Ditransitive constructions in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe
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1 INTRODUCTION TO DIALECT
Telkepe, North-eastern Neo-Aramaic, Aramaic, Semitic, Afro-asiatic.
Spoken in town of Telkepe, just north of Mosul in northern Iraq.
Accusative alignment (though seems to have gone through an ergative stage).

2 OUTLINE OF VERBAL SYSTEM
2 verb stems in simple (non-analytical) verb constructions: CaCC- (qata-) and CCaC- (qat-).
The CCaC (qat-) stem- is used with subject suffixes (L-suffixes) in the past perfective tense:
qat-le ‘he killed’
qre-le ‘he read’ (weak verb)

CaCC- (qata-) stem modified by prefixes to express present, future, various modalities, and
also a suppletive past perfective form, which is ONLY used with pronominal objects. Subject
is marked by a different set of suffixes:
k-qatal-o ‘she kills’
b-qatal-o ‘she will kill’
b-qatal-i ‘they will kill’
b-qatal-i-lux ‘they will kill you (ms.)’
šud-qatal-ā-lux ‘may she kill you (ms.)’
kem-qatal-i-la ‘they killed him’
kem-qatal-i-lux ‘they killed you (ms.)’
** kem-qatal-i ‘they killed’

Inversion of suffixes:
b-qatal-i-lux ‘they will kill you (ms.)’ qatal-lux ‘you (ms.) killed them’

3 ALIGNMENT WITH ONLY INDEFINITE NP OBJECTS
T not marked, R flagged with preposition ta ‘to, for’ (not used for goal). Order flexible:
(1) wa-la pāre ta xa-māskeno. ‘He gave money to a (certain) poor person.’
gave-he money to a.certain-poor.person
(2) wa-la ta xa-māskeno pāre. ‘He gave a (certain) poor person some money.’
gave-he to a.certain-poor.person money
(3) qre-lo kēwō ta xa-zoro. ‘She read a book to a child.’
read-she book to a.certain-child

P is not marked:
(4) wa-la pāre. ‘He gave money.’
gave-he money
(5) qre-lo kēwō. ‘She read a book.’
read-she book

With indefinite nominal theme and recipient, there is indirective alignment (P=T, R).

4 PRONOMINAL OBJECTS ON CaCC- (qatal-) VERBS
Pronominal objects are usually expressed by affixes on verb: in *CaCC*-verbs the L-suffix:

(6)  \textit{b-qāṭal-la}. 'He will kill him.'
    \textit{FUT-he.kill-OBJ.3MS}

(7)  \textit{qṭol-lo}. 'Kill her!'
    \textit{kill.IMPER-OBJ.3FS}

5 ALIGNMENT WITH BOTH PRONOMINAL OBJECT AND INDEFINITE NP OBJECT

Pronoun expressed with an L-suffix (like P), regardless of its role (T or R).
The indefinite NP unmarked if T, and tagged with \textit{ta} if R.

(8)  \textit{kəm-qāṭal-la}. 'He killed him.' (P)
    \textit{PAST-he.kill-OBJ.3MS}

(9)  \textit{kəm-yāwəl-la \textit{ta maskeno}}. 'He gave it to a poor person.' (T)
    \textit{PAST-he.give-OBJ.3MS to poor.person}

(10) \textit{kəm-yāwəl-la \textit{hadiya}}. 'He gave him a present.' (R)
    \textit{PAST-he.give-OBJ.3MS present}

The alignment as regards pronoun is neutral (P=T=R); NP: indirective (P=T, R).

6 ALIGNMENT WITH ONLY PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

Two suffixes on the verb: L-suffixes then enclitic -/L-suffixes:

(11) \textit{kəm-yāwəl-\textit{lan ila}}. 'He gave it to us.'
    \textit{PAST-he.give-R.1PL-T.3MS}

(12) \textit{kəm-yāwəl-\textit{lan ila}}. 'He gave them to us.'
    \textit{PAST-he.give-R.1PL-T.3PL}

(13) \textit{kəm-yāwəl-\textit{lux ila}}. 'He gave them to you.'
    \textit{PAST-he.give-R.2MS-T.3PL}

First suffix set (the plain L-suffixes) expresses R (like P), second set T.

With \textit{two pronouns alignment is secundative (P=R, T), except:}

When T is 1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person, T marked by L-suffixes, R tagged by \textit{ta (tāl-)} with pronominal suffixes:

(14) \textit{kəm-yāwəl-li \textit{tāl-e}}. 'He gave me to him.'
    \textit{PAST-he.give-T.1SG to-3MS}

(15) \textit{kəm-yāwəl-lax \textit{tāl-e}}? 'Did he give you (fs.) to him?'
    \textit{PAST-he.give-T.2FS to-3MS}

Cf. Haspelmath's (2004: 1) cross-linguistic generalization, 'Combinations of bound pronouns with the roles Recipient and Theme are disfavored if the Theme pronoun is first or second person and the Recipient pronoun is third person.'

Here: 'Combinations of bound pronouns with the roles Recipient and Theme are not allowed if the Theme pronoun is first or second person', without the second condition.
Also available for 3rd person themes, but is less common.

This alignment, obligatory for 1st or 2nd person themes, is indirective (P=T, R).

7 ALIGNMENT WITH DEFINITE OBJECTS

Definite NP objects can be marked with indexing on the verb and *ta* before the NP:

(16) *b-qāṭal-la ta goro*. ‘He will kill the man.’ (P flagged and indexed)

    FUT-he.kill-P.3MS DEF.OBJ man

(17) *b-qāṭal xa-goro*. ‘He will kill a man.’ (P not flagged or indexed)

    FUT-he.kill a.certain-man

(18) *korem-qāṭal-la ta goro*. ‘He killed the man.’ (P flagged and indexed)

    PAST-he.kill-P.3MS DEF.OBJ man

(19) *qṭəl-la goro*. ‘He killed a/the man.’ (P not flagged or indexed)

    killed-he man

(20) *korem-yāwəl-la ta axone pāra*. ‘He gave his brother some money.’ (R flagged, indexed)

    PAST-he.give-R.3MS to/DEF.OBJ his.brother money

(21) *korem-yāwə-la kəθəwə ta gəda-baxto*. ‘They gave the book to a woman.’ (T indexed only)

    PAST-they.give-T.3MS book to a.certain-woman

(22) **korem-yāwə-la ta kəθəwə ta gəda-baxto*. ‘They gave the book to a woman.’

    PAST-they.give-T.3MS DEF.OBJ book to a.certain-woman (**T indexed and flagged)

If both definite, either but not both can be indexed. Indexed noun must follow the verb:

(23) *korem-yāwəl-la kəθəwə ta xəbe*. ‘He gave the book to his sister.’ (T indexed)

    PAST-he.give-T.3MS book to his.sister

(24) *korem-qāre-lo ta xəbe kəθəwə rəbo*. ‘He read to his sister a/the big book.’ (R indexed)

    PAST-he.read-R.3FS to his.sister book big.MS

(25) **korem-yāwəl-lau-la ta xəbe kəθəwə*. ‘He gave his sister the book.’ (**Both indexed)

    PAST-he.give-R.3FS-T.3MS to his.sister book


Non-indexed object: indirective (P=T, R). Flagged with *ta* if R, unmarked otherwise.

Sometimes definite patients are indexed only, just like T:

(26) *korem-qāṭal-la bronə*. ‘He killed the boy.’

    PAST-he.kill-P.3MS boy

Here alignment is indirective (P=T, R), as also in the dialect of Alqosh.

Strategy with *ta* is preferred in Telkepe, and this sentence might be interpreted thus:

(27) *korem-qāṭal-la bronə*. ‘He was killed by the boy.’

    PAST-he.kill-P.3MS boy(SUBJ)

8 DITRANSITIVITY IN OTHER VERB FORMS
8.1 COMPOUND VERBS

Different object suffixes but alignment same as regards pronouns and indefinite nouns:

(28) aile šqil-éy. ‘He has taken them.’ (P pronoun)
    he.is taken-P.3PL

(29) aile wil-éy ta xa-maskeno. ‘He has given them to a poor person.’ (T pron., R indef. NP)
    he.is given-T.3PL to a.certain-poor.person

(30) aile wil-éy xa-məndi. ‘He has given them something.’ (R pron., T indef. NP)
    he.is given-R.3PL something

(31) aiwən biwāl-ax-ila. ‘I am giving him to you.’ (both T and R pronouns)
    I.M.am giving-R.2FS-T.3MS

(32) aiwən biwāl-ax tāl-e. ‘I am giving you to him.’ (T 1st or 2nd person)
    I.M.am giving-T.2FS to-3MS

8.2 CCE-C-(qṭl-) VERBS

8.2.1 ALIGNMENT WITH ONE PRONOMINAL OBJECT (available for 3fs or pl; otherwise kem-CaCC-)

All 3 expressed with infix:

(33) qṭil-ā-li. ‘I killed her.’ (P)
    killed-OBJ.3FS-I

(34) wil-ā-la ta malko. ‘He gave her to a/the king.’ (T)
    gave-OBJ.3FS-he to king

(35) **wil-ā-la kalbo. ‘He gave her a dog.’ (R) (some speakers)
    gave-OBJ.3FS-he dog

(36) kem-yāwəl-lo kalbo. ‘He gave her a dog.’ (suppletive CaCC- (qṭl-) form)
    PAST-he.give-OBJ.3FS dog

So 3fs./3pl. pronominal objects have indirective alignment (P=T, R).

One speaker, however, did allow R to be expressed by infixing (neutral alignment):

(37) wil-ā-li pārə. ‘I gave her money.’ (N.B. money is pl.)
    gave-R.3FS-I money

Same in some other dialects:

(38) wil-ā-li xa-məndi. ‘I gave her something.’ (Alqosh)¹
    gave-R.3FS-I something

(39) hiw-in-ne pare ‘He gave me money’ (J. Amadiya)²
    gave-R.1sg-he money

8.2.2 ALIGNMENT WITH ONLY PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

Two pronominal objects cannot both be expressed on the verb. In this case, T is marked by the infix (like P), while R is expressed by ta (ṭāl-) + pronominal affix. This is also indirective alignment (P=T, R):

(40) qṭil-ā-li. 'I killed her.'
    killed-P.3FS-I

(41) wil-ā-la ṭāl-i. 'He gave her to me.'
    gave-T.3FS-he to-1SG

8.2.3 INDEXING DEFINITE OBJECTS ON CCeC- (qṭel-) FORMS
The infix on a CCeC- (qṭel-) form can also index a definite object: in the case of P with an optional ta; in the case of T without ta; as with CaCC- (qṭl-) forms. But R cannot be indexed:

(42) qṭil-ā-la (ta) brāt ɒ. 'He killed the girl.' (P indexed)
    killed-P.3FS-he (DEF.OBJ) girl

(43) wil-ā-la brāt ā ta malk ɒ. 'He gave the girl to the king.' (T indexed)
    gave-T.3FS-he girl to king

(44) ** wil-ā-la ta brāt ɒ xa-məndi. 'He gave something to the girl.' (**R indexed)
    gave-R.3FS-he to girl something

8.2.4 GENERALIZATION:
Alignment with CCeC- (qṭel-) stem verbs is always indirective (except some speakers).

9. SUMMARY

- **ALL VERB FORMS:**
  
  ALIGNMENT WITH ONLY INDEFINITE NP OBJECTS (OR OBJECTS UNMARKED FOR DEFINITENESS)
  
  Indirective: P=T, R

- **CaCC- (qṭl-) FORMS AND IMPERATIVE:**
  
  ALIGNMENT WITH BOTH PRONOMINAL OBJECT AND INDEFINITE NP OBJECT (OR DEFINITE WITHOUT INDEXING ON VERB)
  
  Pronoun: Neutral: P=T=R.
  
  NP: Indirective: P=T, R

  ALIGNMENT WITH ONLY PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

  Secundative: P=R, T
  
  **EXCEPT OBLIGATORILY WITH 1st/2nd PERSON T (and optional with 3rd person):**
  
  Indirective: P=T, R

  ALIGNMENT WITH A DEFINITE OBJECT INDEXED ON VERB

  Indexed object: secundative: P=R, T
  
  Non-indexed object: indirective: P=T, R

- **COMPOUND VERB FORMS**
  
  Same as above, except not yet ascertained alignment with a definite object indexed on verb.
CCəC- (qtel-) FORMS
Always indirective (P=T, R), except:
ALIGNMENT WITH BOTH PRONOMINAL OBJECT AND NP OBJECT
Some speakers = Pronoun: neutral: P=T=R. (Indexing?).

10 BEHAVIOUR
10.1 PASSIVIZATION OF DITRANSITIVE VERBS
Only P and T can be passivized.

10.2 RELATIVIZATION
All 3 relativized. The relative clause follows the head and usually contains the indexing of the head. This is not obligatory with P or T, but is obligatory with R.

Alternation between indirective and neutral alignment:
(45) kelə kθāw ɒ d-kəm-zonat-te? ‘Where is the book which you sold?’ (P indexed)
  where.is book REL-PAST-you.MS.sell-P.3MS
(46) kelə kθāw ɒ d-zwan-nux? ‘Where is the book which you sold?’ (P not indexed)
  where.is book REL-sold-you.MS
(47) kelə kθāw ɒ d-kəm-yāw ət-tə ṭāl-a? ‘Where is the book that you gave her?’ (T indexed)
  where.is book REL-PAST-you.MS.give-T.3MS to-3FS
(48) kelə kθāw ɒ d-wəl-li ṭāl-ux? ‘Where is the book that I gave you?’ (T not indexed)
  where.is book REL-gave-I to-2MS
(49) kelə aāyi-baxt ɒ d-kəm-yāw ət-tə kθāw? ‘Where is the woman you gave the book to?’
  where.is this-woman book REL-PAST-you.MS.give-R.3FS to-3FS
(50) ** kelə aāyi-baxt ɒ d-wəl-lux kθāw? ‘Where is the woman you gave the book to?’
  where.is this-woman book (**R not indexed)

10.3 CONSTITUENT QUESTIONS
All 3 questioned. Zero tagging for P and T, ta for R: indirective. Indexing is not allowed:
(51) mā qre-ux? ‘What did you read?’ (P)
  what read(PAST)-you.MS
(52) mā kam-qāre-lo ‘What did he read to her?’ (T)
  what PAST-he.read-R.3FS
(53) ta man kam-qāre-lo kθāw? ‘To whom did he read the book?’ (R)
  to who PAST-he.read-T.3MS book

10.4 REFLEXIVITY AND RECIPROCITY
Expressed with pronouns. All three objects, except possibly T in the case of reciprocity. Reflexivity not allowed with R in the case of *yw* I 'to give'. Zero tagging for P and T, *ta* for R: **indirective**.

An R can also be expressed as a pronominal suffix, esp. a benefactive R, marginally others.

(54)  
   *kaban-ni barāni.* 'I want for myself my ram.'

   I.M.want-R.1SG my.ram

11. DITRANSITIVE VERBS IN THE LEXICON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical transfer</th>
<th>Mental transfer</th>
<th>Beneficiary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yw</em> I 'to give (to)'</td>
<td><em>ʔmr</em> I 'to say (to)'</td>
<td><em>šq</em> I 'to take, get (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ʔθy</em> III 'to bring (to)'</td>
<td><em>qry</em> I 'to read (to)'</td>
<td><em>bʔy</em> I 'to want, need (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šdr</em> II 'to send (to)'</td>
<td><em>kθw</em> I 'to write (to)'</td>
<td><em>zwn</em> I 'to buy (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḍʔṛ</em> III 'to return (tr.) (to)'</td>
<td><em>ylp</em> III 'to teach (to)'</td>
<td><em>ʔwð</em> I 'to do (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zbn</em> II 'to sell (to)'</td>
<td><em>bqr</em> II 'to ask (of)'</td>
<td><em>gny</em> I 'to steal (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ax</em> III 'to feed (to)'</td>
<td><em>xwy</em> III 'to show (to)'</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

