

PART TWO

MORPHOLOGY

§ 7 As a Semitic language, Syriac shares with its cognates certain important features in its morphology.

a) A word consists of a root composed of mostly three, but sometimes two, four or more consonants, and this root is furnished with vowels and/or a prefix or suffix, which latter also consists of a consonant or consonants and a vowel or vowels. A given root may have a number of words derived from it, all sharing a certain meaning content borne by the root. All actual words of a given root show the root consonants or its radicals in identical sequence. For example, the root $\sqrt{p-s-q}$ (ܩܨܩ) may be realised as the following words: /psaq/ 'he cut'; /pesqā/ 'part'; /psāqā/ 'dissection'; /pāsoqā/ 'section'; /pāsiqtā/ 'decision'; /pāsiqāy/ 'short'; /psiqūā/ 'separation'; /pusqānā/ 'decree'; /peṭpseq/ 'it was cut'; /meṭpasqānuṭā/ 'section'; /passeq/ 'he chopped'; /pussāqā/ 'chopping' etc.

b) It is customary to classify roots into strong and weak roots. Weak roots are those one radical, namely root consonant, of which is Waw or Yodh or the last two radicals are identical.

In addition to these weak root patterns, those with Nun as the first radical or a guttural, especially Alaf as the first radical, cause some deviations in inflection, and it is also customary to speak of First-Alaf, First-Nun, First-Yodh, Second-Waw/Yodh, Third-Yodh, geminate roots etc.⁽¹⁾

c) Certain categories of words do not share the above-given features: they are pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and such like particles.

¹ One also uses Latin terms such as 'primae Alaf,' 'mediae Waw/Yodh,' 'tertiaie Yodh,' 'geminatae,' meaning roots whose first radical (*littera* 'letter') is Alaf, second radical is Waw/Yodh, third radical is Yodh, and second radical is identical with the third respectively.

§ 8 In the case of geminate roots, the first radical is geminated where it would not otherwise be followed by a vowel: e.g., from the root $\sqrt{\text{قلا}}$, /eggoz/ 'I shall clip'; /negzun/ (= /neggzun/) 'they shall clip'; /ma^{cc}ällē/ 'entrance' ($\sqrt{\text{حلا}}$). As can be seen from the last example, the gemination of the identical second-third radical is restored the moment it is followed by a suffix, whether a vowel or a consonant: cf. § 6 F.

Pronouns

§ 9 Independent personal pronouns. These are pronouns used mostly as subjects or predicates. Most of them have a shortened, enclitic form.

	Separate	Enclitic
sg. 1	𐤀𐤍𐤁 / <i>Penā</i> /	𐤀𐤍𐤁, 𐤀𐤍 / <i>/nā/</i>
2m.	𐤀𐤍𐤕 / <i>Pat</i> /	𐤀𐤍 / <i>/t/</i>
f.	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁 / <i>Pat</i> /	𐤀𐤍𐤕 / <i>/t/</i>
3m.	𐤀𐤍 / <i>/hu/</i>	𐤀𐤍, 𐤀 / <i>/w/</i> or <i>/u/</i> (§ 10)
f.	𐤀𐤍 / <i>/hi/</i>	𐤀𐤍 / <i>/y/</i> or <i>/i/</i> (§ 10)
pl. 1	𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤍 / <i>/ḥnan/</i> (𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤍) ⁽²⁾	𐤀𐤍𐤁 / <i>/nan/</i>
2m.	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤁 / <i>Patton</i> / [WS 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁] ----𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁	<i>/tton</i> / [WS 𐤀𐤍𐤕]
f.	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤁 / <i>Pattēn</i> /	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁 / <i>/ttēn/</i>
3m.	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤁 / <i>/hennon</i> / [WS 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁]--𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁	<i>ḥennon</i> / [WS 𐤀𐤍𐤕]
f.	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤁 / <i>/hennēn</i> /	𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤁 / <i>/ennēn/</i>

§ 10 The enclitic forms are used mostly as weakened subjects of nominal clauses: e.g. 𐤀𐤍𐤁 𐤀𐤍𐤕 / *malkānā* 'I am king.' The third person singular enclitics add varying degrees of prominence to the immediately preceding clause constituent: e.g. 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁 𐤀𐤍𐤕 / *Pattu malkā* 'it is you who are the king'; 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁 𐤀𐤍𐤕 / *tammānu ḥzēṭēh* 'it is there that I saw him.' The third person plural enclitic pronouns are also used as direct objects of a verb form other than a participle: e.g. 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤁 / *šadret ʿennēn* 'I sent them (f.).'

The enclitic forms in the first and second persons may be spelled together with the immediately preceding word, resulting in further

² This long variant form, */penāḥnan/*, occurs only in old manuscripts.

phonetic simplification: كَاتِبْ or كَاتِبِنَا /kāṭevnā/ 'I write'; كَاتِبْكَ /gālē 'at/ or كَاتِبْكَ /gālēt/ 'you(m.sg.) reveal'; كَاتِبْكَ /kāṭev 'at/ or كَاتِبْكَ /kāṭvat/; كَاتِبْكَ /šappirat/ or كَاتِبْكَ /šappir 'at/ 'you are beautiful'; كَاتِبْكَ or كَاتِبْكَ (كَاتِبْكَ), all pronounced /kāṭbinnan/; كَاتِبْكَ or كَاتِبْكَ /kāṭbitton/ 'you (m.pl.) write.'

followed by an enclitic shows a dissimilation: هُوَ هُوَ /huyu/ 'it is he that ...'

§ 11 **Suffixed personal pronouns.** Possessive pronouns and pronouns which complement prepositions are attached directly to the latter. The forms which follow vowels slightly differ from those which follow consonants:(³)

	after consonants		after vowels
sg. 1	, (silent)(⁴)		, /y/(⁵)
2m.	كُ /āk/		كُ /k/
f.	كِ /ēk/		كِ /k/
3m.	هُ /ēh/		هُ /y/
f.	هِ /āh/		هِ /h/
pl. 1	نَا /an/		نَا /n/
2m.	كُنْ /kon/ [WS, ٥٥]		كُنْ /k/
f.	كِنْ /kēn/		كِنْ /k/
3m.	هُنْ /hon/ [WS, ٥٥]		هُنْ /h/
f.	هِنْ /hēn/		هِنْ /h/

§ 12 **Personal pronouns attached to verbs.** These differ from the above-given forms only in respect of the 1 sg., 3m.sg., and 3pl.

³ The forms attached to masculine plural/dual nouns and some prepositions are slightly different. They may be found in § 40.

⁴ With two of the prepositions and the noun كُ /kul/ 'all' it is pronounced: كُ /bi/ 'in me'; كُ /li/ 'to me' (but not كُ /dīl/ 'mine, my'); كُ /kulli/ 'all of me.'

⁵ E.g., from the noun كُ Pav/: كُ Pāv/, كُ Pāvuk/: كُ Pāvuk/: كُ Pāvuy/: كُ Pāvuh/: كُ Pāvun/.

	after consonants—	after vowels—
sg. 1	اَ /an/	اَ /n/
2m.	اَ /āḱ/	اَ /k/
f.	اَ /ēk/	اَ /k/
3m.	اَ /ēh/	اَ, اَ, اَ /y/; اَ, اَ /w/
f.	اَ /āh/	اَ /h/
pl. 1	اَ /an/	اَ /n/
2m.	اَ /kon/ [WS, اَ]	
f.	اَ /kēn/	

3m., f. The enclitics اَ (WS اَ) and اَ are used: § 10.

The direct object of the 1sg. with an infinitive may take the form, as well as اَ: e.g. Mt 8.2 اَ اَ /meškah ʔat lam-dakkāyū/ 'you can cleanse me.'

§ 12a Reflexive pronouns. The noun اَ 'soul' in conjunction with an appropriate suffix pronoun is used like a reflexive pronoun: e.g. Mt 8.4 اَ اَ /ḥawwā nafšāk lkāhnē/ 'Show yourself to the priests.' Similar, though less frequent, is the use of اَ /qnomā/.

§ 12b Reciprocal pronouns. The notion of "each other, one another" is expressed by the repetition of the numeral اَ 'one': Mt 24.10 اَ اَ اَ اَ 'and they will hate one another, and betray one another' (the Lamadh indicates the direct object); Lk 2.15 اَ اَ 'the shepherds spoke with one another.' Hebraic is the use of اَ 'brother' as in Gn 37.19 اَ اَ 'they said to one another.'

§ 13 Demonstrative pronouns.⁽⁶⁾

a) For that which is nearer: "this, these"—

sg.m.	اَ /hānā/ (rarely اَ /hān/)
f.	اَ /hādē/
pl.c.	اَ /hällēn/

In conjunction with the enclitic اَ, the demonstrative changes its form: اَ اَ /hādāy/. The m. form with an enclitic becomes اَ /hānāw/.

⁶ On the syntax of the demonstrative pronouns, see below §§ 91: 2-4

The declensional endings are as follows:

	sg.			pl.		
	st. abs.	cst.	emph.	abs.	cst.	emph.
m.	—	—	/-ā/	/-in/	/-ay/	/-ē/
f.	/-ā/	/-ay/	/-tā/	/-ān/	/-āt/	/-ātā/
			or /-tā/			

and as applied to the adjective **ܒܝܫ** /biš/ 'evil'—

	sg.			pl.		
	st. abs.	cst.	emph.	abs.	cst.	emph.
m.	ܒܝܫ /biš/	ܒܝܫ /biš/	ܒܝܫܐ /bišā/	ܒܝܫܝܢ ⁽⁸⁾ /bišin/	ܒܝܫܝܝܢ /bišay/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišē/
f.	ܒܝܫܐ /bišā/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišay/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bištā/	ܒܝܫܝܢ /bišān/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišāt/	ܒܝܫܝܐܐ /bišātā/

§ 18 The absolute state is an unmarked form, whereas the construct state is the form of a noun logically dependent on the immediately following noun. The emphatic state was originally roughly equivalent to the form of a noun with the definite article. In Classical Syriac, however, the abs. state is used only in certain syntactically defined environments (§ 71), and the construct state is often replaced by means of an analytic structure with the proclitic particle **ܐ** linking the two nouns (§ 73). The emph. state has lost its original function and has become the normal, unmarked form of a noun: cf. § 72. Apart from adjectives, many nouns are not attested in their abs. or cst. state form, but only in the emph. state form.

§ 19 A small number of nouns have two variant stem forms in the singular: one for the st.abs. and/or cst., and the other for the st. emph., which is the case with nouns having a diphthong, /ay/ or /aw/: e.g.,

⁷ The dual number is virtually extinct, confined to **ܐܪܝܫ** /trēn/, **ܐܪܝܫܐ** /tartēn/ 'two' and **ܐܪܝܫܝܢ** /maʔrēn/ 'two hundred.' Syriac has no neuter gender as a morphological category. Cf. § 69.

⁸ The seyame points are not used when a m.pl. adjective is, in st. abs., used predicatively: see § 5 b.

st.cst. **بَيْت** /bēṭ/, emph. **بَيْتَة** /baytā/ 'house'⁹; abs. **بَيْلَى** /laylay/, emph. **بَيْلَى** /lēlyā/ 'night'; abs. **يَوْم** /yom/, emph. **يَوْمَة** /yāwmā/ 'day.' See above (§ 6H) on the contraction of diphthongs.

A variation in the following cases of Third-Yodh roots is only apparent: abs. **سَاطِئ** /šātē/, emph. **سَاطِيَا** /šātyā/ 'fool' where the vowel deletion rule (§ 6A) is at work; abs. **قَشِي** /qšē/, emph. **قَشِيَا** /qašyā/ 'hard' (ditto, the underlying stem being /*qašey/).

§ 20 Some nouns and adjectives insert an extra /y/ before the feminine ending. This applies to all nouns having such suffixes as /-ān/, /-on/: e.g. **مَقْبَلَان** /mqablān/ 'receptive; recipient'—f.abs. **مَقْبَلَانِيَا** /mqablānyā/; cst. **مَقْبَلَانِيَا**, emph. **مَقْبَلَانِيَا** /mqablāniyā/, pl.abs. **مَقْبَلَانِيَا**, cst. **مَقْبَلَانِيَا**, emph. **مَقْبَلَانِيَا**. Likewise **مَلَكُونَة** /malkonā/ 'kinglet'—f.emph. **مَلَكُونِيَا**; **مِسْكِنَة** /meskēnā/ 'poor'—f.abs. **مِسْكِنِيَا**, pl.emph. **مِسْكِنِيَا**; **زُور** /z'or/ 'small' (except sg.emph. **زُورَة**)—f.abs. **زُورِيَا** /z'oryā/, cst. **زُورِيَا**, pl.abs. **زُورِيَا** /z'oryān/, emph. **زُورِيَا**; sg.emph. **دُكْتَة** /duktā/ 'place'—pl.emph. **دُكْتِيَا** /dukyāṭā/; **دُنْبَة** /dunbā/ 'tail'—pl.emph. **دُنْبِيَا** /dunbyāṭā/ (also **دُنْبِيَا** /dunbāṭā/).

§ 21 A small number of nouns, mostly short, have /ayyā/ as the pl.m.emph. ending.¹⁰ E.g. **بَار** /bar/ 'son'—**بَارِيَا** /bnayyā/; sg.emph. **سَاتَة** /šattā/ 'year'—**سَاتِيَا** /šnayyā/; **زَنَا** /znā/ 'sort'—**زَنِيَا** /znayyā/; **تَدَة** /tdā/ 'breast'—**تَدِيَا** /tdayyā/; **يَد** 'hand'—**يَدِيَا** /ydayyā/ (beside **يَدِيَا** /yidē/); **پَآپَا** /pappay/ 'curtain' (used as sg.)—**پَآپَا** /pappayyā/.

This is further the rule with words of Third-Yodh roots, the m.sg.abs. form of which is spelled in the m.sg.abs. and cst. with Alaf instead of Yodh: e.g. sg.m.abs. **قَشِي** /qšē/ (< /*qašey/) 'hard' (emph. or f.sg.abs. **قَشِيَا** /qašyā/)—pl.m.emph. **قَشِيَا** /qšayyā/; **سَاطِئ** /šātē/ 'fool'—**سَاطِيَا** /šātyā/; **مَسَرَّار** /mšarray/ 'paralytic'—**مَسَرَّرِيَا** /mšarrayyā/; sg. emph. **غَدِيَا** /gadyā/ 'goat'—**غَدِيَا** /gdayyā/; **قَانِيَا** /qanyā/ 'reed'—**قَانِيَا** /qnayyā/; **مَعْيَا** /me'yā/ 'intestines'—**مَعْيَا** /m'ayyā/. Likewise with nouns always used in the plural (pluralia tantum): **مَيَا** /mayyā/ 'water';

⁹ The st.abs. **بَيْت** /bay/, occurring already in Old Aramaic, is a secondary development.

¹⁰ A more archaic form.

شَمَّيَا (also without seyame) /šmayyā/ 'sky'; sg.emph. غُورَى /guryā/ 'whelp'—غُرَايَا /grayyā/; دَمَايَا /dmayyā/ 'price'.

§ 22 Types of nouns dealt with in § 21 have /-in/ as their pl.m.abs. ending: قَلْبِي، قَلْبِي، قَلْبِي. But adjectives end in /-ēn/: مَجْبِي، مَجْبِي، مَجْبِي.

In the pl.st.cst. we find /-ay/ with nouns—دَمَايَا /dmay/, مَجْبِي، مَجْبِي—but /-yay/ with adjectives and participles—مَجْبِي /qashyay/, رَايَا /rā'yay/ 'shepherds'; مَهَاوَيَا /mhāwyay/ 'showing.'

§ 23 Some nouns show /-ānē/ as the pl.m.emph. ending, often as an alternative to the standard /-ē/: e.g. عِبَّيَا /'ebbā/ 'fruit'—عِبَّيَانِي /'ebbānē/; سَمَّمَا /sammā/ 'drug'—سَمَّمَانِي /sammānē/; بَسْمَا /besmā/ 'perfume'—بَسْمَانِي /besmānē/; رِيْهَا /rēhā/ 'smell'—رِيْهَانِي /rēhānē/; مِشْمَا /mešhā/ 'ointment'—مِشْمَانِي /mešhānē/; سَلِّيْجَا /sallijā/ 'ruler'—سَلِّيْجَانِي /sallijānē/; رَبَّيَا /rabbā/ 'teacher'—رَبَّيَانِي /rabbānē/.

§ 24 Feminine nouns and adjectives of Third-Yodh or -Waw roots restore⁽¹⁾ the consonantal value of the Yodh or Waw respectively:

sg.abs.	تَاكِي /taš'i/ 'story'	مَلْكُو /malku/ 'kingdom'
cst.	تَاكِي /taš'i/	مَلْكُو /malku/
emph.	تَاكِيَانِي /taš'iānē/	مَلْكُوَانِي /malkuānē/
pl.abs.	تَاكِيَانِي /taš'yān/	مَلْكُوَانِي /malkwān/
cst.	تَاكِيَانِي /taš'yān/	مَلْكُوَانِي /malkwān/
emph.	تَاكِيَانِيَانِي /taš'yānē/	مَلْكُوَانِيَانِي /malkwānē/

The st.abs. and cst. of adjectives of Third-Yodh roots, however, show /-yā/ instead: e.g. دَاكِيَانِي /dakyā/ 'pure,' دَاكِيَانِي /dakyā/; but otherwise regularly—sg.emph. دَاكِيَانِيَانِي /dkīānē/, pl.abs. دَاكِيَانِيَانِي /dakyānē/, emph. دَاكِيَانِيَانِيَانِي /dakyānē/.

Note the following common, but slightly irregular forms: پَاسِيوَانِي /Pāsyūā/ 'cure'—pl. پَاسِيوَانِيَانِي /Pāswānē/ or پَاسِيوَانِيَانِي /Pāsiwānē/; دَمُوَانِي /dmūā/ 'image'—دَمُوَانِيَانِي /demwānē/; شِوَانِي /švūā/ 'matter'—شِوَانِيَانِي /ševwānē/; هَايُوَانِي /hayyūā/ 'animal'—sg.cst. هَايُوَانِي /haywā/; pl. هَايُوَانِيَانِي /haywānē/; هَادُوَانِي /hadūā/ 'joy'—abs. هَادُوَانِي /hadwā/; cst. هَادُوَانِي /hadwā/; شِلُوَانِي /šlotā/ 'prayer'—sg.cst. شِلُوَانِي /šlot/; pl. شِلُوَانِيَانِي /šlawānē/; مَهُوَانِي /mhoūā/ 'blow'—sg.abs. مَهُوَانِي /mahwā/; pl.emph. مَهُوَانِيَانِي /mahwānē/;

¹¹ "Restore" is a synchronic description. Cf. Lagarde 1889-91:146-50.

'maid-servant'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܝܢܐ**; **ܥܘܢܐ** 'name'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܥܢܐ**.

§ 27 Whereas adjectives always display complete match between their gender and their morphology, there are many cases of mismatch among nouns. Some examples are:

- 1) Masc. nouns with the typically fem.pl. ending—

ܐܘܪܘܢܐ 'day'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** (also **ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**); **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'father'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**;
ܥܘܢܐ 'name'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܥܢܐ**

- 2) Fem. nouns with the typically masc.sg. ending—

ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ 'way'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'land'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ**
'soul'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**⁽¹⁶⁾

- 3) Fem. nouns with the typically masc.sg. and pl. ending—

ܐܘܪܘܢܐ 'hand'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** *Pidayyā*/ or **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** *Pattānā*/
'she-ass'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*kēfā* 'stone'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'cloud';
ܐܘܪܘܢܐ /*šepṛā* 'bird'⁽¹⁷⁾

- 4) Fem. nouns with the typically fem.sg. but masc.pl. ending—

ܐܘܪܘܢܐ /*meṭtā* 'word'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** /*mellē*/; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'cubit'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**;
ܐܘܪܘܢܐ 'hour'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*šattā* 'year'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*m'artā*/
'cave'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*enbā* 'grape'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** /*envē*/; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ**
(or: **ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**) /*tēttā* (< /**tēntā*/) 'fig'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*gfettā* (<
/**gfentā* 'grape'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*lvettā* 'brick'—**ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ**).⁽¹⁸⁾

§ 28 A very small number of nouns, all of Third-Yodh roots, attest to the archaic feminine morpheme /-ay/: **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*gwāgay* 'spider'; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*dayway*/, a kind of bird (kite?); **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*hēfay* 'gnat'; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*tu'yay* 'error'; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*tušyay* 'secrecy'; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*kukvay*/, some kind of bird; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*salway* 'quail'; **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*tanway* (ES /*tenway*/) 'condition.'

§ 29 The grammatical gender and the natural sex largely overlap

¹⁶ In some cases there is a semantic opposition: **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'eyes' vs. **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'fountains' (both from **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ**; cf. Heb. עַיִן 'eyes' vs. מַעְיָן 'springs [of water]'), but no opposition is discernible between **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** and **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** 'winds, spirits' or between **ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** and **ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** 'days' (from **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ**).

¹⁷ An extensive list of feminine nouns with no characteristic endings in the singular may be found in Nöldeke 1966: § 84.

¹⁸ The declension of the noun **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ** /*šabṭā* 'sabbath; week'—sg.abs. **ܐܘܪܘܢܐ**, pl. **ܐܘܪܘܢܐܘܢܐ** shows that the final /t/, which belongs to the root (< Heb. שַׁבָּת), was reinterpreted as a feminine morpheme.

when a noun denotes an animate being. Thus **أَبٌ** 'father,' **بَنٌ** 'son,' **أَخٌ** 'brother,' **هَمْرٌ** /*hmārā*/ 'he-ass,' and **مَلِكٌ** 'king,' for instance, are masculine in gender, whereas **أُمٌّ** 'mother,' **بِنٌ** 'daughter,' **أُخٌ** 'sister,' **شَمْرٌ** 'she-ass,' and **مَلِكَةٌ** 'queen' are of feminine gender.

Also of feminine gender are nouns of the following categories: animals—**بَعْدٌ** 'sheep'; **عِزٌّ** /*ezzā*/ 'goat'; **خَنٌ** 'small cattle'; **جَبْرٌ** 'scorpion'; **سَفْرٌ** /*seprā*/ 'bird'; **بَهْلٌ** 'cat'; parts of the body, esp. those which go in pairs—**أُذُنٌ** 'ear'; **كَنْعٌ** 'knee'; **سَوْفٌ** 'handful'; **إِبْرٌ** /*iprā*/ 'fingernail'; **يَمِينٌ** 'right hand'; **كَبِدٌ** 'liver'; **جَبْرٌ** 'wing'; **بَطْنٌ** 'belly'; **كَتِفٌ** /*katpā*/ 'shoulder'; **نَفْسٌ** 'soul'; **عَيْنٌ** 'eye'; **جَمْرٌ** 'heel'; **شَفْرٌ** /*sevā*/ 'finger'; **قَرْنٌ** 'horn'; **رِجْلٌ** /*reglā*/ 'foot'; **سِنٌّ** /*šennā*/ 'tooth': nouns for vessels and tools—**سَفِينٌ** 'boat'; **حَنْبَلٌ** 'linen garment'; **لَمْبَةٌ** 'table'; **مِجْلٌ** 'sickle'; **مِخْبَلٌ** 'needle'; **مَضْبَةٌ** 'bed'; **مِثْلٌ** /*paddānā*/ 'yoke'; **مِشْرٌ** /*rahyā*/ 'mill.'

Unclassifiable, but feminine are: **أَرْضٌ** 'earth'; the four points of the compass—**شَمَالٌ** 'N,' **جَنُوبٌ** 'E,' **مِغْرِبٌ** 'S,' **مَشْرِقٌ** 'W'; **سُورٌ** 'way'; **بَعْدٌ** 'field'; **حِجْرٌ** 'stone'; **مِلْحٌ** 'salt'; **نَارٌ** 'fire'; **سَحَابٌ** 'cloud'; **ضَبْغٌ** 'fog'; **عَفْصٌ** /*gfettā*/ 'grape.'

The gender of some nouns fluctuates: **بَعْدٌ** 'cattle'; **عَصَا** 'stick'; **لِجْمٌ** 'palate'; **سَيْفٌ** 'sword'; **شَرِيكٌ** 'colleague'; **قَمَرٌ** 'moon'; **شَمْسٌ** 'sun.'⁽¹⁹⁾

In conclusion, the gender of many nouns is unpredictable. Thus, not every noun denoting a body part, even those in pairs, for instance, is feminine. **سَدَنٌ** 'breast' and **سَدَنٌ** 'breast, pap' are both masculine.

Nouns and adjectives: their formation patterns

§ 30 Nouns and adjectives can be classified in accordance with the ways in which vowels and/or affixes are added to their consonantal roots. Thus one may speak of a noun of *qaṣl* or *maqṭal* pattern or of an adjective of *qaṭṭil* pattern. The following is intended as an inventory of major patterns only, and we shall focus mainly on those patterns which require some attention in the declension of nouns and adjectives belonging to them.⁽²⁰⁾

¹⁹ A fuller list may be found in Nöldeke 1966: § 87.

§ 31 Pattern *qāṭl*, namely nouns or adjectives which show a short vowel after the first radical, but no vowel between the last two radicals in their stem when a declensional ending or a possessive pronoun is removed, e.g. **مَلِكًا** /malkā/ 'king,' **مَلِكِنَا** /malkan/ 'our king.' Among nouns and adjectives of this pattern the following sub-patterns may be recognised:

a) Those which show the shape *qtel* or *qtol* in the sg.abs. or cst.: e.g., **مَلِكٌ** /mlek/ 'king' (emph. **مَلِكًا** /malkā/); **رِجْلٌ** /rǧel/ 'foot' (**رِجْلًا** /rǧlā/); **قُدُوسٌ** /qdoš/ 'sanctity' (**قُدُوسًا** /qudšā/).⁽²¹⁾

Nouns of this sub-pattern whose third radical is one of the six plosives, **ك** **خ** **ط** **ظ** **ق** **ك**, regularly take a *quššaya* with the radical in question in all their forms other than those of the st.abs. or cst.: e.g. **مَلِكًا** /malkā/, **عَبْدًا** /ʿabdā/ 'slave,' **كِسْفًا** /kespā/ 'silver,' **بُرْكَانًا** /burkā/ 'knee.'⁽²²⁾

With nouns whose third radical is a guttural or Resh, the /e/ changes to /a/ (§ 6 B): **بَابٌ** /traʿ/ 'gate' (**بَابًا**); **جَسَدٌ** /pǧar/ 'corpse' (**جَسَدًا**).

With nouns whose first radical is Alaf, the latter takes a full vowel (§ 6 C): **بَعْرٌ** /Pǧar/ 'wage' (**بَعْرًا**); **أَرْضٌ** /Paraʿ/ 'earth' (< /*arēʿ/) (**أَرْضًا**); **طَرِيقٌ** /Purah/ 'way' (**طَرِيقًا**). On the second vowel, /a/, see the preceding paragraph.

With nouns whose first radical is Yodh, the rule § 6 D is at work:

²⁰ For a fuller listing, though admittedly not exhaustive, one may consult Nöldeke 1966: §§ 93-145, and Brockelmann 1962: §§ 117-51.

²¹ These can be traced back to the Proto-Aramaic or Proto-Semitic *qaṭl*, *qīṭl*, and *quṭl* pattern respectively.

²² Some exceptions occur in the plural: **عَسَبٌ** /ʿesbā/ 'grass' but **عَسَبَةٌ** /ʿesvē/; **سُرْبٌ** /gunbā/ 'theft' but **سُرْبَةٌ** /gunvē/; **أَلْفٌ** /alpā/ 'thousand' but **أَلْفَةٌ** /alfē/. It is considered to go back to an earlier plural form with a vowel after the second radical such as /*gunavē/: cf. Heb. **אֶרְבָּעִים** and **אַרְבָּעִים**. On the other hand, forms such as **كَتِفٌ** /katpā/ (كَتِفًا) 'shoulder' (Heb. **כִּתְפִי**) and **كَاوَدٌ** /kavdā/ (Heb. **כָּוֵד**), both of the original *qaṭil* pattern, indicate that when the /i/ or /e/ vowel of this pattern had been elided, the spirantisation rule was still in force, and the /a/ vowel in the same syllabic position of the pattern *qvṭal* pattern had not yet been deleted, which explains the spirantised /v/ in **دَاهِبٌ** /dahvā/ 'gold' (< dahavā/): on this question, see Muraoka 1976:232f. Compare **كَرْكٌ** /karkā/ 'town' with **كِرْكٌ** /kerkā/ 'volume, tome.'

يَـ /yirah/ 'month' (يَـ); يَـ /yiled/ 'child' (يَـ).

b) There are feminine nouns corresponding to those described under the above sub-pattern: مَلِكَةٌ /malktā/ 'queen' (cst. مَلِكَةٌ, pl.abs. مَلِكَاتٍ, emph. مَلِكَاتٍ); نَبَاتَةٌ /neṣbtā/ 'plant'; هَيْبَةٌ /dehltā/ 'fear'; بُرْكَاتٌ /burktā/ 'blessing.' However, there are nouns which show a vowel after the second radical in their sg. emph. form: رِجْلَةٌ /rgeltā/ 'rivulet' (but pl. رِجْلَاتٌ /reglātā/); حَلْبَةٌ /geltā/ 'calf' (but cst. حَلْبَةٌ); غَفَّةٌ /gfettā/ (< /*gfentā/; pl. حَفَفَةٌ).

c) Nouns of the second *qvfl* sub-pattern show /a/ in their sg.abs./cst. form, and if their third radical is one of the six plosives (ك ح ط د ذ ز) it is provided with a *rukkakha*: ذَهَبٌ /dhav/ 'gold' (emph. دَهَابٌ /dahvā/); سَلْفٌ /Pelf/ 'ship' (emph. سَلْفٌ /Pelfā/); دَقَانٌ /dqan/ 'beard' (دَقَانٌ); زَوَانٌ /zvan/ 'time' (زَوَانٌ); حَمَلٌ /gmal/ (حَمَلٌ); سَفَالٌ /šfal/ 'lowly' (سَفَالٌ); سَكَالٌ /skāl/ 'foolish' (سَكَالٌ).²³ Although their sg. abs. /cst. form is not attested, the spirantised pronunciation of the third radical of the following nouns may allow us to infer that they also belong here: نَبْلَةٌ 'milk,' جَبْءٌ 'wing,' بَدْعٌ 'city,' رِبْعٌ 'raven,' رِبْعٌ 'humidity,' خُبْءٌ 'bread.'

A phenomenon analogous to رِبْعٌ mentioned above occurs here also: نَسَامَةٌ /nšamtā/ 'soul' (abs. نَسَامَةٌ, pl. نَسَامَاتٌ) as against نَسَامَةٌ /tanptā/ 'unclean' (pl. نَسَامَاتٌ /tanfātā/) and زِدْقَةٌ /zedqtā/ 'alms' (pl. زِدْقَاتٌ /zedqātā/).

d) In practical terms, in studying nouns belonging to the above sub-patterns one needs to know two allomorphs of their stem: e.g. /sfar/ of the sg.abs. and cst. on the one hand, and /sefr-/ of the rest of the declension as appears in, for instance, sg.emph. سَفْرَةٌ 'book,' pl.emph. سَفْرَةٌ, + 1pl. سَفْرَةٌ 'our book.' From these two allomorphs one may postulate the archmorpheme of the stem as /*sefar/, from which the application of the vowel deletion rule (§ 6 A) generates the actually occurring two allomorphs.

²³ In the case of nouns with /r/ as their third radical, only comparison with cognate languages could assign them to this sub-pattern: ذَكَرٌ /dkar/ 'male' (ذَكَرٌ; cf. Heb. דָּקָר); دָבַרٌ /bsar/ 'meat' (دָبַרٌ; Heb. דָּבַר). In some other cases also comparison with cognates confirms this analysis: Heb. דָּבַר, דָּבַר; Arb. /safal/.

§ 32 Nouns and adjectives of the pattern *qāfīl* such as **أَلَام** /*ʾālam*/ 'eternity' with sg.emph. **أَلَامًا**, pl.abs. **أَلَامِي**, emph. **أَلَامِي** are subject to the vowel deletion rule (§ 6 A).²⁴ The feminine sg. emph. of this pattern retains the short vowel: **أَكَلَةٌ** /*ʾākel*/ 'eating,' f.sg.abs. **أَكَلَةٌ** /*ʾāklā*/, but **أَكَلَتَا** /*ʾākeltā*/.

§ 33 *Qtāl*. Examples: **قَرَارٌ** /*gzārā*/ 'decision,' **قَدَاةٌ** /*vādā*/ 'work,' **قَرَاوَةٌ** /*qrāvā*/ 'battle,' **قَشَادَةٌ** /*pešādā*/ 'outpouring' (§ 6 C), **قَرَارَةٌ** /*iqārā*/ 'honour' (§ 6 D).

§ 34 *Qtīl*, *Qtēl*, *Qtayl*. Examples: **كَتِيبٌ** /*kṭiv*/ 'written'²⁵, **قَامِيرٌ** /*pamir*/ 'said' (§ 6 C), **لِيلِدٌ** /*līlīd*/ 'born' (§ 6 D); **رَتَيْتَا** /*rṭētā*/ 'trembling'; **لَايْمَانٌ** /*laymā*/ 'lad.'²⁶

§ 35 *Qtul*, *Qtol*. Examples: **رُحْمَانٌ** /*rḥumā*/ 'loved,' **لُصُشَانٌ** /*lvušā*/ 'clothings'; fem. **بُطْلَتَا** /*bṭultā*/ 'maiden,' **كُنُوشَتَا** /*knuštā*/ 'synagogue'; **غَدُولَا** /*gdolā*/ 'plaits of hair,' **سُغُولَا** /*sgolā*/ 'bunch (of grapes).'

§ 36 *Qvṭvl* (the second vowel may be short or long). The very presence of a short vowel in the first syllable implies, in the light of the vowel deletion rule (§ 6 A), that the second radical is doubled, namely the first syllable is a closed one. This is further reinforced by the hard pronunciation of the second radical when it is one of the set **ك د ت ط** **ع ه ح**. Thus **شَظَرٌ** /*šeppar*/ 'bird,' emph. **شَظَرٌ**, **عَدَدَارٌ** /*eddar*/ 'threshing floor.'²⁷

Qattāl is a common pattern for nouns denoting professional activities or permanent qualities: e.g. **غَانَّانٌ** /*gannāvā*/ 'thief,' **هَيَّيَّاتَا** /*ḥayyātā*/ 'tailor,' **كَدَّانٌ** /*kaddāvā*/ 'liar'; **زَكَّيٌّ** /*zakkāy*/ 'innocent, victorious,' **قَيَّيْمٌ** /*qayyām*/ 'abiding.'

Quttāl is a pattern for action noun derived from verbs in the Pael

²⁴ In this context, the short vowel marked as *ǔ*, is either /a/ or /e/, but not /i/ or /u/.

²⁵ This is a pattern for the passive participle of a trilateral root in its basic pattern, Peal: § 50.

²⁶ This last represents a pattern for diminutives.

²⁷ In view of BA **עָפָרָה** (< Akk. /immeru/) the Syr. equivalent **عَمْرَه** 'lamb' also belongs here.

pattern: e.g. ܠܘܗܪܐ /zuhhārā/ 'warning,' ܕܒܒܪܐ /dubbārā/ 'conduct,' ܠܘܥܐܠܐ /šūʿālā/ 'questioning.' Some colour terms also belong here: ܦܘܟܟܐ /Pukkām/ 'black,' ܫܘܡܡܐ /summāq/ 'red,' ܝܘܪܪܐ /yurrāq/ 'green,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /šuhhār/ 'reddish,' ܦܘܪܪܐ /Purrāgā/ 'multi-coloured.'

Qaṭīl is highly productive with adjectives including verbal adjectives indicating states: ܦܪܪܐ /Parrik/ 'long,' ܢܚܒܐ /naḥib/ 'wise,' ܫܘܒܪܐ /šubbir/ 'many,' ܦܚܘܒܐ /pachub/ 'deep,' ܪܟܝܟܐ /rakkik/ 'soft,' ܩܘܒܠܐ /qubal/ 'mighty,' ܦܚܘܒܐ /pachub/ 'beautiful,' ܦܘܪܪܐ /Purrāgā/ 'gone out,' ܦܘܪܪܐ /Pazzil/ 'gone,' ܦܘܪܪܐ /Pabbid/ 'lost,' ܝܘܪܪܐ /yattiv/ 'seated.'

§ 37 **Patterns with four or more radicals.** Syriac knows quite a few such nouns and adjectives (some verbs as well). The expansion from the basic three-radical root is often achieved by repeating the last radical or the last two radicals, or by the addition of an affix such as /t-/, /s-/ or /š-/: e.g. ܩܘܩܠܐ /quvllā/ 'countenance' < √ ܩܘܠ 'to face,' ܩܘܩܠܐ /quvllā/ 'complete' < ܩܘܠ 'whole,' ܩܘܩܠܐ /saqbel/ 'to go towards' < √ ܩܘܠ 'to go,' ܠܘܥܐܠܐ /šūʿbādā/ 'subjugation' < √ ܠܘܥ 'to serve'; ܬܘܠܡܕܐ /tulmādā/ 'instruction' < √ ܬܠܡ 'to learn.'

§ 38 **Patterns with prefixes and suffixes.**

a) There are countless nouns prefixed with /m-/: ܡܫܟܢܐ /maškan/ 'tent,' ܡܫܫܘܒܐ /massav/ 'taking' (< √ ܡܫܘܒ), ܡܪܩܘܒܐ /markavīā/ 'vehicle,' ܡܫܬܝܐ /maštyā/ 'drink,' ܡܘܘܩܬܐ /māwtvā/ 'session' (< √ ܡܘܩܬ), ܡܪܕܝܐ /mardī/ 'journey' (< √ ܡܪܕ), ܡܘܩܠܬܐ /mēkultā/ 'food.'

b) Also common is the prefix /t-/: ܬܘܩܠܠܐ /taṭlilā/ 'roof,' ܬܘܩܬܘܫܐ /taḳtušā/ 'fight,' ܬܘܫܡܫܬܐ /tešmeštā/ 'service,' ܬܘܫܘܩܐ /tašūqā/ 'tale.'

c) Rare are /p-/ and /y-/: ܦܘܩܘܒܐ /Pabbuvā/ 'flute' (< √ ܦܘܩܘܒ); ܦܘܪܪܐ /yahburā/ 'dense smoke.'

d) /-ān/, or less frequently /-on/, is extremely common as a suffix: ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /puqdānā/ 'order,' ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /benyānā/ 'building,' ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /nesyonā/ 'trying experience'; simultaneously with a prefix—ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /masqānā/ 'ascent' (< √ ܦܘܩܕ); also common with adjectives—ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /Par-ān/ 'earthly,' ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /šmayyān/ 'celestial.'

This suffix is also added to the feminine morpheme /t/: ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /hemtān/ 'angry' (< ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ 'anger'), ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ /neqbtān/ 'feminine' (< ܦܘܩܕܐܢܐ 'female').

It is further exploited to generate actor nouns (§ 51) from all active or reflexive participles with the prefix /m-/: *ܡܫܒܗܢܐ* /mšabhānā/ 'adorer' (< Pael ptc. *ܡܫܒܗܢܐ*), *ܡܪܓܙܢܐ* /margzānā/ 'one who angers' (< Afel ptc. *ܡܪܓܙܢܐ*).

e) /-āy/ is a highly frequent suffix used to derive an adjective from a noun²⁸: *ܦܠܗܝܐ* /Palāhāyā/ 'divine,' *ܒܝܬܝܐ* /baytāyā/ 'homely, domestic,' *ܝܗܘܕܝܐ* /ihudāyā/ 'Jewish.' Some such adjectives are derived from the plural stem, always irregular plural formation: *ܢܝܫܝܐ* /neššāyā/ 'womanly' (< *ܢܝܫܝܐ*, pl. of *ܢܝܫܐ*), *ܦܘܘܗܝܐ* /Pavāhāyā/ 'fatherly' (< *ܦܘܘܗܝܐ*, pl. of *ܦܘܗܐ*), *ܫܡܗܝܐ* /šmāhāyā/ 'nominal' (< *ܫܡܝܐ*, pl. of *ܫܡܐ*), *ܩܘܪܝܐ* /quryāyā/ 'rural' (< *ܩܘܪܝܐ*, pl. of *ܩܪܝܐ*).

f) Pedantic Syriac loves multiple suffixes: *ܢܦܫܢܝܐ* /nafšnāyā/ ψυχικός 'pertaining to the soul,' *ܪܘܚܢܝܐ* /ruhānāyā/ πνευματικός 'spiritual,' *ܩܝܬܢܝܐ* /qētānāyā/ 'ecclesiastical.'

g) Some feminine nouns are formed by adding /-i/ as suffix: e.g. *ܕܒܝܘܪܝܐ* /debborīā/ 'bee,' *ܫܢܘܢܝܐ* /snunīā/ 'swallow.'²⁹

h) Many masculine abstract nouns are formed by adding /-y/ : e.g. *ܗܬܘܦܝܐ* /htufyā/ 'taking by violence,' *ܦܥܫܘܪܝܐ* /Pasuryā/ 'incarceration,' *ܗܦܘܟܝܐ* /hfukyā/ 'overturning.'

i) Another highly common suffix for abstract nouns, this time of feminine gender, is /-ūt/: *ܡܠܟܘܬܐ* /malkūtā/ 'reign,' *ܡܝܬܘܬܐ* /māy-ōtūtā/ 'mortality,' *ܬܝܒܘܬܐ* /taybutā/ 'grace,' *ܕܐܩܘܬܐ* /dakyūtā/ 'innocence.'

§ 39 **Diminutives.** A number of suffixes are used to generate nouns denoting small objects: /-on/—*ܡܠܟܘܢܐ* /malkonā/ 'kinglet,' *ܩܬܘܢܐ* /ktāvonā/ 'booklet,' *ܟܝܦܢܝܐ* /kēfonitā/ 'pebble' (< *ܟܝܦܢܐ* 'stone')³⁰; /-os/—*ܢܘܢܘܫܐ* /nunosā/ 'small fish' (< *ܢܘܫܐ*), *ܓܢܢܘܫܬܐ* /gannostā/ 'small garden' (< *ܓܢܝܬܐ*).

§ 40 **Attachment of the suffixed personal pronouns.** In § 11 above we have given a set of personal pronouns suffixed to nouns and some

²⁸ The term *nisbe*, borrowed from the Arabic philology, is often used.

²⁹ These nouns ought not to be confused with such as *ܬܘܒܝܐ* 'tale,' where the /i/ is derived from the third radical, which is /y/.

³⁰ On the infix /i/ as fem. morpheme, see above, § 28.

prepositions. That set (Set A) is actually used with nouns in the singular, both masculine and feminine, *and* feminine plural nouns. There is, however, another slightly different set (Set B) to be used with *masculine plural* nouns and some prepositions.

sg. 1	أنا	/-ay/	pl. أنا	/-ayn/
2m.	أنت	/-ayk/	مخف	/-aykon/
f.	أنت	/-ayk/	مخبة	/-aykēn/
3m.	هو	/-āw/	مخف	/-ayhon/
f.	هي	/-ēh/	مخبة	/-ayhēn/

N.B. 1. Unlike in Set A, the Yodh of the 1sg. *is* pronounced.

2. The Kaf of the 2nd person, both sg. and pl., is pronounced hard in contrast to Set A.

3. Note the peculiar form of the 3m.sg. form.

4. "his" in Set A sounds the same as "her" in Set B, though there is in the latter a Yodh before the final He: e.g. ملكه /meltēh/ 'his word' vs. ملكه /mellēh/ 'her words,' or ملكه /malkēh/ 'his king' vs. ملكه /malkēh/ 'her kings.'

5. When we speak of "masculine" or "feminine" here, we are speaking of the characteristic masculine or feminine form. Thus, though ملكه /meltā/ is a feminine noun, its plural shows the characteristically masculine endings: ملكه /mellin/, ملكه /mellē/. Therefore, for the purpose of the attachment of possessive suffix pronouns, its plural is regarded as masculine, requiring Set B: thus ملكه /mellāw/ 'his words.' Conversely, since the plural of a masculine noun اسم /šmā/ is أسماء /šmāhān/, أسماء /šmāhātā/, the noun requires suffixed pronouns of Set A: أسماءهم /šmāhāthon/ 'their names.'

§ 41 The two sets are given below, attached to the noun دين /dinā/ 'judgement.'

Set A		Set B	
sg. ('my judgement,' etc.)		pl. ('my judgements' etc.)	
دي	/din/	ديني	/dinay/ my
ديني	/dināk/	دينيني	/dinayk/ your (m.sg.)
ديني	/dinēk/	دينيني	/dinayk/ your (f.sg.)

دِينِهِ	/dinēh/	دِينَاو	/dināw/	his
دِينِهَا	/dināh/	دِينِهَا	/dinēh/	her
دِينَان	/dinan/	دِينَانِنَا	/dinayn/	our
دِينِكُون	/dinkon/	دِينَايَكُون	/dinaykon/	your (m.pl.)
دِينِكُونِنَا	/dinkēn/	دِينَايَكُونِنَا	/dinaykēn/	your (f.pl.)
دِينِهُون	/dinhon/	دِينَايَهُون	/dinayhon/	their (m.)
دِينِهُونِنَا	/dinhēn/	دِينَايَهُونِنَا	/dinayhēn/	their (f.)

§ 42 In attaching these possessive suffix pronouns the following points ought to be remembered:

a) The pronouns are attached to the stem of the noun which can be obtained by removing the emphatic state morphemes, viz. /-ā; -ē; -ayyā/.

b) Their addition to nouns in the plural, whether masculine or feminine, is the simplest:

پالَاهِيَهَ /Palāhē/ 'gods' > پالَاهَاو /Palāhāw/ 'his gods'

پاواهاآتَهَ /Pavāhātā/ 'fathers' > پاواهاآتَان /Pavāhātān/ 'our fathers.'

c) If the sg. stem ends in -CvVC⁽³¹⁾, -CvCC or -CvC=C⁽³²⁾, in other words, if the last consonant is preceded by a long vowel or another consonant, whether identical or not, attach the suffix to it:

رِيشَا /rēšā/ > رِيشَاه /rēšāh/ 'her head'

دَاهوَا /dahvā/ > دَاهَوَاك /dahvāk/ 'your (m.sg.) gold'

پَاوُرَا /pāūrā/ > پَاوُرِيَه /pāūrēh/ 'his table'

لَبَبَا /lebbā/ > لَبَبِيَك /lebbēk/ 'your (f.sg.) heart'

Here the feminine morpheme /-t/ counts as final consonant:

مَاشِرِيَا /mašriyā/ > مَاشِرِيَاه /mašriyēh/ 'his encampment'

يَاوَلْتَا /yālettā/ > يَاوَلْتَاه /yālettāh/ 'her mother'.

d) If the sg. stem ends in -CvVCC or -CCC, a vowel needs to be inserted between the last two consonants when the suffix for 1sg., 2pl. or 3pl. is added.⁽³³⁾ When the last consonant is the feminine ending /-t/, the vowel to be inserted is /a/. Otherwise, it is unpredictable.

مَالِكَا /malkā/ > مَالِكَاه /malkāh/ 'her queen'

but مَالِكَاثُون /malkāthōn/ 'their q.'

³¹ The symbol "vv" signifies any one of the vowels /ā, ē, i, u, o/, namely all vowels other than short /a, e/, which latter are deletable (§ 6 A).

³² C=C means that the last two consonants are identical, or gemination of a consonant.

هَآءُ	/hāwbā/	>	هَآءُ	/hāwbāḥ/	'your debt'
			هَآءُ	/hāwbā/	'my d.' ⁽³⁴⁾
		but	هَآءُ	/hāwbā/	
هَآءُ	/dukṭā/	>	هَآءُ	/dukṭāh/	'her place' ⁽³⁵⁾
			هَآءُ	/dukṭākēn/	'your p.'
		but	هَآءُ	/dukṭākēn/	
هَآءُ	/mašknā/	>	هَآءُ	/mašknēh/	'his tent'
			هَآءُ	/maškanḥon/	'your t'
		but	هَآءُ	/maškan/	'my t.'
هَآءُ	/rāḥmā/	>	هَآءُ	/rāḥmēh/	'his friend'
			هَآءُ	/rāḥemhon/	'their f.'
		but	هَآءُ	/rāḥemhon/	

e) A small number of biconsonantal nouns whose stem is CC is also subject to the same rule as given under (d):⁽³⁶⁾

هَآءُ /smā/ 'name'— هَآءُ 'his name,' but هَآءُ /šēm/ 'my name' and هَآءُ 'their name'

هَآءُ /dmā/ 'blood,' but هَآءُ 'your (m.pl.) blood'

هَآءُ /brā/ 'son'— هَآءُ 'his son,' but هَآءُ /bēr/ 'my son'

هَآءُ /znā/ 'kind'— هَآءُ 'her kind,' but هَآءُ /zankon/ 'your (pl.m.) kind.'

§ 43 Some common irregular nouns.

	abs./cst.	sg. + suf.	pl.
father	هَآءُ /avā/	هَآءُ, هَآءُ, هَآءُ etc. ⁽³⁷⁾ /ʾāv, 'avuk, 'avuy/	هَآءُ / /avāhātā, 'avāhē/
brother	هَآءُ /aḥā/	هَآءُ, هَآءُ, هَآءُ etc. /ʾāḥ, 'aḥuk, 'aḥuy/	هَآءُ /ʾaḥē/

³³ Historically speaking, this /a/ has been secondarily dropped as a result of the vowel deletion rule: e.g. /malkāh/ 'her queen/ is derived from /*malkatāh/. This *a* has been preserved in the st. cst. form, /malkat/. As a matter of fact, there is some fluctuation and uncertainty in this regard: هَآءُ /ʾāvt/ 'my good thing' vs. هَآءُ /ʾāvāḥon/ 'their good thing'; هَآءُ /mārt/ 'my mistress' vs. هَآءُ /ʾāqat/ 'my distress.'

³⁴ The /w/ or /y/ of the diphthong /aw/ or /ay/ respectively is regarded here as consonantal.

³⁵ Though the ending is pronounced /kt/, morphophonemically it is /kkt/: see § 6 G.

³⁶ Though biconsonantal, words such as هَآءُ /marā/ 'master' and هَآءُ /qālā/ 'voice' naturally do not belong here.

³⁷ Cf. هَآءُ /ḥēm/ 'my husband's father.'

sister	هَاتَا /hātā/	?	هَاتَا etc. /hāt/	هَاتَا /'ahwātā/
other m.	هَرَنَا /hrēnā/	هَرَنَا	هَرَنَا /hrēn/	هَرَنَا /hrānē/
f.	هَرَيَا /hrēyā/	هَرَيَا	هَرَيَا /hrānyā/	هَرَيَا /hrānyātā/
woman	اَتَا /'attā/	اَتَا	اَتَا, اَتَا, اَتَا etc. /'atta/ 'at, 'attēh/	اَتَا /nešē/
son	بَرَا /brā/	بَرَا	بَرَا, بَرَا, بَرَا etc. /bēr, brāk, berhon/	بَرَا /bnayyā/
daughter	بَرَيَا /barṭā/	بَرَيَا	بَرَيَا, بَرَيَا etc. /braṭ, barṭāk/	بَرَيَا /bnāyā/
house	بَايَا /baytā/	بَايَا	بَايَا, بَايَا etc. /bayt, baytāk/	بَايَا /bātayyā/
hand	يَدَا /(')idā/	يَدَا/يَدَا ⁽³⁸⁾	يَدَا, يَدَا etc. /(')id, (')idāk/	يَدَا / يَدَا /(')idayyā, (')idē/
night	لَيَا ⁽³⁹⁾ /lāyā/	?	لَيَا ⁽⁴⁰⁾ /lāyeh/	لَيَا /laylawātā/
lord	مَارَيَا / مَارَيَا ⁽⁴¹⁾ /māryā, mārē/	مَارَيَا ⁽⁴²⁾	مَارَا, مَارَاهَا etc. /mār, mārēh/	مَارَيَا ⁽⁴³⁾ /mārāyā/
city	قَرَيَا /qriyā/	qst. قَرَيَا/قَرَيَا	قَرَيَا, قَرَيَا etc. /qeryat, quryat/	قَرَيَا ⁽⁴⁴⁾ /quryā/
field		abs. قَرَا /qrē/		
year	سَاتَا /šattā/	سَاتَا		سَاتَا /šnayyā/

³⁸ /yad/ in prepositional phrases like قَرَا /byad/; /(')id/ 'hand of.'

³⁹ Alternative spellings: لَيَا, لَيَا, لَيَا.

⁴⁰ So at Jonah 4.10.

⁴¹ /māryā/ of the God of Israel or Christ.

⁴² The status abs. is not attested.

⁴³ Alternatively: مَارَا /mārē/, مَارَا /mārāwātā/.

⁴⁴ Apparently singular used collectively. Note further pl. st. cst. قَرَيَا; + suf., قَرَيَا or قَرَيَا. قَرَيَا 'his cities,' قَرَيَا 'her cities,' قَرَيَا or قَرَيَا 'their cities.' There also exists a Grecised plural form: قَرَيَا or قَرَيَا.

§ 44 Numerals

a) Cardinals

	m.	f.		m.	f.
1	واحد /ḥad/	واحدة /ḥdā/	2	اثنان /trēn/	اثنتان /tartēn/
3	ثلاثة /tlāṭa/	ثلاث /tlāṭ/	4	أربعة /'arb'ā/	أربع /'arba'/
5	خمس /ḥamsā/	خمسة /ḥameš/	6	ستة /sēṭa/	ست /šet/
7	سبعة /šav'ā/	سبع /šva'/	8	ثمانية /tmānyā/	ثمانية /tmānē/
9	تسعة /teš'ā/	تسع /tša'/	10	عشرة /'esrā/	عشر /'sar/
11 m.	مئتين /ḥda'sar/				
	f. مئتين, مئتين /ḥda'srē, ḥda'esrē/				
12 m.	ثلاثون /tre'sar/				
	f. ثلاثون, ثلاثون /tarta'srē, tarta'esrē/				
13 m.	أربعون /tlāṭa'sar/				
	f. أربعون, أربعون /tlāṭa'srē, tlāṭa'esrē/				
14 m.	أربعون, أربعون, أربعون /'arbṭa'sar, 'arba'sar, 'arebṭa'sar/				
	f. أربعون, أربعون (أربعون) /'arba'srē, 'arba'esrē/				
15 m.	خمسةون, خمسةون /ḥamsā'sar, ḥamešta'sar/				
	f. خمسةون, خمسةون /ḥamsā'srē, ḥamsā'esrē/				
16 m.	ES سبعةون, ستةون /šetta'sar, šta'sar/, WS ستةون /šṭa'sar/				
	f. ES سبعةون, ستةون /šetta'srē, šetta'esrē/, WS ستةون /šṭa'srē/				
17 m.	ثمانيون, ثمانيةون (ثمانون) /šva'ta'sar, švātta'sar, šva'sar/				
	f. ثمانيةون, ثمانيةون (ثمانون) /šva'srē, šva'esrē/				
18 m.	ثمانون (ثمانون) /tmānta'sar, tmāna'sar/				
	f. ثمانيةون, ثمانيةون /tmāna'srē, tmāna'esrē/				
19 m.	تسعون, ثمانونون, تسعون /tšāta'sar, tša'ta'sar, tša'sar/				
	f. ثمانونون, ثمانونون /tša'srē, tša'esrē/				
20	عشرون /'esrin/	اثنان /tlāṭin/	40	أربعون /'arb'in/	
50	خمسون /ḥamsin/	ستون /štin, 'eštin/	70	سبعون /šav'in/	
80	ثمانون (ثمانون) /tmānin/	90	تسعون /teš'in/		
100	مائة /mā/ ⁽⁴⁵⁾	200	مئتين /maṭēn/	300	ثلاثمائة /tlāṭmā/
1000	ألف /'ālef/, pl. ألفون, ألفون /'alfin, 'alfē/	2000	ألفون ألفون /'alfin, 'alfē trēn/		

⁴⁵ St. emph. مائة /māṭ/; pl. abs. مائون /mawān/, emph. مائةون /māwāṭ/.

10.000 رِبْعِيْنَ /rebbu/, pl. رِبْعِيْنَ /rebwātā/

Forms designated as masculine are used with a masculine noun, and those designated as feminine with a feminine noun: e.g., ثَلَاثَةٌ قَبِيْلَةٌ /tālātū bnin waṭlātū bnān/ 'three sons and three daughters.'

A composite number shows the descending order as in English: 7337 = سَبْعِيْنَ رِبْعِيْنَ ثَلَاثِيْنَ رَجُلِيْنَ /sav'ā 'alfin waṭlātū mā waṭlātū in wšav'ā/.

ثَلَاثِيْنَ رِبْعِيْنَ /tre'sartā/ 'the twelve (apostles)' and رِبْعِيْنَ /'sartā/ 'the decade' are cases of substantivised numerals.

b) Ordinals

1st رِبْعِيْنَ /qadīmāyā/, also رِبْعِيْنَ /qadīmā/, st.abs. رِبْعِيْنَ /qdem/

2nd ثَلَاثِيْنَ /trayānā/, f. ثَلَاثِيْنَ /trayānīṭā/,

also ثَلَاثِيْنَ /tenyānā/, f. ثَلَاثِيْنَ /tenyāṭā/

3rd ثَلَاثِيْنَ /tliṭāyā/ 4th رِبْعِيْنَ /rvi'āyā/ 5th سَبْعِيْنَ /hamšāyā/

6th ثَلَاثِيْنَ /štiṭāyā/ (WS ثَلَاثِيْنَ /štiṭāyā/) 7th رِبْعِيْنَ /švi'āyā/

8th رِبْعِيْنَ /tmināyā/ 9th رِبْعِيْنَ /tši'āyā/ 10th رِبْعِيْنَ /sirāyā/

An alternative and favourite mode is the use of the particle *ʔ* followed by a cardinal numeral, which latter must agree in gender with the noun concerned: Gn 1.19 رِبْعِيْنَ رِبْعِيْنَ /yawmā darb'ā/ 'fourth day,' Dt 26.12 ثَلَاثِيْنَ رِبْعِيْنَ /bšattā daṭlāṭ/ 'in the third year.'⁽⁴⁶⁾

The first five days of the week are indicated by using the masc. form of the cardinal numerals followed by رِبْعِيْنَ /bšabbā/ 'in the week,' whether written separately or joined with the numerals: Sunday رِبْعِيْنَ /hadbšabbā/⁽⁴⁷⁾, Mo. رِبْعِيْنَ /tērbšabbā/, Tu. رِبْعِيْنَ /lāṭbšabbā/, We. رِبْعِيْنَ /'arba'bšabbā/, Th. رِبْعِيْنَ /ḥamešbšabbā/, Fr. رِبْعِيْنَ /ruvtā/, Sa. رِبْعِيْنَ /šabṭā/.

The days of the month for the 2nd to the 19th are given by the masc. emph. form of the cardinals: 'on the 2nd' رِبْعِيْنَ /baṭrāyā/, 'on the 3rd' رِبْعِيْنَ /baṭlāttā/⁽⁴⁸⁾, 'on the 4th' رِبْعِيْنَ /barba'tā/ etc., 'on the 11th' رِبْعِيْنَ etc.

⁴⁶ This must be distinguished from cases such as Jn 21.37 رِبْعِيْنَ رِبْعِيْنَ /daṭlāṭ zavnin/ 'for a third time.'

⁴⁷ See Weninger 2001. On رِبْعِيْنَ /šabbā/ 'week,' see above § 27.

⁴⁸ /baṭlāttā/ < /baṭlāṭtā/.

c) **Fractions.** **١/٢** /pelgā/ 1/2, **١/٣** /tultā/ 1/3 (**١/٣** /tultā/ 'three-year old'), **١/٤** /ruv'ā/ 1/4, **١/٥** /humšā/ 1/5, **١/٨** /tumnā/ 1/8, **١/١٠** /'usrā/ 1/10.

§ 45 The cardinals from 2 to 9 can take a suffix pronoun: e.g. **١/٢** /traykon/ 'you (m.) two,' **١/٣** /tartayhēn/ 'they (f.) two,' **١/٣** /tlāttayhon/ 'they (m.) three.'⁴⁹ The rest, with the 3m.pl. suffix, are: **١/٢** /'arb'āttayhon/, **١/٥** /hamšāttayhon/ **١/٣** /stāttayhon/, **١/٧** /šav'āttayhon/, **١/٩** /tmānyāttayhon/, **١/١٠** /teš'āttayhon/, **١/١١** /'esrāttayhon/.

§ 46 The prepositions take the pronouns they govern in the form of suffix pronouns: thus **١/٣** /malkā/ 'to the king' vs. **١/٣** /lēh/ 'to him.' The following prepositions, however, take the suffix pronouns of Set B:

١/٣ /'al/: **١/٣** /'lāw/ 'on him/it,' **١/٣** /layhon/ 'upon them' **١/٣** /hḏār/ 'around'; **١/٣** /thot/ 'under'; **١/٣** /sēd/ 'with, towards'; **١/٣** /qdām/ 'ahead of; before, in the presence of'; **١/٣** /hlāf/ 'instead of'; **١/٣** /bel'ād/ 'without'; **١/٣** /'ēn/ 'in front of.'

With a suffix pronoun we find **١/٣** /mettolāt/ for **١/٣** /mettul, mettol/: e.g. **١/٣** /mettolātēh/ 'on his account.'

The following are subject to the vowel deletion rule (§ 6 A):

١/٣ /bestar/ 'behind' → **١/٣** /bestar/, **١/٣** /bestrāk/, but **١/٣** /bestarhon/ etc.

١/٣ /bātar/ 'after' → **١/٣** /bātar/, **١/٣** /bātrēh/, but **١/٣** /bātarhon/ etc.

١/٣ /luqval/ 'opposite, against' → **١/٣** /luqvlan/, but **١/٣** /luqval, /luqval/, **١/٣** /luqvalhon/.

The preposition **١/٣** /ak/ has an allomorph to be used with a suffix pronoun: **١/٣** /'ak malkā/ 'like a king,' but **١/٣** /'akwātēh/ 'like him.'

The particle of existence **١/٣** /Pi/ and that of non-existence **١/٣**

⁴⁹ The hard /t/ of the middle Taw is due to an assimilation: /*tlāttayhon/ > tlāttayhon/, where the /-ay-/ is due to the analogy of /trayhon/ 'they two.' The /-āttay/ thus produced seems to have influenced all the following numerals. So Brockelmann 1908:488.

/layt/, when they take a suffix pronoun, take one of Set B: ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܘܕܐ /'avdā ʔitaw baqriṯā/ 'the servant is in the field'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܘܕܐ /laytēh bhayklā/ 'she is not in the temple.' Likewise ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܘܕܐ /balḥod/ 'alone': ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܘܕܐ /balḥodāw/ 'he alone, on his own.'

§ 47 Adverbs. /-āʔi/ is a productive ending for forming an adverb from any adjective or noun: e.g. ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /šarrir/ 'true' > ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܘܕܐ /šarrirāʔi/ 'truly'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ 'god' > ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܘܕܐ 'divinely.' A far less productive suffix is /-at/: e.g. ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /ʔaryat/ 'in naked condition'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /rabbat/ 'greatly'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /hayyat/ 'in living form'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /šawyat/ 'simultaneously'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /hrāyat/ 'lastly'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /qadīmāyat/ 'firstly.' Here we may include also ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /twā/ 'without eating'⁽⁵⁰⁾; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /šwāt/ 'simultaneously'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /tenyānu/ 'for a second time'⁽⁵¹⁾; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ /tliṯāyut/ 'for a third time.' An undeclined m. sg. adjective may also function as adverbial: e.g., 1Kg 18.24 ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܘܕܐ /šappir 'emart/ 'you have said well, you are right.'

Verb

§ 48 The Syriac verb is conjugated in respect of "tense," pattern (or: binyan, pl. binyanim), person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), number (sg. and pl.), gender (m. and f.), and voice (active and passive). The conjugation takes place through the addition of suffixes and/or prefixes, the modification of vowel patterns⁽⁵²⁾ and/or the doubling of the middle radical.

Syriac knows three "tenses," traditionally termed perfect, imperfect, and participle, the last of which is often nominalised. In addition there are the imperative and the infinitive.

⁵⁰ Note the same form in BA, Dn 6.19.

⁵¹ Note the same form in BA, Dn 2.7.

⁵² Unlike in Hebrew and Arabic, for instance, the vowel pattern, except in Peal, remains constant throughout the conjugation. For instance, the vowel sequence /a-e/ characterises the entire conjugation of Pael: Perfect and Imperative ܩܒܠܐ /qabbel/, Imperfect ܩܒܠܐ /nqabbel/, Participle ܩܒܠܐ /mqabbel/. The Infinitive ܩܒܠܐ ܕܥܡܐ /lamqabbālu/ deviates slightly: see below § 52. The only important exception here is the Imperative of Ethpeel: ܩܒܠܐ /etpaʔ/ (spelled also ܩܒܠܐ or ܩܒܠܐ with a marḥetana), which thus contrasts with the Perfect ܩܒܠܐ.

§ 49 Syriac has six patterns, traditionally named after the root **כדל**:

P ^{al}	Etp ^{al}
Pa ^{al}	Etpa ^{al}
ʾAfel	Ettaf ^{al} (⁵³)

The semantic or functional opposition between these six patterns is still a matter of debate. The three Eth-prefixed patterns are partly reflexive, passive or ingressive, the last of which indicates entry into a new state or taking on of a property or characteristic. Each of the three *Eth*-patterns corresponds to the one in the first column: e.g. **כדל** /ktav/ 'to write'⁵⁴ vs. **כדל** /ketktev/ 'to be written,' or **קבל** /qabbel/ 'to receive' vs. **קבל** /etqabbal/ 'to be received.' Afel is often causative: **קבל** /kraq/ 'to take to flight' vs. **קבל** /pa^{al}req/ 'to put to flight.' Its *Eth*-pattern, Ettaf^{al}, is relatively little used. Instead, not a few Afel verbs show their *Eth*-pattern as Ethpe or Ethpa: e.g. **קבל** /pa^{al}krez/ 'to preach' vs. **קבל** /etkrez/ 'to be preached'; **אשלם** /'ašlem/ 'to deliver' vs. **אשלם** /'eštlem/ 'to be delivered'; **אחלל** /'ahhel/ (√ **ללח**) 'to mock' vs. **אחלל** /'ethallal/ 'to be mocked.'

There are a small number of causative verbs whose prefix is either /š/ or /s/. These latter are, however, far less productive than /p/: **שקל** /šaklel/ 'to perfect,' **שב** /ša^{al}bed/ 'to subjugate,' **סאקל** /saqbel/ 'to go towards.' These patterns may be called Shafel and Safel respectively. Their *Eth*-patterns show metathesis (§ 6 N): Eshtafal **שקל** /'eštaklal/ 'to be perfected.'

There are a considerable number of verbs with four, sometimes five, radicals, among which one may include the above-mentioned Shafel and Safel. Their conjugation is analogous to that of Pael and Ethpaal: **בלבל** /balbel/ 'to confuse,' **בלבל** /'etbalbal/ 'to be confused,' **האמן** /haymen/ 'to believe,' **האמן** /'ethayman/ 'to be entrusted,' **אמן**

⁵³ Partly in accordance with the widespread practice and partly for simplicity's sake, we shall hereafter refer to these patterns as Pe(al), Pa(el), Af(el), Ethpe(el), Ethpa(al), and Ettaf(al).

⁵⁴ As on the foregoing pages, we shall quote a verb as a lexeme in its simplest form, namely Perfect, 3m.sg., but gloss it, for convenience' sake, as an infinitive: here "to write," not "he wrote, he has written, he had written."

/šragreḡ/ 'to display fanciful thoughts,' **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** /Peštraḡraḡ/ 'to indulge in fantasies.'

Not every verb is attested in all the six patterns, and many were most likely never used in all those six patterns. Where the tradition of vocalisation is not certain, one is not always able to determine with certainty the pattern of a particular verb form.⁽⁵⁵⁾

§ 50 The **passive voice** is partly indicated by the *eth*-patterns. In other words, all the three non-*eth*-patterns are active. The participle of these three active patterns has a passive pattern indicated by a vowel pattern different from that of the active pattern, which we may call internal passive as against *eth*-prefixed external passive:

	Active	Passive
Peal	𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹 /kāev/	𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹 /ktiv/
Pael	𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴 /mḡattev/	𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴 /mḡattav/
Afel	𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴 /maḡtev/	𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴 /maḡtav/ ⁽⁵⁶⁾

Where an internal passive participle is attested side by side with an external, *eth*-prefixed one, the former stresses a result, the latter a process: **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹** /ktiv/ '(already) written' vs. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** /metktiv/ 'in the process of being written'; **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹** /bnē/ 'built' vs. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** /metbnē/ 'under construction.'

§ 51 The **participle** is, in all the patterns except Peal (**𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹**), characterised by a prefix /m-/⁽⁵⁷⁾, and is conjugated in the manner of nouns and adjectives.

Pa: **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** /mḡattev/; Af: **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** /maḡtev/; Ethpe: **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹** /metktiv/; Ethpa: **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹** /metḡattav/; Ettaf: **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹** /metḡattav/.

Morphologically affiliated with the participle is **nomen agentis**, a noun denoting a person who executes the action indicated by the verb. Except in Peal, which shows a pattern **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** /kāḡov/, all the remaining,

⁵⁵ Hence the occasional, neutral designation "Ethp." in Brockelmann 1928.

⁵⁶ The vowel deletion rule (§ 6 A) neutralises the voice distinction when an inflectional ending is added: e.g. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** can be either a Pa. active or passive feminine participle. With some weak roots, however, the distinction remains intact: Af. act.m. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** 'lifting', f. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴**, pass. m. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴** 'lifted', f. **𐎱𐎲𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎴**.

⁵⁷ We give the basic, i.e. m.sg., form: for details, see Paradigm I below.

"derived," patterns build their *nomen agentis* by adding /-ān/ to their active participle: مَقْبَلَانْ /mqablān/ 'receiver' from Pa. مَقْبَلْ /mqabbel/ (with vowel deletion); مَبْرَكَانْ /mvarkān/ 'one who blesses' from Pa. مَبْرَكْ /mbrak/; مَسْكَلَانْ /masklān/ 'sinner' from Af. مَسْكَلْ /maskel/. For the feminine of these *nomina agentis*, see above, § 20.

By extension, a *nomen agentis* may be used adjectivally: دَارَا مَهَابَلَانَا /dārā mḥablānā/ 'a corrupt (lit. corrupting) generation'; مَفْمَا /pumā 'ākolā/ 'a voracious (lit. eating) mouth'; مَوْلَاتِنَا /mawlātina/ 'your saving prayers.'

§ 52 The **infinitive** is always prefixed with an /Im-/ or /lam-/⁵⁸, and, in all the patterns except Peal, ends with /-CāCu/: Peal لِمَعْتَاوْ /Imektāv/; Pa لِمَقْتَاوْ /lamqattāvu/; Af لِمَاقْتَاوْ /lmaqttāvu/; Ethpe لِمَعْتَاوْ /Imektāv/; Ethpa لِمَقْتَاوْ /lmaqttāvu/; Ettaf لِمَتَقْتَاوْ /metaktāvu/.

§ 53 Conjugation classes.

The above-described general scheme of conjugation applies to the regular, triconsonantal verb. There are, however, verbs which deviate from this scheme to varying degrees. These irregular verbs consist of those with Alaf, Yodh, Waw, Nun as one of their radical or those whose second and third radicals are identical: thus Second-Alaf verbs, Third-Alaf verbs, First-Nun verbs, First-Alaf verbs, First-Yodh verbs, Third-Yodh verbs, Second Waw or Yodh verbs, and Geminate verbs. Some of the deviations from the regular pattern can be explained in terms of one or other of the phonetic rules, but not all.

§ 54 The following **inflectional affixes** are applicable irrespective of pattern and conjugational class (§ 53) with the exception of Third-Yodh verbs, on which see below, § 64.

⁵⁸ The choice between the two is governed by the rule § 6 I.

Perfect

sg. 3m.	-	pl.	ⲁ (silent) [-, ⲁⲓ] (⁵⁹)
f.	ⲁⲓ /-aj/	-	[, (silent); ⲁⲓ]
2m.	ⲁ /-t/	ⲁⲓⲁ	/-ton/ [WS: ⲁⲓⲁⲓ /tun/]
f.	ⲁⲓ /-t/	ⲁⲓⲁ	/-tēn/
1c.	ⲁⲓ /et/	ⲁ	/-n/, ⲁⲓ /-nan/

Imperfect⁽⁶⁰⁾

sg. 3m.	-ⲓ	pl.	ⲁⲓ ... ⲓ /n ... un/
f.	ⲁⲓ ⁽⁶¹⁾	ⲁⲓ ... ⲓ	/n ... ān/
2m.	ⲁ	ⲁⲓ ... ⲁ	/t ... un/
f.	ⲁⲓ /t ... in/	ⲁⲓ ... ⲁ	/t ... ān/
1c.	-ⲓ	ⲓ	/n- /

Imperative

sg. m.	-	pl.	ⲁ (silent) { ⲁⲓ }
f.	, (silent)	ⲁⲓ	[, (silent)]

Participle

sg. m.	-	pl.	ⲁ / ... in/
f.	ⲁⲓ / ... ā/	ⲁⲓ ⁽⁶²⁾	/ ... ān/

⁵⁹ Rare forms are enclosed within the square brackets.

⁶⁰ The prefix consonants may be followed by a vowel: /a/, /e/ or /ē/, or no vowel at all. The choice is determined by pattern (Pe, Pa etc.) and/or conjugation class (regular, First-Alaf etc.).

⁶¹ In WS a silent Yodh is often added at the end to distinguish the form from that of the 2m.sg. The Yodh common in the Pf. 3f.pl. in late WS texts serves to distinguish the form from that of the 3m.sg. (except in Third-Yodh verbs). See Brock 2003: 99f.

⁶² Where the short and long forms are given, the former are the older. The imperative forms other than that for the m.sg. retain the middle vowel, as in BA, showing that these are affiliated with the shorter, so-called jussive forms—extinct in Syriac—, which are distinct from the normal imperfect forms from which the middle vowel is deleted in accordance with the vowel deletion rule.

§ 55 Triconsonantal regular verb. (Paradigm I)

Whereas Paradigm I presents the complete conjugation of a regular verb **كُتِبَ** /ktav/ 'to write,' the basic pattern, Peal, has the following sub-patterns in respect of the stem vowel, a vowel following the second radical:

	Perfect	Imperfect and Imperative
1.	a	o ⁽⁶³⁾
2.	a	e
3.	a	a
4.	e	a
5.	e	e
6.	e	o
7.	o	o ⁽⁶⁴⁾

Whereas the type to which a given verb belongs is not always predictable—such information may be found in standard dictionaries as well as in the Glossary at the end of this work—the following observations may be made.

a) Type 1 (a-o) is by far the commonest: e.g. **كُتِبَ** /ktav/, **يَكْتُبُ** /nektov/.

b) Type 2 (a-e) is attested by two regular verbs—**صَدَقَ** /vad/ 'to make,' **يَصِدُّ** /ne'bed/; **زَانَ** /zvan/ 'to buy,' **يَزِينُ** /nezben/—as well as by some First-Nun verbs like **نَفَلَ** /nfal/ 'to fall,' **يَنْفِلُ** /neppel/; **نَفَسَ** /nfaʃ/ 'to shake,' **يَنْفِسُ** /neppes/.

c) Type 3 (a-a) is frequent with Third-Guttural verbs, but not confined to them: e.g. **سَمِعَ** /šmaʕ/ 'to hear,' **يَسْمَعُ** /nešmaʕ/, but also **سَلَّطَ** /šlat/ 'to rule,' **يَسْلِطُ** /nešlat/; **مَالَ** /mal/ 'to toil,' **يَمْلِكُ** /ne'mal/.⁽⁶⁵⁾

d) Type 4 (e-a), intransitive *par excellence*, is rather common: **دَمَعُ** /dmeʕ/ 'to sleep,' **يَدْمَعُ** /nedmak/; **سَلِمَ** /sleq/ 'to ascend,' **يَسْعَى** /nessaq/ (with the assimilation of Lamadh: §§ 6M, 61); **رَمِيَ** /rhem/ 'to love.'

⁶³ This vowel, also of type 6 and 7, appears as /u/ in WS.

⁶⁴ Two verbs attest to the vowel pattern /o-o/: **مَجَفَّ** 'to bristle' and **مَجَفَّ** 'to be black.'

⁶⁵ Unlike in Hebrew, Third-Guttural verbs may have an o in the Imperfect: e.g. **يَسْفِئُ** 'he shall immerse.'

נָחַם /nerham/, נָשַׁם /šlem/ 'to be at peace,' נֶשַׁם /nešlam/.

e) Type 5 (*e-e*) is confined to יָשַׁב /yitev/ 'to sit,' נֶטַע /nettev/ (see below § 63).⁶⁶

f) Type 6 (*e-o*) is attested only by נָחַת /nhet/ 'to descend,' נֶחַת /nehhot/ (the Nun assimilated: § 61); שָׁבַח /ševach/ 'to worship,' נֶשַׁח /nesgoh/; קָרַב /qrev/ 'to draw near,' נֶקַרַב /neqrov/; שָׁטַח /šteq/ 'to keep silent,' נֶשַׁח /neštoq/.

§ 56 Both stem vowels of each of the seven sub-patterns described in the preceding paragraph are subject to deletion (§ 6 A), except in the Imperative, which retains the stem vowel even with the addition of an ending, not only silent consonant (see n. 62 above): e.g. קָרַב, נֶקַרַב, נֶקַרַבְתָּ, נֶקַרַבְתָּ (all pronounced /ktov/), קָרַבְתָּ.

The distinction in the Perfect between *a* sub-pattern and *e* sub-pattern is retained except in the 1sg. and 3f.sg.—

3sg.m.	קָרַב /qvar/	'he buried'	קָרַב /qrev/	'he drew near'
f.	קָרַבְתָּ /qevrat/		קָרַבְתָּ /qerbat/	
2sg.m.	קָרַבְתָּ /qvar/		קָרַבְתָּ /qrev/	
1sg.	קָרַבְתִּי /qevret/		קָרַבְתִּי /qerbet/	
3pl.m.	קָרַבוּ /qvar/		קָרַבוּ /qrev/	

§ 57 Beghadhkephath (§ 6H).

a) A plosive, one of the six consonants, Beghadhkephath, is pronounced soft when it occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster—CCv—at the beginning of a word or a syllable: אָבַח /švaq/ 'he abandoned'; מְבָרַח /mvarrek/ 'blessing'; פֶּתַח /Petqvar/ 'he was buried.'

b) In Peal a Beghadhkephath as third radical becomes hard in Pf. 3f.sg. and 1sg.: קָרַב /qrev/ 'he drew near,' but 3f.sg. קָרַבְתָּ /qerbat/ and 1sg. קָרַבְתִּי /qerbet/.

c) In the Peal participle, a Beghadhkephath as third radical is pronounced hard if an ending is added: נֶאֱבַח /nāqef/ 'consorting,' but f. נֶאֱבַחְתָּ /nāqpā/.

d) In Ethpeel, a Beghadhkephath as third radical is pronounced hard

⁶⁶ For a comparative Semitic description, see Aro 1964.

when a helping vowel *a* is inserted⁶⁷) after the first radical, which happens in Pf. 3f.sg. and 1sg., Impf. 2f.sg., 2 and 3 pl., all forms of the participle except the m.sg., and the Impv.: e.g. **ﺳﻮﺩﺗﻬﺎ** /*etradpat*/ 'she was persecuted,' **ﺳﻮﺩﺗﻬﺎ** /*tetradpin*/ 'you (f.sg.) will be persecuted,' **ﺗﻐﺎﺑﺮ** /*etghafk*/ 'Change!'

e) In Afel, a Beghadhkephath as second radical is always pronounced hard: e.g. **ﺑﺎﻗﻮﺭ** /*Paqpar*/ 'to compel to renounce faith' (with *e* to *a* before *r*: § 6 B).

f) In Pael and Ethpaal, a plosive as second radical is always pronounced hard: **ﻗﺎﺑﻠ** /*qabbel*/ 'to receive,' **ﺗﻘﺎﺑﻞ** /*Petqabbal*/ 'to be received,' Pa., inf. **ﻻﻣﻘﺎﺑﺒﺎﻟﯘ** /*lamqabbālu*/.

In these two patterns the third radical, if a plosive, is always pronounced soft. Hence the distinction between Ethpe. Ptc. f.sg. **ﺑﻮﺩﺗﻬﺎ** /*met'avdā*/ 'being made' and Ethpa. Ptc. f.sg. **ﺑﻮﺗﻘﺎﺭﻭ** /*metqarvā*/ 'approaching.'

g) In Pael Impf. 1sg. the first radical is always doubled, hence pronounced hard, if it is a plosive: **ﺑﻌﺒﺎﺭﻩﻙ** /*Pebbarrek*/ 'I shall bless.'

§ 58 The <*e* to *a*> rule (§ 6B) is regularly applied to Peal Ptc., Pael, Afel, and Ethpeel: e.g., Pe. Ptc. m.sg. **ﻗﺎﻭﺭ** /*qāvar*/ 'burying' < /*qāver/; Pa. Pf. **ﺷﺎﺩﺭ** /*šaddar*/ 'he sent' < /*šadder/; Ethpe. Pf. **ﺗﻘﺎﺭ** /*Petqvar*/ 'he was buried' < /*etqver/. This has the effect of neutralising the distinction between the active and passive participles in Pael and Afel: thus **ﻣﺸﺎﺩﺭ** /*mšaddar*/ can mean either 'sending' (act.) or 'sent' (pass.).

§ 59 Second-Alaf verbs.

The phonological rule (§ 6K) governs the conjugation of a common verb **ﺷﺎﻝ**: Pe Pf. **ﺷﺎﻝ** /*šal*/ < /*š'el/ 'he demanded'; Impf. **ﻧﻌﺎﻝ** /*nešal*/ < /*neš'al/; Inf. **ﻻﻣﻌﺎﻝ** /*lmešal*/ < /*lmeš'al/; Ptc. pass. **ﺷﺎﻝ** /*šil*/ < /*š'il/; Ethpe Pf. **ﺷﺎﻝ** /*Peštel*/ < /*ešt'el/ (with metathesis: § 6N).

§ 60 Third-Alaf verbs.

A very small number of verbs are conjugated as if their final Alaf were still a genuine guttural, though it is actually a silent letter, and thus the

⁶⁷ Perhaps more correct to say that this *a* is original: /*etpa'el/ > /etp'el/ (vowel deletion).

phonological rule § 6K applies. The most common of this group is **ص** 'to comfort': Pa. Pf. **صَبَّ** /bayya/ (as if < /*bayye/ (§ 6B), but 1sg. **صَبَّيْتُ** /bayyet/ (§ 6K); Pa. Impf. **صَبِّبْ** /nvayya/; Pa. Ptc. act. and pass. **صَبَّبَ** /mvayya/. So also **صَبَّ** /tamma/ 'to defile.'⁶⁸

§ 61 First-Nun verbs.

A vowelless Nun is assimilated in Peal Imperfect, Afel and Ettafal. This Nun is absent in the Imperative of most verbs of this type.⁶⁹ Otherwise the conjugation is regular: e.g. Pe. Ptc. m.sg. **نَفَّ** /nāfeq/ 'exiting.'

	<i>/a-o/</i>	<i>/a-a/</i>	<i>/a-e/</i>
Peal Pf.	نَفَّ /nfaq/ 'to exit'	نَفَّ /nsav/ 'to take'	نَفَّ /nfal/ 'to fall'
Impf.	يَفِّم /neppoq/	يَنْفَب /nessav/	يَفِّد /neppel/
Impv.	فَم /poq/	فَب /sav/	فَد /pel/
Inf.	لِنَفِّم /lmeppaq/	لِنَنْفَب /lmessav/	لِنَفِّد /lmeppal/
Afel: Pf. 3m.sg.	نَفَّ 'he took out',	1sg. نَفِّم , نَفِّم ;	
Ptc.	نَفِّم ;	Impv. نَفِّم ;	Inf. لِنَفِّم .
Ettafal: Pf.	نَفِّمَ نَفِّمَ /Pettappaq/ 'he was taken out,' 3f.sg. نَفِّمَ نَفِّمَ .		

Exceptions to the assimilation rule are verbs whose second radical is /h/ (or /h/): e.g. **نَفِّم** 'to illuminate'; **نَفِّم** 'to be barefoot,' but **نَفِّم** 'he will descend' (< **نَفِّم**) and Af. **نَفِّم** 'he made to descend' (< ***نَفِّم**).

An important verb Impf. **نَفِّد** /nettel/ with Inf. **لِنَفِّد** /lmettal/ belongs here. For the other parts of the conjugation, a different root, **نَفِّم**, is used: § 63 c.

Another common *le-a/* verb **نَفِّم** 'to ascend' may be assigned here: Pf. **نَفِّم** /sleq/, Impf. **يَنْفَب** /nessaq/, Impv. **فَب** /saq/, Inf. **لِنَفِّم** /lmessaq/, Af. **نَفِّم** /Passeq/ etc.

§ 62 First-Alaf verbs.

a) In accordance with § 6C, the initial Alaf takes a full vowel: /e/ in

⁶⁸ The majority of original Third-Alaf verbs have gone over to the Third-Yodh class (§ 64).

⁶⁹ Exceptions include **نَفِّم** 'Make a vow!', **نَفِّم** 'Bite!', verbs which retain the Nun in the Impf. such as **نَفِّم** 'Be bright!', and verbs which are also of the Third-Yodh class like **نَفِّم** /nʃi/ 'Quarrel!'

Pe Pf. and in the whole of Ethpe, and /a/ in Pe. Ptc. pass. and Pa. Impf. 1sg.—**ܦܝܟܐܠ** /Peḵal/ 'he ate, **ܦܝܬܝܟܐܠ** /Peṭeḵel/ (§ 6L) 'it was eaten,' **ܦܝܟܝܠ** /Paḵil/ 'eaten,' **ܦܝܒܒܝܕ** /Paḅḅed/ 'I shall destroy.'

b) In Ethpe. and Ethpa., § 6L applies: **ܦܝܬܝܟܐܠ** /Peṭeḵel/ < ***ܦܝܬܝܟܐܠ** 'was eaten'; **ܦܝܬܝܠܠܐܝܫ** /Peṭallāš/ < ***ܦܝܬܝܠܠܐܝܫ** 'was oppressed.' The same rule accounts for **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /nallef/ Pa Impf. < ***ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** 'he shall teach,' Ptc. **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /mallef/ < ***ܦܝܠܠܝܦ**. Note also **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /alles/, which is Pa. Pf. 'he oppressed' as well as Pa. Impf. 1sg. (< ***ܦܝܠܠܝܦ**).

c) The prefix vowel /e/ of the Pe. Impf. and Inf. coalesces with the initial Alaf into /ē/: **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /nēvad/ 'he shall perish'; **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /nēmar/ 'he shall say'; **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /nēḵoll/; **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /lmēmar/ 'to say.' This also applies to verbs which are simultaneously Third-Yodh: **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** 'to come'—**ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /nēṭē/, **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /lmēṭā/.

The prefix vowel in question is spelled with ܝ in ES, but in WS with ܝ̄ when the stem vowel of the Impf. is /a/ and with First-Alaf/Third-Yodh verbs, but with ܝ̄ when the stem vowel is /o/ (or rather /u/ in WS):

ES	WS
ܦܝܠܠܝܦ	ܦܝ̄ܠܠܝܦ 'he shall say'
ܦܝܠܠܝܦ	ܦܝ̄ܠܠܝܦ 'he shall go'
ܦܝܠܠܝܦ	ܦܝ̄ܠܠܝܦ 'he shall bake'
ܦܝܠܠܝܦ /nēḵod/	ܦܝ̄ܠܠܝܦ 'he shall seize'

When the Pe Impf. stem vowel is /o/, the Alaf of the Impv. takes /a/, but /e/ if the former is /a/:

Impf.	Impv.
ܦܝܠܠܝܦ	ܦܝܠܠܝܦ
ܦܝܠܠܝܦ	ܦܝܠܠܝܦ
Irregular: ܦܝܠܠܝܦ	ܦܝܠܠܝܦ from ܦܝܠܠܝܦ 'to go' ⁷⁰

d) In Afel and Ettafal the initial Alaf appears as Waw: **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /Pāwkel/ 'he fed' < **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** 'to eat'; **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /Pāwḅed/ 'he destroyed' < **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** 'to perish'; Ettaf **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** 'he was fed.' The important exception is: **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /Payti/ 'he brought' (from **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** 'he came'), Impf. **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /naytē/, Ptc. **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /maytē/, Inf. **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /maytāyu/. Cf. below, § 63.

⁷⁰ The Infinitive is regular: **ܦܝܠܠܝܦ** /lmēzal/.

e) In Ethpeel some verbs assimilate the initial Alaf to the preceding /t/: $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ (also spelled $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$) /*ṭeṭḥ*/ 'was captured, shut' (< $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ 'to capture, shut'); $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ 'you (m.pl.) were bound.' Also once in Ethpa $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ /*ṭettanah*/ 'he sighed' (< $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$).

f) In Pael Impf. 1sg., note the deletion of the prefix vowel /e/: $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*ṭallef*/ < /**eṭallef*/ (cp. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ 'I shall receive') 'I shall teach.'⁷¹) In the case of this particular and common verb, the Alaf is not written at all under similar circumstances, not only in this particular form: Ptc. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*mallef*/; Impf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ 'he shall teach'; Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*mallāfu*/; nomen agentis $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*malfānā*/ 'teacher.'

g) The following is a synopsis in tabular form:

Peal

Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*ṭeḥal*/

Impf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, 1sg. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Impv. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Ptc.pass. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Ethpeel

Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, 3fs. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Impf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Impv. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*ṭeteḥālu*/; Ptc. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ /*ṭetakhā*/

Pael

Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ 'to compel'; Impf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, 1sg. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Impv. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Ptc. act. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$, pass. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Ethpaal

Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Impf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Impv. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Ptc. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$; Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$

Afel Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ *ṭṭafal* Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ —See under First-Yodh verbs (§ 63).

§ 63 First-Yodh verbs.

a) The conjugation in Pael and Ethpaal is entirely regular.

b) In accordance with § 6D, the initial Yodh is provided with a vowel /i/ where the regular verb would have no vowel, namely Pe Pf.

⁷¹ The form is accidentally identical with Pf. 3m.sg. 'he taught.' In Peal this verb is First-Yodh: $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḥ}$ 'to learn.'

except in the 1sg. and 3f.sg., and Ethpe: ܐܝܬܥܘܒ /yitev/ 'he sat' (but ܐܝܬܥܘܒܬܐ /yēbat/ 'she sat'; Ethpe Ptc. ܐܝܬܥܘܒܬܐ 'being born.' Such an initial /yi-/ is often spelled ܝܐܝܬܥܘܒܬܐ , e.g. ܝܐܝܬܥܘܒܬܐ Pineq/ 'to suck.'

c) In Pe. the commonest pattern is /e-a/: e.g. Pf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫ /yiveš/ 'to be dry'—Impf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /nēvaš/ (WS ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ); ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ 'to give birth'— ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ ; ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ 'to learn'— ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ . Forms such as ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ 'to be heavy'— ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ are not genuine exceptions, for the /a/ of ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ is due to § 6B. Cf. verbs which are also Third-Yodh: Pf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ 'to swear'—Impf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ .

The vowel pattern /e-el/ is attested with certainty by only one verb: Pf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yitev/ 'to sit'—Impf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /nettev/ with the striking gemination of /t/. Likewise Pf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yida/ 'he knew'; Impf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /nedda/.

Note a common, but highly irregular verb ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ : Pf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yav/ 'he gave' (< /*yhav/?), 2m.sg. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yavt/ (but 1sg. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yehbet/; 3f.sg. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yehbat/), Impv. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /hav/. In the Impf. and Inf. this verb is represented by another root: ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /nettel/, ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ etc. (presumably from $\sqrt{\text{ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ}}$).⁷²

The Impv. and Inf. are formed analogously to the Impf.: ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ (Impv.)⁷³, ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ ; ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /mettav/. In other words, in the /e-el/ pattern, the initial Yodh is absent in the Impv.

d) In Afel and Ettafal, as in First-Alaf verbs, the initial Yodh appears as Waw: ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /pāwtev/ 'to settle'; ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /Pettāwtav/ 'to be settled'; ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /pāwda/ 'to make known.' Only two verbs show a Yodh instead: ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /Payneq/ 'to suckle'; ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ 'to bemoan.'

e) The following is a synopsis in tabular form:

Peal

Pf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yizef/ 'to borrow,' ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yezpaʔ/, ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /yizeft/ etc.

Impf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ etc. Impv. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ etc.

ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ etc. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ etc.

⁷² The alleged Impf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , attested twice (according to Brockelmann 1928:298), is doubtful: one occurs in a 12th cent. manuscript, and the other alongside a ptc., ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ , hence easily a scribal error for ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ . The Inf. ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ occurs rarely, usually replaced by ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ /mettal/. Brockelmann (1962: § 175) holds that the striking final Lamadh of ܐܝܘܒܥܝܘܫܐ is due to the preposition Lamadh, which must often have followed the verb.

⁷³ E.g. Is 1.17; Mt 9.13.

يَتَّبِعُ etc.

يَتَّبِعُ etc.

Inf. لِيَتَّبِعْ, لِيَتَّبِعِي, لِيَتَّبِعِي

Ethpeel

Pf. يَتَّبِعُ etc. Impf. يَتَّبِعُ etc.

Inf. لِيَتَّبِعْ

Afel

Pf. أَتَّبَعُ 'to lend,' Impf. أَتَّبِعُ, Impv. أَتَّبِعْ, Ptc. أَتَّبِعُ, Inf. أَتَّبِعْ

Ettafal

Pf. أَتَّبَعْتُ, Impf. أَتَّبِعْتُ, Ptc. أَتَّبِعْتُ, Inf. أَتَّبِعْتُ⁷⁴

§ 64 Third-Yodh verbs (Paradigm II).⁷⁵

This class comprises a very considerable number of verbs, and deviates from the regular verbs the most widely. Hence it calls for the maximum attention.

a) As in the case of the regular, trilateral class which has two subgroups in Peal differentiated by the stem vowel in the Pf. (§ 56) — *qvar*/ vs. *qrev*/—Syriac shows a similar division among its Third-Yodh verbs in Peal: the more common type *rmā*/ 'to throw' as against *dkj*/ 'to be clean.' Other examples of the second type are *hdi*/ 'to rejoice,' *sri*/ 'to stink,' *shi*/ 'to be thirsty,' *li*/ for **Pi*/ (§ 6K) 'to be weary.'⁷⁶ Unlike with the regular verb, this division applies only to the Pf. Elsewhere in the Pe. paradigm there is a single type.

b) In the Pf. 2nd person, both sg. and pl., the suffix *Taw* is pronounced hard, even when it is preceded by a full vowel: e.g., not only in *rmay*/ (diphthong), but also in *hdi*/ 'you (m.sg.)

⁷⁴ The expected Impv. of the type *atṭeb* hardly occurs.

⁷⁵ In spite of the fact that the basic form traditionally quoted as representative of this class of verbs, namely Pe. Pf. 3m.sg., is spelled with *Alaf* as the third radical, it is best to call them "Third-Yodh" for a number of reasons, one such being that, although the great majority of original and genuine Third-Yodh verbs behave in Syriac exactly like original Third-*Alaf* verbs, there do still exist a small number of genuine *Lamadh-Alaf* verbs (§ 60). The *Ettafal* is excluded from the paradigm on account of its extreme rarity.

⁷⁶ Here belongs also *ešti*/ 'to drink,' despite the secondary, initial *Alaf*, which occurs in the Pf. and Impv. only.

rejoiced,' which contrasts with هَدَيْتُ /hdiṭ/ 'I rejoiced.' This distinction applies to *all* patterns, not just Peal. Cf. § 6H. In the first Peal subgroup this 1sg. ending is spelled هَدَيْتُ in ES, but هَدَيْتُ in WS.

c) The pattern of all derived conjugations in the Pf. is similar to that of the هَدَيْتُ type mentioned above: thus

Peal	Pael	Afel
'to be clean'	'to cleanse'	'to multiply' (√ هَد)
3m.sg. هَدِي /dki/	دَكَّر /dakki/	هَسَّغ /pasgi/
f.sg. هَدَيْتُ /dekyat/	دَكَّرْتِ /dakyat/	هَسَّغْتِ /pasgyat/
2m.sg. هَدَيْتَ /dkit/	دَكَّرْتِ /dakkit/	هَسَّغْتِ /pasgit/
1c. هَدَيْتَ /dkit/	دَكَّرْتِ /dakkit/	هَسَّغْتِ /pasgit/
3m.pl. هَدَوْا /dkiw/	دَكَّرُوا /dakkiw/	هَسَّغُوا /pasgiw/

d) This is the only conjugation class in which the ending Waw for 3m.pl. is pronounced (هَدَوْا /rmāw/; هَدَوْا /hdiw/), not only in Pe, but in every pattern: e.g. Pa دَكَّرُوا /dakkiw/ 'they cleansed.' Also in this class only are the Pf. 3m.pl. and 3f.pl. systematically distinguished: e.g. 3m.pl. Pe هَدَوْا /rmāw/, Pa هَدَّوْا /haddiw/ 'they gladdened' as against 3f.pl. Pe هَدَوْنَ /rmay/, Pa هَدَّوْنَ /haddi/.

e) The Impf. 2/3 m.pl. ending /-on/ appears in WS as /-un/: ES هَدَوْا /nermon/, WS هَدَوْا .

f) The original Yodh as third radical is often evident: for instance, in the Inf. in all derived conjugations Pa هَدَّوْا /lamdakkāyu/, Pe Inf. with a pronoun suffix, هَدَّوْا /lmermyāh/ 'to throw her', Pe Pf. 2m.sg. هَدَيْتَ /rmayt/, Ptc. f.sg. Pe هَدَّوْا /rāmyā/, Af هَسَّغْتِ /masgyā/ 'multiplying', f.pl. هَسَّغْنَ /masgyān/, Pe Impv. f.sg. هَدَّوْا /rmāy/.

g) In the Ethpe Impv., WS has هَدَّوْا /Peṭrmay/, for which ES has هَدَّوْا /Peṭramy/, which is modelled on the regular verb.

h) As against the standard /-i/ ending of the Pe. Impv., a few verbs show the archaic ending /-ay/: هَدَّوْا /yimay/ 'to swear' alongside of هَدَّوْا /yimi/; هَدَّوْا /Peštay/ 'to drink.'

§ 65 Second-Waw or -Yodh verbs (Paradigm III).

The outstanding feature of this class of verbs is that in most forms one sees only two radicals with or without an undeletable vowel /u/ or /i/ in the middle. Verbs with such an /u/ are called Second-Waw, and

those with an /i/ Second-Yodh.

a) The deviation from the regular type is observed in Peal, Afel, and Ettafal, whereas in Pael and Ethpaal the conjugation is regular, /y/ serving as middle radical: e.g. Pa قَام /qayyem/ 'to establish'; Ethpa يُقَام /Peṭqayyam/ 'to be established.'

b) مِيت /mit/ is the only Second-Yodh verb that shows a vowel letter between the two radicals in the Pf., all other verbs showing no such. The characteristic Waw or Yodh appears only in the Impf. and Impv.

Second-Waw

Second-Yodh

Impf. 3m.sg. يُقَام /nqum/ 'he shall rise' يُضَم /nsim/ 'he shall put'

Impv. m.sg. قُم /qum/

ضَم /sim/

The above-mentioned مِيت is irregular: Impf. يَمُوت /nmut/; Impv. مُت /mut/.

c) The Ethpeel has been replaced by Ettafal, and there is only one paradigm, irrespective of whether a given verb is Second-Waw or Second-Yodh: يُقِيم /Peṭqim/ 'it was constituted'; يُضَم /Petsim/ 'he was put.'⁽⁷⁷⁾

§ 66 Geminate verbs (Paradigm IV)⁽⁷⁸⁾

In the patterns other than Pael and Ethpaal, in which the conjugation is regular, only one of the two last, identical radicals is visible in most of the forms as they are spelled.

a) In prefixed forms, i.e. Pe. Impf. and Inf., the whole of Af. and Ettaf., verbs of this class are conjugated like First-Nun verbs, this putative Nun getting assimilated to the first radical. Thus Pe. Impf. يَنْبُذ /nebboz/ 'he shall plunder' as if from /*nenboz/, though the real root is $\sqrt{\text{ن ب ذ}}$. Likewise Pe. Inf. لِئَمْبَبِز /lmebbaz/ as if from /*lmenbaz/; Af. Pf. يُدْرِع /Pa^{el}/ 'he introduced' < $\sqrt{\text{د ر ع}}$ 'to enter.'

b) Where two identical radicals have no vowel in between, a shorthand spelling is used, though phonetically there is a doubling, as

⁷⁷ In the Impf., when the personal prefix is Taw, only two Taw's are written: e.g., 3fs. تَمُوت , not تتَمُوت .

⁷⁸ Cf. Boyd 1982.

in Pe. Pf. 3f.sg. **بِزَا** /bezza/ 'she plundered,' Pe. Ptc. act. f.sg. **بَازَا** /bāzzā/ (= **بَا**).

c) A Beghadhkephath as the identical last radical is pronounced hard in the Pe. Ptc. f.sg., m./f. pl., and Pf. 3f.sg. and 1sg.: e.g. from **بَكَ** /pak/ 'to shatter' we have therefore Ptc. **بَكَّ** /pākkā/, **بَكِّ** /pākkin/, **بَكَّان** /pākkān/, **بَكَّت** /pakkat/, and **بَكَّتْ** /pakket/.

d) In Pe., if one looks at the consonants only, the conjugation of many Second-Waw verbs and that of geminate verbs resemble each other very much, but a careful comparison of the two paradigms (III and IV) would reveal very many subtle differences in terms of the vowel length (e.g. **قَامَ** /qām/ vs. **تَكَّ** /tak/), the gemination or lack of it (e.g. **نَقَمَ** /nqum/ vs. **نَتَّقَى** /nettok/), and a few more features.

e) In Pe. Pf. there is only one pattern, with /a/. In the Impf. the stem vowel is /o/, /a/ or /e/, the last of which is represented by one verb only, **يَنْجُو** /nepped/ 'he shall stray.' An example of the /a/ pattern is **يَنْرَا** /nerrag/ 'he shall desire.'

f) In Ethpe the second and third radicals are kept apart: **يَنْحَضِرُ**, not ***يَنْحِزِرُ**, although the above-mentioned shorthand spelling is occasionally found as in Ptc. f.sg. **يَنْحَضِرُ** 'chopped' for ***يَنْحِزِرُ**.

§ 67 Some common anomalous verbs

يَعْجِدُ Peškah/ Af. 'to find, to be able to.'

يَأْتِي Pe. 'to come': Impv. sg.m. **يَأْتِ**, f. **يَأْتِي** /tāy/, pl.m. **يَأْتُوا** /tāw/, f. **يَأْتِينَ** /tāyēn/. Af. **يَأْتِي** /Payti/ 'to bring.' Ettaf. **يَأْتِي** /Pettayti/ 'to be brought.'

يَأْزُرُ Pe. 'to go.' On the assimilation of /l/ as in Ptc. f.sg. **يَأْزُرُ** /Pāzzā/, see above, § 6M. Impf. **يَأْزُرُ** /nēzal/; Impv. **يَأْزُرْ** /zel/ (with /e/!). On the assimilation of the same consonant in another verb of physical movement, **يَسْلِقُ** /sleq/ 'to ascend,' see § 6M.

يَهْبِطُ Pe. 'to give.' Where the He would have been followed by the vowel /a/, the former is elided: 2m.sg. **يَهْبِطُ** /yavt/, but 3f.sg. **يَهْبِطُ** /yehbat/ and 1sg. **يَهْبِطُ** /yehbet/. Impv. **يَهْبِطْ**. The Impf. is **يَهْبِطُ** /nettell/; likewise the Inf. **يَهْبِطُ** /lmettal/ (very rarely **يَهْبِطُ** /lmehhav/).

يَهْبِطُ Pe. 'to live.' The Pf. is regular: **يَهْبِطُ**, **يَهْبِطُ**, **يَهْبِطُ** /hyayt/ etc., but Impf. **يَهْبِطُ** /nehhē/, Inf. **يَهْبِطُ** /lmehhā/, Af. **يَهْبِطُ** /Pahhi/ 'to allow to

stay in life,' all these as from a geminate root.

§ 68 Verbs with object suffix pronouns

Details need to be studied carefully from Paradigms V and VI. The following is a summary of the more important points. The forms of the object suffixes may be found in § 12.

a) The vowel deletion rule (§ 6A) is much in evidence: e.g. **قَبَّلْتَانِ** /qabbeltān/ 'you (m.sg.) received me' but **قَبَّلَهَا** /qablāh/ 'he received her.'

b) The personal endings of the verb in the Perfect, to which object pronouns are attached, often differ from those of their free-standing equivalents.⁽⁷⁹⁾

2m.sg. ending /-tā/ as in **سَدَّدْتَانِ** /šaddartān/ 'you sent me'

2f.sg. ending /-ti/ as in **سَدَّدْتِي** /šaddartin/ 'you sent us'

3m.pl. ending /-u/ as in **سَدَّرُو** /šadruh/ 'they sent her'

3f.pl. ending /-ā/ as in **سَدَّرَاكَ** /šadrāk/ 'they sent you (m.sg.)'

1sg. with hard /t/ as against 3f.sg. with soft /h/ as in Af. **أَخْرَجْتَهُ** /Pappeqtēh/ 'I took him out' vs. **أَخْرَجَتْهُ** /Pappeqtēh/ 'she took him out' the initial vowel /a/ of Pe. as in **أَخْرَجْتَهُ** /parqan/ 'he saved me.'

c) The plural 'them' is expressed by means of a free-standing enclitic form: m. **أَخْرَجْتَهُمْ** /Pennon/ and f. **أَخْرَجْتَهُنَّ** /Pennēn/. A participle requires, however, **أَخْرَجْتَهُمُ** and **أَخْرَجْتَهُنَّ** respectively. E.g. **أَخْرَجْتَهُمْ** /šadret 'ennon/ 'I sent them' vs. **أَخْرَجْتَهُمْ** /mšaddar nā lhon/ 'I send them.'

d) When a verb form itself ends in /n/, this consonant is followed by /ā/ before the suffix with the exception of the 2f.sg. suffix **تِي** /-ēk/. This happens in Pf. 1pl., 2pl.; Impf. 2f.sg., and 3pl.; longer Impv. pl. with /n/. E.g., **قَبَّلْنَا** /qabbelnāh/ 'we received her'; **قَبَّلْتَنَا** /qabbeltonān/ 'you (m.pl.) received us'; **قَبَّلْتِي** /tqablinān/ 'you (f.sg.) shall receive me'; **أَخْرَجْتَهُمْ** /arimunāh/ 'Raise (m.pl.) her!'

e) The 3m.sg. suffix is realised in a variety of ways. If a verb form ends in a consonant, the suffix itself is **ه** /-ēh/. If the former ends in a vowel, the suffix is uniformly spelled with a **ه**, which, however, is pronounced in various ways:

⁷⁹ In general these deviating endings are more archaic.

after /-ā/— ,كَبَّ /-āy/ as in ,كَبَّتَّيْ /qabbeltāy/ 'you (m.sg.) accepted him'

after /-i/— ,كَبَّوْ /-iw/ as in ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /šaddartiw/ 'you (f.sg.) sent him'

after /-u/— ,كَبَّوْ /-uy/ as in ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /šadruy/ 'they sent him'

after /-ē/— ,كَبَّوْ /-ēw/ as in ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /nahhēw/ 'we shall restore him to life.'

f) The Impf. forms ending in a consonantal radical, namely 3m./f.sg., 2m.sg., and 1sg./pl., insert an /-i/ before the 3sg. suffixes: e.g. ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /Pasqiw/ 'I shall bring him up' (with the combination of the rule given above, [d]); ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /tapqih/ 'you (m.sg.) [or: she] will bring her out.'

g) The Impv. m.sg., if ending in a consonantal radical, shows three allomorphs:

/-ay/ with a 1sg./pl. suffix as in ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /simayn/ 'Place me!'

/-ā/ with a 3m.sg. suffix as in ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /simāy/ 'Place him!' (with the rule [e] also at work)

/-ē/ with a 3 f.sg. suffix as in ,كَبَّوْتَّيْ /simēh/ 'Place her!'

h) Third-Yodh verbs (Paradigm VI) retain in Peal the vowel /-ā/ of the 3m.sg., but without a merely graphic Alaf: e.g. ,كَبَّ /b'ā/ 'he sought' vs. ,كَبَّيْ /b'āk/ 'he sought you (m.sg.).' Likewise with the vowel endings of the root in the Impf. and Impv.: e.g. ,كَبَّوْ /nev'ē/ vs. ,كَبَّوْ /nev'ēn/ 'he will seek us'; ,كَبَّوْ /bi/ Impv. Pe m.sg. vs. ,كَبَّوْ /b'in/ 'Seek me!'; Pa ,كَبَّوْ /gallā/ 'Reveal!' vs. ,كَبَّوْ /gallāy/ 'Reveal him!' (with the rule [e] also at work).

i) The /-i/ of the Pf. 3m.sg. in Pa and Af and the /-ā/ of the Pe Inf. change to /-y/ except before the 2pl. suffixes, ,كَبَّوْ and ,كَبَّوْ: e.g. ,كَبَّوْ /galli/ 'he revealed,' but ,كَبَّوْ /galyan/ 'he revealed me' and ,كَبَّوْ /galliḡon/ 'he revealed you (m.pl.); ,كَبَّوْ /Imeḡlā/ 'to reveal' but ,كَبَّوْ /Imeḡlāk/ 'to reveal you.'

j) Note the shift of the /-āw/ in Pf. 3m.pl. and the Impv. m.pl. to /-aw/, and the /-iw/ of Pa and Af Pf. 3.m.pl. and Impv. m.pl. to /-yu/, and the /-āy/ of the Impv. f.sg. to /-ā'i/. E.g. ,كَبَّوْ /rma'uh/ 'they threw her' or 'Throw her!'; ,كَبَّوْ /ḡadyun/ 'they gladdened me' or 'Gladden me!'; ,كَبَّوْ /rmā'in/ 'Throw (f.sg.) us!'

k) The Inf. in the derived patterns, i.e. pattern other than Peal, takes an object suffix after having changed its ending /-u/ to /-uḥ/: e.g. **لَمَّغَالَى** /lamgallāyu/, but **لَمَّغَالَىٰهُ** /lamgallāyuḥ/ 'to reveal him.'