

## Morpho-Phonological Analysis of Verbs in the Alqoshi Neo-Aramaic

The present study examines the interaction between the phonology and morphology of verbs and their affixes in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Alqosh (ANA). Evidence shows that affixes are phonetically realized and bound by the rules of phonology. The data for the current study comes in part from the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Database Project ([nena.ames.cam.ac.uk](http://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk)), the original source of which comes from Coghill's PhD dissertation (2003). The rest of the data comes from Jammo and Younan (2014), and from recordings that have been collected throughout Field Method courses for Chaldean in Florida Atlantic University (2017) and the University of Florida (2020).

Data analysis show that verbs in ANA have three underlying verb stems (root-and-template forms): a general *CaCC* for imperfective aspects, *CCiC* for perfective aspects, and *CCaCa* for the progressive aspect. Affixes, on the other hand, denote tense, aspect, subject agreements, and sometimes, object agreements. Table (1) shows all possible affixes in ANA.

Affixes	Type	Grammatical Marking
Prefixes	<i>k-</i>	habitual aspect
	<i>b-</i>	progressive aspect
	<i>di-</i>	(uncertain) future tense
	<i>bəd-</i>	definite future (with certainty) tense
	<i>kim-</i>	perfect aspect
Suffixes	<i>-wa</i>	past tense

Coghill (1999) classifies verb agreements into S-suffixes and L-suffixes, which mark person, number, and gender of arguments. In later work, Coghill (2003) listed them as A-set suffixes and L-set suffixes (p.124 & 127). However, Kalin (2020) states sets three underlying agreement affixes on the verb stem, glossed as B, S, L, each of which represents a different paradigm/pattern of agreement, in which B-suffixes are always the closest to the verb stem to encode gender and number, S-suffixes indicates person and number, and L-suffixes usually consist of an *-l* plus a personal suffix. Building on the theoretical work of Kalin (2018) and Gleim et al. (2022), operations that involve morphology precede phonological operations in ANA.

## References

- Coghill, E. (1999). *The verbal system of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*. Master's thesis, University of Cambridge.
- Coghill, E. (2003). *The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Alqosh* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge).
- Gleim, D., Müller, G., Privizentseva, M. (2022). Reflexes of exponent movement in inflectional morphology. *Nat Lang Linguist Theory*, 41, pp 103–158. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-022-09543-4>.
- Halle, M. and Marantz, A. (1993). *Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection*. In Ken Halle & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.), *The View from Building 20*, pp. 111–176. MIT Press.
- Halle, M. and Marantz, A. (1994). *Some key features of Distributed Morphology*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 21: 275–288.
- Jammo, S. Y., and Younan, A. (2014). *Chaldean Grammar*. The Chaldean Media Center.
- Kager, R. (1996). Interfaces in phonology. In Ursula Kleinhenz (ed.), *on affix allomorphy and syllable counting*, pp 155–171.
- Kalin, L. (2018). Licensing and differential object marking: The view from Neo-Aramaic. *Syntax*, 21(2), 112-159. DOI: 10.1111/synt.12153.
- Kalin, L. (2020). Morphology before phonology: A case study of Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic). *Morphology*, 30(3), 135-184. DOI: 10.1007/s11525-020-09365-3.
- Khan, G. (2008). *The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Barwar*. Brill.
- McCarthy, J. and Prince, A. (1993a). Generalized alignment. *Yearbook of Morphology*, 12, 79–153.
- McCarthy, J. and Prince, A. (1993b). Prosodic morphology: Constraint interaction and satisfaction. *Linguistics Department Faculty Publication Series*. 14.
- Paster, M. (2006). *Phonological conditions on affixation* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley).
- Sara, S. (1974). *A description of modern Chaldean*. The Hague: Mouton.