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Middle Voice in Kurmanji and Zazaki

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Abstract

Traditional descriptions of voice in Kurmanji and Zazaki often foreground an active–passive opposition, and some Zazaki-oriented descriptive traditions additionally claim that Zazaki has two passive types: a canonical passive formed with the auxiliary *ameyene* ‘come’ plus an infinitive, and a second “suffixal/added” passive. Building on a structural diagnostic—the optional licensing of an overt agent phrase—this article argues that the alleged second passive is not passive at all but an event-centered middle construction: it can be semantically passive-like yet systematically resists agent-phrase insertion. We show that true passives are parallel in Kurmanji and Zazaki (*hatin/ameyene* + infinitive) and that the “extra passive” arises when dialectally constrained datasets (especially Southern/Çermug Za-

zaki, where *ameyene*-passives are reported to be rare) conflate passives with middles. In contrast, Northern Varto Zazaki patterns closely with Kurmanji, favoring the auxiliary-passive strategy. Finally, we argue that middle alternations are constrained by verb class: only a subset of ambitransitives behaves as labile/ergative predicates that readily form middles, whereas highly general transitives such as *kerdene* ‘do’ resist the middle alternation but passivize straightforwardly. Using parallel Kurmanji–Zazaki paradigms, the paper provides a compact toolkit for separating passive from middle and offers a dialect-sensitive reanalysis of Todd [1] and Pamukçu [2].

Keywords: Zazaki, Kurmanji, middle voice, passive voice, ergativity, agent phrase.

1. INTRODUCTION

Most grammatical traditions for Kurmanji and Zazaki describe voice primarily through an active–passive opposition, often alongside causative, reflexive, and reciprocal categories, while a dedicated discussion of the middle voice is typically absent. This pattern recurs across influential descriptions and pedagogical grammars. For Kurmanji, standard references foreground the active–passive contrast and discuss additional derivational categories, yet they do not establish middle voice as a distinct analytical category [3]. For Zazaki, comprehensive grammars similarly systematize voice and mood categories such as active, causative, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal, but do not develop an explicit middle-voice category [4, 5, 6, 7].

A recurrent claim in parts of the Zazaki descriptive tradition—especially in works that take Zazaki as their primary focus—is that Zazaki differs from Kurmanji by having two passive types: (i) a passive built with the auxiliary *ameyene* ‘come’ plus an infinitive, and (ii) an additional “suffixal/added” passive derived directly on the verb stem. This paper argues that the second pattern is a misclassification: it is an event-centered middle, or a closely related intransitive alternant, that may invite passive translations but does not behave like a passive under structural diagnostics. On our analysis, Kurmanji and Zazaki share the same core passive strategy (*hatinlameyene* + infinitive), and the appearance of an “extra passive” follows from conflating passives with middles, often under conditions of dialectally restricted sampling.

Dialect variation is crucial to this reassessment. We suggest that Northern Varto Zazaki patterns closely with Kurmanji in this domain, regularly employing the auxiliary-passive template, whereas Southern Çermug Zazaki is reported to rely more heavily on event-centered structures and to show reduced everyday use of *ameyene*-passives. This contrast helps explain why descriptions grounded primarily in Southern data can underrepresent the canonical passive and thereby treat agentless event-centered clauses as passives.

We further propose that the middle alternation is not freely available to all ambitransitive predicates. Rather, in Kurmanji and, especially, Varto Zazaki, middles are most robust with a subset of labile or ergative-like verbs that readily alternate between transitive and intransitive frames. By contrast, highly general transitives such as *kerdene* ‘do’ do not form natural middles without the auxiliary template, yet they can be passivized straightforwardly with *ameyene* + infinitive. This observation bears directly on descriptive generalizations and underscores the need for diagnostics that separate true passive morphosyntax from event-centered intransitives.

A further complication is dialectal: Zazaki is commonly described as having three major dialect areas—Northern (Bakur), Central (Navendî), and Southern (Başûr)—and voice morphology can vary considerably across them [10, p. 2]. In the Southern dialect area, particularly in the Çermug region, the passive construction formed with the auxiliary *ameyene* (‘to come’) plus an infinitive is reported to be rare or nearly absent in everyday use. Instead, passive-like meanings are frequently expressed through middle or event-centered structures. This dialectal profile matters because influential Zazaki grammatical descriptions based primarily on the Southern area may underrepresent the *ameyene*-passive in their exemplification. In particular, grammars associated with the Çermug/Southern variety provide few or no explicit examples of passives formed with *ameyene* + infinitive, which can reinforce the conflation of passive and middle voice. This point is especially salient in Todd [1] and Pamukçu [2], whose exemplification does not foreground the *ameyene*-passive template and therefore risks treating agentless event-centered clauses as if they were passives. This claim is grounded in variety-specific observation and should be interpreted as a dialect-local tendency, that is, Çermug/Southern Zazaki, not as a categorical property of Zazaki as a whole.

The present paper argues that the “extra passive” reported in parts of the Zazaki descriptive tradition is in fact middle voice: an event-centered construction whose hallmark is not a promoted patient plus optional agent, but rather event-centered predication. The contribution of this paper is twofold. First, it proposes a compact set of diagnostics that separates passive from middle without relying on translation-based semantics alone. Second, it consolidates a Kurmanji–Zazaki dataset into consistent three-way paradigms (active–middle–passive), including an expanded verb set beyond classic change-of-state examples.

2. BACKGROUND AND TERMINOLOGY

Passive is treated here as a voice alternation in which the patient or theme is foregrounded, the agent is demoted, and an overt agent phrase can be licensed, even if it is often omitted. Middle voice is treated as event-centered predication: the clause highlights the process or result as the salient predication while backgrounding or excluding the agent. Middle clauses often resemble “passives in meaning” but do not display passive morphosyntax and resist agent-phrase insertion.

Middle-like readings can overlap with anticausatives or inchoatives, that is, spontaneous change, and with dispositional or generic statements. The analysis here focuses on the passive vs. non-passive contrast and treats the relevant event-centered intransitives under a middle or event-centered analysis.

To avoid terminological ambiguity, this paper distinguishes ergative alignment or case systems from labile alternations where a verb alternates between transitive and intransitive frames with an object-to-subject shift. The middle patterns

highlighted here align with the latter.

3. DATA AND METHOD

The dataset consists of paired Kurmanji–Zazaki examples and speaker-oriented acceptability judgments reported in Appendix B. The paper also engages with descriptive claims and categorizations in the literature [1, 8, 2, 3, 9, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10]. Both authors are native speakers of the varieties discussed: X (Zazaki) and Y (Kurmanji).

Because middle and passive can be semantically similar, the analysis prioritizes structural diagnostics. Translation equivalents in English and Turkish are used only to illustrate form–meaning mismatches, not as defining criteria.

4. DIAGNOSTICS: A COMPACT TOOLKIT

The primary diagnostic is agent phrase licensing. Can an overt agent phrase be added naturally? Cross-linguistically, passives can optionally express the agent with language-specific markers: English *by*; Ancient Greek *ὕπὸ*; Turkish *tarafından*; French *par*; German *von*. In Kurmanji, comparable agent phrases include *ji alîyê... ve*, *ji hêla... ,* and *bi destê... ;* in Zazaki, *hetê... ra* and *bi destê...* serve the same function. While passives may license such agent phrases, middle clauses systematically resist them: when an agent phrase is inserted into a middle clause, the result is typically infelicitous rather than yielding a well-formed passive.

Kurmanji: *Dar hejiya* ‘the tree shook’ → *Dar ji alîyê hirçî ve hejiya* *

Zazaki: *Dare hejiye* ‘the tree shook’ → *Dare hetê heşî ra hejiye* *

Kurmanji: *Av keliya* ‘The water boiled.’ → *Av ji alîyê hirçî ve keliya* *

Zazaki: *Awe gîrîye* ‘The water boiled.’ → *Awe hetê Hesenî ra gîrîye* *

A supporting diagnostic is the passive template. Does the clause use the passive template? Kurmanji forms passives with *hatin* + infinitive; Zazaki forms passives with *ameyene* + infinitive. If a passive-like meaning is expressed without this template and patterns as an intransitive alternant, it is a strong candidate for the middle.

A further supporting diagnostic is the event-centered profile. Does the clause foreground the process or result, often with a dispositional or generic flavor? This supports a middle analysis but is not decisive on its own.

5. CORE THREE-WAY PARADIGMS

‘Boil’. Kurmanji (*kelîn/kelandin* ‘to boil’)

Active: *Hesenî av keland.* ‘Hesen boiled the water.’

Middle: *Av keliya.* ‘The water boiled.’

Passive: *Av (ji alîyê Hesenî ve) hat kelandin.* ‘The water was boiled (by Hesen).’

Zazaki (*gîriyayene/girenayene* ‘to boil’)

Active: *Hesenî awe girenê.* ‘Hesen boiled the water.’

Middle: *Awe gîrîye.* ‘The water boiled.’

Passive: *Awe (hetê Hesenî ra) amê girenayene.* ‘The water was boiled (by Hesen).’

‘Cook’. Kurmanji (*pijîn/pijandin* ‘to cook’)

Active: *Hesenî dîk pijand.* ‘Hesen cooked the rooster.’

Middle: *Dîk pijîya.* ‘The rooster cooked.’

Passive: *Dîk (ji alîyê Hesenî ve) hat pijandin.* ‘The rooster was cooked (by Hesen).’

Zazaki (*poçîyene/poçnayene* ‘to cook’)

Active: *Hesenî dîk pot.* ‘Hesen cooked the rooster.’

Middle: *Dîk poçîya.* ‘The rooster cooked.’

Passive: *Dîk (hetê Hesenî ra) amê potene.* ‘The rooster was cooked (by Hesen).’

‘Break’. Kurmanji (*şikestîn/şikandin* ‘to break’)

Active: *Hesenî pêûs şikand.* ‘Hesen broke the pen.’

Middle: *Pêûs şikest.* ‘The pen broke.’

Passive: *Pêûs (ji alîyê Hesenî ve) hate şikandin.* ‘The pen was broken (by Hesen).’

Zazaki (*şikîyene/şiknayene* ‘to break’)

Active: *Hesenî qeleme şikite.* ‘Hesen broke the pen.’

Middle: *Qeleme şikîye.* ‘The pen broke.’

Passive: *Qeleme (hetê Hesenî ra) amê şiknayene.* ‘The pen was broken (by Hesen).’

6. EXPANDED DATASET

‘Shake’. Kurmanji (*hejîn / hejandin* ‘to shake’)

Active: *Hirçî dar hejand.* ‘The bear shook the tree.’

Middle: *Dar hejiya.* ‘The tree shook.’

Passive: *Dar (ji alîyê hirçî ve) hat hejandin.* ‘The tree was shaken (by the bear).’

Zazaki (*hejîyene/hejnyene* ‘to shake’)

Active: *Heşî dare hejnê.* ‘The bear shook the tree.’

Middle: *Dare hejiye.* ‘The tree shook.’

Passive: *Dare (hetê heşî ra) amê hejnyene.* ‘The tree was shaken (by the bear).’

‘*Spill/pour*’. Kurmanji (*rijîn / rijandin* ‘to spill/pour’)

Active: *Zarokî av rijand.* ‘The child spilled the water.’

Middle: *Av rijiya.* ‘The water spilled.’

Passive: *Av (ji alîyê zarokî ve) hat rijandin.* ‘The water was spilled (by the child).’

Zazaki (*rijîyayene / rijnayene* ‘to spill/pour’)

Active: *Domanî awe rijnê.* ‘The child spilled the water.’

Middle: *Awe rijîye.* ‘The water spilled.’

Passive: *Awe (hetê domanî ra) amê rijnyene.* ‘The water was spilled (by the child).’

‘*(Make) flow / pour*’. Kurmanji (*Pijiqîn/pijiqandin* ‘to splash’)

Active: *Ereba av pijiqand.* ‘The car splashed water.’

Middle: *Av pijiqî.* ‘Water splashed.’

Passive: *Av (ji alîyê erebê ve) hat pijiqandin.* ‘The water was splashed (by the car).’

Zazaki (*pijiqîyayenelpijiqînyene* ‘to splash’)

Active: *Ereba awe pijiqnê.* ‘The car splashed water.’

Middle: *Awe pijiqîye.* ‘Water splashed.’

Passive: *Awe (hetê ereba ra) ameyê pijiqnyene.* ‘The water was splashed (by the car).’

‘*Frighten*’. Kurmanji (*tirsîn / tirsandin* ‘to frighten’)

Active: *Keçikê kevok tirsand.* ‘The girl frightened the pigeon.’

Middle: *Kevok tirsiya.* ‘The pigeon got frightened.’

Passive: *Kevok (ji alîyê keçikê ve) hat tirsandin.* ‘The pigeon was frightened (by the girl).’

Zazaki (*tersayene / tersnyene* ‘to frighten’)

Active: *Keyneke gogerçîne tersnê.* ‘The girl frightened the pigeon.’

Middle: *Gogerçîne tersê.* ‘The pigeon got frightened.’

Passive: *Gogerçîne (hetê keyneke ra) amê tersnyene.* ‘The pigeon was frightened (by the girl).’

‘*Wince / startle*’. Kurmanji (*bizdîn / bizdandin* ‘to wince/startle’)

Active: *Keçikê kevok bizdand.* ‘The girl startled the pigeon.’

Middle: *Kevok bizdiya.* ‘The pigeon wincing.’

Passive: *Kevok (ji alîyê keçikê ve) hat bizdandin.* ‘The pigeon was startled (by the girl).’

Zazaki (*veciqayene / veciqnyene* ‘to wince’)

Active: *Keyneke gogerçîne veciqnê.* ‘The girl startled the pigeon.’

Middle: *Gogerçîne veciqîye.* ‘The pigeon wincing.’

Passive: *Gogerçîne (hetê keyneke ra) amê veciqnyene.* ‘The pigeon was startled (by the girl).’

‘*Hurt*’. Kurmanji (*êşîn / êşandin* ‘to hurt’)

Active: *Zilamî jinik êşand.* ‘The man hurt the woman.’

Middle: *Jinik êşiya.* ‘The woman got hurt.’

Passive: *Jinik (ji alîyê zilamî ve) hat êşandin.* ‘The woman was hurt (by the man).’

Zazaki (*dejeyayene / dejnyene* ‘to hurt’)

Active: *Cinike merik dejna.* ‘The woman hurt the man.’

Middle: *Merik deja.* ‘The man got hurt.’

Passive: *Merik (hetê cinike ra) amê dejnyene.* ‘The man was hurt (by the woman).’

‘*Decorate*’. Kurmanji (*xemilîn / xemilandin* ‘to decorate’)

Active: *Zavayî bûk xemiland.* ‘The groom decorated the bride.’

Middle: *Bûk xemilî.* ‘The bride got adorned / dressed up.’

Passive: *Bûk (ji alîyê zavayî ve) hat xemilandin.* ‘The bride was decorated (by the groom).’

Zazaki (*xemilyayene / xemilnyene* ‘to decorate’)

Active: *Zamayî veyve xemelnê.* ‘The groom decorated the bride.’

Middle: *Veyve xemelîya.* ‘The bride got adorned / dressed up.’

Passive: *Veyve (hetê zamayî ra) amê xemilnayene*. ‘The bride was decorated (by the groom).’

‘Beat’. Kurmanji (*çeliqîn / çeliqandin* ‘to beat’)

Active: *Şilanê hêk çeliqand*. ‘Şilan beat the dough.’

Middle: *Hêk çeliqî*. ‘The dough got beaten / was beating (worked).’

Passive: *Hêk (ji alîyê Şilanê ve) hat çeliqandin*. ‘The dough was beaten (by Şilan).’

Zazaki (*çilqîyene / çilqayene* ‘to beat’)

Active: *Şilane hak çelqna*. ‘Şilan beat the dough.’

Middle: *Hak çelqîya*. ‘The dough got beaten.’

Passive: *Hak (hetê Şilane ra) amê çelqayene*. ‘The dough was beaten (by Şilan).’

‘Melt’. Kurmanji (*helîn / helandin* ‘to melt’)

Active: *Jinikê rûn heland*. ‘The woman melted the butter/oil.’

Middle: *Rûn helîya*. ‘The butter/oil melted.’

Passive: *Rûn (ji alîyê jînikê ve) hat helandin*. ‘The butter/oil was melted (by the woman).’

Zazaki (*helîyayene / helênayene* ‘to melt’)

Active: *Cinîke ron helêna*. ‘The woman melted the butter/oil.’

Middle: *Ron helîya*. ‘The butter/oil melted.’

Passive: *Ron (hetê cinîke ra) amê helênayene*. ‘The butter/oil was melted (by the woman).’

‘Freeze’. Kurmanji (*Cemidîn/cemidandin* ‘to freeze’)

Active: *Gundî av cemidand*. ‘The villager froze the water.’

Middle: *Av cemidî*. ‘The water froze.’

Passive: *Av (ji alîyê gundî ve) hat cemidandin*. ‘The water was frozen (by the villager).’

Zazaki (*cemidîyayene / cemidnayene* ‘to freeze’)

Active: *Dewijî awe cemidnê*. ‘The villager froze the water.’

Middle: *Av cemidî*. ‘The water froze.’

Passive: *Awe (hetê dewijî ra) ameyê cemidnayene*. ‘The water was frozen (by the villager).’

‘Pluck’. Kurmanji (*rûçikîn / rûçikandin* ‘to pluck’)

Active: *Lawikî mirîşk rûçikand*. ‘The boy plucked the chicken’s feathers.’

Middle: *Mirîşk rûçikî*. ‘The chicken’s feathers plucked off.’

Passive: *Mirîşk (ji alîyê lawikî ve) hat rûçikandin*. ‘The chicken’s feathers were plucked (by the boy).’

Zazaki (*rûçikîyene / rûçiknayene* ‘to pluck’)

Active: *Lajekî kerge rûçikîte*. ‘The boy plucked the chicken’s feathers.’

Middle: *Kerge rûçikîya*. ‘The chicken’s feathers plucked off.’

Passive: *Kerge (hetê lajekî ra) amê rûçiknayene*. ‘The chicken’s feathers were plucked (by the boy).’

‘Burn’. Kurmanji (*şewitîn / şewitandin* ‘to burn’)

Active: *Dizdan gund şewitand*. ‘The thieves burned the village.’

Middle: *Gund şewitî*. ‘The village burned.’

Passive: *Gund (ji alîyê dizdan ve) hat şewitandin*. ‘The village was burned (by the thieves).’

Zazaki (*vêşayene / vêşnayene* ‘to burn’)

Active: *Dizdan dewe vêşnê*. ‘The thieves burned the village.’

Middle: *Dewe vêşê*. ‘The village burned.’

Passive: *Dewe (hetê dizdan ra) amê vêşnayene*. ‘The village was burned (by the thieves).’

‘Explode’. Kurmanji (*teqîn/teqandin* ‘to explode’)

Active: *Endezyaran dînamît teqand*. ‘The engineers exploded dynamite.’

Middle: *Dînamît teqîya*. ‘The dynamite exploded.’

Passive: *Dînamît (ji alîyê endezyaran ve) hat teqandin*. ‘The dynamite was exploded (by engineers).’

Zazaki (*teqayene / teqayene* ‘to explode’)

Active: *Muhendisînan dînamît teqna*. ‘The engineers exploded dynamite.’

Middle: *Dînamît teqîya*. ‘The dynamite exploded.’

Passive: *Dînamît (hetê muhendîsan ra) amê teqayene*. ‘The dynamite was exploded (by engineers).’

7. THE “EXTRA PASSIVE” IN ZAZAKI AS MIDDLE VOICE

A recurring claim in parts of the descriptive tradition is that, besides the passive formed with *ameyene* + infinitive, Zazaki has another passive type. The pattern underlying this claim is better analyzed as middle voice because it behaves like an event-centered intransitive rather than a passive construction.

Other Zazaki varieties show the following middle or event-centered pattern: *Na saye werîna*. ‘This apple gets eaten.’

In the Varto variety, by contrast, the passive template is preferred: *Na saye êna werdene* (*ameyene* + infinitive). ‘This apple is eaten / gets eaten.’ An optional agent is also possible: *Na saye (hetê. . . ra) êna werdene*. ‘This apple is eaten (by . . .).’ Compared to other Zazaki varieties, the middle form for this predicate is markedly less common in Varto, and the *ameyene* + infinitive passive strategy is favored, aligning more closely with the Kurmanji pattern (e.g., *Ev sêv tê xwarin*. ‘This apple gets eaten.’).

8. VERBS THAT RESIST THE MIDDLE: *KERDENE* / *ARDENE* / *BERDENE*

Not all ambitransitive verbs behave as labile verbs suitable for a middle alternation. In particular, *kerdene*, *ardene*, and *berdene* are argued not to participate in the middle alternation in the relevant sense.

Pamukçu [2] states that all transitive verbs can be passivized, but his treatment of *kerdene* (‘to do’), a transitive verb, substitutes the passive counterpart with *biyene* (‘to be’), an intransitive verb (p. 264). In varieties where the *ameyene* + infinitive passive is productive, the passive of *kerdene* patterns with the canonical template, parallel to Kurmanji *hatin kirin*: *Zazaki ameyene kerdene*. Accordingly, one cannot replace *na rindîye mi rê amê kerdene* (‘this favor was done to me’) with an auxiliary-less alternative such as *na rindîye mi rê kerîya*.

To make the contrast explicit, consider *kerdene* ‘do’. In varieties where the *ameyene*-passive is productive, a canonical passive is well formed (e.g., *na rindîye mi rê amê kerdene* ‘this favor was done to me’), while an auxiliary-less event-centered counterpart (**na rindîye mi rê kerîya*) does not yield a natural middle in the intended sense. This supports the view that the alleged “suffixal passive” pattern is not a general passive mechanism but reflects middle or event-centered alternations available only to certain verb classes.

9. LITERATURE-BASED REANALYSIS: TODD [1] AND RIZGAR [8]

Todd [1] states that “There apparently is no way of including the agent of the action with a passive verb” (p. 78). The passive–middle distinction developed here depends on the availability of overt agent phrases in true passives and on the dedicated passive template (*ameyene* + infinitive). Given that Todd’s description is closely tied to Southern dialect data, particularly the Çermug region where *ameyene*-passives are reported to be rare, the lack of *ameyene*-passive examples in the grammar aligns with a dialectally constrained dataset and contributes to conflating agentless event-centered clauses with passives.

Rizgar [8] notes that “many Kurdish intransitive verbs are passive in English: *çirîn* (to be torn/ripped), *rijîn* (to be poured/spilled), *qetîn* (to be broken off), etc.” (p. 221). These items are better analyzed as middle or event-centered constructions in Kurmanji. Rizgar’s drill example *Ev kaxez pir zû diçire* is translated as “This paper is torn very quickly” (pp. 223–224), but the more faithful English rendering is “This paper tears very quickly,” which mirrors the middle or event-centered profile and the restriction against agent-phrase insertion.

10. CONCLUSION

A substantial subset of “passive-looking” constructions in Kurmanji and Zazaki are best analyzed as middle voice rather than passive. The key diagnostic is structural: true passives optionally license overt agent phrases, whereas middle or event-centered clauses resist agent realization and typically pattern as intransitive alternants. The analysis further shows that middle patterns align closely with labile alternations, where the object of an active transitive clause surfaces as the subject of an event-centered intransitive clause. Expanding the empirical base beyond classic change-of-state examples to additional paradigms (‘shake’, ‘spill/pour’, ‘(make) flow’, ‘frighten’, ‘wince’, ‘hurt’, ‘decorate’, ‘beat’, ‘melt’, ‘pluck’, ‘burn’) supports the stability of the passive–middle distinction across a broader range of verbs. The analysis also motivates treating the widely reported “extra passive” in Zazaki as middle voice and adopting explicit diagnostics in future Kurdish grammar writing, especially when datasets are dialectally constrained.

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APPENDIX A. VERB INVENTORY (CURRENT DATASET)

Kurmanji: kelîn/kelandin, pijîn/pijandin, şikestin/şikandin, hejîn / hejandin, rijîn / rijandin, Pijiqîn/pijiqandin, tirsîn / tirsandin, bizdîn / bizdandin, êşîn / êşandin, xemilîn / xemilandin, çeliqîn / çeliqandin, helîn / helandin, cemidîn/cemidandin, rûçikîn / rûçikandin, şewitîn / şewitandin, teqîn/teqandin.

Zazaki: giriyayene/girenayene, pocîyene/pojnayene, şikîyene/şiknayene, hejîyene/hejneyene, rijîyayene / rijneyene, pijiqîyayene/pijiqînayene, tersayene / tersnayene, veciqayene / veciqnayene, dejeyayene / dejneyene, xemilyayene / xemilnayene, çilqîyene / çilqayene, helîyayene / helênayene, cemidîyayene / cemidnayene, rûcîkîyene / rûcîkayene, vêşayene / vêşnayene, teqayene /teqayene

APPENDIX B. AGENT-PHRASE INSERTION TEST (PILOT JUDGMENTS)

Language	Middle clause	Agent phrase attempted
Kurmanji	Dar hejiya.	Dar ji alîyê hirçî ve hejiya.*
Zazaki	Dare hejiye.	Dare hetê heşî ra hejiye.*
Kurmanji	Av keliya.	Av ji alîyê hirçî ve keliya.*
Zazaki	Awe gîrîye.	Awe hetê Hesenî ra gîrîye. *