A DIACHRONIC AND AREAL PERSPECTIVE ON SUBORDINATION IN SYRIAC AND NORTH-EASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC

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PREFACE

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

ABSTRACT

A DIACHRONIC AND AREAL PERSPECTIVE ON SUBORDINATION IN SYRIAC AND NORTH-EASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC by Johan Martin Viktor Lundberg

This thesis provides a diachronic and areal perspective on subordination in Syriac and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA), tracing its development from Late Antiquity to the present. The first two chapters outline the aim and scope of the thesis and also provide an introduction to the development of Syriac and NENA verbal forms; the use of punctuation dots and intonation group boundaries; and the development of grammatical markers. Chapters three to seven contain a series of case studies of five closely related subordinate constructions: complement clauses, causative constructions, purpose clauses, serial-like constructions, and relative clauses. These phenomena are closely related in many of the worlds languages as well as in Syriac and NENA. The eighth chapter provides a synthesis of the main findings.

I argue that that certain syntactic structures remain relatively stable even though many other aspects of the language have changed. For example, new verbal forms have developed similar functions as the older ones they have replaced, exhibiting a similar distribution in subordinate constructions. Moreover, prosodic patterns appear to be relatively stable because the distribution of Syriac punctuation marks – equivalent to a full stop or a comma – match the distribution of phonetic pauses in NENA dialects. Consequently, it is possible to argue that the structures of many subordinate constructions remain stable event though the component parts have changed.

Lastly, the surveys of West Asian languages show that Syriac and NENA have many features in common with neighbouring languages. Three areal phenomena are worth mentioning: the development of relative markers in place of relative pronouns; the preference for finite verbs instead of infinitives in complement clauses and purpose clauses; as well as the use of serial-like constructions with certain complement-taking verbs and in purpose clauses after motion verbs. These similarities are not unique to the modern languages but appear to have long diachronic roots.

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

References to texts

Aph	Demonstrations of Aphrahat
Phil	Discourses of Philoxenus of Mabbog
PMA	Persian Martyr Acts
SdDn	Sermo de Domino nostro by Ephrem
BoG	Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*
Thom	Acts of Thomas
JT	Joseph of Telkepe
Aḥ	Aḥiqar in Ms. London Sachau 9321
CAL	The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon

Glosses

COMP	Complementiser
COP	Copula
D.	D-suffix
DEIC	Deictic
DEM	Demonstrative
DIM	Diminutive
DIR.SPEECH	Direct speech
EXIST	Existential
FP	Feminine plural
FS	Feminine singular
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperative
IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
L.	L-suffix
LOC	Locative
MS	Masculine singular
MP	Masculine Plural
NEG	Negation
NF	Non-feminine

OBJ	Object
PASS	Passive
PC	Prefix conjugation
PL	Plural
PN	Proper Noun
PURP	Purposive marker
PROG	*bəptaxa* stem
PRON	Pronoun
PRS	Present
PST	Past
PTCP	Participle
POSS	Possessive
REL	Relative marker
SG	Singular
SUFF	suffix
VIS	Visual
PRT	Partitive
III	Pattern III
II	Pattern II
I	Pattern I

1 AIMS AND SCOPE OF THESIS

1.1 Introduction

This investigation is centred on subordination and the functional domain of complementation. For this reason, it is also focused on a specific cluster of closely related clause types and grammatical constructions. The main chapters trace the history of these constructions in eastern Aramaic from Late Antiquity to the present time; more specifically in Syriac and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA). These chapters can be read as separate case studies but each one also considers four features: the use of verbal forms; the use of grammatical markers and conjunctions; the presence or absence of intonation group boundaries and punctuation marks; and similarities as well as differences between these Aramaic constructions and their counterparts in other West Asian languages.

The five constructions or domains are: complement clauses, causative constructions, purpose clauses, serial or double verb constructions, and relative clauses. The diachrony or development of each construction is considered in light of linguistic typology and within an areal perspective. Within this framework it is possible show the stability of certain syntactic structures, e.g. use of specific types of verbal forms and the placement of prosodic boundaries. Moreover, we can observe that some areal phenomena have deep diachronic roots, e.g. the use of relative markers and serial-like constructions.

Complement clauses are at the heart of this investigation. For example, these clauses share structural similarities with periphrastic causatives, purpose clauses, and serial constructions. Moreover, the subordinating particle *d-* originated as a relative pronoun before it became a more general marker of subordination. Complement clauses are, therefore, the fulcrum of this cluster. This is also the reason why this domain is treated in chapter three.

Leaving Aramaic aside, there are also cross-linguistic reasons for including these constructions in a study of subordination; reasons that would apply even if there was no structural overlap. Dixon mentions serial verb constructions, relativisation, nominalisation and various types of clause chaining (including purposive linking) among the various strategies that can be used for complementation.[1] Deutscher uses the term "Functional Domain of Complementation" for these non-prototypical constructions, differentiating them from finite and infinitive complement clauses.[2] This distinction is useful in that it separates prototypical complement clauses and other strategies that might be used to express the same idea in similar contexts.

Deutscher's study is one of the most important investigations of subordination in Semitic languages and provides many interesting parallels to Aramaic. Further, Akkadian is an important language for diachronic investigations because its attested history spans more than two thousand years, providing a

[1] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:405–16.

[2] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 12–3.

window into the linguistic world of the Ancient Near East.[3] This timespan enables us to trace linguistic developments over a long period, highlighting features that synchronic investigations might miss. The same applies to the study of Aramaic whose attested history spans almost three thousand years. One advantage of this investigation is that Aramaic is still alive. This makes it possible to gain access to first-hand linguistic information that might not be contained in ancient source texts. Patterns of intonational phonology and the use of intonation group boundaries is a good example of this. Data from the modern Aramaic dialects show that prosody can play a role in distinguishing between constructions that might otherwise look identical (e.g. complement clauses and purpose clauses). Equally important, this information makes it possible to contrast prosodic patterns in Neo-Aramaic with the use of punctuation marks in Syriac. A similar point could be made about periphrastic causative constructions. These constructions are very rare in the modern dialects and in Syriac texts. Their use in the modern dialects, therefore, provide an important framework for their use in Syriac.

What then are the goals of this investigation? On one level, it is a series of descriptive case studies of the above-mentioned constructions in Syriac and NENA. At the same time, it is a historical investigation that is focused on the development of these constructions. More than that, it also tries to show how these constructions are intertwined. This interconnectedness is certainly the reason why Nöldeke refered to complement clauses, purpose clauses and serial constructions as "conjunctional relative clauses" (along with a cluster of other clause types).[4] Yet, the intention is not only to show how these constructions are interconnected. It also represents an attempt to consider three important features: the use of verbal forms, the development of grammatical markers, and the use of phonetic pauses and punctuation marks. The investigation of prosody is particularly interesting because it represents an important step towards an in-depth investigation of Syriac prosody, which could include linguistic phenomena such as focus or contrast. It is also important to contextualise these investigations within the linguistic landscapes of Western Asia, both ancient and modern, considering developments in light of the other linguistic systems in the area.

1.2 Scope and boundaries of this investigation

What would be the ideal boundaries for an investigation of Aramaic subordination? In broad terms, there are three parameters that determine its scope and focus: the time span covered, the number of dialects, and the number of constructions. The negotiation of these parameters is, in turn, shaped by the aim and nature of the investigation. For example, a reference work might cover more constructions and a longer timespan (including more dialects) than a monograph focused on one or a series of questions.

The above section provided the rationale for the investigation of these specific constructions. With this framework in mind it may be helpful to consider the following questions: "Why not include Old

[3] Deutscher, 17.

[4] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 290–307.

Aramaic or the Aramaic from the Elephantine papyri and the Dead Sea Scrolls?" In other words: "Why study two thousand years of Aramaic rather than three thousand years?" Similarly, one could ask why this investigation does not include Jewish Babylonian Aramaic or Mandaic, both of which are eastern Aramaic dialects from the same time period as Syriac. Equally, the reader may wonder why a literary dialect, like Syriac, is compared to modern vernaculars such as C. Barwar and C. Urmi.

Before answering these questions, it is helpful to contrast the two approaches taken by Deutscher and Pat-El, especially since their investigations focus on the historical syntax of two different Semitic languages. Deutscher investigates the Functional Domain of Complementation, more specifically the evolution of finite complements. His discussion also includes brief treatments of Akkadian relative clauses and result clauses as well as references to earlier investigations of infinitive complements. However, the aim is to elucidate the origin and developmental trajectory of different types of finite complements. He is not attempting to reconstruct the Functional Domain of Complementation in Proto-Semitic (or Proto-Akkadian). Moreover, his investigation does not provide a comprehensive picture of complementation in all Akkadian dialects or genres but focuses on Old Akkadian and some Babylonian dialects. This leads to the exclusion of peripheral Old Babylonian and various Assyrian dialects (Old Assyrian, Middle Assyrian, and Neo-Assyrian). Lastly, the investigation is primarily focused on letters because these texts tend to be written in a lower register or a style more akin to spoken language.[5] These boundaries make sure that the book has a clear focus but it also means that more could be said about complementation in other Akkadian dialects.

By contrast, Pat-El's work focuses on syntactic reconstruction. She tries to take steps towards a better understanding of Proto-Semitic syntax. This aim makes her investigation radically different. For example, she states that she avoided "dealing with features that require large chunks of texts to illustrate, in order to include as many dialects as possible".[6] This is a reasonable choice in light of her aim. A reconstruction of Proto-Semitic syntax must be based on as many dialects as possible in order for it to be valid. Moreover, a focus on constructions that do not require long examples also makes it possible to include more syntactic phenomena.

What would be reasonable boundaries for this investigation? One could say that it is somewhere between the two but closer to Deutscher's. However, this study is not restricted to the Functional Domain of Complementation and the choice of constructions affects the timespan and the number of dialects. The inclusion of constructions outside the Functional Domain of Complementation makes this investigation less focused than Deutscher's. Moreover, the constructions covered in this investigation often require "large chunks of text" in order to illustrate various points. Could Old Aramaic or Aramaic from the Achaemenid period have been included in the corpus of this investigation? For the use of

[5] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 23–30.

[6] Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, 9.

grammatical markers, this can easily be done through a trawling of various grammars.[7] These grammars are, therefore, consulted and their data are included in the discussion. Naturally, the same applies to data from other Semitic and West-Asian languages.

1.3 Sample of texts and dialects

The primary sources fall into three corpora; Syriac texts; early literary NENA texts; and modern NENA dialects.

1.3.1 Syriac

The Syriac sources come from three time periods: the early classical period (2nd-5th century CE), the late classical period (6th-7th centuries CE), and the Arab period (After the Arab conquest).

The early period is represented by Ephrem's *Sermo de Domino Nostro* (SdDn)[8] and excerpts from the demonstrations of Aphrahat (Aph),[9] and *The Acts of Thomas* (Thom).[10] An excerpt from the discourses of Philoxenus of Mabbog (Phil) serves as the main witness to western Syriac from the middle period.[11] The eastern branch is represented by several martyr acts; e.g. *The history of the 'Slave of Christ': from Jewish child to Christian martyr* (PMA 6), *The Martyr Acts under King Yazdgird* I (PMA 5) and *The Martyrs of Mount Berʾain* (PMA 4).[12] The main sources from the Arab period are excerpts from Thomas of Marga's *Book of Governors* (BoG).[13]

Texts from all periods are important for this investigation and modern editions have served as the starting point. Manuscripts of specific texts have been consulted in cases of uncertainty and for the sections on prosodic boundaries. These manuscripts include: British Library Add. Mss. 14619 and 17182, both of which contain Aphrahat's demonstrations. British Library Add. Ms. 17153 has also been included for excerpts from Philoxenuses' discourses.[14] I have also consulted a sixteenth century

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[7] E.g. Muraoka and Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*; Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*.

[8] Ephraem and Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermo de Domino Nostro*.

[9] Parisot, *Patrologia Syriaca Complectens Opera Omnia Ss. Patrum, Doctorum Scriptorumque Catholicorum, Quibus Accedunt Aliorum Acatholicorum Auctorum Scripta Quae Ad Res Ecclesiasticas Pertinent, Quotquot Syriace Supersunt, Secundum Codices Praesertim Londinenses, Parisienses*.

[10] Bedjan, *Šarbé Dsāhdé Wadqadišé*. References to Aphrahat and The Acts of Thomas refer to line numbers in The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (http://cal.huc.edu).

[11] Philoxenus, *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485-519*; Philoxenus, *The discourses of Philoxenus*.

[12] Herman, *Persian martyr acts under King Yazdgird I*; Brock and Dilley, *The Martyrs of Mount Ber'ain*; Butts and Gross, *The History of the 'Slave of Christ'*.

[13] Thomas Margensis, *The Book of Governors. the Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margâ, A. D. 840*; Thomas of Marga, *Liber superiorum*.

[14] Images of these manuscripts are used in this thesis with the permission of the British Library.

manuscript of *The Book of Governors* (Vat. Sir. 165), primarily for the investigation of causative constructions and relative clauses.

1.3.2 Early Neo-Aramaic sources

The study of Early Neo-Aramaic manuscripts is still in its infancy. There are editions of several texts but no systematic examination of their grammar.[15] Mengozzi's preliminary investigation of the verbal system represents a first step in this direction. His corpus includes poems written between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. In addition to these texts, I have included a version of the Aḥiqar story from the late nineteenth century.[16]

1.3.3 North Eastern Neo-Aramaic sources

For modern Neo-Aramaic dialects, there are several important sources. The primary sources are text corpora and recordings. Khan's grammars of Christian Urmi, Christian Barwar, and Qaraqosh serve as the main sources for this investigation, together with recordings of these texts.[17] I have focused on these dialects and grammars because of Khan's in-depth discussions of syntax. This, however, does not mean that other NENA dialects have been ignored. The point is that many grammars do not address the specific questions discussed in the main chapters or they only provide a cursory outline of the issue. Time has not allowed me to study all or even the majority of NENA dialects.

1.4 Historical linguistics of Aramaic

Historical syntax is typically concerned with the reconstruction of earlier stages of language development. Since the 1970s there has been a growing body of literature on theoretical aspects of historical syntax and much effort has been focused on the development of word order and verbal valency.[18] There have been occasional attempts of historical syntax within Semitic linguistics, e.g. Bloch's work on several Arabic patterns and Folmer's work on Middle Aramaic.[19] The first work on comparative Aramaic syntax was Vivian, whose study compares Syriac and Biblical Aramaic.[20] Pat-El criticises his work since it is "mostly descriptive and offers little new information or explanation".[21] Since then several important works have appeared. Pat-El's own work covers several important topics

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[15] Mengozzi, *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe*; Mengozzi, *Religious Poetry in Vernacular Syriac from Northern Iraq (17th-20th Centuries)*.

[16] Braida, 'The Romance of Aḥiqar the Wise in the Neo-Aramaic MS London Sachau 9321: Part One, Edition and Translation'; Braida, 'The Romance of Aḥiqar the Wise in the Neo-Aramaic MS London Sachau 9321: Part II'.

[17] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*.

[18] Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, 1.

[19] Bloch, *Studies in Arabic Syntax and Semantics*; Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*.

[20] Vivian, 'Studi Di Sintassi Contrastiva: Dialetti Aramaici'.

[21] Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, 7.

and represents a major step forward in the study of historical Aramaic syntax.[22] Other important works include Coghill's on ergativity and Loesov's on Proto-Aramaic.[23]

1.5 From Syriac to NENA

What is the relationship between Syriac and NENA; the former being a literary register and the latter spoken vernaculars? Moreover, where does early NENA poetry fit into this picture? It is not uncommon to find short comments about the relationship between ancient Aramaic dialects and NENA. Note one of Khan's recent comments:

> The NENA dialects are not direct descendants of any of the earlier literary forms of Aramaic, although they exhibit **close affinities** to Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. The dialects rather have their roots in a vernacular form of Aramaic that existed in antiquity in the region of northern Mesopotamia, which differed from the vernacular underlying the literary languages of Syriac to the west and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic to the south. This is shown by the fact that, although exhibiting numerous innovations, **they are more conservative** than Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic in some features.[24]

What are these conservative traits? Khan mentions the *m-* prefix, used before infinitives, as a Syriac innovation since this prefix is absent in the more conservative NENA dialects.[25] Such features are not insubstantial and they probably point to distinct differences between Syriac and the direct ancestors of specific NENA dialects.

Khan also mentions lexical items that can be traced back to Akkadian; e.g. *baxšimə* and *raxiṣa*. The former denotes a storeroom (for grain) in the roof of a house while the latter is a pile of straw. These terms could be related to the Akkadian terms *bīt ḫašīmi* 'barn, storehouse' and *raḫīṣu* 'pile of harvest produce (especially straw)'.[26] These words show that the lexicon of the modern NENA dialects may have been slightly different from that of the literary registers, i.e. Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. With technical or agricultural terminology it is important to exercise caution. The absence of

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[22] Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*.

[23] Coghill, *The Rise and Fall of Ergativity in Aramaic*; Loesov, 'A New Attempt at Reconstructing Proto-Aramaic. I'; Loesov, 'A New Attempt at Reconstructing Proto-Aramaic: Part II'.

[24] Khan, '3.4. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Northern Iraq', 305.

[25] Khan, 'The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects', 10–11; see Fox, 'North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic and the Middle Aramaic Dialects' for further differences between Syriac and NENA.

[26] Khan, 'Studies in the Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic', 262; Khan, 'The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects', 11–12; cf. Oppenheim and Reiner, *H*, 141; Von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 1:334; Krebernik, 'Von Gindibu bis Muḥammad: Stand, Probleme und Aufgaben altorientalistisch-arabistischer Philologie', 267.

these terms from modern dictionaries only shows that they are not attested in the ancient source texts, not that they were absent from the language.

Considering these observations, what are the implications for a comparison between syntactic structures in Syriac and NENA? We may be able to show that there are distinct lexical and morphological differences between NENA dialects and earlier literary registers. Yet that is what these observations show. A more conservative lexicon or morphology does not require or necessitate a more conservative syntax. Determining whether the same or similar syntactic structures are attested in Syriac and NENA could show whether NENA exhibits conservative traits, shares the same structures or is more innovative. This diachronic angle is one of the main contributions of this investigation.

With regard to the early NENA texts, these poems were often Neo-Aramaic versions of Syriac poems. 'Poets seem in these cases to play with the two languages, letting Classical Syriac fade into Neo-Aramaic at the beginning of their composition and Neo-Aramaic fade back to Classical Syriac at the end'.[27] These features and the poems' literary character put these texts somewhere in-between Syriac and NENA. To some degree these poetic compositions are not only a reflection of a chronological stage between Syriac and NENA but a hybrid language that did not always reflect the spoken vernacular. At the same time, this intermediate stage seems to be close enough to the vernacular to serve as a bridge between Syriac and modern NENA.

1.6 Basic methodology, terminology and glossing

Each chapter has greatly benefitted from Dixon's outline of grammatical description – which he terms Basic Linguistic Theory.[28] It serves two purposes: first, as an introduction to linguistics; secondly, as a guide and template that can be used as the starting point for a grammatical description of any language. Readers familiar with Dixon's work will notice many echoes of his approach and the topics he addresses. His work has served as the starting point for the present description of complement clauses, causative constructions, and relative clauses.

There are, however, some distinct differences between Dixon's outline and the present work. First, his approach provides a framework for studying living languages but the present study is concerned with corpora of Aramaic from different time periods. The present study is, therefore, less focused on description and more concerned with language change. Moreover, he only provides short descriptions of purpose clauses and serial verb constructions in his chapter of complement clauses. However, the chapter on serial constructions has benefitted greatly from the volume he edited with Alexandra Aikhenvald.[29]

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[27] Mengozzi, 'The Contribution of Early Christian Vernacular Poetry from Northern Iraq to Neo-Aramaic Dialectology: Preliminary Remarks on the Verbal System.', 29.

[28] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*.

[29] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*.

Dixon's terminology is used for most of the linguistic phenomena discussed in subsequent chapters. All examples are fully glossed, following the Leipzig glossing conventions.[30] Grammatical markers are glossed according to their function in a specific context. Consequently, the particle *d-* is glossed as COMP, PURP and REL depending on the context in which it occurs.[31]

[30] Language specific abbreviations are used for the Syriac suffix conjugation (SC), the Syriac prefix conjugation (PC); and the Neo-Aramaic L-suffixes (L) and D-suffixes (D). L-suffixes are used to mark the agent or subject of past tense *ptəxlə* forms and to mark the direct or indirect object of irrealis *patəx* forms. D-suffixes have the reverse function marking the object of *ptəxlə* forms and the agent or subject of *patəx* forms.

[31] I follow the same practice as Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 68; Note, however, that Wertheimer, 'The Functions of the Syriac Particle D-', 275 argues that this particle functions as a nominaliser before complement caluses as well as relative clauses.

2 GRAMMATICALISATION, INTONATION AND GRAMMATICAL MARKERS

Before turning to specific subordinate clauses, it is relevant to consider the wider linguistic system. This chapter focuses on three features that will resurface in subsequent chapters: grammaticalisation of verbal forms, the use of intonation group boundaries, and grammatical markers. The main part of this chapter, section 2.1, outlines the evolution of the Aramaic verbal system – with emphasis on Syriac and NENA dialects.

2.1 Grammaticalisation pathways from Syriac to NENA

Subordinate constructions do not exist in a vacuum. It is, therefore, crucial to recognise that various factors influence their structure. The decision to use a specific verbal form in any given construction is influenced by contextual requirements and grammatical structures. Put another way, the role of verbal forms within the language system influence their use in subordinate clauses. While the evolution of verbal forms may not be necessary for a synchronic description of Syriac or NENA dialects, understanding general diachronic changes and the grammaticalisation pathways of individual verbal forms is important for understanding changes that take place in these constructions over time. This section outlines the framework for the analysis in subsequent chapters.

Grammaticalisation theory is built on several important principles. It rests on "the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes."[32] It is important to keep in mind that developments are not random. Less specific lexemes are more prone to undergo grammaticalisation. This process is accompanied by semantic generalisation, semantic reduction or bleaching, and often by phonological reduction. [33] Bleaching refers to the loss of semantic content over time and the expansion of grammatical forms from one to multiple contexts.[34]

One of the pillars of grammaticalisation is the principle of unidirectionality. This principle points to the orderliness and traceability of grammatical morphemes. For example, personal pronouns tend to develop into another type of grammatical element, namely verbal affixes. These developments are generally considered unidirectional because the opposite trajectory is not attested and a clear majority of the worlds languages show similar tendencies.[35]

As developments take place and new verbal forms emerge, older forms may still be used and old functions may compete with new ones. The coexistence of old and new functions is sometimes referred

[32] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 4.

[33] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 5–6.

[34] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 5–6.

[35] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 12–5.

to as layering. Similarly, the use of old forms and functions after the emergence of new ones is termed persistence. These two phenomena are crucial for understanding the Aramaic verbal system. Many languages – including Aramaic – use forms from different diachronic stages to express both future and modality.[36]

The process whereby hearers analyse expressions differently from speakers is often called reanalysis. Analysis or rule formation is the term for the formalisation of this process which results in a change of grammatical structures.[37]

2.1.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is one of the most stable members of the Aramaic verbal system. The main morphological difference between Syriac and modern NENA dialects is the absence of an *m*-prefix in the basic stem. This prefix is a characteristic of Imperial Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic, and Syriac.[38] That said, the core functions of the infinitive remain relatively unchanged until the emergence of the modern dialects, especially the progressive verbal form *bəptaxələ*.

2.1.1.1 Syriac

The Syriac infinitive has two main functions. Alone – i.e. without the preposition *l-* 'to' – the infinitive is used as a so-called infinitive absolute. In this role, the infinitive is often combined with and placed after a finite verb.[39] Occasionally, an infinitive without *l-* may be used on its own instead of a finite verb.[40]

In most other instances, the infinitive is preceded by the preposition *l-*. Nöldeke notes that the infinitive is attested in several subordinate constructions, the preposition *l-* expressing purpose or direction.

2.1	*w-lā*	*mešḥānē*	*rīḥānē*	*yāʾē*	*l-eh*	***l-memšaḥ***
	and-NEG	Oils	fragrant.PL	fitting	for-POSS.3MS	COMP-anoint.INF

It is not fitting for him to anoint (it) with fragrant oils. (Aph 6, 116:20–21)

The distribution of infinitives in subordinate clauses is outlined in chapters three to five. Here it is sufficient to note that infinitives primarily occur in certain complement clauses, some causative constructions, and purpose clauses (cf. 3.2.5, 4.4 and 5.1.1).

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[36] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 21.

[37] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 3–5.

[38] Gzella, 'Imperial Aramaic', 581; Sokoloff, 'Jewish Palestinian Aramaic', 616; Sokoloff, 'Jewish Babylonian Aramaic', 665; Burtea, 'Mandaic', 680; Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 108.

[39] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 235–36.

[40] Cf. Nöldeke, 236.

2.1.1.2 NENA

The NENA infinitive is attested in a wider range of functions than its Syriac counterpart. It is, for example, used in narrative sequences or with temporally overlapping activities and circumstances.[41]

2.2 *xa-núra* *ʾə́θyɛ-le* *b-lɛ̀le*| *ʾax-ʾáxxa* ***sàqa***.|
one-light come.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS in-night like-here come.up.INF
A light came in the night, coming up right here. (C. Barwar A29:3)

2.3 *yúma* *lá* ***zrà̰ḳa***, | *c-áz-ax* *ɟabàx-ən*.|
when neg rise.INF IND-go.PRS-D.1PL pick.PRS-D.1PL
When the sun has not risen, we go and pick (the tobacco). (C. Urmi B 3:26)

The infinitive can also be used to give prominence to a verb from the same root, like the Syriac infinitive absolute. This may be a way to express contrast or surprise.[42]

2.4 *ʾap-**qṭála*** *bă̆y-èn-wa* *qaṭl-èn-wa-le*.|
also-kill.INF want.PRS-D.1SG-PST kill.PRS-D.1SG-PST-L.3MS
'I even wanted to kill him.' (C. Barwar A1:17)

Infinitives are often used in purpose clauses and in complement clauses, much like their Syriac counterparts. Interestingly, they may have passive diathesis in complement clauses with a modal predicate (see 3.2.7 and 3.2.11). Similarly, the infinitive can be used as a complement of nouns and adjectives.[43] They can also be used instead of a nominal.[44] The preposition *l-* is not obligatory before NENA infinitives and is only rarely used.[45]

In short, the NENA infinitive has retained some of its main functions but it is perhaps more versatile than its Syriac counterpart.

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[41] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:726–28; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:236–39.

[42] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:730–32; see Mengozzi and Miola, 'Paronomastic Infinitives in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic' for a survey of these paranomastic infinitive constructions; cf. Stoddard, 'Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as Spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan', 167.

[43] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:732–34.

[44] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:235.

[45] Khan, 2:235–36.

2.1.2. Progressive, imperfective, and future verbal forms

Another group of verbal forms have developed along the progressive and imperfective grammaticalisation path. Ancient forms of Aramaic have a rich history of progressive verbal forms. The most important for the present discussion are the Syriac imperfect or prefix conjugation, the Syriac active participle (i.e. NENA *patəx*), the NENA indicative *k-patəx* (and its alternative forms *ʾi-patəx* and *ci-patəx*), and the progressive verbal form *bəptaxələ*.

2.1.2.1 The ancient Aramaic prefix conjugation

Determining the exact role of verbal forms can prove difficult when they are in the middle of a grammaticalisation path. The prefix conjugation can express the past (backgrounded events), present, future, and modality in Imperial Aramaic. Occasionally, it is also found in subordinate constructions.[46]

In the book of Daniel, this verbal form has three main function: simple future, general present, and past imperfective.[47] This conjugation most likely developed from a progressive verbal form. Two functions point to this conclusion: the simple future and past imperfective. Future verbal forms can develop through the grammaticalisation of agent-oriented modal verbs, movement verbs, or temporal adverbs.[48] Neither of these is an obvious candidate. Aspectual futures, by contrast, typically develop from imperfective or perfective forms. It is, therefore, important that the prefix conjugation can express past imperfective. The best explanation for the combination of future and past imperfective is that the prefix conjugation was an imperfective verbal form at an earlier stage in its development.[49] The role as a general present is another indication pointing in the same direction. One may note, however, that the prefix conjugation is not used as an actual present in the book of Daniel. That role is reserved for the active participle.[50] There is no evidence for an earlier stage of development than the imperfective in Aramaic from the first millennium BC.

Progressive verbal forms typically develop into more general imperfective verbal forms, acquiring other functions such as habitual and actual present. These imperfective forms are not restricted to a specific tense. If a progressive form is restricted to the present tense, however, it often develops into a present imperfective verbal form.[51] In the context of Semitic languages, Akkadian may exhibit a relevant parallel in the emergence of the *iparrVs* conjugation. Kouwenberg suggests that *iparrVs* emerged as a replacement of the Akkadian counterpart to the long prefix conjugation (**yiqtVlu, -ūnV*). Verbs in the D-stem (i.e. with a geminated middle root consonant) are pluractional. Over time, this derivational feature became inflectional and *iparrVs* forms were reanalysed as progressives (i.e. ‘He eats all the time’

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[46] Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt Und Modalität Im Reichsaramäischen*, 304–05.

[47] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 100–09.

[48] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 251–71.

[49] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 100–01.

[50] Li, 101.

[51] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 140–44.

> ‘He is eating’). This progressive form subsequently replaced **yiqtVlu, -ūnV*. Such developments are frequent cross-linguistically even though there is no evidence for a similar development in Central Semitic.[52]

How far has the prefix conjugation developed beyond its imperfective function?[53] Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca employ four categories for modal classification: agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic, and subordinating modality.[54] Agent oriented modalities include: obligation, necessity, ability, desire, and root possibility (“reporting the existence of general enabling conditions”). Speaker oriented modalities include instances where the speaker suggests a course of action, gives permission, or directs (e.g. through commands, demands, and requests). Constructions expressing agent oriented modality gradually develop into epistemic and speaker oriented modality and then become used in subordinate constructions.[55] Some of the later modal functions are attested in the Aramaic of Daniel.[56]

Syriac

The Syriac prefix conjugation has developed further along the progressive/imperfective trajectory than its counterpart in texts from the first millennium BC. In fact, neither of the earlier functions are attested in Syriac texts. The prefix conjugation stands in contrast to the suffix conjugation but it is not a contrast between a perfective and an imperfective verbal form. In many instances the prefix conjugation has a simple future reference.[57] Interestingly, this form is also used in conditional protases, followed by an active participle in the apodosis. This could be due to the verbal form’s increased association with modality.[58]

Its use in conditional apodoses is perhaps more important. Yet, the active participle is, according to Nöldeke, more commonly used in these instances.[59] This is important because future verbal forms are typically used in apodoses. The replacement of the prefix conjugation by the active participle, therefore, suggests that the prefix conjugation is losing its function as a future verbal form. A further sign of this changed role is the fact that it does not express “the momentary or the continuous present”.[60]

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[52] Kouwenberg, *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*, 97–109.

[53] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 100, 109–25.

[54] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 176–81.

[55] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 177–81; cf. Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 110.

[56] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 109–25; cf. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 244–49 for similar developments in Biblical Hebrew.

[57] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 207.

[58] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 119.

[59] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 207.

[60] Nöldeke, 208.

2.5 *ʾaḵ meddem d-ʾaḏreḵaṯ zʿuruṯ* ***ʾeḵtuḇ*** *l-āḵ*
according.to-perceive.SC.1SG insignificance-POSS.1SG write.PC.1SG to-POSS.2MS
According to that which my insignificance has perceived, I will write to you. (Aph 1, 6:8)

Moreover, this verbal form is used frequently in various modal contexts and in negative imperatives.[61] It is worth mentioning that it is also used in subordinate clauses – with or without the subordinating particle *d-*.[62] Subsequent chapters will outline its role in these contexts. Suffice it to say that the prefix conjugation is on its way out of the verbal system. This is also an important cross-linguistic pattern. Verbal forms exhibiting subordinating modalities are typically found late on grammaticalisation paths.[63]

Lastly, the prefix conjugation is also found in constructions with the copula verb *hwā* 'be'. In conditional clauses, this combination is sometimes used of actions that are repeated frequently.[64] The active participle is, however, more commonly used in these contexts.[65] Subsequent sections and chapters show that the emergence of the active participle in place of the prefix conjugation changed the structure of subordinate clauses.

2.1.2.2 Active participle *pāteḥ/patəx*

The Syriac active participle is arguably the most important verbal form for the present investigation. It was primarily used attributively in early forms of the North-West Semitic languages.[66] This function changed already in the first millennium BC when the participle became part of the verbal system. Multiple examples could be mentioned but it is sufficient to consider its role in Achaemenid Aramaic (including Biblical Aramaic) and the Aramaic of the *targumim*.

Even though the participle is a part of the verbal system, its status and function is debated. Is it indifferent to time? Can it express states? Does it express continuous or habitual action? Already Bauer and Leander noted that it has taken over some of the functions of the prefix conjugation.[67] This observation is crucial for understanding the role of the active participle. Cross-linguistically there is

[61] Nöldeke, 208.

[62] Nöldeke, 208–09.

[63] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 213–14; Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 111.

[64] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 209–10.

[65] Nöldeke, 209–10.

[66] Kuty, 'Remarks on the Syntax of the Participle in Targum Jonathan on Samuel', 207; Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt Und Modalität Im Reichsaramäischen*, 201–02.

[67] Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen;*, 290–96.

good evidence for the development of progressive verbal forms into verbal forms with a more general imperfective or simple past function.[68]

At some point in the early first millennium the active participle developed into a progressive. The progressive is to some extent a subset of imperfective aspect, viewing "an action as ongoing at reference time."[69] Li offers two main arguments for interpreting the active participle as an imperfective. First, participles can be formed from stative as well as dynamic verbs. Perhaps more important, the participle exhibits several functions typically connected with imperfective forms, including past progressive, past habitual or iterative/frequentative, general present, actual present, performative present.[70] The participle may also express future tense or modality. There may even be an instance where it is used in a purpose clause. All these functions are typically expressed by the prefix conjugation.[71]

Similar developments can be observed in Targum Jonathan on Samuel; where the participle is used to translate Hebrew suffix conjugation verbs. The participle is used, in these instances, to express stative perfects. It is also the main verbal form expressing this function, except when the Aramaic text has the same verbal form as the Masoretic Text.[72] The prefix conjugation is the primary form used to express future tense or modality. Moreover, it can be used to express imperfective aspect but in these instances the participle may be used instead. Most importantly the prefix conjugation is only used to express iterative when there is also a prefix conjugation form in the corresponding Hebrew text. The participle consistently serves this function when the Aramaic text departs from the Hebrew *Vorlage*. For example, the participle is used to translate Hebrew *weqāṭal* when the latter has an iterative meaning.[73] The participle is also used in some instances instead of the Hebrew infinitive absolute, most of which have an iterative meaning.[74]

In short, the active participle has taken over functions expressed by several different Hebrew verbal forms. To some extent, these tendencies correspond to what can be seen in the book of Daniel. The participle developed from a progressive to a general imperfective verbal form. Note, however, that it has not yet acquired the future and modal functions often associated with the prefix conjugation.

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[68] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 125–75; note that Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 230–33 suggests that the Biblical Hebrew active participle and prefix conjugation developed along the same trajectory, the participle being younger and further behind on this grammaticalisation path.

[69] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 125–26.

[70] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 45–55 also mentions the past inceptive function and the use of the participle as a historical present with certain speech verbs.

[71] Li, 55–6.

[72] Kuty, 'Remarks on the Syntax of the Participle in Targum Jonathan on Samuel', 208–10.

[73] Kuty, 210–15.

[74] Kuty, 215–18.

Syriac

The Syriac participle is located further along the same grammaticalisation path as its counterpart in earlier dialects. The extension into the domain of the prefix conjugation is, therefore, more evident.[75] Nöldeke mentions the ability of participles to express a state with a present tense deixis, classifying the participle as a predicative adjective.[76] In the case of these stative verbs it is perhaps better to classify it as an actual present. Similarly, the participle denotes the "continuing as well as the momentary" present. In these functions it has almost entirely supplanted the prefix conjugation.[77] This observation is important but the preference for the participle in these contexts stretches back to the first millennium BC.[78]

2.6 *w-man d-ʿiṯ l-eh* *w-**ṣābḇe**ʾ* *d-neḵleʾ*
and-whoever-COP to-POSS.3MS and-want.PTCP.MS COMP-keep.PC.3MS
men *man d-**bā**ʿ**e**ʾ* *l-e*
from whoever-ask.PTCP.MS OBJ-POSS.3MS
Whoever has and wants to keep from the one who asks him (Aph 1. 6:4–5)

2.7 *ʾaynʾā* *ger* *d-lā* ***yāda***ʿ *nšarreʾ* *b-iḏʿṯā*
who for REL-NEG know.PTCP.MS begin.PC.3MS with-knowledge
b-benyān-eh *d-magḏelā* *hānā* *d-masseq* *la-šmayā*
with-building-POSS.3MS GEN-tower this REL-go.up.PTCP.MS to-heaven
For whoever does not know how to begin, with knowledge, the construction of this tower which goes up to heaven. (Phil 1, 3:16–17)

In the earlier Aramaic dialects, the participle was only occasionally used to express future or modality. This has changed in Syriac and the participle is used much more often to express the future. The prefix conjugation is, however, still more common in this function.[79] This situation points to an ongoing process in which the participle is gradually taking over this function from the prefix conjugation. Interestingly, Nöldeke writes that the participle is not a "proper present" nor is the prefix conjugation a "proper future".[80] This division of labour is most likely a consequence of their shared grammaticalisation path. The difference being a result of their place at different diachronic stages.

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[75] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 211–18; cf. Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 42.

[76] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 211.

[77] Nöldeke, 211.

[78] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 101 notes that the prefix conjugation only expresses the general present a few times in the book of Daniel.

[79] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 211–13.

[80] Cf. Nöldeke, 212 for an example from Aphrahat's demonstration 22.

The role of the participle in several subordinate constructions is also discussed by Nöldeke. It can, for example, be used in conditional protases and apodoses. More importantly, though, it is sometimes used after verbs meaning 'begin' or 'be able'.[81] The use of the participle in these constructions is discussed in the next chapter (see 3.2.5). Here two observations will suffice. First, this use probably indicates that the participle acquired subordinating modality before it had replaced the prefix conjugation as the main future tense form. Judging from the examples listed by Nöldeke, it seems that the use of the participle in these subordinate constructions was restricted to specific complement-taking verbs. These constructions could therefore be viewed as evidence of incipient change. This change is also evidenced by the use of the participle to express deontic modality (i.e. a wish).[82]

The active participle, furthermore, occurs with the copula verb *hwā*. This combination is used to express "continuance and repetition" in the past. It can also denote something that was about to happen in the past, a function that may be expressed by the simple participle.[83] Goldenberg distinguishes between this combination and instances where *hwā* precedes the participle. The latter are used to express modality.[84]

Patəx forms in NENA

The plain *patəx* primarily expresses various forms of modality.[85] In some Jewish NENA dialects this form is used for the general present, progressive present, and future.[86] When the plain form is used it can express perfective or imperfective aspect. It typically refers to an action or event that has not yet been realised in the eyes of the speaker; or when the speaker is not committed to the truthfulness of the statement.[87] In main clauses the plain *patəx* form is typically used to express some form of deontic modality, i.e. an element of will (e.g. 'I wish …'). The plain *patəx* can also be used to express deontic necessity (must, ought to, should) and deontic possibility (may, might, can, could).[88] Most of these functions are expressions of agent-oriented or epistemic modalities. "Agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate".[89] The use of *patəx* for deontic possibility also shows that it can be

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[81] Nöldeke, 212–14.

[82] Nöldeke, 216 maintains that modality remains entirely with the prefix conjugation while making this observation.

[83] Nöldeke, 215–17.

[84] Goldenberg, *Semitic Languages*, 204–05.

[85] Khan, '3.4. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Northern Iraq', 332; Coghill, 'The Verbal System of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 31–6.

[86] Khan, '4.4. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Western Iran', 511; cf. Häberl, 'Mandaic', 681 for a similar Neo-Mandaic use of patəx.

[87] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:113, 119.

[88] Khan, 2:113–14; Coghill, 'The Verbal System of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 34.

[89] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 177.

used to express epistemic modality. Cross-linguistically, agent-oriented modalities are often the first stage in a development which culminates in subordinating modalities. Speaker-oriented modalities, which may develop from agent-oriented modalities, exist on a scale from direct commands (imperative) to giving of permission (permissive).[90] Consequently, it is relevant to note that the negated form (*la patəx*) is used to express negative commands in early modern NENA and in the modern dialect of Qaraqosh.[91]

2.8	*bron-i*	*boz*	*xamrā*	*diyy-ux*	*ʾelled*
	son-POSS.1SG	pour.IMP	wine	GEN-POSS.2MS	on
	qaḇrā	*d-zadiqē*	*w-**lā***	***šāt-ēt-tēh***	
	grave	GEN-righteous	and-NEG	drink.PRS-D.2MS-L.3MS	
	ʾemmed	*d-nāšē*	*saxlē*		
	with	REL-men	foolish		

My son, pour your wine on the grave of the righteous and do not drink it with foolish people. (Aḥ 548)

In C. Barwar and C. Urmi the imperative can be negated.[92] The expression of speaker-oriented modalities and epistemic modality is not restricted to the plain *patəx*. The more conservative dialect of Qaraqosh has several constructions in which *patəx* is preceded by a form of the copula or the copula verb *hawe*.[93] A similar usage of the copula verb combined with *patəx* is attested in the Aḥiqar text.

2.9	*hwi*	*beš*	*kāber*	*menn-ēh*	*šāyer*	*w-**hāw-ēt***
	be.IMP.2MS	more	firm	from-POSS.3MS	cautious	and-be.PRS-D.2MS
	d-ʾor-ēt		*qām-ēh*	*b-nexpuṯā*		
	REL-come.PRS-D.2MS		before-POSS.3MS	with-humility		

Be more firm than him (and) cautious and come into his presence with humility. (Aḥ 559)

The plain *patəx* form is located at the end of the grammaticalisation path of progressive and imperfective verbal forms – like the Syriac prefix conjugation. Not only is *patəx* used extensively with the modal nuances outlined above. Its use in subordinate constructions will be discussed further in subsequent chapters. At this point it is sufficient to note that *patəx* forms are used in complement clauses, in purpose

[90] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 179.

[91] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 351.

[92] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:739; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:153.

[93] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 331–40.

clauses, and in serial-like constructions. It is typically restricted to instances where the action is not yet realised.[94]

Non-modal functions of *patəx*

While the plain *patəx* primarily expresses modality, there are several older functions used with specific verbs and in certain contexts. For example, C. Urmi employs *patəx* in temporal clauses to express future events (if they are "presupposed to take place").[95] Other noteworthy functions include the actual present, narrative present, and performative present. The actual present is primarily attested with verbs denoting mental processes or perception. In C. Barwar and C. Urmi this includes verbs such as *baye*/$^{+}$*bayyə* 'want' and *maṣe*/$^{+}$*masə* 'be able'. The narrative present can be expressed through *patəx* with these same verbs. It is, therefore, noteworthy that the form *bəptaxələ* (or its counterpart in C. Barwar) can be used with the same functions.[96] Moreover, the younger *bəptaxələ* can be used in performative constructions.[97] This use of *bəptaxələ* signals that the new verbal form has begun to replace *patəx* in these contexts. A similar development in complement clauses is discussed in the next chapter, although with *bəptaxa* rather than *bəptaxələ* (i.e. without the copula; see 3.2.6, 3.2.7). Interestingly, the actual present is not expressed by *ʾi-patəx* in C. Barwar.[98]

C. Barwar contains more attestations of the plain *patəx* form with "older" functions. It is used to express both habitual and future (modal and non-modal). These instances are not necessarily retentions of an earlier meaning. The future function of *patəx* in negative constructions is undoubtedly a retention of an earlier meaning. It is, however, unlikely that the same is true in positive constructions. There *patəx* is only used to express future or habitual with verbs other than primae-ʾ. Verbs with an initial ʾ employ *ʾi-patəx* for habitual and *bəd-patəx* for the future.[99] It is, possible, that other verbs have preserved an earlier function. In this case, however, it is more likely that the two prefixes (*ʾi-* and *bəd-*) have been elided. This means that the use of future and habitual *patəx* with some verbs is not a retention but a new development after the elision of prefixes.

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[94] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:113–22; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:579, 582–83.

[95] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:115.

[96] Khan, 2:185–87; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:572–74.

[97] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:571.

[98] Khan, 1:574.

[99] Khan, 1:571–72, 578–79; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:121.

Some of the functions outlined above are also attested with the past suffix *-wa/-va*. This includes continuous situations in the past (like actual present), narrative past, past habitual.[100] It can also be used in conditional protases, complement clauses with past time reference, and generic relative clauses.[101]

To summarise, the simple *patəx* is primarily a modal form. There are many similarities between the functions expressed by this verbal form and the Syriac prefix conjugation. Both originated as progressives but primarily express modality. The similar trajectories and functions have undoubtedly influenced their use in subordinate clauses.

2.1.2.3 *K-patəx, ci-patəx and ʾi-patəx*

Several etymologies have been suggested for the prefix *k-*, *ci-*, and *ʾi-*: the participial forms *qāʾēm* and *kīn*, the particle *kad*, as well as a deictic particle. The etymology of this prefix is not certain but many scholars consider *qāʾēm* as the best candidate.[102] The main reason is the use of a prefix *qā* (or rarely *kā*) in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. According to Breuer, constructions with *qā* denote continuous action.[103] Moreover, the full form of the participle is also used occasionally (instead of *qā*).[104]

These prefixes could also have developed from a deictic particle since similar developments are attested in other regional languages (e.g. Armenian *kə-* from a deictic particle 'behold').[105] This etymology may be supported by a reference in Bar Hebraeus's longer grammar. He writes the following in a passage that contrasts the pronunciation of eastern and western Syriac: 'and of 'He' with hard 'Kap̄,' for example instead of *hā ʾāḵel*, *hā ʾāzel* (they say) *kā ʾāḵel*, *kā ʾāzel*.'[106] Bar Hebraeus appears to compare the deictic particle *hā* 'behold' with east Syriac *kā*. If the latter was a deictic particle *kā*, it could be the source of the NENA prefix; having followed a similar grammaticalization path as Armenian *kə-*.

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[100] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:585–88; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:125–27.

[101] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:588; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:123–25.

[102] See Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §42.19 for kīn; See Tezel, *Comparative Etymological Studies in the Western Neo-Syriac (Ṭūrōyo) Lexicon*, 35–6 for kad.

[103] Breuer, 'The Function of the Particle "qā" in Babylonian Aramaic'; followed by Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 130; note the similarity between NENA and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, as described by Fox, 'North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic and the Middle Aramaic Dialects'.

[104] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 130–32; Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 549, 976–77.

[105] Makaev, 'The origins of the modal particle ke in Armenian'; Khan, '2.1. Eastern Anatolia and Northwestern Iran', 39–40.

[106] Bar Hebraeus, *Le Livre Des Splendeurs: La Grande Grammaire de Grégoire Barhebraeus; Texte Syriaque Édité d'après Les Manuscrits Avec Une Introduction et Des Notes*, 205 (206:13); Bar Hebraeus, *Buch der Strahlen 2, traktat IV,* 30.

Rubin classifies Neo-Aramaic forms with these prefixes as 'present' in its widest sense; covering general present as well as present habitual and present progressive.[107] In Neo-Mandaic this form has developed along a very similar trajectory as the prefix conjugation and the active participle. It is used for the simple present, the progressive present, the habitual present, the habitual past, the narrative present, the future, and in subordinate constructions.[108] In C. Urmi the *ci*-prefix is typically used to express habitual action; nevertheless, it can be omitted in less prominent clauses. With verbs denoting psychological processes or states *ci-patəx* expresses the actual present.[109] If the lexical source is *qāʾēm*, this verbal form follows the well-established pattern to use locative particles to form progressives.[110] Regardless of its etymology, it can be classified as a verbal form on the same grammaticalisation path as the prefix conjugation and the active participle.

2.10 *ʾána* ***ci-⁺bàyy-ən***| *⁺xṭít-i* *tan-ən-na,*|
I IND-want.PRS-D.1SG sin-POSS.1SG tell.PRS-D.1SG-L.3FS
mod-ən-na *ḳát-ux.*|
confess.PRS-D.1SG-L.3FS to-POSS.2MS
I want to tell my sin, to confess it to you. (C. Urmi A3:48)

2.11 *ʾixāl* *we-lvāšā* ***k-yādēʾ-Ø*** *ʾalāhā* *d-ke-bʾay-ton*
food and-clothes IND-know.PRS-D.3MS God COMP-IND-want.PRS-D.2PL
God knows that you need food and clothes (JT 5:78d)

Another important feature is the role this verbal form plays in discourse prominent constructions. This applies to both C. Barwar and C. Urmi. In the former, this is especially the case when the verb is not primae-ʾ.[111] Moreover, *ci-patəxva* forms are also more common with discourse prominent verbs.[112] In the Qaraqosh dialect, *k-patəx* is used for present and past habitual, present progressive, actual present, and occasionally the future.[113] In most of these NENA dialects it is, therefore, possible to classify this verbal form as a present imperfective.

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[107] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 129; cf. Waltisberg, *Syntax Des Ṭuroyo*, 133–36.

[108] Häberl, *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr*, 141–46.

[109] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:127–29.

[110] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 127–33.

[111] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:590–91; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:129–30.

[112] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:596–98; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:130.

[113] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 299–304.

The fate of this verbal form is particularly interesting for subordination. It is occasionally used in subordinate constructions in Neo-Mandaic and Ṭuroyo. Does the same happen in NENA? Part of the answer undoubtedly lies in the grammaticalisation of *bət-patəx* (see 2.1.2.5).

2.1.2.4 NENA forms *bəptaxələ* and *bəptaxa*

The progressive *bəptaxələ* is closely related to the infinitive in modern NENA dialects, originating through a combination of the infinitive with the locative preposition *b-* 'in' and the enclitic copula.[114] Cross-linguistically, progressive verbal forms often develop from locative expressions.[115] In the modern dialects, however, it has developed additional functions.

One sign of this development is the wide use of *bəptaxələ* as a present, including actual present, performative present, and narrative present. Khan also notes that *bəptaxələ* can express the actual present, with psychological verbs, in C. Urmi (as an alternative to *patəx* and *ci-patəx*). Similarly, this verbal form can express a non-permanent habitual or iterative activity.[116] The latter usage is in opposition to *ci-patəx* and *ci-patəxva*, which often express habitual in C. Urmi. To the list of functions one may add that *bəptaxələ* can express imperfective aspect and, very rarely, the immediate future.[117] The rarity of future and habitual attestations may be explained by the presence of *ci-patəx* and *bət-patəx*.

2.12 *ʾána* ***bitáy=ən*** *bèta.*|
I come.PROG=COP.1SG home
'I am coming home.' (C. Urmi A 3:31)

2.13 *háč mándi* *mán-nux* *lḗn* *+**byàya**.*|
anything from-POSS.2MS NEG.COP.1SG want.PROG
'I do not want anything from you.' (C. Urmi A 3:87)

The simple *bəptaxa* exhibits functions reminiscent of the infinitive. In narratives, the form *mara* 'say' is often used to introduce sequential events. If, however, the addressee is specified, the copula is used together with *mara*.[118] The form *bəptaxa* can also be used in circumstantial clauses (sometimes with a purposive sense) and in complement clauses after the verb *+šarə* 'begin'.[119] Furthermore, a chain of

[114] Cf. Khan, '2.5. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia and Northwestern Iran', 218; Martirosyan, '2.2. The Armenian Dialects', 50 notes the Armenian use of a kə-prefix to form the present indicative.

[115] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 129; cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:216.

[116] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:185–87.

[117] Khan, 2:185–86, 189.

[118] Khan, 2:193–94; See Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 215 for a similar use of the Syriac active participle with the same verb; cf. Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 45 for similar observations.

[119] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:190–92.

bəptaxa forms may be used if a speaker wants to present a series of events as tightly connected. Lastly, *bəptaxa* can serve as an attributive modifier.[120]

The form *bəptaxa* is sometimes combined with the deictic copula. When it is combined with the near deictic copula, it can be used to express the immediate future, emotional engagement, or draw attention. With the far deictic copula *bəptaxa* typically refers to a situation farther from the interlocutors, often expressing a progressive activity that is not visible to the addressee. Alternatively, it can add a dimension of surprise or mark an event as unexpected.[121]

2.14 *ʾána* ***dūn-myàta***.|
I COP.1SG-die.PROG
'I am dying.' (C. Urmi A 13:2)

2.15 ***vélə*** ***bəḵyàma***.|
COP.3MS get.up.PROG
'Look there he is getting up.' (C. Urmi A 6:15)

Lastly, past progressive and non-permanent habitual activities are expressed through the addition of the past suffix *-va* (*bəptaxəva*).[122]

2.1.2.5 Future particle

The second main prefix in the NENA verbal system is *bət-*/*bəd*, typically classified as a future prefix. It is used for the future in early NENA texts:

2.16 *jēzē* *d-meṣrēn* *w-kull-ayhi* *ʾaṯrawāṯāh* *d-ṭellaṯ*
taxes GEN-Egypt and-all-POSS.3PL regions GEN-three
šenne ***bede-mšadr-en-nux=ilāh***
years FUT-send-D.1S-L.2MS=3FS
I will send to you the taxes of Egypt and all its regions of three years. (Aḥ 579)

The predictive future, may not have been the only function of *bəd-patəx* in this period since it is also employed to express deontic modality, e.g. intention.

[120] Khan, 2:192–93.

[121] Khan, 2:195–97.

[122] Khan, 2:198–200.

2.17 *lā* *taʾn-ēt* *ḥaššā* *stād-i* *malkā* *w-lā* *jaʿār-et*
NEG bear.PRS-D.2MS suffering lord-POSS.1SG king and-NEG scold.PRS-D.2MS
ʾānā ***bet-zāl-li*** *l-meṣrēn* ***w-bēt-yāḇ-en*** *jāwāb* *tā*
I FUT-go.PRS-L.1SG to-Egypt and-FUT-give.PRS-D.1SG reply to
perʿun *w-kull-ayhi* *buqronē* *diyy-ēh* ***bēt-mpašq-en-nay*** …
Pharaoh and-all-POSS.3PL questions GEN-POSS.3MS FUT-explain.PRS-D.1SG-L.3PL
Do not be concerned now, my lord the king, and do not scold (me), I will go to Egypt and offer replies to Pharaoh and explain all his questions… (Aḥ 584)

Examples expressing epistemic modality occur in complement clauses.

2.18 *xešb-en-wā* *d-ʾaḏ* *yulpānā* *kull-eh* ***beṯ-ʾārē-Ø-lēh***
think.PRS-D.1S-PST COMP-DEM teaching all-POSS.3MS FUT-keep.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS
b-lebb-ēh ***w-beḏ-qāyem-Ø*** *b-tarʾā* *d-malkā*
in-heart-POSS.3MS and-FUT-stand.PRS-D.3MS in-gate GEN-king
w-bet-hāwē-Ø-li *men-nēh* *nyāxā* *m-peṣxuṯā* *w-xāyē* *basimē*
and-FUT-be.PRS-D.3MS-L.1S from-POSS.3MS rest sweet and-life pleasant
I thought that he would keep all these teachings in his heart and would stand in the palace, and he would give me from it sweet rest and a pleasant life (Aḥ 562)

Most attestations of *bəd-patəx* in the Aḥiqar text have a modal function. This can be contrasted with the modern dialects in which the future is one of the main functions. If the subject is third person or first person and non-agentive *bəd-patəx* forms typically express future.[123] Yet, even in the modern dialects various modal functions are common. *bəd-patəx* is used to express deontic intention with first person singular agentive subjects. With first person plural subjects, *bəd-patəx* have a cohortative sense if the subject is inclusive. If the plural subject is exclusive *bəd-patəx* is used to express the intention of the speakers.[124] Similarly, third and second person forms can be used to express a command or a wish. In interrogative constructions, it is also used to express epistemic modality.[125] Other important functions are discourse dependency and the use of *bəd-patəx* in conditional apodoses.[126]

[123] Khan, 2:132; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:598–99.

[124] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:132–33.

[125] Khan, 2:133; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 313.

[126] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:134–35; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:601–02; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 313–14.

Diachronically the modal functions are older than the predictive future. It is widely agreed that this prefix has grammaticalised from a construction with the verb *bʿe d-* or perhaps *bāʿe d-* 'want to'.[127] The reduced form of the prefix could make it difficult to identify its origin. However, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Stoddard noted that the dialect of Ṭal expressed the future through a fully inflected form of the verb *bāʿe*.[128] To Stoddard, and later Maclean, this is a decisive point. Both writers also add examples from other languages where future verbal forms have been grammaticalised from a verb expressing desire.[129] The origin of this prefix is by no means exceptional, from a cross-linguistic perspective. Primary futures (as opposed to aspectual futures) often develop from lexical sources expressing desire (or obligation).[130] Such forms often express modality (e.g. willingness and intention) on their path to future tense. Considering this, it is hardly surprising that *bəd-patəx* exhibits several modal nuances.

What is more surprising is the sporadic occurrence of this form in purpose clauses:[131]

2.19	*cúllə nášət dúnyə=da*	*+jmít=əla*	*ḳat-ʾáha béta*
	all people	gather.PTCP=COP.3FS	PURP-DEM. house
	bət-bánə-Ø	*+ʾúllul ɟu-+hàva.*|	
	FUT-build.PRS-D.3MS	above in-air	
	'Everybody is gathered in order to build this house above in the air.' (C. Urmi A3:71)		

While the purposive use of this form is rare, it raises several questions regarding the status of *bəd-patəx* within the NENA verbal system. Are these attestations signs of incipient change in purposive constructions? What is the relationship between *bəd-patəx* and *k-patəx*? The Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr employs *k-patəx* for present as well as future. This makes *k-patəx* the third verbal form to express future (and modality), having developed along the progressive/imperfective path.

Central Neo-Aramaic has developed along a slightly different trajectory. Ṭuroyo has two prefixes *ko-* and *gd-*, both of which can be attached to the *fotĭḥ* base forming *ko-fotĭḥ* and *gd-fotĭḥ*. Jastrow treats the two as allophones of the same prefix.[132] Waltisberg seems to place the prefixes in separate functional categories: *ko-* being used for the present and *gd-* for the future. Yet, a close reading of Waltisberg's

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[127] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 37–38; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:275; cf. Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and Its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, 282–83 for a similar development of Arabic ʾarada.

[128] Stoddard, 'Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as Spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan', 109.

[129] Stoddard, 109; Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 122; cf. Coghill, 'The Verbal System of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 49.

[130] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 254–64.

[131] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:133–34.

[132] Jastrow, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Mīdin im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, 148–149.

examples shows that *gd-fotĭḥ* can be used as a general present.[133] Moreover, there is also one example of *ko-fotĭḥ* expressing deontic modality.[134] Still, almost all examples expressing future or deontic modality have *gd-fotĭḥ*. What is the relationship between these two prefixes. If they are allophones, one might expect a distributional pattern based on the phonetic environment (not function). Is it possible that *gd-* has another origin than *ko-*? Its use in modal constructions might point to a similar origin as that of *bəd-*. There is, however, no obvious candidate from which it could have developed. A simpler solution could be to trace it back to the temporal adverb **kaḏ* 'when'. It is possible for primary futures to develop from temporal adverbs.[135] In this case, however, it is perhaps better to envisage a development along the same progressive and imperfective trajectory as the Syriac prefix conjugation and the active participle. The prefixes *gd-* and *ko-* would, in this case have similar origins–both having been grammaticalised as progressives. The difference, apart for their etymology (**qā* and **kad*), would be their place on the grammaticalisation path. This could explain why *gd-* is used to express present, future, and deontic modality, while *ko-* is primarily restricted to the present.

2.1.2.6 Negative constructions with *patəx*

Plain *patəx* often has the same form as *ci-patəx* and *bət-patəx* when negated. In C. Urmi, the negated form *le patəx* is used to express actual present, present habitual, predictive future, deontic future, and forms with the past suffix *-va*.[136] In C. Barwar, *ʾi-patəx* is negated with *lay-patəx* while *bəd-patəx* is negated by *la-patəx or lay-patəx*.[137] The negations *lay* and *le* are the result of a merger between the negation *la* and the /i/ which is part of the prefixes *ʾi-* and *ci-*. Subsequent chapters will investigate whether these new negations are used in negated subordinate constructions.

2.20	*mə́r-e*	*ʾána*	***lè-y-yăð-ən***	*módi-le*	*bə́rya*|
	say.PST-L.3MS	I	NEG-IND-know.PRS-D.1SG	what-COP.3MS	happen.PTCP.MS

Rustam said 'I don't know what happened.' (C. Barwar A29:56)

2.1.2.7 Deontic particles

The imperatives *xuš* 'go' or *švuḵ/šuḵ* 'leave, allow' are prefixed to *patəx* forms in C. Urmi in order to express deontic modality 'let, may'.[138] Similarly, C. Barwar employ *xoš*, *də-*/*de-*, and *šut* as deontic

[133] Waltisberg, *Syntax Des Ṭuroyo*, 133–36, 141–43.

[134] Waltisberg, 142–43.

[135] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 270–71.

[136] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:139–41.

[137] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:604.

[138] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:276.

prefixes.[139] Both dialects also employ *+lazəm/lazəm* 'be necessary', *ɟarəc/găreg* 'must', and *majbur* 'must' to express necessity (see 3.2.11).[140]

2.21 *ʾátxa ɟắri ʾòdət.*|
like.this must do.PRS-D.2MS
'You must do it this way.' (C. Urmi A 35:9)

2.22 *ɟắri +ḵàṯl-ət ḵát-i*| *mátt-ət láxxa ɟu-+ḵóra*
must kill.PRS.D.2MS to-POSS.1SG put.PRS-D.2MS here in-grave
cəs-+ɟòri| *+ṯamr-ət-li*| *ʾíta ʾàz-ət.*|
with-husband-POSS.1SG bury.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG then go.PRS-D.2MS
'You must kill me and put me here in the grave with my husband, bury me, then go.' (C. Urmi A 2:34)

2.1.2.8 Summary of progressive, imperfective, and future verbal forms

The development of progressive verbal forms can be outlined as follows. The system remains relatively stable over the first millennium BC. Table 2.1 summarises this development. The main shift takes place between Syriac and NENA; the prefix conjugation stops being used and new verbal forms emerge, *k-patəx* and *bəd-patəx* based on *patəx*, and *bəptaxələ*/*bəptaxa* based on the infinitive.

Verbal form/Period	Imperial/Biblical Aramaic	Syriac	Early NENA	Modern NENA
Prefix conjugation	x	x	–	–
Active participle	x	x	x	x
k-patəx	–	–	x	x
bəptaxələ/bəptaxa	–	–	x (19th century)	x
bəd-patəx	–	–	x	x

Table 2.1 Distribution of progressive, imperfective, future, and subjunctive verbal forms

There are also shifts even between Imperial Aramaic and Syriac. The active participle has a much more prominent function in Syriac than in earlier forms of Aramaic. Figure 2.1 and 2.2 illustrate this shift. However, the difference between the two verbal forms may be even more pronounced than the figures illustrate. It is certainly true that the Syriac participle has all the functions from progressive to

[139] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:576–77.

[140] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:116–17, 235; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:581.

subjunctive but the latter is very rare. Moreover, the Syriac prefix conjugation is more prominent as a future and a modal form and is only rarely used as a present or imperfective.

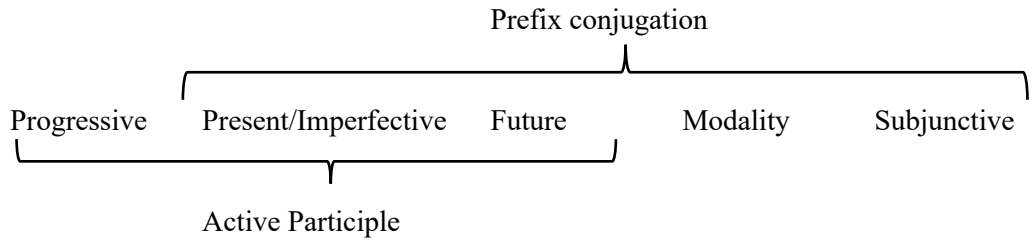

Figure 2.1 Imperial/Biblical Aramaic progressive/present verbal forms

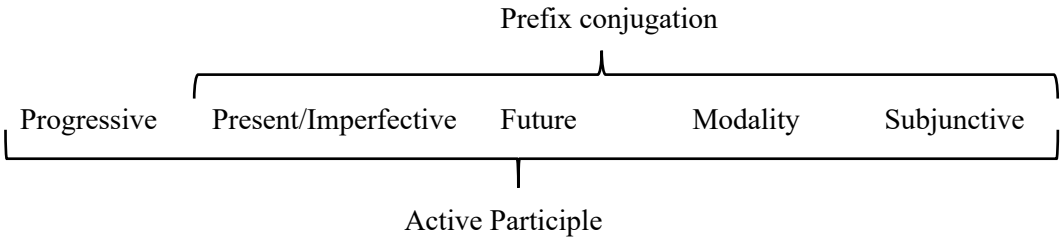

Figure 2.2 Syriac progressive, present, and future verbal forms

The developments that takes place between Syriac and NENA are important. Figure 2.3 outlines these functions. The plain *patəx* has a role that is very reminiscent of the Syriac prefix conjugation, expressing future tense, modality, or subjunctive. Interestingly, two new progressive verbal forms have emerged to replace *patəx*. Functionally it seems as if *k-patəx* is developing along a similar trajectory as the prefix conjugation and the plain *patəx*. Yet, it is not an imperfective form to the same extent as the previous two. Moreover, *k-patəx* is not used with the same frequency as a future or a modal verbal form as the Syriac active participle. Instead, these functions are expressed by *patəx* and *bəd-patəx*. It remains to be seen how the emergence of *bəd-patəx* will influence the grammaticalisation path of *k-patəx*. Equally, the emergence of the new progressive *bəptaxələ* may change the trajectory of *k-patəx* (cf. 3.2.7, 3.2.8).

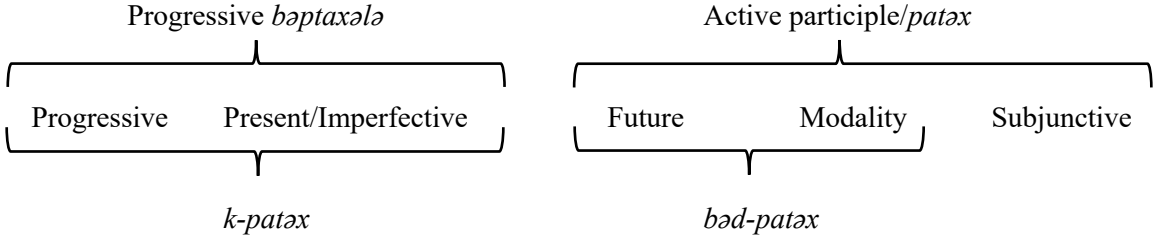

Figure 2.3 NENA progressive, present and future verbal forms

2.1.3 Resultative, perfective, and past verbal forms

We now turn to resultatives and perfectives. Cross-linguistically, resultative verbal forms often develop into an anterior (i.e. 'perfect') which subsequently develops into a perfective or simple past verbal

form.[141] The development into a perfective or a simple past is contingent on other members of the verbal system. Perfective verbal forms typically develop when there is also a past imperfective form in the verbal system.[142] These verbal forms are not used frequently in complement clauses or purpose clauses but they feature in serial-like constructions and in relative clauses.

2.1.3.1 The Syriac suffix conjugation

The suffix conjugation is the main verbal form expressing past tense in Syriac. It is the form which serves as the backbone of every Syriac narrative.[143] This verbal form has two basic functions when used independently: 'perfect' and 'pluperfect'. In conditional constructions with a temporal nuance (*mā d-* 'when, if'), it can also be used as a future perfect.

2.23	*wa-**praš***	*tammān*	*ʿal-eh*	*ʿal*	*šeṯestā*	*w-ḥawwi*
	and-expound.SC	there	about-POSS.3FS	about	foundation	and-show.SC
	and he expounded about the foundation and showed (Aph 1, 9:18–19)					

Historically the suffix conjugation developed from a (stative) verbal adjective through the addition of pronominal suffixes, hence the term suffix conjugation. It is generally agreed that this West Semitic verbal form originated as a resultative, a function which is attested in Akkadian statives. This represented the first step on the well-known grammaticalisation path from resultative to perfect/anterior which often develops further into a perfective or simple past.[144] The Hebrew suffix conjugation also developed along this path; serving as a resultative-perfect in pre-biblical Hebrew, a perfect-perfective in Biblical Hebrew, and primarily as a simple past in post-biblical Hebrew.[145] The Syriac suffix conjugation has followed this well-trodden path, leading to its function as a perfect and simple past.

The suffix conjugation can also be used in various hypothetical contexts, often to express a wish.[146] Similarly, the suffix conjugation of the verb *hwā* 'be' can be used together with a participle or an adjective to express a wish, advice, or a command, i.e. deontic modality. Nöldeke calls this the optative function.[147] The suffix conjugation of *hwā* can also express irrealis or subjunctive mood when it is followed by a participle in a subordinate clause (marked by *d-*).[148] Both combinations with *hwā* may be

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[141] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 105.

[142] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 91.

[143] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 202.

[144] Kouwenberg, *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*, 181; Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 26–28; Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 20–3; Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 81–7.

[145] Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 268–70.

[146] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 202–05.

[147] Nöldeke, 205; Goldenberg, *Semitic Languages*, 204–05.

[148] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 205–06.

the seeds of later Neo-Aramaic constructions, e.g. deontic or epistemic modality expressed by *pateḥ* or *d-pateḥ*.[149]

The suffix conjugation of *hwā* can also be used as a past time marker. When used in a chain it is not obligatory with every verb.[150] This function is the main trace of the suffix conjugation that has remained in NENA dialects. The suffix conjugation is sometimes attested in early NENA poems from the seventeenth century – but only in quotations, prologues, or epilogues.[151]

2.1.3.2 Passive participle

The passive participle does not feature prominently in Syriac subordinate clauses. Because the same is true for the NENA *ptəxlə* form, only a brief outline is in order. Goldenberg classified non-active participles as "perfect/passive", perfect essentially meaning resultative.[152] The passive participle primarily serves as a verbal adjective in the book of Daniel.[153] Li suggests that it can be resultative without being passive and vice versa – the passive function being more common. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the passive participle is in its early stages of development into a resultative verbal form.[154] The passive participle thus begins as a verbal adjective developing into a resultative (resultative > anterior > perfective or simple past). This is the same path as the stative (verbal adjective).[155]

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Nöldeke notes that the passive participle can be used as the predicate of a clause instead of the suffix conjugation, functioning as an anterior.[156] These observations point to the classification of the passive participle as an anterior or perfect in Syriac.

The agent of the event can be expressed through the preposition *l-*, with transitive as well as intransitive verbs.[157] If the passive participle is followed by the suffix conjugation of *hwā* 'be' it forms a 'pluperfect'.[158]

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[149] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 304–10, for these functions.

[150] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 207.

[151] Mengozzi, 'The Contribution of Early Christian Vernacular Poetry from Northern Iraq to Neo-Aramaic Dialectology: Preliminary Remarks on the Verbal System.', 28–9.

[152] Goldenberg, 'Aramaic Perfects', 114–15; Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 61.

[153] Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 60.

[154] Li, 62–5.

[155] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 26–8; cf. Goldenberg, 'Aramaic Perfects', 113–33; note also that Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*, 70–4 places t-stem participles in another category. They are passive counterparts to the active participle, i.e. imperfective verbal forms expressing middle voice.

[156] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 218.

[157] Nöldeke, 219–20.

[158] Nöldeke, 219–20.

2.24	*d-lā*	*nurā*	*qṭīlā*	*l-āḵ*
	COMP-NEG	fire	kill.PASS.PTCP	to-POSS.2SG
	(I know) that you did not extinguish the fire (PMA 5, I 16:9)			

2.25	*šmiʿ*	*hwā*	*l-eh*	*ger*
	hear.PASS.PTCP.MS	be.SC.3MS	SUBJ-POSS.3MS	for
	For he had heard (Babai's martyrdom of George 12, 440:6)			

Constructions with *l-* are the seeds that eventually developed into the NENA *ptəxlə* form. A few examples are attested already in Imperial Aramaic, although restricted to constructions with specific transitive verbs: 'hear' and 'make'.[159] They are also relatively rare in Syriac and contemporary eastern Aramaic dialects, such as Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic.[160]

NENA ptəxlə

The NENA past tense form *ptəxlə*, which developed from Syriac construction with the passive participle, is often used in narratives with a perfective aspect. It can express present perfect in Qaraqosh but that function is more often expressed through *k-ilə qtila*. With stative verbs, the sense may be ingressive.[161]

In C. Barwar and C. Urmi *ptəxlə* is often used to express events in the recent past. Moreover, it does not assert the existence of a resultant state. Such assertions are made through a combination of the resultative participle and the copula. With psychological verbs, *ptəxlə* can be translated as a present, referring to the act of acquiring knowledge or perceiving something.[162] In some contexts the use of *ptəxlə* for the immediate past has been extended to include events that are about to happen. Similarly, *ptəxlə* can be used with a performative function.[163]

2.26	*w-**pēš-lēh***	*Ø-mbarboz-ayhi*		*d-lā*	*xyāsā*
	and-begin.PST-L.3MS	PROG-waste.INF-POSS.3PL		without	care
	He began to waste it unsparingly (Aḥ 563)				

2.27	***mər-e***|	*har-ði-lɛxu*	***príq-lən***	*mən-ṭúra,*|
	say.PST-L.3MS	as.soon.as-know-L.2PL	finish.PST-L.1PL	from-mountain

[159] Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt Und Modalität Im Reichsaramäischen*, 184–85; cf. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*, 173; Coghill, *The Rise and Fall of Ergativity in Aramaic*, 162–64.

[160] Coghill, *The Rise and Fall of Ergativity in Aramaic*, 164; Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 219–20.

[161] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 318–19.

[162] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:614–15; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:143–44.

[163] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:616; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:145.

He said ‘As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain (C. Barwar B19:6)

In C. Barwar, there is a partial overlap between *ptəxlə* and *ptəxwalə*. The former is used for immediate and recent past events while the latter is used for recent and remote past events.[164] Khan mentions several additional functions, including its use to express future perfect or backgrounded events.[165]

2.1.3.3 Resultative participle

The resultative participle is the most recent member on this grammaticalisation path. The previous section noted that this verbal form is combined with the past or present copula to express resultant states. This function is already attested with past and present enclitic copula in early NENA texts.[166]

2.28	*wē-b-dāʾyēmtuṯā*	***qimā***	*wey-wā*	*be-xedmett-ayhi*
	and-in-consistency	stand.PTCP	COP.3MS-AUX.PST	in-service-POSS.3PL
	d-lā	*pelmā*		
	without	dishonesty		

He had remained constantly in their service without dishonesty. (Aḥ 538)

In short, this combination has developed into an anterior, completely replacing *ptəxlə* as a resultative. In some dialects, this verbal form has additional functions but it is mainly used as a resultative and anterior/perfect.

2.1.3.4 The periphrastic preterite or *qəm-patəx-le*

Several NENA dialects have a past prefix that can be attached to *patəx* forms. This past tense form is often used instead of *ptəxlə* with transitive verbs (together with object suffixes). Moreover, in C. Barwar, *qəm-patəx-wa-le* (with an additional *-wa* suffix) can be used for events further removed in the past.[167] This verbal form probably originated in the Mosul plain dialects during the 17th and 18th centuries; becoming more common in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is, for example, relatively common in the Aḥiqar text but only rarely attested in the earliest poems.[168]

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[164] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 319–21; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:614–15.

[165] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:616–18; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:146–50.

[166] Sachau, *Skizze Des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul*, 51–2; cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:188; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:281.

[167] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:609–13.

[168] Cf. Mengozzi, ‘The Contribution of Early Christian Vernacular Poetry from Northern Iraq to Neo-Aramaic Dialectology: Preliminary Remarks on the Verbal System.’, 35; Fassberg, ‘The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite Kəm/Qam-Qāṭəlle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic’, 171–73, 180–82.

Four possible etymologies have been suggested for the prefix *qəm*:[169] (1) the preposition *qŏḏām* 'before';[170] (2) the suffix conjugation forms *qḏam* or *qaddem* 'do before';[171] (3) the *patəx* form *qayəm* 'rise';[172] (4) the *k*-prefix in combination with the *m*-prefix of stem II and stem III *patəx* forms.[173] For our purposes it is not necessary to establish the etymology of *qəm-* (cf. 6.4.5).

2.1.3.5 Summary resultative, anterior and perfective/past verbal forms

The development of resultative, anterior, and past verbal forms can be summarised in much the same way as the progressive forms. In the first millennium BC, there are two verbal forms on this grammaticalisation path, the older suffix conjugation and the newer passive participle. In earlier forms of Aramaic, the passive participle is mostly a resultative verbal form but in Syriac it has developed into an anterior/perfect – competing with the suffix conjugation.

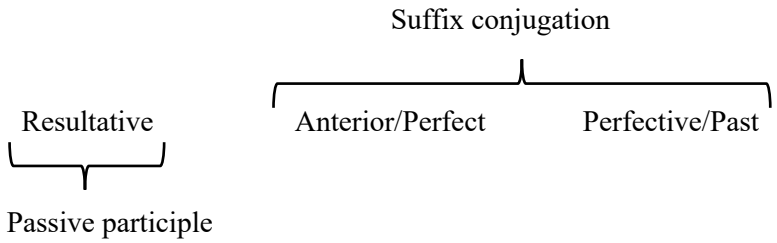

Figure 2.4 Imperial/Biblical Aramaic resultative, anterior, and past verbal forms

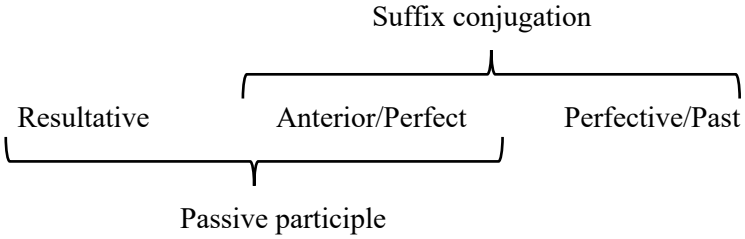

Figure 2.5 Syriac resultative, anterior, and past verbal forms

[169] Cf. Fassberg, 'The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite Kəm/Qam-Qāṭəlle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 174–82 for further bibliographical references on these four views.

[170] Nöldeke, *Grammatik Der Neusyrischen Sprache*, 296.

[171] Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 82.

[172] Pennacchietti, 'Il preterito neoaramaico con pronome oggetto'; Pennacchietti, 'On the Etymology of the Neo-Aramaic Particle qam/kim-'.

[173] Fassberg, 'The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite Kəm/Qam-Qāṭəlle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 177–82.

In NENA (early modern and modern) the story repeats itself. The resultative participle with the copula emerged as a new resultative and anterior form. It may be impossible to determine when this combination first emerged but it functions as an anterior in the late nineteenth century. Lastly, the NENA system also employs *qəm-patəx-le* in clauses where there is a direct object. Considering the close connection with *ptəxlə*, this form may be replaced by the resultative participle in the future.

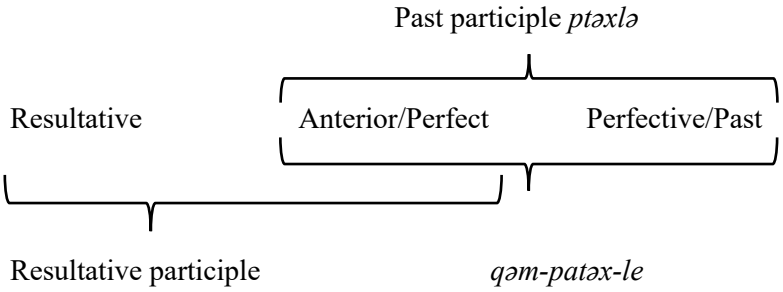

Figure 2.6 NENA resultative, anterior, and past verbal forms

2.1.4 Grammaticalisation and subordination

Grammaticalisation is very important for understanding the use of verbal forms in subordinate clauses. This can be clearly seen through a comparison between *patəx*, *k-patəx* and *bəd-patəx*. Both *patəx* and *bəd-patəx* can express modality but they belong to different grammaticalisation paths. The last form, *k-patəx*, is developing along a similar path as *patəx* but may not acquire subordinating modality, mainly due to the presence of *bəd-patəx*. Subordinating modality belongs to the beginning or the end of a grammaticalisation path. The form *bəd-patəx* has its origin in a subordinate construction and this shows that subordinating forms may influence the shape of new verbal form. Yet, the use of specific forms in subordinate clauses is often determined by their previous history. The Aramaic finite verbal forms were not developed so that they could be used in subordinate clauses; that is a role they acquired much later. The use of verbal forms in Syriac and NENA is, therefore, very much determined by the grammaticalisation of the Syriac prefix conjugation and NENA *patəx*. The exception to this pattern may be the more recent verbal form *bəptaxa* (see 3.2.6 and 3.2.7).

2.2 Intonational phonology

Intonational phonology is an area located between phonology and syntax. One could argue that prosodic structure, or intonation contour, is mapped onto an already existing structure. As Féry notes, this is a debated topic.[174] For this chapter and for the discussion of intonation in subsequent chapters, it is not important to determine whether this is true or not.

[174] Féry, *Intonation and Prosodic Structure*, 59–60.

It is, however, important to distinguish between prosodic phrases and intonational phrases. An intonational phrase has at least one pitch accent and one boundary tone, occurring between two intonation group boundaries.[175] The relationship between intonational phrases and the syntax of subordinate clauses is the focus here. It is relatively well known that intonation can be used to integrate or separate clauses or clause constituents. For example, complement clauses that follow verbs like 'make' or 'tell' are often part of the same intonation group as the complement-taking verb.[176] Similarly, canonical relative clauses often belong to the same intonational phrase as the main clause, or the common argument shared by the main clause and the relative clause.[177] In modern NENA dialects intonation group boundaries can also be used in extraposition of subjects. If a subject is separated from the rest of the clause by a prosodic boundary, it can only serve as a topical subject.[178] Intonation group boundaries are also used in NENA dialects to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.[179]

2.2.1 Syriac pausal accent

The above survey raises an important question. Can we determine where phonetic pauses occurred in ancient languages that are primarily attested in written sources? While linguists working with modern languages can use recordings, there are no speakers of classical Syriac or Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. However, Syriac has a very elaborate system of accentuation. This is not the place for an in-depth discussion of this complex system of punctuation. Yet, some of these accents signify a pause much like an intonation group boundary. These accents are primarily single and double dots also known as *pasōqā*, *ʿalāyā*, *taḥtāyā* and *šewāyā*. Single dots in early manuscripts typically serve a similar function as a full stop or a comma. In later times, various double dots are added to this system, marking boundaries within a sentence.[180]

This investigation considers the distribution of punctuation marks in comparison with intonation group boundaries in modern NENA dialects. The following manuscripts form the basis of this survey: BL Add. Mss. 14619 and 17182 from the late fifth and early sixth centuries, containing Aphrahat's demonstrations; and BL Add. Ms.14598 from the seventh to the tenth century, containing Philoxenus' discourses. The system of dots is significantly more elaborate in the later manuscript than in the two earlier ones. This comparison is not a full-scale analysis of Syriac pausal accent. Rather, it serves as a series of pilot studies.

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[175] Féry, 60.

[176] Givón, *Syntax*, 2:40–1.

[177] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:314.

[178] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:399–400.

[179] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:955.

[180] Cf. Segal, *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*, 73–6.

The idea that pausal accents, and non-pausal accents, could have a prosodic function is not new. Some scholars of Biblical Hebrew have argued that Hebrew accents primarily served as markers of semantic or syntactic units.[181] Dresher, however, has argued that these accents primarily have a prosodic function, marking both prosodic phrases and intonational phrases.[182] In the Tiberian tradition, the major disjunctive accents *silluq, ʾatnaḥ,* and *ʿole wə-yored* are typically used together with a pausal form at the end of a pronunciation unit. Pausal forms are sometimes used with the weaker disjunctive accents as well, particularly *segolta, zaqef*, and *ṭippeḥa*.[183] It is likely that these accents and pausal forms mark the end of an intonation group boundary.

This survey of pausal accents is primarily exploratory. If data and arguments presented in subsequent chapters are convincing, it will open a new avenue into the study of historical syntax and phonology.

2.3 Grammatical Markers

The term grammatical marker, in this context, refers to particles or conjunctions that are used to mark subordinate constructions. Much of the discussion is focused on the use of *d-*. Reflexes of this marker are attested in all stages of Aramaic, from the Old Aramaic inscriptions to Neo-Aramaic dialects. This particle also plays an important role in the formation of many new conjunctions. There is also broad agreement regarding the origin of this particle as a relative-determinative pronoun.[184] This investigation makes no attempt to contribute to the reconstruction of this particle or modify the current narrative about its origin. The focus is the development of *d-* and the use of this marker in new functions, especially in relation to other grammatical markers used in Syriac and NENA.

Typological literature often provide charts of development for grammatical markers. Schmidke-Bode provides an preliminary sketch of historical developments related to purpose clauses. Although preliminary, the figure provides important information on possible pathways for the development of grammatical markers. The two most important are from demonstrative to purposive marker and from allative/benefactive to relative marker:

Demonstrative > Relative > Complementiser > Purpose
Allative/Benefactive > Purpose > Complementiser > Relative

[181] Cf. Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah*.

[182] Dresher, 'The Prosodic Basis of the Tiberian Hebrew System of Accents'.

[183] Fassberg, 'Pausal Forms'; cf. Revell, *The Pausal System: Divisions in the Hebrew Biblical Text as Marked by Voweling and Stress Position*.

[184] Cf. Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, 23–8; Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 28–30.

This is the point where time-depth becomes significant. Aramaic has such a long recorded history that the language could go through pendulum swings or cycles of development. One example of this might be the use of fricative phonemes in NENA and other Neo-Aramaic dialects. Several of these phonemes seem to have existed in Proto-Semitic: *ġ*, *ḏ*, *x*, *ṯ*. In Old Aramaic and many later Aramaic dialects these phonemes were no longer present. Fast-forward to Neo-Aramaic and they have re-emerged (and sometimes been lost again).[185] This illustrates how a language, over a longer period of time, may regain some features that have been lost. The grammaticalisation paths of verbal forms also show that a verbal system may go through similar processes several times during its history. Has something similar happened in the development of grammatical markers from Syriac to NENA? The short answer to this question is yes. Subsequent chapters outline the use and functions of various markers. The longer answer to this question is given in 8.3.

[185] Jastrow, 'Language Contact as Reflected in the Consonant System of Ṭuroyo', 237–41.

3 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses are at the heart of this investigation of Aramaic subordination. One of the most basic and crucial aspects to consider is the nature of so-called complement-taking verbs. Every language has a verb class which together with the noun class is at the heart of the linguistic system. Verbs can be divided into several categories which sometimes overlap. For example, one may distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs only occur in clauses with both a subject argument and a direct object; intransitive verbs occur in clauses with only a subject argument but no direct object.[186]

Every language also has a class of verbs which could be termed 'primary verbs'. Primary verbs can be subdivided into two categories: primary A and primary B verbs. The main feature of primary A verbs is that each slot must be filled by a noun phrase. Consequently, they are unable to take a complement clause. For example, the intransitive verbs 'walk' and 'stand' may not take a complement clause as their subject. Similarly, the transitive verb 'drink' cannot take a complement clause as its agent or direct object. Primary A verbs typically include semantic categories such as MOTION ('walk'), REST ('stand') AFFECT ('kick'), GIVING ('give'), or CORPOREAL ('drink') among others.

By contrast, primary B verbs can take a complement clause and be classified as complement-taking verbs.[187] This category consists of verbs of ATTENTION (e.g. 'see', 'hear'), THINKING (e.g. 'know', 'think'), DECIDING (e.g. 'decide', 'plan'), LIKING (e.g. 'love', 'fear'), and SPEAKING (e.g. 'say', 'report'). Complement-taking verbs come in two varieties: Primary B verbs and secondary verbs. The Primary B concepts listed in this paragraph are always expressed through verbal lexemes in the world's languages. The same is not true for secondary concepts. They may be coded through verbal lexemes or grammar depending on the language in question. This is why Dixon categorise these concepts as secondary.[188] In Syriac, these concepts are typically expressed through verbal lexemes (e.g. *ṣbā* 'want' or *mṣā* 'be able'). The concepts 'make' or 'let', however, are often expressed through morphological processes (see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). Dixon also divides secondary verbs into further subcategories: secondary A verbs (e.g. 'be able', 'begin', or 'try'), secondary B verbs (e.g. 'want', 'hope'), and secondary C verbs (e.g. 'make', 'force'). These three categories are motivated by cross-linguistic differences; e.g. the use of the causative prefix to express certain secondary C concepts.[189]

The following questions are especially relevant for the investigation of complement clauses: What complement-taking verbs are attested and how are they used in the different corpora? What verbal forms are used in complement clauses? How has the formal marking of complement clauses evolved, particularly the use of complementisers? What role do intonation group boundaries play in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic? Do Syriac manuscripts exhibit a similar or different distribution of pausal dots?

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[186] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 1:103.

[187] Dixon, 2:394.

[188] Dixon, 2:370–71, 399.

[189] Cf. Dixon, 2:394–405.

3.1 Different types of complement clauses

While all categories are attested in the corpus, secondary C verbs are relatively rare, especially ‘make’, ‘force’, and ‘let’ which are typically coded through the causative prefix; i.e. pattern III in Syriac and NENA. There are, however, occasional periphrastic causatives, constructed with Syriac *ʿbaḏ* ‘do, make’ and its NENA cognate *mavvəd*.[190] These periphrastic causatives are discussed further in the next chapter.

3.1	***meškaḥ-Ø=wā***	*d-neʿbeḏ l-eh*	*d-lā*	*nemuṯ*
	be.able.PTCP-3MS=PST.3MS	comp-make.PC.3MS L.3MS	COMP-NEG	die.PC.3MS
	He was able to make it not die. (Thom 210:18–19)			

One secondary C concept which is attested in all three corpora is *šbaq* ‘allow, let’. Other important verbs whose development can be traced through the corpora are primary B verbs *ḥzā* ‘see’, *īḏaʿ* ‘know’, *ḥšaḇ* ‘think’, *ʾemar* ‘say’ and secondary verbs *mṣā* ‘be able’, *šarrī* ‘begin’, *bʿā* ‘ask, want’.

3.1.1 Fact complements

Cross-linguistically there are three types of complement clauses; fact complements, activity complements, and potential complements. Fact complements refer to a state (3.2) or a completed activity (3.3).[191]

3.2	*qəm-xaz-í-la*	*málla*	*díy-ən*	*hálbat*	*snìqe-wɛwa.*|
	PST-see.PRS-D.3PL-L.3FS	community	GEN-POSS.1SG	of.course	needy-COP.PST.3FS
	They found that our community was very needy. (C. Barwar B17:10)				

3.3	*xárθa*	*tfíq-e*	*bíy-e*	*xəzyə=l-le*
	then	come.across.PTCP-PL	OBJ-3MS	find.PTCP.=COP3MS-L.3MS
	ʾína	*šənya,*|	*npìla.*|	
	COMP	faint.PTCP	fall.PTCP	
	Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen. (C. Barwar A14:88)			

3.1.2 Activity complements

Activity complements refer to an ongoing activity, e.g. ‘I noticed Mary(’s) weeding the garden’.[192] Clear cases of activity complements are relatively rare in the present corpora. For Syriac, this may be due to

[190] Cf. Khan, ‘Causative Constructions in Neo-Aramaic (Christian Urmi Dialect)’, 522–23 for periphrastic causatives in C. Urmi.

[191] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:389.

[192] Dixon, 2:392.

the texts' genre. A similar explanation could be given for the lack of examples in the early NENA texts. In C. Barwar and C. Urmi there are some examples, particularly with verbs of attention.[193]

3.4	*xáz-ən*	*mò*	*ṯ-áwəð-Ø*	*ʾáwwa*	*páṛa.*|
	see.PRS.-D.1SG	what	COMP-do.PRS-D.3MS	DEM	lamb
	I'd like to see what this lamb is doing. (C. Barwar A34:29)				

3.1.3 Potential complements

Potential complements express the potentiality of the subject being involved in an activity. They are particularly common with secondary verbs and some languages require the complement-taking verb and the complement clause to share the same subject.[194] Khan's term 'direct irrealis complement' focuses on the 'unrealised' nature of some complements, typically expressed through *patəx* and *patəxwa* forms in the modern dialects.[195] There is some overlap between the two categories but potential complements also include complement clauses with other verbal forms (e.g. 3.6).[196]

3.5	*ʾáw*	*bă̈ye-Ø*	***t-yȁ̈ðe-Ø,***|		***xáze-Ø***
	DEM.3MS	want.PRS-D.3MS	COMP-know.PRS-D.3MS		see.PRS-D.3MS
	mòdi=la	*qáṣṣət.*|			
	what=COP.3FS	story			
	He wants to know, find out what had happened. (C. Barwar A4:30)				

3.6	*là-mṣe-li*	***muθy-á-li.***|
	NEG-be.able.PST-L.1SG	bring.PST-D.3FS-L.1SG
	I could not bring her. (C. Barwar A8:55)	

3.2 The use of verbal forms

The choice of verbal forms in complement clauses is typically influenced by two factors: the nature of the event that the speaker or writer wants to express and the semantics or valency of the complement-taking verb. Some complement-taking verbs predetermine the time reference, aspect and mood of their complement clause verbs. For example, verbs of perception (primary B ATTENTION verbs) typically require the two events to be simultaneous, while also requiring the mood to be factual and the aspect on-going (i.e. imperfective). Knowledge predicates (primary B THINKING verbs) also require the mood

[193] Cf. Dixon, 2:395; Dixon and Aikhenvald, *Complementation*, 27–9.

[194] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:392–93.

[195] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:978–79.

[196] Khan, 1:939–40.

to be factual but do not determine the reference time or the aspect.[197] Yet, there is typically a variety of verbal forms used in clauses serving as complements to primary B verbs.

3.2.1 Primary B verbs in Syriac

For the discussion of Syriac primary B verbs we begin with the patterns exhibited in Ephrem's *Sermo de Domino nostro*. (1) Primary B THINKING verbs (e.g. *īḏaʿ* 'know') are typically combined with a suffix conjugation form or a verbless complement clause.[198] (2) Verbless complement clauses are only used with verbs denoting ATTENTION and THINKING (e.g. 3.7). (3) Similarly, most suffix conjugation forms are found in complement clauses where the complement-taking verb refers to THINKING or ATTENTION (e.g. 3.8). (4) An active participle is used when the complement clause verb serves as a general present (e.g. 3.9). (5) Prefix conjugation verbs are typically used in conjunction with secondary complement-taking verbs.

3.7 *w-man d-sāḇer* *d-rešiṯ-eh* *min maryam* *hī*
and-who REL-think.PTCP.MS COMP-beginning-POSS.3MS from PN PRON.3FS
whoever thinks that his beginning was from Mary … (SdDn II 22vo b, 7)

3.8 *haw* *ger* *ḥaršā* *b-ṣeḇʿāṯā d-besrā* *ʾargeš=wā*
DEM.3MS for dumb with-fingers GEN-body feel.SC.3MS be.PST.3MS
d-qarreḇ *l-ʾeḏn-aw* *w-gaš* *lešānā*
COMP-approach.SC.3MS OBJ-ear-POSS.3MS and-touch.SC.3MS tongue
For that dumb man, with the fingers of the body, sensed that he had approached his ears and touched his tongue. (SdDn X 26vo a, 11–vo b, 2)

3.9 *d-nawdaʿ-Ø* *enun* *hāḵel* *mār-an*
PURP-make.known.PC.-3MS PRON.3MP so lord-POSS.1PL
d-šāḇeq-Ø *ḥṭiṯā* *hū*
COMP-forgive.PTCP-MS sin PRON.MS
so that our Lord might make known to them that he forgives sins. (SdDn XXI 31Vb:2)

The material from Aphrahat's demonstrations show a similar distribution as Ephrem's sermon, the suffix conjugation and the active participle being the most common forms after primary B verbs. The same applies to the samples of east Syriac texts. Interestingly, the sample from Philoxenus' discourses only has one attestation of a suffix conjugation verb in a complement clause. The other examples either have an active participle, a prefix conjugation form, or a verbless clause.

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[197] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 109–10.

[198] Cristofaro, 110 notes that knowledge predicates require their complement clauses to express factual mood.

3.2.2 Primary B verbs in early modern NENA

The early modern NENA material exhibit a similar distribution as the Syriac corpus. In total, there are ca. 250 complement clauses in the poems and the Aḥiqar text. The poems exhibit a variety of verbal forms, most of which are *patəx* or one of the new forms based on this stem.[199]

3.10 *kšef-le* *d-**bed kāfer*** *b-āw laylē*
reveal.PST-L.3MS COMP-FUT deny.PRS-Ø in-DEM.MS night
He revealed that he would deny him that night. (JT 4:59a)

The high frequency of *patəx* forms in the poems is probably more circumstantial than a reflection of a different grammatical system. The data from the Aḥiqar text are more evenly spread. Copula clauses are used in 3.11 and a periphrastic passive in 3.12, i.e. *ptəxle* and a resultative participle.

3.11 *msaḇaḇ* *d-emšudrē* *d-perʿon* *d-meṣrēn* *malkā*
because REL-messengers GEN-Pharaoh GEN-Egypt king
ʾiṯē-lay *l-gēb-i* *d-yadʾ-i* ***māqā=ʾlāh***
come.PST-L.3PL to-with-POSS.1SG PURP-know.PRS-D.3PL how.big=COP.3FS
ʿaskar ***d-ʾēt-ti*** ***w-dix=ilay*** ***ʿaskarāṯ-i***
army REL-exist-L.1SG and-how=COP.3PL troops-POSS.1SG
for messengers of Pharaoh king of Egypt have come to me to know what the seize of the army I have is and how my troops are. (Aḥ 567)

3.12 *kud* *šmē-lēh* *perʿun* *d-**peš-lēh*** ***qṭilā***
when hear.PST-L.3MS pharaoh COMP-be.PST-L.3MS kill.PTCP
ʾaḥiqār *ḥakimā*
PN wise
when pharaoh heard that Aḥiqār the wise had been killed (Aḥ 578)

3.2.3 Primary B verbs in C. Barwar and C. Urmi

Are there similar patterns in modern NENA dialects? The plain *patəx* form is typically used in C. Barwar when the complement clause refers to an unrealised event and has perfective aspect.[200] This form is not used with perception verbs precisely because they require the aspect of the verb to be imperfective and the complement clause event to be simultaneous.

[199] Cf. Coghill, 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh', 136.

[200] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:579–80.

Consider the verb *mqarər* ‘decide’ which is only attested twice in the corpus of C. Barwar. A future form of the copula verb *hawe* is used in the complement clause, probably because primary B verbs of deciding generally take potential complements.

3.13	*xéna táma*	*mqărár-əx*	*ʾáti*	*báxtə*	*d-éni*	***ṯ-àw-ət.***|
	then	decide.PRS-D.1PL	PRON.3FS	wife	GEN-PRON.1PL	FUT-be.PRS-D.3FS
	then we shall decide whose wife you will be. (C. Barwar A8:80)					

The verb *yaðəʾ* ‘know’ is attested with a wide range of verbal forms. The following complement clauses have *ʾi-patəx* (3.14); *qem-patəx* (3.15); a progressive (3.16); and the enclitic copula (3.17). Other clauses contain habitual *patəx-wa*, future *bəd-patəx*, past *ptəxle*, and the resultative participle combined with the enclitic copula.[201]

3.14	*w-áni*	*yắð-i*	*dáx*	***ʾi-xálw-i***	*tawàrta.*|
	and-they	know.PRS-D.3PL	how	IND-to.milk.PRS-D.3PL	cow
	They know how to milk the cow. (C. Barwar B5:175)				

3.15	*mí-ðən-Ø*	*káma*	*pušánge*	***qəm-matt-ì-la***|	
	NEG-know.PRS-D.3MS	how.many	bullets	PST-fire.PRS-D.3PL-L.3PL	
	I don’t know how many bullets they fired at them. (C. Barwar B9:22)				

3.16	*léla*	*Ø-ðáʾa*	*módi*	***Ø-bràya,***|
	NEG.COP.3FS	PROG-know.INF	what	PROG-happen.INF
	she did not know what was happening (C. Barwar A8:73)			

3.17	*lán-Ø-ðaʾa*	*módi-**la***	*qàṣṣət.*|
	NEG.COP.1SG-PROG-know.INF	what-COP.3FS	story
	I don’t know what the story is. (C. Barwar A12:52)		

Complement-taking verbs of this variety usually take fact or potential complements, often requiring the mood to be factual.[202] Consequently, it is in not surprising to find such an array of verbal forms attested with *yaðəʾ*.

[201] Cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 348–49.

[202] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:396–97.

Verbs of THINKING are also attested frequently with copula clauses in both C. Barwar and C. Urmi (e.g. *xašəw* 'think'). In fact, copula clauses are attested with verbs in four of Dixon's five categories (ATTENTION, THINKING, DECIDING, and SPEAKING). The only type which it is not attested is primary B verbs of LIKING, probably due to the small sample of such verbs in the corpora.

3.2.4 Summary primary B verbs

In Syriac, primary B verbs like *īḏaʿ* 'know' or SPEECH and PERCEPTION verbs occur with several different verbal forms. The above sample shows complement clauses with the suffix conjugation, the active participle, and the enclitic copula. There are also complement clauses with a prefix conjugation form, an existential particle, or the passive participle. The infinitive is, typically, not used in these contexts. In the modern dialects, most verbal forms can be used with these verb types. The reason seems to be that they only require the mood to be factual, while the tense and aspect is undetermined (or decided by contextual factors).[203] Still, the abundance of copula clauses with *īðaʾ* and the lack of *patəx* forms with PERCEPTION verbs suggest that the semantics of these primary complement-taking verbs influence the choice of verbal forms. Similar observations can be made about Ṭuroyo. Attention verbs like *ḥoze* 'see' or *šomiʿ* 'hear' are rarely followed by the subjunctive (the counterpart to NENA *patəx*). Similarly, verbs related to THINKING tend to be followed by verbal forms expressing indicative mood.[204]

From a diachronic perspective the changes that occur between Syriac and the modern NENA dialects align with broader structural changes in the Aramaic verbal system. Past tense forms such as NENA *ḵam-patəx* or *ptəxle* occupy a similar place in the verbal system as the Syriac suffix conjugation. Similarly, *ci-patəx* or *ʾi-patəx* corresponds to the Syriac active participle, *bət-patəx* partially overlaps with the prefix conjugation, and the resultative participle with enclitic copula corresponds to the Syriac passive participle. Even if the ancient and modern forms are not identical in function, the data show that both Syriac and NENA allow for a similar range of forms with primary B verbs. The changes over time merely follow the developments of the verbal system. In this sense, not much has changed.

3.2.5 Secondary verbs in Syriac

This section considers the distributions of verbal forms with specific secondary verbs and the distribution of infinitives. The most important secondary verbs in the corpus are *ʾeškaḥ* 'be able', *mṣā* 'be able', *šarri* 'begin', and *ṣbā* 'want'. *ʾeškaḥ* is perhaps the most frequently attested of these verbs and occurs with infinitives, prefix conjugation forms, and the active participle.[205]

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[203] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 116.

[204] Waltisberg, *Syntax Des Ṭuroyo*, 329–31.

[205] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 235–36.

3.18 *layt* *meddem* *d-lā* *teškḥūn* ***l-meʿbaḏ***
EXIST.NEG something REL-NEG be.able.PC.2MP COMP-do.INF
There is nothing you will not be able to do. (Aph 1, 21:10)

3.19 *meškḥā* ***meqabblā*** *w-**ṭā**ʿ**nā*** *šeṭestā* *ḥlīmtā*
be.able.PTCP.FS receive.PTCP.FS and-carry.PTCP.FS foundation solid
ṣeḇwāṯā *mḥīlāṯā*
things weak
the solid foundation is able to receive and carry weak things (Phil 1, 6:13)

Aphrahat's demonstrations show a slight preference for the infinitive. In fact, more than half of the relevant attestations in Aphrahat's demonstrations are followed by infinitives. This tendency is shared with Ephrem's *Sermo de Domino nostro*. Perhaps the most surprising feature, however, is the absence of infinitives in Philoxenus' discourses.

The verb *mṣā* is semantically almost identical to *ʾeškaḥ* but has a different distribution across the texts, primarily occurring in Ephrem's sermon.

3.20 *meṭṭūl d-lā* *māṣē=wā* *mawtā* *d-**nekl-īw***
because-NEG be.able.PTCP.MS=PST.3MS death COMP-eat.PC.3MS-OBJ.3MS
d-lā paḡrā
without body
because death was not able to devour him without the body. (SdDn III 23 ro b, 4–5)

It is important to note Ephrem's preference for the prefix conjugation with this verb. Although the sample is small, *mṣā* exhibits the opposite distribution compared with *ʾeškaḥ*. This is noteworthy because the cognate of *mṣā* in C. Barwar and C. Urmi show a preference for the plain *patəx*, which has the same function as the Syriac prefix conjugation.

The verb *ṣbā* 'want', however, is relatively well attested and shows a clear preference for the prefix conjugation. The difference between *ʾeškaḥ* and *ṣbā* is especially stark in Aphrahat's demonstrations. Similarly, the verb *bʿā* 'want, ask' is typically combined with the prefix conjugation.[206] This pattern is noticeable because secondary B verbs like *bʿā* and *ṣbā* do not necessarily determine the tense, aspect, or mood of the complement clause verb.[207] Secondary B verbs are, however, often combined with potential complements.[208] It is, therefore, likely that the prefix conjugation was used because of its

[206] Cf. Skaff, 231–33.

[207] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 116.

[208] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:403.

irrealis modality. Moreover, constructions with *bʿā* may have been influenced by purposive constructions where prefix conjugation forms are the norm (e.g. 'I asked (in order) that he would help me').

Lastly, the verb *šarri* is not as well attested as the modal verbs. It is, therefore, difficult to assess whether this verb or any of the authors show a preference for the prefix conjugation or infinitives.[209]

3.2.5.1 Distribution of infinitives

The distribution of verbal forms can also be considered from another angle; namely the distribution of infinitives. First, infinitives are not used in clauses serving as complements to primary B verbs. Further, there are no infinitives among the complement clause verbs from Philoxenus' discourses. Most infinitives are concentrated in complement clauses with modal verbs (e.g. 'be able', 'can', 'should') or in constructions with an adjective or a stative verb. This suggests that infinitives were primarily used with certain secondary verbs, perhaps connected to their semantics.[210] For modal secondary A verbs such as *mṣā* and *ʾeškaḥ* the tense, aspect, and mood of the complement clause verb is irrelevant.[211] It is not surprising, then, that most infinitives are found with verbs in this category. It should, be stressed, however, that Ephrem's sermon shows a preference for the prefix conjugation with *mṣā*.

3.2.6 Secondary verbs in early modern NENA

The most important secondary verbs in the early modern NENA corpus are phasal verbs. There are fifteen complement clauses combined with *mšare* 'begin', five with *pāyeš* 'begin' and one with *bāṭel* 'cease', all of which are combined with infinitives or *beptāxā*.[212]

3.21	*we-mšurē-li*	*ʾānā*	***le-mṣāloyē***	*qām*	*ʾalāhā*	*w-**lē-mnonāyē***
	and-begin.PST-L.1SG	I	COMP-pray.INF	before	God	and-COMP-supplicate.INF
	I began to pray and supplicate before God (Aḥ 577; cf. Aḥ 540)					

3.22	*wē-mšurē-lay*	***bi-xālā***	*w-**be-štāyā***
	and-begin.PST-L.3PL	PROG-eat.INF	PROG-drink.INF
	*w-**be-rqādā***	*w-**be-zmārā***	
	PROG-dance.INF	PROG-sing.INF	
	They began to eat, drink, dance and sing (Aḥ 577)		

[209] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 237.

[210] Cf. Skaff, p.238–40; see also Muraoka and Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 260 for a similar observation about Imperial Aramaic.

[211] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 111–17.

[212] Cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 334 for the use of pišle with this function.

The sample is too small to establish a distributional pattern. Moreover, the only difference is the prepositions *l-* and *b-*, i.e. *leptāxā* and *beptāxā*. Both forms are also attested in the poems; although Mengozzi writes that the "poetic language appears to be reluctant to accept innovative compound tenses."[213] The new form *beptāxā* is attested in forms such as *pešle bebxaya* 'he began to cry' or *wexwa beṣyama* 'we were fasting'. While the new verbal form is rare, the same applies to infinitive constructions like 3.21 because poetry generally avoids analytic constructions.[214]

Turning back to the change from *leptāxā* to *beptāxā*, it is relevant to consider *pāyeš*. The constructions in the Aḥiqar text are followed by *beptāxā*.

3.23	*w-pēš-lēh*	***be-xdāʾā***	*x-xaḇlā*
	and-begin.PST-L.3MS	PROG-twist.INF	like-rope
	It began to twist like a rope. (Aḥ 604)		

The same type of construction is attested in C. Urmi, Alqosh, and probably also C. Barwar.[215] Similarly, the verb *bade* 'begin' is used in the more conservative Qaraqosh dialect.[216]

Considering the use of *bptāxā* in the modern dialects it seems reasonable that this form gradually replaced the infinitive in constructions with phasal verbs; probably at some point before the middle of the twentieth century. Ms. London Sachau 9321 was composed in the Alqosh koine around the year 1897. Consequently, it seems like this process was under way by the turn of the century. However, Maclean notes that the infinitive is used consistently after *mšare*, typically with the preposition *l-* but also with *b-*.[217] Note that he does not differentiate between these two verbal forms.[218] If his observation was accurate it means that the infinitive (i.e. preceded by *l-*) was still more common at the turn of the century.

3.2.6.1 Modal verbs in early NENA

In modern NENA dialects, modal concepts such as BE ABLE or CAN are often expressed by the verb $^{+}$*ʾaməs* and *maṣe*. This is not the case, however, in the modern dialects of the Mosul plain. These dialects

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[213] Mengozzi, 'The Contribution of Early Christian Vernacular Poetry from Northern Iraq to Neo-Aramaic Dialectology: Preliminary Remarks on the Verbal System.', 35.

[214] Mengozzi, 35.

[215] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:192; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:733–34; Coghill, 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh', 189.

[216] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 355–57, 377.

[217] Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 145; cf. Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 206–07.

[218] Polotsky, 'Notes on a Neo-Syriac Grammar', 18–21 differentiates between the progressive (used with the copula) and other forms preceded by b-, calling the former gerundial and the latter prepositional.

use alternative constructions, something which is also visible in the Aḥiqar text and the early poetry. For example, *yāde*ʾ ‘know, be able’:

3.24	*wē-d-**yādē-Ø***	*mājwēb-Ø-li*	*ʾelled*	*kul*	*šuʾālā*
	and-REL-be.able.PRS-D.3MS	answer.PRS-D.3MS-L.1SG	to	every	question
	and who is able to answer all my questions (Aḥ 579)				

Other constructions that express ability contain the verb *hāwe* or the existential particle *ʾiṯ* together with the preposition *b* and a pronominal suffix (cf. section 3.2.10).[219]

3.25	*w-ʾen*	*lʾ*	*hāwē-Ø-b-ux*	*d-**xāz-ēt***	*hādax*	*gorā*
	and-if	NEG	be.PRS-D.3MS-LOC-POSS.2MS	COMP-find.PRS-D.2MS	such	man
	If you are not able to find such a man (Aḥ 579)					

3.26	*malkā*	*māni*	*ʾib-b-ēh*	***lē-bnāyā***	*benyānā*	*bēn*
	king	who	EXIST-LOC-POSS.3MS	COMP-build.INF	building	between
	šmayā	*l-ʾarʾā*				
	heaven	to-earth				
	O king, who can construct a building between heaven and earth. (Aḥ 580)					

Constructions with *ʾiṯ* and *hawe* are attested in Qaraqosh and Alqosh but not in C. Barwar or C. Urmi.[220] The complement clause verb is generally a *patəx* form but there are a few examples with infinitives (e.g. 3.26). Similarly, *patəx* forms are generally used after the verb *bāye* ‘want’.

3.27	*ki-b-en*	*tad*	***xēṭ-et-tāh***	*ṭāl-an*
	IND-want.PRS-D.1SG	COMP	sew.PRS-D.2MS-L.3FS	for-POSS.1PL
	I want you to mend it for us (Aḥ 604)			

3.2.7 Secondary verbs in C. Barwar and C. Urmi

C. Barwar shows a similar preference for *patəx* in complement clauses with *baye* ‘want’.[221]

[219] Cf. Coghill, ‘Northeastern Neo-Aramaic’, 732.

[220] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 148, 423; Coghill, ‘The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh’, 184–85, 310.

[221] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:572–73, 579–80.

3.28	*ʾu-ʾáti-ži*	*hot-mára*	*bắy-ən*	***ṯ-àz-ən***.|
	and-you-top	DEIC.COP.2MS-say.INF	want.PRS-D.1SG	COMP-go.PRS-1SG

You also are saying “I want to go”. (C. Barwar A8:65)

Three further observations are noteworthy. (1) The verb in the complement clause often follows directly after *baye*. (2) The second verb often has the same subject as *baye*. (3) If a verbal prefix or a suffix is added to the *patəx* stem, it is often used with the complement clause verb as well.[222]

These tendencies lead to the following question: Are constructions with *baye* changing from prototypical complement clauses into serial verb constructions? Cross-linguistically serial verb constructions are characterised by two predicates that describe a single action while also having the same subject, inflection (e.g. tense), and transitivity.[223] It seems as if complement clauses with *baye* are moving in this direction because there is a correlation between the data and these features. Similar observations can be made about the cognate *⁺bayyə* in C. Urmi.

This development is not surprising because languages which lack complement clause strategies often employ purposive constructions, serial verb constructions, or relative clause constructions to express the same function as complement clauses.[224] Interestingly, the observations about *baye* and *⁺bayyə* are also relevant for *maṣe/ʾaməṣ* ‘be able’ in C. Barwar:

3.29	*lá-biš-**ile-mṣaya***	***mqarów-əlla***	*dìya.*	
	NEG-more-COP.3MS-be.able.INF	draw.near.INF-OBJ.3FS	GEN.3FS	

Nobody was able to go near her at all. (C. Barwar A4:6)

3.30	*là-**mṣe-li***	***muθy-á-li***.|	
	NEG-be.able.PST-L.1SG	bring.PST-D.3FS-L.1SG	

I could not bring her. (C. Barwar A8:55)

Note that the two verbs are adjacent, share the same verbal form, and have the same subject. Perhaps the most striking feature is the use of the past template in 3.30 where a *patəx* form might otherwise be expected. Consequently, it seems as if both *baye* and *maṣe/ʾaməṣ* are undergoing a parallel development in C. Barwar. Khan suggests that this is a case of morphological attraction.[225]

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[222] Cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 166–67 for similar examples.

[223] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:406.

[224] Dixon, 2:405–13.

[225] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:939–40.

The above examples exhibit an incipient change. Examples such as 3.31 illustrate the variation within C. Barwar. Note, the different verbal form and the presence of the complementiser (see 3.3.3.2 for the use of latter).

3.31	*ʾAprəsyàw*|	*láš-ile*	*mṣáya*	***ṯ-ámər-Ø***	*čù-məndi.*|
	PN	no.longer.COP.3MS	be.able.INF	COMP-say.PRS.-D.3MS	any-thing
	Aprəsyaw was not able to say anything. (C. Barwar A29:64)				

One may also note that a similar preference for asyndetic constructions is exhibited in Ṭuroyo with verbs with a similar meaning as *baye* and *maṣe*/*ʾaməṣ*. In that case, however, there is no morphological attraction and the subjunctive (i.e. *patəx*) is generally used in the complement clause.[226] Similarly, the cognate *+ʾaməs* in C. Urmi shows a preference for *patəx* forms.[227]

The verb *mšare* 'begin' has followed a different trajectory in C. Barwar than either *baye* or *maṣe*/*ʾaməṣ*. As mentioned earlier, a progressive is typically used in the complement clause.

3.32	*ʾu-šar-í-wa*	***Ø-gràša.***|
	and-begin.PRS-D.3PL-PST	PROG-smoke.INF
	Then they would begin to smoke. (C. Barwar B7:19)	

The verbal form in the above complement clause is identical to the infinitive. The reason for this is the loss of the initial *b-* prefix of *bəptaxa* and the *l-* before the infinitive.[228] A similar merger is underway in modern Alqosh but the prefix is occasionally present.[229] In C. Urmi, *+šarə* is often followed by *bəptaxa*.[230]

3.33	*+táma*	*Ø-+šarúyə-lə*	*pəlxána*	*ʾu-+bə-ḵràya.*|
	there	PROG-begin-L.3MS	work.PROG	and-PROG-study
	There he begins to work and to study. (C. Urmi A41:2)			

[226] Waltisberg, *Syntax Des Ṭuroyo*, 325–26; Furman, Loesov, and Khan, 'Studies In The Ṭuroyo Verb', 12–3.

[227] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:340; cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 165–66.

[228] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:733–34 initially analyzed these forms as infinitives but now interprets them as progressives (personal communication).

[229] Coghill, 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh', 138, 189; cf. Coghill, 'Northeastern Neo-Aramaic', 734.

[230] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:192. Note that the progressive stem is identical with infinitives in C. Barwar as well.

Apart from *mšare*, verbs meaning ‘learn’, ‘be busy’ and the irregular verb *kyaza* ‘try’ are also followed by a verbal form that could be classified as an infinitive or *bəptaxa*.[231] Unfortunately, grammars of other NENA dialects do not include enough information about cognate lexemes to make a definite judgement about these verbal forms.

3.34	*káze-Ø*	*wáða*	*hìwi*	*mán-ne*|	*ʾána*	*xulàm-ux.*|
	try.PRS-D.3MS	do.INF	hope	from-POSS.3MS	I	servant-POSS.2MS
	He tried to beg him (saying) ‘I am your servant. (C. Barwar A29:33)					

Regarding *kyaza*, two further observations are relevant. First, this verb is not consistently combined with an infinitive or a *bəptaxa* form. Moreover, the complement clause is often omitted altogether – sometimes being replaced by direct speech (e.g. 3.35).

3.35	*kíz-la*	*bróni*	*lá-wuð*	*hátxa*	*màndi.*|
	try.PST-L3FS	son-POSS.1SG	NEG-do.IMP.MS	such	thing
	She tried (to stop him and said) ‘Son, don’t do such a thing’ (C. Barwar A14:6)				

3.2.8 Summary secondary verbs

The above sections are focused on data concerning verbs expressing concepts such as BEGIN, BE ABLE, and WANT. The main reasons for this focus is the relative frequency of these constructions and the use of cognates of some verbs in all three corpora.

Beginning with *šarri* ‘begin’, one may note that the Syriac corpus contains a relatively small number of attestations. The verb in the complement clause is generally an infinitive or a prefix conjugation verb. In early modern NENA, this verb is both attested with the infinitive and *bəptaxa*. Both forms are identical except for the prepositions *l-* (with infinitives) and *b-* (with *bəptaxa*). In some modern dialects, it seems as if *bəptaxa* is taking over the role of the infinitive, perhaps because of a frequent merger of the two forms.

The concept BE ABLE is expressed by two main lexemes in the Syriac corpus: *ʾeškaḥ* and *mṣā*. The former shows a slight preference for the infinitive while the latter shows a preference for the prefix conjugation. In some cases, when *ʾeškaḥ* is a participle, the complement clause lacks the typical complementiser *d-* and the verb in the complement clause is an infinitive. While this does not happen with *mṣā* these constructions seem to reflect the change that will take place with its cognate in C. Barwar. Complement clauses generally have a *patəx* form after *maṣe* in early modern and modern NENA.

The main Syriac verb expressing desire is *ṣbā*. The lexeme *baye* has taken over this role in early modern and modern NENA dialects. The Syriac cognate *bʿā* generally has the meaning ‘ask, request’

[231] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:733.

but occasionally overlaps with *ṣbā*. Both verbs are generally combined with a prefix conjugation form. In the early modern and modern dialects, these constructions have a *patəx* form.

Again, there seems to be a natural development of secondary verb constructions. Where Syriac constructions prefer a prefix conjugation form, the modern counterparts have *patəx*. The preference for *bəptaxa* or infinitives with phasal verbs, in the modern dialects, is a new development. In all, the use of verbal forms in these constructions seems to follow general developments of the verbal system – the prefix conjugation is replaced by *patəx* while the infinitive has merged with *bəptaxa*.

3.2.9 Stative verbs and adjectival constructions in Syriac

The Syriac corpus contains a relatively large number of constructions in which a stative verb or an adjective takes a complement clause. The most common are *yāʾe* 'fitting, beautiful', *wāle* 'fitting' and *zaddiq* 'be right'.[232] These constructions express ABILITY and OBLIGATION, much like *mṣā*. The complement clause serves as the subject of stative verbs or the copula subject in clauses with adjectives as their predicate.

3.36 *hāḵanā ger yāʾē l-hūn l-talmīḏaw d-mšīḥā*
thus for right for-POSS.3MP for-disciples GEN-messiah
da-l-rabb-hūn mšīḥā ***neṯdmūn***
COMP-OBJ-master-POSS.3MP messiah be.like.PC.3MP
For thus it is right for disciples of Christ to become like Christ, their master (Aph 6, 118:6–7)

3.37 *d-kaḏ yāqar=wā l-eh l-mūšē* ***la-mdabbārū***
COMP-when be.heavy.PTCP.MS=be.SC.3MS for-POSS.3MS for-PN COMP-lead.INF
mašrīṯā balḥūḏ-aw
camp alone-POSS.3MS
that when it was too heavy for Moses to lead the camp alone. (Aph 6, 122:6–7)

These complement clauses either have an infinitive or a prefix conjugation form. In this way, they align themselves with the modal predicates *ʾeškaḥ* and *mṣā*. By contrast, stative verbs and adjectives may exhibit other verbal forms if they do not have a modal nuance.

3.38 *bram den šarīr l-an d-yešūʿ mār-an ʾalāhā=**w***
yet be.sure.PTCP.MS for-POSS.1PL COMP-PN lord-POSS.1PL God=COP.3MS
Yet, we are sure that Jesus, our lord, is God … (Aph 17, 333:1–2)

[232] Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 229–30.

Conceptually, 3.38 is akin to primary B complement-taking verbs of the THINKING type. This is the reason why an enclitic copula can be used in the complement clause.[233]

Lastly, some constructions seem to require a prefix conjugation form or perhaps an infinitive even if they cannot be paired with one of the secondary concepts listed at the beginning of this chapter:

3.39	*hāḵanā*	*pāqaḥ*	*l-eh*	*d-ʾattā*	***nessaḇ***	*galyāʾīṯ*
	thus	better	for-POSS.3MS	COMP-woman	take.PC.3MS	openly

Thus it would be better for him to marry a woman openly (Aph 6, 111:10–11)

3.2.10 Stative verbs and adjectival constructions in early modern NENA

The most common construction of this type in the Aḥiqar text contains the adjective *bešṭo* ‘better’, much like 3.39. Again, the complement clause serves as the copula subject.

3.40	*bron-i*	*bešṭo*	*ʾilēh*	*le-rxāšā*	*ʾemmed*	*gaḇrā*	*ḥakimā*
	son-POSS.1SG	better	COP.3MS	COMP-go.INF	with	man	wise
	me-rxāšā	*d-ʾemmed*	*gaḇrā*	*saxlā*			
	from-go.INF	REL-with	man	foolish			

My son, it is better to go with a wise man than to go with a fool. (Aḥ 548)

3.41	*msaḇaḇ*	*d-bešṭo*	*ʾilēh*	*tā*	*gaḇrā*	*d-pāyeš-Ø*	*tʿisā*
	because	better	COP.3MS	for	man	COMP-be.PRS-D.3MS	trip.PTCP
	b-ʾaql-ēh		*m-tʿās-ēh*			*b-lušān-ēh*	
	with-feet-POSS.3MS		from-trip.INF-POSS.3MS			with-tongue-POSS.3MS	

for it is better for a man to be tripped by his feet than to trip himself by his tongue. (Aḥ 554–55)

The two clauses are almost structurally identical. Like their Syriac counterparts, it is somewhat difficult to pair these constructions with primary B or secondary verbal lexemes. Yet the preference for infinitives or *patəx* forms suggests that these constructions align themselves with secondary complement-taking verbs (much like the Syriac constructions). This pattern could stem from the close connection between the complement clause and the copula complement, namely that the copula complement (i.e. adjective) defines the copula subject.

The early literary texts from Urmi exhibit similar constructions. The adjectives *lāzem* ‘be necessary’ and *gareg* ‘must’ tend to be followed by a *patəx* form.[234]

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[233] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:396.

[234] Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 234 n. 25.

3.2.11 Stative verbs and adjectival constructions in modern NENA

Constructions with *bešṭo* ‘better’ or a comparable adjective are only rarely found in the corpora of modern dialects. However, the few attestations in the corpus tend to have a *patəx* form or an infinitive in the complement clause.[235]

3.42 *t-lá-**haw-ən-wa*** *mbúqr-əllɛxu* *biš-spày.*|
COMP-NEG-be-D.1SG-PST ask.PTCP.MS-OBJ.2PL more-good
‘It would have been better for me not to have asked you.’ (C. BarwarA26:27)

Most complement clauses in this category are constructed with the impersonal forms *+lazəm/lazəm* ‘be necessary’, *ɟarəc/găreg* ‘must’ and *majbur* ‘must’. These particles are used together with a complement clause to express obligation or necessity.[236]

3.43 *gắrəg* *ʾàθ-ət.*|
must come.PRS-D.3MS
You must come. (C. Barwar A7:9)

3.44 *lèva* *+lázəm* *buxàri* *táp-i.* |
NEG.COP.3PL have.to stove light.PRS-D.3PL
They did not have to light a stove. (C. Urmi B 14:2)

Note that all the complement clauses above have a *patəx* form. This is not a coincidence. Almost all clauses in the sample share this pattern. For *ɟarəc/găreg* this pattern is almost consistent but Khan also notes that an infinitive can be used in these constructions.[237]

3.45 *ʾáha mándi* *ɟárəc* ***mattúvvə*** *+ʾal-mīž* .|
DEM.3MS thing must put.INF on-table
This thing must be put on the table. (C. Urmi; Khan 2016 2:235)

Constructions with infinitives are not attested in the corpus of C. Urmi. The above example, therefore, shows that there is more variation in the language than in the recorded texts.

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[235] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:734–35; cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 28–9.

[236] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:116–17, 235; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:581.

[237] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:235.

Lastly, it is worth pointing out that the particle *majbur* can have past time reference. This is done through the combination with the *ptəxlə* form of *ʾavə*. In such constructions, a *ptəxlə* form is also used in the complement clause.

3.46	*ʾíman*	*ʾənɟləznáyə*	*májbur*	***ví-lun***	*k̠àt|*	*már-run*
	when	English	must	be.PST-L.3PL	COMP	say.PST-L.3PL

When the English had to say … (C. Urmi B1:13)

3.2.12 Summary stative verbs and adjectival constructions

Complement clauses attached to adjectives and stative verbs exhibit some variation. Moreover, the adjectives that feature frequently in the Syriac corpus are not attested in the early modern or modern NENA dialects. There are, however, some similarities. The Syriac corpus does not contain sufficient data to establish a preference for the infinitive or the prefix conjugation. Nevertheless, these are the two main options. Similarly, the infinitive and *patəx* are the two main options for these constructions in the modern dialects.

More importantly, there is a parallel between the Syriac adjectives *wāle* 'fitting' and *yāʾe* 'fitting, beautiful' and the NENA particles *+lazəm/lazəm* 'be necessary', *ɟarəc/găreg* 'must', and *majbur* 'must'. While these constructions can have an infinitive in the complement clause, both Syriac and NENA show a preference for the prefix conjugation and *patəx*, respectively. This is not surprising since these constructions express deontic modality (obligation and necessity) and *patəx* often has the same role in NENA as the prefix conjugation in Syriac.

3.3 The use of complementisers

3.3.1 Syriac

Syriac constructions exhibit two different complementisers: the subordinating particle *d-* and the preposition *l-*. The latter is prefixed to infinitives while *d-* is used at the beginning of most other complement clauses. Exceptions to this pattern occur when a complement-taking verb is followed by two complement clauses. In that case, the conjunction *w-* 'and' is used instead of *d-* before the second clause.

3.47	*d-hānnon*	*d-sāḇrīn=waw*	***d-***ʾīḏayā	*nsaḇ*	*šūḥdā*
	PURP-those.m	REL-suppose.PTCP.MP=PST.3PL	COMP-hands	take.SC.3MS	bribe

w-*meṭṭul haw*	*daggel*	*sepwāṯā*
and-because DEM.3MS	lie.SC.3MS	lips

So that those who supposed that he had received a bribe and that because of this his lips lied… (SdDn XXXIII 39 vo b, 5–6)

The complementiser *d-* can also be omitted before a complement clause with an interrogative, a pattern which is also well attested in the modern dialects.[238]

3.48	*šmaʿ*	*mānā*	*rkaḇ*	*mār-an*	*luqbal*	*hāḏe*
	hear.SC.3MS	what	respond.SC.3MS	lord-POSS.1PL	against	DEM.FS

Hear what our Lord responded to this. (SdDn XXIII 33 ro b, 10)

Lastly, the complementiser is occasionally omitted after secondary verbs with a modal nuance. This mostly happens with the verb *ʾeškaḥ* 'be able' when both verbs are participles.[239]

3.49	***meškḥā***	***mqabblā***	*w-ṭāʿnā*	*šeṭestā*	*ḥlīmtā*
	be.able.PTCP.FS	receive.PTCP.FS	and-carry.PTCP.FS	foundation	solid
	ṣeḇwāṯā	*mḥīlāṯā*			
	things	weak			

the solid foundation is able to receive and carry weak things (Phil 1, 6:13)

Such asyndetic constructions are, however, relatively rare in the early Syriac texts. Philoxenus' discourses, which were written slightly later, contain more constructions of this type.

3.3.2 Early modern NENA

The complementiser *d-* continues to be used frequently in the early modern NENA texts. In fact, the clear majority of complement clauses in the corpus are marked with this particle. This is especially true in the Aḥiqar text and in compositions by Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe.

3.50	*kud*	*šmē-lēh*	*perʿun*	***d***-*peš-lēh*		*qṭilā*
	when	hear.PST-L.3MS	Pharaoh	COMP-be.PST-L.3MS		kill.PTCP
	ʾaḥiqār	*ḥakimā*				
	PN	wise				

when Pharaoh heard that Aḥiqār had been killed (Aḥ 578)

By contrast, the literary texts from Urmi prefer *qad* over *d-*. The latter is still used with complement clauses but it is increasingly being replaced by *qad*.[240] There are, however, a few instances where the complementiser is omitted even in the earliest poems:

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[238] For further examples cf. SdDn XXIII 33r^{o} b,10; SdDn XXII 33r^{o} a, 3–4.

[239] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:359–60.

[240] Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 201, 255–56.

3.51 *mxušu-le* *k-mālay-lē* *l-zavnē* *w-šenē* *w-dārē*
think.PST-L.3MS IND-be.enough.L.3PL for-life and-years and-generations
He thought that they were enough for him for his life, years, and generations. (JT 6, 72d)

This pattern becomes more common in later compositions, e.g. in the *dorekṯa On the hermit Barmalka*, which was written in 1912.[241]

The complementiser *d-* is also consistently omitted before interrogatives in indirect questions, a pattern shared with both Syriac and the modern dialects; although a slightly different pattern is exhibited in the literary texts from Urmi:[242]

3.52 *msaḇaḇ* *d-emšudrē* *d-perʿon* *d-meṣrēn* *malkā* *ʾiṯē-lay*
because REL-messengers GEN-Pharaoh GEN-Egypt king come.PST-L.3PL
l-gēb-i *d-yadʾ-i* *māqā=ʾlāh* *ʿaskar*
to-with-POSS.1SG PURP-know.PRS-D.3PL how.big=COP.3FS army
d-ʾēt-ti *w-dix=ilay* *ʿaskarāṯ-i*
REL-EXIST-L.1SG and-PRON=COP.3PL troops-POSS.1SG
for messengers of Pharaoh king of Egypt have come to me to know what the seize of the army I have is and how my troops are. (Aḥ 567)

Lastly, the purposive marker *tad* is occasionally used as a complementiser in the Aḥiqar text.[243]

3.53 *w-pqed-lēh* *malkā* *l-rabābē* *diyy-ēh* ***tad***
and-command.PST-L.3MS king to-dignitaries GEN.POSS.3MS COMP
laḇš-i *jullē* *tarzē tarzē* *w-setrē* *d-hayklā*
dress.PRS-D.3PL clothes patchy and-curtains GEN-palace
d-hāw-ay *smoqē*
PURP-be.PRS-D.3PL red
The king commanded his dignitaries to put on patchy clothes and that the curtains of the palace should be red. (Aḥ 591)

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[241] Braida in Mengozzi, *Religious Poetry in Vernacular Syriac from Northern Iraq (17th-20th Centuries)*, 2:95.

[242] Cf. Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 255, 341.

[243] Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 172, 187–88; Stoddard, 'Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as Spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan', 167 noted that qad could have this function in C. Urmi but only rarely in NENA dialects from Kurdistan.

3.3.2.1 Complementisers with secondary verbs

The picture is slightly different with secondary verbs. According to Maclean, *d-* was frequently omitted after the modal particle *gāreg* 'must', and the verbs *māṣe* 'be able' and *bāʿe* 'want'.[244] The first two are not attested in the Aḥiqar text but *bāʿe* is used a few times, all of which are combined with a complementiser:

3.54	*ki-b-en*	*menn-ux*	***d***-*bān-eṯ*	*ṭāl-i*
	IND-want.PRS-D.1SG	from-POSS.2MS	COMP-build.PRS-D.2MS	for-POSS.1SG
	I want you to build for me. (Aḥ 597; cf. use of *tad* in Aḥ 604)			

The consistency with which *d-* is used in the Aḥiqar text should probably be ascribed to the writing conventions adopted by the writer of this manuscript, Jibrail Quryaquza. By contrast, consider the use of the conjunction *w-* in the following example:

3.55	*mšurē-lay*	***w***-*deq-lay*	*b-tarʿā*	***we***-*qrē-lay*	*stād-ayhin*
	begin.PST-L.3PL	and-knock.PST-L.3PL	in-door	and-call.PST-L.3PL	lord-POSS.3PL
	They began knocking on the door and called their master. (J6:149b)				

Lastly, other complementisers include the preposition *l-* (before infinitives) and the preposition *b-* (before *bəptaxa*).[245]

3.56	*peš-la*	***be-xyara***	*b-zabbira*
	begin.PST-L.3FS	PROG-look.INF	in-basket
	She began to look at the basket. (HB 37a)		

3.3.3 C. Barwar and C. Urmi

The use of complementisers change radically when we turn to C. Barwar and C. Urmi. There are two major differences: the use of the particles *ʾina* and *ḵat-* as complementisers and the absence or less frequent use of the particle *d-*. Regarding the latter, there is no indication that the placement of the complement clause verb affects the use of *d-*. It is dropped regardless of whether the verb is clause initial or clause final. The verb *yaðeʾ* 'know' is one of the most frequent primary complement-taking verbs in the corpus. It can be used with and without *d-* but the omission of the complementiser is more frequent.

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[244] Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 141–42; cf. Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 234 n.25.

[245] Note the treatment of these as separate prepositions in Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 145.

3.57 *yăð-í-wa* *mpalṭ-í-wa* *ʾăr̀aq*|
know.PRS-D.3PL-HAB produce.PRS-D.3PL-HAB arak
They knew how to produce arak. (C. Barwar B15:60)

3.58 *béna* *ʾíθ-wa* *baxtáθa* *t-yăð-i* ***t**-yàp-i*|
time EXIST-PST women REL-know.PRS-D.3PL COMP-bake.PRS-D.3PL
There were women who knew how to bake. (C. Barwar B5:16)

Indirect questions with an enclitic copula usually omit the complementiser (3.59). The particle *d-*, by contrast, may be used in clauses with an independent copula (3.60).

3.59 *ʾu-lán-ðaʾa* *dáx-ile* *ðìya*|
and-NEG.COP-know.INF how.COP.3MS know.PTCP.MS
I don't know how he knew (C. Barwar A35:19)

3.60 *ʾánna* *yăði* ***ṯ**-íle* *duglàna*|
they know.PRS-D.3PL COMP-COP.3MS liar
They knew that he was a liar. (C. Barwar A48:3)

On rare occasions the particles *qa-/qat*, *ṭla-*, and *ta-* are also used. The former typically occurs with fact complements and the latter with verbs such as 'say', 'inform', or 'know'.[246]

3.61 *la-bắy-ən* *ʾáyya bráta* *ṯ-in-múθy-əlla*
NEG-want.PRS-D.1SG DEM.3FS girl REL-COP.1SG-bring.PTCP-OBJ.3FS
t-yắð-a ***qát*** *ṭlíba díya* *hóle mìθa.*|
COMP-know.PRS-D.3FS COMP betrothed GEN.3FS DEIC.COP-3FS die.PTCP.MS
I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died. (C. Barwar A4:34)

Lastly, the particle *ṯi* is employed as a complementiser in C. Urmi from Georgia.[247]

3.62 *txàr-ra*| *ʾé tavárta zàrdə*| ***ṯi*** *mə́r-ra*
remember.PST-L.3FS DEM.FS cow yellow COMP say.PST-L.3FS
She remembered that the yellow cow said ...(C. Urmi A51:4)

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[246] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:996–97.

[247] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:491.

3.3.3.1 *ʾina and ḵat-*

The complementiser *ʾína* is commonly used with perception verbs in C. Barwar and C. Urmi, e.g. *xaze* 'see, find'.[248] It is only used with fact complements in C. Urmi and constructions with perception verbs can also be asyndetic.[249] The perception verb is occasionally omitted from these constructions.[250]

3.63 *xázye* ***ʾína*** *qáṣra* *sapìqa*|
find.PTCP COMP palace empty
They found that the palace was empty. (C. Barwar A12:34)

ḵat- is the more common complementiser in C. Urmi, both with fact complements and potential complements.[251]

3.64 *Nátan* *bə-xzáyə=lə* ***ḵat-báb-u*** *xàyə-lə,*|
PN PROG-see.INF-COP.3MS COMP-father-POSS.3MS alive-COP.3MS
lább-u *Ø-p̂ḵàyə-lə.*|
heart-POSS.3MS PROG-split.INF-COP.3MS
Natan sees that his father is alive and his heart splits (with fear). (C. Urmi A3:88)

3.3.3.2 Secondary verbs

The most common secondary verbs in the NENA corpus are *baye* 'want', *maṣe* 'be able', and *mšare* 'begin'. The verb *mšare* follows the same pattern as primary complement-taking verbs. In C. Barwar, however, the lack of a complementiser is due to the loss of the preposition *l-* before infinitives or the incorporation of *b-* with *bəptaxa* (and its subsequent loss).[252] C. Urmi only partially shares this tendency. The *b*-prefix of *bəptaxa*, which is retained in many forms, probably served as a complementiser at an earlier stage. This is the case in Ṭuroyo where *b-*, *l-* and *ʾăl* can be used as complementisers before infinitives.[253]

Previous sections have shown that *bəptaxa* was used in early NENA texts. Why was this verbal form generalised in these complement clause constructions? It does not have other modal functions that would be expected from verbal forms developing from a progressive or imperfective into a modal

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[248] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:926; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:511; cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 177–79; Waltisberg, *Syntax Des Ṭuroyo*, 336–38.

[249] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:496, 509; cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 155–56 for the use of ʾinnu with indirect speech.

[250] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:733; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:511.

[251] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:486–87.

[252] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:941.

[253] Waltisberg, *Syntax Des Ṭuroyo*, 322–24.

subordinating form.[254] For example, it is not used to express deontic modality. Consequently, it may be difficult to determine why *bəptaxa* came to be used here. Perhaps its use is due to the realis circumstantial function of *bəptaxələ*. The similarity between *bəptaxa* (infinitive preceded by *b-*) and the previous infinitive construction *ləptaxa* (infinitive preceded by *l-*) probably played a role as well.

Concerning *maṣe* and *baye*, two important observations can be made. First, constructions without the complementiser are more common than those with it.[255]

3.65	*ʾáxči*	*bắy-i*	*ʾoð-ì-la*|	*xa-šúra*	*bìš-goṛa*|
	but	want.PRS-D.3PL	make.PRS-D.3PL-L.3FS	one-fence	more-big
	but they want to make a bigger fence for it (C. Barwar B3:22)				

There are, however, a relatively large number of attestations with *baye* and *d-* (ca. 30%). This leads to the second observation, namely that the particle has been preserved in a specific phonetic environment. There are ca. 45 examples where a complement clause takes *t-*/*ṭ-* after *baye*, ca. 40 of which have /ʾ/ or /*y*/ as the first root letter. While there are exceptions, like 3.66, the clear majority belong to one of the two weak verb categories.

3.66	*bắye-Ø*	*t-gàwər-Ø.*|
	want.PRS-D.3MS	comp-marry.PRS-D.3MS
	He wanted to marry. (C. Barwar A25:28)	

3.67	*ʾáw*	*bắye-Ø*	*t-yắðe-Ø,*|	*xáze-Ø*
	DEM.3MS	want.PRS-D.3MS	COMP-know.PRS-D.3MS	find.PRS-D.3MS
	mòdi-la	*qáṣṣət.*|		
	what-COP.3FS	affair		
	He wants to know, find out what had happened. (C. Barwar A4:30)			

Consequently, the retention of the complementiser is conditioned by this specific phonetic environment. In the case of primae /ʾ/ verbs, the retention may also be explained by the merger of the first radical and the original *d* to /*ṭ*/. This can also explain the use of the complementiser with the independent copula. Furthermore, with the verb *ʾaxəl* there are two examples without the complementiser, both of which have the second person form *bắyət*. Though the evidence is rather scant, it is possible that the final /*t*/ on *baye* allowed the complementiser to be dropped.

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[254] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 177–81.

[255] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:580.

3.68 *bắy-ət* *ʾáxl-ət* *ʾixàla.*|
want.PRS-D.2MS eat.PRS-D.2SG food
you want to eat food (it is there). (C. Barwar A24:17)

There are some exceptions to these patterns. The complementiser is sometimes used after *băyət* (3.69). Moreover, it is occasionally omitted before primae /ʾ/ or primae /*y*/ verbs (3.70). The complementiser is not preserved in non-verbal clauses even if the first word begins with /ʾ/ or /*y*/.

3.69 *mə́r-e* *módi* *bắy-ət* ***ṯ***-*òð-əx?*|
say.PST-L.3MS what want.PRS-2SG COMP-do.PRS-2SG
He said 'What do you want us to do?' (C. Barwar A4:46)

3.70 *mə́r-e* *bắy-ən* *ʾáz-ət* *xáðr-ət* *bába dìya*|
say.PST-L.3MS want.PRS-D.1SG go.PRS-D.2SG look.PRS-D.2SG father GEN.3FS
He said 'I want you to go and look for her father,' (C. Barwar A4:8)

Lastly, the use of *d-* with *baye* can also be contrasted with its cognate in Neo-Mandaic. The preposition *min* is used to introduce complements of verbs of communication or expressing DESIRE:[256]

3.71 *q=abi-in* *min* *Heyyi māre* *əmzahar-Ø=lə=k̲on*
IND-want.PTCP-1SG from PN protect.PTCP-3MS=OBJ=2PL
I want Heyyi māre to protect you. (Ex. 3.422; Häberl, 2009: 139)

The use of *min* in these constructions is probably connected to the classical meaning of this verb: 'ask'. As the semantics of the verb has changed so has the use of *min*. In the modern dialect there are instances where the indicative form is followed by a subjunctive, without a complementiser. The tendency to omit the complementiser is more pronounced with another modal verb, *šəb̲aq* 'allow'.[257]

3.3.4 Summary complementisers

The modern dialects show more variation in their use of complementisers than Syriac or early modern NENA. The results of the above survey are summarised in the following table.

[256] Häberl, *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr*, 138–39.

[257] Häberl, 235–37.

Complementiser	Syriac	Early Modern NENA	Modern NENA
No complementiser	x	x (secondary verbs)	x
d-	x	x	x
l-	x	x	–
b- (*bəptaxa*)	–	x	x
ḵat-/qat	–	x (Maclean)	x
ʾina/ʾinni	–	x (Midrash)	x (perception)
tad-	–	rare (Aḥiqar)	rare
ṭla-	–	rare (Midrash)	rare

Table 3.5 Distribution of complementisers

Two patterns occur in all three corpora: constructions with *d-* and constructions without a complementiser. It must be stressed, though, that the use of *d-* is much more consistent in Syriac and the texts of early modern NENA than it is in the modern dialects. This could be partly explained as a difference between written and oral sources. However, that cannot be the whole explanation. The more frequent omission of *d-* in the modern dialects is also closely linked to a change in constructions with secondary verbs *maṣe* and *baye*. Seeds of this change are already visible in Syriac constructions with *ʾeškaḥ* 'be able' (and occasionally *bʿā* 'ask, want'). The merger of *ləptaxa* and *bəptaxa* through the loss of *l-* and *b-* also accounts for the absence of a complementiser in constructions with *mšare*. Equally important is the loss of *d-* after *yaðəʾ*. Consequently, it is not surprising that indirect questions have remained without a marker.

Table 3.5 also lists several additional complementisers. Of these, *ḵat/qat* and *ʾina/ʾinni* are the most important. *ḵat* should probably be derived from *ḵa* 'to' + *d-*, perhaps imitating the Kurdish subordinator *ka*. It originated as a purposive marker but is now the main subordinator in C. Urmi.[258] If this complementiser originated as a purposive marker it may have implications for *tad* and *ṭla*, both of which are relatively common purposive markers. These are only rarely used as complementisers but the few attestations may suggest that they are on a similar developmental trajectory as *ḵat/qat*. Each of these are also rare as complementisers in early NENA texts. Lastly, the presentative particle *ʾina* is not just attested in the modern dialects. Like *ṭla* it also occurs in an earlier midrash on Exodus.[259]

To summarise, there is more variation in the modern dialects than in Syriac or early NENA; probably due to differences between oral and written discourse and the different origins of the complementisers. Morphologically, there are many differences between verbal forms in Syriac and NENA. Yet there is a continuity between the function of old and new verbal forms because they have developed along a similar grammaticalisation path. The same continuity cannot be observed regarding

[258] Khan, '2.5. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia and Northwestern Iran', 226–27.

[259] Sabar, *Pešat Wayehî Bešallah*.

complementisers, at least partly because the subordinating particle *d-* developed along a different path than *ḵat/qat*.

3.4 The role of intonation group boundaries

Intonation group boundaries are one of the tools that languages use to separate or tie together clause arguments. This section considers the role that intonation group boundaries play in the integration of the complement clause verb to the complement-taking verb. Grammars of modern NENA dialects often include intonation group boundaries in their transcriptions. While the same is not true for Syriac, manuscripts often contain a system of punctuation. This section outlines how these dots are used in two manuscripts of Aphrahat's demonstrations and in one manuscript of Philoxenus' discourses. This survey of dots has the aim of establishing whether the patterns observed in C. Barwar and C. Urmi also apply to Syriac.

3.4.1 Primary verbs in C. Barwar and C. Urmi

A survey of primary B verbs in C. Barwar and C. Urmi does not yield a clear pattern of distribution. There are, however, some general trends. To begin with, the cognates *xaze* and *xazə*/*xazzə* 'see' often belong to the same intonation group as the complement clause, as does the cognates *yaðəʾ* and *⁺yaṯṯə* 'know' (boundaries are marked by the sign |).

3.72 *bə-xzáyə-lə* *+tárr-ət* *dárta=zə* *ʾəttən.*|
PROG-see.INF-COP.3MS door-GEN courtyard=also there.are
He sees that there are some at the courtyard door. (C. Urmi A37:4)

3.73 *ʾána* *yǎð-ən* *Bálbəl Hazár* *máṭo-la* *θìθ-a.*|
I know.PRS-D.1SG PN how-COP.3FS come.PTCP.FS
I know how Bəlbəl Hazar came. (C. Barwar A8:88)

It is often possible to find a contextual reason for the use of different intonations group boundaries. For example, in 3.74 the phrase *ʾáyya bràta* probably makes up its own intonation group to give it topical prominence. Another example with more than one intonation group is 3.75, where the intonation group boundary appears to coincide with a hesitation.

3.74 *mər-e* *b-xšàw-ən*| *ʾáyya bràta*| *brát-ət bèθ-ɛla*|
say.PST-L.3MS FUT-think.PRS-D.1SG DEM.FS girl wife-GEN house-COP.3FS
w-áxni *làx-ðiye* *bíya díya.*|
and-we NEG.COP.1PL-know.PTCP.PL about GEN.3FS

He said ‘I think this girl is a good housewife, but we did not know this about her.’ (C. Barwar A21:24)

3.75 *+šmí-lə* *ḵàt|* *+tájər* *tìyyə-le.|*
hear.PST-L.3MS COMP merchant return.PST-L.3MS
he heard that the merchant had come back. (C. Urmi A1:15)

Examples with multiple intonation groups are, however, in the minority. Just as *xaze* and *yaðəʾ*, verbs like *ʾamər* ‘say, tell’ and *taxər* ‘remember’ usually belong to the same intonation group as the complement clause.

3.76 *ʾána* *táxr-ən* *ʾáxni* *kúllən* *gu-xa-bèθa.|*
I remember.PRS-D.1SG we all in-one-house
I remember we were all in one house. (C. Barwar B8:8)

3.4.2 Secondary verbs in C. Barwar and C. Urmi

Secondary complement-taking verbs can also belong to a separate intonation group than the complement clause:

3.77 *mən-yárxət ṭlà|* *ʾíle* *náše* *mšèr-i|* *Ø-plàxa.|*
from-March COP.3MS people begin.PRS-D.3PL PROG-work.INF
It is from March that people begin to work. (C. Barwar B5:107)

3.78 *ʾu-bíš* *bǎy-à-wa|* *xazy-à-wa|* *ʾèkɛ-le* *Gozáli.|*
and-more want.PRS-D.3FS-PST find.PRS-D.3FS-PST where-COP.3MS PN
since she wanted so much to find where Gozali was. (C. Barwar A8:63)

However, the use of different intonation groups is even rarer with secondary verbs and examples like 3.78 only make up ca. 10% of constructions with *baye* in the corpus. Part of the explanation for this tendency may be the frequent placement of the complement clause verb immediately after the complement-taking verb. In C. Barwar this applies especially to *maṣe* ‘be able’ *kyaza* ‘try’, *mjarəb* ‘try’, *baye* ‘want’, and *mšare* ‘begin’. The same is true for *+báyyə*, *+šarə*, and *+ʾaməs* in C. Urmi.

3.79 *már-e* *yàba|* *ʾána* *máṣ-ən* *ṯ-ázən*
say.PST-L.3MS well I be.able.PRS-D.1SG COMP-go.PRS-D.1SG
méθ-ən *ʾàrya?|* *lè-maṣ-ən* *méθ-ən* *ʾárya.|*
bring.PRS-D.1SG lion NEG.IND-be.able.PRS-D.1SG bring.PRS-D.1SG lion
He said ‘Well, can I bring back a lion? I cannot bring back a lion’. (C. Barwar A33:6)

Direct speech is often included in the same intonation group as the verb *kyaza* when the complement clause verb has been elided:

3.80	*kíz-la*	*brón-i*	*lá-wuð*	*hátxa*	*màndi.*|
	try.PST-L.3FS	son-POSS.1SG	NEG-do.IMP	such	thing

She tried (to stop him and said) 'Son, don't do such a thing' (C. Barwar A14:6)

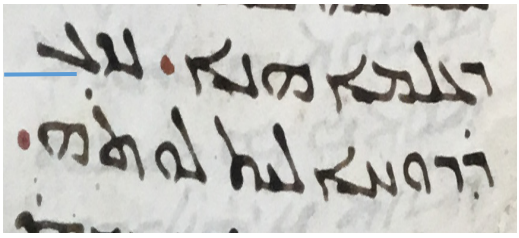
The placement of secondary verbs adjacent to their complement clause verbs and in the same intonation group signals a high degree of semantic integration.

3.4.3 Intonation groups in Syriac and early Neo-Aramaic

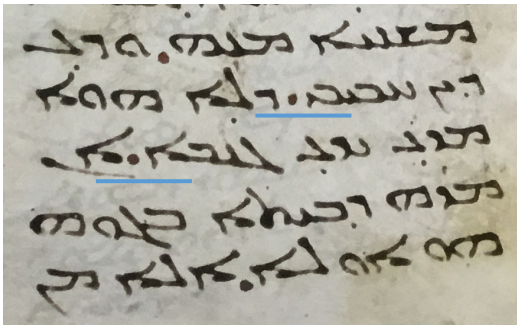
Without specific markers of intonation group boundaries, it is difficult to determine exactly how they were used in the spoken vernacular of an ancient language. Syriac does, however, have a series of punctuation marks. While these dots may not tell the full story, they do provide some information about pauses.

3.4.3.1 Syriac

This section provides a snapshot into the world of Syriac punctuation. The key question being how punctuation dots are used and whether they reflect the vernacular use of intonation group boundaries.



BL Add. Ms. 17182, 63v

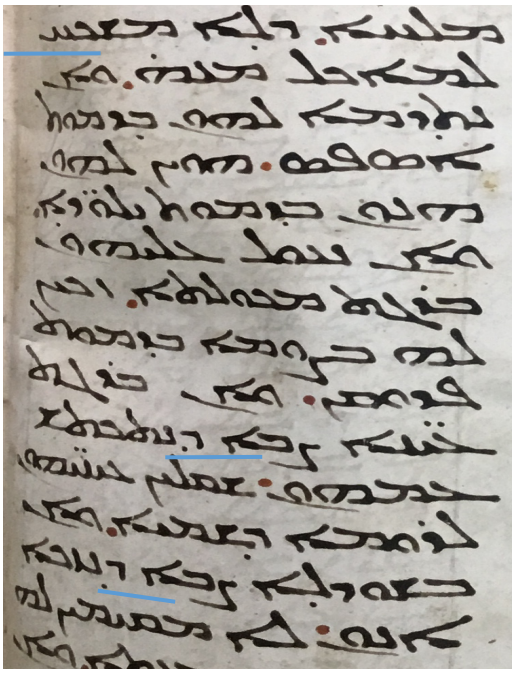


BL Add. Ms. 17182, 63v

The samples from C. Barwar and C. Urmi indicate that primary verbs such as *xazə* 'see' and *yaðəʾ* 'know' often belong to the same intonation group as the following complement clause. A similar pattern emerges from the survey of dots in the three Syriac manuscripts (BL Add. Mss. 14598, 17182, 17153) The two pictures from BL Add. Ms. 17182 contain three examples of *īḏaʿ* 'know', two of which have a dot between the main clause and the complement clause.

While pausal dots can be found after primary verbs, they are predominantly used between coordinated complement clauses. Moreover, it is not uncommon to find a dot after the adjectives *yāʾe* 'fitting, beautiful' or *wāle* 'fitting'. The sample is perhaps too small to make definitive conclusions about prosodic patterns. It is, however, striking that the dots in these clauses have a similar distribution as intonation group boundaries in the modern dialects. They may not reflect an oral reading tradition or carry the same weight as recordings of a vernacular. Nevertheless, they probably reflect pronunciation tendencies in the spoken vernacular at the time when the manuscript was copied or when the dots were inserted.

With the above observations in mind, we can consider the use of dots with secondary verbs. The sample of each verb is slightly larger. The picture from BL Add. Ms. 17182 contains three relevant constructions: one with *ʾeškaḥ* ‘be able’ and two with *ṣbā* ‘want’. None of these constructions have a dot between the complement-taking verb and the complement clause. This pattern is not random. The survey of the manuscripts shows that dots are not used in these constructions. They are only used when there is a chain of several complement clauses after a secondary verb. Yet, even in those circumstances dots are not placed before the first complement clause in the chain. In short, it seems likely that intonation group boundaries were not placed between secondary complement-taking verbs and complement clauses.



BL Add. Ms. 17182, 52v

This survey and the ones in subsequent chapters suggest that there is, at least, some continuity between Syriac and NENA. Still, the correlation between punctuation dots and intonation group boundaries needs further investigation.

Apart from punctuation, two additional features may point to the absence of intonation group boundaries. First, the complement clause verb is often clause initial after a secondary complement-taking verb. Moreover, there is a tendency for complement clause verbs to follow immediately after the complement-taking verb. This tendency to place the two verbs adjacent may be another clue suggesting that they belonged to the same intonation group. This constituent order is, however, not fixed in Syriac. It is, therefore, possible for another clause constituent to be placed between the complement-taking verb and the complement clause verb:

3.81	*d-lā*	*māṣē=wā*	*mawtā*	*d-neḵl-īw*
	because-NEG	be.able.PTCP.MS=PST.3MS	death	COMP-eat.PC.3MS-OBJ.3MS
	d-lā	*paḡrā*		
	without	body		

because death was not able to devour him without the body. (SdDn III 23ro b, 5)

With primary complement-taking verbs it is slightly more difficult to determine whether the placement of verbs is relevant. For example, other clause constituents are often placed between the two verbs. However, this is not necessarily a problem since primary verbs and complement clauses often belong to the same intonation group in C. Urmi and C. Barwar even when other clause constituents are placed between the two verbs.

3.82 *cačála* *+bə-ddáyə-lə* *málca* *xàš-lə,|*
bald.man PROG-know.INF-COP.3MS king go.PST-L.3MS
The bald man knows that the king has gone. (C. Urmi A1:39)

To summarise, it seems reasonable to conclude that Syriac complement-taking verbs of ATTENTION and THINKING often belonged to the same intonation group as their complement clause. The main reason for this is the distribution of dots. Moreover, NENA verbs in these categories often belong to the same intonation group as their complement clause, a tendency which is also attested cross-linguistically.[260] Another relevant factor, is the high number of complement clauses with nominal predicates or a copula combined with *īḏaʿ* 'know'. In the modern dialects copula clauses almost always belong to the same intonation group as their complement-taking verb.

3.4.3.2 Early modern NENA

A survey of the early modern NENA corpus shows that observations about constituent order may be relevant for these texts as well. In many examples the complement-taking verb is immediately followed by the complement clause verb. When this is not the case, the main clause subject is often placed between the two verbs. Any exceptions occur when the complement clause is the second in a chain of two complement clauses, which means that it belonged to another intonation group. In both contexts, however, there is a strong tendency to place the complement clause verb in clause initial position. Considering the material from Syriac and the modern dialects, it is likely that the two verbs were part of the same intonation group. The occasional omission of the complementiser *d-* may be a further sign of this.

Similar observations can be made about complement clauses after secondary verbs. These constructions follow the same pattern as Syriac and the modern dialects, placing the two verbs adjacent to each other.

3.83 *ke-bē-Ø* *d-yāve-Ø-ln*
IND-want.PRS-D.3MS COMP-give.PRS-D.3MS-L.1PL
He wants to give to us (JT 6, 96d)

3.4.4 Summary

This preliminary survey of intonation group boundaries points to a high degree of continuity in prosodic patterns. Crucially, there seems to be a basic correspondence between the use of punctuation dots in Syriac and intonation group boundaries in the modern dialects. Moreover, the clause initial position of complement clause verbs and their placement adjacent to complement-taking verbs may be yet another indication that intonation group boundaries are rarely used between complement-taking verbs and

[260] Givón, *Syntax*, 2:41.

complement clause verbs. A more detailed and in-depth investigation of complement clauses in Syriac manuscripts would be needed to establish whether the initial survey is representative. If it is, it would point to a significant level of prosodic continuity, showing that Aramaic prosody in these constructions has remained virtually unchanged over the last two millennia.

3.5 Semantic and syntactic integration

After the previous section, it is natural to turn to the question of semantic integration and its relation to different types of syntactic features. Writing about the integration of two clauses Givón states: 'The stronger the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause.'[261] Some of Givón's syntactic parameters are: (1) Do the complement-taking verb and the complement clause verb share the same subject? (2) Is the complement clause verb less finite or does it have a nominal form? (3) Do the two verbs occur in the same intonation group?[262] Cristofaro takes a slightly different approach by examining the relationship between the states of affairs which the two verbs refer to. If the boundaries between the two states are blurred, there is a high degree of semantic integration.[263]

According to Cristofaro's definition, primary B verbs of speaking exhibit a low degree of integration. On the other side of the spectrum, we find secondary A verbs of the 'beginning type' (e.g. 'begin' and 'cease'). Cristofaro attributes their high degree of integration to the fact that beginning, continuing, or stopping an action is part of the action itself, i.e. the boundaries between the two events are completely blurred.[264]

A second group of verbs with a high degree of semantic integration are secondary A verbs of the 'modal type' (e.g. 'be able'). The modal verb indicates that one state of affairs is possible or necessary. The complement clause, by contrast, expresses the state of affairs itself. The two are integrated because the modal predicate is defined by the state of affairs expressed by the complement clause verb. However, modal verbs are less integrated than 'beginning type' complement-taking verbs because the state of affairs need not take place.[265]

Another group of secondary A verbs consists of verbs like 'try'. Cristofaro excluded these verbs from her investigation but Givón includes them with 'beginning type' verbs and secondary B verbs within the term 'modality verbs'.[266] Here it is sufficient to note that these verbs also show signs of

[261] Givón, 2:40.

[262] Givón, 2:41.

[263] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 120.

[264] Cristofaro, 120.

[265] Cristofaro, 120.

[266] Givón, *Syntax*, 2:40.

syntactic integration. A fourth group of slightly lower semantic integration are secondary C verbs like ‘make’ which can also be termed ‘manipulatives’.[267]

All other categories (i.e. primary complement-taking verbs) are less semantically integrated because the states of affairs are independent of each other. For example, in the clause ‘He saw that Stephen left.’ the two states of affairs are independent although the seeing depends on Stephen actually leaving.[268]

Do Aramaic verbs with a greater semantic integration also show more signs of syntactic integration? The three most important parameters are less finite morphology of the complement clause verb, the sharing of a subject, and the placement within one intonation group.[269] If we return to Givón’s observations about ‘manipulatives’ (e.g. ‘make’) it is also relevant to consider morphological integration. The frequent use of a causative prefix instead of a complement-taking verb in all three corpora is a clear example of a very high degree of syntactic integration or “syntactic union”.[270]

In Syriac, secondary A verbs like *ʾeškaḥ* ‘be able’, *mṣā* ‘be able’, or *šarri* ‘begin’ occasionally show more syntactic integration by using infinitives (i.e. less finite verbal morphology). Many secondary verbs like these or *ṣbā* ‘want’ probably belonged to the same intonation group as their complement clause. Furthermore, secondary A verbs often require the two verbs to have the same subject. These syntactic tendencies or patterns suggest that these verbs show more syntactic integration than primary B verbs. At the same time, the placement of many primary B verbs in the same intonation group as their complement clauses shows that most, if not all, complement clauses are more integrated than coordinated clauses (or purpose clauses).

Most of the above conclusions are applicable to early modern and modern NENA dialects. One particularly good example of syntactic integration is *šare*/*mšare* ‘begin’. When the past perfective is used, this verb is sometimes followed by a perfective form but for the most part it is followed by an infinitive or *bəptaxa*.[271]

3.84	***šúrye-la***	***xíle-la***	*m-ġðàðe.*|
	begin.PTCP-COP.3PL	eat.PTCP-COP.3PL	together
	They began to eat together. (C. Barwar A21:21)		

[267] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 120.

[268] Cristofaro, 120–122.

[269] Givón, *Syntax*, 2:41.

[270] Cf. Khan, ‘Causative Constructions in Neo-Aramaic (Christian Urmi Dialect)’, 522–29 for and outline of periphrastic causatives in C. Urmi and semantic differences between lexical, morphological, and periphrastic causatives. These differences will be discussed further in the chapter on causatives.

[271] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:733, 941.

The high degree of integration is still visible in 3.84 because the verbs share the same stem, subject, and intonation group. *mšare* can be contrasted with verbs of perception such as *xaze* 'see' which sometimes take an infinitive or *bəptaxa*.[272] The difference being that the secondary verb more consistently takes these forms while *xaze* also employs other verbal forms or has a copula in the complement clause.

3.85	*xzé-lux*	*xa-náša*	***θàya***,|
	see.PST-L.2MS	a-man	come.INF
	You saw a man coming. (C. Barwar A22:22)		

Lastly, it should be noted that the verb *baye* shows a high degree of syntactic integration regardless of whether it is a complement-taking verb or a serial verb in C. Barwar.

To summarise, if there is a high degree of semantic integration there is also a high degree of syntactic integration. This is the basic reason that leads to the division between primary and secondary verbs. Secondary verbs can, therefore, be expressed through grammar rather than through lexemes in some languages. When they are expressed through verbal lexemes there are other traits that signal this higher degree of semantic integration.

3.6 Syriac and NENA in an areal perspective

This section outlines the geographical and genealogical setting of Syriac and NENA complement clauses. First, it outlines the use of verbal forms and grammatical markers in Akkadian, Classical Arabic, Greek, Western Middle Iranian (Parthian and Middle Persian), and Armenian. The overview and comparison with these languages is meant to contextualise the findings presented in the previous sections of this chapter. The choice of these languages is not arbitrary. Akkadian was once the most important language used in the Syriac speaking area. It is also one of the most well attested ancient languages. Moreover, like Aramaic, Akkadian has a very long attestation history. Lastly, Deutscher's investigation of sentential complementation and descriptive grammars like *A Grammar of Old Assyrian* make Akkadian an ideal candidate for linguistic comparisons.[273] The other four languages were used in the same region as Syriac or in surrounding regions. They are especially relevant because of the prominent roles they had in their respective areas.

The comparison with NENA is more geographically restricted, focusing on four different groups of languages: Arabic, Western Iranian languages, Turkic varieties, and Armenian. Three of these (Arabic, Western Iranian languages, and Armenian) are included because of their current prominence and the diachronic depth they add to the discussion. The Turkic varieties in Iraq and Iran are included because they, like NENA, are minority languages in this region.

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[272] Khan, 1:733.

[273] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*.

A comparison of prosodic boundaries would be both interesting and relevant. Unfortunately, few grammars (ancient and modern) contain the necessary data and a trawling of primary sources remain outside the scope of the present investigation.

3.6.1 Verbal forms and grammatical markers in ancient western Asia

3.6.1.1 Akkadian

The main sources of Old Assyrian are a series of letters found at the Assyrian trading colony *kārum Kaneš* in Anatolia. These letters are a very valuable source for reconstructing the dialect of Aššur – or the literary idiom of the merchant class. This corpus of letters contains five types of constructions used for the functional domain of complementation: complement clauses with a finite verb and introduced by *kīma* or *ša*, constructions coordinated by the conjunction *-ma*, asyndetic constructions with indirect questions, constructions with deverbal nouns or infinitives, and a type of construction that has been termed "koppelung-construction".[274] Kouwenberg's investigation of Old Assyrian has confirmed some of the tendencies that Deutscher observed in a similar corpus of Old Babylonian letters.

Both Deutscher and Kouwenberg discuss manipulative verbs, many of which include information about an illocutionary act:[275] *qabāʾum* 'order', *šapārum* and *lapātum* meaning 'order (by writing)', *aḫāzum* Š 'to instruct'. Other examples include information about the manner of causation; e.g. secondary complement-taking verbs *tadānum* and *waššurum*, both meaning 'allow'. These verbs occur in two types of constructions in Old Assyrian: infinitive complements or *-ma* constructions. Infinitives are primarily used in past tense constructions while *-ma* constructions are used with non-past.[276] Similar observations can be made regarding the various stages of Babylonian. The main shift happens in the Neo-Babylonian period, where infinitives are only used rarely (in the letter corpus). Instead of infinitives, Neo-Babylonian often employs a the quotative marker *umma* and a direct speech clause.[277]

Old Assyrian verbs meaning 'wish', 'want' or 'be able' are typically combined with an infinitive; either in the accusative or in the genitive (with the preposition *ana* 'to'). Constructions with (*la*) *muāʾum* 'not want, refuse' consistently take infinitive complements. The same applies to the rare occurrences of *ḫašāḫum* 'wish, desire'. By contrast, *kašādum* 'be able' is found with Koppelung constructions.[278] Koppelung constructions are identical to constructions with *-ma*, the difference being that the first verb cannot be used as an independent predicate.[279] Interestingly, Deutscher notes that *leʾûm* 'be able' is only

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[274] Kouwenberg, 810.

[275] Cf. Noonan, 'Complementation', 136 for a definition of Manipulative complement-taking verbs.

[276] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 814–15.

[277] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 124–34.

[278] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 819.

[279] Kouwenberg, 695; cf. Kraus, *Sonderformen Akkadischer Parataxe, Die Koppelungen* and; Wasserman, *Style and Form in Old-Babylonian Literary Texts* for further discussion of Koppelung constructions and verbal hendiadys in Old Babylonian texts.

attested with *-ma* in Old Akkadian. In Old Babylonian, by contrast, this verb is only attested with infinitives. This modal function is later expressed through the present verbal form *iparras*.[280]

The verb *palāḫum* 'fear' also takes infinitive complements in Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian.[281] Infinitive constructions are replaced by the quotative construction with *umma* and simple finite complements in Neo-Babylonian.[282] PERCEPTION verbs, on the other hand, typically take complement clauses with *kīma* and a finite verb already in Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian.[283] These verbs are similarly used in Old Babylonian but there are attestations with infinitives and the coordinator *-ma*.

Akkadian infinitives can also be the subject in impersonal constructions, e.g. with *bašûm* 'be present', and in constructions where adjectives or verbal adjectives (i.e. statives) serve as the predicate or copula complement.[284]

Several grammatical markers are attested in Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian. Finite complements are typically introduced by *kīma*, which started as a comparative preposition 'as' before it developed into a causal conjunction 'because' and a complementiser 'that'.[285] Over time, this conjunction came to be shortened into or replaced by *kī*.[286] The shorter *kī* continued to be used in Neo-Babylonian but was often replaced by the quotative marker *umma* or the relative marker *ša*.[287] The quotative marker is also used in Neo-Babylonian letters with past tense manipulation verbs.[288] The use of *-ma*, however, remains stable in non-past contexts. Infinitives are only rarely combined with a preposition in Old Babylonian. One exception is *palāḫum* 'fear' which employs *ana* 'to' and *aššum* 'concerning, for the purpose of'.[289]

Two observations are crucial in comparing the use of verbal forms with Syriac and NENA. First, infinitive complements are more common in Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian than they are in the Aramaic dialects, especially with primary verbs. Constructions with *-ma* (including Koppelung constructions) are in many ways parallel to the serial-like constructions attested with some modal verbs. It is true that the two clauses are connected through the coordinating conjunction *-ma*. However, these constructions require the two verbs to have the same verbal form.

Four additional observations can be made about grammatical markers. First, the preposition *ana* 'to' is used with infinitives. Unlike Syriac, however, the use of a dative preposition is not standardised.

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[280] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 134–36.

[281] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 820; Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 119–20.

[282] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 120–21.

[283] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 818–19; Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 111–15.

[284] Aro, *Die Akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, 17–26; cf. Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 658.

[285] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 41–64; Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 810.

[286] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 109 n45 notes that this could have taken place through phonetic reduction or functional replacement of an already existing conjunction kī.

[287] Deutscher, 110–11, 114–15, 118–21.

[288] Deutscher, 129–30.

[289] Deutscher, 119–20; Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 820.

Secondly, serial-like constructions are coordinated with a conjunction: Syriac *w-* and Akkadian *-ma*. Furthermore, an original relative marker is used as one of the main complementisers in the Neo-Babylonian period. Lastly, the quotative marker *umma* becomes one of the main complementisers. The last two observations are important since Syriac *d-* originated as a relative pronoun, much like Akkadian *ša*, and also serves as the marker of both direct and indirect speech. This shows that *d-* developed along the same grammaticalisation path as *ša* while also acquiring a wider range of functions.

3.6.1.2 Classical and Middle Arabic

How are verbal forms used in Classical Arabic complement clauses? The main differences between Arabic and the other languages in this section is the absence of infinitives or verbal nouns (*maṣdar*) from certain constructions. For example, the verbs *jaʿala* 'begin' and *ʾakẖaḏẖa* 'begin' are typically used in asyndetic constructions with a suffix or prefix conjugation verb rather than a verbal noun. The verbs *ʾarāda* 'want' and *kāda* 'be able' are normally expressed through *ʾan* and a subjunctive but they can also be used in asyndetic constructions.[290]

Classical Arabic has three main subordinating conjunctions that can be used to introduce complement clauses: *ʾan*, *ʾanna*, and *mā*.[291] The conjunction *ʾan* is used with almost all types of complement-taking verbs. It is typically used when the complement clause has a suffix conjugation verb. *ʾan* may also be used when the prefix conjugation is combined with the future particle *sa-*. The prefix conjugation, however, is more often preceded by *ʾanna*. *ʾanna* is also used in post-classical Arabic to introduce indirect questions. Classical Arabic, however, rarely use complementisers with indirect questions or direct and indirect speech. The third complementiser, *mā* 'what', introduces verbal clauses; the complement clause verb and *mā* can also be replaced by the verbal noun (*maṣdar*).[292] Lastly, phasal verbs *jaʿala* 'begin' and *ʾakẖaḏẖa* 'begin' are typically used in asyndetic or "compound" constructions, much like constructions with *kāna* 'become'.[293] Asyndetic constructions are, however, much more common in Middle Arabic; especially in subordinate constructions attached to secondary verbs. These asyndetic clauses typically take a prefix conjugation verb.[294]

To summarise, there are significant differences between Syriac and Classical Arabic. Arabic verbal nouns are used in other contexts than Syriac infinitives. Specifically, they are not used with secondary verbs, where Arabic appears to prefer asyndetic constructions. Moreover, Classical Arabic has a

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[290] Fischer and Rodgers, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, 221; note that Al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* does not contain a discussion of these types of clauses.

[291] Cf. Wagner, *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah*, 217 for the use of ʾallaḏī as a complementiser.

[292] Fischer and Rodgers, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, 212–15.

[293] Fischer and Rodgers, 107.

[294] Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 229–32; Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum, with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements: Introductions, Linguistic Notes, Texts*, 177–78.

subjunctive with a different distribution compared to the Syriac prefix conjugation. Although, the Syriac prefix conjugation is used in most contexts where the Arabic subjunctive occurs. Regarding complementisers, one may note that Arabic employs two markers. Like Syriac indirect questions may simply have an interrogative like *mā*.

3.6.1.3 Classical, Koine, and Medieval Greek

Infinitival complements are frequently used in Classical Greek. For example, dynamic infinitives are used with phasal verbs, verbs expressing modality, manipulation verbs, verbs expressing DECIDING and WANTING, and verbs of KNOWING and TEACHING in contexts expressing practical knowledge (e.g. know how to).[295] Moreover, declarative infinitives are used with speech verbs like λέγω 'say' and verbs expressing opinions or beliefs (e.g. νομίζω 'believe' and ὄιομαι 'think').[296] Infinitives are also used as subjects in impersonal constructions with quasi-impersonal verbs like δεῖ 'be necessary'. Subject clauses of adjectives can have an infinitive or ὅτι and a finite verb.[297] By contrast, perception verbs are combined with present participles, the subjunctive is used with the semantic concept FEAR, verbs expressing effort are combined with the future indicative.[298] Intellectual knowledge is expressed through a participle or ὅτι 'that' and a verb in any tense/mood.[299] Declarative speech can, similarly, be expressed through ὅτι and a finite verb in any tense/mood.[300]

For our discussion of Syriac, Koine and Medieval Greek are more important. Infinitives are commonly used in Koine Greek to express WANTING, ABILITY, and manipulation ('allow', 'permit'). Infinitives are also very common in sentential copula subjects or in subject clauses with impersonal verbs. However, the Classical Greek infinitive which was previously used in complement clauses after verbs of thought and belief is often replaced by clauses with ὅτι 'that' and an indicative verb. Similarly, impersonal modal verbs and verbs of WANTING begin to use ὅπως and a subjunctive verb.[301] This tendency to use finite verbs continues into the modern period. In the later medieval period infinitives are primarily used with modal verbs or verbs of WANTING; other "control" complement-taking verbs combine νά with the present (imperfective), aorist (perfective), or the subjunctive.[302]

Classical Greek had several complementisers that could be used with primary verbs of FEAR; EFFORT: 'take care', 'strive'; intellectual KNOWLEDGE: 'understand', 'know', 'realise'; or utterances: 'say'. The most important point to make here is the emergence of ὅτι 'that' and an indicative verb together with verbs expressing opinions, e.g. 'think', 'believe'. In late medieval and early modern Greek

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[295] Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, 583–84.

[296] Emde Boas et al., 591–92.

[297] Emde Boas et al., 466–68.

[298] Emde Boas et al., 526–28, 612, 616.

[299] Emde Boas et al., 511.

[300] Emde Boas et al., 504.

[301] Horrocks, *Greek*, 93–4, 156–57.

[302] Holton et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4:1887–893.

πώς can also be used in addition to ὅτι. Similarly, impersonal modal verbs and verbs of WANTING begin to use ἵνα 'that' or ὅπως 'that' and a subjunctive verb.[303]

In short, there is a move towards a more frequent use of finite forms after the classical period. This decline of the infinitive is relevant for comparisons of Syriac and general tendencies in the area.

3.6.1.4 Middle West Iranian

The following observations are important for the discussion of verbal forms in Western Middle Iranian. The subjunctive mood can be used to express future, especially in relative clauses, wishes, and purpose.[304] Infinitives are employed in a smaller set of constructions: with manipulative speech verbs such as *framūdān* 'command'; other manipulative verbs that could involve verbal communication such as 'send', 'permit', and 'allow'; object clauses used with phasal verbs like *niwistan* 'begin'; and the verb *šāyistan* 'suit, befit'. The same preference for infinitives is also attested in impersonal constructions, where the complement clause serves as the subject in a copula clause construction.[305] Some verbs, like *niwistan* 'begin' can also be used with the participle.[306]

The main grammatical marker for subordination in Western Middle Iranian is *kū*. This conjunction is regularly used as the subordinator of finite complement clauses but it is also used to introduce: direct speech, result clauses, purpose clauses, and relative clauses (with a location as the main clause common argument).[307]

Consequently, there appears to be an overlap between the functions of this subordinate clause marker and the functions covered by Syriac *d-*. Note, however, that Western Middle Iranian has an alternative relative clause marker. The distribution of infinitives in Western Middle Iranian is very similar compared to Syriac. Infinitives are, however, used in more contexts (e.g. with manipulative speech verbs).

3.6.1.5 Classical Armenian

The classical Armenian infinitive is used together with secondary verbs such as: *kamim* 'wish', *unim* 'must', *tam* 'make (someone do something)', *sksim* 'begin', *tʿołum* 'allow'. Moreover, infinitives are also used with *erknčʿim* 'fear' and in copula constructions with adjectives, e.g. *law ē* 'it is good', *aržan ē* 'it is right'.[308]

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[303] Horrocks, *Greek*, 93–4, 156–57, 172–73; Holton et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4:1885–887.

[304] Skjærvø, 'Middle West Iranian', 234.

[305] Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 188–94, 238–39; Skjærvø, 'Middle West Iranian', 243–44.

[306] Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 192.

[307] Brunner, 234–41.

[308] Jensen, *Altarmenische Grammatik*, 136–37, 149–50; cf. Thomson, *An Introduction to Classical Armenian*, 109; Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch*, 111–12.

The relative/interrogative *zi* 'for, that, because' and *(e)tʿe* 'that' are the main conjunctions used with object complement clauses. The marker *zi* is more common with verbs expressing emotions, desire, or wishes. The conjunction *(e)tʿe* is more common with verbs of SPEECH, THANKING, and PERCEPTION.[309] The indicative mood is used in these clauses where the complement clause presents the event as actual; otherwise the subjunctive is used (e.g. with secondary concepts such as 'want' or 'wish').[310]

In short, Classical Armenian shares several of the same tendencies as Syriac. For example, the relative pronoun is used as a complementiser. At the same time, Armenian also employs *(e)tʿe* in some complement clauses. Importantly, this conjunction is also used as a quotative marker much like *d-*. One may also add that *(e)tʿe* occurs as a purposive marker in biblical texts.[311] Another similarity is the use of the infinitive in copula subjects and with secondary verbs.

3.6.2 Verbal forms and grammatical markers in modern western Asia

The previous section shows that Syriac shares several traits with the ancient languages spoken and written in Western Asia. The same is true for NENA. Matras notes that complementation is a phenomenon that appears "to be contact-sensitive and prone to convergence in linguistic areas."[312] He further outlines some points of convergence between Kurmanji and various languages in the area, including the Jewish NENA dialects of Zakho and Saqiz.

3.6.2.1 Western Iranian languages

Sorani Kurdish only rarely employ non-finite forms in grammatical constructions. Consequently, there are no infinitival complements, comparable to constructions attested in earlier forms of Western Middle Iranian.[313] This is not an isolated occurrence. The Neo-Persian subjunctive is typically used instead of infinitival complements even though the latter is clearly attested in earlier forms of Persian.[314] Here Kurdish belongs to a larger group of languages that prefer finite complementation.[315]

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[309] Cf. Meyer, 'Iranian-Armenian Language Contact in and before the 5th Century CE: An Investigation into Pattern Replication and Societal Multilingualism', 242–43.

[310] Jensen, *Altarmenische Grammatik*, 201–08; Meillet, *Esquisse d'une Grammaire Comparée de l'Arménien Classique*, 139–40; Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch*, 137–39; Schmitt, *Grammatik Des Klassisch-Armenischen Mit Sprachvergleichenden Erläuterungen*, 161.

[311] Jensen, *Altarmenische Grammatik*, 214–16; Meyer, 'Iranian-Armenian Language Contact in and before the 5th Century CE: An Investigation into Pattern Replication and Societal Multilingualism', 243.

[312] Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 60.

[313] Haig, '3.3. The Iranian Languages of Northern Iraq', 284; Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 51.

[314] Paul, '4.6. Persian', 610–11.

[315] Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 59–62.

More specifically, the present subjunctive is obligatory in complement clauses after secondary complement-taking verbs of such as *wīstin* 'be desirable, necessary', and *twānīn* 'be able'. However, the subjunctive mood is not used in past tense contexts in Northern Kurdish.[316]

The use of the complementisers *ku* and *ke* appears to be connected to the semantic integration of the two events expressed by the verbs. Constructions that are more integrated exhibit less complex marking while less integrated clauses show more complex markers.[317] For example, northern Kurdish verbs like *gotin* 'say', *dîtin* 'see', and *zānīn* 'know' may use the complementiser *ku*, a personal pronoun, and a complement clause verb in the indicative.[318] However, Kurdish in Iraq does not generally use complementisers with complement-taking verbs "such as *zānīn* 'know'".[319] This preference for asyndetic linkage appears to be a general trait in norther Iraq. Secondary complement-taking verbs also seem to omit the complementiser.[320] In northern Kurdish, however, weak agent-control can be expressed through the presence of *ku* even with verbs like 'want'.[321]

Complement clauses are marked by *ke* 'that' in Standard New Persian and have a finite verb form. Verbs meaning 'want' require the present subjunctive to be used in the subordinate clause. The marker *ke* is used in all types of constructions, regardless of their level of semantic integration. In colloquial Fārsī *ke* is often omitted, even when there is a low degree of semantic integration, e.g. with verbs of SPEAKING.[322]

In short, Kurdish shows the same preference for finite verb forms and asyndetic constructions with secondary complement-taking verbs. The difference is, perhaps that a subjunctive verbal form is used rather than serial-like constructions.

3.6.2.2 Arabic in eastern Anatolia norther Iraq

The Arabic dialects of northern Iraq and eastern Anatolia share the Kurdish preference for finite verbal forms. It may also be the case that many secondary verbs occur in serial-like constructions. For example, Procházka's article contains two examples where *ʔa-ġīd* 'I want' is combined with another first person prefix conjugation verb; following immediately after the complement-taking verb without any overt marker.[323] The Arabic dialects of northern Iraq also share the preference for asyndetic constructions. For example, complement-taking verbs of SPEAKING and BELIEVING are frequently used without a

[316] Haig, '2.3. Northern Kurdish (Kurmanjî)', 127–28; Haig, '3.3. The Iranian Languages of Northern Iraq', 284.

[317] Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 54.

[318] Matras, 56–7.

[319] Haig, '3.3. The Iranian Languages of Northern Iraq', 284.

[320] Haig, 284; cf. Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 55.

[321] Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 55.

[322] Paul, '4.6. Persian', 615–16.

[323] Procházka, '3.2. The Arabic Dialects of Northern Iraq', 261–62.

complementiser.[324] In eastern Anatolia, there are instances, however, where the conjunction *ta* is used with secondary complement-taking verbs.[325]

The use of serial-like constructions is reminiscent of *baye* 'want' in C. Barwar but it is possible that this use is restricted to prefix conjugation verbs. The available data are not sufficient to determine whether two past tense verbs could be combined in this type of construction.

3.6.2.3 Turkic languages

Turkic style complement clauses, and dependent clauses in general, are typically constructed with non-finite verbal forms (gerunds, infinitives, participles). However, primary complement-taking verbs often employ the grammatical marker *ki*/*ke* and a finite verb form to express complementation. These constructions are very common in the Turkic dialects of Iraq and Iran. In addition, finite verbs are used in indirect speech together with an interrogative.[326]

The subjunctive/optative and imperative verbal forms are frequently used with secondary verbs. This includes impersonal expressions such as *gäräk* or *lâzım* 'it is necessary'.[327] This also applies to other types of highly integrated constructions with verbs such as: *istä-* 'want', *qoy-* 'let'.[328] Possibility or the concept 'be able' is expressed through a grammaticalised combination of a lexical verb with a former modal verb *bil-* 'know, be able.' The same concept can, however, be expressed through a combination of *bašar-* 'succeed, can, be able' and a lexical verb in the subjunctive/optative.[329] In short, Turkic varieties, in Iran and Iraq, employ the optative/subjunctive or the imperative in contexts where Iranian languages (or other Indo-European languages) employ the subjunctive. These developments are already attested in Old Anatolian Turkic texts.[330] Moreover, the constituent order of these constructions have changed so that the lexical verb follows the modal verb.[331]

It is also important to note that these Turkic varieties have retained some non-finite constructions. The verbal nouns, in {-mEK} and {-mAK}, are used with phasal complement-taking verbs 'begin' and with motion purpose.[332]

In short, the Turkic languages exhibit the same preference for finite verbal forms and for asyndetic constructions as NENA. Moreover, phasal complement-taking verbs still take non-finite verbs, much like the infinitives or *bəptaxa* forms used with their NENA counterparts.

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[324] Procházka, 256.

[325] Procházka, '2.4. The Arabic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia', 180.

[326] Bulut, '3.5. Iraq-Turkic', 371–72, 375; Bulut, '4.2. The Turkic Varieties of Iran', 435.

[327] Bulut, '3.5. Iraq-Turkic', 376; Bulut, '4.2. The Turkic Varieties of Iran', 438.

[328] Bulut, '3.5. Iraq-Turkic', 376; Bulut, '4.2. The Turkic Varieties of Iran', 436–37.

[329] Bulut, '4.2. The Turkic Varieties of Iran', 463–37.

[330] Bulut, 436.

[331] Bulut, 436.

[332] Bulut, '3.5. Iraq-Turkic', 371; Bulut, '4.2. The Turkic Varieties of Iran', 431.

3.6.2.4 Modern Eastern Armenian

The conjunction *ov* is the main complementiser in Modern Eastern Armenian. This grammatical marker is used in complement clauses with finite verbal forms. Manipulatives either require an infinitive complement or a clause with the subjunctive. The infinitive is preferred in both written and spoken Armenian.[333] Desiderative and volitional verbs follow the same general pattern as manipulatives in the written language. In the spoken vernacular asyndetic constructions are very prevalent, i.e. constructions with a subjunctive but no conjunction.[334] Verbs of cognition can, similarly, be used with or without a complementiser.[335] Perception verbs can be combined with the infinitive or with a clause introduced by *ov*.[336] Propositional attitudes can be expressed in two ways: through adjectives in a copula construction *karelia ē* 'it is possible' or through cognition verbs *karcel* 'think'. Infinitives are highly preferred in the former.[337] Indirect speech is linked to a main clause through a conjunction; the verbal form being an infinitive or a participle.[338]

The main difference between Modern Eastern Armenian and the other languages in this section concerns the use of infinitives. Unlike the other languages, Armenian continues to use infinitives in both spoken and written varieties of the language. It is, however, noteworthy that asyndetic constructions with the subjunctive occur frequently after volitional verbs in the spoken vernacular.

3.6.3 An Areal and diachronic perspective on Syriac and NENA

Two trends are apparent from an areal perspective. First, all of the modern languages show a preference for finite verbal forms as sentential complements. Matras has previously pointed to this tendency as a isogloss comprising northern Kurdish, the languages on the Balkans, Anatolian Greek, some Turkic varieties, north-western Iranian languages, Neo-Aramaic, Domari, and Arabic.[339] Of the languages surveyed here, Armenian is the only language that does not share this isogloss. Infinitives are used frequently in both Classical and Modern Eastern Armenian, although vernacular constructions also use finite complements. The use of the infinitive is being marginalised already in ancient times. While Classical Greek used infinitives with verbs of belief or thought, such constructions often take an indicative verb in medieval Greek. Similarly, Old Babylonian infinitives were used with a wide range of complement-taking verbs. By contrast, infinitives are no longer used in Deutscher's sample of Neo-Babylonian letters. In Syriac, infinitives are relatively marginal, being used with some secondary complement-taking verbs. These same verbs, however, may take a finite form instead of the infinitive.

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[333] Dum-Tragut, *Armenian*, 424.

[334] Dum-Tragut, 424–25.

[335] Dum-Tragut, 429.

[336] Dum-Tragut, 426–27.

[337] Dum-Tragut, 428–29.

[338] Dum-Tragut, 424.

[339] Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 51.

Moreover, the Syriac sample suggests that some authors may have preferred finite forms rather than infinitives. The modern preference for finite verbs appears to have a long history in the area; long before the emergence of the modern dialects. In short, these languages appears to follow the same developmental trajectory as Akkadian before them.

Matras also notes that Kurdish and many of the languages in this section use a generalised subordinator.[340] Another phenomenon that deserves attention is the tendency to use asyndetic constructions. The use of asyndetic constructions is an areal phenomenon, especially in cases where there is a higher degree of semantic integration. It applies to most of the languages in northern Iraq, including Kurdish, Arabic, Neo-Aramaic, and Turkic. Is this a new areal phenomenon? The answer, undoubtedly, depends on the weight ascribed to textual sources from the earlier strata of these languages. Asyndetic constructions, like the ones in NENA or the Kurdish and Arabic dialects in Iraq, are not very common in texts from earlier periods. This does not mean that such constructions were absent from the language, however. The Syriac corpus, for example, attest to the existence of asyndetic constructions at a very early stage, and so does Middle Arabic. Lastly, it should also be noted that the Turkic and Iranian languages tend to use asyndetic constructions with a subjunctive or imperative. This is different compared to the NENA dialects surveyed here. They use asyndetic constructions when the two verbs share the same verbal form.

3.7 Conclusion

The findings of this chapter fall into five categories: (1) semantic integration and its effects on syntactic integration; (2) the predetermination of verbal forms in complement clauses; (3) the gradual disappearance of the complementiser; (4) the consistent function of verbal forms and the stability of prosodic patterns; (5) and convergence with patterns in the surrounding languages. One of the most important discoveries of this chapter is the stability of the underlying structure of complement clauses over time. The investigation of verbal forms shows that while verbal forms may be replaced, the new forms generally develop similar functions as the ones they replaced. For example, the use of the prefix conjugation in Syriac corresponds to the use of *patəx* in early modern texts and modern NENA. The investigation of Syriac punctuation and modern intonation group boundaries also suggests that prosodic patterns remained stable over time.

The same stability is not evident in the use of complementisers. The subordinator *d-*, which is essential to Syriac complement clauses, is no longer a vital part of the toolbox in C. Barwar and C. Urmi (even though C. Barwar sometimes preserved it in specific phonetic environments).

Though the data are not always clear cut, the semantics of verbs often determine which verbal forms can be used (or not used). For example, KNOWLEDGE predicates are often combined with nominal or copula clauses; PERCEPTION predicates rarely (if ever) use *patəx* forms; and secondary verbs

[340] Matras, 62.

sometimes take an infinitive or a *bəptaxa* form. NENA also shares the areal preference for finite verbal forms, although phasal verbs like 'begin' continue to use the infinitive or the equally non-finite *bəptaxa*.

There is a clear division between primary and secondary verbs in Syriac, early modern NENA, and the modern dialects. The basic distinction concerns how much these verbs are semantically and syntactically integrated with their respective complement clause verbs. For example, it is more common for secondary verbs to be adjacent to the complement clause verb or to take an infinitive complement. Moreover, intonation seems to be an integrating feature that is used with all verb types. The use of intonation group boundaries is therefore a distinguishing trait of complement clauses; but not primarily as a means of distinguishing between different levels of integration.

In some cases, there is also a convergence between Aramaic and other languages in the area. Serial-like constructions are used in both NENA and the Arabic dialects of Iraq. Perhaps this feature is more common in non-past contexts – *bayən ʾazən* 'I want to go'. If so, it would follow the same pattern as Akkadian *-ma* constructions, which also required two verbs of same verbal form.

4 CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1 Different types of causative constructions

Causatives are valency increasing constructions. Canonical causative constructions are typically derived from intransitive constructions. When the underlying clause is made into a transitive construction the underlying subject becomes the direct object in the new construction. A new argument, i.e. the causer, is added as the agent ('**He** went home' > 'They made **him** go home').

From a Cross-linguistic perspective, causative constructions can be divided into three different types: lexical causatives, morphological causatives, and periphrastic causatives.[341] Periphrastic causatives belong to the same category as secondary complement-taking verbs. This is the main reason for the inclusion of this chapter. Some languages also use serial constructions to form causatives but this strategy is not used in Aramaic.[342]

Briefly, periphrastic constructions come in two varieties. In the first one, the main verb is placed in the main clause while the second one occurs in a subordinate clause (often a complement clause).[343] Periphrastic constructions can also be used with adjectives or nouns. For example, English allows copula clauses as the complement clause of a causative verb. The copula verb may be omitted in these contexts.[344] Section 4.3 treats periphrastic constructions.

The second type of causatives are characterised by different morphological processes which are used as formal mechanisms to mark the causative function. These processes include internal change (of e.g. vowel quality or consonant mutation), repetition of a consonant, lengthening of a vowel, tone change, reduplication, a prefix, a suffix, an infix, or a circumfix. The same language can also use more than one of these. For example, many Semitic languages – including Aramaic – have two processes: a causative prefix and the repetition of the middle consonant. Another example would be Amharic, which has two causative prefixes *a-* and *as-*.[345] The two morphological processes are discussed in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

The third type is lexical causatives. These can be sub-divided into two categories; the first consisting of lexical pairs in a causative relationship (e.g. 'die' and 'kill'). The second consists of lexemes which can be used in transitive as well as intransitive constructions. When these ambitransitive (or 'labile') verbs are used in transitive constructions the object would have been the subject of a corresponding intransitive construction (e.g. 'The dog walked' vs. John walked the dog'). It is important

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[341] Khan, 'Causative Constructions in Neo-Aramaic (Christian Urmi Dialect)', 506–07; Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:242–50.

[342] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:243–44.

[343] Dixon, 3:245–46.

[344] Dixon, 3:251.

[345] Amberber, 'Valency-Changing and Valency-Encoding Devices in Amharic', 317.

to distinguish these verbs from those where the subject becomes the agent (e.g. 'John was painting' vs. 'John was painting the house').[346] These constructions are described in 4.2.1.

The semantic parameters, connected to specific constructions, are also important for understanding causative constructions. This chapter does not include a discussion of these parameters for two reasons. First, a discussion of semantic parameters would have to focus on the non-periphrastic derivations. More importantly, though, an investigation of these parameters would require a more in-depth investigation of individual verbal lexemes. Such a lexical investigation, although highly interesting, does not fit within the bounds of this chapter and the current investigation of subordinate clauses. Such an investigation could be a standalone project. Consequently, sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 only provide a framework for the discussion of periphrastic causatives.

4.2 Lexical and morphological causatives

Each of these constructions have been discussed by Khan in his grammar of C. Umri. That outline serves as the main point of comparison for Syriac and early NENA constructions, especially regarding periphrastic constructions.

4.2.1 Lexical causatives

4.2.1.1 Ambitransitive verbs

In NENA, ambitransitive or labile verbs are unaccusative when used intransitively. Unaccusative intransitive verbs are well attested in both C. Barwar and C. Urmi, their main feature being the absence of an encoded agent or causer. This category often includes verbs which encode a state (*+ḵaṯṯə* I 'be cut off'), a change of state (*pašər* I 'melt'), or motion (*ʾazəl* I 'go'). Some of the verbs in this category can also be used transitively, e.g. *baləs* I 'bruise', *davər* I 'close', *malə* I 'fill', *parəm* I 'slaughter/be slaughtered', *patəx* I 'open', and *+šaməṯ* I 'break'.[347] Consider examples of three verbs:[348]

4.1 *+súp̂p̂-i* *blàs-la*|
finger-POSS.1SG bruise.PST-L.3FS
'My finger bruised' (unaccusative; Khan, 2016, 1:400)

4.2 *cípa* *+súp̂p̂-i* *blis-à-lə*|
stone finger-POSS.1SG bruise.PST-D.3FS-L.3MS
'The stone bruised my finger' (causative; Khan, 2016, 1:400)

[346] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:247.

[347] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:397–400; cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:259.

[348] For more examples see Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:400–01.

4.3 *+tárra ptàx-lə*|
door open.PST-D.3MS-L.3MS
'The door opened' (unaccusative; Khan, 2016, 1:400)

4.4 *póxa +tárra ptàx-Ø-lə*|
wind door open.pst-D.3MS-L.3MS
'The wind opened the door' (causative; Khan, 2016, 1:400)

4.5 *cípa +šmə̀ṭ-lə*|
stone break.PST-L.3MS
'The stone broke' (unaccusative; Khan, 2016, 1:400)

4.6 *čácuč cípa +šmə̀ṭ-Ø-lə*|
hammer stone break.PST-D.3MS-L.3MS
'The hammer broke the stone' (causative; Khan, 2016, 1:400)

Cognates of some of these verbs are attested in Syriac and other early Aramaic dialects, e.g. *mlā* 'fill, be full'[349] and *ptaḥ* 'open, be open.'[350] Both *mlā* and *ptaḥ* are also ambitransitive in these dialects. Although, it should be mentioned, that ambitransitives may have proliferated in NENA due to the loss of the t-stems which performed some of the corresponding intransitive functions in Syriac.

Two diachronic observations can be made. First, this type of causative construction exists in both Syriac and NENA. Secondly, ambitransitive verbs in both Syriac and the two NENA dialects are unaccusative when used intransitively. Interestingly, Amberber points out that ambitransitive verbs in Amharic are restricted to a small group of ingestive verbs, e.g. *bəlla* 'eat'.[351] This, however, is likely due to Cushitic influence since *malʾa* 'fill, be full' is ambitransitive in Geʿez.[352]

Motion verbs are not ambitransitive even though they are unaccusative. Moreover, a more comprehensive investigation of ambitransitive verbs in ancient Aramaic would be needed for a full comparison with NENA.

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[349] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 768–69; Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 678.

[350] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 946.

[351] Amberber, 'Valency-Changing and Valency-Encoding Devices in Amharic', 313.

[352] Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*, 342; cf. Kawachi, 'A Grammar of Sidaama (Sidamo), A Cushitic Language of Ethiopia', 116.

4.2.1.2 Different lexemes in a causative relationship

The second type of lexical causatives consist of unrelated verbs that have a causative relationship. A commonly used example is *mayət* I 'die' and *+ḵaṭəl* I 'kill'.[353] In Khan's dictionary of C. Urmi there is no causative pattern III form of the verb *mayət* I; although pattern III exists in the sense 'pretending to be dead.'[354] However, pattern III forms of this verb exist in some NENA dialects, e.g. C. Barwar and Qaraqosh.[355] Moreover, in Syriac the causative prefix can be used with *mīṯ* 'die' rather than *qṭal* 'kill'.[356] Yet the verb *qṭal* is much more common than *mīṯ* with a causative prefix.

4.7	*lēlyā=kl-eh*	*rānē=weṯ*	*d-ʾaykanā*	*ʾamīṯ-eh*
	night=all-POSS.3MS	think.PTCP=be.SC.1SG	COMP-how	kill.SC.1SG-POSS.3MS
	All the night I have thought about how to put him to death. (Thom 189:9–10)			

These brief observations have the same purpose as the ones in the previous section. They show that this type of lexical causative existed in Syriac and continue to be used in NENA dialects.

4.2.2 Pattern II (D-Stem)

Pattern II verbs are the first type of morphological causative to consider. In Syriac, the middle consonant of the verbal root is repeated. In NENA, however, the doubling of the consonant is lost and the present template is identical to that of pattern I verbs. In the other templates, internal change serves as the morphological process. Pattern II is the basic pattern for some verbs and not a causative derivation:[357]

Agentive transitive:	*haḵə* II 'tell (a story)'
	labəl II 'take (away)'
Agentive intransitive (unergative):	*daɟəl* II 'lie'
	salə II 'pray'
Experiential and psychological:	*ɟašəḵ* II 'look'
	ḵazəd II 'stare'
	mačəx II 'find'

[353] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:401; Khan, 'Causative Constructions in Neo-Aramaic (Christian Urmi Dialect)', 507.

[354] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:431.

[355] Khan, 3:217; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 2:1145; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 134.

[356] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 731.

[357] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:407–09.

Control verbs:	*+šarə* II ‘begin’
	paḵəd II ‘command’

If a pattern II form exists alongside a pattern I form, pattern II is typically a morphological causative of pattern I. Moreover, these pattern II verbs normally express inchoative activities, having unaccusative subjects. The corresponding pattern II forms are transitive with an agentive subject, typically human. Because these pattern I verbs are intransitive, the causee (i.e. original subject) becomes the direct object of the pattern II construction.[358] This category of verbs include:

bašəl I ‘cook (intr.)’	*bašəl* II ‘cook (tr.)’
basəm I ‘become well’	*basəm* II ‘cure’
daxə I ‘become pure’	*daxə* II ‘purify’
ḵadəš I ‘be consecrated’	*ḵadəš* II ‘consecrate’
sapəḵ I ‘empty (intr.)’	*sapəḵ* II ‘empty (tr.)’
+ṭašə I ‘be hidden’	*+ṭašə* II ‘hide (tr.)’
+paləṭ I ‘go out’	*+paləṭ* II ‘put out’

These pairs resemble the ambitransitive verbs discussed above. Importantly, these pattern I verbs are unaccusative intransitive verbs just like the intransitive alternant of ambitransitive verbs. However, there are a few examples of unaccusative motion verbs with a causative pattern II form (cf. *+paləṭ* I). Moreover, pattern II is not used to derive causatives from agentive intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, or extended transitive verbs.[359] These observations are crucial because they show that NENA has two main mechanisms for forming causatives from unaccusative intransitive verbs that express a state or a change of state: ambitransitives and pattern II.

Before turning to Syriac, it might be useful to note that pattern II verbs behave slightly differently in C. Barwar compared to C. Urmi. In some instances, both patterns have the same valency but different transitivity. Khan considers transitivity as a scalar phenomenon, a view proposed by Hopper and Thompson.[360] In some cases it seems as if the object of pattern II is more affected than the object in pattern I constructions. However, there are several instances where both patterns have the same valency and transitivity.[361]

How does the Syriac pattern II compare with NENA pattern II. Morphologically, the Syriac pattern clearly exemplifies the repetition of the second consonant as a causative process. The more pressing

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[358] Khan, 1:405–07; cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:255–56.

[359] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:406–07.

[360] Hopper, and Thompson, ‘Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse’.

[361] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:257–58.

question, however, is how the Syriac system compares to that of NENA, specifically C. Urmi and C. Barwar. To begin with, the repetition of the middle consonant was used in Syriac as a causative strategy for some unaccusative intransitive verb:

bṭal I 'stop, cease'[362]	*baṭṭel* II 'make stop, prevent'
bšal I 'ripen'[363]	*baššel* II 'cook, make ripe'
dkā I 'be pure'[364]	*dakki* II 'purify'

More verbs could, undoubtedly, be added to this list. The point, though, is that the repetition of a consonant could be used to make unaccusative intransitive verbs causative in Syriac just as pattern II in NENA. Another similarity, is the rare use of this process to make motion verbs causative:

plaṭ I 'escape, flee'[365]	*palleṭ* II 'allow to escape, free'	*ʾapleṭ* III 'free'

The main verb that breaks this pattern is *zban* I 'buy'. The basic pattern is both transitive and agentive. The same cognate is used in many NENA dialects, e.g. C. Barwar and Qaraqosh:[366]

zban I 'buy'[367]	*zabben* II 'sell'

It is not necessary, at this point, to explain why the causative prefix is not used with *zban*. Yet, it could be related to the use of this pattern with culturally salient and conventionalised activities, e.g. *barreḵ* II 'bless', *nakkes* II 'slaughter', *qawwem* 'swear an oath', *qarreḇ* II 'offer a sacrifice', *šallem* II 'pay'. The use of *zabben* II fits well with this pattern. Moreover, the verb is causative in the sense that an agent is added. However, the causer is not making the causee buy the direct object.

4.2.3 Pattern III (C-Stem)

4.2.3.1 NENA pattern III

Pattern III – with a causative prefix – is the prototypical morphological causative in NENA. This pattern is also more productive with triliteral verbs than pattern II. Moreover, pattern III can be used to derive causatives from agentive pattern I verbs, verbs that are either transitive or unergative.[368]

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[362] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 137–38.

[363] Sokoloff, 195.

[364] Sokoloff, 301.

[365] Sokoloff, 1198–199.

[366] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:256; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 724.

[367] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 363.

[368] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:411–12.

barəc I ‘kneel’ (unergative)	*mabrəc* III ‘cause to kneel’
yamə I ‘swear’ (unergative)	*mammə* III ‘cause to swear’
maxə I ‘hit’ (transitive)	*mamxə* III ‘cause to be hit’

Pattern III can also be used to derive causatives from non-agentive verbs, both unaccusative and experiential.[369]

ʾatə I ‘come’ (unaccusative)	*mayyə* III ‘bring’
barəz I ‘dry’ (unaccusative)	*mabrəz* III ‘cause to dry’
raxəḵ I ‘become distant’ (unaccusative)	*marxəḵ* III ‘cause to become distant’
šaxən I ‘become warm’ (unaccusative)	*mašxən* III ‘cause to become warm’
yaḵəd I ‘burn’ (unaccusative)	*maḵḵəd* III ‘cause to burn’
xazzə I ‘see’ (experiential)	*maxzə* III ‘cause to be seen’
xašəv I ‘think’ (experiential)	*maxšəv* III ‘cause to be thought’
+*šammə* I ‘hear’ (experiential)	+*mašmə* III ‘cause to be heard’

This morphological process is at the heart of the causative system in NENA. However, this process is not only used for causative derivation and it is not used to derive causatives from all pattern I verbs. For example, pattern II is more common in C. Urmi with unmarked or “conventional” events (e.g. ‘cook’ or ‘cure’).[370] When pattern I is intransitive and pattern II is transitive, pattern III can be used to derive a causative of pattern II:[371]

parəḵ I ‘finish’ (intr.)	FINISH (y)
parəḵ II ‘finish’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[FINISH (y)])
maprəḵ III ‘cause to be finished by so.’	CAUSE (x[FINISH (y, (z))])

basəm I ‘heal’ (intr.)	HEAL (y)
basəm III ‘cure’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[HEAL (y)])
mabsəm III ‘cause to be cured by so.’	CAUSE (x[HEAL (y, (z))])

Similarly, pattern III can be transitive or extended transitive if an intransitive pattern I verb does not have a transitive alternant of a causative pattern II form:[372]

[369] Khan, 1:411–12.

[370] Khan, 1:411.

[371] Khan, 1:416–17.

[372] Khan, 1:417.

calə I ‘stand, stop’ (intr.)	STOP (y)
maclə III ‘stop’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[STOP (y)])
maclə III ‘cause to be stopped by so.’	CAUSE (x[STOP (y, (z))])

+*salə* I ‘descend’ (intr.)	DESCEND (y)
+*maslə* II ‘bring down’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[DESCEND (y)])
+*maslə* III ‘cause to be brought down by so.’	CAUSE (x[DESCEND (y, (z))])

xarəv II ‘be destroyed’ (intr.)	BE DESTROYED (y)
maxrəv III ‘destroy’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[BE DESTROYED (y)])
maxrəv III ‘cause to be destroyed by so.’	CAUSE (x[DESTROY (y, (z))])

Moreover, if there is only a pattern II form (and no pattern I), pattern III can be used to derive a causative from pattern II. If a pattern II verb is intransitive, pattern III can be both transitive and extended transitive.[373]

šavə II ‘lay (a carpet), furnish’	*mašvə* III ‘cause to be furnished by so.’

xabəl II ‘be cold’ (intr.)	BE COLD (y)
maxbəl III ‘make cold’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[BE COLD (y)])
maxbəl III ‘cause to be made cold by so’	CAUSE (x[BE COLD (y, (z))])

Pattern III cannot be used when the causee is affected by the underlying event and also expressed by a prepositional complement.[374]

4.8	*bət-dáḵər-Ø*	*b-do-nàša.*|
	FUT-knock.PRS-D.3MS	on-that-man
	He will knock that man (Khan 2016, 1:422)	

Further, extended transitive verbs (e.g. *yavə* ‘give’) cannot be made causative through pattern III, possibly because a prepositional complement is already used for the indirect object. Consequently, there is no slot in for the causee to move into.[375]

[373] Khan, 1:418.

[374] Cf. Khan, 1:422.

[375] Cf. Khan, 1:428.

4.2.3.2 Syriac pattern III

The Syriac causative prefix is a more productive causative process than the repetition of the second consonant. It also covers more categories of verbs. Still, this process is not used with all types of verbs.

Unaccusative intransitive

It is important to note that this pattern is used with unaccusative intransitive verbs. Like lexical causatives and pattern II, this morphological process can be used with unaccusative verbs referring to a state or a change of state:

4.9 *w-tawbeḏ* *ḥaḏ* *men-nun*
and-loose.III.PC.3FS one from-POSS.3MP
and who lost one of them (Aph 1, 14:15)

4.10 *d-ʾanhar* *nuhr-eh* *b-gaw* *ʿammā* *d-beṯ* *ʾīsrāyel*
REL-make.shine.III.SC.3MS light-POSS.3MS in-inside people GEN-house Israel
… who made his light shine among the people of Israel. (Aph 1, 13:14–15)

The difference compared to ambitransitive verbs and pattern II verbs is that movement verbs can be made causative through this process.

4.11 *kad* *ʾaseq* *ʾennon* *l-ṭurā* *d-ṯāḇor*
when lead.up.III.SC.3MS them to-mountain GEN-PN
When he led them up on mount Tabor. (BoG I, 8:7–8)

A very large proportion of pattern III verbs in the corpus are derived from unaccusative intransitive pattern I verbs, many of which are movement verbs.

Intransitive agentive unergative

The other main type of intransitive verb is agentive but lack an affected patient. There are very few verbs of this type in the corpus. There is, however, no indication that other processes are productive with this verb type:

4.12 *w-ʾaḇreḵ* *ʾennun* *l-kul-hun* *ʿal*
and-make.kneel.III.SC.3MP them OBJ-all-POSS.3MP over
gumtā *hāy* *ʿal* *burk-ayhun*
ditch that on knee-POSS.3MP
And they made all of them kneel on their knees over that ditch. (PMA 5, III 6:2)

4.13	*w-akpr-eh*		*men*	*dḥeltā*	*da-mguše*
	and.make.renounce.III.SC.3MS-POSS.3MS		from	faith	GEN-Magi
	And he made him renounce the faith of the Magi (PMA 5, I 3:3)				

In C. Urmi, some agentive unergative pattern I verbs are also attested in pattern II but Khan does not consider these as causative.[376] Another point to make relates to unergative pattern II verbs like *daggel* II 'lie' or *ṣalli* II 'pray'. These verbs do not have a causative pattern III form because the unergative meaning is linked to pattern II; and the pattern III morphological process can only be used to derive causatives from pattern I.

Agentive reflexive (has an agentive subject and the affectee is the same as the subject)

Some agentive verbs are often reflexive when used in pattern I, e.g. *šāḡ* I 'wash' and *lbaš* I 'dress'. These verbs are attested in pattern III as agentive transitive verbs. The reflexive element is no longer present and the causer is not making the causee wash or dress himself.

4.14	*hā*	*ʾalbeš-eh*	*perʿun*	*lbušā*	*d-buṣā*
	see	dress.III.SC.3MS-POSS.3MS	Pharaoh	clothing	GEN-fine.linen
	See, Pharaoh dressed him in clothing of fine linen. (Aphrem on Genesis and Exodus, CAL100:3)				

4.15	*w-ʾašīḡ*	*pāruq-an*	*reḡlē*	*d-talmīḏ-aw*
	and-wash.SC.3MS	saviour-POSS.1PL	feet	GEN-disciples-POSS.3MS
	and our saviour washed his disciples' feet. (Aph 12, 126:5)			

Transitive experiential

Pattern III can also be used to derive causatives from transitive experiential verbs, such as *šmaʿ* 'hear'. Verbs of this type are relatively rare in the Syriac corpus. In fact, pattern III verbs with a transitive pattern I counterpart are rare.

4.16	*w-kaḏ*	*ʾašmaʿ*	*ʾenun*	*peṯgāmā*	*ḥrinā*
	and-when	make.hear.III.SC.3MS	them	words	other
	and when he made them hear the other words. (Aph 8, 165:2)				

4.17	*w-ʾawreṯ*	*ʾarʿā*	*la-ḇnay*	*ʾīsrāyel*
	and-make.inherit.III.SC.3MS	land	to-sons.GEN	Israel
	And he made Israel inherit the land (Aph 1, 20:4)			

[376] Khan, 1:406–07.

Transitive agentive verbs

The last main category to consider are pattern I transitive agentive verbs. I have not been able to identify clear examples in the present corpus. It is possible, however, that pattern III could be used to make such verbs causative; especially since similar constructions are attested in C. Urmi.[377]

4.2.3.3 The extent of pattern III

The preceding section is not an attempt to outline the full productivity of pattern III in Syriac. Rather, it traces some of the differences and similarities between Syriac and NENA dialects. It shows that this pattern is productive with all types of intransitive verbs. Transitive pattern I verbs can also be made causative through pattern III in the modern dialects. The Syriac corpus includes this type of verbs but causative constructions from clauses with an underlying agentive transitive verb are rare. Yet, there are some instances where it might not have been possible to use pattern III. Khan mentions *daḵər* 'knock' as an example where a pattern III causative cannot be used:

4.18 *bət-dáḵər-Ø* *b-do-nàša.*|
FUT-knock.PRS-D.3MS with-that-man
'He will knock that man.' (Khan 2016, 1:422)

This happens when the subject is agentive and the affectee is expressed through a prepositional phrase.[378] In Syriac pattern I (*dqar* 'strike') also marks the affectee with a preposition (*l-*). Pattern III of this verb is not attested in any of the standard dictionaries.[379]

4.19 *lā* *teḏqrān* *la-ḵrīhāṯā*
NEG strike.PC.2MP OBJ-sick.PL
Do not strike the sick (Aph 7, 153:8–9)

A similar point could be made about pattern II verbs like *šabbeḥ* 'praise':[380]

4.20 *wa-nšabbḥun* *l-aḇu-ḵun* *d-ba-šmayā*
and-praise.II.PC.3MP OBJ-father-POSS.2MS REL-in-heaven
and that they praise your father who is in heaven. (Aph 1, 14:2)

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[377] Khan, 1:413.

[378] Khan, 1:422.

[379] E.g. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 318–19; Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 349; Michael. Sokoloff, *A dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period*, 154.

[380] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 1500–1; Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 1101.

This shared pattern could be coincidental and an in-depth investigation of similar verbs would be needed to determine whether pattern III is attested in any Syriac sources. Such an investigation, unfortunately, remains beyond the bounds of this thesis. Nevertheless, there are some instances where it is more certain that pattern III could not be used. One such example is with the quadriliteral verbs *haymen* 'believe' and *tarsi* 'nourish'. These verbs follow a similar structure as pattern II (CaCCeC) and cannot be modified through the causative prefix:

4.21	*w-da-nhaymen*		*nāš*	*b-ḥayyaṯ*	*mīṯe*
	and-PURP-believe.IIII.PC.3MS		man	in-resurrection	dead
	So that men would believe in the resurrection of the dead. (Aph 1, 22:16)				

4.22	*ʾelīyā*	*pāraḥtā*	*tarsiṯ-eh*
	PN	bird	nourish.IIII.SC.3FS-POSS.3MS
	The bird nourished Elijah. (Aph 6, 123:16)		

The NENA verb *modə* QI 'confess' could perhaps be added to the same category. However, in this case it is more likely that the absence of a pattern III form is connected to the origin of this verb in pattern III (*ʾawdi* III 'confess'). Similarly, *ʾashəd* III 'witness' does not have a pattern III morphological causative.

In short, pattern III is a more productive and widespread causative mechanism than ambitransitivity or pattern II. Still, there are, at least, two contexts in which pattern III is not used. First, when intransitive unaccusative verbs are ambitransitive. The same applies when they have a causative pattern II form. More importantly, though, there are some verbs that are made causative through periphrastic constructions.

4.3 Periphrastic causative constructions

Periphrasis is the last formal mechanism to consider. Prototypical constructions combine Syriac *ʿbaḏ* I or *ʾaʿbeḏ* III 'make' and C. Urmi NENA *mavvəd* III (< *maʿbeḏ*) with a complement clause. Alongside these constructions, it is relevant to keep in mind that pattern I of the causative verb can be used with two objects.

4.3.1 Periphrastic constructions with adjectives and copula clauses

If the speaker wants to convey that something has been made into something else the verb *ʿbaḏ* I and *ʾavəd* I 'do' take two objects:

4.23	***+šùrva***	*c-od-áx-va-**lun**,*|	
	stew	IND-make-D.1PL-HAB-L.3MP	
	We would make them into a stew. (C. Urmi B4:10)		

4.24 +ʾ***ánvə*** *p̂ṯ-od-í-va* ***cəšmìšə,*** | *p̂ṯ-od-í-va*
grapes FUT-make.PRS-D.3MP-HAB rasins FUT-make.PRS-D.3MP-HAB
sàvza, |
blanched.grapes
They used to make grapes into raisins, they made them into blanched grapes. (C. Urmi B1:24)

This type of construction is also used in Syriac. The verb can take two nouns or a noun and an adjective as its two objects:

4.25 *w-man* *ʿaḇd-**āḵ*** *la-mšīḥā* ***ʿaḇdā***
and-who make.SC.3MS-POSS.2MS OBJ-Christ slave
And who made you a slave of Christ. (PMA 6, *α*4:22–23)

4.26 *w-hu* *mār-an* *w-ʾalāh-an* *ʿāḇeḏ*
and-he lord-POSS.1PL and-God-POSS.1PL make.PTCP.MS
*l-**āḵ*** ***rḥīmā*** *b-ʿaynay* *kulnāš*
OBJ.POSS.2MS beloved in-eyes everyone
And our Lord and God will make you beloved in the eyes of everyone. (BoG I, 23:3–4)

4.27 *wa-ʿbaḏ* ***ʾennon*** ***barrāytā***
and-make.SC.3MS them external
And he made them external. (BoG I, 37:13)

There are also instances where the copula verb is used in a similar type of construction, suggesting that the copula verb could be used in constructions similar to 4.24. This structure may have been used because of the two relative clauses or because the copula verb has the sense 'become' rather than 'be'. Moreover, there is no pattern III of *hwā* 'be'.[381] More data would, however, be needed to determine how and when the copula verb is used in periphrastic constructions.

[381] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:251–52 notes that few languages apply morphological processes to copula verbs.

4.28 *l-ʾemmā* *den* *d-īlaḏt-an* *w-ʿal* *burk-āh*
OBJ-mother now REL-bear.SC.3FS-POSS.1SG and-on knee-POSS.3FS
ʾeṯrabbīṯ *ʿbaḏ* ***d-tehwe*** *l-ī* *ḥāṯā*
be.raised.SC.1SG make.IMP.2MS COMP.be.PC.3FS for-POSS.1SG sister
men *ʾemmā* *ḥdattā* *maʿmuḏīṯā*
through mother new baptism
Now, make my mother, who bore me and on whose knees I was raised, become a sister for me through the new mother, baptism. (PMA 6, *α*13:15–17)

4.3.2 NENA periphrastic constructions with a full complement clause

While pattern II and III are well attested in NENA, the same is not true for periphrastic causative constructions. Most grammars of the modern dialects do not even consider periphrastic constructions because they hardly ever occur in texts or recordings. Consider, for example Khan's grammars of C. Barwar, Qaraqosh, J. Urmi, and J. Sanandaj.[382] There is a simple reason for this absence. Even if these constructions exist in the vernacular, the recordings contain very few contexts in which they would be used.

Periphrastic constructions exist in C. Urmi with or without the subordinator *ḵat*. The pattern III form *mavvəd* serves as the complement-taking verb.

4.29 *bət-mavvə́dd-ən* *+šàr-ət.*|
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG begin.PRS-D.2MS
I shall cause you to begin. (C. Urmi, Khan, 2016, 1:427)

4.30 *bət-mavvə́dd-ən* *ḵat-⁺šàr-ət.*|
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG COMP-begin.PRS-D.2MS
I shall cause you to begin. (C. Urmi, Khan, 2016, 1:427)

It is not surprising that the verb *⁺šarə* II 'begin' is used in the above examples. In C. Barwar, pattern I and III mean 'lodge' and 'offer lodging'.[383] By contrast, the dictionary of C. Urmi lists pattern I as a separate non-emphatic verb (*šarə* I as opposed to *⁺šarə* II).[384] Originally, pattern III was used to form causatives of pattern I – just as in C. Barwar. This historical usage is still present in C. Urmi even though *⁺šarə* II only exists in pattern II.

[382] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*; Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Urmi*; Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj*.

[383] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 2:1184.

[384] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 3:290–91, 298.

Extended transitive verbs like *yavvəl* I ‘give’ also require a periphrastic construction (4.31 and 4.32); as do verbs with an affectee expressed by a prepositional complement (4.33 and 4.34).

4.31 *bət-yavə́l-Ø-lun* *ḳ̀àt-ux.*|
FUT-give.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MP to-POSS.2MS
He will give them to you. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.32 *bət-mavvədd-án-lə* *ḳ̀at-yavə́l-Ø-lun* *ḳ̀àt-ux.* |
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MS COMP-give.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MP to-POSS.2MS
I will make him give them to you. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.33 *bət-dáḳ̀ər-Ø* *bìyy-ux.*|
FUT-knock.PRS-D.3MS OBJ-POSS.2MS
He will knock you. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.34 *bət-mavvədd-án-lə* *ḳ̀at-dáḳ̀ər-Ø* *bìyy-ux.*|
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MS COMP-knock.PRS-D.3MS OBJ-POSS.2MS
I shall cause him to knock you. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

There are undoubtedly other verbs that belong to this category. An in-depth investigation would be needed to determine which verbs require a periphrastic construction. Similarly, further exploration may show whether periphrastic constructions can be used alongside other causative mechanisms. One example is *maxə* I ‘hit’ which can be used in periphrastic constructions but also has a causative pattern III form:

4.35 *bət-mamx-í-lun* *cálbə* *b-do-nàša.*|
FUT-hit.III.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS dog OBJ-that-man
He will cause the dogs to be hit by that man. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:413)

4.36 *bət-mavvə́dd-ən* *ḳ̀at-+sarbázə* *máx-i* *nàšə.*|
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG COMP-soldiers hit.PRS-D.3MP people
I shall cause the soldiers to hit people. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

It is possible, perhaps even likely, that periphrastic constructions could be used alongside other formal mechanisms. The rarity of periphrastic constructions may, however, indicate that they are mostly restricted to environments where they are required or necessary.

4.3.3 Syriac periphrastic constructions with a full complement clause

Periphrastic constructions are very rare in the Syriac corpus. This is probably due to the more productive use of pattern II and pattern III. In 4.28 the copula verb *hwā* I ‘be, become’ was used in the complement clause of a periphrastic construction. Other constructions with unaccusative intransitive verbs include *rwaḥ* I ‘be wide’ and *mīt* I ‘die’.

4.37	*w-la-ʾlīṣe*	*ʿāḇeḏ=wā*	*d-neṯrāwḥun*
	and-OBJ-concerned.	make.PTCP.MS-BE.SC	COMP-be.wide.PC.3MP
	And for the concerned he made them wide. (Thom 187:2)		

4.38	*meškaḥ=wā*	*d-neʿbeḏ*	*l-eh*	*d-lā*
	be.able.PTCP.MS=BE.SC.3MS	COMP-make.PC.3MS	OBJ-POSS.3MS	COMP-NEG
	nmuṯ			
	die.PC.3MS			
	He was able to make it not die. (Thom 210:18–19)			

Causative pattern II (*rawweḥ*) and pattern III (*ʾarweḥ*) forms exist.[385] The use in 4.37 could, therefore, indicate that periphrastic constructions were used alongside pattern II and III. In the case of *mīṯ* I ‘die’ the meaning expressed in this context may have required a periphrastic construction. If *qṭal* I ‘kill’ or a pattern III form of *mīṯ* had been used, the meaning of the clause would be ‘He was able to not kill it’; i.e. the opposite of the meaning the author is trying to convey. In other words, the periphrastic construction allows the inner clause of the causative construction to be negated.

Further examples include verbs such as *nsaḇ* I ‘take’, *bazzi* II ‘disgrace’, *ḥdā* I ‘rejoice’, *ʾargeš* III ‘perceive’, and *haymen* QI ‘believe’:

4.39	*ʾenā=nā*	*haw*	*d-l-īhuḏā*	*ʾaʿbdēṯ*	*d-šuḥdā*	*nesaḇ*
	I=COP.1SG	that	REL-OBJ-Judas	make.III.SC.1SG	COMP-bribe	take.PC.3MS
	I am the one who made Judas take a bribe. (Thom 198:21–199:1)					

4.40	*w-la-ḇnay*	*ʿēlī*	*w-la-ḇn-āw*	*da-šmuʾel*
	and-OBJ-sons.GEN	PN	and-OBJ-sons-POSS.3MS	GEN-Samuel
	ʿbaḏ	*l-mesaḇ*	*šuḥdā*	*w-la-mbazzāḥu*
	make.SC.3MS	COMP-take.INF	bribes	and-COMP-disgrace.INF
	b-neše	*b-maškanzaḇnā*		
	with-women	at-tabernacle		

[385] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 1445.

And who made the sons of Eli and Samuel take bribes and to disgrace the women at the tabernacle. (BoG I, 14:17–18)

4.41 *wa-b̲-ḥām* *zalīlā* *ʾaʿbeḏ* *d-neḥdē*
and-on-Ham shameless make.III.SC.3MS COMP-rejoice.PC.3MS
b-ṣaʿrā *d-ʾab̲-uh*
on-shame GEN-father-POSS.3MS
And who made the shameless Ham rejoice at his father's nakedness. (BoG I, 14:12–13)

4.42 *wa-b̲-yaḏ* *ʾuḥdaṯā* *d-rakkeb̲* *ʿab̲d-eh*
and-with-hand allegory REL-compose.II.SC.3MS make.SC.3MS-OBJ.3MS
d-nargeš *ba-ḥṭīṯ-eh*
COMP-perceive.III.PC.3MS OBJ-sin-POSS.3MS
And, by means of the allegory he composed, he made him perceive his sin. (BoG I, 29:17)

4.43 *w-b-yaḏ* *ʿb̲āde* *ʿab̲aḏt* *d-neṯhaymnān*
and-through deeds make.SC.2MS COMP-believe.QT.PC.3FP
melle *d-ḥeḵmtā* *ʾalāhāytā*
words GEN-wisdom divine
And through your deeds you made the words of divine wisdom believed. (4 Macc 7:9)

It is easy to explain why a periphrastic construction was used in some of these examples. First, a morphological process cannot be used to derive causatives from *ʾargeš* III 'perceive' or *haymen* QI 'believe'. This is especially true of the former which is already a pattern III verb. Similarly, pattern III cannot be used to make a causative of pattern II verbs like *bazzi* 'disgrace'. This leaves *nsab̲* I 'take' and *ḥdā* I 'rejoice'. A pattern III form of *ḥdā* is attested once in the Peshitta (Lamentations 2:17).[386] Moreover, pattern II forms of this verb are also used as causatives of pattern I. Without further periphrastic constructions with this verb, it is difficult to determine why this construction is used in 4.41. One should note, however, that this clause is surrounded with clauses where pattern III verbs are used to express the things that Satan has made people do. The same applies to the verbs in 4.36. Regarding *nsab̲* it is striking that another periphrastic construction is attested with the same object ('bribes'). This could be an indication that periphrastic construction were regularly used with this verb.

[386] Sokoloff, 415.

4.3.4 Syriac pattern III *ʾaʿbeḏ* in non-causative contexts

In Syriac, pattern III of *ʿbaḏ* is not restricted to causative constructions. It is also attested with the meaning 'compel' in non-causative contexts. This meaning is closely connected with *šaʿbeḏ* 'subjugate':[387]

4.44 *ʾaykanā* *d-ba-ḇnay* *īsrāyēl* *ʾaʿbeḏ*
just.as OBJ-sons Israel make.III.SC.3MS
wa-šlaḥ *la-ḇnay* *benyāmen*
and-SEND.SC.3MP OBJ.sons Benjamin
just as he compelled the Children of Israel so that they sent to the Benjaminites. (BoG I, 30:2–3)

4.45 *w-ʾaʿbeḏ* *b-gaḇrā* *ṭūḇṯānā* *qadīšā* *rabban* *yāwnān*
and-make.III.SC.3MS OBJ-man blessed holy rabban Jonah
w-eṯā *ṣēr-ayhon* *men-neh* *men* *ʿumrā* *haw*
and-come.SC.3MS to-POSS.3MP from-POSS.3MS from monastery that
And he compelled the blessed man, the holy rabban Jonah so that he came to them from that monastery. (BoG I, 30:10–12)

4.4 Summary of formal causative mechanisms

Syriac and NENA use the same formal mechanisms to form causatives. Both stages of the language have ambitransitive verbs and use lexical pairs in a causative relationship. Similarly, pattern II and pattern III are used to form causatives, the latter being more productive in both NENA and Syriac. Most importantly for this investigation, both stages have periphrastic constructions. Extended transitive verbs, quadriliteral verbs, and verbs that are only attested in pattern II or III require a periphrastic construction in NENA. It cannot be proved with certainty that these same verbs required a periphrastic construction in Syriac. However, several of the above examples occur in such contexts. I would predict that extended transitive verbs required this type of construction in Syriac even if the corpus does not include any periphrastic (or non-periphrastic) causatives. Equally, it seems unlikely that periphrastic constructions were restricted to Syriac. The lack of such constructions in other ancient Aramaic dialects can probably be ascribed to their absence from available corpora rather than the ancient vernaculars. If pattern II and III are more productive, periphrastic constructions might only show up in contexts where they are necessary. Even in a large corpus such contexts are extremely rare. Lastly, some Syriac examples, much

[387] Sokoloff, 1054–56, 1581–82.

like C. Urmi, employ pattern III of *ʿbaḏ* for periphrastic causatives. This shows that this use of the causative pattern has deep roots in eastern Aramaic.

4.5 Syntactic patterns in causative constructions

The focus of this section is the role or marking of the original subject or agent and the original object. Dixon lists five different ways of marking these two constituents in constructions with morphological processes. The aim here is to locate Syriac and NENA in this scheme and determine how these structures have changed:

Type	Causer	Original A (causee)	Original O
i	A	Special marking	O
ii	A	Retains A-marking	O
iii	A	Has O-marking	Has O-marking
iv	A	O	Non-core
v	A	Non-core	O

Table 4.1: Causatives of transitive verbs (adapted from Dixon, 2012, 3:256)

4.5.1 Lexical causatives and pattern II causatives

Lexical causatives and pattern II causatives are used with intransitive verbs. Consequently, the original subject becomes the direct object of the new construction. This applies to constructions in both Syriac and NENA. A more in-depth investigation of valency patterns could, perhaps, nuance this picture. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is sufficient to note that the basic structure remains relatively unchanged.

4.5.2 Pattern III causatives

4.5.2.1 NENA pattern III causatives

Similar observations can be made about pattern III causatives from unaccusative intransitive verbs, especially movement verbs. The original subject becomes the direct object of the new construction in both Syriac and NENA.

What happens to the original agent when transitive constructions are made causative? Consider the following examples with *maxə* I ‘hit’ and *mamxə* III ‘to make s.o. hit’:

4.46 *ʾo-náša* *bət-maxí-Ø-lun* *càlbə.*|
that-man FUT-hit.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MP dogs
That man will hit the dogs. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:413)

4.47 *bət-mamxí-Ø-lun* *cálbə* *b-do-nàša.*|
FUT-make.hit.PRS.III-D.3MS-L.3MP dogs by-that-man
He will cause the dogs to be hit by that man. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:413)

The original object retains this position and the original agent is marked with the locative preposition *b*. The use of this preposition makes Khan suggest that this verb should be translated 'to cause to be hit' rather than 'to cause to hit'.[388] However, such a translation does not seem necessary.

The causee is also marked by a preposition when the original agent is an experiencer. In these contexts, the dative preposition *ḵa-* 'to' is used:

4.48 *bábu* *bət-xázzə-Ø* *ctàva.*|
father FUT-see.PRS-D.3MS book
His father will see a book. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:413)

4.49 *bət-máxzə-Ø* *ctáva* *ḵa-bàbu.*|
FUT-make.see.PRS.III-D.3MS book to-father
He will show a book to his father. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:413)

4.50 *+xóru* *bət-+šámmə-Ø* *hàḵyat.*|
friend FUT-hear.PRS-D.3MS story
His friend will hear a story. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:414)

4.51 *+ʾáv* *bət-+mášmə-Ø* *háḵyat* *ḵa-+xòru.*|
he FUT-make.hear.PRS.III-D.3MS story to-friend
He will make his friend hear a story. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:414)

4.52 *bət-+ṭ́ámm-ət* *xùrrac.*|
FUT-taste.PRS-D.2MS food
You will taste some food. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:414)

4.53 *bət-+maṭ́m-án-na* *ʾa-xúrrac* *ḵàt-ux.*|
FUT-make.taste.PRS.III-D.1SG-L.3FS this-food to-POSS.2MS
I shall make you taste this food' (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:414)

[388] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:413.

Comrie has suggested that the marking of the causee is determined by the role of other clause constituents. The causee moves into the first available spot, following the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy that will be discussed further in chapter seven:[389]

Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique object

Comrie considers French the 'paradigm case' of this pattern. However, the causee can also be marked as an oblique object in French even though there is no indirect object. Kulikov labels this phenomenon 'extended demotion.' Khan, similarly, suggests that the use of *ḵa* with transitive experiential verbs and *b* with other verbs are examples of extended demotion, correlated to the affectedness of the causee.[390] Dixon offers another interpretation of the cross-linguistic data. He labels the French pattern v-a and notes that it is primarily restricted to French, Italian and western Romance. It is much more common for languages to use one specific type of non-core marking for original transitive (and extended transitive). This pattern is called v-b.[391]

If Dixon is right, it may be more appropriate to analyse NENA as a type of v-b or to label it v-c. In short, the variation of marking of the causee is not tied to the availability of empty slots but verbal semantics:

v-a:	The causee fits into the first available slot on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy.
v-b:	The causee takes one specific non-core marker.
v-c:	The causee takes a specific non-core marker depending on the semantics of the verb.

Are the data clear-cut and do all NENA dialects follow the same pattern? The simple answer is 'no.' For example, Khan lists the following examples of the pattern III verb $^{+}$*mašmə* in his dictionary of C. Urmi:

4.54 +*mašm-ən-**nux*** *xa-haḵyat*
make.hear.PRS.III-D.1SG-L.2MS one-story
I will make you hear a story. (Khan, 2016, 3:232)

[389] Comrie, 'The Syntax of Causative Constructions: Cross-Language Similarities and Divergences'.

[390] Kulikov, 890; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:414.

[391] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:262–63.

4.55 *+mašm-ən-na* *ḳat-ux* *ʾa-haḳyat*
make.hear.PRS.III-D.1SG-L.3FS to-POSS.2MS this-story
I will make you hear this story. (Khan, 2016, 3:232)

These examples seem to conform to the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. In 4.55 the preposition *ḳa* is used with the causee because the direct object is definite and, consequently, marked by an L-suffix on the verb. Could a similar argument be made in the case of the verb *maxzə* III 'show'? Not necessarily:

4.56 *+ʾAxiḳar|* *xùbba* *maxz-í-va* *ḳa-dá* *ʾaxúna.|*
PN love show.PRS.III-D.3MS-PST to-this brother
Axiqar showed love to this brother. (C. Urmi A3:17)

Notice the absence of an L-suffix on the verb and the use of *ḳa*. The use of *ḳa* in 4.55 and 4.56 seems to point to a preference for marking definite causees with *ḳa*. The accessibility hierarchy works better with the past base because the new agent is expressed by an L-suffix, forcing the causee to be expressed as a non-core argument. The same applies to this verb in C. Barwar, although with the preposition *ʾəll* 'to':

4.57 *xu-lanwa-mír-əllux* *maxz-át-li* *xăzìna.|*
PRT-COP.1SG.NEG.PST-say.PTCP.MS-OBJ.2MS show.PRS.III-D.2MS-L.1SG treasure
muxzé-Ø-lux *ʾáwwa* *xăzìna-ʾəlli.|*
show.PST.III-D.3MS-L.2MS this treasure-to.1SG
I did not tell you to show me a treasure, but you showed me this treasure. (C. Barwar A14:23)

Where does NENA fit into the cross-linguistic typology? The use of *b* and *ḳa* in C. Urmi indicates that it does not, strictly, follow the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. Verbal semantics and the definiteness of the direct object influence the marking of the causee. Unfortunately, the corpus only contains a small number of examples with verbs such as *mamxə* III 'to make s.o. hit'. More data and a further investigation of these verbs would be needed to determine how they behave. The present data are, however, sufficient to show that NENA primarily use non-core marking for causees.

4.5.2.1 Syriac pattern III causatives

Causatives from transitive verbs are relatively rare in Syriac. It is especially difficult to find pattern III forms from transitive agentive verbs. Most examples are transitive experiential verbs. Importantly, the few examples in the corpus mark the causee with the preposition *l* just like NENA counterparts mark the causee with *ḳa*:

4.58 *w-ʾawreṯ* *ʾarʿā* ***la-****ḇnay* *ʾīsrāyel*
and-make.inherit.III.SC.3MS land to-sons.GEN PN
And he made Israel inherit the land (Aph 1, 20:4)

4.59 *ʾellā* *hālen* *qallīl* *men* *saggī* *keṯbeṯ*
now these few from many write.SC.1SG
ʾaʿhdeṯ ***l-****ḥubb-āḵ* *d-tidaʿ*
remind.SC.III.1SG OBJ-love-POSS.2MS COMP-know.PC.2MS
w-tawdaʿ *wa-ṯhaymen* *ʾāp̄* *teṯhaymen*
and-make.know.PC.III.2MS and-believe.PC.2MS also be.believed.PC.IP.2MS
Now, I write these few things out of many in order that I make (you) recall your love, so that you will know and make know, and believe and be believed. (Aph 1, 23:4–6)

4.60 *w-mayyā* ***l-****da-ṣhen* *ʾašqyaṯ*
and-water OBJ-REL-be.thirsty.PASS.PTCP.MP make.drink.SC.3FS
and it made the thirsty drink water. (Aph 1, 22:6)

4.61 *w-****la-****rdīp̄e* *šawzbaṯ*
and-OBJ-persecuted save.ŠIII.SC.3FS
It saves the persecuted. (Aph 1, 22:5)

4.62 *wa-****l-****meskinē* *ʾaʿraṯ*
and-OBJ-poor make.rich.III.SC.3FS
and it makes the poor rich. (Aph 1, 22:4)

4.63 *w-šamle* ***l-****ʿaḇd-āḵ* *ʿammīḏā* *mšamlāyā*
and-make.complete.III.IMP.2MS OBJ-servant-POSS.2MS baptised completely
and make your servant perfectly baptised. (PMA 6, *α*2:31–32)

Based on this limited survey of Syriac, there seems to be a functional overlap between *l-* and *ḵa*; i.e. as the marker of causees. One may also note that *ḵa* can be used with definite direct objects – typically human or animate – in constructions that are not causative.[392] Similar observations have been made

[392] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:256–57.

regarding Syriac *l-*.[393] This suggests that there is a broader functional overlap that includes contexts other than causative constructions.

4.5.3 Periphrastic causatives

4.5.3.1 NENA periphrastic causatives

In periphrastic constructions, the causee (original agent) can be marked as the direct object of the causative verb or remain the agent of the lexical verb.[394] Both are possible in NENA. When the causee serves as the direct object of *mavvəd* III, it is also marked by an L-suffix:

4.64 *+ṯérə* *bət-pàrx-i.*|
birds FUT-fly.PRS-D.3MP
The birds will fly. (Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.65 *bət-mavvə́dd-ən* *ḳat-+ṯérə* *pàrx-i.*|
FUT-make.prs.III-D.1SG COMP-birds fly.PRS-D.3MP
I shall cause the birds to fly. (Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.66 *bət-mavvədd-án-lun* *+ṯérə* *ḳat-pàrx-i.*|
FUT-make.PRS.III-D.1SG birds COMP-fly.PRS-D.3MP
I shall cause the birds to fly. (Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.67 *+sarbázə* *bət-máx-i* *nàšə*
soldiers FUT-hit.PRS-D.3MP people
The soldiers will hit people. (Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.68 *bət-mavvə́dd-ən* *ḳat-+sarbázə* *máx-i* *nàšə.*|
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG COMP-soldiers hit.PRS-D.3MP people
I shall cause the soldiers to hit people. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

4.69 *bət-mavvədd-án-lun* *+sarbázə* *ḳat* *máx-i* *nàšə.*|
FUT-make.III.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MP soldiers COMP hit.PRS-D.3MP people
I shall cause the soldiers to hit people. (C. Urmi; Khan, 2016, 1:428)

[393] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 227–31 notes that the preposition can be used alone or together with a pronominal suffix on the verb when the direct object is definite.

[394] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:255–56.

4.5.3.1 Syriac periphrastic causatives

As was noted above, the Syriac sample of periphrastic clauses is limited. The following examples are repeated from 4.37 to 4.43. The causee serves as the direct object of the causative verb in all but one of these. Moreover, the causee is also marked with a preposition in the first three (*l* 'to' or *b* 'in').

4.70 *w-**la**-b̲nay* *ʿēlī* *w-**la**-b̲n-āw* *da-šmuʾel*
and-OBJ-sons.CST Eli and-OBJ-sons-POSS.3MS GEN-Samuel
ʿbaḏ *l-mesab̲* *šuḥdā* *w-la-mbazzāḥu*
make.SC.3MS COMP-take.INF bribes and-COMP-disgrace
b-neše *b-maškanzab̲nā*
with-women at-tabernacle
And who made the sons of Eli and Samuel take bribes and to disgrace the women at the tabernacle. (BoG I, 14:17–18)

4.71 *wa-**b̲**-ḥām* *zalīlā* *ʾaʿbeḏ* *d-neḥde*
and-on-PN shameless make.III.SC.3MS COMP-rejoice.PC.3MS
b-ṣaʿrā *d-ʾab̲-uhy*
on-shame gen-father-poss.3ms
And who made the shameless Ham rejoice at his father's nakedness. (BoG I, 14:12–13)

4.72 *ʿab̲d-**eh*** *d-nargeš* *ba-ḥṭīṯ-eh*
make.SC.3MS COMP-perceive.III.PC.3MS OBJ-sin-POSS.3MS
And he made him perceive his sin. (BoG I, 29:17)

The lexical verb in 4.73 is passive, as opposed to the previous verbs. This may be the reason why the subject of *haymen* 'believe' is part of the complement clause and not the main clause:

4.73 *w-b-yaḏ* *ʿb̲āḏe* *ʿab̲aḏt* *d-neṯhaymnān*
and-through deeds make.SC.2MS COMP-believe.QT.PC.3FP
melle *d-ḥek̲mtā* *ʾalāhāytā*
words gen-wisdom divine
And through your deeds you made the words of divine wisdom believed. (4 Macc 7:9)

More data are needed before we can draw firm conclusions about the syntax of periphrastic causatives in Syriac. It is, however, noteworthy that the causee is part of the main clause when the lexical verb is active. Does this sample indicate that Syriac periphrastic causatives exhibit a different syntax compared to NENA? That is a distinct possibility but not necessary. Examples 4.64 to 4.69 do not come from

Khan's corpus of folktales and stories. There is only one periphrastic causative in the corpus and the causee is expressed through an L-suffix on the causative verb.

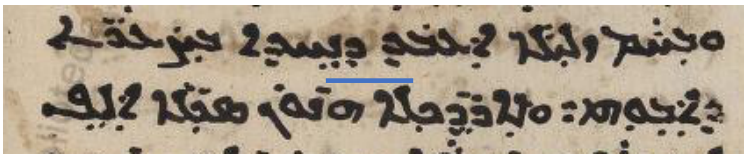
4.74	*mavvədd-í-**lə***	*ḵát*	*+pálaṭ-Ø*	*+ʾal-vàddar.*|
	make.prs.III-D.3MP-L.3MS	COMP	go.out.PRS-D.3MS	outside
	so that they may make him go out. (C. Urmi A37:3)			

Consequently, it is possible that speakers would place the causee in the main clause more often than the complement clause. If we assume that Syriac causees could be part of the complement clause even if the verb is active rather than passive, NENA may exhibit the same pattern as Syriac.

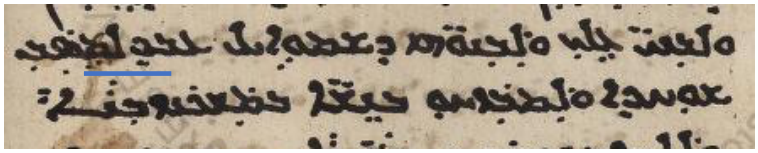
4.6 Verbal forms, markers and prosody in periphrastic constructions

The periphrastic constructions in Khan's grammar of C. Urmi contain the subordinator *ḵát* and the complement clause verb is consistently *patəx*. The lack of periphrastic constructions in the three corpora makes it difficult to determine whether an infinitive or *bəptaxa* form could be used in these constructions. If so, the consistent use of *patəx* in periphrastic constructions would distinguish them from their Syriac counterparts. However, prefix conjugation forms are more common in Syriac than the ones with infinitives. Further, the main difference in terms of marking is the use of *ḵát* in C. Urmi instead of *d-*. This underscores the fact that *ḵát* has taken over most of the functions where *d-* was used in Syriac. If an infinitive is used, the preposition *l-* serves as the Syriac complementiser.

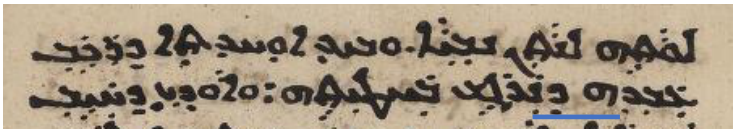
As for prosodic boundaries, there is no intonation group boundary between the main clause and the complement clause in Khan's examples. The scarcity of periphrastic constructions in the Syriac corpus makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the prosody of these constructions. However, the three examples from Vat. Sir. 165 all conform to the same pattern as complement clauses of secondary complement-taking verbs; i.e. there is no pausal dot between the main clause and the complement clause.



Vat. Sir. 165, 17v



Vat. Sir. 165, 17v



Vat Sir. 165, 28v

4.7 Syriac and NENA in an areal perspective

4.7.1 Causatives in Akkadian and Arabic

4.7.1.1 Akkadian

The Akkadian Š-stem is used to derive causatives from both intransitive and transitive verbs.[395] Periphrastic constructions can be used with the verb *nadānum* 'give'. It means 'permit' or 'allow' in these constructions and is used in "permissive" causative constructions.[396] This chapter, however, employs a narrower definition in which *nadānum* would be classified as a secondary verb rather than a causative one.[397] More to the point, *nadānum* has a morphological causative in *šuddunum*; showing that the periphrastic use is different.[398]

4.7.1.2 Arabic

Literary varieties of Arabic primarily use stem II and IV for causative derivation. Complement-taking verbs like *taraka* 'let' or *samaḥa* 'allow' have a permissive nuance, much like Akkadian *nadānum*. They are, therefore, outside the definition of causatives used in this chapter. By contrast, the verb *jaʿala* 'make' can be used as the causative verb in periphrastic constructions; generally indicating less direct causation on the part of the causer.[399] Periphrastic causatives also exist in spoken varieties of Arabic; especially in the Arabic dialect of Sason, which has been influenced by Kurdish.[400]

4.7.2 Causatives in Greek, Armenian, and Western Iranian, and Turkic

4.7.2.1 Greek

Classical Greek has productive factitive and causative verbal forms.[401] Periphrastic causatives can also be found in the early stages of Classical Greek, being especially common in 4th and 5th century classical prose.[402] Periphrastic constructions can also be found in the *LXX* and the New Testament.[403] Periphrastic

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[395] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 522–23; Kouwenberg, *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*, 327.

[396] Gelb et al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Vol. 11 Pt. 1*, 51–2; Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*, 286 n.2.

[397] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 3:241–42.

[398] Gelb et al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Vol. 11 Pt. 1*, 41.

[399] Saad, *Transitivity, Causation, and Passivization*, 81–6; Macelaru, 'Causative'.

[400] Akkuș and Benmamoun, 'Syntactic Outcomes of Contact in Sason Arabic', 45; cf. ElSadek, 'Verbal Complementation in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic: An LFG Account', 131–32 for Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

[401] Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, 274, 449–50, 456–59.

[402] Gibson, 'Periphrastic causatives with poiéō in Ancient Greek prose'; Gibson, 'Causative Verbs in Ancient Greek: The Development of the Periphrastic Construction'; Kulikov, 'Causative Formation'.

[403] Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 547–48, 585–86.

constructions continue to be used with infinitives or finite complement clauses in later forms of Greek; until infinitival complements gradually disappear in Late Medieval and Early Modern Greek.[404]

4.7.2.2 Armenian

Classical Armenian primarily form causatives of intransitive verbs – and less frequently, transitive verbs – through the morpheme *-oyc'-*.[405] Some verbs cannot be modified through this morphological process, in which case a periphrastic construction with *tam* 'give' or *aṙnem* 'do' is used.[406]

In Modern Eastern Armenian a morphological causative *i* suffix is added to the verbal stem of intransitive verbs.[407] Transitive verbs always take a periphrastic construction with an infinitive. Periphrastic causatives can be formed in two ways: through certain verbs of manipulation, e.g. 'force', or through *tal* 'give'.[408] Both causative strategies can be applied to ambitransitive verbs; the choice depends on whether the causative is based on the transitive or the intransitive meaning of the verb.[409]

Modern Eastern Armenian also exhibit several distributional patters. For example, intransitive verbs of cognition and weather verbs can only be made causative through manipulation verbs or *tal*.[410] The morphological causative form of the motion verb *pʾaxčʾel* 'flee' means 'take away, kidnap'; the causative of 'flee' is, consequently, formed through a periphrastic construction.[411] Verbs with the reflexive suffix *-v-* are only used in periphrastic constructions; either with *tal* or a manipulation verb; suggesting that the verbal chain cannot accommodate two suffixes at the same time.[412] Extended transitive verbs are also used in periphrastic constructions.[413] Lastly, double causatives can be constructed through a combination of a manipulation verb in combination with *tal* or a morphological causative.[414]

4.7.2.3 Western Iranian and Turkic

Western Middle Iranian causatives are created through the morpheme *-n-*. This process is only rarely used with transitive verbs (or ditransitive verbs). This causative morpheme is a Middle Persian

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[404] Holton et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4:1887–889.

[405] Godel, *An Introduction to the Study of Classical Armenian*, 50; Klingenschmitt, *Das altarmenische Verbum*, 261–66; Kortlandt, 'The Armenian Causative'.

[406] Minassian, *Manuel Pratique D'Arménien Ancien*, 333–34; cf. Kocharov, 'Old Armenian Nasal Verbs: Archaisms and Innovations', 76.

[407] Dum-Tragut, *Armenian*, 318–19.

[408] Dum-Tragut, 317–18.

[409] Dum-Tragut, 320–21.

[410] Dum-Tragut, 319.

[411] Dum-Tragut, 320.

[412] Dum-Tragut, 322.

[413] Dum-Tragut, 328–29.

[414] Dum-Tragut, 331.

innovation.[415] In addition to these morphological processes, the Middle Iranian languages also have access to periphrastic constructions. Western Middle Iranian – and especially later forms of Persian – employs a type of compound verb (or light verb), which combines a noun or adjective with a verb (e.g. *kardan* 'make, do' or *šodan* 'become').[416] This type of construction was calqued in both Armenian and Syriac. Middle Persian also employs the Aramaic ideogram based on *ʿbaḏ* 'do'.[417] Moreover, compound constructions are used frequently in various dialects of Urmi.[418]

Both Kurdish and New Persian use periphrastic causatives.[419] Kurdish constructions are used with transitive verbs while intransitive verbs take the suffixes *-ēn* and *-ānd*.[420] By contrast, Turkish and Azeri have very productive morphological causative patterns.[421]

4.7.3 Causatives Western Asia

Most, if not all, of the ancient languages in the survey show a preference for morphological causatives. Importantly, periphrastic constructions are attested in all of the Indo-European languages in the region. Syriac causatives may have exhibited a similar distributional pattern. It is, however, very difficult to determine this with certainty. Independent studies on the distribution of periphrastic constructions in these Indo-European languages would be needed.

The use of Syriac periphrastic causatives may be a sign of a convergence between Syriac and the major Indo-European languages of the region. It is certainly possible to ascribe some of this influence to the use of periphrastic causatives in the New Testament. The emergence of periphrastic causatives in Western Middle Iranian is another likely source of influence on these constructions. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that these constructions, for the most part, occur at the fringes of these language systems. The relative rarity with which they occur should serve as a cautionary note. They may have been part of the Aramaic toolbox long before there was any substantial contact with Greek or Western Middle Iranian; in which case their absence from our records must be ascribed to their marginal status in the system.

More to the point, the Syriac causative morphemes (stem II and III) are both very productive and continue to be so into the modern period. Like Turkic – and many Arabic dialects – NENA continues to

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[415] Skjærvø, 'Middle West Iranian', 213; Ciancaglini, 'The Formation of the Periphrastic Verbs in Persian and Neighbouring Languages', 11.

[416] Ciancaglini, 'The Formation of the Periphrastic Verbs in Persian and Neighbouring Languages'; Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 22–4.

[417] Ciancaglini, 'The Formation of the Periphrastic Verbs in Persian and Neighbouring Languages', 14–15.

[418] Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 299; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:257–58; cf. Kapeliuk, 'Compound Verbs in Neo-Aramaic', 368–70.

[419] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:435–36.

[420] Öpengin, 'Adpositions and Argument Indexing in the Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish: Focus on Ditransitive Constructions', 193–94.

[421] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:434–35.

use morphological causatives rather than periphrastic constructions. The influence of Indo-European languages on these constructions appear very limited.

4.8 Conclusion

The above sections show that Syriac and NENA exhibit the same types of formal mechanisms to form causatives. Both Syriac and NENA also mark the causee as a non-core constituent when pattern III is used to make transitive verbs causative. Moreover, they show a preference for using dative prepositions with experiencers.

Periphrastic constructions can be used in both Syriac and NENA. These constructions are very rare in both corpora. Based on this limited survey, it seems reasonable to attribute this scarcity of examples to the contexts in which they are used. Periphrastic constructions are mainly used in contexts where they are necessary. In terms of marking, these constructions conform to the same pattern as secondary complement-taking verbs. In Syriac, both infinitives and prefix conjugation forms are used. These constructions are marked with *l-* and *d-* respectively. Moreover, the few examples of periphrastic constructions from Vat Sir. 165 do not have any dots between the main clause and the complement clause.

Lastly, the productivity of morphological causatives is an areal feature with very deep roots; although the Iranian languages have developed more productive periphrastic causatives. In short, these constructions do not exhibit the same type of areal convergence as complement clauses.

5 PURPOSE CLAUSES

Most languages have two or three purposive constructions available in their repertoire.[422] "Purposeful action is a central characteristic of human behaviour; talking about intentions and purposes is, in turn, a communicative function fulfilled by all human languages…"[423] Purposive constructions are not only common to all languages, they also inhabit the borderland between adverbial constructions (e.g. temporal clauses or reason clauses) and complement clauses, serial verb constructions and relative clauses.

Adverbial clauses are used to express the circumstances under which the main clause takes place. For example, a temporal clause anchors its main clause in a specific temporal framework. Purpose clauses, on the other hand, express the intended goal of the main clause action.[424] In other words, purpose clauses "are part of complex sentences which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose clause".[425] Purpose clauses are, therefore, characterised by "intentionality, target-directedness, future orientation, and a hypothetical result state."[426] This intentionality and the hypothetical result state differentiates purpose clauses from result clauses.[427]

To date, the most comprehensive study of purpose clauses is Schmidtke-Bode's *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*.[428] It surveys a sample of 80 languages and 218 different purposive constructions, highlighting recurring patterns and traits in different languages.[429] Importantly, it distinguishes between finite and non-finite purpose clauses. Finite clauses "are typically marked by an overt purposive conjunction, adposition, or affix".[430] The origin of the marker usually depends on language-specific features. However, one recurring trend is the combination of complementisers with resultative elements (e.g. English *so that*). While finite purpose clauses are often marked for mood, this is not the case with non-finite clauses. Instead, they typically contain a deranked verb (often in the form of an infinitive). If non-finite clauses have a purposive marker, it may be derived historically from an allative or benefactive case marker (or adposition). Finite and non-finite purposive clauses are often complementary. This could, for example, lead to a distinction where non-finite clauses are used for same-subject situations while finite constructions are used with overt subjects. Alternatively, a certain type of construction may

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[422] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 31.

[423] Schmidtke-Bode, 199.

[424] Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 155.

[425] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 20.

[426] Schmidtke-Bode, 19.

[427] Cf. Schmidtke-Bode, 45.

[428] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*.

[429] See Schmidtke-Bode, 199–202 for the summary of these traits.

[430] Schmidtke-Bode, 199.

be restricted to constructions with specific verbs or verb types. Movement verbs are often one of these types. "Purpose clauses often encode the highly frequent experiential pattern of moving somewhere in order to achieve a certain goal."[431]

Negative (or avertive) purpose clauses, are similar in the sense that they have the same marking as positive purpose clauses. Many languages, however, have specific markers for avertive constructions (e.g. English 'lest'). Moreover, overt subjects are sometimes associated with the main clause patient rather than the agent.

It is not uncommon for languages to have constructions where the purposive interpretation is dependent on contextual inference rather than overt marking. In those cases, a coordinating conjunction, like English 'and', can be used to connect the two clauses. Similarly, serial verb constructions are sometimes used with a purposive function.

The present chapter provides an overview of Aramaic purposive constructions and locates them within this typological framework. This is done in dialogue with Schmidtke-Bode's and Cristofaro's investigations. This study is perhaps particularly relevant because of the absence of Semitic languages in Schmidtke-Bode. Cristofaro includes Gulf Arabic but it is the only language from the Semitic language family and may not be representative.[432]

5.1 Verbal forms in purpose constructions

This section contains a survey verbal forms, an area which has been thoroughly investigated by both Cristofaro and Schmidtke-Bode. The key question is this: Which verbal forms are used in purposive constructions? The use of finite vs. infinite or balanced vs. deranked verbal forms is the first variable to consider. Givón suggests that finiteness is a means through which a clause can be integrated into its immediate environs.[433] The term deranking refers to the fact that a verbal form has lost its status as an independent proposition.[434] The main feature of a deranked verbal form is that it is not used in prototypical declarative clauses.

5.1.1 Verbal forms in Syriac

Syriac purpose clauses typically use the prefix conjugation or an infinitive. The prefix conjugation is by far the most common of the two and it is used in almost all purpose clauses in the Syriac corpus. The infinitive and the active participle are only used occasionally in these texts. Result clauses can contain prefix conjugation forms, making them indistinguishable from purpose clauses. Like purpose clauses they can also use suffix conjugation forms in serial-like constructions, e.g. 5.2 (cf. 5.2.1.4):[435]

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[431] Schmidtke-Bode, 201.

[432] Schmidtke-Bode, 25–6; Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 307–09.

[433] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 35; Givón, *Syntax*, 2:853.

[434] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 35.

[435] Cf. Schmidtke-Bode, 45.

5.1 *nettaggar* *b-kespā* *d-qabbeln* ***d-neṯqreʾ***
trade.PC.1PL with-money REL-receive.SC.1PL PURP-be.called.PC.1PL
ʿaḇde *kšīre*
servants faithful.PL
Let us trade with the silver we received, so that we may be called diligent servants. (Aph 6. 103:9–10)

5.2 *ʾellā* *meṭṭul d-ʾezal l-eh* *b-yammā* *ʿuṯr-eh* *w-lā*
but because-go.SC.3MS OBJ-3MS into-sea treasure-POSS.3MS and-NEG
nesb-eh *nebuḵadnṣar*
take.SC.3MS-OBJ.3MS PN
But since its wealth went into the sea, Nebuchadnezzar did not take it. (Aph 5, 87:1–2)

Purpose clauses often have a verbal form expressing future orientation and some form of modality (e.g. irrealis or hypothetical modality) or mood (e.g. desiderative or optative mood etc.).[436] In light of this, the dominance of the prefix conjugation is hardly surprising.[437] Among Syriac finite verbal forms, there is only one candidate available.

Are these prefix conjugation forms deranked or balanced? Deranked verbal forms may be characterised by a lack of person marking or a lack of tense, aspect, or mood (TAM) distinctions. Another deranking feature is the addition of a prefix (or suffix) in specific environments.[438] The prefix conjugation cannot be classified as deranked on any of these grounds. Moreover, it is also used in prototypical declarative clauses. In short, the great majority of all Syriac purpose clauses have a balanced verbal form.

The finite purpose clauses are complemented by non-finite ones with an infinitive.

5.3 *w-lā* *hpaḵ* *ʿAmos* ***l-merʿā*** *ʿānā* ***wa-l-melqaṭ*** *qaysē*
and-NEG return.SC.3MS PN PURP-feed.INF flock and-PURP-gather.INF wood
And Amos did not turn back to feed the sheep or gather fruit (Aph 10. 196:20–21)

Infinitives are characterised by their lack of TAM distinction and person marking. Moreover, they are not used in declarative clauses. These verbal forms can, therefore, be categorised as fully deranked.

The Syriac sample contains more than 400 purpose clauses but infinitives are used in less than 10%. In fact, there are no infinitives in the sample from Philoxenus' discourse 1 or in Aphrahat's

[436] Schmidtke-Bode, 44–5.

[437] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 252–55.

[438] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 35–6 notes that Korean subordinate clauses do not use the normal speech-act and sentence-type suffixes which are used in independent clauses.

demonstrations 1 and 17. The absence in the two demonstrations is probably circumstantial given that infinitives are attested in demonstration 6. The absence from Philoxenus' text is more noteworthy because infinitives are not used with secondary complement-taking verbs either.

Returning to the actual attestations, it is important to observe that infinitives are not preceded by specific verbs in the main clause. Some of the verbs attested include: *ʾezal* 'go' *ʾeṯā* 'come', *hpaḵ* 'turn back', *yaḇ* 'give', *ʾarheṭ* 'make run', *šʾal* 'ask', *šdā* 'throw', *šadder* 'send', and *šnā* 'set out'. The small sample makes it difficult to draw conclusions about these constructions. It is also important to note that more common verbs such as *ʾezal* and *ʾeṯā* are attested with infinitives as well as prefix conjugation forms. However, most of these main clause verbs are verbs of movement (i.e. the subject moves) or verbs that imply a movement of something. It is likely that only certain verbs could be combined with infinitives even if the current sample is too small to substantiate this conclusion.

In short, there is a clear preference for balanced verbal forms in Syriac purpose clauses. There could be several explanations for this preference but it is probably connected to the future orientation or modality of this clause type. One should also note that non-finite purpose clauses are attested already in Achaemenid Aramaic.[439]

5.1.2 Verbal forms in early modern NENA

The Aḥiqar text contains ca. 90 examples of purpose clauses and exhibits a similar distributional pattern of balanced and deranked verbal forms as Syriac. The primary verbal form used in these purposive constructions are plain *patəx*.

5.4	*mayṯi-lēh*	*d-**xāz-ēn-nēh***
	bring.IMP-L.3MS	PURP-see.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MS
	Bring him so that I may see him (Aḥ 543)	

The use of this verbal form is unsurprising, given that plain *patəx* forms are used to express modality in many NENA dialects, particularly deontic and irrealis modality. It is crucial to note that this verbal form has taken over the role of the prefix conjugation. The use in complement clauses is, therefore, not an isolated phenomenon. More importantly, though, it shows that there is much functional continuity in the use of verbal forms between Syriac and NENA. That is, once *patəx* has developed into a modal form, it replaces the prefix conjugation.

There are, however, some noteworthy exceptions. These contain the present and habitual form *k-patəx* and the future *bət-patəx*.

5.5	*bron-i*	*molep*	*bron-ux*	*kepnā*	*w-ṣehwā*	*msaḇaḇ dēx tad*
	son-POSS.1SG	teach.IMP	son-POSS.2MS	hunger	and-thirst	so that

[439] Muraoka and Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 208.

k-xazy-ā *ʾēn-ēh* *mdāber-Ø* *bēṯ-ēh*
IND-see.PRS-D.3FS eye-POSS.3MS manage.PRS-D.3MS household-POSS.3MS
My son, teach your son hunger and thirst so that his eye will see and he will run his household. (Aḥ 552)

5.6 *bron-i* *lā* *qān-et* *torā* *mar qānānē* *we-xmārā*
son-POSS.1SG NEG buy.PRS-D.2MS bull of horns and-donkey
parsānā *w-ʾodā* *ʿārāqā* *w-xādamtā* *gānoḇtā* *d-lā* *kol*
large.hooves and-servant runaway and-servant.girl thieving PURP-NEG all
d-ʾet-tux ***bēṯ-nabl-i-lēh*** *menn-ux*
REL-exist-POSS.2SG FUT-take.PRS-D.3PL-L.3MS from-POSS.2MS
My son, do not acquire a bull with horns, a donkey with large hooves, a runaway servant, or a stealing servant-girl lest they take away from you everything you have. (Aḥ 550)

Infinitives are attested just four times in the Aḥiqar text, i.e. less than 5%. Three out of four also follow movement verbs.

5.7 *bron-i* *hwē-lux* *ṭāl-i* *mēx* *kalbā*
son-POSS.1SG become.PST-L.2MS for-POSS.1SG like dog
dē-ḵ-ʾāḇēr-Ø *l-bēṯā* *m-qarṯā* ***le-šḵānā***
REL-IND-enter.PRS-D.3MS to-house from-cold PURP-be.warm.INF
My son you became like a dog to me that went into the house in order to be warm from the cold. (Aḥ 615)

These examples show that infinitives were used in early modern NENA. Moreover, they indicate that the language could employ both balanced and deranked verbal forms in these constructions. Crucially, the small number of attestations shows that there is a strong preference for the balanced and modal plain *patəx* form.

Plain *patəx* forms can be used in result clauses, making them virtually indistinguishable from purpose clauses. Nevertheless, there are also instances with *ptəxlə* forms:

5.8 *yā* *ʾalāhā* *mā* *gnāhā* *ʾwed-li* *tā* *ʾaḥiqār* *d-hādax* ***ʿjēblē-lēh***
O God what wrong do.PST-L1SG to PN REL-thus please.PST-L.3MS
d-ʾāwēḏ-Ø *b-i*
PURP-do.PRS-3MS against-POSS.1SG
O God what wrong have I done so that Aḥiqar wanted to do this against me. (Aḥ 568)

5.1.3 Verbal forms in modern NENA

Do the modern dialects exhibit a similar distributional pattern as early modern NENA? Most purpose clauses in C. Barwar contain a plain *patəx* form.[440]

5.9	*már-a*	*də-yàlla,*|	*jàlde,*|	*ští*	*tat-**dàmx-əx**.*|
	say.PST-L.3FS	PRT-come	quickly	drink.IMP	PURP-sleep.PRS-D.1PL
	She said ‘Come, quickly, drink so that we can go to sleep’. (C. Barwar A17:26)				

Are plain *patəx* forms used consistently in the modern dialects? The corpus of C. Barwar contains no evidence for *ʾi-patəx* (i.e. *k-patəx*) or *qəm-patəx-le*; although the former is attested in result clauses.[441] The inherent future orientation of purpose clauses is most likely the reason for the absence of *qəm-patəx-le*. The absence of *ʾi-patəx* can be explained by the hypothetical mood which characterises many purpose clauses.[442]

It is more difficult to determine whether *bed-patəx* is used in these constructions. Some examples contain verbal forms that would be classified as *bed-patəx* had they occurred in main clauses. Such forms are, however, often found before an initial /ʾ/. In these context, *bed-* is often elided to *bṯ- or ṯ-*, /*d*/ being devoiced to /*ṯ*/. Similarly, the future prefix may contract to *t-* before /*y*/.[443] Consequently, *ṯ-ázi* in 5.10 could be a *bed-patəx* form:

5.10	*qəm-dɛr-é-la*	*gu-mìya,*|	*hátxa*	***ṯ-áz-i***	*b-šaqìθa.*|
	PST-put.PRS-D.3PL-L.3PL	in-water	like.this	PURP-go.PRS-D.3PL	in-stream
	They put them in the water, so that they would go along in the stream. (C. Barwar A8:12)				

These verbal forms are, however, ambiguous. Both *ṯ-* and *t-* could be remnants of the subordinating particle (cf. 3.3.3.2). Moreover, *t-* is commonly used with the more explicitly purposive markers *qa-* and *ta-*. There are also very few attestations of either *bed-* or *bṯ-* in purposive constructions; although Khan lists one instance with *bed-patəx* in his grammar of C. Urmi.[444] Most instances of *ṯ-* and *t-* should therefore be classified as purposive markers rather than verbal prefixes; unless there is another explicit purposive marker:

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[440] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:582–83, 645–46.

[441] Cf. Khan, 1:994–97.

[442] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 44–5.

[443] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:175–76.

[444] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:133.

5.11 *mə́re* *ʾáyya gáni* *fad-ə́n-na* ***qa****-brón-ux*
say.PST-L.3MS this myself ransom.PRS-L.3FS PURP-brother-POSS.2MS
ṯ*-áwe-Ø* *spày.*|
FUT-be.PRS-D.3MS good
He said 'I shall ransom myself in order for your son to get better.' (C. Barwar A8:36)

The suffix *-wa* is sometimes attested in purpose clauses and its presence can often be explained by the use of *-wa* in the main clause.[445] In a few exceptional cases *-wa* is used in the purpose clause even though it is not used in the matrix clause.

5.12 *Ø-bnáya* *gúda* *ʾu-dráya* *rə̆ṣə̀ṣ,*| *tát* *ʾáp-ʾən*
prog-build.INF wall and-PROG-put.INF lead PURP even-if
max-í-le *màdfaʿ*| *t-là-taləx-****wa*** *gúda.*|
hit.PRS-D.3PL-L.3MS artillery PURP-NEG-collapse-HAB wall
He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if artillery hit it, it would not collapse. (C. Barwar A11:13)

The systems in C. Urmi and Qaraqosh exhibits several of the same traits; plain *patəx* being the most common form.[446] This shows that C. Urmi follows the same cross-linguistic tendency to use future, non-past, or present tense forms.[447] By contrast, result clauses may contain *ptəxlə* forms.[448]

Are plain *patəx* forms deranked or balanced? Deranking often implies a lack of TAM distinctions or person marking but it can also be marked through the omission of affixes.[449] The frequent use of prefixed *patəx* forms in other contexts is therefore important. Since the plain *patəx* form is mostly restricted to subordinate environments, it should perhaps be classified as deranked rather than balanced. This is especially true because these subordinate verbal forms do not have their own deictic centre (whether past, present, or future).[450]

Infinitives are primarily used in purpose clauses after verbs expressing movement, 'taking', and 'fetching':[451] *mate* 'put', *ʾazəl* 'go', *ʾaθe* 'come', *ʾasəq* 'go up', *ʾatəw* 'sit', *xapər* 'dig', *paləṭ* 'go out',

[445] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:589; note how it is used in both clauses of the first five examples.

[446] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 308–09.

[447] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 42–4.

[448] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:488–89.

[449] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 35–6.

[450] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:645–46.

[451] Khan, 1:732.

ṣale ‘go’, *nabəl* ‘take, take away’, *šaqəl* ‘take’, *mdaber* ‘make up (a story)’. In short, movement verbs can be followed by *patəx* forms as well as infinitives.[452]

5.13 *ʾáni* *ṣálye-la* *sxàya,*|
they go.down.PTCP-COP.3PL swim.INF
They went down to swim. (C. Barwar A14:82)

5.14 *már-e* *ṭ-áz-əx* *qa-xàz-əx*| *Zíne* *ʾεkὲ-la.*|
say.PST-L.3MS FUT-go.PRS-D.1PL PURP-see.PRS-D.1PL PN where-COP.3FS
He said ‘We shall go to find where Zine is. (C. Barwar A26:18)

Patəx forms are more common than infinitives after *šaqəl* ‘take’. Moreover, some movement verbs, like *maθe* ‘bring’, *maṭe* ‘go’, and *tafəq* ‘meet’, are not attested with infinitives. The available data, however, suggest that *patəx* forms are in the minority after movement verbs. Consider 5.15:

5.15 *ʾáwwa* *zìl-le*| ***šqála*** *mən-púmmət* *pràge,*| *m-mzìða,*|
he go.PST-L.3MS take.INF from-mouth.of millet from-bag
šqála *ʾo-júlla* *mən-púmmət* *práge* *tat-**mattú-Ø-le***
take.INF DEM-cloth from-mouth.of millet PURP-put.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS
gu-púmmət *líntət* *nepòxta.*|
in-mouth.of pot.of syrup
He went to take from the mouth of the bag of millet, take the cloth from the mouth (of the bag of) millet to put it in the mouth of the pot of syrup. (C. Barwar A23:21)

The first two purpose clauses contain infinitives and are connected to the verb *zil-le* ‘he went’. In the last clause, though, a *patəx* form follows the verb *šaqəl* ‘take’. In other words, there is a division of labour between infinitival purpose clauses (used with movement verbs) and those containing a *patəx* form (used after other verbal forms).

The corpus of C. Urmi only contains a small number of infinitives (or *bəptaxa* forms):[453]

5.16 *ʾána* *bə-rrášš-šən* *ḳa-ʾaláha* *šəccàyat* ***váda.***|
I PROG-go.INF-COP.1SG to-God complaint make.INF
I am going to complain to God. (C. Urmi A49:4)

[452] Cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 193.

[453] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:191.

It is crucial to note that the same speaker used a *patəx* form in a similar construction in the same context just before 5.16.

5.17	*már-rə*	*bə-rráš-šən*	*ḳa-ʾaláha*	*šəccàyat*	*ʾód-ən.*|
	say.PST-L.3MS	PROG-go.INF-COP.1SG	to-God	complaint	make.PRS-D.1SG
	He said ‘I am going to make a complaint to God. (C. Urmi A49:2)				

Infinitives are occasionally used in the dialect of Qaraqosh but they are relatively rare in comparison with *patəx* forms.[454]

5.1.4 Summary

The above surveys show that balanced and deranked verbal forms were used in Syriac and early modern NENA, and continue to be used in C. Barwar and C. Urmi. In the Syriac and early modern NENA corpora, the use of infinitives is rare. It is possible that infinitives were used more in the spoken vernaculars than in these written sources. Nevertheless, the same pattern is attested in C. Urmi and the conservative Qaraqosh dialect. The use of infinitives with movement verbs in C. Barwar probably reflects a structural shift where infinitives have become the standard verbal form used with movement verbs. This pattern coincides with the use of the *bəptaxa* or the infinitive after secondary complement-taking verbs like *mšare* ‘begin’. This overlap could be coincidental, but the merger of *bəptaxa* and the infinitive in C. Barwar and the subsequent use of the new verbal form after *mšare* may have influenced the structure of purpose clauses after movement verbs.

Despite this shift there is a considerable functional continuity between verbal forms in Syriac and NENA, which emphasises the stability of the underlying structure of these constructions over time.

5.2 Purposive markers

Purposive markers come in different shapes and varieties. Affixes are the most common in Schmidtke-Bode’s survey, closely followed by conjunctions and adpositions. Almost half of all primary markers are affixes. More than half of all markers are also monosyllabic, indicating that there is a preference for short and phonologically integrated elements.[455]

5.2.1 Syriac markers

The two main purposive markers in the Syriac corpus are the subordinating particle *d-* and the preposition *l-* ‘to, for’. The former is used at the beginning of clauses containing prefix conjugation forms and the latter is prefixed to infinitives.

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[454] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 389–90.

[455] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 82–4, 87.

5.18 *nezben* *l-an* *margāniṯā* ***d***-*neʿtar*
buy.PC.1PL to-POSS.1PL pearl PURP-be.rich.PC.1PL
Let us buy the pearl for ourselves so that we will be rich. (Aph 6, 104:3)

5.19 *ʾezal* ***l***-*mestmāḵu*
go.SC.3PL PURP-recline.INF
… they went to recline. (Thom 175:6)

These two markers are by far the most common ones in the Syriac corpus and are found in almost all constructions. There is, therefore, a high degree of overlap in the marking of complement clauses and purpose clauses. The preposition *l-* is used with all infinitives but the particle *d-* is occasionally omitted when a clause is the second or third in a chain of consecutive purpose clauses.

5.20 *nsīm* *sīmt-an* *ba-šmayā* ***d***-*mā ḏ-ʾezaln*
put.PC.1PL treasure-POSS.1PL in-heaven PURP-when-GO.SC.1PL
nepṯaḥ ***w***-*neṯbassam*
open.PC.1PL and-rejoice.PC.1PL
Let us lay our treasures in heaven so that when we have departed we may open and rejoice (in them) (Aph 6, 104:3–4)

The omission of *d-* is also attested in chains of complement clauses. There is, however, a major difference. In complement clause constructions, the omission of *d-* is normative before the second or third clause. This is not the case in purposive constructions. Instead, 5.20 is an exception to the general pattern.

Why are *l-* and *d-* used to mark purpose clauses. Dative, benefactive, and allative markers are frequently used with this function so the use of *l-* is unsurprising.[456] The use of *d-* does not come as a surprise either. This particle originated as a relative/determinative pronoun *ḏV*. In the early stages of Aramaic this would have been a fully-fledged relative pronoun with case inflection. Over time, the case vowels were dropped and it became affixed to a noun or the first word in a clause.[457] During this period, the particle's function was also extended. Cross-linguistically, relative clause markers often develop into complementisers which are subsequently used as purposive markers. This development primarily takes place in constructions with finite verbal forms.[458]

[456] Schmidtke-Bode, 88–91.

[457] Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, 27–8 notes that 'Aramaic subordination is done exclusively via the determinative-relative pronoun'. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 144–45.

[458] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 197.

The consistent use of *d-* is, perhaps, somewhat surprising, considering that it has lost much of its semantic content. Cross-linguistically, functional shifts of this type often lead to a 'renewal' or 'reinforcement' of purposive markers through additional elements.[459]

5.2.1.1 Complex markers

Complex markers usually combine a conjunction with the particle *d-*, the former preceding the latter. The two main markers *ʾaḵ d-* and *ʾaykanā d-*.[460]

5.21 *w-kaḏ* *šaddar* *ʿl-aw* *malkā* *d-ʾīsrāyel*
and-when send.SC.3MS against-POSS.3MS king POSS-Israel
ʾaḵ d-*neqṭl-īw*
PURP-kill.PC.3MS-OBJ.3MS
When the king of Israel sent against him in order to kill him. (Aph 6, 128:12–13)

5.22 *neda ʿ* *šaʾul* *d-rabbā* *haw d-meṯṯalmed l-eh*
know.PC.3MS Saul COMP-master DEM REL-teach.PTCP.MS OBJ-POSS.3MS
rabbā hu *rdipā* ***ʾaḵ d-****nestarhaḇ* *nešluḥ*
master COP.3MS persecuted PURP-do.quickly.PC.3MS throw.off.PC.3MS
rdupūṯā *d-rabbānē* *d-qadmāyā*
persecution POSS.masters POSS-formerly
That Saul might know that the master who discipled him was a persecuted master in order that he would quickly throw off the persecution of his former masters. (SdDn XXXVI 41, ro a, 3–5)

5.23 *hāyden=u* *maqreḇ* *sāṭānā* *ʿam* *haw* *barnāšā*
then approach.PTCP.MS satan with that man
ʾaykanā d-*našr ʿ-īw* *w-tepṛuq* *l-āh* *la-gmār*
PURP-make.slip.PC.3MS-OBJ.3MS and-depart.PC.3FS OBJ-POSS.3FS completely
men-neh *ruḥā d-qudšā*
from-POSS.3MS holy Spirit
Then Satan approaches that man in order to make him slip and so that the Holy Spirit will leave him completely. (Aph 6, 128:19–21)

The conjunction *ʾaḵ d-* is made up by the preposition or conjunction *ʾaḵ* 'like, just as' and the subordinating particle. Nöldeke noted that this combination is used as a purposive marker and that it

[459] Schmidtke-Bode, 174, 194–95.

[460] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 260–62.

often precedes infinitive constructions to emphasise the purposive function of the clause.[461] The latter observation is surprising considering the rarity of infinitive constructions and the absence of *ʾaḵ d-* before infinitives in the corpus.

In both 5.21 and 5.22 *ʾaḵ d-* may be used as a means of emphasizing the purposive function of the clause. There is, however, a marked difference between the two. This marker could, for example, be a means to distinguish between the purpose clause in 5.22 and the preceding complement clause. There is no such contextual reason motivating its use in 5.21.

The second complex marker consists of the interrogative *ʾaykanā* 'how' and the particle *d-*. Nöldeke classifies this marker as an adverb which is serving as a correlative but does not discuss its purposive function or frequency.[462] Both *ʾaḵ d-* and *ʾaykanā d-* are so rare in the corpus that it is difficult to determine whether there is a distributional pattern. Yet, it should be noted that *ʾaykanā d-* is used in three out of five purposive constructions in the sample from the *Acts of Thomas*.

Lastly, Nöldeke notes that *ʾaḵ d-* is used often but it is only used in one of the three samples surveyed for this chapter. Moreover, its purposive function is not mentioned in *A Syriac Lexicon*.[463] There could be several reasons for this omission. The rarity of this conjunction could have played a role and it may have been very rare in the sample used for Brockelmann's first edition of the lexicon.

5.2.1.2 Negative constructions

Negative purpose clauses are often identical to positive purpose clauses. Only 19 out of 80 languages in Schmidtke-Bode's study had a grammaticalised negative marker.[464] Syriac belongs to the minority because it has the complex marker *dalmā*. The conjunction *lmā* may have existed as a negative subordinator already in proto Northwest-Semitic.[465]

5.24	*d-nettʿīr*	*men*	*šent-an*	*b-hānāʾ*	*zaḇnāʾ*	
	quote-awake.PC.1PL	from	sleep-POSS.1PL	at-this	time	
	…	***dalmā***	*men šelyāʾ*	*niʾteʾ*	*mār-eh*	*d-baytāʾ*
	…	lest	suddenly	come.PC.3MS	lord-POSS.3MS	POSS-house
	d-māʾ d-ʾeṯāʾ		*neškḥ-an*	*b-ʿīruṯāʾ*		
	PURP-when-come.SC.3MS		find.PC.3MS-OBJ.1PL	in-watchfulness		

Let us awake from our sleep at this time …, lest the Lord of the house come suddenly, so that when he comes he will find us in watchfulness. (Aph 6 103:3–5)

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[461] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 296.

[462] Nöldeke, 299.

[463] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 33.

[464] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 129–30.

[465] Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, 35–46.

5.25 *w-ʿam* *gaḇrāʾ* *mṣaʿrānāʾ* *lāʾ* *nmallel,* ***d-lāʾ*** *neṯel*
and-with man wicked NEG talk.PC.3MS PURP-NEG give.PC.3MS
napš-eh *l-ṣaʿrāʾ* *w-ʿam* *gaḇrāʾ* *mgadpānāʾ* *lāʾ*
self-POSS.3MS to-contempt and-with man blasphemous NEG
nedruš ***dalmā*** *neṣṭaḥeʾ* *mār-eh* *meṭulāṯ-eh*
argue.PC.3MS lest be.blasphemed.PC.3MS lord-POSS.3MS because-POSS.3MS
With a wicked man let him not speak lest he give himself to contempt, let him not dispute with a blasphemer, lest the Lord be blasphemed on his account. (Aph 6 118:1–2)

Most negative purpose clauses do not employ *dalmā*, however. More frequently, a combination of *d-* and the negator *lā* is used (*d-lā*).[466] This combination is always used with movement verbs.[467] From this limited sample, it is difficult to determine why *dalmā* is used rather than *dlā*. A case in point is 5.25 where the first clause has the more common *dlā* while the second construction has *dalmā*. This is especially noteworthy since both main clauses have speech verbs.[468]

A trait shared by both markers is the placement of *d-* before the other element in the marker. The other complex markers exhibit the opposite order. This ordering is probably caused by the markers' avertive function.

5.2.1.3 Summary

Table 5.1 summarises the survey of Syriac purposive markers. Infinitives have the preposition *l-* as their common marker. This can sometimes be supplemented by *ʾaḵ d-* to clarify the purposive function or make it more pronounced.

Construction types	**Common markers**	**Complex purposive markers**
Infinitives	*l-*	*(ʾaḵ d-l-)*
Prefix conjugation	*d-*	*ʾaḵ d-, ʾaykanā d-*
Negative constructions	*d-lā*	*dalmā*

Table 5.1 Syriac purposive markers

When the prefix conjugation is used the unmarked option is the subordinating particle *d-*. The complex markers *ʾaḵ d-* and *ʾaykanā d-* are typically not combined with movement verbs. The lack of a complex

[466] Pat-El, 46 interestingly notes that Syriac does not use d-lā as a result subordinator. That function is reserved for dilmā.

[467] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 139, notes that negative purpose clauses tend to be combined with non-motion verbs.

[468] Bravmann, 'Syriac Dalma "lest, Perhaps" and Some Related Arabic Phenomena' has argued that this particle originated as a complementiser for verbs of fear.

marker after movement verbs could, perhaps, be connected to the close relationship between this verb type and purpose clauses.[469]

5.2.1.4 Constructions without a marker

The English conjunction 'and' is more than a coordinating conjunction. One of its non-coordinating functions is to combine two clauses with a purposive relationship. Consider the sentence 'John got up and closed the window.' The relationship between the two clauses in this sentence is more complex than a simple coordination of two events. Sentences like this one 'strongly implicate a purposive relationship between the two situations.'[470] The functional potential of 'and' is well known and constructions of this type are relatively common in English syntax. Schmidtke-Bode argues that this is a cross-linguistic phenomenon not just restricted to English.[471] This 'weaker' purposive function is, however, restricted to certain semantic verb types. These verbs are generally dynamic or they express suppressed motion ('stay' or 'remain'). Moreover, the subject of the main clause often has control over the whole situation and is shared by both verbs.[472] This use of 'and' raises questions regarding the Aramaic conjunction *w-*. A close investigation shows that there are several instances where this conjunction could imply more than a coordinated series of events.[473]

5.26	*ʾeṯāʾ*	*w-ʾemar*	*l-eh*	*l-īhuḏāʾ*
	come.SC.3MS	and-say.SC.3MS	OBJ-POSS.3MS	OBJ-PN
	He came and told Judah. (Thom 178:22)			

5.27	*tāʾ*	*ʿam*	*w-ṣallāʾ*	*ʿal*	*brat*
	come.IMP	with.POSS.1SG	and-pray.IMP	for	daughter.POSS.1SG
	Come with me and pray for my daughter. (Thom 178:22)				

The present survey indicates that constructions of this type typically occur with the verb *ʾeṯā* 'come'. It is important to note that both verbs in the construction have the same inflection and verbal form (suffix conjugation in 5.26 and imperative in 5.27). Another important point to make is that prototypical constructions with *d-* and the prefix conjugation are much more common than these weaker types of purposive constructions. Yet, weaker constructions are at least as common as clauses with infinitives or

[469] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 104.

[470] Schmidtke-Bode, 107.

[471] Schmidtke-Bode, 106–07.

[472] Schmidtke-Bode, 108–09.

[473] For additional examples see Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 273–74. Note that only a few of Nöldeke's examples are purposive.

with complex markers. A much larger sample would, however, be needed to establish their relative frequency.

The combination of two identical verbal forms is a feature these weaker constructions share with serial-like constructions.

5.28 *w-qāmaṯ* *ʾezlaṯ* *lwāṯ* *hānon* *ʿlaymēʾ*
and-rise.SC.3FS go.SC.3FS to these young.people
She rose and went to those young people. (Thom 184:15–16)

The absence of *w-* is the only feature that separates 5.28 from the previous two constructions. The omission of the conjunction may have been motivated by the similarity between these constructions and serial constructions with e.g. the verb *qām*.

5.29 *qum* *puq* *b-šapṛā* *baṯar* *tešmeštā*
rise.IMP depart.IMP at-dawn after service
Rise and depart at dawn after the service. (Thom 195:15–16)

The nature of these constructions and their classification will be discussed further in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to note that they require both verbs to have the same inflection and verbal form and that the use of the conjunction is optional.

5.2.2 Early modern NENA markers

The early modern NENA corpus contains two main purposive markers: the subordinator *d-* and the new particle *tad*.

5.30 *mayṯi-lēh* *d-xāz-ēn-nēh*
bring.IMP-L.3MS PURP-see.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MS
Bring him so that I may see him (Aḥ. 543)

5.31 *w-qaṭʾ-i-li* *m-ʾāḏi* *kēpā* *qēddā* *tad* *xēṭ-en-nāh*
and-cut.PRS-D.3PL-L.1SG from-DEM stone piece PURP sew.PRS-D.1SG-L.3FS
ṭāl-oxun *qalulā*
for-POSS.2PL quickly
so that they will cut a piece from this stone so that I will sow it up quickly. (Aḥ 605)

The emergence of *tad* in these constructions is important. This marker is used in a third of the ca. 90 attestations of purposive constructions in the Aḥiqar text. The first element of this complex marker is *ta* ‘to, for’. The new particle *tad* is an example of ‘renewal’ or ‘reinforcement’ of *d-* to emphasise or clarify

the purposive function.[474] Sachau does not mention *ta* in his overview of the Mosul plain dialects. He does, however, mention *ṭā* 'to, for', which also has the form *ṭlā*.[475] The preposition *ṭa* can, moreover, be combined with *d-* to form *ṭad*. Both *ṭā* and *ṭad* can mark purpose clauses.[476] It is possible that Sachau considered the two prepositions *ta* and *ṭa* to be the same, in which case his observations about *ṭa* would apply to *ta* as well. The Aḥiqar text does employ both *ta* and *ṭla*, but with different functions. Moreover, the combination *tad* is never written *ṭad*.[477] Considering this, it is interesting to note that an early NENA midrash on Exodus primarily employs *ṭlād*.[478] Note also that Maclean discuss *ṭlād* under the same heading as *ṭad*.[479]

5.2.2.1 Negative constructions

The early NENA corpus contains eight negative purpose clauses, six of which have the common marker *d-lā*. The other two constructions have *lēkun* 'perhaps, lest'.[480]

5.32	*bonā*	*diyy-i*	*lā*	*šoq-ēṯ*	*d-dāyēš-Ø*	
	son	gen.POSS.1SG	NEG	allow.PRS-D.2MS	COMP-tread.PRS-D.3MS	
	ʾelled	*ʾaql-ux*	*xor-ux*	***lēkun***	*dāyēš-Ø*	
	on	foot-POSS.2MS	friend-POSS.2MS	lest	tread.PRS-D.3MS	
	ham	*ʾelled*	*pqart-ux*			
	also	on	neck-POSS.2MS			

My child, do not let your friend tread on your foot lest he also tread on your neck. (Aḥ 561)

5.2.2.2 Constructions without a marker

The Aḥiqar text also contains some constructions with the conjunction *w-*. Again, the same verbal form is used with both verbs which also have the same inflection.

5.33	*ʾegahā*	*ʾānā*	*ʾaḥiqar*	*ʾēzēl-li*	***w-muqreḇ-li***	*deḇḥē*	*tā*
	then	I	PN	go.PST-L.1SG	and-sacrifice.PST-L.1SG	sacrifices	for
	ʾalāh	***we-drē-li***		*ṭāl-ayhi*	*besmē*		
	gods	and-burn.PST-L.1SG		for-POSS.3PL	incense		

Then I Aḥiqar went to offer sacrifices to the gods and burn incense before them. (Aḥ 539)

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[474] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 174.

[475] Sachau, *Skizze Des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul*, 32.

[476] Sachau, 39.

[477] Most combinations and spellings occur in the poems, according to Mengozzi (personal communication).

[478] Sabar, *Pešat Wayehî Bešallah*.

[479] Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan*, 187.

[480] Sachau, *Skizze Des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul*, 37.

5.2.3 NENA

5.2.3.1 The markers *ṭla-* and *ta-* in C. Barwar

Two of the main purposive markers in C. Barwar are the preposition *ṭla* and *ta-* 'to, for'. Both can also be used to mark direction, destination, or an object (direct or indirect).[481]

5.34 *bắye-Ø* *ṯ-ázəl-Ø* ***tat**-máṭe-Ø* *l-tằrət*
want.PRS-D.3MS COMP-go.PRS-D.3MS PURP-reach.PRS-D.3MS OBJ-entrance
gə́ppa| ***tat**-qáṭəl-Ø* *Lelìθa.*|
cave PURP-kill.PRS-D.3MS PN
He wanted to reach the entrance to the cave to kill Leliθa. (C. Barwar A51:9)

5.35 *šqíl-le* *qáwa* ***ṭla**-šàte-Ø,*|
take.PST-L.3MS coffee PURP-drink.PRS-D.3MS
He took the coffee to drink. (C. Barwar A29:47)

The preposition *ta-* is more common than *ṭla-* in the corpus of C. Barwar. The latter is only used four times. Moreover, the subordinating particle is almost always used together with the preposition, forming *ta-t-* or *ta-ṯ-*, respectively. By contrast, 5.35 has only the preposition *ṭla*, a feature shared by three out of the four examples.

The two prepositions do not have any obvious cognates in Syriac. The preposition *ta-* is probably a loan from Kurmanji Kurdish which has the preposition *ta* 'until, up, to'.[482] The development of *ta-* into a complex purposive marker with *d-* is, however, an internal development in NENA. Kurmanji uses *ji bo* (*k̲u*) to mark purpose.[483] Interestingly, Persian has a preposition *tā* 'to, until' which is used as a purposive marker.[484]

Occasionally, the conjunction *ʾu-* is used to coordinate two purpose clauses.

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[481] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:444, 809–10; Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 193–95.

[482] Note that most loan words in C. Barwar come from Kurmanji Kurdish (Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:366); cf. Thackston, *Kurmanji Kurdish—A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*, 21.

[483] Thackston, *Kurmanji Kurdish—A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*, 33, 41.

[484] Cf. Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 74.

5.36 *mə́r-a* *tə́mməl* *brátət* *màlka,*| *ʾáy* *masq-í-la*
say.PST-L.3FS tomorrow daughter.of king she take.up.PRS-D.3PL-L.3FS
***taʂ*-axə̀l-Ø-la,**| *ʾ**u-tat**-maxzé-Ø-le* *ʾə́l-lux*
PURP-eat.PRS-D.3MS-L.3FS and-PURP-show.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS to-POSS.2MS
ʾèk-ɛle.|
where-COP.3MS
She said 'Tomorrow they will take up the daughter of the king in order for it to eat her and in order to show you where it is.' (C. Barwar A24:38)

5.2.3.2 The particles *qa-* and *ḵat-*

In addition to *ta-t-* and *ṭla*, C. Barwar also employs *qa-*(*t-*) as a purposive marker. The preposition *qa-*, like *ṭla-* and *ta-*, indicates direction or destination and can be used to mark different types of objects (including temporal ones).[485]

5.37 *mə́r-e* *ʂ-áz-əx* ***qa**-xàz-əx*| *Zíne* *ʾɛkɛ̀-la.*|
say.PST-L.3MS FUT-go.PRS-D.1PL PURP-see.PRS-D.1PL PN where-COP.3FS
He said 'We shall go to find where Zine is. (C. Barwar A26:18)

5.38 *ʂráx-ɛle* ***qat**-šə̆̀m-a*| *brát-ət* *màlka.*|
shout.INF-COP.3MS PURP-hear.PRS-D.3FS daughter-GEN king
He was shouting so that the daughter of the king would hear. (C. Barwar A21:16)

As with *ta-*, the use of *qa-* together with the subordinating particle is an example of 'renewal' and 'reinforcement'. The use of *qa-* without the particle in 5.37 may signify that this new marker is going through a process of reduction.

In C. Urmi, the cognate *ḵat* is used in purpose clauses before *patəx* forms.[486]

5.39 *mú* *+ʾams-ən* *ʾód-ən* ***ḵat**-ʾát* *+paxl-ə̀t-li?*|
what be.able.PRS-D.1SG do.PRS-D.1SG PURP-you forgive.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG
What can I do so that you will forgive me?' (C. Urmi A3:54)

This is where the similarities between the two dialects end. Where C. Barwar exhibits variation in its marking of purposive clauses, C. Urmi is almost uniform in its usage of *ḵat*. Moreover, the preposition *ḵa* 'to' has merged completely with the subordinating particle, forming the new complex marker *ḵat.*

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[485] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:810–11, 994–97.

[486] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:488–89 for purpose and result clauses.

Consequently, *ḵat* is a clear example of 'reinforcement' or 'renewal' of the old subordinator *d-*.[487] The use of *ḵat* in these contexts is important because it shows that there is an overlap between complement clauses, purpose clauses, and relative clauses in C. Urmi. As the summary on complementisers noted (3.3.4), Khan suggests that *ḵat* originated as a purposive marker that was subsequently extended to include complement clauses and relative clauses. The extension to marking relative clauses probably happened during the twentieth century since the corpus of literary Urmi contains very few examples of *qad* introducing relative clauses.[488]

Like *ta-*, *ḵat* may have been influenced by the Kurdish subordinator *ka*.[489] Typologically this development is common:

allative > purpose marker > complementiser > relativiser

This is, at least in part, the opposite trajectory of *d-*:

demonstrative > relativiser > complementiser > purpose marker

Considering this development, it would not be surprising if *ta-t* became more widely used as a complementiser and a relativiser in C. Barwar.

5.2.3.3 *da-d*, *ḥatta d-*, *ʿala-mu d-*, and *m-sab d-* in Qaraqosh

The dialect of Qaraqosh is generally more conservative than either C. Barwar or C. Urmi. There are also marked differences between the marking of purpose clauses in Qaraqosh. The main difference is that *da*, *ḥatta*, *ʿala-mu*, and *m-sab* are used together with *d-* to form new complex markers. The latter three are loans from Arabic.[490] The particle *da* is also used before clauses with *patəx* as well as infinitives.[491]

5.40	*wa-k-áy-Ø-wa*	*tré*	*jamadánə*	*b-sə́twa*	*dád-la*	*qayə̀r-Ø-rə*|
	and-IND-have-HAB	two	PN	in-winter	PURP-NEG	be.cold.PRS-L.3MS
	They would have two jamadanə in the winter so that they did not get cold. (Qaraqosh B:l65)					

5.41	*kúll mál*	*k-ə̀t̲ə-Ø*|	*da-ṣalòyə*|
	everybody	IND-come.PRS-D.3MS	PURP-pray.INF
	Everybody comes to pray (Qaraqosh B:3)		

[487] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 174–75.

[488] Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 258 n. 71.

[489] Khan, '2.5. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia and Northwestern Iran', 226–27.

[490] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 308.

[491] Khan, 389–90.

The preposition *da* has the same function in Qaraqosh as *ta* in C. Barwar. It is, therefore, likely that it is the same particle. The main difference between the two dialects, then, is the influence of Arabic on Qaraqosh and the occasional use of *da* before infinitives.

5.2.3.4 Marked infinitives

If the preposition *l-* is almost obligatory before Syriac infinitives, it is an anomaly in NENA. In C. Barwar virtually all infinitives are used without the preposition; in which case they could also be analysed as *bəptaxa* forms.[492] The same pattern applies to the use of complementisers with infinitives (cf. 3.3.3.2 and 3.3.4). The deranking of the verbal form serves as the only sign of the clause's purposive function. There is only one exception with *l-* in the corpus:

5.42 *ʾána làn-ʾəθya* ***l-****gwára.*|
I NEG-come.PTCP.MS PURP-marry.INF
I have not come to marry'. (C. Barwar A25:66)

5.2.3.4 Negative constructions

Negative purpose clauses are typically constructed with a purposive marker followed by the negator *la*. In C. Barwar three markers are used: *tat-la*, *qat-la*, and *t-la*.

5.43 *zaqr-ən-nəx*| *xa-qərṭàla,*| ... *xa-sàla,*| *ṭla-sətwa*| ***tat-lá***
weave.PRS-D.1SG-L.2MS one-basket … one-basket for-winter PURP-NEG
qɛr-àti.| ***t-lá****-hoy-a* *qàrθa-ʾəl-ləx,*|
be.cold.PRS-D.2FS PURP-NEG-be.PRS-D.3FS cold-to-POSS.L.2FS
t-lá*-hawe-Ø* *tàlga-ʾəlləx.*|
PURP-NEG-be.PRS-D.3MS snow-to-POSS.L.2FS
I'll weave you a large basket…, a basket for winter, so that you will not get cold, so that the cold will not get to you, so that the snow will not get to you'. (C. Barwar A20:2)

5.44 *ʾu-xa-sèrga*| *mtarṣ-ət-li*| ... ***qat-là****-hawe-Ø*
and-one-saddle have.made.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG … PURP-NEG-be.PRS-D.3MS
sɛ́rga *spáy* *dax-d-áw.*|
saddle good as-REL-it
Also you should have a saddle made for me…, so that there will not be another saddle as fine as it, … (C. Barwar A8:37)

[492] Cf. Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 193–95 for the use of il and ta with infinitives.

Of these three, *t-la* is the most common. This suggests that the old construction has resisted change, probably because its function is sufficiently clear. Consequently, there is no need for the construction to be 'reinforced' with *ta-* or *qa-*. The occasional addition of a 'reinforcing' preposition, however, signifies that negative constructions are changing.

The process of 'renewal' has gone further in C. Urmi than in C. Barwar. The almost complete merger of the preposition *ḳa-* with the subordinating particle has led to *ḳat* being used in both positive and negative constructions. The marker is usually placed at the beginning of the purpose clause while the negation can either be placed immediately before the verb (5.43) or directly after *ḳat* (5.44). There are too few attestations to establish a distributional pattern but it is more common for the negation to precede the verb.

5.45	*xa-+bə́zza*	*bə-švàḳ-əna*|	*ḳat-napás-u*	*là-+ḳaṯṯ-a.*|
	one-hole	PROG-leave.INF-COP.3PL	PURP-breathing-POSS-3MS	NEG-be.cut.off-D.3FS
	They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off. (C. Urmi A3:36)			

5.46	*malúp-on*	*sxèta*|	*ḳat-lá*	*mét-a*	*xànḳ-a.*|
	teach.PROG-COP.1SG	swim.VN	PURP-NEG	die.PRS-D.3FS	drown.PRS-D.3FS
	I am teaching it to swim so that it does not drown and die.' (C. Urmi A20:2)				

5.2.3.5 Constructions without a marker

Clauses without a purposive marker (infinitives excluded) are relatively common in the modern dialects.[493] In most constructions, the same verbal form is used with both verbs and they also share the same inflection. The two verbs are frequently adjacent but not always.

5.47	*ʾána*	***har-ṣál-ən***	*mðìta*|	***mέθ-ən***	*ʾixàla*|
	I	PRT-go.down.PRS-D.1SG	town	bring.PRS-D.1SG	food
	ʾu-ʾàθ-ena.|				
	and-come.PRS-D.1SG				
	I will just go down to the town to bring food and come back'. (C. Barwar A26:30)				

5.48	*ṭla-mò*	***Ø-ṣláya***	***Ø-pláša***	*mán-ne*	*díye?*|
	why	PROG-go.down.INF	PROG-fight.INF	with-POSS.3MS	GEN.3ms
	Why are they going down to fight with him? (C. Barwar A29:57)				

[493] Cf. Cohen, 194–95 for similar asyndetic structures; although without the same degree of morphological attraction.

The first verb in these serial-like constructions is typically expressing motion or movement. It is also typical for two *patəx* forms to be used but 5.48 has two *bəptaxa* forms (or infinitives). Now consider the use of *t-*/*ṯ-* in these constructions.

5.49	*ṭla-mó*	***ṯ-áz-əx***	***ṯ-áxl-əx***	*gu-màṭʿam?*|	
	why	FUT-go.PRS-D.1PL	FUT-eat.PRS-D.1PL	in-restaurant	
	Why should we go to eat in a restaurant? (C. Barwar A2:2)				

5.50	*mə́r-e*	***ṯ-áz-ən***	***šáql-ən***	*tólət*	*bàb-i.*|	
	say.PST-L.3MS	FUT-go.PRS-1SG	take.PRS-D.1SG	revenge.of	father-POSS.1SG	
	He said 'I shall go to take revenge for my father'. (C. Barwar A28:8)					

In 5.49 the *ṯ-* could be the subordinate marker or the verbal prefix *bəd* (reduced to *ṯ-*). The presence before both verbs may serve as an indication that it is the verbal prefix rather than the purposive marker. If so, it would mean that serial-like constructions could contain plain as well as prefixed *patəx* forms. However, the absence of the marker in examples like 5.50 probably indicates that *ṯ-* is a purposive marker. The particle was probably preserved before primae /ʾ/ and primae /*y*/ verbs. These constructions receive further treatment in chapter six. Here it is important to note that constructions with movement verbs are undergoing similar developments as complement clauses after the secondary complement-taking verbs *baye* 'want' and *maṣe* 'be able' (see 3.3.3.2).[494]

Does C. Urmi exhibit a similar pattern as C. Barwar? Consider these constructions with *ʾazəl* 'go':

5.51	*mára*	*+báyy-ən*	***ʾáz-ən***	*nùynə*	***máyy-ən,*|**	*…*
	say.PROG	want.PRS-D.1SG	go.PRS-D.1SG	fish	bring.PRS-D.1SG	…
	He says 'I want to go and bring fish, …(C. Urmi A34:1)					

5.52	*ʾáha*	***bə-rrə́šxə-lə***	*mə́drə*	***pəlxànə-lə.***|
	he	PROG-go.INF-COP.3MS	again	work.PROG-COP.3MS
	He again goes to work. (C. Urmi A35:7)			

Example 5.52 is important because it contains *bəptaxa* forms, the first being derived from √*rxš*.[495] Serial-like constructions are not used when the main clause contains a *ptəxle* form of this verb.

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[494] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 103 notes that serial verb constructions only appear in languages from East and South East Asia. Note also his example from Mandarin which illustrates how context often plays a role in disambiguating between purposive constructions and those referring to temporal sequence.

[495] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 1:351–52.

5.53 *xə́š-li* *+tárra* *pátx-ən* *xzí-li* *...*
go.PST-L.1SG door open.PRS-D.1SG see.PRS-L.1SG …
I went to open the door and saw … (C. Urmi A10:7)

5.3 Intonation group boundaries

Motion purpose is typically expressed through an infinitive or a serial-like construction in C. Barwar and C. Urmi. Purpose clauses after motion verbs exhibit a high degree of syntactic integration; comparable to complement clauses after secondary complement-taking verbs such as 'want' or 'begin'. The two clauses typically belong to the same intonation group.

5.54 *mšɛ́r-i* *Ø-bnàya.*|
begin.PRS-D.3PL PROG-build.INF
Then they would begin to build. (C. Barwar B5:184)

5.55 *hóla síqta* *már-a* *ṭla-bàb-ux,*|
DEIC.COP.FS go.up.PTCP.FS say.PRS-D.3FS to-father-POSS.2MS
She has gone up to tell your father,' (C. Barwar A4:54)

5.56 *díya* *ṭ-áθ-i* *pɛrm-ì-lən.*|
now FUT-come.PRS-D.3PL slaughter.PRS-D.3PL-L.1PL
and now they will come to slaughter us.' (C. Barwar A4:54)

The same is not true for other types of purpose clauses. When the main clause verb does not express movement, there is often a prosodic boundary between the two clauses.

5.57 *táxt-ɛla* *mútte* *hàtxa*| *ta-ṣál-i* *tàma.*|
board-COP.3PL put.PTCP.PL like.this PURP-go.down.PRS-D.3PL there
They put a board down like this to go down there. (C. Barwar A22:10)

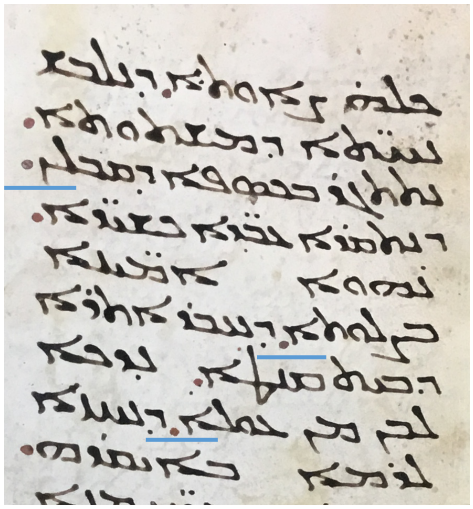
5.58 *xa-+bə́zza* *bə-švàḵ-əna*| *ḵat-napás-u*
one-hole PROG-leave.INF-COP.3PL PURP-breathing-POSS-3MS
là-+ḵaṯṯ-a.|
NEG-be.cut.off.PRS-D.3FS
They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off. (C. Urmi A3:36)

The presence of prosodic boundaries is one of the features that distinguish these purpose clauses from complement clauses. Most complement clauses show a high degree of prosodic integration. Primary

complement-taking verbs often belong to the same intonation group as the complement clause verb. Secondary complement-taking verbs are even more consistent.

5.3.1 Syriac intonation group boundaries

Does Syriac punctuation match this use of prosodic boundaries in the modern dialects? The short answer is yes. Demonstration 6 contains ca. 80 purposive constructions, most of which do not have a movement verb in the main clause. Pausal dots are typically placed between the main clause and the purpose clause in BL Add. Ms. 17182 and BL Add. Ms. 14916. Pausal dots are also used between the two clauses in Philoxenus' discourse 1 (BL Add. Ms. 14598). The second sample is, however, slightly smaller and the punctuation in Add. Ms. 14598 is less consistent. Importantly, dots are not used when the main clause verb denotes movement or motion.



BL Add. Ms. 17182, 50v

Because the distribution of dots in these two manuscripts follow the same pattern as modern NENA dialects, it is reasonable to assume that intonation group boundaries were used between Syriac main clauses and purpose clauses; except when the main clause verb expressed movement or motion. This conclusion, however, needs to be substantiated by further manuscript evidence, especially the absence of prosodic boundaries after motion verbs. Yet, this preliminary conclusion points to a high degree of prosodic consistency in these constructions. Equally important, this survey corroborates the ones in chapter three and four.

5.4 Aramaic purposive constructions in a typological perspective

5.4.1 Deranking

Schmidtke-Bode and Cristofaro observe that deranked or non-finite verbal forms are more likely to appear in purpose clauses than balanced or finite verbal forms. The predetermination of the time reference allows tense and aspect information to be omitted. Moreover, there is a close conceptual link between the two states of affairs. This relationship stems from the desire of one participant to accomplish the event expressed by the purpose clause verb.[496] Both studies also indicate that purpose clauses make up a category by themselves, exhibiting higher degrees of deranking compared to other adverbial clauses. For example, temporal clauses and reason clauses do not use deranked forms unless the same verbal forms are also used in purpose clauses.[497]

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[496] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 49–50; cf. Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 254.

[497] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 42; Cristofaro, *Subordination*, 172.

The Syriac system is uniform. Balanced prefix conjugation forms are the rule while deranked infinitives are used rarely and only with verbs of movement. If we consider the modern NENA dialects, the system looks familiar. Infinitives are still used with motion verbs while *patəx* is the dominant verbal form. The *patəx* stem is also used in declarative clauses but is often accompanied by one of the verbal prefixes *bəd-*, *ʾi-*, or *qəm-*. These prefixes are only rarely used in purpose clauses. Even when two verbs are used in a serial-like construction, the first verb may have a prefix while being followed by a plain *patəx* form. The absence of these prefixes could perhaps warrant a new categorisation of *patəx* as a deranked form. The same was probably true of the Syriac prefix conjugation once it was replaced by the active participle (i.e. *patəx*) in declarative clauses. This shows that there may be a connection between deranking and grammaticalisation. If we assume that deranking is the result of a longer process which results in "subjunctive" verbal forms, such forms may be balanced when they are first used in purpose clauses.[498] Equally important, the function of these forms is probably influenced by their use in subordinate clauses (e.g. complement clauses and purpose clauses); so much so that older functions as well as TAM distinctions are lost.

5.4.2 Gestalt features and the development of purpose marking

Section 5.2 outlined the use of purposive markers in Syriac and NENA. Such markers, or the use of infinitives, are linguistic cues that can be termed gestalt features.[499] If a construction employs more than one signal, it is possible to classify the different cues as primary and secondary gestalt features. For example, the use of an infinitive may be a primary feature if there are no other markers in the clause. If the clause boundary, however, is marked by a conjunction or an adposition (or another boundary marker), the infinitive verbal form may be a secondary feature, primarily deranking the verb.[500]

Syriac clauses with infinitives contain two features: the infinitive itself and the preposition *l-*. If the preposition had been placed at the beginning of the clause, Syriac would have had a pattern comparable to Punjabi where the infinitive serves as a marker of deranking. The almost obligatory use of *l-* with these infinitives may indicate that it is a primary gestalt feature.[501] Equally, affixing the preposition to the infinitive rather than the clause boundary may indicate that it should be considered as an integral part of the infinitive and not a separate feature.

If we consider NENA, the main difference in marking of infinitives is the absence of any particle or conjunction. In most cases, it must be concluded that the use of the infinitive serves as a primary gestalt feature. The exception being constructions with *da* in Qaraqosh because the particle serves as the main marker of the clause (see 5.2.3.3).

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[498] Cf. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 213–14.

[499] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 71.

[500] Cf. Schmidtke-Bode, 72 who mentions Punjabi as an example.

[501] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 224.

The prototypical Syriac construction is characterised by two features, the subordinating particle *d-* and the prefix conjugation. The use of *d-* is the primary feature; whereas the use of the prefix conjugation may be classified as a secondary feature, deranking the verb. In NENA, similar constructions use *ta-t* or *da-d*, *ṭla-*, *qa-t* or *ḳat-*, *ḥatta d-*, *ʿala-mu d-*, and *m-sab d-*. These markers are placed at the boundary of the two clauses and serve as the main marker of identification.

Prototypical clauses can be compared with constructions without an explicitly purposive marker. The defining feature of the latter is that they connect the events through proximity and shared morphology rather than a marker. Properly speaking, these constructions follow another path than the prototypical ones. Importantly, they appear to be much more common in NENA (particularly C. Barwar) than in Syriac.

What function do the various markers serve? About one third of the constructions in Schmidtke-Bode's sample contain a marker which is formally identical to an allative or a locative marker.[502] A similar pattern can be observed in NENA dialects. For example, the prepositions *qa-*, *ta-*, and *ṭla-* have a dative or allative function. On rare occasions, they are also employed as complementisers.[503] Consequently, there is often a clear distinction between purpose clauses and complement clauses in C. Barwar. The occasional use of *qa-*, *ta-*, and *ṭla-* as complementisers may be a result of similarities between purpose clauses and complement clauses when they are combined with motion verbs and secondary complement-taking verbs. For communicative purposes this overlap is not a problem. Movement verbs cannot be used as complement-taking verbs. Similarly, secondary complement-taking verbs are only rarely combined with purpose clauses.

In C. Urmi and Syriac the distinction is not as clear cut. There are occasional attestations of *ʾaḳ d-* or *ʾaykanā d-* as a specific Syriac purposive marker but *d-* is used in almost all cases. Perhaps this distribution is due to the nature of the material. At the same time, prosody probably served as an important feature, distinguishing complement clauses and purpose clauses.

5.4.3 Position of purpose clause

Cross-linguistically there is a strong tendency for purpose clauses to be placed after the matrix clause. In fact, most purposive constructions are rigidly postposed in Schmidtke-Bode's survey (125/218). There is also a clear preference for postposing in most of the other languages.[504] Several explanations have been suggested, one of the most common being iconicity. Schmidtke-Bode notes that iconicity could be used as an argument for postposing as well as preposing. The fact that the intention precedes the action could lead to preposing. Equally, the result following the action could lead to postposing.[505] While this is certainly a correct observation, one might argue in favour of the latter being more important

[502] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 90.

[503] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:996–97.

[504] Schmidtke-Bode, *A Typology of Purpose Clauses*, 111–12.

[505] Schmidtke-Bode, 116–17.

because it reflects the observable sequence of events. In any case, it seems wise to look for additional explanations. Schmidtke-Bode concludes that there are several information-structural pressures which influence the placement of purpose clauses. In VO languages purpose clauses are always postposed and they generally place the purposive marker at the beginning of the purpose clause. In OV languages the clause may be preposed and have a clause final purposive marker. There are, however, other pressures which may override this tendency.[506]

Do Aramaic purpose clauses follow the same pattern? In the clear majority of cases, purpose clauses follow the matrix clause. Sometimes, a purpose clause which consists of a single verb may precede the main clause verb or the whole main clause.

5.59	*drāʿ-eh*	*ʾāp̄*	*l-mabuʿā*	*d-ruḥā*	***d-nskor***
	arm-POSS.3MS	also	to-fountain	of-wind	PURP-close.PC.3MS
	māṭel=wā				
	reach.PTCP.MS=PST.3MS				
	his arm reached the fountain of the wind to close it. (SdDn LII 49 voa, 6–7)				

The samples from the two NENA dialects does not seem to have any examples of purpose clauses placed before the main clause verb or the main clause. Grammars of other Semitic languages do not generally discuss the placement of the purpose clause in relation to the matrix clause. Presumably this is because they exhibit a rather unexceptional pattern.

5.4.4 Relationship with other subordinate constructions

Much like complement clauses, purpose clauses share several connecting points with other types of subordinate clauses. There is a clear relationship with other adverbial constructions as well as with complement clauses and periphrastic causatives. There is also a connection with serial-like constructions and relative clauses. The latter two will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

Purpose clauses are often discussed under the same heading as temporal relations, reason or result clauses, and conditional constructions. This division can, at least in part, be justified by the overlap between result clauses and purpose clauses exhibited by many languages.[507] At the same time, there are some traits that sets purpose clauses apart from other adverbial constructions. A common trait of adverbial clauses is that they often have a figure-ground relationship to the main clause, thereby providing its setting. Purpose clauses are seldom, if ever, used with this function. Moreover, unlike other adverbial clauses, purpose clauses do not serve as topic clauses. Instead, they often carry foregrounded information which is not asserted.[508]

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[506] Schmidtke-Bode, 128–29.

[507] Schmidtke-Bode, 151–52.

[508] Schmidtke-Bode, 156.

Schmidkte-Bode's survey suggests that purpose clauses are more closely connected with complement clauses than with other types of adverbial constructions. In fact, the two construction were only fully distinct from each other in 18 out of 80 languages, leaving 62 languages with at least some overlap. More to the point, 46 languages had at least one construction which was used for both purpose clauses and complement clauses. Some languages even use identical systems for both constructions.[509] The above discussion shows that there is some overlap in both Syriac and NENA. Secondary verbs are prone to take an infinitive complement and the same construction may be used with movement verbs to express purpose. In Syriac, there is also the use of the subordinating particle *d-* together with the prefix conjugation. In terms of markers, verbal forms, and prosodic patterns, there is an almost complete overlap between purpose clauses and complement clauses after movement verbs and secondary complement-taking verbs. However, other purpose clauses are less prosodically integrated than complement clauses.

The use of specific purposive markers in both Syriac and NENA is another important difference. In Syriac, this includes the complex markers *ʾaḵ d-*, *ʾaykanā d-*, and *dalmā*. In C. Barwar the addition of *ta-*, *ṭla-*, and *qa-* often distinguishes purpose clauses from complement clauses. In C. Urmi the system is slightly more uniform since the marker *ḵat-* is used very consistently with both constructions; even though *ʾina* is used with perception verbs as an alternative complementiser.

Lastly, Syriac also employs serial-like constructions to express purpose. It is significant that similar constructions are rare in the sample of complement clauses. This suggests that serial constructions began to be used in Syriac to express purpose. Over time, they have come to be used for complement clauses as well. The extension of purposive constructions to also include complement clauses is a well attested phenomenon.[510] The primary reason for this overlap may be the close semantic relationship between purpose clauses and secondary complement-taking verbs.[511]

5.5 Syriac and NENA in an areal perspective

5.5.1 Verbal forms and Grammatical markers in ancient western Asia

5.5.1.1 Akkadian

Old Assyrian employs two main verbal forms in purpose clauses: the present *iparras* and the infinitive. The present form, accompanied by the subjunctive marker, is always preceded by *kīma* 'as, like'.[512] In addition to the present, the infinitive is also used to express purpose, preceded by either *ana* 'to' or *kīma*.[513] Infinitival and final purpose clauses are also attested in various other Akkadian dialects, even

[509] Schmidtke-Bode, 158–60.

[510] Schmidtke-Bode, 172–77.

[511] Schmidtke-Bode, 162.

[512] Cf. Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 803.

[513] Kouwenberg, 663–65, 790, 803; cf. Ridder, *Descriptive Grammar of Middle Assyrian*, 529.

into the Neo-Babylonian period.[514] In addition to *kīma* and *ana* Old Assyrian also used *ana šumi* to express purpose or reason. By contrast, Old Babylonian employs *-ma* constructions; *-ma* serving as the main marker in these constructions. More importantly the same verbal form must be used in both constructions.[515]

Akkadian, then, continues to use infinitives with motion verbs and the dative preposition *ana* into the Neo-Babylonian period. The main difference between Syriac and the early stages of Akkadian appears to be the wider use of infinitives. As for grammatical markers, both Akkadian and Syriac employ several markers, some of which have a specifically purposive function.

5.5.1.2 Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic employs two verbal forms in purpose clauses: the subjunctive prefix conjugation and the indicative prefix conjugation. Clauses with the subjunctive are introduced by *li-*, *li-ʾan*, *kay*, *li-kay*, or *fa*. In pre-classical Arabic the indicative prefix conjugation is sometimes combined with *kay-mā* or *ka-mā*.[516] The Old Arabic Safaitic inscriptions, similarly, attest to the use of the prefix conjugation preceded by the preposition *l-* to express purpose.[517] These inscriptions also exhibit the use of infinitives to express purpose after verbs of motion.[518]

In short, there appears to be a parallel between the use of infinitives with motion verbs; although this only applies to the Old Arabic Safaitic inscriptions and not to Classical Arabic. The Classical Arabic usage of grammatical markers is slightly different compared to Syriac but both languages use specialised conjunctions. Moreover, both use the dative preposition *l-*. Syriac, however, only employs it with infinitives while Arabic uses it with the prefix conjugation.

5.5.1.3 Classical, Koine, and Medieval Greek

Classical Greek infinitives are primarily used with verbs meaning ‘go’, ‘give’, ‘take’, ‘receive’, or ‘have’.[519] In other instances, purpose clauses typically employ a participle, a verb in the subjunctive or optative mood, or the future indicative. The subjunctive is used when the tense of the main clause verb is non-past (present, perfect, future) while the optative frequently occurs with past tense main clause verbs (imperfect, aorist, pluperfect). These clauses are typically introduced with the following grammatical markers: ἵνα, ὅπος, and ὡς. These markers are often combined with μή in negative purpose clauses but μή can also be used alone.[520] The participle is used with the conjunction ὡς which is often

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[514] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 46; Aro, *Die Akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, 119–20.

[515] Deutscher, *Syntactic Change in Akkadian*, 126.

[516] Fischer and Rodgers, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, 211, 223.

[517] Al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*, 190.

[518] Al-Jallad, 184–85.

[519] Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, 529–30, 589–90; cf. Aro, *Die Akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, 119–20 for a similar list of Akkadian verbs.

[520] Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, 529–30.

omitted after verbs of sending and going.[521] One of the main differences between Classical and Koine Greek is the use of the infinitive. Articular infinitives, preceded by a 'goal-denoting' preposition, or bare infinitives in the genitive case are frequently used in the later language to express purpose.[522] In Medieval Greek however, purpose is only rarely expressed through infinitives. More commonly, a subjunctive verb is employed together with the conjunction ἵνα/νά; or μη(ν)/μηδέν in negative clauses.[523]

Classical Greek appears to follow a similar pattern as Syriac and several of the languages in this area, using infinitives with motion verbs. The main difference between the two is the extended use of the articular infinitive in Koine Greek. The rarity of the infinitive in Medieval Greek also mirrors the Aramaic of the region; although infinitives are still employed in NENA dialects, unlike modern Greek.

5.5.1.4 Western Middle Iranian

Western Middle Iranian employs two verbal forms in purpose clauses: subjunctive and infinitive. Infinitival purpose clauses are typically marked by a preposition (*pad* 'for') or a postposition (*rāy* 'in order to').[524] The subjunctive, used to express purpose, future, and wishes, may be marked by *kū* or *tā*.[525]

Infinitives do not appear to be restricted to a specific type of purpose clauses in Western Middle Iranian, unlike Syriac. The use of *pad*, however, mirrors the Syriac use of a dative preposition. Like Syriac, Western Middle Iranian also employs multiple purposive markers while having *kū* as a general one.

5.5.1.5 Classical Armenian

Classical Armenian, like Western Middle Iranian, employs two verbal forms in purpose clauses: infinitives and the subjunctive. The infinitive is often used when the same subject or object is shared by both the main clause and the purpose clause.[526] It is also especially common with motion purpose. The subjunctive is used in other contexts. These finite purpose clauses are typically preceded by *zi* 'that' but *tʿe* 'that' and *orpēs zi* 'so that' are also used.[527] Although, Meyer points out that *tʿe* is not used (or rare) in original Armenian compositions.[528]

Classical Armenian appears to follow some of the same tendencies as Syriac, especially in its use of infinitives with motion verbs. One should note, however, that infinitives are not restricted to this

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[521] Emde Boas et al., 574, 629.

[522] Horrocks, *Greek*, 94–95, 157, 173–74.

[523] Holton et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4:1896–98.

[524] Skjærvø, 'Middle West Iranian', 244, 259.

[525] Skjærvø, 234, 258; Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 237.

[526] Cf. Jensen, *Altarmenische Grammatik*, 175.

[527] Jensen, 214–15.

[528] Meyer, 'Iranian-Armenian Language Contact in and before the 5th Century CE: An Investigation into Pattern Replication and Societal Multilingualism', 243.

environment. Moreover, the modern usage of infinitives probably indicates that they were more widely used in classical Armenian than in Syriac.

5.5.2 Verbal forms and grammatical markers in modern western Asia

5.5.2.1 Arabic in Northern Iraq and eastern Anatolia

The imperfective prefix conjugation is used as the main verbal form in Arabic purpose clauses, both in northern Iraq and eastern Anatolia.[529] Purpose clauses in the Anatolian dialect of Tillo may be preceded by *mešxāṭ*(*ar*) and *šā xāṭar* 'for, for the sake of'.[530] In this region the grammatical marker *də-* can also be used.[531] The situation is slightly different with motion verbs. Motion purpose is frequently expressed through asyndetic constructions, often through serial-like constructions.[532]

It is relevant to note that motion purpose is very often expressed through serial-like constructions in both NENA and the Arabic dialects of this region.

5.5.2.2 Western Iranian languages

The Kurdish languages generally use the subjunctive in clauses expressing purpose but the infinitive can also be used in these instances. The main grammatical markers are: *ji bo*, *bo awa-i* 'in order that', *hatā, tā* 'so that'. In Kurmanji, *ji bo ku* is used with the subjunctive and *ji bo* with the infinitive.[533] The Mukri variety of Kurdish also appears to have serial-like purpose constructions where a motion verb is asyndetically linked to another verb. It is unclear how common these constructions are but asyndetic linking is relatively common.[534]

In short, Kurdish seems to prefer finite verbal forms in purpose clauses; using the subjunctive for the most part. The use of *tā* may be a borrowing from Kurdish into NENA. The use of serial-like constructions appears to be a shared feature. More data would be needed to evaluate the extent of the overlap between these constructions.

5.5.2.3 Turkic languages

Turkish shows a clear preference for non-finite verbal forms in purposive constructions. In the Iraqi and Iranian varieties of Turkish, however, these constructions often take a subjunctive/optative or the imperative. Neither construction has an overt purposive marker.[535]

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[529] Procházka, '2.4. The Arabic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia', 176–77, 256–57.

[530] Lahdo, *The Arabic Dialect of Tillo in the Region of Siirt (South-Eastern Turkey)*, 178–79.

[531] Procházka, '3.2. The Arabic Dialects of Northern Iraq', 256–57.

[532] Procházka, '2.4. The Arabic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia', 176–77; Procházka, '3.2. The Arabic Dialects of Northern Iraq', 256–57; Lahdo, *The Arabic Dialect of Tillo in the Region of Siirt (South-Eastern Turkey)*, 179.

[533] McCarus, 'Kurdish', 625–26; cf. Öpengin, *The Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish*, 132; Matras, 'Clause Combining, Ergativity, and Coreferent Deletion in Kurmanji', 638–39; Matras, 'Kurmanji Complementation', 58–9; Thackston, *Kurmanji Kurdish—A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*, 33, 41.

[534] Cf. Öpengin, *The Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish*, 129 examples 194 and 196.

[535] Bulut, '3.5. Iraq-Turkic', 376; Bulut, '4.2. The Turkic Varieties of Iran', 438.

The Turkic varieties share the same preference for finite verbal forms as NENA. The lack of a Turkic purposive marker constitute one of the main differences between the two groups. Turkic does not only omit the purposive marker with motion verbs but also in contexts where NENA has a marker.

5.5.2.4 Modern Eastern Armenian

Modern Eastern Armenian employs two types of verbal forms in purpose clauses: the subjunctive and the infinitive. The subjunctive is used in finite purpose clauses, typically introduced by *or* 'that' or *orpeszi* 'in order that'. The shorter *or* is more common in both spoken and written Armenian. The conjunction *or* is used in a lot of different subordinate constructions, e.g. to express cause or reason. Additionally, a comma is usually placed between the main clause and finite purpose clauses.[536] Infinitives are always used in the dative case and they may be accompanied by one of the postpositions *hamar* 'for, in order to' or *npatakov* 'in order to'. Infinitives usually appear at the end of a sentence, separated from the main clause by the punctuation mark *short stop*. When the purpose clause comes before the main clause, the infinitive is always followed by one of the postpositions. In these instances there is no punctuation mark.[537]

Armenian differs from the other languages in the area in its use of infinitives, not just with motion verbs but with other constructions as well. The use of postpositions with infinitives is more in line with the earlier stages of the other languages than the modern vernaculars. As for other grammatical markers, one may note that Armenian, like NENA, follows general tendencies. It has a general marker (*or*) which is used in a large number of constructions and a more specialised one (*orpeszi*). Equally important, Armenian does not have the asyndetic constructions that are common in the languages of northern Iraq.

5.5.2 An areal perspective

This survey highlights two things. There is a tendency to use one verbal form in purpose clauses. This can be a modal/irrealis verbal form or a subjunctive. This shows that the absence of non-finite forms is not just an isogloss in complement clauses. Purpose clauses also follow this trend, underlining the close connection between the two clause types. The prevalence of finite constructions may be a more recent development in some of these languages. However, infinitives are only used in Old Arabic but not in later stages of the language. In Syriac, infinitives are only used with motion purpose but not in other constructions. Western Middle Iranian also shows a clear preference for the finite subjunctive.[538] The preference for finite forms, then, appears to have a long history in the area. Armenian is, again, the exception. One should perhaps mention that this isogloss also includes modern Greek, the subjunctive having replaced the infinitive in these contexts.[539]

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[536] Dum-Tragut, *Armenian*, 437, 439.

[537] Dum-Tragut, 391–92, 515–16.

[538] Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 201, 237.

[539] Horrocks, *Greek*, 93–4.

The use of grammatical markers is an interesting phenomenon. Both Arabic and Turkic varieties in the area show a preference for asyndetic constructions without overt grammatical markers. Asyndetic constructions are also relatively common in NENA dialects. These constructions are, almost invariably, constructed with motion verbs in all three languages. The tendency, then, to use asyndetic constructions is not restricted to semantically highly integrated complement-taking verbs.

5.6 Conclusion

Both Syriac and the three NENA dialects follow several well-established patterns identified by Schmidtke-Bode. For example, both finite and non-finite constructions are attested in all varieties. The finite constructions use a verbal form on the progressive/imperfective and modal grammaticalisation path; first the prefix conjugation and then *patəx*. The infinitive is used in all three stages of the language after movement and motion verbs; although it is impossible to differentiate infinitives from *bəptaxa* forms in many modern dialects. In Syriac as well as NENA other verbal forms can be used in weaker purposive constructions, usually marked by *w-*. Chapter three noted the recycling of old functions in new verbal forms. The same recycling is evident in the use of *patəx* once it has replaced the prefix conjugation as the main modal verbal form.

The use of purposive markers also follows well established patterns. For example, the use of the preposition *l-* with infinitives follows the cross-linguistic tendency to use dative or benefactive markers in purposive constructions. The use of *d-* also exemplifies the common grammaticalisation path where a discourse-deictic demonstrative or relativiser first develops into a complementiser and eventually into a purpose marker. Moreover, both C. Barwar and C. Urmi attest to the process of 'renewal' or 'reinforcement' where the marker *d-* is combined with a conjunction or adposition to express its semantic role more clearly. This development follows a long line of constructions where *d-* has been combined with another element to form purpose markers.

It is also relevant that negative purpose clauses use an almost identical marking system as positive ones. In C. Barwar, the main Syriac structure (*d-lā* + prefix conjugation) is only slightly modified (*t-la* + *patəx*).

Syriac may have used serial constructions to express purpose. If this was the case, it provides an insight into the development of purpose clauses and complement clauses. Once purpose clauses used serial constructions as a means of expressing purpose the same technique could be used in complement clauses.

Lastly, there is some convergence between these Aramaic dialects and the surrounding languages; especially in the use of finite verbal forms.

6 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

6.1 Defining and identifying serial constructions

This chapter moves the discussion from different subordinate clause types to a specific syntactic technique. So far, these constructions have been called serial-like. Perhaps the term hendiadys could be employed as well. The preceding chapters have also shown that this technique is used with some subordinate constructions, particularly complement clauses and purpose clauses.

What is the nature of these constructions and how should they be classified? Serial verb constructions are "a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort". This chapter has been prompted by the occasional absence of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions in complement clause and purpose clause constructions. The aim then, is to determine how to classify these constructions.

6.1.1 Key characteristics of serial constructions

Serial constructions are widely used in the languages of West Africa (creole or indigenous), in Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea.[540] So, what constitutes a serial construction? While there is no clear-cut definition, Aikhenvald lists seven characteristics; six of which are outlined below.

Perhaps the main characteristic of serial constructions is the use of two verbs functioning as a single predicate. As a result, it is often necessary to translate them with one verb in non-serializing languages. At the same time, it is vital that both verbs can be used independently. Otherwise, the construction may just be a complex verb form or an idiomatic expression. From this it follows that serial constructions should not be associated with one verb only, though they could be associated with a class of verbs.[541]

Two verbs in a serial construction often refer to one event. This characteristic is closely related to the first one. This is another reason why these constructions often need to be translated by one rather than two verbs in a non-serializing language. Yet, the situation is slightly more complex. There are cases where two verbs refer to subevents of a macro-event.[542]

Serial verb constructions are also distinguished from prototypical purpose clauses or complement clauses by the absence of overt subordinate markers. In other words, there is no boundary marker that separates the two clauses.[543] This characteristic only applies to cases where overt markers such as Aramaic *d-* are used. The previous chapters have illustrated that Aramaic dialects (like many other languages) have room for non-prototypical constructions with less overt marking.

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[540] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 1.

[541] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 5.

[542] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 12.

[543] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 6–7.

Serial constructions often have the same intonational properties as clauses with just one verb. This means that two (or more) verbs should be placed in the same intonation group to be classified as serial.[544]

The fifth characteristic concerns the use of tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force, and polarity values. Both complement clauses and purpose clauses can use an infinitive or other deranked verbal forms. Serial verbs behave differently. If one of the verbs is deranked, it is likely that both are.[545] This is perhaps the foremost trait of serial constructions. Two verbs sharing the same tense, aspect, and mood being used as one predicate. Some languages have one TAM marker per construction and others have one per verb. Yet, only one negation can be used in such constructions, underscoring the role of the verbs as a single predicate.[546] It is likely that the use of TAM markers is dependent on the general character of the verbal system. In a language such as Syriac, the affixes added to prefix or suffix conjugation verbs are obligatory. If such affixes are optional, one may expect a different distribution.

Verbs in serial constructions also tend to share arguments. Consequently, different constituents cannot have the same role. For example, it is very uncommon for a construction to have two different agents or subjects.[547]

Aikhenvald further lists a few minor characteristics such as the use of serializing markers (not to be confused with subordinating or coordinating markers), the necessity of using both verbs in repetition, or the iconic ordering of the verbs.[548] It is important to keep in mind that these characteristics are not universal although they apply to most serial constructions.

6.1.2 Composition and semantics

Serial constructions often fall into one of two categories: symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions. In symmetrical constructions, both verbs are grammatically or lexically unrestricted. In asymmetrical constructions, one verb comes from a specific verb class. This "minor component" usually refers to a posture or a motion.[549] There is an important difference between symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions. The verbs in a symmetrical construction are not used to determine any of the semantic or syntactic properties of the other verb.[550] In asymmetrical constructions, the minor component often has this function. Conversely, the minor component could be a secondary complement-taking verb ('want', 'intend') which does not modify the semantics of the other verb. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that some secondary concepts are more common in serial constructions than others.[551]

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[544] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 7–8.

[545] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 8.

[546] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 8.

[547] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 17.

[548] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 20–1.

[549] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 21.

[550] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 22.

[551] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 24.

In some symmetrical and sequential constructions, the whole construction may acquire a purposive interpretation. Similarly, one of the verbs in a symmetrical construction may acquire an adverbial function.[552]

If symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions are compared, interesting patterns soon emerge. Both construction types are prone to further development where they lose their status as serial constructions. Symmetrical constructions are prone to be lexicalised, developing an idiomatic meaning. This idiomatic meaning can often obscure the relationship between the two components in the construction.[553]

Asymmetrical constructions, by contrast, are prone to be grammaticalised. Motion verbs may, for example, develop into TAM markers. Over time, they can develop further into affixes or particles.

6.1.3 Formal properties

Another feature that can make the identification of serial constructions easier is the contiguous placement of the verbs. This property is often governed by the semantics of a verb and/or the nature of the construction. For example, asymmetrical constructions with a motion verb or a secondary verb as its minor component may require the verbs to be contiguous.[554]

The second formal property concerns the status of the verbs as phonological and grammatical words. Again, there are no hard rules. In some languages, the two verbs form distinct grammatical words while being part of the same phonological word and vice versa.[555] Distinguishing between grammatical and phonological words is often a relatively straight-forward process. The boundaries between phonological words are usually marked through segmental and prosodic features and through phonetic rules. For example, a language may require phonological words to have more than one syllable. Similarly, stress is typically placed on one syllable of the phonological word.[556] By contrast, the verb's status as a grammatical word is determined by two factors, viz. whether the same morphological processes are applied to both verbs and whether they have a conventionalised meaning.[557]

If these two properties are combined three possible structures emerge: The verbs can be part of a non-contiguous multi-word construction; a contiguous multi-word construction; or a contiguous one-word construction. The first two constructions need to be carefully distinguished from coordinated or subordinate constructions while the third must be distinguished from grammaticalised sequences.[558]

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[552] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 28–9.

[553] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 34.

[554] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 37.

[555] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 37–8.

[556] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:7–11.

[557] Dixon, 2:12–3.

[558] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 38–9.

A further property to consider is person and TAM marking. Serial constructions can have concordant marking, truncated marking, and single marking, i.e. whether markers are used on all verbs in the construction or just one. Truncated forms imply that a shortened form of the marker is used on one verbal form. The use of concordant marking is especially transparent when the two verbs do not share the same subject. In that case, both verbs may be marked as 3MS even though the second verb has a 1SG subject.[559]

6.1	*emite-tiki*	*nu-na*	*dihpani*	*di-adeta-naka*
	child-DIM	1SG-OBJ	3SG.NF.work	3SG.NF-prevent-PRS.VIS
	The little boy is preventing me from working (Tariana; Aikhenvald 2006:40, ex. (53))			

TAM marking is either single or concordant. Single marking is a widespread phenomenon and in those cases the marker can be placed on the first or the last verb in the chain. If a language has concordant TAM marking it probably has concordant person marking as well.[560]

6.1.4 Productivity and functions

Languages with highly productive serial constructions typically have both symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions. More importantly, non-serializing verbs are very rare in these languages. By contrast, languages with limited serialisation usually have only asymmetrical constructions (e.g. with posture or motion verbs).[561]

As a contrastive example, it is instructive to consider so called 'double verb constructions' which are used in several European languages (e.g. Estonian, Russian, Bulgarian, Hungarian Swedish, and Turkic languages).[562]

6.2	*Ma*	*lähe-n*	*käi-n*	*too-n*	*sulle*	*šokolaadi*
	I	go-1SG	walk-1SG	bring-1SG	you.all	chocolate.PRT
	I will go and get you some chocolate (Estonian; Aikhenvald, 2018: 123, ex. 5.2)					

These constructions exhibit five features which make them unlikely candidates as serial constructions: (1) The construction is typically restricted to just one tense, aspect, mood, or polarity. (2) The constructions only appear with a small number of verbs (often motion or posture). (3) The constructions are restricted to a certain register and not readily available in the wider linguistic toolkit. (4) The derivation of constructions is unpredictable. (5) A conjunction (or subordinating element) can

[559] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 39–41.

[560] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 42–4.

[561] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 45.

[562] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 45–6; cf. Csató, 'Turkic Double Verbs in a Typological Perspective'.

be inserted between the two clauses without changing their meaning.[563] In other words, these constructions function more as idiomatic expressions than as fully developed grammatical constructions. Over time, idiomatic constructions can be extended. For example, a construction previously restricted to motion verbs could be extended to include other types of constructions. Or the absence of a conjunction could be standardised. Aikhenvald notes that these types of changes may be signals of incipient serialisation.[564]

6.1.5 Hierarchies of serial verbs

Aikhenvald proposes a hierarchy of serial verb constructions by semantic type. This shows which verbs are more likely to occur in a serial construction. For example, verbs of direction and orientation, especially verbs of motion, are used in all serializing languages. Similarly, verbs expressing aspect, extent, or change of state are also attested in all serializing languages. This includes "motion, posture, and stance verbs, 'continue', 'complete', or 'finish', 'start'".[565] The second tier of verbs includes secondary concepts such as 'want', 'be able' as well as purposive constructions. If a language includes the first set in serial constructions it is likely to include these as well. The third tier consists of valency increasing verbs such as causatives. More categories could be mentioned but most are irrelevant for this investigation.

6.1.6 Questions to pursue

The preceding sections provide a framework to evaluate the status of Aramaic serial-like constructions. These constructions are not very common in any of the three corpora. There are, however, more examples in the Syriac and modern NENA corpora, which is why they are the focal point of this chapter. Each section includes a survey of the possible constructions, the semantics of different verbs, and the role of prosody.

For the classification of these constructions, it is important to keep in mind that the line between serial and non-serial constructions is somewhat blurred. Serialisation is a scalar phenomenon and there are many parameters to consider.

6.2 Syriac constructions

6.2.1. Various constructions with movement and motion verbs

Section 5.2.1.4 hinted at the relationship between serial-like constructions of this type and unmarked purposive constructions in Syriac. Consider 6.3 and 6.4 again:

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[563] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 45–6; Aikhenvald, *Serial Verbs*, 122–24.

[564] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 48–9.

[565] Aikhenvald and Dixon, 48–9.

6.3 ***qum*** ***puq*** *b-šapṛā* *baṯar* *tešmeštā*
rise.IMP depart.IMP at-dawn after service
Rise and depart at dawn after the service. (Thom 195:15–16)

6.4 *w-**qāmaṯ*** *ʾ**ezlaṯ*** *lwāṯ* *hānon* *ʿlayme*
and-rise.SC.3FS go.SC.3FS to these young.people
She rose and went to those young people. (Thom 184:15–16)

The following observations are relevant for the assessment of these constructions. (1) The two verbs are contiguous and *qām* 'rise' is also a motion verb, indicating that it serves as the minor component in an asymmetrical construction. (2) The two verbs could function as one predicate where *qām* refers to a subevent in the macro-event. (3) The two verbs have the same TAM marking (imperative in 6.3 and suffix conjugation in 6.4). (4) There is no coordinating or subordinating conjunction between the two verbs. (5) The verb *qām* can be used independently and has, therefore, not undergone lexicalisation or been grammaticalised. (6) The verb *qām* seems superfluous in these constructions. Even though it could refer to a subevent, constructions without it would have had a similar meaning. Moreover, deranked verbal forms are not attested in constructions with *qām*. All these observations are compatible with or indicative of a serial interpretation.

Equally, though, there are constructions with a conjunction and the sample-seize is too small for a definitive conclusion.

6.5 *nqum* ***wa-**nʿīrī-w* *la-mšīḥā*
rise.PC.1PL and-awaken.PC.1PL-OBJ.3MS OBJ.-messiah
Let us rise and awaken Christ (Aph 6, 104:18)

The use of *w-* in 6.5 may indicate that these constructions are not serial. The other observations, however, show that these examples are not merely coordinated clauses. Even if the first verb could refer to a separate event, it is probably a micro-event within a macro-event rather than a separate event. Moreover, in 6.5 there is no pausal dot separating the first from the second clause in the two Aphrahat manuscripts (BL Add. Mss. 14916 and 17182).[566] These observations illustrate how difficult it can be to determine whether a construction is serial or not.

Consider briefly, other motion and movement verbs. These include verbs such as *šadder* 'send' and *ʾezal* 'go':

[566] Note the use of a different verb in BL Add. MS 14916.

6.6 *w-**šadder*** *ʾ**appeq-eh*** *l-ihuḏāʾ* *w-l-haw* *taggārā* *...*
and-send.SC.3MS take.out.SC.3MS OBJ-Judah and-OBJ-that merchant …
He sent in order to take out Judah and the merchant… (Thom 191:8–9)

6.7 *le-ʾmaṯ* ***ʾāzlīn=an*** ***ḥāzīn=an*** *l-āh*
when go.PTCP.MP=1PL see.PTCP.MP=1PL OBJ-POSS.3FS
When can we go to see it? (Thom 188:12–13)

Again, these constructions have contiguous verbs and could be classified as asymmetrical, the minor component preceding the unrestricted one. The two verbs also share the same TAM marking. These constructions are straight-forward in their derivation and they are not restricted to a specific register. It must be stressed, however, that these constructions are very rare compared to the more prototypical construction with the subordinating marker and a prefix conjugation verb:

6.8 *d-gaḇrā* *bar ṭuhmā* *rabbā* *ʾezal* ***d-nessaḇ*** *malkuṯā*
quote-man son.of clan great go.SC.3MS PURP-take.PC.3MS kingdom
*w-**nehpuḵ*** ***namleḵ*** *ʿlay-hun*
and-return.PC.3MS reign.PC.3MS over-POSS.3MP
a man who was of an exalted clan went to receive kingship so that he would return reigning over them. (Aph 6, 10:13–14)

Example 6.8 nicely illustrates several constructions. All three verbs after *ʾezal* are prefix conjugation forms. The first one is part of a prototypical construction with *d-*. The second verb is coordinated through *w-*. The third, which follows *hpaḵ* ‘return’, is serial-like.

To these, one could also add *ʾeṯā* ‘come’. Unlike *ʾezal*, *ʾeṯā* is not used in serial constructions. In 6.9 the conjunction *w-* is used before the second verb. Note also that the two verbs are not contiguous.

6.9 *tāʾ* *ʿam* ***w-ṣallā***ʾ *ʿal* *braṯ*
come.IMP with.POSS.1SG and-pray.IMP for daughter.POSS.1SG
Come with me and pray for my daughter. (Thom 178:22)

These differences may indicate that some motion verbs were used differently. On the other hand, the presence of the conjunction with *ʾeṯā* may hint at the origin of the other constructions. It is conceivable that constructions with *ʾezal* were originally constructed with *w-*. Over time this conjunction has been dropped. If so, the standardisation of constructions without *w-* could be a sign of incipient serialisation.

6.2.4 Complement clauses

Most Syriac examples in this category have *ʾeškaḥ* (C) 'be able' as their complement-taking verb (cf. 3.3.1). Nöldeke mentions these examples, but he is quick to add that they are rare exceptions to the normal patterns with infinitives or prefix conjugation forms.[567] Nevertheless, this verb is sometimes used in constructions with serial features.

6.10 ***meškḥā*** ***mqabblā*** *w-**ṭāʿnā*** *šettestā*
be.able.PTCP.FS receive.PTCP.FS and-carry.PTCP.FS foundation
ḥlīmtā *ṣeḇwāṯā* *mḥīlāṯā*
solid things weak
the solid foundation is able to receive and carry weak things (Phil 1, 6:13)

These constructions, although rare, also occur with semantically similar verbs. Nöldeke's examples include the verbs *spaq* 'be sufficient, able' and *ṣbā* 'want'.[568] This shows that serial-like constructions were used with other verbs than *ʾeškaḥ* (C). The present corpus does not contain any attestations with the verb *mṣā* 'be able', but other texts do:

6.11 *w-ʾaykanā* ***māṣeʾ=wā*** ***pāleḥ=wā*** *l-eh*
and-how be.able.PTCP.MS=PST.3MS work.PTCP.MS=PST.3MS OBJ-POSS.3MS
How could he work it. (Ephrem on Genesis and Exodus, CAL 29:18)

6.12 *d-**māṣīn*** ***mašlmīn*** *tarʿ-āh* *taymnāyā*
COMP-be.able.PTCP.MP deliver.PTCP.MP gate-POSS.3FS southern
da-mditt-on
POSS-city-POSS.3MP
(They promised) that they could hand over the southern gate of their city. (Julian Romance[569] 136:7)

Is 6.11 a serial construction? The analysis largely depends on how we interpret the form *mṣʾ* (ܡܨܐ). This consonantal skeleton easily lends itself to two interpretations: a suffix conjugation form (*mṣā*) or an active participle (*māṣeʾ*). If this is a suffix conjugation form, the construction is not serial. Without vowel points or accents the question remains open. Yet, two reasons lend support to the serial interpretation. First, the corpus contains clear examples of serial-like construction; e.g. 6.12 where both

[567] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 275–76.

[568] Nöldeke, 276, 362.

[569] Sokoloff, *Julian Romance*.

verbs are participles and there is no subordinating marker. Equally important, when the form of *mṣā* is unambiguous, the same verbal form is almost invariably used in the complement clause; except when the infinitive or the prefix conjugation is used (i.e. in more prototypical constructions). Considering these observations, a serial interpretation of 6.11 is reasonable.

In short, there is evidence for serial-like constructions with secondary complement-taking verbs. While the sample is very small, occasional constructions show that this technique could be used in constructions of this type.

6.2.3 The verb *qaddem*

The verb *qaddem* 'do before' is an important verb to consider. This verb is typically closely combined with another verb. In fact, this verb is only rarely used on its own. Two questions must be addressed here. How often is a conjunction used? Is this an idiomatic construction?

The conjunction *w-* is used in some instances but there seems to be a preference for constructions without it.[570]

6.13	*w-tuḇ*	*ap̄*	*ʾešaʿyāʾ*	***qaddem***	***eṯnabbī***	
	and-again	also	PN	do.before.SC.3MS	prophesy.SC.3MS	
	ʿal-eh		*ʿal*	*hāḏe*	*kīp̄ā*	
	about-POSS.3MS		about	this	rock	

Also Isaiah prophesied before about this rock. (Aph 1, 11:4–5)

6.14	*hāde*	***qaddem***	*w-**ḥ**awwi*	*ʿal-aw*	*ʿal*	*mšīḥāʾ*
	this	do.before.SC.3MS	and-show.SC.3MS	about-POSS.3MS	about	Christ

This he showed beforehand about the Messiah. (Aph 1, 12:2–3)

Aphrahat's demonstrations show a clear preference for constructions without *w-*. The same sample also shows a preference for using the suffix conjugation. The same pattern is evident in the New Testament. Still, other verbal forms are used as well (cf. 6.4.5).[571] This construction, then, is not restricted to a specific verbal form and cannot be classified as idiomatic on those grounds. However, the fact that this verb almost never occurs independently may identify these constructions as idiomatic rather than serial.

6.2.4 Manner constructions

Manner can be expressed through symmetrical constructions where one verb describes the action of the other verb.[572] If serial constructions with motion verbs are rare, these types of constructions are even

[570] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 273.

[571] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 34.

[572] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 29–30.

rarer. The main candidate in the Syriac corpus is the verb *sarheḇ* ‘hasten’. This verb is attested several times in *Sermo de Domino nostro* but does not seem to be restricted to a specific register.

6.15	*w-**sarheḇ***		*hū*	***pras***	*nešb-aw*
	and-do.quickly.SC.3MS		he	spread.SC.3MS	net-POSS.3MS
	bēṯ	*waʿd-ayhon*			
	among	appointed.place-POSS.3PL			
	He was quick to spread his net among their places of assembly. (SdDn XV, 28vo b, 10–11)				

6.16	***sarheḇ***		*hāḵel*	*mār-an*	***ḥawwi***
	do.quickly.SC.3MS		therefore	lord-POSS.3PL	show.SC.3MS
	ʾap̄	*d-ḥṭīṯā=ʾ=ī*			
	also	COMP-sinner= COP.3FS			
	Therefore, our Lord hastened to show that she was a sinner. (SdDn XXI, 31 ro b, 5)				

Importantly, the two verbs have the same TAM marking. There is also no trace of a conjunction or a subordinating marker in constructions with *sarheḇ*. Considering their status as separate phonological words, this observation may be even more important.

It would be difficult to classify this construction as symmetrical because the verb *sarheḇ* does not belong to an unrestricted verb class. However, constructions such as these may be more common than meets the eye. Nöldeke mentions several potential candidates in his discussion of closely-combined verbs, including *ʾasgi* ‘do something much or often’, *īsap̄* ‘do further, again’, *ḥdaṯ* ‘do anew’, *ḥbaṣ* ‘do speedily’, *ʾeṯḥpeṭ* ‘do eagerly’, *šwā* ‘be equal’.[573] These verbs are found in constructions which contain the conjunction *w-*, the prepositions *l-*, or the subordinating particle *d-*.[574] Nöldeke specifically notes the presence of *w-* in constructions with *ʾasgi* (C) and *īsap̄*.[575]

The use of the conjunction might indicate that these are not strictly serial.[576] At the same time, there are many examples without *w-*. This could indicate that coordinated constructions are giving way to ‘serial-like’ constructions. If so, these constructions may be examples of incipit serialisation. Ultimately a closer investigation of these constructions in a larger corpus and over time would be necessary.

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[573] Cf. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 216 for Arabic rajaʿ ‘do again’, which is used asyndetically but not necessarily with the same verbal form; Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and Its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, 281.

[574] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 275.

[575] Nöldeke, 272–73.

[576] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 46 notes that conjunctions or dependency markers can be inserted between the verbs in double verb constructions without changing the meaning.

6.2.5 Assessing the properties

Would it be possible to classify any of these constructions as serial? Verbs such as *qām* 'rise', *ʾezal* 'go', *ʾeškaḥ* 'be able', *mṣā* 'be able', *qaddem* 'do before', *sarheḇ* 'do quickly' *ʾasgi* 'do much' are all used in serial-like constructions or in hendiadys. The same verbal form is typically used with both verbs in these constructions. The two verbs often share the same subject or agent. Some constructions contain the conjunction *w-* but it is by no means obligatory. More importantly, some constructions are not attested with conjunctions (e.g. *ʾeškaḥ* and *mṣā*). Even when conjunctions are used the two verbs often refer to the same event. This is also evidenced by the lack of pausal dots separating the two verbs.

The occasional presence of the conjunction *w-*, probably makes it impossible to classify these constructions as serial in the strictest sense. Yet, these constructions share many features with prototypical serial constructions. Equally important, these constructions are not restricted to individual verbs. Instead, the above survey shows that they are used in purpose clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial constructions. It would, therefore, be difficult to just classify them as idiomatic. Moreover, the omission of any markers from some of these constructions also makes it difficult to classify them as double verb constructions.

Some of these constructions may, therefore, show signs of incipient serialisation. At the very least, these constructions show that Syriac made use of a grammatical technique that exhibits most or all characteristics of serial constructions. Yet, this technique was not widely used in Syriac, at least not in the written sources.

6.3 Early modern NENA

The early NENA sample is small. Nevertheless, the corpus contains constructions with motion verbs like *qām* 'rise' and *ʾezal* 'go'.[577] The three constructions in 6.17 and 6.18 could be purposive. The construction in 6.19 is probably not expressing purpose. It may be noteworthy that the verbs in 6.18 and 6.19 are imperatives, including the irregular form *si* (6.18 and 6.19). Interestingly, the verbs in 6.17 are preceded by the deontic particle *šud*.

6.17	*šud*	***zāl-an***	*dahā*	***napq-ux***	*l-jāmeḵṯā*	
	mod	go.PRS-D.1PL	now	go.out.PRS-D.1PL	to-twin (peak)	
	d-nešrē	*dex*	*d=ilēh*	*kṯiḇā*	*b-ʾaḏi*	*egartā*
	GEN-PN	as	REL=COP.3MS	write.PTCP	in-dem	letter

Let us go out now and climb the peak of Nešre as it is written in this letter. (Aḥ 568)

[577] Note, the irregular form of the imperative *si*.

6.18 ***qu**-lux* ***šqol*** *l-ʾaxiqār* *w-**si*** ***qṭol**-ēh*
rise.IMP.2MS-L.2MS take.IMP.2MS OBJ-PN and-go.IMP.2MS kill.IMP.2MS-L.3MS
Rise to take Aḥiqar and go to kill him (Aḥ 572)

6.19 ***si*** *ʿ**ḫod*** *qalulā* *dex d-mēr-ē* *ʾaḥiqar*
go.IMP.2MS do.IMP.2MS quickly as-say.PST-L.3MS PN
Go and quickly do as Aḥiqar said. (Aḥ 573)

The only relevant example of a serial-like complement clause occurs in 6.20; where *yādē* 'know' means 'be able'. The consistent use of the complementiser *d-* after the complement-taking verb *baye* 'want' explains why there is a lack of evidence. The use of *ʾiṯ* or *hawe* with *b-* to express ability is an equally important factor. These constructions are used instead of a secondary complement-taking verb like *maṣe* 'be able'.

6.20 *we-d-**yādē-Ø*** ***majweb-Ø-li*** *ʾelled* *kul* *šuʾālā*
and-REL-be.able.PRS-D.3MS answer.PRS-D.3MS-L.1SG to every question
who is able to answer all my questions (Aḥ 579)

Lastly, the Aḥiqar text contains one example with the verb *mqadem* 'do before'. One should note that the past stem *ptəxle* is used with both verbs. This is reminiscent of Syriac constructions with the suffix conjugation. The presence of *w-* also shows that the conjunction was still optional.

6.21 *w-šḫoq* *ṭāl-i* *kul mendi*
and-forgive.IMP.2MS to-POSS.1SG everything
*dē-**mqudem-lux*** ***w-mēr-ux***
REL-do.before.PST-L.2MS and-say.PST-L.2MS
and forgive me everything you have mentioned before (Aḥ 618)

Did early modern NENA dialects have serial-like constructions? The sample is too small answer this question definitively.

6.4 modern NENA

It turns out that modern dialects such as C. Barwar and C. Urmi do not mirror the early modern texts when it comes to serial-like constructions. Chapters three and five have already discussed the prevalence of such constructions with certain secondary complement-taking verbs and with movement verbs. These constructions can now be considered within a wider framework.

6.4.1 Constructions with *qayəm*

The verb *qayəm* 'rise' is frequently used in some narrative texts. In C. Barwar, these serial-like constructions are primarily attested in folktales and stories about history and culture.

6.22 ***qɛm-í-wa*** ***yaw-í-wa****-le* *ʾəṣrà-dinare*|
rise.PRS.D.3PL-HAB give.PRS-D.3PL-HAB-L.3MS ten-dinars
Then they would give him ten dinars (C. Barwar B5:34)

6.23 *ʾáwwa* ***qím-ɛle*** ***zìl-ɛle,***| *zìla,*| *zìla,*|
he rise.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS go.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS go.PTCP.MS go.PTCP.MS
He set off and walked for a time, (C. Barwar A1:5)

The two examples highlight the prototypical features of these constructions. The two verbs make up distinct phonological words but belong to the same intonation group. In most instances, the verbs are contiguous and *qayəm* seems superfluous. Importantly, this type of construction is not restricted to a specific verbal stem. Example 6.22 contain *patex* forms while two resultative participles are used in 6.23. In addition to the same marking, the suffix *-wa* is added to both forms in 6.22. Both resultative participles are, moreover, combined with the 3MS enclitic copula. Interestingly, the last two verbal forms in 6.23 are also resultative participles but lack the enclitic copula. The use of the copula is not obligatory with both verbs:

6.24 ***qímt-ɛla*** *báxta* ***zílta*** *ṭlìbt-əl-la.*|
rise.PTCP.FS-COP.3FS woman go.PTCP.FS request.PTCP.FS-COP.3FS-L.3FS
The wife went and requested it. (C. Barwar A5:8)

The omission of the copula is an indication that this construction did not require concordant marking. Instead, a plain resultative participle often follows the form with the copula, reflecting the integration of the two verbs.

The cognate *qayəm* is not restricted to a specific tense in C. Urmi and usually belongs to the same intonation group as the other verb.

6.25 ***ḵ̂ám-lə*** ***tí-lə*** *bèta*|
rise.PST.L.3MS come.PST-L.3MS home
He came home. (C. Urmi A39:3)

6.26 ***ḳ̂ú*** ***vúd*** *xázzən* *mu-p̂ṭ-òd-at!*|
rise.IMP.2MS do.IMP.2MS see.PRS-D.1SG what-FUT-do.PRS-D.2MS
Come on, let me see what you will do. (C. Urmi A5:4)

These constructions are used with various frequency in C. Barwar and C. Urmi. In fact, they are relatively rare in C. Urmi, especially constructions with the past template (e.g. 6.25). Moreover, the construction in 6.26 has an idiomatic function. In short, these constructions are, at most, marginal in C. Urmi while they constitute an essential part of the linguistic toolbox in C. Barwar.

The constructions in C. Barwar does not have the typical features of double verb constructions. A conjunction or subordinating marker is not used to separate the two verbs. Are they serial or idiomatic? The answer will, in the end, depend on the analysis of other constructions.

6.4.2 Constructions with *ʾazəl* and other motion verbs

It turns out that constructions with *qayəm* are not isolated outliers in C. Barwar. The verb *ʾazəl* 'go' is frequently used in constructions that look much the same.

6.27 ***zíl-li*** ***hiw-í-li*** *dɛ̀n-i.*|
go.PST-L.1SG give.PST-D.3MP-L.1SG debt-POSS.1SG
I paid off my debts. (C. Barwar A1:11)

6.28 ***zíl-ɛle*** ***xə́zy-əl-le*** *xa-ṛíyət* *ʾə̀rwe,*|
go.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS see.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS-L.3MS one-grazer.POSS sheep
xa-šavàna.|
one-shepherd
He went and saw a grazer of sheep, a shepherd. (C. Barwar A7:17)

6.29 *ʾu-**si-múr*** *hè*| *hè*| *ʾána* *gor-ə̀n-na,*|
and-go.IMP-say.IMP yes yes I marry.PRS-D.1SG.L.3FS
Then go and say "Yes, yes, I shall marry her. (C. Barwar A7:18)

The verbs are all contiguous in the above examples but other clause constituents are sometimes placed in-between them. Again, these constructions have the prototypical features of serial constructions. The main argument against classifying them as serial is the lack of similar constructions with other motion verbs. This technique is much more common with *qayəm* and *ʾazəl* than it is with any other verb in this category.

C. Urmi has more serial-like constructions with the cognate *ʾázəl* than with *qayəm*, many of which occur in narratives from Armenia or Georgia. In these texts, other verbs, like *ʾate* 'come', are also attested.

6.30 ***ʾázəl-Ø*** ***nápəl-Ø*** *xa-yáccə* *+ḵazánča* *míyya* *+bərdàxa.*|
go.PRS-D.3MS fall.PRS-D.3MS one-huge pan water boiling
so that he goes and falls into a huge pan of boiling water. (C. Urmi A42:8)

6.31 ***tí-lan*** ***+vər-ran*** *xáz-ax* *ḵa-mú* *bnay-èlə*|
come.PST-L.1PL enter.PST-L.1PL see.PRS-D.1PL why count.INF-COP.3MS
We entered to see why he was counting them, (C. Urmi A10:8)

Again, C. Barwar has more serial-like constructions than C. Urmi. Not surprisingly, the distinction becomes even more pronounced in purposive constructions and complement clauses.

6.4.3 Purposive constructions

The use of serial-like constructions with a purposive function was briefly mentioned in 5.2.3.5. Consider 6.32 and 6.33:

6.32 *ʾáyya* *béna* ***ṯ-ásq-əx*** ***qaṭl-àx-le*** *Čúxo.*|
this time FUT-go.up.PRS-D.1PL kill.PRS-D.1PL-L.3MS PN
This time we'll go up and kill Čuxo.' (C. Barwar A7:16)

6.33 *mər-a* ***qú*** ***ṣli-xzì.***|
say.PST-L.3FS rise.IMP.2MS go.down.IMP.2MS-see.IMP.2MS
'Go down and look'. (C. Barwar A4:52)

The two verbs are contiguous, belong to the same intonation group, and have the same TAM marking. In 6.32 the verb *ʾasəq* 'go up' also has the future prefix *bəd-* the second verb does not. This observation is important because it highlights that verbal prefixes are optional with the second verb. Example 6.33 is particularly interesting because it contains two serial constructions one of which is part of the other. The first construction is made up of *qu* and *ṣli-xzi*; the second consists of *ṣli* and *xzi*. It also seems as if *ṣli* and *xzi* make up one phonological word.

Generally, these constructions are restricted to verbs of motion. Purposive constructions without a motion verb always contain a purposive marker indicating the clause's subordinate status. Motion verbs, on the other hand, are often used in this type of construction or with an infinitive. Importantly, there is no trace of the conjunction *w-* in these serial-like constructions.

Does C. Urmi have serial constructions of this type? There are some examples that could have a similar function.

6.34 *savún-i=da* *ʾé-+dān* ***ʾazál-Ø-va*** *+ʾárra*
grandfather-POSS.1SG=PRT when go.PRS-D.3MS-HAB field
xapər-Ø-va-là,|
dig.PRS-D.3MS-HAB-L.3FS
When my grandfather used to go to dig the field, (C. Urmi A36:15)

6.35 *háč-naša* *lát-le* ***ʾázal-Ø*** ***šáḵal-Ø*** ***+ṯamàr-Ø-rə***.|
nobody exist-L.3MS go.PRS-D.3MS take.PRS-D.3MS bury.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS
he has nobody to go and take him and bury him.' (C. Urmi A33:3)

Many possible examples are constructed with the verb *ʾázəl*. The past *ptəxle*, *bəptaxa*, and several other verbal forms have originated from another root, namely √*rxš*. Clauses with the past template are often followed by a purposive clause with and infinitive or *ḵat* and *patəx*.

6.36 *xáš-lə* *ḵamáy* ***ḵat****-làxma* ***šaḵál-Ø-va***.|
go.PST-L.3MS forward PURP-bread take.PRS-D.3MS-HAB
He went forward to take bread. (C. Urmi A19:4)

These are not the only constructions attested with the past template. In a few cases, the purposive marker has been omitted:

6.37 *xáš-lə* *ɟášəḵ-Ø* *ʾína* *ʾáni* *ʾən* *+ʾaxàl-Ø-le,*|
go.PST-L.3MS look.PRS-D.3MS COMP them if eat.PRS-D.3MS-L.3PL
He went to look whether it is eating them. (C. Urmi A53:4)

Serial constructions are not restricted to one or a few verbal forms, but are common with verbs of motion.

6.4.4 Complement clauses

The modern NENA texts display an abundance of serial-like constructions. The two most common complement-taking verbs are *maṣe* 'be able' and *baye* 'want'.

6.38 *là-****mṣe-li*** ***muθyá-li***.|
NEG-be.able.PST-L.1SG bring.PST-L.1SG
I could not bring her. (C. Barwar A8:55)

6.39	*ʾáxči*	***bắy-i***	***ʾoð-ì-la***|	*xa-šúra*	*bìš-goṛa*|
	but	want.PRS-D.3PL	make.PRS-D.3PL-L.3FS	one-fence	more-big
	but they want to make a bigger fence for it (C. Barwar B3:22)				

Again, the two verbs have the same verbal form and person marking, they are contiguous, and they belong to the same intonation group. The survey of these constructions in 3.2.7 showed that the complementiser *d-* is retained in a specific phonetic environment, namely before primae /ʾ/ and primae /y/ verbs.

6.40	*bắy-i*	*ṯ-àrq-i.*|
	want.PRS-D.3PL	COMP-flee.PRS-D.3PL
	They wanted to escape. (C. Barwar A30:41)	

Consequently, the omission of *d-* is not random. Instead, its presence before these weak verbs testify to the change that has already taken place in other environments.

A second, and perhaps more important point to consider is the use of verbal forms. Virtually all examples with *baye* have *patəx* forms, which could indicate that this is an idiomatic construction. This preference for *patəx* primarily applies to *baye*. The verb *maṣe* is used in constructions with various verbal forms, including the past tense *ptəxle* and resultative participles. Importantly, the balancing of the two verbal forms is also attested with negated constructions, like 6.37, in which the event did not take place.

These constructions are relatively isolated among secondary complement-taking verbs. The verb *maṣe*, for example, is used in serial-like constructions but *šare* II (C. Barwar), +*šarə* II (C. Urmi) 'begin' is not. This could be viewed as an inconsistency in the system and, perhaps, a sign that these are idiomatic rather than serial constructions. From a typological perspective, however, there is nothing exceptional about *maṣe* and *baye* being used in serial constructions. In fact, serialisation of secondary B verbs (such as *baye*) is very common in serializing languages. Yet, it is somewhat surprising that serial constructions are not used with *mšare*.[578] According to Aikhenvald's hierarchy one might expect to find serial constructions with phasal verbs.[579]

Again, C. Urmi departs from the pattern attested in C. Barwar. The verb $^{+}$*ʾaməs* (the cognate of *maṣe*) is not used very often in serial-like constructions. Moreover, the verb $^{+}$*bayyə* is only used in this way when both verbs are *patəx* forms; *ptəxle* forms of $^{+}$*bayyə* are usually followed by *patəx* forms, with or without a grammatical marker.

[578] Aikhenvald and Dixon, *Serial Verb Constructions*, 48.

[579] Cf. Aikhenvald and Dixon, 48.

6.41 *ḵát* *xína* ***+bí-li*** ***tan-ən-na***.|
COMP other want.PST-L.1SG tell.PRS-L.3FS
This was another (of the stories) I wanted to tell. (C. Urmi A41:21)

This probably indicates that these constructions should be classified as idiomatic or double verb constructions rather than serial.

The status of these constructions in other NENA dialects will have to await further investigation. This survey shows that there are significant differences between C. Barwar and C. Urmi. This underscores the pattern that has been observed in the previous sections: C. Barwar show a much higher tendency to use serial-like constructions.

6.4.5 Grammaticalised constructions

The introduction to this chapter briefly mentioned grammaticalisation and lexicalisation. Because Aramaic has never had symmetrical serial constructions the case for lexicalisation can be closed. But the question of grammaticalisation deserves further exploration. Verbs such as 'go' often become markers of continuous or habitual aspect while 'come' often develops into a future marker. Neither of these verbs have been grammaticalised in C. Barwar or C. Urmi.[580] There are, however, other possible candidates. The most important ones being the prefixes *ḵam-*/*qəm-* and *k-*/*ci-*/*ʾi-*.

The origin of the indicative prefix *k-*/*ci-*/*ʾi-* has already been discussed in chapter two (2.1.2.3). At least four etymologies have been proposed for this prefix. If *k-*/*ci-*/*ʾi-* comes from the particle *kad* 'when' there is no connection between this prefix and serialisation. Similarly, if *k-*/*ci-*/*ʾi-* originated from a deictic particle, this prefix is not relevant for the discussion of serialisation. The result would be much the same if the prefix is derived from the passive participle *kīn* 'be, exist'. Such a construction would have had many serial-like traits but the use of different verbal forms (active and passive participle) would make a serial interpretation impossible.[581]

The last candidate is *qāʾēm*, the active participle of *qām* 'rise'. In this interpretation, the modern prefix goes back to an earlier preverbal particle *qā*. This particle, a phonetically reduced form of *qāʾēm*, is attested in Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. The form *qāʾe*, rather than *qā*, is also attested.[582] According to Breuer constructions with *qā* denote continuous action.[583] If this etymology is correct the

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[580] Cf. Coghill, 'Northeastern Neo-Aramaic', 729 for the use of ʾazəl as an auxilary.

[581] See Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §42.19 for kīn; See Tezel, *Comparative Etymological Studies in the Western Neo-Syriac (Ṭūrōyo) Lexicon*, 35–6 for kad.

[582] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 130–32; Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 549, 976–77; Cf. Fassberg, 'The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite Kəm/Qam-Qāṭəlle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 177–79.

[583] Breuer, 'The Function of the Particle "qā" in Babylonian Aramaic'; followed by Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 130.

indicative prefix would be an example of a serial-like construction that has undergone phonetic reduction and become grammaticalised. This is probably the best interpretation of the Neo-Mandaic data even if the NENA prefix may have originated as a deictic particle (cf. section 2.1.2.3).

Four possible etymologies of *qəm-/ḵam-* were mentioned in 2.1.3.4. Rubin mentions that most scholars think this prefix originated in a hendiadys construction with the suffix conjugation forms *qḏam* or *qaddem* 'do before'.[584] Fassberg mentions three other options. The *qəm*-prefix could be derived from the preposition *qŏḏām* 'before'; from the *patəx* form *qaʾəm* 'rise'; or from a combination of the indicative *k*-prefix and the *m*-prefix of stem II and stem III *patəx* forms. The third is Fassberg's own proposal. This is an attractive solution that fits well with the perfect function of *qā-* in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (alongside its use as a marker of continuous action).[585] Moreover, this prefix exclusively takes the form *kem* rather than *qem* or *qam* in the Mosul plain dialects and in the native traditions.[586]

Rubin notes that *qaddem* is much more common than *qḏam* in Syriac. In fact, he only found two attestations of pattern I in hendiadys, both of which contain the active participle *qāḏem* rather than the suffix conjugation form *qḏam*. He also mentions that the numbers favour *qaddem* even if he prefers *qḏam* for phonetic reasons.[587] While both *qaddem* and *qḏam* are possible candidates, the active participle *qāḏem* is a third option.[588] If the *qəm*-prefix originated in a hendiadys construction one might expect a combination of two *patəx* forms, a pattern that is also found in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic.[589] Moreover, the future prefix *bəd-* is most likely a fossilised form of the *patəx* form **baʾe* followed by the subordinating particle *d-*. The elision of the consonant *d* is the main weakness of these three alternatives.[590]

The most phonetically plausible alternative is *qaʾəm*, a verb which is frequently used in serial constructions in many NENA dialects. These constructions occur frequently with intransitive verbs but they rarely have past reference (cf. 6.4.1). Fassberg points out that Rhétoré's material and Christian Aradhin have two competing constructions with a past meaning: one construction with the reduced *qəm-* prefix and one with *qayəm* inflected for person. The existence of these two constructions and the inflection of *qayəm* shows, in his mind, that the latter is far from grammaticalised. Instead, he suggests

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[584] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:609; Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 33–4.

[585] Breuer, 'The Function of the Particle "qā" in Babylonian Aramaic'; See Fassberg, 'The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite Kəm/Qam-Qāṭəlle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic' for a summary and discussion of these etymologies.

[586] Mengozzi (personal communication).

[587] Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, 34.

[588] Cf. Rubin, 34.

[589] Cf. Fassberg, 'The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite Kəm/Qam-Qāṭəlle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic', 176.

[590] Cf. Fassberg, 176.

that the past meaning of the latter construction is determined by its context or through preceding *ptəxlə* forms.[591]

Consider 6.42 and 6.43 from C. Barwar:

6.42 *záwna* ***qəm-ʾawə́d-Ø-lux*** *lebàna.*|
time PST-make.PRS-D.3MS-L.2MS trickster
The time made you a trickster. (C. Barwar A1:22)

6.43 ***qəm-ṯ-amə́r-Ø-ra*** *là-ṣarx-ət.*|
PST-COMP-say.PRS-D.3MS-L.3FS NEG-scream.PRS-D.2FS
He said to her 'Don't scream. (C. BarwarA4:4)

Both constructions have a primae /ʾ/ verb. A *ṯ*-prefix before *patəx* forms can either be the short form of the future prefix *bəd-* or the subordinating marker *d-*. The future prefix, however, is not combined with *qəm-*, leaving the subordinating marker as the only option in 6.43. If this *ṯ-* is a retention of the subordinating marker, it probably indicates that *qəm-* developed from **qadem d-patəx* or **qaʾem d-patəx*; much like **baʾe d-* > *bəd-*. Neither alternative is a serial-like construction. Unfortunately this is the only example of *qəm-ṯ* in the corpus of C. Barwar.

In conclusion, most of the suggested etymologies preclude a serial-like origin for this prefix. For the present purposes it is not necessary to determine which one is the correct alternative. It is sufficient to note that there is no conclusive evidence indicating that this prefix originated in a serial-like construction.

6.4.6 Assessing the properties

Does NENA dialects have serial constructions? The answer depends the definition of a serial construction. C. Barwar have several constructions with serial-like properties. The verbs are contiguous, belong to the same intonation group, use the same verbal form, etc. Even if the subordinator is preserved before some weak verbs it is generally omitted. The verdict, then, is that C. Barwar could be serializing. If these constructions were viewed individually, it might be best to interpret them as idiomatic. If they are considered together, they show that C. Barwar has a technique that is, at least, reminiscent of serialisation. This technique may be a minor part of the syntactic toolbox but it is used with motion verbs as well as purpose clause and complement clause constructions.

C. Urmi does not employ this technique as much as C. Barwar. In this regard, C. Urmi is more conservative. In purpose clauses, this may have been influenced by the emergence of the new purposive marker *k̲at-*.

[591] Fassberg, 176–77.

6.5 Conclusion

Does Aramaic have serial constructions? At the very least, it seems as if all three stages contain constructions with serial-like properties. Syriac employed these hendiadys constructions in purpose and complement clause constructions, to express manner, and to indicate that two verbs were part of the same event. The occasional presence of *w-* probably indicates that some of these constructions are comparable to Indo-European double verb constructions. Yet, the frequent omission of the conjunction may be a sign of incipient serialisation already in Syriac. [592]

The modern dialects also show signs of serialisation. C. Barwar contains an abundance of serial-like constructions. The classification of these constructions depends on the definition of serial constructions. In short, C. Barwar has a technique which is reminiscent of serialisation. Importantly, this technique is used with more than one function or verb type. By contrast, C. Urmi does not show signs of serialisation even if some idiomatic constructions have serial properties.

This chapter highlights that both Syriac and modern NENA have a specific grammatical technique that integrates two verbs; a technique that is not only used in complement clauses and purpose clauses.

[592] Cf. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 228–36 for Arabic examples of asyndetic constructions.

7 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses are embedded within a main clause, modifying a head noun in a noun phrase.[593] Dixon notes four characteristics of canonical relative clause constructions:[594]

(a) Canonical relative clause constructions involve a main clause and a relative clause. Together they make up one sentence consisting of a single unit of intonation.
(b) The underlying structure of the main clause and the relative clause share an argument which could be termed the common argument. The common argument may be expressed in one, both, or neither of the clauses.
(c) Relative clauses function as syntactic modifiers of the common argument in the main clause. Restrictive relative clauses normally provide information about the common argument in order to focus or restrict its reference. Non-restrictive relative clauses typically provide further background or additional information about a common argument which is uniquely identified.
(d) A relative clause has a similar structure as a main clause in that it contains a predicate and its required core arguments. Relative clauses in some languages are not marked for tense, aspect, and modality or similar grammatical categories.

This chapter has two focal points: the common argument and the relative clause. Section 7.1 outlines the nature of the common argument in main clauses as well as relative clauses. Section 7.2 continues with a discussion of relative clause marking. This is supplemented with a discussion of relative clause structure in 7.3 and various functions in 7.4. The use of verbal forms is treated in 7.3.3 while prosodic features are discussed in 7.2.1 and 7.4.3.

7.1 The nature of the common argument

This initial section focuses on the nature of the common argument, addressing the following questions: (1) Are there restrictions on the grammatical person or number of the common argument? (2) How are common arguments expressed in the main clause and in the relative clause, respectively? (3) Does the main clause or the relative clause contain the fullest statement of the common argument?

[593] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:313.

[594] Dixon, 2:314.

7.1.1 The number and person of the common argument

In the Tibeto-Burman language Kham the common argument is always third person when it serves as the subject in a relative clause.[595] In another Tibeto-Burman language, Dolakha Newar, personal pronouns are not used as main clause common arguments.[596] Such restrictions do not apply to Syriac:

7.1 *w-ʾ**at*** *ḥabbīḇ* *d-še'lt-ān.*
and-you beloved.POSS.1SG REL-ask.SC.2MS.SUFF.1SG
and you my beloved who asked me (Aph 1, 6:7)

7.2 *meṭṭul hānā* *ʾāp̄* ***ʾenā*** *d-ʿaḇd-eh=**nā*** *d-ʾalāhā*
therefore also I REL-servant-POSS.3MS=COP.1SG GEN-God
ṭenneṯ *ṭnānā* *d-bayt-eh*
be.aroused zeal GEN-house-POSS.3MS
Therefore I, who is a servant of God, have been very zealous for his house. (PMA 5, I 12:8)

7.3 *haw* *d-lāʾ* *ʾeḥaḏ* *raḥmā-w* *men*
he REL-NEG hold.SC.3MS mercy-POSS.3MS from.POSS.1SG
da-ʾḇīḏ=weṯ
REL-be.lost.PASS.PTCP.MS=be.SC.1SG
who did not withhold his mercy from me who was lost. (Thom 183:19–20)

In 7.1 a second person pronoun serves as the common argument while 7.2 and 7.3 have a first person independent pronoun and a first person pronominal suffix, respectively. The role of these pronouns as the common argument is also corroborated by first and second person pronouns and verbal forms in these relative clauses. There are no attestations of first and second person plural pronouns as the common argument in the present corpus, but Nöldeke lists some in his discussion.[597] In short, the available data does not exhibit any restrictions regarding the grammatical person or number of the common argument.

The early NENA texts follow a similar pattern. In most instances, relative clauses are tied to common nouns or third person pronouns. The main exceptions occur in cases where the author is referring to himself. The L-suffix in the relative clause shows that the common argument is the pronoun rather than the common noun *ḥaṭayʾ* 'sinner':

[595] Watters, *A Grammar of Kham*, 201.

[596] Genetti, *A Grammar of Dolakha Newar*, 129; cf. Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:318–19 for additional examples of restrictions (or no restrictions).

[597] Cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 285–86 for notes on first and second person common arguments.

7.4 *w-ham* ***ʾānā*** *ʿaḇdā* *ḥaṭayʾ* *d-muḥke-**li*** *ʿal*
and-also I servant sinful REL-speak.PST-L.1SG about
šrār-ēh *galyʾ*
truth-POSS.3MS revealed
and me too, sinful servant, who spoke about his revealed truth. (JT 76c–77b)

The early NENA Aḥiqar text has one example where the common argument is first person. This shows that a bound first person pronoun can serve as the common argument. Considering this, it would not be surprising if other bound pronouns were also used:

7.5 *lāken* *ʾalhā* *kem-xāleṣ-**Ø-li*** *d-ẓlimā* ***wen**-wā*
but God PST-save.PRS-D.3MS-L.1SG REL-oppress.PTCP COP.1SG-PST
But God has saved me who was oppressed (Aḥ 610)

Moreover, second person pronouns can serve as the common argument in the modern dialects.

7.6 *màrə-lə|* *ʾat-màn-**ivət*** *ḳat-málca* *+šùdr-**ux**=lə?|*
say.PROG-COP.3MS you-what-COP.2MS REL-king send.PTCP-D.2MS=COP.3MS
He says ‘Who are you whom the king has sent?’ (C. Urmi A3:65)

7.7 *málka* *màre|* *ya-ʾálaha* ***ʾána*** *ṭ-ín* *málka* *d-áyya* *bàžər,|*
king say.PST-L.3MS oh-God I REL-COP.1SG king GEN-this town
The king said ‘Oh God, I who am the king of this town (C. Barwar A32:5)

7.8 *xá* *xabúša* *ḳa-**díyyux*** *ḳát* *+šmì-**lux**,|*
one apple for-GEN.2MS REL listen.PST-L.2MS
one apple for you who have listened (C. Urmi A38:19)

The above examples show the use of first and second person independent pronouns as well as the bound second person pronoun in the prepositional phrase *ḳa-díyyux*.

7.1.2 Nature of common arguments in the main clause

What is the nature of the common argument in main clauses, i.e. what type of head can be used as the main clause common argument? Typologically there are four main possibilities: (1) common nouns; (2) proper nouns (name of person or place); (3) pronouns, and (4) generic terms.

7.1.2.1 Common nouns and proper nouns

The Syriac corpus contains many common nouns serving as main clause common arguments. In most texts, common nouns are more frequently used than the other options.

7.9 *nettaggar* *b-**kespā*** *d-qabbeln*
trade.PC.1PL with-money REL-receive.SC.1PL
Let us trade with the money we received (Aph 6, 103:9–10)

7.10 *ʾaykanā* *d-ḥad ḥad* *men-non* *naḵrez* *ba-**p̄nīṯā***
in.order that-each.one from-POSS.3MP preach.PC.3MS in-region
da-mṭāṯ-eh *w-b-ʾaṯrā* *d-mār-eh* *šaddr-eh*
REL-fall.SC.3FS-OBJ.3MS and-in-country REL-lord-POSS.3MS send.SC-OBJ.3MS
In order that each of them would preach in the region that would fall on him and at the place to which his Lord would send him. (Thom 172:8–9)

Proper nouns can also serve as the main clause common argument. The relative scarcity of proper nouns should not be attributed to any grammatical restrictions. It is probably a reflection of the relative infrequency of proper nouns compared to common nouns.

7.11 *w-tuḇ* *yiqed* ***nādāḇ*** ***w-ʾaḇīhu*** *da-ʿbar*
and-again burn.SC.3MP PN and-PN REL-transgress.SC.3MP
ʿal *puqdān-eh* *d-ʾalāhā*
against commandment-POSS.3MS GEN-God
And again Nadab and Abihu, who transgressed against God's command, burned (Aph 1, 17:6)

7.12 ***w-narsai*** ***ʾaynā*** *d-ʾiṯ-aw* *nāzrāyā* *qdam-aḵ*
and-PN this REL-exist-POSS.3MS PN before-POSS.2MS
ʾayt-āy
bring.IMP.2MS-POSS.3MS
And this Narsai, who is a Nazorean, bring him before you. (PMA 5, I 15:5)

Common nouns are well attested in the early NENA corpus. The absence of proper nouns is most likely due to the seize of the corpus and the relative frequency of the two types of main clause common arguments.

7.13 *ʾet-ti* ***bronā*** *d-mexwāṯ-i=lēh* *ḥakimā* *we-kāṯāḇā*
there.is-L.1SG son REL-like-POSS.1SG=COP.3MS wise and-writings
diyy-i *ʾāhu* *k-yādē-Ø*
GEN-POSS.1SG he IND-know.PRS-D.3MS
I have a son who is wise like me and who knows my writings. (Aḥ 543)

7.14 *ʾād-ilē* ***sor*** *d-molp-ex* *l-mār-an*
this-COP.3MS mystery REL-teach.PST-D.1PL L-lord-POSS.1PL
l-ʾalāhut-ēh
about-divinity-POSS.3MS
This is the mystery which our Lord taught us about his divinity (JT 5:15c)

Both common and proper nouns can serve as main clause common arguments in the modern dialects. The relative frequency of common and proper nouns is the same as in the earlier corpora. One may note the absence of a relative marker in 7.17.

7.15 ***čačála*** *ḳaṯ-ílə* *màlca,|*
bald.man REL-COP.3MS king
The bald man who is the king (C. Urmi A1:29)

7.16 *ʾíman=ət* *+ʾAxíḳar* *xùbba* *muxzíl* *a-do-ʾaxúna* *sùra,|* ***Nátan***
when PN love show.PTCP.MS that-DEM-brother younger PN
brún-u *ḳat-ɟurvə́ss-uva* *ɟú ...* *malcùytəva|*
son-POSS.3MS REL-bring.up.PTCP-GEN.3MS.PST in royal.court
+naràhat *vílə,|*
discontent COP.PST.3MS
When Axiqar shows love to that younger brother, his son Natan whom he had brought up and was (now) in the royal court became discontented. (C. Urmi A3:17)

7.17 *ʾítwa-lən* *ʾáxni* ***xálti*** ***Širìne|*** ***ʾu-ʾámti*** ***Xàmme|***
have-L.1PL we aunt PN and-aunt PN
y-ap-í-wa *làxma.|*
IND-bake.PRS-D.3PL-PST bread
We had aunt Širine and aunt Xamme, who baked bread. (C. Barwar B10:93)

7.18 *ʾína* *bráta* *d-o-**Xáno*** *Lapzèrin,|* *d-o-t-wéwa*
but daughter GEN-DEM-PN golden.hand DEM-he-REL-COP.PST.3MS
bə́nya *Dəmdəma,|* *bə̆y-á-wa* *ta-brōn-màlka.|*
build.PTCP.MS PN love.PRS-D.3FS-PST OBJ-son-king
But the daughter of that Xano the Golden Hand, who had built Dəmdəma, loved the son of the king. (C. Barwar A11:17)

7.1.2.2 Personal and demonstrative pronouns as main clause common arguments

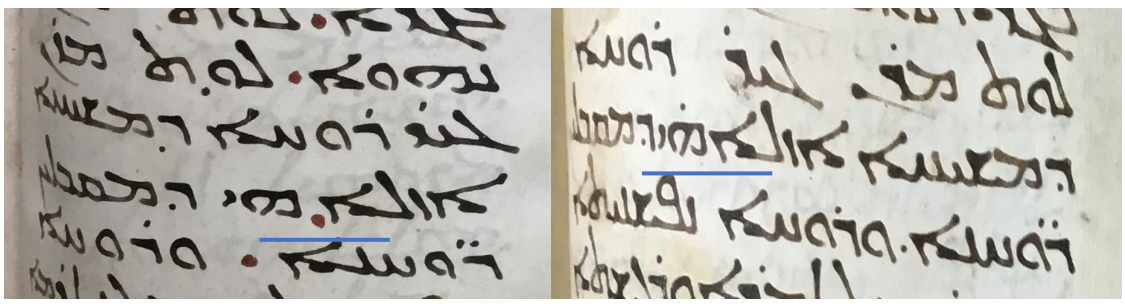
The use of personal pronouns as common arguments have already been discussed in 7.1.1 and examples 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3 illustrate the use of independent as well as bound personal pronouns.[598] In addition to these, Syriac also employs demonstratives such as *haw* and *hay* 'that' or *hānā* 'this' as the common argument in the main clause:

7.19 *ʾaḵ d-ʾemar mār-an ʿal **haw** d-šarri*
as say.SC.3MS lord-POSS.1PL about that.MS REL-begin.SC.3MS
d-neḇneʾ magḏlā
COMP-build.PC.3MS tower
As our Lord said about the one who began to build a tower. (Phil 1, 7:4)

7.20 *lwāṯ mār-an ger ruḥā da-mšīḥā ʾāzzā*
to lord-POSS.1PL for spirit GEN-Christ go.PTCP.FS
***hāy** da-mqabblīn ruḥāne*
that.FS REL-receive.PTCP.3MP spiritual
for the Spirit of Christ, which the spiritual receive, goes to our Lord. (Aph 6, 126:2)

7.21 *w-man=u **hānā** d-šarri b-benyān-eh*
and-who=COP.3MS this.MS REL-begin.SC.3MS with-building-POSS.3MS
d-maḡdlā d-ʾemar ʿal-aw pāruq-an
GEN-tower REL-say.SC.3MS about-POSS.3MS savior-POSS.1PL
and who is the one who began with the building of the tower which our saviour spoke about. (Phil 1, 7:6–7)

These demonstratives can be used independently as 7.19 and 7.21 illustrate. In some cases, however, the demonstrative is preceded by a common noun. In 7.20, *ruḥā da-mšīḥā* 'the Spirit of Christ', has the same referent as the demonstrative *hāy*. While the demonstratives in 7.19 and 7.21 serve as the main



BL Add. Ms. 17182, 61v BL Add. Ms. 14916, 43v

[598] Cf. Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 67.

clause common argument, the demonstrative *hāy* is a correlative of the main clause common argument *ruḥā da-mšīḥā*. A dot is placed before *hāy* in BL Add. Ms. 17182, probably marking a prosodic boundary. Note, however, the absence of such a dot in in BL Add. Ms. 14916. Constructions with appositional or correlative demonstratives are discussed further in 7.2.3.

Early NENA

The early NENA corpus contains both demonstratives and personal pronouns as main clause common arguments. For example, *ʾaw*, *haw*, and *ʾaymā* are used for third person singular, while *ʾan* and *ʾani* are used for plural. Example 7.22 represent the most common constructions in the early poems. By contrast, the demonstrative in 7.23 is appositional to the common noun *mhaymnē* 'believers' (cf. 7.20).

7.22	***ʾan***	*de-pqed-le*	*mār-an*	*rāmā-Ø*
	those	REL-command.PST-L.3MS	lord-POSS.1PL	resurrect.PRS-D.3MS

He will resurrect those whom our Lord ordered. (JT 4:108c)

7.23	*masq-et*	*kolhīn*	*mhaymnē*	*l-nuhrā*	***ʾan***
	allow.PRS-D.2MS	all	believers	to-light	those
	de-mhuymenn-ay	*b-uk*	*yā*	*mārā*	
	REL-believe.PRS-L.3MP	in-POSS.2MS	oh	Lord	

That you allow all believers to ascend to the light, them who believed in you, oh Lord! (JT 4:116a-b)

7.24	*baḏam*	***ʾaḏ***	*d-weḏ-lē*	*ʾēmm-ux*	*bištā*
	so	DEM	REL-do.PST-L.3MS	with-POSS.2MS	evil
	mā	*b-parʾ-et-tēh*			
	how	FUT-reward.PRS-D.2MS-L.3MS			

So how will you reward the one who does evil to you (Aḥ 616)

Modern NENA

The modern NENA dialects also employ demonstratives as common arguments in the main clause:[599]

7.25	***ʾáhu***	*d-la*	*qeḥ-í-lə*	*g-zál-Ø*	*ek-iṯə*	*ġḏá*	*dùka*|
	that	REL-NEG	hit-D.3PL-L.3MS	IND-go.PRS-D.3MS	where-EXIST	one	place

The one whom they do not hit goes to where there is a place … (Qaraqosh K:32)

[599] Only demonstrative pronouns function as common arguments in C. Barwar (Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:964–65); In Qaraqosh both demonstrative and personal pronouns are used (Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 479).

7.26 ***ʾáwa*** *də-k-šátə-Ø* *m-bíra* *màya*| *la-g-ráyəq-Ø*
that REL-IND-drink.PRS-D.3MS from-well water NEG-IND-spill.PRS-D.3MS
əb-gàwaḥ.|
in-inside
Whoever drinks water from the well does not spit in it. (Qaraqosh Proverbs 17)

7.27 ***ʾo-ṯ-íle*** *plíxa* *ʾàw* *bṯ-áxəl-Ø.*|
that.one-REL-COP.3MS work.PTCP.MS that.one FUT-eat.PRS-D.3MS
He who has worked will eat. (C. Barwar A21:15)

7.28 *ʾən-là*| *+ʾ**avva**-ṯ-ílə* *bitá* *+maṯ-ì-lux.*|
if-NEG that-REL-COP.3MS come.PROG reach.PRS-D.3PL-L.2MS
If not, the one who is coming (after you) will reach you. (C. Urmi A7:4)

Khan notes that the demonstrative *ʾo* is necessary in C. Barwar because the subordinator *d-* cannot serve as the main clause common argument (i.e. nominal head). The examples in the Syriac corpus exhibit a similar pattern even if there are occasional examples without a pronoun. In C. Barwar, the longer speaker deixis demonstratives can also be used even if they are not as common as the default forms (e.g. *ʾo* or *ʾaw*).[600] By contrast, one may note that Cohen argues that *ʾay*, *ʾaw*, and *ʾan* are not pronouns in J. Zakho. Consequently, they cannot serve as antecedents, i.e. main clause common arguments.[601]

In the above examples the demonstratives serve as the common argument in the main clause. Is the same true of appositional demonstratives like *hāy* in 7.20? The corpus of C. Barwar contains many examples of this type but they are also found in other dialects. The demonstratives *ʾo* and *ʾan* in 7.29 and 7.30 are both appositional but the constructions are different. Constructions with *ʾo* (e.g. 7.29) are almost invariably non-restrictive and there is typically a prosodic boundary before *ʾo*. In 7.29 and 7.31 the demonstratives *ʾo* and *ʾō* also belong to the same phonetic word as the relative marker and probably serve as correlatives of the main clause common argument. The relative clause in 7.30 could be either restrictive or non-restrictive. The absence of a prosodic boundary may indicate that it is a restrictive clause. However, prosodic boundaries are not used consistently in non-restrictive clauses (see 7.2.1 and 7.4.3).

[600] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:964.

[601] Cohen, *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic*, 134; cf. Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 132–34; Pat-El, 'The Origin and Function of the So-Called "Correlative" in Classical Syriac'.

7.29 *ʾáθyɛ-le* *ʾo-gàwṛa* *díya,*|
come.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS that-husband GEN.3FS
ʾo-t-wéwa *mùθyə-l-la.*|
that-REL-COP.PST.3MS bring.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS-L.3FS
That husband of hers came back, the one who had brought her.' (C. Barwar A12:53)

7.30 *m-yàmm-in* *šmítə-l-la* *ʾáyya,*| *m-bnōn mám-i*
from-mother-POSS.1SG hear.PTCP.MS-COP.3FS-L.3FS this from-cousin-POSS.1SG
ʾan-t-wɛ́wa *gòṛe.*|
those-REL-COP.3PL older
I heard this from my mother, from my cousins, who were older.' (C. Barwar B8:5)

7.31 *yuvv-é-la* *ḵa-dó* *nàša*| ***ʾő=t*** *tí-lə*
give.PST-D.3MP-L.3FS to-that man that=REL come.PST-L.3MS
parùḵ-o,|
rescue.INF-SUFF.3FS
She gave them to that man, who came to rescue her. (C. Urmi A50:1)

Lastly, demonstrative can also be used when the relative clause precedes the main clause.

7.32 ***ʾan-t-wáwa*** *ṣálye* *ʾàltəx*| *kúlla* *píše* *dàwe.*|
those-REL-COP.PST.3PL fall.down.PTCP.PL below all become.PTCP.PL gold
Those (hornets) that had fallen below had all become gold. (C. Barwar A10:13)

7.1.2.3 Indefinite pronouns as main clause common argument

In addition to demonstratives, the cardinal particle *xa* may be used as an indefinite pronoun serving as the common argument in C. Barwar and in Qaraqosh.[602] This construction is not attested in the Syriac or early Neo-Aramaic corpus (though the particle is used frequently as an indefinite article in the latter).

7.33 *léle* *šwíqa* ***xá*** *t-xayáp-Ø-le* *ʾímət*
COP.3MS.NEG leave.PTCP.MS someone REL-wash.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS when
màyəθ-Ø.|
die.PRS-D.3MS
He has not left anybody who would wash him when he dies.' (C. Barwar D2:77)

[602] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:965–66; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 479; cf. Häberl, 'Mandaic', 703.

7.34 *ʾíθwa* ***xá*** *Pàtto-wewa* *šə́mm-e.*|
EXIST.PST.3MS someone Pətto-COP.PST.3MS name-POSS.3MS
There was somebody whose name was Pətto (C. Barwar B19:5)

7.1.2.4 Interrogative pronouns as main clause common arguments

The Syriac corpus also contains several interrogative pronouns that can serve as the main clause common argument, including *ʾayna*, *ʾayḏa*, *ʾaylen* 'which', *man* 'who', *mā* 'what', and *ʾayka* 'where'. These pronouns, like Syriac *meddem* 'something', often have a generic sense:[603]

7.35 *ʾ**aynā*** *ger* *da-mdaggel* *rahbun-eh* *lā* *šāḇqīn* *l-eh*
who.MS for REL-deal.falsely pledge-POSS.3MS NEG allow.PTCP.MP OBJ-POSS.3MS
For the one who deals falsely with his pledge they will not allow him to… (Aph 6, 106:7)

7.36 *w-kul-hen* *btulāṯā* *daḵyāṯā* *ʾ**aylen*** *da-mkīrān*
and-all-POSS.3PL virgins pure who.PL REL-be.betrothed.PTCP.FP
la-mšiḥā *tammān* *nāhrīn* *lampid-ayhen*
to-Christ there light.PTCP.MP lamps-POSS.3MP
All the pure virgins who are betrothed to Christ light their lamps there … (Aph 6, 115:6–7)

7.37 *d-ʿal mānā* *maʿel=at* *l-eh*
DIR.SPEECH-why enter.PTCP.MS=PRON.2MS OBJ-POSS.3MS
w-lā *l-ʾ**aykā*** *d-ʾeṯpqeḏt*
and-NEG to-where REL-be.commanded.SC.2MS
Why do you lead him in and not to the place you were commanded? (PMA 5, I 20:2–3)

7.38 *šmaʿ* *den* *ḥabbiḇ* ***meddem*** *d-kāṯeḇ=nā*
hear.IMP.2MS now beloved.POSS.1SG thing REL-write.PTCP.MS=1SG
l-āḵ *hālen meddem* *d-yāʾyān* *l-īḥīḏāye* *bnay qyāme*
to-POSS.2MS those.things REL-fitting.FP to-solitaries sons.of.the.covenant
btule *w-qaddīše*
virgins and-saints
Hear my beloved the thing I write to you, those things which are fitting for solitaries, sons of the covenant, virgins, and saints.' (Aph 6, 116:10–11)

[603] Cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 183–84; Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 67 lables these free relatives.

While these pronouns can be used alone, as 7.35, 7.37 and 7.38 show, they can also be used after a common noun as in 7.36.

Moreover, these pronouns can be combined with the quantifier *kul* ‘all, every’:

7.39 ***kul*** ***ʾaylen*** *da-mkīrān* *la-mšīḥā*
all who.PL REL-be.betrothed.PASS.PTCP.FP to-Christ
men *lawṭāṯ-eh* *d-nāmusā* *rḥīqān*
from curse-POSS.3MS GEN-law be.far.PASS.PTCP.FP
all those who are betrothed to Christ are far from the curse of the law. (Aph 6, 115:8)

7.40 ***kul man*** *lam* *da-šmʿa* *mell-ay* *hālen*
everyone DIR.SPEECH REL-hear.SC.3MS words-POSS.3MP these
wa-ʿbaḏ *l-hen* *meṯdmā* *l-gaḇrā* *ḥaḵimā*
and-do.SC.3MS OBJ.POSS.3MP be.like.PTCP.FS OBJ-man wise
Everyone who hears these my words and does them is like a wise man.’ (Phil 1, 4:3–4)

7.41 ***kul-hun*** *zaddiqe* *ʾaḇāh-ayn* *kul meddem*
all-POSS.3MP righteous fathers-POSS.1PL everything
d-ʿaḇaḏ *b-haymanuṯā* *ʾeṯnaṣaḥ*
REL-do.SC.3MP through-faith be.victorious.SC.3PL
All our righteous fathers were victorious in everything they did through faith (Aph 1, 20:7–8)

Early NENA

The early NENA poems contain a small sample of interrogatives as main clause common arguments, including *mā* ‘what’, *mendi* ‘thing’, and *ʾaymā* ‘which’. The second one, *mendi*, is a cognate of Syriac *meddem*, *ʾaymā* could be a variant of Syriac *ʾaynā* and Alqosh *ʾɛma*. The latter two have the meaning ‘which’.

7.42 *layt* *ʿāwzānēʾ* *l-ʾ**aymā*** *d-nāṭər-Ø* *haymānut-ēh*
EXIST.NEG needs to-who REL-keep.PRS-D.3MS faith-POSS.3MS
There are no needs for him who observes the faith (JT 5:76a)

7.43 *švoq* ***mā*** *d-ke-bʾ-ēt* *d-šābeq-luk*
forgive.IMP.2MS what REL-IND-want.PRS-D.2MS COMP-forgive.PRS-D.3MS-L.2MS
d-aynā kēnā
the.just
Forgive what you wish that the just would forgive you. (JT 5:25d)

The sample of interrogatives in the Aḥiqar text remains small but includes a some that are not attested in the poems (*mani* ‘who’, *man* ‘who’, and *ʾēḵā* ‘where’). Moreover, the quantifier *kul* is also used with various interrogatives.

7.44 *w-**mani*** *d-ʾet-teh* *lebbā* *k-ʾāxel-Ø-lay*
and-who REL-exist-L.3MS heart IND-eat.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MP
He who has a heart can eat them (Aḥ 550)

7.45 *w-šud* *qaṭl-i-lēh* *kuḏ* *lā* *raʾš-i* ***man*** *qṭel-lay*
and-let kill.PRS-D.3MP-L.3MS while NEG think.PRS-D.3MP who kill.PST-L.3MP
Let them kill him while they are not aware of whom they have killed (Aḥ 575)

7.46 *w-kuḏ* *ʾīṯē-lēh* *malkā* *m-**ʾēkā*** *d-zēl-wā lēh*
and-when come.PST-L.3MS king from-where REL-go.PST-PST L.3MS
And when the King returned from where he had gone. (Aḥ 542)

7.47 *w-**kul māni*** *d-fayet-Ø* *ʾel-eh* *k-šāqēl-Ø* *men-ēh*
and-everyone REL-pass.PRS-D.3MS OBJ-POSS.3MS IND-take-D.3MS from-POSS.3MS
Whoever passes it picks from it (Aḥ 559)

7.48 *ʾen* *fahm-et* ***kulmā*** *d-kem-dām-et-ti*
if know.PRS-D.2MS everything REL-PST-compare.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG
bgāw-ēh
with-POSS.3MS
If you know everything you have compared me with (Aḥ 592)

7.49 *lā* *ʾamr-ēṯ* *b-**kol mendi*** *d-raʾš-eṯ*
NEG say.PRS-D.2MS with-everything REL-think.PRS-D.2MS
Do not say everything you think (Aḥ 546)

In short, the use and distribution of interrogatives in the early NENA texts follows the same pattern as the Syriac data. The differences between the two dialects are due to the phonological and morphological developments that the NENA forms have undergone.

Modern NENA

The Qaraqosh dialect employs the following interrogatives as main clause common arguments: *ma* ‘what’, *mani* ‘who’, *ʾema* ‘which’. In addition, the interrogative adverbials *ʾeka* ‘where’, *dəx* ‘how’, and

ʾəmma ‘when’ are also used in NENA. These constructions often have a generic value as whoever, whatever, or wherever. Especially when clause-initial.[604]

7.50 *ʾu-šqə́l-hə* ***ma****-d-šqə́l-hə* *m-Bagdèdə.*
and-take.PST-L.3PL what-REL-take.PST-L.3PL from-Bagdedə
and they took what they took from Bagdedə. (Qaraqosh F:4)

7.51 *ʾ****éma*** *d-íwa* *suràya,|* *qaṭl-ì-wa-lə|*
which REL-COP.PST.3MS Christian kill.D.3PL-PST-L.3MS
They killed whichever person was a Christian.' (Qaraqosh S:17)

Similarly, Alqosh has constructions with *ma d-* and *ʾɛmed (<ʾɛma + -ed)*.[605] In C. Barwar the interrogatives *ʾéka* ‘where’, *mo/modi* ‘what’, and *mendi* ‘thing’ are used. The latter is often combined with the quantifier *ku-* ‘every’.[606] The phrase *ku-dukθa* ‘every place’ is often used rather than *ʾéka* ‘where’. The relative marker is typically suffixed to the interrogative.[607] The corpus of C. Urmi exhibits a similar distribution of interrogatives.[608]

7.52 *y-az-í-wa* *nabl-ì-wa-le|* *l-šaqìθa|* *yán* *l-hàmmam,|*
IND-go.PRS-D.3PL-PST take.PRS-D.3PL-PST-L.3MS to-channel or to-wash.house
*ʾ****ék****-ət* *ʾìle.|*
where-REL COP.3MS
They went and took him to a channel or a wash house, wherever it was.’ (C. Barwar B15:74)

7.53 ***mo****-bṭ-amr-á-lux* *bṭ-àwð-ət.|*
what-FUT-say.PRS-D.3FS-L.2MS FUT-do.PRS-2MS
You must do what she says.’ (C. Barwar A8:92)

7.54 *kú-****məndi****-t* *bǎy-ət* *wùd-li.|*
all-what-REL want.PRS-D.2MS do.IMP.2MS-L.1SG
Do to me whatever you want. (C. Barwar A25:14)

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[604] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 479–80.

[605] Coghill, ‘The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh’, 121; note that there are no examples with ʾɛmed in the grammar.

[606] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:966–68.

[607] Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 120–21.

[608] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:462.

7.55 *kú-dukθ-ət* *xaz-ìtu*| *qaṭl-ìtu-la!* |
every-place-REL find.PRS-D.2PL kill.PRS-D.2PL-L.3FS
Wherever you find them, kill them!' (C. Barwar A14:57)

Neo-Mandaic, similarly, use the interrogatives *man* and as main clause common arguments.[609] The same applied to Classical Mandaic but interrogatives were always used in combination with the relative marker (*manu ḏ-* and *mahu ḏ-*); a feature that is absent from the modern language.[610]

C. Barwar and C. Urmi contain a relatively large number of main clauses where the quantifier *kut*/*cut* serves as the common argument.[611] In Neo-Mandaic the quantifier is often combined with an interrogative (*kol man* or *kol mɔ*).[612]

7.56 ***kú**-t-ile* *ferɔ́ssa* *ʾáθe-Ø* *ʾàxxane.*|
everyone-REL-COP.3MS warrior come.PRS-D.3MS here
Whoever is a warrior, let him come here.' (C. Barwar A29:59)

7.57 ***cú**-t* *la-pàləx-Ø*| *lé* +*ʾàxəl.*|
everyone-REL NEG-work.PRS-D.3MS NEG eat.PRS-D.3MS
Whoever does not work does not eat.' (C. Urmi A35:17)

7.1.2.5 Summary pronouns as main clause common arguments

The above survey shows that very little has changed between Syriac and the modern dialects. Common nouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives were used as main clause common arguments in Syriac and they continue to be used in the modern dialects. Many differences can be attributed to the changes in phonology and morphology of interrogatives. The only real difference is the use of the indefinite particle *xa* in the modern dialects.

7.1.3 The fullest statement of the common argument

Where is the fullest statement of the common argument, in the main clause or in the relative clause? Cross-linguistically, the fullest realisation is often found in the main clause, although there are languages where the fullest statement can occur in either.[613]

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[609] Häberl, 'Mandaic', 706.

[610] Häberl, 'The Relative Pronoun D- and the Pronominal Suffixes in Mandaic', 72.

[611] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:966; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:460–61; cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 184–85.

[612] Häberl, 'Mandaic', 703.

[613] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:326–38.

7.1.3.1 Syriac

In the Syriac texts the common argument is almost always expressed in the main clause. In the relative clause, the common argument is sometimes expressed through a bound pronoun (7.58, 7.59) but there is always a common noun, a proper noun or a pronoun in the main clause. In short, it is very rare for the relative clause to contain a fuller statement of the common argument than the main clause.

7.58 *men qdām* *kulmeddem* *yāʾe* *l-gaḇrā* *ʾaynā*
before everything right for-man which
d-nīrā *sīm* *ʿal-**aw*** ...
REL-yoke put.PASS.PTCP on-POSS.3MS
Before everything it is right for the man on whom the yoke is placed (Aph 6, 116:12)

7.59 *ʿal d-ʾeṯqarraḇ* *l-ṭūrā* *d-yāṯeḇ=wā*
because-approach.SC.3PL to-mountain REL-sit.PTCP.MS=be.SC.3MS
*b-**eh*** *ʾeliyā*
on-POSS.3MS PN
Because they had approached the mountain on which Elijah was sitting (Aph 1, 17:8–9)

Even if there is no pronoun before the subordinator *d-*, the common argument is not realised more fully in the relative clause.

7.60 *da-ʿmal* *ḥāde* *w-da-špāl* *dāḥel*
REL-work.SC.3MS rejoice.PTCP.MS and-REL-draw.back.SC.3MS fear.PTCP.MS
The one who labored will rejoice and the one who drew back will fear (Aph 6, 114:15)

7.61 *ʾiṯ* *d-bāne* *sīmā* *w-dahbā* *w-kīpe* *ṭāḇāṯā*
EXIST REL-build.PTCP.MS silver and-gold and-stones precious
There are some who build with silver, gold, and precious stones. (Aph 1, 16:8–9)

7.1.3.2 Early NENA

The early NENA texts exhibit a similar pattern as Syriac. Bound pronouns are used when the common argument is a possessor or when it is attached to a preposition. Yet, there is almost always a noun or pronoun in the main clause.

7.62 ***bron-i*** *māni* *d-hoy-ā* *ʾīḏ-ēh*
son-POSS.1SG who REL-be.PRS-D.3FS hand-POSS.3MS
mlītā *k-pāyeš-Ø* *qeryā* *ḥakīmā*
full.FS IND-become.PRS-D.3MS call.PTCP wise
My son, the one whose hand is full will be called wise (Aḥ 552)

7.63 *d-kāṯb-ētun* ***ʾāni*** ***tanāyāṯā*** *d-ʾamr-en-nāh*
speech-write.PRS-D.2PL these words REL-say.PRS-D.1SG-L.3FS
Write down these words that I say to that evil failure. (Aḥ 609)

7.1.3.3 Modern NENA

In the modern dialects, the fullest realisation of the common argument is found in the main clause. The only possible exceptions occur with the appositional and correlative demonstrative *ʾo* 'that' and the quantifier *kut* 'everyone'. Consider 7.64 and 7.65:

7.64 *már-e* *ʾó-t* *là* *páləx-Ø*| *lè* *y-áxəl-Ø.*|
say.PST-L.3MS that.MS-REL NEG work.PRS-D.3MS NEG IND-eat.PRS-D.3MS
He said 'Whoever does not work, will not eat'. (C. Barwar A21:13)

7.65 *ʾo-t-pàləx-Ø*| *ʾàw* *ṯ-áxəl-Ø.*|
that-REL-work.PRS-D.3MS that FUT-eat.PRS-D.3MS
Whoever works will eat'. (C. Barwar A21:13)

In the first example *ʾo* serves as the realisation of the main clause common argument. In 7.65 the demonstrative belongs to the same phonological word as the relative clause verb. In fact, there is only one phonological word in the relative clause. If prosody was the determining factor, *ʾo* would be a realisation of the relative clause common argument. However, *ʾo* could also serve as a second correlative realisation of the main clause common argument; being prosodically but not syntactically embedded in the relative clause.

The same pattern can be seen in 7.66 and 7.67. If the quantifier *kut*/*cut* belongs to the relative clause, the fullest realisation of the common argument would be found in the relative clause. However, *ku-*/*cu-* may only be prosodically but not syntactically embedded in the relative clause; in which case the quantifiers realise the main clause common argument.

7.66 ***kut****-y-ázəl-Ø* *le-y-qáləb-Ø* *b-ay-ùrxa.*|
everybody-IND-go.PRS-D.3MS NEG-IND-return-PRS-D.3MS on-that-road
Everybody who goes on that road does not return.' (C. Barwar A8:34)

7.67 ***cut***-*mačəx-Ø-lə*| *xá-dana* *+dínar* *b-yavv-ən-nə.*|
all-find.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS a-PRT dinar FUT-give.PRS-1SG-L.3MS
I shall give a dinar to whoever finds it. (C. Urmi A26:1)

A relative clause can follow an existential particle in C. Barwar, Qaraqosh, and C. Urmi.[614] In these constructions, the common argument is only expressed by the morphology of the relative clause verb (cf. 7.61).

7.68 *ʾíθ-wa* *zamr-**í**-wa* *diwàne.*|
exist-PST sing.PRS-D.3PL-PST diwane
There were some who would sing diwane.| (C. Barwar B5:11)

7.69 *ʾíθ-wa* *băy-**é**-wa* *dɛr-**é**-wa* *gəlla* *gáwa.*|
EXIST-PST like.PRS-D.3PL-PST put.PRS-D.3PL-PST herbs inside
There were some who liked to put herbs in it.' (C. Barwar B5:167)

A similar construction-type is labled "naming-constructions" by Khan. The name of the item is often placed after the verb, receiving the nuclear stress.[615] The noun *guttàθa* 'balls' serves as the complement of *ʾamər* 'say' and there is no realisation of the common argument in the main clause. The pronominal suffix in the relative clause verb is, consequently, the fullest realisation of the common argument.

7.70 *dɛr-é-wa* *ṯ-amr-ə́x-**xa*** *guttàθa.*|
put.PRS-D.3PL-PST REL-say.PRS-D.1PL-L.3PL balls
They put (on it) what we call "balls." (C. Barwar B5:39)

7.1.3.4 Summary fullest realisation of the common argument

To summarise, there seems to be a strong tendency in both Syriac and modern NENA dialects to have the fullest realisation of the common argument in the main clause even if the argument is also expressed by a pronoun in the relative clause. There are, however, a few cases in the modern dialects where the fullest realisation may be found in the relative clause, such as "naming-constructions" or constructions with an existential particle.

7.1.4 Nature of common arguments in the relative clause

Dixon notes that there are three main possibilities for statements of the common argument within a relative clause if the fullest realisation of the common argument is in the main clause. (1) The common argument is realised through a relative pronoun, English being a prototypical example of this. (2) An

[614] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:968; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 482.

[615] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:968–69.

independent pronoun is used for the common argument. (3) The common argument is not stated in the relative clause, leaving a 'gap'. Dixon also notes that many languages combine strategies (2) and (3).

Examples 7.58 and 7.59 above, illustrate the use of bound pronouns in Syriac. However, the common argument is more often omitted in the relative clause, especially if it is the direct object of the relative clause verb.[616] When the common argument serves as the subject it can be realised through verbal suffixes or, in the case of first and second person participles, through an enclitic pronoun. Some scholars refer to *d-* as a relative pronoun, co-referential with the relative clause common argument.[617] While it is probable that *d-* originated as a relative pronoun, it no longer has that function in Syriac, having lost case, number, and gender distinctions.[618] Much like the Akkadian particle *ša*, the particle *d-* does not represent the relative clause common argument.[619]

In the early NENA texts the common argument can be omitted but it is often expressed through a bound pronoun (e.g. L-suffixes and D-suffixes on verbal forms).

7.71	*ʾen*	*fahm-et*	*kulmā*	*d-kem-dām-**et**-ti*
	if	understand.PRS-D.2MS	everything	REL-PST-compare.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG
	bgāw-ēh			
	with-POSS.3MS			
	If you know everything you have compared me with (Aḥ 592)			

7.72	*ʾāḏi*	*d-hāḏax*	*kem yaqr-en-**nēh***	*w-kemḥabb-en-nēh*
	that	REL-thus	PST honour.PRS-1SG-L.3MS	and-PST-love.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MS
	The one who I honoured thus and who I loved. (Aḥ 609)			

The pattern in the modern dialects is similar compared to the early NENA texts. In Alqosh the common argument is typically resumed through bound pronouns, whether verbal suffixes or suffixes attached to prepositions.[620] In Qaraqosh, a pronominal suffix is typically used to express the common argument if it is the direct object, follows a preposition, or is the possessor of a noun. For C. Barwar, Khan makes several observations that can be summarised as follows:[621]

1. A pronoun is generally used to express the common argument if it is definite and serves as the direct object. This applies to restrictive and non-restrictive clauses alike.

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[616] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 148–79.

[617] Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 66; cf. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, 21.

[618] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 144–45.

[619] Deutscher, 'The Akkadian Relative Clauses in Cross-Linguistic Perspective', 89–90.

[620] Coghill, 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh', 307.

[621] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:971–74.

2. If the common argument is indefinite, has a specific referent, and the relative clause is non-restrictive a bound pronoun is used to express the common argument.
3. Bound pronouns are regularly used on prepositions in non-restrictive clauses.
4. Both the preposition and its bound pronoun are occasionally omitted from restrictive relative clauses (typically after locative *gu-*, *b-*, *or mən*).
5. If the relative clause is restrictive and the common argument is indefinite with a non-specific referent the common argument is not expressed through a pronoun.
6. No pronoun is used when the main clause common argument is the interrogative *mo* 'what' and the relative clause is restrictive.
7. No pronoun is used when the common argument functions as an adverbial that does not require a preposition.

As for C. Urmi, Khan notes that subjects are expressed through verbal morphology or the form of the copula. Moreover, adverbials and complements of prepositions can be omitted. The same is true when the main clause common argument is a generic term. Conversely, indefinite common arguments in asyndetic constructions are often expressed by a bound pronoun.[622]

To summarise, the patterns attested in modern NENA dialects are relatively similar compared to early NENA and Syriac. Yet, there seems to be a greater tendency to realise the common argument in some constructions while omitting it in others. Similarly, the common argument is always resumed in Neo-Mandaic relative clauses when it is the object.[623]

7.1.5 The syntactic functions of the common argument

The syntactic function of the common argument is relatively restricted in some languages. For example, in the Amazonian language Warekena the common argument can function as subject, object, instrumental, and locative in the main clause. But in a relative clause it can only function as subject or object.[624] In the Amazonian language Jarawara, the common argument can have any core or peripheral function in the main clause but only be subject, agent, or object in the relative clause.[625] By contrast, in Boumaa Fijian the common argument can have any core or peripheral function in the main clause as

[622] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:469–71.

[623] Häberl, 'Mandaic', 703.

[624] Aikhenvald, 'Warekena', 273–78.

[625] Dixon and Vogel, *The Jarawara Language of Southern Amazonia*, 225–28.

well as in the relative clause.[626] These observations correspond to the Accessibility Hierarchy which Keenan and Comrie proposed in two papers.[627] The hierarchy can be summarised as follows:[628]

The common argument in a relative clause can be used:

1. Just in subject function (i.e. subject and agent)
2. Also in object function
3. Also in 'indirect object' function
4. Also in 'oblique' function
5. Also in possessor function
6. Also in the standard of comparison ('object of comparison') function.

If the common argument can be the indirect object in a relative clause it can also serve as object, subject, and agent. Similarly, the common argument can also be used in functions one through four if it can be a possessor. In addition to this hierarchy, Dixon notes that functions attested in the relative clause are typically attested in the main clause. Languages that only allow a few syntactic functions for main clause common arguments, typically allow the same or fewer functions for the relative clause common argument.[629]

7.1.5.1 Syriac

How does Syriac fit into the accessibility hierarchy? More specifically, can the common argument have functions 4, 5 and 6? Examples 7.73 and 7.74 show that both main clause and relative clause common arguments can function as possessors. In 7.73 the main clause common argument is *mšīḥā*, the possessor of the noun *tešmeštā* 'service'. Likewise, the relative clause common argument in 7.74 is realised through a possessive pronominal suffix.

7.73	*neḥze*	*mānā*	*ʾāzel*	*l-āh*	*l-tešmeštā*
	see.PC.3MS	what	go.PTCP.MS	OBJ-POSS.3FS	OBJ-service
	da-mšīḥā	*d-šāre*		*b-eh*	
	GEN-Christ	REL-dwell.PTCP.MS		in-POSS.3MS	
	See what works for the service of Christ who dwells in it. (Aph 1, 8:14)				

[626] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:319–21; Dixon, *A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian*, 251–55.

[627] Keenan and Comrie, 'Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar'; Keenan and Comrie, 'Data on the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy'.

[628] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:320.

[629] Dixon, 2:321–22.

7.74 *wa-l-haw* *da-b̲r-**eh*** *krīh=wā*
and-to-that REL-son-POSS.3MS sick.PASS.PTCP=be.SC.3MS
And to the one whose son was sick, … (Aph 1, 20:18)

The above examples shows that main clause and relative clause common arguments can have most of the functions in the accessibility hierarchy; except standard of comparison. In Syriac, standard of comparison is typically expressed through the preposition *men* 'from, than'. Examples like 7.75 show that relative clause common arguments can be preceded by this preposition. However, in this example and in other instances, the common argument does not serve as the standard of comparison. Instead, the preposition means 'from'.

7.75 *w-sāʾem=at* *b-haw* *baytā* *d-ʾappqaṯ*
and-place.PTCP.MS=PRON.2MS in-that house REL-remove.SC.2MS
***men**-neh* *nurā*
from-POSS.3MS fire
And you place (it) in that house from which you removed the fire (PMA 5, I 17:4–5)

By contrast, the second main clause common argument in 7.76 serves as the standard of comparison. Consequently, all functions in the hierarchy are attested for main clause common arguments.

7.76 *da-ḡbē=ū* *mawtā* *d-meṭṭul* *ʾalāhā* *yattīr*
DIRECT.SPEECH-preferable=COP.3MS death REL-because.of God better
men *ḥayē* *d-ba-ḥṭāhē* *mʿarzelīn*
than life REL-with-sin interweave.PTCP.MP
Death on account of God is preferable compared to life that is interwoven with sin. (PMA 5, I 18:4–5)

The present corpus does not contain a relative clause where the common argument functions as the standard of comparison. This does not mean that the relative clause common argument could not have been used with this function, especially since relative clause common arguments with 'oblique' functions are relatively rare.

In conclusion, Syriac is one of the languages in which most of the accessibility hierarchy is attested in relative clauses.[630] Yet, it must be stressed that the common argument functions as subject, agent, copula subject, or object in most relative clauses. Moreover, the common argument almost always has one of these four functions when the main clause common argument is a pronoun.

[630] Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 179–86.

7.1.5.2 Early NENA

The early NENA texts exhibit a similar pattern. In the relative clause, the common argument primarily serves as agent, subject, copula subject, and direct object. Examples like 7.77 and 7.78 show that it can function as a possessor or a peripheral argument.

7.77 *bron-i* *lā* *hāw-ēt* *qalulā* *b-lušān-ux* *mēx* *lozā*
son-POSS.1SG NEG be.PRS-D.2MS quick with-tongue-POSS.2MS like tamarisk
de-k-pēš-ā *xziṯā* *b-qāmēṯā* *we-l-xarṯā*
REL-IND-become.PRS-D.3FS seen.PTCP at-first and-at-last
k-pāyēš-Ø *ʾixīlā* *pēr-**āh***
IND-become.PRS-D.3MS eat.PTCP fruit-POSS.3FS
My son, do not be hasty with your tongue like the tamarisk-tree that is seen early, but whose fruit is eaten last. (Aḥ 547)

7.78 *ʾen* *fahm-et* *kulmā* *d-kem-dām-et-ti*
if know.PRS-D.2MS everything REL-PST-compare.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG
*bgāw-**ēh***
with-POSS.3MS
If you know everything you have compared me with (Aḥ 592)

In 7.79 the main clause common argument serves as the standard of comparison. No relative clause common argument has this function but 7.80 shows that comparative constructions can be used in relative clauses. The absence of this function may be coincidental.

7.79 *brōn-ī* *mar ʾēnē semyē …* *bešṭāv* *ʾīlēh* ***men***
son-POSS.1SG blind … better COP.3MS than
semyā ***d-lebbā*** *dē-k-šābeq-Ø* *ʾurxā* *ṭrōstā*
blind GEN-heart REL-IND-leave.PRS-D.3MS path truth
My son, the blind … is better than the blind of heart who leaves the path of truth (Aḥ 552–53)

7.80 *w-lā* *xzēy-lī* *mendī* *d-īlēh* *bēš*
and-NEG see.PST-L.1SG something REL-COP.3MS more
marīrā *m-mēskēnuṯā*
bitter than-poverty
But I have not seen anything that is more bitter than poverty. (Aḥ 552)

7.1.5.3 Modern NENA

The modern NENA dialects exhibit the same pattern as Syriac and early NENA. All core functions are attested in both main clauses and relative clauses. The relative clause common argument can also have oblique functions or be a possessor:

7.81 *ʾáwwa* *máxyɛ-le* *sépe* *l-qðálə* *d-o-súsa*
this strike.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS sword OBJ-neck GEN-that-horse
ṯ-íle *ʾəθya* *b-xáṣ-**e*** ***díye**,|*
REL-COP.3MS come.PTCP on-back-POSS.3MS GEN.3MS
He struck his sword on the neck of the horse on whose back he had come. (C. Barwar A12:61)

7.82 *xákma* *mən-néy* *ṯ-íwa* *bəθwan-**éy*** *rə́ḥqa|*
some from-POSS.3MP REL-COP.PST.3MS houses-POSS.3MP far
Some of them whose houses were far away (B15:21)

The above examples all have a relative marker. It should perhaps be noted that these constructions are relatively rare in C. Barwar. Constructions without a relative marker are more common; this absence is conditioned by the indefinite status of the main clause common argument:

7.83 *ʾítwa-le* *xa-xurzàya,|* *bɛ́θ-**e*** ***díye*** *šə́tt-ət*
EXIST-L.3MS a-nephew house-POSS.3MS GEN.3MS bottom-GEN
màθa-wewa.|
village-COP.3MS
He had a nephew, whose house was at the bottom of the village. (C. Barwar A29:15)

7.84 *ʾiθ-náše* *šúl-**ɛ*** *ʾàw-ile.|*
EXIST-people job-POSS.3MP that-COP.3MS
There are people whose job that is. (C. Barwar B5:93)

There is also one attestation in which the main clause common argument serves as the standard of comparison:

7.85 *mára* *bíš* *qəm-madqə́r-Ø-re* ***mən-d-ó***
say.INF more PST-consider.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS than-REL-that
déwa *ṯ-axə́l-Ø-wa* *ʾə́rbe* *dìye.|*
wolf REL-eat.PRS-D.3MS-PST sheep GEN.3MS

The story tells that He (God) considered him worth more than the wolf that ate his sheep. (C. Barwar A10:13)

As with Syriac, there are no attestations of a relative clause common argument with this function in the corpus. There are, however, relative clauses where another clause constituent (than the common argument) has this function:

7.86 *ʾíθ* *xa-náša* *gu-d-áy* *mðìta|* *biš-fãqíra* *m-kúlla* *nàša.|*
EXIST one-man in-REL-that town more-poor than-all man
there was a man in the town who was poorer than anybody else. (C. Barwar A8:3)

7.1.5.4 Relative clause common arguments after generic terms or pronouns

What is the function of the relative clause common argument when the main clause common argument is a generic term or a pronoun? In these contexts, the common argument often function as subject (7.87), copula subject (7.88), agent (7.89), or object (7.90):

7.87 *ʾámnə-t* *tì-**lə**,|* *b-sép-a* *ḵdál-u* *mxìla.|*
which-REL come.PST-L.3MS with-sword-POSS.3FS neck-POSS.3MS hit.PTCP.MS
Whoever came, she beheaded him with her sword. (C. Urmi A43:2)

7.88 *máre* *kú-t-**ḵile*** *ferássa* *ʾáθe-Ø* *ʾàxxane,|*
say.PST-L.3MS all-REL-COP.3MS warrior come.PRS-D.3MS here
He said 'Whoever is a warrior, let him come here. (C. Barwar A29:59)

7.89 *hè|* *náša* *lət|* *ḵat-ʾá-məndi* *ʾavàd-**Ø**-lə.|*
yes man EXIST.NEG REL-that-thing do.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS
Indeed, there is nobody who can do this. (C. Urmi A3:45)

7.90 *kú-məndi-t* *bắy-ət* *wùd-li.|*
all-what-REL want.PRS-D.2MS do.IMP.2MS-L.1SG
Do to me whatever you want. (C. Barwar A25:14)

Dixon mentions two studies that investigate the relative frequency of the different syntactic functions. They consider English and the Panoan language Shipibo-Konib, respectively. Both suggest that object is the most common function for the common argument in relative clauses. In Shipibo-Konib object is closely followed by both subject and agent. In English, object is followed by subject, copula subject,

and agent.[631] A survey of the present corpus does not corroborate this pattern. The most common function for the common argument tends to be subject in all three corpora. Moreover, agent and copula subject are almost as common in these corpora as object.

In conclusion, the function of the common argument has not changed much from Syriac to NENA. All the functions in the accessibility hierarchy are used in the main clause and the relative clause. Moreover, there seems to be a preference for subject, agent, copula subject, or object in the relative clause when the main clause common argument is a generic term or a pronoun.

7.2 Relative clause marking

Dixon mentions six features frequently used to identify relative clauses or to distinguish between different types, e.g. between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses: (1) intonation contour; (2) position; (3) prosody; (4) verbal inflection in the relative clause; (5) relative clause markers; (6) relative pronouns.[632] Intonation contour, position, and relative markers are relevant for the present discussion. There is no indication that Syriac or any other Aramaic dialect used prosody or verbal inflection to mark relative clauses. Moreover, the relative marker *d-* probably functioned as a relative pronoun in early forms of Aramaic but not in Syriac or NENA dialects (cf. 7.1.4).

7.2.1 Intonation contour

Some languages use intonation contour to identify relative clause constructions. Dixon writes that canonical constructions always belong to the same intonational unit as its main clause while coordinated clauses typically belong to different units.[633]

The corpora from C. Barwar and C. Urmi contain four main patterns. In 7.91 the relative clause and the main clause belong to the same intonation group. This is the pattern that Dixon identifies as prototypical for canonical relative clauses but it is not the most common one in C. Barwar.

7.91	*qím-li*	*zíl-li*	*šqíl-li*	*ʾáwwa*	*júlla*
	rise.PST-L.1SG	go.PST-L.1SG	take.PST-L.1SG	this	cloth
	ṯ-íle	*gu-púmm-ət*	*mzíð-ət*	*pràge.*|	
	REL-COP.3MS	in-mouth-GEN	bag-GEN	millet	

I went and took the cloth that is in the mouth of the bag of millet. (C. Barwar A23:23)

[631] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:322; Valenzuela, *Relativization in Shipibo-Konibo*, 49; Fox, 'The Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy Reinterpreted', 858–59.

[632] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:338–48.

[633] Dixon, 2:339; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:935; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:430.

In 7.92 the main clause common argument and the relative clause belong to the same intonation group. However, the main clause verb and the indirect object belong to a separate intonation group.

7.92	*ʾan-suráye*	*t-wáwa*	*gu-Tùrkiya*|	*zíl-la*	*l-ʾIrən.*|
	those-Christians	REL-COP.PST.3PL	in-PN	go.PST-L.3PL	to-PN
	The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran. (C. Barwar B2:8)				

In 7.93 the relative clause belongs to another intonation group than the main clause. In 7.94 the main clause verb and the common argument belong to one intonation group while the appositional demonstrative belongs to the same intonation group as the relative clause.

7.93	*xzi-ʾánna*	*ṭḷa-nàše*|	*ṯ-íla*	*prim-əl-le*	*tàwra,*|
	see.IMP.PL-those	three-people	REL-COP.3PL	slaughter.PTCP-COP-L.3MS	ox
	Take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox (C. Barwar A22:21)				

7.94	*már-e*	*ṭla-xulám-e*	*dìye*|	*ʾo-t-wéwa*
	say.PST-L.3MS	to-servant-POSS.3MS	GEN.3MS	that-REL-COP.PST.3MS
	ʾəθya	*mən-ṣὲda*|		
	come.PTCP.MS	from-hunt		
	He said to his servant, who had come from the hunt (C. Barwar A25:54)			

The following observations are particularly relevant:

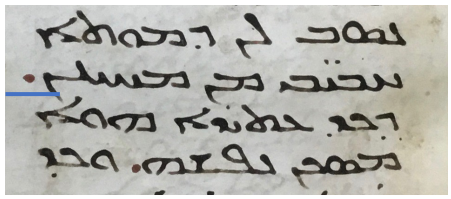
1. The relative clause can only belong to another intonation group (than the main clause) if it is attributive.
2. Relative clauses often belong to the same intonation group as the main clause common argument.
3. The main clause common argument often belong to a separate intonation group than the rest of the main clause. This pattern is particularly common when the relative clause is attributive and restrictive.
4. Non-restrictive relative clauses with indefinite heads typically belong to a separate intonation group.
5. When an appositional demonstrative is used in addition to a noun phrase, the demonstrative and the relative clause make up a separate intonation group.[634]

[634] Cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:456–57.

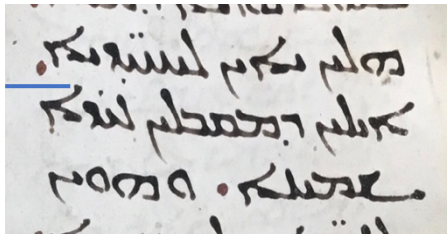
6. If an indefinite pronoun serves as the common argument in a headless existential relative clause, the main clause and the relative clause belong to the same intonation group.
7. The quantifier *kut* is always part of the same intonation group as the relative clause.

The tendency to group the main clause common argument and the relative clause in the same intonation group – with or without the rest of the main clause – suggests that intonation group boundaries are used to link the relative clause to the common argument. The tendency to do this when the clause is restrictive, also suggests that intonation is used to differentiate between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses (cf. section 7.4.3).[635] This is corroborated by the even stronger tendency to put non-restrictive relative clauses with indefinite heads in separate intonation groups.

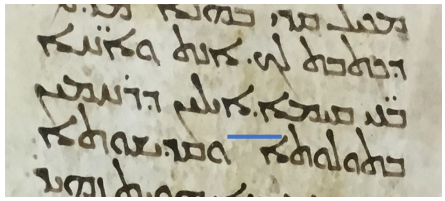
The preceding chapters argue that Syriac pausal dots were used to mark prosodic boundaries, e.g. between main clauses and purpose clauses. Considering the modern pattern, one would expect dots to be rare in Syriac relative clauses – at least between the main clause common argument and the first word of the relative clause. A survey of relative clauses in Aphrahat's demonstrations 1, 6, and 17 confirms this pattern. In demonstration 6 there are very few dots between the main clause common argument and the relative clause. There are, however, exceptions. In the top picture *maḥyānan* 'our saviour' is followed by a dot. In the other pictures dots are placed between the main clause common arguments (*līḥīdāyē* and *bnay qyāmā*) and appositional demonstratives (*aylen*). The top two pictures are from BL Add. Ms. 17182. In BL Add. Ms. 14916 a small dot is, similarly, placed after *maḥyānan*. However, there is no dot after *līḥīdāyē*. The placement of dots in Ms. 14916 is less consistent than the dots in Ms. 17182. The dots in Ms. 17182 are also larger and made with red rather than black ink. Should these difference be ascribed to the greater consistency of the scribe that dotted Ms. 17182; perhaps at a later date? That is certainly possible but it would be necessary to investigate a larger sample from the manuscripts to draw firm conclusions. Yet even if the dotting is less consistent in BL Add. Ms. 14916 it is important to note the placement of dots before appositional demonstratives because it suggests that the intonational pattern of these clauses was similar to the patterns observed in NENA. The use of dots



BL Add. Ms. 17182, 57v



BL Add. Ms. 17182, 57v



BL Add. Ms. 14916, 46v

[635] See Khan, 2:453, 455 for a similar observation about non-restrictive relative clauses in C. Urmi; Note, however, the clauses with the relative particle ḳat show more independence and often belong to another intonation group than the head even when they are restrictive (Khan, 2:459).

after nouns with a possessive suffix, like *maḥyānan*, certainly suggests that non-restrictive relative clauses belonged to a separate intonation group than the main clause.

In short, the dots in the Syriac corpus exhibit a similar distributional pattern as intonation group boundaries in the modern dialects. This adds further evidence to the cumulative argument built in previous chapters. The prosody of subordinate constructions has remained relatively unchanged over the last fifteen hundred years.

7.2.2 Position

Relative clauses can also be marked by a fixed placement in relation to the main clause or the main clause common argument. The relative clause could, for example, be placed at the end of the main clause. Alternatively, the relative clause could be placed immediately before or after the main clause common argument. The embedding of a clause in a main clause can also serve as evidence that it is a relative clause.[636] Syriac relative clauses are often placed immediately after the main clause common argument or the noun phrase it belongs to. The same pattern is attested in the early NENA texts and in the modern dialects. The only exceptions are constructions with an appositional demonstrative.[637] Position can, therefore, be said to play a minor role in identifying relative clauses in all three corpora.

7.2.3 Relative marker

Many languages have relative markers, often in the form of a clitic or a short grammatical word, indicating the boundary between the main clause and the relative clause. These markers can be placed at the beginning or end of the relative clause, they can be used to enclose the relative clause, or they can be added to the beginning or end of the relative clause verb.[638] In Syriac, *d-* is almost always placed at the beginning of the relative clause. Unlike Akkadian, Arabic, Classical Hebrew, and Gəʿəz, asyndetic relative clauses cannot be attached to a noun in the construct state.[639] The relative marker is only omitted in Hebraisms and in chains of coordinated relative clauses.[640]

A similar pattern is exhibited by the early NENA texts. The pattern is more complex in the modern dialects. In Alqosh, the particle is typically prefixed to the first word of the relative clause (*d-* or *de-*) but it can also be suffixed to the last word before the relative clause (*-ed*).[641] In Qaraqosh, the particle *d*

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[636] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:339.

[637] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:951.

[638] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:342–44.

[639] Cf. Goldenberg, *Semitic Languages*, 236–37; cf. Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 66.

[640] Cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 289, 302; Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 66 also notes that the marker is used twice if the common argument is followed by a genitive phrase and a relative clause.

[641] Coghill, 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh', 307–08. Note that Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 119–20 analyses these this structure as a new type of construct state.

is either prefixed to the first word of the relative clause, suffixed to the last word before the relative clause, or omitted.[642] The presence or absence is largely conditioned by the definiteness of the main clause common argument. When indefinite, an asyndetic construction without *d* can be used.[643]

The patter is more complex in C. Barwar. Some clauses follow the same pattern as Syriac and the early NENA texts, the subordinator being prefixed to the first word of the relative clause (cf. 7.95). In other examples, like 7.96, the relative marker is prefixed to the last word of the main clause.[644] This is particularly common after *kumə̀ndi* 'everything'.[645]

7.95	*lɛ́le*	*xzáy-əll-a*	*brátə*	***t***-*wáwa*	*kás-le*
	NEG.COP.3MS	see.INF-to-POSS.3FS	girl	REL-COP.PST.3FS	with-L.3MS
	dìye.|				
	GEN.3MS				
	He did not see the girl who had been with him. (C. Barwar A26:9)				

7.96	*ʾámər-Ø*	*šqúl*	*kùmə̀ndi-**t***	*bə̌́y-ət.*|
	say.PRS-D.3MS	take.IMP.2MS	everything-REL	want.PRS-D.2MS
	He said 'Take everything you want'. (C. Barwar A22:13)			

The relative marker can also be omitted before restrictive relative clauses modifying indefinite common arguments.[646] Asyndetic non-restrictive relative clauses typically occur with the particle *ʾiθwa*.[647] A marker is usually used when the common argument is definite and when the relative clause is restrictive. The marker can also be used when the common argument is definite and the relative clause is non-restrictive. Alternatively, the marker is present when the common argument is indefinite and the relative clause restrictive.[648] The marker is also used in conjunction with the cardinal *xa* 'one' and with appositional demonstratives.[649] There is, at least, one example where the marker is repeated in a chain of two coordinated relative clauses.[650]

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[642] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 207–09, 474.

[643] Khan, 474; cf. Arnold, 'Relative Clauses in Western Neo-Aramaic', 66.

[644] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:951.

[645] Cf. constructions with interrogatives in J. Zakho (Gutman, *Attributive Constructions In North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*, 120–21).

[646] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:961.

[647] Khan, 1:961–62.

[648] Khan, 1:963.

[649] Cf. Khan, 1:963–65; who also notes that constructions with demonstratives have been generalised in J. Arbel.

[650] Khan, 1:965.

When the main clause common argument is a noun it is often easy to determine whether the marker is part of the main clause or the relative clause. The same is not true in constructions with the quantifier *kut* 'all that/who'. In these constructions, clause boundaries are often blurred. In 7.97 and 7.98 the quantifier is part of the same phonological words as the copula and the relative clause verb. Consequently, one can argue, on phonological grounds, that the relative marker is part of the relative clause. Yet if the quantifier should be counted as a realisation of the main clause common argument the relative marker could also be part of the main clause.

7.97	*már-e*	***kú-ṯ**-ile*	*bàθr-i*|
	say.PST-L.3MS	all-REL-COP.3MS	after-POSS.1SG
	He said: Whoever is behind me … (C. Barwar A12:69)		

7.98	***ku-t**-y-ázəl-Ø*	*le-y-qáləb-Ø*	*b-ay-ùrxa.*|
	all-REL-IND-go.PRS-D.3MS	NEG-IND-return.PRS-D.3MS	on-that-road
	Everybody who goes on that road does not return. (C. Barwar A8:34)		

C. Urmi exhibits a different pattern compared to C. Barwar. The relative marker *ḵaṯ*, unlike *d-/t-*, is not suffixed to the last element of the preceding clause. Consequently, it functions much more like a boundary marker than *d-/t-*.

7.99	*čačála*	***ḵaṯ**-ílə*	*màlca,*|
	bald.man	REL-COP.3MS	king
	The bald man who is the king (C. Urmi A1:29)		

Khan argues that *ḵaṯ* originally marked purpose clauses but its use has been expanded to include complement clauses and relative clauses.[651] The use of this new marker in all three constructions is particularly interesting because it shows that *ḵaṯ* exhibits a similar distributional pattern as *d-*.

However, the quantifier has also merged with the relative marker to form *cut* 'all that/who'. Like its cognate in C. Barwar, *cut* can be part of the same phonological word as the relative clause verb:

7.100	***cu-t**-mačəx-Ø-lə*|	*xá-dana*	*+dínar*	*b-yavv-ən-nə.*|
	all-REL-find.PRS-D.3MS-L.3MS	one-time	dinar	FUT-give.PRS-D.1SG-L.3MS
	I shall give a dinar to whoever finds it. (C. Urmi A26:1)			

[651] Khan, '2.5. The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia and Northwestern Iran', 227–28.

To summarise, there are three significant developments between Syriac and NENA. The first is the ability to attach the relative marker as a suffix rather than a prefix. The second is the use of asyndetic constructions which are very rare in Syriac and early NENA texts. Third, the clause boundary between the main clause and the relative clause is sometimes blurred, especially with quantifiers and appositional demonstratives.

7.3 Structure of the relative clause

This section treats several questions related to the structure of relative clauses: constituent order, the use of peripheral arguments, the use of verbal forms, and the use of negations.

7.3.1 Constituent order

7.3.1.1 Constituent order within a core argument

How many nouns can be part of the main clause common argument. In English, the same relative clause can be used to modify two different nouns, following the coordinand in a noun phrase: 'I saw the doctor and the nurse who live next door'. Some languages require two different relative clauses, one for each noun. Syriac belongs to the same group as English, allowing one relative clause to modify two coordinated nouns:

7.101	*w-sguḏ*	*l-nūrā*	*wa-l-šemšā*	*d-sāḡeḏ*	
	and-worship.IMP.2MS	OBJ-fire	and-OBJ-sun	REL-worship.PTCP.MS	
	l-hōn	*malkā*			
	OBJ-POSS.3MP	king			
	And worship the fire and the sun which the king worships. (PMA 5, II 7:2–3)				

Examples like 7.101 are very rare. In fact, 7.101 is almost the only example in the Syriac corpus. There are, however, no examples where the same relative clause is used twice to modify two different nouns. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that this example is representative of Syriac and that a larger corpus would yield more examples like 7.101.

Examples of this type are equally rare in early NENA. The Aḥiqar text does, however, contain one example of this type:

7.102	*we-ḏxor*	*lexmā*	*w-māyā*	*dī-xel-Ø-lan*		*bēxdāḏē*
	and-remember.IMP.MS	bread	and-water	REL-eat.PST-D.3MS-L.1PL		together
	and remember the bread and the water we consumed together. (Aḥ 574)					

In the modern dialects attaching a relative clause to the coordinand in a noun phrase is also rare. The folktales in C. Barwar only contains two examples:

7.103 *ʾáyya* *ʾisáqθa* *ʾu-ʾáyya* *yaláxta* *ṯ-íwəx* *mšuxàlpe,*|
this ring and-this scarf REL-COP.PST.1PL exchange.PTCP.PL
This is the ring and this the scarf that we exchanged. (C. Barwar A4:8)

7.104 *xzé-gən* *xòn-əx*| *ʾu-Mằmo* *ṯ-íla*
see.IMP.FS-PRT brother-POSS.2FS and-PN REL-COP.3PL
tíwe *mṭawóle* *b-šətrənjàne*|
sit.PTCP.PL play.PTCP.PL at-chess
See your brother and Mămo who are sitting playing chess, (C. Barwar A26:64)

In short, a relative clause can be attached to a coordinand in a noun phrase in both Syriac and the modern dialects. The rarity of these constructions should not be interpreted as a grammatical restriction. Rather, it is a reminder that some constructions do not show up in written records, even in transcriptions of recordings.

7.3.1.2 Constituent order and the copula

In main clauses, the NENA copula typically follows the copula complement. In these instances, the copula complement often takes the stress as well.[652] If the speaker wants to put focus on a specific clause constituent the enclitic copula can also be attached to that constituent. Similarly, the copula is attached to *ʾən* 'if' or the subordinator *d-* in subordinate clauses.[653]

7.105 *ʾăwáha* ***ṯ=ile*** *xóðe* *díye* *bă̆yé-Ø-le* *bàxta.*|
that REL=COP.3MS by.himself GEN.3MS need.PRS-D.3MS-L.3FS wife
That man who is alone needs a wife. (C. Barwar A27:7)

This pattern also applies to compound forms where the copula is combined with the resultative participle or an infinitive.

7.106 *xzáy-ət* *ʾănáha* *naše-ṯ=íla* *ráqa* *bàθr-i?*|
see.PRS-D.2MS those people-REL=COP.3MS run.INF after-POSS.1SG
Do you see those people who are running after me?' (C. Barwar A7:17)

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[652] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:134, 181; cf. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:471.

[653] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:634–35.

7.107	*ku-ṯ=**ile**-zíla*		*b-ay-ʾúrxa*	*lɛ́le*	*qlìba.*|
	everyone-REL=COP.3MS-GO.PTCP.MS		on-this-road	NEG.COP.3MS	return.PTCP.MS
	Everyone who has gone on this road has not returned.' (C. Barwar A8:45)				

The early NENA texts exhibit a similar pattern.[654] In 7.110, however, the copula follows the resultative participle. This could indicate that it was not necessary for the copula to be attached to the subordinator. More examples would, however, be needed to show this.

7.108	*qatti=lāh*	*d=**iwān***	*smextā*	*b-gāw-āh*	*be-ṣloṯā*
	stick=COP.3FS	REL=COP.1SG	lean.PTCP	on-inside-POSS.3FS	in-prayer
	It is the stick on which I lean in prayer. (Aḥ 613)				

7.109	*ʾāyēt*	*ʾiwēt*	*d=**weta-wā***	*beʾyā*	*ʾell-i*
	you	COP.2MS	REL=COP.2MS-AUX.PST	love.PTCP	to-POSS.1SG
	You were the one who was precious to me. (Aḥ 571)				

7.110	*lāken*	*ʾalhā*	*kem-xāleṣ-Ø-li*	*d-ẓlimā*	***wen-wā***
	but	God	PST-save.PRS-D.3MS-L.1SG	REL-oppress.PTCP	COP.1SG-PST
	But God has saved me who was oppressed (Aḥ 610)				

The fronting of the copula is not unique to the modern dialects. 7.111 contains an example of Syriac *hūyū* 'he is' attached to the initial subordinator. Similarly, the existential particle *ʾīṯ* is attached to the subordinator in 7.112 and 7.113. This is the most frequent pattern with an existential particle in Syriac relative clauses.

7.111	*ʾettsīm*	*l-eh*	*ʿal*	*kīpā*	*d-**hūyū***	*mār-an*
	be.placed.SC.3MS	SUBJ-POSS.3MS	on	stone	REL-COP.3MS	lord-POSS.1PL
	yešūʿ	*mšīḥā*				
	PN	PN				
	It is placed on the stone which is Jesus Christ. (Aph 1, 7:3–4)					

7.112	*w-haw*	*d-**ʾīṯ-aw***	*šeṯestā*	*b-ʿeqb-eh*	*d-benyānā*
	and-that	REL-COP-POSS.3MS	foundation	in-corner-POSS.3MS	GEN-building
	And the one who is the foundation in the corner of the building (Phil 1 7:18–19)				

[654] Cf. Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*, 254–56, 265–66.

7.113 *kar* *d-ʾ**ītˍ-aw=wā*** *ṭuḇānā* *narsai*
place REL-COP-POSS.3MS=be.SC.3MS blessed PN
the place where the blessed Narsai was (PMA 5, I 16:5–6)

However, there are clauses where the existential particle is not placed after the subordinator:

7.114 *ʾen* *ger* *ʿamme* ***d**-nāmusā* ***layt*** *l-hon*
if for gentiles REL-law EXIST.NEG to-POSS.3MP
If the gentiles who do not have the law … (Phil 1, 4:17)

7.115 *w-ʿāḇrīn* *ʿal* *dayrā* *d-ʾaḥe*
and-pass.by.PTCP.MP beside monastery GEN-brothers
da**-lbar men* *mdittā* ***ʾītˍ-eh=wāt
REL-outside city COP-POSS.3MS=be.SC.3FS
and passing beside the monastery of the brothers, which is outside the city. (PMA 5, I 19:1–2)

In some texts, e.g. Aphrahat's demonstrations, the author tends to also place verbs clause-initially in relative clauses. Yet, this pattern is not exhibited by other authors, e.g. in the corpus from the Persian Martyr Acts.

To conclude, the tendency to place the copula clause-initially in NENA relative clauses is not necessarily a new development since the Syriac existential particle also exhibits a tendency to be clause-initial.

7.3.1.3 The constituent order of main clauses with a quantifier as the common argument

English has so called condensed relative constructions which use *what(ever)*, *who(ever)*, *where(ever)*, or *when(ever)*. The previous discussion has mentioned the Aramaic counterpart, i.e. constructions with quantifiers and interrogatives. Both C. Barwar and C. Urmi exhibit a tendency to place relative clauses with a quantifier before the main clause.

7.116 ***ku-t**-dúk-ət* *bắy-ət* *nabl-àn-nux.*|
all-REL-place-REL want.PRS-D.2MS take.PRS-D.1SG-L.2MS
I'll take you to any place you want.' (C. Barwar A4:15)

7.117 ***cú-t*** *la-pàləx-Ø*| *lé* ⁺ʾ*àxəl-Ø.*|
all-REL NEG-work.PRS-D.3MS NEG.IND eat.PRS-D.3MS
Whoever does not work does not eat.' (C. Urmi A35:17)

There are, however, exceptions in both dialects, especially if the relative clause serves as a direct or oblique object.

7.118 *ʾu-sápr-ət* ***ku-ṯ-****áθe-Ø* *làxxa.*|
and-wait.PRS-D.2MS all-REL-come.PRS-D.3MS here
Wait for whoever comes here. (C. Barwar A22:23)

7.119 *màr-rə*| *ʾá* *+savə́lta* *ḵa-****cú-t*** *ʾòy-a*|
say.PST-L.3MS this shoe to-all-REL be.PRS-D.3FS
ʾána *ʾáyən* *ɟor-ə̀n-na.*|
I she marry.PRS-D.1SG-L.3FS
He said 'I shall marry whoever this shoe fits.' (C. Urmi A50:8)

Nevertheless, this tendency finds an interesting parallel in English constructions with *who(ever)* and *what(ever)*, both of which are clause-initial.[655]

The sample from the early NENA texts is relatively small. Yet, even in this small sample there is one example where the quantifier is clause-initial (after the purposive marker) and one where it follows the main verb.

7.120 *d-lā* ***kol*** *d-ʾet-tux* *bēṯ-nabl-i-lēh* *menn-ux*
PURP-NEG all REL-EXIST-POSS.2SG FUT-take.PRS-D.3PL-L.3MS from-POSS.2MS
… lest they take away from you everything you have. (Aḥ 550)

7.121 *w-lā* *gāly-ēt* ***kol*** *d-xāzēy-t*
and-NEG reveal.PRS-D.2MS all REL-see.PRS-D.2MS
Do not reveal everything you see. (Aḥ 546)

The same pattern is exhibited in Syriac constructions with *kul* 'all'. In 7.122, the relative clause comes first and in 7.123 it comes after the verb.

7.122 *d-****kul*** *da-mhaymen* *b-āh* *lā* *neḏḥal*
DIR.SPEECH-all REL-believe.PTCP.MS in-POSS.3FS NEG fear.PC.3MS
No one who believes in it will fear. (Aph 1, 11:9)

[655] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:360.

7.123 *d-ʿaḇaḏ* *šmayyā* *w-ʾarʿā* *w-yamme* *w-**kul***
REL-make.SC.3MS heaven and-earth and-sea and-all
d-ʾīṯ *b-hun*
REL-COP in-POSS.3MP
who made the heavens and the earth and all that is within them. (Aph 1, 22:13)

In general, there is a strong tendency to place these relative clauses first when the main clause common argument serves as the subject or agent of the main clause verb. If the main clause common argument serves as the direct object, the quantifier can still be clause-initial but it can also follow the main verb. Similar observations could be made about constructions with *man d-* 'whoever'. If the main clause common argument serves as subject or agent of the main clause verb, it will most likely be clause-initial.

7.3.2 Peripheral arguments

In some languages, relative clauses only include core arguments. Dixon mentions Jarawara as one such example.[656] The above survey, especially 7.1.5, shows that relative clauses in all dialects allow the relative clause common argument to have various oblique functions; e.g. locative 'in' (7.124, 7.127), ablative 'from' (7.125), or commitative 'with' (7.126).

7.124 *neḥze* *mānā* *ʾāzel* *l-āh* *l-tešmeštā*
see.PC.3MS what go.PTCP.MS OBJ-POSS.3FS OBJ-service
da-mšīḥā *d-šāre* *b-eh*
GEN-Christ REL-dwell.PTCP.MS in-POSS.3MS
See what works for the service of Christ who dwells in it. (Aph 1, 8:14)

7.125 *w-sāʾem=at* *b-haw* *baytā* *d-ʾappqaṯ*
and-place.PTCP.MS=PRON.2MS in-that house REL-remove.SC.2MS
men-neh *nurā*
from-POSS.3MS fire
And you place (it) in that house from which you removed the fire (PMA 5, I 17:4–5)

7.126 *ʾen* *fahm-et* *kulmā* *d-kem-dām-et-ti*
if understand.PRS-D.2MS everything REL-PST-compare.PRS-D.2MS-L.1SG
bgāw-ēh
with-POSS.3MS
If you know everything you have compared me with (Aḥ 592)

[656] Dixon, 2:349; Dixon and Vogel, *The Jarawara Language of Southern Amazonia*, 525.

7.127	*ʾámər*	*bríxta*	*dudíya*	*ṯ-iwət*	*ʾáti*	*qíma*	*gàw-a!*|
	say.PRS-D.3MS	blessed	cradle	REL-COP.2MS	you	grow.PTCP.MS	in-POSS.3FS
	He said ‘Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up. (C. Barwar A21:41)						

In short, there is no restriction on the use of peripheral arguments in relative clauses. However, in all three corpora relative clauses contain fewer peripheral arguments than main clauses.

7.3.3 Use of verbal forms

Relative clause verbs never have imperative or interrogative mood.[657] Apart from this, there are no observable restrictions on the use of Syriac verbal forms. Relative clauses contain suffix and prefix conjugation forms as well as active and passive participles and copula constructions.[658] Similar observations can be made about verbal forms in the early NENA texts and in the modern dialects. The differences between Syriac and the modern dialects are a result of diachronic developments. This use of verbal forms is reminiscent of developments observes in previous chapters. New verbal forms emerged in NENA, replacing older ones. As these new forms emerged, authors and speakers simply used the different forms available.

7.3.4 Use of Negation

Syriac employs the same negator, *lā* ‘no’, in both main clauses and relative clauses, following the same pattern as most of the world’s languages.[659] The negative existential particle *layt* is also used in both.

7.128	*ʾen*	*ger*	*ʿamme*	*d-nāmusā*	***layt***	*l-hon*
	if	for	gentiles	REL-law	EXIST.NEG	to-POSS.3MP
	If the gentiles who do not have the law … (Phil 1, 4:17)					

The early NENA texts and the modern dialects do not show any divergence from the Syriac pattern, employing the negators *la* and *le*/*ley*. The negative copula also has the same distribution and function in both relative clauses and main clauses. In short, there are no special negative relative markers, like the purposive markers *dalmā* and *lekūn* (cf. 4.2.1.2, 4.2.2.1, 4.2.3.4).

7.4 Functions of the relative clause

Can relative clauses occur in subordinate clauses? Can more than one relative clause occur in the same sentence? How do Aramaic dialects distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses? These are the main questions considered in this section.

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[657] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:348–49.

[658] Cf. Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 207–08.

[659] Dixon, *Basic Linguistic Theory*, 2:350.

7.4.1 Relative clauses in subordinate clauses

The first question receives a positive answer in Syriac. Relative clauses can be part of complement clauses (7.129), purpose clauses (7.130), temporal clauses (7.131), and reason clauses (7.132).

7.129 *mḥappṭīn=wāw* *l-eh* *l-ʿaḇdā da-mšīḥā*
urge.PTCP.MP=be.SC.3MP OBJ-POSS.3MS OBJ-PN
d-nezdhar *b-guʿlānā* *d-qabbel*
PURP-take.care.PC.3MS of-deposit REL-receive.SC.3MS
And they urged ʿAḇdā da-Mšiḥā to take care of the deposit he had received. (PMA 6, *α*3:1–3)

7.130 *nešbuq* *den* *ʿālmā* *d-lā* *dīl-an* *da-nmanʿan*
forsake.PC.3MS now world REL-NEG GEN-POSS.1PL PURP-arrive.PC.1PL
l-aṯrā *d-ʾezdamnan* *l-eh*
to-place REL-be.called.SC.1PL to-POSS.3MS
Now, let us forsake the world which is not ours so that we arrive at the place to which we have been called. (Aph 6, 106:2–3)

7.131 *w-melle* *d-meṯʾamrān* *ʿal* *barnāšā* *kaḏ* *haw*
and-words REL-be.spoken.PTCP.FP about man when that
d-meṯʾamrān *ʿal-āw* *lā* *hāwe* *qarriḇ*
REL-be.spoken.PTCP.FP about-POSS.3MS NEG be.PTCP.MS near
lā *nešmaʿ*
NEG listen.PC.1PL
And words which are spoken about a man when the one about whom they are spoken is not present, let us not listen to them. (Aph 6, 117:5)

7.132 *w-ba-ḵyāltā* *qabbel* *ruḥā* *meṭṭul d-b-āh* *ba-mšuḥā*
and-with-measure receive.SC.3MS Spirit because-with-POSS.3FS with-measure
d-qabbel *ʾeliyā* *nsaḇ* *yuḥanān* *ruḥā*
REL-receive.SC.3MS PN receive.SC.3MS PN Spirit
He received the Spirit in measure because John received the Spirit with the measure that Elijah received. (Aph 6, 123:12)

Moreover, there are examples where the relative clause is part of the apodosis in conditional constructions. By way of contrast, one may also note that relative clauses can contain a complement clause.

7.133 *ʾellā d-ʿaḇdā haw d-ṣāḇe d-ʿam*
except-servant that REL-want.PTCP.MS COMP-with
mār-eh neḵtar l-ʿālam
master-POSS.3MS remain.PC.3MS forever
Except that servant who wants to remain with his master forever. (PMA 6, *α*4:7–8)

The material from the modern dialects follow a similar pattern as the Syriac data. In 7.134 the relative clause is embedded in a complement clause. Similarly, the relative clause in 7.135 is part of a purpose clause.

7.134 *qím-le b-zdáya m-xə̀lme díye*
begin.PST-L.3MS PROG-fear.INF from-dream GEN.3MS
t-wéwa xêzy-əl-le.|
REL-COP.PST.3MS see.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS-L.3MS
He began to be afraid of his dream, which he had dreamt. (C. Barwar A8:19)

7.135 *y-ámər-Ø zə̀n,| ʾána paqǒ-ən-nɛxu|*
IND-say.PRS-D.3MS all right I command.PRS-D.1SG-L.2MS
ṯ-azí-tu b-ʾúrxa maṭí-tu ʾə̀ll-a.|
PURP-go.PRS-D.2MS on-road reach.PRS-D.2MS to-POSS.3FS
He would say ‘All right, I’ll give you instructions in order that you go on a road by which you can reach her. (C. Barwar A8:27)

The scarcity of these examples in all corpora may be ascribed to their relative infrequency compared to less complex relative clauses. Moreover, recordings of folktales or personal stories could in some cases contain less complex constructions.

7.4.2 Use of several RCs in the same sentence

The second question can also be answered in the affirmative. For example, 7.136 contains two relative clauses modifying the same noun *kenšā* ‘crowd’.[660]

7.136 *w-kul-eh kenšā d-ʿamm-eh=wā d-blwāṯ-eh*
and-all-POSS.3MS crowd REL-with-POSS.3MS-BE.SC.3MS REL-beside-POSS.3MS
npaq
go.out.SC.3MP
And the whole crowd that was with him, that had come out beside him. (PMA 5, I 21:2–3)

[660] Skaff, *Syriaque d=: syntax et typologie*, 206–07.

The NENA corpus also contains similar constructions. In 7.137, two relative clauses are part of the same sentence; modifying different nouns. In 7.138, the proper noun *Zalo* is followed by three relative clauses. The first two are marked with the subordinator while the third, which begins with the conjunction *ʾu* 'and', has the same verbal inflection as the second clause. These constructions are not limited to C. Barwar but also occur in C. Urmi.

7.137 *ku-náš-ət* *ʾàwər-Ø,*| *ku-xayúθ-ət* *ʾáwər*
every-man-REL enter.PRS-D.3MS every-living.creature-REL enter.PRS-D.3MS
gu-d-ay-wàdi| *ʾánna* *šəkwáne* *ṭ-axlì-la.*|
in-GEN-this-valley they ants FUT-eat.PRS-D.3MP-L.3FS
Every man who enters, every living creature that enters in this valley will be eaten by the ants' (C. Barwar A14:55)

7.138 *mər-e* *ʾána* *ʾíwən* *Rustắmo* *brōn-t-Zàlo,*|
say.PST-L.3MS I COP.1SG PN son-GEN-PN
t-y-aθé-Ø-wa *ṭláb-əlla* *bràt-ux*|
REL-IND-come.PRS-D.3MS-PST seek.INF-L.3FS daughter-POSS.2MS
ʾu-t-max-ìtu-wa-le| *ʾu-réš-e* *díye*
and-REL-strike.PRS-D.2MS-PST-L.3MS and-head-POSS.3MS GEN.3MS
tor-ìtu-wa-le,| *brináne* *gu-rèš-e.*|
break.PRS-D.2MS-PST-L.3MS wounds in-head-POSS.3MS
He said 'I am Rustam son of Zāl, who used to come to seek the hand of your daughter and whom you beat and whose head you broke, (leaving) wounds in his head. (C. Barwar A29:63)

7.4.3 Restrictive and non-restricted relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses identify the common argument. Non-restrictive relative clauses, by contrast, do not restrict the reference of the common argument. Instead, they provide additional information about a noun or pronoun which is already identifiable. In NENA, three features are used to distinguish non-restrictive relative clauses from restrictive ones: intonation group boundaries, the absence of a relative marker, and the use of additional demonstratives. Non-restrictive relative clauses exist in three varieties; the first is often found at the beginning of folktales:[661]

[661] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:961–62; Khan, 'The Genitive and Relative Clauses in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects', 86.

7.139 *ʾíθwa* *xa-màlka|* *ʾíθwale* *ʾárbi* *bnòne.|*
EXIST.PST one-king EXIST.PST-L.3MS forty sons
There was a king who had forty sons. (C. Barwar A12:1)

These appositional constructions also exist in Qaraqosh and C. Urmi and can be interpreted as asyndetic non-restrictive relative clauses.[662] In this case the common argument is indefinite but has a specific referent.

Apart from the above construction, many NENA dialects have a second construction which is non-restrictive:

7.140 *yuvv-é-la* *ḵa-dó* *nàša|* *ʾő=t* *tí-lə*
give.PST-D.3MP-L.3FS to-that man that=REL come.PST-L.3MS
parùḵ-o,|
rescue.INF-SUFF.3FS
She gave them to that man, who came to rescue her. (C. Urmi A50:1)

7.141 *ʾáθyɛ-le* *ʾo-gàwṛa* *díya,|* *ʾo-t-wéwa*
come.PTCP.MS-COP.3MS that-husband GEN.3FS that-REL-COP.PST.3MS
mùθyəl-la.|
bring.PTCP.MS-L.3FS
That husband of hers came back, the one who had brought her.' (C. Barwar A12:53

These constructions share two of the features mentioned above. The relative marker is suffixed to a demonstrative and there is a prosodic boundary between the two clauses.

The more prototypical construction can also be used for non-restrictive relative clauses, as 7.142 and 7.143 show. The common argument is separated from the main clause by a prosodic boundary in these examples.

7.142 *žźre* *Fàrxo|* *ṯ-íwən* *ʾána* *b-hìwi* *díya.|*
poor PN REL-COP.1SG I on-hope GEN.3FS
Poor (me), Farxo, who am waiting in hope for her'. (C. Barwar A25:18)

7.143 *šəcla* *bə-šḵál-ələ* *ḵa-do-Mahámad Réza +Šáh*
picture PROG-take-COP.3MS to-that-PN

[662] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, 2:467; Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*, 478.

ḳat-brű́n-malca *^{P}vali-ʾáhd^{P}=ilə* *maxzùyu=lə.*|

REL-son-king heir=COP.3MS show.PROG=COP.3MS

He takes the picture and shows it to Mohammad Reza Shah, who is the king's son, the heir to the throne. (C. Urmi A41:18)

The system can be summarised as follows. Almost all non-restrictive relative clauses are separated from the main clause by a prosodic boundary. In most cases, the non-restrictive clause is also characterised by the addition of a demonstrative or the absence of a relative marker. However, when the main clause common argument is a proper noun or a personal pronoun, the relative clause is almost always non-restrictive. Yet, even in those cases, a specifically non-restrictive construction can be used:

7.144 *ʾína* *bráta* *d-o-Xáno* *Lapzèrin,*| ***d-o-t-****wéwa*

but daughter GEN-DEM-PN golden.hand DEM-he-REL-COP.PST.3MS

bə́nya *Dəmdə̀ma,*| *bə̆y-á-wa* *ta-brōn-màlka.*|

build.PTCP.MS PN love.PRS-D.3FS-PST OBJ-son-king

But the daughter of that Xano the Golden Hand, who had built Dəmdəma, loved the son of the king. (C. Barwar A11:17)

Khan presents the data from a different angle in his grammar of C. Barwar. AN stands for antecedent, i.e. main clause common argument, D for the relative marker, and S for the relative clause.

1. AN—D—S
    a. Definite AN + restrictive S
    b. Definite AN + non-restrictive S
    c. Indefinite AN + restrictive S

2. AN—ʾo-D—S
    a. Definite AN + non-restrictive S

3. AN—S (asyndetic)
    a. Indefinite AN + non-restrictive S
    b. Indefinite AN + restrictive S
    c. Definite AN + non-restrictive S

This summary clarifies the parameters within which the various constructions are used. Asyndetic constructions can be used when the relative clause is restrictive. But this only happens when the main clause common argument is indefinite; often in the form of a noun combined with a quantifier:[663]

7.145	***kút-dukθa***	*ʾáz-a*	*ʾàwr-a*|	*ʾáp*
	every-place	go.PRS-D.3FS	enter.PRS-D.3FS	also
	ya-xéta	*bàra*	*lázəm*	*háwy-a.*|
	which-other	side	must	follow.PRS-D.3FS

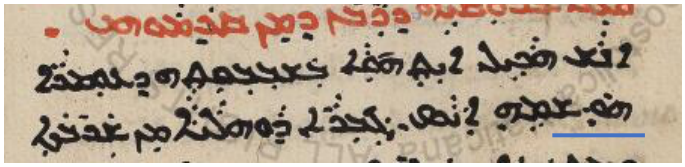
Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her. (C. Barwar B 12:2)

Similarly, a non-restrictive clause can only be preceded by the relative marker when the common argument is definite.

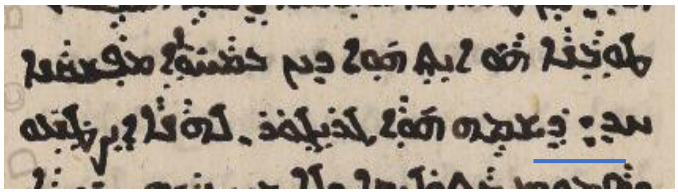
This survey shows that prosodic boundaries play an important role in the identification of non-restrictive relative clauses in these NENA dialects. The question, then, is whether this is a new development or something that also applies to Syriac.

7.4.3.1 Syriac non-restrictive relative clauses

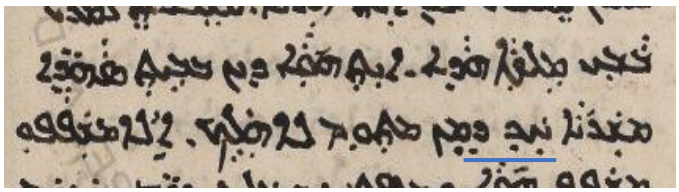
The Syriac corpus contains many relative clauses; both restrictive and non-restrictive. As was pointed out in 7.2.1, pausal dots are relatively rare in the manuscripts of Aphrahat's demonstrations. The manuscript of Philoxenus's discourses (BL Add. Ms. 14598) exhibit a similar pattern. The first set of pictures are, consequently, taken from a 16th century manuscript of the Book of Governors (Vat Sir. 165). In the first two pictures, a double dot is placed between the main clause and the relative clause. The presence of these dots could indicate that non-restrictive relative clauses of this type were separated from the main clause by a prosodic boundary. However, dots are not used consistently. In folio 39v there is no dot after *ḥad* 'one', even though the structure is almost identical to the one in folio 35v.



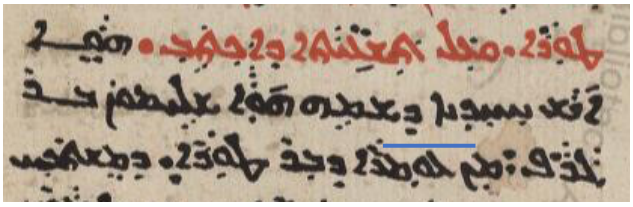
Vat. Sir. 165, 74v



Vat. Sir. 165, 35v



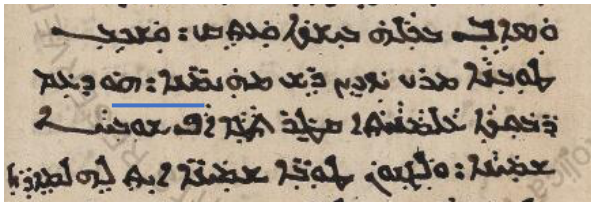
Vat Sir. 165, 39v



Vat. Sir. 165, 29r

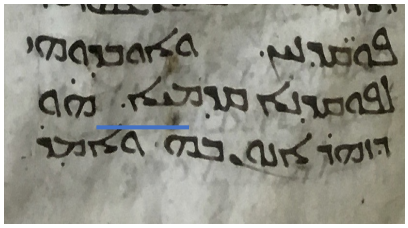
[663] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 1:961.

There is also no dot in the construction from folio 29r. In this case, one could perhaps argue that the relative cause makes it possible for the reader to identify which solitary the author is referring to, in which case, it might be restrictive.



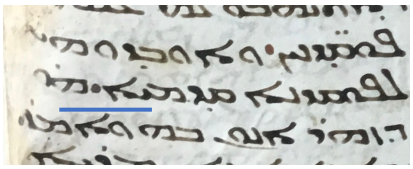
Vat. Sir. 165, 44v

Are these dots used randomly? That is unlikely. Even if this scribe was inconsistent, there is reason to believe that some, if not most, existential constructions had a prosodic boundary between the two clauses. The question is whether other clause types exhibit a greater consistency.



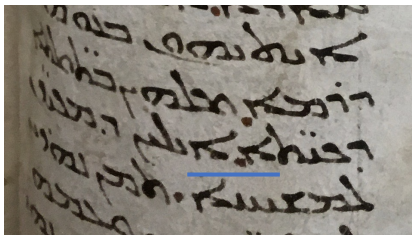
BL Add. Ms. 14916, 5r

The sample from the Book of Governors contains a relatively large number of examples where a demonstrative is placed before the relative particle *d-*. Crucially, many of the demonstratives in Vat. Sir. 165 are preceded by dots (single or double). This applies to the picture from folio 44v.

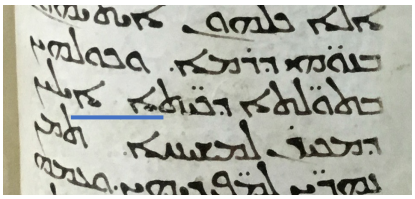


BL Add. Ms. 17182, 6v

In Aphrahat's demonstrations these constructions are not as common as in the Book of Governors. There are only two relevant examples in demonstration 1 and 6. A dot is used before *haw* 'that' in the pictures from folio 5r and 6v. Similarly, there is also a dot before the *ʾaylen* 'those' in folio 55v from Add. Ms. 17182. There may have been a dot before the demonstrative in folio 39v from Add. Ms. 14916 but it is not clear from the photograph. Regardless, the use of these dots is probably an indication that there was a prosodic boundary before these demonstratives like the one before *ʾo* in C. Barwar and C. Urmi.

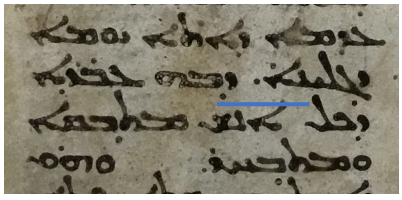


BL Add. Ms. 17182, 55v



BL Add. Ms. 14916, 39v

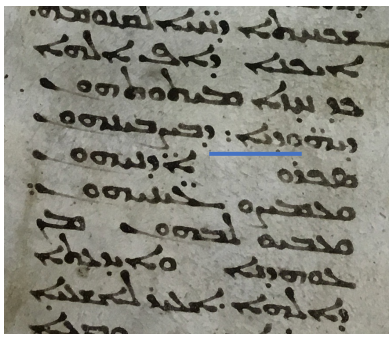
A larger data-set and further investigation of punctuation in these and other early manuscripts would be needed to establish how consistently dots were used. Nevertheless, the presence and absence of dots in other types of subordinate constructions suggest that the scribe who made them envisaged a pause in the above examples.



BL Add. Ms. 14598, 5v

Lastly, there are other non-restrictive relative clauses in the samples from Aphrahat and Philoxenus. The pictures are from Add. Ms. 14598. A double dot is used to separate the main clause common argument from the relative clause in the first three pictures (5v, 4v,

6r). In all three instances, it is also clear that the relative clause is non-restrictive. In the example from folio 5v, the noun phrase *yawmā d-gelyānā* 'day of revelation' refers to the day of Jesus' return. The relative clause must, therefore, be non-restrictive. The noun in the picture from folio 4v, *d-īhuḏāyē* 'Jews' also requires the relative clause to be non-restrictive. These three examples illustrate the general pattern in Add. Ms. 14598 as well as the two Aphrahat manuscripts: When a relative clause is clearly non-restrictive, there is often a pausal dot before the relative marker. It is, therefore, surprising that there is no dot after the noun *ʿammē* 'gentiles' in the last picture from Add. Ms. 14598, 4r. It is unlikely that Paul or Philoxenus wanted to distinguish between different types of gentiles. The relative clause is, therefore, non-restrictive in that it provides additional information (namely that the gentiles did not have the law).



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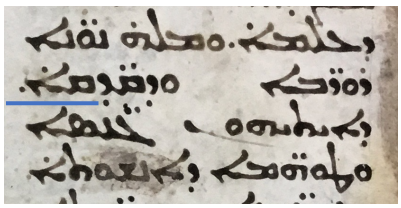

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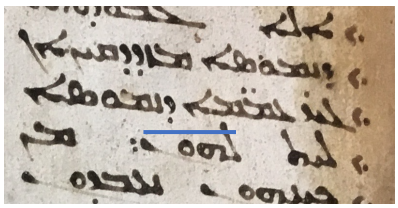

BL Add. MS 14598, 4r

To conclude, the distribution of dots is likely to indicate that prosodic boundaries were used to separate non-restrictive relative clauses. However, the evidence is not as clear cut as with purpose clauses or after secondary complement-taking verbs. A wider and more in-depth study of individual manuscripts would be needed to substantiate these observations.

7.5 Syriac and NENA in an areal and diachronic perspective

7.5.1 Verbal forms and Grammatical markers

7.5.1.1 Akkadian

Old Assyrian relative clauses can be preceded by a relative marker or be attached to a noun in the construct state.[664] The Old Assyrian letters exhibit six different relative markers: *ša*, *mala*, *ašar*, *ale*, *mamman* and *mimma*.[665] The origin of the relative marker *ša* is relevant for the present discussion because it also serves as a complementiser. Deutscher argues that Akkadian *ša* developed from a pronoun that agreed with the common argument in number and gender. Moreover, *ša* agreed with the case of the main clause common argument rather than the relative clause common argument.[666] When this pronoun became embedded in the relative clause, the relative clause could have two pronominal elements realizing the common argument (the relative pronoun and an anaphoric personal pronoun).

[664] Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 779.

[665] Kouwenberg, 780.

[666] Deutscher, 'The Akkadian Relative Clauses in Cross-Linguistic Perspective', 92.

This may have been one of the reasons why this 'determinate' pronoun became fossilised, turning into the relative marker *ša*.[667] Consequently, many relative clauses were marked at the beginning with *ša* and on the predicate – at the end of the clause – by the subjunctive suffix.

In Old Assyrian, relative clauses are often characterised by four features: a noun serving as the main clause common argument, a relative marker, the relative clause verb marked by the subjunctive, and a resumptive pronoun for the relative clause common argument.[668] The relative clause typically follows the main clause common argument but they can also be placed after the entire main clause.[669] Resumptive pronouns are generally used when the relative clause common argument is the direct object or a possessive pronoun attached to a noun or preposition.[670] Resumptive pronouns are not used in temporal relative clauses or locational relative clauses with *ašar* or *ale*.[671] In Middle Assyrian, the main relative marker is *ša* and the relative clause verb has the subjunctive suffix *-ūni*. There are examples without the subjunctive but most clauses are bracketed with *ša* at the beginning and *-ūni* at the end.[672] The subjunctive continues to be written even in Neo-Babylonian.[673] When two or more relative clauses are coordinated, *ša* may be omitted before the second and subsequent clauses. This applies to both Old Assyrian and Middle Assyrian but it is less common in the latter.[674]

There are many parallels between Syriac and Akkadian relative clauses. Both languages had relative pronouns that turned into relative markers (*d-* and *ša*). Both of these relative markers also came to be used as complementisers. Both Syriac and Akkadian can use most verbal forms in their relative clauses but the Akkadian verbs are often marked with the subjunctive suffix.

7.5.1.2 Old and Classical Arabic

The Safaitic inscriptions exhibit three types of relative clauses. Clauses introduced by the relative pronoun (*ḏ, ḏʾt, ḏw*) are rare outside genealogies and all attestations have a definite main clause common argument. This pronoun can also be used independently as a definite main clause common argument. The particle *m* is the indefinite counterpart to *ḏ*.[675] Asyndetic relative clauses require agreement between the main clause common argument and the relative clause verb or a pronoun in the relative clause. These

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667 Deutscher, 96.

668 Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 780.

669 Kouwenberg, 782.

670 Kouwenberg, 788.

671 Kouwenberg, 789.

672 Ridder, *Descriptive Grammar of Middle Assyrian*, 510, 514.

673 Cf. Hueter, 'Grammatical Studies in the Akkadian Dialects of Babylon and Uruk 556–500 B.C.', 141.

674 Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, 784; Ridder, *Descriptive Grammar of Middle Assyrian*, 513–14.

675 Al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*, 187–88.

constructions are used with both definite and indefinite nouns (serving as the main clause common argument).[676] Lastly, relative clauses are also attached to the construct state of the noun *sˡnt* 'year'.[677]

Classical Arabic relative clauses may have an interrogative as the main clause common argument. The most common ones are *man* 'who' and *mā* 'what', neither of which distinguish person, number or case. If the clause is definite, *ʾallaḏi* is used, having the same gender and number as its antecedent.[678] When a definite noun serves as the main clause common argument *ʾallaḏi* is usually used in the relative clause. By contrast, there is no relative marker when the main clause common argument is an indefinite noun.[679] In Middle Arabic, however, *ʾallaḏi* often functions as a relative marker (or conjunction); having the same form regardless of the gender, number, or syntactic function of the common argument. This use of *ʾallaḏi* may have been influenced by a vernacular relative marker like *illi*.[680] Moreover, asyndetic relative clauses are also used with definite nouns, unlike in Classical Arabic.[681]

The definiteness of the common argument appears to play a more central role in Classical Arabic than it does in Syriac. This is where one finds most of the differences between the two languages. For example, Arabic generally omits the relative marker when the common argument is indefinite. This is not the case in Syriac. Perhaps one can find a similarity between the use of appositional demonstratives in Syriac (*haw*/*hay*) and *ʾallaḏi* together with definite nouns. In both cases, the main clause common argument must be definite and the pronouns serve as the relative clause common argument. Importantly, there is a trend in Middle Arabic to use *ʾallaḏi* as a relative marker, showing that Arabic tends to move in this direction, just like several of the other languages discussed in this section.

7.5.1.3 Classical Greek

Classical Greek often uses the prounouns ὅς, ὅστις. The adjectives οἷος, ὁποῖος, ὅσος, ὁπόσος are also used as the relative clause common argument. They agree with the main clause common argument in gender and number but their case is determined by their syntactic function in the relative clause.[682] The definite relative pronouns and adjectives ὅς, οἷος, ὅσος almost always have the same case as the main

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[676] Al-Jallad, 188–89.

[677] Al-Jallad, 189–90.

[678] Fischer and Rodgers, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, 216–18; cf. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 241–43 for the use of mā.

[679] Fischer and Rodgers, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, 219; cf. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 239–40; see Wagner, *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah*, 180–88 for the literary use of an in Judaeo-Arabic.

[680] Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 240–41; Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum, with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements: Introductions, Linguistic Notes, Texts*, 178–82; cf. Wagner, *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah*, 214–17.

[681] Wagner, *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah*, 217–18.

[682] Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, 566–67.

clause common argument when (1) the clause is restrictive, (2) they are expected to be in the accusative case (as object, internal object, or subject of an infinitive), and (3) the main clause common argument is in the genitive or dative.[683] Adverbs of place like ἔνθα 'where' are often used in autonomous clauses.[684] These "autonomous" clauses, where the common argument is only realised in the relative clause, are relatively common in Classical Greek.[685]

The Greek of the New Testament, similarly, employs pronouns, adjectives and adverbs as the relative clause common argument. The shorter relative pronoun ὅς is, however, replaced in the Byzantine period by the longer forms or newer relative markers, e.g. the definite article with initial τ and the interrogative τίς 'what'.[686] In this period ὅπου 'that' also emerges as a relative marker, replacing the other options.[687]

Sequential relative clauses typically avoid repeating the pronoun and instead use a demonstrative or a personal pronoun in the appropriate case.[688] There are no restrictions on the use of moods and tenses in non-restrictive (or digressive) relative clauses. In restrictive relative clauses, however, the use of mood and tense is slightly different. The indicative is frequently used while the subjunctive, and optative can be used in prospective and habitual constructions.[689]

The main difference between Greek and Syriac relative clauses is the contrast between relative pronoun and relative marker. Greek also require the relative clause common argument to be realised, either through the relative pronoun itself or through an anaphoric pronoun.

7.5.1.4 Western Middle Iranian

Western Middle Iranian has three markers that are used in relative clauses: *kē*, *čē*, and *ī*. All three of these can be used when the common argument is animate or inanimate.[690] The marker *ī* comes from the Old Persian relative pronoun *hya*. Middle Persian *ī* is, however, not a pronoun but a fossilised relative marker. The other two markers *kē* and *čē*, are used with animate (*kē*) and inanimate (*čē*) common arguments. They are also used as interrogatives in both Parthian and Middle Persian.[691] All three markers can be used regardless of the function of the relative clause common argument.[692] All moods and tenses

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[683] Emde Boas et al., 569.

[684] Emde Boas et al., 577–78.

[685] Emde Boas et al., 566–68.

[686] Horrocks, *Greek*, 293–95.

[687] Horrocks, 294.

[688] Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, 567.

[689] Emde Boas et al., 573.

[690] Skjærvø, 'Middle West Iranian', 256; cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik des Westmitteliranischen*, 415–16.

[691] Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 89–90; Estaji, 'Morphosyntactic Changes in Persian and Their Effects on Syntax'; cf. Meyer, 'Iranian-Armenian Language Contact in and before the 5th Century CE: An Investigation into Pattern Replication and Societal Multilingualism', 212.

[692] Cf. Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*, 82–9.

are attested in relative clauses but they may be used slightly differently. For example, the subjunctive is used to express future.[693]

The development of the Old Persian relative pronoun *hya* into the Middle Persian relative marker *ī* is reminiscent of the development of the Syriac marker *d-*. Consequently, both Middle Persian and Syriac have relative markers that used to be pronouns. The difference is that Middle Persian and Parthian use the interrogatives *kē* and *čē* as alternative markers. This is similar to the Arabic use of *mā* 'what' and Armenian. Syriac, by contrast, only uses interrogatives as main clause common arguments followed by the relative marker *d-*.

7.5.1.5 Classical Armenian

The Armenian relative pronoun *or* agreed with the main clause common argument in number but not in gender since Armenian had lost morphological gender distinctions. The pronoun takes the case required by the function of the relative clause common argument. Moreover, this pronoun is also used as an interrogative.[694] Meyer mentions that Armenian has another type of nominalised or reduced relative clause in which the relative pronoun only serves as a linker. He mentions that this function may be connected to Middle Iranian *ezāfe* constructions. There are other alternatives, however. Other Indo-European languages have used similar structures and some examples – in biblical texts – may have been influenced by Greek clause structure.[695]

The standard type of Armenian relative clause differs from Syriac and also from the other languages in this region because of the use of a relative pronoun (with case marking and number distinction). From an areal perspective it is also relevant to consider reduced relative clauses. It is important to note that these *ezāfe*-like structures are not unique to Armenian and Middle Iranian (or other Indo-European languages). Similar structures are used frequently in Syriac texts; often with *d-* and a copula clause (or a participle). This is not the place to determine a specific source of influence; rather to note that the use of reduced relative clauses (and grammatical markers) is widely attested in western Asia. This Armenian construction could, therefore be part of the wider tendency to use grammatical markers; although restricted to a specific type of construction.

7.5.2 Grammatical markers and verbal forms in modern western Asia

7.5.2.1 Western Iranian languages

The main Kurdish relative marker is *ku*/*ke*. If the main clause common argument is a noun and marked as definite, the ezafe suffix *-ya* may be used as a grammatical marker. In the Mukri variety of Central

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[693] Skjærvø, 'Middle West Iranian', 235.

[694] Jensen, *Altarmenische Grammatik*, 86–7; Meyer, 'Iranian-Armenian Language Contact in and before the 5th Century CE: An Investigation into Pattern Replication and Societal Multilingualism', 208–09.

[695] Meyer, 'Iranian-Armenian Language Contact in and before the 5th Century CE: An Investigation into Pattern Replication and Societal Multilingualism', 209–19; cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik des Westmitteliranischen*, 266–68 for the Iranian counterparts.

Kurdish the oblique form of a third person singular pronoun may be used as an alternative marker.[696] In Standard New Persian relative clauses are, similarly, introduced by the marker *ke*.[697]

In terms of relative clause marking, the modern western Iranian languages are very close to Western Middle Iranian but also to NENA. NENA dialects are, however, different in that they typically use one grammatical marker rather than two. Like the Iranian languages, NENA dialects can add the relative marker *d-* as a suffix to the noun that serves as the main clause common argument. This development probably happened in genitive constructions before relative clauses. The shift may have been influenced by the Iranian ezafe suffix.

7.5.2.2 The Arabic of Iraq and Anatolia

Arabic relative clauses in the dialects of northern Iraq follow the main clause common argument. When the common argument is a definite noun they are introduced by the particle *əlli*.[698] Relative clauses in Anatolian Arabic are asyndetic if the main clause common argument is indefinite. If it is definite the markers *la*/*lə*/*lē*/*lay* are used.[699]

Arabic, like NENA, use grammatical markers rather than relative pronouns. However, the distribution of these markers is different compared to *d-*. Definiteness appears to play a more important role in Arabic than it does in NENA. However, there are asyndetic relative clauses in NENA dialects and they are more common with indefinite nouns.

7.5.2.3 Iraq-Turkic

The Turkic languages of this region have two types of relative clauses. The indigenous Turkic construction has a non-finite or nominalised verbal form but no grammatical marker. The alternative construction has a finite verbal form and uses the borrowed complementiser *ki* 'that'.[700]

While the indigenous Turkic construction has no counterpart in NENA, the use of the borrowed complementiser *ki* exhibits the same similarities as Iranian *ku*/*ke*. It is noteworthy that the Turkic varieties of this region also use a grammatical marker.

7.5.2.4 Armenian

The relative pronoun *or* is used in Modern Eastern Armenian relative clauses. Importantly, the definite article is used on some versions of the pronoun, giving it person and case marking.[701] The prototypical relative pronoun *or* is often replaced by the interrogative *inčʾ* 'which' with free relative clauses. This also happens when the common argument is inanimate. The interrogative *inčʾ* can take case marking. In

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[696] Haig, '2.3. Northern Kurdish (Kurmanjî)', 118–19; Haig, '3.3. The Iranian Languages of Northern Iraq', 284; Öpengin, *The Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish*, 114–16.

[697] Paul, '4.6. Persian', 617.

[698] Procházka, '3.2. The Arabic Dialects of Northern Iraq', 258.

[699] Procházka, '2.4. The Arabic Dialects of Eastern Anatolia', 179.

[700] Bulut, '3.5. Iraq-Turkic', 373–74.

[701] Dum-Tragut, *Armenian*, 481–82.

some instances an interrogative may also be combined with *or*.[702] Reduced relative clauses have a participle as their verb and precede the main clause.[703]

The relative pronoun is not used in these constructions. Modern Eastern Armenian does not share the areal preference for relative markers. Some constructions, and certainly the ones with an interrogative followed by *or* could be interpreted as having *or* as a marker rather than a pronoun. In short, Armenian appears to continue on another path than the other languages in this section.

7.5.3 Relative clauses in a diachronic and areal perspective

The use of verbal forms and grammatical markers is less uniform with regard to relative clauses. It is only Turkic that employs nominalised verbal forms; although clauses with finite verbs and a relative marker are very common. It could be argued that Turkic is converging with the general pattern of the other languages in this area.

Regarding grammatical markers it is relevant to note that they are more often particles or grammatical markers rather than relative pronouns. Armenian is once again the exception; although there may be signs of *or* turning into a marker rather than a pronoun. Among the modern languages the same marker is typically used for both complement clauses and relative clauses. This includes NENA, Armenian, and Western Iranian. In NENA and Armenian the same marker may be used in all three constructions, i.e. C. Urmi *ḵ̂at* and Armenian *or*.

On a more specific level it is relevant to consider *ḵ̂at* and *d-* in comparison with Neo-Mandaic relative markers. The relative marker *d-* is almost absent from Neo-Mandaic which, instead, has borrowed two relative markers: *elli* from Arabic and *ke* from Persian. Their distribution shows that *elli* introduces non-restrictive relative clauses while *ke* is used with restrictive clauses. Moreover, these relative markers are not used when the antecedent is indefinite.[704] It appears as if Neo-Mandaic has been influenced more than NENA. This influence comes in two ways. First, indefinite nouns take asyndetic relative clauses. Further, the Arabic marker *elli* is used with non-restrictive clauses, i.e. relative clauses that would most often be attached to a definite noun. By contrast, NENA retains *d-* in most dialects and its distribution only marginally depends on the definiteness of the common argument. There is still one parallel, the first element of *ḵ̂at* may be the same element as the Iranian relative marker. However, *ḵ̂at* was not borrowed into C. Urmi as a relative marker. This function is probably an extension of its use as a marker of purpose clauses and complement clauses.

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[702] Dum-Tragut, 483–84.

[703] Dum-Tragut, 372.

[704] Häberl, 'Mandaic', 689, 703–04; Häberl, 'The Relative Pronoun D- and the Pronominal Suffixes in Mandaic', 71–2.

7.6 Conclusions

The nature of common arguments has remained relatively unchanged in main clauses and relative clauses. Common nouns, proper nouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives, are all used in Syriac and continue to be used in their NENA counterparts. These elements may not look the same on the surface but they have similar functions in Syriac and NENA. The fullest statement has also remained in the main clause and all syntactic functions, except standard of comparison, are attested in both main clauses and relative clauses.

The marking of the relative clauses has also remained relatively unchanged. Relative clauses tend to be placed directly after the phrase which contains the main clause common argument. The relative clause marker *d-* continue to be used but it is sometimes suffixed to the main clause common argument or incorporated in the same phonological word as a demonstrative or quantifier. In C. Urmi, the new marker *k̰aṯ* is used in relative clauses and has taken over the role of *d-* in most contexts; except when *d-* has merged with the quantifier (*cut*) or a demonstrative (*ʾōt*).

The structure of relative clauses has also remained relatively unchanged. Relative clauses can follow a coordinated noun. The copula or copula like constructions are often clause-initial in Syriac and NENA. Relative clauses with a quantifier as the main clause common argument also tend to precede the main clause. Moreover, there are no restrictions on the use of peripheral arguments in the relative clause.

Relative clauses continue to be used in subordinate constructions and several relative clauses can be used to modify the same noun. One of the more important points of this investigation concerns the use of Syriac punctuation and prosodic boundaries in NENA. Dots are often used before non-restrictive relative clauses in Syriac manuscripts. The scribes were not consistent but the evidence is strong enough to draw preliminary conclusions. Both Syriac and NENA use prosody as one strategy to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The use of an appositional demonstrative serves a similar function. In Syriac, the demonstrative *haw*, *hay*, and *ʾaylen* have this function, depending on the gender and number of the common argument. In C. Barwar, *ʾo* is used regardless of gender and number. Moreover, the omission of a relative marker is sometimes used to mark clauses as non-restrictive.

Lastly, there has been a convergence between these Aramaic dialects and the languages of the region in the use of relative markers. NENA has not, however, borrowed relative markers from the surrounding languages; unlike Neo-Mandaic.

8 SAME BUT DIFFERENT: ON CONTINUITY, DIVERGENCE AND TYPOLOGICAL TRENDS

Before turning to individual phenomena, it is important to frame the propositions of this chapter. There is not a direct line of development from Syriac to NENA. More to the point, the sources are not identical in genre and medium. It is very important to be aware of these differences even though the similarities show that a fruitful comparison is possible. Consider also the somewhat limited sample of dialects. The investigation focuses on three NENA dialects (C. Barwar, C. Urmi and Qaraqosh). Other dialects are also mentioned in the discussion but it would have been impossible, within the current time frame, to include more dialects and still investigate all five constructions. As always, more data might shed new light on the phenomena outlined in the preceding chapters. I do not doubt that the analysis could be nuanced in many areas. Indeed, the Syriac corpus and the corpus of early NENA texts is smaller than I would have preferred. Still, I am confident that new data would not change the main conclusions. In some cases, however, a very large corpus or a fully searchable one would be needed to draw accurate and precise conclusions; periphrastic causatives being a case in point.

With this frame in place we can turn to the final observations. It seems reasonable to begin with one of the main features running through the entire thesis: the use of verbal forms. We will then consider the use of prosodic boundaries, grammatical markers, and areal features.

8.1 Verbal forms

The verbal system of NENA is, to some extent very different compared to Syriac. It is true that some embryonic verbal forms are attested already in Syriac, especially after the classical period. Yet, the two systems are clearly distinct on the surface. Verbal forms such as *ptəxle* and *patəx* have become more prominent in the modern dialects; to the point where *ptəxle* is one of the main past tense forms and *patəx* is used as a subjunctive or the base on which other verbal forms are built through the addition of prefixes (e.g. *k-* or *kəm*). Equally important, new verbal forms have emerged, e.g. *bəptaxa*.

These developments are, in themselves, not surprising. The new verbal forms follow well know grammaticalisation paths just like the older Syriac forms. The Syriac prefix conjugation and NENA *patəx*, both of which have developed into subjunctives, are the most important ones for this investigation. Because both verbal forms are part of the same developmental trajectory, they are used in much the same way in both languages. This is, perhaps more evident with regard to subordinate constructions than other clause types. Yet, it is not always the case. In C. Barwar, for example, *bəptaxa* and the infinitive has been generalised with secondary complement-taking verbs like ‘begin’. By contrast, Syriac exhibits more variety in its use of both infinitives and prefix conjugation forms in these contexts. This, however, is where the data are difficult to interpret. The sample is large enough to establish general trends but it does not supply enough examples of individual verbs to establish clear distributional patterns.

Relative clauses and serial constructions use other verbal forms than complement clauses or purpose clauses. There are no restrictions on the use of verbal forms in Syriac or NENA relative clauses. This is not very surprising since this pattern is widely attested cross-linguistically.

In short, the use of verbal forms in NENA is relatively similar compared to the distribution of its Syriac counterparts. The new verbal forms have by and large replaced the older ones. This is important because it shows that the underlying structure of these constructions remains relatively unchanged; it is the component parts that have changed. This does not mean that there are no differences in the use of similar verbal forms. Yet, the use of these forms is strikingly similar in Syriac and NENA subordinate clauses.

8.2 Prosodic structures

Phonetic pauses are used in C. Barwar and C. Urmi according to cross-linguistic tendencies. For example, phonetic pauses are never, or very rarely, used between a main clause and a complement clause with a secondary complement-taking verb. The same pattern is exhibited by serial-like constructions. Pauses are equally rare between main clause common arguments and restrictive relative clauses. By contrast, phonetic pauses are often – though not always – used between the main clause common argument and non-restrictive relative clauses. Such pauses are also used frequently between main clauses and purpose clauses.

These features are not unique or unexpected since similar tendencies are attested in many other languages. The important point is that these features appear relatively unchanged. The survey of punctuation dots in the two Aphrahat manuscripts suggests that Syriac (and probably the spoken vernacular) used prosodic boundaries in much the same way as NENA. The survey of the Philoxenus manuscript adds further weight to this conclusion.

This point adds an important piece to the overall argument of this thesis, namely that the underlying structure of these constructions has remained relatively stable. This does not mean, however, that prosodic boundaries were used in the same way in Syriac as they are used in modern NENA dialects. This is an area where more research needs be done; by including non-subordinate constructions and other syntactic structures. Such an investigation, would benefit from a larger sample of manuscripts and a more systematic investigation of punctuation dots in other contexts. Moreover, it would also be important to investigate oral reading traditions.

8.3 Grammatical markers

There are several parallels between grammatical markers in Syriac and NENA. The subordinator *d-* is almost always used to mark subordination in Syriac constructions. A similar pattern is attested in the early NENA texts and in C. Barwar, C. Urmi, and Qaraqosh. There are, however, some notable exceptions.

In C. Barwar, for example, serial-like constructions are especially common. As a result, constructions without a grammatical marker are more common than they are in the other dialects and Syriac. The contrast is equally striking when C. Barwar is compared with early NENA. Part of the explanation may be the difference between written and oral sources. Yet, serial-like constructions are also more common in C. Barwar than they are in C. Urmi.

In C. Urmi the particle *ḵat-* has replaced *d-* as the main grammatical marker, differentiating this dialect from C. Barwar. This marker has followed another grammaticalisation path than *d-*, probably originating as a purposive marker rather than a relative pronoun. It is interesting that this marker has been generalised in C. Urmi to function as the main subordinator, much like *d-* in Syriac and early NENA.

Another similarity between Syriac and NENA is the use of specific purposive markers. This similarity is not readily apparent because different purposive markers are used in Syriac compared to NENA, e.g. *ʾaḵ d-* and *ʾaykanā d-* vs. *tad*/*tat* or *qat*/*ḵat-*. The similarity is more like the use of different verbal forms. Older markers have disappeared and new ones have taken over their role. The claim is not that the dialects are identical but that they exhibit a similar underlying structure, requiring a more overt purposive marker.

One difference between NENA dialects and Syriac is the introduction of the marker *ʾina*. This marker is used with perception verbs such as *xazə*/*xazzə* 'see, find'. Syriac does not have a similar marker that is used with a specific type of complement-taking verbs.

Lastly, relative markers are sometimes omitted from relative clauses. In C. Barwar, the absence of markers may be connected to the transparency of the construction. The marker can be omitted if the main clause common argument requires the relative clause to be either restrictive or non-restrictive. If, the situation is more ambiguous, a marker is used. Asyndetic relative constructions are very rare in the Syriac corpus and in the early NENA texts. It may be that the medium required the use of clear markers.

8.5 Aramaic in an areal and diachronic perspective

The surveys of other languages in Western Asia show that Syriac and NENA share many similarities with these languages. For, example highly integrated complement or purpose clauses may use serial-like constructions in many modern West Asian languages. Both Syriac and Akkadian also used similar serial-like constructions with the conjunctions *w-* and *-ma* respectively and two or more verbal forms of the same type.

These surveys have also shown that most of the modern languages show a preference for finite forms in many types of complement clauses and purpose clauses. Seen from a diachronic perspective, this isogloss is a phenomenon with deep diachronic roots going back to Late Antiquity; even though the convergence is more recent in some languages.

Lastly, there are further tendencies to use relative markers rather than pronouns. Some of these relative markers were relative pronouns at an earlier stage. In the modern languages, however, they primarily serve as relative markers. This is yet another area of convergence with deep historical roots.

8.6 Outlook

This thesis is not the endpoint of this discussion though some areas of research are more likely to lead to fruitful results. For example, the prefix conjugation and NENA *patəx* are used relatively consistently in purpose clauses. Prosodic boundaries are also used consistently between the main clause and the purpose clause in NENA. The Aphrahat manuscripts exhibit the same consistent use of pausal dots between the two clauses, especially in demonstration 6. A larger sample of Syriac texts and of NENA dialects is unlikely to lead to a re-evaluation of these features. The same holds for the lack of prosodic boundaries between main clauses and complement clauses following a secondary complement-taking verb. In some cases, however, a larger sample could lead to a more nuanced picture and, in the case of Syriac, could show diachronic differences or authorial preferences. One example of this would be the use of infinitives and prefix conjugation forms following secondary complement-taking verbs. The sample clearly shows that both verbal forms could be used. Yet, these features would need to be studied more systematically to arrive at more precise conclusions about their distribution; thereby showing structural similarities and divergencies on a smaller scale.

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