Alignment in eastern Neo-Aramaic languages from a typological perspective

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3. CODING PROPERTIES OF EASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC[63]

After this typological overview, our focus shifts to Eastern Neo-Aramaic. This chapter concentrates on 'imperfective' (*šaməʔ-*) constructions which are largely uniform across dialects and serve as a basis for comparison with 'perfective' (*šmiʔ-*) constructions which often show peculiarities, as will be discussed in Chapter 4 to 5 for NENA and Chapter 6 for Central Neo-Aramaic. The agent expressed through L-suffixes in the 'perfective' (*šmiʔ-*) will be shown to be functionally equivalent with the A expressed through E-suffixes in the 'imperfective' (*šaməʔ-*), and this generally holds *vice versa* for the P, indicating that a passive analysis is false, at least synchronically. The coding, properties are central in this chapter, since, in terms of behaviorial properties or syntactic alignment, Neo-Aramaic languages have been shown to be uniformly accusative (Hoberman 1989; Doron and Khan 2010, 2012)[64]. All else being equal, the A shares behavioral properties with the S, not the P. This notwithstanding, the next chapters will provide more details indicating that some properties of the 'perfective' (*šmiʔ-*) waver between passive-like and ergative-like not applicable to the 'imperfective' (*šaməʔ-*) agent.

This chapter will introduce the main coding properties and builds up step by step from verbal morphology to transitive clauses with full NPs. We first discuss the major alignment types found in the perfective past without coreferential nominals (Section 3.2). This is continued by a brief introduction to case-marking and agreement in more complex transitive constructions involving full nominals (Section 3.3) and an examination of the interaction between pronominals and full nominals as well as agreement and case-marking in ditransitive constructions (Section 3.4.). In ditransitive constructions, the marking of the R through L-suffixes may converge across 'perfective' and 'imperfective'. This chapter concludes with a treatment of the use of the L-suffixes in possessor predicates throughout the 'perfective' and 'imperfective'.

[63] Our discussion excludes Neo-Mandaic which is otherwise subsumed under Eastern Neo-Aramaic as well (see previous section).

[64] See now also Coghill (2016:73-81) for inconclusive tests of syntactic ergativity in NENA.

3.1. Basics of Nominal and Verbal Inflection

The discussion of inflectional morphology begins with nominal morphology and person forms and continues with verbal inflection. As in other Semitic languages, the Neo-Aramaic verb has three primary levels of morphological abstraction:

- root, mainly consisting of three radicals, with an associated meaning, such as such as *n-š-q* 'kiss';
- stem, formed out of this root through manipulation of the vowel melody as consonantal template and/or additional affixes to distinguish verb classes and different voices such causative and mediopassive;
- inflectional base that selects a paradigm of verbal endings which jointly determine how the verb is conjugated.

3.1.1. Nouns and Independent Pronouns

Nouns are generally declined according to number (singular or plural) and gender (masculine or feminine), as illustrated for Ṭuroyo and J. Amidya below. Nouns are sometimes also inflected for adnominal possession (see below) and definiteness. Prefixal definite articles are used at least in Central Neo-Aramaic, e.g. *u-ḥmoro* 'the king', and some NENA dialects may have similar determiners. Case-marking is adpositional in Aramaic, e.g. Ṭuroyo *ʕal-u-ḥmoro* 'on the ass' (see §3.3.1).

Table 13. *Declension of nouns and adjectives in Ṭuroyo (Midyat)*

	ḥmor- 'ass'	*ḥmar-* 'jenny ass'	*ḥəwor-* 'white'	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	*ḥmor-o*	*ḥmar-to*	*ḥəwor-o*	*ḥəwar-to*
PL	*ḥmor-e*	*ḥmar-yoθo*	*ḥəwor-e*	

Table 14. *Declension of nouns and adjectives in J. Amidya*

	xmar- 'king'	*xmar-* 'queen'	*xwar-* 'white	
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	*xmar-a*	*xmar-ta*	*xwar-a*	*xwar-ta*
PL	*xmar-e*	*xmar-yaθa*	*xwar-e*	

Source: *Data from Greenblatt (2011).*

Eastern Neo-Aramaic (ENA), like Semitic languages in general, distinguishes between dependent and independent person forms. Dependent person forms are attached to a verbal or non-verbal host through affixation or cliticization contrary to a set of independent pronouns. All dependent person forms follow their host as suffixes or enclitics in ENA[65]. This concerns a set of (enclitic) pronouns termed the 'copula' and a set of suffixal indexes that attach to non-verbal hosts traditionally termed 'possessive' suffixes. Their forms are considerably diverse in Neo-Aramaic at large as well as within dialect groups. Table 15 and Table 16 at the end of this subsection present examples from Ṭuroyo and Jewish Zaxo.

The independent pronouns are generally distinguished by gender only in the second and third person. The third person pronouns are part of a larger system of demonstratives. All demonstratives as such can serve as third person pronouns. These independent pronouns are unmarked for case and mainly denote a clausal topic, and, hence, often the syntactic subject. They occur in isolation and in topicalization or focalization constructions, usually in clause-initial position, e.g. Ṭuroyo ***ono*** *əšm-i Xāngír=yo* '(As for me—,) my name is Xangir' (Ritter 1967-71, 73: 56). They are used to express a discourse-salient pronominal argument with less or no integration in the clause and are often combined with focus markers, e.g. Ṭuroyo *óno=ste* 'Even, also I'. When they are fully integrated in the clause, they usually focalize a pronominal argument, referring back to a person index, e.g. *əšm-**i ono** Yáḥqo=yo* '**MY** name is Jakob' (ibid. 116:37).

The unmarked dependent person forms are enclitics used in non-verbal clauses called the 'copula' that closely correlate with independent pronouns. The term 'copula' is misleading, since these enclitic pronouns are used in ditransitive constructions (§3.4) and agreement in verbal constructions with a nominal basis (§5.2.5). The copula is primarily used as the expression of person forms in non-negated present non-verbal clauses, e.g. Ṭuroyo *áydarbo=hat* 'How are you$_{MS}$?', lit. 'how=you'. They may cliticize and contract with the final vowel of the host when they follow the predicate, e.g. NENA *áxxe=le* < **axxa=īle* 'He is here' (J. Amidya; Greenblatt 2011:8). Most of Neo-Aramaic also has negated counterparts which combine with a negation element based on the negator *la* or *le* (Ṭuroyo *lat-*), e.g. *lēwən* 'I am not' in NENA *ʔāna hatxa lēwən* 'I am not like that' (J. Zaxo; Cohen 2012:44), *latyo* '(S)he/it is not' in Ṭuroyo.

[65] Prefixal person forms do occur in other Semitic languages. This is a major morphological typological difference between Eastern Neo-Aramaic and its Semitic relatives.

Table 15. *Basic pronominal inventory in Ṭuroyo*

	INDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT	
		COPULA (ENCLITIC)	ADNOMINAL (POSSESSIVE)
1SG	*ono, ŭno*	*hárke=no* 'I am here'	*bab-i* 'my father'
PL	*aḥna, əḥna*	*hárke=na* 'We are here'	*bab-an* 'our father'
2MS	*hat, hate*	*hárke=hat* etc.	*bab-ŭx* etc.
FS	*hat, hate*	*hárke=hat*	*bab-ax*
PL	*hatu*	*hárke=hatu*	*bab-ay-xu*
3MS	*hiye, huwe*	*hárke=yo*	*bab-a*
FS	*hiyā*	*hárke=yo*	*bab-ay-ye*
PL	*hənne, -nək*	*hárke=ne*	*bab-i*

Source: *Data based on Ritter (1990, transcription modified*).

Table 16. *Basic pronominal inventory in J. Zaxo*

	INDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT	
		COPULA (GENERALLY ENCLITIC)	ADNOMINAL (POSSESSIVE)
1MS	*ʔāna*	*mani wən* 'Who am I_M?'	*bāb-i* 'my father'
FS		*mani wan* 'Who am I_F'	
PL	*ʔaxni*	*mani wax* 'Who are we?'	*bāb-an* 'our father'
2MS	*ʔāhət*	*wət* etc.	*bāb-ox* etc.
FS	*ʔāhat*	*wat*	*bāb-ax*
PL	*ʔaxtun*	*wētun*	*bāb-ōxun*
3MS	*ʔāwa*	*(ī)le*	*bāb-e*
FS	*ʔāya*	*(ī)la*	*bāb-a*
PL	*ʔāni*	*(ī)lu*	*bāb-ōhun*

Source: *Data based on Cohen (2012).*

Table 17. *Major type ofweak verbs*

INITIAL, FIRST		SECOND, MIDDLE, HOLLOW		THIRD, FINAL	
$R_1 = y$	*y-δ-ʕ* 'know'	$R_2 = y$	*q-y-m* 'rise'	$R_3 = y$	*š-t-y* 'drink'
$R_1 = ʔ$	*ʔ-x-l* 'eat'	$R_2 = w$	*l-w-š* 'wear'	$R_3 = w$	*k-θ-w* 'write'

Other TAM categories such as future, preterit, subjunctive etc. are expressed by the copula verb *hwy* 'be' which we will not further discuss here.

The 'possessive' suffixes express:

(i) the possessor complement of a noun phrase, e.g. J. Zaxo *bēs-an* 'our home', Ṭur. *bab-i* 'my father'.

(ii) the complement of a prepositional phrase, e.g. J. Zaxo *ʔəmm-a* 'with her', Ṭur. *eb-ax* 'in you$_{FS}$' and

(iii) chiefly in Central Neo-Aramaic, the complement of an imperative verbal form, e.g. Ṭur. *zbaṭ-a* 'catch$_{SG}$ her!'.

3.1.2. Verbal Roots

Following nominal inflection, we continue with verbal inflection. Verbal roots are generally composed of three radicals, at least one of which may be lost in the inflection of so-called weak verbs.

First of all, Neo-Aramaic generally maintains the Pan-Semitic characteristics of verbal roots which are composed of a particular set of consonants that function as radicals. There are mainly three radicals per verbal root, indicated as R_1-R_2-R_3 or C_1-C_2-C_3 (where R or C stands for radical consonant). The roots for 'kiss', 'pull', 'take' and 'kill', for example, are, respectively, *n-š-q*, *g-r-š*, *š-q-l* and *q-ṭ-l* in Aramaic. These verbs are generally used as 'dummy' verbs, i.e. the default descriptive example from which we can deduce how other verbs are inflected. Whereas most verbs are triradical, quite a number of them can also constitute more than three radicals, being, for instance, quadriradical such as *d-l-g-n* 'tell a lie' and *g-n-d-r* 'roll'.

Furthermore, the position and quality of a radical in a particular consonant-vowel template that constitutes a verbal form can affect the way the verb is inflected. Semitists generally distinguish between sound verbs, which regularly retain all radicals in inflection (such as *g-r-š* 'pull'), and weak verbs, which contain a radical that is somehow lost, primarily the semi-vowels *y* and *w*[66]; though, usually leaving behind some trace in the phonology[67]. Table 17 (on the preced-

[66] Historically, *w* is the reflex of the spirantized allophone of /b/ in pre-modern Aramaic. The shift from **b̲* to *w* (e.g. **kṭob̲o* > Ṭuroyo *kθowo*) gave rise to new weak roots, such as *g-n-w* 'steal' (< **g-n-b*), *k-θ-w* 'write' (< **k-t-b*), *l-w-š* 'dress' (< **l-b-š*), *g-w-r* 'marry' (< **g-b-r*). The stop allophone may still be found elsewhere, compare *mzabən* 'He sells' (< **mzabbən-*) and *zowən* 'He buys' (< **zob̲ən*), both originally formed of the root *z-b-n*.

[67] Sometimes this can involve two (or more) weak radicals (i.e. doubly weak verbs).

ing page) represents how they are differentiated further by the position of their weakness, respectively, first, second (or hollow), and final weak verbs[68].

The type of radical is usually specified; for example, *q-y-m* 'rise' belongs to the hollow verbs, more specifically the second-/y/ verbs, *k-θ-w* to the final weak verbs, more specifically the final-/w/ and so forth. Verbal roots containing a final resonant are also subsumed under weak verbs in certain Neo-Aramaic languages; for example, final-/r/ verbs. Weak verbs are principally as systematic or predictable as sound verbs. The fact that their triradicalism is partially or completely weakened in their inflectional system sets them apart. They should not to be mistaken for irregular verbs which are inflected differently from both sound and weak verbs; for example, the verb *ʔ-z-l* 'go' is often highly irregular in Neo-Aramaic languages.

In a nutshell, verbal roots generally consist of three radical consonants. Regular verbs are either sound or weak. All radicals are retained in the inflection of sound verbs (such as *n-š-q* 'kiss'). At least one radical is lost in the inflection of weak verbs (such as *q-y-m* 'rise'), usually leaving a trace behind. Irregular verbs are inflected differently from both of these.

3.1.3. Derivational Stems and Inflectional Bases

The Eastern Neo-Aramaic verbal system mainly distinguishes three conjugations of which the 'imperfective' and 'perfective' inflectional bases are most important to this dissertation and four stem types of which the basic stem represents the basic and most frequent verbal forms that will occur in our discussion throughout this monograph.

The Eastern Neo-Aramaic verbal system mainly consists of the following forms:

		NENA	Ṭuroyo
FINITE	imperative	*qṭol*$_{SG}$, *qṭulun*$_{PL}$	*qṭal*$_{SG}$, *qṭalu*$_{PL}$
(suffixal	'imperfective'	*qaṭəl-*, *qaṭl-*	*qoṭəl-*, *qŭṭl-*
inflection)	'perfective'	*qṭil*	*qṭil-* or *qaṭil-*
NON-FINITE	infinitive	*qṭala*	*qṭolo*
	resultative	*qṭila*	*qṭilo* or *qaṭilo*
	agent noun	*qaṭala*, *qaṭola*	*qaṭolo*, *qoṭulo*

[68] These are traditionally known by the Latin terms *verba infirmae radicalis* in Semitics, and thus *verba primae*, *mediae* or *tertiae infirmae* (*radicalis*), respectively.

The basic verbal system primarily distinguishes three conjugations the imperative (NENA *qṭol*, CNA *qṭal* 'kill!'), the 'imperfective' (NENA *qaṭəl-*, CNA *qoṭəl-*) and the 'perfective' (*qṭil-*) characterized by suffixal person indexes. The 'imperfective' base loses the vowel *ə* [ɪ] before suffixes beginning with a vowel, yielding *qaṭl-* in NENA. Due to vowel reduction, this yields *qŭṭl-* < **qoṭl-* in Ṭuroyo. The Central Neo-Aramaic 'perfective' has two bases: *qṭil-* and *qaṭil-*. Nominal forms of the verb include at least an action noun or infinitive (*qṭala* 'killing') and verbal adjective or resultative participle (*qṭila* 'killed'). Like the perfective, the latter encompasses two consonantal templates in Central Neo-Aramaic: *qṭilo* and *qaṭilo*. In addition, there are agent nominalizations (e.g. NENA *ganawa* 'thief', Ṭur. *ganowo* 'thief') that may serve as an active participle or proximative in some varieties (see Noorlander 2017).

Verbal stem formation involves several possible derivation classes. These classes are typical for Aramaic and share cognates with other Semitic languages. Semitists often distinguish a G(round) or B(asic) stem (German *Grundstamm*), D(oubling) stem (German *Doppelungstamm*) and C(ausative) stem[69]. Q(uadriradical) verbs usually follow the patterns of the D-stem. Their equivalent mediopassive or reflexive counterpart are known as the 'T-stems' (i.e. Gt-stem, Dt-stem, Ct-stem, Qt-stem)[70]. Table 18 below gives examples of such formations in Ṭuroyo.

Table 18. *The Aramaic stem formations in Ṭuroyo*

ACTIVE			MEDIOPASSIVE		
I:	(B)	***qoṭəl-***	I_M:	(Bt)	*mə-**qṭəl-***
II:	(D)	*m-**zabən-***	II_M:	(Dt)	*mi-**zabən-***
III:	(C)	*m-a-**dməx-***	III_M:	(Ct)	*mi-t-a-**dməx-***
IV:	(Q)	*m-**farqəʃ-***	IV_M:	(Qt)	*mi-**farqəʃ-***

Note*:* I: qṭl *'kill',* II: zbn *'sell',* III: *dmx* 'put asleep', IV: frqʃ *'burst'.*

In accordance with Table 18, I will consistently refer to them as stem I, II, III and IV and their corresponding mediopassive as I_M, II_M, III_M and IV_M. There is no common practice in Neo-Aramaic Studies to refer to these verbal formations but

[69] The first three are traditionally known as (*Neo-*)*Pʿal*, (*Neo-*)*Paʿʿel* and (*Neo-*)*Apʿel*, respectively.

[70] The traditional terms are *ʾEṯpʿal, ʾEṯpaʿʿal* and *ʾEttapʿal*.

the traditional terminology is not suitable for comparing Neo-Aramaic languages[71].

Contrary to Central Neo-Aramaic, NENA dialects do not have mediopassive derivations. The Central Neo-Aramaic classes in Table 18 correspond with the following active forms in NENA dialects (if they are all present):

I:	*qaṭəl-*	'kill'
II:	(*m)zabən-*	'sell'
III:	*madməx-*	'put to sleep'
IV:	(*m*)*barbəz-*	'scatter'

Several NENA dialects only have stem III where others would make a distinction between II and III. Notwithstanding the various derivational patterns between the stem formations within a single dialect, it is safe to say that, generally, the verbal derivations referred to as stem II and, most productively, stem III are causatives of the basic stem I, adding an agent to the valence pattern of the basic stem. The root *dmx*, for example, means 'go to sleep' in stem I (*doməx* ~ *daməx*) and 'put to sleep' in stem III (*madməx*).

Overviews are given at the end of this section. Table 19 is an overview of the inflectional categories of main verb types discussed above. Table 20 displays the template for the main forms and functions of the 'imperfective' conjugation which we discuss in the next subsection.

3.1.4. Preverbal Tense-Aspect-Mood Marking

Eastern Neo-Aramaic distinguishes between two main sets of person indexes in verbal constructions, one of which goes back to enclitic personal pronouns and the other to dative pronouns. The distinct usage of these sets in the 'perfective' is the foundation for the alignment variation in person indexing that will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Concentrating on verbal inflection, a primary distinction will be made between 'imperfective' and 'perfective' inflectional bases: *qaṭəl-* (~ CNA *qoṭəl*), respectively, *qṭil-* (~ CNA *qṭil-* or *qaṭil-*) for stem I verbs. No standard reference exists in Neo-Aramaic Studies, but 'Present', 'Jussive', or 'Subjunctive' Base is often used for *qaṭəl*-bases; conversely, 'Past' or

[71] D-stem, for instance, is derived from German *Doppelungstamm* 'doubling stem' due to the gemination, i.e. lengthening, of the second radical (**mzabban-*), but such gemination is no longer a characteristic of this formation in most of Neo-Aramaic.

'Preterit' for *qṭil-* (cf. Häberl 2009; Doron and Khan 2012). The terms 'imperfective' and 'perfective' adopted here are functionally motivated though principally morphological in nature. The verbal forms based on *qaṭəl-* can, for instance, also express perfective aspect when used as narrative present (e.g. Christian Barwar, Khan 2008a: 570), and *qṭil-* can also express imperfective aspect when used as resultative (e.g Khan 2008a:615) or proximative, e.g. *miθ-le* 'He is about to die' (Noorlander 2017).

These inflectional bases are the direct reflexes of active, respectively, resultative[72] participial predicates in pre-modern Aramaic. The verbal predication is traced back to their historically short, indefinite form. The longer, historically definite, counterpart of the resultative participle continues as a verbal adjective termed 'resultative participle' here. The resultative participle is derived from the originally definite form of the resultative participle (**qṭilā* > *qṭilo* ~ *qṭila*) that properly joined in the levelling of the original distinction in determination between so-called 'absolute' (*qṭil* 'a killed one', *malk* 'a king') and 'emphatic' state (*qṭīlā* 'the killed one', *malkā* 'the king'). The first is lost entirely in NENA and Central Neo-Aramaic in favor of the longer forms.

There are two core sets of argument indexes. Set 1 entails the 'E-suffixes' and Set 2 constitutes the 'L-suffixes'[73]. Set 1 entails the 'E-suffixes' and Set 2 constitutes the 'L-suffixes'[74]. The sets are illustrated below for Ṭuoryo (Central Neo-Aramaic) and J. Amidya (NENA). These are purely meant as neutral morphological designations without the precarious implications of any systematic relationship to the grammatical functions (i.e. S, A, P) or a particular alignment system, as implied by the terminology used in previous literature (see §1.3.2). The sets are illustrated in (1) below for Ṭuoryo (Central Neo-Aramaic) and J. Amidya (NENA).

Set 1 can be decomposed into gender and number coding (m. -∅, f. –*a* and pl. -*i*) and person and number coding (2sg. -*et*, 2pl. -*tun,* 1sg. -*no,* 1pl. -*na*). The morphological complexity of the first and second E-suffixes separates them from

[72] It should be noted that this is generally known as a passive participle in traditional Semitics. Since this form is in usage typologically closer to resultative constructions (Nedjalkov 1988, 2001), resultative participle will be used instead, especially in order to avoid cumbersome descriptions such as participles that are passive in form but active in meaning or function.

[73] For this choice of terminology, cf. Mutzafi (2004a, 2008a) and Fassberg (2010).

[74] For this choice of terminology, cf. Mutzafi (2004a, 2008a) and Fassberg (2010).

(1) **Sets of argument indexes**

	Ṭuroyo		**NENA** ((J. Amidya; Greenblatt 2011:88, 91)	
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 1	SET 2
	E-SERIES	L-SERIES	E-SERIES	L-SERIES
1MS	*-no*	*-li*	*-na, -ena*	*-li*
FS	*-ono*		*-an, -ana*	
PL	*-inā*	*-lan*	*-ax, -axni*	*-lan, -leni*
2MS	*-ət, -at*	*-lŭx, -lox*	*-ət*	*-lux*
FS	*-at*	*-lax*, *-ləx*	*-at*	*-lax*
PL	*-utu*, *-itu*	*-lxu*	*-etun*	*-loxun*
3MS	*-Ø*	*-le*	*-Ø*	*-le*
FS	*-o*	*-lā*	*-a*	*-la*
PL	*-i*, *-ən*[75]	*-lle*, *-lən*	*-i*	*-lu, -lohun*

the third person which are morphologically more simplex in lacking special person coding, e.g. 3fs. *domx-o* 'She sleeps' and *domx-i* 'They sleep'. Synchronically, the E-suffixes are not enclitics but the 'copula' set that is partly morphologically identical (discussed in §3.1.1) fulfill this function, e.g. Ṭuroyo *ono u-malko=no* 'I am the king'. Similarly, we can observe, to some extent, the prepositional orgin of the L-suffixes. They can be decomposed into the characteristic *l-* and an additional possessive suffix, e.g. *l-* + 1sg. *-i*, *l-* + 1pl. *-an* like *bab-i* 'my father', *bab-an* 'our father' etc. This will not be done here, unless there is a clear warrant to do so (for example, for closer analysis or comparative purposes). Moreover, one should note that the L-suffixes and possessive suffixes are not morphologically identical in every concerning language. In Jewish Saqqiz, for example, 3fs. possessive suffix is *-av* while the coressponding L-suffix is *-la* (Israeli 1998), (see §4.1.3) .

The verbal conjugation of the 'imperfective' primarily consists of a specific template that serves as base for several TAM distinctions[76]. This is illustrated in (2) below:

[75] Final-y verbs.

[76] It should be noted that some preverbal TAM-encoding is also found for other inflectional bases.

(2) **Pattern of the 'imperfective'**

	TAM	**BASE**	**S/A**	**P**	
	IND	IPV	-E	-L	
J. Amidya	*g-*[77]	*damx-*	***-a***		'She (S) sleeps'
(Greenblatt 2011)	*k-*	*qaṭl-*	***-a-***	*-le*	'She (A) kills him (P)'
Ṭuroyo	*ko-*	*kŭrx-*	***-o***		'She (S) goes around'
(Jastrow 1985)	*ko-*	*qŭṭl-*	***-o-***	*-le*	'She (A) kills him (P)'

Although these distinctions are considerably complex and dialect-dependent, Table 19 at the end of this section offers a simplified overview. What is common to all Neo-Aramaic languages is the use of the E-series to encode both the S and A and the L-series to encode P for verbal forms based on the imperfective (NENA *qaṭəl-/qaṭl-*, Central *qoṭəl-/qŭtl-*), resulting in the accusative pattern (as inherited from pre-modern Aramaic).

A coreferential nominal is not obligatory, so that these person forms function as cross-indexes, respectively, ambiguous agreement markers (see §1.2.2). Independent pronouns are distinct from the dependent person forms given here and trigger verbal agreement similarly to full NPs (see §3.1.1). Thus, a verbal predicate like *ko-kŭrx-o* may occur with a subject NP, e.g. *Viktoria ko-kŭrx-o* 'Viktoria goes around', an independent pronoun, e.g. *hiye ko-kŭrx-o* 'SHE goes around', or without a co-referent, e.g. *ko-kŭrx-o* 'She goes around' (see further Section 3.3).

This basic template begins with a marker of clause-level grammatical information in which the categories of tense, aspect and mood are fused. The characteristically velar or post-velar preverbal element (*k(o)-*, *k/g-* etc.) encodes the indicative habitual/progressive. Other TAM-markers in NENA are, for example, the prefix *bd-* that generally encodes the future and *qam-* which is marked for the perfective past. The absence of a TAM-marker (i.e. Ø-) is often grammatically significant and expresses the form used in modal (i.e. non-indicative/'subjunctive') complements, for example:

(3) **Ṭuroyo** (Miden, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71, 115/250)

k-ŭbʃ-o	*Ø-qŭṭl-o*	*Gorgis*	'She wants to kill Gorgis.'
IND-want$_{IPFV}$-S:3FS	SBJ-kill$_{IPFV}$-A:3FS	PRN	

[77] The preverb *k-* may change to *g-*in NENA under certain phonetic conditions.

The distinction between the indicative marker and modal zero is absent or marginalized to initial weak verbs in several NENA dialects[78]. I will use a ring symbol < ˚ > to refer to the 'imperfective' without specifying its preverbal TAM-marking and translate it in the present for convenience's sake such that ˚*damxa* 'She sleeps' represents *k-damxa* 'She sleeps, is sleeping' (present indicative), *b-damxa* 'She will sleep' (future), *Ø-damxa* '(that) she may sleep' (subjunctive) etc. What follows such TAM-markers is a verbal stem that encodes the core meaning of the verbal construction (e.g. *našəq-* kiss$_{IPFV}$*)*, to which the person indexes (1st set, E-series for S/A) are added. Example (4) offers an illustration of such a paradigm.

(4) **Example paradigm for the 'imperfective' (variants in parentheses)**

	Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey, cf. Jastrow 1985; Ritter 1990)		J. Amidya (NW Iraq; Greenblatt 2011)	
1MS	*-no*	˚*qoṭal-no* 'I$_M$ kill' etc.	*-ən*, *-ena*	˚*qaṭl-ən*, ˚*qaṭl-ena* 'I$_M$ kill' etc.
FS	*-ono*	˚*qŭṭl-ono*	*-an(a)*	˚*qáṭl-an(a)*
PL	*-inā*	˚*qŭṭl-inā*	*-ax(ni)*	˚*qaṭl-ax(ni)*
2MS	*-ət*	˚*qŭṭl-ət*	*-ət*	˚*qaṭl-ət*
FS	*-at*	˚*qŭṭl-at*	*-at*	˚*qaṭl-at*
PL	*-utu*	˚*qŭṭl-utu*	*-etun*	˚*qaṭl-etun*
3MS	*-Ø*	˚*qoṭəl-Ø*	*-Ø*	˚*qaṭəl-Ø*
FS	*-o*	˚*qŭṭl-o*	*-a*	˚*qaṭl-a*
PL	*-i*	˚*qŭṭl-i*	*-i*	˚*qaṭl-i*

The additional 2nd set (L-series) may be added to transitive verbal forms as argument markers of the P, e.g. ˚*našq-a-li* 'She kisses me'. Relative anteriority and past tense may be further added by the suffix *-wa*, which is added immediately after the E-suffixes[79] but before the L-suffixes. A conjugated form like *k-našq-á-wa-li* 'She used to kiss me', thus, includes the following template:

TAM +	**BASE**	+ **E-set**	+ **PAST** +	**L-set**	
k-	*našq-*	*-á*	*-wa*	*-li*	'She used to kiss me.'
IND-	kiss$_{IPFV}$-	-A:3FS	-PST	-P:1SG	

[78] This also includes the CNA dialect Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994).

[79] Note that in some Ṭuroyo dialects the past convertor is infixed for the first person, e.g. *dəmx-ó-**way**-no* 'I used to sleep', see Chapter 5.

Table 19. *Simplified overview of the main forms of the verb in NENA*

		SOUND			FIRST-ʔ	SECOND-Y	SECOND-W	FINAL-Y
		I *qṭl*	**II** *šdr*	**III** *qṭl*	**I** *ʔxl*	**I** *qym*	**I** *lwš*	**I** *xzy*
		‘kill’	‘send’	‘have killed’	‘eat’	‘rise’	‘wear’	‘see’
INFINITIVE		*qṭala*	*(m)šadore*	*maqṭole*	*ʔixala*	*qyama*	*lwaša*	*xzaya*
RESULTATIVE	**FS**	*qṭəlta*	*(m)šudarta*	*muqṭalta*	*xəlta*	*qəmta*	*lušta*	*xzita*
	MS	*qṭila*	*(m)šudra*	*muqṭla*	*xila*	*qima*	*lwiša*	*xəzya*
	PL	*qṭili-*	*(m)šudri-*	*muqṭli-*	*xili-*	*qimi-*	*lwiši-*	*xze(ni)-/xəzvi-*
	FS	*qṭila-*	*(m)šudra-*	*muqṭla-*	*xila-*	*qima-*	*lwiša-*	*xəzya-*
PERFECTIVE	**MS**	*qṭəl-*	*(m)šodər-*	*muqṭəl-*	*xəl-*	*qəm-*	*luš-*	*xze-*
	_V	*qaṭl-*	*(m)šadr-*	*maqṭl-*	*ʔaxl-*	*qem-*	*loš-*	*xazy-*
IMPERFECTIVE	**_C#**	*qaṭəl-*	*(m)šadər-*	*maqṭəl-*	*ʔaxəl-/-xəl-*	*qem-*	*lawəš-/loš-*	*xaze-/xaz-*
IMPERATIVE		*qṭol*	*(m)šádər*	*máqṭəl*	*xol*	*qom*	*loš*	*xzi /xzaw-*

Table 20. *Simplified overview of the 'imperfective' conjugations in Eastern Neo-Aramaic*

	TAM*	**BASE**		**A**	**PST**	**P**	BASIC TAM FUNCTION	EXAMPLE	
Ṭuroyo	*g(d/əd)-, kt-*	*qoṭəl-*	+	E	(-*wa*)	L	Future, Habitual	*g(əd)-qŭṭl-o-li*	'She will kill me'
	k(o)-	*qoṭəl-*	+	E		L	Present realis	*ko-qŭṭl-o-li*	'She kills me'
	Ø-, d-, t-	*qoṭəl-*	+	E	(-*wa*)	L	Subjunctive, Irrealis	*d-qŭṭl-o-li*	'If she kills me'
NENA	*b-/p-/m-*(*ət/d*)*-, t/d-*	*qaṭəl-*	+	E	(-*wa*)	L	Future, Past habitual	*b-qaṭl-a-li*	'She will kill me'
	*k/g-, ki-, či-, i-, y-***	*qaṭəl-*	+	E	(-*wa*)	L	Indicative, Realis	*k-qaṭl-á-wa-li*	'She used to kill me'
	Ø-, d-, t-	*qaṭəl-*	+	E	(-*wa*)	L	Subjunctive, Irrealis	*Ø-qaṭl-a-li*	'that she kills me'
	qam-, k/gəm-, tam-	*qaṭəl-*	+	E	(-*wa*)	L	Preterit	*qam-qaṭl-a-li*	'She killed me'

Notes*: Forms given for stem I. * TAM-markers are highly diverse and dialect-dependent in NENA (Khan 2007d). ** These may be restricted to initial weak verbs or absent, as in* C. *Ṭiyari (NENA) and Mlaḥso (CNA).*

The Neo-Aramaic particle *wa* is generally referred to as a 'past convertor'. What applies to the forms without past convertor generally also applies to those with it. Without such an intervening particle, the L-suffixes usually freely assimilate to an immediately preceding resonant, often with compensatory lengthening, e.g. *b-našq-ən* + *-**l**ax* 'I$_{M}$ will kiss' + 'you$_{FS}$' becomes *b-našq-ən-**n**ax*, and frequently also after the second person E-suffixes ending in /t/, e.g. *b-xaz-ət-**l**i* becomes *p-xaz-ət-**t**i* 'You$_{MS}$ will see me'.

Thus, the 'E-set' generally precedes the past convertor and always the 'L-set' . TAM-marking is preverbal without affecting the order of person indexes.

3.2. Basic Patterns of Verbal Person Marking

We shall now isolate the verbal morphology in the expression of the perfective past (based on *qṭil-*) in relation to the imperfective tenses (based on *qaṭəl-*). We will examine the basic patterns that unfold in the coding of dependent person forms without looking at their use in combination with full NPs or other constituents. The A and P will receive most attention but some remarks will be made concerning the S of intransitive verbal forms and the R and T of ditransitive verbal forms.

3.2.1. A and P in the Perfective and Agreement Inversion

The two sets of person markers are both used in transitive verbal forms but, in the 'perfective', each indexes the reverse grammatical function of the 'imperfective' discussed in the previous subsection. The 'perfective' and 'imperfective' are the mirror image of each other in the majority of (mainly Christian) NENA dialects.

The same template and person agreement markers of the 'imperfective' are found for the 'perfective' (*qṭil-*) but here, ultimately, each dialect can do its own thing. In theory, each set of person forms can be used to encode the grammatical functions S, A or P. In one respect, however, all dialects are alike: The 2nd series (L-set) regularly expresses the A in the perfective past, i.e. the preterit. The L-suffixes attach to the 'perfective' inflectional base, often with some reduction on the part of the *i* [i] to *ə* [ɪ] (or, [ɨ] ~ [ɯ], depending on dialect and/or phonetic context):

(5) **Example paradigm for the preterit** (*nšq* 'kiss')

	Ṭuroyo (Miden, SE Turkey, cf. Jastrow 1985)			NENA (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; based on Greenblatt 2011)		
1MS	*-li*	*nšəq-li*	'I kissed'	*-li*	*nšəq-li*	'I kissed'
PL	*-lan*	*nšəq-lan*	'We kissed'	*-lan*	*nšəq-lan*	'We kissed'
2MS	*-lŭx*	*nšəq-lŭx*	etc.	*-lox*	*nšəq-lox*	etc.
FS	*-lax*	*nšəq-lax*		*-lax*	*nšəq-lax*	
PL	*-lxu*	*nšəq-xu*		*-loxun*	*nšáq-loxun*	
3MS	*-le*	*nšəq-le*		*-le*	*nšəq-le*	
FS	*-lā*	*nšəq-lā*		*-la*	*nšəq-la*	
PL	*-lle*	*nšəq-qe*		*-lu*	*nšəq-lu*	

We will first examine the general usage of the two sets of in the inflection of major perfective transitive clauses. As displayed in (6) below, for both the 'imperfective'[80] (e.g. *qaṭəl-*) and 'perfective' (e.g. *qṭil-*) inflectional base, the shape and order of the 1st and 2nd set (E- and L-suffixes) are equivalent[81], but their cross-referencing of the agent and patient is reversed. This is obviously reminiscent of an active-passive alternation but should not be confused with it. We will observe that the functions of the person indexes are also inverted which clearly rules out a passive analysis. Transitive clauses manifest a type of "agreement inversion" (Doron and Khan 2012) conditioned by the kind of inflectional base[82] which may be characterized as follows. The suffixes *-a* and *-le* in (6) can be taken as representatives for the E-, respectively, L-series. While the L-series marks the P in the 'imperfective', it marks the A in the perfective, and *vice versa* for the E-series. This agreement inversion generally applies to their entire functional distribution. What holds for the A (E-set) in the 'imperfective' will generally also hold for the A (L-set) in the 'perfective, and *vice versa* for the P. Nevertheless, the constructions based on *qṭil-* will often comprise a subsystem of their own.

[80] Generally, however, what applies to the 'imperfective' will also apply to the imperative and possibly other innovated inflectional bases which we will leave out of discussion for brevity's sake.

[81] However, the morphemes are not completely identical for both inflectional bases in all dialects. In certain Khabur dialects (Talay 2008:317- 318) and Christian Urmi (Hoberman (1989:105-106; Khan (2016:384), for instance, the 3pl. E-set (*-e-* vs. *-i-*) differ depending on their usage in the 'perfective' or 'imperfective' before L-suffixes, respectively,°*našq-**i**-la* 'They kiss her' vs. *nšiq-**e**-la* 'She kissed them'.

[82] See also Polotsky (1979:209; 1991:266, 1994:95), Hoberman (1989:96, 113), Mengozzi (2002b:44-5).

(6) **Agreement inversion:**

k-	*qaṭəl*	*-a*	*-le*	*kqaṭlale*	‘She kills him’	(NENA)
ko-	*qoṭəl*	*-a*	*-le*	*koqŭṭlole*		(Ṭuroyo)
	IPFV	A	P			
(TAM-)	BASE	-E	-L			
	PFV	P	A			
	qṭil	*-a*	*-le*	*qṭilale*	‘He killed her’	(NENA)
	qṭil	*-o*	*-le*	*qṭilole*		(Ṭuroyo)

This mirroring of the ‘imperfective’ in ‘perfective’ transitive constructions could be said to be a typical characteristic of NENA and Central Neo-Aramaic, although it is not attested in every dialect (to the same degree). Table 26 below illustrates the forms for stem I sound verbs in the NENA dialect of Jewish Amidya adapted from Hoberman (1989) and Greenblatt (2011).

Table 21. *Conjugation of the ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ with object indexes in Jewish Amidya*

IMPERFECTIVE						**PERFECTIVE**					
qaṭəl-	E-set	L-set				***qṭil-***	E-set	L-set			
VIPFV	A	P				**V**PFV	P	A			
˚*našq-*	*a*	*-le*	‘She	kisses	him’	*nšiq-*	*a*	*-le*	‘He	kissed	her’
˚*našəq-*	Ø	*-la*	‘He	kisses	her’	*nšəq-*	Ø	*-la*	‘She	kissed	him’
˚*našq-*	*i*	*-lan*	‘They	kiss	us’	*nšiq-*	*i*	*-lan*	‘We	kissed	them’
˚*našq-*	*ət*	*-ti*	etc.			*nšiq-*	*ət*	*-ti*	etc.		
˚*našq-*	*at*	*-ti*				*nšiq-*	*at*	*-ti*			
˚*našq-*	*ától*	*-lu*				*nšiq-*	*ától*	*-lu*			
˚*našq-*	*ən*	*-nax*				*nšiq-*	*ən*	*-nax*			
˚*našq-*	*an*	*-nux*				*nšiq-*	*an*	*-nux*			
˚*našq-*	*áx*	*-loxun*				*nšiq-*	*áx*	*-loxun*			

Source*: Data based on Hoberman (1989) and Greenblatt (2011).*

It should be noted that the zero morpheme for the E-set third masculine singular leads to ambiguous forms in the perfective, cf. *nšəq-lan* ‘We kissed’ and *nšəq-***Ø**-*lan* ‘We kissed **him**’. Yet, usually the context will make clear whether a 3ms. P argument is in view. This is consistent with the cross-linguistic tendency that the third person is paradigmatically zero (Siewierska 2004:24).

Finally, there can be considerable (dialect-dependent) morphological overlap between ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ bases due to vowel reduction

which will be pointed out when relevant. The consonantal template is not changed but only the vowel for final-y verbs; compare 'perfective' *xəzy-a-le* 'He saw her' and 'imperfective' *xazy-a-le* 'She sees him', and stem III verbs, cp. 'perfective' *mrədx-a-le* 'He boiled it$_F$' and 'imperfective' *marədx-a-le* 'She boils it$_M$' (Khan 2004a:89-90). The 'perfective' base may sometimes display a slight difference in the vowel template of sound verbs when combined with both E-suffixes and L-suffixes: ***nəš**q-a-le* instead of ***nši**q-a-le*. The so-called *Aufsprengung* (blasting apart, i.e. breaking up) of the syllable from *nšiq-* to *nišq-* ~ *nəšq-* before vowels is characteristic for several Jewish NENA dialects and also found for Christian NENA dialects in Turkey, such as C. Beṣpən (Sinha 2000:142), and in Ṭuroyo. In Ṭuroyo and the NENA dialect C. Hertevin (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1988:38) the 'perfective' and 'imperfective' bases may even be identical at least for some derived stems, so that a form like ˚*mḥalq-i-le* (stem II) can mean either preterit 'He threw them' or subjunctive 'May they throw it$_M$' (see §6.2.1).

Transitive verbal constructions, thus, that are based on the 'perfective' and 'imperfective' are characterized by an inversion of role indexing, while the sets of person forms are morphologically the same and only the inflectional base differs. The 'perfective' and 'imperfective' may even be partially or completely morphologically identical in the inflectional base of derived stems and final-y verbs in a few dialects.

3.2.2. The Semi-Clitic Nature of the L-Set

The L-series have some morphological peculiarities reminiscient of clitics in comparison to the E-series (Doron and Khan 2012:228). They may be omitted or stacked on verbal forms in certain dialects.

The L-suffixes enjoy an overall semi-mobile status[83], unlike other suffixal person forms. They allow elements to intervene between the verbal base and its agreement, which also includes the E-suffixes and the past convertor *-wa-*. (7) offers a comparison (note *nšiq-at-ti* < *nšiq-at-li*).

(7) *nšiq-at-**ti*** '**I** kissed you$_{FS}$.' : ˚*našq-at-**ti*** 'You$_{FS}$ kiss **me**.'
*nšiq-át-wa-**li*** '**I** had kissed you$_{FS}$.' : ˚*našq-át-wa-**li*** 'You$_{FS}$ would kiss **me**.'

[83] This is a lingering feature of its enclitic origin (Doron and Khan 2012:231) rather than an indication of synchronic enclitic status. Other more clitic-like person forms can attach to more hosts.

In addition, they may generally be omitted. The L-suffixes marking the P in the 'imperfective' may be omitted creating a morphologically patientless construction (for whatever purpose), e.g.

(8) *ʿʔaxl-a* 'She is eating.'
ʿʔaxl-a-wa 'She used to eat.'

This also applies to the L-suffxies that express the agent in the 'perfective'. The patient remains expressed by the E-suffixes and the construction becomes agentless reminiscent of the passive:

(9) *xil-a* 'She was eaten.'
xil-a-wa 'She had been eaten.'

The L-suffixes expressing the patient in the 'imperfective' behave in a similar fashion to the L-suffixes expressing the agent in the 'perfective'. The argument they denote, the patient or agent is left unexpressed. The functional ramifications of this will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In addition, the L-suffixes are different in that they can be duplicated on a verb. We shall call this a double L-set construction:

(10) **Double L-set construction**
Construction where the verb is inflected for two L-suffixes, each marking a distinct grammatical function.

(11) below offers an example of a double L-set construction in the 'imperfective'. The first L-set marks the theme, the second L-set marks the recipient.

(11) **J. Zaxo** (NW Iraq)
a. *bə-yāw* *-ə́n* ***-na*** *-lox* 'I$_{M}$ will give **her** (i.e. my daughter) to you$_{MS}$.' (Cohen 2012:164)
FUT-give$_{IPFV}$ -A:1MS -T:3FS -R:2MS

A double L-set construction may also occur in the 'perfective'. In (11b) below, the first L-set denotes the agent, the second one the recipient.

b. *hu-li-**lox*** 'I gave **to you$_{MS}$** (R).'
give$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:1SG

By contrast, if a verb cannot take more than one L-suffix in a dialect, we shall speak in terms of a double L-set constraint. There is, for example, such a double L-set constraint for most dialects in the 'imperfective'[84], so that stacking of L-suffixes is disfavored in the 'imperfective', e.g. **°*patx-a-lax-le* 'She opens **it$_{M}$ for you$_{FS}$**'.

In a word, in terms of verbal morphology, the L-set can be omitted and even added to another instance thereof, creating a double L-set construction. Other sets of person indexes such as the E-set do not have these properties.

3.2.3. Major Alignment Types in the 'Perfective'

The vast majority of NENA dialects inflect the S like the A through the L-suffixes. Doron and Khan (2012) distinguish three subgroups of Neo-Aramaic based on their major morphological alignment pattern in the 'perfective': split-S dialects, 'extended ergative' (A=S≠P) and 'dynamic-stative' (S=P/A) (see §1.3.2). The view argued for in this monograph will differ slightly from theirs. The split-S dialects show various splits, even beyond the S. The boundary between ergative and split S-systems is vague. While it would be somewhat arbitrary to call them 'ergative' instead of split-S dialects, I believe they are best characterized as basically ergative in their agreement for comparative purposes, since the split S-marking does not play such a substantial role as in, for instance, the indigenous languages of the Americas mentioned by Mithun (1991) (cf. Comrie 2005:399). The non-ergative pattern in these varieties is, strictly speaking, a matter of case-marking, not agreement (see §4.2.3). The so-called 'extended ergative' (Dixon 1979) will be treated as basically accusative here and this will be argued for in greater detail in §4.2.1. The dynamic-stative alignment (remeniscient of active-stative alignment) is characterized by a type of fluid subject-marking conditioned by grammatical aspect (as explained in §5.1.2). For ease of reference, however, I will differentatie another major type in the perfective past which is neutral (P≠S=P), since the 'dynamic-stative' varieties are not uniform. Transitive perfective past constructions in 'dynamic-stative dialects' manifest either a neutral or accusative pattern. In the discussion of the perfective past, therefore, these dialects will be subsumed under accusative or neutral.

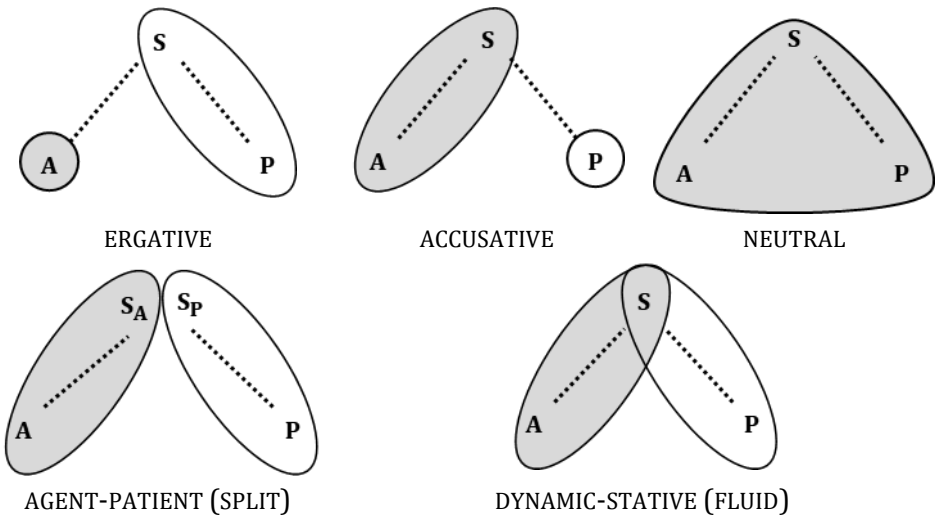
For now, therefore, we distinguish between the following types that are introduced below:

[84] There are exceptions such as C. Hertevin and J. Zaxo (see §3.2.4).

- ergative;
- accusative;
- neutral, and
- dynamic-stative.

The alignment patterns can be schematized by the following schemas where the gray area represents the L-set and the white area the E-set. In addition, an agent-patient split subject marking is found in 'ergative dialects' and an active-stative split is found in all 'neutral dialects' but only in a few other dialects.

Figure 9. *Major agreement alignment patterns in Eastern Neo-Aramaic*



3.2.3.1. Ergative (A≠S=P)

While the majority of NENA dialects aligns agent and subject-marking through the L-set (see below), a specific group of Jewish dialects employs E-suffixes to mark the subject (see Hopkins 1989a), resulting in an ergative alignment pattern. The person indexing is ergative in encoding the P and S by means of the E-series, but the A by means of the L-series:

(12) **J. Saqqiz** (W Iran; Israeli 1998)
a. (intransitive)
dmix-a 'She went to sleep.'
sleep$_{PFV}$-S:3FS

b. (transitive)
*nišq-a-**le*** ‘He kissed her.’
kiss$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3MS

This ergative pattern is thus far only found in Jewish NENA dialects of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. This includes at least the Jewish dialects from and around Sulemaniyya (Khan 2004a) in NE Iraq and the Western Iranian Jewish dialects of which we will mainly examine Sanandaj (Khan 2009), Saqqiz (Israeli 1998) and Kerend (Hopkins 1989a, 2002). We shall refer to these varieties as ‘ergative Jewish dialects’, although one should note that such labels are made purely for practical reasons. They are properly the South Eastern subgroup within the Trans-Zab Jewish dialect group (see §1.2.2). The Trans-Zab Jewish dialects as a whole exhibit a preference for verb-final (P-V) word order (Doron and Khan 2012; see §3.3.3.). Ergative alignment is also arguably attested in Christian Hertevin (see Subsection 4.4.3) and several Christian and Jewish dialects that use the *qam-qaṭəl*-construction (see Subsection 4.4.2), albeit typologically radically different from the aforementioned Trans-Zab Jewish dialects.

In Central Neo-Aramaic, a similar ergative pattern is found for Ṭuroyo, as illustrated in (13). There is a major subclass of verbs belonging to stem I that takes an alternative ‘perfective’ base *qaṭil-* against *qṭil-*, e.g. *damix-o* ‘She fell asleep’ (instead of ***dmix-o*). NENA does not make this morphological distinction. In other respects, its overall typology is similar to the Jewish NENA dialects above.

(13) **Ṭuroyo** (SE Turkey)
a. (intransitive)
ftiḥ-o ‘It$_F$ opened.’
open$_{PFV}$-S:3FS
b. (transitive)
*ftiḥ-o-**le*** ‘He opened it$_F$.’
open$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3MS

The ergative pattern is not coherent in any variety and always limited in some grammatical respect. Typically for languages with ergative morphology, there is some split S-marking.

3.2.3.2. Accusative (A=S≠P)

When the S is inflected like the A through the L-suffixes and only the P is marked by the E-suffixes, as shown in (14) below, I treat this as accusative alignment. We shall refer to these varieties as 'accusative dialects'. They compose the core of the NENA-speaking area. Some features though common to NENA dialects, such as the dropping of agent indexes, are unusual within an accusative system[85] which we will discuss in Section 4.3. In most of such dialects the inverted 'perfective' is limited by person and there are alternative coding strategies to express the P (and A), sometimes leading to non-accusative alignment patterns in themselves (see Sections 4.1 and 4.4).

(14) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989, Greenblatt 2011)

a. (intransitive)
*dmix-**la*** 'She went to sleep.'
sleep$_{PFV}$-S:3FS

b. (transitive)
*nšiq-a-**le*** 'He kissed her.'
kiss$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3MS

3.2.3.3. Neutral (A=S=P)

The Jewish dialects of Iranian Azerbaijan such as Urmi and Salamas in the eastern periphery and Turkish Christian dialects in the western periphery such as Bohtan (Fox 2009), Hertevin (Jastrow 1988) and Hassane (Jastrow 1997; Damsma forthcoming) use the L-suffixes for all grammatical functions, for example:

(15) **C. Bohtan** (SE Turkey; Fox 2009)

a. (intransitive)
*qəm-**li*** 'I rose.'
rise$_{PFV}$-S:1SG

b. (transitive)
*ptáx-**li**-**la*** 'I opened it$_F$.'
open$_{PFV}$-A:1SG-P: 3FS

[85] Doron and Khan (2012) classify these dialects as 'extended ergative' (cf. Dixon 1979). In my opinion, this term is misleading, since in unmarked clauses the S and A are treated alike and the P is treated differently and it is not altogether clear why it should be considered an ergative type and not simply an accusative one, see further §4.2.1.

The transitive construction is a double L-set construction. The L-suffixes are used in a strict order: L-suffixes that mark the patient always follow the L-suffixes that mark the agent such that V-P-A affix arrangements like

c. *ptáx-**li-la*** **'She/it$_F$ opened me.'
** open$_{PFV}$-P:1SG-A:3FS

do not occur but only V-A-P. This pattern also occurs in Central Neo-Aramaic. The dialect of Mlaḥso exhibits this as follows, setting it apart from Ṭuroyo:

(16) **Mlaḥso** (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1994:82.57, 150.27)
a. (intransitive)
*dmix-**len*** 'They went to sleep.'
sleep$_{PFV}$-S:3PL
b. (transitive)
*mobé-**len-li*** 'They took me.'
take$_{PFV}$-A:3PL-P:1SG

We shall refer to these varieties as 'neutral dialects', when we discuss the perfective past. Although I prefer to consider the alignment neutral (A=S=P), this may be considered accusative[86] in typological studies on agreement. As explained in §2.2.3.3, neutral alignment is sometimes confined to the absence of agreement (e.g. Siewierska 2004:52), since the morphologically idential person indexes generally do display a distinct affix position. But the position of affixes seems to me only significant, if the position relative to the verb is distinct for both the A and P (i.e. prefixal vs. suffixal). They are both suffixal here. And, although the relative linear position evidently is determinant for role discrimination, it cannot be unamibguously determined which suffix is grouped with the S: it could arguably be either[87].

[86] For this view, see Coghill (2016:64, 90) who subsumes this type under accusative alignment presumably because of the relative position of the set of suffixes that she considers determinant for alignment.

[87] Depending on to what extent one includes phonological details in identifying an alignment, the morphophonology leads to different intepretations. The final obstruent of the L-suffixes that mark the P may assimilate to the preceding lateral of the L-suffixes that mark the A without compensatory lengthening in some varieties of NENA, e.g. J. Urmi **xzé-lax-**li*** > **xzé-lax-**xi*** > *xzé-lax-**i*** 'You$_{FS}$ saw **me**' (Khan 2008b:140). This would suggest that the L-suffix marking the P is phonologically distinct from the L-suffix marking the A, indicating accusativity. By contrast, there is no assimilation of obstruents in such contexts in C. Bohtan, e.g. *ptəx-*

3.2.3.4. Dynamic-Stative (P=S/S=A)

Apart from Hassane, the aforementioned dialects with neutral alignment in the perfective past are further characterized by a fluid type of subject-marking depending on aspect as illustrated below (treated further in §5.1.2 and §6.2.1.4). The S aligns with the A in the perfective aspect (with dynamic action focus) but with the P in the resultative or retrospective aspect (with result state focus). The corresponding transitive construction of the resultative or perfect varies considerably across these dialects.

(17) **J. Urmi** (NW Iran; Garbell 1965; Khan 2008b)

a. (perfective aligns with the A)
   ˁ*dməx-**le***[88] 'He went to sleep.'
   sleep$_{PFV}$-S:3MS

b. (realis perfect aligns with the P)
   ˁ*dmix-**Ø*** 'He has gone to sleep.'
   sleep$_{PFV}$-S:3MS

Some of the 'accusative dialects' mentioned above also manifest an active-stative type of fluid subject marking. Vestiges of this are found in early scribal idiolects from Jewish and Christian traditions in N Iraq (Sabar 1976, 2002:49; Mengozzi 2002b:38-39; 2005:249-250) and in the Jewish dialects of Koy Sanjaq (NE Iraq; Mutzafi 2004a) and, more productively, Rustaqa (NE Iraq; Khan 2002b).

3.2.4. The Inflection of Ditransitive Verbs

Ditransitive verbs can take one or two object indexes. A single object index is ambiguous to their role as either T or R without further context.

In terms of verbal agreement, the verbal indexes that mark patients can also be used to denote either recipients or themes in ditransitive constructions. This applies to either verbal base; compare the object indexes *-la* (L-set) and *-a* (E-set) in the following examples:

*la**x**-**le*** 'You$_{FS}$ opened it$_{M}$' (Fox 2009). Instead some agent indexes such as the 3fs. change phonetically such as the 3fs. *ptáx-**lo**-la* '**She** opened it$_{F}$' (< **ptəx-la-le*), which would indicate ergativity. All in all, however, neutral alignment seems to me a more straightforward characterization.

[88] The symbol ˁ indicates suprasegmental pharyngealization of the following word or syllable.

(18) **Imperfective** (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989:102-104, 107-109)

a. (monotransitive)
*k-šamʔ-i-**la**.* 'They hear **her** (P).'
IND-hear$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-P:3FS

b. (ditransitive)
*g-yaw-ən-**na*** 'I$_M$ give (to) **her** (T/ R).'
IND-give$_{IPFV}$-A:1MS-R/T:3FS

(19) **Perfective** (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; Hoberman ibid.)

a. (monotransitive)
*šmiʔ-**a**-lu.* 'They heard **her** (P).'
hear$_{PFV}$-A:3FS-P:3PL

b. (ditransitive)
*hiw-**a**-li* 'I gave (to) **her** (T/ R).'
give$_{PFV}$-R/T:3FS-A:1SG

The object indexes are, therefore, ambiguous to their role as either T or R without arguments. This applies to L-suffixes in the 'imperfective' as much as to the E-suffixes in the 'perfective'. A ditransitive verb can generally only take one of the objects[89].

Ditransitive verbs may also take more than one object index and, thus, feature in a double L-set construction. Stacking of L-suffixes, however, is usually not possible in the 'imperfective'. Forms like **°*yaw-ən-na-le* 'I give her (T) to him (R) / him (R) to her (T)' where the L-suffixes *la* and *le* could theoretically encode either the theme or recipient are by and large disfavored. Exceptions are few. The Jewish dialect of Zaxo (NW Iraq) and the Christian dialect of Hertevin (SE Turkey), for instance, do regularly allow such stacking of L-suffixes in a double object construction for the themes that refer to the third person (see Cohen 2012:163-165). The first L-suffixes always denote the theme, the second one always the recipient:

[89] Of course, the constructions with 'give' above are strictly speaking not ditransitive, since they only express two out of three arguments but we confine ourselves to verbal agreement here.

(20) **C. Hertevin** (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1988:63)
hal ***-le*** *-li* 'Give **them** to me!'
give:IMPV -T:3PL -R:1SG

(21) **J. Zaxo** (NW Iraq; Cohen 2012:164)
bə-yāw *-án* ***-na*** *-lox* 'I$_{M}$ will give **her** (i.e. my daughter) to'
FUT-give$_{IPFV}$ -A:1MS -T:3FS -R:2MS you$_{MS}$.'

A double L-set construction is generally used for 'perfective' transitive constructions in dialects with neutral alignment. The L-set that encodes the P in the 'perfective' may also serve to mark the T or R on the verb similarly to the S and A:

(22) **Neutral** (J. Urmi, NW Iran; based on Khan 2008b)
a. (intransitive)
⁺dmix-li 'I went to sleep.'
sleep$_{PFV}$-S:1SG
b. (monotransitive)
*xze-li-**le*** 'I saw **him** (P).'
see$_{PFV}$-A:1SG-P:3MS
c. (ditransitive)
*hwəl-li-**le*** 'I gave (to) **him** (T/ R).'
give$_{PFV}$-A:1SG-T/R:3MS

The difference between S, A, P, T and R is, therefore, completely neutralized in these dialects in terms of verbal inflection where all are potentially marked by the L-suffixes.

Certain 'accusative dialects' of NENA such as J. Amidya can also avail themselves of a similar construction where the 'perfective' verb is inflected for two L-suffixes as an alternative to an E-suffix encoding the object. This occurs chiefly in 'perfective' ditransitive constructions. The supplementary L-suffix can only be used to encode the R. It can never encode the T or P; compare:

(23) **Double L-set** (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989:108-109)
a. *hu-le-**li*** 'He gave **to me** (R).'
give$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:1SG
b. ***hu-le-**lu*** 'He gave **them** (T) (to sb.)'
give$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-T:3PL
c. ***šmiʔ-lu-**li*** 'They heard **me** (P).'
hear$_{PFV}$-A:3PL-T:1SG

The second L-suffix is specified for the R[90]. The double L-set construction is, therefore, constrained by the role the second L-suffix refers to. There is a double L-set constraint for the marking of Ps and Ts but not Rs in J. Amidya. The complex interaction that unfolds with monotransitive and intransitive constructions is rather striking, as illustrated below. The A, S, and R may be marked by the L-set. It is not the P or T that aligns with the A and S but the R, as schematized below.

(24) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989; Greenblatt 2011)

a. (intransitive)

*dmix-**li*** ‘**I** went to sleep.’

sleep$_{PFV}$-S:1SG

b. (monotransitive)

*šmiʔ-a-**li*** ‘**I** heard her (P).’

hear$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:1SG

c. (ditransitive)

*hu-la-**li*** ‘She gave **to me** (R).’

give$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:1SG

*hiw-a-**li*** ‘**I** gave (to) her (T/R).’

give$_{PFV}$-T/R:3FS-A:1SG

Thus, the L-set may be used to encode the R in both the ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’. ‘Imperfective’ verbal forms that take one object L-suffix may refer to either the T or R. The same holds for the use of the E-set in ‘perfective’ verbal forms. In ‘imperfective’ verbal forms that take more than one object L-suffix, the first refers to a third person theme, the second to a recipient. In ‘perfective’ verbal forms that take an object L-suffix in addition to an agent L-suffix, the object L-suffix may refer to either the T or R in ‘neutral dialects’ but it can only refer to the R in ‘accusative’ dialects.

3.3. Simple Clauses with Full Nominals

After having examined verbal forms without co-referential nominals, we proceed with verbal constructions combined with full NPs. An important feature of such clauses is differential object marking. Differential marking of the P is common to all Neo-Aramaic languages (in fact, all of Aramaic) and is manifested

[90] This function appears to be part of an archaic layer in NENA that was available alongside marking R by means of the E-series, as the earliest texts witness (16th-17th c.), cf. *mīr-**ət**-ti* ‘I told **you**$_{MS}$ (R) besides *mər-rī-**lu*** ‘I told **them** (R)’ (Sabar 1976:xxxix, 53.10:16).

through prepositional marking, indexing, or both. Independent pronouns are treated much like full NPs and come in prepositional form. The pronouns based on the dative preposition *l-* are connected with the L-suffixes. Finally, word order will be shown to be independent of alignment type but dependent on dialectology.

3.3.1. Prepositional Marking and Differential Object Marking

Case-marking is adpositional in Aramaic and is used, among others, for prepositional complements, recipients, and prominent object NPs (see also §4.1). The differential case-marker of the P[91] is typically the dative.

The S and A are typically zero-marked. The verb indexes their respective role. The E-suffix *-i* below, for example, functions as cross-index to the preceding S or A referent *quṛdaye* 'Kurds':

(25) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Greenblatt 2011:268.9, 300.111, 312.30, 292.66)

		[S/A]	⟵ [V+S/A]		
a.	*kull-u*	*quṛday-e*	*g-zadʔ-i-wa*	*mən*	*ʔilaha*
	all-3PL	Kurd-M:PL	IND-fear$_{IPFV}$-S:3PL-PST	from	PRN
	'All the Muslims (lit. Kurds) were afraid of God.'				
b.		*quṛday-e*	*g-əmr-i-wa-le*	*šer*	*ʔad-din*
		Kurd-M:PL	IND-say$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-PST-R:3MS	PRN	PRN
	'Kurds used to call him Sher ad-Din.'				

Jewish Amidya is an 'accusative dialect'. The S and A are similarly cross-indexed by L-suffixes in the 'perfective', for example:

	[S/A]	⟵ [V+S/A]	
c.	*ʔo*	*məšəlmana*	*mət-le*
	DEM:MS	Muslim:MS	die$_{PFV}$-S:3MS
	'The Muslim died.'		
d.		*maʃalləm*	*mḥuke-le*	*ṭaṯ-e*
		teacher:MS	tell$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	to-3MS
	'The rabbi told him.'			

[91] Traditionally, this is known as the *nota objecti* or *nota accusativi* in Semitics.

All else being equal, this verbal agreement is obligatory and unconditioned for unmarked clauses with a full NP in S or A-function, regardless of their referential properties. Agents, however, do exhibit some peculiarities in constructions based on the 'perfective' (*qṭil-*). The agent agreement can be absent and/or the agent can be prepositional in certain marked contexts which is not discussed further here (see §4.3 for NENA and §6.1.3 for Ṭuroyo). The coding of the P is conditional in terms of both agreement and case-marking (see further below and the next subsection).

Case-marking manifests itself in Aramaic through the use of adpositions or particles. Prepositional marking of core arguments correlates with less core or non-core arguments (i.e. obliques) and adverbials. The two primary prepositions *l-* 'to, for; on' and *b-* 'in, at; with; through' that consist of only a single consonant are generally considered prefixal. Prefixal prepositions can be augmented with an inserted vowel in consonantal clusters either after the preposition or before it, giving rise to byforms like *ʔəl-* and *ʔəb-* in varieties of NENA and *el-* and *eb-* in Central Neo-Aramaic. These prepositions are referred to with their allomorph in parenthesis, e.g. *(ʔəl)l-* or *(e)l-*[92]. The reduplicated allomorph *lal-* and dialectal variants thereof is found in some NENA dialects exclusively for pronouns.

Person forms are attached to the respective preposition or particle through the 'possessive' suffixes. This is illustrated by the prepositions *l-* and *b-* in J. Zakho and Ṭuroyo in Table 22. One may notice the parallels between independent person forms based on the preposition *l-* an the L-set of dependent person forms[93]. The relationship is not entirely unproblematic. The two are diachronically related and share certain functional properties that are sometimes even overlapping or complementary (see §4.1.3, §5.2.4). The L-suffixes may also be decomposed into an *l-* with attached possessive suffixes, e.g. Jewish Zaxo 1sg. *l-i*, 2pl. *l-an* etc. Nevertheless, the L-suffixes have a distinct grammatical status from the pronouns based on (*ʔəl*)*l-* and should not be conflated. *Ceteris paribus*, the L-suffixes are always fully grammaticalized verbal agreement markers and are properly part of the verbal form, functioning as cross-indexes like the E-suffixes. They do not occur in isolation but always attach to a verb. The prepositional pronouns, by contast, are less grammaticalized and more independent of verbs,

[92] It is possible the -V*l*-bases represent a homonymous preposition that goes back to **ʔel(ay)-* 'to(ward)' which was lost in Syriac but existed in other Aramaic languages since its beginnings (Jastrow 1903:66a).

[93] There are even also 'B-suffixes' corresponding with the preposition *b-*, see also §5.2.2.

being used like full NPs. Although I emphasize here that they should not be conflated, the problem is that some dialects do merge them. These ambiguous cases are not discussed here (see §4.1.3 and §5.2.3).

Table 22. *Inflection of prepositions in Neo-Aramaic*

	NENA (J. Zaxo)		Ṭuroyo (Miden)	
	l-	*b-*	*l-*	*b-*
1SG	*ʔall-i*	*ʔabb-i*	*el-i*	*eb-i*
PL	*ʔall-an*	*ʔabb-an*	*el-an*	*eb-an*
2MS	*ʔall-ox*	*ʔabb-ox*	*el-ŭx*	*eb-ŭx*
FS	*ʔall-ax*	*ʔabb-ax*	*el-ax*	*eb-ax*
PL	*ʔall-ōxun*	*ʔabb-ōxun*	*el-ay-xu*	*eb-ay-xu*
3MS	*ʔall-e*	*ʔabb-e*	*el-e*	*eb-e*
FS	*ʔall-a*	*ʔabb-a*	*el-a*	*eb-a*
PL	*ʔall-ōhun*	*ʔabb-ōhun*	*el-ay-ye*	*eb-ay-ye*

Source: *Cohen (2012) for J. Zaxo data and Jastrow (1992) for Ṭuroyo.*

In all Neo-Aramaic languages, there are verbs that specifically take a prepositional complement, especially *(ʔəl)l-* or *(ʔəb)b-*. The preposition is not always entirely fixed, even within a single dialect. In J. Zakho, for example, a verb can variably combine with another preposition, compare (26a-b) below, without a noticible semantic difference. Such complements can convey a less affected object, i.e. a target, goal or source.

(26) **J. Zakho** (NW Iraq; Cohen 2012:159-160)

	[V-S]	[OBL]	[S]
a.	*rʔəš-la*	***ʔəll-a***	*ʔəstāz-a*
	feel$_{PFV}$-S:3FS	to-3FS	master-her
	'Her master noticed **her**.'		
b.	*rʔəš-le*	***ʔəbb-i***	
	feel$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	at-1SG	
	'He noticed **me**.'		

Similarly, recipients will generally be marked through prepositions. The addressee of the verb *ʔmr* 'say, tell', for example, is typically prepositional in Aramaic. The respective preposition will vary significantly across as well as

within dialects including (*ʔəl*)*l-*, *ṭ*(*l*)*a-*, *ba*(*q*)- or *qa*(*d*)-. This is illustrated in the following examples from various dialects:

(27) **Ṭuroyo** (Miden, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71, 81/16)
ʔat-tarʃone *mər-re* ***l-u-malko***
the-doorkeepers say$_{PFV}$-A:3PL DAT-the-king:MS
'The doorkeepers said **to the king**.

(28) **C. Ashitha** (SE Turkey; Borghero 2006:372)
mər-ri ***ʔəll-a***
say$_{PFV}$-A:1SG DAT-3FS
'I told **her**.'

(29) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Greenblatt 2011:336.5)
mər-ri ***ṭaθ-ux***
say$_{PFV}$-A:1SG DAT-2MS
'I told **you$_{MS}$**.'

(30) **J. Arbel** (NE Iraq; Khan 1999:119)
mir-i ***baq-ew***
say$_{PFV}$-A:1SG DAT-3MS
'I told **him**.'

(31) **C. Urmi** (Literary, NW Iran; Murre-van den Berg 1999:301)
mer-ron ***qā*** ***xākīm*** ***d-atra***
say$_{PFV}$-A:3PL DAT ruler LK-land
'They told **the ruler of the land**.'

When the P is a higher ranking NP, this can trigger case-marking (depending on the dialect). Coghill (2014) notes that, as a coding device, differential case-marking manifests a stronger sensitivity to animacy as well as the presence of determiners (such as demonstrative *aya* below) than differential indexing (see next subsection). The Jewish Salamas differential case-marker *al-* in (32b) signals the object of the following determined noun, *aya lexma* 'this bread'. It is a preposition that also means 'on, unto'. Such prepositions are frequently augmented with -(*ə*)*d* or its variant -(*ə*)*t*, a linker that is often added before an immediately following vowel. (32c) illustrates how pronominal objects are expressed independently by the same preposition. When a dialect displays differ-

ential case-marking, a set of independent object person forms that is based on the same preposition is usually also available (see §4.1.2).

(32) **J. Salamas** (NW Iran; Duval 1883:120-121.19, 134.32, transcription modified)

a. *...aya* *brūna* *kudyöm* (Ø) ***lexma*** *méndē-Ø-va*
...DEM:SG boy:MS every.day bread:MS throw$_{IPFV}$-A:3MS-PST
'(Where) the boy would throw **bread** every day.'

[DOM→P]

b. *ya* *maṣíta* *xel-la* ***al-at*** ***aya*** ***lexma***
DEM:SG fish:FS eat$_{PFV}$-A:3FS DOM-LK DEM:SG bread:MS
'The fish ate **the bread**.'

c. *k-exl-ex* ***al-ef***
IND-eat$_{IPFV}$-A:3FS DOM-3MS
'We will eat **it**$_M$.'

Differential case-marking is also attested for Central Neo-Aramaic. Mlaḥso adopts this strategy for definite NPs, as indicated by *l-* in (33b) below.

(33) **Mlaḥso** (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1994:148.24, 150.26)

a. (Ø) ***ḥamšaḥsár*** ***ʕezé*** *mobe-lan*
fifteen donkey:PL take$_{PFV}$-A:1PL
'We took **fifteen goats**.'

b. ***l-a-ʕez-ezan*** *men-án* *ṣid-len*
DOM-the-donkey:PL-our from-1PL take$_{PFV}$-A:3PL
'They seized **our goats** from us.'

In Ṭuroyo, closely related to Mlaḥso, the nominal P argument is less often differentially marked, as illustrated below. The P arguments *Gorgis* and *u-səsyo* in (34) below, though high in prominence, are neither indexed (unlike the S and A) nor case-marked (like the S and A).

(34) **Ṭuroyo** (Miden, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71, 115/250, 278, transcription modified)

[V-S] [V-A] [P]

a. *k-ŭbʕ-o* *qŭṭl-o* *Gorgis*
IND-want$_{IPFV}$-S:3FS kill$_{IPFV}$-A:3FS PRN
'She wants to kill Gorgis.'

	[A] ◄———	[V-A]	[P]
b.	*Gorgis*	*qṭi-le*	*u-səsyo*
	PRN	kill$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	the-horse:MS

'Gorgis killed the horse.'

Nevertheless, differential case-marking sporadically also occurs in Ṭuroyo. Ritter's (1967-71) material from the village of Raite contains examples of the following kind[94]:

(35) **Ṭuroyo** (Raite, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71, 107/90)
g-ḥoze-Ø ***l-i-dăvăre***
FUT-see$_{IPFV}$-A:3MS DOM-the-breach:FS
'He will find **the breach** (in the wall).'

Many of such prepositions used to differentially mark the patient are somehow derived from a type of goal-marking preposition depending on the dialect, generally the dative case-markers (*ʔəl*)*l-*, *ṭ*(*l*)*a-* or *qa-*, for example:

(36) **J. Koy Sanjaq** (NE Iraq; Mutzafi 2004a:189.15)
šeraké *dwiq-le* ***l-ʕaqubraké***
lion:MS:DEF seize$_{PFV}$-A:3MS DOM-mouse:MS:DEF
'The lion caught hold of **the mouse**.'

(37) **C. Barwar** (NW Iraq; Khan 2008a, A11:1)
awwa *qṭil-le* ***ṭla-ʔarya***
DEM:MS kill$_{PFV}$-A:3MS DOM-lion:MS
'He killed **the lion**.'

(38) **C. Sardarid** (NW Iran; Younansardaroud 2001:205, transcription modified)
+avva *purəx̌-lə* ***x̌a*** ***yala*** *mən* *mota*
DEM:MS II:rescue$_{PFV}$-A:3MS DOM boy:MS from death:MS
'He saved **the boy** from death.'

Cross-linguistically, it is often the coding associated with the dative (recipient) in ditransitive constructions that is grammaticalized to differentially mark the patient, especially first and second person pronouns (e.g. Bossong 1985,

[94] See now Waltsiberg (2016:186) for more examples. He suggests that animacy does not play a role.

1991, cf. Croft 2003:168; see §2.4.1). Moreover, a prepositional set of pronouns facillitates an independent set of pronouns that, if used as objects, provides the opportunity to express object person forms independently of the verb, allowing for more flexibility so that they can occur freely in post or pre-verbal positions (see further §4.1.2-4.1.3). That is, a set of independent object pronouns becomes available alongside the already existing independent (unmarked) pronouns that generally denote the subject.

On the whole, then, the S and A are zero case-marked, irrespective of prominence. If the P scores high in prominence, it may trigger overt case-marking through prepositions, depending on whether the dialect has conventionalized this coding strategy. The differential object marker is frequently identical to the dative, i.e. the preposition dedicated to the R. Independent pronouns also come in prepositional form and may be used to express the P independently of the verb.

3.3.2. Differential Indexing of the P

Proceeding with differential marking manifested in agreement, Coghill (2014) notes that, as a general tendency, indexing is primarily used to differentially mark topicalized NPs and definite and specific indefinite NPs.

When the P is definite, NENA dialects may opt for differential indexing to highlight this (instead of case-marking). The C. Aradhin verbal form *yāpē-Ø-le* in (39a-b), for example, is inflected with an L-suffix *-le* that serves as a cross-index to differentially mark the patient in (39c). Literally, therefore, (39c) means 'He bakes it$_{M}$, his own bread'[95].

(39) **C. Aradhin** (NW Iraq; Krotkoff 1982:54)

	[V+P] ⟶	[P]	
a.	*i-yāp-i* (Ø)	***laxma***	(indefinite, inanimate P)
	IND-bake$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL	bread:MS	
	'They bake **bread**.'		
b.	***yāpē-Ø-le***		(absent co-nominal P)
	bake$_{IPFV}$-A:3MS-P:3MS		
	'He bakes **it$_{M}$**.'		

[95] Pronouns that differentially index object NPs are a common feature of Semitic languages (Khan 1988).

c. *yāpē-Ø-**le*** ***laxm-e*** ***dīy-e*** (definite, inanimate P)
bake$_{IPFV}$-A:3MS-P:3MS bread-his LK-3MS
'He bakes (lit. it$_M$) **his own bread**.'

The functional distribution of the E-suffixes or L-suffixes in the indexing of prominent object NPs is completely mirrored according to agreement inversion, compare (40) for the 'imperfective' and (41) for the 'perfective' below.

(40) **Imperfective base** (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989:102-104)
a. *k-šamʔ-i* *baxta* (no indexing of the P)
IND-hear$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL woman
'They hear a woman.'
b. *k-šamʔ-i-**la**.* (L-set = pronominal P)
IND-hear$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-P:3FS
'They hear **her**.'
c. *k-šamʔ-i-**la*** ⟶ ***baxta*** (L-set indexes definite P)
IND-hear$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-P:3FS woman
'They hear (lit. her) **the woman**.'

(41) **Perfective base** (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; Hoberman ibid.)
a. *šmeʔ-lu* *baxta.* (no indexing of the P)
hear$_{PFV}$-A:3PL woman
'They heard a woman.'
b. *šmiʔ-**a**-lu.* (E-set = pronominal P)
hear$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3PL
'They heard **her**.'
c. *šmiʔ-**a**-lu* ***baxta*** (E-set indexes definite P)
hear$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3PL woman
'They heard (lit. her) **the woman**.'

The L-suffix cross-references for the imperfective in (40a-f) what the E-suffix cross-references for the perfective in (41a-f), and *vice versa*. Depending on the base, the L-set or E-set marks the P.

Cross-referencing of objects is also readily found across dialects in topicalization constructions, also in Ṭuroyo. The object can be placed in left-dislocation at the front and is only loosely integrated in the clause to introduce the clausal topic as a "forethought" (Givón 1976). This is indicated by two vertical strokes || in the example below. A cross-index on the verb refers back to it and resumes its

syntactic role. Such a strategy is also used in Ṭuroyo where differential object marking seems to be less strong:

(42) **Ṭuroyo** (Miden, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71, 75/323, 81/13)

[P] ⟵ [V+P]

a. *u-zlām-ano* || *lo-k-ŭδʕ-ína-**le***
the-man-DEM:MS NEG-IND-know$_{IPFV}$-A:1PL-P:3MS
'This man —, we do not know **him**.'

Whe the P occupies the unmarked post-verbal position in Ṭuroyo, it is indistinct from differential object marking:

[V+P] ⟶ [P]

b. *ko-ḥoze-**la*** *Ḥore*
IND-see$_{IPFV}$-A:1PL-P:3MS PRN
'He sees (lit. **her**) Ḥore.' (81/13)

NENA dialects may also combine indexing and case-marking in differential object marking, for example:

(43) **J. Arbel** (NE Iraq; Khan 1999:494, Y:37, 37)

a. (Ø) ***lixmá*** *gol-ix-wa* (Ø) (indefinite, inanimate NP)
bread:MS make$_{IPFV}$-A:1PL-PST
'We made **bread**.'

b. *mapé-ni-wā-**le*** (pronominal)
bake$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-PST-P:3MS
'They baked **it$_{M}$**.'

[DOM→P] ⟵ [V+P]

c. ***ʔil-*** ***lixmá*** *mapé-ni-wā-**le*** (definite, animate NP)
DOM- bread:MS bake$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-PST-P:3MS
'They baked (lit. it) **the bread**.'

Both the preposition *ʔil-* and the cross-index *-le* are exploited in the differential marking of *lixmá* 'bread' in (43c), using both available strategies to mark a prominent object. Their combination is mainly used in highly salient contexts (Khan 1999:290). Nevertheless, in some dialects, such as Christian Telkepe (NW Iraq; Coghill 2010, 2014), the combination of differential case-marking and indexing is always preferred.

The combined strategy is occasionally also observed even in Ṭuroyo, for example:

(44) **Ṭuroyo** (Miden, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71: 81/49)

[V+P]	⟶	[DOM→P]
*k-ŭδʕ-i-**le***		***l-u-zlām***
IND-know$_{IPFV}$-A:3PL-P:3MS		DOM-the-man:MS

'They (i.e. those who remained on the king's gate) know (lit. **him**) **the man**.'

The presence of such case-marking makes the patient argument an integral part of the clause and disambiguates this construction from right-dislocation (cf. Khan 1988:130).

In brief, agreement with the P is conditioned by the NP's degree of prominence. Differential indexing of the P tends to be used for topicalized, definite and indefinite specific nouns and can be combined with case-marking.

3.3.3. Remarks on Word Order

Only a few rudimentary remarks on word order will suffice for the following reasons. Although word order is part of constructions, it is possibly not a coding but a behavioral (i.e. more syntax-driven) property and usually varies depending on the discourse properties of arguments irrespective of alignment type manifested in agreement or case-marking (see §2.2.2). It may also lead to ambiguity in determining alignment (see §2.2.5). Word order is relatively free and driven by discourse properties (Hoberman 1989:100). It has not been studied in detail in most grammatical descriptions of Neo-Aramaic languages.

There are nevertheless evident dialect-specific preferences in Neo-Aramaic. There is a tendency towards V-P (or Verb-Object) as the unmarked word order in most of Neo-Aramaic such as Jewish Amidya exemplified in (45).

(45) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Hoberman 1983:132)

			[V]	[P]		
a.	*ʔe*	*baxta*	***k-šamʔ-a-lu***	***ʔanna***	***gure***	(imperfective)
	DEM:FS	woman:FS	IND-hear$_{PFV}$-3FS-3PL	DEM:PL	man:PL	
	'The woman **hears these men**.'					
b.	*ʔe*	*baxta*	***šmiʔ-i-la***	***ʔanna***	***gure***	(perfective)
	DEM:FS	woman:FS	hear$_{PFV}$-3PL-3FS	DEM:PL	man:PL	
	'The woman **heard these men**.'					

Since the S and A can be placed before or after the verb, we cannot establish a clear alignment preference in terms of word order. Khan (2002a:427-434), for example, notes for the Christian dialect of Qaraqosh (NW Iraq) pre-verbal position is favored when the referent is semantically and pragmatically more independent of the main narrative. Fronting of the object to pre-verbal position (P-V) is pragmatically more marked (Khan 2002a:440f).

Contrary to the aforementioned V-P-tendency, quite a few dialects, especially the NENA dialects in the eastern periphery, typically employ a P-V arrangement as the unmarked word order throughout. Among them are the dialects that exhibit an ergative pattern in the 'perfective' such as Jewish Saqqiz below. The word order is irrespective of TAM category.

(46) **J. Saqqiz** (W Iran; Israeli 1998:186)

		[P]	[V]	
a.	*baxt-év*	***aburw-év***	***labl-a-le***	(imperfective)
	woman:FS-his	dignity:MS-his	take$_{IPFV}$-3FS-3MS	
	'His wife **takes away his dignity**.'			
b.	*ḥatán*	***kalḏá***	***nišq-a-le***	(perfective)
	groom:MS	bride:FS	kiss$_{PFV}$-3FS-3MS	
	'The bridegroom **kissed the bride**.'			

It should be noted that this P-V word order permutation is not triggered by a particular alignment pattern but determined dialectologically. NENA dialects with accusative or neutral alignment in the 'perfective' may also have this particular arrangement, such as Jewish Urmi:

(47) **J. Urmi** (NW Iran; Garbell 1965:197)

	[P]	[V]	
ḥatán	***reš-éw***	***gle-le-le***	(perfective)
groom:MS	head:MS-his	reveal$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-P:3MS	
'The bridegroom **uncovered his head**.'			

Thus, the two main word order tendencies are V-P and P-V where the placement of the P is more significant than the placement of the S or A. Although dialects with ergative alignment in the 'perfective' prefer P-V order, this preference is not specific to the ergative alignment but to the concerning dialect bundle. This is borne out by the fact that the same word order preference is found

for 'imperfective' clause types, and that related dialects with other alignment types evince the same word order preference.

3.4. Ditransitive Clauses with (Pro)nominals

The more complex interaction of differential object marking strategies occurs in ditransitive clauses. The constructional split found for the P in differential marking is usually also found for the T and rarely includes the R. As in other studies of ditransitives in Neo-Aramaic[96], a distinction will be made between NP types separating pronouns from full NPs, between first/second and third person pronouns and between definite and indefinite NPs in line with the prominence hierarchy (see §2.4.1). Ditransitive constructions can be categorized in terms of person and pronoun-NP role associations (see Zúñiga 2002; Haspelmath 2004b, 2007) and they will be reviewed as such in for Eastern Neo-Aramaic. We will concentrate on examples for the 'imperfective' and reduce the level of abstraction in the glossing in this section for simplicity's sake. The patterns depend on both the role and type of argument.

There are four major possible combinations of person and associated R or T role. Haspelmath (2007), following Zúñiga (2002), distinguishes the following rankings:

(i) canonical: R > T.
(ii) clustering I: both R and T are high;
(iii) clustering II: both R and T are low;
(iv) crossing: T > R.

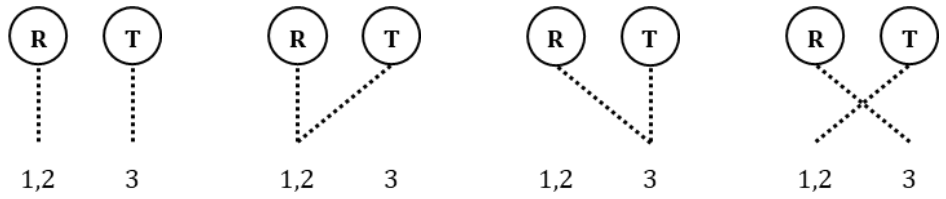
Haspelmath (2007) notes that, when the T outranks the R on the prominence hierarchy and, thus, a crossing association of role and nominal applies, a more complex construction tends to be used. A more complex construction may involve distinct independent rather than dependent expression of the person forms or overt rather than zero case-marking. Indeed, Siewierska (2004:60-61) notes that combinations of two independent pronouns expressing both T and R are cross-linguistically rare. Independent person forms generally do not denote both T and R but typically only the R, when dependent person forms are not available. This is consistent with the relative argument salience. The recipient is

[96] See Givón (1976), Polotsky (1979), Hoberman (1989:106-110), Murre-van den Berg (1999:211-212), Coghill (2010), and Cohen (2012:144-146). Recently, Waltisberg (2016) for Ṭuroyo.

typically highly animate and definite and independent pronouns by themselves are generally confined to human and definite referents, while the opposite applies to themes.

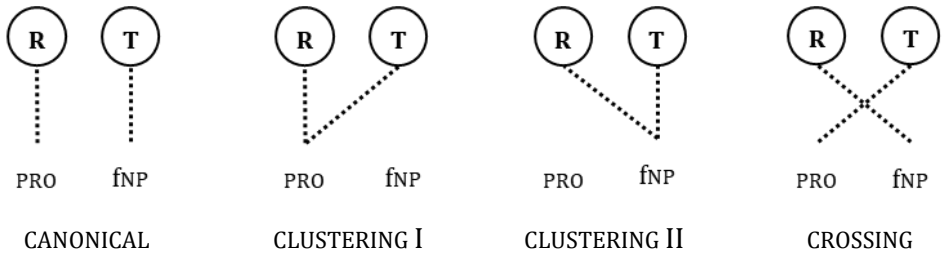
Figure 10 offers illustrative schemas for person role associations and Figure 11 for pronoun-NP associations. The 'canonical' type represents a harmonic person role association. The other types are less harmonic (clustering I and II) or disharmonic (crossing).

Figure 10. *Ditransitive person role associations*



Source: *Haspelmath (2007).*

Figure 11. *Ditransitive pronoun-NP role associations*



Source: *Haspelmath (2007).*

3.4.1. Person Role Associations

When both the T and R are pronominal, only one of them can be expressed on the verb. This results in two constructions for Haspelmath's (2004b; 2007) 'clustering' pronominal association: an indirect preposition construction where the R is prepositional and one where the T is represented by a special set of person forms. Which one is used may also depend on the person reference.

In the indirect preposition construction (T=P≠R), the verb takes a person index for the T, while the R is prepositional and expressed by a dialect-

dependent preposition. This is illustrated in the examples below. The theme is not person-restricted. In example (49a), for instance, *-lan* 'us' refers to a higher ranking theme. In fact, the indirect preposition construction must be used for the crossing association where the T outranks the R in person.

(48) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989:107-109, 185.3)

	[V+T]	[DAT→R]
a.	*g-yawəl-Ø-**lu***	*ṭal-i*
	IND-give$_{IPFV}$-he-them	to-me
	'He gives **them** to me.'	
b.	*b-yaw-ən-**ne***	*ṭal-ux*
	FUT-give$_{IPFV}$-I:M-him	to-you:MS
	'I$_M$ will give **it$_M$** to you$_{MS}$.'	

(49) **Ṭuroyo** (SE Turkey; cf. Jastrow 1985:142-143)

	[V+T:1,2,3]	[DAT→R:1,2,3]
a.	*gd-ob-ut-**lan***	*alle*
	FUT-give$_{IPFV}$-you:PL-us	to.them
	'You$_{PL}$ will give **us** to them.'	
b.	*Ø-nŭḥr-al-**le*** (< **nŭhr-ono-le*)	*el-ax*
	SBJ-slaughter$_{IPFV}$-I:F-him	to-you:FS
	'I$_F$ will slaughter **it$_M$** for you$_{FS}$.' (Ritter 1967-71, 76/17)	

In the secundative construction (T≠P=R), the verb indexes the R, and a special series of enclitic person forms marks the T. This is the set otherwise termed 'enclitic copula' which is found typically in non-verbal clauses. (This terminology is obviously misleading and this set does not express a copula here.) The construction type is confined to the third person in Neo-Aramaic in general[97]. In J. Amidya, these are 3ms. *=ile* 'He is', 3fs. *=ila* 'She is' and 3pl. *=ilu* 'They are'[98]. In Ṭuroyo, these are *=yo* (sg.) '(s)he/it is' and *=ne* (pl.) 'They are'. They function as a secondary third person forms. The theme indexes are attached immediately to the preceding verbal form such as *=ila* and *=ilu* in (50a) and (50b) and *=ne* and *=yo* in (51a) and (51b) below. They are employed only when the R outranks or is equal to the T on the person hierarchy.

[97] A similar example was given for Mesopotamian Arabic in §2.4.4.

[98] Perhaps confusingly, these enclitic person forms look like additional L-suffixes, but they should be kept apart.

(50) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Greenblatt 2011:304.130, 320.11)

	[V]	[A]		[R:1,2,3]	=[T:3]
a.	*Ø-maxzé*	*-Ø-*	*wa*	*-li*	***=la***
	SBJ-show$_{IPFV}$	-they	-PST	-me	=him

'They would have shown me **it$_{M}$**.'

		[R]	[T:3]
b.	*Ø-maxəzy-án*	*-nux*	***=ilu***
	SBJ-show$_{IPFV}$-I:F	-you:MS	=them

'I$_{F}$ will show you$_{MS}$ **them**.'

		[R]	=[T:1,2]
c.	***Ø-maxəzy-án*	*-nux*	***=iwan***
	SBJ-show$_{IPFV}$-I:F	-you:MS	=me:F

('I$_{F}$ will show you$_{MS}$ **me$_{F}$**.')

(51) **Ṭuroyo** (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1985:142-43)

		[R]	=[T:3]
a.	*g-maḥwé-nan*	*-xu*	***=ne***
	FUT-show$_{IPFV}$-I	-you:PL	=them

'I$_{M}$ will show you$_{PL}$ **them**.'

		[R]	=[T:1,2]
b.	*g-māgawr-át*	*-li*	***=yo***
	FUT-marry$_{IPFV}$-you:MS	-me	=him

'You$_{MS}$ will marry me **him**.'

		[R]	=[T:1,2]
c.	***g-māgawr-át*	*-le*	***=no***
	FUT-marry$_{IPFV}$-you:MS	-him	=me

('You$_{MS}$ will marry him **me**.')

For completeness's sake, the double object construction (T=P=R) is also mentioned here. Rarely, an 'imperfective' verb takes two object suffixes in a double object construction. The first L-set always denotes the theme, the second always the recipient. Both align with the patient, resulting in neutral alignment. Just as the secundative alignment above, this neutral pattern is presumably limited to the third person and may freely alternate with an indirect preposition construction:

(52) **J. Zaxo** (NW Iraq; Cohen 2012:164)

	[V]	[A]	[T]	[R]	
a.	*bə-yāw*	*-án*	*-na*	***-lox***	'I$_{M}$ will give her/it$_{F}$ **to you$_{MS}$**.'
	FUT-give$_{IPFV}$	-I$_{M}$	-her	-you$_{MS}$	

b. *bə-yāw* *-án* *-na* ***ṭal-ox*** ‘id.’
FUT-give$_{IPFV}$ -I$_{M}$ -her to-you$_{MS}$

Thus, we find the following patterns where either pronominal T or R may align with the P:

Table 23. *Person marking of themes and recipients*

(monotransitive)	V-P		
neutral	V-T-R		(R≥T, only third person themes?)
indirective	V-T	DAT→R	(all associations)
secundative	V-R=T		(R≥T, never T>R)

There is no clear-cut person split. The indirective pattern is available to all person role associations but it is necessary for the crossing association (where the T is higher in person). By contrast, the secundative pattern, and presumably also the neutral pattern, is confined to the ‘canonical’ and clustering third person situation: the T cannot be first or second person and must be third person. Where person role association is less harmonic, the indirective construction is preferred.

3.4.2. Pronoun-NP Role Associations

Pronominal arguments combined with nominal arguments follow the same patterns as we observed in the preceding subsection. The verb may take one object suffix referring to either the T or R, and the NP denoting the other role is expressed independently.

In the ‘canonical’ pronoun-NP association, the R is pronominal and the T is nominal. The nominal theme remains zero-marked such as *pare* ‘money’ in (53a) and *măsăle* ‘story’ in (53a) below, where the recipient is an object index marked on the verb. The R is introduced by a preposition such as *ta* in (7b-c) and *(e)l-* in (54b-c) in most ditransitive constructions containing two full NPs without differential marking. The same holds for pronominal Ts combined with a full R in the crossing situation, cp. *ta ḥakoma* ‘to the king’ in (53b-c) below and *l-u-šulṭono* and *l-u-malko* in (54b) and (54c). (53a) and (54a) are, strictly speaking, double object constructions (much like the English translation). It contains two objects, the primary object being the pronominal recipient marked on the verb and the secondary object being the nominal theme. Both are treated like the P, so that the alignment is neutral for such arguments.

(53) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq)

	[V+R: PRO]	[T: fNP]	
a.	*g-yaw-ən-**na***	*pare*	(R > T)
	IND-give$_{IPFV}$-I$_M$-her	money:PL	

'I$_M$ give her money.' (Hoberman 1989:107)

		[T: fNP]	[DAT→R: fNP]	
b.	*mšodər-re*[99]	*kθawa*	*ta ḥakoma*	(clustering , full NP)
	II:send$_{PFV}$-he	the-letter:MS	to king	

'He (i.e. your agha) sent a letter to the king.' (Greenblatt 2011:292.66)

	[V+T: PRO]	[R: fNP]	
c.	*qam-yaw-i-le*	*ta ḥakoma*	(T > R)
	PFV-give$_{IPFV}$-they-him	to king	

'They gave it$_M$ to the king.' (Greenblatt 2011:294.74)

(54) **Ṭuroyo** (SE Turkey; Ritter 1976-71, 75/328, 116/8, 56/27)

	[V+R: PRO]	[T: fNP]	
a.	*gd-oman-n-ux*	*măsăle*	(R > T)
	FUT-say$_{IPFV}$-I$_M$-you$_{MS}$	story:FS	

'I will tell you a story.'

	[T: fNP]	[DAT→R: fNP]	
b.	*mšadal-le*[100]	*u-maktub*	*l-u-šulṭono* (clustering, full NP)
	II:send$_{PFV}$-he	the-letter:MS	to-the-sultan:MS

'He sent the letter to the sultan.'

	[V+T: PRO]	[R: fNP]	
c.	*gə-mšadr-i-le*	*l-u-malko*	(T > R)
	PVB-send$_{IPFV}$-they-it$_M$	to-the-king	

'They send it to the king.'

Most ditransitive verbs will occur in these constructions. The double object construction is confined to the canonical association for these verbs where the R is pronominal. There is also a closed class of ditransitive verbs besides derived causatives that do occur in a double object constructions involving two full NP, i.e. the R is nominal. This lexically more restricted construction is given below for the verb *mly* 'fill' in Ṭuroyo. Apart from causatitives such as 'feed' and 'give

[99] < *mšodər-* + *-le*.
[100] < *mšādər-* + *-le*.

to drink', ditransitive verbs that occur in this construction are generally 'teach', factitive verbs (*make* T into R, *call* R T), dress (*clothe* R *in*/*with* T), and similar semantics of filling and covering (Khan 2008a:785-786 on Christian Barwar).

		[R: fNP]	[T: fNP]	
d.	*g-mole-Ø*	*as-sefoqe*	*maye*	(clustering, full NP)
	PVB-send$_{PFV}$-he	the-container:PL	water:PL	
	'He fills the containers with water.' (77/101)			

In the combination of a pronominal and full nominal argument, then, we observe the following patterns:

Table 24. *Nominal and pronominal themes and recipients (non-differential)*

	PRO	fNP	fNP	
(monotransitive)	V-P			
	V	P		
neutral	V-R	T		(R > T, canonical)
	V	R	T	(clustering, lexically restricted)
indirective	V-T	DAT→R		(T >R, crossing)
	V	T	DAT→R	(clustering full NPs)

In general, a prepositional full nominal recipient is preferred, when the theme is pronominal, while a zero-marked full nominal theme is preferred, when the recipient is pronominal. Where the pronoun-NP association is less harmonic, independent prepositional expression is favored. The double object construction with two full NPs is lexically more restricted.

3.4.3. Differential Theme and Recipient-Marking

Differential object marking constructions for ditransitive verbs are more complex. The preposition used to differentially mark the P is most often morphologically identical with the dative preposition that denotes the R. Agreement is controlled by one argument, since there is only one object index, and this is preferrably the T, following an indirective pattern. Only one of the three strategies (i) indexing, (ii) case-marking, or (iii) both is selected per argument.

In the 'canonical' situation, the R is pronominal and expressed through the object L-suffix. When the theme is a definite full NP, however, it may trigger indexing instead. The recipient is expressed independently, for example *ṭal-i* 'to

me' in (55) below, so that the object L-suffix becomes available to differentially index the theme:

(55) **J. Amidya** (NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989:107-109)

a. *g-yawəl-Ø-li* ***pare*** (non-differential)
IND-give$_{IPFV}$-he-me money:PL
'He gives me **money**.'
[V+T] [DAT→R]

b. *g-yawəl-Ø-**lu*** *ṭal-i* (indirective pronominal)
FUT-give$_{IPFV}$-he-them to-me
'He gives **it** to me.'
[V+T] ⟶ [T] [DAT→R]

c. *g-yawəl-Ø-**lu*** ***pare*** *ṭal-i* (differential indexing of the T)
IND-give$_{IPFV}$-he-them money:PL to-me
'He gives **the money** to me.'

Differential indexing groups the T and P, while the R lacks indexing. In dialects that allow for double L-suffixes, such as Jewish Zakho, the first L-suffix may be used to index the theme, while the second one is a pronominal receipient, for example:

(56) **J. Zaxo** (NW Iraq; Cohen 2012:144-146)

[V -T -R] [T]
halu *-**le*** *-li* ***hammas*** (double L-suffixes)
IMPV:give -him -me book:MS
'Give me **the book**.'

Differential marking of full NP recipients is occasionally found (cf. Khan 2008a:786 for Christian Barwar). Indirective case-marking of the R is non-differential. In some NENA dialects, however, the recipient can control agreement in addition to case-marking. The object suffix on the verb refers to the recipient[101], treating it like the patient but the noun itself is always prepositional

[101] I should mention that, at least in Ritter's (1967-71) material, differential cross-referencing of the recipient appears to occur in Ṭuroyo, e.g. *k-omal-Ø-**le l-Ḥasan*** 'He says **to Ḥasan**' (116/44). The conditions for this and how this varies across dialects requires further study. See now also Waltisberg (2016:195-197) who assumes there is no fundamental difference between the absence or presence of a person index.

such as the addressee *ta malkɒ* of *ʔmr* 'say' in the following example from Christian Telkepe. Naturally, the person index is available, because no definite theme is mentioned.

(57) **C. Telkepe** (NW Iraq; Coghill 2014: 355, 356, glossing adapted)

[V+R]	⟶	[DAT→R]	
*kəm-āmer-Ø-**ə***		***ta*** ***malkɒ***	(R is indexed)
PFV-say$_{IPFV}$-he-him		to king:MS	

'He said **to the king**…'

Concerning differential object marking, Coghill (2010, 2014) observes that only one of the three strategies (i) indexing, (ii) case-marking, or (iii) both is selected per argument, and that, all else being equal, agreement with themes overrules agreement with recipients (T > R) contrary the expected higher topicworthiness of the recipient (Givón 1976). *Ceteris paribus,* the two coding properties never apply simultaneously for two nominal objects (Hoberman 1989). Thus, if the clause contains two prominent full NPs, indexing of the T is preferred over case-marking of the T. Only the R is overtly case-marked. The following examples from Coghill's (2014) material on Christian Telkepe (NW Iraq) will illustrate this. Differential P-marking is expressed through both indexing and case-marking. Indexing is only available for the theme (*kθāwɒ* 'book') and case-marking only for the recipient:

(58) **C. Telkepe** (NW Iraq; Coghill 2014: 355, 356)

	[V+P]	⟶	[DAT→P]	
a.	*kəm-šāqəl-Ø-**lə***		***ta***	***barāna***
	PFV-take$_{IPFV}$-he-him		DOM	ram:MS

'He took **the ram**.'

	[V+T]	⟶	[T]	[DAT→R]	
b.	*kəm-kāθu-Ø-**lə***		Ø	***kθāwɒ***	*ta* *xāθ-e*
	PFV-write$_{IPFV}$-he-him			book:MS	to sister-his

'He wrote **the book** for his sister.' (available)

Case-marking or indexing of both is strongly disfavored (Coghill 2014:355). The theme cannot be case-marked, if the recipient is also case-marked:

	[V+T]	⟶	[**DAT→T]		[DAT→R]	
c.	*kəm-yaw-i-**lə***		***ta**	***kθāwɒ***	*ta*	*ġda-baxtɒ*
	PFV-give$_{IPFV}$-they-him		DOM	book:MS	to	a:FS-woman:FS

'They gave **the book to a woman.' (unavailable)

Case-marking, therefore, is disfavored for higher ranking Ts[102]. Presumably, the dative marking of both a prominent T and any R would be avoided due to intolerance towards ambiguity (e.g. Kittilä 2006; unlike Syriac, see §2.4.2). At the same time, person indexing is not available for the recipient. The two coding properties, therefore, which would otherwise readily mark the P either on their own or in cominbation, are diffused over the T and R in ditransitive constructions. This agreement preference (T>R) and case-marking preference (R>T) is typical for languages where definiteness is more fundamental than animacy and where the T is zero case-marked (Givón 1976:165-166; cf. Hoberman 1983; see §2.5.2).

This notwithstanding, these tendencies are not always observed. A recipient may lack case-marking altogether and can be indexed like the P. First of all, the R argument may control agreement, when it undergoes left dislocation to clausal topic position (Givón 1976:165; Hoberman 1989:107-108). Thus, secundative indexing (T≠P=R) overrides the more frequent indirective pattern (T=P≠R), when the recipient is topicalized. Givón (1976:165) suggests that this correlates with the primacy of definiteness over animacy in such agreement systems like NENA in general. Secondly, the absence of case-marking appears to be possible in Christian Urmi, when the theme is not prominent but only the recipient is (see Polotsky 1979). The definite recipient (*haqyatoxun* 'your story' in (59) below), is indexed, while the indefinite theme (*šəmma* 'name') remains zero-marked[103]:

[102] There are notable exceptions to this, see Subsection 4.2.2.2 where case-marking of both T and R co-occurs in Jewish Urmi.

[103] It is possible, however, that this is in fact (inspired by) a complex predicate or light verb construction (akin to what is found in contiguous languages such as Persian). The referentiality of the object NP is reduced and it specifies the core lexical meaning of the verb phrase, i.e. 'to name-give' = 'to name'. The most referential object, then, is naturally the recipient.

(59) **C. Urmi** (Literary, NW Iran; Polotsky 1979:218, transcription modified)

[V+R]	[T]	[R]	
*hallun-**la***	*šəmma*	***haqyat-oxun***	(only R indexed)
give:IMPV:PL-her	name:MS	story:FS-your:PL	

'Give **your$_{PL}$ story** a name!'

This still concurs with Givón's (1976) account that the definiteness of the argument is fundamental, and that prepositionally marked Rs do not trigger agreement in the presence of a full nominal T (Hoberman 1989:107, fn. 5).

Finally, only the more recipient-like argument is indexed in a double object construction. Again, the main conditioning factor is definiteness, for example:

(60) **C. Barwar** (NW Iraq; Khan 2008a:786)

	[V+R]	[T]		
a.	*ṃaḷ-əx-**xa***	*zuze*		(pronominal R)
	fill$_{IPFV}$-we-her	money:PL		

'We shall fill **it$_{F}$** with money.'

	[V+R] ⟶	[R]	[T]	
b.	*ṃaḷ-əx-**xa***	***čant-ux***	***zuze***	(differential indexing of the R)
	fill$_{IPFV}$-we-her	bag:FS-your:MS	money	

'We shall fill **your$_{MS}$ bag** with money.'

All in all, person indexing seems to be conditioned mainly by definiteness and is preferred for the T over the R. Exceptions to this tendency are few, but in all of them, the R is not overtly case-marked like the P. The general avoidance of (morphologically identical) case-marking of both the T and R seems to be so strong that even in dialects like Christian Telkepe where differential indexing of the P is always combined with case-marking, this is disfavored for the T.

3.5. Person Marking in Possession

A few remarks are given here on the expression of possessors either adnominally or predicatively through a dative preposition and/or L-suffixes. L-suffixes can be used in predicative possession[104]. The main observation will be that, like recipients, this usage of the L-suffixes is found across imperfective and perfective

[104] The adnominal possessive suffixes may also be used as object indexes in certain verbal constructions that ultimately have a nominal basis (see §5.2.2.1).

constructions, and that their main dative function is compatible with their use as markers of the A which is specific to the expression of the perfective past.

Adnominal possession is expressed as follows. Nouns can be combined with other nouns in a possessor-possessum annexation construction (much like a genitive case in genitive relationships). The default expression of annexation constructions is where the annexing 'genitive' linker =*d* and its dialectical variants cliticizes either to the possessee, e.g. NENA (J. Zaxo) *bēs=**ət** gyane* 'the house of his own', or to the possessor, e.g. Ṭuroyo *u-bayto **d=**u-malko* 'the house of the king' (where *u-* is the definite article). Similarly, this linker may be inflected through the 'possessive' suffixes, e.g. J. Zaxo *šəvana d-ōhun* 'their shepherd', often with augmentation, e.g. NENA (J. Zaxo) *d* 'of' + *-i* 'my' → *d-id-i* 'mine'; compare Ṭuroyo: *u-bayto díδ-i=yo* 'The house is mine'.

Predicative possession is based on existential clauses introduced by the existential marker *ʔiθ-* 'there is/are' and dialectal variants thereof. This particle is marked for negation by the negator *la-*, e.g. *la-yθ-* 'there is/are not', and for past tense by the 'past convertor' *-wa*, e.g. *ʔiθ-wa* 'there was/were'. Together with L-suffixes they express predicative possession akin to English *have*. The L-suffix marks the possessor reminiscent of their use as markers of the recipient. The co-referential nominal, however, is usually not prepositional. Thus, (61a) below presents a simple existential predicate. (61b) illustrates the additional L-suffix expressing the possessor or benefactor (i.e. R). In (61c), the possessor NP is zero-marked but the L-suffix agrees with it, indicating its role as the possessor. The possessum is alsways zero-marked. The final /l/ of the L-suffix and final /t/ of the existential particle may also assimilate, e.g. NENA *ʔit-te* 'He has' (J. Arbel, NW Iraq; Khan 1999:121-122). The L-suffixes mark the agreement with the possessor. There is no agreement with the possessee.

(61) **J. Zaxo** (NW Iraq; adapted from Cohen 2012:80)

	PSSR	**PTCL-PSSR**	**PSSM**		
a.		*ʔit*	*xa*	*gənsa*	'There is a garden.'
		EXST	a	garden	
b.		***ʔət-le***	*xa*	*gənsa*	'**He has** a garden.'
		EXST-him	a	garden	
c.	*bab-ēni*	***ʔət-le***	*xa*	*gənsa*	'Our father **has** a garden.'
	father-our	EXST-him	a	garden	

Dative case-marking of the possessor appears to be optional in Ṭuroyo. The L-suffixes always index the possessor, but the possessor may be prepositional, for example *l-u-malk-ano* 'belonging to the king':

(62) **Ṭuroyo** (ʕIwardo, Ritter 1967-71: 58/3, 57/12)

a. ***u-zlām-ano*** *kət-way-**le*** *arbʕi* *kalōṯe*
the-man-DEM:MS EXST-PST-him forty daughter-in-law:PL
'**This man** had (lit. There was to him) forty daughters-in-law.'

b. *ma* *kət-**le*** ***l-u-malk-ano***
Q EXST-him DAT-the-king-DEM:MS
'What does **the king** have?'

As this example also evinces, the existential predicate may receive the TAM-marker *k-* in certain varieties. The L-suffixes are similarly added to the other existential bases marked for negation and/or past tense, e.g. NENA *ʔāna l-ít-wā-li waxt* 'I did not have time' (J. Arbel, NW Iraq; Khan 1999:121-122)[105].

The verb *hwy* stands in a suppletive relation to these existential markers to express other TAM categories such as the future tense and subjunctive, e.g. *ʔən hāwe rāba* 'If there is much (of it)' (C. Aradhin, Krotkoff 1982:82.50). The future tense of predicative possession may be expressed on the same basis, for example in Ṭuroyo:

c. *Baṣuṣ* *gt-owe-le* *abro*
PRN FUT-be$_{IPFV}$-him son
'Baṣuṣ will have a son.' (115/309)

In the following example of Ṭuroyo, the verb *hwy* clearly lacks agreement with the possessee, while the possessor NP is marked by the preposition *l-* and indexed through the L-suffixes:

[105] A related construction based on the existential markers and a set of 'B-suffixes' expresses location 'within' or ability. B-suffixes are the same as L-suffixes with the only difference being that the /l/ is exchanged for /b/. The B-suffixes correlate with the preposition *b-* 'in'. They denote containment ('have inside'), e.g, NENA *tre-beʔe ʔibb-a* (< *ʔit-b-a*) 'There were two eggs in it$_F$', i.e. 'It$_F$'s got two eggs inside' (J. Arbel; Khan 1999:122). They can also convey ability followed by the subjunctive (bare 'imperfective'), e.g. NENA *l-ib-i* ∅*-ʔat-en* 'I$_M$ cannot come' (C. Hertevin, SE Turkey; Jastrow 1988:55), Ṭur. *la-yb-i* ∅*-oθe-no* 'id.'.

(63) **Ṭuroyo** (ʕIwardo, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967-71, 59/5)
l-u-ḥākəm *hawi-Ø-**le*** *barθo*
to-the-overlord became$_{PFV}$-it$_{M}$-him daughter:FS
'**The overlord** got a daughter.'

One find the same constructions in NENA for L-suffixes alike, for example: *ʔən hāwē-le ḥāl ṭạwta* 'If he has a good situation (i.e. is well off)' (C. Aradhin, Krotkoff 1982:82.50, 80.38). The possessor controls agreement via the L-suffixes, while the possessee triggers no agreement.

In contexts where the paradigmatically affiliated verb *hwy* is used, the predicate may retain non-referential agreement morphology, often third masculine or feminine singular. This is more evident in the following example where *vi-la* is the 3fs. perfective past form of the verb *hvy* 'be, become' in Christian Urmi:

(64) **C. Urmi** (Literary, NW Iran; Polotsky 1979:211, transcription mine)
vazir *vi-**la**-lə* *bruna*
vizier:MS became$_{PFV}$-it$_{F}$-him son:MS
'The vizier got a son.'

It should be noted that, unlike the rest of Neo-Aramaic, the predicative possessor is expressed as an independent dative person form in Mlaḥso. The possessee can trigger agreement on the verb *hwy*:

(65) **Mlaḥso** (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1994:76.19)
a. ***hito*** ***el-i*** *ḥosoki* '**I have** a sister.'
there.is to-me a.sister:FS
b. ***zʕure*** *el-i* *lo=**ve-len*** 'No **children were born** to me.'
children to-me not=were$_{PFV}$-they

How this applies to full nominal possessors in Mlaḥso is not known to me. Jastrow (1994) does not appear to provide examples.

Thus, the role expressed through L-suffixes in the 'perfective' is once again functionally equivalent with the role expressed through E-suffixes in the 'imperfective'. The secondary L-suffix denotes the possessor throughout the system similarly to the R in ditransitives. Moreover, this indicates that no notion of possession, which may once have been there historically, is implied by the first L-suffix in the 'perfective' synchronically. On the contrary, *-len* marks the agreement with the possessee in (65b).

In short, the annexing 'genitive' particle =*d* links two nominals in a possessor-possessive relationship and may be inflected for person. The set of L-suffixes besides another similar set of B-suffixes is combined with existential particles or the verb *hwy* 'be' to express predicative possession. The L-suffixes share a close connection with the dative preposition *l-* 'to, for' in the expression of possessors. As a construction, however, predicative possession is treated similarly to verbal constructions. This is borne out by their type of negation and the 'past convertor' *-wa*. Possessors constitute a separate special category correlating with recipients across the verbal system. The possessee generally does not trigger agreement; only the possessor via the L-suffixes. And this is irrespective of TAM or inflectional base, so that the L-suffix denoting the recipient-like affectee is even attached to an L-suffix in the 'perfective' denoting the role that corresponds with the E-suffix in the 'imperfective'. The first L-suffixes, however, function as indexes of an impersonal subject in the expression of the perfective past similarly to E-suffixes in the 'imperfective'.

3.6. Summary

The 'imperfective' inflection is largely uniform across NENA and Central Neo-Aramaic dialects. The 'perfective' verbal inflection should not be mistaken for a passive or possessive contruction synchronically. Due to agreement inversion, the respective E-suffixes and L-suffixes mark the inverted grammatical functions in (di)transitive constructions. L-suffixes can also attach to verbal forms with A-marking L-suffixes in the 'perfective' and, possibly though rarely, to verbal forms with T-marking L-suffixes in the 'imperfective'. The R can be marked by L-suffixes across inflectional systems. By contrast, the 'perfective' shows interesting peculiarities, constructional splits, and more complex verbal person marking. This leads to various alignment splits, which we turn to in the next chapters, beginning with NENA and concluding with Central Neo-Aramaic.