê,
wow hey hey this thing which you do

K, 23c  no kirtleme ni-yo,
this Kirtleme is-not

K, 23d  no zirtleme-yo, zirtleme.
this Zirtleme is Zirtleme

‘hey, hey, what you do is not Kirtleme, surely it is Zirtleme.’;

22 Lambrecht calls this “a somewhat vague formulation of the topic constituent” which is pragmatically bound to the proposition (1998:131).
2.2 Points of departure

Preposed adverbial elements (Roberts 2003:13) which by definition anchors new information into established information (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:35) are called Points of Departure (PoD). Thus a PoD is “backward-looking in the sense of locating the anchoring place within the existing mental representation, but is forward-looking in that it is the subsequent part of the sentence which is anchored in that place” (Roberts 2003:13). Within this definition, there are temporal, referential, echo and spatial PoDs in Zazaki.

2.2.1 Temporal PoD

See examples below of temporal PoDs.

A, 2a  
Wextdê veri zi,  
dewrdê veri zi  
zevê axa  
biyayê,  
time-dEZ before also  
one-IND agha  
be-IMPF  
‘In former times, long ago there was an agha,’

A, 3a  
Rozê  
kêverê nina  
koyeno,  
one.day door-EZ their(near)  
is.knocked-3SM  
‘One day it is knocked on their door’

A, 35a  
A wıni  
nê werzenê.  
so/thus they (near) stand up  
‘So/Thus they stand up’

Sheik-story  
Beno şewra,  
na tewrey ney  
kena 'hadıre,  
becomes morning  
she bag-of his  
does preparation  
‘In the morning, the shepherd’s wife packed her husband’s bags.’

Roberts research on Farsi shows a lot of parallels. Zaza has similar temporal PoDs, as formulaic narrative introduction-phrases (Roberts 2003:13).

A, 2a wextdê veri zi, dewrdê veri zi ‘in former times’ are discontinuity markers giving background information. Their use is pre-posed and they mark additional information.

A, 3a rozê ‘one day’ is a discontinuity marker. It marks the starting point of an event and a new thematic unit. If it occurs in between an event line it is marking foreground information.

A, 35a shows pre-posed marked situation. It points to a time when a reaction is envisaged. In this case, the coda is marked. A wıni ‘thus’ functions also as developmental marker (see 6.13.12) in narrative. As a connective, its use is ambivalent.

2.2.2 Referential PoD

a.) The following example shows introduction of new participants.

K, 4a  
Whêrê keyi  
nina-rê çay ano,  
master-of house  
them-to tea bring  

K, 4b  
dekeno  
 qeddx-a miyan  
 fills  
cup-OBL.pl in  

K, 4c  
u  
dano nina.  
and  
gives them  
‘The host brings them tea, fills their cups and passes it to them.’

b.) The example below show referential PoD emphasizing highlighting.

A, 33g  
Ya  
sure  
axa  
a gh a  
ez- o.  
I-am23  
‘Sure, agha am I.’

---

23 Clause A, 33g is a nonverbal predicate (stative clause, see Crandall 2002:38).
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

K, 4a refers to a new participant in the event line. Wiherê keyi ‘host’ here comes into focus.
A, 33g The default word order in Zazaki is build upon the non-verbal predicate at the end of the sentence (here the attention getter ya functions as marker). Thus, axa ‘agha’ functioning as referential PoD is preposed and highlighted.

2.2.3 PoD of renewal (echo)
The PoD of renewal slows down the event line. It marks continuity and is used frequently in Zazaki.

A,11a+b Beno, nêbeno nê qerarê xo danê be not-be they(near) agreement-EZ their(REFL) give
‘Finally, they come to a decision.’

A, 20a O babeta merđmdê hirêyn zi, ano In this way merđmdê hirêyn zi, bring
‘In this way he also brings (out) the third man …’

Both examples show – in my opinion – that the author/speaker goes on in the flow of natural information by putting this PoD in front of the clause to slow down progress.

2.2.4 Spatial PoD
The adjective/adverb wuja refers to a spatial PoD, standing in marked position (pre-posed).

Lukas 2.22
ew wuja du da oxrdê Ellay
and there LOC [they] gave gift-EZ God-OBL
‘and there they offered God …’

wuja/wuja/uzä du24 ‘there; suddenly’ functions sometimes as locative pronoun but in other cases as developmental marker. In 6.1.1.1.1 the discontinuing function by disturbing the action line in highlighted information is described.

A spatial PoD by renewal could be found in A,29b/30d. In this example a preceding location ‘on the table’ (A, 29b) is again used as a PoD.

A, 29b ew -- esta teniya benê sfri ser.
and/thus -- bone-PL(ABL) take-PRES-PL cloth.with.food
alone
‘but (they) put only bones on the table.’

A, 30d ki sfre du teniya es'tey- -ê, rel cloth(with.food) only are
A, 30e gošt çimiyo. meat not-exist-3SM
‘... on the table there are only bones, no meat.’

2.2.5 Tail-Head Linkage
If the author refers back to the previous clause by repeating the last verb or noun, this is a marked situation. In Dooley’s words “this consists of the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the “head”) of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (the “tail”)”25 (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:8). It frequently appears in oral material (Thompson & Longacre 1985:209-13). This is also true for Zazaki. However, in Zazaki the “head” is not used in a subordinate clause. The example below shows a verbal Tail-Head linkage.

---

24 These are dialectical variations of the same lexeme.
25 as in English: ...he arrived at home. When he arrived at home,....
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

A. 11c nalek cirê bırrnenê:
calf to-them slaughter-PRES-PL
‘They slaughter the calf for them;’

A. 12 a bırrnenê, …
slaughter-PRES-PL
‘slaughter …’

Another frequently used Tail-Head linkage in Zazaki narratives is the verb şino ‘go’ used as highlighting progress in a story.

Gormahmed:

No şino; şino, no raştê zew merdi yeno.
He goes; goes, straight ahead a man appears.
‘He goes; he goes and straight ahead he approaches a man.’

... no moncla ra xatır wazeno u şino; şino, raştê hirê merdi yeno.
... he ants to good-bye wishes and goes, goes, straight-ahead three men come.
‘... saying good-bye to the ants he moves forward, until he reaches three men.’

2.2.6 Summary

Some discontinuity markers function to highlight or slow down progress referring to the climax of a story.

The chart below shows that most PoDs are discontinuity markers. The temporal, spatial and the PoD of renewal are the most frequent ones in Zazaki narrative.

Tail-Head linkages occur frequently, realized in Zazaki by repetition of a verb. Verbs of movement bring the hearer on higher effort of what happens next. Therefore, it is also a form of highlighting by slowing down the progress in the story.

Chart 7: PoD and Tail-Head Linkage in overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PoD</th>
<th>occurrence</th>
<th>discontinuity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renewal (echo)</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE</td>
<td>highlighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Fore- and Backgrounding

Foreground information moves the events of a story forward. These events on the storyline are distinguished from non-event supportive material, called background information, which does not itself narrate the main events (Crandall 2002:34-36).

2.3.1 Coded by Tense and Aspect:

It is a universal fact that a change in tense and aspect indicates backgrounding. This is also true for Iranian languages (due to personal interactions during discourse workshop 02/07: Gilaki). However, for Zazaki, a change in tense or aspect for coding background information is rarely found in our text collection.

2.3.1.1 Change of Tense

Usually the narrative is told in the present tense. Only very few examples of flashback or additional explanations are told in the Past Tense.

In the example below the speaker explains a custom of former times to the hearer. This information is given before the actual event line starts.

A,2a-b

Wextê veri zi, eki zewê axa biyayê,
dewrdê veri zi, Time before too, if someone agha was-being (Past-Imperfect)
epoch before too,

ew ci dıma sazbendê ci biyê.
and his after musicians-of his were (Simple Past)

‘In earlier times, if someone was an agha, he usually had his musicians with him.’

An event, which is out of sequence of the main event-line is background information as well. Again, in literature (Crandall) this phenomenon, called flashback, is usually told in Past. Both examples below present flashback (here in the first example embedded in a relative clause).

Kecel Ahmed:

No oxbeto ki ameyo serre dî, pêroy pir rê vano: [...] He things that came head at, all Father to [he] says
‘He tells his father all what has happened, he says: [...]’

Agha’s Son

wuza dî qısay axay yena ney viri. Axay ci neyrê vat bî: [...] suddenly word-of agha comes to his mind agha-of his him had told (Past Perfect)

‘Suddenly he remembers the words of the agha. The agha once had told him: [...]’

However, a change of tense does not always occur where we expect it. The example below presents a flashback in the event line, which is indicated by the connective ba’hdê coya only, not by tense change.

(The example illustrates what did happen while the global VIP Gormahmed was departing. We are informed when G. is returning to the palace.)

Gorm.

Oxmo ki Gorma’hmed qonaxi terk keno,
in.the.mean.time COMPL G. palace-OBL departure does

ba’hdê coya dêw keynanê xo dano burarandê Gorma’hmedi after that giant daughters-of him gives brothers-of G.

‘While G. departs from the palace, there after, the giant gives his daughter in marriage to G.’s brothers.’

2.3.1.2 Change of Aspect

In our text collection of narratives, we couldn't find any aspect change to indicate backgrounding. However, in
another text collection, where our language assistant told two short eyewitness stories¹ to us, we found a very strict aspect change. Both stories are told in Past tense. In both stories an aspect change from past imperfective to simple past (preterit) indicates foregrounding.

Chart 8: Change of Aspect in Eye-witness Stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Simple Past</th>
<th>Past Imperfect</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qahwe</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>rozê, ...</td>
<td>retelling what happened so far</td>
<td>foreground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-8</td>
<td>the initial setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>the climax of story</td>
<td></td>
<td>foreground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyarbekir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>rozê,...</td>
<td>retelling what he has seen so far</td>
<td>foreground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>the initial setting</td>
<td></td>
<td>background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-7</td>
<td>start of event line leading to climax (in last sentence)</td>
<td></td>
<td>foreground</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

².³. Exkurs: The Progressive Aspect in Narratives:

Progressive aspect in Zazaki narrative is used for descriptive predication. If a participant observes another participant (minor) or prop by doing something, durative aspect (progressive) is used.

Hesen: Na keynek 'hesiyena xo kt luliya cineyena,
This girl awakes REFL SPC flute- is plays
na fına 'hesiyena xo luliya cineyena.
she again awakes REFL flute- is playing
‘The girl wakes up and hears the flute playing, again she wakes up and hear the flute's playing.’

Additional examples (not interlinearized):

- Elic.: Zew 'Erebê zi nay daldeyê ra tm goştarey keno, naya kavirekç çraynena (present progressive) u bermena ew keynek zi boll xasek bena.
  ‘One Arab was always observing her from a hiding place while she is grazing a lamb and is crying and the girl was very pretty.’
- Gorm.: No fına weyneno kí zew dêwêno yeno (pres. progressive).
  ‘He again sees that a giant is coming.’
- Hesen: [a] weynena kí hirê way adri vero ronştî u eyê birism ra nexş virazenê.
  ‘She sees three sisters sitting (participle) before the fire and they are working on embroidery out of silk.’

².³. Background information coded by Connectives

Very often additional explanations / thoughts are introduced by the connectives ‘but’ and ‘because’. It is good reason, to count these sentences as background information, because they put logic behind an event, but by itself do not drive an event forward.

¹ We could describe this genre as “everyday eyewitness” to distinguish it from formal reported eyewitness, like in newspapers. Because of lack on eyewitness texts in newspapers we are not able to research those.
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

A.7a-b
Hıma ńina-ra beli ni-yo ńi kamê ci aya-yo.
But from-them obvious not-is COMPL who-of them agha- is
‘But it isn’t obvious who of them is the agha.’

A.12b
Hıma ê nê-zanê hewna aya kam-o.
But they don’t know still agha who-is
‘But they still didn’t know who the agha is.’

Elic.I
Çıkı hirê serri pê sero no xele karrenê, hıma xele nê-ruweno.
Thus/because three years each-other upon he wheat sows but the wheat not-grows
‘Thus he sows wheat, three years in succession, but the wheat doesn’t grow.’

2.3.3 Summary
We could summarize the following fore- and background codings:

In Non-eyewitness texts like folktales, fables and anecdotes, mainly connectives and adverbials are used for coding (see chart below):

Chart 9: Coding material in Narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coded by Tense</th>
<th>Coded by Aspect</th>
<th>Other coding material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>occurrence</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>frequent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreground information</td>
<td>present tense27</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>• Adverbial: one.day (rozê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Developmental marker: uza di, a wuni (see point 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• tail-head linkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>background information</td>
<td>past tense</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>• Connectives: because; but; in the mean time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In eyewitness texts aspect is mainly used for coding (see chart below):

Chart 10: Coding material in Eye-witness texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coded by Tense</th>
<th>Coded by Aspect</th>
<th>Other coding material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>foreground information</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Perfective (Simple Past)</td>
<td>• Adverbial: one.day Developmental marker: uza di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>background information</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Imperfective (Past Imperfect)</td>
<td>(not found)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 In Zazaki, the present tense does not overtly mark a perfective/imperfective aspectual distinction (Crandall 2002:39). Crandall calls the present tense in narratives “historical present”.

25
**2.4 Highlighting (or Marked Prominence)**

Highlighting features in Zazaki are summarized by three main concepts:

- **emphasizing by word order** (pre- or post-posed usage)
- **use of special word classes** (connectives, particles, spacers, etc.)
- **speech articulation** (represented speech or intrusion, polyphonic, autophonic)

**Chart 11: Summary of highlighting features:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>emphasis by word order</th>
<th>word class usage</th>
<th>speech articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Point of departure</td>
<td>- Connectives as development markers, additives, adversatives/contrastives, argumentatives</td>
<td>- Represented speech as narrator’s intrusion or authorized by personal eyewitness (Qahwe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Tail-Head Linkage</td>
<td>- Attention getters, effect particles</td>
<td>- Represented speech: changing from polyphonic to autophonic origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Connectives as development markers, additives, adversatives/contrastives, argumentatives in marked position</td>
<td>- Spacers and other particles used to mark highlighting</td>
<td>- Including indirect speech (rare) to direct speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Change of word order in represented speech (axa fronting in A,33g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- logical propositional structure change from default to marked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.5 Information Structure and Subordination**

In this chapter, we try to answer the question “which activation status is acceptable for subordinate clauses”. For example, in which subordinate clauses is non-active information allowed to introduce?

a) Embedded Relative Clauses: accessible information only (re-activation)

b) Embedded Object Complement Clause: accessible or inactive information.

c) Subordinate “cause-effect” clause types (see chapter 5) show different information structure:

1. Purpose clauses allow presenting accessible information only.
2. Reason, Contra-expectation and Consequence clauses present inactive information as well.
3. PARTICIPANTS IN NARRATIVE

First we research the referent introduction, secondly we describe how the participant reference is organized while the participant is active or still accessible.

3.1 Introduction/Activation of Participants

In Zazaki we have a clear distinction between major and minor participant introduction.

3.1.1 Major Participants

Major participants have a formal introduction in the very beginning of a narrative. The formula, which nowhere else exists in Zazaki’s everyday language is presented in presentational articulation of a sentence. The verb biyayış ‘to be’ is used in the semantic meaning ‘to exist’. [In everyday language, existence is expressed by the verb est- ‘exist’ (see 1.1.2.2)]. Double marking of indefiniteness (cardinal number “one” and suffix –ê for indefiniteness) is typical and unique for the introduction of major participants only. Important story possessions, like ‘a fig tree’, ‘a calf’, are mentioned as well in the introduction phrase as in the same pattern than the major participant itself.

A.1c  zew mèrdekê beno,
one  man-IND exists
‘There is a certain man,’

A.1d  ceniya  ci bena.
wife-of his exists
‘he has a wife,’

A.1g  zu nalênda nina bena.
one calf-IND-of them exists
‘they own a calf.’

A formula always precedes the participant introduction. In our story collection we found two major forms: ‘there is a place, or not’ (A1); ‘in the old days’ (K,1).

The numeral “one plus name” is possible as well to introduce the major participant (not so in English and German).

Mahm.  Cakê beno, cakê nêbeno,
place-IND exists place-IND not-exists
literal:  ‘There is a place, or not a place,’
free:  ‘Once upon a time,’

zeug Ma'hmeşa, ma u piyê ci beno,...
one Mahmesha mother and father-of his exists
literal:  ‘There is one Mahmesha and his parents.’
free:  ‘There is a young boy, called Mahmesha, and his parents.’

Global VIPS, when unmarried, are introduced after his/her father or mother in hierarchical order. (Stepmothers don’t belong in these hierarchical structures, they are mentioned, when it is told, that the father has remarried). See the example below, where the global VIP in a story is the youngest son of his father. The VIP role is not obvious from the introduction, but is getting clear by prominence in the story.28

Gorm.  Zew piyê beno, hirê lazê ci benê.
one father-IND exists three son-of him exist
‘There is a certain father, he has three sons.’

In the next example, the VIP is the daughter of the father. This is not clear from the introduction.

28 Mahmesha (the example above) is an exception of this hierarchical rule, but Mahmesha is the only VIP in our story collection, whose name is mentioned in the very beginning.
Elicanek [formula], zew merdîm beno; zew lazê ci ew zu keynay ci bena.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Elicanek's sister} & \quad \text{one man exists} \\
\text{son of him} & \quad \text{one son-of him and one daughter-of him exist}
\end{align*} \]

‘Once upon the time, there is a certain man. He has a son and a daughter.’

It is worthy to mention that female characters never get a name in our story collection, although they can be easily identified as VIP of a story. The girl in the example above is always called ‘Elicanek’s sister’, because the son was mentioned by his name Elicanek. In the story ‘The four-eyed Hesen’ the sister of Hesen is the global VIP, but is not mentioned by name either. She is referred to by ‘girl’.

### 3.1.2 Minor Participants

Minor participants are introduced different from major participants. No formal idiomatic expression is used for minor participants. They are mentioned as object or subject in a verbal predication (major participants are introduced in non-verbal predication).

They are introduced in two ways. If not accessible, they can be modified by the indefiniteness marker -ê or the numeral ‘one’. If accessible, they are introduced without indefiniteness marker or numeral.

#### 3.1.2.1 Not-accessible Minor Participants

##### a) In Object position (frequent)

The NP is either modified by the cardinal number “one” or carries the suffix for indefiniteness (-IND). (In plural forms specificity is made explicit through the oblique marker suffix -a; see: 1.6.6). Very often the predication “accidentally meet xy”, or “seeing xy coming” like in the examples below is used.

Fox and Miller: Lu šına, šına, cayê du raştê arwêşa yena.
the-fox(fem.) goes, goes place-INDat towards rabbits-OBL comes
‘the fox goes and goes until she (fox) comes upon rabbits’

Gorm. No şıno, şıno, raştê zu pir yeno.
he goes goes towards one old.woman comes
‘He goes and goes until he comes upon an old woman.’

##### b) Subject position (less frequent)

There is no obvious rule when subject or object position is used. It does not seem to indicate the importance and does not relate to accessibility. The “old woman” in object position (ex. above) and “the gipsy” in subject position (ex. below) are both important characters for the story, both weren’t accessible when introduced. It seems content-dependent, at which situation the minor participants go on stage.

However a formal difference is seen: When introduced in subject position (or subject in complement clause), the double marking (number ‘one’ and indefiniteness-suffix -ê) is applied like in the introduction of major participants.

Below are two examples of subject position.

Elic. Ew zu aşqê zi tim nay goştarey kena.
And/thus one gipsy-IND too always her(near) listen do
‘Thus a (certain) gipsy is always listen to her(VIP)’

Gorm. No fiına weyneno ki zew dêwêno yeno.
He again sees that one giant-IND-is\(^{29}\) coming
‘He suddenly sees that a (certain) giant is coming’

\(^{29}\) Present Progressive is marked by attaching the Copula toward the noun, followed by present tense verb.
3.1.2.2 Accessible Minor Participants

Minor participants are introduced dependent from their activation status. If they are already accessible through a concept that is activated, they are introduced as definite nouns. In the example below, the Agha's Son comes into a village and asks for the agha’s house. The agha (here first occurrence on stage) answers his question.

Son of Agha No şıno keydê axay ew axay ra kar wazên. Axa zi vano: [...] He goes house-of agha and agha from work wishes. Agha too says ‘He goes to the agha's house and ask for work. The agha says:[…]’

3.1.3 Props

Inanimate minor participants, who do not act as agents and less prominent are called props. Props are introduced always in object position as well as in object complement clauses (2. example below). The numeral ‘one’ or the indefinite suffix -ê, modifies them.

Mahm. [no] şıno, raştê zew keyi yeno. [he] goes, towards one house-OBL (he) comes ‘he goes and comes upon a house.’

Gorm. No weyneno kî zew qonaxo boll duri di aseno He sees COMPL one palace very far at become.visible ‘He recognizes very far away a palace’

3.1.3.1 Marked Prop Introduction

One case is found, where an inanimate participant which is definitely a prop, is introduced in subject position and modified like a major participant (double marking numeral ‘one’ and indefiniteness). It is probably a marked situation, because this entity (the meadow) is a reason for much discussion and trouble for the major participants; however, it does not act or speak. We could call it a marked prop or prominent prop.

Gorm. [nê...] şnê, cayê di zu mergê raştê nina yena. [they...] go place-IND at one meadow(fem.-IND) towards them (she)comes literal: ‘[they set off and go] they go until at one place a certain meadow is approaching them.’ free: ‘[they set off and go] they go and at a certain place they reach a meadow.’
### 3.2 Reference of Activated Participants and Re-activation

Participant reference, according to Givon (left chart) (1990), distinguishes different grammatical forms by the functional degree of continuity (or referential distance). Lambrecht shaped the term “pragmatic accessibility” of topic referents. He draws a line from the most to the least acceptable topic referent (1998:165), this describes the information structure of participants. Both approaches represent the same aim in participant reference: the speaker likes to identify the participants within the “low cost – high benefit” principle.

#### Chart 12 Givon’s and Lambrecht’s Approches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Givon Form</th>
<th>Pragmatic Function</th>
<th>Lambrecht Topic Acceptability Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphor</td>
<td>maximal continuity</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unstressed PRO</td>
<td></td>
<td>accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stressed PRO</td>
<td></td>
<td>unused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y-movement”</td>
<td></td>
<td>brand-new anchored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite Noun</td>
<td></td>
<td>brand new non-anchored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite Noun with modifier(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L-dislocated NP; RelClause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite Noun</td>
<td>discontinuity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of participant reference in subject position, presented from less to maximal coding material, are shown below:

Story “the Miller and the Fox” (both are global VIPs):

Miller:
- a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
- b) he (near)
- c) the miller
- d) this (near) miller
- e) one certain miller31

Fox (feminine):
- a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
- b) she (near)
- c) the fox
- d) this (near) fox
- e) one fox

Story “Mahmesha”, he is the global VIP:
- a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
- b) he (near)
- c) Mahmesha
- d) son of her (substitution)
- e) one certain Mahmesha (intro)

Story “The son of the agha”, he is the global VIP:
- a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
- b) he (near)
- c) the agha’s son
- d) this agha’s son
- e) meyman ‘guest’ (substitution)
- f) this meyman ‘guest’ (substitution)
- g) son of him (intro)

30 Givon describes this term (1990:752-754) as contrastive topicalization: Y movement is shown in Zazaki by the particle “also” following the head.
31 “One certain miller” is literally: one miller-IDF.
Story “Agha or Swindler” (host is global VIP):
   a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
   b) he (near)
   c) he (far)
   d) the man
   e) one certain man (intro)

Eyewitness text Diyarbekir:
*Zaza man (VIP?):*
   a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
   b) that other (Y)
   c) [non-subject: him(near)]
   d) someone (intro)

Eyewitness text Qahwe:
*Man arguing for Zaza identity (VIP):*
   a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
   b) this Zaza (Y)
   c) that one (intro)

*Bus-driver:*
   a) zero anaphor, verb agreement
   b) he (far)
   c) someone (intro)

The very interesting facts are:
1. Zero anaphor is the default reference for VIPs if subject is the same than in preceding phrase.
2. Proper names of global VIPs are clearly preferred to pronouns (~80 % name, 20% pronoun). However, a rule for this choice is not found yet. It is not a question of accessibility.
3. Demonstrative adjectives “this miller; this fox, this shepherd, this son of the agha” are used always in first reference, after the introduction (valid for major and minor participants).
4. To avoid disambiguity: In a thematic unit, if major and minor participant have the same gender and number (i.e. both are “he”), the major participant will be referred to by the pronoun he (near) or proper name, the minor P. by his name/function/far-deixis pronoun, **but never by a near-deixis pronoun**! (Example: son of the agha and the shepherd; son of the agha and his father; Mahmesha and the farmer, Gormahmed and the farmer; the old woman and the girl).

### 3.2.1 Functions: Activation Status and Context (S1-S4):

The chart below is an attempt to generalize the observations. Dooley & Levinsohn (2000:65) introduced the classification of context by label them S1 to S4. The authors of this paper to show the different reference when object complement clause is involved introduce the label S1+. However, S3 and S4 context give evidence of less general rules.

#### Chart 13: Activation Status and Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Default reference</th>
<th>Marked reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Subject same as previous clause</td>
<td>zero anaphor (verb agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1+</td>
<td>Subject same as previous, but previous clause includes an object complement clause (i.e. “he saw that [three men coming]”)</td>
<td>pronoun (A,31; A4a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Subject was the addressee of a speech in previous sentence</td>
<td>- pronoun (A,16a; 19a; 21a; K19,a) - name (^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>Subject was a non-subject in previous sentence</td>
<td>- definite noun - pronoun (all major participants) (K,15a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) In stories where the VIP has a name (Gormahmed, Mahmesha).
3.2.1.1 Maximal Topic Continuity (S1 context)

Zero anaphor is the default reference in S1 context of Topic/Comment sentence articulation. However, near-deixis pronouns are used in S1 context as well, when new direction of action (K,3), or additional information (reasoning for an action) is given (K,6c; 22a). In K,16, the adverbial phrase ‘after the tea was prepared’ creates a distance toward the last reference and therefore, although in S1 context, the pronoun is used.

If an object complement clause is used in the previous sentence, the coding material of the following sentence is increased, the pronoun is used instead of the zero anaphor. See in chart: S1+

So it seems, not pragmatic, but syntactic reason defines the modus:

→ No distance: zero anaphor; Some distance: pronoun (near deixis).

3.2.1.2 Discontinuity - Re-activation (S4 context)

Demonstrative adjectives (these Cermug people; this fox) are used to re-activate participants when thematic prominence changes from one participant to the other (S4 context). Often major participants are re-activated by definite nouns only.

Minor participants are re-activated by relative clauses as well – they need more coding material.

3.2.1.3 Substitution – depending from Center of Attention

Substitutions of global VIPs are chosen only in thematic units, where the center of attention changes toward another local VIP. Thus, the global VIP is described in relation to the new center of orientation: Mahmesha is substituted by son of her (mother is center of attention), son of the agha is substituted by guest (host is center of attention). Likewise, the local VIP who is in center of attention is referred to by near-deixis.

3.2.2 Participant Reference at Climax

a) In the dialogue of the man and his wife (A, 23-28) the default reference would be the usage of near-deixis pronouns. But here the nouns for both partners are used – that is more coding material than necessary. Even the use of Vocative in speech identifies very clearly the addressee. We could interpret it as marked participant reference, while in the story line we are at the climax as well.

A, 23-25 No ceniyeker rê vano: “Cenêki, nê axay niye, […] He(near) woman-OB to says woman-VOC they aghas not-are,...

‘He speaks to his wife: Woman, they aren’t aghas, [...]’

26 Mêrdek vano: “Cenêki, ma nalek bırrnê, [...] man says woman-VOC we calf slaughtered

‘The man says (continues his speech): Woman, we slaughtered our calf, [...]”

27 Ceniyek vano: “Nêbeno, ayp beno.”

woman says not-is|possible| shame is

‘The woman says: That’s impossible, it is shameful.’

28 Mêrdek vano: “Ayp bo, nêbo, mado wıni bıkem, […]
m says shame will-be not-will-be we-will so do

‘The man said: Shameful or not, we will do it this way.’
3.2.3 Center of Attention

Dooley & Levinsohn (2000:62) describe the principle of local VIPs in the category of center of attention. This means, among the active concepts, only one is at the center of attention at any given time. According to participant reference, it is easy to describe where the center of attention lies and when does it switch toward another participant; see chart below.

Chart 14: Center of Attention in Narrative A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Center of Attention</th>
<th>Rationals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(background information)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>“his wife”; husband referred to by near-deixis pronoun “he(near)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>Three men</td>
<td>men referred to by near-deixis pronoun “they(near)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>re-activation of “the man” and “the woman” by definite noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-29</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>re-activation of “the man” by definite noun. During this unit, husband is referred by zero anaphor or “he(near)”; men are referred by “they(far)”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>Three men</td>
<td>re-activation of “these men” by demonstrative adjective plus noun. In this unit the global VIP is referred by he(far).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is very interesting, that the global VIP (husband) of that story is never referred to by near-deixis, while the attention center lies on the three men (sentence 30-34).

---

2 This is distinguished here from the “Center of Orientation”, where the motions of the verbs are focused.
4. REPRESENTED SPEECH IN NARRATIVE

4.1 Formal features of represented speech

Zazaki owns a Speech Orienter (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:50) realized by the verb vatinš ‘say’. It occurs in the narratives mostly in present tense (see A, 4b; A, 5b; A, 9b; A, 10a; K, 17b; K, 18b; K, 23 a). If the narrator refers back – like in indirect speech (see 4.1.2) – verb is used in past tense.

4.1.1 Direct Speech

Represented speech is mainly represented speech. It is realized as direct speech, the speech orienter precedes the speech. In oral speech, the formula with the speech orienter is marked by intonation. No pause occurs marking start of direct speech. Word order in direct speech follows default order in Zazaki (S – O – V - Goal).

4.1.2 Indirect Speech

Indirect speech occurs rarely in Zazaki. Out from 14 stories only very few examples were found. Normally indirect speech is avoided. See the example in A,33c-g. We would expect to find indirect speech used here. However, the narrator repeats and summarizes the already asked question and given answer in direct speech.

The examples below shows indirect speech (marked in bold) embedded in direct speech. In both examples the indirect speech is implicit, thus the reality of the represented speech is potential.

Gormahmed

Nê bray pili vanê: “Gorm, bê, ma goş pêrdê xo nimû, tiya di koçê xo ronîmû.”
His brethren elderly say: “Gorm, come we ear father-of our put here LOC settlement-of us lay-down.”
The elder brothers said, “Come on, Gormahmed! Let’s heed our father’s advice and settle here.”

Agha’s Son

[…] Ey va “Qay eza”, hìma ez nêbiya.
He said possibly I-am, but I not-was

‘[Agha’s son says: …] He (your husband) thought: “Surely that’s I”, but it was not me [which he has killed].’

‘I am’ refers to the major VIP (agha’s son). He quotes the minor VIP, his counterparty. Deixis changed from “he” to “me” if we suggest that the husband was thinking: “Surely that is he who I am about to kill.”

4.1.4 Referred to Speech

Referred to speech can be easily and frequently found in our text collection. One example is given below.

Agha’s Son:

... no şino keydê axay u ew axay ra kar wazeno.
... he goes house-dEZ agha-OBL and so agha-OBL from work want-3sgPRES.

‘… he goes into the aghas house and asks for work.’

4.2 Functions of Represented Speech in Narrative

- Represented speech occurs never in the setting/introduction of a narrative.
- Direct speech increases near the climax and is often part of the climax.
- Represented speech is never used in the coda.

Represented speech in Zazaki in general is polyphonic. The speaker refers to what he heard and brings this into account in the narrative. Marking also occurs by using the vocative, change of word order and attention

---

3 When the Zaza-story teller (author of the narratives) wrote down his first stories, he did not use any punctuation to mark the start of direct speech. For him, the intonation was clear enough when reading aloud. Because he does not pause when speech starts, he was puzzled over the idea to include punctuation.
4 In bible translation indirect speech in the Greek text is realized as direct speech in Zazaki.
4.2.1 Marked by Vocative

In Zazaki the vocative in direct speech is a figure which is widely used, but optional. It communicates the hearer that the speaker has something important to say, emotions are playing a role too.

We can summarize that the vocative functions as an emphasizer.

4.2.2 Attention Getter

These lexemes or particles occur only in direct speech, articulating emotions. They precede the pure information of the speech. The hearer already gets an idea about following positive or negative information by hearing the exclamation particles.

It could be assumed that they are shortenings. One proof for this is that the translator/speaker sometimes intuitively refers back to the underlying term. Here are some conclusions:

- *Wa* (A, 5b) as a shortening of *waella* which means “by God”.
- *Hele* (A, 14d) as a shortening of *helal* which is a sort of wish/blessing.
- *Ya* (A, 19b) as a shortening of *yani or heya*, meaning “but/indeed” or “yes/sure”.
- *La hero* (K, 23b) no explanation for this.

4.2.2.1 Author’s Intrusion

Attention getter emphasize emotions and feelings, thus they introduce direct speech by referring to the hearer’s emotional background.

---

5 Autophonic speech is mainly used in poems, rhyme or poetic genre.

One form of attention-getter is realized by addressing the hearer in direct speech. This is done quite frequently in our data. This construction could also be qualified as an attention getter.

Gormahmed:

\[ \text{Ti névanê kî è dêwiyê kî Gorma'hmedi kıştê, è wîrdna zî bray nê dêwiyê; } \]

\[ \text{You don’t say that these giant which Gormahmed killed, these both also brothers this giant; } \]

\[ \text{qandê coy no dêw Gorma’hmedi sîlasneno. } \]

\[ \text{therefore that(far) giant Gormahmed knows } \]

\[ \text{‘You don’t believe it, but those giants which Gormahmed killed, those both were brothers of this giant; } \]

\[ \text{that’s why the giant knows Gormahmed.’} \]

Gormahmed:

\[ \text{Ti névanê kî wîhêrê uzay zî zew dêw beno. } \]

\[ \text{You don’t say COMP master there also one giant is. } \]

\[ \text{‘You don’t believe it, but the master there is also a giant.’} \]

Bald Ahmed:

\[ […] \text{keyneyêna miyan di, ekî ti vanê, qay asmiya pancêsiya 'hendik xaseka. } \]

\[ \text{girl-IND in at SPC you say likely moon fifteenth so-much pretty. } \]

\[ \text{‘[in the room] was a girl, you believe/say she is as pretty as the full moon.’} \]

A second form of author’s intrusion, where the narrator asks himself or the audience, is realized by using the phrase “why not” when the participant does something which is questionable.

Four-eyed Hesen:

\[ \text{Na şına zerre kî, čî nêşuro. } \]

\[ \text{She goes in SPC why not-should-go. } \]

\[ \text{‘She goes into the house, why shouldn’t she go.’} \]
5. CONNECTIVES IN NARRATIVE

5.1 Overview of Connectives

Connectives are “words or morphemes whose function is primarily to link LINGUISTIC UNITS at any level” (Crystal 2003:97). The chart below summarizes the most important connectives in Zazaki. The gloss should just help the English reader to identify a meaning. However, lexical meaning is not as important as the inferences to which a connective leads the hearer. An attempt of implicit inferences is described in the last column.

Chart 15: Connectives and their Inferences to the Hearer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zazaki</th>
<th>Gloss 7</th>
<th>Instruction for interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>ongoing action of same topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ew</td>
<td>and/thus</td>
<td>ongoing action, topic can change, so some development is included. But no turn or change in the event line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zey</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>description follows (non-event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba’hdê; dima</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
<td>ongoing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba’hdê coya (rarely)</td>
<td>after that</td>
<td>breath taking: action goes on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wexto</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>ongoing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seni</td>
<td>as soon as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yani/yanê</td>
<td>that means</td>
<td>take a breath, hear a statement or summary of what is already known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wexta</td>
<td>at this moment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxmo dî</td>
<td>in the meanwhile</td>
<td>indicates a flashback or description of parallel action (background?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wexto ki</td>
<td>at the time when</td>
<td>repeating one action, to anchor a new information (simultaneous action flow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wexta ki</td>
<td>at the time when</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si’hata ki</td>
<td>at the time when</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’hendik</td>
<td>as long as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adversitives / Contrastives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hîma</td>
<td>however ; but</td>
<td>contraexpectation follows / strong contrast expected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labirê</td>
<td>however ; but</td>
<td>contraexpectation follows / strong contrast expected ^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zekî</td>
<td>although, though</td>
<td>concession follows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fina zî</td>
<td>despite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zî</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>search for a parallel in the context!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Argumentatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çîkî</td>
<td>for ; because</td>
<td>reasoning; non-event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qandê coy</td>
<td>of that reason</td>
<td>hear the outcome of a reasoning (reverse reasoning than çîkî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eki</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>condition (real or irreal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Developmental</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uza dî</td>
<td>(suddenly)</td>
<td>significant info comes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^ A gloss can be very misleading here. But for readers who don’t know Zazaki we find it useful to try at least to give a lexical meaning.

^ hîma and labirê might be synonyms. The first is a Persian word, the second an Arabic loanword.
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>markers</th>
<th>(a) wuni</th>
<th>thus ; finally</th>
<th>tension goes down, resolution or Coda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wuni kı</td>
<td>thus ; finally</td>
<td>resolution?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hıni</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>resolution, moral of story, Coda.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As an example we will discuss only three connectives in more detail. The additives ed and u, the contrastive hıma and the connective kı which has interesting functions.

5.1.1 The Additives ed and u

“A connective like and (emphasis as in the original. EW.) and some additives instruct the hearer to associate information together” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:48).

In Zazaki the most frequent additive is ed ‘and’. It connects two sentences/clauses. ed ‘and; thus’ is the default connective if the story carries on at the same information level. There is another connective u that corresponds to the English ‘and’ which cannot in all contexts be distinguished from ed very well. Sometimes the author of the narratives was playing around with ed and u, substituting one with another. Sometimes in oral stories, ed and u are connected with each other, where in the editing process the author reduces these phrases to only ed.

Nevertheless, some general statements can be said:
- ed functions as ‘and; thus’ when subject of the action changes.
- u ‘and’ is only used in enumerations, where same subject continues several actions which need a connector.

Son of Agha No şino keydê axay ed axay ra kar wazeno.
He goes house-of agha and agha from work wishes.

‘He goes to the agha’s house and ask for work.’

K, 21 a  No qedixa xo gêno xo dest
He cup-of his takes his hand
K, 21 b  u şekerê gêno,
and sugar-IND takes,
K, 21 c  erzeno xo fek
throws his mouth
K, 21 d  u çay-er qultiki keno.
and tea-OBL piece do-3sPRES
‘He takes his cup and one cube of sugar he throws in his mouth and drink gulp by gulp his tea.’

5.1.2 Adversatives/Contrastives

Hıma ‘but, however’ 9 is a contrastive. As a contrastive, it works by discontinuing the event line. The hearer/reader is made aware of some unexpected detail. Referring to climax, it is used in the conflict parts of a narrative. It occurs mainly initially in a proposition. See also 2.3.2 Background Information.

A, 7 a  Hıma nina-ra beli ni-yo
but them-from obvious not-is
… but for them it is not obvious …
A, 12 b  hıma è nêzanê hewna
but they not-know still

---

9 Paul categorized it morphologically as a temporal adverb (Paul 1998:115).
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

… but they still don’t know who …

The example below (A, 4a) represents a second meaning of this contrastive: Here, different from the examples above, it functions as a temporal adverbial with the meaning ‘immediately’.

A, 4a Na hıma yena zerre, …

she but? comes inside

“So she suddenly enters the room, …”

5.1.3 Connective kı

The very frequent particle kı, plays several roles. Very fruitful to read is the paper of Roberts (2003) pages 23 to 54. There he discusses the use of ke in Farsi. He concludes, wherever the usage of ke is optional, the marked situation is the usage of ke, thus it emphasizes the proposition that follows. We can as well say for Zazaki that kı is optional in its role as complementizer and spacer. However, our narrator tends to include kı whenever possible although he argues that kı could be omitted.

The connective kı is plays three important roles:

a) relative pronoun (see 1.5. Relative Clause)

b) spacer in final clause, speech clause (no speech orienter) (example: K, 2b; 6c; A, 9e)

c) complementizer, introduces object complement clauses (example: A, 3d; 7b)

5.2 Preferred order of Propositions

According to Greenberg (1963, quoted in Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:45) languages tend to present a default order of constituents, especially of grammatical pairs like verb – object; noun – modifier; main verb – auxiliary.

Zazaki is a OV language, however not all of Greenberg’s default order principles apply. In Dryer’s categorization of pairs (1992, quoted in Roberts 1997:16), where he distinguishes right-branching and left-branching pattern, the question is whether the phrasal categories follows or precedes the non-phrasal categories. Zazaki has the feature of a right-branching word order. Roberts (1997:18) prefers the term adposition-NP patterns, short: P[NP] pattern.

What does this mean to logical relations in a sentence?

Roberts (1997) found out that these default orders are also true for “propositions of unequal prominence” like cause – effect propositions. Prototypical VO languages prefer to state the prominent propositions first. In contrary OV languages realize this in the opposite order, the non-prominent proposition comes first. Dooley and Levinsohn state: “However if the language permits the order of propositions to be reversed, then the relationship has to be made explicit” (2000:46). That means, the default order of propositions needs no or very little coding material. The reverse order would need more coding material (connectives).

5.2.1 Semantic Relations in Unequal Structures (Logic in Clause Order)

In Zazaki we are looking for the less marked sequence of unequal propositions, to declare it as the default order. The chart below gives an overview over the results for Zazaki, following the instructions of Roberts (1997:32). The points 5.2.2 to 5.2.4 give examples.
Chart 16: Default and Marked Order of Unequal Propositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Default Order of Semantic Propositions</th>
<th>Connective</th>
<th>Markedness / Reverse Order</th>
<th>Connective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THESIS [arguments] : ⚫</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULT – reason</td>
<td>çıkı</td>
<td>reason - RESULT</td>
<td>qandê coy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS – purpose</td>
<td>(ki)</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAD – manner (Comparison)</td>
<td>zey</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[arguments] THESIS :</td>
<td>(ekî)</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition - CONSEQUENCE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concession – CONTRAEXPECTATION</td>
<td>labirê; hıma</td>
<td>CONTRAEXPECTATION -</td>
<td>zeki (rarely used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS – Purpose ( = final clause)</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAD – manner</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2 Cause – Effect Sequences

Below four Cause–Effect relations are explained with examples.

5.2.2.1 RESULT – reason & reason – RESULT

Result follows from an event, which contained no intention, and human purposes are either absent or considerably backgrounded. The default order in Zazaki is Result – reason, the connector çıkı is obligatory.

K,26,e-fzey ma çaya xo bışımı, çıkı ti herbabê kirtlemi niyê. like us tea-of refl should.drink because you master-of kirtleme not-are
‘You should drink the tea like we [do], because you aren’t a master of kirtleme.’

However the reverse order REASON – result is also found, but encoded with more material. We can claim this construct as the marked structure. The connector qandê coy is obligatory; the adverb ‘indeed’ indicates emphasis as well. However, ‘indeed’ is not regularly found in this construction.

A,34 Yanê, werdê ê kutka zi esteyê. yanê qandê coy ma estey ardê. indeed food-of these dogs also bones-are indeed therefore we bones brought
‘Indeed, the food of dogs are bones, therefore we served [you] bones.’

5.2.2.2 MEANS – Purpose ( = final clause)

Means, in contrast to reason, is an intended cause to reach a purpose. This construction is very frequent, the spacer ki is optional. The purpose clause occurs in subjunctive mode!

K,2 nê şinê vera Erzurum ki xorê mal bherinê they go toward Erzurum SPC refl.-to cattle should-buy
‘They travel to Erzurum to buy cattles.’

---

10 This order is not typical for OB languages. Like a quoted above we would expect for Zazaki (OV language) that the less prominent proposition precedes the prominent one. Maybe I am wrong with my interpretation here. (Brigitte)
The reverse direction Purpose – means could not be found in the data.

5.2.2.3 Condition – CONSEQUENCE

These two propositions stand in causal relationship where either both will be actualized, or neither will. The default order in Zazaki is so far without exception. The connective ekt ‘if’ is the optional initial element of the condition clause. The consequence clause occurs in subjunctive mode.

Gorm. 1 Ekt ti şertanê mi biyarê ca, if you conditions-of mine will-bring place
‘If you fulfill my conditions’

2 ezdo keynanê xo zi bida şima:
I-FUT daughters-of my also will-give you(pl)
‘I will give you [and your brothers] my daughters to marry.’

Gorm. Tî ina biyarê ca, şima reyenê.
you these will-bring place you(pl) are-redeemed
‘If you fulfill them (my conditions), you [and your brothers] are saved.’

5.2.2.4 Concession – CONTRAEXPECTATION

Here, the first proposition states a situation that normally turns out a certain way. The second proposition expresses an unexpected result. The unexpected element has natural prominence. In Zazaki the connectives hıma or labirê ‘but; however’ are obligatory connectives.

Gorm.1 Namey brardê werdi zi Ma’hmed beno.
name-of brother-EZ small also Mahmed is
‘The name of the youngest brother is Mahmed.’

2 Hıma brây ci, cirê vanê Gorma’hmed.
However brother-of his to-him say Gormahmed
‘However his brothers call him Gormahmed.’

K,6a-b nê .şekerê xo dekenê miyan, labirê koçiki çniyê.
they sugar-of their fill into but spoons not-exist
‘they put sugar into it (the cup), but there aren’t teaspoons [to stir it]’

5.2.3 Semantic Relations in Comparison Clause (HEAD – manner)

The comparison clauses are built in Zazaki in a certain pattern: the head-proposition always precedes the proposition that contains the manner.

HEAD – Comparison

The adverbial zey (variant: ze) ‘like’ is obligatory.

K,10 Nê Çermugzri zi zey ina kenê u çaya xo şimenê.
These Cermug-people also like them do and tea-of their drink
‘The Cermug people do it like them and drink their tea [like them].’

HEAD – Illustration

The adverbial zey (variant: ze) ‘like’ is obligatory.
Discourse Paper Southern-Zazaki

Hesen: Na ' hendık xaseka zey asmida pancêsiya
she that.much pretty like moon-of fifteenth-day
‘She is so pretty, [she looks] like the full moon.’

HEAD – Contrast
The connective *hma* is optional, but highlights contrast as well.

K,26b Îna zew şekera zu çay şumê,
They one sugar-with one tea drank,
‘They drank their tea with only one cube of sugar,’

c tiyê panz şekerana zu çay şimenê
you-are five sugars-with one tea drink
‘you are drinking it with five cubes.’

Additional example: [K, 11c-d whêrê keyi zew qeleyêndê şekeriya qedîxê çay şımeno. *Hma* nê Çermugizi çend qeley şekeriya qedîxê çay şimenê.]

5.2.4 Negative – POSITIVE Propositions
The question, whether Zazaki prefers an order in negative/positive propositions or not is difficult to answer. These constructions usually are unmarked by adverbials or connectives. However, we like to state that the negative proposition precedes the positive in the default order.

K,22a-b No zew şekeriya nêşeno çaya xo kirtleme bikero u bışmo,
he one sugar-with not-able-is tea-of refl kirtleme could-do and could-drink
‘He is not able to do kirtleme and drink the tea by using only one cube of sugar’

c çi'har - panz şekerana ' hend şimenô.
four five sugars-with even drinks
‘[he] drinks it with four or five [cubes].’

A,23b-d nê axay niyê, axa çîniyo - nê aşqi.
they aghas not-are aghas not-exists they gypsies-[are]
‘They aren’t aghas, aghas don’t exist – they are gypsies.’

There exists some formula, where the order is reversed. These propositions are fixed phrases11:

A,11a-b Beno, nêbeno, nê qerarê xo danê
be not-be they agreement-of their give
‘however, they finally agree …’

A,1a Cakê beno, cakê nê-beno,
place exist, place not-exist
‘Once upon a time…’

---

11 I wonder how to handle these two different orders. Because the later are stable phrases they probably stand out of the default order “negative-positive”.

42
6. MARKING OF NARRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

We like to outline one narrative in a descriptive way to represent how a narrative in Zazaki is typically built up. Here is an outline description of the “Agha or Swindler” narrative.

6.1 The Sequence

This narrative is a typical example for Zazaki narratives. It is somehow difficult to identify the overall climax of the story. It seems like several peaks occur in the story. However the discourse analysis in the preceding chapters helped us to identify the section and see the other peaks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause nr.</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A, 1-2</td>
<td>introduction/orientation/abstract</td>
<td>Setting: local (house, somewhere), situational (encounter), major participant (couple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insertion: background (additional explanation about an agha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, 2</td>
<td>conflict/complicating</td>
<td>Concretizing of participants (musicians = three men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, 3-22</td>
<td>conflict/complicating</td>
<td>Conflict builds up: guest will request all from the poor host, every guest presents himself as agha (tension increases) Repetition of abstract (8 times the term “agha” is mentioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, 23-26</td>
<td>climax/evaluation</td>
<td>Conflict on the peak: deception becomes obvious; how should the couple react to the impertinence? (tension is on the peak now).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, 27-34</td>
<td>resolution/result</td>
<td>Conflict still involved, but solution in sight: Couple agrees on a plan and realizes it; the plan could still fail, if they would be accused to be stingy, and have violated the hospitality rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, 35</td>
<td>final stage/coda</td>
<td>the three musicians accept the sack.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Opening and Coda

The table shows that the abstract realized by an opening is mostly a setting in time and space. It includes introduction of major participants in one or two sentences. Final statement has three realizations as meta-comment, final-statement or information about character.

- A structural narrative development feature in Zazaki is its inner structure that follows an universal (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:53-54).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>introduction/orientation/abstract</th>
<th>Opening - local, temporal</th>
<th>Participant introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A, 1a+b: cakê beno, cakê nebeno, 'somewhere’</td>
<td>Gormahmed: Zew piyê beno, hirê lazê ci benê. ‘A certain father had three sons’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K, 1: wextê de 'once’ wextdê wextan de 'in the time of times’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final stage/coda</td>
<td>Typical ending of stories in Zazaki by meta-comment (Brewer 1985:183). Elicanek (and 3 stories out of 14): Ew nê zî resenê mirezdê xo. ‘Thus their wishes came true, and they all lived happily ever after.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Reference: by conversation, not in our text-collection.
Final statement as closing (1:183)
Four-eyed Hesen (and 4 stories out of 14): Istanıka mına weş, 'hewt koya pey di bi ze leş. 'Here is my charming tale; it has turned into a carcass behind seven mountain ranges (that means: a lovely fictional story).'

Open end or resolution by information about characters
Miller and Fox: Nê wıni piya 'emır raviyarenê. 'And so they lived happily ever after.'

Climax in the Coda
Partridge Boy: ... tersa ver di za‘hrê lazdê ci teqayo u lazê ci merdo, herunda xodi biyo wsık. ‘The hunter’s son had apparently become so afraid that his gall bladder had burst and he died.’

In one story, another introduction was used. It included a mixture of temporal, local and participant introduction.

6.3 How are Narratives in Zazaki carried forward
When a story is set up and the conflict starts, the author uses features to indicate a turn or progress in the story line.

6.3.1 Developmental Markers
In this section, focus of research is on development functions of connectives.
Function of a developmental marker is to “constrain the reader to move on to the next point” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:48). It indicates that a new development in the story or argument is starting. Developmental markers in VO languages have been found to be either conjunctions (e.g., δε/de “and, or, etc.” in Greek; Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:49) or particles associated with the verb phrase.

In Zazaki the developmental marker is in general preposed to the phrase.

6.3.1.1 Contrastive
We discuss here two contrastives, which in their literal meaning have nothing to do with speed up a story, or make progress in a story. But their second meaning is temporal and slightly contrastive. ‘This works also for wuza/uza đî, thus it is a kind of conjunction. The locative pronoun wuza/uza đî lit. ‘there LOC’ and the contrastive hıma lit. ‘but, however’ can both bear the meaning ‘suddenly, immediately’ with a slight contrast to what the other participant is expecting. Therefore, we call them contrastives. Both are found frequently in the stages of conflict.

The developmental marker interrupts a set of activities, gives a new direction and functions as attention getter. It marks significant action.

wuza/uza ‘suddenly’
- brings in a new point in the event line. The hearer/reader, can infer that the story moves forward.
- functions also as a spacer and attention getter.

| A, 6a  | Nê (near) | yenê | zerre, come-PRES-PL, inside |
| A, 6b  | roșênê, sit-PRES-PL |
|        | ‘They come in, sit down,’ |
| A, 6c  | uza đî thus/suddenly | saz, guitar | cinenê, play-PRES-PL |
| A, 6d  | deyri | kenê, song-PL | do-PRES-PL |

13 These are two dialectical representations of the same lexeme.
Then they begin with playing saz, singing (and) dancing.’ (The guests start to feel really well as guests and this give reason to accept a large meal from the host.)

‘Then the host and his man take a piece of sugar in their hand, …’
(This happens after the cattle traders were helpless without tea spoons and suddenly the story takes a turn toward a solution.)

The contrastive *hima* functions as a temporal adverbial (see: 5.1.2) and as a developmental marker as well - the story increases in speed. It is less prominent and slightly weaker in progressing the event than *wuza di*. The later indicates a turn in the story when a conflict is already raised high. However, *hima* is indicating not a conflict, but a surprising action, which could become a conflict later.

‘So she suddenly enters the room, …’

The conclusive *a wuni/wuňi*‘thus/so’ serves as a developmental marker as well. It indicates a turn or progress toward a new direction, often a result or the coda.

‘So they stand up and leave the house.’

Referring to 2.2 Zazaki has PoDs as markers of discontinuity. Temporal, local and echo PoDs are the most frequent ones used in Zazaki narrative. Referential PoD is rarely used. When describing this PoD in relation to the development of narrative, it is obvious that their pre-posed position in a clause signals the hearer/reader progress in the event line.

The function of tense and aspect was researched under 2.3.1. Back- and foreground information is only marked in eyewitness texts clearly by tense and aspect. If the author turns to Simple Past, the hearer is warned, that the actual event is starting. In non-eyewitness stories, tense-aspect plays no major role.

In general, it would not be too harsh to say that whenever a narrative is developed by one of the above features, their negation or absence is on the contrary a way to not carry forward a narrative. Beneath this general observation, there are some other features that mark non-development of a narrative. Hollenbach & Watters suggest some non-event features that will be signals for the questioned non-development (1998:16).

Background information introduced with *hima* ‘but’ or *çık* ‘because’ disrupts the event line. Narrative is not carried forward. This information is given on the non-event line (Crandall 2002:34). Crandall quotes Hopper who states that the non-event line contents ‘supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events.’ (Hopper 1979:213).

Background information is mainly coded in past tense (see 2.3.1).
6.4.2 Tail-Head linkage

Tail-head linkage is a structural language feature that slows down narrative development. It emphasizes important information, increases tension but slow down the progress of the story. See more information at 2.2.5.

6.4.3 Repetition

In the story “Four-eyed Hesen” is a paragraph that shows marking of non-development very clearly. Although it is, like the tail-head linkage, a way to highlight something.

Na keynek 'hesiyena xo ki luliya cneyena,
This girl awakes REFL SPC flute-is plays
na fina 'hesiyena xo luliya cneyena.
she again awakes REFL flute-is playing
‘The girl wakes up and hears the flute playing, again she wakes up and hear the flute's playing.’

6.5 Devices marking the Climax

The climax in the story "Agha or Swindler" is located in clause A, 23 – 26 (this could also be called reaction to complication), though there is some discussion whether there are two climaxes, a second one in A, 31-34. The problem will be how to identify where the resolution – if its there – starts.

It would be proper to state the climax from A, 23 to A, 34. Important markings in this sequence are participant reference, represented speech, word order and effect particles. It is obvious that the climax is marked by more than one feature. A common/universal climax marking is the feature-accumulation that surrounds the climax. The next points will clarify where the climax could be settled in the story A (Agha or Swindler).

6.5.1 Participant Reference

See 3.2.2, the marked participant reference is considered in A,23 – 28. In this dialogue both VIP’s are referred by definite nouns instead of pronouns, although the context (who speaks to whom) is very clear.

6.5.2 Represented Speech

The use of vocative in represented speech in A,23 + 26 highlight the emotional conflict (see 4.2.1).

6.5.3 Word order

The word order in represented speech is fixed for natural information flow (Comrie 1989:123). Thus it is important if – like in our – SOV structure the default word order is changed and therefore marked. A, 36-g is a good example for this (see 4.2.3).

6.5.4 Effect particles

Effect particles join represented speech to communicate at an emotional level. In A,34a+b the connective ‘indeed’ occurs two times and increases the strength of an argument.

6.5.5 Verbs of Action (eye-witness texts)

In the both eyewitness texts, different from the narratives, the action verbs occur only at the climax where the conflict erupts. In the eyewitness story Diyarbakir V. 7 the Kurd ‘directed the tube’ and in the story Qahwe V. 10 the Zaza threaten the other ‘come on, let’s fight outside’.
Bibliography


