Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Alignment in eastern Neo-Aramaic languages from a typological perspective

Noorlander, P.M.

Citation
Noorlander, P. M. (2018, October 31). *Alignment in eastern Neo-Aramaic languages from a typological perspective*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66714

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66714

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/66714 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Noorlander, P.M.
Title: Alignment in eastern Neo-Aramaic languages from a typological perspective
Issue Date: 2018-10-31

ALIGNMENT IN EASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC LANGUAGES FROM A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Alignment in Eastern Neo-Aramaic Languages from a Typological Perspective

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens het besluit van College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 31 oktober 2018
klokke 16:15 uur

door

Paulus Melle Noorlander

geboren te Leidschendam
in 1988

Promotor:	Prof. dr. H. Gzella
Promotiecommissie:	Prof. dr. G. Khan (University of Cambridge)
	Prof. dr. G.L.J. Haig (Otto Friedrich Universität Bamberg)
	Prof. dr. H.L. Murre-van den Berg
	Prof. dr. M.G. Kossmann
	Prof. dr. A.M. Lubotsky
	Prof. dr. W.F.H. Adelaar
	Dr. J. Audring

For my parents

ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܢܚܫܐ.
ܡܢ ܐܝܬܠܓܐ ⁘

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xix

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xxi

LIST OF TABLES xiii

LIST OF FIGURES xiv

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. The Enigma of Ergativity in Aramaic 1

1.2. Subgrouping of Neo-Aramaic 3

1.2.1. Western and Eastern Neo-Aramaic 4

1.2.1.1. Western Neo-Aramaic 4

1.2.1.2. Eastern Neo-Aramaic 5

1.2.2. Geographic Distribution of North Eastern Neo-Aramaic 6

1.2.2.1. Christian Varieties: Core and Periphery 7

1.2.2.2. Jewish Varieties: The Greater Zab River 8

1.2.2.3. Written Neo-Aramaic 10

1.2.3. Central Neo-Aramaic Dialect Traits 11

1.2.4. Language Contact: Bi- and Multilingualism 13

1.3. Previous Approaches to Alignment in Eastern Neo-Aramaic 14

1.3.1. Early Scholarship: Passive or Possessive 14

1.3.2. Recent Typological Approaches 19

1.4. Goals and Scope of This Work 23

1.5. Sources and Conventions 26

1.6. Outline 28

2. CLAUSE STRUCTURE AND ALIGNMENT TYPOLOGY 31

2.1. Construction Grammar 32

2.2. The Core Functions of Arguments and Basic Alignment Types 34

2.2.1. Grammatical Functions: S, A, P, T and R 35

2.2.2. Pragmatic Functions: Topic and Focus 40

2.2.3. Coding and Behavioral Properties 41

2.2.3.1. Case-Marking 42

2.2.3.2. Agreement 42
2.2.3.3. Word Order and Affix Order 46
2.2.3.4. Behavioral Properties 47
2.2.4. Intransitive-Transitive Alignment Types 49
2.2.4.1. Accusative Alignment 50
2.2.4.2. Ergative Alignment 50
2.2.4.3. Neutral Alignment 51
2.2.4.4. Tripartite Alignment 52
2.2.4.5. Horizontal Alignment 52
2.2.5. Ditransitive Alignment types 53
2.2.5.1. Indirective Alignment 54
2.2.5.2. Secundative Alignment 55
2.2.5.3. Neutral Alignment 56
2.2.5.4. Tripartite Alignment 57
2.2.6. Typological Markedness 57
2.3. Verb-Related Factors 62
2.3.1. Split and Fluid Subject-Marking 62
2.3.2. Tense, Aspect, and Mood 68
2.3.3. Transitive Semantics 73
2.3.4. Ditransitive Semantics 76
2.4. Argument-Related Factors 77
2.4.1. The Prominence Hierarchy 78
2.4.2. Differential and Optional Object Marking 80
2.4.3. Differential and Optional Agent Marking 86
2.4.4. Person-Based Splits and Role Associations 88
2.5. Cross-Linguistic Distribution and Combinability 94
2.5.1. Intransitive-Transitive Alignment Types 94
2.5.2. Ditransitive Alignment Types and Combinations 97
2.6. Conclusion 101
3. CODING PROPERTIES OF EASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC 105

3.1. Basics of Nominal and Verbal Inflection 106
3.1.1. Nouns and Independent Pronouns 106
3.1.2. Verbal Roots 109
3.1.3. Derivational Stems and Inflectional Bases 110
3.1.4. Preverbal Tense-Aspect-Mood Marking 112
3.2. Basic Patterns of Verbal Person Marking 119
3.2.1. A and P in the Perfective and Agreement Inversion 119
3.2.2. The Semi-Clitic Nature of the L-Set 122
3.2.3. Major Alignment Types in the 'Perfective' 124
3.2.3.1. Ergative (A≠S=P) 125
3.2.3.2. Accusative (A=S≠P) 127
3.2.3.3. Neutral (A=S=P) 127
3.2.3.4. Dynamic-Stative (P=S/S=A) 129
3.2.4. The Inflection of Ditransitive Verbs 129
3.3. Simple Clauses with Full Nominals 132
3.3.1. Prepositional Marking and Differential Object Marking 133
3.3.2. Differential Indexing of the P 139
3.3.3. Remarks on Word Order 142
3.4. Ditransitive Clauses with (Pro)nominals 144
3.4.1. Person Role Associations 145
3.4.2. Pronoun-NP Role Associations 148
3.4.3. Differential Theme and Recipient-Marking 150
3.5. Person Marking in Possession 154
3.6. Summary 158
4. ALIGNMENT SPLITS IN NENA BASED ON ARGUMENT-RELATED PROPERTIES 159
4.1. Person Role Restrictions 161
4.1.1. Person Role Constraints in Transitive Constructions 161
4.1.2. Dependent and Independent Person Forms 167
4.1.2.1. Independent Prepositional Series 167
4.1.2.2. Two Independent Person Forms in Ditransitives 172
4.1.3. Cliticization and Secondary L_2-series 174

4.2. Differential Object Marking Trans-Zab Jewish Dialects 177
4.2.1. Accusative Agreement and Prepositional Marking 178
4.2.1.1. Coherently Accusative Marking 178
4.2.1.2. Extended Ergative or Marked Nominative? 181
4.2.2. Neutral (overt) Agreement and Accusative Prepositional Marking 182
4.2.2.1. Extensive Neutralization 183
4.2.2.2. Neutral Marking in Ditransitives 186
4.2.3. Ergative Agreement and Accusative Prepositional Marking 188
4.2.3.1. Ergative Agreement 189
4.2.3.2. Accusative Case-Marking and Tripartite Person Marking 191
4.2.3.3. Combining the Two DOM-Strategies 193
4.2.3.4. Horizontal Person Marking 196
4.3. Agent Omission and the Case-Marking of the Agent 196
4.3.1. Passive-Ergative Continuum 197
4.3.2. Passive Constructions and Oblique Agents in NENA 202
4.3.2.1. Impersonal Passive 202
4.3.2.2. Auxiliary COME and Infinitive 203
4.3.2.3. Auxiliary BECOME and Resultative Participle 204
4.3.2.4. Copula BE and Resultative Participle 205
4.3.3. Lability in South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish Varieties 206
4.3.4. Lability in Other Dialects 211
4.3.4.1. Passive and Anticausative 212
4.3.4.2. Referential Continuity 214
4.3.4.3. Differential Object Indexing 216
4.3.4.4. Impersonal Passive, Ergative, or Something Else? 218
4.3.4.5. Lability in Dynamic-Stative Varieties 219
4.3.5. Focal Dative Marking of the Agent in non-Trans-Zab Varieties 220
4.3.5.1. Dative Mariking of the Agent 222
4.3.5.2. Focalization and Zero Marking of the Agent 224

4.3.5.3. Possible Transitive Interpretations 225
4.4. Alignment Splits and Multiple Transitive Constructions 228
4.4.1. System-Internal Neutralization of Object Indexes 229
4.4.2. Competing Transitive Constructions: The *qam-qaṭəl*-Construction 231
4.4.2.1. Two Basic Transitive Constructions 231
4.4.2.2. Possible Motivations 235
4.4.2.3. Ergativity and Split A-Marking 237
4.4.3. Ergative Alignment in Peripheral Christian Dialects 240
4.4.3.1. Fluid S-Marking 240
4.4.3.2. Multiple Transitive Constructions 241
4.4.3.3. Possible Motivations 242
4.4.3.4. Ergativity and Split A-marking 244
4.5. Summary 246
5. ALIGNMENT SPLITS IN NENA BASED ON VERB-RELATED PROPERTIES 249
5.1. Verb-Related Splits in Simple Verbal Forms 250
5.1.1. Split Subject and Agent-Marking in South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish Varieties 252
5.1.1.1. Agentivity or Animacy 257
5.1.1.2. Degree of Affectedness 259
5.1.1.3. Aspectual Factors 260
5.1.1.4. Morphological Factors 261
5.1.1.5. Complex Predicates 262
5.1.2. Dynamic-Stative Subject-Marking 262
5.1.3. TAM-Sensitive Alignment Splits 266
5.1.3.1. Accusative-Neutral Split 266
5.1.3.2. Ergative-Accusative Split 268
5.1.4. TAM-Marking through Verbal Person Marking 271
5.2. Compound Verbal Forms 274
5.2.1. Perfect and Progressive 275

5.2.2. Object Person Forms 279
5.2.2.1. 'Possessive' suffixes 280
5.2.2.2. Independent object person form 282
5.2.2.3. Attached ʔəll-set or ʔəbb-set 282
5.2.3. Lability and Dative Marking of the Agent 283
5.2.3.1. Position of the 'Copula' 286
5.2.3.2. Verbalization 286
5.2.3.3. Objects 287
5.2.3.4. Dative Agents 289
5.2.4. Contraction and Secondary E_2-series 292
5.2.5. Compound Verbal forms Modeled on the 'Imperfective' 295
5.3. Constructional Splits in Trans-Zab Jewish Dialects 300
5.3.1. Person Role Constraint 301
5.3.2. Gender-Conditioned Hierarchical Agreement 302
5.3.3. Splits and Co-Variation in the Realis Perfect 307
5.3.3.1. Competing Resultatives 308
5.3.3.2. Alignment Spltis and Gender-Conditioned Ergativity 310
5.3.3.3. Split Intransitivity 312
5.3.4. Passive and Ergative in the Realis Perfect 314
5.3.4.1. The Perfect in West Iranian Dialects 314
5.3.4.2. Word order and Case-marking 316
5.3.4.3. Inflectional Base 317
5.3.4.4. Referential Continuity 317
5.3.4.5. Differential Object Marking 319
5.3.5. Alignment Splits in the Compound Perfect 321
5.4. Historical Perspective: From Resultative to Preterit 328
5.5. Summary 331
6. ALIGNMENT SPLITS IN CENTRAL NEO-ARAMAIC 335
6.1. Alignment in Ṭuroyo 336
6.1.1. Ergative and Horizontal Person Marking 336

6.1.2. Ditransitive Person Marking 340
6.1.3. Ergative and Horizontal Prepositional Marking 345
6.2. Lability and the *qaṭil*-Form in Ṭuroyo 353
6.2.1. Labile Verbs and the Voice System 353
6.2.1.1. Phonological Reduction 355
6.2.1.2. Labile Alternations 356
6.2.1.3. Ergative and Neuter Verbs 358
6.2.1.4. Impersonal Labile Alternations 361
6.2.2. Split and Fluid Subject and Agent-Marking in Ṭuroyo 363
6.3. Alignment and Voice in Mlaḥso 368
6.3.1. Neutral Agreement and Accusative Case-marking 369
6.3.2. Anticausative and Passive Voice 371
6.3.3. The Realis Perfect 374
6.4. Morphological Adaptation of Intransitive Coding 376
6.5. Summary 379
7. OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS 383
7.1. Overview of Major Alignment types 384
7.1.1. Intransitive/Transitive Alignment Types 384
7.1.1.1. Ergative Alignment 385
7.1.1.2. Accusative Alignment 390
7.1.1.3. Other Basic Alignment Types 392
7.1.2. Ditransitives and Combinations 395
7.1.3. Interactions of Prepositional Marking and Agreement 398
7.1.4. Ergative-like Markedness 403
7.1.5. Agreement Inversion 408
7.2. Verb and Aspect-related Scales and Splits 411
7.2.1. The Tense-Aspect-Mood scale 411
7.2.2. Split and Fluid Subject Marking 416
7.3. Lability and Ergativity 419
7.3.1. Lability, Passive, and Agent omission 419
7.3.2. Antipassive and Patient Omission 422

7.4. Argument-Related Scales and Splits 425
7.4.1. Patient-Related Scales 425
7.4.2. Agent-Related Scales and Splits in Transitivity Coding 433
7.4.3. Ditransitive Constructions and the Prominence Scale 438
7.5. Concluding Remarks and Outlook 440
REFERENCES 442
SAMENVATTING 465
CURRICULUM VITAE 473

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help and continuous support of others to which I owe a debt of gratitude, although, naturally, I alone am responsible for any shortcomings in the final text. I apologize beforehand for omitting people I accidentally overlooked.

First and foremost, I thank my two paranymphs: my officemate, Benjamin Suchard, and my best friend, Johan Rodenburg, who have probably been closest to me in the entire process over the past years. I am indebted to them for their encouragement, their proofreading of the text, and their helpful comments. I also thank my close friend, Marion van den Berg, and my cousin, Friso Tiesema, for proofreading parts of this thesis.

I am sincerely grateful to my Promotor, Prof. dr. Holger Gzella for his supervision, his moral support, and his stimulating lectures on Semitic languages. Regrettably, the Leiden University promotion regulations prevent me from thanking the members of the dissertation committee.

I thank LUCL's staff and management teams for facilitating an energizing environment to conduct my research. Colleagues and friends I would like to thank specifically are: Ahmad Al-Jallad, Kate Bellamy, Lisa Cheng, Simeon Dekker, Jaap Kamphuis, Alwin Kloekhorst, Fokelien Kootstra, Marijn van Putten, and Xander Vertegaal for showing interest in my work and discussing several topics pertaining to it as well as life as a PhD candidate. A special thank you is due to Martin Baasten for his contagious enthusiasm for Semitics, his passionate teaching, and being a mentor to me both as intellectual and as person. I am grateful also to Margaretha Folmer for her moral support and introducing me to Aramaic.

I owe a great deal to Don Stilo whose encyclopedic knowledge and in-depth discussions especially concerning the Neo-Aramaic speaking area have inspired me over the past few years and have benefited me in many aspects of my research. I am indebted to Hiwa Asadpour, Agnes Korn, Thomas Jügel, and Ergin Öpengin for stimulating discussions on Iranian languages and their alignment typology.

A special thank you belongs to the students who eagerly participated in my classes on Neo-Aramaic languages and Comparative Semitics. I am grateful also to Naures Atto, the Ibrahim family, Edesa Mutlu, and many other *Suryoye* for their patience with me and answering questions regarding Ṭuroyo.

Finally, I express my utmost gratitude to my two sisters, Esther and Judith, and my brother, Daan, and his family. Without their love, encouragement and

support, this thesis would never have reached completion. Since no words in print could express my gratitude to my parents, Niek and Hilga, for everything you have done to make this possible, I can only dedicate this work to you, with all my love.

Paul M. Noorlander
Leiden, March 2018

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General abbreviations

A	agent of transitive construction
AGR	agreement
Akk.	Akkadian
Ar.	Arabic
CM	case-marking
CNA	Central Neo-Aramaic
def.	definite
DOM	differential object marking
DYN	dynamic
fNP	full noun phrase
G	goal
indef.	indefinite
INS	instigating
itr.	intransitive
LOC	locative
Mn.	Midən (*Mədwoyo*)
Mt.	Midyat (*Məδyoyo*)
NENA	North Eastern Neo-Aramaic
N	noun phrase
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OBL	(major) oblique (case)
P	patient of transitive construction
pl.	plural
PREP	preposition
PRO	pronoun
pron.	pronominal
PUNC	punctual
R	recipient of a ditransitive construction
S	subject of intransitive construction
S_A	S aligned with A
sb.	somebody
sg.	singular
S_P	S aligned with P
sth.	something
T	theme of ditransitive construction
TEL	telic
tr.	transitive
Ṭur.	Ṭuroyo
U	undergoer
V	verb

Glossing abbreviations

ABS	absolutive (case), absolute state
ACC	accusative
ACTZ	actualizer
ADD	additive
ADJZR	adjectivizer
ANTIP	antipassive
ART	article
ASP	verbal aspectual particle
AUX	auxiliary
CLF	classifier
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEM1	demonstrative particle
DIR	direct
DOM	differential object marker
DTR	detransitivizer

DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic state
ERG	ergative
EXST	existential
F	feminine
FIN	finite
FOC	focus (marker)
FPL	feminine plural
FS	feminine singular
INC	inclusive
INST	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LK	linker
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POSSM	possessum
POSTP	postposition
POT	potential
PPT	perfect/past participle
PRED	predicate
PRET	preterit
PRN	proper noun
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PRP	preposition
PRS	present
PRST	presentative
PSSM	possessum
PSSR	possessor
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PUNC	punctual
PVB	preverb
RECP	reciprocal
RFL	reflexive
LOC	locative
LOCUT	locutor
M	masculine
MPL	masculine plural
MS	masculine singular
NOM	nominative
NONFS	nonfeminine singular
NS	neuter singular
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PERS	person marker
PFPART	perfective particle
PFV	perfective
RPP	resultative participle
SBJ	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
SUBR	subordinator

Symbols

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
*	reconstruction
**	incorrect, judged ungrammatical / impossible, non-existent
>	develops into / ranks higher than
<	is derived from / ranks lower than
⊇	entails or is equal to
⊃	entails
/x/	phonemic representation
[x]	phonetic representation
<>	graphic representation
ˠ	suprasegmental pharyngealization
°	preverbal marking omitted
◌̰	unaspirated/glottalized articulatio

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. *Some hallmarks of Jewish NENA dialects* 10
Table 2. *NENA dialects close to Central and Western Neo-Aramaic* 12
Table 3. *Sample of dialects that has been studied for this research* 29
Table 4. *Types of person forms* 45
Table 5. *Zero vs. overt case coding in the accusative type* 59
Table 6. *Distribution of zero vs. overt case coding in the ergative type* 59
Table 7. *Marked intransitive/transitive alignment types* 61
Table 8. *Marked ditransitive alignment types* 61
Table 9. *Alignment patterns based on the NP prominence of the P* 86
Table 10. *Split conditioned by NP prominence in Dyirbal* 89
Table 11. *Person split in Puma* 93
Table 12. *Combinations of ditransitive case-marking and agreement* 101
Table 13. *Declension of nouns and adjectives in Ṭuroyo (Midyat)* 106
Table 14. *Declension of nouns and adjectives in J. Amidya* 106
Table 15. *Basic pronominal inventory in Ṭuroyo* 108
Table 16. *Basic pronominal inventory in J. Zaxo* 108
Table 17. *Major type ofweak verbs* 108
Table 18. *The Aramaic stem formations in Ṭuroyo* 111
Table 19. *Simplified overview of the main forms of the verb in NENA* 117
Table 20. *Simplified overview of the 'imperfective' conjugations* 118
Table 21. *Conjugation of the 'imperfective' and 'perfective' with object indexes* 121

Table 22. *Inflection of prepositions in Neo-Aramaic* 135
Table 23. *Person marking of themes and recipients* 148
Table 24. *Nominal and pronominal themes and recipients (non-differential)* 150
Table 25. *Distribution of independent object pronouns* 172
Table 26. *First/second person forms and case-marking and agreement* 192
Table 27. *Ergative agreement and accusative case-marking of the P* 194
Table 28. *Prominence hierarchy and (non-)ergative alignment* 195
Table 29. *Passive vs. ergative* 198
Table 30. *Imperfective–perfective parallellism of object marking L-suffixes* 230
Table 31. *Two types of preterits and DOM in J. Amidya* 233
Table 32. *Distribution of qam-qaṭəl-preterit and qṭil-preterit* 235
Table 33. *Alignment in the preterit in Christian Koy Sanjaq* 239
Table 34. *Three types of transitive 'perfective' constructions in C. Hertevin* 245
Table 35. *Patient-like or agent-like marking of the S in J. Sulemaniyya* 254
Table 36. *Comparison of subject-marking in J. Suleminiyya and J. Urmi* 313
Table 37. *Irrealis perfect in J. Kerend* 325
Table 38. *Ergativity in Jewish NENA in the preterit and beyond* 327
Table 39. *Person-conditioned alignment in Ṭuroyo (Miden)* 338
Table 40. *Indexing and case-marking of the A and the P* 350
Table 41. *The Ṭuroyo stem formations* 353
Table 42. *Patient-like or agent-like marking of the S in Ṭuroyo* 363
Table 43. *Ṭuroyo stem I subclasses in the 'perfective'* 368
Table 44. *The Mlaḥso stem formations* 371
Table 45. *Splits with accusative case-marking* 399
Table 46. *Splits with ergative case-marking* 399
Table 47. *Overview of person splits in the 'preterit'* 427
Table 48. *Overview of person and gender-based splits in the 'perfect'* 428

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. *The NENA-speaking area* 7
Figure 2. *Iranian Jewish NENA dialects.* 9
Figure 3. *Monotransitive alignment schemas* 49
Figure 4. *Ditransitive alignment schemas* 54
Figure 5. *Marked nominative and marked absolutive compared* 60
Figure 6. *Split and fluid subject-marking* 63
Figure 7. *Alignment split conditioned by TAM in Kurmanji* 69
Figure 8. *Conceptual space for participant roles* 99
Figure 9. *Major agreement alignment patterns in Eastern Neo-Aramaic* 125
Figure 10. *Ditransitive person role associations* 145
Figure 11. *Ditransitive pronoun-NP role associations* 145
Figure 12. *Monotransitive person role associations* 163