An addendum to the verbal system in Senaya

After having published my two articles "The Verbal System in the NA Dialects" (Panoussi 2012)[1] and "A Comparison of the Verbal Systems in Senaya and Urmežnaya" (Panoussi 2015)[2] some colleagues sent me some questions concerning some verbal forms in Senaya, a fact that prompted me to write the following as an addendum to those articles which were first written with Printer Polyglott Program[3] when I was in Germany and Sweden, before being converted into Office Word once I came to the U.S.A. Due to this fact, the charts and tables do not appear exactly like in the Printer Polyglott version. In addition to that and due to the fact that I was (and I still am) lacking enough time to do a real editorial work on these articles, I was not able to correct some words or phrases occurring here or there in the related context, e.g. in footnote 39 of Panoussi (2015: 42): 'he sah [German] the man' instead of 'he saw the man.' Further, in Panoussi (2012: 28-29), the origin of /našqenele/ 'I♂am kissing him' is wrongly given as to have been */našqen-yen-ele/, whereas it clearly seems to be an alternative to the original form /našqen-le-yen/. The ending *-lele* is to be, namely, considered a generalization from *-lele,* in /nāšeqlele/ 'he is kissing him,' which has been analogically applied to the other subjects, too. The modern speakers of the Senaya, especially the younger ones, are, however, using the more simple and generalized form rather than the grammatically correct one. Thus: /našqanele/ 'I♀am kissing him' instead of /našqaneyan; /našqetele [<*našqetlele]/ instead of /našqet[l]eyet/; /našqatele [<*našqatlele]/ 'you♀ are kissing him' instead of /našqatleyat/; /našqoẖlele/ 'we are kissing him' instead of /našqoẖleyoẖ/;[4] /našqītonele/ [< /*našqītōnlele/] 'you are kissing him' instead of /našqītoneyīton/ [</*našqītonleīton/]; /našqīlele/ 'they are kissing them' instead of /našqīlelu/.

The following synoptic charts are made to illustrate only the simple present and the progressive or durative present in only the indicative mood in Senaya. As indicated in the endnote 5 in this article

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[1] Estiphan Panoussi. 2012. "The Verbal System in the NA Dialects." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 26/1-2: 15-43.

[2] Estiphan Panoussi. 2015. "A Comparison of the Verbal Systems in Senaya and Urmežnaya." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 28/1-2: 16-47.

[3] A program made by my polymath colleague Jost Gippert, to whom I am deeply thankful for all the help I enjoyed since he was at the University of Bamberg. A procedure which could not have been done for my works without the generous help of the technical editor of the *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, deacon Atour Bejan, to whom I here express my cordial thanks, too.

[4] We are using here [ẖ] as being derived from [ḥ] and [x] as being derived from an original [k] or from [x] in surrounding languages.

at hand, any reference given here or there for a phrase and/or verbal form in Senaya is from my still unpublished Senaya Texts.

As to the tables, the following is to be said: A verbal form like /garšen/ 'I pull,' can be used without an intra-conjugational object and without a marker indicating the progressive status of the present tense. Being the word order in Senaya a SOV order, /garšen/, being a transitive verb, needs an object which should be an undetermined, indefinite, object, and put before the verb. e.g. /ḫa mendi garšen/ (OV) 'I pull something.' If the object is determined, definite and contextually known, then the verb should display an intra-conjugational pronominal object too, as correlated to that determined object, yielding to a OV· pattern, e.g. /ay mendi garšen*e*/ 'I pull this thing' (< "this thing, I pull *it*"), /ō mendi garšene/ 'I pull that thing,' /mendiake garšene/ 'I pull this (/that) very thing,' or 'as to this (/that) thing, I pull it.' If the verb itself is mainly concerned, then a suffixed marker indicating the action itself is used, e.g. /garšenyən/ 'I am pulling.' This form can, however, have also an extra-conjugational definite of indefinite object, OV, but always with a correlated intra-conjugational object, OV·, /ḫa mendi garšenyen/ 'I am pulling something' (OV), or /mendiake garšen**e**yen/ 'the thing in question, I am pulling *it*,' or /ay mendi garšeneyen/ 'I am pulling this thing,' or '[as to] this very thing, I am pulling it.'

Given the fact that the accent in Senaya can have a distinctive function, these verbal forms in these charts are using it in its penult position to signal the indicative mood. Thus, /garšéne/ means 'I pull it' vs. /keben gáršene/ meaning 'I want that I pull it' (subjunctive mood) → 'I want to pull it.' The accent in verbs made of two syllables is, therefore, ambiguous: /ḫa nāša gáršen/ 'I pull someone' vs. /keben ḫa nāša gáršen/ 'I want to pull someone.'

I present these charts now in the hope they complement my previous articles wherever the verbal system in Senaya is explained. They will surely also benefit those who are starting to learn Senaya as one of the Neo-Aramaic dialects. Indeed, it is a very special, and unfortunately a moribund, dialect. These charts are especially intended for those who start with Senaya to become acquainted with the verbal system in any of the Neo-Aramaic dialect.

As these charts show, each subject with its related verb has theoretically, morphologically and syntactically, several options in combination with the intra-conjugational object and the related marker of the progressive or durative present. As the case of, e.g., /garšen/, in the first chart, shows, there are 15 usage possibilities of this verb. The first three columns (under the subject with a transitive verb) are reserved for a subject which is, in its case, a 1 sg ♂, first person in singular masculine, the use of which is, then, for eliminating the other two options of 1 sg ♀ and 1 pl common, which would be otherwise used whenever their related verbal forms would require them.

Vertically, the third use of /garšen/ in the third row cannot have an intra-conjugational object in neither sg ♂ or sg ♀, or 1 pl ♂&♀, i.e. such a case cannot grammatically be given or applied, it is a NA (not applied) case. But if the object in 1 sg ♂ is to be taken for a reflexive pronoun, then a form like /(begyāni) garšen ta gyāni/ 'I myself᷈ pull myself᷈,' or like /ta gyāni garšen/ 'I pull myself,' or 'I pull for myself.' In the latter case, there can be need for an object, /ḫa mendi ta gyāni garšen/ 'I pull something for myself.'

The simple present in Senaya is usually negated by prefixing a particle /lē/: /lēmaḫelpate?/ 'don't you change him,' II [i.e. Text #2 from the unpublished Texts],[5] Nr. 1209; /hīčī lēlapli [< lēnapli/] 'in no way, they don't fall,' II, 1209; /āna lēṭalbənyen/ 'I am not asking,' III,59; /lēkamet/ 'you᷈ don't say,' III,193; /lēšōqet ḫāken/ 'you don't let that I speak out,' III,298; /waxte lēbi [< lā īṯ bī] mē hōdan/ 'when I᷈ cann't, what should I᷈ do,' III,??; /lē lāpel/ 'it does not fall,' IV,19; /čəmendi lē fāker čəmendi lakīde [note, however, not /lē kīde!/] lē ḫāke/ 'he doesn't think of anything, he doesn't know anything, [and] he doesn't speak [at all],' IV,158; /mṣāle yān lē mṣāle/ 'he prays or he doesn't pray,' IV,131/; /dey lēšōqet ḫāken/ 'as a matter of fact, you don't let that I speak out,' III,298; /pelse xū lē dārēlu gāw ğēbe/ 'as to money, well, he does not put them in his pocket,' V,194; /lē fakra/ 'she doesn't think,' VII,60; /en āyet [...] ḫērāt lōdet [<*la-hōdet] ta snīqe, ḫērāt [ḫa mendi] hawale, ḫērāte lē qablenu/ 'if you don't give alms to the needy people, [knowing that] alms are something good, I don't accept his alms,' IV,198; /aṣłan čiḫamnu lē qablenu/ 'no a single one of them, I [would] not at all accept (them),' V,30.

For other cases and some tenses, consider the following: /ḫāke/ 'he speaks' (/lē ḫāke/ 'he doesn't speak' vs. /ḫá:ke/ 'that he speak' (/laḫāke/ 'that he not speak!'); /ḫkēle/ 'he spoke,' vs. /laḫkēle/ 'he didn't speak;' /gīḫkēle/ 'he has already spoken,' vs. /lagīḫkēle/ 'he has indeed not [yet / at all] spoken.'

The rest of the remaining usage cases in the *garšen*-related chart are, under the light of the above cases, essentially clear and need no further explanation.

Here are some preliminary notes to ease navigating through the tables, intended to replace long textual expositions, and help clarify the whole field of the verbal system in the Neo-Aramaic dialects.

The metalinguistic symbols sg ♂ and ♀ are used for, respectively, masculine and feminine. We had already use in our previous articles ▲ and ▼, first used by Pennacchietti (1994).[6]

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5 The references here are to my not-yet-published Texts, which will be soon put online in my website still in preparation.

[6] Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti. 1994. "Il preterito neoaramaico con pronome oggetto." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 144/2: 259-283.

Each table has a verbal form in one of its multiple rows. This verbal form given or repeated in the first column has multiple options to be using a pronominal object suffix without or with a present progressive marker. If that verbal form is the same also in the last column, that means it is in its semantically basic function, e.g. /garšen/ 'I am pulling.' Compared to the next row, it becomes /garšenyən/ because of the related suffixed present progressive marker. The third row is marked with NA, i.e. not applied. From the fourth row to the end the verbal form /garšen/ is used with either only a pronominal suffix alone, /garšenox/ 'I m. pull you m.,' or with an additional marker for the present progressive tense, /garšənoxyən/ 'I m. am pulling you m.'

As to the etymological origin of the suffixed present progressive marker, we assume it being derived from the root /YHB/ 'to give.' As explained in endnote 85 of Panoussi (2012), it is probably originated etymologically from /*ihīb̲-/ 'given' > 'there is,' to be compared with the German existential phrase /es gibt/ 'there is.' Thus, from *yəhīb̲-ənā 'I am given' the existence marking verb /īwen/ 'I am' is originated. The related conjugation in Present is then: /īwen/, /īwan/, /īwet/, /īwat/, /īle/, /īla/, /īwoḫ/ (< *[ih]īb̲[īn]+aḫ[nan]/ (with the progressive nasalization of the vowel in -aḫ-), /īton/, /īlu/, we easily get the suffixed present progressive markers: *-yen, -yat, -le (-ile), -la (-ila), -yoḫ, -īton,* and *-īlu (-lu).*

The correct interpretation of /garšənele/, instead of /garšəneyən/ 'I m. am pulling him' (alternatively , 'I♂ am pulling him') , as expected in the table, is, as said above, not other than a generalization from the ending *–lele* in/ gārešlele/ 'he is pulling him' (Panoussi (2012: 28-29).[7] [8]

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[7] In today's Senaya, many speakers are confused in using the forms with the ending *-lele* besides the related original copulative endings. I hope that my tape recordings, starting from, approximately, a half century ago and my unpublished Senaya documentations from the past, once, hopefully very soon, published in my website (www.estiphanpanoussi.com), will cast some light over the confusions in today's Senaya.

[8] To restructure the tables, as suggested by the reviewers, would make for a totally different article, with objectives which, by the way, are already imbedded here in the final recapitulating table.

Appendixes: Indicative Present and Progressive Present

A. The *garšen*-type

B. The *garšan*-type

Notes: As in A, /garšan/ cannot take an intraconjugational pronominal object in no of the three 1 persons, masculine, feminine or common pl. In /garšane/ 'I₂ pull him,' the suffixed -*e* is originally -*le.* Thus, /*garšanle/ > /*garšanne/ > /*garšane/; in /garšana/ 'I₂ pull her,' the suffixed -*a* is originally -*la;* and in /garšanu/ 'I₂ pull them,' the suffixed -*ū* is originally -*lū* (< -*ləhōn*).

C. The *garšet*-type

Notes: As in A. and B., there are no such forms as /garšetox!/, /garšetax!/, /garšetōxən!/, /garšetoxyet!/. etc. The suffixed -*ī* is originally -*lī.* Thus, /*garšetli/ > /*garšetti/ > /*garšeti/ 'you₂ pull me;' in /garšete/, the suffix -*e* is from -*le,* and in /garšetu/ the suffix -*ū* is from -*lū* (< -*ləhōn*) as explained above.

D. The *garšat*-type

Notes: Again, there are no /garšatox!/, no /garšatax!/, no /garšatōxən!/, and no /garšatoxyat!/, etc. The suffixed -*ī* is originally -*lī.* Thus, /*garšatli/ > /*garšatti/ > /*garšati/ 'you₂ pull me;' in /garšate/, the suffix -*e* is from -*le,* and in /garšatu/, the suffix -*ū* is from -*lū* (< -*ləhōn*) as said before.

E. The *gāreš*-type

Notes: Here there is no case to be excluded. The suffix -*le* in /gārešle/ 'he pulls him' cannot be considered as a reflexive pronoun, in which case one would say: /(begyāne) gāreš ta gyāne/ 'he himslf pulls himself' or /ta gyāne gāreš/ 'he pulls himself' or 'he pulls for himself.' In the last case, there is need for an object, /ḫa mendi ta gyāne gāreš/ 'he pulls something for himself.'

The suffix -*le* in this chart is ambiguous, as it functions both as an intraconjugational pronominal object and as a marker for the 3 sg ♂. In the latter case, it is derived from -*īle* (<*/īhīḇ-leh/, meaning 'is.' Thus, /gārešle/ means 'he pulls him,' and /gārešlele/ means 'he is pulling him.'

F. The *garša*-type

Notes: All the possible cases apply without exception. Thus, the suffix -*la* in /garšāla/ 'she pulls her' cannot be considered as a reflexive pronoun, in which case one would rather say: /(begyāne) garša ta gyāne/ 'she herself pulls herself,' or /ta gyāne garša/ 'she pulls herself.' If /ta gyāne/ is understood as indirect object, then here is need for a direct object, /ḫa mendi ta gyāne garša/ 'she pulls something for herself.'

The suffix *-la* is ambiguous, as it functions both as an intraconjugational pronominal object and as a marker for the 3 sg ♀. In the latter case, it is derived from *-īla.* Thus, /garšala/ means 'she is pulling;' /garšāla/ means 'she pulls her;' and /garšālala/ means 'she is pulling her.'

As in the preceding charts, the suffix *-lū* is derived from *-ləhōn,* thus, /garšālu/ means 'she pulls them,' and /garšālula/ 'she is pulling them.'

G. The *garšoḫ*-type

Notes: There are no /garšoḫli!/, /garšoḫliyoḫ!/, /garšoḫlan/, etc. Again, *-lū* is derived from *-ləhōn,* thus, /garšoḫlu/ means 'we pull the,' and /garšoḫluyoḫ/ means 'we are pulling them.'

H. The *garšīton*-type

Notes: Forms like /garšitōnox!/, /garšitōnoxīton!/, or /garšitōnax!/ are, as expected, not existant. The suffixes *-e, -a,* and *-ū* are, respectively, from *-le, -la, -lū.*

I. The *garši*-type

Notes: The suffix *-lu* is, as expected, ambiguous; it is either an intraconjugational pronominal object or a marker of the progressive present, in 3 pl. c.; thus, /garšīlulu/ means 'they are pulling them.'

It must be noted that /garšilu/ means not only 'they are pulling,' but also 'they are (things) to be pulled,' in which case an extraconjugational subject is understood to which /garšilu/ would be a predicate, as if one could, in changing the perspective, say '[they] are, *(-lu),* [things that *other agents]* pull *(garšī)'* → 'they are pulled [by others].'

In addition to that, considering the function of the accent, as noted in A., /garšílu/ means 'they pull them,' but /gársilu/ means 'that they pull them,' and /garšī-lu/ can also mean 'they are [thing which] are pulled.'

J. The overall picture

A. The *garšen*-type

	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object (ICO)			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	*garšen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-		-	-	-yen	-	-	*garšenyen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-	NA	-	NA	NA	-	-	NA
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-	-ox	-	-	-	-	-	*garšenox*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-	-ox	-	-	-yen	-	-	*garšenoxyen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-		-ax	-	-	-	-	*garšenax*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-		-ax	-	-yen	-	-	*garšenaxyen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-			-ōxen	-	-	-	*garšenōxen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-			-ōxen	-yen	-	-	*garšenoxenyen*
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-	-e (<-le)	-	-	-	-	-	*garšene*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-	-e	-	-	-yen	-	-	*garšeneyen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-		-a (<-la)	-	-	-	-	*garšena*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-		-a	-	-yen	-	-	*garšenayen*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-			-ū	-	-	-	*garšenu*
1 sg ♂	garšen	-	-			-ū	-yen	-	-	*garšenuyen*

B. The garšan-type

	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	garšan
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-	-	-	-	- yan	-	garšanyan
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	NA	NA	NA	-	NA	-	NA
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-ox	-	-	-	-	-	garšanox
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-ox	-	-	-	- yan	-	garšanoxyan
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-	-ax	-	-	-	-	garšanax
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-	-ax	-	-	- yan	-	garšanaxyan
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	garšanōxen
1 sg ♀	-	garšan	-	-	-	-ōxen	-	- yan	-	garšanoxənyan
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
1 sg ♂	-	garšan	-	-e	-	-	-	-	-	garšane
1 sg ♂	-	garšan	-	-e	-	-	-	- yan	-	garšaneyan
1 sg ♂	-	garšan	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	garšana
1 sg ♂	-	garšan	-	-	-a	-	-	- yan	-	garšanayan
1 sg ♂	-	garšan	-	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	garšanu
1 sg ♂	-	garšan	-	-	-	-ū	-	- yan	-	garšanuyan

C. The garšet-type

	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object (ICO)			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	garšet
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-	-	-yet	-	-	garšetyet
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-ī	-	-	-	-	-	garšeti (ICO is ♂)
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-ī	-	-	-yet	-	-	garšetiyat (ICO is ♂)
s sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-ī	-	-	-	-	garšeti (ICO is ♀)
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-ī	-	-yet	-	-	garšetiyat (ICO is ♀)
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		NA	-	-	-yet	-	-	NA
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-ax	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-ax	-	-yet	-	-	NA
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-	-ōxen	-yet	-	-	NA
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-e (<-le)	-	-	-	-	-	garšate
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-e	-	-	-yet	-	-	garšateyet
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-a	-	-	-	-	garšata
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-a	-	-yet	-	-	garšatayat
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-	-ū	-	-	-	garšatu
2 sg ♂	garšet	-		-	-	-ū	-yet	-	-	garšatuyat

D. The garšat-type

Subject	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšat*
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	-	*garšatyat*
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	*garšati* (ICO is ♂)
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-ī	-	-	-	-yat	-	*garšatiyat* (ICO is ♂)
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	*garšati* (ICO is ♀)
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-ī	-	-	-yat	-	*garšatiyat* (ICO is ♀)
				2 sg ♂	**2 sg ♀**	**2 pl ♂&♀**				
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-ox	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-ox	-	-	-	-yat	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-ax	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-ax	-	-	-yat	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	garšat	-	-	-	-ōxen	-	-yat	-	NA
				3 sg ♂	**3 sg ♀**	**3 pl ♂&♀**				
2 sg ♂	-	garšat	-	-e	-	-	-	-	-	*garšate*
2 sg ♂	-	garšat	-	-e	-	-	-	-yat	-	*garšateyat*
2 sg ♂	-	garšat	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	*garšata*
2 sg ♂	-	garšat	-	-	-a	-	-	-yat	-	*garšatayat*
2 sg ♂	-	garšat	-	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	*garšatu*
2 sg ♂	-	garšat	-	-	-	-ū	-	-yat	-	*garšatuyat*

E. The *gāreš*-type

	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*gāreš*
3 sg	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-	-īle	-	-	*gārešīle*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-lī	-	-	-	-	-	*gārešli* ((ICO is ♂)
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-lī	-	-	-le (-īle)	-	-	*gārešīle* (ICO is ♂)
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-lī	-	-	-	-	*gārešli* ((ICO is ♀)
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-lī	-	-le	-	-	*gārešīle* (ICO ♀)
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-lan	-	-	-	*gārešlan*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-lan	-īle	.	.	*gārešlanile*
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-lox	-	-	-	-	-	*gārešlox*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-lox	-	-	-īle	-	-	*gārešloxile*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-lax	-	-	-	-	*gārešlax*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-lax	-	-īle	-	-	*gārešlaxile*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-lōxen	-	-	-	*gārešloxən*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-lōxen	-īle	-	-	*gārešloxənile*
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-le	-	-	-	-	-	*gārešle*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-le	-	-	-īle (-le)	-	-	*gārešlele*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-la	-	-	-	-	*gārešla*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-la	-	-īle (-le)	-	-	*gārešlale*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-lū	-	-	-	*gārešlu*
3 sg ♂	gāreš	-	-	-	-	-ū	-īle (-le)	-	-	*gārešlule*

F. The *garša*-type

	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garša*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	-	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšala*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	*-lī*	-	-	-	-	-	*garšāli* (ICO is ♂)
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	*-lī*	-	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšālīla* (ICO is ♂)
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	*-lī*	-	-	-	-	*garšāli* (ICO is ♀)
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	*-lī*	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšālīla* (ICO is ♀)
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	*-lox*	-	-	-	-	-	*garšālox*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	*-lox*	-	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšāloxila*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	*-lax*	-	-	-	-	*garšālax*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	*-lax*	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšālaxila*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	-	*-lōxen*	-	-	-	*garšāloxen*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	-	*-lōxen*	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšāloxenila*
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	*-le*	-	-	-	-	-	*garšāle*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	*-le*	-	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšālela*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	*-la*	-	-	-	-	*garšāla*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	*-la*	-	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšālala*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	-	*-lū*	-	-	-	*garšālu*
3 sg ♀	-	*garšā*	-	-	-	*-lū*	-	*-īla (>-la)*	-	*garšālula*

G. The garšoḥ-type

	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšoḥ*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšoḥyoḥ*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	NA	NA	-	-	-	NA
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-lox	-	-	-	-	-	*garšoḥlox*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-lox	-	-	-	-	-yoḥ	*garšoḥloxyoḥ*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-lax	-	-	-	-	*garšoḥlax*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-lax	-	-	-	-yoḥ	*garšoḥlaxyoḥ*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-	-lōxen	-	-	-	*garšoḥloxen*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-	-lōxen	-	-	-yoḥ	*garšoḥloxenyoḥ*
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-le	-	-	-	-	-	*garšoḥle*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-le	-	-	-	-	-yoḥ	*garšoḥleyoḥ*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-la	-	-	-	-	*garšoḥla*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-la	-	-	-	-yoḥ	*garšoḥlayoḥ*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-	-lū	-	-	-	*garšoḥlu*
1 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšoḥ	-	-	-lū	-	-	-yoḥ	*garšoḥluyoḥ*

H. The *garšīton*-type

Subject (2 pl ♂&♀)	Subj sg ♂	Subj sg ♀	Subj pl ♂&♀	ICO 1 sg ♂	ICO 1 sg ♀	ICO 1 pl ♂&♀	ICO 2 sg ♂	ICO 2 sg ♀	ICO 2 pl ♂&♀	ICO 3 sg ♂	ICO 3 sg ♀	ICO 3 pl ♂&♀	PPM sg ♂	PPM sg ♀	PPM pl ♂&♀	Resulting Forms
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšīton*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-iton	*garšītoniton*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšītoni* (ICO is ♂)
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-iton	*garšītoniton* (ICO is ♂)
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšītoni* (ICO is ♀)
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-iton	*garšītoni ICO is* (♀)
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-lan (-nan)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garšītōnan!*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-lan (-nan)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-iton	*garšītōnaniton!*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-e	-	-	-	-	-	*garšītone*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-e	-	-	-	-	-iton	*garšītoneyiton*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	*garšītona*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-iton	*garšītonayiton*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	*garšītonu*
2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	garšīton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-ū	-	-	-iton	*garšītonuyiton*

I. The *garši*-type

Subject	Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*garši*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-	-	-	-*lu* (<-*īlu*)	*garšīlu*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-*lī*	-	-	-	-	-	*garšīlī* (ICO is ♂)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-*ī*	-	-	-	-	-*lu* (<-*īlu*)	*garšīlīlu* (speaker ♂)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-*ī*	-	-	-	-	*garšīlī* (ICO is ♀)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-*ī*	-	-	-	-*īlu* (-*lu*)	*garšīlīlu* (ICO is ♀)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-*lan*	-	-	-	*garšīlan*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-*lan*	-	-	-*īlu*	*garšīlamīlu*
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-*lox*	-	-	-	-	-	*garšīlox*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-*lox*	-	-	-	-	-*īlu*	*garšīloxilu*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-*lax*	-	-	-	-	*garšīlax*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-*lax*	-	-	-	-*īlu*	*garšīlaxilu*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-*lōxan*	-	-	-	*garšīloxan*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-*lōxan*	-	-	-*īlu*	*garšīloxanīlu*
				3 sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀				
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-*le*	-	-	-	-	-	*garšīle*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-*le*	-	-	-	-	-*īlu* (-*lu*)	*garšīlelu*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-*a*	-	-	-	-	*garšīla*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-*a*	-	-	-	-*īlu* (-*lu*)	*garšīlalu*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-*lū*	-	-	-	*garšīlu*
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	*garši*	-	-	-*lū*	-	-	-*īlu* (-*lu*)	*garšīlulu*

J. The overall picture

With intraconjugational pron. subj. — with intraconjugational pronominal object

Subject	Marker	1 sg♂	1 sg♀	1 pl c	2 sg♂	2 sg♀	2 pl c	3 sg♂	3 sg♀	3 pl c
1 sg♂	no progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšenox	garšenax	garšenoxen	garšene	garšena	garšenu
1 sg♂	progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšenoxyan	garšenaxyan	garšenoxenyan	garšeneyan	garšenayan	garšenuyan
1 sg♀	no progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšanox	garšanax	garšanoxen	garšane	garšana	garšanu
1 sg♀	progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšanoxyan	garšanaxyan	garšanoxenyan	garšaneyan	garšanayan	garšanuyan
1 pl c	no progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšoḥlox	garšoḥlax	garšoḥloxen	garšoḥle	garšoḥla	garšoḥlu
1 pl c	progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšoḥloxyoḥ	garšoḥlaxyoḥ	garšoḥloxenyoḥ	garšoḥleyoḥ	garšoḥlayoḥ	garšoḥluyoḥ
2 sg♂	no progressive marker	garšeti	garšeti	garšetan	NA	NA	NA	garšete	garšeta	garšetu
2 sg♂	progressive marker	garšetiyet	garšetiyet	garšetanyet	NA	NA	NA	garšeteyet	garšetayet	garšetuyet
2 sg♀	no progressive marker	garšati	garšati	garšatan	NA	NA	NA	garšate	garšata	garšatu
2 sg♀	progressive marker	garšatiyat	garšatiyat	garšatanyat	NA	NA	NA	garšateyat	garšatayat	garšatuyat
2 pl c	no progressive marker	garšitoni	garšitoni	garšitonan	NA	NA	NA	garšitone	garšitona	garšitonu
2 pl c	progressive marker	garšitoniyiton	garšitoniyiton	garšitonan	NA	NA	NA	garšitoneyiton	garšitonayiton	garšitonuyiton
3 sg♂	no progressive marker	gǎrešli	gǎrešli	gǎrešlan	gǎrešlox	gǎrešlax	gǎrešloxen	gǎrešle	gǎrešla	gǎrešlu
3 sg♂	progressive marker	gǎrešlile	gǎrešlile	gǎrešlan	gǎrešloxile	gǎrešlaxile	gǎrešloxenile	gǎrešlele	gǎrešlale	gǎrešlule
3 sg♀	no progressive marker	garšáli	garšáli	garšálan	garšálox	garšálax	garšáloxen	garšále	garšála	garšálu
3 sg♀	progressive marker	garšálila	garšálila	garšálanila	garšáloxila	garšálaxila	garšáloxenila	garšálela	garšálala	garšálula
3 pl c	no progressive marker	garšíli	garšíli	garšílan	garšílox	garšílax	garšíloxen	garšíle	garšíla	garšílu
3 pl c	progressive marker	garšílilu	garšílilu	garšílanilu	garšíloxilu	garšílaxilu	garšíloxenilu	garšílelu	garšílalu	garšílulu