

PART THREE

MORPHOSYNTAX AND SYNTAX

§ 69 **Noun: Gender** The feminine form of an adjective or a pronoun is sometimes used to refer to an abstract property, a manifestation of it, or a general thought, not an entity whose natural sex is female: e.g. **شئ** 'something else,' **هذه** 'this matter, this circumstance,' **ما** 'what is necessary is one,' **الخير** 'the good.' However, the masculine form may also be so used indiscriminately: 2Sm 19.35 **لا أستطيع أن أقول لكم الخير من الشر** 'I cannot tell the good from the bad' vs. 1Kg 3.9 **لا أستطيع أن أقول لكم الخير من الشر** 'to discern the good from the bad'; **لهذا** 'because of this.' In the plural, however, only the feminine is used: **هذه الأشياء كلها** 'all these things'; **هاتين القضيتين** 'these two matters.' A subject clause is considered feminine in Mt 19.23 **يسهل على الغني أن يدخل ملكوت السموات** 'it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven' || ib. 24 **يسهل على الإبل أن تدخل ثقب إبرة** 'it is easier for a camel to enter the hole of a needle.'

§ 70 **Noun: Number** Some nouns are used only in the plural (*plurality tantum*), even when there is nothing plural about their meaning: e.g. **ماء** 'water' (**ماء حي** 'living [as against stagnant] water'); **ثمن** 'price'; **حرية** 'freedom'; **خطبة** 'betrothal'; **سماوات** 'sky'; **حياة** 'life'; **وجه** 'face.'

There are nouns which refer to a plurality of individuals, though singular in form: Mt 8.27 **بعضهم تعجبوا** 'some people were amazed'; ib. 9.3 **بعض الكتبة** 'some of the scribes,' cf. ib.12.47 **قال له** 'someone said to him' and **كلهم** 'everybody.'

§ 71 **Noun: State** The severely curtailed use of the absolute state (§ 18) is confined to the following cases⁽¹⁾:

a) Distributive repetition: e.g. **كل سنة** 'every year'; **كل واحد**

¹ These are not, however, absolute rules: exceptions, namely the use of the emphatic state of the expected absolute, are not few.

of the numeral "one" may have the effect of weakening the emphatic to that of the primitive, absolute state: Lk 14.2 רבבא קהנא (S omits א. Gk ἀνθρώπος τις).

§ 73 Status constructus and periphrasis by means of -א

a) Logical dependence between two nouns is sometimes synthetically expressed by putting the dependent noun in the status constructus as in רבבא קהנא /rabbay kāhnē/ 'chief priests' (lit. 'great ones among priests'); דיןא רבא 'verdict' (lit. 'decision of judgement'). The standard syntax, however, favours periphrasis whereby two adjacent, logically dependent nouns are joined by means of the proclitic particle -א: thus it is more common to say רבבא קהנא רבא 'the spirit of holiness' (i.e. the Holy Spirit) rather than רבבא קהנא רבא; מלכא בבלא 'the king of Babylon' vs. מלכא בבלא; Mt 11.12 מלכא שמיא vs. ib. 11.11 מלכא שמיא 'the kingdom of heaven.'

b) The synthetic structure tends to be confined to standing phrases verging on compound nouns as in the first two examples. Likewise ברבא חרע /bar ḥērē/ 'a son of the free (people),' i.e. free-born, noble man' (and many other combinations with חרע or חרעא); קהנא רבא 'synagogue' (and countless combinations with רבא); even spelled as a single word as in רבבא קהנא 'foundation (of a building)' = רבבא קהנא 'ground' + רבבא קהנא 'wall.'

c) Note the use of the st. cst. of adjectives and passive participles as in: Ex 32.9 קשה צוואר 'stiff-necked'; קשה רבא 'much of price,' i.e. 'costly, expensive,' likewise קשה רבא (used with a fem. noun); קשה רבא 'mind-taken,' i.e. 'mindless, senseless'; קשה רבא 'cursed of life,' i.e. 'leading an accursed life'; Mt 26.7 קשה רבא 'pricy perfume.' In most of these cases, though the adjective or participle agrees in gender and number with its grammatical antecedent, its logical antecedent is the noun immediately following. Thus in קשה רבא 'a stiff-necked people,' what is stiff is not the nation, but their neck.

d) Where both nouns in a relationship of dependence are logically determined, the dependent noun often takes, by way of anticipation, a pronoun—so-called proleptic—referring to the second noun: e.g. רבא

ḥānān 'the son of God' (lit. 'his son, of God'). See below § 112.

e) The second term normally follows the first immediately; only inconsequential words can intervene, e.g. ... ḥānān 'the sons of Bala, however, ...'; ... ḥānān 'for the god of heaven ...'; ḥānān 'they are sons of the righteous'; ḥānān 'he was a warrior of might.'

f) The analytic structure makes for far more possibilities and lesser ambiguity of expression than would be the case with the synthetic structure: thus ḥānān 'the son of the king' can be expanded, for instance, to ḥānān 'that wise son of this great queen,' when synthetically one could use only one adjective and possibly only one demonstrative pronoun such as ḥānān, which, besides, could mean either 'this great son of the king' or 'the son of this great king' (or possibly also 'this son of the great king'). See Mt 16.16 ḥānān 'the son of the living God.'

§ 74 The non-enclitic forms of the **independent personal pronouns** (§ 9) are used with a finite verb, i.e. a verb form which is conjugated in respect of gender, number, and person, where the subject so marked is in contrast to another subject or is given some prominence. E.g. Jer 17.18 ḥānān 'May they be crushed, and may I not be crushed!'; Dt 5.27 ḥānān ... ḥānān 'You draw near ... and you shall speak to us' (i.e. we want you to represent us, we do not wish to speak to God ourselves); Mt 14.19 ḥānān 'they the disciples (not Jesus Himself) served the crowd.'

A personal pronoun also occurs in introducing the main character to mark a new turn in a narrative: Mt 14.27 ḥānān 'now Jesus spoke to them immediately.' This occurs often with a personal name as here.

§ 75 The third person forms of the **personal pronouns** can, in addition to persons spoken about, also refer to things, even inanimate, the choice of gender and number being determined by that of the noun of the object being referred to: ḥānān 'they saw a village and lived in it.'

§ 76 Most **interrogative** words, when followed by the proclitic -*ā*, become generalising connectives:

- مَنْ "who?" — *-ā* مَنْ 'whoever ...'
- مَا "what?" — *-ā* مَا 'whatever, that which'⁽²⁾
- أَيْنَ "where?" — *-ā* أَيْنَ 'wherever, where'
- أَيَّامًا "when?" — *-ā* أَيَّامًا 'whenever, when'
- أَيُّهَا "which?" — *-ā* أَيُّهَا 'whichever, one who'
- كَمْ "how much?" — *-ā* كَمْ 'as much as'

To كَمْ 'how?,' however, corresponds a shorter form: *-ā* أَكْمَلًا /ak d-/ as in أَكْمَلًا أَفَأَسْأَلُكَ 'as I think.'

§ 77 The ubiquitous, so-called proclitic **relative pronoun** *ā* is indeclinable, and indicates that what follows it says something about the antecedent:

- أَجَدْتُ فِيهَا كَثِيرًا مِّنَ الْمَالِ 'the house in which I found much money'
- أَجَدْتُ فِيهَا مَنْ أَتَىٰ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا 'the house whose residents came from there'
- أَرْسَلْتُ إِلَيْكَ الرَّسُولَ الَّذِي أُرْسِلُ بِهِ 'the prophet whom I sent to you'
- أَجَاءَ إِلَيْنَا الرَّسُولُ 'the prophet who came to us.'

Analogous to combinations mentioned under § 76 are the particle *ā* preceded by *ā* مَنْ 'one who, he who'; *ā* مَا 'she who; that which'; مَنْ, مَا, أَيُّهَا, أَيَّامًا all meaning 'those who; those things which.' The two structures may be further combined as in *ā* مَنْ, *ā* مَا, *ā* أَيُّهَا, *ā* أَيَّامًا, and the addition of *ḥā* makes for greater generality: *ā* حَيْثُ مَنْ 'whosoever.'

A further variation is achieved when a noun is mentioned as antecedent: *ā* كَوْنًا 'those stars which'; *ā* كَوْنًا ... كَوْنًا 'those documents ... which.'

The inanimate "that which" may be also expressed through *ā* كَوْنًا and *-ā* مَنْ. This can be also expanded to *ā* كَوْنًا مَنْ, and, كَوْنًا being indeclinable, it can be also combined with a plural demonstrative as in كَوْنًا كَوْنًا مَنْ 'those things which are beautiful.'

² Also 'when,' esp. referring to the future, even followed by a Perfect.

§ 78 Many prepositions function as logically related conjunctions when combined with the proclitic particle -*ā*.

مُؤَدِّم 'before' (of time) — *ā* — مؤَدِّم (بِ) 'before'
 كُنْفِي 'after' (of time) — *ā* — كُنْفِي (بِ) 'after'
 بِسَبَبِ 'because of' — *ā* — بِسَبَبِ 'because of'
 كَمَا 'like' (of similarity) — *ā* — كَمَا 'just as'(³)

Note also *ā* بِسَبَبِ 'because'; *ā* بِسَبَبِ 'because'; *ā* بَعْدِ 'after.' The preposition *ā* حَتَّى 'until' is also used as a conjunction, however, without *ā* and meaning 'whilst,' 'before' (sometimes with the negative *lā*) as well as 'until.' As a preposition for "until" *ā* حَتَّى / *dammā* 1- is much more common: e.g. *ā* حَتَّى لَيْلَةٍ 'until evening.' As a conjunction for "until" one also uses *ā* حَتَّى.

Some prepositions show a complementary distribution of allomorphs:

with a noun	with a suffix
بِسَبَبِ 'because of rain'	بِسَبَبِ 'because of it'
بَيْنَ الشُّجَرِ 'among the thorns'	بَيْنَهُمْ or بَيْنَهُنَّ 'amongst them'
بَيْنَ الْخُبُرِ 'among the wheats'	'amongst them'
بَيْنَ الصَّالِحِينَ 'from among the righteous'	
كَمَلِكٍ 'like a king'	كَمَلِكِهِ 'like him'

Moreover, with an adverb or a prepositional phrase we find *ā* كَمَا 'as in heaven.'

§ 79 Impersonal passive. A passive participle or an Eth-pattern is sometimes used impersonally where the use of the unmarked, third person masculine singular gives prominence to the fact that something is happening or happened, with no actor matching the 3m.sg. verb being mentioned. Thus *ā* حَلَا مَوْلَى جَدِّكَ 'he became the talk of the whole town' (lit. 'there was heard about him ...'); Mt 7.2 *ā* حَتَّى تَمُوتَ بِمِثْلِهَا 'with the measure with which you measure out it will be measured out to you.'

§ 80 Eth- conjugations with transitive force. Some verbs in an Eth-conjugation take a direct object: Mt 23.15 *ā* تَجْرُونَ الْبَحْرَ وَالْأَرْضَ 'you go round the sea and the land'; 26.75 *ā* ... *ā* 'he

³ This last, when followed by an Impf. or Inf., indicates a purpose or result.

remembered the word of Jesus'; Gn 42.7 **سَمِعَ** 'he recognised them.'

§ 81 The Perfect indicates something that happened, has happened or had happened, thus essentially a past tense. Some Perfects may have the translation value of the Present, which is true especially of verbs which indicate states, permanent qualities, etc.: **أَحْزَيْتُ** 'I am grieved'; **أَرْغَبُ** /*regtan*/ 'I desire'; **جِئْنَا** 'we have come to know, we know' (cf. *novimus, οἴδαμεν*). See also Mt 28.6 **لَيْسَ هَهُنَا** 'he is not here' (*οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε*).

The Perfect is also used with **عِنْدَ** with reference to an event or action which will have become reality at some point in future: Mt 2.8 **عِنْدَ مَا تَجِدُونَهُ** 'when you have found him.'

The Pf. is common in hypothetical conditional clauses: Mt 23.30 **إِن كُنَّا فِي أَيَّامِ آبَائِنَا** 'if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been their partners.' In similar vein is the optative use of the tense as in Mc 16.3 **مَنْ يَرْفَعُ** 'who would roll (the stone away for us)?'; Dt 28.67 "In the morning you would say **أَتَمَسَّحُ** 'we wish it were evening' (lit. 'when would it be evening?')."

The Pf. is occasionally used to refer to an action which is performed by uttering the verb, so-called performative Perfect: e.g., 1Kg 15.19 ... **بِهِ أَهْبَأْتُكُمْ** 'Behold, I send you hereby ...'

§ 82 The Imperfect is very rarely used in independent clauses to indicate a future action or state. In such cases it often carries a modal nuance of *can, must, might, should, may*, etc.: e.g. Mt 22.13 **يَكُونُ** 'there shall be weeping there'; Gn 42.37 **تَقْتُلَانِي** 'you may kill my two sons.' Such an Impf. is also common in a negative command with **لَا** as in **لَا تَدْخُلَنَّ** 'Do not enter,' since the Imperative itself does not take **لَا**.

The Imperfect is highly frequent in dependent clauses complementing another verb as in Mk 12.1 **بَدَأَ يَتَكَلَّمُ** 'he began to speak'; Mt 8.18 **أَمَرَ أَنْ يَذْهَبُوا** 'he ordered them to go to the other side'⁽⁴⁾; in

⁴ Even when the subject of the main verb is identical with that of the subordinate clause: **أَرَادَ أَنْ يَقْتُلَ نَفْسَهُ** 'he wanted to kill himself.'

⟨*šak*⟩, has exactly the same range of time reference as the simple Perfect: *šak* *šak* 'they wrote,' 'they have written,' 'they had written' or 'they will have written.'

§ 86 Compound tense: *šak* *šak*. This highly frequent syntagm, <Ptc. + enclitic *šak*⟩, indicates an on-going, repeated or habitual action in the past: *šak* *šak* 'I was weeping, kept weeping.'

This structure is also common in irreal or hypothetical conditional sentences: Jn 11.21 *šak* *šak* *šak* *šak* 'if you had been here, my brother would not have died'; ib. 14.28 *šak* *šak* *šak* 'if you loved me, you would be rejoicing'; Jdg 13.23 *šak* *šak* *šak* *šak* 'if God had wanted to kill us, he would not have accepted from us a burnt-offering.' Here also belongs a case such as Mt 18.6 ... *šak* *šak* 'it would be more beneficial to him ...'

§ 87 Compound tense: *šak* *šak*. This syntagm, in which the verb *šak* is *not* enclitic, but fully pronounced, indicates a wish, advice or obligation of general applicability, but not a command for immediate execution, for which one uses the Imperative. An adjective may be found instead of a participle. E.g. *šak* *šak* 'Be healthy!'; *šak* *šak* 'Act thus!'

§ 88 Compound tense: *šak* *šak*. This syntagm is used in a past context, and in subordinate clauses, instead of the simple Impf.: *šak* *šak* *šak* 'before they went there.' Also in conditional or associated clauses: *šak* *šak* *šak* 'what ought I to have done?'

§ 89 Compound tense: *šak* *šak*. This syntagm occasionally replaces the simple Imperfect: *šak* *šak* *šak* *šak* 'he gave him the authority to execute judgement as well'; *šak* *šak* *šak* *šak* 'women should never enter their monasteries.'

§ 90 Noun expanded. A noun as the nucleus of a phrase may be expanded in various ways. Such an expanding constituent mostly follows the nucleus, but not infrequently precedes it.

§ 91 a) An attributive adjective mostly follows its nucleus noun: Mt

12.35 $\text{ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'a good man produces good things from good treasures.' But it may precede: $\text{ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'the first foundation'; often with honorific, laudatory or condemnatory epithets as in $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'the blessed Mar Ephrem'; $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'the wicked Julian.' Likewise with common quantifiers: $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'another parable'; Mt 4.21 $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'another two brothers'; 2Cor 11.4 $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'a different kind of Jesus'; Jn 14.16 $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'another comforter'; $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'many souls' as against $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'many sinners' and $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'many birds.'

b) A demonstrative pronoun (§ 13) may either precede or follow: ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ or ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'this king.'

c) Likewise cardinal numerals (§ 44 a). The preceding numeral for "one," however, emphasises the notion of unity or oneness: ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'one flesh' (of marital union); ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'even one hour'; Mt 27.14 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'not even with one word.' Cf. ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'a man,' where the numeral is equivalent to the indefinite article. In the case of other numerals, the preceding noun tends to be put in the st. emph., but with no functional difference: ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ or ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'two days,' cf. Mt 14.19 $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'those five loaves and two fish,' the noun in the st. abs. even with a determiner, ܕܥܠܡܐ ; Ex 29.1 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'two rams' vs. ib. 29.2 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'the two rams.'

Where a noun is expanded by both the numeral "one" and an adjective, the numeral appears either immediately before or after the noun: ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'the only beloved son' vs. ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'a new wagon.'

Note also the position of the numeral for "one" in relation to an analytical noun phrase as in Mt 5.36 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'one hair.'

Likewise with numerals other than "one": $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'these twelve disciples of his'; $\text{ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ 'these seven lambs.'

The same rule applies to a demonstrative pronoun as to the numeral for "one": ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'this great nation' vs. ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'these great wonders.'

Where a noun qualified by a numeral is considered logically determined, the latter may optionally take an anticipatory (pleonastic) suffix as in, *q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'the two sons of Zebedee.'

d) The quantifiers *saggi* /*saggi* 'many, much' and *ḡl̄l̄b̄* 'few, little' may either precede or follow the nucleus noun. *ḡl̄l̄b̄*, however, is indeclinable: e.g. *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'these few words'; *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'these few memories'; *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'many times'; *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'many days.'

Cf. also Mt 8.10 *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'such a faith as this'; Gn 41.38 *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'such a man like this,' but Mt 9.8 *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'such an authority.'

ḡl̄l̄b̄ also functions as a kind of quantifier: Mt 27.12 *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'he, however, returned no word whatever'; *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'some benefit.' It may also follow a noun: *ḡl̄l̄b̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'some gift.'

The ubiquitous *ḡl̄* /*kul*/ (or *ḡl̄l̄*) may form close union with a noun: *ḡl̄ iḡd̄* (also spelled *ḡl̄l̄ iḡd̄*) 'every day'; *ḡl̄ iḡd̄* 'all possessions.' In such cases it usually takes a suffixal pronoun matching the noun in gender and number, whether proleptically (by anticipation) or resumptively: *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'the entire city'; *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'my entire soul'; *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'all the sins'; *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'all these things.' The syntagm < *ḡl̄* + NP in st. emph. > may also have the translation value 'every,' not 'the whole': Mt 3.10 *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'every tree.'

The combination of a noun with a demonstrative pronoun and *ḡl̄* appears in a variety of patterns: Ex 18.18 *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'all this people'; ib. 11.8 *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄*; Gn 33.8 *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'all this encampment.'

e) A noun may be expanded by another, immediately following noun, in which case the preceding nucleus noun is in the **status constructus**: e.g. *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'son of a king, prince' (§ 73). This synthetic structure is often replaced by an analytic one whereby two nouns or noun phrases are joined by a proclitic *ḡ* as in *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'the belief of your son.' The second, qualifying noun may be converted into a conjunctive pronoun as in *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄* 'his faith' or into an independent "possessive" pronoun as in *ḡl̄ iḡd̄, q̄n̄b̄ iḡd̄*.

At times the nucleus noun phrase to be qualified by the following Dalath phrase is wanting: Mt 22.21 $\text{קְדוֹתַיְכֶם וְעַבְדֵיכֶם וְדָבָר לְקַדְשׁוֹתַיְכֶם}$ 'Give then that which is of Caesar to Caeasar and that which is of God to God'; ib. 16.23 $\text{אַתְּ מְחַשְׁבֵּת דְּבָרֵי אֱלֹהִים וְדְבָרֵי אֲנָשִׁים}$ 'you are not thinking of things of God but of things of men.'

f) A noun phrase qualifying another noun phrase may be transformed into a suffix pronoun: $\text{סֵפֶר הַנְּבִיאִים}$ 'the book of the prophet' → סֵפֶרָא 'his book.' This synthetic structure can be transformed back into an analytic one by means of a דָּבָר form when the qualifying constituent receives some emphasis: $\text{סֵפֶר הַנְּבִיאִים דָּבָר}$ 'his book.' Two alternative syntagms are: סֵפֶרָא דָּבָר and סֵפֶרָא דְּנָבִיא , the latter with a proleptic pronoun.

g) When an adjective qualifies the first of the two nouns in analytical union mediated by the proclitic Dalath, it may either immediately follow the first noun or the second: Aphr I 29.12 $\text{עֲשֵׂת דְּבָרֵי אֱמֻנָה טוֹבִים}$ 'the good works of faith' as against $\text{עֲשֵׂת דְּבָרֵי אֱמֻנָה טוֹבִים}$ 'the First Epistle to the Corinthians.' Compare also Gn 44.2 כַּסְּפֵי אֶמְצָא 'my silver cup' with ib. 23.9 $\text{כְּלֵי הַמְּדִינָה}$ 'his double cave.'

h) A noun may be expanded by a τ -clause. Three patterns are to be distinguished here:

1) Such a clause may explain what is meant by the preceding noun—epexegetical: e.g. $\text{הִשְׁמַעְתִּי אֶת־חַיְוָתִי וְאֵינִי יָכוֹל לְהִסָּבֵל אִתּוֹ}$ 'he sensed my weakness, viz. I am not able to cope with the pressures.'

2) The noun phrase serves as an "antecedent" which is referred back to by a pronominal element in the τ -clause—relative clause: $\text{בֵּית הַיְּשׁוּבָה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי יוֹשֵׁב בּוֹ}$ 'a house in which I live'; Gn 35.15 $\text{הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהִים אִתּוֹ}$ 'that place where God had spoken with him.'

Such a pronominal reference, however, is usually absent when the antecedent is equivalent to the subject or direct object of the τ -clause: $\text{הַנְּבִיאִים אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ אֵלַי}$ 'the prophet who said these things' or $\text{הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר אָמַר הַנְּבִיאִים}$ 'these things which the prophet said.' Thus Gn 9.3 $\text{כָּל הַרֵמָה אֲשֶׁר חַיָּה בָּהֶם}$ 'every reptile that is alive,' but Nu 9.13 $\text{אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר טָהוֹר}$ 'a man who is pure'; Dt 13.6 $\text{אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדָעְתָּ אֲבוֹתֶיךָ}$ 'other gods whom you do not

know.'

Where an embedded pronominal reference is lacking inside the relative clause, a preposition which would have been attached to such a pronominal element is occasionally found attached to the relative pronoun, whether simplex or compound: Mt 26.48 $\text{לְאֶחָד מֵאֵינִי} \text{ אֲנִי אֶשָּׂקֶה}$ 'the one whom I shall kiss is him' instead of $\text{אֶחָד מֵאֵינִי} \text{ אֲנִי אֶשָּׂקֶה}$; Nu 22.6 $\text{וְעַל כֵּן בֵּרַכְתָּ אֶת הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְעַל כֵּן אֲרָצָנוּ בֵּרֶכֶת וְהוּא אֲרָצָנוּ בֵּרֶכֶת$ 'he whom you bless is blessed, and he whom you curse is accursed.'

3) A prepositional phrase expanding a noun phrase is often introduced by the proclitic עַל : Gn 3.2 $\text{עַל הָעֵצִים בְּגַן הָעֵדֶן}$ 'the trees in the garden'; ib. 44.15 $\text{עַל כַּדָּם כַּדָּם}$ 'a man like me.' But cf. Gn 3.6 $\text{עַל הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה עִינָהּ עִינָהּ}$ 'to her husband (who was) with her.'

§ 92 Grammatical concord 1) In the majority of cases a satellite displays formal congruence with its nucleus in respect of gender and number: e.g., $\text{מֶלֶךְ} \text{ טוֹב}$ 'a good king' vs. $\text{מַלְכֹת} \text{ טוֹבוֹת}$ 'good queens'; $\text{בָּנִים} \text{ בָּאוּ}$ 'the men came' vs. $\text{בָּנוֹת} \text{ בָּאוּ}$ 'the daughters came'; $\text{בֵּית} \text{ הַזֶּה}$ 'that house' vs. $\text{בַּיִת} \text{ הַזֶּה}$ 'that synagogue'; $\text{בָּנִים} \text{ שְׁנַיִם}$ 'two sons' vs. $\text{בָּנוֹת} \text{ שְׁנַיִם}$ 'two daughters.'

2) Some nouns, though singular in form, may refer to an entity consisting of more than one individual member—collective nouns—and concord with a plural verb: Ex 14.31 $\text{בָּנִי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{ יָרֵא}$ 'the people feared.'

3) As regards the state, however, a satellite adjective does not concord with its nucleus noun when the latter is in the construct state: e.g. $\text{בֶּן} \text{ טוֹב} \text{ מֶלֶךְ}$ 'the good son of the king.'

4) The quantifier מְעַט 'few, little' often remains unchanged with a plural noun: Mt 15.34 $\text{מְעַט} \text{ דָּגִים} \text{ קְטַנִּים}$ 'a few small fish'; Mk 6.5 $\text{מְעַט} \text{ אֲנָשִׁים} \text{ חֲרִיבִים}$ 'a few sick people'; Rev 3.4 $\text{מְעַט} \text{ שְׁמֵימוֹת}$ 'a few names.' By contrast, רַב 'many, much' may concord: Mt 13.17 $\text{רַב} \text{ נְבִיִּים}$ 'many prophets,' but $\text{רַב} \text{ דָּגִים}$ 'many fish' and $\text{רַב} \text{ דְּבָרִים}$ 'many things.' Similarly אֲחֵר 'another, other': Mt 12.45 $\text{שֶׁבַע} \text{ אֲחֵרֵי רוּחַיִם}$ 'seven other spirits,' but ib. 21.41 אֲחֵרֵי עֹבָדִים 'other workers' and $\text{אֲחֵר} \text{ מֶלֶךְ}$ 'another master.'

5) The verb רָכַס , especially in the syntagm $\text{לָקַח} \text{ רָכַס}$ in the sense of "to possess," tends to be unchangeable, the 3m.sg. form serving for all

persons and both genders: Mt 22.25 **لَمْ يَلِدْ** **وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ** **أَوْلَادٌ** 'he had no sons' (instead of **أَوْلَادٌ**).

6) In the case of multiple constituents the first component may determine the choice: Mt 22.40 **عَلَىٰ هَاتَيْنِ الثَّابِتَاتِ** **الَّتِي هِيَ** **قَوْلَانِ** **وَالنَّبِيِّينَ** 'on these two commandments depend(s) the law and the prophets.'

§ 93 Negation

1) **لَمْ** may be used as a prefix of a noun with a negative connotation: e.g. **كُفْرَهُمْ** **لَمْ** 'their disbelief'; **بِحَبْطِهَا** **لَمْ** 'incorruptibility, immortality.'

2) A rhetorical question is often cast in negative form. **أَلَمْ** **لَمْ** may be used, even without referring to the past: Mt 13.55 **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَبْنَىٰ** **الْحَرَامِيِّ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَبْنَىٰ** **الْحَرَامِيِّ** 'this is surely the son of the carpenter?', which is immediately followed by **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَبْنَىٰ** **الْحَرَامِيِّ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَبْنَىٰ** **الْحَرَامِيِّ** 'his mother is called Mary, isn't she?' A negating particle may not occupy the initial slot: ib. 56 **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَبْنَىٰ** **الْحَرَامِيِّ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَبْنَىٰ** **الْحَرَامِيِّ** 'and his sisters are all with us, aren't they?'

3) The non-existence of an entity is indicated by **لَمْ** : Mt 12.43 **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **مَاءٌ** **فِيهِمْ** 'there is no water in them'; Ac 4.12 **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **سَلَامٌ** **فِي** **أَيِّ** **شَخْصٍ** **آخَرَ** 'there is no salvation in any other person.' This is followed by its fuller form, **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **سَمٌّ** **آخَرَ** **لَهُ** **أَيُّ** **شَيْءٍ** **آخَرَ** 'for there is no other name ...' Non-existence in the past requires **لَمْ**: Mt 13.6 **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **لَهُ** **جَذْرٌ** 'it had no root.' **لَمْ** may be used absolutely, i.e. no missing entity mentioned: Mt 13.13 **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **لَهُ** **شَيْءٌ** 'he who has nothing.'

4) The verb is negated by **لَمْ**: Mt 13.13 **لَمْ** **يَسْمَعُوا** **وَلَمْ** **يَفْهَمُوا** 'they do not listen and do not comprehend'; ib.14 **لَمْ** **يَفْهَمُوا** 'you will not comprehend'; ib.16.11 **لَمْ** **يَفْهَمُوا** **كَيْفَ** **لَمْ** **يَفْهَمُوا** 'how have you not comprehended?'

5) The force of the negation of the syntagm **لَمْ** **لَمْ** also affects only the immediately following constituent: Mt 15.11 **لَمْ** **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** 'it is not that which enters the mouth that defiles a man (but that which comes out of the mouth, that is what defiles a man)'; ib.16.11 **لَمْ** **لَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** **أَلَمْ** **يَكُنْ** 'it was not about the bread that I have said (that) to you.'

6) Where two coordinate nouns are negated, the negative is prefixed

to each of them: Mt 6.20 $\text{كَلِمَةُ} \text{لَا} \text{تَسَبِّغُ} \text{وَلَا} \text{تَأْكُلُ} \text{وَلَا} \text{تُجْبَسُ}$ 'neither moth nor rust damages'; Jer 49.31 $\text{لَا} \text{بَابَ} \text{وَلَا} \text{مِجْرَابَ}$ 'it has neither doors nor bolts.'

7) In categorical negation affecting a noun the negative may stand detached from the noun: Gn 19.8 $\text{اِثْنَتَا} \text{بَنَاتٍ} \text{لَهُنَّ} \text{لَا} \text{يَسُبُّ} \text{مَنْ} \text{يَسُبُّ} \text{هُنَّ}$ 'two daughters with whom no man had sex.'

8) Categorical negation is common with a noun, often in st. abs., preceded by لَا , e.g. Ps 118.1 $\text{لَا} \text{بَلِيَّةَ} \text{لِي} \text{فِي} \text{طَرِيقِ} \text{الْحَقِّ}$ 'those who are without blame in the way'; Mk 4.34 $\text{لَا} \text{بِ} \text{مَثَلٍ}$ 'without parables he would not teach'; Ro 4.6 $\text{بِغَيْرِ} \text{اَعْمَالٍ}$ 'righteousness without works'; Phil 2.14 $\text{بِغَيْرِ} \text{مُتَوَكِّلِينَ}$ 'you ought to do everything without disputing and without grumbling.' Here belongs $\text{لَا} \text{اَحَدًا}$ 'nobody' as in Mk 3.27 $\text{لَا} \text{يَسْتَطِيعُ} \text{اَحَدٌ} \text{دُخُولًا} \text{بِ} \text{بَيْتِ} \text{اَلْقَوِي}$ 'nobody can enter the house of a strong man.' This kind of لَا , however, does not have immediately to follow the negator: Mk 5.3 $\text{لَا} \text{يَسْتَطِيعُ} \text{اَحَدٌ} \text{مَنْعًا} \text{سُلْسُلًا}$ 'nobody could restrain him with a chain.'

9) To negate a clause constituent other than an adjective, a finite verb or a participle, لَا or $\text{كَلِمَةُ} \text{لَا}$ is often used⁶): Mt 22.32 $\text{لَا} \text{اَللّٰهُ} \text{الْمَيِّتِ} \text{وَلٰكِنِ} \text{الْحَيِّ}$ 'and the God is not that of the dead but of the living'; Mk 9.37 $\text{مَنْ} \text{اَرْسَلَنِي} \text{اَنْ} \text{اَقْبَلَهُ} \text{يَاكُلْ} \text{لَحْمِي}$ 'one who receives me does not receive me, but one who has sent me'; 1Cor 15.51 $\text{لَا} \text{كُلُّ} \text{مِنْ} \text{اَسْرَمُنَا}$ 'not all of us shall sleep.' The constituent negated by such a combination is usually focused. A mere لَا , however, is also found: Mt 20.26 $\text{لَا} \text{يَكُنْ} \text{مِنْكُمُ} \text{يَسُوِّدُ} \text{بَيْنَكُمْ}$ 'it should not be like that among you.' This is true where "neither ... nor" is meant: Mt 6.20 $\text{كَلِمَةُ} \text{لَا} \text{تَسَبِّغُ} \text{وَلَا} \text{تَأْكُلُ} \text{وَلَا} \text{تُجْبَسُ}$ 'where neither moth nor rust causes damage,' cited above (6). In such a case the negator may be found also with the verb: Mt 12.32 $\text{لَا} \text{يُعْفَى} \text{لَهُ} \text{فِي} \text{هٰذَا} \text{الدُّنْيَا} \text{وَلَا} \text{فِي} \text{الدُّنْيَا} \text{الْبٰتِيَةِ}$ 'he will not be forgiven, not in this world nor in the world to come.' Likewise where "nor" is meant: Mt 25.13 $\text{لَا} \text{تَعْلَمُونَ} \text{الْيَوْمَ} \text{وَالسَّاعَةَ}$ 'you do not know that day nor the hour.'

10) An adjective such as بَلِيَّةٌ may be negated by a plain لَا : Mt

⁶ Cf. Joosten 1992a.

20:15 **لَا أَتَمَلِكُ لِي مَا أَهْوَى** 'Don't I have authority to do with mine what I like?' See also Mt 19.10 **لَا فَرْصَةَ لِي نِكَاحِ** 'it is no use marrying a woman.'

11) The focusing function is indicated by a pronoun component of **أَنَا** [**أَنَا** < **أَنَا**] (see below, § 110): Jn 1.20 **أَنَا لَسْتُ الْمَسِيحَ** 'I am not the messiah'; 1Pt 1.12: **أَنَا لَمْ نَتَبَخَّرْ** 'they were not seeking themselves, but us.'

§ 94 Passive

The noun or pronoun indicating the agent in a passive construction may be mediated by the preposition Lamadh: Mt 14.8 **كَلَّمَتْهَا** 'she had been instructed by her mother (*ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς*),' but **بِ** is by far the commonest: Mt 2.16 **بِ** **صَارَ** 'he was made a fool of by the magis'; Lk 2.18 **بِ** **كَلَّمَتْ** 'was told them by the shepherds.'

§ 95 Apposition

1) Some nouns in apposition to another noun are virtually adjectival in function: Mt 14.13 **مَكَانٌ** **مِثْلَ** 'desertlike place.' This is especially true of nouns of the pattern *Qattāl*, which indicate professional or habitual activities, and nomen agentis with the characteristic suffix /-ān/: Mt 14.26 **مِثْلَ** **بُيُوتِ** 'deceptive spectre'; ib.16.4 **بُيُوتِ** **مِثْلَ** 'an evil and adulterous generation'; Aphr. I 156.5 **فَمِثْلَ** 'a voracious mouth'; ib. I 101.4 **مِثْلَ** 'a corrupt (lit. corruptor) generation.'

2) Virtually otiose is **مِثْلَ** in Mt 18.23 **مِثْلَ** **مَلِكٍ** 'a king'(?); Ge 13.8 **مِثْلَ** **أَخَوَاتِي** 'we are brothers.'

3) Where an appositional phrase is prefixed with a preposition, the latter is not repeated: Gn 4.2 **إِلَى** **أَبِيهِ** 'to his brother Abel' (Heb. *אֶל-אָחִיו אָבֶל*); 2Sm 20.21 **عَلَى** **مَلِكِ** 'on King David' (Heb. *עַל-מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד*), but exceptions do occur: e.g., Gn 23.7 **لِ** **أَخِي** 'to his brother'.

⁷ The appositional character of this syntagm is confirmed by a comparison of Mt 20.1 "the kingdom of heaven is like ... **مِثْلَ** **رَجُلٍ** **مِثْلَ** **مَلِكٍ** 'a man, a landlord who went out in the morning ...' with ib. 21.33 "Hear another parable. ... **مِثْلَ** **رَجُلٍ** **مِثْلَ** **مَلِكٍ** 'there was a certain man, a landlord, and he planted a vineyard ...'

'to the local people, the sons of Heth.'

§ 96 Adjective expanded

a) The high degree or intensity of a quality indicated by an adjective is expressed by **فَهِير** or **فَهِج**: Mt 15.8 **فَهِير** **فَهِس** 'very far'; ib.19.25 **فَهِج** **عَسَّو** **فَهِس** 'were very surprised'; Gn 15.1 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'very much.' The position of **فَهِج** varies: Gn 1.31 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'very good' (Heb: **טוֹב טוֹב**) vs. Ex 9.3 **فَهِج** **فَهِس** **فَهِج** 'a plague that was very severe.'

b) Some adjectives may be put in the status constructus and further qualified by the following noun: e.g. 1Sm 1.15 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'distressed of spirit'; Ex 32.9 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'a people stiff of neck'; Mt 13.46 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'costly.' Such an adjective may, however, be followed by a preposition which more explicitly specifies the logical relation between the adjective and the noun: Gn 12.11 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'pretty in appearance'; Lk 9.35 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'a great physician excelling in everything.' See also § 73 c.

c) The comparative degree of an adjective (and an adverb) is expressed not by any inflectional modification of the adjective itself, but by means of the preposition **فَهِج**: Jdg 14.18 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'what is it that is sweeter than honey or who is it that is stronger than a lion?' Verbs which denote qualities may also show analogous structure: Gn 26.16 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'you are much mightier than we'; ib. 48.19 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'his younger brother will be greater than he'; Lk 14.8 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'someone who is more distinguished than you.'

d) The adjective is often substantivised and used without a noun phrase which could serve as its head: Mt 5.45 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'he who makes his sun rise on the good and the evil'; 7.22 **فَهِج** **فَهِج** 'many will say.'

§ 97 Verb expanded

Most verbs are expanded and complemented by pronouns, nouns, noun phrases, verb forms—such as finite verb forms, infinitives, participles—**فَهِج**-clauses, adverbs or their phrasal or clausal equivalents. The last category of complement, namely adverbials, may be considered non-essential: whilst *in the sky* in *A bird is flying in the sky* may be

considered essential, *in the next room* in *Someone is snoring in the next room* can hardly be so considered.

Essential complements in the form of nouns or pronouns may be classified into direct and indirect objects. An object is direct when in the form of a noun it can be placed next to the verb without any formal marking: *they sent an/the apostle.* A verb which is capable of such zero complementation may be called transitive. By contrast, an object is indirect when in the form of a noun it is necessarily mediated by some preposition or other: e.g. *so they said to the apostle,* where the Lamadh is not deletable. Likewise Is 41.6 *they help each other.*

a) A direct object, however, may optionally be marked by the preposition Lamadh, leading to occasional syntactic ambiguity: *they sent* given above may be replaced by *they sent to*. Thus at Josh 6.7 *Go round the city!* the preposition Lamadh could be analysed as exponent of direct object only on the basis of an example such as Dt 2.3 *you go round this mountain.*

b) A pronominal direct object is as a rule synthetically attached to the verb: *they sent him* in contrast to *so they said to him.* But cases such as Josh 15.19 *you gave (it) to me* do occur where the pronominal suffix marks an indirect object.

c) A direct object "them" is always indicated analytically by *them* m. or *them* f., which regularly and directly follows the verb: *he received them* or 'Receive them' (Impv.).

d) A pronominal direct object of a participle is always marked analytically with the use of the preposition Lamadh, even in the case of "them": *I am sending her*; *Who is going to receive them?*, not *they*.

e) The infinitive, by contrast, is apt to mark its pronominal object "them" either as a suffix pronoun or through *to make them* or Gn 15.5 *to count them.* Compare also *to cleanse me* alongside *to cleanse me* with the same meaning.

the underlying active voice clause: e.g. Nu 20.26, **וַיִּשְׁרֹף אֶת-בְּגָדָיו מֵעַל אֶרְצוֹ** 'and he stripped Aaron of his garments'; Jer 25.15 **וְכָל-עַמְּמֵי הָאָרֶץ יִשְׁתְּּוּ מִמֶּנּוּ** 'Let all the peoples drink it'; Dt 4.9 **וְיֵדְעוּ בְנֵיכֶם** 'Let your children know them.'

§ 98 Verbs expanded other than by noun phrases or pronouns. Verbs may be further complemented by—

a) Infinitive: **יָרָב בֵּן-נֵבִי לֶחֶם** 'the boy wants to eat'; **יָרָב** 'he finished speaking'; **לֹא יָרָב לֶחֶם** 'he could not stand'; Gn 8.21 **לֹא אֶרְשָׁף אֶת-הָאָרֶץ** 'I shall not curse the earth any more'; Dt 4.10 **יִלְמְדוּ לִירֵאָה** 'they shall learn to fear me.'

b) Imperfect: Lk 18.13 **לֹא יָרָב אֶת-עֵינָיו** 'he would not even raise his eyes to heaven'; Josh. Styl. 3.12 **דָּרַשְׁתָּ מֵעַל-יָדִי** 'you demanded me to write to you'; Mt 7.4 **אֵלַי יֵצֵא** 'Allow me to take out the mote.' Although the lead word is not strictly a verb, the following cases are analogous: Jer 9.12 **מִי הוּא הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה** 'who is the man that is wise enough to understand this?'; Hos 14.10 **מִי הוּא הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה** 'who is the one who is wise enough to understand these things?'

c) **א** + Impf., which is far commoner than bare Impf.: Gn 19.22 **אֲנִי עוֹשֶׂה** 'I cannot do anything'; Jdg 3.28 **לֹא יָרָב** 'they did not allow anyone to cross over'; Mt 26.9 **יָרָב** 'this could have been sold for much'; Mt 16.5 **שָׁכַחוּ לֶחֶם** 'they forgot to take bread with them'; Mt 16.3 **אֵיךְ תִּפְשְׁרוּ** 'the signs of this epoch you do not know how to interpret'; Mc 6.7 **יָרָב** 'he began to send them out two by two.'

d) Participle: Mt 19.14 **בָּנִים** 'Let the children come to me'; Ac 3.2 **הָיוּ מְבִיטִים** 'they were in the habit of bringing and placing him'; Mk 5.17 **בָּנִים** 'they began to beg him to go away'; Jn 5.19 **אֲנִי עוֹשֶׂה** 'the son can do nothing.'

e) Verbs of sense or intellectual perception, or verbal communication are complemented by—

i) the proclitic particle Dalath: **וַיִּשְׁמַע** 'he heard that

Jesus had come.' The verb ܘܢܝܢܝܢ often gives the contents of a communication in the form of direct speech, and yet introduced by the proclitic: Lk 14.9 $\text{ܠܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ}$ 'he might say to you, "Cede the place to this one".' Likewise with verbs of related meaning: Mt 2.4 $\text{ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ}$ 'he kept asking them, "Where is the messiah going to be born?"'

ii) Verbs of perception often take as direct object a noun denoting a person or a thing followed by a clause indicating what is observed or perceived about him or it: with a ܐ -clause — Gn 1.4 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'God saw the light that (it was) good'; Mt 25.24 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'I knew that you are a hard man'; with a ܕ -clause—Ex 2.11 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'he saw an Egyptian striking a Hebrew'; Mt 26.40 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'he found them asleep'; with no conjunction and with a ptc. instead of a finite verb—Gn 21.9 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ ... ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'Sarah saw Hagar's son ... sporting'⁸); Jdg 3.25 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'they saw their master lying on the ground dead.'

f) **Object complement.** A structure similar to the one illustrated by Gn 21.9 and Jdg 3.25 cited in the immediately preceding paragraph is one whereby a constituent associated with a direct object constitutes with the latter a nominal clause: Gn 5.2 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'he created them male and female' (= they were m. and f.); Gn 30.6 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'she called his name Dan'; Is 3.4 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'I shall set the youth as their leaders.'

g) **Asyndetic complementation.** Besides examples quoted above where two verbs are simply juxtaposed without any formal marking of subordination, there are cases of tighter cohesion between the two verbs, so that hardly any other word intervenes between them: Gn 27.14 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'he went (and) took'; Ex 4.19 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'Go back'; Gn 25.34 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'he got up (and) went'; Mt 14.12 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'and his disciples approached, took his corpse, buried, and came, reported to Jesus'; Mt 24.25 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'I

⁸ Cp. Gn 26.8 ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܢܝܢܝܢ 'he saw Isaac dallying with Rebecca.'

told beforehand'; Aphr. I 52.14 $\text{ܐܘܨܪܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ (Pa pass. Ptc.) 'was promised beforehand'⁹); Gn 45.13 $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'Bring my father down quickly'¹⁰); Lk 14.5 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'it pulls up.' The two verbs mostly share same subject, and many of them indicate physical movement.

h) A verb may be complemented by a participle in particular which concords with the subject, indicating a contemporaneous and accompanying circumstance: Mt 16.1 $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'the Pharisees came up ... testing him.'

i) **Cognate objects.** A verb may take an object noun derived from the same root as that of the verb. In most cases such an object is further expanded by an adjective or its equivalent, so that the real complement of the verb is such an adjective: Nu 11.33 $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'and the Lord dealt the people a very great blow'; 1Sm 20.17 $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'he loved him with self-love'; Mt 2.10 $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'they rejoiced greatly.' From an example such as $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'he died a terrible death' or $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$ 'it perished for the last time' where the verbs are hardly transitive, it is obvious that these are not direct objects in the usual sense, but rather adverbial complements.

j) **Lamadh-less infinitive.** An infinitive without the prefomative Lamadh is often added to a verb in order to reinforce the latter or indicate the tone of insistence: Gn 15.13 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'Do know'; Aphr. I 465.11 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'so that he can build (and not destroy).' Such an infinitive may follow the head verb (Dn 9.21 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'it did fly away') or be separated from the latter (Aphr. I 637.3 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'Why did you indeed sin?'). This kind of infinitive remains verbal in nature, capable of taking all kinds of complements, but where an adjective, numeral, relative clause and the like is to complement it, a straight nominal form is used instead: ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'he died a

⁹ On the repetition of the enclitic, note also Lk 13.7 $\text{ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ}$, but it need not be repeated as in ib. ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'I come looking for ...'

¹⁰ Note the variety of syntagmas with the same verb: Gn 18.7 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'he cooked it quickly'; ib. 41.32 ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ 'God hastens to do it.'

terrible death' (quoted above); $\text{נִבְּרָה יְהוָה יָדוּם אֶחָד}$ 'this one shall be killed once only.'

§ 99 Verbs expanded by adverbs or their equivalents. A verb may be modified by an adverb or its phrasal or clausal equivalent, the latter being an adverbial noun phrase, an infinitive, a prepositional phrase, a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction כִּי or its various combinations with interrogatives such as כִּי מָתַי 'when,' כִּי אַיֵּן 'where,' כִּי כַּדְּמָה 'as' (of manner, similarity) etc. (§ 76) or other conjunctions such as כִּי אִם 'if,' כִּי אַיֵּן 'where' and כִּי מָתַי 'when.' These adverbials indicate a time, place, reason, manner, condition or such like. Some examples are: Gn 42.7 $\text{בְּעִצְרוֹתָם נִבְּרָה יְהוָה אִתָּם}$ 'he spoke with them harshly'; Lk 2.49 $\text{כִּי יֵשֶׁב בְּבֵית אָבִי}$ 'it is proper that I should be in the house of my father'; Acts 5.21 $\text{בַּבֹּקֶר יָצְאוּ בְּעֵת הַבֹּקֶר}$ 'they went out at daybreak'; Ex 23.17 $\text{שְׁלֹשָׁה מַעְבָּדִים יִשְׁמְרוּ אֶת זְכוֹרֹתַי שְׁלֹשָׁה מַעְבָּדִים}$ 'three times per year every memory (!) of yours should appear before the Lord'; Mt 2.2 $\text{בָּרָאנוּ לְעֹבְדֵי יְהוָה}$ 'we have come to worship him'; ib. 2.1 $\text{כִּי יוּלַד יֵשׁוּעַ בֶּתְלֵחֶם}$ 'when Jesus was born in Bethlehem'; ib. 2.8 $\text{כִּי תִמְצָאוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעֵת מְצִאתוֹ}$ 'when you have found him, come (and) tell me'; Jdg 4.8 $\text{הֲלֹךְ אִתִּי אֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ}$ 'should you go with me, I shall go.' Cp. further Mt 28.7 יְהַיְיָהוּא 'Go quickly' with ib. 28.8 $\text{וַיֵּלְכוּ יְהַיְיָהוּא}$ 'and they went quickly.'

§ 100 Prepositions modified by a prepositional phrase or adverb. When a preposition is complemented by a prepositional phrase or adverb instead of by a substantive, the proclitic Dalath is prefixed to the latter: e.g. Mt 10.37 $\text{אֲדַר אֶת אָבִי וְאֶת אִמִּי מֵעַתָּה}$ 'he who loves (his) father or mother more than me'; Mt 26.55 $\text{אֵלֶיךָ יָצֵאתָ כְּעַד אֶת הַבַּנְדִּית}$ 'you have come out as if against a bandit'; ib. 20.14 $\text{אֶת הַלְּאִמָּה אֶתְּנֶה לְכֵלֵךְ אֶתְּנֶה לְכֵלֵךְ}$ 'I shall give to this last one as to you'; ib. 21.46 $\text{אֵלֶיךָ אֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה}$ 'they regarded him as a prophet.' Cf. also Mt 6.10 אֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה 'as in heaven'; Gn 4.13 אֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה 'my sin is greater than to be forgiven.'

§ 101 Clause structure. Two types of clause may be recognised: verbal and nominal. A *verbal clause* contains as one of its core constituents a finite verb (Pf., Impf., Impv.) which may include within itself its

grammatical subject as in ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'I wrote a book' or the subject may be positioned outside of the clause nucleus either before or after the verb as in ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'the apostle sent an envoy' or ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'the apostles wrote a book.' The position of the participle in this scheme of classification is ambiguous. All other well-formed clauses may be regarded *nominal*.

§ 102 The Syriac **nominal clause** displays a rich variety of patterns and structures capable of expressing rather subtle nuances of predication.¹¹ Leaving aside clauses with ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ to be dealt with later, the Syriac nominal clause may be formally classified according to the number of its core constituents, mostly three but occasionally two or four. In addition, one can identify three structural meanings which may be assigned to each of those patterns: descriptive, identificatory, and contrastive.

§ 103 Examples of **bipartite** nominal clauses are: Lk 22.26S ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'you are not like that'; Gn 9.12 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'this is the sign of the covenant' (cf. ib. 17 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ); Mt 5.12 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'your reward is plentiful in heaven'; 9.37 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'the harvest is abundant and labourers are few'; Gn 27.22 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'the voice is that of Jacob and the feel of the hands is that of Esau'; 33.13 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'the children are young'; Ru 1.16 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'your people is my people, your god is my god.'

§ 104 The standard **tripartite** nominal clause contains an enclitic personal pronoun (§ 10), which brings the immediately preceding clause constituent into focus. The enclitic is normally that of the third person concurring with the subject: e.g. Jn 8.39 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'our father is Abraham'; Mt 16.16 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'you are the Christ.' The enclitic, however, may be assimilated in form to the preceding constituent when it is a personal pronoun: Mt 24.5 ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ 'I am the Christ.'

The sequence of ܘܕܘܒܘܟܬܘܢ followed by its enclitic form is spelled as one

¹¹ For details, see Muraoka 1987 (1996) §§ 102-108 and the literature cited there.

word in the form of **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ**: e.g. Mt 16.20 **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'he is the Christ.' By contrast the combination of the feminine **ܘܐ** is **ܘܐܘܐ**, pronounced /hiyi/.

Where the constituent immediately preceding the enclitic consists of more than one word, there occurs a discontinuous constituent, with the second and subsequent words following the enclitic: Gn 18.27 **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'and I am dust and ashes'; Jn 8.53 **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'why are you greater than our father?'; Jonah 1.8 **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'Which people do you belong to?'; Gn 4.9 **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'Am I then the keeper of my brother?'; Dt 31.2 **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'today I am hundred and twenty years old.'

§ 105 Schematically presented and leaving prosodic aspects out of consideration, 'David is my master' may be rendered in Syriac by four tripartite structures:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a) ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ | ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ⁽¹²⁾ | P - E - S ⁽¹³⁾ |
| b) ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ | P - E - S |
| c) ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ | S - P - E |
| d) ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܐܘܐ | ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ | P - S - E |

The last pattern is not very widely attested to: e.g. **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'you are master of our bodies'; **ܘܐܘܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'you are holy'; **ܘܐܘܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'Christ is a mystery of God'⁽¹⁴⁾; Mt 12.8S **ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ ܘܐܘܐ** 'the son of man is lord of the sabbath'; *Odes of Solomon* 5.2 **ܘܐܘܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܨܐ** 'you are my hope'; Jn 9.9S **ܘܐܘܐ** 'this is him.'

§ 106 A pronominal subject of bipartite nominal clauses may be deleted in a relative clause, a clause complementing verbs of knowledge or perception etc., or a circumstantial clause. Such deletion is extremely

¹² Pronounce: (a) /māru dāwid/, (b) /dāwidu mār/, /dāwid māru/ and /mār dāwidu/ respectively.

¹³ S = subject; P = predicate; E = enclitic pronoun.

¹⁴ References: *Euphemia*, p. 13; Bedjan, *J. Sarugensis*, I, pp. 222; Ephrem, *L'Évangile concordant*, p. 2.

personal pronoun: Mt 24.5 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'I am the messiah.' With the second person, $\text{أنت} \text{أنت}$, for instance, seems to be preferred to أنا أنا , perhaps for the sake of euphony: note Mt 14.28 $\text{أنت} \text{أنت}$ أنا as against ib. 27 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'it's me.'

This structure is highly frequent with interrogatives as predicates: $\text{من} \text{من}$ 'who is it that ...?'; $\text{أين} \text{أين}$ /Paykāw/ 'where is it that ...?'

c) **Contrastive:** Mt 20.15 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'your eye is evil, but I am good'; Jn 8.23 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'you are one of those who are below, but I am one of those who are above.' The same structural meaning can be expressed in a bipartite form with the subject preceding: Jn 15.5S $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'I am the vine and you are the branches.'

§ 108 There are found on occasion *quadripartite* nominal clauses as an extension of the pattern P—E—S used apparently in order to avoid clumsiness or misunderstanding: Dt 7.9 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'the Lord your God is the God'; Mt 13.39S $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'their sower is the evil one.'

§ 109 **Existence, location and أنا .**¹⁵ That some object exists ("existential" clause) or is to be found at a specific location ("locative") is normally expressed with the mediation of the particle أنا , though the latter may be absent as in Mt 1.23S أنا 'God is with us'; Gn 41.12 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'and there was there with us a Hebrew lad.' Compare Lk 1.66S $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'the hand of the Lord (was) with him' with ib. P $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ أنا أنا .

With very few exceptions the unsuffixed أنا has a logically indeterminate object whose existence or non-existence (the latter with أنا /layt/) is indicated. Conversely, when the subject is determinate, the particle is, if used, suffixed with the matching pronoun, and then the utterance is not about the existence or non-existence of an entity, but its location, its whereabouts: e.g., Jn 4.37 $\text{أنا} \text{أنا}$ 'herein is the word of truth.'

Both sequences, NP - أنا and أنا - NP, are attested with little

¹⁵ See Muraoka 1977.

This type of relative clause of anonymous reference, however, commonly takes a dummy antecedent such as a demonstrative pronoun, an interrogative pronoun or ܘܢܝܢ : e.g. Is 56.4 $\text{ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ}$ 'they choose what I desire'; Josh 10.11 $\text{ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ}$ 'more were those who died with hailstones than those who the Israelites slew with the sword'; Mt 5.6 $\text{ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ}$ 'Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness'; Mt 10.40 ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'he who receives me receives him who has sent me'; Mt 13.13 ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'that which he has will also be taken away from him.' These deictics may be multiplied: ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ , ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ , ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ , ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ , ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ . Similar are combinations such as ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ , ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ .

§ 112 **Prolepsis.** When a person or a thing is considered contextually definite, Syriac is fond of referring to such an entity in advance with the concording pronoun first, and later specifying it by using the noun phrase itself. This taking-in-advance, *prolepsis* ($\pi\rho\acute{o}\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$), may occur in various syntactic relations.

a) Simple prepositional adverbial adjuncts

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'he was teaching in the boat'
 ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'on that same night'

b) Indirect objects

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'she said to the king'

c) Direct objects

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ or ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'he accepted the word'
 ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ or ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'he accepted the words'
 ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'I accept the words'

d) ܘܢܝܢ -mediated analytical substitute for construct phrases

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'the words of the Lord'

e) ܘܢܝܢ -mediated prepositional adjuncts

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ 'together with his daughters'

f) With ܘܢܝܢ 'all, every'

ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܢܝܢܐ 'all the nations'

g) With numerals

ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'the two cities'

h) With possessive pronouns ܕܗܘܢܝܢܐ

ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'the names of the twelve apostles' (Mt 10.2); ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'the ministers of the word' (Lk 1.2)

i) Third person independent pronouns

ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'Jeremiah said'

ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'to do this'

ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'Surely the tax-collectors also do that?' (Mt 5.46)

j) With ܕܗܘܢܝܢܐ

ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'now his appearance was like a lightning' (Mt 28.3)

A proleptic pronoun may be separated by an intervening word or words from the noun phrase to which it refers: Mt 13.56S ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'whence did this one get all this?'; Ac 8.10 ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'this is the great power of God.'

§ 113 **Compound sentence.** A topicalised clause constituent is placed at the beginning of a clause and is subsequently referred back by means of a concording pronoun: Ps 125.2 ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'Jerusalem is surrounded by mountains'; Aphr I 33.9 ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'for in the case of Abel his offering was accepted because of his faith'; Mt 17.27 ܠܗܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܠܝܢܐ 'the first fish that comes up — open its mouth!'