

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 $\sqrt{\text{نح}}$, /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	נָאֵנָה /Penā/	נָאֵנָה, נָאֵ /nā/
2m.	אַתָּה /Pat/	אַתָּה /t/
f.	אַתְּהָ /Pat/	אַתְּהָ /t/
3m.	הוּא /hu/	הוּא, הוּ /w/ or /u/ (§ 10)
f.	הִיא /hi/	הִיא, הִי /y/ or /i/ (§ 10)
pl. 1	אֲנֵנוּ /ʔnan/ (אֲנֵנוּ) ⁽²⁾	אֲנֵנוּ /nan/
2m.	אַתְּמוֹנְךָ /ʔatton/ [WS, ʔtʔn] ----אַתְּמוֹנְךָ	/tton/ [WS, ʔtʔn]
f.	אַתְּמוֹנְהָ /ʔattēn/	אַתְּמוֹנְהָ /ttēn/
3m.	הֵנוּן /hennon/ [WS, ʔhʔn] ----הֵנוּן	ʔennon/ [WS, ʔhʔn]
f.	הֵנְנֵן /hennēn/	הֵנְנֵן /ennēn/

§ 10 The enclitic forms are used mostly as weakened subjects of nominal clauses: e.g. מַלְכָּאֵנָה /malkānā/ 'I am king.' The third person singular enclitics add varying degrees of prominence to the immediately preceding clause constituent: e.g. אַתְּמוֹנְךָ הוּא /ʔattu malkā/ 'it is you who are the king'; תַּמְמָנוּ הִזְעֵי הוּא /tammānu hzējēh/ '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. שִׁדְרֵי אֲנֵנוּ /šadretj ʔennēn/ '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, /penānān/, 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 /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.	كَ /āk/		كَ /k/
f.	كِ /ēk/		كِ /k/
3m.	هُ /ēh/		هُ /y/
f.	هِيَ /āh/		هِيَ /h/
pl. 1	نَا /an/		نَا /n/
2m.	كَ /kon/ [WS, ٥٥]		كَ /kōn/ [WS, ٥٥]
f.	كِ /kēn/		كِ /kēn/
3m.	هُ /hon/ [WS, ٥٥]		هُ /hōn/ [WS, ٥٥]
f.	هِيَ /hēn/		هِيَ /hēn/

§ 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: بِ /bi/ 'in me'; لِي /li/ 'to me' (but not لِي /dīl/ 'mine, my'); كُ /kulli/ 'all of me.'

⁵ E.g., from the noun كَاتِبْ Pavī: كَاتِبْ Pāvī; كَاتِبْكَ 'Pavuk/; كَاتِبْكَ Pavuk/; كَاتِبْكَ Pavuy/; كَاتِبْكَ Pavuh/; كَاتِبْكَ Pavun/.

	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/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišay/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišē/
f.	ܒܝܫܐ /bišā/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišay/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bištā/	ܒܝܫܝܢ /bišān/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /bišāt/	ܒܝܫܝܐ /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. **بَيْتَا** /baytā/ 'house'⁹; abs. **بَيْلَا** /laylay/, emph. **بَيْلَا** /lēlyā/ 'night'; abs. **يَوْم** /yom/, emph. **يَوْمَا** /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 **مَلَكُونَا** /malkonā/ 'kinglet'—f.emph. **مَلَكُونِيَا**; **مِسْكِنَا** /meskēnā/ 'poor'—f.abs. **مِسْكِنِيَا**, pl.emph. **مِسْكِنِيَا**; **زُور** /z'or/ 'small' (except sg.emph. **زُورَا**)—f.abs. **زُورِيَا** /z'oryā/, cst. **زُورِيَا**, pl.abs. **زُورِيَا** /z'oryān/, emph. **زُورِيَا**; sg.emph. **دُكْتَا** /duktā/ 'place'—pl.emph. **دُكْتَا** /dukyātā/; **دُنْبَا** /dunbā/ 'tail'—pl.emph. **دُنْبَا** /dunbyātā/ (also **دُنْبَا** /dunbātā/).

§ 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. **سَاتَا** /šattā/ 'year'—**سَاتِيَا** /šnayyā/; **زَنَا** /znā/ 'sort'—**زَنِيَا** /znayyā/; **تَدَا** /tdā/ 'breast'—**تَدِيَا** /tdayyā/; **يَد** 'hand'—**يَدِيَا** /ydayyā/ (beside **يَدِيَا** /yidē/); **پَآپَا** /pappay/ 'curtain' (used as sg.)—**پَآپِيَا** /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. **غَدَا** /gadyā/ 'goat'—**غَدِيَا** /gdayyā/; **قَنْيَا** /qanyā/ 'reed'—**قَنْيَا** /qnayyā/; **مَعْيَا** /me'yā/ 'intestines'—**مَعْيِيَا** /me'yayyā/. 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'—غُورَى /grayyā/; دَمَّيَا /dmayyā/ 'price'.

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

In the pl.st.cst. we find /-ay/ with nouns—دَمَا /dmay/, مَجْبِي، مَجْبِي—but /-yay/ with adjectives and participles—مَجْبِي /qašyay/, رَايَا /rā'yay/ 'shepherds'; مَهَايَا /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'—عِبَّيَا /'ebbānē/; سَمَّمَا /sammā/ 'drug'—سَمَّمَا /sammānē/; بَسَمَا /besmā/ 'perfume'—بَسَمَا /besmānē/; رِيحَا /rēhā/ 'smell'—رِيحَا /rēhānē/; مِشْمَا /mešhā/ 'ointment'—مِشْمَا /mešhānē/; سَلِيحَا /sallihā/ 'ruler'—سَلِيحَا /sallihānē/; رَبَّيَا /rabbā/ 'teacher'—رَبَّيَا /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'	مَلِكِي /malku/ 'kingdom'
cst.	تَاكِي /taš'i/	مَلِكِي /malku/
emph.	تَاكِيَا /taš'iṭā/	مَلِكِيَا /malkuṭā/
pl.abs.	تَاكِيَانِي /taš'yān/	مَلِكِيَانِي /malkwān/
cst.	تَاكِيَانِي /taš'yān/	مَلِكِيَانِي /malkwān/
emph.	تَاكِيَانِيَا /taš'yāṭā/	مَلِكِيَانِيَا /malkwāṭā/

The st.abs. and cst. of adjectives of Third-Yodh roots, however, show /-yā/ instead: e.g. دَاكِيَا /dakyā/ 'pure,' دَاكِيَا /dakyā/; but otherwise regularly—sg.emph. دَاكِيَا /dkīṭā/, pl.abs. دَاكِيَانِي /dakyān/, emph. دَاكِيَانِيَا /dakyāṭā/.

Note the following common, but slightly irregular forms: پَاسِيَا /Pāsyūṭā/ 'cure'—pl. پَاسِيَا /Pāswāṭā/ or پَاسِيَا /Pāsiwāṭā/; دَمُوتَا /dmuṭā/ 'image'—دَمُوتَا /demwāṭā/; شِووتَا /švuṭā/ 'matter'—شِووتَا /ševwāṭā/; هَايِيَا /hayyūṭā/ 'animal'—sg.cst. هَايِيَا /haywā/; pl. هَايِيَا /haywāṭā/; هَادِيَا /hadūṭā/ 'joy'—abs. هَادِيَا /hadwā/, cst. هَادِيَا /hadwā/; سَلَوَاتَا /sloṭā/ 'prayer'—sg.cst. سَلَوَاتَا /sloṭ/, pl. سَلَوَاتَا /sławāṭā/; مَهَوَاتَا /mhoṭā/ 'blow'—sg.abs. مَهَوَاتَا /maḥwā/, pl.emph. مَهَوَاتَا /maḥwāṭā/;

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

'maid-servant'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**; **𐤀𐤃𐤌** 'name'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**.

§ 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—

𐤀𐤃𐤌 'day'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕** (also **𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓**); **𐤀𐤃𐤌** 'father'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**;
𐤀𐤃𐤌 'name'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**

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

𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕 'way'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**; **𐤀𐤃𐤌** 'land'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**; **𐤀𐤃𐤌**
 'soul'—**𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕**⁽¹⁶⁾

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

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

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

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

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

§ 29 The grammatical gender and the natural sex largely overlap

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

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 **𐤀𐤃𐤌** /*šabṭā* 'sabbath; week'—sg.abs. **𐤀𐤃𐤌**, pl. **𐤀𐤃𐤌**, **𐤀𐤃𐤌** 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'; **فَلْبٌ** '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'; **كَنْطٌ** /*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'; **حَنْبٌ** 'linen garment'; **لَمْتٌ** 'table'; **بَجْلٌ** 'sickle'; **حَبْلٌ** 'needle'; **بَطْنٌ** 'bed'; **فَدْنٌ** /*paddānā*/ 'yoke'; **رَاهِيَةٌ** /*rahyā*/ 'mill.'

Unclassifiable, but feminine are: **أَرْضٌ** 'earth'; the four points of the compass—**شَرْقٌ** 'N,' **جَرْبٌ** 'E,' **مَغْرِبٌ** 'S,' **جَنْبٌ** 'W'; **سُورٌ** 'way'; **بَعْدٌ** 'field'; **حَجْرٌ** 'stone'; **بَحْلٌ** 'salt'; **نَارٌ** 'fire'; **حَنْبٌ** 'cloud'; **جَبْرٌ** 'fog'; **رَبْوَةٌ** /*gfettā*/ 'grape.'

The gender of some nouns fluctuates: **بَعْدٌ** 'cattle'; **عَصَا** 'stick'; **بَيْتٌ** 'palate'; **سَيْفٌ** 'sword'; **حَنْبٌ** '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 ت ط د ذ ذ**, 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** /'avdā/ 'slave,' **كِسْفًا** /kespā/ 'silver,' **بُرْكَاءٌ** /burkā/ 'knee.'⁽²²⁾

With nouns whose third radical is a guttural or Resh, the /e/ changes to /a/ (§ 6 B): **بَابٌ** /tra/ '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** /Para/ 'earth' (< /*arē/) (**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*, *qīl*, and *quṭl* pattern respectively.

²² Some exceptions occur in the plural: **عَسَبٌ** /'esb/ 'grass' but **عَسَبَةٌ** /'esvē/; **سُرْبٌ** /gunb/ 'theft' but **سُرْبَةٌ** /gunvē/; **أَلْفٌ** /alp/ '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. **אֲרָבִים** and **אֲרָבִים**. On the other hand, forms such as **كَتِفٌ** /katp/ (**كَتِفًا**) 'shoulder' (Heb. **כִּתְפִי**) and **כַּדָּבָר** /kavd/ (Heb. **כִּדְבָר**), 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 **كَدَابَرٌ** /dahv/ 'gold' (< dahav/): on this question, see Muraoka 1976:232f. Compare **كَرْكَبٌ** /karkā/ 'town' with **كِرْكَبٌ** /kerk/ '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); رِجْلَةٌ /gfettā/ (< /*gfentā/; pl. رِجْلَاتٍ).

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. ذَهَابٌ /dahvā/); سَلْفٌ /Pelf/ 'ship' (emph. سَلْفَةٌ /Pelfā/); دِقَانٌ /dqan/ 'beard' (دِقَانَةٌ); زَوَانٌ /zvan/ 'time' (زَوَانَةٌ); حَمَلٌ /gmal/ (حَمَلَةٌ); سَفَالٌ /šfal/ 'lowly' (سَفَالَةٌ); سَكَالٌ /skāl/ 'foolish' (سَكَالَةٌ).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,' بَيْءٌ 'city,' رِبْعَةٌ 'raven,' رِبْعَةٌ 'humidity,' خُبْءٌ 'bread.'

A phenomenon analogous to رِجْلَةٌ 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. سِفْرَةٌ 'book,' pl.emph. سِفْرَةٌ, + 1pl. سِفْرَةٌ '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' (ذَكَرَةٌ; cf. Heb. דָּקָר); بَسْرٌ /bsar/ 'meat' (بَسْرَةٌ; Heb. בָּסָר). In some other cases also comparison with cognates confirms this analysis: Heb. בָּרָק, בָּרָק; 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** /*ʾāklēt*/ 'eating,' f.sg.abs. **أَكَلَةٌ** /*ʾāklāt*/, but **أَكَلَتَا** /*ʾāklētā*/.

§ 33 *Qtāl*. Examples: **قَزَارٌ** /*gzārā*/ 'decision,' **قَصَادٌ** /*vādā*/ 'work,' **قَرَاوَةٌ** /*qrāvā*/ 'battle,' **عَشَادٌ** /*ʿešādā*/ 'outpouring' (§ 6 C), **قَارَةٌ** /*iqārā*/ 'honour' (§ 6 D).

§ 34 *Qtīl*, *Qtēl*, *Qtayl*. Examples: **كَتِيبٌ** /*kṭiv*/ 'written'²⁵, **پَامِيرٌ** /*pamir*/ 'said' (§ 6 C), **لِيلِدٌ** /*līlīd*/ 'born' (§ 6 D); **رَتَيْتٌ** /*rṭēt*/ 'trembling'; **لَايْمٌ** /*laymā*/ 'lad.'²⁶

§ 35 *Qtul*, *Qtol*. Examples: **رُحْمَةٌ** /*rḥumā*/ 'loved,' **لُصُفَةٌ** /*lvušā*/ 'clothings'; fem. **بُطْلَةٌ** /*bṭultā*/ 'maiden,' **كُنُوشَةٌ** /*knuštā*/ 'synagogue'; **عَدْلَةٌ** /*gdolā*/ 'plaits of hair,' **سُغْلَةٌ** /*sgolā*/ 'bunch (of grapes).'

§ 36 *Qvīvl* (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 **شَظٌّ** /*šeppar*/ 'bird,' emph. **شَظٌّ**, **عَدَدٌ** /*ʿeddar*/ 'threshing floor.'²⁷

Qaffāl is a common pattern for nouns denoting professional activities or permanent qualities: e.g. **غَانَّابٌ** /*gannāvā*/ 'thief,' **هَيَّيَّاتٌ** /*ḥayyātā*/ 'tailor,' **كَدَّابٌ** /*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 **עָפַר** (< Akk. /immeru/) the Syr. equivalent **عَفْرٌ** 'lamb' also belongs here.

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

Qaṭīl is highly productive with adjectives including verbal adjectives indicating states: ܠܘܗܪܐ /Parrik/ 'long,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /saggi/ 'many,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /rakkik/ 'soft,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /saqqel/ 'mighty,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /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. ܠܘܗܪܐ /quvllā/ 'countenance' < √ ܠܘܗܪܐ 'to face,' ܠܘܗܪܐ 'complete' < ܠܘܗܪܐ 'whole,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /saqbel/ 'to go towards' < √ ܠܘܗܪܐ, ܠܘܗܪܐ /šūʔbādā/ 'subjugation' < √ ܠܘܗܪܐ 'to serve'; ܠܘܗܪܐ /tulmāqā/ 'instruction' < √ ܠܘܗܪܐ 'to learn.'

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

a) There are countless nouns prefixed with /m-/: ܠܘܗܪܐ /maškan/ 'tent,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /massav/ 'taking' (< √ ܠܘܗܪܐ); ܠܘܗܪܐ /markavīā/ 'vehicle,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /maštyā/ 'drink,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /māwtvā/ 'session' (< √ ܠܘܗܪܐ), ܠܘܗܪܐ /mardī/ 'journey' (< √ ܠܘܗܪܐ), ܠܘܗܪܐ /mēkultā/ 'food.'

b) Also common is the prefix /t-/: ܠܘܗܪܐ /taṭlīlā/ 'roof,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /taḳtušā/ 'fight,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /tešmeštā/ 'service,' ܠܘܗܪܐ /tašʕitā/ 'tale.'

c) Rare are /p-/ and /y-/: ܠܘܗܪܐ /pabbuvā/ 'flute' (< √ ܠܘܗܪܐ); ܠܘܗܪܐ /yahburā/ 'dense smoke.'

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

This suffix is also added to the feminine morpheme /t/: ܠܘܗܪܐ /hemtān/ 'angry' (< ܠܘܗܪܐ 'anger'), ܠܘܗܪܐ /neqbtān/ 'feminine' (< ܠܘܗܪܐ '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. **ܡܫܒܗܢ**), **ܡܪܓܙܢܐ** /margzānā/ 'one who angers' (< Afel ptc. **ܡܪܓܙܢ**).

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' (< **ܢܝܫܝܢ**, pl. of **ܢܝܫܐ**), **ܦܘܘܗܝܐ** /Pavāhāyā/ 'fatherly' (< **ܦܘܘܗܝܢ**, pl. of **ܦܘܗܐ**), **ܫܡܗܝܐ** /šmāhāyā/ 'nominal' (< **ܫܡܝܢ**, pl. of **ܫܡܐ**), **ܩܘܪܝܐ** /quryāyā/ 'rural' (< **ܩܘܪܝܢ**, pl. of **ܩܪܝܐ**).

f) Pedantic Syriac loves multiple suffixes: **ܢܦܫܢܝܐ** /nafšnāyā/ ψυχικός 'pertaining to the soul,' **ܪܘܚܢܝܐ** /ruhānāyā/ πνευματικός 'spiritual,' **ܦܫܬܢܝܐ** /pētānāyā/ '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,' **ܦܫܘܪܝܐ** /Pashuryā/ 'incarceration,' **ܗܦܘܩܝܐ** /hfukyā/ 'overturning.'

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

§ 39 Diminutives. A number of suffixes are used to generate nouns denoting small objects: /-on/—**ܡܠܟܘܢܐ** /malkonā/ 'kinglet,' **ܩܬܘܢܐ** /ktāvonā/ 'booklet,' **ܟܝܦܘܢܝܐ** /kēfonitā/ 'pebble' (< **ܟܝܦܐ** '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 **ܬܘܠܝܐ** '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/	أنت	/-aykon/
f.	أنت	/-ayk/	أنت	/-aykēn/
3m.	هو	/-āw/	هو	/-ayhon/
f.	هي	/-ēh/	هي	/-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 /mellēh/ '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 /mellā/ 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: أسماء /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/	دي	/dinay/ my
دي	/dināk/	دي	/dinayk/ your (m.sg.)
دي	/dinēk/	دي	/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:

پالَاهِي پالَاهِي 'gods' > پالَاهَاو پالَاهَاو 'his gods'

پاواهاَتِي پاواهاَتِي 'fathers' > پاواهاَتَان پاواهاَتَان '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:

رِيشِ رِيشِ /rēšā/ > رِيشِهَا رِيشِهَا /rēšāh/ 'her head'

دَاهِوَا دَاهِوَا /dahvā/ > دَاهِوَاك دَاهِوَاك /dahvāk/ 'your (m.sg.) gold'

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

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

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

مَاشِرِيَا مَاشِرِيَا /mašriā/ > مَاشِرِيَاهَا مَاشِرِيَاهَا /mašriēh/ 'his encampment'

يَاَلَتَا يَاَلَتَا /yālettā/ > يَاَلَتَاهَا يَاَلَتَاهَا /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.

مَالِقَا مَالِقَا /malkā/ > مَالِقَاهَا مَالِقَاهَا /malkāh/ 'her queen'

but مَالِقَاهُون مَالِقَاهُون /malkāhon/ '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.

هَؤُوتَ /hāwbā/	>	هَؤُوتَ /hāwbā/	'your debt'
	but	هَؤُوتَ /hāwbā/	'my d.' ⁽³⁴⁾
هَؤُوتَ /duktā/	>	هَؤُوتَ /duktāh/	'her place' ⁽³⁵⁾
	but	هَؤُوتَ /dukkatkēn/	'your p.'
هَؤُوتَ /mašknā/	>	هَؤُوتَ /mašknēh/	'his tent'
	but	هَؤُوتَ /maškanḡon/	'your t'
		هَؤُوتَ /maškan/	'my t.'
هَؤُوتَ /rāhmā/	>	هَؤُوتَ /rāhmēh/	'his friend'
	but	هَؤُوتَ /rāhemhon/	'their f.'

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

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

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

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

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

§ 43 Some common irregular nouns.

	abs./cst.	sg. + suf.	pl.
father	هَؤُوتَ ? /avā/	هَؤُوتَ, هَؤُوتَ, هَؤُوتَ etc. ⁽³⁷⁾ /ʾāv, 'avuk, 'avuy/	هَؤُوتَ / هَؤُوتَ /avāhātā, 'avāhē/
brother	هَؤُوتَ ? /ahā/	هَؤُوتَ, هَؤُوتَ, هَؤُوتَ etc. /ʾāh, 'ahuk, 'ahuy/	هَؤُوتَ /ʾahē/

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: هَؤُوتَ /ʾāv/ 'my good thing' vs. هَؤُوتَ /ʾāvahon/ 'their good thing'; هَؤُوتَ /mārt/ 'my mistress' vs. هَؤُوتَ /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 هَؤُوتَ /marā/ 'master' and هَؤُوتَ /qālā/ 'voice' naturally do not belong here.

³⁷ Cf. هَؤُوتَ /hēm/ 'my husband's father.'

sister	𐤁𐤓𐤁	?	𐤁𐤓𐤁 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/hātā/		/hāt/	/'ahwātā/
other m.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎		𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/hrēnā/	/hrēn/		/hrānē/
f.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁		𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎
	/hrējā/	/hrānyā/		/hrānyātā/
woman	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/'attā/	/'attā/	/'at, 'attēh/	/'nešē/
son	𐤁𐤓𐤁	𐤁𐤓	𐤁𐤓, 𐤁𐤓𐤁, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/brā/	/bar/	/bēr, brāk, berhon/	/'bnayyā/
daughter	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/bartā/	/bat/	/braṭ, bartāk/	/'bnātā/
house	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁	𐤁𐤓𐤁, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/baytā/	/bēt/	/bayt, baytāk/	/'bātayyā/
hand	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁/𐤁𐤓𐤁 ⁽³⁸⁾	𐤁𐤓𐤁, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁 / 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁
	/'(°)idā/	/'yad, ('°)id/	/'(°)id, ('°)idāk/	/'(°)idayyā, ('°)idē/
night	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 ⁽³⁹⁾	?	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 ⁽⁴⁰⁾	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎
	/'lāyā/		/'lāyeh/	/'laylawātā/
lord	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 / 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 ⁽⁴¹⁾	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 ⁽⁴²⁾	𐤁𐤓, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 ⁽⁴³⁾
	/'māryā, mārē/		/'mār, mārēh/	/'mārāyā/
city	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	cs. 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎/𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 etc.	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 ⁽⁴⁴⁾
	/'qriṭā/	/'qeryat, quryat/		/'quryā/
field		abs. 𐤁𐤓𐤁 /qrē/		
year	𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤓𐤁		𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎
	/'šattā/	/'šna/		/'šnayyā/

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

³⁹ Alternative spellings: 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎.

⁴⁰ So at Jonah 4.10.

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

⁴² The status abs. is not attested.

⁴³ Alternatively: 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎 /mārē/, 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 /mārāwātā/.

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

§ 44 Numerals

a) Cardinals

m.	f.	m.	f.
1 نَبْ /ḥad/	نَبَا /ḥdā/	2 رَنْ /rēn/	رَنْبَا /tartēn/
3 ثَلَاثَا /tlāṭā/	ثَلَاثَا /tlāṭ/	4 أَرْبَا /'arb'ā/	أَرْبَا /'arba'/
5 هَامِشَا /ḥamšā/	هَامِشَا /ḥameš/	6 عَشْرَا /'e)štā/	عَشْرَا /šeṭ/
7 سَاوَا /šav'ā/	سَاوَا /šva'/	8 ثَمَانِيَا /tmānyā/	ثَمَانِيَا /tmānē/
9 ثَلَاثَا /teš'ā/	ثَلَاثَا /tša'/	10 عَشْرَا /'esrā/	عَشْرَا /'sar/
11 m. سَاوَا /ḥdā'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /ḥdā'srē, ḥdā'esrē/			
12 m. ثَلَاثَا /tre'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /tarta'srē, tarta'esrē/			
13 m. ثَلَاثَا /tlāṭā'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /tlāṭā'srē, tlāṭā'esrē/			
14 m. أَرْبَا، أَرْبَا، أَرْبَا /'arbṭā'sar, 'arba'sar, 'arebṭā'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا (عَشْرَا) /'arba'srē, 'arba'esrē/			
15 m. هَامِشَا، هَامِشَا /ḥamšā'sar, ḥamešā'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /ḥamšā'srē, ḥamšā'esrē/			
16 m. ES سِتَا، سِتَا /šeṭṭā'sar, šta'sar/, WS سِتَا /šṭā'sar/			
f. ES عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /šeṭṭā'srē, šetta'esrē/, WS عَشْرَا /šṭā'srē/			
17 m. سَاوَا، سَاوَا (سَاوَا) /šva'ta'sar, švātta'sar, šva'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا (عَشْرَا) /šva'srē, šva'esrē/			
18 m. ثَمَانِيَا (ثَمَانِيَا) /tmāntā'sar, tmāna'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /tmāna'srē, tmāna'esrē/			
19 m. ثَلَاثَا، ثَلَاثَا، ثَلَاثَا /tšāta'sar, tša'ta'sar, tša'sar/			
f. عَشْرَا، عَشْرَا /tša'srē, tša'esrē/			
20 عَشْرِيَا /'esrin/	30 ثَلَاثِيَا /tlāṭin/	40 أَرْبَعِيَا /'arb'in/	
50 هَامِشِيَا /ḥamšin/	60 عَشْرِيَا، عَشْرِيَا /štin, 'eštīn/	70 سَاوِيَا /šav'in/	
80 ثَمَانِيَا (ثَمَانِيَا) /tmānin/	90 ثَلَاثِيَا /teš'in/		
100 مِائَة /mā/ ⁽⁴⁵⁾	200 مِائَتَانِ /maṭēn/	300 ثَلَاثِيَا /tlāṭmā/	
1000 أَلْفَا /'ālef/, pl. أَلْفَا، أَلْفَا /'alfin, 'alfē/	2000 أَلْفَا، أَلْفَا or أَلْفَا، أَلْفَا /trēn 'alfin, 'alfē trēn/		

⁴⁵ St. emph. مِائَة /māṭ/; pl. abs. مِائَانِ /mawān/, emph. مِائَاتَا /māwātā/.

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 قَتْلَى /tālātū bnin waṭlātā bnān/ 'three sons and three daughters.'

A composite number shows the descending order as in English: 7337 = سَبْعُونَ مِائَةً وَثَلَاثُونَ أَلْفًا وَسَبْعُونَ /saw'ā 'alfin waṭlātū mā waṭlāṭin wšaw'ā/.

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

b) Ordinals

1st قَدِيمٌ /qadmāyā/, also قَدِيمٌ /qadmā/, st.abs. قَدِيمٌ /qdem/

2nd تَرَاوِيحٌ /trayānā/, f. تَرَاوِيحِيَّةٌ /trayāniṭā/,

also تَرَاوِيحِيٌّ /tenyānā/, f. تَرَاوِيحِيَّةٌ /tenyāṭā/

3rd ثَلَاثِيَّةٌ /tliṭāyā/ 4th رَابِعِيَّةٌ /rvi'āyā/ 5th خَامِسِيَّةٌ /ḥamšāyā/

6th سِتِّيَّةٌ /ṣtiṭāyā/ (WS سِتِّيَّةٌ /ṣtiṭāyā/) 7th سَبْعِيَّةٌ /ṣvi'āyā/

8th ثَمَانِيَّةٌ /tmināyā/ 9th تِسْعِيَّةٌ /tši'āyā/ 10th عَشْرِيَّةٌ /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 رَبْعَةَ يَوْمٍ /yawmā darb'ā/ 'fourth day,' Dt 26.12 ثَلَاثَةَ سِنِينَ /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 سَبْتًا /bšabbā/ 'in the week,' whether written separately or joined with the numerals: Sunday رَبِيعِيَّةٌ /rabšabbā/⁽⁴⁷⁾, Mo. تَرَبِيعِيَّةٌ /tərbšabbā/, Tu. ثَلَاثِيَّةٌ /tālšabbā/, We. رَابِعِيَّةٌ /rabšabbā/, Th. خَامِسِيَّةٌ /ḥameššabbā/, Fr. رُبْعِيَّةٌ /ruvtā/, Sa. سَبْتِيَّةٌ /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' ثَلَاثِيَّةٌ /baṭrāyā/, 'on the 3rd' ثَلَاثِيَّةٌ /baṭlāttā/⁽⁴⁸⁾, 'on the 4th' رَابِعِيَّةٌ /barba'tā/ etc., 'on the 11th' حَامِسِيَّةٌ etc.

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

⁴⁷ See Weninger 2001. On سَبْتًا /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,' **١/٢** /tartayhēn/ 'they (f.) two,' **١/٣** /tlāttayhon/ 'they (m.) three.'⁴⁹ The rest, with the 3m.pl. suffix, are: **١/٢** /'arb'āttayhon/, **١/٣** /hamšāttayhon/ **١/٤** /stāttayhon/, **١/٥** /šav'āttayhon/, **١/٦** /tmānyāttayhon/, **١/٧** /teš'āttayhon/, **١/٨** /'esrāttayhon/.

§ 46 The prepositions take the pronouns they govern in the form of suffix pronouns: thus **١/٢** /malkā/ 'to the king' vs. **١/٢** /lēh/ 'to him.' The following prepositions, however, take the suffix pronouns of Set B:

١/٢ /'al/: **١/٢** /lāw/ 'on him/it,' **١/٣** /layhon/ 'upon them' **١/٣** /hdār/ '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** /l'en/ '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** /pit/ 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 ܕܩܪܝܬܐ /'avdā ʔitaw baqriṭā/ 'the servant is in the field'; ܐܘܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬܐ /laytēh bhayklā/ 'she is not in the temple.' Likewise ܐܘܕܐ /balḥod/ 'alone': ܐܘܕܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ /balḥodāw/ 'he alone, on his own.'

§ 47 **Adverbs.** /-āʔi/ is a productive ending for forming an adverb from any adjective or noun: e.g. ܐܘܪܝܢܐ /šarrir/ 'true' > ܐܘܪܝܢܐܐܝܬܐ /šarrirāʔi/ 'truly'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ 'god' > ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐܐܝܬܐ 'divinely.' A far less productive suffix is /-at/: e.g. ܐܘܪܝܢܐܐ /'aryat/ 'in naked condition'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /rabbat/ 'greatly'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /hayyat/ 'in living form'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /sawyat/ 'simultaneously'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /hrayat/ 'lastly'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /qadmāyat/ 'firstly.' Here we may include also ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /twā/ 'without eating'⁽⁵⁰⁾; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /šwāt/ 'simultaneously'; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /tenyanu/ 'for a second time'⁽⁵¹⁾; ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /tliṭāyu/ 'for a third time.' An undeclined m. sg. adjective may also function as adverbial: e.g., 1Kg 18.24 ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ ܐܘܕܐܐܝܬܐ /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 ܩܒܠܐܢ /nqabbel/, Participle ܩܒܠܐܢܐ /mqabbel/. The Infinitive ܩܒܠܐܢܐܠܐ /lamqabbālu/ deviates slightly: see below § 52. The only important exception here is the Imperative of Ethpeel: ܩܒܠܐܢܐܠܐ /etpaʔ/ (spelled also ܩܒܠܐܢܐܠܐ or ܩܒܠܐܢܐܠܐ with a marḥetana), which thus contrasts with the Perfect ܩܒܠܐܢܐܠܐ.

§ 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** /petktev/ 'to be written,' or **קבל** /qabbel/ 'to receive' vs. **קבל** /petqabbal/ '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** /petkrez/ '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/: **שכלל** /šaklel/ 'to perfect,' **שבג** /ša^{al}bed/ 'to subjugate,' **שבג** /saqbel/ 'to go towards.' These patterns may be called Shafel and Safel respectively. Their *Eth*-patterns show metathesis (§ 6 N): Eshtafal **שכלל** /'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** /petbalbal/ 'to be confused,' **האמין** /haymen/ 'to believe,' **האמין** /pethayman/ 'to be entrusted,' **אמין**

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,'  /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	 /kāev/	 /ktiv/
Paal	 /mḡattev/	 /mḡattav/
Afel	 /maḡtev/	 /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:  /ktiv/ '(already) written' vs.  /metktiv/ 'in the process of being written';  /bnē/ 'built' vs.  /metbnē/ 'under construction.'

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

Pa:  /mḡattev/; Af:  /maḡtev/; Ethpe:  /metktiv/; Ethpa:  /metḡattav/; Ettaf:  /mettaḡtav/.

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  /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.  can be either a Pa. active or passive feminine participle. With some weak roots, however, the distinction remains intact: Af. act.m.  'lifting', f.  'lifted', f. .

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'; مَوْلَانَا /mawlānā/ '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 /metqattāvu/.

§ 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 **كَتَبَ** /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. **كَتَبَ** /ktav/, **يَكْتُبُ** /nektov/.

b) Type 2 (a-e) is attested by two regular verbs—**صَدَقَ** /ʿvad/ 'to make,' **يُصَدِّقُ** /neʿbed/; **زَانَ** /zvan/ 'to buy,' **يُزِنُّ** /nezben/—as well as by some First-Nun verbs like **نَفَلَ** /nfal/ 'to fall,' **يُنْفِلُ** /neppel/; **نَفَسَ** /nfaʃ/ 'to shake,' **يُنْفِئُ** /neppeʃ/.

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

d) Type 4 (e-a), intransitive *par excellence*, is rather common: **دَمَعُ** /dmeʃ/ 'to sleep,' **يُدْمِئُ** /nedmak/; **سَلِمَ** /sleq/ 'to ascend,' **يَنْصَعُ** /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.'

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

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

f) Type 6 (*e-o*) is attested only by יָיָטַע /nhet/ 'to descend,' יָיָטַע /nehot/ (the Nun assimilated: § 61); יָיָטַע /šged/ 'to worship,' יָיָטַע /nesgod/; יָיָטַע /qrev/ 'to draw near,' יָיָטַע /neqrov/; יָיָטַע /šteq/ 'to keep silent,' יָיָטַע /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. יָיָטַע, יָיָטַע, יָיָטַע, יָיָטַע (all pronounced /ktov/), יָיָטַע.

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

3sg.m.	יָיָטַע /qvar/	'he buried'	יָיָטַע /qrev/	'he drew near'
f.	יָיָטַע /qevrat/		יָיָטַע /qerbat/	
2sg.m.	יָיָטַע /qvart/		יָיָטַע /qrevt/	
1sg.	יָיָטַע /qevret/		יָיָטַע /qerbet/	
3pl.m.	יָיָטַע /qvar/		יָיָטַע /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: יָיָטַע /švaq/ 'he abandoned'; יָיָטַע /mvarrek/ 'blessing'; יָיָטַע /Petqvar/ 'he was buried.'

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

c) In the Peal participle, a *Beghadhkephath* as third radical is pronounced hard if an ending is added: יָיָטַע /nāqef/ 'consorting,' but f. יָיָטַע /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. **ﺃﺗﺮﺍﺩﻃﺎﺕ** /*tetradpat*/ 'she was persecuted,' **ﺗﺘﺮﺍﺩﭘﻦ** /*tetradpin*/ 'you (f.sg.) will be persecuted,' **ﺗﺒﺘﻬﺎﻓ** /*tethafk*/ 'Change!'

e) In Afel, a Beghadhkephath as second radical is always pronounced hard: e.g. **ﺃﻛﺮﺟﻖ** /*ʔakpar*/ '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: **ﺃﻗﺒﻞ** /*qabbel*/ 'to receive,' **ﺗﺘﻘﺒﻞ** /*tetqabbal*/ 'to be received,' Pa., inf. **ﻻﻣﻘﺒﻠﻮ** /*lamqabbālu*/.

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

g) In Pael Impf. 1sg. the first radical is always doubled, hence pronounced hard, if it is a plosive: **ﺃﺑﺒﺮﻙ** /*ʔebbarrek*/ '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. **ﺃﻗﺎﻭ** /*qāvar*/ 'burying' < /*qāver/; Pa. Pf. **ﺃﺳﺎﺩﺭ** /*šaddar*/ 'he sent' < /*šadder/; Ethpe. Pf. **ﺗﺘﻘﻮﺭ** /*tetqvar*/ 'he was buried' < /*etqver/. This has the effect of neutralising the distinction between the active and passive participles in Pael and Afel: thus **ﺃﺳﺎﺩﺭ** /*mšaddar*/ can mean either 'sending' (act.) or 'sent' (pass.).

§ 59 Second-Alaf verbs.

The phonological rule (§ 6K) governs the conjugation of a common verb **ﺃﺳﻪﻝ**: Pe Pf. **ﺃﺳﻪﻝ** /*šel*/ < /*š^hel/ 'he demanded'; Impf. **ﺃﻧﻪﺱ** /*nešal*/ < /*neš^hal/; Inf. **ﻻﻣﻨﻪﺱ** /*lmešal*/ < /*lmeš^hal/; Ptc. pass. **ﺃﺳﻪﻝ** /*šil*/ < /*š^hil/; Ethpe Pf. **ﺃﺳﺘﻪﻝ** /*ʔešt^hel*/ < /*ešt^hel/ (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: /*eʔpaʔel/ > /eʔpaʔel/ (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 **طَبَّ** /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-el/</i>
Peal Pf.	نَفَّ /nfaq/ 'to exit'	نَصَّ /nsav/ 'to take'	نَفَّ /nfal/ 'to fall'
Impf.	يَنْفَعُ /neppoq/	يَنْصَعُ /nessav/	يَنْفَلُ /neppel/
Impv.	فَعِّم /poq/	صَعِّم /sav/	فَلِّم /pel/
Inf.	لِنَعِّم /lmeppaq/	لِنَصِّم /lmessav/	لِنَفِّم /lmeppal/
Afel: Pf. 3m.sg.	نَفَّ 'he took out',	1sg. نَفَّيْتُ , Impf. نَفِّمُ , Ptc. نَفَّيْتُ ; Impv. فَعِّم ; Inf. لِنَعِّم .	
Ettafal: Pf.	نَفَّيْتُ /nettappaq/ 'he was taken out,' 3f.sg. نَفَّيْتُ .		

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

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

Another common *le-a/* verb **نَفَّ** 'to ascend' may be assigned here: Pf. **نَفَّ** /sleq/, Impf. **يَنْصَعُ** /nessaq/, Impv. **صَعِّم** /saq/, Inf. **لِنَصِّم** /lmessaq/, Af. **نَفَّ** /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 **نَفَّ** 'Make a vow!', **نَفَّ** 'Bite!', verbs which retain the Nun in the Impf. such as **نَفَّ** 'Be bright!', and verbs which are also of the Third-Yodh class like **نَفَّ** /nʃi/ 'Quarrel!'

Pe Pf. and in the whole of Ethpe, and /a/ in Pe. Ptc. pass. and Pa. Impf. 1sg.—**Pe** **كَل** /Pe^kal/ 'he ate, **كَل** **كَل** **كَل** /Pe^kekel/ (§ 6L) 'it was eaten,' **كَل** **كَل** **كَل** /Pa^kil/ 'eaten,' **كَل** **كَل** **كَل** /Pa^bbed/ 'I shall destroy.'

b) In Ethpe. and Ethpa., § 6L applies: **كَل** **كَل** **كَل** /Pe^kekel/ < ***كَل** **كَل** **كَل** 'was eaten'; **كَل** **كَل** **كَل** /Pe^kallas/ < ***كَل** **كَل** **كَل** 'was oppressed.' The same rule accounts for **كَل** **كَل** /Na^llef/ Pa Impf. < ***كَل** **كَل** **كَل** 'he shall teach,' Ptc. **كَل** **كَل** /Ma^llef/ < ***كَل** **كَل** **كَل**. Note also **كَل** **كَل** /Pa^lles/, which is Pa. Pf. 'he oppressed' as well as Pa. Impf. 1sg. (< ***كَل** **كَل** **كَل**).

c) The prefix vowel /e/ of the Pe. Impf. and Inf. coalesces with the initial Alaf into /ē/: **كَل** **كَل** /Nē^vad/ 'he shall perish'; **كَل** **كَل** /Nē^mar/ 'he shall say'; **كَل** **كَل** /Nē^kol/; **كَل** **كَل** /Imē^mar/ 'to say.' This also applies to verbs which are simultaneously Third-Yodh: **كَل** **كَل** 'to come'—**كَل** **كَل** /Nē^te/, **كَل** **كَل** /Imē^ta/.

The prefix vowel in question is spelled with ¹ in ES, but in WS with ² when the stem vowel of the Impf. is /a/ and with First-Alaf/Third-Yodh verbs, but with ² when the stem vowel is /o/ (or rather /u/ in WS):

ES	WS
كَل كَل	كَل ² 'he shall say'
كَل كَل	كَل ² 'he shall go'
كَل كَل	كَل ² 'he shall bake'
كَل كَل /Nē ^h od/	كَل ² '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.
كَل كَل	كَل كَل
كَل كَل	كَل كَل
Irregular: كَل كَل	كَل ₁ from كَل كَل 'to go' ⁽⁷⁰⁾

d) In Afel and Ettafal the initial Alaf appears as Waw: **كَل** **كَل** /Pā^wkel/ 'he fed' < **كَل** **كَل** 'to eat'; **كَل** **كَل** /Pā^wbed/ 'he destroyed' < **كَل** **كَل** 'to perish'; Ettaf **كَل** **كَل** **كَل** 'he was fed.' The important exception is: **كَل** **كَل** /Pay^ti/ 'he brought' (from **كَل** **كَل** 'he came'), Impf. **كَل** **كَل** /Nay^te/, Ptc. **كَل** **كَل** /May^te/, Inf. **كَل** **كَل** /May^tayu/. Cf. below, § 63.

⁷⁰ The Infinitive is regular: **كَل** **كَل** /Imē^zal/.

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

f) In Pael Impf. 1sg., note the deletion of the prefix vowel /e/: $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ /*allef*/ < /**e*allef/ (cp. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ '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. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ /*mallef*/; Impf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ 'he shall teach'; Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ /*mallāfu*/; nomen agentis $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ /*malfānā*/ 'teacher.'

g) The following is a synopsis in tabular form:

Peal

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

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

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

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

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

Ethpeel

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

Inf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ /*metekālu*/; Ptc. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$, $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ /*metaklā*/

Pael

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

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

Ethpaal

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

Afel Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ *Entafal* Pf. $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ —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: $\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ}$ 'to learn.'

except in the 1sg. and 3f.sg., and Ethpe: ܐܝܬܝܒܐ /yiteb/ 'he sat' (but ܐܝܬܝܒܐܝܬܐ /yēḇaṭ/ 'she sat'; Ethpe Ptc. ܐܝܬܝܒܐܝܬܐ 'being born.' Such an initial /yi-/ is often spelled ܝܐ , e.g. ܝܐܝܩܐ Pineq/ 'to suck.'

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

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

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

The Impv. and Inf. are formed analogously to the Impf.: ܝܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , ܝܝܘܒܐ (Impv.)⁷³, ܝܢܝܘܒܐ ; ܝܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , ܝܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ /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: ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐ /pāwteb/ 'to settle'; ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐܝܬܐ /Pettāwtav/ 'to be settled'; ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐ /pāwda/ 'to make known.' Only two verbs show a Yodh instead: ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐ /Payneq/ 'to suckle'; ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐ 'to bemoan.'

e) The following is a synopsis in tabular form:

Peal

Pf. ܝܝܘܒܐ /yizef/ 'to borrow,' ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐ /yezpaṭ/, ܐܝܬܝܘܒܐ /yizeft/ etc.

Impf. ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ etc. Impv. ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ etc.

ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ etc. ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , ܝܢܝܘܒܐ etc.

⁷² The alleged Impf. ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , attested twice (according to Brockelmann 1928:298), is doubtful: one occurs in a 12th cent. manuscript, and the other alongside a ptc., ܝܢܝܘܒܐ , hence easily a scribal error for ܝܢܝܘܒܐ . The Inf. ܝܢܝܘܒܐ occurs rarely, usually replaced by ܝܢܝܘܒܐ /mettal/. Brockelmann (1962: § 175) holds that the striking final Lamadh of ܝܢܝܘܒܐ 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. يَتَّبَعُ, يَتَّبَعِي, يَتَّبَعِي etc. Impf. يَتَّبِعُ, يَتَّبِعِي etc.

Inf. لِيَتَّبِعْ

Afel

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

Ettafal

Pf. أَتَّبَعْتُ, Impf. أَتَّبِعْتُ, Ptc. أَتَّبَعْتُ, 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 $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /hdi't/$ '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' ($\sqrt{\text{هَد}}$)
3m.sg. $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /dki't/$	$\text{دَكَّيْتُ} /dakki't/$	$\text{هَدَيْتُ} /pasgi't/$
f.sg. $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /dekyat/$	$\text{دَكَّيْتُ} /dakyat/$	$\text{هَدَيْتُ} /pasgyat/$
2m.sg. $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /dkit/$	$\text{دَكَّيْتُ} /dakkit/$	$\text{هَدَيْتُ} /pasgit/$
1c. $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /dkit/$	$\text{دَكَّيْتُ} /dakkit/$	$\text{هَدَيْتُ} /pasgit/$
3m.pl. $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /dkiw/$	$\text{دَكَّيْتُ} /dakkiw/$	$\text{هَدَيْتُ} /pasgiw/$

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

e) The Impf. 2/3 m.pl. ending /-on/ appears in WS as /-un/: ES $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /nermon/$, WS هَدَيْتُ .

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

g) In the Ethpe Impv., WS has $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /Peṛmay/$, for which ES has $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /Peṛamy/$, 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/: $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /yimay/$ 'to swear' alongside of $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /yimi/$; $\text{هَدَيْتُ} /Peštay/$ '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 قَامَ /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. قَامَ /nqum/ 'he shall rise' قَامَ /nsim/ 'he shall put'

Impv. m.sg. قُم /qum/

سِم /sim/

The above-mentioned مِيت is irregular: Impf. مِيت /nmut/; Impv. مِيت /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: قَامَ /Peṭqim/ 'it was constituted'; قَامَ /Peṭsim/ '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. نَبَّز /nebboz/ 'he shall plunder' as if from /*nenboz/, though the real root is $\sqrt{\text{ن ب ز}}$. Likewise Pe. Inf. نَبَّز /Imebbaz/ as if from /*Imenbaz/; Af. Pf. أَدْخَلَ /Pa^{el}/ 'he introduced' < $\sqrt{\text{أ د خ}}$ '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. تَامَت , not تَامَتَت .

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: **يَنْحَطِّقُ**, not ***يَنْحَطِّقُ**, although the above-mentioned shorthand spelling is occasionally found as in Ptc. f.sg. **يَنْحَطِّقُ** 'chopped' for ***يَنْحَطِّقُ**.

§ 67 Some common anomalous verbs

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

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

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

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

يَنْعَمُ Pe. 'to live.' The Pf. is regular: **يَنْعَمُ**, **يَنْعَمُ**, **يَنْعَمُ** /hyayt/ etc., but Impf. **يَنْعَمُ** /nehhē/, Inf. **يَنْعَمُ** /mehhā/, Af. **يَنْعَمُ** 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 **سَدَّدْتَانِي** /šaddartin/ 'you sent us'

3m.pl. ending /-u/ as in **سَدَّرُوهُ** /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, **أَخْرَجْتَهُ** 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'; **تَقْبَلِينِي** /tqablinān/ 'you (f.sg.) shall receive me'; **أَرْفَعْنَاهُ** /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/—, **كَبَلْتَا** /-āy/ as in **كَبَلْتَا** /qabbeltāy/ 'you (m.sg.) accepted him'

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

after /-u/—, **كَبَلُو** /-uy/ as in **كَبَلُو** /šadruy/ 'they sent him'

after /-ē/—, **كَبَلْنَا** /-ēw/ as in **كَبَلْنَا** /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. **كَبَلْتِي** /Pasqiw/ 'I shall bring him up' (with the combination of the rule given above, [d]); **كَبَلْتِي** /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 **كَبَلْتِي** /simayn/ 'Place me!'

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

/-ē/ with a 3 f.sg. suffix as in **كَبَلْتِي** /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. **كَبَلْتَا** /b'ā/ 'he sought' vs. **كَبَلْتِي** /b'āk/ 'he sought you (m.sg.).' Likewise with the vowel endings of the root in the Impf. and Impv.: e.g. **كَبَلْتِي** /nev'ē/ vs. **كَبَلْتِي** /nev'ēn/ 'he will seek us'; **كَبَلْتَا** /b'i/ Impv. Pe m.sg. vs. **كَبَلْتَا** /b'in/ 'Seek me!'; Pa **كَبَلْتَا** /gallā/ 'Reveal!' vs. **كَبَلْتَا** /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, **كَبَلْتَا** and **كَبَلْتَا**: e.g. **كَبَلْتَا** /galli/ 'he revealed,' but **كَبَلْتَا** /galyan/ 'he revealed me' and **كَبَلْتَا** /gallikon/ 'he revealed you (m.pl.)'; **كَبَلْتَا** /Imeḡlā/ 'to reveal' but **كَبَلْتَا** /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. **كَبَلْتَا** /rma'uh/ 'they threw her' or 'Throw her!'; **كَبَلْتَا** /ḥadyun/ 'they gladdened me' or 'Gladden me!'; **كَبَلْتَا** /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.'