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6. ALIGNMENT SPLITS IN CENTRAL NEO-ARAMAIC

Central Neo-Aramaic closely parallels North Eastern Neo-Aramaic. This chapter will demonstrate that, regarding alignment, Ṭuroyo[188] is similar to the Jewish varieties of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan, and that Mlaḥso (extinct by now) is similar to Chistian dialects in SE Turkey such as Bohtan as well as Jewish dialects of Iranian Azerbaijan such as Urmi.

Ṭuroyo dialects are much less diverse than NENA dialects but there are notable difference (see §1.2.3). We will first compare Ṭuroyo with NENA 'ergative dialects' (§6.1. and §6.2.) and conclude with a comparison of Mlaḥso with Ṭuroyo and NENA (§6.3. and §6.4).

What will stand out is the richer voice system that characterizes Central Neo-Aramaic against NENA. Each stem formation (I-IV) has its own mediopassive pendant (I_M-IV_M). In addition, stem I verbs also include a special 'perfective' base *qaṭil-* that never combines with an L-set as agent or subject indexes. Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso differ greatly in their usage of this form.

There is considerable overlap between the active and mediopassive base, however. This is illustrated in (1) below for the verb 'open' (cf. Mengozzi 1998:84):

(1) **Inchoative 'open' in Central Neo-Aramaic and NENA**

	Ṭuroyo	**Mlaḥso**	**J. Sanandaj**	**J. Betanure**
PFV	*ftiḥ-Ø*	*mepseḥ-le*	*plix-Ø*	*pθəx-le*
	'It$_M$ opened'			
IPFV	*˚məftəḥ-Ø*	*mepseḥ-Ø*	*păləx-Ø*	*pāθəx-Ø*
	'It opens'			

Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso not only differ from NENA in this respect but also from each other. Especially in Mlaḥso, the difference between 'perfective' and 'imperfective' is levelled by extension of the 'imperfective' base to the preterit, such that 'imperfective' mediopassive bases become combinable with the L-set as subject indexes (*mepseḥ-la* 'It$_F$ opened' vs. *psiḥ-o-le* 'He opened it$_F$'). The (Jewish) NENA dialects do not have a mediopassive formation but Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso do have

[188] See also Coghill (2016:84-90) who briefly treats alignment in Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso in comparison with NENA. Hemmauer and Waltisberg (2006) and, recently in more detail, Waltisberg (2016) argue that Ṭuroyo is essentially accusative. My own more nuanced view is that ergative alignment is, indeed, manifested in Ṭuroyo, as explained in Section 6.1.

one, namely a *m*V*qṭ*V*l*-form. This form is even extended to the preterit in Mlaḥso while maintaining the L-set for expressing the S as in the majority of NENA such as J. Betanure.

6.1. Alignment in Ṭuroyo

The alignment in Ṭuroyo is comparable to South-Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA such as Sulemaniyya (NE Iraq) and Sanandaj and Saqqiz (W Iran). The ergative and non-ergative alignment types are complementary in Ṭuroyo, each confined to the third or non-third person category. After a discussion of the combinations of monotransitive and ditransitive alignment types for person marking, case-marking will be treated. Interestingly, agents, especially focal agents, can be marked both by the dative preposition *(e)l-* and the L-suffixes. This results in a combination of optional ergative case-marking and ergative agreement.

6.1.1. Ergative and Horizontal Person Marking

Ergative alignment is confined to third person forms in the inflection of the 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo in a comparable way to South-Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA. It alternates with horizontal alignment for other persons.

As mentioned in §3.2.3, the E-set of person indexes groups the S and P for third person pronouns only, for example:

(2) **Ergative alignment for third person pronouns**

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

b. (transitive)
*ḥəzy-**o**-le* 'He saw **her**.'
see$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3MS

(3) **Miden**

a. *ftəḥ-le* *ʕayn-e* (no indexing of definite P)
open$_{PFV}$-A:3MS eye-his
'He opened his eyes.' (Ritter 1967-71, 81/18)

b. *ʕayne* *d-ú-babo* *ftiḥ-**i*** (indexing of definite S)
eyes of-the-father open$_{PFV}$-S:3PL
'Father's eyes opened.' (ibid., 57/237)

c. *ṭəm-le* *ʕayn-e* *u* *ftiḥ-**i**-le* (pronominal P)
close$_{PFV}$-A:3MS eye-his and open$_{PFV}$-P:3PL-A:3MS
'He closed his eyes and opened **them** (again).' (73/400)

d. *ftiḥ-**i*** (pronominal S)
open$_{PFV}$-S:3PL
'**They** opened.'

Ergativity is primarily pronominal in Ṭuroyo, as illustrated for the labile verb *ftḥ* 'open' in (3) above. The trigger potential for agreement is lower for the P. The person forms that mark the A and S function as cross-indexes. When there is a co-nominal in S or A-function, it always triggers agreement in Ṭuroyo. This is optional and rare for the P. A form without patient index like *ftəḥ-le* 'He opened' in (3a) is generally preferred at least in the Miden dialect (Jastrow 1985:137). Nevertheless, differential indexing of definite full NPs is occasionally also found[189], for example:

[V+P] ⟶ [P]

(4) *hăma* *Aḷoho* *sim-**o**-le* ***mujiza*** ***haθe*** (diff. indexing of P)
but God:MS do$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3MS miracle:fs DEM:FS
'But God performed **this miracle**.' (Miden, Talay 2004:128.335)

Non-third person forms, however, pattern horizontally. The L-series groups both the A and P, as exemplified and schematized below.

(5) **Horizontal alignment for non-third person arguments**

a. (intransitive)
*damix-**ono*** 'I$_F$ went to sleep.'
sleep$_{PFV}$-S:1FS

b. (transitive)
ḥzé-li-lax 'I saw you$_{FS}$.'
see$_{PFV}$-A:1SG-P:2FS

[189] See now also Waltisberg (2016:188-190) for more examples.

The patient index always follows the agent index in the double L-set construction. Since the order and role designation of the two L-suffixes is fixed, there is no ambuigity. From a comparative perspective, horizontal alignment is rare in the NENA subgroup[190], although double L-set constructions do occur. In the Jewish 'ergative dialects', independent expression of the object is preferred for the first and second person manifesting tripartite alignment. In Ṭuroyo, the object is freely expressed as a dependent person form (L-suffix).

It should be pointed out that the S may also align with the A (such as *nwəḥ-le* 'It$_M$ barked') in Ṭuroyo depending on semantic and/or morphological factors, and that some transitive verbs mainly denoting mental states such as *šmʕ* 'hear' pattern accusatively (exactly like the 'imperfective'), as discussed further in §6.2.1.

NENA constructions conditioned by the person of the P are somewhat different in distribution from Ṭuroyo. The third person forms are generally available in both alignment patterns and the first and second only in the non-ergative pattern. In Ṭuroyo, the two alignment types are complementary, both are confined by a person category. The table below illustrates the distinct strategies in object marking conditioned by person[191] and the indexing of the S.

Table 39. *Person-conditioned alignment in Ṭuroyo (Miden)*

S = E-set			**P =** E-set			
*daməx-**Ø***	**'He**		*nšəq-**Ø**-la*	'She	**him'**	
*damix-**o***	**'She**	slept'	*nšiq-**o**-la*	'She kissed	**her'**	[–1,2]
*damix-**i***	**'They**		*nšiq-**i**-la*	'She	**them'**	
S = E-set			**P** = L-set			
damix-ət	'You$_{MS}$		*nšáq-**li-lŭx***	**'I$_F$**	**you$_{MS}$'**	
damix-at	'You$_{FS}$		*nšáq-**li-lax***	**'I$_M$**	**you$_{FS}$'**	
damix-utu	'You$_{PL}$	slept'	*nšáq-**lan-lalxu***	**'We** kissed	**you$_{PL}$'**	[+1,2]
daməx-no	'I$_M$		*nšáq-**lax-li***	**'You$_{FS}$**	**me$_M$'**	
damix-ono	'I$_F$		*nšáq-**lŭx-li***	**'You$_{MS}$**	**me$_F$'**	
damix-ina	'We		*nšáq-**xŭl-lan***	**'You$_{PL}$**	**us'**	

[190] Horizontal alignment features in Jewish Saqqiz for the first and second person (see §4.2.3). Possibly, the realis perfect in C. Hertevin also shows horizontal alignment for the third person, i.e. *hole wed-le-lehen* 'He has made them' where A and P are grouped against (*hole*) *dmiḥ-Ø* 'He has slept'.

[191] It should be pointed out that the 2pl. and 3pl. L-suffixes have idiosyncratic allomorphs (Jastrow 1985:138) due to historical retentions that are not discussed here.

In actual transitive clauses, the coding of the agent is stable and does not vary depending on person, e.g. *nšiq-o-lan* 'We kissed her', *nšəq-la-lan* 'She kissed us' (Jastrow 1985:138-139).

Hemmauer and Waltisberg (2006) argue that the preterit is only superficially ergative and that a tripartite system points to an underlying accusative pattern similar to the present (respectively, 'imperfective'). Our approach, however, does not differentiate between deep and superficial alignment and no alignment pattern is subsumed under another. It does differentiate agreement in terms of morphological marking and trigger potential which Hemmauer and Waltisberg seem to conflate. They rightly show that agent and (especially) subject agreement are ultimately primary to the verbal system. In terms of trigger potential, the indexing of full NPs is, indeed, accusative in Ṭuroyo. When indefinite NPs are considered, subject NPs and agent NPs each take morphologically distinct sets (mainly E-set vs. L-set) and patient NPs generally do not trigger overt agreement (Ø). This is, indeed, tripartite. Nevertheless, ergative alignment may still be observed for definite NPs, where definite patients trigger the same overt morphology as definite subjects. And when we consider the person category and its manifestation through dependent person forms only, the alignment is ergative for the third person and horizontal for the first and second person.

Recently, Waltisberg (2016:20, 176) denied any manifestation of ergativity in Ṭuroyo and emphasizes that the alignment is essentially tripartite. Even though he rightly points out that there is tripartition, this does not exclude the possible manifestation of ergative alignment. As I showed in this subsection, when definite NPs and third person forms are considered, the morphological marking undeniably follows an ergative pattern. Such overt coding of the P is taken as starting point for the basic characterization of an alignment type in my approach (cf. Comrie 2005; Malchukov et al. 2010). The interesting fact that the inflectional base of certain intransitive verbs (C*a*C*i*C- as in *damix-o* 'She fell a sleep') differs from that of transitive verbs (CC*i*C- as in *ftiḥ-o-la* 'She opened itF') in the 'perfective' does not alter this, because, it is the E-set that expresses the properties of the S argument, not the inflectional base.

In essence, the observations for Ṭuroyo are rather similar to what is observed for South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA (see §4.2.3). *Ceteris paribus,* the S and A always trigger agreement regardless of person reference in both the 'perfective' and 'imperfective'. Object indexes come in two sets depending on person: the E-set for third person alinging ergatively with the S and the L-set for the other persons aligning horizontally with the A. Moreover, the two sets

of patient indexes (E-set vs. L-set) are complementary in Ṭuroyo, while in NENA third person patient indexes generally occurs in both the E-set and the alternative strategy.

6.1.2. Ditransitive Person Marking

Additional L-suffixes in the 'perfective' mark the patient of first and second person in monotransitive alignment patterns. They may also mark recipients for all persons in ditransitive alignment types. A special set of person forms is used for the theme.

The second L-suffix is cannot be used in the expression of the P for the third person so that forms like ***nšáq-la-le* 'She kissed him' are disallowed[192]. This restriction is germane to their function as indicators of the patient (Jastrow 1985:137-138). When third person forms do feature in a double L-set construction, the secondary L-suffixes express the recipient or benfeciary in three-argument constructions[193], for example:

	[V-R]	[T]
(6)	*ftíḥ-ḥan-**ne***	*u-tarʕo*
	open$_{PFV}$-A:3PL-R:3MS	the-door:MS

'They opened the door **for him**.' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71: 73/371)

Only in the expression of the recipient-like argument, the third person occurs in the double L-set construction. For non-third person forms, however, the patient and recipient roles converge, for example:

	[V-A-R]	
(7)	*ftáḥ-le-**la***	'He opened **for her** (R)' but not ** He opened **her** (P).
	[V-A-R/P]	
(8)	*ftáḥ-le-**li***	'He opened **(for) me** (R/P)'

Ṭuroyo usually does not allow more than one object affix on the verb in ditransitive constructions. Only in extraordinary cases, the E-series may additionally mark themes even within a double L-set construction where the second

[192] It should be noted that, in C. Hertevin, the situation is exactly the reverse: the double L-set construction (*ḥze-le-le*) is confined to third person agents.

[193] This is similar to NENA dialects such as Jewish Amidya (see §3.2.4).

L-suffix marks the recipient. This seems to be attested only for the verb *hyw* 'give' and third person anaphora in rural dialects (cf. Ritter 1990:75), for example:

	[V]	[T]	[A]	[R]
(9)	*húw*	***-i***	*-le*	*-lalle*
	give$_{PFV}$	-3PL	-3MS	-3PL

'He gave **them** to them.' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71: 73/371)

It is much more common, however, that the T is marked by a special enclitic series (the same as the 'copula'), when both the T and R are dependent person forms. This is confined to third person reference: *=yo* for the singular and *=ne* the plural, for example:

	[V]	[A]	[R]	=[T]
(10)	*hú*	*-li*	*-lalle*	***=yo***
	give$_{PFV}$	-A:1SG	-R:3PL	=T:3MS

'I gave them **it$_{M}$** (the milk).' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 75/375)

	maḥát	*-la*	*-lalle*	***=ne***
	put$_{PFV}$	-A:3FS	-R:3PL	=T:3PL

'She prepared **them** for them.' (Miden, ibid. 115/110)

Only third person pronouns, therefore, exhibit distinct sets of dependent person forms for each argument class (P, T, R) while these are not distinguished for their first and second person counterparts. This person-based split is not found in the 'imperfective' (*qoṭəl-*) but, interestingly, a similar person split is found in the inflection of object indexes attached to the imperative (*qṭal*) (cf. Jastrow 1985:140-143, 1992:128-130). The imperative can combine either with a separate object series similar to the 'possessive' suffixes or an L-suffix. The special set is *-e*, *-a* and *-ene* marks the P and T of third person pronouns, when the R is a full nominal:

	[V-T: PRO]	[DAT→R: fNP]
(11)	*haw-**e***	*l-Baṣuṣ*
	give:IMPV-3MS	DAT-PRN

'Give **it$_{M}$** to Baṣuṣ!' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 115/283)

This is similar to the E-set in the 'perfective', for example:

	[V-T: PRO]	[DAT→R: fNP]
(12)	*hiw-**o**-le*	*l-Šalliṭa*
	give$_{PFV}$-3FS-3MS	DAT-PRN

'He gave **it$_{M}$** to Šalliṭa.' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 86/27)

The L-suffixes always express the R such as *-li* in the following example where the theme is a full nominal:

	[V-R: PRO]	[T:fNP]
(13)	*haw-**li***	*iδ-ux*
	give:IMPV-1SG	hand:FS-your:MS

'Give **me** your$_{MS}$ hand!' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 78/143)

Thus, we obtain the following sets for the third person in the 'imperfective' (including *qoṭəl-* and the imperative *qṭal!*) and the 'perfective'. The enclitic pronouns (also known as the 'copula') are used in each of them to mark chiefly the T when both the T and R are dependent person forms.

(14) **Distinct sets of object indexes for the third person**

	IMPERFECTIVE			PERFECTIVE		ALL-ROUND
	qoṭəl-	*qṭal !*		*qṭil*		(everywhere)
	P/T/R	P/T	R	P(/T)	R	T
	L-set	OBJ	L-set	E-set	L-set	ENCLITIC ('COPULA')
3MS	*-le*	*-e*	*-le*	*-Ø*	*-le*	*=yo*
FS	*-la*	*-a*	*-la*	*-o*	*-la*	*=yo*
PL	*-lle*	*-ene*	*-lle*	*-i*	*-lle* (*-lalle*)	*=ne*

The enclitic series (or the 'copula') is confined to the third person throughout the verbal system. The L-suffixes equivalently express all objects for non-third person forms, synthesizing P, T and R. Apart from the imperative this synthesis is found for the L-set in the 'imperfective' (*qoṭəl-*) for all persons. First/second person indexes, therefore, follow the object coding of the 'imperfective' in the entire verbal system. This is a striking difference with NENA dialects where the E-set may equally synthesize the P, T and R[194].

[194] Compare NENA *mir-**ət**-ti* besides *már-ri-**lux*** (< *mər-li*) for 'I told **you$_{MS}$** (R)' and *mir-**a**-li* 'I told it$_{F}$ (T)' (J. Amidya; Greenblatt 2011:336.8, 336.5) but Ṭuroyo *mir-**o**-li* 'I told **it$_{F}$** (T)' and *máḽi-**lŭx*** (< *mər-li*) 'I told **you$_{MS}$** (R)'.

When both arguments are person forms, the object index expresses the T and the R is expressed independently as a prepositional argument from the *el-* series. This is an indirect preposition construction, aligning the T with P but expressing the R differently, for example:

	[V-T]	[R]
(15)	*hú-le-**lan***	*el-e / al-xu*
	'He gave **us** to him/to you$_{PL}$.'	

When we compare this to the monotransitive clauses, the constraint on the doubling of L-suffixes for monotransitive clauses interacts with that for ditransitive ones in indirective alignment. Thus, where A and P align horizontally in monotransitive clauses for non-third person forms, the ditransitive counterpart is indirective. Compare the following examples. The agent, patient and theme of the first and second person are all marked by the L-set. The recipient is expressed independently.

(16) **Miden** (Jastrow 1985:143)

	MONOTRANSITIVE		DITRANSITIVE		
a.	**Horizontal** (S≠P=A)	b.	**Indirective** (T=P≠R)		
	[V-A-P]		[V-A-P]		
	nšáq-li-lax		*nšáq-li-**lax***		(P/T/R[+1,2])
	'I kissed you$_{FS}$.'		'I kissed **you$_{FS}$**.'		
	[V-S]		[V-A-T]	[R]	
	*damix-**ono***		*hú-le-**lax***	*el-i*	
	'**I$_{FS}$** slept.'		'He gave **you$_{FS}$** to me.'		

Both horizontal and indirective alignment are disfavored, if the object is third person, for example:

e.	****Horizontal** f.	****Indirective**	
	***nšáq-le-la*	***nšáq-le-**la***	(P/T[−1,2])
	'He kissed her.'	'He kissed **her**'	
	*damix-**o***	***hú-le-**la*** *el-e*	
	'**She** slept.'	'He gave **her** to him'	

The mirror image applies to secundative alignment. This is only possible, when the theme is dependent and third person. Only the S is marked by the E-set and the theme is expressed through the special set of enclitic person forms such as *=yo* in (16h) below. The grouping of A and P parallels the grouping of P and R.

g. **Horizontal** (S≠P=A)
[V-A-P]
nšáq-li-lax
'I kissed you$_{FS}$.'
[V-S]
*damix-**ono***
'**I$_{FS}$** slept.'

h. **Secundative** (T≠P=R)
[V-A-P]
*nšáq-li-**lax*** (R[+1,2], T[−1,2])
'I kissed **you$_{FS}$**.'
[V-A-R]=[T]
*hú-le-**lax**=yo*
'He gave her **to you$_{FS}$**.'

The ditransitive alignment is tripartite, however, where the monotransitive counterpart is ergative, when third person pronominal objects are concerned only. Compare the following two examples. The E-set groups S and P, but all roles are marked differently in the ditransitive alignment.

i. **Ergative** (S=P≠A)
[V-P-A]
*nšiq-**o**-le*
'He kissed **her**.'

[V-S]
*damix-**o***
'**She** slept.'

j. **Tripartite** (T≠P≠R)
[V-P-A]
*nšiq-**o**-le*
'He kissed **her**.'

[V-A-R][=T]
hú-le-la=yo
'He gave him to her.'

Apart from secundative alignment conditioned by third person themes, these constructions are rather different from the 'imperfective'. The 'imperfective' otherwise shows indirective alignment and not tripartite. Ṭuroyo shows a split in ditransitive alignment that is sensitive to tense-aspect. Both the ergative and tripartite alignment are specific to the 'perfective' and both are confined to the third person.

Thus, the R is marked in the same way for all persons throughout the verbal system, while it is third person pronouns that are marked differently in the 'perfective' and imperative both as indicators of the T and P. The alignment for first and second person pronouns is either horizontal-indirective or horizontal-secundative. Moreover, secundative alignment only occurs when the T is third

person and dependent and the R is non-third person and dependent. Interestingly, third person indexes otherwise follow an ergative-tripartite pattern, both of which are specific to the 'perfective'. It is furthermore remarkable that, in ergative-tripartite alignment, the agent and recipient (A=R) are marked by the same set, whereas, in horizontal-indirective alignment, all roles but the S and R are marked by the same set (A=P=T).

6.1.3. Ergative and Horizontal Prepositional Marking

Following the discussion of the dependent person forms, we will concentrate on the expression of independent person froms and full NPs. Both rural and urban dialects of Ṭuroyo may combine overt case-marking and overt agreement in the coding of the A that parallels the coding of recipients and predicative possessors. Ergative alignment may be manifested in both case-marking and agreement in Neo-Aramaic.

The Ṭuroyo dialects generally do not display differential case-marking of object NPs. At least speakers from the village of Raite (as represented in Ritter's material in Ritter 1967-71 texts 95-113) constitute an exception which may case-mark definite object NPs (both patients and themes[195]). This holds for both the 'perfective' and 'imperfective', for example:

(17) **Raite**

	[V-A]	[DOM→P]	
a.	*g-ḥoze-Ø*	***l-i-dăvăre***	
	FUT-see$_{IPFV}$-A:3MS	DOM-the-breach:FS	
	'He will find (lit. see) **the breach** (in the wall).' (Ritter 1967-71, 107/90)		
b.	*ḥze-li*	***l-u-tadbir***	***diδ-ux***
	see$_{PFV}$-A:1SG	DOM-the-measure:MS	LK-your:MS
	'I saw **your measurements**.' (Ritter 1967-71, 104/44)		

In several varieties, the agent may also be marked by means of the dative preposition *(e)l-* in the 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo dialects similarly to dialects of NENA (see §4.3.5). A noteworthy difference with NENA is that the preposition *(e)l-* is always combined with L-suffixes. Consequently, the agent enjoys unmistakenbly the status of the A and not the oblique. The A is overtly indexed and

[195] An example of the case-marking of themes: *gd-obe-n-ux* ***l-i-barθayδi*** 'I will give you$_{MS}$ **my daughter**' (Ritter 1967-71, 107/84).

case-marked. The dative agent is generally a highly salient argument that is in focus (often contrastive). Consider the following examples from the dialect of the village ʕIwardo. The subject NP (*Malke*) of a basic intransitive verb like *∅θy* 'come' is indexed but not case-marked. A similar NP in A-function is both case-marked by *(e)l-* and indexed by L-suffixes, whilst the P is zero-marked.

This interpretation presumably depends on the fronting of the patient and the third plural agent coding that is otherwise also found in unspecified agent constructions (i.e. *u-mšiḥo ṣluw-we* 'They crucified Christ' = 'Christ was crucified (by sb.)').

(18) **Ṭuroyo** (ʕIwardo; Ritter 1967-71: 33/34.37)

	[V-S]	[S]			
a.	*aθi-∅*	*u-Malke*	*aʕm-a*		(no case-marking of S)
	come$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	the-PRN:M	with-3FS		
	'Malke came with her.'				
	[V-A]	[ERG→A]		[P]	
b.	*ḥze-**le***	***l-u-Ṭayawo***		*u-med-ano*	(case-marking of A only)
	see$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	DAT-the-Muslim:MS		the-thing:MS-DEM:MS	
	'**The Muslim** saw this thing.'				

The same holds for independent dative person forms from the *el*-series, for example:

c.	*lo*	***el-i***	*u*	*lo*	***l-u-ḥawr-ayδi***	*lá-ḥze-**lan***
	NEG	DAT-1SG	and	NEG	DAT-the-friend:MS-my	NEG-see$_{PFV}$-A:1P
	u-mede		*d-əmm-at*			
	the-thing		SUBR-say$_{IPFV}$-A:2SG			

'Neither **I** nor **my friend** found the thing you$_{SG}$ speak of.' (ʕIwardo, Ritter 1967-71: 55/25)

This also applies to demonstrative pronouns, as shown in (19b) and (19d) below. The dative argument generally expresses agent focus, as these examples indicate.

(19) URBAN (Prym-Socin 1888:133.9-10)

a. *xlo **l-ŭno** qṭi-**li** bab-ox*
'Do you think **I** killed your$_{MS}$ your$_{MS}$ father?'

RURAL (Ritter 1967-71, 59/41, 33/32)

c. *lo **el-i** qṭi-**li** i-ḥŭrmayδŭx*
'(It was) not **I** (who) killed wife.'

b. ***l-uwe*** *mamṭé-**le**-lan*
*u-**l-ano** qṭi-∅-**le***
'**That one** brought us (here)
them, but **this one** slayed him.'

d. *u **l-ani** hjəm-**me** aʕlayye*
u falit-i aʕlayye b-ax-xanejər
'(It is) **these** (who) attacked
and they fell on them with dag-
gers.'

It should be pointed out that the inflection of the dative pronouns is rather different in the urban dialect (Midyat) where *(el)l-* combines with the unmarked independent pronouns instead of 'possessive' suffixes (e.g. *l-* 'to' + *ŭno* 'I', *l-* 'to' + *huwe* 'he') similarly to demonstratives (e.g. *l-* 'to' + *hano* 'this', *l-* 'to' + *hani* 'these')[196]. This is rather different from urban Ṭuroyo dialects such as Miden and Neo-Aramaic in general. (20) below compares the forms of Central and North Eastern Neo-Aramaic.

(20) **Inflection of *(e)l-* in Ṭuroyo and other Neo-Aramaic languages**[197]

		Central		**North Eastern**
	Midyat	**Miden**	**Mlaḥso**	(C. Qaraqosh, Khan 2002a)
1SG	*l-ŭno* 'to me'	*el-i*	*el-í*	*ʔəll-i*
1PL	*l-aḥna* etc.	*el-an*	*el-ena*	*ʔəll-an, ʔəll-enan*
3SM	*l-uwe*	*el-e*	*el-áv*	*ʔəll-əḥ*
3SF	*l-iya*	*el-a*	*el-á*	*ʔəll-aḥ*
3PL	*l-ənne*	*al-le*	*el-én*	*ʔəl-hən, əll-ehən*

The conjoined case-marking and indexing of the A is noteworthy for Neo-Aramaic[198] and represents a type of optional A-marking that focalizes the agent. There is no equivalent construction to NENA where the agent is case-marked but not overtly indexed (e.g. *l-kalbe xil-a* 'By dogs it$_F$ was eaten'). A construction that would potentially parallel this is exemplified below. The construction is instransitive and the dative expresses a recipient-like argument rather than the agent. (The labile alternations of verbs is further discussed in §6.2.1)

[196] In the second person, we find the forms *l-ŭxat* for the masculine singular and *l-ŭxatu* for the plural (Ritter 1990:3), which appear to be contaminations of expected *l-ox* and *l-oxu* and the independent pronouns *hat* and *hatu*.

[197] These forms presumably developped in analogy to demonstratives, cf. *hano* 'this one' : *l-ano* 'to this one' (*huwe* : x = *l-uwe*).

[198] However, cross-referencing of focalized NPs in itself not uncommon in Ṭuroyo. An independent pronoun in additive focus, for instance, is generally also indexed, for example:

(1) *gd-ŭxl-o-**li óno**=ste* 'She will eat **me** too!' (Midən, Ritter 1967-71, 75/98)

(21) **Case-marking but no agreement** (Midyat; Ritter 1967-71, 11/107)

[S]			[V-S]	[OBL]	
Malaxo	*Gábriyel*	*b-u-ḥŭlmo*	*ḥze-Ø*	***l-Mor***	***Šəmʕon***
angel:MS	PRN	in-the-dream:MS	see$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	DAT-HON	PRN

'The angel Gabriel appeared **to Lord Simon** in the dream.'

The dative agent construction is possibly occasionally interpretable as passive, at least in the following example with a third person plural agent:

(22) **Kfärze** (Lahdo 2013:210.14)

u-mšiḥoy-ayδox	*ṣluw-we*	***l-ay-yəδoye***
the-anointed:MS-your:MS	crucify$_{PFV}$-A:3PL	DAT-the-Jews

'But your Christ was killed (lit. **they** killed) **by the Jews**.'

The agreement with the A is obligatory, while case-marking is optional. The unmarked counterpart of full nominals and independent pronouns is also available but it is not specific to the A role. The unmarked independent pronouns may also express focus and freely alternate with a case-marked counterpart. Compare, for example, *el-ŭx* and *hat* below.

(23) **Pronominal A** (ʕIwardo, Ritter 1967-71: 48/60.48)

			[ERG→A]	[V-A]		
a.	*ma*	*lo*	***el-ŭx***	*məḷ-Ø-ḷŭx*?	*qay*	*ġbin-at*!
	Q	NEG	DAT-2MS	say$_{PFV}$-T:3MS-A:2MS	why	be.angry-S:2SG

'But didn't **you$_{MS}$ yourself** say so? Why! Are you$_{SG}$ angry?'

			[A]	[V-A]		
b.	*ma*	*lo*	***hat***	*məḷ-Ø-ḷŭx …*	*ma*	*ġbin-at*?
	Q	NEG	you$_{MS}$	say$_{PFV}$-T:3MS-A:2MS	Q	be.angry-S:2SG

'Did **<u>you</u>$_{MS}$** not say so? Are you angry?'

Unmarked full NPs may equally alternate with a case-marked pendant in A-function, compare *l-babi* and *babi* in the following examples:

(24) **Full nominal A** (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 73/106)

	[ERG→A]	[V-A]
a.	***l-bab-i***	*lo-moláf-**le**-li*
	DAT-father:MS-my	NEG-teach$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:1SG

'**My father** did not teach me (to do it that way).'

				[V-A]	[A]
b.	*haθe*	*ono*	*hawxa*	*moláf-**le**-li*	***bab-i***
	DEM:FS	I	thus	teach$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:1SG	father:MS-my

'This (is) how **my father** taught me (to do it).'

The Ṭuroyo varieties such as the dialect from the village Raite which also employ differential case-marking of the P may also use this in a dative agent construction, as shown in (25a-b). The resulting case-marking alignment pattern is horizontal (S≠A=P).

(25) **Raite** (Ritter 1967-71, 107/85.116)

	[V-A]	[CM→P]		
a.	*madʕal-le*	***l-ʕAli***	*aʕm-e*	(case-marking of P only)
	take$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	DOM-PRN:M	with-3MS	

'He (i.e. the son) took along **Ali**.'

	[CM→A]	[V-A]	[CM→P]	
b.	***l-ʕAli***	*grəš-le*	***l-u-sayfo***	(case-marking of A and P)
	DAT- PRN:MS	pull$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	DOM-the-sword:MS	

'**Ali** drew **the sword**.'

Similarly, the ergative case-marking of NPs may combine with the ergative indexing of NPs, as illustrated in the following examples. The word order often seems to be P-V-A. The full nominal *aḥḥeṭani* 'this wheat' and demonstrative pronoun *haθe* 'this' are indexed by the E-set like the S and the agent NP is both indexed and case-marked differently.

(26) **Iwardo** (Ritter 1967-71, 55/11, 46/25)

	[P]	[V-P-A]	[ERG→A]
a.	***aḥ-ḥeṭ-ani***	*xil-**i**-le*	*l-u-moro*
	the-wheat:PL-DEM:PL	eat$_{PFV}$-P:3PL-A:3MS	DAT-the-master:MS

'The owner ate **this wheat**.'

b.	***haθe***	*sim-**o**-le*	*l-u-Qanda*
	DEM:FS	do$_{PFV}$-P:3FS-A:3MS	DAT-the-PRN

'(It was) Qanda (who) did **this**.'

One should note that intransitive verbs that take S_A agreement (see 6.2.1.4) may also show overt case-marking of the subject alongside overt agreement. For example, the subject of the stem III verb *hlx* 'walk':

(27) ***l-Nari*** *malax-le* (case-marking of S_A)
DAT- PRN:MS walk$_{PFV}$-3MS

‘**Nari** walked.’ (Raite; Ritter 1967-71, 96/229)

The distinct patterns in the interaction of agreement and case-marking observed thus far are recapitulated in below. The P aligns with the S ergatively mainly in terms of agreement. Case-marking may target either A or P and both A and P. The unmarked instances of both agent and patient NPs are most common, while case-marking of both is least common. An ergative or accusative case-marking pattern, then, appears to be favored. The combination of both indexing and case-marking of salient objects in the ‘perfective’ does not appear to occur. This would require further study to be ruled out completely.

Ṭuroyo, therefore, concurs with the cross-linguistic tendency to avoid the combination of ergative agreement with accusative case-marking (Dixon 1979:92, 1994:95; see §2.5.2). Moreover, even from a language-internal perspective, it is likely that there is an additional morphological factor for why this combination is avoided. The dative case-marking through the preposition *(e)l-* correlates with the L-suffixes in marking the same role. This can be observed in the differential marking of the P in the ‘imperfective’, of the R in ditransitive constructions and of the possessor in predicative possession.

Table 40. *Indexing and case-marking of the A and the P*

S						
+AGR	−CM			*maṯy-**o** i-kalo*	(most common)	‘The bride arrived.’
				*mhalax-**la** i-kalo*		‘The bride walked.’
	+CM			*mhalax-**la l**-i-kalo*	(less common)*	
A		**P**				
+AGR	−CM	−AGR	−CM	*nšəq-**le** u-ḥaθno i-kalo*	(most common)	‘The groom kissed the bride.’
	+CM			*nšəq-**le l**-u-ḥaθno i-kalo*		
	−CM		+CM	*nšəq-**le** u-ḥaθno **l**-i-kalo*		
		+AGR	−CM	*nšiq-**o**-**le** u-ḥaθno i-kalo*		
	+CM	−AGR	+CM	*nšəq-**le l**-u-ḥaθno **l**-i-kalo*	(least common)	

Notes: *These sentences serve as hypothetical examples of the concerning pattern. *S_A verbs only.*

The combination of agreement through L-suffixes and dative case-marking is occasionally observed in Ṭuroyo in the marking of the P in the ‘imperfective’, for example:

(28) **Miden** (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 know **the man**.'

In addition, prepositional objects are typically marked by *(e)l-* independently of the verb or, if a dependent person form, as an L-suffix attached to the verb. Certain verbs such as *qry* 'call (for)' and *Ømr* 'say, tell' always takes such a complement in Ṭuroyo. Indexing and prepositional marking may also be combined:

(29) **Ṭuroyo** (Ritter 1967-71)

b. *qre-le **l-u-rišo d=ax-xodume*** 'He called for **the head of the servants**.'
c. *qré-le-**la*** 'He called (for) **her**.' (Miden, 85/55, 104)
d. *qré-le-**le** **l-u-abro*** 'He called **for his son**.' (Raite, 107/55)

In like fashion, recipients regularly trigger additional indexing through L-suffixes across dialects, for example the addressee of the verb *Ømr* 'say':

	[A]	[V-A-R]	[DAT→R]
(30)	*u-zlām*	*máḷ-ḷe-**le***	***l-u-zʕuro***

'The man said **(lit. to him) to the little one**.' (Miden, ibid. 76/65)

The coding of focalized agents as such is identical with the differential marking of recipient NPs in the 'perfective'. Thus, a construction involving a dative full nominal such as *mər-ḷe l-*NP based on *Ømr* 'say' is ambiguous to the role of the dative argument, it can either the recipient 'He said to NP' or agent 'NP said', for example:

(31) **ʕIwardo** (Ritter 1967-71, 35/35, 40)

R: *mər-le **l-u-mŭstašārayδe*** 'He said **to his counselor**'
A: *mər-le **l-u-ʕmiro*** '**The emir** said'

The two are not mutually exclusive and can even co-occur, for example:

	[CM→A]	[V-A]	[CM→R]	
(32)	***l-u-ḥākəm***	*məl-le*	***l-u-aḥun-ayδe***	*u-faqiro*
	DAT-the-overlord:MS	say$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	DAT-the-brother:MS-his	the-poor:MS

'**The overlord** said **to his poor brother**.' (Anḥəl, ibid. 59/3)

The A and a recipient-like indirect affectee can even be additionally indexed on the verb by L-suffixes. The first L-suffix refers to the A, the second the R-like affectee. The same order appears to apply to nominal constituents in such a construction, for example:

(33)	*mən*	*sám-**le-le***	***l-u-šulṭono***	***l-u-ʕmiro***
	what	do$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:3MS	DAT-the-sultan:MS	DAT-the-emir:MS

'… what **the sultan** has done **to the emir**.' (ʕIwardo, ibid. 36/87)

Nevertheless, the parallelism between the coding of the R and A is not complete. Dative case-marking of the agent is optional, while the addressee of a ditransitive verb like *Ømr* 'say' is always case-marked. Moreover, dative recipients are not necessarily additionally indexed, while the dative agent is always additionally indexed. There is, however, a stronger parallel with the dative possessor in predicative possession based on the existential marker *kət-* or the suppletive verb *hwy* 'be'. The possessum, or possessee, remains zero-marked. Dative case-marking of the possessor is variable, while the L-suffixes always index the possessor, for example:

(34) **Predicative possessor** (ʕIwardo, Ritter 1967-71, 58/3, 57/12)

	[PSSR]	[EXIST-PSSR]	[PSSM]	
e.	***u-zlām-ano***	*kát-way-**le***	*arbʕi*	*kalōṯe*
	the-man-DEM:MS	EXST-PST-3MS	forty	daughter-in-law:PL

'**This man** had forty daughters-in-law.'

	[PSSM]	[EXST-PSSR]	[CM→PSSR]
b.	*ma*	*kət-**le***	***l-u-malk-ano***
	Q	EXST-3MS	DAT-the-king-DEM:MS

'What does **the king** have?'

Indexing through L-suffixes and additional case-marking through *(e)l-* is readily found elsewhere within the language except for the P in the 'perfective'. It is only in the 'perfective', then, that differential case-marking of the P through the dative cannot be combined with indexing, since this combination appears to be morphosyntactically linked with the use of a morphologically similar set of

dependent (dative) person forms (the L-suffixes). It seems plausible to me that the special case-marking of the P without indexing in the 'perfective' is ultimately secondary and analogical to the similar phenomenon in the 'imperfective'.

The main point in the end is that, in transitive clauses with full NPs, ergative agreement can be combined with ergative case-marking in the 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo dialects but not with accusative case-marking. The case-marking of the A is optional and marks agent focalization, particularly contrastive focus. The ergative indexing of the P is differential. The dative *(e)l-* links a focal A with the same marking typical for the predicative possessor, recipients and benificiaries, and a differentially marked P argument in the 'imperfective'. In at least the dialect of Raite, the case-marking is horizontal, grouping both A and P by the preposition *(e)l-*, which is consistent with the horizontal pattern for non-third person forms in the 'perfective' through the L-suffixes.

6.2. Lability and the *qaṭil*-Form in Ṭuroyo

After a discussion of the splits based on argument-related properties we proceed with alignment in relation to voice and other verb-related properties. Valency alternations in Ṭuroyo closely parallel the 'ergative dialects' in NENA (see §4.3.3). The agentless 'perfective' form (cf. Gutman 2008) is also used in Ṭuroyo but there are notable differences. (1) below offers illustrative examples of its use.

(1)	*at-tarʕe*	*ftiḥ-i-**le***	'He opened the doors.'	(active)
	at-tarʕe	*ftiḥ-i*	'The doors (were) opened.'	(anticausative)
	ftiḥ	*tarʕe*	'People opened doors.'	(impersonal)

This section compares such clauses with the NENA varieties.

6.2.1. Labile Verbs and the Voice System

Central Neo-Aramaic is noteworthy in comparison to NENA for its rich voice system that encompasses several mediopassive stem formations. The system is reflected for Ṭuroyo in Table 41 which is further discussed below.

Table 41. *The Ṭuroyo stem formations*

ACTIVE	MEDIOPASSIVE

	IPFV	PFV		IPFV
Ia:	***q*o*ṭə*l-**	***qṭi*l-**	***qṭi*l-**	*mə-**qṭo**l-*
Ib:	***do*mə*x*-**	***da*mi*x*-**		
II:	*m-**za**bə**n**-*	*m-**za**bə**n**-*	*m-**za**bə**n**-*	*mi-**za**bə**n**-*
III:	*m-**a**-**dmə**x**-*	*m-**a**-**dmə**x**-*	*m-t-**a**-**dmə**x**-*	*mi-t-**a**-**dmə**x**-*
IV:	*m-**farqəʃ**-*	*m-**farqəʃ**-*	*m-**farqəʃ**-*	*mi-**farqəʃ**-*

Notes: dmx *'sleep',* zbn *'sell',* frqʃ *'burst'. Stems in shaded cells take L-suffixes.* Source: *Data from Jastrow 1985.*

'Imperfective' (IPFV) bases are given to the left and right and 'perfective' (PFV) in the middle of the table. This arrangement serves to show the convergence between the two voice systems in the 'perfective'. The active and mediopassive are only differentiated by inflectional base in the 'imperfective'. The inflectional bases for the 'perfective' are generally the same for both active and mediopassive with the following exceptions:

(i) verbs belonging to what is called class 'Ib' of stem I (which distinctively has C*a*C*i*C- instead of CC*i*C-)

(ii) verbs having a mediopassive of stem III with a typical -*t*-infix (*mta*C-C*a*C-).

Stem I verbs diverge into two distinct classes: (Ia) takes CC*i*C- and (Ib) takes C*a*C*i*C- which are, respectively, *qṭil-* and *qaṭil-*[199] but the 'imperfective' base of both of these is C*o*C*ə*C, i.e. *qoṭəl-*. Otherwise, what applies to stem Ia verbs generally also applies to derivational stems. The shaded area indicates forms that take agent (or subject) indexes of the L-set. The rest takes subject (or agent) indexes of the E-set.

Overall, voice is marked differently in the verbal morphology of the 'perfective' and 'imperfective'. The 'imperfective' anticausative pendants consist of distinct mediopassive stem formations. The 'perfective', by contrast, shows valency alternations similar to what is observed for South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA. The two sets of person forms indicate a transitivity alternation in the 'perfective' yet insignificant as such in the 'imperfective' where it is the verbal stem itself that indicates this difference. Another important difference between the 'imperfective' and 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo is a subclassification

[199] One should recall that the consonants *q-ṭ-l*, although as a lexical root meaning 'kill', are treated as semantically empty and simply represent the consonantal template for sound verbs. The verb *q-ṭ-l* 'kill' itself may not at all occur in this template.

within stem I verbs peculiar to the 'perfective'. Stem (Ia) verbs generally occur in labile alternations and take a *qṭil*-base in the 'perfective', while stem (Ib) verbs generally do not and take a *qaṭil*-base. These are mainly intransitive and a few two-argument state verbs such as *šmʕ* 'hear' do occur in this class. Such secondary transitive verbs are coded differently from primary transitive verbs, reminisicent of the antipassive. An important difference with NENA is that the agentless 'perfective' form may be used to express an impersonal passive of both transitive and intransitive verbs.

6.2.1.1. Vowel Reduction

Vowel reduction leads to slight difference in the inflection of the 'imperfective' base *qoṭəl-* against both Mlaḥso *qoṭel-* and NENA *qaṭəl-*. First of all, as a rule, *ə* is lost before a CV-sequence and turns to *a* before a closed syllable, so that ˚*dom**ə**x-* 'sleep' with *-no* of the 1ms. becomes ˚*dom**a**x-no* 'I$_{M}$ sleep'. Furthermore, rural dialects such as Miden have long *i* [i:] and *o* [o:] in verbal forms, these are shortened and neutralized to *ə* [ɪ], respectively, *ŭ* [u] in urban dialects in and around Midyat in an unstressed open syllable directly before the stressed syllable. Compare the following verbal forms[200]:

(2)		'I$_{M}$ sleep'	'I$_{F}$ went to sleep'
	Mn.	˚*d**o**max-no*	*dam**i**x-ono*
	Mt.	˚*d**ŭ**max-no*	*dam**ə**x-ono*

Miden in turn has nearly completely merged the short vowel *ŭ* with *ə*. The differences in vowel reduction leads to the following paradigms in comparison to Mlaḥso:

(3)		**Miden**		**Midyat**		**Mlaḥso**	
1SM	'I$_{M}$ go to sleep'	*domax*	*-no*	*dŭmax*	*-no*	*domex*	*-no*
1SF	'I$_{F}$ go to sleep'	*dəmx*	*-ono*	*dŭmx*	*-an*	*domx*	*-ono*
3MS	'He goes to sleep'	*doməx*	*-Ø*	*doməx*	*-Ø*	*doméx*	*-Ø*

Consonant clusters with *ə* can be readjusted in the Midyat dialect such that 'perfective' *nšəq-o-le* 'He kissed her' alternates with *nəšq-o-le* against Miden *nš**i**q-o-le* (Ritter 1990:63).

[200] Also Mt. *əw* contracts to *u*. Compare Mt. *kθuwole* (for *kθəwole*) 'He wrote it$_{F}$' and Mn. *kθiwole* 'id.'.

Phonological phenemona such as the *ə*-deletion rule and agreement inversion can yield ambiguous forms such that the 'perfective' and 'imperfective' bases merge (Jastrow 1985:144-145). *ə* becomes *a* before suffixes with an initial consonant but it is normally deleted in an open syllable. Since the subjunctive is the unmarked 'imperfective' form, this leads to ambiguity for stem II and IV verbs, for example II *ḥlq* 'throw':

(4)	*mḥaləq-* + *-no*	→	*mḥalaq-no*	'that I throw' or 'I was thrown'
	mḥaləq- + *-i*	→	*mḥalq-i*	'that they throw' or 'they were thrown'

Similarly, a transitive form like *mḥalq-i-le* (stem II) can mean either preterit 'He threw them' or subjunctive 'that they (may) throw it$_M$'[201]. Moreover, the difference between the two inflectional bases is neutralized for final-/y/ verbs belonging to stem Ia in rural dialects like Miden which merge *ŭ* with *ə*. This may be illustrated by a comparison to NENA:

	Ṭuroyo (Miden)		**NENA**
(5)	Ø-*ḥəzy-o-li* (< **ḥŭzy-* < **ḥozy-*)	'that she sees me'	Ø-*xazy-a-li*
	ḥəzy-o-li	'I saw her'	*xəzy-a-li*

The ambiguity does not apply, when the verb does not take both agent and patient indexes (i.e. E- and L-suffixes). In that case, the choice of person indexes is determinant, for example, in the intransitive verb *hlx* 'walk' belonging to stem II:

(6)	°*mhalax-**no***	'I$_M$ walk'	('imperfective', stem II, S = E-set)
	*mhalax-**li***	'I walked'	('perfective', stem II, S = L-set)

6.2.1.2. Labile Alternations

Virtually all transitive verbs of stem Ia can be ambivalent in a causative/inchoative alternation in Ṭuroyo (cf. Ritter 1990:124). We can, however, only speak of lability (i.e. no change in basic morphology), for the 'perfective'. The mediopassive generally expresses the inchoative of the equivalent causative. Consider, for example, the verb *fṭḥ* 'open' in the following alternation. The

[201] This resembles the situation in the NENA dialect C. Hertevin (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1988:38) where the 'perfective' and 'imperfective' bases are identical for derived stems.

inchoative marks the subject like a patient, while the causative takes an agent index from the L-set.

(7) **Labile alternation**

	[S]		[V-S]	
a.	*ʕayne*	*d-ú-babo*	*ftiḥ-i*	(inchoative, no agent)
	eye:PL	LK-the-father	open$_{PFV}$-S:3PL	
	'Father's eyes opened.' (Miden; Ritter 1967-71, 81/18)			
	[V-A]	[P]		
b.	*ftəḥ-le*	*ʕayn-e*		(causative, specified agent)
	open$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	eye-his		
	'He opened his eyes.' (57/237)			

We can compare this to South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish varieties of NENA such as J. Sulemaniyya. The verbs *pqy* in NENA and *frqʕ* IV in Ṭuroyo pattern alike:

(8)	**Ṭuroyo** (Miden) (Jastrow 1985:112)	**J. Sulemaniyya** (NE Iraq; Khan 2004a:297)	
TR.	*mfarqaʕ-**le***	*pqe-le*	(A = L-set)
	'**He** burst (sth.)'	'id.'	

	Ṭuroyo (Miden)	**J. Sulemaniyya**	
ITR.	*mfarqʕ-**o***	*pəqy-a*	(S = E-set)
	'**It$_F$** (was) burst'	'id.'	

A cause may be expressed overtly by the preposition *me* 'from', as illustrated in (9). *me* may also simply express the cause in other intransitive constructions, for example:

(9) **Ṭuroyo** (Qamišli, NE Syria; Noorlander field notes 2013)

a.	*u-tarʕo*	*ftəḥ-Ø*	*me*	*hawa*	*qwiθo*
	the-door:MS	open$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	from	wind:FS	strong:FS
	'The door opened because of (or: was opened by) a strong wind.'				

b.	*i-dawmo*	*qayiθ-o*	*b-i-nuro*	*m-u-barqo*
	the-tree:FS	start.burn$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	with-the-fire:FS	from-the-lightening:MS
	'The tree caught fire because of the lightening.'			

Anticausatives are known to be compatible with causal phrases (cf. Croft 1994b:110; see §4.3.1) but the implication is not as strong as in the passive prototype.

What we have seen thus far is similar to NENA, but there are also noteworthy differences. First of all, the valency alternation hinges on the selection of the L-set for agent indexing against the E-set for subject indexes in the 'perfective'. The intransitive valence pattern, however, is morphologically distinct from the transitive pendant in the 'imperfective' by a different type of stem formation while no distinction for agent or subject indexing applies, for example:

(10) **Valency alternation in the 'perfective' against the 'imperfective'**

	PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE	
TR.	*ftəḥ-**la***	:	*˚**fəṯḥ**-o*	(causative)
	'She opened (sth.)'		'She opens (sth.)'	
ITR.	*ftiḥ-**o***		*˚**məftoḥ**-o*	(inchoative)
	'It$_F$ (was) opened'		'It$_F$ opens, is being opened'	

The 'imperfective', therefore, maintains a voice distinction at the level of inflectional base only, whereas the 'perfective' does so at the level of person indexes. Some stem I verbs such as *fṣḥ* 'be(come) glad' are middle only (I$_M$), e.g. *fṣiḥ-Ø* 'He was/became glad'. They evince no labile alternation (e.g. ***fṣəḥ-le* 'He gladdened'). This also parallels South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish varieties of NENA, although NENA has no corresponding separate mediopassive base in the 'imperfective'. Compare the cognate verb *pṣx* in Jewish Sanandaj:

(11) **Emotive response middle in Ṭuroyo and NENA**

	Ṭuroyo		**J. Sanandaj** (W Iran; Khan 2009:523)	
PFV	*fṣiḥ-Ø*		*pṣix-Ø*	
	'He rejoiced'		'id.'	
IPFV	*˚məfṣəḥ-Ø*	(≠ *qoṭəl-*)	*păṣəx-Ø*	(= *qaṭəl-*)
	'He rejoices'		'id.'	

6.2.1.3. Ergative and Neuter Verbs

When we consider the omission of the patient, Ṭuroyo does not show distinctions in the marking of the agent (while this is possible in NENA 'ergative dialects'). A verb like *šty* 'drink' can freely occur without the patient and the coding of the agent does not alter:

(12) **Miden**

	[V-A]	[P]
a.	*štalle*	*i-qaḥw-aθθe*
	drink$_{PFV}$:A:3PL	the-coffee:FS-DEM:FS
	'They drank the coffee.' (Ritter 1967-71, 115/63)	
b.	*štalle* (Ø)	*maqraṭ-ṭe*
	drink$_{PFV}$:A:3PL	III:breakfast$_{PFV}$-S:3PL
	'They drank and had breakfast.' (73/113)	

An antipassive as such where the agent becomes the S and the patient oblique is not found in Ṭuroyo.

Stem I verbs come in two subclasses depending on their pattern for the 'perfective': (Ia) *qṭil-* and (Ib) *qaṭil-*. The verbs of (Ib) the *qaṭil*-class are mainly intransitive and mostly do not occur in labile alternations. Jastrow (1985:71) refers to them as "neutrische Verben" ('neuter verbs'), i.e. belonging to neither the passive nor active voice. The E-set is used as subject indexes. The transitive valence pattern is derived, for example the verb *tym* 'finish' in the following alternation:

(13) **Causative alternation**

	[S]	[V-S]	
a.	*i-măsăl-ayδ-an*	*tayim-o*	(inchoative, stem Ib)
	the-story:FS-LK-our	finish$_{PFV}$-S:3FS	
	'Our thing is finished.' (Ritter 1967-71, 115/149)		
	[V-A]	[P]	[A]
b.	*matəm-le*	*u-šuġl-ayδ-e*	*u-malko* (causative, stem III)
	finish$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	the-business:MS-LK-his	the-king:MS
	'The king finished his business.' (77/21)		

The causative counterparts mainly belong to either stem III or II as shown for a few verbs in (14) below. Only rarely do verbs alternate between stem Ia and stem Ib but it is possible such as Ib *mali-*Ø 'be(come) full' (itr.) and Ia *mle-le* (tr.) 'fill' below. Sometimes this involves a subtle semantic shift such as Ib *qaṭəʃ-*Ø 'He crossed' and Ia *qṭəʃ-le* 'He cut through'', Ib *naṭər-*Ø 'He waited' (itr.) and Ia *nṭər-le* (tr.) 'He guarded' (Ritter 1990:51).

	INCHOATIVE (Ib)			CAUSATIVE	
(14)	*daməx-*Ø	'sleep, fall asleep'	III	*madmax-le*	'put to sleep'

basəm-Ø	'be(come) pleasant'	II	*mbasəm-le*	'please'	
mali-Ø	'be(come) full'	Ia	*mle-le*	'fill'	(rare)

These neuter verbs show causative or labile alternations where the patient-like argument is marked as the S in the inchoative. Some transitive neuter verbs in Ṭuroyo come closer to an antipassive instead. This is similar to Samoan, a Polynesian language, where ergative alignment predominates. It employs ergative alignment for primary transitive verbs. Some stative verbs, especially two-argument experiencer verbs such as 'love', always occur in the antipassive, while action verbs never occur in this (cf. Comrie 1978:373). Stem Ib verbs in Ṭuroyo are generally intransitive and may additionally take an oblique complement. A few stem Ib verbs can be morphosyntactically transitive, however. They expres two-argument experiencer predicates such as *šaməʕ-Ø* 'He heard' and *aδəʕ-Ø* 'He knew' (Jastrow 1985:71; cf. Furman and Loesov 2014). Such experiencers are coded like the P in the system of the 'perfective' (e.g. *ftəḥ-Ø-le* 'He opened it$_M$') and like the S of intransitive verbs (e.g. *ftiḥ-Ø* 'It$_M$ opened', *daməx-Ø* 'He slept').

These transitive neuter verbs may take clausal complements, full nominal objects and object indexes from the L-set (which is indistinct from the transitive coding in the 'imperfective'), as examplified in (15a-b) below.

(15) **Miden**

a. *i-naqla* *d-i-qriθo* *šamiʕ-i* ***u-xabr-ano***
the-moment:FS SUBR-the-village:FS hear$_{PFV}$-1PL the-word:MS-DEM:MS
'When the people of the village heard **the news**.' (Ritter 1967-71, 71/16)

b. *čirok-ắθe=ze* *ʕəsrí-kore* *šamiʕ-ína-**la***
story-DEM:FS=ADD twenty-times hear$_{PFV}$-1PL-3FS
'This story, too, we (already) heard **it$_F$** twenty times.' (115/14)

This confirms that the alignment is primarily structurally dependent on the type of inflectional base (*qṭil-*) (and only secondarily on the type of TAM category). Nevertheless, semantically speaking, these verbs are not primary transitive verbs and, strictly speaking, the agent-like argument is not an actual instance of the A in the same sense as verbs like *qṭl* 'kill' or *twr* 'break' but rather an experiencer of some kind. The fact that these experiencer verbs belong to the largely intransitive neuter class could be because they do not (as strongly) imply an effect on a patient-like argument (similarly to the antipassive). The morphological resemblance of the transitive coding with the 'imperfective' might correlate

with the semantics of these verbs in that they are arguably closer to the aspectual profile of the 'imperfective' in expressing experiencer states rather than actions, although the situation is viewed as a whole in the expression of the perfective past (see further below).

Generally, such verbs do not display a distinction in the coding of transitivity. Unlike in NENA, the verb *ylf* 'learn' shows no difference for the transitive and intransitive valence patterns:

(16) **Intransitive and transitive C*a*C*i*C-'perfective'**

a. *yaləf-**no*** *ṭowo* (intransitive)
learn$_{PFV}$-1MS good:MS
'I learnt well.' (Iwardo, Ritter 1967-71, 37/11)

b. *yaləf-**Ø*** *ʕələm* (transitive)
learn$_{PFV}$-3MS science
'He learnt science.' (Midyat, ibid. 24/257)

Interestingly, some of the verbs that typically occur in class (Ib) are also compatible with the transitive coding of class (Ia). As discussed further in §6.2.1.4, they do show a distinction in agent coding. The verb *fhm* 'understand' for example may alternate between *fahəm-Ø* and *fhəm-le* (Ritter 1990:85), *fahəm-Ø* being like the 'antipassive', respectively, and *fhəm-le* the 'ergative'. The semantic difference between the two does not seem to be very obvious but Ritter (1990:85) hints at an aspectual distinction of punctuality. The 'antipassive', e.g. *fahəm-Ø*, is durative, meaning 'He knew, was able to perceive', while the 'ergative', e.g. *fhəm-le*, is punctual, meaning 'He realized'.

6.2.1.4. Impersonal Labile Alternations

Contrary to NENA, the agentless 'perfective' form is also compatible with two-argument state verbs and even intransitive verbs (cf. Ritter 1990:124). Verbs denoting a state such as *ḥzy* 'see' in (17) below may occur in a labile alternation. The intransitive valence pattern has a spontaneous reading.

(17) **Labile alternation for *ḥzy* 'see'** (Midyat)

	[S]			[V-S]	[OBL]	
a.	*Malaxo*	*Gábriyel*	*b-u-ḥŭlmo*	*ḥze-Ø*	*l-Mor*	*Šəmʕon*
	angel:MS	PRN	in-the-dream:MS	see$_{PFV}$-S:3MS	DAT-HON	PRN

'The angel Gabriel appeared to Lord Simon in a dream.' (Ritter 1967-71, 11/107)

	[V-A]	[P]		
b.	*ḥze-li*	*b-ḥŭlm-i*	*ḥa*	*k-omər-Ø*
	see_{PFV}-A:1SG	in-dream:MS-my	one:MS	$IND\text{-}say_{IPFV}$-A:3MS

'I saw in my dream one saying.' (23/9)

Transitive verbs belonging to stem Ib that take a *qaṭil*-base in the 'perfective' can have a mediopassive counterpart (I_M), even though there is no corresponding form in stem Ib. The mediopassive (I_M) *iδiʃ-Ø* 'be reknown' is for example reported to exist for (Ib) *aδəʃ-Ø* 'know' for the verb *Ødʃ* 'know' (Jastrow 1985:76; Ritter 1990:727).

The mediopassive may also be used to express an impersonal passive. A causal origin is more strongly implied for a verb such as *qṭl* 'kill' in (18b) below but the verb expresses no agreement with the patient and takes the unmarked 3ms. form. Thus, the perfective is characterized by a type of impersonal labile alternation.

(18) **Miden**

a.	*qṭəlle*	*tloθo*	*gawre*	*mən-aye*
	$kill_{PFV}$:A:3PL	three	man:MPL	from-3PL

'They killed three men of them.' (Ritter 1967-71, 85/22)

b.	*qṭil*	*tloθo*	*gawre*	*me-Midən*
	$kill_{PFV}$	three	man:MPL	from-Miden

'Three men from Miden were killed.' (85/12)

A major difference between NENA and Ṭuroyo is that even intransitive verbs may be impersonalized (Ritter 1990:124ff.). This is illustrated for *dmx* 'sleep' and *rʃm* 'come together' below. The verb *dmx* 'sleep' belongs to stem Ib (*qaṭil-*) and the impersonalization involves a change in agreement and inflectional base only.

(19) **Impersonalization in Ṭuroyo** (Ritter 1990:124-125, 127)

a.	*daməx-Ø*	'He fell asleep.'	(*qaṭil-*, intransitive)
b.	*dmix*(-Ø) *larwal*	'People (lit. It_M) slept there.'[202]	(*qṭil-*, impersonal)

An ambitransitive verb such *rʃm* 'come together', however, is labile in both personal and impersonal contexts:

[202] Compare the German original (ibid.): "es wurde auf dem Dache geschlafen".

c. *rʕim-i* *am-maye* (*qṭil-*, inchoative)
gather$_{PFV}$-3PL the-water:PL
'The water (pl.) accumulated.'

d. *rʕim*(-Ø) *harke* *šəšwone* (*qṭil-*, impersonal)
gather$_{PFV}$ here ant:PL
'It$_M$ swarmed here (with) ants.'

It should be noted that, for (19d), a construction with subject agreement, e.g. *rʕim-**i** harke šəšwone* 'Ants swarmed here', would theoretically also have been available. What restrictions there are to this impersonalization in Ṭuroyo requires further investigation but nothing like (19b) or (19d) is attested in NENA.

6.2.2. Split and Fluid Subject and Agent-Marking in Ṭuroyo

Ṭuroyo exhibits a two-dimensional split in the inflection of intransitive verbs: one with respect to the type of subject indexes (E-set/L-set) and another with respect to the morphological class for stem I verbs (*qṭil-*/*qaṭil-*). Only those verbs that take a *qṭil*-form in the 'perfective' show a split in patient-like, respectively, agent-like subject indexes. The subject marking split parallels the South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish varieties (see §5.1.1). Subjects are always coded in a patient-like fashion in the *qaṭil*-class. Table 42 below illustrates the main semantic classes and respective coding that are compared with NENA below.

Table 42. *Patient-like or agent-like marking of the S in Ṭuroyo*

LEXICAL CLASS	CODING	*qṭil-*		*qaṭil-*	
state, (dis)position	E-set	*ġbin-*Ø	'be angry'	*zayəʕ-*Ø	'fear'
change of state, (dis)position	(S$_P$)	*θniḥ-*Ø	'rest'	*yaθu-*Ø	'sit'
uncontrolled process		*ḥniq-*Ø	'suffocate'	*nafəl-*Ø	'fall'
		*čik-*Ø	'sneak in'	*ʕabər-*Ø	'enter'
controlled activity		*sḥe-le*	'swim'	*raqəδ-*Ø	'dance'
		zmər-le	'sing'	*šaġəl-*Ø	'work'
reflexive: 'putting on'		*lwəš-le*	'dress'		
		šləḥ-le	'undress'		
sound emission	(S$_A$)	*nwəḥ-le*	'bark'		
patient omission	L-set	*xi-le*	'eat'	*šaməʕ-*Ø	'hear'

Source: *Data based on Jastrow 1985; Ritter 1990; Noorlander's field notes 2013 (informants from Qamishli).*

Although it is impossible to predict exactly on the basis of semantics what type of coding is preferred, there are notable tendencies.

Similarly to Jewish dialects like Sulemaniyya, it is noteworthy that, from a cross-linguistic perspective, the semantically most agent-like class of verbs denoting controlled activities (Croft 1998:52-53; see §2.3.1.) includes many verbs that take S_P coding such as *raqəδ-Ø* 'dance' and *šaġəl-Ø* 'work' and *čik-Ø* 'sneak in'.

Interestingly, the verb *sḥy* 'swim' and other controlled activities do take agent-like coding (S_A) in Ṭuroyo (*sḥe-le*), while the cognate verb *sxy* in Jewish Sulemaniyya takes patient-like coding (*səxe-Ø*). The meaning of the verb is also different in the latter conveying the sense of 'wash, bathe'. The corresponding verb is *ḥayəf-Ø* 'wash (oneself)' in Ṭuroyo, e.g. *ḥayif-i an-noše eba* 'The people washed with it$_F$' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 78/213) Similarly to NENA, reflexives relating to dress and grooming such as *lwš* 'dress' show agent-like coding and may also take an object, e.g. *lwəš-še aj-julaθθe* 'They put on their clothes' (Miden, Ritter 1967-71, 76/33).

The agentless counterpart of transitive verbs which receive patient-like subject coding generally belong to the mediopassive stem formations. There are but few exceptions. An example is the verb *xlṣ* 'save, escape' which has a 'perfective' form *xaləṣ-Ø* 'be saved' (although a sense of 'escape; become safe' may also be in view; Ritter 1990:219ff). Verbs expressing uncontrolled processes generally take patient-like subject coding regardless of morphological class (either a *qṭil-* or *qaṭil*-base) and correspond with NENA, as given in (20) and (21) below. The verb *yaqəd-Ø* 'burn', for example, belongs to stem Ib and has a derived causative. Practically only the *qṭil*-base is used in labile alternations (see previous subsection), as exemplified in (21).

(20) **Derived causative (*qaṭil*-class)**

	Ṭuroyo		**J. Sulemaniyya** (Khan 2004a)
	'burn'		
ITR.	*yaqəδ-Ø*	ITR.	*qil-Ø* (~ *yəliq-Ø*)
TR.	*moqaδ-le*	TR.	*mqəl-le*

(21) **Labile (*qṭil*-class)**

a.	'break'			
	ITR.	*twir-Ø*	ITR.	*twir-Ø*
	TR.	*twəḷ-ḷe*	TR.	*twər-re*
b.	'suffocate'			

ITR.	*ḥniq-Ø*	ITR.	*ḥniq-Ø*
TR.	*ḥnəq-le*	TR.	*ḥnəq-le*

Ṭuroyo and North Eastern Neo-Aramaic diverge more strongly when it comes to the agent-like coding of subjects, as illustrated in (22) below. Verbs that denote a controlled event are treated differently, such that *šaġəl-Ø* 'work' and *gawər-Ø* 'marry' receive patient-like coding in Ṭuroyo but not in NENA, whereas *ṣhe-le* 'swim' receives agent-like coding in Ṭuroyo but not in NENA. Moreover, there is an exceptional group of transitive verbs belonging to subclass Ib (*qaṭil-*) that mainly express mental states where the agent-like experiencer is (indirectly) affected through some mental experience, including more controlled mental activities such as *yaləf-Ø* 'learn' (instigating) and uncontrolled mental processes such as *ṭaʃi-Ø* 'forget' (non-instigating) (Jastrow 1985:72; Ritter 1990:93; Furman and Loesov 2014). These correspond with S_A forms in NENA, as compared with Jewish Sanandaj below.

(22) **Subject coding in Ṭuroyo and Jewish Sanandaj**

	Ṭuroyo			**J. Sanandaj** (Khan 2009)
a.	*raqəδ-Ø*	'dance'	=	*rqil-Ø*
b.	*yaləf-Ø*	'learn'	≠	*yləp-**le***[203]
c.	*sḥe-**le***	'swim'	≠	*səxe-Ø* (also 'wash')
d.	*šaġəl-Ø*	'work' (< Ar.)	≠	*ḥaštá wi-**le*** (< Ir.; *ḥaštá* 'work, *wil-* 'do' + *-le*)
e.	*gawər-Ø*	'marry'	≠	*gəwr-**e*** (< **gwər-* + *-le*)
f.	*aδəʃ-Ø*	'know'	≠	*ʔli-**le***
g.	*šaməʃ-Ø*	'hear'	≠	*šmi-**le***[204]

There are several verbs that have similar semantic characteristics as the (Ib) subclass taking a *qaṭil*-base but belong to the (Ia) subclass taking a *qṭil*-base and transitive coding (Ritter 1990:733), for example *ḥzy* 'see' and *bʕy* 'want':

[203] The patient-like subject form in J. Sanandaj *yəlip-Ø* conveys 'learn' in the sense of knowledge reception (less control) rather than acquisition (more control), i.e. being taught by somebody else.

[204] It is possible that the intranstive coding in local Arabic cognates influences a few verbs belonging to subclass Ib. Arabic stative *saməʃ-tu* 'I heard' and mediopassives *f-t-aham-Ø* 'He understood' and *aš-t-aġal-tu* 'I worked' (Mardin, SE Turkey; Grigore 2007) correspond with Ṭuroyo *šaməʃ-no*, *fahəm-Ø* and *šaġəl-no*.

	qṭil-			***qaṭil-***	
(23)	*ḥze-le*	‘see’	vs.	*šaməʃ-Ø*	‘hear’
	bʕe-le	‘want’	vs.	*abəʃ-Ø*	‘want’ (roots *bʕy* vs. *Øbʕ*)

Interestingly, this is consistent with the cross-linguistic tendency that ‘see’ is the most salient of perception verbs (Viberg 1983) and more likely receives transitive coding than ‘hear’ (Haspelmath 2015).

Conversely, some middle-only verbs belonging to stem I_M, e.g. *θniḥ-Ø* ‘rest’, are similar to class Ib (*qaṭil-*) in terms of semantics (stative) but occur in a derived causative alternation (Jastrow 1985:77, 92), for example:

(24)	ITR.	I_M	*fṣiḥ-Ø*	‘be(come) glad’
	TR.	III	*mafṣaḥ-le*	‘gladden’

Moreover, there are intransitive verbs belonging to other stem formations than stem I that receive agent-like subject coding such as II *hlx* ‘walk’, e.g. *mhal-ax-le* (N.B. besides Ib *rahəṭ-Ø* ‘run’) and III *syw* ‘become old’, e.g. *masu-le*.

Subject and agent coding may also co-vary in Ṭuroyo. Aspectual factors are presumably involved reminisicent of the ergative-antipassive opposition conditioned by lexical aspect (see §2.3.3). This concerns stem I verbs that may alternate between the agent-like subject coding (Ia, *qṭil-* + L-set) and patient-like subject coding in the *qaṭil*-subclass (Ib, *qaṭil-* + E-set). Occasionally, verbs that otherwise generally would have a *qaṭil*-form in the ‘perfective’ have a *qtil*-base as bi-form (Ritter 1990:85). There may be slight differences in meaning. Ritter (ibid.) offers examples of the following kind:

(25)	*kafən-Ø*	‘He starved’	*fahəm-Ø*	‘He has understood’
	kfəl-le[205]	‘He became hungry’	*fhəm-le*	‘He realized’

Interestingly, Ritter (1990:51, 619) also mentions such forms for the verb *hwy* ‘become’ where *hwe-le* ‘It_M arose, became’ alternates with *hawi-Ø* ‘It_M became, happened’. Ritter (1990:85) notes that agent-like coding is apparently used “when one wants to emphasize the sudden occurrence of the event or its completed nature” (translation of German original mine)[206]. It seems to me that Rit-

[205] < **kfən-le*.

[206] German original (ibid.): “wenn man das plötzliche Eintreten des Geschehens, oder seinen abgeschlossenen Charakter hervorheben will”.

ter is referring to punctuality which could be comparable to the role of punctuality in subject coding in, for instance, the Jewish dialect of Sulemaniyya (Khan 2004a:301). A patient-like form such as *yaləf-Ø* 'He learnt' would be durative while the agent-like form such as *ilif-le* 'He learnt' would be punctual. It is possible that *yaləf-Ø* in (26a) below, for example, is used to focus on the learning process over time while the agent-like form *iləf-la* in (26b) focuses on the moment of its completion (Ritter's "completed nature") for, even though both are perfective in terms of grammatical aspect (cf. Ritter 1990:656)[207]. One should note that this is also a distinction in the coding of the agent.

(26) **Punctuality vs. durativity** (Midyat; Prym-Socin 1881:157.25, 201.6)

a. ***yaləf-Ø*** *u-kŭrrəko* *qroyo*, *msək-le* (E-set, non-punctual)
learn$_{PFV}$-A:3MS the-boy read:INF seize$_{PFV}$-A:3MS
as-saḥrat *b-i-qrayto*
the-magical.power:PL PRP-the-reading
'The boy **learnt** to read, (and), through reading, received magical powers.'

b. *omər* ***iləf-la*** *qroyo*? *omər* ***iləf-la***, (L-set, punctual)
he.says learn$_{PFV}$-A:3FS read:INF he.says learn$_{PFV}$-A:3FS
mayiθ-o
die$_{PFV}$-S:3FS
'He said: **Did she** (i.e. the camel$_F$) **learn** to read? He said: **She did learn** (it and) died.'

It is possible that an additional semantic difference in dynamism plays a role as observed for Jewish Sulemaniyya (see §5.1.1). This is compared in (27a-b) below. A verb like *tym* 'finish' would focus on the cessation of an action and is more stative and endpoint-oriented than a verb like *bdy* 'begin' which is inherently more initiative and dynamic.

(27) **Dynamic vs. stative**

	Ṭuroyo		**J. Sulemaniyya** (NE Iraq; Khan 2004a)		
a.	'finish'				
	TR.	*matəm-le*	TR.	*mtim-le*	(stem III, A = L-set)
	ITR.	*tayəm-Ø*	ITR.	*tim-Ø*	(stem Ib, stative, S = E-set)
b.	'begin'				

[207] Ritter (1990:656) hints at such a subtle aspectual difference by his comment to (26b) "die Lehre ist abgeschlossen".

ITR. *bde-le* ITR. *bde-le* (stem Ia, dynamic, S = L-set)

It should be noted, however, that one equally finds lexical alternatives which are not triggered by this semantic difference such as *xlṣ* for 'finish' in examples like *maxlaṣ-**li** u-mŭklo* 'I finished eating' (Ritter 1990:221).

Four main lexical classes, thus, interact and overlap, as summarized in Table 43. Each may attract other verbs of similar semantics or derivation patterns.

Table 43. *Ṭuroyo stem I subclasses in the 'perfective'*

	***qṭil*-BASE**		***qatil*-BASE**	
TRANSITIVE	*nšəq-le* (Ia)	'kiss'	*šaməʕ-Ø* (Ib)	'hear'
INTRANSITIVE	*sḥe-le*	'swim'	*raqəδ-Ø*	'dance'
	fṣiḥ-Ø (I_M)	'be(come) glad'	*saməq-Ø*	'be(come) red'

The *qatil*-form stands out system-internally. It is largely confined to basic single argument verbs that do not occur in a labile alternation and two-argument verbs denoting mental situations. In other respects, split subject-marking in Ṭuroyo shows strong similarities to that in NENA. Agent-like coding (i.e. the L-set) becomes increasingly more likely under similar semantic conditions as in NENA (cf. Khan 2004a:304-305) where the S an effect is more strongly implied, and the event is punctual and dynamic. Nevertheless, lexicalization largely obscures these tendencies.

6.3. Alignment and Voice in Mlaḥso

Mlaḥso (extinct by now) is rather distinct from Ṭuroyo and similar to peripheral dialects of NENA in SE Turkey. The neutral alignment pattern of dependent person forms and the differential case-marking of the P is comparable to dialects like Jewish Urmi. Passive and anticausative voice phenemona in Mlaḥso are different from all other dialects. Finally, the realis perfect is based on the *qaṭil*-form regardless of lexical semantics and comparable to Christian Bohtan.

6.3.1. Neutral Agreement and Accusative Case-marking

The E-set is never used as object indexes in Mlaḥso. Mlaḥso groups all grammatical functions by the L-set in the perfective past, treating S, A and P alike[208]. This is similar to Christian NENA dialects in South East Turkey, particularly C. Bohtan (SE Turkey; Fox 2009), but also to the North West Iranian Jewish dialects such as Urmi (NW Iran; Khan 2008b). (1) offers a comparison for the verbs 'take' and 'sleep' between Mlaḥso and Jewish Urmi:

(1) **Neutral alignment**

	Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994:150.27, 150.26, 148.18)		**J. Urmi** (NW Iran; Khan 2008b:428.148, 445)
a.	*mobé-**len-li***	b.	*əmbál-**lu-li***
	'**They** took **me**.'		'**They** took **me**.'
b.	*dmix-**li***		*dməx-**li***
	'**I** went to sleep.'		'**I** went to sleep.'

In addition, similarly to J. Urmi, Mlaḥso uses differential case-marking of object NPs by means of the dative preposition *(e)l-*. However, it does not appear to be combinable with additional indexing.

	Mlaḥso				**J. Urmi**			
	[DOM→P]		[V-A]		[DOM→P]		[V-P-A]	
c.	***l-a-ʕez-ezan***	…	*ṣid-len*	e.	***əl-d-áy***	***+ktāb***	*əmbl-a-li*…	
	DOM-the:PL-goat-ours		seize$_{PFV}$-3$_{PL}$		DOM-LK-DEM	book:FS	take$_{PFV}$-3$_{FS}$-1$_{SG}$	
	'They seized **our goats** (from us).'				'I took **that book** (to the library).'			

An *(e)l-*series of independent object person forms is treated like full nominals and occurs in pre-verbal position (Jastrow 1994:14). It may also alternate with the L-set as dependent person form[209]. This is comparable to the *ʔəll-*series in NENA such as J. Urmi:

[208] For a different view, see Coghill (2016:90) who considers this "fully accusative alignment", presumably because she identifies alignment on the basis of affix order rather than phonological form.

[209] Jastrow (1994:54-56), however, suggests that, since his Turkish informants (Diyarbakır) predominantly use independent person forms instead, the higher frequency of object L-suffixes in the speech of his Syrian informant (Qamishli) are due to interference from Ṭuroyo. Although her speech does witness to probably hybrid forms of Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso

d. ***l-i*** *mobe-len*
'They took **me**.'

f. ***əll-í*** *əmbəl-lu*
'They took **me**.'

One should note that the distinction between dependent and independent person forms is marginal in Mlaḥso. The difference between the L-set and *(e)l*-series is most conspicuous in the 3ms. and 1pl. where the preposition takes the distinct suffixes *-áv* and *-əna*. Compare (2a) and (2b) below.

(2) **Mlaḥso** (Jastrow 1994:96.164,167)

a.	*hiv-le*	***el-áv***	*mo*	*dahvé*	(independent)
	give$_{PFV}$-A:3MS	R:DAT-3MS	hundred	gold:PL	
b.	*hív-le-**le***		*mo*	*dahvé*	(dependent)
	give$_{PFV}$-A:3MS-R:3MS		hundred	gold:PL	

'He gave **him** one hundred pieces of gold.'

The pronominal expression of objects is limited in general in Mlaḥso. An object index is not obligatory and is frequently lacking when the referent is considered clear enough from the context. An object index is generally only expressed once and not continued by other constructions with the same referent (Jastrow 1994:56).

Finally, agents are not case-marked as in Ṭuroyo except for the first person plural. The first person plural does not distinguish between dative and unmarked independent person forms. While other persons distinguish between unmarked and dative forms such as the first person singular *ono* 'I' as opposed to *(e)li* 'me' and third masculine singular *hiye* 'He' as opposed to *eláv* 'him', the first person plural is *eləna* throughout and can also mark the S or the A even in the 'imperfective' (compare Ṭuroyo *aḥna* and *elan*) (Jastrow 1994:28, 63). It is based on the dative preposition *(e)l-* and the first person plural 'possessive' suffix *-əna*. Thus, unlike other independent person forms, the 1pl. *eləna* is completely neutral to its syntactic role, merging S, A, P, T and R (Jastrow 1994:63)[210], for example:

(Jastrow 1994:35), one could conversely argue that the prevalence of independent person forms in the speech of Jastrow's other informants is due to an overall stronger interference of Kurmanji Kurdish in Turkey where such person forms are independent. Since the two coexisting object marking strategies are common to all his informants, I will not treat one as more genuinely Mlaḥso over the other.

[210] It appears, however, that a bi-form exists for its object-marking function on the basis of ʕal- 'on, upon', e.g. ***ʕalena*** *ṣədlen* 'They took **us** (captive)' (Jastrow 1994:104.2).

(3) **First person plural pronoun in Mlaḥso** (Jastrow 1994:104.2, 132.149, 104.11, 124.116, 121)

a.	***eləna*** *pišlan tamo*	'**We** stayed there.'	(S)
b.	***eləna*** *emirlan*	'**We** said.'	(A)
c.	***eləna*** *mapleṭlen*	'They helped **us** escape.'	(P)
d.	***eləna*** *mobele*	'He brought **us** there.'	(T)
e.	***eləna*** *hivlen*	'They gave **to us**.'	(R)

Generally speaking, therefore, Mlaḥso case-marking is accusative but neutral for the first person plural. Agreement is morphologically neutral. Indexing and case-marking of arguments (as in the differential marking of the patient) do not appear to be combined.

6.3.2. Anticausative and Passive Voice

Mlaḥso distinguishes approximately the same stem formations as Ṭuroyo (see §6.2.1). The crucial difference with Ṭuroyo is the complete mixing of those stems in Mlaḥso through the extension of the 'imperfective' bases to the expression of the perfective past. The single L-set, otherwise associated with agent-like coding in Ṭuroyo and NENA, covers the entire voice spectrum ranging from causative to passive.

The Mlaḥso stem formations are represented in Table 44 below. The shaded area indicates where the L-suffixes are employed as subject and agent indexes. Interestingly, we find more or less the opposite distribution of Ṭuroyo (compare Table 41, cf. Jastrow 1996).

Table 44. *The Mlaḥso stem formations*

	ACTIVE			MEDIOPASSIVE	
	PRS		PRET		PRS
	PERF	IPFV	PFV	IPFV	
I:	***q**aṭi**l***-	***q**oṭe**l***-	***qṭil***-	*me-**qṭel***-	*me-**qṭel***-
II:		***z**abe**n***-	***z**abe**n***-	*m-**z**abe**n***-	*m-**z**abe**n***-
III:		*m-a-**dmex***-	*m-a-**dmex***-	*m-t-a-**šoġ***-	*m-t-a-**šoġ***-
IV:		***q**arve**ʕ***-	***q**arve**ʕ***-		

Notes: zbn *'sell', dmx* 'sleep', šyġ *'wash',* qrvʕ *'chase away'. Stems in gray shade take L-suffixes. Stem III$_M$ is only attested for weak verbs.* Source: *Data from Jastrow 1994:33-34.*

As Table 44 illustrates, mediopassive stem formations such as *meqṭel-* 'be killed' and *mtašoġ-* 'be washed' correspond with the 'imperfective' (IPFV) in both the preterit and present. This is unlike Ṭuroyo where, apart from stem III, the mediopassive merges with the active in the 'perfective' (e.g. *qṭil-* for the preterit of both *qoṭəl-* 'kill' and *məqṭəl-* 'be killed').

Transitive and intransitive verbs inflect alike in the 'perfective' in Mlaḥso. Mlaḥso makes no distinction between the coding of the S or A, for example:

(4) *dmix-lan* 'We slept.'
ḥze-lan 'We saw.'
šmiʕ-lan 'We heard'.

(Patient-like) subject coding through the E-set such as ***psiḥ-o* 'It$_F$ opened' does not occur.

The L-set marks the S in all intransitive constructions alike, including the passive. Only a few anticausatives remain in the active stem I that correspond with verbs belonging to stem Ib (*qaṭil-*) in Ṭuroyo, for example *ḥrv* 'destroy' of which the corresponding causative is stem III:

(5) **The verb 'destroy' in Mlaḥso and Ṭuroyo** (Jastrow 1994:118.85, 158)

	Mlaḥso		**Ṭuroyo**	
a. ITR.	*beyt-í ḥriv-le*	c.	*bayt-i ḥaru-Ø*	(stem I)
	'My house got destroyed.'		'id.'	
b. TR.	*maḥrev-le*	d.	*maḥru-le*	(stem III)
	'He destroyed (sth.).'		'id.'	

The S of a passive is similarly marked by the L-set. The *-t-*infix is the only morphological difference between the active and mediopassive of stem III verbs such as *Øḥt* 'put':

(6) TR. III *maḥet-le* 'He put (sth.).'
ITR. III$_M$ *m**t**aḥet-le* 'He was put.'

Voice distinctions, therefore, are completely attuned to the type of stem in Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994:41). In Ṭuroyo, by contrast, this is mainly dependent on the set of person indexes. We can contrast this stem neutralization in Mlaḥso to the voice distinctions in Ṭuroyo for the labile stem I verb 'open' and the transitive stem III verb 'sell' (cf. Jastrow 1996). The inflectional base is modified depending on TAM in Ṭuroyo. It is modified by valency in Mlaḥso.

(7) **Stem neutralization in Mlaḥso** (Adapted from Jastrow 1994:83.53-54, 88.99; 1996)

	Mlaḥso		**Ṭuroyo**	
a.	*tarʃó mepseḥ*-Ø	f.	*ko-məftaḥ*-Ø *tarʃo*	(present)
	'A door opens.'		'id.'	
b.	*tarʃó mepseḥ*-***le***	g.	*ftiḥ*-Ø *tarʃo*	(preterit)
	'A door opened.'		'id.'	
c.	*tarʃó psiḥ*-***le***	h.	*ftəḥ*-***le*** *tarʃo*	(active, preterit)
	'He opened a door.'		'id.'	
d.	*mzaben*-*no*	i.	*ko-mizaban-no*	(passive, present)
	'I am sold.'		'id.'	
	Mlaḥso		**Ṭuroyo**	
e.	*mzaben*-***li***	j.	*mzaban*-*no*	(passive, preterit)
	'I was sold.'		'id.'	

The examples in (7) show that the Mlaḥso mediopassive makes no distinction between 'perfective' and 'imperfective' inflectional bases[211]. The mediopassive base (e.g. I_M *mepseḥ*-, III_M *mzaben*-) is stable throughout but the subject and agent coding is entirely tense-aspect-sensitive (e.g. E-set in the present vs. L-set in the preterit) regardless of lexical semantics. The levelling of mediopassive stems in Mlaḥso is presumably analogical to the active counterparts of stem II and IV verbs (Jastrow 1996:57). These similarly merge the 'imperfective' and 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo active forms[212], for example:

	Mlaḥso		**Ṭuroyo**	
k.	*zaben*-*no*	m.	*ko-mzaban*-*no*	(present)
	'I sell.'		'id.'	
l.	*zaben*-***li***	n.	*mzabal*-***li*** (< *mzaban*-***li***)	(preterit)
	'I sold.'			

[211] The distinction between 'imperfective' and 'perfective' is also levelled in the 1ms. conjugation of hollow verbs belonging to stem I, cp. *sim-no* (~ *səm-no*) 'I make (sth.)' and *sim-li* 'I made (sth.)' (Jastrow 1994:36).

[212] There may also be another connection. It is possible to inflect certain 'perfective' forms of a mediopassive through L-suffixes to express a recipient referent in Ṭuroyo, e.g. *mtawməṛ-**ṛe*** (< *mtawmər-* + *-le*) *tə-mede* '**He** (lit. him) was told nothing' (Jastrow 1992:85.15).

In the end, agent-like subject marking (i.e. the L-set) covers the entire voice spectrum in Mlaḥso, regardless of the salience of the patient or agent. No other known Neo-Aramaic variety also marks the S of the passive voice in this way. The choice between the two main sets of dependent person forms to index subject or agent referents in Ṭuroyo is primarily conditioned by the event structure in terms of lexical semantics (*twir-*Ø 'It$_{M}$ broke/was broken' against *ú-kalbo nwəḥ-le* 'The dog barked') much like South Eastern Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA such as J. Sulemaniyya (*twir-*Ø 'It$_{M}$ broke/was broken' against *kalbaké nwəx-le* 'The dog barked'). The type which is principally voice-conditioned in Ṭuroyo (e.g. *ftəḥ-**le*** 'He opened sth.' against *ftiḥ-**Ø*** 'It$_{M}$ opened') is aspect-conditioned in Mlaḥso (*mepṣeḥ-**Ø*** 'It$_{M}$ opens' against *mepṣeḥ-**le*** 'It$_{M}$ opened'). Moreover, while the 'perfective' bases of the Ṭuroyo mediopassive stem formations merge with the active mainly to express the preterit, they merge with the 'imperfective' in Mlaḥso to indicate voice (***pṣiḥ**-le* 'He opened sth.' against ***mepṣeḥ**-le* 'It$_{M}$ opened').

6.3.3. The Realis Perfect

The choice between the L-set or E-set in subject and agent coding depends wholly on aspect in Mlaḥso much like the dynamic-stative subject and agent marking in NENA dialects such as C. Bohtan (SE Turkey).

Ṭuroyo does not make a distinction in the coding of the subject and agent between perfective past or perfect. Verbal forms that otherwise denote the perfective past can also express the present perfect or a result state in Ṭuroyo just as in NENA, e.g. *aδiʕ-at-li*? 'Do you$_{SG}$ still know me?' (Qamishli, Noorlander 2013 field notes), and *ftiḥ-i ayn-a* 'Her eyes were open' (Midyat, Prym-Socin 1881:88.21). Nevertheless, it is possible to mark the realis perfect by means of the actualizing preverb *ko-* (which may also be enhanced by additional TAM-particles *ga* and *kal*), for example:

(8) **Ṭuroyo** (cf. Jastrow 1985: 153-154)

a.	(Ø-)*qṭi-le*	'He killed (him).'	(preterit, A = L-set)
b.	***ko-**qṭi-le*	'He has killed (him).'	(perfect, A = L-set)
c.	(Ø-)*qayəm-*Ø	'He rose.'	(preterit, S = E-set)
d.	***ko-**qayəm-*Ø	'He has risen.'	(perfect, S = E-set)
e.	(Ø-)*šaməʕ-*Ø	'He heard.'	(preterit, S = E-set)
f.	***ko-**šaməʕ-*Ø	'He has heard.'	(perfect, S = E-set)

This system where the only difference between preterit and perfect is preverbal TAM-marking has parallels in NENA (see §§5.1.25.1). Subject or agent coding covaries for some verbs depending on lexical aspect. Punctual events may be distinguished by their respective subject coding, e.g. *kafən-***Ø** 'He starved' vs. *kfəl-le* 'He became hungry' (Ritter 1990:656).

In Mlaḥso, subject coding by means of the E-set is not only found in the 'imperfective' forms of all verbs but also in the perfect, only attested for stem I. The perfect is formed by the *qaṭil*-base. This inflectional base is otherwise limited to intransitive and semantically low transitive verbs in Ṭuroyo. It is employed together with the E-set of subject indexes to construct the perfect in Mlaḥso[213], for example:

(9) **Mlaḥṣo** (Jastrow 1994)

a.	*dmix-**le***	'He fell asleep.'	(preterit, S = L-set)
b.	*damíx-**Ø***	'He has fallen asleep.'	(perfect, S = E-set)
c.	*qim-**le***	'He rose.'	(preterit, S = L-set)
d.	*qaym-**Ø*** (< **qayim*-)	'He has risen.'	(perfect, S = E-set)

These perfect forms as such, however, are not restricted to intransitive and lowly transitive verbs in Mlaḥso. All verbs, even transitives which do not feature in the so-called *qaṭil*-subclass in Ṭuroyo (such as *ḥze-le* 'see' against *šaməʕ-***Ø** 'hear'), can be conjugated in like manner in Mlaḥso (e.g. *šmiʕ-le* 'He heard' against *šamiʕ-***Ø** 'He has heard'). This situation is similar to our observations for C. Bohtan (SE Turkey) in NENA (see §4.4.3), although NENA does not show a change in inflectional base. (10) below offers a comparison of the verbs 'see' and 'give'.

(10) **Transitive realis perfect in Mlaḥso and C. Bohtan**

	Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994)		**C. Bohtan** (Fox 2009)	
a.	*ḥze-**li*** 'I saw.'	e.	*ġze-**li*** 'id.'	(preterit, A = L-set)
b.	*ḥazi-**no*** 'I$_M$ have seen.'	f.	*ġz-**ən*** 'id.'	(perfect, A = E-set)

[213] The *qaṭil*-forms can also be used to express states much like Ṭuroyo, e.g. *kla rumo kali* 'Look there, a soldier is standing' (Jastrow 1994:142.36).

c.	*hiv-**le***	g.	*hu-**li***	(preterit, A = L-set)
	‘He gave.’		‘id.’	
d.	*hayv-**Ø***	h.	*hu-**Ø***	(perfect, A = E-set)
	‘He has given.’		‘id.’	

The difference between Mlaḥso and C. Bohtan mainly hinges on the two verbal bases for stem I verbs, *qaṭil-* for the realis perfect against *qṭil-* for the preterit. Yet, the perfect and preterit are distinguished by a distinct set of subject/agent indexes. The perfect is transitive and readily combines with object NPs in the same fashion as the ‘imperfective’, for example:

(11) [P] [V-A]

a. ***ḥelm-ano*** *ḥazi-no*
dream:M-DEM:MS see:PERF-A:1SG
‘I saw **that dream**.’ (Jastrow 1994:130.139)

[A] [V-A-P]

b. *em-i* *w* *ov-i* *naṭir-a*[214]***-li***
mother:F-my and father:M-my look.after:PERF-A:3PL-P:1SG
‘My parents looked after **me**.’ (ibid. 94.157)

In sum, the use of the L-set is as subject/agent indexes is structurally dependent on inflectional bases other than *qaṭil-* which is confined to stem I verbs (as in Ṭuroyo). This *qaṭil*-form as well as the E-set are used in the expression of a result state, respectively, perfect. This means that the subject coding through the L-set is in itself higher on the TAM scale as given and semantically more agent-like than the subject coding through the E-set for *qaṭil-* in general. That is, the *qaṭil*-form is less grammaticalized along the path from resultative to perfective past, while the *qṭil*-form with L-suffixes has fully grammaticalized and even shows traces of original resultative usage.

6.4. Morphological Adaptation of Intransitive Coding

The mediopassive inflectional base is extended from the ‘imperfective’ to the expression of the preterit, or perfective past, in Mlaḥso. This morphological adaptation proceeds in the opposite direction of transitive coding in NENA that is

[214] It should be noted that the 3pl. index of the Mlaḥso perfect is distinctly *-a* instead of *-i* which thus far defies explanation.

analogical to the 'imperfective'. In addition, the distinct coding of the agent (and subject) is primary in the TAM-marking in inflection and this seems to be partly also the case in Ṭuroyo.

First of all, as we saw in the previous section, the E- and L-series are tense-aspect-conditioned subject and agent markers in Mlaḥso. It is interesting to note that, in some respects, the Mlaḥso verbal system mirrors the use of the *qam-qaṭəl*-construction found in NENA dialects (see §4.4.2). We can compare Mlaḥso to the Christian dialect of Koy Sanjaq (NW Iraq) for NENA.

Several NENA dialects can avail themselves of a transitive perfective past construction based on the 'imperfective' stem and additional preverbal TAM-modificaiton, termed the *qam-qaṭəl*-construction. This is the only means to express transitive clauses with an object index in Christian Koy Sanjaq, for example:

(12) **C. Koy Sanjaq** (NE Iraq; Mutzafi 2004b)

a. PRESENT

k-	*patəx-Ø*	'It$_M$ opens.'	(itr. *qaṭəl*-)
k-	*patx-ā-le*	'She opens it$_M$.'	(tr. *qaṭəl*-)

PRETERIT

	ptəx-le	'It$_M$ opened.'	(itr. *qṭil*-)
qa-	*patx-ā-le*	'She opened it$_M$.'	(tr. *qaṭəl*-)

The primary difference between the transitive coding of the present against the preterit is the preverb (*k*- vs. *qa*-), while intransitive coding is completely distinct.

Conversely, Mlaḥso uses a dedicated intransitive construction on the basis of an 'imperfective' base. It is the type of subject coding only that expresses the TAM distinction:

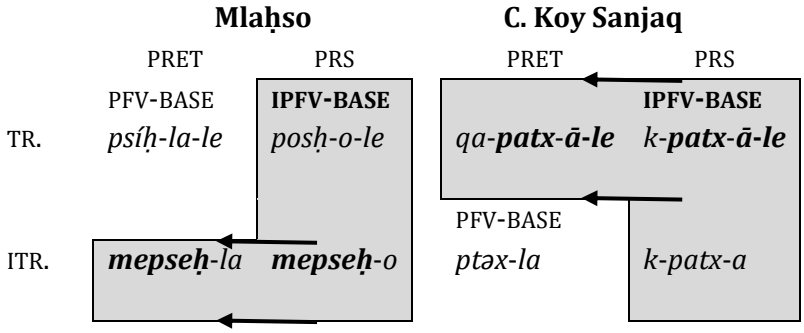
	INTRANSITIVE			TRANSITIVE		
(13)	*mepseḥ*	***-o***	'It$_F$ opens.'	*posḥ-**o**-le*	'She opens it$_M$.'	(present)
	mepseḥ	***-la***	'It$_F$ opened.'	*psíḥ-**la**-le*	'She opend it$_M$.'	(preterit)

TAM-marking in C. Koy Sankaq is primarily reduced to preverbal elements (*qa*- vs. *k*-), while this is mainly suffixal fused with person indexing in Mlaḥso (E-set vs. L-set). Only initial weak verbs can take the indicative-present preverb *x*- in Mlaḥso and they do not do so in the mediopassive. What makes Mlaḥso and C.

Koy Sanjaq also comparable is that both Neo-Aramaic languages do not employ the E-set as either subject or object indexes in the preterit. The E-set is obsolete in the 'perfective' so that constructions based on *qṭil-* such as ***psiḥ-o* ~ ***ptix-a* 'It$_F$ opened' or ***psiḥ-o-li* ~ ***ptix-a-li* 'I opened it$_F$' do not occur.

The 'imperfective' base of the active-transitive is extended from the present to the preterit in NENA, while the 'imperfective' base of the intransitive pendant is extended from the present to the preterit. The direction of morphological adaptation is schematized in (14) below.

(14)



Interestingly, Ṭuroyo finds itself in the middle. Consider the following examples.

(15)	*ko*-IPFV-E-L	***ko***-	*madamx-o-li*	'She lulls me to sleep.'	(present)
	(Ø-)PFV-E-L	(Ø-)	*madamx-o-li*	'I lulled her to sleep.'	(preterit)
(16)	*ko*-IPFV-E	***ko***-	*madmax-**no***	'I$_M$ lull to sleep.'	(present)
	PFV+L		*madmax-**li***	'I lulled to sleep.'	(preterit)

Preverbal TAM-marking (*ko*-) is significant to differentiate between forms that are morphologically identical such as stem III verbs like *madməx-* 'lull to sleep'. Preterit and actual present are only differentiated by the prefix *ko*-, when third person coding from the E-set (e.g. 3fs. *-o*) immediately follows the verbal base. When argument coding other than third person immediately follows the verbal base, no such ambiguity would arise due to the person role constraint and the E-set (*-no*) and L-set (*-li*) arguably signal a shift in TAM-function where *ko*- is practically superfluous. Forms like *madmax-no-le* 'I lull him to sleep' could only be interpreted as present. Mlaḥso does not employ the similar TAM preverb for most verbs, presumably also because the distinct subject and agent indexes are sufficient to keep the TAM categories apart.

The system in Mlaḥso, therefore, is not only grounded in the levelling of inflectional bases through morphological identity and analogy (cf. Jastrow 1996:57) but it is also facilitated by the TAM marking function of the respective sets of subject and agent indexes[215].

6.5. Summary

Central Neo-Aramaic has much in common with North Eastern Neo-Aramaic. Regarding alignment, Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso are especially similar to the Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA. Ṭuroyo is similar to Jewish dialects of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. Mlaḥso is similar to Christian dialects in SE Turkey such as Bohtan as well as Jewish dialects of Iranian Azerbaijan. What sets them apart from these NENA varieties is the use of mediopassive stem formations, and a distinct 'perfective' base *qaṭil-* associated with no or a less strong implication of an effect.

Central Neo-Aramaic evinces effects of lexical semantics very similarly to NENA. The difference in the use of subject (and agent) indexes primarily hinges on valency and lexical semantics in Ṭuroyo and grammatical aspect in Mlaḥso. The 'perfective' distinguishes two bases for stem I verbs. A *qṭil*-base (common to all of Neo-Aramaic) which at least takes agent indexes from the L-set and a *qaṭil*-base that at least takes subject indexes from the E-set (like the 'imperfective') .

In terms of aspect, preterit and perfect are distinguished by the TAM-preverb *ko-* in Ṭuroyo. Basic verbs known as 'neuter verbs' generally do not occur in labile alternations and have a special *qaṭil*-base in the 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo (e.g. *damix-o* 'She fell asleep' as opposed to *ftiḥ-o* 'It$_F$ opened'). A few transitive verbs that generally express two-argument mental states and activities such as *šmʕ* 'hear' and *ylf* 'learn' also belong to this class and take coding similarly to that of the 'imperfective' (e.g. *šamiʕ-o-li* 'She heard me' : *˚šəmʕ-o-li* 'She hears me'). Some of these verbs co-vary in the coding of the agent reminiscent of the antipassive, preferring the ergative (i.e. L-set) for the punctual aspect, e.g. *fahəm-Ø* 'He understood' (non-punctual) vs. *fhəm-le* 'He realized' (punctual). This co-variation is also found for intransitive verbs (e.g. *kapən-Ø* 'He starved' vs. *kpəl-le* 'He became hungry'). As in NENA, single argument states, change-of-state verbs and uncontrolled processes typically align their subjects with the patient, while verbs with a stronger implication of a dynamic effect

[215] Ironically, when I asked (educated) Ṭuroyo speakers (from Qamishli) whether forms like ***nšiq-at-li* 'I kissed you$_{FS}$' were possible, they replied with disapproval and told me I was confusing tenses.

such as sound emission verbs (e.g. *nwəḥ-le* 'He barked') typically align their subjects with the agent. Control seems to be more ambiguous. Controlled activities are variably categorized as either S_P or S_A in Ṭuroyo (e.g. *raqəδ-Ø* 'dance' vs. *zmər-le* 'sing').

The distinction between preterit and perfect in Mlaḥso depends on both inflectional base (*qṭil-* vs. *qaṭil-*) and related agent and subject indexes (L-set vs. E-set). The *qṭil*-form combines with the L-set to express the preterit (*dmix-le* 'He fell asleep', *šmiʕ-le* 'He heard', *qṭile* 'He killed') but the *qaṭil*-form combines with the E-set to express the perfect (*damix-Ø* 'He has fallen asleep, is asleep', *šamiʕ-Ø* 'He has heard', *qaṭil-Ø* 'He has killed'). Both the L-set and E-set are used to express both agent and subject for all verbs in Mlaḥso:

(1)

	Ṭuroyo		**Mlaḥso**	
	PRETERIT	PERFECT	PRETERIT	PERFECT
TR.	*ftəḥ-le*	*ko-ftəḥ-li*	*psiḥ-le*	*paṣiḥ-Ø*
ITR.	*daməx-Ø*	*ko-daməx-Ø*	*dmix-le*	*damix-Ø*

In terms of voice, Central Neo-Aramaic shows a more complex system than NENA in using mediopassive derivation classes. Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso diverge significantly here as well. Ṭuroyo voice phenomena in the 'perfective' resemble Jewish 'ergative dialects' of NENA. A notable exception is the possible impersonalization of intransitives (*dmix larwal* 'People slept here'). The type of subject and agent indexes that is essentially voice-conditioned in Ṭuroyo is aspect-conditioned in Mlaḥso:

(2)

	Ṭuroyo		**Mlaḥso**	
	PRETERIT	PRESENT	PRETERIT	PRESENT
ACTIVE	*ftəḥ-le*	*ko-fotəḥ-Ø*	*psiḥ-le*	*poseḥ-Ø*
MEDIOPASSIVE	*ftiḥ-Ø*	*ko-məftəḥ-Ø*	*mepseḥ-le*	*mepseḥ-Ø*

While the 'perfective' base merges transitive with intransitive constructions for stem I, II and IV verbs in Ṭuroyo to express the preterit (as opposed to the constructions based on the 'imperfective'), the 'imperfective' base merges preterit and non-preterit constructions in Mlaḥso to indicate voice. The mediopassive preterit of stem I verbs such as *ftḥ* 'open', for instance, is based on the 'perfective', respectively, *qṭil*-form in Ṭuroyo (as in NENA), e.g. *ftiḥ-Ø* 'It_M opened/was opened', while the corresponding 'imperfective' pattern is *məqṭəl-*, e.g. ˚*məftəḥ-Ø* 'It_M opens/is opened' (against active ˚*fotəḥ-*). The mediopassive preterit in

Mlaḥso, however, is based on the *meqṭel*-form and takes L-suffixes to express the S, e.g. *mepseḥ-le* 'It$_M$ (was) opened'. The *qṭil*-form is restricted to the 'perfective' in both subgroups but Ṭuroyo expresses a transitivity alternation in either L-suffixes to mark the A and E-suffixes to mark the S.

Patient-marking is person-restricted in the inflection of the 'perfective' in Ṭuroyo. The E-set is limited to the third person, grouping S and P ergatively, while first and second person are marked by the L-set, grouping A and P horizontally. The alignment of dependent person forms is completely neutral for Mlaḥso where the E-series is unavailable to mark the patient:

(3)

	Ṭuroyo		**Mlaḥso**	
	P[−1,2]	P[+1,2]	P[−1,2]	P[+1,2]
TR.	*ftiḥ-**o**-le*	*ftəḥ-le-**li***	*psíḥ-le-**la***	*psíḥ-le-**li***
ITR.	*ftiḥ-**o***		*mepseḥ-**la***	

With respect to case-marking, the two subgroups also diverge. Mlaḥso patterns accusatively as is common for Aramaic in general. Differential case-marking as well as a series of independent object person forms are based on the dative preposition (*e*)*l*-. Interestingly, the independent pronoun of the first person plural (*eləna*) follows a neutral pattern. Although nouns are normally unmarked for case in Ṭuroyo, differential case-marking does occur. Ṭuroyo is unique in using the dative case also to mark differentially the A together with agreement (the L-suffixes). This yields an ergative case-marking pattern alongside ergative indexing of full NPs (e.g. *haθe xil-o-le l-u-kalwo* 'The dog ate this'). The optional case-marking of the agent parallels the possessor in predicative possessor constructions (e.g. (*l*)*-u-malko kət-le abro* 'The king has a son'). The possible case-marking patterns are illustrated below for the phrases 'The king opened the door' and 'The door opened'. Differential case-marking of the P is not common to all Ṭuroyo dialects but is not mutually exclusive with differential A-marking. In at least the dialect of Raite, they may be combined, manifesting horizontal alignment (like first and second dependent person forms). Ergative indexing appears to be combined only with ergative case-marking (and not horizontal case-marking).

(4) **Ṭuroyo**

a.	NEUTRAL (A=S=P)	ERGATIVE (FOCAL; A≠S=P)
TR.	*u-malko ftəḥ-le u-tarʕo*	***l-u-malko** ftəḥ-le u-tarʕo*
ITR	*u-tarʕo ftiḥ-Ø*	*u-tarʕo ftiḥ-Ø*

b.	ACCUSATIVE (A=S≠P)	HORIZONTAL (S≠A=P)
TR.	*u-malko ftəḥ-le* ***l-u-tarʃo***	***l-u-malko*** *ftəḥ-le* ***l-u-tarʃo***
ITR	*u-tarʃo ftiḥ-Ø*	*u-tarʃo ftiḥ-Ø*