Paronomastic Infinitives in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic: A Typological Approach

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Abstract

In the present article we aim to describe the distribution and functions of preposed and postposed paronomastic infinitives in literary and spoken varieties of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA). In the first part, the syntax and the function(s) of constructions involving a paronomastic infinitive will be described from a typological point of view. Syntactic and functional variation of NENA paronomastic infinitives largely corresponds to what is found in other Semitic languages, as well as in many languages belonging to other families. In the second part of the article we will address the rendering of Biblical Hebrew and Classical Syriac paronomastic infinitives in NENA Bible translations and offer a survey of various constructions found in spoken varieties and in the language of early Christian Neo-Aramaic poetry.

Keywords

Bible translations – North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic– paronomastic infinitives– typology

1 A Typological Sketch of Paronomastic Infinitives[1]

Paronomastic (or tautological) infinitives have already been discussed in a typological framework,[2] sometimes with a specific focus and extensive reference to Semitic languages.[3] In relation to preposed paronomastic infinitives alone, Bernini has offered a typological and pragmatic overview.[4] The sketch proposed in this section

[1] While this article is the result of joint research, Alessandro Mengozzi is responsible for the final version of section 2, and Emanuele Miola for section 1. The conclusions have been written by both authors. Abbreviations: ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; AOR = aorist; ARG = argument(s); CAUS = causative; C. = Christian (Neo-Aramaic dialect of); CL = clitic; COHORT = cohortative; COND = conditional; CONN = connective; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DEP = dependent; DET = determiner; EMPH = emphasis; FIN = finite; FOC = focus (marker); FUT = future; GEN = genitive; GER = gerundive; HAB = habitual; IMP = imperative; INF = infinitive; IPFV = imperfective; J. = Jewish (Neo-Aramaic dialect of); M = masculine; NEG = negative marker; OBJ = object; OP = operator; PERF = perfective; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PPT = past participle; PRED = predicative particle; PREP = preposition; PRESP = present participle; PRET = preterite; PROX = proximative; PRS = present; PST = past; PTCP = participle; RED = reduplication; REL = relative; SBJ = subject; SBJV = subjunctive; SG = singular; SoA = state of affair; SUB = subordinator; TOP = topic (marker); Vb = verb; VN = verbal noun.

[2] T. Güldemann, I. Fielder and Y. Morimoto, 'The Verb in the Preverbal Domain across Bantu: Infinitive 'Fronting' and Predicate-centered Focus' (paper presented at the International Workshop *BantuSynPhonIS: Preverbal Domains*, ZAS Berlin and Humboldt University Berlin, 14-15 November 2014, https://www2.hu-berlin.de/predicate_focus_africa/data/2014-11-14_Gueldemann_The%20verb%20in%20the%20preverbal%20domain.pdf); J. Hein, 'Doubling and Do-support in Verbal Fronting: Towards a Typology of Repair Operations', *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 2/1 (2017), pp. 1-36 (3-7).

[3] G. Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', *IOS* 1 (1971), pp. 36-85; U. Rapallo, 'Tipologia dell'infinito paronomastico', *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 56/1 (1971), pp. 105-127. See also E. Cohen's application of Goldenberg's model to Old Babylonian, with discussion of the bibliography on Akkadian paronomastic infinitives ('Paronomastic Infinitive in Old Babylonian', *Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"* 38 [2003-2004], pp. 105-112; Idem, 'The Old Babylonian Paronomastic Infinitive in –am', *JAOS* 126/3 [2006], pp. 425-432).

[4] G. Bernini, 'Constructions with Preposed Infinitive: Typological and Pragmatic Notes', in L. Mereu (ed.), *Information Structure and Its Interfaces* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009) pp. 105-128.

attempts to combine previous typological approaches in a constructional perspective. Meaning-form pairings will be given for each type of paronomastic infinitive, with a tentative formalisation of the constructions at issue.

Paronomastic infinitives belong to the wider class of doubled verbs. Doubling is a syntactic process that involves repetition of phonological material beyond the boundaries of the word. Contrary to reduplication, adjacency of the doubled elements in the sentence is not mandatory.[5] Moreover, doubling marks focus and intensification. More specifically, it marks predicate-centred focus, i.e., focus on the state of affairs or, alternatively, focus on the truth-value of the utterance.[6]

When verbal doubling comes into play, doublets including verbal nouns and non-finite forms (especially infinitives) are predominant in the languages of the world. This seems to be due to the ambiguous nature of forms such as infinitives and participles, which share properties with both nouns and verbs.[7] As Ramat has said, 'INF può essere veramente considerato un nome verbale' ('the infinitive may indeed be considered a verbal noun')[8] and it may therefore be involved in left- and right-dislocations such as those dealt with in this article.

1.1 *Preposed Infinitives*

As regards preposed paronomastic infinitives, '[m]any languages tend to resort to inflected forms with the least amount of specification with respect to the major variables of speech act form and topic time, such as the infinitive forms'.[9] There are also minor types that make use of irregular infinitives or special morphology on the left-dislocated phrase. These constructions can be represented as follows:

original VP		doublet VP
[({PREP, CONN, RED}) Vb X_{INF} (special morphological marking)]	+	[Vb X_{FIN}]

Function: predicate-centred focus or intensification

The label 'original' and 'doublet' are assigned following Jacob.[10] One of the reasons the second VP cannot be the original is that in some languages the second VP may display a light or support verb,[11] and such a verb must be classified as a doublet, since it does not bear the lexical information.

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[5] See P. Jacob, 'On the Obligatoriness of Focus Marking: Evidence from Tar B'arma. The Expression of Information Structure', in I. Fiedler and A. Schwarz, *A Documentation of Its Diversity across Africa*, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), pp. 117-144; eadem, *Doubled Verbs. Focus Marking in Sara-Bagirmi* (paper presented at the Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Colloquium, University of Cologne, May 23, 2013, https://www.iaaw.hu-berlin.de/de/afrika/linguistik-und-sprachen/veranstaltungen/afrikalinguistischeskolloquium/papers-wintersemester-2012-13/doubled-verbs.-focus-marking-in-sara-bagirmi).

[6] T. Güldemann, 'Present Progressive vis-à-vis Predication Focus in Bantu: A Verbal Category between Semantics and Pragmatics', *Studies in Language* 27 (2003), pp. 323-360. In a similar vein, as regards paronomastic infinitives in the Semitic languages, Y.-K. Kim, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive in Classical Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009) pp. 111, 133, speaks of focus on 'the factuality of the proposition'. Gzella speaks of 'assertion' as 'the speaker's belief or conviction that the proposition is true' (H. Gzella, 'Emphasis or Assertion? Remarks on the Paronomastic Infinitive in Hebrew', *BO* 67/5-6, pp. 488-498 [492]).

[7] J.C. Moreno, 'O infinitivo flexionado em galego e em húngaro: um estudo contrastivo', *Agália* 4 (1985), pp. 457-462.

[8] P. Ramat, 'La natura dell'infinito', in H. Jansen, P. Polito, L. Schøsler and E. Strudsholm (eds.), *L'infinito & oltre. Omaggio a Gunver Skytte* (Copenhagen: Odense University Press 2002) pp. 409-417 (409, our translation).

[9] Bernini, 'Constructions with Preposed Infinitive', p. 113.

[10] P. Jacob, 'Doubled Verbs. Focus Marking in Sara-Bagirmi', paper presented at the Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Colloquium, University of Cologne, 23 May 2013, p. 8.

[11] See, e.g., in the following examples:

i. Sicilian (Italo-Romance, Indo-European; I.M. Mirto, '*Do*-support in a Sicilian variety, an Italian pseudo-cleft, and the packaging of information', in L. Mereu [ed.], *Information Structure and its Interfaces* [Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2009] pp. 153-168 [153])
   babbiari ***fa***
   joke.INF **do.PRS.3SG**
   'He is only joking
   [contrary to (con)textual expectations]'.

The only blocks necessary to the construction are those containing the verbal forms (see 1). Adverbs and arguments may be added to the original and/or to the doublet VPs (2-6). The same argument may appear both in the original and in the doublet VPs as a clitic in the doublet VP (7) or in both VPs (8).

(1) Biblical Hebrew (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; Gen. 2.17)
Context: 'but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat from it you will certainly die'. (NIV)
mot ***tāmut***
die.INF **die.FUT.2SG**
'you will certainly die'.

(2) Kabyle (Berber, Afro-Asiatic)[12]
'– *Tesneḍ* *taqbaylit?* – ***Afham*** ***fehmeɣ,***
know.2SG the.Kabyle **understand.VN** **understand.PRS.1SG**

tiririt *wer* ***ttarraɣ***
answer.VN NEG **answer.PRS.1SG**

'– Do you speak Kabyle?
– As for understanding it, I understand; but as for speaking it, I cannot'.

(3) Swahili (Bantu, Niger-Congo)[13]
kufa ***tu-ta-kufa*** *wote*
die.INF **1PL-FUT-die** all
'We all shall die'.

(4) Russian (Slavic, Indo-European)[14]
znat' *ne* ***znaju***
know.INF NEG **know.PRS.1SG**
'I absolutely do not know'.

(5) Latin (Italic, Indo-European; Plauti *Aulularia* 181)
nunc ***domum*** *properare* *propero*
now **house.ACC** hasten.INF hasten. PRS.1SG
'Now I'm making all haste to hasten home'.
(F. Leo's 1895 translation)

(6) Vietnamese (Viet-Muong, Austroasiatic)[15]
doc *thi* *no nen* *doc* ***sach***
read TOP he should read **book**
'As for reading, he should read books'.

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ii. Hausa (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; M. Green, *Focus in Hausa* [Publications of the Philological Society, 40, Oxford: Blackwell, 2007] p. 60)
sàyé-n *àbinci* *nèe,* *sukà* ***yi***
buy.VN-GEN food FOC IPFV.DEP.3PL **do**
'They BOUGHT FOOD'.

These constructions are not actually paronomastic, and so will not be further discussed in the article.

[12] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 60, our spelling modifications.

[13] Rapallo, 'Tipologia', p. 111.

[14] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 72.

[15] T. Trinh, *Edges and Linearization* (Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation, https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/68523/770761414-MIT.pdf?sequence=2, 2011) p. 38.

(7) Spanish (Ibero-Romance, Indo-European)[16]

leer	***el***	***libro***	*Juan*	***lo***	*ha*	*leído*
read.INF	**the**	**book**	Juan	**OBJ.CL.3MSG**	has	read

'As for reading the book, Juan has indeed read it'.

(8) Piedmontese (Gallo-Romance, Indo-European)[17]

*Scriv-**je**,*	*i*	*l' hai*
write.INF-**to.her/him**	SBJ.CL.1SG	it.have.PRS.1SG
*scrivù-**je***		
written-**to.her/him**		

'I really wrote to her/him. / As for writing to her/him, I did it'.

The paronomastic infinitive may be introduced by a preposition (9-10), a connective (11), or be reduplicated (12).

(9) French (Gallo-Romance, Indo-European)[18]

Context: 'Somebody should read this article and take action, but who? And what should the action be?'

Oh!	***Pour***	*être*	*lu,*	*ça*	*serait*	*lu*
Oh	**for**	be.INF	read.PPT	this	be.COND.3SG	read.PPT

'As for being read, it will be read'.

(10) Amharic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)[19]

ə́šši	***lä**-madammät'-u*	*ənkw*	*l-adamt'-əh*
all.right	**for**-listen.VN-DET	PART	PROX-1SG.listen.IPFV-2MSG.OBJ

[But listen to me Tiruneh.] 'All right, I'm listening'.

(11) Spanish (Ibero-Romance, Indo-European)[20]

– Tu	*tío*	*José*	*tiene*	*mucho*	*dinero.*
your	uncle	José	have.PRS.3SG	a.lot.of	money

*– **Como***	*tener-lo,*	*lo*	*tiene;*	*pero*	*es*	*muy*	*tacaño*
as	have.INF-it	it	have.PRS.3SG	but	be.PRS.3SG	very	stingy

'– Your uncle José has a lot of money.
– As for having it, he has, but he is very stingy'.

(12) Spanish (Ibero-Romance, Indo-European)[21]

Comer	*comer*	*no*	*come*	*mucho*
RED	eat.INF	NEG	eat.PRS.3SG	much

'He doesn't really eat much'.

[16] L. Vicente, 'An Alternative to Remnant Movement for Partial Predicate Fronting', *Syntax* 12/2 (2009), pp. 158-191 (167).

[17] A. Aly-Belfàdel, *Grammatica piemontese* (Noale: Guin, 1933) p. 288, his translations.

[18] L. Malet, *Les enquêtes de Nestor Burma et les nouveaux mystères de Paris* (Paris: Laffont, 1985) vol. 2, p. 289, quoted in G. Bernini, 'Constructions with Preposed Infinitive', p. 123, his translation.

[19] O. Kapeliuk, *Nominalization in Amharic* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1988) p. 68.

[20] L.A. Hernando Cuadrado, 'Sobre el funcionamiento de "como" en español', *Revista de Filología Románica* 19 (2002), pp. 325-340 (337).

[21] J. Valenzuela, J. Hilferty and M. Garachana, 'On the Reality of Constructions: The Spanish Reduplicative-topic Construction', *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 3 (2005), pp. 201-215 (208).

The preposition *pour* in (9) and the connective *como* in (11), as well as *thi* in (6), function as topic markers.[22]

In some languages, infinitives placed before the finite verb may exhibit special morphological marking, including focus marking (see 16-18 and, perhaps, 15):

(13) Lithuanian (Baltic, Indo-European)[23]
*deg-**tè*** *dẽga*
burn-**INF** burn.PRS.3SG
'It burns brightly'.

(14) Turkish (Turkic)[24]
*Ol-ma-**sın-a*** *ol-du,* *amma* *nasıl?*
be-VN-**3SG.POSS-DAT** be-PAST but how
'Yes, it's done, but how?'

(15) Amharic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)[25]
*mämʈat-**əss*** *mäʈʈobbəňň* *näbbär*
come.INF-**FOC(?)** come.PST.3SG to.me
'As to coming, he had come to me
[, but refusing I did send him back]'.

(16) Tuki (Bantu, Niger-Congo)[26]
O-suwa ***owu*** *Puta* *a-mu-suwa* *tsono* *raa*
INF-wash **FOC** Puta SBJ-1SG-wash clothes her
'Puta WASHES her clothes'.

(17) Ama (Nyimang, Nilo-Saharan?)[27]
ládā ***bá*** ***nɛ̄*** *indù̱* *ká ládī*
walk.INF **EMPH** **FOC** 3SG ? walk.IPFV
'She is WALKING'.

(18) Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo)[28]
ɸo-ɸo ***é*** *wò* *ɸo* *é*
RED-beat **FOC** 3SG beat 3SG
'S/he BEAT her/him'.

(19) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Uralic)[29]
vol-ni *vol-t*
be.PST-INF be.PST-3SG
'for being there, it was there'

[22] *Pour* is arguably the reduction of the French topic marker *pour ce qui regarde/touche*, see B. Combettes, 'Grammaticalisation des marqueurs de topicalisation en français : Les expressions du type *pour ce qui regarde*', *Langue française* 156/4 (2007), pp. 93-107.

[23] W. Meyer Lübke, 'Der intensive Infinitiv im Litauischen und Russischen', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 14 (1903), pp. 114-127 (114).

[24] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 60, his translation.

[25] Ibid., p. 70.

[26] E. Biloa, *Functional Categories and the Syntax of Focus in Tuki* (Newcastle: Lincom Europa, 1997) p. 110.

[27] T. Güldemann, '(Preposed) Verb doubling and Predicate-centered Focus' (paper presented at the Workshop Project B7, Berlin, 21-22 November 2010), p. 2.

[28] F.K. Ameka, 'Focus Constructions in Ewe and Akan', *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics,* 17 (1992), pp. 1-25 (12).

[29] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', pp. 72-73.

(20) Hungarian (Finno-Ugric, Uralic)[30]

árulni	***árultak,***	*de*	***venni***
donate.INF	**donate.PRS.1SG**	but	**throw.away.INF**
nem	***vettek***		
NEG	**throw.away.PRS.1SG**		

'I do make gifts, but I do not squander'.

In (13), the 'second', unusual Lithuanian *-tè* infinitive is found, while in (14) 'the Turkish verbal noun in front position is also inflected for nominal categories, such as third person singular possessive and dative cases'.[31] In (18), the preposed verbal form is reduplicated. In Hungarian, as in other languages, along with regular tautological-infinitive constructions (20), special lexical morphology might be used in the original VP: the regular infinitive of 'be' would be *lenni*, but in (19) irregular *vol-ni* is used in order to reduplicate the verbal stem of *vol-t*.

Preposed paronomastic infinitives generally i) topicalise the lexical content of the verb and focus on the assertion contained in the second part of the sentence (i.e., the comment), which is given as true at the time of speaking, even contrary to co(n)textual expectation (see e.g., 2, 6, 7, 10-12).[32] These constructions tend to be conventionally reanalysed as ii) truth-value focus constructions of the kind of [DOES Vb X]/[*really* Vb X] (see 1, 3, 5, 9), which, in turn, may take on iii) an intensifying reading, such as those displayed by (4) and (13). All three readings are proposed for (8) in Aly-Belfàdel's grammar of Piedmontese.

Goldenberg maintains that preposed infinitives are not 'pan-glottic',[33] but they are, in fact, well attested in various language families. These constructions are likely to emerge via dialogical interactions[34] and occur especially in colloquial registers. Meyer-Lübke, on the other hand, says: 'zweifle aber nicht daran, dass [die Erscheinung] auch noch anderswo sich nachweisen lässt, sofern es eben überhaupt bis zur Bildung eines wirklichen Infinitivs gekommen ist'.[35] Recent typological research on different language families seems to support the latter claim.[36]

The construction in (21) seems to be less common in the languages of the world. Here, the infinitive is fronted as in a cleft, or cleft-like, sentence, and repeated by a cognate finite form in the following sentence. In the present article, only constructions formed by the infinitive followed by a relative pronoun or a subordinator will be considered as cleft(-like) sentences. Furthermore, these constructions may, but need not, exhibit a pre- or post-verbal focus marker. Goldenberg says that these constructions are typical of Semitic languages, but one can also find them in other language families (see 23).[37] Their function is linked, again, to focalisation (on the state-of-affairs and, apparently, never on the truth-values of the utterance; see 21) and emphasis (e.g., mirativity in 22 and intensification in 23).

[30] Rapallo, 'Tipologia', p. 114.

[31] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', pp. 60-62; Bernini, 'Constructions with Preposed Infinitive', p. 113.

[32] A change in prosody may be responsible for the reanalysis of constructions focussing on the state of affairs (i.e. $[\text{Vb X}]_{\text{FOC}}$ + $[\text{Vb X(TAM)}]_{\text{TOP}}$) into truth-value focus constructions (i.e., $[\text{as for X}]_{\text{TOP}}$ + $[\text{Vb X}]_{\text{FOC}}$): see Güldemann, '(Preposed) Verb doubling', p. 6; Jacob, *Doubled Verbs*; cf. also Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitives', p. 72.

[33] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitives', p. 58. Also Kim (*The Function of the Tautological Infinitive*, p. 112) is inclined to think that paronomastic infinitives are not frequently found outside the Semitic languages and, in the non-Semitic languages in which they do occur, such as the Romance languages they 'do not seem to be as productive as in B[iblical]H[ebrew]'.

[34] See (2, 9, 10), and E. Calaresu, 'Grammatica del testo e del discorso: dinamicità informative e origini dialogiche di diverse strutture sintattiche', in A. Ferrari, L. Lala and R. Stojmenova (eds.), *Testualità. Fondamenti, unità, relazioni / Textualité. Fondements, unités, relations / Textualidad. Fundamentos, unidades, relaciones* (Florence: Cesati, 2015), pp. 43-59.

[35] Meyer Lübke, 'Der intensive Infinitiv', p. 119.

[36] Güldemann et al., 'The Verb in the Preverbal Domain'.

[37] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 58.

(21) Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)
Context: 'If one intentionally took a false oath on a deposit and witnesses forewarned him…' should he be flogged, 'as this is the standard punishment for an intentional transgression' or rather bring a guilt-offering? (Shebu. 37a-37b, The William Davidson Talmud).

milqē	***hu***	***d-lā***	*lqī*	*aḇāl*	*qurbān*	*mēti*
flog.INF	**FOC**	**SUB-NEG**	flog.PPT	but	offering	bring.PRESP

'He is not indeed flogged, but rather brings an offering'.[38]

(22) Ṭuroyo (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)[39]

naḥĭnno	*b-i-kaše*	***i-ḥzăyto***	***d-ḥzeli***
go down.PRET	in-DET-slope	**DET-see.INF**	**SUB-see.PRET**

kale	*u-qămyon*	*b-fĭlge*	*d-u-dărbo*	*kălyo*
there.it.is!	DET-truck	in-middle	of-DET-street	stop.PRET

'Ich fuhr den Abhang hinunter. Mit schrecken sah ich plötzlich,
dass der Lastwagen in der Mitte der Strae stand'.

(23) Kabyle (Berber, Afro-Asiatic)[40]

d	***akras***	***ay***	*t-yekres*
FOC	**tie.VN**	**REL**	DET-tie.PST

'Il l'a bien noué'.

1.2 *Postposed Infinitives*

Postposed paronomastic infinitives are a special type of verbal echo-constructions. We could formally represent these constructions as

original VP		doublet VP
[Vb X_{FIN}]	+ […] +	[(PREP +) Vb X_{INF}]

Function: SoA and truth-value focus, intensification, frequentative

The bracketed ellipsis […] represents any (group of) phrase(s) that can be added between the first and second part of the construction. Additionally, these constructions are typical of colloquial, informal speech.

As regards pragmatics and information structure, postposed paronomastic infinitives may also focus on the truth-value of the utterance (24-26), as is the case for the parallel construction with a preposed infinitive (see, e.g., 3 and 14 above). In cases such as (27-29) the focus seems rather to be on the state of affairs. In (30), the nuance of the utterance is that of unexpectedness and counter-expectation. The state-of-affairs conveyed by $[Vb\ X]_{FIN}$ $[Vb\ X]_{INF}$ takes place contrary to co(n)textual expectations.

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[38] Ibid., p. 52, translates: 'It is flogging that it is not flogged, but an offering he brings'.

[39] M. Waltisberg, *Syntax des Ṭuroyo* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016) p. 90, his translation. Waltisberg describes this construction as a functional sub-category of the *paronomasticher Relativsatz*. It is in fact a cleft construction in which the fronted infinitive is usually preceded by the preposition *b-* or, less frequently, by other prepositions and always by the definite article. The infinitive is then followed by the subordinator *d-* and a finite verbal form of the same root. According to Waltisberg's *Syntax* (p. 88), the first function of this construction is to specify the exact temporal state of affairs of an action:

i. *b-u-mătyo* *d-ătyo* *hiye-ste* *omĭr*
in-DET-come.INF SUB-come.PRET he-also say.PRET
'Bei ihrem Kommen sagte (ihr Mann)'

Counter-expectedness seems, in fact, to be at stake in Waltisberg 's description of the second main function of the *paronomastischer Relativsatz*, i.e., to point out a surprising or frightening situation (p. 90). When used with this function (e.g., in 19), the infinitive is not preceded by prepositions and *verba videndi* are frequently involved.

[40] Naït-Zerrad, *Linguistique berbére*, p. 134, his translation. *D*, a focus marker, is sometimes treated as a predicative particle.

(24) North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; see 69, below)
men šmayyā *qrē-lē* ***qrāyā***
from heaven call.PRET.him-3SG **call.INF**
'He did call him from Heaven/
He truly called him from Heaven'.

(25) Italian (Italo-Romance, Indo-European)[41]
Funziona, ***per*** ***funzionare***
work.PRS.3SG **for** **work.INF**
'As for working, it does work'.
[but the point is another]'.

(26) Turkish (Turkic)[42]
Yet-er ***yet-me-sin-e***
be.enough-AOR(3SG) **be.enough-INF-3SG-DAT**

ama, *bura-dan* *nasıl* *çık-acag-ım?*
but here-ABL how go_out-FUT-1SG

'Well they are enough, so far as being enough is the problem
(or: as to being enough they are enough), but how shall I get out of here?'

(27) Kenga (Bagirmi, Nilo-Saharan(?))[43]
Context: – What are you doing? – Didn't you see?
m-ɔ̄ɔ̄c ***k-ɔ̀ɔ̀cɔ̀***
1SG-SOW **INF-SOW**
'I'm SOWING'.

(28) Biblical Hebrew (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; Gen 19.9)
hā'eḥāḏ *bā* *lāgur* *wayyišpoṭ* ***šāfoṭ***
this one came foreigner judge.PRET.3SG **judge.INF**
'This fellow came here as a foreigner,
and now he wants to play the judge!' (NIV)

(29) Ancient Egyptian (Egyptian, Afro-Asiatic)[44]
Context: 'He shall not die, but he will live forever.'
ʿnḫ-i ***ʿnḫt***
live-1SG **living**
'It is (in) living that I shall live'.

(30) North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; see 68 below)
mqutel-lay *w-ʿḇeḏ-lay* *qrāḇā*
fight.PRET-3PL and-do.PRET-3PL quarrel.INF

[41] http://forum.arduino.cc/index.php?topic=90134.0.
[42] From Aziz Nezin, quoted by Goldenberg 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 61, his translation.
[43] L. Neukom, *Description grammaticale du kenga* (*langue nilo-saharienne du Tchad*) (Köln: Köppe, 2010) p. 130.
[44] A. Shisha-Halevy, 'The "Tautological Infinitive" in Coptic: A Structural Examination', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 1 (1990), pp. 99-127 (114), his translation.

lā *qru-lay* *ell-āh* ***qrāḇā***
NEG quarrel.PRET-3PL on-her **quarrel.INF**

'They fought and they quarreled,
but against her, they did not quarrel'.

Focus on truth value may also result in emphasis and intensification, which are the preferred reading when the first member of the construction is an imperative (31, 32) or a cohortative (33). In Biblical Hebrew '[t]he opposite sequence (infinitive–volitive) is unattested':[45]

(31) North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; see 64 below)
w-šabḥu *l-šemm-ēh* ***šāboḥē***
and-praise.IMP ACC-name-his **praise.INF**
'And do praise His name!'

(32) Biblical Hebrew (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; Job 13.17)
šimʿu *šāmoᵃʿ* *millāṯ-ī w-aḥᵃwāṯ-ī*
listen.IMP.2PL **listen.INF** word-my and-declaration-my
b-ɔznē-ḵem
with-ears-your
'Listen carefully to what I say; let my words ring in your ears'. (NIV)

(33) Biblical Hebrew (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; Zech. 8.21)
nēlḵā *hāloḵ* *l-ḥalloṯ* *eṯ-pnē aḏonāy*
go.COHORT.1PL **go.INF** to-entreat.INF before-the Lord
'Let us go at once to entreat the Lord!' (NIV)

While it is possible to speculate that such echo-constructions are widespread worldwide, Bernini argues that the restriction on the right position for dislocated infinitives 'may be a matter of typological variation' in the order of constituents.[46]

2 Paronomastic Infinitives in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic

As Goldenberg observes,[47] Stoddard was the first to notice the use of paronomastic infinitives in Neo-Aramaic and their functional correspondence to the Hebrew and Classical Syriac constructions: 'The absolute infinitive, joined with the finite verb, is used in the Modern as well as in the Ancient Syriac, and the Hebrew, to give intensity to the idea'.[48] The first example he gives is a literal Neo-Aramaic rendering (35) of the Peshiṭṭā of Jn 9.9 (34), where the Classical Syriac translator introduced a paronomastic infinitive to emphasise a contrastive opposition in the Greek original. This example shows that in the Syriac of the Peshiṭṭā a paronomastic infinitive may idiomatically express intensification.

[45] J. Joosten, 'Three Remarks on Infinitival Paronomasia in Biblical Hebrew', in D. Sivan, D. Talshir & C. Cohen (eds.), *Zaphenath-Paneah. Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2009) pp. 99-113 (106).

[46] Bernini, 'Constructions with Preposed Infinitive', p. 119.

[47] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 58.

[48] D.T. Stoddard, 'A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as Spoken in the Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan', *JAOS* 5 (1855), pp. 1-180 (167).

Jn 9.9 ἄλλοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν: ἄλλοι ἔλεγον, Οὐχί, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιος αὐτῷ ἐστιν.

(34) Peshiṭṭā of Jn 9.9
iṯ d-āmrin (*h*)*waw d-hu-yu w-iṯ d-āmrin* (*h*)*waw:*
'There were some who said that it was he and there were some who said:

lā,	*ellā*	*meḏmā*	*ḏāmē*	*lēh*
no,	but	resemble.INF	resemble.PTCP.3SG	him

"No, but he truly resembles him"'.

(35) Stoddard, *A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language*, p. 167:

medmāyā	*bedmāyā-*(*y*)*lē*
resemble.INF	resemble.GER-COP.3SG

'He is very much like, he strongly resembles'.
(Stoddard's Eng. translation)[49]

Stoddard's second example (36) is not scriptural and attempts to reproduce an actual conversation:

(36) Stoddard, *A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language*, pp. 167-168:

lā	*šmeʿ-lē?*
NEG	hear.PRET-3SG

'– Did he not hear?'
[Stoddard: 'To this, the answer may be as follows:']

šmaʿyā	*šmeʿ-lē,*	*inā*	(')*tāyā*	*lā*	(')*tē-lē!*
hear.INF	hear.PRET-3SG	but	come.INF	NEG	come.PRET-3SG

'– Hearing he heard, but coming he did not come'.

Following in Stoddard's footsteps, we will first check the idiomaticity of the Neo-Aramaic paronomastic infinitive in 'that refuge of lazy linguists'—i.e., Bible translations[50]—and then look for syntactic forms and functions of constructions involving a paronomastic infinitive in more or less spontaneous colloquial speech and written literary texts.

2.1 *Paronomastic Infinitives in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Bible Translations*

The following table shows three different Christian Neo-Aramaic translations of twenty-seven constructions involving a paronomastic infinitive, as attested in the Hebrew text of Genesis.[51] The transliteration reflects as

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[49] Like the Greek original, other Neo-Aramaic translations do not have the paronomastic infinitive. See, e.g., the *Translation of the Peshitta Version in the Suryoyo Language of Tur Abdin. Prepared in the Monastery of Mor Gabriel* (Winfield, IL: Aramaic Bible Translation, 2013):

lo,	*elo*	*kdome*	*le*
No,	but	resemble.PRS.3SG	him

and both the Urmi Bible (New York 1893) and the 'Assyrian' translation accessible online (Aramaic Bible Translation, 2014; www.aramaicbible.org/assyrian.html):

lā,	*ellā*	*bedmāyā-ylē*	*ellēh*
No,	but	resemble.GER-COP.3SG	him

The 'Chaldean Neo-Aramaic' version expresses the contrastive opposition with another construction (Aramaic Bible Translation, 2015; www.aramaicbible.org/chaldean.html):

lā,	*ellā*	*ilē*	*ḥā*	*de- kdāmē*	*ellēh*
No,	but	COP.3SG	one	REL-resemble.PRS.3SG	him

'No, but he is one who resembles him'.

[50] C.P. Masica, *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976) p. 130.

[51] The lists are based on the examples of Genesis, Joshua and Numbers discussed by Kim, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive*, and may be incomplete. Nevertheless, they appear to be sufficient to show techniques and linguistic choices of the translators as far as paronomastic infinitives are concerned. Genesis and Joshua are the only books written in 'Classical Biblical Hebrew' (as defined in Kim, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive*) that are available online in the Assyrian version. The language of the Jewish Neo-

faithfully as possible the orthographies of the manuscript and of the printed texts. The references to verses in which the Hebrew Bible has the less common word order ([Vb X_{FIN}] + [Vb X_{INF}]) are marked with an arrow ← in the tables.

The first Neo-Aramaic translation is drawn from an unpublished manuscript of the Dominican Friars of Mosul (DFM 4, in the database of www.hmml.org), which displays in three columns, from right to left, the text of the Pešiṭṭā of Genesis, a translation in the Neo-Aramaic koine of the plain of Mosul, and an Italian translation that is possibly taken from the so-called 'Bibbia del Martini' (late 18th century). From around Gen. 30 onwards only the Neo-Aramaic text is given in a one-column page layout. Unfortunately, the manuscript is not dated, but it is reasonable to assume that the translation was prepared under the patronage of the Italian Dominicans who were active in Mosul and northern Iraq from 1750 and in the first half of the 19th century. Further research is needed to describe the language and translation technique of this fascinating trilingual Genesis. At first impression, one can say that it is based on the Pešiṭṭā, with orthography and lexical choices far less classicising than those of the Urmi Bible, as is customary in the native manuscript tradition of northern Iraqi Christians.

The American Bible Society published the Urmi Bible in 1893 in New York. As is confirmed from Jn 9.9 and the examples discussed here below, it is based on the Greek text of the New Testament and the Hebrew Old Testament.[52] On the basis of Murre-van den Berg's thorough analysis, Khan underlines the classicising bias of the Neo-Aramaic translation of the Bible prepared by the American Protestants, as regards spelling, lexical choices and syntax.[53]

The third and most recent Neo-Aramaic translation is part of a project that, more than a century after the publication of the Urmi Bible, aims to produce a text 'for Assyrian speakers of today' (http://www.aramaicbible.org/assyrian.html). Two American institutions appear to be involved in the project: the Aramaic Bible Translation (Winfield, IL) and the Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation (Lincolnwood, IL).
The constructions in which the paronomastic infinitive does not occur are in italics.

Genesis	Assyrian (2015)	Urmi Bible (New York 1893)	Trilingual Genesis Ms. DFM 4 (Plain of Mosul, 18th-19th cent.)	Eng. transl. of the Hebrew text, based on NIV
2.16	*āḵlēt mēḵultā*[54]	mēḵālā āḵlet	iḵālā iḵol	You may eat
2.17; 20.7	myātā bet māytēt	myātā bet māytet	myāṭā mmāyṭet[55]	You shall surely die
3.4	myāṭā lē māytiton	myāṭā lē māytiton	lā myāṭā mmāyṭutu[56]	you will not certainly die
15.13	*hwi ḥatitā*	miḏ'yā id'et	idā'ā ido'	Know for certain (that…)!
16.10	mazyudē bet mazyedennēh zar'aḵ	mazyudē bet mazyeden l-zar'āḵ	mazodē bed maziden l-zar'āḵ	I will increase your descendants
18.10	*bet dāyrēn lkes luḵ*	medārā bet dāyren lkesluḵ	d'ārā bed dā'ren	I will surely return to you

Aramaic Targum by Sason ben Zakay Barzani (native of Rawanduz, near Erbil) mimics the syntax of Biblical Hebrew infinitives, including the paronomastic infinitives; see M. Rees, *Lishan Didan, Targum Didan. Translation Language in a Neo-Aramaic Targum Tradition* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008) pp. 48-49. The same is true for the Jewish Zakho versions of Genesis and Numbers (henceforth J. Zakho), published by Y. Sabar, *Sefer Berešit be-aramit ḥadasha be-nivam šel yehude Zakho* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983) and *Sefer Bammidbar be-aramit ḥadasha be-nivam šel yehude Zakho* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993). Exceptions to the rule of literal and mechanical rendering of the Hebrew construction in J. Zakho are given, here below, in the footnotes to relevant verses.

[52] H.L. Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language: The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 'De Goeje Fund', 1999) p. 109.

[53] Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language*; G. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi* (Leiden: Brill, 2016) vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

[54] Noun used as a cognate object.

[55] The phonetic spelling of the manuscript, which reflects the assimilation of the future preverb *bed- ~ b-* to the first consonant of the verbal root, is corrected with a pencil notation: *bed māyṭet*.

[56] Pencil notation: *bed māyṭutu*.

18.18	*šarirā'it bet hāwē*	mehwāyā bet hāwē	hwāyā bed hāwē	He will surely become
19.9←	*bā'ē d-hāwē ellan dayyānā*	me'ḇādā bet 'aḇed diwān	*w-olē k-āweḏ ṭālan šar'ē*[57]	He wants to play the judge
22.17	mbarukē bet barkennuḵ w-mazyudē bet mazyeden l-zar'uḵ	mbārokē bet barkennuḵ w-mazyudē bet mazyeden l-zar'uḵ	mbaroke bed mbarkennuḵ w-mazodē bed maziden	I will surely bless you and make your descendants … numerous
24.5	maderennēh bronuḵ	maḏurē maḏren l-brunuḵ	mad'orē mad'ērē'n bronuḵ	Shall I then take your son back?
26.11	*māwṯā bet pā'ēš mumitā*[58]	myāṯā bet pāyeš mumitā	qṭālā pāyeš qṭilā[59]	He shall surely be put to death
27.30	*be-plāṭā yhwā*	mplāṭā pleṭlē	*ḵleṣlē*[60]	He has left
31.15←	*'kil lēh l-zuzē*	mēḵālā (')ḵellē l-zuzan	*ḵellē zuzan*[61]	He has used up what was paid for us (lit. he has eaten our money)
31.30	'zālā ziluḵ maḥnuyē muḥnē luḵ	mēzālā (')zelluḵ maḥnuwē muḥnēluḵ	[not found]	You have gone off You longed to return
37.8	*malkuṯā bet 'aḇdēt 'alan yan šulṭānā bet 'āḇdēt 'alan*	me'ḇāḏā malkuṯā bet 'aḇdeṯ malkuṯā elan w-mhākomē bet hākmet biyan	[not found]	Do you intend to reign over us? Will you actually rule us?
37.10	*bet ātaḥ*	mêtāyā bet ātāḵ	iṯāyā bēd āṯuḵ	Will we actually come?
37.33; 44.28	prāṭā pišā ylē priṭā	meprāṭā pišā (y)lē priṭā	tḇārā pešlē tḇirā	He has surely been torn to pieces
43.3	gzāmā gzim lēh 'alan	meshāḏā sheḏlē biyan hāw (')nāšā	shāḏā mushedlē bgāwan (h)āw (')nāšā	The man warned us solemnly
43.7	*buqerrē hāw 'nāšā 'alan*	mbāqorē buqerrē hāw (')nāšā 'alan	baqorē mbuqērē (h)āw (')nāšā ellan	The man questioned us closely
44.5	*w-biyēh 'ābēd neḥšā*	me'ḇāḏā kē 'aḇed neḥšā biyēh	*w-ham fālā kmāḵē bgāwāh*[62]	He also uses (it) for divination
46.4←	*w-ānā bet ma'sqennuḵ*	mâsoqē bet mâsqennuḵ	*w-ānā bedmasqennoḵ*[63]	I will surely bring you back again
50.15	*pare' lan*	madurē māder 'lan	*pāre' lan*	(What if…) he pays us back?

The Urmi Bible faithfully reproduces the syntax of the Hebrew Bible and has the paronomastic infinitive of the source text even in verses such as Gen. 19.9; 27.30; 31.15 and 46.4, in which the Classical Syriac Pešiṭṭā does not. The Mosul text is clearly based on the Pešiṭṭā and accordingly does not use the paronomastic infinitives in these verses. The only other passage in which the Mosul text does not have the paronomastic infinitive of the Pešiṭṭā and the Hebrew text is Gen. 44.5, in which the translator opts for what appears to be a local idiom and uses a word of ultimate Arabic origin (*fa'l* 'augury, divination'). Arabic-derived *šar'ē* for Syriac *dinē* in Gen. 19.9 and *ḵleṣlē* for *npaq*

[57] Pešiṭṭā: *hā dā'en lan dinē* (noun used as a cognate object).
[58] Noun used as a cognate object.
[59] In J. Zakho *myāsā māyəs*, both infinitive and finite verbs are in the base form, with the intransitive meaning 'to die'.
[60] Pešiṭṭā: *nfaq*.
[61] Pešiṭṭā: *eḵal kaspan*; J. Zakho: *xəlle ham ixālā*.
[62] Pešiṭṭā: *āf mnaḥḥāšū mnaḥḥeš bēh*.
[63] Pešiṭṭā: *w-enā esqāḵ*; J. Zakho: *masqənnox ham masoqē*.

in 27.30 reveal the same non-classicising attitude of the author(s) of the Mosul translation as far as lexical choices are concerned.

As in Hebrew, an infinitive of the base form can also be placed before a passive verbal form, as in Gen. 26.11; 37.33 and 44.28.[64]

(37) Gen. 37.33 (Urmi Bible, 1893)
meprāṭā[65] *pišā* (*y*)*lē* *priṭā*
tear.INF remain.PERF.3SG tear.PPT
'He has surely been torn to pieces'.

In 26.11, the Urmi Bible has the infinitive of the base form (intransitive meaning) joined with the passive future of the causative form (transitive meaning):

(38) Gen. 26.11 (Urmi Bible, 1893)
myātā *bet* *pāyeš* *mumitā*
die.INF FUT remain.SBJV.3sg CAUS.die.PPT
'He shall surely be put to death'.

In fifteen of the twenty-seven occurrences of the paronomastic infinitives listed above and in four of the five paronomastic infinitives attested in the book of Joshua (see below), the recent Assyrian version opts for other constructions: the infinitive is usually dropped altogether or, in two verses, replaced by a noun used as a cognate object (Gen. 2.16 and 26.11). This does not necessarily mean that the translator(s) of the American project perceive the paronomastic infinitive as non-idiomatic in Neo-Aramaic. They deliberately try to update the text to new standards and, as far as paronomastic infinitives are concerned, some choices seem to comply to Western speech habits and translation techniques (see, e.g., the use of 'to want' in Gen. 19.9 and adverbs and adverbial complements corresponding to 'truly, certainly, clearly' in Gen. 18.18; Josh. 9.24 and 23.13).

Joshua	Assyrian (2015)	Urmi Bible (New York 1893)	Eng. transl. of the Hebrew text, based on NIV
7.7←	*qām ma'beret*	ma'ḇurē muḇ'erruḵ	(Why) did you ever bring (this people) across (the Jordan)?
9.24	*piš lēh mude'ā galyā'it*	mad'uwē pešlē mude'yā	They were clearly told (how the Lord…)
23.12	*en hāwyā d-dāyritun*	en medārā dayriton	But if you turn away
23.13	*b-šarirutā yād'iton*	meda'yā ya'diton	You may be sure (that…)
24.10←	baruḵē bureḵ lēh elāwḵon	mbaroḵē burḵlē elāwḵon	He blessed you again and again

In the verses in which the Hebrew Bible has the less common word order ([Vb X_{FIN}] + [Vb X_{INF}]), the Urmi Bible usually normalises the word order to the more common construction with the paronomastic infinitive before the finite verbal form. This happens, for example, in Gen. 19.9; 31.15; 46.4 and Josh. 7.7, where the Pešiṭtā does not have paronomastic infinitives, as well as in Josh. 24.10; Num. 23.11 and 24.10, where the Pešiṭtā also has the infinitive placed before the verb. In Num. 11.15 and 16.13, however, where the Pešiṭtā closely follows the exceptional syntax of the Hebrew ([Vb X_{FIN}] + [Vb X_{INF}]), the Urmi Bible does not have paronomastic infinitives at all. The postposed paronomastic infinitive would appear to be deemed ungrammatical by the translator(s) of the Urmi Bible, who

[64] Kim, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive*, pp. 32, 39, 93.
[65] An anonymous reviewer suggests that the infinitive with prefixed *me-* may be a Syriacism for *prāṭā*.

normalise the word order or suppress the postposed infinitive. At any rate, translators—including those of the Pešiṭta and the NIV[66]—appear to be aware of and react to the different syntactic constructions of the source text.[67]

Numbers	Urmi Bible (New York 1893)	Pešiṭtā	Eng. transl. of the Hebrew text, based on NIV
11.15←	*qṭol li*	qṭolayn(y) meqṭal	Go ahead and kill me!
16.13←	*'aḇdet gānuḵ rēšā 'alan*	ellā meṯrāwrḇin (')atton 'layn meṯrāwrāḇu	And now you also want to lord it over us!
23.11← 24.10←	baroḵē bureḵluḵ	mḇarrāḵu mḇarreḵ att lhon	... but you have done nothing but bless them!

The idiomatic status of paronomastic infinitives in literary Urmi Aramaic is confirmed by its use in the Neo-Aramaic works by Paul Bedjan (Khosrowa 1838; Cologne 1920). Goldenberg[68] informs us that H.J. Polotsky had collected various examples in the writings of the Persian Lazarist, the self-proclaimed author of 'the most beautiful model of Neo-Aramaic style'.[69]

2.2 *Paronomastic Infinitives in Spoken North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*

As in Stoddard's examples and in the Bible translations, paronomastic infinitives usually precede the finite verbal form of the same root ([Vb X_{INF}] + [Vb X_{FIN}]) in the dialects described by Khan, who for paronomastic infinitive uses the term 'cognate infinitive'.[70]

In J. Urmia (39) the paronomastic infinitive gives focal prominence to the action in a typical contrastive construction, involving a negation.

(39) J. Urmia[71]

+palote	*+məssen ...*	*+palten,*
take_out.INF	I can	take_out.PRS.1SG

madore	*la*	*+məssen*	*madr-ən-nu.*
return.INF	NEG	I can	return.PRS-1SG-them

'I can take them out, but I cannot return them'.

In C. Urmi (40) a paronomastic infinitive may reinforce a positive polar question, expressing 'a desiderative bias, i.e. the speaker wants the answer to be 'yes''.[72]

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[66] The NIV translator(s) too would seem to seek more emphatic, perhaps idiomatic, English equivalents to the Hebrew marked construction (finite verbal form + infinitive).

[67] Gzella, 'Emphasis or Assertion?', p. 491, discusses the treatment of postposed paronomastic infinitives in Kim, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive*, pp. 43-57. Joosten, 'Infinitival Paronomasia', pp. 105-109, shows that the postposed infinitive 'is but a conditioned variant of the normal sequence with a prepositive infinitive. The basic identity of the two variants is confirmed by their function. The postpositive infinitive has the same, or nearly the same, emphasizing effect as its prepositive counterpart', whereas 'with the pre-positive infinitive, there is often an element of contrast'.

[68] Goldenberg, 'Tautological Infinitive', p. 58.

[69] My translation of the French original quoted in H.J. Polotsky, 'Neo-Syriac Studies', *JSS* 6 (1961), pp. 1-32 (5).

[70] Khan's transcription systems have been simplified in minor details, especially as regards phonetic and suprasegmental features. Although prosody, intonation and pausing are relevant in the analysis of paronomastic infinitives and reduplication in general, a slightly simplified transliteration may suffice in the comparison of syntactic constructions as attested in actual speech and in written sources, where prosodic features are poorly represented or not recorded at all.

[71] G. Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Urmi* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008) p. 290.

[72] Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, vol. 2, pp. 240 and 378.

(40) C. Urmi

qabúlə	*p-qàbli*	*'árxə*?
accept.INF	FUT-accept.SBJV.3PL	guests

'Do they accept guests?'

In J. Sulemaniyya (41), the construction may connote the action as thoroughly completed, thus functioning as a telicity marker.

(41) J. Sulemaniyya[73]

'o zala-zīl 'He went away'.

Discussing an occurrence of the same construction in J. Arbel (42), Khan points out the nominal nature of the infinitive, in that it may refer to a concrete entity (*bšāla* is both 'stew' and, at least formally, 'to cook'),[74] and it syntactically behaves like a noun used as a cognate object ('to pray a prayer' in 43).

(42) J. Arbel[75]

bšāla	*bb-eu*	*bašli-wa*
cook.INF/stew	with-it	cook.3PL-HAB.PST

'They used to cook with it /
The stew, they cooked with it'.

(43)

ṣlola	*ṣle-lan*
prayer	pray.PRET-1PL

'We prayed'.

Khan calls this construction in J. Sanandaj 'heavy coding' (44-45).

(44) J. Sanandaj[76]

šătoe	*šătena*
drink.INF	drink.PRS.1SG

'I am drinking'.

(45)

kalba	*nwaxa*	*nox*
dog	bark.INF	bark.PRS.3SG

'The dog is barking'.

When the verbal form has the realis preverb *k-* ~ *g-* (46), this is also attached to the infinitive, as the first consonantal slot of I-weak verbal roots.

(46) *kxole kəxna* 'I am eating'.
gzala gezna 'I am going'.

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[73] G. Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) p. 324.

[74] Formally infinitives *bšāla* 'cooked food', *'ixāla* 'to eat, food', 'food' and *štā'a* 'to drink, a drink' are nouns also in other dialects, as J. Koy Sanjaq: see H. Mutzafi, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Koy Sanjaq* (*Iraqi Kurdistan*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004) p.119. In C. Urmi the infinitive may be used as a cognate object, preceded by the indefinite article, to express intensity: e.g., *xa-bəxya bəxyələ* 'He wept bitterly' (lit. 'a weeping he wept'): see Khan *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, vol. 2, pp. 239-240. The use of the indefinite article confirms the nominal nature of the infinitive in this construction.

[75] G. Khan, *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic. The Dialect of the Jews of Arbel* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) p. 87.

[76] G. Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009) p. 332.

The heavy coding usually marks the progressive aspect of a verbal form. This is probably the highest level of grammaticalisation that the construction with a paronomastic infinitive has reached in Neo-Aramaic (and Semitic?), from the pragmatic level of discourse prominence to a verbal paradigm with a specific aspectual connotation. It competes with other, more common explicit markers of progressive aspect such as the infinitive or gerund inflected with the copula and particles as *la-* or *lā*.[77]

The same construction may also be used 'to express some kind of discourse prominence' with a verbal form that has habitual aspect. In (47) it expresses the surprise and merriment of the speaker about the fact that her neighbours dance around a little piece of bread and cheese.

(47) *g-ay-pút dăél naqòḷe naqlí baqèf*
'He drums on the tin and they dance to it'.

An extensive description of the meanings and functions of the cognate infinitive construction is found in Khan's grammar of C. Barwar. As for general functions, in this dialect paronomastic infinitives appear to operate on the discourse level and give prominence to the action expressed by the finite verbal forms or specify its characteristics. Khan further analyses prominence as: contrastive opposition (typically following a negation and a disjunctive conjunction: 48 and 55); a contrastive answer to a preceding question or, better, focus on the truth-value of the predicate (49), as in Stoddard's second example (36); an unexpected situation (50 and 56); the particular importance of an action in a narrative flow (with repetition of a verb used in the adjacent preceding cotext: 51); and predicate-centred focus, the 'focus on the descriptive content of an action' in Khan's own terms: (52) focuses on the truth-value of the action, whereas (57) focuses on the state of affairs of the predicate 'we would *just* say' (our emphasis).[78] Furthermore, a cognate infinitive may characterise the action as extensive and far-reaching, thus functioning as an intensifier (53 and 58), or as a slow action (54).

(48) *b-qɛṭa la mṣəx doqəxle,'əlla-qṭala qaṭliwa naše*
'In summer we could not catch them, but rather people would kill them'.
(49) *zaqrituwa? zqara 'i-zaqrəxwa 'axni, he.*
'Did you knit? We indeed used to knit, yes'.
(50) *praxla prixle*?
'Has he [really] flown away?'
(51) *tre-šabbaϑa qam-dana* čɛdi *y-azi maϑwàϑa,* čyàda čɛdiwa
'Two weeks beforehand they would invite (people). They would go to the villages and give invitations'.
(52) *'ay lɛwa zwana zwanəlla.*
'They were not really buying it'.
(53) *'ana zala har-zilen biya*
'I have absolutely gone with it (i.e. I am finished)!'
(54) *šqílta reše mattoye mtutəlle l-ăra*
'She took his head and slowly put it on the ground'.

In C. Barwar the infinitive may also be placed after the finite verb (55-58). As we shall see shortly, [Vb X_{FIN}] + [Vb X_{INF}] is the only word order that we find in C. Qaraqosh and early Neo-Aramaic poetry.

(55) *'ina brona lɛla xiltəlle. har-nobaltəlle muttɛϑəlle mattoye*
'But she did not eat the boy. She had just taken him and put him down'.
(56) *'ɛga lanwa briϑa 'ana braya.*
'At that time I was not even born'.

(57)	*xà̲dexi*	*'ó-yoma*	*hàtxa*
	be happy.PRS.1PL	that day	so

[77] See, e.g., Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj*, pp. 89-90.
[78] G. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) pp. 730-732.

yá'ni *yamrèx-la* *màra*
I mean say.PRS.1PL-it say.INF
'We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things (but not really mean it)'.

(58) *maṭrewa maṭroye xɛlana*
'He was riding hard'.

Khan discusses also a C. Barwar case (59) in which the infinitive in the base form (intransitive meaning) is placed after a present tense in the causative form (transitive meaning) to express the telic outcome of an action:

(59) *rəzza* *mbarzi* *braza*
rice CAUS.dry.PRS.3SG dry.INF
'They dry the rice out'.

In C. Qaraqosh only postposed cognate infinitives are found. Khan describes them as adverbial constructions, 'used by speakers to draw particular attention to the activity expressed by a verb and signal that it has informational importance in the discourse'.[79] In the narrative of the material culture of the speakers, postposed infinitives seem to express repetition and continuity of a manual activity (60 and 61). In other cases (62 and 63), intensification and focus on the truth-value of the action may be involved.

(60) *kúlləhə* *kxeṭíwa-lhə* *bə-'iḏā,* *kxéṭi* *xyáṭa*
all them sew.PST.3PL-them by-hand sew.PRS.3PL sew.INF
bə-'iḏā
by-hand
'They sewed them all by hand, they sewed them by hand'.

(61) *'u-hádax* *ḥawàka* *gzaqərwa* *zqàra*
and-so weaver weave.PST.3SG weave.INF
'And so, the weaver would weave'.

(62) *kəmḏábəḥ-lə* *ḏabóḥə*
slaughter.PRS.3SG-him slaughter.INF
'He slaughters him'.

(63) *'íḏ-i* *m'ubì-la* *fləs-la*
hand-my swell up.PRET-3SG be sprained.PRET-3SG
flàsa
be sprained.INF
'My arm swelled up and was sprained'.

2.3 *Paronomastic Infinitives in Early Christian Neo-Aramaic Poetry*

C. Qaraqosh and the language of early Christian Neo-Aramaic share a number of archaic morpho-syntactic features.[80] It is also tempting to see the construction with a postposed paronomastic infinitive as a syntactic isogloss in the southernmost cluster of Iraqi Christian Neo-Aramaic dialects. As in C. Qaraqosh, in early Christian Neo-Aramaic poetry (17th century), we indeed find only the construction with a paronomastic infinitive placed after the finite verbal form as a resuming echo of the action expressed by the verb in sentence-final and verse-line final position.

[79] G. Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) p. 359.
[80] A. Mengozzi, 'Neo-Aramaic Studies: A Survey of Recent Publications', *Folia Orientalia* 48 (2011), pp. 233-265 (242-243).

In six of the nine occurrences of this construction, a prepositional object separates the finite verb from the infinitive. The prepositional object is either a pronoun or a noun with suffix pronoun.

(64) *w-šabḥu* *l-šemm-ēh* *šāboḥē*
and-praise.IMP.PL ACC-name-his praise.INF
'And do praise His name!' (I1 4b)[81]

(65) *w-ḵ-māxsā* *ṭrop* *l-sadr-āḵ* *ṭrāpā*
and-like-publican beat.IMP.SG ACC-breast-your beat.INF

(66) *d-* *māwṭā* *mṭē* *ell-āḵ* *mṭāyā*
because death come.PERF.3SG on-you (f.) come.INF

'And like the publican do beat on your breast,
because death has finally come to you!' (I1 35c-d)

(67) *māran* *bed* *dāyen-nē* *dyānā*
Our Lord FUT judge.SBJV.3SG-him judge.INF
'Our Lord will certainly judge him'. (J6 139d)

(68) *mquttel-lay*[82] *w-'b̲eḏ-lay* *qrāb̲ā*
fight.PRET-3PL and-do.PRET-3PL quarrel.INF

lā *qru-lay* *ellāh* ***qrāb̲ā***
NEG quarrel.PRET-3PL on.her **quarrel.INF**

'They fought and they quarrelled,
but against her, they did not quarrel'. (I2 71b-c)[83]

In (69) the object is represented by the Ø marking of a 3rd singular masculine object that is required by the cotext and thus in the English translation: 'Jesus Christ the Nazarene | called [him, i.e., St Paul] from heaven | and made [him] the first of His apostles'.

(69) *men šmayyā* *qrē-lē* ***qrāyā***
from heaven call.PRET.him-3SG call.INF
'He truly called him from heaven'. (I2 21b)

In three occurrences of paronomastic infinitives, we do not find a prepositional object between the finite verbal form and the infinitive. In (70) the paronomastic infinitive seems to intensify the contrast between 'those who are truly believers' and 'produce fruit', the first two lines of the quatrain, and 'he who does not endure our Lord's words and even falls into apostasy', the second half of the quatrain:

[81] All references are to texts published and translated in A. Mengozzi (ed.), *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe, A Story in a Truthful Language. Religious Poems in Vernacular Syriac* (*North Iraq, 17th Century*) (CSCO, 589-590, Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

[82] *Mquttel-* is written with *tāw* and *quššāyā* in the manuscript. The verbal root is represented as *qtl*, as in Arabic orthography.

[83] The pronoun refers to the soul of the good: 'Every soul that they [evil ones and devils] see | they run towards and examine her. | If she is from among them, they take her away. | The soul of a good one was brought. They fought and quarrelled, but they did not quarrel against her. | The soul of a bad one was brought. | As soon as she bowed before the Lord, | she was taken away and cast into their hands'.

(70) Those who are truly believers produce fruit
and bear hardship because of faith in our Lord.
He who does not endure our Lord's words and
falls into apostasy,
his seed is without fruit even if it smells good.

o *d-...* *kāper* *kpārā*
DEM REL apostatise.SBJV.3SG apostatise.INF
'He who ... falls into apostasy...' (J6 17c)

In all the examples discussed so far, the infinitives are at the end of the verse line, where they serve as metrical fillers and sustain the end rhyme. They add two or three syllables to sentences that are complete in themselves and syntactically sound: *šabḥu l-šemmēh*! 'Praise His name!', *men šmayya qrēlē* 'He called him from heaven', etc. In (65-66) they form a nice parallelism in two consecutive lines.

Although the poetic nature of the text makes it rather difficult to grasp the nuances that the paronomastic infinitives actually add to these sentences, their functions appear to be similar to those found in the dialects discussed above. Used in combination with imperatives, as in (64) and (65), the infinitives seem to be intensifiers, while (67) and (69) may exemplify the focus on the truth-content of the action expressed by the finite verb. In (66), the infinitive appears to mark the action as thoroughly completed. In (68) the infinitive is used in a contrastive construction to stress the negation of the prepositional object of the verb and therefore a denial of what may be expected from the immediately preceding cotext, in which the same verbal root occurs.

Two occurrences of the verbal root *'āmeḏ* (71-72) are the only examples of paronomastic infinitives that are not placed at the end of a verse line. The finite verbal forms immediately precede the infinitival form *'māḏā* 'to be baptised', that may also be interpreted as a noun ('baptism')[84] and therefore as a cognate object rather than a cognate infinitive. The formally infinitive *'māḏā* is not preceded by a prepositional object but followed by an attributive phrase, which confirms the interpretation of *'māḏā* as a noun and of the whole construction as a verb followed by a cognate object.

(71) *d-...* *'āmḏi* *'māḏā*
REL be baptised.SBJV.3PL be baptised.INF
b-šemmā d-aḇā wa-ḇrā w-ruḥā
in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus
'Those who receive the baptism
in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus'. (J6 9b)

(72) *we-'meḏ-lan* *'māḏā* *da-mšiḥā*
and-be baptised.PRET-1PL be baptised.INF GEN-Christ
'And we were baptised in the baptism of Christ'. (J6 10b)

The cognate object typically functions as syntactical support for an attribute, which in these cases specifies that it is a Christian baptism. Together with the attribute, it functions as an adverbial modifier: 'to receive a Christian baptism' suggests 'to be baptised the Christian way', in the same way: 'to live a happy life' suggests 'to live happily'.

[84] Both the infinitive of the base form *'māḏā* 'to be baptised, receive the baptism' and the noun *ma'modiṯā*, that derives from the causative form *ma'moḏē* 'to baptise, give the baptism', mean 'baptism' and can be used as nouns.

3 Provisional Conclusions

In most NENA dialects preposed paronomastic infinitives may be used to express the functions that are commonly associated with this type of construction across languages, namely, focus on the state of affairs (e.g., 19, 57) and the truth-value (e.g., 10, 25, 52) of the proposition (often in contrast to what might be expected from the context), also intensification or emphasis (e.g., 3, 9) and continuity/repetition of an action. In the latter meaning, it is even grammaticalised in a J. Sanandaj verbal paradigm that expresses progressive aspect (44-46).

In most NENA varieties, including the language of the Urmi Bible, only preposed paronomastic infinitives are found. Typological research on the paronomastic infinitives and our data suggest that this is a general tendency: languages that display [Vb X_{INF}] + [Vb X_{FIN}] may (but do not have to) display [Vb X_{FIN}] + [Vb X_{INF}]. As a matter of fact, however, only in C. Barwar do we find both preposed and postposed paronomastic infinitives, both of which have similar functions.

There seem to be fewer varieties that display only [Vb X_{FIN}] + [Vb X_{INF}] constructions. In C. Qaraqosh and in the language of early Christian Neo-Aramaic poetry, only postposed paronomastic infinitives occur. In NENA varieties in which paronomastic infinitives are allowed or even mandatorily placed after the finite verb, they seem to be preferred to express intensification rather than predicate-centred focalisation. As in Biblical Hebrew, only postposed infinitives are attested with imperatives.