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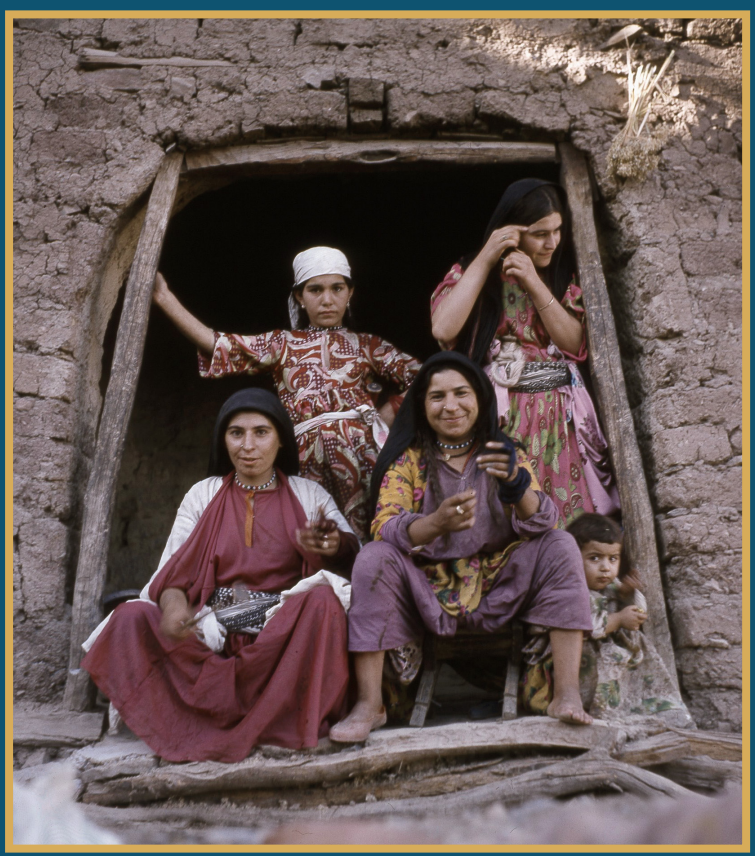
Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

Edited by Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander



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Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

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Cover image: Women in the village of Harbole, south-eastern Turkey (photograph taken by Brunot Poizat in 1978 before the village's destruction).
Cover design: Anna Gatti

CONTENTS

GLOSSING ABBREVIATIONS

A	Arabic
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
ALV	alveolar
ALVPAL	alveopalatal
AOR	aorist
ART	article
ARTP	Articulatory Phonology
ATTR	attribute
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CLO	closure
COMP	complementiser
CONJ	conjunction
CONN	connective
COP	copula
CRIT	critical
CST	construct state (head of attributive annexation)
DAT	dative
DEF	definite (article)
DEIX.COP	deictic copula
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	dependent (marker of dependent clause or noun phrase)
DET	determined state
DIST	distal demonstrative
DM	discourse marker
DOM	differential object marking
ERG	ergative
EXIST	existential
EZ	ezafe
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FPL	feminine plural
FS	feminine singular
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GLO	glottis
GN	geographic name
H	Hebrew
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INDET	indetermined state
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
K	Kurdish
LAB	labial
LNK	linker
M	masculine

MEDP	mediopassive
MOD	modal
MPL	masculine plural
MS	masculine singular
N	neuter
NEG	negative
NMLS	nominalisation
NOM	nominative
NPL	neuter plural
NPSFX	nominal suffix
NPST	non-past
NS	neuter singular
PAL	palatal
PASS	passive
PC	prefix conjugation
PERS	personal
PFV	perfective
PHAR	pharyngeal
PL	plural
PN	personal name
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive
PRET	preterite
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PVB	preverbal modifier
QAM	*qam* pre-verbal prefix
QĀTL	Arabic *qātel* paradigm (historical active participle)
QATTĪL	*qaṭṭīl* adjective
QŌTL	Western Neo-Aramaic *qōṭel* paradigm (historical active participle)
QTĪL	*qṭīl* adjective and resultative participle
QTL	*qatal* and *qṭal* suffix conjugations in Arabic and Western Neo-Aramaic respectively
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RES	resultative
S	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SC	suffixing conjugation
TB	tongue body
TT	tongue tip
UVU-PHAR	uvular-pharyngeal
VEL	velum
VOC	vocative
YQTL	*yiqtol* prefix conjugation in Arabic and Western Neo-Aramaic

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF POSSESSORS AND EXPERIENCERS IN NEO-ARAMAIC: NON-CANONICAL SUBJECTS AS RELICS OF A FORMER DATIVE CASE

Paul M. Noorlander

Introduction[1]

Predicative possessors and impersonal experiencer constructions are encoded by the dative preposition *l-* across Semitic languages, in addition to Aramaic, Hebrew (e.g. Berman 1982) and Syrian Arabic (e.g. Cowell 1964; Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010, 250). Like most non-European languages, Semitic languages do not have a designated possession verb. Predicative possessors equivalent to English *have* are based on locational expressions of prepositional possessor (Stassen 2009), as illustrated for Hebrew in (1a-b) below.

(1) Israeli Hebrew

PREDICATIVE POSSESSOR

a. *yeš* ***le-Dan*** *sefer*
there.is to-Dan book.MS
'**Dan has** a book.'

1 Preparation of this article was made possible by funding from the Dutch Research Council (NWO).

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b. *yeš* ***l-i*** *sefer*
there.is to-me book
'**I have** a book.'

Predicative possessors are originally intransitive constructions where the existential element agrees or used to agree with the possessee. It is a common phenomenon, sometimes termed 'HAVE-drift' (Stassen 2009), that predicative possession undergoes transitivisation by assimilation of its morphosyntax to that of more typical and frequent agent-patient verb constructions because of their matching semantic-pragmatic properties (Stassen 2009, 208–43). While the agent-like possessor is still prepositional, the possessee has grammaticalised to a full-fledged object in colloquial Israeli Hebrew. It can be marked differentially by the object marker *et*, for example:

c. *yeš* *le-Dan* ***et*** ***ha-sefer***
there.is to-Dan DOM the-book.MS
'Dan has **the book**.'

d. *yeš* *l-i* ***ot-o***
there.is to-him DOM-him
'I have got him.'

Similarly, the preposition *l-* expresses the experiencer in impersonal experiencer verb constructions, as illustrated for Israeli Hebrew in (1e-f). The adjective or verb denoting the mental state is non-referential ms., while the subject-like experiencer is introduced by *l-*.

IMPERSONAL EXPERIENCERS

e. *kar* ***le-Dan***
cold.MS to-Dan

'**Dan** is cold.'

f. *kar* ***l-i***
cold.MS to-me

'**I** am cold.'

The same preposition can also mark so-called external possessors. The possessor is not dependent on the nominal possessee itself but is expressed as an affectee part of the verbal predicate, for example:

EXTERNAL POSSESSOR

g. *avad* ***le-Dan*** *ha-tik.*
lost.3MS to-Dan the-file.MS

'The file got lost **on Dan**.' (Berman 1982, 41)

h. *ima* *raxaṣa* ***le-Dan*** *et* *ha-panim.*
mom washed.3FS to-Dan DOM the-face

'Mom washed **Dan's** face (for him).' (ibid. 47)

Such prepositional arguments can also be optionally added to co-refer to the subject with various semantic nuances such as (1i) below. Such subject-coreferential datives are also known as ethic or ethical datives (*dativus ethicus*) in Semitic linguistics[2].

2 See Fassberg (2018) for a recent survey of its use in Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic with ample references.

SUBJECT CO-REFERENTIAL DATIVE

i.	*ha-yeladim*	*histalku*	***la-hem***
	the-children	ran.away.3PL	to-them

'The kids (**upped** and) ran away.' (ibid. 51)

All of these constructions are, of course, semantically and formally related to the expression of the recipient of ditransitive constructions in denoting often highly animate, typically human affectees (e.g. Berman 1989, 49; Næss 2007, 185–208).

Such subject-like prepositional affectees have been argued to be a common trait of Northwest Semitic (e.g. Pat-El 2018). Both full nominals and pronouns are marked prepositionally in all of the constructions illustrated above. Most Semitic languages lost case inflection presumably through phonetic erosion and other forces of change such as increasing fixation of word order. Thus instead of case declensions Neo-Semitic languages use zero-marked nouns and independent pronouns as the default citation form. They developed differential marking strategies of definite nominals, including cross-referencing through pronominal affixes.[3]

Typically, the predicative possessor and the experiencer of impersonal experiencer verb constructions are marked by the same preposition *l-* and its allomorphs in Late Antique Aramaic languages such as Syriac. A key difference in Syriac is the optional use of additional 'pronominal copies'. That is, prepositional person markers that cross-reference a co-nominal. In (2a) below, for example, the prepositional possessor (*l-ḡaḇrå ḥaḏ*) is referred back to by a prepositional person marker (*l-eh*). The same holds for the experiencer in (2b).

3 See Khan (1988); Kapeliuk (1989); Rendsburg (1991); Goldenberg (1997); Rubin (2005).

(2) Classical Syriac

a. ***l-ḡaḇrå*** ***ḥaḏ*** *ʾiṯ-wa-w* ***l-eh***
to-man.MS one.MS EXST-was-3MPL to-him

tren *bnin*
two.M son.MPL

‘A certain man had two sons (lit. Him were two sons).’ (Luke 15:11, *Curetonian*)

b. *kery-aṯ* ***l-hun*** ***l-ḡaḇre***
grieved-3FS to-them.M to-man.MP

w-eṯ-beš-∅ ***l-hun*** *ṭåḇ*
and-MEDP-be.bad-S.3MS to-them.M well

‘The men were grieved and very angry (Them grieved it$_F$ and angered it$_M$).’ (Genesis 34:7, *Pšiṭṭa*)

The possessor is stripped of its prepositional marking and becomes a zero-marked noun or pronoun, when it undergoes topicalisation. Its grammatical function as possessor or experiencer has to be resumed by the prepositional person marker such as *l-eh* in the following examples.

c. ***gaḇrå*** ***ḥaḏ*** *ʾiṯ-wa-w* ***l-eh***
man.MS one.MS EXST-was-3MPL to-him

tren *bnin*
two.M son.MPL

‘A certain man had (lit. Him were) two sons.’ (Luke 15:11, *Sinaiticus*)

d. ***malka…*** *kery-aṯ* ***l-eh*** *saggi*
king.MS grieved-3FS to-him much

‘The king (who judged Daniel) felt very sorry (lit. Him grieved it$_F$).’ (*Aphrahat* XXI: 411.20)

Such agreement markers emerge out of topicalisation constructions through increasing obligatorisation (e.g. Givón 1976; Lehmann 1988, 62; cf. Diem 2012; Mor and Pat-El 2016) and accordingly transitivisation (see above). That is, the clause-initial position without prepositional marking is favoured for discourse topics. This position grammaticalises for ‘non-canonical’ subjects on the model of the ‘canonical’ subject in other clauses (i.e. transitivitisation) where sentence-initial position of the subject has become the default position. The remaining cross-referencing prepositional pronoun becomes effectively an inflectional cross-index like verbal affixes.

Neo-Aramaic languages have a set of person markers generally known as the L-suffixes that historically go back to such dative person markers based on the preposition *l-*. In a similar fashion as (2c-d) above, these L-suffixes are used to express the predicative possessor and impersonal experiencer, for example in the dialects of Ṭur ʿAbdin, i.e. Ṭuroyo (3a-b), and Christian dialect of Urmia, i.e. C. Urmi, (4a-b):

(3) Ṭuroyo (Kfaerze, SE Turkey; Ritter 1967–1971)

a. ***ú-həmmāl-ano*** *kət-way-**le*** *əštó-abne.*
the-carrier.MS-DEM.MS EXST-PST-him six-sons.MPL

‘**This carrier** had six sons.’ (63/2)

b. ***ú-bab-ayðe*** *ʿayəq-∅-**le.***
the-father.MS-his become.upset-it.M-him

‘**His father** got angry.’ (60/34)

(4) C. Urmi (NW Iran; Khan 2016, transcription modified)

a. ***ʾaha*** ***malka*** *ʾət-va-**lə***
DEM.MS king.MS EXST-PST-him

⁺t̰la *bnunə*
three sons.MPL

‘**This king** had three sons.’ (A39:1)

b. ***ʾalaha*** *la* *basm-a-**lə**.*
God.MS NEG please$_{\text{IPFV}}$-it.F-him

‘It$_{\text{F}}$ does not please **God**.’ (A3:68)

This article is a comparative survey of the morphological properties of such possessors and experiencers in Neo-Aramaic, concentrating on North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) and Central Neo-Aramaic (i.e. Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥsó). Some comparative remarks concerning Western Neo-Aramaic will also be made. The data are mostly from NENA and Ṭuroyo grammatical descriptions[4] and fieldwork I conducted personally in the diaspora

4 For ease of comparison and accessibility, the various styles of transcription have been made uniform as follows. The reduced centralised vowel ([ɪ] ~ [ə] (~ [ɯ])) sometimes represented as <i>, <ɪ>, <i̇>, <ĭ>, or <ə> is represented by the single grapheme <ə>.The voiceless and voiced interdental fricatives are marked by <θ> and <ð>, respectively, (as against <t̲>, respectively, <d̲> in some sources), and the pharyngeal and glottal stop by <ʕ> and <ʾ> (against half rings <ʿ> and <ʾ> in some sources). Post-velar unaspirated /q̆/, in for example C. Urmi (Khan 2016), corresponding with /q/ in other dialects, is represented by <q> for simplicity’s sake. Moreover, I have taken the liberty to adapt Prym and Socin (1881) and Ritter’s (1967–1971) detailed transcription of Ṭuroyo to a phonological transcription that matches NENA more closely like that of Jastrow (1992). Emphasis and glossing are mine in examples, unless stated otherwise.

or in collaboration with G. Khan and/or D. Molin in Iraq[5] and with D. Molin in Jerusalem. There are notable differences and resemblances across Neo-Aramaic dialects, some of which go back to pre-modern Aramaic.

As the term used for these person markers already suggests, the L-suffixes are no longer prepositional in nature but have become inflectional suffixes. While their use in these constructions is still reminiscent of a formerly dative case, synchronically, they are no longer prepositional but serve to cross-index arguments in the clause. Obligatorisation of such cross-indexing is a well-known feature of the 'canonical' subject relation (e.g. Keenan 1976; Onishi 2001) contrary to objects, the marking of which remains conditioned by discourse-referential properties (e.g. Haig 2018a). Do these L-suffixes express a 'non-canonical' subject? To what extent have these L-suffixes become obligatory? And to what extent do they still interact with prepositional arguments? As we shall see, dialects have different strategies and not all of them operate on the same level as (2c-d) above.

First, we shall briefly review verbal inflection and how the recipient is expressed in ditransitive constructions. These findings are compared with the morphosyntax of predicative possessors and (impersonal) experiencer verb constructions in both subgroups of Neo-Aramaic.

1. A Synopsis of Argument Marking in NENA and Ṭuroyo

1.1. Role Reference Inversion

Verbal person marking in NENA and Ṭuroyo is considerably complex and cannot be treated in full detail here.[6] Historically, verbal inflection goes back to participial constructions that

5 Data collection in Iraq was made possible by GCRF funding.

6 Overviews of the morphosyntax in NENA and Ṭuroyo can be found in Khan (2010), Coghill (2016, 55–101), Waltisberg (2016) and Noorlander (2018b, forthcoming).

combined with clitic person markers. Two sets of person markers are used. They will be referred to as the E-suffixes and L-suffixes, which are respectively diachronically enclitic pronouns and participial agreement (E-suffixes) and prepositional pronouns based on *l* (L-suffixes). These are attached to the following inflectional bases. The imperfective base is derived from the active participle and the perfective base is derived from a verbal adjective that expressed result states. I will refer to themas *qaṭəl-* (< **qāṭel-*) and *qṭil-* respectively after the inflection of stem I strong verbs. The NENA *qaṭəl*-base corresponds to Ṭuroyo *qoṭəl-*, where **ā* has shifted to /o/ in open syllables. A so-called neuter class of mainly intransitive verbs in Ṭuroyo follows the pattern $C_1aC_2iC_3$ in the perfective, such as *damixo* 'she slept' for *dmx*. Historically, this goes back to a verbal adjective with a geminate second consonant, e.g. **dammīḵ* 'asleep', which should not be confused with NENA *qaṭəl-*.

Transitive clauses show a type of role reference inversion[7] conditioned by these inflectional bases (Noorlander forthcoming). The roles that the E-suffixes and L-suffixes refer to are different depending whether they attach to the imperfective or perfective base. This can be seen, for instance, in the following examples from Amidya (NW Iraq). While the L-suffixes mark the object in the *qaṭəl*-base for the verb *šmʾ* 'hear', they mark the agent in the *qṭil*-base, and *vice versa* for the E-series.

(5) Imperfective (J. Amidya, NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989, 102–04)

a. *k-šamʾ-i* *baxta*
IND-$\text{hear}_{\text{IPFV}}$-they woman
'They hear a woman.'

7 Or "agreement inversion" (Doron and Khan 2012). See also Polotsky (1979, 209; 1991, 266; 1994, 95), Hoberman (1989:96, 113), Mengozzi (2002b, 44–5), Noorlander (2018b, 119–23, 129, 408–10).

b. *k-šamʾ-i-**la**.*
IND-hear$_{IPFV}$-they-her
'They hear **her**.'

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

a. *šmeʾ-lu baxta.*
hear$_{PFV}$-they woman
'They heard a woman.'

b. *šmiʾ-**a**-lu.*
hear$_{PFV}$-her-they
'They heard **her**.'

Prominent objects are marked differentially via cross-indexing and/or prepositional marking. The definite object in (7) below, for instance, is marked consistently by the preposition (*ʾəl)l-* and triggers agreement throughout the constructional *qaṭəl-/qṭil*-split. In (7a), however, the L-suffix attached to *qaṭəl-* cross-indexes the object, whereas the E-suffix attached to *qṭil-* does so in in (7b).

(7) J. Arbel (NE Iraq; Khan 1999, 288–90)

a. ***ʾəl- ləxmá** mapé -ni -wā -**le***
DOM bread.MS bake$_{IPFV}$ -they -PST -it.M
'They baked (lit. it) **the bread**.'

b. *kābrá **lə-** **ʾanne** **beʾé** zəbn **-i** -le*
man.MS DOM- DEM.PL egg.PL sold$_{PFV}$ -them -he
'The man sold (lit. them) **those eggs**.'

In addition, agent focus can be expressed optionally by means of the preposition *(e)l-* combined with the agreement through L-suffixes in Ṭuroyo. The prepositional marking of the object and the agent are both optional. Additional cross-indexing of a prominent object is also optional in Ṭuroyo.[8] Contrast (8a) with (8b) below. Type (8b) is peculiar to the dialect of Raite (Waltisberg 2016, 186f.). Both can also be lacking altogether, as illustrated in (8c). The L-suffix that expresses the agent, however, is obligatory, cf. (8d) and (8e) below. Hence optional ergative prepositional marking is always accompanied by an agent L-suffix as illustrated in (8c).

(8) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

	[V	-A	-O]	[*l*→O]
a.	*k-ŭðʿ*	*-i*	***-le***	***l-u-zlām***
	IND-know$_{IPFV}$	-they	-him	DOM-the-man.M

‘They know **the man**.’ (Miden, Ritter 1967–1971, 81/49)

	[V-A]	[*l*→O]
b.	*g-ḥoze-∅*	***l-i-dăvăre***
	FUT-see$_{IPFV}$-he	DOM-the-breach.M

‘He will find **the breach** (in the wall).’ (Raite, ibid. 107/90)

	[V-A]		[O]
c.	*lo*	*k-ḥoze-∅*	***ú-aḥuno***
	NEG	PVB-see$_{IPFV}$-he	the-brother.M

‘He does not find **his brother**’ (Raite, ibid. 97/113)

8 See Waltisberg (2016, 189–90) for more examples.

	[V-A]	[*l*→A]	[O]
d.	*ḥze-**le***	***l-u-Ṭayawo***	*u-med-ano*
	saw$_{PFV}$-he	ERG-the-Muslim.MS	the-thing.MS-DEM.MS

'**The Muslim** saw this thing.' (ʿIwardo; ibid. 33/37)

	[A]	[V-A]	[O]
e.	***hano***	*ḥze-**le***	*u-Jorj*
	DEM.MS	saw$_{PFV}$-he	the-George

'**He** saw George.' (ʿIwardo; ibid. 56/106)

Thus both the nominal and verbal marking of objects is conditioned by the discourse salience of the argument. The verbal agreement with the agent, however, is obligatory. The prepositional marking of the agent is optional only in the preterite in Ṭuroyo.

1.3. Semi-Clitic L-Suffixes and Ditransitive Verbs

The L-suffixes show lingering features of their enclitic origin (Doron and Khan 2012, 231). First of all, they allow tense morphemes like *-wa-* to intervene, e.g.

(9) **C. Marga** (SE Turkey)

a. *garš-át-wa-**li***
pull$_{IPFV}$-you.MS-PST-me
'You$_{FS}$ used to pull **me**.'

b. *griš-át-wa-**li***
pulled$_{PFV}$-you.MS-PST-I
'**I** had pulled you$_{FS}$.'

Secondly, verbs generally only take one object affix. There are a number of dialects, however, that allow a verb to take more than one L-suffix, i.e. to stack L-suffixes. This occurs across the constructional split illustrated above. Thus, the first L-suffix always marks the (T)heme, i.e. the entity transferred to somebody, and the second marks the (R)recipient role in the *qaṭəl*-base inflection. Example (10) illustrates this where the first L-suffix *-nay* (i.e. *maxzən-* + *-lay* → *maxzən-nay*) expresses the T and the second L-suffix *-lux* expresses the R. This is generally only allowed when the T is third person.[9]

(10) **C. Marga** (SE Turkey)

[V-	-A	-T	-R]
maxz	*-ə́n*	***-nay***	***-lux***
$\text{show}_{\text{IPFV}}$	-I.M	-them	-you.MS

'I will show you_{MS} **them**.'

In a number of dialects, a second L-suffix is added to the perfective to express the R. Thus we find perfective forms in dialects like C. Marga such as (11) below where the first L-suffix *-li* (i.e. *mər-* + *-li* → *mər-ri*) marks the A, but the second one, *-lux*, marks the R.

(11) **C. Marga** (SE Turkey)

[V	-A	-R]
mə́r	*-ri*	*-lux*
said_{PFV}	-I	-you.MS

'I told you_{MS}.'

9 This third person restriction is documented for at least the *lišana deni* dialects J. Dohok (Molin and Noorlander field notes) and J. Zaxo (Cohen 2012, 163–65), as well as C. Artun (Hertevin, Jastrow 1988, 63).

Moreover, stacking of L-suffixes may occur even when the T is marked by the E-suffixes such as *-a* in (12) below.

(12) **C. Marga** (SE Turkey)

[V	-T	-A	-R]
ṭlib	*-á*	*-lay*	*-le*
betrothed$_{PFV}$	-her	-they	-him

'They betrothed her to him.'

This is also attested for rural dialects in Ṭuroyo (cf. Ritter 1990, 75), for example:

(13) Ṭuroyo

	[V	-T	-A	-R]
a.	*húw*	***-i***	*-le*	*-lalle*
	gave$_{PFV}$	-them	-he	-them

'**He** gave them **to them**.' (Miden, Ritter 1967–1971: 73/371)

Ṭuroyo, however, prefers an unmarked set of bound person markers[10] to express third person Ts[11] when both the T and R are bound pronouns, as exemplified in (13b) below.

10 These are identical to the third person forms of the copula that historically goes back to bound person markers, e.g. e.g. *ú-dawšo basímo-yo* 'The honey is nice'.

11 See Jastrow (1985, 137–38), Waltisberg (2016, 296), Noorlander (2018b, 341–45).

	[V	-A	-R	-T: 3]
b.	*hú*	*-li*	*-lalle*	***-yo***
	gave$_{PFV}$	-I	-them	-it.MS

'I gave them **it**$_{M}$ (the milk).' (ibd., 75/375)

In addition, a prepositional indirect object construction is available to all persons as well as all types of full nominals. Various dialect-dependent prepositions are used to mark the R independently of the verb. The respective preposition will vary significantly across as well as within dialects. Variants of the preposition (*ʾəl*)*l-* still occur, such as:

(14) Ṭuroyo (Miden, SE Turkey)

a.	*ʾát-tarʿone*	*mər-re*	***l-ú-malko***
	the-doorkeeper.MPL	said$_{PFV}$-they	to-the-king.MS

'The doorkeepers said **to the king**.
(Ritter 1967–1971, 81/16)

The prepositional recipient NP can trigger additional agreement by L-suffixes on the verb, to illustrate:

b.	*Gorgis*	*k-omar-∅-**re***	***l-áb-baqore***
	Gorgis	PRS-say$_{IPFV}$-he-them	to-the-cowherder.MPL

'Gorgis says **to the cowherders.**' (ibid. 115/164)

Several NENA dialects, however, make use of other (novel) prepositions such as *ṭ*(*l*)*a-*, *ta-*, *ba*(*q*)*-*, *qa-* etc., for example:

(15) C. Marga (SE Turkey)

xa	*mər-re*	***ta-d-ay-xena***
one	said$_{PFV}$-he	to-LNK-DEM-other

'One said **to the other**.'

Prepositional marking of the R is preferred when the T is a first or second person pronominal affix attached to the verb and when the R is a full nominal.[12]

Thus, full nominal recipients are generally prepositional. An extra L-suffix can express pronominal recipients in both NENA and Ṭuroyo for both the *qaṭəl-* and *qṭil*-based person marking. When the verb selects an additional L-suffix, it is confined to recipients found throughout the verbal system in Ṭuroyo and several NENA dialects. Third person themes can be marked through a different, unmarked set of bound person markers.

When such additional L-suffixes of the first and second person are added to *qṭil-* in Ṭuroyo, they also express the object of monotransitive verbs, e.g. *gróš-le-**li*** 'He pulled **me'**. One cannot say ***gróš-li-**le*** for 'I pulled **him**' (e.g. Noorlander 2018b, 340). Generally, NENA dialects do not add such object L-suffixes to *qṭil-* forms. Jewish dialects in Iranian Azerbaijan, however, such as Urmi and Salamas and several Christian dialects in SE Turkey such as Bohtan (Ruma; Fox 2009), Haṣṣan (Jastrow 1997; Damsma forthcoming), Umṛa and Jənnet (Noorlander field notes) use the L-suffixes for objects throughout the *qaṭəl-/qṭil*-split, i.e. *gróš-li-**le*** 'I pulled **him'**, cf. *garš-ax-**le*** 'We pull **him**'.[13]

12 See, among others, Hoberman (1989:106–10), Coghill (2010) and Noorlander (2018b, 129, 144–53, 172–74, 186–87, 395–402) for further studies of ditransitives in NENA and Waltisberg (2016) and Noorlander (2018b, 340–45) for Ṭuroyo.

13 See Noorlander (2018b, 220–30, 381, 429–30; 2019a-b; forthcoming) for a discussion.

The preterite illustrated in (6) above is known as the *šmīʿ l-* or *qṭīl l-*construction in Aramaic studies. Historically, it goes back to the resultative participle and an agent-like argument marked by *l-* . It developed from a stative-resultative to a preterite via a perfect. Views diverge as to its exact interpretation. It has been connected with possessors, experiencers and subject co-referential datives.[14] It lies beyond the scope of this article to address this issue here. It should be noted, however, that, while a connection between these 'non-canonical' subject construction types and the *šmiʿ l-*constructions developing into the preterite seems plausible to me in itself, we shall see that there are important distinctions. Forms like *grəš-li* 'I pulled' consist of L-suffixes that are marked for tense-aspect. They serve as inflectional agent suffixes of the preterite based on *qṭil-*. This is a notable distinction from the use of L-suffixes to express affectees, since they are found across different inflections and not just the *qṭil*-based forms. This difference is observed above for the recipient role but also extensions thereof that are the relics of a formerly dative argument.

2. Beneficiaries and Subject Co-referential L-suffixes

2.1. Beneficiaries

Apart from recipients of ditransitive verbs, L-suffixes can be added to any monotransitive verb to express an additional R-like affectee, as if it were an additional argument of the verb. The Ṭuroyo L-suffix *-lən* in (16), for example, expresses a beneficiary in a construction that is clearly derived from ditransitive constructions. The same holds for *-li* in (17) below to illustrate this for *lišana deni* dialects of NENA like J. Dohok:

14 See, among others, Noorlander (2012, 2018b, 2019a-b, forthcoming) and Coghill (2016).

(16) Ṭuroyo (Midyat, SE Turkey)

[V	-A	-R]	[T]
ftíḥ	*-le*	***-lən***	*ú-tarʿo*
opened$_{PFV}$	-he	-them	the-door.MS

‘He opened the door **for them**.’ (Ritter 1967–1971, 26/237)

(17) J. Dohok (NW Iraq)

[V	-A	-R]	[T]
ptə́x	*-le*	***-li***	*tăra*
opened$_{PFV}$	-he	-me	door.MS

‘He opened the door **for me.**’

The T-like argument can be pronominalised through the same unmarked set as in ditransitive constructions added to the L-suffix expressing the beneficiary in Ṭuroyo, e.g.

(18) Ṭuroyo (Midən, SE Turkey)

[V	-A	-R	-T]	[T]
sə́m	*-la*	***-li***	***-yo***	*zawgo d-gŭrwe*
made$_{PFV}$	-he	-them	-it	pair of-stockings

‘(From a ball of threads) she made **me** a pair of stockings.’ (Jastrow 1992, 138.12)

Indeed, both the A and the R-like affectee can be *l*-marked and cross-referenced by L-suffixes.[15] The *l*-marking of the A is pragmatically conditioned (agent/narrow focus), for example:

15 See also Waltsiberg (2016, 195) and Noorlander (2018b, 345–53; forthcoming).

(19) Ṭuroyo (ʿIwardo, SE Turkey)

	[V	-A	-R]	[A]
mən	***sə́m***	***-le***	***-le***	***l-u-šulṭono***
what	did_{PFV}	-he	-him	to-the-sultan.MS

[R]

l-u-ʿmiro

to-the-emir.MS

'… what ***the sultan*** has done **to the emir**.'
(Ritter 1967–1971, 36/87)

2.2. Subject Co-referential L-suffixes

An additional R-like argument expressed by the L-suffix can also denote an interested party, indirect affectee or benefactor that is co-referential with the subject. This is found across the verbal system for many telic dynamic verbs, including

(20) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a. imperfective:

∅-šot-ína	***-lan***	*qahwa*	*k̲eliḵe*
SBJV-$drink_{PFV}$-we	-us	coffee	an.instant

∅-məjġil-ína	***-lan***
SBJV-MEDP.$speak_{IPFV}$-we	-us

'Let **us** drink some coffee and have **ourselves** a chat for a moment.' (Midyat, ibid. 65/77)

b. imperative:

xu[16] ***-lux*** *faḵo*
eat.IMP -you.MS bite

'Have **yourself**$_{M}$ a bite to eat!' (Midən, ibid. 75/85)

c. perfective:

damix *-ən* ***-ne*** *b-dŭkθo*
slept$_{PFV}$ -they -them in-place.FS

'They slept (lit. **them**) somewhere.' (Midən, 115/97)

xí *-le* ***-le*** *faḵo*
ate$_{PFV}$ -he -him bite

'He had **himself** a bite to eat.' (Miden, 73/367)

Subject co-referential L-suffixes are not uncommon for verbs of position and motion in Ṭuroyo, e.g.

(21) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a. *yatu* *-∅* ***-le*** *əšmo*
sat$_{PFV}$ -he -him a.little

'**He** sat down a little.' (Miden, ibid. 77/238)

b. *qayəm* *-∅* ***-le*** ***Kandar***
rose$_{PFV}$ -he -him Kandar

'**Kandar** stood up.' (Midyat, Prym and Socin 1881, 23.29)

16 *xu-lux* < *xŭl-* 'eat!' + *-lux*.

c. *saləq* -∅ ***-le***
ascended$_{PFV}$ -he -him
'**He** went up.' (Midyat, Prym and Socin 1881, 117.3)

Indeed, co-referential L-suffixes have become special (stressed) inflectional endings in the high frequency motion verb *ʾzl* 'go' as well as the imperative forms of *ʾθy* 'come' in Ṭuroyo, replacing the original subject encoding. Because of this, the verb *ʾzl* has an irregular and unique inflection that is identical to the L-suffixes except for the 2pl. and 3pl., which take special endings, as shown in (22) below.

(22) Ṭuroyo inflection of *ʾzl* 'go'

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE	IMPERATIVE
1S	*əzz-í(-no)*	< **ʾozəl-li*	*azz-í(-no)*	
1PL	*əzz-án(o)*	< **ʾozəl-lan*	*azz-án(o)*	
2MS	*əzz-ṻx*	< **ʾozəl-lux*	*azz-ṻx*	*(i)z-ṻx !*
2FS	*əzz-áx*	< **ʾozəl-lax*	*azz-áx*	*(i)z-áx !*
2PL	*əzz-oxu*	< **ʾozəl-loxun*	*azz-oxu*	*(i)z-oxu !*
3MS	*əzz-é(yo)*	< **ʾozəl-leh*	*azz-é(yo)*	
3FS	*əzz-á(yo)*	< **ʾozəl-lah*	*azz-á(yo)*	
3PL	*əzz-ehən*	< **ʾozəl-lehen*	*azz-ehən*	

Presumably the final */l/* of the original root *ʾzl* played a role, yielding special endings because of the complete assimilation with the preceding */z/*. The 3s forms can be enhanced with *-yo*, which mimics its use in ditransitive constructions and creates a penultimate stress as in the first person *-no* in forms like *k-əzz-i-no* 'I'm going' and *k-əzz-an-o* 'We're going'. Subject co-referential L-suffixes can even be added instead, e.g.

(23) Ṭuroyo

a. *azz -e -**le*** (* < *az-* + *-le* + *-le*)
went$_{PFV}$ -he -him
'**He** went.' (Raite, Ritter 1967–1971, 95/4)

b. *azz -a -**la*** (* < *az-* + *-le* + *-le*)
went$_{PFV}$ -she -her
'**It**$_{F}$ reached.' (Raite,ibid. 95/27)

Importantly, no such conjugations are attested for *ʾzl* in the closely related Central Neo-Aramaic dialect Mlaḥsó. The imperfective and imperative do not take L-suffixes, e.g. ∅*-oz-ina* 'Let's go' and *iz-ewun* 'Go$_{PL}$!'. The L-suffixes function as subject markers for the preterite, e.g. preterite *azi-le* 'He went', against the perfect *azi-*∅ 'He has gone' (Jastrow 1994, 156). Only the pl. imperative of *ʾsy* 'come' in Mlaḥsó, e.g. ***toxun*** 'Come$_{PL}$!' does seem to parallel Ṭuroyo ***toxu***.

Subject co-referential datives also occur in NENA dialects. This is, for instance, common in the imperative of motion verbs[17], e.g. C. Urmi *ta-**lux*** 'Come$_{MS}$!, *si-**lux*** 'Go$_{MS}$!' (Khan 2016$_{II}$:151–52). It can also combine with other verbs and verbal forms expressing a beneficiary, e.g. *šqul-**lux** xa-dana ʾərba* 'Take a sheep **for yourself**' (ibid. 152), *zon-i-**lay** mexulta* 'They buy **themselves** food', *zvun-**nux** xaql-i* 'Buy$_{MS}$ (yourself$_{MS}$) my field!' (Polotsky 1996, 37, transcription modified).

The verb *ʾzl* is also highly irregular in Christian NENA dialects in SE Turkay and northern Iraq, especially on the Mosul plain. Both the *qaṭəl*-base and *qṭil*-base take L-suffixes as subject coding, as shown in (25) below, including after the 'past convertor' *-wa*, e.g. *k-zá-wa-la* 'She used to go'. Khan (2002, 120) assumes the base *za-* is a reduced form of the infinitive *ʾəzála*. Note also that

17 See Fassberg (2018: 113, incl. fn. 61) for more examples across NENA dialects.

the imperative of *ʾθy* 'come' has similarly irregular forms inflected with L-suffixes. (The imperative of *ʾzl* does not take L-suffixes in this dialect.)

(24) **C. Qaraqosh** (NW Iraq; Khan 2002, 120, 153, 155, 122)

	IMPERFECTIVE 'go'	PERFECTIVE 'go' cp.	IMPERATIVE
1S	*za-li*	*zəl-li*	'come'
1PL	*za-lan*	*zəl-lan*	
2MS	*za-lux*	*zəl-lux*	*ha-lux!*
2FS	*za-lax*	*zəl-lax*	*ha-lux!*
2PL	*za-lxun*	*zəl-xun*	*ha-lxu(n)!*
3MS	*za-lə*	*zəl-lə*	
3FS	*za-la*	*zəl-la*	
3PL	*za-lhən*	*zəl-hən*	

In Western Neo-Aramaic, subject co-referential L-suffixes are readily found in the imperative, e.g. *zubnu-**llxun*** 'Buy$_{\text{MPL}}$ **yourselves** (sth.)!', and are common with the verbs of motion *ʾty* 'come' and *zyl* 'go', and with the change-of-state verbs *qʿy* 'sit' and *ðmx* 'sleep, fall asleep' (Arnold 1990b, 238, cf. Spitaler 1938, 222, §196*o-p*):

(25) Western Neo-Aramaic (Maʿlula, SW Syria; Arnold 1990b:239, 174)

a. ***ni***- *ðmox* *-**laḥ*** *šaʿθa*
we- sleep -us hour
'Let **us** sleep for an hour.'

b. *θe* -∅ *-**le***
coming -he -him
'**He is** coming.'

c. *zli* ***-n*** ***-naḥ***
went -we -us
'**We** went.'

The imperative forms of *ʾθy* 'come' is thus regularly fused with L-suffixes in Western Neo-Aramaic (Arnold 1990b, 173) similarly to Ṭuroyo and NENA dialects on the Mosul Plain:

(26) Imperative of 'come' across Neo-Aramaic

	Western (Maʿlula)	Central (Ṭuroyo)	NENA(C. Qaraqosh)
MS	*θā-x*	*(i)t-ű́x !*	*ha-lux !*
FS	*θā-š*	*(i)t-áx !*	*ha-lux !*
PL	*θa-llxun* (m), *-llxen* (f)	*(i)t-oxu !*	*ha-lxu(n) !*

Subject co-referential datives (or ethical datives) were already common with such intransitive verbs in pre-Modern Aramaic and can be considered an archaic feature in Neo-Aramaic, e.g. *qum leḵ!* 'Arise$_{FS}$!' *qåm-∅ l-eh* 'He has risen' (see Fassberg 2018; cf. Joosten 1989). Fassberg (2018), following Ullendorff, argues the so-called ethical dative reflects the colloquial language. Several scholars claim the ethical dative influenced the emergence of intransitive verbal forms inflected with L-suffixes like *qəm-li* 'I rose' in NENA and Mlaḥsó (Mengozzi 2002b, 44; Halevy 2008; Fassberg 2018, 115). While this is conceivable, one should note that this dative endured as additional L-suffixes in the spoken varieties and did not disappear as a result (*pace* Fassberg 2018, 116). Moreover, where the original dative pronominal is conventionalized as inflectional morphemes of the verb, it is attested across the inflectional system, and thus not an inflectional property of *qṭil-* as verbal form *per se*.

2.3. Trans-Zab Jewish Dialects: *əll*-series

A different strategy comparable with subject co-referential L-suffixes exists in the so-called Trans-Zab Jewish dialects of NENA (Mutzafi 2008b). Certain intransitive verbs can take bound person markers derived from the independent set based on the preposition *ʾəll-*, constituting a secondary LL-series. They are impersonal, dummy pronouns belonging to the 3ms. or 3fs. in intransitive predicates functioning like a middle voice marker (Mengozzi 2006). They are not co-referential with the subject but seem to express the telic endpoint, for example:

(27) J. Koy Sanjaq (NE Iraq; Mutzafi 2004, 104, 229)

a. *nə́x-li-**llaw***
rested$_{PFV}$-I-it.F
'I rested (lit. **it**$_F$)'

b. *ytíw-li-**llaw***
sat$_{PFV}$-I-it.F
'I sat (lit. **it**$_F$)'

(28) **J. Saqqiz** (W Iran; Israeli 1998, 49)

*dmíx-i-**lev***
slept$_{PFV}$-they-it.M
'They slept (lit. **it**$_M$)'

3. Morphosyntax of Possessors in Neo-Aramaic

Possession can be expressed in various ways in Neo-Aramaic languages (Noorlander 2018b, 154–58).[18] The focus here will be on the possessor marking strategies that are related to the original dative preposition *l-*. I should note briefly, however, that possession can be expressed adnominally by means of nominal suffixes, e.g. *bab-i* 'my father', *bab-ax* 'your$_{FS}$ father'. There also reflexes of a historical adnominal linker **d̲* that are used to denote possession through nominal annexation,[19] e.g.

(29) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a. *í-barθo* ***d-ú-*** *malko*
the-daughter.FS of-the king.MS
'the king's daughter'

Nouns that are marked by such a linker can also occur independently, for example as the nominal element of the predicate:

b. *í-baxč-aṯe-ste* ***d-ú-*** *malko* *-wa*
the-garden.FS-DEM.FS-FOC of-the king.MS -was
'This garden **belonged to** the king', lit. 'was the king's' (Midyat, Ritter 1967–1971, 24/164).

There are independent possessive/genitive pronouns derived from this particle with augmentation, for example:

18 See Stilo and Noorlander (2015, 473–76) for an areal perspective.

19 See Gutman (this volume, cf. 2016) for an overview of such constructions.

c.	*í-gweto*	***díð-***	***i***	*-yo*
	the-chees.FS	of	my	-it.is

'The cheese is **mine**!' (Midyat, ibid. 22/2).

3.1. Possessor Marked by L-suffixes Only

Predicative possession is based in existential clauses introduced by the dialectal reflexes of the existential marker **ʾiθ-* 'there is/are'. This uninflectable particle is negated by the negator *la* (in NENA and Ṭuroyo) in a form going back to **la-yθ-* 'there is/are not', and for past tense by the suffix *-wa*, e.g. **ʾiθ-wa* 'there was/were' (in NENA and Ṭuroyo), similarly to verbs. The preverbal TAM-marker *k-* typical for the indicative-durative present is always combined with it in Ṭuroyo, e.g. *k-ito* 'There is'. Together with L-suffixes they express predicative possession, e.g. *kət-li* 'I have'. In Western Neo-Aramaic, the existential particle is reduced to *ī-* or *ū-* before L-suffixes, e.g. *ī-le* 'He has' (Arnold 1990a, 185). The negator is *čū* and the past particle is *wa* preceding the predicate, e.g. *čū-le* 'He has not', *wa ī-le* 'He had'. The L-suffix in Neo-Aramaic marks the possessor which is reminiscent of their use as markers of the recipient (i.e. 'T belongs to R').

The co-referential nominal, however, is usually not prepositional. Thus, (30a) below presents a simple existential predicate in Ṭuroyo. (30b) illustrates the additional L-suffix expressing the R-like possessor without a co-nominal referent. In (30b), the possessor NP *ú-malk-ano* 'this king' is zero-marked but the L-suffix cross-references it, indexing its role as the possessor. The unmarked set of independent pronouns is similarly used to express the possessor, as illustrated in (30c).

(30) Ṭuroyo

a. ***kit*** ***-wo*** *malko*
EXST -PST king.MS

‘**There once was** a king.’ (Midyat, Ritter 1967–1971, 99/2)

b. *ú-malk-ano* ***kit*** ***-way*** ***-le*** *greʿo*
the-king:MS-DEM.MS EXST -PST -him servant.MS

‘This king **had** a servant’ (Midyat, ibid. 99/3)

c. *ono* ***kit*** ***-way*** ***-li*** *ʿezo*
I EXST -PST -him goat.FS

‘I **had** a goat.’ (ʿIwardo, ibid. 57/151)

The same holds for NENA, as illustrated below for the Christian dialect of Urmi.

(31) C. Urmi (NW Iran)

a. ***ʾət*** ***-va*** *xa-dana* *-málca*
EXST -PST a-CLF -king.MS

‘**There once was** a king.’ (Khan 2016$_{IV}$: A 2:1)

b. *ʾaha* *malca* ***ʾə́t*** ***-va*** ***-lə*** *⁺t̂la* *bnunə*
DEM.MS king.MS EXST -PST -him three sons.PL

‘This king **had** three sons.’ (ibid. A 39:1)

c. *ana* ***ʾə́t*** ***-li*** *⁺xabra*
I EXST -me news

‘I **have** news.’ (ibid. A 1:37)

Possessors are generally also expressed by an L-suffix in Western Neo-Aramaic such as *ī-le* 'He has' and *ī-l* 'I have' in the following examples. The possessor co-nominal itself is zero-marked.

(32) Western Neo-Aramaic

a. ***wōθ*** *b-zamōne* *malka*
PST.EXST in-time king.MS

'Once upon a time **there was** a king.' (Arnold 1991b, 20.1)

b. *hanna* *malka* ***ī-le*** *ebra*
DEM.MS king.MS EXST-him son.MS

'This king **had** a son.' (ibid.)

c. *ana* ***ī-l*** *ḥammeš* *emʿa* *ðahb*
I EXST-me five hundred gold

'I **have** five hundred gold pieces.'
(ibid. 294/296.29)

3.2. (External) Possessors Marked on Verbs

3.2.1. The Verb *hwy* 'be', 'become', 'beget'

The predicative possessor constructions are marked for particular tense, aspect and mood (TAM) values like verbs. The verb *hwy* stands in a suppletive relation to the existential markers to express other TAM categories such as the future tense and subjunctive. The verb remains impersonal like the existential marker. Its inflection is identical with the 3ms. -∅ E-suffix. The L-suffix is added to the verb, for example

(33) Ṭuroyo (Miden, SE Turkey)

Baṣuṣ *gt-owe-**le*** *abro*
Baṣuṣ FUT-be$_{IPFV}$-him son

‘**Baṣuṣ** will **have** a son.’ (Ritter 1967–1971, 115/309)

(34) C. Urmi (NW Iran)

ʾana *t̂-avi-**li*** *ʾarxe*
I FUT-be$_{IPFV}$-me guests

‘**I** will **have** guests.’ (Khan 2016$_{IV}$, A11:1)

When L-suffixes are attached to the verb *hwy*, the construction can semantically entail a process, i.e. ‘become’, rather than a state, i.e. ‘be’. The verb can be used to convey ‘be born’. The L-suffix denotes an R-like affectee, i.e. the one who begot the child, for example:

(35) Ṭuroyo (Midyat, SE Turkey)

ú-tajər ***hawi-le*** *barθo*
the-merchant.MS be.born-him daughter.FS

‘The merchant **begot** a daughter’ (Ritter 1967–1971, 23/4)

(36) C. Urmi (Literary, NW Iran; Polotsky 1979, 211–12)

a. *vazir* ***bət-*** ***havi*** ***-lə*** *brata*
vizier FUT- be.born **-him** daughter.FS

‘The vizier **will have/beget** a daughter.’

In C. Urmi, the verb takes a 3fs. L-suffix in the *qṭil*-based preterite (Khan 2016$_{II}$, 396) such as *vi-la-**lə** bruna* ‘He begot a son’, lit. ‘It$_{F}$ (impersonal) was born to him a son’, below:

b.	*vazir*	***ví***	***-la***	*-**lə***	*bruna*
	vizier	be.born	-it.F	-**him**	son

‘The vizier **had/begot** a son.’

Pronominal objects are otherwise not marked through L-suffixes on the *qṭil*-based preterite verb in such dialects. Forms like ***grəš-la-li* for intended ‘She pulled me’ do not occur. The secondary L-suffix is clearly reminiscent of the stacking of L-suffixes in ditransitive constructions in dialects like C. Marga and *lišana deni* Jewish dialects, cf. (37) below. This indicates how the L-suffix is considered an R-like argument in the system and expressed by an L-suffix regardless of the inflectional base, cf. (37a) below taken from the Jewish dialect of Dohok.

(37) J. Dohok (Molin and Noorlander field notes)

a.	*hú*	***-le***	***li***	*pare*
	gave$_{PFV}$	-he	me	money.PL

‘**He** gave **me** money.’

Apart from (37), examples (33)–(36) above are impersonal like the predicative possessor constructions. The verb *hwy* can also agree with the possessee in an external possessor construction. The possessor is expressed as an affectee part of the verbal predicate independently of the nominal possesee. For instance, the verb agrees with the possessee *yalunke* ‘children’ in (37b) below but takes an additional L-suffix to denote the possessor. The possessor is expressed as an argument of the verb.

b. *hwé* ***-lu*** *li* ***yalunk****-e*
be.born$_{PFV}$ -they me child-MPL

'I begot **children**.'
(lit. **Children** were born unto me)

The verb *hwy* can also be inflected for person and combine with the L-suffix not to convey a strict sense of belonging but a broader sense of relation, i.e. 'X is/becomes Y with respect to somebody'. The construction parallels ditransitive verbs. Only in this sense can the pronominal possessee be expressed in the same way as the theme in ditransitives such as *-yo* , for example in (36b):

(38) Ṭuroyo (ʿIwardo, SE Turkey)

a. ***hat*** *∅-how* ***-at*** ***-lan*** *qašo*
you.S SBJV-become$_{IPFV}$ -you.S -us priest.MS

'(We want) that **you** become our priest.' (Ritter 1967–1971, 33/83)

b. *∅-howe* *-lan* ***-yo*** *qašo*
SBJV-become$_{IPFV}$ -us -it priest.MS

'(We want) you to be our priest.' (lit. to become **it** for us,—a priest) (ibid. 33/84)

The same combination can also be modal. This is recorded in Ritter's corpus of Ṭuroyo. It is accompanied by negation denoting inability, for example:

c. ***ló*** ***k-owe*** ***-li*** *-yo* *d-əzz-i-no*
NEG IND-be$_{IPFV}$ -me -it SBJV-go$_{IPFV}$-me-I

'**I cannot** go.' (ibid. 63/378)

The expression of ability through predicative possessors is also recorded in Trans-Zab Jewish varieties (e.g. Khan 2004, 311, 364), *ma ʾit-wa-lu hol-i-wa* 'What could they do?', *ʾana kwe-li* 'I will be able'.

3.2.2. External Possessors

Sporadically, L-suffixes can express a possessor-like affectee of verbal predicates akin to example (1g) from Hebrew. At least one such instance where the secondary L-suffix marks an external possessor is attested in Mlaḥsó:

(39) Mlaḥsó (Lice, SE Turkey)

ṭafloki	*mís*	*-le*	***-li***
a.child	died_{PFV}	-he	-me

'One child **of mine** died (on me).' (Jastrow 1994, 124.121)

Such external possessors are also attested in NENA dialects where the second L-suffix marks the R in *qṭil-*. The possessor is added as an R-like affectee in both the *qaṭəl-* and *qṭil*-based inflection such as the construction in J. Dohok given in (40). Its usage in J. Dohok does not seem to have a clear distribution. Coghill (2019, 368) notes that apart from *pyš* 'remain', it is confined to telic intransitives in C. Telkepe (NW Iraq), such as *myθ* 'die', *ʔθy* 'come' and *bry* 'happen'.

(40) **J. Dohok** (Molin and Noorlander field notes)

mɔ́t	*-lu*	***-li***	*yalunke*
died_{PFV}	-they	-me	children

'**My** children died (on me).'

An L-suffix denoting an R-like argument can be added to intransitive verbs in Ṭuroyo. It can be combined with the verbs *fyš* 'remain', *qyθ* 'hit, touch, meet', *ʾθy* 'come' and *mṭy* 'arrive'. Since these motion verbs denote movement towards an endpoint, these constructions typically convey a sense of reception, e.g.

(41) Ṭuroyo (Midyat, SE Turkey)

qayəṭ- ***-le*** *rŭmḥo* *bə-droʿ-e*
stuck$_{PFV}$ -him spear.FS in-arm-his

'A spear hit **his** arm.' (lit. hit **him** in **his** arm') (Prym and Socin 1881, 141.11)

The additional L-suffix and *-yo* on the intransitive verb parallels ditransitive constructions. Compare *aθí-∅-**li-yo*** 'I received **it**' and *mšadál-le-**li-yo*** 'He sent **me it**' in (42) below.

(42) Ṭuroyo (Midən, SE Turkey)

k- *aθi* *-∅* ***-li*** *səsyo* *m-ú-ʿmiro*
PERF- came$_{PFV}$ -it.M -me horse.MS from-the-emir.MS

'**I** received a horse from the emir'

aθí *-∅* ***-li*** ***-yo,*** *mšadál* *-le* ***-li*** *-yo*
came$_{PFV}$ -it.M -me -it sent$_{PFV}$ -he -me -it

'I received **it**, he sent **me it**.' (Ritter 1967–1971, 81/55)

3.2.3. Trans-Zab Jewish Dialects: *əll-* and *-la-l-*series

Occasionally, one also finds prepositional external possessors in NENA attached to the verbal base. An LL-series of person markers based on the preposition (*ʾəl*)*l-* is used to express the external possessor as illustrated for J. Arbel below.

(43) J. Arbel (NE Iraq; Khan 1999, 292)

yāle	*rāba*	*míl-lu-**llaw***
children	very.much	died_{PFV}-they-her

‘Many **of her** children died.’

Western Iranian dialects such as J. Saqqiz and J. Sanandaj use the morpheme *-la-*[20] as base for the L-suffixes to express predicative possession together with the verb ‘become’ (Khan 2009, 88–90, 301–02). This *la-* is possibly a relic of a former impersonal L-suffix *-la* ‘it_{F}’, i.e. *xír-la-li* ‘It_{F} became to me’ → ‘I have’. Full possessor NPs are zero-marked and can occupy pre-verbal position as illustrated in (44) below. The verbal base *xir* is invariable like the existential marker and does not agree with, for instance, indefinite plural nouns such as *puḷe* ‘money’ in J. Sanandaj *ʾaná hămešá puḷé xír-la-li* ‘I have always had money’ (Khan 2009, 302). This *lal*-series, therefore, serves as a special set of person markers, identifying their role as the most salient affectee.

(44) J. Sanandaj (W Iran; Khan 2009, A:108)

Nadər Šāh ʾAfšār	*raba*	*qudr-éf*
Nadir Shah Afshar	very.much	power.MS-his

xír-la-	***-le***
$\text{became}_{\text{PFV}}$-it.F	-him

‘**Nadir Shah Afshar** had a lot of power.’

20 Khan (2009, 89) notes “the element *la-* is likely to be a fossilised form of a 3fs. copula form **ila*”. It also possible it is an L-suffix used impersonally.

3.3. Prepositional Marking of Possessors

3.3.1. Possessor Marked by *l-* Only

The independent possessor argument is generally zero-marked in NENA. Alternative expressions do exist where the possessor is prepositional in some varieties of NENA such as J. Sulemaniyya combined with a 3ms. copula in (33b) below.

(45) J. Sulemaniyya (NE Iraq)

belá	***ʾəll-ew***	*-ye*
house.MS	to-him	-it.is.M

'The house belongs **to him**.' (Khan 2004a, 336, 362)

Similarly, sporadically, a predicative possessor can be expressed independently by means of the preposition *(e)l-* in Ṭuroyo, e.g.

(46) Ṭuroyo (SE Trukey)

i-dŭkθo	*kul-a*	***el-ŭx***	*-yo*
the-place.FS	all-her	to-you.MS	-it.is

'The whole place belongs **to you**$_{FS}$ (Midən, Ritter 1967–1971, 115/240)

Unlike the rest of Neo-Aramaic, however, the predicative possessor is always independent in Mlaḥsó. The possessor is expressed as an independent dative (pro)noun such as *eli* 'to me' in (47). The possessee controls the agreement of the verb *hwy* 'be'. Jastrow (1994) does not appear to provide examples of full nominal possessors in Mlaḥsó.

(47) Mlaḥsó (SE Turkey; Jastrow 1994, 76.19)

a. *hito* ***el-i*** *ḥosoki*
there.is to-me a.sister
'**I have** a sister.'

b. *zʿure* ***el-i*** *lo-ve* *-len*
children to-me not-were/became$_{PFV}$ -they
'**I** did not **have** children / No children were born **to me**.'

Sporadically, a full nominal possessor can also be prepositional in Western Neo-Aramaic, for example:

(48) Western Neo-Aramaic

wōθ ***l-aḥḥað*** ***ġabrōna*** *eččθa*
there.was to-one man.MS woman.FS
'**A certain man** had a wife.' (Arnold 1991b, 8.1)

Note that, in these cases, the possessor is marked only by a preposition just like the examples from Hebrew in (1).

3.3.2. Possessor Marked by *l-* and L-suffixes

The possessor can be optionally marked through the preposition *l-* in addition to the L-suffix in Ṭuroyo.[21] This includes predicative possessors such as (49a) and R-like affectees such as (49b-c).

21 See Waltisberg (2016, 125) for more examples.

(49) **Ṭuroyo** (SE Turkey)

a. *ma kət-**le** **l-ú-malk-ano***
Q EXST-him DAT-the-king-DEM.MS
'What does **the king** have?'
(ʿIwardo, Ritter 1967–1971: 58/3, 57/12)

b. ***l-ú-ḥakəm** hawi **-le** barθo*
DAT-the-overlord became$_{PFV}$ -him daughter.FS
'**The overlord** (be)got a daughter.' (ʿIwardo, Ritter 1967–1971, 59/5)

c. *aθi-**le** **l-ú-malko** nă'ame*
came$_{PFV}$-him to-the-king.MS ostritch.FS
'**The king** received an ostrich.' (Miden, ibid. 58)

The optionality of the prepositional marking of the possessor alongside the L-suffix is reminiscent of the morphosyntax of agents in the Ṭuroyo *qṭil*-based preterite (cf. Diem 2012). This strategy to combine the preposition *l-* and L-suffixes does not occur in NENA.

3.4. Transitivisation of Possessive Constructions

Predicative possessive constructions have undergone transitivisation in NENA and Ṭuroyo in that the L-suffixes are obligatory person markers like verbal inflection. Apart from the L-suffixes, the construction remains impersonal. The possessee does not control agreement and does not trigger differential object marking. Generally speaking, even when a possessee could still be contextualised through anaphora such as where English would use a pronominal object for 'to have', it will tend to remain implicit in Neo-Aramaic. Forms like *ʾət-li* or *kət-li* could also mean 'I have it$_F$/it$_M$' or 'I have them'. This raises the question of how

transitivised the predicative possessive construction are in being compatible with pronominal objects like transitive clauses in general.

There are indeed cases where the transitivisation seems to be more advanced and pronominal objects are overtly expressed. This, for instance, applies when the possessee is first or second person. First and second person pronominal objects differ across dialects. The possessee can be expressed as a pronominal object either through the unmarked set of independent pronouns, e.g.

(50) C. Shaqlawa (NW Iraq)

a. *ʾaxni* ***ʾahat*** *ʾət-an*[22]
we you.S EXST-us
'We have **YOU**$_{S}$' (Khan field notes)

This parallels the use of independent personal pronouns in transitive clauses to express focal objects, for example:

b. *ʾaxni* ***ʾahat*** *qam-xaz-əx-lux*
we you PFV-see-we-you.MS
'We saw **YOU**$_{FS}$'

If available, the possessee can also be expressed through a dedicated set of prepositional pronominal objects, e.g.

(51) C. Urmi (NW Iran)

a. *ʾaxnan* ***qatux*** *ʾət-lan*
we you EXST-us
'We have **you**$_{MS}$' (Noorlander field notes)

22 *ʾət-an* > **ʾət-tan* < *ʾət-lan* (through assimilation).

In the latter, the marking of the possessee clearly patterns like that of objects of *qṭil*-based preterite verbal forms where the agent is expressed by the L-suffixes, e.g.

b. *ʾaxnan* ***qatux*** *xze-lan*
we you saw$_{PFV}$-us
'We saw **you**$_{MS}$'

A few NENA dialects in SE Turkey such as Artun (Hertevin), Umṛa and Jənnet mark the object on the transitive *qṭil*-based perfective by means of additional L-suffixes, e.g. *grə́š-le-la* 'He pulled it$_F$'. The marking of the possessee is the same as the object in the predicative possessor construction, e.g. *ʾə́t-le-la* 'He has it$_F$'. It has taken over the full agent and object marking morphology of the perfective (see the examples below). When object L-suffixes like *-la* 'it$_F$' are added to *grəš-lax* 'You$_{FS}$ pulled', first and second person agents are marked by a special set one could call the L-E-series yielding *grə́š-lət-ta* 'You$_{FS}$ pulled it'.[23] The same transitive verbal coding occurs in the predicative possessor construction, e.g. *ʾət-lət-ta* 'You$_{FS}$ have it$_F$'. Moreover, these transitive constructions are used when full nominal possessees trigger differential marking. Thus the indefinite possessee in (52a) functions like an indefinite object in (52c)but the definite possessee in (52b) triggers cross-indexing like a definite object in (52d).

(52) **C. Artun** (Hertevin, SE Turkey; Jastrow 1988, 67, 160.541–542)

a. *ana* *lət* *-li* *hay*
I EXST -me knowledge.FS
'I don't have knowledge.'

23 See Noorlander (2018b, 242–49, forthcoming) for a detailed discussion of the verbal person marking in C. Artun (Hertevin).

b. *lə́t* *-lə́n* ***-na*** *hay*
EXST -I -**it**.F knowledge.FS
'I don't have **the** knowledge.'

c. *ḥzé* *-li* *baxta*
saw$_{PFV}$ -I woman
'I saw a woman.'

d. *ḥzé* *-lə́n* ***-na*** *baxta*
saw$_{PFV}$ -I -**her** woman
'I saw **the** woman.'

It should be noted, however, that this is not acceptable in the majority of dialects. Speakers of J. Dohok, for example, do not readily accept pronominalisation of the possessee in predicative possessor constructions. They disfavour expressions like ***ʾətli ʾahat* 'I have you$_{FS}$' and circumvent this by choosing constructions involving independent possessive pronouns akin to English 'You$_{FS}$ are mine'.

3.5. Verboid *bas-* 'enough'

A related verboid construction in NENA based on the particle *bas-* 'enough' is generally inflected with suffixes going back to possessor-like L-suffixes that have assimilated to the preceding /s/. The possessee-like complement of the quantifier *bas*, i.e. that which is possessed in a satisfactory amount such as *xaye* 'life' below, is prepositional (*m-*), e.g.

(53) C. Barwar (NW Iraq)

bass-i *m-xáye*
enough-me from-life.PL

'**I have had enough** of my life' (Khan 2008a, 1241).

The original L-suffix can still be observed in the past equivalent, e.g. *bas-wa-li* 'I had had enough'. Depending on the dialect, the copula can also be added to this to express the referent of the quantifier *bass-*, e.g.

(54) C. Urmi (NW Iran)

báss	*-ux*	*-ila*
enough	-you.MS	-it.is.F

'**That**$_{F}$ **is** enough for you.' (Khan 2016$_{I}$, 585)

The same particle is fully inflectable for L-suffixes in Ṭuroyo, as illustrated below. Unlike (53) above, the possessee is not prepositional but zero-marked or expressed by a copula:

(55) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a.

ono	*bas*	***-li***	*áḥ-ḥay-ayði*
I	enough	-me	the-life.PL-my

'**I have had** enough with my life.' (Midən, Talay 2004, 72.144)

b.

ʿəmṛ-i	*bás*	*-li*	***-yo***
age.MS-my	enough	-me	-it.is

'I am old enough (to die).' (Midən, ibid. 50.42)

The structure is at least superficially similar to ditransitives in that the T-like person markers are identical with the copula.

4. Morphosyntax of Experiencers in Neo-Aramaic

There are numerous ways in which experiencers are encoded in Neo-Aramaic. One should note that some of the constructions discussed in what follows also have equivalent expressions in other dialects involving a different structure. In impersonal experiencer constructions, for instance, experiencers can also be expressed adnominally through agreeing possessive suffixes, e.g.

(56) C. Marga (SE Turkey)

a. ***ʾana*** *xə́mm-**i*** *-le*
I heat.MS-my -it.is.M
'I am hot.' (lit. My heat is).

b. ***d-mə́ni*** *-la* *qarsa*
of-whom -it.is.F cold.FS
'**Who** is cold?' (lit. Whose coldness is?)

Adnominal possession is the regular expression of the experiencer of the physiological sates of 'heat' and 'cold' in Western Iranian Jewish varieties of NENA. An adnominal possessor encodes the agreement with the experiencer on the NP denoting the sensation:

(57) J. Saqqiz (W Iran)

brat-í *qard-**ev**-ya*
daughter-my cold.FS-her-it.is.F

'**My daughter** feels cold.' (lit. Her coldness is)
(Israeli 1998, 170)

This is an areal phenomenon found across languages in West Asia, including the Neo-Aramaic speaking area.[24] It regularly features in neighbouring Iranian varieties where the experiencer is marked in the so-called 'oblique' case or through pronominal clitics that also denote the possessor and the agent in the past (Haig 2018b, 132–33, 2018c, 286–87), for example:

(58) Northern Kurdish (Behdini, NW Iraq)

min *sar* *e*
me.'OBL' cold is

'**I** am cold' (Haig 2018b, 132)

(59) Persian (Iran)

man *sard-**am*** *ast*
I coldness-my is

'**I** am cold' (lit. my coldness is)

There are cases where the experiencer is expressed as the object. For example, the verb *ʿjb* 'please, like', borrowed from Arabic, takes object suffixes in Western Neo-Aramaic just like the corresponding verb in Arabic, e.g.

(60) Western Neo-Aramaic (Maʿlula, NW Syria)

ana *aʿžb-īš-**n***
I pleased-you.FS-me

'**I** like you$_{FS}$.' (Arnold 1991, 140.42)

24 See Khan (2016$_{II}$, 355–59)

It will become clear, however, that experiencers are construed as R-like affectees similarly to possessors in the previous discussion.

4.1. Experiencer Marked by L-suffixes Only

4.1.1. Transitive Verbs

Apart from beneficiaries and predicative possessors, L-suffixes can denote experiencers. In several (Christian) NENA dialects (and Ṭuroyo), verbs like I *bsm*, II/III *ʿjb* and I *hny* (variants include *nny* and *nhy*) are impersonal experiencer predicates conveying more or less the equivalent to English 'like', 'please' or 'enjoy', as illustrated for Ṭuroyo and C. Barwar below.

(61) Ṭuroyo (Mzizaḥ, SE Turkey)

aḥun-i	*bosam-∅-way-**le***	*ú-dawšo*
brother-my	was.pleasant$_{\text{IPFV}}$-it.M-PST-him	honey.MS

'**My brother** used to like honey.'

(62) C. Barwar (NW Iraq)

xon-i	*basəm-∅-wa-**le***	*duša*
brother-my	please$_{\text{IPFV}}$-it.M-PST-him	honey.MS

'**My brother** used to like honey' (Khan 2008a, B8:12)

There are other verbs across NENA dialects that display the same pattern, such as *wjj* 'care' (J. Amidya NW Iraq; Hoberman 1989, 226), *ṭwy* 'be worth, merit', *ʾby* 'want, need', *mly* 'be enough' (J. Betanure NW Iraq; Mutzafi 2008a, 88–89), *mṭy* 'deserve, lit. arrive, reach' (J. Zaxo NW Iraq; Cohen 2012, 144).

When the experiencer verb is impersonal apart from the L-suffix, it takes non-referential 3ms. or 3fs. morphology. Unlike

NENA, the verb *bsm* is stative 'was pleasant/nice' or inchoative 'became pleasant/nice' in Ṭuroyo.[25] It takes the $C_1aC_2iC_3$-pattern in the perfective typical for non-referential 3ms. morphology, for example:

(63) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a. *basəm-∅-**le…*** *íy-itawto* *d-ʿawwəl*
was.pleasant$_{PFV}$-it.M-him the-sitting.FS of-before

'**He** (lit. **Him**) enjoyed (once again) sitting idly like earlier times.' (Midən, Ritter 1967–1971, 77/219)

The stimulus can be pronominalised like themes in a ditransitive construction, such as *-yo* in the following example:

b. *ú-dawšo* *basəm-∅-**li*** ***-yo***
the-honey.FS was.pleasant$_{PFV}$-it.M -him it

'The honey—**I (**lit. **Me)** liked **it**.'(Mzizaḥ)

It would seem that there are also constructions where *-yo* is effectively non-referential. This is at least the case in fixed expressions of the following kind:

c. *ġălabe* *kary-ó-la* ***-yo*** *ʿal* *i-səsto*
very.much upset$_{PFV}$-it.F -her it on the-mare.FS

d-ú-babo
LNK-the-father:MS

'She (lit. Her **it**) was very upset about her father's mare.' (Ritter 1967–1971, 107/121)

25 Similarly, the verb *ḥly* 'sweet', e.g. *ḥaly-o-li* 'I liked her'.

The stimulus, however, can still control agreement and be referential, as is the case with the stimulus of *lʒm* 'need' (56d-e) below.

d. *ono* *l-mə* *g-* *ləʒm* ***-i*** *-li*
I for-what PVB- need$_{IPFV}$ -they -me
'What do I need **them** (i.e. gold pieces) for?' (Midən; Ritter 1967–1971, 44/146)

e. *ú-yawmo* *d-* *lŭʒm* ***-at*** *-lan* *itű́x*
the-day.MS REL need$_{IPFV}$ -you.S -us come.IMP
'Come the day we need **you**$_S$!' (Midyat, letter, Ritter 1990, 207)

In NENA, the *qṭil*-based form of the experiencer predicate inflects for two L-suffixes such as (64b) and (65b) below. The first represents the impersonal coding, which is expressed by the E-suffix in the *qaṭəl*-based forms in (64a) and (65a), and the second denotes the R-like experiencer in both (64a-b) and (65a-b).

(64) C. Marga (NW Iraq)

a. ***ʾana*** *basəm-∅-**li*** *ʾixala*
I please-it.MS-me food.MS
'**I** like the food.'

b. ***ʾana*** *bsə́m-le-**li*** *ʾixala*
I pleased-it.MS-me food.MS
'**I** liked the food.'

(65) J. Dohok (NW Iraq; Molin and Noorlander fieldnotes)

a. ***ana*** *g-ʿajəb-∅-**li*** *xabuše*
I IND-pleases$_{\text{IPFV}}$-it.M-me apples.PL
'**I** like apples.'

b. ***ana*** *ʿjáb-le-**li*** *xabuše*
I IND-pleases$_{\text{IPFV}}$-it.M-me apples.PL
'**I** liked apples.'

The only example known to me where Western Neo-Aramaic has similarly grammaticalised an experiencer L-suffix is the verb 'want' in the dialect of Jubbʿadin. The L-suffix attaches to an uninflected form *be-*, e.g. *bē-le* (< **bʿē l-eh* 'Him wanted'), the originally 3ms. form of the resultative participle **bʿē* of *bʿy* 'want' (Arnold 1990a, 192). *bēle* (like *batte* in the other Western dialects) developed under influence of the corresponding construction *bədd-o* 'He wants' < 'In his wish' in local Arabic varieties. The experiencer nominal is zero-marked and controls the agreement expressed by the L-suffix:

(66) Jubbʿadin (SW Syria)

a. *wa* ***zalmθa*** *bē-**le*** *y-ʿammar* *ðorča*
PST somebody want-him he-build place
'**Somebody** wanted to build a house.'
(Arnold 1990b, 16.1)

b. ***hi*** *bē-**la*** *č-ʿōwet*
she want-her she-return
'**She** wants to return.' (ibid. 78.45)

Similar impersonal 'want' constructions occur in Ṭuroyo and NENA to convey the sense of 'need'. The L-suffix expresses the person lacking something:

(67) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

kə-	*bʿe*	***-lux***	*sayfo*	*kayiso*
PVB	want	-you.MS	sword.MS	good.MS

'**You** need a good sword.' (Prym and Socin 1881, 141.25)

(68) J. Betanure (NW Iraq)

g-	*bé*	*wā*	***-leni***	*ṛāba*	*ṣiwe*
PVB	want	PST	-us	very.much	wood.PL

'**We** needed a great deal of wood.' (Mutzafi 2008a, 142.33)

4.1.2. Intransitive Verbs

The L-suffix denoting the experiencer can even be added to an intransitive predicate such as the verb *ʾty* 'come' and *ʾwr* 'pass' in C. Urmi and J. Dohok. The mental state is expressed through an NP somehow reaching the experiencer.

(69) C. Urmi (Literary NW Iran; Polotsky 1979, 212)

+***ʾav***	*ti*	*-la*	***-lə***	*muxabən*	*d-an*
he	came_{PFV}	-it_{F}	-him	pity.FS	of-DEM.PL

taxmanyatə
thoughts:PL

'**He** was sorry for those thoughts.'

(70) J. Dohok (NW Iraq; Molin and Noorlander fieldnotes)

wə́r	*-ra*	***-li***	*xšuta*	*b-reš-i*
passed$_{PFV}$	-it.F	-me	thought.FS	in-head-my

'**I** thought a thought in my mind.'

Verbal experiencer predicates can comprise an NP denoting the mental state or process somehow reaching the experiencer expressed through the L-suffix as illustrated in (71). Note that in (71a) and (71b) the verb does not agree with the NP and is essentially impersonal. The key person marker being the L-suffix.

(71) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a.

*k-oθe-∅-**li***	*šanθo*
IND-comes$_{IPFV}$-it.M-me	sleep.FS

'**I** am sleepy.'

b.

*aθi-∅-**li***	*ḥəmto*	*qwiθo*
came$_{PFV}$-it.M-me	fever.FS	heavy.FS

'**I** caught a heavy fever.' (ʿIwardo; Ritter 1967–1971, 44/146)

The experiencer can be added to intransitive verbs denoting physiological states such to 'be cold' in various dialects in SE Turkey. Thus the expression 'I am cold' corresponds with:

(72) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

ko-	*qoraš*	***-li***
PVB	be.cold-	-me

(73) C. Artun (Hertevin, SE Turkey)

qarəš	***-li***
be.cold-	-me

(74) C. Umṛa (SE Turkey)

qayər	***-ri***
be.cold-	-me

There are several more intransitive verbs in Ṭuroyo that can express an experiencer in this way, notably *kyw* 'get ill', e.g. *kayu-li* 'I got ill', and *nyḥ* 'get well', *nayəḥ-li* 'I got well'. The verbs *ḥrw* 'be concerned' (lit. 'get destroyed') and *ʿyq* 'get distressed' combine with an additional prepositional stimulus. The verbal form is impersonal, for example:

(75) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a.

mə	*ḥaru*	***-lax***	*min-i*
what	be.destroyed	-you.FS	from-me

'Why are **you**$_{FS}$ concerned about me?' (Kfaerze, Ritter 1967–1971, 61/324)

b.

ʿayəq	***-le***	*me-ruḥ-e*
be.distressed	him	from-self-his

'**He** (lit. **Him**) was distressed about himself.' (Kfaerze, ibid. 63/7)

4.1.3. Trans-Zab Jewish Dialects: *-la-l-*series

Jewish Western Iranian varieties, such as Saqqiz and Sandanaj, have a special use of the L-suffixes added to an invariant

-la- which presumably goes back to an impersonal L-suffix (see §3.2.3). Israel (1998, 170–71) records numerous examples where verbs in the *qaṭəl*-based inflection regularly combine with experiencers expressed in this way including verbs denoting pleasure such as *bsm* 'please' as illustrated below but also verbs denoting pain *mry* 'hurt', capability *kšy* 'find difficult' and merit such as *mṭy* 'deserve' (lit. reach) and *špr* 'befit'. The construction combines with a prepositional stimulus or a clausal complement. What is striking is that the morpheme *-la-*, although presumably originally an impersonal L-suffix (i.e. *bsəm-la-li* 'It$_{F}$ pleased me'), is also required with L-suffixes denoting experiencers in *qaṭəl*-based inflection[26]:

(76) J. Saqqiz (W Iran)

la	*basə́m-**la***	***-li***	*mənn-év*
not	pleases$_{IPFV}$-it.M	me	from-him

'**I (**lit. **Me)** do not like (lit. **from**) him.' (Israeli 1998, 170–71)

4.2. Prepositional Marking of the Experiencer

4.2.1. Experiencer Marked by a Preposition only

So far we have observed that the experiencer NP is zero-marked like the 'canonical' subject and only expressed through L-suffixes on the verb. Nevertheless, prepositional marking of experiencer predicates does occur in several NENA dialects, reflecting an oblique status.

It is common for physiological states. The independent *ʾəll-* series is part of fixed expressions for the sensations of heat and

26 An invariant *-le-* also occurs with *qaṭəl*-inflection in C. Telkepe, e.g. *k-ʕāǰəb-le-li* 'I am willing' (Coghill 2019, 39).

cold which themselves feature as nouns in this construction, for example in C. Marga:

(77) C. Marga (NW Iraq)

a. *xə́mma-yle* ***ʾəlli***
heat:MS-it.is.M **me**
'**I** am hot' (lit. **Me** is heat)

b. *qársa-yla* ***ʾəlli***
coldness.MS-it.is.F me
'**I** am cold.' (lit. **Me** is cold)

Both NENA and Ṭuroyo dialects in SE Turkey confine this construction to the experiencer of heat, as illustrated below, while the sensation of cold is expressed through a verb, cf. (72)-(74) above.

(78) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

ḥémo-yo ***aʿl-i***
heat.MS-it.is upon-me

(79) C. Artun (SE Turkey)

ḥəmme-le ***lal-i***
heat.MS-it.is.M to-me

(80) C. Umṛa (SE Turkey)

ḥəmme-le ***əll-i***
heat.MS-it.is.M to-me
'**I** am hot.'

Prepositional marking of experiencers typically occurs at least in Western Iranian dialects of NENA. The R-like experiencer is prepositional in the Christian variety of Sanandaj, for instance

(81) C. Sanandaj (W Iran)

maḥkēsa	*kabər-ta*	*špēr-a*[27]	***el-ē***
story.FS	great-FS	was.pleasant$_{PFV}$-it.F	to-him

'The story pleased **him** very much.' (Panoussi 1990, 123.31)

4.2.2. Experiencer Marked by *l-* and L-suffixes

Like the agent (§1.1.) and possessor (§3.3.2.), optional *l*-marking of the experiencer does occur in Ṭuroyo, for example:

(82) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a.

*maḥat-**le***	***l-ú-rŭʿyo***	*ú-darmono*
put$_{PFV}$-he	ERG-the-shepherd.MS	the-medicine.MS
*basəm-∅-**le***	***l-ú-rŭʿyo***	
was.pleasent-it.M-him	to-the-shepher.MS	

'**The shepherd** put the medicine (there) (and) **the shepherd** liked it.' (Midyat, Prym and Socin 1881, 29.10)

b.

ġắlabe	*kary-o-**le***	***l-ú-dahba***
very.much	upset-it.F-him	to-the-beast.MS

'**The beast** got very upset.' (Raite, Ritter 1967–1971, 112/331)

27 *špēra* < **sper-ra* < **sper*-la

4.3. Transitivisation of Experiencer Verb Constructions

The verb *ʿjb* 'please, like', borrowed from Arabic, is a stem III causative verb in Ṭuroyo and is ambivalent as to its orientation. The verb of liking can be directed at the R-like affectee expressed by the L-suffix, for example:

(83) Ṭuroyo (SE Turkey)

a. *hăka lo maʿjáb-le-**lax***
if NEG III:pleased$_{PFV}$-it.M-you.FS

'If **you**$_{FS}$ don't like him' (Miden, Ritter 1967–1971, 115/147)

At the same time, the verb can also have undergone complete transitivization. Its coding is not distinct from primary transitive verbs. The experiencer is expressed like an agent, for example:

b. *ú-greʿuno d-həzy-**o**-le maʿajb-**o**-le*
the-youngling.MS REL-see$_{IPFV}$-she-him III:pleased$_{PFV}$-she-him

'The young man that **she** sees (and **she**) likes' (Miden, ibid. 75/199)

This also occurs in NENA dialects. At least in the preterite, the verb that is otherwise typically impersonal can also be used with 'canonical' transitive verbal coding, for instance in C. Urmi and C. Artun (Hertevin):

(84) C. Urmi (NW Iran)

ʾina ***ʾalaha*** *bsəm-**lə***
if God please$_{PFV}$-he

‘If **God** likes (it)’ **(**Khan 2016$_{IV}$, A3:69)

(85) C. Artun (Hertevin, SE Turkey)

ana *gălak* *ʿjəb-**lən**-na*[28] *qaḥwa*
I very.much please$_{PFV}$-I-it.F coffee.FS

‘I liked the coffee very much.’

4.4. Verboids

A few experiencer verbs have a distinct verbal base in the imperfective, comparable to the verb *ʾzl* in some NENA dialects (see Subsection 2.2), e.g. *zəl-wa-li* ‘I had gone’ (perfective) and *k-za-wa-li* ‘I used to go’ (imperfective). The verb *zdy* ~ *zdʾ* ‘fear, be afraid’ has a regular *qṭil*-based preterite construction, e.g. J. Betanure *zdeʾ-**li*** ‘**I** feared’, but an impersonal *qaṭəl*-based equivalent *ṣad-*, e.g. J. Betanure *k-ṣad-**li*** ‘**I** fear’ (Mutzafi 2008, 88), C. Barwar *ʾi-ṣad-wa-**le*** ‘He was afraid’ (Khan 2008a, 297–98). Both *zdeʾ-* and *ṣad-* inflect the experiencer through L-suffixes, but the preterite forms like *zdeʾ-li* ‘I feared’ mark the experiencer completely like the agent of transitive verbs (*xze-li* ‘I saw’) and the forms based on *ṣad-* mark the experiencer like other impersonal experiencer verb constructions (*basəm-li* ‘I like’). One may compare this also to the experiencer verboid *qar-* ‘be cold’ in *lišana deni* dialects (NW Iraq), e.g. J. Dohok *ʾana qar-ri* (< **qar-li*) ‘I am cold’, *qar-wa-li* ‘I was cold’.

28 Compare §3.4. above for the transitivisation of predicative possessors in C. Artun (Hertevin).

Conclusions

Both the possessor and experiencer nominal or independent pronoun are generally clause-initial, zero-marked and obligatorily cross-referenced by the L-suffix in both NENA, Ṭuroyo and Western Neo-Aramaic. They are arguably 'non-canonical' subjects. Only sporadically do we find purely prepositional arguments.

L-suffixes can be added to monotransitive and intransitive verbs to express an R-like affectee in similar fashion to ditransitive verbs. While the optional subject co-referential L-suffixes marking that can mark an affected subject like the middle voice or express dynamic telicity seem to be generally a common Aramaic phenomenon, they undoubtedly conventionalized to verbal inflectional morphemes in certain Neo-Aramaic languages, particularly the motion verbs **ʾzl* 'go' and **ʾty* 'come'.

Impersonal experiencer constructions tend to diverge across dialects. It is common to find that verbs of liking take 'non-canonical' subject marking besides physiological states of 'cold' and 'heat'. Dialects can prefer distinct strategies for these physical sensations. In SE Turkey, for example, the experiencer of 'cold' is expressed by L-suffixes attached to a verbal predicate, while that of 'heat' by a preposition as a complement of a nominal predicate.

The Neo-Aramaic languages have developed 'non-canonical' subject marking that exhibits similar structures as the agent in the perfective past in NENA and Ṭuroyo (e.g. *grəš-li* 'I pulled'). The 'non-canonical' subject, for instance, can be marked by both the preposition *l-* and L-suffixes in Ṭuroyo only. This closely parallels the optional ergative marking in the preterite. An important difference from agent L-suffixes in the preterite is that the L-suffixes that mark the 'non-canonical' subject are found across the inflectional system, just like other R-like affectees. Exceptions where the 'non-canonical' subject marking is confined to the imperfective are the verbs 'fear', which has a verboid base *ṣad-*, and the verb 'go', which has a base *za-*, in NENA dialects. These correspond with the 'canonical' verbal inflection in the preterite (e.g. *zəl-lan* 'We went' : *za-lan* 'Let's go!').

The scope of this paper notwithstanding,[29] the originally dative possessor (i.e. **ʾīt-wā-∅ l-eh kθāwā* lit. 'Him was a book') and experiencer subjects (i.e. **bāsem-∅-wā-∅ l-eh deḇšā*, lit. 'Him was liking honey') and subject co-referential datives (i.e. **ʾāzel-∅-wā-∅ l-eh* lit. 'Him was going') and the historically dative subject of the preterite (i.e. **qīm-∅-wā-∅ l-eh* lit. 'Him was stood' → most of NENA *qəm-wa-le* 'He had stood') are all connected.

The topical, human and subject-like referent is referred back to by L-suffixes. The L-suffixes serve as cross-indexes of the possessor and experiencer similarly as their cross-indexing of agents in the preterite. The subject co-referential datives can similarly end up as inflectional affixes (e.g. Ṭuroyo *azz-í* 'I went' < **ʾazīl-∅ l-ī* 'Me went').

One important difference, however, is that the L-suffixes of the preterite are dependent on the inflectional base *qṭil-* and have an additional TAM function. This does not apply to the other uses of the L-suffixes that were subsumed under 'non-canonical' subjects in the previous discussion that can still be more R-like. The 'non-canonical' subject marking, therefore, is role-based. It is the construal as an R-like indirect affectee that makes it favour coding distinct from the 'canonical' subject. By contrast, the agent marking through L-suffixes in the preterite is not only role-based but also TAM-based. That is, the originally dative agent is dependent on the inflectional base (*qṭil-*) and hence, generally, perfective past aspect. Occasionally, however, the 'non-canonical' subject undergoes full transitivisation and takes over 'canonical' transitive coding. Sometimes it is only the transitive morphosyntax peculiar to the *qṭil*-based preterite that is taken over, identifying the L-suffixes that mark the possessor or experiencer with those that mark the agent.

29 Cf. Noorlander (2019a-b). One can compare this to European languages like French and Dutch where HAVE can be used as a possessive verb (*J'ai du pain* 'I have some bread'), a tense-aspect auxiliary (e.g. HAVE-perfect *J'ai mangé du pain* 'I ate some bread') and an experiencer verb (lit. *J'ai froid* 'I am cold', lit. 'I have cold').

Nevertheless, it is also clear that in many cases where the L-suffix is used as an extension of an R-like affectee the suffix can maintain characteristics of a ditransitive construction. These subject-like affectees are still treated like recipients, presumably as relics of their formerly dative prepositional marking. This is evident in the stacking of L-suffixes to the *qṭil*-base in NENA where the first L-suffix is impersonal and the second L-suffix denotes the R-like affectee. Impersonal experiencers thus resemble the predicative possessor construction based on the invariable existential marker (cf. Polotsky 1979, 209–10), yet, since they are verbal, they select the regular verbal affixes, even L-suffixes expressing the impersonal agent in the *qṭil*-based forms (e.g. *ʿjəb-le-le ʾalaha* 'It$_{M}$ pleased God'). Pronominalisation of the stimulus can be expressed by the unmarked set of bound person markers (also serving as the copula) like *-yo* in Ṭuroyo, which are confined to third person themes in ditransitive clauses.

The topicalisation and hence zero-marking of the NP became increasingly obligatory and original independent prepositional pronouns have undergone complete verbalisation in most cases. L-suffixes, while originally prepositional and independent of the verb, exhibit a tendency to convert into verbal person markers and sustain referential continuity with the most topical argument in sometimes otherwise largely impersonal predicates.

Both more conservative and more innovative patterns are found in Neo-Aramaic. Dialects also have the option to withstand the proclivity to convert a topicalised affectee into a 'non-canonical' subject. A dialect may still prefer to retain prepositional marking as a viable alternative besides verbal person marking or it may prefer an oblique status throughout for such arguments. In the end, each dialect 'can do its own thing' and a uniform category of 'subject' is not always readily identifiable.

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