A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic

MARK W. COWELL
THE RICHARD SLADE HARRELL ARABIC SERIES

A SHORT REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF MOROCCAN ARABIC
By Richard S. Harrell

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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF SYRIAN ARABIC
By Mark W. Cowell

A DICTIONARY OF IRAQI ARABIC: ARABIC-ENGLISH

A BASIC COURSE IN MOROCCAN ARABIC

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

OF

SYRIAN ARABIC

[based on the dialect of Damascus]

by

Mark W. Cowell

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THE ARABIC SERIES
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

As an adjunct to its teaching and research program in the field of modern Arabic studies, Georgetown University's Institute of Languages and Linguistics inaugurated a publication series in Arabic studies in 1962. The present volume represents the seventh of the series. A list of currently available and forthcoming publications is to be found on the back cover of this book.

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1964
THE ARABIC RESEARCH PROGRAM
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The Arabic Research Program was established in June of 1960 as a contract between Georgetown University and the United States Office of Education under the provisions of the Language Development Program of the National Defense Education Act.

The first two years of the research program, 1960-1962 (Contract number SAE-8706), were devoted to the production of six books, a reference grammar and a conversational English-Arabic dictionary in the cultivated spoken forms of Moroccan, Syrian, and Iraqi Arabic. The second two years of the research program, 1962-1964 (Contract number OE-2-14-029), call for the further production of Arabic-English dictionaries in each of the three varieties of Arabic mentioned above, as well as comprehensive basic courses in the Moroccan and Iraqi varieties.

The eleven books of this series, of which the present volume is one, are designed to serve as practical tools for the increasing number of Americans whose lives bring them into contact with the Arab world. The dictionaries, the reference grammars, and the basic courses are oriented toward the educated American who is a layman in linguistic matters. Although it is hoped that the scientific linguist and the specialist in Arabic dialectology will find these books both of interest and of use, matters of purely scientific and theoretical importance have not been directly treated as such, and specialized scientific terminology has been avoided as much as possible.

As is usual, the authors or editors of the individual books bear final scholarly responsibility for the contents, but there has been a large amount of informal cooperation in our work. Criticism, consultation, and discussion have gone on constantly among the senior professional members of the staff. The contribution of more junior research assistants, both Arab and American, is also not to be underestimated. Their painstaking assembling and ordering of raw data, often in manners requiring considerable creative intelligence, has been the necessary prerequisite for further progress.

In most cases the books prepared by the Arabic Research Program are the first of their kind in English, and in some cases the first in any language. The preparation of them has been a rewarding experience. It is hoped that the public use of them will be equally so. The undersigned, on behalf of the entire staff, would like to ask the same indulgence of the reader as Samuel Johnson requested in his first English dictionary: To remember that although much has been left out, much has been included.

Richard S. Harrell
Professor of Linguistics
Georgetown University
Director,
Arabic Research Program
INTRODUCTION

Syrian Arabic

The language described in this book is Arabic as it is used in everyday conversation by educated city-dwelling Syrians, and most particularly by natives of Damascus.

The spoken Arabic of Damascus is much like that of other cities in the western parts of Syria and in Palestine and Lebanon (for instance Beirut, Jerusalem, Aleppo). From a practical standpoint all the urban dialects of "the Syrian area" or "Greater Syria" — as we shall call this region — may be considered variants of one language which we call "Syrian Arabic". Any one of these dialects, well learned, is an adequate vehicle of spoken communication for the whole area.

There are, of course, a great many local speech variations of all sorts within this area. Some of the more obtrusive or systematic differences will be noted at the relevant points.

No attempt is made, however, to deal with the large variety of rural sedentary dialects of Greater Syria, some of which are quite unlike the urban speech represented in this book. Still farther beyond the range of our description is the speech of Bedouins.

As in all the Arab countries, everyday conversational language (Colloquial Arabic) in Syria differs radically in certain respects from the standard Arabic used in writing and formal speech, which we shall refer to — not quite accurately — as "Classical Arabic".1

The differences between Colloquial and "Classical" Arabic make it necessary, for present purposes at least, simply to treat them as different languages. The grammatical structure of Syrian Colloquial Arabic is autonomous, and must be described in its own right, without prejudice from Classical frames of reference.2

But while the two kinds of Arabic are indeed different languages, it cannot truly be said that they are separate languages. For most educated speakers, at least, there is and always has been an intimate association and mutual influence between them, with the influence of Classical upon Colloquial recently creating the more obvious — if not necessarily the deeper — currents of change.

Under modern conditions of mass communications and broadening literacy, it is therefore not surprising to hear many classicisms, pseudo-classicisms, neologisms, and journalesque in almost everyone’s conversation. By the same token, local or rustic styles of speech are constantly being suppressed or abandoned by some speakers in favor of something that sounds more cosmopolitan. These trends may be expected to continue as long as there is an increase in education and wide-range communication.

1Arabists generally prefer to limit the application of the term ‘Classical’ to a certain (medieval) historical period, but we are using it in the loose non-historical sense, somewhat analogously to the term ‘classical music’ as distinct from ‘popular music’.

2 "Classical frames of reference" are, of course, perfectly adequate for our purposes to whatever extent Classical and Syrian Colloquial are alike — and to whatever extent these frames of reference are also adequate to their original purpose.
INTRODUCTION

Aims and Methods

This reference grammar is intended, first of all, for students who have already acquired — or are in the process of acquiring — an elementary knowledge of Syrian Arabic, and who wish to enhance and confirm that knowledge. Secondly, it is intended to serve as a checklist of grammatical points for teachers; and thirdly, as a source of information about this dialect for Arabists and linguists.¹

Except in some of the footnotes, and in some of the phonetic descriptions in Chapter I, I have tried always to use ordinary English rather than modern linguistic jargon in the descriptive and explanatory passages. On the other hand, for concise reference to categories, constructions, etc. — many of which have often gone unnamed — I have not hesitated to use traditional Western or Arabistic grammatical terms where they seemed appropriate, or to coin terms where they did not.

About the methods of grammatical description there is little to be said except that they are eclectic. The presentation of most grammatical points was done in whichever way appeared to me the clearest in plain English or in familiar traditional terms. If some particular points are put in what seems a perversely novel or abstruse way, this may be in order to avoid a misleading ambiguity in the easier alternatives, or to highlight an important relationship which the traditional terms obscure.

Sources and Acknowledgments

The examples of Syrian Arabic speech used in illustrating this work came from a variety of native-spoken sources, including several previously published texts, responses to direct elicitation, and tape-recorded conversations (some spontaneous, others composed and read).²

Perhaps more than to any other single body of data, I have had recourse to the work in progress on A Dictionary of Syrian Arabic, by Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani (English-Arabic, number 5 of this series, and Arabic-English, forthcoming). Most examples of usage in these works were produced by the same Syrian speakers whom I also consulted directly.

A particularly valuable unpublished source of material was lent me by Charles A. Ferguson, who, with the assistance of Moukhtar Ani and other speakers from Damascus, worked out some years ago a very thorough and accurate collation of Damascus Arabic verb forms.

¹The coverage of grammatical points is by no means comprehensive. Knowledgeable readers will see at once that some parts of the book are much less detailed or less explicit than others, and that certain large areas of grammar are touched on superficially or not at all. I hope these faults (not to mention outright errors) will be glaring enough to stimulate more adequate treatment in later publications and teaching.

²In the syntactical parts especially, ad-hoc elicitation was kept to a minimum; that is to say, particular grammatical points are illustrated insofar as possible either with previously recorded spontaneous utterances, or else with sentences originally elicited for purposes other than the one at hand.

Of previously published works, Ferguson and Ani's Damascus Arabic and Cantineau and Helbaoui's Manuel élémentaire d'arabe orientale¹ have been used intensively as sources of illustrative sentences, and Barthélémy's Dictionnaire arabe-français (subject to dialectal adaptations) as a source of word bases. A number of other works (see below) were similarly used to a lesser extent. Some examples come from non-Damascene sources, but in most cases these were not chosen to illustrate dialectal diversity; with minor adjustments they represent Damascus usage as well as that of their own locality. In all these examples, of course, the transcription has been altered to match our own.

Sentences taken from these previously published sources are identified as such; for instance the notation [DA-173] after a sentence means that it was taken from Ferguson and Ani’s Damascus Arabic, page 173. Titles are coded as indicated in the list below. Examples taken from Stowasser and Ani’s Dictionary of Syrian Arabic, however, are not identified, but remain unmarked like those originally produced for this grammar. (Single words and set phrases, of course, go unmarked in any case.)

My debt to co-workers in the Arabic Research Program at Georgetown University is greater than I can easily express. Special thanks go to Abdul Khalek Jailald and to Mary C. Chapple, both of whom did a great deal of valuable collation from texts and dictionaries.

As native-speaking consultants, Ziad H. Idilby and Abdul Khalek Jailald have given me expert assistance over a long period of time; for shorter but nonetheless fruitful periods I am indebted to Munir Jabban, Nazir Khaddam El-Jamie, and Sadalla Jouejati. The difficult job of typing most of the manuscript was expertly done by Alexandra Selim. I also owe thanks to Mahmoud Bagdash, Ali Bakri, Carollee Powers, Susan Luton, and Marie Roces.

I am especially grateful to Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani, who have aided and encouraged me far beyond their call of duty as colleagues in the Arabic Research Program. Professor Ani has helped me with profound insight through many difficult problems, provided me with excellent examples, and read parts of the manuscript. Professor Stowasser has read and discussed many parts of the manuscript with me, at great length and with telling effect, and has helped me with innumerable other points as they came up.

Finally, I wish to thank Georgetown University, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the authors of the National Defense Education Act, for providing the opportunity and means to carry out this project.

M.W.C.

Washington, D.C.
September 1964

¹Many of the examples taken from this book are now third hand, having been Mr. Helbaoui's adaptation to his own speech of passages from other sources.
REFERENCES

The only works listed here are those from which examples have been taken. For bibliography, see ‘Syrian Arabic Studies’, by Charles A. Ferguson, in Arabic Dialect Studies, Harvey Sobelman, editor (Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association and The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., 1962).

Reference Symbol


Bg. G. Bergsträsser, Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus. Hannover, 1921.


PIPL André d’Alvernys, Petite introduction au parler libanais. Bikfaya (Lebanon), 1950.


SAL M. Y. Van Wagoner, with Munah F. Dabaghj and Joseph T. Kiameh, Introduction to Spoken Arabic of Lebanon. Sidon (Lebanon), 1953. (Reproduced by The Institute of Languages and Linguistics, George-town University, Washington, D. C.)


TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I: PHONOLOGY

Chapter 1 Sounds


INTRODUCTION TO PARTS II and III

Chapter 2 Morphological Principles

Inflectional bases 35, Roots and patterns 36, Pattern alterations 40, Derivation 46.

PART IIA: BASE FORMS

Chapter 3 Verb Patterns (with Inflectional Paradigms)

Simple triradical patterns 55, Augmented triradical patterns 77, Pseudo-quadriradical patterns 109, True quadriradical patterns 117.

Chapter 4 Adjective Patterns

Simple triradical patterns 126, Augmented triradical patterns 128, Participial patterns 131, Quadriradical patterns 136.

Chapter 5 Noun Patterns

The -e/-a suffix 138, Triradical patterns 139, Quadriradical patterns 159, Others 162, Construct forms 162, Numerical construct forms 170.
## CONTENTS

### PART II B: INFLECTIONAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Verb Inflection</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expression of the categories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affix alternants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stem alternants: tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number/gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Adjective Inflection</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number/gender suffixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stem modifications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Broken plurals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pattern .Libal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Noun Inflection</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sound plurals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Broken plurals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART III A: DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Verb Derivation</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ascriptive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estimative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eduactive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reciprocative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simulative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Descriptive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstractive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstractive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Augmentative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applicative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Adjective Derivation</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dispositional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Characteristic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Noun Derivation</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract and Gerundial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singulative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feminal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hypostatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Numeral derivatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART III B: INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses of the Imperfect:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actuality (saw-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anticipation (raba-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future assumption</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>annunciatary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>generalizing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dispositional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses of the Perfect:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past time reference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conditional clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tense subordination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses of the Subjunctive:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>independent optative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>complementary optative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>attributive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prepositional complement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suplemental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Person, Number, and Gender</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract and mass nouns:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural of abundance or variety</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural of quantification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or identification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender of Nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART IV: SYNTAX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Syntactical Principles and Constructions</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sentences and clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parts of a predication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parts of speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negation:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mū 383, mā 386, the negative copula</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lā 389.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coordination:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mū 391, saw 394, yā and yamma 395, wāla 397, polysyndetic coordinations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fa- 397, lāken and bass 397, asyndetic coordinations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Predication and Extrapolation</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-verbal predications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quasi-verbal predications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inversion 419, Number/gender agreement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extrapolation 429.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: SOUNDS

The Arabic in this book is printed italically in a modified Roman alphabet as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUR SPELLING</th>
<th>ARABIC LETTER</th>
<th>PRONUNCIATION DESCRIBED ON page:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [.fatha]</td>
<td>ج</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. (b)</td>
<td>ف</td>
<td>2, (6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>د</td>
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<td>d. ل</td>
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<td>g. س</td>
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<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>ث</td>
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<td>h. ح</td>
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<td>i. [.kasra]</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ط</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters in parentheses represent sounds that are rare, or rarely distinctive, or characteristic of certain local dialects only.
Long vowels are written with a macron (‘) : ā, ā̄, ī, ī̄, ū. Long consonants are indicated by doubling the letter: bb, ss, kk, etc. [p.15].

The small raised letter ʰ is pronounced the same as a [p.30].

Accented syllables are indicated by an accent mark (’) over vowels. [p.18].

Note to Learners

Since the Arabic in this book is exclusively conversational Arabic, mere familiarity with the way it is transcribed in writing counts for nothing. Familiarity with the live sound of the language is indispensable if practical application is contemplated.

The terminology used in describing some of the sounds may not be completely intelligible to readers without phonetic training. These readers are again reminded that actual exposure to the sounds is prerequisite or co-requisite to the practical use of this book.

Parts of the Arabic sound system are rather difficult for most foreign learners. For speakers of English the most serious difficulties involve the contrast between plain and velarized sounds [p.6], the contrast between long and short sounds [15], the pharyngeal sounds [4] and their contrast with laryngeals [5] on the one hand and with post-velars [4] on the other. Intensive practice on these points is recommended.

LABIAL OBSTRUETS: b, p, f, v.

b. Bilabial Stop. Similar to English b. Fully voiced before vowels and voiced consonants, but tends to devoice — to sound like an unaspirated English p — before voiceless obstruents (f, k, h, x, s, š, č, t, ʃ) and sometimes at the end of a phrase. Examples (fully voiced): bāl, byāšī, bāb, bīb, bār, brīd, byāda, tāb, bādī, bādī, bādī, (devoiced or partially devoiced): bāts, bās, bāš, bāšīl.

p. Voiceless Bilabial Stop. Except as a contextual variant of b (see above), p occurs very rarely in Syrian Arabic, in a few words of foreign origin, for example pásbūr (or bashūr) 'passport', pāsābūs (or pāsūbūs) 'Europe', pāsābūs 'boardinghouse'. This sound is written ‘b’ wherever it may be treated as a contextual variant of b; and ‘p’ only otherwise.

f. Labiodental Spirant. Similar to English f. Generally voiceless, but also sometimes voiced before p, d, or other voiced oral obstruents. Examples (voiceless) fāras, fāl, fāqe, fāke, sīm, sīl; (voiced): sīfal (pron. sīdal), ḥaf (pron. ḥawā).

v. Voiced Labiodental Spirant. Besides being a contextual variant of f (see above), this sound occurs in a number of words of foreign origin, for example: křūve (or grūfē) 'necktie', nùmvās (or nūrīfās) 'to disturb, make nervous', įrdānda 'balcony', brāuo (or brūo) 'bravo'. This sound is written ‘f’ wherever it may be treated as a contextual variant of f; and ‘v’ only otherwise.

PLAIN DENTAL OBSTRUETS: d, t, z, s, (š, ʒ).

d. Voiced Dental Stop. Differs from English d in the somewhat more forward position of the tongue tip, which generally touches the upper teeth in Arabic but only the alveolar (gum) ridge in most kinds of English. Examples: dār, dirās, dārūs, dādās, dādā, dādū, ḍādi, ḍādū, ḍāhīna, bārdān, bārdūn, bārdūn, dāntā, bādī, dmācū.

t. Voiceless Dental Stop. Differs from English t in the same respect as d from English d; generally somewhat less aspirated than English t in 'take'. Examples: tāxūl, tātāf, tāsit, tāsit, bāsīhīl, mātīl, tāmī, tāsam, tāsam, sūstīna, sūstī, sūstī, tāsmīn, tāsmīn, tāsūl, tāsūl.

s. Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant. Somewhat sharper (higher pitched) than most kinds of English z. Examples: sjād, sjādl, ḥanāsāt, ḥanāsāt, ḥanāsāt, sjāsam, ḥamā, ḥamā, ḥamā, ḥamā, sjāmā, sjāmā, sjāmā, sjāmā.

z. Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant. Generally sharper and stronger than most kinds of English s as in 'sell', 'hiss'. Examples: sjāyēd, sjāyēd, sjāsās, ḥazī, ḥazī, ḥazī, sjāsūs, sjāsūs, sjāsūs, sjāsūs, sjālām, sjālām, sjālām, sjālām.

ζ. Voiceless Interdental Spirant. Like English th in 'this'. Not used in urban Syrian Arabic, but only in certain rural dialects, corresponding to Classical j and urban Syrian d or s: ḥābā 'this' (for ḥādā), ḥīsā 'if' (for ḥīdā).

θ. Voiceless Interdental Spirant. Like English th in 'think'. Rare in urban Syrian Arabic: ḏūr (or ḏūr) 'revolution', ḏīqa (or ḏīqa) 'trust', ẓaqqāfā (or ṣaqqāfē) 'culture', ḥadīf (or ḥadīf) (Prophetic tradition). Used in classicisms, generally replaceable by s in less elegant style. Certain rural dialects, however, have this sound as a regular thing, corresponding to Classical θ and urban Syrian t: ṣāmī 'second' (for ṣānī), etc.

PALATAL OBSTRUETS: ʃ, (ʒ), s (ɔ), ʃ, k.

ʃ. Voiceless Slit Spirant. Like the French j, or the English -s- in 'vision', but somewhat sharper and stronger. Examples: sās, sāṣā, ʃūsār, īsār, sīmā, sīmā, sīmā, sīmā, sīmā, sīmā, sīmā, sīmā.

k. Voice Affricate. Like English j and g in 'judge'. Used in the Aleppo region, and in rural dialects in various parts of Greater Syria, instead of ʃ.

s. Voiceless Slit Spirant. Somewhat sharper and stronger than English sh in 'shine', 'wash'. Examples: šāl, šāl, šār, šār, šādās, šādar, šīt, šītī, šīdāl, šīr, šīr, šīs, šīf, šādrāf, šīnā, šīēl.
Voiceless Affricate. Like English ch in 'church.' Occurs in certain words in the Aleppo region, e.g. ŧu‘ cloth' (elsewhere ŧu‘) ŧalbame 'elegance, chic' (elsewhere ŧatbame); and in certain rural dialects elsewhere, in place of k in certain positions: ŧam 'was' (for ŧam), ŧalb 'dog' (for ŧalb).

g. Voiced Stop. Like English g in 'give,' 'good,' its point of articulation varies between mediopalatal and velar, depending on neighboring sounds. This sound occurs mainly in words taken from foreign languages or other Arabic dialects: ŧişăr 'cigarette,' ŧängi: 'English,' ŧądāk 'brave fellow,' ŧąf 'horse, nag.' ŧängal 'hook,' ŧągīl 'cord handbag.'

k. Voiceless Stop. Like English k, its point of articulation varies between mediopalatal and velar, depending on neighboring sounds. It generally has somewhat less aspiration in release than English k, and is often unreleased finally. Examples: ŧkf, ŧkāj, ŧkūč, ŧkām, ŧkēk, ŧkām, ŧmāsāb, ŧńīm, ŧmāk, ŧwāzām, ŧkēf, ŧkāb, ŧkūd, ŧkāye, ŧyākīfū, ŧōmāk.

POST-VELAR OBSTRENUENTS: x, ġ, q.

x. Voiceless Spirant. Generally involves both uvular trill and velar "scrape." Like German ch in 'Bach.' Examples: ŧxū, ŧdāxāl, ŧmākāra, ŧxūm, ŧwāsē, ŧxī, ŧxāxūf, ŧtārāc, ŧtāf, ŧxūmē, ŧtāxāl, ŧnārā, ŧdēxt, ŧxūsā.

ĝ. Voiced Spirant. Generally a smooth spirant, involving neither trill nor scrape, but stronger than Spanish g in 'lago.' Examples: ŧgū, ŧgūl, ŧgāl, ŧgāf, ŧgūl, ŧgūf, ŧgūf, ŧgūm, ŧmāl, ŧsūg, ŧgīl, ŧgīf, ŧgīm, ŧmāsū. The pronunciation of ŧgūl in ŧgūl, ŧgīl, ŧmāl, ŧsūg, ŧgīl, ŧgīm, ŧmāsū is comparable to that of Spanish g in 'garaje.'

q. Voiceless Uvular Stop. Generally, though not always, unaspirated. In urban speech it occurs mainly in classicisms, and in some words is replaceable by k. Certain rural dialects, however, have q generally corresponding to Classical ẖ and urban Syrian ẖ. Examples: ŧtagsal (or ŧpasta11), ŧσqonsol (or ŧσqonsol), ŧhxqū (or ẖqū) ḍ, ẖqūd, ḍ-qrtān.

PHYRANGEAL OBSTRENUENTS: h, ħ.

h. Voiceless Spirant. Usually with strong friction but without scrape. (Must not be confused with x or with h). Examples: ŧhā, ŧhī, ŧhūq, ŧhāb, ŧmāhēd, ŧbāhārā, ŧhāb, ḍhēn, ẖdī-lām, ẖdīla, ḍhsām, ḍhsābba, ḍμābūb, ḍāšēb, ḍūh, ḍāḥūb, ḍdāhāhū, ṭṬlīh, ṭṬlās, ẖtīb, ḍhētī, ṭṬhē ś, ẖtīfē, ṭṬhērán.

The use of a subscript dot in transcribing the sound h does not signify any relationship to the velarized sounds, also transcribed with the dot [h].

ɛ. Voiced Spirant. A smooth but tense spirant, without the friction noise of h. (Must not be confused with ġ or with h.) Examples: ŧcūl, ŧcānd, ŧcōd, ŧtī, ŧtōd, ŧcāfēj, ŧcē, ŧtī, ŧcēr, ŧcēq, ŧcēd, ŧcēa, ŧcēd, ŧcēnī, ŧtīcī, ŧtīcēd, ŧcēyade, muxīn, ŧcēcēlo, ẅečē.
VELARIZATION 1 (at-tafsīm): $, ǧ, ǧ, ẓ, ʕ, ħ, ẓ, ḥ, ū, ʿ, ū.

The dot under these letters represents a "heavy" resonance which is the effect of relatively low-pitched concentrations of acoustic energy — in contrast to the "thin" or "light" quality of the sounds transcribed without the dot. (Note that ħ [p.4] is not one of the velarized sounds; its dot is merely to distinguish it from ḥ.)

In producing the plain sounds (i.e. those transcribed without the dot), the tongue is usually arched upward and forward into a single hump (in profile), leaving the pharyngeal and velar passages relatively open. For the velarized sounds, on the other hand, the profile of the tongue usually tends to be two-humped and low in the middle; the back hump narrows the velar and pharyngeal passages.

The lips may also play a part in producing the heavy resonance; velarization is sometimes accompanied by protrusion and pursing of the lips, while retraction and spreading of the lips help make the lighter, thinner resonance.

Examples of the contrast between plain and velarized sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Veralized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tīm 'figs'</td>
<td>tīm 'mud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīm 'perpetuate'</td>
<td>dīm 'hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēf 'sword'</td>
<td>sēf 'summer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būs 'muzzle'</td>
<td>būs 'ice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The term ‘velarization’ is not altogether satisfactory as a name for this phonological component. Note that the post-velar sounds x, ẓ, and ẓ are not inherently “velarized”; they may be either “plain” or “velarized”, depending on the neighboring sounds. The term ‘pharyngealization’, which has sometimes been used instead of ‘velarization’, is even more misleading, since the pharyngeal spirants ū and ē have still less in common with the velarized sounds than the post-velars have.

Evidently the air-stream turbulence produced by primary velar or pharyngeal stricture has sound effects quite unrelated — in Arabic, at least — to the effect of so-called secondary stricture in these passages. The secondary stricture does not produce audible turbulence, but serves to modify the resonating chamber.

The traditional term ‘emphatic’ is also a bad name for the velarized sounds, since it suggests (erroneously, it would seem) that these sounds are more forcefully or tensely articulated than the plain sounds.

2Veralized $ is usually unaspirated while plain $ is somewhat aspirated.

---

VELARIZATION 7  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Veralized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāba 'her door'</td>
<td>bābā 'papa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wālīa 'he appointed'</td>
<td>wāliā 'by God' (mild oath)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máyyēt 'dead'</td>
<td>māyyī 'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāyem 'asleep'</td>
<td>nāyī 'shepherd’s flute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāri 'flowing'</td>
<td>bārī 'my neighbor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔāsār 'he signalled'</td>
<td>ʔāsār 'he peeled'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speakers of English and many other languages are apt to be more sensitive to the effects of velarization on contiguous vowels than to the differences between plain and velarized consonants themselves. Compare dall 'to indicate' with dalā 'to remain', sādād 'close, block' with saḍḍā 'repulse, refuse'. [pp.10,11]

Velarization is usually not limited to a single sound in a word, but commonly affects whole syllables and often whole words: dalā, maḥṣūf, gūḥiṣ.

The dental obstruents t/t, d/d, s/s, and sh/sh are the only ones of these pairs that differentiate many words independently as illustrated above. With the others, the distinction between plain and velarized is usually a variation conditioned by the neighboring sounds, and is potentially significant only next to the vowel a and in the absence of dental obstruents.

Since velarization mainly affects sound sequences that involve dental obstruents, these obstruents are taken as the focal points of velarization wherever possible. Our transcription regularly shows velarization for these sounds, but not for other kinds of sounds affected in their neighborhood. Thus in the word bāṣlaq, for example, the dot under the 't' implies that the k, the z, and the ā are normally also velarized.

This economical use of subscript dots is not unambiguous, since the scope of velarization — the "neighborhood" of a dotted letter — has not been defined, nor is there, apparently, any simple way to define it. In fact the scope of velarization varies considerably from word to word, speaker to speaker, and region to region. Furthermore, the velarization may vary in intensity; some parts of a word may be strongly velarized, other parts weakly.
Examples of velarized sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḍ</th>
<th>ḍ</th>
<th>ḍ</th>
<th>ḍ</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍaum</td>
<td>ṭāb</td>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣālem</td>
<td>ṭāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍēf</td>
<td>ṭēr</td>
<td>ṣēd</td>
<td>ṣennār</td>
<td>ḍēla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍādaṣ</td>
<td>ṭōn</td>
<td>ṣōb</td>
<td>suhūr</td>
<td>čārab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ-ḍugūt</td>
<td>ṭūl</td>
<td>ṣūra</td>
<td>ṣēgīr</td>
<td>ṭajmāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīd</td>
<td>ṭāt</td>
<td>ṣīsūn</td>
<td>faqīṭ</td>
<td>bānīk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdrād</td>
<td>màṣṭar</td>
<td>māṣex</td>
<td>ṭahān</td>
<td>vérända</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fddal</td>
<td>ṭfīṭīm</td>
<td>byāqīref</td>
<td>ṭagālam</td>
<td>ṭumār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bādāb</td>
<td>ṭbīn</td>
<td>nāṣer</td>
<td>byāqhar</td>
<td>ṭumād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍhūr</td>
<td>nāṭī</td>
<td>ṭapāṣā</td>
<td>mādalāf</td>
<td>ṭumēq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍībī</td>
<td>màṣṣ</td>
<td>ḍhān</td>
<td>ḍāmēq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some parts of Greater Syria, the plain/velarized distinction with certain consonants is suppressed. In Damascus, for instance, there is no contrast between ṭ and ṭ in the same contexts; ābī ‘flowing’ and ābī ‘my neighbor’ are pronounced alike. In other regions the ṭ/ṭ distinction – though not obliterated – is often subject to local and individual variations to such an extent that its importance is very slight. Since the Arabic in this book represents the Damascus variety, velarization of ṭ is ordinarily not marked.

In a large part of the central area, including Damascus and most of Lebanon, the distinction between ṭ and ṭ is likewise obliterated, and is likewise subject to much vacillation elsewhere. Velarization of ṭ will generally not be shown in this book.

Except for ṭ/ṭ and a few other marginal cases, the contrast between plain and velarized is limited entirely to front sounds – labials and dentals. While the palatals and back sounds may vary due to velarization, their variation is virtually always conditioned by the neighboring sounds and is not significant.

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1There is a certain amount of regional and stylistic variation between ṭ and ṭ, ḍ and ḍ, ḍ and ḍ.

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VOWELS (AND SEMI-VOWELS): i (and ɣ), u (and ɣ), e, o, a, a.

i. High Front Vowel

Long i is similar to the English i in ‘machine’, but not diphthongized or as lax as it commonly is in English. Examples: brīd, kīf, fi’, ʼīf, nīf, ʼinā, ʾīḥād, ʾīḥādī, nāṣī.

Short i is much the same in quality as long i, though sometimes not so high and tense; less high and tense than the French i of ‘vite’, ‘ici’. Examples: binūn, ʾīna, ʾīña, ḩānīta, ʾīnā, kālī, ḩah-ʾīān, dirāsē.

Next to a velarized consonant, i has a retracted sound [i] similar to Russian i: ʾīn, i, ʾīn, nibām, ʾīn, ʾīna. (Compare this with the sound of ʾa [p.10] in certain contexts: ʾīna vs. näšāfa; the latter is lower, laxer, and more forward. The sound of ʾa in the velarized contexts, e.g. byūsāfa, is lower and farther back.)

The non-syllabic version of i – transcribed ‘y’ – is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic i, sometimes slightly shorter. It does not tend to develop palatal frication. Examples (short): yām, yatīm, ʾīy, ʾīyīfe, nāyem, bayān, byāra, hiyāl, ḩān, ḩālīf, ʾīyīlīf.

Non-syllabic and long (yy), it is higher and tesseract (but still does not have palatal frication): sayyāra, ʾīgīyūr, ʾīdyīye, ʾīyīyah, ʾīyīyām, ḩayy.

u. High Back Rounded Vowel

Long u is rounder and tesseract than English u in ’rude’, and is monophthongal. Examples: ʾūf, brūde, būlūd, byūsū, mū, ḩaabū.

Short u has much the same quality as long u, but is sometimes less high and tense. Less high and tense than French ou in ‘voulez’, ‘ou’! Examples: suʾūdī, ṣdįrūh, Ḫumām, ḩumāl, ḩūyā, ḩuʾūmīn, mutṭahēd.

The non-syllabic version of u – transcribed ‘ў’ – is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic u, though it may be slightly shorter and higher. Examples (short): ṭudī, ṭupāl, ḩumāl, ḩudāl, ḩumāl, lām.

Non-syllabic and long (yy), it is somewhat higher and tesseract: ʾūddīl, xawīfī, ĕitatūmī, ḩūmīl, ḩūlūdədī.

1In many parts of Greater Syria i does not contrast with ə or with e, in which case the syllabic and non-syllabic sounds must be reckoned separate phones [p.13, footnote 2].

2In many parts of Greater Syria u does not contrast with u or with y, in which case the syllabic and non-syllabic sounds must be reckoned separate phones [p.13, footnote 2].
e. Higher-Mid Front Vowel

Long ē is quite different from the English a in 'date', since it is monophthongal and higher than the first part of the English a. It is quite similar to French e as in 'zéro', but not as tense. Examples: bêt, zêba', ʾārāl, trē reset, ʾārād, ʾāmmāk, bēbē.

Short e has more or less the same quality as long ē — between the i of English 'sit' and the e of French 'été'. Examples: mâle, byâlbes, ʾāyāb, bâlbe, ṣâr̄manârí. (Short e does not ordinarily occur accented [p. 28].)

Next to a velarized consonant, e has a somewhat retracted sound [ɛ]: gābe, gād, bāmâ, fêr, māsêx.

Before a pharyngeal (h, ð), short e has a slightly lowered sound: gâle, mārye, bāse, mân'dseč.

o. Higher-Mid Back Rounded Vowel

Long ō differs markedly from the English o in 'sole', being monophthongal, and higher and rounder than the first part of the English o. It is similar to the French ô in 'côte', only not so tense. Examples: kôl, xôd, kôb, bôrad, bôoste, môsât, bôrâma, mâyô.

Short o has about the same quality as long ō — between the oo of British English 'look' and the o of French 'zero'. Examples: byâllok, bêtot, bêto, ṭôtê, ṣâhôr, mâyôsô. (Short o does not ordinarily occur accented [p. 28].)

a. Higher-Mid Central Vowel

a has a wide range of values, varying between the i of English 'pit', the u of English 'putt', and the u of (American) English 'put', depending on the neighboring sounds. (The raised letter a represents exactly the same sound as a; see p. 19.)

The most forward pronunciation of a — like the i in 'sit' (but always clipped short, never drawn out or diphthongized) — occurs only next to plain dentals (t, ʾ, s, n, l) or after y when no back vowel (o, u) or velarized sound (h, ð, ð, ð, etc.) is in its neighborhood. Examples: sēt, dâlînî, tânsa, byâyâkar, tâshâba, tâlî, mân'i, laṣeṭa, taalmâ.

The lowest pronunciation of a — between the e in 'pet' and the u in 'putt' — occurs before pharyngeals (h, ð): bîshki, nâmâ, sâfr, kâmte, byâxêtâmi, bilâsh. (This is very similar to the sound of a in certain contexts — but not in these contexts. The a in râdôme, for example, is much like the a in râbîše, while the a before pharyngeals is considerably lower, e.g. râdôme.)

Several different factors tend to make a sound more like the u in 'put' and less like the i in 'pit', especially when working in combination. These factors are: variation (caused by proximity of t, ʾ, s, ð, etc.), backing (caused by contiguity with a back consonant, especially x or ð), rounding (caused by contiguity with labials or w). An o or u in the following syllable causes both backing and rounding. Examples: badd, ðabb, bātt, bât, bāt, bât el, bāttol, bâsî, mâyâl, ṣâmî, ēâda, ðâbâbî.

Unlike all other sounds in the language, a never occurs long, or at the end of a word.

c. Low Vowel

a has a wide range of values, varying between sounds similar to those of English e in 'pet', a in 'put', u in 'put', and o in 'pot'.

What may be taken as the "standard" pronunciation of a is a slightly raised and retracted [æ], not quite so low and forward as the a in English 'bat', but lower than e in 'bet' and more to the front than u in (American) 'but'.

This standard a occurs mainly next to non-velarized front consonants — including k, g, and y, but excluding r. Examples (short): bâss, laff, fâs, dâl, madder, takk, šâdd, šâkk, kam, dândâ, mûsîlame, mâyî, nâyîle, dôsser, bâlî, dôsâl, hîyâl, kâssîl, mânîç, yasîç, yatîm, bâlîbôr.

At the end of a word, short a tends to be slightly lower and farther back: sôda, bôddâ, tânsa, bânta, ṣâda.

Long ā before and after plain front consonants varies regionally. In Damascus it tends to be a little lower and farther back than the "standard" a, while in certain coastal regions it is higher and more forward than the standard. Examples: kâm, fâs, nûd, dûl, šâs, šôm, mûlo, tyûb, kôṭf, kâtbe, nûbas, râshâl, bâbbâk, sîyûy, hûtâbâ.

In the Damascene pronunciation ā at the end of a word has more or less the same sound as before a consonant, but in the coastal regions this sound is lower and farther back than the high front preconsonantal ā. Examples: mâ, yâ, mûlâbî, xâbâ, ēâsâ.

After back consonants and w and r, the pronunciation of a is more or less the same as after front consonants in Damascus and many other regions. In some of the coastal regions, however, long ā after a back consonant, especially h or ð, may be less high and front than it is after a front consonant. Examples: ēâl, hâl, xâl, gâl, ṣâl, râd, xadđ, xâdd.}

---

1With a maximum of backing and rounding, a tends to alternate with u: ʾebuṭmâ/ʿibûṭmâ, ʾadâmâ/ʿadâmâ, ʾamrấbâ/ʿamrấbâ, etc. [See p. 13.]

2This backing effect may sometimes be due to velarization: ʾâl (for ʾâl), ʾâl (for xâl), râs (for râs), maqâl (for maqâl). In other instances, however, the backing may be too slight to attribute to velarization.
12 SOUNDS

haas, ḥanna, ḥābēl, mālad, radd, staqāll, ḥdda.

Long ˒ after q is commonly pronounced farther back:
maqāl, qāmūn.¹

Before a pharyngeal (˒h, ˒), ˒ has a low sound, generally more to the
front than the usual American pronunciation of the ˒ in ‘father’: b˒c˒, ˒āb˒, r˒ā˒i, y˒d˒ni, s˒ā˒le. In some of the coastal regions long ˒ in open
syllables before ˒h or ˒ is considerably higher, however, especially if
there is an i or e in the following syllable: s˒ā˒a, m˒ā˒ed.

Before r (in the Damascus pronunciation) ˒ has a somewhat retracted
and lowered sound similar to that of Middlewestern American ˒ in ‘far’,
‘part’ (but without the retroflexion): f˒r˒, b˒ā˒ra, b˒r˒d˒, m˒ā˒to, d˒ā˒ra,
˒d˒ā˒ca. In many other parts of Greater Syria, however, plain r causes
little or no retraction or lowering, while velarized r causes considerably
more than the Damascus r [p.8].

Before back consonants other than pharyngeals, especially in closed
syllables, ˒ has a commonly retracted and slightly lowered pronunciation:
˒ax˒, ˒d˒h˒ee, law˒, ˒d˒ə˒ma˒l˒, ˒d˒g˒i˒, b˒d˒r˒a˒, b˒d˒r˒a˒, d˒ax˒, m˒ā˒x˒.

When ˒ is followed by a single consonant plus i or e in the next
syllable, the backing effect of back consonants or r or s is counteracted,
and the ˒ is more or less “standard”: b˒ā˒red˒, s˒ā˒mi˒, d˒ā˒xe˒l˒, s˒ax˒f˒, b˒ā˒ri˒.
˒ a next to front consonants only is also somewhat raised and fronted by
a following i or e, so that the ˒ is slightly higher and more forward than
standard: m˒ā˒s˒i˒, b˒ā˒l˒i˒, m˒ā˒y˒et˒.

In the vicinity of a velarized consonant, ˒ has a back sound between
that of u in ‘putt’ and American o in ‘pot’. (The “hollow” quality of
velarization, however, is superimposed on the effect of this articulatory
position.) Examples: b˒aff˒, f˒a˒f˒e˒, s˒abb˒, b˒as˒ab˒, m˒a˒y˒y˒, ˒d˒жи˒, p˒ā˒l˒em˒, b˒a˒s˒f˒, p˒f˒ā˒d˒.

When followed by a pharyngeal, velarized ˒ is lower — in the approxi-
mate position of American o in ‘pot’: s˒a˒b˒, m˒ā˒c˒ţ˒, d˒ā˒c˒. (This lowering
is minimized, however, if i or e follows in the next syllable: d˒ā˒hy˒e˒, ˒y˒a˒h˒i˒.)

Regional Variations in the Vowel System

Short Vowels

Many speakers, especially in Lebanon and Palestine but also in parts
of Syria proper, have no vowel ˒ as a functionally distinct sound¹; for
them the front pronunciations corresponding to ˒ may be considered variants
of i, and the back pronunciations, variants of u²; some of the more central
˒-sounds are replaced by more i-like or u-like sounds, varying locally.
For example:

˒n˒ē˒s˒i˒ = n˒es˒i˒ b˒t˒h˒ā˒f˒ = b˒t˒h˒ā˒f˒ ˒s˒ā˒g˒i˒ = ˒s˒ā˒g˒i˒ b˒y˒a˒k˒t˒b˒-l˒a˒k˒ = b˒y˒i˒k˒t˒b˒-l˒a˒k˒ ˒b˒i˒t˒ê˒b˒ = ˒b˒i˒t˒e˒b˒ k˒o˒l˒ = k˒i˒l˒ o˒r˒ k˒u˒l˒

In Lebanon, furthermore, many speakers generally do not differentiate
between word-final e and i or between o and u. In their pronunciation
˒m˒ā˒d˒r˒e˒ ‘a rose’ sounds just like ˒m˒a˒d˒r˒i˒ ‘rose-colored’, and ˒t˒d˒r˒a˒k˒ ‘he left’,
like ˒t˒d˒r˒a˒k˒ ‘they left’.

Before a word-final consonant, the difference between
˒short e and i and between o and u is not significant in any
case, and is subject to a great deal of regional and indi-
vidual variation: m˒a˒n˒o˒s˒ = m˒a˒n˒s˒u˒, b˒y˒a˒m˒el˒ = b˒y˒a˒f˒m˒il˒.

The system of six short vowels represented in our trans-
cription, then, is for some speakers reducible to five
(elminating ˒), and for still others is perhaps reducible
to three (eliminating also e and o). Note, however, that
the actual differences in pronunciation implied by these
reductions are slight, and — with the exception of word-
final ˒ vs. u and e vs. i — functionally insignificant.

There is one noteworthy variation in the occurrence (distribution)
of the short vowel ˒. In central and northern Lebanon, and to some extent
elsewhere, unaccented ˒ before a single consonant disappears in many
kinds of words: m˒a˒d˒r˒i˒ (for m˒a˒d˒r˒i˒), b˒ā˒r˒e˒ or b˒ā˒r˒i˒ (for b˒ā˒r˒a˒), m˒a˒d˒r˒ae˒ or m˒a˒d˒r˒e˒s˒i˒ (for m˒a˒d˒r˒a˒s˒), l˒-h˒a˒m˒ (for l˒-h˒a˒n˒), ˒e˒l˒a˒y˒ (for ˒e˒l˒a˒l˒), t˒e˒d˒l˒a˒m˒ (for t˒e˒d˒l˒a˒m˒), ˒e˒m˒a˒n˒ (for ˒a˒m˒a˒n˒).

¹The functional autonomy of ˒ is marginal at best. (Its contrast with i
  can be heard in the phrase ˒f˒a˒ ‘˒f˒a˒ ‘if he comes’.) Some speakers,
  however, usually pronounce ˒a˒ instead of ˒a˒; for them the difference
  is (if anything) stylistic, like that between m˒a˒m˒a˒n˒ and m˒a˒m˒a˒n˒ ‘possible’.
  The use of ˒ in these words (for some speakers) is more informal or
  “folksy”, while i and u are more elegant or Classical-sounding.

²Insofar as i and u merge with ˒a, they cannot be equated with y and u.
  This is because the sequences ˒y˒- and ˒u˒- (corresponding to ˒y˒- and
  ˒u˒-) remain distinct from ˒- and ˒-, respectively. For example
  ˒m˒a˒w˒l˒ ‘the descendants’ (= ˒m˒a˒w˒l˒) is not pronounced ˒l˒-˒l˒d˒. (If ˒i˒ =
  ˒y˒ and ˒u˒ = ˒u˒, then ˒y˒ = ˒i˒, ˒u˒ = ˒u˒.}

¹See Footnote 2, p. 11.
Before two consonants (or a long consonant) in certain kinds of words, unaccented a is not lost but is changed to e in these dialects (or to i before y, u before w): barštāt (for barštāt), naštār (for naštār), našlēn (for našlān), siyyāra (for sayyāra), buumāb (for bammūb).

Long Vowels

Five long vowels are found in most kinds of Syrian Arabic, but there are some notable divergences in the way these vowels are distributed in various kinds of words, as well as in their pronunciation.

In the more typical Lebanese dialects, the vowels ā and ē are replaced in most words\(^1\) by the diphthongs āy and ām, respectively: bāyti 'house' (for bātī), hāmā 'here' (for hāmān), ēlaydi 'on it' (for ćalātī). In some words ē remains, however, notably in masculine/singular imperatives: drūs 'study', kūl 'eat'.

The vowel ē in these dialects (when not replaced by ay) is commonly replaced by ē - a sound slightly lower\(^2\) than ā: naēl 'come down' (for naēl), baćāēn 'then, afterwards' (for baćāēn), āmērika 'America' (for āmērīka). In still other words, it is replaced by ī: līra 'pound' (monetary) (for līrā), ĕ 'yes' (for ā). In the Arabic language, the vowel ē, then, is virtually eliminated from this type of Lebanese Arabic, but another vowel, ē, is very similar to it and more or less takes its place in the vowel system (though in individual words ē corresponds to ā more often than to ē; see below).

In a part of northern Lebanon (Tripoli and vicinity) the sound ē — instead of āy — also replaces ā in most closed syllables: bēt 'house' (for bēt), while āy is used in open syllables: bāyti 'my house'. Similarly, the vowel ā — but with a low back pronunciation like that of the a in 'father' — replaces ē in most closed syllables: māt 'death' (for māt), while ām replaces ē in open syllables: mātu 'his death'. In some words, however, ē, as well as ā, is kept — notably in imperatives: ḫmēl 'carry', ćēd ≤ 'sit'. This dialect, then, has six long vowels.

In these dialects ē replaces ā, almost everywhere the relatively high front pronunciation of ā is called for (p.11): ēnēn, ēnān 'second' (for ēnēn), mābēān 'yesterday' (for mābēān), ētekā 'book' (for ētēkā).

1Excluding the Tripoli-type dialect where ā may replace ē: māt 'he died' vs. māt (mat): or (mat) 'death'.
2The single tap of the tongue in a short r, however, cannot be 'held'; long rr consists in repetitions of the tap, i.e. in a multiple trill.
3The rare instances of triple consonants, as in ṣakkān 'your (pl.) suspicion' (ṣakkā + kan) can be pronounced still longer than double consonants (as in ṣakkī 'his suspicion'), but they are normally reduced to the same length as double ones.
ACCENTUATION

In words of two or more syllables, one of the syllables — the ACENTED syllable — usually sounds more stressed or prominent than the others. With certain kinds of exceptions, the accenetuation of the entire word may be deduced from its boundaries and its syllable structure.

The term 'stressed' is perhaps better avoided, since it is not necessarily more forceful and significant than that of English, but it also seems that modulation of variations in loudness or 'volume' have a more or less constant stress, and the sound of the vowel tends to be stronger.

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Short vowel: Long consonant contrasted with long vowel: Short consonant.

1. The vowel a is a long vowel in the former sense but is also relatively insinuate to phrase-end drawing. While the e in 'phrase', the o in 'understand', is drawn, the o in 'phrase' is not.

2. Short vowels are generally pronounced longer than an unaccented (prosodic) long vowel. In 'sad', for instance, the first a is not as long as the second a.

3. Short vowels are generally pronounced longer than an unaccented (prosodic) long vowel. In 'sad', for instance, the first a is not as long as the second a.

4. Short vowels are generally pronounced longer than an unaccented (prosodic) long vowel. In 'sad', for instance, the first a is not as long as the second a.

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8. Short vowels are generally pronounced longer than an unaccented (prosodic) long vowel. In 'sad', for instance, the first a is not as long as the second a.
A syllable is considered long if its vowel is long or followed by a long consonant or by a group of more than one consonant.¹

The general rule of accentuation is this: The last long syllable in a word is accented; if there is no long syllable, then the first syllable is accented. [But see also p. 20, (4).]

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final Syllable Long</th>
<th>Penult Long</th>
<th>Antepenult or None Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>darastá</td>
<td>darastáha</td>
<td>dárasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dardást</td>
<td>dardstu</td>
<td>dárasso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barflád</td>
<td>baráde</td>
<td>bórado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byasmačúk</td>
<td>byasmdékon</td>
<td>byásmaču</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masádd</td>
<td>màdáres</td>
<td>màdrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fábh</td>
<td>fáðhet</td>
<td>fáðahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bótºál</td>
<td>bótºál-ha</td>
<td>bótðalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tédáddnt</td>
<td>tédálam</td>
<td>tédálamet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amsál</td>
<td>màssal</td>
<td>màssalan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When accent marks are omitted, it will be understood that the word is accented according to this general rule. (In certain parts of this book, however, accent marks are used, redundantly, even when the general rule is followed.)

Proclitics

In this transcription certain particles are attached to the following word by a hyphen. These particles — PROCLITICS — are never accented; the accentuation of the word is reckoned as if the proclitic were not there. hái-mšad (not “hái-mšad”, which the general rule would yield if the hyphen were ignored), ka-mšdi, la-čédá, raša-tésal, w-la-kas-ašáb.

Proclitics include the article ₁ — [p. 493], the demonstrative particle hál— [556]; the conjunctions —, fa— [391], n— [335], la— [358]; the prepositions b—, ka—, la—, ča— (apocapation of čala) [476]; the particle of antici-

¹Every vowel marks the peak of a syllable. It is not necessary for present purposes to define syllable boundaries.

The hyphenated suffixes -l- plus pronoun [480], unlike the proclitics, count as part of the word (in respect to accentuation, at least), and may themselves be accented in some cases: "alt-sílo, fašíc-luk, huká-li, tašál-lo.

Length and Accent in Final Vowels

If a final vowel is accented, it is necessarily long, but if it is unaccented, it varies between long and short depending on the phrasing and intonation [pp. 21, 17]. Thus the i in xádi is accented (i.e. xádî), while the i in xádi unaccented (i.e. xádi) but is sometimes actually long.

In the case of one-syllable words ending in a vowel, therefore, the macron may be used to distinguish accented words from unaccented words²: mà ‘not’ [383] vs. ma (subordinating conjunction [490]); fi ‘in it, there is’ [418] vs. fi ‘in’; bá ‘what’ [568] vs. bá ‘well, why...’. In all these words the vowel is usually pronounced long.

If, on the other hand, a word such as these has a vowel that is unaccented, short, and in close phrasing [21] with the following word, then it is written as a proclitic: fi-béti, ma-‘dhrabo.

The Helping Vowel ²

The vowel written ‘₁’ (which does not differ from a in pronunciation, but only in its morphological status [p. 29] is never accented, and is to be ignored in reckoning the accentuation of a word. Thus dardást is accented on the second syllable (i.e. dardást), just as if the ₁ were not there, as in dardást; and byashúb is accented on the first syllable (i.e. byashábbu), just as in byashúb.

¹Some proclitics are written as separate words: the prepositions ma, čam, čand, and čala; the subordinating conjunction ma [490]. The policy has been to hyphenate all proclitics which consist in a single consonant or a consonant plus an actually short vowel, and all others except those which are traditionally written separate in literary Arabic.

²This is actually a makeshift device, used in the absence of markings for phrase-accent and intonation. A completely unambiguous transcription would have to show length, accentuation, and intonation separately; but since we do not mark phrase-accent (or junctures), the markings for length (and word-accent) can be stretched a little beyond their proper function to hint at the larger-scale prosodic features.
Further examples:

\[\text{tārki} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{tārki}) \quad \text{ubahanna} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{ubahanna})\]
\[\text{masīs} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{masīs}) \quad \text{fatah-aklon} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{fatah-aklon})\]
\[\text{bādaklon} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{bādaklon}) \quad \text{tcalamāt} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{tcalamāt})\]
\[\text{čarwato} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{čarwato}) \quad \text{mümar-d} \quad (\text{i.e. } \text{mümar-d})\]

Exceptions to the General Rule of Accentuation

1. A short syllable (as well as a long one) is accented before the pronoun suffixes -a 'her, its, its' and -on 'their, them' [p. 541]: dārdha 'he hit her' (cf. dārabo 'he hit him'), ēsāfthon 'she saw them', sakkāra 'close it', hālston 'their condition', ḫabāna 'her father'.

These suffixes may also be pronounced -ha, -hon, which makes the accentuation regular: dārdha, ēsāfthon, sakkāra, hālston, ḫabāna.

2. With certain kinds of verb stem, the verbal subject-affix -et 'she, it' is accented (taking the form -ēt-) before all the pronoun suffixes, including -o 'him, it', -ak 'you(m.)', and -ek 'you(f.)': fahāmātak 'she explained to you(m.)', sāmārātak 'she consulted you(f.)', smāmulōtā 'she caught it(m.)'. See p. 181 for details.

3. Words having certain base forms are accented on their short middle syllable instead of the first syllable: byāstīgēl 'he works', bāstīker 'I think', byānēgēla 'it is told', mástījēf 'different', mātīhēd 'united', māstīmar 'conference', mástēri '(having been)read'.

These words are sound and defective verbs of Patterns VII [p. 91] and VIII [95] in the imperfect without suffixes, and adjectives and nouns of the corresponding participial forms [135].

Generally in Lebanon and Palestine, however, many words of this kind are accentuated regularly, on the first syllable (and generally without any middle vowel a): byāstīgēl, bāstīker, mástījēf. (With suffixes of any kind, however, the accentuation of these words with vowels a and e is regular in any case: byāstīgēla, mástībēro, mástījēfe [p. 31, bottom].)

4. There are a few classificiations of four or more syllables whose last three syllables are all short. The accent, however, is not in any case farther front than third from the end (the antepenult): mātīhide 'united (f.)' (cf. the pure colloquial form mātīhade).

The general rule of accentuation could be broadened to cover cases like this simply by adding a stipulation that no words are to be accented farther forward than the antepenult. Ordinary Syrian Arabic words have a syllabic structure that makes this stipulation unnecessary: when both of the last two syllables are short and unaccented, the antepenult is either the first syllable or a long syllable (or both).

These four kinds of exception to the general rule will always be transcribed with an accent mark. The other exceptions — indicated by hyphenization or by the raised letter s — will not usually carry an accent mark, which for them is redundant.

SOUND COMBINATIONS

Phrasing

In CLOSE PHRASING, words are "run together", i.e. the last sound of one word flows into the first sound of the next word as if they were in the same word: badma, nāḥro 'We intend to visit him', laḥm, ᵇ-baṣar 'beef' (lit. "meat of cattle"), la-wēn, baddak, ᵇ-trūḥ 'Where do you want to go?' [DA-143].

In OPEN PHRASING, words are slightly "separated" — not by any actual pause, but by subtle modifications in the sounds at the word boundary. The last part of the first word is often reduced in volume, while the onset of the next word is relatively loud. The end of the first word is sometimes drawnl [p. 17]. The last sound is never assimilated to the first sound of the next word [24], nor are they ever linked by the helping vowel [30]. For example: baḥam, bādēro 'I think I know him', tفقد| strī 'Please have a seat', ráḥa-nabah, ēṣāf, kām, yēm [DA-93] 'We're going to stay a few days'.

Within any close phrase, one word is somewhat more strongly accented than the others. In phrases, then, there are three degrees of accentuation, including the unaccented syllables. (The main accent of a phrase may be marked ' ; the subordinate accents, '): bādmana, nāḥro | bādēro 'We're going to see him the day after tomorrow'; ḥāma, māmābb, bāda, gēro 'If we don't like it we'll get another' [DA-143].

In general, words are individually discriminative even in close phrasing, since each word (excepting certain particles) has one — and only one — accent (main or subordinate). Word boundaries, too, may sometimes be 'heard', even in close phrasing, because there are some sound combinations which occur at word boundaries but not within words, and vice versa.

Phrasing is closely related to intonation, but not wholly determined by intonation. Neither phrasing nor intonation has been thoroughly or surely enough analyzed

[^1]: In actual running speech there are many stretches in which the accentuation — hence also the phonological autonomy of words — is indeterminate. The statement really applies only in certain (ideal) conditions.
Vowel Positions

Vowels in general come only after consonants. That is to say, phrases do not begin with a vowel, but they may end with a vowel; and one vowel does not ordinarily come right after another.

Certain kinds of words, on the other hand, begin with a vowel when they follow certain words that end in a consonant: ṭl̄̂t̰_iyyām 'three days', xamāt̰_asḥor 'five months' [p.171], māl̲ḇd_axā 'his brother’s children'.

Exceptions. Commonly in Lebanese pronunciation, and to some extent elsewhere, a short vowel a, o, or u (in the suffixes -a ‘her’, -i’it, and -e or -eun ‘them, their’) [p.541] may follow a long accented vowel: bta’rām (or bta’rān) ‘she reads them’ (for bta’rān), ẓaḷḥa (or ẓaḷḥya) ‘on it’ (for ẓaḷḥa).

In the case of ʾe and ʾi, we write -um- and -iy-, respectively, before a vowel: ʾabūw '(her father) (for ʾabūa), nisīy ‘forgetting (f.)them’ (for nisūm). This is merely a transcriptional convention, however; one might just as well write ʾabūa, nisūm.

By the same token we write y and y (the consonantal guise of the semivowels) at the beginning of a phrase before a consonant, or at the end of a phrase after a vowel; māl̲ḇḓ_mūwān ‘My children are not here’, ʾḇr̭_ ṟāḇ ‘Drink the tea’ — when in some instances the semivowels in these positions could just as well be considered syllabic: māl̲ḇḓ_mūwān.

Particular Limitations. In the system of six short vowels, only ʾa does not occur in all types of vowel position.

1) ʾa does not occur at the end of a word.

2) ʾe and ʾo almost never occur accented, and rarely in open syllables except word-finally.

3) ʾi and ʾu (insofar as they are distinguished from ʾe and ʾo [p.13]) do not occur before a word-final consonant.

With regard to frequencies, it may be noted that ʾi, ʾe, ʾu, and ʾo are rare within a word before two or more consonants (a generally replacing all of them [pp.28, 13]). Classicisms, however, often have ʾu before two consonants: bukra ‘tomorrow’ (for bākra), məmken ‘possible’ (for məmken)-, muḥaq ‘attack’. (These considerations do not apply to varieties of Arabic that have no distinctive vowel a [p.13].) Sometimes a long vowel before two consonants is shortened: ṭiṭṭān ‘two hands’ (for ṭīṭṭān), ʾamārān ‘American(f.)’ (for ʾamārān).

The long vowels have no special positional limitations except those implied in the general rule of accentuation: that a (distinctively long) vowel does not occur post-tonically, since the last long syllable in a word is accented.

Single and Double Consonants

Any single (i.e. short) consonant may occur initially, medially, or finally, before or after any vowel.

This statement does not apply to the semivowels (ʾy, ʾm), however; ʾy and ʾm almost never occur finally after ʾe or ʾo, and ʾy almost never occurs after ʾa. The sequences iy and um are not distinguishable from the long vowels ʾi and ʾu, respectively.

Any double (i.e. long) consonant may occur medially, between vowels. Examples: rabbi, ḥatta, baddo, barrid, ḥase, ṣāḏāl, ḥagō, sālum, ēmmi, ṭūṭṭān, sākki, ṣa’dīl, faṭṭāl, bahhāra, ṭaʾxxān, ṣaṭṭīl, ṣaṣṣāl, ṣaṣṣi, ḥayy, ʾamār, māmā, ṣāmīf, ḥummū.

In initial position, double consonants are limited to those formed by the combination of a prefix or proclitic with the first stem consonant, and since there happen to be no prefixes or proclitics that take the form of the consonants ʾf, ʾg, ʾh, ʾk, ʾq, ʾx, ʾc, or ʾb before another consonant, these do not occur doubled initially. Examples: ḏbāxšēš, ṭṭāf, ḏāḥṣ, mmal, mmāl, ṣṣāl, ṭīlān, r-raḥīb, ṣ-gūbāt, ṣ-ṣifṭāt, s-suḍāl, ṭ-darḥ, m-mālādā.

In final position, any double consonant may occur after an accented vowel. At the end of a phrase, however, long consonants (like long vowels) do not actually contrast with short ones; writing them double simply serves to show the position of the accent and their potential

1 Exceptions are ṣāy ‘to be revived’ and ṣāy ‘to weaken, get sick’. Certain local dialects are more tolerant of combinations like sy. The dialect of Khale, for instance, has phrase-final forms like ṣāsy ‘to forget’ (instead of nasi).

2 Very few Arabic roots [p.37] have first and second consonants alike, and the few that do, do not occur in base patterns [36] that juxtapose them.
significant length before vowels [p. 27]. Examples: "ababb, xaff, mawadd, bihaz, sahli, qa'carr, ha'".

In many parts of Greater Syria (including Damascus) long consonants seldom occur before another consonant, except in sequences involving the article [p. 493] or demonstrative [556] proclitics or the person suffix t- [175]: m-za'du 'the customer', har-ri'āl 'these men', ba'ātīna 'you sent us'.

Our transcription, however, shows other double consonants in this position, which are commonly pronounced short but which correspond to long consonants in other forms of the same word, before a vowel [p. 28]: ma'wif 'stop(f.)', commonly pronounced ma'wif; cf. the masculine ma'wif 'stop'. In some parts of Greater Syria these double consonants are pronounced long, optionally at least, in all positions. Examples: bācarrīfi, yahhmūri, tamel, mīhayyīri, tāl-lha, ṣabkun, ‘ā?nāk, ṣilṭī nāraštī.

Two-Consonant Clusters

Across word boundaries, any sequence of two contiguous consonants may occur (though in close phrasing there is a tendency to eliminate certain "awkward" clusters by assimilation: rāč-īal-balad for rāb-īal-balad 'he went to town').

Within a word, almost any sequence of two consonants may occur, with the following exceptions:

1. The back consonants x, ḡ, h, and c do not ordinarily come next to one another, nor does k precede these sounds, though it may follow them; and k and g do not precede x or ḡ, though k may follow them.

2. In a sequence of two dental obstructs (d, d, t, t, s, s, n, g), it is usually the case that both are velarized or both plain, and very seldom that one is velarized while the other is plain [p. 26]. Examples (plain): stāsaff, bātsabb, mābd, 'aṣādīn (velarized): sīd, bāpsabb, māḍarr, ḥafāsat.

3. A voiced consonant does not occur at the end of a phrase immediately after a voiceless one. (Note that in a sequence like ḫamf, the f is voiced: ḫamf.)

4. The resonants (l, m, n, r) and the consonantals versions of the semivowels (w, y) are almost never heard immediately after another consonant at the end of a phrase, except that m and n sometimes occur after l or r: ḥal, fām (or ḥalīn, fārīn).

In final position, many other two-consonant clusters are less common than they are initially or medially, since potential clusters tend to be prevented by the 'helping vowel' 2. See p. 32.

Two-consonant final clusters are considerably more common in Palestine than farther north. In Syria and Lebanon one hears, for instance, either bānt or bānt 'girl', while in most parts of Palestine the latter is seldom or never heard.

Three-Consonant Clusters

Sequences of three contiguous consonants virtually never occur finally. Initially, they are mainly limited to a few beginning with ʾst-: ʾstrīḥ, ʾṣīḏī, ʾṣāmānā.

Otherwise, three-consonant clusters are fairly common. The first two consonants may be any two than can occur together finally. The third — if it begins a new word in the phrase — may be any consonant at all: bānt ḥalai, ʾṣān ṭāṯer, bānt ṣāli, ʾdarb ṣāmī, ʾṣān ʾḡāli, ʾkāṯ ʾḥāḍī, ʾrām ʾḥāḍīḥon. (But more usually ʾkāṯ, ʾṭāmīš in Syria proper and Lebanon.)

Within a word, the third consonant of a cluster has to be compatible with the second as in a two-consonant cluster (e.g. ʾx would not follow ḡ, etc.).

Many words with three-consonant clusters have optional variants with a helping vowel between the first two: ʾfatḥī (or more usually ʾfatḥī, Ḥaykībū (or more usually Ḥaykībū), ṭāmāški (less usually ṭāmāški). Certain clusters, however, cannot be broken in this way. [See p. 33.]

Examples of three-consonant clusters within words: ʾṭāmīš, ʾḥāḏān, ʾṭanāri, ṭaṭšāyī, bāndīyī, ṭanārīn, ṭaṭšān, ṭaṭšātīn, ṭaṭšāṭīn, Ḥaykībū (Leb., Pal.), ṭaṭšābī (Leb., Pal.), ṭarba.

Although three-consonant internal clusters are most common with a resonant or sibilant as the first consonant, and/or a dental stop as the second.

When a word or proclitic ending in one consonant is followed in close phrasing by a word beginning with two consonants, a helping vowel almost always keeps them apart, so that three-consonant clusters are not generally formed in this way. There are a few exceptions, however, e.g. ḥal-blāḏ 'this country' (more usually ḥal-blāḏ).

There are no clusters of four or more consonants.1

1All these statements, of course, apply only within a close phrase [p. 21]. Sequences of consonants formed by words in open phrasing do not count as clusters; thus open phrases such as tāṭālālāṭīrī 'Please have a seat', m-adālīdādād 'And I said, 'Be quiet!'" can have four or more consonants in a row, but the sequence is interrupted by a phrase boundary.
GENERAL SOUND CHANGES

The diverse concatenations of stem and affix, and of words within a phrase, require certain adaptive changes in form, in accordance with the allowable sound combinations of the language [p. 21].

Besides obligatory changes, there are also similar changes which are optional, whereby allowable but sometimes awkward combinations may be avoided.

Veralization

A plain dental obstructive (t, d, s, s), when brought into the neighborhood of a veralized dental obstructive in the same word, generally becomes veralized too (f, d, s, s). Thus the second-person affixes t- and t-[p.175] become f- and -f, as in baṭṣabb ‘you poor’ (cf. baṭṣabb ‘you curse’), btṣadrob ‘you hit’ (cf. btṣadros ‘you study’), qart ‘you became’ (cf. qart ‘you visited’). Similarly the connective t [p.163], as in qaddo ‘his room’ (cf. čadto ‘his habit’). The root consonant d of sayyād ‘hunter’ is changed to t when it is closer to the initial s, as in sēd ‘hunting, game’.

Since the scope of veralization tends to be rather vague [p.7], a dental that is relatively far removed from the focus of veralization may not be affected, or may be very slightly affected. Thus sār ‘she became’, with a plain t, or with the t slightly veralized; tfaddal ‘please’ (invitational), with a plain t, or with veralization: tfaddal.

As noted on p.7, sounds other than dental obstructions are also veralized in assimilation to f, d, s, or p, but this assimilation is not indicated in our transcription.

Devoicing

A single dental or palatal voiced obstructive tends to be devoiced (d- t, d- t, s- s, s- s, s- s) before voiceless obstructions. Devoicing is not obligatory, however; its incidence increases as speech becomes faster or more casually enunciated, and is more common in certain words and phrases than in others. It is less common in medial clusters than in final or initial clusters. Examples: bīṭmaw (for bīṭmaw) ‘they gathered’ (intrins.), Qāṣṣ ‘n-nöm (for Qāṣṣ ‘n-nöm) ‘the bedroom’, ḫaxatto (for ḫaxatto).

1Most roots [p.37] which theoretically contain both plain and veralized dentals (judging from Classical spelling or from historical or comparative data), in fact usually have only veralized dentals in Syrian pronunciation: b-s-t (as in baṣṣ ‘minor, simple’), which is theoretically b-s-t; d-d-d (as in daqdaq ‘against’), theoretically d-d-d; č-t-s (as in časpa ‘to sneeze’), theoretically č-t-s. Note, however, the form čafse ‘a sneeze’, alongside the expected form časpr (p.138), which suggests that a plain s has sometimes been maintained after č.

Assimilation of n

The sound n often becomes m before labials: čambar ‘storehouse’ (cf. the plural čambar ‘storehouses’), nammāt (or mnamnāt) ‘we die’, ṣamf (or ṣamf) ‘nose’, mams bérāt (or mams bérāt) ‘from Beirut’.

n also commonly assimilates to the other resonants, l and r: ḥamal-lak (or ḥamal-lak) ‘better for you’, r-rāh (or n-rāh) ‘if he goes’.

Neutralization of Length

A vowel that is long within a word or when accented loses its distinctive length when unaccented at the end of a word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Final</th>
<th>Final Accented</th>
<th>Final Unaccented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasīha ‘he forgot her’</td>
<td>nasī ‘he forgot him’</td>
<td>nasī ‘he forgot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marāh ‘behind you(m.)’</td>
<td>marā ‘behind him’</td>
<td>mara ‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čašāhon ‘their dinner’</td>
<td>čašā ‘his dinner’</td>
<td>čaša ‘dinner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣānūn ‘they saw’</td>
<td>ṣāf ‘they saw him’</td>
<td>ṣāfu ‘they saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥik-lī ‘tell me’</td>
<td>ḥikī ‘tell it’</td>
<td>ḥaḥki ‘tell, speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawiyel ‘strong(f.)’</td>
<td>ḥawiyel ‘strong(m.)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This kind of vowel alternation occurs mainly in connection with pronoun suffixes [p.539], and the number and gender suffixes of nouns and adjectives [203, 211].

A consonant that is long before a vowel tends to lose its distinctive length before another consonant or at the end of a phrase. [See p.24 for qualifications.] This loss of length is not shown in our transcription.

Long

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short (or Indistinctively Long)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bīḥabbō ‘he likes it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāṭḥabb sē-sēy ‘Do you like tea?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat’asōf ‘sorry(m.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naff ṣa-gabi ‘the boy jumped’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The spelling -iy- is equivalent to -ī-. 
Neutralization of Vowel Quality

Short e and o coming after the accented syllable before a word-final single consonant both become a when accented. [p. 22]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaccented</th>
<th>Accented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tɛɛlɛmɛt 'she learned'</td>
<td>tɛɛlɛmɛtɔ 'she learned it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔyabɛs 'he wears'</td>
<td>bɔyabɛsɔ 'he wears it(f.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔyadrob 'he hits'</td>
<td>bɔyadrobɔn 'he hits them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛmɛl 'he did'</td>
<td>ɛmɛlt 'you(or I) did'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔnsol 'consul'</td>
<td>ɔnsɔlna 'our consul'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔmɛc 'he heard'</td>
<td>sɔmɛcɛn 'you heard(pl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔktɔb 'you(m.) write'</td>
<td>bɔktɔbɔɛlna 'you write to us'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In those varieties of Syrian Arabic which have no distinctive vowel a [p. 13], neutralization of the front and back vowels may nevertheless take place. For example (in a dialect of north central Lebanon): bɔktɔb 'you write', but bɔktɔbɔ 'you write it(f.)', with post-tonic ɔ becoming tonic i. Other varieties, however, maintain the distinction under the accent. For example (in a Palestinian dialect): bɔktɔb 'you write', and bɔktɔbɔ 'you write it' vs. bɔtimsik 'you hold' and bɔtimsikka 'you hold it'.

Loss of e and o

Short e and o do not ordinarily occur before a single consonant + vowel within a word.1 With a few exceptions, all words that have e or o before a final consonant lose this vowel when any suffix beginning with a vowel (except -a 'her', -ən 'them' [p. 541]) is added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mɛɛlɛm 'teacher'</th>
<th>mɛɛlɛmɛn 'teachers'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xɔnɔm 'lady'</td>
<td>xɔnɔmɛn 'ladies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔrɔɛd 'cold(m.)'</td>
<td>bɔrɔɛdɛn 'cold(f.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃɔleɛc 'he came out'</td>
<td>ʃɔleɛcɛn 'they came out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔtɔskɔn 'you(m.) dwell'</td>
<td>bɔtɔskɔnɛn 'you(f.) dwell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃɔyɛf 'seeing'</td>
<td>ʃɔyɛfɛn 'seeing it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Certain foreign loan-words break this rule, e.g. ɔtɔɛl 'hotel'.

This rule does not apply to words in which the e or o comes between like consonants the first of which is double. In these cases e or o is changed to ɔ: bissabbeb 'it causes' + -u (pl.) - bissabbeda 'they cause'; tasaxasɔ 'specialization' + -ək 'you' - tasaxasɔk 'your specialization'. Any combination of dental stops (t, d, j, ɡ) also counts as 'like consonants': fɔ daemon 'silver' + -ək 'your(f.)' - fɔdaemon 'your silver'.

This rule also does not apply to certain nouns and adjectives — mainly classicisms — in which the e or o is usually changed to i or u (respectively): muttɛda 'united (m.)' + -e (fem.) - muttɛdahe, malaek 'king' + -e (fem.) - malaik 'queen', fɔsarrof 'behavior' + -ət (pl.) - fɔsarroyuf (but note fɔsarrejfo 'his behavior').

Anaptysis

When there is a confrontation of consonants which cannot form a cluster, an ANAPTYCTIC or HELPING VOWEL is used as a transition between them.

To avoid a cluster of three or four consonants, the helping vowel is inserted before the last two:

| l- 'the' | + ɔtɛb 'book' | → l-ɔtɛb 'the book' |
| bɔnt 'girl' | + ǝɡɛfɛre 'little' | → bɔnt-ǝɡɛfɛre 'a little girl' |
| lɔm 'meat' | + ɔbɔr 'cattle' | → lɔm-ɔbɔr 'beef' |
| bɔktɔb 'I'll write' | + -lɛn 'to you(pl.)' | → bɔktɔb-ɔlɛn 'I'll write to you' |
| bɔmɛl 'I'll carry' | + -ɔt 'it' (with loss of e) | → bɔmɛl-ɔt 'I'll carry it' |

At the end of a phrase, a two-consonant cluster is often avoided by inserting the helping vowel between them:

| ʃɛ 'what' | + ɔlɛ- 'this' | + ?akɛ 'food' | → ʃɛ ɔlɛ-?akɛ 'What is this food?' |
| ?akɛ 'eating' | + l- 'the' | + lɔm 'meat' | → ?akɛ-ɔlɔm 'eating the meat' (or 'the eating of meat') |
In our transcription a is printed smaller and raised above the line (*) when it occurs as a helping vowel, to distinguish it from the kind of a that is an integral part of the word. The pronunciation, however, is identical. When a occurs between words, or between hyphenated parts of a word, our convention is to write it always after the space or hyphen.

Note that the helping vowel is never accented. Cf. the affix-supporting vowel [p.31 (bottom), p.167].

Detailed rules for the use of the helping vowel:

(1) The Helping Vowel Between Words

Whenever a word ending in a consonant is followed in close phrasing by a word beginning with two consonants (or a long consonant), a helping vowel comes between them:

- rḥāl *kbār 'big men'
- sāt *plām 'six pencils'
- sāfer *ktēr 'very clever'
- ẓāb *t-tāsir 'the merchant's son'
- rūs *š-šabāl 'the top of the mountain'
- kant *bbarēl 'I would bribe'
- mart *l-*šađā 'the judge's wife'
- qām *mmassel 'actor got up'

(2) The Helping Vowel with Proclitics

With certain exceptions, the helping vowel is used between a proclitic [p.18] ending in a consonant and the rest of the word beginning with two consonants (or a double consonant):

- l-*blād 'the country'
- hāl-*bdāšā 'this merchandise'
- l-*yāś 'the measurement'
- čam-*nāšāla 'we are teaching'
- b-*bālī 'in Jubayl'
- čam-*ttarēm 'she is translating'
- n-*tarād 'if he buys it'
- bāl-*mṭaṣṭa 'in the station'
- l-*alālād 'to the children'
- rah-*tūn 'you're going to be'

A helping vowel is not used after the article [p.493] or the demonstrative [556] if the following consonant is one of those to which the l of these proclitics is assimilated (t, d, ṣ, ṣ, ẓ, q, ẓ, ẓ, l, n, r):

- ẓ-nbūn 'the customer'
- hāš-nūra 'these bridges'
- r-*gāṣa 'the bullet'
- l-*gēlir 'to the little one'
- l-*lāf 'the blanket'
- čan-*nsūra 'about the vultures'
- hāt-*tēn 'this train'
- bāz-*smār redundant 'with the emeralds'

A helping vowel is also not used between the proclitics čam- [p.320] and a following b- [176]: čam-bālī 'I am saying', čam-byādr 'he is able', čam-btalēb 'you are playing'. (The b- in these forms is commonly elided: čam-*bālī, čam-*byāder, čam-*talēb.) [See also p.33]

(3) The Helping Vowel within Word Stems

If the stem vowel e or o that is dropped when a suffix is added [p.28] is preceded by two (different) consonants, then its loss may cause a three-consonant cluster: byāsek + -u - byāśekku, bāndā + -a - bāndā.

More often, however, the three-consonant cluster is avoided by inserting a helping vowel before the last two consonants:

- ṭalēt 'she killed' + -o 'him' → ṭalēto 'she killed him'
- rābēt(-t) 'neck(of)' + -o 'him' → rābēto 'his neck'
- bādrōb 'I'll hit' + -ak 'you' → bābddrab 'I’ll hit you'
- ḡalēf 'mistake of' + -i 'me' → ḡalēfi 'my mistake'
- bāšmel 'you carry' + -u (pl.) → bāšmelu 'you(pl.) carry'
- bālēt(-t) 'word' + -ēn (dual) → bālēmēn 'two words'
- maslem 'Moslem' + -ēn (pl.) → maslemēn 'Moslems'
- māsmōlē 'apricots' + -e (unit) → māsmēlē 'an apricot'

In the examples above, the vowel that is dropped from the stem is preceded by a short vowel + two consonants. If, on the other hand, the dropped vowel is preceded by a short vowel + three consonants, or by a long vowel + two consonants, then the potential cluster is broken by the vowel a, but this is an accented vowel (unless the suffix itself is accented):

- samsīle(-t) 'chain(of)' + -o 'him' → samsīlo 'his chain'
- sambēle(-t) 'sprig' + -ēn (dual) → sambēlēm 'two sprigs'
- mṭarēme(-t) 'translator (f.) (of)' + -o 'it' → mṭarēmēto 'its translator(f.)'

1This is čalā + n-nsūra, not čan + n-nsūra. The latter gives čan-*n-nsūra. Both might be translated 'about the vultures'. [See p.476]
32 SOUNDS

mcallme(t) 'teacher(f.)' + -i 'me' → mcallámí 'my teacher(f.)'
(Ch. 1)

kómêt 'university of' + -ak 'you' → kómëktak 'your university'

The intrusive ə in this type of word formation is not treated as a 'helping vowel' strictly speaking, since it takes the accent, in accordance with the general rule of accentuation [p.18].

On the use of "connective t", which is involved in many of these changes, see p.163.

Many words end in two consonants when followed in close phrasing by a word that begins with two consonants, since a helping vowel comes between the words: bām ʔărî 'little girl', kāsr ʔărûs 'ten piastres'. But at the end of a phrase, or before a word beginning with one consonant, a helping vowel often breaks the word-final cluster: mîn ḥal-bûs 't? 'Who is that girl?', kāsr lârû 'ten pounds'. Further examples:

Before + two consonants

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

kû ʔâshr ʔâhr 'this month'

kû ʔâshr ʔâhr 'this month'

kû ʔâshr ʔâhr 'this month'

Finally or before one consonant

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

kû ʔâshr qû-l-mûdî 'last month'

Many such two-consonant clusters at the end of a word are tolerated, however, especially if the first is a resonant, or if the second is t: ʔâsr lârû 'a thousand pounds', bûm hâlêm 'a pretty girl', tašt ʔido 'available to him' (lit. 'under his hand'), ʔâsît bûlû 'Did you see a ship?' [See p.25]

Especially before a suffix beginning with one consonant, these clusters are generally maintained and no helping vowel is used: ʔâsk Îôn 'I saw you(pl.)', bûtna 'our daughter', sarrafta 'you have honored us', basaffî 'you have gladdened me', ënshôn 'their kind'.

The helping vowel is virtually always used, on the other hand, finally or before a consonant, if the second of a word-final or stem-final cluster is a resonant, or if the second is voiced and the first voiceless:

ʔäbn 'son' + -kon 'you(pl.)' → ʔäbnkon 'your son'

ňâbr 'ink' + ñasom 'black' → ňâbr ʔasom 'black ink'

ňâlb 'origin' + hal ʔûm 'this name' → ňâlb hal ʔûm 'the origin of this name'

There are two kinds of consonant clusters within words which are strictly immune to being split by the helping vowel:

(1) If the second consonant is the infix -t- [p.95], it must always adhere to the preceding consonant; or if the first two are a prefix st-
[102], they must always cohere: mûsîtîyye 'embarrassed(f.)' (never -stî-), mûstîyye 'benefitting' (never -stîf-), byöstêl (or byöstêl) 'he works'
(never -stê-).

(2) If the first is m and the second b or f: bûmba 'beside us, our side', ʔamba spig, ear', ʔâmûf 'nose', byambêf (or byambêf) 'he has a good time'.

Most clusters of b with m or f are the result of assimilation of m to a following labial [p.27]. If the m remains unassimilated, a helping vowel may split the cluster: ʔâmûf (or ʔâmûf) 'nose'.

A combination of m with k or g (the m being pronounced in the velar position, as 'ng') is generally also unsplittable: bûnke 'bank' (never -ünk), ʔamîfî 'English' (never -ngî-).
CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

In this chapter some basic terms and concepts used in dealing with Arabic word formation are explained for the novice and sharpened (it is hoped) for the initiate.

INFLECTIONAL BASES

Syrian Arabic has three kinds of inflected words:

Nouns are inflected for Number (Singular, Dual, Plural).
Adjectives are inflected for Number/Gender (Masculine, Feminine, Plural).
Verbs are inflected for:
1) Person (First, Second, Third)
2) Number/Gender (Masculine, Feminine, Plural)
3) Tense (Perfect, Imperfect)
4) Mode (Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative)

The inflectional categories are treated in detail in Chapters 12, 13, and 14.

The inflections of an Arabic word are distinguished either by suffixes or by internal changes in form. The plural of the adjective taṣābūn 'tired', for instance, is produced by suffixing -ūn: taṣābūnūn, while the plural of ḥaṣīr 'short' is formed by changing it internally to ḥaṣīr. (The plural of the noun rasāh 'a cold' is formed by internal change plus a suffix: rasāḥāt 'colds'.)

Inflectional forms are treated in detail in Chapters

For each type of inflected Arabic word there is at least one inflection — the BASE INFLECTION — which is never formed with an affix. The base inflection of nouns is the singular; of adjectives, the masculine/singular; the base inflection of verbs is the third-person masculine/singular perfect.

1 The term 'morphological' is used here in a broad sense, including both grammatical and morphophonemic considerations.
2 These statements are not to be construed as definitions. The parts of speech are established syntactically.
3 The term 'form', as used in this book, generally means 'phonological expression', not 'grammatical structure'.
4 Another base inflection in verbs is the masculine/singular imperative. The third-person perfect, however, is the traditional citation form and the one used in this book.
The base inflection is used as the CITATION FORM, i.e. its form is the one used for mentioning an inflected word as a whole rather than some particular inflection of it. The masculine/singular tašān, then, is used in referring to the adjective whose other inflections are tašām (f.) and tašān (pl.). Likewise, the verbal citation form katab 'to write' sub-tends all twenty-seven inflections; katab as a particular inflection actually means 'he wrote', not 'to write'. (Arabic verbs have no infinitive, which is the usual citation form for verbs in modern European languages.)

A word conceived in abstraction from all its inflections is sometimes called a WORD BASE, or simply a BASE.

What follows in this chapter is exclusively concerned with word bases. As for their inflection, the terms and concepts dealing with it are familiar and easy enough not to require special treatment here.

ROOTS AND PATTERNS

Patterns (as-šaǧa, al-mām)

Most Arabic word bases fit one or another significant PATTERN. That is to say, the form of a base usually implies something about its grammatical function, and perhaps also something about its meaning. Note, for instance, the pattern shared by these words:

*Ěbene* 'cheese'  *rākbe* 'knee'
*čālbe* 'box'  *nasbe* 'relationship'
*xafībe* 'marriage proposal'  *?ābre* 'needle'
*xalwe* 'sister-in-law'  *dāanye* 'world'
*xadme* 'service'  *barke* 'pool'

The pattern manifested in all these words consists in a sequence 'consonant + a + two consonants + a'. This is one of the patterns characteristic of feminine nouns. This pattern, however, implies nothing about the words' meanings.

Note the pattern shared by these words:

*ṭabbāx* 'cook'  *ḥallāb* 'barber'
*xayyāf* 'tailor'  *sannān* 'artist'

Barrāḥ 'surgeon'  xaddūm 'servant'
*dahdūn* 'painter'  *samān* 'grocer'
*nahšāl* 'pickpocket'  *fattāl* 'porter'

This pattern, 'consonant + a + double consonant + a + consonant', is characteristic of feminine nouns which also have an element of meaning in common: they show the occupation or profession of the person referred to.

Another masculine noun pattern is shared by these words:

*maʃbax* 'kitchen'  *maʃhaf* 'museum'
*mabīb* 'swimming pool'  *maxām* 'store'
*maʃchab* 'playground'  *markāz* 'center'
*maʃäm* 'restaurant'  *maktab 'office'
*maʃnaʃ* 'factory'  *maʃraf* 'place'

This pattern, 'ma + two consonants + a + consonant', commonly occurs in words designating kinds of places.

There are numerous exceptions to the pattern implications, however. Note that xassān 'reservoir' and sabbāf 'shoes' do not indicate people's occupations, nor does maksab 'profit' designate a kind of place. Some of the same patterns, too, are used in different parts of speech: bafīl 'bad' and basāl 'sensitive', for instance, are not nouns, but adjectives.

Roots (al-ʔašl, al-ʔišr)

If the pattern is analyzed out of a word, then the part left over — the part which differentiates that word from others of the same pattern — most typically consists of three particular consonants in a particular order. This set of consonants is called the ROOT of the word, and each separate consonant is called a RADICAL (harf ʔašl). Thus the root of ěbene 'cheese' is ʾ-b-ʾn, the root of sabbāx 'cook' is ʾ-b-x, and the root of maʃbax 'kitchen' is also ʾ-b-x.

Words with the same root commonly have related meanings:

*jabbāx* 'cook'  *maʃbax* 'kitchen' (Root ʾ-b-x)
*xaddūm* 'servant'  *xadme* 'service' (Root x-d-m)
*xafībe* 'marriage proposal'  *xaʃīb* 'fiancé' (Root x-f-b)
*maʃnaʃ* 'factory'  *pišaʃa* 'industry' (Root g-n-ʾ)
There are countless exceptions, however. For instance:

- ra‘keb ‘knee’ ........ but marakab ‘ship’ (Root r-k-b)
- barke ‘pool’ ........ but barake ‘blessing’ (Root b-r-k)
- ḥallāq ‘barber’ ...... but ḥalaq ‘a link’ (Root h-l-n)

Words having the same root and related meanings are PARONYMS; a set of paronyms constitutes a WORD FAMILY.

It should be noted that the term ‘root’ is used in somewhat varied ways in various Arabic grammars and dictionaries. While in this book it designates a mere combination of radicals without regard to meaning, elsewhere it sometimes refers to a meaningful element — its meaning being that shared by all members of a word family. Quite often the concept of ‘root’ is used ambiguously, requiring interpretation now in one way, now in the other.

In Arabic dictionaries, for instance, which are alphabetized by roots — not by bases as Western dictionaries are — “homonymous roots” are sometime entered separately, i.e. the mixing of different word-families in one main entry is sometimes avoided. This policy has never been consistently carried out, however; the more usual type of entry is the purely “formal” root, whose sub-entries may include words of various word-families, arranged without regard to meaning.

It is often difficult, if not impossible, to decide without arbitrariness whether two words with the same (formal) root have “related meanings” or not. The use of etymology to resolve some of these difficulties only makes the concept of ‘root’ still more ambiguous.

Root and Pattern Symbols

Roots, though unpronounceable in abstraction from words, may easily be represented by writing the radical letters in order, separated by hyphens; and orally, by simply naming the letters in quick succession.

Handy reference to patterns, on the other hand, is a bit more difficult. In this book the traditional Arab technique is used: the pattern is applied to the sample root f-š-l. Here we are not concerned with f-š-l as a root of actual words (e.g. faṣal ‘to do, to act’), but only as a device for making abstract patterns pronounceable. (The f and the š of these pattern symbols will be capitalized.) Thus Faṣal is our formula for the pattern of šabab, šayš, ṣaḥba, etc.; Faṣal represents the pattern of ṣabbāx, xayyāt, ṣarrūḥ, and maṣṭal represents the pattern of maṣbaḥ, masbaḥ, and malēbāh.

Number of Radicals

Most Arabic roots are TRILITERAL (Qaula‘ī): they have three radicals. There are, however, many four-radical or QUADRILITERAL (rubā‘ī) roots, as in the following words:

1. šaddal ‘schedule’
2. saxra‘ ‘to embellish’
3. ṣaṣṣaf ‘bird’
4. ṣanṣar ‘dagger’
5. baxša‘ ‘to tip’
6. ṣe婆 ‘fez’
7. tarṣama ‘translation’
8. mfarṣa‘ ‘westernized’
9. faṣafa ‘engineering’
10. mfarṣa‘ ‘mixed up’
11. ṣaṣṣaf ‘ragged’

Patterns for quadrilateral roots are symbolized on a dummy root f-š-l-n; it is to be understood that the third and fourth radicals are usually different, though they are both represented by l in the formulas.

The pattern of the words in group 1 above (masculine nouns) is Faṣal; group 2 (verbs) also Faṣal; group 3 (masculine nouns) Faṣal; group 4 (abstract feminine nouns) Faṣale; group 5 (passive participles) Maṣfur.

Roots of five or more radicals are found only in nouns (plus whatever adjectives may be derived from these nouns by suffixation): bunasafa‘ ‘violent’, ṣambara‘ ‘emperor’, ṣubīsos ‘Tripoli’, ṣubīsos ‘Tripolitanian’.

It is not worth while to symbolize these multilateral roots or their patterns, because the roots normally occur with one pattern only (plus or minus certain suffixes), and in many cases the pattern itself (if abstractable at all) occurs with only one root.

There are hardly any biliteral roots and no unilaterals in Libyan Arabic except in certain particles (e.g. ma‘n ‘from’, n- ‘if’) and in the names of certain letters of the alphabet (e.g. bā, name of the letter bā). A small handful of miscellaneous simple nouns and derivative adjectives, however, also have biliteral roots:

1. ri‘a ‘lung’ (Root r-ḍ, Pattern Fiṣṭa)
2. fi‘a ‘class, bracket, rate’ (Root f-ṣ, Pattern Fiṣṭa)
3. same ‘year’ (Root s-n, Pattern Faṣe)

1In Arabic dictionaries, however, it is necessary to extract these “roots” in order to alphabetize the words containing them.

2Also pronounced fi‘a, implying a root f-y-ḍ with Pattern Faṣe.
This same verb pattern (Fa' containing), applied to a root whose last two radicals are alike, such as d-l-l, loses its second vowel a, and the two like radicals cohere as a double consonant: 7all to 'indicative' (not *da'il*).

Roots like g-r-y and d-l-l are UNSTABLE: they have at least one radical that in certain patterns is subject to change, disappearance, or fusion. STABLE roots, on the other hand, keep all their radicals intact and distinct in all patterns.

Unstable roots include GEMINATING roots (like d-l-l), whose last two radicals are alike and are sometimes fused together, and FLUCTUATING roots (like g-r-y), which contain a radical that is sometimes changed, lost, or fused with some part of the pattern.

In fluctuating roots the unstable radicals are usually semivowels (m or y)², in some cases 7.

Some examples of radical fluctuation:

1) Change to another sound:

Pattern Fa' containing applied to Root x-m-f gives xayef 'afraid' (not *xawef*).

(Rule: Medial radical w is changed to y in Pattern Fa' containing.)

Pattern Fa' containing applied to Root w-f-¿ gives ttafa? 'to agree' (not *twafa*).

(Rule: Initial radical w is changed to t in Pattern Fa' containing.)

Pattern Fa' containing applied to Root d-l-m gives dawã' 'supplication' (not *dawâa*).

(Rule: Final radical w is changed to 7 in Pattern Fa' containing.)

Pattern Fa' containing applied to Root g-m-y gives 7ume 'power' (not *7amaye*).

(Rule: Final radical y is changed to u in Pattern Fa' containing after medial radical w. Also: u is changed to µ in Pattern Fa' containing before medial radical w.)

1Intact, not counting the kinds of assimilation described as automatic sound changes [p. 26]. Thus the root b-m-£ is considered stable, even though the b may be devoiced in Pattern Fa' containing: b7amaç 'to meet, get together'.

2The mere alternation of w with u and y with i, however, is automatic (subphonemic, in fact), and is not to be counted as radical fluctuation. Thus the radical w shows no fluctuation as between gam 'raising' (Pattern Fa' containing) and gam 'a raid' (Pattern Fa' containing), but does show fluctuation in the verb gam 'to raid' (Pattern Fa' containing), where its disappearance is not a consequence of automatic sound changes.

3Except when the final radical is also a semivowel, in which case the medial w remains: nâm 'intending' (Root n-m-y).

4Unless the medial w itself fluctuates, changing to y. See niiye 'intention', (p. 45)
2) Fusion with a part of the pattern:

Pattern \( Fa\ell \) applied to Root \( s-w-f \) gives \( sa\ell \) ‘market’ (not “swm?”).
(Rule: Pattern vowel \( a \) + medial radical \( w \) → \( ã \).)

Pattern \( Fa\ell \) applied to Root \( x-w-f \) gives \( x\ell f \) ‘fear’ (not “xamf”).
(Rule: Pattern vowel \( a \) + medial radical \( w \) → \( ã \).)

Pattern \( Fa\ell \) applied to Root \( x-y-f \) gives \( x\ell f \) ‘thread’ (not “xyf”).
(Rule: Pattern vowel \( a \) + medial radical \( y \) → \( ã \).)

Pattern \( sta\ell \) applied to Root \( ?-h-l \) gives \( stahal \) ‘to deserve’ (not “stahal”).
(Rule: Pattern vowel \( a \) + initial radical \( ? \) sometimes → \( ã \).)

3) Loss without a trace:

Pattern \( Ba\ell \) applied to Root \( x-f-y \) gives \( xaffa \) ‘to hide’ (not “xaffay”).
(Rule: Final radical semivowels generally disappear from word-final position after a.)

Pattern \( Ba\ell \) applied to Root \( x-w-f \) gives \( x\ell f \) ‘to fear’ (not “xamf”).
(Rule: Medial radical semivowels generally disappear in Pattern \( Ba\ell \). \( x\ell a \) + \( -af \) = \( x\ell f \).)

Pattern \( sta\ell \) applied to Root \( h-y-y \) gives \( stah \) ‘to be embarrassed’
(not “stahayy”).
(Rule: Medial radical \( y \) disappears in Pattern \( sta\ell \) if the final radical is also \( y \). The latter also disappears since it is in word-final position after a.)

Pattern \( Fa\ell \) applied to Root \( m-l-f \) gives \( ma\ell an \) ‘full’ (not “malgan”).
(Rule: Final radical \( ? \) sometimes disappears in Pattern \( Fa\ell \).)

Word Types

A word in which the radicals are all intact and distinct is called SOUND (sálim).

A word in which two like radicals are fused together is called DOUBLED or GEMINATE (mádáṣaf): \( sadde \) ‘intensity’ (cf. sound \( sadé \) ‘intense’); \( dar \) ‘to damage’ (cf. sound \( darar \) ‘damage’); \( ḥas \) ‘lucky’ (cf. sound \( ḥasas̲ \) ‘lucky’).

1Forms like “xamf” and “xyf” generally occur in Lebanon. However, for the typical Lebanese dialects, the fusion of a with w and y does not take place.

2This “rule” is not important since there are no other instances in which it applies.

3Compare, however, the more common doublet of this root: \( m-l-y \), whose final radical does not disappear in Pattern \( Fa\ell \): \( maly\ell an \) ‘full’.

Many patterns accommodate the fusion of like radicals without alteration. The double consonant occupies the same position in the pattern as two contiguous but distinct consonants: \( ḥas\ell \) (Pattern \( Fa\ell \)); \( ṣadde \) (Pattern \( Fa\ell \)).

Some patterns, however, undergo a special alteration when applied to gminating roots, so that the like radicals are brought together while unlike radicals are kept apart by a vowel:

Pattern \( sta\ell \) with Root \( h-y-y \) gives gminate \( stah\ell \) ‘to deserve’ (not “sta\ell ”, which would be the sound form).

Pattern \( ma\ell \) with Root \( h-l-l \) gives gminate \( mah\ell l \) ‘place’ (not “mah\ell l”, which would be the sound form).

Pattern \( Fa\ell \) with Root \( x-s-s \) gives gminate \( xa\ell s \) ‘most special’ (not “xa\ell s”, which would be the sound form).

A word is called WEAK (mu\ell al) if in any of its forms a radical is changed, lost, or fused with some part of the pattern.

While a stable root (by definition) produces only sound words, a fluctuating root may produce both sound and weak words. Thus the fluctuating root \( s-w-f \) with Pattern \( Ba\ell \) produces a weak verb \( s\ell f \) ‘to see’, but with Pattern \( F\ell \) it produces a sound verb \( s\ell amaf \) ‘to show’.

The root \( s-w-r \) with Pattern \( Ba\ell \) produces both a weak verb \( s\ell r \) ‘to visit’ and a sound verb \( s\ell amar \) ‘to give (someone) a significant look’.

The root \( ?-h-l \) with Pattern \( Fa\ell \) produces a base form in which all radicals are intact: \( ?akal \) ‘to eat’; but the initial radical \( ? \) is lost or fused in other inflections (by\ell k ‘he eats’, koo ‘eat!’), so the verb \( ?akal \) is classified as weak.

In FINAL-WEAK or DEFECTIVE (nāṣiṣ) words, it is the last radical that is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

\( ?ara \) ‘to read’ (Root \( ?-r-y \), Pattern \( Fa\ell \))

In the base form the final radical \( y \) is lost, while in certain other forms it is fused with parts of the pattern to give \( ã \) or \( ã \): \( ?ara\ell a \) ‘he read it’, \( ?arēt \) ‘I (have)read’.

\( far\ell a \) ‘to brush’ (Root \( f-r-s-y \), Pattern \( Fa\ell \))

In other forms the radical \( y \) is not lost but fused: \( farēt \) ‘I brushed’, \( bfarēt \) ‘I brush it’.

\( ?asi \) ‘strong’ (Root \( ?-w-y \), Pattern \( Fa\ell \))
The final i does not represent the radical y, but only the apocopated pattern vowel i.

\(\text{?umāx 'strength' (Root } \text{?}-\text{m}-\text{y, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The final radical y is changed to \(\text{w}\) in this word.

\(\text{nāśi 'to forget' (Root } \text{n}-\text{s}-\text{y, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The final radical is fused with the pattern vowel \((e + y) - i\) final unaccented i) and is lost in the imperfect inflections: byānā 'he forgets'.

\(\text{muddī 'claimant' (Root } \text{d}-\text{c}-\text{w, Pattern } mu\text{Ptac}e\text{l})\)

The final radical is, strictly speaking, fused with the pattern \((e + w - i)\) final unaccented i) rather than lost.\(^1\)

\(\text{bāza or bāṣā 'punishment' (Root } \text{b}-\text{s}-\text{y, Pattern } Pa\text{c}āl)\)

The form bāza shows total loss of the final radical y (with the pattern vowel shortened because it is unaccented finally), while in bāṣā the radical is not lost but is changed to \(\text{ā}.\)

In MIDDLE-WEAK or HOLLOW (\(\text{?afwaf}\)) words, a middle radical is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

\(\text{xāf 'to fear' (Root } \text{x}-\text{m}-\text{f, Pattern } Pa\text{c}a\text{l})\)

The initial radical \(\text{w}\) is completely lost in the imperfect. While in the imperfect, strictly speaking, it fuses with the pattern vowel \(\text{a}\) to produce \(\text{ā}:\) bīzāf 'he fears' (Pattern byāṣ\text{c}a\text{l}: \(\text{w} + \text{a} \rightarrow \text{ā}).\)

\(\text{ṣtağād 'to benefit' (Root } \text{ṣ}-\text{y}-\text{d, Pattern } sta\text{Pa}c\text{a}l)\)

The radical y fuses with the pattern vowel \(\text{a}\) to produce \(\text{ā},\) while in the imperfect byāṣṭāgād (Pattern byāṣ\text{a}ṣ\text{c}e\text{a}l) it fuses with the pattern vowel \(\text{e}\) to produce \(\text{i}:\)

\(\text{ṣṣāqān 'devil' (Root } \text{ṣ}-\text{s}-\text{t}-\text{m, Pattern } Pa\text{c}āl)\)

The pattern vowel \(\text{a}\) fuses with the radical \(\text{y}\) to produce \(\text{ā}.\) The radical remains intact in the plural: byāṣṣāqān.

\(\text{niyye 'intention' (Root } \text{n}-\text{m}-\text{y, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The medial radical \(\text{w}\) is changed to \(\text{y}.\)

\(\text{ṣṣayef 'looking at' (Root } \text{s}-\text{m}-\text{f, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The medial radical \(\text{w}\) is changed to \(\text{y}.\)

\(\text{māk 'death' (Root } \text{m}-\text{m}-\text{t, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The pattern vowel \(\text{a}\) fuses with the medial radical to produce \(\text{ā}.\)

In INITIAL-WEAK words, the first radical is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

\(\text{ṣṣāman 'to believe' (Root } \text{s}-\text{m}-\text{n, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The first pattern vowel \(\text{a}\) fuses with \(\text{a}\) to produce \(\text{ā}\) in the perfect tense, but the initial radical remains intact in the imperfect: byāṣ\text{m}ān 'he believes'.\(^2\)

\(\text{ṣṣṣаnal 'to get in touch' (Root } \text{s}-\text{g}-\text{l, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The initial radical \(\text{w}\) is changed to \(\text{t}\), assimilated to the \(-\text{f}-\) infix of the pattern.

\(\text{ṣṣhāb 'to dry out' (Root } \text{s}-\text{b}-\text{s, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The radical \(\text{y}\) is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: bīṣabāṣ 'it(d)ries out'.
(Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: bīṣabāṣ: \(\text{f} = iy - s + y).\)

\(\text{ṣṣmāl 'to be born' (Root } \text{m}-\text{l}-\text{d, Pattern } Pa\text{c}e\text{l})\)

The radical \(\text{w}\) is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: byāṣmāl 'he is born'.
(Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: byāṣmāl: \(\text{w} = \text{m} - s + \text{w}.\))

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\(^1\)The word niyye could just as well be spelled niy[e] [p.22], in the light of which one could say that the medial \(\text{w}\) is fused with the pattern, rather than simply changed.

\(^2\)ṣṣāman may also be construed as having Pattern Pa\text{c}e\text{l} rather Pa\text{c}a\text{l}, in view of the imperfect bīṣāmān 'he believes' in addition to byāṣ\text{m}ān. As a Pattern Pa\text{c}e\text{l} verb, it is sound, since the initial \(\text{ṣ}\) is then the radical rather than a pattern formative.
pīfa 'attribute' (Root w-s-f, Pattern ēila)

The initial radical is lost completely. (Pattern ēila occurs only in initial-weak words, which is why it is shown without any Ṣ.)

mūheš 'desolate' (Root w-b-š, Pattern maFēel)

The Pattern vowel a fuses with w to produce ā.

DERIVATION (al-isti qaṣ)

Simple and Augmented Bases

An affix or a change of pattern that is used in forming a larger word base from a smaller one is called a BASE FORMATIVE. The prefix w- in mēaš 'teacher', for instance, is a base formative (cf. ściila 'to teach'); likewise the suffix -an in dāymaš 'always' (cf. dāynam 'lasting, permanent'), the infix t- in štamaš 'to meet, get together' (cf. šamaš 'to bring together'), and the lengthening of the consonant and vowel in šabbāx 'cook' (cf. šabāx 'to cook, prepare food').

Word bases that contain formatives (ayyāda) are called AUGMENTED (mašīrīd; they without formatives are SIMPLE (muṣarrad). Šamaš and šabāx are simple, while štamaš and šabbāx are singly augmented — they each contain one formative. ściila 'to teach' and dāynam 'lasting' are also singly augmented (cf. the simple words ćiila 'organized knowledge' and dām 'to last'). mēaš, then, is doubly augmented — it contains both the w- and the lengthened ū; dāymaš, too, is doubly augmented — by the suffix -an and the active participial formative (consisting in a change from Pattern Faqal to Pattern Faqal).

Patterns, as well as word bases, may be spoken of as simple or augmented, as a word's formative is part of its pattern, not part of its root. Thus the pattern Faqal (as in šaql) is a simple pattern, as also the verb pattern Faqal (as in šamaš, šabāx, and the hollow verb dām). Singly augmented patterns include Fataqal (as in štamaš), Faqāl (as in Fataqal), Faqāl (as in dāyem), while the patterns Fataqal (as in mēaš) and Fataqal (as in dāymaš) are doubly augmented.

1The form dāyem is analyzed as dāyem + -an; the loss of e is not a change of pattern but merely an alteration in the pattern entailed by the addition of the suffix.

The Function of Base Formatives

Every formative has one or more regular functions. That is to say, there are certain regular differences in grammar or in meaning between words that contain a particular formative and words that lack it. A regular function of the formative t-, for instance, is to convert active verbs like šamaš 'to bring together' into mediopassive verbs like štamaš 'to get together, to meet'.

If the only difference in structure between two paronyms is that one contains a base formative which the other lacks — and if the difference in their grammar or meanings can be accounted for as a regular function of that formative — then the word with the formative is said to be DERIVED (muṣarrad) from the word without it. Thus štamaš is derived from šamaš, and mēaš 'teacher' is derived from ściila 'teach', and dāymaš 'always' from dāyem 'lasting, permanent' — which, in its turn, is derived from the simple verb dām 'to last'.

Not all derivatives are augmented. Any change in pattern may serve to distinguish a derivative from the word underlying it, provided that the same function is in some other cases regularly served by augmentation. For example the noun šarb 'drinking' — even though it lacks a formative — is considered a derivative of the verb šarab 'to drink', since for countless other verbs this same kind of noun derivation (the gerund or maṣdar [264]) is regularly expressed with formatives: ʿara 'to read' — rasr 'reading', ṣāṭaš 'to write' — ṣāṭašāb 'writing, correspondence'.

It is quite usual in Arabic grammar to go on from here to say that dām is derived from the root d-m-m, and šamaš from š-m-c, and ściila from ści-l-m. To take this step implies that all patterns are formatives and all words derivatives.

But the relationship between a word base and its root (sometimes called 'primary derivation') should not be confused with the very different kind of relationship that holds between two paronymous word bases. It is gratuitous to say that šamaš is 'derived from' š-m-c, when the same thing may be expressed simply by saying that the root of šamaš is š-m-c.

A more serious objection to saying that a base is "derived from" a certain root is this: Arabic roots (as usually conceived, and as presented in this book) enter into construction with augmented patterns as well as with simple patterns. Thus Root š-m-c + Pattern Fataqal + štamaš.

No matter how convenient this kind of analysis may be in describing the forms (morphophonemics) of words, it is incompatible with the analysis of augmented word bases into underlying bases plus formatives: šamaš + -t- + štamaš. Therefore if we cannot validly treat roots and patterns as grammatical entities at all.

The derivational system, then, is the system of interrelationships among members of a word family. A root, as conceived here, is neither parental nor ancestral to those members, but is merely their family resemblance.
Derivational Categories

There are approximately thirty regular ways in which Syrian Arabic words are produced by derivational formatives, including about fifteen kinds of verb derivation, ten kinds of noun derivation, four or five kinds of adjectival derivation, and one kind of adverb derivation.

Notwithstanding the fact that derivation is based on the regular correlation of formatives with functions, these correlations are in general not very neat. Some categories, e.g. abstract nouns [p 284], are expressed by a wide variety of formatives and other pattern changes, while many formatives, e.g. the -e/-a suffix [136], or the verb pattern Paččal [79], serve regularly in a number of different functions.

The derivational categories are treated in detail in Chapters

Unlike inflectional categories, the categories that are purely derivational have no unique syntactic or semantic properties. That is to say, there are always some simple underived words that have the same syntactic and semantic characteristics as the derivatives. Take for example causative verbs [p 240] derived from simple transitive verbs: fahham 'to explain(to)', fahem 'to understand'. These causatives are doubly transitive and mean 'to cause(someone) to do(something)', thus fahham 'to cause(someone) to understand(something)'. But compare this with a simple verb like ēsa 'to give', which is likewise doubly transitive and might likewise be analyzed semantically as 'to cause(someone) to receive(something)'. The only relevant difference is that ēsa has no paronym meaning 'to receive'.

Or take for example occupational derivatives like šabbāx 'cook' (from šabbā 'to cook, prepare food'), fannān 'artist' (from fann 'art'), mællem 'teacher' (from mæl 'to teach'), ˈe dày 'judge' (from ˈe daya 'to pass judgment'). These derivatives are paralleled by simple words that likewise indicate occupations: xūri 'priest', dōktör 'doctor', šastā 'professor', ēşarə 'pimp'.

1Since so many gerunds of simple verbs are formed on simple noun patterns, some scholars seem to have doubts about "which came first", the verb or the noun [284]. As a pseudo-historical question, this is perhaps an insoluble problem, but as a question of mere linguistic description it is no real problem at all. In actual practice everyone treats the gerund as a derivative of the verb — even those who would in theory maintain that the reverse is equally reasonable.

2Strictly speaking, patterns as such are not formatives; to call Pattern Paččal a formative means that the change from some other (usually simple) pattern to Pattern Paččal is a formative.

Derivational Irregularities

While inflectional systems tend to be functionally regular and perfectly productive, derivational systems are normally riddled with gaps and irregularities.

First of all, no derivational categories (not even the quasi-inflectional ones) are as productive as the inflectional categories. While the inflections of most words may be freely improvised as needed, derivational formatives on the other hand are not used so liberally. To improvise with a derivational formative is to produce a nonce word or to coin a word.

The derivational categories vary greatly in the extent to which they are exemplified in ready-made word bases, and in the precision with which a derivatives grammar or meaning may be deduced from that of the underlying word. These factors, in turn, have an effect on the frequency with which a given derivational formative is used in coinages or nonce formations.

The most common and productive derivational categories include causative, augmentative, applicative and (especially) passive verbs; participial and relative adjectives and nouns; and abstract, singulative, feminine, and elative nouns.

At the other end of the scale certain categories are so uncommon or so shot through with irregularities of one sort or another that their status as "regular" derivational functions is only marginal. This is the case, for instance, with descriptive verbs and diminutive nouns.

Beyond such marginal categories there lies an assortment of anomalous derivatives which do not fit any recognizable category at all.

Some words fit into a particular derivational category in form and meaning but have no underlying word. For example the instrumental noun mænæs 'sickle' implies an underlying verb such as "næs" (meaning, perhaps, 'to cut, mow'), but in fact no such verb exists. Similarly the reciprocal verb dādarab(w) 'to fight(one another)' theoretically should be derived from a participative verb dārāb 'to fight with' (which would be derived in turn from the simple verb dārab 'to hit'); in fact, however, no such verb as dārab is used in Syrian Arabic.

The special features of these categories are dealt with, for convenience' sake, along with their more properly derivational functions, though strictly speaking those features belong in the chapters on inflectional categories.
Many augmented words seem to be derived from certain other words insofar as their form is concerned, but their meanings are wrong (i.e. cannot be accounted for as a regular function of the formative). Thus ṣṣarrāb 'to pull, drag'.

Many words are IDIOMATICALLY derived. That is to say, the uses of two paronyms may differ in such a way that the formative in one of them accounts for some but not all of the semantic and syntactic difference between them. The occupational noun ẓārā‘ah 'surgeon', for instance, is mildly idiomatic with respect to its underlying verb zārā‘ah 'to wound, to cut or break (living flesh)', since there is nothing in the verb's meaning to hint that its occupational derivative would designate a kind of therapist.

The verb ġarrāf 'to present, introduce' is an idiomatic causative of ġarāf 'to know, get to know'. It is idiomatic mainly in its syntax: instead of being doubly transitive — which is the normal thing for causatives of transitive verbs — it takes only one object and a prepositional complement: ġarrāf (ḥada) ġilā (ḥada) 'to introduce (someone) to (someone)'.

A more severe case of idiomatic derivation can be seen in the relationship between ḥtaram 'to respect' and ḥaram 'to deprive (someone) of (someone)'. The regular mediopassive function of the ḥtaram would be theoretically. The actual meaning, however, is considerably altered, first by specialization in the sense 'to observe a taboo with respect to', thence by generalization: 'to respect'.

Strictly speaking, it is not words as wholes that are derived from other words, but words as they are used in particular senses. The verb ḥtaram means not only 'to respect', but also 'to miss, to be deprived of'; in this sense it is a fairly straightforward passive or ḥaram.

1Not a functional derivative, though it may be a historical derivative.

2The derivation of ḥtaram from ḥaram is already well on the way to being non-functional. While some native speakers may perceive the semantic connection between the two words intuitively, others would have to 'work it out' or have it pointed out to them. Though the distinction between functional and non-functional derivations is a real and useful one, it is neither possible (by present criteria) nor desirable (for present purposes) to draw a sharp line between them.

The verb šīḡal 'to work', for instance, is the mediopassive of ṣḡal 'to occupy, make...busy', but this derivation applies only insofar as the subject-referent of šīḡal is animate. When it is inanimate (say, a machine), then šīḡal is not the mediopassive of ṣḡal, but rather of ṣḡil 'to operate, put into operation'.

For better, perhaps, ṣḡal may be considered the causative of šīḡal. Causative and mediopassive are the converse of each other (p. 238), and since both words are singly augmented, there is no basis for deciding which is derivative and which underlying.

Some scholars would object to calling either word a derivative of the other, on the grounds that both analyses imply etymologies that are very likely false. But it goes without saying, of any strictly synchronic method of analysis, that no etymologies — at least no particular etymologies — are implied, even though the analysis of the system as a whole may be so designed as to suggest good etymologies in most cases. The present method does not imply that any given derivative necessarily "came from" (or "comes from") its underlying word, nor that it is necessarily more closely associated with its underlying word than with other paronyms. It merely implies that the category to which the derivative belongs is — on the whole — best described in terms of its underlying word's category.

The description of Arabic derivation in this book departs from more traditional descriptions, in that all derivational categories (except color and defect adjectives (p. 130)) are defined in terms of underlying word bases; none is treated as a primary category, i.e. none is defined in terms of roots.

One reason for stopping derivational analysis short of the root has been given in the footnote on p. 47. Another reason (or another aspect of the fundamental reason) is that to do with the "meanings of roots". The purported meaning of the root k-t-b. for instance, is sometimes formulated in English in the phrase 'having to do with writing'. Thus the locative noun maktāb 'office' can be analyzed derivationally as meaning 'a place having to do with writing', and the occupational noun kāṭeb 'writer', 'clerk', as 'a person whose occupation has to do with writing'. (Note, however, that this type of analysis fails to reflect the more specific relationships such as that between kāṭeb 'clerk' and maktāb 'office', or that between kāṭāb 'book' and the locative maktāb 'library'.

But since the verb pattern Paḡal cannot be associated with any specific kind of meaning, the simple verb kāṭāb 'to write' can only be analyzed as meaning 'to do something having to do with writing'. The tautology is obvious: the formula 'to write' and the formula 'having to do with writing' differ only in that the latter is worded to sound vague and dissociated from any particular part of speech. The purported meaning of the root k-t-b, then, is seen to be merely the blurred and deverbalized meaning of the verb kāṭāb.

So the functional head of this word family turns out after all to be a simple word base, while the root — in this light — appears as a sort
CHAPTER 3: VERB PATTERNS ( hannān l-fiēl)  
WITH INFLEXTIONAL PARADIGMS

Most of the Arabic verb patterns (commonly called “stems”, “forms”, or “measures”) are traditionally designated in Western grammars and dictionaries by numerical labels. For instance “Pattern II” (the second stem) is Pattern Fa‘ēl, “Pattern III” is Faṣal, etc. The several simple patterns are designated collectively as "Pattern I".

The base inflection (3rd person masc./sing. perfect) is not sufficient as a citation form to differentiate the simple triradical patterns one from another, so these patterns (and the verbs instantiating them) are often cited with two “principle parts”, the second of which is the 3rd p. masc./sing. imperfect indicative. Thus the verb ḥamāl, byāmēl ‘to carry’ is an example of Pattern Fa‘ēl, byaṣēl. (Augmented verbs also are sometimes cited in this way, though their imperfect can be deduced from the perfect.) Pattern Fa‘ēl, byaṣēl may also be cited as Pattern I(a-e) - with the first letter in the parenthesis showing the stem vowel of the perfect and the second letter showing the stem vowel of the imperfect.

Each pattern — and each alteration of it — is illustrated with at least one paradigm showing the complete inflection of a verb. These inflectional paradigms constitute a sort of distributed appendix, serving not only this chapter, but also Chapter 6, in which the inflectional affixes and stem modifications are described.

It should not be supposed that each of the many paradigms in this chapter illustrates a different “conjugation” that has to be learned separately. The inflectional affixes are much the same for all patterns; the few variations they incur with different types of stem have relatively little to do with base patterns as such. Inflectional stem modifications, likewise, apply to verb classes each of which subsumes - or intersects - a number of different base patterns.

Index of Patterns

SIMPLE TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Pattern I(a-e): Fa‘ēl, byaṣēl .......... p. 55
Pattern I(a-e): Fa‘ēl, byaṣēl .......... p. 57
Pattern I(a-e) and (a-s) (Geminate) .... p. 63
Pattern I(a-a): Fa‘ēl, byaṣēl .......... p. 65
Pattern I(e-e): Fa‘ēl, byaṣēl .......... p. 69

1 Inflection does not include pronoun object suffixes. See Ch. 21.

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Footnote continued from page 51: a common objection to the foregoing argument is that there are many word families in which certain derivatives have no underlying words, and therefore these orphan derivatives are to be analyzed at all, they must be analyzed in terms of their roots and patterns.

This objection defeats itself, however. To observe that certain derivatives have no underlying words is to point out missing members of their word families; and to point out the missing members - to interpose hypothetical underlying bases - validates and confirms the base-hierarchy type of analysis while showing exactly how the root-pattern analysis may be dispensed with.

Arabic roots could be utilized as derivational primes if the term ‘root’ were used to denote elements that enter into construction only with primary patterns, i.e. patterns which specify no meanings but only the parts of speech. In that case, however, the gaps left between orphan derivatives and their roots would still have to be bridged by hypothetical underlying bases.

For practical purposes it seems preferable to treat primary bases (actual or hypothetical) as derivational primes, and not to tamper with the traditional Arabistic concept of root, which is probably more useful, generally speaking, as it stands.
Pattern I(e-o): Faʕel, byaʕeal .... p. 71
Anomalous: ʔaʕa, byaʕi ‘to come’ .... p. 76

AUGMENTED TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Pattern II: Faʕeql, byaʕeql .... p. 77
Pattern III: Faʕeql, byaʕeql .... p. 80
Pattern IV: ʔaʕeql, byaʕeql .... p. 82
Pattern V: tFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 86
Pattern VI: tFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 88
Pattern VII: nFaʕeql, byonFaʕeql .... p. 91
Pattern VIII: Ftaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 95
Pattern IX: Feʕall, bysaʕeal .... p. 101
Pattern X: stFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 102
Anomalous Forms ......................... p. 107

PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Reduplicative: FaʕaFaʕal, biFaʕaFaʕal and tFaʕaFaʕal, bystFaʕaFaʕal .... p. 110
Post-medial ʔ: Faʕeql, biFaʕeql and tFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 113
Pre-medial ʔ: Faʕeql, biFaʕeql and tFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 113
Pre-medial ʔ: Faʕeql, biFaʕeql and tFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 114
Suffix n: FaʕaFaʕal, biFaʕaFaʕal and tFaʕaFaʕal, bystFaʕaFaʕal .... p. 115
Prefix ʔ: ʔaʕFaʕeql, biʔaʕFaʕeql .................. p. 116

TRUE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Simple Pattern (I): Faʕeql, biFaʕeql .... p. 117
Prefix t (II): tFaʕeql, bystFaʕeql .... p. 121
Pattern FaʕaFaʕall (IV): FaʕaFaʕall, byFaʕaFaʕall .... p. 123

PATTERN I(a-o): Faʕel, byaʕeal

Sound Verbs. Examples:

ʔamar, byʔaʔar ‘to command’; xalaʔ, byaʔiʔ ‘to finish’
darass, byaʔadras ‘to study’; katab, bystʔaʔar ‘to write’
jaʔax, byʔaʔax ‘to cook’; barad, bystʔaʔax ‘to get cold’

INFLECTION OF katab ‘to write’

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Participles: Act. katab, Pass. maktub (Gerunds: kʔaʔe, katʔaʔ)

Initial-Weak Verbs: ʔakal, byʔakol ‘to eat’; ʔaxad, byʔaxad ‘to take’

The initial radical ʔ of these two verbs fuses with the prefix vowel of the imperfect to produce ʔa, and disappears entirely in the imperative. (In all other verbs on this pattern the initial radical ʔ is stable, e.g. ʔamar, byʔaʔar.)
### INFLECTION OF ʾāxād 'to take, get'

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Participles: Act. ʾāxed, Pass. maʾāxūd (Gerund: ʾāxād)

### Hollow Verbs. Examples:

- ʾāl, biʾāl 'to say'
- sār, biṣūr 'to visit'
- māl, biṣūl 'to die'

All these verbs have ʾw as their middle radical. In the perfect the ʾw disappears entirely, while in the imperfect it fuses with the pattern vowel ʾ to produce ʾu.

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**SIMPLE TRIRADICAL VERBS (a-e)**

### INFLECTION OF sāʾ 'to drive'

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<td>pl</td>
<td>sāʾ u b</td>
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<td>sāʾtī</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>sāʾtū</td>
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Participle: Act. sāyēʾ (Gerund: sīyēʾ a.)

There are no defective verbs [p.43] with Pattern I(a-e) in Syrian Arabic (other than in classicisms such as ʾarṣūk 'I beg of you'). All simple defective verbs have Pattern I (a-o) or (e-o).

In many parts of Greater Syria (including Damascus) germinate verbs [p.42] have only a as an imperfect stem vowel, thus neutralizing the difference between Patterns I (a-o) and I (a-e). [See p.13.] All simple germinates are classed here with Pattern I(a-o/e). p.63.

### PATTERN I(a-e): Faʾal, byaʾešel

#### Sound Verbs. Examples:

- ʾasam, byaʾsem 'to divide'
- ʾāsam, byaʾšel 'to wash'
- ʾāmāl, byaʾšmel 'to carry'
- ʾāsāb, byaʾšeb 'to please'
- ʾamaʾš, byaʾšmel 'to grasp'
- ʾamaṣ, byaʾšeb 'to bend'

¹Or with assimilation of ʾd to t [p.26]: ʾāxādd.
### Inflection of ḥamal 'to carry'

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ḥāmāl</td>
<td>byāhmel</td>
<td>yāhmel</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥāmēt</td>
<td>btāhmel</td>
<td>tāhmel</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥāmālu</td>
<td>byāh*mlu</td>
<td>yāh*mlu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2m ḥaml(.toFloat) | btāhmel | tāhmel | ḥmēl | 'you' |
| f ḥamlīti | btāh*mli | tāh*mli | ḥmlī | 'you' |
| pl ḥamlītu | btāh*mlu | tāh*mlu | ḥmlū | 'you' |

| 1sg ḥamd(.toFloat) | bāḥmel | 'bāḥmel | 'I' |
| pl ḥamdīna | mnūḥmel | nūḥmel | 'we' |

Participles: Act. ḥāmel, Pass. māḥmīl (Gerund: ḥamāl)

There are a number of sound verbs on this pattern that have medial radical w. Most of them are correlatives to defect-adjectives [p.130]: ġawar 'to put out an eye' (cf. ḥāwār 'one-eyed'), ṣawāb 'to bend' (cf. ḥāwāb 'bent'), ḥamāl 'to make cross-eyed' (cf. ḥāmil 'cross-eyed'). Also ḥamāl 'to turn at, give a significant look'. Otherwise, I(a-e) verbs with medial radical w (and stable final radical) are hollow [p.59].

### Inflection of ṣawāb 'to bend'

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ṣawāb</td>
<td>byācweh</td>
<td>yācweh</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ṣawāḥet</td>
<td>btācweh</td>
<td>tācweh</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṣawābu</td>
<td>byāc*wu</td>
<td>yāc*wu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2m ṣawāb(toFloat) | btācweh | tācweh | ġwēh | 'you' |
| f ṣawābīti | btāc*mwi | tāc*mwi | ġwēbi | 'you' |
| pl ṣawābītu | btāc*mwu | tāc*mwu | ġwēbi | 'you' |

| 1sg ṣawāb(toFloat) | bācweh | 'bācweh | 'I' |
| pl ṣawābīna | mnūcweh | nūcweh | 'we' |

Participles: Act. ġawāb, Pass. mawāb (Gerund: ġawāb)

### Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

- wašad, byūṣed 'to promise'
- wašaf, byūṣef 'to describe'
- wašam, byūṣen 'to weigh'
- wašad, byūṣed 'to find'

The prefix vowel w merges with the initial radical w to produce ū in the imperfect.

### Inflection of wašaf 'to describe'

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m wašaf</td>
<td>byūṣef</td>
<td>yūṣef</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f wašēt</td>
<td>btūṣef</td>
<td>tūṣef</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl wašēfu</td>
<td>byūṣfu</td>
<td>yūṣfu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2m wašēf(toFloat) | btūṣef | tūṣef | wūṣef | 'you' |
| f wašētī | btūṣefi | tūṣefi | wūṣefi | 'you' |
| pl wašēfītu | btūṣefu | tūṣefu | wūṣefu | 'you' |

| 1sg wašēf(toFloat) | būṣef | 'wūṣef | 'I' |
| pl wašēfīna | mnūṣef | nūṣef | 'we' |

Participles: Act. wūṣef, Pass. mawṣef (Gerund: wašaf)

### Hollow Verbs. Examples:

- ḥām, biʔīm 'to remove'
- gāb, biḥīb 'to be absent'
- wūd, biṃd 'to increase'
- ġās, biċīṡ 'to live'
- būc, biṭīc 'to sell'
- jār, biṣīr 'to fly'

In the perfect the medial radical w or y disappears entirely. In the imperfect, the semivowel fuses with the pattern vowel e to produce i. (n.b.: w + e = i, as well as y + e = i.)
Defective Verbs. Examples:

ḥaka, byaḥki 'to speak'  ṭafa, byaḥfi 'to extinguish'

bana, byaḥni 'to build'  ṭama, byaḥwi 'to fold'

ḥaya, byaḥyi 'to enliven'  ḏaḥa, byaḥdī 'to envoke'

In the base form (3rd p. pf.) the final radical w or y disappears; in the imperfect it fuses with the pattern vowel e to form i. (Note that e + w in these circumstances produces i just as e + y does: Root ḏ-e-w with Pattern I (a-e) gives ḏaḥa, byaḥdī. (There are no defective verbs in Pattern I (a-e)).

A medial radical w or y remains intact in defective verbs:

1Note the irregular imperative stem (instead of ḏaḥi).
INFLECTION OF ʾaša ‘to fold’

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<td>f</td>
<td>ʾaše</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ʾašu</td>
<td>byāšu</td>
<td>yāšu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ʾawāt</td>
<td>bēša</td>
<td>šēša</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ʾawāti</td>
<td>bēša</td>
<td>šēša</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ʾawātu</td>
<td>bēšu</td>
<td>šēšu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ʾawāt</td>
<td>bēša</td>
<td>šēš</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ʾawāna</td>
<td>mnāš</td>
<td>nāš</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. ʾawī, Pass. ṣāš (Gerund: ʾawye)

Defective verbs with initial radical ʾ are also initial-weak [see p.187]:

INFLECTION OF ʾaṣa ‘to fulfill’

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ʾaṣa</td>
<td>byāṣa</td>
<td>yāṣa</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ʾaṣet</td>
<td>bēṣa</td>
<td>šēṣa</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ʾaṣu</td>
<td>byāṣu</td>
<td>yāṣu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ʾawet</td>
<td>bēṣa</td>
<td>šēṣa</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ʾawet</td>
<td>bēṣa</td>
<td>šēṣa</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ʾawetu</td>
<td>bēṣu</td>
<td>šēṣu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ʾawet</td>
<td>bēṣa</td>
<td>šēṣ</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ʾaweṭa</td>
<td>mnāṣ</td>
<td>nāṣ</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. ʾawī (Gerund: ṣawī)

Grammatical Characteristics of Pattern I(a-e). A large majority of the sound and defective verbs are transitive. Of the hollow verbs, however, there is no significant predominance of one syntactic type over others. A few of the hollow verbs of this pattern\(^1\) are derived as causatives [p.240] from I (a-o) verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dām, bīdūm} & \text{ ‘to make... last’} \\
\text{qām, bīqūm} & \text{ ‘to pick... up’}
\end{align*}
\]

MERGED PATTERNS I (a-o) and I (a-e)

The distinction between Pattern I (a-o) and Pattern I (a-e) is functional for hollow verbs only (qām, bīqūm ‘to get up’ v.s. qām, bīqūm ‘to pick up, to remove’).

No defective verbs have Pattern I (a-o); as for sound verbs, some conform to one pattern and some to the other, but apparently no two verbs with the same root are distinguished only by the one's having imperfect vowel o while the other as e.

Many sound verbs belong to both patterns, the choice of imperfect vowel o or e being optional (or subject to unsystematic variation among individuals or regions):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bāṣal, byāṣol/bysol} & \text{ ‘to kill’} \\
\text{ḥar, byḥar} & \text{ ‘to see’} \\
\text{ḥalaf, byḥalaf} & \text{ ‘to turn’}
\end{align*}
\]

Note, furthermore, that when any kind of suffix is added to the imperfect stem of a Pattern I (a-o) or I (a-e) verb, the e/o distinction is obliterated [pp.28,197].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{byāṣob} & \text{ ‘he asks for’} \\
\text{byāḥmel} & \text{ ‘he carries’}
\end{align*}
\]

Gerinate Verbs. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
mādd, bimādd & \text{ ‘to extend’} \\
hāl, bihāl & \text{ ‘to solve’} \\
\text{bāʿam, bībāʿam} & \text{ ‘to groan’} \\
dāʿ, bidaʿ & \text{ ‘to knock’} \\
\text{bāṣ, bībāṣ} & \text{ ‘to pour’} \\
\text{ḥass, bīḥass} & \text{ ‘to feel’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\)Corresponding to Classical Pattern IV: ʾadāma, yudīmu; ʾaqūma, yuqīmu.
All these verbs have middle and final radicals alike. (Note, however, that if the like radicals are semivowels — as in the root h-γ-γ — the verb will be defective, not geminate: ḥayā, ḥayyī ‘to revive’.)

The pattern vowel (perfect a, imperfect o or e) does not appear between the two like radicals, which are fused together as a double consonant in all inflections. Between the first and middle radicals, the a of the perfect remains, while o is used in the imperfect.

Thus in many parts of the Syrian area (including the Damascus standard used in this book) the distinction between Patterns I (a-o) and I (a-e) is completely obliterated in geminate verbs, since neither o nor e normally occurs before two consonants — both being neutralized as a [p.23]. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, on the other hand, one will hear for example ḥaff, bidaff ‘to put’ (with imperfect vowel u) in contrast to ḥass, bidiss ‘to feel’ (with imperfect vowel i). (Note, however, that a before i sounds very much like u, and a before s sounds very much like i [p.13].)

**INFLECTION OF ḥass ‘to feel’**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ḥass</td>
<td>biḥass</td>
<td>yḥass</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥasset</td>
<td>batḥass</td>
<td>ṣḥass</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥassu</td>
<td>biḥassu</td>
<td>yḥassu</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ḥassēt</td>
<td>batḥass</td>
<td>ṣḥass</td>
<td>ḥass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥassēti</td>
<td>batḥassi</td>
<td>ṣḥassi</td>
<td>ḥassī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥassētu</td>
<td>batḥassu</td>
<td>ṣḥassu</td>
<td>ḥassu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg ḥassēt</td>
<td>biḥass</td>
<td>ḥass</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥassēna</td>
<td>manḥass</td>
<td>nḥass</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ḥāses, Pass. maḥās (Gerund: ḥass)

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**PATTERN I (a-a): Faʕal, byaʕFai

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**

- saʔal, byaʔal ‘to ask’
- zahar, byaʔhar ‘to appear’
- fataḥ, byaʕfataḥ ‘to open’
- baʕat, byaʕbat ‘to send’
- ṭamaʕ, byaʕmaʕ ‘to bring’
- ḥafṣ, byahfṣ ‘to keep’

The vast majority of these verbs have a back consonant (x, ẓ, q, h, ē, h, or ẓ) either as middle or last radical.

**INFLECTION OF saʔal ‘to ask’**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m saʔal</td>
<td>byaʔal</td>
<td>yʔal</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ṭaʔal</td>
<td>tḥaʔal</td>
<td>tʔal</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl saʔalu</td>
<td>byaʔalu</td>
<td>yʔalu</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m saʔal(ʔ)t</td>
<td>tḥaʔal</td>
<td>tʔal</td>
<td>sʔal</td>
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<tr>
<td>f ṭaʔal</td>
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<td>sʔal</td>
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<td>tʔal</td>
<td>sʔal</td>
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<tr>
<td>1sg saʔal(ʔ)t</td>
<td>bʔaʔal</td>
<td>bʔal</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl saʔal</td>
<td>mnʔal</td>
<td>nʔal</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. saʔel Pass. maʔal.1

---

1Most commonly used idiomatically in the sense ‘responsible, in charge’.
**Initial-Weak Verbs:** 
\[\text{ma\dot{d}a\dot{e}}\text{ b\text{"y\dot{u}d}a\dot{e}} 'to place'; \text{ma\dot{d}a\dot{e}}, \text{b\text{"y\dot{u}d}a\dot{e}} 'to entrust, deposit'.

These two verbs, like those of Pattern I (a-a), have imperfect stems beginning with -\(\dot{u}\), from the fusion of the prefix vowel with the initial radical \(\text{\text{"m}}\).

**INFLECTION OF ma\dot{d}a\dot{e} 'to put, place'**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ma\dot{d}a\dot{e}</td>
<td>by\text{&quot;y\dot{u}d}a\dot{e}</td>
<td>y\text{&quot;u}d\text{&quot;a}</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>m\dot{a}d\dot{e}t</td>
<td>b\text{&quot;y\dot{u}d}a\dot{e}</td>
<td>t\text{&quot;a}d\text{&quot;a}</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>m\dot{a}d\dot{e}tu</td>
<td>by\text{&quot;y\dot{u}d}a\dot{e}u</td>
<td>y\text{&quot;u}d\text{&quot;a}u</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ma\dot{d}a\dot{e}('a)t</td>
<td>b\text{&quot;y\dot{u}d}a\dot{e}</td>
<td>t\text{&quot;a}d\text{&quot;a}</td>
<td>m\dot{a}d\dot{e}</td>
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<td>m\dot{a}d\dot{e}t\dot{i}</td>
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<td>\text{&quot;i}</td>
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<td>b\text{&quot;u}d\text{&quot;a}</td>
<td>t\text{&quot;a}d\text{&quot;a}</td>
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<td>n\text{&quot;u}d\text{&quot;a}</td>
<td>'we'</td>
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**Particples:** Act. ma\dot{d}a\dot{e}, Pass. ma\dot{m}a\dot{d}a\dot{e} (Gerund: ma\dot{a}\dot{e})

**Hollow Verbs.** Examples:

- b\(\text{\text{"a}}\), bib\(\text{\text{"a}}\) 'to appear'
- b\(\text{"a}\), bib\(\text{"a}\) 'to spend the night'
- n\(\text{\text{"a}}\), bin\(\text{\text{"a}}\) 'to obtain'
- x\(\text{"a}\), bix\(\text{"a}\) 'to fear'
- m\(\text{\text{"a}}\), bin\(\text{\text{"a}}\) 'to sleep'
- g\(\text{"a}\), b\(\text{"i}\)g\(\text{"a}\) 'to be jealous'
- h\(\text{"a}\), b\(\text{"i}\)h\(\text{"a}\) 'to be awed'
- s\(\text{"a}\), b\(\text{"i}\)s\(\text{"a}\) 'to contain'

Hollow verbs of this pattern are rare; the above examples are the only ones found. The middle radical \(\text{\text{"m}}\) or \(\text{\text{"y}}\) disappears in the base form (3p. perf.) and the two \(\text{\text{"a}}\)s of the pattern run together as \(\text{\text{"a}}\); in the imperfect, the radical semivowel fuses with the pattern vowel \(\text{\text{"a}}\) to produce \(\text{\text{"a}}\).

**INFLECTION OF m\(\text{\text{"a}}\)m 'to sleep'**

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<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>y(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>'he'</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
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<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>t(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>m(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m(\text{\text{&quot;u}}}</td>
<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>y(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
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<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>t(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>m(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m(\text{\text{&quot;i}}}</td>
<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>t(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
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<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;i}})n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>t(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>n(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>m(\text{\text{&quot;a}})m('a)t</td>
<td>b(\text{\text{&quot;a}}}</td>
<td>n(\text{\text{&quot;a}}}</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m(\text{\text{\text{&quot;a}})m</td>
<td>m(\text{\text{&quot;a}}}</td>
<td>n(\text{\text{&quot;a}}}</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particples: n\(\text{\text{"a}}\)y\(\text{\text{"e}}} (Gerund: m\(\text{\text{"a}}\)m)

**Defective Verbs.** Only two defective verbs have Pattern I (a-a) consistently over the whole Syrian area:

- b\(\text{"a}r\), b\(\text{"a}r\) 'to read'
- ra\(\text{"a}r\), ra\(\text{"a}r\) 'to herd, tend'

**Also commonly used are:**

- b\(\text{\text{"a}}} (or b\(\text{\text{"a}}}\)), 'to begin'
- s\(\text{"a}r\) (or s\(\text{\text{"a}}}\)), 'to make efforts'
- m\(\text{\text{"a}}} (or m\(\text{\text{"a}}}\)), 'to grow'
- s\(\text{\text{"a}}} (or s\(\text{\text{"a}}}\)), 'to contain'
- h\(\text{\text{"a}}} (or h\(\text{\text{"a}}}\)), 'to disobey'

All these verbs have a final radical \(\text{\text{"m}}\) or \(\text{\text{"y}}\), which is lost or fused in all inflections.
INFLECTION OF וָרָא ‘to read’

--- | --- | --- | ---
3m | בָּרָא | מַרְאֶה | מִרְאֶה | ‘he’
f | בּרַת | טָרָא | טָרָא | ‘she’
pl | בָּרָע | מַרְאֶע | מִרְאֶע | ‘they’
2m | בַּרְאֶת | טָרָא | טָרָא | נְרָא, מַרְאֶה | ‘you’
f | בַּרְאֶתי | טָרָא | טָרָא | נְרָא, מַרְאֶה | ‘you’
pl | בַּרְאֶטו | טָרָא | טָרָא | נְרָא, מַרְאֶה | ‘you’
lsg | בַּרְאֶה | מַרְאֶה | מַרְאֶה | מִרְאֶה | ‘I’
pl | בַּרְאֶנה | מַרְאֶה | מַרְאֶה | מִרְאֶה | ‘we’

Participles: Act. בַּרְאֶה, Pass. מַרְאֶה (Gerund: מַרְאֶה)

Geminate Verbs. Only two geminate verbs have Pattern I (a-a) consistently over the whole Syrian area:

dalî, bidâlî ‘to remain’
tamm, bitamm ‘to remain’

Also commonly used is cadd, bicadd ‘to bite’ (but Palestinian also bicadd); Palestinian נָשָׁה, bissaha ‘to be all right’ (but elsewhere usually bisbâhâ).

INFLECTION OF tamm ‘to remain’

--- | --- | --- | ---
3m | בָּתָם | מַתָם | מִתָם | ‘he’
f | בּתָמי | מַתָמי | מִתָמי | ‘she’
pl | בָּתָמ | מַתָמ | מִתָמ | ‘they’
2m | בַּתָמ | מַתָמ | מִתָמ | מַתָמ | ‘you’
f | בַּתָמי | מַתָמי | מִתָמי | מַתָמי | ‘you’
pl | בַּתָמ | מַתָמ | מַתָמ | מַתָמ | ‘you’
lsg | בַּתָמי | מַתָמי | מַתָמי | מַתָמי | ‘I’
pl | בַּתָמ | מַתָמ | מַתָמ | מַתָמ | ‘we’

Participles: tâmem

PATTERN I (e-e): פָּכֵל, בּיָפָכֵל

Sound Verbs. Examples:

mâsek, byamâsek ‘to hold’
nâzel, byámâzel ‘to descend’
lâhes, byâles ‘to dress’
êamel, byâmêmel ‘to make’
âsên, byâsên ‘to be able’
ôder, byôder ‘to be able’

This pattern is rare; the above examples are the only ones generally used. Byâref, byâmref ‘to know’ conforms to this pattern except for the supporting vowel a with the subject prefixes [177] — also commonly used in êâmél, byâmêmel. (ôder, byôder ‘to be able’ is a variant of ôder, byôder.) Regional variants include byâmder (Pal.), byâmâzel (Leb.), byâmâmel (Pal.), which put these verbs in Pattern I (e-a), and mâsek, which puts this verb in Pattern I (a-e).

INFLECTION OF nâzel ‘to descend’

--- | --- | --- | ---
3m | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מִנְזֶל | ‘he’
f | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מִנְזֶל | ‘she’
pl | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מִנְזֶל | ‘they’
2m | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מִנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | ‘you’
f | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מִנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | ‘you’
pl | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | ‘you’
lsg | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | ‘I’
pl | בּיַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | מַנְזֶל | ‘we’

Participles: Act. nâzel (Gerund: nâzêl)
The verb ēref 'to know' (as usually also ēmel 'to do') has a as prefix-supporting vowel in the imperfect:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ēdref</td>
<td>byēdref</td>
<td>yādref</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ēdrfet</td>
<td>btēdref</td>
<td>tādref</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ēdrfet</td>
<td>byēdrfet</td>
<td>yādrfet</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ērēf(ṭ)</td>
<td>btēdref</td>
<td>tādref</td>
<td>ērēf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ērēfīt</td>
<td>btēdrfīt</td>
<td>tādrfīt</td>
<td>ērēfī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ērēftu</td>
<td>btēdrfut</td>
<td>tādrfut</td>
<td>ērēfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ērēf(ṭ)</td>
<td>btēdref</td>
<td>?ādref</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ērēfnā</td>
<td>mnēdref</td>
<td>nādref</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ērēf, ērfān, Pass. maćrūf (Gerund: ērāfān!)  

Defective Verbs. Only two verbs have this pattern consistently over the whole Syrian area:

bākī, byābkī 'to cry'  
mašī, byamšī 'to walk'

Commonly heard in Lebanon is ḥakī (for ḥakā), byābkī 'to speak'.

**INFLECTION OF mašī 'to walk'**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>māšī</td>
<td>byāmšī</td>
<td>yāmšī</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>māšītet</td>
<td>btāmšī</td>
<td>tāmšī</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>māšītu</td>
<td>byāmšītu</td>
<td>yāmšītu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>māšīt</td>
<td>btāmšī</td>
<td>tāmšī</td>
<td>māšī, ?āmšī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>māšītī</td>
<td>btāmšītī</td>
<td>tāmšītī</td>
<td>māšī, ?āmšī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>māšītu</td>
<td>btāmšītu</td>
<td>tāmšītu</td>
<td>māšī, ?āmšī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>māšīt</td>
<td>bāmšī</td>
<td>?āmšī</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>māšīna</td>
<td>mnāmšī</td>
<td>nāmšī</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. māšī, Pass. māmšī (ētalā) (Gerund: mašī)  

1In the sense 'acquaintance (with)', familiarity (with'), the hypostatic noun [p.309] maćrefe is used.

**PATTERN I (e-a):** Pēbel, byaṣēl

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**

?ābel, byaṭbal 'to accept'  
loḥab, byaḥlab 'to play'

?āhem, byaṣham 'to understand'  
kāber, byakbar 'to grow up'

?ātel, byaṭtal 'to be killed'  
ṣumīl, byaṣmal 'to grow tall'

The verb ṣumīl (or ṣumel), with medial radical m, is an exception to the general rule that verbs with a semivocalic middle radical — and consonantal final radical — are hollow. (Cf. medial m sound verbs of Pattern I (a-e) [p.58].) (There is a hollow (a-c) verb with the same root: fūl, bīfūl 'to be a long time',)

**INFLECTION OF ?ābel 'to accept'**

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<td>?ābel</td>
<td>byaṭbal</td>
<td>yāṭbal</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>?ābeltet</td>
<td>btāṭbal</td>
<td>tāṭbal</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>?ābeltu</td>
<td>byaṭbalu</td>
<td>yāṭbalu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>?āb(ṭ)</td>
<td>btāṭbal</td>
<td>tāṭbal</td>
<td>?ābāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>?ābītī</td>
<td>btāṭbālī</td>
<td>tāṭbālī</td>
<td>?ābī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>?ābītu</td>
<td>btāṭbālu</td>
<td>tāṭbālu</td>
<td>?ābīlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>?āb(ṭ)</td>
<td>bāṭbal</td>
<td>?āṭbal</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>?ābīna</td>
<td>mnāṭbal</td>
<td>nāṭbal</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INFLECTION OF ḥawl or ḥawel 'to grow tall'

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ḥawel (ḥawel)</td>
<td>byḥawal</td>
<td>yḥawal</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥawel (ḥawel)</td>
<td>bṭḥawal</td>
<td>tḥawal</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥawel (ḥawel)</td>
<td>bṭḥawal</td>
<td>tḥawal</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2m ḥawl(ʔ) t | bṭḥawal | tḥawal | ṣḥawal | 'you' |
| f ḥowl | ṣḥawal | ṣḥawal | ṣḥol | 'you' |
| pl ḥowl | bṭḥawal | ṣḥawal | ṣḥol | 'you' |

1sg ḥowl(ʔ) t | bḥawal | ṣḥawal | 'I' |
| pl ḥowl | bḥawal | ṣḥawal | 'we' |

Participle: ḥawlān (Gerund: ḥawlān)

Defective Verbs: Examples:

bāʔi, byabʔa 'to stay' nāsi, byonsa 'to forget'
čōsi, byačga 'to get stuck' bāsi, byāsfa 'to get well'
moṭi, byaṭa 'to be low' hayi, byaḥya 'to be revived'

These verbs have a final radical w or y which fuses with the perfect vowel e to form i, and which disappears after the imperfect vowel a.

INFLECTION OF bāʔi 'to stay'

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m bāʔi</td>
<td>bybʔa</td>
<td>ybʔa</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f bāʔyet</td>
<td>bṭbʔa</td>
<td>tḥbʔa</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl bāʔyu</td>
<td>bybʔu</td>
<td>ybʔu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2m bāʔt | bṭbʔa | tḥbʔa | bʔa, ybʔa | 'you' |
| f bāʔti | bṭbʔi | tḥbʔi | bʔi, ybʔi | 'you' |
| pl bāʔtu | bṭbʔu | tḥbʔu | bʔu, ybʔu | 'you' |

1sg bāʔt | bḥbʔa | ṣbʔa | 'I' |
| pl bāʔna | mnbʔa | nbʔa | 'we' |

Participle: bāʔi, bāʔyān (Gerund: bāʔi)

Medial radical semivowels remain intact in defective verbs:

INFLECTION OF ḥomi 'to become strong'

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ḥomi</td>
<td>byḥom</td>
<td>yḥom</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥomyet</td>
<td>bṭḥom</td>
<td>tḥom</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥomyu</td>
<td>byḥom</td>
<td>yḥom</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2m ḥom | bṭḥom | tḥom | yḥom, ḥom | 'you' |
| f ḥomti | bṭḥom | tḥom | yḥom, ḥom | 'you' |
| pl ḥomtu | bṭḥom | tḥom | yḥom, ḥom | 'you' |

1sg ḥom | bḥom | ṣḥom | 'I' |
| pl ḥomna | mnḥom | nḥom | 'we' |

Participle: ḥomi

INFLECTION OF ḥayi 'to be revived'

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ḥayi</td>
<td>byḥaya</td>
<td>yḥaya</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥayyet</td>
<td>bṭḥaya</td>
<td>tḥaya</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ḥayyu</td>
<td>byḥaya</td>
<td>yḥaya</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2m ḥayt | bṭḥaya | tḥaya | yḥaya | 'you' |
| f ḥayti | bṭḥaya | tḥaya | yḥaya | 'you' |
| pl ḥaytu | bṭḥaya | tḥaya | yḥaya | 'you' |

1sg ḥayt | bḥaya | ṣḥaya | 'I' |
| pl ḥayna | mnḥaya | nḥaya | 'we' |
Defective verbs with initial radical w are also initial-weak: imperfect prefix-vowel a + w = ū.

**INFLECTION OF mōšī 'to be low'**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>mōšī</td>
<td>byūšā</td>
<td>yūšā</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>mōšyeš</td>
<td>byūša</td>
<td>ūša</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mōšyū</td>
<td>byūšu</td>
<td>ūšu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>mōšīt</td>
<td>būša</td>
<td>ūša, ūša</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>mōšīti</td>
<td>būši</td>
<td>ūši, ūši</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mōšītu</td>
<td>būšu</td>
<td>ūšu, ūšu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>mōšīt</td>
<td>būša</td>
<td>ūša</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mōšīna</td>
<td>mnūša</td>
<td>nūša</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mōšī (Gerund: mōšume)

**INITIAL-WEAK VERBS. Examples:**

mōšel, byōšal (or byūšal) 'to arrive'
mōšēč, byōšāč (or byūšāč) 'to fall'
yēšēs, byēšas (or byēšas) 'to dry up'

The initial radical semivowel may either be lost entirely in the imperfect or else fused with the prefix vowel a to form ū (or ē). In some areas, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, the forms with ū (or ē) are used exclusively.

Some verbs are mainly limited in the imperfect to forms with ū (or ē) in all Syrian areas: ārēt, byū̂raf 'to inherit', yēšēs, byēšas 'to despair'. [187].

**INFLECTION OF mōšel 'to arrive'**

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>mōšlet</td>
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<td>yūšal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mōšlu</td>
<td>byūša, ūša</td>
<td>ūša, ūša</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mōšīt(ē)</td>
<td>byūšal</td>
<td>yūšal</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>mōšīti</td>
<td>byūša</td>
<td>ūša</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mōšītu</td>
<td>byūšu</td>
<td>ūšu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>mōšīt(ē)</td>
<td>būšal</td>
<td>ūšal</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mōšīna</td>
<td>mnūša</td>
<td>nūša</td>
<td>'we'</td>
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</table>

Participle: mōšel (Gerund: mōšūm)

**INFLECTION OF yēšēs 'to dry up'**

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<tbody>
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<td>yēšēsu</td>
<td>byēša</td>
<td>yēša</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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<td>2m</td>
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<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
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<td>yēšas</td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>yēšīna</td>
<td>mnēšas</td>
<td>mnēšas</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: yēšēs (Gerund: yēšēs)
Derivational Types. Many Pattern I(e-a) verbs are passives [p. 234], correlative to active verbs with a-e or a-o vowelling:

zarab, byzrab ‘to be ruined’ (cf. zarab, byzrob ‘to ruin’)
taCeb, byatCeb ‘to get tired’ (cf. taCeb, byatCeb ‘to tire’)
hayi, byhayya ‘to be revived’ (cf. haya, byhayi ‘to revive’)

Some are inchoative or descriptive [p.250], correlative to simple adjectives:

kaber, byakbar ‘to grow up, become large’ (cf. kbIr ‘large, adult’)
gager, byaggar ‘to become small’ (cf. gIr ‘small’)
Jumel, byJumal ‘to become long or tall’ (cf. jumil ‘long, tall’)
Jahol, byahol ‘to be easy’ (cf. sahol ‘easy’)

ANOMALOUS VERB: ʔaʔa ‘to come’

|---|---------|-------------|--------------|----------------
| 3m | ʔaʔa | byʔaʔi | yaʔi | ‘he’
| f  | ʔaʔet | byʔet | taʔet | ‘she’
| pl | ʔaʔu | byʔu | yaʔu | ‘they’
| 2m | ʔaʔit | byʔit | taʔiti | ‘you’
| f  | ʔaʔiti | byʔiti | taʔiti | ‘you’
| pl | ʔaʔitu | byʔitu | taʔitiu | ‘you’
| 1sg | ʔaʔi | byʔi | ʔaʔi | ‘I’
| pl | ʔaʔina | byʔina | ʔaʔina | ‘we’

Participle (irregular): ʔayel.

Variant forms include ʔaʔa, ʔaʔet, ʔaʔu (Damascus and elsewhere; by)ʔaʔi, byʔaʔi, etc. (in Palestine and parts of Lebanon); ʔaʔ, ʔaʔit, ʔaʔu (or ʔaw), ʔaʔit, ʔaʔina, etc. (parts of Lebanon).

1With irregular suffixing forms: ʔayi-, (f.) ʔayit-, as in ʔayini, ʔayitni ‘having come to me’. In some regions the –e is lost in the masculine absolute form: ʔay.

PATTERN II: PaC̱el, biPaC̱el

Pattern II is augmented [p.46] with respect to Pattern I by a lengthening (or ‘doubling’ [p.15]) of the middle radical. The pattern vowels are... in the perfect and a...e in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

sakkar, bisakker ‘to close’ ʔayaf, biʔayef ‘to spend the summer’
hammal, biḥammal ‘to load’ ʔammal, biʔammel ‘to frighten’
JaC̱arab, biC̱arab ‘to try’ saddaʔ, biṣaddaʔ ‘to believe (to be true)’
sabbab, bisabbab ‘to cause’ waʔgal, biwaʔgal ‘to deliver (to destination)’

INFLECTION OF sakkar ‘to close’

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<td>bissakker</td>
<td>yasakker</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>sakkaret</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>tasakker</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>bissakru</td>
<td>yasakru</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tasakker</td>
<td>yasakker</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tasakkr</td>
<td>yasakkr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>sakkdr (‘t)</td>
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<td>yasakker</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sakkdrna</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>yasakker</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. msakkar; Pass. msakkar; Gerund: tasakir

When the last two radicals are alike (as in sabbab ‘to cause’) the imperfect stem vowel e is not dropped when –i or –u is added, but is changed to o:
---|---|---|---
3m ṣabbab | bisbābeb | ysdbeb | 'he'
f ṣabbabat | btsbābeb | tsbābeb | 'she'
pl ṣabbabu | btsbābeb | ysdbābu | 'they'

2m ṣabbab(‘)t | btsbābeb | tsbābeb | sdbbeb | 'you'
f ṣabbātī | btsbābeb | tsbābeb | sdbbāb | 'you'
pl ṣabbātī | btsbābeb | tsbābeb | sdbbāb | 'you'

1sg ṣabbabb(‘)t | bsdbeb | sdbbeb | 'I'
pl ṣabbab(‘)a | msdabābeb | nsdbeb | 'we'

Participles: Act. msabbab, Pass. msabbab; Gerund: tsabīb

**Defective Verbs. Examples:**

maila, bimali ‘to fill’ čamma, bičammi ‘to bark’
fa’dā, bifaadū ‘to empty’ našša, binašši ‘to save’
samma, bisammi ‘to name’ wadda, biwaddi ‘to lead’
ūanna, biūanna ‘to sing’ na’anna, biina’di ‘to choose’

The final radical w or y disappears in the base form (perfect); and in the imperfect, fuses with the pattern vowel e to form i.

**INFECTION OF samma ‘to name’**

3m sammā | bisāmmi | ysdmmi | 'he'
f sammēt | btsāmmi | tsdmmi | 'she'
pl sammu | bisāmmu | ysdmmu | 'they'

2m sammēt | btsāmmi | tsdmmi | sdmmi | 'you'
f sammētī | btsāmmi | tsdmmi | sdmmi | 'you'
pl sammētu | btsdmmmu | tsdmmu | sdmmu | 'you'

1sg sammēt | bsdmmi | sdmmi | 'I'
pl sammēna | msdmmmi | nddmmi | 'we'

Participles: Act. msammā, Pass. msammā; Gerund: tsammaye

**In Pattern II there are no unsound verbs other than defective: Fluctuating or geminating medial (or initial) radicals do not fluctuate or geminate in this pattern.**

Pattern II is by far the most common of the augmented verb patterns.

**Pattern II Derivational Types**

Many are causatives [p.240]:

fa’dā ‘to empty’ — fa’di ‘to become empty’
’awma ‘to strengthen’ — ’awmi ‘to become strong’
hamal ‘to load’ — hamal ‘to carry’
šamaf ‘to show’ — šaf ‘to see’
fsam ‘to explain(to)’ — fsam ‘to understand’

Many are augmentatives [253]:

kassar ‘to smash, break to pieces’ — kassar ‘to break’
šamamā ‘to collect, assemble’ — šamam ‘to bring together’
daftas ‘to push (several things or times)’

Some are ascriptive [243]:

sada’ ‘to believe (to be true)’
šammam ‘to denounce as traitor’
fa’dal ‘to prefer’ — fa’dal ‘favorite’

Many are applicative [256] (or denominatives of other kinds):

samama ‘to name, call’ — šam ‘name’
sayyat ‘to oil’ — šet ‘oil’
sabbab ‘to cause’ — sabab ‘cause’
PATTERN III: ḍāčal, biḍāčel

Pattern III is augmented with respect to Pattern I by a lengthening (or change) of the first pattern vowel to ā. The pattern vowels are ā...a in the perfect and ā...e in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:
- ḍāma, biḍāməl ‘to deal with’ ḍātəb, biḍāteb ‘to write to’
- ḍāfum, biḍāfəm ‘to attack’ ḍāmar, biḍāmer ‘to consult’
- ṣāfər, biḍāffer ‘to travel’ ṣāpəs, biḍāpəs ‘to punish’
- bāləğ, biḍāləğ ‘to exaggerate’ bādəd, biḍāded ‘to oppose’

INFLECTION OF sāčad ‘to help’

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<td>yasācəd</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f sāčadət</td>
<td>bətsəcəd</td>
<td>tsəcəd</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sācədu</td>
<td>bəsəcədu</td>
<td>yasəcdu</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m sācəd(ə)t</td>
<td>bətsəcəd</td>
<td>tsəcəd</td>
<td>səcəd</td>
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<tr>
<td>f sācədti</td>
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<td>tsəcədi</td>
<td>səcədi</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl sācədtu</td>
<td>bətsəcədu</td>
<td>tsəcədu</td>
<td>səcədu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg sācəd(ə)t</td>
<td>bəsəcəd</td>
<td>səcəd</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sācədəna</td>
<td>məncəcəd</td>
<td>nəcəd</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
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Particiles: Act. məcəd, Pass. məcəda; Gerund: məcəde

If the last two radicals are alike (as in hāsə ‘to argue with’) the imperfect stem vowel e is commonly dropped when -i or -u are suffixed: bīhəzətu; or else a may come between the like radicals as in Pattern II verbs [p.72]: bīhəzətu:

1Always used in construct [p.455]; absolute form would theoretically be "mḥəšə."
In Pattern III there are no unsound verbs other than defective: unstable medial or initial radicals do not fluctuate or geminate in this pattern.

**Pattern III Derivational Types**

**Many are participatives** [p. 246]:
- kātab 'to write to (someone)' — katab 'to write (something)'
- hāka 'to talk to (someone)' — hakā 'to talk'
- ḍāḥak 'to laugh with (s.o.)' — ḍaḥak 'to laugh'

**Many are conatives** [p. 245]:
- sāba? 'to race' (trans.) — saba? 'to get ahead of, pass'
- lāha? 'to pursue' — lahe? 'to catch up with'
- rāda 'to appease' — raḍa 'to gratify'

**PATTERN IV: ḫ̣ačḷ̣, ḫ̣aicol**

Pattern IV is augmented with respect to Pattern I by a prefix ḫ̣-, in the perfect tense only. There is no vowel between the first and middle radicals in either tense. The vowel between the middle and last radicals is a in the perfect and e in the imperfect.

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**
- ḫ̣ašram, byškrem 'to honor'
- ḫ̣adrab, byṣdrēb 'to go on strike'
- ḫ̣ašrai, byšrēl 'to send'
- ḫ̣ačlan, byṣclēn 'to advertise'
- ḫ̣ačāḏ, byṣcēlāḏ 'to bother'
- ḫ̣aṣbā, byṣbēḥ 'to be...in the morning'

**INFLECTION OF ḫ̣ačlan 'to announce'**

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<tr>
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<td>nālēn</td>
<td>'we'</td>
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Participles: Act. mačlen (Pass. ṃačlan); Gerund ḫ̣ačlān

**Defective Verbs. Examples:**
- ḫ̣aγna, byṣgni 'to make...rich'
- ḫ̣ahda, byṣghdi 'to present...a gift'
- ḫ̣asna, byṣgni 'to commend'
- ḫ̣anha, byṣghni 'to bring...to an end'

The final radical w or y disappears in the perfect, and in the imperfect fuses with the pattern vowel e to form i.

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<td>ydgni</td>
<td>'he'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'she'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ydgni</td>
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Participles: Act. (and Pass.) ḫ̣agnī; Gerund ḫ̣agnā

\[1\] The verb ḫ̣ačlan is commonly inflected as a pseudo-quadriradical [p. 116]; this passive participle is "borrowed" from the pseudo-quadriradical conjugation.
Many Pattern IV verbs have parallel Pattern I (a-e) forms that are synonymous to them: 'ahda or hada 'to give (as a gift)', 'a3a8 or a3a3 'to annoy', 'a3arr or 3arr 'to insist'. In such cases the Pattern IV forms are used more in the third person than in the first or second persons.

Unsound verbs other than defective are rare in Pattern IV:

Geminate verbs:

- 3a 3a33r (3arr) 3a33r y3a3r 'he'
- f 3a3a3r (3arr) 3a3a3r y3a3r 'she'
- pl 3a3a3r (3arru) 3a3a3r y3a3r 'they'
- 2m 3a3a3r (3a3a3r) 3a3a3r y3a3r 3ar 'you'
- f 3a3a3r (3a3a3r) 3a3a3r y3a3r 3ar 'you'
- pl 3a3a3r (3a3a3r) 3a3a3r y3a3r 3ar 'you'
- 1sg 3a3a3r (3a3a3r) 3a3a3r y3a3r 3ar 'I'
- pl 3a3a3r (3a3a3r) 3a3a3r y3a3r 3ar 'we'

Participle: Act. 3a3a3r; Gerund 3a3a3r

Hollow verbs:

- 3a 3a33 (3a3) 3a3i y3i 'he'
- f 3a33 (3a3) 3a3i y3i 'she'
- pl 3a33 (3a3) 3a3i y3i 'they'
- 2m 3a3 (3a3t) (3a33t) 3a3i y3i 3i 'you'
- f 3a3 (3a3t) (3a33t) 3a3i y3i 3i 'you'
- pl 3a3 (3a3t) (3a33t) 3a3i y3i 3i 'you'
- 1sg 3a3 (3a3t) (3a33t) 3a3i y3i 3i 'I'
- pl 3a3 (3a3t) (3a33t) 3a3i y3i 3i 'we'

Participle: Act. ma3; Pass. ma3 (fi); Gerund ma3

In 3a3, the Pattern IV formative 3a- combines with the first radical 3a- to produce 3a-.

In 3a3, the Pattern IV formative 3a- combines with the first radical 3a- to produce 3a-.

The result form is like Pattern III (Pa3aL) (p.80), and in fact the verb is commonly converted entirely to Pattern III, with imperfect forms b3a3men, b3a3men, etc. (Imperative forms are almost always Pattern III.)

Pattern IV verbs are comparatively rare in Colloquial Arabic, and many of those which do occur are sporadic classicisms. It is therefore difficult to discern any predominant derivational characteristics for this pattern, except by reference to Classical Arabic itself, in which Pattern IV is common.

Some Pattern IV verbs are causative (p.240): 3a3a3a 'to make...rich' = 3a3a3a 'to become rich'; 3a3a3ar 'to reveal' = 3a3a3a 'to appear'.

THE FORMATIVE 3a-

The base-formative prefix 3a- is used in various different patterns: tPa3aL [p.86], tPa3aL [88], tPa3aL [121], and pseudo-quadriradicals [109]. Its main derivational function is that of passive (p.234); in Pattern tPa3aL it also forms reciprocal [248] and simulative [249] verbs, and in Pattern tPa3aL inchoatives [251].
t- is commonly voiced (changed to d) before voiced dental and palatal obstruents (d, n, ñ, d, g): ðāwmas `to be married', ðākkar `to remember', ðāman `to be in tune', ðāðmas `to be trampled', ðāšal `to feign ignorance'.

This tendency to assimilate to a voiced radical is not equally strong in all words. Note that some speakers who normally voice the prefix in ðāwmas `to be married' normally do not voice it in ðāwmas `to exceed' (or ðāwmas— with the radical ð devoiced rather than with t voiced).

t- is (automatically) velarized [p.26], in the neighborhood of a velarized radical consonant: ðāños(h)u `to shake hands', ðāgṣas `to be punished', ðānnar `to gird one's self'.

The prefix t- is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant (s, ñ, ñ, ñ, ñ, ñ): ñānkakar `I remember' (for ñānkakar), ñāṣaṣṭeh (lying down) (for ñāṣaṣṭeh), ñānnar `he girded himself' (for ñānnar).

**PATTERN V: tФačal, bystФačal**

Pattern V is augmented with respect to Pattern II, by prefixation of the formative t [ ]. It also differs from Pattern II in keeping the second pattern vowel a in the imperfect.

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**

tëllam, bystëllam `to learn'  
tëgyyar, bystëgyyar `to change, be changed'  

stëxxar, bystëxxar `to be late'  
tbålal, bystbålal `to get wet'  

stëkkar, byststëkkar `to remember'  
tfahham, bystfahham `to come to understand'
Derivational Types:

Most verbs of Pattern V are passives [235] of Pattern II verbs:

téallam 'to learn, be taught'  -  căllam 'to teach'
tg'ayar 'to change, be changed'  -  g'ayar 'to change' (trans.)
tšaššač 'to take heart'  -  šaššač 'to encourage'
tsamma 'to be called, named'  -  samma 'to call, name'

Some are inchoative [251]:

tfahham 'to come to understand better'  -  fahem 'to understand'
tmállak 'to acquire'  -  byamloč 'to own'
thassan 'to improve'  -  'ahsam 'better'

Some are intransitive denominatives:

tsamma? 'to go shopping'  -  sū 'market'
dhassas 'to spy'  -  hāsūs 'spy'

**PATTERN VI: tťačal, byatťačal**

Pattern VI is augmented with respect to Pattern III, by prefixation of the formative t [p.85]. It also differs from Pattern III in keeping the second pattern vowel a in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

tšaťam, 'to be pessimistic' ttamah, 'to yawn'
byatšaťam byatťamah
thamal, 'to be negligent' thādas(u), 'to converse'
byathhamal byatthādas(u)
ťg'as, 'to be punished' ŧfah(u), 'to shake hands'
byťťg'as byatťľgš(u)

INFLECTION OF tsāmah 'to be forgiven'

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<td>byatsāmahu</td>
<td>ytsāmahu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tsāmahu [*]</td>
<td>btsāmahu</td>
<td>tstsāmahu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tsāmdhi</td>
<td>btsāmdhi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tsāmdhtu</td>
<td>btsāmdhtu</td>
<td>tstsāmdhtu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>tsāmdh[*]</td>
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<td>'ytsāmah</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tsāmdhna</td>
<td>natsāmah</td>
<td>natsāmah</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. matsāmah, Pass. matsāmam (fē), Gerund: tsāmam

Reciprocative verbs [p.248] do not ordinarily occur in the singular, hence the plural (-u) suffixes in some of these examples.

Defective Verbs. Examples:

thāśa, bythāśa 'to avoid' trāxa, bystrāxa 'to be liberal, easygoing'
trūdu, bystrūdu 'to be conciliated' tsūma, bytsūma 'to be made'
thāku, bythāku 'to converse'

Final radical y or w disappears in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF thāša 'to avoid'

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<td>bthāśa</td>
<td>tthāśa</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
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<td>ythāšu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
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<td>bthāšu</td>
<td>tthāšu</td>
<td>thāšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>thāšet</td>
<td>bthāsha</td>
<td>'ythāša</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>thāšena</td>
<td>mthāśa</td>
<td>nthsā</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. matthāša, Pass. matthāša (Gerund: mphāśa)
Initial-Weak Verbs. The verbs ṭtāxab 'to be taken' and ṭtākal 'to be eaten, to be edible' [Cf. p. 235]:

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<tbody>
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<td>3m</td>
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<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
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<td>bēṭṭāxbi</td>
<td>tōṭṭāxbi</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ṭtāxbu</td>
<td>bēṭṭāxbu</td>
<td>tōṭṭāxbu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>lsg</td>
<td>ṭtāxdb((()t)</td>
<td>bēṭṭāxb((()t)</td>
<td>?ōṭṭāxb((()t)</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ṭtāxda</td>
<td>mēnōṭṭāxda</td>
<td>mēnōṭṭāxda</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mōnēṭṭāxda

The initial radical ū is assimilated to the prefixed formative t-.

Derivational Types.

Many Pattern VI verbs are passives of Pattern III verbs:

- ṭbāraḵ ‘to be blessed’ → bāraḵ ‘to bless’
- ṭhāfaḵ ‘to be protected’ → hāfaḵ ‘to protect’
- ṭadāmah ‘to be forgiven’ → sāmah ‘to forgive’

Some are reciprocative [248]:

- ṭākū ‘to converse’ → ḥāka ‘to talk with’
- ṭrāḏu ‘to be conciliated’ → rāḍa ‘to ingratiate one’s self with’
- ṭkātabu ‘to write one another’ → kātab ‘to write to’

Some are simulatives [249]:

- ṭūṣam ‘to play dumb’ → ǧašim ‘naïve’
- ṭsūḥar ‘to feign’ → ǧašer ‘to appear’
- ṭkūsal ‘to loaf’ → kasūl ‘lazy’

Pattern VII is augmented with respect to Pattern I, by prefixation of the formative m-

Sound Verbs. Examples:

nāṣāraḵ, byonkšer ‘to be broken’ → nēmaḵ, byonēmaḵ ‘to be brought together’

nēṣāraḵ, byonṣēraḵ ‘to be let out’ → mēbaṣ, byomēbaṣ ‘to have a good time’

nēṣātaḵ, byonṣēteḵ ‘to be written’ → nēṣaḵ, byonēṣeḵ ‘to be cut off’

The formative m is generally assimilated to a first radical b (or m), producing m, as in mēbaṣ [p. 27].

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first vowel of the stem is lost in the imperfect, and the accent shifted to the prefix syllable: byonkšer, byomēbaṣ. With suffixes -i or -u, however, the last stem vowel e is lost (as usual) and the first vowel a restored: btōnāšari, byomēbaṣu.

\(\text{INFLECTION OF nēṣāba ‘to withdraw’}\)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>nēṣāba</td>
<td>byonēṣeḥb</td>
<td>yōnēṣeḥb</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>nēṣāba</td>
<td>bēṭṭāṣeḥb</td>
<td>tēṭṭāṣeḥb</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>byonēṣeḥb</td>
<td>yōnēṣeḥb</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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<td>bēṭṭāṣeḥb((()t)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lsg</td>
<td>nēṣāba((()t)</td>
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<td>?ōṭṭāṣeḥb((()t)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>mōnēṭṭāṣeḥb((()t)</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mōnēṣeḥb; Gerund: ?ōnēṣāḥb
Defective Verbs (a-i). Examples:

- nțafa, byantāfī (or byantāfa) ‘to be extinguished’
- nkaa, byünkāsī (or byünkāsa) ‘to be ironed’
- nʔaʔa, byənʔādi (or byənʔāda) ‘to be finished’

The imperfect vowel may be either a...i1 (corresponding to sound a...e) or a...a.

**INFLECTION OF nkaa ‘to be clothed’**

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<tbody>
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<td>tānkāsī</td>
<td>'you'</td>
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<td>(bānkāsā)</td>
<td>(tānkāsā)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>nkāsetu</td>
<td>bānkāsū</td>
<td>tānkāsū</td>
<td>'you'</td>
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<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>nkāset</td>
<td>bānkāsī</td>
<td>'yünkāsī</td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<td>(bānkāsā)</td>
<td>(yünkāsā)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>nkāsēna</td>
<td>mnānkāsēs</td>
<td>mnānkāsī</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mānkāsī Gerund: 'yünkāsā'

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Defective Verbs (a-a). Examples:

- nθaka, byo:nθāka ‘to be told’
- nɛafa, byo:nɛāfa ‘to be given’
- nʔara, byo:nʔāra ‘to be read’

The imperfect vowel is a...a, just as in the perfect. In some parts of the Syrian area, however, e.g. Lebanon, there is a tendency to use a...i or a...a indiscriminately in the imperfect for all Pattern VII defectives.

**INFLECTION OF nɛada ‘to be infected’**

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<tbody>
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<td>yonɛāda</td>
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<td>(yonɛāda)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>nɛadet</td>
<td>btonɛāda</td>
<td>tonɛāda</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(tonɛāda)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>nɛādu</td>
<td>byo:nɛādu</td>
<td>yonɛādu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(mmanɛāda)</td>
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</tbody>
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Participle: mənɛadī Gerund: 'yənɛadā'

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Hollow Verbs. Examples:

- nʔāl, byo:nʔāl ‘to be said’
- nāb, byo:nāb ‘to be seen’
- nāb, byo:nāb ‘to be brought’
- nʔam, byo:nʔām ‘to be removed’

Vowelling is the same in both tenses.
INFLECTION OF Nhap 'to be seen'

--- | --- | --- | ---
3m Nhap | byanāhp | yōnāhp | ‘he’
f  Nāhpnet | bytanāhp | tōnāhp | ‘she’
pl Nāhp | byanāhp | yōnāhp | ‘they’
2m Nāhp(*)t | bytanāhp | tōnāhp | Nāhp | ‘you’
f Nāhpf | bytanāhp | tōnāpf | Nāhp | ‘you’
pl Nāhpfu | bytanāhp | tōnāpfu | Nāhp | ‘you’
1sg Nāhp(*)(*)t | bynāhp | ṭōnāhp | Nāhp | ‘I’
pl Nāhpfna | mnōnāhp | nōnāhp | ‘we’

Participle: mōnāhp

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

nādd, byōndadd ‘to be stopped up’
nāadd, byōnadd ‘to be stretched’

endphppp, byōntap ‘to be cut’
nhaxa, byōnha ‘to be shaken’

nhaas, byōnhaas ‘to be felt’

nhātt, byōnha ‘to be put’

INFLECTION OF Nāhp ‘to be lined up’

3m Nāhp | byanāhp | yōnāhp | ‘he’
f Nāhpnet | bytanāhp | tōnāhp | ‘she’
pl Nāhp | byanāhp | yōnāhp | ‘they’
2m Nāhp(*)t | bytanāhp | tōnāhp | Nāhp | ‘you’
f Nāhpf | bytanāhp | tōnāpf | Nāhp | ‘you’
pl Nāhpfu | bytanāhp | tōnāpfu | Nāhp | ‘you’
1sg Nāhp(*)t | bynāhp | ṭōnāhp | Nāhp | ‘I’
pl Nāhpfna | mnōnāhp | nōnāhp | ‘we’

Participle: mōnāhp

Derivational Types: Almost all verbs of Pattern VII are passives [234] of Pattern I verbs:

nhabas ‘to be imprisoned’
mbara ‘to be sharpened’
mbasa ‘to be pleased’
nhali ‘to be solved’
nam ‘to be slept’

nmasa ‘to withdraw, be by one’s self’ is an idiomatic denotative [256] of mōwy ‘corner’.

PATTERN VIII: Ptačal, byōtsqel

Pattern VIII is augmented with respect to Pattern I by infixation of the formative t [p.85] after the first radical.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

ftakar, byōftqer ‘to think’
qqasad, byōqtqesd ‘to economize’
ntaqal, byōtqel ‘to be transferred’
rtakab, byōtqeb ‘to commit’
ētaraf, byōetqref ‘to admit’
ḥtaram, byōhṭrem ‘to respect’

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first imperfect stem vowel is lost and the accent shifted to the first syllable: byōftqer, byōtqel — except when the last stem vowel is lost before a suffix (requiring the restoration of the first vowel): btaftqri, byōtqelo.

INFLECTION OF Ṭtāqal ‘to work’

--- | --- | --- | ---
3m Ṭtāqal | byōṭqel | yōṭqel | ‘he’
f Ṭtāqel | byōṭqel | yōṭqel | ‘she’
pl Ṭtāqalu | byōṭqelu | yōṭqelu | ‘they’
2m Ṭtāqal(t*)t | byōṭqel | yōṭqel | Ṭtāqal | ‘you’
f Ṭtāqelti | byōṭqelti | yōṭqelti | Ṭṭqelti | ‘you’
pl Ṭtāqeltu | byōṭqeltu | yōṭqeltu | Ṭṭqeltu | ‘you’
1sg Ṭtāqal(t*)t | byōṭqel | yōṭqel | ‘I’
pl Ṭtāqelna | mnōṭqel | nōṭqel | ‘we’

Participles: Act. mōṭqel, Pass. mōṭqel; Gerund: ṭōṭqel
**Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:**

- **ttafan**, bayštēfē 'to agree'  ḥṭaṣaf, ḥyṣṣēfē 'to be characterized'
- ḥṭaṣal, ḥyṣṣēpel 'to be in ttaxas, ḥyṣṣēxes 'to undertake' touch with'
- ṭtāsam, ḥyṣṣēsem 'to be ṭtakal, ḥyṣṣēkel 'to depend, rely' branded'

An initial radical w or ʔ is assimilated to the infix t (or f), producing tt- (or ff-) Pattern ṭtācal with Root w-s-m gives ṭtāsam; Pattern ṭtācal with Root ʔ-x-ʔ (ʔ-x-d) gives ttaxas.

**INFLection of ttafat 'to agree'**

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<tbody>
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<td>ṭtāfān</td>
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<td>ṭtāfēt</td>
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<td>'she'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>'they'</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
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<td>ḥνtāṣṣēfē</td>
<td>ṭāṣṣēfē</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ṭāṣṣēfē, Pass. ṭāṣṣēfā (ṭalā); Gerund: ṭāṣṣēfē

**Defective Verbs. Examples:**

- ẓtara, byṣṭōri 'to buy'  ṭtana, byṣṭōni 'to take care of'
- ṭtāfa, byḥṣēfē 'to be satisfied' dāṣṣa, byḥṣēdē 'to pretend'

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first stem vowel a in the imperfect is lost and the accent shifted to the prefix: byṣṭōrī, byṣṭōfī.
### INFLECTION OF mtālā 'to be filled'

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</thead>
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<td>3m mtālā</td>
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<td>ʔontālā (ʔontālī)</td>
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<td>nmtalā (nmtalī)</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: mntālī; Gerund: ṭontilā

### INFLECTION OF rtāḥ 'to rest, relax'

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</thead>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mrtāḥ; Gerund: ṭartiyāḥ

### Geminate Verbs. Examples:

- mtadd, bymtadd 'to extend' (intrans.)
- ṭfarr, byṭfarr 'to be obliged, required'
- ṭstāʔ, byṭstāʔ 'to be derived'

### Hollow Verbs. Examples:

- ḫṭāl, byḫṭāl 'to use deceit'
- ḫṭāḥ, byḫṭāḥ 'to need'
- rtāḥ, byrtāḥ 'to rest, relax'
- ṣdād, byṣdād 'to increase' (intrans.)

---

1Some speakers distinguish between a mediopassive mntālī '(having gotten) full' and true passive mntālā '(having been) filled'.
Derivational Types: Many Pattern VIII verbs are passives [234] of simple active verbs:

- *mtasa* ‘to be forgotten’ → *nas* ‘to forget’
- *ltaha* ‘to be distracted, entertained’ → *lah* ‘to distract, entertain’
- *xtana*‘ to choke’ (intr.) → *xana* ‘to choke’ (trans.)

In Pattern VIII mediopassives are much more common than true passives: *šagāl* ‘to work’ (cf. *šāgal* ‘to occupy, to busy’); *mashaf* ‘to enjoy one’s self’ (cf. *bašaf* ‘to please’). See p. 234.

Some Pattern VIII verbs are abstractive [p. 252] with respect to simple concrete verbs:

- *ktasa* ‘to discover’ → *kašaf* ‘to uncover, reveal’
- *hastu* ‘to include, contain’ → *hama* ‘to contain, keep’ (Cala)
- *mīasa* ‘to absorb’ → *mās* ‘to suck’

Some are abstract denominatives:

- *ṣtād* ‘to become habituated’ → *ṣāde* ‘habit’
- *ṣtarah* ‘to associate’ → *ṣarke* ‘association’
- *ḥtal* ‘to be deceitful’ → *ḥile* ‘trick, deceit’
- *ṣfarr* ‘to be required, obliged’ → *ḍarūra* ‘necessity’

A fairly high proportion of Pattern VIII verbs are not functionally derivable from any underlying word (or are at least highly idiomatic in their derivation): *rtakab* ‘to commit (e.g. a crime)’, cf. *rakab* ‘to ride’; *ṭtaraq* ‘to show, display’, *ṣtarr* ‘to chew a cud’, cf. *ṣarr* ‘to pull’.

Voicing of the *ṭ*- Formative

The infix *ṭ-* is changed to *d-* after an initial radical *z* or *d*:

- *zdād* ‘to increase’
  (intr.) → Root *z-m-d*
- *zdara* ‘to scorn’
  Root *z-r-y* (Gerund *ẓaḍirāp*)
- *ddāča* ‘to claim, pretend’
  Root *d-ḥ-m* (cf. participial noun *muḍḍāci* ‘claimant’)

In the vicinity of a velarized root consonant, it is automatically velarized to *ṣ*: *ṣād* ‘to hunt’. An initial radical voiced obstruent other than *z* or *d* is often devoiced before *ṭ-* [p. 26]: *ṣamaq* ‘to meet’;

Root *z-m-c*, *ṣfarr* ‘to be required’; Root *d-r-r.*

**PATTERN IX:** *ṣeall, byaṣeall*

Pattern IX is augmented with respect to other patterns by lengthening of the final radical.

The only examples found are:

- *byaṣd*, *byaṣyaṣd* ‘to become white’
- *ṣuṣd*, *byaṣuṣd* ‘to become black’
- *ḥmar*, *byaḥmar* ‘to become red’
- *ṣgarr*, *byaṣgarr* ‘to become green’
- *ṣfarr*, *byaṣfarr* ‘to become yellow’
- *ṣraa?*, *byaṣraa?* ‘to become blue’
- *ṣmar*, *byaṣmar* ‘to tan, darken’
- *ṣṣarr*, *byaṣṣarr* ‘to become blond’
- *ṣmaṣṣa*, *byaṣmaṣṣa* ‘to become bent’

**Inflection of ḥmar ‘to become red, blush’**

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<tr>
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<td>ṭaḥmarru</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
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<td>maḥmarr</td>
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<td>‘we’</td>
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</table>

Participle: maḥmar; Gerund *ẓaḥmirar*

**Grammatical Characteristics.** All Pattern IX’s are inchoative [p. 250] derivatives of Pattern *ṣeall* adjectives [130]. All but one (*ṣmaṣṣa*) are from color adjectives.

- *byaṣd* ‘to become white’ → *ḥyad* ‘white’
- *ṣraa?* ‘to become blue’ → *ḥaṣra?* ‘blue’
- *ṣmaṣṣa* ‘to become bent’ → *ḥaṣṣa* ‘bent’
Pattern X is augmented with respect to Pattern I by prefixation of a formative st(a)–. The pattern vowels are a...a (pf.), a...e (impf.).

Sound Verbs. Examples:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stafham</td>
<td>to enquire</td>
<td>stabsan</td>
<td>to prefer</td>
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<tr>
<td>byostafhem</td>
<td></td>
<td>byostabsen</td>
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<tr>
<td>stasmar</td>
<td>to exploit</td>
<td>stastacab</td>
<td>to find difficult</td>
<td>byostasem</td>
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<td>byostasmer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>stawrad</td>
<td>to import</td>
<td>statyab</td>
<td>to find tasty</td>
<td>byostafyeb</td>
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<tr>
<td>byostawred</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sound verbs of this pattern include some with medial radical w and y: stawahab 'to question' (cf. hollow stawahab 'to grant'). Occasionally, one also hears a Pattern X verb with second and third radicals alike formed on the sound pattern (stasfof 'to treat lightly') instead of the usual geminate (stasff) [p.105]

INLECTION OF stawahab 'to welcome'

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>'they'</td>
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<td>yostawahabti</td>
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<td>yostawahab(2)t</td>
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<td>byostawahabna</td>
<td>yostawahabna</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mostahhab, Pass. mostahhab; Gerund: 'ostahhab

Defective Verbs. Examples:

stahla, byostahli 'to like' stakra, byostakri 'to rent, hire'
stasa, byostasni 'to exclude' stasma, byostasmi 'to take over'
stasfa, byostasfi 'to resign' starga, byostargi 'to make an apology'
stasma, byosta'mi 'to take heart' stahla, byostahli 'to consider expensive'

Initial or medial radical w does not fluctuate in defective verbs of this pattern, but for medial y, see p.

INLECTION OF stahla 'to like'

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<td>'we'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. mastahli
Hollow Verbs. Examples:

stašär, byostašir 'to consult'
staqāl, byostaqāla 'to resign'
stašāb, byostašib 'to grant'
stašāb, byostašib (a)šēb
stašāš, byostaša 'to be able'
stašād, byostašad 'to benefit'
stašād, byostašad 'to rest'
stašām, byostašam 'to ask for help'
stašād, byostašad 'to get back'

The occurrence of the formative vowel a in the imperfect is partly a matter of style; it is more elegant to pronounce e.g. byostašib, while byostašib is more informal. Therefore only words which are themselves elegant or formal vocabulary items will be consistently pronounced with the a: byostašīc.

Note that not all Pattern X verbs with medial radical semivowel are hollow: compare stašāb 'to grant' with the sound verb stašāmab 'to question', both of which have the root ș-m-b.

INFLECTION OF stašāb 'to relax' (unstable a)

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<td>'we'</td>
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</table>

Participle: mastešāb; Gerund mastešāb

Participles: Act. mastešār, Pass. mastešār; Gerund mastešāra

Note that in the first and second persons of the perfect, the last stem vowel remains °a if the first stem vowel (a) is kept, but is usually changed to o if the first stem vowel is dropped (see conjugation of stašāb, above).

Geminante Verbs. Examples:

staqadd, byostaqadd 'to get back' staqābab, byostaqābab 'to like'
staqadd, byostaqadd 'to be able'
staqadd, byostaqadd 'to benefit'
staqadd, byostaqadd 'to rest'
staqadd, byostaqadd 'to ask for help'
staqadd, byostaqadd 'to get back'

INFLECTION OF staqadd 'to take back'

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Participle: masteqadd; Gerund masteqadd
Initial-weak verb: stāhal 'to deserve'

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Participles: Act. mastāhel, Pass. mastāhal

stāhal is the only initial-weak Pattern X verb found. The formative stā- combines with the first radical of to produce stā-. (Compare the sound verb sta'zan, byysta'zen 'to ask permission'.)

Hollow-defective verb: staḥa, byostaḥi 'to be embarrassed'

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>staḥu</td>
<td>byostaḥu</td>
<td>yostaḥu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>staḥīt</td>
<td>btostaḥī</td>
<td>tostaḥī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>staḥēti</td>
<td>btostaḥī</td>
<td>tostaḥī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>staḥētu</td>
<td>btostaḥū</td>
<td>tostaḥū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>staḥēt</td>
<td>bstostaḥi</td>
<td>yostaḥi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>staḥēna</td>
<td>mnostaḥi</td>
<td>nostaḥi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mastaḥi; Gerund: "ostaḥyā" stāḥa (Root b-y-y, cf. āyā 'bashful') is the only Hollow-defective Pattern X verb found. Both radical semivowels disappear in all inflections. The forms are like those of Pattern VIII defective verbs, but staḥa cannot be classified as Pattern VIII; that would imply its root was s-h-y.

Another pseudo-Pattern VIII verb is adal 'to conclude, gather' (Root d-l-l, cf. dall 'to indicate'). The formative is reduced from sta- to st-, but the combination sid cannot stand intact and is reduced to ad-. Compare the regularly formed doublet stadal to 'find the way'. (adall, byyadall is conjugated like Pattern VIII verbs [p. 99].)

Derivational Types: Many Pattern X verbs are estimative [p. 244]:

staḥrab 'to be surprised at, to consider strange' — ḡarīb 'strange'
staḥrab 'to find difficult' — saeb 'difficult'
staḥa 'to like, find nice' — ḥālu 'nice, pretty'

Many are eductive [244]:

staḥfar 'to ask (God's) forgiveness' — ḡfar 'to forgive'
staḥadd 'to get (something) back' — radd 'to give back'
staḥmab 'to question' — āmab 'to answer'
staḥbar 'to rent, hire' — ḥabar 'to rent, hire out'
staḥbar 'to enquire, get information' — xabar 'news, information'

ANOMALOUS FORMS

Patterns V and X mixed: stimanna 'to wish'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>stimanna</td>
<td>byystimanna</td>
<td>yostimanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>stimanna</td>
<td>btostimanna</td>
<td>tostimanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>stimanna</td>
<td>byystimanna</td>
<td>yostimanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>stimannet</td>
<td>btostimanna</td>
<td>tostimanna</td>
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<td>stimannet</td>
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<td>tostimanna</td>
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<td>yostimanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>stimannena</td>
<td>mnostimanna</td>
<td>nostimanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mastimanna, Pass. mastimanna
These forms are often replaced by the straight Pattern V forms: ūmāna, baytāmūna.

Patterns V and X Mixed, Initial-weak: stāna 'to wait'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>stānā</td>
<td>byōstānā</td>
<td>yastānā</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>stāmēt</td>
<td>bstāmēnā</td>
<td>tāstānā</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>stānētu</td>
<td>byōstānū</td>
<td>yastānū</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>stāmēt</td>
<td>bstāmēnā</td>
<td>tāstānā</td>
<td>stānā</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
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<td>stānī</td>
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<tr>
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<td>stāmētu</td>
<td>bstāmēnū</td>
<td>tāstānū</td>
<td>stānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>stāmēt</td>
<td>bstāmēn</td>
<td>?astānā</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>stāmēna</td>
<td>mnastānā</td>
<td>nastānā</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. maštānna, Pass. maštānna

A theoretical initial radical is lost in all inflections.

Patterns III and X Mixed, with loss of –t–: snāmēl 'to catch'

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>snāmēl</td>
<td>byōsnāmēl</td>
<td>yasnāmēl</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>snāmēlet</td>
<td>bstānāmēl</td>
<td>tāsnāmēl</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>snāmēlu</td>
<td>byōsnāmēlu</td>
<td>yasnāmēlu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>snāmēl(t)</td>
<td>bstānāmēl</td>
<td>tāsnāmēl</td>
<td>snāmēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>snāmēlti</td>
<td>bstānāmēli</td>
<td>tāsnāmēli</td>
<td>snāmēli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>snāmēltu</td>
<td>bstānāmēlū</td>
<td>tāsnāmēlū</td>
<td>snāmēlū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>snāmēl(t)</td>
<td>bstānāmēl</td>
<td>?asnāmēl</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>snāmēna</td>
<td>mnasnāmēl</td>
<td>nasnāmēl</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. māsnāmēl

The form with –t– is also sometimes heard: stāmēl, byōstāmēl.

---

**Pseudo-Quadrilateral Verbs**

Syrian Arabic has a number of triradical verb patterns that are used little or not at all in Classical Arabic and consequently have no traditional classification (or numerical labels). These patterns, described in the sections that follow, are PaCaL, PaCaM, PaCaL, PaCaL, PaCaL, PaCaL, and PaCaL (with stable - that is, not the same as Pattern IV on page 82). Each of these except PaCaL is paralleled by a pattern with the t-formative [85] PaCaL, PaCaM, etc.

Besides these there are some very rare patterns, for example FaCaL (as in faCaM, biFaCami 'to feed'), and some geographically limited patterns like the Lebanese PaCaL (as in faylaC 'to take up, out'; elsewhere falsaC or falsaC).

Verbs with any of these patterns fall into the same form-types (and conjunctival types) as quadriradicals. That is to say, their characteristic formatives are not distinguishable from an extra radical on the basis of form alone—hence they have sometimes been loosely classified with the true quadriradicals as examples of Pattern PaCaL (or tPaCaL) [p.117].

They differ from true quadriradicals in that they are derived (as regular functions of the given formatives [p.47]) from triradical words. For instance the verb madād 'to stretch, extend' is an augmentative (253) of the simple triradical verb mudd (same translation); therefore it has the root m–d–d and the pattern PaCaL [111]. By way of contrast the verb dādam 'to mutter, grumble' is not related to any word with the

1Patterns are of course always defined relative to roots [p.36]. None of the augmented verb patterns can always be identified on the basis of wordforms alone: for instance PaCaL 'to move, be transferred' might be thought to have Pattern PaCaL and Root t––l, only by knowing that its root is actually m–l may one deduce that its pattern is definitely PaCaL.

The term 'quadriradical' (or 'quadrilateral'), however, has often been extended to encompass not only bases that have quadrilateral roots, but also many triliteral-root bases that are similar in form to the true quadriradicals. This classification is invalid, not only because it is a contradiction in terms to use 'quadriradical' (or 'quadrilateral') without reference to roots, but also because it is inconsistent to call all words formed on Pattern PaCaL, for instance, 'quadriradical' while classifying Pattern PaCaL words as triradical. (The class of bases represented jointly by the formulae CyCX(C) and CyCXC(C) cannot exclude triradical patterns II and III except by ad hoc stipulations to that effect, which would covertly introduce derivational criteria into a supposedly formal base classification.)
root -d-m-m and is therefore relegated to the quadrilateral root -d-m-d-m and the pattern FaCfaL.  

THE REDUPLICATION PATTERN  

FaFaL, bFaFaL  
tFaFaL, bytFaFaL

Reduplication verbs are augmented with respect to simple verbs by a repetition of the first radical immediately after the second.

Sound Verbs, with Middle and Last Radicals Different.  Examples:

farfa'b, bifarfeb 'to rejoice'  
farfa's, bifarfe's 'to clatter'

SOUND VERBS, WITH MIDDLE AND LAST RADICALS ALIKE.  Examples:

laflaf, bilalafe 'to wrap up'  
laflas, bilas 'to smell, sniff'

fafsaf, bifafs 'to crumble'  
madmad, bimadmad 'to extend, stretch'

SOUND VERBS, WITH MIDDLE AND LAST RADICALS ALIKE.  Examples:

laflaf, bilalafe 'to wrap up'  
laflas, bilas 'to smell, sniff'

fafsaf, bifafs 'to crumble'  
madmad, bimadmad 'to extend, stretch'

With gminating roots, the reduplicative infix comes between the like radicals, resulting in a repeated sequence of two consonants.  Verbs of this form are quite common.

INFLATION OF laflaf 'to wrap up'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>laflaf</td>
<td>bilalafe</td>
<td>ydlaf</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>laflafet</td>
<td>bolalafe</td>
<td>tdalaf</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>laflafu</td>
<td>bilolafe</td>
<td>ydlolaf</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>laflaf(*)</td>
<td>bilalafe</td>
<td>tdlaf</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>laflatif</td>
<td>bolatif</td>
<td>tdalatif</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>laflatifu</td>
<td>bolatifu</td>
<td>tdlatifu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>laflaf(*)</td>
<td>bilalef</td>
<td>tdlaf</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>laflafna</td>
<td>monlalef</td>
<td>ndlaf</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. midlaf, Pass. midlaf; Gerund: lafla

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

lsolah, bilolah 'to wave'

fsafah, bilfsaf 'to toss'

mssah, bilssah 'to decorate'

The first pattern vowel a fuses with the middle radical m, leaving ə between the initial radical and its duplicate.  Verbs of this form are rare.  (No hollow reduplicatives are found with medial radical y.)
### Inflection of ِلوُلَحَ ‘to wave’

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>3m</td>
<td>ِلوُلَحَ</td>
<td>ِبلوُلَحَ</td>
<td>ِيُلوُلَحَ</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ِلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِبلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِيُلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ِلوُلَحُ</td>
<td>ِبلوُلَحُ</td>
<td>ِيُلوُلَحُ</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ِلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِبلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِيُلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ِلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِبلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِيُلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ِلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِبلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>ِيُلوُلَحْتَ</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1sg ِلوُلَحْتَ ‘I’

pl ِلوُلَحْتَ ‘we’

Participles: Act. ِلوُلَحَ, Pass. ِلوُلَحَ; Gerund: ِلوُلَحَ

### Reduplicative Verbs with ِتْ Formative. Examples:

- ِتَفِرْفَدَ, ِبَيْتَفِرْفَدَ ‘to be set apart’
- ِتَلْفَيِسَ, ِبَيْتَلْفَيِسَ ‘to be wrapped up’
- ِضَفُفُتَ, ِبَيْضَفُفُتَ ‘to be tossed in the air’

### Derivation.

Almost all reduplicative verbs are augmentative [253]:

- ِفرَفُح ‘to rejoice’ — ِفرَفُح (same translation)
- ِلَفِيِسَ ‘to wrap up’ — ِلَفَ ‘to turn; to wrap’
- ِبَلْهَ ‘to untie, undo’ — ِبَلَ ‘to untie; to solve’
- ِلَوُلَح ‘to wave’ — ِلَوُ ‘(some translation)

The alliterative effect of reduplication seems to have a certain symbolic value, often connoting vividness, emphasis, or repetitiveness — hence the aptness of this pattern to express the augmentative derivation.

Some reduplicatives have no underlying simple verb, but may be correlated with a more or less synonymous Pattern II verb, or derived from a simple noun:

- ِأَوَسَ ‘to decorate’: cf. ِأَوَسَ ‘taste’

Verbs that are reduplicative in form but which are not functionally related to triliteral-root words are classified as true quadriradical [117].

### Other Infixing Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>ِبِتْأَوَلَمَ</th>
<th>ِبِسْتَأَوَلَمَ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FÁC *</td>
<td>FÁC *</td>
<td>FÁC *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FÉGAL</td>
<td>FÉGAL</td>
<td>FÉGAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FÁC *</td>
<td>FÁC *</td>
<td>FÁC *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of these patterns are augmented with respect to simple verbs by an infix ِتْ immediately after the middle radical, or by ِمْ or ِمُ (أْ + مَ + ِمُ) immediately before the middle radical. Examples:

#### Patterns FÁC* and FÉGAL:

- ِباَحَم، ِبِأَحَمَ ‘to perforate’ — ِتَبَاحَم، ‘to be perforated’
- ِباَحَم، ِبِأَحَمَ ‘to trample’ — ِدَدَحَم، ‘to be trampled’
- ِتَفَأَحَرَ ‘to wring out’ — ِتَفَأَحَرَ ‘to be wrung out’

#### Patterns FÉGAL and FÁC*:

- ِبَدَرَم، ِبَيْبَدَرَمَ ‘to wind’ — ِتَبَدَرَم، ‘to be wound’
- ِبَدَرَم، ِبَيْبَدَرَمَ ‘to pick up’ — ِتَبَدَرَم، ‘to be picked up’
- ِبَدَرَم، ِبَيْبَدَرَمَ ‘to tow, pull’ — ِتَبَدَرَم، ‘to be towed, pulled’
- ِبَدَرَم، ِبَيْبَدَرَمَ ‘to move around’
- ِبَدَرَم، ِبَيْبَدَرَمَ ‘to cheat (in games)’
- ِبَدَرَم، ِبَيْبَدَرَمَ ‘to have the hicups’
Patterns Farāl and tFarāl:

harbaš, 'to slash' ........... tharbaš, 'to be shashed'
bīharbaš, bystharaš

šarbak, 'to complicate' ....... tšarbak, 'to be complicated'
bīšarbek, byšarbek

xarmaš, 'to scratch' .......... txarmaš, 'to be scratched'
bīxarmaš, byxtarmaš

far*ac, bifar*ac 'to set off (fireworks)'
korfat, bikorfet 'to curse'
tčarbaš, bystčaraš 'to cling (in panic)'

Verbs of all these patterns are inflected like true quadriradicals [pp.118-119].

Derivation.

Most of these verbs are augmentatives [p.253]:

dacnas 'to trample' .......... dacas 'to tread on; run over'

naswas 'to jump about' .......... napš 'to jump'

ḥasā 'to have hicups' .......... ḥasā 'to hiccup'

leča 'to pick up' (.frequentative)

karfet 'to curse' (.frequentative)

xarmaš 'to scratch' .......... xamnas 'to scratch'

tčarbaš 'to cling (in panic)' .......... tčabas 'to grasp'

Some are more or less synonymous with Pattern II verbs, but have no underlying simple verbs:

xarṣaš 'to scribble' (cf. xasfaš)
fōxar 'to decay, rot' (cf. faxxar)
şōfar 'to whistle' (cf. şafar)
šāhar 'to blacken, smoke' (cf. ĉahar)

Some w-formative verbs are applicative [256] or similarly denominative:

sarmaš 'to saddle' .......... saraš 'saddle'
xasfar 'to endanger' .......... xasfar 'danger'
bīšal, ... 'to cheat' .......... bīšal 'cheating'
bərād 'to cool off' .......... bəɾd 'cold' (abst. noun)
taxašma 'to rough it' .......... xasən 'rough'

Verbs which appear to have these patterns, but which are not derivable from some triliteral-root word by the addition of a verb-formative w or r, are classified as true quadriradicals. [117]

THE n SUFFIX PATTERN

FaLaš, biFaLaš tFaLaš, bystFaLaš

Verbs of this pattern are augmented with respect to other patterns by suffixation of a formative n. Examples:

safran, 'to make...faint' .......... fafran, 'to feel faint'

bişafren bystfafran

ḥalman, 'to sweeten' .......... twalmān 'to be childish'

biḥalmen bysttwalmān

tīšan, 'to be stubborn' .......... twišan, 'to get rough'

bitišen bystwitišen

sǎdan, 'to depress' .......... tsǎdan, 'to be depressed'

bisišen bysttsišen

For inflection, cf. True Quadriradicals [p.118].

Derivation:

Verbs of Pattern FaLaš and tFaLaš are mainly derived from nouns or adjectives. Those without the t formative are usually causative [240] or ascriptive [243]:

ḥalman 'to sweeten' .......... ḥalum 'sweet'

(specific)

safran 'to make...faint' .......... ʔafar 'yellow, pale'

(specific)

sǎdan 'to depress' .......... ʔsəm 'black'

(specific)

ḥamran 'to consider stupid' .......... ĉhmār 'donkey, stupid'

(specific)
Note, however, the verb ُتَسَّام 'to be stubborn', which is an idiomatic simulative from ُتَسِّم 'billy-goat'. (One would expect a ُ- formative: 'ُتَسَّام'.)

Those with the ُ formative are mainly simulatives [249], or passives of ِفاَلُج verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{تَوَّالِدُن} & \quad \text{to act childish (simul.)} & \quad \text{تَوَالِدُن} & \quad \text{child} \\
\text{تَمَّحَّسُن} & \quad \text{to act rough (simul.)} & \quad \text{تَمَّحَّسُن} & \quad \text{wild beast} \\
\text{تَحَمَّرُن} & \quad \text{to act stupid (simul.)} & \quad \text{تَحَمَّرُن} & \quad \text{donkey, stupid} \\
\text{تُسَّدُن} & \quad \text{to be depressed (pass.)} & \quad \text{تُسَّدُن} & \quad \text{to depress}
\end{align*}
\]

Miscellaneous derivations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{رُهَّان} & \quad \text{'to revive' (trans.)} & \quad \text{رُهَّان} & \quad \text{'spirit'} \\
\text{تَشَّحَّن} & \quad \text{to crave} & \quad \text{تَشَّحَّن} & \quad \text{craving, desire} \\
\text{تَفَّلَّن} & \quad \text{to eat fruit (applicative)} & \quad \text{تَفَّلَّن} & \quad \text{fruit} \\
\text{تَفَّلَّن} & \quad \text{to be 'stuck up'} & \quad \text{تَفَّلَّن} & \quad \text{considering one's hālo... self (important)'}
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs which appear to have these patterns, but which are not derivable from other words by the addition of a verb-formative ُ, are classified as true quadriradical [117].

**THE ُ PREFIX PATTERN**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{باَفََلُج}, & \quad \text{بَاِفاَلُج}
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs of this pattern are augmented with respect to other patterns by a formative prefix ُ, which remains in all inflections. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{تُسَّامَلُ,} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ}
\end{align*}
\]

Some verbs of this pattern are variants of Pattern IV verbs: cf. تُسَّابَحُ, باَسَيْلِم: تُسَّامَلُ, باَسَيْلِم. Pseudo-quadriradical Pattern ُفاَلُج is rare.

**INFLECTION OF ُتَسَّامَلُ 'to become a Muslim'**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>تُسَّامَلُ</td>
<td>بِتاَسَيْلِمُ</td>
<td>يَسَيْلِمُ</td>
<td>ُهُنَّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>تُسَّامَلِتُ</td>
<td>بِتُسَيْلِمُ</td>
<td>تُسَيْلِمُ</td>
<td>ُسَيْلِمُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>تُسَّامَلُ</td>
<td>بِتُسَيْلِمُ</td>
<td>يَسَيْلِمُ</td>
<td>ُهُنَّ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these verbs are inchoatives [250], derived from adjectives of the pattern ِفاَلُج [133]:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{تُسَّامَلُ 'to become a Muslim'} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ 'Muslim'} \\
\text{تُسَّامَلُ 'to leave out'} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ 'in leaf, leafy'} \\
\text{تُسَّامَلُ 'to bloom'} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ 'blooming, flowering'} \\
\text{تُسَّامَلُ 'to get dark'} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ 'dark'} \\
\text{تُسَّامَلُ 'to go bankrupt'} & \quad \text{باَسَيْلِمُ 'bankrupt'}
\end{align*}
\]

Adjectives of the ِفاَلُج pattern are sometimes participles of Pattern IV verbs, but they cannot be considered participles of this pseudo-quadriradical pattern, since they contrast with the quadriradical-type participles: ُمسَأَلُ 'having become a Muslim', ُمَسَأَلُ 'having become dark', etc.

**THE SIMPLE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERN**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{باَلُج}, & \quad \text{باَلُج}
\end{align*}
\]

True quadriradical verbs are those which actually have four radicals, as distinct from pseudo-quadriradicals [109], which have three radicals plus an affix that is indistinguishable from a radical in form.

1The traditional pattern formulas misleadingly use ل (َلاَم) for the fourth as well as the third radical, but it is to be understood that the last two radicals are usually different.
Sound Verbs. Examples:

taršam, bitaršem 'to translate'  
dāhrāš, bidāhrēš 'to roll'  
(trans.)

bārsal, bivaršel 'to bribe'  
barkan, bibarken 'to prove'  
dandam, bidandem 'to mumble'  
harwal, biharwel 'to hurry'  
(intrans.)

baxšāš, bibaxšēš 'to tip'  
xatyar, bidatyer 'to age'  
(intrans.)

**INFLECTION OF taršam 'to translate'**

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>bitāršem</td>
<td>ytdāršem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tāršamet</td>
<td>bttāršem</td>
<td>tdāršem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tāršamu</td>
<td>bttāršu</td>
<td>ytdāršu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>taršām(ə)t</td>
<td>bttāršem</td>
<td>tdāršem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>taršāmīti</td>
<td>bttārši</td>
<td>tdārši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>taršāmu</td>
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<td>tdāršu</td>
</tr>
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<td>btāršem</td>
<td>tdāršem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>taršāma</td>
<td>mantāršem</td>
<td>ndtāršem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mtaršem, Pass. mtaršam; Gerund taršame

When the third and fourth radicals are alike, they do not geminate when -i or -u are suffixed in the imperfect, but are kept apart by ə:

**INFLECTION OF baxšāš 'to tip'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>bāxšēšu</td>
<td>bibraxšēšu</td>
<td>ybdāxšēšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>baxšād(ə)t</td>
<td>btbbraxšēš</td>
<td>tbdāxšēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>baxšāsti</td>
<td>btbbraxšēti</td>
<td>tbdāxšēti</td>
</tr>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>baxšāstu</td>
<td>btbbraxšēt</td>
<td>tbdāxšēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>baxšād(ə)t</td>
<td>bbdaxšēš</td>
<td>bdaxšēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>baxšāna</td>
<td>mendaxšēš</td>
<td>ndaxšēš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mbaxšēš, Pass. mbaxšēš; Gerund: baxšēše

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

bādar, bibāder 'to powder'  
bdān, bidān 'to regulate'  
(by rules)

dāsān, bidāsān 'to tune'  
hālam, bihālēm 'to bluff'

sēgar, bisēgōr 'to insure'  
ndāsān, binūsān 'to aim at'

The first pattern vowel fuses with the second radical w or y to produce ə or ə respectively. (This fusion does not take place in most Lebanese dialects, however, and the verbs remain sound: dāsān for dāsān, nūsān for nūsān, etc.)

**INFLECTION OF sēgar 'to insure'**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>sēgar</td>
<td>bisēgōr</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>sēgaret</td>
<td>btsēgōr</td>
<td>tsēgōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sēgaru</td>
<td>btsēgōru</td>
<td>ysēgōru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>sēgār(ə)t</td>
<td>btsēgōr</td>
<td>tsēgōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>sēgārti</td>
<td>btsēgōri</td>
<td>tsēgōri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>btsēgōru</td>
<td>tsēgōru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>sēgār(ə)t</td>
<td>btsēgōr</td>
<td>tsēgōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sēgāra</td>
<td>mntsēgōr</td>
<td>nsēgōr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. msēgōr, Pass. msēgar; Gerund: sēgara

**INFLECTION OF ndāsān 'to aim'**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>binnēśen</td>
<td>yndēśen</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>ndāsānet</td>
<td>bntnēśen</td>
<td>tnēśen</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ndāsānu</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ndāsān(ə)t</td>
<td>bntnēśen</td>
<td>tnēśen</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ndāsānti</td>
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<td>tnēśi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ndāsāntu</td>
<td>bntnēśu</td>
<td>tnēśu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ndāsān(ə)t</td>
<td>bntnēśen</td>
<td>ndēśen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ndāsāna</td>
<td>mntsēnēśen</td>
<td>mndēnēśen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mnēśen, Pass. mnēsān; Gerund: mnēsānē
Defective Verbs. There are very few examples to be found:

- farāš, bifarāšī 'to brush'
- ?arāš, bifarāšī 'to show'
- marāš, bimarāšī 'to show'

Besides the forms marāš 'to show', there is also farāš (same meaning). The latter, however, is formed on the rare pseudo-quadrilateral pattern FaCla: Compare farraš 'to show around' (and passive tfarraš 'to look around'); fačma, bifachmi 'to feed' (Root f-č-m).

**INFLECTION OF farāš 'to brush'**

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>fārāša</td>
<td>bifārāši</td>
<td>yfārāši</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fārāšet</td>
<td>bifārāši</td>
<td>tfārāši</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>fārāšu</td>
<td>bifārāšu</td>
<td>yfārāšu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>bifarāši</td>
<td>tfārāši</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
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<td>farāšti</td>
<td>bifarāši</td>
<td>tfārāši</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>farāštu</td>
<td>bifarāšu</td>
<td>tfārāšu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>farāšet</td>
<td>bifarāši</td>
<td>tfarāši</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>farāšena</td>
<td>manfarāši</td>
<td>nfarāši</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mfarāši, Pass. mfarāša

Hollow-Defective Verbs. The few examples found include:

- bōya, bībōyi 'to polish'
- gōsa, bīgōpi 'to squeak'

**INFLECTION OF bōya 'to polish'**

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<tbody>
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<td>bībōyi</td>
<td>tbōyi</td>
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<td>ybōyu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>bōyet</td>
<td>bībōyi</td>
<td>tbōyi</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>bōyeti</td>
<td>bībōyi</td>
<td>tbōyi</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>bōyetu</td>
<td>bībōyu</td>
<td>tbōyu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>bōyena</td>
<td>mnbōyi</td>
<td>nbōyi</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mbōyi, Pass. mbōya

Augmented Quadrilateral Verbs are applicable [256], derived from words of four or more radicals:

- baxšād 'to tip' — baxšīd 'tip, handout'
- bharān 'to prove' — bharān 'proof'
- talifān 'to telephone' — talifān 'telephone'
- ?ānūn 'to regulate(by rules)' — ?ānūn 'rule, law'
- bāsmal 'to say "basmallāh..."' — b-asm-ālāh 'In the name of God...'
- bōya 'to polish' — bōya 'polish'

Some are denominatives of other sorts: xatyar 'to age, grow old' (inchoative [250]) from ?xtxyār 'old man'

Augmented Quadrilateral Pattern: tFaClaL, byaťFaClaL

Sound Verbs. Examples:

- tbarhan, byaťbarhan 'to be proven'
- tmarkas, byaťmarkas 'to take position'
- ddāfraš, byaśddāfraš 'to roll'(intrans.)
- tτaršam, byaśtaršam 'to be translated'

**INFLECTION OF tmarkas 'to consolidate one's position, settle'**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>tmdrkas</td>
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<td>tsɔtmrkas</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
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<td>tmrdkanu</td>
<td>byaťmdrkani</td>
<td>yɔtmrkani</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2m | tmdrk(ɔ)t | bɔtmdrkas  | tsɔtmrkas    | tmdrkas | 'you'
| f  | tmdrkasti | bɔtmdrkasi | tsɔtmrkasi   | tmdrkasi | 'you'
| pl | tmdrkastu | bɔtmdrkani | tsɔtmrkani   | tmdrkani | 'you'
| 1sg| tmdrk(ɔ)t | bɔtmdrkas  | yɔtmrkas     | 'I'   |
| pl | tmdrkama  | mntmdrkas  | nɔtmrkas     | 'we'  |

Participles: Act. mntmarka, Pass. mntmarka (fi); (Gerund: markaš)
Defective Verbs:

**INFECTION OF tfarša 'to be brushed'**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
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<td>'he'</td>
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<td>bòtfărša</td>
<td>tòtfărša</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>yòtfăršu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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<td>nòtfărša</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: matfarši; Gerund: tfərši

Hollow Verbs:

**INFECTION OF tsōgar 'to be insured'**

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<td>yòtsōgar</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
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<td>nòtsōgar</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: matsōgar

**Derivational Types.** Most verbs of Pattern tfaLal are passives of simple quadriradicals:

- tbarhan ‘to be proven’
- dēn ‘to be in tune’
- tōgar ‘to be insured’

Some are simulative [249]:

- tōfaj ‘to be naughty’
- tōfaj ‘devil, naughty’
- ḥēm ‘animal’

Some are otherwise denominative: tmarkaz ‘to take up a position’ (from markaz ‘position’).

**PATTERN FelaLL**

Examples:

- ḫmaʔa, bʊya quale ‘to be revolted, sickened’
- ḫmaʔalil, bʊya quale ‘to fade away, die out’
- ḫmaʔann, bʊya quale ‘to be calm, feel secure’
- ḫačarr, bʊya quale ‘to shudder, have gooseflesh’

---

1 The n is a secondary radical; the original triliteral root is ḫ-y-y, whence ḥēm. 
### CHAPTER 4: ADJECTIVE PATTERNS

In this chapter the common base patterns [p. 36] for adjectives are exemplified, showing any alterations that are incurred with unstable roots [p. 41]. All adjectives are cited in the masculine/singular. The inflection of adjectives is described in Chapter 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>byʔmaʔæzæ</td>
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<td>byʔmaʔæzæi</td>
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<td>šmaʔæzæt</td>
<td>bəʔmaʔæzz</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>šmaʔæzæzna</td>
<td>məʔmaʔæzzu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. məʔmaʔæzz, Pass. məʔmaʔæzz (manno); Gerund: təʔmaʔæz

The verb ʔəʔa Ꞧarr may also be pronounced ʔəʔa Ꞧarr.

Verbs of Pattern ʕəʔall are all intransitive, but are not derived or related in any regular way to other words. Note, however, that əʔmaʔann is related to the triliteral root j-m- n, as in əʔmaṇn 'to calm, assuage, assure'.

### Index of Patterns

**TRIRADICAL:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FaeL</th>
<th>p. 126</th>
<th>FaetL</th>
<th>p. 129</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FaeL</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>FaetL</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaetL</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Augmented Participial Patterns:** pp. 134-136

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(II)</th>
<th>mFaetL</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>(III)</td>
<td>mFaetL</td>
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<td>(VII)</td>
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<td>(VIII)</td>
<td>mFaetL, mFaetL</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IX)</td>
<td>mFaetL, mFaetL</td>
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**QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS:** p. 136

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FaetL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FaetL</td>
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</table>
**Pattern FaEL**

**Sound:**
- bēsē ‘ugly’
- ḫēr ‘dangerous’
- raṣēb ‘moist, humid’
- šārē ‘airy, healthful’
- ūsē ‘hard, solid’
- desēm ‘nourishing’

**Geminate:** ḥarr ‘free’

**Defective:** ḥāls ‘sweet, pleasant, pretty’

The adjective ṣaxm ‘hot’ is exceptional in being formed on the pattern FaEL [141]. For those who do not distinguish in pronunciation between e and o (or i) in this position [13], there is of course no difference between the two patterns.

Some adjectives of this pattern are correlative to nouns of the FaEL or FaEL patterns: ḥēr ‘danger’, ṣē ‘dirty’, ṣuṣ ‘dirt, filth’, ḡēš ‘wild’; ṣwāṣ ‘wild beast’.

**Pattern FaEL**

**Sound:**
- ṣaṣ ‘difficult’
- ṣal ‘easy’

With last two radicals alike:
- faṣ ‘unripe’
- ḥāy ‘alive’
- māy ‘raw’

With final radical semivowel: ṭaṣ ‘loose, lax’

Adjectives with this typically nominal pattern [139] are not common.

**Pattern FEL**

**Sound:**
- ṭaṣ ‘clean’
- ḫēl ‘stingy’
- tēl ‘heavy’
- raṣ ‘cheap’
- ṣeṣ ‘small, young’
- ḫēl ‘much’

This pattern is not used with final (or medial?) radical semivowel, (for which see Pattern FaEL below).

Some adjectives of this pattern are correlative to descriptive verbs [251].

**Pattern FaIL**

**Sound:**
- ṭaṣ ‘easy, minor, simple’
- ṭaṣ ‘easy, minor, simple’
- ṭaṣ ‘happy, fortunate’
- ṭaṣ ‘light’
- ṭaṣ ‘long, tall’
- ṭaṣ ‘old’
- ṭaṣ ‘awful, marvelous’
- ṭaṣ ‘unique, only’

Adjectives with this typically nominal pattern [139] are not common.
Defective:  
- əzāki 'intelligent, bright'  
- əzāxi 'generous'  
- əzāri 'fresh'  
- əzāmi 'strong'

barī 'innocent' (or sound barī)

Some adjective of Pattern əzāIL are correlative to descriptive verbs [251]. A few contrast, as qualitative adjectives, with stative adjectives:  
-

fāhim '(naturally) understanding': cf. fāhmān, fāhem 'knowledgeable, having come to understand';  
-

bāzīn 'sad' (temperament): cf. bażīnān 'sad' (mood).  
-

bāzīr 'last, final': cf. bāxer 'last, latest'.

**PATTERN əzāeEL** (Variant of Pattern əzāIL)

-

šāyяд 'good, excellent'  
-

day'ay 'narrow, tight'  
-

māyyet 'dead'  
-

sāyye 'bad, unfortunate'

This pattern is a modification of Pattern əzāIL used with medical radical semivowels: -yye- in lieu of -yē-, and (sometimes) in lieu of -wē-.

**PATTERN əzāUL**

-

šāsūricular 'daring'  
-

māsad 'devoted, fond'  
-

māsūh 'sincere, loyal'  
-

māsadām 'solicitous, servile'  
-

māsadūh 'radiant, bright, smiling'  
-

māsūh 'ambitious'  
-

māsūh 'contented, temperate'

This pattern is not used (?) with final radical semivowel. As medial semivowel, y is lengthened: šayyūr 'jealous'.

Almost all adjectives of this pattern designate personal qualities or dispositions. Most of them are dispositional derivatives of simple verbs [277].

---

**PATTERN FaeeIL**

-

bāsīl 'bad'  
-

bāsīl 'in operation, working'  
-

bāsīl 'blotting, drying, absorbent'  
-

bāsīl 'floating, buoyant'

Defective:  
-

bākka 'weeper, cry-baby'  
-

bākka 'talkative'

Many adjectives of this pattern are dispositional [277]. Compare noun pattern FaeeIL [151].

**PATTERN FaeeIL**

-

lāmāč 'shiny'  
-

lāmāč 'shiny'  
-

lāmāč 'show-off'  
-

lāmāč 'timorous, cowardly'

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

Some adjectives are formed on a slightly different pattern, FaeeIL:  
-

FaeeIL (or FaeeIL) 'charging exorbitant prices'.

Pattern FaeeIL is used mainly in forming dispositional adjectives [277].
### Pattern Fa‘aL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fa‘al</th>
<th>Fa‘aL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'asfar ‘yellow’</td>
<td>ḏabkam ‘mute, dumb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaḥmar ‘red’</td>
<td>ḏaḥra‘ ḏeaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa‘rə ‘blue’</td>
<td>ḏa‘la‘ ḏald’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa‘dar ‘green’</td>
<td>ḏa‘mar ‘one-eyed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏayad ‘white’</td>
<td>ḏa‘ra‘ ḏale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏamud ‘black’</td>
<td>ḏa‘wa‘ ḏelt, crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏasmur ‘dark-complexioned’</td>
<td>ḏa‘rad ‘barren, bleak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa‘far ‘blind’</td>
<td>ḏa‘bal ‘dim-witted, feeble-minded’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏablə ‘piebald’</td>
<td>ḏabra‘ leprous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏadkam ‘black’ (horse)</td>
<td>ḏa‘ma‘ ‘stupid, foolish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏabra‘ ‘grey; albino’</td>
<td>ḏa‘far ‘crook, brigand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa‘hal ‘having dark grey eyes’</td>
<td>ḏa‘lab ‘unmarried’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Geminate:** ḏa‘amm ‘stone deaf’

**Defective:** ḏa‘ma ‘blind’

The Fa‘aL pattern is used 1.) for colors and 2.) for "defect" (mostly human lacks and imperfections). The pattern is completely changed in the feminine (Fa‘aLa) and plural (Fa‘eL, Fa‘eLа) — See Adjective Inflection [208]. For elatives, see Noun Pattern Fa‘aL [310].

The adjective ḏar‘al ‘widowed’ has the "defect" pattern in the masculine form, but the feminine ḏar‘a‘lə and the plural ḏar‘a‘mel are formed as from a quadriradical noun of the Fa‘aLa pattern [159].

---

1. The color-adjectives and defect-adjectives, to judge from their augmented pattern and from their categories of meaning, would seem to be derivatives. In fact, however, there are no underlying words to derive them from — certainly not in the case of color-adjectives. Defect-adjectives, though they are generally paronymous to simple verbs (e.g. ḏama ‘to blind’ and ḏam ‘to go blind’), are treated as underlying these verbs rather than as derivatives from them, since the verbs can be counted as inchoatives [250] and causatives [240], while the adjectives do not fit any otherwise established derivational category.

### Active Participles of Geminate Verbs

Active participles of geminate verbs have the sound pattern in Colloquial, not the geminate: ḏa‘ef ‘having put’ (not ḏa‘ayt). (In the feminine and plural, however, the sound becomes like the geminate: ḏa‘fe, ḏa‘fən [p. 258].)

Some geminate adjectives belonging theoretically to this pattern are usually (if not always) pronounced with a short a: ḏadd ‘sharp’. (See Pattern Fa‘eL [126].)

**Defective:**
- ḏa‘l ‘high’
- ḏa‘a‘ ‘remaining’
- ḏa‘a ‘empty, unoccupied’
- ḏa‘ ‘wide awake’

**Geminate:**
- ḏa‘a ‘odd, strange’
- ḏa‘amm ‘general, public’
- ḏa‘ar ‘hot’

See adjective inflection [204].

In Pattern Fa‘eL, medial radical w appears as y (xayef ‘afraid’, Root x-w-f), unless the final radical is also a semivowel, as in ḏaw ‘windy’ (Root h-w-y).

Many adjectives of Pattern Fa‘eL are active participles of simple verbs. [p. 258].
**PARTICIPIAL ADJECTIVES**

**PATTERN FaELän**

\begin{itemize}
  \item bafrân ‘wasteful’
  \item ḥafyân ‘barefoot’
  \item nacoln ‘sleepy’
  \item kaslân ‘lazy, loafing’
  \item maqyân ‘conscious’
  \item radyân ‘pleased, satisfied’
  \item mortân ‘heir, having inherited’
  \item talfän ‘worthless, ruined’
  \item maclân ‘displeased’
  \item yasân ‘in despair’
\end{itemize}

With medial radical semivowel: ṣûlân ‘hungry’ (Root Ꙑ-m-ᵳ)

With medial and final radical semivowels: ṭayyân ‘swampy, irrigated’ (Root ṭ-m-y); ṣayyân ‘sick’ (Root ṣ-y-y).

Defective: maľân ‘full’ (also sound: małyân) (Root ma-l-y or ma-l-ᵳ)

With the exception of maľân, adjectives on this pattern with final radical semivowel are sound, with -y- before the -ân ending.

Pattern FaELän is not used with geminating radicals [p. 41] other than semivowels.

Most adjectives formed on Pattern FaELän are participles of sound and defective simple intransitive verbs [259].

**PATTERN maFEEL**

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sound: maʃî ‘mixed’
  \item maʃûr ‘famous’
  \item masl ‘responsible’
  \item madyân ‘indebted’
  \item maʃûb ‘bent’
  \item maʃî ‘correct’
  \item mamn ‘obliged’
  \item maʃûn ‘insane’
  \item mamd ‘occurring, found, present’
  \item mawṣus (mawnano) ‘despaired (of)’
  \item maʃbûb ‘well-liked, beloved’
  \item maʃl ‘wet’
\end{itemize}

Hollow: maʃl ‘extraordinary’ (Root h-m-l).

Defective: maʃî ‘frightful’

In some areas (e.g., Palestine) these defectives are pronounced with a in the first syllable: maʃî, maʃî, etc. Compare Pattern maFEEL defective [below].

Most adjectives formed on Pattern maFEEL are passive participles of simple verbs. [258].

**PATTERN maFEEL (muFEEL)**

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sound: maʃîmen ‘fattening’
  \item maʃîmen ‘bankrupt, broke’
  \item maʃîmen ‘frightful’
  \item maʃîmen ‘Moslem’
  \item maʃîmen ‘dark, murky’
  \item maʃîmen ‘possible’
  \item maʃîmen ‘paired’
  \item maʃîmen (or maʃîmen) ‘faithful’
  \item maʃîmen ‘awesome’
  \item maʃîmen ‘worthwhile’
\end{itemize}

Initial Weak: maʃî ‘hurtful, inflicting pain’

Geminate: maʃîl ‘immoral’

Hollow: maʃî ‘obedient’

Defective: maʃî ‘contagious’

In most parts of the Syrian area, defective participles of the pattern maFEEL above have been assimilated to this pattern, so that there is no difference in form between the two kinds of defective pattern; see, however, pp. 203-204.
AUGMENTED PARTICIPIAL PATTERNS


Used for Active Participles of Pattern IV verbs [p.77].


Used for Passive Participles of Pattern II verbs.


Used for Active Participles of Pattern III verbs [p.80].


Used for Passive Participles of Pattern III verbs.

Pattern maṭṭeel: maṭṭram ‘honoring’; see p.133 above: maṭṭram ‘honoring’; Defective: maṭṭma ‘fainted’

Rare, as passive participle of Pattern IV verbs; see p.260.


Used for active participles of Pattern V verbs [p.86].

Pattern maṭṭeel: maṭṭar ‘delayed’ (inanimate); Defective: maṭṭannā ‘adopted’

Used for passive participles of Pattern V verbs.

Pattern maṭṭiel: maṭṭām ‘blessed’, maṭṭā ‘blushing, reddened’, maṭṭaṭṭa ‘crooked, twisted’

Used for participles of Pattern IX verbs [101].


Used for active participles of Pattern X verbs [102].


Used for active participles of Pattern VI verbs [p.88].

Pattern maṭṭiel: maṭṭal ‘attainable, within reach’

Used for passive participles of Pattern VI verbs.


This pattern is used for active participles of Pattern VIII verbs [p.95].


Used for passive participles of Pattern VIII verbs.

Pattern maṭṭiel: maṭṭal ‘blushing, reddened’, maṭṭal ‘crooked, twisted’

Used for participles of Pattern IX verbs [101].


Used for active participles of Pattern X verbs [102].
Pattern mostaľal: mostaľal `used', mostaľan `preferred', mostaľal `hurried, speeded'; Geminate: mostaľaь (one's) due'; Hollow mostaľar `consulted', mostaľan `called upon for help'

Used for passive participles of Pattern X verbs.

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS

Pattern Faľľľ: farkuś `clumsy', šaršuš `slovenly'

Pattern Faľľľ: sangiľ `wealthy'

Pattern mFaľľľ: mfaștek `depressed', mbaaršel `grainy', mbaaršel `having bribed, bribing', mfaľšes `having gone bankrupt'; Defective: mfaľš; `having shown'

This pattern is used for active participles of simple quadri-radical [117] and pseudo-quadri-radical verbs [109].

Pattern mFaľľľ: mbaaršel `bribed', mlaxbaš `mixed up', mfaľšes `announced, advertised', mbaaršas `plump', mjašbaš `wrecked', mcanąš `arrogant'; Defective: mfaľš; `shown'

This pattern is used for passive participles of simple quadri-radical and pseudo-quadri-radical verbs.

Pattern mstFaľľľ: meddarhamer `decadent'

Used for "active" participles of augmented quadri-radical and pseudo-quadri-radical verbs [121].

Pattern mstFaľľľ: mstarršam (manno) `translated (from)'

Used for passive participles of augmented quadri-radical and pseudo-quadri-radical verbs.

Pattern mstFaľľľ: mšmašaršes `disgusted, nauseated' mšmašaršon `calm' secure'

Used for "active" participles of Pattern Faľľľľ verbs [123]

Pattern mstFaľľľ: mšmašaršemmo `nauseating, revolting'

Used for passive participles of Pattern Faľľľľ verbs. (Rare)

CHAPTER 5: NOUN PATTERNS

In this chapter the more common base patterns [p.36] for nouns are exemplified, showing any alterations that are incurred with unstable roots [p.40].

Not included here, however, are several important kinds of noun patterns that are illustrated in other parts of the book: participial patterns (other than Faľľľ) [131, 258], augmented gerundial patterns [293], elative patterns [310], and patterns involving the relative suffix -i [280].

All nouns are cited in the absolute form of the singular. Dual and plural forms are shown in Chapter 8, and construct forms are treated at the end of the present chapter [162].

Index of Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THIRADICAL:</th>
<th>Faľľ</th>
<th>p.139</th>
<th>Faľľľ</th>
<th>p.140</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faľľ</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>Faľľľ</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>156</td>
<td>Faľľľ</td>
<td>156</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Miscellaneous 158
The Base-Formative Suffix -e/-a

Most noun patterns come in pairs—one with, and one without, the ending -e. (Compare the left and right columns in the index above.) This ending normally takes the form -a after velarized consonants (ṯ, ṣ, ḥ, ḫ) and back consonants (x, ḍ, ṣ, ḥ, ḫ, ḫ) and usually after r (but not usually after -fr-). Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With -e</th>
<th>With -a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Შṯbē</td>
<td>Შbāha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵏīne</td>
<td>ᴷḏīḏa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵍ篌ke</td>
<td>ᴷḇḇša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵆḏēe</td>
<td>ᵆḥḏāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ყṯpēfe</td>
<td>Შṯpānča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵆḥḏwėe</td>
<td>Შṯsāfāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṉṭiṭe</td>
<td>Ḥṯrīḏa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḩḏīře</td>
<td>Ḩḏḏīḥa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There are exceptions to this rule, however, in which -e occurs after r (especially in Pattern FaLē): ᵇḥbē 'needle', namē 'number, class' (also namrā), etc.; and sometimes after a velarized consonant: Ყṯpē 'a sneeze' (but more usually

More common are cases in which the suffix appears as -a after plain front consonants: sīfā 'attribute', sẖābba 'soup', sḏrēma 'sign, placard', prōva 'rehearsal', etc.¹

The most notable formal features of the -e/-a suffix are its change to “connective t” in construct forms [163] and before the dual suffix -ḏn [210], and its loss before the plural suffix -ḏt [214] and the relative suffix -t [280].

The -e/-a suffix has several derivational functions: singulative [p. 297], femal [304], abstract [288]. In many (perhaps most) noun bases, however, it has no derivational significance, but merely indicates that the noun (if inanimate) is grammatically feminine [374].

This same suffix functions inflectionally in the feminine of adjectives [p. 202] and in the plurals of certain nouns [213].

PATTERN FaL

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

tar(*)t  'bed'    ȥar(*)n  'horn'

bār(*)d  'cold'    ʤāb(*)r  'back'

tāš(*)l  'origin' kač(*)b  'heel'

wāḥ(*)š  'wild beast' ᵇalb  'heart'

ya(*)r  'despair' Ḩǰmb  'side'

The helping vowel a usually appears between the last two radicals at the end of a phrase or before a consonant. See p. 29 for details.

¹Also kahrab 'electricity', xamḏē 'gentleman', etc. Although the -e/-a suffix normally corresponds to ȫ in written Arabic, there are also cases in which it corresponds to ʿ or ʕ. The criterion for the -e/-a suffix is connective t in construct forms and duals: kahrabt, kahrabt- 'electricity of', xamḏēn 'two gentlemen'.

QUADRIRADICAL: FaLē p. 159
FaLē 159
FaLēbble p. 159
FaLē 159
FaLēL 160
FaLēL 160
FaLēL 160
FaLēL 161
FaLēL 161

OTHERS....................... 161
Sound, with final radical semivowel:

.schema 'pressed dates' 
.schema 'boy'

.schema 'fur'

.schema 'opinion'

.schema 'basement'

.schema 'talk'

The radical semivowel appears as a consonant w or y before suffixes beginning with a vowel, otherwise usually as a vowel u or i: ra'yaik 'your (m.) opinion', but ra'ikon 'your (pl.) opinion'.

Geminate:

.schema 'right'

.schema 'geese'

.schema 'cheek'

.schema 'air, atmosphere'

.schema 'poison'

.schema 'shade, shadow'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (a + w → ә; a + y → ә):

.bab 'bull'

.fer 'bird'

.zab 'taste'

.xel 'horses'

.yem 'day'

.saf 'sword'

Commonly in Lebanese speech, however, the radical semivowel does not fuse with the pattern vowel, the pattern remaining unaltered as with stable roots: tam 'bull'; far 'bird'. See p. 13.

Many nouns of Pattern FaEL are gerunds of simple verbs [p. 289]: darb 'striking, hitting' (cf. darab 'to hit, strike'); baki 'talk, talking' (cf. bak 'to talk, speak'); far'd 'taking (cf. farad 'to take').

**PATTERN FaEL**

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

.ra'ba 'neck'

.azabha 'front'

.dum 'tack'

.azame 'crisis'

.fahle 'party'

.bahra 'lake'

.macfe 'prescription'

.farke 'mattress'

With final radical semivowel (Sound, or with exchange of y and w):

.xafwe 'step, pace'

.hanic 'bow; bend'

.samwe 'bargain'

.gafwe 'ashes'

Before connective -t- plus suffixed vowel, the radical semivowel appears in its vocalic form: xafteu 'two paces', hamito 'his bow'. See p. 166.

Geminate:

.morra 'a time'

.sall 'basket'

.daffe 'edge, bank'

.heyne 'snake'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (a + w → ә; a + y → ә):

.xeme 'tent'

.šoke 'fork'

.gēēa 'village; estate'

.šō'a 'band'

Many nouns of Pattern FaEL are singulatives [p. 297], derived from Gerunds or collectives of Pattern FaEL: jamme 'a raid' (cf. jamu 'raiding'); be'da 'an egg' (cf. be'd 'eggs'). Others are gerunds [p. 292] and feminal derivatives [304].

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

.bat(temp) 'girl, daughter'

.kab(temp) 'ram'

.šes(temp) 'name'

.šes(temp) 'bridge'

.šems 'kind'

.mah 'property'

On the use of the helping vowel (temp), see p. 29.
Sound, with final radical semivowel:

\( \text{šaša} \) ‘member’  \( \text{šadi} \) ‘kid’

On the alternation of \( u \) and \( i \) with \( w \) and \( y \), see p.140.

Geminate:

\( \text{?amm} \) ‘mother’  \( \text{fabb} \) ‘medicine’
\( \text{rass} \) ‘rice’  \( \text{wašš} \) ‘face’

Altered Pattern.  Hollow \( (a + w - \text{ś}; \ a + y - \text{ī}) \):

\( \text{šax} \) ‘cloth’  \( \text{?iď} \) ‘hand’
\( \text{būm} \) ‘owls’ (coll.)  \( \text{bīr} \) ‘well’
\( \text{sū} \) ‘market’  \( \text{țin} \) ‘figs’

Anomalous hollow-defective:  \( \text{ši} \) ‘thing’ (cf. classicism \( \text{ši} \))

Commonly in Palestine this word is pronounced \( \text{?adi} \), which is sound, with root \( ?-\text{š}-y \). (The initial \( ? \) also occurs in the plural \( ?\text{šy} \) or \( ?\text{sya} \), which is used throughout Greater Syria.)

Some nouns of this pattern are abstract and gerundial derivatives
(p.266): \( \text{sāhr} \) ‘large size’ (cf. \( \text{sīr} \) ‘large’); \( \text{lačeb} \) ‘play, game’ (cf. \( \text{lačeb} \) ‘to play’).

On plural Pattern \( \text{Fačl} \), see p.221.

\[ \text{PATTERN Fačl} \]

Unaltered Pattern.  Sound:

\( \text{?ašira} \) ‘fee’  \( \text{tarbe} \) ‘cemetery’
\( \text{rašle} \) ‘trip, tour’  \( \text{fašga} \) ‘opportunity’
\( \text{kolme} \) ‘word’  \( \text{mašše} \) ‘goats’ (coll.)
\( \text{šarke} \) ‘company’  \( \text{?abre} \) ‘needle’

\[ \text{PATTERN Fačal} \]

Unaltered Pattern.  Sound:

\( \text{?amal} \) ‘hope’  \( \text{taman} \) ‘price’
\( \text{šaraf} \) ‘honor’  \( \text{?alas} \) ‘insomnia’
\( \text{masad} \) ‘child’  \( \text{sabab} \) ‘cause’
\( \text{bašar} \) ‘cattle’  \( \text{doror} \) ‘damage’
Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of middle radical):

Sār 'neighbor'  sāb 'leg'
Rās 'head'  xāl 'maternal uncle'
Bāb 'door'  bāk 'bottom'

The word šāy 'tea' appears to belong to this pattern (though since it has no paronyms there is no basis for classifying it so), with final radical semivowel maintained. Otherwise, roots with final semivowel do not occur with this pattern. See pattern Fa'āl [146].

PATTERN Fa'āle

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:
Sakne 'barrack(s)'  barake 'blessing'
Galaj 'salad'  ūba 'class'
Darake 'degree, step'  hašara 'a stone'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of Middle radical):
 Saúde 'habit, custom'  ḫara 'quarter, neighborhood'
Fābe 'ball'  ṭāye 'banner'
Māka 'container'  sāka 'hour'

PATTERN Fā'el

Sound:
Bēces 'motive'  ūmeč 'mosque'
Ḫāzab 'eyebrow'  ṭāzab 'duty'
Pābet 'officer'  ūdēs 'incident'

With middle radical semivowel:
Fāye 'usury'  ūyēr 'visitor'

A medial radical m is represented by y in this pattern; see Adjective Pattern Fā'el [p.131].

Defective (e + y or m + ī):
Rāci 'keeper, herdsman'  ūdi 'judge'

Cf. Pattern Fā'el adjectives.

Many nouns of this pattern are substantivized active participles of simple verbs: kāzēb 'clerk', 'writer' (cf. katab 'to write'); ūyēr 'visitor' (cf. Sār 'to visit'); māneč 'inconvenience, obstacle, hindrance' (cf. manač 'to prevent'); ūnēb 'representative' (cf. nāb 'to represent'). See p.276.

PATTERN Fā'el

Fāye 'storm'  ūnēb 'maid'
Šānač 'university'  ūmač 'means'
Yāule 'table'  ūye 'sect'
Yāmye 'corner'  ūtye 'suburb'
Mādāče 'material'  dābče 'beast of burden'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root, except that final or medial radical m commonly becomes y. [p.44]. See also Construct Forms, p.167.
PATTERN Fa eql

Sound:

Sasmil 'beauty'  
Sasa 'foundation'

Bayam 'statement'  
Harum 'taboo; shame'

Saasaz 'permit'  
Kalum 'speech; words'

Qarur 'decision'  
Sasa 'gazelle'

Defective (Loss of final radical semivowel):

Esala 'dinner; supper'  
Sama 'sky; heaven'

Harum 'air'  
Masa 'evening'

Guida 'lunch; dinner'  
Dawa 'medicine'

Haya 'modesty'  
Hasa 'punishment; penalty'

The long ə of the pattern is preserved in the suffixing forms of these words, see p.27.

Defective, with final radical semivowel - ?: Sasa (=Sasa).

PATTERN Fafale

Safade 'happiness'  
Wakale 'agency'

Safara 'embassy'  
Sasa 'group of people'

Rabbe 'rebab' (mus. instr.)  
Basa 'potatoes'

Asame 'cruelty'  
Essaye 'stick'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of this pattern are abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns [285]: Safade 'happiness' (cf. safad 'happy'); Safara 'embassy' (cf. safir 'ambassador'); Essame 'enmity' (cf. Eadam 'enemy').

PATTERN Fe gl

Sound:

Agam 'horse'  
Hmar 'donkey'

Sas 'cloth'  
Blak 'beach'

Mas 'stove'  
Ktob 'book'

Sy 'ray, beam'  
Yyso 'measurement'

Ys 'street'  
Ysob 'absence'

Defective:

Dar 'corn, maize'  
Rasa 'contentment, satisfaction'

Ste 'winter; rain'  
Nada 'dew'

Gore 'glue'  
Nada 'rust'

The long ə of this defective pattern is preserved in the suffixing form [p.27], while the absolute form has variants ending in ə or a, as in the -e/-a suffix [p.138]. The ə of the first syllable, which is lost in the sound version of this pattern, remains in all forms.

The anomalous noun Bake 'crying, weeping', is like these words in the absolute form, but has a suffixing form like Pattern Faql [142] Baki-hon 'their crying' (cf. Sot-hon 'their winter').

Many nouns of Pattern Fe gl are gerunds of simple verbs: Yso 'absence' (cf. Ysob 'to be absent'); Rasa 'satisfaction' (cf. Rasa 'to be satisfied').

For plural Pattern Fe gl, see p.218.

PATTERN Fe ale

Xeame 'closet'  
Bda 'merchandise'

Smara 'bracelet'  
Rgosa 'bullet'

Ayara 'visit'  
Mlgye 'veil'
This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of Pattern Fe%Ela are gerunds of simple verbs: Ebd%ad 'wor-
ship' (cf. Ebd%ad 'to worship'), Ebd%ye 'reading' (cf. Ebd%ra 'to read').

**PATTERN Fe%Ela**

dif%ad 'defense'  nigr%um 'system, order'
pi%il%ad 'god'  mis%um 'medal, badge'

Defective: si%a 'cure'

**PATTERN Fe%Ela**

pi%il%ad 'industry'  nigr%ye 'end'
si%r%ad 'agriculture'  wil%ye 'state'
rim%ye 'novel; play'  si%y%ase 'politics; policy'

Patterns Fe%Ela and Fe%Ela are somewhat classicized vari-
ants of Patterns Fe%Ela and Fe%Ela respectively.

Many nouns of Pattern Fe%Ela are gerunds of simple verbs: di%r%ase
'study' (cf. dars%ad 'to study'); si%r%ad 'agriculture' (cf. sarad 'to plant, cul-
vivate').

**PATTERN Fa%Ela**

Fa%ad%ad 'man of letters'  sa%b%il 'way'
Fa%am%is 'shirt'  Fa%b%il 'physician'
Fa%ra%is 'chief, head'  Fa%y%in 'right (hand)'
Fa%ar%ir 'silk'  Fa%r%ad%il 'spring (time)'

Defective: wa%pi 'trustee, guardian'

Many nouns of Pattern Fa%Ela that designate human beings are substan-
tivized adjectives. See p.127. Some are correlative to simple abstract
nouns in the sense 'practitioner of' or 'versed in': Fa%ad%ad 'man of let-
ters' (cf. Fad%ab 'belles-lettres'); Fa%b%il 'physician' (cf. Fad%b 'medicine, physical therapy').

**PATTERN Fa%Ela**

Fa%n%ad%ad 'result'  Fa%r%im%e 'crime'
Fa%j%ar%ja 'method'  Fa%mad%in 'city'
Fa%da%da%ja 'minute'  Fa%sr%e 'Muslim law'

With final radical semivowel (-i%y%y - i%y%y-):

Fa%sa%ji%y%ye 'sin'  Fa%qi%y%ye 'case'
Fa%ca%ji%y%ye 'evening'  Fa%wa%ji%y%ye 'will, testament'

**PATTERN Fe%Ela**

Fe%bb%in 'forehead'  Fe%rg%ad 'loaf'
Fe%ra%ja 'companion'  Fa%sr%ja 'string, wire'
Fe%ar%ir 'barley'  Fa%gd%in 'nag, horse'

This pattern is not used with middle or final radical
semivowel.

Patterns Fa%Ela and Fe%Ela are used in a number of gerunds, especially
those designating noises: F%rix 'shouting', F%sr%in 'snoring', Fa%n%in 'moaning',
Fa%di%ji%ze 'noise, tumult', Fa%n%in 'tinkle', Fa%q%ir 'glimmering, glimpse'.
**PATTERN ܦܻܠܲܐ**

ḡfērē ‘braid’
kmēse ‘church’
fgdha ‘scandal’
ţhēne ‘sesame oil sauce’

With final radical semivowel (y) (−iyȳ = −yȳ):

ḥdyyē ‘gift’
wštēyē ‘oka’ (weight measure)

This pattern is not used with middle radical semivowel.

**PATTERN ܦ(u)ܐܲܠ**

štūn ‘customer’
ndūb ‘south’
s(u)rūr ‘joy, pleasure’
ʃ(u)tūr ‘breakfast’
hkūm ‘attack’
mwmm ‘aspiration’

With final radical semivowel (m) (−wm = −mw):

ɛ(u)mumu ‘elevation, height’
nmmwmu ‘growth’

The pattern may also be altered (defective) in ɛlu ‘height’ (suffixing form ɛlū-).

Pattern ܦ(u)ܐܲܠ is commonly used for gerunds of simple verbs [291]: šbē ‘coming out, going up’ (cf. šbē ‘to come out, go up’); ʃfūr ‘feeling’ (cf. šašar ‘to feel’).

For plural Pattern ܦ(u)ܐܲܠ, see p. 220.

**PATTERNS ܦܐܲܠ, ܦܹܠܲܐ**

qūnn ‘law’
ʃjjūn ‘mill’
xšē ‘stake’
xšrū ‘lamb’
ŋūn ‘soap’
nūn ‘water wheel’
ʃmūs ‘dictionary’
mānū ‘pipe, tube’

**PATTERN ܦܨܠܲܐ**

šbbē ‘baker’
ḥaddā ‘blacksmith’
ʃlē ‘peasant’
xayyē ‘tailor’
ḥamēn ‘bath’
šbē ‘(pair of) shoes’
tayyē ‘current’
damēr ‘whirlpool’
Defective:

banma ‘builder, mason’

The long pattern vowel ã is retained in the suffixing form: banmaθon ‘their mason’.

Pattern Faææl is commonly used for occupational nouns [305]. Cf. adjective pattern Faææl [129].

**PATERNFaææl**

kanmaθe ‘pincers’

sayyəra ‘automobile’

‘allαθe ‘ferris-wheel’

barrade ‘refrigerator’

Sabbαne ‘cemetery’

farrαha ‘cushion’

With final radical semivowel y, unaltered:

mαkβγye ‘eraser’

barrαye ‘pencil-sharpener’

Pattern Faææl is commonly used for instrumental nouns [306]

** PATERN Faææl, Faææl**

šabbak ‘window’

sαnnαra ‘fish hook’

roššil ‘man’

fαkkαse ‘crutch’

sαšsαd ‘rugs’ (collective)

sαšsαde ‘a rug’

tαffαk ‘apples (collective)

toffαha ‘an apple’

Cf. plural pattern Faææl [223].

**PATERN maFEæL**

**Unaltered Pattern. Sound:**

maφα ‘cannon’

mαŋsα ‘view’

mαβsα ‘bake’

mαfαm ‘restaurant’

mαβlα ‘amount, sum’

mαsαq ‘bottleneck, strait’

mαγαθ ‘summer resort’

mαytα ‘orphanage’

**Altered Pattern. Geminate:**

mαbαl ‘place’

mαfαr ‘escape, flight’

mαγαb ‘mouth’

mαmαr ‘aisle’

(of a river)

Hollow:

mαβα ‘dream’

mαβα ‘salary’

mαfα ‘airport’

mαβαl ‘space, scope’

Defective:

mαnα ‘meaning’

mαnα ‘shelter’

mαgα ‘point, import’

mαlα ‘lord, master’

Most nouns of Pattern maFEæL are locative [308], hypostatic [309], or instrumental [307].

**PATERN maFEæle**

**Unaltered Pattern Sound:**

mαrαnα ‘handkerchief’

mαrαlα ‘stage, step’

mαxα ‘spoon’

mαξα ‘chimney’

mαsαlα ‘matter, question’

mαsαdα ‘brazier, fireplace’

mαŋαθα ‘ashtray’

mαyαdα ‘trap, snare’
Altered Pattern. Geminate:

\[ \text{māḥabbī 'love, affection'} \quad \text{māmāddī 'love, friendship'} \]
\[ \text{māšalle 'magazine'} \]

Hollow:

\[ \text{māšāfe 'distance'} \quad \text{mānāra 'lighthouse'} \]
\[ \text{mānāda 'ford'} \quad \text{māšāfe 'reception room'} \]

Most nouns of Pattern \( \text{māfēāl} \) are locative \[308\], hypostatic \[309\] or instrumental \[307\].

**PATTERN \( \text{māfēel} \)**

Sound:

\[ \text{mārābe 'source, reference'} \quad \text{māwle 'birth, birthday'} \]
\[ \text{māsles 'chamber, session room'} \quad \text{māwle 'position'} \]
\[ \text{māw've 'stop, station'} \quad \text{māwle 'appointment'} \]

Many nouns of this pattern have initial radical \( \text{w} \).

Hollow: \( \text{māṣīr 'course, destiny'} \)

Pattern \( \text{māfēel} \) is not used with geminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of Pattern \( \text{māfēel} \) are locative, hypostatic, or instrumental.

**PATTERN \( \text{māfē(i)le} \)**

Sound:

\[ \text{mānīpairs 'district, zone'} \quad \text{māwhibe 'talent, gift'} \]
\[ \text{māḍīra 'ability, power'} \quad \text{māwīpa 'lecture, reprimand'} \]
\[ \text{mācīf or mācīfē 'knowledge, acquaintance'} \]

1. This word is always used in construct, thus always in the construct forms 'his wish'.
Hollow: mšša 'misfortune, calamity'

Initial Weak: mššem 'season'

Pattern mššel is more commonly used in substantivized personal adjectives [133, 382]: mššem 'Moslem', mšši 'mufti', mššir 'director'.

PATTERNS mššul and mššêle

Sound:

mënğär 'saw' mënşär 'walk, errand'
mänzăd 'gutter, drain' mänzär 'nose'
mänçyär 'balance, measure' mänçät 'plow'

Initial Weak:

mëżedd 'appointment' mëžâd 'birth, birthday, Nativity'
mënsân 'scale balance' mënsq 'pact, covenant'

The pattern vowel ~ combines with initial radical w to produce û.

With final radical semivowel (y), the suffix -e is used:

mëmkwe 'iron' mëqlye 'frying pan'
mëmrwe 'winnowing fork' mëplýe 'trap'

Hollow: mërwe 'mirror' (Root r-ð-û)

In some parts of Greater Syria, final radical y produces defective nouns on Pattern mššul: mädrä 'winnowing fork' (instead of mädrwe).

Most nouns of Pattern mššul(e) are instrumental or hypostatic.

MISCELLANEOUS TRIRADICAL PATTERNS

There are many nouns in Arabic whose patterns are rare or even unique. Some of these less common patterns are briefly exemplified here:

Pattern šila: šiha 'direction', šifā 'attribute, adjective', šiça 'capacity' šiqā (or siqā) 'faith, trust'. (For construct forms, see p.169)

This pattern is applied exclusively to roots with initial w, which is lost. Thus šiha has Root w-ð-h, šifā has Root w-ð-f, etc. Nouns with this pattern are classicisms, with the marginal exception of diyya 'blood money', whose root, theoretically speaking, is w-ð-y, but which has been altered colloquially to fit pattern Fašel as if its root were d-ð-y. (It has no colloquial paronyms with either root.)

Patterns F(u)ayyel, F(u)cayle, Fowayel: qayyer 'little one', buñayra 'lake', ñały 'a little'.

These traditional diminutive patterns [p.310] are quite unproductive in most kinds of Syrian Arabic.

Pattern Fešel: ënëne 'garden', ënāra 'measles', ënëse 'deuce'.

This is an alteration of the diminutive pattern F(u)cayle.

Pattern Fašel: malek 'king'

Pattern Fašel: rašol 'man' (classicism)

Pattern Fašel: ënèeb 'grapes'

Pattern Fašel: taton 'tobacco', ëafon 'cotton' (Cf. plural pattern Fašel [p.221].)

Pattern Fašel: rašul 'apostle, messenger, prophet', ëasûn 'old person', ëenûn 'enemy'. (Cf. adjective pattern Fašûl [p.128].)

Pattern Fašel: ëšlam 'world'

Pattern Fašel: salûn 'ladder', ëhmênç 'chick peas'

Pattern Fašel: bišār 'compass' (for drawing), dînâr (monetary unit), ëfâm 'sitting room', ëmân 'April'.

Pattern Fašel: mëšun 'container', bûfên 'cement', bûlûn 'balloon'.

Pattern Fašel: bûlûd 'steel'
Augmented Gerundial Patterns

All the patterns used for gerunds of augmented verbs, e.g. taPezl, mPezl, tPezl, etc., are also used for ordinary nouns, i.e. gerunds that have been concretized [p.284] or otherwise altered from the pure gerundial sense. These patterns are not separately illustrated here; see p.293.

Adjectival Patterns

Many adjectival patterns are used for nouns, insofar as adjectives tend to be substantivized. Patterns PEezl and PEezL have been separately illustrated for nouns and adjectives, but Patterns PeZeIL [p.129] and taPEezl [130] are shown only for adjectives, though many words with these patterns are used substantivally.

Most important of all are the participial patterns [p.258], e.g. maPezl, mPezl, mastaPEezl, maPezl, etc. (only PEezl has been listed separately for nouns); a large number of nouns have these patterns, but are not illustrated here.

For elative patterns, see p.310.
PATTERN Faːˈʎe

*waʃɑ́ 'wasp'
waʃʃe 'beetle'
moʃˈməʃ 'apricot'
moʃˈme 'crane'
moʃˈte 'chewing gum'
moʃˈʃe 'tortoise'
soʃˈle 'chain, series'
soʃˈle 'bomb'

On the use of the helping vowel ə, see p. 31.

PATTERN Faːˈʎe

saŋˈdən 'monkey'
raʃˈruʃ 'fender'
Hollow: šəʒ́ən 'devil'

PATTERN Faːˈʎe

fəmˈʃən 'coffee cup'
'əstən 'professor, teacher'
kaʃˈbən 'whip'
boʃˈtən 'garden'
'əbˈəsə 'clog, wooden sandal'
resˈməl 'capital'

With final radical semivowel (y), the suffix -ə-/a is added:
faɾˈʃye 'brush'
boɾˈʃye 'window shade'

PATTERN Faːˈʎe

*waʃˈgər 'tin'
*waʃˈnəsə 'chain'
ɛafˈɾət 'demon'

PATTERN Faːˈʎe

*⟩aʃˈkən 'student'
*⟩aʃˈʃən 'poor wretch'
kaʃˈɡət 'matches'
ɛafˈɾət (or ɛafˈɾət) 'demon'
taʃˈɛn 'October/November'

Defective:
kaʃˈɛ 'chair'
baɾɡi 'screw'

PATTERN Faːˈʎe

ɛafˈɾə (e) 'bunch of grapes'
raʃˈtən 'bank, deposit'
moʃˈteməʃ 'tarboosh, fez'
sanˈdə 'box, chest'
ɡandur 'dandy, fop'

Hollow: ʃələ 'September'

With the -e-/a suffix:
ʃəxtə 'boat', ʃərməʃ 'prostitute'

PATTERN Faːˈʎe

ɛortələ 'spider' (tarantulas and similar kinds)
baɾˈʃə 'hat'
ɛəɾˈʃə 'swing'
moʃˈteməʃ 'a whisper'

Miscellaneous Quadriradical

*ʃəʃˈʃək 'frog'
*ʃəɾˈʃən 'interpreter, dragon man'
*ʃəməɾ 'public, people, crowd' (also *ʃəməɾ)
moʃˈʃən 'emeralds'
ʃəɾˈʃəsə 'table'
banəˈʃən 'tomatoes' (coll.)
Miscellaneous Quinquiradical

tsarmaṣi ‘cauliflower’
barsān ‘cauliflower’
bardūn ‘oranges’
bēṣenān ‘eggplant’ (also badnān)
bākūn ‘parsley’
barāmān ‘large glass jar’
bāṣābān ‘cobweb’
bānsān ‘trousers’

Biradical Nouns

Very few nouns in Syrian Arabic qualify definitely as having a bilateral root; note, however: fisā ‘class, group, bracket’, rīfā ‘lung’, sūn ‘year’, mara ‘woman’.

All these nouns have an -e/-a suffix. The noun mara, if compared to the classicism mar스, might be analyzed as a defective triradical. Note the variant forms rīsē (for rīfā) and fisā (for fisā), in which these words conform to triradical patterns. (Cf. damm ‘blood’, vis-ā-vis Classical dam; ʔid and yadd ‘hand’ vis-ā-vis Classical yad.)

Inconformable Nouns

Unlike verbs and adjectives, Arabic nouns include many words that do not conform to any recognizable pattern, or whose root and pattern cannot be analyzed due to lack of paronyms. Most such nouns are modern foreign loan-words. For example:

tāl ‘hotel’
varanda ‘balcony, terrace’
frūmbe ‘pump’
bēbē ‘baby’

CONSTRUCT FORMS

Certain kinds of nouns —mainly those ending in the -e/-a suffix [p.138]— appear in a special form when standing in CONSTRUCT with a following term. [See Annexion, p. 455.]

The -e/-a suffix of a noun in construct takes the form -et, -et, or -t, depending mainly on the form of the following term. Compare, for instance, the absolute form (i.e. non-construct form) of the noun hāle (as in hāle ‘good condition’) with the construct forms in hālet 8-kārke ‘the company’, hālṣma ‘our condition’, hālṭ ‘his condition’, similarly, absol. ayāra ‘visit’; constr. ayāret 8-xi ‘my brother’s visit’, ayāret ‘your (pl.) visit’; ayārt 8-xi ‘your (m.) visit’.

The t in these construct forms is called CONNECTIVE t (tām marbūfa). 1

Connective t in Non-suffixing Forms

The connective t of a noun in construct with a separate word or phrase is in most cases preceded by the vowel e: hālet 8-xi ‘my brother’s condition’. The vowel is normally e even though the absolute form ends in 8: absol. ḥāra ‘neighborhood, quarter’; constr. ḥāret ḥili ‘my family’s neighborhood’. Further examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute Form</th>
<th>Construct Form (with Following Term)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāle ‘party’</td>
<td>ḥafte musīqa ‘concert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāẓ ‘story, account’</td>
<td>ḥafte ḥalasam ‘that fellow’s story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥām ‘closet’</td>
<td>ḥafte ḥami ‘the closet of my room’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥās ‘room’</td>
<td>ḥafte ḥadd ‘a matter of concern’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix vowel e is often elided, however, when the following term begins with a vowel (which is usually the helping vowel 8 [p.30]): ḥafte ḥi ‘the bedroom’ (cf. ḥafte ḥam ‘a bedroom’). When the t is most apt to be dropped if the leading term is very commonly used in construct, or if the whole construct is a set phrase. Examples:

| ṭaff 8-ti ‘the physics assignment’ | (absol. ṭaff) |
| ḏār 8-zy ‘air sickness’ | (absol. ḏār ‘nausea’) |
| ḥuṣṣ 8-ripple ‘the death penalty’ | (absol. ḥuṣṣ) |
| ḥafte ḥalasam ‘the work requirements’ | (absol. ḥafte) |
| ḥafte ḥam ‘shaver or ‘clippers’ | (absol. ḥafte) |
| ḥafte 8-wadd ‘this basket of flowers’ | (absol. ḥafte) [SAL-572] |
| ḥafte ḥam ‘today’s paper’ | (absol. ḥafte) [p.26] |

1The dropping of connective t from almost all absolute forms in Colloquial Arabic is, of course, a much broader and more consistent practice than the dropping of tām marbūfa in the pronunciation of Classical ‘pause forms’.
Note that the elision of e changes the accentuation in nouns of certain patterns: marāidt 1-malād 'the boy's school'. In the case of Pattern PÅCLE [145], a suffix-supporting vowel ə appears before the last radical: mālād ə-z-eṭ 'the oil tanker' (absol. mālāde). See Accentuation [p.17]. Cf. Suffixing Forms [165].

The elision of e in nouns ending in -iyē results in postnasal forms ending in -īt: barrānīt 1-bīndīye 'the outside of the building' (absol. barrāmiyye), ēqāwīt 1-m-nādī 'the membership of the club' (absol. ēqāwyyye).

Sometimes e is elided even when the following term begins with a consonant: baqīt dēnī 'the remainder of my debt' (absol. baqīyye), māddāmīt l-sītbā 'the introduction of the book' (absol. māddāmīye), b-mādīt ə-zā ṣārī 'through my brother' ('s mediation') (absol. maṣṣā). e is never elided in the non-suffixing construct forms of sound words on Patterns PÅCLE [140] or PÅCLE [142]: ḥafīlet 1-māsīqā 'the concert' (not ḥafīli...); ṣurīket ə-z-eṭ 'the oil company' (not ṣuru...). Cf. Suffixing Forms [166].

Nouns ending in d (which are mostly defective gerunds of Pattern mPÅCLE [p.299]) generally have construct forms in ət: māzdīt ə-farīt 'finding the way' (absol. māzdīyye), māṣūnīt ə-faṣxār 'the making of pottery' (absol. maṣṣūnā).

The -t is sometimes kept in the absolute form of mubārat(t) 'match, competition', and almost always in the absolute forms of ṣayāt 'life' (Root ḥ-y-y), ṣalāt (or ṣalā) 'prayer' (Root ẓ-l-y), wāfīt 'death, demise' (Root w-f-y).

It should be noted that a number of plural patterns [p.218] incorporate the -e/-a suffix and therefore have construct forms with t just as singular nouns have. Pattern PÅCLE: ṣīrādat ə-mādīye 'the bridges of the city' (abs. ṣirārā); Patterns PÅCLE, PÅCLE: ṣūdāy ə-mādīt 'the lights of the house' (abs. ṣūdāyye), ṣasāi ə-l-mālīm 'the teacher's questions' (abs. ṣasāile); Pattern PÅCLE: māzār ə-l-balād 'the walls of the town' (abs. māzār), ṣasāiset ə-mādīm 'the teachers of the school' (abs. ṣasāīt). maṣṣūnīt ə-mādīt 'the thieves of the city' (abs. maṣṣūnyyye).

There are many defective words [p.43] ending in a and a few ending in e; these endings are not to be confused with the -e/-a suffix, and their construct forms do not have connective t: ḡalā f-fābī 'the table cloth', maṣṣūnīt kālīm 'the meaning of this word', ḡarī ṣāmāk 'fish glue'.

There is also a formative suffix -a (which never takes the form -e) to be found in some words; this suffix does not develop a connective t in construct forms: dākā ə-rūyā 'radio music'.

Connective t before Suffixes -i, -o, -ak, and -ek

A short vowel e or o before a final consonant is dropped when any suffix beginning with a vowel is added (except -a 'her' and –o 'them, their' [p.28]). Thus with the pronoun suffixes -i 'me, my', -ak 'you, your(m.)', -ek 'you, your(f.)', -o 'him, his, it, its': ṣāfīb 'friend' + i - ṣāfībī 'my friend', ḥālīm 'teacher' + o – ḥālimo 'his teacher', ḫārīf 'behavior' + -ak - ḫārīfak 'your(m.) behavior', etc.

In accordance with this rule, the -e of a construct form loses its vowel e when the following term is a pronoun suffix -i, -o, -ak, or -ek:

pūrā: pūrīt 'picture(of)' + -i 'me' → pūrtī 'my picture'

čīb(t) 'custom(of)' + -o 'him' → čībī 'his custom'
sayyārā: sayyārīt 'automobile(of)' + -ak 'you(m.)' → sayyārtīk 'your car'

kāmmē(t) 'daughter-in-law(of)' + -ek 'you(f.)' → kāmmēk 'your daughter-in-law'

Note the shift in accentuation caused by these suffixes with nouns that have short a between the last two radicals:

dāraz(t) 'degree(of)' + -i 'me' → dārdātī 'my degree'

māhrām(t) 'handkerchief(of)' + -ek 'you(f.)' → māhrāmīk 'your handkerchief'

tāskāra: tāskārtī 'ticket(of)' + -o 'him' → tāskārtī 'his ticket'

māṣāxē(t) 'help(of)' + -ak 'you(m.)' → māṣāxēt 'your help'

1 Though there is a tendency on the part of native speakers themselves to reinterpret some of these words in terms of the -e/-a suffix, thus the construct form māʾnet 'meaning of...' is sometimes heard, as well as the suffixing form māʾnāt- [169].

2 This formative generally corresponds to ṣalīf maṣṣūn in Classical Arabic.

3 There are a few other exceptions. See pp. 29, 169.
When these suffixes are used with sound nouns of Patterns Faèle and Faře, the helping vowel "ə" [p.31] is usually inserted to break the potential three-consonant cluster resulting from loss of e: Fəɛ̃\l{t}e- Fəɛ̃\l{t}i-:

Sağle(t) 'job(0f)' + o 'him' - šdə\̣ləto 'his job'
kalme(t) 'word(0f)' + i 'me' - kələmti 'my word'
farə(t) 'bed(0f)' + ak 'you(m.)' - fəɾəštak (or farštak) 'your bed'
dawə: dawət 'circulation(0f)' + ak 'you(f.)' - dəərmətek (or dəərmətek) 'your circulation'
maʃə: maʃət 'point(0f)' + o 'it(m.)' - maʃəʃəto 'its point'

If the last radical is y, however, it occurs in its vocalic form i before connective t when these suffixes are added:
laʃye(t) 'beard(0f)' + ak 'you' - laʃiʃətak 'your beard'
baʃye(t) 'bow, bending(0f)' + o 'him' - ḕəni to 'his bow'

If the last radical is w, it may remain consonantal with the helping vowel before it ( plausible, but may also be vocalized as u. The distinction is subtle and non-significant:)
kalme(t) 'kidney(0f)' + i 'me' - kələmti (or kələti) 'my kidney'
xəʃme(t) 'pace, step(0f)' + o 'his' - xəʃətəto (or xəʃufo) 'his step'

Nouns ending in -iyə or -uwe have -i-, and -ət-, respectively, before these suffixes:
'umme(t) 'strength(0f)' + o 'him' - ḕıto 'his strength'
miiye(t) 'intention(0f)' + ak 'you' - məʃtak 'your intention'
ʔaʃiyə(t) 'case(0f)' + ek 'you' - ʔaʃətek 'your case'
Cəmašiyə(t) 'operation(0f)' + i 'me' - Cəmaʃi 'my operation'

Nouns that have a double dental stop (t t, d d, t t) before the -e-/a suffix have a before the connective t:
mxaadə(t) 'pillow(0f)' + o 'him' - mxaadəto 'his pillow'
ʔaʃə : ʔəʃət 'cat(0f)' + i 'me' - ʔəʃəti 'my cat'
ʃədə : ʃədət 'silver(0f)' + ak 'you' - ʃədəʃətak 'your silver'

Some nouns involve a sequence of three consonants (with or without the first two) before the ending -e(t), as in sañsa(t) 'chain of a long and a short consonant, as in məʃalləm(t) (of); or a sequence of a long vowel plus two consonants, as 'teacher (f.) (of)'; or a sequence of a long vowel plus two consonants, as 'his chain', məʃalləti 'my teacher(f.)', ʃəʃətak 'your table'. Further examples:

gəʃət 'friend(f.) (of)' + ek - ʃəʃətək 'your(f.)friend(f.)'
Səncə : Səncət 'university(0f)' + ak - ʃəʃətək 'your(m.) university'
ʃỹət 'utility(0f)' + o - ʃỹətək 'its(m.) utility'
mtəʃət 'translator(f.) (of)' + i - ʃəʃətək 'its(m.) translator(f.)'
maʃət 'problem(0f)' + i - ʃəʃəti 'my problem'
məʃət 'knowledge(0f)' + ak - məʃətək 'knowing you'
sməʃət 'emerald(0f)' + ek - sməʃətək 'your(f.) emerald'
"əʃətme(t) 'horses(0f)' + i - əʃətək 'my horses'

If, however, the last consonant before -e(t) is y, then the suffixing form ends in -ət- (since eə y automatically -ət-):

juʃye(t) 'margin(0f)' + o - ḕəʃi to 'its margin'
əmuyə(t) 'corner(0f)' + ak - əməʃətak 'your corner'
maʃyte(t) 'environs(0f)' + o - əʃətək 'its environs'
ʔəʃyəme(t) 'lights(0f)' + o - əʃətək 'its lights'

Note that while in their non-suffixing forms maʃye(t) 'walk, walking' and maʃye(t) 'livestock' differ only in the length of their first vowel, the suffixing forms differ also in the length of their second vowel and in accentuation:
məʃi to 'his walk': ʃəʃi 'his livestock'.

Connective t before Suffixes -na, -kon, -(h)a, -(h)on

A short vowel e or o before a final consonant is changed to a when accented [p.28]. Thus with the pronoun suffixes -na 'us, our', -kon 'you, your(pl.)', -(h)a 'her, it, its', -(h)on 'them, their' [539]: ʃəʃət 'friend(f.) + na - ʃəʃəña 'our friend', ʃaʃərəf 'behavior' + -(h)a - ʃaʃərəft(h)a 'her behavior', məʃəli 'teacher' + -kon - məʃəli-kən 'your (pl.) teacher'.
In accordance with this rule, the -et of a construct form usually becomes -et- when the following term is a pronoun suffix -na, -ken, -(h)a, or -(h)on:

\[ \text{pāra : pāret 'picture(of)'} + -na \rightarrow \text{pārāna 'our picture'} \]

\[ \text{ṣīde(t) 'custom(of)'} + -on \rightarrow \text{ṣīdōn 'their custom'} \]

\[ \text{saayarā : saayaret 'car(of)'} + -ken \rightarrow \text{saayarētōn 'your(pl.) car'} \]

\[ \text{daraśe(t) 'degree(of)'} + -a \rightarrow \text{daraśēta 'her degree'} \]

\[ \text{macacade(t) 'help(of)'} + -na \rightarrow \text{macacatina 'our help'} \]

\[ \text{rahe(t) 'trip(of)'} + -kon \rightarrow \text{raheštōn 'your(pl.) trip'} \]

\[ \text{gālja : gāljet 'mistake(of)'} + -ha \rightarrow \text{gālētga 'her mistake'} \]

\[ \text{oppa : oppēt 'story(of)'} + -on \rightarrow \text{oppētōn 'their story'} \]

\[ \text{hanyēt(t) 'bow, bending(of)'} + -a \rightarrow \text{hanyōtōn 'her bow'} \]

\[ \text{umme(t) 'strength(of)'} + -a \rightarrow \text{ummeštōn 'her strength'} \]

\[ \text{nīye(t) 'intention(of)'} + -on \rightarrow \text{nīyeštōn 'their intention'} \]

\[ \text{yāda : yādaet 'room(of)'} + -kon \rightarrow \text{yādaštōn 'your(pl.) room'} \]

\[ \text{maḩaa : maḩaaet 'station(of)'} + -na \rightarrow \text{maḩaaštōn 'our station'} \]

In many cases, however, the construct form used with these suffixes is the same as that used with -i, -o, -ak and -ek: ērābīthā 'her car' (rather than ērābīyāthā), pānčēta 'our maid' (rather than pānčētā). These forms are predominant among many nouns ending in -yē, -ey, or of Pattern Fālē, or others of the type described on p. 167 above. (Compare the similar elision of e in non-suffixed construct forms described on p. 163.) Further examples:

\[ \text{pāgīyēt(t) 'case(of)'} + -(h)on \rightarrow \text{pāgīt(h)on 'their case'} \]

\[ \text{gāmānēt(t) 'song(of)'} + -(h)a \rightarrow \text{gāmān(h)a 'her song'} \]

\[ \text{bāxra : bāxret 'ship(of)'} + -na \rightarrow \text{bāxretōn 'our ship'} \]

\[ \text{fīṣfe(t) 'sect; congregation(of)'} + -kon \rightarrow \text{fīṣfeškōn 'your(pl.) congregation'} \]

\[ \text{dābyēt(t) 'suburb(of)'} + -na \rightarrow \text{dābyētōn 'our suburb'} \]

\[ \text{pāpīmyēt(t) 'lights(of)'} + -(h)a \rightarrow \text{pāpīmyēnt(h)a 'its lights'} \]

Miscellaneous Irregularities with Connective t

The construct forms of āra 'woman, wife' and sāne 'year' are always màrt and sànt, respectively: màrt āxi 'my brother's wife', sànt sōttīn 'the year (1960)'.

The classicism biqā (or siqā) 'trust, faith' generally keeps the a in all construct forms: biqātā 'his faith'. Similarly, riʔa 'lung' and lūgā 'language' generally keep the a in suffixing forms: riʔato 'his lung', lūgati 'my language'; but in non-suffixed forms: riʔa tāgābi 'the boy's lung', lūgā tālahb 'the people's language'. The word šīka 'direction' has suffixing forms with long t: šīkto, šīkēta 'its direction'.

A few nouns have connective t in construct forms but no -e/-a suffix in the absolute forms. ērābā 'bride' and saqēnēt 'knife', for instance: saqēnēt tābhī 'my son's knife', ērābēt tābīni 'my son's bride', sakkāntē tākhī 'his knife', ērābūtī tābī 'his bride'. dākkēnē tāshōp and mādāmē tāwīm must have t in the suffixing form: dākkēntō 'his shop', mādāmētō 'his wife', but it is optional in the non-suffixing form: mādāmētē tāshōp 'this friend's shop', dākkēnētē tāałmādē 'Abūmed's shop'. With farāq 'mare', connective t is optional in the suffixing form also: farāqto or farāq tāhī 'his mare'. (Note the loss of the last stem vowel a in the latter form: farāq tāhī.)

The plurals rafa'ā 'companions' and šara'ā 'partners' have suffixing forms ending in -āt-: rafa'ātī 'my companions', šara'ātī 'our partners', though the non-suffixing construct form is the absolute: rafa'ā tāmadrase 'school companions', šara'ā tāmmī 'my uncle's partners'. The word mačānā 'meaning' also has an optional suffixing form in -āt-: mačāntō 'its meaning' (for mačānā). dačma 'claim' (legal) has an optional suffixing form with t: dačmato 'his claim', dačmaštō 'her claim' (for dačma 'his claim', dačmaštā 'her claim').

Other Irregular Construct Forms

The nouns ḏabb 'father' and ḏax 'brother' have non-suffixing construct forms ḏabbu and ḏaxu (though sometimes the forms ḏabbu and ḏaxu are also used in construct): ḏabb-pūtī 'the boy's father' (or ḏabbu-pūtī), ḏaxu ūlī 'Ali's brother' (or ḏaxu ēlī). The suffixing forms are ḏabbā- and ḏaxā-: ḏabbā 'your(1).father', ḏaxākōn 'your(pl.).brother', ḏabbāna 'our father', ḏaxā 'his brother'. With the first-person singular -i, however, many speakers (e.g. in Damascus) use only the suffixing forms ḏabb- and ḏax-: ḏabbī 'my father', ḏaxī 'my brother'. Some speakers, on the other hand, also say ḏabbī 'my father' and ḏaxī 'my brother'.

There are certain differences in the uses of the different construct forms; (ya)axī, for instance, is commonly used in addressing someone as 'my friend', while ḏaxīyī always means literally 'my brother'. (Note also the difference between ḏaxu ēlī 'Ali's brother' and L-axu ēlī 'Brother Ali'; the latter is an appositive phrase, not a construct phrase [p. 506].) The form ḏabbu is also used to mean 'owner of' or 'one who has': ḏabbu d-dānā 'the one with the beard'; (also in names: ḏabbu naammās 'Abū Nawas') while ḏabb is a construct form always literally 'father of'.

Some speakers also have suffixing forms with n: ʾīdēno ‘his hands’, ʾārēnāk ‘your feet’.

**NUMERAL CONSTRUCT FORMS**

The cardinal numerals between three and nineteen have special kinds of construct forms. (On numeral constructs, see p. 471.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Construct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlēte ‘three’</td>
<td>tlatt (Pal. and Leb.: tlatt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫarēca ‘four’</td>
<td>ḫarēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsē ‘five’</td>
<td>xams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sattē ‘six’</td>
<td>satt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabē ‘seven’</td>
<td>sab(*)ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamēye or tmēne ‘eight’ (Pal. tamēnye), tmān (Leb. tmān, Pal. tam(*)n)</td>
<td>tos(*)ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōsa ‘nine’</td>
<td>tōs(*)ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēsāra ‘ten’</td>
<td>ēsār (*)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫida(<em>)ē or ḫa(</em>)ē ‘eleven’</td>
<td>ḫida(r)ār, ḫa(*r)ār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫna(*)ē ‘twelve’</td>
<td>ḫna(*)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīṣṣa(*)ē ‘thirteen’</td>
<td>tīṣṣa(*)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫarē(<em>)a(</em>)ē ‘fourteen’</td>
<td>ḫarē(<em>)a(</em>)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsa(<em>)a(</em>)ē ‘fifteen’</td>
<td>xamsa(<em>)a</em>)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫa(<em>)a(</em>)ē ‘sixteen’</td>
<td>ḫa(<em>)a(</em>)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sab(<em>)a(</em>)ē ‘seventeen’</td>
<td>sab(<em>)a(</em>)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmāna(*)ē ‘eighteen’</td>
<td>tmāna(*)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōsa(<em>)a(</em>)ē ‘nineteen’</td>
<td>tōsa(<em>)a(</em>)r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the numerals from three through ten have the -e/-a suffix in their absolute forms, they drop the -e or -a in (non-suffixing) construct forms, instead of taking on a connective t.

The connective t is used, however, when a numeral (3-10) stands in construct with any one of a handful of noun plurals that begin with a vowel2 after these numerals (but with otherwise): ḫiyām ‘days’, xamsa(*)iyām ‘five days’; ḫāhur ‘months’, ḫadba(*)a(*)ēhur ‘four months’; ḫāl ‘thousands’, sab(*)ēlāy ‘seven thousand’; ḫanṣos ‘persons, souls’, tmān(*)ṣos ‘eight persons’; ḫar(*)ēfe ‘loaves’, ḫa(*)tīr(*)rāy ‘ten loaves’. (tlatt and satt do not add another t since three t’s would in any case be reduced to two: satt(*)iyām ‘six days’; tlatt(*)ālāy ‘three thousand’). The connective t is also sometimes used with fractions: ḫadba(*)a(*)ēmā ‘four fifths’. See pp. 222, 223.

Another special construct form is used for tlēte and tmān before miyye ‘hundred’: tlēt miyye ‘three hundred’, tmān miyye ‘eight hundred’.

The construct form of miyye ‘hundred’ is always mit: mit same ‘a hundred years’.

The numerals from three through ten have suffixing forms used with the plural pronouns -na ‘us’, -kon ‘you’, and -kon ‘them’. The suffixing forms are generally regular with respect to the absolute forms (changing -e or -a to -ē: tīṣṣa(*)ē ‘the three of us’, xamsakon ‘the five of you’, ēṣad’il ‘the ten of them’). The numeral tmān ‘two’, however, has suffixing forms tmānāt or tmān(*)kōn ‘the two of you’. ḫarēca ‘four’ has the suffixing form ḫarbēt¬: ḫarbēta(*) ‘the four of us’.

---

1The second t in tlatt ‘three...’ might be considered "connective t", but note the similar doubling of n in tmān ‘eight...’. In some transcriptions these numerals are written ‘talat’, ‘tamān’, at least before a single consonant, but before two consonants they are clearly pronounced long: tlatt, tmālāy ‘three children’, tmān(*)ṣos ‘eight piastres’. (Note, however, tmān(*)mān ‘eight years’, more often heard than tmān(*)mān.)

2From the point of view of word-phonology, the t is better analyzed as a part of the following term: xamsa(*)iyām, ḫadba(*)a(*)ēhur, etc. This analysis seems to go against the grain of many speakers’ intuition, however.
CHAPTER 6: VERB INFECTIONAL FORMS

Syrian Arabic verbs are inflected for:

Tense: Perfect, Imperfect [319]

Person: First, Second, Third [363]

Number/Gender: Masculine, Feminine, Plural [366, 420]

Mode: Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative [343]

There is no mode inflection in the perfect tense, no person inflection in the imperative mode, and no gender inflection in the plural or in the first person singular. There are, in all, twenty-seven inflected forms.

Sample Conjugation: Inflections of the verb ئ؟كِلِّ 'to eat'

This verb is chosen to illustrate the affixes (set off by hyphens), all of which appear in their basic forms. The stem, however, is exceptional: the initial radical ئ؟ appears only in the perfect tense. See p. 55.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت-ت</td>
<td>ئ؟كِلِّ-ت-ت-ت</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*he ate*
Expression of the Inflectional Categories

TENSE:

The perfect tense has person suffixes, while the imperfect has person prefixes: "akål-t 'you (m.) ate'; t-akål 'that you (m.) eat'. The form of the stem is also different in most cases (pf. 'akal-: impf. -akål). (See p. 185.)

PERSON:

The first person is expressed in the perfect by the suffixes -t (sing.) and -nas (pl.): 'akalt 'I ate', akalnas 'we ate'; and in the imperfect by the prefixes n- (sing.) and n- (pl.): 'akål '(that) I eat', nákål '(that) we eat'. (n- disappears after the indicative prefix b-: bákål 'I eat'.)

The second person is expressed by the suffix -t in the perfect and the prefix t- in the imperfect: 'akål 'you ate', tákål '(that) you eat'.

The third person is expressed by the prefix y- in the masculine and plural imperfect: yákol '(that) he eat'. yáklu '(that) they eat', and by t- in the feminine: tákol '(that) she eat'. In the perfect, there is no third person suffix: 'akal 'he ate'; (but the feminine ending -et is used only in the third person: 'aklet 'she ate'). For some verbs, the third person perfect also contrasts with the first and second persons in the form of the stem: nám-et 'she slept': nám-ti 'you (f.) slept'. See p. 193.

Note that in the imperfect the third person feminine form is the same as the second person masculine; thus the form tákol can mean either '(that) she eats' or '(that) you (m.) eat'.

In the perfect, on the other hand, the second-person masculine form is the same as the first-person singular: 'akált 'you (m.) ate' or 'I ate'.

NUMBER/GENDER:

Feminine (/singular) is expressed by a suffix -i in the second person: tákii '(that) you (f.) eat', káli 'eat (f.)'; in the perfect, -i comes after the person suffix -t: 'akálti 'you (f.) ate'. In the third person, feminine is expressed (simultaneously with the person) by t- (imperfect) and -et (perfect): tákol '(that) she eat', 'aklet 'she ate'.

Feminine and masculine are not distinguished in the first person: 'akál 'I(m. or f.) ate', 'ákol '(that) I(m. or f.) eat'.

All types of verb conjugation are illustrated in Ch. 3.
Plural is expressed in the second and third persons by the suffix -u: tāklu 'that you (pl.) eat', yāklu 'that they eat', ṭaklā 'they ate' in the second person of the perfect, -u comes after the suffix -t: ṭaklu 'you (pl.) ate'. In the first person, the plural is expressed (simultaneously with the person) by the prefix n- in the imperfect and the suffix -m in the perfect: nāklu 'that we eat', ṭaklānu 'we ate'.

Masculine (/singular) is expressed by the lack of any feminine or plural affix.

MODE:

The indicative mode is expressed by the prefix b- which precedes the person prefixes: byāklu 'he eats', btāklu 'you (m.) eat', bāklu 'I eat' [p.179].

In the first person plural it is generally pronounced m-: mnāklu 'we eat'. [p.180]. The b- disappears, after the particle of anticipation ráhā [322] and often also after the particle of actuality čam [320], though verbs with these proclitics are counted as indicative rather than subjunctive.

The subjunctive is expressed by the lack of the prefix b-: yāklu 'that he eat', tāklu 'that you (m.) eat', ṭāklu 'that I eat' [p.343].

Note that there is no mode inflection in the perfect tense; all verbs in the perfect may be counted as indicative.

The imperative is expressed by the lack of both b- and the person-prefix also, in many cases, by modification of the imperfect stem: bēl 'eat' (m.). [p.198].

Formally speaking, the imperative belongs to the imperfect tense and lacks person, while functionally speaking, it belongs to the second person and lacks tense.

VARIATIONS IN AFFIX FORM

The Prefixes with Supporting Vowel. Each inflectional prefix in its basic form consists of a single consonant (b-; y-; t-; k-; m-). Since most imperfect stems (unlike ṭaklā, above) themselves begin with one or two consonants, prefixation of these basic forms would sometimes result in a pile-up of three or four consonants at the beginning of a word—an unallowable state of affairs in Syrian Arabic. See Sound Combinations [25]. Such consonant congestion is avoided by inserting a 'supporting vowel', [cf. p.32] usually a, before the last two consonants in the sequence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Supporting Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b- + t- + -ktōb</td>
<td>btāktōb</td>
<td>'you (m.) write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b- + t- + -ṣūf</td>
<td>bṭāṣūf</td>
<td>'you (m.) see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? + -ṣṭāḥ</td>
<td>ṭāṣṭāḥ</td>
<td>'(that) I open'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See, however, Vocalic Variant of the Prefix y-, below. Using this rule, the supporting vowel's place in the sequence must be determined for the stem without suffixes, because when certain suffixes are added to stems like -ktōb [p.28], the stem vowel disappears, creating a longer consonant sequence: byāktōbu (or byāktōbu) 'they write'. In such cases, the prefix-supporting vowel is inserted before the last three consonants, while a 'helping vowel' (?) may also be heard before the last two.

The prefix-supporting vowel in verbs of Patterns I [p.55] and IV [82] is accented, except in hollow [p.56] and geminate [p.63] verbs (e.g. bṭāṣūf 'you see', bṭāṣūb 'you like'), (or unless the accent is shifted back by a pronoun suffix [539], bṭāṣṭāk-lak 'he opens...for you'). See Accentuation [19].

The supporting vowel is a (rather than a) with the verbs ṣāfa 'to give', ṣārēf 'to know', and commonly also ṣamēl 'to do': bṭēṣē 'he gives'; bṭāṣēf 'you know', bṭāṣēf 'I know', ṭāṣēf 'that' I know'; bṭāṣēmēl (or ṭāṣēmēl) 'he does', etc.

Vocalic Variant of the Prefix y-. After a consonant, with stems that begin with a single consonant, the third-person prefix appears as i-: b-i-ṣūf 'he sees', b-i-ṭāḥ 'he'd like to see'.

1Also Pattern VII and VIII verbs in parts of Lebanon and Palestine: byāṣṭēgēl (instead of byāṣṭēgēl 'he works'), byāṣākēr 'instead of byāṣākēr 'It gets broken'. [p.20]

With the verbs ṭaklā 'to eat' and ṭakdō 'to take', the imperfect tense forms byāklu, byāṣdō, etc. may be analyzed as consisting of the prefixes b-, y- etc. with a supporting vowel a, added to the stems ṭaklā, ṭakdō (initial-weak alterations of a theoretical ~x-w). Thus byā- ṭaklā ~ byāklu (since ~a > aa).

All these forms would seem to be remnants of a tendency to use supporting vowel a generally before a and ?, which has since been swamped by the tendency to use a as supporting vowel before any consonant: bṭānī 'you mean' bṭāṣmor 'you order'. (The form yānī 'that is to say' is a Classicalism. Cf. byānī 'it means').
The theoretical combination -ay- does not normally occur in Syrian Arabic ("bayrTĐ ṣyâf") but is replaced by the simple vowel i.

In the north and the south of the Syrian area (viz. Aleppo, Jerusalem), the third-person prefix always appears as -i- (or -a- (Iāh)) after ब-, even when the stem begins with two consonants: biṭkol (or bākōl) 'he writes'. This form is not confused with the first person because the latter has the vowel a in these areas: bākōl 'I write'. [179]

The Suffix -t with Helping Vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, the 'you/I' suffix of the perfect has an optional variant -t that is commonly used at the end of a phrase or before a word beginning with a simple consonant: ƙaft raâkāl (or ƙaft raâkāl) 'I saw a man'; wēn ƙânt? (or wēn ƙânt?) 'Where were you?'; ƙaft kânt (or māt) 'If I died...'.

The helping vowel is not used before -t if a following word (in the same phrase) begins with two consonants, because in that case the four-consonant sequence is broken by a helping vowel between the words: ƙaft ƙhāb 'I saw a book'. The helping vowel is also generally not used with this suffix before a suffixed pronoun: ƙaftīn 'you (m.) saw us', ƙaftīn 'I saw you (pl.)'. See p.32.

Velarization of Affixes. The suffixes -t and -et have velarized forms -t and -et, respectively, with stems ending in a velarized sound (p.26):

xałdgu-t (or xałdgu-età) 'you finished'
xałdgu-et 'she finished'

The prefix ब- has a velarized form ब-, used with stems that begin with a velarized sound, or with a sound that is conducive to velarization from a subsequent sound:

ba-t-qafr 'it becomes'
ba-t-qafr 'she hits'
ba-t-paqm 'you suppose'
ba-t-xaqg 'it concerns'

Before stems beginning with a single consonant द-, however, the prefix has the form ब- rather than ब-. (See below, Voicing...).

ba-t-dāll 'She stays'

The suffixes ब-, न-, र-, and -ma are likewise velarized in the neighborhood of velarized consonants, but this velarization is not separately indicated in our transcription (p.7).

Voicing and Spirantization of the Prefix ब-. The voiced form ब- is used with stems that begin with a single consonant ड, ण, or र, and the form ब- before a single consonant द:

ba-ḍ-ṣāmd 'it increases'
ba-ḍ-ṣīb 'you bring'
ba-ḍ-ḍāll 'it indicates'
ba-ḍ-ḍāll 'it remains'

The prefix ब- is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant ड, ण, or र, ल, र (p.27):

ba-ḍ-ṣāmd 'it increases' (= baḍṣāmd)
ba-ḍ-ṣīb 'you bring' (= baḍṣīb)
ba-ḍ-ḍāff 'you see' (= baḍḍāff)
ba-ḍ-pābb 'you pour' (= baḍpābb)

Assimilation of the Prefix न-. The first-person plural prefix has optional variants: न- before a single consonant न or ब, न- before a single consonant ल, and न- before a single consonant र (p.27):

ma-न-बुस (or ma-न-बुस) 'we kiss'
ma-न-मुल (or ma-न-मुल) 'we die'
ma-न-लम (or ma-न-लम) 'we blame'
ma-न-रुह (or ma-न-रुह) 'we go'

The First Person Singular Prefix. The prefix न- disappears after the indicative prefix ब-, and also in the subjunctive before any stem that begins with a single consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba-ktob 'I write'</td>
<td>9a-ktob 'that I write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-tılıam 'I learn'</td>
<td>9a-tılıam 'that I learn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-stıqemel 'I use'</td>
<td>9a-stıqemel 'that I use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-ṣīf 'I see'</td>
<td>9a-ṣīf 'that I see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-ṣıber 'I prepare'</td>
<td>9a-ṣıber 'that I prepare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-ṣıf 'I put'</td>
<td>9a-ṣıf 'that I put'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the north and the south of the Syrian area (viz. Aleppo, Jerusalem), the first singular affix is not 9-, but rather 9a- (9a- after ब-): 9a-ktob 'I write', 9a-ktob 'that I write'; baṣīf 'I see', baṣīf 'that I see'.
In certain classicisms, "na-" is used instead of "b-" in the first singular indicative: "dakkurak 'I thank you' (instead of dakkurak), "apun 'I think..." (instead of bpan).

The Indicative Prefix. The prefix "b-" has an alternate form "m-" which is used with the first-person plural prefix: "m-nakib "we write", m-m-baf "we sell".

In the Palestinian area, however, the form "b-" is generally used before all the prefixes, including "m-": bnakib "we write", bnaaf "we see".

"b-" also has an optional variant "f-" used before "f": f-faf 'I enter' ("bfaf"), f-fakker 'I think' ("bfkker").

Suffixes Ending in a Vowel. The vowels of the suffixes -na 'we', -i (fem.), and -u (pl.) are lengthened and accented [p. 27] when they occur with suffix pronouns [p. 539]:

* Waf-na 'we saw'
* Wad-u 'they took'
* Waf-u 'they visited'
* Waf-i 'that you(f.) see'
* Waf-u 'open (pl.)'
* Wad-i 'take(f.)'

The form -et- occurs:

1.) Before any suffix beginning with a consonant:

* Waf-et 'she saw'
* Waf-kon 'you (pl.)'
* Waf-ha 'her'
* Waf-lo 'for him'

Also before the suffixes -a 'her' and -on 'them' which are optional variants of -a and -hon respectively [p. 541]: Waf-a 'she saw her'

* Waf-on 'she saw them' ("waf-ed-on")

The change of e to a is automatic, since short e does not normally occur accented [p. 22]. For those varieties of Arabic speech in which there is no contrast between e, a, and i in these positions [p. 13], the form of the suffix here does not change except for the accentuation.

2.) The form -et- also occurs before the suffix pronouns -o 'him', -ak 'you (m.)', and -ek 'you (f.)' with certain kinds of verb stems, namely: all sound augmented and quadriradical stems except those of Patterns VII, VIII, and IX. (See pp. 182-183 below.) For example:

* "wad-dam-et 'she taught'
* "wad-kat-at 'she wrote (to)'
* "wad-traw-at 'she favored'
* "wad-tall-at 'she learned'
* "wad-tamal-at 'she obtained'
* "wad-stamal-at 'she used'

The Suffix -et-. The basic form -et- of the third-person feminine suffix occurs always, and only, when no suffix pronoun follows. With following pronouns, the alternants -et-, -et-, and -t- occur (with t replacing t after velarized sounds [p. 26]).

The factors that determine which alternate form is to be used are rather complicated. These complications are lessened considerably for Palestinian Arabic, in which the forms -et (and -et-) are generally used throughout.

The differences among the various local dialects in the forms of this suffix are also complicated; the forms described here are those of Damascus.

Optionaly, the accented form -at- may also be used with geminate [p. 42] and defective [43] augmented verbs whose last consonant is a dental stop (d, t, j): staradd-ad-o 'she got it back' (or staradd-ad-o); thadd-ad-o 'she challenged him' (or thadd-ad-o) (thadda 'to challenge, provoke'). See p. 182, below.
The unaccented form -at- is used before suffix pronouns -o, -ak, and -ek with certain kinds of verb stems, namely:

1.) With simple defective a-stems [pp.60,67]:

ṭāka 'to tell': ḥāk-et 'she told' + -o → ḥāk-at-o 'she told it'

 tribunal 'to read': ḍr-et 'she read' + -o → ḍr-at-o 'she read it'

kaf 'to suffice': ḫf-et 'it sufficed' + ak → ḫf-at-ak 'it sufficed you(m.)'

'ālah 'to come (to)': ḫā-et 'she came' + -ek → ḫā-at-ek 'she came to you(f.)'

See p.

2.) With defective Pattern VIII stems [p.96]:

ṣṭara 'to buy': ṣṭdr-et 'she bought' + -o → ṣṭdr-at-o 'she bought it'

3.) with geminate stems [p.63] ending in dental stops (−dd, −ṭṭ, −ṭt, −ff):

madd 'to stretch': madd-et 'she stretched' + -o → madd-at-o 'she stretched it'

ṭāgh 'to bite': ḏgh-et 'she bit' + -o → ḏgh-at-o 'she bit it'

fatt 'to crumble': fṭṭ et 'she crumbled' + -o → fṭṭat-o 'she crumbled it'

ḥaṭṭ 'to put': ḥaṭṭ-et 'she put' + -o → ḥaṭṭat-o 'she put it'

staradd 'to get back': staradd-et 'she got...back' + -o → staradd-at-o 'she got it back'

Augmented verbs, however, may also use the accented form -āt-: staradd-āt-o 'she got it back'.

Optionally, defective augmented verbs with a dental stop as middle radical may use the unaccented form: ṭhāddā 'to challenge, provoke': ṭhādd-et 'she provoked' + -o 'him' → ṭhāddā-at-o).

Except for those whose last stem consonant is a dental stop, germinative verbs and augmented defective verbs use the vowelless form -t- before these suffixes (see below). It would seem that the vowel is preserved before dd, etc., to avoid sequences like -dd-, (usually reduced to -dt- or even -tt- [p.28]), which might obscure the composition of the verb form.

The vowelless form -t- is used before -o, -ak, and -ek with all kinds of verb stems except those specified above in connection with the vowelless forms. Namely, -t- is used:

1.) With all simple triradical stems that are sound, geminate (other than dental stops), or hollow:

ṭātāk 'to open': fāṭḥ-et 'she opened' + -o → fāṭḥ-at-o 'she opened it'

ṭēptēt 'to drink': ṭēptēt-at-o 'she drank it'

xāla 'to finish': xāl-at-o 'she finished it' + -o → xāl-at-o 'she finished it'

ḥānah 'to shake': ḡān-at-o 'she shook' + -o → ḡān-at-o 'she shook it'

ṣaff 'to see': ḫṣaff-at-o 'she saw' + -o → ḫṣaff-at-o 'she saw it'

2.) With sound Pattern VIII stems:

ḥtāmā 'to tolerate': ḡdām-at-o 'she tolerated it' + -o → ḡdām-at-o 'she tolerated it'

xṭāmā 'to invent': xṭām-at-o 'she invented it' + -o → xṭām-at-o 'she invented it'

If there were any transitive verbs of Patterns VII and IX, they would presumably be like Pattern VIII, but only transitive verbs, of course, take pronominal suffixes.

3.) With simple defective i-stems [pp.70,72]: nāsi 'to forget': nāsi 'she forgot' + -o → nāsi-at-o 'she forgot it'.

Defective a-stems [p.60] sometimes have a variant stem with -y- before the third person suffixes, hence also ḥāky-at 'she told' + -o → ḥāki-at-o 'she told it'. Some verbs only have this variant before -t- with a pronominal suffix: ḣḍr-at-o (⇒ ḣḍr-at-o) 'she read it' (but not ḷary-at-, only ḷar-at 'she read it').

4.) with all augmented verb stems that are geminate, hollow, or defective - except Pattern VIII defective stems, and geminates and defectives with stem-final dental stops [p.182]:

xāla 'to allow': xāl-at-o 'she allowed you'

ḥāk 'to talk to': ḥāk-at-o 'she talked to him'

ṣṭāna 'to wait for': ṣṭān-at-o 'she waited for you(f.)'

ṣāla 'to brush': ṣāl-at-o 'she brushed it'
INFLECTIONAL VARIATION IN STEMS

Most verbs undergo changes in the form of their stems depending on their inflection.

The most complex stem variation is that of tense. The section on tense variation is limited to a comparison of the 'he'-inflections (3rd p. masc./sing.) of the perfect and imperfect.

The stem forms determined by person, number/gender, and mode variation are all deducible from one or the other of these 'he'-inflections.

Tense Variation in Simple Triradical Verb Stems

Sound Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has two short vowels, a-o or a-e, between the three radicals: ḏrās 'he studied', ḏnal 'he carried', ḏrāx 'he shouted'; ṣmēč 'he heard', nāzel 'he descended'.

In the imperfect there is only one stem vowel o, e, or a, which comes between the last two radicals: byā-dros 'he studies', byā-җmel 'he carries', byā-prax 'he shouts', byā-smāč 'he hears', byā-nāzel 'he descends'.

Verbs with a-e in the perfect stem almost all have a in the imperfect [p.71]:

ẖāseb 'he earned': byā-ḵsāb 'he earns'
ḵāseb 'he mounted': byā-ḵsāb 'he mounts'
fāhem 'he understood': byā-fāham 'he understands'

Several, however, have a-e in the perfect and e in the imperfect [p.69]:

nāzel 'he descended': byā-nāzel 'he descends'
nāsebk 'he took hold': byā-nāsek 'he takes hold'
(See p.69 for others)

None with a-e in the perfect has o in the imperfect.

Of verbs with a-o in the perfect, many have o in the imperfect [p.55]:

ḏrās 'he studied': byā-dros 'he studies'
ḏād 'he sat down': byā-ḏād 'he sits down'
ḏālā 'he attained': byā-ḏālā 'he attains'
Many have e in the imperfect [p. 57]:

ḥmāl 'he carried': byd-ḥmēl 'he carries'
ğzal 'he washed': byd-ğzēl 'he washes'
‘dām 'he divided': byd-‘dēm 'he divides'

Quite a few may have either a or e [p. 63]:

‘dīal 'he killed': byd-ʔōl or byd-ʔtel 'he kills'
tāran 'he left': byd-tōr or byd-tēr 'he leaves'
līfat 'he turned': byd-lēf or byd-lēfē 'he turns'

Quite a few have a in the imperfect [p. 65]:

fēbāc 'he printed': byd-fēbāc 'he prints'
smīh 'he allowed': byd-smēḥ 'he allows'
hēfat 'he sent': byd-hēfat 'he sends'

Those with a-a in the perfect and a also in the imperfect almost all have a back consonant (x, q, h, c, h, or ʾ) as second or third radical. An exception: ḥāfēq 'he kept': byd-hēfēq 'he keeps'.

Defective Verbs. The vowelling of the perfect stem is a-a or a-e: ḥāf 'it sufficed', ṣāra 'he read', ḏī 'he stayed', māṣi 'he walked'. The imperfect has a or i: byd-ḡfī 'it suffices', byd-ḡra 'he reads', byd-ḡā 'he stays', byd-māṣi 'he walks'.

Almost all which have a-a in the imperfect have i in the imperfect [p. 66]:

bāna 'he built': byd-bānī 'he builds'
ṭīf 'he extinguished': byd-tīfī 'he extinguishes'
ḥma 'he ironed': byd-hmī 'he irons'

A few, however, have a-a in the perfect and a also in the imperfect [p. 67]:

bāda 'he began': byd-bāda 'he begins'
‘dāra 'he read': byd-‘dēra 'he reads'

For others, see p. 67.

Perfect & Imperfect Stems

Almost all with a-i in the perfect have a in the imperfect [p. 72]:

māṣi 'he forgot': byd-nāṣ 'he forgets'
rāṣi 'he was satisfied': byd-rāṣ 'he is satisfied'
ḥāṣi 'he remained': byd-baṣ 'he remains'

Only two have a-i in the perfect and i also in the imperfect [p. 70]:

bāṣi 'he cried': byd-bēṣi 'he cries'
māṣi 'he walked': byd-māṣi 'he walks'

Initial-Weak Verbs. Simple triliteral verbs whose first radical is w or y have imperfect stems beginning with ū or ē, respectively: ṣāf 'he described', ṣāf 'he fulfills', ṣāf 'he despair': ṣāf 'he despair'.

Two verbs with initial radical ʾ have imperfect stems beginning with ʾāl: ṣākal 'he ate': by-dākal 'he eats'; ṣāxād 'he took': by-āxād 'he takes'.

All others with initial radical ʾ are sound: ṣāmar 'he ordered': by-dāmar 'he orders'.

Some verbs with imperfect stem vowel a may lose their initial radical w in the imperfect [p. 74]:

wēgāl 'he arrived': byd-pal (or by-dāpal) 'he arrives'
wēxē 'he fell': byd-ʾāxē (or by-ʾōxē) 'he falls'
wēlād 'he was born': byd-lēd (or by-lēd) 'he is born'

In some parts of the Syrian area, however, notably in Lebanon and Palestine, these forms without ū are seldom or never used.

The initial radical y of yēses 'it dried up', may also be lost in the imperfect: byd-šēs (or by-šēs) 'it dries up'.

The initial radical ʾ or the anomalous verb ṣēs 'he came' is lost in the imperfect in many parts of the Syrian area (including Damascus): byd-šē 'he comes'. In other parts (e.g. Palestine), the form b(y)-ʾēṣi is generally used. [p. 76].

All initial-weak verbs with stem vowels a-e (or defective a-i) in the imperfect have a in the imperfect:

wērēt 'he inherited': by-ʿarēt 'he inherits'
māṣē 'it was painful': by-ʿāṣē (or by-ḥaṣē) 'it is painful'
māṣi 'it was low': by-ḥaṣ 'it is low'
Almost all initial-weak verbs with stem vowels a—a in the perfect have e (or i for defective) in the imperfect [p. 59]:

\[\text{md̂ad} \quad \text{‘he promised’}; \quad \text{by-ú̯̄de} \text{d} \quad \text{‘he promises’}\]

\[\text{md̂ad} e \quad \text{‘he hurt(someone)’}; \quad \text{by-ú̯̄de} e \quad \text{‘he hurts...’ (cf. wañe above)}\]

\[\text{wañha} \quad \text{‘he inspired’}; \quad \text{by-ú̯̄hi} \quad \text{‘he inspires’}\]

Two exceptions, with imperfect vowel a, are \[\text{md̂ad} e \quad \text{‘he placed’}; \quad \text{by-ú̯̄de} e \quad \text{‘he places’}, \quad \text{and md̂ad} e \quad \text{‘he entrusted, deposited’}; \quad \text{by-ú̯̄de} e \quad \text{‘he entrusts, deposits’} [p. 66].\]

**Hollow Verbs.** The base (‘he’) inflection of the perfect has a long vowel ə between the first and last radicals; lām ‘he blamed’, nād it increased; nām ‘he slept’; while the imperfect stem has ù, û, or a between the radicals: bi-lām ‘he blames’, bi-nāf ‘it increases’, bi-nām ‘he sleeps’.

Examples with imperfect vowel û [p. 56]:

\[\text{rūh} \quad \text{‘he went’}; \quad \text{bi-rūh} \quad \text{‘he goes’}\]

\[\text{šāf} \quad \text{‘he saw’}; \quad \text{bi-šāf} \quad \text{‘he sees’}\]

\[\text{mūt} \quad \text{‘he died’}; \quad \text{bi-mūt} \quad \text{‘he dies’}\]

With imperfect vowel û [p. 59]:

\[\text{fə̂} \quad \text{‘he woke up’}; \quad \text{bi-ʃə̂} \quad \text{‘he wakes up’}\]

\[\text{šə̂l} \quad \text{‘he picked up’}; \quad \text{bi-ʃə̂l} \quad \text{‘he picks up’}\]

\[\text{bə̂b} \quad \text{‘he brought’}; \quad \text{bi-bə̂b} \quad \text{‘he brings’}\]

Only a few have imperfect vowel ã [p. 66]:

\[\text{xə̂f} \quad \text{‘he was afraid’}; \quad \text{bi-xə̂f} \quad \text{‘he is afraid’}\]

\[\text{bə̂t} \quad \text{‘he spent the night’}; \quad \text{by-bə̂t} \quad \text{‘he spends the night’}\]

(For others, see p. 66.)

**Geminate Verbs.** The base (‘he’) inflection of the perfect has a short vowel a between the first radical and the fused second and third radicals: kādā ‘he shook’, əqā ‘he bit’; while the imperfect stem has a or ə in the same position: bi-kādā ‘he shakes’, bi-əqā ‘he bites’.

Almost all simple geminate verbs have a in the imperfect [p. 63]:

\[\text{rə̂dd} \quad \text{‘he gave back’}; \quad \text{bi-rə̂dd} \quad \text{‘he gives back’}\]

\[\text{də̂l} \quad \text{‘he showed’}; \quad \text{by-də̂l} \quad \text{‘he shows’}\]

\[\text{bə̂f} \quad \text{‘he put’}; \quad \text{by-bə̂f} \quad \text{‘he puts’}\]

Several, however, have a in the imperfect [p. 68]:

\[\text{də̂l} \quad \text{‘he remained’}; \quad \text{bi-də̂l} \quad \text{‘he remains’}\]

\[\text{tə̂m} \quad \text{‘he remained’}; \quad \text{bi-tə̂m} \quad \text{‘he remains’}\]

The verb ədā ‘he bit’, has imperfect a in much of the Syrian area, though in Palestine, for example, one hears bi-ədā ‘he bites’; while on the other hand, the form bi-ədā ‘it is all right’ is heard in Palestine, while elsewhere it is usually bi-ədāh.

**Tense Variation in Augmented and Quadriradical Verb Stems**

In the perfect (‘he’ inflection), the last vowel of the stem is always a (or ə for hollow triradicals): hāmarr ‘he blushed’, baṣal ‘he bried’; staʃəf ‘he benefitted’, tə̂llam ‘he learned’, əδə ‘he gave’ (a gift); stə̂hə ‘he liked’.

In the imperfect, there are two kinds of vowel, depending on the pattern and its alterations. For some types of verb, the imperfect stem is just like the perfect, its last vowel remaining a: bya-ḥmarr ‘he blushes’, bya-tə̂llam ‘he learns’.

For other types, the last vowel is changed in the imperfect to what may be called an i-type vowel, namely: ə (for sound verbs), e (for defective), û (for hollow) or a (for geminate): bi-bə̂rəf ‘he bries’, bya-bə̂f ‘he gives’, bya-stə̂f ‘he benefits’, bya-stə̂hə ‘he likes’.

**Verbs with No Tense Variation in the Stem include:**

**All verbs with the stem-formative prefix t— [p. 85]:**

**Pattern V:**

\[tə̂jə̂yar ‘it changed’; \quad bya-tə̂jə̂yar ‘it changes’ [p. 87]\]

\[txə̂bə ‘it was hidden’; \quad bya-txə̂bə ‘it is hidden’ [87]\]

**Pattern VI:**

\[tə̂ʃə̂m ‘he was pessimistic’; \quad bya-tə̂ʃə̂m ‘he is pessimistic’ [89]\]

\[tə̂xə ‘he was easy-going’; \quad bya-tə̂xə ‘he is easygoing’ [89]\]
Quadriradical (and Pseudo-quadriradical):

\[ \text{tādrbāk} \ 'it became compli-} \ \text{bya-tādrbāk 'it becomes compli-} \ \text{cated' [p.121] \ ]

\[ \text{tfdrā} \ 'it was brushed' \ bya-tfdrā 'it is brushed' [122] \]

Also the verbs of hybrid pattern V/X [107]:

\[ \text{ṣīdāna} \ 'he waited'; \ bya-ṣīdāna 'he waits'; \ stīdāna 'he wished'; \ bya-stīdāna 'he wishes'. \]

All unsound verbs of Pattern VII, geminate and hollow verbs of Pattern VIII, and all verbs of Pattern IX:

Pattern VII Geminate: \[ \text{ḥābā} \ 'he was loved'; \ bya-ḥābā 'he is loved' [p.94] \]

Hollow: \[ \text{ṣīl} \ 'it was said'; \ bya-ṣīl 'it is said' [94] \]

Defective: \[ \text{nīdāra} \ 'it was read'; \ bya-nīdāra 'it is read' [93] \]

Many defective verbs of this pattern, however, also have the i-type imperfect vowelling: \[ \text{ṣīma} \ 'it was folded'; \ bya-ṣīmai (or bya-ṣīmā) 'it is folded' [p.92]. \]

Pattern VIII Geminate: \[ \text{ṣīdā} \ 'it increased'; \ bya-ṣīdā 'it increases' [p.98] \]

Hollow: \[ \text{ḥīsā} \ 'he needed'; \ bya-ḥīsā 'he needs' [99] \]

The defective verbs \[ \text{lrā} \ 'to be found' \] and \[ \text{ntāla} \ 'to be filled' \] have a-type imperfect vowelling: \[ \text{bya-līrā}, \ bya-ntāla, \] but other defective Pattern VIII's have the i-type [p.97].

Pattern IX:

\[ \text{swādd} \ 'it turned black'; \ bya-swādd 'it turns black' \]
\[ \text{hmārī} \ 'he blushed'; \ bya-hmārī 'he blushes' [101] \]

Verbs with an i-Type Imperfect Vowel include all other types, namely:

Patterns II, III, and simple quadriradicals (and pseudo-quadriradicals)\(^1\):

\[ \text{fāsār} \ 'he explained'; \ bi-fāsār 'he explains' [p.77] \]
\[ \text{māyyās} \ 'he distinguished'; \ bi-māyyes 'he distinguishes' \]
\[ \text{xdōba} \ 'he hid' (trans.); \ bi-xdōbi 'he hides' [78] \]

\[ \text{III: sāfār} \ 'he travelled'; \ bi-sāfār 'he travels' [80] \]
\[ \text{rāgāp} \ 'he punished'; \ bi-rāgāp 'he punishes' [81] \]
\[ \text{ṣāwā} \ 'he made'; \ bi-ṣāwā 'he makes' [81] \]
\[ \text{tādrām} \ 'he translated'; \ bi-tādrām 'he translates' [118] \]
\[ \text{bdāwā} \ 'he drilled a hole'; \ bi-bdāwā 'he drills a hole' [118] \]
\[ \text{bdār} \ 'he powdered'; \ bi-bdār 'he powders' [119] \]
\[ \text{fārā} \ 'he showed'; \ bi-fārā 'he shows' [120] \]

Pattern IV verbs have a stem-formative prefix \(\text{pā-}\) in the perfect, and no vowel between the first and second radicals; \[ \text{ḥūṣan 'he announced'.} \]

In the imperfect the formative \(\text{pā-}\) disappears, and the vowel after the second radical is changed to an i-type [p.189]: \[ \text{byā'il 'he announces'}. \]

Sound: \[ \text{ḥṣbā 'it became';} \ bya-ḥṣbā 'it becomes' [p.83] \]

Defective: \[ \text{ḥdhā 'he gave';} \ bya-ḥdhā 'he gives' [83] \]

Geminate: \[ \text{ḥāpār 'he insisted';} \ bi-ḥāpār 'he insists' [84] \]

Hollow: \[ \text{ḥābāl 'he transformed';} \ bi-ḥāl 'he transforms' [84] \]

Sound verbs of Patterns VII and VIII have i-type imperfect stems, in which the next-to-last vowel is changed to a (and the last vowel, to e):

Pattern VII: \[ \text{ḥdsār 'it was broken';} \ bya-ḥdsār 'it is broken' \]
\[ \text{ḥṣbā 'he withdrew';} \ bya-ḥṣbā 'he withdraws' [p.91] \]
\[ \text{ḥbdās 'he had a good time';} \ bya-ḥbdās 'he has a good time' \]

Pattern VIII: \[ \text{ḥtākār 'he thought';} \ bya-ḥtākār 'he thinks' \]
\[ \text{ḥṣgāl 'he worked';} \ bya-ḥṣgāl 'he works' [95] \]

In some parts of the Syrian area, the next-to-last vowel is dropped; the accent falling on the inflectional prefix: \[ bya-ḥnās, bya-ḥṣgāl. \]

\(^1\)In sum, all verbs whose stem consists of one consonant + short vowel + two consonants + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCCV(C), one consonant + long vowel + one consonant + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCC(C).

\(^{11}\)But cf. pseudo-quadriradical Pattern \(\text{ḥṣāl [117]}; \ ḥṣlām 'he became a Muslim', bi-ḥṣlām 'he becomes a Muslim'.}
Some Pattern VII defective verbs (and in some areas, e.g. Lebanon, practically all of them) have i-type imperfect stems in addition to the a-type stems: nafa 'it was extinguished': bya-nafä 'it is extinguished'; nkër 'it was rented': bya-nkër 'it is rented' (also bya-nfäs, byakdrä) [p.97].

The Pattern VIII defective verb ltda 'to be found', 'to meet', has an i-type (as well as a-type) imperfect bya-ltda: (or byaltda) 'he meets', but in the sense 'he is found', only the form bya-ltda is used.

The anomalous Pattern VIII (or VII) verb ndla 'it was filled' has an i-type imperfect bya-ndlä 'it is filled', as well as the a-type bya-ndla [98]. Pattern X imperfect stems are all i-type:

Sound: stémal 'he used': bya-stémal 'he uses'

stfham 'he inquired': bya-stfhem 'he inquires' [102]

stdsab 'he questioned': bya-stdsab 'he questions' [103]

Defective: stähl 'he liked': bya-stähl 'he likes' [103]

Hollow: stäsär 'he consulted': bya-stäsär 'he consults' [105]

Geminates: stämôr 'he continued': bya-stämôr 'he continues' [105]

Initial-weak: stâhal 'he deserved': bya-stâhal 'he deserves' [106]

The Hollow-defective verb stâha 'he was embarrassed' [p.106] has the next-to-last imperfect vowel o, just like Pattern VIII verbs (from which it is indistinguishable in form [97]): bya-stâhi 'he gets embarrassed'.

On the other hand, the anomalous Pattern X verb ndall 'he concluded' [107] keeps a in the imperfect, like Pattern VIII geminates: bya-ndlî 'he concludes'.

The hybrid Pattern III/X verb snmôl (or stmôl) 'he caught' has an i-type imperfect: bya-smôl 'he catches' [p.108].

Quadriradical Pattern PrealAl verbs [p.124] (like Pattern X geminates) have o as the last stem vowel of the imperfect:

šmôdâs 'he was disgusted': bya-šmôdâs 'he gets disgusted'

qôcôr 'he shuddered': bya-qôcôr 'he shudders'

Person Variation in Verb Stems.

In the first and second persons of the perfect, i.e. before the suffixes -t 'you/I' and -na 'we', the base ('he') form is altered as follows:

In simple sound verbs with vowels o-e, the first vowel (o) is dropped and the last vowel (e) is changed to a:

sôc 'he heard': smôc-t 'you (m./I) heard'

smôc-t-i 'you (f.) heard'

smôc-t-u 'you (pl.) heard'

smôc-na 'we heard' [p.71]

ômôl 'he did': ômôl-t 'you (m./I) did'

ômôl-t-i 'you (f.) did'

ômôl-t-u 'you (pl.) did'

ômôl-na 'we did' [p.70]

The change from e to a is an automatic consequence of sound combination rules [p.28].

Stem vowels o remain unaltered except in accentuation: kôt 'he wrote': kô-t 'you/I wrote'; tôd 'he learned'; tôlô-d 'we learned'. See Accentuation [p.18].

In simple defective verbs with vowels a-i, the first vowel (a) is dropped and the last vowel (i) is lengthened to ë:

nsô 'he forgot': nsô-t 'you (m./I) forgot', etc.

nsô-na 'we forgot' [p.72]

ôô 'he cried': ôô-t 'you/I cried', etc.

ôô-na 'we cried' [70]

See p.27.
In defective verbs stem-final a is changed to ǝ:

In hollow triradical verbs (excepting some of those in Pattern X), the ǝ is changed to a:

In hollow verbs of Pattern X the first stem vowel a tends to disappear both in the first and second persons of the perfect and in the imperfect stem: bya-staḥ ‘he rests’.

On the assimilation of voiced obstruents to the suffix -t (e.g. ʔdād ‘he took’: ʔdād-t ‘you/I took’), see p. 26.

Number/Gender Variation in Verb Stems

In the imperfect, the final vowel (a or i) of a defective stem is dropped before the feminine and plural suffixes -i and -u:

3rd person: byānā + u → byānā-u ‘they forget’
2nd person: btānā + u → btānā-u ‘you (pl.) forget’
btānā + i → btānā-i ‘you (f.) forget’ [p. 72]
In many parts of the Syrian area, however (e.g. Palestine, southern Lebanon), this ə is not dropped: ftdathet (or ftdāhat), mktasrat (or mk̪d̪asrat), etc.

Certain other stem changes occur before -i,-u, and -et as before all suffixes beginning with a vowel (except -ə 'her', -on 'them' [541]):

Stem vowels e and o are dropped [p.28]:

btādros + -i → btā(°)dros-i 'you (f.) study' [p.55]
byōmsk + -u → byōmsk-um 'they hold' [69]
māsek + -u → māsk-u 'they took hold'
māsek + -et → māsk-et 'she took hold'
bādākher + -u → bādākhr-u 'they close' [77]
bāstād̪mel + -i → bāstād̪m(i)l-i 'you (f.) use' [102]

Note, however, that Pattern II verbs with middle and last radicals alike do not generally lose the e, but rather change it to a: bādābba + -u → bādābba-u 'they cause'. If the e is lost in such cases, a theoretical triple-consonant sequence ("bādābbu") is normally reduced to a double consonant [p.27]. These reduced forms may be heard in some parts of the Syrian area (with some verbs, at least), but note that a Pattern II verb then takes on the form of a geminate Pattern I, and in some cases homophony would result (cf. bādābu 'they curse'), which is avoided by retaining the stem vowel (bādābbu 'they cause').

As before all suffixes, ə in the imperative of simple sound triradical verbs is shortened to a, and ə and ə are both changed to a [p.198]:

ftāh + -u → ftāh-u 'open' (pl.)
mažēk + -i → mažēk-ı 'hold' (f.)
drās + -u → drās-u 'study' (pl.)
Mode Variation in Verb Stems: Imperative Forms

The imperative may be formed by dropping the person prefix (shown here as 2nd p.) from the imperfect stem and modifying the stem in certain ways:

In simple sound triradical stems, the vowel is lengthened when no suffix follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ftāh</td>
<td>ftāh</td>
<td>p.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-msēk</td>
<td>msēk</td>
<td>m.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ktōb</td>
<td>ktōb</td>
<td>m.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But if there is a suffix of any kind, the stem vowel remains short:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (f.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ftāh-i</td>
<td>ftāh-i</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-msēk-on</td>
<td>msēk-on</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ktōb-a</td>
<td>ktōb-a</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And if the suffixing stem has no vowel between the last two radicals, a is inserted there:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (f.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-msēk-i</td>
<td>msēk-i</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-msēk-o</td>
<td>msēk-o</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ktōb-ū</td>
<td>ktōb-ū</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In non-defective verbs whose first radical is a semivowel (m, y), the initial vowel (ā, ē) is shortened to m or y, respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-wēef</td>
<td>wēef</td>
<td>p.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-wāl</td>
<td>wāl</td>
<td>m.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-yēas</td>
<td>yēas</td>
<td>m.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem-initial ā in the imperfect of 'akal 'to eat' and ḥāsad 'to take' is dropped in the imperative [p.56]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-Ākāl</td>
<td>ākāl</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-Ākāl</td>
<td>ākāl</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-Ākāl</td>
<td>ākāl</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Imperatives in Syriac Colloquial are not formed from the imperfect stem in which the initial radical is lost (e.g. ḫāl-pal) [p.75].

2An unlikely command; the translation is not meant in the slang sense, but literally. Good examples with initial radical y are hard to find.

In simple defective verbs with no pronoun suffix, the imperative stem usually has ʾā- before the first radical; and the final vowel is unaltered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-nsā</td>
<td>nsā</td>
<td>m.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-nsē</td>
<td>nsē</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-nsū</td>
<td>nsū</td>
<td>p.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first radical is ʾā-; however, the imperative begins with ʾā:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ūfī</td>
<td>āfī</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ūfū</td>
<td>āfū</td>
<td>p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But when the final vowel is lengthened and accented (viz. before a suffix pronoun), the first syllable is reduced as it is with non-defective verbs (see above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-nsā-ha</td>
<td>nsā-ha</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-nsē-ha</td>
<td>nsē-ha</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ūfī-ha</td>
<td>āfī-ha</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Palestinian area and to some extent elsewhere, the imperative with ʾā- is commonly used instead of the vowel lengthening, in sound verbs as well as defective: ʾāftāh instead[102] of ftāh, ʾāmsēk instead of msēk, etc.

In Lebanon and to some extent elsewhere, on the other hand, vowel lengthening is commonly used in defective verbs as well as sound: nsā instead of ʾnsā, āfī instead of āfī, etc.

With all other types of verb - namely, with augmented verbs and with hollow, geminate, and quadriradical simple verbs - there are no mode variations in the stem at all:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem (m.)</th>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-sākker</td>
<td>sākker</td>
<td>m.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-sākkrī</td>
<td>sākkrī</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-sākrū</td>
<td>sākrū</td>
<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-stāmēl</td>
<td>stāmēl</td>
<td>m.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-stāmēl</td>
<td>stāmēl</td>
<td>m.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-tāmū-li</td>
<td>tāmū-li</td>
<td>m.118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-hāfī</td>
<td>hāfī</td>
<td>m.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-ēlī</td>
<td>ēlī</td>
<td>m.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-nūm</td>
<td>nūm</td>
<td>m.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-tēdīlam</td>
<td>tēdīlam</td>
<td>m.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tā)-tēdīlam</td>
<td>tēdīlam</td>
<td>m.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that augmented and simple hollow verbs with stem vowels a (or ā) in the imperfect have masculine and plural imperatives with the same form as the third person perfect: nām 'he slept' and 'sleep (m.)', nāmu 'they slept' and 'sleep (pl.)'; tēdīlam 'he learned' and 'learn (m.)', tēdīlama 'they learned' and 'learn (pl.)'.

Irregular Imperatives. The verb ḍūn 'to come' [p.76] has no imperative of its own but is supplied by the forms tēdīa 'come' (m.), tēdī (f.), tēdū (pl.) (or sometimes tācālī, tācālī, tācālī) [p.61].

The verb ḍaṣa 'to give' (Impf. (p)-dēfī) has an imperative form ḍīfrī (m., f.), ḍīfrī (pl.), commonly used instead of the regular forms ḍīfrī, etc. [p.61].

The imperative of the verb ḍēfād 'to sit' (Impf. (tā)-fēfād) [p.55] commonly loses its initial radical k in the imperative: ḍēfā 'sit down', ḍīfrī (f.), ḍīfrū (pl.).

The exclamation ḍēfā 'watch out!' is generally used instead of the regular imperative form ḍēfā (of ḍēfā, Impf. t-ūfā 'to be aware, wide awake'), and the form ḍēfāk 'take care (lest...)'. For ḍēfā plus pronoun suffix -i (the expected form would be "ṣēfāk") (imperative of ḍēfā, Impf. t-ūfā 'to be wide awake').

The "demonstrative" [p.564] verb hāt 'give (it) here' (f., hātī, pl. hātū) has imperative only, while the form xē 'here, take (it)' is feminine imperative only.

CHAPTER 7: ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONAL FORMS

Adjectives have a three-way inflection for number/gender: masculine (/singular), feminine (/singular), and plural. Masculine is the base inflection; the feminine is usually formed by suffixation of -ē- or -ā [p.138]; the plural is usually formed by suffixation of -n or by a change in the base pattern.

It is the function of an adjectives's inflection to show agreement [p.420] with the term to which it is predicate [403] or attribute [501], or, in some cases, to show the "natural" number/gender of its referent [427].

While number and gender are separate categories with respect to nouns, they fall together in Syrian Arabic for verbs [p.175], for pronouns [539], and less completely for adjectives. Masculine and feminine are distinguished only in the singular, and dual is not distinguished from plural.

Adjectives, however, are not always clearly separable from nouns, especially in the case of personal adjectives that are often used substantively. The word maslem 'Moslem', for instance, as a noun, has the plural mas-lām and the femal derivative mas-lmē, which in turn has a plural mas-lmēt 'Moslems (f.)'. The feminine plural may sometimes be used attributively: mas-lām mas-lmēt 'Moslem women' (more usual: mas-lām mas-lmēn), thus inviting analysis as a feminine plural adjective (or alternatively, an appositive noun [506]).

Some adjectives may be heard with the -ē ending even when there is no question of substantivization, when attributive to a plural in -ēt of a feminine count noun [p.425]: banādīrīyāt māsāwyāt 'juicy tomatoes' (or, more usually, banādīrīyāt māsāwyē). Similarly, a dual adjective may sometimes be heard: l-ōndīrēn 2l-kimyēnīyēn 'The two chemical elements' (or, more colloquially, l-ōndīrēn 2l-kimyēnīyēn).

Generally speaking, these usages are rare enough to be treated as exceptional. It should be kept in mind, however, that adjectives, which are noun-like in base form, are at least potentially also noun-like in inflection, to the extent of an occasional feminine plural (-ēt) or, rarely, a dual.

A few adjectives are uninflcted. See Agreement [p.428].

1 Feminine "singular" only in the sense that it stands in contrast to the plural form. Functionally speaking, the feminine form is used as much in agreement with plurals as with singulars [p.423].
Regular Inflection: Feminine -e/-a, plural -īn.

At least some of the adjectives in every pattern except ạạạ̀al [p.130] — and all of the adjectives in most patterns — are inflected only with the suffixes -e/-a and -īn.

On the alteration of -e with -a, see p.138.

Examples of regular adjective inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ạm bụ</td>
<td>ạm bụ</td>
<td>ạm bụ</td>
<td>'ambitious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạbụ́ i</td>
<td>ạbụ́ i</td>
<td>ạbụ́ i</td>
<td>'active, energetic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ̀kù́dọ́</td>
<td>ẹ̀kù́dọ́</td>
<td>ẹ̀kù́dọ́</td>
<td>'lying, liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ̀kọ̀r ẹ̀n</td>
<td>ọ̀kọ̀r ẹ̀n</td>
<td>ọ̀kọ̀r ẹ̀n</td>
<td>'drunkard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ̀rụ́</td>
<td>ẹ̀rụ́</td>
<td>ẹ̀rụ́</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ̀hu ẹ̀nu</td>
<td>ẹ̀hu ẹ̀nu</td>
<td>ẹ̀hu ẹ̀nu</td>
<td>'sweet', 'pretty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ̀chọ́</td>
<td>ẹ̀chọ́</td>
<td>ẹ̀chọ́</td>
<td>'empty, free'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ̀kọ́m</td>
<td>ẹ̀kọ́m</td>
<td>ẹ̀kọ́m</td>
<td>'stately, elegant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ̀mmù̀chą̀</td>
<td>ẹ̀mmù̀chą̀</td>
<td>ẹ̀mmù̀chą̀</td>
<td>'shiny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́lù ọ́lù</td>
<td>ọ́lù ọ́lù</td>
<td>ọ́lù ọ́lù</td>
<td>'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́lù̀lù̀lí</td>
<td>ọ́lù̀lù̀lí</td>
<td>ọ́lù̀lù̀lí</td>
<td>'displeased'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́lù̀lù̀lí</td>
<td>ọ́lù̀lù̀lí</td>
<td>ọ́lù̀lù̀lí</td>
<td>'busy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mmù̀m</td>
<td>ọ́mmù̀m</td>
<td>ọ́mmù̀m</td>
<td>'important'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù̀c</td>
<td>ọ́mù̀c</td>
<td>ọ́mù̀c</td>
<td>'obedient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́f</td>
<td>ọ́mù́f</td>
<td>ọ́mù́f</td>
<td>'useful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́mù̀m</td>
<td>ọ́mù́mù̀m</td>
<td>ọ́mù́mù̀m</td>
<td>'married'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́mù́m</td>
<td>ọ́mù́mù́m</td>
<td>ọ́mù́mù́m</td>
<td>'ragged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́mù́m</td>
<td>ọ́mù́mù́m</td>
<td>ọ́mù́mù́m</td>
<td>'calm, secure'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stem Modifications with the Suffixes

Adjectives whose base (masculine) forms end in ė + consonant generally drop their ė when the feminine or plural suffix is added [p.28]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ạrẹ́b</td>
<td>ạrẹ́b</td>
<td>ạrẹ́b</td>
<td>'humid, moist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạ̀yey</td>
<td>ạ̀yey</td>
<td>ạ̀yey</td>
<td>'narrow, cramped'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́yè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́yè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́yè̀b</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́yè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́yè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́yè̀b</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>'suitable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>'late'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>'different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mànè̀b</td>
<td>'depressed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With anaptyxis [p.31] (cf. ạ̀kọ́m, above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ạ̀m hẹ̀n</td>
<td>ạ̀m hẹ̀n</td>
<td>ạ̀m hẹ̀n</td>
<td>'greasy, fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ạ̀m hẹ̀n</td>
<td>ạ̀m hẹ̀n</td>
<td>ạ̀m hẹ̀n</td>
<td>'having good taste'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With vocalization of y [p.166] (cf. ẹ̀hu, ẹ̀chọ́, above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́yè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mù́yè̀b</td>
<td>ọ́mù́yè̀b</td>
<td>'awesome'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

notated e is not dropped but is changed to o, when it comes between a double and a single consonant which are alike [29, 77]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẹ́n ẹ́n</td>
<td>ẹ́n ẹ́n</td>
<td>ẹ́n ẹ́n</td>
<td>'determined, intent (on)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the base form (masculine) ends in -i, then in some cases this ending is lengthened to -iiy before the feminine and plural suffixes, and in other cases it is reduced to a non-syllabic -y-. In relative adjectives [p.280], for instance, -i is always lengthened:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iṣẹ̀n</td>
<td>Iṣẹ̀n</td>
<td>Iṣẹ̀n</td>
<td>'Lebanese'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also lengthened in defective adjectives of Pattern ạạ̀al [128]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ạ́gá ạ́gá</td>
<td>ạ́gá ạ́gá</td>
<td>ạ́gá ạ́gá</td>
<td>'generous'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And in the defective version (ọ́mù̀l) of Pattern ạạ̀al [p.133]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́s</td>
<td>ọ́mù́s</td>
<td>ọ́mù́s</td>
<td>'forgotten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́mù́s</td>
<td>ọ́mù́s</td>
<td>ọ́mù́s</td>
<td>'ironed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even when adjectives of the defective pattern ọ́mù̀l correspond to Pattern ạạ̀al [p.133] rather than ạạ̀al, their final i is still usually lengthened in the feminine or plural: ọ́mù́s; 'harmful'; fem. ọ́mù́sì̀yì́, pl. ọ́mù́sì̀yì́;
ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONAL FORMS

There are a few exceptions, however, in which the i is reduced and the accentuation of the feminine is like that of the masculine (as in sound pattern maPCEL): mahi ‘alluring, enticing’, fem. mahiye, pl. mahiyrin; mahi ‘airy, draughty’: fem. mahiye (with vocalization of the medial s).

The final -i of defective Pattern FCEL adjectives [p. 131] is always reduced to non-syllabic form (y) with the suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eāli</td>
<td>Eālye</td>
<td>Eālyin</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā'yi</td>
<td>bā'yye</td>
<td>bā'yin</td>
<td>‘remaining’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the difference in stem modifications, then, between Eāli: Eālye ‘high’ and Eādi: Eādīye ‘usual, customary’. The latter is a relative adjective with the suffix -i (from Eāde ‘custom’) and is not to be confused with Pattern FCEL adjectives.

With some exceptions, defective adjectives of the augmented participial patterns [p. 134] have -y (rather than -iy-) before the suffixes; before -in, furthermore, the y may disappear entirely:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mrabbi</td>
<td>mrabbye</td>
<td>mrab(y)in</td>
<td>‘bringing up, having brought up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōnmi</td>
<td>mōnnye</td>
<td>mōn(y)in</td>
<td>‘making, having made’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matsxbbi</td>
<td>matsxbbye</td>
<td>matsx(y)in</td>
<td>‘hiding, hidden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantsāfi</td>
<td>mantsāye</td>
<td>mantsā(y)in</td>
<td>‘extinguished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maktāfi</td>
<td>maktāye</td>
<td>maktā(y)in</td>
<td>‘contented’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mastakri</td>
<td>mastaḳrye</td>
<td>mastaḳr(y)in</td>
<td>‘renting, having rented’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōnstanni</td>
<td>mōnstannye</td>
<td>mōstannyin</td>
<td>‘waiting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are some Pattern VIII participles, however, which usually (in some cases always) have -iy- before the suffixes. For example:

Masc. | Feminine | Plural | Meaning
-------|----------|--------|---------|
masūmi | masūm(y)ye | masūm(y)yn | ‘done, cooked, ripe’ |
masīthi | masīth(y)ye | masīth(y)yn | ‘desirous, craving’ |
masītni | masītn(y)ye | masītn(y)yn | ‘taking care’ |
masīti | masītye | masītyin | ‘forgotten’ |

Note also the comments on Pattern maPCEL, above.

There is also vacillation between -y and -iy- in the rare defective quadriradicals [136]:

masa | masa(y)ye | masa(y)yn | ‘having brushed’ |
mārā | mārā(y)ye | mārā(y)yn | ‘brushed’ |

If the masculine form of an adjective (defective passive participle) ends in -ā, then the feminine has -āye, and the plural, -āyin (or -āyin):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>msama</td>
<td>msaṃṃye</td>
<td>msaṃṃyin</td>
<td>‘named’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māma</td>
<td>māṃye</td>
<td>māṃyin</td>
<td>‘made’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives with Internal Plurals

Almost all adjectives of Pattern PCEL [p.127] and many non-defective ones of Pattern PCEL [127] form plurals on Pattern PCEL:

- ndīf | ndīfe | ndīf | ‘clean’
- mēṃh | mēṃha | mēṃh | ‘good’
- kēṭr | kētre | kēṭr | ‘much, many’
- kkīr | kkīre | kkīr | ‘big, large’
- gēg̣r | gēg̣re | gēg̣r | ‘little, small’
- ṭēḷ | ṭēle | ṭēḷ | ‘heavy’
- fawaḷ | fawāle | fawaḷ | ‘long, tall’
- xafīf | xafīfe | xafīf (also xafīfīn) | ‘light’
- ṣarīb | ṣarībe | ṣarīb (also ṣarībin) | ‘near’
The adjectives ḫēdī 'new' and ḫētī 'old' form plurals on the pattern ḫēdal as well as ḫēl: m. ḫēdī, f. ḫēdīa, pl. ḫēda or ḫēdīa; m. ḫētī, f. ḫētīa, pl. ḫētī or ḫētnī.

Many non-defective adjectives of Pattern ḫēl applied to human beings have plurals formed on Pattern ḫēlā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫārīm</td>
<td>ḫārīmeh</td>
<td>ḫārāmeh</td>
<td>'generous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṣrre (or ḫāṣ̱ra)</td>
<td>ḫāṣ̱rre (or ḫāṣ̱̱ra)</td>
<td>ḫāṣ̱̱rre (or ḫāṣ̱̱̱rre)</td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṣ̱fīf</td>
<td>ḫāṣ̱fīfe (or ḫāṣ̱̱fīfe)</td>
<td>ḫāṣ̱fīfe (or ḫāṣ̱̱̱fīfe)</td>
<td>'nice, pleasant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṣḻf̱le</td>
<td>ḫāṣḻf̱le (or ḫāṣ̱̱ḻf̱̱le)</td>
<td>ḫāṣḻf̱le (or ḫāṣ̱̱̱ḻf̱̱̱le)</td>
<td>'stingy, miser'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṣf̱ēḏ</td>
<td>ḫāṣf̱ēḏe (or ḫāṣ̱̱f̱ēḏ̱e)</td>
<td>ḫāṣf̱ēḏe (or ḫāṣ̱̱̱f̱ēḏ̱̱̱e)</td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some adjectives applied to human beings, mainly of Pattern ḫēl, have plurals formed on pattern ḫēlā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫāmi</td>
<td>ḫāmiyye</td>
<td>ḫāmiyya</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāmiyye (or ḫāmiyyer)</td>
<td>ḫāmiyya</td>
<td>ḫāmiyya</td>
<td>'low, vile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫānīn</td>
<td>ḫānīne</td>
<td>ḫānīna</td>
<td>'mournful, sad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṉi</td>
<td>ḫāṉiyye</td>
<td>ḫāṉiyya (or ḫāṉiyyer)</td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṉrēn</td>
<td>ḫāṉrēne</td>
<td>ḫāṉrēna</td>
<td>'wasteful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>ḫābīle</td>
<td>ḫābīla</td>
<td>'pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṭīl</td>
<td>ḫāṭile</td>
<td>ḫāṭala</td>
<td>'killed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫārīh</td>
<td>ḫārīhe</td>
<td>ḫārīha</td>
<td>'wounded'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many defective adjectives of this same sort have plurals formed on Pattern ḫēlā or ḫēfēlā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṉi</td>
<td>ḫāṉiyye</td>
<td>ḫāṉiyya (or ḫāṉiyyer)</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṭ̱i</td>
<td>ḫāṭ̱iyye</td>
<td>ḫāṭ̱iyya</td>
<td>'God-fearing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāẕḵi</td>
<td>ḫāẕḵiyeye</td>
<td>ḫāẕḵiyey</td>
<td>'bright, intelligent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of other plural patterns are used for adjectives applicable to human beings, though they are more typical of nouns. They are, in fact, generally used substantively, while plurals of the same word with -ī, if any, are more purely adjectival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫāsi</td>
<td>ḫāsile</td>
<td>ḫāśīḻ (or ḫāśīḻṉī)</td>
<td>'vile, despicable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāsile (or ḫāsile)</td>
<td>ḫāśīḻ (or ḫāśīḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫāśīḻ (or ḫāśīḻṉī)</td>
<td>'dead'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāśīḻ</td>
<td>ḫāśīḻe (or ḫāś̱ḻīḻe)</td>
<td>ḫāś̱ḻīḻe (or ḫāś̱̱ḻīḻ̱e)</td>
<td>'living, alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāsīḻe (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>ḫāś̱ḻīḻe (or ḫāś̱̱ḻīḻ̱e)</td>
<td>ḫāś̱ḻīḻe (or ḫāś̱̱ḻīḻ̱̱e)</td>
<td>'free'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāś̱ḻīḻe (or ḫāś̱̱ḻīḻ̱e)</td>
<td>ḫāś̱̱̱ḻīḻ̱̱e (or ḫāś̱̱̱̱ḻīḻ̱̱̱e)</td>
<td>ḫāś̱̱̱̱ḻīḻ̱̱̱̱e (or ḫāś̱̱̱̱̱̱ḻīḻ̱̱̱̱̱e)</td>
<td>'naive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāsīḻ (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>ḫāsīḻ (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>ḫāsīḻ (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>'ancient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāsīḻ (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>ḫāsīḻ (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>ḫāsīḻ (or ḫāsīḻe)</td>
<td>'underage, minor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'ignorant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'brave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'strange, odd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'crazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'ill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫēbēḻ</td>
<td>ḫēbēle (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>ḫēbēḻ (or ḫēbēḻṉī)</td>
<td>'ill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most nouns/adjectives of the pattern ḫēl (p.129) form feminine and plural both with the suffix -e/-a:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫārīh</td>
<td>ḫārīhe</td>
<td>ḫārīhe</td>
<td>'heavy drunker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāẕ̌ḻe</td>
<td>ḫāẕ̌ḻē</td>
<td>ḫāẕ̌ḻē</td>
<td>'(good) worker'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 8: NOUN INFLECTIONAL FORMS

Many nouns have a three-way inflection for number: singular, dual, plural. Singular is the base inflection; the dual is formed by adding a plural suffix -ēn. The plural is formed in a variety of ways [211 ff], depending on the form of the singular, but to a large extent on the idiosyncrasy of individual nouns. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaff 'glove'</td>
<td>kaffēn 'two gloves'</td>
<td>kuf 'gloves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelse 'word'</td>
<td>kelmētēn 'two words'</td>
<td>kelmēt 'words'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣarmāb 'rabbit'</td>
<td>ṣarmābēn 'two rabbits'</td>
<td>ṣarmāb 'rabbits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāmēn 'name'</td>
<td>ṣāmēnēn 'two names'</td>
<td>ṣāmēn 'names'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍašēt 'minute'</td>
<td>ḍašētēn 'two minutes'</td>
<td>ḍašēt 'minutes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhaḍa 'engineer'</td>
<td>mhaḍaēn 'two engineers'</td>
<td>mhaḍa 'engineers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṭa 'tree'</td>
<td>saṭaēn 'two trees'</td>
<td>saṭa 'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġalja 'mistake'</td>
<td>ġaljaēn 'two mistakes'</td>
<td>ġalja 'mistakes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torki 'Turk'</td>
<td>torkiēn 'two Turks'</td>
<td>torki 'Turks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍhārāmi 'thief'</td>
<td>ḍhārāmīyēn 'two thieves'</td>
<td>ḍhārā 'thieves'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of the number categories is treated in Chapter 14.

The Dual Suffix -ēn: Stem Modifications

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p.28], e and o before a stem-final consonant are dropped when -ēn is added: pābeh 'friend' + -ēn - pābeen 'two friends', salām 'ladder' + -ēn - salāmēn 'two ladders'.

In certain classicisms, however, e and o are not dropped but are changed to i and u, respectively: malek 'king' + -ēn - malikēn, ġesor 'element' + -ēn - ġesorēn (or, more colloquially, ġesorēn).

The loss of e or o often involves compensatory anaptyxis [p.31]: maśles 'chamber' + -ēn - maślēn, ṣas 'of 'bishop' + -ēn - ṣasēn.
The base-formative suffix -e/-a [p. 138] takes the form -l- before -en, just as it does before the pronoun suffixes [p. 165]:

- sayyyāna 'care' + -en → sayyyārēn 'two cars'
- madrase 'school' + -en → madraśēn 'two schools'
- marra '(one)time' + -en → marrēn 'two times, twice'
- same 'year' + -en → sameēn 'two years'

With anaptyxis:

- badda 'suit' + -en → baddēlēn 'two suits'
- dawla 'nation, state' + -en → dawlētēn 'two nations'
- būhayra 'lake' + -en → būhayrēn 'two lakes'

With other compensatory vocalizations [pp. 31, 166, 167]:

- bānye 'bow, bend' + -en → bānītēn 'two bows, bends'
- xajme 'step, pace' + -en → xajfēn 'two steps'
- hāyye 'margin' + -en → hāṣētēn 'two margins'
- mānye 'corner' + -en → mēnītēn 'two corners'
- ṭēme 'table' + -en → ṭemūlēn 'two tables'
- maš'ānē 'apricot' + -en → mašmāšēn 'two apricots'

With reduction of -iyye(t) to -īt- and -amme(t) to -ēt- [p. 166]:

- ēmaliyye 'operation' + -en → ēmaliṭēn 'two operations'
- ēdīyye 'gift' + -en → ēdīṭēn 'two gifts'
- amme 'power' + -en → amṭēn 'two powers'

Note also the following exceptional vocalizations involving the base-formative -e/-a: luqā 'language' + -en → luqētēn 'two languages', riqa 'direction' + -en → riqātēn 'two lungs', ḍīha 'direction' + -en → ḍīhētēn or ḍīṭēn [cf. p. 169]; muṣārā 'match, competition' + -en → muṣārēṭēn, ṣerāna 'balcony' + -en → ṣerāḍēṭēn.

Nouns ending in the suffix -ēt, e.g. ṣalāt 'prayer'

fadda 'instrument', ḫayāt 'life', do not ordinarily have duals.

Feminine nouns that have no -e/-a suffix in the absolute (or non-suffixing) form but which have -t- in the suffixing form [p. 169] also have -t- in the dual: ērūnā 'bride' + -en → ērūñētēn, dukkān 'shop' + -en → dukkānētēn, ēnna 'eye' + -en → ēnētēn. (The forms ēnēn 'eyes', ṣāfrēn 'feet', etc. are used as plurals, not as duals [p. 367].)

PLURAL SUFFIXES (al-γαμος s-sālim, Sound or External Plurals)

There are three suffixes used in forming noun plurals: -ēt, -ē/-a, and -ēt.

Stem Modifications. Attachment of a plural suffix changes the form of certain kinds of noun base:

If the singular ends in the formative -e/-a [p. 138], this formative disappears when a plural suffix is added: kalē 'word' + -ēt → kalēt, sēqa 'hour' + -ēt → sēqāt, same 'year' + -ēn → snīn [213].

Note that ṣabī is in some respects treated as a defective noun on Pattern Fa一个新的 [p. 149]: the femalive derivative [304] is ṣabīyye 'girl' (not ṣabīye).

One may also sometimes hear ṣabīyyēn 'two boys', ṣabīhōn 'their boy' (for ṣabīn, ṣabīhōn).
If the singular of a defective [p. 43] noun ends in -a, -e, or -at, these endings are changed to -o or -ay when a plural suffix is attached: kanna 'sky' + -et = kannaät, banna 'builder' + -in = bannayin, mubär 'match,' used if the noun's pattern is simple [46] and the final nasal is w: dayät, -o is used otherwise: mufät 'death, demise,' -ayät 'musaftayät.'

If the singular ends in the formative -i [p. 281], this formative is lengthened to -iyy before a plural suffix: labne 'Lebanese' + -in = labnayin, haräm 'chief,' e/a = harämum.

Miscellaneous other kinds of nouns ending in a vowel also generally add y before a plural suffix, in some cases with further modification of the base: manjo 'coat' + -at = monfayät, sakra 'membrane' + e - sakriya, babbu or bëbb 'baby' + -at = babbiyät or bëbbiyät (respectively). More rarely, h is used instead of y before the suffix: mäyä 'bathing suit' + -ät = mäyähayät (or mäyoyät).

Examples of irregular base modifications: ëazaabä 'batchelor' + -in = ëazaabën, zarä 'bid, offer' + -ät = zaräät; ëamm 'mother' + -ät = ëammatät (but also regular ëammatät); räef 'companion' + -ät = räefät (but absolute form [p. 455] also räefät); ëarät 'road, way' + -ät = ëarätät (but also ëorät); ëaxx 'brother' and ëaxt 'sister' + -ät = ëaxmat 'brothers and/or sisters'.

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p. 281], e or o before a stem-final consonant is dropped when a pluralizing suffix is added: ëallem 'teacher' + -in = ëallämín, mubëbbë 'alarm-clock' + -ät = mubëbbät, xäm 'lady,' missät + -ät = xämätät. There are certain classicisms, however, in which the vowel is not dropped, but is changed to i or o or a: kën 'being' + -ät = känätät, ëajammar 'imagining, picturing' + -ät = ëajammarät or ëajammarätät. (All Pattern tafëcel or taFëcel gerunds are like ëajammar in this respect.)

If e or o comes between like consonants the first of which is double, it is not dropped in any case, but is retained as ë or ë (or sometimes a): mubarrer 'justification, excuse' + -ät = mubarrirät (or mubarraratät) [p. 29].

The Suffix -in is used with certain kinds of augmented [p. 46] nouns whose singular designates a male person. (The plural, however, may refer to a group including both sexes):

1. With substantivized participles [p. 276], excepting most of those on Pattern Fëcel [131]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mëallem 'teacher'</td>
<td>mëallümín</td>
<td>mëallem 'teacher'</td>
<td>mëallümín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëppåf 'employee'</td>
<td>mëppåfätín</td>
<td>mëppåf 'employee'</td>
<td>mëppåfätín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëëkem 'boxer'</td>
<td>mëëkëmin</td>
<td>mëëkem 'boxer'</td>
<td>mëëkëmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëñam 'Moseł'</td>
<td>mëñamín</td>
<td>mëñam 'Moseł'</td>
<td>mëñamín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most nouns of the simple active participial pattern Fëcel have internal plurals [p. 218]: ëemël 'worker,' pl. ëemmüł; ëatël 'killer,' pl. ëatëla; ëättë 'judge,' pl. ëättät; ëqëbëh 'friend,' pl. ëqëbëh, etc. Some, however, have plurals in -in, either exclusively or in addition to an external plural: ëaqëbë 'refugee,' pl. ëaqëbin; in general, the -in plural with these bases is a sign of adjectival [207] or "true participial" [265] use, as opposed to true substantivial use.

2. With most occupational nouns of the pattern Fëcel [p. 305] (but see also e/a, (3), below):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naaxäar 'carpenter'</td>
<td>naaxäärën</td>
<td>naaxäar 'carpenter'</td>
<td>naaxäärën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaxäë 'liar'</td>
<td>kaaxäënë</td>
<td>kaaxë 'liar'</td>
<td>kaaxëënë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëabëx 'cook'</td>
<td>ëabëxënë</td>
<td>ëabëx 'cook'</td>
<td>ëabëxënë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëaxiyät 'tailor'</td>
<td>ëaxiyëfin</td>
<td>ëaxiyät 'tailor'</td>
<td>ëaxiyëfin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix -in is also used with a few nouns of other patterns: sone 'year,' pl. snën; ëadumë 'enemy,' pl. ëadumënë.

See also pseudo-dual -ën, [p. 367].

The Suffix -e/a is used for the plural:

1. With nouns ending in the suffix -ëi [p. 306]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ëbëyëši 'boothblack'</td>
<td>ëbëyëšië</td>
<td>ëbëyëši 'boothblack'</td>
<td>ëbëyëšië</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëxëgarëši 'greengrocer'</td>
<td>ëxëgarëšië</td>
<td>ëxëgarëši 'greengrocer'</td>
<td>ëxëgarëšië</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëkëndarëši 'cobbler'</td>
<td>ëkëndarëšië</td>
<td>ëkëndarëši 'cobbler'</td>
<td>ëkëndarëšië</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Noun Inflectional Forms

2.) With many nouns ending in the formative -i [p. 280], and a few ending in radical i:

- ḥārāmi ‘thief’
- ḥaramiyye
- ʕazzaḥi ‘batchelor’
- ʕazzaḥiyye
- sanərī ‘tinsmith’
- sanərīyye
- ʕransaḥi ‘frenchman’
- ʕransaḥiyye
- bəməyki ‘chandler’
- bəməykiyye
- labnāni ‘Lebanese’
- labnāniyye
- təḥarri ‘detective’
- təḥarriyye
- māwi ‘jackal’
- māwiyye

Some of these may also have plural -in: ʕransaḥiyin, ʕazzaḥin [213], etc.

A few nouns have no -i in the singular, but have -iyye in the plural: ṣixṭyār ‘old man’, pl. ʔixṭyāriyye; ʔoʃoʃ ‘chauffeur’, pl. ʔoʃoʃiyye.

3.) With many occupational nouns of the pattern ʕafəl [p. 305]:

- daγhā ‘painter’
- daγhāne ʕattāl ‘porter’
- saʃmān ‘grocer’
- saʃmāne baγhār ‘sailor’
- farrā ‘bellboy’
- farrāne ɡarrāf ‘moneychanger’

4.) With substantivized adjectives of the pattern ʕafəl [p. 129]:

- ʃaγgēl ‘(good) worker’
- ʃaγgēle ʔallif ‘bluffer’
- ʃarbi ‘heavy drinker’
- ʃarbi ʔakkid ‘(good) runner’

### Plural Suffix –āt

The plural suffix –āt with human and animal designations is by no means reserved for the female sex, however, Note ḥabbāti ‘fathers’, xamāt ‘gentlemen’, ḥamāt ‘admirals’, ʕaxmāt ‘brothers and/or sisters’, ʕabūnt ‘customers (male and/or female)’, etc. (The last example stands in spite of the derivitive ʔabūn ‘(male) customer’ from ʔabūn ‘(male) customer’, and the alternative plural ʔabūyen.)

2.) With singulatives [p. 297]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>(Derived from:)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔafṣa ‘an apple’</td>
<td>ʔafṣāt ( Collective )</td>
<td>ʔafṣ ‘apple(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃṣey ‘a (zucchini) squash’</td>
<td>ʔaʃṣeyt ( Collective )</td>
<td>ʔaʃṣ ‘squash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəs ‘a chicken, a hen’</td>
<td>ʔəsāt</td>
<td>ʔəs ‘chicken(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃbi ‘a blow, a stroke’</td>
<td>ʔaʃbāt</td>
<td>ʔaʃbi ‘hitting, striking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃṣey ‘a sneeze’</td>
<td>ʔaʃṣeʃ ‘sneezing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃṣey ‘a storm’</td>
<td>ʔaʃṣayt ‘storm’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕam ‘a plant’</td>
<td>ʔamāt</td>
<td>ʕam ‘plant(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃṣey ‘a visit’</td>
<td>ʔaʃṣayt</td>
<td>ʔaʃṣ ‘visiting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some unit nouns also have internal plurals: warde ‘a flower’, pl. wardeʃ or ʕrūd(e); ḥabbé ‘a pill’; pl. ḥabbé or ʕrab, etc. See p. 367.

3.) With concretized gerunds [p. 284] of Patterns III-X [293]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pat. III</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>(Derived from:)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘venture, adventure’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃrāt</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘to venture’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘to announce’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘to broadcast’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘to broadcast’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘to visualize’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘visualization’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘to pass, exceed’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘to pass, exceed’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘to withdraw’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘to withdraw’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʃʃry ‘to invent’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘investment, profit’</td>
<td>ʔaʃʃ ‘investment’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.) With inanimate nouns having any of the augmented participial patterns (p.134):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mğallaça 'envelope'</td>
<td>mğallafağt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnabbuh 'alarm clock'</td>
<td>mnabbağt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müşfiha 'term, expression'</td>
<td>müşfihağt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandżan 'park'</td>
<td>mandżahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mastağfa 'hospital'</td>
<td>mastağfayat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.) With hollow [p.44] and geminate [p.42] nouns having other patterns with prefix m (pp.153-156):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mağlı 'space, room'</td>
<td>mağlıat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mənarr 'passageway'</td>
<td>mənarrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'agg 'scissors'</td>
<td>m'aggat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maddafe 'reception room'</td>
<td>maddafat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.) With most nouns in a variety of other patterns, e.g., Fačläle [144], Fačläle [152], F(i)čläle [147], F(u)čläle [151], Ėla [158], etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>makâla 'agency'</td>
<td>makâlat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şahûda 'certificate'</td>
<td>Şahûdat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şkümüne 'government'</td>
<td>Şkümüнат</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şebübe 'difficulty'</td>
<td>Şebübat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şarâke 'blessing'</td>
<td>Şarâkat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şabaça 'class, level'</td>
<td>Şabaçat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şecâ 'hour'</td>
<td>Şecâat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şâbe 'ball'</td>
<td>Şâbat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.) With most nouns ending in -iyye:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fâmaliyye 'operation'</td>
<td>Fâmaliyyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasâfiyye 'faucet'</td>
<td>Fasâfiyyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fâmaliyye 'public'</td>
<td>Fâmaliyyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fâmsiyye 'play, drama'</td>
<td>Fâmsiyyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fâkiyye 'college'</td>
<td>Fâkiyyat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns of the patterns Fačlälye and Fačlälye, however, have plurals of Pattern Fačläli (p.224), either exclusively or in addition to the external plural.

8.) With most modern foreign "loan-words" which do not fit the more common noun patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bâbor 'steamship'</td>
<td>Bâborat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâmir 'admiral'</td>
<td>Bâmirat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâdrâ 'address'</td>
<td>Bâdrâat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bëbi 'baby'</td>
<td>Bëbiyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâsklät 'bicycle'</td>
<td>Bâsklätat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bânyo 'bathtub'</td>
<td>Bânyoyat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the types of nouns listed above, the plural suffix -ät is used with many nouns of many other types. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mâfe 'joke'</td>
<td>Mâfät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mârrou 'a time'</td>
<td>Mârruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hâmca 'university'</td>
<td>Hâmcat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâhâyra 'lake'</td>
<td>Bâhâyrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Târâme 'translation'</td>
<td>Târâmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hëme 'pale, grey'</td>
<td>Hëmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Måfësë 'miracle'</td>
<td>Måfësit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zël 'lock'</td>
<td>Zëlät</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<td>Mâfe 'joke'</td>
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<td>Måfësë 'miracle'</td>
<td>Måfësit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zël 'lock'</td>
<td>Zëlät</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS**

(al-`ḥamāf `l-mukassar, Broken or Internal Plurals)

A large proportion of Arabic nouns are pluralized by changing the base pattern, for example sg. kāb 'dog'; pl. kāb `dogs'; sg. ḥāiyāf `gift'; pl. ḥāiyāf `gifts'; sg. `atāb `book'; pl. `atāb or `atāb `books`.

There are many different pluralizing patterns. Some of them are used more or less exclusively for plurals (e.g. Patterns FaEL, as in `atāb), while others are common also as singular patterns (e.g. Pattern PEIL, as in pl. kāb `dogs' and in sg. kāb `book`).

In most cases it is not possible to deduce the plural pattern from the singular – or vice versa – with any high degree of certainty; the plurals of most nouns must be learned individually.

**PATTERN PEIL**

Most nouns with this plural pattern have singular patterns FaEL, FaEL, or FaEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāb <code>heel</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>kāb <code>shoulder</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāb <code>hyena</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>rāb <code>fourth quarter</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wād <code>time</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>kāb <code>ram</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūf <code>voice, sound</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>ṣarr <code>button</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūr <code>bull, ox</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>ṣann <code>tooth</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rābe <code>neck</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>ḥūb <code>elbow</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaf <code>bank, side</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
<td>ḏīf <code>bag</code></td>
<td>Parent peil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular**  **Plural**  **Singular**  **Plural**  

Pattern PEIL is not generally used for nouns with a final radical semivowel. Note, however, the modifications of this pattern in `al-dāf `judges' (sg. `dāf), and `wādī `conquerors' (sg. `wādī), and ḫāf `suf. form ḫāf `beards' (sg. ḫāf).

[Cf. p.147.]

This pattern is not used for nouns with medial radical y whose singular is on Pattern FaEL (e.g. ṣāf `bird`).

Colloquial plurals in PEIL correspond to Classical Patterns FicEL and FaEL. The latter, however, also occurs in Colloquial (see below).

**PATTERN FaEL**

Almost all nouns with this plural have singular patterns FaEL, FaEL, or FaEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡāf <code>person</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>ḡāf <code>political party</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wād <code>situation</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>xabar <code>news</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāf <code>price</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>sabab <code>cause</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḧāf <code>part</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>ḥāf <code>work, deed</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māl <code>wealth, property</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>ṣuq <code>holiday</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāl <code>situation</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>ḥāl <code>generation</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īm <code>color</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
<td>īm <code>light</code></td>
<td>Parent fael</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike Pattern FaEL (above), Pattern FaEL is used for some nouns that have a final radical semivowel, represented in this pattern by ?: `nāf `members'; sg. ḡāf `atmosphere, air'; sg. ḍaḥī `name'. Note also `na快要 `names': Root s-m-y but singular s-aym. The plural of ḍī `thing' is generally defective: ḍāf `things' (but there is also the sound form ḍāf and singular ḍī).

Quite a few nouns have plurals that vacilate between FaEL and FaEL: ḍāf `first', māf `times', ḍūf `voices, noises', etc. Pattern FaEL in such cases sounds more 'Classical', and FaEL, more dialectal.

The word yām `day' has a classifying plural ḍayyām, and the more colloquial ḍayyām (which loses its ? after a numeral: xamst ṣayyām `five days' [p.171]).

The plural of raʕ `opinion' is raʕ? and one plural of bīr `well' is ḧabīr. (The first a is lengthened, instead of there being ? or y before the second a.)
### PATTERNS FE'dL

**Most nouns of this pattern have singular patterns Fa'eL or Fa'el.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥaṣāl 'origin'</td>
<td>ḥaf 'glove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓahād 'effort'</td>
<td>ẓaf 'line'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣafān 'eyelid'</td>
<td>ṣaf 'thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarāš 'piastre'</td>
<td>ṭarāš 'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam'ā 'tear'</td>
<td>ḍamūḍ 'pocket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'lek 'king'</td>
<td>mišāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is not used for nouns with final radical semivowels, nor with medial ə. The noun rāš 'head' has the hollow plural form rās 'heads'. The singular of wašā 'faces, surfaces', is generally pronounced wašā in the sense 'face', though the classicising form wašāh is generally used for 'surface'.

The classicising Pattern Fa'eL is used for some nouns: ḥuṣāth 'rights' (sg. ḥuṣā), ḥuṣā 'armies' (sg. ḥuṣā), ẓuṣār 'ages' (sg. ẓuṣā).

### PATTERNS FKAL

**Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns Fa'eL or Fa'el.**

Most may also have the plural without -a/-e: FKAL.

- bānk 'bank'...........bnāk(e)  | warḍ(ə) 'flower'........warḍ(ə)
- bāḥr 'sea'...........bāhr(a)  | nasa 'vulture'...........nsā(ə)
- ḥaṣār 'bridge'........ḥaṣār(ə)  | ḥall 'solution'...........ḥail(e)
- ẓa' Pån 'chicken coop'.  | ẓān 'cockerel', ẓāh(e)
- ḫa' 'colt'...........ḥa'ra  | ṭās 'billy goat'........tyās(ə)

Like Pattern FE'dL, this pattern is not used with final radical semivowel or medial ə.

On construct forms, see p. 164.

### PATTERNS FêlaL

*Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially Patterns Fa'eL(ə) and Fa'el(ə).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥaṣāf 'belt'</td>
<td>ḥaf 'glove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laff 'blanket'</td>
<td>laff 'line'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓafān 'eyelid'</td>
<td>ẓafān 'thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓarāš 'piastre'</td>
<td>ẓarāš 'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam'ā 'tear'</td>
<td>ḍamūḍ 'pocket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'lek 'king'</td>
<td>mišāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is not used for nouns with final radical semivowels, nor with medial ə. The noun rāš 'head' has the hollow plural form rās 'heads'. The singular of wašā 'faces, surfaces', is generally pronounced wašā in the sense 'face', though the classicising form wašāh is generally used for 'surface'.

The classicising Pattern Fa'eL is used for some nouns: ḥuṣāth 'rights' (sg. ḥuṣā), ḥuṣā 'armies' (sg. ḥuṣā), ẓuṣār 'ages' (sg. ẓuṣā).

### PATTERNS Fa'el

*Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially FêlaL and Fa'el(ə).*

- bāsf 'rug'...........bāsf  | tarīḥ 'road'...........ṭaro
- ḥaṣāf 'foundation'...........ṭaṣāf  | saḥil 'way'...........ṣalil
- ẓa' 'system'...........za'  | mādīnē 'city'...........mādīn
- ẓa' 'book'...........ṣaḥāb  | ẓaḥāb 'apostle'...........ṣalil

Some nouns (e.g. ẓaḥāb 'book', saḥīn 'ship') vacillate between Patterns Fa'el and Fa'eL in the plural. With suffices the difference between the two patterns disappears, since ə is dropped or changed to a [p. 28].

### PATTERNS Fa'eL

*Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern Fa'eL.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| na'la 'point'...........na'la  | ḥīla 'trick'...........ḥīyal
| bārkeh 'pools'...........bārah  | liyāf 'fiber brush'...........liyāf
| rāšā 'rank'...........rāšāb  | ṭūra 'picture'...........ṭūmar
| ẓa' 'lip'...........ṣa'fāf  | ṭūdā 'room'...........ṭumād

The first pattern vowel (ə) becomes i before y, and u before ə and in certain classicisms: ẓum 'nations' (sg. ẓumma).
This pattern is also used for some nouns (especially hollow ones) of singular pattern Fa'ele:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xene 'tent'</td>
<td>xiyaam</td>
<td>sike 'fork'</td>
<td>suwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davle 'nation, state'</td>
<td>dumal</td>
<td>sanza 'bag, suitcase'</td>
<td>sanat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PATTERN Fa'ala**

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings. Many are substantivized adjectives [Cf. p. 206], and most have the singular pattern Fa(ε)il.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srik 'partner'</th>
<th>Haraka</th>
<th>Fa'ir 'poor, indigent'</th>
<th>Fovara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raφa 'chief, head'</td>
<td>Rαasa</td>
<td>�adib 'literary scholar'</td>
<td>պadaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baxil 'miser'</td>
<td>Babala</td>
<td>նaer 'poet'</td>
<td>նocara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xaβir 'expert'</td>
<td>Xαbara</td>
<td>էalen 'scholar, scientist'</td>
<td>Էcama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas'ir 'minister'</td>
<td>Masara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern Fa'ala is not used with medial or final radical semivowel. Note, however, the form mudara 'directors' (sg. mudir, root d-a-r).

**PATTERNS դա'ել, դա'Ել**

Most nouns with these patterns have singular pattern Fa'el.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saβr 'month'</th>
<th>դա'հոր, դա'հոր</th>
<th>գա'եր 'line' (of writing)</th>
<th>գա'եր</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saβam 'share' (of stock)</td>
<td>դա'հոմ, դա'հոմ</td>
<td>Naf 'persons, selves'</td>
<td>Nafos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maβr 'river'</td>
<td>դա'հոր, դա'հոր</td>
<td>դքե 'cubits'</td>
<td>դքե</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haβ 'letter'</td>
<td>դա'բրոֆ, դա'բրոֆ</td>
<td>Lae'm 'tongue, talk'</td>
<td>Laes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The դա'ել forms (but not the դա'Ել forms) commonly lose their initial ð after the numerals, and the numerals have connective t: դա'հոր 'five rivers' (or դքե 'five cubits'). The forms without ð (and with connective t) are obligatory after numerals for դա'հոր, դա'հոմ, and դքե. See p. 171.

**PATTERNS դա'ել, դա'Ել**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rgif 'loaf'</td>
<td>սոր'եֆ</td>
<td>Wisom 'medal'</td>
<td>սամսե</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hšum 'horse'</td>
<td>պա'ընդ</td>
<td>Mišum 'system'</td>
<td>նամպիմ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paβγ 'brother-in-law'</td>
<td>պա'ըրա</td>
<td>Südal 'question'</td>
<td>ըա'միլ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvasm 'medicine'</td>
<td>դա'մեյե</td>
<td>Dmāg 'brain'</td>
<td>դամիգ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmm 'light'</td>
<td>դա'մեյե</td>
<td>Rαφ 'balance, remainder'</td>
<td>րա'պիդ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paβγe 'irrigation ditch'</td>
<td>պա'ըրա</td>
<td>Վիմ' '껐'</td>
<td>վա'գմ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamsa 'air, breeze'</td>
<td>հա'հույե</td>
<td>Բեղ 'ray'</td>
<td>բեղ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also: պաβբա or պաβբա 'physicians' (sg. պաβբ), պաբել 'indications' (sg. պաբել).

Pattern դա'Ել is the classicising version of the more colloquial դա'ել.

Some plurals of pattern դա'ել lose their initial ð after numerals (with connective t) [p. 171]: obligatorily in the case of դա'ել: դա'հոր 'five loaves'; optionally for պա'ընդ, պա'ըրա, պա'ըրա 'pl. of իհար 'set') դա'ել (pl. of Rgif 'sidewalk').

On construct forms, see p. 164.

**PATTERN Fa'el**

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings: almost all have the singular pattern Fa'el.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taβer 'merchant'</th>
<th>Tαβեր</th>
<th>Տայեր 'visitor'</th>
<th>Տավեր</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tαnel 'worker'</td>
<td>Տամել</td>
<td>Տաբե 'representative'</td>
<td>Տամել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Հաκ 'passenger'</td>
<td>Տակ 'worker'</td>
<td>Տայեկ 'weaver'</td>
<td>Տապե</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paβet 'officer'</td>
<td>Տաբետ</td>
<td>Տայես 'groom'</td>
<td>Տայութ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gak 'impire'</td>
<td>Տակ</td>
<td>Տաա 'pilgrim' (Ms1.)</td>
<td>Տաա</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first pattern vowel (a) becomes u before medial radical u, and i before y.

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowels.
# Noun Inflectional Forms

## Pattern Faélám

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ţamis ‘shirt’</td>
<td>ţamšán</td>
<td>gadaq ‘brave fellow’</td>
<td>gadačán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓab ‘boys’</td>
<td>ẓabýn</td>
<td>ẓar ‘neighbor’</td>
<td>ẓirán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalís ‘gulf’</td>
<td>xalísán</td>
<td>fâr(a) ‘mouse’</td>
<td>fîrân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râč ‘shepherd’</td>
<td>râčyán</td>
<td>sâ ‘leg’</td>
<td>sîrân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râheb ‘monks’</td>
<td>râhebán</td>
<td>pû ‘chick’</td>
<td>pîšan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blâd ‘country’</td>
<td>blâdán</td>
<td>gûl ‘ghoul’</td>
<td>gîlân, gûlán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġâzil ‘gazelle’</td>
<td>ġâzilán</td>
<td>xêt ‘thread’</td>
<td>xîfân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûdí ‘valley’</td>
<td>mûdíyân</td>
<td>hêt ‘wall’</td>
<td>hîfân</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first pattern vowel (a) generally combines with a medial radical semivowel to produce ā; note, however, the form gûlân (also gîlân), and the shortened ā in hîfân (and optionally also in xîfân/xîfân). The singular patterns of these nouns are various, but do not include sound patterns Faél and Faél.

## Pattern Faélí

Most nouns with pattern have singular stem pattern Faél or Faél, usually plus a suffix -e/-a, -āye, or -iyye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sîrād ‘land’</th>
<th>Sîrâdî</th>
<th>Šakwa ‘complaint’</th>
<th>Šakwmî</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sîhâl ‘family’</td>
<td>Sîhâlî</td>
<td>Šanta ‘suitcase’</td>
<td>Šanîl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sîm ‘name’</td>
<td>Sîmî</td>
<td>Šantâye ‘female’</td>
<td>Šamîl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lîl(e) ‘night’</td>
<td>Lîlî</td>
<td>Šamisiyye ‘umbrella’</td>
<td>Šamîl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâm ‘cafe’</td>
<td>Sâmî</td>
<td>Barriyye ‘desert, country’</td>
<td>Barîrî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šar ‘corner, part’</td>
<td>Šarî</td>
<td>Pâdiyye ‘vest’</td>
<td>Pâdîrî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėrme ‘buttonhole’</td>
<td>Ėrûmi</td>
<td>Ėnnîyye ‘song’</td>
<td>Ėnnûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalim ‘kidney’</td>
<td>Kalûmi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also mûdûr ‘money’, whose singular mûdûrye is seldom used.

When the final radical is y, the last pattern vowel is a instead of ā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥâjiyye ‘gift’</td>
<td>ḥâjiyye</td>
<td>źâmûye ‘corner’</td>
<td>źâmûyâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIYYE ‘sin’</td>
<td>XIYYE</td>
<td>ḤâYYE ‘snake’</td>
<td>ḤâYYE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡÂYYE ‘case’</td>
<td>ḡÂYYE</td>
<td>ḡûdî ‘kid’</td>
<td>ḡûdî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun ġâmiyye ‘song’, however, has the plural ġûmûnî, as if its root were ġ-n-n and its pattern Faélîyye (whereas its root is actually ġ-n-y and its pattern Faélî.)

## Quadrilateral-Type Plural Patterns

The true quadriradical patterns are Faélêl, Faélâlê, and Faélêlî.

The pseudo-quadriradical patterns are Faélêl, Fawâlêl, maFawêl, maFawêl, Faélêl, maFaël, tafawêl, and tafawêl.

All these patterns reduce to three (as represented by the true quadriradicals, or by the formulae Cₒ₄₆ₐ₈C₆₈C₈₆, C₆₈C₄₈C₆₈, and C₆₈C₄₆C₈₆). In general, the pattern with ā in the last syllable is used for quadriradical or augmented triradical nouns which also have a long vowel before the last radical in the singular. The pattern with ā in the last syllable is used for most other quadriradicals and other triradicals of several kinds.

## Pattern Faélêl

Almost all nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long vowel before the last consonant and a short vowel or none at all before the middle consonant. The majority have the -e/-a suffix in the singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shâda ‘merchandise’</th>
<th>Shâda ‘merchandise’</th>
<th>Ėna ‘old person’</th>
<th>Ėna ‘old person’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>źâne ‘merchandise’</td>
<td>źâne ‘merchandise’</td>
<td>źâmî ‘merchandise’</td>
<td>źâmî ‘merchandise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źâfîb ‘braid’</td>
<td>źâfiyye ‘merchandise’</td>
<td>źâfîb ‘braid’</td>
<td>źâfîb ‘braid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
<td>źâmîn ‘church’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is not used with medial or final radical semivowels.

As in all the quadriradical formulae, the use of L to represent both the third and fourth radical does not mean they are the same.
### Noun Inflectional Forms

**Pattern Fawāṣel**

Most nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long vowel (usually ā) after the first radical, and a short vowel or none at all after the second.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāmān̄</td>
<td>bāyēṣ 'sheepfold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bādēs</td>
<td>sāyēṣ 'prize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāsēb</td>
<td>jāyēj 'sect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sārēf</td>
<td>rīṣa 'smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāxān</td>
<td>hāyēj 'margin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭūde</td>
<td>xāyē 'jar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥādēs</td>
<td>dāyē 'outskirt, suburb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭādām</td>
<td>nādī 'club'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāyār</td>
<td>nāmār 'order'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geminates: māwādā 'materials' (sg. mādē), ġawāss 'senses' (sg. ġāss), ġawādā 'pack animals' (sg. ġādē), ġawāmā 'masses' (sg. ġāmē).

**Pattern Fareēl (and Fāṣēl)**

Almost all nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long middle consonant followed by a long vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāmān̄</td>
<td>tānār 'fish-hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāmān̄</td>
<td>ġābāk 'window'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭakān̄</td>
<td>gābāi 'pair of shoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gānār</td>
<td>fāran̄i 'cushion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sākān̄</td>
<td>kābār 'coat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

The plural dānār 'dinars' is anomalous, since the singular dīnār has a long ī, not a long n.

The rare pattern Fareēl is found in sālām 'ladders', whose singular is sālim (also a rare pattern: Fāṣēl).

**Pattern Māfāṣel**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern māfāṣel(e).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māšū</td>
<td>māšūl̄ 'amount, sum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mābra</td>
<td>mābrai̊ 'bakery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māfāc</td>
<td>māfāča 'cannon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māsra</td>
<td>māsra 'place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māla</td>
<td>mālā 'spoon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māra</td>
<td>māra 'battle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māla</td>
<td>māla 'matter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māla</td>
<td>māla 'interest'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of nouns with this pattern have no singular: māšū 'facial expression', mābraēl̄ 'unknown regions', mābraēl̄ 'salient features', māfāč 'utilities', māfāc 'fears', māsraēn 'advantages', etc. Note also māšū 'sheikhs' (cf. sg. šēx, regular pl. šuāx).
### NOUN INFLECTIONAL FORMS

**PATTERN maFAEIL (and maFAEL)**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns maFAEIL, maFAEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maktub ‘letter’</td>
<td>maktub ‘key’</td>
<td>mafstuh ‘family’</td>
<td>mafstih ‘family’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafru ‘project’</td>
<td>mafrari ‘plow’</td>
<td>mafstu ‘gutter’</td>
<td>mafstih ‘gutter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magru ‘expenditure’</td>
<td>magarif</td>
<td>mafar ‘elders’</td>
<td>mafar ‘elders’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawil ‘topic’</td>
<td>mawili ‘elders’</td>
<td>mawali ‘elders’</td>
<td>mawali ‘elders’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

miflad ‘appointment’...mawalid
misan ‘scale balance’...mawasim or mayasin

**PATTERN taFAEIL**

Nouns with this pattern have singulars of the patterns taFAEIL or taFAEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tazir ‘arrangement, preparation’</td>
<td>tazapir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fajar ‘declaration’</td>
<td>fajar ‘declaration’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqir ‘report’</td>
<td>taqarir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fajim ‘design’</td>
<td>fajamim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamsil ‘statue’</td>
<td>tamsil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PATTERNS maFAEEL and maFAEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dafir ‘(finger) nail’</td>
<td>dafifer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swara ‘bracelet’</td>
<td>swar ‘bracelet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa ‘garment’</td>
<td>awaci ‘clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bri ‘jog’</td>
<td>abari ‘jog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbu ‘week’</td>
<td>sadi ‘week’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, however, that abari ‘jog’ and asadi ‘week’ would be considered quadrilateral pattern FaCAlIL if compared with the singular forms ‘asadi, ‘bri’.

**PATTERN FaALIL**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular Patterns FaALal, FaALale, FaALor, or FaALile.

**INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS**

**PATTERN FaALEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanab ‘rabbit’</td>
<td>tanab ‘rabbit’</td>
<td>tanab ‘rabbit’</td>
<td>tanab ‘rabbit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanar ‘dagger’</td>
<td>sanar ‘dagger’</td>
<td>sanar ‘dagger’</td>
<td>sanar ‘dagger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asalaf ‘frog’</td>
<td>asalaf ‘frog’</td>
<td>asalaf ‘frog’</td>
<td>asalaf ‘frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanara ‘pot’</td>
<td>sanara ‘pot’</td>
<td>sanara ‘pot’</td>
<td>sanara ‘pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saras (s)’widow(er)’</td>
<td>saras (s)’widow(er)’</td>
<td>saras (s)’widow(er)’</td>
<td>saras (s)’widow(er)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>becar ‘brush’</td>
<td>becar ‘brush’</td>
<td>becar ‘brush’</td>
<td>becar ‘brush’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also barameh ‘programs’, whose five-consonant singular barameh loses its third radical in the plural.

**PATTERN FaALLE**

(Pattern FaALLE consists of FaALIL plus the -e/-a suffix [p. 28].)

This pattern is used only with certain nouns designating human beings. The singular patterns are various.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doktor ‘doctor’</td>
<td>dokatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sata ‘professor, teacher’</td>
<td>sataze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tor rooms ‘interpreter-guide’</td>
<td>torisme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanar ‘dandy’</td>
<td>tanara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buruki ‘Beiruti’</td>
<td>bayarte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimaqi ‘Damascene’</td>
<td>dimaqua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maruni ‘Maronite’</td>
<td>maruna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, however, that abari ‘jog’ and asadi ‘week’ would be considered quadrilateral pattern FaCAlIL if compared with the singular forms ‘asadi, ‘bri’.
Note also the optional forms *ęgābe* (/*ągābe*) ‘fingers’ (sg. *ągabę* or *ągabę*), *barnę* (*barnę*), *burno* (*barnę*).

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel (see Pattern *Fačel*, above).

**UNCOMMON PATTERNS**

Pattern *Fačil*: *hamir* ‘donkeys’ (sg. *hmăr*), *eabd* ‘slaves’ (sg. *eabd*).


Pattern *Fčale*: *fčale* ‘laborer’ (sg. *fčel*), *bēr* ‘wells’ (sg. *bēr*).

Pattern *Fčał*?t: *rāhūt* ‘colds’ (sg. *rāhū*), *hapus* ‘receipts’ (sg. *hapus*), *ḥumā* ‘meat hors-d’oeuvres’ (no sing.)

---

**PATTERN *Fačel***

Almost all nouns with this pattern have a singular pattern with a long vowel before the last consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>parṣür</em> ‘cricket’</td>
<td><em>parṣır</em></td>
<td><em>baṣṭān</em></td>
<td><em>baṣṭān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>barγüt</em> ‘flea’</td>
<td><em>barγıt</em></td>
<td><em>bāmīl</em></td>
<td><em>bāmīl</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daṣṭür</em> ‘constitution’</td>
<td><em>daṣṭır</em></td>
<td><em>ɛafırít</em></td>
<td><em>ɛafırít</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sandā</em> ‘box, chest’</td>
<td><em>samadığ</em></td>
<td><em>tālmız</em></td>
<td><em>tālmız</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>časför</em> ‘bird’</td>
<td><em>časför</em></td>
<td><em>bārdın</em></td>
<td><em>bārdın</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>čemān</em> ‘address’</td>
<td><em>čemān</em></td>
<td><em>bālkın</em></td>
<td><em>bālkın</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fandā</em> ‘cup’</td>
<td><em>fandığ</em></td>
<td><em>bēʃān</em></td>
<td><em>bēʃān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>korbā</em> ‘whip’</td>
<td><em>korbā</em></td>
<td><em>bārtā</em></td>
<td><em>bārtā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rašmāl</em> ‘capital’</td>
<td><em>rašmāl</em></td>
<td><em>niʃān</em></td>
<td><em>niʃān</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns have a long second a (usually optional): *baṣṭān* ‘gardens’, *fandığ* ‘cups’, *bēʃān* ‘devils’.
CHAPTER 9: VERB DERIVATION

Index of Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Passive</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediopassive</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascriptive</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimative</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eduactive</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conative</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocative</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simulative</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inchoative</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstractive</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmentative</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicative</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all of these categories are equally clear-cut. While some (e.g. causative) include many verbs showing a high degree of semantic and syntactic consistency among themselves, others (e.g. eductive) encompass relatively wide deviations from the norm. (See p. 49 ff.) There are, furthermore, many augmented verbs whose meanings do not allow for inclusion in any of the derivational categories.

These categories are related to one another in several dimensions and degrees. The structure of this system is not made explicit here, but may be inferred from the way some of the categories are defined and described relative to others.
PASSIVE VERBS

In this book the term 'passive' is used to subsume both the true passive and the mediopassive. On the distinction between these two categories, see p. 238.

Formation

The passive of simple triradical verbs is most commonly formed on Pattern VII (nPačal) [p. 91]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġalab 'to beat, win'</td>
<td>nḡalab 'to be beaten, to lose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sameč 'to hear'</td>
<td>nsameč 'to be heard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍaf 'to see'</td>
<td>nṣaf 'to be seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čaša 'to disobey'</td>
<td>nčaša 'to be disobeyed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern VIII (Rtāčal) [95] forms the passive of quite a few simple verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rata 'to mend'</td>
<td>nraṭa 'to be mended'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naṭal 'to transfer'</td>
<td>ntaṭal 'to be transferred, to move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasi 'to forget'</td>
<td>ntaṣa 'to be forgotten'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For true passives, Pattern VIII is most often used with initial radical n or r; for mediopassives, it is used regardless of the initial radical: xtana? 'to choke' (trans.), from xana? 'to choke' (trans.).

Some active verbs of Patterns Pačal, byaPčal [p. 57] or Pačal, byaPčal [55] have passives on the pattern Pačal, byaPčal [71]:

aṭal, byaṭal 'to kill'         aṭel, byaṭel 'to be killed'
Tačab, byaTčab 'to tire'      Tačeš, byaTčeš 'to get tired'
raḍa, byaṛaḍi 'to please'      raḍi, byaṛaḍa 'to be pleased, satisfied'

1In the case of aṭel, byaṭal 'to be killed', this colloquial pattern corresponds to a true internal passive in Classical Arabic: qaṭila, yuqaitu. (Note also the "impersonal" passive gámi ḍalá 'he's fainted': Cl. gáníya Calayhi.) Most of these colloquial passives, however, correspond to Classical verbs of Pattern Pačila, yaPčela.

The passives of Pattern II (Pačal), Pattern III (Pačal), quadriradical (Pačal), and pseudo-quadriradical verbs is formed by prefixation of t: (Pačal), and resulting in verbs of Patterns W (tPačal) [86], VII (tPačal) [88], tPačal [121], etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>knanas 'to sweep'</td>
<td>tknanas 'to be swept'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tṣasas 'to punish'</td>
<td>tṭṣasas 'to be punished'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taršam 'to translate'</td>
<td>ttaršam 'to be translated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sādan 'to depress'</td>
<td>tsādan 'to be depressed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The irregular initial-weak verbs ṭakal 'to eat' and ṭaxad 'to take' [p. 56] have passives formed on Pattern VI: ṭalakal 'to be eaten', ṭalaxad 'to be taken' [90]. (Regular Pattern VII forms nṭakal and nṭaxad also exist.)

Generally speaking, active verbs that are formed on Patterns IV through X have no passives (except in their participles [p. 260]).

A few augmented verbs have passives formed on Pattern VII or VIII: štara 'to buy' - nšara 'to be bought'; ṣaxma 'to cook, do' - ṣamsa 'to be cooked, done'.

The verb nṭala 'to get full, be filled' is generally considered an irregular Pattern VIII passive of nṭala 'to fill', with n in place of the initial radical m. (But note that some speakers have an active verb tala 'to fill' [Bart. 92], in view of which nṭala would belong to Pattern VII.)

Occasionally passives are improvised by changing the stem vowels as in the Classical passive inflection (perfect a...a - u...a; impf. e...e/o - u...a): nogāl mā yēnēn 'I was transferred two days ago' (cf. the more colloquial nṭaṭal... 'I was transferred...' or 'I moved...'). L-mara 'ala ḍaḥa' 'amn tantešeb u-tantešab [SAL.154] 'Women have the right to elect and to be elected.'

The Classical internal passive is also used in certain set phrases, e.g. ġala ma yurām 'as (well as could possibly be) desired'.

1These verbs are sometimes said to be formed on Pattern VIII, or on a hybrid of Patterns VI and VIII. Note, however, that ṭaxad already has a (Classifying) Pattern VIII derivative tṭaxas [p. 252]. (Cf. also the initial-weak Pattern VIII verb ṭakal 'to rely', whose root, however, is n-k-l not n-k-l.) The verb ṭalakal has a sound double tṭalal 'to be eaten away, corroded'.
The True Passive

The subject of a true passive verb corresponds to the object of its underlying active verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n-nädi r-riotyā qalab farī'na</td>
<td>mā nānā b-hat-taxät'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The Athletic Club beat our</td>
<td>'Nobody has slept in this bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà hada bisadde? hal-'appa</td>
<td>mà n-näni b-hat-taxät'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'No one would believe that</td>
<td>'Nobody has slept in this bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>story'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bät-bät 'l-balad ši mān rās</td>
<td>bät-bät l-balad bānšāf ši mān rās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Can you see the town from</td>
<td>'Is the town visible from the top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the top of the mountain?'</td>
<td>of the mountain?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The true passive construction in Arabic does not — as a general rule — include an agentive phrase. If the agent is to be named at all, it should be as subject of the active verb. To achieve an effect similar to that of the English sentence ‘Our team was beaten by the Athletic Club’, the Arabic object may be extraposed [p. 431] and the verb and subject inverted [432]: farī'na qalab n-nädi r-riotyā 'Our team, the Athletic Club beat it’.

There are some exceptions, however, whereby an agentive phrase with mān [p. 239] is used with what seems to be a true passive: l-‘attīfālīyye lā‘ām l-tutsadda mān māsītes bū-sayyās ‘The treaty has to be ratified by the senate’. These cases may perhaps be due to the extensive loss of contrast in modern Arabic between true passive and mediopassive (with which agentive phrases are often used), and perhaps in part due to the effect of journalistic translations from other languages. (Agentive phrases with mān qalab or mān faraf ‘by’ may be used more broadly than the simple preposition mān, but such usage is limited to a rather pedantic classicising style, and is not often heard in ordinary conversation.)

While an agentive phrase is not normally used in the true passive construction, nevertheless the true passive — unlike the mediopassive — implies that there is an external causative agent involved in the event referred to, though that agent may be unknown (mağhūl).

The Impersonal Passive. In Arabic as in English, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb with its object suppressed, is sometimes converted to passive, provided it has a prepositional complement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā hada mān b-hat-taxät'</td>
<td>mā nānā b-hat-taxät'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Nobody has slept in this bed</td>
<td>'This bed hasn’t been slept in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāfī šī n-n‘ām fi?</td>
<td>sāfī šī yat?n‘ām fi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Is there anything left we can</td>
<td>'Is there anything left to believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>believe in?’</td>
<td>in? (i.e. ‘to be believed in?’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā hada bynhāreb mān has-sa‘n</td>
<td>mā bynhāreb mān has-sa‘n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Nobody escapes from that</td>
<td>'That prison cannot be escaped from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prison’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dafa‘-lak ‘We’ve paid you’</td>
<td>ndafa‘-lak ‘You’ve been paid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lit. ‘There has been paid to</td>
<td>(lit. ‘There has been paid to you’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Arabic, if the active verb has no object, then its passive has no subject, and remains always in the third-person masculine/singular. This subjectless, or IMPERSONAL, passive is quite unlike the English construction, in which the prepositional complement of an active verb corresponds to the subject of its passive.

One should not be misled by the impersonal passive with extraposed [p. 433] or positional complement. In the translation of ‘These beds haven’t been slept in’ as hat-taxät mā nānā fīha, note that taxät is not the subject of nānā, but rather the antecedent of ha: ‘These beds, there has not been slept in them’. Further examples with extraposed complement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāt-tanā‘ara mā bāšāx fīha</td>
<td>hāt-tanā‘ara mā bynhāreb fīha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'This pot I don’t cook in’</td>
<td>'This pot is not to cook in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has-su‘alāt mā dūmāt qalāha</td>
<td>has-su‘alāt mā dūmāt qalāha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'These questions, you haven’t</td>
<td>'These questions haven’t been</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answered’</td>
<td>answered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīha?</td>
<td>fīha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'What are the instruments they</td>
<td>'What are the instruments being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are playing (on)?’</td>
<td>played (on)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1As in English, some prepositionally complemented verbs are commonly converted to passive, while others are not. As with all derivational categories, the question whether or not a theoretically possible derivative is actually used is largely a matter of lexical idiosyncrasy.
**The Mediopassive**

As distinct from the true passive, the mediopassive does not imply an external causative agent. If an active verb means ‘(X) does Y to (Z)’, then its mediopassive derivative means ‘(Z) undergoes Y’, but an external agent X is not implied (nor is it ruled out).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Mediopassive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُضّفحن ‘Line them up!’</td>
<td>ُضًفّع (or ُضًفًف) ‘Line up!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُحَمْمانتي ُل-ُمَّلَد وَلِلا لَيْسَ؟</td>
<td>ُل-ُمَّلَد ُحَمْمانتا وَلِلا لَيْسَ؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Have you bathed the children yet?’</td>
<td>‘Have the children had their baths yet?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُد-ُدَكْتَر مَنَافِق ُقَلِّل</td>
<td>ُسا-ُكَتْنَكِ ُقَلِّل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُل-ُلَاهْم</td>
<td>ُسا-ُلَاهْم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The doctor forbade his eating meat’</td>
<td>‘He’s abstaining from eating meat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No grammatical distinction is made in Arabic verbs between "reflexive" acts and spontaneous developments — what one does to one’s self and what simply happens to one are equally accomodated by the mediopassive: ُتَلْلَم ‘to learn’ (spontaneously or by self-instruction, or — as a true passive — ‘to be taught’); ُحَمْمانتا ‘to have a bath’ (‘to bathe one’s self’ or as a true passive, ‘to be bathed’).

The mediopassive derivation is the converse of the causative [p.240]: an active verb is to its mediopassive as a causative is to the verb underlying it. In the case of correlative pairs like ُسَامَا ‘to cook, do’ and ُتَسَامَا ‘to be cooked, done’ [p.51], it is impossible to distinguish between the two types of relationship, since both verbs are singly augmented. Similarly, both of the pair ُتَقَاب ‘to tire’ (trans.) and ُتَءَقَب ‘to get tired’ are simple: if ُتَقَاب is counted as primary, then ُتَءَقَب is its mediopassive, but if ُتَءَقَب is primary, then ُتَقَاب is its causative.

The mediopassive and true passive verb is formally expressed — in relatively few cases — in the contrast between Pattern VIII (for mediopassive) and Pattern VII (for true passive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mediopassive</th>
<th>True Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُشَتًمَا ‘to meet, get together’</td>
<td>ُشَتًمَا ‘to be brought together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُمَتَامَا ‘to abstain’ (from...)</td>
<td>ُمَتَمَا ‘to be prevented’ (from...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُنَتَدَد ‘to extend, stretch’ (intrans.)</td>
<td>ُنَتَدَد ‘to be extended, stretched’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rtاصَ ‘to rise, be high up’ ...... mrtاصَ ‘to be raised’

ُناشَ ‘to work’ ............... nsناشَ ‘to be made busy’

Of the fairly numerous pairs of Pattern VII and VIII verbs, however, most do not actually contrast as true passive to mediopassive. Compare, for instance, ُنَسَأ ‘to marry’ and ُلَتَسَأ, both of which (for many speakers, at least) mean either ‘to be clothed, outfitted’ (by someone), or ‘to clothe, outfit one’s self’; or ُنَحَرَا ‘to be wounded’ and ُتَنَحَرَا, both meaning either ‘to be wounded’ (by something), or ‘to wound’ (by one’s own action).

Even some of the five pairs listed above are not always used in a clearcut contrastive way. ُنَمَد, for instance, can be used in a mediopassive sense, and rtاصَ, in a true passive sense; while ُناشَ in commonly construed as a primary active verb, and nsناشَ as a mediopassive.

Unlike true passives, some mediopassive verbs are transitive, their underlying active verbs being doubly transitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Mediopassive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُمَنَعِلَمَكَ رَأْيِكَ؟</td>
<td>ُمَنَعِلَمَكَ رَأْيِكَ؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Who taught you Arabic?’</td>
<td>‘How did you learn Arabic?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُدَحَوْصَ ُبَنْثُونَ</td>
<td>ُدَحَوْصَ ُبَنْثُونَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘They gave him their daughter’</td>
<td>‘He married his daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُنَعْمَانَي ُسَكَتِّا</td>
<td>ُتَعْمَانَي ُسَكَتِّا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He handed (or passed) me’</td>
<td>‘I took (or reached) the bag’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise in contrast to true passives, many mediopassives take a prepositional complement with ُمَن [p.478] or ُب- [479], which may be construed as an agentive phrase, corresponding to the subject of the underlying active verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mediopassive</th>
<th>True Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُلَبَنْكُ دَعَّأَنَكِ مَسَّرِي</td>
<td>ُدَدَأَنْيَ ُتَرَبَنْيَ ُلَبَنْكَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The bank lent me money’</td>
<td>‘I borrowed money from the bank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلَسَّأَرِي ُقِسَارَتِي ُكَيْرُ</td>
<td>ُقِسَارَتِي ُكَيْرُ ُلَسَّأَرِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘His kindness touched me deeply’</td>
<td>‘I was deeply touched by his kindness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُطَخُتِ ُقِدَّادَنُي بَلَ-ُبَحْمَرَ</td>
<td>ُقِدَّادَنُي بَلَ-ُبَحْمَرَ ُطَخُتِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘My sister infected me with the measles’</td>
<td>‘I caught the measles from my sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُخُلً-ُهَذَبْحِي ُقِمَّ-ُتَكْلَنَي ُكَيْرُ</td>
<td>ُقِمَّ-ُتَكْلَنَي ُخُلً-ُهَذَبْحِي ُكَيْرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘These accounts are keeping me quite busy’</td>
<td>‘I’m being kept quite busy with these accounts’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CAUSATIVE VERBS

The Causative derivation is usually expressed with Pattern II (FaFa*G) [p.77]; rarely (in Colloquial) with Pattern IV [82] or Pattern II(a-e) [63] or others [243].

Most causatives are derived from simple verbs. If the simple verb means 'X happens', then its causative means '(Y) makes X happen' (or '...lets X happen', or '...has X happen'). Examples:

- **Underlying**: nasef 'to descend, go down'  ...  nassal 'to take down, bring down'
- nasm 'to go to sleep'  ...  nayyam 'to put to sleep'
- qafad 'to sit'  ...  qafass 'to seat'
- gaher 'to appear'  ...  qashar 'to reveal'
- dahr, 'to turn' (intrans.)  ...  dahr, 'to turn' (trans.)  ...  bidir

The causative, it may be noted, is the converse of the mediopassive derivation. See p. 238.

If a simple verb is transitive, then its causative is doubly transitive —the first object [p.438] corresponding to the subject of the simple verb:

- **Causative**
  - bussam 'does your brother understand what he's supposed to do?'
  - la 'isn't that child wearing a sweater?' [Act. Part., p. ]
  - hamal 'has he saddled his brother with the care of his children'
  - bidir 'so much turning and circling gets one lost' [on suppression of object, see p. 328].

In some cases — as in the last two examples — the first of the causative may be replaced by a la- phrase and put after the remaining object: yasef 'show your wound to the doctor'  ...  yasef darsak 'let your lesson for your father'. The use of a prepositional complement with a causative in lieu of a first object generally implies a certain idiomatic specialization with respect to the underlying simple verb: fafa*G meaning 'to recite', kutub meaning 'to dictate', etc. FaFa*G 'to (come to) know' is never used with two objects, but always with a prepositional complement: baddi 'I want to introduce you to my friend...'.

Further examples of causative constructions:

- **Underlying**: Fana katah maktub 'her son wrote a letter'
- rah-subma l-boddin 'He's going to hear the new recording'
- sammel 'let the doctor see your wound'
- Faddi boddin yamun darsak 'Your father wants to hear (you recite) your lesson'

- **Causative**
  - Fa rubbat maktub 'The mother had her son write a letter'
  - rah-isamuna l-boddin 'He's going to hear the new recording'
  - sammel 'let the doctor see your wound'
  - Faddi boddin yamun darsak 'Your father hear (you recite) your lesson'

Some mediopassive verbs, like Faddi in FaFa*G, are idiomatically specialized in a 'reflexive' sense; i.e. the causative agency is conceived always as inhering in the subject-referent (in this case, the worker), while the picture as a mere recipient of the 'action'. Thus Faddi is just as much an "active" verb as the English verb 'to work', despite its derivational status as a mediopassive.

Most passive verbs can be interpreted either as mediopassive or as true passive, depending on the context and circumstances in which the verb is used: nassal 'to bathe one's self' (adult), or 'to be bathed' (baby); nqaraf 'to get out' (e.g. of school) or 'to be let out...'  ...  qaxar 'to delay' (intrans.) or 'to be delayed'.
Further examples of the causative derivation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masel 'to arrive'</td>
<td>masel 'to take' (someone somewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'asg 'to dance'</td>
<td>ra'asg 'to make...dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fár 'to wake up' (intrans.)</td>
<td>fár 'to wake' (someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dás 'to get dizzy, nauseated'</td>
<td>dás 'to make...dizzy, to nauseate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamm 'to smell' (trans.)</td>
<td>šamm 'to have(someone) smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ara 'to read'</td>
<td>'ara 'to have(someone) read'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some causatives are derived from adjectives: 'šamā 'to strengthen' from 'šamā 'strong'; though in most cases these adjectives also have inchoative [p.250] or descriptive [25] verbs from which the causative might also be said to be derived: 'šamā 'to become strong' -- 'šamā 'to strengthen'.

| xafīf 'light' | xafīf 'to lighten' |
| bēid 'far away' | bēid 'to remove, banish' |
| ṣabīh 'correct' | ṣabīh 'to correct' |
| ṣabīyād 'white' | ṣabīyād 'to whiten' |
| ṣamāwād 'black' | ṣamāwād 'to blacken' |

Examples of causatives formed on patterns other than II:

Pattern IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pēher 'to appear'</td>
<td>ṣapākār 'to reveal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālef 'to perish'</td>
<td>tāluaf 'to destroy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġāni 'rich'</td>
<td>ṣōgna 'to make...rich'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern I(a-e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dār, bidār 'to turn'(intrans.)</td>
<td>dār, bidār 'to turn'(trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣām, bi'sīm 'to get up'</td>
<td>ṣām, bi'sīm 'to raise, remove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dām, bidām 'to last'</td>
<td>dām, bidām 'to make...last'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfma 'blind'</td>
<td>ṣāfma, byāmī 'to blind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Underlying Word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causeative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥašam 'to shine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasran 'to shut(someone)up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others:

| ṣāle 'to come up, out' | ṣāle 'to bring up, out (Pat. III), or ṣāle (Lebanese) |
| ra'asg 'to dance' | ra'asg 'to make dance, jiggles' (Pat. Pa'amal), cf. ra'asg, above |

ASCRPTIVE VERBS

Ascriptive verbs, formed mainly on Pattern II, are derived from various kinds of words.

If the underlying word means 'X', or 'to do X', then the ascriptive verb means 'to impute or attribute X to...', or 'to treat...as X, or as having done X'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Ascriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xān 'to betray'</td>
<td>xamām 'to brand as a traitor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byābshā 'to resemble'</td>
<td>šabbā 'to liken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣafdal 'preferable, superior'</td>
<td>ṣafdal 'to prefer, to favor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣadā 'to be true', to...</td>
<td>ṣadā 'to believe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥasab 'to lie'</td>
<td>ḥasab 'to disbelieve, consider...a liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣālif 'little, few'</td>
<td>ṣālif 'to belittle, underestimate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāmi 'donkey; stupid'</td>
<td>ḥamar 'to consider...stupid' (Pat. Pa'amal [p.115])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ascriptive derivation is a sort of specialization of the causative, used in a subjective sense: e.g. to disbelieve someone = to 'make' a liar of him.

With most verbs, however, the ascriptive is virtually equivalent to the milder Estimative (see below).
ESTIMATIVE VERBS

Estimative verbs, formed on Pattern X (staFâl) [p. 102], are derived mainly from simple adjectives.

If the underlying adjective means 'X', then the estimative verb means 'to consider or find (something) X'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Estimative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gâšâb 'difficult'</td>
<td>gâšâb 'to find...difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâlu 'nice, pleasant'</td>
<td>stâhâla 'to like, find...pleasant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kîr 'much, many'</td>
<td>stâktâr 'to consider...excessive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gârîb 'strange, odd'</td>
<td>stâgrâb 'to find...odd, be surprised at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîr 'small'</td>
<td>gârîgâr 'to deem small, insignificant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâhsan 'better, best'</td>
<td>stâhsan 'to prefer, consider...the best'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâm 'to betray', xéyên 'traitor'</td>
<td>staxmân 'to consider...disloyal', 'traitor'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The estimative derivation is nearly equivalent to the ascriptive, though in some cases where the ascriptive implies social interaction, the estimative is more a matter of individual response: compare ascriptive xamân 'to brand as a traitor' with estimative staxmân 'to consider disloyal'.

EDUCTIVE VERBS

Eductive verbs are formed mainly on Pattern X (staFâl) [p. 102]. Most are derived from transitive verbs, a few from nouns.

If an underlying verb means '(Y) does X (with respect to Z)', then its eductive derivative means '(Z) elicits for himself — or brings about, or seeks to bring about for himself — (Y)’s doing X'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Eductive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gâfâr 'to forgive'</td>
<td>stâgâfâr 'to seek forgiveness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fân 'to help'</td>
<td>stâfân 'to have recourse to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sîr 'to advise'</td>
<td>stâsîr 'to consult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radd 'to return, give back'</td>
<td>staradd 'to ask (or get) back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fûd 'to be of use to'</td>
<td>stafûd 'to benefit (from)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONATIVE VERBS

Conative verbs, with rare exceptions, are formed on Pattern III (Fâl) [p. 80].

The kind of activity designated by a conative verb has as its implicit goal the kind of event designated by its underlying simple verb.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Conative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zâba? 'to overtake, pass'</td>
<td>sâba? 'to race' (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishe? 'to catch up with'</td>
<td>lâha? 'to chase after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râda 'to please, satisfy'</td>
<td>râda 'to ingratiate one’s self with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mânîs 'to prevent'</td>
<td>mânîs 'to object to, forbid' (b-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>târafād 'to expel, get rid of'</td>
<td>târafād 'to chase away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nâsar 'to secure the victory of'</td>
<td>nânjar 'to back, support'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fâkas 'to reverse, upset'</td>
<td>fâkas 'to oppose, contradict'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beţâh 'to throw down'</td>
<td>beţâh 'to wrestle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâheq 'to catch a glimpse of'</td>
<td>lâheq 'to watch; to notice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹It should be noted that carrying on “goal-directed activity” does not necessarily imply an attempt or desire to attain that goal: one may chase without trying to catch, etc.
The personal object in a participative construction may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with ma‘a ‘with’ or la- ‘to’ of the simple verb):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Verb</th>
<th>Participative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baddi ma‘a-lak IMPLEMENTED</td>
<td>baddi hâkîk ‘I want to tell you something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâtab na‘tâbû</td>
<td>kâtab ‘âbû ‘He wrote his father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râ¾âbna ma‘a mantâxâb bérêt</td>
<td>râ¾âbna mantâxâb bérêt ‘We played against the Beirut all-stars’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inanimate object of a simple verb may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with b–) of the participative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Verb</th>
<th>Participative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fâšal sa‘r ²-s-sâyâra</td>
<td>fâšal b–sa‘r ²-s-sâyâra ‘He haggled over the price of the car’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâsábti denî</td>
<td>hâsâbton b–dânî ‘I settled my debt with them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some participatives are derived from simple nouns, which designate either a kind of participant or a kind of participation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (Participant)</th>
<th>Participative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sâ‘hîb ‘friend’</td>
<td>sâ‘hab ‘to make or be friends with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râfa’ ‘companion’</td>
<td>râfa’ ‘to accompany’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēda ‘enemy’</td>
<td>ēda ‘to treat with hostility’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (Participation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hâsâh ‘argument’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xîlaf ‘difference, opposition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâ‘dai ‘coincidence, unexpected’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²Perfect tense only; imperfect is bilâmî, like the conative.
RECIPIOCATIVE VERBS

Reciprocative verbs, formed on Pattern VI (tFESAL) [p. 88], are derived mainly from participatives (see above). If the underlying verb means ‘(X) does Y to or with (Z)’, then the reciprocative means ‘(X and Z) do Y to or with one another’. Since the subject denotes both or all interacting parties, which are generally animate, a true reciprocative verb normally occurs only in the plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Reciprocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥākā ‘to talk to’</td>
<td>ḥāku ‘to talk (together)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātāb ‘to write to’</td>
<td>ēkātāb ‘to write one another’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfāḥ ‘to shake hands with’</td>
<td>ṣāfāb ‘to shake hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sābā ‘to race’ (trans.)</td>
<td>sāb ‘to race’ (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ālā ‘to (go to) meet (someone)’</td>
<td>āl ‘to meet, rendezvous one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsab ‘to suit, correspond’</td>
<td>nāsab ‘to match, correspond to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs nāsab and ēnāsab do not require an animate subject, hence the reciprocative may occur in the third-person feminine singular (423) as well as in the plural: hal-_attempts mi bātīnāsab ‘these colors don’t match’.

Some reciprocatives have no underlying participative verb, but are derived from simple verbs — combining the reciprocative derivation with the participative or conative (p. 245): ēṭārāb ‘to hit one another, fight’, from darāb ‘to hit’: ḫāṣal ‘to fight, quarrel’, from āṣal ‘to kill’.

The reciprocative derivation is a specialized kind of mediopassive (p. 238). Some participatives have ordinary mediopassive derivatives, however, which differ from reciprocatives in that they occur freely in the singular, and only express interaction when explicitly complemented by a phrase with mač ‘with’ samā ‘together’, or the like. For example tārak mač ēmā ‘He went into partnership with his uncle’ (mediopassive), from the participative tārak ēmā ‘He took his uncle into partnership’.

Some of these derivatives may be construed either as ordinary mediopassives or as reciprocatives: kān ēm-ṣāṣ ṣāṣ ‘He was having a race with another car’ (mediopassive); but s-sāṣētān kān ēm-ṣāṣ ‘The two cars were racing’ (reciprocative).

SIMULATIVE VERBS

Simulative verbs are formed with the prefix t-: mainly on Pattern VI (tFESAL) [p. 88], in a few cases on quadriradical [p. 123] or n-suffix (tFESAL) [p. 116] patterns. Most are derived from adjectives, some from nouns or verbs.

If the underlying word means ‘X’, then the simulative verb means ‘to act X’ (or ‘to act like an X’, or ‘to act as if X’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Simulative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥāfar ‘smart, clever’</td>
<td>ḥāfar ‘to act smart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marīd ‘ill’</td>
<td>ṫār ‘to malinger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡāsīm ‘naive’</td>
<td>ḡās ‘to act naive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡīṣān ‘devil’</td>
<td>ḡīṣ ‘to be naughty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wālād ‘child’</td>
<td>wāl ‘to be childish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡāhel ‘ignorant’</td>
<td>ḡāhal ‘to ignore, act ignorant of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nās ‘to forget’</td>
<td>nās ‘to act forgetful of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāher ‘to appear’</td>
<td>ṣāhar ‘to feign, simulate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāsūl ‘lazy’</td>
<td>ṭāsal ‘to loaf, be lazy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the element of pretense or simulation that is found in the verbs derived from qualitative adjectives is not found in those derived from adjectives which are themselves essentially behavioral rather than qualitative. For example ‘to act rude’ is the same thing as ‘to be rude’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Simulative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡālā ‘rude, crude’</td>
<td>ḡālā ‘to be rude, crude, gross’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāṣīl ‘bad, wicked’</td>
<td>rāṣ ‘to be bad, wicked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāṣ ‘lax, loose’</td>
<td>rāṣ ‘to relax’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1In such cases the contrast between simulative and descriptive [p. 251] is neutralized.
INCHOATIVE VERBS

If an adjective means 'X', then its inchoative paronym means 'to become X'.

Inchoatives of Pattern \( \text{m\'a\'al} \) color-adjetives [p.130] are formed on Pattern IX (\( \text{m\'a\'al} \)) [101]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'ahmar} ) 'red'</td>
<td>( \text{'amarr} ) 'to become red, to blush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'asfar} ) 'yellow'</td>
<td>( \text{sfarr} ) 'to become yellow, turn pale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'aswad} ) 'black'</td>
<td>( \text{swadd} ) 'to become black'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The defect-adjective [p.130] \( \text{\'ac\'ad} \) 'bent, crooked' also has a Pattern IX inchoative: \( \text{\'awad} \) 'to become bent, crooked'.

Some adjectives of Pattern \( \text{m\'a\'al} \) [p.133] have inchoatives of the pseudo-quadriradical \( \text{m\'a\'al} \) pattern [116]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{m'aslam} ) 'Moslem'</td>
<td>( \text{'aslam} ) 'to become a Moslem'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'amsher} ) 'having blossoms, ... ( \text{'amshar} ) 'to bloom' flowering'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'awra} ) 'having leaves, ... ( \text{'arwa} ) 'to leaf out' leafy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the contrast of these adjectives with the participle: \( \text{\'a\'a\'ser} \) 'in bloom', \( \text{\'a\'a\'slam} \) 'having become a Moslem' [p.117].

Inchoatives from other kinds of adjectives are mostly formed on simple patterns: \( \text{\'a\'al} \), \( \text{\'a\'al} \) [p.117] for sound and defective verbs: \( \text{\'a\'al} \), \( \text{\'a\'al} \) [pp.96.63] for germinative and hollow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'abber} ) 'large, adult'</td>
<td>( \text{'abber} ) 'to become large, grow up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'ez} ) 'weak, ill'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'ez} ) 'to weaken, become ill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'een} ) 'blind'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'een} ) 'to go blind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'af} ) 'light'('in weight')</td>
<td>( \text{'a'af} ) 'to become light(er)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'ay} ) 'narrow, tight'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'ay} ) 'to become narrow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some inchoatives, derived mainly from words other than adjectives, are formed on Pattern \( t\text{\'a\'al} \) [p.86]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'ah'a'an} ) 'better'</td>
<td>( \text{'ah'a'an} ) 'to improve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'ad} ) 'ahead'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'ad} ) 'to progress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'al} ) 'by'ashal' 'to be easy'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'al} ) 'to become easier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'ar'ab} ) 'to be related'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'ar'ab} ) 'to become related (by marriage)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'an'il'ok} ) 'to own, possess'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'an'il'ok} ) 'to acquire, take possession of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'an'ham, 'a'an'ham} ) 'to catch on, to understand'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'an'ham} ) 'to begin to understand, to come to understand better'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some inchoatives, derived mainly from words other than adjectives, are formed on Pattern \( t\text{\'a\'al} \) [p.86]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'an} ) 'better'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'an} ) 'to improve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'ad} ) 'ahead'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'ad} ) 'to progress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'al} ) 'by'ashal' 'to be easy'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'al} ) 'to become easier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'ar'ab} ) 'to be related'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'ar'ab} ) 'to become related (by marriage)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'an'ham, 'a'an'ham} ) 'to catch on, to understand'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'an'ham} ) 'to begin to understand, to come to understand better'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inchoative & Descriptive 251

Some inchoatives, derived mainly from words other than adjectives, are formed on Pattern \( t\text{\'a\'al} \) [p.86]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'an} ) 'better'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'an} ) 'to improve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'ad} ) 'ahead'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'ad} ) 'to progress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'a'al} ) 'by'ashal' 'to be easy'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'a'al} ) 'to become easier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'ar'ab} ) 'to be related'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'ar'ab} ) 'to become related (by marriage)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'an'il'ok} ) 'to own, possess'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'an'il'ok} ) 'to acquire, take possession of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{'a'an'ham, 'a'an'ham} ) 'to catch on, to understand'</td>
<td>( \text{'a'an'ham} ) 'to begin to understand, to come to understand better'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between a simple adjective and its inchoative or descriptive verb is very similar to that between an active participle and its underlying verb. The only functional difference is that while a participle normally depicts a state, a simple adjective depicts states, dispositions, or qualities indiscriminately. Insofar as a simple adjective is inherently stative (e.g. \( \text{\'a\'a\'e\'et} \) 'dead'), and if the correllative verb (\( \text{\'a\'a\'an} \) 'to die') has no participle on the usual patterns (\( \text{\'a\'al} \) or \( \text{\'a\'al} \)), then the adjective does, in fact, function as a participle.

The descriptive verb \( \text{\'a\'a\'il\'ok} \) 'to be kin(to)' is correlative to the noun \( \text{\'a\'a\'il\'ok} \) 'relative, kin'.

The descriptive verb \( \text{\'a\'a\'il\'ok} \) (lab-)' to be kin(to)' is correlative to the noun \( \text{\'a\'a\'il\'ok} \) 'relative, kin'.

The descriptive verb \( \text{\'a\'a\'il\'ok} \) (lab-)' to be kin(to)' is correlative to the noun \( \text{\'a\'a\'il\'ok} \) 'relative, kin'.

Some verbs, especially "descriptive" verbs, are not normally used in the perfect tense. See below.

In Classical Arabic, many descriptive verbs and simple inchoative verbs fall together into one class, meaning roughly 'to be or become X' (where the simple adjective means 'X'). These are double-aspect verbs, having - like those discussed in the section on participles - an inceptive and a durative aspect [p.271].
**ABSTRACTIVE VERBS**

Abstractive verbs are formed mainly on Pattern VIII (fatḥal) [p. 95], and are derived mainly from simple verbs.

Abstractives differ from their underlying verbs by a metaphorical shift in meaning from concrete to abstract, or from animate to inanimate, or physical to psychological, immediate to mediate, etc.; these shifts in meaning generally involve the type of subject or complement the verb takes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Abstractive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaṣaf 'to uncover, expose'</td>
<td>ḫtaṣaf 'to discover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥamal 'to pick up, carry'</td>
<td>ḥtasamal 'to bear, put up with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatḥah 'to open' (e.g. a door)</td>
<td>ḥfatḥah 'to open' (e.g. a meeting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕatam 'to seal'</td>
<td>ṕatam 'to conclude, close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍōna 'to embrace (some- one)'</td>
<td>Ṝtana 'to embrace (e.g. a faith)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥana 'to contain; to keep'</td>
<td>ḫtana 'to include, contain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṙaxab 'to pick out, choose'</td>
<td>Ṙtāxab 'to elect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛagg 'to suck'</td>
<td>ṕṛagg 'to absorb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕahab 'to flame, blaze'</td>
<td>ṕtahab 'to be inflamed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕala 'to create'</td>
<td>ṕtala 'to dream up, fabricate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕaxad 'to take, get'</td>
<td>ṕtāxad 'to take on, undertake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕalab 'to ask for'</td>
<td>ṕṭallab (Pat. V) 'to require'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few cases, Pattern VIII verbs are simultaneously abstractive and mediopassive: ṕsāf 'to describe' = ṕṭsāf (b-) 'to be characterized (by)'; ṕṣāl 'to connect' = ṕṭṣāl (b-) 'to have to do with, to be in touch with'; ṙabas 'to put on, wear' = ṕtābas 'to be obscure'.

---

**AUGMENTATIVE (Frequentative and Intensive) VERBS**

Augmentative verbs are formed on Pattern II (fatḥal) [p. 77] or on one of the pseudo-quadriradical patterns fatḥal, ḥfatḥal, fatḥah, or ḥfatḥah [p. 109].

Augmentatives are mainly derived from sound and geminate simple verbs of the fatḥah patterns (and rarely from hollow or ḥfatḥah-pattern verbs).

A simple verb designating a kind of action does not specify whether the action is single or multiple, limited or extensive, restrained or forceful. An augmentative verb, on the other hand, indicates that the action is enhanced in one way or another — repeated, extended, or intensified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Verb</th>
<th>Augmentative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṕṣaf 'to clap, slap'</td>
<td>ṕṣaffa 'to clap' (e.g. in applause or rhythm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕṣaf 'to pick' (e.g. a flower)</td>
<td>ṕṣaffa 'to pick' (e.g. many flowers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṕṣar 'to break' (e.g. in two)</td>
<td>ṕṣarr 'to break' (e.g. to pieces)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One may say, for example, ṕ ṕṣaffa ṙaḥḥ-ẓahr 'Don’t pick those flowers' or, with the augmentative ṕ ṕṣaffa ṙaḥḥ-ẓahr. But in reference to a single flower, the simple verb only may be used: ṕ ṕṣaf ṙaḥḥ-ẓahr 'don’t pick that flower' (not ṕ ṕṣaffa...).

Augmentatives may be divided into FREQUENTATIVES, which indicate repeated or distributed action, and INTENSIVES, which indicate forceful action. (Intensives are more common in the pseudo-quadriradical patterns than in Pattern II, while frequentatives are the most common in Pattern II, and are more common in general than intensives.) Most augmentatives may be taken in whichever sense is compatible with the meaning of the underlying simple verb, and with the context and situation in which it is being used. Thus ṕḍaḥas 'to trample, tread on', from ṕḍas 'to step on, tread on', may indicate protracted or extensive action, or intensive action. "Intensive action" however, tends to be a vague and subjective notion. Many augmentatives which are theoretically intensives are in actual usage virtually synonymous with their underlying simple verb: ṕraḥab and ṕraḥḥab 'to scare, startle', ṕḥar and ṕḥāḥ 'to rejoice', etc.

The difference between many simple verbs and their "intensive" derivatives, then, is more often exploited for stylistic or connotative purposes that for objective indications of intensiveness; speakers may sometimes choose intensives for the sake of emphatic or colorful speech.

---

¹As a classicism, this derivative has ṣ for Classical ẓ (which corresponds to ṣ in words inherited via spoken channels).
### Examples, Pattern II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣaraš ‘to knock’</td>
<td>ṣarrasaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasaš ‘to wash’</td>
<td>xassal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasaš ‘to tear, rip’</td>
<td>xassar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabbaš ‘to slaughter’</td>
<td>dabbaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbaš ‘to tie, hitch’</td>
<td>rabbaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>račbaš ‘to scare, startle’</td>
<td>račbbaš (intensive or synonymous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dafaš ‘to push’</td>
<td>daffaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝamaš ‘to bring together, gather’</td>
<td>ŝammaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaxaš ‘to draw (a) line(s), scribble’</td>
<td>šaxxaš (cf. šaxwuš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šadal ‘to braid’</td>
<td>šaddal (cf. šōdal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baram ‘to turn, twist’ (trans.)</td>
<td>baram (cf. bēram)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaraš ‘to shout’</td>
<td>šarrax (cf. šarrax)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pattern Fačwal:**

- bačaš ‘to perforate’
- ŝakaš ‘to pick at, fool with’
- dačas ‘to tread on’
- šaxaš ‘to draw (a) line(s), scribble’
- šakk ‘to pick, pierce’
- ŝalaš ‘to take off’ (e.g. clothes)
- ŝalaš ‘take off and throw around’ (cf. ŝělaš)
- ŝalak ‘to chew’
- ŝaraš ‘to sting, bite’
- ŝaraš ‘to crunch, gnaw’ (cf. ŝaraš)
- lašaš ‘to pick up’
- lašaš (cf. lašaš)
- mafaš ‘to jerk’ (intrans.)
- mafaš ‘to jump’
- šaxar ‘to snort; snore’

**Augmentative Pattern (PačFal):**

- ṣaraš ‘to splash’
- ŝaraš ‘to crunch, gnaw’
- Šaraš ‘to startle’
- farbaš ‘to rejoice’
- loš ‘to turn; wrap’
- ŝail ‘to untie; solve’
- šamm ‘to smell’ (trans.)
- ŝaš ‘to cut, snip’
- fat ‘to crumble’ (trans.)
- kabb ‘to pour, spill’
- Šaraš ‘to hit with a bang’
- lēš ‘to wave’

**Pattern Fačal:**

- bačaš ‘to splash around in the water’
- xamaš ‘to scratch’
- doš ‘to tap, drum’
- šabak ‘to involve, entangle’
- Šabak ‘to entangle, complicate’
- Šēbaš ‘to slam’
- kadas ‘to pile’

**Pattern Fēšal:**

- ṣaraš ‘to pick up’
- Šēbaš ‘to drag’
- Šēdaš ‘to braid’
- Šēdaš ‘to cheat’ (in games)
- Šēdaš ‘to hiccup’
- baram ‘to turn, wind’
APPlicative Verbs

Applicative verbs, which are denominative, i.e. derived from nouns, are mostly formed on Pattern II [p. 77], or on one of the quadriradical [117] or pseudo-quadriradical [109] patterns.

If a noun means "X", then the applicative verb derived from it means 'to apply, give, put, make, take, (etc.), X'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Applicative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sēr 'oil'</td>
<td>sērayy 'to oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōdra 'powder'</td>
<td>bōdar 'to powder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxēt 'tip, gratuity'</td>
<td>baxēt 'to tip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔašra 'peel, skin, shell, bark'</td>
<td>ʔašra 'to peel, (etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔatet 'furniture, furnishings'</td>
<td>ʔatet 'to furnish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxar 'steam'</td>
<td>baxar 'to steam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blāt 'flagstones, tile'</td>
<td>balat 'to pave with flagstones, tile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talifān 'telephone'</td>
<td>talifān 'to telephone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zarr 'button'</td>
<td>zarr 'to button'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēsē 'stake'</td>
<td>xēsē 'to impale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔalab 'mold'</td>
<td>ʔalab 'to mold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārrāx 'date' (day of year)</td>
<td>tārrāx 'to date'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēq 'ice'</td>
<td>bēq 'to ice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bānant 'anesthetic'</td>
<td>bānan 'to anesthetize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhēr 'spice'</td>
<td>bhēr 'to spice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmās 'frame'</td>
<td>barmās 'to frame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāmar 'nail'</td>
<td>bāmar 'to nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farśāy 'brush'</td>
<td>farśā 'to brush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔasat 'foundation'</td>
<td>ʔasat 'to found, establish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some applicatives are formed on other patterns: ʔahdā (Pat. IV) 'to give (as a gift)', from ḥdiyye 'gift'; šēṣāy 'to trick' (Pat. VI) from šēlo 'trick'. A few are derived from formulaic phrases: bāsmāl 'to say basmlāš...' ('in the name of God...').

Many denominatives, though not applicatives strictly speaking, are derived in comparable ways: ṭāsamī 'to shop, go to market', from sē 'market'; sēbbī 'to cause', from sāba 'cause', etc.
PARTICIPLES

Formation

Most simple triradical verbs [p.55] have active participles on the pattern פַּכֵּל [131] and passive participles on the pattern מַפַּכֵּל [132]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥafaṣ 'to put away, keep'</td>
<td>ḥafaṣ 'having put away, keeping' maḥfaṣ 'having been put away, kept'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fataḥ 'to open'</td>
<td>fataḥ 'having opened' maftah 'open, having been opened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōbes 'to put on(clothes)'</td>
<td>lōbes 'having put on, wearing' malībūs 'having been put on, being worn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṣṣan 'to weigh'</td>
<td>maṣṣan 'having weighed' maṣṣān 'having been weighed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāʾes 'to despair'</td>
<td>yāʾes 'despairing, desparate' maṣṣās 'despaired(of)' (mānno)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaṭ 'to put'</td>
<td>ḥaṭ 'having put' maḥṭ 'having been put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāʾē 'to sell'</td>
<td>bāʾē 'having sold'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hollow verbs [p.188] generally do not have passive participles.1 In the active participles, a medial radical w is changed to y: xāf 'to fear' (Root x-w-f), act. part. xāyef 'afraid'.

Defective verbs [p.186] have active participles ending in i and passive participles on the pattern מַפַּכֵּל [133]. (Medial radical m remains intact):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñaṭa 'to read'</td>
<td>ñi 'having read' mañi 'having been read'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāṇa 'to build'</td>
<td>bāni 'having built' mañi 'having been built'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māmē 'to intend'</td>
<td>māmē 'intending' mañi 'intended'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṣi 'to go, walk'</td>
<td>maṣi 'going, walking' mañi 'walked(on)' (vālē)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some regions (especially Palestine) defective passive participles keep the vowel a: maʾri, maḥnā, etc. Passive participles of the defective "impersonal" passive verbs ẓāmi (vālē) 'to faint' and qādi (vālē) 'to be done for, be a goner' are formed on the pattern מַפַּכֵּל: muṣma vālē 'fainted', muṣqā vālē 'done for'. [See p.365.]

The anomalous verb ẓās 'to come' has active participle ḥāye (both masc. and fem.) (see p.76, footnote.)

Quite a few sound and defective verbs — especially intransitive verbs on Pattern פַּכֵּל, byaṭa[al] [p.71], and especially verbs that usually take animate subjects — have active participles on the pattern פַּכֵּל [132]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Active Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫabō 'to grow up'</td>
<td>ḫabōn 'having grown up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫāṣ 'to get thirsty'</td>
<td>ḫāḥān 'thirsty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫā 'to get tired'</td>
<td>ḫabān 'tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫarrē 'to get cold'</td>
<td>ḫarrīn 'cold' (animate only; inanimate bārid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣi 'to forget'</td>
<td>māṣān 'having forgotten' (or māsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saḥā 'to hear'</td>
<td>saḥān 'having heard; listening' (or saḥē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫarm 'to flee'</td>
<td>ḫarmān 'having fled, fleeing' (or ḥarēb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫī 'to be watered, irrigated'</td>
<td>ḫīyān 'well-watered, irrigated'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The hollow verb ḫā 'to get hungry' (Root ḫ-w-ā) has participle ḫāṣān 'hungry', in some areas ḫāṣān. Geminates verbs [189] do not have participles on this pattern.

In most cases in which there are alternative participial forms (e.g. sāmān and sāme), the Paṭal pattern is typical of Syria Proper, while the ḫal pattern is more cosmopolitan.

The participles of all augmented and quadriradical verbs are formed by prefixation of ñ (or m- before two consonants, or m- in certain classicsms). In the passive participle, the last vowel is always a. In the active participle, it is e for sound verbs, i for defective:

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1There are some exceptions. In some areas, for instance, the form maṣyān 'sold' may be heard. The word maṣyān 'in debt' is used without any underlying verb (cf. đem 'debt').
Verbs | Participles
---|---
taršam 'to translate' | mtaršem 'having translated'
taršam 'having been) translated'
parrar 'to decide' | m'arrar 'having decided'
m'arrar 'having been) decided'
samma 'to name, call' | msammi 'having named'
msammi 'having been) named'
stačmal 'to use' | mstačmell 'having used, using'
mstačmell 'having been) used'
tбанна 'to adopt' | mтбани 'having adopted'
mтбани 'having been) adopted'

In participles of Pattern IV (مارئل) verbs [p. 82], ما replaces ما: 'ahram 'to honor', maked 'having honored, honoring', makač 'having been) honored). (Most words of Patterns ما derejel [133] and ما derejel [134] do not function as true participles, however. See Agentive Adjectives [278].)

The next-to-last vowel is changed to ə in the active participles of sound and defective (and initial-weak) Pattern VII [p. 91] and VIII [98] verbs, except in classicism, where it remains a:

**Pattern VII**

**Sound:** nsa`ār 'to be bewitched'..........mawnsa`er 'bewitched'

**Defective:** n'ara 'to be read'..........manc'ari 'having been) read'

**Sound:** n'afal 'to be discontinued'..........manc'dafe 'discontinued'

(Classicism)

**Pattern VIII**

**Sound:** ētāmed (صلاة) 'to rely (on)'. .....mac'tāmed 'relying (on)'
(صلاة) mac'tāmed 'relied on'

**Defective:** ďtām (صلاة) 'to include'..........mac'tom (صلاة) 'including'
mac'tom (صلاة) 'included'

**Initial-Weak:** ttaḥad 'to be united'..........muttāḥed 'united'

In the active participles of geminate and hollow verbs of Patterns VII and VIII, and of all Pattern IX verbs [p. 101], the stem vowel remains a (or ə):

**Geminate:** VII: nāf 'to be lined up'.....mānāf 'lined up'

VIII: dīf 'to be required'.....māndīf 'required, obliged'

IX: sfarr 'to blanch, turn'.....māsfarr 'having turned pale'

**Hollow:** VIII: n'āl 'to be told'.....mān'āl 'having been) told'

VIII: ḥtāl (la) 'to need'......māḥtāl (la) 'in need of'

These verbs generally do not have passive participles (which would be the same in form as the active participles).

In the active participles of all other augmented geminate verbs, the last stem vowel is ə [p. 23]. (The next-to-last vowel in Pattern X is often lost):

**Pattern IV:** paharr 'to insist, resolve'.....marr 'insistent, resolved'

**Pattern X:** staḥa? 'to deserved'.....mastaḥa? 'deserving'

staradd 'to ask(for) back'.....mast(a)rad 'having asked back'

**Pattern** پئئل: fma'ann 'to feel secure'......mafma'ann 'feeling secure'

In the active participles of all other augmented hollow triradical verbs, the last stem vowel is ī. (The next-to-last vowel in Pattern X is sometimes lost):

**Pattern IV:** pahāf (bi) 'to surround'.....muhūf (bi) 'surrounding'
(Pass. mubīf 'surrounded')

**Pattern X:** stafe 'to benefit(from)'.....masta(f)ād 'having benefited'

istaḥār 'to consult'.....mastaḥār 'having consulted'
(Pass. mastaḥār 'having been consulted')
The Function of Participles in General

An Arabic participle, generally speaking, is an adjective depicting a CONSEQUENT STATE. That is to say, it describes its referent as being in a certain state of affairs as a necessary consequence of the kind of event, process, or activity designated by the underlying verb. For example fāsīb ‘awake’ from fāsī ‘to wake up’, wārmān ‘swollen’ from wār ‘to swell’, māsdallam ‘educated’ from cāllam ‘to learn, be educated’.1

Of the two kinds of participles, the ACTIVE PARTICIPLE (īm l-fāzīl) depicts the consequent state of its underlying verb’s subject referent, while the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE (īm l-mafīl) pertains to the referent of its complement. Thus the verb fatah ‘to open’ has an active participle fāsīh ‘having opened’ and a passive participle mafīh ‘open, having been opened’. The verb tafaṣṣ ‘to agree, come to an agreement’ has a.p. mafīṣ ‘in agreement’ and p.p. mafīṣa (Cālē) ‘agreed (upon)’.

1The term ‘consequent state’ is defined to include only the necessary consequences—the logical entailments—of a kind of event (process, activity). Verbs like fāsīb, wārmān, and māsdallam refer, by definition, to changes of state; hence every event (process, etc.) referred to with these verbs introduces a state that could reasonably be indicated by means of their participles.

Certain other verbs, however, e.g. safah ‘to clap’, do not ordinarily imply a significant change in state, and their participles are rarely or never used. (But cf. p.270.)

Still other verbs, e.g. ẓarāb ‘to hit’, sometimes do—and sometimes do not—imply a significant change of state (depending on context and circumstances); the participles ẓarāb ‘having hit’ and māzārub ‘having been hit’ could be used for some, but not all, of the situations to which their underlying verb applies.

Though hitting (ẓ-ḍarb) might be thought of as a physical act par excellence—entailing, of course, physical consequences—it is worth noting that hitting is often also a social act. The situation involving ẓ-ḍarb ‘the hitter’ and māzārub ‘the one hit’ is a sort of evanescent social relationship similar to that between winner and loser, giver and receiver, wrong-doer and wronged, etc. Thus someone might be described as māzārub even though he has suffered no significant physical injury or displacement.

Passive Participles

Most passive participles are derived from transitive verbs. The subject to which a passive participle is predicate corresponds to the underlying verb’s object: fatah l-bāb ‘(He) opened the door’ – l-bāb mafīh ‘the door is open’. Examples:

1. l-faṣṣān maṭnīl mān tāṣṣān mālīl ‘The cup is made of the best china’ (p.p. of faṣṣ ‘to make’)
2. l-ṣāgīl l-āssūtā mī māarrara ‘The matter is not yet decided’ (p.p. of ẓār ‘to decide’)
3. man maṭṣūn ātṣd gērēk [AO-115] ‘I’m invited to [dinner at] someone else’s [house]’ (p.p. of ṣātan ‘to invite’)
4. l-aṣṣaf ẓomān nāḥās [AO-115] ‘He found in it a copper flagon whose mouth was sealed’ (p.p. of ṣāf ‘to seal’)
5. l-aṣṣaf l-ṣābīr māṣamās [AO-43] ‘My elder sister is married’ (p.p. of ṣamās ‘to marry off’)

Passive participles are also used attributively [p.501] like any ordinary adjective. Examples:

6. maṭṭūb ẓmaṭkār ‘an insured letter’ (p.p. of ṣākr ‘to insure’)
7. ḫaṣṣa ṣaṭkī ‘stuffed squash’ (p.p. of ḫaṣṣa ‘to stuff’)
8. l-mādīn l-maṣḥūra ‘the enchanted city’ (p.p. of ṣāḥ ‘to enchant’)
9. maṣṭaḥāriyye maṣṭāfe ‘a (well)-known monthly magazine’ (p.p. of ṣāhī ‘to know, come to know’)
10. ...maṭṭīl ẓḥīr maṭṭārā tīnštā ‘...many problems in common’, lit. ‘...shared between them’ (p.p. of ṣṭār ‘to share’)
11. l-ṣarād b-maṣṭīn b-ṣaṣṣṭārha ‘the flower worn in her hair’ (p.p. of ḫass ‘to put, place’)

Impersonal” Passive Participles. Some passive participles are derived from intransitive verbs that have prepositional complements [p.444]. These participles are always followed immediately by their complemental preposition with a suffixed pronoun [477]: māṣī ṣělē ‘walked on(f.)’
The subject for this kind of predicate is the antecedent of the suffixed pronoun: has-sažšidē masāq āliša ‘This rug has been walked on’ (literally: ‘This rug, [there has been] walked on it’. [See Extraposition, p.431]. The participle itself does not show agreement with the subject [p.429], remaining always in the base form (masculine/singular). [See Impersonal Passive Verbs, p.237]. Examples:

12. l-šēkime š-ādide massuq fiha
   ‘The new government is trusted’, ‘There is confidence in the new government’ (massuq b. [p.472] ‘to have confidence, faith in’).

13. hal-umur muštadiš fiha mon namān
   ‘These matters have been disagreed over for some time’ (xtilaf b. ‘to differ over, disagree about’).

14. nagarīto maškūk fiha
   ‘His theory is doubted (or dubious)’1 (šakā b. ‘to have doubts about, to suspect’).

15. bišmen namu fi bačē pl-tašmē m-āddar āliša hal-umur pl-tašali
   ‘He believes that there are some souls [who are] foreordained to eternal torment’ (‘āddar āla ‘to decree, foreordain for s.o.’).

Examples of attributive use:

16. l-ādāhya l-mahāša fiha
   ‘the cases investigated’ (bašas b. ‘to inquire into, to investigate’).

17. l-māṛūk pl-mattafā āla
   ‘the plan agreed upon’ (ttafā āla ‘to agree upon’).

18. bēt mačāna fi mēnī
   ‘a house well cared for’ (čāna b. ‘to look after, take care of’).

19. l-ūga l-mattaršām manna
   ‘the language translated from’ (ttaršām man ‘to be translated from’).1

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1 maškūk fi, massuq fi, and other participles of this sort are often used in a dispositional sense (see p.275): massuq fi ‘trustworthy, worthy of confidence’, maškūk fi ‘dubious, questionable’. This usage is common in classificism or set phrases.

2 Cf. mašarām ‘translated’, p.p. of taršām ‘to translate’; l-katāb l-šmaši ‘the books translated’. The two types of construction are hybridized in a phrase such as l-ūga l-mattaršām manna hal-katāb ‘the language from which these books are translated’. (mattaršām, as a passive participle of an intransitive verb, should not show agreement, but in fact it does agree here with l-katāb, which is construed as its subject.) This type of participial phrase is rare, being usually circumlocuted with an attributive clause [p.505]: l-ūga háli ttaršām manna hal-katāb, or l-ūga háli mašmaš manna hal-katāb.

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Active Participles

The subject of a predicative active participle corresponds to the subject of its underlying verb: kaloni ttfasa ‘All of them agreed’ – kaloni mttaf ‘In all of them are in agreement’.

A predicative active participle has the same kind of complementation [p.437] as its underlying verb. Thus the participle of a transitive verb takes an object: labes tyābo š-ādide ‘He put on his new clothes’ – labes tyābo š-ādide ‘He’s wearing his new clothes’.

Despite its adjectival inflection, then, the active participle is generally verb-like in syntax. It functions as an additional tense, contrasting mainly with the perfect [p.330]. While the perfect labes tyābo ‘He put on his clothes’ carries no implication whether or not he still has them on, the participial predication labes tyābo means definitively that he still has them on. (With durative verbs, the contrast is mainly with the imperfect rather than the perfect: see pp.259, 322, 326.)

The participle-object construction is not to be confused with a substantivized participle standing in construct with its transformed object [p.465], although humma kalāb hal-ktāb could be interpreted either as a participle-object predicition ‘He’s written this book’, ‘He’s the one who wrote this book’ or a substantive construct predicition ‘He’s the writer of this book’. This ambiguity is resolved in the feminine form, where the substantive construct is marked by a connective t [163]: hīyē kātāt bal-ktāb ‘She’s the writer of this book’, while the participle-object construction has the absolute form: hīyē kātē bal-ktāb ‘She’s written this book’. ‘She’s the one who wrote this book’.

With pronoun suffixes, however, connective t is used for the feminine in any case: hīyē kātāto ‘She’s the one who wrote it’ or ‘She’s the writer of it’.

As also with verbs, the complemental form (-ni) of the first-person singular pronoun is used with transitive participles: humma maššimini ‘He’s taught me’, ‘He’s the one who taught me’; hīyē maššimini ‘She’s taught me’, ‘She’s the one who taught me’. (Cf. the annexive form -i used with the occupational noun in construct: humme mālmi ‘He’s my teacher’, hīyē mālmi ‘She’s my teacher’.) See Personal Pronouns (p.544).

With the other pronoun suffixes, there is no distinction between complemental and annexive forms, hence mālmo, for instance, is sometimes to be interpreted as ‘He’s taught him’, and sometimes as ‘his teacher’; similarly maššimto ‘She’s taught him’ or ‘his teacher(f.)’.

Active participles (like some passive participles [p.482]) also take the suffixed forms of the preposition la- plus pronoun, rather than the disjunctive forms [p.479]: māriam-li ‘having translated(m.) for me’, māriam-li ‘having translated(f.) for me’. (Cf. māršām sli ‘a translator(m.) for me’, māršām sli ‘a translator(f.) for me’.)
Still another verb-like trait of active participles is that the subject of a participial clause sometimes comes between the participle and its complement: mattašin kalaygina mač bačna [PVA-16] ‘We’re all in agreement with one another’, jálča bantak ẓ-ggire sa‘ra [DA-234] ‘Your youngest daughter has turned out (to be) blonde’. (See Verb-Subject word order, p. 000.)

Miscellaneous examples of active participles in their predicative use:

20. ʔama ḍaye ʔaddem fašab  ‘I’ve come to submit a request’
   (a.p. of ẓaša [p. 78])

21. fi sarr wāːeq man faʃšanek  ‘There’s a button (fallen) off your dress’
   (a.p. of waqeq ‘to fall!‘)

22. mašnakken humwe tāmām
   mn ẓ-l-امة؟  ‘Does have a good command of English?’
   (a.p. of mašnakken ‘to master’)

23. ʔana ẓa=ybo b-līra w-robat ἐκ
   [adapt. SAL-198]  ‘I got it for a pound and a quarter’
   (a.p. of ṣāb ‘to bring, get’) The participle implies ‘I got it and still have it’, in contrast to the perfect ṣābo ‘I got it (and may or may not still have it).’

24. karter ḥerak, naḥna matčasṣyin
   ya bēk [AO-91]  ‘Thank you (but) we have (already) dined, sir’
   (a.p. of ṭašša ‘to dine, sup.’)

25. ʔaba ẓ-ganda mu māsha
   l-ʔarḍ? [DA-212]  ‘What’s the matter with the maid
   (that) she hasn’t scrubbed the floor?’
   (a.p. of maṣala ‘to scrub’)

26. ẓamta marrer ṣtssēr? [DA-248]  ‘When have you decided to leave?’
   (a.p. of qarrar ‘to decide’)

27. ẓāllo leš hēk saqām [AO-114]  ‘She said to him, ‘Why (are you) so vexed?’’
   (a.p. of saqāl ‘to become angry, displeased, unhappy’)

28. ẓ-gaš bu lašê marti, bant
   ḍammi, lābse tyāb l-ḥazm
   w-Ṭāgga baʕṣra [AO-118]  ‘In the morning I found my wife, my
   uncle’s daughter, dressed in mourning
   and with her hair cut’
   (a.p. of labes ‘to put on’ (clothes) and ṣaša
   ‘to cut’)

29. ẓ-ṭaš ḥolu mōš-šams ẓafla
   ṭum l-ḥarūh gōb l-maʃe
   [DA-218]  ‘The weather is nice and the sun
   has come out; come on, let’s go
   down toward the Marše’
   (a.p. of ḫaleq ‘to come out’)

The term ‘active’ is rather inappropriate when applied to the participles of certain kinds of intransitive verbs, especially passive verbs [p. 234]: for instance muntoši ‘(having been) forgotten’ is the ‘active’ participle of muntoša ‘to be forgotten’. (It would make better sense to speak of the ‘subjective participle’, as contrasted with the ‘complemental participle’, but the existing terms are too well established to be ignored.)

Not surprisingly, the ‘active’ participle of a passive verb is often closely equivalent to the passive participle of the underlying active verb. Thus muntoši is practically synonymous to muša ‘forbidden’. (passive participle of muša ‘to forgot’). In many such cases the passive participle of the active verb is the one normally used while the active participle of the passive verb (as muntoši) is very rare or virtually never used at all (as in the case of tar‰am ‘to translate’ p.p. maʃram ‘translated’, passive verb tar‰am ‘to be translated’ whose active participle theoretically ‘mattar‰em’) is not heard. (But cf. mattar‰am muša, p. 264 ex. 19.)

A complemented active participle is generally not used attributively, but the participial clause—like a verbal clause—may be subordinated as a whole [p. 495]: l-bant ẓaʃqa warde b-šaкра ‘The girl has put (i.e. is wearing) a flower in her hair’—l-bant halli ẓaʃqa warde b-šaкра ‘the girl wearing a flower in her hair’. (Cf. the complemented passive participle, which can be subordinated like any adjective: l-warde l-majṣīta b-šaкра ‘the flower worn (i.e. put) in her hair’. See, however, p. 505.)

Uncomplementated active participles may be used attributively, like ordinary adjectives: waʃada geyeq ‘a lost child’ (a.p. of geyeq ‘to get lost’), ṭarrši ẓaʃrš ‘a drunken man’, mśiši sa-ʕaʃra nṯin ‘my hungry children’, sa-nši l-ngeye ‘the past year’ (a.p. of naʃqa ‘to pass’), mš matʕaʃrš ‘educated people’, l-šaкра l-ɣarš ‘the sunken (or sinking) ship’ [see p. 271] (a.p. of ɣarš ‘to sink’).

When an active participle is used with its normal complementation suppressed, it becomes an agentive [p. 278] or dispositional [277] adjective: maʃraš ṭim ‘a comprehen-
sive plan’ (famal ‘to include, comprehend’, transitive); faʃman faʃman ‘an able chemist’, i.e. a chemist who understands (byaʃram) his business. See p. 275.
Person Inflection in Feminine Active Participles

When a feminine participle is used with a suffix (pronoun, or -l- plus pronoun [p. 479]), the connective t [163] is used: lābse 'f. wearing' + hōn 'them' - lābāstōn 'wearing them'; fāthā 'f. having opened' + ina 'for us' - fāthāt-i ina 'having opened...for us'.

If, however, a feminine participle with a pronoun suffix refers to the person spoken to ('you'), then -n- is inserted between the connective t and the suffix: ḥūṣātīhān 'you, f., wearing them'; fāṣātīt-i 'you, f. having opened...for us'. Examples:

31. ?antī kātābī?

'Are you(f.) the one who wrote it (m.)?' (As contrasted with hiyye kātābto. 'Is she the one who wrote it?' and ?ana kātābto 'I(f.) am the one who wrote it')

32. māliamtīnī had-dars

'You(f.) have taught me that lesson' (As contrasted with māliamtīnī had-dars 'She has taught me that lesson')

33. lēē mhārabdīla

'Why are you(f.) quarreling with her?' (a.p. of ḫārīb 'to pick a fight with, to quarrel with' [p. 269].) (Cf. lēē mhārabdīla 'Why is she quarreling with her?')

34. ?antī masēmī-ilo

hayātā taʃās taʃās

'You(f.) have been making his life miserable for him' (cf. hiyye masēmī-ilo... 'She has been making...for him')

35. hiyye madūmūmato ēlā

halbūmto - ?antī madūmūmto ēlā mālo

'She married him for his looks and you married him for his money' (Note that since participles designate a consequent state [p. 262], the wording here implies that both women are still married to him. Otherwise, the perfect tense would be used: diyaamāstō 'she married him', diyaamātī 'you married him'.)

These second-person participial forms are created by analogy to verbs in the perfect tense, which have a suffix -ti (p. 178): lābstī 'you(f.) put on'; lābāstīhān 'you put them on'; kātabī 'you(f.) wrote'; kātabtī 'you wrote it(m.)'; śahūtī 'you(f.) made'; śahūtīt-ilo 'you made...for him', etc.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Note that in the perfect tense, t marks second person and i marks feminine, while in the participle this analysis must be reversed.

The Relation of Participles to Verbal Aspects

If a verb is PUNCTUAL (or MOMENTANEOUS), i.e. if it purports to designate a kind of event, then its participles generally depict the state of affairs SUBSEQUENT to that event:

fāš 'to wake up' ...

fāye 'having waked up, awake'

sāmma 'to name, call' ...

msāmmā 'having named'

msāmmā 'having been named, called'

māsēk 'to take hold of' ...

mūsēk 'having taken hold of, holding'

māsūm 'having been taken hold of, being held'

Likewise, if a verb is DEVELOPMENTAL, i.e. if it implies a process of change from one state to another (regardless whether the change is momentaneous or gradual), then its participles depict the state toward which the development leads, i.e. the subsequent state:

sākē 'to get drunk'...

sakrīn 'drunk'

ẖāyyar 'to change' (trans.)...

ẖāyyar 'having changed' (trans.)

ẖāyyar 'having been changed'

tācallīm 'to learn, be educated'...

matṭācallīm 'educated, having learned'

On the other hand, if a verb is DURATIVE but not developmental, i.e. if it designates an activity or a situation – but not a process of change or a momentary event – then its participles generally depict the state of affairs CONCURRENT with (or identical with) that activity or situation:

ẖāṣī 'to expect, await'...

ẖāṣī 'being expected, awaited'

ẖāṣī 'to occupy, keep...busy'...

ẖāṣī 'occupying, keeping...busy'

ẖāṣī 'looking for'...

ẖāṣī 'sought, looked for'

ẖāṣī 'to include'...

ẖāṣī 'including'
No matter whether the state depicted by a participle is subsequent or concurrent, it must in any case be a consequent state; i.e. it must be a necessary consequence of whatever it is the underlying verb designates. Thus there is really only one kind of semantic relationship between verbs and participles, not two.

Verbal aspects, unfortunately, cannot actually be deduced from the nature of the phenomena referred to; one and the same phenomenon may be viewed from various perspectives, and it commonly happens that Arabic and English take different perspectives on it. These differences would cause no confusion except for the fact that they are often too subtle to be reflected in the usual glosses, translations, and definitions encountered in textbooks and reference books. See Psychological State participles, p. 272.

Examples of concurrent state participles:

36. lessānī mastaddad
   'I'm still undecided' (a.p. of mastaddad 'to vacillate', durative)

37. rākhde mara t-toslāye bass
   'She's only out for a good time'
   (lit. "running after amusement")
   (a.p. of rakhad 'to run', durative)

38. hāk-nēne moētāna fiha mnēf
   'This garden is well kept'
   (p.p. of ētēma b- 'to take care of', durative)

39. n-năs kalha farhān
   (adap. fr. DA-301)
   'The people are all rejoicing and laughing'
   (a.p. of ēreñ and ḍēbañ, durative)

40. w-lāibernāna kāna ḍiyāyīn  ḍinhān
   (DA-152)
   'Our cousins were spending the summer there'
   (a.p. of ḍiyāyañ 'to (spend) the summer', durative)

41. ṣū- hārād halli lāznītak?
   (DA-128)
   'What things do you need?'
   (lāzem, a.p. of būsamañ 'to be necessary to (s.o.)', durative)

42. mūsānprīnkon ēal-faṣa [SAL-70]
   'We're expecting you for dinner'
   (a.p. of stangar 'to expect, await', durative)

43. ēal-lo mūbēñ bel-xawāl
   'He's daydreaming', lit.
   'His mind is swimming in fantasy'
   (a.p. of sabāñ 'to swim', durative)

44. ṭaṭa maļiyān mačēmañ ēalē
   'I'm financially dependent on him'
   (a.p. of ētāmad ēala 'to depend on',
   durative)

45. maļgāl bālī ēlān q̣aṃad bēk
   xēr ṯābo? [DA-217]
   'I'm concerned about Ahmed Bey; he's all right, I hope?'
   (lit. "My attention is occupied with..."
   (p.p. of ṣaġāl 'to occupy, concern', durative)

   Some verbs may be either punctual or durative, for
   instance sāwa 'to do, to make', ēgerrā 'to sink'. The partic-
   iples of such verbs may indicate either the subsequent state
   (mašān 'having made', ēgarrān 'sunken') or the concurrent
   state ("making", "sinking").

Verbs with an Inceptive Aspect. Some verbs that are used (duratively)
in reference to an activity or a situation are also used (punctually) in
reference to its INCEPTION, i.e. to the event which marks the beginning
of that activity or situation. For example nam 'to sleep' (durative, as in
nāmē sārīn 'I slept two hours') and 'to go to sleep, or 'to lie down to
sleep' (punctual, as in nāmē bakkīr 'I went to bed early'). Thus the par-
ticiple nāyen 'asleep' is subsequent with reference to the inception and
concurrent with reference to the duration. Other inceptive-aspect verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>Inceptive</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfād</td>
<td>'to sit'</td>
<td>'to sit down'</td>
<td>ṣāfād ed 'sitting, seated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣākēb</td>
<td>'to ride'</td>
<td>'to mount, get on'</td>
<td>ṣākēb 'mounted, riding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣākāt</td>
<td>'not to talk'</td>
<td>'to stop talking'</td>
<td>ṣākēt 'not talking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭābēs</td>
<td>'to wear'</td>
<td>'to put on'</td>
<td>ṭābēs 'wearing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍōmāl</td>
<td>'to carry'</td>
<td>'to pick up, load on'</td>
<td>ḍōmāl 'carrying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭēsāfär</td>
<td>'to travel'</td>
<td>'to set out on a trip'</td>
<td>ṭēsāfar 'traveling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭātā</td>
<td>'to rest, be at...'</td>
<td>'to relax, put one's...martāñ at ease'</td>
<td>ṭātā 'self at ease'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in use:

46. p-ḡāfr kān ḍāmel fāra
   b-maṣālōbo
   'The hawk had (i.e. was carrying) a mouse in its claws'

47. kānt lāzem tabātān martāñ
   bāl-bīf [DA-218]
   'You should have stayed resting at home

48. bāhī būdū, būbū bī yā ṭālēd
   yōmā nāyān? [DA-217]
   'I'd like to see him; (would you)
   see for me whether he's up or in bed?
Psychological State Participles. Arabic verbs of perception, cognition, affect, and the like are predominantly punctual while the corresponding English verbs are predominantly durative. Compare, for instance, Arabic āref ‘to find out, to recognize, to become acquainted with’ with the English verb to know.

The participles of this kind of Arabic verb are perfectly regular, depicting the psychological state consequent upon (and subsequent to) the event: āref (or ārīfūn) ‘having found out, having become acquainted with’. But since the corresponding English verbs are mainly durative — with simple present tense forms used for actuality [p.320] as well as for dispositions or generalities — the Arabic participles are commonly rendered in English with the simple present tense: ʔāna āref ‘I know’ (not ‘I am knowing’ nor ‘I have known’).

Similarly in reference to the past, a participle that is complemental or attributive to a verb in the perfect [p.340] may be translated into English with the simple past tense: kant āref ‘I knew’ (in contrast to the simple perfect ārīf ‘I found out’).2

Examples of ‘psychological’ verbs and their active participles:

\[
\begin{align*}
\āsaf & \quad \text{‘to see’ (momentarily)} \ldots \, \text{āsaf} \quad \text{‘to see, be looking at’ (dur.)} \\
\hās & \quad \text{‘to feel’ (momentarily)} \ldots \, \hās \quad \text{‘to feel, be feeling’ (dur.)} \\
\hāb & \quad \text{‘to like, take a liking to’ (momentarily)} \, \hāb \quad \text{‘having taken a liking to, to like’ (durative)} \\
\fāhem & \quad \text{‘to catch on, understand’} \ldots \, \fāhem \quad \text{‘to understand’ (dur.)} \\
\\text{samēc} & \quad \text{‘to hear’ (momentarily)} \ldots \, \text{samēc} \quad \text{‘to hear, be listening to’ (dur.)}
\end{align*}
\]

1The verbs actually involved here are those which are commonly complemented either by a clause or by an object, excluding, therefore, words like ʔbass ‘to enjoy one’s self’, ʔēsāb ‘to suffer’, ʔaškar in the sense ‘to cogitate’ (but including e.g. ʔfīškar ‘to think’, which is normally complemented by a clause or an object).

2The English simple present and past are also used, however, in translating Arabic dispositional [p.326] and annunciatory [325] predications, e.g. ʔāna ʔbhūrīf ‘I know’, thus obscuring the sometimes crucial distinction between verb and participle in Arabic: ʔāhem kālāmū ‘Do you understand what he is saying (or what he said)?’ vs. ʔbīšfām ʔārābī? ‘Do you understand Arabic?’; kant ʔbīšfām ʔārābī (b-ʔārābī)? ‘Did you understand Arabic (at that time)?’. The two latter sentences are dispositional, and cannot normally be expressed except by the imperfect tense.

3These translations of samēc or samēm only apply to the purely sensory meaning of samēc, as opposed to the cognitive meaning (as in ‘to hear about’, ‘to hear from’, ‘to hear the news’, etc.). Thus ʔāna ʔsamēm ʔsamō ‘(It seems) as if I’ve heard his name’, not ‘...as if I hear his name’. In the cognitive sense, samēc means ‘having heard(of), familiar with (the sound of)’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āsaf} & \quad \text{‘to fear, take fright(of)’} \ldots \, \text{āsaf} \quad \text{‘afraid of, to fear’ (dur.)} \\
\\text{dāsākār} & \quad \text{‘to remember, recall’ (mom.)} \ldots \, \text{dāsākār} \quad \text{‘to remember’ (dur.)} \\
\rād & \quad \text{‘to wish, want’ (momentarily)} \, \rāyēd \quad \text{‘to wish, want’ (dur.)} \\
\\text{dāsāb} & \quad \text{‘to please’ (momentarily)} \ldots \, \text{dāsāb} \quad \text{‘to please’ (dur.)} \\
\hāmēm & \quad \text{‘to interest, concern’ (mom.)} \, \hāmēm \quad \text{‘to interest’ (dur.)}
\end{align*}
\]

Psychological participle clauses (Present state):

\[
\begin{align*}
49. \text{āsaf b-ʔbāsādī ʔaddās xadra} & \quad \text{‘(Do you) see how green this land is?’} \\
50. \text{ʔāna xāyēd la-yākān maʃī n-ʔāyēd} & \quad \text{‘I fear (I’m afraid) I may have appendicitis’} \\
51. \text{hāsēs ʔwaʃnī xal-ʔīn ʔbāṣīd} & \quad \text{‘I feel as though I’m newly born’} \\
52. \text{b-ʔqṭtīrūh mū ġabūbī} & \quad \text{‘I don’t like that suggestion’, lit.} \\
53. \text{mū hāmām ʔalla rāḥās} & \quad \text{‘That suggestion doesn’t please me.} \\
54. \text{rāyēd baddel dōlārāt} \quad \text{b-ʔmārkīyye b-ʔlārāt} & \quad \text{‘I wish to change some American dollars into pounds’} \\
55. \text{sāmēc gōj b-namāʃir ʔal-ʔāsī} & \quad \text{‘Do you hear the sound of the water wheels on the Orontes?’}
\end{align*}
\]

Past state:

\[
\begin{align*}
56. \text{hān fī nālaʃā māḥē b-ʔkāl} & \quad \text{‘There was a fellow who considered himself clever and learned’ (a.p. of ʔaʃbāb ‘to reckon, count, consider’)} \\
57. \text{w-ʔṣārāb rūs ʔtaʃmāl hali} & \quad \text{‘And he struck (off) the head of the statue he thought (was) the merchant’s daughter’ (a.p. of ʔfīškar ‘to think’)’} \\
58. \text{ʔāna mū kant maʃbām ʔaʃnū maʃleṯ harg-eggies ʔanʃkun} & \quad \text{‘I didn’t imagine that this industry among you had reached such a level’} \\
\text{la-had-DAQE} & \quad \text{(a.p. of ʔaʃbāb ‘to imagine’)’} \\
59. \text{ʔaʃnī ʃeʃlī hālī māli sāmēc} & \quad \text{‘I pretended not to hear’} \\
\text{[A.O. 118]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Note that while we translate ʔāna madsākār consistently as a durative in English: ‘I remember’. ʔāna nāsī on the other hand is more often rendered as a punctual: ‘I’ve forgotten’ (less often durative: ‘I forget.’).} \]
Antecedent State Participles. The active participles of some of the more common TRANSLOCATIVE verbs (verbs having to do with going, coming, etc. to and from places) may be used to indicate not only a subsequent state (e.g. rāṣe 'having returned', from rāṣa 'to return'), but also an ANTecedent state (rāṣe 'going to return, returning').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Subsequent State</th>
<th>Antecedent State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rāṣa 'to go'</td>
<td>rāye</td>
<td>'gone'</td>
<td>'going, going to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāṣa 'to come'</td>
<td>rāye</td>
<td>'(having)come'</td>
<td>'coming, going to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāle</td>
<td>'to go up, out'</td>
<td>jāle</td>
<td>'gone up, out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsāl 'to descend'</td>
<td>nāsāl</td>
<td>'having descended'</td>
<td>'descending, going to descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārak 'to leave'</td>
<td>tārek</td>
<td>'having left'</td>
<td>'leaving, going to leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāxal 'to enter'</td>
<td>dāxel</td>
<td>'having entered'</td>
<td>'entering, going to enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xārā 'to go out'</td>
<td>xāre</td>
<td>'gone out'</td>
<td>'going out, going to go out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣal 'to arrive'</td>
<td>māṣal</td>
<td>'having arrived'</td>
<td>'arriving, going to arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bābi 'to remain, stay'</td>
<td>bābi</td>
<td>'remaining, left'</td>
<td>'going to remain, stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāmed 'to stay'</td>
<td>jāmed</td>
<td>'staying'</td>
<td>'going to stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāfar 'to set out on a trip'</td>
<td>sāfer 'traveling'</td>
<td>'having set out, traveling'</td>
<td>'going to set out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of antecedent state participles:

60. l-shāle māṣe baṭi bokra [DA-243] 'The family is arriving tomorrow'
61. ku bālāṭon rāṣhīn ?abāl ma tādu l-yābhu [DA-199] 'You mean you’re going before having coffee?!' (lit. 'Do I find you about to go...')
62. tānə tārek l-yām 'I'm leaving today'
63. tānə nāsāl bəl-mūḥārū 'Are you competing in the tournament?', lit. 'Are you descending into... (e.g. the arena)'

Sometimes inappropriately called 'verbs of motion'.

Who are you taking out this evening?' (a.p. of jāla, causative [p.243] of jāle)

'He's out to get out', lit. 'He's catching up with you' (a.p. of lāha 'to catch up with, catch')

'I was going (to go) to see you'

Non-Static Participles

Certain participles may be used in a dispositional sense [p.277], for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Dispositional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tharrak 'to move'</td>
<td>māṭharre</td>
<td>'moving'</td>
<td>'movable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāmmāl 'to travel'</td>
<td>māṭammāl</td>
<td>'travelling'</td>
<td>'disposed to travel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tābal 'to accept'</td>
<td>māṭbāl</td>
<td>'accepted'</td>
<td>'acceptable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāra 'to read'</td>
<td>māgra (classicism)</td>
<td>'having been read'</td>
<td>'legible'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dispositional sense is sometimes more or less limited to set phrases, e.g. tāhar māṭammāl 'traveling salesman' (i.e. a salesman who travels, not a salesman who is traveling); kəl-mətə məsmū 'His opinion is taken seriously; what he says goes' (lit. 'His word is heard').

Participles are also often used in making generalizations about recurrent states [cf. p.321]:

67. tuntu fāṭihīn s-a-sabīt? 'Do you open (or are you open) on Saturday(s)'
68. lābse tāmīzī ḫalise 'She wears pretty clothes'
69. l-kamynūst māṣye rāyha rāše bən l-maṣṣa m-bātna 'The buses run both ways (lit. 'coming, going') between the station and where we live'

Participles are also sometimes used dispositionally in emphatic negative statements of this sort:

70. mājlī māli māṭammara! 'I certainly wouldn't marry her!' 71. tāla tānte sām-ṭālīnī qala kaś-ḥālī, māni māyyabak 'Since you’re speaking to me (personally) about this matter, I won’t let you down.'
DISPOSITIONAL ADJECTIVES

A dispositional adjective indicates that the person (or thing) referred to is especially inclined or habituated or qualified to do what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns Fağül [p.128], Fağül [129], and Fağül [129] are the ones generally used.

### Underlying Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern Fağül:</th>
<th>Dispositional Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥasūd 'envious, inclined to envy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xağül 'shy, bashful'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣabûr 'patient' (in disposition)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakût 'silent, taciturn'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡfûr 'forgiving' (in disposition)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣakûl 'gourmand'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡahûk 'jolly, always laughing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With medial radical semivowel, the Pattern is Fağûl: ḡayûr 'jealous' (in disposition), from γûr 'to be jealous'.

Idlel 'lazy' and Bâsar 'daring' have no underlying simple verbs, but correspond to ṭâsûl 'to loaf' and dâsarsar 'to dare', respectively (p.249).

### Pattern Fağül:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern Fağül:</th>
<th>Dispositional Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥass 'to feel'</td>
<td>ḥassûs 'sensitive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥamec 'to be greedy'</td>
<td>ḥamec 'greedy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡazâûl 'to lie'</td>
<td>ḡazûf 'liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṣûs 'to cheat'</td>
<td>ḡaṣûs 'cheater'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḧâkûl 'to weep, cry'</td>
<td>ḧâkûl 'cry-baby, weeper'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the close relationship between dispositional adjectives of Pattern Fağül and Occupational Nouns of the same Pattern [p.305].¹

¹There is no clear-cut noun-vs. adjective distinction in human designations formed on Patterns Fağül and Fağûl (among others). [See p.382.] There is, however, a clear enough distinction in meaning between the dispositional and occupational categories; all dispositional derivatives have here been included with adjectives, while occupacionales are obviously to be classified as nouns.
Underlying Verb | Dispositional Adjective
---|---
barad 'to get cold' | barrad 'sensitive to cold'
bilaf 'to bluffed' | bilif 'bluffer'
šagaš 'to work' | šageg 'worker'
garaf 'to spend' | garrif 'spendthrift'
laceb 'to play' | laceb 'player'

A slightly different pattern (Paṣeṣil) [p. 129] is used for some dispositionalis: sakkir 'drunkard' from saker 'to get drunk'.

It is important to distinguish between dispositional and stative adjectives; the English translations do not always express this distinction: sakkir 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative in disposition) vs. šakaš 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative for the moment); sabbir 'patient' (i.e. in disposition) vs. šabir 'patient' (i.e. waiting patiently); kasēl 'lazy' (i.e. habitually) vs. kasālān 'feeling or acting' lazy'.

On the use of certain participles in a dispositional sense, see p. 275.
On the adjective-like use of verbs in a dispositional sense, see p. 326.

**AGENTIVE ADJECTIVES**

Agentive adjectives, formed on Pattern maṣeṣil [p. 133], depict their referent as doing - or tending to do - what is designated by a paronymous transitive verb: garaf 'to disgust': maṣr 'disgusting'.

Most typically, the object of the underlying verb is animate, and its subject, inanimate; the agentive adjective characterizes a stimulus as eliciting a certain kind of response.

Agentive adjectives are not to be confused with Pattern IV participles [p. 260]. The active participle of a transitive verb takes an object [268], while an agentive adjective does not; and the participle designates only states [262], while the agentive designates states, dispositions, or qualities indiscriminately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Agentive Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to tire'</td>
<td>maṣeṣ 'tiring, tiresome'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to bother, disturb'</td>
<td>maṣeṣ 'bothersome, disturbing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to please, satisfy'</td>
<td>maṣ 'satisfactory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to harm'</td>
<td>maṣ 'harmful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to concern, be important to'</td>
<td>mhaš 'important'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to bore'</td>
<td>mhaš 'boring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to hurt, inflict pain'</td>
<td>muṣeṣ 'painful, hurtful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to ruin, annihilate'</td>
<td>maṣeṣ 'ruinous, destructive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to make...laugh'</td>
<td>maṣeṣ 'funny, laughable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to make...comfortable'</td>
<td>mhašeṣ 'comfortable' (e.g. chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to inspire with awe, fear'</td>
<td>maṣheṣ 'awesome, fearsome'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'to kill, cause death'</td>
<td>mumit 'deadly, lethal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHARACTERISTIC ADJECTIVES**

Characteristic adjectives, formed on the pattern maṣeṣil [p. 133], are derived from simple nouns. They depict their referents as being characterized by, or notably endowed with, the thing designated by the underlying noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Characteristic Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣeṣa 'taste'</td>
<td>maṣweṣ 'having good taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaṣar 'danger'</td>
<td>maṣeṣ 'dangerous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaṃ 'age'</td>
<td>mašaṃ 'aged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaṃ 'sun'</td>
<td>mašes 'sunny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dašu 'grease, oil'</td>
<td>mašeš 'greasy, oily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haš 'air, breeze'</td>
<td>mašas 'draughty, airy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lεn 'tongue'</td>
<td>mašas 'articulate, eloquent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Note that muṣeṣi - like the subject of maṣeṣi - refers to an external agent, while the subject of muṣeṣi 'to hurt, pain' refers to an "internal" agent: ruṣi by muṣeṣi 'my head hurts me'. The agentive maṣeṣ does not correspond to muṣeṣ; it does not mean 'painful' in this sense.

²Characteristic and Agentive can probably be analyzed structurally as alternants of a single category, since the former are all derived from nouns, the latter from verbs; the difference in the categories' "meanings" is perhaps merely a function of this grammatical difference in underlying words.
### Underlying Noun | Characteristic Adjective
--- | ---
ḥa‘a‘a‘ | māḥa‘a‘ | ‘in the right’
marā‘a‘ | māre‘a‘ | ‘in leaf, leafy’
ṣahā‘i | mashe‘a‘ | ‘blossoms’
ṣāfṣā | mashe‘i | ‘blossoming, flowering’
ḥa‘fṣa‘ | ma‘rā‘ | ‘piastre’
ṣāfṣā | ma‘rā‘ | ‘well off’
ḥa‘fṣa‘ | ma‘fṣa‘ | ‘belly’
ṣāfṣā | ma‘fṣa‘ | ‘paunchy, potbellied’

### RELATIVE ADJECTIVES

**Relatives derived from defective nouns** ([p. 211]), or nouns ending in a radical semivowel, have -m representing the semivowel before the -i. Other stem modifications may also occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naṣṣa‘i</td>
<td>naṣṣawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luṣa‘i</td>
<td>luṣawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa‘b ‘prophet’</td>
<td>naṣṣawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa‘b ‘(Arabic) morphology, grammar’</td>
<td>naṣṣawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa‘b ‘second’</td>
<td>ṣa‘bawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥa‘m ‘Hama’ (a city)</td>
<td>ḥa‘mawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa‘b ‘winter’</td>
<td>ṣa‘bawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa‘b ‘(annex. form ṣa‘b)’</td>
<td>ṣa‘bawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣa‘b ‘sky’</td>
<td>ṣa‘bawi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also the forms ṣa‘bawi ‘of blood, bloody’, from Cl. ḍam (Colloq. ḍām) ‘blood’; ṣa‘bawi ‘manual’, from Cl. yād (Colloq. ‘yād) ‘hand’, ṣa‘bawi ‘annual’, from Cl. ṣa‘b (Colloq. ṣā). In these biradical words ([p. 40]) -mawi is a stem-formative and does not represent a radical.

### Grammatical Types of Underlying Words

**Relative adjectives derived from ethnic collectives** ([p. 301]):

| ḍarab | ḍarabi | ‘Arab, Arabic’ |
| ṣarā‘ | ṣarabi | ‘Arab, Arabic’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘Turks’ | ṣarabi | ‘Turkish’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘Kurds’ | ṣarabi | ‘Kurdish’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘Armenians’ | ṣarabi | ‘Armenian’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘Americans’ | ṣarabi | ‘American’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘Westerners’ | ṣarabi | ‘Western’ |
| ṣa‘b | ṣarabi | ‘Bedouin’ |
| ṣa‘b | ṣarabi | ‘Coptic’ |

When substantivized, these relatives function as unit nouns ([p. 301]).

Nouns with the suffix -e-a ([p. 138]) lose this suffix when -i is added:

| ṣirṣa‘a | ṣirṣa‘i | ‘agriculture’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘true, real’ | ṣa‘b ‘true, real’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘feeling, emotion, sentiment’, ‘emotional, sentimental’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘custom, usage, habit’ |
| ṣa‘b ‘necessity’ | ṣa‘b ‘necessary’ |
CHAPTER 11: NOUN DERIVATION

Index of Categories

Abstract and Gerundial ........................................ p. 284
Singulative ......................................................... 297
Feminal .............................................................. 304
Occupational ......................................................... 305
Instrumental .......................................................... 306
Locative ............................................................... 308
Hyostatic ............................................................. 309
Diminutive ............................................................ 310
Elative ................................................................. 310
Numeral Derivatives .................................................. 316

The substantivization of adjectives [p. 276] and the materialization of abstract nouns [284] are semantic types of noun derivation, which, however, do not involve any consistent kinds of change in the form of word bases.

---

1Doubling of the r is an anomalous stem change.
ABSTRACT NOUNS (INCLUDING GERUNDS)

Most verbs and adjectives, and some nouns, have an abstract noun derived from them—a noun which serves to name the kind of event, function, state, or quality predicated by means of the underlying word. The adjective 'aman 'honest', for instance, has an abstract derivative 'aman 'honesty'; the noun 'sax 'brother' has a derivative 'saxname 'brotherhood'; and the verb fār 'to fly' has a derivative fāyārān 'flight, flying'.

An abstract noun derived from a verb is called a GERUND or VERBAL NOUN (masdar).1

The relationship between an underlying word and its abstract derivative is based on the syntactical transformation of a predicative clause [p.401] into a construct phrase [464]: l-walad ṣṣēr 'the boy is clever' = ṣafār ṭ-l-walad 'the boy's cleverness'; r-raḥānāl māt 'the man died' = māt *r-raḥānāl 'the man's death'.

On the syntax of gerunds, see Active and Passive Use of Gerunds [p.296], Objects [440], Adverbial Noun Complements [p.442], Derived Constructs [464].

Concretization of Abstract Nouns. Many abstract nouns are converted, without change in form, into CONCRETE nouns, in one or both of these ways:

1) Materialization. Some abstract nouns may be used to refer to the outward manifestations or material concomitants of the abstract function. Thus the gerund ṣaḥi 'eating' is also used to mean 'food'; the gerund kūf 'writing' may designate the resulting inscription as well as the act.

Very similar to materialization is HYPOSTASIS, whereby some immaterial result or concomitant of the function is conceptualized as if it had a regular kind of tangible manifestation though it actually hasn't. Cf. Hypostatic Nouns, p.309.

2) Particularization. Some abstract nouns may be used to designate separate or individual instances of the abstract function. Thus the gerund ṣyār 'visiting' is also used to mean 'a visit', ṣeḡe 'difficulty', to mean 'a difficulty'.

Particularization converts a mass noun into a count noun [p.366]: ṭlēt 'three difficulties', ṣyārēn 'two visits'.

Those gerunds from which instance nouns [297] are formally differentiated and derived, are not themselves so apt to be used in a particularized sense: darb 'hitting, striking' (not 'a blow', for which the instance noun darbe is used).

Some gerunds, however, are not used in a particularized sense even though a true instance noun is also lacking: ṣāyārān 'flying, flight' (not 'a flight').

Many abstract nouns are simultaneously materialized and particularized. Thus nabi means not only 'growing, vegetating' (abstract),1 and 'a plant' (materialized and 'vegetation' (materialized), but also 'a plant' (materialized and 'vegetation' (materialized). Likewise ṣaxiyē 'personality' means not only the state or function of being a person (ṣaxi), but more often 'a personality'.

In some cases, different gerundial forms from the same verb are concretized in different senses. The verb ḏaras 'to study, learn' has two gerunds, ḏarās and ḏirās; ḏarās is used in the passive sense as 'lesson', ḏirās in the active sense as 'a study'.

The verb ḥakm 'to judge' and 'to govern' has a gerund ḥakm which is used abstractly in both senses, but concretely only in the sense 'judgement, decision'; the form ḥakm 'government', on the other hand, is used only in the one sense, usually concretely.

It may be noted that the derivational processes of abstraction and concretization described here apply to English and other languages as well as to Arabic. This is no guarantee, however, that the languages will have parallel derivations in any particular instance.

Abstract Derivatives of Adjectives and Nouns.

Abstract nouns derived from simple nouns and adjectives are mostly formed on the patterns Fāṣēl, Ṣeṣēl, and Fāṣēl(e). Those derived from relative adjectives (ending in -i) are formed by suffixing -(yy)e [p.280].

Pattern Fāṣēl [p.146]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥe 'brave'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'bravery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥe 'ugly'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'ugliness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥe 'enemy'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'enmity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥe 'friend'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'friendship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥi 'honest'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'honesty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥi 'cruel'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'cruelty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥi 'stupid'</td>
<td>ṣaḥēy 'stupidity'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The literal meaning of masdar is 'source', which would seem to imply that a verb is derived from its abstract noun instead of the reverse. This term was probably arrived at by way of metaphysical—linguistic—considerations, perhaps under the influence of Platonism.

1The literal meaning of masdar is 'source', which would seem to imply that a verb is derived from its abstract noun instead of the reverse. This term was probably arrived at by way of metaphysical—linguistic—considerations, perhaps under the influence of Platonism.

1nabāt is seldom used abstractly except as paronymous complement [p.442]: ṣeybōt nabāt 'it grows a growth', i.e. 'it grows (considerably)'.

1nabāt is seldom used abstractly except as paronymous complement [p.442]: ṣeybōt nabāt 'it grows a growth', i.e. 'it grows (considerably)'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sālem 'safe, sound'</td>
<td>salāne 'safety'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hārr 'hot'</td>
<td>barāra 'heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arāγeb 'kin'</td>
<td>?arābane 'kinship'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FaCēL [p.151]:

- xašen 'coarse' | xāene 'coarseness' |
- rōf 'damp, humid' | rūabe 'dampness, humidity' |
- ?af 'child, infant' | ?fūle 'childhood, infancy' |
- sah 'easy' | shûle 'ease, facility' |
- ?ačeb 'difficult' | ?ečēbe 'difficulty' |
- ?abb 'father' | ?ubume 'fatherhood' |
- bāred 'cold' | brūde 'coldness' (Cf. barāde, above) |

Abstract nouns of Pattern FaCēL are mostly derived from words of Patterns FaEL [141], and FaEL [139,126].

Pattern FaEL [p.141]:

- kēfr 'large' | kēfr 'large size' |
- ?gēfr 'small' | ?gēfr 'small size' |
- t@fl 'heavy' | t@fl 'heaviness; weight' |
- bēf 'far' | bēf 'distance' |
- bāfl 'stingy, miser' | bāfl 'stinginess' |
- ?amfl 'long' | ?al 'length' |
- ?alil 'little, few' | ?al 'small quantity, scarcity' |
- ?adid 'intense' | ?adde 'intensity' |
- ?awi 'strong, powerful' | ?awme 'strength, power' |
- ?artē 'much, many' | ?ar 'large quantity' |
- ?aheb 'friend' | ?aheb 'friendship, companionship' |

Abstract nouns of Patterns FaEL and FaCēL are derived mainly from adjectives of Pattern F(a)EL [p.127]. Those which have a final radical semivowel or the last two radicals alike have the final -e; most others do not.

Various other patterns are less commonly used for abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns: Pattern FaCēL, as in šamāl 'beauty' (from šamāl 'beautiful'); Pattern FaEL, as in šagār 'childhood, youth' (from šāgār 'child, young'); Suffix -iyaye, as in herriyye 'freedom' (from harr 'free'); and others.

Note that some abstract nouns - like their English counterparts - do not always indicate the positive quality or condition predicated by the underlying adjective, but rather the range of values defined by the adjective and its antonym: ?al 'length' (not necessarily 'longness'), tafl 'weight' (not necessarily 'heaviness').

Some adjectives and nouns are correlatives (or particles) of descriptive verbs [p.251]; their abstract nouns are also gerunds to those verbs: adj. bēf 'stingy', verb byabaxfl 'to be stingy', abstr. noun baxfl 'stinginess; being stingy'; noun ?arāγeb 'kin', verb byarābe 'to be kin to', abstr. noun ?arābane 'kinship'; adj. šahē 'correct', vb. bēgē 'to be correct', abstr. noun šeḥā 'correctness'.
Abstract nouns derived from relative adjectives (or nouns) [p.280] are formed by the suffixing of -(yye) [139]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waʃanǐ</td>
<td>waʃaniyye 'patriotism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭummi</td>
<td>ṭummiyye 'illiteracy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əbqaʁi</td>
<td>əbəqariyye 'ingenuity, genius'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔazali</td>
<td>ʔazaliyye 'eternity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔabsi</td>
<td>ʔəbsiyye 'relativity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əɡəbi</td>
<td>əɡəbiyye 'nervousness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔanəni</td>
<td>ʔanəniyye 'egotism, selfishness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many derivatives of this sort are less often used abstractly than in a concretized sense [p.284]; especially common are those designating institutions (either organized or implicit, and either universal or particularized):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Concretized Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mas̱hi</td>
<td>mas̱hiyye 'Christianity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃari</td>
<td>baʃariyye 'mankind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔuyuzi</td>
<td>ʔuyuziyye 'communism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʃtirəkki</td>
<td>ʔəʃtirəkkiyye 'socialism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔamhuri</td>
<td>ʔəmharu yyiyye 'republic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔapari</td>
<td>ʔəpər̃iyye 'theory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaxpi</td>
<td>ʔəxpiyye 'personality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riʃdii</td>
<td>riʃdiiyyat 'mathematics' (pl. only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some abstract or concretized derivatives are formed by suffixing -iyye to words of various other kinds. In some cases a change in the base pattern accompanies the suffixation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mas̱iiliyye 'responsibility'</td>
<td>mas̱iili 'responsible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔabdiyye 'enslavement, slavery'</td>
<td>ʔabd 'slave, enslaved'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamiiyye 'identity'</td>
<td>humme 'he, it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of abstract nouns are formed by suffixing -iyye to relatives: ṭabamiyye 'importance' (from ṭabamm 'more important', from məhimm 'important'), ʔəktiɾiiyye and ʔəgləbiyye 'majority' (from ʔəktər 'more, most', and ʔəɡɫəb 'most, major portion'), ʔəfədiiyye 'preference', (from ʔəfədəl 'preferable'), etc.

Abstract derivatives of Pattern ʔəfeal adjectives [p.130] and miscellaneous augmented words are not formed in any very consistent ways: sa拇d 'blackness' (from sa abdom 'black'), əmii 'blindness' (from əmμa 'blind' and əmii 'to go blind'), raʃzii̇le 'manliness' (from raʃzii̇le 'man'); etc.

Gerunds

The gerunds of simple triradical verbs are formed on a variety of patterns: there is no sure way of telling which pattern is to be used for the gerund of any particular verb, so each must be learned individually. The gerunds of augmented verbs and quadriradical verbs, on the other hand, conform in almost every case to patterns which may be inferred from the pattern of the underlying verb.

SimpleGerundialPatterns. The most common of all is Pattern ʔəfeal; other common patterns are ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal, ʔəfeal. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern ʔəfeal [p.139]:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔərək 'to cut, wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫərə 'to break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəməm 'to understand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəxəd 'to take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəzəm 'to shake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəɡət 'to please'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʃ 'to fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəs 'to kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəsē 'to sell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəm 'to throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʃi 'to become conscious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʃ 'to raid'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pattern FāL [p. 141]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'ad</td>
<td>‘to hate’</td>
<td>ba'd</td>
<td>‘to feel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥakam</td>
<td>‘to judge’</td>
<td>ḥak’m</td>
<td>‘to keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la‘eb</td>
<td>‘to play’</td>
<td>la’eb</td>
<td>‘to wear, put on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥabb</td>
<td>‘to like, love’</td>
<td>ḥabb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FāL is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns FāL [p. 143]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥasad</td>
<td>‘to envy’</td>
<td>ḥasad</td>
<td>‘to put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēsāl</td>
<td>‘to do, make’</td>
<td>ēsāl</td>
<td>‘to damage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēsār</td>
<td>‘to sweat’</td>
<td>ēsār</td>
<td>‘to request, order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡalāf</td>
<td>‘to make a mistake’</td>
<td>ḡalāf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FāL is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns FāL [p. 146]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāṣah</td>
<td>‘to succeed’</td>
<td>nāṣah</td>
<td>‘to give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāṣah</td>
<td>‘to grow, vegetate’</td>
<td>nāṣah</td>
<td>‘to be generous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāṣad</td>
<td>‘to corrupt’</td>
<td>fāṣad</td>
<td>‘to get warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dām</td>
<td>‘to last’</td>
<td>dām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern F(1)ESL(e) [pp. 147, 148]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēṣād</td>
<td>‘to worship’</td>
<td>ēṣād</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣed</td>
<td>‘to bear (child)’</td>
<td>māṣed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaras</td>
<td>‘to guard’</td>
<td>ḥaras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zār</td>
<td>‘to visit’</td>
<td>zār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sār</td>
<td>‘to read’</td>
<td>sār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāra</td>
<td>‘to cultivate’</td>
<td>sāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daras</td>
<td>‘to study’</td>
<td>daras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāfi</td>
<td>‘to be cured’</td>
<td>sāfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern F(1)EQL [p. 150]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasul</td>
<td>‘to descend’</td>
<td>nasul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāsul</td>
<td>‘to enter’</td>
<td>dāsul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šākar</td>
<td>‘to feel’</td>
<td>šākar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣul</td>
<td>‘to arrive’</td>
<td>māṣul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣul</td>
<td>‘to be low’</td>
<td>māṣul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāfi</td>
<td>‘to fly’</td>
<td>šāfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣul</td>
<td>‘to pass’</td>
<td>māṣul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāfi</td>
<td>‘to come up or out’</td>
<td>šāfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāfi</td>
<td>‘to be necessary’</td>
<td>šāfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FāLān:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raṣaf</td>
<td>‘to tremble’</td>
<td>raṣafān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xafān</td>
<td>‘to beat, stir’</td>
<td>xafān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṣaf</td>
<td>‘to get dry’</td>
<td>māṣafān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥara</td>
<td>‘to run, flow’</td>
<td>ḥara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāfi</td>
<td>‘to be low’</td>
<td>sāfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāf</td>
<td>‘to taste’</td>
<td>dāf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FāLān:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nākar</td>
<td>‘to deny’</td>
<td>nākar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāf</td>
<td>‘to forget’</td>
<td>nāf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsaf</td>
<td>‘to forgive’</td>
<td>nāsaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsaf</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
<td>nāsaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṣaf</td>
<td>‘to accomplish’</td>
<td>ḡaṣaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṣaf</td>
<td>‘to disobey’</td>
<td>ḡaṣaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two different gerunds of sāra ̱ e correspond to two different meanings of the verb: sāra ̱ e ‘to sow, plant’, has the gerund sāra ̱ e.

Another gerund is dās; see p. 285.
Augmented Gerundial Patterns

Verbs of Pattern II (PaʃeLa) [p. 77] have gerunds of Pattern taPaʃeL, excepting defective verbs, which have Pattern taPaʃeLe, or sometimes, taPaʃeLe:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cailam 'to teach'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
<td>saʃeLa 'to record'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailah 'to repair'</td>
<td>faʃiLa</td>
<td>faʃdall 'to prefer'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʃ 'to heat'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
<td>mafa 'to choose'</td>
<td>tanʔahaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda 'to take, guide'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
<td>rabbah 'to educate'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarah 'to steal'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
<td>tafarbi ah 'or tafarbi ah'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasa 'to clothe'</td>
<td>tafif</td>
<td>tafarbi ah 'or tafarbi ah'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of Pattern III (PaʃeLa) [p. 80] have gerunds of Pattern mPaʃeLa; (Defective form: mPaʃe [81]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faʃal 'to bargain'</td>
<td>mfaʃale (with)</td>
<td>saʃad 'to help'</td>
<td>mfaʃade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʃtab 'to write to'</td>
<td>maʃtah</td>
<td>cemal 'to treat (s.o.)'</td>
<td>maʃmale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sana 'to make'</td>
<td>msaʃa</td>
<td>laʃah 'to find'</td>
<td>miʃa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of Pattern IV (PaʃeLa) [p. 82] have gerunds of Pattern ?aPaʃeL (defective form ?aPaʃeL) or ?aPaʃaL; (for hollow verbs, ?iPaʃaL):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?aʃlan 'to announce'</td>
<td>?aʃ-liam 'announcement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃrab 'to go on strike'</td>
<td>?aʃ-rab 'going on strike, a strike'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃram 'to honor, treat hospitably'</td>
<td>?aʃ-ram 'honoring, hospitality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃra 'to perform, execute'</td>
<td>?aʃ-ra 'performance, execution'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃbal 'to transfer, transform'</td>
<td>?iʃ-bal 'transfer, transformation'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial-weak verb ?aʃman 'to believe' [p. 85] has the gerund ?aʃman 'belief'
Verbs of Patterns V and VI (tFa'āl and tPa'āl) have gerunds of Patterns taFa'āl and taPa'āl respectively. (Defective forms taFa'āl, taPa'āl):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'addam 'to progress'</td>
<td>ta'addom</td>
<td>thāmal 'to neglect'</td>
<td>taḥāmal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tācallam 'to learn'</td>
<td>ta'callam</td>
<td>tāwānum 'to cooperate'</td>
<td>taṣa'mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāadda 'to provoke'</td>
<td>ta'adda</td>
<td>taṣama 'to be equalized'</td>
<td>taṣāmi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying verb of Pattern II or III: tkāṣab 'to correspond with one another' and kāṭab 'to correspond with (someone else)' are both served by the gerund mkāṣabe 'correspondence'; the actual Pattern V or VI gerund in such cases is rare. See Active and Passive use of Gerunds [p.296].

Verbs of Patterns VII and VIII (nPa'āl and Ptāl) have gerunds of Patterns tānFī'āl and tārtī'āl respectively. (Defective forms tānFī'ād or tānFī'a, tārtī'ād or tārtī'a):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nṣāraf 'to be dismissed'</td>
<td>nṣārāf</td>
<td>ṭāṣaf 'to discover'</td>
<td>ṭāṣāf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfa'āl 'to be agitated'</td>
<td>nfa'āl</td>
<td>ḥtāma 'to meet'</td>
<td>ḥtāmād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāḥaf 'to be in decline'</td>
<td>nḥāfa</td>
<td>ṭtāfā 'to agree'</td>
<td>ṭtāfād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nṣama 'to withdraw, be by one's self'</td>
<td>nṣāmā</td>
<td>ṭāl 'to use trickery'</td>
<td>ṭālīyāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Etanā 'to take care of' | ṭanā

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying simple verb: ṣta'āl 'to be busy, to work' and ṣgāl 'to busy', 'to occupy', are both served by the gerund ṣgāl 'work', 'busy'. In some cases of Pattern VIII, a simple gerund is used even though the underlying simple verb itself is not used: ṣtakar 'to think': gerund ṣkār 'thought'; ṣṭara 'to buy': gerund ṣar 'buying, purchase'.

Gerunds of Pattern IX (Fālā) verbs have the Pattern tāFīlāl while Verbs of Pattern X (staFāl) [p.102] have gerunds of Pattern tastaFāl (sound and geminate):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sta'āl 'to use'</td>
<td>tasta'āl</td>
<td>stafham 'to enquire'</td>
<td>tastaḥām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stafa'āl 'to receive'</td>
<td>tastaqāfāl</td>
<td>stamadd 'to procure supplies'</td>
<td>tastamādād</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With initial radical semivowel, the pattern is tastaFāl:

stamadd 'to import' | tastaFād 'import, importation, importing' For hollow verbs, the pattern is tastaFāl:

stafaq 'to benefit' | tastaFāde 'usefulness, benefit' For defective verbs, the pattern is tastaFāl:

stasma 'to exclude' | tastaFānā 'exclusion, exception'

Defective with initial radical semivowel:

stama 'to seize' | tastaFā 'seizure'

Quadriradical and Pseudo-quadriradical verbs generally have gerunds of Pattern Fa'alale [p.159] (Fa'alame, Fa'alame, etc.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāḥam 'to translate'</td>
<td>tāḥame 'translation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xarbaq 'to mess up'</td>
<td>xarbaq 'mess, messing up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāsmaq 'to whisper'</td>
<td>wāsmaq 'whispering'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs with t- formative [p.85]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tawālad 'to be childish'</td>
<td>wālāde 'childishness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāšām 'to be dazed, astonished'</td>
<td>dāšāme 'astonishment, stupefaction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāṣa 'to be naughty, mischievous'</td>
<td>tāṣa 'mischievous, naughtiness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few classicisms, the pattern taPa'ālāl is used for the gerunds of t- formative verbs: tādāhmare 'decline, decadence' from dāhmar 'to decline, become decadent'.

Pattern Fa'alāll verbs [p.123] have gerunds on the pattern tāFa'ālāl, tāPa'ālāl:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāmān 'to feel confident, secure'</td>
<td>tāmānān 'confidence, security'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Active and Passive Use of Gerunds

A gerund in construct [p.464] with a following term may correspond either to a verb its subject, or to a verb with its object: mêt raṭṣṣ₇l 'a man's death' - mêt raṭṭṣ₇l 'a man died'; ṭakl ʷš-l-ḥ₇m 'the eating of meat'; ṭakl ʷš-l-ḥ₇m 'ate the meat' (or byāk₂l š-l-ḥ₇m 'eats the meat').

In the case of transitive verbs, therefore, a gerund may be used either in an active or a passive sense: ṭṭl ʷš-r-raṭṣṣ₇l... 'the man's killing (someone)' or 'the man's being killed'. Hence a single abstract noun commonly serves as the gerund of an active verb and of its passive derivative as well: ṭšl 'kilting' for both ṭšl 'to kill' and ṭšl (or ṭšl) 'to be killed'; ṭakl 'eating' for both ṭakl 'to eat' and ṭakl (or ṭakl) 'to be eaten'; -Sahl 'work, being busy' for both ṣahal 'to occupy, to busy' and ṣahal 'to work'.

Gerunds of transitive verbs are syntactically unique among nouns: A transitive gerund in construct with the transformed verbal subject (or first object) may retain the object (or second object) as such: ṭšl ʷš-r-raṭṣṣ₇l ṭl-ḥ₇m 'the man's killing of the thief'; ṭšl ʷš-l-ḥ₇m ṭšl ṭl-ḥ₇m 'the father's teaching of his children'. See p.440.

SINGULATIVES

A singulative noun designates an individual unit or instance of what its underlying noun designates collectively or in general. Singulatives are usually formed by suffixing -e/-a [p.138].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Singulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥass 'lettuce'</td>
<td>ḥassē 'a head of lettuce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥṣo ʷš 'hair'</td>
<td>ḥṣa ʷšra 'a hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭšk ʷš 'thought, thinking'</td>
<td>ṭškra ʷšra 'a thought, an idea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭar ʷš 'shouting'</td>
<td>ṭa ʷšra 'a shout, a cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭōs 'kissing'</td>
<td>ṭōsē 'a kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa ʷš 'cattle'</td>
<td>ṭa ʷšra 'a cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭabb ʷš 'flies'</td>
<td>ṭabbē 'a fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭab ʷš 'gravel, pebbles'</td>
<td>ṭabṣa 'a pebble'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A singulative derived from a gerund [p.284] is called an INSTANCE NOUN (iṣm l-marr) A singulative derived from a mass noun [p.368] designating some kind of material thing is called a UNIT NOUN (iṣm l-mahda), and the noun it is derived from is called a COLLECTIVE (iṣm l-gam).

It should be clearly understood that collectives (except for ethnic collectives [p.301]) are grammatically singular, though the English translation may be plural: ṭabbē 'flies'. Collectives - since they are mass nouns - may have plurals of Abundance or Variety [368]: ṭabbēn 'many flies', while singulatives are of course count nouns: ṭabbēn 'one fly', ṭabbēn 'two flies', liṭṭ ṭabbēn 'three flies'.

Almost all singulatives are derived either from gerunds or from material mass nouns; an exception is lēl 'a night', from lēl 'nighttime'.

To avoid misunderstanding this statement, it should be noted that 'designate', as used in this book, does not mean 'refer to'. A collective or an abstract noun may, of course, be used to refer to a particular instance of what it designates (e.g. ṭal-xass 'this lettuce', ṭškra 'aqua 'my idea'); it is not restricted to speaking in generalities or universals. But if a particular instance is referred to with a collective or abstract noun, its separateness or individuality is to be inferred from the context and is an incidental matter; while an instance referred to with a singulative is explicitly and relevantly a separate instance.
Collectives and Units

1.) Almost all kinds of vegetables, fruits, grains, flowers, fruit trees, grasses, and the like, are designated by collectives and units:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'dənən</td>
<td>'eggplant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃəta</td>
<td>'potato(es)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʃəmo</td>
<td>'apricot(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləm</td>
<td>'almond(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʃə</td>
<td>'wheat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃəfare</td>
<td>'violets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waɾd</td>
<td>'roses; flowers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faʃəfol</td>
<td>'pepper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naʃəl</td>
<td>'date palms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faʃəbe</td>
<td>'grass, weeds, herbs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʃə</td>
<td>'straw'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also the generic terms habb 'grain' (unit habbe), sabər 'blossoms' (unit sabara), sədar 'trees, shrubs' (unit sədarə), waɾə 'leaves' (unit waɾəsə), baɾər 'seed(s)' (unit baɾəre), yaʃəb 'cane, stalk(s)' (unit yaʃə).

A few plant designations have the same form for both collective and unit: faʃər 'fungus, mushroom(s)', the generic term nəbət 'a plant' or 'plants, vegetation', təm 's-samnəke 'snapdragon(s)' (lit. 'fish mouth'); etc.

Quite a few mass nouns designating plants, however, either have no unit derivative at all, or have one that is seldom used. In such cases a periphrastic phrase may be used, consisting of a generic unit term in contrast with the specific mass term [p.462]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>təm</td>
<td>'garlic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əʃəbar</td>
<td>'pine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(habb) əʃəbar</td>
<td>'pine nuts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ənəb</td>
<td>'grapes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.) Some kinds of animals are designated collectively, including: Four kinds of domestic mammals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baʃəar</td>
<td>'cattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡənəm</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʃəne</td>
<td>'goats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xəl</td>
<td>'horses'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unit derivatives for domestic mammals (as for domestic fowl) designate the female of the species only.

The term xəl has no unit derivative of its own, but is supplanted by the term faɾəs 'mare'.

Periphrastic unit constructs for these collectives may be formed (as in English) with raʃ (pl. raʃə) 'head': raʃ baʃəar 'a head of cattle', raʃ xəl 'a horse'.

Several kinds of bird (mainly fowl):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əʃə</td>
<td>'chicken(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃə</td>
<td>'duck(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waɾəse</td>
<td>'geese'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫəʃəl</td>
<td>'partridge(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʃəm</td>
<td>'pigeons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəm</td>
<td>'owls'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>samə</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʃədəf</td>
<td>'shellfish, oyster(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʃəsə</td>
<td>'sponge(s)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also, of course, the ordinary count noun ḡənən 'horse' (pl. ənənə).
Several kinds of insect:

Collective Unit Noun

dabbàn 'flies' dabbānē 'a fly'
nāmūs 'mosquitoes' nāmūsē 'a mosquito'
nahēl 'bees' nahēlē 'a bee'
nāmē 'ants' nāmē 'an ant'
farrāk 'butterflies, moths' farrākē 'a butterfly, moth'
cott 'clothes moths' cotē 'a clothes moth'
dūd 'caterpillars, worms' dūdē 'a caterpillar, worm'
barūd 'locusts' barūdē 'a locust'
bāta 'bedbugs' bātē 'a bedbug'
'amēl 'lice' amēlē 'a louse'

3.) Collectives designate miscellaneous other sorts of material things which are familiar both in the aggregate and piecemeal:

bēd 'eggs' bēda 'an egg'
šamēr 'embers, coals' šamāra 'an ember, a coal'
šahēm 'charcoal, coal' šahēmē 'a piece of charcoal, coal'
šafr 'rock' šafrē 'a rock'
kačēk 'a kind of) 'cake' kačēkē 'a cake'
šabak 'netting' šabake 'a net'
čadēm 'bone(s)' čadēmē 'a bone'
šafr 'bark, peel(s), shell(s)' šafrē 'a peel, a shell'
šafak 'cartridges' šafake 'a cartridge'
blūya 'tile, flagstone(s)' blūya 'a flagstone'
sulāda 'rugs, carpeting' sulādē 'a rug'
še 'clouds' šēmē 'a cloud'
šūbūn 'soap' šūbūnē 'a bar of soap'
sokkar 'sugar' sokkarē 'a lump of sugar'
smarād 'emerald(s)' smarrēdē 'an emerald'

4.) A special type of collective is that which designates a kind of people (mainly ethnic groups). The unit noun, which designates one (male) person of the group, is the substantivized relative adjective [p. 281]. ērābē 'an Arab', from the collective ērāb 'Arabs'.

These ETHNIC COLLECTIVES differ from ordinary collectives in that they function in almost the same way as plurals; verbs and adjectives show plural agreement with them [p. 426]: l-ērāb 'is-striyyān 'The Syrian Arabs', ū-ērāb 'The Arabs have come'.

The only respect in which they differ from true plurals is that they are not used in numeral constructs [p. 471], but must stand in apposition to the numeral: tīdē ērāb 'three Arabs' [501]. That is to say, the absolute form of the numeral - not the construct form [170] - must be used before these collectives.

The unit noun in many cases has no plural (since the ethnic collective serves this function quite adequately), while in other cases a true plural exists in addition to the collective: tork 'Turks' (coll.): torkē 'a Turk' (unit): torkāē 'Turks' (pl.). Thus tīdē torkē 'three Turks', but tīdē torkāē (same translation).

All ethnic unit nouns have, of course, femaline derivatives [p. 304]: ērābīyyē 'an Arab woman', torkīyyē 'a Turkish woman'.

Further examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?amērkēni 'Americans'</td>
<td>?amērkēnē 'an American'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?angīlē 'English'</td>
<td>?angīli 'an Englishman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ajmēni 'Germans'</td>
<td>?ajmēnē 'a German'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?rusē 'Russians'</td>
<td>?rūsē 'a Russian'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāda 'Bedouins'</td>
<td>bāda 'a Bedouin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namār 'gypsies'</td>
<td>namārē 'a gypsy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kardē 'Kurds'</td>
<td>kardē 'a Kurd' (pl. ?akrādē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?armāni 'Armenians'</td>
<td>?armānē 'an Armenian'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arkāsē 'Circassians'</td>
<td>?arkāsē 'a Circassian'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?yūnēnē 'a Greek' (pl. -yyānēn)</td>
<td>?yūnēni 'a Greek'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?rūmē 'Greek (Catholic or. Orthodox)'</td>
<td>?rūmē 'a Greek (C. or O.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?abē 'Copts'</td>
<td>?abē 'a Copt' (pl. ?abē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahūdē 'Jews'</td>
<td>yahūdē 'a Jew'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ethnic designations on internal plural patterns [p. 218] such as mas'ārīn ‘Egyptians’ (sg. mas'ārī), mas'ārīn ‘Christian’ (sg. mas'ārī), etc., may generally be used either as collectives or as true plurals: tī̂ṣte mas'ārīn or tī̂ṣtē mas'ārīn ‘three Egyptians’.

Some speakers treat the word druza ‘Druze’ as a collective rather than a plural (sg. druza). Similarly frasāmiyye ‘French (pl.)’ is generally used as a collective, while the singulative frasāmiyye ‘Frenchman’ also has a true plural frasāmiyyēn.

Some speakers tend to assimilate almost all the ethnic collectives to true plurals, using either the construct or absolute forms of numerals before them: tī̂ṣtē ṣamārīkān (or tī̂ṣe ṣamārīkān), etc.

Many ethnic designations, of course, have no collectives (in Colloquial use, at least), but only a singular and plural: ḫanḍī ‘Indian’, pl. ḫnūd; sūdānī ‘Sudanese’, pl. sūdānīyyēn.

Gerunds and Instance Nouns

The gerunds of many simple triliteral verbs have singulatives derived from them. For example:

| Verb        | Gerund             | Instance Noun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍarab ‘to hit, strike’</td>
<td>ḍarab ‘hitting, striking’</td>
<td>ḍarabe ‘a blow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaḍab ‘to play’</td>
<td>ḥaḍab ‘playing’</td>
<td>ḥaḍēb ‘a play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaḍās ‘to sneeze’</td>
<td>ḥaḍās ‘sneezing’</td>
<td>ḥaḍās ‘a sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍāx ‘to be nauseated’</td>
<td>ḍāx ‘nausea, dizziness’</td>
<td>ḍāx ‘an attack or wave of nausea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍawar ‘to touch, feel’</td>
<td>ḍawar ‘touching, feeling’</td>
<td>ḍawar ‘a touch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍaṭ ‘to die’</td>
<td>ḍaṭ ‘death, dying’</td>
<td>ḍaṭe ‘a death’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍafē ‘to push’</td>
<td>ḍafē ‘pushing’</td>
<td>ḍafē ‘a push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭakk ‘to click, tick’</td>
<td>ṭakk ‘clicking, ticking’</td>
<td>ṭakk ‘a click, tick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaff ‘to jump’</td>
<td>ṭaff ‘jumping’</td>
<td>ṭaff ‘a jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bās ‘to kiss’</td>
<td>bās ‘kissing’</td>
<td>bās ‘a kiss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡās ‘to raid’</td>
<td>ḡās ‘raiding’</td>
<td>ḡās ‘a raid’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Often derogatory; the polite term is (sg.) masḥī, pl. masḥīyyēn (no collective).

Though most instance nouns are formed simply by suffixing -e/-a [p. 138] (with any automatic changes that entails), others have a base pattern different from that of the gerund. Gerunds of Pattern FEL [291], for instance, have singulatives of Pattern Fa[FEL [146]:

| Verb        | Gerund             | Instance Noun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násāl ‘to ascend’</td>
<td>nāl ‘descent’</td>
<td>nāsē ‘a descent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāwāfal ‘to fall’</td>
<td>nāwā ‘falling’</td>
<td>nāwāf ‘a fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā-readable</td>
<td>rā-readable</td>
<td>rā-readable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also:

| Verb        | Gerund             | Instance Noun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡalaf ‘to make a mistake’</td>
<td>ḡalaf ‘being mistaken’</td>
<td>ḡalaf ‘a mistake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣafar ‘to look, glance’</td>
<td>ṣafar ‘looking, sight’</td>
<td>ṣafar ‘a look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaf ‘to travel’</td>
<td>ṣaf ‘traveling’</td>
<td>ṣaf ‘a trip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡēb ‘to be absent’</td>
<td>ḡēb ‘absence’</td>
<td>ḡēb ‘an absence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḩārak ‘to move’</td>
<td>ḩārak ‘movement’</td>
<td>ḩārak ‘a movement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāqēl ‘to work’</td>
<td>ṣāqēl ‘work’</td>
<td>ṣāqēl ‘a job’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few Pattern II (Fa[FEL] gerunds [p. 293] have singulatives derived from them:

| Verb        | Gerund             | Instance Noun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tālama ‘to hint’</td>
<td>tālama ‘hinting’</td>
<td>tālama ‘a hint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭawr ‘to involve’</td>
<td>ṭawr ‘involvement’</td>
<td>ṭawr ‘an involvement’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Otherwise, augmented gerunds do not have instance nouns, though many of them may function in a particularized sense [p. 284] as well as in the abstract sense: ṭaff ‘agree’ (ger. of ṭaffa ‘to agree’) ‘an agreement’; ṣālān ‘an announcement’ (ger. of ṣālān ‘to announce’).
FEMINAL NOUNS

Many nouns designating male persons, and some designating male animals, may be converted into female designations by the suffixation of -ni or -n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾannem</td>
<td>ʾannânme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šār, šār</td>
<td>šāran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šās, šēs</td>
<td>šēsan, šamān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abûm</td>
<td>abūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilmēs</td>
<td>tilmēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malek</td>
<td>malekn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arimal</td>
<td>?arimaln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾeḏu</td>
<td>ʾeḏēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾeḏf</td>
<td>ʾeḏēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾaḏi</td>
<td>ʾaḏīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾaḏeb</td>
<td>ʾaḏēbn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾafāl</td>
<td>ʾafāln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalē</td>
<td>kalēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminal derivation may be applied freely to substantivalized personal adjectives, including participial [276], occupational [308], and relative [301] derivatives: (Cl. Adjective Inflection):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mālām</td>
<td>mālāmān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānasaf</td>
<td>mānasafān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māslām</td>
<td>māslān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fābbāk</td>
<td>fābbākān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badān</td>
<td>badāniyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾomālūs</td>
<td>ʾomāluyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾomāliyya</td>
<td>ʾomāliyyan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For nouns other than substantivalized adjectives, the feminal derivation may or may not apply — each case must be learned individually. Note, for example, šahr ‘brother (or son) -in-law’, but ʾannän ‘sister (or daughter)-in-law’, tār ‘bull, steer’, but baʾara ‘cow’, etc. See Gender of Nouns (p. 372).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An occupational noun indicates a person whose occupation it is to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An occupational noun indicates a person whose occupation it is to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underlying Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʾas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šabbāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šahad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaṣṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaḥm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaadā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šafī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Participial Patterns:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raʾas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šabbāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šahad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaṣṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaḥm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaadā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šafī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classicism: ? replacing medial y in Pattern Ṣafāl.
NOUN DERIVATION

Underlying Word | Occupational Noun
---|---
xadar 'vegetables' | xadarūsī 'greengrocer'
būya 'shoe polish' | būyaūsī 'bootblack'
kandara 'shoe' | kandūsī 'cobbler'

Suffix -i:
sāqāt 'watches' | sāqātī 'watchmaker'
šēnāt 'gardens' | šēnātī 'gardener'
gālūt 'locks' | gālūtī 'locksmith'
lūgā 'language' | lūgāūsī 'linguist'

Occupational nouns in -ī are mainly formed on an -ūsī plural stem; see, however, Relative Adjectives (p. 280).

Note that the English suffix -er is often used more broadly than the Arabic occupational derivation. To say 'She's a good dancer' does not imply that dancing is her occupation, whereas ḥiyye ra'ūṣa māfha would only be said of a professional dancer.

INSTRUMENTAL NOUNS (ism l-ṣāla)

An instrumental noun indicates an implement or apparatus used in doing what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns maFāal (p. 152), maFāal(e) [156], maFāal(e) [153] and maFāal [158] are used:

Pattern maFāal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Instrumental Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
sār 'to go, travel' | sayyāra 'automobile'
tār 'to fly' | tāyyāra 'airplane'
maḥa 'to erase' | maḥāye 'eraser'
kamāš 'to grasp' | kammāšī 'pincers'
bara 'to sharpen, point' | barrāye 'pencil-sharpener'
barad 'to cool' | barrūde 'refrigerator'

Pattern maFāal(e):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Instrumental Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
ʃaʃ 'to open' | maʃtaʃh 'key'
ʃar 'to plow' | maʃhrāt 'plow'
ʃor 'to peck' | maʃor 'beak'
ʃān 'to weigh' | maʃānīn 'scale balance'
ʃalā 'to fry' | maʃalāye 'frying pan, skillet'
kamā 'to iron' | maʃkamāye '(flat)iron'
dara 'to winnow' | maʃdara 'winnower'

Patterns maFāal, maFāale (for geminate verbs):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Instrumental Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
ʃapp 'to cut, snip' | maʃapp 'scissors'
ʃakk 'to undo, take apart, unscrew' | maʃakk 'screwdriver'
### LOCATIVE NOUNS (*ism l-mākān*)

A locative noun indicates a place or installation for doing what is designated by the underlying verb, or for getting or putting what is designated by the underlying noun. Locatives are formed on Patterns *mafe'el* [p. 153], *mafe'ale* [153], and *mafe'el* [154].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Locative Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>'a'id 'to sit'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'el</em> 'seat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la'seb 'to play'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'ale</em> 'playground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'snaq 'to manufacture'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'el</em> 'factory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xaraq 'to go out'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'ale</em> 'exit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>marr 'to pass'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'aisle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mōši 'to go, walk'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'passageway, hall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>roqi 'to graze'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'pasture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>f'r 'to fly'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'el</em> 'airport'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haqar 'stone'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'stone quarry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bakam 'to try, sentence'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'court'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daras 'to study'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g'asal 'to wash'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'washstand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xōd 'to wade'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'ford'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dēf 'guest'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> (also <em>ma'af</em>) 'reception room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ktōb 'book'</em></td>
<td><em>mafe'al</em> 'library'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Pattern *mafe'al*: |

| *māwaf 'to stop'* | *mafe'al* 'stop, station' |
| *ma'dāq 'to place'* | *mafe'al* 'position' |
| *'a'id 'to sit'* | *mafe'al* 'meeting chamber, session room' |

### HYPOSTATIC NOUNS

A hypostatic noun indicates the abstract result or object of the activity designated by its underlying verb: *mākāb 'profit, earning', from *la'seb 'to make, earn'*. These nouns are formed on Patterns *mafe'el(e)*, *mafe'ale* (*mafe'el(e)*, *mafe'el(e)*, *mafe'el(e)*, *mafe'el(e)* [p. 153-156].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Hypostatic Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>balāq 'to attain, amount to'</em></td>
<td>*ma'balāq 'amount, sum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'sad 'to intend, aim at'</em></td>
<td>*ma'sad 'intent, goal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'na 'to mean'</em></td>
<td>*ma'na 'meaning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'gār 'to look at'</em></td>
<td>*ma'gār 'view, sight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'far 'to flee, escape'</em></td>
<td>*ma'far 'flight, escape'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma'laq 'to blame'</td>
<td>*ma'laq 'blame, censure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'nā 'to sleep'</em></td>
<td>*ma'nā 'dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'aled 'to be born'</em></td>
<td>*ma'aled, mi'ad 'birth, birthday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'ad 'to promise'</em></td>
<td>*ma'aled, mi'ad 'date, appointment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'gar 'to become'</em></td>
<td>*ma'gar 'destiny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'bab 'to like, love'</em></td>
<td>*ma'bab 'love, affection'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'bar 'to curse'</em></td>
<td>*ma'bar 'curse, invective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'dar 'to be able'</em></td>
<td>*ma'dar 'ability'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'ak 'to know'</em></td>
<td>*ma'ak 'knowledge, acquaintance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'qas 'to preach, lecture'</em></td>
<td>*ma'qas 'lecture, reprimand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'dāq 'to wish, want'</em></td>
<td>*ma'dāq 'wish, desire, intent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'far 'to hit, fall'</em></td>
<td>*ma'far 'calamity'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypostatic nouns are similar in meaning to gerunds [p. 284] and in some cases function virtually as such (e.g. *ma'ak 'knowledge, acquaintance*). In general, however, they do not share the syntactical peculiarities of gerunds, nor (by the same token) do they designate "action" or "activity".

---

1Including what is sometimes called *al-mādar l-mišā ḫum l-gerund*, and also *āl-samān 'the noun of time*. The Locative [p. 308] is a "spatially concretized" version of the abstract *ism l-mākān maš-samān*. 
DIMINUTIVES (ism t-taghir)

Only a few Syrian Arabic nouns have diminutives derived from them. The basic pattern is FaEel, or - if the underlying noun has a long vowel between the first and second radicals - FaEEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gâr 'child, young one'</td>
<td>gâryer 'little one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qabi 'boy'</td>
<td>qbayy 'little boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?bâni 'son'</td>
<td>bnyy(-i) 'my little son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bant 'daughter, girl'</td>
<td>bnyye 'little daughter, little girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šî 'thing, something, some'</td>
<td>šawy(e) 'a little'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mainly in Lebanon, the following are also used (as terms of affection, and sometimes in a more general sense as well): bâyy 'father', xâyy 'brother', xawy 'sister', dâyye 'hand', bây 'foot', dâyye 'ear'.

Patterns FaEEL and FaEELe are also used, mainly to form nicknames and terms of affection (again, especially in Lebanon): xâbbûd, xâbbûde (from xâbbâfi; and other names beginning with xâbb-); xâyyf (from xâyfafla); hâmûd (from ?âmâhd); marrûn (from marrîm 'Mary'), etc.

Note also: nattûfe 'a tiny bit' (from nattîs 'a little bit'), lašmâme 'a little bite, a little mouthful' (from lâsmâma 'a bite, mouthful').

ELATIVES (ism t-tafÎl)

Elatives, derivable mainly from adjectives, are formed on the pattern FaEEL for triliteral roots; FaEEL for quadriliteral.

If an underlying adjective means 'X', its elative means 'more or most X'. For example: gâb 'difficult' - gâbî 'more (or most) difficult'; qadîm 'ancient' - qadîm 'more (most) ancient'; mādîb 'suitable' - mâdîb 'more, most suitable'; qangîl 'rich' - qangîl 'richer, richest'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Elative (Sound)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xâšl 'easy'</td>
<td>'ashal 'easier, easiest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâšl 'ugly'</td>
<td>'ashl 'uglier, ugliest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâšl 'hot'</td>
<td>'ashal 'hottest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'thick, fat'</td>
<td>xâsh 'thicker, fatter, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'long, tall'</td>
<td>xâsh 'longer, taller, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'cold'</td>
<td>xâsh 'colder, coldest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'broad, roomy'</td>
<td>xâsh 'broader, roomier, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'dry, hard'</td>
<td>xâsh 'drier, harder, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'famous'</td>
<td>xâsh 'more, most famous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'greasy'</td>
<td>xâsh 'greasier, greasiest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'displeased'</td>
<td>xâsh 'more, most displeased'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'narrow, tight'</td>
<td>xâsh 'narrower, tighter, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâsh 'useful, beneficial'</td>
<td>xâsh 'more useful, beneficial, etc.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the underlying adjective is formed on a pattern requiring y in place of medial radical w (FaEEL [p.258], FaEEL [128]), the radical w is in some cases restored in the elative: xâyef 'afraid' - xâyaf 'more, most afraid'; xâyy 'clear, undisturbed' - xâyam 'more, most clear, etc.'; xâyey 'good, excellent' - xâyam 'better, best, etc.'; xâyey 'bad, unfortunate' - xâyam 'worse, worst, etc.'; xâyey 'abundant, extra' - xâyam (or xâyad) 'more, most abundant, etc.'

With final radical semivowel (Elative defective):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Elative (Sound)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raxu 'loose, lax'</td>
<td>?ruxa 'looser, more lax, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâlu 'sweet, pretty, nice'</td>
<td>?hâla 'sweeter, prettier, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wîm 'strong'</td>
<td>?wîma 'stronger, strongest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wî 'intelligent'</td>
<td>?wîka 'more, most intelligent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wî 'hoodlum, delinquent'</td>
<td>?wî 'more, most delinquent, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wî 'rich'</td>
<td>?wîga 'richer, richest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wî 'clear'</td>
<td>?wîga 'clearer, clearest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wî 'solid, hard'</td>
<td>?wîsa 'solider, solidest, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wî 'wide awake'</td>
<td>?wîsa 'more, most wide awake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The elative ạhọsọn 'better, best' is derived from Classical hàsàn, which is not normally used in Colloquial but is displaced by màfùh 'good'. Thus ạhọsọn serves as a suppletive elative to màfùh.

When two or more adjectives with the same root have elatives, then of course a single elative form must serve in more than one sense: ạbọsọt 'more, most pleased, contented' (from màbụsụ 'pleased, contented'), but also meaning 'easier, simpler, etc.' (from màsụ 'easy, minor, simple'). Likewise ụfọ, elative of both ụfọ 'tired' and màfùb 'tiring'.

Often, however, the elative form is allocated to one of the adjectives — usually to the most common one, or to the one whose meaning is the most susceptible of gradation: ạsọl 'less, least', elative of ạsọl 'little, few', but not used as the elative of màsọl 'independent'; likewise ụfọ 'more dangerous, sharper, etc.', elative of ụfọ 'dangerous, sharp', but not used as the elative of ụfọ or màfùh 'wounded'.

Elative Syntax

An elative may be used attributively, as an adjective: ụdà ạhọsọn 'a better room', ọdà ạhọsọn 'the better (or best) room'.

An elative may also be used in construct, as a noun: ạhọsọn ọdà hàsàn 'the best of the rooms'. ạhọsọn ụdà hàsàn 'the best room'.

In an elative construct, a definite [p. 494] following term is always identificatory [458]: ạhọsọn ọdà hàsàn 'the best of (in) the school', while an indefinite following term is always classificatory: ạhọsọn ụdà hàsàn 'the best school'. See Elative and Ordinal Annexion [473].

Note that an elative in construct with an indefinite term is rendered in English as if it were definite: ạsọl hàsọ 'the prettiest girl' (same translation as the attributive construction: hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ). hàsọ hàsọ is nonetheless indefinite; its sense might be more exactly rendered as "a girl who is prettiest". (But see p. 406.)

The English comparative (-er, more...) is normally used in translating an indefinite attributive elative: ụdà hàsọ ụdà hàsọ ụdà hàsọ 'brighter students', or an indefinite elative with a màn ('than') phrase: hàsọ mà hàlà hàlà hàlà 'brighter than the others'.

Otherwise, the English superlative (-est, most...) is normally used if the referent is being compared with more than one other thing, while the comparative is used (in standard English, at least) if it is compared with only one other thing: hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ 'This room is better (or best), hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ hàsọ 'This is the best (or better) room'.
A COMPARATIVE PHRASE is formed with an elative complemented by the preposition mān ‘then’. ʾabbād ʾªasād mā bēšna ‘their house is larger than ours’, byaʾmal xamsīn līrā ʾaktar mānnī ‘he makes fifty pounds more than ʾasaf fākra mān hēk ʾªalāmā nā xala’ ‘A sillier idea than that God never allowed!’ (lit. ‘created’).

When the elative is definite, it is generally translated as a superlative (est. most), and the man is generally translated as ‘of’: ʾaฏiyāya ʾªaq TAR mān ʾt-kall [KN-II.15] ‘the most elegant (faṣr) palace of all’.

The word ʾaktar ‘more, most’ (elative of kifr ‘much, many’) may be used to form comparative phrases in supplementation to adjectives, especially with adjectives which have no elatives of their own: ʾaḥyād ʾªak TAR ‘whiter than snow’; ʾama barrād ʾªak TAR mānnāk ‘I’m more sensitive to the cold than you’; maṣqaṭ ʾªak TAR baṭd ʾd-ṣahr mān ʾalla bākra ‘more crowded in the afternoon than in the morning’.

The man-phrase (like the than-phrase in English) may of course be suppressed: ʾaḥyād ʾªak TAR ‘whiter’, maṣqaṭ ʾªak TAR ‘more crowded’, etc.

Elatives with -l suffixes

Like verbs and participles, some elatives complemented by a pronominal la-phrase (p.479) take the suffix forms (-lo, etc.), not the disjunctive forms (‘sila, etc.): ʾaṭyād-lak ‘more useful to you’; ʾaḥadd-lo [p.27] ‘better for him’. ʾaẓūmat-likon ‘more difficult for you (pl.)’.

Others, however, take the disjunctive forms: ʾaḥāmm ʾªilna ‘more important for us’.

Exclamations with mā-

Elatives are used after the particle mā-, in the sense ‘How...!’, ‘Isn’t that...!’:

mā-ʾaḥšila ʾlaḥsa! ‘How pretty her clothes are!’
mā-ʾaḥyab ʾal-ʾakle! ‘How good this food is!’
mā-ʾaṭgar ʾal-karsi! ‘How small this chair is!’
mā-ʾaḥṣalbān ḫakyo! ‘How sweetly he speaks!’

Elatives in this construction take a nominal complement which may be pronominalized like a verbal object: mā-ʾaḥšīḥa ‘How pretty she is!’, mā-ʾaṭgar ‘How small it is!’

Lack of Inflection

Elatives in Colloquial Arabic are generally not inflected; the form ʾªasād ‘wider, roomier, larger’, for instance, serves attributively as feminine (šīne ʾªasād ‘a larger garden’) and plural, as well as for masculine (bēt ʾªasād ‘a larger house’).

There are, however, a few Classicisms in which the feminine pattern ʾaṭla is used, as in ʾaṣma (fem. of ʾaṣma ‘most remote, extreme’) tabaṭtir ʾaṣma ‘extreme measures’.

Elatives are occasionally used in the dual: L-ʾaḥsanān ‘the best two’; ḫalānān ‘So much the worse!’ ( ’aḥlan, elative of mālān ‘damnable’).

Miscellaneous Examples of the Use of Elatives

1. ʾaḥbāt ʾaṭkar ʾṣī? ‘What would you (or did you) like the most?’

2. ʾaḥlān ʾaṭlašī, t-ṭaraddad ‘Indecisiveness is one of his worst qualities’ (ʾaḥlān, el. of mālān ‘damnable’)

3. ʾaḥyād ʾaṭlīna mān ʾbala ‘He owns next to nothing’ (ʾaṭlīna, el. of šaṣṣa; lit. ‘less than nothing’)

4. ʾaṭg ʾaḥṣad ʾaḥsan ‘He’s been better days’

5. māṭqay ṭamād mān maṣṣāi ‘His salary is larger than mine’ (ʾaṭqay, el. of māṭqay ‘abundant’ [311])

6. ʾaḥḥatna ṭamāl namrā ʾaṭkar ʾt-kall ‘I liked the first number most of all’

7. ṭarī ṭeṣṣār mānnak b-ṭaṣr ʾªaṣmīn [DA-157] ‘My brother is ten years younger than you’. (ʾaṭtār, el. of ʾaṭtār ‘young’, lit. ‘...younger than you by ten years.’)

8. L-ʾaṭṣašā ʾaṭla-ṭalārā ʾṭakkar mān ʾt-talamīṣ [DA-158] ‘The teacher came to school earlier than the students’. (ʾaṭṣašā, el. of ʾaṭṣašā ‘early’)

9. ʾaḥḥatna ʾaḥsan [DA-100] ‘With you would be better’

10. ʾaḥḥatna ṭaṣṣ biḥra ‘It would be better for you to come tomorrow’

11. mā maṣṣāt ʾaṭyād mān hēk [RN-II.15] ‘I haven’t found anything more useful than that’

12. ṭakīna kān ʾaṭkar māṣed ḫabdīyā [RN-II.15] ‘The smarter he is, the more arrogant he becomes’
Ordinals may also be used in identificatory construct as ordinary.

Ordinals from two through ten have ordinals derived from them, formed on the Pattern Fāʾel [p. 144]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal Numeral</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tném 'two'</td>
<td>tānī 'second, other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlāte 'three'</td>
<td>tālet 'third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥarbē 'four'</td>
<td>ḥarbē 'fourth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamse 'five'</td>
<td>xāmīs 'fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sātse 'six'</td>
<td>sūdes 'sixth' (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sābē 'seven'</td>
<td>sēbē 'seventh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumē 'eight'</td>
<td>tūmmē 'eighth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teṣē 'nine'</td>
<td>tūseē 'ninth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āṣara 'ten'</td>
<td>āṣēr 'tenth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ordinal corresponding to sūdes 'sixth', the regular form, is also sometimes heard.

The ordinals are like elatives [p. 313] in forming classificatory constructs with indefinite nouns: ḥammal marra 'the first time', tālet ṭābašl 'the third man', āṣēr sone 'the tenth year', ḥaxer āsara 'the last lesson'. See Elative and Ordinal Constructs [p. 473].

Ordinals may also be used attributively, as ordinary adjectives, and with adjectival inflection: s-sone l-āṣēra 'the tenth year', l-āṣēra 'the first lesson', bēnto t-tālet 'his third daughter', marra tōnyē 'a second time, again', mlābb tōnīyēn 'other children', āsara tālet 'three lessons'.

Gammal and ḥaxer, however, are less often used attributively than the other ordinals, since the relative adjectives ḥammalūnī and ḥaxrūnī [p. 282] often take their place, and because the adjective ḥaxir is also often used instead of ḥaxer. In the feminine, the Classical ḥīlā is commonly used instead of ḥammalā.

Ordinals above ten are formed attributively to a singular in the ordinal sense: d-ḥārē abd-īn 'the twelfth grade, step', l-ḥārē l-ṭābašl 'the twentieth century', d-ḥārē d-ḥārē l-ḥašir 'the forty-fifth lesson'.

A more formal alternative is to put the units in ordinal form, as in Classical Arabic: l-ḥārē ḥ-sābē ḥašīr 'the seventeenth century' (Note that ḥašīr is used, not āṣara [p. 170]). For 'first', ḥašī replaces ḥammal in these phrases: l-ḥādī w-ṭâbašl 'the twenty-first'.

Fractions

The numerals from three through ten have fractions derived from them, formed on the pattern Fāʾel [p. 139]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal Numeral</th>
<th>Fraction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlāte 'three'</td>
<td>tālt 'a third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥarbē 'four'</td>
<td>ḥarbē 'a fourth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamse 'five'</td>
<td>xāmīs 'a fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sātse 'six'</td>
<td>sātse 'a sixth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sābē 'seven'</td>
<td>sābē 'a seventh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumē 'eight'</td>
<td>tumē 'an eighth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teṣē 'nine'</td>
<td>teṣē 'a ninth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āṣara 'ten'</td>
<td>āṣēr 'a tenth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fraction corresponding to sātse 'sixth', the regular form, is also sometimes heard.

The fractions corresponding to ḥammal 'two' is irregular: ḥāqqa (or ḥāqa) 'a half'.

The plurals of these fractions are formed on the pattern Fāʾel: ṭlālt ṭābašl 'three fourths', ḥarbē(t) xamīs 'four fifths'.

Fractions beyond the tenths are expressed periphrastically with the cardinal numerals: ḥāqqa ḥašīr 'seven twelfths' (lit. 'seven over twelve').
CHAPTER 12: TENSE

In Arabic, as in English, verbs are inflected for two tenses only: the Perfect or Past (al-māṣī), and the Imperfect or Non-Past (al-muḍāriṣ). 1

On the formation of the tenses, see Verb Inflectional Forms (p.173).

The verb of an independent clause is put in the perfect usually to designate past events or states: katab 'he wrote', nām 'he slept'. The imperfect, on the other hand, designates events, states, or dispositions that are not past: byaktab 'he writes, will write, would write'; bīnam 'he sleeps, will sleep, would sleep'.

In the case of complemental verbs, the terms 'past' and 'not past' must be understood relatively to the time reference of the main clause. The time reference of a complemental verb in the imperfect can be past, relative to the moment of utterance, but cannot be past, relative to the time reference of the main clause. (p.340).

Time reference in the imperfect is rendered more specific by the Particle of Actuality fa-m- [p.320] or the Particle of Anticipation raḥa- [322]: fa-m-yaktab 'he is writing', raḥa-yaktab 'he's going to write'.

Without these particles the imperfect (byaktab) is used mainly to predicate generalities ('he writes'), potentialities ('he would write, he can write'), and assumed future events ('he'll write') (p.324).

1The term 'tense', with reference both to Arabic and to English, is best limited to actual inflectional categories, excluding the numerous syntactic combinations involving auxiliaries, proclitics, etc. These syntactic "tenses", nevertheless, are dealt with in the course of this chapter.

It is often said [e.g. AO-25] that the Arabic perfect and imperfect are more properly called 'aspects' than 'tenses'—implying that these categories have more to do with perspective than with temporal sequence. This contention is perhaps based, in part, on a faulty analysis of such matters as the use of the imperfect in complemental clauses (p.340) and the use of the perfect in conditional clauses [331], and in part, on the literary conventions of Classical Arabic (and even of other Semitic languages).
USES OF THE IMPERFECT

The Imperfect with Proclitics

The particles of actuality (致します) and anticipation (表出) are prefixed, unaccented (p.18), directly to the imperfect verb form, but differ from true prefixes in that a single particle may serve more than one verb at a time in coordinations [392]: 表出-ようで み-之内 他's going to eat and go to bed; み-ようで み-として 他's neither eating nor drinking). (The indicative prefix 一切 [180] of the simple imperfect, on the other hand, is generally repeated with each verb: み-で み-で 他 neither eats nor drinks).

The Particle of Actuality

There are several forms of this particle: ご- is the most generally used, but in Damascus ご- is also heard, and sometimes also ご-、ご-、 and the full word ごまま。In various parts of Lebanon, the forms ご-、ご-、 and ご- are also used. Most forms of the particle may be followed by the verb either with or without the indicative ご-: ご-ify or ご-ify 他 is eating); the Lebanese forms ご-、ご-、 and ご- however, are never followed by ご-.

In Damascus, ご+ご is most common in the first person singular (ご- お お I am eating), more common than ご-ify (ご-ify), otherwise the forms without ご are predominant: ご-ify 他're eating', ご-ify 他're eating', etc.)

The particle of actuality is used to designate a state or an activity actually going on at the moment - the true "present" - as opposed to generalities and dispositions, for which the simple ご- imperfect is used (p.226). This particle is usually translatable into English with the "progressive" -ing forms (though not in the case of some psychological-state verbs [272] and certain others.) Examples:

1. ご-ま allen ご-に allen
   ご-ってお 'The muezzin is giving the call to prayer'

2. ご- Chemistry ご-に Chemistry 'Khalil is talking with the boss'

A verb with ご- in the English -ing forms, may denote interrupted, off-and-on activities, as long as they are viewed as constituting a time-limited state of affairs, as opposed to a mere disposition or generality:

6. ご-はる ご-に ご-はる ご-に 'Is he making you a new suit?'

7. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に 'He's saving money for his retirement'

8. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に 'I'm studying at the university'

9. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に 'They're no longer speaking to one another'

10. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に 'I'm thinking of buying a handbag'

Certain kinds of English verbs do not ordinarily occur in the -ing form to indicate actuality, but the corresponding Arabic verbs (English notwithstanding) are used with ご- when appropriate, just like other verbs:

11. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に allen ご- 'I can't find a clerk to wait to me', lit. 'I'm not finding a clerk to see what I want'

12. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご-に allen ご- 'What do you mean?', i.e. 'What are you getting at?'

13. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご- 'I can't buckle my belt; i.e. right now, as opposed to ご-に allen ご- 'I (generally) can't...'

14. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご- 'I don't know my way', i.e. 'I can't find my way just now'.

15. ご-に allen ご-に allen ご- 'I hear from him from time to time', i.e. nowadays, as opposed to ご-に allen ご- 'I (generally) hear from him...'

16. ご-に allen ご- 'He maintains he was there'

17. ご-に allen ご- 'The doctor says she is out of danger now'
With durative [p.269] and translocative [274] verbs, whose participles are used (sometimes or always) indicating present actuality, the imperfect with ē'am- normally designates repetitive instances, in contrast to the participle which is generally used for an uninterrupted state:

18. kōl marra ē'am-šāli ła-tanda ē'am-tikūn mašqāl
   'Every time I come to see him (i.e., these days) he's busy'

19. ē'am-inām bi-Ešīlē kōl zab sahab
   'He sleeps over in Aley every Saturday and Sunday' (or 'He's been sleeping...')

20. gāyēr ē'am-ikāf ḥaq-šābi kāl ma ṣnafa ḍ-awū
   'This boy has started being afraid whenever the light is put out'.

Verbs like ḍāl 'to say', šāfēf 'to know', ōder 'to be able', etc., which are commonly complemented by a clause, are not so often used with ē'am- as with the simple b- imperfect in the annuncatory sense [p.325]: bi-ṭákkad ṣanna ... (cf. ex. 16) d-ḍōktōr bīsūl ... (cf. ex. 17).

A notable difference between Arabic verbs with ē'am- and English 'progressive' verbs with -ing is that the latter may be used in reference to the future, while the imperfect with ē'am- is never so used: 'We're leaving tomorrow': mašfīrin buhra; 'If you're going with us tomorrow...': ṣisā bōtērūḥ maṣa wa ṣaḥra... .

The Particle of Anticipation

There are several forms of this particle: raḥ-, raḥa-, laḥ-, laḥa-, and ha-, in addition to the full word raṣḥ. The forms beginning with b- are typical of Damascus and certain other areas, while the other forms may be heard in various regions (including Damascus). The particle is always followed by the imperfect with b-: raḥa-yākol, laḥa-ṭākol, etc.

The particle of anticipation generally indicates that what the following verb refers to is impending in the future, as a consequence of present intentions or a course of events already under way. It is most commonly translatable as 'going to...'. Often, however, it carries a sense of imminence or immediacy, best translated as 'about to...'. Examples:

1. raḥa-ṣaf-lah yāka m-radd-silak xabar [DA-80A]
   'I'm going to see her (for you) and let you know.'

2. byāghar laḥa-tansel maʃar ṣamīyā [DA-153]
   'It looks as though there's going to be a heavy rain.'

3. raḍḍēš raḥ-ṭab'ah kān? [EA-59]
4. šeṣa laḥa-yṣir-lah farka tīsēf?
5. raʃa l-ṭalāa laḥa-tsamāk
6. taʃrīban laḥa-xalēg
7. ṭu byaʃhar raḥa-nṣarāl [DA-44]
8. ṣisā laḥa-tšattī l-ḥafle l-mūṣīqīyya bōṣfīr ūmmā
9. ṣīna raḥa-rūḥ, ṣājar tāni marra běšfak bo-ḥāt [DA-218]
10. l-naʃīt ḥa-yā('('en faʃm'était B-'antuš b-ḥāya)

Many future events may be referred to either with the particle of anticipation or with the simple (b-) imperfect (see below); but in some contexts where the simple imperfect would more naturally be taken to indicate a generality or disposition [p.326], raḥa- is used to make it unambiguously future:

11. ẓīn raḥa-yārāḥī m-yéṣki kāl hal-ṭafṣīl l-ša-'ara
12. l-bisāla mā laḥa-ṭafslac

'Who will clothe and feed all those poor children?' (ẓīn bīṣamī m-bikṣīs... would be understood as 'Who clothes and feeds...'.)

The stain won't come out' (i.e. '...isn't going to come out', as opposed to mā bīṣalac '...won't come out', i.e. '...isn't disposed to come out')

Unless, of course, it is complementary to a future main clause [341].
Uses of the Simple Imperfect

The imperfect indicative without a proclitic ʾam- or raḥa- is used in several different senses: 1) Future, 2) Annunciatary, 3) Generalizing and Dispositional.

Almost all examples in the following sections are in the indicative mode (b-). Much of what is said here about the simple imperfect applies to both modes, but the subjunctive involves factors that tend to obscure (and in some cases override) considerations of tense as such. See p. 359 ex. 21, 22.

Future

In contrast to the particle of anticipation (see above), the simple imperfect is commonly used in reference to what is assumed will take place in the future, but with no special emphasis on immediacy or on present involvement in the course of events leading up to it.

Since the simple imperfect is also used in other senses, it is usually the context, or the circumstances of the utterance, which make the time reference explicit: ʾbrūḫ bskrāʾ ʾ-ln(’l) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’. Examples:

1. bskrāʾ ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   bskrāʾ ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ʾ-ln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’

   ’I’ll be at your place within an hour at the latest’

   ’When does school (lit. ‘lessons’) start?’

   ’The day after tomorrow he’s going to school’

   ’God willing, I’ll go next year and see you there’

   ’The next blow won’t miss you’

   ’I’ll put the rest in a paper bag for you’

   ’Why doesn’t he take them with him when he goes back?’

   ’After it’s printed I’ll send you a copy’

   ’The maid will come and do it right away’

   ’The statue is to be cast in bronze’

Annunciatary

The simple imperfect (like the English simple present) is often used to make (or elicit) an announcement or sign or token of a purported fact – as distinct from an ordinary report or statement of it: bisilimu ʾezlēk ’They send you greetings’; mnskʾr ʾṣjja ’We thank God’.

1. bskrāʾ ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’I promise you I’m going to study’

2. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’Congratulations!’ (lit. ’I congratulate you’)

3. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’The meeting will come to order’ (lit. ’I now open the session’)

4. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’This is my wife’ (An introduction, as contrasted with a simple informative statement: ḥwyy mndmṭi)

Besides its use in the set phrases of social formalities, the simple imperfect is commonly used to announce what someone says, thinks, knows, wants, etc. – generally with verbs complemented by clauses:

5. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’He says that his brother isn’t coming’

6. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’He denies he had a hand in it’

7. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’I advise you(to) forget it’

8. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’I don’t know either’

9. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
   ’I think I know him’

10. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
    ’And now all of a sudden you have to go!’ (lit. ’I find all of a sudden...’)

11. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
    ’What else do you wish, sir?’ (lit. ’What else do you order, sir?’)

12. ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’
    ’This is the second time they’ve elected him member of parliament’

With verbs in the first person designating linguistic (or partly linguistic) acts, an annunciatary utterance in appropriate circumstances actually constitutes an integral part (if not the whole) of the announced event, rather than a mere token or sign of it: ʾān ʾln(ʾl) go tomorrow’ or ʾ-ln(’m) going tomorrow’

 ’I second the motion’ (To say it is to do it.)
As distinct from annuncatory predications, reportorial predications may employ the particle of actuality (Eem-) [p.320], a participle [272], or the perfect tense [330], or [402] (See ex. 4, above.)

For instance: `Eem-byankor wale `Id fha (cf. ex. 6, same translation); `Eem `yamn `axu `mab `syye 'He said his brother wasn't coming' (cf. ex. 5); mali `Ebre `I don't know' (cf. ex. 8).

Since a report and an announcement are in certain respects equivalent, there are many situations in which there is little to choose between them.

**Generalities and Dispositions**

The generalizing and dispositional uses of the simple imperfect are by no means always distinct from one another; they are separated here more by virtue of their English translations than by intrinsic differences. In those cases where they are clearly distinct, furthermore, the dispositional use tends to merge with the future (p.324) and the generalizing use, with the annuncatory [325].

**Generalizing.** Like the simple present in English, the simple imperfect is used to make (or elicit) generalizations and non-temporal statements:

1. l-nazarib biyajem lamma b`amafaaser
   *The drains clog up when it rains*

2. b-`Babat biyebi b`e`d
   *Hens lay eggs*

3. `yarbca `w-xamse byac`e`mul tusca
   *Four and five make nine*

4. b-`yim`azer `e-`robic `l-`abb byastwi [AO-39]
   *Late in spring the grain ripens*

5. binuma `Eal-`pastib bal-`lal b-`a`bab `e-`sh-`e`b [AO-39]
   *They sleep on the roof at night because of the heat*

6. y`om b`ihun f`i forga l-mad`ares m`a b`taya`b [DA-239]
   *On a day that's a holiday the schools don't open*

The simple imperfect indicative is functionally the base, or residual (or neutral) tense-mode, i.e. we are dealing with the non-past non-subjective non-actual non-anticipatory inflection, whose uses, structurally speaking, are exactly that. It is to be expected, therefore, that any positive characterization of these uses will involve partially merging or overlapping categories. That such characterization can be done with some semblance of simplicity and completeness however, shows up the falsity in any purely negative definition of residual categories.

1. biataf`ar-lak `karabiyye `gar`b l-`nbhusa
2. biatref wen bil`isti `mab `mnih [EA-105]
3. `Emta m`a k`un btafa`ci-li [DA-107]
4. ma`l`a m`a btafa` ci fi wil`a `gar` [EA-158]
5. r-`ravaxul byac`e`baka [EA-158]
6. b-`hayti m`a b`akt`e`gel m`a`k`em `man han-nomre
7. m`a baddi k`un mapr`a`ho
8. hal-ma`eddef bii`l `l-bapa`c
9. l-xa`ab nadaf la-dara`ke byast`e`gel f`ha b`-`shule
10. humme bigar `skir
11. hal-mad`ad byast`a`pi
12. m`a byast`a`c [EA-161]

'A will without a signature is invalid' (or '...would be invalid')

'By what method does election take place?'

'In Aley it doesn't get so cold as (it does) here' *We come to your house twenty times for every time you come to ours*
Note that the verbs in the last eight examples above (ex. 10:17), most of which are translated into English with adjectives, do in fact function much like dispositional adjectives [p.277]: thus ‘fīgār in example 10 is (or at least can be) equivalent to the adjective guyyūr ‘jealous’ (in disposition). Like dispositional adjectives, they are all intransitive and are not complemented at all.

This ADJECTIVAL USE of dispositional verbs contrasts overtly with the ordinary use, in the case of verbs that are normally transitive, since the object is suppressed: ha'-zalame bigāāθ ‘That fellow cheats’, i.e. ‘He’s a cheater’ = ha'-zalame gaššāθ; as contrasted with ha'-zalame bigasū ‘That fellow will (or would) cheat you’, which shows the true verbal construction. Further examples with object suppressed:

18. ha'-kalb mā biqadd ‘That dog won’t (or doesn’t) bite’
19. ʔalq al-būga mā baḍḍarr ‘Eating ice cream won’t do any harm’
20. haš-ʔaġlal bətmağliel ‘This job is boring’, lit. ‘...bores’
21. haww maq'ale mā baḍḍahhek ‘This is no laughing matter’, i.e. ‘...a matter that doesn’t cause laughter’
22. lā tosraʃ qala faṛ?at baḍaqdale ‘Don’t speed on slippery roads’, i.e. ‘...on roads that cause skidding’

Examples 19–22 show verbs with inanimate subjects; these (being transitive with object suppressed) generally correspond to (agentive adjectives [p.278] rather than to dispositional: bətmağliel = mağlile, baḍḍahhek = maq'hek.

See also p.409.

PAST TIME REFERENCE

Note that English adjectives ending in -able (or -ible) are mostly passive dispositional, e.g. ‘washable’ = ‘can be washed’. Since Arabic dispositional and agentive adjectives are not normally formed from passives, it follows that the usual translation of these English adjectives will be with verbs: byangāel ‘(is) washable’. This is all the more true in the case of adjectives with a negative prefix un-, in-, etc., since Arabic has no such formative, thus mā byantṣa ‘(is) unforgettable’. (There is, however, a limited use of passive participles in the dispositional sense [p.275], mainly in Classicisms: gør maq'α ‘illegible’, more colloquially: mā byan'ḍra.)

USES OF THE PERFECT

Past Time Reference

While indicating that an event or state referred to is in the past, the perfect tense implies nothing, one way or another, about the definiteness or the current relevance of that event or state. It may, therefore, be rendered in English either by the simple past (katab ‘he wrote’) or by the present-perfect (‘he has written’), depending on context and circumstances.

Examples translated with the simple past:

1. ṣāhebk ʔal-malek ʔktīr [AO-88] ‘The king laughed heartily’
2. ḫam ʔaštajlal baq'ad ma txaṛaṛt? [EA-206] ‘Where did you work after you were graduated?’
3. män man ṭadīm ʔe-zamūn tūŠe ḫando bant [AO-113] ‘There was once upon a time a merchant who had a daughter’
4. ṭabū kän faʔĪr, m-bać ʔarāǧī [EA-160] ‘His father was poor, and sold his land’
5. lama ʔarēt ʔa-nṭixīḇaṭ, ntxarba ṭaʔīs balaʔtiyy [EA-161] ‘When the elections took place, they elected him mayor’

Examples translated with the present perfect:

6. ṭaxaḍˁt damūk, walla ṭassa? ‘Have you taken your medicine yet?’
7. ṭtamāt māʃo ḥaddet marrāl [EA-158] ‘I’ve met him several times’
8. mā fi ʔin ṭguyar ‘Nothing has changed’
9. *pādub pāret *lyām
   &aṣgām pānā fi-frāblos
   (PAT-183)

   The soap industry has become the biggest industry in Tripoli today.

10. ū pār maḥak?

   'What's happened to you?' (also 'What happened to you?)

   A participle [p. 262], in contrast to a verb in the perfect, may be used in reference to past events only if the consequent state is currently in force: ū gāyer maḥak?
   'What's happened to you? (that you should be in this state)',
   while ū pār maḥak? can be said regardless whether the consequent state is still in effect or not.

Some Arabic verbs which are basically momentaneous are usually translated with English static (or durative) verbs. (This happens most commonly with verbs of cognition, affect, etc. See p. 272.) In such cases the Arabic perfect — when used in reference to past events whose consequent state is still in effect — is translated by the English present:

11. halla? štūb bāli

   'Now I feel relieved' (i.e. 'Now my mind has been relieved')

12. ěraʃt hēj?

   'Do you know how it is?' (i.e. 'Have you found out how it is?)

13. fhaṭt ?annak mašer buкра

   'I understand you're leaving tomorrow' (i.e. 'I’ve been given to understand...')

14. bašā ma halla? štāl-šiš pāmo
   dākkartu ʃāmām

   'Now that you've told me his name I remember him perfectly' (i.e. 'I've brought him to mind perfectly')

15. mon malūmeh maβšak boθder ?ūl
   ?année ma ū ʃabbītī

   'From the expression on your face I can tell that you don't like it (i.e. that you haven't taken a liking to it')

Similarly, some English verbs are put in the present in the annihilatory sense [p. 325], while the Arabic counterparts remain in the perfect:

16. ttāfāna

   'We're agreed', 'It's a deal' (i.e. 'We've agreed')

17. tsharrafa

   'I'm (we're) honored' (i.e. 'We've been honored')

18. xaššaltī

   'You embarrass me' (i.e. 'You've embarrassed me')

19. bāṣṣifi b-ḥal-xabar [DA-243]

   'I'm glad to hear that' (i.e. 'You've gladdened me with this news')

20. ʾū ḥt ūθfiš ᵃllī ᵃtārha?  [SAL-170]

   'What terms do you propose?' (i.e. 'What are the terms that you've thought up?)

Conditional Clauses

The perfect tense is commonly used in conditional clauses, usually associated with the particles ʾisa, haw, ḥan (all translated 'if') and ʾām (translated 'ever' as in fān ma 'wherever...').

With ʾisa 'if'. The perfect is used to indicate a condition which is presumably not fulfilled at present and may or may not be fulfilled in the future: ʾisa ṣāḥʾt ʾāmān, ʾām btsfāxar 'If you went with us, you wouldn’t be late' or 'If you go with us, you won't be late'.

The English translation with 'went...wouldn't...' is used if the main verb (btsfāxar) is interpreted as dis-positional [p. 327], and 'go...won't...', if it is interpreted as future [324]. The English past tense in the 'if'-clause is required whenever the main verb is conditional ('would...'), but the Arabic perfect in the ʾisa-clause does not depend on its main verb.

Examples:

1. ʾisa daʿart fiха btsfrof

   'If you touch it, it'll come to pieces' or 'If you touched it, it'd come to pieces'

2. mmash la-natāyek ḥaṣan ʾisa
   ttābaṇa haf-ʃariʔa

   'We'll get better results if we follow this method' or 'We'd get... if we followed...

3. ṣankek ɾūk ʾisa ḥuṣamānī

   'I might (or may) go, if they invite me'

4. ʾisa ūmī l-waṣṣaḥ, bētraî walla
   ḏoṭkār

   'If the pain gets stronger, send for a doctor'

5. ṣagarru ʾisa lī质量安全 u-tbtsxar ṣa
   ḥana

   'Wait for me if I happen to be late' (lit. "...if it happened and I was late")

6. ʾisa ṣāḥʾt kūn ḥaṣer ḥaf alāmeh
   ṣaddām ʾāmō

   'If he's not present put a mark by his name'

7. ʾisa dallet ḥad-gūbe laha-kūn

   'If that noise keeps up I'll go crazy'

8. rāha-našā ʾilla ʾisa nekelet
   maʃar

   'We'll come unless it rains' (lit. "...except if it rains")
In English the present tense must be used after 'if', when the main verb is imperative (ex. 4.5.6) or future (ex. 7, 8), while in Arabic the perfect may be used in these cases as well as in the others.

Note that in examples 1 and 2 the main verb is in the simple imperfect, which, in this type of sentence, can depict either a "real" future situation or (dispositionally) a hypothetical situation. The imperatives may also be used for both real and hypothetical situations, though in their case the English translation is the same for both.

Examples 7 and 8 differ from all the others in that they could not be used to depict a hypothetical situation; the particle of anticipation (raḥa-, lahā-) [p.322] — unlike the simple imperfect — is not used dispositionally. Therefore the English translation is again limited to the present and future verb forms, but in this case the limitation is set by the Arabic meaning and not — as with the imperatives — by English grammatical constraints.

The perfect is not obligatory after ʿiṣa, however, unless the situation depicted is definitely hypothetical. When applied to a real situation, the ʿiṣa-clause may have a verb in the imperfect or no verb at all: ʿiṣa battrak maʿna, ʾaštaraxar 'If you're going with us, you won't be late'; bīlam ʿiṣa lā badd maṃna 'I'll stay if necessary'.

An imperfect or non-verbal ʿiṣa-clause sometimes implies that the condition is expected to be fulfilled — as contrasted with the perfect, which implies no particular expectations one way or the other.

Examples:

9. nāšiṭa maʾ fi mnāf ḍandak ʿiṣa bīla ḍallah?
   'I hope you don't mind if I go now'

10. ʿiṣa t-iṣqīrin byutnāqadu lā tssaddī lā ḍaḥ w-lā ḍaḥ
   'If the two reports conflict, don't believe either one'

11. ʿiṣa bṭīstanmaḥi ʿiṣā yomēn yomken ṭaṣlaʿ maʿnak [DA-172]
   'If you wait for me a couple of days I might go up with you'

12. ʿiṣa baddak raʿyi ḍaḥa taḥāzol ʿaš maḥbūdʾaṭak
   'If you want my opinion, this is a backsliding from your principles'

13. ʿiṣa ḍalak ʿiṣā lā istṭāaxar mnhāni [DA-243]
   'If there's something you have to do, don't delay on my account'

In example 13, the verbless clause ʿiṣa ḍalak ʿiṣā (theoretically) implies an expectation that you probably do have some pressing engagement or other, which makes it easier for you to excuse yourself than it would be if the speaker said ʿiṣa kām ḍalak ʿiṣā... (with the perfect kām which cancels out this expectancy) thereby putting more pressure on you to not to excuse yourself. Thus the element of expectancy is converted into an element of politeness. Similarly, ʿiṣa battrak maʿna... is more of an invitation than ʿiṣa raḥt maʿna..., and bīlam ʿiṣa lā badd maṅna is more of an offer than bīlam ʿiṣa kām lā badd maṅna.

Past Conditionals. The present tense after ʿiṣa may, of course, simply indicate past time:

14. ʿiṣa sāfar ṭaḥraḥa, byaṣal *l-yām
   'If he left yesterday, he'll arrive today'

Note also ʿiṣa sāfar ṭaḥraḥa, bikūn maṣāl *l-yām 'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today' or 'If he left yesterday, he'll have arrived today' [p.341].

With ʿiṣa there is no distinction between possible conditions and contrary-to-fact conditions. The latter are indicated in English by a past-perfect phrase in the protasis (if he'd left...), coupled with a conditional phrase in the apodosis (he'd have arrived...), but in Arabic the same sentence (ʿiṣa sāfar...bikūn maṣāl) is used in either case — whether it is known that he has not arrived, or not known whether he has arrived or not.

ʿiṣa with the Linking Verb kān [p.452]. A hypothetical condition with ʿiṣa is often expressed by the verb kān in the perfect, followed by a complementary verb: ʿiṣa kān ṭaṣṣaḥa, bīḥāška 'If he saw her, he'd talk to her'.

15. xūf ṭωmmu yatruk * ṭaṣṣaḥa
   ʿiṣa kān rafaḍ faḥlo [AO-103]
   'He was afraid that he'd quit working if he denied his request'

The complementary verb may be in the simple imperfect indicative (i.e. with the b- prefix) to indicate a disposition or a generalization [p.326]:

16. ʿiṣā ṭmīr, ʿiṣa kān byaṣṭažel *mnhī [AO-47]
   'That's cheap, if he does good work'

1This is a pseudo-conditioned construction, i.e. ḍaḥa taḥāzol...is not a genuine apodosis; it is logically independent of the protasis.
17. Išim aškun bala bāša ʔiša mā kont bətāt ʔaʃaš b-hal-mənpar

'You must be devoid of feeling if you're not moved by that sight' (i.e. 'You'd have to be...if you weren't disposed to be moved...')

The hypothetical kān may likewise be followed by a verb in the imperfect with the particle of anticipation [p.322]:

18. xallini ʔaʃref ʔab ʔaš-salaf ʔiša kont raʃa-taʃi

'Let me know ahead of time if you're coming' (i.e. '...if you anticipate coming')

Note, however, that the simple imperfect is never used after kān in reference to a hypothetical future event. While a main clause may use the simple imperfect in the future sense (manišši bakra 'We're meeting him tomorrow'), this is an 'assumed' future event [p.324], corresponding to a 'positive-expectancy' conditional clause [332]: ʔiša manišši bakra 'If we're meeting him tomorrow...'. A 'hypothetical' future future, on the other hand, requires the perfect tense in a conditional clause, with or without kān: ʔiša (kān) štišni bakra 'If we meet him tomorrow...'. Examples:

19. ʔiša kān mā mat't baddi ʔaʃtac-rās ḥal-kaššāb [AO-95]

'If I don't die, I intend to cut that liar's head off.'

20. ʔiša kān lāʔet ʔaʃhad ɛfi-jarț ťališ ʔal-lak s-tini, xallī ḥaʃrab...[AO-99]

'If you meet someone on the road who says to you 'Give me water', let him drink' (Note the perfect tense of the attributive verbal ʔal-lak, as well as laʔet; the attributive clause is also part of the hypothetical condition.)

The hypothetical kān may be used with ʔiša in two ways: either inflected, as in examples 17 and 18, or uninflformed, as in examples 19 and 20. When uninflformed, kān must come right after ʔiša; when inflformed, it may be separated from ʔiša by the subject or by a negative particle [p.383]. Further examples of the uninflformed kān:

21. ʔiša kān ʔaʃcaʃyə ʔahoret u-marrət ʔal-yōm ʔet-tini, ɛʃ ʔaʃmo ʔaʃla ʔaʃfər ʔaʃcaʃyək [AO-99]

'If the stick has grown blossoms and leaves by the next day, know, then, that God has forgiven your sins'

22. ʔiša kān məli ʔaʃṣaš bətišbi-li l-ḥakim [AO-51]

'If I'm not better you'll bring the doctor to (see) me'.

23. b-kūn ʔuʃdand...baʃ ʔaʃla... ʔiša kān ʔaʃhaʃlī mə moʃəš [DA-197]

'If I'll be at your place in an hour, if the barber's isn't crowded'

24. ʔiša kān fi bəlaʃniš bikkūn ʔaʃfaʃ [DA-290]

'If there are(were) balconies, that will(would) be preferable'

Compare the inflected versions: ʔiša ʔaʃcaʃyə (kān) naʃoreit...[cf. 21]; ʔiša mā kont ʔaʃṣaš...[cf. 22]; ʔiša ʔaʃlaʃlī mə kən məʃəš...[cf. 23].

With ʔaʃ, n- 'if'. The perfect is always used in conditional clauses expressed with ʔaʃ:

1. ʔaʃ mə ʔaskat babəbab

'If you don't shut up I'll hit you!'

2. ʔaʃ mə ʔaʃa, šu mnəʃməl?

'And if he doesn't come, what'll we do?'

3. ʔaʃ ʔaʃhə maʃə, ʔaʃ mə ʔaʃhə ʔaʃhə moʃə

'If he goes, I'll go with him, and if he doesn't go, I'll go alone' (r- for n- before r [p.27])

4. nəʃla mə fī məʃən ʔaʃnaʃant

'I trust there's no objection if I smoke (?)'

Note also the set phrases n-əʃaʃ ʔaʃlah and n-əʃəd ʔaʃlaʃ 'If God wills', and n-ʔaʃla saʃhul 'If God eases (the way)'.

Like ʔiša, ʔaʃ is often followed by kān: n-kān mə ʔaʃa... 'If he doesn't come...'.

With law 'if'. Most conditions expressed with law are hypothetical, and most, furthermore, are contrary to fact or to expectation. The verb of a law-clause is generally in the perfect tense:

1. law kənt ʔaʃmaʃalaʃ babəbab

'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay at home'

2. law kənt ʔaʃmanə ʔaməʃ faʃcaʃuʃiš ʔaʃnaʃan bə ⟨t⟩tir [DA-151]

'If the climate were a little drier, it would be a lot better'

3. w-law mə daras, byaʃaʃ

'Even if he didn’t study, he’d do well'

4. ʔaməʃnaʃarə-lak ʔaʃmaʃaʃi pətət w-law kənna bədaʃa naʃaʃad

'We'll/(we'd) pay you back the money even if we have(had) to beg'.

5. w-tū ʔaʃləʃhə fəliʃiʃiʃlə ləʃə ʔaʃlaŋ

'Even if you insist, I won’t go' (The form -li is commonly used instead of law after emphatic w- [p.390].)
In desiderative ('if only', 'would that') conditions, however, law is commonly followed by verbs in the imperfect (indicative or subjunctive), or by non-verbal clauses. The apodosis is often suppressed:

6. Law bta'arref 'addák bhabbak [SPA-27] 'If you only knew how much I love you!'  
7. Law ya'akk alma māheb bta'alu b-l-māshle 'If he would just speak up once, the problem would be solved.'  
8. Law āndha smayyet hēl bass! 'If she only had a little strength!'  
9. 'Fāx law ṣamālo ēla hēk ēmāl saxīf! 'I could kill him for doing such a stupid thing!' ('Oh, if I'd kill him...')

The desiderative law is often used in a milder sense, to express invitations:

10. Law batārrafna ēla-γada 'Why don't you have lunch with us? ('if you would honor us for lunch')

Hypothetical kān in the Apodasis. When a conditional clause is introduced by law, the apodasis (main clause) is commonly introduced by the linking verb kān in the perfect: law ʾaṣfha kent b-l-ḥa 'If I saw her, I'd tell her'.

Note that the b prefix of a verb in the imperfect is not dropped after the hypothetical kān, as it is, usually, when kān is used for past time reference [p.344].

This use of kān is not obligatory if the main verb is in the imperfect. Its omission makes the apodasis more vivid: law ʾaṣfha, b-l-ḥa (same translation). (See examples 1-5.)

11. Law kent b-maḥallak, kent bab'a bīl-bāt 'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay home' (Cf. example 1)
12. Kān bayālāc b-ṭīdo yikūn ʾamāl māheb bṣ-gaff law rūd 'He could be the first in his class if he wished'
13. Law kenti māṣṭa-tff-li kenti btaši laγanna 'If you(f.) really wanted to see me you'd come to our house' [p.268]

But if the main verb is in the perfect — indicating a hypothetical event in the past — then it must be introduced either by kān (also in the perfect) or by the particle la-, or by la- plus kān: law ʾaṣfha, kent ‘al-t-ḥa (or la-‘al-t-ḥa, or la-kent ‘al-t-ḥa) 'If I had seen her, I'd have told her'.

14. Law ṣal-lī kent rākha māfak [DA-171] 'If you'd told me, I'd have gone with you'  
15. Law kān-li bi-l-ṭaxtiyār la-kent rākha bṣ-f-jāyyāra 'If the choice had been mine, I'd have gone by plane'

16. Law tarak ṣbārḥa, la-walpēl ʾel-yōm 'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today'
17. Law biḥabbu ṣal-lī bādē ḳēnā tēsamal sawa man sāmn ʾān 'If only they liked one another, they'd have gotten together long ago'
18. Law tāhāna ṣennā ḳōn ḳēnna ḍal-lātāta ṣal-līyā ṣal-līyā 'If he'd let us know that he was here, we'd have invited him to the meeting'
19. W-law ma hēk, ṣal-hē ṣal-lī hē ṣān pār fi hēk [SAL-140] 'And if it hadn't been for that, God knows what would have happened to us'

With law-lā 'it were not for', 'but for':

20. Law-lā l-ʾalād la-kān tarak nārī na man sāmn 'If it weren't for the children, he would have left his wife long ago'
21. Law-lā b-hēdā ḳānna ḡāmēna 'Without the compass he'd have gotten lost'
22. Law-lāhōn la-kānna mankūn ḥalla b-hēbēr 'If it weren't for them, we'd be in Paris now'
23. Law-lāhā ḳēn ṣaḥābd ʾel-yōm ḫāna 'But for her, I'd be a beggar today'

(The form law-lā is also commonly used before mā, in a negative verbal clause:)

24. Law-lā mā stakāff ʾel-mādūq mā ḳān pār fi hēk 'If he hadn't made light of the matter, that wouldn't have happened to him'
25. Law-lā mā mārṣā ḡābāpo mā ḳānna staḥkalā 'If he hadn't displayed his stupidity, they wouldn't have thought him ignorant'

Quasi-Conditional Clauses

The perfect is used in its hypothetical sense in certain constructions similar to law conditionals, but which do not involve the conditional particle itself.

A prepositional phrase may occur in place of the protasis:

1. bidān ṣāṣpiyyāto ṣaf man kent ʾstaḥsant ʾel-fekrā yābadan  "Without his recommendations, I wouldn't have approved of the idea at all." (Cf. law-lā ṣāṣpiyyāto...)
2. baš'd hal-majār garet ṭasārā l-hūb ṭtbosel [DA-238]
   ‘After this rain, grain prices should go down’ (Cf. law buttonier...‘if it
   would rain...’)

The expression m-ṭulla ‘or else...!’ is itself a condi-
tional proasis (m- yan la? ‘and if not’), and is commonly
followed by a verb in the perfect:

3. ṭasak basdēn tawṬi la-hūn,
   m-ṭulla “sailak” [AO-119]
   ‘Don’t come back here again, or I’ll
   kill you!’

Some clauses may be analyzed as an apodasis without a
proasis:

4. kant ṭktir batmanna rūḥ, bass
   ṭbatseruṇi [SAL-115]
   ‘I’d very much like to go, but you’ll
   (have to) excuse me’ (Cf. kant ṭktir
   batmanna rūḥ lam āsammūni, bass...
   ‘I’d very much like to go if they(d)
   invite(d) me, but...’)

The perfect is commonly used after rēt- ‘would that...’:

5. rētni mašt ṭabīl ma ēbbart
   ēala ra?yi
   ‘I’d sooner die than express my
   opinion’ (on a given matter) (Cf. lam
   ēbbart...)

With ma ‘ever’. The perfect is used for hypothetical conditions introduced
by kall ma and ṭemta ma ‘whenever’, šū ma, ṭē-ma, ṭē-ma and ma ma ‘what-
ever’, mēn ma ‘whoever’, mēn ma (fēn ma) ‘wherever’, ḥēf ma ‘however’, ṭadā
ma ‘however much’:

1. šū ma gūr la tuṭtāḥ ḫad-darash
   ‘Whatever happens, don’t open that
   drawer!’

2. mā bihommi šū ma ḥaka yēhki
   [DA-213]
   ‘I don’t care, let him say whatever
   he will’

3. lāzamū bēt fēn ma kūn ykūn
   [DA-213]
   ‘I need a house, no matter where it
   is’ (lit. ‘...wherever it be, let it
   be’)

4. kāl ma da?99 ṭ-lūs bihaṭrarr
   bithaddān b-ṭsammūṭULLET
   ‘At every drop of the hat he threat-
   ens us with his resignation’ (lit.
   ‘Whenever the mug hits the jar...’)

5. ṭkāl ṭas?ali mēn ma kūn
   [SAL-192]
   ‘You (f.) can ask anywhere’ (lit-
   ‘You can ask wherever it may be’)

6. bēthaddā mēn ma kūn yafmel
   ṭas-Sī’
   ‘I challenge anyone to do that!’
   (lit. ‘I challenge whoever it may
   be...’)

7. šū ma ṭol ḫa-nūrū’
   ‘No matter what you say, we’re going’

8. ṭadd ma ētthallini ṭas-Saqīle
   mā ṭtīxūl ṭabkar
   ‘No matter how much you hurry me,
   this job won’t be done any sooner’

9. bīshkē ṭāv-nāyā rūl ma rūd
   ir lot ṭiškūn yē?7ād ṭsawye ṭyūdē
   [PAT-199]
   ‘They urge the visitor, every time
   he wants to go, to stay a while
   longer.’

10. bīshkē mēn ma ṭayī w-baykē ụn
    ma ṭamēr [RN-41]
    ‘He takes a liking to whomever he
    sees and tells whatever he hears’

Some of these forms may be preceded by lam:

11. kall ṭamūnī mā ṭayaṭtīdu
   ṭaṣṭīmūn lam šū ma ṭamlu
   ‘That bunch won’t get back their
   citizenship no matter what they do’

12. lam mēn ma ṭamēt māli ṭal?Ṭa?ffk
    ṭaṣṣīrī
   ‘No matter what you do, I’m not
   going to give you money’

13. lam ṭē-ma ṭūr, māli ṭayem mēn
    ṭarqī
   ‘No matter what happens, I won’t
   budge.’

With the attributive forms ṭayy and ṭamū ‘any, whatever’
[p. 573, the perfect is also used, but without ma:

14. ṭaṣṣīfī ṭayy mā ṭamlūt kūnu
    [RN-41]
   ‘Give me whatever beverages there
   are’

15. ṭol ṭamū ṭkūb ēnēbāk
   ‘Take any book you like’

ma can also be used with the imperfect, in the general-
izing or dispositional senses, or for “expected” conditions
(or courtesy) [p.332]:

16. kāl ma bēhu ṭakṭar kall ma
    ṭbhbī ṭakṭar
   ‘The more I see of him, the more I
   like him’

17. ṭadd ma ṭaṭṭīk, ṭol ṭamūnī
    [DA-215]
   ‘As much as he’ll give you, get
   from him’

18. mēn ma bīṭrūd ṭākōl ṭana
    ṭbēkol [DA-213]
   ‘Wherever you’d like to eat, I’ll
   eat’

19. lam mēn ma baddak ṭbū ṭadā
    [DA-215]
   ‘I’ll go wherever you want.’ (The
   tenseless baddak, without a linking
   verb kant, is equivalent to the im-
   perfect.)
The ma forms may also be used with kān for past time reference plus a complementary verb in the imperfect for generalization [p.326]:

20. koll ma kān ifakker fiha kān yakharkar

‘Every time he thought about it he would chuckle’

TENSE SUBORDINATION

Time reference in a main clause is relative to the moment of utterance: ēm-yaktob maktūb ‘He’s writing a letter’ (at the present moment); katab maktūb ‘He wrote a letter’ (before the present moment). In an Arabic complemental clause [p.449], however, time reference is relative to that of the main clause: ścipto ēm-yaktob maktūb ‘I saw him writing a letter’ (or ‘I saw he was writing a letter’). Since the clause ēm-yaktob maktūb is complemental to the main clause ścipto ‘I saw him’, the present actuality of his writing applies, not to the moment of utterance, but to the prior moment indicated by the perfect tense in ścipto. Likewise in ścipto katab maktūb ‘I saw he had written a letter’, the past time of his writing indicated in the complemental clause katab maktūb is prior to the past moment referred to in the main clause ścipto. Similarly: ścipto ba-yaktob... ‘I saw he was going to write...’, hā-tețIFO katab ‘You’ll see that he’ll have written...’, etc.

In English — as in many other European languages — tense subordination of this sort does not exist. Either the tense of the complemental verb is shifted to agree with that of the main verb (“sequence of tenses”): ‘I saw he was writing’, or else the complemental verb is reduced to a ‘non-finite’ form: ‘I saw him writing’, ‘I saw him write’.

Examples (Main verb in perfect):

1. ḥakā-īha ścipto [AO-113] ‘He told her what she had seen’
2. ftakart ṣannak *bitācref [EA-150] ‘I thought that you knew’
3. ʿal bāder rūḥ ‘He said I could go’
4. baḍḍīn ścipto ṣannon raḥa-yonṣaper ṣannamer kāde ‘Then he said that he was going to await new orders’
5. tānī yārī ṣannon maraṭbeṭ u-ṣaḥaref [AO-100] ‘The next day he saw that it had leaved out and blossomed’
6. ḍass *mḥaref smoct ṣannak marṣid [EA-149] ‘Just yesterday I heard that you were ill’ (Verbless complemental clause [p.403])
7. kent ḍhasseb ṣannon baddo yūḥ ‘I was under the impression that he wanted to go’

8. ṣonta b-ṭamīl ṣanna bīrūḥ wāla la? ‘I weighed it in my mind whether I should go or not’
9. bāṭenī mā byaṣma xabarō ‘We found him not all he was cracked up to be’
10. kaṭonni smmač *l-ṣaff ēm-ṣṭaʃfe? ‘I thought I heard the lock click’

In accordance with this principle of tense subordination, the tense of a main verb may be ‘compounded’ by making it complemental to the linking verb kān ‘to be’:

kān ‘he was’ + ēm-yaktob ‘he is writing’ → kān ēm-yaktob ‘he was writing’

kān ‘he was’ + raḥa-yaktob ‘he’s going to write’ → kān raḥa-yaktob ‘he was going to write’

kān ‘he was’ + katab ‘he wrote’ → kān katab ‘he had written’

kān ‘he was’ + ṣannak ‘he writes’ → kān ṣannak ‘he used to write’

The b- prefix of the simple imperfect is usually dropped after kān for past time reference, but is kept intact for the hypothetical sense [p.355]: kān ṣannak ‘he would write’.

bīṣun ‘he will be’ + ēm-yaktob ‘he is writing’ → bīṣun ēm-yaktob ‘he’ll be writing’

bīṣun ‘he will be’ + katab ‘he wrote’ → bīṣun katab ‘he will have written’

(Ετς.)

It should be noted that the linking verb and the complemental verb do not constitute a ‘verb phrase’, properly speaking. The linking verb stands in construction with the whole predicate (exactly as it does with a non-verbal predicate), not with the verb as such. See p.452.

Examples of kān with verbal complement:

1. ʾt-trēn kān lassā ēm-yastarrak ‘The train was still moving’
2. kān et tassagel b-maktāb ‘She used to work in an office’
3. bānma ṣallā, kān et ṣl-ḥaʃār ʔeʃafet [AO-67] ‘When I arrived, the rain had stopped’
4. bahara mājlā baṣi bōrak b-*nājlīj bāṭkun ṣahhēt [DA-217] ‘Tomorrow I’ll come see you and I trust you’ll have recovered’
CHAPTER 13: MODE

Verbs in the imperfect tense are inflected for three modes: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Imperative.

The INDICATIVE, used in assertive predications [p.347], is expressed by a prefix b- or a proclitic ēam- or raḥa- preceding the person prefix: byaṭṭāḥ 'he opens', ēam-yāṣṭāḥ 'he is opening', raḥa-yāṣṭāḥ 'he's going to open'. See p.320 ff.

The SUBJUNCTIVE, used in optative predications and in various subordinate syntactic positions, is expressed by a bare person-prefix (i.e. a prefix not preceded by b-, ēam-, or raḥa-): yāṣṭāḥ '(that)he open'.

The IMPERATIVE, used in commands or requests, is expressed by the imperfect stem without a person-prefix, and in some cases also by internal modification of the stem: jṭāḥ 'open' [p.198].

The uses of the indicative mode are treated only insofar as they contrast with the subjunctive; that is to say, the indicative is taken as the "standard" or 'neutral' mode which is used whenever the other modes are not used.1 The indicative is fully exemplified, however, on p.320 ff.

1It makes better sense morphologically, and is perhaps structurally more satisfactory on the whole, to take the subjunctive as the neutral or unmarked mode (non-assertive). Then the function of "assertion" is signalled 1.) by the subordination of a subjunctive verb to any non-subjunctive main term, including the proclitics ēam- and raḥa- [p.320], or 2.) by prefixation of b- to the subjunctive form. (Non-verbal predications, together with verbal predications in the perfect tense, are generally — though by no means always — assertive.) For ordinary expository purposes, however, the fact remains that little needs to be said about assertion, while quite a bit needs to be said about non-assertion.

The subjunctive and indicative of Syrian Arabic should not be identified with the so-called subjunctive (al-mudārič l-maṣūb) and indicative (al-mudārič l-maṣūf) of classical Arabic "Erāb, though there is, of course, some similarity in use between the Syrian subjunctive and the combined subjunctive and jussive of Classical Arabic. (The latter, however, are not full-fledged grammatical categories at all, but only automatic syntactic alternants.)
The Subjunctive in Independent Optative Clauses

While the indicative is used to express or elicit assertions, the subjunctive is used to express or elicit exhortations, suggestions, and invocations:

**Assertive**

manrūḥ ēs-sīnāma... 'We'll go to the movies'

bstrūḥ ēs-sīnāma maqna? 'Are you going to the movies with us?'

blā?i takṣi b-hāz-śīre? 'Can I find a taxi on this street?'

walja bismannakk... 'God will grant you success'

Further examples of the independent subjunctive:

1. wāmuel wākhe, walla háy? 'Shall I make coffee, or tea?'
2. ṣāyef wāmīb, walla 'afṣib-lak xī-dama? 'Can you see all right, or shall I turn on the light for you?'
3. rūḥ šīb kam ṣinnišet bīrā? 'Shall I go get a few bottles of beer?'
4. nartā-herra ṣafte ḫōn? 'Shall we rest a bit here?'
5. tṣaf-lak šī daṭa? 'Will you come in for a minute?'
6. yalī lašētu ṣuṣu ṣaṣi yāšsil 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'
7. walla ṣašmaqna sawa marrā tōnye [DA-253] 'May God bring us together again'
8. ṣeṣēk ḫala xīr 'Good night' (lit. 'May you be well in the morning').
9. wosrab bětō 'A curse upon his house!' (lit. 'May his house be ruined').
10. lā yken-lak fosrē 'Don't give it a thought' (lit. 'Let there not be a thought to you').

See also p. 355, example 17, and the paragraphs preceding and following it.

Note the formulaic phrases sašlēm ṣīdēk and katiit xārāk (both translated 'thank you'; the first for work performed). The verbs are subjunctive (not imperative) aphaeric forms for yāsallelim 'May He protect (your hands)' and ykattēr... for yāsallelim 'May He increase (your well-being)'. (Cf. English 'Bless you' for 'God bless you', 'Thank you' for 'I thank you').

In the second person after the negative particle lā (or mā) [p. 389], the use of the subjunctive extends to include direct commands and requests, in lieu of the non-existent negative imperative construction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Command (Imperative)</th>
<th>Negative Command (Subjunctive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rūḥ 'Go!'</td>
<td>lā trūḥ 'Don't go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taʃa 'Come!'</td>
<td>lā taʃi 'Don't come!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīb-lī yā 'Bring (f.) to me'</td>
<td>lā dīb-ʃ-lī yā 'Don't bring it to me.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Particle lā- [cf. p. 353] is sometimes used before a main verb in the first person subjunctive, expressing exhortation ('let...'):

lā-narṣāla maṣṣalt xī-bēt [DA-244] 'Let's go back to the matter of the house'

lā-baddar-lak yūšak [DA-244] 'Let me get your clothes ready for you'

līs baddak šīr ṭaddahla ēs-talš, lā-fātrak ḥaṭmi 'If you intend to go skiing, let me lend you my suit'

The Subjunctive in Subordinate Clauses

In various kinds of subordinate clause, the mode of a verb depends – as it does in independent clauses – on whether the clause is assertive or optative. The indicative is used if the subordinate clause is assertive, i.e. if it depicts an objective state of affairs (actual, hypothetical, or anticipated): ṣal 'annak baṭiši 'He said that you would come'. The subjunctive, on the other hand, is used if the clause expresses an exhortation, suggestion, wish, fear, intention, or the like: ṣal 'annak tashī 'He said that you should come'. [See p. 347.]

In Complemental Clauses [p. 449]. The subjunctive is used after overt expressions of exhortation, suggestion, wish, fear, intention, etc. Many such clauses are introduced by ṣannā 'that':

[Page 345]
After *jalab* 'to ask (for), request':
1. *jalab man rafaʾāto yastannā 'He asked his companions to wait for him'*

*ʔamar* 'to order, command':
2. *l-malek ʔamar ʾp-payyad ʾannā yābūt-ā ʾfarbaʾ samakāt [AO-117] 'The king ordered the fisherman to bring him four fish'*

*ttafa* 'to agree':
3. *ttafaʾna nəbbāda ʾd-dār 'We agreed to take turns'*

*mačad* 'to promise':
4. *māsādnī ʾannāk mā tāmāla tānī nara 'Promise me not to do it again'*

*napiḥa* 'advice':
5. *napiḥti ʾannō nṣirōk ḥašā 'My advice is that we leave immediately'*

*xāf* 'to fear':
6. *xāf ʾannō yatʾāku š-šagī [adapt.fr. AO-103] 'He was afraid they would quit the job'*

*xafar* 'danger':
7. *fi xafar ʾannō yaxṣar magišto 'There’s danger that he’ll lose his job'*

*staḥa??* 'to deserve':
8. *šanti mā bītāthā?i ʾannō ḥākki [AO-119] 'You (f.) don’t deserve that I should speak to you'*

*koreh* 'to hate':
9. *bīl-ḥa?i ba khrak ʾemzāʾak 'I really hate to bother you'*

*ḥabb* 'to like':
10. *bštḥabbu ʾyarḥāq ṣawadk[DA-129] 'Would you (pl.) like me to come back and pick you up?*

*rād* 'to wish, want':
11. *kān nara malek snin kīr w-rād yuḥaʃ 'There was once a very fat king, and he wanted to reduce'*

*ʔabal* 'to accept, agree to':
12. *farʔina ʾabal inādon 'Our team agreed to play them'*

The indicative, on the other hand, is generally used after expressions of knowledge, assurance, supposition, assumption, and the like:

1Note that the complementary verb may be indicative even though the superordinate predication is interrogative (ex. 1), negative (ex. 2), or optative (ex. 3) (below).
18. mà ?ader lâ yâkol u-lâ yânâm [DA-107] 'He could neither eat nor sleep'  
19. bta?yder b-layâli kamaânîn to?Ced bâp-gâlt man éèr nár? [AO-87] 'Could you, on December and January nights, sit in the nude without a fire?'  
20. mà fi yâtâmmad āam-nîmâ₂l-?yâsi 'He can't get used to the strict discipline'  
21. fîni sâdak b-?ayy yârî?a? 'Can I help you in any way?'  
22. btaé?rî fiq bxi jâbâx? afrânîi? [DA-99] 'Do you(f.) know how to cook European style?' (Cf. Éaref 'anna...to know that...', followed by an assertive clause)  
23. n asi y?arâx ñl-makthûb 'He forgot to date the letter'  
24. lâ tansa ma ?affit ñl-mâašt fjâ? ñl-takkâš [DA-107] 'Don't forget to put the bananas on top of the apples'  

After the negative command lâ tansa 'don't forget', the particle mà commonly introduces the subjunctive verb. (Do not confuse this with the negative particle mà.)  
Cf. nasi ('anna) 'to forget that...', followed by an assertive clause.

dazakkar 'to remember to':  
25. dazakkar ñaffi ñ-qaimm 'Remember to put out the light' (Cf. dazakkar ('anna) 'to remember that...', followed by an assertive clause.)  

bada 'to begin':  
26. b-?ammal ñ?â?â?r l-ñfâlé badu yah?fru ñasâst l-lët [AO-75] 'On the first of the month the workers began to excavate (for) the foundations of the house'  
27. l-bannâmîn bibalûq yânu l-ñffâm [AO-75] 'The masons will begin to build the walls'
bassal 'to stop, cease':
28. hal-walad yama ha-yassal yahki 'When is that child going to stop crying?'
29. dali rih m-rafis lagafla yasfla jada yafal mannak [AO-99] 'Keep going back and forth until everybody has stopped asking you (for it)'

yaa ret 'would that, I wish':
30. yaa ritt tseaft d-rabib tila duma b-borut 'I wish you could see the springtime we have in Beirut!'
31. yaa ritt d-der d-ra ra hor-rumun 'sp-shinyye 'I wish I could read those Chinese characters'
(May also be used with the perfect: yaa ritt kum hoom 'If only he were here' [p.381])

naajja 'God willing', 'I hope':
32. naajja ma yakh unco melad mgar [DA-243] 'I hope he doesn't have any small children'
33. naajja kum ma 'asaft-tilak 'I hope I didn't hurt you' [cf. ex. 9,p.342]
(Also used with the indicative, in the sense 'I trust': naajja bshabbi tila [DA-81] 'I trust you'll have a good time here'

kal 'to have to, be obliged to':
34. lasa kal yahf mafa na-ban 'He still has to make a deposit at the bank'
35. talek kalyyi kum hoom yah f3 b-casfr d'dayey [DA-29] 'I'm to be here for you (pl.) ten minutes early' (lit. 'I owe it to you to be here...')

qabb 'to be forced, obliged, required':
36. qabbet yafalal saaal yaddifiyye 'I had to work extra hours'

mahtamal 'probable':
37. mahtamal yoono haw-fawamal stazem al-madil 'It is probable that these factors will precipitate a crisis'
38. mna m-mutamal yoono yahk 'It's highly improbable that he would come'
39. xaliba naxad il-hay [DA-44] 'Let's take the bus'
40. xallihin yafalak maq badon [DA-83] 'Let them thrash it out between them'
41. dila xallaft yasfla b-hal-bard? [DA-198] 'How could you let him go out in this cold?'
42. laa m-yahk mqaas yafaak [AO-115] 'He found that it would be better to open it'

aqha 'to prefer':
43. fakro tami seko yah bi-bilad al-arabiyye [DA-173] 'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'
44. n-naisa hoom m-wgrib bifaalay yatakr mqaas [DA-129] 'People both here and over there prefer to buy the best'
45. qaata m-qarrat tsafir [DA-248] 'When have you decided to leave?'
46. raqaa tama yafalaw maq [AO-91] 'The boss invited them to dine with him'

haam 'to be important (to)'
47. biharimna tabshi ila saayyet angilaye [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she (be able to) speak a little English'
48. yaphak tstkof yid marayam [DA-301] 'Be careful you don't let go of Mary's hand'

marra 'to try, attempt':
49. marrab taff mal mqaas l-marra b-hayye 'Try to do better the next time'
50. jasul ikun jardak manaafi zan al-hades 'Try to give an objective account of the incident' (Lit. 'strive that your account be...')
51. ṭḥāfet "sekera šī I took care not to mention anything..."
52. ḥaddādām ḍošwe ŝala sūžāl 'I deft to you to answer my question?'
53. humme Ṭḥāfet la-yəkān maša a-ṣāye [DA-203] 'He's afraid he has appendicitis.'
54. ʔanā Ṭḥāfet la-mā yaši [RN-I-248] 'I'm afraid he isn't coming'
55. Ṭḥāfet-lak ʾl-bēt yahbaj 'I'm afraid the house will cave in'

kallaf 'to entrust, ask a favor of':
56. ḥaddi kallaf ḫad-r-tak ṣennāli b-mašir [SAL-92] 'I'd like to ask you to see about a job for me'

yā dōb 'hardly':
57. yā dobī ʾtum bi-maširīfī 'I can hardly keep up with my expenses'

bal-kūd 'hardly':
58. kān hal-radd da ʾtū bal-kūd ʾtūdīfo 'It was too tiny you could hardly see it'

าะū ṣala 'shame on...for':
59. าะū ṣala ṭukkī hēk 'Shame on you for talking that way!'

mā baʔa ʔolla 'it only remains to':
60. ḥaddar ḥalak mā baʔa ʔolla nasal [DA-250] 'Get ready, we're almost there'

Eṣa mohle 'to give...time to':
61. Eṣa mohle fašker bal-mašir [DA-297] 'Give me sometime to think the matter over'

Translocative verbs (and their participles) [p.274] are often complemented by optative clauses:
1. ġammi ḥaýa yəzūrnā l-yom [DA-172] 'My uncle's coming to visit us today'
2. ʾḥiṭ ʾṭošak la-ṣand māḥed ʔəqa man yəmēn man ḥamēka [DA-75] 'I've come to take you to see someone who came two days ago from America'
3. ṭaña ṭer ṣallī ẓalat ʾl-ʿēd [DA-298] 'Daddy has gone to pray the holiday prayer'
4. rāyeḥ šība m-ʔəzi [AO-115] 'I'm going to get it and come back'
5. bādat ṣam yom, ṭen ʾēl jāāl bišāf a-mašir tašṣēg [AO-51] 'In a few days, God willing, you'll get well and go to work'
6. nāsēl maʔof-lak bāš-ānma ṭaddām bāb ʾl-ʿetāl [DA-218] 'I'm going down to wait for you in the sun in front of the hotel entrance'
7. ʔalla tibāq-lak ṣe-gāmática thresh [DA-129] 'I'll send the maid to you right away to get them'

Optative clauses like those above are equivalent to clauses introduced by la-, to-, ḥatta, or ḥatta (in order to), 'so that', which may complement any sort of main clause:
1. ʔaʔa la-yūf ʾlālto [DA-75] 'He came to see his family'
2. bašṭoker ġandi maʔet la-ʔqqā [DA-180] 'I think I have time to shave'
3. tʃadāl la-bēt la-tūf ʾl-ʿarūs [AO-114] 'Come to the house to see the bride'
4. ḥadāʃon ʾan-nūr ba-cultural ʿayye la-ṣirīḥon [AO-117] 'She put them on the fire in a frying-pan to fry them'
5. ʔiʃ baddi ʾṭamal la-yagfor ʾajjāb ʿaštiyyāt [AO-99] 'What should I do so that God will forgive my sins?'
6. ṭala betrīd Ṭaʃtāb ʾṭ-ṭard la-maʃē ṣe fi [DA-245] 'Now will you open the package so we can see what's in it?'
7. ṭaddū baddo ta-yaʃlaʔ [Leb.: SAL 169] 'How long will it take to finish?'
8. ʾḥiṭ la-hal-ḥalad ḥatta ṭstrāfa maʃa [AO-114] 'I've come to this town so that I may accompany him'
9. ḥallafni ḥabb-b ṣe bēt ḥatta yasakon ʾit [DA-289] 'He's asked me to find him a house to live in'
10. tʃadāl ḥattā ṭarūk ṭalī ṣandi [AO-79] 'Come in, so that I may show you what I have'

Besides their use in optative clauses, these conjunctions are used in the sense 'until'. See p.358.
In complementation to kân and other linking verbs [p.452] the subjunctive is used in assertive complemental clauses:

1. Ėand mîn kûnta ta étapelî man {pâki} [DA-81]  
   'For whom were you working before?'

2. w-kân har-râcî yâlîc kall yóm... 
   mäc 'kl-àmân w-yaràkîn [AO-103]  
   'And this shepherd would go out every day with the sheep and let them graze'

3. kall âsînî kân wîsînî, xûsînan 
   yêrâayî [AO-51]  
   'My whole body ached, especially my legs'

4. kânêt torkoî w-taşhad la-taşmal-lo 
   yà [AO-111]  
   'She would run and strive to do it for him'

5. l-bant 'aşet la-êando w-pûru 
   yêlînî u marrît 'ptírê [AO-107]  
   'The girl came to him, and they began meeting often'

6. gîr yakhî màçûn ùyêyê Îâmîyêyê 
   [AO-83]  
   'He began talking with them (on) scientific matters'

7. xûrîf...gîr imêdî wu-soa'dâm 
   yêyêhak cêlî [AO-96]  
   'The sheep started to bleat, and the monkey, to laugh at him'

8. gort taşref l-êblîd 'aktar 
   manni [DA-172]  
   'You've come to know the country better than I'

9. w-kân yarînî l-başalît bal-hard 
   lammers yûsûl cêlî-barrîyêyê [AO-104]  
   'And he would throw the onions on the ground when he got out in open country' 
   (Note that yûsûl, after lammers, is still governed by the linking verb kân.)

10. w-tammet 'tûprû w-Êbêkî kall 
    yûn la-maddeh sôntên [AO-118]  
    'And she kept on going to see him and crying every day for two years'

11. dallet 'tnî' Ùalîyyî 
    [AO-111]  
    'She kept on nagging me'

12. l-mâkîna rażêt têtêqgel 
    [AO-111]  
    'The machine is working again' (lit. "...has returned to work")

13. Äâm 't-talîfîn ûdî? 
    [AO-111]  
    'He never obeys me any more'

14. mä Êûd îfûmêni 'tabadan 
    [AO-111]  
    'He didn't touch his food for a quarter of an hour' (lit. "He remained... not tasting the food"

15. bêsîbó w-Êtêlîfîni 
    [AO-111]  
    'You'll already have seen me' (lit. "You'll go ahead and see me")

A subjunctive verb sometimes stands independently in a generalizing or hypothetical sense (as if kân or some other linking verb had been suppressed):

17. hêk yaşmal-lo... bûdên 
    hadak 'yîsl-lo ruh yajlê 
    yêlînî... yîsl-lo ûf 
    lâmm man, hêkê hêhê 
    bal-göreb mû hûlû... 
    'Here's the way he would do with him...; then that one would tell him "Go on, may God affect you...", (and) he'd say to him "Look, Mohammed, that kind of talk (when you're abroad) isn't nice...""

A similar but special use of the subjunctive is that of the verb ba'sî (or ba'sa) 'to keep on', in the imperfect with a complement. The indicative is used for generalizations, in the usual way with no time limitations: 'ûjûmîd ya'yabû a ya'dûna kall 'àshad 'ûjûmîd visits (i.e. keeps on visiting) us every Sunday'; hêl-mêêcêm ya'yabû fi 'raktî jayyê 'This restaurant always has good food'. The subjunctive, on the other hand, indicates that the generalization applies to the past and not to the present: 'ûjûmîd ya'yabû a ya'dûna kall 'àshad; bûfûl, û? 'ûjûmîd used to visit us every Sunday; why did he stop?'; hêl-mêêcêm ya'yabû fi 'raktî jayyê, mû çûd fi 'This restaurant used to have good food, but not any more'.

The subjunctive is also sometimes used in circumstantial complements [cf. pp.448, 531]:

18. w-maddeh 'bîbâfasîs Ùakhêr 
    sàfer man mûsàfû la-mûsàfû 
    [SAL-137]  
    'And I spent fourteen months traveling from station to station'

19. gûr-îkum soûlît têtêqgel fi rûs 
    'l-môsêcêm? [SAL-136]  
    'Was it a long time you spent working in Ras el-Mish'âb?'

20. bûmêêcêm yaxqûl 'tàl-masêqêl 
    'l-môsêcanîyyê [EA-159]  
    'Listen to him speak on national problems...'

While the subjunctive is normally used in these complemental clauses in the generalizing sense (e.g. ex. 2, 5, 8, 18, etc. above), the indicative (with b-) is used in the dispositional sense [p.327]:

1. l-fêhê kânêt mû bêmpêd 
    [SAL-327]  
    'The ball was out of reach (mû bêmpêd 'it cannot be reached': kânêt mû bêmpêd 'it could not be reached')

2. Ėam ùrêb bîpir bîsêcêdak 
    'Soon he'll be able to help you' 
    (bîsêcêdak 'he's disposed to help you'; bîpir bîsêcêdak 'he'll become disposed to help you')
A noun may, of course, be grammatically indefinite [p. 494] while referring to something quite definite; in such cases an attributive verb is normally in the indicative:

Candi mūhde bašref ‘ongli: ‘I have someone (f.) who knows English’ (Cf. ex. 5).

The subjunctive is not always obligatory, however, even if the reference is indefinite: mā bašref ḥada bībī ‘smīd [SAL-195] ‘I don’t know anyone who sells fertilizer’;
b-ḥayătī mā ṣaft ḥada byākol xab‘ās hal-ṭadda ‘I’ve never in my life seen anybody who eats so much bread’.

In Prepositional Complement Clauses. After a preposition plus ḥanno ‘that’, the subjunctive is used:

1. ḥumwe ṣafla mān ḥanno yāḥi: ‘m-nās
   ‘He’s above cheating people’ (lit. ‘He’s higher than that he cheat people’)

2. māfa? ḍala ṣafna yāb?a
   ‘He agreed to stay’ (lit. ‘He agreed on that he stay’)

3. l-ḥaشف kefīle b-ḥanno ḥayyarına kalma
   ‘The charge is sufficient to blow us all up’ (lit. ‘...in that it blow us all up’)

4. mā ṣafī bēnō m-bēn ḥanno yāb?a  ṣafni  qilla ṣafrī
   ‘It came within a hair’s breadth of hitting me’ (lit. ‘There didn’t remain between it and between that it hit me but a hair’)

Most complementary prepositions are lost when the complement is a clause [p. 499].

In Supplemental Clauses [p. 528]. The subjunctive is used after certain subordinating conjunctions, mainly in reference to future or hypothetical events:

After ḥammal ma ‘as soon as’:

1. ḥammal ma tābī, ṣafte: ḍala ‘As soon as you get here, look it over’

la-bēn ma ‘while, until, by the time that’:

2. xalli l-ḥabadd la-bēn ma yāb:af ‘l-ghare ‘Leave the clamp on until the glue dries’

3. w-la-bēn ma talibas bašrefītak ‘b-ḥafrē bikün ḍafr waṣel [DA-298] ‘And by the time you’ve put on your new suit Daddy will be here’

4. ḥass ṣafrī byākol ‘As soon as he comes, he’ll eat’

The indicative in this sentence, however, distinguishes the attributive clause from a circumstantial complement: mā ṣaft ḥada yāb:ol... ‘I haven’t seen anyone eat...’
After ba’ad ma, la-ben ma, hatta, and other expressions, the perfect tense is used in reference to accomplished facts, and the imperfect indicative for generalizations:

**THE IMPERATIVE** (al-?amr)

The imperative is used in ordering, requesting, or inviting the person addressed to do whatever the verb designates: ftah al-bab ‘Open the door’. Ėdī ‘Sit down(f.’). bārsa ‘visit(pl. jus)’ (lit. ‘honor us’).

Imperatives are inflected only for number/gender (masculine, feminine, plural).

On the formation of imperatives, see Verb Inflectional Forms (p. 198).

Imperatives cannot be used in the negative. Prohibitions and negative requests are expressed by lā (or mā) with the second-person subjunctive: lā tafsīk ‘Don’t open(m.) the door’, lā tas’ādī hān ‘Don’t sit(f.) there’, mā trūfū ‘Don’t go(pl.)’. 
Examples:

1. xid hal-qaṣyie hul-baṣaḥ b-maṭroh ma baddak [AO-99]  'Take this stick and plant at wherever you wish'

2. b-ṣyṣtek ḥatti ḥafṣ b-saṣgūn, w-maṣṣel-li i-l-ḥaṣmān [DA-180]  'Please put(f.) wood in the heater and light it for my bath'

3. xallūkon ḍam-ṣṭarrītl b-mamūd čul-ḥan-namaq  'Keep on (pl.) arranging the materials in this way'

4. xtār, ya gavyād, l-ṭattle halli bṣtrīklā [AO-116]  'Choose, O fisherman, the way you'd like to be killed'

5. šūmi ya mara, kāli [AO-112]  'Get up, woman, (and) eat!'

6. balja nb-ṣīna mūḥed ẓahwe w-mūḥed bīra [DA-45]  'Please bring us one coffee and one beer'

7. nkār ḥumī, bidaxxāūk  'Mention my name (and) they'll let you in'

8. ḍadī ṣwayye ẓyṣqī [AO-113]  'Sit down(f.) a while (and) wait'

9. xallīni ṣṣerf ṣaṭl b-salaf ṣāla kont ṭaḥa-taṣṣī  'Let me know ahead of time if you decide to come'

10. šāf ṭīn ẓaṣet ẓl-bēṣqa  'See if the mail has come'

11. nīsa mā hūn ḫudī haff ċulAME baddām ḥumī  'If he's not present put a mark by his name'

12. yālja rūḥ sāmīha w-ṣālṣaṭen  'Go ahead, do it and be damned!'

13. starrī b-xada  '(Just) dare and take it!'

14. rūḥ bān ṭīdō w-ḥayyed čulē [DA-302]  'Run kiss his hand and wish him a happy holiday'

15. ċmēl maṭrīf, ṭal-li min ṭente [AO-108]  'Please tell me who you are’ (lit. ‘Do a favor, tell me...’)

Note that a coordination of imperatives is often used where the sense would seem to require complementation by a subjunctive [p.345]. See example 13, above (syndetic). Most such coordinations are syndetic [p.398]:

16. jall rūḥ w-ṣṭīl lehātta ybaṣṭel ḥoda yatlob mannak [AO-99]  'Keep on going back and forth until everyone has stopped asking (of) you’ (Lit. ‘Continue, go and return return...’)

Similarly, an imperative is often used in complementation to an annihilatory verb [p.325]:

17. boppaḥa ṭuṣha  'I advise you to forget it’ (lit. ‘I advise you, forget it’)
18. bstrāzzūk došni čal-ṭotēl [DA-16]  'Please direct me to the hotel’ (lit. ‘I beg of you, direct me...’)

A rather peculiar imperative construction is its use in complementation to the verb Ṹām [p.341] in the second-person perfect. This construction produces an exclamatory hypothetical command, generally translatable into English as ‘you should have...’. (The main stress of the sentence falls on the imperative):

19. kont ṣūf ṭabāl ma taṣṣī  'You should have seen him before you came!'
20. kont kūl lamma kont fal-bēt!  'You should have eaten when you were at home!'

As in English, imperative in Arabic are sometimes used with subject pronouns (‘nte, Ṹnty, ‘nte ‘you’) for emphasis:

21. ḍntu rūḥu ḥkū mače  'You(pl.) go talk with him'
22. Ṣnty ḥaddir l-čaṣa l-yom  'You(f.) prepare dinner today'
23. rūḥ Ṣnte w-hiyye ẓību ẓ-kante  'You(m.) and she go get the bag’.

Note, in the last example, that the first imperative is singular, applying only to Ṣnte, while the second (ḥbh) is plural, its subject being the coordination Ṣnte w-hiyye.
CHAPTER 14: PERSON, NUMBER, AND GENDER

Person

Arabic verbs, like those of many other languages, are inflected for three "persons" called FIRST (al-mutakallim), SECOND (al-muxââb), and THIRD (al-fâir). See Verb Inflectional Forms, p. 175.

Of the eight personal pronouns, each belongs inherently to one of the three persons. See Personal Pronouns [539].

All nouns and other nominal terms belong inherently to the third person.¹

The use of the Arabic person categories is basically identical with that of English. The first person designates the person speaking ("I") or — in the plural — the person speaking plus anyone else ("we"), either including or excluding the person spoken to. The second person designates the person or persons spoken to ("you") or — in the plural — the person(s) spoken to plus anyone else except the speaker. The third person designates anyone or anything excluding the speaker and person spoken to, or, in the case of "impersonal" predications [p. 365], nothing at all.

The person of a pronoun is determined by agreement with its antecedent, if any [p. 535]; if there is no antecedent, then it is determined directly by the role of its referent in the discourse.

A verb's person inflection is determined by agreement with its subject, if any; if there is no subject expressed, person is determined directly by the role of its subject-referent (if any) in the discourse; if there is no subject-referent, then the verb stands in the third (i.e. neutral) person.

Generalizing in the Second Person. As in English, the second person (masculine/singular) is often used to make generalizations that are applicable to anyone:

1.  Vàzam txadros *hâlâ*  ﷪atta fîr kêtêb cêdî b-sûriyya
   'You have to study law in order to become a notary public in Syria.'

2.  gâcêb tâxemô b-êf
   'It's hard to nail him down to anything' (lit. "It's hard for you to obligate him in anything")

3.  mû bêtûfu *alla lam-yadsammar
   'You never see him but what he's grumbling'

This usage is mainly limited to verbs in the imperfect, and does not in any case apply to the disjunctive pronoun *ءَنَّٰه [p. 378].

¹Except insofar as they are used vocatively [p. 378].
Also as in English, the third-person plural is often used with vague or unknown reference: /hash big Schul 'That's what they say'; 5aflu n-nur 3-b-srar 'The fire was put out quickly' (lit. 'They put out the fire quickly').

The term l-wahed (3rd p. sing.) is also used similarly to 'one' in English for indefinite or generalizing reference: l-wahed 8a bi[6a-re ]'One never knows' (lit. 'What will let one know?').

Except in baby-talk, the third person is rarely used to designate the speaker or person spoken to; there is very little tendency to-de-personalize for the sake of formality or deference in Syrian Arabic. One may sometimes hear expressions like l-bent b'7a'mor 87? 'Does the boy order something?' (for b7a'mor 87?) or b'7a byaqit re 8-l-tax 'What does our colleague suggest?' (for b7a byaqit re); such usage is limited to highly formal or stilted discourse.

A more ordinary formal or referential reference to a person addressed is 8a'drat (f. 8a'drat, pl. 8a'dratan), literally 'your presence', which is sometimes substituted for 8ante (f. 8aniti, pl. 8antu). This form, however, constitutes a 'partitive' construct (p. 467); that is, the leading term (8a'drat) is subordinate to the following term (-sk), which is second person and requires second-person agreement in the predicate: 8a'drat 8a b'ta'mor? 'What would you like, sir?'

Agreement. There are very few complications in the person-agreement of a verb with its pronoun subject, or of a pronoun with its pronoun antecedent: 8ante m-e kan? 'Where were you?', 8anu m-ba'ref 'I don't know', na'ma m-'anna ma'sar 'We have no money'. In coordinations (p. 391), 1st p. + 2nd or 3rd p. - 1st p. pl.; and 2nd p. + 3rd p. - 2nd p. pl.:

4. 8ana u-8ante marrub sama 'You and I will go together'.
5. 5a 8ana m-li humme la[8a-moon 'Neither he nor I will be there' 8a'hi k
6. la-m-e rahit 8ante u-humma? 'Where did you (f.) and he go?'

Note, however, la-m-e rahit? 'Where did you and he go?' or 'Where did you go with him?'.

The difference between 8ante and 8a'drat is of course not like the difference in European languages between (for example) 'tu', and 'vous', 'du' and 'Sie'. 8a'drat is limited to polite initial encounters with strangers, or the like; 8ante ('8anti, '8antu') may be used by anyone to anyone, like English 'you'.

A verb attributive to a predicate such as 8awal wahed 'the first one', l-ma'lid 'the only one', or the like, commonly agrees with a first person pronoun subject of that predicate. (See Equational Sentences, p. 405.)

7. 8a'na kont 8axer wahed tarakt 8-f't 'I was the last one to leave the house'
8. na'ma l-ma'lidin yalli mna'ref 8a'ma'tha. 'We're the only ones who know how to do it'
9. 8u 8ana 8awal ra'beh 8astek 'Am I the first man to kiss you?'

Impersonal Verbs. Verbs that have no subject and no subject-referent remain in the third (i.e. neutral) person (masculine/singular). These verbs include passives of intransitive verbs (p. 237), and certain other complemented expressions:

10. 8anti Cali 'She fainted' ('There came a fainting upon her')
11. ha-l kalib l'asem yanharf-allo ka'mmikan 'That dog ought to have a muzzle put on him'
12. bya' sadni 8amta la-hatta 8af'fik 8ala kal kal-ma'akel 'It would take me a week to look into all these problems'.

Verbs with a clausal subject (p. 451) are likewise in the third-person masculine; this construction is equivalent to that of an impersonal verb with a clausal complement:

13. 8i'si 8a'ni ma'kon 'Perhaps I'll come with you(pl.)' (lit. 'That I come with you is possible' or 'It is possible that I come with you')
14. bya' wawini 8i'ha-lha shayyef 8angilizi [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she speak a little English'.

Certain impersonal verbs are used in the feminine: mui b'ta'se' ma' ci 8amni r'ub wohed 'It doesn't matter to me that I go alone'. See p. 428.
NUMBER

Pure number inflection occurs in Syrian Arabic only for nouns [p. 209] (and rarely adjectives [201]). Verbs, prepositions, and adverbs have number and gender as determined by agreement with the nouns to which they are related [401], attribute [493], or sequent [335], or else by the "natural" number and gender of their referents. See Number/Gender Agreement [p. 427].

Count Nouns

Singular (al-farad). The singular of nouns that purport to designate discrete (countable) entities is commonly used to indicate that the number is exactly one, in contrast to the dual and to numeral constructs with the plural: *ktāb* 'a book', i.e. 'one book' (vs. *ktābeh* 'two books' vs. *litt* *ktāb* 'three books').

In a non-enumerative capacity, the singular of a count noun is used as a classificatory term [p. 458] in certain kinds of annexation:

1. After numerals above ten: *ēshrin* "ktāb* 'twenty books', *arbāṣar* sone 'fourteen years', *amās* *ēshrin* *far* 'twenty-five piastres'.

2. After the words *kamm* and *kall* [p. 467]: *kamm* *ktāb* 'several books' or 'how many books'; *kall* *ktāb* 'every book'.

3. Sometimes after substantives: *bald ēsh* *wil* 'calf skin', *wālāk* rās 'headache'.

The singular (with the article prefix) is often used for generalizing: *torbiyet* *j-ljafl* 'child rearing' (lit. 'bringing up the child'); *l-mar* yālha *hs*... 'women have rights' (lit. 'the woman has...'); *man* *j-ann* *mān* *mān*-made (lit. 'of the man's making').

In contrast with a collective [p. 279] or a plural, a singular is sometimes used distributively: *farn* *l-baṣar* 'the horns of cattle' (lit. 'the horns...'), *ēyšin* *mān* *ēshbr* la-*tammon* 'they're living from hand to mouth' (lit. 'from their pouch to their mouth'). The partitives meaning 'self' [p. 468] are also used in this way: *xalīna* naṣāḥa b-*naʃ* &ana 'Let's do it by ourselves' (lit. 'by our self').

---

Dual (st-jafl). The dual is used to specify exactly two of whatever the noun designates: *ktābeh* 'two books'.

Use of the numeral *tnān* 'two' in construct with a plural puts somewhat more emphasis on the number than does the use of the dual inflection: *tnān* *ktāb* 'two books'. Still more emphasis is achieved by using the dual noun with the numeral following in apposition: *ktābeh* *tnān* 'two books'.

The dual inflection is more comparable in function to the numerals than to the plural. The dual need not be used every time two of anything are referred to. If the number happens to be two but is beyond the point, or to be taken for granted, then the plural is used, just as in English: *āndo* bāna*bb* 'He has daughters only' (applicable though he may have exactly two); *la-*manj* dayye* ēyand* *l-*ktāb 'The coat is tight in the shoulders'. *Jando* bonām* bb* 'He only has two daughters'; *la-*manj* dayye* ēyand* *l*-ktāf 'The coat is tight in both shoulders'.

In reference to things that normally come in a pair, the dual is not ordinarily used in contrast to the plural, but only in contrast to the singular. Such duals (when definite) are usually translatable into English with 'both': *l-kaffān* 'both gloves' (cf. plural *l*-ktāf 'the gloves', in reference to a pair); *bārīn* *b* *b* 'both his legs' (cf. plural *bār* [p. 170] 'his legs').

Note that the forms *bārīn* 'feet, legs', *bān* 'hands, arms', *ēnān* 'eyes', and *bādān* 'ears' are not duals in colloquial usage, but plurals: *bār* *bārīn* 'four legs'. The true duals of these words have connective * [p. 163] before the suffix: *bār* *bār* *b* *t* *b* *b* 'both my eyes'.

Most duals tend not to be used with pronoun suffixes; such constructions are generally circumlocuted by using the plural with the suffix, followed by the numeral *tnān*: *ktāb* *l-t* *tnān* 'my two books'.

Notable exceptions include the duals of nouns designating paired parts of the body: *ēntēn* 'both my eyes'.

Plural (al-jamā'). If the singular of a noun designates one of something, then its plural designates more than one: *ktāb* 'one book', *ktāb* 'two or more books'. If the number is specified by a numeral in construct [p. 471], however, the following term is put in the plural only if the number is between two and ten: *tnān* *ktāb* 'two books'; *kamm* *ktāb* 'eight books'.

With numerals above ten, the following term is put in the singular: *maʃar* *ktāb* 'twelve books' [p. 472]. If the number is two, the dual, of course, may generally be used instead of *tnān* with the plural.
Abstract and Mass Nouns

Many nouns which do not purport to designate discrete (countable) entities are normally used only in the singular, e.g. *ṣṭṭāṣṭā* 'independence', dāna 'duration, permanence', ẓāf 'tar', ṣāh de 'rust'. Certain others, contrariwise, are normally used only in the plural: māzlimät 'information', mājāṣen 'good points, advantages', ṛiyāṣiyāt 'mathematics', maṣāfī 'money'.

Some singular abstract and mass nouns may be put in the plural to indicate abundance, variety, or indefinite quantification: sg. ramāt 'sand', pl. ramāt 'sands', another plural ramāt 'a batch, or batches, of sand'; singular ṣagarrōf 'behavior, pl. ṣagarrōfāt 'of various kinds or instances of behavior'.

These are not count plurals - they are not used after numerals - and are not to be confused with the plurals of particularized abstract and mass nouns [p. 284], which are count plurals. While ramāt, for instance, might sometimes be understood to mean 'a batch, or batches, of sand', this translation should not be taken to imply that one could say talling ramāt to mean 'three batches of sand'. (ramāt as a count plural only means 'grains of sand'). See p. 297.

No abstract or mass nouns are normally used in the dual.

Further examples of mass noun plurals, indicating abundance or variety:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sēt 'oil'</td>
<td>syūt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍabb 'grain, seeds'</td>
<td>ḍabbā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayy 'water'</td>
<td>nayyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣabāle 'trash, garbage'</td>
<td>ṣabāyel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laḫmām 'meat, flesh'</td>
<td>ḡām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bamm 'air, atmosphere' ṭalāmā?

1. The term 'abstract' here denotes a semantic category, broader than the derivational category of abstract nouns [p. 284].
2. Also maṣāfīṣiyāt. There is, actually, a singular maṣāfīṣiyā - a defunct monetary unit referred to figuratively in expressions like miṣ ḍandi w-lā maṣāfīṣiyā 'I haven't a cent'.
3. Also used as a count plural of ḍabb 'pills'.
4. The plurals nayyāt and miyyāh are also used [p. 370], but nayyā is more strongly connotative of abundance or variety.
5. The plural laḫmāt belongs more specifically to the singular laḫmē 'meat', and, in the identificatory use [p. 370], also to laḫmē in the sense 'flesh' laḫmōt 'his flesh'. As a count noun, laḫmāt means 'pieces of meat' (ṣe- laḫmē 'a piece of meat').

Plural of Abundance and Plural of Pauency (yamē l-kābra wa-yamē l-gilla).

Sometimes the plural of a singulative [p. 297] - a count plural - stands in contrast to the plural of the underlying collective or gerund, which indicates abundance or variety, and which is not used after numerals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samak 'fish'</td>
<td>samāk 'many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective samak</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(many or various)</td>
<td>(many or various)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabbāmē 'a fly'</td>
<td>dabbāmāt 'flies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective dabbām</td>
<td>(many or various)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(many or various)</td>
<td>(many or various)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mābē 'a wave'</td>
<td>mābāt 'waves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective māb</td>
<td>(many or extensive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(many or extensive)</td>
<td>waves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡalāf 'an error'.</td>
<td>ḡalṭāf 'errors'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡalāf 'error'</td>
<td>ḡalṭāf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(various kinds or instances of)</td>
<td>(various kinds or instances of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>error</td>
<td>error</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When there is both a plural of abundance and a plural of paucity (i.e. a count plural), the plural of abundance is formed by a base pattern change [p. 218] while the plural of paucity is usually formed by suffixation of -āt. An exception is ṭallēf 'thousands', the count plural of ṭallēf 'thousand' which also has plurals of abundance ṭallēf and ṭallāfāt. When a plural of paucity is used without a numeral (2-10), it still usually implies that the things referred to are few in number and individually discriminated.

In some cases, the distinction between plurals of abundance and paucity is not clearly maintained. The form ṭārā 'leaves', for instance, may serve as a plural of abundance - as the plural of the collective morāt, but also as a count plural - as the plural of the unit noun morāt 'a leaf'. ṭallāt 'three leaves'. There is also a plural of paucity morātāt. Likewise the plural ṭalīf(e) 'flowers, roses' may serve as the plural of abundance (coll. sg. ṭalīf 'flowers, roses') and also as a count plural: ṭalīf 'five roses', while morātāt is a plural of paucity (unit sg. ṭalīf 'a flower, a rose').

A plural of abundance which stands in contrast to a plural of paucity but which is also used with numerals may be called an "all-purpose plural".

Some count nouns ending in -ā or -ē have a plural of paucity in -āt and also an internally formed all-purpose plural; but no collective: sağīra 'cigarette', pl. of paucity sağīrāt, all-purpose plural sağīrey; xīmā 'tent' pl. of paucity xīmāt, all-purpose pl. xīmān; ḍayye 'snake', pl. of paucity ḍayyāt, all-purpose pl. ḍayyāna.
Plural of Identification and Indefinite Quantification

Some nouns which in the singular designate a substance in general, or as a sample of its kind, have plurals (in -ät) designating a certain batch or indefinite quantity of that substance: sg. ramät 'sand', pl. ramäät; sg. halib 'milk', pl. halibät; sg. sæt 'oil', pl. sætät; sg. ramät 'wheat', pl. ramäät.

Examples of usage: (sg.) harramät mä byamsa lal-bağän 'This sand (i.e. this kind of sand) is no good for concrete' vs. (pl.) xäd harramäät män ka 'Get this sand (i.e. this batch of sand) out of here'! Or, in reference to the milkman, one might say xäd 'pl-halibät 'He brought the milk' while in reference to the waiter in a restaurant one would say xäd 'pl-halib.

In the case of the waiter, milk is considered qualitatively, i.e. in contrast to the other kinds of things he brings to the table; but since it goes without saying that the milkman brings milk, the milk he brings is viewed quantitatively, as a batch. This is indefinite quantification, however, and is not to be confused with quantification by numerals. To specify a certain number of batches or orders of milk, the numeral is used (in its absolute form [p.170]) followed by an ap- positive [10] singular: täs te halib 'three (orders of) milk, three milks'.

This type of plural is also used in an identificatory sense, as opposed to the singular, which is qualitative, i.e. classificatory. That is to say, while the singular is commonly used in classificatory constructs, the plural usually marks an identificatory construct [p.458] (whether it is leading term or following term):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classificatory</th>
<th>Identificatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halib *l-mæce 'the goat's milk'</td>
<td>halibät *l-maçâye 'the goat's milk' (i.e. the milk of a particular goat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâyêt *l-bâhr 'the (real) sea water'</td>
<td>mâyêt *l-bâhr 'the sea's water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sæt *s-ætâm 'the olive oil'</td>
<td>sæt *s-sammän 'the grocer's oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fäm <em>l-7am</em> 'the grinding of wheat'</td>
<td>fäm *l-æmbäät 'grinding the wheat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plurals of unit nouns [p.298] are generally also used in this identificatory sense, as opposed to collec- tives, which are generally classificatory: säfîr *l-bärda'mäf 'the juice of the oranges' vs. säfîr *l-bärda'män 'the orange juice'.

Since pronouns are always identificatory terms, it is usually the plu- ral of identification (if any) that is used with pronoun suffixes, rather than the singular: ramätma 'our wheat', sætät'am 'their oil', halibät 'her milk', sætät'am 'his flesh', sætät'am 'his grapes', barmäånäm 'my oranges', mâyêt'am 'its water'.

All this is not to say that the singular in such cases cannot be used in identificatory constructs, but only that it tends not to be so used, at least when an actual specific batch of something is referred to. The singular is more apt to be used in a (grammatically) identificatory construct if the reference is actually to a generality or a hypothetical case: bâmä åyâl bâ-amdät bâmät bâ-mät bâmä åyâl e bâ-amdät bâmät åmâän åmâän åmâän åmâän åmâän åmâän The hens lay eggs, and Ahmed also eats their flesh' [40-63].

Concerning plurals in general, one should keep in mind that it is not always possible to determine the Arabic number inflection by meaning, or by translation from English. Many kinds of 'thing' may be regarded either as wholes or as aggregates of discrete parts. Compare gabâl bâj 'a pair of shoes', which is singular, with khfâf 'gloves' (in reference to a pair), which is plural; bâd 'tools', which is singular, with nçâf 'money', which is plural; bâfr 'cattle', which is singular, with bâm 'camels', which is plural. See Collectives and Units [p.298].

Not only the form of a plural, but also the kinds of plural noun will have, or whether it will have a plural at all, are to a considerable extent questions of lexical idiosyncracy. Some nouns lack one or another inflection for no ob- vious reason: bâ 'thing', for instance, is a count noun ('täs te bâya 'three things'), but it has no dual. (Its more elegant doublet bâ, however, does have a dual: bâbëäm 'two things'). The noun mär 'woman' has neither dual nor plural, though the plural is supplied by the word nassän 'women'.

Many nouns have different plurals corresponding to differ- ent meanings: lâän 'tongue', pl. lâsmän 'tongues' (lit- eral anatomical sense), plurals *lisam and *lisim 'tongues' (figurative linguistic senses).

Sometimes different plurals are stylistically signific- ant: sg. *lsm 'name', plurals *äsm (informal) and *äsm (more formal). In still other cases, different plural forms may be virtually equivalent, or a matter of person or regional variation: sg. lâf 'blanket, cover', pl. lâsâf or lâf; sg. bâhr 'month', pl. bâm or *báhm.
GENDER OF NOUNS

Arabic nouns (in the singular) belong either to the masculine or to the feminine gender, or, in a few cases, to both genders. It is the function of noun gender to govern the gender inflection of verbs and adjectives and the gender selection of pronouns [pp. 420, 428, 501, 558].

Natural Gender

A noun that designates human beings is masculine if the person is male, and feminine if the person is female:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾpabb ‘father’</td>
<td>ʾsmm ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾpabh ‘son’</td>
<td>bnt ‘daughter, girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾaxx ‘brother’</td>
<td>ʾaxt ‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾārīs ‘bridegroom’</td>
<td>ʾārīs ‘bride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salāme ‘man, fellow’</td>
<td>satt ‘lady’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Certain animal designations (mainly domestic animals) are also limited by sex:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūr ‘bull, steer’</td>
<td>baṭara ‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kābba ‘ram’</td>
<td>ʾgāname ‘ewe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēs ‘billy goat’</td>
<td>ḍāmate ‘nanny goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xārīf ‘young male sheep’</td>
<td>maʿāṣīye ‘nanny goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīk ‘cock’ (male of any fowl)</td>
<td>faras ‘mare’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The masculine noun ʾafal ‘child, infant’ is used to refer to children in the abstract (tarbiyyet ʾafal ‘raising up a child’) or to predicate childishness of a person of either sex (lissāla ʾafal ‘She’s still a child’); otherwise it is used only in reference to a male, or a child whose sex is not known. The specifically female counterpart is ʾafila: ḥayy ʾafila ḥalma ‘She’s a pretty child’. Similarly: kālī ‘dog’ (male or sex unspecified) and kalba ‘bitch’, ḥṣīm ‘horse’ and faras ‘mare’. On the other hand ʾaff ‘cat’ is used mainly to specify the male, while the feminine ʾaffa may be applied not only to females but also when the sex is unspecified: hal-ʾaffa ḏukar māla Ṿaniṣyāye ‘Is that cat male or female?’

The nouns ēaṣūa ‘elderly person’1 and bēbē ‘baby’ have

1Some speakers, however, tend to pair off ēaṣūa as ‘old woman’ with ēṣtūr ‘old man’. The forms ēaṣūū and ēṣtūra are used exclusively in reference to females.

fluctuating gender depending on their reference: l-bēbē baddo yarādo ‘The baby (boy, or sex unspecified) wants to nurse’, and l-bēbē baddo yarādo ‘The baby (girl) wants to nurse’.

Some nouns, though often or usually applied to human beings, do not actually designate human beings as such; their gender generally does not fluctuate even though they may denote persons of either sex: maxāl ‘creature’ (masculine), ḏabiyye ‘victim’ (feminine), ṭaḥṣīl ‘intermediary, mediator, means’ (f.), Ṿāsīyye ‘personality’ (f.), Ṫāṣī ‘person’ (m.).

Some noun stems are used with and without the suffix -e/-a [p. 138] to designate female and male respectively: ṭabbaṣ ‘cook’ (m.) and ṭabbaṣ (f.) ṭabi ‘boy’ and ṭabiyye ‘girl, young lady’, Ṿālī ‘(maternal) uncle’ and sāle ‘(maternal) aunt’. See p. 304. Unless paired in this way, however, the -e/-a suffix is not a sign of feminine gender for human beings: azāma ‘man, fellow’, zalīfe ‘caliph’, fāţye ‘tyrant’, etc. For animals, it indicates feminine gender but not necessarily female sex (except as qualified above).

Gender of Names

Names of towns, cities, etc., and most countries, states, etc., are feminine. Note the feminine agreement in these examples:

E-ḥam hākib ʾațṭar mān ēaṣīr ʾaṣānīn ‘Damascus has grown a lot in the last ten years’

māṣr māḥūle ʾațṭar mān fūriyya ‘Egypt is more populous than Syria’

The names of a few countries and regions, however, may be construed either as masculine or feminine: Ṭabānān ‘Lebanon’, ṭafṣid ‘Nejd’, l-ḥadāsa ‘The Hejaz’, l-yamān ‘Yemen’, l-zord ‘Jordan’, l-ṣirāq ‘Iraq’, l-māṣr ‘Morocco’ or ‘Northwest Africa’, l-barāazi ‘Brazil’. E.g. Ṭabānān Ṣamīl, maṣ ḥāl ‘Lebanon is beautiful, isn’t it?’ [PVA-30].

Names of ships (and planes, automobiles) are feminine: l-ṣampoliyya Ṣamīl Hāṣēt Eal-ματπ ‘The Champollon ran aground off Ouzai’.

Names of the letters of the alphabet are feminine: sāwit n-nun māsāwaf ʾațṭar mān bēh ‘Make the nun deeper than that’.

It is said that the names of cities, countries, ships, etc., are feminine because they are elliptical for construct or appositive phrases [pp. 462, 505] headed by feminine words such as madīna ‘city’, bīlād ‘land, country’, bāxra ‘ship’, etc.: madīnay bēbī ‘the city of Beirut’, bīlād ʾeṣ-ṣīnān ‘The land of Greece’, l-ḥārṣa Ṭamīl ‘the ship Champollon’.
This explanation does not hold true for the names of the letters, however, since ḥarf 'letter' is masculine: ḥarf 'l-bā. 'the letter bā'.

**Formal Gender**

For nouns that are neither names nor human designations, gender cannot be inferred from meaning, but can usually be inferred from form. Those which (in the singular) have a suffix -a/-a (p.138), -ā (165), -ā (164), or -t (164) are feminine. Most others are masculine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maktāb 'office'</td>
<td>maktābe 'library'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daraš 'staircase'</td>
<td>daraša 'step, degree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaʃr 'wrong, transgression'</td>
<td>xaʃrə 'sin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zəkər 'mention'</td>
<td>zəkərə 'commemoration, memory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masər 'eagle'</td>
<td>būme 'owl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naməl 'ants' (collective)</td>
<td>naməle 'an ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?astaləl 'independence'</td>
<td>hərriyə 'freedom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murəd 'desire, intention'</td>
<td>mubərə 'match, game'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabāt 'plant(s)' (Here t is part of the Root: n-b-t, Root b-y-y)</td>
<td>hayət 'life' (Here t is a suffix; Pattern Faɔl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defective (p.43) nouns ending in a or e, however, are generally masculine; the vowel is part of the stem, not a suffix:

- ēsə 'supper' (masc.): Root ē-s-y with Pattern Faɔl (p.146)
- šəte 'winter, rain' (masc.): Root š-t-w with alteration of Pattern FEAL (147)
- maʃna 'meaning' (masc.): Root m-e-y with Pattern maFEAL (153)

Note that same 'year' and mara 'woman' are biradical nouns (p.162); the -e/-a is a suffix (cf. construct forms sanə, marə [168]), hence these words are feminine. (And mara is feminine par excellence in any case, by virtue of its meaning.)

The ending -ā is usually not a suffix (? replacing a final radical semivowel, as in duʃə 'supplication', masculine, Root d-ə-w, Pattern Faɔl), but in the rare cases where it is actually a suffix the noun is feminine: kabriyə 'pride, arrogance' (Root k-b-r).

**Exceptions**

There are a few feminine nouns whose gender is not indicated either by form or by meaning:

- ēm 'eye', 'waterhole'
- rīḥ 'wind' (also masc.)
- ṭaḍ, yadd 'hand, arm'
- ʿard 'land, ground, earth'
- ṣams 'sun'
- šams 'sun'
- sama, sāmā 'heaven' (also m.)
- ḍām 'chin, beard'
- ʿayy 'water' (also ʿayye)
- ṣaṭṭam 'womb'
- ʿakkān 'knife' (also ṣakkān)
- ʿiṭīn 'backsides, arse'
- ʿakkān 'knife' (also ṣakkān)
- ʿaf ʿspirit, self'
- ṣambah 'finger' (also ṣambah)
- ʿaḥam 'soul, spirit'
- ḫūn 'mill' (also ḫūnūn)
- ḍūr 'house'
- ṣafar 'rain'
- ḍalad 'town, community, country'
- ḥarə 'war' (also masc.)
- ḍalād 'country'
- ṣafū 'road, way' (also masc.)

The noun sū 'market' is generally feminine in its abstract or general sense, e.g. s-sūn ʿs-sūdā 'the black market', otherwise masculine.

ṭaḥā is masculine in its sense 'floor'.

rīḥ is masculine in the sense 'ghost, disembodied spirit'.

The feminine gender of Ḫannūm 'Hell' might be attributed to its being a place name (p.373).

The words nās 'people' and xēl 'horses' are feminine, though they often take plural agreement. See p.426.

In the case of ethnic collectives [p.301] the question of gender does not come up, since they consistently have plural agreement.

The gender of other kinds of collectives depends on their form as in the case of ordinary singulars: ḏuqar 'cattle' (masculine), maʃna 'goats' (feminine); ēdas 'lentils' (masculine), ḏuʃəliyə 'kidney beans' (feminine).
All questions of number/gender function in verbs, adjectives, and pronouns are dealt with under Number/Gender Agreement, including the number/gender of verbs and adjectives without subjects [p.427].

CHAPTER 15: SYNTACTICAL PRINCIPLES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

Sentences and Clauses (al-‘umla)

A sentence is not just a string of words, but a string of words pronounced as a "prosodic unit". A prosodic unit has rhythmic, melodic, and dynamic features which contribute to the phrasing and meaning of the word string.

A COMPOUND sentence is a co-ordination [p.391] of word strings each of which could be used to form a complete sentence by itself. These potentially sentence-forming word strings are called CLAUSES.¹

In the sentence huwme ‘abdami ṣana bhabbo ‘He’s a nice person and I like him’, there is a non-verbal clause [402] huwme ‘abdami coordinated by the conjunction ṣana ‘and’ with a verbal clause [407] bhabbo.

A COMPLEX sentence consists of a (prosodically unified) SUPERORDINATE CLAUSE which contains, as one of its parts, a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

In the sentence baṣṭalb-yāha lamma baṣṭalbarrad ‘I’ll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates’, the (one-word) clause baṣṭalbarrad ‘he graduates’ is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a supplemental (adverbal) capacity [528] by the conjunction lamma ‘when’.

A superordinate clause may in its turn be subordinated, as in ṣal-‘atto baṣṭalb-yāha lamma baṣṭalbarrad ‘I intend to tell him that I’ll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates’. The clause baṣṭalb-yāha lamma baṣṭalbarrad is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a complementary capacity [449] by the conjunction ṣal-‘atto ‘that’.²

A sentence containing only one clause is a SIMPLE SENTENCE.

¹The definition of ‘clause’ depends, of course, on that of ‘complete sentence’, which is simply a sentence whose word string can be analyzed in terms of one of the clause-forming constructions. The circularity of these definitions is perfectly tolerable, so long as all those utterances which do not qualify as complete sentences can either be 1) analyzed as incomplete sentences, i.e. analyzed in terms of complete sentences, or 2) dismissed as trivial for present purposes.

In this book ‘clause’ designates a much more abstract entity than ‘sentence’, since the latter is defined as a prosodic unit while a clause is defined merely as a word string, stripped of prosody. If this grammar dealt systematically with intonation (prosody) it would probably be better also to define ‘clause’ as a kind of prosodic unit, but since intonation is not dealt with, the present definition - being in accord with traditional usage - should be less confusing for most readers.

Note that the Arabic concept of ‘umla includes both ‘sentence’ and ‘clause’. In fast uninterrupted monologue especially, it is often impossible to distinguish between a coordination of clauses and a coordination of simple sentences.

²A supplemental clause may be contrasted with the MAIN clause, which is complete in itself, while a complementary clause is an integral part of the superordinate clause.
Sentence Types

Syrian Arabic has six main types of complete sentence, insofar as conversational function may be correlated with clause structure and prosodic structure: 1.) Exclamations, 2.) Calls, 3.) Commands, 4.) Declarations, 5.) Yes/No Questions, and 6.) Substitution Questions.

Exclamations. Many kinds of clause may be used in exclamations, but the simplest and only exclusively exclamatory kind consists of an INTERJECTION, which is a word that neither undergoes inflection nor enters into construction with other words: ēṣmēr ‘Bravo!’, māsājil ‘Isn’t that wonderful!’ Some exclamations consist of the vocative particle  userEmail plus an adjective or noun: ya lāṣf ‘Good grief!’, yā ʿĪb ‘&-6m! (expression with which a host at dinner disclaims guests’ praise).

Calls. A call generally consists of a noun or noun phrase—very often a personal name—which may or may not be preceded by the vocative particle userEmail (or sometimes ʔa): (y)aḥsanı (O) Hassanı.

Most interjections and Vocative phrases, of course, are more often used in supplementation to a main clause than as full sentences: šūnna ya salāya ‘How are you, girls?’, ēṣmē mājil ‘(That’s) great, by golly!’

Declarations. The clause of a declarative sentence may be a predication [p.401] or an extraposition [429]: māfēt ʔammal šāhrin ʔand zāːl ‘I spent the first two months at your uncle’s’, ʔammal šāhrin mākkētn ʔand zāːl ‘The first two months, I spent (them) at my uncle’s’. The category of declarative sentences includes statements, which are characterized by verbs in the indicative or by a non-verbal clause [402]: marrāsha sama ‘We’ll go together’, mākax ‘I’m with you’; and also exhortations and invocations, which are characterized mainly by verbs in the subjunctive, but sometimes also by non-verbal clauses: nrah sama ‘Let’s go together’, ṭafja mākax ‘God be with you’. (See p.344.)

Yes/No Questions. A yes/no interrogative sentence generally has the same kind of clause as the corresponding declarative sentence, but the intonation is different. (See p.379.) māfēt ʔammal šāhrin ʔand zāːlak ‘Did you spend the first two months at your uncle’s’?, ʔammal šāhrin, mākkētn ʔand zāːlak ‘The first two months—did you spend them at your uncle’s?’?, marrāsha sama? ‘Will we be going together?’?, nrah sama? ‘Shall we go together?’

The particle ʾsi is often used to indicate a question: ʾwūnti ʔalēt men ʔand ʾla-kumma ʾsi? [DA-237] ‘Have my suits come back from the cleaners?’ The interrogative particle may come at the end of the sentence, as above, or it may precede a complement, thereby setting it off and emphasizing it: ʾem-taʔaʔod ʾsi ʾyanna kāzaʔ? ‘Are you implying that I’m a liar?’?, sorter b-ʔtūbītak ʾsi ʾla-ʾĪdsma ‘Have you ever visited the capital?’

Sentences formed with the question-words ʾsi ‘what’, ʾmīn ‘who’, ʾmīn ‘where’, etc., are also derivable from declarative sentences by substitution of the word for some particular part of the clause, and by certain changes in word order: ʾmīn mākkēt ʔammal šāhrin ‘Where did you spend the first two months?’?, ʔammal šāhrin, ʾmīn mākkētn ‘The first two months—where did you spend them?’ (See p.566.)

Substitution Questions are commonly pronounced with level medium or medium low final pitch, and a drawl. The question usually begins with with high pitch, on the question word itself.

Commands. A declarative sentence may generally be converted into a (positive) command by dropping the subject (if any) and changing the verb to imperative [p.359]: māqīt ʔammal šāhrin ʔand xālak ‘Spend the first two months at your uncle’s’. (A negative command, however, is formed with the subjunctive: ʾīʾmāqīt ʔammal šāhrin… ‘Don’t spend the first two months…’.)

Predication: The Basic Clause Type

The sort of clause that can be made into both a declarative and a (yes/no) interrogative sentence is called a PREDICATION. For example:

**Declarative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾĒṣīna ʾdawūf ʾla-ʾĪdsma</td>
<td>‘Are we having guests today’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interrogative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾĒṣīna ʾdawūf ʾla-ʾĪdsma (ʾis)</td>
<td>‘Are we having guests today?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1This does not mean that every declarative sentence can be converted, as it stands, into a normal interrogative sentence (or vice versa), but only that every one has the same grammatical structure as other sentences which can be so converted, or (if compound), that it can be broken down into simple clauses which can be so converted. For instance the compound declarative sentence saʾḷṣīna šīlaʾa ʾal-bukra ʾaṭṭīfika ‘We’ve recorded a television spot and tomorrow you’ll see it’ could not be made into a normal interrogative as it stands, but the two coordinate clauses could be converted separately.
The Parts of a Predication

A predication consists of a PREDICATE, with or without a SUBJECT: r-raṣṣāl ṣaf 'l-kaš 'The man saw the dog' or ṣaf 'l-kaš 'He saw the dog'; ṣonde maṭtakced? 'Are you sure?' or maṭtakced? '(Are you) sure?'

A simple predicate consists of a word or phrase, which is ordinarily:

1. a verb or verb phrase: ḥam'-t 'I understand' (lit. 'I have understood'), ḥam'-t kašnāk 'I understand what you say', ḥam'-t kalāk 'I understand you'.

2. an adjective or adjective phrase: ṭana sašlān 'I am displeased', ṭana sašlān mašnāk 'I'm displeased with you'.

3. a preposition or a prepositional phrase: hașum ṭaddām 'He is in front', hașum ṭaddām 'l-bēt 'He is in front of the house'.

4. a noun or noun phrase: hāda maštāb 'This is a letter', hāda maštāb ṭalak 'This is a letter for you', hāda 'mašīl maštāb 'This is the first letter'.

The subject of a simple predication is usually a noun, or a noun phrase, or a pronoun: r-raṣṣāl ṣaf 'The man saw it'. ṣaf ṭar-ṣaṣṣāl mā ḥān 'That man's son isn't here', ṭābā ṭabno 'That's his son'.

Phrase-Forming Constructions

A PHRASE, roughly speaking, is a constituent of a clause that consists of more than one word but is generally not itself a clause. In this book, most of the many ways in which words are combined in phrases come under one or another of several major headings, including:

ATTRIBUTION [Ch. 19], whereby the elements of a predication are converted into a noun phrase: l-bēt l-ṣabbār 'the big house' (cf. l-bēt l-ṣabbār 'the house is big').

COMPLEMENTATION AND SUPPLEMENTATION [Ch. 17, 20], which account for almost all verb phrases and many noun and adjective phrases: ṣaf ṭar-ṣaṣṣāl 'saw the house', ṭar-ṣaṣṣāl ṭan 'that you go quickly', ṭabā ṭax 'pleased with it', ṭanān mašā 'one more'.

ANNEXION [Ch. 18], which forms many noun-type phrases and all prepositional phrases: faš ṭar-ṣaṣṣāl 'the furniture of the house', 'mašīl ṭar-ṣaṣṣāl 'the furniture of the house', hašum hašum ṭar-ṣaṣṣāl 'inside the house'.

The Parts of Speech

The so-called parts of speech are syntactical form classes – categories based on the way words function in clauses and phrases.1

The broadest category is that of PREDICATORS – words which may normally be used as the main term of a predication. In Arabic, predicators include verbs, adjectives, nouns, and free prepositions. Non-predicators include adverbs and all kinds of particles, such as conjunctions and bound prepositions.

NOUNS are distinguished as the only predicators that may normally also be used as the main term of a subject.

ADJECTIVES are distinguished by their use as attributes.

FREE PREPOSITIONS are also used as supplements.

VERBS have no use other than predication and command.2

Of the non-predicators, ADVERBS are distinguished from particles by their use as main terms in supplements.

1Independent optative clauses [p. 344] are marginally predicative: in the first-person plural they may be used freely as either declarative or interrogative, while in first-person singular and the second person they are usually interrogative, and in the third person normally declarative.

2This is not to say that a verbal clause (which may be a one-word clause) cannot be subject, attribute, complement, etc.
Pronouns and other substitutes are a special case, not adequately definable in terms of syntactical form classes [p. 535].

Noun-Type Words (al-ism). Nouns in the strict sense - SUBSTANTIves - may be distinguished syntactically from other NOUN-TYPE WORDS such as elatives [p. 310], numerals [170], pronouns, and adjectives.

Numerals and elatives are distinguished by the fact that they are used freely as attributes as well as in the more typical noun-like capacities: l-malad ʾl-ṭakbar ‘the oldest boy’ (cf. ʾṭakbar malad).

Certain substantives may also be used attributively: l-moja ʾl-ṭomm ‘the mother country’ [p. 506]. Certain others may be used adverbially: ʿafta marra ‘I saw him once’ (lit. ‘...a time’). [p. 521].

Adjectives are typically quite different from nouns in that they do not normally occur as subject, but do occur as attribute. There are, however, many adjectives applicable to human beings which are also freely used in a substantive capacity: ʾgār ‘small, young’ or ‘child’; kazaab ʾlying’ or ‘liar’ [p. 201]. This widespread overlapping of the two syntactic classes - plus their morphological similarities - makes it desirable to include adjectives also under the category of ‘noun-type word’.

Pronouns clearly qualify as noun-type words since they are used as subject [p. 548], though they only marginally qualify as predicators at all [551].

The rest of this chapter is devoted to two types of construction and not dealt with elsewhere in the book: negation and coordination.

NEGATION

The most common negative particles are mā, used mainly with verbs and a few other expressions, and mā, used mainly with non-verbal predicates. lā is used mainly with the independent subjunctive [p. 389]. These particles come immediately before the negated term and are usually accented more strongly than the negated term. For lā ‘no’, see p. 536.

Commonly in Palestine and to a lesser extent in southern and central Lebanon, ṣā is paired with a suffix -ṣ which is attached to the negated term (cf. French ne...pas). (In some dialects -ṣ may be used without ṣā, or with ʾa- instead of ṣā. Thus mā baṭšeř-ṣ ṣā ‘I don’t know’ = mā baṭšeř-ṣ = baṭšeř-ḥ-ṣ = ṣā-ḥ-ṣā. The ṣ form corresponding to ṣā is ṣā or ṣā.)

The Particles mā. Examples with verbs:

1. mā ṣarrabt li’anna mā kān maci waṭt ṭeḥđār u-ṭyjān
   ‘I haven’t tried (it) because I haven’t had time to sit and think’

2. mā ʾṣāfak ṭāʾt ʾtāyā
du ‘That won’t do me any good over there’

3. hāyy mā baṣṣaḥ-ṣallī ḥnāk
   ‘You must swear to me not to do anything to her’

4. lāsēm ṭalḥaf-āli mā tāmāl
   maṭḥa ʾṣ [40:114]
   ‘There’s no place like home’ (lit. ‘One doesn’t find the like of his community’)

5. l-māḥed mā bilāḥi maṭṭal balado
   ‘I wouldn’t go out on the street in pajamas’

6. mā baṭlaq ʾal-ḥaṣra bal-biṣāmā
   ‘Nothing pleases him; whatever you bring he tells you it isn’t enough, it’s won’t do, why didn’t you do it thus and so’

7. mā ṣabāʾū ʾa ṣ, ṣā ma ṣabāʾ bīwa- ṭālī ṣā biκoffi, mā byanfač, išū ma ṣawēto ḥek u-ḥek
   ‘There are three considerations we should not overlook’

8. ʾfī tiḥt ṣeṭṣeṭrī ʾal-sēm mā maddāḥīlān
   ‘Tell me, haven’t you visited the ruins of Lebanon yet?’

9. ʾal-li, baṭša ṣā ort ṣeṭṣeṭrī lebnānī? [SAL-115]
   ‘It’s an unbearable situation’ [p. 328]

10. ṣāyy hāle mā ṣatāḥmāl
    ‘The ball was out of reach’
29. mā ēando dars il-yēm
29. ‘He has no lesson today’

30. mā ēalēk; yana bāhākī
30. ‘It’s not your responsibility; I’ll talk to him’ (lit. ‘It’s not on you...’)

31. mē ṭolōn ħa??
31. ‘You (pl.) are in the wrong’ (lit. ‘You have no right.’)

32. mē ilī ēalēk bēl-ṭaṃqīf
32. ‘I have nothing to do with hiring’

Instead of the disjunctive forms ḥolō, etc. [p. 479], the suffixing forms may be used with mā:

33. ēid l-ābārī mā-ło ṭārīf mēyyan
33. ‘Easter has no fixed date’

34. l-ābārī mā-la ṭāxer
34. ‘There’s no end to the argument’

35. l-yahād bīgallu b-ākīnis mâhēd, mâ-līhūn ḍēro [Bq. 1]
35. ‘The Jews pray in one synagogue, they have no other’

mā with pronouns. In equational sentences [p. 406], mā may be used before personal pronouns (especially third person)

36. mā humme l-mas?ūl ēam il-ḥādes
36. ‘He’s not the one responsible for the accident’

37. mā ēamēn ēallī raʃāfu d-daʃma
37. ‘It is not they who initiated the suit’

38. mā ēiiye ēallī hāset il-vaʃma
38. ‘She’s not the one who broke the vase’

39. mā humme yalla t-tanāṣsāf il-ayāl bēn il-xer wās-sharr
39. ‘It’s nothing else than the eternal conflict between good and evil’

40. mā yana yallī ḥakēī
40. ‘It’s not I who spoke’

mā humme and mā ēiiye are sometimes apocopated to mā-hu, mā-hi, or mā-u, mā-i: mā-hu humme [Bart.-776] ‘It’s not he’; mā-u ṭābūk... ṭābīyī yana [DS] ‘It’s not your father, it’s my father!’

41. mā ḥada ṣāfna
41. ‘No one saw us’

42. mān baka fa-talīfūn?
42. ‘Who was it (lit. ‘Who spoke?’) on the phone?’

- mā ḥada; wāḥēd gālīfūn
- ‘Nobody... somebody who got the wrong number’

In the last example fīkūn stands for fī ‘there is’ + fīkūn ‘among you’, collapsed into a single form; cf. mē fī fūkī mā wāḥēd ‘mē fīkūn (same translation).
Similarly, mā is sometimes used with šī 'something, anything' (translated 'nothing'), but this location is limited mostly to answers ("incomplete predications"):

43. šī ēam-tačmel? - mā šī 'What are you doing?' - 'Nothing'

The Particle mā

Practically any non-verbal predicative term may be negated with mā:

1. l-ḥaʔʔa mā ḥaššet bi-bāli t-ṭalīfūm 'The truth is, I haven't seriously considered teaching' (ḥaššet is a participle [p.265]).

2. ʾāx det ʾl-bakahūru, mā ḥēk? 'She's gotten her bachelor's degree, hasn't she?' (lit. "isn't she so?")

3. hal-ḥaki hāda mā ḫafū 'That (kind of) talk isn't nice'

4. ēfīna mā ēkakēnē, mā baḏda tākol ʾīfū 'She doesn't have a hungry look; she doesn't want anything to eat.' (lit. "her eye isn't hungry...")

5. fa-ṃaʾmēta kāli ʾl-ṭamaliyyē mū ṣyūdēt maʾbīlītūm 'So the significance of the whole business is not acquisition of more knowledge'

6. mū mašʔalet mū baḏdi hal-ṭarlīda 'It's not a question of my not wanting the publicity'

7. ʾāna ḥaššē ʾʔāli la-hān mū baḏdī mūšīn ʾĪsahādē, bās mūšīn ʾĪl-ḥaṃbra 'I wanted to come here not only for the degree, but for the experience'

8. mū ḫaḍda yallī nusqēt ēlaqū 'This isn't what I ordered'

9. ʾāna mū maššāfū ʾl-yēmēn 'I'm not feeling well today'

10. kānumū mā maḵāḏūn lammā daʔʔēnū-lon ṭalīfūn 'They were out when we phoned them' (lit. "They were not-to-be-found...") Cf. mū kānumū maḵāḏūn... "They were not in...

11. hayye ṣekra mū ēṭīle 'That's not a bad idea' (lit. "an idea [that is] not bad")

12. ṣāmīme sāleḵ ṭar-ṭep mū mīfi bābīn 'He's following a bad course' (lit. "...a road [that is] not good")

13. mū mātēl ṣaxi l-ḥbēr, ʾāna ṣaḥbīt ēlaq-šamēna 'Unlike my older brother, I went to the university'

The Negative Copula

Instead of using an independent subject pronoun with mū, pronoun suffixes may be attached to the stem mā- or mān-: māli rēyeh or māni rēyeh 'I'm not going' (instead of ʾāna mā rēyeh). These forms constitute a sort of quasi-verb, like baḏda, etc. [p.412], with pronoun suffixes for subject-affixes.

14. mū mān māmān šaフト 'Not long ago I saw him' (Cf. mū šaフト mū māmān 'I haven't seen him for quite a while')

15. mū lāsem intaxēf b-našayēk 'You shouldn't take your father's advice lightly'

Logically, mū lāsem should mean 'needn't' or 'it is not necessary', while 'mustn't' or 'shouldn't' would be expressed as lāsem mū... (as in example 8, p. p.). Actually, however, mū lāsem usually means 'mustn't, shouldn't, ought not to'.

mū is sometimes used with raḥa- and ēam- verb forms. (Cf. examples 12-16. p. p.):

16. mū raḥa-ṭkuḥ ʾmāfsē kūbrī ʾīṣā mū ḫaṣlīt ḫalī 'It won't be a great misfortune if I don't get it'

17. mū ʾam-yāstīḏeṯel hāllā 'He's not working now'

mū may also occur before other kinds of verb forms, when they form part of a clause to be negated emphatically as a whole, or as a quotation, or the like:

18. l-ṭīm bīt ṣamītak šēyīn yeshar ṭamāma; mū tačmel-li mādī m-rafaʔētī... "Today your aunt and her family are coming to spend the evening with us; there'll be none of your [excuses to go out such as] "club and companions"

The use of mū before ʾāndā, etc. [p.413] generally indicates a true prepositional phrase with a subject rather than the quasi-verbal expression with a complement: kībāk mū ʾāndā 'Your book is not at my place' or '...among my things' (vs. mū ʾāndā kībāk 'I don't have your book').

Before personal pronouns, mū focuses more emphasis on the pronoun than mū [p.385]: mū ḥaṭṭa ḫallī šēbīt malad, ʾ ṭaṭa 'She's not the one who had the baby; it's her sister'; mū ʾāna yallī ḥaṭṭī 'I'm not the one who spoke' (Cf. ex. 40, p.385.).

mū šī 'nothing' may be used as well as mū ʾī [p.386], but mū is not ordinarily used with ḫaḍa (ma ḫaḍa 'no one').
The form māl- is typically Damascene; the most usual Lebanese form of the negative copula is mān-: mān-nā ḫayēf? 'Don't you see?'. (There are other variants, e.g. mayān, manāk.) In some areas this type of form is not used in the third person at all, for which mā-hu, mā-hi, etc. are used [p.385]. The most usual Palestinian forms have mā- + apocopated "independent" pronoun form + -ā [383]: māhē 'he is not', māntī 'she is not', māntī 'you(m.) are not', māntī 'you(f.) are not', mān-hē 'we are not', etc.; but māntī 'I am not'.

Examples:

1. mālāk ṣaḥāl-lak ūf bēt ḫawdrēp 'Haven't you composed any verse of poetry?'
2. Qam-yadros handase ṭum fizyā, mālī ṭakīd mānna 'He's studying engineering or physics - I'm not sure about it.'
3. lēs ḫal-labake?...mālāna ḡarāba 'Why [go to all] this bother? We're not strangers'
4. šīnīk ya ḫassān? wūsārk mālī mān-hē [AQ-51] 'How are you, Hassan? You don't look well' (lit. 'your face isn't good')
5. lamma ṣf?i, ṭīsa kān mālī ṭāḥas bāṭshībī-lī ḫakīm [AQ-51] 'When I wake up, if I'm not better you can get the doctor for me'
6. w-fālict w-ṭilēfāt mārcha w-hīyē mālīa ḫērā [AQ-118] 'And she went out, and I went out along with her, without her noticing' (lit. '...and she was not perceiving')

The māl- forms are commonly also used before verbs with Qam- and rāḥa- [p.320]:

7. ḥallā? mālī Qam-rīḥ ḫās-hūmērā 'I'm not going to the university now(adays)'
8. ṣar-lon samān mālōn Qam-yesmacu mānne 'They haven't been hearing from him for a long time'
9. mālī Qam-yāẓār der yāṣśamuvar ḫāf-ēf yallī Qam-_CODEC_mīlo 'He can't imagine what it is we're doing'
10. mālīna rāḥa-nātāfē? ṭābādan 'We're not ever going to reach an agreement'

Note that māl- + pronoun suffix is indistinguishable in form from mā + -ā + pronoun suffix. See examples 33-35, p. 385. Thus in Damascus mālī means both 'I am not' and 'I haven't (got)'; but in many other parts of Syria mālī means only 'I haven't got', while mānī means 'I am not'.

The Particle lā

Verbs in the independent subjunctive [p.345] (especially in negative commands) are negated with lā:

1. lā tṭaqāxar 'Don't be late'
2. lā ṭḥāʾsānī 'I'm sorry', 'Excuse(pl.) me', lit. 'Don't blame me, Don't hold it against me'
3. lā ṭrāmmēh ḫalāna ṭāmēt ṭl-hamā 'Let's not miss the outing', lit. 'Don't let the outing get away from us' (ṛamāḥ 'to let go, make go', causative of ṭāḥ)

In many parts of Greater Syria, however, mā is generally used in negative commands rather than (or as well as) lā: mā tṭaqāxar 'Don't be late', mā ṭḥāʾsānī 'I'm sorry', etc.

4. lā ḥal-lak ṣahre 'Don't give it a thought', lit. 'Let there not be a thought to you'
5. ṭalā lā y添加剂 'God forbid!' lit. 'May God not decree'

lā is used before the second-person perfect of ḥād and bāʾa 'to keep on (doing something), to do...again', as a negative command 'don't...any more':

6. lā ṭaddu ḍāṣrū 'Don't(pl.) visit him any more'
7. lā bāʾet ṭḥāʾkōn 'Don't talk to them any more'

Cf. mā ṭdēna mūrō 'We don't visit him any more', mā bāʾet ṭḥāʾkōn 'I don't talk to them any more'. Though ḥād and bāʾa in these locutions are inflected as full-fledged verbs, they function syntactically as a sort of intrusive adverbal element, coming between the negative particle and the verb it really applies to. Thus lā...ḍāṣrū 'Don't visit him...', lā...ṭḥāʾkōn 'Don't talk to them...'.

lā also occurs with a verb in the perfect in the expression lā samāh ṭaffā 'God forbid!', lit. 'May God not have allowed!'
If a complement or a post-posed subject [p.407] has w-lā, the main term of the predicate must also be preceded by a negative particle:

18. mē fī w-lā natfel xabā'ī bal-bēt 'There's not even a piece of bread in the house'

20. mē 'ašū w-lā b-harīf w-lā 'He neither pronounced another letter nor spoke another word' (The w-lā before b-harīf is 'nor', in coordination with mē ēd..., while the w-lā before b-harīf and before ḫalēm is the emphatic particle.)

COORDINATION

Coordination is a type of construction in which none of the two or more terms is grammatically subordinate to - or dependent on - the other (or others). SYNDETIC coordinations are marked by a conjunction between the co-ordinated terms, such as w- 'and', ṭāw- 'or', ēkēn 'but', etc., while ASYN-DETIC coordinations [p.398] simply have their terms juxtaposed without any conjunction. (POLYSYNDETIC coordinations [396] have a conjunction before the leading term as well as before the following terms: yā... yā... 'either... or...'.)

The Conjunction w- 'and'. This conjunction is a proclitic, i.e. it is pronounced as a prefix on the following word [p.18], though the coordinated term may be whole clause or phrase. The use of w- in coordinations is similar to the use of English 'and', but unlike 'and', w- is also used as a subordinating conjunction [p.531] and as a particle of emphasis [390, 335].

In close phrasing [p.21] between a word ending in a consonant and a word beginning with a single consonant, this conjunction is regularly transcribed 'w-' in this book: taffāb w-mās ‘apples and bananas’; otherwise it is transcribed as a consonant: w-mās kāmān ‘and bananas too’.

In combination with the article [403], the conjunction is written in our transcription without the hyphen and with a following s (rather than ḍ): l-ṭālām wal-ṣktāb ‘the pencil and the book’. See p.476.

1 In actual pronunciation, there is a good deal of free variation and indeterminacy as between m and w in some positions, since the difference between them is subtle and non-phonemic [p.9].
Examples. Coordination of noun-type words and phrases:

1. **sli̇n *l-Ca̱rūs mal-Ca̱rīs?**
   "How are the bride and groom?"

2. **maṣi namret talif̢in̢ w-samā̱n̢o**
   "I have his telephone number and address"

Note, in the foregoing examples, that the article prefix and the pronoun suffixes must be repeated for each coordinated term to which they apply, while in English ‘the’ and ‘his’ can apply to the coordination as a whole. See also ex. 1, p. 394.

3. **budda ści̇ badle w-sabbā̱t u-ramgā̱n̢, w-ści̇ swuyyet ʿgrā̱d**
   "I (lit. 'we') want a suit and (a pair of) shoes and shirts, and a few [other] things"

Multiple coordinations like that in example 3 are in English often converted into a listing, with ‘and’ kept only before the last term: ‘...a suit, shoes, shirts, and a few other things’. In Arabic, however, w- is usually kept between all the terms.

4. **huame w-samīr ġa̱n̢o b-fard ʿaʃf**
   "He and Samir were in the same class"

For further examples of personal pronouns in coordinations, see pp. 364, 551.

5. **l-marḥala t-tālāle mal-ʾaxāre̱t̢**
   [DA-305]
   "The third and final stage..."

6. **Candi bāssīx ṣaḥmar u-ṣafṣar**
   "I have watermelon and cantaloupe (lit. "...red and yellow melon")"

7. **la-ramal w-ṣa̱xr ġarr marra la!**
   "For the first and last time, no!"

8. **...Cānem w-ʾaxāmet ʿarṣ bīyūt ʿl-ʾaṣḍa̱nyā [PAT-191]**
   "...the magnificence and elegance of the furnishings in the houses of the rich"

Examples 7 and 8 illustrate coordinations as leading term in annexation; see p. 456.

Coordination of verbs and verb phrases:

9. **...badu yanṭās u-m-yebu l-ʾadāb ʾl-Ca̱rābi l-ʾadām [DA-304]**
   "They began to stimulate and revive the old Arab culture"

10. **yan ṣa̱ly̱n̢ ṣaḥli̇ ṣawākāyi̇ yī w-sulbes bišāmti**
    "I’m going to take my clothes and put on my pajamas"

See also p. 320, top.

Coordination of clauses and sentences:

11. **ṭī mdīr ʾl-bāṣir ʾal-ʾaṣmaḥ ṣonna bašiie w-ʾadībītu ʾktīr**
    "The program director said it was nice and he liked it a lot"

12. **bihabb baḥṣe samme w-biḥabb yasṭbūr makhon**
    "He likes his aunt’s daughters and he likes to spend the evening with them"

13. **maṣja ṣaṣer w-ṣen ʿaṣja ʿeči̇le**
    "He is certainly clever, and God’s eye is upon him"

14. **rūḥ ṣaṣal ṣonna badda ʿṣī, w-baadīn ʿawī lali baddak yī**
    "Go ask your mother if she wants anything, and then do what you wish"

15. **byagh ʿonna bāṣīn̢ m-ʾatdrak ʾl-maṣše yīmdūn mārā bāʾr̢i̱n̢ w-kall yīn ṣutʾal bokra̱**
    "It seems that you’re lazy and you leave your assignment [undone] for two days in a row, and every day you say "tomorrow'."

16. **baʃʃe ʾl-Ca̱rūs ṣaddaṭ, w-mā ṣaʃjoy tškūl māc [AD-111]**
    "She set the dinner before him, but wouldn’t eat with him"

Followed by the negative mā, as in example 16, w- is sometimes better translated ‘but’ than ‘and’.

17. **šūf ṣom ṣa-nzahra? ūl b-ṣafṣar? – ṣamīa, w-bal-ʾaṣmaš l-ʾmaascle, w-wul-ʾaṣma**
    "Have you seen the picture at the Zahra? Is there anything good in it? - It’s great, especially the [leading] actress. - And [what about] the story?"

18. **mʃuʃker torbaʃ l-ʾiš-ʾām b-ʾabbāʃi̇t**
    "Are you planning to go back to Damascus in February? - No. I’m going back in June. - And will you stay permanently in Damascus?"

Like English ‘and’, w- is often used to link clauses in a significant sequence – the order of coordinated terms representing a time sequence or a cause-and-effect sequence of events:

19. **ṣhanna w-tarak ʾl-maṣraḥ**
    "He bowed and left the stage"

20. **maʃlet raʃše w-ṣeʃie la-ṣara**
    "His foot slipped and he fell over backwards"

21. **bass ṣešeg hal-maške wal-bāb byanʃbʃe̱t**
    "Just press this handle and the door will open"

22. **ε̱n-al-kaʃʃe̱ ʾaʃli̇ ṣa-saʃe̱ w-Ŷuʃ ṣina ṣneth ʾl-ʾeʃṣa**
    "Take a quick look and see if the mail has come"
Like 'and' again, m- is used in ANAPHORIC coordinations. The following term is a repetition of the leading term, and has augmentative [p.253] significance:

23. baddall m-bbakhī w-bbakhī
   'She keeps on talking and talking'

24. l-mnqfātīs tāmarret sā顾客 w-sā顾客
   'The argument went on for hours and hours'

25. kāl m-bbakhī ya-qāf tāktar w-tāktar
   'Everything is getting more and more expensive'

SYNONYM coordinates are commonly used for rhetorical emphasis:

26. ġānu b-taqaše m-bāps
   'They lived in misery and wretchedness'

See also examples 8 and 9, above.

Conjunctions translated 'or'

maw 'or' is used mainly to coordinate words or phrases, more rarely clauses. Examples:

1. bya baład l-falālah zaman pābūbo
   maw fašāki maw xadrīto mn
   s-sanāsir [PAT-185]
   'The farmer collects the price of his
   grain or fruit or vegetables from the
   broker'

2. l-yīm mā fī rāḥa ēl-yāhme
   maw ēs-sīnāma maw la-hūn
   w-la-hūn
   'Today there's [to be] no going to
   the coffeehouse or to the movies or
   hither and yon'

3. sāntīn maw tāšā bān-nasbe
   la-mhandes ktār
   'Two or three years for an engineer
   are a lot'

4. l-malābaša l-fraziyye hīyye
   ǧibāra ēn bānaʃūn w-sūka
   māf maw ǧidūn ǧadriyye [PAT-197]
   'The Western outfit consists of
   trousers and jacket with or without
   a vest'

   Example 4 shows a coordination of prepositions, which
   is a rather uncommon construction in Arabic. Cf. p.456.

5. pīm mū ǧibēj bi-bôlak
   'If you don't have your mind set on
   teaching in a university or something
   similar there's no sense in it '

Like English 'or', maw is used in synonymic coordinations:

6. l-mašīne m-pañans m-i- bāddet
   maw 'āsīm maw 'aʃiya [PAT-179]
   'The city is divided into a number
   of sections or quarters'

7. bāsīmmā l-baʃr l-kabbāsī maw
   l-baʃr m-kabābī
   'They call it the Abbasid Period or the
   Golden Age'

The conjunctions yēma (or yammâ) and wāllâ 'or, or, or else'
are to some extent synonyms of yā and pam, but are used most
commonly in ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS:

8. ǧāfīna maw?tēm. - darašē
   'Give me two tickets. - First class
   or second class?'

9. m-i-yāhme maw mūmūh? maw
   bāšībī? maw 'āsīm? [DA-26]
   'And now which way do we go? This
   way or that way?'

10. tāʃât maw bāšībī? maw yāt
   maw ǧibēj bi-bôlak
   [DA-77]
   'Did you leave directly from Beirut,
   or from Damascus?'

11. l-mašīne maw?tēm. - darašē
   maw l-mašīne maw m-i-bāddet
   maw 'āsīm? [DA-180]
   'And are you going back to Damascus,
   or will you stay here?'

   'Shall I put hair tonic on, or just
   water?'

   Alternative questions are commonly pronounced with an
   intonation similar to that of substitution questions [p.379].
   The first term (which ends just before the conjunction) has
   a slightly rising pitch, while the following term may end on
   a medium-low level pitch; or else - as in English - fall all
   the way to the "bottom":

12. s-ānīte hāb... hāb maw? maw
   bāddet maw 'āsīm? [AO-71]
   'There is one month in the year
   which has only twenty-eight or else
   twenty-nine days'

13. s-ūm hāb... hāb maw? maw
   bāddet maw 'āsīm? [AO-71]
   'Hurry up or you'll be late'
Portions of the text are translated as follows:

- **Polysyndetic Coordinations.**
  - yā ?ana brūh yā huwmee
  - 2. yā ?ana brūh yā huwmee
  - 3. yā ?ana brūh yā huwmee
  - 4. yā ?ana brūh yā huwmee

- **Clause Conjunctions.**
  - 1. t-fayyara tāhet fa-thaṭṭamet
  - 2. Pāhas šartet t-taṭilm
  - 3. kān čanna dyūf
  - 4. mā be deport yahlu māt yahlu māt yahlu māt
  - 5. mahmūd byaṭrabo la-hāṣen
  - 6. maṭṭla yāna biḥabb  il-fustunne

- **Examples 18-21 illustrate another common use of walla (less common for yamma, yamma), namely the coordination of a command with a predication. The predication depicts the consequence of not obeying the command.**

- **Neither...nor... coordinations are expressed with lā... w-lā... literally 'not...and not...'.** See p.390. Further examples:
  - 9. byāklu b-?iṭṭen w-mā byaṭsâsaṭmiu lā sāke w-lā sakkîn [PAT-193]
  - 10. ʕāl ḥaytā lā lâ hāṣ-hābal lā-?al-barriyye [AD-117]
  - 11. marfūfa ḥalif; lā sinama w-lā xâme w-lā tanam ḥalif ḥanṭî [PAT-195]

- **Clause Conjunctions.**
  - The conjunction fa- 'so, and' differs from w- in that it is only used to conjoin sentences or clauses, and always implies significant sequence or summation.
  - 1. t-fayyara tāhet fa-thaṭṭamet bal-barriyye
  - 2. Pāhas šartet t-taṭilm biṭṭafayyar ġalâk fa-kall ʕād biki̇n. ʕādīd
  - 3. kān čanna dyūf, w-āṣâṣnah dyūf man čamūn, fa-paṭhu sahrū čanna
  - 4. mā be deport yahlu māt māt māt māt māt māt māt māt
  - 5. mahmūd byaṭrabo la-hāṣen, lāken forbe ʕina biṭṭa ġeṭīn
  - 6. maṭṭla yāna biḥabb  il-fustunne lāken baddi rūḥ ʕas-sinama

- **These coordinations are not exactly polysyndetic, since lā is a negative particle, not a conjunction. The fact that the leading term has lā rather than mā or mā, however, does constitute a mark of coordination.**
7. kent baddi 'afrū-li ṣawaye laken mačli, manfara bakkir bukra
8. tačelogo cai-axbār kān màstafar laken waďiah
9. baltat 'a-sane, base b-żbās; 'a-żbāyex baltleex
10. 'ana bač-rfo mn 'a-lām bai-madrēse, base kān fadsüm 'a-gūf
11. badda xams 'amīn, base xams 'amīn madrasiyi, 'a-badamsammu 'arbač 'amīn base 'baitanšel la-xams 'aɡūf, 'afta kif

'I was going to do some reading, but never mind, we'll get up early tomorrow'
'His commentary on the news was brief but clear'
'I've started the year, but next February I'll finish'
'I know him from Damascus at school, but he was just a little kid'
'It takes five years, but five school years... so they stay four years but you go though five classes, you see'

Syndetic Coordinations

Certain kinds of terms are often coordinated without a conjunction. Consecutive numerals (including nouns in the dual), for instance, are commonly juxtaposed in the sense '... and...':

1. B-ramāla kalhon par-lo 'arbač xams 'amīn, wa-mā zalame zalame, kān fi xams soṭ alla zalame 'a-żdūn man koll namahi 'amērka
2. baišān baddi 'arbač la-žām "a-żad-zi Bahrijn tāšte
3. d-dōktor 'ašl løzəm nassanno tāšta rbač iyyān [DA-217]

'The whole group had been [here], four or five years, and it wasn't just one or two people; there were five or six thousand people present from all parts of America'
'Then I expect to go back to Damascus to stay two or three months'
'The doctor said we'd have to wait three or four days'

Note in ex. 3 the special form tāšta rbač (instead of tāšte 'arbač)

Adjectives and nouns are often coordinated asyndetically in sentences like the following:

7. bākā kamm kalme xallā yastahi
8. staḥkamto b-ḍarbe xalat-šilō nīfe
9. tʃaḍalul yin ranakē koll wašēd imadd 'a-ʃaṭaš-lə ṣawaye
10. l-šārī harla man mūmā bi-ramērka bi-šāmēn 'a-řabū [DA-75]
11. w-ḥotarbač ēāmd "a-ş-pōb b-ṭonfx ēla wāsēk, batramamh ēūnno l- bān[ AO-118]

This kind of construction is particularly common when the first clause has a translocative verb [p. 274]:

7. bākā kamm kalme xallā yastahi
8. staḥkamto b-ḍarbe xalat-šilō nīfe
9. tʃaḍalul yin ranakē koll wašēd imadd 'a-ʃaṭaš-lə ṣawaye
10. l-šārī harla man mūmā bi-ramērka bi-šāmēn 'a-řabū [DA-75]
11. w-ḥotarbač ēāmd "a-ş-pōb b-ṭonfx ēla wāsēk, batramamh ēūnno l- bān[ AO-118]

'He said a few words to him and embarrassed him'
'I aimed a blow at him and loosened his jaw for him'
'Come on, folks, everybody help himself and have a good time'
'The eldest is now in America and helps his father'
'And she comes back in the morning and blows on his face, and drives the anesthetic away from him'

Verbal clauses with the same subject-referent are often conjoined asyndetically in the sense of 'and', but such clauses are usually in significant sequence [p. 393] and may often be interpreted as complementary:

12. bammro bākda mm 'a-ʃešil ẓ-ṣawaye xams m-nāṣ [DA-249]
13. 'ašte yin la-ṭaxtak stroṭ-lak ṣawaye [DA-217]
14. bokra bāši bāshadda loži
15. rāyē bāb-lak yūk̆a [AO-115]
16. ʃaṭe baddo yūk̆a ʃeʃreʃ ʃēla
17. byarbač cai-bēḥ biʃkayed ʃalena m-ʃeʃfar märna [DA-300]

'Join me and pick you up at the hotel at half past five'
'You go on up to bed and rest a while'
'Tomorrow I'll come and have lunch with you'
'I'll go and get her for you'
'He comes along and wants her to have an abortion'
'He'll come back home and wish us holiday greetings and break his fast with us'
CHAPTER 16: PREDICATION AND EXTRAPosition

Predication — defined in Chapter 15 (p. 379) — is the basic clause-forming construction. The constituents of a predication are the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE. The subject, however, is commonly suppressed, especially in verbal predi- cations, so that many predications consist of a predicate alone: *bstrāh *cal-bêt? ‘Are you going home?’ (for *ante bstrāh *cal-bêt?), *rāh ʾiššafak ‘He went to see you’ (for e.g. *ašāk *rāh ʾiššafak ‘Your brother went to see you’).

The relationship of subject and predicate is expressed mainly by number/gender agreement [p. 420]. The predicate (if inflectible for number/gender) usually agrees with the subject.

The word order of subject and predicate varies, depending partly on what the subject and predicate consist of, and partly on emphasis, stylistic considerations, etc.

The subject-affix of a verb (p. 175) is sometimes analyzed as a pronoun, and as subject of the verbal clause. Since it is an obligatory part of the verb, however — since it must be present whether or not a syntactic subject is also present — it is in fact a genuine inflectional affix and cannot be counted as a pronoun or a subject-surrogate in the full sense of these terms. (In this respect subject-affixes differ fundamentally from the complemental pronoun suffixes [p. 539], which generally occur in place of — not in addition to — a syntactic complement. [But see p. 434].)

Traditional Arabic grammar makes a fundamental distinction between the construction of a verbal clause (*majla fīliyya) and that of a nominal clause (*majla ṭismiyya). The subject (al-šabīl “the agent”) of a verbal clause is treated in effect as another kind of complement, since it normally follows — or may follow — the verb (while preceding the object or other complements) and since a verb often shows no agreement with a following indefinite subject [421].

A nominal (or a non-verbal) clause, on the other hand, is traditionally analyzed in terms of the topic-comment construction (al-mubāda? mal-xabar), since the subject normally precedes the predicate. The type of topic-comment construction here called ‘extraposition’ [p. 431] has an anaphoric pronoun in the comment whose antecedent is the topic; note that when verbal subject-affixes are considered pronouns, then the subject of a following verbal predicate also qualifies as an extraposition topic, since it is antecedent to the subject “pronoun” in the verb.
Arabic predications are more diverse (both in constituency and in word order) than predications in English. The main differences are 1.) that in Arabic the subject may be suppressed in many cases where English requires a subject pronoun; 2.) that the Arabic subject in many cases follows the predicate – or a part of the predicate – where in English it generally must come first; 3.) that in Arabic the predicate may consist of a prepositional, adjectival, or nominal phrase as well as a verbal phrase, while in English it is always verbal.

**Non-Verbal Predications**

An indefinite [p. 494] nominal, adjectival, or prepositional predicate is used to depict a present (or permanent) state or characteristic of the subject referent. The subject ordinarily comes first (but see pp. 414, 419) and is usually definite. In the English translations the predicate (or in questions, the subject) is usually introduced by 'is', 'are', or 'am'.

### Prepositional Predicates:

1. **'Abd al-bāt malla barra**
   
   'Is your father in the house, or outside?' (On "free" prepositions, see p. 485.)

2. **bīsṭ ḥadd s-a-sīnāma**
   
   'His house is next to the movie theater'

3. **l-dūlād taht ḏ-l-ḥām l-darrī**
   
   'The country is under martial law'

4. **sāyyāra hilla bārrī sāmānīn bał-marra**
   
   'A car just now is altogether beyond our means' (Indefinite subject.)

5. **'ana bīn l-nayyīdī** [DA-197]
   
   'I'm at your service' (lit. 'I'm between the hands')

6. **ṣākūti mathāl ḫāqīst ma'īl ḫāqīst ma'īl rayyān** [AO-116]
   
   'My experience (lit. 'my story') with you is like the story of the king of Greece with the doctor Rayyan'.

7. **ḥal-nākt tabāb pābbī**
   
   'This book belongs to my friend' (p. 469)

8. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**
   
   'All her life (her only concern has been that) God is above and her house is below' (i.e. She's a home-body).

Most cases in which a prepositional predicate precedes its subject come under the heading of 'quasi-verbal predications', e.g. ēnāna ṣalā 'We have guests', lit. 'With us (Fr. chez nous) are guests'. See p. 413. To translate

### Adjectival Predicates:

9. **maṣrūfo taḥlīl**
   
   'His expenses are slight'

10. **l-maṣārīk naṣfiti ẓal-maṣsīfī**

11. **xsāntak matruṣe tāṛs**

12. **maṣṣar ṭl-bāṭār kītīr ḥarū** [PVA-20]

13. **āntu masāši'ī?**

14. **hāret ṭl-ḥalām dayyya kītīr, lākha ṭaṣṭat maṣṣar al-masāši'ī** [Hg. 1.1]

15. **ḥabīl māmūt matruṣal bal-matḥaf**

16. **'aṣāra ḥallī, ṭosmo ḥasan**

17. **bīt al-ṣūrī fiṭīr kōrre** [SAL-65]

18. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**

19. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**

20. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**

Note, however: taḥt 'ūdī māḥa ḥāf ẓāfīa [DA-80A] 'I have one(f.)

One of his worst qualities is indecision', which has a prepositional predicate preceding a definite subject. In this case the phrase maṣṣar ṭl-ḥalām 'of the worst of his qualities' functions like a nominal phrase, and the sentence is similar to an equational predicate (p. 405) (cf. ṭalāq al-ḥāfīz, t-taraddu 'His worst quality is indecision', in which the first term is interpreted as subject and t-taraddu, as predicate.

On the prepositional use of the prepositional-phrase substitutes bān 'here', ḥāf 'there', mān 'where', etc., see Ch. 21.

### Nominal Predicates:

16. **'aṣāra ḥallī, ṭosmo ḥasan**

17. **bīt al-ṣūrī fiṭīr kōrre** [SAL-65]

18. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**

19. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**

20. **fūl ēmara ṭalja fū' u-bīsta taḥt**

'His expenses are slight'

'Macaroni is easy on the stomach'

'Your wardrobe is chock full' (pass. participle with paronymous complement (p. 442))

'The view of the sea is very beautiful'

'Are you(pl.) well?'

'The Muslim quarter is quite crowded but is cleaner than the Christian quarter'

'The skeleton of a mammoth is on exhibit in the museum' (Note that the Arabic subject is indefinite.)

'His brother is a barber; his name is Hassan' (ḥasan is definite; see p. 405.)

'The Khourys are a large family'
A nominal predicate may be definite. In that case, the predication is usually EQUATIONAL, i.e. the subject and predicate are interchangeable and refer to the same thing:

27. ṭabūḥon ʾEdel / ʾEdel ṭabūḥon

'Their father is Adel' / 'Adel is their father'

28. raʾṭs ʾl-maṣūra / raʾṭs ʾl-hukūme

'The prime minister is the actual head of the government' / 'The actual head of the government is the prime minister'

Sentences like those in ex. 28 are usually pronounced with a considerable prosodic break between the subject and the predicate: the end of the subject is drawn out, usually with a rising intonation, and there is often a pause before the beginning of the predicate. (Alternatively, the predication may be transformed by extraposition: raʾṭs ʾl-maṣūra humwe raʾṭs ʾl-hukūme ʾl-haqiqi The prime minister, he is...'. See p.434.) Similarly:

29. ʾl-ʾāḏi, ʾyalli baẓẖom / ʾyalli baẓẖom, ʾl-ʾāḏi

'The judge is the one who makes the decision' / 'The one who makes the decision is the judge'

Or better: ʾl-ʾāḏi humwe ʾl-li baẓẖom / ʾyalli baẓẖom, ʾl-ʾāḏi.

30. ḍīūman maḥbuat ṭl-ʾmāṣūrā ṭl-ʾmāṣūrā

'All you ever care about is expenses and money' (lit. 'Always your idol is...')

A predication that is equational in the strictest sense cannot be said to have a subject and a predicate: the two terms are grammatically (as well as referentially) equivalent. The word order in a nominal predication depends entirely upon definiteness (or pronominization, see below), hence when both terms are definite the word order is irrelevant.

Actually, however, these predications are rarely if ever equational in the strictest sense. That is to say, the permutation of terms usually carries with it a change of meaning, such that while ʿabūḥon ʾaḥmad is felt to be a statement about their father, ʾaḥmad ʿabūḥon is a statement about Ahmed. We continue to speak, therefore, of the leading term as 'subject' and the following term as 'predicate' even while calling the predication 'equational'.

The term 'equational sentence' has sometimes been used in Arabic grammar more broadly, to denote all non-verbal predications. Though this may seem a gratuitous abuse of the concept of 'equation', it might also be argued (rightly or wrongly) that 'equational predication' in the narrow sense is merely a semantic category for Arabic, while in the broader sense it is formal.
Elatives and ordinals in construct with an indefinite term [p.473] may also enter into an equational predication. That is to say, they may occur either as following term or as leading term in a predication where the other term is definite (even though they are indefinite by the criterion of agreement [404]):

31. āli ḥāsun laṭṭeb bāl-farī’ / ḥāsun laṭṭeb bāl-farī’ āli
   ‘Ali is the best player on the team’ / The best player on the team is Ali.’

32. sâ-sokolā’ ḥāfūd լ ē candid / ḥāfūd լ ē candid sâ-sokolā’
   ‘Chocolate is my favorite flavor’ (lit. ‘Chocolate is the tastiest thing with me’) / ‘My favorite flavor is chocolate’

33. ṣabni tâlet māhēd bâg-paff / tâlet māhēd bâg-paff ṣabni
   ‘My son is the third one in the line’ / ‘The third one in the line is my son’

Cardinal numerals, likewise, count as definite terms in arithmetical statements such as tâsit m-saṭṭe fasā ‘Three and six is nine’.

A statement to the effect that X is the name of Y is grammatically an equational predication (though of course the two terms do not refer to the same thing): ḥasāmu ḥasan / ḥasān ḥasānu ‘His name is Hassan’/ ‘Hassan is his name’.

34. ḥasāmu bâ Nina sâ-samhūriyye
   (s-labnaniyye [SAL-152] / s-samhūriyye l-labnaniyye)
   ‘The name of our country is ‘The Lebanese Republic’/ ‘The Lebanese Republic’ is the name of our country’

There are some nominal predications in which both terms are definite, but which are nevertheless classificatory, not equational: tâkit wâdī s-pahra [SAL-138] ‘We are both sons of the desert’. The predicate wâdī s-pahra is a classificatory construct [p.458, depicting something characteristic of the subject-referent, not something identical with it. The subject and predicate therefore cannot be interchanged. Similarly, ḥasān ṣâbī ‘Hassan is my friend’ does not necessarily mean that he is my only friend; therefore it is not always permutable to ṣâbī ḥasan ‘My friend is Hassan’.

The most common type of equational predication is that in which the subject is a personal or demonstrative pronoun [pp.539, 552]: hâda ‘ghâhen ‘That’s their father’, ḥumme r-raftsas ‘He’s the boss’, hâda ‘ghumme ‘That’s him’. A pronominal predicate is rarely used with a definite nominal subject, however (as in ṭâbān, hâda ‘Their father is that one’); the two terms are not therefore generally interchangeable.

35. ḥâfy ṣâxiti s-gâfīre
   ‘That’s my little sister’

36. hadâl ُṣ-l-kâtib ḥalli ṣalabtûn
   ‘Are these the books you ordered?’

The pronoun subject usually appears to agree with the predicate in number/gender; actually this is not grammatical agreement but merely a consequence of the fact that the two terms have the same referent. (Predicates agree with subjects, not vice-versa [p.420].) When there is a conflict between the number/gender of the predicate and the “natural” number and gender of the pronoun’s referent, then the natural number/gender usually prevails:

37. ḡâmme ṣâlī ṣ-l-baladiyye
   ‘He’s the mayor’

38. ḥâda ṣâbīl լ է Candid
   ‘That’s what I dislike most of all’

39. ḡâda ṣâbīl ṣ-l-baladiyye
   ‘I was the first to arrive’ (lit. ‘I am the first one that arrived’)

40. ḡâda ṣâbīl ṣ-l-baladiyye
   ‘This is the third job he’s had’

The placement of the subject in verbal predications depends on a number of different factors, and is to a considerable extent optional.

All the statements about word order in these sections apply only to “normal” or basic word order; for the predicate-subject inversion, see p.419.

If the subject is indefinite, it usually follows the verb: ḥâfa r-rasīl ‘A man saw her’. If it is definite, it may generally either precede or follow: ḥâfa r-rasīl լ է Candid / ḥâfa r-rasīl ‘The man saw her’. If the verb has complements (other than pronoun complements), a post-verbal subject ordinarily precedes them: ḥâfa r-rasīl փ-l-bant ‘The man saw the girl’.

Examples, indefinite subject following verb (subject underscored):

1. ḥâza zâlamâ eṭārī լ ē Candid māhēd մ է ṣâbīl ջ-նեց [AO-108]
   ‘A strange man came to stay with one of the villagers’

2. ṣâbīnī bīl man ṣṭāmētēn
   ‘I was accepted by two universities’ (lit. ‘Come to me acceptance from...’)

3. ḡâla ṣâlī ṣâlī ṣ-l-baladiyye
   ‘A peasant from the outskirts of Jerusalem joined the army’

4. ḡâdī ṣâlī ṣâlī ṣ-l-baladiyye
   ‘Don’t get off the sidewalk; a car will run over you’
5. mā ẓafī ǧīr būkētēn baλ-bēt

'There are not but two packs left in the house.'

The subject commonly follows a complemental preposition with pronoun suffix:

6. mū ṭāh ǧalīk ǧī

'You haven't missed anything' (lit. 'There has not gone by you a thing')

7. ṭawṣulīn manhā ṭaǰfīlm ʿmn būbērē ʾaswād baṣṣah ʾt-tūr [AO-117]

'I got a note from her yesterday' (lit. 'Reached me from her a note yesterday')

8. ṭāhī? ʾl-bēt ʾm-tāle ʾmn-nān mābēd ʾaswād baṣṣah ʾt-tūr [AO-117]

'The wall opened up and out of it came a black slave who looked like a bull.'

Examples, definite subject following verb:

9. ṭaʃārfu miš ṣī-madrāsē

'The children have gotten out of school' (lit. 'The school children have been let out')

10. ʾbūdīb ʾaš-šāma ṣa-sūqī xaṃsa ʾtārīban [AO-71]

'The sun sets at approximately five o'clock'

11. ʾbūlīda ṣa-rāda bi-ḥal-maxṣān [DA-252]

'What we need can be found in this store'

12. ṭanlīlī mārtī ʾb-ḥarāb matī ʾl-ṭūde [AO-118]

'My wife brought me the drink as usual'

13. ṭaḥbāṣet ʾl-ḥasāl tāmsīl ʾl-halāmū ṭūb ʾl-sīrū [AO-114]

'The girl dressed the candy statue in the wedding gown'

14. ʾmaʃī ʾbāṭrība ṭālīb b-ḥakyo

'It certainly does my heart good to hear him talk' (lit. 'By God my heart is revived by his talk')

15. mū ʾl-bīd ʾl-māḥed yasmaḥ ʾmmbar ʾbāzīlo

'One no longer hears the news from his home town' (The subject precedes the complemental verb yasmaḥ but follows the 'linking' verb ēd.)

Examples, definite subject preceding verb:

16. ʾd-ḥoktīr maddā ḍegri ʾṣa-māšaṣa [DA-202]

'The doctor took him directly to the hospital'

17. ṭalīl ṣayyūr ʾṣ-eḥkre biṭṣmaṣṣa [DA-251]

'The company car will take us there now'

18. ʾbūa rāh ʾṣāli ṣaʃāt ʾl-ṭūd [DA-298]

'Daddy has gone to perform the holiday prayer'

19. bar-ḥaʃīl ṭālī ʾl-baŋt ʾbaʃlaḥ ʾmn ʾl-ṭīrās [AO-59]

'In the spring all the seeds sprout from the ground'

20. ʾl-ṭalīl ṭaʃāfāq ʾḥal ṭaṣmāsīl ṣa-ṣāḥē [AO-59]

'The farmer harvests them with a scythe early in the summer'

21. ṭalīl ṭaʃā ṣaʃaʃ ʾbāf ṭaʃdaṇ [AO-107]

'My family and his are acquainted with one another'

22. ṭalīl ʾbābik biṣṣī ṭaʃdā ṭa-hālo [AO-107]

'Now my father will be all by himself'

A verb in the simple imperfect functioning adjectivally [p.328], or usually in any characterizing sense, is like a non-verbal predicate; i.e. it is normally only preceded, not followed, by a definite subject:

23. ʾbūn ʾṣabb ʾbāʃtīqel

'Ve that young man (really) works' (= ʾbūn ʾṣabb ʾṣāḥē 'That young man's a good worker')

24. ʾṣāq ʾbīṣaḥmallāl

'His work is boring' (= ʾṣāq ʾmmalī)

25. ʾbīḥal-māʃar ṭa ʾbāntāṣa

'That sight is unforgettable'

26. ṭa-dākhīb ʾbāʃp ʾbbak [EA-158]

'You'd like the man' (i.e. 'The man is likeable', lit. 'The man would please you')

27. ʾmālī ʾṣaʃyadna ʾbāṣmā ṭa-šlo [AO-118]

'Our master is certainly a good man' (lit. 'By God, our master is worth his weight')

28. ṭ-ṣāla ṭaʃā ʾabīb

'The boy resembles his father'

29. ʾḥaʃal ʾḥāl ʾṣa-ṣmāyde ʾmā ʾbūlūm [DA-217]

'Anyway, appendicitis isn't serious' (lit. "...doesn't matter")

Under certain conditions, the subject usually precedes the verb regardless whether it is definite or not. A long subject phrase, for instance, is usually not inserted between a verb and its complements. It may follow pronominal complements, as in ex. 8 above, but if there are non-pronominal complements, the subject normally comes before the verb:

30. ṭayyāja ʾrāya ʾmādā ṭaʃāre biṭʃb ʾl-ṭāqīra bi-ḥoktīr ʾṣ̣āḥē [DA-217]

'Any short wave radio can get Cairo quite easily'

31. ʾl-ṭāmā ʾmādā ṭaʃā ṭa-ḥal ʾmā ṭaʃdaṇ ʾl-ḥoktīr ʾmā ʾḥaʃaʃ ʾl-mālē [AO-95]

'None of the medicines that the doctors prescribed for him reduced the king's weight'
In subordinate clauses, certain conjunctions tend to be followed mostly by verbs; verb-subject word order is favored in such clauses. The verb-favoring conjunctions include the particle ma (as in ba’ad ma ‘after’, etc.), ‘and,’ ‘also,’ ‘then,’ ‘when,’ and ‘that,’ etc. ‘until, in order that’. As a conjunction, the particle la- ‘in order that, until’ can only be followed by a verb:

1. ‘What should I do in order that God will forgive my sins?’
2. ‘You’d better hurry before the bell rings.’
3. ‘The food must get done the same way I got warm when I was naked on top of the mountain.’
4. ‘Wait till (when) her father returns from the Pilgrimage.’
5. ‘And when the servant brought those things, the girl cooked them in a large pot.’
6. ‘He stayed a long time and didn’t leave, until the host got fed up with him.’
7. ‘She wouldn’t agree to go through with the wedding unless forty girls would attend that night.’
8. ‘And now you’ll see how happy they are when the butcher comes.’

Examples of pre-verbal subject after lamma, ḥatta, and ma:

1. ‘She gave it to the woman Ali QUICK- silver had sent’
2. ‘When Lot sinned, he went to his uncle Abraham’
3. ‘And he waited until the matter was forgotten’
4. ‘After everyone had eaten, the sultan announced the beginning of the debate’

In example 39 considerations of narrative style determine the placement of the subjects;ṣabbūn comes before its verb perhaps for emphasis (“there were a certain town two young men who...”) or perhaps to counterbalance the structure of the first sentence. In the first sentence the subject ṣabbūn follows the complement b-balad (a characteristically narrative construction, cf. the English translation), especially in order not to be separated from the following coordinated clauses, to whose subjects it is the antecedent. The coordination l-waṭeṣtīlāyērīya ṣabbūn is actually a separate sentence, but its referential dependence on the antecedent ṣabbūn gives it much the force of an attributive clause.

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After the complementary conjunction  ?anno [p. 449], the subject usually precedes the verb:

52.  5o-f?i no?no 5axi m?t b?d-xi?add [AO-118]  ‘I’ve learned that my brother died in the holy war’

53.  m-5?tak? ?anno g-5?e5 b-ha?-5ar?5a yamken yaf5am m-5?a5jer [AO-108]  ‘And he thought that in this way the guest might get the point and leave’

Quasi-Verbal Predicates

The noun stem badd- is used with pronoun suffixes to form a verb-like predicative meaning ‘to want, require, intend, be going to’:

baddo  ‘he wants, etc.’  baddo(h)a  ‘she wants, etc.’

baddak  ‘you(m.) want, etc.’  baddo(h)on  ‘they want, etc.’

baddak  ‘you(f.) want, etc.’  baddakon  ‘you(pl.) want, etc.’

baddi  ‘I want, etc.’  baddna  ‘we want, etc.’

The pronoun suffixes function as subject-affixes, agreeing with the subject (if any), which usually comes first: l-malad baddo 5alam ‘The boy wants a pencil’. The complement may be either nominal (as 5alam, above) or verbal: baddo yr?gh 5he wants to go’. The verbal complement may be suppressed: m? baddo ‘He doesn’t want to’; the nominal complement may be prenominalized on the stem y?-: m? baddo y5ha ‘He doesn’t want it(f.).’

baddo, then, is syntactically verbal in almost every respect for most speakers (but see ex. 8, below), though in some parts of Greater Syria it enters certain constructions as a noun: baddi hiyye ‘I want it(f.)’ [Bart. 311, m? ha?5 badd ‘There’s no more need (for it)’ [ibid.]. If baddo is construed as a noun, then baddo 5alam is a nominal predicative meaning literally ‘His requirement is a pencil’, and l-malad baddo 5alam has to be interpreted as an extraposition [431] ‘The boy, his requirement is a pencil’. These interpretations do not apply, however, insofar as pronominizations are in the complementary form: baddo y?- ‘He wants it’ rather than the subject (or predicate) form: baddo hamma.

Examples of the use of baddo:
1.  baddo 5ar?5aC l?5-e5i?5m  ‘I want (or intend) to go back to Damascus’

2.  5axi 5?e5b5fr baddo yaf5ammar [AO-55]  ‘My older brother wants (or is going to) get married’

3.  zalami5n baddo5o5al-5?all5i  5am5a la-yah?5pu5da 5ak5let hal-5am5?h  ‘Two men(would) need at least two weeks to harvest that wheatfield’

4.  m5 baddak y5k5?on  ‘Don’t you want them?’

5.  5o5ma ma baddi, ba55od sa5y55a5ra 5?5fr b5-ad 5-5?am  ‘Whenever I want, I’ll take a car and I’ll be in Damascus’

6.  badda5o la-5m?5al 55i n?5p5 s?5a5ca  ‘It’ll take us about half an hour to get there’ (lit. ‘We’ll require...’)

7.  baddo5o xam5 55am5in, bass xam5 5am5in madra5si5yye  ‘It takes five years, but that’s five school years’ (Feminine impersonal predication [p. 428])

8.  5am5 baddi 5ar?5a5-li 5maw5yye  ‘I wanted to read a little’

Note that the linking verb [p. 452] in ex. 8 is inflected in agreement with baddi (as with a verbal subject complement [448]. This usage is optional, however; the linking verb before baddo may also remain uninflected: b?m baddi 5ar?5a-li 5maw5yye, lit. ‘It was my intention to read a little’; in this respect, at least, baddo may be construed as a noun.

9.  m? baddo l-mas?ale 5a5fa5c5em, 5ma?5kol 5an5na 5al-b5-l5?i [DA-197]  ‘There’s no question of restaurants, we’ll eat at home’ (lit. ‘The question doesn’t require restaurants...’)

Note the verb-subject word order in ex. 9: m? baddo l-mas?ale...

10.  baddo bi5?5a5?5i ?ar?5c5em5i  ‘What do you(pl.) want me to do?’

The prepositions 5and, 5ac5, and la-(5?5l-) [p. 476ff] are used with pronoun suffixes to form verb-like predicators meaning approximately ‘to have’: 5ando 5elle ‘He has a family’ (lit. ‘With him [Fr. chez lui] is a family’); ma55 5ma?5r55 ‘Have you any money?’ (lit. ‘Is there where you money?’); y?5la 5yu55 ?ame5n 5am55ef ‘She has beautiful eyes’ (lit. ‘There are to her, beautiful eyes’).

These prepositional predicators are less thoroughly verb-like than baddo in two main respects:
1.) The nominal term that follows them may usually be suppressed (like a subject [p. 418]) rather than pronominalized on the stem y?- (like an object [436]): ma55 ‘I have it’ or ‘I have some’, etc. In the case of 5ando, however, the following term may either be suppressed or pronominalized: 5ando ‘I have some, I have it’, or 5ando y?5 ‘I have it’.

2.) The prepositions are sometimes used in the same sense and same construction except with a noun rather than with a pronoun suffix: la-5am5i 5yu55 5f5fr [AO-43] ‘My mother has many brothers and sisters’ (lit. ‘To my
mother there are many...”). The verb-like construction is *əmmi *əla *əme kifre, in which the pronoun suffix of *əla is like a verbal subject-affix, agreeing with the subject *əmmi.

The verb-like nature of these prepositional constructions, then, consists in the predominance of pronoun suffixes over nouns after the prepositions, and the fact that a nominal subject (or quasi-object) almost always follows the prepositional predicatior, while the case of ordinary prepositional predications, the subject, which is usually definite, usually comes first. (But see p.403.)

Secondly, the prepositional quasi-verbs are negativized with the particle mā, which is used before verbs, rather than with mū, etc., which is used with ordinary non-verbal predications [p.384ff].

Examples:

11. mā fi namret talifono w-čamūno 'I have his telephone number and address'

12. əlu *əlak marō bōs-šatcr 'You must have a mania for poetry'

13. ēdātan bikun čandhon tlatt *šfğul 'They usually have three terms' (in an academic year)

14. kān čanna ġyūf 'We had guests'

Examples 13 and 14 illustrate another non-verb-like feature of the prepositional predicates: the linking verb [p.452] remains uninflected for number/gender when complemented by čando, mačo, etc., whereas with verbs (andoptionally with baddo) it is inflected to agree with the complement: kānna mačor 'we used to visit', kānna baddāna (or kānna baddora) 'we wanted', but kān čanna 'we had' (not "kānna čanna").

15. mā *əlkon ḥa? 'You're wrong' (lit. 'There is not to you right')

16. pshak čando rēl əl-yōm, mā byəder yaṭsi 'Your son-in-law has some men [visiting him] today, he can't come'

17. bōs lā tsmo əmmme ěndkon əl-bāhec [DA-151] 'But don't forget that you(pl.) have the sea'

18. mačak *əmblet ěxēr lēḥt? - mačo, tʃaadal [DA-46] 'Have you change for ten pounds? - Yes, I have; here you are'

19. *ʃ-fəwle *əla *tarrāč rešlēn 'The table has four legs'

20. Boddi kan-lo tlatt *byət 'My grandfather had three houses'

Note, in example 20, that *əla generally takes the form of a suffix when complementing a linking verb. [p.482.] Similarly: *əli əmēna mā əʃtak 'I haven't seen you for a week' (i.e. I've had a week of not seeing you), or par-li əmēna mā əʃtak 'It's been a week now that I haven't seen you' (lit. 'It's become for me a week...'). The suffix form is also commonly used with the negative mā [p.385]: t-šaṃarəf mə-non əpəpfe 'The streets have no sidewalks'.

Three more prepositional quasi-verbs areČalə 'to have to, to have as a responsibility or a debt'; fi 'to be able to' or, in impersonal predications [p.365], 'there is, there are'; and be 'to be the matter with' (used only with əʃ or əp - 'what' and mā... əp 'nothing'):

21. əlu ělək šap̣el əl-yōm? [DA-173] 'Do you work to do today?'

22. ēnə namōn čaliyyi mačor lu-knit [DA-248] 'I have to go there too' (lit. 'I also, there is on me an errand to there')

Note also the set phrase mačlēk or mačlē-əi 'never mind, that's all right' (– mā čalə-[ʃ] 'There's nothing on it'); mā ělək 'never mind, it's not your responsibility'.

23. əlu-bo? - mā-bo əʃ 'What's the matter with him (or it)? - Nothing'

24. mā fihøn yačemlū-lo əʃ 'They can't do a thing for him'

25. fi əti ədədak b-kamm lōra? 'Can I help you with a few pounds?'

26. bāyajla māched fi ət ham bēʃpit ha-ʃax 'Anybody can see through that fellow' (lit. "...can understand the truth of that person")

27. ē-haadē fik tāxadx ka-b-sone m-ŋag 'You can get the degree in a year and a half'

Examples of the impersonal fi 'there is, there are':

28. fi māched xalāg m-ŋahed ěm-yadros 'There's one who's finished and one studying'

29. əl-yōm mā fi ši man hād l-ʃaṃaral 'Today there's none of that, thank God'

30. mā ət destin fi ma-pət la-lhāds yall bu-ʃarəf 'I don't think there's time for [me to recount] the incident I know of'

31. kif mōrph ěl-gagbə? - fi l-bēp ma-t-traṇuma mə-t-takši [DA-45] 'How shall we go to Qassam? - There's the bus, the streetcar, and taxis'
32. kān fī ṣanāʾa kītū ṣhāfīk
'There were a lot of people there'

33. mā fī ḥaṣara ṭahra la-maḥrače
'There isn't even room in it for a handkerchief' (lit. 'There isn't in it a corner for...')

Example 33 illustrates the juxtaposition of the imperso-
nal predicate  fī and a supplemental phrase ḥaṣara 'in it (f.).' In such cases the impersonal  fī is often elided, thus: mā ḥaṣara ṭahra la-maḥrače. (See also p. 384, ex. 26.)

 fī is often complemented by ṣando, maṣaḥ, ṣolo, etc.:

34. fī ṣolo muṣachīn kītū w- fī ṣolo nā ṣaḥīdīn kītū fī
'He has a lot of admirers and he has a lot of critics' (lit. 'There are to him...')

35. ṣanāʼa maqālum hālla ṭahra ṣandā ṣaqāfī ḍaš-ḥām
'We course now have industrialization in Damascus' (lit. '...there is with us...')

The quasi-complement of  fī may come first, for emphasis (like a true subject), especially when negative:

36. ṣaḥara l-ṣanāʾa, ṣaḥīl mā fī [DA-199]
'Tomorrow's Friday; no work!'

37. ṣaḥīa ṣan nāk mā fī [DA-150]
'There's-thing prettier than that' (Cf. object-verb inversion, p. 439.)

The quasi-complement may of course be suppressed, as in the case of the other prepositional predicates:

38. ḥā fī ḥalū? – l-yām mā fī
'What is there for dessert? -- There isn't any today'

The construction with question-word and complement as in  ḥā fī ḥalū is treated on p. 569.

Participial Predicates. Participles are like verbs and unlike ordinary adjectives, in that the subject of a participial predicate often follows it. (Subject underscored in examples):

1. ṣūqe ḥaṣara barra [DA-199]
'A wind is coming up outside'

2. ḥaṣara māṣoḥ ṣh-ḥādī
'The new son-in-law is coming with them'

3. ẓāyil-li ṣaḥḥa ṭafjarāz ẓala ḥalāb [DA-248]
'I'd like to take a look around Aleppo' (lit. 'My mind has told me to...')

4. nāmāwād yāmo ḥāl yām mā ṣando dars ṣuṣī ṣuṣī ṣaṭan
'Sonny! is accustomed to coming and spending some time with me every day he has no lesson'

Further examples of participial predicates – mostly with subject first or subject suppressed – are given on pp. 263-75. (See especially p. 266.) Others with subject following are given on p. 422.

Clausal Subjects

The subject of a predication may be clause introduced by ṣanno (more rarely ṣanī, etc.), or a paraepatic verbal clause. Subject clauses virtually always follow the predicate, and are often also susceptible to analysis as complementary clauses. Some examples are given here, others on p. 451.

1. xaṭṣet l-ṣanāʾa ṣanno ḍaqayyed ṣl-ṣalādīya l-ṣarabiyye [EA-232]
'The government's plan is to support the Arab cause(s)'

2. māṣ macṭūl ṣanīṣkān [EA-264]
'It's inconceivable that I should forget you' (lit. 'It's not reasonable that...')

3. yallih ḍām-bāḥki ḍanno ṣaṭī tāko doktorā bal-handase
'What I'm saying is that you should come and take your doctorate in engineering'

4. labayt ḍanno ṣalā ṣaṣṣaṣi
'It's a bother for me to go personally'

The word yāmo – like ḍaḥa 'daddy' and certain other kinship terms associated with endearment and baby-talk – is used reciprocally; i.e. yāmo is used by children to address their mother and by the mother to address her children, and in other relationships assimilated to that between mother and children. In this instance a paternal aunt (ṣanīm) is referring to her nephew.
Suppression of the Subject

In English, the subject of an otherwise complete predication is rarely omitted except in certain kinds of casual conversational exchanges, where first- and second-person pronouns are sometimes suppressed, e.g., 'Didn't see him' (for 'I didn't see him'). 'Want to go?' (for 'Do you want...?'), etc. In Arabic, on the other hand, it is usual in all styles to omit the subject whenever it is clear from the context or the circumstances what the predicate applies to (and that it is in fact a predicate). See pp. 548-549.

Verbal and quasi-verbal predicates are the ones most commonly used without a subject: rāhī ʾiṣāyak He went to see you', baddā yāʾyak 'He wants to see you', ʾanda yā 'He has it', etc.

Adjectival predicates, however, are also very commonly used without a subject, and nominal predicates too, to a lesser extent. Examples of non-verbal predications with subject suppressed:

1. ʾaλi, tarak maṣafīto fi dāʾīrāt ʾašgāḥa; w-halla, kātib ṣalāfī fi ṣawāt al-dhārī. - bass, ṣawātī.[EA-169] ʾašgāḥa
2. ṣaṭrāt õ-l-bakalrūya mā ḥāk? – lā, bass brūṭ, bass ḥalma wa-manṭaḥa sales
3. ʿl-bāṣīl ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
4. ēṣīm bēl ṣawātī ṣaṭīr wa-nṣāha sales
5. ʿl ṭāfī ḥamal ṭāfī l-ŷām
6. kān ḥāmī ḥamī ḥāmī wa-nṣāha sales

The Predicate-Subject Inversion

Besides the basic kinds of word order in which the subject follows the main term of the predicate, there is also an INVERTED word order, in which the subject may be placed after the whole predicate, with the main sentence accent remaining on the predicate: ʾašgāḥa hālāšād ṭātāb yānte 'That boy is smart', rāhī ṣāḥīfī ʾašgāḥa ṭātāb yānte 'You're going to get a beating', bāl-bēl ṣawātī. 'Is your father in the house?' This inversion gives the impression that the subject was at first suppressed (to be "understood" from context), then restored later as an afterthought. Its effect is to put relatively more emphasis on the predicate, in declarative sentences the inverted subject is usually spoken at a pitch considerably lower than that of the predicate where the main sentence accent falls, but in questions the subject remains at a medium-high pitch or may rise higher. [See p. 379]. Examples (with "marking main accent of sentence):

1. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
2. mā ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
3. gāḥī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
4. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
5. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
6. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
7. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
8. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
9. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
10. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
11. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
12. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales
13. ṭāfī ṣawātī ṣaṭīr ṭaddan wa-nṣāha sales

Predicate-subject inversion should not be confused with the permutation of terms in an equational predication [p.405].
Number/Gender Agreement

A predicate that is inflectible for number/gender usually agrees with its subject. That is to say, the number and gender of the subject (if any) usually determine whether a predicate adjective or verb will be masculine, feminine, or plural.

The subject also determines whether a verb will be in the first, second, or third person, but this a much simpler matter, treated in Ch. 14 [p. 364].

The general rules of number/gender agreement given here must be qualified and modified by more specific rules given later:

(1) A masculine singular subject requires a masculine predicate:

hal-ktāb gašān 'This book is expensive'
müşel mašktābī? 'Has my book arrived?'
l-molad ṣīṣēn 'The child is hungry'

(2) A feminine singular subject requires a feminine predicate:

hal-bamūʃa gašāye 'This hat is expensive'
müşellet bamūša ṣīye 'Has my hat arrived?'
l-bant ṣīṣēn 'The girl is hungry'

(3) A dual subject requires a plural predicate:

hal-bamūšīn gašāīn 'Both these hats are expensive'
müşel l-ktābīn ṣīāza 'Have my two books arrived?'
l-bantīn ṣīṣēn 'Both girls are hungry'

(4) A -a coordination of singulars requires a plural predicate [See p. 502]:

l-ktāb maš-bamūʃa gašāīn 'The book and the hat are expensive'
müşel gaš-baʃī ṣī-baʃī 'Have the boy and the girl arrived?'

(5) A plural pronoun subject requires a plural predicate:

mašā nišān 'These are expensive'
müşel hanne? 'Have they arrived?'

(6) Most animate1 plural subjects require a plural predicate:

l-mūdīd ṣīṣēn 'The children are hungry'
müşel l-bantī? 'Have the girls arrived?'

1The term 'animate' should here be understood in a sort of theological sense, to include words designating human beings, but generally excluding animals [p. 424].

(7) Most inanimate plural subjects require either a plural or a feminine predicate, depending partly on whether the subject referents are viewed (respectively) as separate, particular instances, or as a collectivity or generality:

müşel mašktāb? 'Have your books arrived?'
or múšlet mašktāb?

hal-baranīt gašīn 'These hats are expensive'
l-baranīt gašīye 'Hats are expensive'

(8) A clause subject requires a masculine predicate:

baɣhar ṭaqqnha gašīye 'It seems that it’s expensive'
mašā hali mašlu 'It’s good that they’ve arrived'

Since masculine is the base or neutral number/gender, intrinsically subjectless ("impersonal") predications also have masculine predicates [p. 365].

A predicate noun - as well as a verb or adjective - often seems to agree in number and gender with the subject: āmqū mašim 'My uncle is doctors'; ?aʃī, marts gaʃībī 'Her sister is my friend’s wife'. This agreement, however, is not grammatically necessary; it is determined by the nature of the subject referent rather than by the grammatical category of the subject itself. Thus, for instance, ?aʃīhā marts gaʃībī 'Her brother is my friend’s wife' is not ungrammatical, only "unnatural". Note also: maʃbūdak al-marī 'Your idol (m.) is money (pl.)'; ḥayy modi 'adī 'This one (f.) is a new model (m.)', where ḥayy substitutes for e.g. has-saydā 'this car', as contrasted with ḥaddā modi 'adī 'This [thing you see before you] is a new model'. See also p. 407, ex. 41.

Non-Agreement with Post-Verbal Subject

A verb followed by an indefinite feminine or plural noun subject does not necessarily agree with that subject, but may remain in the masculine form: müşel baʃmīt (or mašlu baʃmīt) 'Some girls arrived', müşel baʃit (or mašlu baʃit) 'A girl arrived'. Examples:

1. mašlu ṭaʁbīn sone 'Almost a year has passed'
2. buƙura biʃiṣi natiṣit amliṣh (SAL-197) 'Tomorrow I’ll have some good plants' (lit. "...will come to me good plants")
3. kōn "b-balad ʾaʿxtēn [AO-111] "There were in a [certain] town two
sisters"

4. līlit "mābūnah māšīna nswār
"Last night we had visitors' (lit.
"...came to us..."

5. ṭxarrāl ʾfthā ʾtaʃbba
w-ʾawvākiyiyye w-ʾmḥadsīf
[PIPL-XIX]
"Doctors and lawyers and engineers
have graduated there"

6. mā nāmān kān yāši nās "ktfīr
la-ḥal-maḥsām [DA-238]
"A long time ago lots of people used
to come to that restaurant"

7. mū ʾqafī ʾqr ʾdāʃīr ᵗa₂ːtīye?
"There's only ten minutes left"

8. lā ʾykal-lak fakre
"Don't give it a thought' (lit. 'Let
there not be to you a thought"

Participles with a following subject may be uninflunct
in the same way as verbs:

9. bēq-lāna māšye ʾjawlīl ᵇadāmmā
"We have a long walk ahead of us'
(lit. 'There remains for us..."

10. ʾṣafyān tilāt sāhīr la-ḥaʃrīn
"There are three months to go before
June' (lit. 'Are left three months..."

11. ʾḥyīni ḫawmī man ṣafyeya
l-ʾsunūbīyye [DA-245]
"I've received a money order from
South Africa' (lit. 'Has come to me...")

12. mābśet-lak mākαtīf
"Some letters have been sent to you"

13. mawwād ʾhnēk ʾmlīd ʿarāb ʾktār
[DA-237]
"There are many Arabs to be found
there"

14. fālaʃ-lo ḫrārā b-kall ḫṣmān
"He has a rash all over his body'
(lit. 'Has broken out for him..."

Less commonly, a verb fails to agree with a following
definite subject, when something intervenes between the verb
and its subject, or when the subject is a coordinations:

15. ṣāssar ᵇawfūn ᵇl-ʾmursalīn
ˢl-ʾmāʃrūkīn [PIPL-XVII]
"The American missionaries have in-
fluenced them"

16. kān ʾb-ʾqafftīb ʾkiṭbīr Ტābāf
ʾb-ʾfrṣb [PVA-42]
"He was accompanied by the top army
brass' (lit. 'Were in his company..."

17. bīkān ʾhnēk bēqet ᵇl-ʾmāʃrār
mol-ʾmawqafīn mol-ʾtankīlar
[DA-300]
"The cabinet ministers and officials
and big shots will be there"

18. bsl-ʾkrūm byāltīrā ʾl-māñī
mol-taʃlāb ᵇad-dābīk [PIPL-XIV]
"In the vineyards are found the
jackal, the fox, and the hyena"

A subject phrase formed with ʾdīlla or ʾfīr 'except, but'
does not affect the preceding verb even though the phrase
is definite:

19. mū bīḥamma ʾfīr ᵇl-ʾdāʃyē
ʾšl-ʾmadīyiyye
"Nothing interests her but material
things"

20. mū hāmmā ʾdīlla ʾrāphaltī
"She's only concerned with her own
comfort"

21. rṣḥt ᵇṣāna ʾṣabī la-nāṣrīkīn
[DA-238]
"My father and I went to see you'
(The verb rṣḥt agrees in person,
but not in number. Cf. p. 364.)

Feminine Agreement with Plurals and Collectives

Most inanimate plurals, and some animate plurals and collectives, have
feminine agreement in the predicate when collectivity or generality is
emphasized rather than heterogeneity or particularity. Examples, inanimate
(with feminine predicate underscored):

1. ᵇl-ʾmūmārāt kollā bāʃlīt mācī
man ʾṣāmān
"All adventures ceased with me quite
a while ago"

2. ʾṣalā ᵇṣābī ᵇṣām-tāʃkī
ʾb-bārāyed ff ᵇṣame maʃāriyye
"According to what the papers are
saying, there's a cabinet crisis"

3. mū ʾṣādīt mācī maʃāri
"I have no more money' (lit. 'Does
not continue with me money'. The
form ʾṣādīt is a syncopation of ʾṣādet.)
Note that maʃāri is construed here
as a full-fledged subject, not as a
complement of mācī [p.413].

4. maʃpāt mārūn la-ḥaʃdīn ʃūl
ʾb-saʃrā ᵇṣā bātixɔg ʾṭahādfīsā
l-ḥalīmī
"When we go to their house, there's
no end all evening to her charming
conversation(s)' (ʾṭahādfīs, pl. of
ḥadīs)

5. ᵇšē bāʃfīr maʃlīmāštīn ᵇawṣaʃc
[PIPL-XII]
"'Thus your knowledge will become
broader' (maʃlīmāšt 'knowledge,
information', plural only [p.368])

6. hāl-ʾmālāyfūr ᵇallī ḫbṭhīn
ʾṣ̄bīr [DA-238]
"These envelopes you brought are
too large"
Plural Agreement

A verbal or adjectival predicate is put in the plural to agree with a plural subject, whenever the subject referents are thought of as diverse or individually discriminated:

1. Yamštâna ku'n kuñna mawamâñ sâmâlî n-mâkall collo ‘Her clothes were strewn all over the place’

2. koll hal-nâkaktâb mûslî sama ‘All these letters arrived at once’

Note, in ex. 2, that if the letters were not thought of in terms of their separateness, there would be little motivation for remarking that they arrived all together.

3. mrâco mabhüfin ‘His papers are correct’

4. s-saffâyen sitammu? ‘Have the notebooks been collected?’

5. hal-palâmân mû binâsbu baédon ‘These colors don’t go together’ (lit. ‘...don’t suit each other’)

In ex. 5 the reciprocity that is made explicit by the object baédon requires that the colors be thought of individually. The same situation, however, could be referred to with a reciprocative verb in the feminine: hal-palâmân mû bistamâsab [p. 248] ‘These colors don’t match’, in which the colors are considered in their overall effect rather than separately.

In many circumstances it makes little or no difference whether one chooses the feminine or the plural; thus in ex. 6 the predicate could be kbûr as well as kbâra. Sometimes, however, the difference in agreement can show whether a subject with the article prefix is meant generally or specifically: l-kot'ab mû bathammu ‘Books don’t interest him’ vs. l-kot'ab mû bihammu ‘The books don’t interest him’. If the sentence begins with hal-kot’ab ‘these books’, the specificity of the reference is already established, and then it makes no crucial difference whether the predicate is feminine or plural.

Further examples with specific subject, in which feminine and plural predicates are interchangeable:

7. l-kurâfatât bas-mârka laftet (or lafatu) napari  ‘The neckties in the display window caught my eye’ (lit. ‘turned my glance’)

8. snûnî cam-"ftâ'fî” (or cam-

9. bas-khabal betâyf 3d-dyâb  ‘In the mountains live wolves’

10. n-nâsra kînet hâyme fâ? bas-sama  ‘The vultures were soaring above in the sky’

A number of collective or plural human designations may be used with feminine verbal predicates. These include nâm and ‘ahîl ‘people, folks’, and plurals ending in -e/-a [pp. 213, 229]:

11. râbê 9-9-nâm 3abîl mopp 3l-lîl [DA-238]  ‘The people left before midnight’

12. ya taru n-nâm 9u râha-t9âli?  ‘I wonder what people will say?’

13. koll 9-9-nâm dûnda xabar [SPA-306]  ‘All the people know about it’ (lit. ‘...have news’)

14. kalî 3d-9âbâ wâtûl 3ûnon  mû meddamasamân  ‘The villagers say that they are not married’

15. elau maffet 3l-bûrâpân, 9-9-kâtflêl tfarjat bi-koll 3â-fishât  ‘At the sound of the horn, the workers scattered in all directions’

16. lâken baddî maff 3l-9âsâfé 3lécalâmmî  ‘But I’ll expect the same professors to teach me’

In ex. 5 the reciprocity that is made explicit by the object baédon requires that the colors be thought of individually. The same situation, however, could be referred to with a reciprocative verb in the feminine: hal-palâmân mû bistamâsab [p. 248] ‘These colors don’t match’, in which the colors are considered in their overall effect rather than separately.

Plurals of paucity [p. 369], and especially plurals of unit nouns [297], almost always have plural agreement in the predicate, except that inanimate unit noun plurals do not take adjective agreement in -In:

6. hal-kasîyûl mû mûnîk 9kfr  ‘These squashes are not very good’

7. t-taffêhât cam-yâbûd yantsa6u  ‘The apples are beginning to go bad’

Cf. l-yamštâna 9am-tâbda tontsâc ‘The fruit is beginning to go bad’ (yamštâ is a mass noun plural: sg. fâyîê.; t-taffâb 9am-yâbûd yantsa6 ‘The apples (collective) are...’.

If an adjective has no internal plural [p. 205], however, then the feminine is used, or else the uncommon feminine/plural [p. 201]:

8. had-darr9?nâm mûmîyû or had-darr9?mûmîyû  ‘These peaches are juicy’
Many singular nouns designating (or sometimes designating) groups of people are commonly used with plural verbal (and participial) predicates. These nouns include, again, ḏakī and nās (if this be considered a feminine singular noun) and their synonyms. Ethnic collectives [p.301] have plural agreement almost exclusively. Names of various kinds of institutions are often applied to the sum of their members:

9. ʾš-šarṭa fattaṣṣu ʾl-balad mān ḍawwālā l-aʾṣāra
   ‘The police searched the town from one end to the other.’
10. ft ʾṣālam ṭktfr ʾam-yaṣṭānnūk
    ‘There’s a large crowd awaiting you’ (ʾṣālam ‘world’, Fr. ‘monde’)
11. bēt ḏaṭṭak ḏaḥḥon yāṣu yusharu ḍanna
    ‘Your sister and her family are coming to spend the evening with us’ (lit. ‘The house of your sister…’)
12. ft nās ʾam-imītū bāc
    ‘There are people dying of hunger’
13. ḏakī ṭ-balad ḍ̱afr ēlām [A0-83]
    ‘The people of the town took him for a learned man’ (lit. ‘…saw him…’)
14. l-ḥāya ḏuna ṭaḥa-yamānā
    ‘The mob was about to Lynch him’
15. l-kull ṣyṣṣṭum ṭomn yāshṣī
    ‘Everyone knows he’s a swindler’

These words may also be used with singular agreement, however. For example:

16. l-kull ṣaddar yāṣīmā
    ‘Everyone appreciated his work’ (cf. ex. 15)
17. ʾš-ṣarṭa ḍam-ṭdaṭṭer ṣalā
    ‘The police are looking for him’ (cf. ex. 9)

Note also the singular agreement in the following:

18. ṣēb mā byṣṣ儿子 hadīl
    ‘An army wouldn’t eat all these!’
19. ʾṣālo sūkne ṣaṭb la-bêtəna
    ‘His family lives near our house’

Agreement with Constructs and Other Noun Phrases

Generally speaking, it is the leading term of a noun construct [p.456] that determines agreement: bānī ḍahī ḍlākm ‘My friend’s daughter is pretty’ (lit.). In the case of participial constructs and certain others, however, the following term determines agreement: kāl ṭ-balāṭ ḍlamān ‘All the girls are pretty’. See p.461ff.

In some cases a prepositional supplement (in periphrasis of annexion [p.460]) determines agreement rather than the supplemented term: ḍiyū ṣāna ḍadd ṭabīr mān l-ḥasāḥa ṭfī ‘A large number of intellectuals read it’. Though ḍadd (masc. sing.) is formally the main term of the subject, the agreement (as in English) is with the supplemental term, which is plural.

In some abstract and gerundial constructs [p.464], the following term sometimes determines the agreement of a verbal predicate: ḏakī ṭl-būṣ mā ḍidār ṭlaff ṭamā ‘Eating ice cream does no harm’ (cf. ḏakī ṭl-lāḥ ṭmā ḍidār ṭlaff ṭamā ‘Eating meat does no harm’). A coordination as following term does not produce plural agreement, however, but the verb may be masculine or feminine depending on the gender of the last term: kāt tāl ṭlaff ṭmā ṭphār jāmīyē ʾl-ṣmāḥed ṭmā ‘So much turning and circling gets one lost’.

In the case of numeral constructs [471], the agreement of a verbal predicate may be plural or feminine, depending to some extent on the same considerations as in the case of nouns without numerals: ṭlatt ṭl-ḥal ṭni ṭnākā ‘Three men came and took it away’ (plural) but ṭlatt waτlā ṭl-ḥal mā ṭnākā ‘Three meals a day are not enough’ (feminine). In the latter sentence ṭlāτt is of course inanimate, and the phrase ṭlatt waτlā ṭl-ḥal mā ṭnākā ‘Three meals a day’ stands for a significant whole rather than disparate parts, and the sentence is a generalization [cf. p.424].

In some cases a numeral construct is merely the name of a sum, so to speak, and the predicate is masculine: ṭrāb ʾlšt ṭyyt [SAL-39] ‘Four pounds will suffice’.

Number/Gender with Subject Suppressed

When there is no subject expressed [p.418], the number/gender of a verbal or adjectival predicate is usually "natural", i.e. not determined by the rules of agreement with the suppressed subject as if it were present, but by the more direct semantic classification of the referent by which pronouns are selected when they have no antecedent [p.363].

Thus, if instead of saying n-mār mā ṭnū ṭymā ṭfī ṭbā-samā ‘The vultures were soaring above in the sky’ we wish to say ‘They were soaring…’ (still in reference to the vultures), the linking verb and predicate adjective would probably be made plural: ṭnū ṭymān. . . . (Usually, however, a subject referent of this sort will have been recently enough mentioned so that the noun may still serve as antecedent — though not subject — to the predicate; if its antecedence is clear enough in the context, then the feminine agreement may still hold.) Similarly in the case of certain collectives and other singulars used in a collective sense; if the subject is dropped from e.g. ṣēb mā
byakhila 'An army couldn't eat it', the verb would probably have to be made plural to preserve the sense: mā byakhila 'They couldn't eat it'.

In the choice between masculine and feminine when there is no question of a plural, the suppressed subject is more likely to have an influence, even if the word has not yet come up in the discourse. Thus someone might say, looking at an automobile, ħalime, mā hēk? 'Pretty, isn't it?'. with the feminine predicate adjective under the influence of the familiar feminine noun sayyāra - the suppressed subject. On the other hand, if no particular word is lurking in the speaker's mind in association with what he is referring to, he is perhaps more likely to use the masculine: ḥali, mā hēk? (except, of course, if an animate referent is evidently female [p.372]).

Note that in certain expressions concerning the day, the weather, etc., a feminine predicate is used with the subject d-danye 'the world' suppressed: baṣṣal ṣalātummūn māt-axara 'In summer is gets dark late', i.e. ...d-danye baṣṣattum... ēsam-ṭṭatti 'It's raining', i.e. d-danye ēsam-ṭṭatti.

There are certain kinds of "impersonal" expressions, usually with complements, in which the feminine is normally used, even though masculine is generally the base or neutral inflection [cf. p.365]:

1. mā bṣasre? mači 'onni rūḥ waḥdi 'I don't mind going alone' (lit. 'It(f.) does not differ with me that...')

2. mā mēḥ'ree ṭakass rāsak b-hal-mawṣā 'It's not worth while for you to knock your brains out over this matter'

3. rūye mačna? - bṣasre?af 'Are you going with us? - It all depends'

4. baddha xams ṣnīn 'It takes five years'

5. halla? nūde ṣwayye ēsam ḥadda 'Now [matters] have gone a bit too far'

6. mā kānet laṭṭfe munno ṭabādan 'That wasn't very nice of him'

**Uninflected Adjectives**

There are a number of adjectives which show no agreement, for example ēlī 'fine, excellent', ḍafri 'straight', etc. (See p.501 for others):

qal'īn w-xams miyye ēlī laṭṭheṭṭen [DA-291] 'Two thousand five hundred is fine for both sides'

dī'īman kānet ḍafri mači 'She has always been straight with me'

**Extraposition**

Topic and Comment (al-mubtada? wāl-xabar)

Several different kinds of clause come under the heading of TOPICAL, or TOPIC-COMMENT, clauses. The "topic" is a non-type word or phrase which introduces the "comment" and delimits its scope or application. The comment itself is a predication: ēli, bātār?i ma yādāsīr sone 'Alli - I've known him for eleven years'.

A subject-predicate clause (i.e. a predication with a subject preceding the predicate) is also traditionally analyzed as a special kind of topical clause. Thus in the sentence ēli byātāsīrī 'Ali knows me', ēli is called al-mubtada? (topic) and byātāsīrī is called al-xabar (comment).

Topical clauses other than ordinary subject-predicate clauses differ from the latter, in that the comment itself has a subject - or subject-referent - of its own, and therefore a main verb or adjective in the comment is not inflected to agree with the topic. Examples:

1. l-hāth ēl-kārī, bātāsīrī maṣūrī m-ṭīrasīb manhon [DA-293] '[In] a checking account you deposit money and withdraw (from) it'

2. l-māg$mā$āt bēn ēsam 'p-baṣṣattum? wāl-fārīn ['For me, the age of adventures was between seventeen and twenty

3. bāsīl ṭattāsīrī, ft ēsamī xamsa mānūnī bi-fāxārī [SAM-197] '[As for] blue hyacinth bulbs, I have five, planted in pots'

4. hal-ḥadīs? d-dāxīne b-xamsīn forū 'These eggs are fifty piastres a dozen' (lit. "These eggs, the dozen is at fifty piastres")

5. ṣnēntī w-bṣasre l-ḥēf bāl-ḥēf 'My yard adjoins his' (lit. 'My yard and his yard - the wall is at the wall')

*Since comments are predications, the traditional analysis in effect equates 'predication' with 'predicate'. Though it is true as a general rule that predicates may stand alone as predications (i.e. that subjects may be suppressed), it is strictly speaking invalid to collapse the two levels into one, because that would imply that al-xabar (the comment) is a recursive element, which is not the case. In other words: if a comment may consist of a subject and predicate and a comment is a predicate, then there is no theoretical limit to the containment of predications within predications (just as there is no limit to the containment of annexation phrases within annexation phrases [p.456]). In fact, however, a predication may serve as comment to a topic, but the resulting topical clause may not serve, in its turn, as comment to still another topic. See also footnote on p.401.*
Extrapolated sentence: ‘The winter season in Beirut — there’s nothing nicer than that!’

[Ch. 16]

6. 8-baṣṭunye b-bārāt mā fī ṣaḥla man ḥār [DA-152]

7. hayy mā baṣrefl

8. hēʔtak mā mabīgūf

9. ṣansātī ḫamārānī, ḫaqēn ṣaqlī ḫabnānī

‘I’m American by nationality, but Lebanese by blood’ (lit. ‘My nationality — [I’m] American, but my origin — [I’m] Lebanese’).

In example 9, the fact that ḫamārānī (m.) does not agree with the feminine 8aṣṭunye shows that this is not an ordinary subject-predicate sentence, which would be sānsātī ḫamārānī ḫaqēn ṣaqlī ḫabnānī (same translation). In ex. 8, mabīgūf likewise does not agree with the feminine ḥēʔa. Cf. hēʔtak mā mmiḥa (same translation, but lit. ‘Your appearance is not good’), which is an ordinary subject-predicate sentence.

Resumptive Pronoun in the Comment (al-ṣā‘īd)

Examples 1-9 above illustrate the fairly uncommon kinds of topical clauses in which topic and comment are not linked grammatically by any means other than juxtaposition and “prosody” (p.377). A far more important kind of clause is the kind with a pronoun somewhat in the comment whose antecedent is the topic:

a.) hal-bānt, ṭāʿāfīya ṣante?

b.) hal-bānt, ťārāraft ṣalāhā?

c.) hal-bānt, 8aṣma faṣma

d.) hal-bānt hiyye 8l-ṣaḥla

‘That girl — do you know her?’

‘That girl — have you been introduced to her?’

‘That girl — her name is Fatima’

‘That girl — she is the prettiest’

‘The whole summer we spent with him’

‘Most of my poetry I wrote in physics or chemistry class’

‘(As for) Samir, I hear they intend to promote him’

‘I’ll never forget your kindness’

‘The air is compressed by a pump’ (lit. ‘The air, it compresses a pump’)

‘This magazine is read by a large number of intellectuals’ (lit. ‘This magazine, read it a large number...’)

Note that extrapolation may have an effect on the word order of subject and predicate. In example 6, the subject ṣadad 8kbr man 8l-maṣqqafīn is too long to fit comfortably in the “original” predication between ḫaṣrārūna ḥal-maṣṭaṣi [p.409], therefore it is more likely to precede the verb: ṣadad 8kbr man 8l-maṣqqafīn ḫaṣrārūna ḥal-maṣṭaṣi.

The term ‘extrapolation’ is taken from Chaim Rabin (Arabic Reader, Lund Humphries, London, 1947) and other works). The term ‘resumptive pronoun’ is from Frank A. Rice (personal communication) and the terms ‘topic’ and ‘comment’ from Charles F. Hockett (A Course in Modern Linguistics, Macmillan, New York, 1958).

A disputable contention. Prospective visitors should be warned that the Lebanese winter normally has long spells of rainy, chilly weather. Note that the word ṣaṭṭe means both ‘wintertime’ and ‘rain’.
7. hād a'īlāt la-hārt bisammūhan faddān [AO-63] 'A pair of oxen for plowing are called a yoke [of oxen]' (lit. "A pair...they call them...")

8. hāda baṣṣir šād īra'īmā? hal-yarādī l-māṣā' [DA-253] 'This was built recently for the irrigation of this large area' (lit. "They have built new for irrigating these broad lands")

Note, in examples 5-8, that extraposition of the object in Arabic is often rendered in English by the passive construction. See p. 236.

9. m-āna bāṣyfīn fard la-yaxdo [DA-244] 'And I have a package to pick up' (lit. "And I - there has come to me a package...")

In example 9 the extraposed term is itself a personal pronoun, which takes the "independent" form ãna as topic, and -ni as object. The ordinary predicative, then, is simply bāṣyfīn fard la-yaxdo; -ni is extraposed as ãna but the resumptive pronoun must again be -ni.

10. halli bātīḏī bāb-leh yū [AO-115] 'Whatever you(f.) want I'll bring you(it)'

11. yēlī ḫyāžī bi-bālū bi-hāfīsto 'Whatever comes to his mind he puts (it) down'

12. halli bīkalāqīn bōdā lāqānī la-wāld wālīdo [AO-116] 'Whoever rescues me, I shall make him and his descendants rich'

Examples of extraposed annex ("object") of a preposition:

1. hall-ālūhapa kān humme l-māṣ'ūd /tha/ 'That remark was aimed at him' (lit. "That remark, he was the target in it")

2. ḥāṣ-gān mā ēdā lētā a manno bas-sū mā sāne 'That brand hasn't been on the market for a year' ('That brand, there has not been found [any of it]..."

3. ṭr-ātīs ʃf ḫawālā ṭrāṣī ṭmāṭōrān 'The president has able men around him'

4. dāṣīr ʃl-māṣyfī stl-mātūtīhīdī bošī la-ṣamī fšt tāl mā-u-sab q miyye m-tas̱ā w-tmānān 'Work began on the constitution of the United States in the year 1789' ('The constitution..., began the work on it...")

5. b-bakhāt lēsā mā bīlāṣ ṭalēhōn 'The checks still have not been cleared'

6. hall-ṣamīl ḥa-ykān-lō ṭamāyē ṭamādaddā 'That act will have numerous consequences' ('...there will be to it...")

7. halli ṣu'ārtī pāsān būṣārī manān [DA-128] 'The one whose vegetables are best, I buy from (him)'

8. halli bīkalāqīn bōṣ̱āb-lō kūm stl-yārā [AO-116] 'Whoever rescues me, I shall open to him the treasures of the earth'

9. bāṣā hāda ēnna manno kūfer bi-yamērā [DA-251] 'But that [is something] we have a lot of in America'

10. humma ḥīdāse madaniyyē mākō 'He has [a degree in] civil engineering'

11. ṭāna mā ḥāda bīṣ̱al ēnni 'Nobody asks about me!'
Examples of extraposed subject (with equational comment [p. 405]):

1. ḥūdā huwmē l-bās hāllī byamā s-sāqa tattīn?
   'Is this the bus that leaves at two o’clock?’

2. kall ma hunṣalak huwmē laḥayk yūm ēibāra ēn semimān yīn tillāte
   'All there is to it will consist of two or three seminars’

3. ṭahamm ṣinṣāqa ṻtārābša hyyin ṣinṣēt ṣ-gūdo[m [PAT-185]
   'The most important industry in Tripoli is the soap industry’

4. ḥall-Ṭalēs ḡadāl ḡumme l-mailālēk meṭ-tajāţīr [PAT-191]
   ‘These rich men are the landowners and merchants’

5. ṭaṣṣūm ‘l-madīnī d-dāxliyex... hyyin buqāsher ‘l-baddāšīn.
   ḥall-Ṭalēs, n-nūrī...[PAT-179]
   ‘The interior sections of the city are: Busbeha el-Heddim, el-
   Mhētra, En-Nouri, etc.’

6. ṭaṣṣar ṭatāfī ṣal-baladal ḡumme ṭalāţa [PAT-179]
   ‘The most famous historical monument in town is the fortress’

7. ṭahamm ṣt bī-kall doktīr ś hyyin ṭal-Ṭalēs
   ‘The most important thing in every doctorate is the dissertation’

Note, in example 7, that the resumptive pronoun is feminine, agreeing with its predicate ṭal-Ṭalēs rather than with its antecedent ṭahamm ṣt. (Cf. ex. 6, in which the agreement goes according to the rules.) Inconsistencies of this sort are common when a resumptive subject pronoun stands between an antecedent and a predicate that differ in number/gender.

Comment-Topic Inversion

An extraposition is sometimes inverted, i.e. the topic is put after the comment, just as a subject may be put after the predicate [p. 419]: ṭamām bāṭīrē ṭamām ‘Mohammed, I know him’ → ṭamām bāṭīrē ṭamām.

1. ṭamām bāṭīrē ṭamām l-bonī?
   ‘Do I know her, the girl?’

2. huwmē yallī m’allahī ṭal-lāṭās ṭal-mudrase
   ‘He’s the one who organized it, that school’

3. ṭamām mah byəkṣal mah ṭallī ṭal-mudrase
   ‘An army wouldn’t eat all those that you counted off’

Another construction somewhat similar to the comment-topic inversion is often used with reference to human beings: the preposition la- [p. 479] introduces the inverted topic:

4. ḧall-Ṭalēs kall yūm la-Ṭahmād
   ‘I used to see (him, ) Ahmed, every day’

5. ṭamīl byamāro la-Ṭamīlīdīn ṭamīlī
   ‘Nabil is related to Mohammed but somewhat distantly’

6. huwmē ḡimḥī kīṭīr la-Ṭaxī
   ‘He’s a good friend of my brother’s’

In ex. 6, ṭaxī could not come first, in a normal topic position, because it would sound as if huwmē (rather than the ṭ of ḡimḥī) were the resumptive pronoun: ṭaxī huwmē ḡimḥī kīṭīr ‘My brother is a good friend of his’.

Extraposition is used not only with predications, but also with other constructions derived from predication: In substitution questions: ṭamām ṭamīl ṭamīlī? ‘What is your plan?’ ṭamīl huwmē ṭamīlī? ‘What is your plan?’ ṭamīm mīnī? ‘Where’s your brother?’, mīnī ṭamīm? ‘Where is your brother’, etc. See p. 566.

Less commonly, the comment is a command: yallī bīṭī ṭamām m-baśū ṭamīl
‘Whatever you can find in the market bring (it)’.

See also Attribution, p. 496.
CHAPTER 17: COMPLEMENTATION

Complementation is a type of construction which in Syrian Arabic is expressed by word order only. The leading, or COMPLEMENTED, term is followed — not necessarily immediately — by its COMPLEMENT or COMPLEMENTS.

The word order is generally reversed when the complement is a question-word [p. 566]. Otherwise, inverted word order is rare [pp. 439, 452, 453].

The several kinds of complementation are treated separately as follows:

Objects ........................................... p. 438
Adverbial Noun Complements.............. 441
Prepositional Complements.................. 444
Predicative Complements.................... 446
Complemental Clauses....................... 449

The kind of complementation that goes with any particular complemented term is largely determined by lexical idiosyncracy, and must be learned as a matter of vocabulary. Translation equivalents may be misleading.

A complemented term may have one, two, or three complements.

A verb (or participle or gerund) may be complemented by one or two noun phrases; if two, the first must be an object.

Adjectives and nouns, as well as verbs, may be complemented by one or two prepositional phrases, or by a clause, or by a phrase and a clause.

The word order of prepositional phrases in respect to other complements depends on various specific considerations [p. 445].

On the distinction between complements and supplements, see p. 444 (footnote).

\[\text{In Classical Arabic, complementation is also expressed by} \text{ on-naph} \] (the "accusative case" for noun-type complements, the "subjunctive mode" for verbs).
OBJECTS (al-mafṣūl bihi)

An OBJECT is a pronominizable complement to a verb (or to a participle or gerund). That is to say, it is a noun-type word or phrase of any kind whose referent (if definite) may subsequently be referred to by a pronoun suffixed directly to the verb, or to the stem َاَل- [p.545]: ُسَفَتُ َبَيْنَيَّ 'Did you see the girl?', ُلَا, َمَا ُسَفِثَا 'No, I didn't see her'; ُسَفَتُ َاللَّهُ ُيَضُحُ 'I saw her (for you)'.

The verb-object construction is practically the same in Arabic as in English; but in many individual cases, an Arabic verb with an object is translated by an English verb with prepositional complement, and vice versa.

Examples:

1. ُصَيْحَتُ ُكَلَّا ُمَا ُسَفَخَ 'Sign all the copies'
2. ُخَلَّةُ ُهُدَأَ َبُسُتُمُّ ُرُمَأَ 'Did you attend the dinner at the end of the meeting?'
3. َمَا ُسَفَتُ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ 'I didn't see anyone in the house'
4. ُكَرَّأَتُ ُغَلَبَ ُقَبَتُ ُنَفَتُ 'He's imposing on your good nature' (In this case the Arabic object is translated with a prepositional complement: 'on your good nature'.)
5. ُخَلَّةُ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'She told us an incredible story' (In this case the English first object 'us' corresponds to an Arabic prepositional phrase: 'لَعَلَّ 'to us'.)
6. ُفَشَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'He accomplished what he had intended to do' (Substantivized yalli-phrase [p.494])
7. ُخَلَّةُ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'You must show the policeman your identity card'
8. ُخَلَّةُ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'I want to ask the teacher another question'
9. ُخَلَّةُ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'He lent his friend his new suit'

First and Second Objects. In Arabic as in English, some verbs take two objects. The first of them usually represents a person (or something comparable to a person), to or for whom an act is performed, while the second represents something used in the act or resulting from it:

10. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'He married off his beautiful daughter to a friend of his', lit. 'He gave-in-marriage (to) a friend of his beautiful daughter'

Also as in English, the first object may be pronominized alone, or both may be pronominized at the same time, but the second object cannot be pronominized unless the first is so:

First Object Pronominized Both Objects Pronominized
11. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'He gave me a gift' 'He gave it to me' lit. 'He gave me it'

12. ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ ُمَسَّتُهُ 'Did you(f.) put their clothes on them?'

13. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'Explain the lesson to me' 'Explain it to me'

14. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'Do you give him the message?' 'Did you give it to him?'

15. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'Could you lend me a little money?'

In order to pronominize a second object without pronominizing the first, the first object must be converted into a prepositional complement (generally with َلَا-) and the order of complements reversed. Here again, Arabic and English are grammatically alike:

16. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'He sold his son the house' 'He sold him the house'

17. ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'He sold the house to his son' 'He sold it to his son'

Object-Verb Inversion. The word order of verb and object is rarely reversed, though in certain kinds of exclamations with the elative an inverted order is usual: ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'A more marvelous thing God has never created!' ُعَلَّ ُرَكَّدَ ُتَلَّيَّ ُنَفَتُ 'I've never seen anything crazier than that!'

See also Extrapolation of Object [p.431] and Question-word Inversion [p.566].
Objects of Active Participle. The active participle [p.265] of a transitive verb takes an object just as the verb itself does:

18. haffa wande b-šačra..................haffâja b-šačra
   “She’s wearing (i.e. she’s put) a flower in her hair”

19. min *mâllem l-*mâldé had-dars?.......min *mâllemmon yâ?
   “Who taught the children ‘Who taught it to them?’
   this lesson?”

But an active participle functioning as a noun (e.g. mâllem in the sense of ‘teacher’) or as an ordinary adjective (e.g. ẓâmîl ‘comprehensive’) does not, of course, take an object. See p.276.

Objects of Gerunds. If a verb with one object is transformed into a gerund, then – provided that the gerund is in construct with the transformed subject of the verb [p.464] – the object may remain as such:

20. dirâset *sâno l-mûṣîqa..................dirâsto yâka
   ‘His son’s study of music’ ‘His studying it’

21. dâkî *n-nâs *l-läh*m..................dâkôn yâ
   ‘the people’s eating of meat’ ‘their eating it’

But if the transformed subject is not expressed, then the object does not remain as such but becomes following term to the gerund in construct: dirâset *l-mûṣîqa ‘the study of music’, ẓâyêt *l-qurâ’n ‘reading the Koran’. See p.296.

If the gerund of a verb with two objects is in construct with the transformed first object, then the second object remains as such:

22. taclîm *mâldon l-*yâye..................taclîmon yâka
   ‘teaching their children to ‘teaching it to them’
   read’

The object of a gerund may, however, be replaced by a prepositional complement with ls- [p.479]: dirâset *sâno lâl-mûṣîqa ‘His son’s study of music’.

A concretized gerund [p.284] does not take an object, but a prepositional complement instead: ẓîyrtî *sâlan ‘my visit to them’ (not ẓîyrtî yâhon”).

ADVERBIAL NOUN COMPLEMENTS

Verbs (and participles) are sometimes complemented by a noun-type word or phrase similar to an object (or, more exactly, to a second object), but which is not pronominalizable.

An adverbal complement serves to specify something used or involved in the act or situation referred to, or to specify some aspect of it:

1. byârâçu *parâgîthon *tam*h
   ‘They sow their land with wheat’

2. nôdet *râ-sây sakkar
   ‘She added sugar to the tea’, i.e. “...added to the tea with sugar”

3. mâtî *l-*yannîne mây
   ‘I filled the bottle with water’

4. l-*yannîne malûne mây
   ‘The bottle is full of water’ (Complemented participle)

5. bikallôfak *fâktor mâm hêk
   ‘It’ll cost you more than that’

6. ḍâwâlî *mâstôgel sârâ’t
   ‘We’re)going on a three months’ vacation’ (Complemented participle)

7. rûyôn forset tlatt aâhor
   ‘They sent him on a wild goose chase’

8. baârâ mawr mafsût
   ‘We only sell for cash’

9. mâmâlî ’mâ’dî bass
   ‘The account is three dollars short’ (Complemented participle)

10. l-*kabâ nâm’es tlatt dalârût
    ‘He cut it in two’ (lit. ‘...two halves’)

In some cases there is an alternative construction with object and prepositional complement: byârâçu *tam*h
   b-*parâgîthon ‘They sow wheat in their fields’ (Cf. example 1); mâtî *mây b-*yannîne ‘I filled water into the bottle’ (Cf. example 3).

Not pronominalizable, because not definitizable [p.494].
Adverbial Noun Complements: Gerundial and Paronymous
(al-maf'ūl l-mušlaq, the "Absolute Object")

Verbs (and participles) are sometimes complemented by a gerund (p. 284), with or without modifiers. The most common kind of gerundial complement is the PARONOMOUS COMPLEMENT or "COGNATE OBJECT"), in which the complemented verb's own gerund is used.

Without modifiers, a paronymous complement is used for emphasis:

1. kān ʕam-bīṣʕaṣṣ yāṣṣ bēn ẓāwāreṣ 'He was racing wildly through the streets', lit. "He was chasing a chase through the streets"

2. l-ṣuṭib hazz ẓā-bamhûr hazz 'The speaker moved the crowd profoundly', lit. "The speaker shook the crowd a shaking"

3. ẓūsāfo māṣađafe 'I ran across him by chance', lit. "I encountered him an encounter"

4. kān ʕam-soyyāra ʕam-tākōl ʕaṣṣ-ṣafṣat ʕakṣā 'The car was really burning up the road', lit. "...was eating the asphalt an eating"

5. wājla maskūbā sakṣib 'She really has a beautiful figure', lit. "By God (she is) moulded (with) a moulding"

With modifiers, a paronymous complement serves to show something referred to by the verb is done:

6. staʔbalūna mstapbāl bāred 'They received us coldly', lit. "They received us a cold reception"

7. ʕaʃʔat ēdīto ēdī mnih 'He presented his case well', lit. "He presented his case a good presentation"

8. ʕaʃʕaʃ ʕalla kān ʕam-napūr tajīm ʕaʃjel 'The whole job was poorly organized', lit. "...was organized a bad organization"

9. bīṣṣarraf ṣagarraf ʕl-ḥammāt 'She conducts herself like a lady', lit. "She behaves (with) the behavior of ladies"

10. l-soyyāra ḫabīt ḥābūf ṭadīrārī 'The plane made a forced landing', lit. "...landed an obligatory landing"

11. bītārṣom ṣas māti 'She paints in oils', lit. "She draws (by) oil drawing"

12. mīn ʃtāgal ṭakțar ẓā-baṣṣaʔ 'Who has done the most work', lit. "Who has worked most of the work"

13. l-ʔartān bīyaʕalīf ʕam baθaθ ʃall 'l-ʔartālīf 'The two sisters are altogether different from one another', lit. "...differ from one another all the difference"

14. byuton maf'rūṣa farā mniθ [adapt. from PAT-191] 'Their houses are well furnished', lit. "...furnished a good furnishing"

Instance nouns (p. 297) are sometimes used as paronymous complements:

15. ʕaʃʕat ʕalṣa ḫaqīθa 'I've made an awful mistake'

16. dāsab darbe ḥawiyye 'He struck him a mighty blow'

17. dānsa dān ḵamīlle ḥamāli l-balad 'We made a complete tour around the town'

18. xaʃa xaʃwe ḥalθa daθaʔ 'He made a very shred move', lit. "He stepped a step (which was) all shrewdness"

19. laʃamīst-luțna taimīla ʔaθaθha 'She gave us a broad hint', lit. "She hinted to us a clear hint"

Sometimes the gerund of an underlying verb is used to complement a derived verb:

20. tīmāl nμfamale ʔaθaθye 'He got a raw deal', lit. "He was treated (with) a low treatment" (μfamale, ger. of tīmāl 'to treat', complementing the passive tīmāl 'to be treated')

21. darasas dirīsē mθaθ 'He taught him well' (dirīsē, ger. of daras 'to study' complementing the causative darras 'to make... study, to instruct')

22. ṣaadē n-sakkhān nṣaad ḥeyade ḥāssile 'The population has increased tremendously' (ṣaadē, ger. of ṣaad 'to increase' [trans. and intrans.], complementing the mediopassive ṣaad 'to increase' [intrans. only])

In some cases a paronymous complement is not a gerund at all: kān ʕaʃaʔ-yaʔasfaʔa ʔaθaθ 'They were about to tear him to pieces' (figuratively). The complement ʔaθaθ is the plural of ʔaθaθ 'piece', a simple noun, paronymous to ʔaθaθ 'to break in pieces'. In ʕaʃaʔaθa nμfāza kīθa 'We had a big argument', the paronymous complement nμfāza may be considered the participative noun (p. 247) underlying the reciprocal verb (248) ʕaʃaθaθa 'to argue', or alternatively, its suppletive gerund. See also example 12 above.
Non-paronymous gerundial complements:

23. ṛaṣṭeč rokaṯ-d la-ṭarabīto [PVA-22]  
   ‘He ran back to his car’, lit. ‘He
   returned (by) running to his car’
   (ger. of rokaṯ ‘to run’)

24. ǰaileč ʾarbaša mn ʾl-madrāse  
   ‘He was expelled from school’, lit.
   ‘He came out – (by) expulsion – from
   school’ (ger. of ʾarbaš ‘to expel’)

25. ʾn oneself maq-d ʾbāš-ʾṣāf  
   ‘He ate voraciously from the platter’,
   lit. ‘He came down (with) voracity at
   the platter’ (ger. of maq ‘to devour’)

26. bītraššāk lā tafhamni ʾqalaf  
   ‘Please don’t misunderstand me’,
   lit. ‘I beg of you, don’t understand
   me (by) mistake’ (ger. of ʾqalaf ‘to
   make a mistake’)

27. bisāmi ḫumto ṣafṣil  
   ‘He has his suits tailor made’, lit.
   ‘He makes his suits (by) tailoring’
   (ger. of ṣafṣil ‘to cut out, make to
   measure’)

PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs, nouns, and adjectives are complemented by prepositional phrases, involving some particular preposition:

1. safratna biṭatwafaf ʾkaḥ-xaṣ  
   ‘Our trip depends on the weather’

2. mīn ʾṛaḥa-yūm bad-dišaf  
   ‘Who’s going to take on the defense?’

3. samūḥa ʾṣaad ʾala ʾpasʾm  
   ‘They named her Suad after her
   grandmother’

4. baddi ʾkalife ṣaḥq-rakt taašqa-li  
   ‘I’d like to ask you to help me find
   a job’ [SAL-92] (Two prepositional
   complements)

5. ʾl-maḥkama ṣakmet ʾala  
   ‘The court sentenced him to death’
   (Two prepositional complements)

6. ʾem-ʾtxabbī ʾannī ʾṣī?’  
   ‘Are you hiding anything from me?’

7. ʾm baddi ṣaḥq maqṣūrī ʾannī  
   ʾala-ṣaḥān  
   ‘I don’t want to take money from
   the poor thing’

8. ʾhawwem rī?’ ṣadīm ʾṣīna  
   ‘He’s an old companion of ours’
   (Prepositional complement to noun
   rī?)

9. ʾsākhīn ʾbiṭt mašk ʾalqon  
   [PMT-191]  
   ‘They live in houses they own’
   (Prep. Comp. to noun mašk: lit.
   ‘They inhabit houses which are
   property to them’)

10. ʾḥiyē b-ḥāle mayṣūṣ manха  
    ‘She’s in a desolate situation’,
    lit. ‘She’s in a situation (that’s)
    despaired of’ [p.263].

11. ʾkaḥ-xī xaṣṣ ʾb-ḥaṣp-rīna  
    ‘It’s something peculiar to our
    times’

12. ʾl-bīt ʾlāḥet ʾl-ʾomād ʾalā  
    ‘The house showed signs of neglect’
    (ʾomād ʾalā ‘neglect of’)

13. ʾnaṣ mayyet mn ʾt-ṭaṣāb  
    ‘I’m dead tired’ (māyey ṣan ‘dead
    of’, ṭaṣāb ‘to die of’)  

14. ... ʾl-saṣāb mn ʾl-ʾṭaṣāb  
    ‘for some reason or other’

15. ʾš-ʾām ʾṭbrad ṣan bērūt  
    bāš-ʾṣāf  
    ‘Damascus is colder than Beirut in
    winter’ (Comparative phrase [p.314])

16. ʾḥax ʾṭaḥgar ṣannak ʾb-ṭaṣr  
    ʾṣīm  
    ‘My brother is ten years younger
    than you’ (Comparative phrase, fol-
    lowed by second prep. compl. ‘by
    ten years’)

The position of prepositional phrases (complemental or supplemental) relative to other complements varies, depending on a number of different factors.

Generally speaking, a preposition with pronoun suffix [p.477] comes before an object (unless, of course, the object itself is a pronoun suf-

fix to the verb): ʾem-ʾtxabbī ʾannī ʾṣī?’ ‘Are you hiding anything from

me?’ (Cf. ʾem-ʾtxabbī ʾannī? ‘Are you hiding it from me?’). If, on the

other hand, the preposition is followed by a noun (or noun phrase), then

the object usually comes first: ʾem-ʾtxabbī ʾṣī?’ ʾannī ʾṭaxūk? ‘Are you hid-

ing anything from your brother?’ (See also Example 7 above.)

A prepositional phrase tends to precede an adverbial complement if it is

shorter, and follow it if it is longer: ṭaʾaddom b-ʾmaḥaštīn taaʾaddom

ʾalqon ‘He’s made remarkable progress in his career’; ʾjaileč ʾarbaša mn

ʾl-madrāse ‘He was expelled from school’ [ex. 24, p.444].
This principle of relative length of complements (the shorter having word-order priority) applies generally when other principles of priority are not in effect. It is not, of course, a hard-and-fast rule.

It applies also to predicative complements [See examples below], except that a complement must follow whatever element of the sentence it is predicative to, regardless of length.

**PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS**

Many verbs (and other verb-type expressions [p.412]) are complemented by predicates [p.380] which are applicable — contingently upon the verb — to the verb's subject, object, or (less commonly) prepositional complement.

Like adverbial complements, a predicative complement is always preceded by the object, if any, and is sometimes preceded by a prepositional complement [p.444].

**Subjective Complements** (Complements predicative to the subject, or subject "understood" [p.418]):

1. l-maktub wasel mat'axsser dawye ‘The letter arrived a bit late'
2. r'aduna 'rab la-baq'ina ‘We sat near each other'
3. s-sa?af madhun 'abyaq ‘The ceiling is painted white' (Subject of passive participle corresponds to object of active verb)
4. m'int hal 'al-baleh bal-*m?atale? ‘Who came out the winner in the fight?'
5. l-*knule *palak baxšiţ ‘Keep the change', lit. 'The change is for you (as) a tip' (*palak is a verb-type expression [p.414].)
6. b'ts?tej manuk'un b-mahall fax*m la?-talibisa ‘She works as a model in an elegant dress shop'

**Objective Complements** (Complements predicative to the object):

1. Čapito ye ḥdiyye ‘I gave it to him as a gift'
2. ḥassabini ṭelegi ‘They took me for an Englishman'
3. beddin t'appeal lo yuha badle [EA-118] ‘He wants you to make it into a suit for him', lit. "...to cut for him it (as) a suit”
4. ħadi tami marra byantsbü ġašu barlamān [EA-159] ‘This is the second time they’ve elected him member of parliament’
5. mabarti xaţ xams *?ru's ta?miţ ġal-?annine ‘I was required to put five piastres deposit on the bottle’
6. *addas fah-ta? ḥa* hop-pabba? ‘How much are you getting for these shoes?' (lit. "...(as)price(of) these shoes")
7. t'axas *s-fabb *s-sarci mahe ne polo ‘He made forensic medicine his career'
8. byantsbati yass *khir la? al-matam marš yac*miţ gisvin [PAT-183] ‘They send a large part of it to the soap factories to have it made (into)soap'
9. ḩadda bnammi ġamal ġapim ‘That's what I call a great deed'
10. b?aitat 'alī wasa bal-xildé ‘I acted as mediator in the dispute’, lit. "I put myself (as) mediator...”
11. baxtabora waqet waframi ‘I consider it a moral obligation'

Complements to linking verbs are — strictly speaking — subjective complements, but they are treated here along with other paratactic complemental clauses [p.450].

All complemental verbs that have the same subject-referent as the complemented term, furthermore, may be analyzed as subjective complements. For examples, see p.348ff.
12.  söz pāmēl sabādat? [SAL-96]  

13.  sayyanet 1-bēt tīr hali  Žala ērīs bānīha  

14.  batbhab bāt-rahma halmal  wālal  sādā?  

15.  lāsem txalī l-bēt  amīf  

16.  taraqat ballāra māhde bācīf  b-"uqālet l-"ūdāde  

17.  lāha-šāvā 1-falca  māf?fe  w-gaʃbe  

18.  ḥāses hāli ṭahsan b-"kīf  "l-yōm  

19.  bāyef hāli matl  "m-naʃt  "l-yōm  

20.  xalīf  ānca ēl-mlād  

21.  ḫaʃt 1-bunūd  māsiyīn?  

22.  mā  bēlaʃta  ʃaj-farg  21-ʃaraši  p-ʃarʃ  

Many objective complements are verbal. It is convenient to treat these complements in the section on paratactic complementary clauses (p.450, ex. 10), but note also:

23.  xallīns nīʃā  ʃfrank  la-māʃf  mīn  bīrūḥ  

24.  māsashe ṭanma  fiha  taw:maron  ʃāwū  ʃu  ma  batbhab  

Prepositional Objective Complements  (Complements predicative to the object of a preposition):

1.  bānīha  Žalēk  bol-bēt  b-hal-kam  yōm  

2.  gār-2ﾚhon  maddaʃmēnin  sone  w-2.setImage  

3.  ṣar-li  xams  snin  baʃrfo  

[Ch. 17]  

COMPLEMENTAL CLAUSES  

Many verbs, nouns, adjectives, and miscellaneous other predicative terms [p.412] are commonly (in some cases almost always) complemented by a clause.  

Some complemental clauses are HYPOTACTIC, i.e. introduced by a conjunction: " technical  "šēl ṭənna baddo yūr  ɉe said that he wanted to go", while others are PARATACTIC, having no conjunction: "technical  "šēl baddo yūr "He said he wanted to go". The usual complemental conjunctions are ṭənno 'that' [p.543].  

Examples of hypotactic clauses:

1.  jīkarto  ṭənna  l-2māləm  [PV:32]  

2.  raʃba-"nūl la-šamīr  ṭənno  mū  yat?ax卡尔  

3.  lāša  ṭana  mū  mat?akked  ṭiʃa  brūk  molal  la?  

4.  m-šāl la-balad  tānye  la-yūf  ṭiʃa  bišāl  zalame  šafar  ŋaw  ēləm  mətlo  [AO:83]  

In example 4 the main verb rāp is complemented by the clause introduced by la-, the complemental verb yūf is complemented in its turn by the ṭiʃa clause.  

Both ṭiʃa and la-, etc. are also used in supplemental clauses. See pp.331,358.  

The forms yalli,  ʃlii, etc. [p.494] are sometimes used as a complementary conjunction in sentences like the following:

5.  ḥaʃt  "kīf  ʃlii  raʃe  2aksh  ṭəm  ʃam  [RN:35]  

6.  ṭanma  māšū  ʃlii  hāk  ʃam  "lii  qar  məc  hal-2mətīhən  hūdə  "SYSA:124"  

Some clauses complement transitive verbs, i.e. verbs that can take an object, while others complement intransitive verbs, or nouns or adjectives - which are otherwise complemented by prepositional phrases. In colloquial Arabic the prepositional phrase is usually lost before a clause, so that the distinction between objects and prepositional complements is lost when the complement is a
COMPLEMENTATION

clause (but see p. 357). Examples of clauses corresponding to prepositional complements:

7. baṣṭref ṭoḥma kont qalafān
   ‘I admit that I was mistaken’ (cf. baṣṭref bi-qalafāti ‘I admit my mistake’)

8. waṣādna ṭoḥma rāḥ-ṣisādāna
   ‘He promised us that he was going to help us’ (cf. waṣādna baṣ-ṣisāda ‘He promised us help’)

9. l-iṣībāne ḥakmet āl-binnāye ṭoḥma nā ṭaḥāwi las-sāken
   ‘The committee ruled that the building was not fit for habitation’ (cf. l-iṣībāne ḥakmet āl-binnāye baṣ-taḥāf ‘The committee slated the building for demolition’)

   Note also example 3 (cf. maṭṭakkad man ‘sure of’) and example 6 (cf. maḥbūt man, maḥbūt b- ‘glad of, pleased with’). In example 2, the complemental clause may be equated with an object since the verb ʿeš ‘to say, tell’ is transitive. Similarly in ex. 4, the ʿṭaṣa clause functions like an object of the transitive verb ʿešf ‘to see’.

Examples of paratactic clauses:

10. w-ṭamar ʾe-ḥann yormūni b-nāpp a-li-baḥr [AO-116]
    ‘And he ordered the Jinn to throw me into the middle of the sea’

11. biḥab koll ʾaḥār tabfatū-lī bayān b-ḥaṣābi [DA-294]
    ‘I want you(pl.) to send me a statement of my account every month’

12. rūḥ ṭaṭal ṭoṃnak baddha ʾšī
    ‘Go ask your mother if she wants anything’

13. l-haṭṭa biṣafqīl mā ṭūḥ la-maḥaši bāṣ [DA-172]
    ‘The truth is, I’d prefer not to go anywhere without you’

14. ṭanti ḫī-lī ḥayye ḥāye
    ‘You(f.) tell him Faiza is coming’

15. xāṣaf-lak ʾa-liʾbit yahbāf
    ‘I’m afraid the house will cave in’

16. xīn badda ṭāṣṭrīha, binn ʾa-lī mā ṭāṣṭrīha
    ‘I wanted to buy it, but he told me not to’

17. marra w-maṭṭān ṭaṭal-šlo la tālāb baṣ-farrī?
    ‘Time and again I’ve told him not to play in the street’

In Arabic there is no distinct line drawn between direct and indirect quotation. Example 17, translated literally, is ‘I told him, don’t play in the street’, while in ex. 16 the quotation is made indirect, and in 14 the clause ḥayye ḥāye could be either direct or indirect quota-

tion. Direct quotation (as in ex. 17) is used more liberally than it is in English, is less apt to be set off intonationally, and has less dramatizing force.

Subject Clauses. Many predicative terms are followed by a clause which functions as the subject [p.417] of the predication. A subject clause is superficially just the same as a true complemental clause, since it is inherently indefinite [407] and therefore normally follows the main term of the predicative. By the same token, the predicative term is normally neutral (3rd p. sing.) in inflection [p.365]:

18. byṣghar ṭoḥma ṭafqāl ʾšī
    l-ʾḥāṭtirī ḥala ṭaṣṣ al-māqṣāf
    ‘It appears that the best things is to agree on a compromise solution’

19. ṭabadān mā ṭaṣṣar ḥalā bīlī ṭoḥma ḥaṣa-yuṣṭāfīr
    ‘It never crossed my mind that he was going to object’

20. l-muḥumm ṭnānak taḥṣar w-koll ḥaṣa-yuṣṭāfīa bīḥūn ṭāmūn
    ‘The important things is that you attend, and everything (God willing) will be all right’

21. maṭṭān ṭonnān ṭaṣṣ ṭaṣṣ yākāfīn
    ‘It’s a miracle that they are still alive’

22. maṭṭān mā ṭaktūb ṭonnān mālo ṭaṣṣ yākāfīn
    ‘It’s clear from the letter that he isn’t satisfied’

23. maṭṭān ṭalī-li ṭaṣṣ yākāfīn ma ṭafqāl [DA-243]
    ‘It’s good that you’ve come before I left’ (cf. examples 5 and 6.)

Paratactic subject clauses:

24. byṣghar kent ṭaṣṣ ṭqīl ṭtīl [DA-217]
    ‘It seems you must have eaten something indigestible’ (lit. ‘heavy’)

25. faṣko yebdatnī āsil-maṭṭāfīa [DA-217]
    ‘His idea is to send me to the hospital’

26. mā biḥāʾ-ʾallak tāṣed ḥayye [AA-88]
    ‘You don’t deserve to get a prize’ (lit. ‘It isn’t right for you...’)‘

27. ʾinām mā ṭamān ʾaṣayye [AO-51]
    ‘I must sleep a while longer’ (lit. ‘It is necessary that I sleep...’)

28. maṭṭān-mā ṭāṣṭrīk ṭafqām mā ṭaṣṣ yākāfīn [DA-217]
    ‘I’m allowed to play tennis as long as I don’t overdo it’ (lit. ‘It’s allowed to me to play...’)

29. b-ṭamānāna ṭāṣṣ-ʾlī tālīfān
    ‘Could you give me a phone call?’ (lit. ‘Is it in your power to...’)

Many very common expressions are complemented by paratactic clauses; see the examples in Chapter 13, p.347 ff.
Linking Verbs (kān ma-țaxawātahā)

The verbs kān 'to be', pār 'to become', dālī 'to remain', and a few others are almost always complemented, paratactically, by a predicate [p.389]. The subject of the complemental clause, if any, is the same as that of the minal, or prepositional: kānet ēm-taṣhikī 'she was talking', kānet tafāhā 'she was tired', kānet bont 'māgīre 'she was a little girl', kānet bāl-bēt 'she was in the house'.

There are other verbs that are always complemented by a predicate but with which the predicate is limited to a certain kind; e.g. 'ader 'to be able' is always complemented by a verbal predicate.

Examples, kān:

30. kān ẓahṣan-lak tstaṣtārma 'You should have consulted us' (lit. 'It was better for you to consult us')

31. konna sāyfīn malāmeh bā-sābīl 'We could see the outlines of the mountains'

32. bāddi kān 'mūfīt bā-gūyābak [SPA-30] 'I must have dozed off in your absence'

33. bīwās kān 'l-baṣfaṣi 'It was probably the postman'

34. bānāsīnī bāctūn nāhīye bā-l-maṭīn min 's-ṣone 'Her garden is colorful this time of year'

35. kān māḥēd bāsā rashīd fi bālkūn sārāyō [PVA-28] 'A certain pasha was sitting on the balcony of his palace'

With complement-verb inversion:

36. māsīlā baṣṭīna kānet [SAL-137] 'Nothing serious, I trust!' (lit. 'God willing, minor it was')

Examples, pār:

37. bī ēmalt bātta gāret martak hēk, mutlī 'bā-l-mālyāke? [AO-112] 'What did you do, that your wife became so, like the angels?'

38. pār 'l-masā? 'Is it evening already?' (lit. 'Has it become...?')

39. pār bōdī nāsī 'l-lēl lamma rāṣīna ēl-bēt 'It was after midnight when we got back home' (lit. 'It had become after...'; the linking verb kān is complemented by the linking verb pār, which in its turn is complemented by a prepositional predicate.)

With complement-verb inversion:

40. ṭīrīs tajḥī hārābī minīh [PVA-26] 'You speak Arabic well now' (lit. 'You have become that you speak...')

41. kāl mī bāgīr tāmūm 'Everything will be all right' (lit. '...will become all right')

Examples, dālī:

43. dālīsīnā sābāranīn la-waṭīn min bāxar bāl-lēl 'We stayed up till late in the night'

44. dālītīn wā'ānī Ealīyyi 'She kept nagging at me'

45. bīdīlī yēhīkī ēm 'l-ḥamādēs bāl-māde 'He keeps talking about past events'

Examples, baṣī, baṣā:

46. sasīkīne sā-dīde dāyman bāsībā sāyē 'A new knife always stays good' (saying)

47. mā baṣā fi ēmāndā ēr nāsī rumānīt mīt [PVA-44] 'I haven't got but a half bottle of oil left' (the ēr phrase is subject, fi ēmāndā the predicate and complement of the linking verb.)

48. byobā yūrīha kālī yēm 'He keeps on visiting her every day'

49. bāsī bānhīt kāmā bāhr 'I stayed there several months'

Examples, mā ēdī 'no longer':

50. mā ēdī itaṣmaṣnī tābādan 'He no longer obeys me at all'

51. bātītā mā ēdīet 'mīgīre tolčāb bā-l-lāb 'The girl is no longer little (enough) to play with dolls'

52. mā ēdī fiyi yatamādā 'I can't stand it any more'

53. ṭīna bōttāma ṭītamīlī hēk mā laḥa-yēdī yāmāc mānaqāk 'If you keep on treating him like this he won't listen to you any more' (bōttāma is also a linking verb.)
CHAPTER 18: ANNEXION (al-ṣūdāfa) AND PREPOSITIONS

A CONSTRUCT, or ANNEXION PHRASE, is composed of two immediately adjacent nominal or noun-type terms [p. 382], of which the leading term (al-muṣaf) is generally qualified by the following term (al-muṣaf ṭīṣyhi):

ṣawārēc bērūt 'the streets(of)Beirut'

bēt naṣīb 'the house(of)Najeeb' 'Najeeb's house'

nasr bant 'the name(of a)girl' 'a girl's name'

warā ḫanīb 'leaves(of)grapes' 'grape leaves, vine leaves'

Most constructs can be rendered roughly in English by inserting 'of' between the translated terms, preserving the word order of the original. In normal English, however, the Arabic following term is often translated as a possessive (Najeeb's, girl's), or as the first constituent of a noun compound (grape leaves), resulting in a word order that is the reverse of the Arabic.

When some words occur in CONSTRUCT (i.e., as leading term in an annexion phrase), they appear in a CONSTRUCT FORM which differs from the ABSOLUTE FORM used otherwise. Construct forms are treated in Chapter 5, p. 162ff.

Arthur Albert Jastrow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute Form (Illustrating use of word not in construct)</th>
<th>Construct Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madrasa sānawīyye 'secondary school'...madrast *al-balad 'the town school'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iṣ-ṣarīf l-ṣabān 'the best newspaper'...ṣarīf *l-yēm 'today's paper'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-ṣāmāl ṣaḥmād 'Brother Ahmed'...ṣāmāl ṣaḥmād 'Ahmed's brother'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamān maḥṣūn 'five of them'...zāmān *rāḥil 'five men'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are various kinds of annexion, depending on the types of leading term: substantive, adjective, partitive, cardinal numeral, and elative/ordinal.

Prepositional phrases are also conveniently considered a type of annexion phrase, though the more typical prepositions are quite unlike noun-type words, and prepositional phrases are un-noun-like in function (not normally used as subject of a clause). See p. 476.

For annexion clauses, see p. 491.
SUBSTANTIVE ANNEXION

The leading term of an ordinary noun construct cannot have an article prefix [p.493], regardless whether it is definite or indefinite: l-bêt 'an oil company'; bórket 'a-zêt 'the oil company'; bámáré 'madina 'city streets'; l-bámáré 'l-madina 'the city streets'.

There are a few set phrases which are exceptions to this rule: l-bêt núne 'the storeroom, pantry' (but also regular: bêt 'l-müne'), l-báni 'Eđám 'the human being', l-báni 'Sáhabá 'the centipede', l-máyy wa'ed 'the rose water', etc.

Occasionally the leading term is a coordination [p.392]: bámáré 'l-báræt 'l-madina 'the streets and quarters of the city', harrīyyet 'l-fakhr 'freedom and independence of thought'.

Often, however, such coordinations are avoided by the use of an anaphoric pronoun: bámáré 'l-madina 'l-bári 'the streets of the city and its quarters'.

Except for coordinations, the leading term of an annexion phrase is limited to a single word.

The following term, on the other hand, may be any sort of noun-type word or phrase [p.381,382]: bámáré 'madina káir 'the streets(of a) large city', harrīyyet 'l-fakhr 'war-ra' 'freedom (of) thought and opinion', bári 'káir 'madina l-fiṛa 'the quarters of Africa's largest cities'.

Since the following term may be any sort of noun-type phrase, it may, of course, be another annexion phrase, as in the last example above (which is, in fact, a construct within a construct with still another construct). Note also: táśim yāfi 'taḪammás 'l-ḥarrā 'improvement (in) qualities (of) resistance (to) heat'; fáš 'o̧g̣al 'bári 'yag̣yna 'u rubba [PAT-191] 'the furniture (of the) greatest (of the) houses (of the) rich (of) Europe'.

Definite and Indefinite Constructs. If the following term of a construct is definite, the leading term is treated as definite also; and if the following term is indefinite, the leading term, likewise, is treated as indefinite. (On Definiteness, see p.494.)

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1Instead of speaking here of the leading term, one might say 'the construct as a whole'. The leading term is generally the main term and the following term is subordinate, i.e. agreement is with the leading term. (But see p.466ff.)
A noun with a pronoun suffix, then, constitutes an annexation phrase as it stands; and the pronoun in its turn cannot stand in construct with another following term. Therefore a noun with a pronoun suffix—like a noun with the article prefix—can only be the last word in a construct-within-construct series. Avoid trying to interrupt a construct like *ƙadet nām *room (of) sleeping*, i.e. 'bed room' with a pronoun suffix as in *ƙadnha *our room*. To say 'our bedroom', the suffix may be attached to nām: *ƙadet nāmna *(the) room (of the) sleep(of) us*; or periphrastically: *ƙadet n-nām tābān* [p.460].

Identificatory and Classificatory Annexion. There are two ways in which the following term may qualify the leading term:

In an IDENTIFICATORY construct— if it is definite—the following term generally answers the question 'which?' (or 'whose?') applied to the leading term. For instance in the phrase *wālad kārī* 'my neighbor's boy'; kārī shows which (or whose) boy is referred to.

In a CLASSIFICATORY construct— whether it is definite or not—the following term generally answers the question 'what kind of...?' applied to the leading term. Thus in *quṣīr *bārābhān* 'the orange juice'; *bārābhān* shows what kind of juice is meant.

The main grammatical difference between the two kinds of annexion is this: To identify construct casts the following term— if it is definite—can generally be pronominalized; i.e. whatever the following term refers may subsequently (or alternatively) be referred to by a pronoun, suffixed to the leading term: *wālad kārī* 'my neighbor's boy'— *wālado* 'his boy'. With classificatory constructs this cannot be done.

Identification is fundamentally a function of definiteness [p.494]; and classification, a function of indefiniteness. But since the article prefix is added to the following term only— even when its function is really to define the leading term—it is not possible simply to equate identificatory terms with definitizable terms.

The personal pronouns, of course, are inherently identificatory.

The rules of thumb involving 'which?' and 'what kind of?' do not always equally well to all kinds of construct: in *fāndān *l-ahām *the cup of coffee*, *l-ahām* does not, strictly speaking, tell 'what kind of' cup is meant, but it is classificatory nevertheless: *l-ahām* is not pronominizable.

There are, also, some inherently definite following terms which are not pronominizable: *sāri*t bukra *tomorrow's paper*, *saṣret bahīn* 'the Island of Bahrain' [p.462].

Many annexation phrases, taken out of context, can be understood either as classificatory or as identificatory:

- *wālād* *l-madrasa* 'the schoolchildren' (classificatory) or 'the children of the school' (identificatory).

The Demonstrative Proloci in Annexion Phrases. Unlike the article, the demonstrative *hal-* 'this, that, those, those' [p.556] may generally be attached to the leading term of a definite classificatory construct:

- *hāl *mā lump *l-madrasa* 'these schoolchildren'
- *hāl *fāndana* *l-ahām* 'this cup of coffee'
- *hāl *quṣīr *bārābhān* 'this orange juice'
- *hāl *fā’īl *dzufūrīr* 'this instrument of picturing', this camera
- *hāl *fā’īl *bhūn* 'this horseshoe'
- *hāl *fā’īl *sār rīkōnb* 'this carbon paper'
- *hāl *fā’īl *l-izās’ f* 'this broadcasting station'

Alternatively, however, *hāl-* is sometimes attached to the following term, merging with the article; (unless doing so would create an undesirable ambiguity with respect to an identificatory construct [see below]):

- *fāndān *hāl *ahām* 'this cup of coffee'
- *quṣīr *hāl *bārābhān* 'this orange juice'
- *fā’īl *hāl *dzufūrīr* 'this camera'
- *sār rīkōnb* 'this carbon paper'

With identificatory constructs, on the other hand, *hāl-* can never be attached to the leading term. When attached to the following term, moreover, its meaning applies strictly to that of the following term:

- *wālād* *hāl *madrasa* 'the children of this school'
- *quṣīr *hāl *bārābhān* 'the juice of those oranges' [p.370]
- *fā’īl *hāl *bhūn* 'that horse’s shoe'

To apply a demonstrative modifier to the leading term of an identificatory construct, the full words *hāda*, *hayy*, etc. [p.557] may be added after the following term:

- *fā’īl *hān-mahār* hayy *this bank of the river'
- *fā’īl *fūmān* hāda *this edge of the table’

Cf. *fā’īl *hān-mahār* 'the bank of this river'
Periphrasis of Annexion. Annexion is not the only construction in which one noun-type term is used to identify or classify another. Instead of standing in construct with the qualifying term, a noun may often be linked to that same qualifier more loosely — by a preposition, usually tabaç [p. 489], la- [479], man [478], or b- [479]:

haš-hašfet al-‘ārd ‘that piece of land’ or haš-haš‘o(fe) man al-‘ārd
brūš haš-sašara ‘the roots of that tree’ or š-brūš tabaç haš-sašara
pānēt ‘our maid’ or p-pānē tabaç
’ommet haš-sabāl ‘the summit of that mountain’ or l-’ommet b-haš-sabāl
xarjef taro ‘a road map’ or xarjef la- jaro

Since the leading term in annexion is subject to somewhat rigid limitations (e.g., it can only consist of a single word or co-ordination, and can only be definite or indefinite by agreement with the following term), there are certain situations in which a construct cannot be used at all, but may be circumvented by a prepositional construction.

1. If the leading term is to be indefinite while the following term is definite: xarjef la-jaro  labbān ‘a road map of Lebanon’ (i.e. ‘a map for the roads of Lebanon’); the construct xarjef taro  labbān ‘the road map of Lebanon’ can only be definite, because the last term labbān, a proper name, is inherently definite.

A classificatory term following an elative or an ordinal [p. 473], for instance, has to be indefinite: taḥsan wa‘fe man al-‘ārd ‘the best piece of land’, taḥamal ra‘īs la-l-Kāmil ‘the first president of the republic’.

If this kind of term is followed by a definite construct, its meaning would be distorted to that of identification: taḥsan wa‘fe al-‘ārd, for instance, would mean ‘the best (part of the piece of land’.

2. If both the leading term and the following term are to have modifiers: l-‘asādār al-‘āliy tabaç āl-katob al-madrasiyye ‘the high prices of school books’; cf. the construct ‘asādār al-katob āl-madrasiyye ‘the prices of school books’.

Adjectives coming after the last noun in a construct may apply to either term, depending on the sense and the agreement [p. 503]: farā  al-bet ‘al-hādīd ‘al-kāmil ‘the furniture of the beautiful new house’ or ‘the beautiful furniture of the house’. But two contiguous adjectives are not used to modify two different terms; for ‘the beautiful furniture of the new house’, one must have recourse to the tabaç construction: l-farā ‘al-kāmil tabaç āl-bet ‘al-hādīd.

A construct is always possible if there is only one adjective attribute involved: farā ‘al-bet ‘al-hādīd; but even so it is often preferable to use a periphrastic construction to resolve an ambiguity in the annexion phrase: l-farā ‘al-hādīd tabaç āl-bet ‘the new furniture of the house’ or l-farā tabaç āl-bet ‘the furniture of the new house’; l-farā al-tānī ‘the other side of the street’ (rather than farā ‘al-hādīd al-tānī, which would more likely be understood as ‘the side of the other street’).

3. If one wishes both to classify and to identify the referent of a term, it is usually the classification that is done by annexion, while the identification is relegated to a tabaç phrase: farā ‘al-falsafe tabaç ūnāsata ‘our university’s philosophy department’, ūnāsaxet ‘al-‘aql ‘your English composition’, mhaʃet al-bannī tabaç ‘al-immi ‘my uncle’s gas station’.

This rule may be reversed to lay constractive emphasis on the classificatory term: mhaʃet ‘al-immi tabaç ‘al-bannī ‘my uncle’s gas station’.

Alternatively, in some cases, a classificatory following term may itself be put in construct with an identificatory term: ūnāśet nām al-badal ‘Abdullah’s bedroom’ (or ūnāśet n-nām tabaç al-badal); mākiŋt ‘al-hādīd ‘my brother’s electric shaver’ (or mākiŋt la-hādīd tabaç ‘aksi); ḍarīr ‘al-hādīd ‘his orange juice’ (or ḍarīr ‘al-baddān tabaç).

This type of compound construct cannot be used very freely because in many cases the intended classificatory term would have its sense distorted to that of identification [p. 458]: farā ‘al-falsafe ūnāsata, for instance, would seem to mean ‘the branch of our university’s philosophy’. Note, however, that ḍarīr ‘al-baddān would not generally be taken to mean ‘the juice of his oranges’, because collectives are usually classificatory [p. 370].

Relationships Expressed by Substantive Annexion. Ordinary noun constructs are used to express widely varied relationships of meaning between leading and following terms. For example:

Unit and Collective [p. 297] (Generally classificatory; periphrasis usually with man):

kuslet labām ‘a piece of meat’
kuʃet xaʃen ‘a piece of bread’
ḥabbet ṣoneb ‘a grape’ (lit. ‘a berry of grapes’)
ruš baʃal ‘an onion’ (lit. ‘a bulb of onions’)
ruš baʃar ‘heads of cattle’

The categories of relationship given here are merely intended to suggest the semantic scope of this construction, and are not meant to constitute a definitive classification (or kind of classification).
Genus and Differential Description (Classificatory; periphrasis various):

laḥšm bašar ‘beef’ (lit. ‘meat of cattle’)
ḥakīm ṣeyūn ‘eye doctor’
ḥāṣṣet ṣl-samm ‘the sense of smell’
ḥāra dā wybē ‘minute hand’
ḥalām habær ‘fountain pen’ (lit. ‘pen of ink’)
ṭāleb ṣabb ‘student of medicine’
kalit ṣl-hāye ‘the law school’ (college of the law’)
ṣahr ṣl-lāmūn ‘the orange (or lemon) blossoms’

Genus and Specific Name (Classificatory; no periphrasis):
ṣaw hand ‘coconuts’ (lit. ‘nuts of the Indies’)
ṣaḥar zūn ‘beech trees’
sayyāt fōrd ‘a Ford car’ (Also appositive [p.506]: sayyāra fōrd)
dīk ḥabaš ‘a turkey cock’ (lit. ‘cock of Abyssinia’)

Genus and Individual Name (Identificatory but no pronounization; no periphrasis)
blād ṣl-yūmūn ‘the Land of Greece’
ḥuḥayret lāf ‘the Dead Sea’ (‘Lot’s Lake’)
saḥt ṣaṛbēn ‘the year ’40’ (i.e. 1940)
harp ṣr-rā ‘the letter rā’
kalmat ṣafraqān ‘the word ṣafraqān’

In some cases the individual name is originally an adjective: nahr ṣl-Ṣāpi ‘The Orontes River’, literally n-nahr ṣl-Ṣāpi ‘the unruly river’. As the adjective becomes less a description and more a name, the tendency is to drop the article prefix from the leading term, changing the construction from attribution to annexation. The same tendency may be seen in phrases like saḥt ṣl-māḏye ‘last year’ for ṣ-same ṣl-māḏye.

Part (or Aspect) and Whole (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with tabač or la-):
ṣaff ṣl-baḥr ‘the seashore’
ṣafā r-rās ‘the back of the head’

rās ṣ-s same ‘New Year’s’ (lit. ‘head of the year’)
ṣafār ‘my feet’
ṣaffat ṣl-telefizyōn ‘the television screen’
ṣaffit ṣn-nādi ‘the membership of the club’

Relation and the Related Object (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with tabač or la-):
ṣam gūb ‘my friend’s mother’ (Both ṣam and gūb are relational terms)
maṣṣafīn ṣs-safāra ‘the embassy employees’
mlā ṣīrūm ‘our neighbors’ children’ (both mlād and ṣīrūm are relational)
ṣam ṣg-pāb ‘the boy’s name’
raṣīṣ ṣ-g-ṣamhuriyye ‘the president of the republic’
raṣī ṣfār ‘property of Fareed’

Associated Object and its Association (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with tabač or la-):
bēt ṣaṛ ‘a merchant’s house’
maṣṣanṭek ‘your handkerchief’
mlā ṣl-hāra ‘the neighborhood children’
maṣṣin ṣn-nābi ‘the city of the prophet’
maṣṣafet ṣl-ṣārūb ‘the Arabian Peninsula’ (lit. ‘island of the Arabs’)

There are many other kinds of relationship expressed by annexion, for example: Container and Contents: ṣabān ṣaffāh ‘a bowl of apples’. Ḥaṭṭat ‘ṣamh ‘a wheatfield’; Qualification and Object Qualified: ṣaff ṣabara ‘an inkling’ (lit. ‘a glimpse of an idea’) ṣadam ṣl-mušālā ‘carelessness’ (lit. ‘lack of care’); etc.
Derivative Constructs

Some clauses [p. 377] may be transformed into annexion phrases, by deriving a noun from the main term of the predicate and putting it in construct with the erstwhile subject or object: l-māṣṣalīf letali ‘water is scarce’ → l-māṣṣalīf ‘the scarcity of water’; ḥāṣṣal ṣāfa ‘he reserved a room’ → ḥāṣṣal ṣāfō ‘his room reservation’; bīṣī cīsān ‘he sells tobacco’ → bīṣī cīsān ‘a seller of tobacco, tobacconist’.

The leading term of most derivative constructs is an abstract noun [p. 284], derived from an adjective or noun, or (as gerund) from a verb. Others are substantivized participles [276], occupational nouns [305], instrumental nouns [305] or locative nouns [308].

Abstract Noun with Subject:

sūdāk ‘rocks are abundant’ → sar ‘the abundance of rocks’

l-ṣūdāk ‘the roads are narrow’ → dīn ‘the narrowness of the roads’

hūmē (l-māṣṣalīf) ‘he is responsible (or in charge)’ → masqīlt ‘his responsibility’

jān ‘the lock clicked’ → jān ‘the click of the lock (jāna is an instance noun [p. 297].)’

byūnāq ‘my head aches’ → (māṣī) waṣāc rās ‘(I have) a headache’

Abstract Noun (Gerund) with Object:

bīṣī cīṣi ‘they make pottery’ → masqīlt ‘pottery making’

bīṣī cīṣi ‘(He) calculates the expenditures’ → ḥāb ‘calculation of the expenditures’

sannāfu māṣṣalīf ‘they classified these plants’ → ṣannāfu ‘the classification of these plants’

kām-ṣārē b-ṣānūn ‘(they) are training the troops’ → trāb b-ṣānūn ‘the training of troops’

Occupational Noun with Object:

bīṣī cīṣi ‘he composes music’ → māṣṣalīf musīqa ‘a composer of music’

These constructs are classificatory, while active participial constructs (see below) are identificatory. Some nouns that are participial in form may be used in either way: ḥal- māṣṣalīf ‘this composer of music’ (occupational noun: classificatory construct) vs. māṣṣalīf ‘The composer of this music’ (participial noun: identificatory construct). See p. 458.

Substantivized Active Participle with Object:

sar ‘he stole the car’ → sār ‘the one who stole the car’

māṣṣalīf ‘she wrote the book’ → māṣṣalīf ‘the author (f.) of the book’

Substantivized Passive Participle with Subject:

māṣṣalīf ‘the government employed him’ → māṣṣalīf ‘the government employee’

kām-bakāt ṣāt ‘they manufacture soap in it’ → kām-bakāt ‘the contents of this package’

Instrumental Noun with Object:

bīṣī cīṣi ‘(they) open cans with it’ → bāṣāṣel ‘a can opener’

bīṣī cīṣi ‘(they) clip paper with it’ → bāṣāṣel ‘a paper clip’

kām-bakāt ‘they open the door with it’ → kām-bakāt ‘the door key’

Locative Noun with Subject or Object:

bāṣāṣel ‘a river runs in it’ → bāṣāṣel ‘a river bed’

māṣṣalīf ‘they manufacture soap in it’ → māṣṣalīf ‘a soap factory’
ADJECTIVE ANNEXION (al-ʔidāfa ꞌayr l-ḥaqiqiya)

A few adjectives are used in construct with nouns, mostly in set phrases applicable to human beings. For example:

ʔalil (‘il-)ʔadab ‘ill-mannered, uncivil’, lit. ‘meager of manners’
ktir (‘il-)kalabe ‘prying, busybody’, lit. ‘excessive of inquiry’
tʔil ʔd-damm ‘unlikeable, boorish’, lit. ‘heavy of blood’
xaʃift ʔd-damm ‘likeable, pleasant’, lit. ‘light of blood’
maʃfūr ʔr-rās ‘beheaded’, lit. ‘cut off of the head’
tawil ʔl-bāl ‘patient’, lit. ‘long of attention’
ɛadmn ʔl-ʔafye ‘run down, sickly’, lit. ‘deprived of vitality’

Feminine forms: ʔalilet ʔadab, ʔiirt kalabe, ɛadmn ʔl-ʔafye, etc.

Adjective constructs are classificatory [p.458]; the following term cannot be prononominalized.

Unlike substantives [p.456], adjectives in construct may be definitized by prefixation of the article: ʔl-ktir ʔl-galabe ‘the busybody’; mīn ḥəs-əbb ʔt-tʔil ʔd-damm ‘Who’s that unpleasant young man?’

Adjective constructs are generally derived from subject-predicate constructions or verb-object constructions: tʔil ʔd-damm – damm ʔtʔil; rābej ʔl-ʔaʔa ‘calm, composed’ (lit. ‘controlled of spirit’) – ṭabaj ʔaʔa ‘He composed himself’ (lit. ‘...his spirit’). Cf. p.464.

Note the difference between the participial construct rābej ʔl-ʔaʔa (fem. ɾābnət ʔl-ʔaʔa) and a participle-object phrase rābej ʔaʔa ‘in control of himself’ (fem. ɾābnə ʔaʔa ‘in control of herself’) [p.265].

A construct adjective transformed from a predicate adjective does not show agreement with its following term (its erstwhile subject), but with the new subject (or the term it modifies): hiyye xaʃift ʔd-damm – damma xaʃift.

PARTITIVE ANNEXION

Certain nouns – PARTITIVES – are generally subordinate to the terms they stand in construct with; that is to say, agreement [p.427] with the construct is determined by the following term, not by the leading term: məqg ʔl-skkān ḥarabu ʔl-baʔitlən məstu ‘Half of the inhabitants fled and the rest of them died’: ḥarabu and məstu agree with the plurals skkān and ʔl- respectively, not with the leading terms məqg (masc./sing.) ‘half’ and ʔl-.

ʒaʃiye (fem./sing.) ‘rest’; kəl ʒaʃiye ʔakle ʒaʃybe ‘all this food is good’: ʒaʃybe agrees with the fem. ʔakle ‘food’, not with the masculine kəl ‘all’.

Partitives include nouns designating indefinite proportions and quantities, sometimes fractions from halves to tenths, and a few other terms. For example:

kəl ‘all, whole, every’ maʃgam ‘majority, most’
ʔak ‘some, each other’ pəktəriye ‘majority’
ʔer ‘other’ ʔgləbiye ‘majority’
ʔawyye ‘a few, a little’ ʔʔəyiye ‘rest, remainder’
ʔi ‘some, a’ məfs ‘same, -self’
ʔamm ‘several, a few’ ʔət ‘same, -self’
ɛəde ‘a number’ ḥəl ‘-self’
ʔad ‘a single one’ maʃd ‘by... -self, alone’
ʔən ‘a pair’ ʔədə ‘(honorific)’
ʔamf ʔl- ‘all, whole’ ʔədə ‘(honorific)’
ɛəmne ‘generality, mass’

The term ʔi, ʔawyye, ʔamm, and ɛəde, in their partitive senses, are normally used in construct only with classificatory indefinite terms:

ʔi ʔaʔame ‘some meat’ ʔamm ʔəhər ‘a few (or how many?) months’
ʔi ʔəntən ʔolme ‘(or some) pretty girl’ ʔamm ʔərə ‘several times’ (See p.366.)
ʔəwyyet ʔaʔame ‘a little water’ ɛədət ʔərə ‘a number of times’

Some of the others are used in construct mainly with

identificatory (usually definite) terms:

ʔamf ʔl-ʔaʔa ‘the whole nation’ maʃgam ʔl-talāmə ‘most of the students’
ʔəmme ʔn-ʔən ‘the masses (of people)’ ʔəbəz ʔskkən ʔaladna ‘the rest of the inhabitants of our town’

Still others are commonly used with either classificatory (indefinite) or identificatory (definite) terms:

Indefinite (Classificatory)           Definite (Identificatory)
ɾabəz ʔəzə ‘a quarter hour’     ɾabəz ʔəlo ‘a quarter of his wealth’
ʔabəz ʔən ‘some (certain) people’ ʔabədən ‘some of them’
Note especially the term *koll*, whose English translation varies, depending on whether the following term is definite or indefinite, singular or plural, etc.:

**Indefinite (Classificatory)**

*koll* balad ‘every (or each) town’

*koll* šaxa ‘every (or each) person’

*koll* šī ‘everything’

*koll* with a pronoun suffix is not generally used as object to a verb, nor as following term to a noun in construct or to a preposition; but is used in apposition [p.511] to the pronoun, which is repeated: *jaʃto kollon* (not "*jaʃto kollon*”) ‘I saw all of them’; *tyaʃna kollon* (not "*tyaʃna kollon*”) ‘The clothes of all of us’; *fiha kollon* (not "*fiha kollon*” or "*b-kollon*”) ‘in all of it’.

The relationship of *koll* (and *ğer*, see below) to classificatory and identificatory following terms is like that of elatives and ordininals [p.473].

The term *ğer* also requires various translations, depending on whether the following term is definite or indefinite, etc.:

*ğer* marra ‘another time’

*ğer* "mjaʃ ‘other children’

*ğer* šaxa ‘someone else’

*nafa* and *szed* in construct with a pronoun are translated as ‘*self’”:

*nafa* ‘*myself*’, *szed* ‘*himself*’, in construct with a noun, they are usually translated as ‘same’: *nafa* "l-azuq ‘the same time’; *nafa* "l-balad ‘the same town’ (though the latter might also be ‘the town itself’ = *l-balad nafa*).

With pronoun suffixes, these terms are most commonly used as appositives: *yana nafa* ‘*I myself*’, *r-raʃaf zedo* ‘*the man himself*’.

The partitive *majd* stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only, usually as appositive: *anti majdekr ‘you (f.) alone’; or adverbially: *brək majdekr ‘I’ll go alone’.

The term *råli* as a partitive stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only: *råli* ‘*myself*’, *rålih ‘yourselves’. It is most commonly used as object: *bafalt *råli ‘*I cut myself*’, *fomal *rålo *nayem ‘*He pretended to be asleep*’, lit. ‘*He made himself asleep*’.

All the partitives meaning ‘*self*’ may occur after certain prepositions:

*la-balak ‘for yourself’, *can *råli ‘about myself’, *b-nafa ‘to myself’ (lit. ‘*in myself*’), *la-mahd ‘for (or by) himself alone’.

In their partitive uses, these terms stand in construct with definite (identificatory) terms only.

The ‘honorifics’ *hadra* (lit. ‘presence’), *syəde*, *saʃde*, *faxame*, etc. are partitives: *hadra *tətak bətaʃ maʃra ‘Are you coming with us, sir?’; *faraf hadra *tətak *t-rətak, məla lasa ‘Has the president arrived yet?’

Examples of partitive constructs in context:

1. *pər *r-raʃaf yomasek koll rəsən ḥanəm sama [AO-104]

   ‘The shepherd started picking up every two head of sheep together’

2. *koll balad-həmənət hadal biʃəqəlu *yaʃmad *kətir [AO-63]

   ‘All these animals keep Ahmed quite busy’

3. *yana kollon balad [AO-67]

   ‘I got all wet’ (lit. ‘I, all of me ...’)

4. *koll *l-balad *r-bəʃəf aʃəsəf *mə *l-yard [AO-59]

   ‘All the seeds sprout from the ground’

5. *b-kollon *maməniyyə

   ‘With pleasure’, lit. ‘in all gratitude’

6. *kəf koll *fam *mə *pəɡər ... *bətən *kəllək [AO-116]

   ‘How could that little bottle hold all of you (m./sg.)?’ (i.e. ‘...your whole body’)

7. *xaʃ *kətir *m-raʃaf koll *kəsqo [AO-116]

   ‘He took fright and his whole body trembled’

8. *qar-rəʃf mə fi *katəb *ğer *katəbi

   ‘On the shelf there are no books but mine’ (lit. ‘...other than my books’)

9. *can *parəb bəya tacəm *ğer *kaʃəl

   ‘From close up it looks altogether different’ (lit. ‘...of another kind’)

10. *yana mə *bəʃəb *ğer *l-balad [AO]

   ‘I don’t want anything but onions’
11. mën palma ërkë? [DA-245]

12. bta?mor ët ërë? [SAL-81]

ba?dë:

13. lësa ët ba?dë n?at badda tawsyiye

ba?dën n?at w-baadën më n?ë

15. ba?dë #t-?allëb më byad?rsu

16. lë t?allëd ba?dëkën #l-baadë

ëf, ëwyyë, kamm:

17. bëratë ?s-sayyara mn #l-makil walla man ët Xaxë?

18. bath?d n?atël ës mëm?r mëwë [PVA-12]


21. fëkëra has-pëfiyë wëh pëb ?s-smail ës ësh?r zammë [DA-152]


23. rëh ëtib kamm ?ammënet bira?

24. bi?atë fës t?smaal ëwyyet ën w-bi?atë fës ëlë bëhëra [AO-75]

25. d-danye ëwyyet bard barra

hël, wadh, na?f, zët:


'Who (is there) for us (to count on) but you?'

'Would you like anything else? (lit. Do you order a thing other than it?)'

'There are still some points that need to be ironed out'

'Some of them came and some didn’t.'

'Some of the students don’t study.'

'Don’t copy one another' (lit. 'Don’t some of you imitate the some (others)')

'Did you buy the car from a dealer or from some (private) individual?'

'Would you like for us to take a walk (or ride) together?'

'We’ll have a cup of coffee'

'Pick out (some) three tomatoes for me from on top'

'This summer we’re thinking of going up north for about a month’s time'

'If you read them over a few times you’ll memorize them easily'

'Shall I go get a few bottles of bear?'

'They first lay on a little mud and set a stone on it'

'It’s a little cool outside'

'When the girls were left to themselves they started looking around the house'

'Well, sir, I don’t want to talk about myself.'

'Get ready (lit. prepare yourself), we’re almost there'

'There was a man who considered himself clever and learned'

'The fisherman went to the same pond and caught four fish'

'The coasts alone were under the Turkish rule'

'Let’s do it ourselves'

Fractions:

33. tisl #l-balad ëtarët (or ëtarë?)

34. robë ?ammëlë mëfet la-mavestment sëriyë

'A third of the city burned'

'A quarter of his wealth was given to charitable causes'

But if the following term is indefinite, agreement is usually with the leading term: robë sükça më bikëf; 'A half hour is not enough'.

NUMERAL ANNEXION

There are various irregularities and complexities in the construct forms of numerals. See p. 170.

Unlike substantives, cardinal numerals in construct may be definitized by prefixation of the article:

Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Construct Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xams</td>
<td>s-rësël ‘five men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbaç bëdët ‘four eggs’</td>
<td>l-arbaç bëdët ‘the four eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>l-esqën ta?më ‘twenty students’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Definite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Construct Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xams</td>
<td>s-rësël ‘the five men’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>l-esqën ta?më ‘the twenty students’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numerals from two to ten stand in construct with nouns in the plural: "tnn *mlad 'two children'; *sfr *mlad 'ten children'; above ten the following term is put in the singular: *bdr* *mlad 'forty children' [p. 367].

Cardinal numerals generally stand in construct with indefinite terms (which classify the things enumerated), but those between two and ten are sometimes put in construct with definite terms (which identify the things enumerated): tltt *mladon 'their three children', tlt*tma the three of us'.

With definite terms, it is common for the numeral to stand in apposition rather than in construct: *mladon tlt*tma 'their three children', r-rd *l-xamse 'the five men', *bn *t*tma 'we three'.

Collectives and other mass nouns stand in apposition to numerals: tlt*tma *b*mrk* 'three Americans', ttn *bnaxe 'two coffees' [p. 510].

*whd 'one' never stands in construct except in the syncopated form *whd with a pronoun suffix: *b*rd *whd 'I'll go alone' (lit. 'I'll go, the one of me'). The ordinary uses of *whd are with an appositive: *whd* *bn 'a girl' or in apposition: *bn *whd 'one girl'.

Examples of cardinal numeral constructs:

1. f* tltt *mr* *mbmmn [Bg. 1] 'There are three important factories'
2. *bn b-*ydi tlt *ms*mst *mt*n tnt *b*yxw*riyye 'Three deuces and two kings were in my hand'
3. *bn f *n *m*n tlt-ara*fr iyyw* [DA-217] 'We must wait three (or) four days' [p. 171]
4. rnm h* *f*l* *fr *b*ra*fr smk*t [AO-117] 'He cast it and brought up four fish in it'
5. *mr *k*l*y *j*m*t *b*ra*fr *x*nsm r*y bg*sgl [AO-103] 'He began feeding him four (or) five onions every day'
6. *mm*ml *k*l*y b-*c*fr *r*kh *k*l*y *b*fr *s*kt *r*kh [DA-225] 'The first kilogram is (for) ten piastres and each (additional) kilogram adds six piastres'
7. k*m *mn *mr-*lk b*fr*m*rk *m* *m*n *nmn tltt b*fr*m*rk *m* *m*n *nmn [DA-173] 'How many years have you been in America? - Eight years'
8. *m*nt *bt*l*b *d-*fr*b*r - *b*c*fr *c*fr*ry *yy*n [DA-173] 'When does school begin? - In ten days'
9. *m*n*n *tg*l *m*l* *w*m*ld *b*c*d *x*m*st*sh*t *y*rn [DA-198] 'She may arrive with the children in a fortnight' (lit. 'after fifteen days')
10. f* *m*m*m *f*r*yn *h*l*n [DA-226] 'There are twenty-five words in it'
11. *sr *lm *f*h* *s*b*fr *n *m*n *m*n *b*c*d *w*-*l*t*t *y*rn [AO-71] 'There are seven months in the year which have thirty-one days'
12. *bn f *ydi *b*dr* *m*k*sm* [AO-113] 'There were forty men under his command'
13. *k*l*y *n*-*h*r*b *c*r*fr *l*t* *f*r*yn *n *m*n *m*n *b*c*d *w*-*l*t*t [DA-129] 'All these things come to three pounds and seventy piastres'
14. *w*-l*yr *ry *t*m*n *n r*yh [AO-113] 'And they found the swords of the thirty men'
15. *s*m*r *l*b*fr *n *m*n *m*n *b*c*d *m* *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n [AO-114] 'He left none, either small or large, of the four hundred head of sheep of his master's'
16. *m*n *m*dtt *y*lfr *w*-*m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n *m*n [AO-116] 'He died one thousand eight hundred years ago'
17. ...*f*yt *r*sl*t *t*l*m* *ts*m *h*l*j *x*m*n *l*l*j *l*r *[DA-297] 'My wife's (lit. family's) jewelry is worth some five thousand pounds'

ELATIVE AND ORDINAL ANNEXION

An elative [p. 310] may be used in construct either with a definite or an indefinite term: *sh*l *l-*b*n*t 'the prettiest of the girls', *sh*l *b*n*t 'the prettiest girls'.

When an elative construct is translated into English with a superlative (—est, most,...), the superlative is usually accompanied by 'the', even when the construct is indefinite [p. 456].

A definite following term makes an elative construct identificatory: i.e. the definite term *l-*b*n*t, (in *sh*l *l-*b*n*t) shows which prettiest things are meant. Conversely an indefinite following term makes the construct classificatory: the indefinite term *b*n*t, in *sh*l *b*n*t, shows what kind of prettiest things are meant.

Elatives, which are uninflected, fluctuate in number/gender [p. 420]. In a definite (identificatory) construct, the number and gender of an elative depend entirely upon its reference, regardless of the following term: *sh*l *l-*b*n*t 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest of the girls'; *h*d*l *sh*l *l-*b*n*t 'These (pl.) are the prettiest of the girls'; *h*d*l *sh*l *l-*b*n*t 'This (m./sg.) is the prettiest of the houses'.

With an indefinite (classificatory) following term, on the other hand, the number and gender of the construct depends entirely upon that of the following term; i.e. an elative leading term is subordinate to an indefinite.
following term: *'ahla bêt 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest girl'; *'ahla bêt 'This (m./sg.) is the nicest house'; *hadâl *'ahla bêt 'These are the prettiest girls."

While elatives often stand in construct with an indefinite singular count noun [p.306], they seldom stand in construct with a definite singular count noun, and only if the elative is substantivized: *'ahsan bêt 'the best house', but *'ahsan *l-bêt would mean 'the best part of the house' or 'the best thing about the house'. Thus in order to say 'our best house', one must avoid *'ahsan bêt, which would mean 'the best thing about our house', and say rather *'ahsan bêt *man byâna, 'the best (house) of our houses', or *'ahsan byûma 'the best of our houses', or *'ahsan bêt *valna 'the best house (belonging) to us'. See Periphrasis of Annexion [p.460].

Ordinal numerals [p.316] are like elatives in their function as uninflected subordinate nouns in construct with indefinite following terms: *tâlet bêt 'the third house'; *tâlet bêt 'the third girl' (havv *tâlet bêt 'This (f./sg.) is the third girl').

Unlike elatives, however, ordinals do not stand in construct with indefinite plurals, and seldom do so with definite terms of any kind. Thus *tâlet l-obyût 'the third (one) of the houses' is usually circumlocuted with a phrase such as *tâlet bêt *man l-obyût, or t-tâlet *man l-obyût.

In definite (identificatory) constructs, furthermore, an ordinal is generally inflected for number/gender: *tâlet *l-bânât 'the third (one) of the girls'; tâlattôn 'the third (one) of them'; (or by periphrasis *t-tâlet *n-l-bânât, *t-tâle manhon).

The terms *'ammal 'first' and *'exar 'last' are used freely in identificatory constructs, however, in the sense 'first part of' and 'last part of': *'ammal wâqî 'the first part of his sermon'; *'exar *sa-sene 'the last part of the year'; *'ahsan *l-sâde *l-âkîr 'from (its) beginning to (its) end'. In this sense *'ammal and *'exar function as substantivates, and are not inflected for gender.

Elatives, too, may occur in this substantival function, when followed by a definite count noun [p.306] in the singular: *'ahsan *sa-sene 'the best (part of the year).

Examples of elative and ordinal constructs in context:

1. bi-hâl-mâñt *'akter *n-nâs byâs-Îlha [DA-172] 'That's when most people go there' (lit. 'At that time most of the people come to it')

2. qâr *'âgha *bâhî *sâmâna [AO-119] 'He became the richest of the people of his time'

3. *tâbset *'ahsan *ra-mîd* *'andha [AO-118] 'She put on the best clothes she had' (Cf. *'ahsan *ra-mîd* *'the best of her clothes')

4. *bi-*'exar ra-mâd* *'açîn bi-*'ammal *'amâl [DA-302] 'After the last of Ramadan, that is to say, on the first of Shawwal'

5. *hâdî *'ahsan *bâ *mâmûd *bêl-balad [DA-129] 'This is the best thing (to be) found in town'

6. *wît-Îla *sâla *'amâl bîb *sâla yâmînâk [DA-45] 'Stop (for us) at the first door on your right'

7. *sèkro *tâni *sîne *yâsî *lól-*blâd *s-l-ârâbiyye [DA-173] 'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'

8. *l-fallâh *byââsâdôn...b-*'ammal *s-p-gêf [AO-59] 'The farmer harvests them early in the summer'

9. *'addîs *bâddâk *'îârêf *'amâl *dâfêsî? [DA-294] 'How much do you want to put in as a first deposit?'


11. *hadâmâl *'exer *hêlî 'I tried my utmost' (lit. '...the last of my strength')

12. *'amâl dörr *sâni *byâdô damâ *s-sâqa *tâme *w-nâqq 'My first lesson begins at half past eight' (Cf. *'amâl dörr 'the beginning of my lesson')

13. *'addîs *qâll *sî *lâmêm *hajjû? [DA-294] 'What's the minimum amount (lit. the least thing) I must deposit?'
PREPOSITIONS

The prepositional construction is a special kind of annexation (p. 455), differing from nominal annexation only by virtue of its leading term's being a preposition rather than a noun-type word. A PREPOSITION is a word or proclitic (p. 18) that occurs mainly or always as leading term in a phrase whose following term is a noun-type constituent and whose function can be that of supplement (523), complement (444), attribute (500), or predicate (402), but not subject.

Among the most common and important prepositions in Syrian Arabic are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ِلا-</td>
<td>'to, for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>من  'from, of, than'</td>
<td>'on, about, to, against'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب-</td>
<td>'at, in, by, with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف-</td>
<td>'in, on, at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أإلا</td>
<td>'on, about, to, against'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أإند</td>
<td>'with', Fr. chee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماق</td>
<td>'with'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No attempt will be made here to deal with the various meanings and translations of these prepositions, for which see a dictionary.

The prepositions listed above are very common, and examples of their use may be found on almost every page of this book where full sentences are given. This section will be devoted only to certain special features of their forms and functions.

Alterations in Form

In combination with the article (p. 493), some of the prepositions are slightly altered in form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ِلا-</td>
<td>ل-أ 'to the boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب-</td>
<td>ل-أ 'with the book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف-</td>
<td>ل-أ 'in the house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أإلا</td>
<td>ل-أ 'to the office'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أإند</td>
<td>ل-أ 'with him, it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماق</td>
<td>ل-أ 'with him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with you(m.)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with you(f.)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإي 'with me'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with her, it'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with you(pl.)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with us'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preposition ب- is sometimes assimilated to an initial د of: د-مألاق (or د-مألاق) 'in your place', د-فأطتي (or د-فأطتي) 'in my bed'. Sometimes this preposition is pronounced ب: د-فأطم 'in the first of the month'.

ف- may also be pronounced with a short i in close phrasing (p. 19): في-بإتي (or في-بإتي) 'in my house', or sometimes with no vowel at all: في-بإتي.

The أ of من 'from' is generally lost before a vowel: من أإلا 'from the house'.

Especially in Lebanon, أإلا is sometimes shortened to أإلا even when not in combination with the article: أإلا-أتي 'to my house' (for أإلا أتي). Sometimes, on the other hand, أإلا keeps its longer form even before the article: أإلا أإدإإمإلإ (or أإدإإمإلإ-أتي) 'on the table'.

أإند is generally pronounced أإند in some parts of Greater Syria.

أ- is commonly reduced to ل- in parts of Lebanon (p. 13).

Pronoun-Suffixing Forms. When the "object" of a preposition is a personal pronoun, it is the suffixed form of the pronoun which is used (p. 539):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with you(m.)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with you(f.)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإي 'with me'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with her, it'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with you(pl.)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أماقإك 'with us'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1These combinations with أ are sometimes considered to have the helping vowel: ل-أ-أ, ب-أ-أ, etc. This use of the helping vowel, however, is not allowed for in the rules of anaptyxis given here (p. 26). According to these rules, we would get ل-أ-أ, but ب-أ-أ. Our transcription with the large أ simply implies that أ in these combinations remains in all environments.

2The أ of من is probably best analyzed as a helping vowel; to be perfectly consistent we should transcribe من-إلإ, من-إلإ, rather than من-إلإ, من-إلإ. Our transcription here follows a tradition based on Arabic spelling, which connects only one-letter proclitics to the following word. Since من is written as a separate word, one's tendency is to transcribe its only vowel as an integral part of the word rather than as a helping vowel.

3The use of this traditional term for the following term in a prepositional phrase does not, of course, imply that the prepositional construction is a kind of complementation.
Note that the d of ǝnd is usually elided with the suffix -na 'us': ǝndna (for ǝndna).

mačḥa and maq̖̄hɔn are sometimes pronounced maq̖̄ḥa and maq̖̄hόn, respectively. The h of -ha and -hon may also be dropped, as is the case generally [p. 541]: maq̖̄ḥa 'with her', maq̖̄hɔn 'with them', ǝndna 'with her', ǝndnɔn 'with them'.

On the quasi-verbal use of these prepositions, see p. 413.

The suffixing forms of maq̖ and ǝnd have a double n before a vowel:

*maq̖nano 'from him, it' ǝnndano 'from him, it'
*maq̖nako 'from you(m.)' ǝnnako 'from you(m.)'
*maq̖nɛk 'from you(f.)' ǝnnɛk 'from you(f.)'
*maqn 'from me' ǝnni 'from me'
*maq̖na 'from her, it' ǝnna 'from her, it'
*maq̖nɔn 'from them' ǝnnɔn 'from them'
*maq̖nɔn 'from you(pl.)' ǝnnɔn 'from you(pl.)'
*maq̖n 'from us' ǝnna 'from us'

Note that ǝnna 'from us' is pronounced the same as ǝnna 'with us' (see above), though the latter is sometimes also pronounced ǝnna.

When the h of -ha and -hon is elided, the n is commonly doubled as before the other suffixes beginning with a vowel: *maq̖na 'from her', *maq̖nɔn 'from them', ǝnna 'from her', ǝnno 'from them'; note that the 'her' forms are then pronounced the same as the 'us' forms. In some parts of Greater Syria, however, the h is more often elided without a doubling of the n, thus: *maq̖na 'from her', *maq̖nɔn 'from them', etc.

The suffixing form of ǝla is ǝl̢̄, except in the first person singular, where it is ǝl̢̄yiy- (or in some areas ǝl̢̄ayy-):

ǝl̢̄ 'on him, it' ǝl̢̄ń̢ha, ǝl̢̄ń̢ 'on her, it'
ǝl̢̄ń̢ 'on you(m.)' ǝl̢̄ń̢ń̢n, ǝl̢̄ń̢ń̢ 'on them'
ǝl̢̄ń̢ 'on you(f.)' ǝl̢̄ń̢ń̢ń̢ 'on you(pl.)'
ǝl̢̄yiy- 'on me' ǝl̢̄ń̢n 'on us'
(ǝl̢̄ayy-)
Examples of the disjunctive form in context:

1. mā ēandi maʾazzat ʾalha
   ‘I don’t have time for it’
2. sāret āyman ʾamīna ʾallo
   ‘She started being always obedient to him’
3. huwe sāheb ḥāmil ʾalī
   ‘He’s a close friend of mine’ (lit. ‘...friend to me’)
4. ʾalak maktūb ʾamīkar [DA-223]
   ‘There’s a registered letter for you’
5. xalli l-qarīr ʾallo
   ‘Leave the decision to him’
6. ʾam-ʾaṭmi ʾaṭmīn ʾalī
   ‘I’m having a suit made for me’

In examples 5 and 6, the disjunctive forms ʾalī, ʾalī are used, for the sake of emphasis, rather than conjunctive forms suffixed to the verbs (xalli-l ‘leave...to him’, ʾam-ʾaṭmi-li ‘I am making...for myself’).

On the quasi-verbal use of these forms, see p. 413.

There is a limited use of certain other disjunctive forms, notably lēk, used sometimes as in ʾstaʾazz lēk ‘I’ve missed you’ (instead of the conjunctive ʾstāʾazz-ʾalak). Note also: ṣamwil qadī līna fi bayrīt [SAL-59] ‘our first friend in Beirut’ (for ʾaṭīn). (Cf. Classical forms with ʾiḥlī and ʾiḥi.)

The conjunctive forms vary, depending on the preceding and following sounds:

- lā, - allo ‘to him, it’ - ʾlha, - ʾla, - ʾilio ‘to her, it’
- lak, - allok ‘to you(m.)’ - ʾlkon, - ʾlon, - ʾilkon ‘to them’
- lēk, - allék ‘to you(f.)’ - ʾlkon, - ʾalkon ‘to you(pl.)’
- li, - allī ‘to me’ - ʾlma, - ʾalma ‘to us’

- lā is sometimes assimilated to the n of na ‘us’ ṣabaʾ-ʾaṭma (for ṣabʾ-ʾalma) ‘he brought...to us’.

1.) - ʾal- is used after two consonants and before a vowel:
   ṣabt-ʾalak ‘I’ve brought (for) you(m.)...’
   ṣaff-ʾalī ‘Put(m.)...for me’
   - ʾal- is also used optionally (instead of ʾl-) after the subject-affix -t [p. 193] even when the -t is preceded by a vowel: ṣaffēt-ʾalak ‘I put...for you(m.)’ (or ṣaffēt-ʾlak).

2.) - ʾl- is used after two consonants and before a consonant:
   ṣabt-ʾaṭkon ‘I’ve brought (for) you(pl. )...’
   ṣaff-ʾaṭīn ‘Put...for us’

3.) - ʾl- is used otherwise:
   bāb-ʾlak ‘I’ll bring...(for) you(m.)’
   bāb-ʾlma ‘bring(f.)...(for)us’

   After a single consonant and before a consonant, however, the helping vowel ʾa must come before ʾl-, by the rule of anaptyxis [p. 29]:
   bāb-ʾlkon ‘I’ll bring...(for) you(pl.)’
   bāb-ʾaṭima ‘He brought...(to) us’

   After l, the helping vowel is generally not used:
   ʾaml-ʾina ‘tell(m.) (to) us’
   bāʾaʾa-ʾlkon ‘he’ll make...for you(pl.)’

   The two l’s, furthermore, are generally reduced in pronunciation to one: ʾaml-ʾina, bāʾaʾa-ʾlkon. See pp. 23, 24.

   On accentuation, see pp. 18-19.
Reduction of Preconsonantal Stem Vowel before -l-. When an -l- suffix is added to a word ending in a long vowel + a single consonant, the long vowel is generally shortened; ə commonly becomes a, and f, ə, ə, and ə almost always become a. [p. 23]:

\[\text{gār} + -lāk \rightarrow \text{gār-lāk} \quad \text{'it has been for you...'}\]
\[\text{?āl} + -li \rightarrow \text{āl-li} \quad \text{'he said to me...'}\]
\[\text{āmāl} + -lo \rightarrow \text{āmāl-lo} \quad \text{'do for him...'}\]
\[\text{prōf} + -lāk \rightarrow \text{prōf-lāk} \quad \text{'spend for yourself...'}\]
\[\text{?il} + -lōn \rightarrow \text{āl-lōn} \quad \text{'say to them...'}\]
\[\text{?ēf} + -lāna \rightarrow \text{āb-ēf-lāna} \quad \text{'bring (for) you...'}\]
\[\text{mūsāhā + -li \rightarrow mūşāh-li} \quad \text{'allowed (to) me'}\]

Note also the optional loss of ə in the fem. ?ēlī + -l- + pn. sfx.: ?ēlī-lo 'tell(f.) (to) him' (or ?ēlī-lo).

Examples of -l- suffixes:

1. snāhā-lna mnast-ānen
   'Excuse(pl.) us, we must go' (lit. 'Allow (to) us, we ask permission')
2. ?addāf bēz-t-lat hōn?
   'How much longer do you have here?' (lit. 'How much is left to you here?')
3. bačā 'g-d-sahr bēz-t-ālkon yōshon
   'This afternoon I’ll bring them for you(pl.)'
4. nūfnā ?al-ikon šokān u-bass
   'I suppose he said to you(pl.) "thanks" and that was all!'
5. bēz-lōn ənāit
   'I’ll tell them I forgot'
6. lamma yorāc lah-ikol-lo maqēl
   'When he returns there’s going to be a broader scope for him' (lah-ikhūn + -lo \rightarrow lah-ikhīl-lo)
7. gār-lā tārēk amērka tūtt
   'She left the States three days ago' (lit. 'It’s been for her having left America three days')
8. əlōt-lo bento xadīna mačāk
   'His daughter said to him, “Take me with you”'
9. lamma-ə-li ə-yababb mēh
   'Shine the shoes for me well'
10. bidma’-lāk m-əbradd-ālāk xabā
    bokra p-əbēh
    'I’ll look around (for you) and let you know tomorrow morning' (lit. 'and send back news to you...?')

11. wōn batḥabbu ma?sf-ālikon?
    'Where would you(pl.) like me to wait for you?'
12. hālī batfrīdi bēz-lēk yō
    [JO-115]
    'I’ll bring (to) you (f.) what you want'
13. yōm bačād yōm biēd-ālna nōfs
    sī-lēppa
    'Day after day he repeats the same story to us'
14. yasa maṣtāt-ālikon
    'I’ve(f.) missed you(pl.)' ('I’ve been yearning for you')
15. hiiye madyant-ālāk b-kall kēr
    'She’s indebted to him for everything'

The “Ethical Dative” and Redundant –l- Suffixes. Almost all constructions involving pronouns are also applicable to nouns (since pronouns are, by definition, noun “substitutes” [p. 535]). Thus bēz-t-ālkon ədiyye ‘He brought (to) them a present’ is a substitute for sentences such as bēz lā-əmlēd ədiyye ‘He brought (to) the children a present’.

In Syrian Arabic, however, there are certain very common uses of conjunctive –l- phrases which apply to pronouns only; there are no corresponding uses of la– with nouns. For instance:

16. bāxmin-ālāk hēk baddo yaimel
    [DA-75]
    'I think that’s what he wants to do'

The suffix –ālāk is functionally a sentence supplement [p. 526], though in form it seems to be a supplement or complement to the verb bāxmin. Therefore it does not mean "I think for you...", but merely betokens an assumed relevance or interest of the statement to the person addressed; or as a stylistic feature it may be used simply to give a more intimate or personal tone to a discourse – emphasizing the conversational relationship between speaker and person spoken to. Further examples:

17. nūya-ālāk hāl-əxtāyārī mē tāfrām
    'I’m afraid these abbreviations are incomprehensible'
18. nūya-ālāk ə-siyūs-l–māfrā
    batābyayr kēfr
    'I find contemporary politics very confusing'
19. btārāf-ā-li əfr bant əbta?cod
    yūnēn [DA-80]
    'Do you know any girl who would work as a maid?’

Note also example 10, above. The –l- phrase is an "ethical dative" in bidma’-lāk, but a complement in bēz-t-ālkon.
Similarly, conjunctive -i- phrases are often used with a pronoun that is redundant upon the subject-affix of the verb (or in the second-person with an imperative verb); the verb and the pronoun have the same referent:

20. l-marra l-mādye smēt-ali kamm mūde ḥēke

   ‘The last time, I heard a few like that’

21. badna nākh-t-a ṣī aṭre ṣawīle

   ‘We must have a good long talk’

22. ṣaddi kān āndo ṣāde yāked-lo ḏafme bačdı ‘l-ṣada

   ‘My grandfather had the habit of taking a nap after lunch’

23. ṣaddi-kon ṣī nasṣ sēqa lēnye

   ‘Stay (pl.) another half hour!’ (lit. ‘sit,...’)’

24. daṣkakar-lak ṣī wāḥed ṣonte

   ‘You think of one’

25. baddi ‘p’rū-łi šmayye

   ‘I want to do a little reading’

26. mā laha-yaf-lo ʿaktar man xam’st iyām

   ‘He won’t live more than five days’

Another use of redundant pronouns with -i- is in anticipation of a pronoun suffixed to the verb’s complement:

27. ṣaḥaṣt-a ṣi bāb sāyyārsta

   l-warrāni

   ‘I dented (for her) the rear door of her car’

28. raṣṣiṣt-alī ṣmayyet sūy ēla maṣṣī

   ‘I sprinkled a little water on his face’

29. ṣak ‘s-saṣkar ʿakṭr bissammes-lak

   ‘ṣmānāk

   ‘Eating sugar too much will decay your teeth’

30. maḥ槩fo ḏayman bat!ammad-li

   ʿalbi

   ‘His letters always depress me’ (lit. ‘...oppress my heart’)

31. haf-ṣafammor səyyab-a ṣi ʿamālna

   ‘This development has dashed our hopes’

Free Prepositions

There are several locative prepositions which can be used predicatively without an “object”:

fū ‘above, over, upstairs’

ṭā iht ‘below, under, downstairs’

ḥumā ‘inside’ (annexing form ḫumāt)

barr ‘outside’ (annexing form barrāt)

ṭaddām ‘in front(of)’

war ‘behind, in back’

Examples without objects:

1. hanne barr ‘aṣ-ṣanne

   ‘They’re outside in the garden’

2. l-ḥaf l-maṣṭiqīy ye bαfīr ḫumān

   ‘The concert will be indoors’

3. if makṣfī ṣolak ṣahṭ ēand

   ‘There are some letters for you downstairs at the grocer’s’

4. mū hāda yalli ṣahṭ?

   ‘Who’s that down there?’

5. smīra fū ‘mō ṣamma

   ‘Samira is upstairs with her mother’

6. ṣeṣa s-aṣṣyārī yalli wāra

   ‘Look out for the car behind!’

7. ṣarrābāt ʾr-raṣkāb ṣaddām ṣuṣ-ṣaḥān wāra

   ‘Passenger cars are forward and freight (cars) to the rear’

Examples with noun objects:

1. byesken barrāt ʾl-balad

   ‘He lives outside the city’

2. ḫumāṣ ṣ-d-dār ēand hāa u-ḏik [AD-63]

   ‘Inside the house he has chickens and a rooster’

3. if malīṣa ṣahṭ ʾl-yard

   ‘There’s a shelter under the ground’

4. ṣāḏzi fū ‘l-maṣfāx

   ‘My room is over the kitchen’

These expressions cannot be analyzed as “adverbs” or the like, since they can stand alone as predicate, as well as in various supplemental and complemental capacities. Adverbs are by definition non-predicative [p. 381]. Predicative use, of course, includes use in constructions derived from predication, viz. attribution [493] and predicative complementation [448].
5. naaff war-na-nnil u-gar ihsayek 'amān [AO-96]  'He jumped behind the loom and began to weave quickly'

6. xallīna naat-āmeq ṭadām ʾl-bānīa  'Let's meet in front of the post office'

Prepositional Combinations with la- and man

la- 'to' and man 'from' may precede any of the free prepositions as well as ġand 'at, with', to convert a locative phrase into a TRANSLOCATIVE phrase:

1. ḫandmun la-ġando ʾal-iqba  'He invited them to his house for dinner'

2. bahāf-ī li ḫal-ʾiğray man ġand ʾl-ḥahīm  'Would you bring me those things from the butcher's?' (lit. "...from at the butcher")

3. ʾgār yermīken man ʾfāf ʾl-hāf la-barra [AO-104]  'He started throwing them out over the wall'

4. ʾyarreb ḫaṭ-lərāba ṭa-laddīn ġamīnak  'Move that table over in front of your aunt'

5. ʾana kīyey man barrāt ʾl-balad  'I'm coming from out of town'

6. ḥāmel talīdīna man ṭaht  'Try to get at it from underneath'

7. rā 넘어 yet ma-warā  'Back up a little'

(Ch. 18)

8. Ṣib ʾaf-ṣāhīn man ʾal-fašāle  'Get the dish from off the table'

9. mašš-e li man ġal-woṣṣ ġē kilīyēn banābwīna [DA-106]  'Pick out about two kilos of tomatoes from on top for me'

ʾalā serves both in the locative sense 'on' and in the translocative senses 'onto' and 'to': ḥaffa ʾal-ṭāfele 'Put it on the table' rāh ṭal-bēṭ 'He went to the house'.

In other cases as well, la- is often omitted in translocative phrases when the preposition has an object: ḥaft barrāt ʾl-balad 'I went out of town', but not when there is no object: ḥaft la-barra 'I went outside'.

It should be noted that man in translocative phrases means not only 'from', but also 'through', 'over', 'by':

10. ḥaft barrāt l-maḍīne man bāb  'I came out of the Old City through ṭōna ʾl-yāqṣī [AO-67] Bāb Touma to Qassaa.'

11. ʾl-ḥūn byamro? man ṭadām bānī [DA-104]  'The bus goes by in front of our door'

Note also ex. 3. above: man ʾfāf 'over' (not 'from on top of').

baʾdd and ṭabīl 'after' and ṭabīl 'before' may be preceded by man 'since', and baʾdd may also be preceded by la- 'until':

12. l-ʾsaṣēr gālyet man baʾdd ʾs-ṣafl  'Prices have gone up since the drought'

13. trāʾ ḥal-maṭawāle la-baʾdd ʾl-ʾtīf  'Leave that matter till after the holiday'

14. man ṭabīl ḫīwāsī ḥān yassakar  'Before his marriage he used to get drunk' (Here man does not mean 'from' or 'since' a certain time, but rather 'during' a certain length of time: cf. the spacial sense 'through', 'by'.)

baʾdd and ṭabīl are also used adverbially with no 'object', with or without a preceding man (or la-) mā kān ṭabīl ġand ḥada man ṭabīl [DA-81] 'I've never worked for anyone before', halli byaxīl ṭabīl byastanna t-tānī ġand ʾl-bāb [DA-244] 'Whoever finishes first will wait for the other at the door'.

baʾdd and ṭabīl are not to be considered 'free prepositions', however, since they are not normally used predicatively without an object.

fāf, ṭaḥt, man, ṭadām, baʾdd and ṭabīl may all either take pronoun suffixes directly, or else they may be followed by man with suffixes: baʾdd or baʾdd mani 'after me', ʾfāf or ʾfāf manni 'above it'. Commonly, however, the m of man is doubled (or in some areas, preceded by l): baʾdd ḫamāni (or baʾdd ʾl-manni) 'after me', ʾfāf ḫamānno (or ʾfāf ḫamānno) 'above it':

15. ḫumēn byaṣī ḥāro ṭabīl ḫamānno  'His turn comes before mine'

16. kān ṭuṣī ṭaḥt ḫamānno  'I was walking behind him'

17. ḥamēn sāmīn ṭaḥt ḫamānno  'They live below us (i.e. downstairs)

18. ḥaṭṭāmī ṭeṣāʾ ṭaṭ-tīlā ṭadām ʾl-hūn ḫamānno  'You gave me, in front of me, that you had your companions with you' [p. 450, bottom]
Other Special Prepositions

ka- 'as' forms phrases which are limited to supplemental use (p. 524), and does not take pronoun suffixes:

1. bân marqâb *ktîr ka-mâder hawâmee 'He was much in demand as a lecturer';
2. ba'âsen *sarâs ka-*astâs 'I could go back as a teacher';
3. ka-wâdâh *amârkâni byâhki zarabi 'For an American, he speaks Arabic well'.

* On ka-*annâ 'as if' see p. 491.

Certain other prepositions are also not used with pronoun suffixes: háshab 'according to', *jâfeq 'across', ba'dal and čawâd 'instead of' (but ba'dâl and čawâd, same meaning, can take suffixes), *garb and *arfb 'near' (but b-*rbo 'near it', *arfb muñno 'near it').

bên 'between, among' has a form bêñât, used with plural suffixes, (and sometimes also with nouns) in the sense 'among' (or 'between' if the plural refers to two only): bêñât 'among them' or 'between (the two of) them'. In coordinations, 'between...and...', the preposition never takes the -5 form - and must be repeated if one or both of the following terms is a pronoun suffix, since the suffixes themselves cannot be coordinated: bêñi m-bêñak 'between you and me'.

1. bû l-far'û bêñ *t-tanîn? [DA-293] 'What's the difference between the two?'
2. bêtânet *l-bant bêñ *l-borrâs, lâbée ba'dle ġaskariyye [AQ-115] 'The girl was among the guards, dressed in a military uniform'.
3. hâmâ u-hâmâ muâ'tâm bêñ *bâ-lâm u-hâlab 'Homs and Hama lie between Damascus and Aleppo'.
4. mîn ĝali bêñâtâ? 'Which of them is Ali?' ('Who is Ali among them?')
5. čàmadâna čâlêka bêñâtâna 'We decided (on) it among ourselves'.
6. fâğâfha bêñât ba'tâkôn 'Settle it among yourselves'.
7. danwart bêñ (or bêñî) *l-byût kallon 'I went around among all the houses'.
8. ?ála gâlžha bêñi w-bêñi marta 'He came and patched things up between me and my wife'.
9. bêñü m-bêñkôn mû fi far'û 'Between you and us there's no difference'.
10. bêñon u-bêñon čâmmâlon fi *bâstîb 'There's a disagreement between them and their workers'.

-tabâc 'of, belonging to' forms phrases which function as predicate (haâs-stîlo tabâc farâd: 'This pen belongs to Fareed') or attributive (*mîn pe-stîlo tabâc farâd: 'Where is Fareed's pen?'); but unlike ordinary prepositions is does not form adverbal phrases (p. 523). Examples:

1. ħâyya tâbâcna 'This is ours'
2. l-khâdîs pâr ġand *s-sûkka tâbâcna 'The accident happened on our corner'
3. tabâc mîn hâl- *kîsâ? 'Whose is this book?'
4. hâl-bargî tâbâc ě? 'Where does this screw belong?'
5. l-mâs tâbâcak hâdd? 'Is your razor (or jacknife) sharp?'
6. mîn *l-bullâra tâbâc *l-kâs 'Where's the chimney for the lamp?'
7. hâl-ghârd tâbâchon (or tâbâchon) 'These things are theirs'.
8. ħâyya bâfâriyye tâbâc bîl 'This is a flashlight battery'.

Some speakers rarely use tabâc with an indefinite following term (as in ex. 8), preferring in such cases an anexion phrase (bâfâriyyet bîl) or a ia- phrase (bâfâriyye la-bîl). Note the definitied following term in expressions like marâ's tâbâc *l-xams miyye 'a five hundred [pound] note'.

In agreement with a plural, the forms tabâcni and tabâcâl are sometimes used:

9. xu'd l-ghârd tâbâcni tâkkon mën hân 'Get your things out of here'
10. tabâcâl mîn hâl-katâb? 'Whose books are these?'
11. hâl-bargî tâbâcâl ?âbâp 'What are these screws for?' (or 'Where do these screws go?')
12. bâfâdâl hâbel *l-xadâr tâbâcâl 'I prefer to steam my vegetables'.
13. tabâc mîn hâp-zumur? tâbâcâl 'Whose pictures are these?—Mine'.
14. hâl-parâdî tâbâcâl čâmmi 'This land (lit. 'these lands') belongs to my uncle'.

The existence of these plural forms is a measure of the noun-like (and un-preposition-like) character of the word tabâc. Regardless how it is classified, tabâc is grammatically unique; as a noun, it would be exceptional in that it must always stand in construct. There are, of course, many prepositions which are etymologically - and sometimes functionally - nouns. e.g. matâl 'like' (or 'the like of'), bâmb 'beside' (or 'side'), etc. As for the plural form tabâcâl, the final l is presumably a variation from m (cf. Pal. tabâšâm), perhaps reinterpreted as a quasi-verbal form with an -l suffix (p. 480); tabâcâlo 'belonging (pl.) to him' (cf. Classical tabâš lâhu).
In various parts of Greater Syria, certain other words are used in the same way as tabāq. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the form ṭīṣ is used, generally with full adjectival inflection: fem. ṭīṣāt, ṭīṣīt 'mine', etc.; pl. ṭīṣ or ṭīṣān; in Palestine the plural form of ṭabāq is tabāqān (rather than tabāqāl). In Damascus the word ṣīṭ is common: l-māṣīṭ ṣīṭ 'a-saṣayyūra xarīmān 'The engine of the car is out of order'; the plural of ṣīṭ is ṣīṭān. I ṣāḥed hal-ḥāṣir, ṣīṭ ḥāddāl 'Don’t take these things, they’re mine'. The Palestinian form of this word is ṣīṭ, pl. ṣāṣayyūt.

In the periphrasis of annexation (p. 460), an attributive tabāq phrase is commonly preferred to annexation when the leading term is a recent loan word, or a substantive ending in a vowel (not counting the -a/-a suffix): r-rādāy tabāqī 'my radio' (rather than rādāyī), l-ṭabāqān l-ṭabāqāt tabāqān 'our new apartment' (rather than ṭabāqānna l-ṭabāqād). The tabāq construction is also common in expressing a looser sort of relationship than what is implied by annexation, e.g. s-sākē tabāqa 'our corner' (ex. 2, above) rather than sīḥatma, which would sound more like a matter of ownership or some sort of intimate association.

Prepositional Clauses and Annexion Clauses

A number of prepositions and nouns may be followed by a clause as well as by a nominal phrase. In most such cases, the clause is introduced by the particle ma: 'aḥlī ma nākēl 'before we eat' (cf. ʾābl ʾl-ṣāḥī 'before eating'), b-māṣrīṣ ma bīṣānān 'wherever it is' (cf. b-māṣrīṣa 'in its place, where it belongs'). For example:

bādān ma ʿafter' waṭī ma, bāqīt ma, 'at the time(hour, yūn ma, sālī ma, day, year, minute, that...', when
māṣīl ma ʿas' daṣṭīf ṣāfī, ma that...
balā ma, bidīn ma 'without' ṣādī ma, 'as much as'
badāl ma, baḍīl ma 'instead of' bīm ma, la-bānīn ma 'while'

Most phrases composed of a noun or preposition plus ma plus a clause function as adverbial supplements. For examples of their use, see p. 528; also p. 357.

Note, however, the expression nīṣāa 'than' (ma + ma), which is used mostly in complementation to an elative (p. 314):

1. hiyya ṣāḥīa b-ṣāḥīf nīṣāa kan ṣāḥīf ʿShe is much prettier than I expected'  
2. l-lī ṣāḥīfād ʾl-ṣāḥīf ẓākār nīṣāa hiyya ṣāḥīfād hāliya ʿDon’t make things more complicated than they already are'  

Note also:

3. ṣūmī, xalīfī nīṣāa huṣūn ʿ他认为 (i.e. from the spell he is under)

Similarly, with a noun (substantive):

4. ḍaṣīṣ ma ḍaṣīṣ ma ṣāḥīf ʿShe went back through the wall the same way she had come' (lit. 'She entered through the place she had come through the wall')

With elatives:

5. xayy man ṣāḥīsān ma yākūn ʿThis is (of) the best there is'

With kall 'every' (p. 339):

6. xayy ḍaṣīṣ ḍaṣīṣla ṣāḥīṣla ʿEvery time we want to go outside, it rains'

A few nouns and prepositions may be followed by a clause introduced by ḍaṣīṣ (which more usually introduces complemental clauses (p. 449): ḍaṣīṣsa ṣāḥīf 'to such an extent that...' (also complemental: ḍaṣīṣma ṣāḥīf), ma ṣāḥīf 'although' (one of the meanings of ma is 'despite').

Some examples of prepositions with ḍaṣīṣ include as given above.

Note also ko-ṣāḥīf 'as if', la-ṣāḥīf (or la-ṣāḥīf or l-iṣāḥīf) 'because': la-ṣāḥīf 'that...' (see p. 543):  

7. biṣāma xalī ṣāḥīfma ko-ṣāḥīfma naḥḥāl ʿHe describes women as if he were a sculptor'  
8. mā ṣūmī la-ṣāḥīfma hān ṣāḥīf ʿHe didn’t come, because he was sick'  
9. s-sāḥīfān ʿalā ʾṣāḥīfān ṣāḥīf 'The monkey wouldn’t learn even though his master began beating him'
10. ḍaṣīṣ ṣāḥīsāra ḍaṣīṣsa ḍaṣīṣsa ʿShe was so deeply affected that she couldn’t speak'

The particles la- and maṣṣān 'for, to, in order that' are used both as prepositions and as conjunctions, i.e. their following term may be either a nominal phrase or a clause (without any particle such as ma): ṣāḥīf la-ṣāḥīf la-ṣāḥīf or ... maṣṣān maṣṣān la-ṣāḥīf ...la-ṣāḥīf or ... maṣṣān la-ṣāḥīf ...for the food'.

Certain nouns may also stand in construe with a clause without benefit of a subordinating conjunction. See ex. 6, p. 386 (maṣṣāl... 'a question of...')
CHAPTER 19: ATTRAITION

An ATTRIBUTE (ān-maʿāt) is a subordinated predicate [p. 380] or comment [42]. The term it is attributive to (al-maʿāt) corresponds to the subject of that predicate, or the topic of that comment. The attribute follows the term it is attributive to, and generally agrees with it in definiteness (as well as in number/gender, when applicable):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predication</th>
<th>Attribution (Indefinite)</th>
<th>Attribution (Definite)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-madīnē kāfīre</td>
<td>'the city is large'</td>
<td>'a large city'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-маḏīnē l-māfīre</td>
<td>'the large city'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾa boy found them'</td>
<td>'a boy who found them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-madīnē mā ʾaṣfīha</td>
<td>'the city I haven't seen'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-madīnē yallī mā ʾaṣfīha</td>
<td>'the city I haven't seen'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the resumptive pronoun (-ha) in the last example, which is characteristic of attribution phrases derived from extrapolation, just as it is of the underlying extrapolational clause itself [p. 430].

The Article Prefix (ʾaḍāṭ t-taqrīf). Adjectives and certain other attributes are usually definitized with the article prefix, whose basic form is l-: l-khāmā l-bāred 'the cold air', l-ḥugān ʾi-l-ṣuṣām 'the black horse'. The article is totally assimilated, however, to dental and front palatal consonants (al-ḥarāf ṣ-ṣamsiyā): t, ṣ, s, x, ž, ḍ, ṣ, ṣ, ṣ, n, r. Examples of the assimilated article, in noun-adjective attribution phrases:

r-raff ʾi-tālet 'the third row' l-ḥūf ṣ-ṣami 'the pretty quilt'

q-warrāb a-sāmīn 'the thick soup' l-tālīb ṣ-ṣabī 'the bright student'

r-rasā ṣ-dāʾīr 'the fine drawing' ṣ-gūbēf ṣ-dāḥāk 'the jolly officer'

The article is not invariably assimilated to ṣ; one may sometimes hear, for instance, l-ṣāmēc l-ṣaṣīd 'the new mosque' instead of ṣ-ṣāmēc ṣaṣīd.

The term 'attribute' is sometimes used in a broader sense in American linguistics, to denote subordinate terms in general. In French, on the other hand, 'attribut' generally means 'predicate', while 'épithète' means 'attribute' in our sense.
The Clause Definizer. The particle halli or yalli (or yalli or *yalli) — rather than the article prefix — is used to definitize an attributive complement or verbal predicate, while in the case of non-verbal predicates, attribution to a definite term may or may not involve halli (etc.), depending on other considerations. (See p.500.)

A term is DEFINITE if (1) it is introduced by the article l- or the demonstrative prefix hall- (p.556) or by halli (etc.); or (2) if it is a noun or a proper name; or (3) if it is in construct (p.486) with a definite term. Otherwise it is INDEFINITE. Thus l-bant ‘the girl’, hall-bant ‘this girl’, haddi ‘this(f.)’, hiyye ‘she’, maraym ‘Mary’, bant ‘l-’ēmmer ‘the merchant’s daughter’, banto ‘his daughter’ are definite; while bant, wadda bant, ṣf bant (all translated ‘a girl’), bant ‘ēmmer ‘a merchant’s daughter’, ṣkhar bant ‘the oldest daughter’ are all indefinite, regardless whether or not they refer to a definite person.

Thus in ḫ wadda bant baddo yatāmama ‘There’s a certain girl he wants to marry’, the attributive comment baddo yatāmama ‘he wants to marry her’ is not introduced by halli; even though wadda bant would presumably have a quite definite reference; similarly, in ḫ ṣhāla bant ṣaftha ‘That’s the prettiest girl I’ve seen’, the attributive comment ṣaftha is likewise indefinite.

Like the article prefix, the particle halli (etc.) is not limited to use in attributes; it is also used to convert any sort of predication into a definite noun phrase which may function as subject, predicate, complement, or annex. Examples of non-attributive halli-phrases:

1. halli bāreṣi bikūn ṣamāha (DA-100) ‘Whatever you give will be fine’
2. tfaddal la-ḥatta ṣarāfkh halli ṣamāra [AO-79] ‘Come, let me show you what I have’
3. btaṣref halli ġaṣabak [AO-115] ‘Do you know the one who hit you?’
4. bybāl ṣtīle yalli byastahael ḫalām ṣabū (Pred. Subj. inversion [p.419]) ‘He who makes fun of what his father says will get a beating!’
5. bḥūka ḫall halli ṣūr maʃo [AO-115] ‘He told her all that had happened to him’
6. bād ‘lili ‘lilī karoḥa n-qaṣ (Pred. Subj. inversion [p.419]) ‘After what he said, people hated him’
7. ḫūd yalli ḫūn lāṣmnī b-ṣẹn ṣlalabo ‘This is what I needed exactly’
8. yalli bāreṣfo, ṣeṇno ṣtaʃa ṣlalabo ‘All I know is that his request was denied’ (or ‘As far as I know...’)

As shown in the examples above, non-attributive halli (etc.) can generally be translated into English as ‘what’, ‘whatever’, ‘who’, ‘whoever’, ‘he who’, ‘that which’, etc.

In its attributive use, the particle may often be translated as ‘who’, ‘which’, or ‘that’, but it should be kept in mind that halli does not really correspond to these English words (relative pronouns): its presence or absence is a matter of definiteness, while the use or non-use of the relative pronouns has nothing to do with definiteness: bant btaṣref ṣaftha ‘a girl who knows how to cook’; l-rṛsī halli ṣaftha ‘the men I saw’. (But see ex. 21 and 22, p.499)

Definite Attributive Clauses (ṣ-gālā)

Examples, attributive verbal predicates:

1. ṣabli ḫawyye ‘māṣ ‘l-madāfeq ḥalli baddōl ġala nihāṣt [p.298] ‘A little while ago I heard the cannon(s) which signal the end of the prayer’
2. l-ṣawīyey yānset tabaṣ μchied mn ‘l-madiye ḥalli ṣabli la-ṣamār bā‘ēm [AO-99] ‘The stick belonged to one of the angels who came to Abraham’
3. baddōrī nīḏ ‘ṣuṣu yalli byaṣṣigel ġond ‘b-baṛṣḥ [AO-44] ‘She looks after the children of her brother who works for the surgeon’
4. laṣu ṣyūf ‘t-ṭamānī rāsīl halli ḫaṣāma ḡalāḥān [AO-113] ‘They found the swords of the eighty men who had attacked them’
5. bəraṣof kaman maṣaper mn ‘ṣ-talabiyey ḥalli ṣablitni māroj [AO-79] ‘I’ll also show you some samples from the consignment that came (to me) yesterday’
6. ṭy ḫal ‘ṣamom ‘ṣ-gaṣ ‘ṛ ḥalli mā byasat ‘yalla ṣaṣṣat māṣak hēlak [AO-116] ‘How did that little flagon that wouldn’t hold any more than your finger hold the whole of you?’

Attributive quasi-verbal predicate [p.412]:

7. r-rāsīl ‘ṣaxad ṣamāro w-ṣafṣaf rāṣ ‘l-taṣ ‘l-ne ṣamāra ẓamān [AO-112] ‘The man took his dagger and cut off the head of the cat he had’
8. b-ḥaṣ ‘ṣafṣaf yalli maṣak mā ṣtā ḡummat-lī ḍaṣṣ [AO-79] ‘With those pieces you have to checkmate me’

Attributive non-verbal predicates [p.402]:

9. stahloka ḫall ‘ṣ-gaʃūn halli ḫal-bī [AO-79] ‘We’ve used up all the soap (that was) in the house’
Examples of definite attributive comments (i.e., attributive clauses with their own subjects or with subject-referents different from the terms they are attributive to):

16. háyy ñ-l-bànt yàllì ñ-ßl-ßliak cañka [DA-99]

17. rañqet ñ-ñqamìt ñ-l-malek yàllì qàntto gàßìbba [AO-119]

18. ñalab ñ-l-malek mm ñ-g-payyàd ñ-ñnuo yòñlo ñal-ñmaràf yàllì ñwnam-yàt ñt ñ-samàk [AO-117]

19. s-saddì ñallì ñàssìto yànà kàñ mòńqì-là qìñr

20. wèñ ñ-tìnñ ñallì rañq ñàçñ ñal-ñmaràsì?


22. ñàñm yàddìq ñ-fàjìgìì ñallì ñ-ñggànto ñtìk [AO-108]

Examples of indefinite attributive comments (i.e., negative attributive clauses with their own subjects or with subject-referents different from the terms they are negative attributive to):

1. ñìñì ñ-ñqamìt ñ-l-malek yàllì qàntto gàßìbba [AO-119]

2. rañqet ñ-l-malek mm ñ-g-payyàd ñ-ñnuo yòñlo ñal-ñmaràf yàllì ñwnam-yàt ñt ñ-samàk [AO-117]

3. wèñ ñ-tìnñ ñallì rañq ñàçñ ñal-ñmaràsì?


5. ñàñm yàddìq ñ-fàjìgìì ñallì ñ-ñggànto ñtìk [AO-108]

Examples 27 and 28 show attributive comments with respiratory or subject pronouns [p.434]. This construction is usual in the case of nominal predicates, especially definite predicates. (Cf. p.405.) Thus, 'I want to introduce you to my friend, who is the mayor': baddì ñàárrìì ñalì gàßì ñallì ñuììì ñàñì-s ñ-t-balàdiìì.

In attribution to an indefinite term, a predicate or comment is usually paralectic; i.e., there is usually no particle like yàllì, etc. to mark its subordination, and it is indistinguishable from an independent sentence except for its inclusion in, or prosodic unity with, the superordinate clause. Examples (attributive clause underscored):

1. ñìñì ñ-ñqamìt ñ-l-malek yàllì qàntto gàßìbba [AO-119]

2. rañqet ñ-l-malek mm ñ-g-payyàd ñ-ñnuo yòñlo ñal-ñmaràf yàllì ñwnam-yàt ñt ñ-samàk [AO-117]

3. wèñ ñ-tìnñ ñallì rañq ñàçñ ñal-ñmaràsì?


5. ñàñm yàddìq ñ-fàjìgìì ñallì ñ-ñggànto ñtìk [AO-108]
4. mĩ ft së lëggyar
   ‘Nothing has changed’ (lit. ‘There is not a thing that has changed’)

5. nnařèf bâl-madîne ĕële mëphá
   Gándha bënt hâlêm bëdden
   ṭišumâwâsâ [AO-55]
   ‘We know a good family in the city
   who have a pretty daughter they want
   to marry off’

Example 5 shows one attributive clause within another.
bâdd she mënañî ‘they want to marry her off’ is attribu-
tive to bënt hâlêm, while Gándha bënt hâlêm bëdden... ‘they
have a pretty daughter they want...’ is all attributive to
ēële mëphá. Similarly in ex. 2, ‘Gàffî m̀ bâl-madîne ‘it
is’ near the city’ is attributive to Gàáça, while ‘yëskë
b’dëgë ‘far from...’ he lives in a village near...’ is all
attributive to fallëb.

6. ft pâlî pâb³n ġam tâbë
   hëf [DA-245]
   ‘I have a cousin who’s in business
   there’ (lit. ‘...a cousin (he is a
   merchant there)’)

7. kâñ ft gâyyåd ‘pëkstyr u-fà’ktr
   ‘gâektr, fàndo mara w-tëystt ‘míkë
   [AO-115]
   ‘There was a poor old fisherman
   who had a wife and three children’

8. pâlî këgbye càáfi këtr, bëkën
   ëfîbra la-ðëllî bëddo yëstëbëe
   [AO-118]
   ‘I have a very strange story, that
   will be a lesson for him who will
   take heed’

9. hëyj Kâlëg bëddi gärârá bâcëd
   bëkën tïbë [DA-302]
   ‘That’s something I’ll decide in two
   or three months’

10. bûcôôk-aôk ‘sëbën dàrso
    ëm-yëyësë w-ùn-bëddam zàla kàmëmëe la-yëspàëzo
    [DA-302]
    ‘I sent you a patient whose tooth was
    hurting him and he was looking for a
    pair of pliers to pull it’

11. m̀-më bëtëk³ ‘màñph³ ‘shëfï
    râlîk ft mòn këtr ‘u-namë
    mëna ñëjë [DA-81]
    ‘And you can’t find a place to put
    your foot down because of the crowd’
    (lit. ‘...to put your foot in (it)’)

12. hëyj ñamël mërra bëstëkë
    ñëjë [DA-81]
    ‘This is the first time I’ve worked’
    (i.e. ‘...first time in which I work’)

13. ëkët kàlëm m̀ ftënt mëno ñë
    [AO-118]
    ‘She said some words of which I
    understood nothing’

14. ësë fëhë bërmë ‘këfr, ft rëmbë
    w-sëne [AO-115]
    ‘He saw a large barrel with sand and
    clay in it’ (lit. ‘...[there was] in
    it sand...’)

15. dëbbàru xëssë këlla makër
    ‘They conceived a very clever plan’
    (‘...a plan all of which was clever-
    ness’)

16. bëmël këll ñë mëkën tazëmmàsù
    ‘He tried everything imaginable’
    (‘everything whose imagining is
    possible’)

17. bël-ët lëngye ësëftag ëmëm 
    bàsë mëfëhê [AO-117]
    ‘The next night he saw a black castle
    whose door was open’

18. ës Èndëk dàmëntë sëbëddakë
    ìl-bëkëf liqë ‘bël-mëbëkë?
    [DA-296]
    ‘What collateral do you have to offer
    the bank against this amount?’

19. byëstëkkël ì-màsà ësà ‘akxhr
    së ‘yom’sëf humë më ñë-l-bë’ëk ëm
    [PAT-197]
    ‘In the evening they have a supper
    which is usually (of) food left over
    from dinner’

Note the resumptive subject pronoun (humëe) in ex. 19.
(Cf. ex. 27 and 28, p. 497.) In this case the attributive
predicative is prepositional (mm ñë-l-bë‘ëk...); the subject
pronoun confirms the attributive (and predicative) role of
what follows its antecedent ësà ‘supper’ [cf. p. 548].
Without humëe, mm ñë-l-bë‘ëk... might be construed as supple-
mental to the verb byëstëkkë: ‘they usually sup on left-
overs from...’ (with ësà as an unmodified paronymous com-
plement [p. 442]).

20. më byëstëkël ì-màsà mëtël
    mëtël hëlì këll yëm tòëfï
    sàràb bëtëmmë ft [AO-118]
    ‘He doesn’t deserve a wicked woman
    like his wife, who gives him a drink
to anesthetize him every day’ (lit.
    ‘...a drink she anesthetizes him
    with (it)’)

In ex. 20 the indefinite clause bëtëmmë ft is attribu-
tive to sàràb, which is part of another subordinate clause
hëlì këll yëm..., which is attributive to the definite noun
mëtël.

Some speakers occasionally use ñyllë, etc. to introduce clauses that are
attributive to an indefinite term:

21. b-hàddëk ñë-mëtël kâñ ft këtr
    ñës ñyllë sàllëluì l-mëmëf
    ‘At that time there were a lot of
    people who took advantage of the
    situation’

22. ft mëbdë ñyllë bësëkëdrë
    ñëjë [PA-më]
    ‘There’s one I remember that has her
    name in it’

Example 22 has two subordinate clauses, both attributive
to the indefinite term mëbdë. The first is introduced by
ñyllë, while the second, ñëjë ‘sëma ‘her name is in it’, is
paratactic.
Attributive Words and Phrases

Adjectival, nominal, and prepositional predicates—unlike verbal predicates and extrapositional comments—can often be made attributive in two ways: either as clauses, or as simple words or phrases. As clauses, they are definitized with the particle yalli (etc.) [p. 494]; as simple words or phrases, adjectives and (usually) nouns are definitized with the article prefix, while prepositional phrases are not definitized at all:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Attribution</th>
<th>Word or Phrase Attribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?abno yalli ḅāṣān.</td>
<td>?abno Ḳ-ḅāṣān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'his son who is hungry'</td>
<td>'his hungry son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?abno yalli (humme) samān.</td>
<td>?abno s-samān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'his son who is a grocer'</td>
<td>'his son the grocer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-bāb yalli ẓal-yamīn.</td>
<td>l-bāb ẓal-yamīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the door that's on the right'</td>
<td>'the door on the right'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prepositional Attributes

Examples, prepositional phrases attributive to definite terms:

1. n-nagme ẓala mutīrī mūḥde maṣṣāshīn
   'The monotonous tune made me sleepy' (lit. 'The melody on one tone...')

2. n-nūs ṣamawla Ḳantu ẓam-yakhku bal-ṣūlī
   'The people around us were talking loudly'

3. l-mahalīlāt Ḳaddīn Ḳahan man mura
   'The seats in front are better than [those] in back'

4. l-krafatāt bal-mūshā lafatu naqari
   'The neckties in the display window caught my eye'

5. ṭūd bal-ṣamamumā Ḍala Ḳān ṭūg ṭ̣adāh [adap. from AO-79]
   'Take this rainbow-colored moiré' (lit. 'Take this wavy [one] on the color of the rainbow')

6. ṣāyaf Ḳas-sadd Ḍala buḥayret l-ẓaffīne? [DA-253]
   'Do you see that dam on Lake Qattinah?'

There are a few prepositional set phrases with the force of adjectives, which in attribution to a definite term are sometimes preceded by the article: ṣ̣ ṭ̣-fābṭāa 'supernatural', ṣ̣ ṭ̣-fīdāa 'extraordinary', etc.: ṣ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-fābṭāa 'the supernatural phenomena' (or ṣ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-fābṭāa).

Adjective Attributes

Examples. Single adjective, attributive to single noun (or noun with pronoun suffix):

1. ṣaṭr Ḳalīr 'a small inheritance'
2. ṣaṭr ṭ̣-ṣawme 'an impossible situation'
3. ṣ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'ignorant people'
4. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'the real danger'
5. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'the intoxicating beverages'
6. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'the Syrian Arabs'
7. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'this imposing monument'
8. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'my immediate superior'
9. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'your present needs'
10. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'his personal taste'

Number/gender agreement for attributes is much the same as for predicates [p. 420], though there are a few minor exceptions and additional points about agreement noted in the following sections. One point is that an adjective attribute to an inanimate dual noun is sometimes put in the feminine, in the same way as with plurals:

11. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'the first two years'
   or ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'the seven years'  

Examples of feminine/plural adjectives [p. 201]:

12. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme [AO-118] 'treacherous women'

13. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme [PAT-197] 'unveiled Moslem women'

Examples of uninflected adjectives:

14. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'medium sizes'
15. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'medium sizes'
16. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'authentic Arab coffee'
17. ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme ṭ̣ ṭ̣-ṣawme 'that good-looking young man'

See also pp. 428, 520.
Adjective attributes to a coordination:

18. rašābī w-mara hāzānān 'a hungry man and woman'
19. marti w-muladi t-talabānān 'my tired wife and child'

The adjective is always plural in agreement with an additive coordination of singular nouns, but it may be feminine in agreement with a coordination of plurals, provided that each of the plurals could itself take feminine agreement (p. 423):

20. kāth ṣal-ṣawr w-ṣuqānī ḡalīya 'expensive books, pictures, and records'
21. _SUPPLY_ ṣuqāb w-l-ṣayyāb ḡalīya 'the Arab peoples and armies' [DA-305]

Feminine agreement with a coordination of plurals is not limited to adjective attributes, but applies to any kind of predication or attribution. Note, for example: fū t-haš-calāfī w-al-muxābārāt ʿillī ḍabbār l-yām?

What's in those letters and announcements you brought today? l-kāθ ṣal-ṣawr w-ṣuqānī ḡalīya 'Books, pictures, and records are expensive'.

Coordinated adjective attributes, with different references:

22. manṣūbī t-cəskariyye ṣimāzīyye 'military and industrial installations'
23. _SUPPLY_ l-briṭiyye ṣal-ṭamārānī ṣal-franāzīnī 'the British, American, and French ambassadors'
24. l-luġatīn ḡalīya ṣal-ṭarabīyye ṣal-ʿarabīyye 'the Arabic and English languages'
25. l-taṣāfīn ḍāmīn ṣal-mākka l-mu-thanānī 'the masculine and feminine genders'

As illustrated in examples 23-25, coordinated attributes that apply distributively to different single referents of a plural or dual noun do not agree with that plural or dual, but with their singulars. In example 22, however, the reference is presumably to more than one installation of each kind mentioned, so the agreement is still with the plural manṣūbīn (whose singular, it so happens, is not ordinarily used in any case).

When attributes to the same term have coinciding reference, then their coordination is more often asyndetic than syndetic (p. 398):

26. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī 'a lovely (and) charming girl'

27. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'a hot (and) copious evening meal'
28. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī l-mašṣūmī 'a copious evening meal'
29. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'a delicious evening meal'
30. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'a small north wind'
31. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'a strong north wind'
32. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'this beautiful inlaid table'
33. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'a beautiful inlaid table'
34. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'this important foreign scientific institute'
35. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'an important foreign scientific institute'
36. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'the owner of a famous restaurant'
37. ṣalīm l-ḥamān ṣal-lafṣī t-tafīfī 'my sister's big new car'

Note that the attribute closest to the noun in such cases is often a relative adjective (p. 280).

Adjective attributes to (the leading term of) a noun construct:

34. ṣayyāret ṣalōni ṣal-lafṣī 'my son's new car'
35. ṣalīm ṣal-lafṣī ṣal-lafṣī 'a famous restaurant owner'

Example 35 is ambiguous: since both ṣalīm and ṣalīm are masculine, the attribute ṣalīm could apply to either term; the phrase could therefore also mean 'the owner of a famous restaurant'.

36. ṣayyāret ṣalīn ṣal-lafṣī ṣal-lafṣī 'my sister's big new car'

Theoretically this could also mean 'my big sister's new car', but in actual usage contiguous adjectives after a noun construct virtually always apply to the same term. (The theoretical possibility of 'my new big sister's car' is not ruled out grammatically, but the situations to which it would apply are unusual enough to make this interpretation unlikely.)

See p. 460.

Adjective attributes to a numeral construct (p. 471):

37. ṣalīm ṣal-muṣṣābī ṣal-nafīn 'three other persons'
38. ṣalīm ṣal-muṣṣābī ṣal-nafīn (or ṣal-nafīn) 'four other copies'
39. ṣalīm ṣal-muṣṣābī ṣal-nafīn (or ṣal-nafīn) 'five blue chips'
A complemented passive particle is generally susceptible to phrase attribution:

51. l经常会 'I have to catch up on my sleep' (lit. "...to make up the sleep lost to me")

A complemented active particle is generally construed as a verb, and is therefore not susceptible to phrase attribution [p. 267]. There are exceptions, however:

52. lass we 'We still don't know all the facts concerning the accident' (or "...the circumstances surrounding...")

In certain parts of Greater Syria—notably Lebanon—the clause determiner (p. 494), ordinarily taking the form ('a['l]) is, is often reduced to the form l- and is therefore not always distinguishable from the article. The distinction between clause attribution and phrase attribution thus tends to be lost in the definite form as well as in the indefinite.

The reduced clause determiner, however, is often not assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant: l-šūrīyya l-šīkāt nā mān 'America' [PVA-30] 'the Lebanese (who have) returned from America'. (But cf. also malādī s-sūkīn fi bāb lī [PVA-2] 'my son (who) is living in Paris'.)

The article, rather than the clause determiner, is sometimes used with an attributive extrapositional clause [p. 496] whose adjectival predicate (usually a passive participle) comes first:

53. l-mandábīn l-makṣūra rasālahom 'the aforementioned delegates'; 'the delegates whose names have been mentioned'

This construction, (oddly named an-naṣṣ s-sabābī 'the causal attribute') is mainly limited in colloquial Arabic to rather pedantic usage. A phrase such as l-malād l-šīkāt 'the boy with the broken knee' would more usually be paraphrased as l-malād l-šīkāt. Cf. also l-marā l-sūkīn l-šīkā 'the woman at whose house your brother is living' (in which l- however, is better interpreted as the reduced clause determiner since it is not assimilated to the s).

'sabābī is perhaps to be interpreted here is some such sense as 'relational', 'supporting', or 'intermediary, indirect', rather than 'causal'.

The derivation of this construction may be illustrated as follows: ṣaṣṣī 'l-malād makṣūra 'The boy's knee is broken', with extraposition of the noun [p. 439] l-malād ṣaṣṣī makṣūra, with participle-subject word order in the comment [top 433, ex. 7] = l-malād makṣūra ṣaṣṣī l-šīkāt, with attribution of the comment [p. 496] = l-malād l-makṣūra ṣaṣṣī l-šīkāt.
Nouns designating the material of which something is composed are often used attributively:

1. *dahab* 'gold': 9. *sansle* dahab 'a gold chain'
2. *fṣifa* 'silver': 10. *s-sakak* 1-1-fṣifa 'the silver knives'
3. *milli* 'china(ware)': 11. *g̣hun* 1-milli 'the china dishes'
4. *p̣if* 'wool': 12. *kanse* p̣if 'a wool sweater'
5. *faro* 'fur, pelt': 13. *kabbūd* *ammi l-faro 'my mother's fur coat'

In example 13 the leading term is an annexation phrase.

Alternatively, in many cases, collocations of this type can be made by annexation rather than by attribution: *kanse* p̣if 'a sweater of wool', *sansle* 1-d-dahab 'the chain of gold'. *(Note also the construction with a relative adjective (p.280): kanse p̣ifiyye 'a woolen sweater, sansle dahabiyye 'a golden chain').*

Note also:
7. *xem* 'something in an unprocessed state': 15. *mac̣eden xem* 'metal ore'
8. *ta̱lid* 'imitation': 16. *kalād ta̱lid* 'imitation leather'
10. *zy̱de* 'increase, excess': 18. *rsteb zy̱de* 'more pay, extra pay'
11. *kif̣ye* 'sufficiency': 19. *raki kif̣ye* 'enough food'
12. *ḷil* 'left': 20. *fiddak ḷil* 'your left hand'
13. *yamān* 'right': 21. *fardet gabbūt yamān* 'a right shoe'

Apposition phrases like these are distinguished from annexation phrases by the fact that the leading term may be definitized with the articule prefix (ex. 10, 11) or with a pronoun suffix (ex. 20). If the leading term has the -e/-a suffix (p.138), it keeps the absolute form with an appositive (ex. 9, 12). An appositive noun is distinguished from an ordinary adjective by the fact that it need not agree with the leading term in number/gender (ex. 11, etc.). An appositive noun is distinguished from an uninflected adjective (501) by that fact that it is also normally used in the typically noun-like constructions: *xem* 1-badf 'iron ore', *zal-yamān* 'on the right'.
Attributive noun phrases:

22. ḫastān ṭabān Carāb 'an Arab teacher'

Since ṭabān Carāb is itself an annexion phrase, it is made definite by prefixing the article to its following term only: l-ḥastān ṭabān Carāb 'the Arab teacher'.

mōḥe ḫāfīre 'a short wave':

23. rūdīyo mōḥe ḫāfīre 'a short wave radio'

Since mōḥe ḫāfīre is a noun-adjective attribution phrase, both of its terms take the article when it is definitized: r-rūdīyo l-mōḥe ḫāfīre 'the short wave radio'.

yūs ṭuṣaf 'medium size':

24. ḫammān ṭuṣaf ṭuṣaf ‘medium-size shirts’ (def. l-ḥammān l-ṭuṣaf l-ṭuṣaf. ṭuṣaf is an uninflected adjective.)

ṣāheb ṭammā 'conscientious'

(fem. ṭabbet ṭammā, pl. ṭāhī ṭammā):

25. ṭīleb ṭāheb ṭammā 'a conscientious student'

Basically ṭāheb ṭammā is a substantive construct, lit. "master (or owner) of conscience", thus only the following term takes the article in apposition to a definite term: ṭīleb ṭāheb ṭammā 'the conscientious student'. When not attributive, however, this phrase is usually treated more like an adjectival construct [p.466], with ṭāheb also taking the article: ṭīleb ṭammā 'the conscientious person'.

Attributive Numerals. The cardinal numerals from two to ten are commonly used in apposition to definite terms [p.494]:

n-nasān ṭ-taṭāte 'the three women'

l-ṭaṭāte ṭ-l-xamse 'the five fingers'

ṭunāaṭu ṭ-t-tānān 'his two apprentices'

ṣentu ṭ-t-tānān 'you three'

d-dīltān ṭ-t-tānān 'the two countries'

The numeral t-tānān 'two' agrees in gender with the (singular of) term it is attributive to: fem. t-tānān. (The feminine form is also commonly used in construct with a feminine term: t-tānān ṭammān 'two women'.)

The numeral ṭāhede (fem. ṭāhede) 'one' is unlike the other cardinal numerals in that it is used attributively like an ordinary adjective, with an indefinite term as well as a definite one:

Ṭāhede ṭāhede 'one room'

Ṭāhede ṭāhede 'one man'

Cardinal numerals above ten are used attributively in an ordinal sense:

l-bēt ṭ-b-tānātō 'the twelfth house'

All cardinal numerals are used attributively in an ordinal sense in the numbering of pages and the like; neither term takes the article:

ṣafta xamse 'page five'

ṣafta xamsīn 'page fifty'

The cardinal numerals 1-12 are used in telling time, attributively to ṭaṭ ṭābiš 'the hour', but without the article prefix:

ᵱₜ-sāc ṭāgara 'ten o'clock'

ᵱₜ-sāc ṭaṭ ṭānān ṭaṭ ṭaṭ ṭānān 'half past two'

Since the article prefix is not used with the numeral, the attribution phrase is indistinguishable in form from the predication: ṭaṭ ṭaṭ ṭaṭ ṭaṭ 'It's ten o'clock'.

Elatives [p.313] and ordinals [316] are also used attributively, the latter agreeing in number/gender like ordinary adjectives.
Numerals with Appositives. Ethnic collectives [p.301] and singular mass nouns [368] are used after the absolute form of numerals [170]:

1. tīsta ēṣarab w-umṣame ṭomērkān
   ‘three Arabs and five Americans’

2. ṣarbē ʿahme w-tīsta ḫalīf
   ‘four coffees and three milks’

waḥēd and tanī do not agree in gender with a feminine mass noun in apposition: waḥēd ʾīlīna ‘one beer’, tanī ʿahme ‘two coffees’. waḥēd, however, is also used as an indefinite substantive designating a person (usually translated ‘someone’ or ‘somebody’ when it has no appositive): in this use it is inflected for gender: waḥēd bint ‘a girl, some girl, a certain girl’, waḥēd ṭomērkān ‘an American(m.)’. (waḥēd itself is of course not used with ethnic collectives, but with their unit derivatives [p.301].)

Note also the phrases waḥēd ṣabbī ‘a friend of mine’ and nās ʾtahubī ‘friends of mine’; here the appositive is definite though its leading term is indefinite. (Cf. p.406, after ex. 34.)

Anaphoric suppression [p.537] of a noun after a numeral leaves the numeral in its absolute form, sometimes with an appositive:

3. ʾlīṭyūn ṭīlīye w-tīsta bēṭanān
   [DA-129]
   ‘two kilos of beans and three of eggplant’

4. ʾlī ṣ-faṣābēc ḥallī bōṭriḥā?
   ʿarbe bōrdā ṣāmmt tabaṭa
   *lī-ʿaṣārīn
   [DA-245]
   ‘What stamps do you want?’ — Four twenty [-piastre] air mail’

Specificative Appositive (or Specificative Complementation, at-tamāfa).

The appositives in examples 2 and 3 above are not true attributes, but rather COMPLEMENTS OF SPECIFICATION (at-tamāfa); they differ from true attributes in that they do not agree with their leading term in definition, but remain always indefinite: ʿarbe ʿahme ‘the four coffees’, tīsta bēṭanān ‘the three [kilos] of eggplant’. (Cf. the definite attribution phrase tīsta ēṣarab ‘the three Arabs’; or better, ēṣarab tīsta [p.509].)

Besides mass-noun appositives with terms of quantification or measurement, specificative complements are sometimes used in phrases like the following:

1. ṣarāmī ʾṣamāliyye ṣaṣārt šīra
   ‘a collective fine of ten thousand pounds’

2. maḥμūda ṣamīle raṣm maṭḥōla
   ‘a beautiful collection of prints’ (lit. ‘...[of] printed drawings’)

3. ḥaṣ-ṣamīyye l-ḥalīme nḥās ṣapṭar
   ‘this lovely brass tray’ (lit. ‘this lovely tray [of] yellow copper’)

In each of these examples, an adjective attribute intervenes between the main term and the appositive. If the adjective is eliminated, then the appositive becomes either a true attribute — agreeing with the main term in definition — or else the main term is put in construct with it: ḥaṣ-ṣamīyye n-nḥās ṣl-ṣapṭar ‘this brass tray’ [cf. p.507]; maḥμūṭet ḍarṣm maṭḥōla ‘a collection of prints’.

Except as illustrated above, substantives in Syrian Arabic rarely take complements of specification; an isolated case is the noun ṣīfa ‘quality, attribute, capacity’ as used in phrases like b-ṣīfatu ṭalīm ‘in his capacity as a teacher’.

Emphatic Apposition. (at-tamākīd).2 Definite partitive constructs [p.468] with ḥall ‘all, whole’ and ʾānī and naḥsi ‘self’ are susceptible to extraposition [cf. p.431]; the following term of the construct is moved in front and replaced in the construct by a pronoun:

- ḥall *i-banāt
  ‘all the girls’
  l-banāt kalīm
  ‘the girls, all of them’

- ḥall *i-ʾabmān
  ‘the whole week’
  ʾabmān kāla
  ‘the week, all of it’

- ḥall bīṭna
  ‘our whole house’
  bīṭna kēlo
  ‘our house, all of it’

- ʾānī *a-sayyāra
  ‘the very car’
  s-sayyāra ʾānī
  ‘the car itself’

- naḥsi ‘myself’
  ṣana naḥsi ‘I myself’

1 Most of the constructions that come under the heading of at-tamāfa in Classical Arabic correspond to annexion phrases (as with numerals above ten [p.368]), or are included in what are here called predicative complements [446] and adverbial noun complementation [444]. The specificative appositives treated here are, for nouns, what ‘adverbial noun complements’ are for verbs.

2 Another possibility is t-tīstet al-ēṣarab; this type of annexion form [171] is sometimes used with ethnic collectives and other nouns as well as with pronoun suffixes.

1 Specificative complementation, then, is another kind of annexion-periphrasis (p.460). Cf. maḥμūda ṣamīle raṣm i-māṣbīḥa.

2 More exactly, at-tamākīd l-maḥnawī ‘emphasis by meaning’, as distinct from at-tamākīd l-āṣārt ‘emphasis by repetition’. See p.394. At-tamākīd is not true attribution, but rather a kind of complementation or supplementation.
In the last example the following term of the construct is a pronoun, therefore its extraposition as an independent pronoun requires its replacement by a resumptive pronoun, which is of course the same as the original [p. 541].

Indefinite constructs with ǧēr 'other' [p. 468] are similarly susceptible to extraposition: ǧēr kūt*b 'other books' kūt*b ǧēr hon 'books other than them'.

A suffix pronoun may be emphasized (or fitted for attributes [p. 550]) by following it with the corresponding independent pronoun:

bēto 'his house' bēto humme 'his house'
maći 'with me' maći 'ana 'with me'
garabak 'he hit you' garabak 'ante 'he hit you'

A prepositional attribute (or complement, or supplement) usually follows an adjectival (or nominal) attribute, if any:

6. ġam-ya*n ǧru ǧišāt baača
   ġamn
   'They're spreading ugly rumors about him'

7. hāda kūn ġamal *ktIr ṣōyeq
   mannah
   'That was a very imprudent act on your part' (lit. "...from you, by you")

A pronominal tabāc phrase [p. 489], however, may precede an adjectival attribute:

8. kīf *mlā?i mdaarib *s-samā'a
   tabācak *k-hādīd
   'How do you like your new driving instructor?'

Order of Attributes

An attributive word or phrase precedes an attributive clause:

1. m-na?let ǧl-čabd ǧl-маšrūb
   hali tamm kyy. .. [AO-118]
   'And she moved the wounded slave, who was still alive'

2. *sli ḫāyé čafība ǧtIr
   bōthnā ġbra la-hali baddo
   yafīšer [AO-118]
   'I have a very strange story, that can be a lesson for whoever is willing to learn'

A single attributive noun or adjective usually precedes an attributive phrase:

3. kyy ǧafča fanniyye ǧwafīde
   man nōča
   'It's a work of art unique among its kind'

4. byačmel hali ǧs-hagli ǧl-lagane
   l-motčall'a bai-bēt
   'He does all the odd jobs around the house' (lagane is a noun, used attributively in an idiomatic sense, 'casual'.)

5. l-kūt*b ġam-ya*šgar ǧdrink
   ġamgq lal-madē ǧs-siyāsi
   'The author shows profound insight into the political situation'

In example 6 the phrase lal-madē ǧs-siyāsi is not strictly speaking an attribute, but rather a complement. It generally makes no difference in word order whether a prepositional phrase is attributive, complementary, or supplemental to a given term.
CHAPTER 20: SUPPLEMENTATION

The term 'supplementation' is used in this book to designate any of the various subordinating constructions that do not come under the more definite categories of attribution [p. 493], annexion [455], or complementation [437].

Supplementation is a "loose" type of construction, which is often syntactically vague or unmarked, in some cases requiring no particular word order.

The most important kinds of supplement are ADVERBIAL, which modify verbs or verb phrases, and CLAUSE SUPPLEMENTS, which modify clauses as such. There are also supplements to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc., and to sentences as such. Many supplements are used to modify terms of various kinds.

Adverbs and Other Supplemental Words

Strictly speaking, an adverb is a single word that is used mainly or always to modify verbs or verb phrases. More broadly, words that are used mainly to supplement clauses or adjectives are also called adverbs. Examples:

kamān 'also, too, more, again':

1. ḥab-šāna kamān šayyet lāmūn 'Bring some lemons (or oranges) too' (or: 'Bring a few more lemons')

2. mawān baddo šī šayyet mawādi, w-šāna kamān 'Marwan wants a few clothes, and so do I'

3. w-kandi kamān Šī Şī ṣalālti, bāshū ṣī xamat fiḏ lērā [DA-297] 'And I also have my wife's (lit. family's) jewelry; it's worth about five thousand pounds'

4. w-pom-li āla kanāb Šī mūṭa bāstēk kamān [DA-109] 'And put aside for me a couple of okeis of beefsteak, too'

5. lāmen mām kamān šaway [AO-51] 'I must sleep a little more'

6. kōda māndūt tūni kamān 'That's something else again'

7. ṣošini Ša+mūnti mūšti kumān yisā bētrīd 'Give me two more bottles of wine, if you will'

Ideally, the contrast between complementation and supplementation is a difference between non-subordinating (exocentric) and subordinating (endocentric) constructions that are otherwise similar. Actually, however, the difference between them cannot be sharply drawn; many of the constructions included under complementation are subordinating in one sense or another.
?amān 'quick(ly)'

8. rāḥet martī ?amān, w-baḍ dāmī ādhā yā dāmī [AO-51]
   'My wife went quickly, and after a
   while she came back.'

9. ḥuṣṭī ānēk ēal ēnī ?amām
   'Look (f.) me in the eye now, quick'

10. nāṭ Ḫamām!
    'Quick, hop to it!

sama ‘together’

11. ḥuṣṭkān ḥiyīn ēal-bēt sama
   'I saw you going into the house
   together'

12. ʔina mē ʔfē mānēc māstrēfā?
   sama [DA-248]
   'If there's no objection, we can go
   together'

   The word sama is sometimes also used predicatively:
   batāyif sama ḥaktar ‘-maʔt ‘You see them together most of
   the time’ (Predicate complement [p.447]).

bakkār ‘early’

13. ʔana bēf? bakkār, ʔa-gaʔbēh
   [AO-34]
   'I wake up early in the morning'

14. mān fadāk tācā ʔadd ma fa kā
   bakkār
   'Please come as early as possible'

15. ḥīna bakkār ēal-hafle
   'We arrived early at the party'

   The word bakkār is occasionally used predicatively:
   mālā bakkār, ḥāddub ʕf næpp sēcā tānē ‘Why it's early!
   Stay another half hour’.

halla? ‘now, right now, just now’

16. ḥūb samīr halla? būsī
   'Abu Samir is now on the way here'

17. halla? ṣārfī ʂabıyye
   'You're a big girl now'

18. ḫa ʕam-yədros halla?

19. ʔina baddak ṭarṣāc halla? nāmāk sāntān [AO-119]
   'If you want to go back now you’ll
   need two years'

20. halla? bābāt-lāk ḥp-pānēcā čāxəndān [DA-129]
   'I'll send you the maid right now
to get them'

21. w-halla? baḍ dī alif w-maʔmān
    mīt ʔame ʔante xallāfīnī
    w-lāmm ḥfīt b-maʔdī [AO-116]
    'And now after eighteen hundred years
    you have rescued me and I must keep
    my promise'

22. ʔante rāyūn halla??
    'Are you satisfied now?'

23. Ḫamām halla? w-uʕlīt
    'I've just now arrived'

The demonstratives hān ‘here’, ḥaʔ ‘there’, and ḥāk
'so, thus, like that' are commonly used adverbially, but
are basically predicates [p.381]. See 559ff. The words
būkra ‘tomorrow’ and mābrēh ‘yesterday’ are basically
nouns [p.521].

On ʔāssō and baḍ dāmī ‘still, yet', see p.546.

Adverbs in -an. Many adverbs (and other supplemental words) are derived
from adjectives or nouns by suffixation of -an.1 For example:

ʔasōsān ‘basically’ ........... ʔasās ‘basis’

ʔaʔaʔtān ‘truly, really’ .......... ʔaʔaʔtān ‘truth, reality’

čēdātan ‘usually, customarily’ ..čēde ‘habit, custom, usage’

fālān ‘actually’ ............. fālī ‘act’

dāʔāmān, dāyīm ‘always’ .......... dāyīm ‘lasting, permanent’

ʔaxītn ‘finally’ .............. ʔaxīf ‘final’

maʔaʔa-aff ‘temporarily’ ....... maʔaʔa-aff ‘temporary’

yōmīyīn ‘daily’ .............. yōmī ‘daily’ (adj.)

nasbiyyīn ‘relatively’ .......... nasbi ‘relative’

nasbītan ‘relatively’ .......... nasbe ‘relationship’

nāliyyīn ‘financially’ .......... nāli ‘financial’

Most of these forms are classicisms, though some are very solidly estab-
lished in Colloquial usage. Classical Arabic itself, of course, has no
such thing as adverb derivation; -an is merely the indefinite accusative
suffix.
A special case of derivation is the clause supplement bādān 'then, afterwards', from the preposition bādān 'after':

14. bākol bē-t-faṣṭt w-bādān bʿābum w-balābes [AO-34]  
   'I eat in bed and then I get up and dress'

15. halla? ġamāma-tnaʔʔef..., bādān bṭaṭtati [AO-67]  
   'Now its sprinkling a few drops; later it will rain'

16. bāqā kār bādān  
   'I'll talk with you later'

17. ṣaraṭt ġal-ǧātumma bādān?  
   'Did you go to the Youth Club afterwards?'

18. ṣeqe, bādān bṭaʔleb ʾl-ṣabīr  
   'Be careful or you'll upset the pitcher'

In ex. 18 bādān is used in a consequential sense rather than in a purely temporal sense; in such cases the English translation is generally 'or, or else'.

bādān is also used in an additive sense 'then, also, then too':

19. ġali bārja mu nūdābar sone laʔ-anne bali w-ʔalā byaqēʃu bādān, w-bādān mu ʃul ḫayyto ġali kān bi-l-ʔamērkiyye  
   'I've known Ali for eleven years because our families know one another, and then too, all his life Ali has been in the American [school].'

A few adverbs are formed by attaching an enclitic ma to a noun or adjective, which may also have the suffix -an:

20. hal-ṣeffa ṣariːbā nūṯan-ma la-halli b-balāha  
   'That plan is pretty close to what we had in mind' ('nēḏe 'kind, sort')

21. huwwa nūṯan-ma xābīr b-hal-ḥaqṣl  
   'He's something of an expert in that field'

22. ṣfleet-ma bāʃref hāz-Samēṣa  
   'I hardly know those people' ('ṭalle 'scarcity, small amount')

Cf. subordinating conjunction ma. p. 490.

The suffix -an of bādān is presumably a special alteration of -an; note that the Lebanese form in areas where general Syrian ē is usually changed to š by (p. 14) is bādān (not "baḍsyh"). Note also the forms baḍān [SPA-43] and tablān 'before' (adverbial) [SAL-96]: šeqītāl ṣablān? ṣeqītāl ṣablān? 'What did you work at previously?'. Feghali [SPA] always writes bādān (= baḍān), never bādān; perhaps he interprets the length of the vowel as a feature of phrasing or intonation [p. 17].
Adverbial Adjectives. Certain adjectives are commonly used supplementally, uninflected:

jayyeb 'well'

tamām 'entirely, perfectly, exactly'

mnīḥ 'well'

mabhāf 'right, correctly, straight, perfectly'

dağri 'straight, directly'

ktīr 'much, a lot, very, too'

Most supplemental adjectives always follow the supplemented term, but kītār, and sometimes tamām, may either precede or follow.

Examples in use:

1. tāṭṣalānī jayyeb, ya bāk [DA-128]
   'You know me well, sir'

2. 'anā brīdak ta'āref mnīḥ kāl āt bi-hal-balād [DA-128]
   'I want you to become well acquainted with everything in this town'

3. lū tīwāsān, mā fhaṣt ēālēk mnīḥ [DA-17]
   'I'm sorry, I didn't understand you very well'

4. xallīnē mnīḥ dağri ēāl-otēl [DA-71]
   'Let's go straight to the hotel'

5. qanāni tamām
   'He convinced me completely'

6. mn yūmēn tālē kūnēt sātī ēmmān-tāgser, halī nā tāgset tamām [AO-71]
   'For two or three days my watch had been losing time; now it's stopped altogether'

7. s-sāqā xamse tamām

8. ēmālī tāmām ēakā hallī tāt-sīlak yē
   'It's exactly five o'clock'

9. mā fhaṣtnī mabhāf

10. mabhāf 'ktār b-rāf uptak [DA-235]
    'You've done exactly the opposite of what I told you'

11. bāḍdād hāl-sīnta btaṣēb sātī kītār [DA-252]
    'I believe this bag will please my wife very much'

12. s-ṣāfī matāqāfwe kītār
    'My nerves are strongly affected'

13. tī'ax xrōmā kītār, lūnē nāmnē
    'We're very late, we must go'

14. mabhāfīn 'kītār
    'They're quite well'

Adverbial Nouns and Noun Phrases. Many nouns and noun phrases are used supplementally, especially designations of time and of quantity. Examples:

bīqīr (or bīqīra) 'tomorrow'

s-bāqā mānīye '(at) eight o'clock'

l-yēm 'today'

marra 'once', marrēt 'twice'

l-nīmā 'this evening'

marrēt 'kītār 'often, frequently'

l-lēle 'tonight'

baṣād 'l-wādfāt 'sometimes'

mbāreḥ (or mbārēḥ) 'yesterday'

Ēēs' darāśāt 'ten degrees'

FAwālī s-mbāreḥ (or FAwālī s-mbāreḥ) 'the day before yesterday'

Fīl n-māhēr 'all day'

s-sīnī l-mādīye (or s-sīnī l-mādīye) 'last year'

Fākīrā fākīrā 'two hours'

Fāy yē 'a little'

FAwālī sī 'first of all'

Cf. Adverbial Noun Complements [p.441].

Examples in use:

1. sāfār FAwālī s-mbāreḥ
   'He left the day before yesterday'

2. s-ṣīnā kātār bāh-mūsākara?
   'How did you do yesterday in the homework session?'

3. l-nāṣf sū ṣūuddān nūθā sā-yeem
   'Let's see what we're having for dinner today'
4. bokha məngəref "ādāb"  
5. nūyem b-bēt xāli l-īlī  
6. ūnu ṛāḥa-nūnī l-yūm ēsīyīye  
7. būmmu ṭaxbārkha bās-sāne morra  
8. ēzdād "s-sākkan sūd xamēx  
   bal-īnīyye  
9. wa₇rathā qalībet "s-ṣābiyye  
   l-maṣīlaye [AO-117]  
10. yūmn mm "l-īniyyīm kūnu l-banāt  
    ēz-sābūtə w-mūra bāṣ-fārə  
    ëx [AO-113]  
11. bətaraf kall "l-famaliyye, yārnī  
   ṭiyyīm.  
12. tānnī yūm ṭaṣef  
13. l-tard bās-sāne ṭaṣa ēla  
   bādkīr [DA-197]  
14. byafīkh "l-ṣārīg kall bās-sāne  
    [AO-59]  
15. hāžīton mü bāstīfī hal-īnadd  
16. lā ṭkūn kall hal-īnadd mü mūsīl  
17. l-jafīta hū ṭbīrē ḫīfye  
18. lāzān nūm kūnān Ṣīwāy  
    [AO-51]  
19. ṣama Ṣīwāye bārdān  
20. ṭansṣūṭa kūnē Ṣīwāye mü  
    mawaffa  
21. bāddī rūh lāken maṣūl Ṣīwāye  
22. bāss hāda ṯfr Ṣīwāye [DA-297]  

'Tomorrow we get out at noon'  
'I'm sleeping at my aunt's house  
   tonight'  
'What are we going to do this evening?'  
   (lit. "...today the evening")  
'I hear from her once a year,'  
   (lit. "I hear her news in the year once")  
'The population increased five  
   percent.'  
'Then (lit. "its time") the girl  
   turned the frying pan over.'  
'One day (lit. "a day of the days")  
   the girls were at the window when a  
   sheikh went by on the road.'  
'You get disgusted with the whole  
   business, some days, that is'  
'The next day, he got sick.'  
'The cold weather this year has  
   come early.'  
'He tills the soil the whole year.'  
'They're not so badly off' (lit.  
   'Their condition is not bad that  
   amount').  
'Don't be so indifferent'  
'The opening isn't big enough' (cf.  
   p. 507)'  
'I must sleep a little more'  
'I'm a bit chilly.'  
'Your choice was rather unfortunate.'  
'I want to go, but I'm rather busy'  
'But that's a little too much.'  

[Ch. 20]  

Note, in ex. 21 and 22, that Ṣīwāye in supplementation  
   to a preceding adjective is commonly unaccented.  
 Ṣīwāye, like its antonym ṯfūr, may be used in construct  
   with a noun [p.470]: Ṣīwāye ṭabən 'a little bread', Ṣīwāyet  
   ṭair 'a little cold (weather)'.  

23. Ṣīwāye Ṣīwāye ḫumme ḫadī  
24. ṣiṣ ṭaṣef ṭuṣu ṭānəd māḥêd  
   [PAT-169]  
25. ēfī bāṣī ṭamīn ḫalme ṭalme  
26. mīn ṭinā ṭaṣaf ṭt-tānī ṭaktar?  
27. ṭmāṣar ṭbūmən ṭmaktar ṭd-ṣ̱maktar  
   [AO-67]  
28. ṭbān ṭaṣafīg ŋḥsān mān ṭabu  
    ṭq̱amad [AO-47]  

Ṯaktar and ṭq̱amad are commonly used supplementally, as  
   relatives of ṭfūr and ṭnəb, respectively [p.520].  

Prepositional Supplements. Prepositional phrases of all kinds  
   (except tafs [p.489]) are used adverbially:  
   1. ṭama ṭaṣaf ŋbaṭa ṭfāṣ  
      ṭp-sabbī  
   2. ṭam-yakub ṭaṣafīt "l-fīyīa  
      bāṣ-gaff  
   3. ṭal-ṣafīr ṭmaṣār  ṭtəy w-ṭaṣaf  
      īl-māṣa mākūl [AO-30]  
   4. bāṣ-gaff ṭal-ṭaff  ṭtən ṭmāṣar  
      w-ḥabdōr l-ək xābar maṣ  ṭp-paʃa  
   5. ṭma  ṭ-cīnī ṭafīta b-mādi  
      l-ḡūl [AO-107]  
   6. ṭbəmər ṭaʃar ṭtəbū ṭd-ṣ̱maktar?  
      [DA-199]  

'I'll wake you after morning prayer'  
'He's doing his physics assignment  
   in the classroom'  
'Late in the afternoon we drink tea  
   and in the evening we eat'  
'I'll see in the house what they  
   want, and send you word by the maid'  
'With my [own] eye[s] I saw her in  
   Ghoul Valley' (The phrase b-mādi  
   l-ḡūl is an objective complement  
   [p.447].)  
'Would you like something to drink  
   before eating?'
7. 'ana calsi kell bál mā bākol gēr bāl-bēt [DA-198]  
   "In any case I only eat at home"  
   (bāl-bēt is supplemental to the verb "kell", while calsi is supplemental to the whole clause.)

8. lē sēye? b-hass-sorēa?  
   "Why are you driving so fast?" (lit. "...with this speed?")

9. bāl-saṭmiyye byaksnu bāf-fābe?  
   "In the winter they live on the upper floor, because of the cold and damp"  
   (The phrase bāl-saṭmiyye is supplemental to the whole preceding clause, while bāl-saṭmiyye is supplemental to the following verb phrase bāf-fābe?... is the prepositional complement to the verb.)

10. l-būkēs bāl-hūl fālačet takēt  
    "The government immediately issued a denial."  

11. wa?af a-sayyārā calsi-l-āxār  
    "He brought the car to a complete stop"  

12. Can hāna?  
    "Do you really mean it?"

   Examples 10-12 illustrate several of the many idiomatic prepositional phrases that are used adverbially; there are many more, e.g. calsi dafa ‘suddenly’, calsi rāf ‘soon’, calsi fā ‘always, continuously’, bāl-marrā ‘at all’ (with negative), bāl-hād ‘hardly’, etc.

   The forms lāsif (ex. 11) and hāna (12) are anomalous, used only in these set phrases (and bāl-lāxār ‘finally’). One would expect lāsif or lāxār ‘final, last, end’, and hāna ‘its(f.) right, its truth’.  

13. mānkānna bāl-bēt man fāt  
    "We'll sweep the house from top to bottom."  

14. bākēt kalīm mā fānto m-sāsimti bāt-la’dha motvli ma bāsif – nappi kusar m-nappi lah’m[AO-118]  
    "She said something I didn't understand, and then made me the way you see me – half stone and half flesh"  
    (bāt-la’dha lit. "after it(f.")")

   Free prepositions [p.485] may of course be used adverbially without an "object"; similarly bāt-la ‘after’ and "ab-ta ‘before’. See p.487.

Examples of prepositional supplements to non-verbal clauses:

15. bā-āmmu calsi masrūl  
    "To a [certain] degree, he is responsible"

16. bā-lamad xam ro xams a-mīn kumma fāmil l-kīr  
    "For a five-year-old boy he's quite tall"
Besides adverbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, a few words of other kinds are used supplementally:

1. ḡatta 'even' (as a conjunction, 'until, in order that' [p. 358]):
   ḡatta r-rali 泔-lādi byafham hal-āf
   'Even a layman understands that'

2. mā ḡada ḡatta lāmās ḡyābo
   'No one even noticed his absence'

3. mā ?dar?t ʕalo ḡatta
   'I didn't even get to see him'

bass 'only' (as a conjunction, 'but, as soon as' [p. 398, 357]):

4. ṣafyān cenna bass ʕtnīn
   'We only have two left'

5. mā bass ḥalwe, zakiyye kamān
   'She's not only pretty; she's also intelligent'

6. ʔalit la-hān mān daʔat?al bass
   'I only got here a minute ago'

byaʃlaʔ 'about, what amounts to' (as a verb, 'it comes out'):

7. ˈassarona byaʃlaʔ mīt ʕaʃkari
   'We took about a hundred prisoners'
   (lit. 'We captured it comes to a hundred soldiers')

3. ēla ḡal-āf byaʃlaʔ mānaq ṣānʕa
   [DA-98]

4. ḍaʃtaʔer baʔa ʃakra ṣniʔa
   [DA-218]

5. ṣaʔaʔor ṣalla mā baʔi fiyyi ʕi
   [DA-250]

6. ʕiʃ ya tar a ʔas-ʃuʔ ʃarda?
   [DA-277]

7. ḍaʃlaʔ ʕiʃn ʔal-ʔaʔal ḡalla
   [DA-129]

8. ṣayyadon ʃakri ʕal-ʔaʔal ʃaθrak
   [DA-171]

9. ṣaʔaʔor ʕal-ʔaʔal ʃal laʔal, bass ʔaʔal ʕal-ʔaʔal
   [DA-96]

10. ṣaʔaʔor ʕal-ʔaʔal ʃal laʔal, bass ʔaʔal ʕal-ʔaʔal

11. bi-nafaʔ ʕal-ʔaʔal ʃaθrak ʃal laʔal, bass ʔaʔal ʕal-ʔaʔal

12. ʕaʔar ʕal-ʔaʔal ʃaθrak ʃal laʔal, bass ʔaʔal ʕal-ʔaʔal

In that case, you’ll need a maid

'So you think it's a good idea'

'Yes, I think so as well'

'Why do you suppose these plains are so barren?'

'Say, how are things now in San Francisco?'

'Enter them on your account, then'

'I came to your place twice to tell you, but unfortunately I didn't see you'

'Of course the sheep wouldn't learn and began to bleat'

'At the same time—think of it—he’s losing a big opportunity'

'Of course as you know we now have industrialization in Damascus'

In ex. 12 the second person suffix with maʕlaʔ (lit. 'known') is a sort of "ethical dative" [p. 483], which implies a note of intimacy to what would otherwise be a starkly impersonal statement.

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1This is not to say that the supplement is not a part of the sentence; prosodically it is as much a part of the sentence as any other kind of supplement. Note also the difference between a sentence supplement and a clause supplement; one of the immediate constituents of a sentence is the whole clause (word-string) which it embraces and prosodically unifies [p. 377].
Supplemental Clauses

Supplemental clauses generally may either precede or follow the main clause:

1. taye ma bâf àra baïla ma taïki 
2. 'She left the room without saying a word.'
3. fâf ma ñâri la thëns bëtn ma la-fër 
4. 'Some people live in luxury while others go hungry.'
5. n-më fë fëfû bax ma bëtôr 
6. 'And there isn't the humidity you get there' (lit. '...like it is with you (pl.)')
7. n-fë n-fë bëfô fëfû bëtôr 
8. 'We distribute it among them so that they may eat during the holiday as the rich eat.'
9. taye më ñëgà bax ma ñëkë 
10. 'She left the room without saying a word.'
11. u-fë n-më bëfô fëfû bëtôr 
12. 'Some people live in luxury while others go hungry.'
13. fë n-fë fëfû bax ma bëtôr 
14. 'And there isn't the humidity you get there' (lit. '...like it is with you (pl.)')
15. n-fë n-fë bëfô fëfû bëtôr 
16. 'We distribute it among them so that they may eat during the holiday as the rich eat.'

Most supplemental clauses are clause supplements, i.e. they enter into construction with the main clause as such. A few, however, are sentence supplements or phrase supplements [p. 529].

The main types of supplemental clause are CONDITIONAL clauses, which are amply illustrated in Chapter 12 [p. 331]; CIRCUMSTANTIAL clauses [p. 331]; and the rest, which may be called simply ADVERBIAL clauses.

Adverbial Clauses

Most clauses introduced by a word or phrase plus the particle ma [p. 490] are supplemental. Examples of these clauses are given in Chapter 13 [p. 357]; further examples:

1. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
2. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
3. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
4. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
5. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
6. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
7. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
8. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
9. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
10. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
11. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër
12. taye fëfû bax ma ñëkë la thëns bëtn ma la-fër

Examples of ma clauses as sentence supplements:

13. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
14. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
15. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
16. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
17. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
18. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
19. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
20. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr
21. më bëfô fëfû bëtôr

For a sentence-supplement ñëkë clause, see ex. 12, p. 332.
Extrapolation in Adverbial Clauses. Most conjunctions that introduce adverbial clauses tend not to be followed by noun-type words [p. 411]; thus the subject (less commonly the object, etc.) of an adverbial clause preceding the main clause is often extrapolated [p. 43] – placed in front of the conjunction. (This type of extrapolation requires no resumptive subject pronoun.)

1. "When Almighty God apportioned His gifts among men, the peasant was absent."
2. "When the girls were left alone, they started looking around the house." "After he cured the king, he (the king) didn't reward him" (Extrapolative object).
3. "When I first came, I lived at the house of those people." "Lots of young men, when they're adolescent, try to compose some sort of poetry,"
4. "When a little boy is angry with his father and then makes up with him, he comes and leans his head (against him) like this.'
5. "How can the food get done with the pots hung up in the tree?"
Supplementation

6. ḥaṭṭa ṣaddān ṣ-a-saddān w-ḡār iṣallama wu-saṣaddān yatfarrāh [AQ-96]

'He put him in front of the monkey and started teaching him, while the monkey looked on.'

Ex. 6 could also be construed as a coordination: '... started to teach him, and the monkey, to watch' (with anaphoric suppression [p. 537] of ḡār before yatfarrāh).

7. l-fallāḥīn biḥabbu yākānun w-hanne xadhīr [PVA-18]

'The country people like to eat them while they're green.'

8. kānet ʾl-bant wāra l-bāb muḫ-ṭidā nēf [AQ-113]

'The girl was behind the door with a sword in her hand' (Or as a coordination: '... and a sword was in her hand')

9. w-rakḏet ṣ-maḥa ḫāse Ḧafa mayye

'And she ran, carrying a bowl with water in it' (lit. '... and with her a bowl, in it water')

10. baṣ-ḥašī wa-yana ṭayēt ālō ṣāqī ṣ-abbīr ṣ-ṭān ārī ṣĀlā ṣ-raṣṣābīd [DA-223]

'In the morning when I'm going to work I usually buy one of the newspapers'

11. da? ʾl-ḥāṣid w-humme ḥāmi

'Strike the iron while it's hot'

12. mnēn ba?der ʿbēṭat āmāle barīṣṣiyē? ʿĪṣāt ṣabbīk w-ṭante ṣāyēr [DA-223]

'(From) where can I send a postal money order?' — Third window as you go in'

13. l-bāb ḥuṣṭah ṣ-kānno ʾaṣhīr

'The door opened as if by magic' (lit. '... and it was as if there were magic in it')

14. ṣāmken ʿdāb-bi ʾṣahūti ṣ-muḫa ḫā ṣeṭ ḫama konyēk?

'Could you bring me my coffee with a dash of brandy in it?'

15. kīf ya ḫammi bāt?ūr zīmān maḥīyy aflān w-ṭīmān mēt ṣam maddēl ṣaṣīr w-ṭīmān mēt ṣamēn? [AQ-116]

'How, O genie, can you say Solomon is God's prophet, when Solomon died eighteen hundred years ago?'

A subject pronoun is sometimes extraposed (put before the w-) at the beginning of a sentence, especially in a clause with rāṣīq 'going' or the like. (Cf. p. 530):

16. ʾont ʿw-rāṣīq xōnī [RN-1.228]

'Pick me up on your way'

17. ṣ-nāḥma ʿw-rāṣīq marrebē ṣaḥīlaṣṣāt myūgara [SAL-67]

'And on our way, we went by Niagara Falls'
CHAPTER 21: SUBSTITUTION

The main types of SUBSTITUTES in Arabic are personal pronouns (p. 539), demonstratives (552), question words (566), and answer words (536).

These categories are not syntactical form classes (p. 381), but are based on the way certain words or sets of words "replace" or "stand for" any expression of a particular grammatical class under certain conditions. Thus the personal pronouns substitute for nouns or noun phrases, and the demonstratives ّام 'here' and ّنٰق 'there' substitute for certain kinds of prepositional phrases, etc.

Anaphoric Substitution

The third-person pronouns (�ام, ّي, ّنٰم; -و, -ء, -ءو) occur mainly in ANAPHORIC SEQUENCE: as SEQUENT to an ANTECEDENT.¹ The antecedent is a noun or noun phrase which is subsequently replaced in the discourse by the sequent pronoun: ّتَرَءَف ّبُسَّم-اَم ّنَتَرَمَي. 'Do you know that young man?' - 'Yes, I know him well, he's my friend.'

In this type of anaphoric sequence the main differences between Arabic and English involve resumptive pronouns (p. 430) and subject pronouns (548). Arabic requires a sequent pronoun where English has none in sentences such as مَنْ ّي-ياد ّلَيَل ّجَبَك ّنِّن. 'Who's the girl I saw you with?' whereas English requires a subject pronoun, and Arabic does not, in sentences like ّي-ياد ّبِنْي ّحَمْد. 'What's the news from Mahmoud?' - 'Why, he's quite well'.

A sequent pronoun agrees in number, gender with its antecedent in the same way that a predicate agrees with its subject (p. 420). Thus, for example: ّي-ياد ّلَيَل يَبِي ّنِّن. 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'; ّي-ياد ّلَيَل يَبِي ّنِّن. 'Have you any other books?' (lit. 'Books other than them (f.sg.)'); يَمْلِك ّي-ياد ّلَيَل يَبِي ّنِّن. 'The schools don't open on a holiday' (lit. 'A day there is in it (m.) vacation...').

¹The term 'antecedent' in this book is used only in connection with anaphoric sequences; elsewhere, however, it is sometimes also used to designate the leading term in attribution: "the antecedent of a relative clause" = the term to which a clause is attributive (p. 495).

The term 'sequent' has sometimes been used as a translation of the Arabic 'تَرَمَي', which designates the 'following term' in attribution and certain other constructions (viz. those in which there is case agreement in Classical Arabic). This, of course, has nothing to do with anaphoric sequence.
When the antecedent is vague – or conceptual rather than strictly verbal – the feminine singular pronoun is often used as its sequent: mas'ādī bāṣat tānas nā dām mā sīd līla. 'I'm allowed to play tennis as long as I don't overdo it.' Neither the noun tānas nor the clause 'bāṣat tānas is exactly the antecedent of ha 'it'(f.); in either case the sequent would then have to be masculine. See p. 428.

The "answer words" la? 'no' and ḫī, ḫīwa, nācum, mbala (all translated 'yes') are anaphoric predication-substitutes. They eliminate repetition, in an answer, of the predication in a question. The word mbala is used to assert the affirmative in answer to a negative question or in contradiction to a negative statement.

Besides their purely anaphoric use, these words are used as interjections, and in supplementation to a full or partial answering sentence. ḫī, mbala, and la?, especially, are commonly followed by something more; when used alone, they sometimes sound rather curt. Hence: ḫīt? ḫāmād? – ḫī ḫīto 'Did you see Ahmed? – Yes, I did?'; mbala ḫīto 'Didn't you see Ahmed? – Yes, I did?'; la? ḫīto 'No, I didn't' (in answer to either question). The word nācum is more polite or deferential than ḫī. It is used, furthermore, (with falling intonation) in response to a call or a command: ya ḫāmād... – nācum. 'Oh Ahmed... – Yes?,' and (with rising intonation) to ask for repetition or continuation of something said: nācum? 'What?'... 'I beg your pardon? 'Yes?'. Note also the combination ḫī nācum, which is more deferential, or more deferential, than nācum alone.

la? is used anaphorically in coordinations with wāla 'or' (p. 395): bāṣī wāla la? 'Are you coming, or not?'.

The form la? is not much used in a purely interrogatory capacity; the usual negative interjection is la and lā: lā wajja 'No indeed!'; lāh, lāh 'No, no!' (reaction of dismay).

There is also a form la'a, sometimes used (anaphorically) instead of la?.

The demonstratives ḥāda 'this, that', ḥēn 'so, thus, this, that', and ḥān 'there' are often used anaphorically (but ḥān is not so much as English 'there' (p. 561)). See p. 554 ff.

The interrogative substitutes or "question words" (p. 566) (idd 'what', mēn 'where', etc.) are used in a sort of reverse anaphoric sequence, with the substitute as antecedent, and the phrase it "stands for" the answering phrase – as sequent.

First and second person pronouns and most demonstratives are seldom or never used anaphorically, but are deictic or presentational. Their reference depends entirely on the circumstances or the "scene" of the utterance: the time, the place, the persons taking part in the conversation. (Third person pronouns are also sometimes deictic rather than anaphoric.)

Anaphora and Suppression of Anaphora

Anaphoric substitution contrasts on the one hand with actual ANAPHORA, in which the sequent involves repetition of the antecedent, and on the other hand with ANAPHORIC SUPPRESSION, in which the sequent is partly or entirely left out, to be "understood" from context.

There are certain kinds of constructions in which anaphora is usual in Arabic, but generally avoided in English (by substitution, suppression, or different wording). In a nominal predication, for instance, the same word often occurs as the main term of both the subject and the predicate:

1. l-mas'ālāt mā mas'llāt sā-qā'ār. 'it isn't a question of the price' (lit. "The question isn't...")
2. xīyūf-lāh hāl-maraq hāda maraq gūlī 'I'm afraid this illness is mental' (or "I'm afraid this is a mental illness")

See also examples 20 and 21, p. 404.

In Arabic a noun is commonly repeated with different pronoun suffixes, while in English the independent possessives (mine, yours, etc.) usually substitute in the sequent:
3. mākān ṣawād mān mākānī 'his salary is more than mine'
4. ḫumī bāṣī hādēm ḫāmān hāl-līfā 'My name comes after hers in the list'

Another anaphoric construction characteristic of Arabic is the supplementation of a singular noun by a noun phrase with its plural or dual: yām mān sū-l-tiyām 'one day' (lit. "a day of the days"), bunt mān bānt ḥabū cāli 'One of Abu Ali's daughters':
5. mā būth t-uayy hāl mān sū-l-tāmāl 'I won't go on any condition'
6. ḫurūb snān mān sū-ṣnānāt māhāt 'Neither of the two answers is correct'
In answers to questions the English auxiliary verbs ‘to do’, ‘to be’, and ‘to have’ are commonly used as sequent with the main verb suppressed. In Arabic these sequences usually have anaphora: ُةيّف ُه حال-بُط ُةّنکنّ - (؟Ě) ُةيّف ‘Do you see that house over there?’ – Yes, I do’; بِتُسی کمّنّ - ُلاّ ُم و ُضی ُة ‘Are you coming with us?’ – No. I’m not.’

In rendering English expressions like ‘so do I’, ‘more than I have’, etc., the Arabic sequent is usually suppressed:

7. ُةّنکنّ و ُةّنکنّ کمّنّ - (و ُةّنکنّ کمّنّ) ‘I’m going now. – So am I’ (or ‘I am too’)

8. ُةّنکنّ و ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ‘He asked for more money than his brother did’

After ُةّنکنّ ‘than’, ُماتّل ‘like, as’, ُةّنکنّ ‘as much as’, and in certain similar cases, an Arabic leading term (noun, preposition, verb) is often suppressed, while in the English rendering there is usually an anaphoric substitute or anaphora:

9. ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ‘The philosophy department of our university is better than that of University X’

10. ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ‘He’s almost the same age as I am’ (lit. ‘His age is almost as much as me’ or ‘as much as my age’)

11. ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ‘Ask about the neighbor before you ask about the house, and about the traveling companion, before you ask about the road’

Similarly: ُماتّل ُةّنکنّ ‘as in the past’ (cf. ُةّنکنّ ‘in the past’). ُماتّل ُةّنکنّ ‘as in the beginning’ (cf. ُبیّسی کمّنّ ‘the beginning, at first’). Note also: ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ُةّنکنّ ‘equality of women’s right with men’s (or... with those of men)’.

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**PERSONAL PRONOUNS (ad-γamīr)**

There are eight personal pronouns in Syrian Arabic, each of them representing a person category combined with a number/gender category [p. 363].

Each pronoun has two main forms: The SUFFIXED form is used as object to a verb [p. 438] or as the following term in a construct [457] or a prepositional phrase [477] or after certain conjunctions, etc. [543]. The INDEPENDENT form is used otherwise, e.g. as subject [548], or as an appositive [512] or extraposition [432].

The independent forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>First Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حُنِّم ‘he, it’</td>
<td>حَیِّم ‘she, it’</td>
<td>حَنِّم ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُةّنکنّ ‘you’</td>
<td>ُةّنکنّ ‘you’</td>
<td>ُةّنکنّ ‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stylistic and dialectal variants include the apocopated forms حُنِّم ‘he, it’, حَیِّم ‘she, it’, ُةّنکنّ ‘you (m.)’, and ُةّنکنّ ‘we’. Also حَنِّم ‘they’ (Damascus), حُنِّم ‘they’ (Palestine), حَنِّم ‘we’ (Palestine), حَنِّم ‘we’ (Damascus).

The basic suffixed forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>First Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُةّنکنّ ‘him, it, his, its’ -ُةّنکنّ ‘you, your’</td>
<td>ُةّنکنّ ‘her, it, its’ -ُةّنکنّ ‘you, your’</td>
<td>ُةّنکنّ ‘them, their’ -ُةّنکنّ ‘you, your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ُةّنکنّ ‘me, my’</td>
<td>-ُةّنکنّ ‘us, our’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Palestine one hears ُةّنکنّ (or ُةّنکنّ) ‘them, their’, and ُةّنکنّ (or ُةّنکنّ) ‘you, your’ (pl.). Cf. حُنِّم, above. In Lebanon: ُةّنکنّ, حُنِّم, ُةّنکنّ, ُةّنکنّ, etc. (and ُةّنکنّ ‘them, their’, -ُةّنکنّ ‘you, your’ pl.).
Modifications of the Suffix Forms. The suffixes whose basic forms begin with a vowel (−akh, −ek, −o) occur in these forms only after a consonant; if the stem ends in a vowel, then −ak becomes −k, −ek becomes −ki; while −o disappears entirely — but leaving the stem in its suffixing form [p. 27], with the final vowel long and accented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After Consonant</th>
<th>After Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daškar ‘he remembered’</td>
<td>nasi ‘he forgot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daškar-ak ‘he remembered you (m.)’</td>
<td>nasi-k ‘he forgot you (m.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daškar-ek ‘he remembered you (f.)’</td>
<td>nasi-ki ‘he forgot you (f.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daškar-o ‘he remembered him’</td>
<td>nasi ‘he forgot him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?addâm ‘ahead (of)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?addâm-ak ‘ahead of you (m.)’</td>
<td>ward-k ‘behind you (m.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?addâm-ek ‘ahead of you (f.)’</td>
<td>ward-ki ‘behind you (f.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?addâm-o ‘ahead of him’</td>
<td>ward ‘behind him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bifächem ‘he’ll explain’</td>
<td>bifächemu ‘they’ll explain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bifächhm-ak ‘he’ll explain to you (m.)’</td>
<td>bifächhm-ak ‘they’ll explain to you (m.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bifächhm-ek ‘he’ll explain to you (f.)’</td>
<td>bifächhm-ki ‘they’ll explain to you (f.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bifächhm-o ‘he’ll explain to him’</td>
<td>bifächhm ‘they’ll explain to him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?âxt ‘sister’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?âxt-ak ‘your (m.) sister’</td>
<td>?âxt-k ‘your (m.) brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?âxt-ek ‘your (f.) sister’</td>
<td>?âxt-ki ‘your (f.) brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?âxt-o ‘his sister’</td>
<td>?âxt ‘his brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dârs ‘lesson’</td>
<td>dâr ‘medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dârs-ak ‘your (m.) lesson’</td>
<td>dâr ‘your (m.) medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dârs-ek ‘your (f.) lesson’</td>
<td>dâr-ki ‘your (f.) medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dârs-o ‘his lesson’</td>
<td>dâr ‘his medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>läken ‘but’</td>
<td>lâšla ‘but for...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâkən-ak ‘but you (m.)’</td>
<td>lâšl-ak ‘but for you (m.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâkən-ek ‘but you (f.)’</td>
<td>lâšl-ki ‘but for you (f.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâkən-o ‘but he...’</td>
<td>lâšl ‘but for him’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixes −ha and −hon may lose their h after consonants, and sometimes (especially in Lebanon) after long vowels. These variants require the same stem form [20, 22] that the forms with h do:

| daškar-ha or daškar-a | nasi-ɑ or nasiy-ɑ (i.e. nasiya) |
| daškar-hon or daškar-on | nasi-ɑn or nasiy-ɑn |
| ?wân-ɑ or ?wân-i | ?abû-ɑ or ?abûn-i |
| ?wân-ɑn or ?wân-on | ?abû-ɑn or ?abûn-on |

The suffix −i becomes −yi when the stem ends in a vowel: dâr- yi ‘my medicine’, mašêriy- yi ‘my money’ (i.e. mašeri- yi), ḟle- yi ‘in me’ (i.e. fl- yi).

The first person singular form −ni is complemental [p. 437]; −i is used otherwise. See below.

USES OF THE SUFFIXED PRONOUNS

1.) As following term in an identificatory construct [p. 458]

Suffixed to ordinary nouns, the pronouns are generally rendered in English by the possessives: my, your, his, etc. With quantifiers, etc. [p. 466ff], by an of phrase: kolon ‘all of them’, bâqon ‘some of them’, nêbêna ‘the two of us’.

1. ?axd mahramm ñan bêbêto w-âqad ñûš [40-115] ‘He took his handkerchief from his pocket and bandaged her hand’
2. ?axti l-âbbîne mašamme w-sahri yamnâ hassan [40-43] ‘My elder sister is married, and my brother-in-law, his name is Hassan’
3. ?addâk u-sattâk fayy)bîn [40-43] ‘Are your grandfather and grandmother living?’

It is a convention of our transcription to write iy before a vowel or before y, and ê before a consonant or finally; the two spellings are equivalent, as also are uw and ú.
4. baddi maṣṣat-tāk b-šaṭiyuṣ sīṣere [DA-295]
5. 唆-sāde mā ḥebhum. ġamālītka salīne [DA-217]
6. ṭūggo l-fqūnī mān lah-ām m-damm
   w-ūnqgo l-taḥtíni mān ḥaṣar [AO-118]
7. tūnṣaṣa maṣṣfr l-ḥalab u-h̄ayy
   ṭaṣṣākkan [DA-250]
8. ġumuṣ ḫallam māṣu [AO-43]
9. bən-maṭṭis ġaṣiṣ moṭiz baclgo [AO-115]
10. w-āṣa t-saxxart..., mnāṣod ḡeṛa [DA-29]
11. ṭāl b-nafṣa, ṭāṣhaṣan mān bāla... [AO-115]

Some nouns are commonly used with suffixes in special supplemental capacities: ġamālītka ṭaṣṣa la-ṭāliṣ! 'Have you (pl.) ever gone to Aley?', lit. '(In) your life...'; sāṣta, wāṭa, 'then, at that time' [p.521], etc.

2.) After a preposition [p.477]. Examples:
1. ḫaṣṣa maṣq mān ṣahār
2. sāṣa-li l-ḥammān [DA-180]
3. fūṣ mānno l-ta bānto [AO-114]
4. batṣṭakal ġalik [DA-290]
5. baaṣa-żūna ṣawāṣa ṭaddām [DA-291]
6. ẓ-ṣārke mā ṣīna barake [DA-296]

7. ẓando ġeele? [DA-203]
8. ṭūn ṭaṣṣa ṭaḥbalīyee [DA-203]
9. mīn ğali bənāthoñ [DA-233]
10. moṭi matluq mā baclref [DA-243]
11. mā manrūḥ balāhōn [DA-153]
12. biḥāṣtu ḡamān tīn w-forgo ḥaṣar tānye [AO-75]

3.) As subject of a clause after ṭaño 'that', ḫaṇām (or ḫaṇño) 'be-
cause', kaṭāmō (or kaʃāmō) 'It's' as if'. The final -o of these con-
junctions is a neutral or "dummy" third-person masculine pronoun, which
disappears when other suffixes are attached:
1. ḫu mā bəṭṭadde ṭaño bānt f? [AO-116]
2. maṭṭiše ṭaño boʃyū ḡṣilīn
3. ṭoʃart ṭaño l-ḥeʃallem [PVA-32]
4. ṭāf ṭaño haʃa̱r u-ṭaṭhaʃet [AO-100]
5. ḫaʃt-silak l-bā́ti b-kīs wara
   ḫaʔanño ᵭaʃf [DA-107]
6. bəntak maʃūt, w-kaʃānāg mā
   nāmāt ġamālīye [DA-218]
7. maʃlāhī kaʃānā bar-rabbī [DA-149]

As subjects in general are commonly suppressed [p.418],
the neutral forms of these conjunctions (ending in -o) are
commonly used before verbs in the first or second person, as
well as third person: ḥaʃa̱t ṭaño bəṭtōl... ḫaʃi bixaljīmī
[AO-116] 'I swore that I would kill the one who released me';
in contrast to the version with subject expressed: ḥaʃa̱t ṭaño bəṭtōl...
If the following verb is third person masculine/singular,
however, there is of course no contrast between expression
and suppression of a pronoun subject, because of the dummy
suffix -o: ḥaʃa̱t ṭaño boʃtōl...
Some speakers, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, do not always use the dummy suffix: l-mara *aša *ha? *ramm tantišeb... [SAL-154] 'Women have a right to vote'.

The conjunction làken 'but' may also be used with the suffixes; the suffixing form is làkhnn-:

8. kant *mhasnah samah mnīh làkhnn *šaš*t ġēfel

'I thought you were a nice guy, but you turned out to be no good'.

4.) As a complement [p.437], to verbs and a few other kinds of words. In this function, the first-person singular suffix takes the form -ni (instead of -i); all the other suffix forms are the same as with nouns and prepositions.

4. a) As object to verbs and active participles:

1. ?axad *t-taffāha m-*?okalha
   [AO-91]
   'He took the apple and ate it'

2. *tačdān b-māfraž zarīf w-tarākun
   [AO-88]
   'He seated them in a nice place and left them'

3. bašṣātni b-hal-xabar [DA-243]
   'I'm glad to hear that', lit.
   'You've gladdened me with this news'

4. kalla* sayyārt *š-šarke
   bi-mappāna [DA-251]
   'The company car will take us there right away'

5. l-malek cafē *hāye [AO-88]
   'The king gave him a prize'

6. m-*?ina mā gaddaštni, ēmēl dūret
   *l-*lard m-*?is [AO-83]
   'And if you don't believe me, go around the world and measure (it)'.

7. tar\₂kto m-sab?*to la-bēto
   [AO-115]
   'She left him and went on ahead of him to his house'

8. Śaynī maktuḥ
   'A letter has come for me' (Śaye is the active participle of *šaša 'to come' [p.76], which is sometimes transitive: 'to come to or for (someone)'

9. *to-lī *?isa lāmnak štī mon bērūt
   [DA-245]
   'Tell me if you need anything from Beirut'

The English object 'me' is not an object in the Arabic, but a prepositional complement - "tell to me", while the Arabic object -ak corresponds to an English subject - 'if you need'. lāsem 'necessary' is the active participle of byalsam 'to be necessary to (someone)' - a transitive verb.

An object pronoun is suffixed to the stem yā- if the verb itself already has a pronominalized first object [p.438] or an -l- suffix [479]:

10. ēdāni yāha kallha
    'He gave it all to me'

11. *rana bāb-lak yā
    'I'll bring it to you'

12. *rājla yxallī-lma yāk
    'God keep you (for us)'

The pronouns are also suffixed to the stem yā- as objects of the quasi-verb baddo 'to want', whose subject- and object-suffixes are in the form of pronoun suffixes [p.412]: baddi yāha 'I want it (f.)', baddo yākun 'He wants you (pl.)':

13. ḥašel fiyyī lamma baddak yūnī
    'Get in touch with me when you want me'

    With the stem yā- either -ni or -i may be used: ...lama baddak yūyī.

The yā- forms are also sometimes also used after ġand 'with' + suffix, thus construing ġand(ə) as a quasi-verb 'to have' [p.413]:

14. *būfšalīlak bal-mamūdāt ġandi
    w-*bāšūf *ʔina ġandi yāha
    'I'll look through what I have in stock and see if I have it'

    In the expression ma dām 'since, while, inasmuch as'
    dām is construed as a verb, hence ma dāmī 'since I...'. In the case of ma ġada 'excepting, not counting, either -ni or -i may be used: ma ġadānī or ma ġaddīyī 'excepting me'.

4. b) In exclamations with ma- and an elative [p.314]:

15. *bīf hal-mašāna* *l-hadīse
    ma-*tāqamāna [DA-251]
    'See how fine those modern factories are!'

16. ma-*raḥlānī ?aʾuma hal-kalb!
    'Wouldn't that be something, for me to invite that (son-of-a) dog!' (lit. 'How nice of me to invite him, that dog')

4. c) With the exclamatory demonstratives [p.564] lāk- and ʔaš-, 'there is... here is, look there at..., (voici, voilà)', a suffix - usually third person - is usual (and obligatory after ʔaš-):

17. ʔašēdaysēyē

18. ʔaša hašal bānest... [DA-250]
    'Look there, Aleppo has come into view'

19. ʔašchen ʔr-pokhāb nāšīn... [DA-249]
    'Here come the passengers disembarking'

20. lēkē ʔaša wāhed [DA-44]
    'Here comes one'
4. d) With the words lassà and bačd 'still, yet':

21. ꟝ lassà mā ñṣd ft Ꟙ [DA-173] ‘Yes but you haven’t seen anything yet’

22. ꟝mūni ḥañn mātu, lākñ narnātis lassānhon Ꟙyōybn Ꟙ[AO-43] ‘My (paternal) uncles are all dead, but my aunts are still living’

23. lassāñi mā ḥaraḏha bai-maḏha [AO-79] ‘I haven’t yet put them on view in the showcase’

24. ꟃbño Ꞔqgir bačd tepmīn [adap. fr. DA-77] ‘His youngest son is still a student’

25. ḥ-košr lassā tōht Ɤt-tačmīr ‘The bridge is still under construction’

lassa also has the suffixing forms lassāt-, lassāc-, and lassāct-: lassāt tepmīn, etc.

The suffixes are not obligatory in this construction. Note: ḥāḏā lassa mā ḥaša [DA-299] ‘Daddy still hasn’t gotten here’, lassa ḥa ṭs mā moti hakked... ‘I’m still not sure...’

4. e) With the expressions (ya)rēt ‘I wish, would that...’ and (ya)dēb ‘hardly’.

26. bāss ya rētā kant maći... ‘But I wish you’d been with me...’ [DA-171]

27. ya rētā ḥān ḥān ‘If only he were here’

28. ṭmēn maṛt Ɤወb’l-ma ḡabbart ḡala ṭrīyi ‘I’d sooner die than express my opinion’

With the imperfect subjunctive [p.350] ya rēt may be used without a suffix: ya rēt ḥa’der ḥaṣāl la-hnā ‘If I could only get there’!

29. dēb gačmēl maṣpāri ḥāyē ṭxallī ṭahlo ṭoḏyīn ‘He hardly makes money enough to keep his family alive’

With ya dēb the first-person singular form is -i, not -ni:

30. yā dēbī ṭm bi-maṣpāfī ‘I can scarcely meet my expenses’
USES OF THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

1.) As subject:

1. hiwy bøl-żët  'She's in the house'
2. ʔante mën kënt b-bømá l-mëdëyé? [DA-149] 'Where were you last week?'
3. b-ʔanu farbë b-bës-ʔës ʔante? 'In which branch of the army are you?'
4. ŋëbën nënhna bës ʔal-żësà 'We're having chicken for dinner'

For Identification of the Referent. If the predicate is a prepositional phrase (as in examples 1 and 3), an independent pronoun may be needed to show the person and number/gender of the subject-referent. If the predicate is adjectival (as in example 4), a pronoun may be used to show the person of the subject-referent (though the adjective in any case shows its number/gender). A subject pronoun may also be used to resolve ambiguities in the inflectional form of a verbal predicate: ʾbaťrɛf ʔonte 'Do you know him?' (vs. ʾbaťrɛf hiwy 'Does she know him?).

Otherwise in verbal predicates the subject-affixes [p.175] give complete person and number/gender information about the subject-referent: byaťrɛf 'They know'; in such cases an independent pronoun (as in byaťrɛf hańne) is redundant, and its inclusion in the clause must serve some function other than identification. (See below.)

For Contrastive Emphasis. If the predicate (or the context, or the circumstances) identifies the subject-referent by person and number/gender, then a subject pronoun may still be used to emphasize the contrast between its referent and other referents:

5. hańne byaťdàču l-bëhësët bass ʔontu ʾbaťkàffalu b-màrëf b-1-mayy wöl-kaḥaraba [DA-292] 'They'll pay the taxes, but you (pl.) will take care of the water and electricity expenses'
6. ʔana më ʾbaťrɛf bass b-sàn-allaḥ ʾpânëtci ʾbaťrɛf [DA-98] 'I don't know, but I think my maid knows'
7. wańla më ʾbaṭdàṭś ʾponte [DA-198] 'But you're not to pay!'
8. ʾana yo bëk bašçu w-bëkwi w-bëmášà w- Empresa t-txüt [DA-99] 'Sir, I wash and iron and scrub and make the beds' (The contrast being with her mother, who cooks. Another function of ʾana here, however, is to introduce and help unify the coordinated predicates.)

For Emphasis on the Predication as Such. Subject pronouns in Arabic are often used, neither to identify nor to emphasize their referent, but rather to identify or emphasize the predicate (or, more exactly, the predication as such): ʾbaťʃham ʾaliiyi ʾponte 'You do understand me!'

Since suppression of the subject [p.418] makes a predication more dependent on its context, and also makes it sound more casual, it follows that the inclusion of a suppressible subject pronoun may serve to make a predication "stand out" from its context, or to sound more insistent. The subject sets off the predicate as a frame does a picture.

9. ʾukran ʾala ʾalub hâr ʾana më b-daxxen 'Thanks anyway, but I don't smoke'
10. ʾonte ʾbaťrɛf ʾaddës saḥallma ʾhadëk ʾl-ʃyom 'You know how much you put us to shame that day?'
11. wańla ʾana ʾmašt tàul ʾaḥon w-bądë ʾʃyom 'I (f.) certainly do miss them and I'd like to see them'
12. ʾlišna hiwy 'How is she?'
13. na hańme ʾfal-mustâšà [EA-150] 'But he is in the hospital'
14. mu ʾrae hiwy wańla la? 'Is it worth while, or not?'
15. ṣu ḫumë mašrubak [DA-296] 'What is your plan?'

In ex. 15, the effect of ʾhańme is simply to emphasize the question-word predicate ʾšl. Cf. the less emphatic ṣu mašrubak 'What's your plan?' The contexts from which examples 12 and 13 were taken make it clear that no contrastive emphasis is intended. The latter comes in response to a question ʾlišna më b-šrëk ʾal-mustâšà 'Why doesn't he go to the hospital?' If the question had been e.g. ʾwańla hańme, 'Where is he?' the answer would probably have been simply ʾfal-mustâšà, with no subject expressed.

Similarly, the apocopated subject pronouns that are fused to the question word ʾmaš-ašalaš 'Who' [p.547] are used to make the question more emphatic than it would be with the simple form ʾmënu ʾhaš-ašalaš 'Who is that man?' vs. ʾmën haš-ašalaš 'Who's that man?'

Note also example 2, above, and examples 21 and 22, below.

A better English translation (for the context from which this was taken) would be 'You know what I mean... in a sort of cajoling intonation (high pitch on 'you'), middle or low pitch on the rest, with a slight rise at the end). The important thing about this translation is that the high pitch on 'you' has nothing to do with identification or contrastive emphasis, just as ʾonte in the Arabic has nothing to do with them either.

2 Or 'You know how much you put us to shame that day...', with the intonation discussed in the preceding footnote.
2. Independent pronouns are used in apposition [p.512] to the correspond-
ing suffix pronoun, for emphasis:

16. xalli huße yaqarrer
17. sas'ara man xilin khume
18. 'alak ?ānte mablaq bāqif làken yul huume maqārī kītr

In apposition, with modifiers:
20. ṣe'ar ṣannī ?āna halle kāraḥt 'l-ṭāb [AO-118]

In example 19 ?āna has an adjectival attribute t-ṭāni; in 20 it has an attributive clause halle kāraḥt... A suffix pronoun itself cannot have modifiers, except as mediated by its corresponding independent form.

3. In extraposition [p.431], antecedent to a suffix pronoun:

21. huume gār-lo ḍār 'snīn bi-?āmarīka [DA-75]
22. ?āna lāssāni mā baṭer 'gī-?ām [DA-77]
23. w-?ānte ya bēk sā bāb-lak? [DA-46]

An extraposition pronoun – like an ordinary subject pronoun – may be used for contrastive emphasis on the referent, as in example 23, or to emphasize the predication as such, as in examples 21 and 22.

4. As subject of a circumstantial clause with w- [p.531]:

24. gār-lak samān ġondi w-?āna mā baṭer 'samak 'l-karīm [AO-108]
25. bīthaddasu w-humme 'rīdīn haww ḫal-barke [PAT-197]
26. man ġār 'snīn w-?āna b-ṣās da'nī la-hālī yom 'gī yām la? [DA-197]

5. In coordinations [p.391]:

27. rāyhi 'rānte w-ḥālī samāp [DA-109]
28. mā 'ṣāfī qīr 'ānā w-ṣānti [DA-198]
29. 'alā ḩānte w-lā huume, ?āna bāq'idā
30. mīn baddak, ?āna wālī huume?
31. yī ḩāna yā huume bitamm kān.

Note that in coordinations, pronouns precede nouns, first-person pronouns precede others, and second-person generally precedes third.

6. With an appositive [p.506]:

32. ṣānti l-?āmĀrīkān bāthābbu laḥm 'l-bāṭar ṣāktar [DA-109]
33. nāḥna l-ṭarāb hīyādiyyīn [DA-198]
34. hanne 'l-lāmārī mā buyazu ḥadda
35. tāfadjālu ḩānti t-tānn

Pronouns are seldom used as predicate, except in equational sentences [p.406], and then mainly when the predicate is a mere repetition of the subject:

7a. ḫāṣā ḥiyā hīyē [DA-198]
7b. w-ṣābā lhuume huume ?īzā kān lā-māhū w-?īzā kān la-tānn

Note also the following sentence:


'Cf. ... māt?ī̂l mā kān 'mābāre'... as it was yesterday.' The conjunction ma is usually followed by a verb, but a predication of actuality [p.402] corresponding to the verb kān 'to be' is of course non-verbal. Since l-yām is merely supplemental ('adverbial') [521], it cannot stand alone as a predicate; without huume to fill the breach, the subordinate clause could not exist as such (though it could be collapsed into a prepositional phrase mātī ḫ-l-yām [538]).
DEMONSTRATIVES

Pronouns (ism l-"iḥarā)

The main forms of the PROXIMAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine ḥāḍa  ‘this, this one, that, that one'
Feminine ḥāḍi, ḥayy  ‘this, this one, that, that one'
Plural ḥadēl  ‘these, those'

The main forms of the DISTAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine ḥadāk  ‘that, that one, that other'
Feminine ḥadīk  ‘that, that one, that other'
Plural ḥadēlak, ḥadēk, ḥadānke  ‘those, those others'

The distal demonstratives, which are much less used than the proximal, refer only to something (or someone) relatively far away from both the speaker and the person spoken to: manu ḥadāk? ‘Who’s that over there?’

The proximal demonstratives correspond not only to English ‘this, these’, but also to ‘that, those’, whenever the reference is to something near (or associated with) the person spoken to: ṣū ḥāḍa (yallī maṣak)? ‘What’s that one (you have there)?

The demonstrative pronouns are of course not limited to the presentation of objects in a spatial dimension, but may also indicate ‘distance’ in time: ḥāḍī kānēt ʿawal saṣṣa ‘That (other) was the first revolution’; or conceptual ‘distance’ independent of space and time: ḥāḍi kānēt ʿammal saṣṣa ‘That was the first revolution’, i.e. the revolution we’re discussing now – and which is in that sense ‘present’ to us now.

Stylistic variants include the apocopated form ḥāḍ (for ḥāḍa); the pronouns whose main forms end in a consonant also have forms with a final -e: hayye, ḥaddē, ḥaddike, ḥaddānke, etc.

In Lebanon the forms hayda (for ḥāḍa), haydi (for ḥāḍi), haddi (for ḥadēlak), haddīk or ḥaddik (for ḥadēlak) are commonly used. (haddi also has an apocopated form haw.) In Palestine mas./pl. ḥaddōlak is sometimes distinguished from fem./pl. ḥaddēlak. The forms ḥadānsk(e), also haddānksk(e), are usual in Damascus, but are not heard in most other areas. Damascus also has a variant ḥaddēn, for ḥadēl.

Examples of Usage:

1. ḥāḍa nadēr man satti ḫī-ḏēfe [AO-114]  ‘This is a votive offering from my sick grandmother’
2. ḥāḍi fatra bi-hayūt kull ᵉḥāṣ, ʿaddatan  ‘That’s a stage in the life of every person, usually’
3. ḥayy ʾl-bant yallī ḫāt-ʾl-lak ēnha [DA-99]  ‘This is the girl I was telling you about’
4. ḥāḍī ḫāt-ʾl-maṣāḥīf?  ‘Are these the right books?’
5. ḥayye masāṭel mā ṣatṣaṣni  ‘Those are matters that don’t concern me’

As subject to a nominal predicate (ex. 1-5), the demonstrative generally agrees with the predicate in number/gender. See, however, p.421. In ex. 5, note the feminine demonstrative agreeing with the plural predicate noun [p.423].

6. ṣū ḥāḍ?  ‘What’s that?’
7. ʾū ṣandkon dāyman ᵁṣg maḥlūn maṭṭīl ḥāḍ  ‘Do you always have weather as awful as this?’
8. l-yōm mā ḫī ṣī man ḥāḍ l-hamsīlā  ‘Today there’s none of that, thank goodness’

The apocopated form ḥāḍ occurs mainly at the end of a phrase. It is especially common in amaphoric use after maṭṭīl, man (ex. 7, 8). Note also: lā ḥāḍ w-lā ḥāḍ ‘neither one nor the other, neither this nor that’.

9. ḥayy ḫalā ʾṣal-ʿagī, ḥayy ḫalā ʾṣal, ḥ-hayy *ṣannammane [AO-79]  ‘This one (f.) is of pure silk, this one is of wool, and this one is a moiré (anteecedent: krāve ‘necktie’)

10. mā bitraf ref mahruntak? mā ḥāḍi ḥiyye? [AO-115]  ‘Don’t you recognize your hankerchief? Isn’t this it?’
11. ṣū ḥaddāmū ḥāḍa?  ‘Why, those are not so many!’
12. ʾū ḥaddīn ḥāḍa?  ‘What do they call this?’
13. ḥāḍi bakhra, ḥāḍa ᵉza mā ṣatṭet  ‘I’ll come tomorrow, that is, if it doesn’t rain’

Since masculine(singular) is the neutral or bass number/gender (p.421), the masculine demonstrative is generally used in reference to an object whose name the speaker does not know (ex. 12, 6), and commonly also as sequent to a clausal antecedent (ex. 13) or a vague or conceptual ante-
In some contexts it is necessary to make a distinction in Arabic like that in English between 'this', 'that' (in reference to something vague or conceptual, i.e. 'this matter'), and on the other hand 'this one, that one' (in reference to a particular thing or person). Generally speaking, the demonstrative pronouns are to be taken in the definite, material sense, except with ḥāda and ḥāyy in certain kinds of context and in certain constructions and set phrases, e.g. maṣ ḥāda 'nevertheless, despite that', fī ḥāda 'moreover' (lit. "above that"), ḥāda ?iṣa..., 'that is, if...' [ex. 13], ḥāyy hiyye 'That's it!'. Further examples in which the context makes it clear that the reference is not to some material thing:

25. ḥāda? bīḏi? ʾfaʿla ḏada yaṣṣayyar [DA-153] 'What's this? It looks as if the weather has begun to change'

26. mar蒂 mī bīṯaḥti ʾarabi? ḏabadan. - ḥāda mā biḥimm yaḥē, ḏaʾa baṣreṣ ṣawwyyet ṣaṅgīzī [DA-99] 'My wife speaks no Arabic at all. - That doesn't matter, sir. I know a little English'

See also examples 8, 14, and 22, above.

In other types of context English 'this' or 'that' used with reference to something vague or conceptual must be rendered in Arabic as ḥāṣ-ṣī or ḥāṣ-ṣīgī, lit. 'this thing', because ḥāda or ḥāyy might be taken as referring to some particular person or object:

27. ḥāṣ-ṣī byṣom maʿat ʾktīr 'This takes (or will take) a long time' (cf. ḥāṣ byṣom maʿat ʾktīr 'This one will take a long time')

28. ḥāṣ-ṣī yak ḥaṣ-ṣīf 'What do you think of that?' (cf. ḥāṣ raʾyak ḥaṣ-ṣīf? 'What do you think of this one?')

29. mā baʾder ṣaḡel bāli ḥaṣ-ṣīgī 'I can't concern myself with that' (cf. . . . ḥāda ... with that one' or '... with him')

30. ḥāṣ-ṣī ṣaʾr-lo ʾam-iḍāyya? ni ṣadde 'This has been bothering me for some time' (cf. ḥāda ... 'This one...' or 'He...')

See also ḥēk [p. 561].

Note (ex. 24) that first and second person singular subject pronouns, as well as third person, may be extraposed as a demonstrative, for emphasis: ḥāda ʾnte..., ḥāyy ʾnte..., ḥāda ?ana... (cf. ḥāda ḥumma..., ex. 20).
Demonstrative Pronouns in Attribution Phrases

The demonstrative pronouns are used not only independently, but also in phrases with definite nouns. In some cases the pronoun comes first, and in other cases, it follows the noun: hadāk ِl-bēt (or l-bēt hadāk) 'that (other) house'.

The Demonstrative Prefix. The proximal demonstratives (ḥāda, ḥayy, hadēl) are not often used before a noun with the article prefix, but are usually re- clitic (hal-: hal-bēt 'this (that) house', hal-ḵmēs 'this (that) church', hal-ʔalūm 'these (those) colors').

The l is assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant, as in the case of the article alone (p.493): har-řēē 'these (those) men', han-ناسm 'these (those) women', ḫal-ḥabbāk 'this (that) window'.

Examples in context:

1. wēn ǧf maṣafām 'mn̄k hën? — ḫayef hal-bīmāyē 1-hanma? ... faruhā. [DA-46]
   'Where is there a good restaurant around here? Do you see that red building? Behind it.'

2. w-ḵan har-rēē yāš̄ač kall ʔəm ellation yēm maṣ 'l-ğañam w-yereśḥōn [AO-103]
   'And this shepherd would go out in the country every day with the sheep and let them graze'.

3. mā barrač...batā ḫaref ʔaṣl ḫal-baḥra w-hal-barriyye w- Kháṣ-bal [adap. fr. AO-117]
   'I won't go back until I find out the origin of that lake and that plain and that mountain'.

The use of the demonstrative prefix in example 1 is deictic (p.537), while in examples 2 and 3 it is anaphoric, with antecedents earlier in the respective narratives.

On the use of hal- in annexion phrases, see p.459.

Note the use of hal- before kām 'several': b-hal-kām yōm 'one of these days, any day now'.

Occasionally, the full forms ḥāda, ḥayy, or hadēl are used in phrases before a noun with the article. Being longer and grammatically more explicit than the hal- phrases, their effect is to give extra emphasis or clarity:

4. mān ḥadēl ẓn-lās halli kont ʃam-tahē maṣfān? 'Who are those people you were talking with?' (cf. han-nās)

5. l-qasīde fša ṭaṣm, m-ḥāda l-ʔaṣl mā baddi ṭaṣkra 'The poem has a name in it, and that name I don't want to mention' (cf. hal-ʔaṣm)

The distal demonstrative (hadēk, ḥadēk, ḥadēk, etc.) normally occur in their full form before a noun with the article:

6. w-mā btaṣ-_der taṣḥab manhōn ṭaṣlī hadēk ẓl-maṣt [DA-293]
   'And you can't withdraw it before that time' (manhōn, lit. "of them", antecedent: ḫaṣrī 'money', plural.)

7. mān hadēk ẓl-mara? 'Who is that woman?'

8. ḥadēk t-aṭṭahē ẓm-bayyen ʃalānōn tūsma ṭakṭar man hadēl 'Those other apples seem to be fresher than these'

The form hadēk(e) is generally not used in noun phrases, but only independently.

Note the feminine form with a masculine noun in hadēk ẓl-yēm 'That day' = hadēk ẓl-yēm.

In Lebanon the distal demonstratives also have a reduced form hēk (hēk (pl.14)) used before the noun: hēk ʾl-bēt (hēk ʾl-bayt) 'that house' = hadēk ʾl-bēt.

Both distal and proximal demonstratives may also follow the noun. This is the normal order in the case of proper names, nouns with pronoun suffixes, and generally with annexation phrases (but see p. 459):

9. nišār ṭabbēni ḥāda munsammī ʃeṭer ʾl-mara hā l-ʔamal 'This Nizar Abbani we call "the first poet of Woman"'

10. ḫowābē ḥāda ḫaṭṭatān mā kan-le ʔmēṣeb 'That reply of his was really uncalled for'

11. Ġummī ḥayyē ḥali ʃam-bahki-lak ʃamkā ḫawāmaṣt lamma kān ʃamri ʾarbaṣṭaṣār sāne 'This aunt of mine I was telling you about was married when she was fourteen years old'

1Noun phrases with demonstrative pronouns are transforms of equational predications (p.406): hadāk ʾl-bēt 'That is the house' — hadēk ʾl-bēt (or l-bēt hadāk) 'that house'. Just as in an equational predicate there is no significant distinction between subject and predicate, so also in noun-pronoun (or pronoun-noun) phrases there is no point in calling one the attribute and the other the main term — except, somewhat arbitrarily, on the basis of word order. These constructions, then, are a kind of apposition (p.506); there is no justification for distinguishing between 'demonstrative pronouns' and 'demonstrative adjectives' in Arabic.

2Technically speaking, the difference is probably best analyzed as a difference in construction: the full forms represent the main term in an attribution phrase, with the following noun as its appositive (cf. p.506), while the prefix hal- (since it is a mere affix) is subordinate to its noun.
12. bent ṣāḥibak hadīfke ṣolēt ḥałe ṣaddan
   'That daughter of your friend has turned out to be very pretty'

13. mēn ḥa:yye ēmēd d-daxxān ḥā:dā?
   'Where is that column of smoke coming from?'

14. b-ṣaḥlēt ʿ-r-rabīṭ ḥayy rāḥt la-florida
   'This spring vacation I went to Florida'

Less commonly, the demonstrative follows a single noun with the article prefix: i-bēt ḥā:da 'this house', L-ṣe:da ḥā:di 'this room'.

Nouns with pronoun suffixes, and proper names, sometimes follow a demonstrative; this inverted order is like that of nouns with the article in ex. 4 and 5, above: wēnā ḥā:da marmvān? 'Where is this (fellow) Marwan?' ḥā:da xayyi mā ḥā:dar [Nakh. I-80] 'This brother of mine didn't emigrate'.

The most common way of emphasizing the demonstrative element in a noun phrase (with the article, not with suffix pronoun or a proper name) is to prefix hal- to the noun and follow it also with the full form of a demonstrative:

15. mēmēn taṣā'ra b-ḥagū:ra ḥayye
   'It can also be interpreted in this way'

16. mēn hal-bēnt hadīk?
   'Who's that girl over there?'

17. ḥā:−ḥa:hr ḥā:da ḥa:hr rā:stē [AO-71]
   'This month is a winter month'

18. lā:ha-sī:fo b-ḥa:l-ʔiyyām ḥayy
   'I'll see him any day, now' (lit.
   '...in these days')

19. kāl hal-ḥ:mmā:nāt hadīl biʕa:ṛ:jlu ḥa:mmad ʿa:mmir, lā:kēn bī:tis ḡa:mm
    marvān [AO-63]
   'All these animals keep Ahmed quite busy, but he lives off them'

Note that in ex. 19 the "emphasis" gained by using hadīl after hal-ḥ:mmā:nān is not contrastive, i.e. it is not to distinguish these animals from certain others, but simply to strengthen the anaphoric link between this phrase and its antecedents; the sentence is a sort of conclusion or summary for a discourse on the various animals Ahmed keeps and what he does with them.

Locative Demonstratives

The words ḥō:n 'here' and ḥa:mm 'there' are substitutes for prepositional phrases (or occasionally, noun phrases) denoting places.

The forms ḥō:n and ḥa:mm are also sometimes used (cf. p. 552). In Lebanon the forms ḥa:mmk or ḥa:mmk are generally used instead of ḥa:mmk (and ḥa:mm for ḥō:n [p. 14]), and in Pal-
estine ḥa:mmk or ḥa:mmk.

Examples, predicative:

1. nū:mmja ḥa:mmk hal-bēt? – na:mm, ḥa:mm ḥō:n [DA-76]
   'Is your brother in, please? – Yes, my brother's here. Come in.'

2. bya:mm har xalilī mī ḥō:n [DA-46]
   'It looks as if Khalil isn't here'

3. mēn samīr u-ʔabu samīr, ṣa:mmā:jja hapus
   'Where are Samir and Abu Samir, are they here?'

4. Cali rā:mm kl-la-kali:frēnyna, mī ḥē:k?
   'Ali went to California, didn't he?
   – ḥa:mm? ʔa:mmk
   'Yes, he's there now'

5. ḥō:n ḥa:mmad bē:k? – na:mm ḥō:n
   [DA-217]
   'Is Ahmed Bey here? – Yes, he is'

Examples 5 has predicate-subject inversion [p. 419] in the question, and suppression of the subject [418] in the answer. The English translation, contrariwise, has an anaphoric substitute as subject in the answer, but suppresses 'here' in the predicate.

Examples, attributive:

   'What's that over there?'

7. hal-ʔa:mmgār ḥō:n bītis hayy r-ʔΛ:mmā:n
   [DA-173]
   'This scenery here is enchanting'

The form ḥā:n (Lab. ḥa:mmē) is in some areas used also preceding an indefinite noun, e.g. in narratives, in the sense 'a, a certain, this': ḥa:mmē xawā:mmē 'a (certain) gent-
tlemen...', ḥa:mmē mmarrā 'once, a certain time' [PVA-22].

Examples, predicative complementary [p. 446]:

8. ṣā:mm manno ṣa:mm yāb?a
   ṣā:mm ṣā:mm ḥō:n bā:mm-ʔarke
   'They've asked him to stay per-
   manently here in the company'

9. par-lo ḥa:mm tā:rīban ʔa:mmār kā:mm ahār
   'He's been there almost eleven months'
10. yamken ihānū baća'd șit sāča hōne

'They may be here in about an hour.'

Examples, adverbial:

11. baća'rya mn șā-ğām, wālā tārraṭt ēalā hān?

'Do you know him from Damascus, or did you meet him there?'

12. bās hōne șal-мāsāfe maćēche

'But here, that distance is disturbing' (i.e. the thought of being far from home)

13. baća'd ma xalleg șwhīk haddi fīr bās șā-ğām

'AFTER I finish there, I'll go back to Damascus.'

Examples, with prepositional supplement:


'What are you studying now here in Washington?'

15. bās șwhīk, șb-bērūt b-ādad mānt ēandon b-šītōn

'But there in Beirut I stayed and slept in their house.'


'I'll bring you some coffee, how about that? – Here inside? It's so hot in this room.'

hōn and hānīk are not used alone in complementation (or supplementation) to translocative verbs [p. 274], but are preceded by la– 'to' or mn– 'from', 'through' [cf. p. 486]: la–hōn 'hither', la–hānīk 'thither', mn–hōn 'from here, this way, hence', mn–hānīk 'from there, that way, thence':

17. șana hābbēt 'śež la–hōn mu bīss bāś–kahrīde, li-čāmī bāder fāsađa mn–hānīk...

'I wanted to come here not just for the degree, because I could get that over there' (lit. "...from there")

18. rūh ēal–kārīca w–sīd mn–hānīk ēayye [AO-99]

'Go to the Jordan and fetch water from there'

19. mn hōn byačātu ḫ–rūd? [DA-225]

'Is this where you mail packages?' (lit. 'From here do they send...')

20. bīrīgā la–hānīk la–yanne șarxāş

'They go there because it's cheaper'


'And now which way shall we go? This way or that way?'

22. bīšēnēk fūsye xānōm, tāči la–hōn la–šāmī

'How are you, Miss Faiza? Come here beside me'

Note also the predicative use of mn– demonstrative:

23. pana mn–kīlīfīn șy–pana mn–hānīk kūmān [DA-76]

'I'm from California – 'And I'm from there too'

Although hānīk is often used anaphorically, like English 'there' (as in example 23), there are many cases in which it is not so used. As an anaphoric substitute for the name of a city, town, etc., or a building, room, etc., a third-person pronoun is normally used in Arabic after a preposition or noun in construct, while 'there' is used in English:

24. baća'rya saṃ frīnsēko? – bēti sīdā [DA-76]

'Do you know San Fransisco? – My home is there!' (lit. "...in it")

25. bāl–yamāl fīlēt ēalā blūdūn, w–manha ēalā șīr fīl ș–ṣāmēr [DA-171]

'First I went up to Bloudane, and from there, to Djhour Choueir'

26. rābēt ēalā bērūt, – būl șaft șēfā [DA-171]

'I went to Beirut. – How did you like the summer there?' (lit. "...its summer")

27. mū ēl ēr șafām hān? – fī, hāy yārēd tāni, țūza mīn, mnākīlī fī [DA-46]

'Isn't there any other restaurant here? – Yes, there is; see, there's another one; if it's good, we'll eat there'

Similarly, in attributive clauses, a resumptive pronoun in Arabic may correspond to 'where' in English:

26. ēanna bi–amārīka fī māhāllīt būtaśtī manha kōll șī tāmāk [DA-129]

'In America we have stores where you can buy everything you need' (lit. "...stores you buy from them...")

The Indefinite Demonstrative hēk

The word hēk (or hēkē) 'so, such, thus, that' differs from the pronominal and locative demonstratives in this chapter is substitutes only for indefinite terms [p. 494], including non-verbal predicates, complemenal clauses, and supplemental phrases.

Examples, predicative:

1. șu maṭayen maqūllīlm șkītr – wālja dāyman hēk [DA-294]

'It looks as if you're (pl.) quite busy. – Well, it's always this way'

2. hēkē kītr, mū lēkē?

'That's too much, isn't it?'

mū lēkē (mū lēkē) is an important anaphoric substitution phrase, literally 'not so?' (cf. Fr. n'est-ce pas, Ger. nicht wahr), whose English translation varies, depending on the antecedent clause: ēalā bāl–bēt, mū hēkē 'Ali's at
home, isn't he?  bata'ī ma'na, mū hēk? 'you're coming with us, aren't you?'; rāh ḍāl-bēt, mū hēk? 'He went home, didn't he?'; bya'ī dru yaḏamī, mū hēk? 'They can do it, can't they?' See also ex. 27, below.

3. hēk 'd-dānys
'That's the way things are' (lit. "Such is the world")

4. hēk tāqarrfī l-liḍā
'That's his usual behavior'

Examples 3 and 4 show predicate-subject inversion [p.419], but unlike most inverted predicates, hēk does not usually take the main sentence accent.

Examples, complemental:

5. lamma ṣāf hēk, fūt ḍāl-balad [AO-83]
'When he saw that, he entered the town'

6. bēt'ānnīl hēk
'I hope so'

7. lam ṣāfīta bār-rabīf kant bēt'āl gēr hēk [DA-250]
'If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn't say that' (lit. "you'd say otherwise")

8. w-dali hēk ḍattā nāmu [AO-107]
'And they stayed that way until they went to sleep'

9. w-ṭtāfā'ī hēk w-rāḥēt l-Ṭābūn b-sūāthā l-Ṭābūn l-bant [AO-113]
'And they agreed on that, and then the old woman went to the girl's house'

10. ḫā-pāḥāmīt ṣafī w-Ŷabīyyün ḍāl hēk
'These shoes are cheap, and they look it!' (lit. "...and it appears of them so")

Examples, after prepositions:

11. ʃaμmūl ṣaf hēk ṣaf hēk ṣaf bēṭāta
'Statements like that are hard to prove'

12. ya ēdī ʃā-ṣūm ṣayyāṭūn ṣaṣṣaṣ snā hēk b-ℵītfr
'Oh really, your visit means much more to us than that'

13. mū ḍāl tākēfī ṣaktar mū hēk
'He's more fun than anything!' ("There's no card more than so")

14. w-ṣayyāde ēdā hēk mū bāsadāf
'And what's more, I don't believe him' ("And[ing] in addition to that...")

15. mānīn hēk mū brūh ṣabadān ḍāsīnūma
'That's why I don't ever go to the movies' (lit. "because of such...")

Examples, adverbial:

16. w-li-hēk ṣalī la-ḥālī mū ṣahma
'And so I said to myself, it wouldn't be nice' (lit. "And for such...")

The classicism li-nālēk 'therefore' is often used as a stylistic variant of li-hēk.

Examples, adverbial:

17. fīk tāmōla hēk ṣaṭ hēk
'You can do it this way or that way'

18. li ṣa ṣāfū ṣalī mū ḍal-lamī kuchū ṣāfū - ṣaṣṣaṣ-allāk hēk ṣaṣṣaṣ yāmīn DA-75
'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes back? – I think that's what he intends to do' (or "I think he intends to do so")

19. w-hēk ṣayyāṭu, ʃāyāḥ mū ʃāyāḥ, kūll l-ḥilān man taḥt l-ʃaḥī [DA-75]
'And in this way they build, little by little, all the walls from the bottom up'

20. mīṭ hāyīk? [SAL-41]
'Is that all right?' (lit. "Good so?") (hāyīk [Leb. for hēk, p.14] supplements the one-word clause mīṭ.)

In supplementation to adjectives (participles):

21. b-ḥāyāṭī mū ṣāfī w-hēk w-mālaḏan ṣaḏān [AO-114]
'She said to him, 'Why are you so annoyed'

Examples, supplemental to nouns (hēk precedes the noun):

22. ṣaṣṣlāt-ō lī ṣa ṣa ṣaḏān [AO-114]
'I've never in my life seen anyone so childish'

23. hēk mū ṣaṭīla ṣalāmā bīdān mū ṣaṭīla bāḏal-lān ēn [DA-199]
'People like that could kill a person without batting an eye'

24. mū ṣaṭīla ṣaṭīla mū ṣaṭīla ṣaṭīla [DA-199]
'I've never tasted such good food' (lit. "There is no tastier than such food")

25. mū ṣaṭīla ṣaṭīla ṣaṭīla ṣaṭīla [DA-199]
'I can't imagine her doing such a thing'

26. b-ḥēk ṣaṣṣlāt ṣaṣṣlāt ṣaṣṣlāt ṣaṣṣlāt [SAL-41]
'At that price I'd have bought a better car'

27. mālāk ṣaṣṣlāt ṣaṣṣlāt ṣaṣṣlāt ṣaṣṣlāt [SAL-41]
'You don't expect me to believe such balderdash, do you?'

Note, in ex. 27, that mū hēk may be used in sequence to a negative statement as well as to an affirmative one.
The Prepositional Particles

The forms hayy, lēk, and šač- are widely used in Greater Syria as "exclamatory" or "imperative" demonstratives, which serve to direct someone’s attention to what the following noun or pronoun refers to: hayy "ktābak 'Here's your book' or 'There's your money', šač 'Here he comes' or 'There he comes' (or 'Here he is', 'There he is', lit. 'There he is, he has come').

Hayy as a prepositional particle is not always clearly distinct from the feminine demonstrative pronoun: hayy māsīha tānye 'Here's another one (f.)' or 'This is another one (f.)'. As a prepositional particle, however, its form remains hayy regardless of the number/gender of what follows: hayy 'ahmad 'There's Ahmed', hayy 'mlīdi mdicn 'Here come my children'.

Šač- is always - and lēk usually - followed by a pronoun suffix, regardless whether a noun follows or not: šač- mājār 'There's your money', lēk mājār 'Here's your money'. hayy is usually not used with a suffix, except in Palestine: hayyī hamāk 'There it is over there'.

Unlike hayy and lēk, šač- is not generally used while handing something to someone, but is more of a "distal" demonstrative; it usually directs attention to something away from the speaker (though not necessarily away from the person spoken to). šač- is presumably a shortened form of 'šadē 'look, see' (imperative of the verb 'šadēc, byašadēc 'to see, look at'), while lēk is associated with the preposition-pronoun phrase lēk 'to you, toward you' [p.480].

Certain other prepositional forms are heard in various parts of Greater Syria. Note the Damascus forms šačāk and šaḥāke: mā barmīti? - šaḥāke 'Where's my hat? - Here it is'. šač- is also sometimes pronounced with -ḥ- rather than -ḥ- (or even rather than -c-): šaḥa 'There it (f.) is', šaḥon 'There they are', šāḥo, šaḥāk 'There it (m.) is'.

1 Though the prepositional particles are deictic or demonstrative elements par excellence, they are not actually "substitutes" in any straightforward sense - there is no other kind of word or phrase which, in their place, would result in the same construction. This construction produces a special kind of sentence, which is neither statement, command, call, nor exclamation [p.378].
INTERROGATIVE SUBSTITUTES

The main forms of the interrogative substitutes, or question words, are:

\[ \text{mın} \quad \text{‘who’} \]
\[ \text{ġ} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{ʔeē} \quad \text{‘what’} \]
\[ \text{ʔaddēē} \quad \text{‘how much’} \]
\[ \text{ʔamām} \quad \text{‘how many’} \]
\[ \text{ʔanu} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{ʔayy} \quad \text{‘what, which, which one’} \]
\[ \text{ʔem} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{fēn} \quad \text{‘where’} \]
\[ \text{kiif} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{ʔiēn} \quad \text{‘how’} \]
\[ \text{ʔemta} \quad \text{‘when’} \]
\[ \text{lēē} \quad \text{‘why’} \]

In a simple substitution-question [p.379] the question word usually comes first in Syriac Arabic (as in English), regardless which word of the clause in represents: \( \text{ġē} \quad \text{emlīt} \) (object) ‘What did you do?’, \( \text{mēn} \quad \text{ʔabū} \) (predicate) ‘Where is your father?’, \( \text{kiif} \quad \text{sammētha} \) (supplement) ‘How did you do it?’. Some of the question words commonly follow prepositions or nouns in construct, however, though the phrase itself ordinarily comes first: \( \text{ʔanu} \quad \text{ʔayy} \quad \text{ha-taḥkī-līna} \) ‘Which one are you going to talk to us about?’ (lit. ‘About which one...’).

The question word generally carries the main accent of the sentence, and the highest pitch: \( \text{mēnāk} \quad \text{hiyūm mā-hada bišēfak} \) ‘Where have you been these days, that no one sees you?’ See p.379.

With a question-word complement, the subject of a verbal predication usually follows the verb: \( \text{ʔaddēē} \quad \text{byāxūd} \quad \text{ʔeī-sofīr} \) ‘How much does the driver get?’. Extraposition of the subject [p.434] is common, however, with complemental and supplemental question words. (No resumptive pronoun is used [cf. p.530].); \( \text{ʔeī-sofīr} \quad \text{ʔaddēē} \quad \text{byāxūd} \) ‘The driver — how much does he get?’, \( \text{ʔaxūk lēē mā-ʔaδē} \) ‘Why hasn’t your brother come?’ (or \( \text{lēē mā-ʔaδē} \quad \text{ʔaxūk} \) or \( \text{lēē ṭawāk mā-ʔaδē} \).

Besides their use in simple or direct substitution questions and in extraposition, the interrogative substitutes are used in complemental clauses: \( \text{ʔiī-lo} \quad \text{ʔeē} \quad \text{sūmē ‘He told him what he had done’} \), \( \text{mā baḥrēf lēē ṭaxī mā-ʔaδē} \) ‘I don’t know why my brother hasn’t come’.

Some of the question words are used in supplemental clauses formed with \( \text{mā} \quad \text{‘-ever’} \): \( \text{ġē mā} \quad \text{‘whatever...’} \), \( \text{ʔeē mā} \quad \text{‘whenever...’} \), etc. See p.338.

Unlike English ‘who’, ‘which’, and ‘where’, the Arabic words \( \text{mēn} \), \( \text{ʔeē} \), \( \text{ʔaδē} \), \( \text{mēn} \) are not used to introduce attributive clauses [pp.494,561], nor does \( \text{ʔemta} \) introduce supplemental clauses like English ‘when’ (cf. iamma, p.529). (In parts of Palestine, however, \( \text{lēē} \) is used in the sense ‘because’ as well as ‘why’.)

\( \text{ġē} \) (often unaccented, written \( \text{ġū} \), \( \text{kiif} \), and \( \text{ʔaddēē} \) have special exclamatory uses (pp.570,572,576). \( \text{kamām} \) has a non-interrogative sense ‘some, several’ (p.470), and \( \text{ʔayy} \), \( \text{ʔanu} \) have the sense ‘any’ (p.574).

A.) Examples, \( \text{mēn} \ ‘who’:

1. \( \text{ya nābīha mēn} \quad \text{ʔaδā} \quad [\text{DA-217}] \) ‘Who’s that, Nabiha?’ (lit. ‘O Nabiha, who has come?’)

2. \( \text{mēn yalli xarbaflī mūqīf} \quad [\text{DA-128}] \) ‘Who (is it that) messed up my papers?’

3. \( \text{mēn mānkon hastab waqfīt} \quad \text{ʔeīfīyā} \) ‘Which of you has done the physics assignment?’

4. \( \text{mēn haš̱-šābāb} \) ‘Who are these young men?’

The form \( \text{mān} \) is used as an extraposed subject with the apocopated subject pronouns \( \text{u, i, hān} \quad \text{mān} \quad \text{bafl-fārā} \) ‘Who’s on the team?’ See p.547.

5. \( \text{mēn baddak} \) ‘Whom do you want?’

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. \( \text{mān ēand mēn bādāb} \quad \text{ʔyfrāfī} \quad [\text{DA-128}] \) ‘Whom do you get your things from?’ (lit: ‘From with whom...’ )

7. \( \text{sīfēt mēn hāyyā} \quad \text{(or la-mēn has-sāδa, or tābāc mēn has-sāδa)} \) ‘Whose watch is this?’ (or ‘Whose is this watch?’)

8. dōr mēn ‘Whose turn [is it]?’

9. \( \text{la-mēn yāccas mānkon baddā} \quad \text{ʔafī banti} \quad [\text{AO-55}] \) ‘To whom dearer than you would I give my daughter?’

In complemental clauses:

10. \( \text{kānt} \quad \text{ʔana} \quad \text{bāndak u-mādri} \quad \text{mēn} \quad \text{ʔaδā la-bāndak} \) ‘I was with you, and I don’t know who [it was that] came to see you...’
11. ...fa-čam-ťąwfon hiyya ya tara mën 'ft 'čandak halla?  
   ‘and she's thinking, "I wonder who is with you now?"'

12. fik ‘ťfőńi mën 'laem ‘oğel b-šal-‘xągį? [SAL-93]  
   ‘Could you tell me whom I should see about this?'

   mën is also sometimes used in a non-interrogative sense  
   'someone', as object with an (objective) complemental clause:

13. yači baddak mën i’al-įak  
   ‘You mean you need someone to tell you’

B.) Examples, sū ‘what’:

1. sū ‘faleč macį ya daktēr?  
   [DA-204]  
   ‘What have I got, Doctor?’  
   ("What’s come up with me?")

2. sū ‘gəsəno halli biśaumī  
   sə-sabąnti niw-‘bámą?  
   [DA-243]  
   ‘What’s the name of the one that makes windows and doors?’  
   (Comment-  
   Topical Inversion, p. 434.)

3. sū ‘l-fąmiiyį yalli batrihda?  
   [DA-107]  
   ‘What fruit do you want?’ (lit.  
   ‘What’s the fruit that you want?’)

4. sū ‘čalę, sū byąwłač macak,  
   s锜i  
   ‘What of it? What’s come over you?  
   Speak up!’

5. sū ‘konč čam-‘tənį?  
   ‘What were you doing?’

6. ‘jaye bę sələzhii mašəsib  
   los-ʃarafęn? [DA-291]  
   ‘All right, what do you think would  
   be suitable for both parties?’

   With extrapoosed subject or object:

7. tnën w-sùn sū byąwəmla?  
   [DA-5]  
   ‘What do two and two make?’

8. sabınex sū bǐ?glwaša  
   bəl-‘anglęši?  
   ‘What do they call ‘sabınex’ in  
   English?’

9. r-rašʒəl halli baddna mənro  
   sū byąsątʃgęl? [DA-75]  
   ‘The man we’re going to see – what  
   work does he do?’

   In ex. 9 sū is a predicative complement [p.444]; cf.  
   byąsątʃgęl mikońti ‘He works as a mechanic’.  

   Sometimes sū as a predicative complement has to be transla-  
   ted ‘how’ rather than ‘what’. In ex. 8, for instance, if  
   bǐ?glwaša is given its more standard English rendering ‘they  
   say (it)’, then sū bǐ?glwaša is ‘How do they say it?’ Note  
   also:

10. sū batfasser haš-šə?  
   ‘How do you explain this?’ (or ‘What  
   do you make of this?’)

---

11. sū ‘byąrəbənkən? [SAL-64]  
   ‘How is he related to you(pl.)?’  
   (or ‘What kin is he to you?’)

   sū is often followed by a quasi-verbal predicator [p.412]  
   plus a complement of specification [510]; the English  
   translation of this construction is often ‘what’ plus a noun:

12. sū ‘baddəkən faṃii? [DA-47]  
   ‘What fruit do you want?’ (cf. ex.  
   3, above) or ‘What do you want in  
   the way of fruit?’

13. sū ‘maco šθəšətį?  
   ‘What diplomas has he?’

14. sū ‘ft ‘piłkəl, pama ṣgən  
   ‘What is there to eat? I’m hungry’

   sū is sometimes used after a preposition or noun in  
   construct, but ṣgę is more common in these constructions (see  
   below):

15. čaša sū ‘čtamadį?  
   ‘What did you decide upon?’

In complemental clauses:

16. wałja mą bačref sū ‘baddi  
   ‘pol-įak  
   ‘I really don’t know what to tell  
   you’

17. tačąl naś’alο sū ‘gər maco  
   ‘pət-taiラvəsyən  
   ‘Come on, let's ask him what happened  
   to him on television’

18. ‘pəxənən laq-li sū kən  
   čam-yačən  
   ‘It finally dawned on me what  
   he meant’

19. ya samir sū’həś-šəy sū  
   ‘gər fi  
   ‘Semir, see what’s happened to the  
   tea’

   The complemental clause haš-šəy sū ‘gər fi is an extra-  
   position of sū ‘gər b-haš-šəy. The extrapositional word  
   order makes it possible also to interpret haš-šəy as ob-  
   ject of sū: ‘Look at the tea, what’s happened to it’.

   A subject sū + prepositional predicate bo, bək, ‘with  
   him, with you, etc.’ [p.415] is usually shortened to sū or  
   (most often) sų, and pronounced as a single unit: sđ-bək  
   or sų-bək (= sų ‘bək) ‘What’s [wrong] with you?’:

20. sų-bo bəl-’ OBJADAD xąyre  
   čam-ųsya  
   ‘Why is he so down in the mouth?’

21. ya bəntz tsallu, sų-bəkən  
   bəl-haš-ɓərtį yalli  
   ’pəddəməkən  
   ‘Enjoy yourselves, girls! What’s the  
   matter with (you, with) those seeds  
   [hors d’oeuvres] in front of you?’
Exclamatory ša:

22. ṣu haṣ-faṣ yalli bi?ammeṭ šī-tybî (lit. 'How miserable weather!' (lit. 'What is this weather, that oppresses the heart!'))

23. ṣamma šu zalame nafte mn ən-nakhsî! 'But what a card that fellow is!'

šu is also used, unaccented (written Šu), as a sentence supplement [p. 526] and introducer; this expression is generally too mild to be translated as an interjection 'What?!', but may be roughly rendered as 'well', 'oh', 'so', or left untranslated:

24. šu byyghar ĉalt əl-balad ən-nîfha [DA-77] '(Well), it looks as if conditions in town are good.'

25. ĉafnun, šu ĉaṭki ĉarabi? [DA-16] '(So) you speak Arabic?'

26. šu mā šaṭak əl-ňakîm? '(Oh,) hasn't the doctor seen you?'

C.) ʔǝʔ 'what' is commonly used instead of šu after a preposition or a noun in construct:

1. la-ʔǝʔ byalsamo 1-ĉarabi? [DA-173] 'What does he need Arabic for?'

2. bi-ʔǝʔ munsâfe? [DA-248] 'How will we go?' ("In what..." or "By what...")

3. bḥabb ːaḥref ĝala ʔǝʔ ĉyebîn 'I'd like to know what they live on'


5. daakkar-1ak ši matal mon əs-šêm. - mat əl ʔǝʔ yačni? 'Think of some proverb from Damascus. — Like what, how do you mean?'

In various parts of Greater Syria ʔǝʔ (often shortened to ʔa or qa) may be used in more or less the same ways as šu: ʔǝʔ baddak? 'What do you want?', ʔa hâda? 'What's that?', etc.

D.) ʔaddēt 'How much':

1. ʔaddēt ʔahtar to bôs-sano? [DA-225] 'How much is the rental of it for a year?'

2. ʔaddēt taḥabu ḏâbô? [DA-291] 'How much did its owners ask?'

3. ʔaddēt baddak ṭûn ʃamîra? [DA-80] 'How old do you want her to be?' (lit. "How much do you want her age to be?")

In reference to time and distance, ʔaddēt is commonly translated into English as 'how long' and 'how far':

4. ʔaddēt ābbed ʔaṭrab maddîne? 'How far is it to the nearest city?'

5. ʔaddēt ġar-ːak hōne b-ʔâmērka? 'How long have you been here in the States?' (ʔaddēt + g- → ʔaddēg-)

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. w-la-ʔaddēt baddak ʔin maddet əl-ɡard? [DA-297] 'And for how long do you want the loan to run?'

7. b-ʔaddēt ħaṭama hōn? [DA-18] '[For] how much is (the price of) the cinema here?'

8. daːlkah ĥaːl-ːübye b-ʔaddēt? [DA-129] '[At] how much are these beans, please?'

9. kall ʔaddēt biwâsâلو l-baštâ hōn? 'Every) how often do they deliver the mail here?'

ʔaddēt is often followed by a verb plus a complement of specification (cf. šu, p. 569); the English translation is usually 'how much' + noun:

10. ʔaddēt byâxed macâš bâs-bâhâr? 'How much salary does he get a month?'

11. ʔaddēt stâsrašu fâhâm? 'How much coal did they mine?'

12. ʔaddēt btoďaču tôdye? [DA-293] 'How much interest do you pay?'

In complemental clauses:

13. baddi ːaḥref ʔaddēt ʔa-šâca [NO-71] 'I want to know what time it is' (lit. "...how much the hour is")
E. Komm ‘how many’ is usually followed by a noun in the singular.

Examples:

1. komm nāšme fi bās-sama? [AO-83] ‘How many stars are there in the sky?’

2. komm sāne sar-lak hōne? ‘How many years have you been here?’

3. komm dars kūn ēndak... ‘How many classes did you have...’

4. komm nāyeb bīmasslu hal-muḥāfāfāt? [SAL-152] ‘How many delegates represent these molafazats?’

Note, in ex. 4, that the komm phrase with an animate noun (p.420) takes a plural verb despite its singular form. In ex. 3, on the other hand, the linking verb kūm remains singular. The agreement is partly optional, depending on how much one wishes to emphasize plurality.

In complementary clauses:

5. san-li hal-baṭṭīxa la-šūha kemm kīllo bāṭīla? [DA-128] ‘Weigh this watermelon for me, so I can see how many kilos it comes to’

With ft and other quasi-verbal predicators, komm may stand alone, with its noun as specificative complement following the predicator (cf. 85, p.569):

6. kemm ft mātr marrābā’t fi had-dāś‘ire? (or kemm mātr marrābā’t ft b-had-dāś‘ire?) ‘How many square meters are there in this circle?’

F. ?anu ‘which, what, which one’ may be used either independently or in a noun phrase. Examples (independent):

1. ?anu ‘āḥsan māxam bāl-balad? ‘Which is the best store in town?’

2. ?anu l-‘āṣya l-majūde? ‘Which are the things [that are] missing?’


Examples, in noun phrases:

4. ?anu sāčā baṭṭīr ‘f-ja‘yūra? ‘What time does the plane take off?’ [DA-249]

5. ?anu māḥed baddak? ‘Which one do you want?’


After prepositions:

7. la-?anu maṣṣya raḥīt? [DA-171] ‘Which summer resort did you go to?’

8. haḍ‘raḍ‘a mak maṭan ‘anuwilāye bi ‘anārka? [DA-76] ‘Which state in the United States are you from?’

With feminine (or inanimate plural) nouns, the form ?ani is often used rather than ?anu:

9. ?ani šanta maṭṭet? ‘Which bag did you choose?’

10. ‘ēnta baddon yāṣu, ?ani sāča? ‘When are they supposed to come – at what time?’

In the independent use, the form ?anu may be used for the plural:

11. ?anu ‘mīḍāda ‘Which ones are her children?’

The form ?ay is used in noun phrases in the same way as ?anu:

12. ‘āyya? sāča baddon yāṣu? ‘What time will they come?’
The forms ḥayy and ḥayya are also used in some parts of Greater Syria.

ʔǝna, ʔami, and ʔay may be used with nouns in the non-interrogative sense 'any':

13. ʃʃ ēdaq ḥayy suˤli tənī? 'Have you any other question(s)?'
14. ʔami ʃɑgle ṭahsan ʃan bala 'Any job is better than none'

G.) wən, fən 'where', examples:

1. wən ʔarab ʔotəl? 'Where is the nearest hotel?'
2. fən ʔabha ḥatta ʕoʔed ʕalil ʍ-ʔaxed ʕiditi [DA-298] 'Where is Daddy? [I want to know] so I can give him holiday greetings and get my holiday gift'
3. wən ʔasasti ḥaʕ-ʕarəyed ʔil-qaṭaʔ? 'Where shall I put those old newspapers?'
4. ʔasasti fən ʔabbi rəh ʔal-yən? [DA-300] 'And where might I go today?'
5. hallaʔ wən ʔamalna baʕlʕafil, ya xənəm? 'Now, where have we gotten with the preparation of the food, madam?'

With translocative verbs [p.486] the form la-wən 'where to, whither' is more usual than simply wən or fən as in ex. 4 and 5:

6. la-wən rəyeh hallaʔ? [AO-47] 'Where are you going now?'
7. ʔal-xləff la-wən bissaddiʔ? 'Where does this line lead to?' (Extraposition of la-wən bissaddi ʔal-xləff?)

With man 'from', wən takes the form -ən: wən 'from where?':

8. ʔat-hən wən ʔoʔa kello ʕala ʔafil [DA-153] 'And where have these clouds come from all of a sudden?' (Extraposition)

In many cases wən is translated simply 'where', and in some cases, 'how':

9. wən ʔarət ʔal-bəɾnəʃaʔ 'Where did you buy that hat?'
10. wən ʔaməxəd ʔal-baqq? 'Where do we get the bus?'

11. wən mərəɾəʔ? 'How do we go?' or 'Which way do we go? (Cf. man hən 'this way', mnʷəhnək 'that way')
12. wən ʔəɾʃt? 'How do you know?' or 'Where did you find out?'

In complementary clauses:

13. ʃʃ ʔa-suʔa fəkkart ʕan-tasʔ ʔiʔni wən ʔaʔənte 'And I thought she was asking me, 'Where are you from?''
14. ʃʃ waʔiʃed xaʃaq w-маːhəd ʕan-yadros mə bəcəɾəf wən 'There's one who's finished, and one studying I don't know where'

Predicative wən takes pronoun suffixes as subject [p.547]:

15. wəmə ʔamkənʔ ʔo mə fə ʔada bal-baʃi? 'Mother, where are you all? Isn't there anybody home?'
16. mot-tənə ʔamkənʔ [DA-75] 'And where are the two of them?'
17. wəno ʔabmə ʕamməʔ 'Where is my cousin?' (Comment-topic inversion [p.434])

H.) kif 'how':

1. kif hən ʔaʔaʔ ʕandkon baʔ-booʃ? 'How was the weather where you were in the mountains?'
2. kif ʔoʔəʔaʔ ʔaməɾ bəʃaʔ? 'How is your (lit. "the") health, Samir Pasha?'
3. kif ʔabbi səməʔaʔ? 'How should I do it?'
4. kif ʔaʔəʔaʔ ʔaləcət ʔəbəlbaʃkəʔ [SAL-117] 'How did you like (lit. "find") the castle of Baalbek?'
5. kif ʔəɾʃt ʔamalna ʔonəknaʔ ʔəɾəʃt ʔamən 'How did you know? You're certainly a good guesser!'

In complementary clauses:

6. ləʔəm ʔapʔəʔaʔ ʔamən, ʔal-li kif ʔabbi ʔamən [AO-116] 'I must kill you immediately; tell me how you want to die'
7. bəcəɾəf kif ʔən-ŋaːhət həkə bigəμəɾ ʔəl-ʃarə mə ʔən-səməʔa l-ʃaməʔa yaːnən 'You know how the sculptor sort of depicts the woman from the hidden recesses, so to speak'
Note also the common expressions ëayef kif? ‘See how it is?’, (also lāhašî kif?), ëraft kif? ‘Know what I mean?’, and the like.

kif (like ëa [p.570] has two kinds of exclamatory use:

8. šu mā fi ëandak samak?
   - kif mā fi! [DA-17]
   ‘Don’t you have any fish? – Of course I do! (How [could it be that] there is none!’)

The milder exclamatory kif introduces questions, in much the same way as šu:

9. kif, ëax̌-ëtkā wāšn̂fôn?
   ‘Well, did you like Washington?’

The predicative kif (ex. 1, 2) takes pronoun suffixes [p.547], especially in asking ‘How are you?’: kifâk, kifkon.

I. ëlān ‘how’ is not generally used in the coastal regions; in Damascus it is used in some of the same ways as kif. Examples:

1. dašlāk ëlān ‘-l-hāle halla
   bi-šīn fransisko? [DA-77]
   ‘Say, how are things now in San Francisco?’

2. ëlān baddak ‘r-ra?be?
   [DA-179]
   ‘How do you want the neck?’ (barber speaking)

3. ëlān ‘è-t-tamārā k-e-ōdē, nāš̃īla bāset ë-deb
   ‘k-e-ōmārē?’
   ‘How about the new skirt? Has it won the admiration of the multitudes?’

4. ëlān målišī ëyaša
   b-hal-bard? [DA-198]
   ‘How could you let him go out in this cold?’

5. ëlān šëfto hal-məstaʃa?
   ‘What do you think of this hospital?’ (‘How do you see...’, lit. ‘How have you seen...’) Comment-topic inversion [p.434]

ëlān also takes pronoun suffixes in the role of subject:
ëlān k? ‘How are you?’.

6. ëlānhon ‘ömâlja mabgūfīn?
   ‘How are they? Well, I trust?’

7. m-nëk b-šagl ‘-l-bēt?
   [DA-99]
   ‘And how are you(f.) at housework?’

J.) ëmta ‘when’:

1. ëmta ëayin – yaʃnì ëmta
   baddon yāwū, sâda məbañ more
   bōl-lê? lë yek-lək fakre
   ‘When are they coming? – Well when would they come? One o’clock in the morning? Not likely!’

2. ëmta ëandak wa’t
   ‘mamānōl ěs-sū?
   ‘Father, when will you have time [so that] we can go down to the market?’

3. ëmta l-µûmûn byôbdô?
   ‘How long ago was that?’ (lit. ‘Since when...’)

   In complementary clauses:

4. man ëmta kôn hûdô?
   ‘When does the season begin?’

5. bi’āl ëmta bayaʃì? [PVA-2]
   ‘Does he say when he’s coming?’

6. ëaay ëhmad ëmta baddo
   yāsi
   ‘See when Ahmed intends to come’ (With extraposition of subject in complementary clause [cf. ex. 19, p.569])

K.) lë ‘why’:

1. lë yèm? kant lâsem
   tawa marliš bal-bêt
   [DA-218]
   ‘Why did you go out? You should have stayed and rested at home’.

2. šu ëyyaʃuk w-şkàywa w-lëk
   kant bal-lômômô?
   [DA-116]
   ‘What’s your story, and why were you in the bottle?’

3. ëk lañun lëy ëayef yisə
   mâ baʃraʃa?
   ‘All right then, why are you afraid if I don’t know he’s?’

4. lëk hal-labake, lëk
   labaktu hâlikon hal-‘add?
   ‘Why this bother? Why did you(pl.) go to so much trouble?’

5. lëk ‘-trēn kəl hal-‘add
   məcâlî ‘l-yom?
   ‘Why is the train so crowded today?’

6. lëk ya tara has-ʃuł
   êarda? [DA-250]
   ‘I wonder why these plains are bare?’

   In complementary clauses:

7. ha?yottie mâ baʃref lëk
   masrûd fiyiyi...
   ‘I really don’t know why I’ve had to...’

The form lë (or lêk) is also heard in various parts of Greater Syria. lëk is a reduced form of la-?ëk ‘what for’ (cf. ?addāk = ?add + ?ëk ‘amount of what’). ?ëk is in its turn a syncopated form of ?aay ëa ‘what thing’.
INDEX

Arabic words, affixes, and grammatical terms are alphabetized in the order shown on page 1.

-\(\alpha\) (base-formative suffix) 165, 374
(See also \(-\epsilon/-\alpha\))
-\(\alpha\) (base-formative suffix) 164, 210, 212, 374
Absolute object 442
Abstract nouns 284, 368
Abstractive verbs 252
Accentuation
  word - 17
  phrase - 21
  - in inversion 419
  - in negation 383
  - in substitution questions 566
Active participles 262, 265
formation of - 258
Actuality 320
Adjectival use of imperfect 328,409
Adjectives
  adjectival constructs 466
  attributive - 501
  base patterns 125
derivation 257
inflectional forms 201
predicate - 403
uninflected 428, 501
Adverbs 515
derived - 517
Adverbial
  - adjectives 520
  - clauses 528
  - noun complements 441
  - noun supplements 521
Agent (\(\text{al-}\text{/\(\text{Bzl}\)) 401 fn (See also Subject)
Agentive adjectives 278
Agreement
  number/gender - 420, 501
  person - 364
  - in definition 493, 500
  - of linking verb with complementary verb 413, 452
  - of sequent with antecedent 535
  - of \\
  weakened, \\
weakened 509, 510
-\(\alpha\) 539, 540
Alternative questions 395
-\(\text{\(\alpha\)} (adverb formative) 517
Anaphora 537
Anaphoric coordination 394
Anaphoric sequence 535
  - substitutes 535
  - suppression 537
Anaptysis 29
Animate 420
Annex (\(\text{\(\alpha\)} following term in nominal and prepositional annexion 455)
Annexion 455
  - adjective - 466
  - elative and ordinal - 473
  - forms (See Construct forms 162)
  - nominal - 471
  - partitive - 466
  - periphrasis of - 460
  - prepositional - 476
  - relationships expressed by - 461
  - substantive - 465
Annunciatory 325
Antecedent 535
Antecedent state 274
Anticipation 322
Anticipatory pronoun (see 434)
Answer words 536
Applicative verbs 256
Apposition, appositives 506
Article prefix (or proclitic) 493
  - before \\
  mâ, \\
\(\text{\(\text{\(\alpha\)}\)} 504
  - in adjectival constructs 466
  - in numeral constructs 471
  - in substantive constructs 456
Ascriptive verbs 243
Aspects. Aspectual verb types 269, 271 (See also 319 fn)
Assimilation
  - of - 27
  - of \(\text{\(\alpha\)} - 180, 477
devoicing 26
velarization 26
voicing and spirantization of \(\text{\(\alpha\)} - 86, 179
voicing of \(-\) - 100
Asyndetic coordination 398
-\(\text{\(\alpha\)} \text{(base-formative suffix)} 164, 210, 212, 374
-\(\text{\(\alpha\)} (plural suffix) 214, 201
Attributes 493
  - adjective - 501
  - nominal - 506
  - prepositional - 500
Attributive
  - clauses 495, 497
  - words and phrases 500
  - numerals 509
Augmentative verbs 253
Subordinate clauses
adverbial - 528
annexion - 490
attributive - 495
circumstantial - 531
complemental - 449
conditional - 331
prepositional - 490
relative -(See Attribution -495)
subjunctive in - 345
supplemental - 528
word order in - 411

Subordination (See Complementation 437, Annexion 455, Attribution 493, Supplementation 515)
tense subordination 340
Subsequent state 269
Substantives 382
substantive annexation 456
Substantivization of adjectives 276, 281, 304, 465
Substitutes 535
Substitution questions 379, 566
Suffixed pronouns 539, 541
Suffixed-supporting vowel 167-8
"Sun letters" (al-∫urūf ∫-damsiya) 493
Superlative (See Elative 310)
Supplements 515
sentence - 526
Supplemental clauses 528
Supporting vowel 167-8, 177
Sympoic
loss of e and o 28
stems with -e- suffixes 482
Syndromic coordination 394
-∫e negative enclitic 383
šarī (.= protasis, conditional clause 331)
ša- 564
št 142
partitive 467, 470
- with negative 386, 387
interrogative particle 378
hāft-št 555
št 490
štūn 576
šmāl 507
šō 568
š 338
šāwye partitive 467, 470
supplemental 522
šūr 452, 448 bottom, 354 ff
šifa 497
šim - (See Adjective)