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A Guide to the Syriac Language

Provisional version

to be used in the NEH Summer Seminar

"Aramaic in Post-Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity"

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Anyone who asks for this volume, to read, collate, or copy from it, and who appropriates it to himself or herself, or cuts anything out of it, should realize that (s)he will have to give answer before God's awesome tribunal as if (s)he had robbed a sanctuary. Let such a person be held anathema and receive no forgiveness until the book is returned. So be it, Amen! And anyone who removes these anathemas, digitally or otherwise, shall himself receive them in double.

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INTRODUCTION

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The term “Syriac”

The term “Syriac” designates the literary language of the Syrian Christians, which was used from the second century onwards in large parts of Syria and Mesopotamia. In addition to the literary language, there was the spoken language, which in the earliest period and in certain areas was probably not very different from the written language. In Syriac the language is called ʿārāmāyā (“Aramaic”) or *suryāyā* (“Syriac”).

The term “Syriac” in present-day usage may also refer to the literature, i.e., to texts written in Syriac, as well as to the cultural tradition (for which “Syriac” tends to replace “Syrian”). In the latter case, there may not be a direct link with the language, since Christians of the “Syriac” tradition have not only used – and are not only using – the Syriac language, but other languages as well, viz. Arabic, Persian, Malayalam.

Syriac in the history of the Aramaic language

Syriac is generally ranked among the Eastern-Aramaic dialects, to which also Babylonian Aramaic (the language of the Aramaic parts of the Babylonian Talmud and of some other Jewish writings) and Mandaic (used in the writings of the Mandaeans) belong. Compared to the latter two Aramaic language forms, Syriac has slightly more isoglosses with Western-Aramaic and may, therefore, be regarded as the most western of the Eastern-Aramaic dialects.¹

In Fitzmyer’s survey of the phases of the Aramaic language, Syriac is broken up and divided among three phases: Middle-Aramaic (200 BCE – 200 CE), to which the Edessene inscriptions belong, Late-Aramaic (200 – 700 CE) and Modern-Aramaic.² In fact, there is a high degree of continuity, from the earliest form of (pre-Christian) Edessene Aramaic until the later period. Even in our day, Syriac, as the classical language of the Christians of Syriac tradition, is still very much alive.³

Syriac and the language of Edessa

In addition to the two terms mentioned above (ʿārāmāyā and *suryāyā*), Syriac authors sometimes refer to their language as ʿUrḥāyā, “Edessene (language)”, suggesting thereby that Syriac drew its origin from, or had its main center in, the city of Edessa (Urhay, present-day Urfa). Syriac may indeed be considered the successor of the language of the early Edessene inscriptions (between the first and third century CE, when Edessa was an independent kingdom) – although there are some significant differences, e.g., in the masculine prefix of the 3rd person sing. masc., for which the Edessene inscriptions mostly have *y-*, whereas Syriac, following an Eastern-Aramaic innovation, has *n-*. However, Syriac cannot simply be regarded as the written variant of the spoken language of Edessa. As a matter of fact, it preserves many features of Imperial Aramaic, or the written tradition of “Standard Literary Aramaic”. In many respects it is closer to the

¹ Daniel Boyarin, “An Inquiry into the Formation of the Middle Aramaic Dialects,” in Y.L. Arbeitman & A.R. Bomgard (eds.), *Bono Homini Donum. Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*, II (Amsterdam, 1981) 613-649.

² Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Phases of the Aramaic Language,” in *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Society of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series, 25; Chico, California, 1979) 57-84.

³ Sebastian Brock, “Some Observations on the Use of Classical Syriac in the Late Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34 (1989) 363-375.

language of the earliest Targumim (Onqelos) – the latest offshoot of “Standard Literary Aramaic” – than to the new language forms which started to be written in Palestine from the second century onwards. The orthography of Syriac as well is conservative and retains many archaic features.⁴

The diversity of the Syriac speaking/writing Christians

Notwithstanding the shared language, which has remained remarkably uniform throughout history, Syrian Christians have never been one group or community. The divisions have both a geo-political and a dogmatic background.

- a) Syrian Christians were spread over a wide area, extending from Palestine and Northern Syria – along the Fertile Crescent – to Northern and Central Mesopotamia. From the first centuries onwards this area was cut across by the border between the Roman (later Byzantine) and the Persian (from 224 onwards the Sassanid-Persian) Empires.
- b) While the earliest period of Syrian Christianity was characterized by a great diversity in the interpretation of the Christian message and only in the fourth century the notion of the “one, orthodox” church imposed itself, further divisions resulted from the Christological discussions of the fifth and sixth centuries.
 - The condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus (431) brought the spread of his dyophysite teachings within the Roman Empire to an end. Nestorius’ followers instead were successful in spreading Dyophysitism (by which the divine and human person in Christ are considered to be separate from each other) in the Sassanid Empire. Towards the end of the fifth century, the Syrian-Christian Church of Persia officially adopted the two-nature doctrine. The “Church of the East” (or “Assyrian Church”) has been faithful to this doctrine up to the present day.
 - The Council of Chalcedon (451), which introduced a mitigated form of the two-nature doctrine in the Church of the Byzantine Empire, met with fierce opposition on the side of many Syrian bishops and monks. This anti-Chalcedonian opposition resulted in the creation of an independent “Miaphysite” Church within the Byzantine Empire, which existed along with the “Melkite” (“Royal”) Chalcedonian Church of Antioch. Other names for the Syrian anti-Chalcedonians are “Monophysites” and “Jacobites”, after Jacob Burd^ânâ, one of the sixth-century leaders. The official name of this Church nowadays is “Syriac Orthodox”.
 - These divisions – to which new ones were added in the course of history – were consolidated under Islamic rule, from the seventh century onwards.

The various Syrian-Christian communities have maintained the same literary language (with slightly different writing and reading traditions) and have always regarded the same early Syriac writings (including the same version of the Syriac Bible and early writers such as Ephrem) as the basis of their own literary traditions, which from the sixth century onwards underwent separate developments.

Syrian Christianity and its relationship to other languages and cultures

Living mostly as minority groups in societies with different languages, Syrian Christians have in the course of their history interacted with other cultures and languages. This has affected their own language and literature.

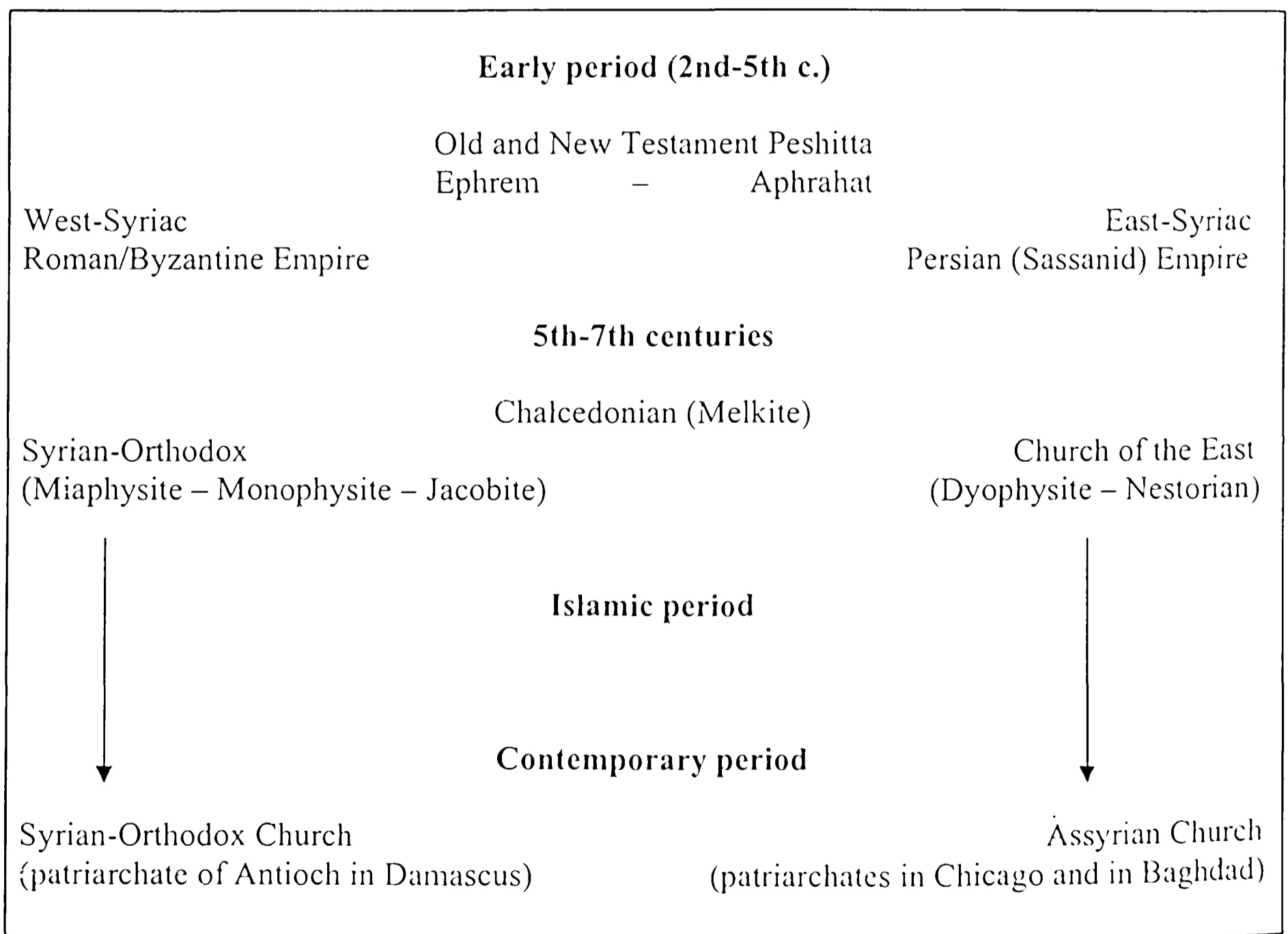
- a) In the earliest period there was the proximity to Jewish tradition. The Old Testament was translated into Syriac from Hebrew (and Biblical Aramaic), while Judaism also left many other traces on early Syrian Christianity.

⁴ See Chapter Two (“The Language of the Inscriptions”) in Han J.W. Drijvers & John F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene. Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Leiden, 1999) 21-34.

- b) Of prime importance are the contacts with the Greek world. Widespread bilingualism in Syria has paved the way for many translations from Greek into Syriac and explains the presence in Syriac of a great number of Greek loanwords.
- c) In the East-Syrian (Persian) area, there has been the influence of the Persian language and culture. While there is evidence of the use by East-Syrian Christians of the Persian language (in Pahlavi), there are also traces of modest literary activity in Soghdian.
- d) From the seventh century onwards, the steadily increasing influence of Arabic was felt. Syrian Christians started using Arabic as their written (and spoken) language, which led to translation activities from Syriac into Christian-Arabic.

The history of the Syriac language and literature: the successive periods

The early Edessene inscriptions – and some other non-Christian utterances in the Syriac language (or in a language form closely akin to Syriac) – are often regarded as not belonging to Syriac literature. Syriac literature in a proper sense (i.e., as the literature of Syrian Christians) begins somewhere in the second century, with the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Bible, the earliest Syriac versions of the Greek New Testament, and with some original Syriac writings, reflecting the diversity of early Syrian Christianity. The most productive period runs from the fourth to the seventh century with, on the one hand, the literature prior to the dogmatic divisions (which includes the main fourth-century authors Ephrem and Aphrahat) and, on the other hand, the development, from the end of the fifth century onwards, of the separate East- and West-Syriac literary traditions.



The rise of Islam and of the Arabic language marks the beginning of a gradual decline of literary activity in Syriac. For the West-Syrian area, there is some kind of a “Syriac Renaissance” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to which the polymath and prelate Gregorius Bar ‘Ebrāyā (d. 1286) made the most significant contribution. The Mogul invasions, from the 13th century

onwards, led to further reduction of the areas inhabited by Syrian Christians. It is only in a limited number of monasteries that manuscripts continued to be produced and copied. Original creations became very rare.

After a slight revival of literary activity in 17th- and 18th-century Iraq, the classical Syriac language became an important factor in the self-definition of the Syrian-Christians in the 19th and 20th century. This has led, among the Christians of the Syrian tradition, to the study and an increased use of classical Syriac, both in written and in spoken form. Having started in the Middle East, these activities are carried on in the worldwide Diaspora.

Our sources for the study of Syriac language and literature

First and foremost there are several thousands of Syriac manuscripts which are the basis for our study of the language and literature. Many of these manuscripts have reached us through a process of copying and unbroken transmission within the various Syriac-Christian communities, ending up in the modern period in Middle-Eastern monasteries or in Western libraries. Others, not less significant in number, have been retrieved from places where they had been deposited in earlier days, withdrawn from further circulation and handling. Two monasteries in Egypt provide interesting examples of such, Genizah-like situations. The first is the “Monastery of the Syrians” in the Egyptian Wadi al-Natrun (the ancient Scetis). Syriac manuscripts had been collected here from the early ninth century onwards (a number of these manuscripts were brought from Syria and were already a few centuries old when they were transferred to Egypt) and, later on, were “forgotten” when, in the early seventeenth century, the monastery became a regular Coptic monastery, in which there was no knowledge of, and interest in, Syriac. Most of these manuscripts were transferred to European libraries in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Monastery of St. Catherine on the Sinai similarly has major holdings of ancient Syriac manuscripts, which have not yet been fully documented.

For manuscripts, it is more difficult to survive for centuries when they are stored on the shelves of a library, exposed to handling by humans and subject to the process of copying and replacing outdated specimens. This explains why there are hardly any East-Syriac manuscripts prior to the eleventh century, because in the East-Syriac tradition there has not been a “safe haven” similar to the two locations described above for the West-Syriac tradition. Many of the existent East-Syriac manuscripts were copied in the period between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Syriac manuscripts are in parchment, paper, or – rarely – papyrus. The study of manuscripts includes the art of handwriting (paleography) as well as the production and material aspects of manuscripts. In addition to their important role in the transmission of Syriac literature, manuscripts also reflect the transmission process as such and its wider cultural context. Colophons often provide not only the date and place of origin of the manuscript, but also important additional historical information.

Neo-Syriac dialects

Different clusters of spoken dialects can be distinguished.

- a) Ma^llula Aramaic, spoken in a few villages to the north of Damascus, is to be considered an offshoot of Western-Aramaic,
- b) Turoyo, a number of dialects spoken in Tur ^ʿAbdin (South-East Turkey);
- c) “North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic” dialects, spoken in North-West Iran and in the north of Iraq, east of the Tigris River.

Many of these dialects have never been used in writing. In North-Iraq, in the seventeenth century, there was a modest beginning of a written tradition of some local dialects. More successful was the attempt of American missionaries in the nineteenth century to use the Aramaic dialect of

Urmia (North-West Iran) for the translation of the Bible and for some devotional literature.⁵ This has resulted in the creation of “Literary Urmia Aramaic”, which is, up to the present day, an important element in the identity of the “Assyrian” Christians.

Note: Syriac and Christian-Palestinian (or Syro-Palestinian) Aramaic

In some areas of Palestine, Christians adopted the Syriac alphabet to write their local language, which was of the West-Aramaic type (close to Jewish-Palestinian and Samaritan Aramaic).⁶ From the pre-Islamic period there are a number of inscriptions and literary texts, translated from Greek and most often preserved in the older layer of palimpsest manuscripts. In a much later period (11th-13th c.) there was a revival of this language in the Monastery of St. Catherine (Sinai) and in some centers in Palestine and Syria. Most of the texts of this later period were used in the liturgy.

The use of the Syriac script (with a few distinctive features) establishes a link with Syriac Christianity. Dogmatically, however, these Palestinian Christians were affiliated with the Chalcedonian, i.e. Melkite, Church, which was mainly Greek-oriented. It should be noted that the Syriac language proper was also used by Chalcedonian Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia and, in addition, was commonly used by the Maronites, who had their center in Northern Syria and Lebanon.

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⁵ Cf. 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, 1999).

⁶ See Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen, I. Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre* (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 6; Hildesheim, 1991).

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A. THE SYRIAC SCRIPT & WRITING CONVENTIONS

A.1. General – the three Syriac scripts

The earliest Syriac script, which derives from earlier Aramaic scripts, is called “Estrangela”. Its earliest use is found in pagan inscriptions from Edessa and its surroundings, known from the beginning of the first century CE onwards. The oldest preserved Christian parchment manuscripts written in Estrangela are from the early fifth century onwards.

Along with Estrangela, there existed a more cursive script, traces of which can be seen in some mosaic inscriptions, and which more prominently emerges in three (non-Christian) documents found in and around Dura-Europos and dated to the middle of the third century. It is from this cursive script that later on the West-Syriac script developed. Although it occasionally occurs in earlier (sixth-century) manuscripts, it is from the eighth century onwards only that it becomes the characteristic script of the West-Syriac tradition, known as “Serta”. It was, and still is, in use in the Syrian-Orthodox communities and hence has also been called “Jacobite”, after the name of one of the Syrian-Orthodox leaders of the sixth century, Jacob Baradaeus. The East-Syriac tradition developed its own script, to which somewhat infelicitously the names “Nestorian” and “Chaldean” have been given. Estrangela remained in use in both traditions, for writing important texts (e.g. biblical books) or as a more solemn script, used in headings, commemorative inscriptions and the like. It is also widely used in present-day scholarly publications. The differences between the three scripts are minor and easy to learn.

The Syriac alphabet, like Hebrew and Arabic, only writes consonants. Vowels may be written with the help of the signs for the consonants *ʾ* (*ʾālaf*), *w* (*waw*), and *y* (*yod*) or with additional signs placed above or below the preceding consonant. These will be studied later.

The Syriac script runs from right to left. As can be seen from inscriptions, the writing direction, especially in the earlier period, often was from top to bottom.

All letters are connected to the preceding letter in the same word, and most of them are connected to the following letter as well. Seven letters do not allow the connection to the following letter. Some letters have a slightly different shape when they are found at the end of the word.

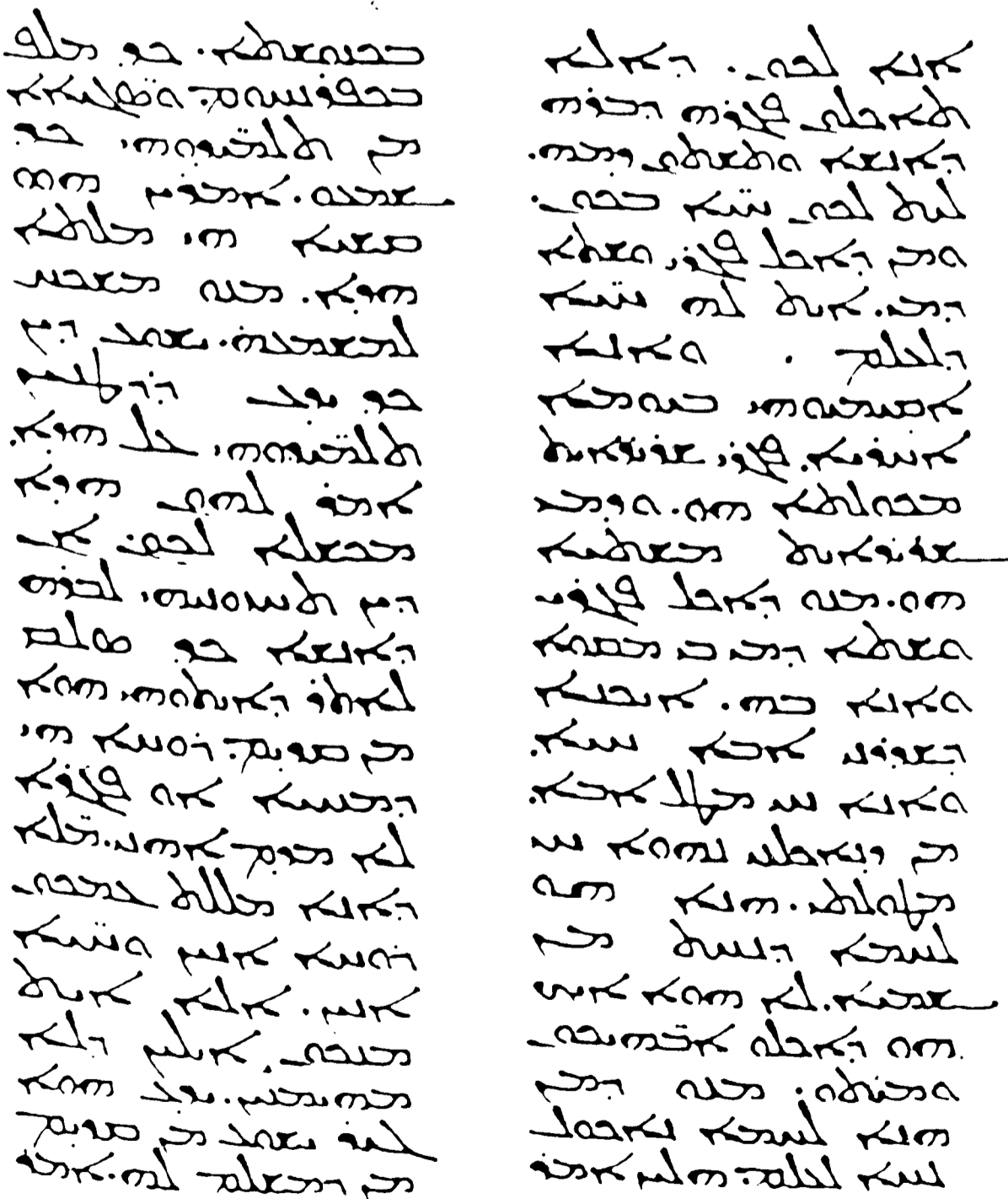


Fig. 2. Ms. London, British Library, Add. 14,451 (5th c.): John 6:53-64.

سم لهما قفلا سليم. كه صومه حرم ويل قسعا. نهذد امبا لفلان.
 لا اعا مفعما بفلان اعا مبد: افلا ال ففلا لفلان حلا بفسه. لا ال فلان
 لنا دجا انان. ه مبه سا انا وانا. سحه اف لم من برسسه كفا.
 الا لا قفلا حخبين. ه سلففما فلانين. سنا سحلا. ال فلان حخبين
 اذنا ديل ه مفعسا. ايلم لا سز ويلسا باالما. بذا دكم كنه ذك
 حخبين حلاله ديلك ايلك. سز دناين حخبلا سناين اذنا: سز وانا
 ايل حخبلا لسلا: ه فلان لفلانك ولسه حخبلا. سم ديم بفسه
 لفلانك ديلك ولسا به مفا. مفعز ندر. له ج لفلان حخبين. الا ج
 ذسلسك مالفملم. نجرم ديم انبا. مبه ذفا سزه. افم مفلان
 مذر حخبلا انا ه سز ذفيل. ال سزه ايل لالا. ايلم انك
 سقا ودم قفلا. افم لسزه سز وحمذا ال فلان. حباله م ديم
 له دجه. سسلسك مكدجم. ملا دلا حخب سنا حلس نيل لسنا ايل
 ما دلسه ذيل ولسا ه مفعسا. ولسا سز طا قفلا قفلا ذانا. انا
 دلسه ايل سنا حلبا: سلا ملسا لقسا انا. انا ديم سنا
 قفلا مذر ه سنا ذك مفعم انا. ه ملسا سز ديلك ديم ال فلان.
 ج ملسه ذيل انا حلاله ملسا سنا ولسا سنا سز سز
 دلسا مفعسا م ال الا فلانك م سنا لسلا. حفسا ممد
 مفا. دلس مفعسا للقم امم. جلس ملسا ولسا ملسا
 ولسا سنا دلس سز اقسا ملسا. ملسا:





ملسا ولسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا
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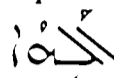
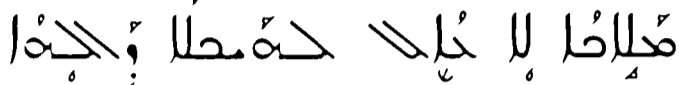
Fig. 3. Ms. London, British Library, Add. 14,548 (790 CE), f. 116r
 The earliest dated Serta manuscript:
 The homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (end of the Homily "In sancta lumina",
 followed by a note taken from a letter by Severus of Antioch).

Note

The combination *ʿalaf* + *lāmad* and *lāmad* + *ʿalaf* mostly takes a slightly different form

- before (non-final) *lāmad*, *ʿālaf* inclines to the left:  rather than 
- before *ʿālaf*, *lāmad* stands in upright position:  rather than 

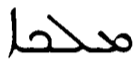
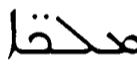




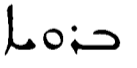

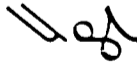
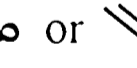


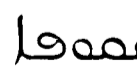


Examples

-  *ʿalāhā* “God”
-  *mal(ʿ)aka lā ʿāʿel l-hayklā d-(ʿ)alāhā* “the angel does not enter into the temple of God”

A.3. Vowel representation

A.3.1. “Matres lectionis” – vowel letters

Three letters which are used to write consonants (*ʾ* = *ʾ*, *w* = *w*, *y* = *y*) may, in addition, be used to denote the presence of a vowel. In certain positions vowel letters are consistently used, for others there appears to be diversity in the manuscripts.

- ʿālaf* denotes the presence of every final *ā* and *ê*; in some cases it stands for *ê* within the word
 -  *malkā* “king”
 -  *malkē* “kings” (plur.)
 -  *pērā* “fruit”
- yod* denotes every *i* in the middle and at the end of the word; in some words it stands for *ê* within the word
 -  *biš* “evil”
 -  *bi* “in me”
 -  *rēšā* “head”
- waw* denotes every *o* and *u*
 -  *bāroyā* “creator”
 -  *purqānā* “salvation”In two frequently used words, *waw* is regularly omitted
 -  or  *meṭṭol* “because (of)”
 -  or  *kol* “all, every”In some transliterated Greek words, there is fluctuation in the use of *waw* and, to a lesser extent, *yod*.
 -  or  or  *ʿepisqopā* “bishop”

A.3.2. Expression of vowels by means of additional signs

In addition to the use of *matres lectionis*, which belongs to the earliest phase of the Aramaic literary tradition, fully developed systems of vowel representation came into use from the eighth

and ninth centuries onwards. The East-Syriac system uses dots, while the West-Syriac system uses tiny forms of Greek vowels, placed either above or below the preceding consonant or the corresponding *mater lectionis*.

[a]	<i>ptāḥā</i>	ܥܘܐ	ܥܘܐ
[â] > WS [o]	<i>zqāpā</i>	ܘܥܐ	ܘܥܐ
[e]	<i>rbāṣā</i>	ܚܘܐ	ܚܘܐ
[ê] > WS [i]	<i>rbāṣā (- karyâ)</i>		ܚܘܐ
[i] WS (< ê)	<i>ḥbāṣā</i>	ܚܘܐ	
[i] original		ܥܘܐ	ܥܘܐ
[u]	<i>‘ṣāṣā</i>	ܥܘܥܘܐ	ܥܘܥܘܐ
[o] > WS [u]	<i>‘ṣāṣā rwiḥā</i>		ܥܘܥܘܐ

Whereas later East-Syriac manuscripts, from the 16th or 17th century onwards, often are fully vocalized, West-Syriac manuscripts use the vowel indication only to a very limited extent. Full vocalizations are found in the so-called “masoretic” manuscripts (from the 9th c. onwards), providing selections from the biblical books and other classical writings. Other manuscripts mostly have vocalization only for difficult words, proper names, etc.

A.3.3. Diacritical point

Prior to the development of full vowel systems, some conventions came into use to distinguish between homographs, i.e., words that are written with the same consonants but are pronounced differently and have a different meaning. This is done for pronouns (both independent and suffixed), nouns, and verbal forms. A dot above the consonant indicates *a* or *ā*, a dot below the consonant indicates *e* or *u*, or the absence of a full vowel. While the use of the dot above the consonant is consistently maintained, particularly for pronouns, placing a dot below the consonant is optional. Although the use of the diacritical point became redundant once a full vowel system was available, diacritical points never stopped being written.

Independent pronouns:

ܥܘܐ *hānon* (demonstrative pronoun, plur. masc.)

ܥܘܐ or ܥܘܐ *hennon* (personal pronoun, plur. masc.)

Similarly : ܥܘܐ *hāy* “that” (fem.) and ܥܘܐ *hi* “she”

ܥܘܐ *haw* “that” (masc.) and ܥܘܐ *hu* “he”

Pronominal suffixes:

ܥܘܐܘܐ *baytāh* “her house”

ܥܘܐܘܐ or ܥܘܐܘܐ *bayteh* “his house”

Nouns:

عَمَلٌ

‘*bādā* “work”

عَبْدٌ

‘*abdā* “servant”

Verbal forms:

كَتَبَ

ktab “he has written” (past tense)

كَاتِبٌ

kāteb “(he is) writing” (participle – present tense)

A.4. Further orthographical conventions

A.4.1. A dot above or below the consonants *b-g-d-k-p-t*

As will be seen below (B.2), each of the consonants *b-g-d-k-p-t* can have two different pronunciations, an occlusive and a fricative one. A dot above the consonant may mark the former; a dot below the consonant is occasionally found to mark the latter.

A.4.2. The “nullifier” (*mbaṭṭlānā*) or “linea occultans”

A small stroke on top of or below the consonant indicates that the consonant in question is no longer pronounced. In most cases we are dealing with conservative orthographies, which no longer correspond to the actual pronunciation. The *mbaṭṭlānā* is a means to superficially update the orthography. For reasons of convenience, such “deleted” consonants, in the transliteration, may be put between brackets.

- مَدِيْنَةٌ *mdittā* (< *mdi(n)tā*) “the city”
- كَاتِبٌ *kāteb* (?)*nā* “I am writing”
- بِنْتُ مَلِكٍ *ba(r)t malkā* “the daughter of the king”

A.4.3. The *syāmē*

A double dot, in horizontal position, is placed on top of substantives that are in the plural form. Certain forms of the adjective and the verb likewise take the *syāmē* to mark the plural. The place of the double dot is free. However, when the word in question has the consonant *rēsh*, it is this letter which takes a second dot to mark the plural.

- مَلِكٌ *malkē* “kings”
- مَلِكَةٌ *malkātā* “queens”
- مَلِكَةٌ شَاطِرَةٌ *malkātā šappirātā* “beautiful queens”

A 5. A note on particles consisting of only one letter (*b-d-w-l*)

The four particles ة “in”, و “of” (or relative particle), و “and”, ل “to” (or object marker), which consist of only one letter, are attached in writing to the following word.

When the first consonant of the word has a full vowel, the added particle takes a *schwa*; when it has a *schwa*, the one letter particle takes the full vowel *a*. When *ʾālaf* as first consonant of the word is preceded by a one letter particle, it is dropped in the pronunciation (see further).

- $\text{ܘܥܡܪܡܠܟܐܠܥܢܝܬܐܕܒܗܝܟܠܐ}$ *w' 'emmar malka l ('a(n)ita da b haykla* “and the king said to the woman that (was) in the sanctuary”

B. NOTES ON PHONOLOGY

B.1. General

- Every word and every syllable begin with a consonant. This consonant may be *'alaf*, serving as a vowel support.
- When at the beginning of the word there is a cluster of two consonants, an ultra-short vowel () originally must have been produced in between. This ultra-short vowel, called *schwa* in modern linguistic terminology, affects the following consonant (in case of *b-g-d-k-p-t* – see B.2). *Schwa* is not represented in writing.

- ܟܬܒܐܕܡܠܟܐ *ktaba d-malka* (- *k'taba d'-malka*) “the book of the king”

Another way of dissolving an initial cluster of consonants is by the creation of a new syllable, which separates the first consonant from the second. This is done by adding a so-called prothetic *'alaf* – vowel before the word. The first consonant of the word is incorporated into the newly created syllable. The prothetic *'alaf* particularly occurs in Syriac words beginning with *s, š,* or *r* as well as in Greek loan words. Since several of these words occur either with or without the prothetic *'alaf*, we may be dealing with a general rule of pronunciation which is only occasionally made explicit in writing.

- ܫܝܫܐ or ܫܝܫܐܐ (*'šš-tā*) “six”
- ܩܪܝܢܐ or ܩܪܝܢܐܐ (*'ar-qir'a*) “firmament”
- ܩܫܝܘܬܝܐ “soldier” ($\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$) “soldier”
- ܩܠܝܒܐܐ ($\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha$, accusative of $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) “key”

- Syriac originally knew the doubling of consonants. Double consonants are written only once. Although original doubling disappeared in pronunciation, its effect on the phonetic and syllable structure of the word remains.

- ܚܦܘܬܐ *'ammā* “people”
- ܒܪܝܩܐ *barrek* “he blessed”

B.2. *Rukkākā* and *Quššāyā*

The consonants *b-g-d-k-p-t* have two different pronunciations, an occlusive one (a stop or plosive) and a fricative one (spirantized). In the former case the glottis is completely closed before the sound is released; in the latter case, the glottis remains slightly open. The different pronunciations are as follows:

	<i>occlusive</i>	<i>fricative</i>
- b	<i>b</i> (as in “book”)	<i>b bh</i> (as in Spanish “vino”)
- g	<i>g</i> (as in “girl”)	<i>g gh</i> (as in German “gross”)
- d	<i>d</i> (as in “duck”)	<i>d dh</i> (as in “this”)
- k	<i>k</i> (as in “kind”)	<i>k kh</i> (as in Greek $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$)
- p	<i>p</i> (as in “pie”)	<i>p ph</i> (as in “first”)
- t	<i>t</i> (as in “tub”)	<i>t th</i> (as the final consonant of “death”)

The *quššāyā* pronunciation (with “hardening”), often marked by a dot above the consonant, is found:

- at the beginning of the word,
- immediately following another consonant,
- when the consonant is (originally) double.

The *rukkākā* pronunciation (with “softening”), occasionally marked by a dot below the consonant, is found whenever the consonant is preceded by a full vowel or a *schwa*.

- $\text{ܕܩܬܒܐܢܐ} \text{ ܕܡܠܟܐ}$ *ktābhā d-malkā* “the book of the king”
- $\text{ܩܬܒܐܢܐܢܐ} \text{ ܩܘܝܢܐܝܐ}$ *malkātā saggiʿātā* “many queens”
- $\text{ܬܠܡܝܕܐܢܐ} \text{ ܗܒܒܝܒܐܢܐ}$ *talmidā ḥabbibā* “the beloved disciple”

When one or more of the one letter particles (see A.5) precede the word, the first consonant of the word takes the *Rukkākā* pronunciation.

- $\text{ܫܡܗܐܢܐ} \text{ ܕܒܗܐܢܐ} \text{ ܕܩܬܒܐܢܐ}$ *šmāhē d-ba-ktābhā* “the names which (are) in the book”

B.3. Vowel changes in West-Syriac

When the use of the Greek vowels was introduced in the West-Syriac tradition, some developments had taken place and thus are reflected in the West-Syriac vowel system. The more original situation was maintained in the East-Syriac tradition and was in fact shared by the two traditions in the first centuries.

- a) Original *ā* had shifted to *o*.
- b) For original *ē* a distinction was made between a back pronunciation (e, especially in word endings) and a front pronunciation (often found in the middle of the word). The former was preserved as e, the latter shifted to *i*.
- c) Original *o* had shifted to *u*.
 - $\text{ܐܠܗܐܢܐ} \text{ ܙܕܝܩܐ}$ *ʿalāhā zaddiqā* > *ʿaloho zaddiqo* “the righteous God”
 - ܪܝܫܐܢܐ *rēšā* > *rišo* “head”
 - ܒܪܘܝܐܢܐ *bāroyā* > *boruyo* “creator”

In Nöldeke’s grammar as well as in a number of other publications, the decision has been made to retain the original pronunciation in spite of the use of the West-Syriac script. Therefore, *zqāpā/zqopo* is pronounced and transliterated as *ā*. For *ē* which has shifted to *i* and for *o* which has shifted to *u*, vowel signs are borrowed from the East-Syriac tradition (mostly combined with the *matres lectionis yod* and *ʿālaf* respectively: ܝܝ and ܝܐ).

- ܪܝܝܫܐܢܐ *rēšā* “head”
- ܒܪܝܝܐܢܐ *bāroyā* “creator”

B.4. Word stress and syllabification

While in the older Aramaic language the word stress is either on the final or the pre-final syllable, the development in Syriac is such that in the classical language the stress falls nearly always on the final syllable. Unstressed vowels tend to disappear or to be reduced.

- Short unstressed end vowels in open syllables had disappeared already in an earlier phase of the language.
*kataba > katáb
- Long unstressed end vowels have disappeared, or were in the process of disappearing, in early Syriac. They are no longer pronounced in the classical language, although they are preserved in writing.
*málkī > malk(y) – مَلِكْ “my king”

The following rules of vowel reduction are at work:

1. Short vowels in open syllables preceding the stressed syllable are reduced to *schwa*.

*katáb > k^etáb – كَاتِبْ

*katábu > k^etab(w) – كَاتِبُو

2. When there are short vowels in two successive open syllables preceding the stressed syllable, the first vowel remains intact. The second vowel often disappears completely; in some cases the soft pronunciation of the third consonant indicates that a *schwa* originally must have been present.

*gamalā > gamlā – جَمَلَا

*dahabā > dah^ebā – دَاهَبَا

3. The glottal stop (ʔālaf) is never followed by *schwa*. In most cases, a full vowel is restored; in some cases the glottal stop is elided and written with *mbatṭlânâ*.

*ʔamar > *ʔ^amar > ʔemar – اِمْرًا

*ʔanāšā > (ʔ)nāšā – اِنْمَا

4. Similarly *yod* is never followed by *schwa*; *y* + ^e merge to *i* (which may be written as ʔi-, i.e. ʔālaf-yod, at the beginning of the word).

*ʔety^eled > ʔetiled – اِيْلِيدْ

*y^eda^e > ida^e – اِيْدَا or اِيْدَا

Note

The presence of a vowel in an unstressed syllable indicates that this syllable is closed. It may indicate, therefore, that a consonant is doubled.

اَمْمَا ʿammā “people”

اَحْبَابَا ḥabbibā “beloved”

B.5. Assimilation of a vowel to the following consonant

Short *e* standing before *r* or before a laryngeal (i.e., *h*, *ḥ*, ^e, and occasionally ʔ) shifts to *a*.

- šāma^e “listening” (participle, compare *kāteb*) – شَامَا

- bar “son” – بَارْ

B.6. Some further remarks on ʾālaf

At the beginning of the word as well as in the middle of the word between two full vowels, ʾālaf stands for a glottal stop and should be regarded as a consonant.

In most other situations it is no longer pronounced. Whenever it originally has a vowel and is preceded by a consonant which has no full vowel, the vowel is transferred to the preceding consonant.

- אָמַר (cf. B.4.3) “he said”
- חָלַל “entering” (participle)
- שָׁאַל (< šʿel) “he asked”
- וְאָמַר לַאֲשֵׁרָה “and he said to the woman”

Reading exercise

בְּמִן פְּתָנָא	<i>ḥad men prišē</i> “one among the Pharisees”
בַּיְתָא דְּפְרִישָׁא	<i>baytā da-prišā</i> “the house of the Pharisee”
בַּיְתֵה דְּפְרִישָׁא	<i>bayteh da-prišā</i> “the house of the Pharisee”
אֲתָבָא לַאֲשֵׁרָה	<i>ʾa(n)ttā ḥattāytā</i> “the (or: a) sinful woman”
מְדִינַתָּא הַהִיא	<i>mdi(n)ttā hāy</i> “that city”
וּמַצָּא חַסְתָּהּ	<i>w-qāmat bestreh</i> “and she stood behind him”
וּמַצָּעָא לְרַגְלֵיהּ	<i>wa-mnaššqā (h)wāt reglaw(hy)</i> “and she was kissing his feet”
אִשְׁעָב בְּנַפְשֵׁהּ	<i>ʾethaššab b-napšeh</i> “and he thought in his soul” (i.e., by himself)”
מָה תְּבַבָּהּ	<i>mā ṭebbāh</i> “what (is) her story (or: her reputation)?”
חָלַל וְיָעָנַתּ וְאָמַר לֵיהּ	<i>ʿnā dēn Yešoʿ w-(ʔ)emar leh</i> “and Jesus answered and said to him”

C. BASIC ELEMENTS OF MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

C.1. Pronouns

C.1.1. Independent personal pronoun

This occurs in two forms, slightly different from each other. One is unconnected to another noun. The other is enclitic and constitutes a unity with the preceding noun. The unconnected form normally stands in front position and is used to represent the grammatical subject or an extra-clausal constituent (e.g., the addressee in imperative or jussive clauses). The enclitic form, used as subject as well, coalesces with the preceding predicate, which may be a verbal participle, a noun, or another pronoun. Enclitic forms may be written separately or may coalesce with the preceding predicate also in writing.

		Unconnected	Enclitic written separately — coalescing	
Sing.	1.	أَنَا	أَنَا	أنا --
	2.m.	أَنْتَ	أَنْتَ	أنتا --
	2.f.	أَنْتِ	أَنْتِ	أنتي --
	3.m.	هُوَ	هُوَ	(هو --)
	3.f.	هِيَ	هِيَ	(هي --)
Plur.	1.	أَنْتُمْ (أَنْتُمْ)	أَنْتُمْ	أنتم --
	2.m.	أَنْتُمْ	أَنْتُمْ	أنتم --
	2.f.	أَنْتُمْ	أَنْتُمْ	أنتم --
	3.m.	أَنْفِ	أَنْفِ	—
	3.f.	أَنْفِ	أَنْفِ	—

Note the following special cases of contraction:

- هُوَ (huyu) “it’s him” (< هُوَ هُوَ = hu (h)u)
- (less frequently) هِيَ (hiyi) “it’s she” (< هِيَ هِيَ = hi (h)i)

- أَنَا كَفَا وَأَنْتُمْ مَحْتَلَا “I am the vine and you are the branches” (John 15:5, Old Syriac)
- هُوَ هِيَ هِيَ “He then said” (e.g., Luke 11:46)

- أَنَا كَاتِبٌ or أَنَا كَاتِبَةٌ “I am writing” or “I write”
- أَبِي هُوَ “He is my brother” (Gen. 20:5)

the *waw* and *yod* of the enclitic form of the third pers. sing. become consonants after a vocalic ending of the previous word (before *w* long *a* shortens to *a*)

- هُوَ مَلِكٌ *malkā (h)u > malka (h)w* “he is king”
- أَنَا كَاتِبَةٌ *kātbā (h)i > kātbā (h)y* “she is writing”

C.1.2. Suffixed personal pronoun

These are used with nouns to mark the possessor, with verb forms to express the direct object, and with prepositions. Their forms will be studied in the sections on nouns, prepositions, and verbs.

C.1.3. Demonstrative pronoun: near

Sing.	m.	هَذَا – less frequently هَٰذَا “this”
	f.	هَذِهِ “this”
Plur.		هَٰؤُلَاءِ “these”

Note the following contracted form: هَٰذَا هَٰذَا (*hānaw*) “this is” (< هَٰذَا هَٰذَا = *hāna (h)w*)

C.1.4. Demonstrative pronoun: distant

Sing.	m.	ذَٰلِكَ “that”
	f.	ذَٰلِكَ “that”
Plur.	m.	أُولَٰئِكَ “those”
	f.	أُولَٰئِكَ “those”

C.1.5. Interrogative pronoun

مَنْ	“who?”
$\text{مَنْ ، مَا ، مَا ، مَا}$	“what?”
مَاذَا	“which?” (sing., m.)
مَاذَا	“which?” (sing. f.)
مَاذَا	“which?” (plur.)

Note the following contracted forms:

- مَنْ هَٰذَا “who is it?” or “who is he?” (< مَنْ هَٰذَا = *man (h)u*)
- مَا هَٰذَا “what is it?” (< مَا هَٰذَا = *māna (h)w*)
- مَاذَا هَٰذَا “which is it?” (< مَاذَا هَٰذَا = *ʿayna (h)w*)

C.1.6. The relative particle ܘܢܘܢ

Within the relative clause, introduced by the particle ܘܢܘܢ, a personal pronoun normally resumes the antecedent. This resumption may be omitted when the pronoun would be the subject or (less frequently) the direct object of the relative clause.

- ܘܢܘܢ ܘܡܠܝܚܐ “the man who has written”
- ܘܢܘܢ ܘܡܠܝܚܐ ܘܡܠܝܚܐ “the man with whom I have spoken”
- ܘܢܘܢ ܘܡܝܪܐ ܘܡܝܪܐ or ܘܢܘܢ ܘܡܝܪܐ “the man whom I have seen”

C.2. Nouns

The category of the noun includes substantives and adjectives.

C.2.1. The flexion of the noun

Syriac nouns may take three different “states”: the emphatic state, the construct state, the absolute state.

In the singular, the emphatic state has the ending *-ā* (masculine) or *-tā* (feminine). In the plural the ending is *-ē* (masculine) and *-ātā* (feminine). The masculine ending *-ē* is the result of a contraction of an earlier form *-ayyā*, which is occasionally preserved (see further).

The construct state masculine has no ending. However, *-t* is found for the feminine (singular *-at*; plural *-āt*). In the plural ending masculine, the first element of the ancient ending (*-ayyā*) is found: *-ay*.

The absolute state has the ending *-ā* in the singular feminine and no ending in the singular masculine; in the plural it has *-in* (masculine) and *-ān* (feminine).

The emphatic state (corresponding to what is called “determined state” in earlier Aramaic) is the common form of the noun. In Syriac, it has lost its function of determination. The absolute state is only rarely found for substantives, for adjectives it marks the predicative use. The construct state is used for all kinds of genitive-like constructions.

Here follow the different forms of the adjective ܡܦܢܐ “beautiful”.

	absolute	construct	emphatic
Singular			
m.	ܡܦܢܐ	ܡܦܢܐ	ܡܦܢܐܐ
f.	ܡܦܢܐܐ	ܡܦܢܐܐܐ	ܡܦܢܐܐܐܐ
Plural			
m.	ܡܦܢܐܝܢ	ܡܦܢܐܝܢ	ܡܦܢܐܝܢܐ
f.	ܡܦܢܐܝܢܐ	ܡܦܢܐܝܢܐܐ	ܡܦܢܐܝܢܐܐܐ

Notes

1. The ending of the plural masculine of the emphatic state (-*ē*) results from an earlier *-ayya*. Part of this ending is preserved in the construct state (-*ay*). The *-ayyā* ending is found as the regular plural ending in a limited number of short words, some of them *pluralia tantum*, as well as in nouns based on roots with *y* as their third consonant.

- *ḥanā* “son” – plur. *ḥanā*
- *ḥamā* “heaven”
- *ḥamā* “water”
- *ḥamā* “year” – plur. *ḥamā*
- *ḥamā* “young goat” – plur. *ḥamā*

2. The above example, *šappir*, is not affected in its syllabic structure by the presence or absence of an ending. However, the syllabic structure of other nouns, particularly of those that after their second root consonant have a short vowel or no vowel at all, undergoes changes.

- *malkā* – *malḥā*
absolute and construct state: **malk > *malék > m^llek* – *malḥā*
- *ḥamā* “body”, absolute and construct state: *ḥamā*
- *ḥamā* “book”, absolute and construct state: *ḥamā*
- *ḥamā* “gold”, absolute and construct state: *ḥamā*
- *ḥamā* “(female) companion” (**ḥabar-tā*), plural: *ḥamā*

3. As compared to the above paradigm, many nouns show irregularities. Only two types will be singled out here. First (a), many feminine nouns do not have feminine endings, while the plural feminine ending is often found with masculine nouns. Second (b), the feminine ending is sometimes preceded by the infix *-y-* (or *-i-*).

(a) *ḥamā* “father”, plural: *ḥamā* and *ḥamā*

ḥamā “lion”, plural: *ḥamā*

(b) *ḥamā* “little”, feminine: *ḥamā*

all other feminine forms have the infix *-y-*: *ḥamā*, *ḥamā*, *ḥamā*, *ḥamā*, *ḥamā*

C.2.2. The attachment of possessive suffixes to the noun

There are two sets of suffixes. One (I) consists of the pure suffixes, as they are attached to a noun which, once deprived of its ending $-ā$, ends with a consonant (either the final root consonant or the feminine infix $-t-$). The other (II) shows the suffixes coalescing with the ending $-ay$ of the plural masculine.

I.	Sing.	1.	-(y)	وَمُنْد	مَلِكُهُ
		2.m.	-ā <u>k</u>	وَمُنْر	مَلِكُهُر
		2.f.	-e <u>k</u> (y)	وَمُنْص	مَلِكُهُف
		3.m.	-eh	وَمُنَّه	مَلِكُهُه
		3.f	-āh	وَمُنَّه	مَلِكُهُه
	Plur.	1.	-an	وَمُنَّع	مَلِكُهُر
		2.m.	- <u>k</u> on	وَمُنْجَف	مَلِكُهُجَف
		2.f.	- <u>k</u> en	وَمُنْجَب	مَلِكُهُجَب
		3.m.	-hon	وَمُنَّه	مَلِكُهُه
		3.f	-hen	وَمُنَّه	مَلِكُهُه

II.	Sing.	1.	-ay	وَمُنَّد
		2.m.	-ayk	وَمُنَّنْز
		2.f.	-ayk(y)	وَمُنَّنْص
		3.m.	-aw(hy)	وَمُنَّهَـ
		3.f	-êh	وَمُنَّهَـ
	Plur.	1.	-ayn	وَمُنَّنْ
		2.m.	-aykon	وَمُنَّنْظَف
		2.f.	-ayken	وَمُنَّنْظَب
		3.m.	-ayhon	وَمُنَّنْهَـ
		3.f	-ayhen	وَمُنَّنْهَـ

Note

Some nouns expressing primary family relationship have some irregular forms. Except for the first person singular, they have the infixed vowel $-u-$.

- اِبْنُ , اِبْنَةُ , اِبْنَةٌ , اِبْنَةٌ , اِبْنَةٌ , اِبْنَةٌ , etc.
- اِبْنُ , اِبْنَةُ , اِبْنَةٌ , اِبْنَةٌ , اِبْنَةٌ , اِبْنَةٌ , etc.

C.2.3. The main nominal patterns

A. Simple stam

1. *qaṭl, qiṭl, quṭl*

مَلِكٌ “king” - مَلِكًا

كِتَابٌ “book” - كِتَابًا

مَبْرُوءَةٌ “sanctity” - مَبْرُوءَةً

fem.: مَلِكَةٌ “queen” - مَلِكَةً , plur. مَلِكَةٌ

Note:

أَجْرٌ “wage” - أَجْرًا

شَهْرٌ “month” - شَهْرًا

يَوْمٌ “day” - يَوْمًا

بَيْتٌ “house” - بَيْتًا

شَعْبٌ “people” - شَعْبًا , plur. شَعَبًا

سَكِينٌ “quietude” - سَكِينًا

2. *qaṭal, qiṭal, quṭal*

a. masc. forms have become identical to the forms of the previous category; occasionally the third consonant has the soft pronunciation

ذَهَبٌ “gold” (< *dahabā) - ذَهَابًا

عِنَبٌ “grapes” plur. (< *‘inabē), comp. Arabic ‘inab)

b. fem. forms maintain a vowel on the second consonant

نَفْسٌ “soul” (< *našam-tā) - نَفْسًا

سَكِينَةٌ “(female) companion” (< *ḥabar-tā) - plur. سَكِينَاتٌ

Note:

خَلْقٌ “creature, creation” - plur. خَلْقًا

رُكُوعٌ “prayer” - plur. رُكُوعًا

سُؤَالٌ “inquiry”

3. *qaṭāl, qiṭāl, quṭāl > q^oṭāl*

سَلَامٌ “peace”

مَرْكَبٌ “donkey”

مَبْرُوءَةٌ “resurrection”

مَرْكَبَةٌ “female donkey”

4. *qaṭīl > q^oṭīl* : passive participle

مَكْتُوبٌ “written”

مَكْتُوبَةٌ “the written (text)”

5. *qaṭūl > q^oṭul*

كُفْرٌ “garb”

6. *qāṭal*
 حَاةٌ “virgin”
 نُكُلًا “eternity, world” نُكِرَ
7. *qāṭel* : active participle
 نُكِلٌ “writing”
 وُصِيٌّ “friend” – وُصِيَ
8. *qāṭōl* : nomen agentis
 فَكَاةٌ “writer”
 كَاةٌ “creator”

B. Reduplication of middle consonant

1. *qaṭṭāl* : nomen agentis, nouns of profession, or expressing a more or less permanent quality
 لُحِظًا “slaughterer”
 سُرِطًا “thief”
 سُرِطًا – سُرِطًا “sinner”
2. *qettāl*
 حَفَّاءٌ “root”
 مَهَّوٌّ “white”
3. *quttāl*
 مَهَّجًا “completion” (nomen actionis)
 صَهَّصًا “red”
4. *qaṭṭīl* : mostly adjectives
 مَحْكِيًا “powerful, having authority”
 مَفْنِيًا “beautiful”
5. *qaṭṭūl*
 مَكَّةٌ “child”

C. Forms with prefixes

1. m-
 مَمَّصًا “tent” – مَمَّصٌ (nomen loci)
 مَمَّصًا “ascent” (< *masl'qā) – مَمَّصٌ
2. t-
 يَمَّصِيًا “service”
 يَمَّصِيًا “wonder” – plur. يَمَّصِيًا

D. Forms with suffixes

1. -ān
 a. مَمَّصَانًا “rest”

اَوْحَاتٌ “necessity”

b. nomina relationis

مَعْنَا “heavenly”

أَوْحَاتٌ “earthly”

c. nomina agentis derived from participles *pa^{ca}el* or *ʿaf^{ca}el*

مَقْتُلَةٌ “murderer” – fem. مَقْتُلَةٌ “murderess” (comp. D.4)

2. -*ōn* : diminutives

مَلِكَةٌ “kinglet”

كِتَابَةٌ “booklet”

3. -*āy* : nomina relationis, gentilic names

مَلِكِيٌّ “royal”

بَاطِنِيٌّ “inner, internal”

يُونَانِيٌّ “Greek”

بَهِارِيٌّ “Indian”

4. -*i* / fem. -*it*

سَلْبَةٌ “rapine”

نَحْلٌ “bee” – plur. نَحْلٌ

5. -*ut* : abstract nouns

مَلِكِيَّةٌ “kingdom, kingship” – مَلِكَةٌ , plur. مَلِكِيَّاتٌ

مِيرَاثٌ “inheritance, heritage”

E. Noun patterns based on more than three consonants

1. *qutṭāl* : nomina actionis (comp. B.3)

مَعْحَبَةٌ “subjugation”

مَعْحَلَةٌ “confusion”

2. other forms

مَعْفَلَةٌ “skull”

فَرْلَةٌ “iron” (loanword)

C.3. Adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions

C.3.1. Adverbs

Different forms may be used for the category of adverbs.

a) Pure nominal forms (resembling the absolute state), some of them showing the feminine ending.

- مَفْنٌ “beautifully”
- هُجٌ “well”
- وَجْدٌ “very, greatly”
- قَبْمُئَةٌ “firstly”
- اِمْنَةٌ “finally”

b) Nouns with the adverbial ending *-āʾit* (comp. English *-ly*; French *-ment*).

- حَنْئَانَةٌ “truly”
- جَانَانَةٌ “justly”
- مَعْنَانَةٌ “in Greek”
- هَعْدُونَانَةٌ “in Syriac”

c) Prepositional expressions

- مَحْسَبًا “at once” (< *menḥdā*)
- كَرِيْمَةً “completely”

d) Old adverbial formations

– adverbs of time

- هُنَّجٌ “then”
- هُنَّجٌ “now”
- مَعْمَانَةٌ “today”; مَحْمَانَةٌ “tomorrow”; اَمَّحٌ or اَمَّحٌ “yesterday”
- كَعْمَبَرٌ “at first”
- مَحْفِيْلًا “henceforth”
- مَحْ قَبُهُ “already”

adverbs of place

- هُنَّجٌ “here”
- حَنْكَا “above”
- حَلْمَسَا “below”
- اَمَّحٌ “there”

adverbs of quality

- هُنَّجٌ “thus”

interrogative adverbs

- اَمَّحٌ “where?”; اَمَّحٌ “how?”; اَمَّحٌ “when?”

C.3.2. Conjunctions (sentence connectives)

- a. coordinating: و “and”; لَئِنْ “but”; أَوْ “or”; حَتَّى “nevertheless, yet”; وَفِي “but, now” (cf. Greek δέ – never in the first position in the sentence); لِ “for” (cf. Greek γάρ – also never in the first position)
- b. subordinating: يَ “that, because, so that, ...” (also relative particle, see C.1.6)
 إِنْ “if”; إِنْ لَمْ “if not, unless”; إِنْ كَانَتْ “if” (non-real condition)
 لَعَلَّ “lest”

For conjunctions built on prepositions, see further C.3.3, Note.

C.3.3. Prepositions

Prepositions are followed either by nouns or by pronouns. In the latter case, pronominal suffixes are used, in the same way as with nouns (see above, C.2.2). Both sets of suffixes may be found. In the following list, it is specified for each preposition which set of suffixes is used.

1. ح (with suffixes: حَهُ , حَهُ , حَهُ)
 - A. a. “in” (place, time, circumstance)
 - حَيْثُ “in the house”
 - حَيْثُ فِيهِ “in that time”
 - اذْهَبْ فِي سَلَامٍ “go in peace”
 - b. “through, with, by (means of)”
 - حَيْثُ بِالسَّيْفِ “with the sword”
 - c. “among”
 - حَيْثُ فِي بَيْنِ النِّسَاءِ “blessed among women”
 - d. to indicate the price
 - حَيْثُ بِدِينَارٍ “(to sell or buy) for a dinar”
 - e. object marker after some verbs of perception
 - اُنظُرْ إِلَى الشَّمْسِ “look at the sun”
 - حِينَ لَمَّا رَأَى أَنَّهُمْ هَارَبُوا “when he noticed them, he fled”
 - B. composite prepositions (ح followed by the construct state of a noun)
 - a. حَيْثُ “in (the inner part of)”
 - b. حَيْثُ كَمَا “in the resemblance of, as”
 - c. حَيْثُ “through (the hand of), by means of”
 - d. حَيْثُ “by reason of, because”
2. بَيْنَ (takes no suffixes), بَيْنَهُ (suff. بَيْنَهُ , بَيْنَهُ , بَيْنَهُ), بَيْنَهُ (suff. بَيْنَهُ and بَيْنَهُ) [root: *byn*] “between, among”
 - بَيْنَ رُومٍ وَفُرسٍ “between the Romans and the Persians”

- بَيْنَ “between me and you”
- 3. بِدُونِ (takes no suffixes) “without” (cf. Hebrew מִבְּלִי)
- 4. בְּלִי (suff. בְּלִיָּהוּ , בְּלִיָּהוֹת , בְּלִיָּהֶם) “without”
often followed by the preposition $\text{בְּ} : \text{בְּ} : \text{בְּ}$ (same meaning)
- 5. אַחֲרַיְכֶם (suff. אַחֲרַיְכֶם , אַחֲרַיְכֶם , אַחֲרַיְכֶם) “after, behind” (space)
- 6. אַחֲרַיְכֶם (suff. אַחֲרַיְכֶם , אַחֲרַיְכֶם , אַחֲרַיְכֶם) “after” (time or space)
often preceded by the preposition $\text{אַחֲרַיְכֶם} : \text{אַחֲרַיְכֶם}$ (same meaning)
- 7. מִסָּבִיב (suff. מִסָּבִיב , מִסָּבִיבָהוּ , מִסָּבִיבָהֶם) “around”
- 8. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ (suff. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ , מִלְפָּנֶיךָ , מִלְפָּנֶיךָ)
a. “instead of, in exchange for”
b. “in view of, on account of”
- 9. ל (suff. לֵךְ , לָהֶם , לָהֶן)
A. a. “to, towards” (direction, purpose)
▪ לְעָרָא “he went to the city”
b. marker of the indirect object (*nota dativi*)
▪ לְעָמָן “he said to us”
▪ לְעָמָן “give us bread”
c. marker of the direct object (*nota accusativi*), mainly used when the object is determined or is a personal name
▪ לְבַיְתָא “he built the house”
▪ לְיִצְחָק “he blessed Isaac”
d. “by reason of” (in certain idiomatic expressions)
▪ לְחָמְרָא “he is dying of hunger”
e. indication of time
▪ לְחֵמְרָא “on the third day”
▪ לְחֵמְרָא “after three days”
▪ לְחֵמְרָא “at last”
f. marker of the acting person with perfect/passive participles (as an alternative expression of the active resultative perfect) “by”
▪ לְעָמָן “... (has been) done by me” > “I have done”
▪ לְעָמָן “(have) the books (been) read by you?” > “have you read the books?”
- B. composite prepositions (לְ followed by the construct state of a noun)
a. לְ “to (the face of), towards”
b. לְ (*barrā* “the open land”) “outside, except” – often לְ (same meaning)
c. לְ “to (the inner part of)”, comp. 1.B.b – often לְ (same meaning)
- 10. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ (suff. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ , מִלְפָּנֶיךָ , מִלְפָּנֶיךָ) “opposite, against”

11. حَافِ (suff. حَافِ , حَافِيَه , حَافِي)
 a. “to, towards”
 b. “in the company of, (together) with”
12. حَافَا (takes no suffixes) “in accordance with”
13. مُتَّجِئًا or مُتَّجِئًا (suff. مُتَّجِئًا , مُتَّجِئِيَه , مُتَّجِئِي)
 a. “because of, on account of”
 b. “on the subject of, concerning, about”
14. مَع (suff. مَع , مَعِيَه , مَعِي)
 A. a. “from” (place, time, origin)
 ▪ $\text{بَعْدَ مَعِ فُؤَادِهَا}$ “he went out of Paradise”
 ▪ مَعِ رَجَا “from the morning onwards”
 ▪ $\text{حَجَّلَا لِلْأُومِ مَعِ إِوْحَا}$ “He fashioned Adam from the earth”
 b. indication of location
 ▪ $\text{مَعِ مَعْشَرِيَه وَوَحْدِيَه}$ “at the right hand of his father” (comp. Latin *a dextera*)
 c. partitive: “among, of”
 ▪ $\text{إِنْتَقَى مَعِ إِخْوَانِيَه}$ “some among the disciples”
 similarly without the preceding noun:
 ▪ $\text{صَعَبَى مَعِ إِخْوَانِيَه}$ “(some) of the disciples raise up”
 ▪ $\text{أَكْتُبُ مَعِ إِيْنِيَه وَوَأَسْأَلُكُمْ}$ “I will write (some) of the (things) that happened”
 d. marker of the acting person: “by, through”
 ▪ $\text{إِذَا مَاتَ مَعِ مَاتَ}$ “he had been killed by him”
 e. used to introduce the second part of the comparison: “than” (often preceded by أَكْثَرُ or أَكْثَرُ “more than”)
 ▪ $\text{أَكْثَرُ مَعِ مَطَرًا}$ “more than the sun”
- B. composite prepositions
 a. مَع preceding other prepositions
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ (cf. 3) “without”
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ (cf. 6) “after”
 ▪ مَعِ مَبْرُ (cf. 21) “before”
 b. مَع following other prepositions
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ (cf. 4) “without”
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ (cf. 9.B.b) “outside, besides”
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ (cf. 9.B.b) “within”
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ “above, over”
 ▪ مَعِ حَيْثُ “below, under”
15. مَعِ “except, besides”

16. حَبَّ (takes no suffixes) “until”
- حَبَّ اِحْطَا “for a (certain) time”
17. حَبَّ مَا (time or place)
- حَبَّ مَا حَسْبًا “until the end”
 - حَبَّ مَا حَتُّوْطًا “until here, hitherto”
18. حَبَّ (suff. حَبَّ , حَبَّ , حَبَّ)
- A.
- a. “on, over” (place or in figurative sense)
 - حَبَّ مَبَّ مَعَهُ لِهَوَاً “on one of the mountains”
 - b. “on account of, about”
 - حَبَّ مَعَهُ لِهَوَاً “and he spoke about trees”
 - c. “to” (person that is affected by a feeling)
 - حَبَّ مَعَهُ لِهَوَاً “Paul was dear to her”
- B. composite preposition: حَبَّ اِفْتًا “upon the surface of”
- حَبَّ اِفْتًا مَبَّ مَعَهُ لِهَوَاً “and the spirit of God hovered upon the face of the water”
19. حَبَّ (suff. حَبَّ , حَبَّ , حَبَّ) “with”
20. حَبَّ (suff. حَبَّ , حَبَّ , حَبَّ) “to, towards, with” (mostly for persons)
21. حَبَّ (suff. حَبَّ , حَبَّ , حَبَّ) and حَبَّ (takes no suffixes) “before” (place or time) – often حَبَّ مَبَّ (same meaning)
- traces of an older form *qudm in alternative forms with suffixes: حَبَّ , حَبَّ , حَبَّ
22. حَبَّ (suff. حَبَّ , حَبَّ , حَبَّ) and حَبَّ (takes no suffixes) “under”

Note: Prepositions turned into conjunctions

Several prepositions can be followed by the particle *d-*, which allows them to be used as a conjunction, to introduce subordinate clauses. Some examples are given.

- حَبَّ وَ “through (the fact) that”
- حَبَّ وَ “as”
- حَبَّ وَ “after”
- حَبَّ وَ “instead of (the fact) that”
- حَبَّ وَ “because”
- حَبَّ وَ “as soon as, starting from (the fact) that”
- حَبَّ وَ and حَبَّ وَ “after”
- حَبَّ وَ and حَبَّ وَ “before”
- حَبَّ وَ “until”
- حَبَّ وَ “on account of the fact that”

Of similar origin are some frequently used conjunctions, based on the preposition *k (comparative), which as an independent preposition no longer exists in Syriac and has been replaced with ܐܘܟܐ (pronounced as 'ak) "as".⁷

1) ܐܘܟܐ (*k-di, comp. Biblical Aramaic ܕܕܝ)

- temporal:

“while” (followed by a participle or a verbless clause)

“after” (followed by a verb in the past tense)

- causal: “because”

- concessive: ܐܘܟܐ ܘܚܘܕ “although” (comp. French *bien que*)

2) ܐܘܟܐ - ܘܟܐ

- comparative: “(in the same way) as”

- as introduction of a subordinate clause of purpose: “in order that” (followed by a verb in the imperfect tense)

- result: “so that”

3) ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ (same meaning and functions as ܐܘܟܐ - ܘܟܐ)

4) the original preposition *k- is also preserved in ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “(just) as much as” (comp. ܐܘܟܐ - ܘܟܐ)

C.4. Numerals

The list of the numerals is given on the next page. Note the following:

1) The cardinal numbers from 2 to 7 (or 9?) may take suffixes for the expression of the determination.

▪ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “the two of us”, ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “the two of you”, ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “the two of them”

Only the number 2 has a different feminine form: ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “the two of them”.

▪ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ

2) Special forms of the cardinal number, in the emphatic state, are used for the days of the month.

▪ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “on the second (day of the month)” - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ etc.

3) For some numbers a feminine form in the emphatic state is used with a specific meaning (i.e., to denote a specific group).

▪ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ “the twelve” (apostles)

4) The ordinal numbers are treated as adjectives.

▪ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ

▪ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ - ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ

They may be used in the construct state, with the meaning “x-fold”.

⁷ The form without *yod* is preserved in a limited number of expressions, such as ܐܘܟܐ (also written as ܐܘܟܐ) “together, at the same time”, and ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ (also written as ܐܘܟܐ ܘܟܐ) “as much as”.

- وَحَتَدٌ تَرْفِئًا “fourfold in wings, with four wings”
- 5) An alternative construction for the ordinal number is d- followed by the cardinal number.
- وَمَعَا وَالْأَكْثَرُ “third chapter” (or: “chapter three”)
- 6) The formation *qutlā* means “a x-th part”
- الْأَوْثُلُ “one third” – وَوَحْدًا “a quarter”, etc.
- 7) Examples of cardinal numbers:
- 21 (masc.) اِثْنَيْ عَشَرَ مِائَةً
 - 386 (f.) اَلْأَلْفُ مِئَةُ ثَمَانِيْنَ وَاِسْتِثْنَاءً
 - 4000 اَرْبَعُونَ اَلْفًا
 - 7,337 سَبْعُونَ اَلْفًا وَثَلَاثِ مِئَةً وَثَلَاثِيْنَ

	masc.	fem.	ordinal
1.	مَب	مَبَا	مَبْرُحُنَا
2.	أَوْح	أَوْحَا	أَوْحُنَا
3.	أَكْبَا	أَكْبَا	أَكْبَانَا
4.	أَوْحْنَا	أَوْحْنَا	وَحْنُنَا
5.	تَصَعْنَا	تَصَعْنَا	تَصَعْنُنَا
6.	أَعْدَا or عَدَا	عَدَا	عَدَانَا
7.	مَحْنَا	مَحْنَا	مَحْنُنَا
8.	أَصْنَا	أَصْنَا	أَصْنُنَا
9.	أَعْدَا	أَعْدَا	أَعْدَانَا
10.	تَصَعْنَا	تَصَعْنَا	تَصَعْنُنَا
11.	مَبْرُحِنَا	مَبْرُحِنَا or مَبْرُحِنَا	
12.	أَوْحِنَا	أَوْحِنَا or أَوْحِنَا	
13.	أَكْبِنَا	أَكْبِنَا or أَكْبِنَا	
14.	أَوْحِنَا or أَوْحِنَا	أَوْحِنَا or أَوْحِنَا	
15.	تَصَعِنَا or تَصَعِنَا	تَصَعِنَا or تَصَعِنَا	
16.	عَدَانَا	عَدَانَا or عَدَانَا	
17.	مَحْنُنَا or مَحْنُنَا	مَحْنُنَا or مَحْنُنَا	
18.	أَصْنُنَا or أَصْنُنَا	أَصْنُنَا or أَصْنُنَا	
19.	أَعْدَانَا or أَعْدَانَا	أَعْدَانَا or أَعْدَانَا	
20.	تَصَعْنُنَا		
30.	أَجَلَانَا		
40.	أَوْحَانَا		
50.	تَصَعَانَا		
60.	أَعْدَانَا or عَدَانَا		
70.	مَحْنَانَا		
80.	أَصْنَانَا or أَصْنَانَا		
90.	أَعْدَانَا		
100.	مُئَلَا		
200.	مِئَلَانَا		
300.	أَجَلَانَا		
1000.	أَلْفَا , plur. أَلْفَانَا		
10.000	عَشْرَانَا , plur. عَشْرَانَا		

C.5. Verbs

C.5.1. Root consonants

The basic form of the verb mostly consists of three root consonants, which determine the meaning of the verb. Verbal roots consisting of two or four consonants to a large extent have been incorporated into the triconsonantal pattern.

C.5.2. Stem formations

Syriac has three stem formations of the active type and three corresponding formations of the passive/reflexive type. A fourth formation, originally found only in loan words from Akkadian, is restricted to a small group of verbs. To each of the formations belongs a specific vowel or syllabic pattern.

(p ^c al)	<i>ktab</i>	ܟܬܒ	(^c etp ^c el)	<i>'etk_teb</i>	ܐܝܬܟܬܒ
(pa ^{cc} el)	<i>katteb</i>	ܟܬܒܐ	(^c etpa ^{cc} al)	<i>'etkattab</i>	ܐܝܬܟܬܒܐ
(^c af ^c el)	<i>'akteb</i>	ܐܝܬܟܬܒ	(^c ettaf ^c al)	<i>'ettaktab</i>	ܐܝܬܟܬܒܐ
[(šaf ^c el)	<i>ša^cbed</i>	ܫܘܒܐ	(^c eštaf ^c al)	<i>'eštabad</i>	ܐܝܬܫܘܒܐ]

The *'ettaf^cal* form originates from **'et'af^cal*; it is always written with double *-tt-*.

C.5.3. Tenses and moods

Syriac has the following tenses and moods:

- perfect (past tense or perfect)
- imperfect (future or optative)
- imperative (command)
- infinitive
- participle (often used for the present tense)

C.5.4. Conjugation of the strong verb

The perfect form is conjugated with the help of endings, the imperfect with the help of a combination of preformatives and endings. The infinitive takes a preformative in all stem formations; the participle takes a preformative in all stem formations except the *p^cal*. Both the infinitive and the participle in some forms show nominal endings.

The perfect of the strong verb is attested in two patterns: *ktab* (mainly used for transitive verbs) and *d_hel* (mainly used for intransitive verbs). These patterns have a different vowel in the imperfect as well: *nek_tob* and *ned_hal* respectively. The endings and preformatives are the same in both cases.

The conjugation of the perfect, the imperfect, and the imperative is given here.

PERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	-	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
		f.	-at	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
	2.	m.	-t	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
		f.	-t(y)	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
		1.	-et	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
Plur.	3.	m.	-(w)	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
		f.	- or -(y)	بَدَا or بَدَا	وَبَدَا or وَبَدَا
	2.	m.	-ton	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
		f.	-tēn	بَدَا	وَبَدَا
	1.		-n or -nan	بَدَا or بَدَا	وَبَدَا or وَبَدَا

IMPERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	ne-	بَدَا	بَدَا
		f.	te-	بَدَا	بَدَا
	2.	m.	te-	بَدَا	بَدَا
		f.	te... in	بَدَا	بَدَا
	1.		'e-	بَدَا	بَدَا
Plur.	3.	m.	ne... un	بَدَا	بَدَا
		g.	ne... ān	بَدَا	بَدَا
	2.	m.	te... un	بَدَا	بَدَا
		f.	te... ān	بَدَا	بَدَا
	1.		ne-	بَدَا	بَدَا

IMPERATIVE

The imperative has the same vowel as the imperfect, but has no preformative. In the plural, there are two sets of forms: the one with the original form, the other with an apparently unstressed secondary ending *-on / -ēn*.

Sing.	m.		كَلِمَة	وَمَلِكًا
	f.	(-y)	كَلِمَة	وَمَلِكَة
Plur.	m.	(-w) or -un	كَلِمَات or كَلِمَاتُ	وَمَلِكَة or مَلِكَةٌ
	f.	(-y) or -ēn	كَلِمَات or كَلِمَاتُ	وَمَلِكَات or مَلِكَاتُ

The same preformatives and endings are attached to the forms of the other stem formations. The distinction between the transitive (*a/o*) and intransitive (*e/a*) patterns does not exist for the other stem formations. The following basic patterns are always maintained. Note, however, the reduction of the vowel of the preformative whenever it is in an open syllable, i.e., when it is followed by a consonant with a vowel.

- PA^{cc}EL
 - (-)katteb(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-)kattb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'AF^cEL
 - (-')akte**b**(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')aktb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- ŠAF^cEL
 - (-)ša^cbed(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-)ša^cbd(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'ETP^cEL
 - (-')etkt**e**b(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')etkt**b**(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'ETPA^{cc}AL
 - (-')etkatt**a**b(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')etkatt**b**(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'ETTAF^cAL
 - (-')ettakt**a**b(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')ettakt**b**(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'EŠTAF^cAL
 - (-')ešta^cbad(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-)šta^cbd(-) with ending beginning with vowel

The forms of the participle and the infinitive need to be studied separately. In addition to the general vocalic and syllabic patterns belonging to the individual stem formations (which show some peculiarities), they have in some cases a preformative (*m-*) or an ending.

PARTICIPLE

	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^cel</i>	<i>'af el</i>
Act. m.	فَاعِلٌ - فَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ
f.	فَاعِلَةٌ - فَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ
Pass. m.	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ
f.	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ

	<i>'etp^cel</i>	<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	<i>'ettaf al</i>
m.	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ
f.	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ - مُفَاعِلَةٌ

INFINITIVE

<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af el</i>
مُفَاعِلٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ
<i>'etp^cel</i>	<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	<i>'ettaf al</i>
مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ	مُفَاعِلَةٌ

C.6. Additional remarks on the verbal conjugation: special categories of verbs

C.6.1. Verbs with a guttural (ء , هـ , حـ) or ة as third consonant

These consonants (in some grammars called “glotto-pharyngeal”) have the tendency to affect the surrounding vowels by giving them a more backward pronunciation – see B.5. In Syriac this influence is limited to the preceding vowel. In some cases, *'ālaf* too behaves like a guttural – see C.6.3.

a) Whenever the third consonant closes the syllable, the preceding *e* always shifts to *a*. Some examples are given

- *p^cal*, active participle, sing. masc. فَاعِلٌ , مُفَاعِلٌ

- *pa^cel*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **بَيَّضَ**
- *pa^cel*, active participle, sing. masc. **صَبِيحٌ**
- *'etp^cel*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **بَيَّضْتُ**

b) Occasionally preceding *o* shifts to *a*, creating an alternative verbal form.

- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **تَعَلَّمَ** and **تَعَلَّمَد** as well as **تَبَّكَّ** and **تَبَّحَفَد**

C.6.2. Verbs with ^ʔ*ālaf* as second consonant

Being a weak consonant, ^ʔ*ālaf* (originally a glottal stop) only in some instances retains its consonantal value. It should be noted that ^ʔ*ālaf* never is followed by *schwa*. The latter always turns into a full vowel (normally *e*) – see B.4.3.

a) When followed by a full vowel, ^ʔ*ālaf* is dropped in the pronunciation and throws its vowel on the preceding consonant – see B.6. E.g.

- *p^cal*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc., *š^ʔ*el* > š(ʔ)*el*: **شَلَا**
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc., *neš^ʔ*al* > neš(ʔ)*al*: **نَعَلَا**
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. plur. masc., *neš^ʔ*elun* > neš(ʔ)*elun*: **نَعَلَفُوْا**

b) When it closes a syllable, ^ʔ*ālaf* is not pronounced. E.g.

- *p^cal*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. fem., *š^ʔ*el* > š(ʔ)*el*: **شَلَا**

c) When placed between two vowels, ^ʔ*ālaf* behaves like a consonant. E.g.

- *p^cal*, participle, sing. masc., š^ʔ*el*: **شَلَا**

d) Likewise, in *pa^{cc}el* and *'etpa^{cc}al*, where paradigmatically the middle consonant is doubled, ^ʔ*ālaf* behaves like a consonant. The conjugation here is in full agreement with that of the strong verb. E.g.

- *pa^{cc}el*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. and fem.: **شَلَا** and **شَلَا**
- *'etpa^{cc}al*, infinitive: **صَعِدْ اِلَى**

C.6.3. Verbs with ^ʔ*ālaf* as third consonant

Most of the verbs which originally had ^ʔ*ālaf* as third root consonant have merged into the category of verbs with a weak third consonant (either *waw*, *yod*, or ^ʔ*ālaf*). These will be discussed under C.6.7.

A very small number of verbs, mainly in the *pa^{cc}el* forms, have followed a different development, in that ^ʔ*ālaf* has retained its value as a consonant. Whenever ^ʔ*ālaf* closes the syllable, it has on the preceding vowel the same effect as the other gutturals (see 6.3.1), i.e., it changes *e* to *a*. However, when ^ʔ*ālaf* originally has a full vowel, it is not pronounced and throws its vowel on the preceding consonant (see B.6).

A full conjugation is found only for the verb **كَلَا** “to console”.

The perfect is as follows.

Sing. 3.	m.	<i>bayyaʿ > bayya(ʿ)</i>	كَبَّرَ
	f.	<i>*bayyʿʿat > bayy(ʿ)at</i>	كَبَّرَاتِ
2.	m.	<i>*bayyaʿt > bayya(ʿ)t</i>	كَبَّرَاتِ
	f.	<i>*bayyaʿt(y) > bayya(ʿ)t(y)</i>	كَبَّرَاتِ
1.		<i>*bayyʿʿet > bayy(ʿ)et</i>	كَبَّرَاتِ
Plur. 3.	m.	<i>bayyaʿ(w) > bayya(ʿw)</i>	كَبَّرَاهُ
	f.	<i>bayyaʿ > bayya(ʿ)</i>	كَبَّرَاتِ (or كَبَّرَاتِ)
2.	m.	<i>bayyaʿton > bayya(ʿ)ton</i>	كَبَّرَاتِهِ
	f.	<i>bayyaʿtēn > bayya(ʿ)tēn</i>	كَبَّرَاتِي
1.		<i>bayyaʿn > bayya(ʿ)n</i>	كَبَّرَاتِي
Imperfect:			كَبَّرُ , كَبَّرِي , كَبَّرِي , etc.
Imperative:			كَبَّرِ etc.
Participle:			كَبَّرٌ etc.
Infinitive :			كَبَّرَاتُ

In addition to the full conjugation of the verb كَبَّرَ , the same peculiarities are found in some isolated forms, e.g., of the verb كَبَّرَ “to defile”.

C.6.4. Verbs with *nun* as first consonant

a) When a preformative puts a full vowel immediately before the *nun*, the latter is completely assimilated to the following consonant. The result is a doubled second consonant, in which the *nun* is no longer expressed in writing.

Examples are given of the verbs نَفَمَ “to go out” and نَسَا “to descend”.

▪ <i>p^ʿal</i> , imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc.	<i>*nenpoq > neppoq</i>	نَفَمَ
	<i>*nenhot > nehhot</i>	نَسَا
▪ <i>p^ʿal</i> , infinitive	<i>*menpaq > meppaq</i>	نَفَمَ
	<i>*menhat > mehhat</i>	نَسَا
▪ <i>'af^ʿel</i> , perfect, 3rd pers. sing. fem.	<i>*'anp^ʿqat > 'app^ʿqat</i>	نَفَمَتْ
	<i>*'anh^ʿtat > 'ahh^ʿtat</i>	نَسَاتِ
▪ <i>'ettaf^ʿal</i> , perfect, 3rd pers. sing. fem.	<i>*'ettanp^ʿqat > 'ettapp^ʿqat</i>	نَفَمَتْ

- b) An exception is constituted by those verbs whose second consonant is *hê*. No assimilation takes place here.
- أَشْرَسَ “shine” – *'af'el* أَشْرَسَ
- c) The imperative shows no *nun* at all. As is the case for the strong verb, the imperative is identical to the imperfect form deprived of its preformative. E.g.
- اُخْرَجْ “Go out!”
 - اُنْزِلْ “Come down!”
- Exceptionally, a few imperative forms retain *nun*.
- اُحْبَسْ “Bite!”
- d) The vocalic pattern of the strong verb *p^cal* (*a – o* for transitive verbs and *e – a* for intransitive verbs) does not apply to this category of verbs. Most of the verbs with *nun* as first consonant are *a – o*, irrespective of their being transitive or intransitive. Some other patterns are:
- *a – a* أَخَذَ - أَتَّخَذَ “to take”
 أَفْعَدَ - أَتَّفَعَدَ “to blow”
 - *a – e* أَخَذَ - أَتَّخَذَ “to draw”
 أَفْعَلَ - أَتَّفَعَّلَ “to fall”
 - *e – a* أَتَّصَفَّحَ - أَتَّصَفَّحَ “to adhere”
 - *e – o* أَسْفَلَ - أَسْفَلَ “to descend”
- e) The verbal root *ntl* “to give” (comp. Hebrew נתן) is used only in the *p^cal* imperfect and infinitive, to complete the conjugation of the defective verb أَتَّعَدَ .
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **netel* > *nettēl* أَتَّعَدَ
 - *p^cal*, infinitive **mental* > *mettal* أَتَّعَدُ

C.6.5. Verbs with *'ālaf* as first consonant

- a) In those instances where, following the conjugation of the strong verb, the first consonant is expected to have *schwa*, we here find a full vowel. In most cases this is *e*. In the *p^cal* passive participle, however, and in certain imperative forms (see under c) the vowel is *a*. E.g.
- أَعْمِنُ – passive participle أَعْمِنُ
 - أَعْمَلُ – passive participle أَعْمَلُ
- b) When the *'ālaf* is preceded by a vowelless consonant, it is dropped in the pronunciation and it throws its vowel on the preceding consonant (see B.6). E.g.
- *'etp^cel*: أَتَّعَدُ
 - *pa^{cc}el*, imperfect: تَأْتِرُ

Notes:

1. A different development can be witnessed in the *'etp^cel* form of the verb أَتَّعَدُ “to hold”, in which the *'ālaf* is assimilated completely to the *-t-*, which becomes doubled. The resulting

form is ܐܠܡܒܐ, sometimes written as ܐܠܡܒܐ. Similar forms are occasionally found for other verbs.

2. In the verb *'allep* “to teach” (a *pa^{cc}el* form corresponding to the *p^cal* form ܐܠܦܐ, from **y^clep* “to teach”), *ʿālaf*, whenever preceded by a vowelless consonant, is dropped not only in pronunciation, but also in writing. E.g.

- *pa^{cc}el*, imperfect: ܠܦܐ
- *pa^{cc}el*, active participle: ܠܦܐܢܐ (from which the nouns ܡܠܦܢܐ “teacher” and ܡܠܦܢܐܐ “teaching, doctrine” are derived)

3. The first person of the *pa^{cc}el* imperfect is ܠܦܐܢܐ (< **'e'alles*)

c) In the *p^cal* imperfect the vowel of the preformative merges with *ʿālaf*. The result is *-ê-*. This *ê*, however, has a different color according to the vowel of the second consonant. When the vowel of the second consonant is *a*, the preformative has long *e* (leading to West-Syriac *i*); When the vowel is *o*, the preformative has *e* (remaining *ē* in both West and East-Syriac). The difference in the color of the vowel is also visible in the imperative forms. E.g.

- *'emar – nēmar* ܝܡܪܐ ; imperative: ܝܡܪܐ
- *'ekal – nēkol* ܝܚܠܐ ; imperative ܝܚܠܐ

d) In the *'af^cel* and *'ettaf^cal* most verbs have *-aw*, i.e., *w* takes the place of the first consonant (compare the *'af^cel* of the verbs with *yod* as first consonant, see C.6.6.c). E.g.

- *'ekal – ܝܚܠܐ*
- *'ehad – ܝܗܒܐ*

A small number of verbs have *yod* instead of *waw*. This is the case for ܝܠܐ “to come”, whose *'af^cel* is ܝܠܐܢܐ (comp. Biblical Aramaic ܝܠܐܢܐ).

A remnant of the same type is found in the old *haf^cel* form ܝܡܢܐ “to believe” (of the root *'mn*, which is no longer in use as a verbal root in Syriac). It should be regarded as four-consonant root.

e) The verb ܝܠܐ “to go” (imperfect ܝܠܐܢܐ) has an irregular imperative: ܝܠܐ. Another irregularity is that throughout the conjugation whenever the *zain* is vowelless, the following *lāmad* is assimilated to the preceding *zain* in the pronunciation, whereby the – now doubled – *zain* takes the vowel of the *lāmad*. The orthography, however, reflects the original situation, unaffected by the assimilation, except that the *lāmad* normally takes the *mbaṭṭlānā*. E.g.

- *p^cal*, perfect, 1st pers. sing., **'ezlet* > *'ezzet*: ܝܠܐܢܐ
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. plur., **nēzlun* > *nēzzun*: ܝܠܐܢܐܢܐ

C.6.6. Verbs with *yod* as first consonant

a) In those instances where, following the conjugation of the strong verb, the first consonant is expected to have *schwa*, we here find *i* (see B.4.4). This *i* may be written with preceding *ʿālaf* (as initial glottal stop). It is never pronounced *yi*. E.g.

- ܘܢܝܢܐ “to know”; ܘܢܝܒܐ “to give birth”; ܘܢܝܕܐ “to sit down”; ܘܢܝܠܐ “to inherit”; ܘܢܝܡܐ “to dry up”

As can be seen from these examples, the vowel of the perfect is mostly *e*, except when original **e* has become *a* as a result of assimilation to a following guttural.

In *pa^{cc}el* and *'etpa^{cc}al*, where *yod* always has a full vowel (*a*), the conjugation of these verbs does not show any irregularity.

- b) In the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive of the *p^cal*, there are two different formations.
- The two ancient roots *ydf* and *ytb* appear to lose the *yod* and to develop a form with doubled second consonant (not unlike the verbs with *nun* as first consonant).

- *nedda^c* ܢܝܕܢܐ – imperative: ܢܝܕ – infinitive: ܢܝܕܢܐ
- *netteb* ܢܝܒܢܐ – imperative: ܢܝܒ – infinitive: ܢܝܒܢܐ

- In the imperfect of the other verbs, the vowel of the preformative merges with the *yod*. The result is *ê* (leading to West-Syriac *i*).

- *nēlad* ܢܝܠܐܒܐ – imperative: ܢܝܠܐܒ – infinitive: ܢܝܠܐܒܐ

- c) In the *'af^eel* and *'ettaf^aal*, *yod* is not maintained as root consonant. Instead, we find *w*, which in some cases is the original root consonant and which in other cases is adopted by analogy. E.g.

- ܘܘܐܘܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ
- ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐܘܐ (comp. Arabic ولد)

A small number of verbs occasionally show forms with *yod*. E.g.

- ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ “to suck” – *'af^eel*: ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ and ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ “to suckle”
- ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ “to lament”

- d) The irregular verb ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ “to give” loses the *hê* in the pronunciation whenever it has the full vowel *a*. The *hê* takes the *mbattlânâ* and throws its vowel on the preceding *yod*. E.g.

- **y^ehab* > *y(h)ab*: ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ – similarly: ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ
- but: ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ

The imperative is ܘܘܐܘܘܐ , ܘܘܐܘܘܐ etc.; the participles are ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ (active) and ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ (passive).

There is no imperfect form of this root; instead the root *ntl* is used, see C.6.4.e.

For the infinitive, both ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ and (less frequently) ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ are found.

The *'etp^eel* is regular: ܘܘܐܘܘܐܘܐ etc.

C.6.7. Verbs with a weak third consonant

While historically the original third consonant may have been *ʿālaf*, *waw*, or *yod*, in Syriac the three types of verbs have merged into one category. Many forms show *yod* as the third root consonant.

- a) In the perfect of *p^cal*, there is a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. The former's conjugation is based on the *-ā* vowel (وُكَل "to throw"), the latter on *-ī* (سَبَّحُ "to rejoice"). The *-ā* type has become the dominant one. A number of intransitive verbs have shifted from the *-ī* to the *-ā* type or have the two forms along each other (e.g. سَبَّحُ and سَبَّحُ ; كَلَّعُ and كَلَّعُ "to swear").

PERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	وُكَل	سَبَّحُ
		f.	وُكَلِ	سَبَّحِي
	2.	m.	وُكَلَا	سَبَّحَا
		f.	وُكَلَام	سَبَّحَام
1.		وُكَلِي	سَبَّحِي	
Plur.	3.	m.	وُكَلَهُ	سَبَّحَهُ
		f.	وُكَلَتْ	سَبَّحَتْ
	2.	m.	وُكَلَانِ	سَبَّحَانِ
		f.	وُكَلَائِي	سَبَّحَائِي
	1.		وُكَلَيْ (وَكَلَيْ)	سَبَّحَيْ (سَبَّحَيْ)

For the third person plural longer forms may be used: وُكَلَاهُ (sometimes written as وُكَلَاهُ) and وُكَلَيْ.

Note the hard pronunciation of the end *-t* in the second person singular and plural (m. and f.) in contrast to the soft pronunciation in the first pers. sing. (and third pers. sing. f.).

- b) The perfect conjugation of all the other stems has *-i* and follows the model of the intransitive *p^cal* conjugation. Here follows the third person m. and f. for each of the other stem formations.

<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	وُكَلَتْ	وُكَلَتْ
<i>'af^cel</i>	وُكَلَتْ	وُكَلَتْ
<i>'etp^cel</i>	وُكَلَتْ	وُكَلَتْ
<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	وُكَلَتْ	وُكَلَتْ
<i>'ettaf^aal</i>	وُكَلَتْ	وُكَلَتْ

c) The singular masculine forms of imperfect and participles end in *-ē*. In combination with following *-im* the ending is *-on*; with *-in* it is *-ēn*. Before another vowel the third consonant manifests itself as *-y-*. The *p^cal* infinitive ends in *-ā*; all other infinitive forms have *-āyu*.

IMPERFECT (*p^cal* and *'etp^cel*)

Sing.	3.	m.	تَصَلِّ	تَصَلِّوْا
		f.	تَصَلِّی	تَصَلِّیوْا
	2.	m.	تَصَلِّی	تَصَلِّیوْا
		f.	تَصَلِّی	تَصَلِّیوْا
Plur.	3.	m.	تَصَلِّوْا	تَصَلِّوْا
		f.	تَصَلِّی	تَصَلِّیوْا
	2.	m.	تَصَلِّوْا	تَصَلِّوْا
		f.	تَصَلِّی	تَصَلِّیوْا
	1.		تَصَلِّوْا	تَصَلِّوْا

PARTICIPLE

	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af^cel</i>
Act. m.	وَصَلِّ - وَصَلِّوْا	مَصَلِّ - مَصَلِّوْا	مَصَلِّ - مَصَلِّوْا
f.	وَصَلِّی - وَصَلِّیوْا	مَصَلِّی - مَصَلِّیوْا	مَصَلِّی - مَصَلِّیوْا
Pass. m.	وَصَلِّ - وَصَلِّوْا	مَصَلِّ - مَصَلِّوْا	مَصَلِّ - مَصَلِّوْا
f.	وَصَلِّی - وَصَلِّیوْا	مَصَلِّی - مَصَلِّیوْا	مَصَلِّی - مَصَلِّیوْا
	<i>'etp^cel</i>		<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>
	m.	مَصَلِّوْا - مَصَلِّوْا	مَصَلِّوْا - مَصَلِّوْا
	f.	مَصَلِّیوْا - مَصَلِّیوْا	مَصَلِّیوْا - مَصَلِّیوْا

Note that the emphatic state of the plural masculine has the *-ayyā* ending, in which the third root consonant has been absorbed: *وَصَلِّوْا* and *مَصَلِّوْا*.

INFINITIVE

<i>p^cal</i>	مَدَّ مَدًّا
<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	مَدَّ مَدَّةً
<i>'af^cel</i>	مَدَّ مَدَّةً
<i>'etp^cel</i>	مَدَّ مَدَّةً
<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	مَدَّ مَدَّةً
<i>'ettaf^aal</i>	مَدَّ مَدَّةً

Yod is present in all forms, except in *p^cal*. The forms are identical to those of the strong verb.

d) The imperative has different endings.

IMPERATIVE

	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af^cel</i>	<i>'etp^cel</i>	<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>
Sing. m.	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ
f.	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ
Plur. m.	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ
f.	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ	وَمَدَّ

Notes:

- A very few verbs have preserved a different imperative form of the *p^cal*, which originally belonged to the intransitive verbs, e.g., مَدَّ “swear!” and مَدَّ (with prothetic *ʾālaf*) “drink!”.
- For the masculine plural, longer forms occasionally may be found which are identical to the longer forms of the perfect, third pers. plural: مَدَّ (sometimes written as مَدَّ). For the feminine plural the longer forms are the only ones to be found.
- For the *'etp^cel*, secondary imperative forms have been developed after the model of the strong verb: مَدَّ (in East-Syriac often written as مَدَّ); مَدَّ “turn yourself!” (in West-Syriac sometimes written as مَدَّ).

C.6.8. Verbs with *waw* or *yod* as second consonant

Although originally distinct from each other, the two types of verbs have merged into one category. In *pa^cel* and *'etpa^cal* the second consonant shows itself as *yod* and in these forms the conjugation follows that of the strong verb. In most forms of the other stem formations a long vowel replaces the second consonant: *ā*, *u*, or (most commonly) *i*.

- a) In the *p^cal* perfect the vowel *ā* is found throughout. Only in the verb **مَاتَ** “to die” the vowel is *i*. The conjugation is as follows.

PERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	مَاتَ	مَاتَ
		f.	مَاتَتْ	مَاتَتْ
	2.	m.	مَاتَ	مَاتَ
		f.	مَاتَتْ	مَاتَتْ
1.		مَاتَ	مَاتَ	
Plur.	3.	m.	مَاتُوا	مَاتُوا
		f.	مَاتْنَ	مَاتْنَ
	2.	m.	مَاتُوا	مَاتُوا
		f.	مَاتْنَ	مَاتْنَ
1.		مَاتُوا	مَاتُوا	

- b) In the *p^cal* imperfect the vowel *î* is found throughout. Only in the verb **وَضَعَ** “to place” the vowel is *i*. The imperative has the same vowel as the imperfect. The active participle has *-y-* as the second consonant, which however has shifted to *ʔālaf* in intervocalic position (although in a later phase of the language *yod* was restored in the pronunciation). The passive participle has *i*, whereas the infinitive has *ā*.

IMPERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	وَضَعُ	وَضَعُ
		f.	وَضَعِي	وَضَعِي
	2.	m.	وَضَعُ	وَضَعُ
		f.	وَضَعِي	وَضَعِي
1.		وَضَعُ	وَضَعُ	

Plur.	3.	m.	بَعَثَهُ	بَعَثْتَهُ
		f.	بَعَثْتِهَا	بَعَثْتِهَا
	2.	m.	بَعَثُوهُ	بَعَثُوهُ
		f.	بَعَثُوهُنَّ	بَعَثُوهُنَّ
1.		بَعَثْهُ	بَعَثِيْهُ	

IMPERATIVE

Sing. m.	بَعَثْهُ	بَعَثِيْهُ
f.	بَعَثِيْهِ	بَعَثِيْهِ
Plur. m.	بَعَثُوهُ	بَعَثُوهُ
f.	بَعَثُوهُنَّ	بَعَثُوهُنَّ

PARTICIPLE

Act. m.	بَاعِطٌ	-	بَاعِطٌ
f.	بَاعِطَةٌ	-	بَاعِطَةٌ
Pass. m.	بَاعِطٌ	-	بَاعِطٌ
f.	بَاعِطَةٌ	-	بَاعِطَةٌ

INFINITIVE: مَعِطٌ

c) The 'af^{el} conjugation has *i* in the perfect, imperfect, and active participle. The passive participle and the infinitive have *â*. The preformative of imperfect, participle, and infinitive is vowelless, except when it begins with 'ālaf. The 'etp^{el} formation is entirely replaced with the 'ettaf^{al}. E.g.

- {بَعَثَ - بَعَثَ - بَعَثَ} and {بَعَثَ - بَعَثَ - بَعَثَ}
- 'af^{el} active participle: مَعِطٌ and مَعِطٌ
- 'af^{el} passive participle: مَعِطٌ and مَعِطٌ
- 'af^{el} infinitive: مَعِطٌ and مَعِطٌ
- 'ettaf^{al} participle: مَعِطٌ and مَعِطٌ
- 'ettaf^{al} infinitive: مَعِطٌ and مَعِطٌ

In the 'af^{el} third person of the perfect and first person of the imperfect some verbs show hard pronunciation of the first root consonant, while others have the soft pronunciation. E.g.

- {بَعَثَ} "he brought into existence" – {بَعَثَ} "he sent back"

d) In the *pa^cel* and *'etpa^cal* all verbs of this category have -yy- as their doubled middle consonant. Their conjugation follows that of the strong verb. E.g.

▪ اَلصَّيْر - صَيَّرَ

Notes:

- A small number of verbs with *waw* as second consonant are conjugated as strong verbs, i.e., the *waw* is always treated as a consonant. E.g,

▪ نَهَرَ; “to exult” – imperfect: نَهْرٌ

▪ نَهَمَ; “to be large” – imperfect: نَهْمٌ

▪ نَكَّأَ (only *'af^cel*) “to put together” – imperfect: نَكَّأُ

- The verb اَلْفَيْفُ (an *'af^cel* form based on the root *p-y-s*, distilled from the Greek πῆσαι) has the passive form (*'ettaf^cal*) اَلْفَيْفُ , in which the emphatic -t- most likely is to be explained as the result of an assimilation to the Greek π, the sound of which must have been different from the hard *pê*.

C.6.9. Verbs with identical second and third consonants

In a number of forms of the conjugation of these verbs, the second consonant is doubled (and written only once). In those forms which have a preformative it is the first consonant that is doubled (as if we were dealing with a verb with *nun* as first consonant). In other forms, there is no doubling at all. The perfect of these verbs always has *a*, the imperfect has *o* or *a*.

a) *p^cal*, perfect and imperfect of حَرَّ (root: *bzz*) “to plunder”

Sing.	3.	m.	حَرَّ	حَرَّرَ
		f.	حَرَّبَا	حَرَّرَا
	2.	m.	حَرَّأَا	حَرَّرَا
		f.	حَرَّأَا	حَرَّرَا
Plur.	1.		حَرَّبَا	حَرَّرَا
	3.	m.	حَرَّوْهُ	حَرَّرُوْهُ
		f.	حَرَّوْهُنَّ	حَرَّرُوْهُنَّ
	2.	m.	حَرَّوْهُ	حَرَّرُوْهُ
	f.	حَرَّوْهُنَّ	حَرَّرُوْهُنَّ	
	1.		حَرَّوْهُ	حَرَّرُوْهُ

The imperative is: حَرِّ etc.

The second consonant is doubled only when it is between two vowels, i.e., in the third person fem. and first person of the singular. In all other instances it is not doubled and has, in cases of *b-g-d-k-p-t*, the soft pronunciation. E.g.

- فَجَدَهُ - فَجِهَ - فَجِرَ “to break” (trans.)

b) The active participle *p^{al}* in the singular masculine form follows the pattern of the verbs with *waw* or *yod* as second consonant. However, whenever there is an ending, the middle consonant (which now stands in intervocalic position) is doubled. The passive participle is identical to that of the strong verb.

Act. m.	كُتِبَ - كُتِبَ
f.	كُتِبَتْ - كُتِبَتْ
Pass. m.	كُتِبَ - كُتِبَ
f.	كُتِبَتْ - كُتِبَتْ

In the orthography of some verbs, *ʾālaf* is maintained in the plural forms of the active participle, along with the doubling of the second consonant. E.g.

- (root *ʿll* “to enter”) كُتِبَ plural: كُتِبَ (*ʿāllin*)
- (root *rgg* “to desire”) كُتِبَ plural: كُتِبَ (*rāggin*)

c) The *ʾaf^{el}* shows doubling of the first consonant throughout.

- perfect: كُتِبَ
- imperfect: كُتِبَ
- imperative: كُتِبَ
- infinitive: كُتِبَ

d) The *ʾetp^{el}* of these verbs follows the pattern of the strong verb, although the consonant is written only once when the second and third consonants are in direct contact. *Pa^{cc}el* and *ʾetpa^{cc}al* are entirely regular. E.g.

- *ʾetp^{el}*: كُتِبَ - كُتِبَ
- *pa^{cc}el*: كُتِبَ - كُتِبَ
- *ʾetpa^{cc}al*: كُتِبَ - كُتِبَ

C.6.10. Verbs with more than three consonants

Either as a result of an expansion of an originally triconsonantal verbal root or as a formation derived from nouns, some verbs have four (or very exceptionally five) root consonants. These verbs follow the pattern of the *pa^{cc}el* and *ʾetpa^{cc}al* conjugation which, due to the doubling of the middle consonant has four consonants. The main categories of verbs with four consonants are listed here.

a) Some verbs may take the preformative *ša-* (a remnant of the Akkadian *šaf^cel*, borrowed at an early stage of the history of the Aramaic language – compare שָׁלַל and similar verbs in Biblical Aramaic). E.g.

- (root *bd* “to make, to do”) **שָׁבַד** “to subdue”
passive: **שָׁבַדְתָּ**
- (root *mlp* “to fill”) **שָׁמַל** “to fulfill”
passive: **שָׁמַלְתָּ**
- (root *yd* “to know”) **שָׁוַד** “to indicate”
passive: **שָׁוַדְתָּ**

Note: for the verb **שָׁמַע** “to believe” as an ancient *haf^cel*, see C.6.5.d.

b) Some verbs are built on a doubled biconsonantal root. E.g.

- (root *rg* “to desire” – compare the triconsonantal root *rgg*)
שָׁרַג “to provoke a desire”
passive: **שָׁרַגְתָּ**
- (root *rm* “to be high” – compare the triconsonantal root *rwm*)
שָׁרַמ “to exalt”
passive: **שָׁרַמְתָּ**

c) Verbs derived from nouns. E.g.

- (**תַּלְמִיד** “pupil”) **שָׁלַח** “to teach”
passive: **שָׁלַחְתָּ**
- (**דִּמּוֹן** “demon” + *n*) **שָׁלַח** “to be possessed by a demon”
- (**זָר** “stranger”) **שָׁלַח** “to be estranged”
- (**אִישׁ** “man”) **שָׁלַח** “to become man” (in the text of the Creed)

d) Some verbs have an infix (the relationship to the original root is not always clear). E.g.

- (*y*) **שָׁחַח** “to tolerate”
- (*m*) **שָׁחַח** “to hold fast”

e) Some verbs are based on Greek words, from which sometimes four or more consonants have been distilled to serve as root consonants. E.g.

- (κατήγορος “accuser”) **שָׁחַח** “to accuse” (metathesis)
passive: **שָׁחַחְתָּ**
- (κυβερνήτης “steersman”) **שָׁחַח** “to be steersman”

C.6.11. Irregular verbs

a) **שָׁחַח** “to find, to be able” is conjugated as an *af^cel* with irregular *e-* in its preformative. Imperfect: **שָׁחַחְתָּ**, infinitive: **שָׁחַחְתָּ**, participle: **שָׁחַחְתָּ**. The passive participle, however, is **שָׁחַחְתָּ**. The passive conjugation is of the *etp^cel* type (not *ettaf^cal*): **שָׁחַחְתָּ** etc.

- b) جاء “to come”. The *'af'el* and *'ettaf'al* are: جاء and جاءوا (see C.6.5.d). In the *p'al* imperative the initial *'alaf* is dropped and the ending is irregular: جاء , جاء , جاء , جاء (or جاء).
- c) ذهب “to go” also loses the initial *'alaf* in the *p'al* imperative: ذهب etc. In addition, the *lāmad* is in the pronunciation assimilated to the preceding *zain* when it is vowelless. See C.6.5.c.
- d) صعد “to go up”. The *lāmad* is fully assimilated to the preceding *semkat* when this is vowelless. The *lāmad* is no longer written. E.g.
- *p'al* imperfect: صعد ; imperative: صعد ; infinitive: صعد
 - *'af'el*: صعد , صعد etc.
- e) عَد “to give”. See C.6.6.d.
- f) سَل “to live”. The *p'al* perfect and imperative are regular. In the imperfect and infinitive, however, the *-y-* is dropped and the first consonant is doubled: سَل (*nehḥē* – sometimes written سَل), سَل (*tehḥē*) etc.; infinitive: سَل . The same happens in the *'af'el*: سَل , سَل (or سَل) etc. The *p'al* participle is سَل and سَل (singular), سَل (or سَل) and سَل (plural).
- g) هَو “to become, to be” has a fully regular conjugation. In addition to its use as an independent verb, it serves as a past tense marker after participles, adjectives etc. In the latter position it leans on the preceding form and loses the initial *hē* in the pronunciation (which normally takes the *linea occultans*).
- In the *p'al* imperfect sometimes alternative forms are found without *-w-*: هَو , هَو (instead of the more common هَو , هَو) etc.

C.7. The conjugation of verbs with pronominal suffixes

In addition to the conjugation of the naked verb, there is the conjugation of the verb with pronominal suffixes. The latter cannot be derived simply from the former, for it is the result of an independent historical development.

In the verbal form with pronominal suffix, three components can be distinguished:

- 1) the verbal form (with its ending, preformative, and distinct vowels);
- 2) the form of the pronominal suffix;
- 3) (in a number of instances) a connecting element, mostly a vowel.

The verbal forms often present a vowel pattern that is different from that of the naked verb. Moreover, before the suffix original verbal endings may have been preserved or may have undergone a different development.

The verbs with a weak third consonant (see C.6.7) present forms that are slightly different from the forms of all the other verbal categories, due to the coalescing, in a number of ways, of the suffix with the final consonant or with the vowel which is substituted for it.

The forms of the pronominal suffixes are as follows. Be it noted that there is no pronominal suffix for the third person plural. Instead, the enclitic form of the independent personal pronoun (which has lost the initial *h-*) is used: هَو (m.) and هَو (f.). See C.1.1 en 2.2.

Sing.	1		*-ni	>	ن -	
	2.	m.	-k		ك -	
		f.	*-ki	>	كي -	
	3.	m.	following consonant	-eh	ه -	
			following vowel	*-hi	>	هي -
		f.	following consonant	-āh		هـ -
		following vowel	-h		هـ -	
Plur.	1		-n		ن -	
	2.	m.	-kon		كن -	
		f.	-kēn		كنن -	

For the suffix of the third person masculine singular, note the following contractions with the preceding vowel: $\bar{a} + *hi > \bar{a}h$ (pronounce $-\bar{a}y$); $i + *hi > ih$ ($-iw$); $\bar{e} + *hi > \bar{e}h$ ($-\bar{e}w$).

In order to illustrate the historical developments, the conjugation of the perfect is given with the pronominal suffix of the first person singular. Following the strong verb (*nšq* “to kiss”) in the *p^cal*, the verb with weak third consonant is given in the the *p^cal* and *pa^{cc}el*. Connecting vowels are non-italicized.

		<i>p^cal</i>	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>
Sing.	3. m.	* <i>našaqáni</i> > <i>našqan(y)</i>	نَشَقْتُ	نَشَقْتُ
	f.	* <i>našaqat-â-ni</i> > <i>nšaqtan(y)</i>	نَشَقْتُ	نَشَقْتُ
	2. m.	* <i>našaqatâni</i> > <i>nšaqtan(y)</i>	نَشَقْتُ	نَشَقْتُ
	f.	* <i>našaqatîni</i> > <i>nšaqtân(y)</i>	نَشَقْتُ	نَشَقْتُ
	1.	---		
Plur.	3. m.	* <i>našaqâni</i> > <i>našqân(y)</i>	نَشَقْنَا	نَشَقْنَا
	f.	* <i>našaqâni</i> > <i>našqân(y)</i>	نَشَقْنَا	نَشَقْنَا
	2. m.	* <i>našaqton-â-ni</i> > <i>nšaqtonân(y)</i>	نَشَقْنَا	نَشَقْنَا
	f.	* <i>našaqton-â-ni</i> > <i>nšaqtonân(y)</i>	نَشَقْنَا	نَشَقْنَا
	1.	---		

D. SELECT TOPICS OF SYNTAX

D.1. The verb: tenses and modes

D.1.A. PERFECT

1. The perfect expresses an event or an act that is situated in the past. As such it is frequently used in narrative texts.
 - $\text{ܐܘܢܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܘܫܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ (Gen. 19:1) “And Lot saw them and rose up, and he prostrated himself on his face on the earth”.
2. Some verbs express a situation in the past. This is true for a number of verbs of the *e* type. Some other verbs have developed a derived meaning which points to a situation. It is not always possible to distinguish between an event (often to be understood as inchoative) and a situation.
 - ܘܫܐܥܐ “he was frightened” or “he became frightened”
 - ܘܫܘܘܐ “he was white” or “he became white”
 - ܘܫܘܠܐ “he settled” > “he lived”
3. Perfect forms sometimes have a present tense meaning, often to be understood as resultative perfect.
 - ܘܫܘܠܐ or ܘܫܘܠܐ “It has become desirable to me” > “I lust”
 - $\text{ܘܫܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ (Gen. 27:46) “I have been saddened in my life” > “I am disgusted”
 - ܘܫܘܠܐ “I have come to know” > “I know” (comp. *εγνων*, *novi* as the past tense of *γινωσκω*, *noscere*).
4. The perfect may be used in both the main clause and the subclause of conditional sentences with non-fulfilled (non-real) condition.
 - $\text{ܘܫܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ (Gen. 43:10) “Had we not lingered, we perhaps would (already) have returned.”
5. The latter usage may explain the use of perfect forms in exclamations, expressing the painful awareness of the absence of a person, thing, state, or event (always accompanied by the particle *dēn*).⁸
 - $\text{ܘܫܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ (Mark 16:3) *τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου*; ‘Who will roll away the stone ...?’ (Greek) – “Oh that somebody rolled away for us the stone from the door of the tomb!”
 - $\text{ܘܫܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ (Deut. 28:67) “Would that it were evening!” (ܘܫܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ)
 - $\text{ܘܫܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ “Would that you were here now!” (Syriac Achiqar)

⁸ See L. Van Rompay, “Oh that I had Wings like a Dove! Some Remarks on Exclamatory Clauses in Syriac” (forthcoming).

6. When used in the subclause, the perfect expresses some sort of temporal or logical anteriority vis-à-vis the verb of the main clause.
- $\text{وَحَبَّ كَه زُحْنَا حُكْمَبِم وَفَب}$ “and he did his wish for him in everything which he had ordered him” (i.e., pluperfect after the main verb in the perfect)
 - $\text{وَيْ لَا رَكْنَه حَتَّ مَعِم اَنَا كَر حَرَه حَم وَنَا}$ “and if you do not reveal (to) me, I will transmit you to the court of justice” (perfect in the conditional clause)
7. For the use of the perfect in conditional sentences with non-fulfilled condition, see under 4.

D.1.B. IMPERFECT

1. In the main clause the imperfect is used to describe an event or an act that is not (yet) a real fact: a) future; b) order (including prohibitive and cohortative); c) possibility (potentialis).

- a) $\text{وَرَّ رَجَّ اِلَهَدَد هَافِصُر}$ “from time to time I will write (to you) and persuade you”
 $\text{مُا وَهَلَمَ كَمَعْنَا اِعْبُو جِر حَسَب مَع اِلْحَقْبَب}$ “When I will have ascended to heaven, I will send you one of my disciples”

Note. For the “pure” future, without any modal coloring (or intentionality), the participle may be used.

- b) $\text{مَعَمْنَا مَلَكَا وَبَعْنُتَا تَسَا اُهَا مَع اِمْنَا}$ “Let Christ the king of Israel descend now from the cross!”
 لَا يَاوَمَا “Don’t be afraid!”
 مَعَمَر مَعْنِي ΣΤΩΜΕΝ ΚΑΛΩΣ Let us stand nicely!”
- c) مَع لَا تَهَو “Who would not be amazed?”

2. In the subclause the imperfect is used after *d-* or a conjunction containing *d-* when the act or event follows chronologically or logically from that of the main clause. This definition covers a wide range of subordinate clauses, from reported clauses to adverbial clauses of purpose.

- $\text{زُحَا اَنَا وَافِصُر}$ “I want to persuade you.”
 - $\text{وَمَعَمَنَد اَنَا وَحَمَا لِاحْتَا مَحَلِمَر وَتَاهُف جِر}$ “and I am offering sacrifices to the gods on your account in order that they may be reconciled to you.”
- The conjunction may occasionally be absent.
- $\text{لَا مَبَد اَنَا اِحَا}$ “I don’t know to build.”

D.1.C. PARTICIPLE

The active participle: *kāteh*

1. The participle, which is a nominal form, has become an integral part of the Syriac verbal conjugation. Formally its relation to the subject is that of a predicate in the nominal clause.
2. The participle expresses the present tense, either a general present or an actual present (“he is writing” vs. “he writes”). It also may be used for the future without modal coloring.

- $\text{وَحَم فَتَاهَا مَب رَحَا نُفَد تَقَا مَحْتَا}$ “and among the Parthians one man takes several wives”

- $\text{لِحَصْنِ سُرَا اِتِه حِيْبِلَا}$ “tomorrow you will see him in the church”
3. When used in subclauses, the participle may express contemporaneity with the main verb.
- $\text{... هَوْبُ نُسَلْمُ مَعْ لِهَوَا فَصْبُ اِنْفِ تَعْفَا ...}$ (Matth. 17:9) “and while (they were) descending from the mountain, Jesus ordered them ...”
4. The participle may express a possibility (potentialis).
- $\text{لِحَصْفِ مُبَلَا اِتِه}$ “Why would you die?”
5. In subclauses the participle is often used where an imperfect form might be expected.
- $\text{... هَمْعَمُ قَتْنَا فَهَيْتِلَا دَبْ مَصْعَدِلِم}$ “and he served many years until he ascended”
 - $\text{... مَحْمَمُ اِتِه مَبْعَا وَلَا اَهَدُ هَدْنِ اِتِه}$ “do you establish an agreement that you will not do (this) again?”
- Here also (comp. B.2) the conjunction may occasionally be absent.
- $\text{... مَحْمَمُه لِهَيْتِلَا اِيَامِ حَد}$ (Mark 10:14: ἄφετε τὰ παιδιά ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με) “Let the children come to me.”

The passive participle: *ktib*

6. The participle of the *ktib* type normally has a perfect and passive meaning. With transitive verbs it expresses a past tense, with a resultative meaning. The agens is expressed with the preposition *l-*.
- $\text{... مَنِعْ جِهْ قَدْرَا}$ “Have you read the books?”
- The same structure may be used with intransitive verbs, where the grammatical subject is lacking.
- $\text{... هَدْرَهْهُلَا لَا فَهَيْدُ حَد}$ “And with sexual intercourse I have had no experience.”
7. Some participles of the *ktib* type have an active meaning and a present tense, particularly with verbs meaning “to take, to hold, to carry”.
- $\text{... حَبَيْتِلَا مَبَا اِحْفَوِيَا اِسْبِ اُنَا}$ “I possess (*lit.* hold) a little town.”
 - $\text{... مَحْمَكَمْ جِهْ اَوْبِقْلَا لَوْبَا}$ “The righteous carry the earth.”
 - $\text{... وَحْنِ اُنَا كَلْمَبَر}$ “I remember everything.”

The other participles

8. For the remaining participles, no general rules concerning their tense expression can be formulated, apart from the fact that the participles of the passive-reflexive conjugations (*met-*) tend to be present or future and that the other passive participles are often past tense.
- $\text{... وَلَا تَمَلْمَعْ قَيْلَا هَجِم ... هَلَا مَحْمَلْمَقِي}$ “... that these words have not been sealed ... and will not be sealed (*or* cannot be sealed)”
 - $\text{... مَبْعَا وَهَيْلَا وَصَمْرُ حَدْ خَمْ مَدْنِ قَمْعِن}$ “the treaty of peace that I have established with our lord the emperor”

The “verbal adjective”: *kattib*

9. A number of intransitive verbs have a *kattib* form which may be used with the meaning of a resultative perfect or of a present tense, e.g., نُفَم “having come forth”, نُت “seated”, وَحْنِب “asleep”. While they are used as predicative nouns in the earlier phase of the language,

in a later period they are used as real perfect forms, with a resultative meaning (often used to translate Greek perfect forms).

- $\text{ܘܦܩܝܘܢܐܢ ܡܥ ܢܢܐܘܘܢܐ ܐܘܡܐܝܢܐ ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܢ ܘܗܘܘܢ ܘܗܘܘܢ}$ (John 11:19) “and many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary” (*εληλύθεισαν*)
- $\text{ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ}$... “... the sheep that had fallen into the pit”

D.1.D. PERFECT + ܗܘܐ

1. In this combination -- as well as in the structures which will be discussed hereafter – *hwā* follows the verbal form as an enclitic (which implies loss of the *h* in pronunciation).
2. There is no clear distinction in meaning between the pure perfect and the perfect form with *hwā*. Although the latter occasionally has the meaning of a pluperfect, this is not always the case. Moreover, the pure perfect as well may serve to express the pluperfect. According to Nöldeke, *hwā* in this combination has become an empty word (“Flickwort”).⁹ R. Duval analyzes perfect + *hwā* as “passé défini”, whereas the pure perfect would stand for the general past (“passé indéfini”).¹⁰ F. Rundgren sees in perfect + *hwā* the renewal of the punctual aspect of the perfect.¹¹ Two examples taken from the “Teaching of Addai” may serve as examples.

- $\text{ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ}$ “they set off and came on the road towards Jerusalem”
- $\text{ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ}$ “they set off and came to Edessa”

D.1.E. IMPERFECT + ܗܘܐ

The enclitic *hwā* serves as a past tense marker, either in the main clause or in the subclause. This combination involving the perfect *hwā* with a verbal form in the imperfect is not very common. In conditional clauses, it may denote, according to Nöldeke, an action frequently repeated.¹²

- $\text{ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ}$ “What should I have done?” (The structure without *hwā* would mean: “What should I do?”)
- $\text{ܘܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ ܗܘܘܘܢ}$ “He gave them life in order that they would move.”

D.1.F. PARTICIPLE + ܗܘܐ

1. While the two preceding structures are found only occasionally, the combination of the participle with *hwā* has been fully integrated into the verbal conjugation.

⁹ T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, 198, no. 263.

¹⁰ R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque* (Paris 1881) 320-321, no. 335.

¹¹ F. Rundgren, *Das altsyrische Verbalsystem. Vom Aspekt zum Tempus* (Ur Språkvätenskapliga Sällskapetets i Uppsala Förhandlingar 1958-1960) 163: “eine Erneuerung des konstativen Aspekts sowie dessen Festlegung auf die *tunc*-Schicht”.

¹² Nöldeke, no. 268A.

2. The active participle (*kāteb*) + *hwā* is used for the durative (or descriptive) aspect in the past, not unlike the Greek or Latin imperfect. The same is mostly true for the participles of the other stem formations.
 - ܘܡܫܟܝܢ ܐܝܫܘܫܘܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “And Jesus went around in all Galilee”
(Matth. 4:23: περιηγεν ...)
3. In combination with the use of the participle for the future (see D.1.C.2), the structure with *hwā* may point to an event which was future in the past.
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “He was going to put Persia to shame (and) to rebuild Shingar”
4. The participle + *hwā* may express a possibility in the past (compare D.1.C.4).
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “I would have wanted” ...”
5. When the passive participle (*ktib*) has a past meaning (see D.1.C.6), the combination with *hwā* normally creates a pluperfect.
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “Hadn’t he read it?”
6. When the passive participle has an active meaning (see D.1.C.7), the combination with *hwā* behaves in the same way as *kāteb (h)wā* (comp. 2).
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “The women were carrying water”
7. In the preceding structures *hwā* has become a sort of auxiliary verb used for the past tense. It always follows the full verb. However, when other verbal functions are implied in the conjugated form of *hwā*, it needs to be placed before the participle and can no longer be regarded as a pure auxiliary verb.
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “... that they may judge”
8. The perfect form of *hwā* may stand before a participle (or an adjective) with a jussive meaning, either in the main clause or in the subclause after verbs meaning “to order” and the like.
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “Know, however, ...”
 - ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “and King Abgar ordered that they all ... should not stay (at night) in their booths ... but should stay on the wall.

Note

This structure is different from the so-called “periphrastic imperative”,¹³ which is found in other Aramaic language forms and in Hebrew and which consists of an imperative of *hwā/hāyāh* followed by a participle (as a substitute for the imperative of the verb). The latter structure is not common in Syriac.

- Ps. 30:11 ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “Be helping me!” – Peshitta: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܫܘܬܐ “Be for me a helper!”

D.1.G. IMPERATIVE

1. There only is one imperative form in Syriac (*ktob / dhal*) without distinction in aspect or tense. The imperative is never used with a negation. For a negative command the imperfect is used.

¹³ See J.C. Greenfield, “The ‘Periphrastic Imperative’ in Aramaic and Hebrew”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969) 199-210.

- لا يَأْمُرُكَ “Do not kill!”
 - لا يَأْوِسُكَ “Do not be afraid!”
2. An alternative expression is the perfect form of *hwā*, in front position, followed by a participle or an adjective (comp. D.1.F). This is found for the second and occasionally for the third person.
- هُوَ سَكِيمٌ “Be healthy! Goodbye!” (used in letters)
 - هُوَ يُدْعَى “Know, however, ...”
 - هُوَ لَا يُجْبِرُ كَهَنَةً “Priests should not compel ...”

D.1.H. INFINITIVE

a) The pure infinitive

1. The pure infinitive is only found when it accompanies a conjugated form of the same verb. The structure of the so-called “tautological infinitive”, well-known in Biblical Hebrew idiom, is often seen as expressing some sort of emphasis (e.g., Hebrew **נָשׁוּב וְנָשׁוּב** “I will surely return”). Gideon Goldenberg¹⁴ distinguishes two different types: the infinitive as logical subject (type A), to be regarded as an extrapolated phrase, which within the sentence is resumed by means of a conjugated verb form (since a “pro-verb” – or an empty verb as “do” in English – does not exist) and the infinitive as logical predicate (type B). In the latter case, the structure is to be regarded as a cleft sentence, which puts the infinitive in focus, like the predicate of a nominal clause. The infinitive-predicate is followed by the enclitic (*h*)*u*.

- Type A (The Egyptians did possess sheep and oxen for use) **هَيَاجًا لَا إِحْلَاءَ** “and eating – they were not eating (them), because they worshipped them” (“and eating, they did not do ...”)
- Type B (The girl has not died) **لَا تَبْصُرُهَا وَهِيَ نَامًا** “but it is sleeping she sleeps”¹⁵

b) The infinitive preceded by *l*-

2. In all other instances the infinitive is preceded by the preposition *l*-, to be compared to the English “to”. This may in some cases retain its original meaning of direction or purpose.

- **قَبْلَ إِحْرَاجِهِمْ إِتُّوا** “while they came (in order) to pray)

3. This structure is commonly used after verbs having the meaning “to be able, to want, to begin ...”

- **لَا تَقْضَى لِحَقِّهَا** “He cannot be healed”
- **قَدْ قَالَ لِحَقِّهَا** “He wants to say ...”
- **هَذَا لِحَقِّهَا** “He began to build”

4. Even when the infinitive is the grammatical subject, the structure with *l*- is used.

¹⁴ Gideon Goldenberg, “Tautological Infinitive”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971) 36-85. Reprinted in Id., *Studies in Semitic Linguistics. Selected Writings* (Jerusalem 1998) 66-115.

¹⁵ The two examples are taken from Aphrahat’s *Demonstrations*; the author is paraphrasing the biblical text.

- $\text{ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܘܢܐ}$ “To eat much honey is not good” (Prov. 25:27)
While English agrees with Syriac in using “to”, the Hebrew has the pure infinitive.
 - $\text{ܠܗܘܐ ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܠܐܝܗܘܐ}$ “It is good to sing unto our God” (Ps. 147:1)
5. When a preposition precedes the structure *l-* + infinitive, the use of the conjunction *d-* is required: *dal-* + infinitive.
- $\text{ܘܠܐ ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ}$ “It is easier to do (what is) good than to refrain from evil.”
 - $\text{ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ}$ “(so) as to speak, so to speak”

D.1.I. A NOTE ON THE VERB “TO BE” IN SUBCLAUSES

As described above, the structure *'it* (mostly used with pronominal suffixes) covers a wide range of usages and meanings of our verb “to be” (from existential expression to copula). Not being a full verb form, *'it* cannot be put in the imperfect or infinitive. When the use of these conjugated forms is required, only the verb *hwā* is available, the meaning of which, however, is ambiguous (its first meaning being “to become, to come into existence”).

As a remedy for this shortcoming, Syriac authors have devised a structure in which *'it* is preceded by the conjugated form of the verb *hwā*, which serves as an auxiliary verb. The following example is taken from Ephrem’s Commentary on Genesis.¹⁶

- $\text{ܘܠܐ ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ}$ “for another one had become the cause that it existed”

This particular structure, occasionally found in early Syriac compositions, is often used in translations from Greek to render the verb *εἶναι* in subordinate clauses.

- (Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated around 400) $\text{ܘܠܐ ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ}$ “from nothing he constructed it (so) that it would exist” – ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οὐτος εἰς τὸ εἶναι συστησάμενος (*nehwē* alone would mean “(so) that it would come into existence”)
- (Severus of Antioch, *Cathedral Homilies*, revised translation by Jacob of Edessa, around 700) $\text{ܘܠܐ ܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܘܠܐ}$ “so that there would exist nothing which is naked” – ὡς μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν γυμνόν.

D.2. The nominal clause

Introduction

A nominal clause is a clause that does not have a conjugated verbal form with a full verbal function. A nominal clause has the following components: subject (S), predicate (P), and nexus (N). The nexus establishes the connection between subject and predicate. While all three elements may be expressed, S and N do not necessarily need formally to be expressed.

S may be: noun – pronoun – 0

¹⁶ For full references, see L. Van Rompay, “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language. The Syriac Version of Eusebius of Caesarea’s Ecclesiastical History”, in Gideon Goldenberg & Shlomo Raz (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1994) 84-85; Id., “Les versions syriaques”, in Françoise Petit, *La chaîne sur l’Exode, I. Fragments de Sévère d’Antioche* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 9; Louvain, 1999) 120-121.

P may be: noun – pronoun - numeral – adverb prepositional phrase
 N may be: 0 – “pronoun copula” – other type of copula – word order

D.2.A BIPARTITE NOMINAL CLAUSES

1. S – P

1.a. S and P are nouns

- $\text{ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ}:$ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ “Love is light, love is salt” (Aphrahat)
- $\text{ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ}$ “My church is the daughter of light” (first hymn of Judas Thomas)

A nominal clause consisting of two substantives, without a copula, is rare in prose. The example taken from Aphrahat is part of an enumeration, of which the preceding sentences have a participle as their predicate.¹⁷ This structure is more frequent in poetry (see the second example).

- $\text{ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ}$ “Love is far removed from pride”
- $\text{ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ}$ “This man is righteous and God-fearing”

When the predicate is an adjective, it normally is in the absolute state. This creates a formal distinction between S and P. The word order is free. In the function of predicate, adjectives may be substantivized (and take the emphatic state), whereas substantives may be adjectivized and take the absolute state.¹⁸

- $\text{ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ}$ “The spirit of Christ is living / lives in you” (1 Cor. 3:16)

The absolute state of the participle, used as predicate of the nominal clause, has become a full part of the verbal conjugation, expressing the present tense.

1.b. S is a pronoun

- $\text{ܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ}$ “I am the vine and you are the branches” (John 15:5 in the “Old Syriac”, comp. D.2.B.2.b)
- ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ “... as long as he is a lad” (Achikar)

The front position of the personal pronoun is rare. In the first example it may be determined by the contrast between the two subjects.

- ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ “This is the sign of the covenant” (Gen. 9:12: ܙܘܬܐ ܕܝܒܪܐܢܐ)

For sentences of the type “This is ...”, a tripartite nominal clause is more frequently used, see below.

¹⁷ Gideon Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, in M. Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat Gan, 1983) [Reprinted in Gideon Goldenberg, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics. Selected Writings* (Jerusalem, 1998)] 134 argues that we are dealing here with “... real ellipsis, where the predicate relation is ‘understood’. They continue a series of parallel non-elliptic sentences.”

¹⁸ Jan Joosten, “The Predicative Adjective in the *Status Emphaticus* in Syriac”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 46 (1989) 18-24 and Gideon Goldenberg, “On Predicative Adjectives and Syriac Syntax”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 48 (1991) 716-726.

third person, where the participle alone may suffice, “including within its bare form the expression of the subject”.¹⁹

- أَنَا كَاتِبٌ “I am writing / I write”
- $\text{أَنْتُمْ كَاتِبُونَ}$ “You (plur.) are writing”
- هُوَ كَاتِبٌ “He is writing”

2.c. S and P are pronouns

- أَنَا هُوَ “I am” (2 Sam. 20:17: אֲנִי הוּא – “Are you Joab? I am”)

According to Goldenberg, here also the first element is predicate, while the second is subject. The same construction may be used both for “I am” and “It’s me” (the latter answering the question “Who is Joab?”).²⁰

The type P-S^{pronoun} is one of the two basic types of the nominal clause, which is also represented in the tripartite nominal clauses.

D.2.B. TRIPARTITE NOMINAL CLAUSES WITH “PRONOUN-COPULA”

This is an extension of the type P-S^{pronoun}, in which the subject, represented within the nexus (as pronoun) refers to a constituent placed outside the nexus. This extrapolated constituent (“casus pendens”) is the logical subject, which within the nexus is resumed by the “enclitic resumptive pronoun”.²¹ For this pronoun, Goldenberg uses the term “lesser subject” (s), which is borrowed from the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen.²² The extrapolated noun (or nominal group) may be placed either before or after the nexus.

1. S | P-s

- $\text{أَنَّ سَبِيلَ الْحَقِّ ضَيِّقٌ}$ “The path of truth, it is narrow” – “The path of truth is narrow”
- $\text{وَأَنَا أَيْتْمَانٌ}$ “and I am a widow”
- $\text{وَهَذَا صَوْتُ الْبُرْسِكِ كَمَا فِي الْوَدْعِ$ “and this sound of joy is that of a wedding”
- $\text{لِأَنَّ هَذَا مُدْرِسٌ جَدِيدٌ$ “for this is a teacher of new teaching”
- $\text{لِأَنَّ هُوَ قُوَّةٌ وَحِكْمَةٌ$ “because he is the force and the wisdom of the Father”
- $\text{لِأَنَّ هِيَ نِعْمَةٌ وَأَنَا$ “because my grace is with you”

2. P-s | S

- $\text{إِنِ اللهُ وَاحِدٌ}$ “If God is one”
- $\text{أَلَيْسَ هَذَا رَبُّكَ}$ “Is this your master?”

¹⁹ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 113.

²⁰ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 104-106.

²¹ This term is used in Geoffrey Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax* (Oxford, 1988) 142-144.

²² Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 111-112.

- אָנאָ עֵשָׂו חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן “I am your firstborn Esau” (Gen. 27:19: אָנאָ עֵשָׂו חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן)
- אָנאָ אַנְטֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “For we are the Christians” (Ephrem, *Comm on the Diatessaron*, VIII,5)

Such cases of extraposition – allowing the application of the bipartite scheme when a nominal subject is present – should, from a descriptive point of view, be regarded as regular tripartite nominal clauses.²³

In a P-s | S structure, there should be agreement in person, number, and gender between the pronoun (s) and the noun-subject (S), as can be seen in the preceding examples. In some cases, however, the pronoun (s) may agree with the predicate rather than with the noun-subject.

a. agreement in gender and number with the predicate

- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “for he is the good pearl” (**hu-hu* instead of *hu-hi*)
- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “You are the salt of the earth” (*'atton 'ennon* instead of *'atton hi*)

b. agreement in gender, number, and person – resulting in the full identity of the pronoun-subject and the predicate

- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “I am Ruth” (Ruth 3:9 and 16: אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ)
- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “We are sons of Abraham”
- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “I am the vine and you are the branches” (John 15:5 in the Peshitta version; comp. A.1.b)

D.2.C. NOMINAL CLAUSES WITH אָנאָ + SUFFIX

Preliminaries

1. אָנאָ is a fossilized nominal element (with the meaning “being, existence”, comp. the nouns אָנאָ and אָנאָ). The bare form אָנאָ is used with the meaning “there is / there are ...” (comp. אָנאָ, *il y a, es gibt, есть*). We are not dealing with nominal clauses: the message is that something or somebody is, not what something or somebody is. The negation of אָנאָ (אָנאָ) is often contracted to אָנאָ. In these sentences the subject normally is indefinite.

- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “Without names there is no knowledge”
- אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ “There are soldiers in my power”

²³ The sentence “This is my body” (τοῦτό ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου) is rendered as אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ which is P-s | S (Old Syriac Mark 14:22; Peshitta Matth. 26:26, Luke 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24) or as אָנאָ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ אִנְפֵ (Peshitta Mark 14:22). Compare the Coptic sentence ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑCΩΜΑ, in which ΠC (“copula”) is the reduced form of the demonstrative pronoun, similar to the reduced form of the personal pronoun in Syriac.

With the dative /-/, the structure has the meaning “to have”.

- $\text{ܕܝܚܐܘܪܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐ}$ “Do you have a heart of stone?”

2. Not being a verb, ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐ in itself does not possess a tense marker. It must be translated with a present tense or with a tense implied by the context. However, when it takes the enclitic ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ , the clause is marked for the past tense (not unlike the participle + ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ). This verbal addition may take the number and gender of the subject or it may remain unchanged (i.e., third pers. sing. masc.).

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “There was no water.”

3. When suffixes are attached to it, ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐ + suffix may be used with the meaning “to exist” when the subject is definite.

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “He created that what did not (yet) exist”

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “In the beginning was the Word”²⁴

The combination ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐ + suffix may be used in the nominal clause and then serves as a copula. The predicate may be a noun or a prepositional expression. The enclitic ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ may be added to create a past tense. The word order is free.

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “For Nisan is the first month”

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “... on this rock, which is Christ”

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “I am a Christian”

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “I, Achiqar, was the king’s own writer”

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$ “... while Simon was in Rome”

There is no clear distinction in meaning between this type of sentences and the nominal clauses with the “pronoun copula”. In Aphrahat’s first *Demonstration* both types are used one after the other (“... on this rock, which is Christ”):

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$

- $\text{ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ}$

The nominal sentences of the ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ type are very common in Syriac. Their success may be due to the easy differentiation which they allow between the simple ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐ for the present and ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐܐܐ for the past.

Notes

- To the Syriac (and common Eastern-Aramaic) usage of ܕܝܘܢܝܘܢܐ with the pronominal suffix corresponds the Western-Aramaic usage of ‘it followed by the (enclitic) form of the independent pronoun (e.g. Christian-Palestinian Aramaic ‘it hu “he is”, ‘it at “you are”

²⁴ Takamitsu Muraoka, “On the Syriac Particle *it*”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34 (1977) 21 points out that Aphrahat understood the sentence as a nominal clause: “He (i.e., Christ) was the Word” (in which “the Word” is predicate). This interpretation is indeed possible.

etc.). This usage is occasionally found in Syriac, especially (or exclusively?) in negative constructions.²⁵

- ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܩܕܡܐ “I am nothing”
- ܗܘܐ ܐܢܗܘܢ ܢܒܝܐܝܢ “They are not prophets” (οὐκ εἰσὶ προφηταί)²⁶

2. A different usage, not related to the previous one, is ܐܘܢ added after ܠܘܐ to mark an insistent “there is X” (contrasted to any suspicion that “there is not X”).²⁷

- ܐܘܢ ܠܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܘܠܐ ܕܗܘܘܐ ܕܠܘܐ “... that the creation indeed has a Lord”

D.2.D. NOMINAL CLAUSES HAVING ܐܘܢ AS A COPULA FOR THE PAST

1. ܐܘܢ following the predicate

The use of the enclitic form ܐܘܢ, as past tense marker, is regularly found with adjectives and participial adjectives (*qattil*, *qattāl*, and the like).²⁸ After substantives it is much less common and is found only in specific structures, e.g. “whose name was X”, sentences of identification of time or place, or sentences in which ܐܘܢ, in addition to its tense marking, assumes other verbal functions (e.g. the pluperfect or the non-real condition).²⁹

- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “The serpent was shrewd” (Gen. 3:1: ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ)
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “a leopard that was very evil”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “because Paul was beloved to her”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “And when I was young, it was said to me ...”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ (two priests) “the name of one of them was ‘Bedhaykla’”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “The day was a Friday”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “It is likely that it was the land of Apamea”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “And he had been a Christian and in this very persecution he had been forced to worship the sun”
- ܐܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ “Had man been made that way, he would not have been autonomous, but he would have been an instrument of the one that sets him in motion” (Bardaisan)

²⁵ Similar constructions are found sporadically in Targum Onkelos: ליתנון (from *let* + *innum*), e.g. Gen 31:2: (the face [plur.] of Laban) ליתנון עמיה “was not with him” (אֵינְנוּ עִמּוֹ).

²⁶ From the Syriac translation of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History*, see Van Rompay, “Some Preliminary Remarks”, 82-83.

²⁷ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 122-123.

²⁸ D. Cohen, *La phrase nominale et l’évolution du système verbal en sémitique. Études de syntaxe historique* (Paris, 1984) 393 regards the Aramaic *hwā* in these constructions as a “verbe copule d’une phrase nominale au passé”.

²⁹ L. Van Rompay, “Some Reflections on the Use of Post-Predicative *hwā* in Classical Syriac”, in K. Jongeling a.o. (eds.), *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Syntax Presented to Professor J. Hoftijzer* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 17, Leiden, 1991) 210-219.

2. ܐܘܢ preceding the predicate

These sentences in all likelihood should not be regarded as idiomatic nominal clauses. In the following examples, we seem to be dealing with mirror translations from Hebrew.

- ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “and Joseph was in Egypt” (Ex. 1:5: (ܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ))
- ܐܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “And the God of my father was with me” (Gen. 31:5: (ܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ))
- ܐܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “And the earth was *toh* and *boh*” (Gen. 1:2: ܐܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ (ܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ))

It may not be without significance that Ephrem, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, first quotes this verse with ܐܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ, while in the following paraphrase he has ܐܘܢ after the predicate (ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ). This seems to indicate that the construction of the Peshitta was not felt by him to be idiomatic Syriac.

3. Other forms of ܐܘܢ (imperfect, imperative, participle, infinitive).

These forms express tenses and modalities in the same way as the regular verb does. They normally have a front position in the sentence. Given such important verbal functions, these sentences should not be regarded as nominal clauses.

- ܐܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “Let the man be the head for his wife”
- ܐܘܢ ܘܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “Be healthy!” (perfect with imperative meaning)

4. Note: ܐܘܢ after the negation = present tense!³⁰

For the negation of a nominal clause, ܐܘܢ may be placed after ܘܢ. It is not clear whether ܐܘܢ is enclitic. This does not put the clause in the past tense.

- ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “I am not a man of words” (Ex. 4:10: (ܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ))
- ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “And I am not alone, for my Father is with me” (John 16:32: ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ (ܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ))
- ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “For they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world” (John 17:14: ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ (ܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ))

Similarly, there is no past tense when ܐܘܢ is used after ܘܢ (as some sort of “cleft sentence”) to highlight the negated part of the sentence. There is no clear distinction between ܐܘܢ ܘܢ and ܘܢ ܐܘܢ (= *lā (h)u*, contracted to ܘܢ).

- ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “... that not everything happens according to our will”
- ܐܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܐ ܕܝܘܫܦ ܕܝܘܦܬܐ “for not according to the death of every man will he die”

³⁰ Jan Joosten, “The Negation of the Non-Verbal Clause in Early Syriac”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992) 584-588.

- $\text{ܐܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ}$ “This commandment, therefore, is harmful for my life and not helpful”

D.2. E. SPECIAL CASES

1. Nominal clauses having only one constituent

- ܕܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ “a calf which is fat” (predicate in relative clause)
- ܕܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ “those who are above” (predicate in the relative clause)
- ܕܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ “whoever it is” (subject in the relative clause)
- $\text{ܕܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ}$ “(the Christians), wherever they are and in every place where they are” (subject in the relative clause)

2. “His name is/was X”³¹

- $\text{ܕܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ ܡܨܝܘܦܐ}$ “a heroic man, whose name is Jesus”

For “his name was”, see D.2.D.1.

³¹ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 132-133.

D.3. Further observations on subordinate clauses

In the preceding pages subordinate clauses already have been occasionally discussed. The diverse pieces of information will be briefly summarized here and special attention will be paid to the various conjunctions.

1. A full clause, including a conjugated verb, can take the position of (a) the subject, (b) the object, (c) the predicate, (d) an adverbial adjunct. In the latter case, a combination of a preposition (or particle) + *d-* is used³²; in all the other cases the conjunction *d-* alone suffices.

(a) $\text{أَٔهٗ وَوَسِعَ صَبْرًا جِهَ كِه}$ “That one, for whom suffering naturally is not (possible)” (*literally*: “that he would suffer”)

(b) A subordinate clause as object occurs after verbs as “to say, to want, to know, to see, to hear, to understand” etc. These verbs often take a second object (which in translation often tends to become the subject of the subordinate clause).

▪ رَأَىٰ وَحَصَلًا “he saw that she was weeping” (*literally*: “he saw her that she was weeping”)

(c) $\text{أَمَّا كَلِمَةٌ وَقَدْ بَيَّنَّنَا لَهَا وَأَيُّهَا...}$ “all this which I have explained and shown to you, is in order that you would know ...”

(d) Adverbial clauses are introduced by:

- أَنَّ “as, according to (the fact) that”
- أَنَّ “in order that” (when followed by an imperfect form”
- أَنَّ or أَنَّ “as”
- أَنَّ or أَنَّ “as one who, in the capacity as” (also used to translate $\omega\varsigma$ + participle)
- أَنَّ “as if” (hypothetical)
- أَنَّ “as”
- أَنَّ “in order that” (when followed by an imperfect form”
- أَنَّ “when” (time)
- أَنَّ “where” (place)
- أَنَّ ($b + d$) “through or by the fact that”
- أَنَّ “on the moment that”
- أَنَّ “when” (time, circumstance, often with a causal or conditional meaning”
- أَنَّ “as much as”
- أَنَّ “on the place where”
- أَنَّ “according to (the fact) that”
- أَنَّ “when” (time or condition)
- أَنَّ “from (the moment) that, on (the ground) that”
- أَنَّ “before”

³² For the combination of a preposition + *d-* see p. 27 “Prepositions turned into conjunctions”.

- **مَهْلًا** , “because” (when followed by a perfect form, a participle, or a nominal clause)
“in order that” (when followed by an imperfect form)
- **مَهْضًا** , “to the measure that, (just) enough to”
- **نَا** , “on (the ground) that”
- **حَتَّى** , “until”

2. In addition to the use of the bare conjunction *d-* or the conjunction preceded by a preposition, the demonstrative pronoun, mostly in its feminine form, may be used to substantivize a sentence.

- **هَؤُلَاءِ وَفِيمَ إِنِّي إِذْ تَدَّ أَيْمَانِيَا** “the fact that he ordered the Israelites ...”
- **نَا هَؤُلَاءِ , مَهْلًا هَؤُلَاءِ , حَتَّى هَؤُلَاءِ**

3. The following conjunctions are used without *d-* :

- **إِن** “if” – **إِلَّا** or **إِلَّا** “if not” (conjunction); also used for the indirect question “whether” or “if”
- **إِن كَانَتْ** “if” (non-real condition)
- **وَلَوْ كُنَّا** “lest” (also **وَلَوْ كُنَّا** or **وَلَوْ**); also used to introduce an interrogative clause in either the main or the subordinate clause: “is it perhaps so that ...?”
- **حَتَّى** “while, as long as” – **حَتَّى** “as long as not, before” (comp. *avant que ne ...*)

4. Overview of subordinate clauses

a) relative clause: **و** – often preceded by a demonstrative or an interrogative pronoun

- “the man who came”: **هَؤُلَاءِ - هَؤُلَاءِ هَؤُلَاءِ - هَؤُلَاءِ هَؤُلَاءِ**

b) conditional clause

- **إِن** , **إِلَّا** or **إِلَّا** “if, if not”
- **إِن كَانَتْ** “if” (non real condition)

c) adverbial clause of time

- **إِذَا** “when”
- **عِنْدَ** “on the moment that”
- **مَعَهُ** or **مَعَهُ** “after”
- **عِنْدَ** “when”
- **عِنْدَ** “at, around the time when”
- **عِنْدَ** “when”
- **عِنْدَ** “as soon as”
- **عِنْدَ** “from (the moment) that”
- **حَتَّى** “while, as long as”
- **حَتَّى** “as long as not, before”

- حَتَّىٰ “until”
- d) adverbial clause of place
 - أَيْنَ “on the place where”
 - أَيْضًا id.
 - كَيْ id.
- e) adverbial clause of reason
 - حَبِّبَ بِنْتِهَا “because”
 - مَهْلِكًا id.
 - نَكَلًا id.
 - حَقًّا “according to (the fact) that”
- f) adverbial clause of purpose (followed by an imperfect form)
 - إِيَّاهُ “in order that”
 - مَهْلِكًا id.
 - وَحَصًّا “lest”
- g) adverbial clause of consequence (followed by a perfect form or participle)
 - إِيَّاهُ “so that”
- h) concessive clause
 - كَيْلَا “although”
 - إِنْ or إِذْ id.
- i) comparative clause
 - كَمَا “as”
 - أَيْضًا id.
 - كَمَا “in the way that”
 - كَمَا or كَمَا “as”
 - كَمَا “as”
 - كَمَا “as much as”
 - كَمَا “to the measure that, (just) enough to”

بِئْسَ مَا كَانُوا يَفْعَلُونَ



Glossary to Luke 7:36-50

اِذْ	(vb) pe. <i>to go</i> ; imper. اِذْ, fem. اِذْ “go!”
اِثْنَانِ	other; fem. اِثْنَانِ
اِمَّا	(interrogative pron.) <i>which</i> (?); fem.
اِنَّ	<i>there is</i> (existential expression); with negation اِنَّ or اِنَّ <i>there is not</i>
اِنَّكَ	(conjunction, introducing non-real condition) <i>if</i> ...
اَقْبَضْ	(vb) pe. <i>to say, to speak</i>
اِنْسَانًا	(noun) <i>woman</i> ; plur. نِسَاءٌ
اَوْ	<i>also, as well, even</i>
اِيَّا	(vb) pe. <i>to come</i>
.. د	(prep.) <i>in, through, by means of</i>
بَيْتًا	(noun) <i>house</i>
حَطَّ	(vb) pe. <i>to weep, to cry</i>
تَمَضُّا	(noun) <i>perfume</i>
تَحْتَهُ	(prep.) <i>behind</i>
حَدَّثَ	(vb) pe. <i>to ask</i>
.. و	expression of genitive relationship: <i>of</i> (conjunction, introducing subordinate clauses) <i>that, so that, in order that</i>
هَآؤُنِ	(part.) <i>but, now</i> (corresponds to Greek δέ)
يُحْكَمُ (وَح)	(vb) pe. <i>to judge</i>
وَتَيْنًا	(noun) <i>dinar</i>
وَوَحْدًا	(noun) <i>tear</i>
هَآؤُنِ	<i>behold!</i>
هُوَ	(pers. pron.) m.sg. <i>he</i> ; fem. هِيَ <i>she</i>
هَؤُلَاءِ	(dem. pron.) m. sg. <i>that</i> ; fem. هُنَّ
هَوَّ	(vb) pe. <i>to be, to become, to happen</i> ; past tense marker when used enclitically
اِيْمَانًا	(noun) <i>faith</i>
اِنَّ	(part.) <i>therefore, thus</i>
هَؤُلَاءِ	(dem. pron.) m. sg. <i>this</i> ; fem. هَؤُلَاءِ
(سَحَد)	(vb) af. <i>to love</i>
مِ	(num.) <i>one</i> ; fem. مِ
مَهْطًا	(noun) <i>debt</i>

رَأَى	(vb) pe. <i>to see</i>
سُوءًا	(noun) <i>sin</i>
سَاطِرًا	(noun) <i>sinner, sinful</i>
سَاءَ	(vb) pe. <i>to live</i> ; af. أَسَاءَ <i>to cause to live</i>
سَاطِرًا	(noun) <i>guilty, indebted, debtor</i>
بِكَ	(prep.) <i>instead of, because of</i>
خَمْسًا	(num.) <i>five</i> ; fem. خَمْسًا ; خَمْسًا <i>five hundred</i>
خَمْسِينَ	(num.) <i>fifty</i>
حَسَبَ	(vb) pe. <i>to count, to think</i> ; etpa. <i>to consider, to reflect</i>
خَبْرًا	(noun) <i>reputation, story</i>
كَبَّرَ	(vb) pe. <i>to know, to come to know</i>
كَوَّنَ	(vb) pe. <i>to give</i>
كَثِيرًا	(adverb) <i>more, exceedingly</i>
كَبَّرَ	(conjunction) <i>when, while</i>
لِـ ..	(prep.) <i>to, towards</i> , also as marker of direct or indirect object
لَا	not; see also under لَا
لَهُ	(prep.) <i>at, near, towards</i>
لَقِيَ	(vb) pe. <i>to eat</i>
مَدِينَةً	(noun) <i>city, town</i>
مَا	(interrogative pronoun) <i>what (?)</i>
مَا شَيْءٌ	<i>something</i>
مِنْهُ	(prep.) <i>because of, on account of</i> ; .. مِنْهُ (conjunction) <i>because</i>
مَاءًا	(noun) <i>water</i>
مَنْ	(interrogative pron.) <i>who (?)</i> ; or “who is ...?”
مِنْ	(prep.) <i>from</i> ; .. مِنْ (conjunction) <i>from (the moment) that ...</i>
مَوْلَانَا	(noun) <i>lord</i> ; cstr. state مَوْلَانَا
مَسَّحَ	(vb) pe. <i>to anoint</i>
مَسْحًا	(noun) <i>oil</i>
نَبِيًّا	(noun) <i>prophet</i>
نَهَضَ	(vb) pe. <i>to take</i>
نَفْسًا	(noun) <i>soul</i> ; نَفْسًا “in himself”
نَمَسَ	(vb) pe. <i>to kiss</i> ; pa. <i>to kiss intensively</i>
هَدَى	(vb) pe. <i>to think, to believe</i>

كثيرًا	<i>much</i>
كثيرًا	(noun) <i>many</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to sustain, to uphold</i> ; etpe. <i>to recline</i>
كفّر	(noun) <i>hair</i>
كفّر (كفّر)	(vb) <i>to enter</i>
كفّر	(prep.) <i>with</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to begin a conversation, to answer</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to turn</i> ; etpe. <i>to turn himself</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to requite, to return, to compensate</i>
كفّر	(noun) <i>Pharisee</i>
كفّر	(vb) pa. <i>to immerse, to moisten</i>
كفّر (كفّر)	(vb) pe. <i>to rise up, to stand</i>
كفّر	<i>little, a little bit</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to call, to read, to invite</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to approach</i>
كفّر	(Hebr.) <i>Rabbi</i>
كفّر	(noun) <i>foot</i>
كفّر or كفّر	(noun) <i>head</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to leave, to abandon, to forgive</i> ; etpe. (passive)
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to be equal</i> ; pa. <i>to equalize, to arrange</i>
كفّر	(noun) <i>alabaster vase</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to cease</i>
كفّر	(noun) <i>peace</i>
كفّر	(vb) pe. <i>to loosen, to untie</i> ; pa. <i>to begin</i>
كفّر	(num.) <i>two</i> ; fem. <i>كفّر</i> ; with suffix: <i>كفّر</i> “the two of them”
كفّر	(adverb) <i>rightly, correctly</i>

2. A song on the Prophet Elijah³⁴

نَا مُذِنَ اِلْنَا نَحِيَا

اِه يَاؤن اِءنن اِننن اِننن:
مبم نَا نَحِيَا وَاؤنن.
هنا نَا نَحِيَا وَاؤنن:
واِننا نَا اِه اِننا:

اُننا وَاؤنن اِننن:
اِنننا نَا نَحِيَا.
هنا وَاؤنن اِننن:
ننا لاؤننا وَاؤنن اِننن:

اه وَاؤنن اِننن اِننن:
هنا وَاؤنن اِننن.
اِننننا نَا نَحِيَا اِننن:
واِننا نَا نَحِيَا اِننن:

اه وَاؤنن اِننن اِننن:
اِنننا نَا نَحِيَا.
اِنننا نَا نَحِيَا:
ننا نَحِيَا اِننن:

3. Let the sinner not sin!³⁵

اِنننا لا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا نَحِيَا. وَاؤنن اِنننا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا.
نَحِيَا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا.
هولا نَحِيَا.

نَحِيَا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا.
هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا. هولا نَحِيَا.
هولا نَحِيَا.

³⁴ Copied from: Mor Yulius Yeshu Çiçek, *صوتنا كالماء في الجحيم*, *صوتنا كالماء في الجحيم* (Dayro d-Mory Aprem – Holanda, 1993), 289-290.

³⁵ Ibidem, 339.

[6] هُوَ قَرِيبٌ مِثْلًا وَتَوَاحُشٍ. وَتَهْوَىٰ وَبِإِحَادٍ حَسَنٍ. هُوَ يَهْوَىٰ مِثْلًا وَمَعَهُ أَيْضًا تَهْوَىٰ إِنْفِ.
 حَسَنٍ، إِحْسَانًا. وَيُحَادُّ، وَبِحَادِّهِ، وَتَهْوَىٰ حَسَنًا، هُوَ يَحْكُمُ. هُوَ يَحْكُمُ. هُوَ يَحْكُمُ.
 مَكْرَهُ، وَرَوَيْتُمْ. إِلَّا سَلَمَةً، إِذْ حَسَنًا، وَرَوَيْتُمْ سَحْبًا. وَارْتَهَنًا حَسَنًا. لَا يَوْمَ
 حَسْبُكَ. ❖

حَسْبُكَ حِمٌّ تَهْوَىٰ نَسْ. حَقًّا وَقِيْلًا وَارْتَهَنًا: حِمٌّ إِذَا حَبَسَهُ حَسْبُكَ. إِلَّا حِمٌّ
 حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ، إِذَا حَسْبُكَ. يَوْمَ سَرَّهُ إِذَا حَسْبُكَ. قِيْلًا وَمَعَهُ
 حَسْبُكَ، إِذْ لِيَحِبَّ وَمَعَهُ هُوَ حَسْبُكَ. تَهْوَىٰ هُوَ حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ. يَوْمَ وَهْوَا حَسْبُكَ
 حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ. هُوَ حَسْبُكَ، وَلَا مَحْكُمًا حَسْبُكَ. مَعَهُ وَهْوَا تَهْوَىٰ حَسْبُكَ وَمَعَهُ.
 حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ. إِذَا يَوْمَ وَحَسْبُكَ لَا مَحْكُمًا: حِمٌّ هُوَ لِإِحَادٍ لِحَسْبُكَ.
 مَعَهُ وَحَسْبُكَ حِمٌّ حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ. ❖

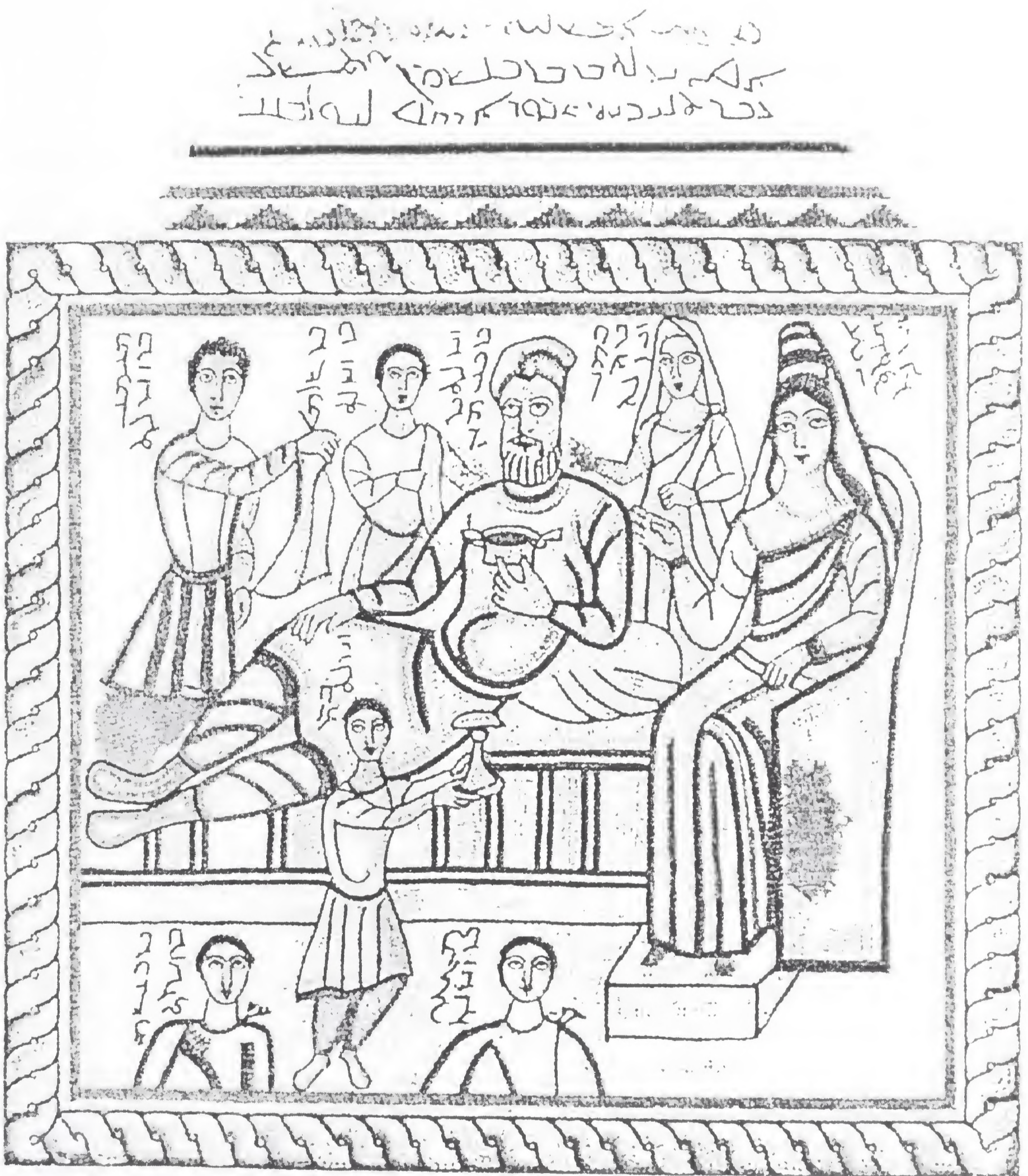
هُوَ يَحْكُمُ إِذَا مَحْكُمًا. وَحَسْبُكَ، وَتَهْوَىٰ وَتَهْوَىٰ: هُوَ مَحْكُمًا حَسْبُكَ.

هُوَ يَحْكُمُ وَتَهْوَىٰ: هُوَ حَسْبُكَ. ❖

هُوَ حَسْبُكَ إِذَا مَحْكُمًا حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ. هُوَ وَارْتَهَنًا وَمَعَهُ حَسْبُكَ إِذَا حَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ

إِحْسَانًا وَحَسْبُكَ حَسْبُكَ: إِلَّا مَعَهُ وَارْتَهَنًا وَارْتَهَنًا. هُوَ حَسْبُكَ
 وَارْتَهَنًا. ❖

F. A HANDFUL OF NICE INSCRIPTIONS



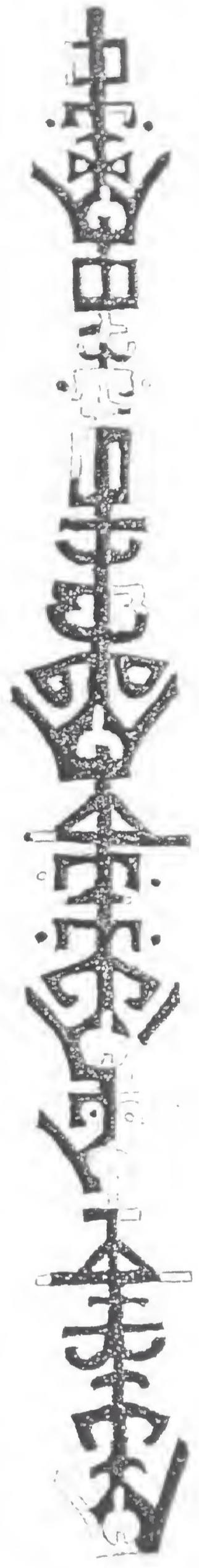
Mosaic from Edessa, dated to 218 or 228 CE
From: H.J.W. Drijvers & J.F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Oshroene. Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), Plate 54 – see 180-183.



Bema chair of Bennaoui, near Aleppo, now in the garden of the National Museum of Damascus.

Drawing K. Innemée.

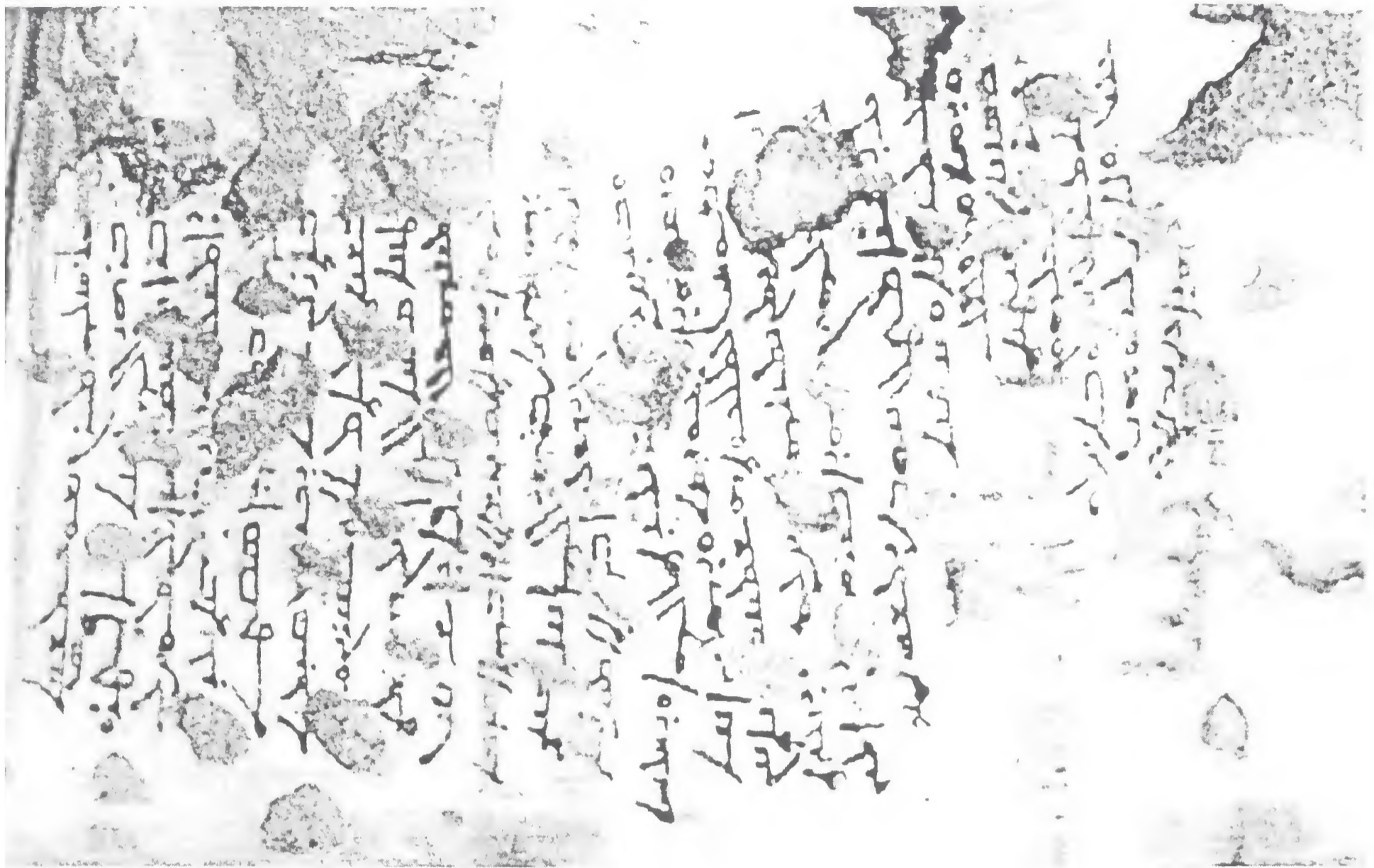
See J. B. Chabot, "Inscriptions syriaques de Bennaoui," *Syria* 10 (1929), 252-256.



Painted inscription on a column in the Church of the Monastery of the Syrians. Wadi al-Natrun. Egypt, mentioning the name of Patriarch Cyriacus (793-817).

Photograph K. Innemée – drawing LVR.

See K. Innemée & L. Van Rompay, “La présence des Syriens dans le Wadi al-Natrun (Égypte).” *Parole de l’Orient* 23 (1998), 200, and L. Van Rompay & A. Schmidt, “Takritans in the Egyptian Desert. The Monastery of the Syrians in the Ninth Century,” *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 1 (2001), 41-60.



Painted inscription on the southern wall of the church of the Monastery of the Syrians, dated between 932 and 940 CE. See K.D. Jenner & L. Van Rompay, "New Syriac Texts on the Walls of the al-'Adrâ' Church of Dayr as-Suryân," *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 4 (1998), 96-99, and L. Inemée & L. Van Rompay, *art. cit.*, 174-175.



Pilgrim's inscription on a column near the entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, by a monk from Ijah. Undated, unpublished. Photograph LVR.



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NOTES ON THE TEXT

1 the final tail of the *qof* is read here as *nun* — 2 the two words are connected in writing: ܠܘܟܘܢܘܢ — 3 possibly written as ܠܘܟܘܢ

Flabellum from the Monastery of the Syrians, dated 1202 CE.
See J. Leroy, "Un flabellum syriaque daté du Deir Souriani (Égypte)." *Cahiers de Mariemont* 5-6 (1974-1975), 31-39. Photograph Musée de Mariemont, Belgium.

	Peal.	Ethpeel.	Pael.
Perf. sg. 3. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
3. f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
2. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
2. f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
1.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
pl. 3. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
3. f.	مَلَا، مَلَا	وَنَلَا، وَنَلَا	مَلَا، مَلَا
	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
2. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
2. f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
1.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
Impf. sg. 3. m.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
3. f.	يَمَلَا (يَمَلَا)	يَمَلَا (يَمَلَا)	يَمَلَا (يَمَلَا)
2. m.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
2. f.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
1.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
pl. 3. m.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
3. f.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
2. m.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
2. f.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
1.	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا	يَمَلَا
Impt. sg. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
Part. act. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
Part. pass. m.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
f.	مَلَا	وَنَلَا	مَلَا
Inf.	مَلَا	مَلَا	مَلَا

	Ethpaal.	Afel.	Ettafal.
Perf. sg. 3. m.	أَمَلَّ	أَمَلَّ	أَمَلَّ
3. f.	أَمَلَّتْ	أَمَلَّتْ	أَمَلَّتْ
2. m.	أَمَلَّلَا	أَمَلَّلَا	أَمَلَّلَا
2. f.	أَمَلَّلَا	أَمَلَّلَا	أَمَلَّلَا
1.	أَمَلَّلَا	أَمَلَّلَا	أَمَلَّلَا
pl. 3. m.	{ أَمَلَّلَكُمْ أَمَلَّلَكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلَكُمْ أَمَلَّلَكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلَكُمْ أَمَلَّلَكُمْ
3. f.	{ أَمَلَّلْتِ أَمَلَّلْتِ	{ أَمَلَّلْتِ أَمَلَّلْتِ	{ أَمَلَّلْتِ أَمَلَّلْتِ
2. m.	أَمَلَّلْتُمْ	أَمَلَّلْتُمْ	أَمَلَّلْتُمْ
2. f.	أَمَلَّلْتُمْ	أَمَلَّلْتُمْ	أَمَلَّلْتُمْ
1.	{ أَمَلَّلْتُمْ أَمَلَّلْتُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلْتُمْ أَمَلَّلْتُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلْتُمْ أَمَلَّلْتُمْ
Impf. sg. 3. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
3. f.	يَمَلُّ (يَمَلُّك)	يَمَلُّ (يَمَلُّك)	يَمَلُّ (يَمَلُّك)
2. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
2. f.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
1.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
pl. 3. m.	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ
3. f.	يَمَلُّنَّ	يَمَلُّنَّ	يَمَلُّنَّ
2. m.	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ
2. f.	يَمَلُّنَّ	يَمَلُّنَّ	يَمَلُّنَّ
1.	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ
Impt. sg. m.	أَمَلِّ (أَمَلِّ)	أَمَلِّ	أَمَلِّ
f.	أَمَلِّ (أَمَلِّك)	أَمَلِّك	أَمَلِّك
pl. m.	{ أَمَلِّكُمْ (أَمَلِّكُمْ) أَمَلِّكُمْ (أَمَلِّكُمْ)	{ أَمَلِّكُمْ أَمَلِّكُمْ	{ أَمَلِّكُمْ أَمَلِّكُمْ
f.	{ أَمَلِّتِ (أَمَلِّتِ) أَمَلِّتِ (أَمَلِّتِ)	{ أَمَلِّتِ أَمَلِّتِ	{ أَمَلِّتِ أَمَلِّتِ
Part. act. m.	مَمَلٌّ	مَمَلٌّ	مَمَلٌّ
f.	مَمَلَّةٌ	مَمَلَّةٌ	مَمَلَّةٌ
Part. pass. m.		مَمَلٌّ	
f.		مَمَلَّةٌ	
Inf.	مَمَلَّةٌ	مَمَلَّةٌ	مَمَلَّةٌ

Perfect.

	Sg. 3. m.	Sg. 2. m.	Sg. 2. f.	Sg. 3. m.	Sg. 3. f.	Pl. 1.	Pl. 2. m.
	Sg. 3. m. Peal						
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	3. f. Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	2. m. Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pael	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2. f. Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pael	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1. Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pl. 3. m. Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	3. f. Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	2. m. Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pael	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1. Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
Impf.	Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
Impt. sg. m.	Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pael	—	—	—	—	—	—
	sg. f. Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pael	—	—	—	—	—	—
	pl. m. Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pael	—	—	—	—	—	—
	pl. f. Peal	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inf.	Peal	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ
	Pael	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمَةٌ	مَجْجَمٌ	مَجْجَمٌ

