A Reference Grammar
of
Syrian Arabic

MARK W. COWELL

THE RICHARD SLADE HARRELL ARABIC SERIES

ISBN 0-87840-009-5

90000

9 780878 400096

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

OF

SYRIAN ARABIC

(based on the dialect of Damascus)

by

Mark W. Cowell

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.

Inquiries as to prices, details of subscription, etc., should be sent to the Director of Publications, Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., 20007.

THE ARABIC RESEARCH PROGRAM
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

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 journalese 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.

---

[1]Arabists 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.

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 1, 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 come 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.

---

[1]The 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.

[2]In 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 orientale*[1] have been used intensively as sources of illustrative sentences, and Barthélemy's *Dictionaire 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 Damascene 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 Jallad and to Mary C. Chapple, both of whom did a great deal of valuable collation from texts and dictionairies.

As native-speaking consultants, Ziad H. Idilby and Abdul Khalek Jallad 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, Carolee 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

---

[1]Many 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

AO   J. Cantineau and Y. Helbaoui, *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe orientale (parler de Damas)*. Paris, 1953.

Bart.   A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français (Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem)*. Paris, 1935-1954.

Bauer   L. Bauer, *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch der Umgangssprache in Palästina und im Libanon*. Unter Mitwirkung von Anton Spitaler. 2. Auflage. Wiesbaden, 1957.

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

Cr.   A.J.M. Craig, *A Conversation Grammar of Colloquial Arabic*. Shemlan (Lebanon), 1956 (mimeographed).

DA   Charles A. Ferguson, with Moukhtar Ani and others, *Damascus Arabic* (Available from the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C.) 1961.

EA   Frank A. Rice and Majed F. Sa'id, *Eastern Arabic: An Introduction to the Spoken Arabic of Palestine, Syria and Lebanon*. Beirut, 1960.

PAT   Hassan El-Hajjé, *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Liban)*. Paris, 1954.

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

PVA   E. Lator, *Parlez-vous arabe? Arabe libano-syrien*. Beirut, 1953.

RN   Raphael Nakhla, *Grammaire du dialecte libano-syrien (phonétique, morphologie et syntaxe)*. Two volumes. Beirut, 1937-1938

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

SPA   Michel Feghali, *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban*. Paris, 1928.

SVSA   Haim Blanc, 'Style Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Inter-dialectal Educated Conversation', in *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, C. A. Ferguson, editor. Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani, *A Dictionary of Syrian Arabic (Dialect of Damascus): English-Arabic*. Washington, D. C., 1964.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART IIB: INFLECTIONAL FORMS

PART IIIA: DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES

PART IIIB: INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

PART IV: SYNTAX

<div align="center">

CHAPTER 1: SOUNDS

</div>

TRANSCRIPTION

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

OUR SPELLING	ARABIC LETTER	PRONUNCIATION DESCRIBED ON page:	OUR SPELLING	ARABIC LETTER	PRONUNCIATION DESCRIBED ON page:
a	[*fatḥa*]	11	*q*	ق	4
b, (*ḅ*)	ب	2, (6)	*r*, (*ṛ*)	ر	5, (6)
(*č*)		4	*s*	س	3
d	د	3	*š*	ش	3
ḍ	ض	6	*ṣ*	ص	6
e		10	*t*	ت	3
ə		10	*ṭ*	ط	6
f	ف	2	*u*	[*ḍamma*]	9
g		4	(*v*)		2
ġ	غ	4	*w*	و	9
(*ǧ*)	ع	3	*x*	خ	4
h	ه	5	*y*	ي	9
ḥ	ح	4	*z*	ز	3
i	[*kasra*]	9	*ž*	ج	3
k	ك	4	*ẓ*	ظ	6
l, (*ḷ*)	ل	5, (6)	*ʿ*	ع	4
m, (*ṃ*)	م	5, (6)	*ʾ*, (*ʾ*)	ء	5, (6)
n, (*ṇ*)	ن	5, (6)	(*θ*)	ث	3
o		10	(*δ*)	ذ	3
(*p*)		2	(*ẓ̌*)	ظ	6

    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, ē, ī, ō, ū. Long consonants are indicated by doubling the letter: bb, ss, kk, etc. [p.15].

The small raised letter ˀ is pronounced the same as ə [p.30].

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

Note to Learners

Since the Arabic in this book is exclusively <u>conversational</u> Arabic, mere familiarity with the way it is transcribed in writing counts for nothing. Familiarity with the live <u>sound</u> 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 OBSTRUENTS: 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, x, ḥ, q, s, š, ṣ, t, ṭ) and sometimes at the end of a phrase. Examples (fully voiced): bāl, byə́ži, ˀabú, biḥə́bbon, brúde, byə́bda, tə́bˀa, bbárṭel; (devoiced or partially devoiced): btə́bki, btə́šrab, bšīl.

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 paspṓr (or basbṓr) 'passport', ˀawrúppa (or ˀawrə́bba) 'Europe', pansyṓn '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 z, d, or other voiced oral obstruents. Examples (voiceless) fáras, fīl, flā́ḥa, ftákar, ˀəfˀəl, ˍdáftar, xáffef, sfənž, ˀalf; (voiced): ˀafḍal (pron. ˀávḍal), ḥafz (pron. ḥavz).

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: krāve (or grā́fe) 'necktie', nárvaz (or nárfaz) 'to disturb, make nervous', veránda 'balcony', brā́vo (or brā́bo) 'bravo'. This sound

is written 'f' wherever it may be treated as a contextual variant of f; and 'v' only otherwise.

PLAIN DENTAL OBSTRUENTS: d, t, z, s, (δ, θ).

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, dirā́se, drūs, džə́dwwaz, bádal, bə́ddo, ˀáddi, zdād, wáḥˀdna, bərdˀán, baˀdúnes, dxūl, dmúⱸa.

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: tā́xod, ttáfaˀ, ˀatī́l, tlā́te, ˀáttat, strī́ḥ, bətḥə́ll, mə́tˀt, tmā́ne, tšā́wer, btəštrī́ḥa, žāmə́ⱸtna, smaⱸt, t-tnēn, tˀīl, txūt.

z, **Voiced Alveolar Sibilant.** Somewhat sharper (higher pitched) than most kinds of English z. Examples: zād, zdall, hazzét, ⱸanze, zīd, ˀə́zzam, həzz, ˀázhar, z-zhūr, zrīⱸa, ⱸazīz, ḥzērán.

s, **Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant.** Generally sharper and stronger than most kinds of English s as in 'sell', 'hiss'. Examples: sáyyed, siyā́se, ˀasā́s, ˀássas, ḥəss, stáḥsan, sfáržel, snā́wla, žəns, žə́smi, s-sə́dˀs, ˀáslam.

δ, **Voiced Interdental Spirant.** Like English th in 'this'. Not used in urban Syrian Arabic, but only in certain rural dialects, corresponding to Classical ذ and urban Syrian d or z: hā́δa 'this' (for hā́da), ˀíδa 'if' (for ˀíza).

θ, **Voiceless Interdental Spirant.** Like English th in 'think'. Rare in urban Syrian Arabic: θáwra (or sáwra) 'revolution', θiqa (or síqa) 'trust', θaqā́fa (or saqā́fe) 'culture', ḥadī́θ (or ḥadī́s) '(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 ث and urban Syrian t: θā́ni 'second' (for tā́ni), etc.

PALATAL OBSTRUENTS: ž, (ǧ), š, (č), g, k.

ž, **Voiced Slit Spirant.** Like the French j, or the English -si- in 'vision', but somewhat sharper and stronger. Examples: žāž, hážže, ž-žázar, ḥážar, žə́mˀžme mžə́dwwaz, məⱸˀžze, ḥažž, mažbūr, džə́dwwaz, žnéne, žyūš, ždād, lāžˀīn.

ǧ, **Voiced Affricate.** Like English j and dg in 'judge'. Used in the Aleppo region, and in rural dialects in various parts of Greater Syria, instead of ž.

š, **Voiceless Slit Spirant.** Somewhat sharper and stronger than English sh in 'shine', 'wash'. Examples: šāl, šex, šə́rˀš, wašš, dášser, šrīṭ, štágal, šhūr, mā́šye, məšt, tšūf, š-šáraf, mšína, šⱸēl.

č, **Voiceless Affricate.** Like English ch in 'church'. Occurs in certain words in the Aleppo region, e.g. čūx 'cloth' (elsewhere žūx) čálbane 'elegance, chic' (elsewhere šálbane); and in certain rural dialects elsewhere, in place of k in certain positions: čān 'was' (for kān), čalb 'dog' (for kalb).

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: sigára 'cigarette', ʔənglīzi 'English', gádaɛ 'brave fellow', gdīš 'horse, nag', šángal 'hook', ɛgāl 'cord headband'.

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: kîf, kə́hᵊl, kūɛ, kámel, krēk, šákwak, máksab, hə́kme, mᵊákked, kfūf, ktāb, rkōd, hkắye, byə́kšfu, bə́msko.

POST-VELAR OBSTRUENTS: x, ġ, q.

x, **Voiceless Spirant.** Generally involves both uvular trill and velar "scrape". Like German ch in 'Bach'. Examples: xōx, dáxxal, mə́sxara, sə́xne, wə́sex, sīx, žaxxīx, xtáraɛ, txāf, sxúne, btə́xsel, xnắ²a, də́xt, xrās.

ġ, **Voiced Spirant.** Generally a smooth spirant, involving neither trill nor scrape, but stronger than Spanish g in 'lago'. Examples: ġáli, ġūl, šə́ġᵊl, šáġgal, šaġgīl, ġyāb, tġīb, balágna, máblaġ, sāġ, zġīr, gráybe, ʔáġniya.

q, **Voiceless Uvular Stop.** Generally, though not always, unaspirated. In urban speech it occurs mainly in classicisms, and in some words is replaceable by ʔ. Certain rural dialects, however, have q generally corresponding to Classical ق and urban Syrian ʔ. Examples: ʔəstəqlál (or ʔəstəʔlál), qə́nsol (or ʔə́nsol), huqúq (or hᵊū²), qard, qrūd, l-qurʔán.

PHARYNGEAL OBSTRUENTS: ḥ, ɛ.

ḥ, **Voiceless Spirant.** Usually with strong friction but without scrape. (Must not be confused with x or with h). Examples: ḥále, ḥīle, ḥōd, hə́zb, bắhᵊr, wāhed, bahhára, hsāb, hsēn, hkī-lna, ʔáhla, théwan, bhə́bba, mahbúb, sáleh, rūh, sahīh, sə́hhəhu, mə́lᵊh, mnāh, rəht, lhə́²ni, zə́lᵊhfe, hzērán.

> The use of a subscript dot in transcribing the sound ḥ does <u>not</u> signify any relationship to the velarized sounds, also transcribed with the dot [p-6].

ɛ, **Voiced Spirant.** A smooth but tense spirant, without the friction noise of ḥ. (Must not be confused with ġ or with ʔ.) Examples: ɛāl, ɛaníd, ɛōd, ɛīd, ɛēn, baɛīd, bắɛes, šīɛi, bāɛ, bēɛ, šanīɛ, xáraɛ, mamnūɛ, báɛɛad, báɛᵊd, saɛáde, ɛyáde, ɛtána, bəɛtə́²ed, btə́ɛni, btáɛti, btə́²ɛod, mɛáyade, muɛīn, šáɛɛlo, šɛāɛ.

LARYNGEALS: h, ʔ.

h, **Glottal Continuant.** Much the same as English h, but generally with the larynx more open and more breath exhaled. Tends to be voiced when short between vowels or before voiced consonants, otherwise voiceless. Examples: hōl, háda, həzz, dáhᵊr, mə́hᵊr, mahúl, sáhhal, fahhə́mni, máhlak, mə́hne, bahlúl, hləkt, mhəmm, muntázah, mnə́bbeh, mašbúh, zhūr, ráhbane, htáret, shúle, ʔáshor, dhān.

ʔ, **Glottal Catch.** Like the interruption in the middle of the English interjections 'oh-oh!' and 'unh-unh'. Examples: ʔāl, ʔáhᵊl, ʔīs, raʔīs, lá²a, ra²²ás, rá²be, btə́²mor, ²mōr, ʔrūš, bʔūl, más²ale, sába², wa²t, s²īni, s²āl, btə́²ᵊdru, bá²²a, ra²²sú, htára², ²tōl, sū², ²táɛo, s²ā², hᵊū².

RESONANTS: m, n, l, r.

m, **Labial Nasal.** Labiodental before f, otherwise bilabial. Like English m. Avoid anticipatory denasalization before spirants — i.e. do not allow a 'p' glide to slip in after the m in words like ʔams (not "ʔamps"), ʔəmf (not "ʔəmpf"). Examples:. māl, mūs, ʔámal, ʔámro, mrār, tʔámmal, ɛambar, ʔúmam, ʔām, hammām, mtáblaž, mhūra, mžáwwaze, mmárrda, mmássel, rmádi, lmə́sa, mbála, mfárnaž, ʔə́mmhon.

n, **Non-labial Nasal.** Similar to English n. Has the same point of articulation as a following dental or palatal obstruent (including g, k), otherwise alveolar. Avoid anticipatory denasalization before spirants: bánzel (not "bə́ndzel"). Examples: nāl, nūn, žəns, bənt, ngə́sal, ʔənsán, nšūf, ntdha, bánna, ʔə́nnon, nnām, n²átal, bənž, nžās, nhára, nsáha; (pronounced ng as in 'ink'): sónge, ʔanglīzi, bánkor, nkásar.

l, **Lateral.** Similar to "light" or "bright" English l as in 'link', 'let', not like "dark" or "heavy" l as in most kinds of English 'ball', hulk'. Tends to be nasalized in some positions, especially when long or after a long vowel; English speakers may sometimes mistake it for an n. Examples: laff, lázem, lōn, līfe, zāl, lēl, fūl, hōl, ʔalīl, ʔállel, dállo, žalláaf, mʔállef, l-lúga, llūm, ltága, ʔə́lt, ʔə́tel, ʔámᵊl, tláte, l-yōm.

r, **Apical Trill.** A single tap when short, a multiple trill when long (rr). Tends to devoice before voiceless oral obstruents and sometimes finally; otherwise voiced. Examples: rās, ríše, ró̆hle, rūh, ɛárab, žaras, žarād, žaríde, žīrán, žardōn, bárd, brúde, trāb, zríɛa, šrāb, ʔágrab, sə́ɛro, nār, ndhᵊr, zūr, dīr, rtáta, bərd²án, rsās, rrūh, márra, barrīd, hárra, dárar.

VELARIZATION [1] *(at-tafxīm):* *ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, (ẟ), ḅ, ṃ, ṇ, ḷ, ṛ, (ʔ).*

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 *ḥ* [p.4] is <u>not</u> one of the velarized sounds; its dot is merely to distinguish it from *h*.)

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:

Plain			Velarized	
tīn	'figs'	....	*ṭīn*	'mud'[2]
dīm	'perpetuate'	....	*ḍīm*	'hurt'
sēf	'sword'	....	*ṣēf*	'summer'
būz	'muzzle'	....	*būẓ*	'ice'

---

[1] The term 'velarization' is not altogether satisfactory as a name for this phonological component. Note that the post-velar sounds *x*, *ġ*, and *q* 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 *ḥ* and *ʕ* 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.

[2] Velarized *ṭ* is usually unaspirated while plain *t* is somewhat aspirated.

	Plain			Velarized	
bába	'her door'	....	*ḅába*		'papa'
wálla	'he appointed'	......	*wáḷḷa*		'by God' (mild oath)
máyyet	'dead'	....	*ṃayy*		'water'
náyem	'asleep'	....	*ṇāy*		'shepherd's flute'
žári	'flowing'	....	*žāṛi*		'my neighbor'
ʔáššar	'he signalled'	......	*ʔáššaṛ*		'he peeled'

Speakers of English and many other languages are apt to be more sensitive to the effects of velarization on contiguous <u>vowels</u> than to the differences between plain and velarized consonants themselves. Compare *dall* 'to indicate' with *ḍaḷḷ* 'to remain', *sadd* 'close, block' with *ṣaḍḍ* '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: *ḍaḷḷ, ṃaḅṣū́ṭ, ẓáḅeṭ*.

The dental obstruents *t/ṭ*, *d/ḍ*, *s/ṣ*, and *z/ẓ* 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 *bə́ṭlaʕ*, for example, the dot under the 't' implies that the *b*, the *ə*, and the *l* 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:

ḍ	ṭ	ṣ	ẓ	Others
ḍaww	ṭāb	ṣāb	ẓā́lem	ʔálla
ḍēf	ṭēr	ṣēḍ	ẓonnā́r	ḅálla
ḍā́ḍaḍ	ṭōʔ	ṣōb	ẓuhū́r	ɛárab
ḍ-ḍugū́ṭ	ṭūl	ṣúra	ẓġîr	ʔalmā́ni
bîḍ	žāṭ	ṣîṣā́n	faẓíɛ	bank
máraḍ	máṭar	wóṣex	ʔaẓónn	veránda
fáḍḍal	ṭaṭɛîm	byóṣref	ʔáẓlam	ʔámaṛ
bóḍrob	ṭḥîn	nā́ṣer	byóẓhar	
ḍhūr	nóṭṭi	ʔaṣṣā́ṣ	mẓállaṭ	
ḍžîž	móšṭ	ḥṣān	báduweẓ	

In some parts of Greater Syria, the plain/velarized distinction with certain consonants is suppressed. In Damascus, for instance, there is no contrast between r and ṛ in the same contexts; žā́ri 'flowing' and žā́ṛi 'my neighbor' are pronounced alike [p. 12]. In other regions the r/ṛ 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 r is ordinarily not marked.

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

> Except for ʔ/ʔ̣ and a few other marginal cases[1], 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.

[1] There is a certain amount of regional and stylistic variation between x and x̣, ġ and ġ̣, q and q̣.

VOWELS (AND SEMIVOWELS): i (and y), u (and w), e, o, ə, a.

i, High Front Vowel

Long ī is similar to the English i in 'machine', but not diphthongized or as lax as it commonly is in English. Examples: brīd, kīf, fīʔ, šī, níto, ɛīd, ʔīmā́n, žībí-li, nəsí.

Short i is much the same in quality as long ī, though sometimes not so high and tense; less high and tense than the French i of 'vite', 'ici'. Examples: binā́m, ʔíza, šífa, hánito, ṣábi, kóli, rah-ikū́n, dirā́se.

Next to a velarized consonant, i has a retracted sound [ɨ] similar to Russian ы: biṣír, ḍīf, bîḍ, niẓā́m, ṣífa. (Compare this with the sound of ə [p. 10] in certain contexts: ṣífa vs. naššófa; the latter is lower, laxer, and more forward. The sound of ə in the velarized contexts, e.g. byūṣófa, is lower and farther back.)

The non-syllabic version of i — transcribed 'y'[1] — is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic i, sometimes slightly shorter. It does not tend to develop palatal friction. Examples (short): yōm, yatím, šāy, ṭáyfe, nā́yem, bayā́n, byára, híyal, hánye, yšīl.

Non-syllabic and long (yy), it is higher and tenser (but still does not have palatal friction): sayyára, ġayyū́r, ṭáyyeb, ʔiyyā́m, hayy.

u, High Back Rounded Vowel

Long ū is rounder and tenser than English u in 'rude', and is monophthongal. Examples: šūf, brúde, būlā́d, byū́ṣal, mū, hattū́.

Short u has much the same quality as long ū, but is sometimes less high and tense. Less high and tense than French ou in 'voulez', 'cou' Examples: suʔā́l, fáruha, ʔúmam, dúwal, lúġa, hólu, muɛín, muttáhed.

The non-syllabic version of u — transcribed 'w'[2] — is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic u, though it may be slightly shorter and higher. Examples (short): wā́di, wóṣel, dáwle, wlād, háwal, žádwal, law.

Non-syllabic and long (ww), it is somewhat higher and tenser: ʔáwwal, xawwíf, ɛadówwi, húwwe, w-wálado.

[1] In 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 phonemes [p. 13, footnote 2].

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

e, Higher-Mid Front Vowel

Long $\bar{e}$ 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 é as in 'zéro', but not as tense. Examples: *bēt, zéba⁹, ⁹ēlū́l, trēn, šēx, ⁹ažré̜, žnēnótkon, bēbé̜.*

Short *e* has more or less the same quality as long $\bar{e}$ — between the i of English 'sit' and the é of French 'été'. Examples: *málek, byólbes, táyyeb, ḥā́le, bóke, ⁹amerkānī̆yye.* (Short e does not ordinarily occur accented [p.28].)

Next to a velarized consonant, *e* has a somewhat retracted sound [ė]: *ẓábeṭ, sēḍ, báwweẓ, ṭēr, wóṣex.*

Before a pharyngeal (*h, ε*), short *e* has a slightly lowered sound: *ṣā́leh, móryeh, bóšeε, man⁹d̩teε.*

o, Higher-Mid Back Rounded Vowel

Long $\bar{o}$ 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 ó in 'côte', only not so tense. Examples: *kṓl, xṓd, ktōb, bṓrad, žóze, mōzát, bōráma, māyó̜.*

Short *o* has about the same quality as long $\bar{o}$ — between the oo of British English 'look' and the o of French 'zéro'. Examples: *byómlok, bóⁿtol, bēto, ⁹otél, ⁹ashor, móšmoš.* (Short o does not ordinarily occur accented [p.28].)

ə, Higher-Mid Central Vowel

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

The most forward pronunciation of *ə* — like the i in 'sit' (but always clipped short, never drawled or diphthongized) — occurs only next to plain dentals (*t, d, s, n, l*) or after *y*, when no back vowel (*o, u*) or velarized sound (*ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ,* etc.) is in its neighborhood. Examples: *sətt, dóllni, tónsa, byóskar, təshdbha, tólᵊt, zón-li, ləzzé̜⁹a, təlmī́z.*

The lowest pronunciation of *ə* — between the e in 'pet' and the u in 'putt' — occurs before pharyngeals (*h, ε*): *btóhki, nóhna, sóεᵊr, žámᵊε, byəεtóni, bilóhh.* (This is very similar to the sound of *a* in certain contexts — but not in these contexts. The *a* in *rásme*, for example, is much like the *ə* in *róhle*, while the *a* before pharyngeals is considerably lower, e.g. *ráhme.*)

Several different factors tend to make *ə* sound more like the u in 'put' and less like the i in 'pit', especially when working in combination. These factors are velarization (caused by proximity of *t, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ,* etc.), backing (caused by contiguity with a back consonant, especially *x* or *ġ*), rounding (caused by contiguity with labials or *w*). An *o* or *u* in the following syllable causes both backing and rounding. Contiguous *r* may also have a slight backing effect. Examples: *dəḍḍ, səbb, həṭṭ, btóṣal, ⁹ód̩ᵊwye, εadóww, l-ᵊwrá́⁹, róḍa, mərr, ⁹óxti, šóġᵊl, rób⁹ε, bó⁹tol, hólu, ⁹rómfol, wóššo, bẓənn, ⁹ómmi, εódu, ẓəbbā́ṭ.*[1]

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

a, Low Vowel

a has a wide range of values, varying between sounds similar to those of English e in 'pet', a in 'pat', u in 'putt', 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): *bass, laff, fazz, dall, madd, sabb, takk, žadd, šakk, kam, sánad, másalan, zálzale, málek, maždlle, dóššer, báladi, sdžžal, ḥī́yal, kasū́l, mamnū́ε, yasū́ε, yatī́m, ballṓr.*

At the end of a word, short *a* tends to be slightly lower and farther back: *sóda, bódda, tónsa, šánta, ⁹óža.*

Long $\bar{a}$ 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: *kān, fās, zād, dāl, šāzz, š-šām, mólo, tyāb, ktāf, kátbe, nabát, rəžžāl, šəbbāk, siyyás, žāžát.*

In the Damascus pronunciation $\bar{a}$ 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 *ā́.* Examples: *mā, yā, mubālá̄, xabbá̄, εašá̄.*

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 $\bar{a}$ after a back consonant, especially *h* or *ε*, may be less high and front than it is after a front consonant.[2] Examples: *εāl, ḥāl, xāl, ġāl, ⁹āl, rād; xadd,*

---

[1] With a maximum of backing and rounding, *ə* tends to alternate with *u*: *⁹ebúwwe/⁹ubúwwe, εadóww/εadúww, ⁹awróbba/⁹awrúbba,* etc. [See p.13.]

[2] This backing effect may sometimes be due to velarization: *⁹ā́l* (for *⁹āl*), *xā́l* (for *xāl*), *rā́s* (for *rās*), *maqā́l* (for *maqā́l*). In other instances, however, the backing may be too slight to attribute to velarization.

ḥazz, ġánna, ʔábᵊl, wálad, radd, staqáll, ḥáda.

Long *ā* after *q* is commonly pronounced farther back: *maqā̃l, qānū̃n.*[1]

Before a pharyngeal (*ḥ, ɛ*), *a* has a low sound, generally more to the front than the usual American pronunciation of the a in 'father': *bāɛ, lāḥ, ráɛi, yáɛni, záḥle.* In some of the coastal regions long *ā* in open syllables before *ḥ* or *ɛ* is considerably higher, however, especially if there is an *i* or *e* in the following syllable: *sā̃ɛa, wāḥed.*

Before *r* (in the Damascus pronunciation) *a* has a somewhat retracted and lowered sound similar to that of Middlewestern American a in 'far', 'part' (but without the retroflection): *fār, bárra, bárᵊd, márto, dā̃ra, ʔárbɛa.* In many other parts of Greater Syria, however, plain *r* causes little or no retraction or lowering, while velarized *ṛ* causes considerably more than the Damascus *r* [p.8].

Before back consonants other than pharyngeals, especially in closed syllables, *a* commonly has a retracted and slightly lowered pronunciation: *ʔaxx, ʔáḥwe, law, ʔáwwal, ʔáġla, báʔʔa, bã̄xra, dāx, manã̄x.*

When *a* is followed by a single consonant plus *i* or *e* in the next syllable, the backing effect of back consonants or *r* or *w* is counteracted, and the *a* is more or less "standard": *bã̄red, sã̄wi, dã̄xel, saxíf, bã̄ʔi.*

a next to front consonants only is also somewhat raised and fronted by a following *i* or *e,*, so that the *a* is slightly higher and more forward than standard: *mã̄ši, bāli, máyyet.*

In the vicinity of a velarized consonant, *a* 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: *baṭṭ, faẓíɛ, ṣabb, ḥáṭab, ṃayy, ʔálḷa, ẓã̄lem, bṣã̄ṭ, ṣṭã̄d.*

When followed by a pharyngeal, velarized *a* is lower — in the approximate position of American o in 'pot': *ṣaḥḥ, máɛᵊṭ, ḍāɛ.* (This lowering is minimized, however, if *i* or *e* follows in the next syllable: *ḍã̄hye, ṣã̄ḥi.*)

---

[1] See Footnote 2, p. 11.

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 *ə* as a functionally distinct sound[1]; for them the front pronunciations corresponding to *ə* may be considered variants of *i*, and the back pronunciations, variants of *u*[2]; some of the more central *ə*-sounds are replaced by more *i*-like or *u*-like sounds, varying locally. For example:

nə́si	= *nísi*	*bəthə́ṭṭ*	=	*bithúṭṭ*
šə́ġᵊl	= *šúġᵘl*	*byəktə́b-lak*	=	*byiktíb-lak* or *b(y)uktúb-lak*
bihə́bb	= *bihíbb*	*kəll*	=	*kill* or *kull*

In Lebanon, furthermore, many speakers generally do not differentiate between word-final *e* and *i* or between *o* and *u*. In their pronunciation *wárde* 'a rose' sounds just like *wárdi* 'rose-colored', and *táraku* 'he left it', like *táraku* '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 individual variation: *mə́šmoš* = *múšmuš, byə́hmel* = *byíhmil.*

The system of six short vowels represented in our transcription, then, is for some speakers reducible to five (eliminating *ə*), 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 *o* vs. *u* and *e* vs. *i* — functionally insignificant.

There is one noteworthy variation in the occurrence (distribution) of the short vowel *a*. In central and northern Lebanon, and to some extent elsewhere, unaccented *a* before a single consonant disappears in many kinds of words: *mṣã́ri* (for *maṣã́ri*), *bárke* or *bárki* (for *bárake*), *mádᵊrse* or *mádᵊrsi* (for *madrase*), *l-hawn* (for *la-hṓn*), *ɛlayk* (for *ɛalḗk*), *tɛállmet* (for *tɛállamet*), *zmẽn* (for *zamān*).

---

[1] The functional autonomy of *ə* is marginal at best. (Its contrast with *i* can be heard in the phrase *ʔíza ʔə́ža* 'if he comes'.) Some speakers, however, usually pronounce *ʔə́za* instead of *ʔíza;* for them the difference is (if anything) stylistic, like that between *mə́mken* and *múmken* 'possible'. The use of *ə* in these words (for some speakers) is more informal or "folksy", while *i* and *u* are more elegant or Classical-sounding.

[2] Insofar as *i* and *u* merge with *ə*, they cannot be equated with *y* and *w*. This is because the sequences *-yí-* and *-wí-* (corresponding to *-yə́-* and *-wə́-*) remain distinct from *-í-* and *-ú-*, respectively. For example *l-wuld* 'the descendants' (= *l-wəld*) is not pronounced *"l-ūld"*. (If *i* = *y* and *u* = *w*, then *yi* = *ī, wu* = *ū*.)

Before two consonants (or a long consonant) in certain kinds of words, unaccented *a* is not lost but is changed to *ə* in these dialects (or to *i* before *y*, *u* before *w*): *bərtált* (for *bartált*), *nəžžár* (for *nažžár*), *zəɛlḗn* (for *zaɛlán*), *siyyára* (for *sayyára*), *buwwáb* (for *bawwáb*).

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 *ē* and *ō* are replaced in most words[1] by the diphthongs *ay* and *aw*, respectively: *bayt* 'house' (for *bēt*), *hawn* 'here' (for *hōn*), *ɛ(a)láy* 'on it' (for *ɛalḗ*). In some words *ō* remains, however, notably in masculine/singular imperatives: *drōs* 'study', *kōl* 'eat'.

The vowel *ē* in these dialects (when not replaced by *ay*) is commonly replaced by *ɛ̄* — a sound slightly lower[2] than *ē*: *nzɛ̄l* 'come down' (for *nzḗl*), *baɛdḗn* 'then, afterwards' (for *baɛdḗn*), *ʔamḗrka* 'America' (for *ʔamḗrka*). In still other words, it is replaced by *ī*: *líra* 'pound' (monetary) (for *lḗra*), *ʔī* 'yes' (for *ʔē*).

> The vowel *ē*, then, is virtually eliminated from this type of Lebanese Arabic, but another vowel, *ɛ̄*, is very similar to it and more or less takes its place in the vowel system (though in individual words *ɛ̄* corresponds to *ā* more often than to *ē*; see below).

> In a part of northern Lebanon (Tripoli and vicinity) the sound *ɛ̄* — instead of *ay* — also replaces *ē* in most closed syllables: *bɛ̄t* 'house' (for *bēt*), while *ay* is used in open syllables: *báyti* 'my house'. Similarly, the vowel *ā* — but with a low back pronunciation like that of the *a* in 'father' — replaces *ō* in most closed syllables: *māt* 'death' (for *mōt*), while *aw* replaces *ō* in open syllables: *máwtu* 'his death'. In some words, however, *ē*, as well as *ō*, is kept — notably in imperatives: *hmēl* 'carry', *ʔɛ̄od* 'sit'. This dialect, then, has six long vowels.

In these dialects *ɛ̄* replaces *ā*, almost everywhere the relatively high front pronunciation of *ā* is called for [p. 11]: *tḗni* 'second' (for *tání*), *mbɛ̄reh* 'yesterday' (for *mbáreh*), *ktɛ̄b* 'book' (for *ktāb*).[3]

---

[1] Usually words whose Classical equivalents have *ay* or *aw*. (Note, however, *hawn* = Cl. *hunā*).

[2] Not as low as IPA [ɛ], however, which is in the *a*-territory of Arabic.

[3] *ā* and *ɛ̄* are almost — but not quite — in complementary distribution. Compare the disjunctive pronoun *yɛ̄* 'him, it' with the conjunction *yā* 'either, or'.

In the Aleppo region and to some extent elsewhere, the sound *ē* (rather than *ɛ̄*) replaces *ā* in various kinds of words, e.g. *fēteh* 'having opened', *žwēmeɛ* 'mosques' (for *žawāmeɛ*).

This more extreme type of *ʔimāla* (raising of *a*) is much less general and automatic than the Lebanese raising of *ā* to *ɛ̄*. While the contrast between *ā* and *ɛ̄* is rarely significant in the more typical[1] Lebanese dialects, that between *ā* and *ē* in Aleppo is quite often used to differentiate words that are otherwise alike. While the word *bāred*, for instance, meaning both 'cold' and 'stupid', is automatically converted to *bɛ̄red* in Lebanon, the Aleppo dialect distinguishes between *bēred* 'cold' and *bāred* 'stupid'.

LENGTH (*al-madd wat-tašdīd*)

All the sounds have a long and a short version except *ə*, which is always short.

The main difference between long and short sounds is simply the relative length of time the articulation is held.[2] Long consonants, however, are held not only longer but generally also "tighter" than short ones.[3]

> Modulations in volume, fundamental pitch, and tone quality interact with the actual time values in a complex way, to produce the overall rhythmic effect analyzed as "length". For practical purposes English-speaking learners should concentrate on the time element and let the other aspects of length "take care of themselves". Note, however, the somewhat different qualities of the long and short vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* [pp. 9, 11].

> English speakers should take pains not to drawl accented short vowels, which — in order not to sound long — must be clipped quite short, e.g. *ʔáwi* (not "*ʔāwi*"), *bard* (not "*bārd*").

---

[1] Excluding the Tripoli-type dialect where *ā* may replace *ō*: *mɛ̄t* 'he died' vs. *māt* [maːt] or [mɒːt] 'death'.

[2] The single tap of the tongue in a short *r*, however, cannot be "held"; long *rr* consists in repetions of the tap, i.e. in a multiple trill.

[3] The rare instances of triple consonants, as in *šakkkon* 'your (pl.) suspicion' (*šakk + kon*) can be pronounced still longer than double consonants (as in *šakko* 'his suspicion'), but they are normally reduced to the same length as double ones.

When reading from transcription, learners must be specially alert to the indications of length. Since doubled letters in English orthography (and the macron in English orthoepy) have nothing to do with length, English speakers sometimes forget to respond properly to these signs in Arabic transcription.

Contrastive examples:

Consonants:

Short		Long	
kátab	'to write'	káttab	'to have(s.o.)write'
ġáni	'rich'	ġánni	'sing'
mára	'a woman'	márra	'a time'
nṣə́bo	'plant it'	nṣə́bbo	'let's pour it'
saddáʕt	'you told the truth'	saddáʕt	'I believed (it)'
ḥamáʹm	'pigeons'	ḥammáʹm	'bath'
siyáʹsi	'political, politician'	siyyáʹsi	'my grooms'
búʹsha	'kiss her'	bbúʹsha	'I kiss her'
b-ᵊžnéʹne	'in a garden'	bəž-žnéʹne	'in the garden'

Vowels:

Short		Long	
kátab	'to write'	káʹtab	'to write to(s.o.)'
málek	'king'	máʹlek	'owner'
Ɛáli	(a name)	Ɛáʹli	'high'
sáƐa	'to endeavor'	sáʹƐa	'hour', 'clock'
dauwára	'he wound it(f.)'	dauwáʹra	'gadabout(f.)'
sáwa	'together'	sáʹwa	'to do, make'
wardáʹt	'flowers'	wārdáʹt	'imports'
ríʕa	'lung'	ríʹʕa	'her saliva'
l-kúra	'the globe, the ball'	l-kúʹra	(name of a village)

Short vowel + long consonant contrasted with long vowel + short consonant:

kammel	'continue, finish'	káʹmel	'whole, complete'
náyyem	'put(s.o.)to sleep'	náʹyem	'asleep'
mdáuwara	'round(f.)'	mdáʹwara	'evasion'
ḍaḥḥakúʹ	'they made him laugh'	ḍāḥakúʹ	'they laughed with him'

On the neutralization of length contrasts in certain positions, see p.27.

An accented long vowel — which is always the last long vowel in a word — is generally pronounced longer than an unaccented (pretonic) long vowel. In ʕāláʹf, for instance, the first ā is not as long as the second (but is longer than a short a).

Short vowels, on the other hand, are apt to be longer <u>after</u> the accent than they are when accented. In sábab, for instance, the second a is usually longer than the first if it comes at the end of a phrase, since the end of a phrase is often signalled by drawling out what comes <u>after</u> the accent, while an accented short vowel itself cannot be drawled.
With certain kinds of intonation — in questions, for instance — the phrase-end drawl is often exaggerated so that a post-tonic short vowel is as long as or longer than a true <u>long</u> vowel in other positions. In the question kíʹf ḥáʹlak? 'How are you?', the last a may actually be longer than the ā in the preceding syllable.

The vowel ə, however, is not only never long in the formal sense, but is also relatively insusceptible to phrase-end drawling. While the e in fə́hmet? 'Did she understand?' is drawled, the ᵊ in fhə́mᵊt? 'Did you understand?' is not — at least not as much as other short vowels are.

ACCENTUATION

In words of two or more syllables, one of the syllables — the AC-CENTED syllable — usually sounds more stressed[1] or prominent than the others. With certain kinds of exceptions, the accentuation of a transcribed word may be deduced from its boundaries and its syllable structure.

[1] The term 'stress' is perhaps better avoided, since it is too suggestive of force, loudness, and emphasis. Not only is Arabic word-accent less "forceful" and "stressful" than that of English, but it also seems that accentual systems in general are more a matter of pitch and tempo modulation than of variations in loudness or "volume".

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:

Final Syllable Long	Penult Long	Antepenult or None Long
darastū́	darastū́ha	dárasu
darást	darástu	dáraso
barrī́d	barắde	bŏ́rado
byəsmaƐū́k	byəsmáƐkon	byə́smaƐu
mawắdd	madắres	mádrase
ftắḥ	fáthet	fátaḥu
bətʔū́l	bətʔə́l-lha	bə́dalo
tƐallámt	tƐə́llam	tƐə́llamet
ʔamsā́l	mással	másalan

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: hal-wálad (not "hál-walad", which the general rule would yield if the hyphen were ignored), ka-wáṣi, ləl-Ɛɑ́ša, raḥa-tə́ṣal, w-la-has-sábab.

Proclitics include the article l- [p. 493], the demonstrative particle hal- [556]; the conjunctions w-, fa- [391], n- [335], la- [358]; the prepositions b-, ka-, la-, Ɛa- (apocopation of Ɛala) [476]; the particle of antici-

---

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

pation raḥa- and of actuality Ɛam- [320].[1] (Certain combinations of particles are written as a single element: ləṣ-ṣábi, bəl-Ɛáks, Ɛal-bálad, wən-ššə́fto. See pp. 476, 391 .)

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: ʔəlt-állo, fatáḥ-lak, ḥakā́-li, ʔaḥsál-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 ī in xədī́ is accented (i.e. xədī́), while the i in xədi is unaccented (i.e. xə́di) 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 words[2]: mā́ 'not' [383] vs. ma (subordinating conjunction [490]); fī́ 'in it, there is' [415] vs. fi 'in'; šū́ 'what' [568] vs. šu '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-bḗti, ma-ʔə́tyabo.

The Helping Vowel ə

The vowel written 'ə' (which does not differ from ə 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 darasət is accented on the second syllable (i.e. darásət), just as if the ə were not there, as in darást; and byəkətbu is accented on the first syllable (i.e. byə́kətbu), just as in byə́ktbu.

---

[1] Some proclitics are written as separate words: the prepositions mən, Ɛan, Ɛand, and Ɛala; 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 <u>short</u> vowel, and all others except those which are traditionally written separate in literary Arabic.

[2] This 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:

tətᵊrki	(i.e.	*tátərki*)	*ʔəbᵊnna*	(i.e.	*ʔə́bənna*)
məšᵊmše	(i.e.	*mə́šəmše*)	*fataḥ-ᵊlkon*	(i.e.	*fatáḥ-əlkon*)
baƐᵊdkon	(i.e.	*báƐədkon*)	*tƐallamᵊt*	(i.e.	*tƐallámət*)
Ɛərᵊwto	(i.e.	*Ɛə́rəwto*)	*māwarᵊd*	(i.e.	*māwárəd*)

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, it, its' and *–on* 'their, them' [p. 541]: *darába* 'he hit her' (cf. *ḍárabo* 'he hit him'), *šāfə́ton* 'she saw them', *sakkə́ra* 'close it', *ḥālə́ton* 'their condition', *ʔabúwa* 'her father'.

> These suffixes may also be pronounced *–ha, –hon,* which
> makes the accentuation regular: *ḍarábha, šāfə́thon,*
> *sakkə́rha, ḥālə́thon, ʔabúha.*

(2) With certain kinds of verb stem, the verbal subject-affix *–et* 'she, it' is accented (taking the form *–ə́t–*) before <u>all</u> the pronoun suffixes, including *–o* 'him, it', *–ak* 'you(m.)', and *–ek* 'you(f.)': *fahhamə́tak* 'she explained to you(m.)', *šāwarə́tek* 'she consulted you(f.)', *snāwalə́to* '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: *byəštə́ǧel* 'he works', *bəftə́ker* 'I think', *byənḥáka* 'it is told', *məxtə́lef* 'different', *muttáḥed* 'united', *muʔtámar* 'conference', *mənʔə́ri* '(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 accented regularly, on the first syllable
> (and generally without any middle vowel *ə*): *byə́štǧel,*
> *bə́ftker, mə́xtlef.* (With suffixes of any kind, however, the
> accentuation of these words with vowels *ə* and *e* is regular
> in any case: *byəštə́ǧlu, məftə́kro, məxtə́lfe* [p. 31, bottom].)

(4) There are a few classicisms 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): *muttáḥide* 'united (f.)' (cf. the pure colloquial form *məttáḥde*).

> 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 ante-
> penult. 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 *ᵊ* — 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: *bəddna‿nzūro* 'We intend to visit him', *laḥm‿ᵊl-baʔar* 'beef' (lit. "meat of cattle"), *la-wēn‿bəddak‿ᵊtrūḥ?* '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 drawled [p. 17]. The last sound is never assimilated to the first sound of the next word [24], nor are they ever linked by the help-ing vowel [30]. For example: *bᵊ ann|baƐᵊrfo* 'I think I know him', *tfaḍḍal| strīḥ* 'Please have a seat', *raḥa-nəbʔa|šī‿kam‿yōm* [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 accentu-ation, including the unaccented syllables. (The main accent of a phrase may be marked ´, the subordinate accents, `): *bə́ddna‿nzūro|báƐᵊd‿bə̀kra* 'We're going to see him the day after tomorrow'; *ʔìza‿má̄‿mənḥə̀bbo|mnāxod‿ ǧḗro* 'If we don't like it we'll get another' [DA-143].

In general, words are individually discriminable even in close phras-ing, since each word (excepting certain particles) has one — and only one — accent (main or subordinate).[1] 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 <u>determined</u> 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 accentu-ation — hence also the phonological autonomy of words — is indetermi-nate. The statement really applies only in certain (ideal) conditions.

for further treatment here. Nor are they ordinarily shown in
our transcription, except when clearly essential in exempli-
fying certain grammatical constructions.

In the following sections of this chapter the term
'word' designates a sequence of sounds with only one accent
(main or subordinate) and with no open phrasing between
them. The term 'phrase' designates a sequence of words in
close phrasing.

Vowel Positions

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

Certain kinds of <u>words</u>, on the other hand, begin with a
vowel when they follow certain words that end in a consonant:
tlətt‿iyyām 'three days', *xamst‿əšhor* 'five months' [p. 171],
wlād‿axū '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, it', and *-on*
or *-un* 'them, their' [p. 541]) may follow a long accented vowel: *btəʔrāon*
(or *btəʔrāun*) 'she reads them' (for *btəʔrāhon*), *ɛalēa* (or *ɛaláya*) 'on it'
(for *ɛalēha*).

In the case of *ū* and *ī*, we write *-uw-* and *-iy-*, respec-
tively, before a vowel: *ʔabúwa* 'her father' (for *ʔabūha*),
nsíyon 'forget(f.)them' (for *nsīhon*). This is merely a
transcriptional convention, however; one might just as well
write *ʔabūa*, *nsīon*.

By the same token we write *w* 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; *wlādi*
mū‿hōn 'My children are not here', *šrāb‿əš-šāy* 'Drink the
tea' — when in some instances the semivowels in these
positions could just as well be considered syllabic: *ulādi*,
šāi.

Particular Limitations. In the system of six short vowels, only *a*
occurs in all types of vowel position.

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

2) *e* and *o* almost never occur accented, and rarely in open syllables
except word-finally.

3) *i* and *u* (insofar as they are distinguished from *e* and *o* [p. 13]) do
not occur before a word-final consonant.

With regard to frequencies, it may be noted that *i*, *e*,
u, and *o* are rare within a word before two or more conso-
nants (*ə* generally replacing all of them [pp. 28, 13]).
Classicisms, however, often have *u* before two consonants:
bukra 'tomorrow' (for *bəkra*), *mumken* 'possible' (for *məm-
ken*), *mulḥaq* 'attaché'. (These considerations do not apply
to varieties of Arabic that have no distinctive vowel *ə*
[p. 13].) Sometimes a long vowel before two consonants is
shortened: *ʔittēn* 'two hands' (for *ʔīdtēn*), *ʔamerkāniyye*
'American(f.)' (for *ʔamērkāniyye*).

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 <u>single (i.e. short) consonant</u> may occur initially, medially, or
finally, before or after any vowel.

This statement does not apply to the semivowels *(y, w)*,
however; *y* and *w* almost never occur finally after *e* or *o*,
and *y* almost never occurs after *ə*.[1] The sequences *iy* and
uw are not distinguishable from the long vowels *ī* and *ū*,
respectively.

Any <u>double (i.e. long) consonant</u> may occur medially, between vowels.
Examples: *rabbi, ḥatta, bəddo, barrīd, šāzze, rəžžāl, ḥazzo, səllom,
ɛammi, ʔūṭṭēn, səkkīr, baʔʔa, faɛɛāl, fahhem, baḥḥāra, ʔaxxēn, šaġġīl,
ṭayyeb, wiyyāk, ɛaliyyi, ḥayyo, nawwamo, xawwīf, huwwe.*

In initial position, double consonants are limited to those formed by
the combination of a prefix or proclitic with the first stem consonant[2],
and since there happen to be no prefixes or proclitics that take the form
of the consonants *f*, *g*, *ġ*, *h*, *ḥ*, *k*, *q*, *x*, *ɛ*, or *ʔ* before another conso-
nant, these do not occur doubled initially. Examples: *bbaxšeš, ttafaʔna,
ddaḥraž, mməll, nnām, ṭṭalaɛ, l-lōn, r-rabīɛ, z-zābeṭ, s-sifāt, s-suʔāl,
ḍ-ḍarb, w-walado.*

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 *ḥəyi* 'to be revived' and *ɛəyi* 'to weaken, get sick'.
Certain local dialects are more tolerant of combinations like *əy*. The
dialect of Zaḥle, for instance, has phrase-final forms like *nəsəy* 'to
forget' (instead of *nəsi*).

[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: *ʔaḥabb, xaff, mawādd, biḥəzz, səžəll, qšaɛarr, ḥaʔʔ*.

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]: *z-zbūn* 'the customer', *har-ržāl* 'these men', *baɛattna* '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]: *waʔʔfi* 'stop(f.)', commonly pronounced *waʔfi*; cf. the masculine *waʔʔef* 'stop'. In some parts of Greater Syria these double consonants are pronounced long, optionally at least, in all positions. Examples: *bɛarrfak, fahhmūni, tawwlo, mḥayyrətni, ʔəl-lha, rabbkon, taʔʔ‿ḥanak, tlətt‿marrāt*.

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: *rāɛ‿ɛal-balad* for *rāḥ‿ɛal-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, ġ, ḥ,* and *ɛ* do not ordinarily come next to one another, nor does *h* precede these sound, though it may follow them; and *k* and *g* do not precede *x* or *ġ*, though *k* may follow them.

(2) In a sequence of two dental obstruents (*d, ḍ, t, ṭ,* s, ṣ, z, ẓ), 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): s*taxaff, bətsəbb, zdād, ʔaxadto;* (velarized): *ṣṭāḍ, bəṭṣəbb, məḍṭarr, ḥafaẓto*.

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

(4) The resonants (*l, m, n, r*) and the consonantal 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*: *ɛəlm, fərn* (or *ɛəlᵊm, fərᵊn*).

> 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" *ᵊ*. 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 *bənt* or *bənᵊt* '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 *st-*: *strīḥ, stfīd, stmanna*.

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: *bənt‿ḥəlwe, ɛand‿tāžer, baŋk‿xāli, ḍarb‿ʔawi, sfənž‿ġāli, kətf‿ɛarīḍ, ʔamḥ‿ʔarāḍīhon*. (But more usually *kətᵊf‿, ʔamᵊḥ‿,* 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. *x* would not follow *ḥ,* etc.).

> Many words with three-consonant clusters have optional variants with a helping vowel between the first two: *fatḥto* (or more usually *fatᵊḥto*), *byəktbu* (or more usually *byəkᵊtbu*), *təmski* (less usually *təmᵊski*). Certain clusters, however, cannot be broken in this way. [See p. 33.]

Examples of three-consonant clusters within words: *ʔrəmfle, ɛandkon, ʔənglīzi, məstwiyye, bənd ʔiyye, bərd ʔān, bəntkon, ṣānəɛtna, byəstrīḥ, məškle, byəštġel* (Leb., Pal.), *byəŋkser* (Leb., Pal.), *ʔarbɛa*.

> 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. *hal-blād* 'this country' (more usually *hal-ᵊblād*).

There are no clusters of four or more consonants.[1]

---

[1] All 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 *tfaḍḍal|strīḥ* 'Please have a seat', *w-ʔəlt|xrās* '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.

Velarization

A plain dental obstruent (*t*, *d*, s, *z*), when brought into the neighborhood of a velarized dental obstruent in the same word, generally becomes velarized too (*ṭ*, *ḍ*, ṣ, *ẓ*). Thus the second-person affixes *t-* and *-t* [p. 175] become *ṭ-* and *-ṭ*, as in *baṭṣabb* 'you pour' (cf. *batsabb* 'you curse'), *bṭaḍrob* 'you hit' (cf. *btadros* 'you study'), *ṣarṭ* 'you became' (cf. *zart* 'you visited'). Similarly the connective *t* [p. 163], as in *ʾūḍṭo* 'his room' (cf. *Ɛādto* 'his habit'). The root consonant *d* of *ṣayyād* 'hunter' is changed to *ḍ* when it is closer to the initial ṣ, as in *ṣēḍ* 'hunting, game'.[1]

Since the scope of velarization tends to be rather vague [p. 7], a dental that is relatively far removed from the focus of velarization may not be affected, or may be very slightly affected. Thus ṣāret 'she became', with a plain *t*, or with the *t* slightly velarized; *tfaḍḍal* 'please'(invitational), with a plain *t*, or with velarization: *ṭfaḍḍal*.

As noted on p. 7, sounds other than dental obstruents are also velarized in assimilation to *ṭ*, *ḍ*, ṣ, or *ẓ*, but this assimilation is not indicated in our transcription.

Devoicing

A single dental or palatal voiced obstruent tends to be devoiced (*d* → *t*, *ḍ* → *ṭ*, *z* → s, *ẓ* → ṣ, *ž* → *š*) before voiceless obstruents. 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: *štamaƐu* (for *žtamaƐu*) 'they gathered' (intrans.), *ʾūṭṭ ᵊn-nōm* (for *ʾūḍṭ ᵊn-nōm*) 'the bedroom', *ʾaxatto* (for

---

[1] Most roots [p. 37] which theoretically contain both plain and velarized dentals (judging from Classical spelling or from historical or comparative data), in fact usually have only velarized dentals in Syrian pronunciation: *b-s-ṭ* (as in *baṣīṭ* 'minor, simple'), which is theoretically *b-s-t*; *ḍ-d-ḍ* (as in *ḍaḍḍ* 'against'), theoretically *ḍ-d-d*; *Ɛ-ṭ-ṣ* (as in *Ɛaṭaṣ* 'to sneeze'), theoretically *Ɛ-ṭ-s*. Note, however, the form *Ɛaṭṣe* 'a sneeze', alongside the expected form *Ɛaṭṣa* [p. 138], which suggests that a plain s has sometimes been maintained after *ṭ*.

ʾaxadto) 'I took it', *l-ʾats* (for *l-ʾads*) 'Jerusalem'.

Assimilation of *n*

The sound *n* often becomes *m* before labials: *Ɛambar* 'storehouse' (cf. the plural *Ɛanāber* 'storehouses'), *mammūt* (or *manmūt*) 'we die', *ʾamf* (or *ʾanf*) 'nose', *mam bērūt* (or *man bērūt*) 'from Beirut'.

n also commonly assimilates to the other resonants, *l* and *r*: *ʾaḥsal-lak* (or *ʾaḥsan-lak*) 'better for you', *r-rāḥ* (or *n-rāḥ*) '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:

Non-Final	Final Accented	Final Unaccented
nasīha 'he forgot her'	*nasī* 'he forgot him' ...	*nasi* 'he forgot'
warāk 'behind you(m.)' ...	*warā* 'behind him'	*wara* 'behind'
Ɛašāhon 'their dinner'	*Ɛašā* 'his dinner'	*Ɛaša* 'dinner'
šāfūni 'they saw me'	*šāfū* 'they saw him'	*šāfu* 'they saw'
ḥkī-li 'tell me'	*ḥkī* 'tell it'	*ʾaḥki* 'tell, speak'
ʾawiyye[1] 'strong(f.)'		*ʾawi* 'strong(m.)'

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	Short (or Indistinctively Long)
biḥabbo 'he likes it'	*biḥabbna* 'he likes us'
baṭḥabb ᵊš-šāy? 'Do you like tea?'	*baṭḥabb tašrab šāy?* 'Would you like to have some tea?'
mat̮ʾassef 'sorry(m.)'	*mat̮ʾassfe* 'sorry(f.)'
naṭṭ ᵊṣ-ṣabi 'the boy jumped'	*ṣ-ṣabi naṭṭ* (same translation)

---

[1] The 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 *ə* when accented. [p. 22]

Unaccented			Accented	
tɛallamet	'she learned'	tɛallamə́to	'she learned it'
byəlbes	'he wears'	byəlbə́sa	'he wears it(f.)'
byəḍrob	'he hits'	byəḍrə́bon	'he hits them'
ɛəmel	'he did'	ɛmə́lt	'you(or I) did'
ʔənṣol	'consul'	ʔənṣə́lna	'our consul'
səmeɛ	'he heard'	səmə́ɛkon	'he heard you(pl.)'
btəktob	'you(m.)write'	btəktə́b-əlna	'you write to us'

In those varieties of Syrian Arabic which have no distinctive vowel *ə* [p. 13], neutralization of the front and back vowels may nevertheless take place. For example (in a dialect of north central Lebanon): *btiktub* 'you write', but *btiktíba* 'you write it(f.)', with post-tonic *u* becoming tonic *i*. Other varieties, however, maintain the distinction under the accent. For example (in a Palestinian dialect): *btuktub* 'you write', and *btuktúbha* 'you write it' vs. *btimsik* 'you hold' and *btimsíkha* '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', *-on* 'them' [p. 541]) is added:

mɛallem	'teacher'	+ -īn (pl.)	→ mɛallmīn	'teachers'
xānom	'lady'	+ -āt (pl.)	→ xānmāt	'ladies'
bāred	'cold(m.)'	+ -e (fem.)	→ bārde	'cold(f.)'
ṭaleɛ	'he came out'	+ -u (pl.)	→ ṭalɛu	'they came out'
btəskon	'you(m.)dwell'	+ -i (fem.)	→ btəskni	'you(f.)dwell'
šāyef	'seeing'	+ -o 'it(m.)'	→ šāyfo	'seeing it'

[1]Certain foreign loan-words break this rule, e.g. *ʔotēl* 'hotel'.

šāfet 'she saw'	+ -ek 'you(f.)'	→ šāftek	'she saw you(f.)'
bāxod 'I'll take'	+ -ak 'you(m.)'	→ bāxdak	'I'll take you(m.)'
sāɛet 'watch of...'	+ -i 'me'	→ sāɛti	'my watch'

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 *ə*: *bisabbeb* 'it causes' + *-u* (pl.) → *bisabbəbu* 'they cause'; *taxaṣṣoṣ* 'specialization' + *-ak* 'you' · *taxaṣṣəsak* 'your specialization'.

Any combination of dental stops (*t, d, ṭ, ḍ*) also counts as "like consonants": *faḍḍet* 'silver of...' + *-ek* 'your(f.)' → *faḍḍətek* '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): *muttáhed* 'united (m.)' + *-e* (fem.) → *muttáhide*, *malek* 'king' + *-e* (fem.) → *malike* 'queen', *taṣarrof* 'behavior' + *-āt* (pl.) → *taṣṣarrufāt* (but note *taṣarrfo* 'his behavior').

Anaptyxis

When there is a confrontation of consonants which cannot form a cluster, an ANAPTYCTIC or HELPING VOWEL *ə* 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'	+ ktāb 'book'	→ l-əktāb	'the book'
bənt	'girl'	+ zġīre 'little'	→ bənt‿əzġīre	'a little girl'
laḥm	'meat'	+ baʔar 'cattle'	→ laḥəm‿baʔar	'beef'
bəktob 'I'll write'	+ -lkon 'to you(pl.)'	→ bəktə́b-əlkon	'I'll write to you'
bəḥmel 'I'll carry'	+ -o 'it' (with loss of *e*)	→ bə́ḥəmlo	'I'll carry it'

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

šū 'what' + hal- 'this' + ʔakl 'food' → šū hal-ʔakəl 'What is this food?'

ʔakl 'eating' + l- 'the' + laḥm 'meat' → ʔakl‿əl-laḥəm 'eating the meat' (or 'the eating of meat')

In our transcription *ə* is printed smaller and raised above the line (*ᵊ*) when it occurs as a helping vowel, to distinguish it from the kind of *ə* that is an integral part of the word. The pronunciation, however, is identical.

When *ᵊ* occurs between words, or between hyphenated parts of a word, our convention is to write it always <u>after</u> 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:

ržāl ᵊkbār	'big men'		*sətt ᵊᵖlām*	'six pencils'
šāṭer ᵊktīr	'very clever'		*ᵖəbn ᵊt-tāžer*	'the merchant's son'
rās ᵊž-žabal	'the top of the mountain'		*kənt ᵊbbarṭel*	'I would bribe'
mart ᵊl-ᵖāḍi	'the judge's wife'		*ᵖām ᵊmmassel*	'an 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-ᵊblād	'the country'		*hal-ᵊbḍāƐa*	'this merchandise'
l-ᵊᵖyās	'the measurement'		*Ɛam-ᵊnƐallem*	'we are teaching'
b-ᵊžbēl	'in Jubayl'		*Ɛam-ᵊttaržem*	'she is translating'
n-ᵊštarā	'if he buys it'		*bəl-ᵊmḥaṭṭa*	'in the station'
ləl-ᵊwlād	'to the children'		*raḥ-ᵊtkūn*	'you're going to be'

A helping vowel is <u>not</u> 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, ṭ, ḍ, s, z, ṣ, ẓ, š, ž, l, n, r*):

z-zbūn	'the customer'	*haž-žsūra*	'these bridges'
r-rṣāṣa	'the bullet'	*ləž-žġīr*	'to the little one'
l-lḥāf	'the blanket'	*Ɛan-nsūra*	'about the vultures'[1]
hat-trēn	'this train'	*bəz-zmərrod*	'with the emeralds'

A helping vowel is also <u>not</u> used between the proclitic *Ɛam-* [p.320] and a following *b-* [176]: *Ɛam-bᵖūl* 'I am saying', *Ɛam-byəᵖder* 'he is able', *Ɛam-btəlƐab* 'you are playing'. (The *b-* in these forms is commonly elided: *Ɛam-ᵖūl, Ɛam-yəᵖder, Ɛam-təlƐab*.) [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: *byəmsek + -u → byəmsku, bəndoᵖ + -a → bəndᵖa*.

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

ᵖatlet	'she killed'	+ *-o*	'him'	→	*ᵖatᵊlto*	'she killed him'
raᵖbe(t)	'neck(of)'	+ *-o*	'him'	→	*raᵖᵊbto*	'his neck'
bədrob	'I'll hit'	+ *-ak*	'you'	→	*bədᵊrbak*	'I'll hit you'
ġalṭet	'mistake of'	+ *-i*	'me'	→	*ġalᵊṭṭi*	'my mistake'
btəḥmel	'you carry'	+ *-u* (pl.)		→	*btəḥᵊmlu*	'you(pl.)carry'
kəlme(t)	'word'	+ *-ēn* (dual)		→	*kəlᵊmtēn*	'two words'
məslem	'Moslem'	+ *-īn* (pl.)		→	*məsᵊlmīn*	'Moslems'
məšmoš	'apricots'	+ *-e* (unit)		→	*məšᵊmše*	'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 + <u>three</u> consonants, or by a <u>long</u> vowel + two consonants, then the potential cluster is broken by the vowel *ə*, but this is an <u>accented</u> vowel (unless the suffix itself is accented):

sənsle(t)	'chain(of)'	+ *-o*	'him'	→	*sənsə́lto*	'his chain'
səmble(t)	'sprig'	+ *-ēn* (dual)		→	*səmbəltḗn*	'two sprigs'
mtaržme(t)	'translator (f.)(of)'	+ *-o*	'it'	→	*mtaržə́mto*	'its translator(f.)'

---

[1] This is *Ɛala + n-nsūra*, not *Ɛan + n-nsūra*. The latter gives *Ɛanᵊn-nsūra*. Both might be translated 'about the vultures'. [See p.476]

mɛallme(t) 'teacher(f.)   + -i 'me'   →   mɛallámti 'my teacher(f.)'
           (of)'

žāmɛet   'university of' + -ak 'you' → žāmɛɛtak '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 <u>begins</u> with two consonants, since a helping vowel comes between the words: bənt ᵊġġīre 'little girl', ɛašr ᵊᵊrūš 'ten piastres'. But at the end of a phrase, or before a word beginning with <u>one</u> consonant, a helping vowel often breaks the word-final cluster: mīn hal-bənᵊt? 'Who is that girl?', ɛašᵊr lērāt 'ten pounds'. Further examples:

Before ə + two consonants		Finally or before one consonant	
š-šahr ᵊl-māḍi	'last month'	haš-šahᵊr	'this month'
šəft ᵊl-bāxra?	'Did you see the ship?'	šəfᵊt bāxra?	'Did you see a ship?'
hasb ᵊt-takalīf	'calculating the expenditures'	hasᵊb takalīfna	'calculating our expenditures'
ᵊabl ᵊhrūb ᵊṣ-ṣalībiyye	'before the Crusaders' wars'	ᵊabᵊl hal-ᵊhrūb	'before those wars'

     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: ᵊalf lēra 'a thousand pounds', bənt həlwe 'a pretty girl', taht ᵊīdo 'available to him' (lit. "under his hand"), šəft bāxra? 'Did you see a ship?' [See p. 25]

     Especially before a <u>suffix</u> beginning with one consonant, these clusters are generally maintained and no helping vowel is used: šəftkon 'I saw you(pl.)', bəntna 'our daughter', šarraftna 'you have honored us', baṣaṭṭni 'you have gladdened me', žənshon 'their kind'.

     The helping vowel is virtually <u>always</u> 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:

ᵊəbn 'son'   + -kon   'you(pl.)' → ᵊəbᵊnkon   'your son'

habr 'ink'   + ᵊaswad 'black'   → habᵊr ᵊaswad   'black ink'

ᵊaṣl 'origin' + hal-ᵊəsm 'this name' → ᵊaṣᵊl hal-ᵊəsᵊm 'the origin of this name'

hasb 'calculating' + -ha 'it'   → hasᵊbha 'calculating it'

ᵊaxd 'taking'   + -ni 'me'   → ᵊaxᵊdni 'taking me'

     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: məsthiyye 'embarrassed(f.)' (never -sᵊth-), məstfīd 'benefitting' (never -sᵊtf-), byəštġel (or byaštᵊġel) 'he works' (never -šᵊtġ-).

     (2) If the first is m and the second b or f: žambna 'beside us, our side', səmble 'sprig, ear', ᵊəmf 'nose', byəmbṣeṭ (or byəmbᵊṣeṭ) 'he has a good time'.

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

     A combination of n with k or g (the n being pronounced in the velar position, as "ng") is generally also unsplittable: baŋk 'bank' (never -ŋᵊk), ᵊəŋglīzi 'English' (never -ŋᵊgl-).

CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES[1]

In this chapter some basic terms and concepts used in deal-
ing 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[2]:

<u>Nouns</u> are inflected for Number (Singular, Dual, Plural).

<u>Adjectives</u> are inflected for Number/Gender (Masculine, Feminine, Plural).

<u>Verbs</u> 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 affixes
or by internal changes in form[3]. The plural of the adjective *taɛbān*
'tired', for instance, is produced by suffixing *-īn: taɛbānīn,* while the
plural of *ʔaṣīr* 'short' is formed by changing it internally to *ʔṣār.* (The
plural of the noun *rašʔḥ* 'a cold' is formed by internal change <u>plus</u> a
suffix: *ršūḥāt* 'colds'.)

Inflectional forms are treated in detail in Chapters

For each type of inflected Arabic word there is at least one inflec-
tion — 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.[4]

[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 *taɛbān*, then, is used in referring to the adjective whose other inflections are *taɛbāne* (f.) and *taɛbānīn* (pl.). Likewise, the verbal citation form *katab* 'to write' subtends 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 <u>bases</u>. 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 (*aṣ-ṣîġa, al-wazn*)

Most Arabic word bases fit one or another significant PATTERN. That is to say, the <u>form</u> 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:

žəbne	'cheese'	*rəkbe*	'knee'
ɛəlbe	'box'	*nəsbe*	'relationship'
xəṭbe	'marriage proposal'	*ʔəbre*	'needle'
səlfe	'sister-in-law'	*dənye*	'world'
xədme	'service'	*bərke*	'pool'

The pattern manifested in all these words consists in a sequence 'consonant + *ə* + two consonants + *e*'. 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'	*ḥallāʔ*	'barber'
xayyāṭ	'tailor'	*fannān*	'artist'

žarrāḥ	'surgeon'	*xaddām*	'servant'
dahhān	'painter'	*sammān*	'grocer'
naššāl	'pickpocket'	*ɛattāl*	'porter'

This pattern, 'consonant + *a* + double consonant + *ā* + consonant', is characteristic of masculine 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:

maṭbax	'kitchen'	*matḥaf*	'museum'
masbaḥ	'swimming pool'	*maxzan*	'store'
malɛab	'playground'	*markaz*	'center'
matɛam	'restaurant'	*maktab*	'office'
maṣnaɛ	'factory'	*maṭraḥ*	'place'

This pattern, '*ma* + two consonants + *a* + consonant', commonly occurs in words designating kinds of <u>places</u>.

There are numerous exceptions to the pattern implications, however. Note that *xazzān* 'reservoir' and *ṣabbāṭ* '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: *baṭṭāl* 'bad' and *ḥassās* 'sensitive', for instance, are not nouns, but adjectives.

Roots (*al-ʔaṣl, al-ǧiδr*)

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 (*ḥarf ʔaṣlî*). Thus the root of *žəbne* 'cheese' is *ž-b-n*, the root of *ṭabbāx* 'cook' is *ṭ-b-x*, and the root of *maṭbax* 'kitchen' is also *ṭ-b-x*.

Words with the same root commonly have related meanings:

ṭabbāx 'cook'	*maṭbax* 'kitchen'	(Root *ṭ-b-x*)
xaddām 'servant'	*xədme* 'service'	(Root *x-d-m*)
xəṭbe 'marriage proposal' ..	*xaṭîb* 'fiancé'	(Root *x-ṭ-b*)
maṣnaɛ 'factory'	*ṣināɛa* 'industry'	(Root *ṣ-n-ɛ*)

There are countless exceptions, however. For instance:

rəkbe	'knee' .... but	*markab* 'ship'	(Root *r-k-b*)
bərke	'pool' .... but	*barake* 'blessing'	(Root *b-r-k*)
ḥallāʔ	'barber' ..... but	*ḥalaʔa* 'link'	(Root *ḥ-l-ʔ*)

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 some-what 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 <u>meaningful</u> element — its meaning being that shared by all members of a word family. Quite often the concept of 'root' is used ambiguously, requiring interpreta-tion now in one way, now in the other.

> In Arabic dictionaries, for instance, which are alphabet-ized 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 some-times 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-ɛ-l*. Here we are not concerned with *f-ɛ-l* as a root of actual words (e.g. *faɛal* 'to do, to act'), but only as a device for making abstract patterns pronounceable. (The *f* and the *l* of these pattern symbols will be capitalized.) Thus *FaɛLe* is our formula for the pattern of *žabne, ɛəlbe, xəṭbe*, etc.; *FaɛɛāL* represents the pattern of *ṭabbāx, xayyāṭ, žarrāḥ;* and *maFɛaL* represents the pattern of *maṭbax, masbaḥ,* and *malɛab.*

Number of Radicals

Most Arabic roots are TRILITERAL *(θulāθī):* they have three radicals. There are, however, many four-radical or QUADRILITERAL *(rubāɛī)* roots, as in the following words:

(1) *žadwal* 'schedule'   (2) *zaxraf* 'to embellish'   (3) *ɛaṣfūr* 'bird'

    daftar 'notebook'   *taržam* 'to translate'   *sandūʔ* 'box'

    xanžar 'dagger'   *baxšaš* 'to tip'   *ṭarbūš* 'fez'

  (4) *taržame* 'translation'   (5) *mfarnaž* 'westernized'

      handase 'engineering'   *mlaxbaṭ* 'mixed up'

      falsafe 'philosophy'   *mšarṭaṭ* 'ragged'

Patterns for quadriliteral roots are symbolized on a dummy root *F-ɛ-L-L;* 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 *FaɛLaL;* group 2 (verbs) also *FaɛLaL;* group 3 (masculine nouns) *FaɛLūL;* group 4 (abstract feminine nouns) *FaɛLaLe;* group 5 (passive participles) *mFaɛLaL.*

Roots of five or more radicals are found only in nouns (plus whatever adjectives may be derived from these nouns by suffixation): *banafsaž* 'violet(s)', *ʔəmbərāṭōr* 'emperor', *ṭrāblos* 'Tripoli', *ṭrābəlsi* 'Tripolitanian'.

> It is not worth while to symbolize these multiliteral roots or their patterns,[1] 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 uniliteral roots in Syrian Arabic except in certain particles (e.g. *mən* 'from', *n-* 'if') and in the names of certain letters of the alphabet (e.g. *bē,* name of the letter ﺏ).

A small handful of miscellaneous simple nouns and derivative adjec-tives, however, also have biliteral roots:

riʔa 'lung'	(Root *r-ʔ,* Pattern *Fiɛa*)
fiʔa[2] 'class, bracket, rate'	(Root *f-ʔ,* Pattern *Fiɛa*)
səne 'year'	(Root *s-n,* Pattern *Fəɛe*)

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

[2] Also pronounced *fīʔa,* implying a root *f-y-ʔ* with Pattern *Fɛ̄ɛLe.*

> mara   'woman'   (Root *m-r*, Pattern *FaƐa*)
>
> yadawi 'manual, hand-'   (Root *y-d*, Pattern *FaƐawi*)
>
> damawi 'blood-, bloody'   (Root *d-m*, Pattern *FaƐawi*)

Note that the Classical words *yad* 'hand' and *dam* 'blood', from which *yadawi* and *damawi* are derived, correspond to three-radical words in Colloquial: *ʔīd* 'hand' (Root *ʔ-y-d*, Pattern *FaƐL* [p. 142]); *damm* 'blood' (Root *d-m-m*, Pattern *FaƐL*). A similar case is that of the dialectal form *riyye* 'lung' (Root *r-y-y*, Pattern *FəƐLe* [143]), which has been generally supplanted in educated urban speech by the classicism *riʔa*.

In the case of *mara* 'woman', the two-radical colloquial word corresponds to a three-radical word in Classical: *marʔa*. (The latter form is also sometimes used in Colloquial, however, when bookish or officialese style is called for.)

The terms 'biliteral', 'triliteral', 'quadriliteral', etc. in this book will only be applied to roots. To designate <u>words</u> whose roots have a certain number of radicals, or <u>patterns</u> applicable to roots of a certain number of radicals, the terms BIRADICAL, TRIRADICAL, QUADRIRADICAL, etc. will be used.

Compound words in Arabic (i.e. word bases including more than one root) are very rare. Note *raʔsmāliyye* 'capitalism', which includes the roots *r-ʔ-s* and *m-w-l* [p. 44]. The colloquial form of the word underlying this one, however, is pronounced *rəsmāl* ('capital'), which sounds like a simple word with four radicals (*r-s-m-l*) formed on Pattern *FəƐLāL*, rather than a compound of *rās* 'head' and *māl* 'property'.

Numerals from eleven to nineteen are compounds, consisting of a simple numeral plus 'ten' (*Ɛ-š-r*). [See p. 170]

PATTERN ALTERATIONS

Root Types

Many patterns vary according to the type of root they are applied to. The verb pattern *FaƐaL*, for instance, when applied to a root like *ʔ-r-y*, does not yield a form *"ʔaray"*. What happens is that the final radical semivowel disappears in this pattern: *ʔara* 'to read'.

This same verb pattern (*FaƐaL*), 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: *dall* 'to indicate' (not *"dalal"*).

Roots like *ʔ-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[1] 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 *ʔ-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 (*w* or *y*)[2], in some cases *ʔ*.

Some examples of radical fluctuation:

1) **Change to another sound:**

Pattern *FāƐeL* applied to Root *x-w-f* gives *xāyef* 'afraid' (not *"xāwef"*). (Rule: Medial radical *w* is changed to *y* in Pattern *FāƐeL*.)[3]

Pattern *FtaƐaL* applied to Root *w-f-ʔ* gives *ttafaʔ* 'to agree' (not *"wtafaʔ"*). (Rule: Initial radical *w* is changed to *t* in Pattern *FtaƐaL*.)

Pattern *FuƐāL* applied to Root *d-Ɛ-w* gives *duƐāʔ* 'supplication' (not *"duƐāw"*). (Rule: Final radical *w* is changed to *ʔ* in Pattern *FuƐāL*.)

Pattern *FəƐLe* applied to Root *ʔ-w-y* gives *ʔuwwe* 'power' (not *"ʔəwye"*). (Rule: Final radical *y* is changed to *w* in Pattern *FəƐLe* after medial radical *w*.[4] Also: *ə* is changed to *u* in Pattern *FəƐLe* before medial radical *w*.)

---

[1] Intact, not counting the kinds of assimilation described as automatic sound changes [p. 26]. Thus the root *ž-m-Ɛ* is considered stable, even though the *ž* may be devoiced in Pattern *FtaƐaL*: *štamaƐ* 'to meet, get together'.

[2] The 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 *ġazu* 'raiding' (Pattern *FaƐL*) and *ġazwe* 'a raid' (Pattern *FaƐLe*), but does show fluctuation in the verb *ġaza* 'to raid' (Pattern *FaƐaL*), where its disappearance is <u>not</u> a consequence of automatic sound changes.

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

[4] Unless the medial *w* itself fluctuates, changing to *y*. See *niyye* 'intention', [p. 45]

2) Fusion with a part of the pattern:

Pattern *FəƐL* applied to Root s–w–ʔ gives sū^ʔ 'market' (not "səwʔ").
(Rule: Pattern vowel *ə* + medial radical *w* → *ū*.)

Pattern *FaƐL* applied to Root x–w–f gives xōf 'fear' (not xawf[1]).
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + medial radical *w* → *ō*.)

Pattern *FaƐL* applied to Root x–y–ṭ gives xēṭ 'thread' (not xayṭ[1]).
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + medial radical *y* → *ē*.)

Pattern *staFƐaL* applied to Root ʔ–h–l gives stāhal 'to deserve' (not "staʔhal").
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + initial radical ʔ sometimes → *ā*.)

3) Loss without a trace:

Pattern *FaƐƐaL* 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 *FaƐaL* applied to Root x–w–f gives xāf 'to fear' (not "xawaf").
(Rule: Medial radical semivowels generally disappear in Pattern *FaƐaL*. xa– + –af = xāf.)

Pattern *staFƐaL* applied to Root ḥ–y–y gives staḥa 'to be embarrassed' (not "staḥyay").
(Rule: Medial radical y disappears in Pattern *staFƐaL* if the final radical is also y.[2] The latter also disappears since it is in word-final position after *a*.)

Pattern *FaƐLān* applied to Root m–l–ʔ gives malān 'full' (not "malʔān").[3]
(Rule: Final radical ʔ sometimes disappears in Pattern *FaƐLān*.)[2]

Word Types

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

A word in which two like radicals are fused together is called DOUBLED or GEMINATE *(mudāƐaf)*: šədde 'intensity' (cf. sound šadīd 'intense'); ḍarr 'to damage' (cf. sound ḍarar 'damage'); ḥaẓẓ 'luck' (cf. sound maḥẓūẓ 'lucky').

---

[1]Forms like *xawf* and *xayṭ* generally occur in Lebanon, however. For the typical Lebanese dialects, the fusion of *a* with *w* and *y* does not take place.

[2]This "rule" is not important since there are no other instances in which it applies.

[3]Compare, however, the more common doublet of this root: *m–l–y*, whose final radical does not disappear in Pattern *FaƐLān*: *malyān* 'full'.

Many patterns accomodate the fusion of like radicals without alteration. The double consonant occupies the same position in the pattern as two contiguous but distinct consonants: *ḥaẓẓ* (Pattern *FaƐL*); *šədde* (Pattern *FəƐLe*).

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

Pattern *staFƐaL* with Root ḥ–ʔ–ʔ gives geminate staḥáʔʔ 'to deserve' (not "stáḥʔaʔ", which would be the sound form).

Pattern *maFƐaL* with Root ḥ–l–l gives geminate maḥáll 'place' (not "máḥlal", which would be the sound form).

Pattern *ʔaFƐaL* with Root x–ṣ–ṣ gives geminate ʔaxáṣṣ 'most special' (not "ʔáxṣaṣ", which would be the sound form).

A word is called WEAK *(muƐtall)* 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 š–w–f with Pattern *FaƐaL* produces a weak verb šāf 'to see', but with Pattern *FaƐƐaL* it produces a sound verb šawwaf 'to show'.

The root z–w–r with Pattern *FaƐaL* produces both a weak verb zār 'to visit' and a sound verb zawar 'to give (someone) a significant look'.

The root ʔ–k–l with Pattern *FaƐaL* produces a base form in which all radicals are intact: ʔakal 'to eat'; but the initial radical ʔ is lost or fused in other inflections (byākol 'he eats', kōl 'eat!'), so the verb ʔakal is classified as weak.

In FINAL-WEAK or DEFECTIVE *(nāqiṣ)* words, it is the <u>last</u> radical that is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

ʔara 'to read' (Root ʔ–r–y, Pattern *FaƐaL*)

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 *ā* or *ē*: ʔarāha 'he read it', ʔarēt 'I(have)read'.

faršа 'to brush' (Root f–r–š–y, Pattern *FaƐLaL*)

In other forms the radical y is not lost but fused: faršēt 'I brushed', bfaršī 'I brush it'.

ʔawi 'strong' (Root ʔ–w–y, Pattern *FaƐîL*)

The final *i* does not represent the radical *y*, but only the apocopated pattern vowel *ī*.

ʔuwwe 'strength' (Root *ʔ-w-y*, Pattern *FəʕLe*)

The final radical *y* is changed to *w* in this word.

nəsi 'to forget' (Root *n-s-y*, Pattern *FəʕeL*)

The final radical is fused with the pattern vowel (*e + y → ī →* final unaccented *i*) and is lost in the imperfect inflections: *byənsa* 'he forgets'.

muddǎʕi 'claimant' (Root *d-ʕ-w*, Pattern *muFtaʕeL*)

The final radical is, strictly speaking, fused with the pattern (*e + w → ī →* final unaccented *i*) rather than lost.[1]

žaza or *žazāʔ* 'punishment' (Root *ž-z-y*, Pattern *FaʕāL*)

The form *žaza* shows total loss of the final radical *y* (with the pattern vowel shortened because it is unaccented finally), while in *žazāʔ* the radical is not lost but is changed to *ʔ*.

In MIDDLE-WEAK or HOLLOW (*ʔaǧwaf*) words, a <u>middle</u> radical is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

xāf 'to fear' (Root *x-w-f*, Pattern *FaʕaL*)

The radical *w* is totally lost in the perfect, while in the imperfect, strictly speaking, it fuses with the pattern vowel *a* to produce *ā*: *bixāf* 'he fears' (Pattern *byəFʕaL*: *w + a → ā*).

stafād 'to benefit' (Root *f-y-d*, Pattern *staFʕaL*)

The radical *y* fuses with the pattern vowel *a* to produce *ā*, while in the imperfect *byəstfīd* (Pattern *byəstaFʕeL*) it fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to produce *ī*.

šēṭān 'devil' (Root *š-y-ṭ-n*, Pattern *FaʕLāL*)

The pattern vowel *a* fuses with the radical *y* to produce *ē*. The radical remains intact in the plural: *šayaṭīn*.

---

[1] If it were lost, strictly speaking, the pattern vowel *e* would not be altered to *i*.

niyye 'intention' (Root *n-w-y*, Pattern *FəʕLe*)

The medial radical *w* is changed to *y*.[1]

šāyef 'looking at' (Root *š-w-f*, Pattern *FāʕeL*)

The medial radical *w* is changed to *y*.

mōt 'death' (Root *m-w-t*, Pattern *FaʕL*)

The pattern vowel *a* fuses with the medial radical to produce *ō*.

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

ʔāman 'to believe' (Root *ʔ-m-n*, Pattern *ʔaFʕaL*)

The first pattern vowel *a* fuses with *ʔ* to produce *ā* in the perfect tense, but the initial radical remains intact in the imperfect: *byəʔmen* 'he believes'.[2]

ṭṭaṣal 'to get in touch' (Root *w-ṣ-l*, Pattern *FtaʕaL*)

The initial radical *w* is changed to *ṭ*, assimilated to the *-ṭ-* infix of the pattern.

yəbes 'to dry out' (Root *y-b-s*, Pattern *FəʕeL*)

The radical *y* is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: *btəbas* 'it(f.)dries out'. (Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: *btības*. *ī = iy ← ə + y*.)

wəled 'to be born' (Root *w-l-d*, Pattern *FəʕeL*)

The radical *w* is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: *byəlad* 'he is born'. (Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: *byūlad*. *ū = uw ← ə + w*.)

---

[1] The word *niyye* could just as well be spelled *nīye* [p. 22], in the light of which one could say that the medial *w* is fused with the pattern, rather than simply changed.

[2] *ʔāman* may also be construed as having Pattern *FāʕaL* rather *ʔaFʕaL*, in view of the imperfect *biʔāmen* 'he believes' in addition to *byəʔmen*. As a Pattern *FāʕaL* verb, it is sound, since the initial *ʔ* is then the radical rather than a pattern formative.

ṣifa 'attribute' (Root *w-ṣ-f*, Pattern *ƐiLa*)

> The initial radical is lost completely. (Pattern *ƐiLa* occurs only in initial-weak words, which is why it is shown without any *F.*)

mūheš 'desolate' (Root *w-h-š*, Pattern *məFƐeL*)

> The Pattern vowel *ə* fuses with *w* to produce *ū.*

DERIVATION *(al-ištiqāq)*

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 *m-* in *mƐallem* 'teacher', for instance, is a base formative (cf. *Ɛallam* 'to teach'); likewise the suffix *-an* in *dāyman* 'always' (cf. *dāyem* 'lasting, permanent'), the infix *-t-* in *štamaƐ* 'to meet, get together' (cf. *žamaƐ* 'to bring together'), and the lengthening of the consonant and vowel in *ṭabbāx* 'cook' (cf. *ṭabax* 'to cook, prepare food').

Word bases that contain formatives *(ziyāda)* are called AUGMENTED *(mazīd fīhi)*; those without formatives are SIMPLE *(mužarrad)*. *žamaƐ* and *ṭabax* are simple, while *štamaƐ* and *ṭabbāx* are singly augmented — they each contain one formative. *Ɛallam* 'to teach' and *dāyem* 'lasting' are also singly augmented (cf. the simple words *Ɛəlm* 'organized knowledge' and *dām* 'to last'). *mƐallem,* then, is doubly augmented — it contains both the *m-* and the lengthened *l; dāyman,* too, is doubly augmented — by the suffix *-an* and the active participial formative (consisting in a change from Pattern *FaƐaL* to Pattern *FāƐeL*)[1].

> Patterns, as well as word bases, may be spoken of as simple or augmented, since a word's formative are part of its pattern, not part of its root. Thus the pattern *FəƐL* (as in *Ɛəlm*) is a simple pattern, as also the verb pattern *FaƐaL* (as in *žamaƐ, ṭabax,* and the hollow verb *dām*). Singly augmented patterns include *FtaƐaL* (as in *štamaƐ*), *FaƐƐaL* (as in *Ɛallam*), *FaƐƐāL* (as in *ṭabbāx*), and *FāƐeL* (as in *dāyem*), while the patterns *mFaƐƐeL* (as in *mƐallem*) and *FāƐLan* (as in *dāyman*) are doubly augmented.

---

[1] The form *dāyman* 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 *žamaƐ* 'to bring together' into mediopassive verbs like *štamaƐ* '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 *(muštaqq)* from the word without it. Thus *štamaƐ* is derived from *žamaƐ,* and *mƐallem* 'teacher' is derived from *Ɛallam* 'to teach', and *dāyman* 'always' from *dāyem* 'lasting, permanent' — which, in its turn, is derived from the simple verb *dām* 'to last'.[1]

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 *šərb* 'drinking' — even though it lacks a formative — is considered a derivative of the verb *šəreb* 'to drink', since for ·· countless other verbs this same kind of noun derivation (the gerund or *maṣdar* [284]) is regularly expressed with formatives: *ʔara* 'to read' → *ʔrāye* 'reading', *kātab* 'to write to' → *mkātabe* 'wr:ting, correspondence',

---

[1] It is quite usual in Arabic grammar to go on from here to say that *dām* is derived from the root *d-w-m*, and *žamaƐ* from *ž-m-Ɛ*, and *Ɛallam* from *Ɛ-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 *žamaƐ* is "derived from" *ž-m-Ɛ*, when the same thing may be expressed simply by saying that the root of *žamaƐ* is *ž-m-Ɛ*.

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 *ž-m-Ɛ* + Pattern *FtaƐaL* → *štamaƐ*. 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: *žamaƐ* + *-t-* → *štamaƐ*. Therefore if we want to describe the hierarchical interrelationships of word bases, 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.

Ɛallam 'to teach' → *taɛlīm* 'teaching, instruction'.[1]

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 adjective 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 [138], or the verb pattern *FaƐƐaL* [79],[2] 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)', from *fəhem* '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 *Ɛaṭa* '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 *Ɛaṭa* has no paronym meaning 'to receive'.

Or take for example occupational derivatives like *ṭabbāx* 'cook' (from *ṭabax* 'to cook, prepare food'), *fannān* 'artist' (from *fann* 'art'), *mƐallem* 'teacher' (from *Ɛallam* 'to teach'), *ʔāḍi* 'judge' (from *ʔaḍa* 'to pass judgement'). These derivatives are paralleled by simple words that likewise indicate occupations: *xūri* 'priest', *doktōr* 'doctor', *ʔəstāz* 'professor', *Ɛarṣa* 'pimp'.

---

[1] Since 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.

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

There are, however, several categories that are not purely derivational but rather QUASI-INFLECTIONAL, straddling the line between derivation and inflection. Active participles [p. 265], elatives [313], true passive verbs [236], and transitive gerunds [440] have certain syntactic and/or semantic peculiarities that set them apart from any non-derivative words.[1]

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 derivative's 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, feminal, 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 *manžal* 'sickle' implies an underlying verb such as "*nažal*" (meaning, perhaps, 'to cut, mow'), but in fact no such verb exists. Similarly the reciprocative verb *ḍḍārab(u)* 'to fight(one another)' theoretically should be derived from a participative verb *ḍārab* 'to fight with' (which would be derived in turn from the simple verb *ḍarab* 'to hit'); in fact, however, no such verb as *ḍārab* is used in Syrian Arabic.

---

[1] 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 inso. far as their <u>form</u> is concerned, but their meanings are wrong (i.e. cannot be accounted for as a regular function of the formative). Thus *štarr* 'to chew a cud, ruminate' is not to be counted as a derivative of *žarr* 'to pull, drag'.[1]

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 *žarrāḥ* 'surgeon', for instance, is mildly idiomatic with respect to its underlying verb *žaraḥ* '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 *Ɛarraf* 'to present, introduce' is an idiomatic causative of *Ɛəref* 'to know, get to know'. It is idiomatic mainly in its syntax: instead of being doubly transitive — which is the normal thing for causitives of transitive verbs — it takes only one object and a pre- positional complement: *Ɛarraf (ḥada) Ɛala (ḥada)* 'to introduce (someone) to (someone)'.

A more severe case of idiomatic derivation can be seen in the relation- ship between *ḥtaram* 'to respect' and *ḥaram* 'to deprive (someone) of (some- thing)'. The regular mediopassive function of the *-t-* would theoretically produce a derivative meaning 'to deprive one's self of, to hold aloof from'. The actual meaning, however, is considerably altered, first by speciali- zation in the sense 'to observe a taboo with respect to', thence by generalization: 'to respect'.[2]

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*.

---

[1] Not a <u>functional</u> derivative, though it may be a <u>historical</u> derivative. When in the course of history one or both paronyms undergo such drastic changes in meaning that the connection between them is no longer apparent, then the derivation has ceased to be functional.

[2] The 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 *štaġal* 'to work', for instance, is the mediopassive of *šaġal* 'to occupy, make...busy', but this derivation applies only insofar as the subject-referent of *štaġal* is animate. When it is inanimate (say, a machine), then *štaġal* is not the mediopassive of *šaġal*, but rather of *šaġġal* 'to operate, put into operation'.[1]

---

[1] Or better, perhaps, *šaġġal* may be considered the causative of *štaġal*. 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 <u>particular</u> 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 neces- sarily "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 <u>primary</u> 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) has 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 *maktab* 'office' can be analyzed derivationally as meaning 'a place having to do with writing', and the occupational noun *kāteb* '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 *kāteb* 'clerk' and *maktab* 'office', or that between *ktāb* 'book' and the locative *maktabe* 'library'.)

But since the verb pattern *FaƐaL* cannot be associated with any spe- cific kind of meaning, the simple verb *katab* '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 mean- ing of the root *k-t-b*, then, is seen to be merely the blurred and deverb- alized meaning of the verb *katab*.

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 (ʔawzān l-fiɛl)
WITH INFLECTIONAL PARADIGMS

Most of the Arabic verb patterns (commonly called "stems", "forms", or "measures") are traditionally designated in Western grammars and diction-aries by numerical labels. For instance "Pattern II" ("the second stem") is Pattern FaɛɛaL, "Pattern III" is FāɛaL, 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 ḥamal, byəḥmel 'to carry' is an example of Pattern FaɛaL, byəFɛeL. (Augmented verbs also are some-times cited in this way, though their imperfect can be deduced from the perfect.) Pattern FaɛaL, byəFɛeL may also be cited as Pattern I(a-e) — with the first letter in the parenthesis showing the stem vowel of the per-fect 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[1] 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 para-digms 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 vari-ations 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:

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

---

[1](footnote continued from page 51)
of family emblem or icon which has no intrinsic meaning but which is invested with, and reflects, the meaning of the "head" word base.

A common objection to the foregoing argument is that there are many word families in which certain derivatives have no underlying words, and therefore if 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 interpo-late 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 fix 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 use-ful, generally speaking, as it stands.

AUGMENTED TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

TRUE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

PATTERN I(a-o):   *FaƐaL, byəFƐoL*

Sound Verbs.   Examples:

ʔamar, byəʔmor 'to command'	*xalaṣ, byəxloṣ* 'to finish'
daras, byədros 'to study'	*katab, byəktob* 'to write'
ṭabax, byəṭbox 'to cook'	*barad, byəbrod* 'to get cold'

INFLECTION OF *katab* 'to write'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*kátab*	*byə́ktob*	*yə́ktob*		'he'
f	*kátbet*	*btə́ktob*	*tə́ktob*		'she'
pl	*kátabu*	*byə́kᵊtbu*	*yə́kᵊtbu*		'they'
2m	*katáb(ᵊ)t*	*btə́ktob*	*tə́ktob*	*ktōb*	'you'
f	*katábti*	*btə́kᵊtbi*	*təḱᵊtbi*	*ktə́bi*	'you'
pl	*katábtu*	*btə́kᵊtbu*	*tə́kᵊtbu*	*ktə́bu*	'you'
1sg	*katáb(ᵊ)t*	*bə́ktob*	*ʔə́ktob*		'I'
pl	*katábna*	*mnə́ktob*	*nə́ktob*		'we'

Participles: Act. *kāteb*, Pass. *maktūb* (Gerunds: *ktābe, katᵊb*)

Initial-Weak Verbs: *ʔakal, byākol* 'to eat'; *ʔaxad, byāxod* 'to take'

The initial radical *ʔ* of these two verbs fuses with the prefix vowel of the imperfect to produce *ā*, and disappears entirely in the imperative. (In all other verbs on this pattern the initial radical *ʔ* is stable, e.g. *ʔamar, byəʔmor*.

INFLECTION OF *ʔaxad* 'to take, get'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*ʔáxad*	*byāxod*	*yāxod*		'he'
f	*ʔáxdet*	*btāxod*	*tāxod*		'she'
pl	*ʔáxadu*	*byāxdu*	*yāxdu*		'they'
2m	*ʔaxád(ə)t*[1]	*btāxod*	*tāxod*	*xōd*	'you'
f	*ʔaxátti*	*btāxdi*	*tāxdi*	*xə́di*	'you'
pl	*ʔaxáttu*	*btāxdu*	*tāxdu*	*xə́du*	'you'
1sg	*ʔaxád(ə)t*[1]	*bāxod*	*ʔāxod*		'I'
pl	*ʔaxádna*	*mnāxod*	*nāxod*		'we'

Participles: Act. *ʔāxed*, Pass. *maʔxūd* (Gerund: *ʔaxəd*)

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

ʔāl, biʔūl 'to say'	*kān, bikūn* 'to be'
zār, bizūr 'to visit'	*sāʔ, bisūʔ* 'to drive'
māt, bimūt 'to die'	*lām, bilūm* 'to blame'

All these verbs have *w* as their middle radical. In the perfect the *w* disappears entirely, while in the imperfect it fuses with the pattern vowel *o* to produce *ū*.

---

[1] Or with assimilation of *d* to *t* [p. 26]: *ʔaxátt*.

INFLECTION OF *sāʔ* 'to drive'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*sāʔ*	*bisūʔ*	*ysūʔ*		'he'
f	*sāʔet*	*bətsūʔ*	*tsūʔ*		'she'
pl	*sāʔu*	*bisūʔu*	*ysūʔu*		'they'
2m	*səʔ(ə)t*	*bətsūʔ*	*tsūʔ*	*sūʔ*	'you'
f	*səʔti*	*bətsūʔi*	*tsūʔi*	*sūʔi*	'you'
pl	*səʔtu*	*bətsūʔu*	*tsūʔu*	*sūʔu*	'you'
1sg	*səʔ(ə)t*	*bsūʔ*	*sūʔ*		'I'
pl	*səʔna*	*mənsūʔ*	*nsūʔ*		'we'

Participle: Act. *sāyeʔ* (Gerund: *syāʔa.*)

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

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

PATTERN I(a-e): *FaɛaL, byəFɛeL*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

ʔasam, byəʔsem 'to divide'	*ġasal, byəġsel* 'to wash'
ḥamal, byəḥmel 'to carry'	*ɛažab, byəɛžeb* 'to please'
kamaš, byəkmeš 'to grasp'	*ɛawaž, byəɛwež* 'to bend'

INFLECTION OF *ḥamal* 'to carry'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ḥámal	byóḥmel	yǝḥmel		'he'
f	ḥámlet	btǝḥmel	tǝḥmel		'she'
pl	ḥámalu	byǝ́ḥᵊmlu	yǝ́ḥᵊmlu		'they'
2m	ḥamál(ᵊ)t	btǝḥmel	tǝḥmel	ḥmēl	'you'
f	ḥamálti	btǝ́ḥᵊmli	tǝ́ḥᵊmli	ḥmǝ́li	'you'
pl	ḥamáltu	btǝ́ḥᵊmlu	tǝ́ḥᵊmlu	ḥmǝ́lu	'you'
1sg	ḥamál(ᵊ)t	bǝ́ḥmel	ʔǝ́ḥmel		'I'
pl	ḥamálna	mnǝ́ḥmel	nǝ́ḥmel		'we'

Participles: Act. *ḥāmel*, Pass. *maḥmūl*   (Gerund: *ḥamᵊl*)

There are a number of sound verbs on this pattern that have medial radical *w*. Most of them are correlative to defect-adjectives [p.130]: *Ɛawar* 'to put out an eye' (cf. *ʔaƐwar* 'one-eyed'), *Ɛawaž* 'to bend' (cf. *ʔaƐwaž* 'bent'), *ḥawal* 'to make cross-eyed' (cf. *ʔaḥwal* 'cross-eyed'). Also *zawar* 'to frown at, give a significant look'.

Otherwise, I(*a–e*) verbs with medial radical *w* (and stable final radical) are hollow [p.59].

INFLECTION OF *Ɛawaž* 'to bend'

	Ɛáwaž	byǝ́Ɛwež	yǝ́Ɛwež		'he'
3m	Ɛáwaž	byǝ́Ɛwež	yǝ́Ɛwež		'he'
f	Ɛáwžet	btǝ́Ɛwež	tǝ́Ɛwež		'she'
pl	Ɛáwažu	byǝ́Ɛᵊwžu	yǝ́Ɛᵊwžu		'they'
2m	Ɛawáž(ᵊ)t	btǝ́Ɛwež	tǝ́Ɛwež	Ɛwēž	'you'
f	Ɛawážti	btǝ́Ɛᵊwži	tǝ́Ɛᵊwži	Ɛwǝ́ži	'you'
pl	Ɛawážtu	btǝ́Ɛᵊwžu	tǝ́Ɛᵊwžu	Ɛwǝ́žu	'you'
1sg	Ɛawáž(ᵊ)t	bǝ́Ɛwež	ʔǝ́Ɛwež		'I'
pl	Ɛawážna	mnǝ́Ɛwež	nǝƐwež		'we'

Participles: Act. *Ɛāwež*, Pass. *maƐwūž*   (Gerund: *Ɛawže*)

Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

waƐad, byūƐed 'to promise'   *waṣaf, byūṣef* 'to describe'

wazan, byūzen 'to weigh'   *važad, byūžed* 'to find'

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

INFLECTION OF *waṣaf* 'to describe'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	waṣaf	byūṣef	yūṣef		'he'
f	wáṣfet	btūṣef	tūṣef		'she'
pl	wáṣafu	byūṣfu	yūṣfu		'they'
2m	waṣáf(ᵊ)t	btūṣef	tūṣef	wṣēf	'you'
f	waṣáfti	btūṣfi	tūṣfi	wṣǝ́fi	'you'
pl	waṣáftu	btūṣfu	tūṣfu	wṣǝ́fu	'you'
1sg	waṣáf(ᵊ)t	būṣef	ʔūṣef		'I'
pl	waṣáfna	mnuṣef	nuṣef		'we'

Participles: Act. *wāṣef*, Pass. *mawṣūf*   (Gerund: *waṣᵊf*)

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

ʔām, biʔīm 'to remove'   *ġāb, biġīb* 'to be absent'

zād, bizīd 'to increase'   *Ɛāš, biƐīš* 'to live'

bāƐ, bibīƐ 'to sell'   *ṭār, biṭīr* '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 *ī*. (n.b.: $w + e \rightarrow ī$, as well as $y + e \rightarrow ī$.)

INFLECTION OF *fa⁹* 'to wake up' (intrans.)

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*fā⁹*	*bifī⁹*	*yfī⁹*		'he'
f	*fā⁹et*	*bətfī⁹*	*tfī⁹*		'she'
pl	*fā⁹u*	*bifī⁹u*	*yfi⁹u*		'they'
2m	*fə́⁹(ə)t*	*bətfī⁹*	*tfī⁹*	*fī⁹*	'you'
f	*fə́⁹ti*	*bətfī⁹i*	*tfī⁹i*	*fī⁹i*	'you'
pl	*fə́⁹tu*	*bətfī⁹u*	*tfī⁹u*	*fī⁹u*	'you'
1sg	*fə́⁹(ə)t*	*bfī⁹*	*fī⁹*		'I'
pl	*fə́⁹na*	*mənfī⁹*	*nfī⁹*		'we'

Participle: *fāye⁹*　(Gerund: *fē⁹a*)

Defective Verbs.　Examples:

ḥaka, byəḥki	'to speak'	*ṭafa, byəṭfi*	'to extinguish'
bana, byəbni	'to build'	*tawa, byəṭwi*	'to fold'
ḥaya, byəḥyi	'to enliven'	*daƐa, byədƐi*	'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 *d-Ɛ-w* with Pattern I (*a-e*) gives *daƐa, byədƐi*. (There are no defective verbs in Pattern I (*a-o*)).

INFLECTION OF *bana* 'to build'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*bána*	*byə́bni*	*yə́bni*		'he'
f	*bánet*	*btə́bni*	*tə́bni*		'she'
pl	*bánu*	*byə́bnu*	*yə́bnu*		'they'
2m	*banēt*	*btə́bni*	*tə́bni*	*bnī, ⁹ə́bni*	'you'
f	*banēti̧*	*btə́bni*	*tə́bni*	*bnī, ⁹ə́bni*	'you'
pl	*banētu*	*btə́bnu*	*tə́bnu*	*bnū, ⁹ə́bnu*	'you'
1sg	*banēt*	*bə́bni*	*⁹ə́bni*		'I'
pl	*banēna*	*mnə́bni*	*nə́bni*		'we'

Participles: Act. *bāni*, Pass. *məbni*　(Gerund: *binā⁹*)

The verb *Ɛaṭa* 'to give' has prefix-supporting vowel *a* in the imperfect:

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*Ɛáṭa*	*byáƐṭi*	*yáƐṭi*		'he'
f	*Ɛáṭeṭ*	*bṭáƐṭi*	*ṭáƐṭi*		'she'
pl	*Ɛáṭu*	*byáƐṭu*	*yáƐṭu*		'they'
2m	*Ɛaṭēṭ*	*bṭáƐṭi*	*ṭáƐṭi*	*Ɛáṭi*[1]	'you'
f	*Ɛaṭēṭi*	*bṭáƐṭi*	*ṭáƐṭi*	*Ɛáṭi*	'you'
pl	*Ɛaṭēṭu*	*bṭáƐṭu*	*ṭaƐṭu*	*Ɛáṭu*	'you'
1sg	*Ɛaṭēṭ*	*báƐṭi*	*⁹áƐṭi*		'I'
pl	*Ɛaṭēna*	*mnáƐṭi*	*náƐṭi*		'we'

Participle: Act. *Ɛāṭi*　(Gerund: *Ɛaṭā⁹*, *Ɛaṭa*)

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

---

[1] Note the irregular imperative stem (instead of *⁹aƐṭi*).

INFLECTION OF *ṭawa* 'to fold'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*ṭáwa*	*byáṭwi*	*yáṭwi*		'he'
f	*ṭáwet*	*btáṭwi*	*táṭwi*		'she'
pl	*ṭáwu*	*byáṭwu*	*yáṭwu*		'they'
2m	*ṭawēt*	*btáṭwi*	*táṭwi*	*ṭwī̄, ʔáṭwi*	'you'
f	*ṭawēti*	*btáṭwi*	*táṭwi*	*ṭwī̄, ʔáṭwi*	'you'
pl	*ṭawētu*	*btáṭwu*	*táṭwu*	*ṭwū̄, ʔáṭwu*	'you'
1sg	*ṭawēt*	*báṭwi*	*ʔáṭwi*		'I'
pl	*ṭawēna*	*mnáṭwi*	*náṭwi*		'we'

Participles: Act. *ṭāwi*, Pass. *məṭwi*   (Gerund: *ṭawye*)

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

INFLECTION OF *wafa* 'to fulfill'

		byūfi	yūfi		
3m	*wáfa*	*byū̄fi*	*yū̄fi*		'he'
f	*wáfet*	*btū̄fi*	*tū̄fi*		'she'
pl	*wáfu*	*byū̄fu*	*yū̄fu*		'they'
2m	*wafēt*	*btū̄fi*	*tū̄fi*	*wfī̄, ʔū̄fi*	'you'
f	*wafēti*	*btū̄fi*	*tū̄fi*	*wfī̄, ʔū̄fi*	'you'
pl	*wafētu*	*btū̄fu*	*tū̄fu*	*wfū̄, ʔū̄fu*	'you'
1sg	*wafēt*	*bū̄fi*	*ʔū̄fi*		'I'
pl	*wafēna*	*mnū̄fi*	*nū̄fi*		'we'

Participle: Act. *wāfi*   (Gerund: *wafi*)

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:

dām, bidīm 'to make...last'	(← *dām, bidūm* 'to last')
ʔām, biʔīm 'to pick...up'	(← *ʔām, biʔūm* 'to get up')

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 (*ʔām, biʔūm* 'to get up' v.s. *ʔām, biʔīm* '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):

ʔatal, byaʔtol/byaʔtel 'to kill'	*ṣaraf, byaṣrof/byaṣref* 'to spend'
našar, byanšor/byanšer 'to saw'	*lafat, byalfot/byalfet* 'to turn'
xabaz, byaxboz/byaxbez 'to bake'	*tarak, byatrok/byatrek* 'to leave'

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].

byaṭlob 'he asks for': *byaṭᵊlbu* 'they ask for'

byaḥmel 'he carries': *byaḥᵊmlu* 'they carry'

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

madd, bimadd 'to extend'	*ḥall, biḥall* 'to solve'
ʔann, biʔann 'to groan'	*daʔʔ, bidaʔʔ* 'to knock'
ṣabb, biṣabb 'to pour'	*ḥass, biḥass* 'to feel'

---

[1] Corresponding to Classical Pattern IV: *ʔadāma, yudīmu; ʔaqāma, yuqīmu.*

All these verbs have middle and final radicals alike.
(Note, however, that if the like radicals are semivowels
— as in the root ḥ-y-y — the verb will be defective, not
geminate: ḥaya, byəḥyi '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 ə 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 ə [p. 23]. In
parts of Lebanon and Palestine, on the other hand, one will
hear for example ḥaṭṭ, biḥuṭṭ 'to put' (with imperfect vowel
u) in contrast to ḥass, biḥiss 'to feel' (with imperfect
vowel i). (Note, however, that ə before ṭ sounds very much
like u, and ə before s sounds very much like i [p. 13].)

INFLECTION OF ḥass 'to feel'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ḥáss	biḥə́ss	yḥə́ss		'he'
f	ḥásset	bətḥə́ss	tḥə́ss		'she'
pl	ḥássu	biḥə́ssu	yḥə́ssu		'they'
2m	ḥassḗt	bətḥə́ss	tḥə́ss	ḥə́ss	'you'
f	ḥassḗti	bətḥə́ssi	tḥə́ssi	ḥə́ssi	'you'
pl	ḥassḗtu	bətḥə́ssu	tḥə́ssu	ḥə́ssu	'you'
1sg	ḥassḗt	bḥə́ss	ḥə́ss		'I'
pl	ḥassḗna	mənḥə́ss	nḥə́ss		'we'

Participles: Act. ḥāses, Pass. maḥsūs   (Gerund: ḥəss)

PATTERN I (a-a): FaƐaL, byəFƐaL

Sound Verbs. Examples:

saʔal, byəsʔal 'to ask'		žahar, byəžhar 'to appear'
fataḥ, byəftaḥ 'to open'		baƐat, byəbƐat 'to send'
žamaƐ, byəžmaƐ 'to bring together'		ḥafaẓ, byəḥfaẓ 'to keep'

The vast majority of these verbs have a back consonant
(x, ġ, q, ḥ, Ɛ, h, or ʔ) either as middle or last radical.

INFLECTION OF saʔal 'to ask'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sá?al	byə́s?al	yə́s?al		'he'
f	sá?let	btə́s?al	tə́s?al		'she'
pl	sá?alu	byə́s?alu	yə́s?alu		'they'
2m	sa?ál(ə)t	btə́s?al	tə́s?al	s?ā́l	'you'
f	sa?álti	btə́s?ali	tə́s?ali	s?ə́li	'you'
pl	sa?áltu	btə́s?alu	tə́s?alu	s?ə́lu	'you'
1sg	sa?ál(ə)t	bə́s?al	?ə́s?al		'I'
pl	sa?álna	mnə́s?al	nə́s?al		'we'

Participles: Act. sā́?el Pass. mas?ū́l.[1]

---

[1] Most commonly used idiomatically in the sense 'responsible, in charge'.

Initial-Weak Verbs: *waḍaɛ byūdaɛ* 'to place'; *wadaɛ, byūdaɛ* 'to entrust, deposit'.

These two verbs, like those of Pattern I *(a-e)*, have imperfect stems beginning with *-ū*, from the fusion of the prefix vowel with the initial radical *w*.

INFLECTION OF *waḍaɛ* 'to put, place'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*wáḍaɛ*	*byūḍaɛ*	*yūḍaɛ*		'he'
f	*wáḍɛet*	*bṭūḍaɛ*	*ṭūḍaɛ*		'she'
pl	*wáḍaɛu*	*byūḍaɛu*	*yūḍaɛu*		'they'
2m	*waḍáɛ(ə)t*	*bṭūḍaɛ*	*ṭūḍaɛ*	*wḍāɛ*	'you'
f	*waḍáɛti*	*bṭūḍaɛi*	*ṭūḍaɛi*	*wḍáɛi*	'you'
pl	*waḍáɛtu*	*bṭūḍaɛu*	*ṭūḍaɛu*	*wḍáɛu*	'you'
1sg	*waḍáɛ(ə)t*	*būḍaɛ*	*ʔūḍaɛ*		'I'
	waḍáɛna	*mnūḍaɛ*	*nūḍaɛ*		'we'

Participles: Act. *wāḍeɛ*, Pass. *mawḍūɛ*   (Gerund: *waḍˀɛ*)

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

bān, bibān	'to appear'	*bāt, bibāt*	'to spend the night'
nāl, bināl	'to obtain'	*xāf, bixāf*	'to fear'
nām, binām	'to sleep'	*ġār, biġār*	'to be jealous'
hāb, bihāb	'to be awed'	*sāɛ, bisāɛ*	'to contain'

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

INFLECTION OF *nām* 'to sleep'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*nām*	*binām*	*ynām*		'he'
f	*nāmet*	*batnām*	*tnām*		'she'
pl	*nāmu*	*bināmu*	*ynāmu*		'they'
2m	*nə́m(ə)t*	*betnām*	*tnām*	*nām*	'you'
f	*nə́mti*	*batnāmi*	*tnāmi*	*nāmi*	'you'
pl	*nə́mtu*	*batnāmu*	*tnāmu*	*nāmu*	'you'
1sg	*nə́m(ə)t*	*bnām*	*nām*		'I'
pl	*nə́mna*	*mannām*	*nnām*		'we'

Participle: *nāyèm*   (Gerund: *nōm*)

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

ʔara, byaʔra   'to read'

raɛa, byarɛa   'to herd, tend'

Also commonly used are:

bada (or *bədi*), 'to begin'   *saɛa* (or *səɛi*), 'to make efforts'
  byəbda   *byəsɛa*

nama (or *nəmi*), 'to grow'   *hawa* (or *həwi*), 'to contain'
  byənma   *byəhwa*

ɛaṣa (or *ɛəṣi*), 'to disobey'
  byəɛṣa

All these verbs have a final radical *w* or *y*, which is lost or fused in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF ʾara 'to read'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ʾára	byáʾra	yáʾra		'he'
f	ʾáret	btáʾra	táʾra		'she'
pl	ʾáru	byáʾru	yáʾru		'they'
2m	ʾarēt	btáʾra	táʾra	ʾrā, ʾáʾra	'you'
f	ʾarēti	btáʾri	táʾri	ʾrī, ʾáʾri	'you'
pl	ʾarētu	btáʾru	táʾru	ʾrū, ʾáʾru	'you'
1sg	ʾarēt	báʾra	ʾáʾra		'I'
pl	ʾarēna	mnáʾra	náʾra		'we'

Participles: Act. ʾāri, Pass. maʾri   (Gerund: ʾrāye)

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

> ḍaḷḷ, biḍaḷḷ   'to remain'
>
> tamm, bitamm   'to remain'

Also commonly used is ɛaḍḍ, biɛaḍḍ 'to bite' (but Palestinian also biɛaḍḍ); Palestinian ṣaḥḥ, biṣaḥḥ 'to be all right' (but elsewhere usually biṣaḥḥ).

INFLECTION OF tamm 'to remain'

3m	támm	bitámm	ytámm		'he'
f	támmet	bəttámm	ttámm		'she'
pl	támmu	bitámmu	ytámmu		'they'
2m	tammēt	bəttámm	ttámm	támm	'you'
f	tammēti	bəttámmi	ttámmi	támmi	'you'
pl	tammētu	bəttámmu	ttámmu	támmu	'you'
1sg	tammēt	btámm	támm		'I'
pl	tammēna	məntámm	ntámm		'we'

Participle: tāmem

PATTERN I (e-e): FaƐel, byaFƐeL

Sound Verbs. Examples:

masek, byamsek 'to hold'	nazel, byanzel 'to descend'
labes, byalbes 'to dress'	ɛamel, byaɛmel 'to make'
hasen, byahsen 'to be able'	ʾader, byaʾder 'to be able'

This pattern is rare; the above examples are the only ones generally used. Ɛaref, byaɛref 'to know' conforms to this pattern except for the supporting vowel *a* with the subject prefixes [177] — also commonly used in ɛamel, byaɛmel. (ġader, byaġder 'to be able' is a variant of ʾader, byaʾder.) Regional variants include byaʾdar (Pal.), byanzal (Leb.), byaɛmal (Pal.), which put these verbs in Pattern I *(e-a)*, and masak, which puts this verb in Pattern I *(a-e)*.

INFLECTION OF nazel 'to descend'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	nézel	byánzel	yánzel		'he'
f	názlet	btánzel	tánzel		'she'
pl	názlu	byánzlu	yánzlu		'they'
2m	nzál(ə)t	btánzel	tánzel	nzēl	'you'
f	nzálti	btánzli	tánzli	nzáli	'you'
pl	nzáltu	btánzlu	tánzlu	nzálu	'you'
1sg	nzál(ə)t	bánzel	ʾánzel		'I'
pl	nzálna	mnánzel	nánzel		'we'

Participle: Act. nāzel   (Gerund: nzūl)

The verb *Ɛəref* 'to know' (as usually also *Ɛəmel* 'to do') has *a* as prefix-supporting vowel in the imperfect:

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*Ɛə́ref*	*byɑ́Ɛref*	*yɑ́Ɛref*		'he'
f	*Ɛə́rfet*	*btɑ́Ɛref*	*tɑ́Ɛref*		'she'
pl	*Ɛə́rfu*	*byɑ́Ɛ°rfu*	*yaƐ°rfu*		'they'
2m	*Ɛrə́f(°)t*	*btɑ́Ɛref*	*tɑ́Ɛref*	*Ɛrḗf*	'you'
f	*Ɛrə́fti*	*btɑ́Ɛ°rfi*	*tɑ́Ɛ°rfi*	*Ɛrə́fi*	'you'
pl	*Ɛrə́ftu*	*btɑ́Ɛ°rfu*	*tɑ́Ɛ°rfu*	*Ɛrə́fu*	'you'
1sg	*Ɛrə́f(°)t*	*bɑ́Ɛref*	*°ɑ́Ɛref*		'I'
pl	*Ɛrə́fna*	*mnɑ́Ɛref*	*nɑ́Ɛref*		'we'

Participles: Act. *Ɛā̄ref, Ɛarfān,* Pass. *maƐrū̄f*   (Gerund: *Ɛarafān*[1])

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

<div align="center">

bəki, byəbki   'to cry'

mə ši, byəmši   'to walk'

</div>

Commonly heard in Lebanon is *həki* (for *həka*), *byəhki* 'to speak'.

INFLECTION OF *məši* 'to walk'

3m	*mə́ši*	*byə́mši*	*yə́mši*		'he'
f	*mə́šyet*	*btə́mši*	*tə́mši*		'she'
pl	*mə́šyu*	*byə́mšu*	*yə́mšu*		'they'
2m	*mšī̆t*	*btə́mši*	*tə́mši*	*mšī̆, °ə́mši*	'you'
f	*mšī̆ti*	*btə́mši*	*tə́mši*	*mšī̆, °ə́mši*	'you'
pl	*mšī̆tu*	*btə́mšu*	*tə́mšu*	*mšū̄; °ə́mšu*	'you'
1sg	*mšī̆t*	*bə́mši*	*°ə́mši*		'I'
pl	*mšī̆na*	*mnə́mši*	*nə́mši*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mā̄ši,* Pass. *məmši (Ɛalē̄)*   (Gerund: *maši*)

---

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

PATTERN I (e-a):   *FəƐel, byəFƐaL*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

°əbel, byə°bal 'to accept'   *ləƐeb, byəlƐab* 'to play'

fəhem, byəfham 'to understand'   *kəber, byəkbar* 'to grow up'

°ətel, byə°tal 'to be killed'   *ţuwel, byəţwal* 'to grow tall'

The verb *ţuwel* (or *ţəwel*), with medial radical *w*, is an exception to the general rule that verbs with a semivocalic middle radical — and consonantal final radical — are hollow. (Cf. medial *w* sound verbs of Pattern I *(a-e)* [p. 58].) (There is a hollow *(a-o)* verb with the same root: *ţāl, biţū̄l* 'to be a long time'.)

INFLECTION OF *°əbel* 'to accept'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*°ə́bel*	*byə́°bal*	*yə́°bal*		'he'
f	*°ə́blet*	*btə́°bal*	*tə́°bal*		'she'
pl	*°ə́blu*	*byə́°balu*	*yə́°balu*		'they'
2m	*°bə́l(°)t*	*btə́°bal*	*tə́°bal*	*°bā̄l*	'you'
f	*°bə́lii*	*btə́°bali*	*tə́°bali*	*°bā́li*	'you'
pl	*°bə́ltu*	*btə́°balu*	*tə́°balu*	*°bā́lu*	'you'
1sg	*°bə́l(°)t*	*bə́°bal*	*°ə́°bal*		'I'
pl	*°bə́lna*	*mnə́°bal*	*nə́°bal*		'we'

Participles: Act. *°ā̄bel,* Pass. *ma°bū̄l*   (Gerund: *°əblān*)

INFLECTION OF ṭəwel or ṭuwel 'to grow tall'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ṭə́wel (ṭúwel)	byáṭwal	yáṭwal		'he'
f	ṭə́wleṭ (ṭū́leṭ)	bṭáṭwal	ṭáṭwal		'she'
pl	ṭə́wlu (ṭū́lu)	byáṭwalu	yáṭwalu		'they'
2m	ṭwál(ə)t	bṭáṭwal	ṭáṭwal	ṭwāl	'you'
f	ṭwálṭi	bṭáṭwali	ṭáṭwali	ṭwáli	'you'
pl	ṭwálṭu	bṭáṭwalu	ṭáṭwalu	ṭwálu	'you'
1sg	ṭwál(ə)t	báṭwal	ʔáṭwal		'I'
pl	ṭwálna	mnáṭwal	náṭwal		'we'

Participle: ṭawlān (Gerund: ṭawalān)

Defective Verbs: Examples:

baʔi, byabʔa 'to stay'   nəsi, byansa 'to forget'
ʕəṣi, byəʕṣa 'to get stuck'   šəfi, byəšfa 'to get well'
waṭi, byūṭa 'to be low'   həyi, byəhya '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 bəʔi 'to stay'

3m	bə́ʔi	byə́bʔa	yə́bʔa		'he'
f	bə́ʔyet	btə́bʔa	tə́bʔa		'she'
pl	bə́ʔyu	byə́bʔu	yə́bʔu		'they'
2m	bʔīt	btə́bʔa	tə́bʔa	bʔā, ʔə́bʔa	'you'
f	bʔīti	btə́bʔi	tə́bʔi	bʔī, ʔə́bʔi	'you'
pl	bʔītu	btə́bʔu	tə́bʔu	bʔū, ʔə́bʔu	'you'
1sg	bʔīt	bə́bʔa	ʔə́bʔa		'I'
pl	bʔīna	mnə́bʔa	nə́bʔa		'we'

Participle: bāʔi, baʔyān (Gerund: baʔi)

Medial radical semivowels remain intact in defective verbs:

INFLECTION OF ʔəwi 'to become strong'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ʔə́wi	byə́ʔwa	yə́ʔwa		'he'
f	ʔə́wyet	btə́ʔwa	tə́ʔwa		'she'
pl	ʔə́wyu	byəʔwu	yəʔwu		'they'
2m	ʔwīt	btə́ʔwa	tə́ʔwa	ʔwā, ʔə́ʔwa	'you'
f	ʔwīti	btə́ʔwi	tə́ʔwi	ʔwī, ʔə́ʔwi	'you'
pl	ʔwītu	btə́ʔwu	tə́ʔwu	ʔwū, ʔə́ʔwu	'you'
1sg	ʔwīt	bə́ʔwa	ʔə́ʔwa		'I'
pl	ʔwīna	mnə́ʔwa	nə́ʔwa		'we'

Participle: ʔāwi

INFLECTION OF həyi 'to be revived'

3m	hə́yi	byə́hya	yə́hya	'he'
f	hə́yyet	btə́hya	tə́hya	'she'
pl	hə́yyu	byə́hyu	yə́hyu	'they'
2m	hyīt	btə́hya	tə́hya	'you'
f	hyīti	btə́hyi	tə́hyi	'you'
pl	hyītu	btəhyu	tə́hyu	'you'
1sg	hyīt	bə́hya	ʔə́hya	'I'
pl	hyīna	mnə́hya	nə́hya	'we'

Defective verbs with initial radical *w* are also
initial-weak: imperfect prefix-vowel *ə* + *w* → *ū*.

INFLECTION OF *wə́ṭi* 'to be low'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	wə́ṭi	byūṭa	yūṭa		'he'
f	wə́ṭyeṭ	bṭūṭa	ṭuṭa		'she'
pl	wə́ṭyu	byūṭu	yūṭu		'they'
2m	wṭīṭ	bṭūṭa	ṭūṭa	wṭā, ʔūṭa	'you'
f	wṭīṭi	bṭūṭi	ṭūṭi	wṭī, ʔūṭi	'you'
pl	wṭīṭu	bṭūṭu	ṭūṭu	wṭū, ʔūṭu	'you'
1sg	wṭīṭ	būṭa	ʔūṭa		'I'
pl	wṭīna	mnūṭa	nūṭa		'we'

Participle: *wāṭi*   (Gerund: *wṭuww*)

Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

        wəṣel, byəṣal   (or *byūṣal*)   'to arrive'

        wəʔeɛ, byəʔaɛ   (or *byūʔaɛ*)   'to fall'

        yəbes, byəbas   (or *byības*)   'to dry up'

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

Some verbs are mainly limited in the imperfect to
forms with *ū* (or *ī*) in all Syrian areas: *wəret, byūrat*
'to inherit', *yəʔes, byīʔas* 'to despair'. [187].

INFLECTION OF *wə́ṣel* 'to arrive'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	wə́ṣel	byə́ṣal (byū́ṣal)	yə́ṣal (yū́ṣal)		'he'
f	wə́ṣlet	bṭə́ṣal (bṭū́ṣal)	ṭə́ṣal (ṭū́ṣal)		'she'
pl	wə́ṣlu	byə́ṣalu (byū́ṣalu)	yə́ṣalu (yū́ṣalu)		'they'
2m	wṣə́l(ə)t	bṭə́ṣal (bṭū́ṣal)	ṭə́ṣal (ṭū́ṣal)	wṣāl	'you'
f	wṣə́lṭi	bṭə́ṣali (bṭū́ṣali)	ṭə́ṣali (ṭū́ṣali)	wṣə́li	'you'
pl	wṣə́lṭu	bṭə́ṣalu (bṭū́ṣalu)	ṭə́ṣalu (ṭū́ṣalu)	wṣə́lu	'you'
1sg	wṣə́l(ə)t	bə́ṣal (bū́ṣal)	ʔə́ṣal (ʔū́ṣal)		'I'
pl	wṣə́lna	mnə́ṣal (mnū́ṣal)	nə́ṣal (nū́ṣal)		'we'

Participle: *wāṣel*   (Gerund: *wṣūl*)

INFLECTION OF *yəbes* 'to dry up'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	yə́bes	byə́bas (byī́bas)	yə́bas (yī́bas)		'he'
f	yə́bset	bṭə́bas (bṭī́bas)	ṭə́bas (ṭī́bas)		'she'
pl	yə́bsu	byə́basu (byī́basu)	yə́basu (yī́basu)		'they'
2m	ybə́s(ə)t	bṭə́bas (bṭī́bas)	ṭə́bas (ṭī́bas)	ybās	'you'
f	ybə́sti	bṭə́basi (bṭī́basi)	ṭə́basi (ṭī́basi)	ybə́si	'you'
pl	ybə́stu	bṭə́basu (bṭī́basu)	ṭə́basu (ṭī́basu)	ybə́su	'you'
1sg	ybə́s(ə)t	bə́bas (bī́bas)	ʔə́bas (ʔī́bas)		'I'
pl	ybə́sna	mnə́bas (mnī́bas)	nə́bas (nī́bas)		'we'

Participle: *yābes*   (Gerund: *yabˀs*)

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

  xəreb, byəxrab 'to be ruined'   (cf. *xarab, byəxrob* 'to ruin')

  taɛeb, byatɛab 'to get tired'   (cf. *taɛab, byatɛeb* 'to tire')

  ħəyi, byəħya 'to be revived'   (cf. *ħaya, byəħyi* 'to revive')

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

  kəber, byəkbar 'to grow up, become large' (cf. *kbīr* 'large, adult')

  zəġer, byəzġar 'to become small'   (cf. *zġīr* 'small')

  ṭuwel, byəṭwal 'to become long or tall' (cf. *ṭawīl* 'long, tall')

  səhel, byəshal 'to be easy'   (cf. *sahⁱl* 'easy')

ANOMALOUS VERB: *ʔəža* 'to come'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv. (irregular)	
3m	*ʔə́ža*	*byə́ži*	*yə́ži*		'he'
f	*ʔə́žet*	*btə́ži*	*tə́ži*		'she'
pl	*ʔə́žu*	*byə́žu*	*yə́žu*		'they'
2m	*ʔžīt*	*btə́ži*	*tə́ži*	*tᵃɛa*	'you'
f	*ʔžīti*	*btə́ži*	*tə́ži*	*tᵃɛi*	'you'
pl	*ʔžītu*	*btə́žu*	*tə́žu*	*tᵃɛu*	'you'
1sg	*ʔžīt*	*bə́ži*	*ʔə́ži*		'I'
pl	*ʔžīna*	*mnə́ži*	*nə́ži*		'we'

Participle (irregular): *žāyel*.[1]

  Variant forms include *ʔaža, ʔažet, ʔažu* (Damascus and elsewhere; *b(y)īži, btīži,* etc. (in Palestine and parts of Lebanon); *žā, žāt, žū* (or *žaw*), *žīt, žīna,* etc. (parts of Lebanon).

---

[1] With irregular suffixing forms: *žāyī-*, (f.) *žāyīt-*, as in *žāyini, žāyītni* 'having come to me'. In some regions the *-e* is lost in the masculine absolute form: *žāy*.

PATTERN II: *FaɛɛaL, biFaɛɛeL*

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 *a...a* in the perfect and *a...e* in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

  sakkar, bisakker 'to close'   *ṣayyaf, biṣayyef* 'to spend the summer'
  ħammal, biħammel 'to load'   *xawwaf, bixawwef* 'to frighten'
  žarrab, bižarreb 'to try'   *saddaʔ, bisaddeʔ* 'to believe (to be true)'
  sabbab, bisabbeb 'to cause'   *waṣṣal, biwaṣṣel* 'to deliver (to destination)'

INFLECTION OF *sakkar* 'to close'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*sákkar*	*bisákker*	*ysákker*		'he'
f	*sákkaret*	*batsákker*	*tsákker*		'she'
pl	*sákkaru*	*bisákkru*	*ysákkru*		'they'
2m	*sakkár(ᵊ)t*	*batsákker*	*tsákker*	*sákker*	'you'
f	*sakkárti*	*batsákkri*	*tsákkri*	*sákkri*	'you'
pl	*sakkártu*	*batsákkru*	*tsákkru*	*sákkru*	'you'
1sg	*sakkár(ᵊ)t*	*bsákker*	*sákker*		'I'
pl	*sakkárna*	*mənsákker*	*nsákker*		'we'

Participles: Act. *msakker* Pass. *msakkar;* Gerund: *taskīr*

  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 *ə*:

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sábbab	bisábbeb	ysábbeb		'he'
f	sábbabet	batsábbeb	tsábbeb		'she'
pl	sábbabu	bisábbabu	ysábbabu		'they'
2m	sabbáb(ə)t	batsábbeb	tsábbeb	sábbeb	'you'
f	sabbábti	batsábbabi	tsábbabi	sábbabi	'you'
pl	sabbábtu	batsábbabu	tsábbabu	sábbabu	'you'
1sg	sabbáb(ə)t	bsábbab	sábbeb		'I'
pl	sabbábna	mansábbeb	nsábbeb		'we'

Participles: Act. *msabbeb*, Pass. *msabbab*; Gerund: *tasbīb*

Defective Verbs.   Examples:

malla, bimalli	'to fill'		*Ɛawwa, biƐawwi*	'to bark'
faḍḍa, bifaḍḍi	'to empty'		*nažža, binažži*	'to save'
samma, bisammi	'to name'		*wadda, biwaddi*	'to lead'
ġanna, biġanni	'to sing'		*naʔʔa, binaʔʔi*	'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*.

INFLECTION OF *samma* 'to name'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sámma	bisámmi	ysámmi		'he'
f	sámmet	batsámmi	tsámmi		'she'
pl	sámmu	bisámmu	ysámmu		'they'
2m	sammēt	batsámmi	tsámmi	sámmi	'you'
f	sammēti	batsámmi	tsámmi	sámmi	'you'
pl	sammētu	batsámmu	tsámmu	sámmu	'you'
1sg	sammēt	bsámmi	sámmi		'I'
pl	sammēna	mansámmi	nsámmi		'we'

Participles: Act. *msammi*, Pass. *msamma*; Gerund: *tasmāye*

In Pattern II there are no unsound verbs other than defective: Fluctuating or geminating medial (or inital) 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]:

faḍḍa	'to empty'	←	*faḍi*	'to become empty'
ʔawwa	'to strenghten'	←	*ʔawi*	'to become strong'
ḥammal	'to load'	←	*ḥamal*	'to carry'
šawwaf	'to show'	←	*šāf*	'to see'
fahham	'to explain(to)'	←	*fahem*	'to understand'

Many are augmentatives [253]:

kassar	'to smash, break to pieces'	←	*kasar*	'to break'
šammaƐ	'to collect, assemble'	←	*šamaƐ*	'to bring together'
daffaš	'to push (several things or times)'	←	*dafaš*	'to push'

Some are ascriptive [243]:

saddaʔ	'to believe (to be true)'	←	*sadaʔ*	'to be true'
xawwan	'to denounce as traitor'	←	*xān*	'to betray'
faḍḍal	'to prefer'	←	*ʔafḍal*	'favorite'

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

samma	'to name, call'	←	*ʔasᵊm*	'name'
zayyat	'to oil'	←	*zēt*	'oil'
sabbab	'to cause'	←	*sabab*	'cause'

PATTERN III: *Fāɛal, biFāɛeL*

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:

ɛāmal, biɛāmel	'to deal with'	*kātab, bikāteb*	'to write to'
hāžam, bihāžem	'to attack'	*šāwar, bišāwer*	'to consult'
sāfar, bisāfer	'to travel'	*ʔāṣaṣ, biʔāṣeṣ*	'to punish'
bālaġ, bibāleġ	'to exaggerate'	*ḍāḍaḍ, biḍāḍeḍ*	'to oppose'

INFLECTION OF *sāɛad* 'to help'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*sāɛad*	*bisāɛed*	*ysāɛed*		'he'
f	*sāɛadet*	*bətsāɛed*	*tsāɛed*		'she'
pl	*sāɛadu*	*bisāɛdu*	*ysāɛdu*		'they'
2m	*sāɛád(ə)t*[1]	*bətsāɛed*	*tsāɛed*	*sāɛed*	'you'
f	*sāɛádti*	*bətsāɛdi*	*tsāɛdi*	*sāɛdi*	'you'
pl	*sāɛádtu*	*bətsāɛdu*	*tsāɛdu*	*sāɛdu*	'you'
1sg	*sāɛád(ə)t*[1]	*bsāɛed*	*sāɛed*		'I'
pl	*sāɛádna*	*mənsāɛed*	*nsāɛed*		'we'

Participles: Act. *msāɛed*, Pass. *msāɛad*; Gerund: *msāɛade*

If the last two radicals are alike (as in *hāžaž* 'to argue with') the imperfect stem vowel *e* is commonly dropped when *-i* or *-u* are suffixed: *bihāžžu*; or *else ə* may come between the like radicals as in Pattern II verbs [p.72]: *bihāžəžu:*

---

[1] Or with assimilation of *d* to *t*: *sāɛátt, sāɛátti, sāɛáttu.*

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*hāžaž*	*bihāžež*	*yhāžež*		'he'
f	*hāžažet*	*bəthāžež*	*thāžež*		'she'
pl	*hāžažu*	*bihāž(ə)žu*	*yhāž(ə)žu*		'they'
2m	*hāžáž(ə)t*	*bəthāžež*	*thāžež*	*hāžež*	'you'
f	*hāžážti*	*bəthāž(ə)ži*	*thāž(ə)ži*	*hāž(ə)ži*	'you'
pl	*hāžážtu*	*bəthāž(ə)žu*	*thāž(ə)žu*	*hāž(ə)žu*	'you'
1sg	*hāžáž(ə)t*	*bhāžež*	*hāžež*		'I'
pl	*hāžážna*	*mənhāžež*	*nhāžež*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mhāžež*, Pass. *mhāžaž*; Gerund: *mhāžaže*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

hāma, bihāmi	'to protect'	*sāwa, bisāwi*	'to make'
ɛāda, biɛādi	'to treat as an enemy'	*wāza, biwāzi*	'to be parallel to'
hāka, bihāki	'to talk to'	*ɛāfa, biɛāfi*	'to give strength and health to'

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*.

INFLECTION OF *hāka* 'to talk to'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*hāka*	*bihāki*	*yhāki*		'he'
f	*hāket*	*bəthāki*	*thāki*		'she'
pl	*hāku*	*bihāku*	*yhāku*		'they'
2m	*hākēt*	*bəthāki*	*thāki*	*hāki*	'you'
f	*hākēti*	*bəthāki*	*thāki*	*hāki*	'you'
pl	*hākētu*	*bəthāku*	*thāku*	*hāku*	'you'
1sg	*hākēt*	*bhāki*	*hāki*		'I'
pl	*hākēna*	*mənhāki*	*nhāki*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mhāki*, Pass. *mhāka*; Gerund: *mhakāt*[1]

---

[1] Always used in construct [p.455]; absolute form would theoretically be *"mhākā".*

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)'
ḥāka	'to talk to (someone)'	← *haka*	'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'
lāḥa?	'to pursue'	← *ləḥe?*	'to catch up with'
rāḍa	'to appease'	← *raḍa*	'to gratify'

PATTERN IV: *?aFƐaL, byəFƐeL*

Pattern IV is augmented with respect to Pattern I by a prefix *?a-*, 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:

?akram, byəkrem	'to honor'	*?aḍrab, byəḍreb*	'to go on strike'
?arsal, byərsel	'to send'	*?aƐlan, byəƐlen*	'to advertise'
?azƐaž, byəzƐež	'to bother'	*?aṣbaḥ, byəṣbeḥ*	'to be...in the morning'

INFLECTION OF *?aƐlan* 'to announce'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*?áƐlan*	*byə́Ɛlen*	*yə́Ɛlen*		'he'
f	*?áƐlanet*	*btə́Ɛlen*	*tə́Ɛlen*		'she'
pl	*?áƐlanu*	*byə́Ɛ(ə)lnu*	*yə́Ɛ(ə)lnu*		'they'
2m	*?aƐlán(ə)t*	*btə́Ɛlen*	*tə́Ɛlen*	*Ɛlēn*	'you'
f	*?aƐlánti*	*btə́Ɛ(ə)lni*	*tə́Ɛ(ə)lni*	*Ɛlə́ni*	'you'
pl	*?aƐlántu*	*btə́Ɛ(ə)lnu*	*tə́Ɛ(ə)lnu*	*Ɛlə́nu*	'you'
1sg	*?aƐlán(ə)t*	*bə́Ɛlen*	*?ə́Ɛlen*		'I'
pl	*?aƐlánna*	*mnə́Ɛlen*	*nə́Ɛlen*		'we'

Participles: Act. *məƐlen* (Pass. *m?aƐlan*[1]); Gerund *?əƐlān*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

?aġna, byəġni 'to make...rich'   *?ahda, byəhdi* 'to present...a gift'

?asna, byəsni 'to commend'   *?anha, byənhi* '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*.

	Perfect		Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*?áġna*	*(ġána)*	*byə́ġni*	*yə́ġni*		'he'
f	*?áġnet*	*(ġánet)*	*btə́ġni*	*tə́ġni*		'she'
pl	*?áġnu*	*(ġánu)*	*byə́ġnu*	*yə́ġnu*		'they'
2m	*ġanēt*	*(?aġnēt)*	*btə́ġni*	*tə́ġni*	*ġnī, ?ə́ġni*	'you'
f	*ġanēti*	*(?aġnēti)*	*byə́ġni*	*tə́ġni*	*ġni, ?ə́ġni*	'you'
pl	*ġanētu*	*(?aġnētu)*	*btə́ġnu*	*tə́ġnu*	*ġnū, ?ə́ġnu*	'you'
1sg	*ġanēt*	*(?aġnēt)*	*bə́ġni*	*?ə́ġni*		'I'
pl	*ġanēna*	*(?aġnēna)*	*mnə́ġni*	*nə́ġni*		'we'

Participles: Act. (and Pass.) *məġni*[1]; Gerund: *?əġnā?*

---

[1]The verb *?aƐlan* 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: ʔahda or hada 'to give (as a gift)', ʔazɛaž or zaɛaž 'to annoy', ʔaṣarr or ṣarr '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:

ʔaṣarr 'to insist'

	Perfect		Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ʔaṣárr	(ṣárr)	biṣárr	yṣárr		'he'
f	ʔaṣárret	(ṣárret)	bǝtṣárr	tṣárr		'she'
pl	ʔaṣárru	(ṣárru)	biṣárru	yṣárru		'they'
2m	ṣarrēt	(ʔaṣarrēt)	bǝtṣárr	tṣárr	ṣarr	'you'
f	ṣarrēti	(ʔaṣarrēti)	bǝtṣárri	tṣárri	ṣárri	'you'
pl	ṣarrētu	(ʔaṣarrētu)	bǝtṣárru	tṣárru	ṣárru	'you'
1sg	ṣarrēt	(ʔaṣarrēt)	bṣárr	ṣárr		'I'
pl	ṣarrēna	(ʔaṣarrēna)	mǝnṣárr	nṣárr		'we'

Participle: Act. mṣǝrr; Gerund ʔǝṣrār

Hollow verbs:

ʔazāɛ 'to broadcast'

	Perfect		Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ʔazāɛ	(zāɛ)	bizīɛ	yzīɛ		'he'
f	ʔazāɛet	(zāɛet)	bǝdzīɛ	dzīɛ		'she'
pl	ʔazāɛu	(zāɛu)	bizīɛu	yzīɛu		'they'
2m	zóɛ(ǝ)t	(ʔazáɛt)	bǝdzīɛ	dzīɛ	zīɛ	'you'
f	zóɛti	(ʔazáɛti)	bǝdzīɛi	dzīɛi	zīɛi	'you'
pl	zóɛtu	(ʔazáɛtu)	bǝdzīɛu	dzīɛu	zīɛu	'you'
1sg	zóɛ(ǝ)t	(ʔazáɛt)	bzīɛ	zīɛ		'I'
pl	zóɛna	(ʔazáɛna)	mǝnzīɛ	nzīɛ		'we'

Participles: Act: m(u)zīɛ, Pass. m(u)zāɛ; Gerund ʔizāɛa

Initial-weak verb:

ʔāman 'to believe'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ʔāman	byáʔmen	yáʔmen		'he'
f	ʔāmanet	btáʔmen	táʔmen		'she'
pl	ʔāmanu	byáʔʔǝmnu	yáʔʔǝnu		'they'
2m	ʔāmán(ǝ)t	btáʔmen	táʔmen	(ʔāmen)	'you'
f	ʔāmánti	btáʔʔǝmni	táʔʔǝmni	(ʔāmni)	'you'
pl	ʔāmántu	btáʔʔǝmnu	táʔʔǝmnu	(ʔāmnu)	'you'
1sg	ʔāmán(ǝ)t	báʔmen	ʔáʔmen		'I'
pl	ʔāmánna	mnáʔmen	náʔmen		'we'

Participles: Act. maʔmen, Pass. maʔman (fī); Gerund: ʔīmān

In ʔāman, the Pattern IV formative ʔa– combines with the first radical ʔ to produce ʔā–. The resulting form is like Pattern III (FāɛeL) [p.80], and in fact the verb is commonly converted enirely to Pattern III, with imperfect forms biʔāmen, bǝtʔāmen, 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]: ʔaġna 'to make...rich' ← ġǝni 'to become rich'; ʔaẓhar 'to reveal' ← ẓǝher 'to appear'.

THE FORMATIVE t-

The base-formative prefix t– is used in various different patterns: tFaɛɛaL [p.86], tFāɛaL [88], tFaɛLaL [121], and pseudo-quadriradicals [109]. Its main derivational function is that of passive [p.234]; in Pattern tFāɛaL it also forms reciprocative [248] and simulative [249] verbs, and in Pattern tFaɛɛaL inchoatives [251].

t– is commonly voiced (changed to *d*) before voiced dental and palatal obstruents *(d, z, ž, ḍ, ẓ): džauwaz* 'to be married', *dzakkar* 'to remember', *ddōzan* 'to be in tune', *ddaɛwas* 'to be trampled', *džāhal* '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 *džauwaz* 'to be married' normally do <u>not</u> voice it in *tšāwaz* 'to exceed' (or *tšāwaz* — with the radical *ž* devoiced rather than with *t* voiced).

t– is (automatically) velarized [p. 26], in the neighborhood of a velarized radical consonant: *ṭṣāfah(u)* 'to shake hands', *ṭʔāṣaṣ* 'to be punished', *ḍẓannar* 'to gird one's self'.

The prefix *t–* is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant (s, ṣ, š, z, ẓ, ž): *bəzzakkar* 'I remember' (for *bədzakkar*), *məṣṣaṭṭeh* 'lying down' (for *məṭṣaṭṭeh*), *ẓẓannar* 'he girded himself' (for *ḍẓannar*).

PATTERN V: *tFaɛɛaL, byətFaɛɛaL*

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:

tɛallam, byətɛallam 'to learn'	*tġayyar, byətġayyar*	'to change, be changed'
tʔaxxar, byətʔaxxar 'to be late'	*tballal, byətballal*	'to get wet'
dzakkar, byədzakkar 'to remember'	*tfahham, byətfahham*	'to come to understand'

INFLECTION OF *tʔaxxar* 'to be late'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*tʔáxxar*	*byətʔáxxar*	*yətʔáxxar*		'he'
f	*tʔáxxaret*	*btətʔáxxar*	*tətʔáxxar*		'she'
pl	*tʔáxxaru*	*byətʔáxxaru*	*yətʔáxxaru*		'they'
2m	*tʔaxxár(ə)t*	*btətʔáxxar*	*tətʔáxxar*	*tʔáxxar*	'you'
f	*tʔaxxárti*	*btətʔáxxari*	*tətʔáxxari*	*tʔáxxari*	'you'
pl	*tʔaxxártu*	*btətʔáxxaru*	*tətʔáxxaru*	*tʔáxxaru*	'you'
1sg	*tʔaxxár(ə)t*	*bətʔáxxar*	*ʔətʔáxxar*		'I'
pl	*tʔaxxárna*	*mnətʔáxxar*	*nətʔáxxar*		'we'

Participles: *mətʔaxxer, mətʔaxxar*[1]; Gerund: *taʔaxxor*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

tmanna, byətmanna 'to wish'	*tsamma, byətsamma*	'to be called, named'
tġaṭṭa, byətġaṭṭa 'to be covered'	*txabba, byətxabba*	'to hide, be hidden'
tražža, byətražža 'to implore'	*ṭwaṣṣa, byəṭwaṣṣa*	'to be recommended'

Final radical *y* or *w* disappears in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF *tmanna* 'to wish'

3m	*tmánna*	*byətmánna*	*yətmánna*		'he'
f	*tmánnet*	*btətmánna*	*tətmánna*		'she'
pl	*tmánnu*	*byətmánnu*	*yətmánnu*		'they'
2m	*tmannēt*	*btətmánna*	*tətmánna*	*tmánna*	'you'
f	*tmannēti*	*btətmánni*	*tətmánni*	*tmánni*	'you'
pl	*tmannētu*	*btətmánnu*	*tətmánnu*	*tmánnu*	'you'
1sg	*tmannēt*	*bətmánna*	*ʔətmánna*		'I'
pl	*tmannēna*	*mnətmánna*	*nətmánna*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mətmanni*, Pass. *mətmanna (ɛalē)*; Gerund: *tamanni*

[1] The passive form *mətʔaxxar* is used in reference to inanimate objects while the "active" form applies to animate beings.

Derivational Types:

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

tɛallam	'to learn, be taught'	←	*ɛallam*	'to teach'
tġayyar	'to change, be changed'	←	*ġayyar*	'to change' (trans.)
tšažžaɛ	'to take heart'	←	*šažžaɛ*	'to encourage'
tsamma	'to be called, named'	←	*samma*	'to call, name'

Some are inchoative [251]:

tfahham	'to come to understand better'	←	*fəhem*	'to understand'
tmallak	'to acquire'	←	*byəmlok*	'to own'
tḥassan	'to improve'	←	*ʔaḥsan*	'better'

Some are intransitive denominatives:

tsawwaʔ	'to go shopping'	←	*sūʔ*	'market'
džassas	'to spy'	←	*žāsūs*	'spy'

PATTERN VI: *tFāɛaL, byətFāɛaL*

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:

tšāʔam, byətšāʔam	'to be pessimistic'	*ttāwab, byəttāwab*	'to yawn'
tḥāmal, byətḥāmal	'to be negligent'	*tḥādas(u), byətḥādas(u)*	'to converse'
tʔāṣaṣ, byətʔāṣaṣ	'to be punished'	*tṣāfaḥ(u), byətṣāfaḥ(u)*	'to shake hands'

INFLECTION OF *tsāmaḥ* 'to be forgiven'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*tsāmaḥ*	*byətsāmaḥ*	*yətsāmaḥ*		'he'
f	*tsāmaḥet*	*btətsāmaḥ*	*tətsāmaḥ*		'she'
pl	*tsāmaḥu*	*byətsāmaḥu*	*yətsāmaḥu*		'they'
2m	*tsāmáḥ(ə)t*	*btətsāmaḥ*	*tətsāmaḥ*		'you'
f	*tsāmáḥti*	*btətsāmaḥi*	*tətsāmaḥi*		'you'
pl	*tsāmáḥtu*	*btətsāmaḥu*	*tətsāmaḥu*		'you'
1sg	*tsāmáḥ(ə)t*	*bətsāmaḥ*	*ʔətsāmaḥ*		'I'
pl	*tsāmáḥna*	*mnətsāmaḥ*	*nətsāmaḥ*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mətsāmeḥ*, Pass. *mətsāmaḥ (fī)*; Gerund: *tasāmoḥ*

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

Defective Verbs. Examples:

tḥāša, byətḥāša	'to avoid'	*trāxa, byətrāxa*	'to be liberal, easygoing'
trāḍu, byətrāḍu	'to be conciliated'	*tsāwa, byətsāwa*	'to be made'
tḥāku, byətḥāku	'to converse'		

Final radical *y* or *w* disappears in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF *tḥāša* 'to avoid'

3m	*tḥāša*	*byətḥāša*	*yətḥāša*		'he'
f	*tḥāšet*	*btətḥāša*	*tətḥāša*		'she'
pl	*tḥāšu*	*byətḥāšu*	*yətḥāšu*		'they'
2m	*tḥāšēt*	*btətḥāša*	*tətḥāša*	*tḥāša*	'you'
f	*tḥāšēti*	*btətḥāši*	*tətḥāši*	*tḥāši*	'you'
pl	*tḥāšētu*	*btətḥāšu*	*tətḥāšu*	*tḥāšu*	'you'
1sg	*tḥāšēt*	*bətḥāša*	*ʔətḥāša*		'I'
pl	*tḥāšēna*	*mnətḥāša*	*nətḥāša*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mətḥāši*, Pass. *mətḥāša* (Gerund: *mḥāšā*)

Initial-Weak Verbs. The verbs *ttāxad* 'to be taken' and *ttākal* 'to be eaten, to be edible' [Cf. p. 235]:

INFLECTION OF *ttāxad* 'to be taken'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ttāxad	byəttāxad	yəttāxad		'he'
f	ttāxadet	btəttāxad	təttāxad		'she'
pl	ttāxadu	byəttāxadu	yəttāxadu		'they'
2m	ttāxád(ə)t	btəttāxad	təttāxad	ttāxad	'you'
f	ttāxátti	btəttāxadi	təttāxadi	ttāxadi	'you'
pl	ttāxáttu	btəttāxadu	təttāxadu	ttāxadu	'you'
1sg	ttāxád(ə)t	btəttāxad	ʔəttāxad		'I'
pl	ttāxádna	mnəttāxad	nəttāxad		'we'

Participle: *məttāxed*

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

Derivational Types.

Many Pattern VI verbs are passives of Pattern III verbs:

tbārak	'to be blessed'	←	bārak	'to bless'
tḥāfaẓ	'to be protected'	←	ḥāfaẓ	'to protect'
tsāmaḥ	'to be forgiven'	←	sāmaḥ	'to forgive'

Some are reciprocative [248]:

tḥāku	'to converse'	←	ḥāka	'to talk with'
trāḍu	'to be conciliated'	←	rāḍa	'to intgratiate one's self with'
tkātabu	'to write one another'	←	kātab	'to write to'

Some are simulatives [249]:

tġāšam	'to play dumb'	←	ġašīm	'naïve'
tẓāhar	'to feign'	←	ẓəher	'to appear'
tkāsal	'to loaf'	←	kasūl	'lazy'

PATTERN VII: *nFaɛaL, byənFə́ɛəL*

Pattern VII is augmented with respect to Pattern I, by prefixation of the formative *n.*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

nkasar, byənkə́ser 'to be broken'　　　*nžamaɛ, byənžə́meɛ* 'to be brought together'

nṣaraf, byənṣə́ref 'to be let out'　　　*mbaṣaṭ, byəmbə́ṣeṭ* 'to have a good time'

nkatab, byənkə́teb 'to be written'　　　*nʔaṭaɛ, byənʔə́ṭeɛ* 'to be cut off'

The formative *n* is generally assimilated to a first radical *b* (or *m*), producing *m*, as in *mbaṣaṭ* [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: *byə́nkser, byə́mbṣeṭ.* With suffixes *–i* or *–u*, however, the last stem vowel *e* is lost (as usual) and the first vowel *ə* restored: *btənkə́sri, byəmbə́ṣṭu.*

INFLECTION OF *nsaḥab* 'to withdraw'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	nsáḥab	byənsə́ḥeb	yənsə́ḥeb		'he'
f	nsáḥbet	btensə́ḥeb	tensə́ḥeb		'she'
pl	nsáḥabu	byənsə́ḥbu	yənsə́ḥeb		'they'
2m	nsaḥáb(ə)t	btənsə́ḥeb	tənsə́ḥeb	nsə́ḥeb	'you'
f	nsaḥábti	btənsə́ḥbi	tənsə́ḥbi	nsə́ḥbi	'you'
pl	nsaḥábtu	btənsə́ḥbu	tənsə́ḥbu	nsə́ḥbu	'you'
1sg	nsaḥáb(ə)t	bənsə́ḥeb	ʔənsə́ḥeb		'I'
pl	nsaḥábna	mnənsə́ḥeb	nənsə́ḥeb		'we'

Participle: *mənsə́ḥeb*; Gerund: *ʔənsiḥāb*

Defective Verbs (a-i).   Examples:

nṭafa, byanṭə́fi	(or *byanṭáfa*)	'to be extinguished'
nkawa, byankə́wi	(or *byankáwa*)	'to be ironed'
nˀaḍa, byanˀə́ḍi	(or *byanˀáḍa*)	'to be finished'

The imperf. voweling may be either *ə...i*[1] (corresponding to sound *ə...e*) or *a...a*.

INFLECTION OF *nkasa* 'to be clothed'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*nkása*	*byankə́si* (*byankása*)	*yankə́si* (*yankása*)		'he'
f	*nkáset*	*btankə́si* (*btankása*)	*tankə́si* (*tankása*)		'she'
pl	*nkásu*	*byankə́su* (*btankásu*)	*yankə́su* (*yankásu*)		'they'
2m	*nkasḗt*	*btankə́si* (*btankása*)	*tankəsi* (*tankása*)	*nkə́si* (*nkása*)	'you'
f	*nkasḗti*	*btankə́si* (*btankási*)	*tankə́si* (*tankási*)	*nkə́si* (*nkási*)	'you'
pl	*nkasḗtu*	*btankə́su* (*btankásu*)	*tankə́su* (*tankásu*)	*nkə́su* (*nkasu*)	'you'
1sg	*nkasḗt*	*bankə́si* (*btankásu*)	*ˀankə́si* (*ˀankása*)		'I'
pl	*nkasḗna*	*mnankə́si* (*mnankása*)	*nankə́si* (*nankása*)		'we'

Participle: *mankə́si*   Gerund: *ˀankisā́ˀ*

<hr>

[1] As in sound verbs, the first stem vowel *ə* is lost — and the accent shifted to the first syllable — in parts of Lebanon and Palestine: *byə́nṭfi, byə́nksi*, etc.

Defective Verbs (a-a).   Examples:

nḥaka, byanḥáka	'to be told'
nɛaṭa, byanɛáṭa	'to be given'
nˀara, byanˀára	'to be read'

The imperfect vowelling 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 *ə...i* or *a...a* indiscriminately in the imperfect for all Pattern VII defectives.

INFLECTION OF *nɛada* 'to be infected'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*nɛáda*	*byanɛáda*	*yanɛáda*		'he'
f	*nɛádet*	*btanɛáda*	*tanɛáda*		'she'
pl	*nɛádu*	*byanɛádu*	*yanɛádu*		'they'
2m	*nɛadḗt*	*btanɛáda*	*tanɛáda*	*nɛáda*	'you'
f	*nɛadḗti*	*btanɛádi*	*tanɛádi*	*nɛádi*	'you'
pl	*nɛadḗtu*	*btanɛádu*	*tanɛádu*	*nɛádu*	'you'
1sg	*nɛadḗt*	*banɛáda*	*ˀanɛáda*		'I'
pl	*nɛadḗna*	*mnanɛáda*	*nanɛáda*		'we'

Participle: *manɛə́di*   Gerund: *ˀanɛidā́ˀ*

Hollow Verbs.   Examples:

nˀāl, byanˀā́l	'to be said'	*nšāf, byanšā́f*	'to be seen'
nžāb, byanžā́b	'to be brought'	*mbāɛ, byambā́ɛ*	'to be bought'
nṣāb, byanṣā́b	'to be hit'	*nˀām, byanˀā́m*	'to be removed'

Vowelling is the same in both tenses.

INFLECTION OF *nšāf* 'to be seen'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	nšāf	byənšāf	yənšāf		'he'
f	nšā̱fet	btənšāf	tənšāf		'she'
pl	nšāfu	byənšāfu	yənšāfu		'they'
2m	nšə́f(ə)t	btənšāf	tənšāf	nšāf	'you'
f	nšə́fti	btənšāfi	tənšāfi	nšāfi	'you'
pl	nšə́ftu	btənšāfu	tənšāfu	nšāfu	'you'
1sg	nšə́f(ə)t	bənšāf	ʔənšāf		'I'
pl	nšə́fna	mnənšāf	nənšāf		'we'

Participle: *mənšāf*

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

nsadd, byənsadd	'to be stopped up'	nmadd, byənmadd	'to be stretched'
nʕaṣṣ, byənʕaṣṣ	'to be cut'	nhazz, byənhazz	'to be shaken'
nhass, byənhass	'to be felt'	nhaṭṭ, byənhaṭṭ	'to be put'

INFLECTION OF *nṣaff* 'to be lined up'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	nṣaff	byənṣáff	yənṣáff		'he'
f	nṣáffet	btənṣáff	tənṣáff		'she'
pl	nṣáffu	byənṣáffu	yənṣə́ffu		'they'
2m	nṣaffēt	btənṣáff	tənṣáff	nṣaff	'you'
f	nṣaffēti	btənṣáffi	tənṣáffi	nṣə́ffi	'you'
pl	nṣaffētu	btənṣáffu	tənṣáffu	nṣə́ffu	'you'
1sg	nṣaffēt	bənṣáff	ʔənṣáff		'I'
pl	nṣaffēna	mnənṣáff	nənṣáff		'we'

Participle: *mənṣaff*

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

nhabas	'to be emprisoned'	←	ḥabas	'to emprison'
mbara	'to be sharpened'	←	bara	'to sharpen'
mbaṣaṭ	'to be pleased'	←	baṣaṭ	'to please'
nhall	'to be solved'	←	ḥall	'to solve'
nnām	'to be slept (e.g....in)'	←	nām	'to sleep'

nzawa 'to withdraw, be by one's self' is an idiomatic denominative [256] of *zāwye* 'corner'.

PATTERN VIII: *FtaƐaL, byəFtə́ƐeL*

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, byəftə́ker	'to think'	qṭaṣad, byəqṭə́ṣed	'to economize'
ntaʕal, byəntə́ʕel	'to be transferred'	rtakab, byərtə́keb	'to commit'
Ɛtaraf, byəƐtə́ref	'to admit'	ḥtaram, byəḥtə́rem	'to respect'

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first imperfect stem vowel *ə* is lost and the accent shifted to the first syllable: *byə́ftker, byə́štġel* — except when the last stem vowel is lost before a suffix (requiring the restoration of the first vowel): *btəftə́kri, byəštə́ġlo*.

INFLECTION OF *štaġal* 'to work'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	štáġal	byəštə́ġel	yəštə́ġel		'he'
f	štáġlet	btəštə́ġel	təštə́ġel		'she'
pl	štáġalu	byəštə́ġlu	yəštə́ġlu		'they'
2m	štaġál(ə)t	btəštə́ġel	təštə́ġel	štə́ġel	'you'
f	štaġálti	btəštə́ġli	təštə́ġli	štə́ġli	'you'
pl	štaġáltu	btəštə́ġlu	təštə́ġlu	štə́ġlu	'you'
1sg	štaġál(ə)t	bəštə́ġel	ʔəštə́ġel		'I'
pl	štaġálna	mnəštə́ġel	nəštə́ġel		'we'

Participles: Act. *məštə́ġel*, Pass. *məštáġal*; Gerund: *ʔəštiġāl*

Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

ttafaʔ, byəttə́feʔ 'to agree'   ṭṭaṣaf, byəṭṭə́ṣef 'to be charac-
                                                        terized'

ṭṭaṣal, byəṭṭə́ṣel 'to be in   ttaxaz, byəttə́xez 'to undertake'
                    touch with'

ttə́sam, byəttə́sem 'to be   ttakal, byəttə́kel 'to depend, rely'
                    branded'

An initial radical w or ʔ is assimilated to the infix
t (or ṭ), producing tt- (or ṭṭ-): Pattern FtaƐaL with
Root w-s-m gives ttasam; Pattern FtaƐaL with Root ʔ-x-z
(ʔ-x-d) gives ttaxaz.

INFLECTION OF ttafaʔ 'to agree'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ttáfaʔ	byəttáfeʔ	yəttáfeʔ		'he'
f	ttáfʔet	btəttáfeʔ	təttáfeʔ		'she'
pl	ttáfaʔu	byəttə́fʔu	yəttə́fʔu		'they'
2m	ttafáʔ(ə)t	btəttáfeʔ	təffáfeʔ	ttáfeʔ	'you'
f	ttafáʔti	btəttə́fʔi	təttə́fʔi	ttə́fʔi	'you'
pl	ttafáʔtu	btəttə́fʔu	təttə́fʔu	ttə́fʔu	'you'
1sg	ttafáʔ(ə)t	bəttáfeʔ	ʔəttáfeʔ		'I'
pl	ttafáʔna	mnəttáfeʔ	nəttáfeʔ		'we'

Participles: Act. məttáfeʔ, Pass. məttáfaʔ (Ɛalē); Gerund ʔəttifáʔ

Defective Verbs. Examples:

štara, byəštə́ri 'to buy'   Ɛtana, byəƐtə́ni 'to take care
                                                        of'

ktafa, byəktə́fi 'to be sat-   ddaƐa, byəddə́Ɛi 'to pretend'
                    isfied'

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first stem
vowel ə in the imperfect is lost and the accent shifted
to the prefix: byə́štri, byə́ktfi.

INFLECTION OF štaka 'to complain'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	štáka	byəštáki	yəštáki		'he'
f	štáket	btəštáki	təštáki		'she'
pl	štáku	byəštə́k(y)u	yəštə́k(y)u		'they'
2m	štakēt'	btəštáki	təštáki	štáki	'you'
f	štakēti	btəštáki	təštáki	štáki	'you'
pl	štakētu	btəštə́k(y)u	təštə́k(y)u	štáku	'you'
1sg	štakēt	bəštáki	ʔəštáki		'I'
pl	štakēna	mnəštáki	nəštáki		'we'

Participles: Act. məštáki. Pass. məštáka (Ɛalē); Gerund: ʔəštikáʔ

Defective Verbs (a-a). Only two Pattern VIII verbs have imperfect
vowels a:

ltaʔa, byəltáʔa 'to be found'

ntala, byəntála 'to be filled'

In the sense 'to meet' (intr.), ltaʔa can also have
the imperfect byəltə́ʔi; ntala likewise has an imperfect
byəntáli that is sometimes heard. Note, too, that ntala
is irregular in having n instead of the expected radical
m (cf. málla 'to fill'); it is therefore possible to
interpret it as a Pattern VII verb with initial radical
t (cf. Aleppo talla 'to fill').

INFLECTION OF *ntala* 'to be filled'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*ntála*	*byəntála* (*byəntə́li*)	*yəntála* (*yəntə́li*)		'he'
f	*ntálet*	*btəntála* (*btəntə́li*)	*təntála* (*təntə́li*)		'she'
pl	*ntálu*	*byəntálu* (*byəntə́lu*)	*yəntálu* (*yəntə́li*)		'they'
2m	*ntalḗt*	*btəntála* (*btəntə́li*)	*təntála* (*təntə́li*)	*ntə́li*	'you'
f	*ntalḗti*	*btəntáli* (*btəntə́li*)	*təntáli* (*təntə́li*)	*ntə́li*	'you'
pl	*ntalḗtu*	*btəntálu* (*btəntə́lu*)	*təntálu* (*təntə́lu*)	*ntə́lu*	'you'
1sg	*ntalḗt*	*bəntála* (*bəntə́li*)	*ʔəntála* (*ʔəntə́li*)		'I'
pl	*ntalḗna*	*mnəntála* (*mnəntə́li*)	*nəntála* (*nəntə́li*)		'we'

Participles: *məntə́li*[1]; Gerund: *ʔəntilā́ʔ*

Hollow Verbs.   Examples:

> *ḥtāl, byaḥtāl* 'to use deceit'
>
> *ḥtāž, byaḥtāž* 'to need'
>
> *rtāḥ, byərtāḥ* 'to rest, relax'
>
> *zdād, byəzdād* 'to increase' (intrans.)

INFLECTION OF *rtāḥ* 'to rest, relax'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*rtāḥ*	*byertāḥ*	*yertāḥ*		'he'
f	*rtāḥet*	*btərtāḥ*	*tərtāḥ*		'she'
pl	*rtāḥu*	*byərtāḥu*	*yərtāḥu*		'they'
2m	*rtə́ḥ(ə)t*	*btərtāḥ*	*tərtāḥ*	*rtāḥ*	'you'
f	*rtə́ḥti*	*btərtāḥi*	*tərtāḥi*	*rtāḥi*	'you'
pl	*rtə́ḥtu*	*btərtāḥu*	*tərtāḥu*	*rtāḥu*	'you'
1sg	*rtə́ḥ(ə)t*	*bərtāḥ*	*ʔərtāḥ*		'I'
pl	*rtə́ḥna*	*mnərtāḥ*	*nərtāḥ*		'we'

Participle: *mərtāḥ;* Gerund: *ʔərtiyāḥ*

Geminate Verbs.   Examples:

> *mtadd, byəmtadd* 'to extend' (intrans.)
>
> *ṭṭarr, byaṭṭarr* 'to be obliged, required'
>
> *štaʔʔ, byəštaʔʔ* 'to be derived'

INFLECTION OF *ḥtall* 'to occupy'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*ḥtáll*	*byaḥtáll*	*yaḥtáll*		'he'
f	*ḥállet*	*btaḥtáll*	*taḥtáll*		'she'
pl	*ḥállu*	*byaḥtállu*	*yaḥtállu*		'they'
2m	*ḥallēt*	*btaḥtáll*	*taḥtáll*	*ḥtáll*	'you'
f	*ḥallēti*	*btaḥtálli*	*yaḥtálli*	*ḥtálli*	'you'
pl	*ḥallētu*	*btaḥtállu*	*taḥtállu*	*ḥtállu*	'you'
1sg	*ḥallēt*	*baḥtáll*	*ʔaḥtáll*		'I'
pl	*ḥallēna*	*mnaḥtáll*	*naḥtáll*		'we'

Participle: *maḥtall;* Gerund: *ʔaḥtilāl*

---

[1] Some speakers distinguish between a mediopassive *məntə́li* '(having gotten) full' and true passive *məntála* '(having been) filled'.

Derivational Types: Many Pattern VIII verbs are passives [234] of simple active verbs:

ntasa	'to be forgotten'	←	*nəsi*	'to forget'
ltaha	'to be distracted, entertained'	←	*laha*	'to distract, entertain'
xtanaʔ	'to choke' (intrans.)	←	*xanaʔ*	'to choke' (trans.)

In Pattern VIII mediopassives are much more common than true passives: *štaġal* 'to work' (cf. *šaġal* 'to occupy, to busy'); *mbasaṭ* 'to enjoy one's self' (cf. *basaṭ* 'to please'). See p. 234.

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

ktašaf	'to discover'	←	*kašaf*	'to uncover, reveal'
ḥtawa (*ɛala*)	'to include, contain'	←	*ḥawa*	'to contain, keep'
mṭaṣṣ	'to absorb'	←	*maṣṣ*	'to suck'

Some are abstract denominatives:

ɛtād	'to become habituated'	←	*ɛāde*	'habit'
štarak	'to associate'	←	*šərke*	'association'
ḥtāl	'to be deceitful'	←	*ḥīle*	'trick, deceit'
ṭṭarr	'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'; *ɛtaraḍ* 'to oppose, contradict', cf. *ɛaraḍ* 'to show, display'; *žtarr* 'to chew a cud', cf. *žarr* 'to pull'.

Voicing of the -t- Formative

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

zdād	'to increase' (intrans.):	Root *z-w-d*	
zdara	'to scorn':	Root *z-r-y*	(Gerund *ʔəzdirāʔ*)
ddaɛa	'to claim, pretend':	Root *d-ɛ-w*	(cf. participial noun *muddɛi* 'claimant')

In the vicinity of a velarized root consonant, it is automatically velarized to *ṭ*: *ṣṭād* 'to hunt'. An initial radical voiced obstruent other than *z* or *d* is often devoiced before *-t-* [p. 26]: *štamaɛ* 'to meet': Root *ž-m-ɛ*; *ṭṭarr* 'to be required': Root *ḍ-r-r*.)

PATTERN IX: *FɛaLL, byəFɛaLL*

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

The only examples found are:

byaḍḍ, byəbyaḍḍ 'to become white'	*swadd, byəswadd* 'to become black'
ḥmarr, byəḥmarr 'to become red'	*xḍarr, byəxḍarr* 'to become green'
ṣfarr, byəṣfarr 'to become yellow'	*zraʔʔ, byəzraʔʔ* 'to become blue'
smarr, byəsmarr 'to tan, darken'	*šʔarr, byəšʔarr* 'to become blond'

ɛwažž, byəɛwažž 'to become bent'

INFLECTION OF *ḥmarr* 'to become red, blush'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*ḥmarr*	*byəḥmárr*	*yəḥmárr*		'he'
f	*ḥmárret*	*btəḥmárr*	*təḥmárr*		'she'
pl	*ḥmárru*	*byəḥmárru*	*təḥmárru*		'they'
2m	*ḥmarrēt*	*btəḥmárr*	*təḥmárr*	*ḥmarr*	'you'
f	*ḥmarrēti*	*btəḥmárri*	*təḥmárri*	*ḥmárri*	'you'
pl	*ḥmarrētu*	*btəḥmárru*	*təḥmárru*	*ḥmárru*	'you'
1sg	*ḥmarrēt*	*bəḥmárr*	*ʔəḥmárr*		'I'
pl	*ḥmarrēna*	*mnəḥmarr*	*nəḥmárr*		'we'

Participle: *məḥmarr;* Gerund *ʔəḥmirār*

Grammatical Characteristics. All Pattern IX's are inchoative [p. 250] derivatives of Pattern *ʔaFɛaL* adjectives [130]. All but one (*ɛwažž*) are from color-adjectives.

byaḍḍ	'to become white'	←	*ʔabyaḍ*	'white'
zraʔʔ	'to become blue'	←	*ʔazraʔ*	'blue'
ɛwažž	'to become bent'	←	*ʔaɛwaž*	'bent'

PATTERN X: *staFɛaL, byəstaFɛeL*

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:

stafham, *byəstafhem*	'to enquire'	*staḥsan,* *byəstaḥsen*	'to prefer'
stasmar, *byəstasmer*	'to exploit'	*stasɛab,* *byəstasɛeb*	'to find difficult'
stawrad, *byəstawred*	'to import	*staṭyab,* *byəstaṭyeb*	'to find tasty'

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

INFLECTION OF *staʔbal* 'to welcome'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*stáʔbal*	*byəstáʔbel*	*yəstáʔbel*		'he'
f	*stáʔbalet*	*btəstáʔbel*	*təstáʔbel*		'she'
pl	*stáʔbalu*	*byəstáʔ(ə)blu*	*yəstáʔ(ə)blu*		'they'
2m	*staʔbál(ə)t*	*btəstáʔbel*	*təstáʔbel*	*stáʔbel*	'you'
f	*staʔbálti*	*btəstáʔ(ə)bli*	*təstáʔ(ə)bli*	*stáʔ(ə)bli*	'you'
pl	*staʔbáltu*	*btəstáʔ(ə)blu*	*təstáʔ(ə)blu*	*stáʔ(ə)blu*	'you'
1sg	*staʔbál(ə)t*	*bəstáʔbel*	*ʔəstáʔbel*		'I'
pl	*staʔbálna*	*mnəstáʔbel*	*nəstáʔbel*		'we'

Participles: Act. *məstaʔbel*, Pass. *məstaʔbal;* Gerund: *ʔəstaʔbāl*

Sound with medial radical *w*:   *staẓwab* 'to question'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*stáẓwab*	*byəstáẓweb*	*yəstáẓweb*		'he'
f	*stáẓwabet*	*btəstáẓweb*	*təstáẓweb*		'she'
pl	*stáẓwab*	*byəstáẓ(ə)wbu*	*yəstáẓ(ə)wbu*		'they'
2m	*staẓwáb(ə)t*	*btəstáẓweb*	*təstáẓweb*	*stáẓweb*	'you'
f	*staẓwábti*	*btəstáẓ(ə)wbi*	*təstáẓ(ə)wbi*	*stáẓ(ə)wbi*	'you'
pl	*staẓwábtu*	*btəstáẓ(ə)wbu*	*təstáẓ(ə)wbu*	*stáẓ(ə)wbu*	'you'
1sg	*staẓwáb(ə)t*	*bəstáẓweb*	*ʔəstáẓweb*		'I'
pl	*staẓwábna*	*mnəstáẓweb*	*bəstáẓweb*		'we'

Participles: Act. *məstaẓweb*, Pass. *məstaẓwab;* Gerund: *ʔəstaẓwāb*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

staḥla, byəstaḥli 'to like'		*stakra, byəstakri*	'to rent, hire'
stasna, byəstasni 'to exclude'		*stawla, byəstawli*	'to take over'
staɛfa, byəstaɛfi 'to resign'		*starḍa, byəstarḍi*	'to make an apology'
staʔwa, byəstaʔwi 'to take heart'		*staġla, byəstaġli*	'to consider expensive'

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

INFLECTION OF *staḥla* 'to like'

3m	*stáḥla*	*byəstáḥli*	*yəstáḥli*		'he'
f	*stáḥlet*	*btəstáḥli*	*təstáḥli*		'she'
pl	*stáḥlu*	*byəstáḥlu*	*yəstáḥlu*		'they'
2m	*staḥlēt*	*btəstáḥli*	*təstáḥli*	*stáḥli*	'you'
f	*staḥlēti*	*btəstáḥli*	*təstáḥli*	*stáḥli*	'you'
pl	*staḥlētu*	*btəstáḥlu*	*təstáḥlu*	*stáḥlu*	'you'
1sg	*staḥlēt*	*bəstáḥli*	*ʔəstáḥli*		'I'
pl	*staḥlēna*	*mnəstáḥli*	*nəstáḥli*		'we'

Participle: Act. *məstáḥli*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

stašār, byəstašīr 'to consult'	*staqāl, byəstaqīl* 'to resign'
staṭāɛ, byəstaṭīɛ 'to be able'	*stažāb, byəst(a)žīb* 'to grant'
stafād, byəstfid 'to benefit'	*starāḥ, byəstrīḥ* 'to rest'
staɛān, byəstɛīn 'to ask for help'	*staɛād, byəstɛīd* 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. *byəstažīb*, while *byəstžīb* is more informal. Therefore only words which are themselves elegant or formal vocabulary items will be consistently pronounced with the *a: byəstaṭīɛ*.

     Note that not all Pattern X verbs with medial radical semivowel are hollow: compare *stažāb* 'to grant' with the sound verb *stážwab* 'to question', both of which have the root *ž–w–b*.

INFLECTION OF *starāḥ* 'to relax' (unstable *a*)

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*starāḥ*	*byəstrīḥ*	*yəstrīḥ*		'he'
f	*starāḥet*	*btəstrīḥ*	*təstrīḥ*		'she'
pl	*starāḥu*	*byəstrīḥu*	*yəstrīḥu*		'they'
2m	*stráḥ(ə)t*	*btəstrīḥ*	*təstrīḥ*	*strīḥ*	'you'
f	*stráḥti*	*btəstrīḥi*	*təstrīḥi*	*strīḥi*	'you'
pl	*stráḥtu*	*btəstrīḥu*	*təstrīḥu*	*strīḥu*	'you'
1sg	*stráḥ(ə)t*	*bəstrīḥ*	*ʔəstrīḥ*		'I'
pl	*stráḥna*	*mnəstrīḥ*	*nəstrīḥ*		'we'

Participle: *məstrīḥ;* Gerund *ʔəstirāḥ*

INFLECTION OF *stašār* 'to consult' (stable *a*)

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*stašār*	*byəstašīr*	*yəstašīr*		'he'
f	*stašāret*	*btəstašīr*	*təstašīr*		'she'
pl	*stašāru*	*byəstašīru*	*yəstašīru*		'they'
2m	*stašár(ə)t*	*btəstašīr*	*təstašīr*	*stašīr*	'you'
f	*stašárti*	*btəstašīri*	*təstašīri*	*stašīri*	'you'
pl	*stašártu*	*btəstašīru*	*təstašīru*	*stašīru*	'you'
1sg	*stašár(ə)t*	*bəstašīr*	*ʔəstašīr*		'I'
pl	*stašárna*	*mnəstašīr*	*nəstašīr*		'we'

Participles: Act. *məstašīr*, Pass. *məstašār;* Gerund *ʔəstišāra*

     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 *ə* if the first stem vowel is dropped (see conjugation of *starāḥ*, above).

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

staradd, byəst(a)radd 'to get back'	*staḥabb, byəst(a)ḥabb* 'to like'
stamarr, byəst(a)marr 'to continue'	*staḥaʔʔ, byəst(a)ḥaʔʔ* 'to deserve'
staġall, byəst(a)ġall 'to exploit'	*staxaff, byəst(a)xaff* 'to make light(of)'

INFLECTION OF *staradd* 'to take back'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*starádd*	*byəstrádd*	*yəstrádd*		'he'
f	*staráddet*	*btəstrádd*	*təstrádd*		'she'
pl	*staráddu*	*byəstráddu*	*yəstráddu*		'they'
2m	*st(a)raddēt*	*btəstrádd*	*təstrádd*	*strádd*	'you'
f	*st(a)raddēti*	*btəstráddi*	*təstráddi*	*stráddi*	'you'
pl	*st(a)raddētu*	*btəstráddu*	*təstráddu*	*stráddu*	'you'
1sg	*st(a)raddēt*	*bəstrádd*	*ʔəstrádd*		'I'
pl	*st(a)raddēna*	*mnəstrádd*	*nəstrádd*		'we'

Participle: Act. *məstaradd;* Gerund *ʔəstərdād*

Initial-weak verb: *stāhal* 'to deserve'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	
3m	stāhal	byəstāhel	yəstāhel	'he'
f	stāhalet	btəstāhel	təstāhel	'she'
pl	stāhalu	byəstāhlu	yəstāhlu	'they'
2m	stāhál(ə)t	btəstāhel	təstāhel	'you'
f	stāhálti	btəstāhli	təstāhli	'you'
pl	stāháltu	btəstāhlu	təstāhlu	'you'
1sg	stāhál(ə)t	bəstāhel	ʔəstāhel	'I'
pl	stāhálna	mnəstāhel	nəstāhel	'we'

Participles: Act. *məstāhel*, Pass. *məstāhal*

    stāhal is the only initial-weak Pattern X verb found.
The formative *sta–* combines with the first radical *ʔ* to
produce *stā–*. (Compare the sound verb *staʔzan, byəstaʔzen*
'to ask permission'.)

Hollow-defective verb: *staha, byəstə́hi* 'to be embarrassed'

3m	stə́ha	byəstə́hi	yəstə́hi	'he'
f	stə́het	btəstə́hi	təstə́hi	'she'
pl	stə́hu	byəstə́hu	yəstə́hu	'they'
2m	stahēt	btəstə́hi	təstə́hi	'you'
f	staheti	btəstə́hi	təstə́hi	'you'
pl	stahētu	btəstə́hu	təstə́hu	'you'
1sg	stahēt	bəstə́hi	ʔəstə́hi	'I'
pl	stahēna	mnəstə́hi	nəstə́hi	'we'

Participle: *məstə́hi;* Gerund: *ʔəstəhyāʔ*

    stə́ha (Root *h–y–y,* cf. *hayy* '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 *staha*
cannot be classified as Pattern VIII; that would imply
its root was *s–h–y.*

    Another pseudo-Pattern VIII verb is *zdall* 'to conclude,
gather' (Root *d–l–l,* cf. *dall* 'to indicate'). The
formative is reduced from *sta–* to *st–,* but the combination
std– cannot stand intact and is reduced to *zd–.* Compare
the regularly formed doublet *stadall* 'to find the way'.
(*zdall, byəzdall* is conjugated like Pattern VIII verbs
[p. 99].)

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

staɣrab 'to be surprised at, to consider strange'	← *ɣarīb*	'strange'
stasɛab 'to find difficult'	← *ṣaɛb*	'difficult'
stáḥla 'to like, find nice'	← *ḥə́lu*	'nice, pretty'

Many are eductive [244]:

staɣfar 'to ask (God's) forgiveness'	← *ɣafar*	'to forgive'
staradd 'to get (something) back'	← *radd*	'to give back'
staǧwab 'to question'	← *ǧāwab*	'to answer'
staʔžar 'to rent, hire'	← *ʔažžar*	'to rent, hire out'
staxbar 'to enquire, get information'	← *xabar*	'news, information'

ANOMALOUS FORMS

Patterns V and X mixed: *stmanna* 'to wish'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	
3m	stmánna	byəstmánna	yəstmánna	'he'
f	stmánnet	btəstmánna	təstmánna	'she'
pl	stmánnu	byəstmánnu	yəstmánnu	'they'
2m	stmannēt	btəstmánna	təstmánna	'you'
f	stmannēti	btəstmánni	təstmánni	'you'
pl	stmannētu	btəstmánnu	təstmánnu	'you'
1sg	stmannēt	bəstmánna	ʔəstmánna	'I'
pl	stmannēna	mnəstmánna	nəstmánna	'we'

Participles: *məstmanni,* Pass. *məstmanna*

These forms are often replaced by the straight Pattern
V forms: *tmanna, byǝtmanna.*

Patterns V and X mixed, Initial-weak: *stanna* 'to wait'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*stánna*	*byǝstánna*	*yǝstánna*		'he'
f	*stánnet*	*btǝstánna*	*tǝstánna*		'she'
pl	*stánnu*	*byǝstánnu*	*yǝstánnu*		'they'
2m	*stannēt*	*btǝstánna*	*tǝstánna*	*stánna*	'you'
f	*stannēti*	*btǝstánni*	*tǝstánni*	*stánni*	'you'
pl	*stannētu*	*btǝstánnu*	*tǝstánnu*	*stánnu*	'you'
1sg	*stannēt*	*bǝstánna*	*ʔǝstánna*		'I'
pl	*stannēna*	*mnǝstánna*	*nǝstánna*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mǝstanni*, Pass. *mǝstanna*

A theoretical initial radical *ʔ* is lost in all inflections.

Patterns III and X mixed, with loss of *−t−:* *snāwal* 'to catch'

3m	*snāwal*	*byǝsnāwel*	*yǝsnāwel*		'he'
f	*snāwalet*	*btǝsnāwel*	*tǝsnāwel*		'she'
pl	*snāwalu*	*byǝsnāwlu*	*yǝsnāwlu*		'they'
2m	*snāwál(ǝ)t*	*btǝsnāwel*	*tǝsnāwel*	*snāwel*	'you'
f	*snāwálti*	*btǝsnāwli*	*tǝsnāwli*	*snāwli*	'you'
pl	*snāwáltu*	*btǝsnāwlu*	*tǝsnāwlu*	*snāwlu*	'you'
1sg	*snāwál(ǝ)t*	*bǝsnāwel*	*ʔǝsnāwel*		'I'
pl	*snāwálna*	*mnǝsnāwel*	*nǝsnāwel*		'we'

Participle: Act. *mǝsnāwel*

The form with *−t−* is also sometimes heard: *stnāwal,
byǝstnāwel.*

PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS

Syrian Arabic has a number of triradical verb patterns that are used
little or not at all in Classical Arabic and consequently have no tradi-
tional classification (or numerical labels). These patterns, described
in the sections that follow, are *FaƐFaL, FaƐwaL, FōƐaL, FarƐaL, FaƐLan,*
and *ʔaFƐaL* (with stable *ʔ* —not the same as Pattern IV [p.82]).   Each of
these except *ʔaFƐaL* is paralleled by a pattern with the *t−* formative [85]
tFaƐFaL, tFaƐwaL, etc.

Besides these there are some very rare patterns, for
example *FaƐLa* (as in *ṭaƐma, biṭaƐmi* 'to feed'), and some
geographically limited patterns like the Lebanese *FayƐaL*
(as in *ṭaylaƐ* 'to take up, out': elsewhere *ṭallaƐ* or
ṭālaƐ).

Verbs with any of these patterns fall into the same form-types (and
conjugational types) as quadriradical verbs. That is to say, their char-
acteristic 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 *FaƐLaL* (or *tFaƐLaL*)
[p.117].[1]
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 *madmad* 'to stretch, extend' is an augmentative
[253] of the simple triradical verb *madd* (same translation); therefore
it has the root *m−d−d* and the pattern *FaƐFaL* [111]. By way of contrast
the verb *damdam* 'to mutter, grumble' is not related to any word with the

---

[1]Patterns are of course always defined relative to roots [p.36]. None of
the augmented verb patterns can <u>always</u> be identified on the basis of word-
forms alone: for instance *ntaʔal* 'to move, be transferred' might be
thought to have Pattern *nFaƐaL* and Root *t−ʔ−l;* only by knowing that its
root is actually *n−ʔ−l* may one deduce that its pattern is definitely
FtaƐaL.

The term 'quadriradical' (or 'quadriliteral'), however, has often
been extended to encompass not only bases that have quadriliteral 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 'quadriliteral') with-
out reference to roots, but also because it is inconsistent to call all
words formed on Pattern *FōƐaL,* for instance, "quadriradical" while
classifying Pattern *FāƐaL* words as triradical. (The class of bases
represented jointly by the formulae *C̄VCV(C)* and *CVCCV(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 quadriliteral root *d-m-d-m* and the pattern *FaℰLaL*.[1]

THE REDUPLICATIVE PATTERN

FaℰFaL, biFaℰFeL   *tFaℰFaL, byətFaℰFaL*

Reduplicative 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:

farfaḥ, bifarfeḥ 'to rejoice'   *ʔarʔaℰ, biʔarʔeℰ* 'to clatter'

ṭarṭaš, biṭarṭeš 'to splatter'   *ṣarṣaℰ, biṣarṣeℰ* 'to startle'

INFLECTION OF *farfaḥ* 'to rejoice'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	fárfaḥ	bifárfeḥ	yfárfeḥ		'he'
f	fárfaḥet	bətfárfeḥ	tfárfeḥ		'she'
pl	fárfaḥu	bifár(ə)fḥu	yfár(ə)fḥu		'they'
2m	farfáḥ(ə)t	bətfárfeḥ	tfárfeḥ	fárfeḥ	'you'
f	farfáḥti	bətfár(ə)fḥi	tfár(ə)fḥi	fár(ə)fḥi	'you'
pl	farfáḥtu	bətfár(ə)fḥu	tfár(ə)fḥu	fár(ə)fḥu	'you'
1sg	farfáḥ(ə)t	bfárfeḥ	fárfeḥ		'I'
pl	farfáḥna	mənfárfeḥ	nfárfeḥ		'we'

Participle: *mfarfeḥ;* Gerund: *farfaḥa*

----

[1]Pseudo-quadriradicals are also to be distinguished from SECONDARY QUADRIRADICALS like *thēwan* 'to blunder'. This verb, derived idiomatically as a simulative [p. 249] from *ḥēwān* 'animal', is analogous to *tšēṭan* 'to be naughty', similarly derived from *šēṭān* 'devil'. While *šēṭān* is a quadriradical word (Root *š-y-ṭ-n*), *ḥēwān* is actually triradical (Root *ḥ-y-y*) but *thēwan* is derived from it on Pattern *tFaℰLaL* [119] as if its root were *ḥ-y-w-n* — by analogy to formally comparable words like *šēṭān*.

As distinct both from absolute quadriradicals like *tšēṭan* and secondary quadriradicals like *thēwan*, verbs such as *twaldan* 'to be childish' are genuinely triradical: the final *n* cannot be traced back to the underlying word *walad* 'child', so it must be analyzed as a verb-formative affix — the characteristic formative of pseudo-quadriradical (i.e. triradical) Pattern *(t)FaℰLan* [115].

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

laflaf, bilaflef 'to wrap up'   *šamšam, bišamšem* 'to smell, sniff'

fatfat, bifatfet 'to crumble'   *madmad, bimadmed* 'to extend, stretch'

ʔaṣʔaṣ, biʔaṣʔeṣ 'to cut, snip'   *ḥalḥal, biḥalḥel* 'to untie, undo'

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

INFLECTION OF *laflaf* 'to wrap up'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	láflaf	biláflef	yláflef		'he'
f	láflafet	bətláflef	tláflef		'she'
pl	láflafu	biláfəlfu	yláfəlfu		'they'
2m	lafláf(ə)t	bətláflef	tláflef	láflef	'you'
f	lafláfti	bətláfəlfi	tláfəlfi	láfəlfi	'you'
pl	lafláftu	bətlafəlfu	tláfəlfu	lafəlfu	'you'
1sg	lafláf(ə)t	bláflef	láflef		'I'
pl	lafláfna	mənláflef (məll-)	nláflef (ll-)		'we'

Participles: Act. *mlaflef,* Pass. *mlaflaf;* Gerund: *laflafe*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

lōlaḥ, bilōleḥ 'to wave'

ṭōṭaḥ, biṭōṭeḥ 'to toss'

zōzaʔ, bizōzeʔ 'to decorate'

The first pattern vowel *a* fuses with the middle radical *w*, leaving *ō* between the initial radical and its duplicate. Verbs of this form are rare. (No hollow reduplicatives are found with medial radical *y*.)

INFLECTION OF *lōlaḥ* 'to wave'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*lōlaḥ*	*bilōlaḥ*	*ylōleḥ*		'he'
f	*lōlaḥet*	*bətlōleḥ*	*tlōleḥ*		'she'
pl	*lōlaḥu*	*bilōlḥu*	*ylōlḥu*		'they'
2m	*lōláḥ(ə)t*	*bətlōleḥ*	*tlōleḥ*	*lōleḥ*	'you'
f	*lōláḥti*	*bətlōlḥi*	*tlōlḥi*	*lōlḥi*	'you'
pl	*lōláḥtu*	*bətlōlḥu*	*tlōlḥu*	*lōlḥu*	'you'
1sg	*lōláḥ(ə)t*	*blōleḥ*	*lōleḥ*		'I'
pl	*lōláḥna*	*mənlōleḥ* (*məll–*)	*nlōleḥ* (*ll–*)		'we'

Participles: Act. *mlōleḥ,* Pass. *mlōlaḥ;* Gerund: *lōlaḥa*

Reduplicative Verbs with *t* Formative. Examples:

    tfarfad, byətfarfad 'to be set apart'

    tlaflaf, byətlaflaf 'to be wrapped up'

    ṭṭōṭaḥ, byəṭṭōṭaḥ   'to be tossed in the air'

Derivation. Almost all reduplicative verbs are augmentative [253]:

farfaḥ	'to rejoice'	←	*fəreḥ*	(same translation)
laflaf	'to wrap up'	←	*laff*	'to turn; to wrap'
ḥalḥal	'to untie, undo'	←	*ḥall*	'to untie; to solve'
lōlaḥ	'to wave'	←	*lāḥ*	(same 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:

    zōzaʔ 'to decorate': cf.   *zawwaʔ* (same translation)

               . cf.   *zōʔ*   '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

Faɛwal, biFaɛwel	*tFaɛwal, byətFaɛwal*
Fōɛal, biFōɛel	*tFōɛal, byətFōɛal*
Farɛal, biFarɛel	*tFarɛal, byətFarɛal*

Verbs of these patterns are augmented with respect to simple verbs by an infix *w* immediately after the middle radical, or by *r* or *w* (*a* + *w* → *ō*) immediately <u>before</u> the middle radical. Examples:

Patterns *Faɛwal* and *tFaɛwaL:*

baxwaš,
  bibaxweš
	'to perforate'	*tbaxwaš,*
		  byətbaxwaš
			'to be perforated'

daɛwas,
  bidaɛwes
	'to trample'	*ddaɛwas,*
		  byəddaɛwas
			'to be trampled'

ɛaṣwar,
  biɛaṣwer
	'to wring out'	*tɛaṣwar,*
		  byətɛaṣwar
			'to be wrung out'

	sadwad, bisadwed	'to stop up'
	naṭwaṭ, binaṭweṭ	'to jump about'
	šaxwaṭ, bišaxweṭ	'to scribble'

Patterns *Fōɛal* and *tFōɛaL:*

bōram,
  bibōrem
	'to wind'..........	*tbōram,*
		  byətbōram
			'to be wound'

lōʔaṭ,
  bilōʔeṭ
	'to pick up'	*tlōʔaṭ,*
		  byətlōʔaṭ
			'to be picked up'

ʔōṭar,
  biʔōṭer
	'to tow,
	  pull' ....
		tʔōṭar,
		  byətʔōṭar
			'to be towed,
			  pulled'

	ḥōrak, biḥōrek	'to move around'
	zōġal, bizōġel	'to cheat (in games)'
	ḥōzaʔ, biḥōzeʔ	'to have the hiccups'

Patterns *Far$\mathcal{E}$aL* and *tFar$\mathcal{E}$aL*:

harbaš,
  biharbeš
	'to slash'	....	*tharbaš,*
			  byətharbaš
					'to be shashed'

šarbak,
  bišarbek
	'to complicate'	...	*tšarbak,*
			  byətšarbak
					'to be complicated'

xarmaš,
  bixarmeš
	'to scratch'	......	*txarmaš,*
			  byətxarmaš
					'to be scratched'

>>> *farʔa$\mathcal{E}$,   bifarʔe$\mathcal{E}$*   'to set off (fireworks)'

>>> *karfat,   bikarfet*   'to curse'

>>> *t$\mathcal{E}$arbaṭ, byət$\mathcal{E}$arbaṭ*   '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]:

da$\mathcal{E}$was	'to trample'	←	*da$\mathcal{E}$as*	'to tread on; run over'
naṭwaṭ	'to jump about'	←	*naṭṭ*	'to jump'
ḥōzaʔ	'to have hiccups'	←	*ḥazaʔ*	'to hiccup'
lōʔaṭ	'to pick up' (frequentative)	←	*laʔaṭ*	'to pick up'
karfat	'to curse' (freq. or intens.)	←	*kafat*	'to curse'
xarmaš	'to scratch'	←	*xamaš*	'to scratch'
t$\mathcal{E}$arbaṭ	'to cling (in panic)'	←	*$\mathcal{E}$abaṭ*	'to grasp'

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

xarṭaš	'to scribble'	(cf. *xaṭṭaš*)
fōxar	'to decay, rot'	(cf. *faxxar*)
ṣōfar	'to whistle'	(cf. *ṣaffar*)
šaḥwar	'to blacken, smoke'	(cf. *šaḥḥar*)

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

sarwaž	'to saddle'	→	*sərž*	'saddle'
xōṭar	'to endanger'	→	*xaṭar*	'danger'
bōṭal ...ı	'to cheat'	→	*bəṭˀl*	'cheating'
bōrad	'to cool off'	→	*barˀd*	'cold' (abst. noun)
txašwan	'to rough it'	→	*xəšˀn*	'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 quadriradical.   [117]

THE *n* SUFFIX PATTERN

>>> *Fa$\mathcal{E}$Lan, biFa$\mathcal{E}$Len*   *tFa$\mathcal{E}$Lan, byətFa$\mathcal{E}$Lan*

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

ṣafran,
  biṣafren
	'to make...faint'		*ṭsafran,*
			  byəṭsafran
				'to feel faint'

ḥalwan,
  biḥalwen
	'to sweeten'		*twaldan,*
			  byətwaldan
				'to be childish'

tēsan,
  bitēsen
	'to be stubborn'		*twaḥšan,*
			  byətwaḥšan
				'to get rough'

sōdan,
  bisōden
	'to depress'		*tsōdan,*
			  byətsōdan
				'to be depressed'

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

Derivation:

Verbs of Pattern *Fa$\mathcal{E}$Lan* and *tFa$\mathcal{E}$Lan* are mainly derived from
nouns or adjectives.   Those without the *t* formative are
usually causative [240] or ascriptive [243]:

ḥalwan	'to sweeten' (causative)	←	*ḥəlu*	'sweet'
ṣafran	'to make...faint' (causative)	←	*ʔaṣfar*	'yellow, pale'
sōdan	'to depress' (causative)	←	*ʔaswad*	'black'
ḥamran	'to consider stupid' (ascriptive)	←	*ḥmār*	'donkey, stupid'

Note, however, the verb *tēsan* 'to be stubborn', which is an idiomatic simulative from *tēs* 'billy-goat'. (One would expect a *t-* formative: "*ttēsan*".)

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

twaldan	'to act childish' (simul.)	←	*walad* 'child'
twaḥšan	'to act rough' (simul.)	←	*waḥᵃš* 'wild beast'
tḥamran	'to act stupid' (simul.)	←	*ḥmār* 'donkey, stupid'
tsōdan	'to be depressed' (pass.)	←	*sōdan* 'to depress'

Miscellaneous derivations:

rōḥan	'to revive' (trans.)	←	*rūḥ* 'spirit'
tšahwan	'to crave'	←	*šahwe* 'craving, desire'
tfakhan	'to eat fruit' (applicative)	←	*fākha* 'fruit'
tšōfan	'to be "stuck up"'	←	*šāyef* 'considering one's ḥālo... self (important)'

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

THE ʔ PREFIX PATTERN

ʔaFƐaL, biʔaFƐeL

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

ʔaslam, *biʔaslem*	'to become a Muslim'	*ʔazhar,* *biʔazher*	'to bloom'
ʔawraʔ, *biʔawreʔ*	'to leaf out'	*ʔaflas,* *biʔafles*	'to go bankrupt'
ʔaṣbaḥ, *biʔaṣbeḥ*	'to be...in the morning'	*ʔaẓlam,* *biʔaẓlem*	'to get dark'

Some verbs of this pattern are variants of Pattern IV verbs: cf. *ʔaṣbaḥ, byaṣbeḥ; ʔaẓlam, byaẓlem.* Pseudo-quadriradical Pattern *ʔaFƐaL* is rare.

INFLECTION OF *ʔaslam* 'to become a Muslim'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*ʔáslam*	*biʔáslem*	*yʔáslem*		'he'
f	*ʔáslamet*	*batʔáslem*	*tʔáslem*		'she'
pl	*ʔáslamu*	*biʔásᵃlmu*	*yʔásᵃlmu*		'they'
2m	*ʔaslám(ᵃ)t*	*batʔáslem*	*tʔáslem*	*ʔáslem*	'you'
f	*ʔaslámti*	*batʔásᵃlmi*	*tʔásᵃlmi*	*ʔásᵃlmi*	'you'
pl	*ʔaslámtu*	*batʔásᵃlmu*	*tʔásᵃlmu*	*ʔásᵃlmu*	'you'
1sg	*ʔaslám(ᵃ)t*	*bʔáslem*	*ʔáslem*		'I'
pl	*ʔaslámna*	*manʔáslem*	*nʔáslem*		'we'

Participle: *mʔaslem*

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

ʔaslam	'to become a Muslim'	← *maslem*	'Muslim'
ʔawraʔ	'to leaf out'	← *mūreʔ*	'in leaf, leafy'
ʔazhar	'to bloom'	← *mazher*	'blooming, flowering'
ʔaẓlam	'to get dark'	← *maẓlem*	'dark'
ʔaflas	'to go bankrupt'	← *mafles*	'bankrupt'

Adjectives of the *maFƐeL* 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: *mʔaslem* 'having become a Muslim', *mʔaẓlem* 'having become dark', etc.

THE SIMPLE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERN

FaƐLaL, biFaƐLeL[1]

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.

---

[1] The traditional pattern formulas misleadingly use L (*lām*) 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:

taržam, bitaržem 'to translate' *daḥraž, bidaḥrež* 'to roll' (trans.)

barṭal, bibarṭel 'to bribe' *barhan, bibarhen* 'to prove'

damdam, bidamdem 'to mumble' *harwal, biharwel* 'to hurry' (intrans.)

baxšaš, bibaxšeš 'to tip' *xatyar, bixatyer* 'to age' (intrans.)

INFLECTION OF *taržam* 'to translate'

	Perfect	Impv.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	táržam	bitáržem	ytáržem		'he'
f	táržamet	battáržem	ttáržem		'she'
pl	táržamu	bitáržmu	ytáržmu		'they'
2m	taržám(ə)t	battáržem	ttáržem	táržem	'you'
f	taržámti	battáržmi	ttáržmi	táržmi	'you'
pl	taržámtu	battaržmu	ttáržmu	táržmu	'you'
1sg	taržám(ə)t	btáržem	táržem		'I'
pl	taržámna	mantáržem	ntáržem		'we'

Participles: Act. *mtaržem*, Pass. *mtaržam*; Gerund *taržame*

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 *baxšaš* 'to tip'

3m	báxšaš	bibáxšeš	ybáxšeš		'he'
f	báxšašet	batbáxšeš	tbáxšeš		'she'
pl	báxšašu	bibáxšəšu	ybáxšəšu		'they'
2m	baxšáš(ə)t	batbáxšeš	tbáxšeš	báxšeš	'you'
f	baxšášti	batbáxšəši	tbáxšəši	báxšəši	'you'
pl	baxšáštu	batbáxšəšu	tbáxšəšu	báxšəšu	'you'
1sg	baxšáš(ə)t	bbáxšeš	báxšeš		'I'
pl	baxšášna	manbáxšeš	nbáxšeš		'we'

Participles: Act. *mbaxšeš*, Pass. *mbaxšaš*; Gerund: *baxšaše*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

bōdar, bibōder 'to powder' *ʔōnan, biʔōnen* 'to regulate (by rules)'

dōzan, bidōzen 'to tune' *hēlam, bihēlem* 'to bluff'

sōgar, bisōger 'to insure' *nēšan, binēšan* 'to aim at'

The first pattern vowel *a* fuses with the second radical *w* or *y* to produce *ō* or *ē* respectively. (This fusion does not take place in most Lebanese dialects, however, and the verbs remain sound: *dawzan* for *dōzan*, *nayšan* for *nēšan*, etc.)

INFLECTION OF *sōgar* 'to insure'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sōgar	bisōger	ysōger		'he'
f	sōgaret	batsōger	tsōger		'she'
pl	sōgaru	bisōgru	ysōgru		'they'
2m	sōgár(ə)t	batsōger	tsōger	sōger	'you'
f	sōgárti	batsōgri	tsōgri	sōgri	'you'
pl	sōgártu	batsōgru	tsōgru	sōgru	'you'
1sg	sōgár(ə)t	bsōger	sōger		'I'
pl	sōgárna	mansōger	nsōger		'we'

Participles: Act. *msōger*, Pass. *msōgar*; Gerund: *sōgara*

INFLECTION OF *nēšan* 'to aim'

3m	nēšan	binēšen	ynēšen		'he'
f	nēšanet	batnēšen	tnēšen		'she'
pl	nēšanu	binēšnu	ynēšnu		'they'
2m	nēšán(ə)t	batnēšen	tnēšen	nēšen	'you'
f	nēšánti	batnēšni	tnēšni	nēšni	'you'
pl	nēšántu	batnēšnu	tnēšnu	nēšnu	'you'
1sg	nēšán(ə)t	bnēšen	nēšen		'I'
pl	nēšánna	mannēšen	nnēšen		'we'

Participles: Act. *mnēšen*, Pass. *mnēšan*; Gerund: *nēšane*

Defective Verbs.   There are very few examples to be found:

> *farša, bifarši* 'to brush'
>
> *ˀarža, biˀarži* 'to show'
>
> *warža, biwarži* 'to show'

Besides the forms *warža* and *ˀarža* 'to show', there is also *farža* (same meaning). The latter, however, is formed on the rare pseudo-quadriradical pattern *FaɛLa*: Compare *farraž* 'to show around' (and passive *tfarraž* 'to look around'); *taɛma, bitaɛmi* 'to feed' (Root *t-ɛ-m*).

INFLECTION OF *farša* 'to brush'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*fárša*	*bifárši*	*yfárši*		'he'
f	*fáršet*	*bətfárši*	*tfárši*		'she'
pl	*fáršu*	*bifáršu*	*yfáršu*		'they'
2m	*faršēt*	*bətfárši*	*tfárši*	*fárši*	'you'
f	*faršēti*	*bətfárši*	*tfárši*	*fárši*	'you'
pl	*faršētu*	*bətfáršu*	*tfáršu*	*fáršu*	'you'
1sg	*faršēt*	*bfárši*	*fárši*		'I'
pl	*faršēna*	*mənfárši*	*nfárši*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mfarši*, Pass. *mfarša*

Hollow-Defective Verbs.   The few examples found include:

> *bōya, bibōyi* 'to polish'
>
> *ṣōṣa, biṣōṣi* 'to squeak'

INFLECTION OF *bōya* 'to polish'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*bōya*	*bibōyi*	*ybōyi*		'he'
f	*bōyet*	*bətbōyi*	*tbōyi*		'she'
pl	*bōyu*	*bibōyu*	*ybōyu*		'they'
2m	*bōyēt*	*bətbōyi*	*tbōyi*	*bōyi*	'you'
f	*bōyēti*	*bətbōyi*	*tbōyi*	*bōyi*	'you'
pl	*bōyētu*	*bətbōyu*	*tbōyu*	*bōyu*	'you'
1sg	*bōyēt*	*bbōyi*	*bōyi*		'I'
pl	*bōyēna*	*mənbōyi*	*nbōyi*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mbōyi*, Pass. *mbōya*

Derivational Types.   Many simple quadriliteral verbs are applicative [256], derived from words of four or more radicals:

baxšaš	'to tip'	←	*baxšīš*	'tip, handout'
barhan	'to prove'	←	*bərhān*	'proof'
talfan	'to telephone'	←	*talifōn*	'telephone'
ˀōnan	'to regulate(by rules)'	←	*ˀānūn*	'rule, law'
basmal	'to say "bəsməllāh..."'	←	*b-əsm-əllāh*	'In the name of God...'
bōya	'to polish'	←	*bōya*	'polish'

Some are denominatives of other sorts: *xatyar* 'to age, grow old' (inchoative [250]) from *ˀəxtyār* 'old man'

AUGMENTED QUADRIRADICAL PATTERN: *tFaɛLaL, byətFaɛLaL*

Sound Verbs.   Examples:

> *tbarhan, byətbarhan*   'to be proven'
>
> *tmarkaz, byətmarkaz*[1] 'to take position'
>
> *ddaḥraž, byəddaḥraž*   'to roll'(intrans.)
>
> *ttaržam, byəttaržam*   'to be translated'

INFLECTION OF *tmarkaz* 'to consolidate one's position, settle'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	*tmárkaz*	*byətmárkaz*	*yətmárkaz*		'he'
f	*tmárkazet*	*btətmárkaz*	*tətmárkaz*		'she'
pl	*tmárkazu*	*byətmárkazu*	*yətmárkazu*		'they'
2m	*tmarkáz(ə)t*	*btətmárkaz*	*tətmárkaz*	*tmárkaz*	'you'
f	*tmarkázti*	*btətmárkazi*	*tətmárkazi*	*tmárkazi*	'you'
pl	*tmarkáztu*	*btətmárkazu*	*tətmárkazu*	*tmárkazu*	'you'
1sg	*tmarkáz(ə)t*	*bətmárkaz*	*ˀətmárkaz*		'I'
pl	*tmarkázna*	*mnətmárkaz*	*nətmárkaz*		'we'

Participles: Act. *mətmarkez*, Pass. *mətmarkaz (fī)*; (Gerund: *markaze*)

---

[1] The *m* is a secondary radical: the original triliteral root is *r-k-z*, whence *markaz* 'position'.

Defective Verbs:

INFLECTION OF *tfarša* 'to be brushed'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	tfárša	byətfárša	yətfárša		'he'
f	tfáršet	btətfárša	tətfárša		'she'
pl	tfáršu	byətfáršu	yətfáršu		'they'
2m	tfaršēt	btətfárša	tətfárša	tfárša	'you'
f	tfaršēti	btətfárši	tətfárši	tfárši	'you'
pl	tfaršētu	btətfáršu	tətfáršu	tfáršu	'you'
1sg	tfaršet	bətfárša	ʔətfárša		'I'
pl	tfaršēna	mnətfárša	nətfárša		'we'

Participle: *mətfarši;* Gerund: *tfərši*

Hollow Verbs:

INFLECTION OF *tsōgar* 'to be insured'

3m	tsōgar	byətsōgar	yətsōgar		'he'
f	tsōgaret	btətsōgar	tətsōgar		'she'
pl	tsōgaru	byətsōgaru	yətsōgaru		'they'
2m	tsōgár(ə)t	btətsōgar	tətsōgar	tsōgar	'you'
f	tsōgárti	btətsōgari	tətsōgari	tsōgari	'you'
pl	tsōgártu	btətsōgaru	tətsōgaru	tsōgaru	'you'
1sg	tsōgár(ə)t	bətsōgar	ʔətsōgar		'I'
pl	tsōgárna	mnətsōgar	nətsōgar		'we'

Participle: *mətsōger*

INFLECTION OF *tšēṭan* 'to be naughty'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	tšēṭan	byətšēṭan	yətšēṭan		'he'
f	tšēṭanet	btətšēṭan	tətšēṭan		'she'
pl	tšēṭanu	byətšēṭanu	yətšēṭanu		'they'
2m	tšēṭán(ə)t	btətšēṭan	tətšēṭan	tšēṭan	'you'
f	tšēṭánti	btətšēṭani	tətšēṭani	tšēṭani	'you'
pl	tšēṭántu	btətšēṭanu	tətšēṭanu	tšēṭanu	'you'
1sg	tšēṭán(ə)t	bətšēṭan	ʔətšēṭan		'I'
pl	tšēṭánna	mnətšēṭan	nətšēṭan		'we'

Participle: *mətšēṭen;* Gerund: *šēṭane*

Derivational Types. Most verbs of Pattern *tFaƐLaL* are passives of simple quadriradicals:

tbarhan	'to be proven'	←	barhan	'to prove'
ddōzan	'to be in tune'	←	dōzan	'to tune'
tsōgar	'to be insured'	←	sōgar	'to insure'

Some are simulative [249]:

tšeṭan	'to be naughty'	←	šēṭān	'devil, naughty'
tḥēwan[1]		←	ḥēwān	'animal'

Some are otherwise denominative: *tmarkaz* 'to take up a position' (from *markaz*[2] 'position').

PATTERN *FƐaLaLL*

Examples:

šmaʔazz, byəšmaʔəzz	'to be revolted, sickened'
dmaḥall, byədmaḥəll	'to fade away, die out'
ṭmaʔann, byəṭmaʔənn	'to be calm, feel secure'
qšaƐarr, byəqšaƐərr	'to shudder, have gooseflesh'

---

[1] the *n* is a secondary radical; the original triliteral root is *ḥ–y–y,* whence *ḥēwān.*

INFLECTION OF *šmaʔazz* 'to be revolted'

	Perfect	Impf.Indic.	Impf.Subjn.	
3m	*šmaʔázz*	*byəšmaʔə́zz*	*yəšmaʔə́zz*	'he'
f	*šmaʔázzet*	*btəšmaʔə́zz*	*təšmaʔə́zz*	'she'
pl	*šmaʔázzu*	*byəšmaʔə́zzu*	*yəšmaʔə́zzu*	'they'
2m	*šmaʔazzḗt*	*btəšmaʔə́zz*	*təšmaʔə́zz*	'you'
f	*šmaʔazzḗti*	*btəšmaʔə́zzi*	*təšmaʔə́zzi*	'you'
pl	*šmaʔazzḗtu*	*btəšmaʔə́zzu*	*təšmaʔə́zzu*	'you'
1sg	*šmaʔazzḗt*	*bəšmaʔə́zz*	*ʔəšmaʔə́zz*	'I'
pl	*šmaʔazzḗna*	*mnəšmaʔə́zz*	*nəšmaʔə́zz*	'we'

Participles: Act. *məšmaʔəzz*, Pass. *məšmaʔazz (mənno)*; Gerund: *ʔəšməʔzāz*

The verb *qšaɛarr* may also be pronounced *ʔšaɛarr*.

Verbs of Pattern *FɛaLaLL* are all intransitive, but are not derived or related in any regular way to other words. Note, however, that *ṭmaʔann* is related to the triliteral root *ṭ–m–n,* as in *ṭamman* 'to calm, assuage, assure'.

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.

Index of Patterns

TRIRADICAL:				
FəɛeL	p. 126	*FaɛɛīL*	p. 129
FaɛL	126	*ʔaFɛaL*	130
Fɛīl	127	*FāɛeL*	131
FaɛīL	127	*FaɛLān*	132
FaɛɛeL	128	*maFɛūL*	132
Faɛūl	128	*məFɛeL*	133
FaɛɛāL	129		

Augmented Participial Patterns: pp. 134-136

(II)	*mFaɛɛeL* ....*mFaɛɛaL*
(III)	*mFā̦ɛeL*...............................*mFā̦ɛaL*
(IV)	*məFɛeL*..............................*məFɛaL*
(V)	*mətFaɛɛeL*..........................*mətFaɛɛaL*
(VI)	*mətFā̄ɛeL*...........................*mətFā̄ɛaL*
(VII)	*mənFə́ɛeL, mənFá́ɛeL*..................
(VIII)	*məFtə́ɛeL, məFtá́ɛeL*..................*məFtá́ɛaL*
(IX)	*məFɛaLL*.............................
(X)	*məstəFɛeL, məstaFɛeL*...............*məstaFɛaL*

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS: p. 136

<div align="center">

FaɛLūL

FaɛLīL

</div>

mFaɛLeL	*mFaɛLaL*
mətFaɛLeL	*mətFaɛLaL*
məFɛaLəLL	*məFɛaLaLL*

PATTERN *FəƐeL*

Sound:

bəšeƐ	'ugly'	*xəšen*	'rough, coarse'
xəṭer	'dangerous'	*dəleƐ*	'bland'
rəṭeb	'moist, humid'	*wəḥeš*	'wild, savage'
šəreḥ	'airy, healthful'	*wəṣex*	'dirty'
ṣəleb	'hard, solid'	*Ɛəker*	'turbid, troubled'
desem	'nourishing'	*wəƐer*	'uneven, bumpt'

Geminate: *ḥərr* 'free'   *mərr*   'bitter'

Defective: *ḥəlu* 'sweet, pleasant, pretty'

The adjective *səx°n* 'hot' is exceptional in being formed on the pattern *FəƐL* [141]. For those who do not distinguish in pronunciation between *e* and *ə* (or *i*) in this position [13], there is of course no difference between the two patterns.

Some adjective of this pattern are correlative to nouns of the *FaƐL* or *FaƐaL* patterns: *xəṭer* 'dangerous': *xaṭar* 'danger'; *wəṣex* 'dirty': *waṣax* 'dirt, filth'; *wəḥeš* 'wild': *waḥ°š* 'wild beast'.

PATTERN *FaƐL*

Sound:

ṣaƐ°b	'difficult'	*fax°m*	'stately, elegant'
sah°l	'easy'	*ḍax°m*	'heavy, big'

With last two radicals alike:

fažž	'unripe'	*ḥarr* (or *ḥārr*)	'hot'
ḥayy	'alive'	*ḥadd* (or *ḥādd*)	'sharp'
nayy	'raw'		

With final radical semivowel: *raxu* 'loose, lax'

Adjectives with this typically nominal pattern [139] are not common.

PATTERN *FƐīL*

nḍīf	'clean'	*txīn*	'thick, fat'
bxīl	'stingy'	*bƐīd*	'far, distant'
t°īl	'heavy'	*ždīd*	'new'
rxīṣ	'cheap'	*sḥīḥ*	'whole, in one piece' (cf *ṣaḥīḥ*, below)
zġīr	'small, young'	*ḍƐīf*	'ill' (cf. *ḍaƐīf*, below)
ktīr	'much'	*mnīḥ*	'good'

This pattern is not used with final (or medial?) radical semivowel, (for which see Pattern *FaƐīL* below).

Some adjectives of this pattern are correlative to descriptive verbs [251].

PATTERN *FaƐīL*

Sound:

ʔakīd	'definite, certain'	*badīƐ*	'novel, original, exotic'
baṣīṭ	'easy, minor, simple'	*barīʔ*	'innocent' (cf. *bari*, below)
saƐīd	'happy, fortunate'	*žamīl*	'beautiful'
žarīḥ	'wounded'	*xabīr*	'experienced'
xafīf	'light'	*ḍaƐīf*	'weak'
ṭawīl	'long, tall'	*ṣaḥīḥ*	'true'
Ɛatīʔ	'old'	*Ɛaẓīm*	'great, grand'
faẓīƐ	'awful, marvelous'	*ʔalīl*	'little, few'
waḥīd	'unique, only'	*ʔadīm*	'ancient'

Defective: *zaki* 'intelligent, bright'   *bari* 'innocent' (or sound *bariʔ*)

saxi 'generous'   *ġani* 'rich'

ṭari 'fresh'   *šaʔi* 'hoodlum'

ʔawi 'strong'   *wafi* 'dependable, true
                                      (to one's word)'

Some adjective of Pattern *FaƐīL* are correlative to descriptive verbs [251]. A few contrast, as qualitative adjectives, with stative adjectives: *fahīm* '(naturally) understanding': cf. *fahmān, fāhem* 'knowledgeable, having come to understand'; *ḥazīn* 'sad' (temperament): cf. *ḥaznān* 'sad' (mood); *ʔaxīr* 'last, final': cf. *ʔāxer* 'last, latest'.

PATTERN *FaƐƐeL* (Variant of Pattern *FaƐīL*)

žayyed 'good, excellent'   *ṭayyeb* 'good'

dayyeʔ 'narrow, tight'   *xayyer* 'charitable, benificent'

mayyet 'dead'   *hayyen* 'easy'

sayyeʔ 'bad, unfortunate'

This pattern is a modification of Pattern *FaƐīL* used with medical radical semivowels: *–yye–* in lieu of *–yī–*, and (sometimes) in lieu of *–wī–*.

PATTERN *FaƐūL*

žasūr 'daring'   *wadūd* 'devoted, fond'

naṣūḥ 'sincere, loyal'   *xadūm* 'solicitous, servile'

xaḍūƐ 'obedient'   *ṣabūḥ* 'radiant, bright, smiling'

ṭamūḥ 'ambitious'   *ʔanūƐ* 'contented, temperate'

This pattern is not used (?) with final radical semi-vowel. As medial semivowel, *y* is lengthened: *ġayyūr* 'jealous'.

Almost all adjectives of this pattern designate personal qualities or dispositions. Most of them are dispositional derivatives of simple verbs [277].

PATTERN *FaƐƐāL*

baṭṭāl 'bad'   *rannān* 'sonorous'

šaġġāl 'in operation, working'   *šaffāf* 'transparent,
                                            translucent'

naššāf 'blotting, drying,
           absorbent'   *ḥabbāb* 'lovable, amiable'

ṭawwāf 'floating, buoyant'   *ḥassās* 'sensitive'

Defective: *bakka* 'weeper, cry-baby'   *ḥakka* 'talkative'

Many adjectives of this pattern are dispositional [277]. Compare noun pattern *FaƐƐāL* [151].

PATTERN *FaƐƐīL*

lammīƐ 'shiny'   *šarrīb* 'heavy drinker'

žaxxīx 'show-off'   *rakkīb* 'good rider, horseman'

xawwīf 'timorous, cowardly'   *šarrīr* 'evil-doer, malicious'

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

Some adjectives are formed on a slightly different pattern, *FəƐƐīL*: *səkkīr* and *xəmmīr* 'drunkard, alcoholic', *šəllīf* (or *šallīf*) 'charging exorbitant prices'.

Pattern *FaƐƐīL* is used mainly in forming dispositional adjectives [277].

PATTERN ʔaFƐaL

ʔaṣfar 'yellow'	ʔabkam 'mute, dumb'
ʔaḥmar 'red'	ʔaṭraš 'deaf'
ʔazraʔ 'blue'	ʔaṣlaƐ 'bald'
ʔaxḍar 'green'	ʔaƐwar 'one-eyed'
ʔabyaḍ 'white'	ʔaƐraž 'lame'
ʔaswad 'black'	ʔaƐwaž 'bent, crooked'
ʔasmar 'dark-complexioned'	ʔažrad 'barren, bleak'
ʔašʔar 'blond'	ʔahbal 'dim-witted, feeble-minded'
ʔablaʔ 'piebald'	ʔabraṣ 'leprous'
ʔadham 'black' (horse)	ʔahmaʔ 'stupid, foolish'
ʔabraš 'grey; albino'	ʔazƐar 'crook, brigand'
ʔašhal 'having dark grey eyes'	ʔaƐzab 'unmarried'

Geminate: ʔaṣamm 'stone deaf'

Defective: ʔaƐma 'blind'

The ʔaFƐaL pattern is used 1.) for colors and 2.) for "defect" (mostly human lacks and imperfections).[1]   The pattern is completely changed in the feminine (FaƐLa) and plural (FaƐL, FaƐLān) -- See Adjective Inflection [208].   For elatives, see Noun Pattern ʔaFƐaL [310].

> The adjective ʔarmal 'widowed' has the "defects" pattern in the masculine form, but the feminine ʔarmale and the plural ʔarāmel are formed as from a quadriradical noun of the FaƐLaL 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. Ɛama 'to blind' and Ɛəmi '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.

PATTERN FāƐeL

Sound:	bāred 'cold'	šāṭer 'clever, smart'
	ṣārem 'strict, severe'	Ɛādel 'just'
	Ɛāṭel 'bad'	wāseƐ 'wide, broad'
	Ɛāʔel 'wise, sensible'	wāḍeḥ 'clear'
	nāšef 'dry'	yābes 'dry, hard'
	ʔāxer 'last'	žāreḥ 'sharp, dangerous'
	bāyet 'stale'	xāyef 'afraid'
Geminate:	xāṣṣ 'special, private'	šāzz 'odd, strange'
	Ɛāmm 'general, public'	ḥārr 'hot'

Active participles of geminate verbs have the sound pattern in Colloquial, not the geminate: ḥāṭeṭ 'having put' (not ḥāṭṭ).   (In the feminine and plural, however, the sound becomes like the geminate: ḥāṭṭe, ḥāṭṭīn [p. 28].)

Some geminate adjectives belonging theoretically to this pattern are usually (if not always) pronounced with a short a: ḥadd 'sharp'.   (See Pattern FaƐL [126].)

Defective:	Ɛāli 'high'	ġāli 'expensive'
	bāʔi 'remaining'	wāṭi 'low'
	fāḍi 'empty, unoccupied'	Ɛāṣi 'stubborn' (inanim. 'stuck, jammed')
	ṣāḥi 'wide awake'	ʔāsi 'hard, solid'

See adjective inflection [204].

> In Pattern FāƐeL, medial radical w appears as y (xāyef 'afraid', Root x-w-f), unless the final radical is also a semivowel, as in ḥāwi 'windy' (Root h-w-y).

Many adjectives of Pattern FāƐeL are active participles of simple verbs.   [p. 258].

PATTERN *FaɛLān*

baṭrān	'wasteful'	raḍyān	'pleased, satisfied'
ḥafyān	'barefoot'	wartān	'heir, having inherited'
naɛsān	'sleepy'	talfān	'worthless, ruined'
kaslān	'lazy, loafing'	zaɛlān	'displeased'
waɛyān	'conscious'	yaʔsān	'in despair'

With medial radical semivowel: *žūɛān* 'hungry' 'Root *ž-w-ɛ*)

With medial and final radical semivowels: *rayyān* 'swampy, irrigated' (Root *r-w-y*); *ɛayyān* 'sick' (Root *ɛ-y-y*).

Defective: *malān* 'full' (also sound: *malyān*) (Root *m-l-y* or *m-l-ʔ*)

With the exception of *malān*, adjectives on this pattern with final radical semivowel are sound, with *-y-* before the *-ān* ending.

Pattern *FaɛLān* is not used with geminating radicals [p.41] other than semivowels.

Most adjectives formed on Pattern *FaɛLān* are participles of sound and defective simple intransitive verbs [259].

PATTERN *maFɛūL*

Sound:	maxlūṭ 'mixed'	mamnūn 'obliged'
	mašhūr 'famous'	mažnūn 'insane'
	masʔūl 'responsible'	mawžūd 'occurring, found, present'
	madyūn 'indebted'	mayʔus (mənno) 'despaired (of)'
	maɛwūž 'bent'	maḥbūb 'well-liked, beloved'
	mablūl 'wet'	maẓbūṭ 'correct'

Hollow: *maḥūl* 'extraordinary' (Root *ḥ-w-l*).

Defective:

məʔli	'fried'	məḥši	'stuffed'
məkwi	'ironed'	məbli	'afflicted'
məlwi	'bent, curving'	mənsi	'forgotten'

In some areas (e.g. Palestine) these defectives are pronounced with *a* in the first syllable: *maḥši, maʔli,* etc. Compare Pattern *məFɛeL* defective [below].

Most adjectives formed on Pattern *maFɛūL* are passive participles of simple verbs. [258].

PATTERN *məFɛeL (muFɛeL)*

Sound:	məsmen 'fattening'	məfles 'bankrupt, broke'
	məfžeɛ 'frightful'	məslem 'Moslem'
	məglem 'dark, murky'	məmken (or mumken) 'possible'
	məžwez 'paired'	məxleṣ (or muxleṣ) 'faithful'
	məhyeb 'awesome'	məhrez 'worthwhile'

Initial Weak: *mūžeɛ* 'hurtful, inflicting pain'   *mūḥeš* 'desolate'
mūreʔ 'in leaf, leafy'

Geminate:

mxəll	'immoral'	msəmm	'poisonous'
mhəmm	'important'	mməll	'boring'

Hollow: *mṭīɛ* 'obedient'   *mufīd* 'useful, beneficial'
mrīḥ 'comfortable, restful   *muḥīṭ (b-)* 'surrounding'
(also sound: *məryeḥ*)

Defective:

məɛdi	'contagious'	mərḍi	'satisfactory'
məʔzi	'harmful'	məhwi	'draughty, airy'

In most parts of the Syrian area, defective participles of the pattern *maFɛūL* 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.

Many adjectives formed on Pattern *məFƐeL* are agentive [278] or characteristic [279]; some are participles of Pattern IV verbs [82].

AUGMENTED PARTICIPIAL PATTERNS

Pattern *mFaƐƐeL:* *mraššev* 'having a cold', *mbayyen* 'apparent, seeming'; Defective: *mxalli* 'having left', *msawwi* 'having cooked'.

Used for Active Participles of Pattern II verbs [p. 77].

Pattern *mFaƐƐaL:* *mtallaž* 'iced', *mžawwaz* 'married', *mhazzab* 'polite', *mƐayyan* 'definite, particular', *mwaffaʔ* 'fortunate'; Defective: *mrabba* 'brought up, educated', *msamma* 'named, called'.

Used for Passive Participles of Pattern II verbs.

Pattern *mFāƐeL:* *msāfer* 'traveling', *mnāseb* 'suitable, convenient', *mžāweb* 'having answered, respondent'; Defective: *mlāʔi* 'having found', *msāwi* 'having made'

Used for Active Participles of Pattern III verbs [p. 80].

Pattern *mFāƐaL:* *mbārak* 'blessed', *mʔāṣaṣ* 'punished', *mžāwab* 'answered'; Defective: *mlāʔa* 'found', *msāwa* 'made'

Used for Passive Participles of Pattern III verbs.

Pattern *məFƐeL:* (Rare as participle; see p. 133 above): *məkrem* 'honoring'

Pattern *məFƐaL:* *məkram* 'honored', *məƐžab (b-)* 'admiring, impressed (by)'; Defective: *muǵma (Ɛalē)* 'fainted'

Rare, as passive participle of Pattern IV verbs; see p. 260.

Pattern *mətFaƐƐeL:* *mətʔaxxer* 'delaying, late', *mətkabber* 'haughty', *mədžawwez* 'married', *mətradded* 'undecided', *məddayyen (mənno)* 'borrowed (from)'; Defective: *mətrabbi* 'educated, well brought up'

Used for active participles of Pattern V verbs [p. 86].

Pattern *mətFaƐƐaL:* *mətʔaxxar* 'delayed' (inanimate); Defective: *mətbanna* 'adopted'

Used for passive participles of Pattern V verbs.

Pattern *mətFāƐeL:* *mətwādeƐ* 'humble, modest', *mətžāmel* 'considerate', *mətƐāmel* 'dealt with'; Defective: *mətsāwi* 'equal, balanced', *mətnāhi* 'extreme'

Used for active participles of Pattern VI verbs [p. 88].

Pattern *mətFāƐaL:* *mətbādal* 'mutual, reciprocal', *mətžāwaz* 'exceeded', *mətnāwal* 'attainable, within reach'

Used for passive participles of Pattern VI verbs.

Pattern *mənFáƐeL, mənFáƐeL:* *mənkáser* 'defeated, broken', *məntə́reb* 'enraptured' *mənʔə́ṭeƐ* 'discontinued'; Geminate: *mənḥall* 'disbanded, discharged'; Hollow: *mənšāf* 'seen'; Defective: *mənʔə́ri* 'read'.

Used for "active" [267] participles of Pattern VII verbs [p. 91].

Pattern *məFtə́Ɛel, məFtə́ƐeL:* *məƐtə́del* 'moderate, temperate, mild', *məxtə́lef* 'different, differing', *məltə́bes* 'ambiguous, obscure', *məntə́xeb* 'having elected', *məzdə́ḥem* 'crowded' [100]; Geminate: *məḥtall* 'occupying' Hollow: *mərtāḥ* 'comfortable, at ease', *məmtāz* 'excellent'; Defective: *məntə́si* 'forgotten', *məstə́wi* 'cooked, done'; Initial weak: *məttə́kel (Ɛala)* 'depending (on)', *muttə́ḥed* 'united', *məttə́žeh (la−)* 'headed (for)'.

This pattern is used for active participles of Pattern VIII verbs [p. 95].

Pattern *məFtə́ƐaL:* *məḥtə́ram* 'respected, respectable', *məxtə́ṣar* 'brief', *məntə́xab* 'elected'; Defective: *məḥtə́wa (Ɛalē)* 'contained, included' (Geminate and Hollow rare, same in form as Pattern *məFtə́ƐeL:*) *məḥtall* 'occupied'.

Used for passive participles of Pattern VIII verbs.

Pattern *məFƐaLL:* *məḥmarr* 'blushing, reddened', *məƐwažž* 'crooked, twisted'

Used for participles of Pattern IX verbs [101].

Pattern *məstaFƐeL;* *məstaḥsen* 'preferring', *məstaƐmel* 'using, having used', *məstaƐžel* 'in a hurry', *məstažweb* 'having questioned'; Geminate: *məstƐadd* 'ready, prepared'm *məstʔall* 'independent'; Hollow: *məstfīd* 'benefitting', *məstaṭīƐ* 'able'; Defective: *məstakri* 'renting'

Used for active participles of Pattern X verbs [102].

Pattern *məstaFƐaL:* *məstaƐmal* 'used', *məstaḥsan* 'preferred', *məstaƐžal* 'hurried, speeded'; Geminate: *məstaḥaʔʔ* '(one's) due'; Hollow *məstašār* 'consulted', *məstaƐān* 'called upon for help'

Used for passive participles of Pattern X verbs.

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS

Pattern *FaƐLūL:* *farkūš* 'clumsy', *šaršūḥ* 'slovenly'

Pattern *FaƐLīL:* *zangīl* 'wealthy'

Pattern *mFaƐLeL:* *mfastek* 'depressed', *mbarġel* 'grainy', *mbarṭel* 'having bribed, bribing', *mʔafles* 'having gone bankrupt'; Defective: *mfarži* 'having shown'

This pattern is used for active participles of simple quadriradical [117] and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [109].

Pattern *mFaƐLaL:* *mbarṭal* 'bribed', *mlaxbaṭ* 'mixed up', *mʔaƐlan* 'announced, advertized', *mṭablaž* 'plump', *mṭaḥbaš* 'wrecked', *mƐanṭaz* 'arrogant', *mšarṭaṭ* 'ragged'; Defective: *mfarža* 'shown'

This pattern is used for passive participles of simple quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs.

Pattern *mətFaƐLeL:* *məddahwer* 'decadent'

Used for "active" participles of augmented quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [121].

Pattern *mətFaƐLal:* *məttaržam (mənno)* 'translated (from)'

Used for passive participles of augmented quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs.

Pattern *məFƐaLəLL:* *məšmaʔəzz* 'disgusted, nauseated' *məṭmaʔənn* 'calm' secure'

Used for "active" participles of Pattern *FƐaLaLL* verbs [123]

Pattern *məFƐaLaLL:* *məšmaʔazz mənno* 'nauseating, revolting'

Used for passive participles of Pattern *FƐaLaLL* 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 *FāƐeL*) [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

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 (*ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ẓ*) and back consonants (*x, ġ, q, ḥ, Ɛ, h, ʔ*) and usually after *r* (but not usually after *-īr-*). Examples:

With *-e*		With *-a*	
raʔbe	'neck'	*žabha*	'front'
zīne	'decoration'	*ṣīġa*	'jewelry'
səkke	'track'	*ʔəṣṣa*	'story'
Ɛāde	'custom'	*ḥāra*	'quarter'
Ɛāṣfe	'storm'	*ṣānƐa*	'maid'
ʔasāwe	'harshness'	*safāra*	'embassy'
natīže	'result'	*ṭarīʔa*	'method'
ḍfīre	'braid'	*fḍīḥa*	'scandal'

There are exceptions to this rule, however, in which *-e* occurs after *r* (especially in Pattern *FəƐLe*): *ʔəbre* 'needle', *nəmre* 'number, class' (also *nəmra*), etc.; and sometimes after a velarized consonant: *Ɛaṭṣe* 'a sneeze' (but more usually

Ɛaṭṣa). More common are cases in which the suffix appears as *-a* after plain front consonants: *ṣifa* 'attribute', *šōraba* 'soup', *ʔārma* '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 *-ēn* [210], and its loss before the plural suffix *-āt* [214] and the relative suffix *-i* [280].

The *-e/-a* suffix has several derivational functions: singulative [p. 297], feminal [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 *FaƐL*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

tax(ə)t	'bed'	*ʔar(ə)n*	'horn'
bar(ə)d	'cold'	*ḍah(ə)r*	'back'
ʔaṣ(ə)l	'origin'	*kaƐ(ə)b*	'heel'
waḥ(ə)š	'wild beast'	*ʔalb*	'heart'
yaʔ(ə)s	'despair'	*žamb*	'side'

The helping vowel *ə* usually appears between the last two radicals at the end of a phrase or before a consonant. See p. 29 for details.

---

[1]Also *kahraba* 'electricity', *xawāža* 'gentleman', etc. Although the *-e/-a* suffix normally corresponds to ة in written Arabic, there are also cases in which it corresponds to ا or ى. The criterion for the *-e/-a* suffix is connective *t* in construct forms and duals: *kahrabet, kahrabt-* 'electricity of', *xawāžtēn* 'two gentlemen'.

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

Ɛažu	'pressed dates'	*ṣabi*	'boy'
faru	'fur'	*raʔi*	'opinion'
ʔabu	'basement'	*ḥaki*	'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*: *raʔyak* 'your (m.) opinion', but *raʔikon* 'your (pl.) opinion'.

Geminate:

ḥaʔʔ	'right'	*wazz*	'geese'
xadd	'cheek'	*žaww*	'air, atmosphere'
samm	'poison'	*fayy*	'shade, shadow'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (*a* + *w* → *ō*; *a* + *y* → *ē*):

tōr	'bull'	*ṭēr*	'bird'
zōʔ	'taste'	*xēl*	'horses'
yōm	'day'	*sēf*	'sword'

Commonly in Lebanese speech, however, the radical semivowel does not fuse with the pattern vowel, the pattern remaining unaltered as with stable roots: *tawr* 'bull', *ṭayr* 'bird'. See p. 13.

Many nouns of Pattern *FaƐL* are gerunds of simple verbs [p. 289]: *ḍarb* 'striking, hitting' (cf. *ḍarab* 'to hit, strike'); *ḥaki* 'talk, talking' (cf. *ḥaka* 'to talk, speak'); *ʔaxᵊd* 'taking (cf. *ʔaxad* 'to take').

PATTERN *FaƐLe*

Unaltered Pattern.   Sound:

raʔbe	'neck'	*žabha*	'front'
damƐa	'tear'	*ʔazme*	'crisis'
ḥafle	'party'	*baḥra*	'lake'
waṣfe	'prescription'	*faršе*	'mattress'

Sound, with middle radical semivowel:

dawle	'nation'	*sawra*	'revolution'
Ɛawže	'bend'		

With final radical semivowel (Sound, or with exchange of *y* and *w*):

xaṭwe	'step, pace'	*ḥanye*	'bow; bend'
šarwe	'bargain'	*ṣafwe*	'ashes'

Before connective –*t*– plus suffixed vowel, the radical semivowel appears in its vocalic form; *xaṭutēn* 'two paces', *ḥanito* 'his bow'. See p. 166.

Geminate:

marra	'a time'	*salle*	'basket'
ḍaffe	'edge, bank'	*ḥayye*	'snake'

Altered Pattern.   Hollow (*a* + *w* → *ō*; *a* + *y* → *ē*):

xēme	'tent'	*šōke*	'fork'
ḍēƐa	'village; estate'	*žōʔa*	'band'

Many nouns of Pattern *FaƐLe* are singulatives [p. 297], derived from Gerunds or collectives of Pattern *FaƐL*: *ġazwe* 'a raid' (cf. *ġazu* 'raiding'), *bēḍa* 'an egg' (cf. *bēḍ* 'eggs'). Others are gerunds [p. 292] and feminal derivatives [304].

PATTERN *FƏƐL*

Unaltered Pattern.   Sound:

bən(ᵊ)t	'girl, daughter'	*kəb(ᵊ)š*	'ram'
ʔəs(ᵊ)m	'name'	*žes(ᵊ)r*	'bridge'
Ɛəm(ᵊ)r	'age'	*žəns*	'kind'
bər(ᵊ)ž	'tower'	*məlk*	'property'

On the use of the helping vowel (ᵊ), see p. 29.

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

     Ɛəḍu 'member'   *žədi* 'kid'

    On the alternation of *u* and *i* with *w* and *y*, see p. 140.

Geminate:

     ʔəmm 'mother'   *ṭəbb* 'medicine'

     rəzz 'rice'   *wəšš* 'face'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (*ə + w → ū; ə + y → ī*):

     žūx 'cloth'   *ʔīd* 'hand'

     būm 'owls' (coll.)   *bīr* 'well'

     sūʔ 'market'   *tīn* 'figs'

Anomalous hollow-defective: *šī* 'thing' (cf. classicism *šēʔ*)

        Commonly in Palestine this word is pronounced *ʔəši*,
     which is sound, with root *ʔ-š-y*. (The initial *ʔ* also
     occurs in the plural *ʔašya* or *ʔəšya*, which is used
     throughout Greater Syria.)

    Some nouns of this pattern are abstract and gerundial derivatives
[p. 286]: *kəbᵊr* 'large size' (cf. *kbīr* 'large'); *ləƐb* 'play, game' (cf.
ləƐeb 'to play').

    On plural Pattern *FəƐL*, see p. 221.

PATTERN *FəƐLe*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

     ʔəžra 'fee'   *tərbe* 'cemetery'

     rəhle 'trip, tour'   *fərṣa* 'opportunity'

     kəlme 'word'   *məƐze* 'goats' (coll.)

     šərke 'company'   *ʔəbre* 'needle'

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

     ləhye 'beard'   *kəlwe* 'kidney'

     dənye 'world'   *Ɛərwe* 'button-hole'

    On the alternation of *u* and *i* with *w* and *y*, see p. 166.

Geminate:

     šəffe 'lip'   *fəḍḍa* 'silver'

     ʔeṣṣa 'story'   *səkke* 'track'

Altered Pattern. Semivowel-geminate, with assimilation of pattern vowel:

  niyye 'aim, intention' (Root *n-w-y*)   *ʔuwwe* 'power' (Root *Ɛ-w-y*)

  diyye 'blood money' (See p. 157)   *huwwe* 'precipice' (Root *h-w-y*)

    See p. 166.

Hollow (*ə + y → ī; ə + w → ū*):

     zīne 'decoration'   *ṣūra* 'picture'

     ṣīġa 'jewelry'   *mūne* 'provision'

     hīle 'trick'   *ʔūḍa* 'room'

    Many nouns of this pattern are abstract or gerundial [287] or singu-
lative [297]: *ʔəlle* 'scarcity' (cf. *ʔəlīl* 'few, little'); *xədme* 'service'
(cf. *xadam* 'to serve'); *fəkra* 'an idea' (cf. *fəkᵊr* 'thinking, thought').

PATTERN *FaƐaL*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

     ʔamal 'hope'   *taman* 'price'

     šaraf 'honor'   *ʔalaʔ* 'insomnia'

     walad 'child'   *sabab* 'cause'

     baʔar 'cattle'   *ḍarar* 'damage'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of middle radical):

žār	'neighbor'	*sā⁹*	'leg'
rās	'head'	*xāl*	'maternal uncle'
bāb	'door'	*⁹āℇ*	'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 *FaℇāL* [146].

PATTERN *FaℇaLe*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

sakane	'barrack(s)'	*barake*	'blessing'
ṣalaṭa	'salad'	*ṭaba⁹a*	'class'
daraže	'degree, step'	*ḥažara*	'a stone'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of Middle radical):

ℇāde	'habit, custom'	*ḥāra*	'quarter, neighborhood'
ṭābe	'ball'	*rāye*	'banner'
wāℇa	'container'	*sāℇa*	'hour'

PATTERN *FāℇeL*

Sound:

bāℇes	'motive'	*žāmeℇ*	'mosque'
ḥāžeb	'eyebrow'	*wāžeb*	'duty'
ẓābeṭ	'officer'	*ḥādes*	'incident'

With middle radical semivowel:

fāyeẓ	'usury'	*zāyer*	'visitor'

A medial radical *w* is represented by *y* in this pattern; see Adjective Pattern *FāℇeL* [p. 131].

Defective (*e* + *y* or *w* → *ī*):

rāℇi	'keeper, herdsman'	*⁹āḍi*	'judge'

Cf. Pattern *FāℇeL* adjectives.

Many nouns of this pattern are substantivized active participles of simple verbs: *kāteb* 'clerk', 'writer' (cf. *katab* 'to write'); *zāyer* 'visitor' (cf. *zār* 'to visit'); *māneℇ* 'inconvenience, obstacle, hindrance' (cf. *manaℇ* 'to prevent'); *nā⁹eb* 'representative' (cf. *nāb* 'to represent'). See p. 276.

PATTERN *FāℇLe*

ℇāṣfe	'storm'	*ṣānℇa*	'maid'
žāmℇa	'university'	*wāṣṭa*	'means'
ṭāwle	'table'	*ṭāyfe*	'sect'
zāwye	'corner'	*ḍāḥye*	'suburb'
mādde	'material'	*dābbe*	'beast of burden'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root, except that final or medial radical *w* commonly becomes *y*. [p. 44]. See also Construct Forms, p. 167.

PATTERN *FaƐāL*

Sound:

žamāl	'beauty	*ʔasās*	'foundation'
bayān	'statement'	*ḥarām*	'taboo; shame'
žawāz	'permit'	*kalām*	'speech, words'
qarār	'decision'	*ġazāl*	'gazelle'

Defective (Loss of final radical semivowel):

Ɛaša	'dinner, supper'	*sama*	'sky; heaven'
hawa	'air'	*masa*	'evening'
ġada	'lunch, dinner'	*dawa*	'medicine'
ḥaya	'modesty'	*žaza*	'punishment, penalty'

The long *ā* of the pattern is preserved in the suffixing forms of these words, see p. 27.

Defective, with final radical semivowel → *ʔ*: *žazāʔ* (= *žaza*).

PATTERN *FaƐāLe*

saƐāde	'happiness'	*wakāle*	'agency'
safāra	'embassy'	*žamāƐa*	'group of people'
rabābe	'rebab' (mus. instr.)	*baṭāṭa*	'potatoes'
ʔasāwe	'cruelty'	*Ɛaṣāye*	'stick'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of this pattern are abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns [285]: *saƐāde* 'happiness' (cf. *saƐīd* 'happy'); *safāra* 'embassy' (cf. *safīr* 'ambassador'); *Ɛadāwe* 'enmity' (cf. *Ɛaduww* 'enemy').

PATTERN *FƐāL*

Sound:

ḥṣān	'horse'	*ḥmār*	'donkey'
ʔmāš	'cloth'	*blāž*	'beach'
wžāʔ	'stove'	*ktāb*	'book'
šƐāƐ	'ray, beam'	*ʔyās*	'measurement'
ṣʔāʔ	'street'	*ġyāb*	'absence'

Defective:

dəra	'corn, maise'	*rəḍa*	'contentment, satisfaction'
šəte	'winter; rain'	*nəde*	'dew'
ġəre	'glue'	*ṣəde*	'rust'

The long *a* of this defective pattern is preserved in the suffixing form [p. 27], while the absolute form has variants ending in *e* 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 *bəke* 'crying, weeping', is like these words in the absolute form, but has a suffixing form like Pattern *FəƐL* [142]: *bə́ki-hon* 'their crying' (cf. *šətā́-hon* 'their winter').

Many nouns of Pattern *FƐāL* are gerunds of simple verbs: *ġyāb* 'absence' (cf. *ġāb* 'to be absent'); *rəḍa* 'satisfaction' (cf. *rəḍi* 'to be satisfied').

For plural Pattern *FƐāL*, see p. 218.

PATTERN *FƐāLe*

xzāne	'closet'	*bḍāƐa*	'merchandise'
swāra	'bracelet'	*rṣāṣa*	'bullet'
zyāra	'visit'	*mlāye*	'veil'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of Pattern *FɛāLe* are gerunds of simple verbs: *ɛbāde* 'worship' (cf. *ɛabad* 'to worship'), *ʔrāye* 'reading' (cf. *ʔara* 'to read').

PATTERN *FiɛāL*

difāɛ	'defense'	*niẓām*	'system, order'
ʔilāh	'god'	*wisām*	'medal, badge'

Defective: *šifa*   'cure'

PATTERN *FiɛāLe*

şināɛa	'industry'	*nihāye*	'end'
zirāɛa	'agriculture'	*wilāye*	'state'
riwāye	'novel; play'	*siyāse*	'politics; policy'

Patterns *FiɛāL* and *FiɛāLe* are somewhat classicized variants of Patterns *FɛāL* and *FɛāLe* respectively.

Many nouns of Pattern *FiɛāLe* are gerunds of simple verbs: *dirāse* 'study' (cf. *daras* 'to study'); *zirāɛa* 'agriculture' (cf. *zaraɛ* 'to plant, cultivate').

PATTERN *FaɛīL*

ʔadīb	'man of letters'	*sabīl*	'way'
ʔamīs	'shirt'	*ṭabīb*	'physician'
raʔīs	'chief, head'	*yamīn*	'right (hand)'
harīr	'silk'	*rabīɛ*	'spring(time)'

Defective: *waşi* 'trustee, guardian'

Many nouns of Pattern *FaɛīL* that designate human beings are substantivized adjectives.   See p. 127.   Some are correlative to simple abstract nouns in the sense 'practitioner of' or 'versed in': *ʔadīb* 'man of letters' (cf. *ʔadab* 'belles-lettres'); *ṭabīb* 'physician' (cf. *ṭəbb* 'medicine, physical therapy').

PATTERN *FaɛīLe*

natīže	'result'	*žarīme*	'crime'
ṭarīʔa	'method'	*madīne*	'city'
daʔīʔa	'minute'	*šarīɛa*	'Muslim law'

With final radical semivowel (*-iyy-* = *-īy-*):

xaṭiyye	'sin'	*ʔaḍiyye*	'case'
ɛašiyye	'evening'	*waşiyye*	'will, testament'

PATTERN *FɛīL*

žbīn	'forehead'	*rġīf*	'loaf'
rfīʔ	'companion'	*šrīṭ*	'string, wire'
šɛīr	'barley'	*gdīš*	'nag, horse'

This pattern is not used with middle or final radical semivowel.

Patterns *FaɛīL* and *FɛīL* are used in a number of gerunds, especially those designating noises: *şrīx* 'shouting', *šxīr* 'snoring', *ʔanīn* 'moaning', *ḍažīž* 'noise, tumult', *ranīn* 'tinkle', *bşīş* 'glimmering, 'glimpse'.

PATTERN $F\varepsilon\bar{\imath}Le$

$ḍf\bar{\imath}re$	'braid'	$kn\bar{\imath}se$	'church'
$fḍ\bar{\imath}ḥa$	'scandal'	$ṭ h\bar{\imath}ne$	'sesame oil sauce'

With final radical semivowel (y) $(-iyy- = -\bar{\imath}y-)$:

$hdiyye$	'gift'	$w^{\imath}iyye$	'oka' (weight measure)

This pattern is not used with middle radical semivowel.

PATTERN $F(u)\varepsilon\bar{u}L$

$zb\bar{u}n$	'customer'	$\check{z}n\bar{u}b$	'south'
$s(u)r\bar{u}r$	'joy, pleasure'	$f(u)ṭ\bar{u}r$	'breakfast'
$h\check{z}\bar{u}m$	'attack'	$ṭum\bar{u}ḥ$	'aspiration'

With final radical semivowel (w) $(-uww = -\bar{u}w)$:

$\varepsilon(u)luww$	'elevation, height'	$numuww$	'growth'

The pattern may also be altered (defective) in $\varepsilon\partial lu$ 'height' (suffixing form $\varepsilon\partial l\bar{u}-$).

Pattern $F\varepsilon\bar{u}L$ is commonly used for gerunds of simple verbs [291]: $ṭl\bar{u}\varepsilon$ 'coming out, going up' (cf. $ṭ\partial le\varepsilon$ 'to come out, go up'); $\check{s}\varepsilon\bar{u}r$ 'feeling(s)' (cf. $\check{s}a\varepsilon ar$ 'to feel').

For plural Pattern $F\varepsilon\bar{u}L$, see p. 220.

PATTERN $F\varepsilon\bar{u}Le$

$rṭ\bar{u}be$	'humidity'	$ḥk\bar{u}me$	'government'
$x\check{s}\bar{u}ne$	'roughness'	$sx\bar{u}ne$	'fever'
$ṣ\varepsilon\bar{u}be$	'difficulty'	$ḥm\bar{u}ḍa$	'acidity'

With final radical semivowel $(-uww- = -\bar{u}w-)$:

$mruwwe$	'mastery'	$^{\imath}ubuwwe$	'fatherhood'

This pattern is used mainly for abstract nouns derived from simple adjective and nouns [p. 286].

For plural Pattern $F\varepsilon\bar{u}Le$, see p. 220.

PATTERNS $F\bar{a}\varepsilon\bar{u}L$, $F\bar{a}\varepsilon\bar{u}Le$

$q\bar{a}n\bar{u}n$	'law'	$ṭ\bar{a}ḥ\bar{u}n$	'mill'
$x\bar{a}z\bar{u}^{\imath}$	'stake'	$x\bar{a}r\bar{u}f$	'lamb'
$ṣ\bar{a}b\bar{u}n$	'soap'	$n\bar{a}\varepsilon\bar{u}ra$	'water wheel'
$q\bar{a}m\bar{u}s$	'dictionary'	$m\bar{a}s\bar{u}ra$	'pipe, tube'

PATTERN $Fa\varepsilon\varepsilon\bar{a}L$

$xabb\bar{a}z$	'baker'	$ḥadd\bar{a}d$	'blacksmith'
$fall\bar{a}ḥ$	'peasant'	$xayy\bar{a}ṭ$	'tailor'
$ḥamm\bar{a}m$	'bath'	$ṣabb\bar{a}ṭ$	'(pair of) shoes'
$ṭayy\bar{a}r$	'current'	$daww\bar{a}r$	'whirlpool'

Defective:

>   *banna* 'builder, mason'   *kawwa* 'presser'

   The long pattern vowel *ā* is retained in the suffixing
form: *bannāhon* 'their mason'.

Pattern *FaƐƐāL* is commonly used for occupational nouns [305]. Cf. adjective pattern *FaƐƐāL* [129].

PATTERN *FaƐƐāLe*

kammāše	'pincers'	*sayyāra*	'automobile'
ʔallābe	'ferris-wheel'	*barrāde*	'refrigerator'
žabbāne	'cemetery'	*ṭarrāḥa*	'cushion'

With final radical semivowel *y*, unaltered:

maḥḥāye	'eraser'	*barrāye*	'pencil-sharpener'

Pattern *FaƐƐāLe* is commonly used for instrumental nouns [306]

PATTERNS *FəƐƐāL*, *FəƐƐāLe*

šəbbāk	'window'	*sənnāra*	'fish hook'
ražžāl	'man'	*Ɛəkkāze*	'crutch'
səžžād	'rugs' (collective)	*səžžāde*	'a rug'
təffāḥ	'apples (collective)	*təffāḥa*	'an apple'

Cf. plural pattern *fəƐƐāL* [223].

PATTERN *maFƐaL*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

madfaƐ	'cannon'	*manẓar*	'view'
maxbaz	'bakery'	*maṭƐam*	'restaurant'
mablaġ	'amount, sum'	*maʔzaq*	'bottleneck, strait'
maṣyaf	'summer resort'	*maytam*	'orphanage'

Altered Pattern. Geminate:

maḥall	'place'	*mafarr*	'escape, flight'
maṣabb	'mouth (of a river)'	*mamarr*	'aisle'

Hollow:

manām	'dream'	*maƐāš*	'salary'
maṭār	'airport'	*mažāl*	'space, scope'

Defective:

maƐna	'meaning'	*maʔwa*	'shelter'
maġza	'point, import'	*mawla*	'lord, master'

Most nouns of Pattern *maFƐaL* are locative [308], hypostatic [309], or instrumental [307].

PATTERN *maFƐaLe*

Unaltered Pattern Sound:

maḥrame	'handkerchief'	*marḥale*	'stage, step'
maƐlaʔa	'spoon'	*madxane*	'chimney'
masʔale	'matter, question'	*mawʔade*	'brazier, fireplace'
manfaḍa	'ashtray'	*maṣyade*	'trap, snare'

Altered Pattern. Geminate:

> *maḥabbe* 'love, affection'   *mawadde* 'love, friendship'
>
> *mažalle* 'magazine'

Hollow:

> *masāfe* 'distance'   *manāra* 'lighthouse'
>
> *maxāḍa* 'ford'   *maḍāfe* 'reception room'

Most nouns of Pattern *maFƐaLe* are locative [308], hypostatic [309] or instrumental [307].

PATTERN *maFƐeL*

Sound:

> *maržeƐ* 'source, reference'   *mawled* 'birth, birthday'
>
> *mažles* 'chamber, session room'   *mawḍeƐ* 'position'
>
> *mawʔef* 'stop, station'   *mawƐed* 'appointment'

Many nouns of this pattern have initial radical *w*.

Hollow: *maṣīr* 'course, destiny'

> Pattern *maFƐeL* is not used with geminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of Pattern *maFƐeL* are locative, hypostatic, or instrumental.

PATTERN *maFƐ(i)Le*

Sound:

> *manṭiʔa* 'district, zone'   *mawhibe* 'talent, gift'
>
> *maʔdira* 'ability, power'   *mawƐiža* 'lecture, reprimand'
>
> *maƐrife* or *maƐ³rfe* 'knowledge, acquaintance'

Hollow: *mašī³a* 'will, wish'[1]

Initial Weak: *mādne* 'minaret' (Root *ʔ-d-n*)

> Pattern *maFƐ(i)Le* is not used with geminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of this pattern are hypostatic or locative.

PATTERNS *məFƐaL* and *məFƐaLe*

For locative, projective, or instrumental nouns, these patterns are mainly used with geminating roots, and altered accordingly:

> *m³aṣṣ* 'scissors'   *mḥaṭṭa* 'station'
>
> *mfakk* 'screwdriver'   *m³ašše* 'brown'
>
> *mḥaṭṭ* 'object, point'   *mxadde* 'pillow'
>
>   *msabbe* 'curse, invective'

Some nouns of Pattern *məFƐaL* (or more usually *muFƐaL*) are substantivized passive participles or hypostatic nouns corresponding to verb Pattern IV [p.84]. These include sound: *mulḥaq* 'attaché', hollow: *murād* 'wish, desire', and initial weak: *mūžaz* 'outline, resumé'.

PATTERNS *məFƐeL* and *məFƐ(i)Le*

Sound:

> *məškel* or *məškle*   'problem, difficulty'
>
> *məƐžize* or *məƐ³žze*   'miracle'
>
> *mək³nse*   'broom'

---

[1] This word is always used in construct, thus always in the construct forms *mašī³et*, *mašī³t-*, *mašī³ət-*. E.g. *mašī³et ʔəbno* 'his son's wish', *mašī³to* 'his wish'.

Hollow: *mṣ̄ībe* 'misfortune, calamity'

Initial Weak: *mūsem* 'season'

Pattern *məFEeL* is more commonly used in substantivized
personal adjectives [133, 382]: *məslem* 'Moslem', *məfti*
'mufti', *mudīr* 'director'.

PATTERNS *məFEāL and məFEāLe*

Sound:

mənšār	'saw'	*məšwār*	'walk, errand'
məzrāb	'gutter, drain'	*mənxār*	'nose'
məEyār	'balance, measure'	*məḥrāt*	'plow'

Initial Weak:

mīEād	'appointment'	*mīlād*	'birth, birthday, Nativity'
mīzān	'scale balance'	*mīsāq*	'pact, covenant'

The pattern vowel *ə* combines with initial radical *w*
to produce *ī*.

With final radical semivowel (*y*), the suffix *-e* is
used:

məkwāye	'(flat)iron'	*məʔlāye*	'frying pan'
mədrāye	'winnowing fork'	*məṣlāye*	'trap'

Hollow: *mrāye* 'mirror' (Root *r-ʔ-y*)

In some parts of Greater Syria, final radical *y* pro-
duces defective nouns on Pattern *məFEāL*: *mədra* 'winnowing
fork' (instead of *mədrāye*).

Most nouns of Pattern *məFEāL(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 *EiLa*: *žiha* 'direction', *ṣifa* 'attribute, adjective', *siEa* 'capac-
ity' *θiqa* (or *siqa*) 'faith, trust'. (For construct forms, see p. 169)

This pattern is applied exclusively to roots with initial
w, which is lost. Thus *žiha* has Root *w-ž-h*, *ṣifa* has Root
w-ṣ-f, etc. Nouns with this pattern are classicisms, with
the marginal exception of *diyye* 'blood money', whose root,
theoretically speaking, is *w-d-y*, but which has been altered
colloquially to fit pattern *FəELe* as if its root were *d-y-y*.
(It has no colloquial paronyms with either root.)

Patterns *F(u)EayyeL, F(u)EayLe, FwayEeL*: *žġayyer* 'little one', *buḥayra*
'lake', *šwayye* 'a little'.

These traditional diminutive patterns [p. 310] are quite
unproductive in most kinds of Syrian Arabic.

Pattern *FEēLe*: *žnēne* 'garden', *ḥmēra* 'measles', *žwēze* 'deuce'.

This is an alteration of the diminutive pattern *F(u)EayLe*.

Pattern *FaEeL*: *malek* 'king'

Pattern *FaEoL*: *ražol* 'man' (classisism)

Pattern *FəEeL*: *Eaneb* 'grapes'

Pattern *FaEoL*: *taton* 'tobacco', *ʔaṭon* 'cotton' (Cf. plural pattern
FaEoL [p. 221].)

Pattern *FaEūL*: *rasūl* 'apostle, messenger, prophet', *Eažūz* 'old person',
Eaduww 'enemy'. (Cf. adjective pattern *FaEūL* [p. 128].)

Pattern *FāEaL*: *Eālam* 'world'

Pattern *FəEEoL*: *sallom* 'ladder', *ḥammoṣ* 'chick peas'

Pattern *FīEāL*: *bīkār* 'compass' (for drawing), *dīnār* (monetary unit),
ʔīwān 'sitting room', *nīsān* 'April'.

Pattern *FāEōL*: *māEōn* 'container', *bāṭōn* 'cement', *bālōn* 'balloon'.

Pattern *FūEāL*: *būlād* 'steel'

Pattern *FəƐəLL*: *səžəll* 'record'

Pattern *FuƐāL*: *suʔāl* 'question', *buxār* 'steam', *duƐāʔ* 'prayer of suppli-
cation' (defective; radical semivowel → ʔ).

Pattern *ʔəFƐūL*: *ʔəṣṭūḥ* 'roof', *ʔəṣṭūl* 'fleet'

Pattern *FaƐaLān* (Hollow-defective): *ḥēwān* 'animal' (Root *ḥ-y-y*) [Cf. p. 110]

Pattern *FaƐLūn*: *zētūn* 'olives'

Pattern *FaƐlōn*: *žardōn* 'rat' *ḥardōn* 'lizard'

Patterns *FəƐƐēL*, *FəƐƐēLe*: *fəttēs* 'fireworks', *ləzzēʔa* 'adhesive tape',
duwwēxa 'merry-go-round'

Augmented Gerundial Patterns

All the patterns used for gerunds of augmented verbs, e.g. *taFƐīL*,
mFāƐaLe, *ʔəFƐāL*, *ʔənFiƐāL*, 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 *FāƐeL* and *FaƐƐāL* have been separately
illustrated for nouns and adjectives, but Patterns *FaƐƐīL* [p. 129] and
ʔaFƐaL [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.
maFƐūL, *mFaƐƐaL*, *məstaFƐeL*, *məFƐeL*, etc. (only *FāƐeL* has been listed sepa-
rately for nouns); a large number of nouns have these patterns, but are
not illustrated here.

For elative patterns, see p. 310.

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL)[1] PATTERNS

PATTERN *FaƐLaL*

ʔarnab	'rabbit'	*baṭrak*	'patriarch'
xandaʔ	'ditch, trench'	*šangal*	'hook'
žadwal	'schedule'	*waṭwaṭ*	'bat'
Hollow: *bēdar*	'threshing floor'	*zēbaʔ*	'quicksilver'

PATTERN *FaƐLaLe*

taržame	'translation'	*ṭanžara*	'pot'
ʔarwaše	'noise, disturbance'	*damdame*	'murmur, mumbling'
maʔlase	'mockery'		
Hollow: *zōbaƐa*	'storm'	*šēṭane*	'mischief'
šōraba	'soup'		

ʔarmale 'widow' has a secondary radical *ʔ*, being related
to the root *r-m-l*; *tazkara* 'ticket' has a secondary radical
t, being related to the root *z-k-r*; *waldane* 'childishness',
on the other hand, is a true triradical noun on the pattern
FaƐLane, the *n* being a verb formative (*twaldan* 'to be chil-
dish'). [p. 110]

Pattern *FaƐLaLe*, and the pseudo-quadriradical patterns *FaƐLane*, *FarƐaLe*,
FōƐaLe, and *FaƐwale* are used for gerunds of quadriradical and pseudo-quad-
riradical verbs [p. 295].

PATTERN *FəƐLoL*

məšmoš	'apricots'	*barġol*	'wheat grits'
barnoṣ	'burnoose, bathrobe'	*balbol*	'oriental nightingale'
Ɛanṣor	'element'	*ʔasʔof*	'bishop'
fəstoʔ	'pistachio'	*xanfos*	'beetles' (coll.)

---

[1] See p. 107.

PATTERN $Fa\mathcal{E}(\,^{\circ})LLe$

zəlᵃˀṭa	'wasp'	xənᵃfse	'beetle'
məšᵃmše	'apricot'	žəmᵃžme	'crane'
məstke	'chewing gum'	zəlᵃḥfe	'tortoise'
sənsle	'chain, series'	ˀəmble	'bomb'

On the use of the helping vowel ᵃ, see p. 31.

PATTERN $Fa\mathcal{E}L\bar{a}L$

saɛdān	'monkey'	waṭwāṭ	'bat' (also waṭwaṭ)
rafrāf	'fender'	ˀalmās	'diamond(s)'

Hollow: šēṭān 'devil'

PATTERN $Fə\mathcal{E}L\bar{a}L$

fənžān	'(coffee)cup'	ˀəstāz	'professor, teacher'
kərbāž	'whip'	bərhān	'proof'
bəstān	'garden'	ɛənwān	'address'
ˀəbˀāb	'clog, wooden sandal'	resmāl	'capital'[1]

With final radical semivowel (y), the suffix $-e/-a$ is added:

fəršāye	'brush'	bərdāye	'(window) shade'

PATTERN $Fa\mathcal{E}L\bar{\imath}L$

ˀaṣḍīr	'tin'	barmīl	'barrel'
žanzīr	'chain'	darwīš	'dervish'
ɛafrīt	'demon'	maskīn	'poor thing, wretch'

PATTERN $Fə\mathcal{E}L\bar{\imath}L$

təlmīz	'student'	məskīn (or maskīn)	'poor wretch'
kəbrīt	'matches'	ɛəfrīt (or ɛafrīt)	'demon'
təšrīn	'October/November'		

Defective:

kərsi	'chair'	bərġi	'screw'

PATTERN $Fa\mathcal{E}l\bar{u}L(e)$

ɛaṣfūr	'(passerine)bird'	ɛanˀūd	'bunch of grapes'
raɛbūn	'(bank)deposit'	ṭarbūš	'tarboosh, fez'
sandūˀ	'box, chest'	ġandūr	'dandy, fop'

Hollow: ˀēlūl 'September'

With the $-e/-a$ suffix: šaxtūra 'boat', šarmūṭa 'prostitute'

PATTERN $Fa\mathcal{E}L\bar{e}Le$

ɛartēle 'spider' (tarantulas and similar kinds)

bərnēṭa 'hat'

ɛənzēˀa 'swing'

wašwēše 'a whisper'

Miscellaneous Quadriradical

ḍafḍaɛa 'frog'

təržmān 'interpreter, dragoman'

žəmhūr 'public, people, crowd' (also žamhūr)

zmərrod 'emeralds'

ṭarabēza 'table'

banadōra 'tomatoes' (coll.)

[Ch. 5.

Miscellaneous Quinquiradical

sfaržel	'quince'	ʔarnabīṭ	'cauliflour'
ʔranfol	'carnations'	bardʔān	'oranges'
banafsaž	'voilets'	bētənžān	'eggplant' (also badənžān)
baʔdūnes	'parsley'	ʔaṭramīz	'large glass jar'
bərnāmež	'program'	šaɛšabōn	'cobweb'
šaṭranž	'chess'	banṭalōn	'trousers'

Biradical Nouns

Very few nouns in Syrian Arabic qualify definitely as having a biliteral root; note, however: fiʔa 'class, group, bracket', riʔa 'lung', səne 'year', mara 'woman'.

> All these nouns have an -e/-a suffix. The noun mara, if compared to the classicism marʔa, might be analyzed as a defective triradical. Note the variant forms riyye (for riʔa) and fīʔa (for fiʔa), in which these words conform to triradical patterns. (Cf. damm 'blood', vis-à-vis Classical dam; ʔīd and yadd 'hand' vis-à-vis Classical yad.)

Inconformable Nouns

Unlike verbs and adjectives, Arabic nouns include many words which 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:

kīlo	'kilogram'	ʔotēl	'hotel'
sbētro	'alcohol'	vəranda	'balcony, terrace'
prōva	'rehearsal'	ṭrəmbe	'pump'
žəɣrāfiya	'geography'	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, -ə́t, 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 ḥāle (as in ḥāle mnīḥa 'good condition') with the construct forms in ḥālet ʔš-šərke 'the condition of the company', ḥālə́tna 'our condition', ḥālto 'his condition'; similarly, absol. zyāra 'visit': constr. zyāret ʔaxi 'my brother's visit', zyārə́tkon 'your (pl.) visit', zyārtak 'your (m.) visit'.

The t in these construct forms is called CONNECTIVE t (tāʔ marbūṭa).[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: ḥālet ʔaxi 'my brother's condition'. The vowel is normally e even though the absolute form ends in a: absol. ḥāra 'neighborhood, quarter': constr. ḥāret ʔahli 'my family's neighborhood'. Further examples:

Absolute Form		Construct Form (with Following Term)	
ḥafle	'party', 'show'	ḥaflet mūsīqa	'concert'
ʔəṣṣa	'story, account'	ʔəṣṣet haz-zalame	'that fellow's story'
xzāne	'closet'	xzānet ʔūḍti	'the closet of my room'
masʔale	'matter, question'	masʔalet žadd	'a matter of concern'
ʔūḍa	'room'	ʔūḍet ʔl-ʔaɛde	'sitting room'

The suffix vowel e is often elided, however, when the following term begins with a vowel (which is usually the helping vowel ʔ [p. 30]): ʔūḍt ʔn-nōm 'the bedroom' (cf. ʔūḍet nōm 'a bedroom'). The e 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:

wažīft ʔl-fīzya	'the physics assignment'	(absol. wažīfe)
dōxt ʔṭ-ṭayyāra	'airsickness'	(absol. dōxa 'nausea')
ɛuqūbt ʔl-ʔəɛdām	'the death penalty'	(absol. ɛuqūbe)
ḥāžt ʔš-šəɣʔl	'the work requirements'	(absol. ḥāže)
makīnt ʔhlāʔa	'shaver' or 'clippers'	(absol. makīne)
has-sallt ʔl-ward	'this basket of flowers'	(absol. salle) [SAL–193]
žarītt ʔl-yōm	'today's paper'	(absol. žarīde) [p. 26]

---

[1] The 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 tāʔ marbūṭa in the pronunciation of Classical "pause forms".

Note that the elision of *e* changes the accentuation in nouns of certain patterns: *madrást ᵊl-walad* 'the boy's school' (absol. *mádrase*). In the case of Pattern *FāᴱLe* [145], a suffix-supporting vowel *ś* appears before the last radical: *nāᵊślt ᵊz-zēt* 'the oil tanker' (absol. *nāᵊle*). See Accentuation [p.17]. Cf. Suffixing Forms [165].

The elision of *e* in nouns ending in *-iyye* results in construct forms ending in *-īt: barrānīt ᵊl-bināye* 'the outside of the building' (absol. *barrāniyye*), *Ɛǝdwīt ᵊn-nādi* 'the membership of the club' (absol. *Ɛǝdwiyye*).

Sometimes *e* is elided even when the following term begins with a consonant: *baᵊīt dēni* 'the remainder of my debt' (absol. *baᵊiyye*), *mᵊaddámt l-ᵊktāb* 'the introduction of the book' (absol. *mᵊáddame*), *b-wāṣ*ᵊtt ᵊaxi* 'through my brother ('s mediation)' (absol. *wāṣṭa*).

e is never elided in the non-suffixing construct forms of sound words on Patterns *FaᴱLe* [140] or *FǝᴱLe* [142]: *ḥaflet ᵊl-mūsīqa* 'the concert' (not *ḥafᵊlt...*); *šǝrket ᵊz-zēt* 'the oil company' (not *šǝrᵊkt...*). Cf. Suffixing Forms [166].

Nouns ending in * á* (which are mostly defective gerunds of Pattern *mFāᴱaLe* [p.293]) generally have construct forms in *āt: mlāᵊāt ᵊṭ-ṭarīᵊ* 'finding the way' (absol. *mlāᵊā*), *msāwāt ᵊl-fǝxxār* 'the making of pottery' (absol. *msāwā*).

The *-t* is sometimes kept in the absolute form of *mubārā(t)* 'match, competition', and almost always in the absolute forms of *ḥayāt* 'life' (Root *ḥ-y-y*), *ṣalāt* (or *ṣala*) 'prayer' (Root *ṣ-l-y*), *wafāt* 'death, demise' (Root *w-f-y*).[1]

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 *FᴱūLe: žsūret ᵊl-madīne* 'the bridges of the city' (abs. *žsūra*); Patterns *ᵊaFᵊᴱLe, ᵊaFᴱiLe: ᵊǝḍᵊwyet ᵊl-bēt* 'the lights of the house' (abs. *ᵊǝḍᵊwye*), *ᵊasᵊilet l-ᵊmᴱallem* 'the teacher's questions' (abs. *ᵊasᵊile*); Pattern *FᴱāLe: byār(e)t ᵊl-balad* 'the wells of the town' (abs. *byāra*); *ᵊasātzet ᵊl-madrase* 'the teachers of the school' (abs. *ᵊasātze*), *malāyket ᵊs-sama* 'the angels of heaven' (abs. *malāyke*); *ḥaramiyyet ᵊl-madīne* 'thieves of the city' (abs. *ḥaramiyye*).

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*[1]: *ġaṭa ṭ-ṭāwle* 'the table cloth', *maᴱna hal-kǝlme* 'the meaning of this word', *ġare samak* '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: *šakwa š-žīrān* 'the neighbors' complaint', *mūsīᵊa r-rādyo* 'radio music'.[2]

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 *-on* 'them, their' [p.28]).[3] Thus with the pronoun suffixes *-i* 'me, my', *-ak* 'you, your(m.)', *-ek* 'you, your(f.)', *-o* 'him, his, it, its': *ṣāḥeb* 'friend' + *-i* → *ṣāḥbi* 'my friend', *mᴱallem* 'teacher' + *-o* → *mᴱallmo* 'his teacher', *ṭaṣarrof* 'behavior' + *-ak* → *ṭaṣarrfak* 'your(m.) behavior', etc.

In accordance with this rule, the *-et* of a construct form loses its vowel *e* when the following term is a pronoun suffix *-i*, *-o*, *-ak*, or *-ek*:

ṣūra : ṣūret 'picture(of)'	+ *-i* 'me'	→ *ṣūrti* 'my picture'
Ɛāde(t) 'custom(of)'	+ *-o* 'him'	→ *Ɛādto* 'his custom'
sayyāra : sayyāret 'automobile(of)'	+ *-ak* 'you(m.)'	→ *sayyārtak* 'your car'
kǝnne(t) 'daughter-in-law(of)'	+ *-ek* 'you(f.)'	→ *kǝnntek* 'your daughter-in-law'

Note the shift in accentuation caused by these suffixes with nouns that have short *a* between the last two radicals:

dáraže(t) 'degree(of)'	+ *-i* 'me'	→ *darážti* 'my degree'
máhrame(t) 'handkerchief(of)'	+ *-ek* 'you(f.)'	→ *mahrámtek* 'your handkerchief'
tázkara : tázkaret 'ticket(of)'	+ *-o* 'him'	→ *tǝzkárto* 'his ticket'
msáᴱade(t) 'help(of)'	+ *-ak* 'you(m.)'	→ *msāᴱáttak* 'your help'

---

[1] The words *bǝnt* 'daughter' and *ᵊǝxt* 'sister' also theoretically have connective *t* in the absolute forms (cf. the diminutives *bnayye, xayye*).

[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 *maᴱnet* 'meaning of...' is sometimes heard, as well as the suffixing form *maᴱnāt-* [169].

[2] This formative generally corresponds to *ᵊalif maqṣūra* in Classical Arabic.

[3] There are a few other exceptions. See pp. 29, 169.

[Ch. 5]

When these suffixes are used with sound nouns of Patterns *FaƐLe* and *FəƐLe*, the helping vowel *ə* [p. 31] is usually inserted to break the potential three-consonant cluster resulting from loss of *e*: *FdƐ²Lt- Fə́Ɛ²Lt-*:

šaġle(t) 'job(of)'   + *-o* 'him'   → *šáġ²lto* 'his job'

kəlme(t) 'word(of)'   + *-i* 'me'   → *kə́l²mti* 'my word'

farše(t) 'bed(of)'   + *-ak* 'you(m.)* → *fár²štak* (or *farštak*) 'your bed'

dawra:
dawret   'circulation(of)' + *-ek* 'you(f.)* → *dáw²rtek* (or *dawrtek*) 'your circulation'

nə²ṭa:
nə²ṭeṭ   'point(of)'   + *-o* 'it(m.)'   → *nə́²²ṭṭo* 'its point'

If the last radical is *y*, however, it occurs in its vocalic form *i* before connective *t* when these suffixes are added:

ləhye(t) 'beard(of)'   + *-ak* 'you' → *lə́hitak* 'your beard'

hanye(t) 'bow, bending(of)' + *-o* 'him' → *hánito* 'his bow'

If the last radical is *w*, it may remain consonantal with the helping vowel before it (-*ə*w-), but may also be vocalized as *u*. (The distinction is subtle and non-significant):

kəlwe(t) 'kidney(of)'   + *-i* 'me' → *kə́l²wti* (or *kə́luti*) 'my kidney'

xaṭwe(t) 'pace, step(of)' + *-o* 'his' → *xáṭ²wto* (or *xáṭuṭo*) 'his step'

Nouns ending in -*iyye* or -*uwwe* have -*īt*- and -*ūt*-, respectively, before these suffixes:

²uwwe(t)   'strength(of)' + *-o* 'him' → *²ūto*   'his strength'

niyye(t)   'intention(of)' + *-ak* 'you' → *nītak*   'your intention'

²aḍiyye(t)   'case(of)'   + *-ek* 'you' → *²aḍītek* 'your case'

Ɛamaliyye(t) 'operation(of)' + *-i* 'me' → *Ɛamalīti* 'my operation'

Nouns that have a double dental stop (*tt, dd, ṭṭ, ḍḍ*) before the -*e*/-*a* suffix have *ə* before the connective *t*:

mxadde(t) 'pillow(of)'   + *-o* 'him' → *mxáddəto* 'his pillow'

²aṭṭa : ²aṭṭet 'cat(of)'   + *-i* 'me' → *²áṭṭəṭi* 'my cat'

fəḍḍa : fəḍḍeṭ 'silver(of)' + *-ak* 'you' → *fə́ḍḍəṭak* 'your silver'

Some nouns involve a sequence of three consonants (with or without *ə* between the first two) before the ending -*e(t)*, as in *sənsle(t)* 'chain (of)'; or a sequence of a long and a short consonant, as in *mƐallme(t)* 'teacher (f.) (of)'; or a sequence of a long vowel plus two consonants, as in *ṭāwle(t)* 'table(of)'. When the *e* in these nouns is dropped, then the last radical consonant stands immediately before the connective *t*, and is separated from the preceding consonant by the insertion of *ə* (which is accented, according to the general rule [p. 18]): *sənsə́lto* 'his chain', *mƐallə́mti* 'my teacher(f.)', *ṭāwə́ltak* 'your table'. Further examples:

ṣāhbe(t) 'friend(f.)(of)'   + *-ek* → *ṣāhə́btek*   'your(f.)friend(f.)'

žāmƐa : žāmƐet 'university(of)' + *-ak* → *žāmə́Ɛtak*   'your(m.)university'

fāyde(t) 'utility(of)'   + *-o*   → *fāyə́dto*   'its(m.)utility'

mtaržme(t) 'translator(f.)(of)' + *-o* → *mtaržə́mto*   'its(m.)translator(f.)'

məškle(t) 'problem(of)'   + *-i*   → *məškə́lti*   'my problem'

maƐ²rfe(t) 'knowledge(of)'   + *-ak* → *maƐrə́ftak*   'knowing you'

zmərrde(t) 'emerald(of)'   + *-ek* → *zmərrə́dtek* 'your(f.)emerald'

²əh²ṣne(t) 'horses(of)'   + *-i*   → *²əhṣə́nti*   'my horses'

If, however, the last consonant before -*e(t)* is *y*, then the suffixing form ends in -*ī́t*- (since *ə́* + *y* automatically → -*ī́*-):

hāšye(t)   'margin(of)'   + *-o* → *hāšī́to*   'its margin'

zāwye(t)   'corner(of)'   + *-ak* → *zāwī́tak* 'your corner'

nāhye(t)   'environs(of)'   + *-o* → *nāhī́to*   'its environs'

²əḍ²wye(t) 'lights(of)'   + *-o* → *²əḍwī́to* 'its lights'

Note that while in their non-suffixing forms *mašye(t)* 'walk, walking' and *māšye(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: *mášito* 'his walk': *māšī́to* '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 *ə* 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]: *ṣāheb* 'friend' + -*na* → *ṣāhə́bna* 'our friend', *ṭaṣarrof* 'behavior' + -(*h*)*a* → *ṭaṣarrə́f*(*h*)*a* 'her behavior', *mƐallem* 'teacher' + -*kon* → *mƐallə́mkon* 'your (pl.) teacher'.

In accordance with this rule, the *-et* of a construct form usually becomes *-śt-* when the following term is a pronoun suffix *-na, -kon, -(h)a,* or *-(h)on:*

ṣūra : ṣūret 'picture(of)'	+ *-na* → *ṣūrśtna*	'our picture'
ɛāde(t) 'custom(of)'	+ *-on* → *ɛādśton*	'their custom'
sayyāra : sayyāret 'car(of)'	+ *-kon* → *sayyārśtkon*	'your(pl.)car'
daraže(t) 'degree(of)'	+ *-a* → *daražśta*	'her degree'
msāɛade(t) 'help(of)'	+ *-na* → *msāɛadśtna*	'our help'
rəhle(t) 'trip(of)'	+ *-hon* → *rəhlśthon*	'their trip'
ġalṭa : ġalṭet 'mistake(of)'	+ *-ha* → *ġalṭśtha*	'her mistake'
ʔəṣṣa : ʔəṣṣet 'story(of)'	+ *-on* → *ʔəṣṣśton*	'their story'
hanye(t) 'bow, bending(of)'	+ *-a* → *hanyśta*	'her bow'
ʔuwwe(t) 'strength(of)'	+ *-a* → *ʔuwwśta*	'her strength'
niyye(t) 'intention(of)'	+ *-on* → *niyyśton*	'their intention'
ʔūḍa : ʔūḍeṭ 'room(of)'	+ *-kon* → *ʔūḍśṭkon*	'your(pl.)room'
mhaṭṭa : mhaṭṭeṭ 'station(of)'	+ *-na* → *mhaṭṭśṭna*	'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: ɛarabītha* 'her car' (rather than *ɛarabiyyśtha*), *ṣānśɛtna* 'our maid' (rather than *ṣānśśtna*). These forms are predominant among many nouns ending in *-iyye,* or of Pattern *FāɛLe,* or others of the type described on p. 167 above. (Compare the similar elision of *e* in non-suffixing construct forms described on p. 163.) Further examples:

ʔaḍiyye(t) 'case(of)'	+ *-(h)on* → *ʔaḍīt(h)on*	'their case'
ġənniyye(t) 'song(of)'	+ *-(h)a* → *ġənnīt(h)a*	'her song'
bāxra : bāxret 'ship(of)'	+ *-na* → *bāxərtna*	'our ship'
ṭāyfe(t) 'sect; congregation(of)'	+ *-kon* → *ṭāyəftkon*	'your(pl.) congregation'
ḍāhye(t) 'suburb(of)'	+ *-na* → *ḍāhītna*	'our suburb'
ʔəḍ²wye(t) 'lights(of)'	+ *-(h)a* → *ʔəḍwīt(h)a*	'its lights'

Miscellaneous Irregularities with Connective *t*

The construct forms of *mara* 'woman, wife' and *səne* 'year' are always *mart* and *sənt,* respectively: *mart ʔaxi* 'my brother's wife', *sənt səttīn* 'the year (19)60'.

The classicism *θiqa* (or *siqa*) 'trust, faith' generally keeps the *a* in all construct forms: *θiqato* 'his faith', *θiqat ṣāḥbo* 'his friend's faith'. Similarly, *riʔa* 'lung' and *luġa* 'language' generally keep the *a* in suffixing forms: *riʔato* 'his lung', *luġati* 'my language'; but in non-suffixing forms *a* is usually changed to *e* in the regular way: *riʔet ʔṣ-ṣabi* 'the boy's lung', *luġet ʔš-šaɛb* 'the people's language'. The word *žiha* 'direction' has suffixing forms with long *ī: žīhto, žīhśta* 'its direction'.

A few nouns have connective *t* in construct forms but no *-e/-a* suffix in the absolute forms. *ɛarūs* 'bride' and *səkkīn* 'knife', for instance: *səkkīnet ʔəbni* 'my son's knife', *ɛarūset ʔəbni* 'my son's bride', *səkkīnto* 'his knife', *ɛarūsto* 'his bride'. *dəkkān* 'shop' and *madām* 'wife' must have *t* in the suffixing form: *dəkkānto* 'his shop', *madāmto* 'his wife', but it is optional in the non-suffixing form: *madām(et) ṣāḥbo* 'his friend's wife', *dəkkān(et) ʔahmad* 'Ahmed's shop'. With *faraṣ* 'mare', connective *t* is optional in the suffixing form also: *faraṣo* or *farʔṣto* 'his mare'. (Note the loss of the last stem vowel *a* in the latter form.)

hamāye 'mother-in-law' has construct form *hamāt,* though the latter is sometimes also used as an absolute form (cf. *hayāt* 'life', *ṣalāṭ* 'prayer').

The plurals *rəfaʔa* 'companions' and *šəraka* 'partners' have suffixing forms ending in *-āt-: rəfaʔāti* 'my companions', *šərakātna* 'our partners', though the non-suffixing construct form is like the absolute: *rəfaʔa l-madrase* 'school companions', *šəraka ɛammi* 'my uncle's partners'. The word *maɛna* 'meaning' also has an optional suffixing form in *-āt-: maɛnāto* 'its meaning' (for *maɛnā*). *daɛwa* 'claim' (legal) has an optional suffixing form with *t: daɛ²wto* 'his claim', *daɛwśta* 'her claim' (for *daɛwā* 'his claim', *daɛwāha* 'her claim').

Other Irregular Construct Forms

The nouns *ʔabb* 'father' and *ʔaxx* 'brother' have non-suffixing construct forms *ʔabu* and *ʔaxu* (though sometimes the forms *ʔabb* and *ʔaxx* are also used in construct): *ʔabu ṣ-ṣabi* 'the boy's father (or *ʔabb ʔṣ-ṣabi*), *ʔaxu ɛali* 'Ali's brother' (or *ʔaxx ɛali*). The suffixing forms are *ʔabū-* and *ʔaxū-: ʔabūk* 'your(m.)father', *ʔaxūkon* 'your(pl.)brother', *ʔabūna* 'our father', *ʔaxū* 'his brother'. With the first-person singular *-i,* however, many speakers (e.g. in Damascus) use only the suffixing forms *ʔab-* and *ʔax-: ʔabi* 'my father', *ʔaxi* 'my brother'. Some speakers, on the other hand, also say *ʔabūyi* 'my father' and *ʔaxūyi* 'my brother'.[1]

---

[1] There are certain differences in the uses of the different construct forms; *(ya)ʔaxi,* for instance, is commonly used in addressing someone as 'my friend', while *ʔaxūyi* always means literally 'my brother'. (Note also the difference between *ʔaxx ɛali* 'Ali's brother' and *l-ʔaxx ɛali* "Brother Ali"; the latter is an appositive phrase, not a construct phrase [p. 506].) The form *ʔabu* is also used to mean 'owner of' or 'one who has': *ʔabu d-daʔʔn* 'the one with the beard'; (also in names: *ʔabu nawwās* 'Abu Nawwas') while *ʔabb* as a construct form always means literally 'father of'.

The (pseudo-dual) plurals [p.367] *ɛ̄nēn* 'eyes', *ʔīdēn* 'hands, arms', *ʔəžrēn* (or *rəžlēn*) 'feet, legs', and *ʔadanēn* 'ears' have suffixing forms without *n*: *ɛ̄nēki* 'your(f.)eyes', *ʔīdēk* 'your(m.)hands'. *ʔadanē* 'his ears', *ʔəžrēna* 'our legs'. With the first-person singular *-i*, *ē* is changed to *-ayy-*: *ʔəžrayyi* 'my feet', *ʔīdayyi* 'my hands'.

Some speakers also have suffixing forms with *n*: *ʔīdēno* 'his hands', *ʔəžrēnak* 'your feet'.

NUMERAL CONSTRUCT FORMS

The cardinal numerals between three and nineteen have special kinds of construct forms. (On numeral constructs, see p.471.)

Absolute	Construct
tlāte 'three'	*tlətt* (Pal. and Leb.: *tlatt*)
ʔarbɛa 'four'	*ʔarbaɛ*
xamse 'five'	*xams*
sətte 'six'	*sətt*
sabɛa 'seven'	*sab(ə)ɛ*
tmānye or *tmāne* 'eight' (Pal. *tamānye*)	*tmənn* (Leb. *tmann*, Pal. *tam(ə)n*)
təsɛa 'nine'	*təs(ə)ɛ*
ɛašara 'ten'	*ɛaš(ə)r*
ʔidaɛ(ə)š or *hdaɛ(ə)š* 'eleven'	*ʔidaɛšar*, *hdaɛšar*
tnaɛ(ə)š 'twelve'	*tnaɛšar*
tləttaɛ(ə)š 'thirteen'	*tləttaɛšar*
ʔarba(ɛ)taɛ(ə)š 'fourteen'	*ʔarba(ɛ)taɛšar*
xamstaɛ(ə)š 'fifteen'	*xamstaɛšar*
səttaɛ(ə)š 'sixteen'	*səttaɛšar*
saba(ɛ)taɛ(ə)š 'seventeen'	*saba(ɛ)taɛšar*
tməntaɛ(ə)š 'eighteen'	*tməntaɛšar*
təsa(ɛ)taɛ(ə)š 'nineteen'	*təsa(ɛ)taɛšar*

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*[1].

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 vowel[2] after these numerals (but with *ʔ* otherwise): *ʔiyyām* 'days': *xamstᵕiyyām* 'five days'; *ʔəšhor* 'months': *ʔárbaɛtᵕə́šhor* 'four months'; *ʔālāf* 'thousands': *sabᵃɛtᵕālāf* 'seven thousand'; *ʔənfos* 'persons, souls': *tməntᵕə́nfos* 'eight persons'; *ʔərᵃǧfe* 'loaves': *ɛašᵃrtᵕə́rᵃǧfe* 'ten loaves'. (*tlətt* and *sətt* do not add another *t* since three *t*'s would in any case be reduced to two: *səttᵕiyyām* 'six days'; *tləttᵕālāf* 'three thousand'.) The connective *t* is also sometimes used with fractions: *ʔárbaɛtᵕᵃxmās* 'four fifths'. See pp. 222, 223.

Another special construct form is used for *tlāte* and *tmāne* before *miyye* 'hundred': *tlāt miyye* 'three hundred', *tmān miyye* 'eight hundred'.
The construct form of *miyye* 'hundred' is always *mīt*: *mīt sane* 'a hundred years'.

The numerals from three through ten have suffixing forms used with the plural pronouns *-na* 'us', *-kon* 'you', and *-hon* 'them'. The suffixing forms are generally regular with respect to the absolute forms (changing *-e* or *-a* to *-ə́t-*): *tlātə́tna* 'the three of us', *xamsə́tkon* 'the five of you', *ɛašrə́ton* 'the ten of them'. The numeral *tnēn* 'two', however, has suffixing forms *tnēnə́t-* or *tnēnāt-*: *tnēnātkon* (or *tnēnə́tkon*) 'the two of you'. *ʔarbɛa* 'four' has the suffixing form *ʔarbɛə́t-*: *ʔarbɛə́tna* 'the four of us'.

---

[1] The second *t* in *tlətt* 'three...' might be considered "connective *t*", but note the similar doubling of *n* in *tmənn* 'eight...'. In some transcriptions these numerals are written '*tlət*', '*tmən*', at least before a single consonant; but before *ə* + two consonants they are clearly pronounced long: *tləttᵕᵃwlād* 'three children', *tmənnᵕᵃʔrūš* 'eight piastres'. (Note, however, *tmənᵕsnīn* 'eight years', more often heard than *tmənnᵕᵃsnīn*.)

[2] From the point of view of word-phonology, the *t* is better analyzed as a part of the following term: *xamsᵕtiyyām*, *ʔarbaɛᵕtəshor*, etc. This analysis seems to go against the grain of many speakers' intuition, however.

CHAPTER 6: VERB INFLECTIONAL 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 *ʔakal* '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 *ʔ* appears only in the perfect tense. See p. 55.

PERFECT	3rd p. Masc.	*ʔdkal*	'he ate'
	Fem.	*ʔdkl-et*	'she ate'
	Pl.	*ʔdkal-u*	'they ate'
	2nd p. Masc.	*ʔakdl-t*	'you(m.) ate'
	Fem.	*ʔakdl-t-i*	'you(f.) ate'
	Pl.	*ʔakdl-t-u*	'you(pl.) ate'
	1st p. Sing.	*ʔakdl-t*	'I ate'
	Pl.	*ʔakdl-na*	'we ate'

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE	3rd p. Masc.	$y-\bar{a}kol$	'(that) he eat'
	Fem.	$t-\bar{a}kol$	'(that) she eat'
	Pl.	$y-\bar{a}kl-u$	'(that) they eat'
	2nd p. Masc.	$t-\bar{a}kol$	'(that) you (m.) eat'
	Fem.	$t-\bar{a}kl-i$	'(that) you (f.) eat'
	Pl.	$t-\bar{a}kl-u$	'(that) you (pl.) eat'
	1st p. Sing.	$^{\gamma}-\bar{a}kol$	'(that) I eat'
	Pl.	$n-\bar{a}kol$	'(that) we eat'
IMPERFECT INDICATIVE	3rd p. Masc.	$b-y-\bar{a}kol$	'he eats'
	Fem.	$b-t-\bar{a}kol$	'she eats'
	Pl.	$b-y-\bar{a}kl-u$	'they eat'
	2nd p. Masc.	$b-t-\bar{a}kol$	'you (m.) eat'
	Fem.	$b-t-\bar{a}kl-i$	'you (f.) eat'
	Pl.	$b-t-\bar{a}kl-u$	'you (pl.) eat'
	1st p. Sing.	$b-\bar{a}kol$	'I eat'
	Pl.	$m-n-\bar{a}kol$	'we eat'
IMPERATIVE	Masc.	$k\bar{o}l$	'eat (m.)'
	Fem.	$k\acute{a}l-i$	'eat (f.)'
	Pl.	$k\acute{a}l-u$	'eat (pl.)'

All types of verb conjugation are illustrated in Ch. 3.

Expression of the Inflectional Categories

TENSE:

The perfect tense has person <u>suffixes</u>, while the imperfect has person <u>prefixes</u>: $^{\gamma}akal-\underline{t}$ 'you (m.) ate': $\underline{t}-\bar{a}kol$ '(that) you (m.) eat'. The form of the stem is also different in most cases (pf. $^{\gamma}akal-$: impf. $-\bar{a}kol$). (See p. 185.)

PERSON:

The **first person** is expressed in the perfect by the suffixes $-t$ (sing.) and $-na$ (pl.): $^{\gamma}akalt$ 'I ate', $^{\gamma}akalna$ 'we ate'; and in the imperfect by the prefixes $^{\gamma}-$ (sing.) and $n-$ (pl.): $^{\gamma}\bar{a}kol$ '(that) I eat', $n\bar{a}kol$ '(that) we eat'. ($^{\gamma}-$ disappears after the indicative prefix $b-$: $b\bar{a}kol$ 'I eat'.)

The **second person** is expressed by the suffix $-t$ in the perfect and the prefix $t-$ in the imperfect: $^{\gamma}akalt$ 'you ate', $t\bar{a}kol$ '(that) you eat'.

The **third person** is expressed by the prefix $y-$ in the masculine and plural imperfect: $y\bar{a}kol$ '(that) he eat', $y\bar{a}klu$ '(that) they eat', and by $t-$ in the feminine: $t\bar{a}kol$ '(that) she eat'. In the perfect, there is no third person affix: $^{\gamma}akal$ 'he ate'; (but the feminine ending $-et$ is used only in the third person: $^{\gamma}aklet$ 'she ate'). For some verbs, the third person perfect also contrasts with the first and second persons in the form of the stem: $n\bar{a}m-et$ 'she slept': $n\partial m-ti$ '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 $t\bar{a}kol$ 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: $^{\gamma}akalt$ 'you(m.) ate' or 'I ate'.

NUMBER/GENDER:

Feminine (/singular) is expressed by a suffix $-i$ in the second person: $t\bar{a}kli$ '(that) you (f.) eat', $k\partial li$ 'eat (f.)!'; in the perfect, $-i$ comes <u>after</u> the person suffix $-t$: $^{\gamma}akalti$ 'you (f.) ate'. In the third person, feminine is expressed (simultaneously with the person) by $t-$ (imperfect) and $-et$ (perfect): $t\bar{a}kol$ '(that) she eat', $^{\gamma}aklet$ 'she ate'.

Feminine and masculine are not distinguished in the first person: $^{\gamma}akalt$ 'I (m. or f.) ate', $^{\gamma}\bar{a}kol$ '(that) I (m. or f.) eat'.

Plural is expressed in the second and third persons by the suffix *-u:* *tāklu* '(that) you (pl.) eat', *yāklu* '(that) they eat', *ʔakalu* 'they ate'; in the second person of the perfect, *-u* comes <u>after</u> the suffix *-t: ʔakaltu* '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 *-na* in the perfect: *nākol* '(that) we eat', *ʔakalna* '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: *byākol·* 'he eats', *btākol* 'you (m.) eat', *bākol* 'I eat' [p. 179].

> In the first person plural it is generally pronounced *m-:* *mnākol* 'we eat'. [p. 180]. The *b-* disappears, after the particle of anticipation *raḥa-* [322] and often also after the particle of actuality *ʕam-* [320], though verbs with these proclitics are counted as indicative rather than subjunctive.

The **subjunctive** is expressed by the <u>lack</u> of the prefix *b-:* *yākol* '(that) he eat', *tākol* '(that) you (m.) eat', *ʔākol* '(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 lack of both *b-* <u>and</u> the person-prefix; also, in many cases, by modification of the imperfect stem: *kōl* '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-, ʔ-, n-*). Since most imperfect stems (unlike *-ākol,* above) themselves begin with one or two consonants, prefixation of these basic forms would sometimes result in a pile-up of three of 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 *ə,* before the last two consonants in the sequence:

$$b- \;+\; t- \;+\; -ktob \;\rightarrow\; bt\acute{ə}ktob \quad \text{'you (m.) write'}$$

$$b- \;+\; t- \;+\; -š\bar{u}f \;\rightarrow\; bət\acute{š}\bar{u}f \quad \text{'you (m.) see'}$$

$$ʔ- \;+\; -ftaḥ \;\rightarrow\; ʔ\acute{ə}ftaḥ \quad \text{'(that) I open'}$$

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 <u>without suffixes</u>, because when certain suffixes are added to stems like *-ktob* [p. 28], the stem vowel disappears, creating a longer consonant sequence: *byə́ktbu* (or *byə́kᵊtbu*) 'they write'. In such cases, the prefix-supporting vowel is inserted before the last <u>three</u> consonants, while a "helping vowel" (*ᵊ*) may also be heard before the last two.

The prefix-supporting vowel in verbs of Patterns I [p. 55] and IV [82] is accented,[1] except in hollow [p. 56] and geminate [p. 63] verbs (e.g. *bətš\bar{u}f* 'you see', *bətḥə́bb* 'you like'), (or unless the accent is shifted back by a pronoun suffix [539]: *byəftáḥ-lak* 'he opens...for you'). See Accentuation [19].

The supporting vowel is *a* (rather than *ə*) with the verbs *ʕaṭa* 'to give', *ʕəref* 'to know', and commonly also *ʕəmel* 'to do': *bydʕṭi* 'he gives'; *btdʕref* 'you know', *bdʕref* 'I know', *ʔdʕref* '(that) I know'; *bydʕmel* (or *byə́ʕmel*) 'he does', etc.[2]

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-š\bar{u}f* 'he sees', *b-i-r\bar{i}d i-š\bar{u}f* 'he'd like to see'.

---

[1] Also Pattern VII and VIII verbs in parts of Lebanon and Palestine: *byə́štǵel* (instead of *byəštə́ǵel* 'he works'), *byə́nkser* 'instead of *byənkə́ser* 'It gets broken'). [p. 20]

[2] With the verbs *ʔakal* 'to eat' and *ʔaxad* 'to take', the imperfect tense forms *byākol, byāxod,* etc. may be analyzed as consisting of the prefixes *b-, y-* etc. with a supporting vowel *a,* added to the stems *-akol, -axod* (initial-weak alterations of a theoretical *-ʔxod*). Thus *bya-* + *akol* → *byākol* (since *ā = aa).*

All these forms would seem to be remnants of a tendency to use supporting vowel *a* generally before *ʕ* and *ʔ,* which has since been swamped by the tendency to use *ə* as supporting vowel before <u>any</u> consonant: *btə́ʕni* 'you mean' *btə́ʔmor* 'you order'. (The form *ydʕni* 'that is to say' is a Classicism. Cf. *byə́ʕni* 'it means'.)

[Ch. 8

The theoretical combination -əy- does not normally occur in Syrian Arabic ("bəyrīd ᵊyšūf") 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 -ə- [13]) after b-, even when the stem begins with two consonants: bíktob (or bə́ktob) 'he writes'. This form is not confused with the first person because the latter has the vowel a in these areas: báktob '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 -ᵊt that is commonly used at the end of a phrase or before a word beginning with a simple consonant: šəfᵊt rəǧǧāl (or šəft rəǧǧāl) 'I saw a man'; wēn kənᵊt? (or wēn kənt?) 'Where were you?'; ᵊiza kān mətᵊt (or mə́tt) 'If I died...'.

The helping vowel is not used before -t if a following word (in the same phrase) begins with <u>two</u> consonants, because in that case the four-consonant sequence is broken by a helping vowel between the words: šəft ᵊktāb 'I saw a book'. The helping vowel is also generally not used with this suffix before a suffixed pronoun: šáftna 'you (m.) saw us', šáftkon 'I saw you (pl.)'. See p. 32.

Velarization of Affixes. The suffixes -t and -et have velarized forms -ṭ and -eṭ, respectively, with stems ending in a velarized sound [p. 26]:

xaldṣ-ṭ (or xaldṣ-ᵊṭ)   'you finished'

xáldṣ-eṭ   'she finished'

The prefix t- has a velarized form ṭ-, used with stems that <u>begin</u> with a velarized sound, or with a sound that is conducive to velarization from a subsequent sound:

bə-ṭ-ṣír   'it becomes'

b-ṭə́-ḍrob   'she hits'

bə-ṭ-ẓə́nn   'you suppose'

bə-ṭ-xə́ṣṣ   'it concerns'

Before stems beginning with a single consonant ḍ, however, the prefix has the form ḍ- rather than ṭ-. (See below, Voicing...).

bə-ḍ-ḍáll   'She stays'

The affixes b-, n-, ᵊ-, and -na 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 t-. The voiced form d- is used with stems that begin with a single consonant d, z, or ǧ, and the form ḍ- before a single consonant ḍ:

bə-d-zíd   'it increases'

bə-d-ǧíb   'you bring'

bə-d-dáll   'it indicates'

bə-ḍ-ḍáll   'it remains'

The prefix t- is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant z, ẓ, ǧ, s, ṣ, š):

bə-z-zíd   'it increases'   (= bədzíd)

bə-ǧ-ǧíb   'you bring'   (= bədǧíb)

bə-š-šūf   'you see'   (= bətšūf)

bə-ṣ-ṣəbb   'you pour'   (= bəṭṣəbb)

Assimilation of the Prefix n-. The first-person plural prefix has optional variants: m- before a single consonant m or b, l- before a single consonant l, and r- before a single consonant r [p. 27]:

mə-m-būs (or mə-n-būs)   'we kiss'

mə-m-mūt (or mə-n-mūt)   'we die'

mə-l-lūm (or mə-n-lūm)   'we blame'

mə-r-rūḥ (or mə-n-rūḥ)   'we go'

The First Person Singular Prefix. The prefix ᵊ- disappears after the indicative prefix b-, and also in the subjunctive before any stem that begins with a single consonant:

Indicative	Subjunctive
bə́-ktob 'I write'	ᵊə́-ktob '(that) I write'
bə-tἕllam 'I learn'	ᵊə-tἕllam '(that) I learn'
bə-stἕmel 'I use'	ᵊə-stἕmel '(that) I use'
b-šūf 'I see'	šūf '(that) I see'
b-dábber 'I prepare'	dábber '(that) I prepare'
b-həṭṭ 'I put'	həṭṭ '(that) I put'

In the north and the south of the Syrian area (viz. Aleppo, Jerusalem), the first singular affix is not ᵊ-, but rather ᵊa- (-a- after b-): báktob 'I write', ᵊáktob '(that) I write'; bašū́f 'I see', ᵊašū́f '(that) I see'.

In certain classicisms, *�²a-* is used instead of *b-* in the first singular indicative: *ᵒáškurak* 'I thank you' (instead of *bə́škrak*), *ᵒaᵶə́nn* 'I think...' (instead of *bᵶənn*).

The Indicative Prefix. The prefix *b-* has an alternate form *m-* which is used with the first-person plural prefix: *m-nə́-ktob* 'we write', *mə-n-šū́f* 'we see', *mə-m-bī́ɛ* 'we sell'.

In the Palestinian area, however, the form *b-* is generally used before all the prefixes, including *n-:* *bnə́ktob* 'we write', *bənšū́f* 'we see'.

b- also has an optional variant *f-* used before *f:* *f-fū̄t* 'I enter' (= *bfū̄t*), *f-fakker* 'I think' (= *bfakker*).

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]:

šə́f-na	'we saw'	+ *-hon* 'them' → *šəf-nā́-hon*	'we saw them'
ᵒáxad-u	'they took'	+ *-ha* 'her' → *ᵒaxad-ū́-ha*	'they took her'
zā́r-u	'they visited'	+ *-k* 'you(m.)' → *zār-ū́-k*	'they visited you'
t-šū́f-i	'(that) you(f.) see'	+ *-na* 'us' → *t-šūf-í-na*	'(that) you(f.) see us'
ftáḥ-u	'open (pl.)'	+ *-lna* 'for us' → *ftaḥ-ū́-lna*	'open...for us'
xə́d-i	'take(f.)'	+ *-o* 'it(m.)' → *xəd-í*	'take it' (*-o* disappears after vowels [p.540].)

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 *-ə́t-*, *-ət-*, and *-t-* occur (with *ṭ* 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 *-at* (and *-ɑ́t-*) 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.

The form *-ə́t-* occurs:

1.) Before any suffix beginning with a consonant:

šā́f-et 'she saw'	+ *-ni* 'me'	→ *šāf-ə́t-ni*	'she saw me'
	+ *-kon* 'you (pl.)'	→ *šāf-ə́t-kon*	'she saw you'
	+ *-ha* 'her'	→ *šāf-ə́t-ha*	'she saw her'
	+ *-lo* 'for him'	→ *šāf-ə́t-lo*	'she saw...for him'

Also before the suffixes *-a* 'her' and *-on* 'them' which are optional variants of *-ha* and *-hon* respectively [p.541]: *šāf-ə́t-a* 'she saw her' (= *šāf-ə́t-ha*), *šāf-ə́t-on* 'she saw them' (= *šāf-ə́t-hon*).

The change of *e* to *ə* 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*, *ə*, and *i* in these positions [p.13], the form of the suffix here does not change except for the accentuation.

2.) The form *-ə́t-* 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:

(II) *ɛállam-et* 'she taught' + *-ak* 'you (m.)' → *ɛallam-ə́t-ak* 'she taught you'

(III) *kátab-et* 'she wrote (to)' + *-ek* 'you (f.)' → *kātab-ə́t-ek* 'she wrote you'

(IV) *ᵒákram-et* 'she favored' + *-ek* 'you (f.)' → *ᵒakram-ə́t-ek* 'she favored you'

(V) *tɛállam-et* 'she learned' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *tɛallam-ə́t-o* 'she learned it'

(VI) *tnā́wal-et* 'she obtained' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *tnāwal-ə́t-o* 'she obtained it'

(X) *stáɛmal-et* 'she used' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *staɛmal-ə́t-o* 'she used it'

(Quad.) *táržam-et* 'she translated' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *taržam-ə́t-o* 'she translated it'

Optionally, the accented form *-ə́t-* may also be used with geminate [p.42] and defective [43] augmented verbs whose last consonant is a dental stop (*d*, *ḍ*, *t*, *ṭ*): *staradd-ə́t-o* 'she got it back' (or *starádd-ət-o*); *tḥadd-ə́t-o* 'she challenged him' (or *tḥádd-ət-o*) (*tḥadda* 'to challenge, provoke'). See p.182, below.

The unaccented form -ət- 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]:

ḥaka 'to tell':   ḥák-et 'she told' + -o   → ḥák-ət-o 'she told it'

ʔara 'to read':   ʔár-et 'she read' + -o   → ʔár-ət-o 'she read it'

kafa 'to suffice: káf-et 'it(f.) sufficed' + ak   → káf-ət-ak 'it sufficed you(m.)'

ʔəža 'to come (to):   ʔəž-et 'she came' + -ek   → ʔə́ž-ət-ek 'she came to you(f.)'

See p.

2.) With defective Pattern VIII stems [p.96]:

štara 'to buy':   štár-et 'she bought' + -o → štár-ət-o 'she bought it'

3.) with geminate stems [p.63] ending in dental stops (-dd, -ḍḍ, -tt, -ṭṭ):

madd 'to stretch':   mádd-et 'she stretched' + -o → mádd-ət-o 'she stretched it'

ɛaḍḍ 'to bite':   ɛáḍḍ-et 'she bit' + -o → ɛáḍḍ-ət-o 'she bit it'

fatt 'to crumble: fáttet 'she crumbled' + -o → fáttəto 'she crumbled it'

ḥaṭṭ 'to put':   ḥáṭṭeṭ 'she put' + -o → ḥáṭṭəṭo 'she put it'

staradd 'to get back':   starádd-et 'she got...back' + -o → starádd-ət-o 'she got it back'

Augmented verbs, however, may also use the accented form -ə́t-: staradd-ə́t-o 'she got it back'.

Optionally, defective augmented verbs with a dental stop as middle radical may use the unaccented form: tḥadda 'to challenge, provoke': tḥádd-et 'she provoked' + -o 'him' → tḥádd-ət-o).

Except for those whose last stem consonant is a dental stop, geminate 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 -ddt-, (usually reduced to -dt- or even -tt- [p.26]), 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 vowelled forms. Namely, -t- is used:

1.) With all simple triradical stems that are sound, geminate (other than dental stops), or hollow:

fataḥ 'to open': fátḥ-et 'she opened' + -o → fát(ə)ḥ-t-o 'she opened it'

šəreb 'to drink': šə́rb-et 'she drank' + -o → šə́r(ə)b-t-o 'she drank it'

xalaṣ 'to finish': xáḷṣ-et 'she finished it' + -o → xáḷ(ə)ṣ-ṭ-o 'she finished it'

ḥazz 'to shake': ḥázz-et 'she shook' + -o → ḥázz-t-o 'she shook it'

šāf 'to see': šáf-et 'she saw' + -o → šáf-t-o 'she saw it'

2.) With sound Pattern VIII stems:

ḥtamal 'to tolerate': ḥtáml-et 'she tolerated' + -o → ḥtámᵊl-t-o 'she tolerated it'

xtaraɛ 'to invent': xtárɛ-et 'she invented' + -o → xtárᵊɛ-t-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 pronoun suffixes.

3.) With simple defective i-stems [pp.70,72]: nəsi 'to forget': nə́sy-et 'she forgot' + -o → nəsi-t-o 'she forgot it'.

Defective a-stems [p.60] sometimes have a variant stem with -y- before the third person suffixes, hence also ḥaky-et 'she told' + -o → ḥáki-t-o 'she told it'. Some verbs only have this variant before -t- with a pronoun suffix: ʔári-t-o (= ʔár-ət-o) 'she read it' (but not "ʔary-et", only ʔar-et 'she read').

4.) with all augmented verb stems that are geminate, hollow, or defective – except Pattern VIII defectives, and geminates and defectives with stem-final dental stops [p.182]:

xalla 'to allow':   xáll-et   + -ak → xáll-t-ak   'she allowed you'

ḥāka 'to talk to':   ḥā́k-et   + -o → ḥā́k-t-o   'she talked to him'

stanna 'to wait for':   stánn-et   + -ek → stánn-t-ek   'she waited for you(f.)'

farša 'to brush':   fárš-et   + -o → fárš-t-o   'she brushed it'

ḥtall   'to take over':   ḥtáll-et   + -o → ḥtáll-t-o   'she took it over'

ḥtāž   'to need':   ḥtā́ž-et   + -o → ḥtā́ž-t-o   'she needed it'

staḥaʔʔ 'to deserve':   staḥáʔʔ-et + -o → staḥáʔʔ-t-o 'she deserved it'

stašār 'to consult':   stašā́r-et + -ak → stašā́r-t-ak 'she consulted you'

The vowelless alternant -t- is a regular consequence of the general rule [p. 28] that a post-tonic e (or o) before a final consonant is dropped when any suffix beginning with a vowel (except -a, -on) is added. For example byóḥmel 'he carries' + -o → byóḥ(ə)mlo 'he carries it', ḥaflet 'party' (construct form) + -o → ḥáf(ə)lto 'his party'; by the same token ṣarfet 'she spent' + -o → ṣár(ə)fto 'she spent it'.

This vowelless form of the -et suffix, however, is used only with verbs that have a different stem form with the -t 'you/I' suffix; thus the two suffixes are not confused: šā́f-t-o 'she saw him' vs. šə́f-t-o 'you (or I) saw him'; ḥázz-t-o 'she shook him' vs. hazzé-t-o 'you (or I) shook him', xál(ə)ṣ-t-o 'she finished it' vs. xaláṣ-t-o 'you (or I) finished it'.

With verbs which have the same stem form (not counting the accent) before -et 'she' and -t 'you/I', the inflections are kept apart by using -ə́t- instead of -t- for 'she': taržam-ə́t-o 'she translated it' vs. taržám-t-o 'you (or I) translated it', ʕallam-ə́t-ek 'she taught you (f.)' vs. ʕallám-t-ek 'I taught you (f.)'.

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-a or ə-e, between the three radicals: dáras 'he studied', ḥámal 'he carried', ṣárax 'he shouted'; sə́meʕ 'he heard', nə́zel 'he descended'.

In the imperfect there is only one stem vowel o, e, or a, which comes between the last two radicals: byó-dros 'he studies', byó-ḥmel 'he carries', byó-ṣrax 'he shouts', byó-smaʕ 'he hears', byó-nzel 'he descends'.

Verbs with ə-e in the perfect stem almost all have a in the imperfect [p. 71]:

     kə́seb 'he earned':   byó-ksab 'he earns'

     rə́keb 'he mounted':   byó-rkab 'he mounts'

     fə́hem 'he understood: byó-fham 'he understands'

Several, however, have ə-e in the perfect and e in the imperfect [p. 69]:

     nə́zel 'he descended':   byó-nzel 'he descends'

     mə́sek 'he took hold':   byó-msek 'he takes hold'

     (See p. 69 for others)

None with ə-e in the perfect has o in the imperfect.

Of verbs with a-a in the perfect, many have o in the imperfect [p. 55]:

     dáras 'he studied':   byó-dros 'he studies'

     ʔáʕad 'he sat down':   byó-ʔʕod 'he sits down'

     bálaġ 'he attained':   byó-bloġ 'he attains'

Many have *e* in the imperfect [p. 57]:

ḥámal 'he carried': *byə́-ḥmel* 'he carries'

ġásal 'he washed': *byə́-ġsel* 'he washes'

ʔásam 'he divided': *byə́ʔsem* 'he divides'

Quite a few may have either *o* or *e* [p. 63]:

ʔátal 'he killed': *byə́-ʔtol* or *byə́-ʔtel* 'he kills'

tárak 'he left': *byə́-trok* or *byə́-trek* 'he leaves'

láfat 'he turned': *byə́-lfot* or *byə́-lfet* 'he turns'

Quite a few have *a* in the imperfect [p. 65]:

ṭábaɛ 'he printed': *byə́-ṭbaɛ* 'he prints'

sámaḥ 'he allowed': *byə́-smaḥ* 'he allows'

báɛat 'he sent': *byə́-bɛat* 'he sends'

Those with *a–a* in the perfect and *a* also in the imperfect almost all have a back consonant (*x, ġ, q, ḥ, ɛ, h,* or *ʔ*) as second or third radical. An exception: *ḥáfaẓ* 'he kept': *byə́-ḥfaẓ* 'he keeps'.

Defective Verbs. The vowelling of the perfect stem is *a–a* or *ə–e*: *káfa* 'it sufficed', *ʔára* 'he read'; *bəʔi* 'he stayed', *máši* 'he walked'. The imperfect has *a* or *i*: *byə́-kfi* 'it suffices', *byə́-ʔra* 'he reads', *byə́-bʔa* 'he stays', *byə́-mši* 'he walks'.

Almost all which have *a–a* in the perfect have *i* in the imperfect [p. 60]:

bána 'he built': *byə́-bni* 'he builds'

ṭáfa 'he extinguished': *byə́-ṭfi* 'he extinguishes'

káwa 'he ironed': *byə́-kwi* 'he irons'

A few, however, have *a–a* in the perfect and *a* also in the imperfect [p. 67]:

báda 'he began': *byə́-bda* 'he begins'

ʔára 'he read': *byə́-ʔra* 'he reads'

For others, see p. 67.

Almost all with *ə–i* in the perfect have *a* in the imperfect [p. 72]:

nə́si 'he forgot': *byə́-nsa* 'he forgets'

rə́ḍi 'he was satisfied': *byə́-rḍa* 'he is satisfied'

bə́ʔi 'he remained': *byə́-bʔa* 'he remains'

Only two have *ə–i* in the perfect and *i* also in the imperfect [p. 70]:

bə́ki 'he cried': *byə́-bki* 'he cries'

mə́ši 'he walked': *byə́-mši* 'he walks'

Initial-Weak Verbs. Simple triliteral verbs whose first radical is *w* or *y* have imperfect stems beginning with *ū* or *ī*, respectively: *wáṣaf* 'he described': *by-ū́ṣef* 'he describes', *wáfa* 'he fulfilled': *by-ū́fi* 'he fulfills'; *yáʔes* 'he despaired': *by-ī́ʔas* 'he despairs'.

Two verbs with initial radical *ʔ* have imperfect stems beginning with *ā*: *ʔákal* 'he ate': *by-ā́kol* 'he eats'; *ʔáxad* 'he took': *by-ā́xod* 'he takes'.

All others with initial radical *ʔ* are sound: *ʔámar* 'he ordered': *byə́-ʔmor* 'he orders'.

Some verbs with imperfect stem vowel *a* may lose their initial radical *w* in the imperfect [p. 74]:

wáṣel 'he arrived': *byə́-ṣal* (or *by-ū́ṣal*) 'he arrives'

wáʔeɛ 'he fell': *byə́-ʔaɛ* (or *by-ū́ʔaɛ*) 'he falls'

wáled 'he was born': *byə́-lad* (or *by-ū́lad*) '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 *yábes* 'it dried up', may also be lost in the imperfect: *byə́-bas* (or *by-ī́bas*) 'it dries up'.

The initial radical *ʔ* or the anomalous verb *ʔə́ža* 'he came' is lost in the imperfect in many parts of the Syrian area (including Damascus): *byə́-ži* 'he comes'. In other parts (e.g. Palestine), the form *b(y)-íži* is generally used. [p. 76].

All initial-weak verbs with stem vowels *ə–e* (or defective *ə–i*) in the perfect have *a* in the imperfect:

wáret 'he inherited': *by-ū́rat* 'he inherits'

wážeɛ 'it was painful': *by-ū́žaɛ* (or *byə́-žaɛ*) 'it is painful'

wáṭi 'it was low': *by-ū́ṭa* '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]:

wdɛad	'he promised':	*by-úɛed*	'he promises'
wdžaɛ	'he hurt(someone)':	*by-úžeɛ*	'he hurts...' (cf. *wəžeɛ* above)
wdḥa	'he inspired':	*by-úḥi*	'he inspires'

Two exceptions, with imperfect vowel *a*, are *wdḍaɛ* 'he placed': *by-úḍaɛ* 'he places', and *wddaɛ* 'he entrusted, deposited': *by-úddaɛ* 'he entrusts, deposits' [p. 66].

Hollow Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has a long vowel *ā* between the first and last radicals: *lām* 'he blamed', *zād* 'it increased', *nām* 'he slept'; while the imperfect stem has *ū*, *ī*, or *ā* between the radicals: *bi-lúm* 'he blames', *bi-zíd* 'it increases', *bi-nám* 'he sleeps'.

Examples with imperfect vowel *ū* [p. 56]:

rāḥ	'he went':	*bi-rūḥ*	'he goes'
šāf	'he saw':	*bi-šúf*	'he sees'
māt	'he died':	*bi-mút*	'he dies'

With imperfect vowel *ī* [p. 59]:

fāʔ	'he woke up':	*bi-fīʔ*	'he wakes up'
šāl	'he picked up':	*bi-šīl*	'he picks up'
žāb	'he brought':	*bi-žīb*	'he brings'

Only a few have imperfect vowel *ā* [p. 66]:

xāf	'he was afraid':	*bi-xáf*	'he is afraid'
bāt	'he spent the night':	*bi-bát*	'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: *házz* 'he shook', *ɛaḍḍ* 'he bit'; while the imperfect stem has *ə* or *a* in the same position: *bi-házz* 'he shakes', *biɛáḍḍ* 'he bites'.

Almost all simple geminate verbs have *ə* in the imperfect [p. 63]:

radd	'he gave back':	*bi-rádd*	'he gives back'
dall	'he showed':	*bi-dáll*	'he shows'
ḥaṭṭ	'he put':	*bi-ḥáṭṭ*	'he puts'

Several, however, have *a* in the imperfect [p. 68]:

ḍall	'he remained':	*bi-ḍáll*	'he remains'
tamm	'he remained':	*bi-támm*	'he remains'

The verb *ɛaḍḍ* 'he bit', has imperfect *a* in much of the Syrian area, though in Palestine, for example, one hears *bi-ɛáḍḍ* 'he bites'; while on the other hand, the form *bi-ṣáḥḥ* 'it is all right' is heard in Palestine, while elsewhere it is usually *bi-ṣə́ḥḥ*.

Tense Variation in Augmented and Quadriradical Verb Stems

In the perfect ('he' inflection), the last vowel of the stem is always *a* (or *ā* for hollow triradicals): *ḥmarr* 'he blushed', *barṭal* 'he bribed' *stafād* 'he benefitted', *tɛállam* 'he learned', *ʔáhda* 'he gave' (a gift), *staḥább* 'he liked'.

In the imperfect, there are two kinds of vowelling, 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*: *byə-ḥmárr* 'he blushes', *byə-tɛállam* 'he learns'.

For other types, the last vowel is changed in the imperfect to what may be called an i-type vowel, namely: *e* (for sound verbs), *i* (for defective), *ī* (for hollow) or *ə* (for geminate): *bi-bárṭel* 'he bribes', *byə́-hdi* 'he gives', *byə-stfīd* 'he benefits', *byə-stḥább* 'he likes'.

Verbs with No Tense Variation in the Stem include:

All verbs with the stem-formative prefix *t-* [p. 85]:

Pattern V:	*tġáyyar*	'it changed':	*byə-tġáyyar*	'it changes' [p. 87]
	txábba	'it was hidden':	*byə-txábba*	'it is hidden' [87]
Pattern VI:	*tšāʔam*	'he was pessimistic':	*byə-tšāʔam*	'he is pessimistic' [89]
	trāxa	'he was easygoing':	*byə-trāxa*	'he is easygoing' [89]

Quadriradical (and Pseudo-quadriradical):

tšárbak   'it became compli-   byə-tšárbak 'it becomes compli-
          cated':   cated' [p. 121]

tfárša   'it was brushed':   byə-ṭfárša   'it is brushed' [122]

Also the verbs of hybrid pattern V/X [107]: stánna
'he waited': byə-stánna 'he waits'; stmánna 'he wished':
byə-stmánna 'he wishes'.

All unsound verbs of Pattern VII, geminate and hollow verbs of Pattern
VIII, and all verbs of Pattern IX:

Pattern VII Geminate: nḥabb   'he was loved': byə-nḥább 'he is loved' [p.94]

        Hollow: nʔāl   'it was said':   byə-nʔāl 'it is said' [94]

        Defective: nʔára   'it was read':   byə-nʔára 'it is read' [93]

Many defective verbs of this pattern, however, also
have the i-type imperfect vowelling: nṭawa 'it was folded':
byə-nṭáwi (or byə-nṭáwa) 'it is folded' [p.92].

Pattern VIII Geminate: štadd 'it increased': byə-štádd 'it increases' [p.99]

        Hollow: ḥtāž   'he needed':   byə-ḥtāž   'he needs' [99]

The defective verbs ltáʔa 'to be found' and ntála 'to
be filled' have a-type imperfect vowelling: byə-ltáʔa,
byə-ntála, but other defective Pattern VIII's have the
i-type [p.97].

Pattern IX: swadd 'it turned black': byə-swádd 'it turns black'

                  ḥmarr 'he blushed':   byə-ḥmárr 'he blushes' [101]

Verbs with an i-Type Imperfect Vowel include all other types, namely:

Patterns II, III, and simple quadriradicals (and pseudo-quadriradi-
cals)[1]:

II.   fássar 'he explained':   bi-fásser 'he explains' [p.77]

      máyyaz 'he distinguished': bi-máyyez 'he distinguishes'

      xább a 'he hid' (trans.): bi-xábbi 'he hides' [78]

_____

[1] In sum, all verbs whose stem consists of one consonant + short vowel + two
consonants + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCCV(C), or one con-
sonant + long vowel + one consonant + short vowel + (optional) one conso-
nant: CV̄CV(C).

III: sáfar 'he travelled':   bi-sáfer 'he travels' [80]
       ʔáṣaṣ 'he punished':   bi-ʔáṣeṣ 'he punishes' [81]
       sáwa 'he made':   bi-sáwi 'he makes' [81]

Quadr.: táržam 'he translated': bi-táržem 'he translates' [118]
         báxwaš 'he drilled a hole': bi-báxweš 'he drills a hole' [118]
         bōdar 'he powdered':   bi-bóder 'he powders' [119]
         farža 'he showed':   bi-fárži 'he shows' [120]

Pattern IV verbs have a stem-formative prefix ʔa- in the perfect, and
no vowel between the first and second radicals: ʔáƐlan 'he announced'.
In the imperfect the formative ʔa- disappears,[1] and the vowel after the
second radical is changed to an i-type [p.189]: byóƐlen 'he announces'.

Sound: ʔáṣbaḥ 'it became':   byó-ṣbeḥ 'it becomes [p.83]
Defective: ʔáhda 'he gave':   byó-hdi 'he gives' [83]
Geminate: ʔaṣárr 'he insisted': bi-ṣárr 'he insists' [84]
Hollow: ʔaḥāl 'he transformed': bi-ḥīl '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 ə (and the last vowel, to e):

Pattern VII: nkásar 'it was broken': byə-nkáser 'it is broken'

              nsáḥab 'he withdrew':   byə-nsáḥeb 'he withdraws' [p.91]

              mbásaṭ 'he had a good   byə-mbáseṭ 'he has a good
                     time':   time'

Pattern VIII: ftákar 'he thought':   byə-ftáker 'he thinks'

               štáġal 'he worked':   byə-štáġel 'he works' [95]

In some parts of the Syrian area, the next-to-last vowel
is dropped, the accent falling on the inflectional prefix:
byó-nkser, byó-štġel.

_____

[1] But cf. pseudo-quadriradical Pattern ʔaFƐaL [117]: ʔaslam 'he became a
Muslim': bi-ʔáslem '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: *nṭáfa* 'it was extinguished': *byə-nṭə́fi* 'it is extinguished'; *nkə́ra* 'it was rented': *byə-nkə́ri* 'it is rented' (also *byənṭáfa*, *byənkə́ra*) [p. 97].

The Pattern VIII defective verb *ltáḍ²a* 'to be found', 'to meet', has an i-type (as well as a-type) imperfect *byəltə́ḍ²i* (or *byəltáḍ²a*) 'he meets', but in the sense 'he is found', only the form *byəltáḍ²a* is used.

The anomalous Pattern VIII (or VII) verb *ntạ́la* 'it was filled' has an i-type imperfect *byəntə́li* 'it is filled', as well as the a-type *byəntạ́la* [98].

Pattern X imperfect stems are all i-type:

Sound:	*stáɛmal* 'he used':	*byə-stáɛmel*	'he uses'
	stáfham 'he inquired':	*byə-stáfhem*	'he inquires' [102]
	stáǧwab 'he questioned':	*byə-stáǧweb*	'he questions' [103]
Defective:	*stáḥla* 'he liked':	*byə-stáḥli*	'he likes' [103]
Hollow:	*stašā́r* 'he consulted':	*byə-stašī́r*	'he consults' [105]
Geminate:	*stamárr* 'he continued':	*byə-stamárr*	'he continues' [105]
Initial-weak:	*stā́hal* 'he deserved':	*byə-stā́hel*	'he deserves' [106]

The Hollow-defective verb *stáḥa* 'he was embarrased' [p. 106] has the next-to-last imperfect vowel *ə*, just like Pattern VIII verbs (from which it is indistinguishable in form [97]): *byə-stáḥi* 'he gets embarrassed'.

On the other hand, the anomalous Pattern X verb *zdall* 'he concluded' [107] keeps *a* in the imperfect, like Pattern VIII geminates: *byə-zdáll* 'he concludes'.

The hybrid Pattern III/X verb *snā́wal* (or *stnā́wal*) 'he caught' has an i-type imperfect: *byə-snā́wel* 'he catches' [p. 108].

Quadriradical Pattern *FɛaLaLL* verbs [p. 124] (like Pattern X geminates) have *ə* as the last stem vowel of the imperfect:

šma²ázz 'he was disgusted':	*byə-šma²ə́zz*	'he gets disgusted'
qšaɛárr 'he shuddered':	*byə-qšaɛə́rr*	'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 *ə-e*, the first vowel (*ə*) is dropped and the last vowel (*e*) is changed to *ə*:

sámeɛ 'he heard':	*smə́ɛ-t*	'you (m.)/I heard'
	smə́ɛ-t-i	'you (f.) heard'
	smə́ɛ-t-u	'you (pl.) heard'
	smə́ɛ-na	'we heard' [p. 71]
ɛámel 'he did':	*ɛmə́l-t*	'you (m.)/I did'
	ɛmə́l-t-i	'you (f.) did'
	ɛmə́l-t-u	'you (pl.) did'
	ɛmə́l-na	'we did' [p. 70]

The change from *e* to *ə* is an automatic consequence of sound combination rules [p. 28].

Stem vowels *a* remain unaltered except in accentuation: *kátab* 'he wrote': *katáb-t* 'you/I wrote'; *tɛállam* 'he learned'; *tɛallám-na* 'we learned'. See Accentuation [p. 18].

In simple defective verbs with vowels *ə-i*, the first vowel (*ə*) is dropped and the last vowel (*i*) is lengthened to *ī*:

nə́si 'he forgot':	*nsī́-t*	'you (m.)/I forgot', etc.
	nsī́-na	'we forgot' [p. 72]
bə́ki 'he cried':	*bkī́-t*	'you/I cried', etc.
	bkī́-na	'we cried' [70]

See p. 27.

In defective verbs stem-final *a* is changed to *ē*:

ʔára	'he read':	ʔarḗ-t	'you/I read'
		ʔarḗ-na	'we read' [p.68]
ɛáṭa	'he gave':	ɛaṭḗ-t	'you/I gave'
		ɛaṭḗ-na	'we gave' [61]
sámma	'he named':	sammḗ-t	'you/I named'
		sammḗ-na	'we named' [78]
stánna	'he waited':	stannḗ-t	'you/I waited'
		stannḗ-na	'we waited' [108]
štára	'he bought':	štarḗ-t	'you/I bought'
		štarḗ-na	'we bought' [97]
stáɛfa	'he resigned':	staɛfḗ-t	'you/I resigned'
		staɛfḗ-na	'we resigned' [103]

Verb stems ending in a double consonant add *ē*:

sabb	'he cursed':	sabbḗ-t	'you/I cursed'
		sabbḗ-na	'we cursed' [p.64]
ḥaṭṭ	'he put':	ḥaṭṭḗ-t	'you/I put'
		ḥaṭṭḗ-na	'we put'
htamm	'he cared':	htammḗ-t	'you/I cared'
		htammḗ-na	'we cared' [99]
ḥmarr	'he blushed':	ḥmarrḗ-na	'you/I blushed'
		ḥmarrḗ-na	'we blushed' [101]
staḥább	'he liked':	staḥabbḗt	'you/I liked'
		staḥabbḗ-na	'we liked' [105]
ṭmaʔánn	'he felt secure':	ṭmaʔannḗ-t	'you/I felt secure'
		ṭmaʔannḗ-na	'we felt secure [124]

In hollow triradical verbs (excepting some of those in Pattern X), the *ā* is changed to *ə*:

šāf	'he saw':	šəf-t	'you/I saw'
		šə́f-na	'we saw' [p.57]
nām	'he slept':	nəm-t	'you/I slept'
		nə́m-na	'we slept' [67]
žāb	'he brought':	žəb-t	'you/I brought'
		žə́b-na	'we brought' [60]
ḥtāž	'he needed':	ḥtəž-t	'you/I needed'
		ḥtə́ž-na	'we needed' [99]
nšāf	'he was seen':	nšəf-t	'you/I was seen'
		nšə́f-na	'we were seen' [94]
starāḥ	'he rested':	strə́ḥ-t	'you/I rested'
		strə́ḥ-na	'we rested' [104]

In hollow verbs of Pattern X the first stem vowel *a* tends to disappear both in the first and second persons of the perfect <u>and</u> in the imperfect stem: *byə-strīḥ* 'he rests'. In some verbs, however, the first *a* tends to remain in all forms, and the last *a* does not change to *ə*: *stašár* 'he consulted': *stašár-t* 'you/I consulted', *byə-stašír* 'he consults' [p.105].

On the assimilation of voiced obstruents to the suffix *-t* (e.g. *ʔáxad* 'he took': *ʔaxát-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: *byə́nsa + -u → byə́ns-u*   'they forget'

2nd person: *btə́nsa + -u → btə́ns-u*   'you (pl.) forget'

btə́nsa + -i → btə́ns-i   'you (f.) forget' [p.72]

3rd person: *bisámmi* + *-u* → *bisámm-u* 'they name'

2nd person: *batsámmi* + *-u* → *batsámm-u* 'you (pl.) name'

  batsámmi + *-i* → *batsámm-i* 'you (f.) name' [p. 78]

If the stem vowel is *i*, its replacement by the feminine suffix *-i* makes no distinction in form between masculine and feminine: *batsámmi* 'you (m. or f.) name'.

In the third-person perfect, the final *a* of a defective stem is dropped before the feminine and plural suffixes *-et* and *-u*:

ʔára	+ *-et* → *ʔár-et*	'she read'
ʔára	+ *-u* → *ʔár-u*	'they read' [p. 68]
fárša	+ *-et* → *fárš-et*	'she brushed'
fárša	+ *-u* → *fárš-u*	'they brushed' [120]

But stem-final *i* is generally retained as *y*:

máši	+ *-et* → *mášy-et*	'she walked'
máši	+ *-u* → *mášy-u*	'they walked' [70]
nási	+ *-et* → *násy-et*	'she forgot'
nási	+ *-u* → *násy-u*	'they forgot'

Or again as *i*, before the feminine suffix (*-t-*) followed by a pronoun suffix *-o*, *-ak*, or *-ek* [p. 183]: *násy-et* 'she forgot' + *-o* 'him' → *nási-t-o* 'she forgot him', + *-ak* → *nási-t-ak* 'she's forgotten you'.

See also p. 166.

Before the suffix *-et* only, sound a-stems of Patterns I, VII, and VIII drop their second *a*:

Pattern I: *fátah* + *-et* → *fáth-et* 'she opened' [p. 65]

  dáras + *-et* → *dárs-et* 'she studied' [55]

Pattern VII: *nkásar* + *-et* → *nkásr-et* 'it (f.) was broken' [91]

Pattern VIII: *ftákar* + *-et* → *ftákr-et* 'she thought' [95]

In many parts of the Syrian area, however (e.g. Palestine, southern Lebanon), this *a* is not dropped: *fátahet* (or *fátahat*), *nkásaret* (or *nkásarat*), etc.

Certain other stem changes occur before *-i*, *-u*, and *-et* as before all suffixes beginning with a vowel (except *-a* 'her', *-on* 'them' [541]):

Stem vowels *e* and *o* are dropped [p. 28]:

btádros	+ *-i* → *btád(ə)rs-i*	'you (f.) study' [p. 55]
byámsek	+ *-u* → *byámsk-u*	'they hold' [69]
másek	+ *-u* → *másk-u*	'they took hold'
másek	+ *-et* → *másk-et*	'she took hold'
bisákker	+ *-u* → *bisákkr-u*	'they close' [77]
btəstɛ́mel	+ *-i* → *btəstɛ́(ə)ml-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 *ə*: *bisábbeb* + *-u* → *bisábbəb-u* 'they cause' If the *e* is lost in such cases, a theoretical triple-consonant sequence ("bisábbbu") 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. *bisábbu* 'they curse'), which is avoided by retaining the stem vowel (*bisábbəbu* 'they cause').

As before all suffixes, *ā* in the imperative of simple sound triradical verbs is shortened to *a*, and *ē* and *ō* are both changed to *ə* [p. 198]:

ftāh	+ *-u* → *ftáh-u*	'open'	(pl.)
msēk	+ *-i* → *msák-i*	'hold'	(f.)
drōs	+ *-u* → *drás-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:

(tə́)-ftaḥ:	ftāḥ	'open' (m.)	[p.65]
(tə́)-msek:	msēk	'hold' (m.)	[69]
(tə́)-ktob:	ktōb	'write' (m.)	[55]

But if there is a suffix of any kind, the stem vowel remains short:

(tə́)-ftaḥ-i:	ftáḥ-i	'open' (f.)
(tə́)-ftaḥ-o:	ftáḥ-o	'open (m.) it (m.)'
(tə)-msə́k-on:	msə́k-on	'hold (m.) them'
(tə)-ktə́b-a:	ktə́b-a	'write (m.) it (f.)'

And if the suffixing stem has no vowel between the last two radicals, ə is inserted there:

(tə́)-msk-i:	msə́k-i	'hold (f.)'
(tə́)-msk-o:	msə́k-o	'hold (m.) it (m.)'
(tə)-k(ə)tbū́:	ktəb-ū́	'write (pl.) it (m.)'

In non-defective verbs whose first radical is a semivowel (w, y), the initial vowel (ū, ī)[1] is shortened to w or y, respectively:

(t)-ū́ṣef:	wṣēf	'describe' (m.)	[p.59]
(t)-ū́ṣal:	wṣāl	'arrive' (m.)	[75]
(t)-íbas:	ybās	'dry up'[2] (m.)	[75]

The stem-initial ā in the imperfect of ʔakal 'to eat' and ʔaxad 'to take' is dropped in the imperative [p.56]:

(t)-ā́kol:	kōl	'eat' (m.);	(t)-ā́xod:	xōd	'take(m.)
(t)-ā́kli:	kə́li	'eat' (f.);	(t)-ā́xdu:	xə́du	'take(pl.)

---

[1] Imperatives in Syrian Colloquial are not formed from the imperfect stem in which the initial radical is lost (e.g. tə́-ṣal) [p.75].

[2] An 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 ʔə́- before the first radical; and the final vowel is unaltered:

(tə́)-nsa:	ʔə́nsa	'forget' (m.)	[p.72]
(tə́)-nsi:	ʔə́nsi	'forget' (f.)	
(tə́)-nsu:	ʔə́nsu	'forget' (pl.)	

In the first radical is w, however, the imperative begins with ʔū́-:

(t)-ū́fi:	ʔū́fi	'fulfill' (m. or f.)	[p.62]
(t)-ū́fu:	ʔū́fu	'fulfill' (pl.)	

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):

(tə́)-nsā́-ha:	nsā́-ha	'forget (m.) it (f.)'
(tə)-nsī́-ha:	nsī́-ha	'forget (f.) it (f.)'
(t)-ūfī́-ha:	wfī́-ha	'fulfill it'

In the Palestinian area and to some extent elsewhere, the imperative with ʔ- is commonly used instead of the vowel lengthening, in sound verbs as well as defectives: ʔə́ftaḥ instead of ftāḥ, ʔə́msek 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 ʔə́nsa, wfī instead of ʔūfi, 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:

(t)-sə́kker:	sə́kker	'close' (m.)	[p.77]
(t)-sə́kkri:	sə́kkri	'close' (f.)	
(t)-sə́kkru:	sə́kkru	'close' (pl.)	
(tə)-stɛ́mel:	stɛ́mel	'use' (m.)	[102]
(tə)-stɛ́(ə)mlo:	stɛ́(ə)mlo	'use (m.) it (m.)'	
(t)-taržmū́-li:	taržmū́-li	'translate (pl.) for me'	[118]
(t)-ḥəṭṭ:	ḥəṭṭ	'put' (m.)	[64]
(t)-šīl:	šīl	'take away' (m.)	[60]
(t)-nām:	nām	'sleep' (m.)	[67]
(tə)-tɛ́llam:	tɛ́llam	'learn' (m.)	[87]
(tə)-tɛallamī́:	tɛallamī́	'learn (f.) it (m.)'	

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.)'; *tɛ́dllam* 'he learned' and 'learn (m.)', *tɛ́dllamu* 'they learned' and 'learn (pl.)'.

Irregular Imperatives. The verb *ʔaža* 'to come' [p. 76] has no imperative of its own but is suppleted by the forms *tɛ́ɛa* 'come' (m.), *tɛ́ɛi* (f.), *tɛ́ɛu* (pl.) (or sometimes *taɛāl, taɛāli, taɛālu*).

The verb *ɛaṭa* 'to give' (Impf. *(ṭ)-dɛ́ṭi*) has an imperative form *ɛ́ṭi* (m., f.), *ɛ́ṭu* (pl.), commonly used instead of the regular forms *ʔdɛ́ṭi*, etc. [p. 61].

The imperative of the verb *ʔaɛad* 'to sit' (Impf. *(tɔ́)-ʔɛod*) [p. 55] commonly loses its initial radical *ʔ* in the imperative: *ɛōd* 'sit down', *ɛɔ́di* (f.), *ɛɔ́du* (pl.).

The exclamation *ʔóɛa* 'watch out!' is generally used instead of the regular imperative form *ʔúɛa* (of *waɛi*, Impf. *t-úɛa* 'to be aware, wide awake'), and the form *ʔɔ́ṣhak* 'take care (lest...)', for *ʔɔ́ṣha* plus pronoun suffix *-k* (the expected form would be "*ṣhāk*") (imperative of *ṣahi*, Impf. *ṭ-ɔ́ṣha* 'to be wide awake').

The "demonstrative" [p. 564] verb *hāt* 'give (it) here' (f. *hāti*, pl. *hātu*) 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)[1], and plural. Masculine is the base inflection; the feminine is usually formed by suffixation of *-e/-a* [p. 138]; the plural is usually formed by suffixation of *-īn* 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 substantivally. The word *maslem* 'Moslem', for instance, as a noun, has the plural *masᵊlmīn* and the feminal derivative *masᵊlme*, which in turn has a plural *masᵊlmāt* 'Moslems (f.)'. The feminine plural may sometimes be used attributively: *naswān masᵊlmāt* 'Moslem women' (more usual: *naswān masᵊlmīn*), thus inviting analysis as a feminine plural adjective (or alternatively, an appositive noun [506]).

Some adjectives may be heard with the *-āt* ending even when there is no question of substantivization, when attributive to a plural in *-āt* of a feminine count noun [p. 425]: *banadōrayāt māwiyyāt* 'juicy tomatoes' (or, more usually, *banadōrayāt māwiyye*). Similarly, a dual adjective may sometimes be heard: *l-ɛanṣurēn ᵊl-kimyāʔiyyēn* 'The two chemical elements' (or, more colloquially, *l-ɛanṣrēn ᵊl-kimāwiyyīn*).

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 (*-āt*) or, rarely, a dual.

A few adjectives are uninflected. 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 ʔaFƐaL [p. 130] — and <u>all</u> 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:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
ṭamūḥ	ṭamūḥa	ṭamūḥīn	'ambitious'
našīṭ	našīṭa	našīṭīn	'active, energetic'
kazzāb	kazzābe	kazzābīn	'lying, liar'
səkkīr	səkkīre	səkkīrīn	'drunkard'
mərr	mərra	mərrīn	'bitter'
ḥəlu	ḥəlwe	ḥəlwīn	'sweet', 'pretty'
fāḍi	fāḍye	fāḍyīn	'empty, free'
faxᵊm	faxme	faxmīn	'stately, elegant'
lammīƐ	lammīƐa	lammīƐīn	'shiny'
malān	malāne	malānīn	'full'
zaƐlān	zaƐlāne	zaƐlānīn	'displeased'
mašġūl	mašġūle	mašġūlīn	'busy'
mhəmm	mhəmme	mhəmmīn	'important'
mṭīƐ	mṭīƐa	mṭīƐīn	'obedient'
mufīd	mufīde	mufīdīn	'useful'
mžawwaz	mžawwaze	mžawwazīn	'married'
mšarṭaṭ	mšarṭaṭa	mšarṭaṭīn	'ragged'
məṭmaʔənn ..	məṭmaʔənne ..	məṭmaʔənnīn	'calm, secure'

Stem Modifications with the Suffixes

Adjectives whose base (masculine) forms end in e + consonant generally drop their e when the feminine or plural suffix is added [p. 28]:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
rəṭeb	rəṭbe	rəṭbīn	'humid, moist'
dayyeʔ	dayyʔa	dayyʔīn	'narrow, cramped'
ṭayyeb	ṭayybe	ṭayybīn	'good'
Ɛāṭel	Ɛāṭle	Ɛāṭlīn	'bad'
mnāseb	mnāsbe	mnāsbīn	'suitable'
mətʔaxxer .	mətʔaxxra ..	mətʔaxxrīn	'late'
məxtálef ..	məxtálfe ...	məxtəlfīn	'different'
mfastek ...	mfastke	mfastkīn	'depressed'

With anaptyxis [p. 31] (cf. faxᵊm, above):

médhen	médᵊhne	medᵊhnīn	'greasy, fat'
mézweʔ	mézᵊwʔa	məzᵊwʔīn	'having good taste'

With vocalization of y [p. 166] (cf. ḥəlu, fāḍi, above):

méhyeb	méhibe	məhibīn	'awesome'

e is not dropped but is changed to ə, when it comes between a double and a single consonant which are alike [29, 77]:

mṣammem ...	mṣamməme ...	mṣamməmīn	'determined, intent (on)'

If the base form (masculine) ends in −i, then in some cases this ending is lengthened to −iyy− before the feminine and plural suffixes, while in other cases it is reduced to a non-syllabic −y−. In relative adjectives [p. 280], for instance, −i is always lengthened:

ləbnā́ni ...	ləbnānī́yye .	ləbnāniyyīn	'Lebanese'

It is also lengthened in defective adjectives of Pattern FaƐīL [128]:

sáxi	saxī́yye	saxiyyīn	'generous'

And in the defective version (məFƐi) of Pattern maFƐūL [p. 133]:

ménsi	mənsī́yye ...	mənsiyyīn	'forgotten'
mékwi	məkwī́yye ...	məkwiyyīn	'ironed'

Even when adjectives of the defective pattern məFƐi correspond to Pattern məFƐeL [p. 133] rather than maFƐūL, their final i is still usually lengthened in the feminine or plural: mə́ʔzi 'harmful': fem. məʔzī́yye, pl. məʔziyyīn;

mə́rḍi 'satisfactory': *mərḍi̇́yye, mərḍiyyı̄n.* 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 *məFɛeL*): *mə́ġri* 'alluring, enticing', fem. *məġ́ᵊrye,* pl. *məġᵊryı̄n; mə́hwi* 'airy, draughty': fem. *mə́huye* (with vocalization of the medial *w*).

The final *-i* of defective Pattern *Fāɛel* adjectives [p. 131] is always reduced to non-syllabic form (*y*) with the suffixes:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
ɛāli	*ɛālye*	*ɛālyı̄n*	'high'
bā̊ʔi	*bā̊ʔye*	*bā̊ʔyı̄n*	'remaining'

Note the difference in stem modifications, then, between *ɛāli: ɛālye* 'high' and *ɛādi: ɛādi̇́yye* 'usual, customary'. The latter is a relative adjective with the suffix *-i* (from *ɛāde* 'custom') and is not to be confused with Pattern *Fāɛel* adjectives.

With some exceptions, defective adjectives of the augmented participial patterns [p. 134] have *-y-* (rather than *-iyy-*) before the suffixes; before *-ı̄n,* furthermore, the *y* may disappear entirely:

mrabbi ...	*mrabbye*	*mrabb(y)ı̄n*	'bringing up, having brought up'
msāwi	*msāwye*	*msāw(y)ı̄n*	'making, having made'
mətxabbi .	*mətxabbye*	*mətxabb(y)ı̄n*	'hiding, hidden'
mənṭə́fi ..	*mənṭəfye*	*mənṭəf(y)ı̄n*	'extinguished'
məktə́fi ..	*məktəfye*	*məktəf(y)ı̄n*	'contented'
məstakri ..	*məstakᵊrye*	*məstak(ᵊ)r(y)ı̄n*	'renting, having rented'
məstanni .	*məstannye*	*məstannyı̄n*	'waiting'

On pronoun-suffixing forms of transitive feminine participles in *-ye,* cf.p.168. E.g. *mrabbı̄to* '(f.) bringing him up', *msāwı̄to* '(f.) making it'.

There are some Pattern VIII participles, however, which usually (in some cases always) have *-iyy-* before the suffixes. For example:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
məstə́wi ..	*məstwi̇́yye*	*məstwiyyı̄n*	'done, cooked, ripe'
məštə́hi ..	*məšthi̇́yye*	*məšthiyyı̄n*	'desirous, craving'
məɛtə́ni ..	*məɛtni̇́yye* ..... or *məɛtə́nye* .	*məɛtniyyı̄n* *məɛtən(y)ı̄n*	'taking care'
məntə́si ..	*məntsi̇́yye* ..... or *məntə́sye* .	*məntsiyyı̄n* *məntəs(y)ı̄n*	'forgotten'

Note also the comments on Pattern *məFɛeL,* above.

There is also vacilation between *-y-* and *-iyy-* in the rare defective quadriradicals [136]:

mfarši ...	*mfaršiyye* ..... or *mfaršye* ..	*mfaršiyyı̄n* *mfarš(y)ı̄n*	'having brushed'

If the masculine form of an adjective (defective passive participle) ends in *-a,* then the feminine has *-āye,* and the plural, *-āyı̄n* (or *-ayı̄n*):

msamma ...	*msammāye*	*msammāyı̄n*	'named'
msāwa	*msāwāye*	*msāwāyı̄n*	'made'
mfarša ...	*mfaršāye*	*mfaršāyı̄n*	'brushed'

Adjectives with Internal Plurals

Almost all adjectives of Pattern *Fɛı̄L* [p.127] and many non-defective ones of Pattern *Faɛı̄L* [127] form plurals on Pattern *FɛāL*:

nḍı̄f	*nḍı̄fe*	*nḍāf*	'clean'
mnı̄ḥ	*mnı̄ḥa*	*mnāḥ*	'good'
ktı̄r	*ktı̄re*	*ktār*	'much, many'
kbı̄r	*kbı̄re*	*kbār*	'big, large'
ẓġı̄r	*ẓġı̄re*	*ẓġār*	'little, small'
tʔı̄l	*tʔı̄le*	*tʔāl*	'heavy'
ṭawı̄l	*ṭawı̄le*	*ṭwāl*	'long, tall'
xafı̄f	*xafı̄fe*	*xfāf* (also *xafifı̄n*)	'light'
ʔarı̄b	*ʔarı̄be*	*ʔrāb* (also *ʔaribı̄n*)	'near'

The adjectives ždīd 'new' and ɛatī⁹ 'old' form plurals on the pattern FǝɛaL as well as FɛāL: m. ždīd, f. ždīde, pl. ždadad or ždād; m. ɛatī⁹, f. ɛatī⁹a, pl. ɛǝta⁹ or ɛtā⁹.

Many non-defective adjectives of Pattern FaɛīL applied to human beings have plurals formed on Pattern FǝɛaLa:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
karīm	karīme	kǝrama	'generous'
fa⁹īr	fa⁹īre (or fa⁹īra)	fǝ⁹ara	'poor'
laṭīf	laṭīfe	lǝṭafa (or laṭīfīn)	'nice, pleasant'
baxīl	baxīle	bǝxala (or baxīlīn)	'stingy, miser'
saɛīd	saɛīde	sǝɛada	'happy'

Some adjectives applied to human beings, mainly of Pattern FaɛiL, have plurals formed on pattern FaɛāLa:

⁹awi	⁹awiyye	⁹awāya (or ⁹awiyyīn)	'strong'
dani	daniyye	danāya	'low, vile'
ḥazīn	ḥazīne	ḥazāna	'mournful, sad'
hani	haniyye	hanāya (or haniyyīn)	'happy'
baṭrān	baṭrāne	baṭāra (or baṭranīn)	'wasteful'
——	ḥǝble	ḥabāla	'pregnant'
⁹atīl	⁹atīle	⁹ǝtala	'killed'
žarīḥ	žarīḥa	žǝraḥa	'wounded'

Many defective adjectives of this same sort have plurals formed on Pattern ⁹ǝF⁹ɛLa or ⁹aFɛiLa:

ġani	ġaniyye	⁹ǝġ⁹nya or ⁹aġniya	'rich'
ta⁹i	ta⁹iyye	⁹ǝt⁹⁹ya	'God-fearing'
zaki	zakiyye	⁹ǝz⁹kya	'bright, intelligent'

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 substantivally, while plurals of the same word with -īn, if any, are more purely adjectival.

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
razīl	razīle	⁹arzāl (razilīn, rzāl)	'vile, despicable'
mayyet	mayyte	⁹amwāt, mawta (mayytīn)	'dead'
ḥayy	ḥayye	⁹aḥyā⁹	'living, alive'
ḥǝrr	ḥǝrra	⁹aḥrār (ḥǝrrīn)	'free'
ġašīm	ġašīme	ġǝš²m or ġǝšama	'naive'
⁹adīm	⁹adīme	⁹ǝd²m or ⁹ǝdama (inanimate ⁹dām)	'ancient'
⁹āṣer	⁹āṣra	⁹ǝṣṣar (⁹āṣrīn)	'underage, minor'
žāhel	žāhle	žǝhhal (žāhlīn)	'ignorant'
šužāɛ	šužāɛa	šǝžɛān	'brave'
šāzz	šāzze	šawāzz (šāzzīn)	'strange, odd'
mažnūn	mažnūne	mažanīn	'crazy'
zangīl	zangīle	zanagīl (zangīlīn)	'rich'
marīḍ	marīḍa	marḍa or mǝraḍa	'ill'
ḍaɛfān	ḍaɛfāne	ḍaɛfa	'ill'

Most noun/adjectives of the pattern FaɛɛīL [p.129] form feminine and plural both with the suffix -e/-a:

šarrīb	šarrībe	šarrībe	'heavy drinker'
šaġġīl	šaġġīle	šaġġīle	'(good) worker'

Adjectives of Pattern *ʔaFƐaL* [p.130] form their feminine on Pattern *FaƐLa*, and their plural on Pattern *FƏƐL* or sometimes (animate only) *FƏƐLān*:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
ʔaṣfar	*ṣafra*	*ṣafᵊr*	'yellow'
ʔazraʔ	*zarʔa*	*zərᵊʔ*	'blue'
ʔašʔar	*šaʔra*	*šᵊʔʔr*	'blond'
ʔabyaḍ	*bēḍa*	*bīḍ*	'white'
ʔaswad	*sōda*	*sūd*	'black'
ʔaƐwar	*Ɛōra*	*Ɛūr*	'one-eyed'
ʔaʔraƐ	*ʔarƐa*	*ʔərƐān*	'bald'
ʔaḥdab	*ḥadba*	*ḥədbān*	'hump-backed'
ʔaƐma	*Ɛamya*	*Ɛəmyān*	'blind'
ʔaxras	*xarsa*	*xərs, xərsān*	'deaf-mute'
ʔazƐar	*zaƐra*	*zəƐrān*	'crooked, criminal, bandit'

The word *ʔaƐzab* 'unmarried' has the expected feminine form *Ɛazba*, but no plural (except the suppletive form *Ɛazzābīn*, which belongs more properly to the singular *Ɛazzābi* 'bachelor'). The word *ʔarmal* 'widowed', however, is inflected as a quadriradical: f. *ʔarmale*, pl. *ʔarāmel*.

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 suffix *-ēn*. The plural is formed in a variety of ways [211 ff], depending to some extent on the form of the singular, but to a large extent on the idiosyncracy of individual nouns. Examples:

Singular		Dual	Plural	
kaff	'glove'.......*kaffēn*	'two gloves'.......*kfūf*	'gloves'
kəlme	'word'........*kələᵊmtēn*	'two words'........*kəlmāt*	'words'
ʔarnab	'rabbit'......*ʔarnabēn*	'two rabbits'......*ʔarāneb*	'rabbits'
ʔəsᵊm	'name'........*ʔəsmēn*	'two names'........*ʔasāmi*	'names'
daʔīʔa	'minute'......*daʔīʔtēn*	'two minutes'......*daʔāyeʔ*	'minutes'
mhandes	'engineer'....*mhandsēn*	'two engineers'....*mhandsīn*	'engineers'
sažara	'tree'........*sažartēn*	'two trees'........*sažarāt*	'trees'
ġalṭa	'mistake'.....*ġaləᵊṭṭēn*	'two mistakes'.....*ġalṭāṭ*	'mistakes'
tərki	'Turk'........*tərkiyyēn*	'two Turks'........*ʔatrāk*	'Turks'
ḥarāmi	'thief'.......*ḥarāmiyyēn*	'two thieves'......*ḥaramiyye*	'thieves'

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 *-en* is added: *ṣāḥeb* 'friend' + *-ēn* → *ṣāḥbēn* 'two friends', *səllom* 'ladder' + *ēn* → *səllmēn* 'two ladders'.

In certain classicisms, however, *e* and *o* are not dropped but are changed to *i* and *u*, respectively: *malek* 'king' + *-ēn* → *malikēn*, *Ɛənṣor* 'element' + *-ēn* → *Ɛənṣurēn* (or, more colloquially, *Ɛənṣrēn*).

The loss of *e* or *o* often involves compensatory anaptyxis [p.31]: *mažles* 'chamber' + *-ēn* → *mažᵊlsēn*, *ʔəsʔof* 'bishop' + *-ēn* → *ʔəsᵊʔfēn*.

The base-formative suffix -e/-a [p. 138] takes the form -t- before -ēn, just as it does before the pronoun suffixes [p. 165]:

sayyāra	'care'	+ -ēn → sayyārtēn	'two cars'
madrase	'school'	+ -ēn → madrastēn	'two schools'
marra	'(one)time'	+ -ēn → marrtēn	'two times, twice'
sane	'year'	+ -ēn → santēn	'two years'

With anaptyxis:

badle	'suit'	+ -ēn → badᵊltēn	'two suits'
dawle	'nation, state'	+ -ēn → dawᵊltēn	'two nations'
buḥayra	'lake'	+ -ēn → buḥayᵊrtēn	'two lakes'

With other compensatory vocalizations [pp. 31, 166, 167]:

ḥanye	'bow, bend'	+ -ēn → ḥanitēn	'two bows, bends'
xaṭwe	'step, pace'	+ -ēn → xaṭuṭēn	'two steps'
ḥāšye	'margin'	+ -ēn → ḥāšītēn	'two margins'
zāwye	'corner'	+ -ēn → zāwītēn	'two corners'
ṭāwle	'table'	+ -ēn → ṭāwᵊltēn	'two tables'
məšᵊmše	'apricot'	+ -ēn → məšməštēn	'two apricots'

With reduction of -iyye(t) to -īt- and -uwwe(t) to -ūt- [p. 166]:

Ɛamaliyye	'operation'	+ -ēn → Ɛamalītēn	'two operations'
hdiyye	'gift'	+ -ēn → hdītēn	'two gifts'
ʔuwwe	'power'	+ -ēn → ʔūtēn	'two powers'

Note also the following exceptional forms involving the base-formative -e/-a: luġa 'language' + -ēn → luġatēn, riʔa 'lung' + -ēn → riʔatēn 'two lungs', žiha 'direction' + -ēn → žihatēn or žīhtēn [cf. p. 169]; mubārā 'match, competition' + -ēn → mubārāytēn, veranda 'balcony' + -ēn → verandāytēn.

Nouns ending in the suffix -āt, e.g. ṣalāṭ 'prayer' ʔadāt 'instrument', ḥayāt '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: Ɛarūs 'bride' + -ēn → Ɛarūstēn, dəkkān 'shop' + -ēn → dəkkāntēn, Ɛēn 'eye' + -ēn → Ɛēntēn. (The forms Ɛēnēn 'eyes', ʔəžrēn 'feet', etc. are used as plurals, not as duals [p. 367].)

Stem-final i or u in nouns of Patterns FaƐL [p. 140] and FəƐL [142] become y or w, respectively, before -ēn:

Ɛəḍu	'member'	+ -ēn → Ɛəḍwēn	'two members'
žaru	'pup, cub'	+ -ēn → žarwēn	'two cubs
žədi	'kid' (goat)	+ -ēn → žədyēn	'two kids'
raʔi	'opinion'	+ -ēn → raʔyēn	'two opinions'
ṣabi	'boy'	+ -ēn → ṣabyēn[1]	'two boys'

With most other nouns ending in a vowel, -y- is added before -ēn; and a vowel a or i is usually lengthened (giving -āy-, -iyy-):

kīlo	'kilogram'	+ -ēn → kīloyēn	'two kilograms'
məstašfa	'hospital'	+ -ēn → məstašfāyēn	'two hospitals'
šakwa	'complaint'	+ -ēn → šakwāyēn	'two complaints'
kərsi	'chair'	+ -ēn → kərsiyyēn	'two chairs'
wādi	'valley'	+ -ēn → wādiyyēn	'two valleys'
maƐna	'meaning'	+ -ēn → maƐnāyēn	'two meanings'
waṣi	'guardian'	+ -ēn → waṣiyyēn	'two guardians'
muddəƐi	'claimant'	+ -ēn → muddaƐiyyēn	'two claimants'

Some defective nouns of active participial patterns [258ff] tend to have only -y- (rather than -iyy-) before -ēn: rāƐi 'shepherd, keeper' + -ēn → rāƐyēn (or rāƐiyyēn, muḥāmi 'lawyer, defense attourney' + -ēn → muḥāmyēn (or muḥāmiyyēn). [Cf. p. 204 .]

PLURAL SUFFIXES (al-žamƐ s-sālim, Sound or External Plurals)

There are three suffixes used in forming noun plurals: -īn, -e/-a, and -āt.

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: kəlme 'word' + -āt → kəlmāt, sāƐa 'hour' + -āt → sāƐāt, sane 'year' + -īn → snīn [213].

---

[1] Note that ṣabi is in some respects treated as a defective noun on Pattern FaƐīl [p. 149]: the feminal derivative [304] is ṣabiyye 'girl' (not "ṣabye"). One may also sometimes hear ṣabiyyēn 'two boys', ṣabīhon 'their boy' (for ṣabyēn, ṣabihon).

If the singular of a defective [p.43] noun ends in -a, -ā, or -āt, these endings are changed to -aw- or -ay- when a plural suffix is attached: sama 'sky' + -āt → samawāt, banna 'builder' + -īn → bannayīn, mubārā 'match, competition' + -āt → mubārayāt, ṣalāṭ 'prayer' + -āt, → ṣalawāt. -aw- is used if the noun's pattern is simple [46] and the final radical is w: ?adāt 'device' + -āt → ?adawāt; -ay- is used otherwise: wafāt 'death, demise' + -āt → wafayāt, muštašfa + -āt → mustašfayāt.

If the singular ends in the formative -i [p.281], this formative is lengthened to -iyy- before a plural suffix: labnāni 'Lebanese' + -īn → labnāniyyīn, ḥarāmi 'thief' + -e/-a → ḥaramiyye.

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: manṭo 'coat' + -āt → manṭoyāt, zakra 'remembrance' + -āt → zakriyāt, babbu or bēbē 'baby' + -āt → babbiyāt or bēbiyāt (respectively). More rarely, h is used instead of y before the suffix: māyō 'bathing suit' + -āt → māyohāt (or māyoyāt).

Examples of irregular base modifications: Ɛazzābi 'batchelor' + -īn → Ɛazzābīn; Ɛarḍ 'bid, offer' + -āt → Ɛrūḍāt; ?amm 'mother' + -āt → ?ammahāt (but also regular ?ammāt); rfī? 'companion' + -āt → rafa?āt (but absolute form [p.455] also rafa?a); ṭarī? 'road, way' + -āt → ṭar?āt (but also ṭaro?); ?axx 'brother' and ?axt 'sister' + -āt → ?axwāt 'brothers and/or sisters'.

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p.28], e or o before a stem-final consonant is dropped when a pluralizing suffix is added: mƐallem 'teacher' + -īn → mƐallmīn, mnabbeh 'alarm-clock' + -āt → mnabbhāt, xānom 'lady, miss' + -āt → xānmāt. There are certain classicisms, however, in which the vowel is not dropped, but is changed to i or u or ə: kā?en 'being' + -āt → kā?ināt, ṭaṣawwor 'imagining, picturing' + -āt → ṭaṣawwurāt or ṭaṣawwərāt. (All Pattern taFaƐƐoL or taFāƐoL gerunds are like ṭaṣawwor 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 i or u, or ə (or sometimes a): mubarrer 'justification, excuse' + -āt → mubarrirāt (or mubarrarāt) [p.29].

The Suffix -īn 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 FāƐeL [131]:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
mƐallem 'teacher'.....mƐallmīn		mulḥaq 'attaché'......mulḥaqīn	
mwaẓẓaf 'employee'....mwaẓẓafīn		mhandes 'engineer'.....mhandsīn	
mlākem 'boxer'.......mlākmīn		mtaržem 'translator'...mtaržmīn	
maslem 'Moslem'......məs∂lmīn		mandūb 'delegate'....mandūbīn	

Most nouns of the simple active participial pattern FāƐeL have internal plurals [p.218]: Ɛāmel 'worker', pl. Ɛəmmāl; ?ātel 'killer', pl. ?ətala; ?āḍi 'judge', pl. ?aḍāt; ṣāḥeb 'friend', pl. ṣḥāb, etc. Some, however, have plurals in -īn, either exclusively or in addition to an external plural: lāže? 'refugee', pl. lāž?īn; in general, the -īn plural with these bases is a sign of adjectival [207] or "true participial" [265] use, as opposed to true substantival use.

2.) With most occupational nouns of the pattern FaƐƐāL [p.305] (but see also -e/-a, (3), below):

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
naǰǰār 'carpenter'...naǰǰārīn		mallāk 'proprietor'...mallākīn	
kazzāb 'liar'........kazzābīn		fallāḥ 'peasant'......fallāḥīn	
ṭabbāx 'cook'........ṭabbāxīn		ṣayyād 'hunter'.......ṣayyādīn	
xayyāṭ 'tailor'......xayyāṭīn		banna 'builder'......bannāyīn	

The suffix -īn is also used with a few nouns of other patterns: sane 'year', pl. snīn; Ɛaduww 'enemy', pl. Ɛaduwwīn.

See also pseudo-dual -ēn, [p.367].

The Suffix -e/-a is used for the plural:

1.) With nouns ending in the suffix -ži [p.306]:

bōyaži 'bootblack'...bōyažiyye		?ahwaži 'coffeehouse keeper'.?ahwažiyye	
xədarži 'greengrocer'.xədaržiyye		Ɛarbaži 'carriage driver'....Ɛarbažiyye	
kəndarži 'cobbler'.....kəndaržiyye		ballorži 'glass maker'........balloržiyye	

2.) With many nouns ending in the formative -i [p.280], and a few ending in radical i:

ḥarāmi	'thief',.........ḥaramiyye	ɛazzābi	'batchelor'.....ɛazzābiyye
sankari	'tinsmith'......sankariyye	frənsāwi	'frenchman'.....frənsawiyye
bawāyki	'chandler'......bawāykiyye	ləbnāni	'Lebanese'......ləbnāniyye
taḥarri	'detective'.....taḥarriyye	wāwi	'jackal'........wāwiyye

Some of these may also have plural -īn: frənsawiyyīn, ləbnāniyyīn, ɛazzābīn [213], etc.
A few nouns have no -i in the singular, but have -iyye in the plural: ˌəxtyār 'old man', pl. ʔəxtyāriyye; šofōr 'chaffeur', pl. šofōriyye.

3.) With many occupational nouns of the pattern FaɛɛāL [p.305]:

daḥḥāḥ	'painter'.......daḥḥāne	ɛattāl	'porter'........ɛattāle
sammān	'grocer'........sammāne	baḥḥār	'sailor'........baḥḥāra
farrāš	'bellboy'.......farrāše	ṣarrāf	'moneychanger'..ṣarrāfe

4.) With substantivized adjectives of the pattern FaɛɛīL [p.129]:

šaġġīl	'(good) worker'..šaġġīle	ballīf	'bluffer'..........ballīfe
šarrīb	'heavy drinker'..šarrībe	rakkīd	'(good) runner'.....rakkīde

The Suffix -āt is the most common and productive of all noun pluralizers. It is regularly used with certain kinds of derivatives, and commonly also with other nouns of various patterns.

1.) With feminal derivatives [p.304]:

Singular		Plural	(Derived from:)
xāle	'(maternal)aunt'...........xālāt	xāl	'(maternal)uncle'
mɛallme	'(female) teacher'.........mɛallmāt	mɛallem	'(male)teacher'
ʔanglīziyye	'Englishwoman'............ʔanglīziyyāt	ʔanglīzi	'Englishman'
xayyāṭa	'seamstress, dressmaker'...xayyāṭāt	xayyāṭ	'tailor'
kalbe	'female dog, bitch'.......kalbāt	kalb	'dog'

The plural suffix -āt with human and animal designations is by no means reserved for the female sex, however, Note ʔabbāt 'fathers', xawāžāt 'gentlemen', ʔamiralāt 'admirals' ʔəxwāt 'brothers and/or sisters', zbūnāt 'customers (male and/or female)', etc. (The last example stands in spite of the derivative zbūne '(female) customer' from zbūn '(male) customer', and the alternative plural zabāyen.)

2.) With singulatives [p.297]:

Singular		Plural	(Derived from:)	
taffāḥa	'an apple'.............taffāḥāt	Collective taffāḥ	'apple(s)'
kūsāye	'a (zucchini) squash'..kūsayāt	Collective kūsa	'squash'
žāže	'a chicken, a hen'.....žāžāt	Collective žāž	'chicken(s)'
darbe	'a blow, a stroke'.....darbāt	Gerund darb	'hitting, striking'
ɛaṭṣa	'a sneeze'............ɛaṭṣāt	Gerund ɛaṭ°ṣ	'sneezing'
maṭar	'a rain'.............maṭarāt	Ger.(or Col.)maṭar 'rain'
nabāt	'a plant'............nabatāt	Ger.(or Col.)nabāt 'vegetation'
zyāra	'a visit'............zyārāt	Gerund zyāra	'visiting'

Some unit nouns also have internal plurals: warde 'a flower', pl. wardāt or wrūd(e); ḥabbe 'a pill'; pl. ḥabbāt or ḥbūb, etc. See p.367.

3.) With concretized gerunds [p.284] of Patterns III-X [293]:

		Singular	Plural	(Derived from:)
Pat. III	mġāmara	'venture, adventure'..mġāmarāt	tġāmar	'to venture'
IV	ʔaɛlān	'announcement,notice'.ʔaɛlānāt	ʔaɛlan	'to announce'
IV	ʔizāɛa	'broadcast'...........ʔizāɛāt	ʔazāɛ	'to broadcast'
V	taṣawwor	'visualization'.......taṣawwarāt	tṣawwar	'to visualize'
VI	tažāwoz	'passing, exceeding'..tažāwazāt	tžāwaz	'to pass, exceed'
VII	ʔansiḥāb	'retreat, withdrawal'.ʔansiḥābāt	nsaḥab	'to withdraw'
VIII	ʔaxtirāɛ	'invention'...........ʔaxtirāɛāt	xtaraɛ	'to invent'
X	ʔastəsmār	'investment, profit'..ʔastəsmārāt	stasmar	'to exploit, invest'

[Ch. 8

Plurals in -āt are also common with nouns of Gerundial Pattern II (taFⵔīL): ṭaṣlīḥ 'repair, correction', pl. ṭaṣlīḥāt, etc., but some have internal plurals (Pattern taFaⵔīL [p. 228]): tadbīr 'preparation', pl. tadabīr.

4.) With inanimate nouns having any of the augmented participial patterns [p. 134]:

Singular		Plural
mġallaf	'envelope'	mġallafāt
mnabbeh	'alarm clock'	mnabbḥāt
məṣṭálaḥ	'term, expression'	məṣṭalaḥāt
məntázah	'park'	məntazahāt
məstašfa	'hospital'	məstašfayāt

5.) With hollow [p. 44] and geminate [p. 42] nouns having other patterns with prefix m [pp. 153-156]:

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
mažāl	'space, room'	mažālāt	maṭār	'airport'	maṭārāt
mamarr	'passageway'	mamarrāt	mḥaṭṭa	'station'	mḥaṭṭāt
mⵔaṣṣ	'scissors'	mⵔaṣṣāt	mrāye	'mirror'	mrāyāt
maḍafe	'reception room'	maḍāfāt			

6.) With most nouns in a variety of other patterns, e.g. FaⵔāLe [146], FaⵔⵔāLe [152], F(i)ⵔāL(e) [147], F(u)ⵔūLe [151], ⵔiLa [158], etc.

wakāle	'agency'	wakālāt	ⵔyās	'measurement'	ⵔyāsāt
šahāde	'certificate'	šahādāt	ḥsāb	'account'	ḥsābāt
ḥkūme	'government'	ḥkūmāt	xzāne	'closet, cupboard'	xzānāt
sⵔūbe	'difficulty'	sⵔūbāt	wilāye	'state'	wilāyāt
barake	'blessing'	barakāt	sayyāra	'automobile'	sayyārāt
ṭabaⵔa	'class, level'	ṭabaⵔāt	maḥḥāye	'eraser'	maḥḥāyāt
sāⵔa	'hour'	sāⵔāt	žiha	'direction'	žihāt
ṭābe	'ball'	ṭābāt	ṣila	'connection'	ṣilāt

7.) With most nouns ending in -iyye:

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
ⵔamaliyye	'operation'	ⵔamaliyyāt	ḥanafiyye	'faucet'	ḥanafiyyāt
žəmhuriyye	'republic'	žəmhuriyyāt	tamsiliyye	'play, drama'	tamsiliyyāt
kəlliyye	'college'	kəlliyyāt	niyye	'aim, goal'	niyyāt

Some nouns of the patterns FaⵔLiyye and FəⵔLiyye, however, have plurals of Pattern FaⵔāLi [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:

bābor	'steamship'	bāborāt	ⵔotēl	'hotel'	ⵔotēlāt
ⵔamirāl	'admiral'	ⵔamirālāt	xawāža	'gentleman'	xawāžāt
ⵔadrēs	'address'	ⵔadrēsāt	trēn	'train'	trēnāt
bēbē	'baby'	bēbiyāt	banṭalōn	'trousers'	banṭalōnāt
bəsⵔklēt	'bicycle'	bəsⵔklētāt	bānyo	'bathtub'	bānyoyāt

In addition to the types of nouns listed above, the plural suffix -āt is used with many nouns of many other types. For example:

nahfe	'joke'	nahfāt	ⵔabb	'father'	ⵔabbāt
marra	'a time'	marrāt	ⵔaẓān	'water heater'	ⵔaẓānāt
žāmⵔa	'university'	žāmⵔāt	bīkār	'compass'	bīkarāt
buḥayra	'lake'	buḥayrāt	təzkār	'souvenir'	təzkārāt
taržame	'translation'	taržamāt	tayyār	'current'	tayyarāt
kōme	'pile, heap'	kōmāt	ḥēwān	'animal'	ḥēwānāt
məⵔžize	'miracle'	məⵔžizāt	sabaⵔ	'race'	sabaⵔāt
ġāl	'lock'	ġālāt	kāⵔen	'being'	kāⵔināt

[Ch. 8]

INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS
(al-ǧamε l-mukassar, Broken or Internal Plurals)

A large proportions of Arabic nouns are pluralized by changing the base pattern, for example sg. *kalb* 'dog': pl. *klāb* 'dogs'; sg. *hdiyye* 'gift': pl. *hadāya* 'gifts'; sg. *ktāb* 'book': pl. *kətob* or *kətᵃb* 'books'.

There are many different pluralizing patterns. Some of them are used more or less exclusively for plurals (e.g. Patterns *FəεoL*, as in *kətob*), while others are common also as singular patterns (e.g. Pattern *FεāL*, as in pl. *klāb* 'dogs' and in sg. *ktāb* '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 *FεāL*

Most nouns with this plural pattern have singular patterns *FaεL*, *FəεL*, or *FaεaL*.

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
kaεᵃb	'heel'	*kεāb*	*kətᵃf*	'shoulder'	*ktāf*
ḍabᵃε	'hyena'	*ḍbāε*	*rabᵃε*	'fourth, quarter'	*rbāε*
waʔᵃt	'time'	*wʔāt*	*kəbᵃš*	'ram'	*kbāš*
ṣōṭ	'voice, sound'	*ṣwāṭ*	*zərr*	'button'	*zrār*
tōr	'bull, ox'	*twār*	*sənn*	'tooth'	*snān*
raʔbe	'neck'	*rʔāb*	*kūε*	'elbow'	*kwāε*
ḍaffe	'bank, side'	*ḍfāf*	*kīs*	'bag'	*kyās*

Singular		Plural
walad	'children'	*wlād*
ʔalam	'pencil, pen'	*ʔlām*
ǧabal	'mountain'	*ǧbāl*
bāb	'door'	*bwāb*
waraʔ(a)	'paper, leaf' [p. 369]	*wrāʔ*
ṣāḥeb	'friend'	*ṣḥāb*
rəǧǧāl	'man'	*rǧāl*

Pattern *FεāL* is not generally used for nouns with a final radical semivowel. Note, however, the modifications of this pattern in *ʔuḍāt* 'judges' (sg. *ʔāḍi*) and *ǧuzāt* 'conquerors' (sg. *ǧāzi*), and *ləḥe* (suf. form *ləḥā-*) 'beards' (sg. *ləḥye*). [Cf. p. 147.]

This pattern is not used for nouns with medial radical *y* whose singular is on Pattern *FaεL* (e.g. *ṭēr* 'bird').

Colloquial plurals in *FεāL* correspond to Classical Patterns *FiεāL* and *ʔaFεāL*. The latter, however, also occurs in Colloquial (see below).

PATTERN *ʔaFεāL*

Almost all nouns with this plural have singular patterns *FaεL*, *FəεL*, or *FaεaL*.

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
šaxṣ	'person'	*ʔašxāṣ*	*ḥəzb*	'(political) party'	*ʔaḥzāb*
waḍᵃε	'situation'	*ʔawḍāε*	*xabar*	'news'	*ʔaxbār*
səεᵃr	'price'	*ʔasεār*	*sabab*	'cause'	*ʔasbāb*
ǧəzᵃʔ	'part'	*ʔažzāʔ*	*εamal*	'work, deed'	*ʔaεmāl*
māl	'wealth, property'	*ʔamwāl*	*εīd*	'holiday'	*ʔaεyād*
ḥāl	'situation'	*ʔaḥwāl*	*žīl*	'generation'	*ʔažyāl*
lōn	'color'	*ʔalwān*	*nūr*	'light'	*ʔanwār*

Unlike Pattern *FεāL* (above), Pattern *ʔaFεāL* is used for some nouns that have a final radical semivowel, represented in this pattern by *ʔ*: *ʔaεḍāʔ* members': sg. *εaḍu*; *ʔažwāʔ* 'atmosphere, air': sg. *žaww*. Note also *ʔasmā* 'names': Root s–m–y but singular *ʔəsᵃm*. The plural of *šī* 'thing' is generally defective: *ʔašya* 'things' (but there is also the sound form *ʔašyāʔ* (and singular *šēʔ*).

Quite a few nouns have plurals that vacilate between *ʔaFεāL* and *FεāL*: *ʔawʔāt* or *wʔāt* 'times', *ʔaṣwāṭ* or *ṣwāṭ* 'voices, noises', etc. Pattern *ʔaFεāL* in such cases sounds more "Classical", and *FεāL*, more dialectal.

The word *yōm* 'day' has a classisizing plural *ʔayyām*, and the more colloquial *ʔiyyām* (which loses its *ʔ* after a numeral: *xamst iyyām* 'five days' [p. 171]).

The plural of *raʔi* 'opinion' is *ʔārāʔ*, and one plural of *bīr* 'well' is *ʔābār*. (The first *a* is lengthened, instead of there being *ʔ* or *y* before the second *ā*.)

PATTERN FƐūL

Most nouns of this pattern have singular patterns FaƐL or FəƐL.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ʔaṣᵊl 'origin'	ʔṣūl	kaff 'glove'	kfūf
žahᵊd 'effort'	žhūd	xaṭṭ 'line'	xṭūṭ
žəfᵊn 'eyelid'	žfūn	xēṭ 'thread'	xyūṭ
ʔərᵊš 'piastre'	ʔrūš	Ɛēn 'eye'	Ɛyūn
damƐa 'tear'	dmūƐ	žēbe 'pocket'	žyūb
malek 'king'	mlūk		

This pattern is not used for nouns with final radical semivowels, nor with medial w. The noun rās 'head' has the hollow plural form rūs 'heads'. The singular of wžūh 'faces, surfaces', is generally pronounced wəšš in the sense 'face', though the classicising form wažᵊh is generally used for 'surface'.

The classicising Pattern FuƐūL is used for some nouns: ḥuʔūʔ 'rights' (sg. ḥaʔʔ), žuyūš 'armies' (sg. žēš), Ɛuṣūr 'ages' (sg. Ɛaṣᵊr).

PATTERN FƐūLe

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns FaƐL or FəƐL. Most may also have the plural without -e/-a: FƐūL.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
baṇk 'bank'	bnūk(e)	ward(e) 'flower[ ]'	wrūd(e)
bahᵊr 'sea'	bḥūr(a)	nəsᵊr 'vulture'	nsūr(a)
žəsᵊr 'bridge'	žsūr(a)	ḥall 'solution'	ḥlūl(e)
ʔənn 'chicken coop'	ʔnūne	dīk 'cock, rooster'	dyūk(e)
məhᵊr 'colt'	mhūra	tēs 'billy goat'	tyūs(e)

Like Pattern FƐūL, this pattern is not used with final radical semivowel or medial w.

On construct forms, see p. 164.

PATTERN FəƐL

Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially Patterns F(a)ƐīL(e) and FƐāL(e).

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ʔšāṭ 'belt'	ʔəšᵊt	ḥaṣīre 'mat'	ḥaṣᵊr
lḥāf 'blanket'	ləhᵊf	safīne 'ship'	səfᵊn
ktāb 'book'	kətᵊb	gdīš 'horse, nag'	gədᵊš
Ɛaṣāye 'stick, cane'	Ɛəṣi	zalame 'man'	zəlᵊm
Ɛabāye 'abaya'	Ɛəbi	walad 'children, descendant'	wəld

PATTERN FəƐoL

Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially FƐāL and FaƐīL(e):

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
bsāṭ 'rug'	bəṣoṭ	ṭarīʔ 'road'	ṭəroʔ
ʔasās 'foundation'	ʔəsos	sabīl 'way'	səbol
niẓām 'system'	nəẓom	madīne 'city'	mədon
ktāb 'book'	kətob	rasūl 'apostle'	rəsol

Some nouns (e.g. ktāb 'book', safīne 'ship') vacilate between Patterns FəƐoL and FəƐL in the plural. With suffixes the difference between the two patterns disappears, since o is dropped or changed to ᵊ [p. 28].

PATTERN FəƐaL

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern FaƐLe:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
nəʔṭa 'point'	nəʔaṭ	ḥīle 'trick'	ḥiyal
bərke 'pools'	bərak	līfe 'fiber brush'	liyaf
rətbe 'rank'	rətab	ṣūra 'picture'	ṣuwar
šəffe 'lip'	šəfaf	ʔūḍa 'room'	ʔuwaḍ

The first pattern vowel (ə) becomes i before y, and u before w and in certain classicisms: ʔumam 'nations' (sg. ʔumme).

This pattern is also used for some nouns (especially hollow ones) of singular pattern *FaƐLe:*

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
xēme 'tent'	*xiyam*	*šōke* 'fork'	*šuwak*
dawle 'nation, state'	*duwal*	*šanta* 'bag, suitcase'	*šənat*

PATTERN *FəƐaLa*

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings. Many are substantivized adjectives [Cf.p.206], and most have the singular pattern *F(a)ƐīL.*

šrīk 'partner'	*šəraka*	*faƷīr* 'poor, indigent'	*fəƷara*
raƷīs 'chief, head'	*rəƷasa*	*Ʒadīb* 'literary scholar'	*Ʒədaba*
baxīl 'miser'	*bəxala*	*šāƐer* 'poet'	*šəƐara*
xabīr 'expert'	*xəbara*	*Ɛālem* 'scholar, scientist'	*Ɛəlama*
wazīr 'minister'	*wəzara*		

Pattern *FəƐaLa* is not used with medial or final radical semivowel. Note, however, the form *mudara* 'directors' (sg. *mudīr*, root *d–w–r*).

PATTERNS *ƷəFƐoL, ƷaFƐoL*

Most nouns with these patterns have singular pattern *FaƐL.*

šahᵊr 'month'	*Ʒəšhor, Ʒašhor*	*saṭᵊr* 'line'(of writing)	*Ʒasṭor*
sahᵊm 'share'(of stock)	*Ʒəshom, Ʒashom*	*nafs* 'persons, selves'	*Ʒanfos*
nahᵊr 'river'	*Ʒənhor, Ʒanhor*	*ḍrāƐ* 'cubits'	*ƷaḍroƐ*
ḥarf 'letter' (alphabet)	*Ʒəḥrof, Ʒaḥrof*	*lsān* 'tongue, talk'	*Ʒəlson*

The *ƷəFƐoL* forms (but not the *ƷaFƐoL* forms) commonly lose their initial *Ʒ* after the numerals, and the numerals have connective *t: xamstᵊ́nhor* 'five rivers' (or *xams Ʒənhor, xams Ʒanhor*). The forms without *Ʒ* (and with connective *t*) are obligatory after numerals for *Ʒašhor, Ʒanfos,* and *ƷaḍroƐ.* See p.171.

PATTERNS *ƷəFᵊƐLe, ƷaFƐiLe*

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
rġīf 'loaf'	*Ʒərᵊġfe*	*wisām* 'medal'	*Ʒawsime*
ḥṣān 'horse'	*Ʒəhᵊṣne*	*niẓām* 'system'	*Ʒanẓime*
ṣahᵊr 'brother-in-law'	*Ʒəṣᵊhra*	*suƷāl* 'question'	*Ʒasʔile*
dawa 'medicine'	*Ʒədᵊwye*	*dmāġ* 'brain'	*Ʒadmiġa*
ḍaww 'light'	*Ʒəḍᵊwye*	*raṣīd* 'balance, remainder'	*Ʒarṣide*
Ʒanāye 'irrigation ditch'	*Ʒaᵊʔnye*	*Ʒimām* 'imam'	*ƷaƷimme*
hawa 'air, breeze'	*Ʒəhuye*	*šƐāƐ* 'ray'	*ƷašiƐƐa*

Note also: *Ʒaṭabba* or *Ʒaṭabba* 'physicians' (sg. *ṭabīb*), *Ʒadəlle* 'indications' (sg. *dalīl*).

Pattern *ƷaFƐiLe* is the classicising version of the more colloquial *ƷəFᵊƐLe.*

Some plurals of pattern *ƷəFᵊƐLe* lose their initial *Ʒ* after numerals (with connective *t*) [p.171]; obligatorily in the case of *Ʒərᵊġfe: xamstᵊ́rᵊġfe* 'five loaves'; optionally for *Ʒəhᵊṣne, Ʒəṣᵊhra, Ʒəžᵊhze* (pl. of *žihāz* 'set') *Ʒaᵊṣfe* (pl. of *rṣīf* 'sidewalk').

PATTERN *FəƐƐāL*

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings; almost all have the singular pattern *FāƐeL.*

tāžer 'merchant'	*təžžār*	*zāyer* 'visitor'	*zuwwār*
Ɛāmel 'worker'	*Ɛəmmāl*	*nāƷeb* 'representative'	*nuwwāb*
rākeb 'passenger'	*rəkkāb*	*ḥāyek* 'weaver'	*ḥiyyāk*
ẓābeṭ 'officer'	*ẓəbbāṭ*	*sāyes* 'groom'	*siyyās*
ḥakam 'umpire'	*ḥəkkām*	*ḥažž,* 'pilgrim'(Msl.)	*ḥəžžāž*
		ḥažži	

The first pattern vowel (*ə*) becomes *u* before medial radical *w,* and *i* before *y.*

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowels.

PATTERN *FəᴇLān*

Singular		Plural
ʔamīṣ	'shirt'	*ʔəmṣān*
ṣabi	'boys'	*ṣəbyān*
xalīž	'gulf'	*xəlžān*
rāᴇi	'shepherd'	*rəᴇyān*
rāheb	'monks'	*rəhbān*
blād	'country'	*bəldān*
ġazāl	'gazelle'	*ġəzlān*
wādi	'valley'	*wədyān*

Singular		Plural
gadaᴇ	'brave fellow'	*gədᴇān*
žār	'neighbor'	*žīrān*
fār(a)	'mouse'	*fīrān*
sāʕ	'leg'	*sīʔān*
ṣūṣ	'chick'	*ṣīṣān*
ġūl	'ghoul'	*ġīlān, ġūlān*
xēṭ	'thread'	*xīṭān*
hēṭ	'wall'	*hīṭān*

The first pattern vowel (*ə*) generally combines with a medial radical semivowel to produce *ī*; note, however, the form *ġūlān* (also *ġīlān*), and the shortened *i* in *hiṭān* (and optionally also in *xiṭān/xīṭān*).

The singular patterns of these nouns are various, but do not include sound patterns *FaᴇL* and *FəᴇL*.

PATTERN *Faᴇāli*

Most nouns with pattern have singular stem pattern *FaᴇL* or *FəᴇL*, usually plus a suffix *-e/-a*, *-a*, *-āye*, or *-iyye*.

ʔarḍ	'land'	*ʔarāḍi*
ʔahᵊl	'family'	*ʔahāli*
ʔəsᵊm	'name'	*ʔasāmi*
lēl(e)	'night'	*layāli*
ʔahwe	'cafe'	*ʔahāwi*
ʔərne	'corner, part'	*ʔarāni*
ᴇərwe	'buttonhole'	*ᴇarāwi*
kəlwe	'kidney'	*kalāwi*

šakwa	'complaint'	*šakāwi*
šanta	'suitcase'	*šanāti*
ʔəntāye	'female'	*ʔanāti*
šamsiyye	'umbrella'	*šamāsi*
barriyye	'desert, country'	*barāri*
ṣədriyye	'vest'	*ṣaḍāri*
ġənniyye	'song'	*ġanāni*

Note also *maṣāri* 'money', whose singular *məṣriyye* is seldom used.

When the final radical is *y*, the last pattern vowel is *a* instead of *i*:

Singular		Plural
hdiyye	'gift'	*hadāya*
xaṭiyye	'sin'	*xaṭāya*
ʔaḍiyye	'case'	*ʔaḍāya*

Singular		Plural
zāwye	'corner'	*zawāya*
hayye	'snake'	*hayāya*
žədi	'kid'	*žadāya*

The noun *ġanniyye* 'song', however, has the plural *ġanāni*, as if its root were *ġ-n-n* and its pattern *FəᴇLiyye* (whereas its root is actually *ġ-n-y* and its pattern *FəᴇᴇīLe*.)

QUADRILITERAL-TYPE PLURAL PATTERNS

The true quadriradical patterns are *FaᴇāLeL*, *FaᴇāLLe*, and *FaᴇaLīL*[1]. The pseudo-quadriradical patterns are *Faᴇāyel*, *FawāᴇeL*, *maFāᴇeL*, *ʔaFāᴇeL*, *FawaᴇīL*, *FaᴇaᴇīL*, *maFaᴇīL*, *taFaᴇīL*, and *ʔaFaᴇīL*.

All these patterns reduce to three (as represented by the true quadriradicals, or by the formulae $C_1aC_2\bar{a}C_3eC_4$, $C_1aC_2\bar{a}C_3C_4e$, and $C_1aC_2aC_3\bar{i}C_4$). In general, the pattern with *ī* 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 *e* in the last syllable is used for most other quadriradicals and other triradicals of several kinds.

PATTERN *FaᴇāyeL*

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.

bḍāᴇa	'merchandise'	*baḍāyeᴇ*
xzāne	'closet'	*xazāyen*
ḍfīre	'braid'	*ḍafāyer*
knīse	'church'	*kanāyes*
haʔīʔa	'truth'	*haʔāyeʔ*
xarīṭa	'map'	*xarāyeṭ*
zbūn	'customer'	*zabāyen*

ᴇažūz	'old person'	*ᴇažāyez*
fḍīha	'scandal'	*faḍāyeh*
natīže	'result'	*natāyež*
sigāra	'cigarette'	*sagāyer*
žnēne	'garden'	*žanāyen*
kənne	'sister-in-law'	*kanāyen*
wāṣṭa	'mediator'	*waṣāyeṭ*

This pattern is not used with medial or final radical semivowels.

---

[1] 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.

PATTERN *Fawāƹel*

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.

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
žāmeƹ	'mosque'	*žawāmeƹ*	*bāyke*	'sheepfold'	*bawāyek*
bāƹes	'motive'	*bawāƹes*	*žāyze*	'prize'	*žawāyez*
ħāžeb	'eyebrow'	*ħawāžeb*	*ṭāyfe*	'sect'	*ṭawāyef*
šāreƹ	'street'	*šawāreƹ*	*rīħa*	'smell'	*rawāyeħ*
bāxra	'steamship'	*bawāxer*	*ħāšye*	'margin'	*ħawāši*
ʔāƹde	'base'	*ʔawāƹed*	*xābye*	'jar'	*xawābi*
ħādse	'accident'	*ħawādes*	*ḍāħye*	'outskirt, suburb'	*ḍawāħi*
ʔādami	'nice person'	*ʔawādem*	*nādi*	'club'	*nawādi*
yāxūr	'stable'	*yawāxer*	*ʔamᵊr*	'order'	*ʔawāmer*

Geminate forms: *mawādd* 'materials' (sg. *mādde*), *ħawāss* 'senses' (sg. *ħāsse*), *dawābb* 'pack animals' (sg. *dābbe*), *ƹawāmm* 'masses' (sg. *ƹāmme*)

PATTERN *Fawaƹīl* (and *Fawāƹīl*)

Nouns with this pattern have singulars with long vowels after both the first and middle consonants.

xārūf	'lamb'	*xawarīf*	*bābōr*	'steamship'	*bawabīr*
šākūš	'hammer'	*šawakīš*	*māƹōn*	'container'	*mawāƹīn*
xāzūʔ	'stake, pole'	*xawazīʔ*	*tārīx*	'date'	*tawarīx*
ṭāħūn	'mill'	*ṭawaħīn*	*žākēt*	'jacket'	*žawakīt*
nāƹūra	'water-wheel'	*nawaƹīr*	*ħēwān*	'animal'(fig.)[1]	*ħawawīn*
ʔīwān	'sitting room'	*ʔawawīn*	*ṣārūx*	'rocket'	*ṣawarīx*

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

PATTERN *Faƹaƹīl* (and *Faƹāƹīl*)

Almost all nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long middle consonant followed by a long vowel.

Singular	Plural	Singular		Plural
tannūra 'skirt'	*tananīr*	*sᵊnnāra*	'fish-hook'	*sananīr*
ħammām 'bath'	*ħamamīm*	*šᵊbbāk*	'window'	*šababīk*
dᵊkkān 'shop'	*dakakīn*	*ṣabbāṭ*	'pair of shoes'	*ṣababīṭ*
zᵊnnār 'belt'	*zananīr*	*ṭarrāħa*	'cushion'	*ṭararīħ*
sᵊkkīn 'knife'	*sakakīn*	*kabbūt*	'coat'	*kababīt*

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

The plural *danānīr* 'dinars' is anomalous, since the singular *dīnār* has a long *ī*, not a long *n*.

The rare pattern *FaƹāƹeL* is found in *salālem* 'ladders', whose singular is *sᵊllom* (also a rare pattern: *FᵊƹƹoL*).

PATTERN *maFāƹeL*

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern *maFƹaL(e)*.

mablaġ	'amount, sum'	*mabāleġ*	*madxane*	'chimney'	*madāxen*
maxbaz	'bakery'	*maxābez*	*mamša*	'corridor'	*mamāši*
madfaƹ	'cannon'	*madāfeƹ*	*maʔwa*	'shelter'	*maʔāwi*
maṭraħ	'place'	*maṭāreħ*	*mᵊnxol*	'sifter, sieve'	*manāxel*
maƹlaʔa	'spoon'	*maƹāleʔ*	*mūsem*	'season'	*mawāsem*
maƹraka	'battle'	*maƹārek*	*mawhibe*	'talent'	*mawāheb*
masʔale	'matter'	*masāʔel*	*mᵊkwāye*	'(flat) iron'	*makāwi*
maṣlaħa	'interest'	*maṣāleħ*	*maṣlāye*	'trap'	*maṣāli*

A number of nouns with this pattern have no singular: *malāmeħ* '(facial) expression', *mažāhel* 'unknown regions', *maƹālem* 'salient features', *manāfeƹ* 'utilities', *maxāwef* 'fears', *maħāsen* 'advantages', etc. Note also *mašāyex* 'sheikhs' (cf. sg. *šēx*, regular pl. *šuyūx*).

---

[1] In the literal sense of 'animal', the plural *ħēwānāt* is used; *ħawawīn* is only used as a derrogatory term for people.

PATTERN $maFa\varepsilon\bar{\imath}L$ (and $maF\bar{a}\varepsilon\bar{\imath}L$)

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns $maF\varepsilon\bar{u}L$, $m\partial F\varepsilon\bar{a}L$.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
$makt\bar{u}b$ 'letter'	$makat\bar{\imath}b$	$m\partial ft\bar{a}\d{h}$ 'key'	$mafat\bar{\imath}\d{h}$
$ma\check{s}r\bar{u}\varepsilon$ 'project'	$ma\check{s}ar\bar{\imath}\varepsilon$	$m\partial\d{h}r\bar{a}t$ 'plow'	$ma\check{s}r\bar{u}\varepsilon$
$ma\d{s}r\bar{u}f$ 'expenditure'	$ma\d{s}ar\bar{\imath}f$	$m\partial zr\bar{a}b$ 'gutter'	$mazar\bar{\imath}b$
$maw\d{d}\bar{u}\varepsilon$ 'topic'	$mawa\d{d}\bar{\imath}\varepsilon$	$m\partial xt\bar{a}r$ 'elder'	$maxat\bar{\imath}r$

$m\bar{\imath}\varepsilon\bar{a}d$ 'appointment' ..... $mawa\varepsilon\bar{\imath}d$

$m\bar{\imath}z\bar{a}n$ 'scale balance' ... $mawaz\bar{\imath}n$ or $mayaz\bar{\imath}n$

PATTERN $taFa\varepsilon\bar{\imath}L$

Nouns with this pattern have singulars of the patterns $taF\varepsilon\bar{\imath}L$ or $t\partial F\varepsilon\bar{a}L$.

Singular	Plural
$tadb\bar{\imath}r$ 'arrangement, preparation'	$tadab\bar{\imath}r$
$ta\d{s}r\bar{\imath}\d{h}$ 'declaration'	$ta\d{s}ar\bar{\imath}\d{h}$
$taqr\bar{\imath}r$ 'report'	$taqar\bar{\imath}r$
$ta\d{s}m\bar{\imath}m$ 'design'	$ta\d{s}am\bar{\imath}m$
$t\partial ms\bar{a}l$ 'statue'	$tamas\bar{\imath}l$

PATTERNS $\vartheta aF\bar{a}\varepsilon eL$ and $\vartheta aF\bar{a}\varepsilon\bar{\imath}L$

$\d{d}\partial f^\partial r$	'(finger)nail'	$\vartheta a\d{d}\bar{a}fer$
$sw\bar{a}ra$	'bracelet'	$\vartheta as\bar{a}wer$
$wa\varepsilon a$	'garment'	$\vartheta aw\bar{a}\varepsilon i$ 'clothes'
$br\bar{\imath}\vartheta$	'jug'	$\vartheta abar\bar{\imath}\vartheta$
$sb\bar{u}\varepsilon$	'week'	$\vartheta as\bar{a}b\bar{\imath}\varepsilon$

Note, however, that $\vartheta abar\bar{\imath}\vartheta$ and $\vartheta as\bar{a}b\bar{\imath}\varepsilon$ would be considered quadriliteral pattern $Fa\varepsilon aL\bar{\imath}L$ if compared with the singular forms $\vartheta\partial sb\bar{u}\varepsilon$, $\vartheta\partial br\bar{\imath}\vartheta$.

PATTERN $Fa\varepsilon\bar{a}LeL$

Most nouns with this pattern have singular Patterns $Fa\varepsilon LaL$, $Fa\varepsilon LaLe$, $Fa\varepsilon LoL$, or $Fa\varepsilon^\partial LLe$.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
$\vartheta arnab$ 'rabbit'	$\vartheta ar\bar{a}neb$	$\varepsilon\partial n\d{s}or$ 'element'	$\varepsilon an\bar{a}\d{s}er$
$xan\check{z}ar$ 'daggar'	$xan\bar{a}\check{z}er$	$\vartheta\partial nfod$ 'hedgehog'	$\vartheta an\bar{a}fed$
$daftar$ 'notebook'	$daf\bar{a}ter$	$qan\d{s}ol$ 'consul'	$qan\bar{a}\d{s}el$
$\check{s}ar\check{s}af$ 'sheet'	$\check{s}ar\bar{a}\check{s}ef$	$falfol$ 'pepper' [p. 368]	$fal\bar{a}fel$
$tazkara$ 'ticket'	$taz\bar{a}ker$	$\d{d}\partial f\d{d}a\varepsilon a$ 'frog'	$\d{d}af\bar{a}\d{d}e\varepsilon$
$\d{t}an\check{z}ara$ 'pot'	$\d{t}an\bar{a}\check{z}er$	$z\partial l^\partial\d{h}fe$ 'tortoise'	$zal\bar{a}\d{h}ef$
$\vartheta armal(e)$'widow(er)'	$\vartheta ar\bar{a}mel$	$\check{z}\partial m^\partial\check{s}me$ 'skull'	$\check{z}am\bar{a}\check{s}em$
$b\bar{e}dar$ 'threshing floor'	$bay\bar{a}der$	$k\partial rsi$ 'chair'	$kar\bar{a}si$
$f\partial r\check{s}\bar{a}ye$ 'brush'	$far\bar{a}\check{s}i$	$\vartheta a\d{s}ba\varepsilon a$ 'finger'	$\vartheta a\d{s}\bar{a}be\varepsilon$

Note also $bar\bar{a}me\check{z}$ 'programs', whose five-consonant singular $b\partial rn\bar{a}me\check{z}$ loses its third radical in the plural.

PATTERN $Fa\varepsilon\bar{a}LLe$

(Pattern $Fa\varepsilon\bar{a}LLe$ consists of $Fa\varepsilon\bar{a}LeL$ plus the $-e/-a$ suffix [p. 28]).

This pattern is used only with certain nouns designating human beings. The singular patterns are various.

Singular		Plural
$dokt\bar{o}r$	'doctor'	$dak\bar{a}tra$
$\vartheta\partial st\bar{a}z$	'professor, teacher'	$\vartheta as\bar{a}tze$
$t\partial r\check{z}m\bar{a}n$	'interpreter-guide'	$tar\bar{a}\check{z}me$
$\dot{g}and\bar{u}r$	'dandy'	$\dot{g}an\bar{a}dra$
$b\bar{e}r\bar{u}ti$	'Beiruti'	$bay\bar{a}rte$
$dima\check{s}qi$	'Damascene'	$dam\bar{a}\check{s}qa$
$m\bar{a}r\bar{u}ni$	'Maronite'	$maw\bar{a}rne$

[Ch. 8]

Singular		Plural
fōʔāni	'upper'.......................	*fawāʔne* 'people living upstairs'
taḥtāni	'lower'.......................	*taḥātne* 'people living downstairs'
xūri	'priest'.......................	*xawārne*
ʔasʔof	'bishop'.......................	*ʔasāʔfe*
baṭrak	'patriarch'....................	*baṭārke*
məṭrān	'metropolitan, archbishop'....*maṭārne*

Note that *xūri* 'priest' takes on another consonant (*n*) in the plural, while *təržmān* 'dragoman' loses its ending –*ān*.

Note that the plural *malāyke* 'angels' (sg. *malak* or *malāk*) fits this pattern, but since its root (theoretically, at least) is *l-ʔ-k*, the plural pattern would have to be analyzed as *maFāƐLe*. (In any case the forms of this word are anomalous in one way or another).

On construct forms, see p. 164.

PATTERN *FaƐaLīL*

Almost all nouns with this pattern have a singular pattern with a long vowel before the last consonant.

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
ṣarṣūr	'cricket'.........	*ṣaraṣīr*	*bəstān*	'garden'.....	*basatīn*
barġūt	'flea'............	*baraġīt*	*barmīl*	'barrel'.....	*baramīl*
dastūr	'constitution'.....*dasatīr*.		*Ɛəfrīt, Ɛafrīt*	'demon'......	*Ɛafarīt*
sandūʔ	'box, chest'.......*sanadīʔ*		*təlmīz*	'student'....	*talamīz*
Ɛaṣfūr	'bird'............	*Ɛaṣafīr*	*žardōn*	'rat'........	*žaradīn*
Ɛənwān	'address'.........	*Ɛanawīn*	*balkōn*	'balcony'....	*balakīn*
fənžān	'cup'.............	*fanažīn*	*šēṭān*	'devil'......	*šayaṭīn*
kərbāž	'whip'............	*karabīž*	*bərnēṭa*	'hat'........	*baranīṭ*
rəsmāl	'capital'[ ]...*rasamīl*		*nišān*	'medal'......	*nayašīn*

Some nouns have a long second *a* (usually optional): *basātīn* 'gardens', *fanāžīn* 'cups', *šayāṭīn* 'devils'.

Note also the optional forms *ʔaṣābīƐ* (/*ʔaṣābeƐ*) 'fingers' (sg. *ʔəṣbaƐ* or *ʔəṣbaƐa*), *baranīṣ* (/*barāneṣ*) 'burnoose, bathrobe' (sg. *bərnoṣ*).

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel (see Pattern *FaƐāLeL*, above).

UNCOMMON PATTERNS

Pattern *FaƐīL*: *ḥamīr* 'donkeys' (sg. *ḥmār*), *Ɛabīd* 'slaves' (sg. *Ɛabd*)

Pattern *FāƐāL* (F = ʔ): *ʔādāb* 'culture, arts' (sg. *ʔadab*), *ʔāfāʔ* 'horizons' (sg. *ʔəfʔ*), *ʔālāf* 'thousands' (sg. *ʔalf*), *ʔāmāl* 'hopes' (sg. *ʔamal*)

Pattern *FƐāLe*: *fƐāle* 'laborer' (sg. *fāƐel*), *byāra* 'wells' (sg. *bīr*)

Pattern *FƐūLāt*: *ršūḥāt* 'colds' (sg. *raš*ʔ*ḥ*), *wṣūlāt* 'receipts' (sg. *waṣ*ʔ*l*), *lḥūmāt* 'meat hors-d'oeuvres' (no sing.)

CHAPTER 9: VERB DERIVATION

Index of Categories[1]

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.

.

---

[1] 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 (*nFaƐaL*) [p. 91]:

Active			Passive	
ġalab	'to beat, win'		*nġalab*	'to be beaten, to lose'
saməƐ	'to hear'		*nsamaƐ*	'to be heard'
šāf	'to see'		*nšāf*	'to be seen'
Ɛaṣa	'to disobey'		*nƐaṣa*	'to be disobeyed'

Pattern VIII (*FtaƐaL*) [95] forms the passive of quite a few simple verbs.

rata	'to mend'		*rtata*	'to be mended'
naˀal	'to transfer'		*ntaˀal*	'to be transferred, to move'
nəsi	'to forget'		*ntasa*	'to be forgotten'

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: *xtanaˀ* 'to choke' (intrans.), from *xanaˀ* 'to choke' (trans.).

Some active verbs of Patterns *FaƐaL, byaFƐeL* [p. 57] or *FaƐaL, byaFƐoL* [55] have passives on the pattern *FaƐeL, byaFƐaL* [71]:[1]

ˀatal, byaˀtol	'to kill'		*ˀatel, byaˀtal*	'to be killed'
taƐab, byatƐeb	'to tire' .... (trans.)		*taƐeb, byatƐab*	'to get tired'
raḍa, byarḍi	'to please, satisfy'	*raḍi, byarḍa*		'to be pleased, satisfied'

---

[1] In the case of *ˀatel, byaˀtal* 'to be killed', this colloquial pattern corresponds to a true internal passive in Classical Arabic: *qutila, yuqtalu.* (Note also the "impersonal" passive *ġami Ɛalē* 'he's fainted': Cl. *ġumiya Ɛalayhi.*) Most of these colloquial passives, however, correspond to Classical verbs of Pattern *FaƐiLa, yaFƐaLu.*

The passives of Pattern II(*FaƐƐaL*), Pattern III(*FāƐaL*), quadriradical (*FaƐLaL*), and pseudo-quadriradical verbs is formed by prefixation of *t* [p. 85] resulting in verbs of Patterns V(*tFaƐƐaL*) [86], VI(*tFāƐaL*) [88], *tFaƐLaL* [121], etc.:

Active		Passive	
kannas 'to sweep'	....	*tkannas*	'to be swept'
ˀāṣaṣ 'to punish'	....	*tˀāṣaṣ*	'to be punished'
tarǧam 'to translate'	......	*ttarǧam*	'to be translated'
sōdan 'to depress'	....	*tsōdan*	'to be depressed'

The irregular initial-weak verbs *ˀakal* 'to eat' and *ˀaxad* 'to take' [p. 56] have passives formed on Pattern VI: *ttākal* 'to be eaten', *ttāxad* 'to be taken' [90].[1] (Regular Pattern VII forms *nˀakal* and *nˀaxad* 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'; *sawwa* 'to cook, do' → *stawa* 'to be cooked, done'.

The verb *ntala* 'to get full, be filled' is generally considered an irregular Pattern VIII passive of *malla* 'to fill', with *n* in place of the initial radical *m.* (But note that some speakers have an active verb *talla* 'to fill' [Bart. 92], in view of which *ntala* would belong to Pattern VII.)

Occasionally passives are improvised by changing the stem vowels as in the Classical passive inflection (perfect *a...a* → *u...ə;* impf. *ə...e/o* → *u...a*): *nuqəlt mən yōmēn* 'I was transferred two days ago' (Cf. the more colloquial *ntaˀalt...* 'I was transferred...' or 'I moved...'). *l-mara ˀəla ḥaˀˀ ˀənn təntáxeb u-tuntáxab* [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. *Ɛala ma yurām* 'as(well as could possibly be)desired'.

---

[1] These verbs are sometimes said to be formed on Pattern VIII, or on a hybrid of Patterns VI and VIII. Note, however, that *ˀaxad* already has a (Classicizing) Pattern VIII derivative *ttaxaz* [p. 252]. (Cf. also the initial-weak Pattern VIII verb *ttakal* 'to rely', whose root, however, is *w-k-l* not *ˀ-k-l.*) The verb *ttākal* has a sound doublet *tˀākal* 'to be eaten away, corroded'.

The True Passive

The subject of a true passive verb corresponds to the object of its underlying active verb:

Active	Passive
n-nādi r-riyādi ġalab farīʔna	farīʔna nġalab
'The Athletic Club beat our team'	'Our team was beaten'
mā ḥada bisaddeʔ hal-ʔəṣṣa	hal-ʔəṣṣa mā btətsaddaʔ
'No one would believe that story'	'That story is unbeliev-able'
bətšūf ʔl-balad ši mən rās ʔž̌-žabal?	l-balad btənšāf ši mən rās ʔž̌-žabal?
'Can you see the town from the top of the mountain?'	'Is the town visible from the top of the mountain?'

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]: farīʔna ġalabo n-nādi r-riyāḍi "Our team, the Athletic Club beat it".

There are some exceptions, however, whereby an agentive phrase with mən [p.239] is used with what seems to be a true passive: l-ʔəttifāʔiyye lāzem tətsaddaʔ mən mažles ʔš-šuyûx '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 medio-passive (with which agentive phrases are often used), and perhaps in part due to the effect of journalistic translations from other languages. (Agentive phrases with mən qabal or mən ṭaraf 'by' may be used more broadly than the simple preposition mən, 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 (maġhūl).

The Impersonal Passive.

In Arabic as in English, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb with its object suppressed, is sometimes[1] converted to passive, provided it has a prepositional complement:

Active	Passive
mā ḥada nām b-hat-taxᵊt	mā nnām b-hat-taxᵊt
'Nobody has slept in this bed'	'This bed hasn't been slept in'
səfi šī nʔāmen fī?	səfi šī yətʔāman fī?
'Is there anything left we can believe in?'	'Is there anything left to be-lieve in? (i.e. '...to be be-lieved in?')
mā ḥada byəhrob mən has-səž̌ᵊn ..	ma byənhᵓreb mən .has-səž̌ᵊn
'Nobody escapes from that prison'	'That prison cannot be escaped from'
dafaɛnā-lak 'We've paid you' ...	ndafaɛ-lak 'You've been paid' (lit. "There has been paid to you")

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 construc-tion, 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] prepositional complement. In the trans-lation of 'These beds haven't been slept in' as hat-txūt mā nnām fīha, note that txūt is not the subject of nnām, but rather the antecedent of -ha: "These beds, there has not been slept in them". Further examples with extraposed complement:

haṭ-ṭanž̌ara mā bəṭbox fīha	haṭ-ṭanž̌ara mā byənṭᵓbex fīha
'This pot I don't cook in'	'This pot is not to cook in'
has-suʔālāt mā ž̌āwabt ɛalēha ...	has-suʔālāt mā ž̌āwab ɛalēha
'These questions, you haven't answered'	'These questions haven't been answered'
šū l-ʔālāt yalli ɛam-idəʔʔu fīha?	šū l-ʔālāt yalli ɛam-yəndaʔʔ fīha?
'What are the instruments they are playing (on)?'	'What are the instruments being played (on)?'

---

[1] As 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 idiosyncracy.

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).

Active	Mediopassive
ṣəffhon 'Line them up!'	*ṣṭaffu* (or *nṣaffu*) 'Line up!'
hammamti l-ʔwlād wəlla ləssa? ...	*l-ʔwlād thammamu wəlla ləssa?*
'Have you bathed the children yet?'	'Have the children had their baths yet?'
d-doktōr manaɛo ɛan ʔakl ʔl-laḥʔm	*ɛam-yəmtóneɛ ɛan ʔakl ʔl-laḥʔm*
'The doctor forbade his eating meat'	'He's abstaining from eating meat'

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: *tɛallam* 'to learn' (spontaneously or by self-instruction, or — as a true passive — 'to be taught'); *thammam* '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 *sawwa* 'to cook, do' and *stawa* '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 *taɛab* 'to tire' (trans.) and *təɛeb* 'to get tired' are simple: if *taɛab* is counted as primary, then *təɛeb* is its mediopassive, but if *təɛeb* is primary, then *taɛab* is its causative.

The distinction between mediopassive and true passive is formally expressed — in relatively few cases — in the contrast between Pattern VIII (for mediopassive) and Pattern VII (for true passive):

Mediopassive		True Passive	
štamaɛ	'to meet, get together' ..	*nžamaɛ*	'to be brought together'
mtanaɛ	'to abstain' (from...) ...	*nmanaɛ*	'to be prevented' (from...)
mtadd	'to extend, stretch' ..... (intrans.)	*nmadd*	'to be extended, stretched'

rtafaɛ 'to rise, be high up'	*nrafaɛ* 'to be raised'
štaġal 'to work'	*nšaġal* '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, *nkasa* and *ktasa,* both of which (for many speakers, at least) mean either 'to be clothed, outfitted' (by someone), or 'to clothe, outfit one's self'; or *nhara* and *htara,* both meaning either 'to be worn out' (by something), or 'to wear out' (by its own action).

Even some of the five pairs listed above are not always used in a clearcut contrastive way. *nmadd,* for instance, can be used in a mediopassive sense, and *rtafaɛ,* in a true passive sense; while *štaġal* in commonly construed as a primary active verb, and *nšaġal* as a mediopassive.

Unlike true passives, some mediopassive verbs are transitive, their underlying active verbs being doubly transitive:

Active	Mediopassive
mīn ɛallamak ɛarabi?	*mnēn tɛallamt ɛarabi?*
'Who taught you Arabic?'	'How did you learn Arabic?'
žawwazū bənthon	*džawwaz bənthon*
'They gave him their daughter in marriage'	'He married their daughter'
nāwalni š-šanta	*tnāwalt ʔš-šanta*
'He handed (or passed) me the bag'	'I took (or reached) the bag'

Likewise in contrast to true passives, many mediopassives take a prepositional complement with *mən* [p. 478] or *b-* [479], which may be construed as an agentive phrase, corresponding to the subject of the underlying active verb:

l-baṅk dayyanni maṣāri	*ddayyant maṣāri mn ʔl-baṅk*
'The bank lent me money'	'I borrowed money from the bank'
laṭāfto ʔassarətni ktīr	*tʔassart ʔktīr mən laṭāfto*
'His kindness touched me deeply'	'I was deeply touched by his kindness'
ʔəxti ɛadətni bəl-ʔhmēra	*nɛadēt bəl-ʔhmēra mən ʔəxti*
'My sister infected me with the measles'	'I caught the measles from my sister'
hal-ʔhsābāt ɛam-təšġəlni ktīr ..	*ɛam-ʔənšóġel ʔktīr b-hal-ʔhsābāt*
'These accounts are keeping me quite busy'	'I'm being kept quite busy with these accounts'

Some mediopassive verbs, like *štaġal* in *ɛam-ʔəštáġel ʔəktīr b-hal-ʔhsābāt* 'I'm working hard on these accounts', 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 referent of the prepositional complement (the accounts) enters the picture as a mere recipient of the "action". Thus *štaġal* 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: *thammam* 'to bathe one's self' (adult), or 'to be bathed' (baby); *nṣaraf* 'to get out' (e.g. of school) or 'to be let out...'; *tʔaxxar* 'to delay' (intrans.) or 'to be delayed'.

CAUSATIVE VERBS

The Causative derivation is usually expressed with Pattern II (*FaɛɛaL*) [p. 77]; rarely (in Colloquial) with Pattern IV [82] or Pattern I(*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 Verb			Causative	
nəzel	'to descend, go down' ..	*nazzal*	'to take down, bring down'
nām	'to go to sleep'	*nayyam*	'to put to sleep'
ʔaɛad	'to sit'	*ʔaɛɛad*	'to seat'
ʒəher	'to appear'	*ʔaʒhar*	'to reveal'
dār, bidūr	'to turn' (intrans.) ...	*dār, bidīr*	'to turn' (trans.)

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 <u>doubly transitive</u> — the first object [p. 438] corresponding to the subject of the simple verb:

Underlying	Causative
ʔəbna katab maktūb	*l-ʔəmm kattabet ʔəbna maktūb.*
'Her son wrote a letter'	'The mother had her son write a letter'
rah-nəsmaɛ ʔl-ʔəṣtwāne ž-ždīde	*rah-isammaɛna l-ʔəṣtwāne ž-ždīde*
'We're going to hear the new recording'	'He's going to let us hear the new recording'
d-daktōr bəddo yšūf žərhak	*šauwef ʔd-daktōr žərhak*
'The doctor wants to see your wound'	'Let the doctor see your wound'
ʔabūk bəddo yəsmaɛ darsak	*sammeɛ ʔabūk darsak.*
'Your father wants to hear (you recite) your lesson'	'Let your father hear (you recite) your lesson'

In some cases — as in the last two examples — the first object of the causative may be replaced by a *la-* phrase and put after the remaining object: *šauwef žərhak lad-daktōr* 'Show your wound to the doctor', *sammeɛ darsak la-ʔabūk* 'Recite 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: *sammaɛ* meaning 'to recite', *kattab* meaning 'to dictate', etc. *ɛarraf* 'to introduce' is idiomatically derived from *ɛeref* 'to (come to) know' and is never used with two objects, but always with a prepositional complement: *bəddi ɛarrfak ɛala ṣāhbi...* 'I want to introduce you to my friend...'.

Further examples of causative constructions:

byəfham ʔaxūk šū lāzem yaɛmel? .
'Does your brother understand what he's supposed to do?'

fahhem ʔaxūk šū lāzem yaɛmel.
'Explain to your brother what he's supposed to do.'

hal-walad lē mū lābes kanze? ...
'Why isn't that child wearing a sweater?' [Act. Part., p.   ]

lē mū mlabbse hal-walad kanze?
'Why haven't you (f.) (or hasn't she) put a sweater on that child?'

ʔaxū hamal hamm ʔwlādo ....
'His brother took on the care of his children'

hammal ʔaxū hamm ʔwlādo.
'He saddled his brother with the care of his children'

l-wāhed bidīɛ mən kətret ʔl-laff wəd-dawarān ....
'One gets lost with so much turning and circling.'

kətret ʔl-laff wəd-dawarān bidayyeɛ.
'So much turning and circling gets one lost' [On suppression of object, see p. 328.]

Further examples of the causative derivation:

Underlying Verb			Causative	
wəṣel	'to arrive'	*waṣṣal*	'to take' (someone some-where)
raʾaṣ	'to dance'	*raʾʾaṣ*	'to make...dance'
fāʾ	'to wake up' (intrans.) ...	*fayyaʾ*	'to wake' (someone)
dāx	'to get dizzy, nauseated' .	*dawwax*	'to make...dizzy, to nauseate'
šamm	'to smell'(trans.)	*šammam*	'to have(someone) smell'
ʾara	'to read'	*ʾarra*	'to have(someone) read'

Some causatives are derived from adjectives: *ʾawwa* 'to strengthen' from *ʾawi* 'strong'; though in most cases these adjectives also have inchoative [p. 250] or descriptive [251] verbs from which the causative might also be said to be derived: *ʾəwi* 'to become strong' → *ʾawwa* 'to strengthen'.

xafīf	'light'	*xaffaf*	'to lighten'
bɛīd	'far away'	*baɛɛad*	'to remove, banish'
ṣaḥīḥ	'correct'	*ṣaḥḥaḥ*	'to correct'
ʾabyaḍ	'white'	*bayyaḍ*	'to whiten'
ʾaswad	'black'	*sawwad*	'to blacken'

Examples of causatives formed on patterns other than II:

Pattern IV

ẓeher	'to appear'	*ʾaẓhar*	'to reveal'
təlef	'to perish'	*ʾatlaf*	'to destroy'
ġani	'rich'	*ʾaġna*	'to make...rich'

Pattern I(a-e)

dār, bidūr	'to turn'(intrans.) .	*dār, bidīr*	'to turn'(trans.)
ʾām, biʾūm	'to get up'	*ʾām, biʾīm*	'to raise, remove'
dām, bidūm	'to last'	*dām, bidīm*	'to make...last'
ʾaɛma	'blind'	*ɛama, byəɛmi*	'to blind'

Underlying Word			Causative	

Pattern *FaɛLan*:

ḥəlu	'sweet'	*ḥalwan*	'to sweeten'
ʾaxras	'mute'	*xarsan*	'to shut(someone)up'

Others:

ṭəleɛ	'to come up, out' ...	*ṭālaɛ* or *ṭaylaɛ*	'to bring up, out (Pat. III), (Lebanese)
raʾaṣ	'to dance'	*raʾwaṣ*	'to make dance, jiggle' (Pat. *FaɛwaL*), cf. *raʾʾaṣ*, above.

ASCRIPTIVE 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'.

Underlying Word			Ascriptive	
xān	'to betray'	*xawwan*	'to brand as a traitor'
byəšbah	'to resemble'	*šabbah*	'to liken'
ʾafḍal	'preferable, favorite'	*faḍḍal*	'to prefer, to favor'
sadaʾ	'to be true'; to tell the truth'	*saddaʾ*	'to believe'
kazab (or *kazzab*)	'to lie'	*kazzab*	'to disbelieve, consider... a liar'
ʾalīl	'little, few'	*ʾallal*	'to belittle, underestimate'
ḥmār	'donkey; stupid'	*ḥamran*	'to consider...stupid' (Pat. *FaɛLan* [p.115])

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 *(staFƐaL)* [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'.

Underlying Word		Estimative Verb	
saƐˀb	'difficult'	ṣtaṣƐab	'to find...difficult'
həlu	'nice, pleasant' ...	stahla	'to like, find...pleasant'
ktīr	'much, many'	staktar	'to consider...excessive'
ġarīb	'strange, odd'	staġrab	'to find...odd, be surprised at'
ẓġīr	'small'	ṣtaẓġar	'to deem small, insignificant'
ˀahsan	'better, best'	stahsan	'to prefer, consider...the best'
xān	'to betray', xāyen . 'traitor'	staxwan	'to consider...disloyal'

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 *xawwan* 'to brand as a traitor' with estimative *staxwan* 'to consider disloyal'.

EDUCTIVE VERBS

Eductive verbs are formed mainly on Pattern X *(staFƐaL)* [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'.

Underlying Word		Eductive Verb	
ġafar	'to forgive'	staġfar	'to seek forgiveness'
Ɛān	'to help'	staƐān	'to have recourse to'
šār	'to advise'	stašār	'to consult'
radd	'to return, give back' ..	staradd	'to ask (or get) back'
fād	'to be of use to'	stafād (mən)	'to benefit (from)'

Underlying Word		Eductive Verb	
xabbar	'to inform'	staxbar	'to seek (or get) information'
fahham	'to explain, make... .... understand'	stafham	'to seek (or get) clarification'
ˀaǧǧar	'to rent, hire out'	staˀǧar	'to rent, hire'
ǧāwab	'to answer'	staǧwab	'to question, interrogate'
walla	'to put...in charge'	stawla	'to take over'
Ɛamel	'to do, operate'	staƐmal	'to use'
dall	'to indicate, guide'	stadall	'to find the way'
samar	'fruits, profit'	stasmar	'to exploit, profit from'
haˀˀ	'(the) right (to)'	stahaˀˀ	'to deserve'

CONATIVE VERBS

Conative verbs, with rare exceptions, are formed on Pattern III *(FāƐaL)* [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]

Underlying Verb		Conative	
sabaˀ	'to overtake, pass'	sābaˀ	'to race' (trans.)
ləheˀ	'to catch up with'	lāhaˀ	'to chase after'
raḍa	'to please, satisfy'	rāḍa	'to ingratiate one's self with'
manaƐ	'to prevent'	mānaƐ	'to object to, forbid' (b-)
ṭaraḍ	'to expel, get rid of'	ṭāraḍ	'to chase away'
naṣar	'to secure the victory of' ..	nāṣar	'to back, support'
Ɛakas	'to reverse, upset'	Ɛākas	'to oppose, contradict'
baṭah	'to throw down'	bāṭah	'to wrestle'
lahaẓ	'to catch a glimple of'	lāhaẓ	'to watch; to notice'

---

[1] It 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.

[Ch. 9]

Underlying Verb		Conative
ḥakam 'to judge, pass sentence' ...	*ḥākam*	'to try, prosecute'
laha 'to amuse, divert'	*lāha*	'to entertain'
laʔa[2] 'to encounter'	*lāʔa*	'to (go to) meet, (look for and) find'

The Pattern II verb *ṣawwab* 'to aim at' is the conative of *ṣāb* 'to hit, attain'.

Highly idiomatic derivations include *xānaʔ* 'to scold, quarrel with' from *xanaʔ* 'to strangle'. Note also the reciprocative [p. 248] *tʔātalu* 'to quarrel, fight' from *ʔatal* 'to kill'.

The subject of a conative verb is normally animate (since the verb designates goal-directed activity), while with an underlying simple verb this is not necessarily so: *šū manaɛ zawāžo?* 'What prevented his getting married?', but *mīn mānaɛ b-zawāžo* 'Who objected to his getting married?'

PARTICIPATIVE VERBS

Participative verbs are formed on Pattern III *(FāɛaL)* [p. 80].

Participatives, which usually imply personal interaction, are commonly derived from simple verbs which do <u>not</u> necessarily imply interaction. If a simple verb underlying a participative means 'to do X', then the participative means 'to do X to or with (Y)', Y representing a personal object:

Simple Verb		Participative
katab 'to write (something)'	*kātab*	'to write to (someone)'
ḍəḥek 'to laugh'	*ḍāḥak*	'to laugh with (someone)'
ḥaka 'to talk, to tell (something)'	*ḥāka*	'to talk to (someone)'
kašaf 'to reveal (something)'	*kāšaf*	'to reveal...to (someone)'
ʔasam 'to divide (something)'	*ʔāsam*	'to share...with (someone)'
zād 'to bid (on)' .... (b-)	*zāwad*	'to bid against'

---

[2]Perfect tense only; imperfect is *bilāʔi*, like the conative.

The personal object in a participative construction may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with *maɛ* 'with' or *la-* 'to') of the simple verb:

bəddi ʔəḥkī-lak ši .... 'I want to tell you something'	*bəddi ḥākīk* 'I want to talk to you'
katab maktūb la-ʔabū .... 'He wrote a letter to his father'	*kātab ʔabū* 'He wrote his father'
lɛəbna maɛ məntáxab bērūt .... 'We played against the Beirut all-stars'	*lāɛabna məntáxab bērūt* 'We played the Beirut all-stars'

The inanimate object of a simple verb may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with *b-*) of the participative:

faṣal saɛr ʔs-sayyāra .... 'He haggled over the price of the car'	*fāṣdlon b-saɛr ʔs-sayyāra* 'He haggled with them over the price of the car'
ḥasdbʔt deni .... 'I figured up my debt'	*ḥāsabton b-dēni* 'I settled my debt with them'

Idiomatic examples: *ɛəmel* 'to do (something)': *ɛāmal* 'to treat (someone some way)'; *samaḥ* 'to allow (something)': *sāmaḥ* 'to forgive (someone)'; *rahan* 'to pawn (something), put up as security': *rāhan* 'to bet (someone)'. Note also *ḥasab* and *ḥāsab,* above.

Some participatives are derived from simple nouns, which designate either a kind of participant or a kind of participation:

Noun (Participant)		Participative Verb
ṣāḥeb 'friend'	*ṣāḥab*	'to make or be friends with'
rfīʔ 'companion'	*rāfaʔ*	'to accompany'
ɛadəww 'enemy'	*ɛāda*	'to treat with hostility'

Noun (Participation)		
ḥəžže 'argument'	*ḥāžaž*	'to argue with'
xlāf 'difference, opposition' .	*xālaf*	'to oppose, differ with'
sədfe 'coincidence, unexpected encounter' .	*sādaf*	'to encounter... unexpectedly'

RECIPROCATIVE VERBS

Reciprocative verbs, formed on Pattern VI *(tFāɛaL)* [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.

Underlying Verb		Reciprocative	
ḥāka	'to talk to'	*tḥāku*	'to talk (together)'
kātab	'to write to'	*tkātabu*	'to write one another'
ṣāfaḥ	'to shake hands with'	*tṣāfaḥu*	'to shake hands'
*sāba*ʔ	'to race' (trans.)	*tsāba*ʔ*u*	'to race' (intrans.)
lāʔa	'to(go to) meet (some- ... one)'	*tlāʔu*	'to meet, rendezvous'
nāsab	'to suit, correspond ..... to'	*tnāsabu*	'to match, correspond'

The verbs *nāsab* and *tnāsabu* 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-ʔalwān mā btətnāsab* '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]: *ḍḍārabu* 'to hit one another, fight', from *ḍarab* 'to hit'; *tʔātalu* 'to fight, quarrel', from *ʔatal* '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 *maɛ* 'with' *sawa* 'together', or the like. For example *tšārak maɛ ɛammo* 'He went into partnership with his uncle' (mediopassive), from the participative *šārak ɛammo* 'He took his uncle into partnership'.

Some of these derivatives may be construed either as ordinary mediopassives or as reciprocatives: *kān ɛam-yətsāba*ʔ *maɛ sayyāra tānye* 'He was having a race with another car' (mediopassive); but *s-sayyārtēn kānu ɛam-yətsāba*ʔ*u* 'The two cars were racing' (reciprocative).

SIMULATIVE VERBS

Simulative verbs are formed with the prefix *t-*: mainly on Pattern VI *(tFāɛaL)* [p.88], in a few cases on quadriradical [p.123] or *n*-suffix [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'):

Underlying Word		Simulative Verb	
šāṭer	'smart, clever'	*tšāṭar*	'to act smart'
marīḍ	'ill'	*tmāraḍ*	'to malinger'
ġašīm	'naive'	*tġāšam*	'to act naive'
šēṭān	'devil'	*tšēṭan*	'to be naughty'
walad	'child'	*twaldan*	'to be childish'
žāhel	'ignorant'	*tžāhal*	'to ignore, act ignorant of'
nəsi	'to forget'	*tnāsa*	'to act forgetful of'
ẓəher	'to appear'	*tẓāhar*	'to feign, simulate'
kasūl	'lazy'	*tkāsal*	'to loaf, be lazy'

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.[1] For example 'to act rude' is the same thing as 'to be rude':

ġalīẓ	'rude, crude, ... gross'	*tġālaẓ*	'to be rude, crude, gross'
razīl	'bad, wicked'	*trāzal*	'to be bad, wicked'
raxu	'lax, loose'	*trāxa*	'to relax'

---

[1] In 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 *ʔaFɛaL* color-adjectives [p. 130] are formed on Pattern IX (*FɛaLL*) [101]:

Adjective			Inchoative Verb	
ʔaḥmar	'red'	....	*ḥmarr*	'to become red, to blush'
ʔaṣfar	'yellow'	....	*ṣfarr*	'to become yellow, turn pale'
ʔaswad	'black'	....	*swadd*	'to become black'

The defect-adjective [p. 130] *ʔaɛwaž* 'bent, crooked' also has a Pattern IX inchoative: *ɛwažž* 'to become bent, crooked'.

Some adjectives of Pattern *maFɛeL* [p. 133] have inchoatives of the pseudo-quadriradical *ʔaFɛaL* pattern [116]:

maslem	'Moslem'	....	*ʔaslam*	'to become a Moslem'
mazher	'having blossoms, ... flowering'		*ʔazhar*	'to bloom'
mūreʔ	'having leaves, ... leafy'		*ʔawraʔ*	'to leaf out'

Note the contrast of these adjectives with the participles: *mʔazher* 'in bloom', *mʔaslem* 'having become a Moslem' [p. 117].

Inchoatives from other kinds of adjectives are mostly formed on simple patterns: *FəɛeL, byəFɛaL* [p. 117] for sound and defective verbs; *FaɛaL, byəFɛeL* [pp. 59, 63] for geminate and hollow:

kbīr	'large, adult'	......	*kəber*	'to become large, grow up'
ḍɛīf	'weak, ill'	....	*ḍəɛef*	'to weaken, become ill'
ʔaɛma	'blind'	....	*ɛəmi*	'to go blind'
xafīf	'light' (in weight) ..		*xaff*	'to become light(er)'
dayyeʔ	'narrow, tight'	.....	*dāʔ*	'to become narrow'

Some inchoatives, derived mainly from words other than adjectives, are formed on Pattern V (*tFaɛɛaL*) [p. 86]:

Underlying Word		Inchoative Verb	
ʔaḥsan	'better'	............*tḥassan*	'to improve'
ʔaddām	'ahead'	............*tʔaddam*	'to progress'
sahel, byəshal	'to be easy'	........*tsahhal*	'to become easier'
byəʔrab	'to be related'[1]	....*tʔarrab*	'to become related (by marriage)'
byəmlok	'to own, possess'[1]	..*tmallak*	'to acquire, take possion of'
fəhem, byəfham	'to catch on, to understand'	.......*tfahham*	'to begin to understand, to come to understand better'

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

If a simple adjective means 'X', then its descriptive verb means 'to be X'.[2]

Most descriptive verbs are formed on Pattern *FəɛeL, byəFɛaL* [p. 71], and occur mainly — in some cases always — in the imperfect tense and usually with a prepositional complement.

Adjective		Descriptive Verb	
sahəl	'easy'	.............*byəshal* (*ɛala*)	'to be easy' (for)
ṣaɛʔb	'difficult'	.........*byəṣɛab* (*ɛala*)	'to be difficult' (for)
bxīl	'stingy, miser'	.....*byəbxal* (*ɛala*)	'to be stingy' (with s.o.)
bɛīd	'distant, far'	......*byəbɛod* (*ɛan*)	'to be distant, far' (from)
ṣaḥīḥ	'correct, all right'	..*biṣaḥḥ*	'to be all right'

The descriptive verb *byəʔrab* (*la-*) 'to be kin(to)' is correlative to the noun *ʔarāyeb* 'relative, kin'.

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. *mayyet* 'dead'), and if the correlative verb (*māt* 'to die') has no participle on the usual patterns (*FāɛeL* or *FaɛLān*), then the adjective does, in fact, function as a participle.

_____

[1] Some verbs, especially "descriptive" verbs, are not normally used in the perfect tense. See below.

[2] 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 (*FtaƐaL*) [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.

Underlying Verb			Abstractive Verb	
kašaf	'to uncover, expose' ...	*ktašaf*	'to discover'	
ḥamal	'to pick up, carry'	*ḥtamal*	'to bear, put up with'	
fataḥ	'to open' (e.g. a ...... door)	*ftataḥ*	'to open' (e.g. a meeting)	
xatam	'to seal'	*xtatam*	'to conclude, close'	
Ɛānaʔ	'to embrace' (some- .... one)	*Ɛtanaʔ*	'to embrace' (e.g. a faith)	
ḥawa	'to contain; to .... keep'	*ḥtawa* (*Ɛala*)	'to include, contain'	
naxab	'to pick out, choose' ..	*ntaxab*	'to elect'	
maṣṣ	'to suck'	*mtaṣṣ*	'to absorb'	
lahab	'to flame, blaze'	*ltahab*	'to be inflamed'	
xalaʔ	'to create'	*xtalaʔ*	'to dream up, fabricate'	
ʔaxad	'to take, get'	*ttaxaz*[1]	'to take on, undertake'	
ṭalab	'to ask for'	*ṭṭallab*	(Pat. V) 'to require'	

In a few cases, Pattern VIII verbs are simultaneously abstractive and mediopassive: *waṣaf* 'to describe' → *ttaṣaf* (*b–*) 'to be characterized (by)'; *waṣal* 'to connect' → *ttaṣal* (*b–*) 'to have to do with, to be in touch with'; *labes* 'to put on, wear' → *ltabas* 'to be obscure'.

[1] As a classicism, this derivative has *z* for Classical δ (which corresponds to *d* in words inherited via spoken channels).

AUGMENTATIVE (Frequentative and Intensive) VERBS

Augmentative verbs are formed on Pattern II (*FaƐƐaL*) [p.77] or on one of the pseudo-quadriradical patterns *FaƐwaL, FaƐFaL, FarƐaL,* or *FōƐaL* [p.109].

Augmentatives are mainly derived from sound and geminate simple verbs (and rarely from hollow or *FəƐeL*–pattern verbs). of the *FaƐaL* patterns

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.

Simple Verb			Augmentative Verb	
safaʔ	'to clap, slap' .... (once or more)	*saffaʔ*	'to clap' (e.g. in applause or rhythm)	
ʔaṭaf	'to pick' (e.g. a .... flower)	*ʔaṭṭaf*	'to pick' (e.g. many flowers)	
kasar	'to break' (e.g. in two)	*kassar*	'to break' (e.g. to pieces)	

One may say, for example, *lā ṭəʔtof haz-zhūr* 'Don't pick those flowers' or, with the augmentative *lā tʔaṭṭef haz-zhūr*. But in reference to a single flower, the simple verb only may be used: *lā ṭəʔtof haz-zahra* 'don't pick that flower' (not *lā tʔaṭṭef...*).

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 *daƐwas* 'to trample, tread on', from *daƐas* '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: *raƐab* and *raƐƐab* 'to scare, startle', *fəreḥ* and *farfaḥ* '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.

[Ch. 9]

Examples, Pattern II:

	Simple	Augmentative	
ṭaraʔ	'to knock'	ṭarraʔ	
xasal	'to wash'	xassal	
xazaʔ	'to tear, rip'	xazzaʔ	
dabaḥ	'to slaughter'	dabbaḥ	
rabaṭ	'to tie, hitch'	rabbaṭ	
raƐab	'to scare, startle'	raƐƐab	(intensive or synonymous)
dafaš	'to push'	daffaš	
žamaƐ	'to bring together, gather'	žammaƐ	
šaxaṭ	'to draw (a) line(s), scribble'	šaxxaṭ	(cf. šaxwaṭ)
žadal	'to braid'	žaddal	(cf. žōdal)
baram	'to turn, twist' (trans.)	barram	(cf. bōram)
ṣarax	'to shout'	ṣarrax	(cf. ṣarwax)

Pattern *FaƐwaL:*

	Simple	Augmentative	
baxaš	'to perforate'	baxwaš	
ḥakaš	'to pick at, fool with'	ḥakwaš	
daƐas	'to tread on'	daƐwas	
šaxaṭ	'to draw (a) line(s), scribble'	šaxwaṭ	
šakk	'to prick, pierce'	šakwak	
šalaḥ	'to take off' (e.g. clothes) ...	šalwaḥ	'take off and throw around' (cf. šōlaḥ)
Ɛalak	'to chew'	Ɛalwak	
ʔaraṣ	'to sting, bite'	ʔarwaṣ	
ʔaraṭ	'to crunch, gnaw'	ʔarwaṭ	(cf. ʔarʔaṭ)
laʔaṭ	'to pick up'	laʔwaṭ	(cf. lōʔaṭ)
nataƐ	'to jerk' (intrans.)	natwaƐ	
naṭṭ	'to jump'	naṭwaṭ	
šaxar	'to snort; snore'	šaxwar	

Reduplicative Pattern *(FaƐFaL):*

	Simple	Augmentative	
ṭaraš	'to splash'	ṭarṭaš	
ʔaraṭ	'to crunch, gnaw'	ʔarʔaṭ	
ṣaraƐ	'to startle'	ṣarṣaƐ	
fəreḥ	'to rejoice'	farfaḥ	
laff	'to turn; wrap'	laflaf	'to wrap up'
ḥall	'to untie; solve'	ḥalḥal	'to untie'
šamm	'to smell' (trans.)	šamšam	'to smell, sniff'
ʔaṣṣ	'to cut, snip'	ʔaṣʔaṣ	
fatt	'to crumble' (trans.)	fatfat	
kabb	'to pour, spill'	kabkab	
ʔaraƐ	'to hit with a bang'	ʔarʔaƐ	'to clatter'
lāḥ	'to wave'	lōlaḥ	

Pattern *FarƐaL:*

	Simple	Augmentative	
baƐaṭ	'to splash around in the water'	barƐaṭ	
xamaš	'to scratch'	xarmaš	
dabak	'to tap, drum'	darbak	
šabak	'to involve, entangle'	šarbak	'to entangle, complicate'
ṭabaʔ	'to slam'	ṭarbaʔ	
kadas	'to pile'	kardas	(also kaddas)

Pattern *FōƐaL:*

	Simple	Augmentative	
laʔaṭ	'to pick up'	lōʔaṭ	(cf. laʔwaṭ)
šaḥaṭ	'to drag'	šōḥaṭ	
žadal	'to braid'	žōdal	(also žaddal)
zaġal	'to cheat' (in games)	zōġal	
ḥazaʔ	'to hiccup'	ḥōzaʔ	
baram	'to turn, wind'	bōram	'to 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':

Underlying Noun		Applicative Verb	
zēt	'oil'	*zayyat*	'to oil'
bōdra	'powder'	*bōdar*	'to powder'
baxšīš	'tip, gratuity'	*baxšaš*	'to tip'
ʔəšʔr	'peel, skin, shell, bark'....	*ʔaššar*	'to peel, (etc.)'
ʔatāt	'furniture, furnishings'.....	*ʔattat*	'to furnish'
buxār	'steam'	*baxxar*	'to steam'
blāṭ	'flagstones, tile'	*ballaṭ*	'to pave with flag-stones, tile'
talifōn	'telephone'	*talfan*	'to telephone'
zərr	'button'	*zarrar*	'to button'
xāzūʔ	'stake'	*xōzaʔ*	'to impale'
ʔāleb	'mold'	*ʔōlab*	'to mold'
tārīx	'date' (day of year)	*tarrax*	'to date'
būẓ	'ice'	*bawwaẓ*	'to ice'
banž	'anesthetic'	*bannaž*	'to anesthetize'
bhār	'spice'	*bahhar*	'to spice'
bərwāẓ	'frame'	*barwaẓ*	'to frame'
bəsmār	'nail'	*basmar*	'to nail'
fəršāye	'brush'	*farša*	'to brush'
ʔasās	'foundation'	*ʔassas*	'to found, establish'

Some applicatives are formed on other patterns: *ʔahda* (Pat. IV) 'to give (as a gift)', from *hdiyye* 'gift'; *thāyal* 'to trick' (Pat. VI) from *hīle* 'trick'. A few are derived from formulaic phrases: *basmal* 'to say *bəsməllāh...*' ('in the name of God...').

Many denominatives, though not applicatives strictly speaking, are derived in comparable ways: *tsawwaʔ* 'to shop, go to market', from *sūʔ* 'market'; *sabbab* 'to cause', from *sabab* 'cause', etc.

CHAPTER 10: ADJECTIVE DERIVATION

Index of Categories:

Color and defect adjectives constitute two more categories, but since they have no underlying bases they are dealt with in the chapter on adjective patterns, p. 130.

Elatives [p. 310] and ordinal numerals [316], though they are partly adjectival in function, are treated in Chapter 11, Noun Derivation.

The quasi-inflectional [p. 49] category of Participles occupies the largest part of this chapter, because of the importance and complexity of their relationship to the underlying verbs.

PARTICIPLES

Formation

Most simple triradical verbs [p.55] have active participles on the pattern *FāƐeL* [131] and passive participles on the pattern *maFƐūL* [132]:

	Verb	Participles	
ḥafaẓ	'to put away, keep'.........	*ḥāfeẓ*	'having put away, keeping'
		maḥfūẓ	'having been put away, kept'
fataḥ	'to open'..................	*fāteḥ*	'having opened'
		maftūḥ	'open, having been opened'
labes	'to put on'(clothes)........	*lābes*	'having put on, wearing'
		malbūs	'having been put on, being worn'
wazan	'to weigh'.................	*wāzen*	'having weighed'
		mawzūn	'having been weighed'
yaʔes	'to despair'...............	*yāʔes*	'despairing, desparate'
		mayʔus	'despaired(of)'
		(mǝnno)	
ḥaṭṭ	'to put'..................	*ḥāṭeṭ*	'having put'
		maḥṭūṭ	'having been put'
bāƐ	'to sell'.................	*bāyeƐ*	'having sold'

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 *maFƐi* [133]. (Medial radical *w* remains intact):

	Verb			
ʔara	'to read'..................	*ʔāri*	'having read'
		maʔri	'having been read'
bana	'to build'.................	*bāni*	'having built'
		mabni	'having been built'
nawa	'to intend'...............	*nāwi*	'intending'
		manwi	'intended'
maši	'to go, walk'.............	*māši*	'going, walking'
		mamši	'walked(on)'
		(Ɛale)	

[1]There are some exceptions. In some areas, for instance, the form *mabyūƐ* 'sold' may be heard. The word *madyūn* 'in debt' is used without any underlying verb (cf. *dēn* 'debt').

In some regions (especially Palestine) defective passive participles keep the vowel *a: maʔri, mabni,* etc.

Passive participles of the defective "impersonal" passive verbs *ġǝmi (Ɛalē)* 'to faint' and *quḍi (Ɛalē)* 'to be done for, be a goner' are formed on the pattern *muFƐa: muġma Ɛalē* ·fainted', *muqḍa Ɛalē* 'done for'. [See p.365.]

The anomalous verb *ʔaža* 'to come' has active participle *žāye* (both masc. and fem.) (see p.76, footnote.)

Quite a few sound and defective verbs – especially intransitive verbs on Pattern *FaƐeL, byǝFƐaL* [p.71], and especially verbs that usually take animate subjects – have active participles on the pattern *FaƐLān* [132]:

Verb		Active Participle	
kǝber	'to grow up'.................	*kabrān*	'(having) grown up'
Ɛǝṭeš	'to get thirsty'.............	*Ɛaṭšān*	'thirsty'
tǝƐeb	'to get tired'...............	*taƐbān*	'tired'
barad	'to get cold'...............	*bardān*	'cold' (animate only; inanimate *bāred*)
nǝsi	'to forget'..................	*nasyān* (or *nāsi*)	'having forgotten'
sǝmeƐ	'to hear'...................	*samƐān* (or *sāmeƐ*)	'having heard; listening'
harab	'to flee'...................	*harbān* (or *hāreb*)	'having fled, fleeing'
rǝwi	'to be watered, irrigated'...	*rayyān*	'well-watered, irrigated'

The hollow verb *žāƐ* 'to get hungry' (Root *ž-w-Ɛ*) has participle *žūƐān* 'hungry', in some areas *žīƐān*.

Geminate verbs [189] do not have participles on this pattern.

In most cases in which there are alternative participial forms (e.g. *samƐān* and *sāmeƐ*), the *FaƐLān* pattern is typical of Syria Proper, while the *FāƐeL* pattern is more cosmopolitan.

The participles of all augmented and quadriradical verbs are formed by prefixation of *m-* (or *mǝ-* before two consonants, or *mu-* in certain classicisms). In the passive participle, the last vowel is always *a*. In the active participle, it is *e* for sound verbs, *i* for defective:

Verb		Participles	
taržam	'to translate'..................*mtaržem*		'having translated'
		mtaržam	'(having been) translated'
ʔarrar	'to decide'..................*mʔarrer*		'having decided'
		mʔarrar	'(having been) decided'
samma	'to name, call'..............*msammi*		'having named'
		msamma	'(having been) named'
staɛmal	'to use'......................*məstaɛmel*		'having used, using'
		məstaɛmal	'(having been) used'
tbanna	'to adopt'....................*mətbanni*		'having adopted'
		mətbanna	'(having been) adopted'

In participles of Pattern IV (*ʔaFɛaL*) verbs [p.82], *mə-* replaces *ʔa-*: *ʔakram* 'to honor', *məkrem* 'having honored, honoring', *məkram* '(having been) honored'. (Most words of Patterns *məFɛeL* [133] and *maFɛaL* [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 [95] verbs, except in classicisms, where it remains *a*:

Pattern VII

Sound:	*nsaḥar*	'to be bewitched'.........*mənsáḥer*	'bewitched'
Defective:	*nʔara*	'to be read'.............*mənʔári*	'(having been) read'
Sound:	*nʔaṭaɛ*	'to be discontinued'......*mənʔáṭeɛ*	'discontinued' (Classicism)

Pattern VIII

Sound:	*ɛtamad (ɛala)*	'to rely (on)'............*məɛtámed (ɛala)*	'relying (on)'
		məɛtámad ɛalē	'relied on'
Defective:	*ḥtawa (ɛala)*	'to include'.............*məḥtáwi (ɛale)*	'including'
		məḥtáwa ɛalē	'included'
Initial-Weak:	*ttaḥad*	'to be united'...........*muttáḥed*	'united' (Classicism)

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 *ā*):

Geminate:	VII:	*nṣaff*	'to be lined up'.....*mənṣaff*	'lined up'
	VIII:	*ḍṭarr*	'to be required, obliged'	*məḍṭarr* 'required, obliged to'
	IX:	*ṣfarr*	'to blanch, turn pale'	*məṣfarr* '(having) turned pale'
Hollow:	VIII:	*nʔāl*	'to be told'.........*mənʔāl*	'(having been) told'
	VIII:	*ḥtāž (la-)*	'to need'............*məḥtāž (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:	*ʔaṣarr*	'to insist, resolve'......*mṣərr*	'insistent, resolved'
Pattern X:	*staḥaʔʔ*	'to deserved'............*məstḥəʔʔ*	'deserving'
	staradd	'to ask(for...)back'......*məst(a)rədd*	'having asked... back'
Pattern FɛaLaLL:	*ṭmaʔann*	'to feel secure'..........*məṭmaʔənn*	'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:	*ʔaḥāṭ (bi-)*	'to surround..........*muḥīt (bi-)*	'surrounding' (Pass. *muḥāṭ fī* 'surrounded')
Pattern X:	*stafād (mən)*	'to benefit(from)'.....*məst(a)fīd*	'having benefitted'
	stašār	'to consult'..........*məstašīr*	'having consulted' (Pass. *məstašār* 'having been consulted')

A few augmented verbs are suppleted by participles formed on patterns corresponding to simple verbs, e.g. *štara* 'to buy': act. part. *šāri* 'having bought' (also *məštə́ri*); *staʔžar* 'to hire': pass. part. *maʔžūr* 'hired' (in reference to persons only; cf. *məstaʔžar* 'leased, chartered').

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 *fāyeʔ* 'awake' from *fāʔ* 'to wake up', *warmān* 'swollen' from *warem* 'to swell', *metɛallem* 'educated' from *tɛallam* 'to learn, be educated'.[1]

Of the two kinds of participles, the ACTIVE PARTICIPLE (*ism l-fāɛil*) depicts the consequent state of its underlying verb's subject referent, while the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE (*ism l-mafɛūl*) pertains to the referent of its complement. Thus the verb *fataḥ* 'to open' has an active participle *fāteḥ* 'having opened' and a passive participle *maftūḥ* 'open, having been opened'. The verb *ttafaʔ* 'to agree, come to an agreement' has a.p. *məttáfeʔ* 'in agreement' and p.p. *məttáfaʔ (ɛalē)* 'agreed (upon)'.

---

[1] The term 'consequent state' is defined to include only the necessary consequences – the logical entailments – of a <u>kind</u> of event (process, activity). Verbs like *fāʔ, warem,* and *tɛallam* refer, by definition, to <u>changes</u> 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. *safaʔ* '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. *ḍarab* 'to hit', sometimes do – and sometimes do not – imply a significant change of state (depending on context and circumstances); the participles *ḍāreb* 'having hit' and *maḍrūb* 'having been hit' could be used for some, but not all, of the situations to which their underlying verb applies.

Though hitting (*ḍ-ḍarb*) might be thought of as a <u>physical</u> act par excellence – entailing, of course, physical consequences – it is worth noting that hitting is often also a <u>social</u> act. The situation involving *ḍ-ḍāreb* 'the hitter' and *l-maḍrūb* '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 *maḍrūb* 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 <u>object</u>: *fataḥ ʔl-bāb* '(He) opened the door' → *l-bāb maftūḥ* 'The door is open'. Examples:

1. *l-fənžān maɛmūl mən ʔaḥsan mālʔi* — 'The cup is made of the best china' (p.p. of *ɛamel* 'to make')

2. *š-šaġle ləssāta mū mʔarrara* — 'The matter is not yet decided' (p.p. of *ʔarrar* 'to decide')

3. *ʔana maɛzūm ɛand ġērak* [AO-115] — 'I'm invited to [dinner at] someone else's [house]' (p.p. of *ɛazam* 'to invite')

4. *laʔa fīha ʔəmʔon ʔnḥās* [AO-115] *təmmo maxtūm* — 'He found in it a copper flagon whose mouth was sealed' (p.p. of *xatam* 'to seal').

5. *ʔəxti l-ʔkbīre mžawwaze* [AO-43] — 'My elder sister is married' (p.p. of *žawwaz* 'to marry off')

Passive participles are also used attributively [p.501] like any ordinary adjective. Examples:

6. *maktūb ʔmsōkar* — 'an insured letter' (p.p. of *sōkar* 'to insure')

7. *kūsa məḥši* — 'stuffed squash' (p.p. of *ḥaša* 'to stuff')

8. *l-madīne l-masḥūra* — 'the enchanted city' (p.p. of *saḥar* 'to enchant')

9. *mažalle šahriyye maɛrūfe* — 'a (well-)known monthly magazine' (p.p. of *ɛaref* 'to know, come to know')

10. *...mašākel ʔktīr məštdrake bēnāton* — '...many problems in common', lit. '...shared between them' (p.p. of *štarak* 'to share')

11. *l-warde l-maḥtūta b-šaɛʔrha* — 'the flower worn in her hair' (p.p. of *ḥatt* '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]: *məmši ɛalēha* 'walked on(f.)'

The subject for this kind of predicate is the antecedent of the suf-
fixed pronoun: *has-səžžāde məmši ɛalēha* 'This rug has been walked on'
(literally: "This rug, [there has been] walked on it". [See Extraposi-
tion, p.431.] The particle itself does <u>not</u> show agreement with the sub-
ject [429], remaining always in the base form (masculine/singular). [See
Impersonal Passive Verbs, p.237.] Examples:

12. *l-ᵊhkūme ž-ždīde mawsūq
    fīha*

'The new government is trusted',
'There is confidence in the new gov-
ernment' (*wasaq b-* [p.479] 'to have
confidence, faith in')

13. *hal-ᵓumūr muxtálaf fīha
    mən zamān*

'These matters have been disagreed
over for some time' (*xtalaf b-* 'to
differ over, disagree about').

14. *nazarīto maškūk fīha*

'His theory is doubted (or dubious)'[1]
(*šakk b-* 'to have doubts about, to
suspect').

15. *biᵓāmen. ᵓənno fī baɛḍ
    ᵊl-ᵓarwāh mᵓaddar ɛalēha
    bəl-ɛazāb ᵊl-ᵓazali*

'He believes that there are some
souls [who are] foreordained to
eternal torment' (*ᵓaddar ɛala* 'to
decree, foreordain for s.o.').

Examples of attributive use:

16. *l-ᵓaḍāya l-mabhūs fīha*

'the cases investigated' (*baḥas b-*
'to inquire into, to investigate')

17. *l-mašrūɛ ᵊl-məttáfaᵓ
    ɛalē*

'the plan agreed upon' (*ttafaᵓ ɛala*
'to agree upon')

18. *bēt məɛtána fī mnīh*

'a house well cared for' (*ɛtana b-*
'to look after, take care of')

19. *l-luġa l-məttaržam mənna*

'the language translated from'
(*ttaržam mən* 'to be translated
from')[2]

---

[1] *maškūk fī, mawsūq fī,* and other participles of this sort are often used in
a dispositional sense [see p.275]: *mawsūq fī* 'trustworthy, worthy of con-
fidence', *maškūk fī* 'dubious, questionable'. This usage is especially com-
mon in classicisms or set phrases.

[2] Cf. *mtaržam* 'translated', p.p. of *taržam* 'to translate': *l-kətob l-ᵊmtaržame*
'the books translated'. The two types of construction are hybridized in a
phrase such as *l-luġa l-məttaržame mənna hal-kətob* 'the language from which
these books are translated'. (*mattaržame,* as a passive participle of an
intransitive verb, should not show agreement, but in fact it does agree
here with *l-kətob,* which is construed as its subject.) This type of partici-
pial phrase is rare, being usually circumlocuted with an attributive clause
[p.505]: *l-luġa halli ttaržamet mənna hal-kətob,* or *l-luġa halli mtaržame
mənna hal-kətob.*

Active Participles

The subject of a predicative active participle corresponds to the sub-
ject of its underlying verb: *kəllon ᵊttafaᵓu* 'All of them agreed' → *kəllon
məttəfᵓīn* '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: *ləbes tyābo ž-ždīde* 'He put on his new clothes' → *lābes
tyābo ž-ždīde* 'He's wearing his new clothes'.

Despite its adjectival inflection, then, the active par-
ticiple is generally verb-like in syntax. It functions as
an additional tense, contrasting mainly with the perfect
[p.330]. While the perfect *ləbes tyābo* 'He put on his
clothes' carries no implication whether or not he still has
them on, the participial predication *lābes tyābo* means def-
initely that he still has them on. (With durative verbs,
the contrast is mainly with the imperfect rather than the
perfect; see pp.269, 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 *huwwe kāteb
hal-ᵊktāb* could be interpreted either as a participle-object
predication 'He's written this book', 'He's the one who wrote
this book' or a substantive construct predication '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]: *hiyye kātbet hal-ᵊktāb* 'She's the
writer of this book', while the participle-object construc-
tion has the absolute form: *hiyye kātbe hal-ᵊktāb* '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: *hiyye kātəbto* '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: *huwwe mɛallémni*
'He's taught me', 'He's the one who taught me'; *hiyye mɛallémtni* 'She's
taught me', 'She's the one who taught me'. (Cf. the annexive form *-i* used
with the occupational noun in construct: *huwwe mɛállmi* 'He's my teacher',
hiyye mɛallémti 'She's my teacher'.) See Personal Pronouns [p.544].

With the other pronoun suffixes, there is no distinc-
tion between complemental and annexive forms, hence *mɛállmo,*
for instance, is sometimes to be interpreted as 'He's taught
him', and sometimes as 'his teacher'; similarly *mɛallémto*
'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]: *mtaržám-li* 'having translated(m.) for me',
mtaržamt-ólli 'having translated(f.) for me'. (Cf. *mtaržem ᵓəli* 'a trans-
lator(m.) for me', *mtaržme ᵓəli* 'a translator(f.) for me'.)

Still another verb-like trait of active participles is that the sub-
ject of a participial clause sometimes comes between the participle and its
complement: *məttəf ʔīn kəllayātna maɛ baɛ́dna* [PVA-16] 'We're all in agree-
ment with one another', *ṭālɛa bəntak ʔz-zġīre šaʔra* [DA-234] 'Your young-
est daughter has turned out(to be)blonde'. (See Verb-Subject word order,
p.000.)

Miscellaneous examples of active participles in their predicative use:

20. *ʔana žāye ʔaddem ṭalab* | 'I've come to submit a request'
(a.p. of *ʔəža* [p.76])

21. *fī zərr wāʔeɛ mən fəsṭānek* | 'There's a button (fallen) off your
dress' (a.p. of *wəʔeɛ* 'to fall')

22. *mətmakken huwwe tamām* | 'Does have a good command of Eng-
mn ʔl-ʔəglīzi? | lish?' (a.p. of *tmakkan* 'to master')

23.. *ʔana žāybo b-līra w-rəbʔɛ* | 'I got it for a pound and a quarter'
[adap. SAL-198] | (a.p. of *žāb* 'to bring, get') The
participle implies '...got it and
still have it', in contrast to the
perfect *žəbto* 'I got it (and may or
may not still have it)'.

24. *katter xērak, nəḥna mətɛaššyīn* | 'Thank you (but) we have (already)
ya bēk [AO-91] | dined, sir' (a.p. of *tɛašša* 'to
dine, sup').

25. *šəba ṣ-ṣānɛa mū māsḥa* | 'What's the matter with the maid
l-ʔard? [DA-212] | (that) she hasn't scrubbed the
floor?' (a.p. of *masaḥ* 'to scrub')

26. *ʔēmta mqarrer ʔtsāfer?* [DA-248] | 'When have you decided to leave?'
(a.p. of *qarrar* 'to decide')

27. *ʔālət-lo lēš hēk zaɛlān* [AO-114] | 'She said to him, "Why (are you) so
vexed?"' (a.p. of *zəɛel* 'to become
angry, displeased, unhappy')

28. *ṣ-ṣəbəḥ laʔēt marti, bənt* | 'In the morning I found my wife, my
ɛammi, lābse tyāb ʔl-ḥəzʔn | uncle's daughter, dressed in mourn-
w-ʔāṣṣa šaɛʔrha [AO-118] | ing and with her hair cut' (a.p. of
labes 'to put on' (clothes) and *ʔaṣṣ*
'to cut')

29. *ṭ-ṭaʔs ḥəlu wəš-šams ṭālɛa* | 'The weather is nice and the sun
ʔūm la-rrūḥ ṣōb ʔl-marže | has come out; come on, let's go
[DA-218] | down toward the Marže' (a.p. of
ṭaleɛ 'to come out')

30. *bəl-ʔāxīr ṭaleɛ ʔmxayyeb* | 'In the end he disappointed his
ʔmḥəbbīno | friends' (lit. "...turned out hav-
ing disappointed...") (a.p. of
xayyab 'to disappoint')

The term 'active' is rather inappropriate when applied
to the participles of certain kinds of intransitive verbs,
especially passive verbs [p.234]; for instance *mantə́si*
'(having been) forgotten' is the "active" participle of
ntasa '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 *mantə́si* is practically
synonymous to *mansi* 'forgotten', (passive participle of
nasi 'to forget'). In many such cases the passive partici-
ple of the active verb is the one normally used while the
active participle of the passive verb (as *mantə́si*) is very
rare or virtually never used at all (as in the case of
taržam 'to translate': p.p. *mtaržam* 'translated'; passive
verb *ttaržam* 'to be translated' whose active participle
(theoretically "*mattaržem*") is not heard. (But cf.
mattaržam manna, 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-bənt ḥaṭṭa warde b-šaɛra* 'The girl has put (i.e. is wear-
ing) a flower in her hair' → *l-bənt halli ḥaṭṭa warde b-šaɛra* 'the girl
wearing a flower in her hair'. (Cf. the complemented passive participle,
which can be subordinated like any adjective: *l-warde l-maḥṭūta b-šaɛra*
'the flower worn (i.e. put) in her hair'. See, however, p.505.

Uncomplemented active participles may be used attributively, like ordi-
nary adjectives: *walad ḍāyeɛ* 'a lost child' (a.p. of *ḍāɛ* 'to get lost'),
ražžāl sakrān 'a drunken man', *wlādi ž-žūɛānīn* 'my hungry children', *s-səne*
l-māḍye 'the past year' (a.p. of *maḍa* 'to pass'), *nās mətɛallmīn* 'educated
people', *l-bāxra l-ġarʔāne* 'the sunken (or sinking) ship' [see p.271] (a.p.
of *ġəreʔ* 'to sink').

When an active participle is used with its normal com-
plementation suppressed, it becomes an agentive [p.278] or
dispositional [277] adjective: *mašrūɛ šāmel* 'a comprehen-
sive plan' (*šamal* 'to include, comprehend', transitive);
kīmāwi fahmān 'an able chemist', i.e. a chemist who under-
stands (*byəfham*) 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' + -hon 'them' → lābə́sthon 'wearing them'; fātḥa '(f.) having opened' + -lna 'for us' → fātəḥt-ə́lna 'having opened...for us'.

If, however, a feminine participle with a pronoun suffix refers to the person spoken to ('you'), then -ī- is inserted between the connective t and the suffix: lābəstīhon '(you, f.) wearing them', fātəḥtī-lna '(you, f.) having opened...for us'. Examples:

31. ʔənti kātəbtī?

'Are you(f.) the one who wrote it (m.)?' (As contrasted with hiyye kātəbto? 'Is she the one who wrote it?' and ʔana kātəbto 'I(f.) am the one who wrote it')

32. mɛalləmtīni had-dars

'You(f.) have taught me that lesson' (As contrasted with mɛalləmtni had-dars 'She has taught me that lesson')

33. lēš ᵊmḥārəbtīha?

'Why are you(f.) quarreling with her?' (a.p. of ḥārab 'to pick a fight with, to quarrel with'. [On present-tense English translation, see p.269.]) (Cf. lēš ᵊmḥārəbtha? 'Why is she quarreling with her?')

34. ʔənti msāwītī-lo ḥayāto taɛāse taɛāse

'You(f.) have been making his life miserable for him' (cf. hiyye msāwīt-ə́llo... 'She has been making... for him')

35. hiyye mədžawwəzto ɛala ḥalāwto w-ʔənti mədžawwəztī ɛala 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: džawwazə́to 'she married him', džawwaztī 'you married him'.)

These second-person participial forms are created by analogy to verbs in the perfect tense, which have a suffix -ti [p.175]: lbəsti 'you(f.) put on', lbəstīhon 'you put them on'; katabti 'you(f.) wrote', katabtī 'you wrote it(m.)'; sāwēti 'you(f.) made', sāwētī-lo '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.

In non-suffixing forms, feminine participles are the same for all persons: wēn ḥāṭṭa l-manāšef? [DA-199] 'Where have you(f.) put the towels?' (Or, in other contexts, 'Where has she put...')

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:

fāʔ   'to wake up'.................fāye? 'having waked up, awake'

samma 'to name, call'.............msammi 'having named'
                                  msamma '(having been) nəmed, called'

məsek 'to take hold of'...........māsek 'having taken hold of, holding'
                                  mamsūk '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:

səker 'to get drunk'...........sakrān   'drunk'

ġayyar 'to change' (trans.).....mġayyer 'having changed' (trans.)
                              mġayyar '(having been) changed'

tɛallam 'to learn, be educated'..mətɛallem '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:

nṭaẓar 'to expect, await'.......mənṭə́ẓer 'expecting, awaiting'
                               mənṭáẓar '(being) expected, awaited'

šaġal   'to occupy, keep...busy'.šāġel 'occupying, keeping...busy'
                               mašġūl 'occupied, busy'

dawwar 'to look for'............mdawwer 'looking for'
(ɛala)   (ɛala)
                               mdawwar 'sought, looked for'
                               ɛalē

htawa   'to include'............məhtə́wi 'including'
(ɛala)   (ɛala)
                               məhtə́wa 'included'
                               ɛalē

No matter whether the state depicted by a participle is subsequent or concurrent, it must in any case be a <u>consequent</u> 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. *ləssāni mətradded* — 'I'm still undecided' (a.p. of *traddad* 'to vacilate', durative)

37. *rākde wara t-təslāye bass* — 'She's only out for a good time' (lit. "running after amusement") (a.p. of *rakad* 'to run', durative)

38. *haž-žnēne məɛtâna fīha mnīḥ* — 'This garden is well kept' (p.p. of *ɛtana b-* 'to take care of', durative)

39. *n-nās kəllha farḥāne w-ḍaḥkāne* [adap.fr. DA-301] — 'The people are all rejoicing and laughing' (a.p. of *fəreḥ* and *ḍəḥek*, durative)

40. *wlād ɛammna kānu mṣayyfīn ᵊhnīk* [DA-152] — 'Our cousins were spending the summer there' (a.p. of *ṣayyaf* 'to (spend the) summer', durative)

41. *šū l-ᵊġrāḍ halli lāzəmtak?* [DA-128] — 'What things do you need?' (*lāzem*, a.p. of *byəlzam* 'to be necessary to (s.o.)', durative)

42. *məstanɣrīnkon ɛal-ɛaša* [SAL-70] — 'We're expecting you for dinner' (a.p. of *stanɣar* 'to expect, await', durative)

43. *ɛaᵓlo sābeḥ bəl-xayāl* — 'He's daydreaming', lit. 'His mind is swimming in fantasy' (a.p. of *sabaḥ* 'to swim', durative)

44. *ᵓana māliyyan məɛtômed ɛalē* — 'I'm financially dependent on him' 'a.p. of *ɛtamad ɛala* 'to depend on', durative)

---

45. *mašġūl bāli ɛand ᵓaḥmad bēk xēr šəbo?* [DA-217] — 'I'm concerned about Ahmed Bey; he's all right, I hope?', lit. 'My attention is occupied with..." (p.p. of *šaġal* 'to occupy, concern', durative)

Some verbs may be either punctual or durative, for instance *sāwa* 'to do, to make', *ġərəᵓ* 'to sink'. The participles of such verbs may indicate either the subsequent state (*msāwi* 'having made', *ġarᵓān* '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 <u>beginning</u> of that activity or situation. For example *nām* 'to sleep' (durative, as in *nəmᵊt sāɛtēn* 'I slept two hours') and 'to go to sleep, or 'to lie down to sleep' (punctual, as in *nəmᵊt bakkīr* 'I went to bed early'). Thus the participle *nāyem* 'asleep' is subsequent with reference to the inception and concurrent with reference to the duration. Other inceptive-aspect verbs:

Verb	Durative	Inceptive	Participle	
ᵓaɛad	'to sit'	'to sit down'	*ᵓāɛed*	'sitting, seated'
rəkeb	'to ride'	'to mount, get on'	*rākeb*	'mounted, riding'
sakat	'not to talk'	'to stop talking'	*sāket*	'not talking'
ləbes	'to wear'	'to put on'	*lābes*	'wearing'
			malbūs	'being worn'
ḥamal	'to carry'	'to pick up, load on'	*ḥāmel*	'carrying'
			maḥmūl	'(being) carried'
sāfar	'to travel'	'to set out on a trip'	*msāfer*	'traveling'
rtāḥ	'to rest, be at ease'	'to relax, put one's self at ease'	*mərtāḥ*	'at ease'

Examples in use:

46. *ṣ-ṣaᵓᵊr kān ḥāmel fāra b-maxālbo* — 'The hawk had (i.e. was carrying) a mouse in its claws'

47. *kənt lāzem təbᵓa mərtāḥ bəl-bēt* [DA-218] — 'You should have stayed resting at home'

48. *brīd šūfo, šūfī-li yā ᵓāɛed yəmma nāyem?* [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[1] are predominantly punctual while the corresponding English verbs are predominantly durative. Compare, for instance, Arabic *Ɛaref* '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: *Ɛāref* (or *Ɛarfān*) '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: *ʔana Ɛāref* '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: *kənt Ɛāref* 'I knew' (in contrast to the simple perfect *Ɛraft* 'I found out').[2]

Examples of "psychological" verbs and their active participles:

šāf	'to see'(momentarily)........*šāyef*	'to see, be looking at' (dur.)
ḥass	'to feel'(momentarily)......*ḥāses*	'to feel, be feeling' (dur.)
ḥabb	'to like, take a liking.....*ḥābeb* to'(momentarily)	'having taken a liking to, to like' (durative)
fəhem	'to catch on, understand'...*fāhem,* (momentarily) *fahmān*	'to understand' (dur.)
səmeƐ	'to hear'(momentarily)......*sāmeƐ,* *samƐān*	'to hear, be listening to'(dur.)[3]

---

[1] The verbs actually involved here are those which are commonly complemented either by a clause or by an object, excluding, therefore, words like *mbaṣaṭ* 'to enjoy one's self', *tƐazzab* 'to suffer', *fakkar* in the sense 'to cogitate' (but including e.g. *ftakar* 'to think', which is normally complemented by a clause or an object).

[2] The English simple present and past are also used, however, in translating Arabic dispositional [p. 326] and annunciatory [325] predications, e.g. *ʔana baƐref* 'I know', thus obscuring the sometimes crucial distinction between verb and participle in Arabic: *fāhem kalāmo?* 'Do you understand what he is saying (or what he said)?' vs. *btəfham Ɛarabi?* 'Do you understand Arabic?', *kənt təfham Ɛarabi (b-hal-waʔt)?* 'Did you understand Arabic (at that time?)'. The two latter sentences are dispositional, and cannot normally be expressed except by the imperfect tense.

[3] These translations of *sāmeƐ* or *samƐān* only apply to the purely sensory meaning of *səmeƐ*, as opposed to the cognitive meaning (as in 'to hear about', 'to hear from', 'to hear the news', etc.) Thus *kaʔanni samƐān ʔəsmo* '(It seems) as if I've heard his name', not "...as if I hear his name". In the cognitive sense, *sāmeƐ* means 'having heard(of), familiar with (the sound of)'.

xāf	'to fear, take fright(of)'.....*xāyef* (momentarily)	'afraid of, to fear'(dur.)
dzakkar	'to remember, recall'(mom.)....*madzakker*	'to remember' (dur.)[1]
rād	'to wish, want' (momentarily)..*rāyed*	'to wish, want' (dur.)
Ɛaǎ̌ab	'to please' (momentarily)......*Ɛāǎ̌eb*	'to please' (dur.)
hamm	'to interest, concern' (mom.)..*hāmem*	'to interest' (dur.)

Psychological participle clauses (Present state):

49. *šāyef hal-ʔarāḍi ʔaddēš xaḍra* [DA-235]	'(Do you) see how green this land is(?)'
50. *ʔana xāyef la-ykūn maƐi z-zāyde* [DA-217]	'I fear (I'm afraid) I may have appendicitis'
51. *ḥāses kaʔanni xalʔān ʔǎ̌dīd*	'I feel as though I'm newly born'
52. *hal-ʔaqtirāḥ mū Ɛāǎ̌əbni*	'I don't like that suggestion', lit. 'That suggestion doesn't please me.'
53. *mū hāməma ʔəlla rāḥəta*	'Nothing concerns her but her own comfort'
54. *rāyed baddel dolārāt ʔamērkiyye b-lērāt*	'I wish to change some American dollars into pounds'
55. *sāmeƐ ṣōṭ ʔn-nawaƐīr Ɛal-Ɛāṣi?* [DA-252]	'Do you hear the sound of the water wheels on the Orontes?'

Past state:

56. *kān fī zalame ḥāseb ḥālo šāṭer u-Ɛālem* [AO-83]	'There was a fellow who considered himself clever and learned' (a.p. of *ḥasab* 'to reckon, count, consider')
57. *w-ḍarab rās ʔt-təmsāl halli huwwe maftəkro bənt ʔt-tāǎ̌er* [AO-114]	'And he struck (off) the head of the statue he though (was) the merchant's daughter' (a.p. of *ftakar* 'to think')
58. *ʔana mā kənt matṣawwer ʔənno wəṣlet haṣ-ṣināƐa Ɛandkon la-had-daraǎ̌e* [DA-251]	'I didn't imagine that this industry among you had reached such a level' (a.p. of *tṣawwar* 'to imagine')
59. *ʔana Ɛməlt ḥāli māli sāmeƐ* [AO-118]	'I pretended not to hear'

---

[1] Note that while we translate *ʔana madzakker* consistently as a durative in English: 'I remember', *ʔana nāsi* 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)[1] may be used to indicate not only a subsequent state (e.g. *rāžeε* 'having returned', from *ražeε* 'to return'), but also an ANTECEDENT state (*ražeε* 'going to return, returning').

Verb		Participle	Subsequent State	Antecedent State
rāḥ	'to go'...........*rāyeḥ*		'gone'.............'going, going to go'	
ʔəža	'to come'.........*žāye*		'(having)come'......'coming, going to come'	
ṭaleε	'to go up, out'...*ṭāleε*		'gone up, out'......'going up, out, etc.'	
nəzel	'to descend'......*nāzel*		'having descended'..'descending, going to descend'	
tarak	'to leave'........*tārek*		'having left'.......'leaving, going to leave'	
daxal	'to enter'........*dāxel*		'having entered'....'entering, going to enter'	
xaraž	'to go out'.......*xārež*		'gone out'..........'going out, going to go out'	
wəsel	'to arrive'.......*wāsel*		'having arrived'....'arriving, going to arive'	
bəʔi	'to remain, stay'.*bāʔi*		'remaining, left'...'going to remain, stay'	
ʔaεad	'to stay'.........*ʔāεed*		'staying'...........'going to stay'	
sāfar	'to set out on a trip'...........*msāfer*		'(having)set out, traveling'........'going to set out'	

Examples of antecedent state participles:

60. *l-εēle wāsle baε³d bəkra* [DA-243]
'The family is arriving tomorrow'

61. *šu blāʔīkon rāyḥīn ʔab³l ma tāxdu l-ʔahwe?* [DA-199]
'You mean you're going before having coffee?!' (lit. "Do I find you about to go...")

62. *ʔana tārek ³l-yōm*
'I'm leaving today'

63. *ʔənte nāzel bəl-mubārā?*
'Are you competing in the tournament?', lit. "Are you descending into...(e.g. the arena)"

---

[1]Sometimes inappropriately called 'verbs of motion'.

64. *mīn ³mṭāleε ³l-yōm εašiyye?*
'Who are you taking out this evening?' (a.p. of *ṭālaε*, causative [p.243] of *ṭaleε*)

65. *huwwe lāḥ³ak*
'He's out to get out', lit. "He's catching up with you" (a.p. of *ləḥeʔ* 'to catch up with, catch')

66. *ʔana kənt rāyeḥ la-εandak šufak* [DA-243]
'I was going (to go) to see you'

Non-Stative Participles

Certain participles may be used in a dispositional sense [p.277], for example:

Verb		Participle	Stative	Dispositional
tḥarrak	'to move'......*mətḥarrek*		'moving'..........'movable'	
tžawwal	'to travel'....*mətžawwel*		'travelling'......'disposed to travel'	
ʔəbel	'to accept'....*maʔbūl*		'accepted'........'acceptable'	
ʔara	'to read'......*maqrū* (classicism)		'(having been) read'...........'legible'	

The dispositional sense is sometimes more or less limited to set phrases, e.g. *tāžer mətžawwel* 'traveling salesman' (i.e. a salesman who travels, not a salesman who is traveling); *kəl³mto masmūεa* '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. *ʔəntu fātḥīn ³s-sab³t?*
'Do you open (or are you open) on Saturday(s)?'

68. *lābse ʔawāεi həlwe*
'She wears pretty clothes'

69. *l-kamyōnāt māšye rāyḥa rāžεa bēn l-³mḥaṭṭa w-bētna*
'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. *waḷḷa māli mədžawwəza!*
'I certainly wouldn't marry her!'

71. *ṭālama ʔante εam-³thākīni εala haš-šaġle, māni mxayybak*
'Since you're speaking to me (personally) about this matter, I won't let you down'.

[Ch. 10]

Some active participles may be used in an agentive [p. 278] or character-
istic [279] sense:

Verb		Participle	Stative	Agentive or Characteristic
šamal	'to include'.....	šāmel	'including'.......	'inclusive, comprehensive'
barad	'to get cold'....	bāred	'(having gotten) cold'...........	'(characteristically) cold'
fəhem	'to understand'..	fāhem, fahmān	'who under- stands...'.......	'understanding, knowledgeable'

Most agentive adjectives of Pattern məFƐeL [p. 133] are
etymologically active participles of Pattern IV verbs [260],
but have lost their complementation (if any) and their
strictly stative sense.

Substantivized active participles designating human
beings are often used in the occupational sense [p. 305]
(which corresponds — for nouns — to dispositional adjectives):
mƐulliem 'teacher', ħāyek 'weaver'. Inanimate active parti-
ciples are sometimes used in an agentive sense: māneƐ 'hin-
drance' (from manaƐ 'to prevent, hinder'), bāƐes (classicism)
'motive', from baƐaθ 'to send, to induce'.

Many passive participles are substantivized in a result-
ative sense (generally involving some idiomatic specializa-
tion of meaning): maktūb 'letter' (from katab 'to write'),
maxlūʔ 'creature' (from xalaʔ 'to create').

Substantivization as such does not necessarily destroy
the stative sense of a participle, however. Note mwaẓẓaf
'employee', mƐazzem 'host', lāžeʔ 'refugee', etc., which are
normally always stative, and mʔallef 'author, composer',
which may be either stative (as in mʔallef hal-ᵊktāb 'the
one who wrote this book') or occupational (as in mʔallef
kətob 'a writer of books').

DISPOSITIONAL ADJECTIVES

A dispositional adjective indicates that the person (or thing) referred
to is especially inclined or habituated or qualified to do what is desig-
nated by the underlying verb. Patterns FaƐūL [p. 128], FaƐƐāL [129], and
FaƐƐīL [129] are the ones generally used.

Underlying Verb		Dispositional Adjective	

Pattern FaƐūL:

ħasad	'to envy'..........................	ħasūd	'envious, inclined to envy'
xəžel	'to be embarrassed, ashamed'.......	xažūl	'shy, bashful'
ṣabar	'to be patient'...................	ṣabūr	'patient' (in disposition)
sakat	'not to talk, be silent'..........	sakūt	'silent, taciturn'
ġafar	'to forgive'......................	ġafūr	'forgiving' (in disposition)
ʔakal	'to eat'..........................	ʔakūl	'gourmand'
ḍəħek	'to laugh'........................	ḍaħūk	'jolly, always laughing'

With medial radical semivowel, the Pattern is FayyūL:
ġayyūr 'jealous' (in disposition), from ġār 'to be jealous'.

kasūl 'lazy' and žasūr 'daring' have no underlying
simple verbs, but correspond to tkāsal 'to loaf' and džāsar
'to dare', respectively [p. 249].

Pattern FaƐƐāL:

ħass	'to feel..................	ħassās	'sensitive'
təmeƐ	'to be greedy'............	təmmāƐ	'greedy'
kazab, kazzab	'to lie'.................	kazzāb	'liar'
ġašš	'to cheat'...............	ġaššāš	'cheater'
bəki	'to weep, cry'...........	bakka	'cry-baby, weeper'

Note the close relationship between dispositional adjec-
tives of Pattern FaƐƐāL and Occupational Nouns of the same
Pattern [p. 305].[1]

---

[1] There is no clear-cut noun-vs.-adjective distinction in human designations
formed on Patterns FaƐƐāL and FaƐƐīL (among others). [See p. 382.] There
is, however, a clear enough distinction in meaning between the disposi-
tional and occupational categories; all dispositional derivatives have
here been included with adjectives, while occupationals are obviously to
be classified as nouns.

Underlying Verb			Dispositional Adjective	

Pattern *FaƐƐīL*:

barad	'to get cold'	....	*barrīd*	'sensitive to cold'
balaf	'to bluff'	....	*ballīf*	'bluffer'
štaġal	'to work'	....	*šaġġīl*	'(good)worker'
ṣaraf	'to spend'	....	*ṣarrīf*	'spendthrift'
laƐeb	'to play'	....	*laƐƐīb*	'player'

A slightly different pattern (*FaƐƐīL*) [p. 129] is used for some dispositionals: *səkkīr* 'drunkard' from *səker* 'to get drunk'.

It is important to distinguish between dispositional and stative adjectives; the English translations do not always express this distinction: *sakūt* 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative in disposition) vs. *sāket* 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative for the moment); *ṣabūr* 'patient' (i.e. in disposition) vs. *ṣāber* 'patient' (i.e. waiting patiently); *kasūl* 'lazy' (i.e. habitually) vs. *kaslān* '(feeling or acting) lazy'.

AGENTIVE ADJECTIVES

Agentive adjectives, formed on Pattern *maFƐeL* [p. 133], depict their referent as doing — or tending to do — what is designated by a paronymous transitive verb: *ʔaraf* 'to disgust': *maʔref* '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 [265], while an agentive adjective does not; and the participle designates only states [262], while the agentive designates states, dispositions, or qualities indiscriminately.

Transitive Verb			Agentive Adjective	
taƐab	'to tire'	....	*matƐeb*	'tiring, tiresome'
zaƐaž	'to bother, disturb'	....	*mazƐež*	'bothersome, disturbing'
raḍa	'to please, satisfy'	....	*marḍi*	'satisfactory'
ʔaza	'to harm'	....	*maʔzi*	'harmful'
hamm	'to concern, be important to'	.....	*mhamm*	'important'
mall	'to bore'	....	*mmall*	'boring'
wažaƐ	'to hurt, inflict pain'	....	*mūžeƐ*	'painful, hurtful'[1]
ʔatlaf	'to ruin, annihilate'	....	*matlef*	'ruinous, destructive'
ḍaḥḥak	'to make...laugh'	....	*maḍḥek*	'funny, laughable'
rayyaḥ	'to make...comfortable'	....	*maryeḥ*	'comfortable' (e.g. chair)
hayyab	'to inspire with awe, fear'	......	*mahyeb*	'awesome, fearsome'
mawwat	'to kill, cause death'	....	*mumīt*	'deadly, lethal'

CHARACTERISTIC ADJECTIVES[2]

Characteristic adjectives, formed on the pattern *maFƐeL* [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:

Underlying Noun			Characteristic Adjective	
zōʔ	'taste'	....	*mazweʔ*	'having good taste'
xaṭar	'danger'	....	*maxṭer*	'dangerous'
sənn	'age'	....	*msənn*	'aged'
šams	'sun'	....	*mašmes*	'sunny'
dəhᵊn	'grease, oil'	....	*madhen*	'greasy, oily'
hawa	'air, breeze'	....	*mahwi*	'draughty, airy'
lsān	'tongue'	....	*malsen*	'articulate, eloquent'

---

[1] Note that *mūžeƐ* — like the subject of *wažaƐ* — refers to an external agent, while the subject of *wažeƐ* 'to hurt, pain' refers to an "internal" agent: *rāsi byūžaƐni* 'my head hurts me'. The agentive *mūžeƐ* does not correspond to *wažeƐ* — it does not mean 'painful' is this sense.

[2] Characteristic 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	
ḥaʔʔ	'right'	mḥaʔʔ	'in the right'
waraʔ	'leaves'	mūreʔ	'in leaf, leafy'
zahᵊr	'blossoms'	mᵊzher	'blooming, flowering'
ʔᵊrᵊš	'piastre'	mᵊʔreš	'well off'
batᵊn	'belly'	mᵊbten	'paunchy, potbellied'

RELATIVE ADJECTIVES
(an-nisba)

A relative adjective indicates something characteristic of, or having to do with, what the underlying word designates. Most relative adjectives are formed by suffixing −i or sometimes −āni to a noun base; a few are derived from words other than nouns.

Underlying Noun		Relative Adjective	
žanūb	'south'	žanūbi	'southern'
ʔaṣᵊl	'origin'	ʔaṣli	'original'
ražžāl	'man'	ražžāli	'men's' (e.g. clothes)
ṭᵊbb	'(profession of) medicine'	ṭᵊbbi	'medical'
mᵊšmoš	'apricot(s)'	mᵊšᵊmši	'apricot-colored'
š-šam	'Damascus'	šāmi	'Damascene'

With suffix −āni [See also p. 282]:

žᵊsᵊm	'body'	žᵊsmāni	'bodily'
rōḥ, rūḥ	'soul, spirit'	rūḥani (and rūḥi)	'spiritual'
nafs	'self, psyche'	nafsāni	'psychological'

Relative derivatives showing stem changes

Nouns with the suffix −e/−a [p. 138] lose this suffix when −i is added:

zirāɛa	'agriculture'	zirāɛi	'agricultural'
ḥaʔīʔa	'truth'	ḥaʔīʔi	'true, real'
ɛāṭfe	'feeling, emotion, sentiment'	ɛāṭfi	'emotional, sentimental'
ɛāde	'custom, usage, habit'	ɛādi	'customary, usual'
ḍarūra	'necessity'	ḍarūri	'necessary'

Relatives derived from defective nouns [p. 211], or nouns ending in a radical semivowel, have −w− representing the semivowel before the −i. Other stem modifications may also occur:

Underlying Word		Relative Adjective	
naša	'starch'	našawi	'starchy'
luġa	'language'	luġawi	'linguistic'
nabi	'prophet'	nabawi	'prophetic, of the prophet(s)'
naḥu	'(Arabic) morphology, grammar'	naḥawi	'(Arab) grammarian'
tāni	'second'	tānawi, sānawi	'secondary'
ḥama	'Hama' (a city)	ḥamwi	'of Hama'
šᵊte	'winter'	šᵊtwi	'of winter, wintry'
ʔaxx	(annex. form ʔaxu)	ʔaxawi	'brotherly'
sama	'sky'	samāwi	'of the sky, sky blue'

Note also the forms damawi 'of blood, bloody', from Cl. dam (Colloq. damm) 'blood'; yadawi 'manual', from Cl. yad (Colloq. ʔīd) 'hand', sanawi 'annual' from Cl. sana (Colloq. sᵊne). In these biradical words [p. 40] −aw− is a stem-formative and does not represent a radical.

Grammatical Types of Underlying Words

Relative adjectives derived from ethnic collectives [p. 301]:

ɛarab	'Arabs'	ɛarabi	'Arab, Arabic'
tᵊrk	'Turks'	tᵊrki	'Turkish'
kᵊrd	'Kurds'	kᵊrdi	'Kurdish'
ʔarman	'Armenians'	ʔarmani	'Armenian'
ʔamērkān	'Americans'	ʔamerkāni	'American'
ʔafranž	'Westerners'	ʔafranži	'Western'
badu	'Bedouins'	badawi	'Bedouin'
ʔᵊbṭ	'Copts'	ʔᵊbṭi	'Coptic'

When substantivized, these relatives function as unit nouns [p. 301].

Derived from noun plurals:

Underlying Word			Relative Adjective	
sətt	'lady',	pl. *səttāt*............*səttāti*	'ladies' (e.g. clothes)
nəkte	'joke',	pl. *nəkat*............*nəkati*	'full of jokes, funny'
dawle	'nation',	pl. *duwal*............*duwali*	'international'

See also Occupational Nouns [p. 306].

Derived from prepositions [p. 485]:

fō?	'above, over, up'..............*fō?āni*	'upper'
taḥ³t	'below, under, down'...........*taḥtāni*	'lower'
?əddām	'in front (of)'................*?əddamāni*	'front, fore(ward)'
wara	'behind'.......................*warrāni*[1]	'back, hind'
xalf	'behind, rear'.................*xalfāni*	'back, rear'
wasṭ	'among, amid, in the middle'....*wasṭāni*	'middle, mid'
žuwwa	'inside'.......................*žuwwāni*	'inner'
barra	'outside'......................*barrāni*	'outer'

Derived from miscellaneous noun-type words [p. 382]:

?awwal	'first'.........................*?awwalāni*	'first, primary',
	?awwali	'initial'
?āxer	'last'..........................*?āxrāni*	'last, final'
?aṣfar	'yellow'........................*?aṣfarāni*	'yellowish'
?aswad	'black'.........................*?aswadāni*	'blackish'
xamse	'five'..........................*xamsāwi*	'of five, of the fifth'
?arbɛ̄n	'forty'.........................*?arbɛ̄ni*	'of the fortieth' (as in *ɛ̄id ?arbɛ̄ni* 'fortieth anniversary')

---

[1]Doubling of the *r* is an anomalous stem change.

CHAPTER 11:   NOUN DERIVATION

Index of Categories

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.

[Ch. 11]

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 *ʔamīn* 'honest', for instance, has an abstract derivative *ʔamāne* 'honesty'; the noun *ʔaxx* 'brother' has a derivative *ʔuxuwwe* 'brotherhood'; and the verb *ṭār* 'to fly' has a derivative *ṭayarān* 'flight, flying'.

An abstract noun derived from a verb is called a GERUND or VERBAL NOUN (*maṣdar*)[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 šāṭer* 'the boy is clever' → *šaṭāret ᵊl-walad* 'the boy's cleverness'; *r-rəžžāl māt* 'the man died' → *mōt ᵊr-rəžžāl* '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 *ʔakᵊl* 'eating' is also used to mean 'food'; the gerund *ktābe* '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 *zyāra* 'visiting' is also used to mean 'a visit', *ṣɛūbe* 'difficulty', to mean 'a difficulty'.

Particularization converts a mass noun into a count noun [p. 366]: *tlətt ᵊṣɛūbāt* 'three difficulties', *zyārtēn* '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: *ḍarb* 'hitting, striking' (not 'a blow', for which the instance noun *ḍarbe* is used).

[1] The literal meaning of *maṣdar* 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 — rather than linguistic — considerations, perhaps under the influence of Platonism.

Some gerunds, however, are <u>not</u> used in a particularized sense even though a true instance noun is also lacking: *ṭayarān* 'flying, flight' (not 'a flight').

Many abstract nouns are simultaneously materialized and particularized. Thus *nabāt* means not only 'growing, vegetating' (abstract),[1] and 'vegetation' (materialized), but also 'a plant' (materialized <u>and</u> particularized). Likewise *šaxṣiyye* 'personality' means not only the state or function of being a person (*šaxṣ*), but more often 'a personality'.

In some cases, different gerundial forms from the same verb are concretized in different senses. The verb *daras* 'to study, learn' has two gerunds, *dars* and *dirāse; dars* is used in the passive sense as 'lesson', *dirāse* in the active sense as '(a) study'.

The verb *ḥakam* 'to judge' and 'to govern' has a gerund *ḥakᵊm* which is used abstractly in both senses, but concretely only in the sense 'judgement, decision'; the form *ḥkūme* '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 *FaɛāLe, FɛūLe,* and *FəɛL(e)*.
Those derived from relative adjectives (ending in *-i*) are formed by suffixing *-(yy)e* [p. 280]. Examples:

Pattern *FaɛāLe* [p. 146]:

Underlying Word		Abstract Noun	
šəžāɛ	'brave'	*šažāɛa*	'bravery'
bəšeɛ	'ugly'	*bašāɛa*	'ugliness'
ɛaduww	'enemy'	*ɛadāwe*	'enmity'
sadīʔ	'friend'	*sadāʔa*	'friendship'
ʔamīn	'honest'.............	*ʔamāne*	'honesty'
ʔāsi	'cruel'	*ʔasāwe*	'cruelty'
bāred	'stupid'	*barāde*	'stupidity'

[1] *nabāt* is seldom used abstractly except as paronymous complement [p. 442]: *byənbot nabāt* "it grows a growth", i.e. 'it grows (considerably)'.

Underlying Word		Abstract Noun	
sālem	'safe, sound'.........	salāme	'safety'
ḥārr	'hot'	ḥarāra	'heat'
ʔarāyeb	'kin'	ʔarābe	'kinship'

Pattern *FƐūLe* [p. 151]:

xəšen	'coarse'	xšūne	'coarseness'
raṭeb	'damp, humid'........	rṭūbe	'dampness, humidity'
ṭəfˀl	'child, infant'.......	ṭfūle	'childhood, infancy'
sahˀl	'easy'..............	shūle	'ease, facility'
ṣaƐˀb	'difficult'..........	ṣƐūbe	'difficulty'
ʔabb	'father'.............	ʔubuwwe	'fatherhood'
bāred	'cold'..............	brūde	'coldness' (Cf. barāde, above)

Abstract nouns of Pattern *FƐūLe* are mostly derived from words of Patterns *FəƐL* [141], and *FaƐL* [139,126].

Pattern *FəƐL* [p. 141]:

kbīr	'large'..............	kəbˀr	'large size'
zġīr	'small'..............	zəġˀr	'small size'
tˀīl	'heavy'..............	taʔˀl	'heaviness; weight'
bƐīd	'far'...............	baƐˀd	'distance'
bxīl	'stingy, miser'.......	bəxˀl	'stinginess'
ṭawīl	'long'	ṭūl	'length'

Pattern *FəƐLe* [p. 142]:

ʔalīl	'little, few'.........	ʔəlle	'small quantity, scarcity'
šadīd	'intense'............	šədde	'intensity'
ʔawi	'strong, powerful' ...	ʔuwwe	'strength, power'
ktīr	'much, many'..........	kətra	'large quantity'
ṣāḥeb	'friend'	ṣəḥbe	'friendship, companion-ship'

Abstract nouns of Patterns *FəƐL* and *FəƐLe* are derived mainly from adjectives of Pattern *F(a)ƐīL* [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 *FaƐāL*, as in žamāl 'beauty' (from žamīl 'beautiful'); Pattern *FaƐaL*, as in zaġar 'childhood, youth' (from zġīr 'child, young'); Suffix *-iyye*, as in ḥerriyye 'freedom' (from ḥərr '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: ṭūl 'length' (not necessarily 'longness'), taʔˀl 'weight' (not necessarily 'heaviness').

Some adjectives and nouns are correlatives (or participles) of descriptive verbs [p. 251]; their abstract nouns are also gerunds to those verbs: adj. bxīl 'stingy', verb byəbxal 'to be stingy', abstr. noun bəxˀl 'stinginess, being stingy'; noun ʔarāyeb 'kin', verb byaʔrab 'to be kin to', abstr. noun ʔarābe 'kinship'; adj. ṣaḥīḥ 'correct', vb. biṣaḥḥ 'to be correct', abstr. noun ṣaḥḥa 'correctness'.

Abstract nouns derived from relative adjectives (or nouns) [p. 280] are formed by the suffixation of -(yy)e [139]:

Underlying Word		Abstract Noun	
waṭani	'patriot(ic)'.............	waṭaniyye	'patriotism'
ʔummi	'illiterate'..............	ʔummiyye	'illiteracy'
ɛabqari	'ingenious, genius'.......	ɛabqariyye	'ingenuity, genius'
ʔazali	'eternal'................	ʔazaliyye	'eternity'
nəsbi	'relative'...............	nəsbiyye	'relativity'
ɛaṣabi	'nervous'................	ɛaṣabiyye	'nervousness'
ʔanāni	'egotist(ical), selfish'..	ʔanāniyye	'egotism, selfishness'

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):

Underlying Word		Concretized Derivative	
masīḥi	'Christian'..............	masīḥiyye	'Christianity'
bašari	'human'..................	bašariyye	'mankind'
šuyūɛi	'communist'.............	šuyūɛiyye	'communism'
ʔəštirāki	'socialist'..............	ʔəštirākiyye	'socialism'
žamhūri	'republican'.............	žamhūriyye	'republic'
naẓari	'theoretical'............	naẓariyye	'theory'
šaxṣi	'personal, individual'...	šaxṣiyye	'personality'
riyāḍi	'mathematical'..........	riyāḍiyyāt	'mathematics' (pl. only)

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:

masʔūl	'responsible'........	masʔūliyye	'responsibility'
ɛabd	'slave, enslaved'....	ɛbūdiyye	'enslavement, slavery'
huwwe	'he, it'.............	hawiyye	'identity'

A number of abstract nouns are formed by suffixing -iyye to elatives: ʔahammiyye 'importance' (from ʔahamm 'more important', from mhəmm 'important'), ʔaktariyye and ʔaġlabiyye 'majority' (from ʔaktar 'more, most', and ʔaġlab 'most, major portion'), ʔafḍaliyye 'preference', (from ʔafḍal 'preferable'), etc.

Abstract derivatives of Pattern ʔaFƐaL adjectives [p. 130] and miscellaneous augmented words are not formed in any very consistent ways: sawād 'blackness' (from ʔaswad 'black'), ɛami 'blindness' (from ʔaƐma 'blind' and Ɛəmi 'to go blind'), ružūle 'manliness' (from rəžžāl '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.

Simple Gerundial Patterns. The most common of all is Pattern FaƐL; other common patterns are FəƐL, FaƐaL, FƐāle, FaƐāL, FƐūL, FaƐLe, FəƐLe, FəƐLān, FaƐaLān. Examples:

Pattern FaƐL [p. 139]:

Verb		Gerund	
žaraḥ	'to cut, wound'..........	žarᵊḥ	'wounding, cutting'
kasar	'to break'..............	kasᵊr	'breaking, breakage'
fəhem	'to understand'..........	fahᵊm	'understanding, comprehension'
ʔaxad	'to take'................	ʔaxᵊd	'taking'
hazz	'to shake'..............	hazz	'shaking'
baṣaṭ	'to please'.............	baṣṭ	'pleasure, pleasing'
xāf	'to fear'...............	xōf	'fear'
bās	'to kiss'...............	bōs	'kissing'
bāƐ	'to sell'...............	bēƐ	'selling, sale'
rama	'to throw'.............	rami	'throwing'
wəƐi	'to become conscious'.....	waƐi	'consciousness, becoming conscious'
ġaza	'to raid'...............	ġazu	'raiding'

Pattern FəɛL [p. 141]:

Verb		Gerund	Verb		Gerund
bağaḍ	'to hate'	bəğḍ	hass	'to feel'	hass
ḥakam	'to judge'	ḥəkᵊm	ḥafaẓ	'to keep'	ḥafẓ
ləɛeb	'to play'	ləɛᵊb	labes	'to wear, put on'	labs
			ḥabb	'to like, love'	ḥabb

Pattern FəɛL is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns FaɛaL [p. 143]:

ḥasad	'to envy'	ḥasad	ḥaṭṭ	'to put'	ḥaṭaṭ
ɛəmel	'to do, make'	ɛamal	ḍarr	'to damage'	ḍarar
ɛaraʔ	'to sweat'	ɛaraʔ	ṭalab	'to request, order'	ṭalab
			ğələṭ	'to make a mistake'	ğalaṭ

Pattern FaɛaL is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns FaɛāL [p. 146]:

nažaḥ	'to succeed'	nažāḥ	ɛaṭa	'to give'	ɛaṭāʔ, ɛaṭa
nabat	'to grow, vegetate'	nabāt	səxi	'to be generous'	saxāʔ, saxa
fasad	'to corrupt'	fasād	dəfi	'to get warm'	dafa
dām	'to last'	dawām			

Pattern F(i)ɛāL(e) [pp. 147, 148]

Verb		Gerund	Verb		Gerund
ɛabad	'to worship'	ɛbāde	ḥama	'to defend'	ḥmāye
xəled	'to bear (child)'	wlāde	zād	'to increase'	zyāde
ḥaras	'to guard'	ḥrāse			
zār	'to visit'	zyāra	ḥakk	'to itch'	ḥkāk
ʔara	'to read'	ʔrāye	ğāb	'to be absent'	ğyāb
zaraɛ	'to cultivate'	zirāɛa[1]	rəḍi	'to be pleased, satisfied'	rəḍa [p. 147]
daras	'to study'	dirāse[2]	šəfi	'to be cured'	šifa [p. 148]

Pattern F(u)ɛūL [p. 150]:

nəzel	'to descend'	nzūl	sakat	'not to talk'	skūt
daxal	'to enter'	dxūl	marr	'to pass'	mrūr
šaɛar	'to feel'	šɛūr	ṭəleɛ	'to come up or out'	ṭlūɛ
wəṣel	'to arrive'	wṣūl	ləzem	'to be necessary'	lzūm
wəṭi	'to be low'	wṭuww			

Pattern FaɛaLān:

ražaf	'to tremble'	ražafān	ṭār	'to fly'	ṭayarān
xafaʔ	'to beat, stir'	xafaʔān	lām	'to blame'	lawamān
nəšef	'to get dry'	našafān	žāb	'to bring'	žayabān
žara	'to run, flow'	žarayān	dāʔ	'to taste'	dawaʔān

Pattern FəɛLān:

nakar	'to deny'	nəkrān	ğafar	'to forgive'	ğəfrān
nəsi	'to forget'	nesyān	ɛəref	'to know'	ɛərfān
ʔaḍa	'to accomplish'	ʔəḍyān	ɛəṣi	'to disobey'	ɛəṣyān

[1] Two different gerunds of zaraɛ correspond to two different meanings of the verb: zaraɛ 'to sow, plant', has the gerund zarᵊɛ.
[2] Another gerund is dars; see p. 285.

Pattern *FaƐLe* [p.140]:

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
zalaʔ 'to skid, slide'	*zalʔa*	*xāb* 'to fail, be disappointed'	*xēbe*
raḥam 'to have mercy on'	*raḥme*	*fāʔ* 'to wake'	*fēʔa*
waṣaf 'to prescribe'	*waṣfe*[1]	*rāḥ* 'to go'	*rōḥa*

Pattern *FəƐLe* [p.142]:

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
xadam 'to serve'	*xədme*	*Ɛāš* 'to live'	*Ɛīše*
ʔəder 'to be able'	*ʔədra*	*ǧār* 'to be jealous'	*ǧīre*
saraʔ 'to steal'	*sərʔa*	*kasa* 'to clothe'	*kəswe*

Pattern *F(a)ƐīL* [pp.148,149]:

Verb	Gerund	
raḥal 'to leave, emigrate'	*raḥīl*	'departure, moving away'
ʔann 'to moan'	*ʔanīn*	'moan, moaning'
šaxar 'to snore'	*šxīr*	'snore, snoring'
ṭann 'to ring, tinkle'	*ṭnīn*	'tinkle, ringing'
ḍažž 'to be noisy, to clamor'	*ḍžīž*	'noise, clamor'
rakaḍ 'to run'	*rkīḍ*	'running'

This pattern is specialized to some extent for gerunds designating sounds or noises.

Various other patterns are used less commonly for the gerunds of simple verbs, for example Pattern *FaƐaLe* as in *šafaʔa* 'pity' (from *šafaʔ* 'to pity'); Pattern *ʔəFƐāL* as in *ʔəḥrāž* 'embarrassment' (from *ḥaraž* 'to embarrass'; the anomalous defective pattern of *bəke* 'crying, weeping' [p.147] (from *bəki* 'to cry, weep'), etc.

For *al-maṣdar l-mīmī*, see p.309.

---

[1] *waṣaf* also means 'to describe', for which the gerund is *waṣᵊf* 'description'.

Augmented Gerundial Patterns

Verbs of Pattern II(*FaƐƐaL*) [p.77] have gerunds of Pattern *taFƐīL*, excepting defective verbs, which have Pattern *təFƐāLe*, or sometimes, *taFƐiLe*:

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
Ɛallam 'to teach'	*taƐlīm*	*sažžal* 'to record'	*tasžīl*
ṣallaḥ 'to repair'	*taṣlīḥ*	*faḍḍal* 'to prefer'	*tafḍīl*
daffa 'to heat'	*tədfāye*	*naʔʔa* 'to choose'	*tənʔāye*
wadda 'to take, guide'	*tūdāye*	*rabba* 'to educate'	*terbāye* or *tarbiye*

sawwa 'to fix, equalize' | *taswiye*

Verbs of Pattern III (*FāƐaL*) [p.80] have gerunds of Pattern *mFāƐaLe*; (Defective form: *mFāƐā* [81]):

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
fāṣal 'to bargain (with)'	*mfāṣale*	*sāƐad* 'to help'	*msāƐade*
kātab 'to write to'	*mkātabe*	*Ɛāmal* 'to treat (s.o.)'	*mƐāmale*
sāwa 'to make'	*msāwā*	*lāʔa* 'to find'	*mlāʔā*

Verbs of Pattern IV (*ʔaFƐaL*) [p.82] have gerunds of Pattern *ʔəFƐāL* (defective form *ʔəFƐāʔ* or *ʔəFƐa*); (for hollow verbs, *ʔiFāLe*):

Verb	Gerund	
ʔaƐlan 'to announce'	*ʔəƐlān*	'announcement'
ʔaḍrab 'to go on strike'	*ʔəḍrāb*	'going on strike, a strike'
ʔakram 'to honor, treat hospitably'	*ʔəkrām*	'honoring, hospitality'
ʔažra 'to perform, execute'	*ʔəžrāʔ, ʔəžra*	'performance, execution'
ʔaḥāl 'to transfer, transform'	*ʔiḥāle*	'transfer, transformation'

The initial-weak verb *ʔāman* 'to believe' [p.85] has the gerund *ʔīmān* 'belief'

Verbs of Patterns V and VI (*tFaƐƐaL* and *tFāƐaL*) [pp. 86, 88] have gerunds of Patterns *taFaƐƐoL* and *taFāƐoL* respectively. (Defective forms *taFaƐƐi*, *taFāƐi*.):

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
tʔaddam 'to progress'	*taʔaddom*	*thāmal* 'to neglect'	*tahāmol*
tƐallam 'to learn'	*taƐallom*	*tƐāwan* 'to cooperate'	*taƐāwon*
thadda 'to provoke'	*tahaddi*	*tsāwa* 'to be equalized'	*tasāwi*

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying verb of Pattern II or III: *tkātabu* 'to correspond with one another' and *kātab* 'to correspond with (someone else')' are both served by the gerund *mkātabe* '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 (*nFaƐaL* and *FtaƐaL*) [pp. 91, 95]: have gerunds of Patterns *ʔənFiƐāL* and *ʔəFtiƐāL* respectively. (Defective forms *ʔənFiƐāʔ* or *ʔənFíƐa*, *ʔəFtiƐāʔ* or *ʔəFtíƐa*):

nṣaraf 'to be dismissed'	*ʔənṣirāf*	*ktašaf* 'to discover'	*ʔəktišāf*
nfaƐal 'to be agitated'	*ʔənfiƐāl*	*žtamaƐ* 'to meet'	*ʔəžtimāƐ*
nhaṭṭ 'to decline'	*ʔənhiṭāṭ*	*ttafaʔ* 'to agree'	*ʔəttifāʔ*
nzawa 'to withdraw, be by one's self'	*ʔənziwāʔ*	*htāl* 'to use trickery'	*ʔəhtiyāl*
		Ɛtana 'to take care of'	*ʔəƐtína*

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying simple verb: *štagal* 'to be busy, to work' and *šagal* 'to busy', 'to occupy', are both served by the gerund *šəgʰl* 'work, busying'. In some cases of Pattern VIII, a simple gerund is used even though the underlying simple verb itself is not used: *ftakar* 'to think': gerund *fəkʰr* 'thought'; *štara* 'to buy': gerund *šəre* 'buying, purchase'.

Gerunds of Pattern IX (*FƐaLL*) verbs [p. 101] have the Pattern *ʔəFƐiLāL*:

Verb	Gerund
hmarr 'to redden, to blush'	*ʔəhmirār* 'reddening, blush'

Verbs of Pattern X (*staFƐaL*) [p. 102] have gerunds of Pattern *ʔəstaFƐāL* (sound and geminate):

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
staƐmal 'to use'	*ʔəstaƐmāl*	*stafham* 'to enquire'	*ʔəstafhām*
staqbal 'to receive'	*ʔəstaqbāl*	*stamadd* 'to procure supplies'	*ʔəstəmdād*

With initial radical semivowel, the pattern is *ʔəstīƐāL*:

   stawrad 'to import' .... *ʔəstīrād* 'import, importation, importing'

For hollow verbs, the pattern is *ʔəstiFāLe*:

   stafād 'to benefit' .... *ʔəstifāde* 'usefulness, benefit'

For defective verbs, the pattern is *ʔəstaFƐāʔ*:

   stasna 'to exclude' .... *ʔəstəsnāʔ* 'exclusion, exception'

Defective with initial radical semivowel:

   stawla 'to seize' .... *ʔəstīlāʔ* 'seizure'

Quadriradical and Pseudo-quadriradical verbs generally have gerunds of Pattern *FaƐLaLe* [p. 159] (*FaƐLane*, *FarƐaLe*, etc.):

Verb	Gerund
taržam 'to translate'	*taržame* 'translation'
xarbaṭ 'to mess up'	*xarbaṭa* 'mess, messing up'
wašwaš 'to whisper'	*wašwaše* 'whispering'

Verbs with *t-* formative [p. 85]:

twaldan 'to be childish'	*waldane* 'childishness'
ddōšan 'to be dazed, astonished'	*dōšane* 'astonishment, stupefaction'
tšēṭan 'to be naughty, mischievous'	*šēṭane* 'mischief, naughtiness'

In a few classicisms, the pattern *taFaƐLoL* is used for the gerunds of *t-* formative verbs: *tadahwor* 'decline, decadence' from *ddahwar* 'to decline, become decadent'.

Pattern *FƐaLaLL* verbs [p. 123] have gerunds on the pattern *ʔəFƐəL₁L₂āL₂*:

ṭmaʔann 'to feel confident, secure' .... *ʔəṭməʔnān* 'confidence, security'

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: *mōt rəžžāl* 'a man's death' ← *māt rəžžāl* 'a man died'; *ʔakl ʔl-laḥ²m* 'the eating of meat, eating the meat' ← *ʔakal ʔl-laḥ²m* 'ate the meat' (or *byākol əl-laḥ²m* 'eats the meat').

In the case of transitive verbs, therefore, a gerund may be used either in an active or a passive sense: *ʔatl ʔr-rəžžāl....* '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: *ʔat²l* 'killing' for both *ʔatal* 'to kill' and *ʔətel* (or *n²atal*) 'to be killed'; *ʔak²l* 'eating' for both *ʔakal* 'to eat' and *ttākal* (or *n²akal*) 'to be eaten'; *šəġ²l* 'work, being busy' for both *šaġal* 'to occupy, to busy' and *štaġal* '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: *ʔatl ʔr-rəžžāl ʔl-ḥarāmi* 'the man's killing (of) the thief'; *taɛlīm ʔl-ʔabb ²wlādo* '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.[1] Singulatives are usually formed by suffixing *-e/-a* [p. 138]:

Underlying Noun		Singulative	
xass	'lettuce'................	*xasse*	'a head of lettuce'
šaɛ²r	'hair'..................	*šaɛra*	'a hair'
fək²r	'thought, thinking'.......	*fəkra*	'a thought, an idea'
ṣarx	'shouting'..............	*ṣarxa*	'a shout, a cry'
bōs	'kissing'...............	*bōse*	'a kiss'
ba²ar	'cattle'...............	*ba²ara*	'a cow'
dəbbān	'flies'................	*dəbbāne*	'a fly'
baḥ²ṣ	'gravel, pebbles'........	*baḥṣa*	'a pebble'

A singulative derived from a gerund [p. 284] is called an INSTANCE NOUN (*ism l-marra*). A singulative derived from a mass noun [p. 368] designating some kind of material thing is called a UNIT NOUN (*ism l-waḥda*), and the noun it is derived from is called a COLLECTIVE (*ism l-ǧamɛ*).

It should be clearly understood that collectives (except for ethnic collectives [p. 301]) are grammatically singular, though the English translation may be plural: *dəbbān* 'flies'. Collectives — since they are mass nouns — may have plurals of Abundance or Variety [368]: *dababīn* 'many flies', while singulatives are of course count nouns: *dəbbāne* 'one fly', *dəbbāntēn* 'two flies', *tlətt dəbbānāt* 'three flies'.

Almost all singulatives are derived either from gerunds or from material mass nouns; an exception is *lēle* 'a night', from *lēl* 'nighttime'.

---

[1] 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 <u>refer to</u> a particular instance of what it designates (*e.g. hal-xass* 'this lettuce', *fəkri ²ana* '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 <u>separate</u> 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:

Collective		Unit Noun	
badənžān	'eggplant'...................	*badənžāne*	'an eggplant'
baṭāṭa	'potato(es)'................	*baṭāṭāye*	'a potato' [cf. p. 212]
məšmoš	'apricot(s)'................	*məšᵊmše*	'an apricot' [p. 31]
lōz	'almond(s)'.................	*lōze*	'an almond'
ʔamᵊḥ	'wheat'..:.................	*ʔamḥa*	'a grain of wheat'
banafsaž	'violets'...................	*banafsaže*	'a violet'
ward	'roses; flowers'...........	*warde*	'a rose, a flower'
fəlfol	'pepper'....................	*fəlᵊfle*	'a pepper, peppercorn'
naxᵊl	'date palms'...............	*naxle*	'a date palm'
ɛəšᵊb	'grass, weeds, herbs'.......	*ɛəšbe*	'a blade of grass, a weed, an herb'
ʔašš	'straw'..:..................	*ʔašše*	'a straw'

Note also the generic terms *ḥabb* 'grain' (unit *ḥabbe*), *zahᵊr* 'blossoms' (unit *zahra*), *sažar* 'trees, shrubs' (unit *sažara*), *waraʔ* 'leaves' (unit *waraʔa*), *bəzᵊr* 'seed(s)', (unit *bəzre*), *ʔaṣab* 'cane, stalk(s)' (unit *ʔaṣabe*).

A few plant designations have the same form for both collective and unit: *fəṭᵊr* 'fungus, mushroom(s)', the generic term *nabāt* 'a plant' or 'plants, vegetation', *təmm ᵊs-samake* '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 construct with the specific mass term [p. 462]:

tūm	'garlic'............	*rās tūm*	'a garlic bulb'
ṣnōbar	'pine'.............	*sažaret ᵊṣnōbar*	'a pine tree'
(ḥabb) ᵊṣnōbar	'pine nuts'........	*ḥabbet ᵊṣnōbar*	'a pine nut'
ɛəneb	'grapes'...........	*ɛənbe* or *ḥabbet ɛəneb*	'a grape'

2.) Some kinds of animals are designated collectively, including: Four kinds of domestic mammals:

Collective		Unit Noun	
baʔar	'cattle'.........	*baʔara*	'a cow'
ġanam	'sheep'..........	*ġaname*	'a ewe'
məɛze	'goats'..........	*məɛzāye*	'a (nanny) goat'
xēl	'horses'........	(none)	

The unit derivatives for domestic mammals (as for domestic fowl) designate the female of the species only.

The term *xēl* has no unit derivative of its own, but is suppleted by the term *faras* 'mare'.[1]

Periphrastic unit constructs for these collectives may be formed (as in English) with *rās* (pl. *rūs*) 'head': *rās baʔar* 'a head of cattle', *rās xēl* 'a horse'.

Several kinds of bird (mainly fowl):

žāž	'chicken(s)'...........	*žāže*	'a hen'
baṭṭ	'duck(s)'.............	*baṭṭa*	'a duck'
wazz	'geese'...............	*wazze*	'a goose'
ḥažal	'partridge(s)'.........	*ḥažale*	'a partridge'
ḥamām	'pigeons'.............	*ḥamāme*	'a pigeon'
būm	'owls'................	*būme*	'an owl'

Also:

samak	'fish'....................	*samake*	'a fish'
ṣadaf	'shellfish, oyster(s)'......	*ṣadafe*	'an oyster, a shellfish'
sfənž	'sponge(s)'...............	*sfənže*	'a sponge'

---

[1]There is also, of course, the ordinary count noun *ḥṣān* 'horse' (pl. *ʔaḥᵊṣne*).

Several kinds of insect:

Collective		Unit Noun	
dəbbān	'flies'....................	dəbbāne	'a fly'
nāmūs	'mosquitos'................	nāmūse	'a mosquito'
naḥᵊl	'bees'.....................	naḥle	'a bee'
namᵊl	'ants'.....................	namle	'an ant'
farrāš	'butterflies, moths'.......	farrāše	'a butterfly, moth'
Ɛətt	'clothes moths'............	Ɛətte	'a clothes moth'
dūd	'caterpillars, worms'......	dūde	'a caterpillar, worm'
žarād	'locusts'..................	žarāde	'a locust'
baʔʔ	'bedbugs'..................	baʔʔa	'a bedbug'
ʔamᵊl	'lice'....................	ʔamle	'a louse'

3.) Collectives designate miscellaneous other sorts of material things which are familiar both in the aggregate and piecemeal:

bēḍ	'eggs'.....................	bēḍa	'an egg'
žamᵊr	'embers, coals'............	žamra	'an ember, a coal'
faḥᵊm	'charcoal, coal'...........	faḥme	'a piece of charcoal, coal'
ṣaxᵊr	'rock'.....................	ṣaxra	'a rock'
kaƐᵊk	(a kind of) 'cake'.........	kaƐke	'a cake'
šabak	'netting'..................	šabake	'a net'
Ɛaḍᵊm	'bone(s)'..................	Ɛaḍme	'a bone'
ʔəšᵊr	'bark, peel(s), shell(s)'..	ʔəšra	'a peel, a shell'
fašak	'cartridges'..............	fašake	'a cartridge'
blāṭ	'tile, flagstone(s)'.......	blāṭa	'a flagstone'
səžžād	'rugs, carpeting'..........	səžžāde	'a rug'
ġēm	'clouds'..................	ġēme	'a cloud'
ṣābūn	'soap'....................	ṣābūne	'a bar of soap'
səkkar	'sugar'...................	səkkara	'a lump of sugar'
zmərrod	'emerald(s)'..............	zmərrde	'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], formed with the suffix −i: Ɛarabi 'an Arab', from the collective Ɛarab '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−Ɛarab ᵊs−sūriyyīn 'The Syrian Arabs', ʔəžu l−Ɛarab '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: tlāte Ɛarab '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: tərk 'Turks' (coll.): tərki 'a Turk' (unit): ʔatrāk 'Turks' (pl.). Thus tlāte tərk 'three Turks', but tlətt ʔatrāk (same translation).

All ethnic unit nouns have, of course, feminal derivatives [p.304]: Ɛarabiyye 'an Arab woman', tərkiyye 'a Turkish woman'.

Further examples:

Collective		Unit	
ʔamērkān	'Americans'...................	ʔamērkāni	'an American'
ʔənglīz	'English'....................	ʔənglīzi	'an Englishman'
ʔalmān	'Germans'...................	ʔalmāni	'a German'
rūs	'Russians'.................	rūsi	'a Russian'
badu	'Bedouins'.................	badawi	'a Bedouin'
nawar	'gypsies'..................	nawari	'a gypsy'
kərd	'Kurds'....................	kərdi	'a Kurd' (pl. ʔakrād)
ʔarman	'Armenians'................	ʔarmani	'an Armenian'
šarkas	'Circassians'..............	šarkasi	'a Circassian'
yūnān	'Greeks'...................	yūnāni	'a Greek' (pl. −yyīn)
rūm	'Greek (Catholic or Orthodox)'...........	rūmi	'a Greek (C. or O.)'
ʔəbṭ	'Copts'....................	ʔəbṭi	'a Copt' (pl. ʔbāṭ)
yahūd	'Jews'.....................	yahūdi	'a Jew'

Ethnic designations on internal plural patterns [p. 218] such as *maṣārwa* 'Egyptians' *(sg. maṣri), naṣāra* 'Christians'[1] *(sg. naṣrāni),* etc. may generally be used either as collectives or as true plurals: *tlāte maṣārwa* or *tlətt maṣārwa* 'three Egyptians'.

Some speakers treat the word *drūz* 'Druzes' as a collective rather than a plural *(sg. dərzi).* Similarly *frəsawiyye* 'French (pl.)' is generally used as a collective, while the singulative *frənsāwi* 'Frenchman' also has a true plural *frənsāwiyyīn.*

Some speakers tend to assimilate almost all the ethnic collectives to true plurals, using either the construct or absolute forms of numerals before them: *tlətt ʔamērkān* (or *tlāte ʔamērkān),* etc.

Many ethnic designations, of course, have no collectives (in Colloquial use, at least), but only a singular and plural: *həndi* 'Indian', pl. *hnūd; sūdāni* 'Sudanese', pl. *sūdāniyyīn.*

Gerunds and Instance Nouns

The gerunds of many simple triliteral verbs have singulatives derived from them. For example:

Verb		Gerund	Instance Noun	
ḍarab	'to hit, strike'..	*ḍarb*	'hitting, striking'... *ḍarbe*	'a blow'
ləɛeb	'to play'........	*ləɛb*	'playing'............. *ləɛbe*	'a play'
ɛaṭaṣ	'to sneeze'......	*ɛaṭˀṣ*	'sneezing'........... *ɛaṭṣa*	'a sneeze'
dāx	'to be nauseated,.. *dōx* dizzy'		'nausea, dizziness'... *dōxa*	'an attack or wave of nausea'
daʔar	'to touch, feel'.. *daʔˀr*		'touching, feeling'... *daʔra*	'a touch'
māt	'to die'.........	*mōt*	'death, dying'........ *mōte*	'a death'
dafaɛ	'to push'........	*dafˀɛ*	'pushing'............. *dafɛa*	'a push'
takk	'to click, tick'.. *takk*		'clicking, ticking'... *takke*	'a click, tick'
naṭṭ	'to jump'........	*naṭṭ*	'jumping'............. *naṭṭa*	'a jump'
bās	'to kiss'........	*bōs*	'kissing'............. *bōse*	'a kiss'
ġaza	'to raid'........	*ġazu*	'raiding'............. *ġazwe*	'a raid'

[1]Often derrogatory; the polite term is (sg.) *masīḥi,* pl. *masīḥiyyīn* (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 *FɛūL* [291], for instance, have singulatives of Pattern *FaɛLe* [140]:

Verb		Gerund	Instance Noun	
nəzel	'to descend......... *nzūl* go down'		'descent'......... *nazle*	'a descent'
waʔeɛ	'to fall'...........	*wʔūɛ*	'falling'......... *waʔɛa*	'a fall'
rəžeɛ	'to return'.........	*ržūɛ*	'return(ing)'...... *ražɛa*	'a return'

Note also:

ġələṭ	'to make a mistake'.. *ġalaṭ*		'being mistaken'... *ġalṭa*	'a mistake'
naẓar	'to look, glance'.... *naẓar*		'looking, sight'... *naẓra*	'a look'
sāfar	'to travel'.........	*safar*	'travel(ling)'..... *safra*	'a trip'
ġāb	'to be absent'......	*ġyāb*	'absence'......... *ġēbe*	'an absence'
ḥarak	'to move'..........	*ḥarˀk*	'movement'........ *ḥarake*	'a movement'
štaġal	'to work'..........	*šəġˀl*	'work'........... *šaġle*	'a job'

A few Pattern II *(taFɛīL)* gerunds [p. 293] have singulatives derived from them:

lammaḥ	'to hint'...........	*talmīḥ*	'hinting'......... *talmīḥa*	'a hint'
warraṭ	'to involve'........	*tawrīṭ*	'involvement'...... *tawrīṭa*	'an involvement'

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: *ʔəttifāʔ* (ger. of *ttafaʔ* 'to agree') 'an agreement'; *ʔəɛlān* 'an announcement' (ger. of *ʔaɛlan* 'to announce').

FEMINAL NOUNS

Many nouns designating male persons, and some designating male animals, may be converted into female designations by the suffixation of *-e/-a* [p. 138]:

Male		Female
Ɛamm	'(paternal) uncle'.......*Ɛamme*	'(paternal) aunt'
žār	'neighbor'..............*žāra*	
žōz, zōž	'husband'................*žōze, zawže*	'wife'
zbūn	'customer, client'.......*zbūne*	
talmīz	'student'................*talmīze*	
malek	'king'................*malike, malake*	'queen'
ʔarmal	'widower'................*ʔarmale*	'widow'
Ɛaḍu	'member'................*Ɛaḍwe*	
ḍēf	'guest'.............*ḍēfe*	
ṣabi	'boy'................*ṣabiyye*	'girl'
ṣāḥeb	'friend'........*ṣāḥbe*[1]	
ṭafəl	'child, infant'........*ṭafle*	(See p. 372)
kalb	'dog'................*kalbe*	'bitch'

The feminal derivation may be applied freely to substantivized personal adjectives, including participial [276], occupational [305], and relative [301] derivatives: (Cf. Adjective Inflection):

mƐallem	'teacher'................*mƐallme*	
mwaẓẓaf	'employee'..............*mwaẓẓafe*	
maslem	'Moslem'................*masᵊlme*	
ṭabbāx	'cook'................*ṭabbāxa*	
badawi	'Bedouin'..............*badawiyye*	
ʔanglīzi	'Englishman'............*ʔanglīziyye* 'Englishwoman'	

For nouns other than substantivized adjectives, the feminal derivation may or may not apply – each case must be learned individually. Note, for example, *ṣahᵊr* 'brother(or son)-in-law', but *kanne* 'sister(or daughter)-in-law', *tōr* 'bull, steer', but *baʔara* 'cow', etc. See Gender of Nouns [p. 372].

---

[1] *ṣāḥbe* usually implies 'mistress' when in construct with a term referring to a man.

OCCUPATIONAL NOUNS

An occupational noun indicates a person whose occupation it is to do what is designated by the underlying verb, or to work with, or tend, what is designated by the underlying noun. Occupational nouns are formed on Pattern *FaƐƐāL* [p. 151], or on active participial patterns [258], or by suffixation of *-ži* or *-i*:

Underlying Word		Occupational Noun
Pattern *FaƐƐāL*:		
raʔaṣ	'to dance'	*raʔʔāṣ* 'dancer'
ṭabax	'to cook'........................	*ṭabbāx* 'cook'
rasam	'to draw, design, sketch, paint'	*rassām* 'designer, painter, artist'
falaḥ	'to till, cultivate'...........	*fallāḥ* 'farmer, peasant'
bana	'to build'......................	*banna* 'builder'
šaḥad	'to beg'........................	*šaḥḥād* 'beggar'
bāƐ	'to sell'......................	*bayyāƐ* 'seller, merchant'
ṣ(t)ād	'to hunt'......................	*ṣayyād* 'hunter'
sāʔ	'to drive'......................	*sawwāʔ* 'driver, chauffeur'
laḥᵊm	'meat'..........................	*laḥḥām* 'butcher'
ḥadīd	'iron'..........................	*ḥaddād* 'blacksmith, ironsmith'
blāṭ	'tile, flagstone(s)'...........	*ballāṭ* 'tile mason'
xēl	'horses'........................	*xayyāl* 'horseman'
bāb	'door, gate'...................	*bawwāb* 'doorman, gatekeeper'
Active Participial Patterns:		
ḥāk	'to weave'..................	*ḥāyek* 'weaver'
xadam	'to serve'....................	*xādem* (also *xaddām*) 'servant'
nāb	'to represent'.................	*nāʔeb*[1] 'representative'
ʔaḍa	'to judge, pass sentence'......	*ʔāḍi* 'judge'
dār	'to direct, manage'............	*mudīr* 'director, manager'
ṣāraƐ	'to wrestle'...................	*mṣāreƐ* 'wrestler'
katab	'to write'....................	*kāteb* 'writer'
šaƐᵊr	'poetry'........................	*šāƐer* 'poet'

---

[1] Classicism: *ʔ* replacing medial *y* in Pattern *FāƐeL*.

Underlying Word		Occupational Noun	
	Suffix *-ži:*		
xəḍar	'vegetables'	*xəḍarži*	'greengrocer'
bōya	'shoe polish'	*bōyaži*	'bootblack'
kəndara	'shoe'	*kəndarži*	'cobbler'
	Suffix *-i:*		
sāɛāt	'watches'	*sāɛāti*	'watchmaker'
žnēnāt	'gardens'	*žnēnāti*	'gardener'
ġālāt	'locks'	*ġālāti*	'locksmith'
luġa	'language'	*luġawi*	'linguist'

Occupational nouns in *-i* are mainly formed on an *-āt* *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 *hiyye raⁱⁱāṣa mnīḥa* would only be said of a professional dancer.

INSTRUMENTAL NOUNS (*ism l-ⁱāla*)

An instrumental noun indicates an implement or apparatus used in doing what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns *FaɛɛāLe* [p. 152], *məFɛāL(e)* [156], *maFɛaL(e)* [153] and *məFɛaL* [155] are used:

Pattern *FaɛɛāLe:*

Underlying Verb		Instrumental Noun	
sār	'to go, travel'	*sayyāra*	'automobile'
ṭār	'to fly'	*ṭayyāra*	'airplane'
maḥa	'to erase'	*maḥḥāye*	'eraser'
kamaš	'to grasp'	*kammāše*	'pincers'
bara	'to sharpen, point'	*barrāye*	'pencil-sharpener'
barad	'to cool'	*barrāde*	'refrigerator'

Pattern *məFɛāL*, (for defective verbs: *məFɛāLe*):

Underlying Word		Instrumental Noun	
fataḥ	'to open'	*məftāḥ*	'key'
ḥarat	'to plow'	*məḥrāt*	'plow'
naⁱar	'to peck'	*mənⁱār*	'beak'
wazan	'to weigh'	*mīzān*	'scale balance'
ⁱala	'to fry'	*məⁱlāye*	'frying pan, skillet'
kawa	'to iron'	*məkwāye*	'(flat)iron'
dara	'to winnow'	*mədrāye*	'winnowing fork'

Patterns *maFɛaL, maFɛaLe:*

laⁱaṭ	'to pick up'	*malⁱaṭ*	'tongs'
barad	'to file'	*mabrad*	'file'
ḍarab	'to hit, strike'	*maḍrab*	'bat'
našaf	'to wipe, dry'	*manšafe*	'towel'
saṭar	'to line, draw straight lines'	*masṭara*	'ruler, straight-edge'

Patterns *məFɛaL, məFɛaLe* (for geminate verbs):

ⁱaṣṣ	'to cut, snip'	*mⁱaṣṣ*	'scissors'
fakk	'to undo, take apart, unscrew'	*mfakk*	'screwdriver'

LOCATIVE NOUNS (*ism l-makān*)

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 *maFƐaL* [p. 153], *maFƐaLe* [153], and *maFƐeL* [154].

Underlying Word | Locative Noun

Pattern *maFƐaL:*

ʔaƐad 'to sit'	maʔƐad	'seat'
laƐeb 'to play'	malƐab	'playground'
ṣanaƐ 'to manufacture'	maṣnaƐ	'factory'
xaraž 'to go out'	maxraž	'exit'
marr 'to pass'	mamarr	'aisle'
maši 'to go, walk'	mamša	'passageway, hall'
raƐi 'to graze'	marƐa	'pasture'
ṭār 'to fly'	maṭār	'airport'
ḥažar 'stone'	maḥžar	'stone quarry'

Pattern *maFƐaLe:*

ḥakam 'to try, sentence'	maḥkame	'court'
daras 'to study'	madrase	'school'
ġasal 'to wash'	maġsale	'washstand'
xāḍ 'to wade'	maxāḍa	'ford'
ḍēf 'guest'	maḍāfe (also maḍāf)	'reception room'
ktāb 'book'	maktabe	'library'

Pattern *maFƐeL:*

waʔef, waʔʔaf 'to stop'	mawʔef	'stop, station'
waḍaƐ 'to place'	mawḍeƐ	'position'
žalas 'to sit'	mažles	'meeting chamber, session room'

HYPOSTATIC NOUNS[1]

A hypostatic noun indicates the abstract result or object of the activity designated by its underlying verb: *maksab* 'profit, earning', from *kəseb* 'to make, earn'. These nouns are formed on Patterns *maFƐaL(e)*, *maFƐ(i)Le, maFƐaL(e), məFƐāL, maFƐ(i)L(e)* [p. 153-156].

Underlying Verb | Hypostatic Noun

balaġ 'to attain, amount to'	mablaġ	'amount, sum'
ʔaṣad 'to intend, aim at'	maʔṣad	'intent, goal'
Ɛana 'to mean'	maƐna	'meaning'
naẓar 'to look at'	manẓar	'view, sight'
farr 'to flee, escape'	mafarr	'flight, escape'
lām 'to blame'	malām	'blame, censure'
nām 'to sleep'	manām	'dream'
wəled 'to be born'	mawled, mīlād	'birth, birthday'
waƐad 'to promise'	mawƐed, mīƐād	'date, appointment'
ṣār 'to become'	maṣīr	'destiny'
ḥabb 'to like, love'	maḥabbe	'love, affection'
sabb 'to curse'	msabbe	'curse, invective'
ʔəder 'to be able'	maʔdira	'ability'
Ɛəref 'to know'	maƐᵊrfe	'knowledge, acquaintance'
waƐaẓ 'to preach, lecture'	mawƐiẓa	'lecture, reprimand'
rād 'to wish, want'	murād	'wish, desire, intent'
ṣāb 'to hit, befall'	mṣībe	'calamity'

Hypostatic nouns are similar in meaning to gerunds [p. 284] and in some cases function virtually as such (e.g. *maƐᵊrfe* '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".

---

[1]Including what is sometimes called *al-maṣdar l-mīmī* "the m- gerund", and also *ism z-zamān* "the noun of time". The Locative [p. 308] is a "spatially concretized" version of the abstract *ism l-makān waz-zamān*.

DIMINUTIVES (*ism t-taṣġīr*)

Only a few Syrian Arabic nouns have diminutives derived from them. The basic pattern is *FɛayyeL*, or – if the underlying noun has a long vowel be-tween the first and second radicals – *FwayɛeL*.

Underlying Word		Diminutive	
zġīr	'child, young one'	*zġayyer*	'little one'
ṣabi	'boy'	*ṣbayy*	'little boy'
ʔabᵊn	'son'	*bnayy(-i)*	'(my) little son'
bənt	'daughter, girl'	*bnayye*	'little daughter, little girl'
ši	'thing, something, some'	*šwayy(e)*	'a little'

Mainly in Lebanon, the following are also used (as terms of affection, and sometimes in a more general sense as well): *bayy* 'father', *xayy* 'brother', *xayye* 'sister', *dayye* 'hand', *žrayye* 'foot', *dayne* 'ear'.

Patterns *FaɛɛūL* and *FaɛɛūLe* are also used, mainly to form nicknames and terms of affection (again, especially in Leb-anon): *ɛabbūd, ɛabbūde* (from *ɛabdaḷḷa* and other names begin-ning with *ɛabd-*); *laṭṭūf* (from *laṭfaḷḷa*); *ḥammūd* (from *ʔaḥmad*); *marrūm* (from *maryam* 'Mary'), etc.
Note also: *nattūfe* 'a tiny bit' (from *nətfe* 'a little bit'), *laʔʔūme* 'a little bite, a little mouthful' (from *ləʔme* 'a bite, mouthful').

ELATIVES (*ism t-tafḍīl*)

Elatives, derivable mainly from adjectives, are formed on the pattern *ʔaFɛaL* for triliteral roots; *ʔaFaɛLaL* for quadriliteral.
If an underlying adjective means 'X', its elative means 'more or most X'. For example: *ṣaɛᵊb* 'difficult' → *ʔaṣɛab* 'more (or most) difficult'; *ʔadīm* 'ancient' → *ʔaʔdam* 'more (most) ancient'; *mnāseb* 'suitable' → *ʔansab* 'more, most suitable'; *zangīl* 'rich' → *ʔazangal* 'richer, richest'.

Underlying Word		Elative (Sound)	
sahᵊl	'easy'	*ʔashal*	'easier, easiest'
bəšeɛ	'ugly'	*ʔabšaɛ*	'uglier, ugliest'
šexᵊn	'hot'	*ʔasxan*	'hotter, hottest'
txīn	'thick, fat'	*ʔatxan*	'thicker, fatter, etc.'
ṭawīl	'long, tall'	*ʔaṭwal*	'longer, taller, etc.'
bāred	'cold'	*ʔabrad*	'colder, coldest'
wāseɛ	'broad, roomy'	*ʔawsaɛ*	'broader, roomier, etc.'
yābes	'dry, hard'	*ʔaybas*	'drier, harder, etc.'
mašhūr	'famous'	*ʔašhar*	'more, most famous'
mədhen	'greasy'	*ʔadhan*	'greasier, greasiest'
zaɛlān	'displeased'	*ʔazɛal*	'more, most displeased'
dayyeʔ	'narrow, tight'	*ʔadyaʔ*	'narrower, tighter, etc.'
mufīd	'useful, beneficial'	*ʔafyad*	'more useful, beneficial, etc.'

If the underlying adjective is formed on a pattern re-quiring *y* in place of medial radical *w* (*FāɛeL* [p.258], *FaɛɛeL* [128]), the radical *w* is in some cases restored in the elative: *xāyef* 'afraid' → *ʔaxwaf* 'more, most afraid'; *rāyeʔ* 'clear, undisturbed' → *ʔarwaʔ* 'more, most clear, etc.'; *žayyed* 'good, excellent' → *ʔažwad* 'better, best, etc.'; *sayyeʔ* 'bad, unfortunate' → *ʔaswaʔ* 'worse, worst, etc.', *zāyed* 'abundant, extra' → *ʔazwad* (or *ʔazyad*) 'more, most abundant, etc.'

With final radical semivowel (Elative defective):

Underlying Word		Elative	
raxu	'loose, lax'	*ʔarxa*	'looser, more lax, etc.'
ḥelu	'sweet, pretty, nice'	*ʔaḥla*	'sweeter, prettier, etc.'
ʔawi	'strong'	*ʔaʔwa*	'stronger, strongest'
zaki	'intelligent'	*ʔazka*	'more, most intelligent'
šaʔi	'hoodlum, delinquent'	*ʔašʔa*	'more, most delinquent, etc.'
ġani	'rich'	*ʔaġna*	'richer, richest'
ṣāfi	'clear'	*ʔaṣfa*	'clearer, clearest'
ʔāsi	'solid, hard'	*ʔaʔsa*	'solider, solidest, etc.'
ṣaḥyān	'wide awake'	*ʔaṣḥa*	'more, most wide awake'

With second and third radicals alike (Elative usually geminate):

Underlying Word			Elative	
ḥadd	'sharp'..............	ʔaḥadd	'sharper, sharpest'
fažž	'unripe'.............	ʔafažž	'more, most unripe'
marr	'bitter'.............	ʔamarr	(or ʔamrar) 'bitterer, bitterest'
ždīd	'new'................	ʔažadd	(or ʔaždad) 'newer, newest'
xafīf	'light'.............	ʔaxaff	(or ʔaxfaf) 'lighter, lightest'
daʔīʔ	'precise, exact'.....	ʔadaʔʔ	'more, most precise, etc.'
šadīd	'intense, vehement'..	ʔašadd	(or ʔašdad) 'more, most intense, etc.'
ʔalīl	'little, few'........	ʔaʔall	'less, least'
ġaššāš	'cheater'............	ʔaġašš	'more of a cheater, etc.'
xāṣṣ	'special, private'...	ʔaxaṣṣ	'more, most special, etc.'
mhamm	'important'..........	ʔahamm	'more, most important'
mməll	'boring'.............	ʔamall	(or ʔamlal) 'more, most boring'

Quadriradical (Pattern ʔaFaƐLaL):

zangīl	'rich'...............	ʔazangal	'richer, richest'
šaršūḥ	'sloppy'.............	ʔašaršaḥ	'sloppier, sloppiest'
mbaḥbaḥ	'abundant'...........	ʔabaḥbaḥ	'more, most abundant'
mšarṭaṭ	'ripped, tattered'...	ʔašarṭaṭ	'more, most tattered'
mbahdal	'shabby, dirty'......	ʔabahdal	'shabbier, dirtier, etc.'
mƐanṭaz	'stuck up, haughty'..	ʔaƐanṭaz	'haughtier, haughtiest'

> Note, however, that the hollow quadriradical šēṭān 'devil, naughty' has a triradical elative ʔašṭan 'naughtier, naughtiest', the radical semivowel being lost.

Types of Underlying Word. Though the vast majority of elatives are derived from simple adjectives or from the more common augmented adjectives, a few are derived from nouns, or adverbs, or are of indeterminate derivation:

Underlying Word			Elative	
bəl-Ɛažale	'quickly, hurriedly'..	ʔaƐžal	'more, most quickly, etc.'
šōb	'hot weather'........	ʔašwab	'hotter, hottest (weather)'
šwayye	'little, few'........	ʔašwa	'less, least, fewer, etc.'
ražžāl	'man'................	ʔaržal	'more of a man, most manly, etc.'

The elative ʔaḥsan 'better, best' is derived from Classical ḥasan, which is not normally used in Colloquial but is displaced by mnīḥ 'good'. Thus ʔaḥsan serves as a suppletive elative to mnīḥ.

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: ʔabṣaṭ 'more, most pleased, contented' (from mabṣūṭ 'pleased, contented'), but also meaning 'easier, simpler, etc.' (from basīṭ 'easy, minor, simple'). Likewise ʔatƐab, elative of both taƐbān 'tired' and matƐeb '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: ʔaʔall 'less, least', elative of ʔalīl 'little, few', but not used as the elative of məstʔəll 'independent'; likewise ʔažraḥ 'more dangerous, sharper, etc.', elative of žāreḥ 'dangerous, sharp', but not used as the elative of žarīḥ or mažrūḥ 'wounded'.

Elative Syntax

An elative may be used attributively, as an adjective: ʔūḍa ʔaḥsan 'a better room', l-ʔūḍa l-ʔaḥsan 'the better (or best) room'.

An elative may also be used in construct, as a noun: ʔaḥsan əl-ʔuwaḍ 'the best of the rooms', ʔaḥsan ʔūḍa 'the best room'.
In an elative construct, a definite [p.494] following term is always identificatory [458]: ʔaḥsan əl-madrase 'the best of (/in) the school', while an indefinite following term is always classificatory: ʔaḥsan madrase '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: ʔaḥla bənt 'the prettiest girl' (same translation as the attributive construction: l-bənt əl-ʔaḥla). ʔaḥla bənt 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: talamīz ʔazka 'brighter students', or an indefinite elative with a mən ('than') phrase: ʔazka mn ət-tānyīn '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: hal-ʔuḍa ʔaḥsan 'This room is better (or best)', hāy ʔaḥsan ʔūḍa 'This is the best (or better) room'.

A COMPARATIVE PHRASE is formed with an elative complemented by the preposition *mən* 'than': *bēton ʔawsaƐ mən bētna* 'their house is larger than ours', *byaƐmel xamsīn lēra ʔaktar mənni* 'He makes fifty pounds more than I', *ʔasxaf fəkra mən hēk ʔaḷḷa mā xalaʔ* '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 *mən* is generally translated as 'of': *ṣ-ṣarāya l-ʔafxar mn əl-kəll* [RN-II.15] 'the most elegant (*faxᵊr*) palace of all'.

The word *ʔaktar* 'more, most' (elative of *ktīr* 'much, many') may be used to form comparative phrases in supplementation to adjectives, especially with adjectives which have no elatives of their own: *ʔabyaḍ ʔaktar mn ᵊt-talž* [RN-I.49] 'whiter than snow'; *ʔana barrīd ʔaktar mənnak* 'I'm more sensitive to the cold than you'; *maƐžūʔ ʔaktar baƐd ᵊḍ-ḍəhᵊr mən Ɛala bəkra* 'more crowded in the afternoon than in the morning'.

The *mən*-phrase (like the <u>than</u>-phrase in English) may of course be suppressed: *ʔabyaḍ ʔaktar* 'whiter', *maƐžūʔ ʔaktar* '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 (*ʔəlo*, etc.): *ʔafyád-lak* 'more useful to you', *ʔaḥsдl-lo* [p.27] 'better for him', *ʔaṣƐдb-ᵊlkon* 'more difficult for you (pl.)'.

Others, however, take the disjunctive forms: *ʔahámm ʔə́lna* 'more important for us'.

Exclamations with *ma*-

Elatives are used after the particle *ma*-, in the sense 'How...!', 'Isn't that...!':

ma-ʔaḥla ləbsa!	'How pretty her clothes are!'
ma-ʔaṭyab hal-ʔakle!	'How good this food is!'
ma-ʔaǥǥar hal-kərsi!	'How small this chair is!'
ma-ʔašalban ḥakyo!	'How sweetly he speaks!'

Elatives in this construction take a nominal complement which may be pronominalized like a verbal object: *ma-ʔaḥlāha* 'How pretty she is!', *ma-ʔaǥǥaro* 'How small it is!'

Lack of Inflection

Elatives in Colloquial Arabic are generally not inflected; the form *ʔawsaƐ* 'wider, roomier, larger', for instance, serves attributively as feminine (*žnēne ʔawsaƐ* 'a larger garden') and plural, as well as for masculine (*bēt ʔawsaƐ* 'a larger house').

There are, however, a few Classicisms in which the feminine pattern *FaƐLa* is used, as in *qaṣwa* (fem. of *ʔaqṣa* 'most remote, extreme') *tadabīr qaṣwa* 'extreme measures'.

Elatives are occasionally used in the dual: *l-ʔaḥsanēn* 'the best two'; *ʔalƐanēn* 'So much the worse!' (*ʔalƐan*, elative of *malƐūn* 'damnable').

Miscellaneous Examples of the Use of Elatives

1.	*šū ḥabbēt ʔaktar ši?*	'What would you (or did you) like the most?'
2.	*mən ʔalƐan ᵊxṣālo, t-taraddod*	'Indecisiveness is one of his worst qualities' (*ʔalƐan*, el. of *malƐūn* 'damnable')
3.	*byəmlok šī ʔašwa mən bala*	'He owns next to nothing' (*ʔašwa*, el. of *šwayy*; lit. 'less than nothing')
4.	*šāf ʔiyyām ʔaḥsan*	'He's seen better days'
5.	*maƐāšo ʔazwad mən maƐāši*	'His salary is larger than mine' (*ʔazwad*, el. of *zāyed* 'abundant' [311])
6.	*Ɛažbətni ʔawwal nəmre ʔaktar ᵊl-kəll*	'I liked the first number most of all'
7.	*ʔaxi ʔaǥgar mənnak b-Ɛašr ᵊsnīn* [DA-157]	'My brother is ten years younger than you'. (*ʔaǥgar*. el. of *ǥgīr* 'young', lit. '...younger than you by ten years'.)
8.	*l-ʔəstāz ʔəža Ɛal-madrase ʔabkar mn ᵊt-talamīz* [DA-158]	'The teacher came to school earlier than the students'. (*ʔabkar*, el. of *bakkīr* 'early')
9.	*Ɛandkon ʔaḥsan* [DA-100]	'With you would be better'
10.	*ʔaḥsдl-lak təži bukra*	'It would be better for you to come tomorrow'
11.	*mā waǥadt ʔafyad mən hēk* [RN-II.15]	'I haven't found anything more useful than that'
12.	*kəllma kān ʔašṭar zādet kəbriyā* [RN-II.15]	'The smarter he is, the more arrogant he becomes'

NUMERAL DERIVATIVES

Ordinals

The numerals from two through ten have ordinals derived from them, formed on the Pattern *FāƐeL* [p. 144]:

Cardinal Numeral		Ordinal	
tnēn	'two'.................	*tāni*	'second, other'
tlāte	'three'...............	*tālet*	'third'
ʔarbƐa	'four'...............	*rābeƐ*	'fourth'
xamse	'five'...............	*xāmes*	'fifth'
sɘtte	'six'...............	*sādes*	'sixth' (see below)
sabƐa	'seven'.............	*sābeƐ*	'seventh'
tmāne	'eight'.............	*tāmen*	'eighth'
tesƐa	'nine'.............	*tāseƐ*	'ninth'
Ɛašara	'ten'...............	*Ɛāšer*	'tenth'

The ordinal corresponding to *wāḥed* 'one' is irregular in form: *ʔawwal* 'first'. Its antonym *ʔāxer* 'last' also belongs with the ordinals.

> Besides the irregular form *sādes* 'sixth', the regular (but less elegant) *sātet* is also sometimes heard.

The ordinals are like elatives [p. 313] in forming classificatory constructs with indefinite nouns: *ʔawwal marra* 'the first time', *tālet rɘžžāl* 'the third man', *Ɛāšer sɘne* 'the tenth year', *ʔāxer dars* 'the last lesson'. See Elative and Ordinal Constructs [p. 473].

Ordinals may also be used attributively, as ordinary adjectives, and with adjectival inflection: *s-sɘne l-Ɛāšra* 'the tenth year', *d-dars ᵊl-ʔawwal* 'the first lesson', *bɘnto t-tālte* 'his third daughter', *marra tānye* 'a second time, again', *wlād tānyīn* 'other children', *dars tālet* 'a third lesson'.

> *ʔawwal* and *ʔāxer*, however, are less often used attributively than the other ordinals, since the relative adjectives *ʔawwalāni* and *ʔaxrāni* [p. 282] often take their place, and because the adjective *ʔaxîr* is also often used instead of *ʔāxer*. In the feminine, the Classicism *ʔūla* is commonly used instead of *ʔawwale*.

Ordinals may also be used in identificatory construct as ordinary nouns: *ʔawwal has-sɘne* 'the first of this year', *tālet ᵊr-ržāl* 'the third (one) of the men', *ʔāxer ᵊz-zuwwār* 'the last of the visitors'; or with pronoun suffixes [p. 541]: *ʔawwála* 'the first of it (f.)', *tāléton* 'the third of them', *rābɘƐna* the fourth (one) of us'.

For numbers above ten, the cardinal form [p. 509] is used attributively to a singular in the ordinal sense: *d-daraže t-tnaƐᵊš* 'the twelfth grade, step', *l-marra l-Ɛɘšrīn* 'the twentieth time', *d-dars ᵊl-xamse w-ʔarbƐīn* 'the forty-fifth lesson'.

A more formal alternative is to put the units in ordinal form, as in Classical Arabic: *l-qarn ᵊs-sābeƐ Ɛašᵊr* 'the seventeenth century' (Note that *Ɛašᵊr* is used, not *Ɛašara* [p. 170]). For 'first', *ḥādi* replaces *ʔawwal* in these phrases: *l-ḥādi w-Ɛɘšrīn* 'the twenty-first'.

Fractions

The numerals from three through ten have fractions derived from them, formed on the pattern *FaƐL* [p. 139]:

Cardinal Numeral		Fraction	
tlāte	'three'...............	*tɘlt*	'a third'
ʔarbƐa	'four'...............	*rabᵊƐ*	'a fourth'
xamse	'five'...............	*xɘms*	'a fifth'
sɘtte	'six'...............	*sɘdᵊs*	'a sixth'
sabƐa	'seven'.............	*sɘbᵊƐ*	'a seventh'
tmāne	'eight'.............	*tɘmᵊn*	'an eighth'
tɘsƐa	'nine'.............	*tɘsᵊƐ*	'a ninth'
Ɛašara	'ten'...............	*Ɛɘšᵊr*	'a tenth'

The fraction corresponding to *tnēn* 'two' is irregular: *nɘṣṣ* (or *nɘṣᵊf*) 'a half'.

> The plurals of these fractions are formed on the pattern *FƐāL*: *tlɘtt ᵊrbāƐ* 'three fourths', *ʔarbaƐ(t) ᵊxmās* 'four fifths'.
> Fractions beyond the tenths are expressed periphastically with the cardinal numerals: *žɘzᵊʔ mn ᵊtnaƐᵊš mɘn...* 'the twelfth part of'; *sabƐa Ɛala tnaƐᵊš* '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-māḍi),* and the IMPERFECT or NON-PAST *(al-muḍāriɛ).*[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 <u>not</u> past: *byəktob* 'he writes, will write, would write'; *binām* '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 *ɛam-* [p. 320] or the Particle of Anticipation *raḥa-* [322]: *ɛam-yəktob* 'he is writing', *raḥa-yəktob* 'he's going to write'.
Without these particles the imperfect *(byəktob)* is used mainly to predicate generalities ('he writes'), potentialities ('he would write, he can write'), and assumed future events ('he'll write') [p. 324].

---

[1] The term 'tense', with reference both to Arabic and to English, is best limited to actual <u>inflectional</u> 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 (*ɛam-*) and anticipation (*raḥa-*) 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 coördinations [392]: *raḥa-yākol w-inām* 'he's going to eat and go to bed', *mā ɛam-yākol ulā yašrab* 'he's neither eating nor drinking'. (The indicative prefix *b-* [180] of the simple imperfect, on the other hand, is generally repeated with each verb: *mā byākol ulā byašrab* 'He neither eats nor drinks'.[1])

The Particle of Actuality

There are several forms of this particle: *ɛam-* is the most generally used, but in Damascus *ɛamma-* is also heard, and sometimes also *ɛamm-*, *ʔam-*, and the full word *ɛammāl*. In various parts of Lebanon, the forms *ɛan-*, *ɛa-*, *man-*, and *ma-* are also used. Most forms of the particle may be followed by the verb either with or without the indicative *b-*: *ɛam-byākol* or *ɛam-yākol* 'he is eating'; the Lebanese forms *ɛan-*, *man-*, and *ma-*, however, are never followed by *b-*.[2] In Damascus, *ɛam-* + *-b-* is most common in the first person singular (*ɛam-bākol* 'I am eating', more common than *ɛam-ʔākol*); otherwise the forms without *b* are predominant: *ɛam-nākol* 'we're eating', *ɛam-yāklu* 'they'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 *b-* imperfect is used [p. 326]. 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. *l-ᵊmʔadden ɛam-iʔadden ᵊl-ʔadān* 'The muezzin is giving the call to prayer'

2. *xalīl ɛam-yəthāka maɛ ᵊr-raʔīs* 'Khalil is talking with the boss'

---

[1] There are certain parts of Greater Syria in which *b-* is more like the proclitics *ɛam-* and *raḥa-*, i.e. one may say either *mā byākol ulā byašrab* or *mā byākol ulā yašrab*.

[2] The form *ɛam-* is said [SPA-38] to result from the consistent assimilation of *n* [p. 27] in *ɛan-* to the following *b*: *ɛan-* + *byākol* → *ɛam-byākol* (then with *b* elided: *ɛam-yākol*). This would explain why *b-* is not used after *ɛan-*; it would also seem to imply that *ɛam-* is unrelated in origin to the forms *ɛamm(a)-*, *ɛammāl*.

---

3. *bitamm...ɛamma-yəbki w-yəmnaɛni mn ᵊn-nōm* [AO-119] 'He keeps on crying and keeping me from sleeping'

4. *ʔəbni ɛam-iṣīr rəžžāl* 'My son is getting to be a man'

5. *hallaʔ ɛam-bədzakkar* 'It's(all) coming back to me now!' 'lit. "now I'm remembering")

A verb with *ɛam-*, like 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. *ɛamma-bixayyəṭ-lak ṭaʔm ᵊždīd?* [AO-47] 'Is he making you a new suit?'

7. *ɛam-iṣammed maṣāri mənšān taqāɛdo* 'He's saving money for his retirement'

8. *ɛam-bədros bəž-žāmɛa* 'I'm studying at the university'

9. *mā ɛādu ɛam-yəthāku maɛ baɛdon* 'They're no longer speaking to one another'

10. *ɛamma-ʔəftšker b-šarwet šantet ʔīd* [DA-251] '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 *ɛam-* when appropriate, just like other verbs:

11. *māli ɛam-lāʔi bayyāɛ išūf šū bəddi* 'I can't find a clerk to wait to me', lit. "I'm not finding a clerk to see what I want"

12. *šū ɛam-təɛni?* 'What do you mean?', i.e. 'What are you getting at?'

13. *māli ɛam-bəʔder bakkel ᵊʔšāṭi* 'I can't buckle my belt', i.e. right now, as opposed to *mā bəʔder...*'I (generally) can't...'

14. *māli ɛamma-ʔaɛref ṭarīʔi* [AO-116] 'I don't know my way', i.e. 'I can't find my way just now'.

15. *ɛam-ʔəsmaɛ mənno bēn waʔt u-waʔt* 'I hear from him from time to time', i.e. nowadays, as opposed to *bəsmaɛ mənno...*'I (generally) hear from him...'

16. *ɛam-iʔakked ʔənno kān ᵊhnīk* 'He maintains he was there'

17. *d-doktōr ɛam-iʔūl ʔənno zāl ᵊl-xaṭar ɛanha hallaʔ* '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 *ɛam*- normally designates repetitive instances, in contrast to the participle which is generally used for an uninterrupted state:

18. *kəll marra ɛam-ʔəži la-ɛando*
    ɛam-ikūn mašġūl

'Every time I come to see him (i.e. these days) he's busy'

19. *ɛam-inām bi-ɛālē kəll sabt*
    u-ʔaḥad

'He sleeps over in Aley every Saturday and Sunday' (or 'He's been sleeping...')

20. *ṣāyer ɛam-ixāf haṣ-ṣabi kəll*
    ma nṭafa ḍ-ḍaww

'This boy has started being afraid whenever the light is put out'.

Verbs like *ʔāl* 'to say', *ɛəref* 'to know', *ʔəder* 'to be able', etc., which are commonly complemented by a clause, are not so often used with *ɛam*- as with the simple *b*- imperfect in the annunciatory sense [p. 325]: *biʔakked ʔənno* ...(cf. ex. 16) *d-doktōr biʔūl*...(cf. ex. 17).

A notable difference between Arabic verbs with *ɛam*- and English "progressive" verbs with -ing is that the latter may be used in reference to the future, while the imperfect with *ɛam*- is never so used[1]: 'We're leaving tomorrow': *msāfrīn bukra*; 'If you're going with us tomorrow...': *ʔiza bətrūḥ maɛna bukra... .

The Particle of Anticipation

There are several forms of this particle: *raḥ-, raḥa-, laḥ-, laḥa-,* and *ḥa-,* in addition to the full word *rāyeḥ*. The forms beginning with *l* 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 without *b*-: *raḥa-yākol, laḥa-ʔākol,* 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-šəf-lak yāha w-rədd-əllak*
   xabar [DA-80A]

'I'm going to see her (for you) and let you know.'

2. *byəẓhar laḥa-tənzel maṭar*
   ʔawiyye [DA-153]

'It looks as though there's going to be a heavy rain.'

3. *ʔaddēš raḥ-təbʔa hōn?* [EA-59]

'How long are you going to stay here?'

4. *ʔēmta laḥa-yṣór-lak fərṣa*
   tšūfo?

'When are you going to have a chance to see him?'

5. *ʔoɛa l-ʔaṭṭa laḥa-txarmšak!*

'Look out, the cat will scratch you!'

6. *taʔrīban laḥa-xalleṣ*

'I'm nearly finished' (Lit. 'I'm almost about to finish')

7. *šu byəẓhar raḥa-nəṣal*
   [DA-44]

'Well, it looks as though we're almost there' (Lit. '...we're about to arrive')

8. *ʔiza laḥa-tšatti l-ḥafle*
   l-mūsīqiyye bəṭṣīr žuwwa

'If it looks like rain the concert will be indoors' (Lit. 'if it's going to rain...')

9. *ʔana raḥa-rūḥ, nšāḷḷa tāni*
   marra bšūfak bəl-bēt [DA-218]

'I must go; I expect I'll see you at home next time' (Lit. 'I'm about to go....')

10. *l-məfti ḥa-yəɛlen fatwā*
    ž-žəmɛa ž-žāye .

'The *mufti* is to deliver his opinion next week'

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. *mīn raḥa-ytaɛmi w-yəksi kəll*
    hal-ʔatfāl əl-fəʔara?

'Who will clothe and feed all those poor children?' (*mīn bitaɛmi w-byəksi*...would be understood as 'Who clothes and feeds...'.)

12. *l-bəʔɛa mā laḥa-təṭlaɛ*

'The stain won't come out' (i.e. '...isn't going to come out', as opposed to *mā bṭəṭlaɛ* '...won't come out', i.e. '...isn't disposed to come out')

---
[1]Unless, of course, it is complementary to a future main clause [341].

Uses of the Simple Imperfect

The imperfect indicative <u>without</u> a proclitic ƐƏm- or raḥa- is used in several different senses: 1) Future, 2) Annunciatory, 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 sub-junctive 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 <u>assumed</u> 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: brūḥ bukra 'I('ll) go tomorrow' or 'I'm going tomorrow'. Examples:

1. bkūn Ɛandak Ɛal-ʔaktar baƐd sāƐa [DA-197]
   'I'll be at your place within an hour at the latest'

2. ʔēmta btəbda d-drūs? [DA-173]
   'When does school ('lit. 'lessons') start?'

3. baƐ³d bəkra birūḥ Ɛal-madrase [DA-197]
   'The day after tomorrow he's going to school'

4. nšāḷḷa brūḥ ³s-səne ž-žāye w-³bšūfak ³hnīk [DA-128]
   'God willing, I'll go next year and see you there'

5. ḍ-ḍarb ³t-tāni mā bifūtak [AO-112]
   'The next blow won't miss you!'

6. bḥatt-əllak ³l-bā³i b-kīs wara³ [DA-107]
   'I'll put the rest in a paper bag for you'

7. lēš mā byāxədhon maƐo lamma byeržaƐ? [DA-75]
   'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes back?'

8. baƐ³d ma yəntəbeƐ babƐat-lak nəsxa [EA-259]
   'After it's printed I'll send you a copy'

9. halla³ ³s-sānƐa btəži w-bətsāwī [DA-103]
   'The maid will come and do it right away'

10. t-təmsāl byənsə́bek bəl-brōnz
    'The statue is to be cast in bronze'

Annunciatory

The simple imperfect (like the English simple present) is often used to make (or elicit) an <u>announcement</u> or <u>sign</u> or <u>token</u> of a purported fact — as distinct from an ordinary report or statement of it: bisallmu Ɛalēk 'They send you greetings', mnəškor ʔaḷḷa 'We thank God'.[1]

1. bū́Ɛdak ḥa-ʔədros
   'I promise you I'm going to study'

2. bhannīk
   'Congratulations!' (lit. 'I congratulate you')

3. ʔana halla³ bəftə́teḥ ³ž-žalse
   'The meeting will come to order' (lit. 'I now open the session')

4. bətkūn madāmti
   'This is my wife' (An introduction, as contrasted with a simple informative statement: hayy madāmti)

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. biʔūl ʔanno ʔaxū mū žāye [DA-95]
   'He says that his brother isn't coming'

6. huwwe byənkor ʔəlo ʔīd fīha
   'He denies he had a hand in it'

7. bənṣaḥak ³nsāha
   'I advise you(to) forget it'

8. mətli mətlak mā baƐref
   'I don't know either'

9. bẓənn baƐ³rfo
   'I think I know him'

10. blā³i Ɛala ġafle bəddak ³trūḥ [DA-172]
    'And now all of a sudden you have to go?!' (lit. 'I find all of a sudden...')

11. šū btə³mor ġero, ya bēk? [DA-130]
    'What else do you wish, sir?' (lit. 'What else do you order, sir?')

12. hādi tāni marra byəntəxbū Ɛəḍu barlamān [EA-159]
    'This is the second time they've elected him member of parliament'

---

[1]With verbs in the first person designating linguistic (or partly linguistic) acts, an annunciatory 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: ʔana btanni Ɛal-ʔəqtirāḥ 'I second the motion' (To <u>say</u> it is to <u>do</u> it.)

As distinct from annunciatory predications, reportorial predications may employ the particle of actuality (*Ɛam-*) [p. 320], a participle [272], or the perfect tense [330], or — in the case of linking verbs [452]— a non-verbal clause [402] (See ex. 4, above.)

For instance: *Ɛam-byənkor ʔəlo ʔīd fīha* (cf. ex. 6, same translation); *ʔāl ʔənno ʔaxū mū žāye* 'He said his brother wasn't coming' (cf. ex. 5); *māli Ɛāref* '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 <u>are</u> clearly distinct, furthermore, the dispositional use tends to merge with the future [p. 324] and the generalizing use, with the annunciatory [325].[1]

Generalizing. Like the simple present in English, the simple imperfect is used to make (or elicit) generalizations and non-temporal statements:

1. *l-mazarīb btəntə́šem lamma*
   bəṭmaṭṭer
   'The drains clog up when it rains'

2. *ž-žāžat bibīḍu bēḍ*
   'Hens lay eggs'

3. *ʔarbƐa w-xamse byaƐ³mlu təsƐa*
   'Four and five make nine'

4. *b-ʔawāxer ³r-rabīƐ l-ḥabb*
   byəstə́wi [AO-39]
   'Late in spring the grain ripens'

5. *bināmu Ɛal-ʔəṣṭūḥ bəl-lēl*
   b-sabab ³š-šōb [AO-39]
   'They sleep on the roof at night because of the heat'

6. *yōm bikūn fī fərṣa l-madāres*
   mā btəftaḥ [DA-239]
   'On a day that's a holiday the schools don't open'

7. *wṣiyye bala ʔəmḍa bətkūn bāṭle*
   'A will without a signature is invalid' (or '...would be invalid')

8. *Ɛala ʔayy ṭarīʔa biṣīr*
   ³l-ʔəntixāb? [SAL-153]
   'By what method does election take place?'

9. *bi-Ɛālē mā biṣīr bard mət³l*
   hōn [DA-173]
   'In Aley it doesn't get so cold as (it does) here'

10. *mnəži la-Ɛandkon Ɛəšrīn marra*
    la-təžu la-Ɛanna marra
    'We come to your house twenty times for every time you come to ours'

Dispositional. The simple imperfect is commonly used to indicate potentialities, dispositions, and propensities. The English equivalents are variously rendered, usually with 'can', 'would', 'will', or adjectives:

1. *btəstaʔžər-lak Ɛarabiyye*
   ʔər³b l-³mḥaṭṭa
   'You can hire a car near the station'

2. *btaƐref wēn blāʔi ʔmāš ³mnīḥ?*
   [EA-105]
   'Do you know where I can find some good cloth?' (The main verb *btaƐref* is annunciatory [p. 325].)

3. *ʔēmta ma kān btədfaƐ-li*
   [DA-107]
   'You can pay me anytime.'

4. *waḷḷa mā bədfaƐ fī wlā ʔərš*
   'I wouldn't pay a piastre for it!'

5. *r-rəžžāl byəƐ³žbak* [EA-158]
   'You'd <u>like</u> the man'

6. *b-ḥayāti mā bəštə́ǧel maƐ*
   žamāƐa mən han-nəmre
   'I would never work for people of that sort'

7. *mā bəddi kūn maṭraḥo*
   'I wouldn't want to be in his place' (The quasi-verb *bəddo* 'to want' [p. 412] is often translated as a dispositional, though it is not inflected for tense.)

8. *hal-³mnaḍḍef bizīl ³l-bə́ʔaƐ*
   'This cleaner will remove the spots'

9. *l-xašab nāšef la-daraže*
   byəštéƐel fīha b-³shūle
   'The wood is dry enough to catch fire easily'

10. *huwwe biǧār ³ktīr*
    'He's very jealous (in disposition)', i.e. 'He gets jealous a lot'

11. *hal-walad byəstə́ḥi*
    'That boy is bashful', i.e. '...gets embarrassed'

12. *mā byətlāƐab* [EA-161]
    'He isn't deceitful', i.e. He doesn't (or won't) deceive'

---

[1] The simple imperfect indicative is functionally the base, or residual (or neutral) tense-mode, i.e. we are dealing with the non-past non-subjunctive 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.

13. *mā fī šī byənɛ́əmel?*   'Is there nothing to be done?'

14. *hal-ᵊʔmāš byəngə́sel?*   'Is this material washable?', i.e. 'Can this material be washed?'

15. *walḷa hal-manẓar mā byəntə́sa*   'This view is unforgetable', i.e. 'This view cannot be forgotten'

16. *huwwe xaṣᵊm byənxāf mənno*   'He's an adversary to be feared'

17. *kān fərṣa mā btəttamman ʔəli*   'It was a very lucky break for me', i.e. '... an occasion(that) cannot be evaluated...'

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 *bigār* in example 10 is (or at least can be) equivalent to the adjective *gayyūr* 'jealous' (in disposition). Like dispositional adjectives, they are all intransitive and most 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: *haz-zalame bigəšš* 'That fellow cheats', i.e. 'He's a cheater' = *haz-zalame gaššāš*; as contrasted with *haz-zalame bigəššak* 'That fellow will (or would) cheat you', which shows the true verbal construction. Further examples with object suppressed:

18. *hal-kalb mā biɛaḍḍ*   'That dog won't (or doesn't) bite'

19. *ʔakl ʔl-būẓa mā bəḍḍərr*   'Eating ice cream won't do any harm'

20. *haš-šaġle bətmallel*   'This job is boring', lit. "...bores"

21. *hayy masʔale mā bəḍḍaḥḥek*   'This is no laughing matter', i.e. '...a matter that doesn't cause laughter'

22. *lā təsraɛ ɛala ṭərʔāt bədzaḥle?*   '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 dispositionals: *bətmallel = mməlle*, *bəḍḍaḥḥek = məḍᵊhke*.

See also p.409.

Note that English adjectives ending in -able (or -ible) are mostly passive dispositionals, 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: *byəngə́sel* '(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 byəntə́sa* '(is) unforgetable'. (There is, however, a limited use of passive participles in the dispositional sense [p.275], mainly in Classicisms: *gēr maqrūʔ* 'illegible', more colloquially: *mā byənʔə́ra.*)

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. *ḍəhek ʔl-malek ʔktīr* [AO-88]   'The king laughed heartily'

2. *fēn štaġalt baɛᵊd ma txarražt?* [EA-206]   'Where did you work after you were graduated?'

3. *kān mən ʔadīm ᵊz-zamān tāžer ɛando bənt* [AO-113]   'There was once upon a time a merchant who had a daughter'

4. *ʔabū kān faʔīr, w-bāɛ ʔarāḍī* [EA-160]   'His father was poor, and sold his land'

5. *lamma ṣāret l-ᵊntixābāt, ntaxabū raʔīs baladiyye* [EA-161]   'When the elections took place, they elected him mayor'

Examples translated with the present perfect:

6. *ʔaxadᵊt dawāk, walla ləssa?*   'Have you taken your medicine yet?'

7. *štamaɛt maɛo ɛəddet marrāt* [EA-158]   'I've met him several times'

8. *mā fī šī tgayyar*   'Nothing has changed'

9. ṣināƐet ᵊṣ-ṣābūn ṣāret ᵊl-yōm
?aƐẓam ṣināƐa fi-ṭrablos
[PAT-183]

'The soap industry has become the biggest industry in Tripoli today'

10. šū ṣār maƐak?

'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: šū ṣāyer maƐak? 'What's happened to you? (that you should be in this state)', while šū ṣār maƐak? 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 <u>stative</u> (or <u>durative</u>) 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? ᵊrtāḥ bāli

'Now I feel relieved' (i.e. 'Now my mind has been relieved')

12. Ɛrəft kīf?

'Do you know how it is?' (i.e. 'Have you found out how it is?')

13. fhəmt ?ənnak msāfer bukra

'I understand you're leaving tomorrow' (i.e. 'I've been given to understand...')

14. baƐd ma halla? ?əlt-əlli ?əsmo
dzakkarto tamām

'Now that you've told me his name I remember him perfectly' (i.e. '... I've brought him to mind perfectly')

15. mən malāmeḥ wəššak bə?der ?ūl
?ənnak mā ḥabbēto

'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 annunciatory sense [p. 325], while the Arabic counterparts remain in the perfect:

16. ttafa?na

'We're agreed', 'It's a deal' (i.e. 'We've agreed')

17. tšarrafna

'I'm (we're) honored' (i.e. 'We've been honored')

18. xaẓẓaltni

'You embarrass me' (i.e. 'You've embarrassed me')

19. baṣaṭṭni b-hal-xabar [DA-243]

'I'm glad to hear that' (i.e. 'You've gladdened me with this news')

20. šū hī š-šrūṭ ᵊlli ?taraḥta?
[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 ?iza, law, ?ən (all translated 'if') and ma (translated '-ever' as in fēn ma 'wherever...').

With ?iza '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: ?iza rəh°t maƐna, mā btət?axxar '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 (btət?axxar) is interpreted as dispositional [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 ?iza-clause does not depend on its main verb.

Examples:

1. ?iza da?art fīha btəfroṭ

'If you touch it, it'll come to pieces' or 'If you touched it, it'd come to pieces'

2. mnəṣal la-natāyež ?aḥsan ?iza
ttabaƐna haṭ-ṭarī?a

'We'll get better results if we follow this method' or 'We'd get... if we followed..'

3. məmken rūḥ ?iza Ɛazamūni

'I might (or may) go, if they invite me'

4. ?iza ?əwi l-wažaƐ, bƐāt wara
doktōr

'If the pain gets stronger, send for a doctor'

5. nṭəẓərni ?iza ṣār u-t?axxar°t
?ana

'Wait for me if I happen to be late' (lit. "...if it happened and I was late")

6. ?iza mā kān ḥāḍer ḥəṭṭ Ɛalāme
?əddām ?əsmo

'If he's not present put a mark by his name'

7. ?iza ḍallet haḍ-ḍōže laḥa-žənn

'If that noise keeps up I'll go crazy'

8. raḥa-nəži ?əlla ?iza nəzlet
maṭar

'We'll come unless it rains' (lit. "...except if it rains")

In English the <u>present</u> 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 <u>not</u> be used to depict a hypothetical situation; the particle of anticipation (*raḥa-, laḥa-*) [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 *ʔiza*, however, unless the situation depicted is definitely hypothetical. When applied to a real situation, the *ʔiza*-clause may have a verb in the imperfect or no verb at all: *ʔiza bətrūḥ maʕna, mā btətʔaxxar* 'If you're going with us, you won't be late'; *btamm ʔiza lā bədd mənno* 'I'll stay if necessary'.

An imperfect or non-verbal *ʔiza*-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. *nšāḷḷa mā fī māneʕ ʕandak ʔiza brūḥ halla?*
'I hope you don't mind if I go now'

10. *ʔiza t-taqrīrēn byətnāqaḍu lā tsadde? lā hād u-lā hād*
'If the two reports conflict, don't believe either one'

11. *ʔiza btəstannāni šī yōmēn yəmken ʔəṭlaʕ maʕak* [DA-172]
'If you'll wait for me a couple of days I might go up with you'

12. *ʔiza bəddak raʔyi hāda tanāzol ʕan mabādʔak*
'If you want my opinion, this is a backsliding from your principles'[1]

13. *ʔiza ʕalēk šī lā tətʔaxxar mənšāni* [DA-243]
'If there's something you have to do, don't delay on my account'

In example 13, the verbless clause *ʔiza ʕalēk šī* (theoretically) implies an expectation that you probably <u>do</u> have some pressing engagement or other, which makes it easier for you to excuse yourself than it would be if the speaker said *ʔiza kān ʕalēk šī...* (with the perfect *kān* which cancels out this expectancy) thereby putting more pressure on you <u>not</u> to excuse yourself. Thus the element of expectancy is converted into an element of politeness. Similarly, *ʔiza bətrūḥ maʕna...* is more of an invitation than *ʔiza rəḥʔt maʕna...*, and *btamm ʔiza lā bədd mənno* is more of an offer than *btamm ʔiza kān lā bədd mənno*.

Past Conditionals. The present tense after *ʔiza* may, of course, simply indicate past time:

14. *ʔiza sāfar ʔmbārḥa, byəṣal ʔl-yōm*
'If he left yesterday, he'll arrive today'

Note also *ʔiza sāfar ʔmbārḥa, bikūn wəṣel ʔl-yōm* 'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today' or 'If he left yesterday, he'll have arrived today' [p. 341].

With *ʔiza* there is no distinction between <u>possible</u> conditions and <u>contrary-to-fact</u> conditions. The latter are indicated in English by a past-perfect phrase in the protasis ('if he'd left...') couples with a conditional phrase in the apodasis ('he'd have arrived...'), but in Arabic the same sentence (*ʔiza sāfar...bikūn wəṣel*) is used in either case – whether it is known that he has <u>not</u> arrived, or <u>not</u> known whether he has arrived or not.

ʔiza with the Linking Verb *kān* [p.452]. A hypothetical condition with *ʔiza* is often expressed by the verb *kān* in the perfect, followed by a complemental verb: *ʔiza kān šāfha, biḥākīha* 'If he saw her, he'd talk to her'.

15. *xāf ʔənno yətrok ʔš-šəġʔl ʔiza kān rafaḍ ṭalabo* [AO-103]
'He was afraid that he'd quit working if he denied his request'

The complemental verb may be in the simple imperfect indicative (i.e. with the *b-* prefix) to indicate a disposition or a generalization [p. 326]:

16. *šī rxīṣ, ʔiza kān byəštəġel ʔmnīḥ* [AO-47]
'That's cheap, if he does good work'

---

[1]This is a pseudo-conditional construction, i.e. *hāda tanāzol...* is not a genuine apodasis; it is logically independent of the protasis.

17. *lāzem ʔtkūn bala ḥəss ʔiza mā*
    kənt ʔbtətʔassar b-hal-manẓar

'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. *xallīni ʔaɛref ʔabl ʔb-salaf*
    ʔiza kənt raḥa-təži

'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 <u>main</u> clause may use the simple imperfect in the future sense (*mənlāʔī bukra* 'We're meeting him tomorrow'), this is an "assumed" future event [p.324], corresponding to a "positive-expectancy" conditional clause [332]: *ʔiza mənlāʔī bukra* 'If we're meeting him tomorrow...'. A "hypothetical" future event, on the other hand, requires the perfect tense in a conditional clause, with or without *kān*: *ʔiza (kān) lāʔēnā bukra* 'If we meet(met) him tomorrow...'. Examples:

19. *ʔiza kān mā mətʔt bəddi*
    ʔəʔṭaɛ rās hal-kazzāb [AO-95]

'If I don't die, I intend to cut that liar's head off'

20. *ʔiza kān laʔēt wāḥed ɛaṭ-ṭarīʔ*
    halli ʔal-lak sʔīni, xallī
    yəšrab... [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 verb *ʔal(-lak)*, as well as *laʔēt*; the attributive clause is also part of the hypothetical condition.)

The hypothetical *kān* may be used with *ʔiza* in two ways: either inflected, as in examples 17 and 18, or uninflected, as in examples 19 and 20. When uninflected, *kān* must come right after *ʔiza*; when inflected, it may be separated from *ʔiza* by the subject or by a negative particle [p.383]. Further examples of the uninflected *kān*:

21. *ʔiza kān ʔl-ɛaṣāye ʔazharet*
    u-warraʔet ʔl-yōm ʔt-tāni,
    ɛrēf ʔənno ʔaḷḷa ġafar xaṭāyāk
    [AO-99]

'If the stick has grown blossoms and leaves by the next day, know, then, that God has forgiven your sins'

22. *ʔiza kān māli ʔaḥsan bətžībī-li*
    l-ḥakīm [AO-51]

'If I'm not better you'll bring the doctor to (see) me'

23. *bkūn ɛandak...baɛʔd sāɛa...*
    ʔiza kān ʔl-ḥallāʔ mū maɛžūʔ
    [DA-197]

'I'll be at your place in an hour, if the barber's isn't crowded'

24. *ʔiza kān fī balkōnāt bikūn*
    ʔafḍal [DA-290]

'If there are(were) balconies, that will(would) be preferable'

Compare the inflected versions: *ʔiza l-ɛaṣāye (kānet) ʔazharet...*(cf. 21); *ʔiza mā kənt ʔaḥsan...*(cf. 22); *ʔiza l-ḥallāʔ mā kān maɛžūʔ...*(cf. 23).

With *ʔən, n-* 'if'. The perfect is always used in conditional clauses expressed with *ʔən*:

1. *ʔən mā sakatt bəḍʔrbak*

'If you don't shut up I'll hit you!'

2. *w-ʔn mā ʔəža, šū mnaɛmel?*

'And if he doesn't come, what'll we do?'

3. *r-rāḥ brūḥ maɛo, w-ʔn mā rāḥ brūḥ waḥdi*

'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. *nšāḷḷa mā fī māneɛ ʔn-daxxant*

'I trust there's no objection if I smoke (?)'

Note also the set phrases *n-šā ʔaḷḷāh* and *n-rād ʔaḷḷāh* 'If God wills', and *n-ʔaḷḷa sahhal* "If God eases (the way)".

Like *ʔiza*, *ʔən* is often followed by *kān*: *n-kān mā ʔəža...* '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 ʔb-maḥallak bəbʔa bəl-bēt*

'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay at home'

2. *law kān ʔl-manāx ʔanšaf b-ʔšwayye bikūn ʔaḥsan b-ʔktīr* [DA-151]

'If the climate were a little drier, it would be a lot better'

3. *w-law mā daras, byənžaḥ*

'Even if he didn't study, he'd do well'

4. *mənražžəɛ-lak ʔl-maṣāri ḥatta w-law kənna bəddna nəšḥad*

'We'll(we'd) pay you back the money even if we have(had) to beg'.

5. *w-lu ʔalaḥḥēt ɛaliyyi māli lah-ʔəži*

'Even if you insist, I won't go' (The form *-lu* 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 apodasis is often suppressed:

6. law btaᶜref ʔəddēš ʔbḥəbbak   'If you only knew how much I love
   [SPA-27]   you!'

7. law yəḥki kəlme wāḥde   'If he would just speak up once, the
   btənḥall ʔl-məškle   problem would be solved'

8. law ᶜandha šwayyet ḥēl bass!   'If she only had a little strength!'

9. ʔāx law ʔəʔʔtlo ᶜala hēk   'I could kill him for doing such a
   ᶜamal saxīf!   stupid thing!'("Oh, if I'd kill him...")

The desiderative law is often used in a milder sense, to express invitations:

10. law bətšarrəfna ᶜal-ġada   '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 šəftha kənt ʔbʔal-lha '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. 341].

This use of kān is not obligatory if the main verb is in the imperfect. Its omission makes the apodasis more vivid: law šəftha, bʔal-lha (same translation). (See examples 1-5.)

11. law kənt ʔb-maḥallak, kənt   'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay
    bəbʔa bəl-bēt   home' (Cf. example 1)

12. kān byəṭlaᶜ b-ʔído ykūn   'He could be the first in his class
    ʔawwal wāḥed bəṣ-ṣaff law rād if he wished'

13. law kənti məštāʔtī-li   'If you(f.) really wanted to see me
    kənti btəži laᶜanna   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 šəftha, kənt ʔəlt-əlha (or la-ʔəlt-əlha, or la-kənt ʔəlt-əlha) 'If I had seen her, I'd have told her'.

14. law ʔəlt-əlli kənt rəḥt maᶜak 'If you'd told me, I'd have gone with
    [DA-171]   you'

15. law kan-li l-ʔəxtiyār la-kənt 'If the choice had been mine, I'd
    rəḥt bəṭ-ṭayyāra   have gone by plane'

16. law tarak ʔmbārḥa, la-wəṣel   'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have
    ʔl-yōm   arrived today'

17. law biḥəbbu baᶜḍon ʔl-baᶜəḍ   'If only they liked one another,
    kānu tᶜāmalu sawa mən zamān   they'd have gotten together long ago'

18. law fahhamna ʔənno hōn kənna 'If he'd let us know that he was
    daᶜēnā ᶜal-ʔəštimāᶜ   here, we'd have invited him to the
                                  meeting'

19. w-law mən hēk, ʔaḷḷa hū   'And if it hadn't been for that, God
    ʔaᶜlam šū kān ṣār fīna   knows what would have happened to us'
    [SAL-140]

With law-la 'if it were not for', 'but for':

20. law-la l-ʔwlād la-kān tarak   'If it weren't for the children, he
    marto mən zamān   would have left his wife long ago'

21. law-la l-bōṣle kənna ḍaᶜna   'Without the compass we'd have got-
                                  ten lost'

22. law-lāhon la-kənna mənkūn   'If it weren't for them, we'd be in
    hallaʔ ʔb-bārīz   Paris now'

23. law-lāha kənt šaḥḥād ʔl-yōm   'But for her, I'd be a beggar today'
    ʔana

(The form law-la is also commonly used before mā, in a negative verbal clause:)

24. law-la mā staxaff ʔl-mawḍūᶜ   'If he hadn't made light of the mat-
    mā kān ṣār fī hēk   ter, that wouldn't have happened to
                                  him'

25. law-la mā warža ġabāʔo mā   'If he hadn't displayed his stupid-
    kānu stažhalū   ity, 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. bidūn tawṣiyyāto mā kənt   'Without his recommendations, I
   ʔstaḥsant ʔl-fəkra ʔabadan   wouldn't have approved of the idea
                                  at all.' (Cf. law-la tawṣiyyāto...)

[Ch. 12.

2. *baɛ°d hal-maṭar ṣaret ʔasɛār l-ʔḥbūb ʔbtənzel* [DA-238]
   'After this rain, grain prices should go down' (Cf. *law bətmaṭṭer...* 'If it would rain...')

The expression *w-ʔəlla* 'or else...!' is itself a conditional protasis (~ *w-ʔən laʔ* 'and if not'), and is commonly followed by a verb in the perfect:

3. *ʔəṣḥak baɛdēn təržaɛ la-hōn, w-ʔəlla ʔataltak* [AO-119]
   'Don't come back here again, or I'll kill you!'

Some clauses may be analyzed as an apodasis without a protasis:

4. *kənt ʔktīr bətmanna rūḥ, bass ʔbtəɛzrūni* [SAL-115]
   'I'd very much like to go, but you'll (have to) excuse me' (Cf. *kənt ʔktīr bətmanna rūḥ law ɛazamūni, 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 mət°t ʔab°l ma ɛabbart ɛala ra°yi*
   'I'd sooner <u>die</u> than express my opinion' (on a given matter) (Cf. *law ɛabbart...*)

With ma '-ever'. The perfect is used for hypothetical conditions introduced by *kəll ma* and *ʔēmta ma* 'whenever', *šū ma*, *ʔəš-mən*, *ʔē-mən* and *mah ma* 'whatever', *mīn ma* 'whoever', *wēn ma (fēn ma)* 'wherever', *kīf ma* 'however', *ʔadd ma* 'however much':

1. *šū ma ṣār lā təftaḥ had-dər°ž*
   'Whatever happens, don't open that drawer!'

2. *mā bihəmmni šū ma ḥaka yəḥki* [DA-213]
   'I don't care, let him say whatever he will'

3. *lāzəmni bēt fēn ma kān ykūn* [DA-213]
   'I need a house, no matter where it is' (lit. "...wherever it be, let it be")

4. *kəll ma daʔʔ ʔl-kūz bəž-žarra bihaddədna b-ʔəstiʔālto*
   'At every drop of the hat he threatens us with his resignation' (lit. "Whenever the mug hits the jar...")

5. *fīki təsʔali wēn ma kān* [SAL-192]
   'You (f.) can ask anywhere' (lit. "You can ask wherever it may be")

6. *bəthadda mīn ma kān yaɛmel haš-šī!*
   'I challenge anyone to do that!' (lit. "I challenge whoever it may be...")

7. *šū ma ʔəlt ḥa-nrūḥ*
   'No matter what you say, we're going'

8. *ʔadd ma ɛažžaltni haš-šaġle mā btəxloṣ ʔabkar*
   'No matter how much you hurry me, this job won't be done any sooner'

9. *biləḥḥu ɛaz-zāyer kəll ma rād irūḥ məšān yaʔɛod šwayye zyāde* [PAT-199]
   'They urge the visitor, every time he wants to go, to stay a while longer'

10. *biḥəbb mīn ma šāf w-byəḥki šū ma səmeɛ* [RN-41]
   'He takes a liking to whomever he sees and tells whatever he hears'

Some of these forms may be preceded by *law*:

11. *hal-žamāɛa mā byəstɛīdu žənsīton law šū ma ɛəmlu*
   'That bunch won't get back their citizenship no matter what they do'

12. *law mah ma ɛməlt māli laḥ-ʔaɛṭīk maṣāri*
   'No matter what you do, I'm not going to give you money'

13. *law ʔəš-mən ṣār, māli ʔāyem mən ʔarḍi*
   'No matter what happens, I won't budge.'

With the attributive forms *ʔayy* and *ʔanu* 'any, whatever' [p. 573], the perfect is also used, but without *ma*:

14. *ʔaɛṭīni ʔayy mašrūbāt kānu* [RN-41]
   'Give me whatever beverages there are'

15. *xōd ʔanu ktāb ɛažabak*
   'Take any book you like'

ma can also be used with the imperfect, in the generalizing or dispositional senses, or for "expected" conditions (or courtesy) [p. 332].

16. *kəll ma bšūfo ʔaktar kəll ma bḥəbbo ʔaktar*
   'The more I see of him, the more I like him'

17. *ʔadd ma byaɛṭīk, xōd mənno* [DA-215]
   'As much as he'll give you, get from him'

18. *wēn ma bətrīd tākol ʔana bākol* [DA-213]
   'Wherever you'd like to eat, I'll eat'

19. *la-wēn ma bəddak brūḥ* [DA-215]
   'I'll go wherever you want' (The tenseless *bəddak*, without a linking verb *kənt*, is equivalent to the imperfect.)

The *ma* forms may also be used with *kān* for past time
reference plus a complemental verb in the imperfect for
generalization [p. 326]:

20. *kəll ma kān ifakker fīha kān*   'Every time he thought about it he
    yətkarkar   would chuckle'

TENSE SUBORDINATION

Time reference in a main clause is relative to the moment of utterance:
Єam-yəktob maktūb 'He's writing a letter' (at the present moment); *katab
maktūb* 'He wrote a letter' (before the present moment). In an Arabic com-
plemental clause [p. 449], however, time reference is relative to that of
the main clause: *šəfto Єam-yəktob maktūb* 'I saw him writing a letter' (or
'I saw he was writing a letter'). Since the clause *Єam-yəktob maktūb* is
complemental to the main clause *šəfto* '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 *šəfto*. Likewise in *šəfto katab
maktūb* 'I saw he had written a letter', the past time of his writing in-
dicated in the complemental clause *katab maktūb* is prior to the past mo-
ment referred to in the main clause *šəfto*. Similarly: *šəfto ha-yəktob...*
'I saw he was going to write...', *ha-tšūfo 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 <u>was</u> 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. *hakā—lha šū šāf* [AO-113]   'He told her what he had seen'

2. *ftakart ʔannak ʔbtaЄref* [EA-150]   'I thought that you knew'

3. *ʔāl bəʔder rūh*   'He said I could go'

4. *baЄdēn ʔāl ʔanno raha-yənṭəẓer*   'Then he said that he was going to
    ʔawāmer ždīde   await new orders'

5. *tāni yōm šāf ʔanha warraʔet*   'The next day he saw that it had
    u-ʔazharet [AO-100]   leafed out and blossomed'

6. *bass ʔmbāreh smaЄt ʔannak*   'Just yesterday I heard that you
    marīd [EA-149]   were ill' (Verbless complemental
                               clause [p. 403])

7. *kənt ʔmhasseb ʔanno baddo yrūh*   'I was under the impression that he
                               wanted to go'

8. *zanta b-Єaʔli ʔiza brūh*   'I weighed it in my mind whether I
   wəlla laʔ   should go or not'

9. *lāʔēnā mā byəswa xabaro*   'We found him not all he was cracked
                               up to be'

10. *kaʔanni smaЄt ʔl-ʔafʔl*   'I thought I heard the lock click'
    Єam-iṭaʔṭe?

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' + *Єam-yəktob* 'he is writing' → *kān Єam-yəktob* 'he was writing'

kān 'he was' + *raha-yəktob* 'he's going to write' → *kān raha-yəktob* 'he was
                                              going to write'

kān 'he was' + *katab* 'he wrote' → *kān katab* 'he had written'

kān 'he was' + *byəktob* 'he writes' → *kān yəktob* 'he used to write'

The *b-* prefix of the simple imperfect is usually drop-
ped after *kān* for past time reference, but is kept intact
for the hypothetical sense [p. 355]: *kān byəktob* 'he would
write'.

bikūn 'he will be' + *Єam-yəktob* 'he is writing' → *bikūn Єam-yəktob* 'he'll be
                                                 writing'

bikūn 'he will be' + *katab* 'he wrote' → *bikūn katab* 'he will have written'

(Etc.)

It should be noted that the linking verb and the com-
plemental 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. *t-trēn kān ləssā Єam-yətharrak*   'The train was still moving'

2. *kānet təštəẓel b-maktab*   'She used to work in an office'

3. *lamma wṣalt, kānet ʔl-maṭar*   'When I arrived, the rain had
    ʔnʔaṭЄet [AO-67]   stopped'

4. *bəkra nšāḷḷa bəži bzūrak*   'Tomorrow I'll come see you and I
    w-ʔnšāḷḷa bətkūn ṣahhēt   trust you'll have recovered'
    [DA-217]

5. *mən yōmēn tlāte kānet sāɛti*
   ɛamma-tˀaṣṣer [AO-71]

   'For two or three day my watch was losing time'

6. *kəll ma ɛərfet šū bəddo, kānet*
   tərkod u-təžhad la-taɛməl-lo
   yā [AO-111]

   'Whenever she found out what he wanted, she would run and take pains to do it for him' (i.e. 'she used to run...')

7. *la-bēn ma təlbes badˀltak*
   ˀž-ždīde bikūn þāþa wəṣel
   [DA-298]

   'By the time you've put on your new suit, Daddy will have arrived'

8. *ˀakīd bikūnu ˀahlak stawḥašū-lak*
   b-ġēbtak

   'Your family certainly must have missed you when you were away' (*bikūnu* is dispositional [p.327].)

9. *lā tədros ˀd-dars ˀt-tālet*
   ˀabˀl ma tkūn ˀatˀant ˀd-dars
   ˀt-tāni

   'Don't study the third lesson before you've mastered the second' (*ˀatˀant* is in the perfect to emphasize the completion of mastery, but *ˀabˀl ma* requires the subjunctive [p.358], hence *tkūn*.)

10. *bass yā rētak kənt maɛi, kənt*
    ˀmbaṣaṭṭ ˀaktar [DA-171]

    'But if only you'd been with me, I'd have had a better time' (The second *kənt* is used here for a hypothetical apodosis [p.336], not for past time reference.)

11. *law šəftha bər-rabīɛ, kənt*
    bətˀūl ġēr hēk [DA-250]

    'If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn't say that' (*kənt* for hypothetical apodosis)

Tense subordination is also commonly shown in certain kinds of attributive clauses [p.495], annexion clauses [p.490], and supplemental clauses [p.531]:

1. *ž-žamɛ ˀstaˀbalo b-barbara*
   bəddəll ɛal-ˀmwāfaˀa

   'The gathering greeted him with a murmur of approval' (i.e. '...that indicated approval')

2. *b-hal-maṣāri l-rəbḥūha ɛammaru*
   byūton [PVA-30]

   'With this money they had earned, they built their houses'

3. *stahlakna kəll ˀṣ-ṣābūn halli*
   bəl-bēt

   'We've used up all the soap we had in the house' (Verbless attributive clause [   ])

4. *ɛəmel kəll halli byəṭlaɛ b-ˀīdo*

   'He did everything he could'

5. *tnazzaht u-ˀana ɛam-bəˀra*
   [RN-I.227]

   'I walked while I was reading'

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 *ɛam-* or *raḥa-* preceding the person prefix: *byəftaḥ* 'he opens', *ɛam-yəftaḥ* 'he is opening', *raḥa-yəftaḥ* '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-*, *ɛam-*, or *raḥa-*): *yəftaḥ* '(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: *ftāḥ* '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.

---

[1] It 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 *ɛam-* 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-muḍāriɛ l-manṣūb*) and indicative (*al-muḍāriɛ l-marfūɛ*) of classical Arabic *ˀiɛrāb*, 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	Optative
mənrūḥ Ɛas-sinama...................	*nrūḥ Ɛas-sinama*
'We'll go to the movies'	'Let's go to the movies'
bətrūḥ Ɛas-sinama maƐna?...........	*trūḥ Ɛas-sinama maƐna?*
'Are you going to the movies with us?'	'Will you go to the movies with us?'
blā?i taksi b-haš-šāreƐ?...........	*lā?i taksi b-haš-šāreƐ?*
'Can I find a taxi on this street?' [p.327]	'Shall I find a taxi on this street?'
?alla biwaff?ak...................	*?alla ywaff?ak*
'God will grant you success'	'May God grant you success'

Further examples of the independent subjunctive:

1. *?aƐmel ?ahwe, wəlla šāy?*   'Shall I make coffee, or tea?'

2. *šāyef ᵊmnīḥ, wəlla ?əftaḥ-lak ᵊḍ-ḍaww?*   'Can you see all right, or shall I turn on the light for you?'

3. *rūḥ žīb kam ?annīnet bīra?*   'Shall I go get a few bottles of beer?'

4. *nərtaḥ-ᵊlna nətfe hōn?*   'Shall we rest a bit here?'

5. *tfət-lak šī da?ī?a?*   'Will you come in for a minute?'

6. *yalli lāḥeš tyābo yəži yšīlon*   'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'

7. *?alla yəžmaƐna sawa marra tānye* [DA-253]   'May God bring us together again'

8. *təṣbeḥ Ɛala xēr*   'Good night' (lit. 'May you be well in the morning').

9. *yəxrab bēto*   'A curse upon his house!' (lit. 'May his house be ruined').

10. *lā ykən-lak fəkre*   'Don't give it a thought' (lit. "Let there not be a thought to you").

Note the formulaic phrases *sallem ?īdēk* and *katter xērak* (both translated 'thank you'; the first for work performed). The verbs are subjunctive (not imperative) aphaeretic forms for *ysallem...* 'May He protect (your hands)' and *ykatter...* '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:

Positive Command (Imperative)		Negative Command (Subjunctive)	
rūḥ	'Go!'..............	*lā trūḥ*	'Don't go'
taƐa	'Come!'............	*lā təži*	'Don't come!'
žībī-li yā	'Bring(f.)it to me'....	*lā džībī-li yā*	'Don't bring it to me.'

The Particle *la-* [cf. p.353] is sometimes used before a main verb in the first person subjunctive, expressing exhortation ('let...'):

la-nəržaƐ la-mas?alt ᵊl-bēt [DA-244]	'Let's go back to the matter of the house'
la-ḥadder-lak tyābak [DA-181]	'Let me get your clothes ready for you'
?iza bəddak ᵊtrūḥ tədzaḥla? Ɛat-talž, la-ƐĪrak ṭa?mi	'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): *?āl ?annak ᵊbtəži* '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: *?al ?annak təži* '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 *?anno* 'that':

After *ṭalab* 'to ask(for), request':

1. *ṭalab mən rəfaʔāto yəstannū* 'He asked his companions to wait for him'

ʔamar 'to order, command':

2. *l-malek ʔamar ᵊṣ-ṣayyad ʔənno yžəb-lo ʔarbaɛ samakāt* [AO-117] 'The king ordered the fisherman to bring him four fish'

ttafaʔ 'to agree':

3. *ttafaʔna nətbādal ᵊd-dōr* 'We agreed to take turns'

waɛad 'to promise':

4. *wɛədni ʔənnak mā taɛmśla tāni marra* 'Promise me not to do it again'

naṣīḥa 'advice':

5. *naṣīḥti ʔənno nətrok ḥālan* 'My advice is that we leave immediately'

xāf 'to fear':

6. *xāf ʔənno yətᵊrku š-šəġᵊl* [adap.fr. AO-103] 'He was afraid they would quit the job'

xaṭar 'danger':

7. *fī xaṭar ʔənno yəxṣar waẓīfto* 'There's danger that he'll lose his job'

staḥaʔʔ 'to deserve':

8. *ʔanti mā btəstḥəʔʔi ʔənno ḥākīki* [AO-119] 'You(f.) don't deserve that I should speak to you'

kəreh 'to hate':

9. *bəl-ḥaʔīʔa bəkrah ʔezᵊɛžak* 'I really hate to bother you'

ḥabb 'to like':

10. *bətḥabbu ʔəržaɛ ʔāxədkon?* [DA-129] 'Would you(pl.)like me to come back and pick you up?'

rād 'to wish, want':

11. *kān marra malek smīn ktīr w-rād yənḥaf* 'There was once a very fat king, and he wanted to reduce'

ʔəbel 'to accept, agree to':

12. *farīʔna ʔəbel ināzślon* '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[1]:

---

[1]Note that the complemental verb may be indicative even though the superordinate predication is interrogative (ex. 1), negative (ex. 2), or optative (ex. 3) (below).

ẓann 'to think, suppose':

1. *bətẓann ʔənno byaɛref l-ᵊḥkāye?* 'Do you suppose he knows the story?'

ɛtaʔad 'to believe':

2. *mā baɛtśʔed ʔannek btaɛᵊrfi ṭaṭᵊbxi* 'I don't believe you(f.) know how to cook'

faraḍ 'to suppose, assume':

3. *nəfroḍ ʔənno mā byəži* 'Let's suppose he doesn't come...'

ṭṣawwar 'to imagine':

4. *mā ʔədret təṭṣawwar ʔənno byəkᵊzbu ɛalēha* 'She couldn't imagine that they would lie to her'

ḥalaf 'to swear':

5. *ḥalaf ᵊl-malek ʔənno mā byəržaɛ* [AO-117] 'The king swore that he wouldn't return'

šāf 'to see':

6. *maɛi has-salle bass šāyəf-lak mā laḥa-təsaɛhon* [DA-106] 'I have this basket but I see that it's not going to hold them'

From the foregoing examples it should be clear that the difference in meaning between assertive and optative predications is not a difference between fact and hypothesis, nor between likelihood and unlikelihood. It is more like the psychological distinction between objective and subjective: an assertive predication depicts a (real or imaginary) state of affairs, while an optative predication projects a state of mind.

Not surprisingly, there are borderline cases in which speakers may choose either indicative or subjunctive: *waɛadni ʔənno byəržaɛ* 'He promised me that he would come back' (assertive), but *waɛadni ʔənno yəržaɛ* 'He promised me to come back' (optative).

Further examples of expressions complemented by subjunctive verbs:

bəddo 'to want, require, be supposed to, intend to, be going to':

1. *ʔana bəddi ʔəržaɛ ɛal-bēt* [DA-77] 'I want to go back home'

2. *r-rəžžāl halli bəddna nzūro šū byəštśġel?* [DA-75] 'The man we're going to visit — What's his work?'

3. *kān bəddi ʔəštrīha* 'I wanted to buy it' (or 'I was going to buy it')

4. *bəddak yāha təʔra w-təktob?* [DA-80] 'Do you want her (to be able) to read and write?'

lāzem 'must, ought to, have to, necessary to'; *byəlzam* 'to be necessary for (s.o.):

5. *bəddo l-bēt ikūn mafrūš? — ʔēwa w-ikūn ʔarīb Ɛal-mufawwaḍiyye* [DA-289] 'Does he want the house to be furnished? — Yes, and (that) it should be near the legation'

6. *bəddha tšatti* 'It's going to rain'

7. *lāzem ʔūfi b-waƐdi* [AO-116] 'I must keep my promise'

8. *lāzem ᵊnkūn bəl-maṭār ʔabl ᵊb-sāƐa* [DA-249] 'We ought to be at the airport an hour ahead of time'

9. *kənt lāzem təbʔa mərtāḥ bəl-bēt* [DA-218] 'You ought to have stayed and rested at home'

10. *byəlzamak mara kbīre w-ᵊtkūn Ɛaššiyye* [DA-80a]: 'You need an older woman who would be a housekeeper' (lit.'...and (that) she be a housekeeper')

yəmken 'may, might, maybe, perhaps'; *məmken* 'possible':

11. *yəmken təṣal maƐ l-ᵊwlād baƐᵊd xamṣtaƐšar yōm* [DA-198] 'She may arrive with the children in two weeks'

12. *Ɛala hal-lōn yəmken ʔəštəri t-ṭaʔᵊm mən bērūt* [DA-199] 'In that case I might buy the suit in Beirut'

13. *yəmken yəʔbal ižawwzak yāha* [AO-114] 'Perhaps he'll agree to give her to you in marriage'

14. *yəmken tkūn mā ḥabbēt ʔakᵊlna* [DA-199] 'Maybe you don't like our food!' [p.330]

15. *ʔāl məmken rūḥ* 'He said I might go'

16. *məmken tətwaṣṣat-li ʔābel ᵊl-mudīr halla?* [DA-295] 'Is it possible that you might arrange for me to see the director now?'

ʔəder 'to be able':

17. *btəʔᵊdru təsbaḥu ʔēmta ma kān u-tətraṭṭabu* [DA-151] 'You can swim anytime and refresh yourselves'

18. *mā ʔəder lā yākol u-lā ynām* [DA-107] 'He could neither eat nor sleep'

19. *btəʔder b-layāli kawānīn təʔƐod bəg-galt mən ğēr nār?* [AO-87] 'Could you, on December and January nights, sit in the nude without a fire?'

fī 'to be able' [p.415]

20. *mā fī yətƐawwad Ɛan-niẓām ᵊl-ʔāsi* 'He can't get used to the strict discipline'

21. *fīni sāƐdak b-ʔayy ṭarīʔa?* 'Can I help you in any way?'

Ɛəref 'to know how to':

22. *btaƐᵊrfi təṭᵊbxi ṭabᵊx ʔafranži?* [DA-99] 'Do you(f.)know how to cook European style?' (Cf. *Ɛəref ʔanno*...'to know that...', followed by an assertive clause)

nəsi 'to forget to':

23. *nəsi yʔarrex ᵊl-maktūb* 'He forgot to date the letter'

24. *lā tənsa ma tḥəṭṭ ᵊl-mōzāt fōʔ ᵊt-təffāḥāt* [DA-107] 'Don't forget to put the bananas on top of the apples'

After the negative command *lā tənsa* 'don't forget', the particle *ma* commonly introduces the subjunctive verb. (Do not confuse this with the negative particle *mā*.) Cf. *nəsi (ʔanno)* 'to forget that...', followed by assertive clause.

dzakkar 'to remember to':

25. *dzakkar tətfi ḍ-ḍaww* 'Remember to put out the light'

(Cf. *dzakkar (ʔanno)* 'to remember that...', followed by assertive clause.)

bada 'to begin':

26. *b-ʔawwal ᵊš-šahᵊr l-ᵊfƐāle badu yəhᵊfru ʔasāsāt ᵊl-bēt* [AO-75] 'On the first of the month the workers began to excavate (for) the foundations of the house'

ballaš 'to begin':

27. *l-bannāyīn biballšu yəbnu l-ḥīṭān* [AO-75] 'The masons will begin to build the walls'

baṭṭal 'to stop, cease':

28. *hal-walad ʔēmta ha-ybaṭṭel yəbki?* 'When is that child going to stop crying?'

29. *ḍall rūḥ w-ʔržāƐ laḥatta ybaṭṭel hada yəṭlob mənnak* [AO-99] 'Keep going back and forth until everybody has stopped asking you (for it)'

yā rēt 'would that, I wish':

30. *yā rētak ʔtšūf ʔr-rabīƐ Ɛanna b-bērūt* 'I wish you could see the springtime we have in Beirut!'

31. *yā rēt ʔəʔder ʔəʔra har-rmūz ʔṣ-ṣīniyye* 'I wish I could read those Chinese characters'

(May also be used with the perfect: *yā rēto kān hōn!* 'If only he were here!' [p.338])

nšāḷḷa 'God willing', 'I hope':

32. *nšāḷḷa mā ykūn Ɛando wlād ʔəǧār* [DA-243] 'I hope he doesn't have any small children'

33. *nšāḷḷa kūn mā ʔasaʔt-ə́llak* 'I hope I didn't hurt you' [cf. ex. 9, p.342]

(Also used with the indicative, in the sense 'I trust': *nšāḷḷa btəmbəṣṭi Ɛanna* [DA-81a] 'I trust you'll have a good time here'

Ɛalē 'to have to, be obliged to': [p.415]

34. *ləssa Ɛalē yḥəṭṭ wadīƐa b-ʔl-ḅaŋk* 'He still has to make a deposit at the bank'

35. *ʔəlkon Ɛaliyyi kūn hōn ʔabl ʔb-Ɛašʔr daʔāyeʔ* [DA-29] 'I'm to be here for you (pl.) ten minutes early' (lit.: 'I owe it to you to be here...')

ḍṭarr 'to be forced, obliged, required':

36. *ḍṭarrēt ʔeštə́ǧel sāƐāt ʔəḍāfiyye* 'I had to work extra hours'

məḥtámal 'probable':

37. *məḥtamal ʔənno hal-Ɛawāmel ʔtʔazzem ʔl-waḍʔƐ* 'It is probable that these factors will precipitate a crisis'

məstaḥīl 'improbable, impossible':

38. *mn ʔl-məstaḥīl ʔənno yəži* 'It's highly improbable that he would come'

xalla 'to let, allow':

39. *xallīna nāxod ʔl-bāṣ* [DA-44] 'Let's take the bus'

40. *xallīhon yəṭəflu maƐ báƐḍon* [AO-83] 'Let them thrash it out between them'

41. *šlōn xallētī· yəṭlaƐ b-hal-bard?* [DA-198] 'How could you let him go out in this cold?'

ʔaḥsan 'better':

42. *laʔa ʔənno ʔaḥsan yəftaḥo* [AO-115] 'He found that it would be better to open it'

fəkr 'idea':

43. *fəkro tāni sane yəži ləl-blād ʔl-Ɛarabiyye* [DA-173] 'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'

faḍḍal 'to prefer':

44. *n-nās hōn w-ʔhnīk bifaḍḍlu yəštə́ru lʔaḥsan* [DA-129] 'People both here and over there prefer to buy the best'

ʔarrar, qarrar 'to decide':

45. *ʔēmta mqarrer ʔtsāfer?* [DA-248] 'When have you decided to leave?'

Ɛazam 'to invite':

46. *r-raʔīs Ɛazdmon yətƐaššu maƐo* [AO-91] 'The boss invited them to dine with him'

hamm 'to be important (to)':

47. *bihəmmni təḥkī-lha šwayyet ʔənglīzi* [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she (be able to) speak a little English'

ʔəṣḥa(k) 'be careful not to':

48. *ʔəṣḥak...tətrok ʔīd maryam* [DA-301] 'Be careful you don't let go of Mary's hand'

žarrab 'to try, attempt':

49. *žarreb taƐmel ʔaḥsan l-marra ž-žāye* 'Try to do better the next time'

ḥāwal 'to try, strive':

50. *ḥāwel ikūn sardak mawḍūƐi Ɛan ʔl-ḥādes* 'Try to give an objective account of the incident' (Lit. 'strive that your account be...')

tḥāša 'to avoid':

51. *tḥāšēt ᵊᵊzkor šī* 'I took care not to mention anything...'

tḥadda 'to defy':

52. *bᵊtḥaddāk ᵊdžāweb Ɛala suᵊᵊli* 'I defy you to answer my question'

xāyef 'afraid' (commonly followed by the particle *la-:*)

53. *huwwe xāyef la-ykūn maƐo z-zāyde* [DA-203] 'He's afraid he has appendicitis'

54. *ᵊana xāyef la-mā yᵊži* [RN-I.248] 'I'm afraid he isn't coming'

55. *xāyᵊf-lak ᵊl-bēt yᵊhboṭ* 'I'm afraid the house will cave in'

kallaf 'to entrust, ask a favor of':

56. *baddi kallef ḥaḍᵊrtak tᵊsƐā-li b-wažīfe* [SAL-92] 'I'd like to ask you to see about a job for me'

yā dōb 'hardly':

57. *yā dōbi ᵊūm bi-maṣārīfi* 'I can hardly keep up with my expenses'

bᵊl-kād 'hardly':

58. *kān hal-ᵊadd daᵊīᵊ bᵊl-kād ᵊtšūfo* 'It was so tiny you could hardly see it'

Ɛēb Ɛala 'shame on...for':

59. *Ɛēb Ɛalēk tᵊḥki hēk* 'Shame on you for talking that way!'

mā baᵊa ᵊᵊlla 'it only remains to':

60. *ḥaḍḍer ḥālak mā baᵊa ᵊᵊlla nᵊṣal* [DA-250] 'Get ready, we're almost there'

Ɛaṭa mᵊhle 'to give...time to':

61. *Ɛaṭīni mᵊhle fakker bᵊl-mawḍūƐ* [DA-297] 'Give me some time to think the matter over'

Translocative verbs (and their participles) [p. 274] are often complemented by optative clauses:

1. *Ɛammi žāye yᵊzūrna l-yōm* [DA-172] 'My uncle's coming to visit us today'

2. *ᵊžīt ᵊāxdak la-Ɛand wāḥed ᵊᵊža mᵊn yōmēn mᵊn ᵊamērka* [DA-75] 'I've come to take you to see someone who came two days ago from America'

3. *bāba rāḥ iṣalli ṣalāt ᵊl-Ɛīd* [DA-298] 'Daddy has gone to pray the holiday prayer'

4. *rāyeḥ žībha w-ᵊᵊži* [AO-115] 'I'm going to get it and come back'

5. *baƐd kam yōm, ᵊᵊn šā ḷḷāh, btᵊšfa w-bᵊtrūḥ tᵊštᵊġel* [AO-51] 'In a few days, God willing, you'll get well and go to work'

6. *nāzel waᵊᵊᵊf-lak bᵊš-šams ᵊᵊddām bāb ᵊl-ᵊotēl* [DA-218] 'I'm going down to wait for you in the sun in front of the hotel entrance'

7. *hallaᵊ bᵊbƐat-lak ᵊṣ-ṣānƐa tāxᵊdhon* [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-, ta-, ḥatta,* or *laḥatta* '(in order) to', 'so that', which may complement any sort of main clause:

1. *ᵊᵊža la-yšūf Ɛēlto* [DA-75] 'He came to see his family'

2. *bᵊftᵊker Ɛandi waᵊᵊt la-ᵊᵊšš* [DA-180] 'I think I have time to shave'

3. *tfaḍḍal lᵊl-bēt la-tšūf ᵊl-Ɛarūs* [AO-114] 'Come to the house to see the bride'

4. *ḥaṭṭᵊthon Ɛan-nār bᵊl-meᵊlāye la-tᵊᵊlīhon* [AO-117] 'She put them on the fire in a frying-pan to fry them'

5. *kīf baddi ᵊaƐmel la-yᵊġfor ᵊaḷḷāh xaṭiyyāti* [AO-99] 'What should I do so that God will forgive my sins?'

6. *hallaᵊ bᵊtrīd tᵊftaḥ ᵊṭ-ṭard la-nšūf šū fī?* [DA-245] 'Now will you open the package so we can see what's in it?'

7. *ᵊaddēš baddo ta-yᵊxlaṣ?* [Leb.: SAL 169] 'How long will it take to finish?'

8. *ᵊžīt la-hal-balad ḥatta ᵊᵊtrāfaᵊ maƐo* [AO-114] 'I've come to this town so that I may accompany him'

9. *kallafni dabbᵊr-lo bēt ḥatta yᵊᵊskon fī* [DA-289] 'He's asked me to find him a house to live in'

10. *tfaḍḍal laḥatta ᵊaržīk halli Ɛandi* [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 *kān* and other linking verbs [p. 452] the subjunc-
tive is used in <u>assertive</u> complemental clauses:

1. *Ɛand mīn kənti təštəġli mən*
   ʔabˤl? [DA-81]

   'For whom were you working before?'

2. *w-kān har-rāƐi yəṭlaƐ kəll yōm...*
   maƐ ˤl-ġanam w-yərƐāhon [AO-103]

   'And this shepherd would go out
   every day with the sheep and let
   them graze'

3. *kəll žəsmi kān yūžaƐni, xṣuṣan*
   ʔəžrayyi [AO-51]

   'My whole body ached, especially my
   legs'

4. *kānet tərkoḍ w-təžhad la-taƐməl-lo*
   yā [AO-111]

   'She would run and strive to do it
   for him'

5. *l-bənt ʔəžet la-Ɛando w-ṣāru*
   yəṭlāʔu marrāt ˤktīre [AO-107]

   'The girl came to him, and they be-
   gan meeting often'

6. *ṣār yəḥki maƐon ʔašya Ɛəlmiyye*
   [AO-83]

   'He began talking with them (on)
   scientific matters'

7. *l-xārūf...ṣār imāƐi wəs-saƐdān*
   yəḍḥak Ɛalē [AO-96]

   'The sheep started to bleat, and the
   monkey, to laugh at him'

8. *ṣərt taƐref l-ˤblād ʔaktar*
   mənni [DA-172]

   'You've come to know the country
   better than I'

9. *w-kān yərmi l-baṣalāt bəl-ʔarḍ*
   lamma yūṣal Ɛal-barriyye
   [AO-104]

   'And he would throw the onions on the
   ground when he got out in open coun-
   try' (Note that *yūṣal*, after *lamma*,
   is still governed by the linking
   berb *kān*.)

10. *w-tammet ˤtžūro w-təbki kəll*
    yōm la-məddet səntēn [AO-118]

    'And she kept on going to see him and
    crying every day for two years'

11. *ḍallet ˤtnaʔʔ Ɛaliyyi*

    'She kept on nagging me'

12. *l-mākīna ražƐet təštəġel*

    'The machine is working again' (lit.
    "...has returned to work")

13. *ʔām ˤt-təlifōn idəʔʔ*

    'The telephone began ringing'

14. *mā Ɛād iṭāwəƐni ʔabadan*

    'He never obeys me any more'

15. *ḍall rəbˤƐ sāƐa mā*
    yəṣṭaṭƐem bəl-ʔakˤl

    'He didn't touch his food for a quar-
    ter of an hour' (lit. "He remained...
    not tasting the food"

16. *btəsboʔ w-ˤtšūfni*

    '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 *kān* or some other
linking verb had been suppressed):

17. *hēk yaƐməl-lo...; baƐdēn*
    hadāk iʔəl-lo rūḥ ʔaḷḷa
    yəblīk..., yʔəl-lo šūf
    ṃhammad, hal-ḥaki hāda
    bəl-ġərbe mū ḥalu...

    'Here's the way he would do with
    him...; then that one would tell him
    "Go on, may God affict you...",
    (and) he'd say to him "Look, Moham-
    med, that kind of talk (when you're)
    abroad isn't nice..."'

A similar but special use of the subjunctive is that of
the verb *bəʔi* (or *baʔa*) 'to keep on', in the imperfect with
a complement. The indicative is used for generalizations,
in the usual way with no time limitations: *ʔaḥmad byəbʔa*
yzūrna kəll ʔaḥad 'Ahmed visits (i.e. keeps on visiting) us
every Sunday'; *hal-maṭƐam byəbʔa fī ʔakˤl ṭayyeb* 'This res-
taurant always has good food'. The subjunctive, on the
other hand, indicates that the generalization applies to
the past and not to the present: *ʔaḥmad yəbʔa yzūrna kəll*
ʔaḥad; baṭṭal, lē? 'Ahmed used to visit us every Sunday;
why did he stop?'; *hal-maṭƐam yəbʔa fī ʔakˤl ṭayyeb, mā Ɛād*
fī '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-maḍḍēt ʔarbaṭaƐšar šahˤr*
    sāfer mən ˤmḥaṭṭa la-mḥaṭṭa
    [SAL-137]

    'And I spent fourteen months travel-
    ing from station to station'

19. *ṣār-lak zamān təštˤġel fi rās*
    ˤl-məšƐab? [SAL-136]

    'Was it a long time you spent work-
    ing in Ras el-Mish'ab?'

20. *ʔəsmaƐo yəxṭob fəl-masāʔel*
    ˤl-waṭaniyye [EA-159]

    'Listen to him speak on national
    problems...'

While the subjunctive is normally used in these complemental clauses in
the <u>generalizing</u> sense (e.g. ex. 2, 5, 8, 18, etc. above), the indicative
(with *b-*) is used in the <u>dispositional</u> sense [p. 327]:

1. *ṭ-ṭābe kānet mā btənṭāl*

   'The ball was out of reach (*mā btənṭāl*
   'it cannot be reached': *kanet mā*
   btənṭāl 'it could not be reached').
   [p. 328].

2. *Ɛan ʔarīb bişīr bisāƐdak*

   'Soon he'll be able to help you'
   (*bisāƐdak* 'he's disposed to help you':
   bişīr bisāƐdak 'he'll become disposed
   to help you')

3. ṣāret ᵊṭ-ṭayyārāt bᵊtwaddīk
la-wēn ma bᵊtḥabb

'It's gotten so that planes will take you wherever you like' (ṭ-ṭayyārāt bᵊtwaddīk 'the planes will/would/can take you')

The indicative is also sometimes used — instead of the subjunctive — in the generalizing or actualizing sense after linking verbs, especially when something intervenes between the linking verb and the complemental verb, or when the linking verb is in the imperfect:

4. ṣār ᵊᵊbn ᵊl-mīna byᵊtᵊammal
yūᵼed šaḡᵊl bᵊl-marfaᵊ [PAT-181]
[PAT-181]

'The inhabitants (lit. "the son") of El-Mina have begun hoping to find work in the port'

5. kān rāsi kᵊllo byūᵼaᵋni

'My whole head ached'

6. bᵊḍḍall ᵊbtᵊḥki w-ᵊbtᵊḥki

'She keeps on talking and talking [cf. ex. 45, p.453.]'

In Attributive Clauses [p.497]. A term that is indefinite — in reference as well as in grammar — may be qualified by a clause with a subjunctive verb:

1. mā fī taksi nrūḥ fī?

'Isn't there a taxi we can go in?'

2. mā ᵼandi šī ḍīf ᵋala hāda

'I have nothing to add to that'

3. fī hada yaᵋṭi bālo ᵼaẓ-ẓḡār?
ᵼaẓ-ẓḡār?

'Is there anyone to look after the children?'

4. lāzem ᵊndawwer ᵋala šī
ṭarīᵊa nᵋāwno fīha

'We must look for some way to help him'

5. bᵊddi wāḥde taᵋref tᵊḥkī-lha
šwayyet ᵊᵊnglīzi [DA-98]

'I want someone(f.) who can speak a little English'

6. lāzem muḥāmi ᵊāder ydāfeᵋ
ᵋanno

'He needs an able lawyer to defend him'

7. lᵊssa ᵋalēna šī ktīr naᵋᵊmlo

'There's still a lot we have to do'

8. šū fī ᵼandek ṭabᵊx tᵊḥaṭṭī-lna?
[DA-198]

'What have you(f.) in the way of food to offer us?'

9. btᵋref hada ydabbᵊr-li šī kīs,
w-iwaṣṣᵊl-li yā ᵋal-bēt?
[SAL-195]

'Do you know anyone who will prepare me a sack(ful) and deliver it to the house?'

10. hada ḡērak ykūn fī nᵊᵊṭet damm
mā byᵊᵊbᵊl-š hal-ᵋār [SPA-30]

'Anybody else but you who had a drop of blood in him would not accept this disgrace'

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: ᵼandi wāḥde btaᵋref ᵊnglīzi 'I have someone(f.) who knows English' (Cf. ex. 5).

The subjunctive is not always obligatory, however, even if the reference is indefinite: mā baᵋref hada bibīᵋ swād [SAL-195] 'I don't know anyone who sells fertilizer'; b-ḥayāti mā šᵊft hada byākol xᵊbᵊz hal-ᵊadd 'I've never in my life seen anybody who eats so much bread'.[1]

In Prepositional Complement Clauses. After a preposition plus ᵊᵊnno 'that', the subjunctive is used:

1. huwwe ᵊaᵋla mᵊn ᵊᵊnno
yḡᵊšš ᵊn-nās

'He's above cheating people' (lit. "He's higher than that he cheat people")

2. wāfaᵊ ᵋala ᵊᵊnno yᵊbᵊa

'He agreed to stay' (lit. "He agreed on that he stay")

3. l-ḥašwe kafīle b-ᵊᵊnno
ṭṭayyᵊrna kᵊllna

'The charge is sufficient to blow us all up' (lit. "...in that it blow us all up")

4. mā ṣafi bēno w-bēn ᵊᵊnno
yṣībni ᵊᵊlla šaᵋra

'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 complemental prepositions are lost when the complement is a clause [p.449].

In Supplemental Clauses [p.528]. The subjunctive is used after certain subordinating conjunctions, mainly in reference to future or hypothetical events:

After ᵊawwal ma 'as soon as':

1. ᵊawwal ma tᵊẓi, fatteš ᵋalē 'As soon as you get here, look it over'

la-bēn ma 'while, until, by the time that':

2. xalli l-ᵊmšadd la-bēn ma yᵊnšaf ᵊl-ḡᵊre 'Leave the clamp on until the glue dries'

3. w-la-bēn ma tᵊlbes badᵊltak ᵊẓ-ẓdīde bikūn þāþa wᵊṣel [DA-298] 'And by the time you've put on your new suit Daddy will be here'

bass 'as soon as'; 'provided that':

4. bass yᵊẓi byākol 'As soon as he comes, he'll eat'

---

[1] The indicative in this sentence, however, distinguishes the attributive clause from a circumstantial complement: mā šᵊft hada yākol... 'I haven't seen anyone eat...'

mən ǧēr ma, bidūn ma, bala ma
'without'

5. l-ʔəžra mā bəthəmm ᵊktīr bass ᵊtkūn maɛ̛ʔule [DA-290] 'The rate doesn't matter so much provided that it's reasonable'

6. l-balad ᵊttāxadet mən ǧēr ma tənḏə́reb wlā rṣāṣa 'The town was taken without a shot's being fired'

7. btədxol ᵊl-ʔašya b-ɛaʔlak bdūn ma taɛref [PVA-60] 'The things will enter your mind without your knowing (it)'

baɛᵊd ma 'after':

8. baɛd ma xalleṣ šəǧli biṣīr ɛandi waʔt [DA-249] 'After I finish my work I'll have time'

9. məntalfən-lak baɛᵊd ma nrasteʔ ḥālna 'We'll phone you after we get ourselves organized'

ʔabᵊl ma 'before':

10. salamāt, mnīḥ halli ʔžit ʔabᵊl ma ʔətlaɛ [DA-243] 'Greetings; it's good that you've come before I left'

11. šu blāʔikon rāyḥīn ʔabᵊl ma tāxdu l-ʔahwe? [DA-199] 'What's this? Are you leaving before having coffee?'

12. ʔabᵊl ma mūt bəddi mənnak ḥāže [AO-116] 'Before I die there's something I want from you'

la-, ta-, ḥatta, laḥatta 'until':
    [cf. p. 353]

13. rūḥ dəǧri la-tšūf ᵊl-bināye l-ḥamra [DA-45] 'Go straight ahead til you see the red building'

14. mā bbaṭṭel ʔəṭlob ta-mūt [adap.fr. SPA-30] 'I won't stop pleading till I die'

15. ḥalaf ᵊl-malek ʔənno mā byəržaɛ... ḥatta yaɛref ʔaṣᵊl hal-baḥra [AO-117] 'The king swore that he would not return until he discovered the origin of that lake'

16. w-kīf w-ʔiza stannētak laḥatta təxloṣ [DA-197] 'How about it if I wait till you finish?

After baɛᵊd ma, la-bēn ma, ḥatta, and other expressions, the perfect tense is used in reference to accomplished facts, and the imperfect indicative for generalizations:

17. lāha l-ᵊwlād la-bēn ma ḍahret ʔəmmon

'He entertained the children until their mother came in'

18. w-baɛᵊd ma biṣalli, byāxod zuwwātto w-birūḥ la-šəǧlo [PAT-195]

'And after he prays, he takes his provisions (viz. lunch) and goes to work'

19. stannēna bəs-sayyāra la-rəžɛet

'We waited in the car till she came back' (Cf. stannēna bəs-sayyāra la-təržaɛ 'We waited in the car for her to come back'.)

After ʔabᵊl ma, however, the subjunctive is almost always used, not only in generalizations but even in reference to accomplished facts:

20. ʔamma kasr ᵊṣ-ṣafra...byāxdúwa ṭ-ṭrabᵊlsiyye ʔabᵊl ma yəṭlaɛu mən bēton [PAT-195]

'As for breakfast, the Tripolitanians have it before they leave the house'

21. ʔabᵊl ma yūṣal ɛal-balad laʔa rāɛi [AO-83]

'Before he got to the town he met a shepherd'

22. ʔabᵊl ma təži b-ᵊšwayye kānet marti maɛ l-ᵊwlād hōn [DA-218]

'A little while before you came, my wife was here with the children'

In the Palestinian area, the subjunctive is used somewhat more broadly after subordinating conjunctions that it is further north; after lamma(n) 'when', for example, (in reference to the future): lēš mā byāxədhom maɛo lamman yəržaɛ 'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes back?' (Cf. DA-75: ...lamma byəržaɛ); after baɛᵊd ma for generalization: kəll wāḥed mənna baɛᵊd ma yʔūm fəṣ-ṣabḥ byəlbas tyābo [Cr-36] 'Every one of us, after getting up in the morning, puts on his clothes'.

THE IMPERATIVE (al-ʔamr)

The imperative is used in ordering, requesting, or inviting the person addressed to do whatever the verb designates: ftāḥ ᵊl-bāb 'Open(m.)the door', ɛədi 'sit down(f.)', šarrfūna 'visit(pl.)us' (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 təftaḥ ᵊl-bāb 'Don't open(m.)the door', lā təʔʔɛdi hōn 'Don't sit(f.)here', mā trūḥu 'Don't go(pl.)'.

Examples:

1. *xōd hal-Ɛaṣāye w-ᵊnṣəbha b-maṭraḥ ma bəddak* [AO-99]   'Take this stick and plant at wherever you wish'

2. *b-ᵊḥyātek ḥəṭṭi ḥaṭab bəl-ʔāgān, w-šaƐƐlī-li l-ḥammām* [DA-180]   'Please put(f.)wood in the heater and light (it for) my bath'

3. *xallūkon Ɛam-ᵊtrattbu l-mawādd Ɛala han-namaṭ*   'Keep on (pl.) arranging the materials in this way'

4. *xtār, ya ṣayyād, l-ʔatle halli bətrīdha* [AO-116]   'Choose, O fisherman, the way you'd like to be killed'

5. *ʔūmi ya mara, kəli* [AO-112]   'Get up, woman, (and) eat!'

6. *baḷḷa žəb-ᵊlna wāḥed ʔahwe w-wāḥed bīra* [DA-45]   'Please bring us one coffee and one beer'

7. *zkōr ʔəsmi, bidaxxlūk*   'Mention my name (and) they'll let you in'

8. *ʔƐədi šwayye nṭəžri* [AO-113]   'Sit down(f.) a while (and) wait'

9. *xallīni ʔaƐref ʔabl ᵊb-salaf ʔəza kənt raḥa-təži*   'Let me know ahead of time if you decide to come'

10. *šūf ʔiza ʔəžet ᵊl-bōṣṭa*   'See if the mail has come'

11. *ʔiza mā kān ḥāḍer ḥəṭṭ Ɛalāme ʔəddām ʔəsmo*   'If he's not present put a mark by his name'

12. *yaḷḷa rūḥ sāwīha w-ᵊltəƐen*   'Go ahead, do it and be damned!'

13. *starži w-xəda*   '(Just) dare and take it!'

14. *rkōd būs ʔīdo w-Ɛāyed Ɛalē* [DA-302]   'Run kiss his hand and wish him a happy holiday'

15. *Ɛmēl maƐrūf, ʔəl-li mīn ʔənte* [AO-108]   'Please tell me who you are' (lit. 'Do a favor, tell me...')

Note that a coördination 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 coördinations are asyndetic [p. 398]:

16. *ḍall rūḥ w-ᵊržāƐ laḥatta ybaṭṭel hada yəṭlob mənnak* [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 annunciatory verb [p. 325]:

17. *bənṣaḥak ᵊnsāha*   'I advise you to forget it' (lit. 'I advise you, forget it')

18. *bətražžāk dəllni Ɛal-ʔotēl* [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 *kān* [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. *kənt šûfo ʔabᵊl ma təži!*   'You should have <u>seen</u> him before you came!'

20. *kənt kôl lamma kənt fəl-bēt!*   'You should have <u>eaten</u> when you were at home!'

As in English, imperative in Arabic are sometimes used with subject pronouns (*ʔənte, ʔənti, ʔəntu* 'you') for emphasis:

21. *ʔə́ntu rūḥu ḥkū maƐo*   '<u>You</u>(pl.) go talk with him'

22. *ʔə́nti ḥaḍḍri l-Ɛaša l-yōm*   '<u>You</u>(f.) prepare dinner today'

23. *rūḥ ʔənte w-hiyye žību š-šanta*   'You(m.) and she go get the bag'.

Note, in the last example, that the first imperative is singular, applying only to *ʔənte,* while the second (*žību*) is plural, its subject being the coordination *ʔənte 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-muxāṭab*), and THIRD (*al-ġāʔib*). 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. *lāzem tədros ᵊhʔūʔ ḥatta tṣīr kāteb Ɛadᵊl b-sūriyya*
   'You have to study law in order to become a notary public in Syria.'

2. *ṣaƐᵊb təlᵊzmo b-šī*
   'It's hard to nail him down to anything' (lit. "It's hard for you to obligate him in anything")

3. *mā bətšūfo ʔəlla Ɛam-yədzammar*
   '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 *ʔənte* [p. 378].

---

[1] Except insofar as they are used vocatively [p. 378].

Also as in English, the third-person plural is often used with vague or unknown reference: *ḥēk bi?ūlu* 'That's what they say'; *ṭafu n-nār ᵊb-sərɛa* 'The fire was put out quickly' (lit. 'They put out the fire quickly').

The term *l-wāḥed* (3rd p. sing.) is also used similarly to 'one' in English for indefinite or generalizing reference: *l-wāḥed šū biɛarrfo* '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 de-personalize for the sake of formality or deference in Syrian Arabic. One may sometimes hear expressions like *l-bēk bya?mor šī?* 'Does the bey order something?' (for *btə?mor šī?*) or *šū byəqtǝreḥ ᵊl-?axx?* 'What does our colleague suggest?' (for *šū btəqtǝreḥ?*); such usage is limited to highly formal or stilted discourse.

A more ordinary formal or deferential reference to a person addressed is *ḥaḍᵊrtak* (f. *ḥaḍᵊrtek*, pl. *ḥaḍrǝtkon*), literally "your presence", which is sometimes substituted for *?ǝnte* (f. *?ǝnti*, pl. *?ǝntu*). This form, however, constitutes a "partitive" construct [p.467]; that is, the leading term (*ḥaḍret...*) is subordinate to the following term (*-ak*), which is second person and requires second-person agreement in the predicate: *ḥaḍᵊrtak šū btə?mor?* 'What would you like, sir?'.[1]

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: *?ǝnte wēn kǝnt?* 'Where were you?', *?ana mā baɛref* 'I don't know', *nǝḥna mā ɛanna maṣāri* 'We have no money'. In coördinations [p.391], 1st p. + 2nd or 3rd p. → 1st p. pl.; and 2nd p. + 3rd p. → 2nd p. pl.:

4. *?ana w-?ǝnte mǝrrūḥ sawa*   'You and I will go together'

5. *wlā ?ana wlā huwwe laḥa-nkūn ᵊhnīk*   'Neither he nor I will be there'

6. *la-wēn rǝḥtu ?ǝnti w-huwwe?*   'Where did you(f.) and he go?'

Note, however, *la-wēn rǝḥti ?ǝnti wiyyā?* 'Where did you and he go?' or 'Where did you go with him?'.

A verb attributive to a predicate such as *?awwal wāḥed* 'the first one', *l-waḥīd* 'the only one', or the like, commonly agrees with a first person pronoun <u>subject</u> of that predicate. (See Equational Sentences, p.405.)

7. *?ana kǝnt ?āxer wāḥed tarakt ᵊl-bēt*   'I was the last one to leave the house'

8. *nǝḥna l-waḥīdīn yalli mnaɛref ᵊnsāwīha.*   'We're the only ones who know how to do it'

9. *šu ?ana ?awwal rǝǧǧāl bǝstek?*   '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. *ġǝmi ɛalēha*   'She fainted' ("There came a fainting upon her")

11. *hal-kalb lāzem yǝnḥaṭṭ-ǝllo kammāme*   'That dog ought to have a muzzle put on him'

12. *byāxǝdni ǧǝmɛa la-ḥatta ?ǝṭṭǝleɛ ɛala kǝll hal-mašākel*   '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. *biǧūz ?ǝǧi maɛkon*   '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. *bihǝmmni tǝḥkī-lha šwayyet ?ǝnglīzi* [DA-80]   'It's important to me that she speak a little English'

Certain impersonal verbs are used in the feminine: *mā btǝfre? maɛi ?ǝnni rūḥ waḥdi* 'It doesn't matter to me that I go alone'. See p.428.

---

[1] The difference between *?ǝnte* and *ḥaḍᵊrtak* is of course <u>not</u> like the difference in European languages between (for example) 'tu', and 'vous', 'du' and 'Sie'. *ḥaḍᵊrtak* is limited to polite initial encounters with strangers, or the like; *?ǝnte* (*?ǝnti, ?ǝntu*) may be used by anyone to anyone, like English 'you'.

NUMBER

Pure number inflection occurs in Syrian Arabic only for nouns [p. 209] (and rarely adjectives [201]). Verbs, pronouns, and generally also adjectives have number and gender combined in a single system; their number/gender inflection is determined by agreement with the nouns to which they are predicate [401], attribute [493], or sequent [535], or else by the "natural" number and gender of their referents. See Number/Gender Agreement [p. 427].

Count Nouns

Singular *(al-fard)*. The singular of nouns that purport to designate discrete (countable) entities is commonly used to indicate that the number is exactly <u>one</u>, in contrast to the dual and to numeral constructs with the plural: *ktāb* 'a book', i.e. 'one book' (vs. *ktābēn* 'two books' vs. *tlətt kətəb* '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 annexion:

1). After numerals above ten: *Eəšrīn əktāb* 'twenty books', *ʔarbaṭaEšar səne* 'fourteen years', *xamsā EəšrīnʔarÅ¡* 'twenty-five piastres'.

2). After the words *kamm* and *kəll* [p. 467]: *kamm əktāb* 'several books' or 'how many books'; *kəll əktāb* 'every book'.[1]

3). Sometimes after substantives: *Å¾əld EəÅ¾əl* 'calf skin', *waÅ¾aE rās* 'headache'.

> The singular (with the article prefix) is often used for generalizing: *tarbiyet ət-təfəl* 'child rearing' (lit. "bringing up the child"); *l-marʔa ʔəlha hʔūʔ...* 'women have rights' (lit. "the woman has..."); *mən ṣanE əl-ʔənsān* 'man-made' (lit. "of the man's making").
> In construct with a collective [p. 279] or a plural, a singular is sometimes used distributively: *ʔarn əl-baʔar* 'the horns of cattle' (lit. "the horn..."), *EāyÅ¡īn mən Eəbbon la-təmmon* '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: *xallīna nsāwīha b-nafəsna* 'Let's do it by ourselves' (lit.... "by our self").

Dual *(at-taθniya)*. The dual is used to specify exactly <u>two</u> of whatever the noun base designates: *ktābēn* 'two books'.

> Use of the numeral *tnēn* 'two' in construct with a plural puts somewhat more emphasis on the number then does the use of the dual inflection: *tnēn kətəb* 'two books'. Still more emphasis is achieved by using the dual noun with the numeral following in apposition: *ktābēn ətnēn* '<u>two</u> 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 beside the point, or to be taken for granted, then the <u>plural</u> is used, just as in English: *Eando banāt bass* 'He has daughters only' (applicable though he may have exactly two); *l-manÅ£o dayyeʔ Eand l-əktāf* 'The coat is tight in the shoulders'. Cf. *Eando bəntēn bass* 'He only has two daughters'; *l-manÅ£o dayyeʔ Eand əl-kətfēn* '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-kaffēn* 'both gloves' (cf. plural *l-əkfūf* 'the gloves', in reference to a pair); *ʔəÅ¾ərtēno* 'both his legs' (cf. plural *ʔəÅ¾rē* [p. 170] 'his legs').

> Note that the forms *ʔəÅ¾rēn* 'feet, legs', *ʔīdēn* 'hands, arms', *EēnÄ“n* 'eyes', and *ʔadanÄ“n* 'ears' are not duals in colloquial usage, but plurals: *ʔarbaE ʔəÅ¾rēn* 'four legs'. The true duals of these words have connective *t* [p. 163] before the suffix: *ʔəÅ¾ərtēn ʔittēn, EēntÄ“n, ʔadəntēn*.

Most duals tend not to be used with pronoun suffixes; such constructions are generally circumlocuted by using the <u>plural</u> with the suffix, followed by the numeral *tnēn*: *kətbi t-tnēn* 'my two books'.

> Notable exceptions include the duals of nouns designating paired parts of the body: *EēntÄ“ni* 'both my eyes'.

Plural *(al-Å¾amE)*. If the singular of a noun designates <u>one</u> of something, then its plural designates <u>more</u> than one: *ktāb* '(one) book', *kətəb* '(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: *tnēn kətəb* 'two books', *tmənn kətəb* 'eight books'.

> With numerals above ten, the following term is put in the singular: *Å£naEÅ¡ar əktāb* 'twelve books' [p. 472]. If the number is two, the dual, of course, may generally be used instead of *tnēn* with the plural.

---

[1] *kəll* may be used with the plural, of course, in identificatory constructs: *kəll əl-kətəb* 'all the books'; *kamm*, however, is only used with the indefinite singular.

Abstract[1] and Mass Nouns

Many nouns which do not purport to designate discrete (countable) entities are normally used only in the singular, e.g. *?əstəqlāl* 'independence', *dawām* 'duration, permanence', *zəft* 'tar', *şəde* 'rust'.

Certain others, contrariwise, are normally used only in the plural: *maɛlūmāt* 'information', *maḥāsen* 'good points, advantages', *riyāḍiyyāt* 'mathematics', *maṣāri* 'money'.[2]

Some singular abstract and mass nouns may be put in the plural to indicate abundance, variety, or indefinite quantification: sg. *ram²l* 'sand', pl. *rmāl* 'sands', another plural *ramlāt* '(a batch, or batches, of) sand'; singular *taṣarrof* 'behavior, pl. *taṣarrofāt* '(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 <u>particularized</u> abstract and mass nouns [p.284], which <u>are</u> count plurals. While *ramlāt,* 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 *tlətt ramlāt* to mean "three batches of sand". (*ramlāt* 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:

Singular		Plural
zēt	'oil'	*zyūt*
ḥabb	'grain, seeds'	*ḥbūb*[3]
mayy	'water'	*mayāya*[4]
zbāle	'trash, garbage'	*zabāyel*
laḥ²m	'meat, flesh'	*lḥūm*[5]
žaww	'air, atmosphere'	*?ažwā?*

[1]The term 'abstract' here denotes a <u>semantic</u> category, broader than the <u>derivational</u> category of abstract nouns [p.284].

[2]Also *maṣriyyāt*. There is, actually, a singular *maṣriyye* – a defunct monetary unit referred to figuratively in expressions like *mā ɛandi w-lā maṣriyye* 'I haven't a cent'.

[3]Also used as a count plural of *ḥabbe* 'pill'.

[4]The plurals *mayyāt* and *miyāh* are also used [p.370], but *mayāya* is more strongly connotative of abundance or variety.

[5]The plural *laḥmāt* belongs more specifically to the singular *laḥme* 'meat', and, in the identificatory use [p.370], also to *laḥ²m* in the sense 'flesh' *laḥmāto* 'his flesh'. As a count noun, *laḥmāt* means 'pieces of meat' (sg. *laḥme* 'a piece of meat').

Plural of Abundance and Plural of Paucity (*žamɛ l-kaθra wa-žamɛ l-qilla*).

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:

	Singular			Plural	
Unit	*samake*	'a fish'	....	*samakāt*	'fish, fishes'
Collective	*samak*	'fish'	......	*?asmāk*	'(many or various) fish'
Unit	*dəbbāne*	'a fly'	.....	*dəbbānāt*	'flies'
Collective	*dəbbān*	'flies'	.....	*dababīn*	'(many or various) flies'
Unit	*mōže*	'a wave'	....	*mōžāt*	'waves'
Collective	*mōž*	'waves'	.....	*?amwāž*	'(many or extensive) waves'
Instance	*ġalṭa*	'an error'	..	*ġalṭāt*	'errors'
Gerund	*ġalaṭ*	'error'	.....	*?aġlāṭ*	'(various kinds or instances of) error'

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 *?ālāf* 'thousands', the count plural of *?alf* 'thousand' which also has plurals of abundance *?lūf* and *?alafāt*. When a plural of paucity is used <u>without</u> 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 *wrā?* 'leaves', for instance, may serve as a plural of abundance – as the plural of the collective *wara?*, but also as a count plural – as the plural of the unit noun *wara?a* 'a leaf': *tlətt ²wrā?* 'three leaves'. There is also a plural of paucity *wara?āt*. Likewise the plural *wrūd(e)* 'flowers, roses' may serve as the plural of abundance (coll. sg. *ward* 'flowers, roses') and also as a count plural: *xams ²wrūd* 'five roses', while *wardāt* is a plural of paucity (unit sg. *warde* '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 *-e/-a* have a plural of paucity in *-āt* and also an internally formed all-purpose plural, but no collective: *sigāra* 'cigarette', pl. of paucity *sigārāt*, all-purpose plural *sagāyer*; *xēme* 'tent' pl. of paucity *xēmāt*, all-purpose pl. *xiyam*; *ḥayye* 'snake', pl. of paucity *ḥayyāt*, all-purpose pl. *ḥayāya*.

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 *-āt*) designating a certain batch or indefinite quantity of that substance: sg. *ramᵊl* 'sand', pl. *ramlāt;* sg. *ḥalīb* 'milk', pl. *ḥalībāt;* sg. *zēt* 'oil', pl. *zētāt;* sg. *ʔamᵊḥ* 'wheat', pl. *ʔamḥāt.*

Examples of usage: (sg.) *ḥar-ramᵊl mā byᵊswa lᵊl-bāṭōn* 'This sand (i.e. this kind of sand) is no good for concrete' vs. (pl.) *xōd ḥar-ramlāt mᵊn hōn* 'Get this sand (i.e. this batch of sand) out of here'. Or, in reference to the milkman, one might say *žāb ᵊl-ḥalībāt* 'He brought the milk' while in reference to the waiter in a restaurant one would say *žāb ᵊl-ḥalīb.*

In the case of the waiter, milk is considered <u>qualita-tively</u>, 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 <u>quan-titatively</u>, as a batch.

This is <u>indefinite</u> 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 [510] singular: *tlāte ḥalīb* 'three (orders of) milk, three milks'.

This type of plural is also used in an indentificatory sense, as op-posed 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):

Classificatory		Identificatory	
ḥalīb ᵊl-maᵊze	'(the) goat's milk' (indicating the kind of milk)	*ḥalībāt ᵊl-maᵊzāye*	'the goat's milk' (i.e. the milk of a particular goat)
mayyet ᵊl-baḥᵊr	'(the) sea water'	*mayyāt ᵊl-baḥᵊr*	'the sea's water'
zēt ᵊz-zētūn	'the olive oil'	*zētāt ᵊs-sammān*	'the grocer's oil'
ṭaḥn ᵊl-ʔamᵊḥ	'the grinding of wheat'	*ṭaḥn ᵊl-ʔamḥāt*	'grinding the wheat'

The plurals of unit nouns [p.298] are generally also used in this identificatory sense, as opposed to collec-tives, which are generally classificatory: *ᵊaṣīr ᵊl-bᵊrdᵊānāt* 'the juice of the oranges' vs. *ᵊaṣīr ᵊl-bᵊrdᵊān* '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: *ʔamḥātna* 'our wheat', *zētāton* 'their oil', *ḥalībāta* 'her milk', *laḥmāto* 'his flesh', *ᵊanbāto* 'his grapes', *bᵊrdᵊānāti* 'my oranges', *mayyāta* 'its water'.

All this is not to say that the singular in such cases <u>cannot</u> be used in identificatory constructs, but only that <u>it tends</u> not to be so used, at least when an actual spe-cific 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: *ʔaḥmad byᵊḥleb ᵊl-baᵊarāt w-bibīᵊ ḥalībon bᵊl-madīne* 'Ahmed milks the cows and sells their milk in the city', *ž-žāžāt bibīḍu bēḍ w-ʔaḥmad byākol kamān laḥmon* 'The hens lay eggs, and Ahmed also eats their flesh' [AO-63].

Concerning plurals in general, one should keep in mind that it is not always possible to determine the Arabic num-ber 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 *ṣabbāṭ* '(a pair of) shoes', which is singular, with *kfūf* 'gloves' (in ref-ence to a pair), which is plural; *ᵊᵊdde* 'tools', which is singular, with *maṣāri* 'money', which is plural; *baᵊar* 'cattle', which is singular, with *žmāl* 'camels', which is plural. See Collectives and Units [p.298].

Not only the <u>form</u> of a plural, but also the <u>kinds</u> of plural a 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. *šī* 'thing', for instance, is a count noun (*tlᵊtt ʔašya* 'three things'), but it has no dual. (Its more elegant doublet *šēʔ*, however, does have a dual: *šēʔēn* 'two things'). The noun *mara* 'woman' has neither dual nor plural, though the plural is suppleted by the word *nᵊswān* 'women'.

Many nouns have different plurals corresponding to dif-ferent meanings: *lsān* 'tongue', pl. *lsānāt* 'tongues' (lit-eral anatomical sense), plurals *ʔalson* and *ʔalsine* 'tongues' (figurative linguistic senses).

Sometimes different plurals are stylistically signifi-cant: sg. *ʔᵊsᵊm* 'name', plurals *ʔasāmi* (informal) and *ʔasmāʔ* (more formal). In still other cases, different plu-ral forms may be virtually equivalent, or a matter of per-son or regional variation: sg. *lḥāf* 'blanket, cover', pl. *lḥāfāt* or *lᵊḥᵊf;* sg. *šahᵊr* 'month', pl. *šhūr* or *ʔašhor.*

[Ch. 14]

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, 535].

Natural Gender

A noun that designates human beings is masculine if the person is male, and feminine if the person is female:

Masculine		Feminine	
ʔabb	'father'	*ʔəmm*	'mother'
ʔabən	'son'	*bənt*	'daughter, girl'
ʔaxx	'brother'	*ʔəxt*	'sister'
Ɛarīs	'bridegroom'	*Ɛarūs*	'bride'
zalame	'man, fellow'	*sətt*	'lady'

Certain animal designations (mainly domestic animals) are also limited by sex:

tōr	'bull, steer'	*baʔara*	'cow'
kabəš	'ram'	*ġaname*	'ewe'
tēs	'billy goat'	*Ɛanze*	'nanny goat'
xārūf	'young male sheep'	*maƐzāye*	'nanny goat'
dīk	'cock' (male of any fowl)	*faras*	'mare'

The masculine noun *ṭafəl* 'child, infant' is used to refer to children in the abstract (*tarbiyet ʔṭ-ṭafəl* 'bringing up a child') or to predicate childishness of a person of either sex (*ləssāta ṭafəl* '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 *ṭafle*: *hayy ṭafle ḥəlwe* 'She's a pretty child'. Similarly: *kalb* 'dog' (male or sex unspecified) and *kalbe* 'bitch', *ḥṣān* 'horse' and *faras* 'mare'. On the other hand *ʔaṭṭ* 'cat' is used mainly to specify the male, while the feminine *ʔaṭṭa* may be applied not only to females but also when the sex is unspecified: *hal-ʔaṭṭa dakar wəlla ʔəntāye?* 'Is that cat male or female?'

The nouns *Ɛažūz* 'elderly person'[1] and *bēbē* 'baby' have

fluctuating gender depending on their reference: *l-bēbē baddo yərḍaƐ* 'The baby (boy, or sex unspecified) wants to nurse', and *l-bēbē badda ṭərdaƐ* '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: *maxlūʔ* 'creature' (masculine), *ḍaḥiyye* 'victim' (feminine), *wāṣṭa* 'intermediary, mediator, means' (f.), *šaxṣiyye* 'personality' (f.), *šaxəṣ* 'person' (m.).

Some noun stems are used with and without the suffix *-e/-a* [p. 138] to designate female and male respectively: *ṭabbāx* 'cook' (m.) and *ṭabbāxa* (f.), *ṣabi* 'boy' and *ṣabiyye* 'girl, young lady', *xāl* '(maternal) uncle' and *xāle* '(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: *zalame* 'man, fellow', *xalīfe* 'caliph', *ṭāġye* '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:

š-šām kəbret ʔktīr mən Ɛašr ʔsnīn la-halla?	'Damascus has grown a lot in the last ten years'
maṣʔr maʔhūle ʔaktar mən sūriyya	'Egypt is more populous than Syria'

The names of a few countries and regions, however, may be construed either as masculine or feminine: *labnān* 'Lebanon', *nažəd* 'Nejd', *l-ʔḥžāz* 'The Hejaz', *l-yaman* 'Yemen', *l-ʔərdon* 'Jordan', *l-Ɛirāq* 'Iraq', *l-maġreb* 'Morocco' or 'Northwest Africa', *l-barazīl* 'Brazil'. E.g. *labnān žamīl, məš hēk?* 'Lebanon is beautiful, isn't it?' [PVA-30].

Names of ships (and planes, automobiles) are feminine: *l-šampolyōn žanḥet Ɛal-ʔwzāƐi* 'The Champollion ran aground off Ouzai'.

Names of the letters of the alphabet are feminine: *sāwi n-nūn mžawwafe ʔaktar mən hēk* 'Make the *nūn* 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, 506] headed by feminine words such as *madīne* 'city', *blād* 'land, country', *bāxra* 'ship', etc.: *madīnet berūt* 'the city of Beirut', *blād ʔl-yunān* 'The land of Greece', *l-bāxra šampolyōn* 'the ship Champolion'.

---

[1] Some speakers, however, tend to pair off *Ɛažūz* as 'old woman' with *ʔxtyār* 'old man'. The forms *Ɛažūze* and *ʔxtyāra* are used exclusively in reference to females.

This explanation does not hold true for the names of the letters, however, since *ḥarf* 'letter' is masculine: *ḥarf ᵊl-bē* 'the letter *bē*'.

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 -*e*/-*a* [p. 138], -*a* [165], -*ā* [164], or -*t* [164] are feminine. Most others are masculine:

Masculine		Feminine	
maktab	'office'	*maktabe*	'library'
daraž	'staircase'	*daraže*	'step, degree'
xaṭaᵓ	'wrong, transgression'	*xaṭīᵓa*	'sin'
zəkᵊr	'mention'	*zəkra*	'commemoration, memory'
nəsᵊr	'eagle'	*būme*	'owl'
namᵊl	'ants' (collective)	*namle*	'an ant'
ᵓəstəqlāl	'independence'	*ḥərriyye*	'freedom'
murād	'desire, intention'	*mubārā*	'match, game'
nabāt	'plant(s)' (Here *t* is part of the Root: *n-b-t*, Pattern *FaɛāL*)	*ḥayāt*	'life' (Here *t* is a suffix; Root *ḥ-y-y*)

Defective [p. 43] nouns ending in *a* or *e*, however, are generally masculine; the vowel is part of the stem, not a suffix:

ɛaša 'supper' (masc.): Root *ɛ-š-y* with Pattern *FaɛāL* [p. 146]

šəte 'winter, rain' (masc.): Root *š-t-w* with alteration of Pattern *FɛāL* [147]

maɛna 'meaning' (masc.): Root *ɛ-n-y* with Pattern *maFɛaL* [153]

> Note that *səne* 'year' and *mara* 'woman' are biradical nouns [p. 162]; the -*e*/-*a* is a suffix (cf. construct forms *sənt*, *mart* [168]), hence these words are feminine. (And *mara* is feminine par excellence in any case, by virtue of its meaning.)
>
> The ending -*āᵓ* is usually not a suffix (*ᵓ* replacing a final radical semivowel, as in *duɛāᵓ* 'supplication', masculine, Root *d-ɛ-w*, Pattern *FuɛāL*), but in the rare cases where it is actually a suffix the noun is feminine: *kəbriyāᵓ* 'pride, arrogance' (Root *k-b-r*).

Exceptions

There are a few feminine nouns whose gender is not indicated either by form or by meaning:

ɛēn	'eye', 'waterhole'	*rīḥ*	'wind' (also masc.)
ᵓīd, yadd	'hand, arm'	*ᵓarḍ*	'land, ground, earth'
ᵓəžᵊr, rəžᵊl	'foot, leg'	*šams*	'sun'
ᵓədᵊn	'ear'	*sama, samāᵓ*	heaven' (also m.)
daᵓᵊn	'chin, beard'	*mayy*	'water' (also *mayye*)
raḥᵊm	'womb'	*səkkīn*	'knife' (also *səkkīne*)
ṭīž	'backside, arse'	*dəkkān*	'shop'
nafs	'spirit, self'	*ᵓəṣbaɛ*	'finger' (also *ᵓəṣbaɛa*)
rōḥ	'soul, spirit'	*ṭāḥūn*	'mill' (also *ṭāḥūne*)
dār	'house'	*maṭar*	'rain'
balad	'town, community, country'	*ḥarb*	'war' (also masc.)
blād	'country'	*tarīᵓ*	'road, way' (also masc.)

The noun *sūᵓ* 'market' is generally feminine in its abstract or general sense, e.g. *s-sūᵓ ᵊs-sōda* 'the black market', otherwise masculine.

ᵓarḍ is masculine in its sense 'floor'.

rōḥ is masculine in the sense 'ghost, disembodied spirit'.

The feminine gender of *žhannam* '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: *baᵓar* 'cattle' (masculine), *məɛze* 'goats' (feminine); *ɛadas* 'lentils' (masculine), *fāṣūliyye* '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-ǧumla)

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 coördination [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 huwwe ʔādami w-ʔana bḥəbbo 'He's a nice person and I like him', there is a non-verbal clause [402] huwwe ʔādami coördinated by the conjunction w- 'and' with a verbal clause [407] ʔana bḥəbbo.

A COMPLEX sentence consists of a (prosodically unified) SUPERORDINATE CLAUSE which contains, as one of its parts, a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.
In the sentence bəxtəb-lo yāha lamma byətxarraž 'I'll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates', the (one-word) clause byətxarraž 'he graduates' is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a supplemental (adverbial) capacity [528] by the conjunction lamma 'when'.
A superordinate clause may in its turn be subordinated, as in bəddi ʔəl-lo ʔənno bəxtəb-lo yāha lamma byətxarraž 'I intend to tell him that I'll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates'. The clause bəxtəb-lo yāha lamma byətxarraž is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a complemental capacity [449] by the conjunction ʔənno 'that'.[2]

A sentence containing only one clause is a SIMPLE SENTENCE.

---

[1]The 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 ǧumla includes both 'sentence' and 'clause'. In fast uninterrupted monologue especially, it is often impossible to distinguish between a coördination of clauses and a coördination of simple sentences.

[2]A supplemental clause may be contrasted with the MAIN clause, which is complete in itself, while a complemental 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: *Ɛafārem!* 'Bravo!', *mašāḷḷa!* 'Isn't that wonderful!'. Some exclamations consist of the vocative particle *ya* plus an adjective or noun: *ya laṭīf* 'Good grief!', *ya Ɛēb ᵊš-šūm!* (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 *ya* (or sometimes *ᵊa*): *(ya)hasan!* '(O) Hassan!'

Most interjections and Vocative phrases, of course, are more often used in supplementation to a main clause than as full sentences: *šlōnkon ya ṣabāya* 'How are you, girls?', *Ɛaẓīm waḷḷa!* '(That's) great, by golly!'.

Declarations. The clause of a declarative sentence may be a predication [p. 401] or an extraposition [429]: *maḍḍēt ᵊawwal šahrēn Ɛand xāli* 'I spent the first two months at my uncle's', *ᵊawwal šahrēn maḍḍēthon Ɛand xāli* 'The first two months, I spent (them) at my uncle's'.

The category of declarative sentences includes <u>statements</u>, which are characterized by verbs in the indicative or by a non-verbal clause [402]: *mərrūḥ sawa* 'We'll go together', *ᵊana maƐak* 'I'm with you'; and also <u>exhortations</u> and <u>invocations</u>, which are characterized mainly by verbs in the subjunctive, but sometimes also by non-verbal clauses: *nrūḥ sawa* 'Let's go together', *ᵊaḷḷa maƐak* '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.) *maḍḍēt ᵊawwal šahrēn Ɛand xālak?* 'Did you spend the first two months at your uncle's?', *ᵊawwal šahrēn, maddēthon Ɛand xālak?* 'The first two months – did you spend them at your uncle's?', *mənrūḥ sawa?* 'Will we be going together?', *nrūḥ sawa?* 'Shall we go together?'

The particle *ši* is often used to indicate a question: *tᵊūmti ᵊəžet mən Ɛand ᵊl-kawwa ši?* [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: *Ɛam-tᵊᵊṣod ši ᵊənni kazzāb?* 'Are you implying that I'm a liar?', *zərt b-ᵊhyātak ši l-Ɛāṣme?* 'Have you ever visited the capital?'

Yes/no questions may be pronounced with a rising intonation similar to that of (American) English questions, or else with a level or slightly rising medium-high pitch and a long drawl on the last syllable [p. 17].

Substitution Questions. Sentences formed with the question-words *šū* 'what', *mīn* 'who', *wēn* 'where', etc., are also derivable from declarative sentences by substitution of the question word for some particular part of the clause, and by certain changes in word order: *wēn maḍḍēt ᵊawwal šahrēn?* 'Where did you spend the first two months?', *ᵊawwal šahrēn, wēn maḍḍēthon?* '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]: *maḍḍi ᵊawwal šahrēn Ɛand xālak* 'Spend the first two months at your uncle's'. (A negative command, however, is formed with the subjunctive: *lā tmaḍḍi ᵊawwal šahrēn...* '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.[1] For example:

Declarative	Interrogative
žāyīna ḍyūf ᵊl-yōm .... 'We're having guests today' (lit. "Guests are coming to us today")	*žāyīna ḍyūf ᵊl-yōm (ši)?* 'Are we having guests today?'
lāzem nəhtᵊfel fīhon.............. 'We must give them a big welcome'	*lāzem nəhtᵊfel fīhon (ši)?* 'Must we give them a big welcome?'
ᵊaxūk mā byəži..................... 'Your brother isn't coming'	*ᵊaxūk mā byəži?* 'Isn't your brother coming?'
mazbūṭ............................. '(That's) right'	*mazbūṭ?* '(Is that) right?'

---

[1]This 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 <u>can</u> 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 *sažžalna halaᵊa w-bukra bətšūfūha* '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 coördinate clauses could be converted separately.

[Ch. 15]

Declarative	Interrogative
mā Ɛandak maṣāri....................	*mā Ɛandak maṣāri?*
'You have no money'	'Don't you have any money?'
nəržaƐ Ɛal-bēt....................	*nəržaƐ Ɛal-bēt?*
'Let's go back to the house'	'Shall we go back to the house?'[1]

Predication is the most important and basic clause-forming construction type, since not only does it account for all declarative and interrogative sentences, but indirectly also for commands [p. 359], and substitution questions [566], as <u>derivative</u> from predications. Only the most peripheral sentence types – calls and interjections [378] – are fundamentally independent of predication.

The Parts of a Predication

A predication consists of a PREDICATE, with or without a SUBJECT: *r-ražžāl šāf ᵊl-kalb* 'The man saw the dog' or *šāf ᵊl-kalb* 'He saw the dog'; *ᵓənte matᵓakked?* 'Are you sure?' or *matᵓakked?* '(Are you) sure?'

A simple predicate consists of a word or phrase, which is ordinarily:

(1.) a verb or verb phrase: *fhəmᵊt* 'I understand' (lit. "I have understood"), *fhəmᵊt kalāmak* 'I understand what you say', *fhəmᵊt Ɛalēk* 'I understand you'.

(2.) an adjective or adjective phrase: *(ᵓana) zaƐlān* 'I am displeased', *(ᵓana) zaƐlān mənnak* 'I'm displeased with you'.

(3.) a preposition or a prepositional phrase: *huwwe ᵓəddām* 'He is in front', *huwwe ᵓəddām ᵊl-bēt* 'He is in front of the house'.

(4.) a noun or noun phrase: *hāda maktūb* 'This is a letter', *hāda maktūb ᵓəlak* 'This is a letter for you', *hāda ᵓawwal maktūb* 'This is the first letter'.

The subject of a simple predication is usually a noun, or a noun phrase, or a pronoun: *r-ražžāl šāfo* 'The man saw it', *ᵓəbᵊn har-ražžāl mū hōn* 'That man's son isn't here', *hāda ᵓəbno* '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-ᵊkbīr* 'the big house' (cf. *l-bēt ᵊkbīr* 'the house is big').

COMPLEMENTATION AND SUPPLEMENTATION [Ch. 17, 20], which account for almost all verb phrases and many noun and adjective phrases: *šāf ᵊl-bēt* 'saw the house', *trūḥ ᵓawām* '(that)you go quickly', *mabsūṭ fī* 'pleased with it', *kamān wāḥed* 'one more'.

ANNEXION [Ch. 18], which forms many noun-type phrases and all prepositional phrases: *farš ᵊl-bēt* 'the furniture of the house', *ᵓawwal bēt* 'the first house', *žuwwāt ᵊl-bēt* '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 predicate. 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 <u>subject</u>.

ADJECTIVES are distinguished by their use as <u>attributes</u>.

FREE PREPOSITIONS are also used as <u>supplements</u>.

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.

---

[1] Independent 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.

---

[1] A clear-cut part of speech system commonly also depends, to some extent, on correlation with non-syntactical matters such as inflection [p. 35]. It is a mistake to suppose that any single criterion can establish the membership of every word that obviously belongs to a particular form class. By the same token, certain words belong to different classes, depending on which (usually convergent but sometimes divergent) criteria are used.

[2] This is not to say that a verbal <u>clause</u> (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-walad ᵊl-ᵓakbar* 'the oldest boy' (cf. *ᵓakbar walad*).

Certain substantives may also be used attributively: *l-waṭan ᵊl-ᵓᵊmm* 'the mother country' [p.506]. Certain others may be used adverbially: *šᵊfto 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: *zġīr* 'small, young' or 'child'; *kazzāb* 'lying' 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 coördination.

NEGATION

The most common negative particles are *mā*, used mainly with verbs and a few other expressions, and *mū*, 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 *lāᵓ* 'no', see p.536.

Commonly in Palestine and to a lesser extent in southern and central Lebanon, *mā* is paired with a suffix -*š* which is attached to the negated term (cf. French ne...pas). (In some dialects -*š* may be used without *mā*, or with *ᵓa-* instead of *mā*. Thus *mā baɛref* 'I don't know' = *mā baɛrᵊf-š* = *baɛrᵊf-š* = *ᵓa-baɛrᵊf-š*.) The -*š* form corresponding to *mū* is *mᵊš* or *muš*.

The Particle *mā*. Examples with verbs:

1. *mā žarrabᵊt liᵓanno mā kān maɛi waᵓᵊt ᵓᵊɛɛod u-ᵓᵊṣfon*
   'I haven't tried (it) because I haven't had time to sit and think'

2. *mā ṣᵊfi ġēr ɛašᵊr daᵓāyeᵓ*
   'There's not but ten minutes left'

3. *hayy mā baṭṣᵊḥḥ-ᵊlli hnīk*
   'That won't do me any good over there'

4. *lāzem tᵊḥlᵊf-li mā taɛmel maɛha šī* [AO-114]
   'You must swear to me not to do anything to her'

5. *l-wāḥed mā bilāᵓi matᵊl balado*
   'There's no place like home' (lit. "One doesn't find the like of his community")

6. *mā baṭlaɛ ɛal-ḥāra bᵊl-bižāma*
   'I wouldn't go out on the street in pajamas'

7. *mā byaɛᵊžbo šī, šū ma žᵊbt biᵓᵊl-lak mā bikaffi, mā byᵊnfaɛ, lēš mā sāwēto hēk u-hēk*
   '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'

8. *fī tlᵊtt ᵓᵊɛtibārāt lāzem mā nᵊdžāhᵊlon*
   'There are three considerations we should not overlook'

9. *ᵓᵊl-li, baɛᵊd mā zᵊrt ᵓāsārāt labnān?* [SAL-115]
   'Tell me, haven't you visited the ruins of Lebanon yet?'

10. *hayy ḥāle mā btᵊnḥámel*
    'It's an unbearable situation' [p.328]

11. *ṭ-ṭābe kānet mā btᵊnṭāl*
    'The ball was out of reach'

12. l-ʔaġlab mā laha-yǝḥṣal   'Chances are, he won't get the job'
    Ɛaš-šaġle

13. yǝlli ʔaxatto laḥadd ʔl-māster   'What I took for the master's isn't
    mā ḥa-yzîd ʔktîr Ɛal-Ph.D.   going to add much to the Ph.D.'

14. ʔana mā Ɛam-bḥākîk [SPA-221]   'I'm not talking to you'

15. ʔabūk mā Ɛam-yākol   'Your father is not eating'

16. ʔana mā Ɛam-bǝštǝġel hal-ʔiyyām   'I'm not working these days'

Verbs with Ɛam- and raḥa (laḥa, ḥa-, etc.) [p. 320] are also often negated with mū, mālo [pp. 387, 388].

Active participles are sometimes negated with mā:

17. kîf, mā mǝštāʔ lǝš-šām?   'Aren't you homesick for Damascus?'

18. mā bǝrmi šabʔkti ġēr ʔarbaƐ   'I don't cast my net more than four
    marrāt u-mā ṣafyān-li ʔǝlla   times, and there isn't but one time
    marra wāḥde [AO-115]   left to me'

mā with Other Verb-like Expressions. The words bǝddo 'to want, intend, (etc.)' [p. 412], fî 'there is' and 'to be able', Ɛando, maƐo, and ʔǝlo 'to have' [413], and a few similar expressions, are negated with mā:

19. mā bǝddak ʔl-Ɛarāḍa?   'Don't you want the publicity?'

20. mā bǝddha tākol   'She doesn't want to eat'

21. hal-ʔktāb mā baddo   'This book doesn't require hard
    wala taƐʔb [PVA-56]   work'

22. mā fî ʔǝxtilāf ʔktîr   'There's not much difference'

23. šu mā fî hada bǝl-bēt?   'Isn't there anyone home?'

24. b-mūžeb ʔānūn l-ʔhkūme l-ʔždîd   'According to the government's new
    mā fî l-wāḥed yǝstamlek ʔaktar   law, one may not own more than four
    mǝn ʔarbaƐ byūt   houses'

25. mā fîna naƐʔmlo halla?   'We can't do it now'

26. mā fîkon wala wāḥed ʔmnîḥ   'There's not a good one among you'

In the last example fîkon stands for fî 'there is' + fîkon 'among you', collapsed into a single form; cf. mā fî wala wāḥed ʔmnîḥ fîkon (same translation).

27. mā bo šî [p. 415]   'He's all right' or 'There's noth-
    ing the matter with him'

28. l-ḥaʔîʔa mā Ɛandi waʔʔt ʔǝlha   'The truth is, I haven't time for it'

29. mā Ɛando dars ʔl-yōm   'He has no lesson today'

30. mā Ɛalēk; ʔana bḥākî   'It's not your responsibility; I'll
    talk to him' (lit. "It's not on you...")

31. mā ʔǝlkon ḥaʔʔ   'You (pl.) are in the wrong' (lit. "You have no right.")

32. mā ʔǝli Ɛalāʔa baṭ-ṭawẓîf   'I have nothing to do with hiring'
    [SAL-92]

Instead of the disjunctive forms ʔǝlo, etc. [p. 479], the suffixing forms may be used with mā:

33. Ɛîd l-ʔkbîr mā-lo tārîx ʔmƐayyan   'Easter has no fixed date'
    [DA-303]

34. l-ʔmḥāžaže mā-la ʔāxer   'There's no end to the argument'

35. l-yahūd biṣallu b-ʔknîs wāḥed,   'The Jews pray in one synagogue,
    mā-lhon ġēro [Bg. 1]   they have no other'

mā with pronouns. In equational sentences [p. 406], mā may be used before personal pronouns (especially third person)

36. mā huwwe l-masʔūl Ɛan ʔl-ḥādes   'He's not the one responsible for
    the accident'

37. mā hǝnnen halli rafaƐu d-daƐwa   'It is not they who initiated the
    suit'

38. mā hiyye halli kasret ʔl-vāz   'She's not the one who broke the
    vase'

39. mā huwwe ʔǝlla t-tanāzoƐ   'It's nothing else than the eternal
    ʔl-ʔazali bēn ʔl-xēr wǝš-šarr   conflict between good and evil'

40. mā ʔana yalli ḥakēt   'It's not I who spoke'

mā huwwe and mā hiyye are sometimes apocopated to mā-hu, mā-hi, or mā-u, mā-i: mā-hu huwwe [Bart.-776] 'It's not he'; mā-u ʔabūk.., ʔabūyi ʔana [DS] 'It's not your father, it's my father!'

mā is used with the indefinite noun hada 'anyone, someone' (translated 'no one, nobody'):

41. mā hada šāfna   'No one saw us'

42. mîn haka Ɛat-talifōn?   'Who was it (lit. "Who spoke") on
    - mā hada; wāḥed galṭān   the phone?' - Nobody...somebody who
    bǝn-nǝmre   got the wrong number'

Similarly, *mā* is sometimes used with *šī* 'something, any-thing' (translated 'nothing'), but this locution is limited mostly to answers ("incomplete predications"):

43. *šū ɛam-taɛmel? - mā šī*   'What are you doing?' - 'Nothing'

The Particle *mū*

Practically any non-verbal predicative term may be negated with *mū*:

1. *l-ḥaʔīʔa mū ḥāṭeṭ bi-bāli t-taɛlīm*   'The truth is, I haven't seriously considered teaching' (*ḥāṭeṭ* is a participle [p.265].)

2. *ʔaxdet ʔl-bakalōryus, mū hēk?*   'She's gotten her bachelor's degree, hasn't she?' (lit. "isn't is so?")

3. *hal-ḥaki hāda mū ḥəlu*   'That (kind of) talk isn't nice'

4. *ɛēna mū žūɛāne, mā bəddha tākol šī*   'She doesn't have a hungry look; she doesn't want anything to eat' (lit. "Her eye isn't hungry..")

5. *fa-maɛnāta kəll ʔl-ɛamaliyye mū zyādet maɛlūmāt*   'So the significance of the whole business is not acquisition of more knowledge'

6. *mū masʔalet mā bəddi hal-ɛarāḍa*   'It's not a question of my not want-ing the publicity'

7. *ʔana ḥabbēt ʔəži la-hōn mū bass məšān ʔš-šahāde, bass məšān ʔl-xəbra*   'I wanted to come here not only for the degree, but for the experience'

8. *mū hāda yalli waṣṣēt ɛalē*   'This isn't what I ordered'

9. *ʔana mū mabṣūṭ ʔl-yōm*   'I'm not feeling well today'

10. *kānu mū mawžūdīn lamma daʔʔēnā-lon talifōn*   'They were out when we phoned them' (lit. "They were not-to-be-found...") Cf. *mā kānu mawžūdīn...* 'They were not in...'

11. *hayye fəkra mū ɛāṭle*   'That's not a bad idea' (lit. "an idea [that is] not bad")

12. *huwwe sālek ṭarīʔ mū mnīḥ*   'He's following a bad course' (lit. "...a road [that is] not good")

13. *mū mətʔl ʔaxi l-ʔkbīr, ʔana rəhʔt ɛaž-žāmɛa*   'Unlike my older brother, I went to the university'

14. *mū mən zamān šəfto*   'Not long ago I saw him' (Cf. *mā šəfto mən zamān* 'I haven't seen him for quite a while')

15. *mū lāzem təstaxfef b-naṣāyeḥ wāldak*   'You shouldn't take your father's advice lightly'

Logically, *mū lāzem* should mean 'needn't' or 'it is not necessary', while 'mustn't' or 'shouldn't' would be expressed as *lāzem mā...* (as in example 8, p.   ). Actually, however, *mū lāzem* usually means 'mustn't, shouldn't, ought not to'.

mū is sometimes used with *raḥa-* and *ɛam-* verb forms. (Cf. examples 12-16. p.   ):

16. *mū raḥa-tkūn ʔmṣībe kbīre ʔiza mā ḥṣəlt ɛalē*   'It won't be a great misfortune if I don't get it'

17. *mū ɛam-yəštǝ́gel halla?*   '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-yōm bēt ɛammtak žāyīn yəsharu ɛanna; mū taɛməl-li nādi w-rəfaʔāti...*   '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 *ɛand*, etc. [p.413] generally indi-cates a true prepositional phrase with a subject rather than the quasi-verbal expression with a complement: *ktābak mū ɛandi* 'Your book is not at my place' or '...among my things' (vs. *mā ɛandi ktābak* 'I don't have your book').

Before personal pronouns, *mū* focuses more emphasis on the pronoun than *mā* [p.385]: *mū hiyye halli žābet walad, ʔəxta* 'She's not the one who had the baby; it's her sister'; *mū ʔana yalli hakēt* 'I'm not the one who spoke' (Cf. ex. 40, p.385).

mū šī 'nothing' may be used as well as *mā ši* [p.386], but *mū* is not ordinarily used with *hada* (: *mā hada* 'no one').

The Negative Copula

Instead of using an independent subject pronoun with *mū*, pronoun suf-fixes may be attached to the stem *māl-* or *mān-*: *māli rāyeḥ* or *māni rāyeḥ* 'I'm not going' (instead of *ʔana mū rāyeḥ*). These forms constitute a sort of quasi-verb, like *bəddo*, etc. [p.412], with pronoun suffixes for subject-affixes.

The form *māl-* is typically Damascene; the most usual Lebanese form of the negative copula is *mann-*: *mannak šāyef?* 'Don't you see?'. (There are other variants, e.g. *maynak, mənak.*) 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 *ma-* + apocopated "independent" pronoun form + *-š* [383]: *mahūš* 'he is not', *mahīš* 'she is not', *mantiš* 'you(m.) are not', *mantīš* 'you(f.) are not', *mahnāš* 'we are not', etc.; but *mantīš* 'I am not'.

Examples:

1. *mālak ɛāməl-lak šī bēt šəɛ³r?* 'Haven't you composed any verse of poetry?'

2. *ɛam-yədros handase ʔaw fīzya, māli ʔakīd mənna* 'He's studying engineering or physics – I'm not sure about it'

3. *lēš hal-labake?...mālna ġəraba* 'Why [go to all] this bother? We're not strangers'

4. *šlōnak ya ḥasan? wəššak mālo mnīḥ* [AO-51] 'How are you, Hassan? You don't look well' (lit. "your face isn't good")

5. *lamma bfīʔ, ʔiza kān māli ʔaḥsan bətžībī-li l-ḥakīm* [AO-51] 'When I wake up, if I'm not better you can get the doctor for me'

6. *w-ṭəlɛet w-³tləɛ³t maɛha w-hiyye mālha šāɛra* [AO-118][1] '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 *ɛam-* and *raḥa-* [p. 320]:

7. *hallaʔ māli ɛam-rūḥ ɛaž-žāmɛa* 'I'm not going to the university now(adays)'

8. *ṣar-lon zamān mālon ɛam-yəsmaɛu mənno* 'They haven't been hearing from him for a long time'

9. *mālo ɛam-yəʔder yəṭṣawwar ³š-šī yalli ɛam-naɛ³mlo* 'He can't imagine what it is we're doing'

10. *mālna raḥa-nəttáfeʔ ʔabadan* 'We're not ever going to reach an agreement'

[1] The AO text actually reads *w-hīye mā-lha šaɛ³rha* ('not having her hair') which seems not to make sense in the context.

Note that *māl-* + pronoun suffix is indistinguishable in form from *mā* + *-l-* + pronoun suffix. See examples 33-35, p. 385. Thus in Damascus *māli* means both 'I am not' and 'I haven't (got)', but in many other parts of Syria *māli* means only 'I haven't got', while *māni* means 'I am not'.

The Particle *lā*

Verbs in the independent subjunctive [p. 345] (especially in negative commands) are negated with *lā*:

1. *lā tətʔaxxar* 'Don't be late'

2. *lā tʔāxzūni* 'I'm sorry', 'Excuse(pl.) me', lit. 'Don't blame me, Don't hold it against me'

3. *lā trawweḥ ɛalēna šammet ³l-hawa* 'Let's not miss the outing', lit. "Don't let the outing get away from us" (*rawwaḥ* 'to let go, make go', causative of *rāḥ*)

In many parts of Greater Syria, however, *mā* is generally used in negative commands rather than (or as well as) *lā*: *mā tətʔaxxar* 'Don't be late', *mā tʔāxzūni* 'I'm sorry', etc.

4. *lā ykəl-lak fəkre* 'Don't give it a thought', lit. "Let there not be a thought to you"

5. *ʔalla lā yʔadder* 'God forbid!' lit. "May God not decree"

lā is used before the second-person perfect of *ɛād* and *baʔa* 'to keep on (doing something), to do...again', as a negative command 'don't...any more':

6. *lā ɛədtu dzūrū* 'Don't(pl.) visit him any more'

7. *lā baʔēt ³thākīhon* 'Don't talk to them any more'

Cf. *mā ɛədna nzūro* 'We don't visit him any more', *mā baʔēt ḥākīhon* 'I don't talk to them any more'. Though *ɛād* and *baʔa* in these locutions are inflected as full-fledged verbs, they function syntactically as a sort of intrusive adverbial element, coming between the negative particle and the verb it really applies to. Thus *lā...dzūrū* 'Don't visit him...', *lā...thākīhon* 'Don't talk to them...'.

lā also occurs with a verb in the perfect in the expression *lā samaḥ ʔalla* 'God forbid!', lit. "May God not have allowed!"

There are a number of classicisms in which *lā* is used with a verb in the imperfect without *b-* (but as an indicative):

8. *mḥassbe ʔənno lā yustaġna ɛanna*   'She thinks she is indispensable'

9. *hāda ʔamᵊr lā yəḥtāž la-barhān* [SPA-214]   'That's a matter that needs no proof'

Also in classicisms, *lā* is used before nouns, in the sense of *mū* 'no' or *mā fī* 'there is no' (*lā li-nafyi l-ǧins* "the generic *lā*"):

10. *lā šakk ʔənno ʔaḥsan*   'There's no doubt that it's better'

11. *lā šəkᵊr ɛala wāžeb*   'You're welcome', lit. "There's no thanks for [something done as a] duty"

12. *xnāʔa maɛo lā bədd mənna hallaʔ*   'An argument with him is inevitable now'

13. *žamāl hal-bənt lā šēʔ ban-nəsbe la-ʔəxwāta*   'That girl's beauty is nothing compared to her sisters' '

In coördinations: *lā...w-lā* 'neither...nor':

14. *lā ʔana w-lā huwwe laḥa-nkūn ᵊhnīk*   'Neither he nor I will be there'

15. *lā baɛᵊrfo w-lā byaɛrəfni*   'I don't know him and he doesn't know me'

16. *ʔaddēš ḥəlwe hal-ʔiyyām, lā fī bard u-lā fī šōb* [DA-239]   'How nice it is these days, there is neither cold nor hot weather'

The first term of a coördination with *w-lā* can have *mā* or one of the other negativizers instead of *lā; see ex. 21, p.384. Also:

17. *ʔana māli maɛ ᵊl-ʔəqtirāḥ w-lā ḍəḍḍo*   'I am neither for the proposal nor against it'

lā is used with the "emphatic *w-*" in the sense 'not even': *w-lā* (or *wala*). See p.384, ex. 26. (Cf. *w-law* 'even if', p.335.)

18. *w-lā wāḥed mn ᵊd-dakātra ʔəder išaxxeṣ ᵊl-maraḍ*   'Not one of the doctors could diagnose the disease'

19. *w-lā žawāb mn ᵊž-žawābēn maẓbūṭ*   'Neither of the two answers is correct'

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:

20. *mā fī w-lā nətfet xabᵊz bəl-bēt*   'There's not even a piece of bread in the house'

21. *s-sama zraʔʔet w-lā ɛād fī w-lā ġēme* [AO-67]   'The sky became blue and there wasn't a single cloud left'

22. *mā ɛād naṭaʔ w-lā b-ḥarf w-lā tkallam w-lā kəlme* [AO-118]   'He neither pronounced another letter nor spoke another word' (The *w-lā* before *tkallam* is 'nor', in coördination with *mā ɛād...*, while the *w-lā* before *b-ḥarf* and before *kəlme* 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', *ʔaw* 'or', *lāken* 'but', etc., while ASYN-DETIC coordinations [p.398] simply have their terms juxtaposed with no 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 '*u-*' in this book: *təffāḥ u-mōz* 'apples and bananas'; otherwise it is transcribed as a consonant: *w-mōz kamān* 'and bananas too', *ʔalam w-ᵊktāb* 'a pencil and a book'.[1] In combination with the article [493], the conjunction is written in our transcription without the hyphen and with a following *ə* (rather than *ᵊ*): *l-ʔalam wəl-ᵊktāb* 'the pencil and the book'. See p.476.

---

[1] In actual pronunciation, there is a good deal of free variation and indeterminacy as between *w* and *u* in some positions, since the difference between them is subtle and non-phonemic [p.9].

[Ch. 15]

Examples.   Coordination of noun-type words and phrases:

1. *šlōn ʰl-Ɛarūs wəl-Ɛarīs?*   'How are the bride and groom?'

2. *maƐi nəmret talifōno w-Ɛənwāno*   '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. *bəddna šī badle w-şabbāṭ u-ʰəmşān, w-šī šwayyet ʰġrāḍ*   '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. *huwwe w-samīr kānu b-fard şaff*   'He and Samir were in the same class'

For further examples of personal pronouns in coordinations, see   pp. 364, 551.

5. *l-marhale t-tālte wəl-ʰaxīre...* [DA-305]   'The third and final stage...'

6. *Ɛandi baṭṭīx ʰahmar u-ʰaşfar*   'I have watermelon and canteloupe' (lit. "...red and yellow melon")

7. *la-ʰawwal u-ʰāxer marra, la?!*   'For the first and last time, no!'

8. *...Ɛaẓamet u-faxāmet farš byūt ʰl-ʰaġʰnya* [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 annexion; see p. 456.

Coordination of verbs and verb phrases:

9. *...badu yənʰƐšu w-yəhyu l-ʰadab ʰl-Ɛarabi l-ʰadīm* [DA-304]   'They began to stimulate and revive the old Arab culture'

10. *ʰana rāyeh ʰašlah ʰawāƐiyyi w-ʰəlbes bižāmti*   'I'm going to take off my clothes and put on my pajamas'

See also p. 320, top.

Coordination of clauses and sentences:

11. *ʰāl mudīr ʰl-barāmež ʰənna halwe w-Ɛažʰbto ktīr*   'The program director said it was nice and he liked it a lot'

12. *biḥəbb banāt Ɛammto w-biḥəbb yəshar maƐhon*   'He likes his aunt's daughters and he likes to spend the evening with them'

13. *waḷḷa šāṭer w-Ɛēn ʰaḷḷa Ɛalē*   'He is certainly clever, and God's eye is upon him'

14. *rūh ʰəsʰal ʰəmmak bəddha šī, w-baƐdēn sāwi yalli bəddak yā*   'Go ask your mother if she wants anything, and then do what you wish'

15. *byəẓhar ʰənnak kaslān w-ʰbtətrok ʰl-waẓīfe yōmēn wara baƐʰḍhon w-kəll yōm bətʰūl "bəkra"*   '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. *haṭṭet ʰl-Ɛaša ʰddāmo, w-mā rəḍyet tākol maƐo* [AO-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. *šəft fəlm ʰz-zahra? fī šī ẓarīf? — rawƐa, w-bəl-ʰaxaşş l-ʰmmassle. — wəl-ʰəşşa?*   '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. *mfakker təržaƐ ləš-šām b-ʰšbāṭ? — la?, bəržaƐ b-ʰhzērān. — w-bəttamm Ɛala ṭūl bəš-šām?*   '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. *nhana w-tarak ʰl-masrah*   'He bowed and left the stage'

20. *zahlet ražlo w-wəʰeƐ la-wara*   'His foot slipped and he fell over backwards'

21. *bass ʰkbēs hal-maske wəl-bāb byənfáteh*   'Just press this handle and the door will open'

22. *Ɛməl-lak taṭlīƐa b-sərƐa w-šūf ʰiza ʰəžet ʰl-bōṣṭa*   'Take a quick look and see if the mail has come'

Like 'and' again, w- is used in ANAPHORIC coordinations. The following term is a repetition of the leading term, and has augmentative [p. 253] significance:

23. *bəddall əbtəḥki w-əbtəḥki* 'She keeps on talking and talking'

24. *l-əmnāqaše stamarret sāɛāt u-sāɛāt* 'The argument went on for hours and hours'

25. *kəll šī ɛam-yəġla ʔaktar u-ʔaktar* 'Everything is getting more and more expensive'

SYNONYMIC coordinations are commonly used for rhetorical emphasis:

26. *ɛāšu b-taɛāse w-bəʔs* 'They lived in misery and wretchedness'

See also examples 8 and 9, above.

Conjunctions translated 'or'

ʔaw 'or' is used mainly to coordinate words or phrases, more rarely clauses. Examples:

1. *byəʔbaḍ əl-fallāḥ taman əḥbūbo ʔaw fwāki ʔaw xəḍrāto mn əs-səmsār* [PAT-185] 'The farmer collects the price of his grain or fruit or vegetables from the broker'

2. *l-yōm mā fī rōḥa ɛal-ʔahwe ʔaw ɛas-sīnama ʔaw la-hōn u-la-hon* 'Today there's [to be] no going to the coffeehouse or to the movies or hither and yon'

3. *səntēn ʔaw tlāte bən-nəsbe la-mhandes ktār* 'Two or three years for an engineer are a lot'

4. *l-malābes əl-franžiyye hiyye ɛibāra ɛan banṭalūn u-sūka maɛ ʔaw bidūn ṣədriyye* [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. *ʔiza mū ḥāṭeṭ bi-bālak ət-taɛlīm bəž-žāmɛa ʔaw ma ʔašbah mā-la ṭaɛme* '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', *ʔaw* is used in synonymic coordinations:

6. *l-madīne mʔassame la-ɛəddet ʔaʔsām ʔaw ʔaḥya* [PAT-179] 'The city is divided into a number of sections or quarters'

7. *bisammū l-ɛaṣr əl-ɛabbāsi ʔaw əl-ɛaṣr əz-zahabi* 'They call it the Abbasid Period or the Golden Age'

The conjunction *yā* 'or' is used similarly to *ʔaw*, but not for synonymic coordinations. (See also polysyndetic coordinations, below.) Examples:

8. *žāye l-yōm yā bəkra* 'He's coming today or tomorrow'

9. *baɛd əl-ʔakəl byāxod šəkəl fwāki yā šəkəl ḥəlu* [PAT-195] 'After eating [the main courses] he has some kind of fruit or some kind of sweet'

10. *z-zyāra fi ṭrāblos bəddūm waʔʔt ṭawīl, sāɛtēn yā tlatt sāɛāt w-ʔiyyām ʔaktar* [PAT-197] 'Visiting in Tripoli takes a long time, two or three hours and some-times longer'

11. *kəll yōm žəmɛa w-ʔaḥad baɛd əḍ-ḍəhər bətšūfon rāyḥīn ɛal-ʔahāwi, yā ɛa-šamm əl-hawa ɛal-bəddāwi, yā ɛal-mīna, yā ɛa-zġarta, yā ɛal-mənye, yā ɛal-ʔalmūn, yā ɛa-bərž rās ən-nahər* [PAT-187] 'Every Friday and Sunday afternoon you see them going to the coffee houses, or on an outing to el Beddawi, or to el Mina, or to Zghorta, or to Méniye, or to Almoune, or to Bordj Râs en Nahr'

The conjunctions *yəmma* (or *yamma*) and *walla* 'or, or else' are to some extent synonyms of *yā* and *ʔaw*, but are used most commonly in ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS:

12. *ɛaṭīna warʔʔtēn. — daraže ʔūla yəmma daraže tānye?* [DA-26] 'Give me two tickets. — First class or second class?'

13. *w-hallaʔ mnēn mərrūḥ? mən hōn yəmma mn əhnīk?* [DA-77] 'And now which way do we go? This way or that way?'

14. *ṭlaɛt mən bērūt raʔsan, walla mn əš-šām?* 'Did you leave directly from Beirut, or from Damascus?'

15. *w-laḥ-təržaɛ ɛaš-šām walla laḥ-əddall hōn?* 'And are you going back to Damascus, or will you stay here?'

16. *bḥəṭṭ-əllak zēt šaɛər walla bass mayy?* [DA-180] '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".

17. *s-səne fīha... šahər wāḥed ʔəlo bass tmāna w-ɛašrin walla təsɛa w-ɛašrīn yōm* [AO-71] 'There is one month in the year which has only twenty-eight or else twenty-nine days'

18. *staɛžel walla btətʔaxxar* 'Hurry up or you'll be late'

19. *mā tšədd ʔīdak, walla mā byədxol*
    ᵊd-dawa [PVA-60]

'Don't tense your arm, or the medi-
cine won't go in'

20. *skōt walla bədᵊrbak* [SPA-431]

'Hush up or I'll hit you'

21. *rūḥ ʔəl-lo ʔənt yamma ʔana brūḥ*
    [SPA-433]

'You go tell him or else I'll go'

Examples 18-21 illustrate another common use of *walla*
(less common for *yəmma, yamma*), namely the coordination of
a command with a predication. The predication depicts the
consequence of not obeying the command.

Polysyndetic Coordinations. *yā*, and sometimes also *yəmma* (or *yamma*) and *ʔaw*,
may be used before the first term of a coordination and repeated before the
following term (or terms), thus constituting a conjunction set like 'either
...or...' in English:

1. *yā ʔana brūḥ yā huwwe*

'Either I go or he goes!'

2. *ʔēmta bəddak ᵊdžība? – yəmken*
   yā bəkra yā baɛᵊd bəkra [DA-99]

'When do you want to bring her? –
Perhaps either tomorrow or the day
after'

3. *ʔamma l-laḥme la-ḥāla huwwe*
   byākəla məšwiyye yā kəfta
   bəl-fərn yā bəs-sīx [PAT-195]

'As for meat by itself, he eats it
roasted, either as meatballs [done]
in the oven, or on a spit'

4. *lāzem ʔāxod hal-bənt, yamma*
   b-rəda mɛallmi yamma b-ġəṣmen
   ɛanno [AO-107]

'I must have that girl, either with
my master's approval or in spite of
him'

5. *ʔaw byəšrab ḥalībon, ʔaw bisāwi*
   mənno žəbne w-zəbde [AO-63]

'He either drinks their milk, or
makes cheese and butter from it'

The form *ʔəmma* or *ʔamma* is often used as part of an
'either...or...' conjunction set, in various combinations,
for contrastive emphasis. In some cases it is preceded by
yā or *w-*:

6. *ʔamma ʔana w-ʔamma ʔənte*
   b-hal-bēt!

'It's either you or I in this house!'
(i.e. One of us has to go)

7. *ʔəmma btətlaɛ mən hōn ʔaw*
   bᵊawwṣak!

'Either you get out of here or I'll
shoot you!'

8. *ʔana msāfer yā l-yōm yā ʔəmma*
   bəkra

'I'll be leaving either today, or
tomorrow'

'Neither...nor...' coordinations are expressed with *lā*
...*w-lā...*, literally 'not...and not...'.[1] See p. 390.
Further examples:

9. *byāklu b-ʔīdon w-mā byəstaɛᵊmlu*
   lā šawke w-lā səkkīn [PAT-193]

'They eat with their hand(s), using
neither fork nor knife'

10. *ṭūl ḥayāto mā šāf lā haž-žabal*
    u-lā hal-barriyye [AO-117]

'In all his life he had never seen
either that mountain or that plain'

11. *maṣrūfo ʔalīl; lā sīnama w-lā*
    ʔahwe w-lā taman ᵊtʔūme
    franžiyye [PAT-195]

'His expenses are slight; no movies,
no coffeehouse, and no cost of West-
ern clothes'

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
[p. 393] or some sort of conclusion or summation:

1. *ṭ-ṭayyāra tāhet fa-thaṭṭamet*
   bəl-barriyye

'The plane got lost and crashed in
the desert'

2. *ʔasās ṭarīʔet ᵊt-taɛlīm*
   btətġayyar ɛalēk fa-kəll šī
   bikūn ᵊždīd

'The basis of the teaching method
will be different for you, so every-
thing will be new'

3. *kān ɛanna ḍyūf, w-žāyīhon ḍyūf*
   mən ɛammān, fa-ʔəžu səhru
   ɛanna

We had guests, and <u>they</u> had guests
from Amman, and they [all] came and
spent the evening with us'

4. *mā beʔder ʔəṭlaɛ la-ykūn maɛi*
   ʔbūl mən žāmɛa ɛrəft kīf;
   fa-maɛi, ʔəžāni ʔbūl mən
   žāməɛtēn

'I wouldn't be able to leave until I
had acceptance from a university, you
see; and I have; I've got acceptance
from two universities'

lāken and *bass* 'but':

5. *maḥmūd byaʔrabo la-ḥsēn,*
   lāken ʔərbe šwayye bɛīde

'Mahmoud is related to Hussein, but
it's a rather distant relationship'

6. *walla ʔana bḥəbb ᵊl-fətuwwe*
   lāken bəddi rūḥ ɛas-sinama

'I do like the Youth Club but I want
to go to the movies'

---

[1]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 *mū*, however, does constitute a mark of coordination.

7. *kənt bəddi ʔəʔrā-li šwayye lāken maɛleš, mənfəzz bakkīr bukra*
   'I was going to do some reading, but never mind, we'll get up early tomorrow'

8. *taɛlīqo ɛal-ʔaxbār kān məxṭáṣar lāken wāḍeḥ*
   'His commentary on the news was brief but clear'

9. *ballašt ᵊs-səne, bass b-ᵊšbāṭ ᵊž-žāye bxalleṣ*
   'I've started the year, but next February I'll finish'

10. *ʔana baɛᵊrfo mn ᵊš-šām bəl-madrase, bass kān faṣɛūn ᵊẓġīr*
    'I know him from Damascus at school, but he was just a little kid'

11. *bəddha xams ᵊsnīn, bass xams ᵊsnīn madrasiyye..., fa-badawwmu ʔarbaɛ ᵊsnīn bass ᵊbtəntᵊʔel la-xams ᵊṣfūf, ɛrəft kīf*
    'It takes five years, but five <u>school</u> years...; so they stay four years but you go though five classes, you see'

Asyndetic 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 '...or...':

1. *ž-žamāɛa kəllhon ṣar-lon ʔarbaɛ xams ᵊsnīn, w-mū zalame zalamtēn, kān fī xams sətt ālāf zalame ʔāɛdīn mən kəll nawāḥi ʔamērka*
   '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'

2. *baɛdēn bəddi ʔəržaɛ ləš-šām ʔaʔɛəd-li šahrēn tlāte*
   'Then I expect to go back to Damascus to stay two or three months'

3. *d-doktōr ʔāl lāzem nəstanna tlāta rbaɛt iyyām* [DA-217]
   'The doctor said we'd have to wait three or four days'

Note in ex. 3 the special form *tlāta rbaɛ* (instead of *tlāte ʔarbaɛ*)

Adjectives and nouns are often coordinated asyndetically in sentences like the following:

4. *mā btəfreʔ maɛi bēḍa sōda*
   'I don't care whether it's black or white'

5. *ʔaḷḷa yarḥáma ḥayye mayyte*
   'God have mercy on her, alive or dead'

6. *hal-ʔakle mā baɛref šū nāʔᵊṣa, maˡᵊḥ fəlfol, mā baɛref*
   'I don't know what it is this food lacks; salt? pepper? I don't know'

As in English, attributive adjectives [p.502] are coordinated asyndetically in the sense '...and...' more often than not: *bənt laṭīfe ḥelwe* 'a nice pretty girl' (for *bənt laṭīfe w-ḥelwe*). The *w-* is kept, however, if the adjectives apply <u>distributively</u> — contrastively to different instances of something referred to by a plural or collective: *mənšaʔāt ɛaskariyye w-ṣināɛiyye* 'military and industrial installations', *samak ʔabyaḍ u-ʔaḥmar u-ʔazraʔ u-ʔaṣfar* [AO-117] 'white, red, blue, and yellow fish'.

Note also the set phrase *ʔaṭraš ʔaxras* 'deaf and dumb, deaf-mute'.

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 complemental:

7. *ḥākā kamm kəlme xallā yəstᵊḥi*
   'He said a few words to him and embarrassed him'

8. *staḥkamto b-ḍarbe xalaɛt-əllo nīɛo*
   'I aimed a blow at him and loosened his jaw for him'

9. *tfaḍḍalu ya žamāɛa kəll wāḥed imədd ʔīdo yətsallā-lo šwayy*
   'Come on, folks, everybody help himself and have a good time'

10. *l-ᵊkbīr hallaʔ mawžūd bi-ʔamērka biɛāwen ʔabū* [DA-75]
    'The eldest is now in America and helps his father'

11. *w-ᵊbtəržaɛ ɛand ᵊṣ-ṣəbᵊḥ btənfox ɛala wəššo, bətrawweḥ ɛanno l-banž* [AO-118]
    'And she comes back in the morning and blows on his face, and drives the anesthetic away from him'

This kind of construction is particularly common when the first clause has a translocative verb [p.274]:

12. *bəmroʔ bāxdak mn ᵊl-ʔotēl s-sāɛa xamse w-nəṣṣ* [DA-249]
    'I'll come back and pick you at the hotel at half past five'

13. *ʔənte ʔūm la-taxtak strəḥ-lak šwayye* [DA-217]
    'You go on up to bed and rest a while'

14. *bəkra bəži bətġadda ɛandek*
    'Tomorrow I'll come and have lunch with you'

15. *rāyeḥ bžəb-lak yāha* [AO-115]
    'I'll go and get her for you'

16. *žāye bəddo yāha ṭṭarreḥ ḥāla*
    'He comes along and wants her to have an abortion'

17. *byəržaɛ ɛal-bēt biɛāyed ɛalēna w-byəfṭar maɛna* [DA-300]
    'He'll come back home and wish us holiday greetings and break his fast with us'

The w- in ex. 17 links *biɛāyed ɛalēna* with *byəftar məɛna*, while this coordination is linked asyndetically as a whole with *byəržaɛ ɛal-bēt*.

Asyndetically linked phrases and words:

18. *mətli mətlak mā baɛref, bass ʔalla kbīr mā byənsa ḥada* [DA-243]

'I don't know any more than you do, but God is great and forgets no one'

19. *s-samakāt ṣāru sūd sūd* [AO-117]

'The fish became very black' (Cf. p. 394, ex. 23-26).

20. *zəɛel ktīr ᵃktīr* [AO-115]

'He got very, very angry' (Cf. *zəɛel ʔaktar u-ʔaktar* [AO-115])

Miscellaneous further examples of asyndetic coordination:

21. *ʔannaɛto ktīr, mā ʔtanaɛ* [Bart. 685]

'I did all I could to persuade him, but he wouldn't be persuaded'

22. *maɛʔūl ʔəbʔa hōn, maɛʔūl mā ʔəbʔa*

'It would be reasonable for me to stay here, but also reasonable for me not to stay'

23. *mā taɛmel ḥarake bʔawweṣ!*

'Don't make a move or I'll shoot!'

24. *šlōnkon ya ṣabāya ya šabāb?*

'How are you, young ladies and gentlemen?'

25. *hal-bərnāmež biwarži...kīf lāzem yətṣarrfu, kīf lāzem idīru šərkəthon, kīf lāzem iɛāmlu mwažžafīnhon w-iḥassnu ʔawḍāɛhon*

'This program shows...how they should act, how they should manage their companies, and how they should treat their employees and improve their conditions'

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 predications, so that many predications consist of a predicate alone: *bətrūḥ ɛal-bēt?* 'Are you going home?' (for *ʔante bətrūḥ ɛal-bēt?*), *rāḥ išūfak* 'He went to see you' (for e.g. *ʔaxūk rāḥ išūfak* 'Your brother went to see you').[1]

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.

---

[1] 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 syntactical complement. [But see p. 434].)

Traditional Arabic grammar makes a fundamental distinction between the construction of a verbal clause (*ǧumla fiɛliyya*) and that of a nominal clause (*ǧumla ʔismiyya*). The subject (*al-fāɛil* "the agent") of a verbal clause is treated in effect as another kind of complement, since it normally follows — or <u>may</u> 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-mubtada? wal-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 extrapositive topic, since it is antecedent to the subject "pronoun" in the verb.

Arabic predications are more diverse (both in constitu-
ency 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 Eng-
lish 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. *ʔabūk bəl-bēt wəlla barra?*
'Is your father in the house, or outside?' (On "free" prepositions, see p.485.)

2. *bēto ḥadd ʰs-sīnama*
'His house is next to the movie theater'

3. *l-ʰblād taḥt ʰl-ḥəkm ʰl-ɛərfi*
'The country is under martial law'

4. *sayyāra halla? barrāt ʔəmkānītna bəl-marra*
'A car just now is altogether beyond our means' (Indefinite subject.)

5. *ʔana bēn ʰl-ʔayādi* [DA-197]
'I'm at your service' (lit. "I'm between the hands")

6. *ḥkāyti maɛak mətl ʰḥkāyet malek ʰl-yūnān maɛ ʰl-hakīm rayyān* [AO-116]
'My experience (lit. 'my story') with you is like the story of the king of Greece with the doctor Rayyan'

7. *hal-ʰktāb tabaɛ ṣāḥbi*
'This book belongs to my friend' [p.489]

8. *ṭūl ɛəmra ʔaḷḷa fōʔ u-bēta taḥʰt*
'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. ɛanna dyūf 'We have
guests', lit. "With us (Fr. chez nous) are guests". See p.413. To translate

an English sentence with an indefinite subject such as 'A plate is on the
table' or 'On the table is a plate', the impersonal predicator *fī* 'there is'
[p.415] is used: *fī ṣaḥʰn ɛat-ṭāwle* or *ɛat-ṭāwle fī ṣaḥʰn* 'There is a plate
...', etc.
   Note, however: *taḥt ʔīdi wāḥde mā fī mənha* [DA-80A] 'I have one(f.)
that can't be beat' (lit. "Under my hand is one of which there are none").
The idiomatic sense of *taḥt ʔīdi* is similar to that of the quasi-verbal
ɛandi, maɛi, etc.; perhaps for that reason it is also assimilated to them
syntactically.
   Note also: *mən ʔalɛan ʰxṣālo t-taraddod* 'One of his worst qualities is
indecision', which has a prepositional predicate preceding a definite sub-
ject. In this case the phrase *mən ʔalɛan ʰxṣālo* ("of the worst of his quali-
ties") functions like a nominal phrase, and the sentence is similar to an
equational predication [p.405] (cf. *ʔalɛan ʰxṣālo, t-taraddod* 'His worst
quality is indecision'), in which the first term is interpreted as subject
and *t-taraddod,* as predicate.

On the predicative use of the prepositional-phrase sub-
stitutes *hōn* 'here', *hnīk* 'there', *wēn* 'where', etc., see
Ch. 21.

Adjectival Predicates:

9. *maṣrūfo ʔalīl*
'His expenses are slight'

10. *l-maɛkarōna xafīfe ɛal-məɛde*
'Macaroni is easy on the stomach'

11. *xzāntak matrūse tarʰs*
'Your wardrobe is chock full' (pass. participle with paronymous comple-ment [p.442])

12. *manẓar ʰl-baḥʰr ktīr ḥəlu* [PVA-20]
'The view of the sea is very beautiful'

13. *ʔəntu mabṣūṭīn?*
'Are you(pl.) well?'

14. *ḥāret ʰl-ʔəslām dayyʔa ktīr, lāken ʔanḍaf mən ḥāret ʰn-naṣāra* [Bg.I.1]
'The Muslim quarter is quite crowded but is cleaner than the Christian quarter'

15. *hēkal māmūt maɛrūḍ bəl-matḥaf*
'The skeleton of a mammoth is on ex-hibit in the museum' (Note that the Arabic subject is indefinite.)

Nominal Predicates:

16. *ʔaxū hallāʔ, ʔəsmo ḥasan*
'His brother is a barber; his name is Hassan' (*ḥasan* is definite; see p.405.)

17. *bēt ʰl-xūri ɛēle kbīre* [SAL-65]
'The Khourys are a large family'

18. *hāda maktūb mn ᵊš-šᵊrke* 'This is a letter from the company'

19. *mašrūᶜi ᵊstᵊxrāž ᵊzyūt nabātiyye* [DA-296] 'My plan is [for the] extraction of vegetable oils'

20. *d-doktōr xayyāṭ doktōr šāṭer* [DA-202] 'Dr. Khayat is a good doctor'

21. *žāmᵊᶜt Indiana žāmᶜa ktīr ḥᵊlu* 'Indiana University is a very pretty place' (lit. '...a very pretty university')

22. *d-dᵊnye ᶜažᵊ²a ktīr* [DA-301] 'It's very crowded (outside)' (lit. "The world is much a crowd")

23. *l-²ᵊslām fᵊl-balad ²ᵊsmēn, sᵊnniyye w-ᶜalawiyye* [PAT-179] 'The Muslims in the town are [in] two parts: Sunnis and Alawis'

24. *wᵊn-naṣāra šiyaᶜ ᵊktīre* [Bg.I.1] 'And the Christians are [of] many sects'

Examples 23 and 24 illustrate a use of nominal predicates that is unlike English; the predicate designates those things which the subject-referent is composed of or divided into.

Arabic lacks the distinction sometimes made in English between CLASSIFICATORY and DEFINITIONAL predications by changing the article of the subject: 'The eagle is a large bird' (classificatory) vs. 'An eagle is a large bird' (definitional). In Arabic the subject takes the article prefix in either case: *n-nᵊsᵊr ṭēr ᵊkbīr*. Similarly:

25. *l-²ᵊnsān ḥaywān nāṭeq.* 'Man is a rational animal'

26. *l-mūs sᵊkkīn ᵊbtᵊtsakkar* 'A jackknife is knife that can be closed'

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[1]:

27. *²abūhon ᶜādel / ᶜādel ²abūhon* 'Their father is Adel' / 'Adel is their father'

28. *ra²īs ᵊl-wazāra, ra²s ᵊl-ḥukūme l-ḥaqīqi / ra²s ᵊl-ḥukūme l-ḥaqīqi, ra²īs ᵊl-wazāra* '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 drawled, 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: *ra²īs ᵊl-wazāra huwwe ra²s ᵊl-ḥukūme l-ḥaqīqi* "The prime minister, he is...". See p.434.) Similarly:

29. *l-²āḍi, yᵊlli byᵊḥkom / yᵊlli byᵊḥkom, l-²āḍi* 'The judge is the one who makes the decision' / 'The one who makes the decision is the judge'

Or better: *l-²āḍi huwwe lli byᵊḥkom / yᵊlli byᵊḥkom, huwwe l-²āḍi.*

30. *dā²iman maᶜbūdak ᵊl-maṣrūf wᵊl-maṣāri* 'All you ever care about is expenses and money' (lit. "Always your idol is...")

---

[1] 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 pronominalization, 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 *abūhon ²aḥmad* is felt to be a statement about their father, *²aḥmad ²abūhon* 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 [494]):

31. *Ɛali ʔaḥsan laƐƐīb bəl-farīʔ /*   'Ali is the best player on the team'/
    ʔaḥsan laƐƐīb bəl-farīʔ, Ɛali   The best player on the team is Ali'

32. *š-šokolāṭa ʔaṭyab šī Ɛandi /*   'Chocolate is my favorite flavor'
    ʔaṭyab šī Ɛandi š-šokolāṭa   (lit. "Chocolate is the tastiest thing with me") / 'My favorite flavor is chocolate'

33. *ʔəbni tālet wāḥed bəṣ-ṣaff /*   'My son is the third one in the line'
    tālet wāḥed bəṣ-ṣaff, ʔəbni   / 'The third one in the line is my son'

Cardinal numerals, likewise, count as definite terms in arithmetical statements such as *tlāte w-sətte təsƐa* '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): *ʔəsmo ḥasan/ ḥasan ʔəsmo* 'His name is Hassan'/'Hassan is his name':

34. *ʔəsᵊm blādna ž-žamhūriyye*   'The name of our country is "The
    l-ləbnāniyye [SAL-152] /   Lebanese Republic"'/'"The Lebanese
    ž-žamhūriyye l-ləbnāniyye   Republic" is the name of our country'
    ʔəsᵊm blādna

There are some nominal predications in which both terms are definite, but which are nevertheless classificatory, not equational: *tnēnna wlād ᵊṣ-ṣaḥra* [SAL-138] 'We are both sons of the desert'. The predicate *wlād ᵊṣ-ṣaḥra* 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, *ḥasan ṣāḥbi* 'Hassan is my friend' does not necessarily mean that he is my only friend; therefore it is not always permutable to *ṣāḥbi 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]: *hāda ʔabūhon* 'That's their father', *huwwe r-raʔīs* 'He's the boss', *hāda huwwe* 'That's him' A pronominal predicate is rarely used with a definite nominal subject, however (as in *ʔabūhon, hāda* 'Their father is that one'); the two terms are therefore not generally interchangeable.

35. *hayy ʔəxti ẓ-ẓǧīre*   'That's my little sister'

36. *hadōl ᵊl-kətᵊb halli ṭalabton?*   'Are these the books you ordered?'

37. *huwwe raʔīs ᵊl-baladiyye*   'He's the mayor'

38. *hāda ʔabǧaḍ šī Ɛandi*   'That's what I dislike most of all'

39. *ʔana ʔawwal wāḥed wṣəlṭ*   'I was the first to arrive' (lit. "I am the first one that arrived")

40. *hādi tālet wazīfe ʔaxadha*   'This is the third job he's had'
    [EA-181]

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:

41. *ʔənti z-zalame w-ʔana l-Ɛarūs*   'You(f.) are the man and I'm your
    ʔəlek [AO-115]   bride' (as in a masquerade)

Verbal Predications

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: *šāfha rəžžāl* 'A man saw her'. If it is definite, it may generally either precede or follow: *r-rəžžāl šāfha / šāfha r-rəžžāl* 'The man saw her'. If the verb has complements (other than pronoun complements), a post-verbal subject ordinarily precedes them: *šāf ᵊr-rəžžāl ᵊl-bənt* 'The man saw the girl'.

Examples, indefinite subject following verb (subject underscored):

1. *nəzel zalame ǧarīb Ɛand wāḥed*   'A strange man came to stay with one
   mən ʔahāli ḍ-dēƐa [AO-108]   of the villagers'

2. *ʔəžāni ʔbūl mən žāməƐtēn*   'I was accepted by two universities' (lit. "Came to me acceptance from...")

3. *daxal fallāḥ mən dawāhi l-ʔəds*   'A peasant from the outskirts of
   bəl-Ɛaskariyye [AO-91]   Jerusalem joined the army'

4. *lā tənzel mən Ɛar-raṣīf,*   'Don't get off the sidewalk; a car
   btədƐasak sayyāra   will run over you'

[Ch. 16]

5. mā ṣafi ġēr bākētēn bəl-bēt   'There are not but two packs left in the house'

The subject commonly follows a complemental preposition with pronoun suffix:

6. mā rāḥ ɛalēk šī   'You haven't missed anything' (lit. "There has not gone by you a thing")

7. wəṣəlni mənha ʔəɛlām ʔmbāreḥ   'I got a note from her yesterday' (lit. "Reached me from her a note yesterday")

8. nša?? ʔl-ḥēt w-ṭəleɛ mənno ɛabd ʔaswad byəšbah ʔt-tōr [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. nṣarafu wlād ʔl-madrase   'The children have gotten out of school' (lit. "The school children have been let out")

10. bətġīb ʔš-šams ʔs-sāɛa xamse taʔrīban [AO-71]   'The sun sets at approximately five o'clock'

11. byəltd?a ġaraḍna bi-hal-maxzan [DA-252]   'What we need can be found in this store'

12. ḥamlət-li marti š-šarāb mətl ʔl-ɛāde [AO-118]   'My wife brought me the drink as usual'

13. labbaset ʔl-bənt təmsāl ʔl-ḥalāwe rōb ʔl-ɛrs [AO-114]   'The girl dressed the candy statue in the wedding gown'

14. waḷḷa byətrōḥan ʔalbi b-ḥakyo   'It certainly does my heart good to hear him talk' (lit. "By God my heart is revived by his talk")

15. mā ɛād ʔl-wāḥed yəsmaɛ ʔaxbār balado   'One no longer hears the news from his home town' (The subject precedes the complemental verb yəsmaɛ but follows the "linking" verb ɛād.)

Examples, definite subject preceding verb:

16. d-doktōr waddā dəġri ɛal-məstašfa [DA-202]   'The doctor took him directly to the hospital'

17. halla? sayyārt ʔš-šərke bətwaṣṣəlna [DA-251]   'The company car will take us there now'

18. bāba rāḥ iṣalli ṣalāt ʔl-ɛīd [DA-298]   'Daddy has gone to perform the holiday prayer'

19. bər-rabīɛ kəll ʔl-bəzʔr byəṭlaɛ mn ʔl-?arḍ [AO-59]   'In the spring all the seeds sprout from the ground'

20. l-fallāḥ byəḥṣədhon bəl-manžal b-?awwal ʔs-ṣēf [AO-59]   'The farmer harvests them with a scythe early in the summer'

21. ?ahli w-?ahlo byaɛʔrfu baɛḍon   'My family and his are acquainted with one another'

22. halla? ?abi bikūn ?āɛed la-ḥālo   '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. haš-šabb byəštġel   'That young man (really) works' (= haš-šabb šaġġīl 'That young man's a good worker')

24. šəġlo byətmallal   'His work is boring' (= šəġlo mməlle)

25. hal-manẓar mā byəntdsa   'That sight is unforgetable'

26. r-rəžžāl byaɛʔšbak [EA-158]   'You'd like the man' (i.e. 'The man is likeable', lit. "The man would please you")

27. waḷḷāh sayyədna byəswa tə?lo [AO-118]   'Our master is certainly a good man' (lit. "By God, our master is worth his weight")

28. l-walad byəšbah ?abū   'The boy resembles his father'

29. ɛala kəll ḥāl ʔz-zāyde mā bəthəmm [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 pronominalized complements, as in ex. 8 above, but if there are non-pronominal complements, the subject normally comes before the verb:

30. ḥayyaḷḷa rādyo mōže ?aṣīre bižīb ʔl-qāhira bi-kəll ʔshūle   'Any short wave radio can get Cairo quite easily'

31. w-lā dawa mn ʔl-?ədʔwye halli wasafū-lo yā l-həkama mā naḥḥaf ʔl-malek [AO-95]   'None of the medicines that the doctors prescribed for him reduced the king['s weight]'

32. ƐĪd l-ʾkbīr ʾaw Ɛīd ʾl-ʾaḍḥa
    byūʾaƐ bi-Ɛašara zəl-ḥəžže
    [DA-302]

'Greater Bairam or the Feast of Im-
molation falls on the tenth of Dhu'l
Hijjah'

This constraint is not a hard and fast rule. In narra-
tive style, particularly, there are exceptions as in example
3, above.

A subject phrase consisting of only two words often counts
as a "long subject phrase", particularly if the complement
consists of a single word:

33. lazʾa bārde bətxaffef ʾl-wažaƐ

'A cold compress will reduce the pain'

34. wəl-yōm ǧrūf saƐīde žamƐətna
    sawa [SAL-60]

'And today happy circumstances have
brought us together'

An indefinite subject may also be put first for emphasis:

35. žamƐ ʾkbīr ʾštamaƐ bəs-sāḥa

'A large crowd gathered in the plaza'

36. b-hadāk ʾl-waʾt šī ʾalīl kān
    maƐrūf Ɛan bawāƐso l-ḥaʾīʾiyye

'At that time very little was known
about his real motives'

37. təmbor bikaffi la-naʾlet ʾǧrāḍak

'A cart will suffice for moving your
things'

38. mīt səne maḍet w-mā ḥada
    nažžāni [AO-116]

'A thousand years passed and no one
let me out' (Note also that ḥada
ordinarily precedes the verb.)

39. kān ʾb-balad ʾəxtēn, l-wāḥde
    Ɛāʾle wət-tānye mƐažžze; šabbēn
    rādu yətžawwazūhon [AO-111]

'There were in a certain town two sis-
ters, one well-behaved and the other
intolerable; two young men wanted to
marry them'[1]

---

[1] In example 39 considerations of narrative style determine the placement
of the subjects; šabbēn 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
ʾəxtēn follows the complement b-balad (a characteristically narrative con-
struction, 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-wāḥde Ɛāʾle wət-tānye mƐažžze is
actually a separate sentence, but its referential dependence on the ante-
cedent ʾəxtēn gives it much the force of an attributive clause.

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 baƐʾd ma 'after', etc.),
ʾiza, law, ʾən 'if', and to a lesser extent lamma, waʾt, etc. 'when', and
ḥatta, etc. 'until, in order that'. As a conjunction, the particle la- 'in
order that, until' can only be followed by a verb:

40. kīf bəddi ʾaƐmel la-yəǧfor
    ʾaḷḷa xaṭiyyāti? [AO-99]

'What should I do in order that God
will forgive my sins?'

41. bəddak təstaƐžel ʾabʾl ma
    ytənn ʾž-žaraṣ

'You'd better hurry before the bell
rings'

42. t-ṭabīx lāzem yəstəwi mətʾl ma
    dfīt ʾana lamma kənt bəǧ-ǧaḷṭ
    Ɛala rās ʾž-žabal [AO-88]

'The food must get done the same way
I got warm when I was naked on top
of the mountain'

43. nṭəẓer lamma byəržaƐ ʾabūha
    mn ʾl-ḥažž [AO-114]

'Wait till (when) her father returns
from the Pilgrimage'

44. w-lamma žāb ʾl-xādem hal-ʾǧrād,
    ṭabxəthon ʾl-bənt ʾb-ḥalle
    kbīre [AO-114]

'And when the servant brought those
things, the girl cooked them in a
large pot'

45. ḍall mədde ṭawīle w-mā sāfar,
    ḥatta tḍāyaʾ l-ʾmƐazzem mənno
    [AO-108]

'He stayed a long time and didn't
leave, until the host got fed up
with him'

46. mā rəḍyet taƐmel ʾl-Ɛərs ʾəlla
    ʾiza ḥəḍru lēlātha ʾarbƐīn bənt
    [AO-113]

'She wouldn't agree to go through
with the wedding unless forty girls
would attend that night'

47. w-halla ʾbətšūf ʾaddēš byəfraḥu
    waʾt ʾbyəži l-laḥḥām [DA-299]

'And now you'll see how happy they
are when the butcher comes'

The subject of an attributive clause [p. 495] also gen-
erally comes after the verb (except for anaphoric pronouns
[p. 497]):

48. Ɛaṭəto ləl-mara halli baƐatha
    Ɛali z-zēbaʾ [AO-114]

'She gave it to the woman Ali Quick-
silver had sent'

Examples of pre-verbal subject after lamma, ḥatta, and
ma:

49. lamma lūṭ ʾaxṭa, rāḥ laƐənd
    Ɛammo brāhīm [AO-88]

'When Lot sinned, he went to his
uncle Abraham'

50. w-naṭar ḥatta l-ʾaḍiyye ntaset
    [AO-88]

'And he waited until the matter was
forgotten'

51. baƐʾd ma l-kəll ʾtƐaššu, ʾaƐlan
    ʾṣ-səlṭān ʾəbtidāʾ l-ʾmžādale
    [EA-249]

'After everyone had eaten, the sultan
announced the beginning of the debate'

After the complemental conjunction ʔənno [p. 449], the subject usually precedes the verb:

52. drīt ʔənno ʔaxi māt bəž-žihād
[AO-118]

'I've learned that my brother died in the holy war'

53. w-ᵊftakar ʔənno d-dēf
b-haṭ-ṭarīʔa yəmken yəfham
w-isāfer [AO-108]

'And he thought that in this way the guest might get the point and leave'

Quasi-Verbal Predications

The noun stem bədd– is used with pronoun suffixes to form a verb-like predicator meaning 'to want, require, intend, be going to':

bəddo   'he wants, etc.'   bədd(h)a   'she wants, etc.'

bəddak 'you(m.)want, etc.'   bədd(h)on 'they want, etc.'

bəddek 'you(f.)want, etc.'   bəddkon   'you(pl.)want, etc.'

bəddi   'I want, etc.'   bəddna   'we want, etc.'

The pronoun suffixes function as subject-affixes, agreeing with the subject (if any), which usually comes first: l-walad bəddo ʔalam 'The boy wants a pencil'. The complement may be either nominal (as ʔalam, above) or verbal: bəddo yrūḥ 'He wants to go'. The verbal complement may be suppressed: mā bəddo 'He doesn't want to'; the nominal complement may be pronominalized on the stem yā–: mā bəddo yāha 'He doesn't want it(f.)'.

bəddo, 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: bəddi hiyye 'I want it(f.)' [Bart. 31], mā baʔa bədd 'There's no more need (for it)' [ibid.]. If bəddo is construed as a noun, then bəddo ʔalam is a nominal predication meaning literally 'His requirement is a pencil', and l-walad bəddo ʔalam has to be interpreted as an extraposition [431] "The boy, his requirement is a pencil". These interpretations do not apply, however, insofar as pronominalizations are in the complemental form: bəddo yā 'He wants it' rather than the subject (or predicate) form: bəddo huwwe.

Examples of the use of bəddo:

1. bəddi ʔəržaᴇ ləš-šām

'I want (or intend) to go back to Damascus'

2. ʔaxi l-ᵊkbīr bəddo yətžauwaz
[AO-55]

'My older brother wants (or is going to) get married'

3. zalamtēn bəddhon ᴇal-ʔaʔalli žəmᴇa la-yəhᵊṣdu haʔlet hal-ʔamᵊḥ

'Two men (would) need at least two weeks to harvest that wheatfield'

4. mā bəddak yāhon?

'Don't you want them?'

5. ʔēmta ma bəddi, bāxod sayyāra w-ᵊbṣīr bəš-šām

'Whenever I want, I'll take a car and I'll be in Damascus'

6. bəddna la-nəṣal šī nəṣṣ sāᴇa

'It'll take us about half an hour to get there' (lit. "We'll require...")

7. bəddha xams ᵊsnīn, bass xams ᵊsnīn madrasiyye

'It takes five years, but that's five school years' (Feminine impersonal predication [p. 428])

8. kənt bəddi ʔaʔrā-li šwayye

'I wanted to read a little'

Note that the linking verb [p. 452] in ex. 8 is inflected in agreement with bəddi (as with a verbal subjective complement [448]). This usage is optional, however; the linking verb before bəddo may also remain uninflected: kān bəddi ʔaʔrā-li šwayye, lit. "It was my intention to read a little"; in this respect, at least, bəddo may be construed as a noun.

9. mā bəddha l-masʔale maṭāᴇem, mnākol ᴇanna bəl-bēt [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: mā bəddha l-masʔale...

10. šū bəddkon yāni ʔaᴇmel?

'What do you(pl.)want me to do?'

The prepositions ᴇand, maᴇ, and la– (ʔəl–) [p. 476ff] are used with pronoun suffixes to form verb-like predicators meaning approximately 'to have': ᴇando ᴇēle 'He has a family' (lit. "With him [Fr. chez lui] is a family"); maᴇak maṣāri? 'Have you any money?' (lit. "Is there with you money?"); ʔəla ᴇyūn ḥəlwe ktīr 'She has beautiful eyes' (lit. "There are to her, beautiful eyes").

These prepositional predicators are less thoroughly verb-like than bəddo 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 yā– (like an object [438]): maᴇi 'I have it' or 'I have some', etc. In the case of ᴇando, however, the following term may either be suppressed or pronominalized: ᴇandi 'I have some, I have it', or ᴇandi yā '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-ʔəmmi ʔəxwe ktīre [AO-43] 'My mother has many brothers and sisters' (lit. "To my

mother there are many..."). The verb-like construction is ʔəmmi ʔəla ʔəxwe ktīre, in which the pronoun suffix of ʔəla is like a verbal subject-affix, agreeing with the subject ʔəmmi.

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 <u>follows</u> the prepositional predicator, 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 predicates [p. 384 ff].

Examples:

11. maɛi nəmret talifōno w-ɛənwāno

'I have his telephone number and address'

12. šu ʔəlak marāʔ bəš-šəɛər

'You must have a mania for poetry'

13. ɛādatan bikūn ɛandhon tlətt əfṣūle

'They usually have three terms' (in an academic year)

14. kān ɛanna ḍyūf

'We had guests'

Examples 13 and 14 illustrates another non-verb-like feature of the prepositional predicators: the linking verb [p. 452] remains uninflected for number/gender when complemented by ɛando, maɛo, etc., whereas with verbs (and optionally with bəddo) it is inflected to agree with the complement: kənna nzūr 'we used to visit', kənna bəddna (or kān bəddna) 'we wanted', but kān ɛanna 'we had' (<u>not</u> "kənna ɛanna").

15. mā ʔəlkon haʔʔ

'You're wrong' (lit. "There is not to you right")

16. ṣəhrak ɛando ržāl əl-yōm, mā byaʔder yəži

'Your son-in-law has some men [visiting him] today, he can't come'

17. bass lā tənsa ʔənno ɛandkon əl-baḥər [DA-151]

'But don't forget that you(pl.) have the sea'

18. maɛak əkmālet ɛašər lērāt? — maɛi, tfaḍḍal [DA-46]

'Have you change for ten pounds? — Yes, I have; here you are'

19. ṭ-ṭāwle ʔəla ʔarbaɛ rəžlēn

'The table has four legs'

20. žəddi kan-lo tlətt əbyūt

'My grandfather had three houses'

Note, in example 20, that ʔəlo generally takes the form of a suffix when complementing a linking verb. [p. 482.] Similarly: ʔəli žəmɛa mā šəftak 'I haven't seen you for a week' (i.e. I've had a week of not seeing you), or ṣar-li žəmɛa mā šəftak '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]: š-šawāreɛ mā-lon ʔarəṣfe 'The streets have no sidewalks'.

Three more prepositional quasi-verbs are ɛalē 'to have to, to have as a responsibility or a debt'; fī 'to be able to' or, in impersonal predications [p. 365], 'there is, there are'; and bo 'to be the matter with' (used only with šū or šə- 'what' and mā-...šī 'nothing'):

21. šu ɛalēk šəğəl əl-yōm? [DA-173]

'Do you have work to do today?'

22. ʔana kamān ɛaliyyi məšwār la-hnīk [DA-248]

'I have to go there too' (lit. "I also, there is on me an errand to there")

Note also the set phrase maɛlēš or maɛlē-ši 'never mind, that's all right' (→ mā ɛalē-š[ī] "There's nothing on it"); mā ɛalēk 'never mind, it's not your responsibility'.

23. šə́-bo? — mā-bo šī

'What's the matter with him (or it)? — Nothing'

24. mā fīhon yaɛəmlū-lo šī

'They can't do a thing for him'

25. fīni sāɛdak əb-kamm lēra?

'Can I help you with a few pounds?'

26. hayaḷḷa wāḥed fī yəfham haʔīʔet haš-šaxṣ

'Anybody can see through that fellow' (lit. "...can understand the truth of that person")

27. š-šahāde fīk tāxədha b-sane w-nəṣṣ

'You can get the degree in a year and a half'

Examples of the impersonal fī 'there is, there are':

28. fī wāḥed xalaṣ w-wāḥed ɛam-yədros

'There's one who's finished and one studying'

29. l-yōm mā fī šī mən hād l-ḥamdəlla

'Today there's none of that, thank God'

30. mā baɛtə́ʔed fī waʔʔt ləl-ḥadse yəlli baɛrəfa

'I don't think there's time for [me to recount] the incident I know of'

31. kīf mərrūḥ ɛal-ʔaṣṣāɛ? — fī l-bāṣ wət-trāmwāy wət-taksi [DA-45]

'How shall we go to Qassaa? — There's the bus, the streetcar, and taxis'

32. *kān fī žamāɛa ktār ᵊhnīk*   'There were a lot of people there'

33. *mā fī fīha ᵓᵊrne la-maḥrame*   '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 impersonal predicator *fī* and a supplemental phrase *fīha* 'in it (f.)'. In such cases the impersonal *fī* is often elided, thus: *mā fīha ᵓᵊrne la-maḥrame*. (See also p. 384, ex. 26.)

fī is often complemented by *ɛando, maɛo, ᵓᵊlo,* etc.:

34. *fī ᵓᵊlo muɛžabīn ᵊktīr w-fī ᵓᵊlo nās nāqidīn ᵊktīr*   'He has a lot of admirers and he has a lot of critics' (lit. "There are to him...")

35. *naḥna maɛlūmak halla? fī ɛanna taṣnīɛ baᵊ-šām*   'We of 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. *bakra l-žamɛa, šaġᵊl mā fī* [DA-199]   'Tomorrow's Friday; no work!'

37. *ᵓaḥla man hēk mā fī* [DA-150]   'There's nothing 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 predicators:

38. *šū fī ḥalu? — l-yōm mā fī*   'What is there for dessert? — There isn't any today'

The construction with question-word and complement as in *šū fī ḥalu* 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. *ṭāleɛ hawa barra* [DA-199]   'A wind is coming up outside'

2. *žāye maɛhon ᵊṣ-ṣᵊhr ᵊž-ždīd*   'The new son-in-law is coming with them'

3. *ᵓāyᵊl-li ɛaᵓli ᵓᵊtfarraž ɛala ḥalab* [DA-248]   'I'd like to take a look around Aleppo' (lit. "My mind has told me to...")

4. *mɛauwad yāmo kᵊll yōm mā ɛando dars byᵊžī byᵊɛɛod ɛandi*   'Sonny[1] 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 *ᵓᵊnno* (more rarely *halli,* etc.), or a paratactic verbal clause. Subject clauses virtually always follow the predicate, and are often also susceptible to analysis as complemental clauses. Some examples are given here, others on p. 451.

1. *xᵊṭṭet l-ᵊhkūme ᵓᵊnnha tᵓayyed ᵊl-ᵓᵊḍāya l-ɛarabiyye* [EA-232]   'The government's plan is to support the Arab cause(s)'

2. *maš maɛᵓūl ᵓansākon* [EA-264]   'It's inconceivable that I should forget you' (lit. "It's not reasonable that...")

3. *yalli ɛam-bᵊḥki ᵓᵊnno tᵊ ži tāxod doktōra bᵊl-handase*   'What I'm saying is that you should come and take your doctorate in engineering'

4. *labake ᵓᵊnno rūḥ ᵊxṣūṣi*   'It's a bother for me to go personally'

---

[1] The word *yāmo* — like *bāba* '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 *(ɛamme)* 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...'), '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: *rāḥ išūfak* 'He went to see you', *bəddo yšūfak* 'He wants to see you', *ɛando 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. *ɛali, tarak waẓīfto fi dāʔərt ʔs-ṣəḥḥa; w-halla, kāteb ʔẓġīr fi ʔotēl ʔš-šarq. – bass, mabṣūṭ ʔb-šəġlo?* [EA-168]

'Ali left his job in the Department of Health; and now, he's a petty clerk in the Orient hotel. – But does he like his work?' (lit. "... pleased with...")

2. *ʔaxdet ʔl-bakalōrya mū hēk? – laʔ, bass brōvē, bass ḥəlwe w-manṭaʔha səles*

'She's gotten her batchelor's [degree], hasn't she? – No, just her [teacher's] certificate, but she's pretty and articulate'

3. *l-ḥāṣel ʔāxed waẓīfe žəddan ʔmnīḥa.*

'The fact is, he's gotten a very good job'

4. *ɛiṣām bēk žāye maɛhon, waḷḷa xaṭwe ɛazīze*

'Issam Bey is coming with them?! Well, that's a notable step!' (i.e. up the social ladder)

5. *šu lāʔi ḥāmel žarīde l-yōm*

'Well, I see you have a newspaper with you today' (lit. "[I] have found [you] carrying...") Both the main predicate *lāʔi* and the complemental predicate *ḥāmel*... are without subjects.

6. *kān ɛanna ḍyūf. – mn ʔž-žəns ʔn-nāɛem ḥatman. – lā waḷḷa, ʔrāybīnna*

'We had guests. – Of the fair sex, no doubt. – No indeed, they were relatives of ours'

In ex. 6 the phrase *mn ʔž-žəns ʔn-nāɛem* might perhaps be analyzed as a prepositional predicate with no subject: 'They were of the fair sex...'; Here we count it merely as an "incomplete" predication, supplemental to *ḍyūf* in the preceding sentence (cf. the English translation).

In general, prepositional predicates without subjects are uncommon except in response to questions or the like: *wēn ḥasan?* 'Where is Hassan?' – *bəl-bēt* 'In the house'

A predication with its subject suppressed is not to be confused with intrinsically subjectless or "impersonal" predications. See pp. 237, 365, 415.

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 a definite subject may be placed after the whole predicate, with the main sentence accent remaining on the predicate: *šáṭer hal-walad* 'That boy is smart', *raḥ-tākol ʔátle ʔante* 'You're going to get a beating', *bal-bét ʔabūk?* '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, less on the subject. 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. *waḷḷa zakíyye hal-bənt*   'That girl is certainly intelligent'

2. *mű ḥəlu hal-ḥaki*   'That [kind of] talk isn't nice'

3. *ẓarīf ʔktír nabīl*   'Nabil is a lot of fun'

4. *šu mā́ btətzakkar šī ʔante?*   'Can't you remember anything?'

5. *btaɛref byə́nsa l-wāḥed*   'One forgets, you know'

6. *hallaʔ laḥa-daʔʔ talefōn man hṓn ʔana*   'Now I'm going to make a phone call from here'

7. *kān kātəb-li ɛanwāno hōn b-wáš'nṭon huwwe*   'He'd written me his address here in Washington'

8. *tā́za xəd'rtak ʔl-yōm?* [DA-105]   'Are your vegetables fresh today?'

9. *bəl-kabīn tábaɛo huwwe, walla ɛaḍ-ḍah'r?*   'Is he in his cabin, or on deck?'

10. *hṓn bēt ʔs-sayyed salāme?* [EA-243]   'Is this Mr. Salameh's house?'

11. *mátlak ʔḥkāyti*   'It's the same with me as with you' (lit. "Like you, my story is")

12. *b-xamsīn ʔə́rš dazzīnt ʔl-bēḍ*   'A dozen eggs [sells] for fifty piastres'

13. *ṣáɛb ʔš-šəġ'l maɛ nās ġəš'm*   'Working with inexperienced people is difficult'

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-ᵊktāb ġāli	'This book is expensive'
wəṣel ᵊktābi?	'Has my book arrived?'
l-walad žūɛān	'The child is hungry'

(2) A feminine singular subject requires a feminine predicate:

hal-bərnēṭa ġālye	'This hat is expensive'
wəṣlet bərnēṭṭi?	'Has my hat arrived?'
l-bənt žūɛāne	'The girl is hungry'

(3) A dual subject requires a plural predicate:

hal-bərnēṭṭēn ġālyīn	'Both these hats are expensive'
wəṣlu l-ᵊktābēn tabaɛi?	'Have my two books arrived?'
l-bəntēn žūɛānīn	'Both girls are hungry'

(4) A w- coordination of singulars requires a plural predicate [See p. 502]:

l-ᵊktāb wəl-bərnēṭa ġālyīn	'The book and the hat are expensive'
wəṣlu ṣ-ṣabi wəl-bənt?	'Have the boy and the girl arrived?'

(5) A plural pronoun subject requires a plural predicate:

hadōl ġālyīn	'These are expensive'
wəṣlu hənne?	'Have they arrived?'

(6) Most animate[1] plural subjects require a plural predicate:

l-ᵊwlād žūɛānīn	'The children are hungry'
wəṣlu l-banāt?	'Have the girls arrived?'

---

[1] The 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:

wəṣlu kətbak?	'Have your books arrived?'
or	
wəṣlet kətbak?	
hal-baranīṭ ġāylīn	'These hats are expensive'
l-baranīṭ ġālye	'Hats are expensive'

(8) A clausal subject requires a masculine predicate:

byəẓhar ʔənnha ġālye	'It seems that it's expensive'
mnīḥ halli wəṣlu	'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: ɛmūmi dakātra 'My uncles are doctors'; ʔəxta, mart ṣāḥbi '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, ʔaxūha mart ṣāḥbi 'Her brother is my friend's wife' is not ungrammatical, only "unnatural". Note also: maɛbūdak ᵊl-maṣāri 'Your idol (m.) is money (pl.)'; hayy modēl ᵊždīd 'This one (f.) is a new model (m.)', where hayy substitutes for e.g. has-sayyāra 'this car', as contrasted with hāda modēl ᵊždīd '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: wəṣel banāt (or wəṣlu banāt) 'Some girls arrived', wəṣel bənt (or wəṣlet bənt) 'A girl arrived'. Examples:

1. maḍa taʔrīban sane — 'Almost a year has passed'

2. bukra bižīni šatlāt ᵊmlāḥ [SAL-197] — 'Tomorrow I'll have some good plants' (lit. "...will come to me good plants")

3. *kān ᵊb-balad ᵊaxtēn* [AO-111]

'There were in a [certain] town two sisters'

4. *lēlt ᵊmbārḥa ᵊažāna zuwwār*

'Last night we had visitors' (lit. "...came to us...")

5. *txarraž fīha ᵊaṭᵊbba w-ᵊavokātiyye w-ᵊmhadsīn* [PIPL-XIX]

'Doctors and lawyers and engineers have graduated there'

6. *mᵊn zamān kān yᵊži nās ᵊktīr la-hal-maṭɛam* [DA-238]

'A long time ago lots of people used to come to that restaurant'

7. *mā ṣᵊfi ġēr ɛašᵊr daᵓāye?*

'There's only ten minutes left'

8. *lā ykᵊl-lak fᵊkre*

'Don't give it a thought' (lit. "Let there not be to you a thought")

Participles with a following subject may be uninflected in the same way as verbs:

9. *bāᵓī-lna mašye ṭawīle ᵓᵊddāmna*

'We have a long walk ahead of us' (lit. "There remains for us...")

10. *ṣafyān tlᵊtt ᵊšhor la-ḥzērān*

'There are three months to go before June' (lit. "Are left three months...")

11. *žāyīni ḥawāle mᵊn ᵓafrīqya l-žunūbiyye* [DA-245]

'I've received a money order from South Africa' (lit. "Has come to me...")

12. *mabɛᵊt-lak makatīb*

'Some letters have been sent to you'

13. *mawžūd ᵊhnīk ᵊwlād ɛarab ᵊktīr* [DA-237]

'There are many Arabs [to be] found there'

14. *ṭālᵊɛ-lo ḥarāra b-kᵊll žᵊsmo*

'He has a rash all over his body' (lit. "Has broken out for him...")

Less commonly, a verb fails to agree with a following <u>definite</u> subject, when something intervenes between the verb and its subject, or when the subject is a coordination:

15. *ᵓassar ɛalēhon ᵊl-mursalīn ᵊl-ᵓamērkān* [PIPL-XVII]

'The American missionaries have influenced them'

16. *kān ᵊb-ṣaḥᵊbto kibār ḍᵊbbāṭ ᵊž-žēš*

'He was accompanied by the top army brass' (lit. "Were in his company...")

17. *bikūn ᵊhnīk hēᵓet ᵊl-wazāra wal-ᵊmwaẓẓafīn wal-ᵓakāber* [DA-300]

'The cabinet ministers and officials and big shots will be there'

18. *ɛᵊl-ᵊkrūm byᵊltᵊᵓa l-wāwi wᵊt-taɛlab wᵊḍ-ḍabᵊɛ* [PIPL-XIV]

'In the vineyards are found the jackal, the fox, and the hyena'

A subject phrase formed with *ᵓalla* or *ġēr* 'except, but' does not affect the preceding verb even though the phrase is definite:

19. *mā bihᵊmnha ġēr ᵊl-ᵓašyāᵓ ᵊl-māddiyye*

'Nothing interests her but material things'

20. *mū hāmᵊ́ma ᵓalla rāḥᵊ́ta*

'She's only concerned with her own comfort'

21. *rᵊḥt ᵓana w-ᵓabi la-nzūrkon* [DA-238]

'My father and I went to see you' (The verb *rᵊḥt* 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. *l-ᵊmġāmarāt kᵊlla <u>bᵊṭlet</u> maɛi mᵊn zamān*

'All adventures ceased with me quite a while ago'

2. *ɛala ḥasab ma ɛam-tᵊḥki ž-žarāyed fī ᵓazme wazāriyye*

'According to what the papers are saying, there's a cabinet crisis'

3. *mā <u>ɛādt</u> maɛi maṣāri*

'I have no more money' (lit. "Does not continue with me money". The form *ɛādt* is a syncopation of *ɛādet*.) Note that *maṣāri* is construed here as a full-fledged subject, not as a complement of *maɛi* [p.413].

4. *waᵓᵓt mᵊrrūḥ la-ɛandon ṭūl ᵊs-sahra mā <u>btᵊxloṣ</u> ᵓaḥadīsa l-ḥᵊlwe*

'When we go to their house, there's no end all evening to her charming conversation(s)' (*ᵓaḥadīs*, pl. of *ḥadīs*)

5. *hēk <u>bᵊtṣīr</u> maɛlūmātkon ᵓawsaɛ* [PVA-42]

'Thus your knowledge will become broader' (*maɛlūmāt* 'knowledge, information', plural only [p.368])

6. *hal-ᵊmġallafāt halli žᵊbthon <u>ᵊkbīre</u>* [DA-238]

'These envelopes you brought are too large'

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 *kbār* as well as *kbīre*. Sometimes, however, the difference in agreement can show whether a subject with the article prefix is meant generally or specifically: *l-kətᵃb mā bəthəmmo* 'Books don't interest him' vs. *l-kətᵃb mā bihəmmū* 'The books don't interest him'. If the sentence begins with *hal-kətᵃb* '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-krafatāt bəl-wāžha laftet*   'The neckties in the display window
   (or *lafatu*) *naẓari*   caught my eye' (lit. "turned my
                                       glance")

8. *snāni Ɛam-ᵃṭṭaᵓṭeᵓ* (or *Ɛam-*   'My teeth are chattering'
   iṭaᵓᵃṭᵓu)

   Note that plural animal designations commonly take feminine agreement:

9. *bəž-žabal bətƐīš ᵃd-dyāb*   'In the mountains live wolves'

10. *n-nsūra kānet ḥāyme fōᵓ*   'The vultures were soaring above in
    bəs-sama   the sky'

A number of collective or plural human designations may be used with feminine verbal predicates. These include *nās* and *ᵓahᵃl* 'people, folks', and plurals ending in *-e/-a* [pp. 213, 229]:

11. *rāḥet ᵃn-nās ᵓabᵃl nəṣṣ ᵃl-lēl*   'The people left before midnight'
    [DA-238]

12. *ya tara n-nās šū raḥa-tᵓūl?*   'I wonder what people will say?'

13. *kəll ᵃn-nās Ɛənda xabar*   'All the people know about it' (lit.
    [SPA-308]   "...have news")

14. *ᵓahl ᵃd-dēƐa bətᵓūl ᵓənnon*   'The villagers say that they are not
    mū mədžawwzīn   married'

15. *Ɛala nafxet ᵃl-bōraẓān,*   'At the sound of the horn, the workers
    š-šaggīle tfarṭaƐet bi-kəll   scattered in all directions'
    ᵃž-žihāt

16. *lāken bəddi nafs ᵃl-ᵓasātze*   'But I'll expect the same professors
    tƐalləmni   to teach me'

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. *ᵓawāƐīha kānu mlaḥwašīn hawāli*   'Her clothes were strewn all over
   l-maḥall kəllo   the place'

2. *kəll hal-makatīb wəṣlu sawa*   '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. *wrāᵓo maẓbūṭīn*   'His papers are correct'

4. *s-safāyen ᵃltammu?*   'Have the notebooks been collected?'

5. *hal-ᵓalwān mā bināsbu baƐḍon*   'These colors don't go together'
                                       (lit. "...don't suit each other")

   In ex. 5 the reciprocity that is made explicit by the object *baƐḍon* requires that the colors be thought of individually. The same situation, however, could be referred to with a reciprocative verb in the feminine: *hal-ᵓalwān mā btətnāsab* [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 *-īn*:

6. *hal-kūsāyāt mū mnāḥ ᵃktīr*   'These squashes are not very good'

7. *t-təffāḥāt Ɛam-yəbdu yəntəzƐu*   'The apples are beginning to go bad'

   Cf. *l-fawāki Ɛam-təbda təntəzeƐ* 'The fruit is beginning to go bad' (*fawāki* is a mass noun plural: sg. *fākye*.); *t-təffāḥ Ɛam-yəbda yəntəzeƐ* '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-dərrāᵓnāt māwiyye* or   'These peaches are juicy'
   had-dərrāᵓnāt māwiyyāt

Many singular nouns designating (or sometimes designating) groups of
people are commonly used with plural verbal (and participial) predicates.
These nouns include, again, *ʔahəl* 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. *š-šərta fattašu l-balad mən*   'The police searched the town from
   ʔauwdla la-ʔāxə́ra   one end to the other'

10. *fī Ɛālam ʔktīr Ɛam-yəstannūk*   'There's a large crowd awaiting you'
                                         (*Ɛālam* 'world', Fr. 'monde')

11. *bēt ʔəxtak bəddhon yəžu*   'Your sister and her family are com-
    yəsharu Ɛanna   ing to spend the evening with us'
                                         (lit. "The house of your sister...")

12. *fī nās Ɛam-imūtu žūƐ*   'There are people dying of hunger'

13. *ʔahl ʔl-balad šāfū Ɛālem*   'The people of the town took him for
    [AO-83]   a learned man' (lit. "... saw him ə...")

14. *l-ġawġāʔ kānu raha-yəšʔnʔū*   'The mob was about to lynch him'

15. *l-kəll byaƐʔrfu ʔənno ġaššāš*   'Everyone knows he's a swindler'

These words may also be used with singular agreement,
however. For example:

16. *l-kəll ʔaddar ʔaƐmālo*   'Everyone appreciated his work'
                                         (cf. ex. 15)

17. *š-šərṭa Ɛam-ʔddawwer Ɛalē*   'The police are looking for him'
                                         (cf. ex. 9)

Note also the singular agreement in the following:

18. *žēš mā byākə́lon hadōl*   'An army wouldn't eat all these!'

19. *Ɛēlto sākne ʔarīb la-bētna*   '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: *bənt ṣāḥbi ḥəlwe* 'My friend's daughter is pretty
(f.)'; in the case of partitive constructs and certain others, however, the
following term determines agreement: *kəll ʔl-banāt ḥəlwīn* 'All the girls
are pretty'. See p. 466 ff.

In some cases a prepositional supplement (in periphrasis of annexion
[p. 460]) determines agreement rather than the supplemented term: *byəʔrūha
Ɛadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn* 'A large number of intellectuals read it'.
Though *Ɛadad* (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: *ʔakl ʔl-būẓa mā
bəddərr* 'Eating ice cream does no harm' (cf. *ʔakl ʔl-laḥʔm mā biḍərr* 'Eating
meat does no harm'). A coordination as following term does not produce plu-
ral agreement, however, but the verb may be masculine or feminine depending
on the gender of the last term: *kətret ʔl-laff wəd-dawarān biḍayyeƐ ʔl-wāḥed*
'So much turning and circling gets one lost'.

In the case of numeral constructs [471], the agreement of a verbal predi-
cate may be plural or feminine, depending to some extent on the same con-
siderations as in the case of nouns without numerals: *tlətt ʔržāl ʔəžu
ʔāmūha* 'Three men came and took it away' (plural) but *tlətt waʔƐāt bəl-yōm
mā bətkaffi* 'Three meals a day are not enough' (feminine). In the latter
sentence *waʔƐāt* is of course inanimate, and the phrase *tlətt waʔƐāt bəl-yōm*
'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: *ʔarbaƐ līrāt byəkfi* [SAL-39] 'Four
pounds will suffice'.

Number/Gender with Subject Suppressed

When there is no subject expressed [p. 418], the number/gender of a ver-
bal 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-nsūra kānet ḥāyme fōʔ bəs-sama* '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: *kānu ḥāymīn...* . (Usually, however, a subject ref-
erent 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 singu-
lars used in a collective sense; if the subject is dropped from e.g. *žēš mā*

byākə́la 'An army couldn't eat it', the verb would probably have to be made plural to preserve the sense: *mā byāklūha* '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, *ħəlwe, mū ħĕk?* '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: *ħəlu, mū ħĕk?* (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-dənye* 'the world' suppressed: *bəṣ-ṣēf bətƐattem mətʔaxxra* 'In summer is gets dark late', i.e. ...*d-dənye bətƐattem...; Ɛàm-ᵊtšatti* 'It's raining', i.e. *d-dənye Ɛam-ᵊtšatti.*

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 btəfreʔ maƐi ʔənni rūħ wāħdi*   'I don't mind going alone' (lit. "It(f.) does not differ with me that...")

2. *mū məħᵊrze tkasser rāsak b-hal-mawḍūƐ*   'It's not worth while for you to knock your brains out over this matter'

3. *rāyeħ maƐna? — btətwaʔʔaf*   'Are you going with us? — It all depends'

4. *bəddha xams ᵊsnīn*   'It takes five years'

5. *hallaʔ zādet šwayye Ɛan ħadda*   'Now [matters] have gone a bit too far'

6. *mā kānet laṭīfe mənno ʔabadan*   'That wasn't very nice of him'

Uninflected Adjectives

There are a numer of adjectives which show no agreement, for example *Ɛāl* 'fine, excellent', *ḍəġri* 'straight', etc. (See p.501 for others):

ʔalfēn u-xams miyye Ɛāl ləž-žihtēn [DA-291]   'Two thousand five hundred is fine for both sides'

dāʔiman kānet ḍəġri maƐi   'She has always been straight with me'

EXTRAPOSITION

Topic and Comment *(al-mubtadaʔ wal-xabar)*

Several different kinds of clause come under the heading of TOPICAL, or TOPIC-COMMENT, clauses. The "topic" is a noun-type word or phrase which introduces the "comment" and delimits its scope or application. The comment itself is a predication: *Ɛali, baƐᵊrfo ɱn ᵊħdaƐšar sәne* 'Ali — 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 *Ɛali byaƐrəfni* 'Ali knows me', *Ɛali* is called *al-mubtadaʔ* (topic) and *byaƐrəfni* is called *al-xabar* (comment).[1]

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-ᵊħsāb ᵊl-žāri, bəthəṭṭ maṣāri w-ᵊbtəsħab mənhon* [DA-293]   '[In] a checking account you deposit money and withdraw (from) it'

2. *ʔana, l-ᵊmǧamarāt kānet bēn Ɛəmr ᵊṣ-ṣabaṭaƐᵊš wəl-Ɛəšrīn*   '[For] me, the age of adventures was between seventeen and twenty'

3. *baṣal žassant ʔazraʔ, fī Ɛəndi xamse mazrūƐīn bi-fəxxār* [SAL-197]   '[As for] blue hyacinth bulbs, I have five, planted in pots'

4. *hal-bēḍāṭ ᵊd-dazzīne b-xamsīn ʔərš*   'These eggs are fifty piastres a dozen' (lit. "These eggs, the dozen is at fifty piastres")

5. *žnēnti w-ᵊžnēnto l-ħēṭ bəl-ħēṭ*   'My yard adjoins his' (lit. "My yard and his yard — the wall is at the wall")

---

[1] 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 if a comment is a predicate, then there is no theoretical limit to the containment of predicates within predicates (just as there is no limit to the containment of annexion phrases within annexion 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.

6. *š-šətwiyye b-bērūt mā fī ʔaḥla*
   mən hēk [DA-152]

   'The winter season in Beirut —
   there's nothing nicer than that!'[1]

7. *hayy mā baɛref*

   '[As for] that, I don't know'

8. *hēʔtak mū mabṣūṭ*

   'You don't look well', lit. "[With
   respect to] your appearance, [you're]
   not well"

9. *žənsīti ʔamērkāni, lāken ʔaṣli*
   ləbnāni

   'I'm American by nationality, but
   Lebanese by blood' (lit. "My nation-
   ality — [I'm] American, but my origin
   — [I'm] Lebanese")

In example 9, the fact that *ʔamērkāni* (m.) does not
agree with the feminine *žənsiyye* shows that this is not an
ordinary subject-predicate sentence, which would be *žənsīti*
ʔamērkiyye lakēn ʔaṣli ləbnāni (same translation). In ex.
8, *mabṣūṭ* likewise does not agree with the feminine *hēʔa*.
Cf. *hēʔtak mū mnīḥa* (same translation, but lit. "Your ap-
pearance is not good"), which is an ordinary subject-predi-
cate sentence.

Resumptive Pronoun in the Comment (*al-ɛāʔid*)

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 somewhere in the comment whose ante-
cedent is the topic:

a.) *hal-bənt, btaɛrəfa ʔənte?*

   "That girl — do you know her?"

b.) *hal-bənt, tɛarraft ɛalēha?*

   "That girl — have you been intro-
   duced to her?"

c.) *hal-bənt, ʔəsma faṭma*

   "That girl — her name is Fatima"

d.) *hal-bənt hiyye ʔl-ʔahla*

   "That girl — she is the prettiest"

Topical clauses with a resumptive pronoun are related by EXTRAPOSITION[1]
to more or less equivalent predications, which have the topical noun phrase
in place of the pronoun. Thus example (a) above is an extraposition from
btaɛref hal-bənt ʔənte? 'Do you know that girl?'; ex. (b), from *tɛarraft*
ɛala hal-bənt? 'Have you been introduced to that girl?'; (c), from *ʔəsəm*
hal-bənt faṭma 'That girl's name is Fatima'; and (d), from *hal-bənt, l-ʔahla*
'That girl is the prettiest'. The effect of extraposition is to focus at-
tention on the EXTRAPOSITIVE (or EXTRAPOSED) term, i.e. the part of the pre-
dication which is made a topic and replaced in the predication by a pronoun.

In the case of many equational predications, however,
extraposition is commonly used not so much to emphasize the
extrapositive subject, but simply to identify the predica-
tion as such. For example the predication *l-bənt, l-ʔahsan*
'The girl is the best' might in some circumstances be con-
fused with the noun phrase *l-bənt ʔl-ʔahsan* 'the best girl';
therefore the predication tends to be replaced by a topical
sentence even when no special emphasis is intended: *l-bənt*
hiyye l-ʔahsan. See p. 405.

Examples of extrapositive object (Resumptive pronoun underscored):

1. *kəll ʔṣ-ṣēfiyye maddēnāha maɛo*

   'The whole summer we spent with him'

2. *ʔaktar ʔašɛāri kənt ʔəktəba*
   bi-dars ʔl-fīzya ʔaw ʔl-kīmya

   'Most of my poetry I wrote in physics
   or chemistry class'

3. *samīr, sməɛt bəddhon iraʔʔū*
   [EA-169]

   '[As for] Samir, I hear they intend
   to promote him'

4. *faḍəlkon mā bənsā ṭūl ḥayāti*
   [EA-264]

   'I'll never forget your kindness'

5. *l-hawa bṭədgaṭo trəmbe*

   'The air is compressed by a pump'
   (lit. "The air, compresses it a
   pump")

6. *hal-mažalle byaʔrūha ɛadad*
   ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn

   'This magazine is read by a large
   number of intellectuals' (lit. "This
   magazine, read it a large number... ")

Note that extraposition may have an effect on the word
order of subject and predicate. In example 6, the subject
ɛadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn is too long to fit comfortably
in the "original" predication between *byaʔru* and *hal-mažalle*
[p. 409], therefore it is more likely to precede the verb:
ɛadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn byaʔru hal-mažalle.

---

[1] A disputable contention. Prospective visitors should be warned that the
Lebanese winter normally has long spells of rainy, chilly weather. Note
that the word *šəte* means both 'wintertime' and 'rain'.

[1] The term 'extraposition' 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*, Mac-
millan, New York, 1958).

7. *žōz ᵊtwār ləl-ḥart bisammūhon faddān* [AO-63]

'A pair of oxen for plowing are called a yoke [of oxen]' (lit. "A pair...they call them...")

8. *hāda banū ždīd la-ᵊərwāᵊ hal-ᵊarāḍi l-wāsɛa* [DA-253]

'This was built recently for the irrigation of this large area' (lit. "This 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. *w-ᵊana žāyīni ṭarḍ la-ᵊaxdo* [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 *ᵊana* as topic, and *-ni* as object. The ordinary predication, then, is simply *žāyīni ṭarḍ la-ᵊaxdo; -ni* is extraposed as *ᵊana* but the resumptive pronoun must again be *-ni*.

10. *halli bətrīdi bžəb-lek yā* [AO-115]

'Whatever you(f.) want I'll bring you(it)'

11. *yəlli byəži bi-bālo biḥəṭṭo*

'Whatever comes to his mind he puts (it) down'

12. *halli bixalləṣni bəddi ᵊəġnī la-wəld ᵊwlādo* [AO-116]

'Whoever rescues me, I shall make him and his descendants rich'

Examples of extraposed annex (following term) in noun constructs:

1. *s-sayyāra dūlāb mən dawalība banšar*

'One of the car's tires is flat' (lit. "The car, a tire of its tires has been punctured")

2. *l-buḥayra ġəmᵊa mīt ᵊadam*

'The lake is a hundred feet deep' (lit. "The lake, its depth is...")

3. *ṣāḥbi dāyman ɛaᵊlo sābeḥ bəl-xayāl*

'My friend always has his head in the clouds' (lit. "My friend, always his mind is swimming in fantasy")

4. *hāda mū maɛnāto bəd-ḍarūra ᵊənno lāzem ᵊtrūḥ la-hnīk*

'This doesn't necessarily mean that you'll have to go there' (lit. "This, it is not its meaning necessarily...")

5. *hal-makīnāt bəṭel ᵊəstəɛmāla*

'These machines are obsolete' ("These machines, has ceased their use")

6. *hēk ᵊašya mū məmken šarḥa*

'Such things cannot be explained' ("Such things, is not possible their explanation")

7. *l-manṭoyāt ᵊmxaffaḍ səɛᵊrhon mən ᵊarbɛīn dōlār la-tlātīn*

'Coats have been reduced from forty dollars to thirty' ("The coats, has been reduced their price...")

8. *taṣarrofāto ṣaɛᵊb fəhᵊmha*

'His behavior is hard to understand' ("...is difficult its understanding")

9. *ᵊana kān fəkri rūḥ bət-trēn* [DA-249]

'I was thinking of going by train' ("[As for] me, it was my idea to go by train")

10. *ᵊahᵊl hal-žazīre kəllon ṣayyādīn samak*

'The people of this island are all (of them) fishermen'

Examples of extraposed annex ("object") of a preposition:

1. *hal-ᵊmlāḥaẓa kān huwwe l-maᵊṣūd fīha*

'That remark was aimed at him' (lit. "That remark, he was the target in it")

2. *haṣ-ṣənᵊf mā ɛād ᵊltaᵊa mənno bəs-sūᵊ mən səne*

'That brand hasn't been on the market for a year' ("That brand, there has not been found [any] of it...")

3. *r-raᵊīs fī ḥawalē ržāl məᵊtədrīn*

'The president has able men around him'

4. *dastūr ᵊl-wilāyāt ᵊl-məttdḥide bada l-ɛamal fī sənt ᵊalf u-sabᵊɛ miyye w-təsɛā w-tmānīn*

'Work began on the constitution of the United States in the year 1789' ("The constitution..., began the work on it...")

5. *š-šakkāt ləssa mā txalləṣ ɛalēhon*

'The checks still have not been cleared'

6. *hal-ɛamal ḥa-ykən-lo natāyež mətɛaddəde*

'That act will have numerous consequences' ("...there will be to it...")

7. *halli xəḍᵊrto ᵊaḥsan bəštəri mənno* [DA-128]

'The one whose vegetables are best, I buy from (him)'

8. *halli bixalləṣni bəftaḥ-lo knūz ᵊl-ᵊarḍ* [AO-116]

'Whoever rescues me, I shall open to him the treasures of the earth'

9. *bass hāda ɛanna mənno ktīr bi-ᵊamērka* [DA-251]

'But that [is something] we have a lot of in America'

10. *huwwe handase madaniyye maɛo*

'He has [a degree in] civil engineering'

11. *ᵊana mā ḥada byəsᵊal ɛanni*

'Nobody asks about me!'

Examples of extraposed subject (with equational comment [p. 405]):

1. *hāda huwwe l-bās halli byəmši
   s-sāƐa təntēn?*   'Is this the bus that leaves at two
                       o'clock?'

2. *kəll ma hunālek huwwe laha-ykūn
   Ɛibāra Ɛan seminārēn ʔaw tlāte*   'All there is to it will consist of
                                        two or three seminars'

3. *ʔahamm ṣināƐa fi-trablos hiyye
   ṣināƐet ʔṣ-ṣābūn* [PAT-185]   'The most important industry in Tri-
                                    poli is the soap industry'

4. *hal-ʔaġənya hadōl hənne l-mallāke
   wət-təžžār* [PAT-191]   'These rich men are the landowners
                             and merchants'

5. *ʔaʔsām ʔl-madīne d-dāxliyye...
   hiyye buwwābet ʔl-ḥaddādīn,
   l-ʔmxātra, n-nūri...* [PAT-179]   'The interior sections of the city
                                       are: Buwwêbet el-Heddêdîn, El-
                                       Mhêtra, En-Nouri, etc.'

6. *ʔašhar ʔaṣar tārīxi fəl-balad
   huwwe l-ʔalƐa* [PAT-179]   'The most famous historical monument
                                in town is the fortress'

7. *ʔahamm šī bi-kəll doktōrā hiyye
   l-ʔəṭrūḥa*   'The most important thing in every
                  doctorate is the dissertation'

Note, in example 7, that the resumptive pronoun is fem-
inine, agreeing with its predicate *l-ʔəṭrūḥa* rather than
with its antecedent *ʔahamm šī*. (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]: *mhammad
baƐʔrfo* 'Mohammed I know (him)' → *bdƐʔrfo, mhammad.*

1. *baƐrəfa ʔana, l-bənət?*   'Do I know her, the girl?'

2. *huwwe yalli mʔalləfa hal-madrase*   'He's the one who organized it, that
                                          school'

3. *žēš mā byākəlon hadōl yalli
   Ɛaddēton*   '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. *kənt šūfo kəll yōm la-ʔaḥmad*   'I used to see(him,) Ahmed, every day'

5. *nabīl byəʔrabo la-mḥammad lāken
   ʔərbe šwayye bƐīde*   'Nabil is related to Mohammed but
                           somewhat distantly'

6. *huwwe ṣāḥbo ktīr la-ʔaxi*   'He's a good friend of my brother's'

In ex. 6, *ʔaxi* could not come first, in a normal topic
position, because it would sound as if *huwwe* (rather than
the *-o* of *ṣāḥbo*) were the resumptive pronoun: *ʔaxi huwwe
ṣāḥbo ktīr* '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: *ʔante
šū mašrūƐak?* 'What is your plan?' *šū huwwe mašrūƐak?* 'What is your plan?',
ʔaxūk wēno? 'Where's your brother?', *wēno ʔaxūk* 'Where is your brother',
etc. See p. 566.
Less commonly, the comment is a command: *yalli batlāʔi bəs-sūʔ žībo*
'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.[1] 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:

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).

---

[1] In Classical Arabic, complementation is also expressed by *an—naṣb* (the "accusative case" for noun-type complements, the "subjunctive mode" for verbs).

OBJECTS (al-mafɛūl bihi)

An OBJECT is a pronominalizable 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 yā- [p. 545]: šəft ᵊl-bənt 'Did you see the girl?', laʔ, mā šəftha 'No, I didn't see her'; šəft-əllak yāha '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. ʔəmḍi kəll ᵊn-nəsax   'Sign all the copies'

2. ḥḍərt ᵊl-ɛaša b-ʔāxr   'Did you attend the dinner at the
   ᵊl-ʔəžtimāɛ?   end of the meeting?'

3. mā šəfᵊt hada bəl-bēt   'I didn't see anyone in the house'

4. ɛam-yəstġəll ṭībet nafsak   'He's imposing on your good nature'
       (In this case the Arabic object is
       translated with a prepositional com-
       plement 'on your good nature'.)

5. ḥakət-ᵊlna ʔəṣṣa mā btətsadda?   'She told us an incredible story'
       (In this case the English first ob-
       ject 'us' corresponds to an Arabic
       prepositional phrase -ᵊlna 'to us'.)

6. tammam yalli kān nāwi yaɛᵊmlo   'He accomplished what he had in-
       tended to do' (Substantivized
       yalli-phrase [p. 494])

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:

7. lāzem ᵊtwarži š-šərṭi biṭāqet   'You must show the policeman your
   hawītak   identity card'

8. bəddi ʔəsʔal l-ᵊmɛallem suʔāl   'I want to ask the teacher another
   tāni   question'

9. ɛār ṣāḥbo badᵊlto ž-ždīde   'He lent his friend his new suit'

10. žawwaz wāḥed ṣāḥbo bənto   'He married off his beautiful daugh-
    ž-žamīle   ter to a friend of his', lit. "He
        gave-in-marriage (to) a friend of his
        his beautiful daughter"

Also as in English, the first object may be pronominalized alone, or both may be pronominalized at the same time, but the second object cannot be pronominalized unless the first is too:

First Object Pronominalized	Both Objects Pronominalized

11. ɛaṭāni hdiyye . . . . ɛaṭāni yāha
    'He gave me a gift'   'He gave it to me' lit. "He gave
        me it"

12. labbəstīhon tyābon? . . . . labbəstīhon yāhon?
    'Did you(f.)put their   'Did you put them on them?'
    clothes on them?'

13. fahhəmni d-dars . . . . fahhəmni yā
    'Explain the lesson to me'   'Explain it to me'

14. ballaġto r-risāle? . . . . ballaġto yāha?
    'Did you give him the message?'   'Did you give it to him?'

15. btəʔder ᵊtsalləfni šwayyet
    maṣāri? . . . . btəʔer ᵊtsalləfni yāha?
    'Could you lend me a little   'Could you lend it to me?'
    money?'

In order to pronominalize a second object without pronominalizing the first, the first object must be converted into a prepositional complement (generally with la-) and the order of complements reversed. Here again, Arabic and English are grammatically alike:

16. bāɛ ʔəbno l-bēt . . . . bāɛo l-bēt
    'He sold his son the house'   'He sold him the house'

17. bāɛ ᵊl-bēt la-ʔəbno . . . . bāɛo la-ʔəbno
    '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: ʔaɛžab šī ʔaḷḷa mā xala? 'A more marvelous thing God has never created!', ʔažnan mən hēk ɛəmri mā šəft 'I've never seen anything crazier than that!'
See also Extrapostion of Object [p. 431] and Question-word Inversion [p. 566].

Objects of Active Participles. The active participle [p. 265] of a transitive verb takes an object just as the verb itself does:

18. *ḥaṭṭe warde b-šaɛra* . . . . *ḥāṭṭáṭa b-šaɛra*
    'She's wearing (i.e. she's   'She's wearing it in her hair'
    put) a flower in her hair'

19. *mīn ᵊmɛallem l-ᵊwlād had-dars?* . . . . . . *mīn ᵊmɛallémon yā?*
    'Who taught the children   'Who taught it to them?'
    this lesson?'

        But an active participle functioning as a noun (e.g.
mɛallem in the sense of 'teacher') or as an ordinary adjective (e.g. *šāmel* '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. *dirāset ᵊabno l-mūsīqa* . . . . *dirāsto yāha*
    'His son's study of music'   'His studying it'

21. *ᵊakl ᵊn-nās ᵊl-laḥᵊm* . . . . *ᵊaklon yā*
    '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: *dirāset*
ᵊl-mūsīqa 'the study of music', *ᵊrāyet ᵊl-qurᵊān* '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. *taɛlīm ᵊwlādon l-ᵊᵊrāye* . . . . *taɛlīmon yāha*
    'teaching their children to   'teaching it to them'
    read'

        The object of a gerund may, however, be replaced by a
prepositional complement with *la-* [p. 479]: *dirāset ᵊabno*
ləl-mūsīqa 'His son's study of music'.
        A concretized gerund [p. 284] does not take an object,
but a prepositional complement instead: *zyārti ᵊəlon* 'my
visit to them' (not *"zyārti yāhon"*).

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.[1]
    An adverbial complement serves to specify something used or involved in
the act or situation referred to, or to specify some aspect of it:

1. *byəzraɛu ᵊarāḍīhon ᵊamᵊḥ*	'They sow their land with wheat'
2. *zādet ᵊš-šāy səkkar*	'She added sugar to the tea', i.e. "...added to the tea with sugar"
3. *mallēt ᵊl-ᵊannīne ṃayy*	'I filled the bottle with water'
4. *l-ᵊannīne malāne ṃayy*	'The bottle is full of water' (Complemented participle)
5. *bikallfak ᵊaktar mən hēk*	'It'll cost you more than that'
6. *ḍṭarrēt ᵊəštə́ǵel sāɛāt ᵊəḍāfiyye*	'I had to work extra hours'
7. *rāyḥīn fərşet tlatt əšhor* [SAL-68]	'(We're)going on a three months' vacation' (Complemented participle)
8. *baɛatū məšwār mafxūt*	'They sent him on a wild goose chase'
9. *mənbīɛ naᵊdi bass*	'We only sell for cash'
10. *l-ᵊḥsāb nāᵊeş tlatt dolārāt*	'The account is three dollars short' (Complemented participle)
11. *šaᵊᵊo nəşşēn*	'He cut it in two' (lit. '...two halves')

        In some cases there is an alternative construction with
object and prepositional complement: *byəzraɛu ᵊamᵊḥ*
b-ᵊarāḍīhon 'They sow wheat in their fields' (Cf. example
1); *mallēt ṃayy bəl-ᵊannīne* "I filled water into the bottle" (Cf. example 3).

---

[1]Not pronominalizable, because not definitizable [p. 494].

Adverbial Noun Complements: Gerundial and Paronymous
(al-mafƐūl l-muṭlaq, 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 PARONYMOUS 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 Ɛam-biẓəṭṭ ẓaṭṭ bēn ᵊš-šawārēƐ — 'He was racing wildly through the streets', lit. "He was chasing a chase through the streets"

2. l-xiṭāb hazz ᵊž-žamhūr hazz — 'The speaker moved the crowd profoundly', lit. "The speaker shook the crowd a shaking"

3. ṣāḍafto mṣāḍafe — 'I ran across him by chance', lit. "I encountered him an encounter"

4. kānet ᵊs-sayyāra Ɛam-tākol ᵊz-zəfᵊt ʔakᵊl — 'The car was really burning up the road', lit. "...was eating the asphalt an eating"

5. waḷḷa maskūbe sakᵊb! — 'She really has a beautiful figure!', lit. "By God (she is) moulded (with) a moulding"

With modifiers, a paronymous complement serves to show how something referred to by the verb is done:

6. staʔbalūna ʔəstəʔbāl bāred — 'They received us coldly', lit. "They received us a cold reception"

7. Ɛaraḍ ʔaḍīto Ɛarḍ ᵊmnīḥ — 'He presented his case well', lit. "He presented his case a good presentation"

8. š-šaġle kəlla kānet ᵊmnaẓẓame tanẓīm Ɛāṭel — 'The whole job was poorly organized', lit. "...was organized a bad organization"

9. btəṭṣarraf ṭaṣarrof ᵊl-xānmāt — 'She conducts herself like a lady', lit. "She behaves (with) the behavior of ladies"

10. ṭ-ṭayyāra habṭet ᵊhbūṭ ʔəḍṭirāri — 'The plane made a forced landing', lit. "...landed an obligatory landing"

11. btərsom rasᵊm zēti — 'She paints in oils', lit. "She draws (by) oil drawing"

12. mīn štaġal ʔaktar ᵊš-šəġᵊl? — 'Who has done the most work?', lit. "Who has worked most of the work?"

13. l-ʔəxtēn byəxtəlfu Ɛan baƐdon kəll ᵊl-ʔəxtilāf — 'The two sisters are altogether different from one another', lit. "...differ from one another all the difference"

14. byūton mafrūše farš ᵊmnīḥ [adap. from PAT-191] — 'Their houses are well furnished', lit. "...furnished a good furnishing"

Instance nouns [p. 297] are sometimes used as paronymous complements:

15. ġləṭt ġalṭa faẓīƐa — 'I've made an awful mistake'

16. ḍarabo ḍarbe ʔawiyye — 'He struck him a mighty blow'

17. dərna dōra kāmle ḥawāli l-balad — 'We made a complete tour around the town'

18. xaṭa xaṭwe kəllha dahāʔ — 'He made a very shrewd move', lit. "He stepped a step (which was) all shrewdness"

19. lammaḥᵊt-ᵊlna talmīḥa wāḍḥa — '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. tƐāmal ᵊmƐāmale wāṭye — 'He got a raw deal', lit. "He was treated (with) a low treatment" (mƐāmale, ger. of Ɛāmal 'to treat', complementing the passive tƐāmal 'to be treated')

21. darraso dirāse mhīḥa — 'He taught him well' (dirāse, ger. of daras 'to study' complementing the causative darras 'to make... study, to instruct')

22. Ɛadad ᵊs-səkkān ᵊzdād zyāde hāʔile — 'The population has increased tremendously' (zyāde, ger. of zād 'to increase' [trans. and intrans.], complementing the mediopassive zdād 'to increase' [intrans. only].)

In some cases a paronymous complement is not a gerund at all: kānu raḥa-yšaʔʔfū šəʔaf 'They were about to tear him to pieces' (figuratively). The complement šəʔaf is the plural of šəʔfe 'piece', a simple noun, paronymous to šaʔʔaf 'to break in pieces'. In txānaʔna xnāʔa kbīre 'We had a big argument', the paronymous complement xnāʔa may be considered the participative noun [p. 247] underlying the reciprocative verb [248] txānaʔu 'to argue', or alternatively, its suppletive gerund. See also example 12 above.

Non-paronymous gerundial complements:

23. *rəžeε rakəd̦ la-εarabīto*
    [PVA-22]

'He ran back to his car', lit. "He returned (by) running to his car" (ger. of *rakad̦* 'to run')

24. *țəleε šarhața mn əl-madrase*

'He was expelled from school', lit. "He came out – (by) expulsion – from school" (ger. of *šarhaț* 'to expel')

25. *nəzel maεət bəš-žāț*

'He ate voraciously from the platter', lit. "He came down (with) voracity at the platter" (ger. of *maεaț* 'to devour')

26. *bətraššāk lā təfhamni ġalaț*

'Please don't misunderstand me', lit. "I beg of you, don't understand me (by) mistake" (ger. of *ġaleț* 'to make a mistake')

27. *bisāwi țʔūmto țafṣīl*

'He has his suits tailor made', lit. "He makes his suits (by) tailoring" (ger. of *faṣṣal* 'to cut out, make to measure')

PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs, nouns, and adjectives are complemented by prepositional phrases, involving some particular preposition[1]:

1. *safrətna btətwaffaʔ εaț-țaʔṣ*

'Our trip depends on the weather'

2. *mīn raha-yʔūm bəd-difāε?*

'Who's going to take on the defense?'

3. *sammūha səεād εala ʔəsəm səttha*

'They named her Suad after her grandmother'

4. *baddi kallef had̦ərtak təsεā-li b-waz̧īfe*

'I'd like to ask you to help me find a job' [SAL-92] (Two prepositional complements)

5. *l-mahkame hakmet εalē bəl-ʔəεdām*

'The court sentenced him to death' (Two prepositional complements)

---

[1]Prepositional complements are often difficult to distinguish from preposi- tional supplements [p.523]. The essential difference is that a complement is expected – and sometimes required – to go with some particular word, or some particular kind of word, in the complemented phrase; a supplement, on the other hand, goes with the phrase as such. The speaker is not under constraint to use a supplement because of any particular word or kind of word in the phrase. Supplements in general, furthermore, do not have to follow the supplemented term; their word order is relatively free.

6. *εam-ətxabbi εanni šī?*

'Are you hiding anything from me?'

7. *mā bəddi ʔāxod maṣāri mən hal-məskīn*

'I don't want to take money from the poor thing'

8. *huwwe rfīʔ ʔadīm ʔəlna*

'He's an old companion of ours' (Prepositional complement to noun *rfīʔ*)

9. *sāknīn byūt məlk ʔəlon*
   [PAT-191]

'They live in houses they own' (Prep. Comp. to noun *məlk*: lit. "They inhabit houses [which are] property to them")

10. *hiyye b-hāle mayʔūs mənha*

'She's in a desparate situation', lit. "She's in a situation (that's) despaired of" [p.263].

11. *haš-šī xāṣṣ əb-εaṣərna*

'It's something peculiar to our times'

12. *l-bēt lāhet əl-ʔəhmāl εalē*

'The house showed signs of neglect' (*ʔəhmāl εala* 'neglect of')

13. *ʔana mayyet mn ət-taεab*

'I'm dead tired' (*mayyet mən* 'dead of', *māt mən* 'to die of')

14. *... la-sabab mn əl-ʔasbāb*

'for some reason or other'

15. *š-šām ʔabrad mən bērūt bəš-šəte*

'Damascus is colder than Beirut in winter' (Comparative phrase [p.314])

16. *ʔaxi ʔaz̧ġar mənnak b-εašr əsnīn*

'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- fixed to the verb): *εam-ətxabbi εanni šī?* 'Are you hiding anything from me?' (Cf. *εam-ətxabbī εanni?* '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: *εam-ətxabbi šī εan ʔaxūk?* '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: *țʔaddam b-məhʔnto ta̦ʔaddom εaz̧īb* 'He's made remarkable progress in his career'; *țəleε šarhața mn əl-madrase* 'He was expelled from school' [ex. 24, p.444].

This principle of relative length of complements (the shorter having word-order priority) applies generally whenever 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 <u>follow</u> whatever element of the sentence it is predicative <u>to</u>, regardless of length.

PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs (and other verb-type expressions [p.412]) are complemented by <u>predicates</u> [p.380] which are applicable — contingently upon the verb[1] — 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-maktūb wəṣel mət'axxer šwayye* — 'The letter arrived a bit late'

2. *'aɛadna 'rāb la-baɛḍna* — 'We sat near each other'

3. *s-sa',f madhūn 'abyaḍ* — 'The ceiling is painted white' (Subject of passive participle corresponds to object of active verb)

4. *mīn ṭəleɛ 'l-ġāleb bəl-'m'ātale?* — 'Who came out the winner in the fight?'

5. *l-'kmāle 'ələk baxšīš* — 'Keep the change', lit. 'The change (is) for you (as) a tip' (*'ələk* is a verb-type expression [p.414].)

6. *btəštəġel manukān b-maḥall fax'm ləl-'albisa* — 'She works as a model in an elegant dress shop'

---

[1]Predicative complements differ from <u>attributes</u> — which are also transformed predicates [p.493] — in this respect: The predication implied by an attribute is not <u>contingent</u> on anything else in the clause; it is assertive and unconditional, while the predication implied by a predicative complement is in a sense optative [p.347], conditioned by the main verb. Compare the attributive adjective *žamīl*, in *la'ēt 'l-bēt 'ž-žamīl ?* 'Did you find the pretty house?' with the complemental *žamīl* in *la'ēt 'l-bēt žamīl ?* 'Did you find the house pretty?'

7. *nɛalnet madīne makšūfe wa't əl-ḥarb.* — 'It was declared an open city during the war'

8. *šū ɛəndak fwāki?* [SAL-43] — 'What have you (in the way of) fruit?'

9. *kamm fī mətr 'mrabbaɛ fi had-dāyra?* — 'How many square meters are there in this circle?' [p.572]

10. *fī ɛāṣfe ṭālɛa* — 'There's a storm coming up'

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.

Objective Complements (Complements predicative to the object):

1. *ɛaṭēṭo yā hdiyye* — 'I gave it to him as a gift'

2. *ḥassabūni 'ənglīzi* — 'They took me for an Englishman'

3. *bəddo tfaṣṣəl-lo yāha badle* [EA-118] — 'He wants you to make it into a suit for him', lit. "...to cut for him it (as) a suit"

4. *hādi tāni marra byəntəxbū ɛəḍu barlamān* [EA-159] — 'This is the second time they've elected him member of parliament'

5. *nžabart ḥaṭṭ xams ''rūš ta'mīn ɛal-'annīne* — 'I was required to put five piastres deposit on the bottle'

6. *'addēš ɛam-tāxod ha'' haṣ-ṣabbāṭ?* — 'How much are you getting for these shoes?' (lit. "...(as) price(of) these shoes")

7. *ttaxaz 'ṭ-ṭəbb 'š-šarɛi mahne 'əlo* — 'He made forensic medicine his career'

8. *byəbɛatu 'əsm 'kbīr ləl-'mṣāben məšān yəɛ'mlū ṣābūn* [PAT-183] — 'They send a large part of it to the soap factories to have it made (into)soap'

9. *hāda bsammī ɛamal ɛaẓīm* — 'That's what I call a great deed'

10. *ḥaṭṭēt ḥāli wāṣṭa bəl-xilāf* — 'I acted as mediator in the dispute', lit. "I put myself (as) mediator..."

11. *bəɛtabərha wāžeb maɛnawi* — 'I consider it a moral obligation'

[Ch. 17]

12. *šū ḥāmel šahādāt?* [SAL-96]   'What diplomas have you?', lit. "What do you carry (in the way of) diplomas?"

13. *zayyanet ᵊl-bēt ktīr ḥəlu Ɛala Ɛərs bəntha*   'She decorated the house very nice-(ly) for her daughter's wedding'

14. *bəthəbb ᵊl-ᵖahwe ḥəlwe wəlla sāda?*   'Would you like the coffee sweetened or straight?'

15. *lāzem txalli l-bēt ᵖndīf*   'You've got to keep the house clean'

16. *tarakᵊt ballōra wāḥde šāƐle b-ᵖūḍet ᵊl-ᵖāƐde*   'I left one lamp lit in the living room'

17. *laḥa-tlāᵖi ṭ-ṭalƐa wāᵖfe w-ṣaƐbe*   'You'll find the climb steep and difficult'

18. *ḥāses ḥāli ᵖaḥsan b-ᵊktīr ᵊl-yōm*   'I'm feeling much better today', lit. "I'm feeling myself (as) much better..."

19. *šāyef ḥāli mətl ᵊz-zəft ᵊl-yōm*   'I feel terrible today', lit. "I see myself like pitch today"

20. *xalli Ɛēnak Ɛal-ᵊwlād*   'Keep your eye on the children'

21. *šəft ᵊl-žunūd māšyīn?*   'Did you see the troops marching?'

22. *mā blāᵖīha Ɛaṭ-ṭarz ᵊl-Ɛarabi ṣ-ṣərf*   'It doesn't seem to me to be in the pure Arab style', lit. "I don't find it in the..."

Many objective complements are verbal. It is convenient to treat these complements in the section on paratactic complemental clauses (p. 450, ex. 10), but note also:

23. *xallīna nəlḥoš ᵊfrank la-nšūf mīn birūḥ*   'Let's toss a coin to see who goes'

24. *mḥassbe ᵖənno fīha təᵖmóron isāwu šū ma bəthəbb*   'She thinks she can order them to do whatever she likes'

Prepositional Objective Complements (Complements predicative to the object of a preposition):

1. *bəmroᵖ Ɛalēk bəl-bēt b-hal-kam yōm*   'I'll stop by (and see) you at home one of these days'

2. *ṣār-ᵊlhon mədzawwžīn səne w-ᵊšwayye*   'They've been married a little over a year', lit. "It has become to them married..."

3. *ṣar-li xams ᵊsnīn baƐᵊrfo*   'I've known him for five years', lit. "It's become for me five years (that) I know him"

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: *ᵖāl ᵖənno bəddo yrūḥ* 'He said that he wanted to go', while others are PARATACTIC, having no conjunction: *ᵖāl bəddo yrūḥ* 'He said he wanted to go'. The usual complemental conjunctions are *ᵖənno* 'that' [p. 543], *ᵖiza* 'whether, if', *la-, ḥatta,* etc. 'in order to' [p. 353].

Examples of hypotactic clauses:

1. *ftakart ᵖənnak l-ᵊmƐallem* [PVA-32]   'I thought that you were the teacher'

2. *raḥa-ᵖūl la-samīr ᵖənno mā yətᵖaxxar*   'I'm going to tell Samir not to be late'

3. *ləssa ᵖana mū mətᵖakked ᵖiza brūḥ wəlla la?*   'I'm still not sure whether I'll go or not'

4. *w-rāḥ la-balad tānye la-yšūf ᵖiza bilāᵖi zalame šāṭer ᵖaw Ɛālem mətlo* [AO-83]   'And he went to another town to see if he could find a man as clever or as learned as himself'

In example 4 the main verb *rāḥ* is complemented by the clause introduced by *la-;* the complemental verb *yšūf* is complemented in its turn by the *ᵖiza* clause.

Both *ᵖiza* and *la-,* etc. are also used in supplemental clauses. See pp. 331, 358.

The forms *yalli, ᵊlli,* etc. [p. 494] are sometimes used as a complemental conjunction in sentences like the following:

5. *frəḥt ᵊktīr ᵊlli rəžeƐ ᵖebᵊn Ɛammak* [RN-II.51]   'I'm very glad that your cousin has returned'

6. *w-ᵖana mabṣūt ᵊlli kān hēk, ᵖaw ᵊlli ṣār maƐi hal-ᵖəmtiḥān hāda* [SVSA-124]   'And I'm pleased that that's the way it was — that I had that examination'

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 complemental preposition is usually lost before a clause, so that the distinction between objects and prepositional complements is lost when the complement is a

[Ch. 17]

clause (but see p. 357). Examples of clauses corresponding to prepositional complements:

7. *baɛtáref ʔanni kant ġalṭān*   'I admit that I was mistaken' (cf. *baɛtáref bi-ġalᵃ́ṭṭi* 'I admit my mistake')

8. *waɛadna ʔanno raḥ-isáɛadna*   'He promised us that he was going to help us' (cf. *waɛadna bəl-ᵃmsáɛade* 'He promised us help')

9. *l-lažne ḥakmet ɛal-bināye ʔanna mū ṣālḥa las-sakne*   'The committee ruled that the building was not fit for habitation' (cf. *l-lažne ḥakmet ɛal-bināye bət-tahbīṭ* 'The committee slated the building for demolition')

Note also example 3 (cf. *matʔakked mən* 'sure of') and example 6 (cf. *mabṣūt mən, mabṣūt b-* 'glad of, pleased with'). In example 2, the complemental clause may be equated with an object since the verb *ʔāl* 'to say, tell' is transitive. Similarly in ex. 4, the *ʔiza* clause functions like an object of the transitive verb *šāf* 'to see'.

Examples of paratactic clauses:

10. *w-ʔamar ᵃž-žənn yarmūni b-naṣṣ ᵃl-baḥᵃr* [AO-116]   'And he ordered the Jinn to throw me into the middle of the sea'

11. *bḥabb kall šahᵃr tabɛatū-li bayān b-ᵃḥsābi* [DA-294]   'I want you(pl.)to send me a statement of my account every month'

12. *rūḥ ᵃsʔāl ʔammak baddha šī*   'Go ask your mother if she wants anything'

13. *l-ḥaʔīʔa bfaḍḍel mā rūḥ la-maḥall balāk* [DA-172]   'The truth is, I'd prefer not to go anywhere without you'

14. *ʔanti ʔlī-lo fāyze žāye*   'You(f.) tell him Faiza is coming'

15. *xāyəf-lak ᵃlⱳbēt yahboṭ*   'I'm afraid the house will cave in'

16. *kān baddi ʔaštrīha, bass ʔal-li mā ʔaštrīha*   'I wanted to buy it, but he told me not to'

17. *marra w-marrtēn ʔalt-allo lā talɛab baṭ-ṭarīʔ*   '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 *fāyze žāye* 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 predicate. By the same token, the predicative term is normally neutral (3rd p. sing.) in inflection [p. 365]:

18. *byaẓhar ʔanno ʔafḍal šī l-ʔattifāʔ ɛala ḥall waṣaṭ*   'It appears that the best things is to agree on a compromise solution'

19. *ʔabadan mā xaṭar ɛala bāli ʔanno laḥa-yaɛtéreḍ*   'It never crossed my mind that he was going to object'

20. *l-muhamm ʔannak tahḍar w-kall šī ʔanšāḷḷa bikūn tamām*   'The important things is that you attend, and everything (God willing) will be all right'

21. *maɛᵃžze ʔannon baʔyu ɛāyšīn*   'It's a miracle that they are still alive'

22. *wāḍeh mn ᵃl-maktūb ʔanno mālo raḍyān*   'It's clear from the letter that he isn't satisfied'

23. *mnīḥ halli ʔžīt ʔabᵃl ma ʔaṭlaɛ* [DA-243]   'It's good that you've come before I left' (cf. examples 5 and 6.)

Paratactic subject clauses:

24. *byaẓhar kant ʔākel šī tʔīl* [DA-217]   'It seems you must have eaten something indigestible' (lit. 'heavy')

25. *fakro yabɛatni ɛal-mastašfa* [DA-217]   'His idea is to send me to the hospital'

26. *mā biḥaʔʔ-allak tāxod žāye* [AO-88]   'You don't deserve to get a prize' (lit. 'It isn't right for you...')

27. *lāzem nām kamān šwayyè* [AO-51]   'I must sleep a while longer' (lit. 'It is necessary that I sleep...')

28. *masmah-li ʔalɛab tanes ma dām mā zīd fīha*   'I'm allowed to play tennis as long as I don't overdo it' (lit. "It's allowed to me to play...")

29. *b-ʔamkānak tsāwī-li talifōn?*   '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 wa-ʔaxawātuhā*)

The verbs *kān* 'to be', *ṣār* 'to become', *ḍall* 'to remain', and a few others are almost always complemented, paratactically, by a predicate [p. 380] The subject of the complemental clause, if any, is the same as that of the linking verb. The predicate may be of any sort (i.e. verbal, adjectival, no-minal, or prepositional: *kānet ʕam-təḥki* 'she was talking', *kānet taʕbāne* 'she was tired', *kānet bənt ʔəɣīre* 'she was a little girl', *kānet bəl-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. *ʔəder* 'to be able' is always comple-mented by a verbal predicate.

Examples, *kān*:

30. *kān ʔaḥsan-lak təstašīrna*
'You should have consulted us' (lit. "It was better for you to consult us")

31. *kənna šāyfīn malāmeḥ ʔǝ̌žbāl*
'We could see the outlines of the mountains'

32. *bəddi kūn ʔɣfīt b-ʔɣyābak* [SPA-30]
'I must have dozed off in your absence'

33. *bižūz kān ʔl-bōṣṭaži*
'It was probably the postman'

34. *žnēnʔta bətkūn zāhye b-hal-waʔt mn ʔs-səne*
'Her garden is colorful this time of year'

35. *kān wāḥed bāša ʔāʕed fi balkōn sarāyto* [PVA-28]
'A certain pasha was sitting on the balcony of his palace'

With complement-verb inversion:

36. *nšāḷḷa baṣīṭa kānet* [SAL-137]
'Nothing serious, I trust!' (lit. "God willing, minor it was")

Examples, *ṣār*:

37. *šū ʕməlt ḥatta ṣāret martak hēk, mətl ʔl-malāyke?* [AO-112]
'What did you do, that your wife be-came so, like the angels?'

38. *ṣār ʔl-masa?*
'Is it evening already?' (lit. "Has it become... ")

39. *kān ṣār baʕd nəṣṣ ʔl-lēl lamma ržəʕna ʕal-bēt*
'It was after midnight when we got back home' (lit. "It had become after ... "; the linking verb *kān* is com-plemented by the linking verb *ṣār*, which in its turn is complemented by a prepositional predicate.)

40. *ṣərt təḥki ʕarabi mnīḥ* [PVA-26]
'You speak Arabic well now' (lit. "You have become that you speak... ")

41. *kəll ši biṣīr tamām*
'Everything will be all right' (lit. "...will become all right")

With complement-verb inversion:

42. *mažmūʕti kāmle ṣāret hallaʔ*
'My collection has now become com-plete'

Examples, *ḍall*:

43. *ḍallēna sahranīn la-waʔʔt mətʔaxxer bəl-lēl*
'We stayed up till late in the night'

44. *ḍallet ʔtnəʔʔ ʕaliyyi*
'She kept nagging at me'

45. *biḍall yəḥki ʕan ʔl-ḥawādes ʔl-māḍye*
'He keeps talking about past events'

Examples, *bəʔi, baʔa*:

46. *s-səkkīne ž-ždīde dāyman ʔbtəbʔa ṭayybe*
'A new knife always stays good' (saying)

47. *mā baʔa fī ʕəndi ɣēr nəṣṣ ʔannīnet zēt* [PVA-44]
'I haven't got but a half bottle of oil left' (the *ɣēr* phrase is sub-ject, *fī ʕəndi* the predicate and complement of the linking verb.)

48. *byəbʔa yzūrha kəll yōm*
'He keeps on visiting her every day'

49. *bʔīt ʔhnīk kamm šahʔr*
'I stayed there several months'

Examples, *mā ʕād* 'no longer':

50. *mā ʕād iṭāwəʕni ʔabadan*
'He no longer obeys me at all'

51. *l-bənt mā ʕādet ʔzɣīre təlʕab bəl-ləʕab*
'The girl is no longer little (enough) to play with dolls'

52. *mā ʕād fiyyi ʔətḥammḍla*
'I can't stand it any more'

53. *ʔiza bəttamm ʔtʕāmlo hēk mā laḥa-yʕūd yəsmaʕ mənnak*
'If you keep on treating him like this he won't listen to you any more' (*bəttamm* is also a linking verb.)

CHAPTER 18: ANNEXION *(al-ʔiḍāfa)* **AND PREPOSITIONS**

A CONSTRUCT, or ANNEXION PHRASE, is composed of two immediately adja-
cent nominal or noun-type terms [p. 382], of which the leading term *(al-*
muḍāf) is generally qualified by the following term *(al-muḍāf ʔilayhi):*

šawāreƐ bērūt '(the) streets(of)Beirut'

bēt nažīb '(the) house(of)Najeeb': 'Najeeb's house'

ʔəsᵊm bənt '(the) name(of a)girl': 'a girl's name'

waraʔ Ɛəneb '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, how-
> ever, 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 <u>leading</u> 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.

<u>Absolute Form</u> (Illustrating   <u>Construct Form</u>
use of word <u>not</u> in construct)

madrase sānawiyye 'secondary school'....*madrast ᵊl-balad* 'the town school'

ž-žarīde l-ʔaḥsan 'the best newspaper'..*žarītt ᵊl-yōm* 'today's paper'

l-ʔaxx ʔaḥmad 'Brother Ahmed'.......*ʔaxu ʔaḥmad* 'Ahmed's brother'

xamse mənhon 'five of them'........*xams ᵊržāl* 'five men'

> 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 prep-
> ositions 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: *šərket zēt* '(an) oil company': *šərket ʾz-zēt* 'the oil company'; *šawāreʕ madīne* 'city streets': *šawāreʕ ʾl-madīne* 'the city streets'.

There are a few set phrases which are exceptions to this rule: *l-bēt mūne* 'the storeroom, pantry' (but also regular: *bēt ʾl-mūne*), *l-bani ʾādam* 'the human being', *l-ʾəmm ʾarbʕā w-ʾarbʕīn* 'the centipede', *l-ṃayy ward* 'the rose water', etc.

Occasionally the leading term is a coördination [p. 392]: *šawāreʕ u-ḥārāt ʾl-madīne* 'the streets and quarters of the city', *ḥərriyyet u-ʾəstəqlāl ʾl-fək³r* 'freedom and independence of thought'.

Often, however, such coordinations are avoided by the use of an anaphoric pronoun: *šawāreʕ ʾl-madīne w-ḥārātha* 'the streets of the city and its quarters'.

Except for coördinations, 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]: *šawāreʕ madīne kbīre* '(the)streets(of a) large city', *ḥərriyyet ʾl-fək³r wər-ra³i* 'freedom (of) thought and opinion', *ḥārāt ʾakbar mədon ʾafrīqya* '(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 within still another construct). Note also: *taḥsīn ṣifāt taḥammol ʾl-ḥarāra* 'improvement (in) qualities (of) resistance (to) heat'; *farš ʾaʕẓam byūt ʾaġ³nya ʾurubba* [PAT-191] '(the) furniture (of the) greatest (of) 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 <u>in</u>definite, the leading term, likewise, is treated as indefinite.[1] (On Definiteness, see p. 494.)

---

[1] Instead 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.)

Definite   Indefinite

fənžān ʾl-ʾahwe 'the cup of coffee'......*fənžān ʾahwe* 'a cup of coffee'

ʕaṣīr ʾl-bərdʾān 'the orange juice'......*ʕaṣīr bərdʾān* 'orange juice'

səkkān baladna 'our town's inhabitants'..*səkkān balad* 'a town's inhabitants'

ʾəs³m banto 'his daughter's name'........*ʾəs³m bən³t tānye* 'another girl's name'

To say that the leading term is "treated as definite" means that if it has an attribute, the attribute shows definite agreement with it; and to say it is "treated as indefinite" means the attribute shows <u>in</u>definite agreement with it.

An attributive adjective (or noun) shows definite agreement by having the article prefix; an attributive clause, by having the clause definitizer *yalli* (*halli,* etc.). See p. 493.

Definite   Indefinite

bənt ʾl-xabbāz ʾl-ḥəlwe....................*bənt xabbāz ḥəlwe*
'the baker's pretty daughter'   'a baker's pretty daughter'

bənt ʾl-xabbāz yalli šəfnāha bəl-balad.....*bənt xabbāz šəfnāha bəl-balad*
'the baker's daughter we saw in town'   'a baker's daughter we saw in town'

bēt nažīb ʾl-faxəm.........................(Cannot be made indefinite be-
'Najeeb's stately house'   cause the following term, a
            proper name, is inherently
            definite.)

By the same token, if the last term in a series of constructs within constructs is definite, then all the other terms are likewise treated as definite, and if the last term is indefinite, so are all the others. [p. 456]

Constructs with Pronouns. A pronoun can never be leading term in annexion, but it <u>can</u> be following term: *ʾəs³m hāda* '(the)name(of)this'; *ʾəs³m mīn* '(the)name(of)whom?', i.e. 'whose name?'.

A personal pronoun [p. 541] as following term in annexion takes the form of a suffix: *ʾəsmo* '(the)name(of)him', i.e. 'his name'; *šawārəʕha* '(the) streets(of)it', i.e. 'its streets'; *madrasətna* '(the)school(of)us', i.e. 'our school'.

The personal pronouns are inherently definite; thus any noun to which a pronoun is suffixed is – as leading term – also treated as definite: *bənto l-ḥəlwe* 'his pretty daughter'.

A noun with a pronoun suffix, then, constitutes an annexion 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 *ʔūḍet nōm* 'room (of)sleeping', i.e. 'bedroom' with a pronoun suffix as in *ʔūḍətna* 'our room'. To say 'our bedroom', the suffix may be attached to *nōm*: *ʔūḍet nōmna* "(the)room (of the)sleep(of)us", or periphrastically: *ʔūḍṭ ʔn-nōm tabaɛna* [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 *walad žāri* 'my neighbor's boy', *žāri* 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 *ɛaṣīr ʔl-bərdʔān* 'the orange juice', *l-bərdʔān* shows what kind of juice is meant.

The main grammatical difference between the two kinds of annexion is this: In identificatory constructs the following term — if it is definite — can generally be pronominalized; i.e. whatever the following term refers to may subsequently (or alteratively) be referred to by a pronoun, suffixed to the leading term: *walad žāri* 'my neighbor's boy' → *walado* '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 definitize 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 apply equally well to all kinds of construct: in *fənžan ʔl-ʔahwe* 'the cup of coffee', *l-ʔahwe* does not, strictly speaking, tell "what kind of" cup is meant, but it is classificatory nevertheless: *l-ʔahwe* is not pronominalizable.
>
> There are, also, some inherently definite following terms which are not pronominalizable: *žarīdet bukra* 'tomorrow's paper', *žazīret bahrēn* 'the Island of Bahrain' [p.462].

Many annexion phrases, taken out of context, can be understood either as classificatory or as identificatory: *wlād ʔl-madrase* 'the schoolchildren' (classificatory) or 'the children of the school' (identificatory).

The Demonstrative Proclitic in Annexion Phrases.

Unlike the article, the demonstrative *hal-* 'this, that, these, those' [p.556] may generally be attached to the leading term of a definite classificatory construct:

hal-ʔwlād ʔl-madrase	'these schoolchildren'
hal-fənžān ʔl-ʔahwe	'this cup of coffee'
hal-ɛaṣīr ʔl-bərdʔān	'this orange juice'
hal-ʔālt ʔṭ-ṭaṣwīr	'this instrument (of) picturing', this camera
hal-ḥadwet l-ʔḥṣān	'that horseshoe'
hal-waraʔ ʔl-karbōn	'this carbon paper'
hal-ʔmḥaṭṭet ʔl-ʔizāɛa	'this broadcasting station'

Alternatively, however, *hal-* 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]):

fənžān hal-ʔahwe	'this cup of coffee'
ɛaṣīr hal-bərdʔān	'this orange juice'
ʔālet haṭ-ṭaṣwīr	'this camera'
waraʔ hal-karbōn	'this carbon paper'

With identificatory constructs, on the other hand, *hal-* 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:

wlād hal-madrase	'the children of this school'
ɛaṣīr hal-bərdʔānāt	'the juice of those oranges' [p.370]
ḥadwet hal-ʔḥṣān	'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:

ḍaffet ʔn-nahr hayy	'this bank of the river'
ṭaraf ʔṭ-ṭāwle hāda	'this edge of the table'

Cf. *ḍaffet han-nahʔr* '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 he linked to that same qualifier more loosely — by a preposition, usually *taba£* [p.489], *la-* [479], *mən* [478], or *b-* [479]:

haš-šə ͑fet ᵊl-ᵊarḍ 'that piece of land' or *haš-šə ͑fe mn ᵊl-ᵊarḍ*

šrūš haš-šažara 'the roots of that tree' or *š-šrūš taba£ haš-šažara*

ṣānə£tna 'our maid' or *ṣ-ṣān£a taba£na*

ᵊəmmet hažžabal 'the summit of that mountain' or *l-ᵊəmme b-hažžabal*

xārṭeṭ ṭəro ͑ 'a road map' or *xārṭa ləṭ-ṭəro ͑*

Since the leading term in annexion is subject to somewhat rigid limitations (e.g. it can only consist of a single word or coördination, 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 circumlocuted by a prepositional construction.

1.) If the leading term is to be indefinite while the following term is definite: *xārṭa la-ṭəro ͑ ləbnān* 'a road map of Lebanon' (i.e. 'a map for the roads of Lebanon'); the construct *xārṭeṭ ṭəro ͑ ləbnān* 'the road map of Lebanon' can only be definite, because the last term *ləbnān*, a proper name, is inherently definite.

A classificatory term following an elative or an ordinal [p.473], for instance, has to be indefinite: *ᵊaḥsan šə ͑fe mn ᵊl-ᵊarḍ* 'the best piece of land', *ᵊawwal ra ͑īs ləl-žəmhuriyye* '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: *ᵊaḥsan šə ͑fet ᵊl-ᵊarḍ*, 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-ᵊas£ār ᵊl-£ālye taba£ ᵊl-kətob ᵊl-madrasiyye* 'the high prices of school books'; cf. the construct *ᵊas£ār ᵊl-kətob əl-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]: *farš ᵊl-bet ᵊž-ždīd ᵊž-žamīl* 'the furniture of the beautiful new house' or 'the beautiful new 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 *taba£* construction: *l-farš ᵊž-žamīl taba£ ᵊl-bēt ᵊž-ždīd.*

A construct is always possible if there is only one adjective attribute involved: *fars ᵊl-bēt ᵊž-ždīd;* but even so it is often preferable to use a periphrasitic construction to resolve an ambiguity in the annexion phrase: *l-farš ᵊž-ždīd taba£ ᵊl-bēt* 'the new furniture of the house' or *l-farš taba£ ᵊl-bēt ᵊž-ždīd* 'the furniture of the new house'; *ṭ-ṭaraf ᵊt-tāni mn*

ᵊš-šāre£ 'the other side of the street' (rather than *ṭaraf ᵊš-šāre£ ᵊt-tāni*, 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 *taba£* phrase: *far£ ᵊl-falsafe taba£ žām£ətna* 'our university's philosophy department', *ᵊanšāyet ᵊl-ᵊənglīzi taba£ak* 'your English composition', *mḥaṭṭet ᵊl-banzīn taba£ £ammi* 'my uncle's gasoline station'.

> This rule may be reversed to lay constrastive emphasis on the classificatory term: *mḥaṭṭet £ammi taba£ ᵊl-banzīn* 'my uncle's gasoline station'.

Alternatively, in some cases, a classificatory following term may itself be put in construct with an identificatory term: *ᵊūḍet nōm £abdaḷḷa* 'Abdullah's bedroom' (or *ᵊūḍṭ ᵊn-nōm taba£ £abdaḷḷa); makīnt ᵊḥlā ͑et ᵊaxi* 'my brother's electric shaver' (or *makīnet l-ᵊḥlā ͑a taba£ ᵊaxi); £aṣīr bərd ͑āno* 'his orange juice' (or *£aṣīr ᵊl-bərd ͑ān taba£o).*

> 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]: *far ͑£ falsafet žām£ətna*, for instance, would seem to mean 'the branch of our university's philosophy'. Note, however, that *£aṣīr bərd ͑āno* would not generally be taken to mean 'the juice of his oranges', because collectives are usually classificatory [p.370].

Relationships Expressed by Substantive Annexion.[1]   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 *mən):*

kətlet laḥ ᵊm 'a piece of meat'

šə ͑fet xəb ᵊz 'a piece of bread'

ḥabbet £əneb 'a grape' (lit. 'a berry of grapes')

rās baṣal 'an onion' (lit. 'a bulb of onions')

rūs ba ͑ar 'heads of cattle'

---

[1] 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):

lahᵊm baʔar 'beef' (lit. 'meat of cattle')

hakīm ᵊƐyūn 'eye doctor'

hāsset ᵊš-šamm 'the sense of smell'

Ɛaʔrab daʔāyeʔ 'minute hand'

ʔalam hᵊbᵊr 'fountain pen' (lit. 'pen of ink')

tāleb tᵊbb 'student of medicine'

kᵊllīt ᵊl-hʔūʔ 'the law school' (college of the law')

zahr ᵊl-lēmūn 'the orange (or lemon) blossoms'

Genus and Specific Name (Classificatory; no periphrasis):

žoz hᵊnd 'coconuts' (lit. 'nuts of the Indies')

šažar zān 'beech trees'

sayyāret fōrd 'a Ford car' (Also appositive [p. 506]: *sayyāra fōrd*)

dīk habaš 'a turkey cock' (lit. 'cock of Abyssinia')

Genus and Individual Name (Identificatory but no pronominalization; no periphrasis)

blād ᵊl-yūnān 'the Land of Greece'

buhayret lūt 'the Dead Sea' ('Lot's Lake')

sᵊnt ʔarbƐīn 'the year '40' (i.e. 1940)

harf ᵊr-rē 'the letter *rāʔ*'

kᵊlmet šatranž 'the word *šatranž*'

> In some cases the individual name is originally an adjective: *nahr ᵊl-Ɛāṣi* 'The Orontes River', literally *n-nahr ᵊl-Ɛāṣi* '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 annexion. The same tendency may be seen in phrases like *sᵊnt ᵊl-māḍye* 'last year' for *s-sᵊne l-māḍye*.

Part (or Aspect) and Whole (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with *tabaƐ* or *la-*):

šatt ᵊl-bahᵊr 'the seashore'

ʔafa r-rās 'the back of the head'

rās ᵊs-sᵊne 'New Year's' (lit. 'head of the year')

ʔᵊžrayyi 'my feet'

šāšet ᵊt-tᵊlefizyōn 'the television screen'

Ɛᵊḍwīt ᵊn-nādi 'the membership of the club'

Relation and the Related Object (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with *tabaƐ* or *la-*):

ʔᵊmm ṣāhbi 'my friend's mother' (Both *ʔᵊmm* and *ṣāheb* are relational terms)

mwazzafīn ᵊs-safāra 'the embassy employees'

wlād žīrānna 'our neighbors' children' (both *wlād* and *žīran* are relational)

ʔᵊsm ᵊṣ-ṣabi 'the boy's name'

raʔīs ᵊž-žᵊmhuriyye 'the president of the republic'

rᵊzᵊʔ farīd 'property of Fareed'

Associated Object and its Association (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with *tabaƐ* or *la-*):

bēt tāžer 'a merchant's house'

mahramtek 'your handkerchief'

wlād ᵊl-hāra 'the neighborhood children'

madīnet ᵊn-nabi 'the city of the prophet'

žazīret ᵊl-Ɛarab 'the Arabian Peninsula' (lit. 'island of the Arabs')

There are many other kinds of relationship expressed by annexion, for example: Container and Contents: *ṣahᵊn tᵊffāh* 'a bowl of apples', *haʔlet· ʔamh* 'a wheatfield'; Qualification and Object Qualified: *bᵊṣīṣ fᵊkra* 'an inkling' (lit. 'a glimpse of an idea') *Ɛadam ᵊl-mubālā* '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-mayy ʔalīle* 'Water is scarce' → *ʔəllet ʔl-mayy* 'the scarcity of water'; *ḥažaz ʔūḍa* 'He reserved a room' → *ḥažʔz ʔūḍto* 'his room reservation'; *bibī€ dəxxān* 'He sells tobacco' → *bayyā€ dəxxān* '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:

ṣ-ṣxūr ʔktīre
'rocks are abundant'
→ *kətret ʔṣ-ṣxūr*
'the abundance of rocks'

t-ṭərəʔāt dayyʔa
'the roads are narrow'
→ *ḍīʔ ʔt-ṭərəʔāt*
'the narrowness of the roads'

huwwe (l-)masʔūl
'he is responsible (or in charge)'
→ *masʔūlīto*
'his responsibility'

ṭaʔʔ ʔl-ʔəfʔl
'the lock clicked'
→ *ṭaʔʔet ʔl-ʔəfʔl*
'the click of the lock' (*ṭaʔʔa* is an instance noun [p.297].)

byūža€(ni) rās(i)
'my head aches'
→ *(ma€i) wažа€ rās*
'(I have) a headache'

Abstract Noun (Gerund) with Object:

bisāwu fəxxār
'(they) make pottery'
→ *msāwāt fəxxār*
'pottery making'

byəḥsob ʔt-takalīf
'(He) calculates the expenditures'
→ *ḥasb ʔt-takalīf*
'calculation of the expenditures'

ṣannafu han-nabatāt
'(they) classified these plants'
→ *taṣnīf han-nabatāt*
'the classification of these plants'

€am-idarrbu ž-žunūd
'(they')re training the troops'
→ *tadrīb ʔž-žunūd*
'the training of troops'

Occupational Noun with Object:

biʔallef mūsīqa
'he composes music'
→ *mʔallef mūsīqa*
'a composer of music'

bişīd samak
'he catches fish'
→ *ṣayyād samak*
'a fisherman'

(bāxra, btəḥmel ṭayyārāt
'(a ship which) carries airplanes'
→ *ḥāmlet ṭayyārāt*
'an aircraft carrier'

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: *hal-ʔmʔallef ʔl-mūsīqa* 'this composer of music' (occupational noun: classificatory construct) vs. *mʔallef hal-mūsīqa* 'The composer of this music' (participial noun: identificatory construct). See p.458.

Substantivized Active Participle with Object:

saraʔ ʔs-sayyāra
'he stole the car'
→ *sāreʔ ʔs-sayyāra*
'the one who stole the car'

ʔallafet l-ʔktāb
'she wrote the book'
→ *mʔallfet l-ʔktāb*
'the author (f.) of the book'

Substantivized Passive Participle with Subject:

wazzafáto l-ʔḥkūme
'the government employed him'
→ *mwazzaf l-ʔḥkūme*
'the government employee'

hal-bakēt məhtʔwi €alēha
'this package contains them'
→ *məhtawayāt hal-bakēt*
'the contents of this package'

Instrumental Noun with Object:

byəftaḥu fīha €əlab
'(they) open cans with it'
→ *fattāḥet €əlab*
'a can opener'

byəšklu fīha waraʔ
'(they) clip paper with it'
→ *šakkālet waraʔ*
'a paper clip'

byəftaḥu fī l-bāb
'(they) open the door with it'
→ *məftāḥ ʔl-bāb*
'the door key'

Locative Noun with Subject or Object:

byəžri fī nahʔr
'a river runs in it'
→ *mažra nahʔr*
'a river bed'

byəṣna€u fī ṣābūn
'they manufacture soap in it'
→ *maṣna€ ṣābūn*
'a soap factory'

ADJECTIVE ANNEXION (al-ʔiḍāfa ġayr l-ḥaqīqīya)

A few adjectives are used in construct with nouns, mostly in set phrases applicable to human beings. For example:

ʔalīl (ʔl-)ʔadab   'ill-mannered, uncivil', lit. 'meager of manners'

ktīr (ʔl-)ġalabe   'prying, busybody', lit. 'excessive of inquiry'

tʔīl ʔd-damm   'unlikeable, boorish', lit. 'heavy of blood'

xafīf ʔd-damm   'likeable, pleasant', lit. 'light of blood'

maʔṭūɛ ʔr-rās   'beheaded', lit. 'cut off of the head'

ṭawīl ʔl-bāl   'patient', lit. 'long of attention'

ɛadmān ʔl-ɛāfye   'run down, sickly', lit. 'deprived of vitality'

Feminine forms: ʔalīlet ʔadab, ktīret ġalabe, ɛadmānt ʔl-ɛāfye, etc.

> Adjective constructs are classificatory [p.458]; the following term cannot be pronominalized.

Unlike substantives [p.456], adjectives in construct may be definitized by prefixation of the article: l-ʔktīr ʔl-ġalabe 'the busybody'; mīn haš-šabb ʔt-tʔīl ʔd-damm? 'Who's that unpleasant young man?'

Adjective constructs are generally derived from subject-predicate constructions or verb-object constructions: tʔīl ʔd-damm ← dammo tʔīl; rābeṭ ʔẑ-ẑaʔš 'calm, composed' (lit. 'controlled of spirit') ← rabaṭ ẑaʔšo 'He composed himself' (lit. '...his spirit'). Cf. p.464.

> Note the difference between the participial construct rābeṭ ʔẑ-ẑaʔš (fem. rābṭet ʔẑ-ẑaʔš) and a participle-object phrase rābeṭ ẑaʔšo 'in control of himself' (fem. rābṭa ẑaʔša '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 xafīft ʔd-damm ← dammha xafīf.

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: nəṣṣ ʔs-səkkān harabu w-baʔīton mātu 'Half of the inhabitants fled and the rest of them died': harabu and mātu agree with the plurals səkkān and -on, respectively, not with the leading terms nəṣṣ (masc./sing.) 'half' and

baʔiyye (fem./sing.) 'rest'; kəll hal-ʔakle ṭayybe 'all this food is good': ṭayybe agrees with the fem. ʔakle 'food', not with the masculine kəll 'all'.

Partitives include nouns designating indefinite proportions and quantities, sometimes fractions from halves to tenths, and a few other terms. For example:

kəll	'all, whole, every'	maɛẑam	'majority, most'
baɛḍ	'some', 'each other'	ʔaktariyye	'majority'
ġēr	'other'	ʔaġlabiyye	'majority'
šwayye	'a few, a little'	baʔiyye	'rest, remainder'
šī	'some, a'	nafs	'same, -self'
kamm	'several, a few'	zāt	'same, -self'
ɛədde	'a number'	ḥāl-	'-self'
fard	'a single one'	waḥd-	'by... -self, alone'
ẑōz	'a pair'	ḥaḍra	(honorific)
ẑamīɛ	'all, whole'	syāde	(honorific)
ɛāmme	'generality, mass'		

The term šī, šwayye, kamm, and ɛədde, in their partitive senses, are normally used in construct only with classificatory indefinite terms:

šī laḥme	'some meat'	kamm šahʔr	'a few (or how many?) months'
šī bant ḥalwe	'a (or some) pretty girl'	kamm marra	'several times' (See p.366.)
šwayyet mayy	'a little water'	ɛəddet marrāt	'a number of times'

Some of the others are used in construct mainly with identificatory (usually definite) terms:

ẑamīɛ ʔš-šaɛb	'the whole nation'	maɛẑam ʔt-talamīz	'most of the students'
ɛāmmet ʔn-nās	'the masses (of people)'	baʔīt səkkān baladna	'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)	
rabʔɛ sāɛa	'a quarter hour'............	rabʔɛ mālo	'a quarter of his wealth'
baɛḍ nās	'some (certain) people'.....	baɛḍon	'some of them'

Note especially the term *kəll*, whose English transla-
tion varies, depending on whether the following term is
definite or indefinite, singular or plural, etc.:

Indefinite (Classificatory)   Definite (Identificatory)

kəll balad 'every (or each) town'......*kəll ᵊl-balad* 'the whole town'

kəll šaxṣ 'every (or each) person'....*kəll ᵊn-nās* 'all the people'

kəll šī 'everything'...............*kəllo* 'all of it'

    kəll with a pronoun suffix is not generally used as
object to a verb, nor as following term to a noun in con-
struct or to a preposition; but is used in apposition
[p.511] to the pronoun, which is repeated: *šəfton kəllon*
(not "*šəft kəllon*") 'I saw all of them'; *tyābna kəllna* (not
"*tyāb kəllna*") 'The clothes of all of us'; *fīha kəllha* (not
"*fi kəllha*" or "*b-kəllha*") 'in all of it'.

    The relationship of *kəll* (and *ġēr*, see below) to clas-
sificatory and identificatory following terms is like that
of elatives and ordinals [p.473].

    The term *ġēr* also requires various translations, depend-
ing on whether the following term is definite or indefinite,
etc.:

ġēr marra 'another time'.............*ġēr hal-marra* 'not this time, some
                                     other time' (i.e.
                                     'other than this time')

ġēr ᵊwḷād 'other children'...........*ġēr ᵊwlādna* 'except our children'
                                     (i.e. 'other than our
                                     children')

ġēr šaxṣ 'someone else'.............*ġērak* 'someone else (than
      i.e. 'another person'   you)' i.e. 'other than
                                       you'

    nafs and *zāt* in construct with a pronoun are translated as '-self':
nafsi 'myself', *zāto* 'himself'; in construct with a noun, they are usually
translated as 'same': *nafs ᵊl-waᵓt* 'the same time', *nafs ᵊl-balad* 'the same
town' (though the latter might also be 'the town itself' = *l-balad nafsa*).
With pronoun suffixes, these terms are most commonly used as appositives:
ᵓana nafsi 'I myself', *r-rəžžāl zāto* 'the man himself'.

    The partitive *waḥd-* stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only,
usually as appositive: *ᵓənti waḥdek* 'you (f.) alone', or adverbially: *brūḥ
waḥdi* 'I'll go alone'.

    The term *ḥāl* as a partitive stands in construct with pronoun suffixes
only: *ḥāli* 'myself', *ḥālkon* 'yourselves'. It is most commonly used as

object: *žaraḥᵊt ḥāli* 'I cut myself', *ɛəmel ḥālo nāyem* 'He pretended to be
asleep', lit. "He made himself asleep".

    All the partitives meaning '-self' may occur after certain prepositions:
la-ḥālak 'for yourself', *ɛan ḥāli* 'about myself', *b-nafsi* 'to myself' (lit.
'in myself'), *la-waḥdo* 'for (or by) himself alone'.

    In their partitive uses, these terms stand in construct
with definite (identificatory) terms only.

    The "honorifics" *ḥaḍra* (lit. 'presence'), *syāde, saɛāde, faxāme*, etc.
are partitives: *haḍᵊrtak btəži maɛna?* 'Are you coming with us, sir?';
šarraf ḥaḍret ᵊr-raᵓīs, wəlla ləssa? 'Has the president arrived yet?'

Examples of partitive constructs in context:

kəll:

1. *ṣār ᵊr-rāɛi yəmsek kəll rāsēn*   'The shepherd started picking up
    ġanam sawa [AO-104]   every two head of sheep together'

2. *kəll hal-ḥēwānāt hādōl bišaġġlu*   'All these animals keep Ahmed quite
    ᵓaḥmad ᵊktīr [AO-63]   busy'

3. *ᵓana kəlli tballalt* [AO-67]   'I got all wet' (lit. "I, all of me
                           ...")

4. *kəll ᵊl-bəzᵊr byəṭlaɛ mn*   'All the seeds sprout from the ground'
    ᵊl-ᵓarḍ [AO-59]

5. *b-kəll mamnūniyye*   'With pleasure', lit. 'in all
                         gratitude'

6. *kīf hal-ᵓəmᵓom ᵊž-žġīr...wəsɛak* 'How could that little bottle hold
    kəllak? [AO-116]   all of you (m./sg.)?' (i.e. '...your
                         whole body')

7. *xāf ᵊktīr w-ražaf kəll žəsmo*   'He took fright and his whole body
    [AO-116]   trembled'

ġēr:

8. *ɛar-raff mā fī kətᵊb ġēr kətbi*   'On the shelf there are no books but
                            mine' (lit. '...other than my books')

9. *ɛan ᵓarīb bāyne tamām ġēr šəkᵊl* 'From close up it looks altogether
                            different' (lit. "...(of) another
                           kind")

10. *ᵓana mā bḥəbb ġēr ᵊl-baṣal*   'I don't want anything but onions'
    [AO]

[Ch. 18]

11. mīn ʔəlna ġērkon? [DA-245]

'Who (is there) for us (to count on) but you?'

12. btəʔmor šī ġēro? [SAL-81]

'Would you like anything else?' (lit. 'Do you order a thing other than it?')

baƐḍ:

13. ləssa fī baƐḍ nəʔaṭ bədda taswiye

'There are still some points that need to be ironed out'

14. baƐḍon ʔəžu w-baƐḍon mā ʔəžu

'Some of them came and some didn't'

15. baƐḍ ʔṭ-ṭəllāb mā byədərsu

'Some of the students don't study'

16. lā tʔalldu baƐḍkon ʔl-baƐḍ

'Don't copy one another' (lit. 'Don't some of you imitate the some (others)')

šī, šwayye, kamm:

17. štarēt ʔs-sayyāra mn ʔl-wakīl walla mən šī šaxʔṣ?

'Did you buy the car from a dealer or from some (private) individual?'

18. batrīd naƐmel šī məšwār sawa? [PVA-12]

'Would you like for us to take a walk (or ride) together?'

19. mnəšrab šī fənžān ʔahwe [PVA-34]

'We'll have a cup of coffee'

20. naʔʔī-li mən Ɛal-wəšš šī tlətt banadōrāyāt [DA-129]

'Pick out (some) three tomatoes for me from on top'

21. fəkərna haṣ-ṣēfiyye nrūḥ ṣōb ʔš-šmāl šī šahər zamān [DA-152]

'This summer we're thinking of going up north for about a month('s time)'

22. ʔiza btəʔrāon šī kamm marra btəḥfḍon b-ʔshūle [PVA-56]

'If you read them over a few times you'll memorize them easily'

23. rūḥ žīb kamm ʔannīnet bīra?

'Shall I go get a few bottles of bear?'

24. biḥəṭṭu bəl-ʔawwal šwayyet ṭīn w-biḥəṭṭu Ɛalē ḥažara [AO-75]

'They first lay on a little mud and set a stone on it'

25. d-dənye šwayyet bard barra

'It's a little cool outside'

ḥāl, waḥd, nafs, zāt:

26. l-banāt lamma ṣəfyu la-ḥālhon ṣāru ydūru bəl-bēt [AO-113]

'When the girls were left to themselves they started looking around the house'

27. waḷḷa ya bēk mā bəddi ʔəḥki Ɛan ḥāli [DA-99]

'Well, sir, I don't want to talk about myself'

28. ḥaḍḍer ḥālak mā baʔa ʔəlla nəṣal [DA-250]

'Get ready (lit. prepare yourself), we're almost there'

29. kān fī žalame ḥāseb ḥālo šāṭer u-Ɛālem [AO-83]

'There was a man who considered himself clever and learned'

30. rāḥ ʔṣ-ṣayyād la-nafs ʔl-baḥra w-ṣād ʔarbaƐ samakāt [AO-117]

'The fisherman went to the same pond and caught four fish'

31. s-sawāḥel waḥda kānet taḥt ʔl-ḥəkm ʔt-tərki [SAL-151]

'The coasts alone were under the Turkish rule'

32. xallīna nsāwīha b-nafsna

'Let's do it ourselves'

Fractions:

33. təlt ʔl-balad ḥtarʔet (or ḥtaraʔ)

'A third of the city burned'

34. rəbʔƐ ʔamwālo nƐaṭet la-mašarīƐ xēriyye

'A quarter of his wealth was given to charitable causes'

But if the following term is indefinite, agreement is usually with the leading term: rəbʔƐ sāƐa mā bikaffi '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		Definite	
xams ʔržāl	'five men'	l-xams ʔržāl	'the five men'
ʔarbaƐ bēḍāt	'four eggs'	l-ʔarbaƐ bēḍāt	'the four eggs'
Ɛəšrīn təlmīz	'twenty students'	l-Ɛəšrīn təlmīz	'the twenty students'

Numerals from two to ten stand in construct with nouns in the plural: *tnēn ᵊwlād* 'two children', *Ɛašr ᵊwlād* 'ten children'; above ten the following term is put in the singular: *ᵊarbƐīn walad* 'forty children'[1] [p.367].

Cardinal numerals generally stand in construct with indefinite terms (which classify the things enumerated), but those between two and ten are also sometimes put in construct with definite terms (which identify the things enumerated): *tlətt ᵊwlādon* 'their three children', *tlātətna* 'the three of us'.

With definite terms, it is common for the numeral to stand in apposition rather than in construct: *wlādon ᵊt-tlāte* 'their three children', *r-ržāl ᵊl-xamse* 'the five men', *nəḥna t-tlāte* 'we three'.
Collectives and other mass nouns stand in apposition to numerals: *tlāte ᵊamērkān* 'three Americans', *tnēn ᵊahwe* 'two coffees' [p.510].
wāḥed 'one' never stands in construct except in the syncopated form *waḥd-* with a pronoun suffix: *brūḥ waḥdi* 'I'll go alone' (lit. "I'll go, the one of me"). The ordinary uses of *wāḥed* are with an appositive: *wāḥde bənt* 'a girl' or in apposition: *bənt wāḥde* 'one girl'.

Examples of cardinal numeral constructs:

1. *fī tlətt waršāt ᵊmhəmmīn* [Bg. 1]   'There are three important factories'

2. *kān b-ᵊīdi tlətt ᵊžwēzāt w-ᵊtnēn ᵊaxṭyāriyye*   'Three deuces and two kings were in my hand'

3. *lāzem nəstanna tlat-arbaƐt iyyām* [DA-217]   'We must wait three (or) four days' [p.171]

4. *ramāha w-ṭālaƐ fīha ᵊarbaƐ samakāt* [AO-117]   'He cast it and brought up four fish in it'

5. *ṣār kəll yōm iṭaƐmī ᵊarbaƐ xams rūṣ baṣal* [AO-103]   'He began feeding him four (or) five onions every day'

6. *ᵊauwal kīlo b-Ɛašr ᵊᵊrūš w-kəll kīlo bizīd ᵊb-sətt ᵊᵊrūš* [DA-225]   'The first kilogram is (for) ten piastres and each (additional) kilogram adds six piastres'

7. *kam səne ṣar-lak bi?amērka? – tmənn snīn*   'How many years have you been in America? – Eight years'

8. *?ēmta btədba d-drūs? – baƐᵊd Ɛašᵊrt iyyām* [DA-173]   'When does school begin? – In ten days'

9. *yəmken təṣal maƐ l-ᵊwlād baƐᵊd xamṣṭaƐšar yōm* [DA-198]   'She may arrive with the children in a fortnight'(lit. "after fifteen days")

10. *fī xamsā w-Ɛəšrīn kəlme* [DA-226]   'There are twenty-five words in it'

11. *s-səne fīha sabᵊƐt əšhor ?əlhon wāḥed w-ᵊtlātīn yōm* [AO-71]   'There are seven months in the year which have thirty-one days'

12. *kān taḥt ?īdo ?arbƐīn zalame* [AO-113]   'There were forty men under his command'

13. *kəll hal-ᵊġrāḍ b-ᵊtlətt lērāt u-sabƐīn ?ərš* [DA-129]   'All these things come to three pounds and seventy piastres'

14. *w-laᵊu syūf ᵊt-tmānīn režžāl* [AO-113]   'And they found the swords of the thirty men'

15. *mā xalla lā kbīr w-lā ẓġīr mn ᵊl-?arbaƐ mīt rās ġanam tabaƐ mƐallmo* [AO-114]   'He left none, either small or large, of the four hundred head of sheep of his master's'

16. *māt mən məddet ?alf w-ᵊtmān mīt səne* [AO-116]   'He died one thousand eight hundred year ago'

17. *...ṣīġet Ɛāᵊalti btəswa šī xamst ālāf lēra* [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: *?aḥla l-banāt* 'the prettiest of the girls', *?aḥla banāt* '(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-banāt*, (in *?aḥla l-banāt*) shows <u>which</u> prettiest things are meant. Conversely an indefinite following term makes the construct classificatory: the indefinite term *banāt*, in *?aḥla banāt*, shows <u>what</u> <u>kind</u> <u>of</u> 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: *hayy ?aḥla l-banāt* 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest of the girls'; *hadōl ?aḥla l-banāt* 'These (pl.) are the prettiest of the girls'; *hāda ?aḥla l-ᵊbyūt* '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 <u>subordinate</u> to an indefinite

---

[1] In Classical Arabic numerals above ten do not stand in construct with their following term, because it is in the accusative case rather than the genitive. This consideration does not apply to Colloquial Arabic, of course.

following term: *hayy ʔaḥla bənt* 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest girl'; *hāda ʔaḥla bēt* 'This (m./sg.) is the nicest house'; *hadōl ʔaḥla banāt* 'These are the prettiest girls.'

While elatives often stand in construct with an indefinite singular count noun [p.366], they seldom stand in construct with a <u>definite</u> singular count noun, and then only if the elative is substantivized: *ʔaḥsan bēt* 'the best house', but *ʔaḥsan ʔl-bēt* 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 *ʔaḥsan bētna,* which would mean 'the best thing about our house', and say either *ʔaḥsan bēt mən byūtna,* 'the best (house) of our houses', or *ʔaḥsan byūtna* 'the best of our houses', or *ʔaḥsan bēt ʔəlna* '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: *tālet bēt* '(the) third house'; *tālet bənt* '(the) third girl' (*hayy tālet bənt* '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 *tālet l-ʔbyūt* 'the third (one) of the houses' is usually circumlocuted with a phrase such as *tālet bēt mən l-ʔbyūt,* or *t-tālet mən l-ʔbyūt.*
In definite (identificatory) constructs, furthermore, an ordinal is generally inflected for number/gender: *tālətt ʔl-banāt* 'the third (one) of the girls', *tālətton* 'the third (one) of them'; (or by periphrasis *t-tālte mn ʔl-banāt, t-tālte mənhon*).
The terms *ʔawwal* 'first' and *ʔāxer* 'last' are used freely in identificatory constructs, however, in the sense 'first part of' and 'last part of': *ʔawwal waɛgo* 'the first part of his sermon'; *ʔāxr ʔs-səne* 'the last part of the year'; *mən ʔawwəla la-ʔāxəra* 'from (its) beginning to (its) end'. In this sense *ʔawwal* and *ʔāxer* function as substantives, and are not inflected for gender.

Elatives, too, may occur in this substantival function, when followed by a definite count noun [p.366] in the singular: *ʔaḥsan ʔs-səne* 'the best (part) of the year'.

Examples of elative and ordinal constructs in context:

1. *bi-hal-waʔt ʔaktar ʔn-nās byəžū-lha* [DA-172]   'That's when most people go there' (lit. "At that time most of the people come to it")

2. *ṣār ʔaġna ʔahʔl zamāno* [AO-119]   'He became the richest of the people of his time'

3. *ləbset ʔaḥsan ʔawāɛi ɛəndha* [AO-118]   'She put on the best clothes she had' (Cf. *ʔaḥsan ʔawāɛiha* 'the best of her clothes')

4. *baɛʔd ʔāxer ramaḍān yaɛni bi-ʔawwal šawwāl* [DA-302]   'After the last of Ramadan, that is to say, on the first of Shawwal'

5. *hāda ʔaḥsan šī mawžūd bəl-balad* [DA-129]   'This is the best thing (to be) found in town'

6. *waʔʔəf-ʔlna ɛala ʔawwal bāb ɛala yamīnak* [DA-45]   'Stop (for us) at the first door on your right'

7. *fəkro tāni səne yəži ləl-blād ʔl-ɛarabiyye* [DA-173]   'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'

8. *l-fallāḥ byəḥṣədhon...b-ʔawwal ʔṣ-ṣēf* [AO-59]   'The farmer harvests them early in the summer'

9. *ʔaddēš bəddak ʔtḥəṭṭ ʔawwal dafɛa?* [DA-294]   'How much do you want to put in as a first deposit?'

10. *tālet wāḥed ḥasan*   'The third one is Hassan' [p.406]

11. *ḥāwalt ʔāxer ḥēli*   'I tried my utmost' (lit. '...the last of my strength')

12. *ʔawwal dars ɛandi byəbda s-sāɛa tmāne w-nəṣṣ*   'My first lesson begins at half past eight' (Cf. *ʔawwal darsi* 'the beginning of my lesson')

13. *ʔaddēš ʔaʔall šī lāzem ḥəṭṭo?* [DA-294]   'What's the minimum amount (lit. the least thing) I must deposit?'

PREPOSITIONS

The prepositional construction is a special kind of annexion [p. 455], differing from nominal annexion 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:

la– 'to, for'	*Ɛala* 'on, about, to, against'
mən 'from, of, than'	*Ɛan* 'about, from'
b– 'at, in, by, with'	*Ɛand* 'with, at, Fr. *chez*'
fi 'in, on, at'	*maƐ* 'with'

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:

la– + l– → ləl–:	*ləl-walad*[1] 'to the boy'
b– + l– → bəl–:	*bəl–ᵊktāb* 'with the book'
fi + l– → fəl–:	*fəl-bēt* 'in the house'
Ɛala + l– → Ɛal–:	*Ɛal-maktab* 'to the office'

The preposition *b–* is sometimes assimilated to an initial *m* or *f*: *m-maḥallak* (or *b-maḥallak*) 'in your place', *f-faršti* (or *b-faršti*) 'in my bed'. Sometimes this preposition is pronounced *bi*: *bi-ʔawwal ᵊš-šahᵊr* 'on the first of the month'.

fi may also be pronounced with a short *i* in close phrasing [p. 19]: *fi-bēti* (or *fi bēti*) 'in my house', or sometimes with no vowel at all: *f-bēti*.

The *ə* of *mən* 'from' is generally lost before a vowel: *mn ᵊl-bēt* 'from the house'.[1]

Especially in Lebanon, *Ɛala* is sometimes shortened to *Ɛa–* even when not in combination with the article: *Ɛa-bēti* 'to my house' (for *Ɛala bēti*). Sometimes, on the other hand, *Ɛala* keeps its longer form even before the article: *Ɛala ṭ-ṭāwle* (or *Ɛaṭ-ṭāwle*) 'on the table'.

Ɛand is generally pronounced *Ɛənd* in some parts of Greater Syria.
la– is commonly reduced to *l–* in parts of Lebanon [p. 13].

Pronoun-Suffixing Forms. When the "object"[2] of a preposition is a personal pronoun, it is the suffixed form of the pronoun which is used [p. 539]:

maƐo	'with him, it'	*Ɛando*	'with him' (Fr. *chez lui*)
maƐak	'with you(m.)'	*Ɛandak*	'with you(m.)'
maƐek	'with you(f.)'	*Ɛandek*	'with you(f.)'
maƐi	'with me'	*Ɛandi*	'with me'
maƐha	'with her, it'	*Ɛandha*	'with her'
maⁿhon	'with them'	*Ɛandhon*	'with them'
maƐkon	'with you(pl.)'	*Ɛandkon*	'with you(pl.)'
maƐna	'with us'	*Ɛanna*	'with us'

---

[1] These combinations with *ə* are sometimes considered to have the helping vowel: *lᵊl-walad, bᵊl-ᵊktāb,* etc. This use of the helping vowel, however, is not allowed for in the rules of anaptyxis given here [p. 29]. According to these rules, we would get *lᵊl-walad,* but "*bl-ᵊktāb*", not *bᵊl-ᵊktāb*. Our transcription with the large *ə* simply implies that *ə* in these combinations remains in all environments.

[1] The *ə* of *mən* is probably best analyzed as a helping vowel; to be perfectly consistent we should transcribe *mᵊn-bēto, mnᵊl-bēt,* rather than *mən bēto, mn ᵊl-bēt*. Our transcription here follows a tradition based on Arabic spelling, which connects only one-letter proclitics to the following word. Since *mən* 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.

[2] The 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 *Ɛand* is usually elided with the suffix *-na* 'us': *Ɛanna* (for *Ɛandna*).

maƐha and *maƐhon* are sometimes pronounced *maḥḥa* and *maḥḥon,* respectively. The *h* of *-ha* and *-hon* may also be dropped, as is the case generally [p. 541]: · *maƐa* 'with her', *maƐon* 'with them', *Ɛanda* 'with her', *Ɛandon* 'with them'.

On the quasi-verbal use of these prepositions, see p. 413.

The suffixing forms of *mən* and *Ɛan* have a double *n* before a vowel:

mənno	'from him, it'	*Ɛanno*	'from him, it'
mənnak	'from you(m.)'	*Ɛannak*	'from you(m.)'
mənnek	'from you(f.)'	*Ɛannek*	'from you(f.)'
mənni	'from me'	*Ɛanni*	'from me'
mənha	'from her, it'	*Ɛanha*	'from her, it'
mənhon	'from them'	*Ɛanhon*	'from them'
mənkon	'from you(pl.)'	*Ɛankon*	'from you(pl.)'
mənna	'from us'	*Ɛanna*	'from us'

Note that *Ɛanna* 'from us' is pronounced the same as *Ɛanna* 'with us' (see above), though the latter is sometimes also pronounced *Ɛənna.*

When the *h* of *-ha* and *-hon* is elided, the *n* is commonly doubled as before the other suffixes beginning with a vowel: *mənna* 'from her', *mənnon* 'from them', *Ɛanna* 'from her', *Ɛannon* '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: *məna* 'from her', *mənon* 'from then', etc.

The suffixing form of *Ɛala* is *Ɛalē-,* except in the first person singular, where it is *Ɛaliyy-* (or in some areas *Ɛalayy-*):

Ɛalē	'on him, it'	*Ɛalēha, Ɛalēa*	'on her, it'
Ɛalēk	'on you(m.)'	*Ɛalēhon, Ɛalēon*	'on them'
Ɛalēki	'on you(f.)'	*Ɛalēkon*	'on you(pl.)'
Ɛaliyyi (*Ɛalayyi*)	'on me'	*Ɛalēna*	'on us'

The suffixing form of *fi* is *fī-* (a regular sound change [p. 27]):

fī	'in him, it'	*fīha*	'in her, it'
fīk	'in you(m.)'	*fīhon*	'in them'
fīki	'in you(f.)'	*fīkon*	'in you(pl.)'
fiyyi	'in me'[1]	*fīna*	'in us'

With loss of *h* in *-ha* and *-hon: fiya* or *fiyya* 'in her', *fiyon* or *fiyyon* 'in them'.

The preposition *b-* is not normally used with pronoun suffixes (but see p. 415); the stem *fī-* is used in its stead. Conversely, in some parts of Greater Syria *fi* is not often used <u>without</u> pronoun suffixes, *b-* taking its place most of the time. Thus *b-* and *fi* are not merely partial synonyms but are virtually alternants of the same preposition: *b-ʔūṭṭi* 'in my room' vs. *fīha* 'in it', *b-səkkīn* 'with a knife' vs. *fīha* 'with it'.

In certain other areas, however, most speakers make a distinction between non-suffixing *b-* and *fi,* preferring *fi* in the sense 'in': *fi ʔūṭṭi* (or *fi-ʔūṭṭi* or *f-ʔūṭṭi*) 'in my room', while *b-* is obligatory in certain other senses, e.g. 'by, with': *b-səkkīn* 'with a knife'. In any case, *fi* is optional in most of its non-suffixing contexts, being generally replaceable with *b-,* while *b-,* on the other hand, is by no means always replaceable with *fi* (e.g. *b-sərƐa* 'fast', lit. "with speed").

The Preposition *la-* 'to, for'. *la-* has two kinds of form with pronoun suffixes: a DISJUNCTIVE form, like the other prepositions, and a CONJUNCTIVE form, which is suffixed to verbs and participles [p. 482], and sometimes also to elatives [314] and the negative *mā* [385].

The disjunctive suffixing form is *ʔəl-:*

ʔəlo	'to him, it'	*ʔəlha, ʔəla*	'to her, it'
ʔəlak	'to you(m.)'	*ʔəlhon, ʔəlon*	'to them'
ʔəlek	'to you(f.)'	*ʔəlkon*	'to you(pl)'
ʔəli	'to me'	*ʔəlna*	'to us'

---

[1] In the quasi-verbal use, usually *fīni* 'I can' ("[I have it] in me to..."). See p. 547.

[Ch. 18]

Examples of the disjunctive form in context:

1. mā Ɛandi waʔˀt ʔəlha   'I don't have time for it'

2. ṣāret dāyman ˀmṭīƐa ʔəlo   'She started being always obedient to him'

3. huwwe ṣāḥeb ḥamīm ʔəli   'He's a close friend of mine' (lit. "...friend to me")

4. ʔəlak maktūb ˀmsōkar [DA-223]   'There's a registered letter for you'

5. xalli l-qarār ʔəlo   'Leave the decision to him'

6. Ɛam-ʔaƐmel ṭaʔˀm ʔəli   'I'm having a suit made for me'

> In examples 5 and 6, the disjunctive forms ʔəlo, ʔəli are used, for the sake of emphasis, rather than conjunctive forms suffixed to the verbs (xallī-lo 'leave...to him', Ɛam-ʔaƐməl-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 lē-, used sometimes as in štaʔˀt lēk 'I've missed you' (instead of the conjunctive štaʔt-əllak). Note also: ʔawwal ṣadīʔ lina fi bayrūt [SAL-59] 'our first friend in Beirut' (for ʔəlna). (Cf. Classical forms with ʔila and li-.)

The conjunctive forms vary, depending on the preceding and following sounds:

−lo,	−əllo	'to him, it'	−lha, −la,	−əlha, −əlla	'to her, it'
−lak,	−əllak	'to you(m.)'	−lhon, −lon,	−əlhon, −əllon	'to them'
−lek,	−əllek	'to you(f.)'	−lkon,	−əlkon	'to you(pl.)'
−li,	−əlli	'to me'	−lna,	−əlna	'to us'

> −l− is sometimes assimilated to the n of −na 'us' žāb-ˀnna (for žāb-ˀlna) 'he brought...to us'.

1.) −ˀll− is used after two consonants and before a vowel:

žəbt-ˀllak   'I've brought (for) you(m.)...'

ḥəṭṭ-ˀlli   'Put(m.)...for me'

> −ˀll− is also used optionally (instead of −l−) after the subject-affix −t [p.193] even when the −t is preceded by a vowel: ḥaṭṭēt-əllak 'I put...for you(m.)'' (or ḥaṭṭēt-lak).

2.) −ˀl− is used after two consonants and before a consonant:

žəbt-ˀlkon   'I've brought (for) you(pl.)...'

ḥəṭṭ-ˀlna   'Put...for us'

3.) −l− is used otherwise:

bžˀb-lak   'I'll bring...(for) you(m.)'

žībī-lna   'bring(f.)...(for)us'

> After a single consonant and before a consonant, however, the helping vowel ˀ must come before −l−, by the rule of anaptyxis [p.29]:

bžˀb-ˀlkon   'I'll bring...(for) you(pl.)'

žˀb-ˀlna   'He brought...(to) us'

> After l, the helping vowel is generally not used:

ʔˀl-lna   'tell(m.) (to) us'

byaƐmˀl-lkon   'he'll make...for you(pl.)'

> The two l's, furthermore, are generally reduced in pronunciation to one: ʔˀl-na, byaƐmˀl-kon. See pp.23,24.

> On accentuation, see pp.18-19.

[Ch. 18]

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; $\bar{a}$ commonly becomes a, and $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{e}$, $\bar{u}$, and $\bar{o}$ almost always become ∂ [p.23]:

ṣār	+ -lak → ṣar-lak	'it has been for you...'
ʔāl	+ -li → ʔal-li	'he said to me...'
ɛmēl	+ -lo → ɛmǝl-lo	'do for him...'
ṣrōf	+ -lak → ṣrǝf-lak	'spend for yourself...'
ʔūl	+ -lon → ʔǝl-lon	'say to them...'
žīb	+ -lna → žǝb-ǝlna	'bring (for) us...'
masmūḥ	+ -li → masmǝḥ-li	'allowed (to) me'

Note also the optional loss of $\bar{u}$ in the fem. $ʔūli + -l- + pn. sfx.$: $ʔlī-lo$ 'tell(f.) (to) him' (or $ʔūlī-lo$).

Examples of -l- suffixes:

1. smaḥū-lna mnǝstaʔzen — 'Excuse(pl.) us, we must go' (lit. "Allow (to) us, we ask permission")

2. ʔaddēš bāʔī-lak hōn? — 'How much longer do you have here?' (lit. "How much is left to you here?")

3. baɛd ǝḍ-ḍǝhǝr bžǝb-ǝlkon yāhon — 'This afternoon I'll bring them for you(pl.)'

4. nšālḷa ʔal-lkon šǝkran u-bass — 'I suppose he said to you(pl.) "thanks" and that was all?'

5. bʔǝl-lon ǝnsīt — 'I'll tell them I forgot'

6. lamma yǝržaɛ laḥ-ikǝl-lo mažāl ʔawsaɛ — 'When he returns there's going to be broader scope for him' (laḥ-ikūn + -lo → laḥ-ikǝl-lo)

7. ṣar-la tārke ʔamērka tlǝtt iyyām [DA-198] — 'She left the States three days ago' (lit. "It's been for her having left America three days")

8. ʔālǝt-lo banto xǝdni maɛak — 'His daughter said to him, "Take me with you"'

9. lammaɛ-li ṣ-ṣabbāt mnīḥ [DA-180] — 'Shine the shoes for me well'

10. bdawwǝr-lak w-ǝbrǝdd-ǝllak xabar bakra ṣ-ṣǝbǝḥ [DA-290] — 'I'll look around (for you) and let you know tomorrow morning' (lit. "and send back news to you...")

11. wēn batḥǝbbu waʔʔǝf-ǝlkon? [DA-45] — 'Where would you(pl.) like me to wait for you?'

12. halli batrīdi bžǝb-lek yā [AO-115] — 'I'll bring (to) you (f.) what you want'

13. yōm baɛǝd yōm biɛǝd-ǝlna nafs ǝl-ʔǝṣṣa — 'Day after day he repeats the same story to us'

14. ʔana mǝštaʔt-ǝlkon — 'I've(f.) missed you(pl.)' ('I've been yearning for you')

15. hiyye madyant-ǝllo b-kǝll šī — '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 žāb-ǝlhon ǝhdiyye 'He brought (to) them a present' is a substitute for sentences such as žāb lǝl-ǝwlād ǝhdiyye '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. bzǝnn-ǝllak hēk bǝddo yaɛmel [DA-75] — 'I think that's what he wants to do'

The suffix -ǝllak is functionally a sentence supplement [p.526], though in form it seems to be a supplement or complement to the verb bzǝnn. 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. xāyǝf-lak hal-ʔǝxtiṣārāt mā tǝnfǝhem — 'I'm afraid these abbreviations are incomprehensible'

18. šāyǝf-lak ǝs-siyāse l-ǝmɛāṣra batḥayyer ǝktīr — 'I find contemporary politics very confusing'

19. btaɛrǝf-li šī bant ǝbtǝʔɛod sānɛa? [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 bdawwǝr-lak, but a complement in brǝdd-ǝllak.

Similarly, conjunctive −*l*− 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 sməɛt-əlli kamm wāḥde hēke*
    'The last time, I heard a few like that'

21. *bəddna nəḥkī-lna šī sīre ṭawīle*
    'We must have a good long talk'

22. *žəddi kān ɛando ɛāde yāxəd-lo ġafwe baɛd ᵊl-ġada*
    'My grandfather had the habit of taking a nap after lunch'

23. *ɛədū-lkon šī nəṣṣ sāɛa tānye*
    'Stay (pl.) another half hour!' (lit. "sit...")

24. *dzakkar-lak šī wāḥed ᵊante*
    'You think of one'

25. *bəddi ᵊaᵊrā-li šwayye*
    'I want to do a little reading'

26. *mā laha-yɛəš-lo ᵊaktar mən xamᵊst iyyām*
    'He won't live more than five days'

Another use of redundant pronouns with −*l*− is in anticipation of a pronoun suffixed to the verb's complement:

27. *taɛažt-əlla bāb sayyārᵊta l-warrāni*
    'I dented (for her) the rear door of her car'

28. *raššēt-əllo šwayyet ṃayy ɛala wəššo*
    'I sprinkled a little water on his face'

29. *ᵊakl ᵊs-səkkar ᵊktīr bisauwᵊs-lak ᵊsnānak*
    'Eating sugar too much will decay your teeth'

30. *makatībo dāyman bətᵊammᵊt-li ᵊalbi*
    'His letters always depress me' (lit. "...oppress my heart")

31. *haṭ-ṭaṭawwor xayyab-ᵊlna ᵊāmālna*
    'This development has dashed our hopes'

Free Prepositions

There are several locative prepositions which can be used predicatively without an "object".[1]

fōᵊ	'above, over, upstairs'
taḥt	'below, under, downstairs'
žuwwa	'inside' (annexing form *žuwwāt*)
barra	'outside' (annexing form *barrāt*)
ᵊəddām	'in front(of)'
wara	'behind, in back'

Examples without objects:

1. *hənne barra bəž-žnēne*
   'They're outside in the garden'

2. *l-ḥafle l-mūsīqiyye bəṭṣīr žuwwa*
   'The concert will be indoors'

3. *fī makātīb ᵊəlak taḥᵊt ɛand ᵊs-sammān*
   'There are some letters for you downstairs at the grocer's'

4. *mīn hāda yalli taḥᵊt?*
   'Who's that down there?'

5. *samīra fōᵊ maɛ ᵊəmma*
   'Samira is upstairs with her mother'

6. *ᵊoɛa s-sayyāra yalli wara!*
   'Look out for the car behind!'

7. *ɛarabāt ᵊr-rəkkāb ᵊəddām wəš-šaḥᵊn wara*
   'Passenger cars are forward and freight (cars) to the rear'

Examples with noun objects:

1. *byəskon barrāt ᵊl-balad*
   'He lives outside the city'

2. *žuwwāt ᵊd-dār ɛando žāž u-dīk* [AO-63]
   'Inside the house he has chickens and a rooster'

3. *fī malža taḥt ᵊl-ᵊarḍ*
   'There's a shelter under the ground'

4. *ᵊūḍti fōᵊ ᵊl-maṭbax*
   'My room is over the kitchen'

---

[1]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. *natṭ wara n-nōl u-ṣār iḥayyek ʔawām* [AO-96]

'He jumped behind the loom and began to weave quickly'

6. *xallīna naẑtómeE ʔaddām ʔl-bōṣta*

'Let's meet in front of the post office'

Prepositional Combinations with *la-* and *mən*

la- 'to' and *mən* 'from' may precede any of the free prepositions as well as *Eand* 'at, with', to convert a locative phrase into a TRANSLOCATIVE phrase:

1. *Eazámon la-Eando Eal-Eaša*

'He invited them to his house for dinner'

2. *bədẑīb-li hal-ʔǧrāḍ mən Eand ʔl-laḥḥām?*

'Would you bring me those things from the butcher's?' (lit. "...from at the butcher")

3. *ṣār...yarmīhon mən fōʔ ʔl-ḥēṭ la-barra* [AO-104]

'He started throwing them out over the wall'

4. *ʔarreb haṭ-ṭarabēẓa la-ʔaddām Eammtak*

'Move that table over in front of your aunt'

5. *ʔana ẑāye mən barrāt ʔl-balad*

'I'm coming from out of town'

6. *ḥāwel təlʔóṭa mən taḥt*

'Try to get at it from underneath'

7. *rẑāE šwayye la-wara*

'Back up a little'

mən (but not *la-*) is also used before *Eala* 'on':

8. *ẑīb ʔṣ-ṣaḥʔn mən Eala ṭ-ṭāwle*

'Get the dish from off the table'

9. *naʔʔī-li mən Eal-waẑš ẑī kīloyēn banadōra* [DA-106]

'Pick out about two kilos of tomatoes from on top for me'

Eala serves both in the locative sense 'on' and in the translocative senses 'onto' and 'to': *ḥaṭṭo Eaṭ-ṭāwle* 'Put it on the table' *rāḥ Eal-bēt* 'He went to the house'.

In other cases as well, *la-* is often omitted in translocative phrases when the preposition has an object: *ṭləEt barrāt ʔl-balad* 'I went out of town', but not when there is no object: *ṭləEt la-barra* 'I went outside'.

It should be noted that *mən* in translocative phrases means not only 'from', but also 'through', 'over', 'by':

10. *ṭləEt barrāt l-ʔmdīne mən bāb tūma ləl-ʔaṣṣāE* [AO-67]

'I came out of the Old City through Bâb Touma to Qassaa.'

11. *l-bāṣ byəmroʔ mən ʔaddām bābna* [DA-104]

'The bus goes by in front of our door'

Note also ex. 3, above: *mən fōʔ* 'over' (not 'from on top of').

baEʔd 'after' and *ʔabʔl* 'before' may be preceded by *mən* 'since', and *baEʔd* may also be preceded by *la-* 'until':

12. *l-ʔasEār ġalyet mən baEd ʔẑ-ẑafāf*

'Prices have gone up since the drought'

13. *trōk hal-masʔale la-baEd ʔl-Eīd*

'Leave that matter till after the holiday'

14. *mən ʔabl ʔẑwāzo kān yəskar*

'Before his marriage he used to get drunk' (Here *mən* does not mean 'from' or 'since' a certain time, but rather 'during' a certain length of time: cf. the spacial sense 'through', 'by'.)

baEʔd and *ʔabʔl* are also used adverbially with no "object", with or without a preceding *mən* (or *la-*): *mā kənt ʔəštóġel Eand ḥada mən ʔabʔl* [DA-81] 'I've never worked for anyone before', *halli byəxloṣ ʔabʔl byəstanna t-tāni Eand ʔl-bāb* [DA-244] 'Whoever finishes first will wait for the other at the door'.

baEʔd and *ʔabʔl* are not to be considered "free prepositions", however, since they are not normally used predicatively without an object.

fōʔ, *taḥt*, *wara*, *ʔaddām*, *baEʔd* and *ʔabʔl* may all either take pronoun suffixes directly, or else they may be followed by *mən* with suffixes: *baEdi* or *baEʔd mənni* 'after me', *fōʔo* or *fōʔ mənno* 'above it'. Commonly, however, the *m* of *mən* is doubled (or in some areas, preceded by *l*): *baEd ʔmmənni* (or *baEd ʔlmənni*) 'after me', *fōʔ ʔmmənno* (or *fōʔ ʔlmənno*) 'above it':

15. *huwwe byəẑi dōro ʔabl ʔmmənni*

'His turn comes before mine'

16. *kənt māši wara mmənno*

'I was walking behind him'

17. *hənne sāknīn taḥt ʔmmənna*

'They live below us' (i.e. downstairs)

18. *w-ʔəmʔt ʔante ʔalt-əlla ʔaddām ʔmmənni Eandi rəfaʔāti*

'...and you told her, 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. kān marġūb ᵊktīr ka-mḥāḍer huwwe   'He was much in demand as a lecturer'

2. baḥsen ᵊržaɛ ka-ᵊstāz   'I could go back as a teacher'

3. ka-wāḥed ᵊamērkāni byaḥki ɛarabi mnīḥ   'For an American, he speaks Arabic well'

On kaᵖanno 'as if' see p. 491.

Certain other prepositions are also not used with pronoun suffixes: ḥasab 'according to', ᵖāṭeɛ 'across', badal and ɛawaḍ 'instead of' (but badāl and ɛawāḍ, same meaning, can take suffixes), ᵖarb and ᵖarīb 'near' (but b-ᵖarbo 'near it', ᵖarīb manno 'near it').

bēn 'between, among' has a form bēnāt, used with plural suffixes, (and sometimes also with nouns) in the sense 'among' (or 'between' if the plural refers to two only): bēnāton 'among them' or 'between (the two of) them'. In coordinations, 'between...and...', the preposition never takes the -āt form — and must be repeated if one or both of the following terms is a pronoun suffix, since the suffixes themselves cannot be coordinated: bēni w-bēnak 'between you and me'.

1. šū l-farᵖᵖ bēn ᵊt-tnēn? [DA-293]   'What's the difference between the two?'

2. kānet ᵊl-bant bēn ᵊl-ḥarrās, lābse badle ɛaskariyye [AO-115]   'The girl was among the guards, dressed in a military uniform'

3. ḥams u-ḥama wāᵖɛīn bēn ᵊš-šām u-ḥalab   'Homs and Hama lie between Damascus and Aleppo'

4. mīn ɛali bēnāton?   'Which of them is Ali?' ("Who is Ali among them?")

5. ɛtamadna ɛalēha bēnātna   'We decided (on) it among ourselves'

6. faḍḍūha bēnāt baɛᵊdkon   'Settle it among yourselves'

7. dawwart bēn (or bēnāt) l-ᵊbyūt kallon   'I went around among all the houses'

8. ᵖaža ṣaldḥa bēni w-bēn marti   'He came and patched things up between me and my wife'

9. bēnna w-bēnkon mā fī farᵖᵖ   'Between you and us there's no difference'

10. bēnon u-bēn ɛammālon fī ᵖxtilāf   'There's a disagreement between them and their workers'

tabaɛ 'of, belonging to' forms phrases which function as predicate (has-stīlo tabaɛ farīd 'This pen belongs to Fareed') or attribute (wēn ᵖs-stīlo tabaɛ farīd? 'Where is Fareed's pen?'); but unlike ordinary prepositions is does not form adverbial phrases [p. 523]. Examples:

1. hayy tabaɛna   'This is ours'

2. l-ḥādes ṣār ɛand ᵖs-sūke tabaɛna   'The accident happened on our corner'

3. tabaɛ mīn hal-ᵊktāb?   'Whose is this book?'

4. hal-bargi tabaɛ šū?   'Where does this screw belong?'

5. l-mūs tabaɛak ḥadd?   'Is your razor (or jacknife) sharp?'

6. wēn ᵊl-ballōra tabaɛ ᵊl-kāz?   'Where's the chimney for the lamp?'

7. hal-ᵊgrāḍ tabaɛhon (or tabaḥhon)   'These things are theirs'

8. hayy baṭṭāriyye tabaɛ bīl   'This is a flashlight battery'

Some speakers rarely use tabaɛ with an indefinite following term (as in ex. 8), preferring in such cases an annexion phrase (baṭṭāriyyet bīl) or a la- phrase (baṭṭāriyye la-bīl). Note the definitized following term in expressions like waraᵖa tabaɛ ᵊl-xams miyye 'a five hundred [pound] note'.

In agreement with a plural, the forms tabaɛāt and tabaɛūl are sometimes used[1]:

9. xōd l-ᵊġrāḍ tabaɛātak man hōn   'Get your things out of here'

10. tabaɛūl mīn hal-katᵊb?   'Whose books are these?'

11. hal-barāgi tabaɛāt ᵖēš?   'What are these screws for?' (or 'Where do these screws go?')

12. bfaḍḍel habbel ᵊl-xaḍar tabaɛāti   'I prefer to steam my vegetables'

13. tabaɛ mīn haṣ-ṣuwar? – tabaɛūli   'Whose pictures are these? – Mine'

14. hal-ᵖarāḍi tabaɛāt ɛammi   'This land (lit. 'these lands') belongs to my uncle'

---

[1] The existence of these plural forms is a measure of the noun-like (and un-preposition-like) character of the word tabaɛ. Regardless how it is classified, tabaɛ 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. matᵊl 'like' (or 'the like of'), žamb 'beside' (or 'side'), etc.
As for the plural form tabaɛūl, the final l is presumably a variation from n (cf. Pal. tabɛūn), perhaps reinterpreted as a quasi-verbal form with an -l- suffix [p. 480]: tabaɛū-lo 'belonging (pl.) to him' (cf. Classical tābiɛ lahu).

In various parts of Greater Syria, certain other words are used in the same way as *tabaɛ*. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the form *btāɛ* is used, generally with full adjectival inflection: fem. *btāɛet...*, *btāɛti* 'mine', etc.; pl. *btūɛ* or *btāɛūn*; in Palestine the plural form of *tabaɛ* is *tabɛūn* (rather than *tabaɛūl*). In Damascus the word *šīt* is common: *l-mōtōr šīt ᵊs-sayyāra xarbān* 'The engine of the car is out of order'; the plural of *šīt* is *šyāt*: *lā tāxod hal-ᵊġrād, šyāti hadōl* 'Don't take these things, they're mine'. The Palestinian form of this word is *šēt*, pl. *šayyūt*.

In the periphrasis of annexion [p. 460], an attributive *tabaɛ* phrase is commonly preferred to annexion when the leading term is a recent loan word, or a substantive ending in a vowel (not counting the *-e/-a* suffix): *r-rādyo tabaɛi* 'my radio' (rather than *rādyōyi*), *l-ᵊabartmān l-ᵊšdīd tabaɛna* 'our new apartment' (rather than *ᵊabartmānna l-ᵊšdīd*). The *tabaɛ* construction is also common in expressing a looser sort of relationship than what is implied by annexion, e.g. *s-sūke tabaɛna* 'our corner' (ex. 2, above) rather than *sūkᵊtna,* 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:* *ᵊabᵊl ma nākol* 'before we eat' (cf. *ᵊabl ᵊl-ᵊakᵊl* 'before eating'), *b-matrah ma bikūn* 'Wherever it is' (cf. *b-matraho* 'in its place, where it belongs'). For example:

baɛᵊd ma	'after'	*waᵊᵊt ma, sāɛet ma, yōm ma, sᵊnt ma, daᵊīᵊet ma*	'at the time(hour, day, year, minute) that...', 'when'
matᵊl ma	'as'		
bala ma, bidūn ma	'without'	*ᵊadd ma*	'as much as'
badal ma, badāl ma	'instead of'	*bēm ma, la-bēn 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 *mᵊmma* 'than' (*mᵊn + ma*), which is used mostly in complementation to an elative [p. 314]:

1. *hiyye ᵊahla b-ᵊktīr mᵊmma kᵊnᵊt mᵊntᵊẓer* 'She is much prettier than I expected'

2. *lā tɛaᵊᵊed ᵊl-ᵊumūr ᵊaktar mᵊmma hiyye mɛaᵊᵊade hallaᵊ* 'Don't make things more complicated than they already are'

Note also:

3. *ᵊūmi, xallᵊī mᵊmma huwwe fī* [AO-119] 'Get up (f.) and release him from what he is in' (i.e. from the spell he is under)

Similarly, with a noun (substantive):

4. *daxlet mᵊn matrah ma ᵊᵊžet mn ᵊl-hēṭ* [AO-117] 'She 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. *hayy mᵊn ᵊahsan ma ykūn* 'This is (of) the best there is'

With *kᵊll* 'every' [p. 339]:

6. *kᵊll ma mᵊnhᵊbb natlaɛ la-barra btᵊnzel maṭar* 'Every time we want to go outside, it rains'

A few nouns and prepositions may be followed by a clause introduced by *ᵊᵊnno* (which more usually introduces complemental clauses [p. 449]): *la-daražet ᵊᵊnno* 'to such an extent that...' (also complemental: *la-daraže ᵊᵊnno...*); *maɛ ᵊᵊnno* 'although' (one of the meanings of *maɛ* is 'despite').

Some examples of prepositions with an *ᵊᵊnno* clause are given on . Note also *ka-ᵊᵊnno* 'as if', *la-ᵊᵊnno* (or *la-ᵊᵊanno* or *li-ᵊᵊanno*) 'because': *la-* 'for' + *ᵊᵊnno* 'that...' [see p. 543]:

7. *biṣawwer ᵊl-marᵊa kaᵊᵊnno nahhāt* 'He describes women as if he were a sculptor'

8. *mā ᵊᵊža laᵊᵊnno kān ᵊḍɛīf* 'He didn't come, because he was sick'

9. *s-saɛdān mā rᵊdi yᵊtɛallam maɛ ᵊᵊnno mɛallmo ṣār yᵊḍᵊrbo* [AO-96] 'The monkey wouldn't learn even though his master began beating him'

10. *kānet mᵊtᵊassra la-daražet ᵊᵊnno mā ᵊᵊdret tᵊhki* 'She was so deeply affected that she couldn't speak'

The particles *la-* and *mᵊnšān* '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*): *rāḥu ɛal-bēt la-yāklu* or ... *mᵊnšān yāklu* 'they went home to eat': cf. *rāḥu ɛal-bēt lᵊl-ᵊakᵊl* or ... *mᵊnšān ᵊl-ᵊakᵊl* '...for(the) food'.

Certain nouns may also stand in construct with a clause without benefit of a subordinating conjunction. See ex. 6, p. 386 (*masᵊalet...* 'a question of...').

CHAPTER 19: ATTRIBUTION

An ATTRIBUTE[1] (*an-naɛt*) is a subordinated predicate [p. 380] or comment [429]. The term it is attributive to (*al-manɛūt*) 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):

Predication or Extraposition	Attribution (Indefinite)	Attribution (Definite)
l-madīne kbīre 'The city is large'	*madīne kbīre* 'a large city'	*l-madīne l-ᵊkbīre* 'the large city'
laᵖāhon ṣabi 'A boy found them'	*ṣabi laᵖāhon* 'a boy who found them'	*ṣ-ṣabi yalli laᵖāhon* 'the boy who found them'
l-madīne mā šəftha 'The city, I haven't seen (it)'	*madīne mā šəftha* 'a city I haven't seen'	*l-madīne yalli mā šəftha* 'the city I haven't seen'

Note the resumptive pronoun (*-ha*) in the last example, which is characteristic of attribution phrases derived from extraposition, just as it is of the underlying extrapositional clause itself [p. 430].

The Article Prefix (*ᵖadāt t-taɛrīf*). Adjectives and certain other attributes are usually definitized with the article prefix, whose basic form is *l-*: *l-hawa l-bāred* 'the cold air', *l-ᵊḥṣān ᵖl-ᵖadham* 'the black horse'. The article is totally assimilated, however, to dental and front palatal consonants (*al-ḥurūf š-šamsiyya*): *t, d, s, z, ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, š, ž, n, r.* Examples of the assimilated article, in noun-adjective attribution phrases:

ṣ-ṣaff ᵖt-tālet	'the third row'	*l-lḥāf ᵖž-žamīl*	'the pretty quilt'
š-šōraba s-smīke	'the thick soup'	*ṭ-ṭāleb ᵖz-zaki*	'the bright student'
r-rasm ᵖd-daᵖīᵖ	'the fine drawing'	*ẓ-ẓābeṭ ᵖḍ-ḍaḥūk*	'the jolly officer'

s-samne n-nabātiyye 'the vegetable shortening'

The article is not invariably assimilated to *ž*; one may sometimes hear, for instance, *l-žāmeɛ l-ᵊždīd* 'the new mosque' instead of *ž-žāmeɛ ᵖž-ždīd*.

---

[1] 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.

[Ch. 19]

The Clause Definitizer. The particle *halli* or *yalli* (or *yəlli* or *ᵊlli*) – rather than the article prefix – is used to definitize an attributive comment 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 *hal–* [p.556] or by *halli* (etc.); or (2) if it is a pronoun or a proper name; or (3) if it is in construct [p.456] with a definite term. Otherwise it is INDEFINITE. Thus *l–bənt* 'the girl', *hal–bənt* 'this girl', *hādi* 'this(f.)', *hiyye* 'she', *maryam* 'Mary', *bənt ᵊt–tāžer* 'the merchant's daughter', *bənto* 'his daughter' are definite; while *bənt, wāḥde bənt, šī bənt* (all translated 'a girl'), *bənᵊt tāžer* 'a merchant's daughter', *ᵖakbar bənt* 'the oldest daughter' are all indefinite, regardless whether or not they <u>refer</u> to a definite person.

Thus in *fī wāḥde bənt bəddo yətžawwazha* 'There's a certain girl he wants to marry', the attributive comment *bəddo yətžawwazha* 'he wants to marry her' is not introduced by *halli* even though *wāḥde bənt* would presumably have a quite definite reference; similarly, in *hayy ᵖaḥla bənt šəftha* 'That's the prettiest girl I've seen', the attributive comment *šəftha* 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 bṭaᄃtī bikūn ᵊmnīḥ* [DA-100]

   'Whatever you give will be fine'

2. *tfaḍḍal la–ḥatta ᵖaržīk halli ᄃəndi* [AO-79]

   'Come, let me show you what I have'

3. *btaᄃref halli ḍarabak?* [AO-115]

   'Do you know the one who hit you?'

4. *byākol ᵖᴒtle yəlli byəstahzel kalām ᵖabū*

   'He who makes fun of what his father says will get a beating!' (Pred.- Subj. inversion [p.419])

5. *ḥakā–lha kəll halli ṣār maᄃo* [AO-115]

   'He told her all that had happened to him'

6. *baᄃd ᵊlli ᵖālo kərhū n–nās*

   'After what he said, people hated him'

7. *hāda yalli kān lāzəmni b–ᄃēno*

   'This is what I needed exactly'

8. *yəlli baᄃᵊrfo, ᵖənno rtafaḍ ṭalabo*

   '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: *bənt ᵖbtaᄃref ṭəṭbox* 'a girl who knows how to cook'; *r–ržāl halli šəfton* 'the men I saw'. (But see ex. 21 and 22, p.499)

Definite Attributive Clauses (*aṣ-ṣila*)

Examples, attributive verbal predicates:

1. *ᵖabl ᵊšwayye sməᄃt ᵊl–madāfeᄃ halli bəddəll ᄃala nihāyt ᵊṣ–ṣalā* [DA-298]

   'A little while ago I heard the cannon(s) which signal the end of the prayer'

2. *l–ᄃaṣāye kānet tabaᄃ wāḥed mn ᵊl–malāyke halli ᵖəžu la–ᄃənd ᵊbrāhīm* [AO-99]

   'The stick belonged to one of the angels who came to Abraham'

3. *bəddāri wlād ᵖaxūha yəlli byəštəğel ᄃənd ᵊž–žarrāḥ* [AO-44]

   'She looks after the children of her brother who works for the surgeon'

4. *laᵖu syūf ᵊt–tmānīn rəžžāl halli hažamu ᄃalēhon* [AO-113]

   'They found the swords of the eighty men who had attacked them'

5. *bᵖaržīk kamān maṣāṭer mn ᵊṭ–ṭalabiyye halli ᵖəžətni mbāreḥ* [AO-79]

   'I'll also show you some samples from the consignment that came (to me) yesterday'

6. *kīf hal–ᵖəmᵖom ᵊž–žğīr halli mā byəsaᄃ ᵖəlla ᵖəṣbaᄃtak wəsᄃak kəllak?* [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–rəžžāl ᵖaxad xanžaro w–ᵖaṭaᄃ rās ᵊl–ᵖaṭṭ halli ᄃəndo* [AO-112]

   'the man took his dagger and cut off the head of the cat he had'

8. *b–hal–ᵖəṭaᄃ yəlli maᄃak mā fīk tmawwət–li šāhi*

   'With those pieces you have you can't checkmate me'

Attributive non-verbal predicates [p.402]:

9. *stahlakna kəll ᵊṣ–ṣābūn halli bəl–bēt*

   'We've used up all the soap (that was) in the house'

[Ch. 19]

10. raha-ʔəstannāk bəl-ʔahwe halli ʕala žanab ʔl-maržə [DA-197]

'I'll wait for you in the coffeehouse (that's) on the Marjé'

11. ktōb ʔəsmak bəl-ʕāmūd yalli ʕal-yamīn

'Write your name in the right-hand column'

12. s-sayyāra yalli ʔəddāmi waʔʔafet ʕala ġafle

'The car (that was) in front of me stopped suddenly'

13. ʕam-ʔəštáġel ʕawāḍ ʔaxi halli marīḍ

'I'm working in place of my brother who is sick'

14. šū l-ʔġrāḍ halli lāzəmtak? [DA-128]

'What things do you need?' (lit. "What are the things that are necessary to you?")

15. šūf hāda halli žāy, hāda ʔabu ʕafīf [DA-134]

'See that man coming? That's Abu Afif' (lit. "Look at that who is coming, ...")

Non-verbal attributes to a definite term are not by any means always introduced by the clause definitizer. Compare ex. 12 with s-sayyāra ʔəddāmi 'the car in front of me', ex. 13 with ʔaxi l-marīḍ 'my sick brother', ex. 14 with l-ʔġrāḍ ʔl-lāzme 'the necessary things', ex. 15 with š-šahr ʔž-žāye 'the coming month'. See p. 500.

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. hayy ʔl-bənt yalli ʔəlt-ʔllak ʕanha [DA-99]

'This is the girl I told you about'

17. rakḍet u-ʕānaʔet ʔl-malek halli ẓannto ṣāḥəbha [AO-119]

'She ran and embraced the king, whom she thought [to be] her lover'

18. ṭalab ʔl-malek mn ʔṣ-ṣayyād ʔənno ydəllo ʕal-maṭraḥ halli ʕamma-yṣīd fī s-samak [AO-117]

'The king asked the fisherman to direct him to the place where he was catching the fish' (lit. "...the place he was catching in it the fish")

19. s-sadīʔ yalli ʕaṭēto yāha kān məhtaž-la ktīr

'The friend I gave it to needed it badly'

20. wēn ʔt-tnēn halli rəhʔt maʕon ʕal-madrase?

'Where are the two you went to school with?'

21. ʔaddēš haʔʔ ʔs-sayyāra lli bəddak təštrīha? [EA-180]

'What's the price of the car you want to buy?'

22. lāzem baddel haṭ-ṭaʔṣīr halli ʔaṣṣarto fīk [AO-108]

'I must make up for this neglect with which I have treated you'

23. ʔahʔl l-ʔmdīne halli sāwētīhon samak, kəll yōm byədʕu ʕalayyi w-hāda sabab ḍaʕafi [AO-119]

'The townspeople that you(f.) turned into fish curse me every day, and that is the cause of my illness'

24. laha-tətrok ʔn-nās halli ʔāʕde ʕandhon [DA-98]

'She's going to leave the people she's staying with'

25. kənt maṭṣaṭṭeh ʕala hat-taxt halli ʔana fī halla? [AO-118]

'I was lying on this bed that I'm in now'

26. byədʔrsu l-wuqūd yalli byəstaʕʔmlu ləṣ-ṣawarīx byəstaʕʔmlu u-hal-masāʔel

'They study the fuel used for rockets, and things like that'

Sometimes, as in ex. 26, the resumptive pronoun [p. 430] after a verb is ommitted; i.e. l-wuqūd yalli byəstaʕʔmlu 'the fuel they use' rather than ...yalli byəstaʕʔmlū "the fuel they use (it)". This construction is of course more like an English relative clause than the more common one is.

27. lāʔi l-ʔaʕdād yalli hiyye ʔaḍʕāf ʔl-xamse

'Find the numbers that are multiples of five'

28. hal-kətob ʔntašaru fəl-qāhira lli hiyye l-ʔān ʔl-markaz ʔl-ʔadabi ləl-ʕālam ʔl-ʕarabi

'These books were published in Cairo, which is now the cultural center of the Arab world'

Examples 27 and 28 show attributive comments with resumptive 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': bəddi ʕarrfak ʕala ṣāḥbi yəlli huwwe raʔīs ʔl-baladiyye.

Indefinite Attributive Clauses (aṣ-ṣifa)

In attribution to an indefinite term, a predicate or comment is usually paratactic; i.e. there is usually no particle like yalli, 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. fī ʕandi sadīʔ ʔamērkāni ʔəža ždīd ʕal-ʔblād [DA-289]

'I have an American friend who has just recently come to this country'

2. rəhna la-ʕand fallāḥ byəskon b-ḍēʕa ʔarībe mn ʔl-madīne [AO-59]

'We went to see a farmer who lives in a village near the city'

3. baʕʔd bəkra fī bēt ʔmnīḥ bəddo yəfḍa [DA-244]

'The day after tomorrow there's a good house that's going to be vacated'

4. *mā fī šī tġayyar*

'Nothing has changed' (lit. "There is not a thing that has changed")

5. *mnaɛref bəl-madīne ɛēle mnīḥa ɛəndha bənt ḥəlwe bəddon ižawwzūha* [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. *bəddon ižawwzūha* 'they want to marry her off' is attributive to *bənt ḥəlwe*, while *ɛəndha bənt ḥəlwe bəddon...* 'they have a pretty daughter they want...' is all attributive to *ɛēle mnīḥa*. Similarly in ex. 2, *ʔarībe mn ʔl-madīne* '[it is] near the city' is attributive to *ḍēɛa*, while *byəskon ʔb-ḍēɛa ʔarībe...* 'he lives in a village near...' is all attributive to *fallāḥ*.

6. *fī ʔəli ʔəbʔn ɛamm tāžer hnīk* [DA-245]

'I have a cousin who's in business there' (lit. "...a cousin [he is] a merchant there")

7. *kān fī ṣayyād ʔəxtyār u-faʔīr ʔktīr, ɛəndo mara w-tlətt ʔwlād* [AO-115]

'There was a poor old fisherman who had a wife and three children'

8. *ʔəli ḥkāye ɛažībe ktīr, bətkūn ɛəbra la-halli bəddo yəɛtəber* [AO-118]

'I have a very strange story, that will be a lesson for him who will take heed'

9. *hayy šaġle bəddi qarrəra baɛʔd šahrēn tlāte*

'That's something I'll decide in two or three months'

10. *baɛatt-əllak ʔzbūn dərso ɛam-yūžaɛo w-ɛam-bidawwer ɛala kammāše la-yəxlaɛo*

'I sent you a patient whose tooth was hurting him and he was looking for a pair of pliers to pull it'

11. *w-mā bətlāʔi maṭraḥ ʔthəṭṭ rəžlak fī mən kətr ʔz-zaḥme* [DA-302]

'And you can't find a place to put your foot down because of the crowd' (lit. "...to put your foot in (it)")

12. *hayy ʔawwal marra bəštəġel fīha* [DA-81]

'This is the first time I've worked' (i.e. "...first time in which I work")

13. *ḥaket kalām mā fhəmt mənno šī* [AO-118]

'She said some words of which I understood nothing'

14. *šāf fīha barmīl ʔkbīr, fī ramʔl w-ṭīne* [AO-115]

'He saw a large barrel with sand and clay in it' (lit. "...[there was] in it sand...")

15. *dabbaru xəṭṭa kəlla makʔr*

'They conceived a very clever plan' ("...a plan all of which was cleverness")

16. *ḥāwal kəll šī məmken taṣawwuro*

'He tried everything imaginable' ("everything whose imagining is possible")

17. *l-lēle t-tānye šāf ʔaṣʔr ʔaswad bābo maftūḥ* [AO-117]

'The next night he saw a black castle whose door was open'

18. *šū ɛandak ḍamānāt ʔtʔaddəmha ləl-bank liqāʔ hal-mablaġ?* [DA-296]

'What collateral do you have to offer the bank against this amount?'

19. *byətɛaššu l-masa ɛaša ʔaktar əl-ʔawʔāt huwwe mn əl-bāʔi ɛan əl-ġada mn əl-ʔakʔl* [PAT-197]

'In the evening they have a supper which is usually (of) food left over from dinner'

Note the resumptive subject pronoun (*huwwe*) in ex. 19. (Cf. ex. 27 and 28, p.497.) In this case the attributive predicate is prepositional (*mn əl-bāʔi...*); the subject pronoun confirms the attributive (and predicative) role of what follows its antecedent *ɛaša* 'supper' [cf. p.549]. Without *huwwe*, *mn əl-bāʔi...* might be construed as supplemental to the verb *byətɛaššu:* 'they usually sup on leftovers from...' (with *ɛaša* as an unmodified paronymous complement [p.442]).

20. *mā byəstāhel mara razīle mətʔl marto halli kəll yōm btaɛtī šarāb bətbannžo fī* [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 *bətbannžo fī* is attributive to *šarāb*, which is part of another subordinate clause *halli kəll yōm...*, which is attributive to the definite noun *marto*.

Some speakers occasionally use *yalli*, etc. to introduce clauses that are attributive to an indefinite term:

21. *b-hadāk əl-waʔʔt kān fī ktīr nās yəlli staġallu l-mawʔef*

'At that time there were a lot of people who took advantage of the situation'

22. *fī wāḥde yalli bətzakkəra fīha ʔəsma*

'There's one I remember that has her name in it'

Example 22 has two subordinate clauses, both attributive to the indefinite term *wāḥde*. The first is introduced by *yalli*, while the second, *fīha ʔəsma* '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:

Clause Attribution	Word or Phrase Attribution
ʔəbno yalli žūɛān.....................	*ʔəbno ž-žūɛān*
'his son who is hungry'	'his hungry son'
ʔəbno yalli (huwwe) sammān...........	*ʔəbno s-sammān*
'his son who is a grocer'	'his son the grocer'
l-bāb yalli ɛal-yamīn................	*l-bāb ɛal-yamīn*
'the door that's on the right'	'the door on the right'

Prepositional Attributes

Examples, prepositional phrases attributive to definite terms:

1. *n-naġme ɛala watīre wāḥde naɛɛasətni*
   'The monotonous tune made me sleepy' (lit. "The melody on one tone...")

2. *n-nās ḥawalēna kānu ɛam-yəḥku bəl-ɛāli*
   'The people around us were talking loudly'

3. *l-maḥallāt ʔəddām ʔaḥsan mən wara*
   'The seats in front are better than [those] in back'

4. *l-krafatāt bəl-wāžha lafatu nazari*
   'The neckties in the display window caught my eye'

5. *xōd hal-ᵊmnawwaže ɛala lōn ʔōṣ ᵊl-ʔadaḥ* [adap. from AO-79]
   'Take this rainbow-colored moiré' (lit. "Take this wavy [one] on the color of the rainbow")

6. *šāyef has-sadd ɛala buḥayret ᵊl-ʔattīne?* [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: *fōʔ ᵊṭ-ṭabīɛa* 'supernatural', *fōʔ ᵊl-ɛāde* 'extraordinary', etc.: *ẓ-ẓawāher ᵊl-fōʔ ᵊṭ-ṭabīɛa* '(the) supernatural phenomena' (or *ẓ-ẓawāher fōʔ ᵊṭ-ṭabīɛa*).

Adjective Attributes

Examples. Single adjective, attributive to single noun (or noun with pronoun suffix):

1. *wərte ẓġīre*	'a small inheritance'
2. *waḍᵊɛ məstaḥīl*	'an impossible situation'
3. *nās ġəšᵊm*	'ignorant people'
4. *l-xaṭar ᵊl-ḥaʔīʔi*	'the real danger'
5. *l-mašrūbāt ᵊl-məsᵊkra*	'(the) intoxicating beverages'
6. *l-ɛarab ᵊs-sūriyyīn*	'the Syrian Arabs'
7. *han-naṣb ᵊl-faxᵊm*	'this imposing monument'
8. *raʔīsi l-ᵊmbāšar*	'my immediate superior'
9. *ḥāžātak ᵊl-ḥāliyye*	'your present needs'
10. *zōʔo l-xāṣṣ*	'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. *s-səntēn ᵊl-ʔawwalāniyyīn,*   'the first two years'
    or *s-səntēn ᵊl-ʔawwalāniyye*

Examples of feminine/plural adjectives [p. 201]:

12. *n-nəswān ᵊl-xāynāt* [AO-118]	'treacherous women'
13. *nəswān məsᵊlmāt sāfrāt* [PAT-197]	'unveiled Moslem women'

Examples of uninflected adjectives:

waṣaṭ	'medium':	14. *ʔyāsāt waṣaṭ*	'medium sizes'
tāza	'fresh':	15. *bēḍ tāza*	'fresh eggs'
ṣarf	'authentic':	16. *ʔahwe ɛarabiyye ṣarf*	'authentic Arab coffee'
ḥlēwa	'good-looking':	17. *haš-šabb l-ᵊḥlēwa*	'that good-looking young man'

See also pp. 428, 520.

Adjective attributes to a coördination:

18. *rəžžāl u-mara žūƐānīn*   'a hungry man and woman'

19. *marti w-waladi t-taƐbānīn*   'my tired wife and child'

    The adjective is always plural in agreement with an additive coördination of singular nouns, but it may be feminine in agreement with a coördination of plurals, provided that each of the plurals could itself take feminine agreement [p. 423]:

20. *kətᵊb w-ṣuwar w-ᵊkwānāt ġālye*   'expensive books, pictures, and records'

21. *š-šuƐūb wəl-žuyūš ᵊl-Ɛarabiyye*   'the Arab peoples and armies'
    [DA-305]

    Feminine agreement with a coördination of plurals is not limited to adjective attributes, but applies to any kind of predication or attribution. Note, for example: *šū fī b-hal-makatīb wəl-muxābarāt ᵊlli žəbtha l-yōm?* 'What's in those letters and announcements you brought today?' *l-kətᵊb wəṣ-ṣuwar wəl-kwānāt ġālye* 'Books, pictures, and records are expensive'.

Coördinated adjective attributes, with different referents:

22. *mənšāᵊāt Ɛaskariyye w-ṣināƐiyye*   'military and industrial installations'

23. *s-səfara l-briṭāni wəl-ᵊamērkāni wəl-frənsāwi*   'the British, American, and French ambassadors'

24. *l-luġatēn ᵊl-Ɛarabiyye wəl-ᵊanglīziyye*   'the Arabic and English languages'

25. *l-žənsēn l-ᵊmzakkar wəl-ᵊmᵊannas*   'the masculine and feminine genders'

    As illustrated in examples 23-25, coördinated 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 <u>singulars</u>. 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 *mənšāᵊāt* (whose singular, it so happens, is not ordinarily used in any case).

    When attributes to the same term have coinciding reference, then their coördination is more often asyndetic than syndetic [p. 398]:

26. *bənt həlwe laṭīfe (or bənt həlwe w-laṭīfe*   'a lovely (and) charming girl'

27. *Ɛaša səxᵊn tᵊᶠl*   'a hot (and) copious evening meal'

28. *l-baṣṣāt ᵊl-wəsxa l-maƐžūᵊa*   'the dirty (and) crowded busses'

    One attribution phrase may contain another; thus the last in a string of attributive adjectives may apply to the whole preceding phrase, and so on:

29. *l-ᵊadab ᵊl-Ɛarabi l-ᵊadīm*   'the old Arab culture'

30. *hawa šmāli ᵊawi*   'a strong north wind'

31. *l-ḥarb ᵊl-Ɛālamiyye t-tānye*   'the Second World War'

32. *haṭ-ṭāwle l-ᵊmfaṣṣaṣa l-ḥəlwe*   'this beautiful inlaid table'

33. *l-maƐāhed ᵊl-Ɛəlmiyye l-ᵊažnabiyye l-ᵊmhəmme*   'the important foreign scientific institutes'

    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. *sayyāret ᵊəbni l-ᵊždīde*   'my son's new car'

35. *ṣāḥeb maṭƐam mašhūr*   'a famous restaurant owner'

    Example 35 is ambiguous: since both *ṣāḥeb* and *maṭƐam* are masculine, the attribute *mašhūr* could apply to either term; the phrase could therefore also mean 'the owner of a famous restaurant'.

36. *sayyāret ᵊəxti l-ᵊkbīre l-ᵊždīde*   '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. *tlətt ᵊašxāṣ tānyīn*   'three other persons'

38. *ᵊarbaƐ nesax tānye (or tānyīn)*   'four other copies'

39. *xams fiyaš zərᵊᵊ (or zarᵊa)*   'five blue chips'

40. xams ʔiṣābāt malārya žədad   'five new cases of malaria'
     (or ždīde)

41. tlətt ʔʔlām ᵊmnāḥ (or mnīḥa)   'three good pencils'

42. sətt bēḍāt ᵊmnāḥ   'six good eggs'

In ex. 42 the (internal) plural adjective is obligatory
because bēḍāt is the plural of a unit noun [p.425], while
in ex. 37 the adjective must be plural because ʔašxāṣ is
animate. In the other cases (38-41) the adjective may be
either plural or feminine (as according to rule 7, p.421).

With numerals over ten the following noun is in the
singular, and the adjective may either be plural (in agree-
ment with the numeral) or singular (in agreement with the
noun):

43. ḥdāšar ʔalam ᵊmnāḥ (or mnīḥ)   'eleven good pencils'

44. ṭnaɛšar fīše zərʔʔ (or zarʔa)   'twelve blue chips'

In a phrase with kamm 'several' [p.467], a noun must be
singular, but an attribute is plural:

45. kamm ʔalam ᵊmnāḥ   'several good pencils'

An attributive adjective may be preceded by mū, lā, or ġēr 'not, non-,
un-' or by ktīr 'very'. In attribution to a definite term, the article is
prefixed to mū, lā, or ktīr rather than to the adjective; in the case of
ġēr it is prefixed to the adjective but may or may not also be prefixed to
ġēr:

46. šarāha mū maɛʔūle ləl-maṣāri.......šarāhto l-mū maɛʔūle ləl-maṣāri
     'an abnormal desire for money'   'his abnormal desire for money'

47. ḥarake lā šuɛūriyye................hal-ḥarake l-lā šuɛūriyye
     'an unconscious impulse'   'that unconscious impulse'

48. ɛamal ġēr qānūni...................l-ɛamal ġēr ᵊl-qānūni
     'an illegal act'   'the illegal act'

49. ɛaša ġēr rasmi....................l-ɛaša l-ġēr ᵊr-rasmi
     'an unofficial dinner'   'the unofficial dinner'

50. qawāɛed ʔaxlāʔiyye ktīr ṣārme......l-qawāɛed ᵊl-ʔaxlāʔiyye l-ᵊktīr ṣārme
     'a very strict moral code'   'the very strict moral code'

A complemented passive particle is generally susceptible to phrase at-
tribution:

51. lāzem ɛawweḍ ᵊn-nōm ᵊl-maksūr   'I have to catch up on my sleep' (lit.
     ɛaliyyi   "...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 excep-
tions, however:

52. ləssa mā mnaɛref kəll ᵊẓ-ẓrūf   'We still don't know all the facts
     ᵊl-muḥīṭa bəl-ḥādes   concerning the accident' (or "...
                                          the circumstances surrounding...")

In certain parts of Greater Syria — notably Lebanon —
the clause definitizer [p.494], ordinarily taking the form
(ᵊ)lli, is often reduced to the form l- and is therefore
not always distinguishable from the article. The distinc-
tion between clause attribution and phrase attribution thus
tends to be lost in the definite form as well as in the
indefinite.
The reduced clause definitizer, however, is often not
assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant:
l-ləbnāniyye l-rāžɛīn mən ʔamērka [PVA-30] 'the Lebanese
(who have) returned from America'. (But cf. also waladi
s-sāken fi bārīz [PVA-2] 'my son (who is) living in Paris'.)

The article, rather than the clause definitizer, is also sometimes
used with an attributive extrapositional clause [p.496] whose adjectival
predicate (usually a passive participle) comes first:

53. l-mandūbīn ᵊl-mazkūra ʔasmāʔhon   'the aforementioned delegates', 'the
                                         delegates whose names have been men-
                                         tioned'

This construction, (oddly named an-naɛt s-sababī "the
causal attribute")[1] is mainly limited in colloquial Arabic
to rather pedantic usage. A phrase such as l-walad
ᵊl-maksūra rəkᵊbto [RN-II.49] 'the boy with the broken
knee' would more usually be paraphrased as l-walad ᵊlli
rəkᵊbto maksūra. Cf. also l-mara l-sāken ɛənda ʔaxūk
[RN-II.51] 'the woman at whose house your brother is living'
(in which l- however, is better interpreted as the reduced
clause definitizer since it is not assimilated to the s).

---

[1] sababī 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:
rəkbet ᵊl-walad maksūra 'The boy's knee is broken', with extraposition of
the annex [p.432] → l-walad rəkᵊbto maksūra, with participle-subject word
order in the comment [top 433, ex. 7] → l-walad maksūra rəkᵊbto, with
attribution of the comment [p.496] → l-walad ᵊl-maksūra rəkᵊbto.

[Ch. 19]

Noun Attributes or Appositives (*al-badal wa-ɛaṭf l-bayān*)[1]

Examples involving proper names and other human designations:

1. *ʔaxūk ᵊd-doktōr*   'your brother the doctor'

2. *ṣāḥbi ɛabd ᵊl-xāleʔ*   'my friend Abdul Khaleq'

3. *l-ʔaxx ɛali ʔabu zēd*   'our friend (or colleague) Ali Abu Zaid' (lit. "[the] brother Ali...")

4. *ḥasan ᵊl-kəndarži*   'Hassan the shoemaker'

5. *ḥabībāti l-ᵊwlād*   'my darling(s the) children'

6. *ṣāḥəbna ʔaḥmad ᵊl-fallāḥ* [AO-63]   'our friend Ahmed the peasant'

7. *ṣ-ṣəhr ᵊž-ždīd ɛiṣām bēk ᵊd-doktōr*   'the new son-in-law, Issam Bey the doctor'

Examples 6 and 7 each consist of three terms, the first being a relational term, the second a name, and the third an "epithet" (in these cases, an occupational term). In ex. 7 the first term itself consists of a noun-adjective attribution phrase.

8. *hiyye kənnto žōzet ʔəbno, mū kənnto žōzet ʔaxū*   'She's his daughter-in-law, not his sister-in-law'

The words *kənne* and *ṣəhᵊr* are less specific than most Arabic kinship terms, especially in that they apply indiscriminately to one's own generation or to one's children's generation. *kənne* designates the wife of a son or of a brother, and *ṣəhᵊr*, the husband of a daughter or a sister. Thus the phrases *žōzet ʔəbno* 'his son's wife' and *žōzet ʔaxū* 'his brother's wife' in ex. 8 are put in apposition to *kənnto* in order to specify the relationship more exactly.

---

[1] In the traditional analysis *al-badal* (not to mention *al-ɛaṭf*) does not come under the category of *an-naɛt* 'attribute', probably because of the inclusion of such extraneous sub-categories as *badal l-baɛḍi mina l-kull* 'partitive apposition', *badal l-ištimāl* 'inclusive apposition', and *al-badal l-mubāyin* 'corrective apposition'. Partitive and inclusive apposition (which are of little or no importance in colloquial Arabic) belong with *at-tawkīd l-maɛnawī* [p.511] as constructions derived from partitive annexion [466], while corrective apposition is not properly a grammatical category at all.

No attempt is made her to distinguish between *al-badal l-muṭābiq* 'congruent apposition' (noun attribution) and *ɛaṭf l-bayān* 'explicative apposition' (asyndetic noun coördination).

Nouns designating the material of which something is composed are often used attributively:

dahab 'gold':   9. *sənsle dahab*   'a gold chain'

fəḍḍa 'silver':   10. *s-sakakīn ᵊl-fəḍḍa*   'the silver knives'

mālʔi 'china(ware)':   11. *ṣ-ṣḥūn ᵊl-mālʔi*   'the china dishes'

ṣūf 'wool':   12. *kanze ṣūf*   'a wool sweater'

faru 'fur, pelt':   13. *kabbūd ʔəmmi l-faru* 'my mother's fur coat'

In example 13 the leading term is an annexion phrase.

Alternatively, in many cases, collocations of this type can be made by annexion rather than by attribution: *kanzet ṣūf* 'a sweater of wool', *sənsəlt ᵊd-dahab* 'the chain of gold'. (Note also the construction with a relative adjective [p.280]: *kanze ṣūfiyye* 'a woolen sweater', *sənsle dahabiyye* 'a golden chain'.)

Note also:

bōdra 'powder':   14. *səkkar bōdra*   'powdered sugar'

xām 'something in an unprocessed state':   15. *maɛāden xām*   'metal ores'

taʔlīd 'imitation':   16. *žəlᵊd taʔlīd*   'imitation leather'

təḥfe 'object of great value':   17. *ktāb təḥfe*   'a wonderful book, a gem of a book'

zyāde 'increase, excess':   18. *rāteb zyāde*   'more pay, extra pay'

kfāye 'sufficiency':   19. *ʔakl ᵊkfāye*   'enough food'

šmāl 'left':   20. *ʔīdak ᵊš-šmāl*   'your left hand'

yamīn 'right':   21. *fardet ṣabbāt yamīn* 'a right shoe'

Apposition phrases like these are distinguished from annexion phrases by the fact that the leading term may be definitized with the article 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: *xām ᵊl-ḥadīd* 'iron ore', *ɛal-yamīn* 'on the right'.

Attributive noun phrases:

ʔabᵊn Ɛarab 'Arab, someone of
Arab descent' (fem. *bᵊnt Ɛarab,*
pl. *wlād Ɛarab*)

22. *ʔᵊstāz ʔᵊbᵊn Ɛarab* 'an Arab
teacher'

Since *ʔᵊbᵊn Ɛarab* is itself an annexion phrase, it is
made definite by prefixing the article to its following term
only: *l-ʔᵊstāz ʔᵊbn ᵊl-Ɛarab* 'the Arab teacher'.

mōže ʔaṣīre 'short wave':

23. *rādyo mōže ʔaṣīre* 'a short wave
radio'

Since *mōže ʔaṣīre* is a noun-adjective attribution phrase,
both of its terms take the article when it is definitized:
r-rādyo l-mōže l-ʔaṣīre 'the short wave radio'.

ʔyās waṣaṭ 'medium size':

24. *ʔᵊmṣān ᵊʔyās waṣaṭ* 'medium-size
shirts' (def. *l-ʔᵊmṣān l-ᵊʔyās
ᵊl-waṣaṭ. waṣaṭ* is an unin-
flected adjective.)

ṣāḥeb zᵊmme 'conscientious'
(fem. *ṣaḥbet zᵊmme,* pl. *ṣḥāb
zᵊmme*):

25. *ṭāleb ṣāḥeb zᵊmme* 'a conscien-
tious student'

Basically *ṣāḥeb zᵊmme* is an substantive construct, lit.
"master (or owner) of conscience", thus only the following
term takes the article in apposition to a definite term:
ṭ-ṭāleb ṣāḥeb ᵊz-zᵊmme 'the conscientious student'. When
not attributive, however, this phrase is usually treated
more like an adjectival construct [p. 466], with *ṣāḥeb* also
taking the article: *ṣ-ṣāḥeb ᵊz-zᵊmme* 'the conscientious
person'.

Attributive Numerals. The cardinal numerals from two to ten are commonly
used in apposition to definite terms [p. 494]:

n-nᵊswān ᵊt-tlāte	'the three women'
l-ʔaṣābeƐ ᵊl-xamse	'the five fingers'
ṣanaƐīto t-tnēn	'his two apprentices'
ʔᵊntu t-tlāte	'you three'
d-dōltēn ᵊt-tᵊntēn	'the two countries'

The numeral *tnēn* 'two' agrees in gender with the (singu-
lar of) term it is attributive to: fem. *tᵊntēn.* (The fem-
inine form is also commonly used in <u>construct</u> with a fem-
inine term: *tᵊntēn nᵊswān* 'two women'.)

The numeral *wāḥed* (fem. *wāḥde*) 'one' is unlike the other cardinal num-
erals in that it is used attributively like an ordinary adjective, with an
indefinite term as well as a definite one:

ʔūḍa wāḥde	'one room'
rᵊžžāl wāḥed	'one man'

Cardinal numerals above ten are used attributively in an ordinal sense:

l-bēt ᵊṭ-ṭnaƐᵊš	'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:

ṣafḥa xamse	'page five'
ṣafḥa xamsīn	'page fifty'

The cardinal numerals 1-12 are used in telling time, attributively to
s-sāƐa 'the hour', but without the article prefix:

s-sāƐa Ɛašara	'ten o'clock'
s-sāƐa tᵊntēn u-nᵊṣṣ	'half past two'

Since the article prefix is not used with the numeral,
the attribution phrase is indistinguishable in form from
the predication: *s-sāƐa Ɛašara* 'It's ten o'clock'.

Elatives [p. 313] and ordinals [316] are also used attri-
butively, the latter agreeing in number/gender like ordinary
adjectives.

[Ch. 19]

Numerals with Appositives. Ethnic collectives [p. 301] and singular mass nouns [368] are used after the absolute form of numerals [170]:

1. *tlāte Ɛarab u-xamse ˀamērkān* 'three Arabs and five Americans'

2. *ˀarbƐa ˀahwe w-ˀtlāte halīb* 'four coffees and three milks'

> *wāḥed* and *tnēn* do not agree in gender with a feminine mass noun in apposition: *wāḥed bīra* 'one beer', *tnēn ˀahwe* 'two coffees'. *wāḥed*, 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: *wāḥde bənt* 'a girl, some girl, a certain girl', *wāḥed ˀamērkāni* 'an American(m.)'. (*wāḥed* is of course not used with ethnic collectives, but with their unit derivatives [p. 301].)
>
> Note also the phrases *wāḥed ṣāḥbi* 'a friend of mine' and *nās ˀṣḥābi* '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. *kilōyēn lūbye w-ˀtlāte bētənžān* 'two kilos of beans and three of
   [DA-129] eggplant'

4. *šū t-ṭawābeƐ halli bətrīdha?* 'What stamps do you want?' — Four
   — *ˀarbƐa barīd žawwi tabaƐ* twenty [-piastre] air mail'
   ˀl-Ɛəšrīn [DA-245]

Specificative Apposition (or Specificative Complementation, *at-tamyīz*[1]**).** The appositives in examples 2 and 3 above are not true attributes, but rather COMPLEMENTS OF SPECIFICATION (*at-tamyīz*)[1]; they differ from true attributes in that they do not agree with their leading term in definition, but remain always indefinite: *l-ˀarbƐa ˀahwe* 'the four coffees, *t-tlāte bētənžān* 'the three [kilos] of eggplant'. (Cf. the definite attribution phrase *t-tlāte l-Ɛarab* 'the three Arabs'[2], or better, *l-Ɛarab ˀt-tlāte* [p. 509].)

---

[1] Most of the constructions that come under the heading of *at-tamyīz* in Classical Arabic correspond in Colloquial to annexion phrases (as with numerals above ten [p. 366]), or are included in what are here called predicative complementation [446] and adverbial noun complementation [441]. The specificative appositives treated here are, for nouns, what "adverbial noun complements" are for verbs.

[2] Another possibility is *t-tlātet ˀl-Ɛarab*; this type of annexing form [171] is sometimes used with ethnic collectives and other nouns as well as with pronoun suffixes.

Besides mass-noun appositives with terms of quantification or measurement, specificative complements are sometimes used in phrases like the following:

1. *ḡarāme ˀəžmāliyye Ɛašˀrt ālāf lēra* 'a collective fine of ten thousand pounds'

2. *mažmūƐa žamīle rsūm maṭbūƐa* 'a beautiful collection of prints' (lit. "... [of] printed drawings")

3. *haṣ-ṣaniyye l-ḥəlwe nḥās ˀaṣfar* '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: *haṣ-ṣaniyye n-nḥās ˀl-ˀaṣfar* 'this brass tray' [cf. p. 507]; *mažmūƐet ˀrsūm maṭbūƐa* 'a collection of prints'.[1]

> Except as illustrated above, substantives in Syrian Arabic rarely take complements of specification; an isolated case is the noun *ṣifa* 'quality, attribute, capacity' as used in phrases like *b-ṣifato mƐallem* 'in his capacity as a teacher'.

Emphatic Apposition, (*at-tawkīd*)[2]. Definite partitive constructs [p. 468] with *kəll* 'all, whole' and *zāt* and *nafs* '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:

kəll ˀl-banāt 'all the girls'	→ *l-banāt kəllon* "the girls, all of them"
kəll ˀž-žəmƐa 'the whole week'	→ *ž-žəmƐa kəlla* "the week, all of it"
kəll bētna 'our whole house'	→ *bētna kəllo* "our house, all of it"
zāt ˀs-sayyāra 'the very car'	→ *s-sayyāra zāta* 'the car itself'
nafsi 'myself'	→ *ˀana nafsi* 'I myself'

---

[1] Specificative complementation, then, is another kind of annexion-periphrasis [p. 460]. Cf. *mažmūƐa žamīle mn ˀr-rsūm ˀl-maṭbūƐa*.

[2] More exactly, *at-tawkīd l-maƐnawī* 'emphasis by meaning', as distinct from *at-tawkīd l-lafẓī* 'emphasis by repetition'. See p. 394. *At-tawkīd* 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 ġēr 'other' [p. 468] are similarly susceptible to extraposition: ġēr kətᵊb 'other books' → kətᵊb ġērhon "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 huwwe	'his house'
maɛi	'with me'	→	maɛi ʔana	'with me'
ḍarabak	'he hit you'	→	ḍarabak ʔənte	'he hit you'

Order of Attributes

An attributive word or phrase precedes an attributive clause:

1. w-naʔlet ᵊl-ɛabd ᵊl-mažrūḥ | 'And she moved the wounded slave,
   halli tamm ḥayy. . . [AO-118]   who was still alive'

2. ʔəli ḥkāye ɛažībe ktīr | 'I have a very strange story, that
   bətkūn ɛəbra la-halli bəddo   can be a lesson for whoever is will-
   yəɛtəber [AO-118]   ing to learn'

A single attributive noun or adjective usually precedes an attributive phrase:

3. ḥayy ʔəṭɛa fanniyye | waḥīde   'It's a work of art unique among its
   mən nōɛa   kind'

4. byaɛmel kəll ᵊš-šaġlāt ᵊl-lagane | 'He does all the odd jobs around the
   l-mətɛallʔa bəl-bēt   house' (lagane is a noun, used at-
        tributively in an idiomatic sense,
        'casual'.)

5. l-kāteb ɛam-yəẓhar ʔədrāk   'The author shows profound insight
   ɛamīq | ləl-waḍɛ ᵊs-siyāsi   into the political situation'

In example 6 the phrase ləl-waḍɛ ᵊs-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, complemental, or supplemental to a given term.

A prepositional attribute (or complement, or supplement) usually follows an adjectival (or nominal) attribute, if any:

6. ɛam-yən²šru ʔišāɛāt bəšɛa | 'They're spreading ugly rumors about
   ɛanno   him'

7. hāda kān ɛamal ᵊktīr ṭāyeš | 'That was a very imprudent act on
   mənnak   your part' (lit. "...from you, by
        you")

A pronominal tabaɛ phrase [p. 489], however, may precede an adjective attribute:

8. kīf ᵊmlāʔi mdarreb ᵊs-sawāʔa   'How do you like your new driving
   tabaɛak | ᵊž-ždīd?   instructor?'

CHAPTER 20: SUPPLEMENTATION

The term 'supplementation' is used in this book to des-
ignate any of the various subordinating constructions that
do not come under the more definite categories of attribu-
tion [p.493], annexion [455], or complementation [437].[1]
Supplementation is a "loose" type of construction, which is
often syntactically vague or unmarked, in some cases re-
quiring 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. *žəb-ᵃlna kamān šwayyet lēmūn* — 'Bring some lemons (or oranges) too' (or: 'Bring a few more lemons')

2. *marwān bəddo šī šwayyet ʔawāɛi, w-ʔana kamān* — 'Marwan wants a few clothes, and so do I'

3. *w-ɛandi kamān ṣīġet ɛāʔəlti, btəswa šī xamst ālāf lēra* [DA-297] — 'And I also have my wife's (lit. family's) jewelry; it's worth about five thousand pounds'

4. *w-ʔəm-li ɛala žanab šī wʔītēn bəftēk kamān* [DA-109] — 'And put aside for me a couple of okes of beefsteak, too'

5. *lāzem nām kamān šwayye* [AO-51] — 'I must sleep a little more'

6. *hāda mawḍūɛ tāni kamān* — 'That's something else again'

7. *ɛatīni ʔannīntēn ᵃnbīt kamān ʔiza bətrīd* — 'Give me two more bottles of wine, if you will'

---

[1]Ideally, the contrast between complementation and supplementation is a
difference between non-subordinating (exocentric) and subordinating (endo-
centric) 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.

ʔawām 'quick(ly)':

8. rāḥet marti ʔawām, w-baɛˀd   'My wife went quickly, and after a
   šwayye raǰǰet [AO-51]   while she came back'

9. ḥaṭṭi ɛēnek ɛala ɛēni ʔawām   'Look (f.) me in the eye now, quick!'

10. naṭṭ ʔawām!   'Quick, hop to it!'

sawa 'together':

11. šəftkon fāytīn ɛal-bēt sawa   'I saw you going into the house
                                  together'

12. ʔiza mā fī mānɛ mnətrāfaʔ   'If there's no objection, we can go
    sawa [DA-248]   together'

The word sawa is sometimes also used predicatively:
bətšūfon sawa ʔaktar ˀl-waʔt 'You see them together most of
the time' (Predicative complement [p.447]).

bakkīr 'early':

13. ʔana bfīʔ bakkīr, ɛaṣ-ṣəbˀḥ   'I wake up early in the morning'
    [AO-34]

14. mən faḍlak taɛa ʔadd ma fīk   'Please come as early as possible'
    bakkīr

15. ʔǰīna bakkīr ɛal-ḥafle   'We arrived early at the party'

The word bakkīr is occasionally used predicatively:
waḷḷa bakkīr, ɛədū-lkon šī nəṣṣ sāɛa tānye 'Why it's early!
Stay another half hour'.

halla? 'now, right now, just now':

16. ʔabu samīr halla? byəǰi   'Abu Samir is now on the way here'

17. halla? ṣərṭi ṣabiyye   'You're a big girl now'

18. šū ɛam-yədros halla??   'What's he studying now?'

19. ʔiza bəddak tərǰaɛ halla?   'If you want to go back now you'll
    lāzmak səntēn [AO-119]   need two years'

20. halla? bəbɛat-lak ˀṣ-ṣānɛa   'I'll send you the maid right now
    tāxədhon [DA-129]   to get them'

21. w-halla? baɛˀd ʔalf w-ˀtmān   'And now after eighteen hundred years
    mīt səne ʔənte xallaṣtni   you have rescued me and I must keep
    w-lāzem ʔūfi b-waɛdi [AO-116] my promise'

22. ʔənte raḍyān halla??   'Are you satisfied now?'

23. ʔana halla? ˀwṣəlt   'I've just now arrived'

The demonstratives hōn 'here', hnīk 'there', and hēk
'so, thus, like that' are commonly used adverbially, but
are basically predicators [p.381]. See 559ff. The words
bəkra 'tomorrow' and mbāreḥ 'yesterday' are basically nouns
[p. 521].
On ləssa and baɛˀd '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:

ʔasāsan	'basically'	ʔasās	'basis'
ḥaʔīʔatan	'truly, really'	ḥaʔīʔa	'truth, reality'
ɛādatan	'usually, customarily'	ɛāde	'habit, custom, usage'
faɛlan	'actually'	faɛl	'act'
dāʔiman, dāyman	'always'	dāyem	'lasting, permanent'
ʔaxīran	'finally'	ʔaxīr	'final'
mwaʔʔatan	'temporarily'	mwaʔʔat	'temporary'
yōmiyyan	'daily'	yōmi	'daily' (adj.)
nəsbiyyan	'relatively'	nəsbi	'relative'
nəsbatan	'relatively'	nəsbe	'relationship'
māliyyan	'financially'	māli	'financial'

---

[1] 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.

Adverbs in −an most often precede the supplemented term, though they often come between subject and predicate of a supplemented clause. Examples of usage:

1. *Ɛādatan mənkūn barra bər−rīf b−hal−faṣəl mn əs−səne*
   'We're usually out in the country at this time of the year'

2. *s−sama ʔaxīran Ɛam−ṭəšḥa*
   'The sky is finally clearing'

3. *ʔana māliyyan məƐtə́med Ɛalē*
   'I'm financially dependent on him'

4. *byətɛāmal raʔsan maƐ əš−šərke*
   'He deals directly with the company' (*raʔsan* 'directly': Cl. *raʔs* 'head')

5. *dāyman huwwe biġəšš bəl−əfḥūṣe*
   'He always cheats on examinations'

6. *tyāba dāyman Ɛala ʔāxer mōḍa*
   'Her clothes are always in the latest style'

7. *kəll žəsmi kān yūžaƐni, xṣūṣan ʔəžrayyi* [AO-51]
   'My whole body ached, especially my legs' (*xṣūṣan* 'especially': *xṣūṣ* 'specialness')

8. *l−fəʔara xāṣṣatan tƐazzabu ktīr*
   'The poor, especially, suffered a lot' (*xāṣṣatan* 'especially: *xāṣṣa* 'special characteristic')

9. *ʔanu sāƐa bəṭṭīr ət−ṭayyāra? − yōmiyyan əs−sāƐa sabƐa ṣ−ṣəbəḥ* [DA-249]
   'When does the plane leave? − Daily at seven in the morning'

10. *taʔrīban xalaṣət*
    'I'm almost finished' (*taʔrīban* 'almost, about, approximately': *taʔrīb* 'approximation')

11. *ṣal−li hōn taʔrīban əhdaƐšar šahər*
    'I've been here about eleven months'

12. *ʔaddēš bə́ddha taʔrīban?* [DA-80A]
    'About how much does she want?'

13. *d−dars kān hə́yyen nəsbatan*
    'The lesson was relatively easy'

Adverbs in −an following the supplemented term are often unaccented: *hə́yyen nəsbatan* 'relatively easy'. (Cf. predicate-subject inversion [p. 419].)

A special case of derivation is the clause supplement *baƐdēn* 'then, afterwards', from the preposition *baƐd* 'after'[1]:

14. *bākol bət−taxət w−baƐdēn əbʔūm u−bəlbes* [AO-34]
    'I eat in bed and then I get up and dress'

15. *hallaʔ Ɛamma−tnaʔʔeṭ..., baƐdēn bətšatti* [AO-67]
    'Now its sprinkling a few drops; later it will rain'

16. *bəḥki maƐak baƐdēn*
    'I'll talk with you later'

17. *rəḥət Ɛal−fətuwwe baƐdēn?*
    'Did you go to the Youth Club afterwards?'

18. *ʔəṣḥa, baƐdēn əbtəʔleb əl−ʔəbrī?*
    'Be careful or you'll upset the pitcher'

In ex. 18 *baƐdēn* is used in a <u>consequential</u> sense rather than in a purely temporal sense; in such cases the English translation is generally 'or, or else'.

baƐdēn is also used in an <u>additive</u> sense 'then, also, then too':

19. *Ɛali baƐərfo mən əhdaƐšar səne laʔanno ʔahli w−ʔahlo byaƐəfu baƐḍon, w−baƐdēn mən ṭūl ḥayāto Ɛali kān bəl−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−xəṭṭa ʔarībe nóƐan−ma la−halli b−bālna*
    'That plan is pretty close to what we had in mind' (*nōƐ* 'kind, sort')

21. *huwwe nóƐan−ma xabīr b−hal−ḥaqəl*
    'He's something of an expert in that field'

22. *ʔə́llet−ma baƐref haž−žamāƐa*
    'I hardly know those people' (*ʔəlle* 'scarcity, small amount')

Cf. subordinating conjunction *ma*, p. 490.

---

[1] The suffix −*ēn* of *baƐdēn* is presumably a special alteration of −*an;* note that the Lebanese form in areas where general Syrian *ē* is usually changed to *ay* [p. 14] is *baƐdēn* (not "*baƐdayn*"). Note also the forms *baƐdan* [SPA-462] and *ʔablan* 'before' (adverbial) [SAL-96]: *šū štaġalt ʔablan?* 'What did you work at previously?'. Feghali [SPA] always writes *baƐden* (= *baƐdan*), never *baƐdēn;* 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:

ṭayyeb 'well'   *tamām* 'entirely, perfectly, exactly'

mnīḥ 'well'   *maẓbūṭ* 'right, correctly, straight, perfectly'

ḍaġri 'straight, directly'   *ktīr* 'much, a lot, very, too'

Most supplemental adjectives always follow the supplemented term, but *ktīr,* and sometimes *tamām,* may either precede or follow.

Examples in use:

1. *btaɛrafni ṭayyeb, ya bēk* [DA-128]   'You know me well, sir'

2. *ʔana brīdak taɛref ᵊmnīḥ kəll šī bi-hal-balad* [DA-128]   'I want you to become well acquainted with everything in this town'

3. *lā twāxəzni, mā fhəmt ɛalēk ᵊmnīḥ* [DA-17]   'I'm sorry, I didn't understand you very well'

4. *xallīna nrūḥ ḍaġri ɛal-ʔotēl*   'Let's go straight to the hotel'

5. *qanaɛni tamām*   'He convinced me completely'

6. *mən yōmēn tlāte kānet sāɛti ɛamma-tʔaṣṣer, hallaʔ waʔʔafet tamām* [AO-71]   'For two or three days my watch had been losing time; now it's stopped altogether'

7. *s-sāɛa xamse tamām*   'It's exactly five o'clock'

8. *ɛməlᵊt tamām ɛaks halli ʔəlt-əllak yā*   'You've done exactly the opposite of what I told you'

9. *mā fhəmᵊtni maẓbūṭ*   'You didn't understand me rightly'

10. *mbaṣaṭᵊt ᵊktīr b-rəfᵊʔtak* [DA-235]   'I very much enjoyed your company'

11. *baɛtᵊʔed haš-šanta btaɛžeb zōžti ktīr* [DA-252]   'I believe this bag will please my wife very much'

12. *ʔaɛṣābi mətʔaθθre ktīr*   'My nerves are strongly affected'

13. *tʔaxxarna ktīr, lāzem nəmši*   'We're very late, we must go'

14. *mabṣūṭīn ᵊktīr*   'They're quite well'

15. *bass ḥaʔīʔatan ktīr ẓarīfe, w-baɛdēn maɛānīha mākne tamām*   'But it's really very nice, and then too, its meaning is perfectly clear'

16. *ktīr ʔarībe ləl-ḥayāt ɛrəft kīf*   'It's very true to life, you see'

17. *farīd ktīr mətɛalleʔ ᵊb-hal-ʔarābe, ktīr ɛāžəbto*   'Fareed is very fond of that kinship; he likes it a lot'

Note also: *ṣāḥbi ktīr* 'a good friend of mine' (in which *ṣāḥeb* is construed as an adjective [cf. pp. 406, 508]. *ktīr* may also be used as a noun 'a lot, a large amount', in partitive annexion [466]: *ktīr nās* 'a lot of people' (cf. periphrasis [460] *ktīr mn ᵊn-nās);* or in apposition: *nās ᵊktīr* (same translation); cf. *nās ᵊktār* 'many people' (adjective attribute).

Adverbial Nouns and Noun Phrases. Many nouns and noun phrases are used supplementally, especially designations of time and of quantity. Examples:

bəkra (or *bukra*) 'tomorrow'   *s-sāɛa tmānye* '(at) eight o'clock'

l-yōm 'today'   *marra* 'once', *marrtēn* 'twice'

l-masa 'this evening'   *marrāt ᵊktīre* 'often, frequently'

l-lēle 'tonight'   *baɛḍ ᵊl-ʔawʔāt* 'sometimes'

mbāreḥ (or *mbārḥa*) 'yesterday'   *ɛašᵊr daražat* 'ten degrees'

ʔawwal ᵊmbāreḥ (or *ʔawwalt ᵊmbāreḥ*) 'the day before yesterday'   *ṭūl ᵊn-nhār* 'all day'

s-səne l-māḍye (or *sənt ᵊl-māḍye)* 'last year'   *miyye bəl-miyye* 'one hundred percent'

        hal-ʔadd 'so much'.

šwayye 'a little'   *sāɛtēn* 'two hours'

        ʔawwal šī 'first of all'

Cf. Adverbial Noun Complements [p. 441].

Examples in use:

1. *sāfar ʔawwal ᵊmbāreḥ*   'He left the day before yesterday'

2. *šlōnak ᵊmbāreḥ bəl-muzākara?*   'How did you do yesterday in the home-work session?'

3. *la-nšūf šū bəddna nətɛašša l-yōm*   'Let's see what we're having for dinner today'

4. *bəkra mənṣə́ref ᵊd-ḍəhᵊr*

'Tomorrow we get out at noon'

5. *nāyem b-bēt xālti l-lēle*

'I'm sleeping at my aunt's house tonight'

6. *šū raḥa-nsāwi l-yōm ɛašiyye?*

'What are we going to do this evening?' (lit. "...today the evening")

7. *bəsmaɛ ʔaxbārha bəs-səne marra*

'I hear from her once a year' (lit. "I hear her news in the year once")

8. *ɛadad ᵊs-səkkān zād xamse bəl-miyye*

'The population increased five percent'

9. *waʔᵊtha ʔalbet ᵊṣ-ṣabiyye l-məʔlāye* [AO-117]

'Then (lit. "its time") the girl turned the frying pan over'

10. *yōm mn ᵊl-ʔiyyām kānu l-banāt ɛaš-šəbbāk w-maraʔ bət-ṭariʔ šēx* [AO-113]

'One day (lit. "a day of the days") the girls were at the window when a sheikh went by on the road'

11. *btəʔraf kəll ᵊl-ɛamaliyye, yaɛni ʔiyyām*

'You get disgusted with the whole business, some days, that is'

12. *tāni yōm ḍəɛef*

'The next day, he got sick'

13. *l-bard has-səne ʔəža ɛala bakkīr* [DA-197]

'The cold weather this year has come early'

14. *byəflaḥ ᵊl-ʔarḍ kəll ᵊs-səne* [AO-59]

'He tills the soil the whole year'

15. *ḥálton mū baṭṭāle hal-ʔadd*

'They're not so badly off' (lit. "Their condition is not bad that amount")

16. *lā tkūn kəll hal-ʔadd mū mbāli*

'Don't be so indifferent'

17. *l-fatḥa mū kbīre kfāye*

'The opening isn't big enough' (cf. p. 507)

18. *lāzem nām kamān šwayye* [AO-51]

'I must sleep a little more'

19. *ʔana šwayye bardān*

'I'm a bit chilly'

20. *tənʔāytak kānet šwayye mū mwaffaʔa*

'Your choice was rather unfortunate'

21. *bəddi rūḥ lāken maš́ǵul ᵊšwayye*

'I want to go, but I'm rather busy'

22. *bass hāda ktī́r ᵊšwayye* [DA-297]

'But that's a little too much'

Note, in ex. 21 and 22, that *šwayye* in supplementation to a preceding adjective is commonly unaccented.

šwayye, like its antonym *ktīr*, may be used in construct with a noun [p. 470]: *šwayyet xəbᵊz* 'a little bread', *šwayyet bard* 'a little cold (weather)'.

23. *šwayye šwayye huwwe hədi*

'Little by little he calmed down'

24. *l-maɛāzīm ʔəžu wāḥed wāḥed* [PAT-169]

'The guests arrived one by one'

25. *ɛīd baɛd ᵊmmənni kəlme kəlme...*

'Repeat after me word for word...'

26. *mīn byəži la-ɛand ᵊt-tāni ʔaktar?*

'Who comes to visit the other most [often]?'

27. *l-maṭar btənzel ʔaktar u-ʔaktar* [AO-67]

'The rain comes down harder and harder' (lit. "...more and more")

28. *bẓənn byəštə́ǵel ʔaḥsan mən ʔabu ʔaḥmad* [AO-47]

'I believe he does better work than Abu Ahmed' (lit. "works better than...")

ʔaktar and *ʔaḥsan* are commonly used supplementally, as elatives of *ktīr* and *mnīḥ*, respectively [p. 520].

Prepositional Supplements. Prepositional phrases of all kinds (except *tabaɛ* [p. 489]) are used adverbially:

1. *ʔana bfayyʔak baɛᵊd ṣalāt ᵊṣ-ṣəbᵊḥ*

'I'll wake you after morning prayer'

2. *ɛam-yəktob waẓīft ᵊl-fīzya bəṣ-ṣaff*

'He's doing his physics assignment in the classroom'

3. *ɛal-ɛaṣr ᵊmnəšrab šāy w-ɛənd ᵊl-masa mnākol* [AO-30]

'Late in the afternoon we drink tea and in the evening we eat'

4. *bšūf bəl-bēt šū bəddhon w-bəbɛat-lak xabar maɛ ᵊṣ-ṣānɛa* [DA-130]

'I'll see in the house what they want, and send you word by the maid'

5. *ʔana b-ɛēni šəfta b-wādi l-ǵūl* [AO-107]

'With my [own] eye[s] I saw her in Ghoul Valley' (The phrase *b-wādi l-ǵūl* is an objective complement [p. 447].)

6. *btəʔmor təšrab šī ʔabl ᵊl-ʔakᵊl?* [DA-199]

'Would you like something to drink before eating?'

7. *ʔana Ɛala kəll ḥāl mā bākol
ġēr bəl-bēt* [DA-198]

'In any case I only eat at home'
(*bəl-bēt* is supplemental to the verb
bākol, while *Ɛala kəll ḥāl* is supple-
mental to the whole clause.)

8. *lēš sāyeʔ b-has-sərƐa?*

'Why are you driving so fast?' (lit.
"...with this speed?")

9. *bəš-šətwiyye byəsknu bət-tābeʔ
ʔl-fōʔāni, b-sabab ʔl-bard
wər-rṭūbe* [AO-39]

'In the winter they live on the upper
storey, because of the cold and damp'
(The phrase *b-sabab...* is supple-
mental to the whole preceding clause,
while *bəš-šətwiyye* is supplemental
only to the following verb phrase.
bət-tābeʔ... is the prepositional
complement to the verb.)

10. *l-ʔḥkūme bəl-ḥāl ṭalaƐet
takzīb*

'The government immediately issued a
denial'

11. *waʔʔaf ʔs-sayyāra Ɛal-ʔāxīr*

'He brought the car to a complete
stop'

12. *Ɛan ḥaʔa ʔənte btəƐnīha?*

'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. *Ɛala ġafle* 'suddenly', *Ɛan ʔarīb* 'soon',
Ɛala ṭūl 'always, continuously', *bəl-marra* 'at all' (with
negative), *bəl-kād* 'hardly', etc.
The forms *ʔāxīr* (ex. 11) and *ḥaʔa* (12) are anomalous,
used only in these set phrases (and *bəl-ʔāxīr* 'finally').
One would expect *ʔaxīr* or *ʔāxer* 'final, last, end', and
ḥaʔʔa 'its(f.)right, its truth'.

13. *mənkannes ʔl-bēt mən fōʔ
la-taḥt* [AO-27]

'We'll sweep the house from top to
bottom'

14. *ḥaket kalām mā fhəmto w-sāwətni
baƐʔdha mətʔl ma bətšūf – nəṣṣi
ḥažar w-nəṣṣi laḥʔm* [AO-118]

'She said something I didn't under-
stand, and then made me the way you
see me – half stone and half flesh'
(*baƐʔdha* lit. "after it(f.)")

Free prepositions [p.485] may of course be used adverb-
ially without an "object"; similarly *baƐʔd* 'after' and *ʔabʔl*
'before'. See p.487.

Examples of prepositional supplements to non-verbal clauses:

15. *la-daraže huwwe masʔūl*

'To a [certain] degree, he is
responsible'

16. *ka-walad Ɛəmro xams ʔsnīn huwwe
ṭawīl ʔktīr*

'For a five-year-old boy he's quite
tall'

17. *bəƐtə́ʔed hat-taqrīr Ɛala wažh
ʔl-Ɛumūm saḥīḥ*

'I believe this report is on the
whole correct'

18. *bən-nāḥye n-nazariyye mā fī
ʔəxtilāf ʔktīr*

'From a theoretical point of view
there's not much difference'

Prepositional supplements to non-verbal words and phrases:

19. *huwwe doktōr fəl-ʔaqtiṣād*

'He's a doctor of economics'

20. *bəddhon Ɛal-ʔaʔalli žəmƐa*

'They'll need at least a week' (The
form *ʔaʔalli* is a classicism; col-
loquial *ʔaʔall* 'least'.)

21. *ktīr mn ʔl-xərāfāt ʔəlha
ʔaṣʔl tārīxi*

'Many myths have a historical
foundation'

22. *mā xalla ṣənf mn ʔl-fawāki
wəl-ḥəlwiyyāt ʔəlla ḥaṭṭo*

'He didn't leave out any kind of
fruit or sweet (but what he put it in)'

23. *hāda mū šī ždīd Ɛaliyyi*

'This is not something new to me'

24. *bāxədhon tlətt marrāt bəl-yōm*
[DA-218]

'I take them three times a day' (lit.
"...in a day")

25. *l-wāḥed Ɛand bēti wət-tāni
baƐdo b-ʔtmənn dakakīn* [DA-125]

'The one [of them] is by my house and
the other is eight doors beyond it'
(lit. "...after it by eight shops")

In ex. 25, the phrase *b-ʔtmənn...* is supplemental to
the prepositional predicate *baƐdo*. In ex. 24, *bəl-yōm* is
supplemental (or complemental) to the nominal supplement
tlətt marrāt. The *mən*-phrases in ex. 21 and 22 are annexion
periphrases [p.460].
Most prepositional phrases that are subordinate to
nouns are attributive [p.500]; many of those subordinate to
adjectives are complemental.

Besides adverbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, a few words of other kinds are used supplementally:

ḥatta 'even' (as a conjunction, 'until, in order that' [p. 358]):

1. *ḥatta r-raẓol ᵊl-Ɛādi byəfham*   'Even a layman understands that'
   haš-šī

2. *mā ḥada ḥatta lāḥaẓ ᵊĝyābo*   'No one even noticed his absence'

3. *mā ʔdərᵊt šúfo ḥatta*   'I didn't even get to see him'

bass 'only' (as a conjunction, 'but, as soon as' [p. 398, 357]):

4. *ṣafyān Ɛanna bass ᵊtnēn*   'We only have two left'

5. *mū bass həlwe, zakiyye kamān*   'She's not only pretty; she's also intelligent'

6. *wṣəlt la-hōn mən daʔīʔa bass*   'I only got here a minute ago'

byəṭlaƐ 'about, what amounts to' (as a verb, 'it comes out'):

7. *ʔassarna byəṭlaƐ mīt Ɛaskari*   'We took about a hundred prisoners' (lit. "We captured it comes to a hundred soldiers")

Sentence Supplements

Certain words and phrases are commonly used to supplement a sentence as a whole rather than some constituent of it[1]; these supplements do not "modify" the meaning of anything in the sentence, but they modify or clarify the relationship of the sentence to its context, or to the circumstances of its utterance. Examples:

1. *bəl-munāsabe wēn ᵊd-dəxxānāt*   'By the way, where are the cigarettes
   ᵊlli waƐattna fīhon?   (lit. "smokes") you promised us?'

2. *mā bətʔaxxar ʔənšāḷḷa, šu yaƐni*   'Don't worry, I won't be late; what
   bəddek ʔərkab ṣārūx?   do you(f.) expect, anyway — for me to get on a rocket?'

---

[1] This 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].

3. *Ɛala hal-lōn byəlzamak šānƐa*   'In that case, you'll need a maid'
   [DA-98]

4. *btəftẃ́ker baʔa fəkra mnīḥa*   'So you think it's a good idea'

5. *bəškor ʔalla mā bəʔi fiyyi šī*   '[I] thank God, I'm all right now'
   [DA-218]

6. *lēš ya tara has-shūl žarda?*   'Why do you suppose these plains are so barren?'
   [DA-250]

7. *daxlak šlōn ᵊl-ḥāle halla?*   'Say, how are things now in San
   bi-sān fransīsko? [DA-77]   Fransisco?'

8. *ʔayyədhon lakān Ɛal-ᵊḥsāb*   'Enter them on your account, then'
   xāṭrak [DA-129]

9. *ʔẕīt la-Ɛandak marrtēn*   'I came to your place twice to tell
   la-ʔəl-lak, bass maƐ ᵊl-ʔasaf   you, but unfortunately I didn't see
   mā šəftak [DA-171]   you'

10. *ṭabƐan ᵊl-xārūf mā tƐallam*   'Of course the sheep wouldn't learn
    w-ṣār imāƐi [AO-96]   and began to bleat'

11. *bi-nafs ᵊl-waʔᵊt ṣfōn fīha*   'At the same time — think of it — he's
    Ɛamm-irawweḥ Ɛala ḥālo maẕāl   losing a big opportunity'
    ᵊkbīr

12. *nəḥna maƐlūmak halla? fī Ɛanna*   'Of course as you know we now have
    ṭaṣniƐ bəš-šām   industrialization in Damascus'

In ex. 12 the second person suffix with *maƐlūm* (lit. 'known') is a sort of "ethical dative" [p. 483], which imparts a note of intimacy to what would otherwise be a starkly impersonal statement.

Supplemental Clauses

Supplemental clauses generally may either precede or follow the main clause:

ʔauwal ma ṭəṣal ɛaṭīna xabar......ɛaṭīna xabar ʔauwal ma ṭəṣal
  'As soon as you get there   'Let us know as soon as you
  let us know'   get there'

ʔiza ʔžīt, btəmbə́ṣeṭ ʔktīr........btəmbə́ṣeṭ ʔktīr ʔiza ʔžīt
  'If you come, you'll have a   'You'll have a very good time
  very good time'   if you come'

Most supplemental clauses are <u>clause supplements</u>, 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. 331ff]; CIRCUMSTANTIAL clauses [p. 531]; 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. 357ff] (see also p. 338); further examples:

1. ʔabˀl ma təlbes bižāmtak, təʔɛod la-dirāstak
   'Before you put on your pajamas, you must sit down and study' (lit. "... sit to your study")

2. baɛˀd ma n-nās ğannū-lon u-raʔaṣū-lon, rāḥu w-daššarūhon la-ḥālhon [AO-111]
   'After the people sang and danced for them, they went away and left them alone' [See p. 411.]

3. baɛˀd ma laʔu l-məzneb ʔante hallaʔ ˀtbarrēt
   'Since they've found the guilty one, you are now exonerated' (lit. "After they've found..., you have now been exonerated")

4. mā šəfˀt ḥada mən waʔʔt ma ržəɛt
   'I haven't seen anyone since I got back'

5. btaʔder ˀtxallī maɛak ʔadd ma bəddak
   'You can keep it (lit. "leave it with you") as long as you want'

6. b-ˀmžarrad ma zakar ʔəsma ḥəḍret
   'No sooner had he mentioned her name than she appeared'

7. bsāwī-lak talifōn ˀb-daʔīʔet ma ʔaɛref
   'I'll give you a phone call the minute I find out'

8. lēš mā btaɛməl-lak šī ɛawāḍ ma təʔɛod ṭūl ˀl-waʔʔt tətšakka?
   'Why don't you do something instead of complaining all the time?'

9. tarket ˀl-ʔūḍa bala ma təḥki kəlme
   'She left the room without saying a word'

10. fī nās ɛāyšīn lūks bēn ma l-ğēr žuɛānīn
   'Some people live in luxury while others go hungry'

11. w-mā fī rṭūbe mətˀl ma biṣīr ɛandkon [DA-150]
   'And there isn't the humidity you get there' (lit. "...like it is with you (pl.)")

12. mənfarrˀo ɛalēhon la-ḥatta yāklu b-ʔiyyām ˀl-ɛīd mətˀl ma byāklu l-ʔağniya [DA-299]
   'We distribute it among them so that they may eat during the holiday as the rich eat'

mətˀl ma is more often used in supplementation to a word or phrase than to the whole main clause. In ex. 12 the mətˀl ma clause is supplemental to the verb yāklu; in ex. 11, to the noun rṭūbe.

Examples of ma clauses as sentence supplements:

13. ʔabˀl ma ʔansa, ḥaṭṭ-əlli šī kilōyēn xōx w-ˀtlāte nžāṣ [DA-130]
   'Before I forget — put in (for me) a couple of kilos of plums and three of pears'

14. ḥasab ma baɛref mā fī ʔəlak bōṣṭa
   'As far as I know, there's no mail for you'

For a sentence-supplement ʔiza clause, see ex. 12, p. 332.

Adverbial clauses introduced by words or phrases other than ma:

15. lamma xalṣet ˀs-səne, ṭalab ˀr-rāɛi ʔəžˀrto [AO-103]
   'When the year ended, the shepherd demanded his pay'

16. l-yōm lamma fəʔʔt kān maɛi wažaɛ rās ʔawi [AO-51]
   'Today when I woke up I had a severe headache'

17. ttəṣel fiyyi lamma bəddak yāni
   'Get in touch with me when you want me'

18. baḷḷa salləm-li ɛas-sətt waʔt ˀbtəṣal [DA-245]
   'Please give my regards to your wife when she arrives'

19. waʔʔt maddēt šahrēn fi New York kənt šufo kəll yōm
   '[During the] time I spent two months in New York I saw him every day'

20. yōm kənna ràžɛīn mən bērūt ʔaxatt bard [DA-217]
   'The day we came back from Beirut I caught cold'

21. bass ˀtlāʔi l-bēt mənrūḥ ʔana wiyyāk la-nšufo [DA-291]
   'As soon as you find the house you and I will go together to see it'

22. *w-fareḥ ᵊktīr laᵊǝnno tᵊakkad*
    ᵊǝnno ᵊalla ġafar-lo xaṭāyā
    [AO-100]

    'And he was very glad because he was certain that God had forgiven his sins'

23. *u-laᵊǝnno māli Ɛǝnwān sābet*
    bƐatū-li yā b-wāṣaṭṭ
    ᵊl-mufauwaḍiyye l-ᵊamērkiyye
    [DA-294]

    'And since I have no permanent address send it to me in care of the American Legation'

24. *b-ḥēs mā kān Ɛandi l-maṣāri mā*
    ᵊdarᵊt rūḥ

    'Since I didn't have the money I couldn't go'

25. *b-ma ᵊǝnno msāfer bǝkra lāzem*
    nǝstaƐžel

    'Since he is leaving tomorrow, we must hurry' (*b-ma ᵊǝnno*, lit. "with [the fact] that...")

26. *raḥa-kūn ᵊhnīk, maƐ ᵊǝnno*
    waᵊti dayyeᵊ

    'I'll be there, though my time is short'

27. *ᵊana bžᵊb-lak ᵊl-ᵊarbaƐīn bǝnt*
    la-bētak Ɛala šarṭ taƐṭīni
    ᵊarbaƐīn dīnār [AO-113]

    'I'll bring the forty girls to your house on condition that you give me forty dinars'

Extraposition 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 extraposed [p. 431] — placed in front of the conjunction. (This type of extraposition requires no resumptive subject pronoun.)

1. *ᵊalla taƐāla lamma farraᵊ*
   ᵊl-mawāheb Ɛala bani ᵊādam,
   kān ᵊl-fallāḥ ġāyeb [AO-92]

   'When Almighty God apportioned His gifts among men, the peasant was absent'

2. *l-banāt lamma ṣǝfyu la-ḥālhon*
   ṣāru ydūru bǝl-bet [AO-113]

   'When the girls were left alone, they started looking around the house'

3. *l-malek baƐᵊd ma šafā mā kāfā*
   [AO-116]

   'After he cured the king, he (the king) didn't reward him' (Extrapositive object)

4. *ᵊana ᵊawwal ma ᵊžīt sakanᵊt*
   bǝl-bēt Ɛand hadōl ᵊž-žamāƐa

   'When I first came, I lived at the house of those people'

5. *ktīr ᵊmn ᵊš-šabāb waᵊᵊt bikūnu*
   bi-Ɛǝmr ᵊl-murāhaqa biḥāwlu
   ᵊǝnno yaƐᵊmlu nōƐ ᵊmn ᵊš-šǝƐᵊr

   'Lots of young men, when they're adolescent, try to compose some sort of poetry'

6. *l-walad ᵊẓ-ẓġīr lamma ykūn*
   zaƐlān mǝn ᵊabū baƐdēn irāḍi
   ᵊabū byǝži biḥaṭṭ rāso hēke
   byǝsᵊndo

   'When a little boy is angry with his father and them makes up with him, he comes and leans his head [against him] like this'

In most cases the extraposed term can also be construed as subject of the main clause, with the adverbial clause inserted between the subject and the predicate. (This analysis might apply to all but ex. 1 above.)

An adverbial clause is also sometimes inserted between a verb and its prepositional or clausal complement:

7. *sāfarᵊt ᵊabᵊl ma ᵊži la-hōn*
   la-ᵊoroppa

   'Before I came here I went to Europe'

8. *w-ṣāret kǝll ma fāt wāḥed mǝnhon*
   ṭǝᵊṭaƐ rāso [AO-113]

   'And she started cutting off their heads every time one of them would come in'

Circumstantial Clauses (*al-žumla l-ḥāliyya*)

The conjunction *w-* [p. 391] introduces subordinate clauses with the sense 'while, when, with':

1. *šlōn mā bǝddo yǝṣᵊoṭ bǝl-faḥᵊṣ*
   w-huwwe mā fataḥ ᵊktāb?

   'How could he help but fail in the test when he hasn't opened a book?'

2. *šaḥaṭᵊt rǝfrāf ᵊs-sayyāra w-ᵊana*
   ṭāleƐ la-wara mn ᵊl-karāž

   'I scraped the fender of the car (while I was) backing out of the garage'

3. *w-huwwe māši w-mǝtƐažžeb*
   sǝmeƐ ᵊanīn bǝke [AO-118]

   '(As he was) walking alone and wondering, he heard the sound of weeping' (lit. "...a moan of weeping")

4. *šaƐha ḥalab bānet w-ᵊalƐǝtha*
   bǝn-nǝṣṣ [DA-250]

   'See there, Aleppo has come into view, with its citadel in the middle'

As illustrated in examples 2 and 3, circumstantial clauses may sometimes be rendered in English with a participial phrase rather than with a clause. Circumstantial clauses are most often non-verbal (ex. 2, 3, 4) and quite often participial (2, 3).

Most circumstantial clauses follow the main clause (ex. 1, 2, 4), and most have a subject — often a pronoun subject (ex. 1, 2, 3) — right after the *w-*.

In some cases (ex. 4), subordinate *w-* clauses are not clearly distinguishable from coördinate clauses ('See there, Aleppo has come into view, and its citadel is in the middle').

Further examples:

5. *šlōn bǝddo ṭ-ṭabīx*
   yǝstǝwi wǝṭ-ṭanāžer ᵊmƐallaᵊa
   fōᵊ Ɛas-sažara? [AO-88]

   'How can the food get done with the pots hung up in the tree?'

6. ḥaṭṭo ʔəddām ᵊs-saɛdān w-ṣār
iɛallmo wəs-saɛdān yətfarraž
[AO-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 coördination: '... started to teach him, and the monkey, to watch' (with anaphoric suppression [p. 537] of ṣār before yətfarraž).

7. l-fallāḥīn biḥəbbu yāklūhon
u-hənne xəḍᵊr [PVA-18]

'The country people like to eat them while they're green'

8. kānet ᵊl-bənt wara l-bāb
wəb-ʔīdha sēf [AO-113]

'The girl was behind the door with a sword in her hand' (Or as a coördination: '...and a sword was in her hand')

9. w-rakḍet u-maɛha ṭāse fīha
mayye

'And she ran, carrying a bowl with water in it' (lit. "...and with her a bowl, in it water")

10. bəṣ-ṣəbᵊḥ w-ʔana rāyeḥ ɛala
šaḡli bəštəri ɛādatan žarīde
mn ᵊž-žarāyed

'In the morning when I'm going to work I usually buy one of the newspapers'

11. dəʔʔ ᵊl-ḥadīd u-huwwe ḥāmi

'Strike the iron while it's hot'

12. mnēn bəʔder ʔəbɛat ḥawāle
barīdiyye? — tālet šəbbāk
w-ʔənte fāyet [DA-223]

'(From) where can I send a postal money order?' — Third window as you go in'

13. l-bāb ᵊnfataḥ w-kaʔənno fī
səhᵊr

'The door opened as if by magic' (lit. "...and [it was] as if there were magic [in it]")

14. məmken ᵊdžəb-li ʔahuti
w-fīha xēṭ konyāk?

'Could you bring me my coffee with a dash of brandy in it?'

15. kīf ya žənni bətʔūl slēmān
nabiyy aḷḷāh w-ᵊslēmān māt mən
məddet ʔalf w-ᵊtmān mīt səne?
[AO-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 rāyeḥ 'going' or the like. (Cf. p. 530.):

16. ʔənt ᵊw-rāyeḥ xədni [RN-I.228]

'Pick me up on your way'

17. w-nəḥna w-rāyḥīn marrēna
b-šəllālāt nyāgara [SAL-67]

'And on our way, we went by Niagara Falls'

Paratactic Supplemental Clauses. Sometimes the circumstantial w- (or some other supplemental conjunction) is omitted:

1. daxalt ɛalēha, b-ʔīdi sēf
[AO-118]

'I broke in on her, a sword in my hand'

2. huwwe ɛam-yəḥki byākol nəṣṣ
ᵊl-kəlme

'When he talks he swallows half the word'

3. wēnak ᵊb-hal-ʔiyyām mā ḥada
bišūfak? [DA-197]

'Where are you these days, that no one sees you?'

4. kəll šī xāleṣ, raḥ-ikallef
kaza dōlār [SAL-171]

'When everything is completed, it'll cost [so many] dollars'

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 *hōn* 'here' and *hnīk* 'there' substitute for certain kinds of prepositional phrases, etc.

Anaphoric Substitution

The third-person pronouns (*huwwe, hiyye, hanne; -o, -ha, -hon*) 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: *btaɛref haš-šabb ʔənte?* 'Do you know that young man? — *ʔē baɛ°rfo mnīḥ, ṣáḥbi huwwe* '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 *mīn ᵊl-bənt ᵊlli šəftak maɛha?* 'Who's the girl I saw you with?'; whereas English requires a subject pronoun, and Arabic does not, in sequences like *šū ʔaxbār maḥmūd? — waḷḷa ktīr mabsūṭ* '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: *yalli lāḥeš tyābo yəži yšīlon* 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'; *fī ɛandak šī kətᵊb ġēra?* 'Have you any other books?' (lit. "books other than them (f.sg.)"); *yōm bikūn fī farṣa l-madāres mā btəftaḥ* [DA-239] 'The schools don't open on a holiday' (lit. "A day there is in it (m.) vacation...").

---

[1] The 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 '*tābiɛ*', 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: *masməh-li ʔəlɛab tanes ma dām mā zīd fīha* 'I'm allowed to play tennis as long as I don't overdo it'. Neither the noun *tanes* nor the clause *ʔəlɛab tanes* 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" *laʔ* 'no' and *ʔē, ʔēwa, naɛam, 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. *ʔē, mbala,* and *laʔ,* especially, are commonly followed by something more; when used alone, they sometimes sound rather curt. Hence: *šəfʔt ʔahmad? — ʔē šəfto* 'Did you see Ahmed? — Yes, I did'; *mā šəfʔt ʔahmad? — mbala šəfto* 'Didn't you see Ahmed? — Yes, I did'; *— laʔ mā šəfto* 'No, I didn't' (in answer to either question).

The word *naɛam* is more polite or deferential than *ʔē.* It is used, furthermore, (with falling intonation) in response to a call or a command: *ya ʔahmad... — naɛam.* 'Oh Ahmed... — Yes?', and (with rising intonation) to ask for repetition or continuation of something said: *naɛam?* 'What?', 'I beg your pardon?' 'Yes?'. Note also the combination *ʔé naɛam,* which is more deferential, or more affable, than *naɛam* alone.

laʔ is used anaphorically in coördinations with *walla* 'or' [p. 395]: *btəži walla laʔ?* 'Are you coming, or not?'.

The form *laʔ* is not much used in a purely exclamatory capacity; the usual negative interjection are *lā* and *lah: lā walla* 'No indeed!'; *lah, lah* 'No, no!' (reaction of dismay).

There is also a form *laʔa,* sometimes used (anaphorically) instead of *laʔ.*

The demonstratives *hāda* 'this, that', *hēk* 'so, thus, this, that', and *hnīk* 'there' are often used anaphorically (but *hnīk* not so much as English 'there' [p. 561]). See p. 554 ff.

The interrogative substitutes or "question words" [p. 566] (*šū* 'what', *wēn* '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-masʔale mū masʔalt ʔs-səɛʔr*   'It isn't a question of the price' (lit. "The question isn't...")

2. *xāyəf-lak hal-marad hāda marad ɛaʔli*   '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. *maɛāšo ʔazwad mən maɛāši*   'His salary is more than mine'

4. *ʔəsmi byəži baɛʔd ʔəsma bəl-līsta*   'My name comes after hers in the list'

Another anaphoric construction characteristic of Arabic is the supplementation of a singular noun by a *mən* phrase with its plural or dual: *yōm mn ʔl-ʔiyyām* 'one day' (lit. "a day of the days"), *bənt mən banāt ʔabu ɛali* 'One of Abu Ali's daughters':

5. *mā brūh b-ʔayy hāl mn ʔl-ʔahwāl*   'I won't go on any condition'

6. *wlā žawāb mn ʔž-žawābēn məzbūt*   '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: *šāyef hal-bēt ᵊhnīk?* – (ᵊ*ē*) *šāyef maƐna?* – *laˀ mā bᵊži* '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. *ˀana rāyeḥ hallaˀ* – *w-ˀana kamān*

'I'm going now. – So am I' (or 'I am too')

8. *ṭalab maṣāri ˀazwad mən ˀaxū*

'He asked for more money than his brother did'

After *mən* 'than', *mətᵊl* 'like, as', *ˀadd* '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. *farƐ ᵊl-falsafe tabaƐ žāmƐətna ˀaḥsan mən ᵊž-žāmƐa l-ᵊflāniyye*

'The philosophy department of our university is better than that of University X'

10. *Ɛəmro taˀrīban ˀaddi (or ˀadd Ɛəmri)*

'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. *sˀāl Ɛan ᵊž-žār ˀabl ᵊd-dār, w-Ɛan ᵊr-rafīˀ ˀabl ᵊṭ-ṭarīˀ* (Saying)

'Ask about the neighbor before you ask about the house, and about the traveling companion, before you ask about the road'

Similarly: *mətl ᵊl-māḍi* 'as in the past' (cf. *bᵊl-māḍi* 'in the past'), *mətl ᵊl-ˀawwal* 'as in the beginning' (cf. *bᵊl-ˀawwal* 'in the beginning, at first'). Note also: *msāwāt ᵊḥˀūˀ ᵊl-marˀa bᵊr-ražol* 'equality of women's right with men's (or ...with those of men)'.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS (*aḍ-ḍamīr*)

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 extrapositive [432].

The independent forms are:

	Third Person	Second Person	First Person
Masculine	*huwwe* 'he, it'	*ˀənte* 'you'	*ˀana* 'I' (m. and f.)
Feminine	*hiyye* 'she, it'	*ˀənti* 'you'	
Plural	*hənne* 'they'	*ˀəntu* 'you'	*nəḥna* 'we'

Stylistic and dialectal variants include the apocopated forms *hū* 'he', *hī* 'she', *ˀənt* 'you (m.)', and *nəḥᵊn* 'we'. Also *hənnen* 'they' (Damascus), *humme* or *humma* 'they' (Palestine), *ˀəḥna* 'we' (Palestine), *ləḥna* 'we' (Damascus).

The basic suffixed forms are:

	Third Person	Second Person	First Person
Masc.	*-o* 'him, it, his, its'	*-ak* 'you, your'	*-ni, -i* 'me, my'
Fem.	*-ha* 'her, it, its'	*-ek* 'you, your'	
Pl.	*-hon* 'them, their'	*-kon* 'you, your'	*-na* 'us, our'

In Palestine one hears *-hom* (or *-hum*) 'them, their', and *-kom* (or *-kum*) 'you, your' (pl.). Cf. *humma*, above. In Lebanon: *-u* 'him, his', etc. (and *-hun* 'them, their', *-kun* 'you, your' pl.).

Modifications of the Suffix Forms. The suffixes whose basic forms begin with a vowel (*-ak*, *-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:

After Consonant

dzákkar 'he remembered':

dzákkar-ak 'he remembered you (m.)'

dzákkar-ek 'he remembered you (f.)'

dzákkar-o 'he remembered him'

ʔəddā́m 'ahead (of)':

ʔəddā́m-ak 'ahead of you (m.)'

ʔəddā́m-ek 'ahead of you (f.)'

ʔəddā́m-o 'ahead of him'

bifáhhem 'he'll explain':

bifáhhm-ak 'he'll explain to you (m.)'

bifáhhm-ek 'he'll explain to you (f.)'

bifáhhm-o 'he'll explain to him'

ʔəxt 'sister':

ʔə́xt-ak 'your (m.) sister'

ʔə́xt-ek 'your (f.) sister'

ʔə́xt-o 'his sister'

dars 'lesson':

dárs-ak 'your (m.) lesson'

dárs-ek 'your (f.) lesson'

dárs-o 'his lesson'

lā́ken 'but':

lākə́nn-ak 'but you (m.)...'

lākə́nn-ek 'but you (f.)...'

lākə́nn-o 'but he...'

After Vowel

nə́si 'he forgot':

nəsī́-k 'he forgot you (m.)'

nəsī́-ki 'he forgot you (f.)'

nəsī́ 'he forgot him'

wára 'behind':

warā́-k 'behind you (m.)'

warā́-ki 'behind you (f.)'

warā́ 'behind him'

bifáhhmu 'they'll explain':

bifahhmū́-k 'they'll explain to you (m.)'

bifahhmū́-ki 'they'll explain to you (f.)'

bifahhmū́ 'they'll explain to him'

ʔáxu 'brother (of)' [p. 169]:

ʔaxū́-k 'your (m.) brother'

ʔaxū́-ki 'your (f.) brother'

ʔaxū́ 'his brother'

dáwa 'medicine':

dawā́-k 'your (m.) medicine'

dawā́-ki 'your (f.) medicine'

dawā́ 'his medicine'

láwla 'but for...'

lawlā́-k 'but for you (m.)'

lawlā́-ki 'but for you (f.)'

lawlā́ 'but for him'

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:

dzakkár-ha or *dzakkár-a*   *nəsī́-ha* or *nəsī́y-a* (i.e. *nəsī́a*)[1]
   'he remembered her'   'he's forgotten her'

dzakkár-hon or *dzakkár-on*   *nəsī́-hon* or *nəsī́y-on*
   'he remembered them'   'he's forgotten them'

ʔə́mm-ha or *ʔə́mm-a*   *ʔabū́-ha* or *ʔabū́w-a*
   'her mother'   'her father'

ʔə́mm-hon or *ʔə́mm-on*   *ʔabū́-hon* or *ʔabū́w-on*
   'their mother'   'their father'

     Ɛalḗha or *Ɛalḗa*   'on her, it'
     Ɛalḗhon or *Ɛalḗon*   'on them'

The suffix *-i* becomes *-yi* when the stem ends in a vowel: *dawā́-yi* 'my medicine', *maṣārī́y-yi* 'my money' (i.e. *maṣārī́-yi*), *fī́y-yi* 'in me' (i.e. *fī́-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: *kəllon* 'all of them', *baƐḍon* 'some of them', *tnēnātna* 'the two of us'

1. *ʔaxad mahramto mən žēbto w-Ɛaṣab ʔīdha* [AO-115]
   'He took his handkerchief from his pocket and bandaged her hand'

2. *ʔəxti l-ʔkbīre mžawwaze w-səhri ʔəsmo ḥasan* [AO-43]
   'My elder sister is married, and my brother-in-law, his name is Hassan'

3. *žəddak u-səttak ṭayybīn?* [AO-43]
   'Are your gradfather and grandmother living?'

---

[1] It is a convention of our transcription to write *iy* before a vowel or before *y*, and *ī* before a consonant or finally; the two spellings are equivalent, as also are *uw* and *ū*.

4. *bəddi msāɛattak b-ʔaḍiyye ẓġīre* [DA-295] — 'I need your assistance in a small matter'

5. *z-zāyde mā bəthəmm. ɛamalītha salīme* [DA-217] — 'Apendicitis is not serious. The operation is safe', lit. "Its operation..."

6. *nəṣṣo l-fōʔāni mən laḥ³m w-damm w-nəṣṣo t-taḥtāni mən ḥaẓar* [AO-118] — 'The top half of him (was) of flesh and blood and the bottom half of of him, of stone'

7. *tnēnātna msāfrīn la-ḥalab u-hayy tazākərna* [DA-250] — 'The two of us are going to Aleppo and here are our tickets'

8. *ɛmūmi kəllon mātu* [AO-43] — 'All my paternal uncles are dead', lit. "My uncles, all of them have died"

9. *bən-natīže kəllo mət³l baɛḍo* — 'It's all the same in the long run', lit. "In the outcome, all of it is like each other of it"

10. *w-ʔəza t³axxart..., mnāxod ġērak* [DA-29] — 'And if you're late, we'll take someone else' (*ġēr* is a noun meaning '(some)other'; in identificatory construct [p. 468]: 'other than...'.)

11. *ʔāl b-nafso, 'ʔaḥsan mən bala...'* [AO-115] — 'He said to himself, "It's better than nothing"

Some nouns are commonly used with suffixes in special supplemental capacities: *ɛəm³rkon rəḥtu la-ɛālē?* 'Have you (pl.) ever gone to Aley?', lit. "(In) your life..."; *sāɛáta, waʔta* 'then, at that time' [p. 521], etc.

2.) After a preposition [p. 477]. Examples:

1. *ḥakēna maɛo mən šah³r* — 'We talked with him a month ago'

2. *šaɛɛlī-li l-ḥammām* [DA-180] — 'Light the bath (heater) for me'

3. *ṭlōb mənno ʔīd bənto* [AO-114] — 'Ask him for his daughter's hand (in marriage)' (lit. "ask of him...")

4. *bəttə́kel ɛalēk* [DA-290] — 'I'm depending on you'

5. *bayyəḍ-³lna wəššna ʔəddāmo* [DA-291] — 'Put us in a favorable light with him', lit. "Whiten for us our face before him"

6. *š-šərke mā fīha barake* [DA-296] — 'There's no advantage in partnership', lit. "Partnership, there's no blessing in it".

7. *ɛando ɛēle?* — 'Does he have a family?', lit. "(Is there) with him (*chez lui*) a family?"

8. *ʔizan byaɛmlū-lo ɛamaliyye* [DA-203] — 'They'll operate on him, then', lit. "Then they'll do for him an operation"

9. *mīn ɛali bēnāthon?* [DA-233] — 'Which of them is Ali?', lit. "Who is Ali among them?"

10. *mətli mətlak mā baɛref* [DA-243] — 'I don't know either', lit. "Like me, like you, I don't know."

11. *mā mənrūḥ balāhon* [DA-153] — 'We wouldn't go without them'

12. *biḥəṭṭu kamān ṭīn w-fōʔo ḥaẓara tānye* [AO-75] — 'They lay on more clay, and on top of it, another stone.'

3.) As subject of a clause after *ʔənno* 'that', *laʔanno* (or *laʔənno*) 'because', *kaʔanno* (or *kaʔənno*) '(It's) as if'. The final *-o* of these conjunctions is a neutral or "dummy" third-person masculine pronoun, which disappears when other suffixes are attached:

1. *šu mā bəṭṣadde? ʔənni kənt fī?* [AO-116] — 'Don't you believe that I was in it?'

2. *maɛ³žze ʔənnon bəʔyu ɛāyšīn* — 'It's a wonder that they stayed alive'

3. *ftakart ʔənnak l-³mɛallem* [PVA-32] — 'I thought that you were the teacher'

4. *šāf ʔənnha warraʔet u-ʔazharet* [AO-100] — 'He saw that it had leafed out and bloomed'

5. *bḥəṭṭ-əllak ³l-bāʔi b-kīs waraʔ laʔannhon xfāf* [DA-107] — 'I'll put the rest in a paper bag for you, because they're light'

6. *hēʔtak maḅṣūṭ, w-kaʔannak mā sāwēt ɛamaliyye* [DA-218] — 'You look well, as if you hadn't had an operation at all'

7. *waḷḷāhi kaʔanna bər-rabīɛ* [DA-149] — 'Why, it's just like spring', lit. "It's as if we were in springtime"

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: *ḥalaft ʔənno bəʔtol...ḥalli bixalləṣni* [AO-116] 'I swore that I would kill the one who released me': in contrast to the version with subject expressed: *ḥalaft ʔənni bəʔtol...* .

If the following verb is third person masculine/singular, however, there is of course no contrast between expression and supression of a pronominal subject, because of the dummy suffix *-o*: *ḥalaf ʔənno byəʔtol...* .

Some speakers, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, do not always use the dummy suffix: *l-mara ʔəla haʔʔ ʔənn təntə́xeb...* [SAL-154] 'Women have a right to vote'.

The conjuction *lāken* 'but' may also be used with the suffixes; the suffixing form is *lākə́nn-*:

8. *kənt ᵊmḥassbak zalame mnīḥ lākənnak ṭləʕᵊt ʕāṭel*

"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. *ʔaxad ᵊt-təffāḥa w-ʔakalha* [AO-91]

'He took the apple and ate it'

2. *ʔaʕʕə́ddon b-maṭraḥ zarīf u-tarákon* [AO-88]

'He seated them in a nice place and left them'

3. *başaṭṭni b-hal-xabar* [DA-243]

'I'm glad to hear that', lit. 'You've gladdened me with this news'

4. *halláʔ sayyārt ᵊš-šərke bətwaṣṣəlna* [DA-251]

'The company car will take us there right away'

5. *l-malek ʕaṭá žāyze* [AO-88]

'The king gave him a prize'

6. *w-ʔiza mā şaddaʔtni, ʕmēl dōret ᵊl-ʔarḍ w-ʔîs* [AO-83]

'And if you don't believe me, go around the world and measure (it).'

7. *tarᵊkto w-sabʔʔto la-bēto* [AO-115]

'She left him and went on ahead of him to his house'

8. *žāyīni maktūb*

'A letter has come for me' (*žāye* is the active participle of *ʔəža* 'to come' [p.76], which is sometimes transitive: 'to come to or for (someone)'.)

9. *ʔəl-li ʔiza lāzmak šī mən 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'. *lāzem* 'necessary' is the active participle of *byəlzam* '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. *ʕaṭāni yāha kəllha*

'He gave it all to me'

11. *ʔana bžəb-lak yā*

'I'll bring it to you'

12. *ʔaḷḷa yxallī-lna yāk*

'God keep you (for us)'

The pronouns are also suffixed to the stem *yā–* as objects of the quasi-verb *bəddo* 'to want', whose subject-affixes are in the form of pronoun suffixes [p.412]: *bəddi yāha* 'I want it (f.)', *bəddo yākon* 'He wants you (pl.)':

13. *ṭṭəşel fiyyi lamma bəddak yāni*

'Get in touch with me when you want me'

With the stem *yā–* either –*ni* or –*i* may be used: ... *lamma bəddak yāyi*.

The *yā–* forms are also sometimes also used after *ʕand* 'with' + suffix, thus construing *ʕand(o)* as a quasi-verb 'to have' [p.413]:

14. *bəṭṭallaʕ bəl-mawžūdāt ʕandi w-ᵊbšūf ʔiza ʕandi 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 dāmni* 'since I...'. In the case of *ma ʕada* 'excepting, not counting, either –*ni* or –*i* may be used: *ma ʕadāni* or *ma ʕadāyi* 'excepting me'.

4. b) In exclamations with *ma–* and an elative [p.314]:

15. *šūf hal-maşāneʕ ᵊl-ḥadīse ma-ʔaʕžamha* [DA-251]

'See how fine those modern factories are!'

16. *ma-ʔaḥlāni ʔəʕᵊzmo 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] *lēk–* and *šaʕ–,* 'there is..., here is, look there at..., (voici, voilà)', a suffix – usually third person – is usual (and obligatory after *šaʕ–*):

17. *šaʕo žāye*

'There he comes'

18. *šaʕha ḥalab bānet...* [DA-250]

'Look there, Aleppo has come into view'

19. *šaʕhon ᵊr-rəkkāb nāzlīn...* [DA-249]

'Here come the passengers disembarking'

20. *lēko ʔəža wāḥed* [DA-44]

'Here comes one'

Note the −*ni* forms in the first-person singular: *šaɛni hōn* 'Here I am', *lēkni žāye* 'Here I come'.

4. d) With the words *ləssa* and *baɛd* 'still, yet':

21. *ʔē ləssāk mā šəft ši* [DA-173]　'Yes but you haven't seen anything yet'

22. *ɛmūmi kəllon mātu, lāken ɛammāti ləssāhon ṭayybīn* [AO-43]　'My (paternal) uncles are all dead, but my aunts are still living'

23. *ləssāni mā ɛaraḍtha bəl-wāžha* [AO-79]　'I haven't yet put them on view in the showcase'

24. *ʔəbno ẓ-ẓgīr baɛdo təlmīz* [adap. fr. DA-77]　'His youngest son is still a student'

25. *ž-žəsᵊr ləssā́ taḥt ᵊt-taɛmīr*　'The bridge is still under construction'

　　　ləssa also has the suffixing forms *ləssāt-*, *ləssāɛ-*, and *ləssaɛt-*: *ləssāto təlmīz*, etc.

　　　The suffixes are not obligatory in this construction. Note: *bāba ləssa mā ʔəža* [DA-299] 'Daddy still hasn't gotten here', *ləssa ʔana mū mətʔakked...* 'I'm still not sure...'.

4. e) With the expressions *(ya)rēt* 'I wish, would that...' and *(ya)dōb* 'hardly'.

26. *bass ya rētak kənt maɛi...* [DA-171]　'But I wish you'd been with me...'

27. *ya rēto kān hōn*　'If only he were here'

28. *rētni mətᵊt ʔabᵊl-ma ɛabbart ɛala raʔyi*　'I'd sooner die than express my opinion'

　　　With the imperfect subjunctive [p. 350] *ya rēt* may be used without a suffix: *ya rēt ʔəʔder ʔəṣal la-hnīk* 'If I could only get there!'

29. *dōbo yaɛmel maṣāri kfāye txalli ʔahlo ɛāyšīn*　'He hardly makes money enough to keep his family alive'

　　　With *ya dōb* the first-person singular form is −*i*, not −*ni*:

30. *yā dōbi ʔūm bi-maṣarīfi*　'I can scarcely meet my expenses'

4. f) With the expressions *fī* 'to be able' and *b-* 'to be the matter with' [p. 415]:

31. *fīk ᵊtsāɛədni? − mā fīni sāɛdak*　'Can you help me?' − 'I can't help you.'

32. *šəbak? (šū bāk?) − mā bni ši*　'What's the matter (with you)?' − 'Nothing's the matter (with me)'

5.) With the question-words [p. 566] *wēn* 'where', *kīf* and *šlōn* 'how', and *ʔaddēš* 'how much':

33. *wēno?, wēnni?*　'Where is he?', 'Where am I?'

34. *kīfak ᵊl-yōm?*　'How are you today?'

35. *šlōnkon ya ṣabāya ya šabāb*　'How are you, girls and boys?'

36. *šlōnek b-šəġl ᵊl-bēt?* [DA-99]　'How are you (f.) at housework?'

37. *law bətšūf ʔaddēšo kān mamnūn*　'You should have seen how grateful he was!'

　　　The word *mīn* 'who' has a suffixing form *mən−*, which is combined with apocopated forms of the "independent" pronouns: −*u* 'he', −*i* 'she', −*(h)ən* 'they': *məni yalli ʔāɛde b-žambak* 'Who (f.) is sitting beside you?'; *manu raʔīsak?* 'Who is your boss?'; *mən(h)ən rəfaʔātak?* 'Who are your companions?' See p. 549.

USES OF THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

1.) As subject:

1. *hiyye bəl-bēt* 'She's in the house'

2. *ʔənte wēn kənt ž-žəmƐa l-māḍye?* 'Where were you last week?'
   [DA-149]

3. *b-ʔanu farʔƐ bəž-žēš ʔənte?* 'In which branch of the army are you?'

4. *ṭābxīn nəhna žāž Ɛal-Ɛaša* '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: *btaƐⁿrfo ʔənte?* 'Do you know him?' (vs. *btaƐⁿrfo hiyye?* 'Does she know him?').

Otherwise in verbal predicates the subject-affixes [p. 175] give complete person and number/gender information about the subject-referent: *byaƐⁿrfu* 'They know'; in such cases an independent pronoun (as in *byaƐⁿrfu hənne*) 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. *hənne byədfaƐu l-ⁿhrāse bass ʔəntu btətkaffalu b-maṣrūf ⁿl-mayy wəl-kahraba* [DA-292] 'They'll pay the taxes, but you (pl.) will take care of the water and electricity expenses'

6. *ʔana mā baƐref bass bžənn-əllak ṣāneƐti btaƐref* [DA-98] 'I don't know, but I think my maid knows'

7. *waḷḷa mā btədfaƐ ʔənte* [DA-198] 'But you're not to pay!'

8. *ʔana ya bēk bəġsel w-bəkwi w-bəmsaḥ w-ⁿbsāwi t-txūt* [DA-99] 'Sir, I wash and iron and scrub and make the beds' (The contrast being with her mother, who cooks. Another function of *ʔana* 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 <u>predicate</u> (or, more exactly, the predication as such): *btəfham Ɛaliyyi ʔənte* 'You <u>do</u> understand me!'[1]

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. *šukran Ɛala kəll ḥāl ʔana mā bdaxxen* 'Thanks anyway, but I don't smoke'

10. *ʔənte btaƐref ʔaddēš xažžaltna hadāk ⁿl-yōm* 'You <u>know</u> how much you put us to shame that day'[2]

11. *waḷḷa ʔana məštaʔt-əlhon w-bəddi šūfon* 'I (f.) certainly do miss them and I'd like to see them'

12. *šlōna hiyye?* 'How <u>is</u> she?'

13. *ma huwwe fəl-mustašfa* [EA-150] 'But he <u>is</u> in the hospital'

14. *məhⁿrze hiyye wəlla laʔ?* '<u>Is</u> it worth while, or not?'

15. *šū huwwe mašrūƐak?* [DA-296] 'What <u>is</u> your plan?'

In ex. 15, the effect of *huwwe* is simply to emphasize the question-word predicate *šū*. Cf. the less emphatic *šū mašrūƐak* '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 *lēš mā birūḥ Ɛal-mustašfa* 'Why doesn't he go to the hospital?' If the question had been e.g. *wēno huwwe?* 'Where is he?' the answer would probably have been simply *fəl-mustašfa,* with no subject expressed.

Similarly, the apocopated subject pronouns that are fused to the question word *mən-* 'who' [p. 547] are used to make the question more emphatic than it would be with the simple form *mīn: mənu haz-zalame?* 'Who <u>is</u> that man?' vs. *mīn haz-zalame?* 'Who's that man?'

Note also example 2, above, and examples 21 and 22, below.

---

[1] A better English translation (for the context from which this was taken) would be '<u>You</u> 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 *ʔənte* in the Arabic has nothing to do with them either.

[2] Or '<u>You</u> 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 corresponding suffix pronoun, for emphasis:

16. xallī huwwe yqarrer   'Let <u>him</u> decide'

17. rəfaʔa mən žīlon hənne   'companions of their own age group'

18. ʔəlak ʔənte mablaġ baṣīṭ lāken ʔəlo huwwe maṣāri ktīr   'To you it's a small sum, but to him it's a lot of money'

In apposition, with modifiers:

19. žəb-li ʔana t-tāni laḥme w-baṭāṭa [DA-47]   'Bring <u>me</u> meat and potatoes, too'

20. ɛərfet ʔənni ʔana halli žaraḥt ʔl-ɛabd [AO-118]   'She realized that it was I who had wounded the slave'

In example 19 ʔana has an adjectival attribute t-tāni; in 20 it has an attributive clause halli žaraḥt... . 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. huwwe ṣar-lo ɛašr ʔsnīn bi-ʔamērka [DA-75]   'He's been in America for ten years'

22. ʔana ləssāni mā baɛref ʔš-šām ʔmnīḥ [DA-77]   'I still don't know Damascus well'

23. w-ʔənte ya bēk šū bžəb-lak? [DA-46]   'And you, sir, what shall I bring you?'

An extrapositive 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. ṣār-lak zamān ɛəndi w-ʔana mā baɛref ʔəsmak ʔl-karīm [AO-108]   'You've been staying with me for quite a while now and I don't even know your name'

25. byəthaddasu w-hənne ʔāɛdīn ḥawl hal-bərke [PAT-187]   'They converse while seated around this pool'

26. mən ɛašr ʔsnīn w-ʔana bʔəšš daʔni la-ḥāli yom ʔē yōm laʔ [DA-197]   'For ten years I've been shaving (my beard for) myself every other day'

5.) **In coordinations** [p. 391]:

27. rāyḥīn ʔənte w-ɛali sawa?   'Are you and Ali going together?'

28. mā ṣəfi ġēr ʔana w-ʔənti.   'Nobody's left but you (f.) and me'

29. lā ʔənte w-lā huwwe, ʔana bāxéda.   'Neither you nor he, but <u>I</u> will get it'

30. mīn bəddak, ʔana wəlla huwwe?   'Whom do you want, him or me?'

31. yā ʔana yā huwwe bitamm hōn.   'Either he or I will stay here'

Note that in coördinations, pronouns precede nouns, first-person pronouns precede others, and second-person generally precedes third.

6.) **With an appositive** [p. 506]:

32. ʔəntu l-ʔamērkān bəthəbbu laḥm ʔl-baʔar ʔaktar [DA-109]   'You Americans like beef better'

33. nəhna l-ɛarab hiyādiyyīn   'We Arabs are neutralists'

34. hənne ž-žamāɛa mā byəʔzu ḥada   'That bunch wouldn't harm anyone'

35. tfaḍḍalu ʔəntu t-tnēn   'Come in, you two'

7.) 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:

36. kīfak? - waḷḷa ʔana ʔana   'How are you?'-'So-so'(lit. "I am I")

37. ləssāta hiyye hiyye   'She's still the same' (lit. "She is still she")

38. w-ʔš-šəġʔl huwwe huwwe ʔiza kān la-wāḥed u-ʔiza kān la-tnēn [DA-198]   'And the work is the same, whether it's for one or for two' (lit. "And the work, it is it...")

Note also the following sentence:

39. ʔaddēš ṣār-lo labnān mətʔl ma huwwe l-yōm? [SAL-150]   'How long has Lebanon been as it is today?'

Cf. ...mətʔl ma kān ʔmbāreḥ '...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-yōm is merely supplemental ("adverbial") [521], it cannot stand alone as a predicate; without huwwe to fill the breach, the subordinate clause could not exist as such (though it could be collapsed into a prepositional phrase mətl ʔl-yōm [538]).

[Ch. 21]

DEMONSTRATIVES

Pronouns (ism l-ʔišāra)

The main forms of the PROXIMAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine	hāda	'this, this one, that, that one'
Feminine	hādi, hayy	'this, this one, that, that one'
Plural	hadōl	'these, those'

The main forms of the DISTAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine	hadāk	'that, that one, that other'
Feminine	hadīk	'that, that one, that other'
Plural	hadōlīk, hadōk, hadənk	'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: mənu hadāk? 'Who's that over there?'.

The proximal demonstrative 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: šū hāda (yəlli maƐak)? '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: hadīk kānet ʔawwal sawra 'That (other) was the first revolution'; or conceptual "distance" independent of space and time: hādi kānet ʔawwal sawra '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 hād (for hāda); the pronouns whose main forms end in a consonant also have forms with a final -e: hayye, hadōle, hadīke, hadənke, etc.

In Lebanon the forms hayda (for hāda), haydi (for hādi), hawdi (for hadōl), hawdīk or hudīk (for hadōlīk) are commonly used. (hawdi also has an apocopated form haw.) In Palestine masc./pl. hadōlāk is sometimes distinguished from fem./pl. hadōlīk. The forms hadənk(e), also hədənk(e), are usual in Damascus, but are not heard in most other areas. Damascus also has a variant hadōn, for hadōl.

Examples of Usage:

1. hāda nədᵊr mən sətti ḍ-ḍƐīfe [AO-114] — 'This is a votive offering from my sick grandmother'

2. hādi fatra bi-ḥayāt kəll šaxṣ, Ɛādatan — 'That's a stage in the life of every person, usually'

3. hayy ᵊl-bənt yalli ʔəlt-əl-lak Ɛanha [DA-99] — 'This is the girl I was telling you about'

4. hadōl ᵊl-kətᵊb ᵊl-maẓbūṭīn? — 'Are these the right books?'

5. hayye masāʔel mā bətxəṣṣni — '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. šū hād? — 'What's that?'

7. fī Ɛandkon dāyman ṭaʔs malƐūn mətᵊl hād? — 'Do you always have weather as awful as this?'

8. l-yōm mā fī šī mən hād l-ḥamdəlla — 'Today there's none of that, thank goodness'

The apocopated form hād occurs mainly at the end of a phrase. It is especially common in anaphoric use after mətᵊl, mən (ex. 7, 8). Note also: lā hād w-lā hād 'neither one nor the other, neither this nor that'.

9. hayy Ɛala ḥarīr ʔaṣli, hayy Ɛala šal, w-hayy ᵊmmawwaže [AO-79] — 'This one (f.) is [of] pure silk, this one is [of] wool, and this one is a moiré' (antecedent: krāve 'necktie')

10. mā btaƐref maḥramtak? mū hádi hiyye? [AO-115] — 'Don't you recognize your hankerchief? Isn't this it?'

11. waḷḷa mū ktār hadōle — 'Why, those are not so many!'

12. šū bisammu hāda? — 'What do they call this?'

13. bəži bəkra, hāda ʔiza mā šattet — '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-

cedent [p.536], as in ex. 8, The feminine, however, is also
commonly used in the latter case [cf. p.428]: *šū hayye?*
'What's this?' (i.e. 'What's up?, what's happening?'), *hayy*
hiyye 'That's it!' (i.e. 'You've hit the nail on the head'):

14. *kəll šī ʔəlla hayy waḷḷa*   'Anything but that!'

15. *lēš bəddak hāda? xōd hadāk*   'Why do you want this one? Take that
   other one'

16. *Eaṭīni kamm wāḥed mən hadōl*   'Give me a few of these and a few of
   w-kamm wāḥed mən hadənk   those others'

In anaphoric use, the demonstratives are sometimes to be
rendered in English by personal pronouns, or in more pedantic
style, by 'the former' (distal) and 'the latter' (proximal):

17. *baEdēn hadāk iʔəl-lo rūḥ ʔaḷḷa*   'Then he (the former) would tell him,
   yəblīk   "Go on, may God afflict you"'

18. *hāda bisāwi fiyyi hēk* [AO-111]   'He might do that to me'

19. *wēnha faṭma w-marwān? — waḷḷa*   'Where is Fatima, and Marwan? — Well,
   marwān žāye, šaEo taḥət   Marwan is coming; he's down there lock-
   Eam-yəʔfel ən-sayyāra w-hadīk   ing the car, and she (the former) is
   maEo   with him'

Examples of demonstratives as topic [p.429]:

20. *hāda huwwe w-farīd kānu b-fard*   'He (the latter) and Fareed were in
   ṣaff   the same class' [cf. p.361, ex. 23]

21. *yəmken...təʔbaḍ-lak šī šwayyet*   'Maybe you'll get a little more money,
   maṣāri zyāde, nšāḷḷa? — hayy   I hope? — You're really sharp when it
   šāṭer fīha, mā btənsāha ʔabadan!   comes to that! You never forget it'

22. *ya ʔaxi l-Eazīz, hayy ʔənte*   'My dear friend, there you're wrong
   ğalṭān tāni marra   again' [cf. ex. 7, p.430]

23. *hāda mḥammad ʔaxūk, hāda bəddi*   'This is your brother Mohammed, I
   ykūn əb-EaṣəbtaK   want him to be in your group'

24. *hāda ʔənte halli kāteb əl-waraʔa?*   'Are you the one who wrote the paper?'
   [DA-188]

Note (ex. 24) that first and second person singular sub-
ject pronouns, as well as third person, may be extraposed as
a demonstrative, for emphasis: *hāda ʔənte..., hayy ʔənti...,*
hāda ʔana... (cf. *hāda huwwe...,* ex. 20).

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 de-
monstrative pronouns are to be taken in the definite, material sense, except
with *hāda* and *hayy* in certain kinds of context and in certain constructions
and set phrases, e.g. *maE hāda* 'nevertheless, despite that', *fōʔ hāda* 'more-
over' (lit. "above that"), *hāda ʔiza...* 'that is, if...' [ex. 13], *hayy hiyye*
'That's it!'. Further examples in which the context makes it clear that the
reference is not to some material thing:

25. *šū hāda? blāʔi t-ṭaʔṣ bada*   'What's this!? It looks as if the
   yətğayyar [DA-153]   weather has begun to change'

26. *marti mā btəhki Earabi ʔabadan.*   'My wife speaks no Arabic at all. —
   — hāda mā bihəmm ya bēk, ʔana   That doesn't matter, sir. I know a
   baEref šwayyet ʔənglīzi [DA-99]   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 *haš-šī* or
haš-šağle, lit. 'this thing', because *hāda* or *hayy* might be taken as refer-
ring to some particular person or object:

27. *haš-šī byāxod waʔt əktīr*   'This takes (or will take) a long
   time' (cf. *hāda byāxod waʔt əktīr*
   'This one will take a long time')

28. *šū raʔyak əb-haš-šī?*   'What do you think of that?' (cf. *šū*
   raʔyak əb-hāda? 'What do you think
   of this one?')

29. *mā bəʔder ʔəšğel bāli b-haš-šağle*   'I can't concern myself with that'
   (cf. *...b-hāda* '...with that one' or
   '...with him')

30. *haš-šī ṣar-lo Eam-idāyəʔni mədde*   'This has been bothering me for some
   time' (cf. *hāda...* 'This one...' or
   'He...')

See also *hēk* [p.561].

[Ch. 21]

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 ᵊl-bēt* (or *l-bēt hadāk*) 'that (other) house'.[1]

The Demonstrative Prefix. The proximal demonstratives (*hāda, hayy, hadōl*) are not often used before a noun with the article prefix, but are usually reduced to *ha-*, which in combination with the article forms a prefix (or proclitic) *hal-*: *hal-bēt* 'this (that) house', *hal-ᵊknīse* 'this (that) church', *hal-ᵊalwān* '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-ržāl* 'these (those) men', *han-nəswān* 'these (those) women', *haš-šəbbāk* 'this (that) window'.

Examples in context:

1. *wēn fī mat̰ɛam ᵊmnīḥ hōn? — šāyef hal-bināye l-ḥamra? ...warāha.* [DA-46]

   'Where is there a good restaurant around here? — Do you see that red building? Behind it.'

2. *w-kān har-rāɛi yəṭlaɛ kəll yōm ɛal-barriyye maɛ ᵊl-ġanam w-yərɛāhon* [AO-103]

   'And this shepherd would go out in the country every day with the sheep and let them graze'

3. *mā bəržaɛ...ḥatta ᵊaɛref ᵊaṣ ᵊl hal-baḥra w-hal-barriyye w-haž-žabal* [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 *kamm* 'several': *b-hal-kamm yōm* 'one of these days, any day now'.

---

[1] Noun phrases with demonstrative pronouns are transforms of equational predications [p. 406]: *hadāk, ᵊl-bēt* 'That is the house' → *hadāk ᵊl-bēt* (or *l-bēt hadāk*) 'that house'. Just as in an equational predication 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.

Occasionally, the full forms *hāda, hayy,* or *hadōl* 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[1]:

4. *mīn hadōl ᵊn-nās halli kənt ɛam-təḥki maɛon?*

   'Who are those people you were talking with?' (cf. *han-nās*)

5. *l-qaṣīde fīha ᵊasᵊm, w-hāda l-ᵊasᵊm mā bəddi ᵊazᵊkro*

   'The poem has a name in it, and that name I don't want to mention' (cf. *hal-ᵊasᵊm*)

The distal demonstrative (*hadāk, hadīk, hadənk,* etc.) normally occur in their full form before a noun with the article:

6. *w-mā btəᵊder təsḥab mənhon ᵊabᵊl hadāk ᵊl-waᵊt* [DA-293]

   'And you can't withdraw it before that time' (*mənhon*, lit. "of them", antecedent: *maṣāri* 'money', plural.)

7. *məni hadīk ᵊl-mara?*

   'Who is that woman?'

8. *hadənk ᵊt-təffāḥāt ᵊmbayyen ɛalēhon tāza ᵊaktar mən hadōl*

   'Those other apples seem to be fresher than these'

The form *hadōk(e)* is generally not used in noun phrases, but only independently.

Note the feminine form with a masculine noun in *hadīk ᵊl-yōm* 'That day' = *hadāk ᵊl-yōm*.

In Lebanon the distal demonstratives also have a reduced form *hāk* (*hēk* [p. 14]) used before the noun: *hāk ᵊl-bēt* (*hēk ᵊl-bayt*) 'that house' = *hadāk ᵊl-bēt*.

Both distal and proximal demonstratives may also <u>follow</u> the noun. This is the normal order in the case of proper names, nouns with pronoun suffixes, and generally with annexion phrases (but see p. 459):

9. *nizār ᵊabbāni hāda mənsammī šāɛer ᵊl-marᵊa l-ᵊawwal*

   'This Nizar Abbani we call "the first poet of Woman"'

10. *žawābo hāda ḥaᵊīᵊatan mā kan-lo mūžeb*

    'That reply of his was really uncalled for'

11. *ɛammti hayye halli ɛam-bəḥki-lak ɛanha džawwazet lamma kān ɛəmra ᵊarbaṭaɛšar səne*

    'This aunt of mine I was telling you about was married when she was fourteen years old'

---

[1] Technically 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. *bənt ṣāḥbak hadīke ṭəlɛet
    ḥəlwe žəddan*

'That daughter of your friend has
turned out to be very pretty'

13. *mnēn žāye ɛāmūd ᵊd-dəxxān hāda?*

'Where is that column of smoke com-
ing from?'

14. *b-ɛəṭlet ᵊr-rabīɛ hayy rəḥᵊt
    la-flōrida*

'This spring vacation I went to
Florida'

Less commonly, the demonstrative follows a single noun
with the article prefix: *l-bēt hāda* 'this house', *l-ᵓūḍa
hādi* '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: *wēno hāda
marwān?* 'Where is this (fellow) Marwan?' *hāda xayyi mā
hāžar* [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 demon-
strative:

15. *məmken tafsīra b-haṣ-ṣūra hayye
    kamān*

'It can also be interpreted in this
way'

16. *mīn hal-bənt hadīk?*

'Who's that girl over there?'

17. *haš-šahᵊr hāda šahᵊr šəte*
    [AO-71]

'This month is a winter month'

18. *laḥa-šūfo b-hal-ᵓiyyām hayy*

'I'll see him any day, now' (lit.
"...in these days")

19. *kəll hal-ḥēwānāt hadōl bišaġġlu
    ᵓaḥmad ᵊktīr, lāken biɛīš mən
    warāhon* [AO-63]

'All these animals keep Ahmed quite
busy, but he lives off them'

Note that in ex. 19 the "emphasis" gained by using *hadōl*
after *hal-ḥēwānāt* is not contrastive, i.e. it is not to dis-
tinguish 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 *hōn* 'here' and *hnīk* 'there' are substitutes for prepositional
phrases (or occasionally, noun phrases) denoting places.

The forms *hōne* and *hnīke* are also sometimes used (cf.
p. 552). In Lebanon the forms *hunīk* or *hawnīk* are generally
used instead of *hnīk* (and *hawn* for *hōn* [p.14]), and in Pal-
estine *hənāk* or *hunāk*.

Examples, predicative:

1. *nšāḷḷa ᵓaxūk bəl-bēt? — naɛam,
   ᵓaxi hōn* [DA-76]

'Is your brother in, please? — Yes,
my brother's here. Come in'

2. *byəġhar xalīl mū hōn* [DA-46]

'It looks as if Khalil isn't here'

3. *wēn samīr u-ᵓabu samīr, ᵓənšāḷḷa
   hōne?*

'Where are Samir and Abu Samir, are
they here?'

4. *ɛali rāḥ la-kalifōrnya, mū hēk?
   — ᵓē halla? ᵊhnīk*

'Ali went to California, didn't he?
— Yes, he's there now'

5. *hōn ᵓaḥmad bēk? — naɛam hōn*
   [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 ana-
phoric substitute as subject in the answer, but suppresses
'here' in the predicate.

Examples, attributive:

6. *šū hāda halli hnīk?* [DA-18]

'What's that over there?'

7. *hal-manāžer hōn btəsḥer ᵊl-ᵓənsān*
   [DA-173]

'This scenery here is enchanting'

The form *hōne* (Leb. *hawni*) is in some areas used also
preceding an indefinite noun, e.g. in narratives, in the
sense 'a, a certain, this': *hawni xawāža* 'a (certain) gen-
tleman...', *hawni marra* 'once, a certain time' [PVA-22].

Examples, predicative complemental [p.446]:

8. *ṭālbīn mənno ᵓənno yəbᵓa
   ɛala ṭūl hōn bəš-šərke*

'They've asked him to stay perma-
nently here in the company'

9. *ṣar-lo hnīk taᵓrīban idaɛšar
   šahᵊr*

'He's been there almost eleven
months'

[Ch. 21]

10. *yəmken ikūnu baɛəd šī sāɛa* — 'They may be here in about an hour'
    hōne

Examples, adverbial:

11. *btaɛərfo mn əš-šām, wəlla* — 'Do you know him from Damascus, or
    tɛarraft ɛalē hōn? — did you meet him here?'

12. *bass hōne hal-masāfe məzəɛže* — 'But here, that distance is disturbing' (i.e. the thought of being far from home)

13. *baɛəd ma xalleṣ əhnīk bəddi* — 'After I finish there, I'll go back
    ʔəržaɛ ɛaš-šām — to Damascus'

Examples, with prepositional supplement:

14. *šū ɛam-tədros halla? hōn* — 'What are you studying now here in
    b-wašənton? — Washington?'

15. *bass əhnīk əb-bērūt ʔaɛadt nəmt* — 'But there in Beirut I stayed and
    ɛandon əb-bēton — slept in their house'

16. *laha-žəb-lak ʔahwe. šū bətʔūl?* — 'I'll bring you some coffee, how
    — hōn žuwwa!? l-ʔūḍa šōb əktīr — about that? — Here inside? It's so
    [DA-172] — hot in this room'

hōn and *hnīk* are not used alone in complementation (or supplementation) to translocative verbs [p. 274], but are preceded by *la-* 'to' or *mən* 'from', 'through' [cf. p. 486]: *la-hōn* 'hither', *la-hnīk* 'thither', *mən hōn* 'from here, this way, hence', *mn əhnīk* 'from there, that way, thence':

17. *ʔana ḥabbēt ʔəži la-hōn mū bass* — 'I wanted to come here not just for
    məšān əš-šahāde, liʔanni bəʔder — the degree, because I could get that
    ʔaxədha mn əhnīk... — over there' (lit. "...from there")

18. *rūḥ ɛaš-šarīɛa w-žīb mən əhnīk* — 'Go to the Jordan and fetch water
    mayye [AO-99] — from there'

19. *mən hōn byəbɛatu ṭ-ṭrūd?* — 'Is this where you mail packages?'
    [DA-225] — (lit. "From here do they send...")

20. *birūḥu la-hnīk laʔənno ʔarxaṣ* — 'They go there because it's cheaper'

21. *w-halla? mnēn mərrūḥ? mən hōn* — 'And now which way shall we go?
    yəmma mn əhnīk? [DA-77] — This way or that way?'

22. *šlōnek fāyze xānom, taɛi la-hōn* — 'How are you, Miss Faiza? Come here
    la-žambi — beside me'

Note also the predicative use of *mən* + demonstrative:

23. *ʔana mən kalifōrnya — w-ʔana* — 'I'm from California — 'And I'm from
    mn əhnīk kamān [DA-76] — there too'

Although *hnīk* 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. *btaɛref sān fransīsko? — bēti* — 'Do you know San Fransisco? — My home
    fīha [DA-76] — is there!' (lit. "...in it")

25. *bəl-ʔawwal ṭləɛət ɛala blūdān,* — 'First I went up to Bloudâne, and from
    w-mənha ɛala ḍhūr əš-šwēr — there, to Dhour Choueir'
    [DA-171]

26. *rəḥt ɛala bērūt. — šlōn šəft* — 'I went to Beirut. — How did you like
    ṣēfha? [DA-171] — the summer there?' (lit. "...its summer")

27. *mā fī ġēr matɛam hōn? — fī,* — 'Isn't there any other restaurant
    hayy wāḥed tāni; ʔiza mnīḥ, — here? — Yes, there is; see, there's
    mnākol fī [ᴅᴀ-46] — 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:

28. *ɛanna biʔamērka fī maḥallāt* — 'In America we have stores where you
    btəštəri mənha kəll šī lāzmak — can buy everything you need' (lit.
    [DA-129] — "...stores you buy from them...")

The Indefinite Demonstrative *hēk*

The word *hēk* (or *hēke*) 'so, such, thus, that' differs from the pronominal and locative demonstratives in that is substitutes only for indefinite terms [p. 494], including non-verbal predicates, complemental clauses, and supplemental phrases.

Examples, predicative:

1. *šu mbayyen mašġūlīn əktīr —* — 'It looks as if you're (pl.) quite
   wəḷḷa dāyman hēk [DA-294] — busy. — Well, it's always this way'

2. *hāda ktīr, mū hēk?* — 'That's too much, isn't it?'

mū hēk (*məš hēk*) 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: *ɛali bəl-bēt, mū hēk?* 'Ali's at

home, isn't he?', *btəži maɛna, mū hēk?* 'you're coming with
us, aren't you?', *rāḥ ɛal-bēt, mū hēk?* 'He went home, didn't
he?', *byəʔʔdru yaɛᵊmlū, mū hēk?* 'They can do it, can't they?'
See also ex. 27, below.

3. *hēk ᵊd-dənye* 'That's the way things are' (lit. "Such is the world")

4. *hēk taṣarrfo l-ɛādi* '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 šāf hēk, fāt ɛal-balad* [AO-83] 'When he saw that, he entered the town'

6. *bət'ammal hēk* 'I hope so'

7. *law šəftha bər-rabīɛ kənt bət'ūl ġēr hēk* [DA-250] 'If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn't say that' (lit. "you'd say otherwise")

8. *w-ḍallu hēk ḥatta nāmu* [AO-107] 'And they stayed that way until they went to sleep'

9. *w-ᵊttafa'u hēk w-rāḥet ᵊl-ɛašūz b-sāɛatha la-bēt ᵊl-bənt* [AO-113] 'And they agreed on that, and then the old woman went to the girl's house'

10. *haṣ-ṣabbāṭ ᵊrxīṣ w-ᵊmbayyen ɛalē hēk* 'These shoes are cheap, and they look it!' (lit. "...and it appears of them so")

Examples, after prepositions:

11. *'aqwāl mətᵊl hēk ṣaɛᵊb 'əsbāta* 'Statements like that are hard to prove'

12. *ya ɛēb ᵊš-šūm žayyətkon 'aɛazz mən hēk b-ᵊktīr* 'Oh really, your visit means much more to us than that'

13. *mā fī tarkībe 'aktar mən hēk* 'He's more fun than anything!' ("There's no card more than so")

14. *w-ᵊzyāde ɛan hēk mā bsadd'o* 'And what's more, I don't believe him' ("And[in]addition to that...")

15. *mənšān hēk mā brūḥ 'abadan ɛas-sīnama* 'That's why I don't ever go to the movies' (lit. "because of such...")

16. *w-la-hēk 'əlt la-ḥāli mā ḥəlwe* 'And so I said to myself, it wouldn't be nice' (lit. "And for such...")

    The classicism *li-zālek* 'therefore' is often used as a
stylistic variant of *la-hēk*.

Examples, adverbial:

17. *fīk taɛmᵊla hēk 'aw hēk* 'You can do it this way or that way'

18. *lēš mā byāxᵊdhon maɛo lamma byəržaɛ? — bẓənn-əllak hēk baddo yaɛmel* [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 byəbnu, šwayy wara šwayy, kᵊll ᵊl-ḥīṭān mən taḥt la-fō'* [AO-75] 'And in this way they build, little by little, all the walls from the bottom up'

20. *mlīḥ hayk?* [SAL-41] 'Is that all right?' (lit. "Good so?") (*hayk* [Leb. for *hēk*, p.14] supplements the one-word clause *mlīḥ*.)

In supplementation to adjectives (participles):

21. *b-ḥayāti mā šəfᵊt wāḥed ᵊmwaldan hēk* 'I've never in my life seen anyone so childish'

22. *'ālət-lo lēš hēk zaɛlān?* [AO-114] 'She said to him, "Why are you so annoyed?"'

Examples, supplemental to nouns (*hēk* precedes the noun):

23. *hēk nās byə'ʔtlu zalame bidūn ma trəff-əllon ɛēn* 'People like that could kill a person without batting an eye'

24. *mā fī 'aṭyab mən hēk ṭabᵊx* [DA-199] 'I've never tasted such good food' (lit. "There is no tastier than such food")

25. *mā fīni 'atṣawwar 'ənno hiyye btaɛmel hēk šī* 'I can't imagine her doing such a thing'

26. *b-hēk saɛᵊr kənt ᵊštarēt sayyāra 'aḥsan* 'At that price I'd have bought a better car'

27. *mālak məntəẓərni sadde' hēk xuzaɛbalāt, mū hēk?* '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.

Preceding a noun or adjective *hēk(e)* is sometimes used to indicate vagueness or inexactness: 'sort of', 'something like':

28. *š-šōʔ byəži hēke mōžāt*   'The yearning comes in waves, sort of'

29. *dzakkar-lak šī ḥādse hēke ṣǵīre*   'Think up some anecdote, you know, a short one, like'

The classicism *kaza,* or *kaza w-kaza,* is used in the sense 'such-and-such' or 'so much', etc.: *l-bāxra kaza w-kaza* 'such-and such a ship', *kaza dōlār* 'so many dollars' (i.e. such-and-such an amount). *hākaza* is used in somewhat formal style similarly to English 'thus'.

The Presentational Particles[1]

The forms *hayy, lēk,* and *šaɛ-* 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 ᵊktābak* 'Here's your book' or 'There's your book', *lēk maṣārīk* 'Here's your money', *šaɛo ᵊʔəža* 'Here he comes' or 'There he comes' (or 'Here he is', 'There he is', lit. "There he is, he has come".)

hayy as a presentational particle is not always clearly distinct from the feminine demonstrative pronoun: *hayy wāḥde tānye* 'Here's another one (f.)' or 'This is another one (f.)'. As a presentational particle, however, its form remains *hayy* regardless of the number/gender of what follows: *hayy ʔaḥmad* 'There's Ahmad', *hayy ᵊwlādi žāyīn* 'Here come my children'.

šaɛ- is always – and *lēk* usually – followed by a pronoun suffix, regardless whether a noun follows or not: *šaɛon maṣārīk* 'There's your money', *lēkon maṣārīk* 'Here's your money'. *hayy* is usually <u>not</u> used with a suffix, except in Palestine: *hayyo hunāk* 'There it is over there'.

Unlike *hayy* and *lēk, šaɛ-* 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). *šaɛ-* is presumably a shortened form of *ʔšāɛ* 'look, see' (imperative of the verb *ʔəšeɛ, byəʔšaɛ* 'to see, look at'), while *lēk* is associated with the preposition-pronoun phrase *lēk* 'to you, toward you' [p.480].

[1] Though the presentational 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, or exclamation [p.378].

Examples:

1. *hayy ṭayyāra žāye mən ʔamērka. šaɛhon ᵊr-rəkkāb nāzlīn mənha* [DA-249]   'There's (or That's) a plane that's come from America. Here come the passengers disembarking'

2. *fī xaṭṭ trāmwāy ɛal-marže kamān. lēko ʔəža wāḥed* [DA-44]   'There's a streetcar line on the Marjé too. Here comes one now'

3. *ṣ-ṣābun wəl-līfe šaɛhon bəl-ᵊxzāne* [DA-181]   'The soap and sponge are there in the cabinet' (lit. "The soap and the sponge, there they are in the cabinet") (Extraposition [p.435])

4. *l-maǵsale šaɛha hnīk* [DA-199]   'There's the washstand over there'

5. *hayy ᵊl-ʔotēl ʔəddāmak* [DA-16]   'There's the hotel in front of you'

6. *hayy ʔauwwal ḥarf*   'Here's the first letter'

7. *hā, lēkak hōn*   'Oh here you are!'

8. *šaɛni žāye*   'Here I come!'

9. *lēkhon hayy banātak rāžɛīn mn ᵊl-madrase* [DA-238]   'Here are your daughters coming back from school' (lit. "Here they are, here are your daughters...")

Certain other presentational forms are heard in various parts of Greater Syria. Note the Damascene forms *šaɛōk* and *šaḥḥāke: wēn bərnēṭṭi? – šaḥḥāke* 'Where's my hat? – Here it is'. *šaɛ-* is also sometimes pronounced with *-ḥḥ-* rather than *-ɛh-* (or even rather than *-ɛ-*): *šaḥḥa* 'There it (f.) is', *šaḥḥon* 'There they are', *šaḥḥo, šaḥḥōk* 'There it (m.) is'.

INTERROGATIVE SUBSTITUTES

The main forms of the interrogative substitutes, or question words, are:

mīn..................... 'who'

šū and ʔēš............ 'what'

ʔaddēš.................. 'how much'

kamm................... 'how many'

ʔanu and ʔayy.......... 'what, which, which one'

wēn and fēn........... 'where'

kīf and šlōn.......... 'how'

ʔēmta.................. 'when'

lēš..................... 'why'

In a simple substitution-question [p.379] the question word usually comes first in Syrian Arabic (as in English), regardless which part of the clause in represents: šū ɛmәlt? (object) 'What did you do?', wēn ʔabūk? (predicate) 'Where is your father?', kīf sāwētha? (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: ɛala ʔanu wāḥde ḥa-tәḥkī-lna? '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: wénak hal-ʔiyyām mā ḥada bišūfak? '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: ʔaddēš byāxod ʔš-šofōr? '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].): š-šofōr ʔaddēš byāxod? "The driver — how much does he get?", ʔaxūk lēš mā ʔәža? 'Why hasn't your brother come?' (or lēš mā ʔәža ʔaxūk? or lēš ʔaxūk mā ʔәža?).

Besides their use in simple or direct substitution questions and in extraposition, the interrogative substitutes are used in complemental clauses: ʔāl-lo šū sāwa 'He told him what he had done', mā baɛref lēš ʔaxi mā ʔәža 'I don't know why my brother hasn't come'.

Some of the question words are used in supplemental clauses formed with ma '-ever': šū ma 'whatever...', ʔēmta ma 'whenever...', etc. See p.338.

Unlike English 'who', 'which', and 'where', the Arabic words mīn, šū, ʔēš, wēn are not used to introduce attributive clauses [pp.498,561], nor does ʔēmta introduce supplemental clauses like English 'when' (cf. lamma, p.529). (In parts of Palestine, however, lēš is used in the sense 'because' as well as 'why'.)

šū (often unaccented, written šu), kīf, and ʔaddēš have special exclamatory uses (pp.570,572,576). kamm has a non-interrogative sense 'some, several' [p.470], and ʔayy, ʔanu have the sense 'any' [p.574].

A.) Examples, mīn 'who':

1. ya nabīha mīn ʔәža? [DA-217]   'Who's that, Nabiha?' (lit. "O Nabiha, who has come?")

2. mīn yalli xarbaṭ-li wrāʔi?   'Who (is it that) messed up my papers?'

3. mīn mәnkon katab waẓīft ʔl-fīzya?   'Which of you has done the physics assignment?'

4. mīn haš-šabāb?   'Who are these young men?'

The form mәn— is used as an extraposed subject with the apocopated subject pronouns —u, —i, —hәn: mәnu bәl-farīʔ? 'Who's on the team?' See p.547.

5. mīn bәddak?   'Whom do you want?'

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. mәn ɛand mīn bәdžīb ʔġrāḍak? [DA-128]   'Whom do you get your things from?' (lit. "From with whom..." [p.486])

7. sāɛet mīn hayy? (or la-mīn has-sāɛa, or tabaɛ mīn has-sāɛa?)   'Whose watch is this?' (or 'Whose is this watch?')

8. dōr mīn?   'Whose turn [is it]?'

9. la-mīn ʔaɛazz mәnkon bәddi ʔaɛṭi bәnti? [AO-55]   'To whom dearer than you would I give my daughter?'

In complemental clauses:

10. kәnt ʔana ɛandak w-mәdri mīn ʔәža la-ɛandak...   'I was with you, and I don't know who [it was that] came to see you ...'

11. ...fa-ɛam-ṭəšfon hiyye ya
tara mīn fī ɛandak halla?

'and she's thinking, "I wonder who
is with you now?"'

12. fīk ᵊtfīdni mīn lāzem ʔābel
b-hal-ᵊxṣūṣ? [SAL-93]

'Could you tell me whom I should
see about this?'

    mīn is also sometimes used in a non-interrogative sense
'someone', as object with an (objective) complemental clause:

13. yaɛni bəddak mīn iʔəl-lak

'You mean you need someone to tell
you'

B.) Examples, šū 'what':

1. šū ṭaleɛ maɛi ya doktōr?
[DA-204]

'What have I got, Doctor?'
("What's come up with me?")

2. šū ʔəsmo halli bisāwi
š-šabābīk wəl-ᵊbwāb?
[DA-243]

'What's the name of the one that
makes windows and doors?' (Comment-
topic Inversion, p.434.)

3. šū l-fawāki yalli bətrīdha?
[DA-107]

'What fruit do you want?' (lit.
"What's the fruit that you want?")

4. šū ɛalē, šū byəṭlaɛ maɛak,
ḥkī

'What of it? What's come over you?
Speak up!'

5. šū kənt ɛam-ᵊtsāwi?

'What were you doing?'

6. ṭayyeb šū bətlāʔi mnāseb
ləṭ-ṭarafēn? [DA-291]

'All right, what do you think would
be suitable for both parties?'

    With extraposed subject or object:

7. tnēn w-ᵊtnēn šū byaɛᵊmlu?
[DA-5]

'What do two and two make?'

8. sabānex šū biʔūlúwa
bəl-ʔanglīzi?

'What do they call 'sabānex' in
English?'

9. r-rəǯǯāl halli bəddna nzūro
šū byəštéǧel? [DA-75]

'The man we're going to see – what
work does he do?'

    In ex. 9 šū is a predicative complement [p.444]; cf.
byəštéǧel mikanīki 'He works as a mechanic'.
    Sometimes šū as a predicative complement has to be trans-
lated 'how' rather than 'what'. In ex. 8, for instance, if
biʔūlúwa is given its more standard English rendering 'they
say (it)', then šū biʔūlúwa is 'How do they say it?' Note
also:

10. šū bətfasser haš-šī?

'How do you explain this?' (or 'What
do you make of this?')

11. šū byəʔrabkon? [SAL-64]

'How is he related to you(pl.)?'
(or 'What kin is he to you?')

    šū is often followed by a quasi-verbal predicator [p.412]
plus a complement of specification [510]; the English trans-
lation of this construction is often 'what' plus a noun:

12. šū bəddkon fawāki? [DA-47]

'What fruit do you want?' (cf. ex.
3, above) or 'What do you want in
the way of fruit?'

13. šū maɛo šhādāt?

'What diplomas has he?'

14. šū fī ʔakᵊl, ʔana ǯōɛān

'What is there to eat? I'm hungry'

    šū is sometimes used after a preposition or noun in con-
struct, but ʔēš is more common in these constructions (see
below):

15. ɛala šū ɛtamadt?

'What did you decide upon?'

In complemental clauses:

16. waḷḷa mā baɛref šū bəddi
ʔəl-lak

'I really don't know what to tell
you'

17. taɛāl nəsʔalo šū ṣār maɛo
bət-talavəzyōn

'Come on, let's ask him what hap-
pened to him on television'

18. ʔaxīran laḥ-li šū kān
ɛam-yəɛni

'It finally dawned on me what he
meant'

19. ya samīr šūf haš-šāy šū
ṣār fī

'Samir, see what's happened to the
tea'

    The complemental clause haš-šāy šū ṣār fī is an extra-
position of šū ṣār b-haš-šāy. The extrapositional word
order makes it possible also to interpret haš-šāy as ob-
ject of šūf: 'Look at the tea, what's happened to it'.

    A subject šū + prepositional predicate bo, bāk, 'with
him, with you, etc.' [p.415] is usually shortened to šu or
(most often) šə, and pronounced as a single unit: šú-bak
or šə́-bak (= šū bāk) 'What's [wrong] with you?':

20. šə-bo hal-ʔadd xāyre
ɛazāymo?

'Why is he so down in the mouth?'

21. ya banāt tsallu, šə́-bakon
bi-hal-bəzrāt yalli
ʔəddāmkon?

'Enjoy yourselves, girls! What's the
matter with (you, with) those seeds
[hors d'oeuvres] in front of you?'

Exclamatory šū:

22. <u>šū</u> haṭ-ṭaʔṣ yalli biʔammeṭ   'What miserable weather!' (lit. "What
    ᵊl-ʔalb!   is this weather, that opresses the
                                          heart!")

23. ʔamma <u>šū</u> zalame nahfe mn   'But what a card that fellow is!'
    ᵊn-nahfāt!

     šū is also used, unaccented (written šu), as a sentence
supplement [p. 526] and introducer; this expression is gen-
erally too mild to be translated as an interjection 'What?!',
but may be roughly rendered as 'well', 'oh', 'so', or left
untranslated:

24. <u>šu</u> byaẓhar ḥāl ᵊl-balad   '(Well), it looks as if conditions
    ᵊmnīḥa [DA-77]   in town are good'

25. Ɛafwan, <u>šu</u> btaḥki Ɛarabi?   '(So) you speak Arabic?'
    [DA-16]

26. <u>šu</u> mā šāfak ᵊl-ḥakīm?   '(Oh,) hasn't the doctor seen you?'

C.) ʔēš 'what' is commonly used instead of šū after a preposition or a
     noun in construct:

1. la-<u>ʔēš</u> byalzamo l-Ɛarabi?   'What does he need Arabic for?'
    [DA-173]

2. bi-<u>ʔēš</u> mansāfer? [DA-248]   'How will we go?' ("In what..." or
                                          "By what...")

3. bḥabb ʔaƐref Ɛala <u>ʔēš</u>   'I'd like to know what they live on'
    Ɛāyšīn

4. laḥ-sāfer la-Michigan   'I'm going to Michigan to study engin-
    mašān ʔadros handase. —   eering. — What kind of engineering?
    handast <u>ʔēš</u>? — handase   (lit. "Engineering of what?") — Civil
    madaniyye   engineering'

5. dzakkar-lak šī matal mn   'Think of some proverb from Damascus.
    ᵊš-šām. — matᵊl <u>ʔēš</u> yaƐni?   — Like what, how do you mean?'

     In various parts of Greater Syria ʔēš (often shortened
to ʔaš or ʔaš) may be used in more or less the same ways as
šū: ʔēš baddak? 'What do you want?', ʔaš hāda? 'What's
that?', etc.

D.) ʔaddēš 'How much':

1. <u>ʔaddēš</u> ʔažᵊrto bas-sane?   'How much is the rental of it for
    [DA-225]   a year?'

2. <u>ʔaddēš</u> ṭalabu ṣḥābo?   'How much did its owners ask?'
    [DA-291]

3. <u>ʔaddēš</u> baddak ikūn   'How old do you want her to be?' (lit.
    Ɛamᵊrha? [DA-80]   "How much do you want her age to be?")

     In reference to time and distance, ʔaddēš is commonly
translated into English as 'how long' and 'how far':

4. <u>ʔaddēš</u> ᵊbtabƐed ʔaʔrab   'How far is it to the nearest city?'
    madīne?

5. <u>ʔaddēš</u> ṣar-lak hōne   'How long have you been here in the
    b-ʔamērka?   States?' (ʔaddēš + ṣ- → ʔaddēšᵥṣ-)

     After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. w-la-<u>ʔaddēš</u> baddak ᵊtkūn   'And for how long do you want the
    maddet ᵊl-qarḍ? [DA-297]   loan to run?'

7. b-<u>ʔaddēš</u> ᵊs-sīnama hōn?   '[For] how much is (the price of) the
    [DA-18]   cinema here?'

8. daxlak hal-lūbye b-<u>ʔaddēš</u>?   '[At] how much are these beans,
    [DA-129]   please?'

9. kᵊll <u>ʔaddēš</u> biwazzƐu   '[Every] how often do they deliver
    l-barīd hōn?   the mail here?'

     ʔaddēš is often followed by a verb plus a complement of
specification (cf. šū, p. 569); the English translation is
usually 'how much' + noun:

10. <u>ʔaddēš</u> byāxod maƐāš   'How much salary does he get a month?'
    baš-šahᵊr?

11. <u>ʔaddēš</u> ᵊstaxražu faḥᵊm?   'How much coal did they mine?'

12. <u>ʔaddēš</u> btᵊdfaƐu fāyde?   'How much interest do you pay?'
    [DA-293]

     In complemental clauses:

13. baddi ʔaƐref <u>ʔaddēš</u> ᵊs-sāƐa   'I want to know what time it is'
    [AO-71]   (lit. "...how much the hour is")

14. *šəft ʔaddēš hōn ᵊl–hawa*
    ʔabrad? [DA-172]

'Do you see how much cooler the air
is here?'

15. *šāyef hal–ʔarāḍi ʔaddēš*
    xaḍra [DA-235]

'See how green this country is?'

Note the extraposition of *hal–ʔarāḍi* in ex. 15. Cf. ex.
19, p. 569.

Exclamatory use of *ʔaddēš:*

16. *ʔaddēš ᵊtƐallamtu!*

'How much you've learned!'

17. *ʔaddēš ᵊl–balad ḥəlwe!*

'How pretty the town is!'

18. *ʔaddēšak laṭīf!*

'How nice you are!'

The exclamatory *ʔaddēš* may take pronoun suffixes as in
ex. 18. See p. 547. Note that with adjectival complements,
ʔaddēš is generally translated 'how' (without 'much').

E.) *kamm* 'how many' is usually followed by a noun in the singular.
Examples:

1. *kamm nəžme fī bəs–sama?*
   [AO-83]

'How many stars are there in the sky?'

2. *kamm səne ṣar–lak hōne?*

'How many years have you been here?'

3. *kamm dars kān Ɛandak...*

'How many classes did you have...'

4. *kamm nāyeb bimasslu*
   hal–muḥāfaẓāt? [SAL-152]

'How many delegates represent these
mohafazats?'

Note, in ex. 4, that the *kamm* 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 *kān* remains
singular. The agreement is partly optional, depending on
how much one wishes to emphasize plurality.

In complemental clauses:

5. *zən–li hal–baṭṭīxa la–šūfha*
   kamm kīlo bṭəṭlaƐ [DA-128]

'Weigh this watermelon for me, so I
can see how many kilos it comes to'

With *fī* and other quasi-verbal predicators, *kamm* may
stand alone, with its noun as specificative complement fol-
lowing the predicator (cf. *šū,* p. 569):

6. *kamm fī mətr ᵊmrabbaƐ*
   fi had–dāʔire? (or
   kamm mətr ᵊmrabbaƐ fī
   b–had–dāʔire?)

'How many square meters are there in
this circle?'

F.) *ʔanu* 'which, what, which one' may be used either independently or in a
noun phrase. Examples (independent):

1. *ʔanu ʔaḥsan maxzan*
   bəl–balad?

'Which is the best store in town?'

2. *ʔanu l–ʔašya l–mafʔūde?*

'Which are the things [that are]
missing?'

3. *ʔanu bətšūf bikūn ʔaḥsan?*
   [DA-109]

'Which do you think would be better?'

Examples, in noun phrases:

4. *ʔanu sāƐa bəṭṭīr ᵊṭ–ṭayyāra?*
   [DA-249]

'What time does the plane take off?'

5. *ʔanu wāḥed bəddak?*

'Which one do you want?'

6. *ʔanu ʔāle bəddə ʔ Ɛalēha*
   ʔaḥsan šī?

'What instrument do you play best?'

After prepositions:

7. *la–ʔanu maṣyaf rəḥᵊt?*
   [DA-171]

'Which summer resort did you go to?'

8. *hadᵊrtak mən ʔanu wilāye*
   bi–ʔamērka? [DA-76]

'Which state in the United States are
you from?'

With feminine (or inanimate plural) nouns, the form *ʔani*
is often used rather than *ʔanu:*

9. *ʔani šanta naʔʔēt?*

'Which bag did you choose?'

10. *ʔēmta bəddon yəžu, ʔani*
    sāƐa?

'When are they supposed to come – at
what time?'

In the independent use, the form *ʔanon* may be used for
the plural:

11. *ʔanon ᵊwlāda?*

'Which ones are her children?'

The form *ʔayy* is used in noun phrases in the same way as *ʔanu:*

12. *ʔayy sāƐa bəddon yəžu?*

'What time will they come?'

The forms *ʔayyi* and *ʔayya* are also used in some parts of Greater Syria.

ʔanu, *ʔani*, and *ʔayy* may be used with nouns in the non-interrogative sense 'any':

13. *fī ɛandak ʔayy suʔāl tāni?*   'Have you any other question(s)?'

14. *ʔani šaġle ʔaḥsan mən bala*   'Any job is better than none'

G.) *wēn, fēn* 'where', examples:

1. *wēn ʔaʔrab ʔotēl?*   'Where is the nearest hotel?'

2. *fēn bāba ḥatta ɛāyed ɛalē w-ʔāxod ɛīdīti* [DA-298]   'Where is Daddy? [I want to know] so I can give him holiday greetings and get my holiday gift'

3. *wēn ḥaṭṭ haž-žarāyed ʔl-ɛata?*   'Where shall I put those old newspapers?'

4. *w-ʔana fēn bəddi rūḥ ʔl-yōm?* [DA-300]   'And where might I go today?'

5. *halla? wēn ʔwṣəlna bəl-ʔakʔl, ya xānom?*   'Now, where have we gotten with the [preparation of the] food, madam?'

With translocative verbs [p.486] the form *la-wēn* 'where to, whither' is more usual than simply *wēn* or *fēn* as in ex. 4 and 5:

6. *la-wēn rāyeḥ halla?* [AO-47]   'Where are you going now?'

7. *hal-xaṭṭ la-wēn biwaddi?*   'Where does this line lead to?' (Extraposition of *la-wēn biwaddi hal-xaṭṭ?*)

With *mən* 'from', *wēn* takes the form *-ēn*: *mnēn* 'from where?':

8. *w-hal-ġēm mnēn ʔəža kəllo ɛala ġafle* [DA-153]   'And where have these clouds come from all of a sudden?' (Extraposition)

In many cases *mnēn* is translated simply 'where', and in some cases, 'how':

9. *mnēn štarēt hal-barnēṭa?*   'Where did you buy that hat?'

10. *mnēn ʔmnāxod ʔl-baṣṣ?*   'Where do we get the bus?'

11. *mnēn mərrūḥ?*   'How do we go?' or 'Which way do we go? (Cf. *mən hōn* 'this way', *mn ʔhnīk* 'that way')

12. *mnēn ʔɛrəft?*   'How do you know?' or 'Where did you find out?'

In complemental clauses:

13. *fa-šu ʔana fakkart ɛam-təsʔalni mnēn ʔante*   'And I thought she was asking me, "Where are you from?"'

14. *fī wāḥed xalaṣ w-wāḥed ɛam-yədros mā baɛref wēn*   'There's one who's finished, and one studying I don't know where'

Predicative *wēn* takes pronoun suffixes as subject [p.547]:

15. *ʔəmmi wēnkon? šu mā fī hada bəl-bēt?*   'Mother, where are you all? Isn't there anybody home?'

16. *wət-tnēn wēnhon?* [DA-75]   'And where are the two of them?'

17. *wēno ʔəbʔn ɛammi?*   'Where is my cousin?' (Comment-topic inversion [p.434])

H.) *kīf* 'how':

1. *kīf kān ʔṭ-ṭaʔṣ ɛandkon bəž-žbāl?*   'How was the weather where you were in the mountains?'

2. *kīf ʔṣ-ṣaḥḥa samīr bāša?*   'How is your (lit. "the") health, Samir Pasha?'

3. *kīf bəddi sāwīha?*   'How should I do it?'

4. *kīf laʔēt ʔalɛet ʔbɛalbak?* [SAL-117]   'How did you like (lit. "find") the castle of Baalbek?'

5. *kīf ʔɛreft waḷḷa ʔənnak ḥazzīr tamām*   'How did you know? You're certainly a good guesser!'

In complemental clauses:

6. *lāzem ʔəʔʔtlak ʔawām, ʔal-li kīf bəddak ʔtmūt* [AO-116]   'I must kill you immediately; tell me how you want to die'

7. *btaɛref kīf ʔn-naḥḥāt hēke biṣawwer ʔl-marʔa mn ʔz-zawāya l-ġamīʔa yaɛni*   'You know how the sculptor sort of depicts the woman from the hidden recesses, so to speak'

Note also the common expressions *šāyef kīf?* 'See how it is?', (also *lāḥaẓt kīf*), *Ɛraft kīf?* 'Know what I mean?', and the like.

kīf (like *šū* [p. 570]) has two kinds of exclamatory use:

8. *šu mā fī Ɛandak samak?*   'Don't you have any fish? – Of course
    – *kīf mā fī!* [DA-17]   I do! ("How [could it be that] there
                           is none!")

The milder exclamatory *kīf* introduces questions, in much the same way as *šu*:

9. *kīf, Ɛažᵊbtak wašᵊnṭon?*   'Well, did you like Washington?'

The predicative *kīf* (ex. 1, 2) takes pronoun suffixes [p. 547], especially in asking 'How are you?': *kīfak?, kīfkon?*.

I.) *šlōn* 'how' is not generally used in the coastal regions; in Damascus it is used in some of the same ways as *kīf*. Examples:

1. *daxlak šlōn ᵊl-ḥāle halla?*   'Say, how are things now in San
    bi-sān fransīsko? [DA-77]   Francisco?'

2. *šlōn bᵊddak ᵊr-raʔbe?*   'How do you want the neck?' (barber
    [DA-179]   speaking)

3. *šlōn ᵊt-tannūra ž-ždīde,*   'How about the new skirt? Has it
    nšālla ḥāzet ᵊƐžāb   won the admiration of the multitudes?'
    ᵊž-žamāhīr?

4. *šlōn xallētī yᵊṭlaƐ*   'How could you let him go out in
    b-hal-bard? [DA-198]   this cold?'

5. *šlōn šᵊfto hal-mᵊstašfa?*   'What do you think of this hospital?'
                                ("How do you see...", lit. "How have
                                you seen...") Comment-topic inversion
                                [p. 434]

šlōn also takes pronoun suffixes in the role of subject: *šlōnak?* 'How are you?'.

6. *šlōnhon ʔᵊnšālla mabsūṭīn?*   'How are they? Well, I trust?'

7. *w-ᵊšlōnek b-šᵊǧl ᵊl-bēt?*   'And how are you(f.) at housework?'
    [DA-99]

J.) *ʔēmta* 'when':

1. *ʔēmta žāyīn? – yaƐni ʔēmta*   'When are they coming? – Well when
    bᵊddon yᵊžu, sāƐa waḥde   would they come? One o'clock in the
    bᵊl-lēl? lā ykᵊl-lak fᵊkre   morning? Not likely!'

2. *ʔabi ʔēmta Ɛandak waʔt*   'Father, when will you have time [so
    ᵊmnᵊnzel Ɛas-sūʔ?   that] we can go down to the market?'

3. *ʔēmta l-mūsem byᵊbda?*   'When does the season begin?'

4. *mᵊn ʔēmta kān hāda?*   'How long ago was that?' (lit. "Since
                                when...")

In complemental clauses:

5. *biʔūl ʔēmta byᵊži?* [PVA-2]   'Does he say when he's coming?'

6. *šūf ʔaḥmad ʔēmta bᵊddo*   'See when Ahmed intends to come' (With
    yᵊži   extraposition of subject in comple-
                                mental clause [cf. ex. 19, p. 569])

K.) *lēš* 'why':

1. *lēš tlᵊƐᵊt? kᵊnt lāzem*   'Why did you go out? You should have
    tᵊbʔa mᵊrtāḥ bᵊl-bēt   stayed and rested at home'
    [DA-218]

2. *šū ʔᵊṣṣtak w-ᵊhkāytak w-lēš*   'What's your story, and why were you
    kᵊnt bᵊl-ʔᵊmʔom? [AO-116]   in the bottle?'

3. *ʔē lakān lēš xāyef ʔiza*   'All right then, why are you afraid
    mā baƐrᵊfa?   if I don't know her?'

4. *lēš hal-labake, lēš*   'Why this bother? Why did you(pl.)
    labbaktu ḥālkon hal-ʔadd?   go to so much trouble?'

5. *lēš ᵊt-trēn kᵊll hal-ʔadd*   'Why is the train so crowded today?'
    maƐžūʔ ᵊl-yōm?

6. *lēš ya tara has-shūl*   'I wonder why these plains are bare?'
    žarda? [DA-250]

In complemental clauses:

7. *ḥaʔīʔatan mā baƐref lēš*   'I really don't know why I've had
    mafruḍ fiyyi...   to...'

The form *lē* (or *lēh*) is also heard in various parts of Greater Syria. *lēš* is a reduced form of *la-ʔēš* 'what for' (cf. *ʔaddēš ← ʔadd + ʔēš* 'amount of what'). *ʔēš* is in its turn a syncopated form of *ʔayy šī* 'what thing'.

INDEX

Arabic words, affixes, and grammatical terms are alphabetized in the order shown on page 1.